

Christopher Siwicki*

Defining Rome's *Pantheum*

<https://doi.org/10.1515/jah-2018-0033>

Abstract: Writing in the early third century AD, Julius Africanus claimed to have built a library “in the Pantheon” in Rome, the exact location of which remains elusive. In considering the competing possibilities for the site of the library, this paper argues that the building we commonly refer to as the Pantheon does not correspond to the ancient understanding of what the *Pantheum* was. The case is made that it was not a single building, but instead comprised a larger complex, of which the still-standing structure was only one part. This interpretation allows for a number of details associated with the Pantheon to be rethought within a wider context and alternative proposals advanced regarding the forecourt in front of porch, the “arch” in the centre of this space, the location of the now lost caryatids and bronze columns, the little understood Severan restoration, and the meanings of the much-discussed inscriptions on the façade.

Key Words: Pantheon, Julius Africanus, Rome, library, inscription

I Introduction

And you will find my proposed passage in its entirety deposited in the archives of the former homeland, Colonia Aelia Capitolina of Palestine, and in Nysa of Caria, and up to the thirteenth [book] in Rome near the baths of Alexander in the beautiful library of the Pantheon, which I personally constructed for the emperor (... ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου θερμαῖς ἐν τῇ ἐν Πανθείῳ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῇ καλῇ, ἣν αὐτὸς ἤρχιτεκτόνησα τῷ Σεβαστῷ).¹

So says Julius Africanus in his *Cesti* (*Kestoi*) of the first half of the third century AD (c. 228–231), referring to his insertion of an extended incantation (*nekyia*) into Book Eleven of his edition of Homer's *Odyssey*.² The extract provides some inter-

1 Julius Africanus F10.49–53 (edition of Wallraff, et al. 2012). Pap. Oxy. 412. Translation adapted slightly from Alder in Wallraff, et al. (2012).

2 See the discussion in Wallraff, et al. (2012), xxxiii–xxxviii. On the dating and attribution of the *Cesti*, see Roberto (2011), 186–187; Wallraff, et al. (2012), xix.

***Corresponding author: Christopher Siwicki**, University of Exeter, Classics and Ancient History, Prince of Wales Road, Exeter, EX4 4SB, E-Mail: c.s.siwicki@exeter.ac.uk

esting details about Africanus' life, not least that he was responsible for the library in the Pantheon at Rome (Fig. 1). That Africanus is referring to the famous structure in the Campus Martius is unambiguous given his comment on its proximity to the Baths of Alexander Severus; yet the presence of this library is nowhere else attested in ancient sources and its exact location is uncertain. Three possible interpretations of Africanus' claim might be proposed: that the information is incorrect; that a book/manuscript collection was housed within the expansive rotunda; or that the building we commonly refer to as the Pantheon does not correspond to the ancient understanding of Rome's *Pantheon* – this paper argues for the latter. The aim is not to establish the precise location of the library, which is not possible given current evidence; rather, through examining these different possibilities the case is made that the Pantheon was not a single edifice but comprised a larger complex. This then allows for certain details associated with the building to be rethought within a wider context and alternatives proposed for understanding the “arch” in the forecourt, the location of the now lost caryatids and bronze columns, the Severan restoration, and the meanings of the much-discussed inscriptions on the façade.



Fig. 1: The Pantheon and piazza della Rotonda, by Lievin Cruyl, early 1670s. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 1975.1.578. (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459349?sortBy=Relevance&ft=pantheon+rome&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=6>), CC0 1.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0>). Robert Lehman Collection.

II The location of the library

The first of the possibilities – that the information in the *Cesti* is incorrect – can be rejected most readily. Although the *Cesti* survives in a highly fragmentary form and is pieced together from various sources, the extract above comes to us in direct transmission, having been found on a slip of papyrus at Oxyrhynchus (Pap. Oxy. 412). While parts of the papyrus are in poor condition, the lines referring to the Pantheon are clear and there is no apparent reason to suspect a textual error.³ Nor need we doubt Africanus' topographical references: he possessed first-hand knowledge of the city of Rome and, as the designer of the library, he was clearly personally familiar with the Pantheon.⁴ The comment cannot be explained away by suggesting that he meant the library was *near* the Pantheon; the language is unequivocal – the library is in the Pantheon, the question is where?

Built by Agrippa in the 20s BC, the Pantheon was damaged in the fire of AD 80 and subsequently restored by Domitian, damaged again – probably by a lightning strike in 110 – a wholesale rebuilding was likely initiated by Trajan and then completed by Hadrian in approximately 125/126.⁵ Fundamentally, except for any changes made in a restoration by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in 202, this is the structure which Africanus knew and which stands today.⁶ The idea that the great rotunda of the Pantheon once housed a library is appealing if for no other reason than because it is a design that has been familiar to readers since the nineteenth century (Fig. 2). The British Museum, Liverpool's Picton library, the library of Congress, and the Universities of Virginia, Columbia, and MIT, to name a few, all have reading rooms that are to differing degrees modelled after the interior of Pantheon (Fig. 3).⁷ Yet an immediate difference is that in addition to an oculus, all of these other buildings have supplementary apertures in order to admit the

³ Wallraff, et al. (2012), 224, fig. 4.

⁴ Bowie (2013), 259, n. 109 is sceptical about the details but without explanation. That Africanus, as a Christian, would not have been charged by the emperor with building a library in the centre of Rome seems an artificial dichotomy, as argued by Secord (2017), 211–235 who sees his religious belief as having little relevance to his relationship with the imperial household.

⁵ For the history of the building and the different phases, see Thomas (1997), 163–186; Wilson Jones (2013), 31–49. On the current building being Trajanic in inception rather than Hadrianic, see Heilmeyer (1975), 316–347; Hetland (2007), 95–112; (2009), 107–115; (2015), 79–98; Wilson Jones (2009), 82 with n. 35; (2013), 41–43.

⁶ An inscription on the façade testifies to the Severan restoration and the *Historia Augusta* claims a further intervention by Antoninus Pius (*Pius* 8), although what this entailed is unclear.

⁷ On the influence of the Pantheon on nineteenth- and twentieth-century library architecture, see Etlin (2015), 407–416.



Fig. 2: Interior of the Pantheon, by Giovanni Paolo Pannini, between 1706–1765. Statens Museum for Kunst Collection; KMS4594. (<http://collection.smk.dk/#/en/detail/KMS4594>) CC0 1.0 <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/>

amounts of natural light required for reading. The lighting of libraries was a concern in antiquity: Vitruvius prescribes that ideally they should face east so as to catch the morning rays (as well as supposedly to prevent the onset of rot by worms and moisture); Pliny the Younger boasts that the windows of the library of his villa at Laurentinum follow the passage of the sun; and the early second-century AD library of Celsus at Ephesus has nine doors and windows in its façade (Vitr. 1.2.7; 6.4.1. Plin. *Ep.* 2.8). The interior of the Pantheon, lit almost ex-



Fig. 3: Reading Room rotunda, Library of Congress, c. 1904. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs. [LC-DIG-det-4a11689] (<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2016799728/>).

clusively by the 8.8 m diameter oculus, is comparatively dim (no direct sunlight enters via the north facing doors because of the deep porch). The climate inside the rotunda is likewise unsuited for housing a library: the interior is permanently exposed to the elements through the oculus and there is no provision to prevent moisture accumulating on the interior walls. Moreover, a circular reading room is

not a design that appears to have been adopted in antiquity and most libraries that have been identified were rectangular rooms.⁸ Therefore, other than the concrete dome making the Pantheon fireproof, there seems little else in the design that immediately recommends it as a place to store and study books.

Of course, it is not necessary to suppose that the Trajanic/Hadrianic Pantheon was designed to house a library; rather, it might be inferred from Africanus' comment that the library was retrofitted in the first half of the third century. Accordingly, this could have included temporary furniture that has left no lasting trace. Just as the benches and paraphernalia of Santa Maria ad Martyres (as the Pantheon was rechristened) does little to detract from the overall aesthetic and experience created by the interior, the presence of library furniture would not necessarily have been incompatible with the building. Many Roman temples were multi-functional spaces whose use changed over time.⁹ Indeed, one of the other functions of temples in Rome – and the Pantheon, whatever else it might also have been, was a sacred building – appears to have been the accommodation of libraries.¹⁰

Referring to the temple of Apollo Palatinus built by Augustus in the 30s BC, Suetonius and Cassius Dio state, respectively:

[To the temple, Augustus] joined colonnades with a Latin and Greek library, and when he was getting to be an old man he often held meetings of the senate there as well, and revised the lists of jurors.¹¹

[Augustus] completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the libraries.¹²

8 On the architectural form of Roman libraries, see Callmer (1944), 145–193; Makowiecka (1978). The third-century AD library of Rogatianus at Timgad was housed in a semi-circular space and *exedrae* of the baths of Trajan in Rome (AD 104–109) are sometimes identified as libraries: see discussion in Casson (2001), 89–92; Dix and Houston (2006), 701–706.

9 Stambaugh (1978), 554–606; Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2007), 206–221.

10 On the Pantheon as a temple, see De Fine Licht (1966), 191–194; Thomas (1997), 171; (2017), 146–211; Wilson Jones (2013), 35 with n. 29; Barry (2014), 95–98. Ziolkowski (1994), 261–277, (2007), 465–476, and (2009), 34–39 presents an alternative interpretation based on its function changing, but still acknowledges the buildings had “some sort of sacral status” (quote at 1999, 56). Godfrey and Hemsoll (1986), 195–205 also maintain that the building had a secular function.

11 Suet. *Aug.* 29.3: *addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit.* Translation adapted from Rolfe (1914).

12 Cass. Dio 53.1.3: τὸ τε Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων, ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. Translation by Cary (1914).

While it is apparent that the library is physically and programmatically linked to the temple, these passages specify that the collections were not housed in the actual shrine but elsewhere in the *area Apollinis* precinct.¹³ Suetonius also states that the senate used to meet in the library, which indicates that the *bibliotheca* (along with presumably the entire associated *area* enclosed by the portico) was an inaugurated *templum*, a prerequisite for any space in which the senate met and a detail the relevance of which we will return to.¹⁴ Likewise, the library of the temple of Augustus, built by Tiberius, appears not to have been in the cella as it is referred to by Pliny the Elder as a separate entity capable of housing a fifty-foot statue.¹⁵ Augustus also established a library in his sister's eponymous portico (previously that of Metellus Macedonicus) which surrounded the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina. Suetonius is explicit that library was located *in Octaviae porticu* and a funerary inscription similarly refers to the "Greek library in the porticus of Octavia."¹⁶

When Ovid describes the imagined journey that his book written in exile, the *Tristia*, will take around the capital in search of a welcoming home, the itinerant volume tries the libraries of Apollo and Octavia:

Then with even pace up the lofty steps I was conducted to the shining temple of the unshorn god, where alternating with the columns of foreign marble stand the figures of the Belides, the barbarian father with a drawn sword, and all those things which the men of old or of modern times conceived in their learned souls are free for the inspection of those who would read. I was seeking my brothers, save those indeed who their father would he had never begot, and as I sought to no purpose, from that abode the guard who presides over the holy place commanded me to depart. A second temple I approached, one close to a theatre: this too might not be visited by my feet.

inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei, [60]
signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis,
Belides et stricto barbarus ense pater,
quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique
pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.

13 For collected references, see Platner and Ashby (1929), 17; 84. On the library of the temple of Apollo, see discussions in Iacopi and Tedone (2005–2006), 351–378; Dix and Houston (2006), 681–685; Nicholls (2010), 16–17.

14 On the library as a *templum*, see Neudecker (2013), esp. 321–322.

15 Plin. *HN* 34.43. For a discussion of the very limited evidence for this building, see Dixon and Houston (2006), 288–289.

16 Suet. *Gram.* 21; *CIL* 6, 2348; Casson (2001), 97.

quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis, [65]
quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.
quaerentem frustra custos me sedibus illis
praepositus sancto iussit abire loco.
altera templa peto, vicino, iuncta teatro:
*haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis.*¹⁷ [70]

Although Ovid's reference to the statues of the Danaids makes it clear he is referring to the porticus of the *area Apollinis*, neither here nor in respect to the *porticus Octaviae* does he feel it necessary to distinguish between the libraries and the temples. This shows the potential for flexibility in the ancients' labelling of buildings and the wider complexes they are a part of; something also seen in Aulus Gellius' reference to a book of letters held in the Temple of Peace: "[A friend said] 'There are numerous letters of Sinius Capito, a very learned man, collected in a single volume and deposited, I think, in the Temple of Peace (*in templo Pacis*).'"¹⁸ Rather than the actual shrine, it is likely that Gellius means the volume was placed in the associated library (*Pacis bibliotheca*), which he mentions on another occasion and is thought to have been either in one the rooms to the side of the shrine or another hall abutting the portico (Fig. 4).¹⁹ The final example is the library of the Temple of Trajan, as it is called by Gellius.²⁰ The precise site of the Temple of Trajan and Plotina continues to elude identification, although it is widely accepted as being somewhere to the northwest of the Basilica Ulpia beyond the monumental Column.²¹ The library is associated with the two rooms that flank the column and are lined with niches for *armaria*, some distance away (Fig. 5).²² The points to take from this brief survey of libraries in imperial Rome is that many were explicitly linked to particular temples, that the collections were housed not in the actual shrines but the connecting porticoes, and that authors did not always draw this distinction when referring to the buildings.

¹⁷ Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.59–70. Translation by Wheeler (1975).

¹⁸ Aul. Gell. 5.21.9: "*Simi*", *inquit*, "*Capitonis, doctissimi viri, epistulae sunt uno in libro multae positae, opinor, in templo Pacis.*" Translation by Rolfe (1927).

¹⁹ Aul. Gell. 16.8.2. A discussion about the location of the library and the identification of other the halls is provided by Tucci (2013), 278–291; (2017), 116–125, 154–173, 174–193.

²⁰ Aul. Gell. 11.17; cf. *CIL* 14.5352. It was also known as the Ulpian Library; for collected references, see Platner and Ashby (1929), 244.

²¹ On the "missing" temple: Claridge (2007), 54–94; (2013), 8–15; Patterson (2010), 228–229.

²² Packer (1995), 353–354; Meneghini (2002), 655–692; Dix and Houston (2006), 695–699; Claridge (2007), 54–93; (2013), 9.

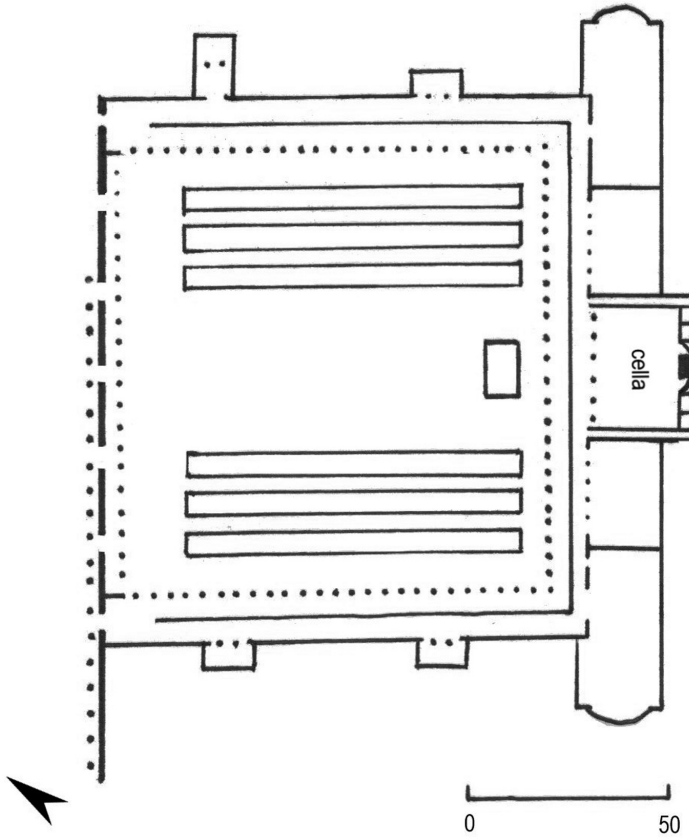


Fig. 4: Plan of the templum Pacis (drawing by author after Meneghini 2012, fig. 1).

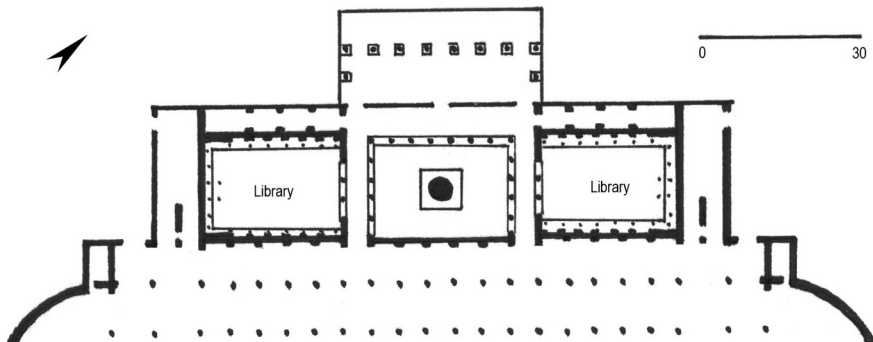


Fig. 5: Plan of the libraries of Trajan (drawing by author after Meneghini 2002, 663).

To return to the Pantheon, while it is conceivable that the library was located inside the rotunda – its interior is spacious enough – it seems more likely that in line with the long-established precedent the library was housed in a contiguous space. It has been suggested that the library should be identified with the so-called Basilica of Neptune located to the rear of the rotunda (Fig. 6).²³ The association is far from certain: the structure, of which only the back wall survives, faces south with no obvious physical link to the Pantheon and its curved niches seem unsuitable for storing books.²⁴ Alternatively, Claridge proposes that the building in between the Basilica of Neptune and the back of the rotunda – comprised of six chambers on two floors and referred to as the *grottoni* – could be Africanus' library (Fig. 7).²⁵ If so, this was not the primary function of the structure, which was constructed partway through the erection of the Pantheon in order to buttress the rotunda.²⁶ Also, while the rooms might have been suitable for storing documents (although there is no evidence that this is what they were actually used for), this would make the structure more a *tabularium* than a *bibliotheca*. We might expect a library to include an appropriate, well-lit space for consulting works not simply warehousing them and the corridors behind the rotunda do not discernibly provide this.²⁷ Likewise, it is questionable if such a structure, with its bare brick walls can be reconciled with Africanus' description of the library as "beautiful." The Trajanic/Hadrianic date of both the Basilica of Neptune and the *grottoni* is another reason for potentially discounting them as candidates for the Severan era library (although, as noted above, the ambiguity in Africanus' comment does allow for it having been the case that an existing building was repurposed as the library).

²³ De Fine Licht (1966), 156 with n. 20; Coarelli (1993), 197.

²⁴ Callmer (1944), 165–166; Makowiecka (1978), 94–95; Dix and Houston (2006), 699.

²⁵ Claridge (2007), 79; see De Fine Licht (1966), 157–171 for a description of the space.

²⁶ Wilson Jones (2013), 39–41; (2015), 201–202; Delaine (2015), esp. 161–163 n. 5, 180, 186–187.

²⁷ On the lighting of this space, which seems inadequate for it to function successfully as a library, see De Fine Licht (1966), 158.



Fig. 6: The “basilica of Neptune” (author’s photo).



Fig. 7: The “grottoni” west side (author’s photo).

The other possibility is that the library was housed in a room(s) somewhere off the forecourt, analogous to other imperial libraries. That it is yet to be found can be explained because only limited parts of the space have been excavated. Whether Africanus' reference to the Baths of Alexander in conjunction with the library should be taken as a precise topographical marker in this regard is uncertain.²⁸ For while it could indicate that the library was located on the west side of the portico adjacent to where Alexander Severus' *thermae* are thought to have been, it might be that Africanus mentions these baths because they are the closest monument constructed by the then reigning emperor (Fig. 8).²⁹ Plausibly, it was building work around the baths of Alexander (a remodelling of Nero's) which impacted on the adjacent *Pantheum* forecourt and prompted the addition of a library there.³⁰ This conjecture is necessarily tenuous, but a glance at how the creation of Domitian's Forum Transitorium altered the portico of the Forum of Augustus shows the way that the construction of new monuments can affect those already standing.³¹ The suggestion also accords with the idea that the library was a new addition or had just undergone a renovation, as implied by Africanus' assertion that he built it. His claim should be taken seriously and not simply dismissed on the grounds that Africanus is known to us as a scholar not a builder. For in a tradition that includes Cicero, Pliny the Younger, and Fronto, some public intellectuals in the Roman world took more than a cursory interest in architecture and were involved in the design of buildings.³² In any case, the purpose of the above discussion is merely to demonstrate that it is not necessary to think that the library was inside the rotunda and to suggest it was more plausibly located in an attendant space. However, this does not mean that Africanus is incorrect in implying that the library is *in* the Pantheon; instead, our definition of what the *Pantheum* was might be too limited.

28 Suggested by Dix and Houston (2006), 699.

29 Dix and Houston (2006), 699.

30 On the baths of Alexander, see Ghini (1985), 395–399; (1999), 60–62.

31 Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani (2010), 105–126.

32 Cic. *Att.* 23 (II.3); *Q Fr.* 21 (III.1); Plin. *Ep.* 9.39; Aul. Gell. 19.10; also see discussion in Secord about Africanus as designer (2017, 223–226). On the relationships of Roman patrons and architects and their respective involvement in building projects, see Vitruvius 1.1.5; 6. *Praef.* 4–7; MacDonald (1982), 122–142; Anderson (1997), 3–67; (2014), 127–139; Wilson Jones (2000), 19–25; Taylor (2003), 9–12; Thomas (2007), 70–103. A degree of ambiguity surrounds Africanus' use of ἀρχιτεκτονέω in the passage and some have suggested that he merely assembled the collection rather than undertook any building work: Harnack (1921), 145; Granger (1933), 157. However, as Dix and Houston (2006), 699 with n. 196 point out, there appears to be no other instances of the verb meaning this (*LSJ* s.v. ἀρχιτεκτονέω).

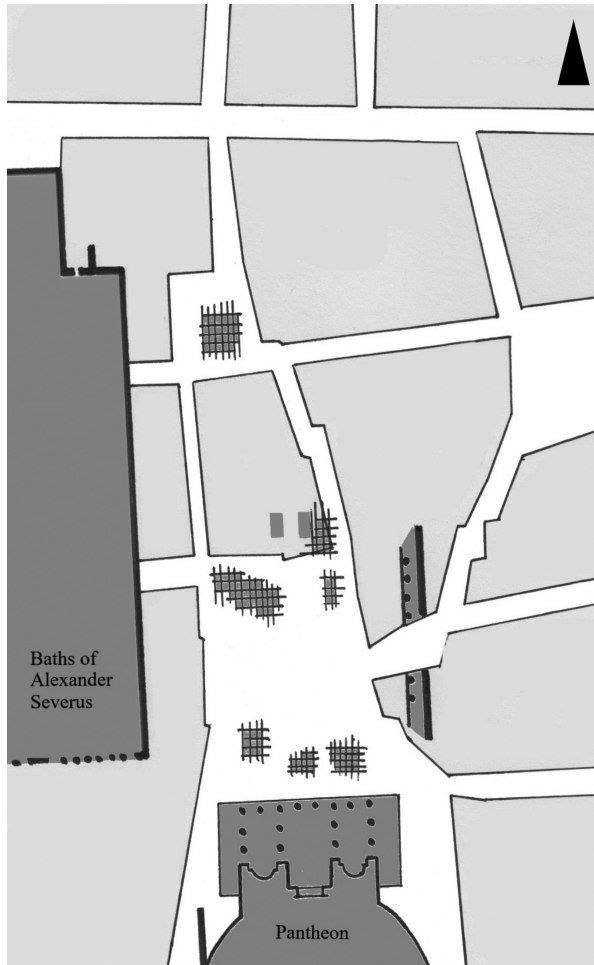


Fig. 8: Plan showing the baths of Alexander to the west of the Pantheon forecourt (drawing by author after Lanciani, 1901).

III The *Pantheon* complex

Rather than thinking that *Pantheon* refers to the building alone, we might alternatively consider that it was the name given to a wider complex, of which the rotunda structure was only the main element. Excavations and chance finds since the nineteenth century indicate that a rectangular forecourt projected north in front of the building, although many details about this space remain elusive. Paved with travertine, it was at least as wide as the porch of the building and

encompassed what is now Piazza della Rotonda. Lanciani speculates that the forecourt extends into Piazza della Maddalena and records the presence of similar travertine paving as far north as Vicolo delle Coppelle. However, these reports are far from conclusive in proving the limits of the forecourt and reconstructions of its depth are conjectural not definite.³³ Similarly, the architectural elements that defined the forecourt are largely unknown. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a flight of six giallo antico marble steps, sections of granite paving and fragments of grey granite columns were discovered at the eastern edge of where the forecourt is thought to have been.³⁴ This has been interpreted as evidence for a portico that ran around the travertine square, although the apparently shallow depth between the columns and wall perhaps made it more of a screen than a walkway, similar to the that of the Forum of Nerva.³⁵ Although there is no corroborating evidence of a similar colonnade on the other sides of the forecourt, in line with the conventions of imperial Roman architecture, we might expect one. There are many unanswered questions about the forecourt and while we will return to some of these elements below, it is not the purpose of this paper to attempt a comprehensive reconstruction; for present purposes, it is enough to establish that there was a forecourt and I suggest that it is this entire area that was understood as the *Pantheum* (Fig. 8).³⁶

The fact that unlike many other porticoes in the city we know of no separate name for this space is the first clue that this was the case. The *templum Divi Claudii* and *templum Pacis* provide useful parallels. The Temple of Claudius occupied a huge artificial terrace on the Caelian Hill, the dimensions of which can still be traced, even though much of the complex is lost or lying under the gardens of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. The shrine itself – a comparatively small hexastyle tem-

33 On the forecourt (a label borrowed from De Fine Licht) and the excavations in this area, see Lanciani (1879), 14, 267; (1881) 270, 275–276; (1882), 346–347; (1883), 15; (1891), 286; De Fine Licht (1996), 25–34, with bibliography for earlier reports: 253; Loerke (1982), 50; Virgili and Battistelli (1999), 137–154; Virgili (1999), 284–285; (2006), 167–169; (2009), 201–214; Coarelli (2004), 76–77; Martini (2006), 13–17; Ceen (2009), 127–137.

34 De Fine Licht (1966), 26; Martini (2006), 13–14.

35 I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this observation. Regarding its height, Lanciani (1881), 270, (1882), 347 gives the columns an approximate diameter of 1 m (although there is no mention as to whether this is at the base, middle, or top), which would suggest that in height the shafts were within the range of being comparable to the Sala del Colosso of the Forum of Augustus (23½ ft), the “library” of Hadrian at Athens (24 ft), the Forum of Nerva (29¾ ft), and the portico of the Forum at Vienne (30 ft): figures taken from Wilson Jones (2000), 222–223.

36 For references to the name “Pantheum”, see De Fine Licht (1966), 180–184; Ziolkowski (1994), 261–277 questions whether “Pantheum” was the original name for the building, but see the critique by Simpson (1997), 172.

ple – is known only from the Severan *Forma Urbis*, which also appears to show the presence of some type of garden features (Fig. 9).³⁷ Ancient authors only refer to the *templum Divi Claudii*, making no distinction between the temple proper and the sacred precinct as a whole.³⁸ The labelling on the *Forma Urbis* confirms that the entire complex was identified collectively by this one name. It is worth contemplating that if the *templum Divi Claudii* was only known from literary references and we were otherwise ignorant of its extent, then we might assume that it comprised a single building as the *Pantheon* is typically taken to be.

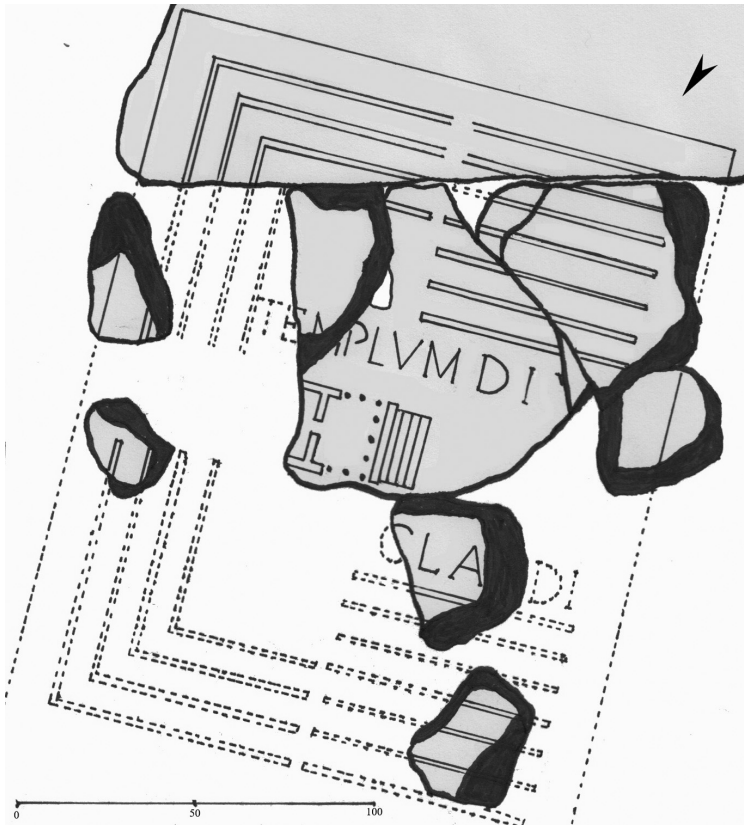


Fig. 9: The *templum Divi Claudii* as depicted on the Severan *Forma Urbis* (drawing by author after Carettoni 1960, plate 16).

³⁷ Carettoni (1960), pl. 16; Buzzetti (1993), 277–278; Macaulay-Lewis (2011), 284–286.

³⁸ Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1; Frontin. *Aq.* 2.20; 2.76; *CIL* 6.10251a = *ILS* 7348.

Similarly, the Temple of Peace, constructed by Vespasian and restored by the Septimius Severus, is known from excavation and the Forma Urbis to have been a rectangular space enclosed on three sides by colonnades, with a shrine and adjoining rooms to the rear, and what are variously identified as water features, flowerbeds, or statue bases in the centre (Fig. 10). The temple proper, with its transverse cella, occupied a relatively small footprint in the complex, and ancient authors clearly do not always just mean this specific element when referring to the *templum Pacis*. Firstly, the actual shrine would be too small for the many works of art that Josephus, Pliny the Elder, and others say were in the *templum Pacis*.³⁹ In particular, Pliny records the presence in *templo Pacis* of the largest example of *basanites* stone ever found, which had been carved into a representation of the Nile and his sixteen children (*HN* 36.58). Pliny compares this specimen to the size of a block of stone at Thebes from which the “Colossus of Memnon” was sculpted, a figure that reaches over 14 m in height and has a base measuring 10.5 m by 5.43 m (Fig. 11).⁴⁰ Indeed, it is likely that many of the statues, paintings, and spoils in the Temple of Peace were placed around the colonnades and forecourt as well as in the cella.⁴¹ Secondly, on the Forma Urbis, as with *templum Divi Claudii*, the label *Pacis* is incised in the centre of the complex with no separate name for the surrounding porticoes.⁴² That the name is intended to refer to the entire space is further substantiated by the fact that in other instances on the marble plan, porticoes are identified independently from the temples they surrounded, including the *porticus Octaviae et Philippi* and the *porticus Meleagri*.⁴³

³⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 5.7; Plin. *HN* 34.84; 35. 74; 102; 109; Juv. 9.23; Paus. 6.9.3; Procop. *Goth.* 8.21.11–14.

⁴⁰ Measurements from Heizer, et al. (1973), 1220.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the works of art in the *templum Pacis*, including the archaeological evidence for the collection being placed around the complex, see La Rocca (2001), 196–202; Tucci (2017), 217–258.

⁴² That Plin. *HN* 36.27 and Cass. Dio 65.15.1 refer to the complex as the *Pacis opera* and “precinct of Peace” (Ειρήνης τέμενος) shows the nominal flexibility with which authors might label a complex (both authors also refer to the entire monument as *templum* elsewhere, *HN* 36.102; Cass. Dio 72.21.4).

⁴³ Carettoni (1960), pl. 29 and 31.

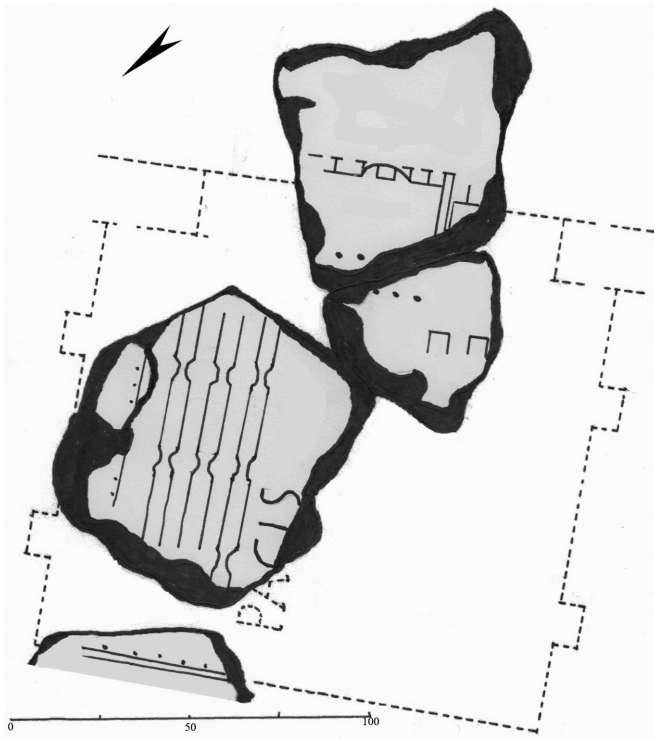


Fig. 10: The *templum Pacis* as depicted on the Severan Forum Urbis (drawing by author after Carettoni 1960, plate 20).

Scholarship has little difficulty in accepting that the *templum Divi Claudii* and the *templum Pacis* referred to both the temples proper and the wider complexes in which they were located: the Pantheon and its attendant forecourt can be viewed the same way. Indeed, if we give credence to Cassius Dio's claim that the Pantheon was originally intended to be an *Augusteum* then a further analogy might be made with the *Hadrianeum*, a label applied in the fourth-century *Notitia* to the temple and surrounding precinct dedicated to Hadrian in the Campus Martius.⁴⁴ Simi-

⁴⁴ *Not. Regio IX*. It is also referred to as *templum Hadriani*: SHA, *Ant. Pius* 8.2. On the Hadrianeum, see Cipollone (1996), 7–8; Claridge (1999), 117–127. On the question of whether the Pantheon was originally intended as an *Augusteum* and the differing levels to which it was intended to honour Augustus, see MacDonald (1976), 76–86; Godfrey and Hemsoll (1986), 196–198; Fishwick (1992), 334–335; Ziolkowski (2007), 470–473; (2009), 36–37; La Rocca (2015), 52–53; Thomas (2017), 181–182.



Fig. 11: The Colossi at Thebes, by Félix Teynard, 1851–52. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 1976.607.40 (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/261839?sortBy=Relevance&ft=colossi&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=11>) CC0 1.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0>). Lila Acheson Wallace Gift.

larly, it might also be relevant that *Claudium* was an alternative name given in the *Curiosum* for the *templum Divi Claudii*.⁴⁵

Certain ancient references to the Pantheon are consistent with the idea that the name could mean the entire space rather than just the building. About Hadrian, Cassius Dio writes:

He transacted with the aid of the senate all the important and most urgent business and he held court with the assistance of the foremost men, now in the palace, now in the Forum or the Pantheon or various other places, always being seated on a tribunal, so that whatever was done was made public.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Cur. Regio II*. The Divorum and Iseum/Serapeum offer similarly instructive comparisons, as possibly does the Adonaea, although evidence for a shrine in this space is currently lacking.

⁴⁶ Cass. Dio 69.7.1: "Ἐπραττε δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάντα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατα, καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε Πανθείῳ καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι, ἀπὸ βήματος, ὥστε δημοσιεύεσθαι τὰ γινόμενα. Translation by Cary (1925).

While this activity might have taken place within the rotunda of the Pantheon (it is certainly large enough), it is equally plausible that the tribunal was set up in front of the porch.⁴⁷ The steps leading to the building were formed of two flights to either side, with a solid wall in between that made a rostra-like platform (Fig. 12).⁴⁸ In itself, this design implies the space in front of the building is integral to an overall plan. The arrangement is reminiscent of the Tiberian Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum, from where speeches were delivered and the censors reviewed the *transvectio equestris*, as well as the Temple of Venus Genetrix, where Caesar sat to receive the senate in his forum.⁴⁹ That emperors conducted such business from tribunals in open air precincts rather than within temples is also indicated by Suetonius' anecdote about Claudius: "Once when he was holding court in the forum of Augustus and had caught the savour of a meal which was being prepared for the Salii in the temple of Mars hard by, he left the tribunal, went up where the priests were, and took his place at their table."⁵⁰ Monumental reliefs and coins from Rome of the first and second centuries also show emperors (including Hadrian) atop tribunals and *suggesta* in the outdoors and before temples, all of which accords with the statement by Dio that Hadrian carried out the activity publicly.⁵¹ Moreover, in the above passage, it is plausible that Dio equates the Pantheon with the forum because both are spaces not simply structures.

47 Lanciani; (1882), 347; Burrell (2007), 351; Thomas (2015), 195; Godfrey and Hemsoll (1986), 202–205 and De Angelis (2010), 153–159 argue that Hadrian held court under the dome, a position strongly critiqued by Thomas (2015), 195–198.

48 La Rocca (2015), 61.

49 Suet. *Iul.* 78.1: *pro aede Veneris Genetricis; on templum rostratum*, see Ulrich (1994).

50 *Claud.* 33.1: *Cibi vini que quocumque et tempore et loco appetentissimus, cognoscens quondam in Augusti foro ictusque nidore prandii, quod in proxima Martis aede Saliis apparabatur, deserto tribunali ascendit ad sacerdotes unaque decubuit.* Translation by Rolfe (1914).

51 The *plutei Trainai* from the Forum Romanum depicted the emperor sat and stood on the rostra addressing crowds and dispensing justice; Hadrian is shown on a platform in front of a temple and seated in front of the *ustrinum* of Sabina on the panels from the Arco di Portogallo; five of the eight relief panels in the attic of the Arch of Constantine show a seated or standing Marcus Aurelius (recut as Constantine) addressing citizens and soldiers from a platforms outside; sestertii of the 120s portray Hadrian speaking in front of the Temple of Caesar (Mattingly and Sydenham 1968, 424, no. 639–641) and Domitian's *Ludi Saeculares* series show a number of similar scenes, see Grunow Sobocinski (2006), 582, Fig. 1; for Trajan, Thill (2014), pl. 19–29.

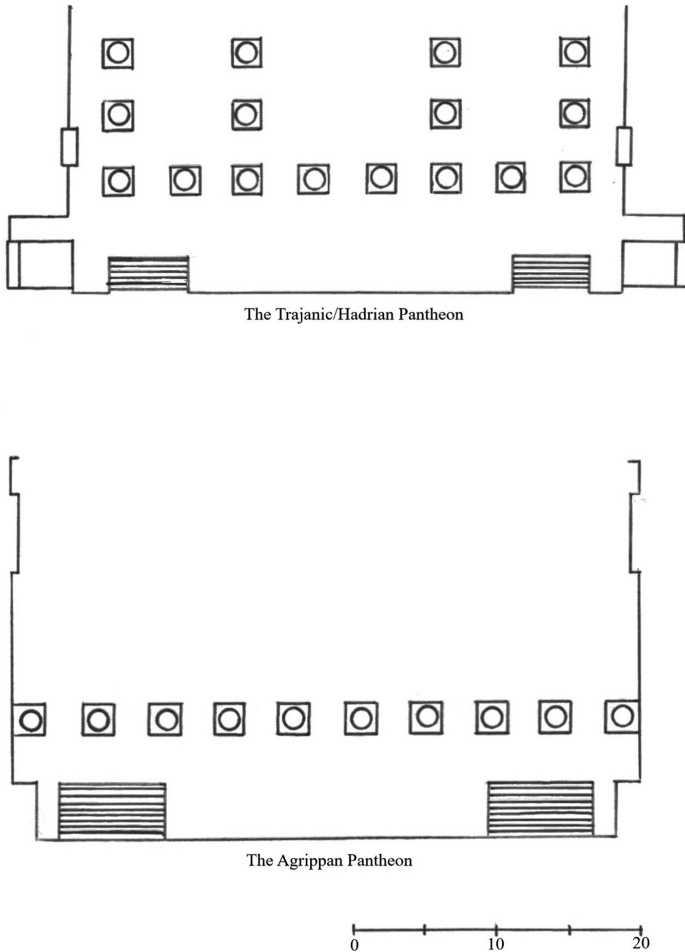


Fig. 12: The Agrippan and Trajan/Hadrianic stairs of the Pantheon (drawing by author after La Rocca 2015, 61).

I am not suggesting that ancient authors never referred to the building alone as the Pantheon – they clearly did at times (Cass. Dio 53.27.2–4; Amm. Marc. 16.10.14); rather, I am suggesting that the title *Pantheum* could refer to both the building specifically as well as a wider complex that included the forecourt and the library.⁵² This point is rarely acknowledged explicitly, but doing so en-

⁵² Parallels show that there is no reason to expect consistency in how the ancients referred to Rome's monuments and that there is considerable flexibility in nomenclature. For example, in

courages certain details that ancient authorities reveal about the *Pantheum* to be rethought, and we will now move to consider the “arch” in the forecourt, the location of the caryatids and bronze columns, and the inscriptions on the façade with this alternative context in mind

IV The “arch” in the forecourt

The proceedings of the Arval Brethern priesthood, inscribed and partially preserved on a series of marble tablets, refers to a sacrifice in AD 59 to the goddess Dea Dia *in Pantheo* – but where was the altar?⁵³ In other instances in the *acta Arvalia* a separation is sometimes made between the parts of a shrine and the space around it, with activity referred to as taking place specifically *in pronao aedis Concordiae, in Capitolio ante cellam Iuonis Reginae, ante templum novom divo Augusto*.⁵⁴ That no separation is made in the formulation *in Pantheo* suggests that wherever the altar stood was considered part of the Pantheon. This might indicate that the original Agrippan building, still standing in 59, was open to the sky and contained an altar within the bounds of the structure.⁵⁵ However, acknowledging that the ancient understanding of *Pantheum* could include more than just the building means that alternative locations can be proposed, including in front of the porch in the forecourt.

Most modern plans of the Pantheon, as well as Gismondi's influential model of Rome, follow Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* in including an honorific arch in

addition to the *Hadrianeum* (a.k.a. *templum Hadriani*) and *templum divi Claudii* (a.k.a. *Claudium*) mentioned above, the *templum Divorum* is at one point called the *porticus Divorum* and just *Divorum* on the Severan *Forma Urbis* (see discussion below, n. 80); the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was also known as the *Capitolium*, which likewise referred to the Hill (Platner and Ashby 1929, 96–7); the *templum Pacis* later becomes the *forum Pacis* (Platner and Ashby 1929, 386); the Temple of Venus and Roma is called the *templum urbis Romae, templum urbis, and urbis Venerisque templum* (Platner and Ashby 1929, 552–553); the title *sacra via* was applied to the entire road and also a specific stretch (Vuković 2018, 49–50 with n. 43); and Tacitus can refer to the same temple in the same passage as an *aedes, templum, and delubrum* (*Hist.* 4.53; *Ann.* 3.71).
53 *CIL* 6.2041 = *ILS* 229. On the locations of the *indictio*, see Beard (1985), 133.

54 *CIL* 6. 2043; 6.2086; 6.2028. It should be noted that not all references to locations in the *acta Arvalia* are so specific and the formulation can vary from year to year, see Beard (1985), 130.

55 On the roof or absence of, see discussions in Thomas (1997), 169–170, who later revises his reconstruction (2017, 184–185); Tortorici (1990), 28–42; Grüner (2004), 495–511; (2009), 44 with fig. 2; Heene (2008), 16 fig. 6; La Rocca (2015), 65–67; for scholarship on Agrippa's Pantheon, also see n. 70 below.

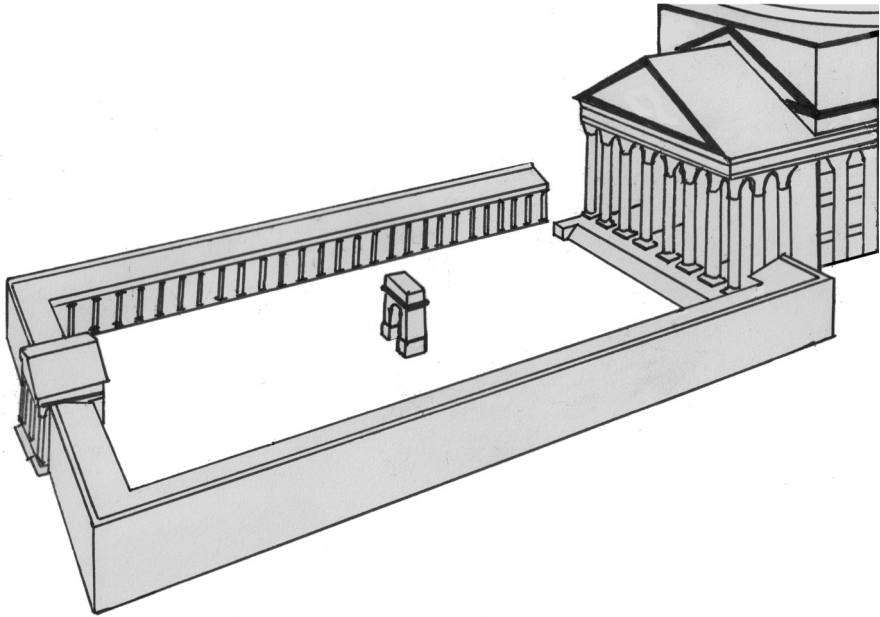


Fig. 13: The Pantheon forecourt including the freestanding arch, as reconstructed by MacDonald (1982), fig. 8 (drawing by author).

the forecourt (Fig. 13).⁵⁶ This structure is something of an anomaly, as freestanding arches tended to be placed over thoroughfares or at access points to different spaces rather than in the middle of them.⁵⁷ The problem led Platner and Ashby to suggest that the arch represented the northern limit of the Pantheon forecourt and served as the entrance to the portico.⁵⁸ Lanciani connected the arch to the *arcus Pietatis*, a monument known only from the fifteenth-century *Tractatus de Rebus Antiquis et Situ Urbis Romae* and the earlier, though variously revised, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*. The latter claims the arch stood *ante sanctam Mariam Rotundam* and the *Tractatus* offers something similar: *Arcus Pietatis ad Sanctam Mariam Rotundam triumphalis est versus ubi iuxta est hospitale Magdalenae et Bactentium*.⁵⁹ Lanciani's placement of this arch directly in front of the Pantheon is contested by Huelsen who argues that it was located further northeast.⁶⁰ Even

⁵⁶ For example, MacDonald (1976), 23 fig. 16; Stamper (2003), 188 fig. 138.

⁵⁷ MacDonald (1986), 33–110, esp. 74–99; Hrychuk Kontokosta (2013), 7–35.

⁵⁸ Platner (1929), 42.

⁵⁹ Anon. Magl. 3 (edition of Valentini and Zucchetti 1953); *Mirabil.* 4; Jordan (1871), 318, 412; Lanciani (1881), 275–276.

⁶⁰ Huelsen (1926), 291–303; Chioffi (1993), 102–103.

taking the *Mirabilia* at face value – something not to be done lightly with a text that often reads more like a parody than a guide – all we can say is that in the Middle Ages an arch known as *Pietatis* (a label given to several arches in the city by this period) stood somewhere in front of the Pantheon; precisely where remains conjectural.⁶¹

The reason for Lanciani's chosen location is because he claims the remains of an arch were uncovered in the seventeenth century during works by Pope Alexander VII.⁶² Yet as noted by Castagnoli, the account by Pietro Santi Bartoli of what was found falls far short of describing an arch.⁶³ Bartoli states that in the cellar of a house there was *parte di un gran basamento di marmo*, pieces of which were removed (the rest being trapped under the walls of the house) and used to make the bases of the two columns that Pope Alexander restored in the porch of the Pantheon.⁶⁴ There is little in this description to support the claim that these were two piers of an arch, as Lanciani confidently reconstructs. A possible alternative is that this marble base belonged to the Pantheon's missing altar.⁶⁵ Certainly, examples of altars positioned near the centre of colonnaded squares, axially aligned with but physically removed from shrines are plentiful in Rome and across the Empire from the early Imperial period onward, and would not be out of place here either.⁶⁶

V The location of the caryatids and bronze column

Staying with the forecourt, it is also worth revisiting Pliny's comments on the ornament of the first *Pantheum*:

⁶¹ For the other arches known as the same name, see Platner and Ashby (1929), 42.

⁶² Lanciani (1881), 275.

⁶³ Castagnoli (1985), 317–318.

⁶⁴ Pietro Santi Baroli, *Mem.* 113. On the repairs to the Pantheon by Alexander VII and his interventions in the piazza, see Marder (2015), 319–329.

⁶⁵ Marder and Wilson Jones (2015a), 4. Grüner (2009), 66 n. 90 briefly speculates if the remains might be the *ara martis* and Huelsen (1926), 299 and Martini (2006), 16 suggest it could be a statue base.

⁶⁶ For example, in Rome, the *templum Pacis* (Carettoni 1960, pl. 20, with discussion in Tucci 2017, 239–244), the *Divorum* (Carettoni 1960, pl. 31), possibly the *porticus* of Livia (Carettoni 1960, pl. 18), it has also been argued that *ara Martis* stood in the centre of the *Saepta* (see discussion in Coarelli 1996, 223–226); among the many examples outside of Rome, the *Actium* victory monument at Nikopolis, the *Capitolium* and “temple of Vespasian” at Pompeii, the forum at Vienne (Anderson 2013, 135 with fig. 76), the forum at Cominbriga (Mierse 1999, 213–220 with fig. 62), the *Trajanum* at Italica (Mierse 1999, 279–289 with fig. 77).

The Pantheon of Agrippa was embellished by Diogenes of Athens; and in the columns of this temple there are caryatids that are almost in a class of their own, and the same is true of the figures in the pediment, which are, however, not so well known because of their lofty position.⁶⁷

In terms of style and meaning, the caryatids of Agrippa's Pantheon are often likened by scholars to the inclusion of such figures in the Forum of Augustus, where *korai* based on those of the Erechtheum in Athens stood on either side of *clipei* depicting Jupiter Ammon and a bearded head wearing a torque (Fig. 14).⁶⁸ Yet this is usually where comparisons end: those in the forum are reconstructed in a repeating frieze in the register above the columns of the portico surrounding the complex, while scholars have tended to suggest that the caryatids in the Pantheon were placed either in the porch of the building or around the attic of the circular structure.⁶⁹ This uncertainty about the location of the caryatids is due both to the relative vagueness of Pliny's description and our lack of knowledge regarding the appearance of Agrippa's Pantheon. While it is now generally accepted that the present building sits, more or less, over the footprint of its predecessors with some variation in the length of the porch, how or if the rotunda was roofed is unclear (a concrete vault akin to what exists now would not have been feasible at the time).⁷⁰

67 HN 36.38-39: *Agrippae Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis; in columnis templi eius caryatides probantur inter pauca operum, sicut in fastigio posita signa, sed propter altitudinem loci minus celebrate.* Translation by Eichholz (1962).

68 For example, MacDonald (1976), 82; Rykwert (1996), 133 with n. 64; Thomas (1997), 169–170; Broucke (1999), 312; (2009), 28; Lesk (2007), 26–42. Broucke (1999), 312, (2009), 28 suggests that the four caryatids found at the Villa Adriana at Tivoli are the Pantheon caryatids – two of an Augustan and two of a Domitianic date – taken to the villa during Hadrian's restoration: see discussion in Lesk (2007), 34–37.

69 Middleton (1892), II.128; Marder (1989), 632–633; 640–642; (2015), 312–313; Grüner (2009), 42; La Rocca (2015), 62–63; 67; Richardson (1992), 283; Broucke (2009), 28; Carandini with Carafa (2017), Tab. 242; Thomas (2017), 185 n. 150.

70 On the Agrippan Pantheon: Loerke (1982), 40–55; Thomas (1997), 167–170; (2017), 184–185; Simpson (1997), 169–170 with n. 1; Virgili and Battistelli (1999), 137–154; La Rocca (1999), 280–283; (2015), 49–78; Wilson Jones (2000), 180–182; (2013), 34–5; Broucke (2009), 27–28; Grüner (2009), 41–67; McKenzie and Reyes (2013), 51–52. Against this, Ziolkowski (2009), 29–39 maintains the earlier argument of Lanciani and argues for a south facing, rectangular Agrippan Pantheon.



Fig. 14: Caryatids and clipeus from the Forum of Augustus (author's photo, reproduced with the kind permission of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali).

The caryatids are generally assumed to have been in the building due to Pliny's observation *in columnis templi eius caryatides*; however, in this context, *templum* can refer to an inaugurated space rather than simply a structure.⁷¹ Just as the entire precincts, not only the shrines, of the *area Apollinis* (including the library where the senate met), the *Divorum*, the *templum Divi Claudii* and the *templum*

⁷¹ Varro, *Ling.* 7.8; Serv. *Aen.* 1.92; Festus 148L; Catalano (1978), 467–479; Stambaugh (1978), 557; 562–563; Linderski (1986), 2263–2272; Ziolkowski (1992), 193–194; 209–214; *OLD* s.v. *Templum*. Thomas (1997), 171 observes the importance of the Pantheon as a *templum*, although he only extends this definition to the structure. Godfrey and Hemsoll's (1986), 200–201 concerns that the Pantheon does not conform to the expected lay out of a *templum* is nullified if the entire precinct is classified as such.

Pacis were inaugurated, so too it is conceivable that the *Pantheum* complex as a whole (building, forecourt, library) was a *templum*.⁷² Indeed, this would have been a necessity if the altar was in the forecourt as proposed. Accordingly, this would mean that it is no longer necessary to restrict the location of the caryatids to the rotunda and they can instead be reconstructed as standing in the colonnade that flanked the square. Pliny's claim that they are *in columnis* is ambiguous, but certainly includes the possibility they were placed in a register above the columns of the porticoes. It is similarly consistent with his remark that they are lower and more easily appreciated than the statues in the *fastigium* and allows for the potential implication in Pliny's text that both sets of sculptures were visible from the same spot.

Significantly, such an arrangement corresponds to the other known examples of how caryatids were used in early imperial public architecture, most obviously in the Forum of Augustus in Rome, an unidentified structure at Puteoli, and the so-called "marble Forum" in Augusta Emerita.⁷³ At this latter site, *korai* (carved in relief rather than freestanding) flank *clipei* of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa in a frieze above the colonnade of a precinct dated to the Julio-Claudian era (Fig. 15).⁷⁴ This space in the Iberian *colonia* has understandably been compared to the Forum of Augustus. Yet if the Pantheon had a similar arrangement then it might equally have been the inspiration for projects outside of the capital, a proposition made more plausible by Pliny's assertions that it was these caryatids which were renowned.⁷⁵

72 Even if the *Divorum* is labelled a *porticus* by Eutr. 7.23, that the entire complex was a *templum* is confirmed by the *fasti Ostienses* (*templum Divoru[m]*) and *CIL* 6.10234 (*in templo Divorum in aede Divi Tito*). The omission of *templum* on the Severan Forma Urbis (Carettoni 1960, pl. 31) is consistent with the labelling of the *templum Pacis* on the marble plan (Carettoni 1960, pl. 20).

73 Caryatids from early imperial public buildings have also been found at Corinth, Vienne (France), Vaison-la-Romaine, Tarraco, and we are told that they adorned the library of the Atrium Libertatis built by Asinius Pollio (Plin. *HN* 36.23).

74 Edmondson (2011), 36–37; Fishwick (2017), 205–213. There is also now evidence to suggest that a similar arrangement existed in the portico surrounding the Julio-Claudian era "temple of Augustus" at Tarraco: Fishwick (2017), 135–183, esp. 177–178.

75 The comparison to the Forum of Augustus is made by Rose (2005), 52, Edmondson (2011), 36, Fishwick (2017), 209 with n. 62. Moreover, it is argued the "marble forum" at Emerita was probably an Augusteum, which Cassius Dio believed was the original purpose of the Pantheon: Edmondson (2011), 36; Fishwick (2017), 205–213.



Fig. 15: The “Marble Forum” at Emerita showing the relief of caryatids and clipei in the portico (photo by Xosema). (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M%C3%A9rida_-_P%C3%B3rtico_de_l_foro_romano_-_02.jpg) CC BY-SA 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>).

Elsewhere in the *Natural History*, Pliny refers to the fact that columns in the Agrippan Pantheon had capitals of Syracusan bronze (34.13: *Syracusana sunt in Pantheo capita columnarum a M. Agrippa posita*). Again, modern discussions of the Pantheon have tended to locate these columns, if anywhere, in the porch or interior of the rotunda.⁷⁶ From Pliny's comment alone it is impossible to securely place the bronze columns in the Pantheon, but thinking of it as a complex means they could have been a feature of the forecourt, perhaps even the colonnade. In favour of this idea is that the only known precedent for bronze capitals known in Rome at this date was a *porticus* not a building per se. Indeed, it is in the same discussion where Pliny mentions the columns of the Pantheon that he records that the Porticus Octavia (constructed by Gnaeus Octavius after 168 BC and not to be confused with the Porticus Octaviae) also had bronze capitals.⁷⁷

VI The Severan restoration

Thinking of the Pantheon as more than just the building as seen today also allows us to take seriously the claims of Septimius Severus and Caracalla that are carved into the façade underneath the main inscription (Fig. 16):

The emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, conqueror of the Parthians in Arabia and Assyria, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician powers 10 times, triumphing general 11 times, consul 3 times, Father of his Country, and proconsul; and the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, with tribunician powers 5 times, consul, proconsul, restored the Pantheon, dilapidated by old age, with all adornment (... *PANTHEVM VETVSTATE CORRVTVM CVM OMNI CVLTV RESTITVERVNT*) (CIL 6.896).

This grandiose assertion about a restoration of the Pantheon in 202 is generally met with a degree of scepticism.⁷⁸ While it was once thought that the marble floor and panels of the interior might be Severan, and an argument has been made that

⁷⁶ Middleton (1892), II 129; Godfrey and Hemsoll (1986), 198; Richardson (1992), 283; Wilson Jones (2013), 45.

⁷⁷ Plin. *HN* 34.13; Vell. 2.1. Additionally, four twenty-four-foot, gilded bronze columns of possibly Trajanic/Hadrianic date can be found in the Lateran Basilica: see Claridge (2010), 377. An analysis of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine indicates that it probably had gilded, marble capitals (Zink and Piening 2009, 109–122), but this is not the same as those of the Pantheon, which are described as *Syracusana*.

⁷⁸ Ashby (1925), 125; De Fine Licht (1966), 190; Ward-Perkins (1970), 270; Thomas and Witschel (1992), 135–136; Ziolkowski (1999), 57; Coarelli (2007), 286; Jacobs and Colin (2014), 162.



Fig. 16: The Severan inscription below the Hadrian letters (author's photo).

the porch is part of the Severan rebuilding, most scholars tend now to agree that both these elements belong to the original Trajanic/Hadrianic building.⁷⁹ The discovery of Severan era brick stamps in three places indicates some structural repair, but this seems a long way removed from the boast of it having been restored *cum omni cultu*.⁸⁰ Consequently, Thomas and Witschel argue that this claim should be doubted, pointing out that its language conforms to a rhetorical code used to report imperial restorations which frequently exaggerated activity.⁸¹ In response, Fagan questioned the capacity of the archaeological remains to provide clear indications about the extent of restoration work undertaken.⁸² He argues that even in a case as rare as the Pantheon, where so much of the ancient building is preserved, “we are not presented with the wholly intact *Roman* artefact.”⁸³ In

⁷⁹ Lanciani (1897), 481; De Fine Licht (1966), 190; Thomas and Witschel (1992), 135 with n. 3; Wilson Jones (2013), 42–43. Waddell (2008), 128–138 argues a considerable part of the current portico is actually Severan, but see Wilson Jones (2013), 47 n. 77.

⁸⁰ For discussion and bibliography, see Guey (1936), 198–249; De Fine Licht (1966), 290 with n. 46.

⁸¹ Thomas and Witschel (1992), esp. 135–137; 174–175.

⁸² Fagan (1996), 81–93.

⁸³ Fagan (1996), 88.

its present state, the edifice is missing the pediment and interior sculptures, most of the marble and stucco that covered the exterior of the rotunda and intermediary block, and the original roof of gilded bronze tiles that were removed on the instruction of Constans II in 663. While it cannot be ruled out that the parts of the structure that were restored are precisely the ones that are now lost, these elements are unrecoverable and the matter seems at an impasse.

Yet the extent of the Severan restoration might be reconsidered if the label *Pantheum* in the inscription is understood as referring to a complex rather than just the building. For even if the present structure displays little evidence of restoration, it is conceivable that the forecourt required renovating after almost eighty years of use. Indeed, Lanciani connected the traces of giallo antico marble steps, grey granite columns and paving uncovered along the eastern side of the square with the Severan phase.⁸⁴ The use of granite columns and paving is consistent with other Severan restorations of comparable public buildings in Rome, including the *templum Pacis* and *porticus Octaviae*. Fragments of white marble architrave have also been associated with the colonnade, which De Fine Licht suggests are Hadrianic in style.⁸⁵ However, the practice of reusing material in Severan restorations (see especially the *porticus Octaviae*) means that drawing firm conclusions about the date or state of the colonnade remains difficult. Perhaps, given that the purported reason for the restoration was due to *vetustate corruptum* rather than a single destructive event, we should expect evidence of refurbishment rather than wholesale rebuilding.⁸⁶ These are matters that might be resolved only by further excavation; nevertheless, extending the definition of *Pantheum* to the entire complex raises the possibility that Severus and Caracalla did more than what they are usually given credit for, resolving the supposed disingenuousness of their claim.

VII The dedicatory inscription

Considering the Pantheon as a complex not a building might also affect the reading of the famous dedicatory legend *M AGRIPPA L F COS TERTIVM FECIT* (CIL 6.896) (Fig. 17). In spite of its brevity, this line has generated a considerable amount of discussion. Primarily, this is because the building as it stands today

⁸⁴ Lanciani (1881), 270; (1882), 347; see n. 33 for further references to the forecourt.

⁸⁵ De Fine Licht (1966), 29–30; cf. Lanciani (1882), 346.

⁸⁶ On this formulation, see Thomas and Witschel (1992), 140–149.

was completed by Hadrian and yet Agrippa alone is credited with making it.⁸⁷ This is not necessarily a problem: Roman audiences could conceive of an entirely restored building as possessing the same identity as the original structure, as the cultural and historical associations of monuments were not necessarily invested in the authenticity of its materials or appearance.⁸⁸ Also, it is not extraordinary in imperial Rome for the restorers of public buildings to acknowledge the original creator of the monument in the (re)dedication; indeed, the decision to do this or not is remarked upon by ancient authors as a telling characteristic of the egos of particular emperors.⁸⁹ On this subject, the author of the *Historia Augusta* claims: “[Hadrian] built public buildings in all places and without number, but he inscribed his own name on none of them except the temple of his father Trajan.”⁹⁰ In spite of uncertainties about accepting details from the *Historia Augusta* unquestioningly, this passage is often referenced as an explanation for the omission of Hadrian’s name on the Pantheon.⁹¹ Yet as Stuart showed over a century ago, there are examples both in and outside of the capital which flatly contradict the report.⁹² Often, inscriptions acknowledge that the work undertaken was a restoration, but the current emperor would receive nominal recognition even if the original builder was also mentioned.⁹³

87 Even if the building was begun by Trajan, it is probable that the inscription was added not long before completion by Hadrian, as argued by Boatwright (2013), 19; (2014), 261.

88 Siwicki, forthcoming.

89 For references and discussion, see Boatwright (2013), 21–23.

90 *Hadr. 19.9: cum opera ubique infinita fecisset, numquam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suum scripsit.* Translation by Magie (1921).

91 For example, Opper (2008), 111; Simpson (2009), 150–152; see comments on this by Boatwright (2013), 21 with n. 44. Whether the present text is a transcription of the original inscription is a point of contention, see discussions in Simpson (2009), esp. 49–50; Boatwright (2013), esp. 23–24.

92 Stuart (1905), 441–449; *CIL* 6.976; 6.979 (from Rome); 9.5294; 9.5681; 10.4574; 10.5649; 10.6652; 14.2216 (from elsewhere in the empire).

93 Boatwright (2013), 19–30 esp. 22–23.



Fig. 17: The façade of the Pantheon showing the Hadrianic inscription before the modern restoration of the letters, c. 1865–1870. The Getty Collection; 84.XP.774.11 (<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/44175/unknown-maker-italian-pantheon-about-1865-1870/?dz=0.4468,0.4468,0.82>) CC BY 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Other than the Pantheon, there are relatively few attested examples of emperors choosing not to inscribe their name on a major public building they restored. Ancient authors agree that Tiberius did not place his name on the Theatre of the Pompey, although Tacitus ascribes this, perhaps unfairly, to apathy rather than humility.⁹⁴ Augustus claims in his *Res Gestae*: “I restored the Capitolium and the Theatre of Pompey, both works at great expense without inscribing my own name on either.”⁹⁵ The irony of claiming modesty in not boasting of one’s actions by boasting of one’s actions aside, it might be argued that Hadrian was taking his cue from the first emperor with Pantheon inscription.⁹⁶ However, the fit is not absolute: Augustus’ restorations were probably relatively minor, while Trajan and Hadrian actually rebuilt and substantially altered the Pantheon, giving them greater justification to be nominally credited.⁹⁷ Also, Augustus’ motivations were probably quite different, as there is no immediately obvious reason why he would wish to remind people of his adoptive father’s adversaries Pompey or Quintus Catulus, the latter’s name being on the façade of the Capitolium.⁹⁸ Despite this

⁹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.45; cf. *Ann.* 3.72; Suet. *Tib.* 47; *Calig.* 21.1; *Claud.* 21.1; Vell. Pat. 2.130.

⁹⁵ RG 20.1: *Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei*. Translation by Brunt and Moore (1967).

⁹⁶ Wilson Jones (2013), 45.

⁹⁷ On the limited extent of the restoration, see Siwicki, forthcoming. Thein (2016), 135–156 argues for a more substantial Augustan rebuilding of the Capitolium based on numismatic evidence.

⁹⁸ On Caesar’s attempts to have Catulus’ name removed from the Capitolium, Cass. Dio. 37.44; Suet. *Iul.* 15.

potential precedent, Hadrian's inscription still stands out as unusual when compared to the typical epigraphic habits of his predecessors and successors. One explanation has been that Hadrian's decision was an act of piety towards Agrippa's legacy, yet this could surely have been achieved without excluding his own name from the building (simply include both). Similarly, the idea that the text was chosen primarily to emphasize a connection to the Augustan age might be valid but is not wholly satisfactory; after all, most emperors up to this date continued to draw links to the first princeps.⁹⁹

An alternative explanation is that Hadrian is responding to the legacy of Domitian. The scale of building activity undertaken in Rome during Domitian's principate, allowing for the fact that he reigned for three decades less, rivals that carried out during Augustus'. Domitian's name can be associated with over fifty structures in the city, many of which were restorations due to fires in 80 and 89.¹⁰⁰ According to Suetonius, "[Domitian] restored many splendid buildings which had been destroyed by fire, among them the Capitolium, which had again been burned, but in all cases with the inscription of his own name only, and with no mention of the original builder."¹⁰¹ An absence of epigraphic evidence means that this claim is not currently possible to verify, although Suetonius was personally familiar with the Domitianic city and a denarius of 95/96 showing the rebuilt Capitolium with *IMP CAESAR* on the architrave is perhaps an indication of the approach.¹⁰² Following his death and *damnatio*, it seems reasonable to assume that Domitian's name was removed from the various public buildings, just as it was in other inscriptions.¹⁰³ But what then existed in its place: were the numerous facades left with roughly scratched out lacunas in their legend or were the names

99 On the inscription as a link between Hadrian and Augustus/Agrippa, see MacDonald (1976), 84; Boatwright (1987), 73; (2013), 19–39; Beard, North, and Price (1998), 257; Wilson Jones (2013), 45. Simpson (2007), 154–155 proposes the alternative interpretation that Hadrian was making a point to members of the second-century elite that through loyalty they could achieve the honours Agrippa did.

100 On the building activity of Domitian, see Gsell (1894), 90–130; Blake (1959), 87–157; Ward-Perkins (1970), 226–235; Torelli (1987), 563–582; Jones (1992), 79–98; Darwall-Smith (1996), 103–252; Scheithauer (2000), 127–153; Packer (2003), 167–198.

101 *Dom. 5: Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria.* Translation by Rolfe (1914).

102 *RIC II*², Domitian 815. Certainly, Catulus' name was no longer on the temple by the time Tacitus wrote *Hist.* 3.71.

103 Suet. *Dom.* 23.1 reports that the senate "passed a decree that [Domitian's] inscriptions should everywhere be erased;" cf. Lactant. *De mort. Pers.* 3.3. Flower (2006), 240 notes that Domitian's name has been to some extent erased in approximately 40% of the 400 surviving texts and inscriptions that refer to him.

of others superimposed? The Forum Transitorium was repackaged as Nerva's because it was dedicated after Domitian's death,¹⁰⁴ and the *Epitome de Caesaribus* indicates that Trajan's name was attached to numerous buildings he repaired or improved, perhaps representing an appropriation of structures previously associated with Domitian.¹⁰⁵ Yet what of the many older buildings untouched by Nerva or Trajan that Domitian had restored and, according to Suetonius, placed only his name on? Having been injured in the fire of 80, the Pantheon falls into this category, as it was subsequently restored by Domitian, although the extent of his intervention is unclear (Cass. Dio. 66.24.2:). Therefore, before it was damaged again in 110 – the event that probably sparked the wholesale rebuilding by Trajan/Hadrian – whose name was on the façade, if anyone's?

The fates of other monuments offer clues. One of three known inscriptions from the so-called *arae incendii Neroniani* – monumental altars setup in approximately 89 at different locations across the city – has Domitian's name scratched out.¹⁰⁶ Despite the defacement, the text remained on display on the altar. Similarly, inscriptions on monuments outside of Rome were seemingly left in place for years following Domitian's death, his missing name a conspicuous scar.¹⁰⁷ On the Pantheon, too, before the rebuilding was carried out in the decade after 110, it is possible that the remnants of an inscription still reminded viewers that *Domitianus restituit*, even if the name itself had been removed. Wishing to be disassociated from the long shadow of Domitian, Hadrian therefore declined to follow the standard formula of rebuilding inscriptions and instead opted to put the original patron's name back on.

104 For references, see Platner and Ashby (1929), 227. The monument that the Cancellaria Reliefs belonged to was presumably also rededicated to Nerva as indicated by the re-cutting of emperor's features.

105 *Epit. de Caes.* 13.6; 41. 13; cf. Amm. Marc. 27.3.7. It might refer to Trajan's restoration of the Circus Maximus (Plin. *Pan.* 51.3; Cass. Dio 68.6.2; Suet. *Dom.* 5) and possibly his completion or restoration of the *odeum* begun by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 5; Cass. Dio 69.4.1). It has been argued that elements of the Baths and Forum of Trajan were actually begun in the reign of the Domitian: on a Domitianic date for the baths, see Anderson (1983), 103–104; (1985), 499–509; Taylor, et al. (2016), 23; forthcoming (I am grateful to the authors for sharing an advanced copy of this article); *contra* Yegül (1992), 144 with n. 41; Darwall-Smith (1996), 244–246; Coarelli (2007), 187. On the pre-Trajanic clearance and levelling and the so called “terrace” of Domitian: Anderson (1981), 41–48; Tortorici (1993), 7–24; Longfellow (2011), 50–60 with n. 71–72; against a Domitianic date for the Forum, see Lancaster (1995), 25–44; Darwall-Smith (1996), 241–243.

106 *CIL* 6.826, 30837 = *ILS* 4914. One of the other inscriptions still has Domitian's name on it (a possible oversight of the authorities) and the third is broken, perhaps tellingly, just after where Domitian's name would have been.

107 For other examples and the treatment of Domitian's inscriptions, see Flower (2001), 654–648; (2006), 237; 240–262.

A precedent for this approach is Claudius' replacement of Caligula's name with that of Pompey on the latter's eponymous theatre (Cass. Dio 60.6.8; Suet. *Calig.* 21; *Claud.* 21).

[Claudius] placed Pompey's name once more upon his theatre. On the stage of the latter he inscribed also the name of Tiberius, because that emperor had rebuilt the structure after it had been burned. His own name also he carved on the stage (not because he had built it, but because he had dedicated it), but on no other building.¹⁰⁸

Claudius did not do this out of homage to the Republican statesman, but to distance himself from his unpopular predecessor. That Hadrian did something similar with the Pantheon does not contradict interpretations that stress he wanted to create a link to the Augustan age, yet it does underscore another potential factor in the decision.¹⁰⁹ A further relevant detail in Claudius' substitution of Caligula's name for Pompey's, as reported by Dio, is that putting the name of the original builder back on a structure clearly did not then preclude including one's own name elsewhere on the monument. Indeed, a funerary inscription from Rome referring to a *schola* of shoemakers *SVB THEATRO AVG[VSTO] POMPEIAN[O]* indicates that the Theatre of Pompey was also nominally associated by some with Augustus (*CIL* 6.9404). Therefore, despite the claim in his *Res Gestae*, perhaps testimony of Augustus' restoration was inscribed somewhere on the Pompeian works.¹¹⁰

By defining the *Pantheum* as a complex rather than just the building, we might similarly wonder if Hadrian's or even Trajan's names were entirely absent from the monument they rebuilt.¹¹¹ In line with the architectural conventions of the day, it is reasonable to think that the forecourt of the Pantheon had a defined monumental entrance, perhaps comparable to the Porticus Octaviae or the Library of Hadrian at Athens (Fig. 18).¹¹² In the architraves and attics of gate-

108 Cass. Dio. 60.6.8: τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου μνήμην· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ προσθεὶς ἔγραψεν, ἐπειδὴ καυθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀνωκοδομῆκει. Translation by Cary (1924). The implication that Claudius did not restore the building is contradicted by Suet. *Claud.* 21.

109 Stuart (1905), 446–449 also places the legacy of Domitian as a key motive in Hadrian's restoration of Agrippa's name to the Pantheon.

110 Platner and Ashby (1929), 516.

111 The testimony of Filippo Aurelio Visconti (Commissario delle Antichità 1784–1799) that during restoration work in the eighteenth century the name “Sabina,” the wife of Hadrian, was read *nei marmi della tribuna della Rotunda* has never been verified. Piale (1883), 5; *contra* De Rossi (1888), 95; cf. Jordan-Huelsen (1907), 585 n. 74.

112 The Severan Forma Urbis (Carettoni 1960, pl. 31) shows the nearby Divorum as having a triple bay entrance. For a discussion of other arched entrances to fora and similar complexes in the late Republican and early Imperial periods, Fishwick (2017), 29–34.

ways and arches, inscriptions were frequently placed to provide details about the monument and the individuals associated with it: Porta Maggiore serves as a billboard for three emperors, the façade on the propylaea of Porticus Octaviae records the restoration by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and in the Caesareum at Cyrene building inscriptions are placed in different locations around the complex (Fig. 19).¹¹³ While based solely on comparative evidence, it does not seem unrealistic to imagine that an entrance to the Pantheon forecourt would be similarly inscribed, mentioning both the name of the complex (a noticeable omission from the Agrippan inscription) as well as that of Hadrian and/or Trajan.¹¹⁴



Fig. 18: The propylaea of the Porticus Octaviae (author's photo).

113 On the Caesareum and its inscriptions, see Ward-Perkins, Ballance, and Reynolds (1958), 137–194, esp. 158–164.

114 This scenario would remove Ziolkowski's (1994), 261 concern about the name of the building not being mentioned in inscription on the porch.



Fig. 19: Porta Maggiore, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, anonymous, 1549 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 41.72 (1.75) (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/403376?sortBy=Relevance&ft=porta+maggiore&offset=0&rpp=100&pos=1>) CC0 1.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0>). Rodgers Fund.

Following this hypothesis means that the Hadrianic inscription on the façade of the porch formed only a part of the epigraphic communiqué of the Pantheon. Accordingly, the curt message that Agrippa “made it” was potentially expected to be understood within a wider context of supplementary information: a viewer would read the inscription on the propylaea before entering the forecourt to be then faced with text on the porch. A precedent for Hadrian playing with the placement of monumental inscriptions can be seen on his arch at Athens, one side of which reads “This is Athens the ancient city of Theseus,” while the other reportedly stated “This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus” (*IG II² 5185*). Although the precise meaning of what the arch delineates is disputed, the inscriptions reference the past and present founders (as hypothetically those connected to the Pantheon did) and were presumably meant to be understood in tandem.¹¹⁵ That

¹¹⁵ On the arch and inscription, see Adams (1989), 10–16. I am grateful to Rabun Taylor for drawing my attention to this comparison.

the inscription on the façade of the porch of the Pantheon was meant to be read upon immediately entering the forecourt might also account for why the letters of the Hadrianic inscription are so large. Measuring 70 cm in height, the characters are the tallest known from imperial Rome, the next largest are those on the Tiberian Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum (ranging between 53 and 40 cm), while the letters of dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Mars Ultor measure 23 cm.¹¹⁶ From 120 m away – the approximate length of the forum of Augustus – it is unlikely that the inscription on the Temple of Mars would have been easily legible, with its details only becoming fully discernible as the viewer approached the monument.¹¹⁷ By comparison, the text on the porch of the Pantheon, due to its size and spacing (its brevity allows for a wide spacing that creates greater legibility) would be visible from a much greater distance.¹¹⁸ The letters are large because they were meant to be easily readable from far away, a consideration that is potentially relevant in the aforementioned debate over the depth of the forecourt. For it suggests that it likely extended beyond Piazza della Rotonda, conceivably even as far as the ancient road under Via delle Coppelle (Fig. 20).

Built environments across the Roman world show a sophisticated understanding of how the positioning of architectural features affect the way users view and interact with monuments: the arches either side of the Capitolium at Pompeii serve to frame views into and from the Forum; the design of the Forum of Augustus in Rome directs the gaze of those within; in a domestic context, houses consciously reveal their interiors to those on the street; and Pliny the Younger emphasises the *varietas* of the views afforded by carefully placed windows in his villas.¹¹⁹ There is every reason to suspect that urban complexes such as the Pantheon were likewise planned with the intention of guiding how people experienced them. Thinking about the way in which space as a whole and that the way people were guided in their experience of it was shaped rather than left to chance also encourages a reconsideration of how the inscription can be understood.

116 Boatwright (2013), 18; 21 with n. 14, 81–82; (2014), 260–261 with n. 55.

117 This conclusion is based on personal observations of comparable inscriptions and distances.

118 That the letters are 70 cm tall rather than say 50 cm – which would still be readable even if the precinct extended to the Via delle Coppelle – is likely because this is appropriate to the height of the frieze of the entablature.

119 Plin. *Ep.* 2.17. On this subject, also see Bek (1985), 139–148.

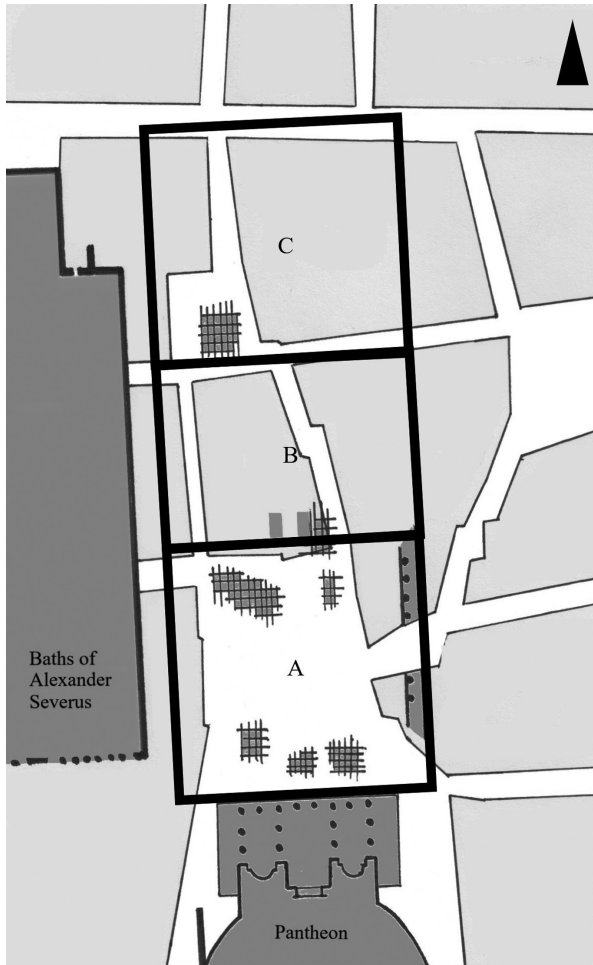


Fig. 20: Hypothetical reconstructions of the extent of the Pantheon forecourt to the edge of Piazza della Rotonda (approx. 65m), Piazza della Maddalena (approx. 110 m), Via delle Coppelle (160 m) (drawing by author).

VIII Conclusion

This article began by asking where in the Pantheon was the library that Julius Africanus built, a question to which I have only been able to give the rather impressionistic answer that it was highly unlikely to have been inside the rotunda and was instead probably attached to the forecourt. Likewise, it was not the aim of the discussion to fully address why the Pantheon would have acquired a li-

brary in the third century, how it functioned, and whether it endowed by Africanus or, as seems more likely, the emperor.¹²⁰ As we have seen, there is nothing unusual about *bibliothecae* being located in religious structures and spaces closely associated with the imperial family, and the creation of the Pantheon library fits this pattern. Broadly, it can be understood as part of Alexander Severus' programme of urban renewal and perhaps a continuation of library building in Rome by the Severan dynasty, which included the restoration of those in the Temple of Peace and possibly the Porticus Octaviae, as well as the possible establishment of a library in the Baths of Caracalla (although this is disputed).¹²¹ The addition of the library to the Pantheon is in itself is a reminder that monuments in Rome were not static, but continued to be adapted in accordance with needs and whims.

Even if the exact location of the Pantheon library remains elusive, the likelihood that it was not inside the building is significant, as it allows a reassessment of the remains in the centre of the forecourt that are commonly identified as an arch, the location of the caryatids and bronze columns, and the reading of the inscriptions on the façade. Collectively these arguments are informed by and support the central point – that Rome's *Pantheon* was a complex not a single building. This is not to say that ancient authors did not refer just to the structure we still see today as the Pantheon, but that the title also meant the wider complex – building, forecourt, library. The interpretation underscores the importance of recognising when a seemingly individual building is actually part of a wider unified space, not least because this encourages the different components to be considered in relation to each other. For the Pantheon, it means that the remains in the forecourt make more sense as an altar rather than an arch and that to understand the inscription we might think of its place in a wider context. It also means that it is not necessary to try and cram all known sculptural elements inside the rotunda; indeed, by locating the caryatids in the portico the potential importance of the Pantheon as an archetypal imperial complex emerges. Ultimately, the possibility that our labelling of one of the most famous buildings to survive from

120 After Augustus there was very little public building in the city of Rome that was nominally or fiscally connected to individuals who were not members of the imperial family: see discussions in Eck (1984), 129–167; (2010), 89–110; Patterson (2016), 213–245.

121 In correspondence, Rabun Taylor has suggested that the building of the Pantheon library might have been a direct response to the loss of libraries in the fire of 191, which included those of the Temple of Peace and Porticus Octaviae. Secord (2017), 227 connects the creation of the library to Alexander Severus showing his *paideia*. A discussion of the evidence for libraries in the baths of Caracalla can be found in Dix and Houston (2006), 702–704.

antiquity is not wholly accurate is a reminder of the difficulties in reconciling modern definitions of structures and topography to how the ancients understood them.

Acknowledgment: I am grateful to Richard Flower for bringing my attention to this passage, as well as to Barbara Borg, Elena Isayev, Rabun Taylor, and an anonymous reader for their comments on previous drafts of the article.

Bibliography

- Adams, A. "The Arch of Hadrian at Athens." In *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, edited by S. Walker and A. Cameron, 10–16. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1989.
- Anderson, J. Jr. "Domitian's building program: Forum Julium and the Markets of Trajan." *ArchNews* 10 (1981): 41–48.
- Anderson, J. Jr. "A topographical tradition in fourth century chronicles: Domitian's building program." *Historia* 32 (1983): 93–105.
- Anderson, J. Jr. "The date of the Thermae Traiani and the topography of the Oppius Mons." *AJA* 89 (1985): 499–509.
- Anderson, J. Jr. *Roman Architecture and Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. P., 1997.
- Anderson, J. Jr. "Architect and patron." In *A Companion to Roman Architecture*, edited by R. Ulrich and C. Quenemoen, 127–139. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2014.
- Anderson, J. Jr. *Roman Architecture in Provence*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2013.
- Ashby, T. "Review of G. Rivoira and G. Rushforth, Roman architecture and its principles of construction under the Empire, with an appendix on the evolution of the dome up to the seventeenth century." *JRS* 15 (1925): 124–125.
- Barry, F. "The pediment of the Pantheon: problems and possibilities." In *Scritti in Onore di Lucos Cozza*, edited by R. Coates-Stephens and L. Cozza, 89–105. Rome: Quasar, 2014.
- Beard, M. "Writing and ritual: a study of diversity and expansion in the Arval Acta." *PBSR* 53 (1985): 114–162.
- Beard, M., J. North and S. Price. *Religions of Rome, Volume I*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1998.
- Bek, L. "Venusta species: a Hellenistic rhetorical concept as the aesthetic principle in Roman townscape." *AnalRom* 14 (1985): 139–148.
- Blake, M. *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*. Washington: Carnegie, 1959.
- Boatwright, M. *Hadrian and the City of Rome*. Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1987.
- Boatwright, M. "Hadrian and the Agrippa inscription of the Pantheon." In Opper (2013), 19–30.
- Boatwright, M. "Agrippa's building inscriptions." *ZPE* 189 (2014): 255–264.
- Bowie, E. "Libraries for the Caesars." In König, Oikonomopoulou and Woolf (2013), 237–260.
- Broucke, P. "The caryatids from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and the Pantheon of Agrippa." *AJA* 103 (1999): 312.
- Broucke, P. "The first Pantheon: architecture and meaning." In Grasshoff, Heinzelmann and Wäfler (2009), 27–28.
- Brunt, P and J. Moore. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: the Achievements of the Divine Augustus*. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1967.

- Burrell, B. "Review of W. Martini, *Das Pantheon Hadrians in Rom: Das Bauwerk und seine Deutung.*" *JRS* 97 (2007): 530–352.
- Buzzetti, C. "Claudius, Divus, Templum (Reg. II)." In *LTUR* 1, edited by M. Steinby, 277–278. Rome: Quasar, 1993.
- Callmer, C. "Antike Bibliotheken," *OpArch* 3 (1944): 145–193.
- Carandini, A. with P. Carafa. *The Atlas of Ancient Rome: biography and portraits of the city.* Princeton: Princeton U. P., 2017.
- Carettoni, G. *La Pianta Marmorea di Roma Antica: Forma Urbis Romae.* Rome: Commune di Roma, 1960.
- Cary, E. *Dio's Roman History: Volumes I-IX.* Cambridge: Harvard U. P., 1914–1925.
- Cary, E. *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Volumes I-VII.* Cambridge: Harvard U. P., 1937–1950.
- Casson, L. *Libraries in the Ancient World.* New Haven: Yale U. P., 2001.
- Castagnoli, F. "Per un Aggiornamento della Forma Urbis del Lanciani." In *Roma: archeologia nel centro II*, 313–319. Rome: De Luca, 1985.
- Catalano, P. "Aspetti Spaziali del Sistema Giuridico-religioso Romano. Mundus Templum, Urbs, Ager, Latium, Italia." *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978): 440–553.
- Ceen, A. "The urban setting of the Pantheon." In Grasshoff, Heinzelmann and Wäfler (2009), 127–138.
- Cipollone, M. "Hadrianus, Divus, Templum; Hadrianeum." In *LTUR* 3, edited by M. Steinby, 7–8. Rome: Quasar, 1996.
- Claridge, A. "L'Hadrianeum in Campo Marzio: Storia dei Rinvenimenti e Topografia Antica nell'area di Piazza di Pietra." In *Provincia Fideles. Il Fregio del Tempio di Adriano in Campo Marzio*, edited by M. Sapelli, 117–127. Milan: Electa, 1999.
- Claridge, A. "Hadrian's lost temple of Trajan." *JRA* 20 (2007): 54–94.
- Claridge, A. *Rome: Oxford Archaeological Guide.* Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2010.
- Claridge, A. "Hadrian's succession and the monuments of Trajan." In Opper (2013), 5–18.
- Coarelli, F. "Bibliotheca Panthei." In *LTUR* 1, edited by M. Steinby, 197. Rome: Quasar, 1993.
- Coarelli, F. "Divorum, Porticus, Templum." In *LTUR* 2, edited by M. Steinby, 19–20. Rome: Quasar, 1995.
- Coarelli, F. "Ara Martis." In *LTUR* 3, edited by M. Steinby, 223–226. Rome: Quasar, 1996.
- Coarelli, F. *Gli Scavi di Roma 1878-1921.* Rome: Quasar, 2004.
- Coarelli, F. *Rome and Environs: an archaeological guide.* Trans. J. Clauss and D. Harmon. Berkeley: University of California, 2007.
- Coates-Stephens, R. "Notes from Rome." *PBSR* 76 (2008): 299–307.
- Darwall-Smith, R. *Emperors and Architecture: a study of Flavian Rome.* Brussels: Latomus, 1996.
- De Angelis, F. "The emperor's justice and its spaces in Rome and Italy." In *Spaces of Justice in the Roman World*, edited by F. De Angelis, 127–159. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- De Fine Licht, K. *The Rotunda in Rome: a study of Hadrian's Pantheon.* Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1968.
- De Rossi, G. "Sitzungsprotokolle." *RhM* 3 (1888): 95.
- Delaine, J. "The Pantheon builders: estimating manpower for construction." In Marder and Wilson Jones (2015), 160–192.
- Dix, K. and G. Houston. "Public libraries in the city of Rome: from the Augustan age to the time of Diocletian." *MEFRA* 118 (2006): 671–717.

- Eck, W. "Senatorial self-representation: developments in the Augustan period." In *Caesar Augustus, Seven Aspects*, edited by F. Millar and E. Segal, 129–167. Oxford: Clarendon, 1984.
- Eck, W. "The emperor and senatorial aristocracy in competition for public space." In *The Emperor and Rome: space, representation, and ritual*, edited by B. Ewald and C. Noreña, 89–110. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2010.
- Edmondson, J. "A tale of two colonies": Augusta Emerita (Mérida) and Metellinum (Medellín) in Roman Lusitania." In *Roman Colonies in the First Century of Their Foundation*, edited by R. Sweetman, 32–54. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.
- Egelhaaf-Gaiser, U. "Roman cult sites: a pragmatic approach." In *A Companion to Roman Religion*, edited by J. Rüpke, 205–221. Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2007.
- Eichholz, D. *Pliny. Natural History: Volume X. Books 36-37*. Cambridge: Harvard U. P., 1962.
- Etlin, R. "The Pantheon in the modern age." In Marder and Wilson Jones (2015), 380–422.
- Fagan, G. "The reliability of Roman rebuilding inscriptions." *PBSR* 64 (1996): 81–93.
- Fishwick, D. "The statue of Julius Caesar in the Pantheon." *Latomus* 51 (1992): 329–336.
- Fishwick, D. *Precinct, Temple and Altar in Roman Spain*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2017.
- Flower, H. "Tale of two monuments: Domitian, Trajan, and some praetorians at Puteoli (AE 1973, 137)." *AJA* 105 (2001): 625–648.
- Flower, H. *The Art of Forgetting: disgrace and oblivion in Roman political culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006.
- Ghini, G. "Terme Neroniano – Alessandrine." In *Roma: Archeologia nel Centro II*, 395–399. Rome: De Luca, 1985.
- Ghini, G. "Thermae Neronianae/Alexandrinae." In *LTUR* 5, edited by M. Steinby, 60–62. Rome: Quasar, 1999.
- Godfrey, P. and D. Hemsoll. "The Pantheon: temple or rotunda?" In *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, edited by A. King and M. Henig, 195–209. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1986.
- Granger, F. "Julius Africanus and the library of the Pantheon." *JThS* 134.1 (1933): 157–166.
- Grasshoff, G., M. Heizelmann and M. Wäfler, editors. *The Pantheon in Rome: contributions to the conference, Bern, November 9–12, 2006*. Bern: Universität Bern, 2009.
- Grüner, A. "Das Pantheon un seine Vorbilder." *RhM* 111 (2004): 495–512.
- Grüner, A. "Das Pantheon des Agrippa: Architekton Form und Urbaner Kontext." In Grasshoff, Heizelmann and Wäfler (2009), 41–67.
- Grunow Sobocinski, M. "Visualizing ceremony: the design and audience of the Ludi Saeculares coinage of Domitian." *AJA* 110 (2006): 581–602.
- Gsell, S. *Essai sur le Regne de l'Empereur Domitien*. Paris: Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1894.
- Guey, J. "Devrait-on Dire: le Panthéon de Septime Severe? A Propos des Estampilles sur Briques Recueillies dans ce Monument, Notamment en 1930 ou 1931 et depuis." *MÉFRA* 53 (1936): 198–249.
- Harnack, A. von. "Julius Afrikanus, der Bibliothekar des Kaisers Alexander Severus." In *Aufsätze Fritz Milkau Gewidmet*, edited by G. Leyh, 142–146. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1921.
- Heene, G. *Baustelle Pantheon*. Düsseldorf: Erkrath, 2008.
- Heilmeyer, W.-D. "Apollodorus von Damaskus, der Architekt des Pantheon." *JDI* 90 (1975): 316–347.
- Heizer, R., et al. "The Colossi of Memnon revisited." *Science* 182. 4118 (1973): 1219–1225.
- Hetland, L. "Dating the Pantheon." *JRA* 20 (2007): 95–112.

- Hetland, L. "Zur Datierung des Pantheon." In Grasshoff, Heinzelmann and Wäfler (2009), 107–115.
- Hetland, L. "New perspectives on the dating of the Pantheon." In Marder and Wilson Jones (2015), 79–98.
- Hrychuk Kontokosta, A. "Reconsidering the arches (*fornices*) of the Roman Republic." *JRA* 26 (2013): 7–35.
- Huelsen, C. "Intorno all 'Arcus Pietatis' nel Campo Marzio." *RendPontAcc* 4 (1926): 192–303.
- Iacopi, I. and G. Tedone. "Bibliotheca e Porticus ad Apollinis." *RhM* 112 (2005/2006): 351–378.
- Jacobs, II, P. and D. Colin. *Campus Martius: the Field of Mars in the life of ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2015.
- Jones, B. *The Emperor Domitian*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Jordan, H. *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* 1.1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1871.
- Jordan, H. and C. Huelsen. *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* 1.3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1907.
- König, J., K. Oikonomopoulou and G. Woolf, editors. *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2013.
- La Rocca, E. "Pantheon (fase pre-adrianea)." In *LTUR* 5, edited by M. Steinby, 280–283. Rome: Quasar, 1999.
- La Rocca, E. "La Nuova Immagine dei Fori Imperiali: Appunti in Margine agli Scavi." *RhM* 108 (2001): 171–213.
- La Rocca, E. "Agrippa's Pantheon and its origin." In Marder and Wilson Jones (2015), 49–78.
- Lancaster, L. "The date of Trajan's Markets: an assessment in the light of some unpublished brick stamps." *PBSR* 63 (1995): 25–44.
- Lanciani, R. *NSc* (1879): 14; 267.
- Lanciani, R. *NSc* (1881): 270–276.
- Lanicani, R. *NSc* (1882): 346–347.
- Lanicani, R. *NSc* (1883): 15.
- Lanicani, R. *NSc* (1891): 286.
- Lanciani, R. *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. London: MacMillan, 1897.
- Lanciani, R. *Forma Urbis Romae*. Rome: Mediolani, 1901
- Lesk, A. "'Caryatides probantur inter pauca operum': Pliny, Vitruvius, and the semiotics of the Erechtheion Maidens at Rome." *Arethusa* 40 (2007): 25–42.
- Linderski, J. "The augural law." *ANRW* 2.16.3 (1986): 2146–2312.
- Loerke, W. "Georges Chédanne and the Pantheon: a beaux-arts contribution to the history of Roman architecture." *Modulus* 4 (1982): 40–55.
- Longfellow, B. *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: form, meaning, and ideology in monumental fountain complexes*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2011.
- Macaulay-Lewis, E. "The city in motion." In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: movement and space*, edited by R. Laurence and D. Newsome, 262–289. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2011.
- MacDonald, W. *The Pantheon: design, meaning and progeny*. Cambridge: Harvard U. P., 1976.
- MacDonald, W. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire I*. New Haven: Yale U. P., 1982.
- MacDonald, W. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II*. New Haven: Yale U. P., 1986.
- Makowiecka, E. *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of Roman Library*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu, 1978.
- Marder, T. "Bernini and Alexander VII: criticism and praise of the Pantheon in the seventeenth century." *ArtB* 71 (1989): 628–645.
- Marder, T. "The Pantheon in the seventeenth century." In Marder and Wilson Jones (2015), 296–329.

- Marder, T. and M. Wilson Jones, editors. *The Pantheon: from antiquity to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2015.
- Marder, T. and M. Wilson Jones. "Introduction." In Marder and Wilson Jones (2015a), 1–48.
- Martini, W. *Das Pantheon Hadrians in Rom: das Bauwerk und seine Deutung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006.
- Mattingly, H. and E. Sydenham. *The Roman Imperial Coinage: volume II Vespasian to Hadrian*. Original Printing 1926. London: Spink, 1968.
- McKenzie, J. and A. Reyes. "The Alexandrian Tychaion: a Pantheon?" *JRA* 26 (2013): 36–52.
- Meneghini, R. "Nuovi dati sulla funzione e le fasi costruttive delle 'Biblioteche del Foro di Traiano.'" *MÉFRA* 114 (2002): 655–692.
- Meneghini, R. "The Forum Pacis (or Templum Pacis) and the Torre dei Conti." *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 108 (2012): 32–47.
- Meneghini, R. and R. Santangeli Valenzani. *I Fori Imperiali: gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991–2007)*. Rome: Viviani, 2007.
- Middleton, H. *The Remains of Ancient Rome: Volume II*. London: A. C. Black, 1892.
- Mierse, W. *Temple and Towns in Roman Iberia: the social and architectural dynamics of sanctuary designs from the third century BC to the third century AD*. Berkeley: University of California, 1999.
- Neudecker, R. "Archives, books and sacred space in Rome." In König, Oikonomopoulou and Woolf (2013), 312–331.
- Nicholls, M. "Bibliotheca Latina Graecaque: on the possible division of Roman public libraries by language." In *Neronia VIII Bibliothèques, livres, et culture écrite dans l'empire romain de César a Hadrien*, edited by Y. Perrin, 11–21. Brussels: Latomus, 2010.
- Nicholls, M. "Roman libraries as public buildings in the cities of the Empire." In König, Oikonomopoulou and Woolf (2013), 261–276.
- Opper, T. *Hadrian: empire and conflict*. Cambridge: Harvard U. P., 2008.
- Opper, T., editor. *Hadrian: art, politics and economy*. London: British Museum, 2013.
- Packer, J. "Forum Traiani." In *LTUR* 2, edited by M. Steinby, 348–356. Rome: Quasar, 1995.
- Packer, J. *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: a study of the monuments, volumes 1-3*. Berkeley: University of California, 1997.
- Packer, J. *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: a study of the monuments in brief*. Berkeley: University of California, 2001.
- Packer, J. "*Plurima et amplissima opera*: parsing Flavian Rome." In *Flavian Rome: culture, image, text*, edited by A. Boyle and W. Dominik, 167–198. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Patterson, J. R. "The city of Rome revisited: from mid-Republic to mid-Empire." *JRS* 100 (2010): 210–232.
- Patterson, J. R. "Imperial Rome and the demise of the Republican nobility." In *Ruin or Renewal: places and the transformation of memory in the city of Rome*, edited by M. Garcia Morcillo, J. Richardshon and F. Santangelo, 213–242. Rome: Quasar, 2016.
- Piale, S. *Di un Monumento Interessantissimo della Basilica di S. Paolo*. Rome: Puccinelli, 1833.
- Platner, S. and T. Ashby. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. London: Oxford U. P., 1929.
- Richardson, Jr., L. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. P., 1992.
- Roberto, U. *Le Chronographiae di Sesto Giulio Africano. Storiografia, Politica, e Cristianesimo nell'età dei Severi*. Rome: Rubbettino, 2011.
- Rolfe, J. *Suetonius. Volumes I-II*. Cambridge: Harvard U. P., 1914.

- Rose, C. "The Parthians in Augustan Rome." *AJA* 109 (2005): 21–75.
- Scheithauer, A. *Kaiserliche Bautätigkeit in Rom. Das Echo in der Antiken Literatur*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000.
- Secord, J. "Julius Africanus, Origen, and the politics of intellectual life under the Severans." *CW* 110 (2017): 211–235.
- Simpson, C. "The northern orientation of Agrippa's Pantheon: additional considerations." *AntCl* 66 (1997): 169–176.
- Simpson, C. "The Pantheon's inscription, CIL 6.896: its date of composition, cultural context, and 'Message.'" *Athenaeum* 97 (2009): 150–157.
- Siwicki, C. *Architectural restoration and heritage in Imperial Rome*. Oxford: Oxford U. P., forthcoming 2019.
- Stambaugh, J. "The functions of Roman temples." *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978): 554–605.
- Stamper, J. *The Architecture of Roman Temples: the Republic to Middle Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2005.
- Stuart, D. "Imperial methods of inscription on restored buildings: Augustus and Hadrian." *AJA* 9 (1905): 427–449.
- Taylor, R. *Roman Builders: a study in architectural process*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2003.
- Taylor, R., G. Isidori, E. O'Neill, M. O'Neill and G. Rinne. "New wine for old bottles: new research on the sources of the Aqua Traiana." *Waters of Rome* 9 (2016): 1–28.
- Taylor, R., G. Isidori, E. O'Neill, M. O'Neill and G. Rinne. "A recently discovered spring source of the Aqua Traiana at Vicarello, Lazio." (Forthcoming).
- Thein, A. "The Augustan 'rebuilding' of the Capitolium." In *Ruin or Renewal: places and the transformation of memory in the city of Rome*, edited by M. Garcia Morcillo, J. Richardson and F. Santangelo, 135–156. Rome: Quasar, 2016.
- Thill, E. "The emperor in action group scenes in Trajanic coins and monumental reliefs." *AJN* 26 (2014): 89–142.
- Thomas, E. "The architectural history of the Pantheon in Rome from Agrippa to Septimius Severus via Hadrian." *Hephaistos* 15 (1997): 163–186.
- Thomas, E. *Monumentality and the Roman Empire. Architecture in the Antonine Age*. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2007.
- Thomas, E. "The cult statues of the Pantheon." *JRS* 107 (2017): 146–212.
- Thomas, E. and C. Witschel. "Constructing reconstruction: claim and reality of Roman rebuilding inscriptions from the Latin west." *PBSR* 60 (1992): 135–177.
- Too, Y. *The Idea of the Library in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2010.
- Torelli, M. "Culto iimperiale e spazi urbani in età Flavia. Dai rilievi Hartwig all'Arco di Tito." In *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle avant J.C.-IIIe siècle après J. C.)*, edited by C. Pietri, 563–582. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1987.
- Tortorici, E. "L'attività edilizia di Agrippa a Roma." In *Il Bimillenario di Agrippa*, 19–55. Genoa: Università di Genoa, 1990.
- Tortorici, E. "La Terrazza Domiziana." *BullCom* 95 (1993): 7–24.
- Tucci, P. "Flavian libraries in Rome." In König, Oikonomopoulou and Woolf (2013), 277–311.
- Tucci, P. *The Temple of Peace in Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2017.
- Ulrich, R. *The Roman Orator and the Sacred Stage: the Roman Templum Rostratum*. Brussels: Latomus, 1994.
- Valentini, R. and G. Zucchetti. *Codice topografico della città di Roma, vol. 4*. Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1953.

- Virgili, P. "Pantheon (etá adrianea)." In *LTUR* 5, edited by M. Steinby, 284–285. Rome: Quasar, 1999.
- Virgili, P. "Il Pantheon: scavo sulla fronte del tempio." In *Roma. Memorie dal Sottosuolo: ritrovamenti archeologici 1980/2006*, edited by M. Tomei, 167–169. Milan: Electa, 2006.
- Virgili, P. "Scavi in Piazza della Rotonda e sulla fronte del Pantheon." In Grasshoff, Heinzelmann and Wäfler (2009), 201–214.
- Virgili, P. and P. Battistelli. "Indagini in Piazza della Rotonda e sulla Fronte del Pantheon." *BullCom* 100 (1999): 137–154.
- Vuković, K. "The topography of the Lupercalia." *PBSR* 86 (2018): 37–60.
- Waddell, G. *Creating the Pantheon: design, materials and construction*. Rome: Bretschneider, 2008.
- Wallraff, M., C. Scardino, L. Mecella, C. Guignard and W. Adler. *Iulius Africanus Cesti: the extant fragments*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012.
- Ward-Perkins, J. "Architecture in Rome and Italy from Augustus to the mid-third century." In *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, edited by A. Boëthius and J. Ward-Perkins, 181–338. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.
- Ward-Perkins, J., H. Ballance, and J. Reynolds. "The Caesareum at Cyrene and the Basilica at Cremna, with a note on the inscriptions of the Caesareum by J. M. Reyonlds." *PBSR* 26 (1958): 137–194.
- Wheeler, A. *Ovid VI: Tristia Ex Ponto*. Cambridge: Harvard U. P. 1975.
- Wilson Jones, M. *Principles of Roman Architecture*. New Haven: Yale U. P., 2000.
- Wilson Jones, M. "The Pantheon and the phasing of its construction." In Grasshoff, Heinzelmann and Wäfler (2009), 69–87.
- Wilson Jones, M. "Who built the Pantheon? Agrippa, Apollodorus, Hadrian and Trajan." In Opper (2013), 31–49.
- Wilson Jones, M. "Building on adversity: the Pantheon and problems with its construction." In Marder and Wilson Jones (2015), 193–230.
- Zink, S. and H. Piening. "*Haec aurea templa*: the Palatine temple of Apollo and its polychromy." *JRA* 22 (2009): 109–122.
- Ziolkowski, A. *The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1992.
- Ziolkowski, A. "Was Agrippa's Pantheon the Temple of Mars 'in Campo?'" *PBSR* 62 (1994): 261–277.
- Ziolkowski, A. "Pantheon." In *LTUR* 4, edited by M. Steinby, 54–61. Rome: Quasar, 1999.
- Ziolkowski, A. "Prolegomena to any future metaphysics on Agrippa's Pantheon." In *Res Bene Gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby*, edited by A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker, 465–476. Rome: Quasar, 2007.
- Ziolkowski, A. "What did Agrippa's Pantheon look like?" In Grasshoff, Heinzelmann and Wäfler (2009), 29–39.

