

# Jupiter (mythology)

This article is about the Roman god. For other uses, see [Jupiter \(disambiguation\)](#).

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**Jupiter**, also **Jove** (Latin: *Iūpiter* [ˈjuːpɪtɛr<sup>[a]</sup>] or *Iuppiter* [ˈjʊppɪtɛr<sup>[1]</sup>] gen. *Iovis* [ˈjɔwɪs<sup>[2]</sup>]), is the god of sky and thunder and king of the gods in Ancient Roman religion and mythology. Jupiter was the chief deity of Roman state religion throughout the Republican and Imperial eras, until Christianity became the dominant religion of the Empire. In Roman mythology, he negotiates with Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, to establish principles of Roman religion such as sacrifice.

Jupiter is usually thought to have originated as a sky god. His identifying implement is the thunderbolt and his primary sacred animal is the eagle,<sup>[2]</sup> which held precedence over other birds in the taking of auspices<sup>[3]</sup> and became one of the most common symbols of the Roman army (see [Aquila](#)). The two emblems were often combined to represent the god in the form of an eagle holding in its claws a thunderbolt, frequently seen on Greek and Roman coins.<sup>[4]</sup> As the sky-god, he was a divine witness to oaths, the sacred trust on which justice and good government depend. Many of his functions were focused on the Capitoline Hill, where the citadel was located. He was the chief deity of the early Capitoline Triad with Mars and Quirinus.<sup>[5]</sup> In the later Capitoline Triad, he was the central guardian of the state with Juno and Minerva. His sacred tree was the oak.

The Romans regarded Jupiter as the equivalent of the Greek [Zeus](#),<sup>[6]</sup> and in Latin literature and Roman art, the myths and iconography of Zeus are adapted under the name *Iuppiter*. In the Greek-influenced tradition, Jupiter was the brother of [Neptune](#) and [Pluto](#). Each presided over one of the three realms of the universe: sky, the waters, and the underworld. The Italic **Diespiter** was also a sky god who manifested himself in the daylight, usually but not always identified with Jupiter.<sup>[7]</sup> [Tinia](#) is usually regarded as his Etruscan counterpart.<sup>[8]</sup>

## 1 Jupiter and the state

The Romans believed that Jupiter granted them supremacy because they had honoured him more than any other people had. Jupiter was “the fount of the auspices upon which the relationship of the city with

the gods rested.”<sup>[9]</sup> He personified the divine authority of Rome’s highest offices, internal organization, and external relations. His image in the Republican and Imperial Capitol bore regalia associated with Rome’s ancient kings and the highest consular and Imperial honours.<sup>[10]</sup>



Triumphator in his four-horse chariot, from the Arch of Titus

The consuls swore their oath of office in Jupiter’s name, and honoured him on the annual *feriae* of the Capitol in September. To thank him for his help (and to secure his continued support), they offered him a white ox (*bos mas*) with gilded horns.<sup>[11]</sup> A similar offering was made by triumphal generals, who surrendered the tokens of their victory at the feet of Jupiter’s statue in the Capitol. Some scholars have viewed the *triumphator* as embodying (or impersonating) Jupiter in the triumphal procession.<sup>[12]</sup>

Jupiter’s association with kingship and sovereignty was reinterpreted as Rome’s form of government changed. Originally, Rome was ruled by kings; after the monarchy was abolished and the Republic established, religious prerogatives were transferred to the *patres*, the patrician ruling class. Nostalgia for the kingship (*affectatio regni*) was considered treasonous. Those suspected of harbouring monarchical ambitions were punished, regardless of their service to the state. In the 5th century BC, the *triumphator* Camillus was sent into exile after he drove a chariot with a team of four white horses (*quadriga*)—an honour reserved for Jupiter himself. When Marcus Manlius, whose defense of the Capitol against the invading Gauls had earned him the name *Capitolinus*, was accused of regal pretensions, he was executed as a traitor by being cast from the Tarpeian Rock. His house on the Capitoline Hill was razed, and it was decreed that no patrician should ever be allowed to live there.<sup>[13]</sup> Capitoline Jupiter found himself in a delicate position: he represented a continuity of royal power from the Regal period, and conferred power on the magistrates who paid their respects to him; at the same time he embodied that which was now for-

bidden, abhorred, and scorned.<sup>[14]</sup>

During the Conflict of the Orders, Rome's plebeians demanded the right to hold political and religious office. During their first *secessio* (similar to a general strike), they withdrew from the city and threatened to found their own. When they agreed to come back to Rome they vowed the hill where they had retreated to Jupiter as symbol and guarantor of the unity of the Roman *res publica*.<sup>[15]</sup> Plebeians eventually became eligible for all the magistracies and most priesthoods, but the high priest of Jupiter (*Flamen Dialis*) remained the preserve of patricians.<sup>[16]</sup>

## 1.1 Flamen and Flaminica Dialis



Detail of relief from the Augustan Altar of Peace, showing flamines wearing the pointed apex

Main article: [Flamen Dialis](#)

Jupiter was served by the patrician Flamen Dialis, the highest-ranking member of the *flamines*, a college of fifteen priests in the official public cult of Rome, each of whom was devoted to a particular deity. His wife, the Flaminica Dialis, had her own duties, and presided over the sacrifice of a ram to Jupiter on each of the *nundinae*, the “market” days of a calendar cycle, comparable to a week.<sup>[17]</sup> The couple were required to marry by the exclusive patrician ritual *confarreatio*, which included a sacrifice of spelt bread to Jupiter Farreus (from *far*, “wheat, grain”).<sup>[18]</sup>

The office of Flamen Dialis was circumscribed by several unique ritual prohibitions, some of which shed light on the sovereign nature of the god himself.<sup>[19]</sup> For instance, the *flamen* may remove his clothes or *apex* (his pointed hat) only when under a roof, in order to avoid showing himself naked to the sky—that is, “as if under the eyes of Jupiter” as god of the heavens. Every time the Flaminica saw a lightning bolt or heard a clap of thunder (Jupiter’s distinctive instrument), she was prohibited from carrying on with her normal routine until she placated the god.<sup>[20]</sup>

Some privileges of the *flamen* of Jupiter may reflect the regal nature of Jupiter: he had the use of the *curule chair*,<sup>[21]</sup> and was the only priest (*sacerdos*) who was preceded by a *lictor*<sup>[22]</sup> and had a seat in the *senate*.<sup>[23]</sup> Other regulations concern his ritual purity and his separation from the military function; he was forbidden to ride a horse or see the army outside the sacred boundary of Rome (*pomerium*). Although he served the god who embodied the sanctity of the oath, it was not religiously permissible (*fas*) for the Dialis to swear an oath.<sup>[24]</sup> He could not have contacts with anything dead or connected with death: corpses, funerals, funeral fires, raw meat. This set of restrictions reflects the fulness of life and absolute freedom that are features of Jupiter.<sup>[25]</sup>

## 1.2 Augurs

The *augures publici*, augurs were a college of *sacerdotes* who were in charge of all inaugurations and of the performing of ceremonies known as *auguria*. Their creation was traditionally ascribed to Romulus. They were considered the only official interpreters of Jupiter’s will, thence they were essential to the very existence of the Roman State as Romans saw in Jupiter the only source of state authority.

## 1.3 Fetials

The fetials were a college of 20 men devoted to the religious administration of international affairs of state.<sup>[26]</sup> Their task was to preserve and apply the fetial law (*ius fetiale*), a complex set of procedures aimed at ensuring the protection of the gods in Rome’s relations with foreign states. Iuppiter Lapis is the god under whose protection they act, and whom the chief fetial (*pater patratus*) invokes in the rite concluding a treaty.<sup>[27]</sup> If a declaration of war ensues, the fetial calls upon Jupiter and Quirinus, the heavenly, earthly and chthonic gods as witnesses of any potential violation of the *ius*. He can then declare war within 33 days.<sup>[28]</sup>

The action of the fetials falls under Jupiter’s jurisdiction as the divine defender of good faith. Several emblems of the fetial office pertain to Jupiter. The *silex* was the stone used for the fetial sacrifice, housed in the Temple of Iuppiter Feretrius, as was their sceptre. Sacred herbs (*sagmina*), sometimes identified as vervain, had to be taken from the nearby citadel (*arx*) for their ritual use.<sup>[29]</sup>

## 1.4 Jupiter and religion in the secessions of the plebs

The role of Jupiter in the conflict of the orders is a reflection of the religiosity of the Romans. Whereas the patricians were able to claim the support of the supreme god quite naturally being the holders of the auspices of the

State, the plebeians argued that as Jupiter was the source of justice he was on their side since their cause was just.

The first secession was caused by the excessive burden of debts that weighed on the plebs. Because of the legal institute of the *nexum* a debtor could become a slave of his creditor. The plebeians argued the debts had become unsustainable because of the expenses of the wars wanted by the patricians. As the senate did not accede to the proposal of a total debt remission advanced by dictator and augur **Manius Valerius Maximus** the plebs retired on the Mount Sacer, a hill located three Roman miles to the North-northeast of Rome, past the Nomentan bridge on river Anio.<sup>[30]</sup> The place is windy and was usually the site of rites of divination performed by haruspices. The senate in the end sent a delegation composed of ten members with full powers of making a deal with the plebs, of which were part **Menenius Agrippa** and **Manius Valerius**. It was Valerius, according to the inscription found at Arezzo in 1688 and written on the order of Augustus as well as other literary sources, that brought the plebs down from the Mount, after the secessionists had consecrated it to *Jupiter Territor* and built an altar (*ara*) on its summit. The fear of the wrath of Jupiter was an important element in the solution of the crisis. The consecration of the Mount probably referred to its summit only. The ritual requested the participation of both an augur (presumably **Manius Valerius** himself) and a pontifex.<sup>[31]</sup>

The second secession was caused by the autocratic and arrogant behaviour of the *decemviri* who had been charged by the Roman people with writing down the laws in use till then kept secret by the patrician magistrates and the *sacerdotes*. All magistracies and the tribunes of the plebs had resigned in advance. The task resulted in the XII Tables, which though concerned only private law. The plebs once again retreated to the Sacer Mons: this act besides recalling the first secession was meant to seek the protection of the supreme god. The secession ended with the resignation of the *decemviri* and an amnesty for the rebellious soldiers who had deserted from their camp near Mount Algidus while warring against the Volscians, abandoning the commanders. The amnesty was granted by the senate and guaranteed by the *pontifex maximus* **Quintus Furius** (in Livy's version) (or **Marcus Papirius**) who also supervised the nomination of the new tribunes of the plebs, then gathered on the Aventine Hill. The role played by the *pontifex maximus* in a situation of vacation of powers is a significant element underlining the religious basis and character of the *tribunicia potestas*.<sup>[32]</sup>

## 2 Myths and legends

A dominant line of scholarship has held that Rome lacked a body of myths in its earliest period, or that this original mythology has been irrecoverably obscured by the influence of the Greek narrative tradition.<sup>[33]</sup> After the Hellenization of Roman culture, Latin literature and



*Jupiter in a wall painting from Pompeii, with eagle and globe*

iconography reinterpreted the myths of Zeus in depictions and narratives of Jupiter. In the legendary history of Rome, Jupiter is often connected to kings and kingship.

### 2.1 Birth

Jupiter is depicted as the twin of Juno in a statue at Praeneste that showed them nursed by *Fortuna Primigenia*.<sup>[34]</sup> An inscription that is also from Praeneste, however, says that *Fortuna Primigenia* was Jupiter's first-born child.<sup>[35]</sup> **Jacqueline Champeaux** sees this contradiction as the result of successive different cultural and religious phases, in which a wave of influence coming from the Hellenic world made *Fortuna* the daughter of Jupiter.<sup>[36]</sup> The childhood of Zeus is an important theme in Greek religion, art and literature, but there are only rare (or dubious) depictions of Jupiter as a child.<sup>[37]</sup>

### 2.2 Numa

Faced by a period of bad weather endangering the harvest during one early spring, King **Numa** resorted to the scheme of asking the advice of the god by evoking his presence.<sup>[38]</sup> He succeeded through the help of **Picus** and **Faunus**, whom he had imprisoned by making them drunk.

The two gods (with a charm) evoked Jupiter, who was forced to come down to earth at the Aventine (hence named *Iuppiter Elicius*, according to Ovid). After Numa skilfully avoided the requests of the god for human sacrifices, Jupiter agreed to his request to know how lightning bolts are averted, asking only for the substitutions Numa had mentioned: an onion bulb, hairs and a fish. Moreover, Jupiter promised that at the sunrise of the following day he would give to Numa and the Roman people pawns of the *imperium*. The following day, after throwing three lightning bolts across a clear sky, Jupiter sent down from heaven a shield. Since this shield had no angles, Numa named it *ancile*; because in it resided the fate of the *imperium*, he had many copies made of it to disguise the real one. He asked the smith Mamurius Veturius to make the copies, and gave them to the Salii. As his only reward, Mamurius expressed the wish that his name be sung in the last of their *carmina*.<sup>[39]</sup> Plutarch gives a slightly different version of the story, writing that the cause of the miraculous drop of the shield was a plague and not linking it with the Roman *imperium*.<sup>[40]</sup>

### 2.3 Tullus Hostilius

Throughout his reign, King Tullus had a scornful attitude towards religion. His temperament was warlike, and he disregarded religious rites and piety. After conquering the Albans with the duel between the Horatii and Curiatii, Tullus destroyed Alba Longa and deported its inhabitants to Rome. As Livy tells the story, omens (*prodigia*) in the form of a rain of stones occurred on the Alban Mount because the deported Albans had disregarded their ancestral rites linked to the sanctuary of Jupiter. In addition to the omens, a voice was heard requesting that the Albans perform the rites. A plague followed and at last the king himself fell ill. As a consequence, the warlike character of Tullus broke down; he resorted to religion and petty, superstitious practices. At last, he found a book by Numa recording a secret rite on how to evoke *Iuppiter Elicius*. The king attempted to perform it, but since he executed the rite improperly the god threw a lightning bolt which burned down the king's house and killed Tullus.<sup>[41]</sup>

### 2.4 Tarquin the Elder

When approaching Rome (where Tarquin was heading to try his luck in politics after unsuccessful attempts in his native Tarquinii), an eagle swooped down, removed his hat, flew screaming in circles, replaced the hat on his head and flew away. Tarquin's wife Tanaquil interpreted this as a sign that he would become king based on the bird, the quadrant of the sky from which it came, the god who had sent it and the fact it touched his hat (an item of clothing placed on a man's most noble part, the head).<sup>[42]</sup>

The Elder Tarquin is credited with introducing the Capitoline Triad to Rome, by building the so-called Capi-

tolium Vetus. Macrobius writes this issued from his Samothracian mystery beliefs.<sup>[43]</sup>

## 3 Cult



Emperor Marcus Aurelius, attended by his family, offers sacrifice outside the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after his victories in Germany (late 2nd century AD). Capitoline Museum, Rome

### 3.1 Sacrifices

Sacrificial victims (*hostiae*) offered to Jupiter were the ox (castrated bull), the lamb (on the Ides, the *ovis idulis*) and the wether (on the Ides of January).<sup>[44]</sup> The animals were required to be white. The question of the lamb's gender is unresolved; while a lamb is generally male, for the vintage-opening festival the flamen Dialis sacrificed a ewe.<sup>[45]</sup> This rule seems to have had many exceptions, as the sacrifice of a ram on the Nundinae by the *flaminica Dialis* demonstrates. During one of the crises of the Punic Wars, Jupiter was offered every animal born that year.<sup>[46]</sup>

### 3.2 Temples

#### 3.2.1 Temple of Capitoline Jupiter

Main article: Temple of Jupiter (Capitoline Hill)

The temple to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* stood on the *Capitoline Hill*.<sup>[47]</sup> Jupiter was worshiped there as an individual deity, and with *Juno* and *Minerva* as part of the *Capitoline Triad*. The building was supposedly begun by king *Tarquinius Priscus*, completed by the last king (*Tarquinius Superbus*) and inaugurated in the early days of the Roman Republic (September 13, 509 BC). It was topped with the statues of four horses drawing a *quadriga*, with Jupiter as charioteer. A large statue of Jupiter stood within; on festival days, its face was painted red.<sup>[48]</sup> In (or near) this temple was the *Iuppiter Lapis*: the *Jupiter Stone*, on which oaths could be sworn.

Jupiter's Capitoline Temple probably served as the architectural model for his provincial temples. When Hadrian built *Aelia Capitolina* on the site of *Jerusalem*, a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* was erected in the place of the destroyed Temple in *Jerusalem*.

### 3.2.2 Other temples in Rome

There were two temples in Rome dedicated to *Iuppiter Stator*; the first one was built and dedicated in 294 BC by *Marcus Atilius Regulus* after the third Samnite War. It was located on the *Via Nova*, below the *Porta Mugonia*, ancient entrance to the *Palatine*.<sup>[49]</sup> Legend has attributed its founding to *Romulus*.<sup>[50]</sup> There may have been an earlier shrine (*fanum*), since the Jupiter's cult is attested epigraphically.<sup>[51]</sup> *Ovid* places the temple's dedication on June 27, but it is unclear whether this was the original date,<sup>[52]</sup> or the rededication after the restoration by *Augustus*.<sup>[53]</sup>

A second temple of *Iuppiter Stator* was built and dedicated by *Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus* after his triumph in 146 BC near the *Circus Flaminius*. It was connected to the restored temple of *Iuno Regina* with a *portico* (*porticus Metelli*).<sup>[54]</sup>

*Iuppiter Victor* had a temple dedicated by *Quintus Fabius Maximus Gurgus* during the third Samnite War in 295 BC. Its location is unknown, but it may be on the *Quirinal*, on which an inscription reading *DJiovei Victore*<sup>[55]</sup> has been found, or on the *Palatine* according to the *Notitia* in the *Liber Regionum* (regio X), which reads: *aedes Iovis Victoris*. Either might have been dedicated on April 13 or June 13 (days of *Iuppiter Victor* and of *Iuppiter Invictus*, respectively, in *Ovid's Fasti*).<sup>[56]</sup> Inscriptions from the imperial age have revealed the existence of an otherwise-unknown temple of *Iuppiter Propugnator* on the *Palatine*.<sup>[57]</sup>

## 3.3 *Iuppiter Latiaris and Ferae Latinae*

The cult of *Iuppiter Latiaris* was the most ancient known cult of the god: it was practised since very remote times near the top of the *Mons Albanus* on which the god was venerated as the high protector of the Latin League under the hegemony of *Alba Longa*.



Altar to *Jupiter* on the outskirts of legionary fortress, 2nd–3rd century AD. Inscription: “Dedicated by *L. Lollius Clarus* for himself and his family”

After the destruction of *Alba* by king *Tullus Hostilius* the cult was forsaken. The god manifested his discontent through the prodigy of a rain of stones: the commission sent by the Roman senate to inquire was also greeted by a rain of stones and heard a loud voice from the grove on the summit of the mount requesting the *Albans* perform the religious service to the god according to the rites of their country. In consequence of this event the Romans instituted a festival of nine days (*nundinae*). Nonetheless a plague ensued: in the end *Tullus Hostilius* himself was affected and lastly killed by the god with a lightning bolt.<sup>[58]</sup> The festival was reestablished on its primitive site by the last Roman king *Tarquin the Proud* under the leadership of Rome.

The *feriae Latinae*, or *Latiar* as they were known originally,<sup>[59]</sup> were the common festival (*panegyris*) of the so-called *Priscan Latins*<sup>[60]</sup> and of the *Albans*.<sup>[61]</sup> Their restoration aimed at grounding Roman hegemony in this ancestral religious tradition of the Latins. The original cult was reinstated unchanged as is testified by some archaic features of the ritual: the exclusion of wine from the sacrifice<sup>[62]</sup> the offers of milk and cheese and the ritual use of rocking among the games. Rocking is one of the most ancient rites mimicking ascent to Heaven and is very widespread. At the *Latiar* the rocking took place on a tree and the winner was of course the one who had swung

the highest. This rite was said to have been instituted by the Albans to commemorate the disappearance of king *Latinus*, in the battle against *Mezentius* king of *Caere*: the rite symbolised a search for him both on earth and in heaven. The rocking as well as the customary drinking of milk was also considered to commemorate and ritually reinstate infancy.<sup>[63]</sup> The Romans in the last form of the rite brought the sacrificial ox from Rome and every participant was bestowed a portion of the meat, rite known as *carnem petere*.<sup>[64]</sup> Other games were held in every participant borough. In Rome a race of chariots (*quadrigae*) was held starting from the Capitol: the winner drank a liquor made with absynth.<sup>[65]</sup> This competition has been compared to the Vedic rite of the *vajapeya*: in it seventeen chariots run a phoney race which must be won by the king in order to allow him to drink a cup of *madhu*, i. e. *soma*.<sup>[66]</sup> The feasting lasted for at least four days, possibly six according to *Niebuhr*, one day for each of the six Latin and Alban *decuriae*.<sup>[67]</sup> According to different records 47 or 53 boroughs took part in the festival (the listed names too differ in *Pliny NH III 69* and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus AR V 61*). The *Latiar* became an important feature of Roman political life as they were *feriae conceptivae*, i. e. their date varied each year: the consuls and the highest magistrates were required to attend shortly after the beginning of the administration, originally on the Ides of March: the *Feriae* usually took place in early April. They could not start campaigning before its end and if any part of the games had been neglected or performed unritually the *Latiar* had to be wholly repeated. The inscriptions from the imperial age record the festival back to the time of the *decemvirs*.<sup>[68]</sup> *Wissowa* remarks the inner linkage of the temple of the *Mons Albanus* with that of the Capitol apparent in the common association with the rite of the *triumph*:<sup>[69]</sup> since 231 BC some triumphing commanders had triumphed there first with the same legal features as in Rome.<sup>[70]</sup>

## 4 Religious calendar

See also: Roman calendar

### 4.1 Ides

The *Ides* (the midpoint of the month, with a full moon) was sacred to Jupiter, because on that day heavenly light shone day and night.<sup>[71]</sup> Some (or all) *Ides* were *Feriae Iovis*, sacred to Jupiter.<sup>[72]</sup> On the *Ides*, a white lamb (*ovis idulis*) was led along Rome's Sacred Way to the Capitoline Citadel and sacrificed to him.<sup>[73]</sup> Jupiter's two *epula Iovis* festivals fell on the *Ides*, as did his temple foundation rites as *Optimus Maximus*, *Victor*, *Invictus* and (possibly) *Stator*.<sup>[74]</sup>

### 4.2 Nundinae

The *nundinae* recurred every ninth day, dividing the calendar into a market cycle analogous to a week. Market days gave rural people (*pagi*) the opportunity to sell in town and to be informed of religious and political edicts, which were posted publicly for three days. According to tradition, these festival days were instituted by the king *Servius Tullius*.<sup>[75]</sup> The high priestess of Jupiter (*Flaminica Dialis*) sanctified the days by sacrificing a ram to Jupiter.<sup>[76]</sup>

### 4.3 Festivals

See also: Roman festivals

During the Republican era, more fixed holidays on the Roman calendar were devoted to Jupiter than to any other deity.<sup>[77]</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Viniculture and wine

Festivals of viniculture and wine were devoted to Jupiter, since grapes were particularly susceptible to adverse weather.<sup>[78]</sup> *Dumézil* describes wine as a “kingly” drink with the power to inebriate and exhilarate, analogous to the Vedic *Soma*.<sup>[79]</sup>

Three Roman festivals were connected with viniculture and wine.

The rustic *Vinalia altera* on August 19 asked for good weather for ripening the grapes before harvest.<sup>[80]</sup> When the grapes were ripe,<sup>[81]</sup> a sheep was sacrificed to Jupiter and the *flamen Dialis* cut the first of the grape harvest.<sup>[82]</sup>

The *Meditrinalia* on October 11 marked the end of the grape harvest; the new wine was pressed, tasted and mixed with old wine<sup>[83]</sup> to control fermentation. In the *Fasti Am̄ternini*, this festival is assigned to Jupiter. Later Roman sources invented a goddess *Meditrina*, probably to explain the name of the festival.<sup>[84]</sup>

At the *Vinalia urbana* on April 23, new wine was offered to Jupiter.<sup>[85]</sup> Large quantities of it were poured into a ditch near the temple of *Venus Erycina*, which was located on the Capitol.<sup>[86]</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Regifugium and Poplifugium

See also: Regifugium and Poplifugia

The *Regifugium* (“King’s Flight”)<sup>[87]</sup> on February 24 has often been discussed in connection with the *Poplifugia* on July 5, a day holy to Jupiter.<sup>[88]</sup> The *Regifugium* followed the festival of *Iuppiter Terminus* (Jupiter of Boundaries) on February 23. Later Roman antiquarians misinterpreted the *Regifugium* as marking the expulsion

of the monarchy, but the “king” of this festival may have been the priest known as the *rex sacrorum* who ritually enacted the waning and renewal of power associated with the **New Year** (March 1 in the old Roman calendar).<sup>[89]</sup> A temporary vacancy of power (construed as a yearly “*interregnum*”) occurred between the *Regifugium* on February 24 and the New Year on March 1 (when the lunar cycle was thought to coincide again with the solar cycle), and the uncertainty and change during the two winter months were over.<sup>[90]</sup> Some scholars emphasize the traditional political significance of the day.<sup>[91]</sup>

The *Poplifugia* (“Routing of Armies”<sup>[92]</sup>), a day sacred to Jupiter, may similarly mark the second half of the year; before the **Julian calendar reform**, the months were named numerically, *Quintilis* (the fifth month) to *December* (the tenth month).<sup>[93]</sup> The *Poplifugia* was a “primitive military ritual” for which the adult male population assembled for purification rites, after which they ritually dispelled foreign invaders from Rome.<sup>[94]</sup>

### 4.3.3 Epula Iovis

See also: *Epulum Jovis*

There were two festivals called *epulum Iovis* (“Feast of Jove”). One was held on September 13, the anniversary of the foundation of Jupiter’s Capitoline temple. The other (and probably older) festival was part of the **Plebeian Games** (*Ludi Plebei*), and was held on November 13.<sup>[95]</sup> In the 3rd century BC, the *epulum Iovis* became similar to a *lectisternium*.<sup>[96]</sup>

### 4.3.4 Ludi

See also: *Ludi*

The most ancient Roman games followed after one day (considered a *dies ater*, or “black day”, i. e. a day which was traditionally considered unfortunate even though it was not *nefas*, see also article **Glossary of ancient Roman religion**) the two *Epula Iovis* of September and November.

The games of September were named *Ludi Magni*; originally they were not held every year, but later became the annual *Ludi Romani*<sup>[97]</sup> and were held in the **Circus Maximus** after a procession from the Capitol. The games were attributed to Tarquinius Priscus,<sup>[98]</sup> and linked to the cult of Jupiter on the Capitol. Romans themselves acknowledged analogies with the **triumph**, which Dumézil thinks can be explained by their common Etruscan origin; the magistrate in charge of the games dressed as the *triumphator* and the *pompa circensis* resembled a triumphal procession. Wissowa and Mommsen argue that they were a detached part of the triumph on the above grounds<sup>[99]</sup> (a conclusion which Dumézil rejects).<sup>[100]</sup>

The *Ludi Plebei* took place in November in the **Circus Flaminius**.<sup>[101]</sup> Mommsen argued that the *epulum* of the *Ludi Plebei* was the model of the *Ludi Romani*, but Wissowa finds the evidence for this assumption insufficient.<sup>[102]</sup> The *Ludi Plebei* were probably established in 534 BC. Their association with the cult of Jupiter is attested by Cicero.<sup>[103]</sup>

### 4.3.5 Larentalia

The *feriae* of December 23 were devoted to a major ceremony in honour of **Acca Larentia** (or *Larentina*), in which some of the highest religious authorities participated (probably including the **Flamen Quirinalis** and the **pontiffs**). The *Fasti Praenestini* marks the day as *feriae Iovis*, as does Macrobius.<sup>[104]</sup> It is unclear whether the rite of *parentatio* was itself the reason for the festival of Jupiter, or if this was another festival which happened to fall on the same day. Wissowa denies their association, since Jupiter and his *flamen* would not be involved with the **underworld** or the deities of death (or be present at a funeral rite held at a gravesite).<sup>[105]</sup>

## 5 Name and epithets

The Latin name *Iuppiter* originated as a **vocative compound** of the **Old Latin** vocative *\*Iou* and *pater* (“father”) and came to replace the **Old Latin** nominative case *\*Ious*. *Jove*<sup>[106]</sup> is a less common English formation based on *Iov-*, the stem of oblique cases of the Latin name. Linguistic studies identify the form *\*Iou-pater* as deriving from the **Indo-European** vocative compound *\*Dyēu-pāter* (meaning “O Father Sky-god”; nominative: *\*Dyēus-pātēr*).<sup>[107]</sup>

Older forms of the deity’s name in Rome were *Dieuspater* (“day/sky-father”), then *Diéspiter*.<sup>[108]</sup> The 19th-century philologist **Georg Wissowa** asserted these names are conceptually- and linguistically-connected to *Diovis* and *Diovis Pater*; he compares the analogous formations *Vedius-Veiove* and *fulgur Dium*, as opposed to *fulgur Summanum* (nocturnal lightning bolt) and *flamen Dialis* (based on *Dius*, *dies*).<sup>[109]</sup> The Ancient later viewed them as entities separate from Jupiter. The terms are similar in etymology and semantics (*dies*, “daylight” and *Dius*, “day-time sky”), but differ linguistically. Wissowa considers the epithet *Dianus* noteworthy.<sup>[110][111]</sup> *Dieus* is the etymological equivalent of ancient Greece’s *Zeus* and of the **Teutonic**’ *Ziu* (genitive *Ziewes*). The Indo-European deity is the god from which the names and partially the theology of Jupiter, Zeus and the **Indo-Aryan** **Vedic** *Dyaus Pita* derive or have developed.<sup>[112]</sup>

The Roman practice of swearing by Jove to witness an oath in law courts<sup>[113]</sup> is the origin of the expression “by Jove!”—archaic, but still in use. The name of the god was also adopted as the name of the planet Jupiter; the



*Neo-Attic bas-relief sculpture of Jupiter, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand; detail from the Moncloa Puteal (Roman, 2nd century), National Archaeological Museum, Madrid*

adjective "jovial" originally described those born under the planet of Jupiter<sup>[114]</sup> (reputed to be jolly, optimistic, and buoyant in temperament).

Jove was the original namesake of Latin forms of the weekday now known in English as Thursday<sup>[115]</sup> (originally called *Iovis Dies* in Latin). These became *jeudi* in French, *jueves* in Spanish, *joi* in Romanian, *giovedì* in Italian, *dijous* in Catalan, *Xoves* in Galician, *Joibe* in Friulian, *Dijóu* in Provençal.

## 5.1 Major epithets

Main article: Epithets of Jupiter

The epithets of a Roman god indicate his theological qualities. The study of these epithets must consider their origins (the historical context of an epithet's source).

Jupiter's most ancient attested forms of cult belong to the State cult: these include the mount cult (see section above note n. 22). In Rome this cult entailed the existence of particular sanctuaries the most important of which were located on *Mons Capitolinus* (earlier *Tarpeius*). The

mount had two tops that were both destined to the discharge of acts of cult related to Jupiter. The northern and higher top was the *arx* and on it was located the observation place of the *augurs* (*auguraculum*) and to it headed the monthly procession of the *sacra Idulia*.<sup>[116]</sup> On the southern top was to be found the most ancient sanctuary of the god: the shrine of *Iuppiter Feretrius* allegedly built by Romulus, restored by Augustus. The god here had no image and was represented by the sacred flint-stone (*silex*).<sup>[117]</sup> The most ancient known rites, those of the *spolia opima* and of the *fetials* which connect Jupiter with Mars and Quirinus are dedicated to *Iuppiter Feretrius* or *Iuppiter Lapis*.<sup>[118]</sup> The concept of the sky god was already overlapped with the ethical and political domain since this early time. According to Wissowa and Dumézil<sup>[119]</sup> *Iuppiter Lapis* seems to be inseparable from *Iuppiter Feretrius* in whose tiny templet on the Capitol the stone was lodged.

Another most ancient epithet is *Lucetius*: although the Ancients, followed by some modern scholars such as Wissowa,<sup>[109]</sup> interpreted it as referring to sunlight, the *carmen Saliare* shows that it refers to lightning.<sup>[120]</sup> A further confirmation of this interpretation is provided by the sacred meaning of lightning which is reflected in the sensitivity of the *flaminica Dialis* to the phenomenon.<sup>[121]</sup> To the same atmospheric complex belongs the epithet *Elicius*: while the ancient erudites thought it was connected to lightning, it is in fact related to the opening of the reservoirs of rain, as is testified by the ceremony of the *Nudipedalia*, meant to propitiate rainfall and devoted to Jupiter.<sup>[122]</sup> and the ritual of the *lapis manalis*, the stone which was brought into the city through the *Porta Capena* and carried around in times of drought, which was named *Aquaelicium*.<sup>[123]</sup> Other early epithets connected with the atmospheric quality of Jupiter are *Pluvius*, *Imbricius*, *Tempestatas*, *Tonitrualis*, *tempestatium divinarum potens*, *Serenator*, *Serenus*.<sup>[124][125]</sup> and, referred to lightning, *Fulgur*,<sup>[126]</sup> *Fulgur Fulmen*.<sup>[127]</sup> later as nomen agentis *Fulgurator*, *Fulminator*.<sup>[128]</sup> the high antiquity of the cult is testified by the neutre form *Fulgur* and the use of the term for the *bidental*, the lightning well dug on the spot hit by a lightning bolt.<sup>[129]</sup>

A group of epithets has been interpreted by Wissowa (and his followers) as a reflection of the agricultural or warring nature of the god, some of which are also in the list of eleven preserved by Augustine.<sup>[130][131]</sup> The agricultural ones include *Opitulus*, *Almus*, *Ruminus*, *Frugifer*, *Farreus*, *Pecunia*, *Dapalis*,<sup>[132]</sup> *Epulo*.<sup>[133]</sup> Augustine gives an explanation of the ones he lists which should reflect Varro's: *Opitulus* because he brings *opem* (means, relief) to the needy, *Almus* because he nourishes everything, *Ruminus* because he nourishes the living beings by breastfeeding them, *Pecunia* because everything belongs to him.<sup>[134]</sup> Dumézil maintains the cult usage of these epithets is not documented and that the epithet *Ruminus*, as Wissowa and Latte remarked, may not have the meaning given by Augustine but it should be understood as part of a se-



A bronze statue of Jupiter, from the territory of the Treveri

ries including *Rumina*, *Ruminalis ficus*, *Iuppiter Ruminus*, which bears the name of Rome itself with an Etruscan vocalism preserved in inscriptions, series that would be preserved in the sacred language (cf. *Rumach* Etruscan for Roman). However many scholars have argued that the name of Rome, *Ruma*, meant in fact woman's breast.<sup>[135]</sup> *Diva Rumina*, as Augustine testifies in the cited passage, was the goddess of suckling babies: she was venerated near the *ficus ruminalis* and was offered only libations of milk.<sup>[136]</sup> Here moreover Augustine cites the verses devoted to Jupiter by *Quintus Valerius Soranus*, while hypothesising *Iuno* (more adept in his view as a breast-feeder), i.e. *Rumina* instead of *Ruminus*, might be nothing else than *Iuppiter*: "*Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque Progenitor genetrixque deum...*".

In Dumézil's opinion *Farreus* should be understood as related to the rite of the *confarreatio* the most sacred form of marriage, the name of which is due to the spelt cake eaten by the spouses, rather than surmising an agricultural quality of the god: the epithet means the god was the guarantor of the effects of the ceremony, to which the presence of his flamen is necessary and that he can

interrupt with a clap of thunder.<sup>[137]</sup>

The epithet *Dapalis* is on the other hand connected to a rite described by Cato and mentioned by Festus.<sup>[138]</sup> Before the sowing of autumn or spring the peasant offered a banquet of roast beef and a cup of wine to Jupiter: it is natural that on such occasions he would entreat the god who has power over the weather, however Cato's prayer of s one of sheer offer and no request. The language suggests another attitude: Jupiter is invited to a banquet which is supposedly abundant and magnificent. The god is honoured as *summus*. The peasant may hope he shall receive a benefit, but he does not say it. This interpretation finds support in the analogous urban ceremony of the *epulum Iovis*, from which the god derives the epithet of *Epulo* and which was a magnificent feast accompanied by flutes.<sup>[139]</sup>

Epithets related to warring are in Wissowa's view *Iuppiter Feretrius*, *Iuppiter Stator*, *Iuppiter Victor* and *Iuppiter Invictus*.<sup>[140]</sup> *Feretrius* would be connected with war by the rite of the first type of *spolia opima* which is in fact a dedication to the god of the arms of the defeated king of the enemy that happens whenever he has been killed by the king of Rome or his equivalent authority. Here too Dumézil notes the dedication has to do with regality and not with war, since the rite is in fact the offer of the arms of a king by a king: a proof of such an assumption is provided by the fact that the arms of an enemy king captured by an officer or a common soldier were dedicated to Mars and Quirinus respectively.

*Iuppiter Stator* was first attributed by tradition to Romulus, who had prayed the god for his almighty help at a difficult time the battle with the Sabines of king Titus Tatius.<sup>[141]</sup> Dumézil opines the action of Jupiter is not that of a god of war who wins through fighting: Jupiter acts by causing an inexplicable change in the morale of the fighters of the two sides. The same feature can be detected also in the certainly historical record of the battle of the third Samnite War in 294 BC, in which consul *Marcus Atilius Regulus* vowed a temple to *Iuppiter Stator* if "Jupiter will stop the rout of the Roman army and if afterwards the Samnite legions shall be victoriously massacred...It looked as if the gods themselves had taken side with Romans, so much easily did the Roman arms succeed in prevailing..."<sup>[142][143]</sup> In a similar manner one can explain the epithet *Victor*, whose cult was founded in 295 BC on the battlefield of *Sentinum* by *Quintus Fabius Maximus Gurges* and who received another vow again in 293 by consul *Lucius Papirius Cursor* before a battle against the Samnite *legio linteata*. The religious meaning of the vow is in both cases an appeal to the supreme god by a Roman chief at a time of need for divine help from the supreme god, albeit for different reasons: Fabius had remained the only political and military responsible of the Roman State after the *devotio* of P. Decius Mus, Papirius had to face an enemy who had acted with impious rites and vows, i.e. was religiously reprehensible.<sup>[144]</sup>

More recently Dario Sabbatucci has given a different interpretation of the meaning of *Stator* within the frame of his structuralistic and dialectic vision of Roman calendar, identifying oppositions, tensions and equilibria: January is the month of *Janus*, at the beginning of the year, in the uncertain time of winter (the most ancient calendar had only ten months, from March to December). In this month *Janus* deifies kingship and defies *Jupiter*. Moreover, January sees also the presence of *Veiovis* who appears as an anti-*Jupiter*, of *Carmenta* who is the goddess of birth and like *Janus* has two opposed faces, *Prorsa* and *Postvorta* (also named *Antevorta* and *Porrima*), of *Iuturna*, who as a gushing spring evokes the process of coming into being from non-being as the god of passage and change does. In this period the preeminence of *Janus* needs compensating on the Ides through the action of *Jupiter Stator*, who plays the role of anti-*Janus*, i.e. of moderator of the action of *Janus*.<sup>[145]</sup>

### 5.1.1 Epithets denoting functionality

Some epithets describe a particular aspect of the god, or one of his functions:

- **Jove Aegiochus**, Jove “Holder of the Goat or Aegis”, as the father of *Aegipan*.<sup>[146]</sup>
- **Jupiter Caelus**, *Jupiter* as the sky or heavens; see also *Caelus*.
- **Jupiter Caelestis**, “Heavenly” or “Celestial *Jupiter*”.
- **Jupiter Elicius**, *Jupiter* “who calls forth [celestial omens]” or “who is called forth [by incantations]”; “sender of rain”.
- **Jupiter Feretrius**, who carries away the spoils of war”. *Feretrius* was called upon to witness solemn oaths.<sup>[147]</sup> The epithet or “numen” is probably connected with the verb *ferire*, “to strike,” referring to a ritual striking of ritual as illustrated in *foedus ferire*, of which the *sillex*, a quartz rock, is evidence in his temple on the Capitoline hill, which is said to have been the first temple in Rome, erected and dedicated by *Romulus* to commemorate his winning of the *spolia opima* from *Acron*, king of the *Caeninenses*, and to serve as a repository for them. *Iuppiter Feretrius* was therefore equivalent to *Iuppiter Lapis*, the latter used for a specially solemn oath.<sup>[148]</sup> According to *Livy* I 10, 5 and *Plutarch Marcellus* 8 though, the meaning of this epithet is related to the peculiar frame used to carry the *spolia opima* to the god, the *feretrum*, itself from verb *fero*,
- **Jupiter Centumpeda**, literally, “he who has one hundred feet”; that is, “he who has the power of establishing, of rendering stable, bestowing stability on everything”, since he himself is the paramount of stability.
- **Jupiter Fulgur** (“Lightning *Jupiter*”), **Fulgurator** or **Fulgens**
- **Jupiter Lucetius** (“of the light”), an epithet almost certainly related to the light or flame of lightning-bolts and not to daylight, as indicated by the Jovian verses of the *carmen Saliare*.<sup>[149]</sup>
- **Jupiter Optimus Maximus** (“the best and greatest”). *Optimus*<sup>[150]</sup> because of the benefits he bestows, *Maximus* because of his strength, according to *Cicero Pro Domo Sua*.<sup>[151]</sup>
- **Jupiter Pluvius**, “sender of rain”.
- **Jupiter Ruminus**, “breastfeeder of every living being”, according to *Augustine*.<sup>[152]</sup>
- **Jupiter Stator**, from *stare*, “to stand”: “he who has power of founding, instituting everything”, thence also he who makes people, soldiers, stand firm and fast.<sup>[153]</sup>
- **Jupiter Summanus**, sender of nocturnal thunder
- **Jupiter Terminalus** or **Iuppiter Terminus**, patron and defender of boundaries
- **Jupiter Tigillus**, “beam or shaft that supports and holds together the universe.”<sup>[154]</sup>
- **Jupiter Tonans**, “thunderer”
- **Jupiter Victor**, “he who has the power of conquering everything.”<sup>[154]</sup>

### 5.1.2 Syncretic or geographical epithets

Some epithets of *Jupiter* indicate his association with a particular place. Epithets found in the provinces of the Roman Empire may identify *Jupiter* with a local deity or site (see syncretism).

- **Jupiter Ammon**, *Jupiter* equated with the Egyptian deity *Amun* after the Roman conquest of Egypt
- **Jupiter Brixianus**, *Jupiter* equated with the local god of the town of *Brescia* in *Cisalpine Gaul* (modern North Italy)
- **Jupiter Capitolinus**, also *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, venerated throughout the Roman Empire at sites with a *Capitol* (*Capitolium*)
- **Jupiter Dolichenus**, from *Doliche* in *Syria*, originally a *Baal* weather and war god. From the time of *Vespasian*, he was popular among the Roman legions as god of war and victory, especially on the *Danube* at *Carnuntum*. He is depicted as standing on a bull, with a thunderbolt in his left hand, and a double ax in the right.

- **Jupiter Indiges**, “Jupiter of the country,” a title given to Aeneas after his death, according to Livy<sup>[155]</sup>
- **Jupiter Ladicus**, Jupiter equated with a Celtiberian mountain-god and worshipped as the spirit of Mount Ladicus in Gallaecia, northwest Iberia,<sup>[156]</sup> preserved in the toponym *Codos de Ladoco*.<sup>[157]</sup>
- **Jupiter Laterius** or **Latiaris**, the god of Latium
- **Jupiter Parthinus** or **Partinus**, under this name was worshiped on the borders of northeast Dalmatia and Upper Moesia, perhaps associated with the local tribe known as the Partheni.
- **Jupiter Poeninus**, under this name worshipped in the Alps, around the Great St Bernard Pass, where he had a sanctuary.
- **Jupiter Solutorius**, a local version of Jupiter worshipped in Spain; he was syncretised with the local Iberian god Eacus.
- **Jupiter Taranis**, Jupiter equated with the Celtic god Taranis.
- **Jupiter Uxellinus**, Jupiter as a god of high mountains.

In addition, many of the epithets of Zeus can be found applied to Jupiter, by *interpretatio romana*. Thus, since the hero Trophonius (from Lebadea in Boeotia) is called Zeus Trophonius, this can be represented in English (as it would be in Latin) as Jupiter Trophonius. Similarly, the Greek cult of Zeus Meilichios appears in Pompeii as Jupiter Meilichius. Except in representing actual cults in Italy, this is largely 19th-century usage; modern works distinguish Jupiter from Zeus.

## 6 Theology

### 6.1 Sources

Marcus Terentius Varro and Verrius Flaccus<sup>[158]</sup> were the main sources on the theology of Jupiter and archaic Roman religion in general. Varro was acquainted with the *libri pontificum* (“books of the Pontiffs”) and their archaic classifications.<sup>[159]</sup> On these two sources depend other ancient authorities, such as Ovid, Servius, Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, patristic texts, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch.

One of the most important sources which preserve the theology of Jupiter and other Roman deities is *The City of God against the Pagans* by Augustine of Hippo. Augustine’s criticism of traditional Roman religion is based on Varro’s lost work, *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*. Although a work of Christian apologetics, *The City of God*

provides glimpses into Varro’s theological system and authentic Roman theological lore in general. According to Augustine,<sup>[160]</sup> Varro drew on the pontiff Mucius Scaevola’s tripartite theology:

- The **mythic theology** of the poets (useful for the theatre)
- The **physical theology** of the philosophers (useful for understanding the natural world)
- The **civil theology** of the priests (useful for the state)<sup>[161]</sup>

### 6.2 Jovian theology

Georg Wissowa stressed Jupiter’s uniqueness as the only case among Indo-European religions in which the original god preserved his name, his identity and his prerogatives.<sup>[109]</sup> In this view, Jupiter is the god of heaven and retains his identification with the sky among the Latin poets (his name is used as a synonym for “sky”).<sup>[162]</sup> In this respect, he differs from his Greek equivalent Zeus (who is considered a personal god, warden and dispenser of skylight). His name reflects this idea; it is a derivative of the Indo-European word for “bright, shining sky”. His residence is found atop the hills of Rome and of mountains in general; as a result, his cult is present in Rome and throughout Italy at upper elevations.<sup>[163]</sup> Jupiter assumed atmospheric qualities; he is the wielder of lightning and the master of weather. However, Wissowa acknowledges that Jupiter is not merely a naturalistic, heavenly, supreme deity; he is in continual communication with man by means of thunder, lightning and the flight of birds (his *auspices*). Through his vigilant watch he is also the guardian of public oaths and compacts and the guarantor of good faith in the State cult. Wissowa (1912), pp. 100-101 The Jovian cult was common to the Italic people under the names *Iove*, *Diove* (Latin) and *Iuve*, *Di-ive* (Oscan, in Umbrian only *Iuve*, *Iupater* in the Iguvine Tables).

Wissowa considered Jupiter also a god of war and agriculture, in addition to his political role as guarantor of good faith (public and private) as *Iuppiter Lapis* and *Dius Fidius*, respectively. His view is grounded in the sphere of action of the god (who intervenes in battle and influences the harvest through weather). Wissowa (1912), pp. 103–108

In Georges Dumézil’s view, Jovian theology (and that of the equivalent gods in other Indo-European religions) is an evolution from a naturalistic, supreme, celestial god identified with heaven to a sovereign god, a wielder of lightning bolts, master and protector of the community (in other words, of a change from a naturalistic approach to the world of the divine to a socio-political approach).<sup>[164]</sup>



One interpretation of the lightning in Giorgione's *Tempest* is that it represents the presence of Jupiter.<sup>[165]</sup>

In Vedic religion, Dyaus Pitar remained confined to his distant, removed, passive role and the place of sovereign god was occupied by Varuna and Mitra. In Greek and Roman religion, instead, the homonymous gods \**Diou-* and *Δι-* evolved into atmospheric deities; by their mastery of thunder and lightning, they expressed themselves and made their will known to the community. In Rome, Jupiter also sent signs to the leaders of the state in the form of *auspices* in addition to thunder. The art of augury was considered prestigious by ancient Romans; by sending his signs, Jupiter (the sovereign of heaven) communicates his advice to his terrestrial colleague: the king (*rex*) or his successor magistrates. The encounter between the heavenly and political, legal aspects of the deity are well represented by the prerogatives, privileges, functions and taboos proper to his *flamen* (the *flamen Dialis* and his wife, the *flaminica Dialis*).

Dumézil maintains that Jupiter is not himself a god of war and agriculture, although his actions and interest may extend to these spheres of human endeavour. His view is based on the methodological assumption that the chief criterion for studying a god's nature is not to consider his field of action, but the quality, method and features of his action. Consequently, the analysis of the type of action performed by Jupiter in the domains in which he operates indicates that Jupiter is a sovereign god who may act in the field of politics (as well as agriculture and war) in his capacity as such, i.e. in a way and with the features proper to a king. Sovereignty is expressed through the two aspects of absolute, magic power (epitomised and represented by the Vedic god Varuna) and lawful right (by the Vedic god Mitra).<sup>[166]</sup> However, sovereignty permits action in every field; otherwise, it would lose its essential quality. As a further proof, Dumézil cites the story of Tullus Hostilius

(the most belligerent of the Roman kings), who was killed by Jupiter with a lightning bolt (indicating that he did not enjoy the god's favour). Varro's definition of Jupiter as the god who has under his jurisdiction the full expression of every being (*penes Iovem sunt summa*) reflects the sovereign nature of the god, as opposed to the jurisdiction of Janus (god of passages and change) on their beginning (*penes Ianum sunt prima*).<sup>[167]</sup>

## 7 Relation to other gods

### 7.1 Archaic Triad

Main article: [Archaic Triad](#)

The Archaic Triad is a theological structure (or system) consisting of the gods Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus. It was first described by Wissowa,<sup>[168]</sup> and the concept was developed further by Dumézil. The three-function hypothesis of Indo-European society advanced by Dumézil holds that in prehistory, society was divided into three classes (priests, warriors and craftsmen) which had as their religious counterparts the divine figures of the sovereign god, the warrior god and the civil god. The sovereign function (embodied by Jupiter) entailed omnipotence; thence, a domain extended over every aspect of nature and life. The colour relating to the sovereign function is white.

The three functions are interrelated with one another, overlapping to some extent; the sovereign function, although essentially religious in nature, is involved in many ways in areas pertaining to the other two. Therefore, Jupiter is the "magic player" in the founding of the Roman state and the fields of war, agricultural plenty, human fertility and wealth.<sup>[169]</sup>

### 7.2 Capitoline Triad

See also: [Capitoline Triad](#)

The Capitoline Triad was introduced to Rome by the



*Capitoline Triad*

Tarquins. Dumézil<sup>[170]</sup> thinks it might have been an Etr-

uscan (or local) creation based on Vitruvius' treatise on architecture, in which the three deities are associated as the most important. It is possible that the Etruscans paid particular attention to *Menrva* (Minerva) as a goddess of destiny, in addition to the royal couple Uni (Juno) and Tinia (Jupiter).<sup>[171]</sup> In Rome, Minerva later assumed a military aspect under the influence of *Athena Pallas* (Polias). Dumézil argues that with the advent of the Republic, Jupiter became the only king of Rome, no longer merely the first of the great gods.

### 7.3 Jupiter and Minerva

Apart from being protectress of the arts and craft as *Minerva Capta*, who was brought from Falerii, Minerva's association to Jupiter and relevance to Roman state religion is mainly linked to the *Palladium*, a wooden statue of Athena that could move the eyes and wave the spear. It was stored in the *penus interior*, inner penus of the *aedes Vestae*, temple of Vesta and considered the most important among the *pignora imperii*, pawns of dominion, empire.<sup>[172]</sup> In Roman traditional lore it was brought from Troy by Aeneas. Scholars though think it was last taken to Rome in the third or second century BC.<sup>[173]</sup>

### 7.4 Juno and Fortuna

The divine couple received from Greece its matrimonial implications, thence bestowing on *Juno* the role of tutelary goddess of marriage (*Iuno Pronuba*).

The couple itself though cannot be reduced to a Greek apport. The association of Juno and Jupiter is of the most ancient Latin theology.<sup>[174]</sup> *Praeneste* offers a glimpse into original Latin mythology: the local goddess *Fortuna* is represented as milking two infants, one male and one female, namely *Jove* (Jupiter) and *Juno*.<sup>[175]</sup> It seems fairly safe to assume that from the earliest times they were identified by their own proper names and since they got them they were never changed through the course of history: they were called Jupiter and Juno. These gods were the most ancient deities of every Latin town. *Praeneste* preserved divine filiation and infancy as the sovereign god and his *paredra Juno* have a mother who is the primordial goddess *Fortuna Primigenia*.<sup>[176]</sup> Many terracotta statuettes have been discovered which represent a woman with a child: one of them represents exactly the scene described by Cicero of a woman with two children of different sex who touch her breast. Two of the votive inscriptions to *Fortuna* associate her and Jupiter: "Fortunae Iovi puero..." and "Fortunae Iovis puero..."<sup>[177]</sup>

In 1882 though R. Mowat published an inscription in which *Fortuna* is called *daughter of Jupiter*, raising new questions and opening new perspectives in the theology of Latin gods.<sup>[178]</sup> Dumézil has elaborated an interpretative theory according to which this *aporia* would be an intrinsic, fundamental feature of Indoeuropean deities of

the primordial and sovereign level, as it finds a parallel in Vedic religion.<sup>[179]</sup> The contradiction would put *Fortuna* both at the origin of time and into its ensuing diachronic process: it is the comparison offered by Vedic deity *Aditi*, the *Not-Bound* or *Enemy of Bondage*, that shows that there is no question of choosing one of the two apparent options: as the mother of the *Aditya* she has the same type of relationship with one of his sons, *Dakṣa*, the minor sovereign, who represents the *Creative Energy*, being at the same time his mother and daughter, as is true for the whole group of sovereign gods to which she belongs.<sup>[180]</sup> Moreover, *Aditi* is thus one of the heirs (along with *Savitr*) of the opening god of the IndoIranians, as she is represented with her head on her two sides, with the two faces looking opposite directions.<sup>[181]</sup> The mother of the sovereign gods has thence two solidal but distinct modalities of duplicity, i.e. of having two foreheads and a double position in the genealogy. Angelo Brelich has interpreted this theology as the basic opposition between the primordial absence of order (chaos) and the organization of the cosmos.<sup>[182]</sup>

### 7.5 Janus

Main article: [Janus](#)

The relation of Jupiter to Janus is problematic. Varro defines Jupiter as the god who has *potestas* (power) over the forces by which anything happens in the world. Janus, however, has the privilege of being invoked first in rites, since in his power are the beginnings of things (*prima*), the appearance of Jupiter included.<sup>[183]</sup>

### 7.6 Saturn

Main article: [Saturn \(mythology\)](#)

The Latins considered Saturn the predecessor of Jupiter. Saturn reigned in Latium during a mythical Golden Age reenacted every year at the festival of *Saturnalia*. Saturn also retained primacy in matters of agriculture and money. Unlike the Greek tradition of *Cronus* and *Zeus*, the usurpation of Saturn as king of the gods by Jupiter was not viewed by the Latins as violent or hostile; Saturn continued to be revered in his temple at the foot of the Capitol Hill, which maintained the alternative name *Saturnius* into the time of Varro.<sup>[184]</sup> A. Pasqualini has argued that Saturn was related to *Iuppiter Latiaris*, the old Jupiter of the Latins, as the original figure of this Jupiter was superseded on the Alban Mount, whereas it preserved its gruesome character in the ceremony held at the sanctuary of the Latiar Hill in Rome which involved a human sacrifice and the aspersion of the statue of the god with the blood of the victim.<sup>[185]</sup>

## 7.7 Fides

Main article: *Fides* (mythology)

The abstract personification *Fides* (“Faith, Trust”) was one of the oldest gods associated with Jupiter. As guarantor of public faith, *Fides* had her temple on the Capitol (near that of Capitoline Jupiter).<sup>[186]</sup>

## 7.8 Dius Fidius

Main article: *Dius Fidius*

*Dius Fidius* is considered a *theonym* for Jupiter,<sup>[187]</sup> and sometimes a separate entity also known in Rome as *Semo Sancus Dius Fidius*. Wissowa argued that while Jupiter is the god of the *Fides Publica Populi Romani* as *Iuppiter Lapis* (by whom important oaths are sworn), *Dius Fidius* is a deity established for everyday use and was charged with the protection of good faith in private affairs. *Dius Fidius* would thus correspond to *Zeus Pistios*.<sup>[188]</sup> The association with Jupiter may be a matter of divine relation; some scholars see him as a form of Hercules.<sup>[189]</sup> Both Jupiter and *Dius Fidius* were wardens of oaths and wielders of lightning bolts; both required an opening in the roof of their temples.<sup>[190]</sup>

The functionality of *Sancus* occurs consistently within the sphere of *fides*, oaths and respect for contracts and of the divine-sanction guarantee against their breach. Wissowa suggested that *Semo Sancus* is the *genius* of Jupiter,<sup>[191]</sup> but the concept of a deity’s *genius* is a development of the Imperial period.<sup>[192]</sup>

Some aspects of the oath-ritual for *Dius Fidius* (such as proceedings under the open sky or in the *compluvium* of private residences), and the fact the temple of *Sancus* had no roof, suggest that the oath sworn by *Dius Fidius* predated that for *Iuppiter Lapis* or *Iuppiter Feretrius*.<sup>[193]</sup>

## 7.9 Genius

Main article: *Genius* (mythology)

Augustine quotes Varro who explains the *genius* as “the god who is in charge and has the power to generate everything” and “the rational spirit of all (therefore, everyone has their own)”. Augustine concludes that Jupiter should be considered the *genius* of the universe.<sup>[194]</sup>

G. Wissowa advanced the hypothesis that *Semo Sancus* is the *genius* of Jupiter.<sup>[191]</sup> W. W. Fowler has cautioned that this interpretation looks to be an anachronism and it would only be acceptable to say that *Sancus* is a *Genius Iovius*, as it appears from the Iguvine Tables.<sup>[195]</sup>

Censorinus cites Granius Flaccus as saying that “the *Genius* was the same entity as the *Lar*” in his lost work *De*

*Indigitamentis*.<sup>[196][197]</sup> probably referring to the *Lar Familiaris*. *Mutunus Tutunus* had his shrine at the foot of the Velian Hill near those of the *Di Penates* and of *Vica Pota*, who were among the most ancient gods of the Roman community of according to Wissowa.<sup>[198]</sup>

Dumézil opines that the attribution of a *Genius* to the gods should be earlier than its first attestation of 58 BC, in an inscription which mentions the *Iovis Genius*.<sup>[199]</sup>

A connection between *Genius* and Jupiter seems apparent in Plautus' comedy *Amphitryon*, in which Jupiter takes up the looks of *Alcmena*'s husband in order to seduce her: J. Hubeaux sees there a reflection of the story that *Scipio Africanus*' mother conceived him with a snake that was in fact Jupiter transformed.<sup>[200]</sup> Scipio himself claimed that only he would rise to the mansion of the gods through the widest gate.<sup>[201]</sup>

Among the Etruscan *Penates* there is a *Genius Iovialis* who comes after *Fortuna* and *Ceres* and before *Pales*.<sup>[202]</sup> *Genius Iovialis* is one of the *Penates* of the humans and not of Jupiter though, as these were located in region I of Martianus Capella's division of Heaven, while *Genius* appears in regions V and VI along with *Ceres*, *Favor* (possibly a Roman approximation to an Etruscan male manifestation of *Fortuna*) and *Pales*.<sup>[203]</sup> This is in accord with the definition of the *Penates* of man being *Fortuna*, *Ceres*, *Pales* and *Genius Iovialis* and the statement in Macrobius that the *Larentalia* were dedicated to Jupiter as the god whence the souls of men come from and to whom they return after death.<sup>[204]</sup>

## 7.10 Summanus

Main article: *Summanus*

The god of nighttime lightning has been interpreted as an aspect of Jupiter, either a chthonic manifestation of the god or a separate god of the underworld. A statue of *Summanus* stood on the roof of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, and *Iuppiter Summanus* is one of the epithets of Jupiter.<sup>[205]</sup> Dumézil sees the opposition *Dius Fidius* versus *Summanus* as complementary, interpreting it as typical to the inherent ambiguity of the sovereign god exemplified by that of *Mitra* and *Varuna* in Vedic religion.<sup>[206]</sup> The complementarity of the epithets is shown in inscriptions found on *puteals* or *bidentals* reciting either *fulgur Diurnum conditum*<sup>[207]</sup> or *fulgur Summanum conditum* in places struck by daytime versus nighttime lightning bolts respectively.<sup>[208]</sup> This is also consistent with the etymology of *Summanus*, deriving from *sub* and *mane* (the time before morning).<sup>[209]</sup>

## 7.11 Liber

See also: *Liber*

*Iuppiter* was associated with *Liber* through his epithet of *Liber* (association not yet been fully explained by scholars, due to the scarcity of early documentation). In the past, it was maintained that *Liber* was only a progressively-detached *hypostasis* of *Jupiter*; consequently, the vintage festivals were to be attributed only to *Iuppiter Liber*.<sup>[210]</sup> Such a hypothesis was rejected as groundless by Wissowa, although he was a supporter of *Liber*'s Jovian origin.<sup>[211]</sup> Olivier de Cazanove<sup>[212]</sup> contends that it is difficult to admit that *Liber* (who is present in the oldest calendars—those of *Numa*—in the *Liberalia* and in the month of *Liber* at *Lavinium*)<sup>[213]</sup> was derived from another deity. Such a derivation would find support only in epigraphic documents, primarily from the *Osco-Sabellic* area.<sup>[214]</sup> Wissowa sets the position of *Iuppiter Liber* within the framework of an agrarian *Jupiter*. The god also had a temple in this name on the *Aventine* in *Rome*, which was restored by *Augustus* and dedicated on *September 1*. Here, the god was sometimes named *Liber*<sup>[215]</sup> and sometimes *Libertas*.<sup>[216]</sup> Wissowa opines that the relationship existed in the concept of creative abundance through which the supposedly-separate *Liber* might have been connected<sup>[217]</sup> to the Greek god *Dionysos*, although both deities might not have been originally related to viticulture.

Other scholars assert that there was no *Liber* (other than a god of wine) within historical memory.<sup>[218]</sup> O. de Cazanove<sup>[219]</sup> argues that the domain of the sovereign god *Jupiter* was that of sacred, sacrificial wine (*vinum inferium*),<sup>[220]</sup> while that of *Liber* and *Libera* was confined to secular wine (*vinum spurcum*);<sup>[221]</sup> these two types were obtained through differing fermentation processes. The offer of wine to *Liber* was made possible by naming the *mustum* (grape juice) stored in amphoras *sacrima*.<sup>[222]</sup> Sacred wine was obtained by the natural fermentation of juice of grapes free from flaws of any type, religious (e. g. those struck by lightning, brought into contact with corpses or wounded people or coming from an unfertilised vineyard) or secular (by “cutting” it with old wine). Secular (or “profane”) wine was obtained through several types of manipulation (e.g. by adding honey, or *mulsum*; using raisins, or *passum*; by boiling, or *defrutum*). However, the *sacrima* used for the offering to the two gods for the preservation of vineyards, vessels and wine<sup>[223]</sup> was obtained only by pouring the juice into amphoras after pressing.<sup>[224]</sup> The *mustum* was considered *spurcum* (dirty), and thus unusable in sacrifices.<sup>[225]</sup> The amphora (itself not an item of sacrifice) permitted presentation of its content on a table or could be added to a sacrifice; this happened at the *auspicatio vindamiae* for the first grape<sup>[226]</sup> and for ears of corn of the *praemetium* on a dish (*lanx*) at the temple of *Ceres*.<sup>[227]</sup>

*Dumézil*, on the other hand, sees the relationship between *Jupiter* and *Liber* as grounded in the social and political relevance of the two gods (who were both considered patrons of freedom).<sup>[228]</sup> The *Liberalia* of *March* were, since earliest times, the occasion for the ceremony of the

donning of the *toga virilis* or *libera* (which marked the passage into adult citizenship by young people). *Augustine* relates that these festivals had a particularly obscene character: a *phallus* was taken to the fields on a cart, and then back in triumph to town. In *Lavinium* they lasted a month, during which the population enjoyed bawdy jokes. The most honest *matronae* were supposed to publicly crown the *phallus* with flowers, to ensure a good harvest and repeal the *fascinatio* (evil eye).<sup>[213]</sup> In *Rome* representations of the sex organs were placed in the temple of the couple *Liber Libera*, who presided over the male and female components of generation and the “liberation” of the semen.<sup>[229]</sup> This complex of rites and beliefs shows that the divine couple's jurisdiction extended over fertility in general, not only that of grapes. The etymology of *Liber* (archaic form *Loifer*, *Loifir*) was explained by *Émile Benveniste* as formed on the IE theme \*leudh- plus the suffix -es-; its original meaning is “the one of germination, he who ensures the sprouting of crops”.<sup>[230]</sup>

The relationship of *Jupiter* with freedom was a common belief among the Roman people, as demonstrated by the dedication of the *Mons Sacer* to the god after the first secession of the *plebs*. Later inscriptions also show the unabated popular belief in *Jupiter* as bestower of freedom in the imperial era.<sup>[231]</sup>

## 7.12 Veiove

Main article: *Vejovis*

Scholars have been often puzzled by *Ve(d)ioue* (or *Veiovis*, or *Vedius*) and unwilling to discuss his identity, claiming our knowledge of this god is insufficient.<sup>[232]</sup> Most, however, agree that *Veiove* is a sort of special *Jupiter* or anti-*Ioue*, or even an underworld *Jupiter*. In other words, *Veiove* is indeed the *Capitoline* god himself, who takes up a different, diminished appearance (*iuvenis* and *parvus*, young and gracile), in order to be able to discharge sovereign functions over places, times and spheres that by their own nature are excluded from the direct control of *Jupiter* as *Optimus Maximus*.<sup>[233]</sup> This conclusion is based on information provided by *Gellius*,<sup>[234]</sup> who states his name is formed by adding prefix *ve* (here denoting “deprivation” or “negation”) to *Ioue* (whose name *Gellius* posits as rooted in the verb *iuvo* “I benefit”). *D. Sabbatucci* has stressed the feature of bearer of instability and antithesis to cosmic order of the god, who threatens the kingly power of *Jupiter* as *Stator* and *Centumpeda* and whose presence occurs side by side to *Janus* on *January 1*, but also his function of helper to the growth of the young *Jupiter*.<sup>[235]</sup> In 1858 *Ludwig Preller* suggested that *Veiovis* may be the sinister double of *Jupiter*.<sup>[236]</sup>

In fact, the god (under the name *Vetis*) is placed in the last case (number 16) of the outer rim of the *Piacenza Liver*—before *Cilens* (*Nocturnus*), who ends (or begins in the *Etruscan* vision) the disposition of the gods. In

Martianus Capella's division of heaven, he is found in region XV with the *dii publici*; as such, he numbers among the infernal (or antipodal) gods. The location of his two temples in Rome—near those of Jupiter (one on the Capitoline Hill, in the low between the *arx* and the Capitolium, between the two groves where the *asylum* founded by Romulus stood, the other on the Tiber Island near that of *Iuppiter Iurarius*, later also known as temple of Aesculapius)<sup>[237]</sup>—may be significant in this respect, along with the fact that he is considered the father<sup>[238]</sup> of Apollo, perhaps because he was depicted carrying arrows. He is also considered to be the unbearded Jupiter.<sup>[239]</sup> The dates of his festivals support the same conclusion: they fall on January 1,<sup>[240]</sup> March 7<sup>[241]</sup> and May 21,<sup>[242]</sup> the first date being the recurrence of the *Agonalia*, dedicated to Janus and celebrated by the king with the sacrifice of a ram. The nature of the sacrifice is debated; Gellius states *capra*, a female goat, although some scholars posit a ram. This sacrifice occurred *rito humano*, which may mean “with the rite appropriate for human sacrifice”.<sup>[243]</sup> Gellius concludes by stating that this god is one of those who receive sacrifices so as to persuade them to refrain from causing harm.

The arrow is an ambivalent symbol; it was used in the ritual of the *devotio* (the general who vowed had to stand on an arrow).<sup>[244]</sup> It is perhaps because of the arrow and of the juvenile looks that Gellius identifies Veiove with Apollo<sup>[245]</sup> and as a god who must receive worship in order to obtain his abstention from harming men, along with *Robigus* and *Averruncus*.<sup>[246]</sup> The ambivalence in the identity of Veiove is apparent in the fact that while he is present in places and times which may have a negative connotation (such as the *asylum* of Romulus in between the two groves on the Capitol, the Tiberine island along with Faunus and Aesculapius, the kalends of January, the nones of March, and May 21, a statue of his nonetheless stands in the *arx*. Moreover, the initial particle *ve-* which the ancient supposed were part of his name is itself ambivalent as it may have both an accrescitive and diminutive value.<sup>[247]</sup>

Maurice Besnier has remarked that a temple to *Iuppiter* was dedicated by *praetor* Lucius Furius Purpureo before the battle of Cremona against the Celtic *Cenomani* of Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>[248]</sup> An inscription found at Brescia in 1888 shows that *Iuppiter Iurarius* was worshipped there<sup>[249]</sup> and one found on the south tip of Tiber Island in 1854 that there was a cult to the god on the spot too.<sup>[250]</sup> Besnier speculates that Lucius Furius had evoked the chief god of the enemy and built a temple to him in Rome outside the *pomerium*. On January 1, the *Fasti Praenestini* record the festivals of Aesculapius and *Vediove* on the Island, while in the *Fasti* Ovid speaks of *Jupiter* and his grandson.<sup>[251]</sup> Livy records that in 192 BC, *duumvir* Q. Marcus Ralla dedicated to Jupiter on the Capitol the two temples promised by L. Furius Purpureo, one of which was that promised during the war against the Gauls.<sup>[252]</sup> Besnier would accept a correction to Livy's

passage (proposed by Jordan) to read *aedes Veiovi* instead of *aedes duae Iovi*. Such a correction concerns the temples dedicated on the Capitol: it does not address the question of the dedication of the temple on the Island, which is puzzling, since the place is attested epigraphically as dedicated to the cult of *Iuppiter Iurarius*, in the *Fasti Praenestini* of *Vediove*<sup>[253]</sup> and to Jupiter according to Ovid. The two gods may have been seen as equivalent: *Iuppiter Iurarius* is an awesome and vengeful god, parallel to the Greek *Zeus Orkios*, the avenger of perjury.<sup>[254]</sup>

A. Pasqualini has argued that *Veiovis* seems related to *Iuppiter Latiaris*, as the original figure of this Jupiter would have been superseded on the Alban Mount, whereas it preserved its gruesome character in the ceremony held on the sanctuary of the Latiar Hill, the southernmost hilltop of the *Quirinal* in Rome, which involved a human sacrifice. The *gens Iulia* had gentilician cults at *Bovillae* where a dedicatory inscription to *Vediove* has been found in 1826 on an *ara*.<sup>[255]</sup> According to Pasqualini it was a deity similar to *Vediove*, wielder of lightningbolts and chthonic, who was connected to the cult of the founders who first inhabited the Alban Mount and built the sanctuary. Such a cult once superseded on the Mount would have been taken up and preserved by the *Iulii*, private citizens bound to the *sacra Albana* by their Alban origin.<sup>[256]</sup>

### 7.13 Victoria

See also: *Victoria* (mythology)

*Victoria* was connected to *Iuppiter Victor* in his role as



Coin with laureate head of *Jupiter* (obverse) and (reverse) *Victoria*, standing (“ROMA” below in relief)

bestower of military victory. Jupiter, as a sovereign god, was considered as having the power to conquer anyone and anything in a supernatural way; his contribution to military victory was different from that of *Mars* (god of military valour). *Victoria* appears first on the reverse of coins representing *Venus* (driving the quadriga of Jupiter, with her head crowned and with a palm in her hand) during the first Punic War. Sometimes, she is represented walking and carrying a trophy.<sup>[257]</sup>

A temple was dedicated to the goddess afterwards on the Palatine, testifying to her high station in the Roman mind. When Hieron of Syracuse presented a golden statuette of

the goddess to Rome, the Senate had it placed in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter among the greatest (and most sacred) deities.<sup>[258]</sup> Although Victoria played a significant role in the religious ideology of the late Republic and the Empire, she is undocumented in earlier times. A function similar to hers may have been played by the little-known *Vica Pota*.

## 7.14 Terminus

See also: *Terminus* (god)

Juventas and Terminus were the gods who, according to legend,<sup>[259]</sup> refused to leave their sites on the Capitol when the construction of the temple of Jupiter was undertaken. Therefore, they had to be reserved a *sacellum* within the new temple. Their stubbornness was considered a good omen; it would guarantee youth, stability and safety to Rome on its site.<sup>[260]</sup> This legend is generally thought by scholars to indicate their strict connection with Jupiter. An inscription found near Ravenna reads *Iuppiter Ter.*,<sup>[261]</sup> indicating that Terminus is an aspect of Jupiter.

Terminus is the god of boundaries (public and private), as he is portrayed in literature. The religious value of the boundary marker is documented by Plutarch,<sup>[262]</sup> who ascribes to king Numa the construction of temples to Fides and Terminus and the delimitation of Roman territory. Ovid gives a vivid description of the rural rite at a boundary of fields of neighbouring peasants on February 23 (the day of the *Terminalia*).<sup>[263]</sup> On that day, Roman pontiffs and magistrates held a ceremony at the sixth mile of the *Via Laurentina* (ancient border of the Roman *ager*, which maintained a religious value). This festival, however, marked the end of the year and was linked to time more directly than to space (as attested by Augustine's *apologia* on the role of Janus with respect to endings).<sup>[264]</sup> Dario Sabbatucci has emphasised the temporal affiliation of Terminus, a reminder of which is found in the rite of the *regifugium*.<sup>[265]</sup> G. Dumézil, on the other hand, views the function of this god as associated with the legalistic aspect of the sovereign function of Jupiter. Terminus would be the counterpart of the minor Vedic god Bagha, who oversees the just and fair division of goods among citizens.<sup>[266]</sup>

## 7.15 Iuventas

See also: *Iuventas*

Along with *Terminus*, *Iuventas* (also known as *Iuventus* and *Iuunta*) represents an aspect of Jupiter (as the legend of her refusal to leave the Capitol Hill demonstrates. Her name has the same root as Juno (from *Iuu-*, "young, youngster"); the ceremonial litter bearing the sacred goose of Juno Moneta stopped before her *sacel-*

*lum* on the festival of the goddess. Later, she was identified with the Greek *Hebe*. The fact that Jupiter is related to the concept of youth is shown by his epithets *Puer*, *Iuventus* and *Ioviste* (interpreted as "the youngest" by some scholars).<sup>[267]</sup> Dumézil noted the presence of the two minor sovereign deities Bagha and *Aryaman* beside the Vedic sovereign gods Varuna and Mitra (though more closely associated with Mitra); the couple would be reflected in Rome by *Terminus* and *Iuventas*. *Aryaman* is the god of young soldiers. The function of *Iuventas* is to protect the *iuvenes* (the *novi togati* of the year, who are required to offer a sacrifice to Jupiter on the Capitol)<sup>[268]</sup> and the Roman soldiers (a function later attributed to Juno). King Servius Tullius, in reforming the Roman social organisation, required that every adolescent offer a coin to the goddess of youth upon entering adulthood.<sup>[269]</sup>

In Dumézil's analysis, the function of *Iuventas* (the personification of youth), was to control the entrance of young men into society and protect them until they reach the age of *iuvenes* or *iuniores* (i.e. of serving the state as soldiers).<sup>[270]</sup> A temple to *Iuventas* was promised in 207 BC by consul Marcus Livius Salinator and dedicated in 191 BC.<sup>[271]</sup>

## 7.16 Penates

See also: *Penates*

The Romans considered the Penates as the gods to whom they owed their own existence.<sup>[272]</sup> As noted by Wissowa *Penates* is an adjective, meaning "those of or from the *penus*" the innermost part, most hidden recess;<sup>[273]</sup> Dumézil though refuses Wissowa's interpretation of *penus* as the storeroom of a household. As a nation the Romans honoured the *Penates publici*: Dionysius calls them *Trojan gods* as they were absorbed into the Trojan legend. They had a temple in Rome at the foot of the Velian Hill, near the Palatine, in which they were represented as a couple of male youth. They were honoured every year by the new consuls before entering office at Lavinium,<sup>[274]</sup> because the Romans believed the Penates of that town were identical to their own.<sup>[275]</sup>

The concept of *di Penates* is more defined in Etruria: Arnobius (citing a Caesius) states that the Etruscan Penates were named Fortuna, Ceres, Genius Iovialis and Pales; according to Nigidius Figulus, they included those of Jupiter, of Neptune, of the infernal gods and of mortal men.<sup>[276]</sup> According to Varro the Penates reside in the recesses of Heaven and are called *Consentes* and *Complices* by the Etruscans because they rise and set together, are twelve in number and their names are unknown, six male and six females and are the counsellors and masters of Jupiter. Martianus states they are always in agreement among themselves.<sup>[277]</sup> While these last gods seem to be the Penates of Jupiter, Jupiter himself along with Juno and Minerva is one of the Penates of man according to

some authors.<sup>[278]</sup>

This complex concept is reflected in Martianus Capella's division of heaven, found in Book I of his *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, which places the *Di Consentēs Penates* in region I with the *Favores Opertanei*; *Ceres* and *Genius* in region V; *Pales* in region VI; *Favor* and *Genius* (again) in region VII; *Secundanus Pales*, *Fortuna* and *Favor Pastor* in region XI. The disposition of these divine entities and their repetition in different locations may be due to the fact that *Penates* belonging to different categories (of Jupiter in region I, earthly or of mortal men in region V) are intended. *Favor(es)* may be the Etruscan masculine equivalent of *Fortuna*.<sup>[279]</sup>

## 8 See also

- *Ver sacrum*

## 9 Notes

- [1] With 19th-century additions of drapery, scepter, eagle, and Victory

### 9.1 References

- [1] *Iūpiter* is thought to be the historically older form and *Iuppiter* to have arisen through the so-called *litera*-rule. Compare Weiss (2010).
- [2] Pliny *Naturalis Historia* X 16. A. Alföldi *Zu den römischen Reiterscheiben in Germania* 30 1952 p. 188 and n. 11 as cited by G. Dumézil *La religion romaine archaïque* Paris 1974 2nd ed., It. tr. Milan 1977 (hereafter cited as ARR) p. 215 n. 58.
- [3] Servius *Ad Aeneidem* II 374.
- [4] Dictionary of Roman Coins, see e.g. reverse of “Consecratio” coin of Emperor Commodus & coin of Ptolemy V Epiphanes minted c. 204–180 BC.
- [5] Mars was a deity concerned with war and the defense of agriculture; Cato the Elder, *On Agriculture*, 141; alm, in Rüpke (ed), 239. The *Colline* deity *Quirinus* may have been equivalent in some way to both Mars and Jupiter: “Quirinus, perhaps the war god of the Quirinal settlement or the god who presided over the assembled citizens.” Howard Hayes Scullard, (2003), *A History of the Roman World, 753 to 146 BC*, page 393. Routledge. For a summary regarding the nature, status and complex development of Jupiter from regal to Republican era, see Beard *et al.*, Vol. 1, 59–60. For the conceptual difficulties involved in discussion of Roman deities and their cults, see Rüpke, in Rüpke (ed) 1–7.
- [6] *Larousse Desk Reference Encyclopedia*, The Book People, Haydock, 1995, p. 215.

- [7] *Diespiter* should not be confused with *Dis pater*, but the two names do cause confusion even in some passages of ancient literature; P.T. Eden, commentary on the *Apocolocyntosis* (Cambridge University Press, 1984, 2002), pp. 111–112.
- [8] Massimo Pallottino, “Etruscan Daemonology,” p. 41, and Robert Schilling, “Rome,” pp. 44 and 63, both in *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981); Giuliano Bonfante and Larissa Bonfante *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction* (Manchester University Press, 1983 rev. ed. 2003), pp. 24, 84, 85, 219, 225; Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend* (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006), pp. 19, 53–58 *et passim*; Jean MacIntosh Turfa, *Divining the Etruscan World: The Bronzoscopic Calendar and Religious Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 62.
- [9] Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), vol. 1, p. 59.
- [10] Orlin, in Rüpke (ed), 58.
- [11] Scheid, in Rüpke (ed), 263–271; G. Dumézil ARR It. tr. p. 181 citing Jean Bayet *Les annales de Tite Live* édition G. Budé vol. III 1942 Appendix V p. 153 and n. 3.
- [12] Dumézil 1977 p. 259 note 4: cf. Servius *Eclogae* X 27 “unde etiam triumphantes habent omnia insignia Iovis, sceptrum palmatamque togam” “wherefore also the triumphing commanders have all the insignia of Jupiter, the sceptre and the toga palmata”. On the interpretation of the triumphal dress and of the triumph, Larissa Bonfante has offered an interpretation based on Etruscan documents in her article: “Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: the Changing Face of the Triumph” in *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 1970 pp. 49–66 and tables I–VIII. Mary Beard rehearses various views of the *triumphator* as god or king in *The Roman Triumph* (Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 226–232, and expresses skepticism.
- [13] Dumézil 1977 citing Livy V 23, 6 and VI 17, 5.
- [14] G. Dumézil ARR above 1977 p. 177.
- [15] Dumézil 1977 p. citing Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* VI 90, 1; Festus s.v. p. 414 L 2nd.
- [16] Gary Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War* (University of California Press, 2005, 2006), p. 159 *et passim*.
- [17] Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.
- [18] Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland, “Religion in the Roman Republic,” in *Ancient Rome: From the Early Republic to the Assassination of Julius Caesar* (Routledge, 2005), pp. 127, 345.
- [19] Most of the information about the Flamen Dialis is preserved by Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* X 15.

- [20] Macrobius *Saturnalia* I 16, 8: *flaminica quotiens tonitrua audisset feriata erat, donec placasset deos*. The adjective *feriatus*, related to *feriae*, “holy days,” pertains to keeping a holiday, and hence means “idle, unemployed,” not performing one’s usual tasks.
- [21] Livy I 20, 1–2.
- [22] Plutarch *Quaestiones Romanae* 113.
- [23] Livy XXVII 8, 8.
- [24] Aulus Gellius, 10.15.5: *item iurare Diale fas numquam est*; Robert E.A. Palmer, “The Deconstruction of Mommsen on Festus 462/464L, or the Hazards of Interpretation,” in *Imperium sine fine: T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic* (Franz Steiner, 1996), p. 85; Francis X. Ryan, *Rank and Participation in the Republican Senate* (Franz Steiner, 1998), p. 165. The Vestals and the Flamen Dialis were the only Roman citizens who could not be compelled to swear an oath (Aulus Gellius 10.15.31); Robin Lorsch Wildfang, *Rome’s Vestal Virgin: A Study of Rome’s Vestal Priestesses in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (Routledge, 2006), p. 69.
- [25] Dumézil 1977 p. 147.
- [26] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 94–96, 169, 192, 502–504; G. Wissowa *Religion un Kultus der Römer* Munich 1912 p. 104 Hereafter cited as RK). Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Rom. Ant.* I 21, 1; Livy I 32, 4. See also *ius gentium*.
- [27] Livy I 24, 8.
- [28] Livy I 32, 10.
- [29] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 502–504 and 169. Wissowa (1912), p. 104, citing Paulus p. 92 M.; Servius *Aeneis* XII 206; Livy I 24, 3–8; IX 5, 3; XXX 43, 9; Festus p. 321 M.; Pliny NH XXII 5; Marcianus apud *Digesta* I 8, 8 par. 1; Servius *Aeneis* VIII 641; XII 120.
- [30] Varro in his *Lingua Latina* V writes of “Crustumian secession” (“*a secessione Crustumina*”).
- [31] F. Vallocchia “Manio Valerio Massimo dittatore ed auge” in *Diritto @ Storia* 7 2008 (online).
- [32] C. M. A. Riolfi “Plebe, pontefice massimo, tribuni della plebe: a proposito di Livio 3.54.5–14” in *Diritto @ Storia* 5 2006 (online).
- [33] Hendrik Wagenvoort, “Characteristic Traits of Ancient Roman Religion,” in *Pietas: Selected Studies in Roman Religion* (Brill, 1980), p. 241, ascribing the view that there was no early Roman mythology to W.F. Otto and his school.
- [34] Described by Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.85, as cited by R. Joy Littlewood, “Fortune,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford University Press, 2010), vol. 1, p. 212.
- [35] *CIL* 1.60, as cited by Littlewood, “Fortune,” p. 212.
- [36] J. Champeaux *Fortuna. Le culte de la Fortune à Rome et dans le monde romain. I Fortuna dans la religion archaïque* 1982 Rome: Publications de l’Ecole Française de Rome; as reviewed by John Scheid in *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 1986 203 1: pp. 67–68 (Comptes rendus).
- [37] William Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London, 1908), pp. 223–225.
- [38] Dumézil 1977 pp. 51–52 and 197.
- [39] Ovid *Fasti* III, 284–392. Festus s.v. Mamuri Veturi p. 117 L as cited by Dumézil 1977 p. 197.
- [40] Plutarch Numa 18.
- [41] Dumézil 1977 p. 175 citing Livy I 31.
- [42] R. Bloch *Prodigi e divinazione nell’ antica Roma* Roma 1973. Citing Livy I 34, 8–10.
- [43] Macrobius *Saturnalia* III 6.
- [44] Ovid *Fasti* I 587–588.
- [45] Varro LL VI 16. Sacrifices to Jupiter are also broached in Macrobius *Saturnalia* III 10. The issue of the sacrificial victims proper to a god is one of the most vexed topics of Roman religion: cf. Gérard Capdeville “Substitution de victimes dans les sacrifices d’animaux à Rome” in *MEFRA* 83 2 1971 pp. 283–323. Also G. Dumézil “Quaestiunculae indo-italicae: 11. Iovi tauro verre ariete immolari non licet” in *Revue d’études latines* 39 1961 pp. 242–257.
- [46] Beard et al, Vol 1, 32–36: the consecration made this a “Sacred Spring” (*ver sacrum*). The “contract” with Jupiter is exceptionally detailed. All due care would be taken of the animals, but any that died or were stolen before the scheduled sacrifice would count as if already sacrificed. Sacred animals were already assigned to the gods, who ought to protect their own property.
- [47] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 258–261.
- [48] Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.201f.
- [49] Wissowa (1912), p. 107; Livy X 36, 1 and 37, 15 f.
- [50] Livy I 12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus II 59; Ovid *Fasti* VI 793; Cicero *Catilinaria* I 33.
- [51] Wissowa (1912), p. 107: *CIL* VI 434, 435; IX 3023, 4534; X59-4; also III 1089.
- [52] Wissowa (1912), p. 198 and n. 1.
- [53] Based on the tradition of dedicating Jovian temples on the Ides. This assumption is supported by the calendar of Philocalus, which states on the Ides of January (13): *Iovi Statori c(ircenses) m(issus) XXIV*.
- [54] Wissowa (1912), p. 108 and n. 1 citing Vitruvius *De Architectura* (hereafter Vitruvius) III 1, 5.
- [55] *CIL* VI 438.
- [56] Ovid *Fasti* IV 621 and VI 650.
- [57] Protocols of a sacerdotal *collegium*: Wissowa (1912), citing *CIL* VI 2004–2009.
- [58] Livy I 31 1–8.
- [59] Macrobius I 16. This identification has though been challenged by A. Pasqualini.

- [60] Festus s.v. *prisci Latini* p. : “the Latin towns that existed before the foundation of Rome”.
- [61] L. Schmitz in W. Smith *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* London 1875 s. v. *Feriae* p. 529.
- [62] Cicero *De Divinatione* I 18; Dionysius Hal. AR IV 49, 3; Festus p. 212 L I. 30 f.; *Scholiasta Bobiensis ad Ciceronis pro Plancio* 23.
- [63] Festus s.v. *oscillantes* p. 194 M; C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis libri tres* Königsberg 1829 p. 585.
- [64] Cicero *Pro Plancio* 23; Varro LL VI 25; Pliny NH III 69.
- [65] Pliny XXVII 45.
- [66] A. Alföldi *Early Rome and the Latins* Ann Arbor 1965 p. 33 n. 6 cited by O. de Cazanove above p. 252.
- [67] Wissowa (1912), p. 109; L. Schmitz in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* London 1875 s. v. *Feriae* p. 529; Niebuhr *History of Rome* II p. 35 citing Livy V 42, Plutarch *Camillus* 42.
- [68] Wissowa (1912), p. 110. CIL 2011–2022; XIV 2236–2248.
- [69] Wissowa (1912), p. 110.
- [70] Livy XLII 21, 7.
- [71] Wissowa (1912), p. 101, citing Macrobius *Saturnalia* I 15, 14 and 18, Iohannes Lydus *De Mensibus* III 7, Plutarch *Quaestiones Romanae* 24.
- [72] Rome’s surviving calendars provide only fragmentary evidence for the *Feriae* but Wissowa believes that every *Ide* was sacred to him.
- [73] Wissowa (1912), p. 101, citing Varro LL V 47; Festus p. 290 Müller, Paulus p. 104; Ovid *Fasti* I 56 and 588; Macrobius *Sat.* I 15, 16.
- [74] Wissowa (1912), p. 101: the *epula Iovis* fell on 13 September and 13 November. The temple foundation and festival dates are 13 September for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 13 April for Jupiter Victor, 13 June for Jupiter Invictus, and perhaps 13 January for Jupiter Stator.
- [75] Cassius and Rutilius apud Macrobius I 16, 33. Tuditanus claimed they were instituted by Romulus and T. Tatius I 16, 32.
- [76] Macrobius I 16, 30: “...flaminica Iovi arietem solet immolare”; Dumézil ARR above p. 163 and n. 42, citing A. Kirsopp Michels *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* 1967 pp. 84–89.
- [77] Michael Lipka, *Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach* (Brill, 2009), p. 36.
- [78] Wissowa *Religion und Kultus der Römer* Munich 1912 pp. 101–102.
- [79] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 174.
- [80] Wissowa (1912), p. 101, citing Pliny NH XVIII 289: “This festival day was established for the placation (i. e. averting) of storms”, “*Hunc diem festum tempestatibus leniendis institutum*”.
- [81] Wissowa (1912), citing Digest II 12, 4.
- [82] G. Dumézil ARR above Milan 1977 p. 173; Wissowa (1912), p. 102.
- [83] Wissowa (1912), pp. 101–102, citing Varro LL VI 21 *Novum vetus vinum bibo, novo veteri morbo medeor*.
- [84] G. Dumézil, *Fêtes romaines d' été et d' automne*, Paris, 1975, pp. 97–108.
- [85] In Roman legend Aeneas vowed all of that year’s wine of Latium to Jupiter before the battle with Mezentius: cf. G. Dumézil ARR above p. 173 ; Ovid *Fasti* IV 863 ff.
- [86] Wissowa (1912), p. 102, citing Varro LL VI 16, Pliny NH XVIII 287, Ovid *Fasti* IV 863 ff., Paulus p. 65 and 374 M.
- [87] Gary Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War* (University of California Press, 2005, 2006), p. 136. *Populus* originally meant not “the people,” but “army.”
- [88] Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (Blackwell, 1992, 1996, 2001 printing, originally published 1989 in French), p. 75. Wissowa had already connected the *Poplifugia* to Jupiter: RK p. 102, citing Cassius Dio XLVII 18 and the *Fasti Amiternini (feriae Iovis)*.
- [89] Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome*, p. 137.
- [90] André Magdelain “Auspicia ad patres redeunt” in *Hommage à Jean Bayet* Bruxelles 1964 527 ff. See also Jean Bayet *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine* Paris 1957 p. 99; Jacques Heurgon, *Rome et la Méditerranée occidentale* Paris 1969 pp. 204–208.; Paul-M. Martin “La fonction calendaire du roi de Rome et sa participation à certaines fêtes” in *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l’Ouest* 83 1976 2 pp. 239–244 part. p. 241; and Dario Sabbatucci *La religione di Roma antica: dal calendario festivo all’ordine cosmico* Milan 1988, as reviewed by Robert Turcan in *Revue dell’histoire des religions* 206 1989 1 pp. 69–73 part. p. 71.
- [91] Michael Lipka, *Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach* (Brill, 2009), p. 33, note 96.
- [92] Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome*, p. 192.
- [93] Jean Gag  thinks the murder of Servius Tullius occurred on this date, as Tarquin the Proud and his wife Tullia would have taken advantage of the occasion to claim publicly that Servius has lost the favour of the gods (especially Fortuna): Jean Gag  “La mort de Servius Tullius et le char de Tullia” in *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 41 1963 1 pp. 25–62.
- [94] Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome*, p. 132.
- [95] Henri Le Bonniec *Le culte de C r s   Rome* Paris 1958 p. 348, developing Jean Bayet *Les annales de Tite Live* (Titus Livius *AUC libri qui supersunt*) ed. G. Bud  vol. III Paris 1942 Appendix V pp. 145–153.

- [96] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 485–486.
- [97] Mommsen *Römischen Forschungen* II p. 42 ff. puts their founding on 366 BC at the establishment of the curule aedility. Cited by Wissowa (1912), p. 111.
- [98] Livy I 35, 9.
- [99] Wissowa (1912), pp. 111–112, citing Livy V 41, 2; Tertullian *De corona militis* 13; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiq. Rom.* VII 72. Marquardt *Staatsverwaltung* III 508.
- [100] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 488.
- [101] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 181 citing Jean Bayet *Les annales de Tite Live* édition G. Budé vol. III 1942 Appendix V p. 153 and n. 3.
- [102] Wissowa (1912), p. 112, citing Mommsen CIL I 2nd p. 329, 335; *Römische Forschungen* II 45, 4.
- [103] *In Verrem* V 36 and Paulus s.v. *ludi magni* p. 122 M.
- [104] Macrobius I 10, 11.
- [105] Wissowa (1912), p. 102, citing Gellius X 15, 12. 24; Paulus p. 87 M.; Pliny NH XVIII 119; Plutarch *Quaest. Romanae* 111.
- [106] Most common in poetry, for its useful meter, and in the expression “By Jove!”
- [107] “Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans”. *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (4th ed.). 2000. Retrieved 2008-09-27.
- [108] Wissowa (1912), p. 100, citing Varro LL V 66: “The same peculiarity is revealed even better by the ancient name of Jupiter: since once he was named *Diovis* and *Diespiter*, that is *Dies Pater* (Day Father); consequently the beings issued from him are named *dei* (gods), *dius* (god), *diuum* (day) hence the expressions *sub diuo* and *Dius Fidius*. This is why the temple of *Dius Fidius* has an opening in the roof, in order to allow the view of the *diuum* i. e. the *caelum* sky” tr. by J. Collart quoted by Y. Lehmann below; Paulus p. 71: “*diuum* (the divinised sky), who denotes what is in the open air, outside the roof derives from the name of *Jupiter*, as well as *Dialis*, epithet of the flamen of Jupiter and *dius* that is applied to a hero descended from the race of Jupiter” and 87 M.
- [109] Wissowa (1912), p. 100.
- [110] Wissowa (1912), p. 100, n. 2.
- [111] CIL V 783: *Iovi Diano* from Aquileia.
- [112] H. F. Müller in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* s.v. Jupiter p. 161.
- [113] Samuel Ball Platner, revised by Thomas Ashby: *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford University Press, 1929 p. 293 and *Der Große Brockhaus*, vol. 9, Leipzig: Brockhaus 1931, p. 520
- [114] Walter W. Skeat, *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1882, OUP 1984, p. 274
- [115] English *Thursday*, German *Donnerstag*, is named after Thunor, Thor, or Old High German Donar from Germanic mythology, a deity similar to Jupiter Tonans
- [116] Wissowa (1912), p. 108, citing Varro LL V 47 and Festus p. 290 M. s.v. Idulia.
- [117] Wissowa (1912), p. 108, citing Paulus p. 92 M.; Servius *Ad Aeneidem* VIII 641.
- [118] Wissowa (1912), p. 108, citing Festus p. 189 M. s.v. lapis; Polybius *Historiae* III 25, 6.
- [119] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 169.
- [120] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 167. The *carmen Saliare* has: “cume tonas Leucesie prai ted tremonti/ quot tibi etinei deis cum tonarem”.
- [121] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 167–168.
- [122] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 168 citing Petronius *Satyricon* 44.
- [123] Paulus s. v. p. 94 L 2nd; p. 2 M; Tertullian *Apologeticum* 40.
- [124] Apuleius *De Mundo* 37; cf. *Iuppiter Serenus* CIL VI 431, 433; XI 6312; *Iuppiter Pluvialis* CIL XI 324.
- [125] *Iuppiter Serenus* has been recognized as an *interpretatio* of the Phocian god Ζευς Ούριος: F. Cenerini above p. 104 citing Giancarlo Susini “Iuppiter Serenus e altri dei” in *Epigraphica* 33 1971 pp. 175–177.
- [126] Vitruvius I 2, 5; CIL I 2nd p. 331: sanctuary in the Campus Martius, dedicated on October 7 according to calendars.
- [127] CIL XII 1807.
- [128] CIL VI 377; III 821, 1596, 1677, 3593, 3594, 6342 cited by Wissowa (1912), p. 107.
- [129] Festus s. v. provorsum fulgur p. 229 M: “...; itaque Iovi Fulguri et Summano fit, quod diurna Iovis nocturna Summani fulgura habentur.” as cited by Wissowa (1912), p. 107
- [130] Augustine *De Civitate Dei* (hereafter CD) VII 11. *Pecunia* is tentatively included in this group by Wissowa (1912), p. 105 n. 4. Cfr. Augustine CD VII 11 end and 12.
- [131] *Frugifer* CIL XII 336. Apuleius *De Mundo* 37.
- [132] Cato *De Agri Cultura* 132; Paulus s. v. p. 51 M.
- [133] CIL VI 3696.
- [134] Wissowa (1912), p. 105 n. 4 understands *Pecunia* as protector and increaser of the flock.
- [135] Bruno Migliorini s.v. Roma in *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* vol. XXIX p. 589; A. W. Schlegel *Sämtliche Werke* Leipzig 1847 XII p. 488; F. Kort *Römische Geschichte* Heidelberg 1843 p.32-3.
- [136] N. G. L. Hammond & H. H. Scullard (Eds.) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* Oxford 1970 s. v. p. 940.

- [137] Servius IV 339.
- [138] Cato *De Agri Cultura* 132; Festus s. v. daps, dapalis, daticum pp. 177–178 L 2nd.
- [139] *Epulo* CIL VI 3696.
- [140] Wissowa (1912), pp. 105-108.
- [141] Livy I 12, 4–6.
- [142] Livy X 36, 11.
- [143] Dumézil above pp. 174–75.
- [144] Livy X 29, 12–17; *nefando sacro, mixta hominum pecudumque caedes*, “by an impious rite, a mixed slaughter of people and flock” 39, 16; 42, 6–7.
- [145] Dario Sabbatucci above, as summarized in the review by Robert Turcan above p. 70.
- [146] *Astronomica*, Hyginus, translated by Mary Grant, pt.1, ch.2, sec.13
- [147] *Der Große Brockhaus*, vol.9, Leipzig: Brockhaus 1931, p. 520
- [148] Samuel Ball Platner, revised by Thomas Ashby: *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London: Oxford University Press, 1929 p.293
- [149] *cume tonas, Leucesie, prai ted tremonti...*; G. Dumézil above p. It. tr. Milan 1977 p.168.
- [150] *Optimus* is a superlative formed on *ops* [ability to help], the ancient form is *optumus* from *opitumus*, cf. the epithet *Opitulus* [The Helper].
- [151] As cited by Dumézil ARR It tr. p. 177.
- [152] St. Augustine, *The City of God*, Books 1-10, Pg 218
- [153] St. Augustine, *The City of God*, Books 1-10<
- [154] Augustine CD VII 11.
- [155] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* Book 1.
- [156] CIL II, 2525; Toutain. 1920. 143ff.
- [157] Smith, *Dictionary*, s.v. “Ladicus”)
- [158] The work of Verrius Flaccus is preserved through the summary of Sextus Pompeius Festus and his epitomist Paul the Deacon.
- [159] Georges Dumézil *La religion romaine archaïque* Payot Paris 1974 2nd “Remarques préliminaires” X; It. tr. Milan 1977 p. 59ff.; citing Lucien Gerschel “Varron logicien” in *Latomus* 17 1958 pp. 65–72.
- [160] Augustine *De Civitate Dei* IV 27; VI 5.
- [161] J. Pépin “La théologie tripartite de Varron” *Revue des études augustiniennes* 2 1956 pp. 265-294. Dumézil has pointed out that even though Augustine may be correct in pointing out cases in which Varro presented under the civil theology category contents that may look to belong to mythic theology, nevertheless he preserved under this heading the lore and legends ancient Romans considered their own.
- [162] Wissowa (1912) cites three passages from Horace, *Carmina*: I 1, 25 *manet sub Iove frigido venator*; I 22, 20 *quod latus mundi nebulae malusque Iuppiter urget*; III 10, 7 *ut glaciem nives puro numine Iuppiter*.
- [163] On the Esquiline lies the *sacellum* of *Iuppiter Fagutalis* (Varro *De Lingua Latina* V 152 (hereafter LL), Paulus p. 87 M., Pliny *Naturalis historia* XVI 37 (hereafter NH), CIL VI 452); on the Viminal is known a *Iuppiter Viminius* (Varro LL V 51, Festus p. 376); a *Iuppiter Caelius* on the Caelius (CIL VI 334); on the Quirinal the so called *Capitolium Vetus* (Martial V 22, 4; VII 73, 4). Outside Rome: Iuppiter Latiaris on *Mons Albanus*, Iuppiter Appenninus (Orelli 1220, CIL VIII 7961 and XI 5803) on the Umbrian Appennines, at Scheggia, on the *Via Flaminia*, Iuppiter Poeninus (CIL 6865 ff., cfr. Bernabei *Rendiconti della Regia Accademia dei Lincei* III, 1887, fascicolo 2, p. 363 ff.) at the Great Saint Bernard Pass, Iuppiter Vesuvius (CIL X 3806), Iuppiter Ciminus (CIL XI 2688); the Sabine Iuppiter Cacunus (CIL IX 4876, VI 371). Outside Italy Iuppiter Culminalis in Noricum and Pannonia (CIL III 3328, 4032, 4115, 5186; Supplementum 10303, 11673 etc.) as cited by Wissowa (1912), p. 102 and Francesca Cenerini “Scritture di santuari extraurbani tra le Alpi e gli Appennini” in *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* (hereafter MEFRA) 104 1992 1 pp. 94–95.
- [164] G. Dumézil above It. tr. pp. 167–168.
- [165] Salvatore Settis, *Giorgione's Tempest: Interpreting the Hidden Subject*, University of Chicago Press, 1990, p. 62, summarising this scholarly interpretation: “The lightning is Jove.” cf Peter Humfrey, *Painting in Renaissance Venice*, Yale University Press, 1997, p.118f.
- [166] Dumézil above p. 239; It. Tr. p. 171.
- [167] Varro apud Augustine *De Civitate Dei* VII 9.
- [168] Wissowa (1912), pp. 23, 133–134; Dumézil *Jupiter Mars Quirinus* I-IV Paris 1941–1948; ARR above pp. 137–165.
- [169] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 172 and 175.
- [170] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 274 ff.
- [171] Dumézil ARR above p. 271 citing Ovid *Fasti* III 815–832.
- [172] E. Montanari *Mito e Storia nell'annalistica romana delle origini* Roma 1990 pp. 73 ff.; citing Cicero *Pro Scauro* 48: “pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii”; Servius Ad Aeneidem II 188, 16: “*Illic imperium fore ubi et Palladium*”; Festus s.v. p. 152 L.
- [173] E. Montanari above citing M. Sordi “Lavinio, Roma e il Palladio” in *CISA* 8 1982 p. 74 ff.; W. Vollgraf “Le Palladium de Rome” in *BAB* 1938 pp. 34 ff.
- [174] G. Dumézil “Déesses latines et mythes védiques. III Fortuna Primigenia” in *Coll. Latomus* 25 1956 pp. 71–78.
- [175] Cicero *De nat. Deor.* II 85-86: “Is est locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum Iunone in gremio sedens, mamma appetens, castissime colitur a matribus”: “This is an enclosed place for religious reasons because of Iuppiter child, who is seated on the womb with Juno suckling, directed towards the breast, very chastely worshipped by mothers”.

- [176] G. Dumézil *Déesses latines et mythes védiques* p. 96 ff.
- [177] CIL XIV 2868 and 2862 (mutile).
- [178] R. Mowat “Inscription latine sur plaque de bronze acquise à Rome par par M. A. Dutuit” in *Mem. de la Soc. nat. des Antiquités de France* 5me Ser. 3 **43** 1882 p. 200: CIL XIV 2863: ORCEVIA NUMERI/ NATIONU CRATIA/ FORTUNA DIOVO FILEA/ PRIMOCENIA/ DONOM DEDI. Cited by G. Dumézil above p. 71 ff.
- [179] G. Dumézil *Déesses latines et mythes védiques* Bruxelles 1956 chapt. 3.
- [180] R̥g-Veda X 72, 4-5; G. Dumézil above and *Mariages indo-européens* pp. 311–312: “Of Aditi Daksa was born, and of Daksa Aditi, o Daksa, she who is your daughter”.
- [181] G. Dumézil *Déesses latines...* p. 91 n.3.
- [182] A. Brelich *Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini. I. Roma e Preneste. Una polemica religiosa nell'Italia antica* Pubbl. dell'Univ. di Roma 1955–1956.
- [183] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 101 and 290. Discussed at length by Augustine, *City of God* VII 9 and 10. Also Ovid *Fasti* I 126.
- [184] D. Briquel “Jupiter, Saturne et le Capitol” in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* **198** 2. 1981 pp. 131–162; Varro V 42; Vergil *Aeneis* VIII 357-8; Dionysius Hal. I 34; Solinus I 12; Festus p. 322 L; Tertullian *Apologeticum* 10; Macrobius I 7, 27 and I 10, 4 citing a certain Mallius. See also Macrobius I 7, 3: the annalistic tradition attributed its foundation to king Tullus Hostilius. Studies by E. Gjerstad in *Mélanges Albert Grenier* Bruxelles 1962 pp. 757–762; Filippo Coarelli in *La Parola del Passato* **174** 1977 p. 215 f.
- [185] A. Pasqualini “Note sull'ubicazione del Latiar” in *MEFRA* **111** 1999 2 p. 784–785 citing M. Malavolta “I ludi delle *feriae Latinae* a Roma” in A. Pasqualini (ed.) *Alba Longa. Mito storia archeologia. Atti dell'incontro di studio, Roma-Albano laziale 27-29 gennaio 1994* Roma 1996 pp. 257–273; Eusebius *De laude Constantini* 13, 7 = MPG XX col. 1403–1404; J. Rives “Human sacrifice among Pagans and Christians” in *Journal of Roman Studies* LXXXV 1995 pp. 65–85; Iustinus *Apologeticum* II 12, 4–5; G. Pucci “Saturno: il lato oscuro” in *Lares* LVIII 1992 p. 5-7.
- [186] Wissowa (1912), pp. 100–101; G. Dumézil above p. 348; Cicero *De Natura Deorum* II 61.
- [187] G. Dumézil *La religion Romaine archaïque* Paris, 1974; It. tr. Milan 1977 p.189.
- [188] Wissowa (1912), p. 103.
- [189] Roger D. Woodard *Vedic and Indo-European Sacred Space* Chicago Illinois Un. Press 2005 p. 189. The scholar thinks Dius Fidius is the Roman equivalent of Trita Apya, the companion of Indra in the slaying of Vrtra.
- [190] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 169.
- [191] G. Wissowa in *Roschers Lexicon* 1909 s.v. Semo Sancus col. 3654; *Religion und Kultus der Römer* Munich, 1912, p. 131 f.
- [192] W. W. Fowler *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* London, 1899, p. 139.
- [193] O. Sacchi “Il trivaso del Quirinale” in *Revue Internationale de Droit de l'Antiquité* 2001 pp. 309–311, citing Nonius Marcellus s.v. rituis (L p. 494): *Itaque domi rituis nostri, qui per dium Fidium iurare vult, prodire solet in compluvium.*, 'thus according to our rites he who wishes to swear an oath by Dius Fidius he as a rule walks to the *compluvium* (an unroofed space within the house)'; Macrobius *Saturnalia* III 11, 5 on the use of the private *mensa* as an altar mentioned in the *ius Papirianum*; Granius Flaccus *indigitamenta* 8 (H. 109) on king Numa's vow by which he asked for the divine punishment of perjury by all the gods.
- [194] Augustine CD VII 13, referencing also Quintus Valerius Soranus. H. Wagenvoort “*Genius a genendo*” *Mnemosyne* 4. Suppl., 4, 1951, pp. 163–168. G. Dumézil ARR above p. 315, discussing G. Wissowa and K. Latte's opinions.
- [195] W. W. Fowler *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* London, 1899, p. 189.
- [196] Censorinus *De Die Natali* 3, 1.
- [197] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 318.
- [198] Wissowa *Kultus* 1912 p. 243.
- [199] CIL IX 3513 from the *lex templi* of the temple of *Iuppiter Liber* at Furfo, Samnium.
- [200] Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* VI 1, 6. Silius Italicus *Punica* XIII 400-413. Cited by G. Dumézil ARR above p. 435, referencing J. Hubeaux *Les grands mythes de Rome* Paris 1945 pp. 81–82 and J. Aymard “Scipion l' Africain et les chiens du Capitol” in *Revue d'études latines* **31** 1953 pp. 111–116.
- [201] Cicero *De Republica* VI 13: = *Somnium Scipionis*.
- [202] Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* IV 40, 2.
- [203] G. Capdeville “Les dieux de Martianus Capella” in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* **213** 1996 3. p. 285.
- [204] Macrobius I 10, 16.
- [205] E. and A. L. Prosdocimi in *Etrennes M. Lejeune* Paris 1978 pp. 199–207 identify him as an aspect of Jupiter. See also A. L. Prosdocimi “Etimologie di teonimi: Venilia, Summano, Vacuna” in *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* Milano 1969 pp. 777–802.
- [206] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 184–185 citing his *Mitra Varuna, essai sur deux représentations indo-européennes de la souveraineté* Paris 1940–1948.
- [207] Wissowa (1912), p. 107, citing CIL VI 205; X 49 and 6423.
- [208] Wissowa (1912), CIL VI 206.
- [209] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 185.
- [210] Ludwig Preller *Römische Mythologie* I Berlin 1881 pp. 195–197; E. Aust s. v. Iuppiter (Liber) in *Roscher lexicon* II column 661 f.

- [211] Olivier de Cazanove cites Wissowa (1912), p. 120 and A. Schnegelsberg *De Liberi apud Romanos cultu capita duo* Dissertation Marburg 1895 p. 40.
- [212] O. de Cazanove "Jupiter, Liber et le vin latin" in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* **205** 1988 3 p. 247 n. 4.
- [213] Augustine CD VII 21.
- [214] Inscriptions from the territory of the Frentani (Zvetaieff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum* nr. 3); Vestini (CIL IX 3513; I 2nd 756 Furfo); Sabini (Jordan *Analecta epigraphica latina* p. 3 f.= CIL I 2nd 1838) and Campani (CIL X 3786 *Iovi Liber(o) Capua*).
- [215] Fasti Arvales ad 1. September.
- [216] Monumentum Ancyratum IV 7; CIL XI 657 Faventia; XIV 2579 Tusculum.
- [217] Wissowa (1912), p. 106.
- [218] Fr. Bömer *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* I Wiesbaden 1957 p. 127 f. cited by Olivier de Cazanove "Jupiter, Liber et le vin" in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* **205** 1988 3 p. 248.
- [219] O. de Cazanove above p. 248 ff.
- [220] Trebatius Testa apud Arnobius *Ad nationes* VII 31: "solum quod inferetur sacrum..." "only that which is spilt is considered sacred..."; also Cato *De Agri Cultura* CXXXII 2; CXXXIV 3; Servius IX 641; Isidore XX 2,7.
- [221] Marcus Antistius Labeo apud Festus s. v., p. 474 L.
- [222] Fr. Altheim *Terra Mater* Giessen 1931 p. 22 and n. 4 while acknowledging the obscurity of the etymology of this word proposed the derivation from *sacerrima* as *bruma* from *brevissima*; *Onomata Latina et Graeca* s.v.: *novum vinum*; *Corpus Glossatorum Latinorum* II p. 264: *απαρχή γλεῦκος*.
- [223] Columella *De Re Rustica* XII 18, 4 mentions a sacrifice to Liber and Libera immediately before.
- [224] Paulus s. v. *sacrima* p. 423 L; Festus p. 422 L (*mutile*).
- [225] Isidore *Origines* XX 3, 4; Enrico Monatanari "Funzione della sovranità e feste del vino nella Roma repubblicana" in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* **49** 1983 pp. 242–262.
- [226] G. Dumézil "Quaestiunculae indo-italicae" 14–16 in *Revue d'études latines* XXXIX 1961 pp. 261–274.
- [227] Henri Le Bonniec *Le culte de Cérès à Rome* Paris 1958 pp. 160–162.
- [228] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 331–332.
- [229] Augustine CD VII 3, 1.
- [230] "Liber et liberi" in *Revue d'études latines* **14** 1936 pp. 52–58.
- [231] "...*curatores Iovi Libertati*" CIL XI 657 and "*Iovi Obsequenti publice*" CIL XI 658 from Bagnacavallo; "*Iuppiter Impetrabilis*" from Cremella sopra Monza published by G. Zecchini in *Rivista di studi italiani e latini* **110** 1976 pp. 178–182. The double presence of Jupiter and Feronia at Bagnacavallo has led to speculation that the servile *manumissio* (legal ritual action by which slaves were freed) was practised in this sanctuary : Giancarlo Susini "San Pietro in Sylvis, santuario pagense e villaggio plebano nel Ravennate" in *Mélanges offertes à G. Sanders Steenbrugge* 1991 pp. 395–400. Cited in F. Cenerini above p. 103.
- [232] G. Dumézil ARR It. tr. p. 188 n. 44; Kurt Latte *Römische Religionsgeschichte* Munich 1960 p. 81 and n. 3.; W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* London 1899 pp. 121–122.
- [233] G. Piccaluga "L' anti-Iupiter" in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* XXXIV 1963 p. 229–236; E. Gierstad "Veiovis, a pre-indoeuropean God in Rome?" in *Opuscula Romana* 9, 4 1973 pp. 35–42.
- [234] Aulus Gellius V 12.
- [235] D. Sabbatucci above as summarised by R. Turcan above p. 70 and pp. 72–73. On the aspect of making Jupiter grow up Turcan cites the denarii struck by Manius Fonteius and Valerian the younger of the type *Iovi crescenti* mentioned by A. Alföldi in *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrisedes 3. Jhd. n.Chr.* Darmstadt 1067 p. 112 f.
- [236] Ludwig Preller *Römische Mythologie* I p. 262 f.
- [237] Ovid *Fasti* I 291–294.
- [238] Ferruccio Bernini *Ovidio. I Fasti* (translation and commentary), III 429; Bologna 1983 (reprint).
- [239] Vitruvius *De Architectura* IV 8, 4.
- [240] Ovid above. *Fasti Praenestini* CIL I 2nd p. 231: *Aesculapio Vediovi in insula*.
- [241] *Fasti Praen.: Non. Mart. F(as)...Iovi artis Vediovis inter duos lucos*; Ovid *Fasti* III 429–430.
- [242] Ovid above V 721–722. *XII Kal. Iun. NP Agonia* (Esq. Caer. Ven. Maff.); *Vediovi* (Ven.).
- [243] Wissowa on the grounds of Paulus's glossa *humanum sacrificium* p. 91 L interprets "with a rite proper to a ceremony in honour of the deceased". G. Piccaluga at n. 15 and 21 pp. 231–232 though remarks that Gellius does not state *sacrificium humanum* but only states...*immolaturque ritu humano capra*.
- [244] Livy VIII 9, 6.
- [245] Gellius V 12, 12.
- [246] Gellius V 12. The Romans knew and offered a cult to other such deities: among them *Febris*, *Tussis*, *Mefitis*.
- [247] G. Piccaluga "L' anti-Iuppiter" in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* XXXIV 1963 p. 233–234 and notes 30, 31 citing Gellius V 12 and Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* XVI 216: "*Non et simulacrum Veiovis in arce?*".
- [248] Livy XXXI 21.

- [249] Ettore Pais CIL *Supplementa Italica I addimenta al CIL V* in *Atti dei Lincei, Memorie* V 1888 n. 1272: *I O M IUR D(e) C(onscriptorum) S(ententia)*.
- [250] CIL I 1105: *C. Volcaci C. F. Har. de stipe Iovi Iurario... onimentum*.
- [251] Ovid *Fasti* I 291–295.
- [252] Livy XXXV 41.
- [253] Cfr. above: "*Aeculapio Vediovi in insula*".
- [254] Maurice Besnier "Jupiter Jurarius" in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 18 1898 pp. 287–289.
- [255] CIL XIV 2387 = ILS 2988 = ILLRP 270=CIL I 807: *Vediovei patrei genteiles Iuliei leege Albana dicata*.
- [256] A. Pasqualini "Le basi documentarie della leggenda di Alba Longa" Università di Roma Torvergata 2012 online.
- [257] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 408.
- [258] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 413. Livy XXVII 2, 10–12.
- [259] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Rom. Antiquities* III 69, 5–6.
- [260] Dionysius of Halicarnassus above III 69; Florus I 7, 9.
- [261] CIL XI 351.
- [262] Plutarch *Numa* 16.
- [263] Ovid *Fasti* II 679.
- [264] Augustine CD VII 7.
- [265] D. Sabbatucci above.
- [266] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 186–187.
- [267] Wissowa (1912), p. 135; G. Dumezil *La relig. rom. arch.* Paris 1974; It. tr. Milano 1977 pp. 185–186; C. W. Atkins "Latin 'Iouiste' et le vocabulaire religieux indoeuropéen" in *Mélanges Benveniste* Paris, 1975, pp. 527–535.
- [268] Wissowa (1912), p. 135, citing Servius Danielis *Eclogae* IV 50.
- [269] Piso apud Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Rom. Antiquities* IV 15, 5.
- [270] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 185–186.
- [271] Livy XXXV 36, 5.
- [272] Macrobius *Saturnalia* III 4, 8–9 citing Varro: "Per quos penitus spiramus". Sabine Mac Cormack *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* University of California Press 1998 p. 77.
- [273] G. Dumézil ARR above pp. 311–312.
- [274] Varro *De Lingua Latina* V 144; Plutarch *Coriolanus* XXIX 2; Macrobius *Saturnalia* III 4, 11; Servius *Ad Aeneidem* II 296: as cited by Dumézil ARR above p. 313.
- [275] G. Dumézil ARR above p. 313.
- [276] Arnobius *Adversus nationes* III 40. Cf. also Lucan *Pharsalia* V 696; VII 705; VIII 21.
- [277] Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* III 40, 3; Martianus Capella *De Nuptiis* I 41: "Senatores deorum qui Penates ferebantur Tonantis ipsius quorumque nomina, quoniam publicari secretum caeleste non pertulit, ex eo quod omnia pariter repromittunt, nomen eis consensione perficit".
- [278] Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* III 40 4; Macrobius *Saturnalia* III 4 9.
- [279] Gérard Capdeville "Les dieux de Martianus Capella" in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 213 1996 3 p. 285 citing Carl Olof Thulin *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* (=RGVV 3. 1) Giessen 1906 pp. 38–39. On the topic see also A. L. Luschi "Cacu, Fauno e i venti" in *Studi Etruschi* 57 1991 pp. 105–117.

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## 11 External links

- Warburg Institute Iconographic Database (ca 1,700 images of Jupiter)



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