The Temple of Jupiter Stator in Carthago Nova and the Sertorian War
Religious worship and civil war*

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Over twenty years ago, a late Republican temple dedicated to Jupiter Stator came to light on the outskirts of Cartagena (Murcia, Spain). The aim of this article is to demonstrate that there is a connection between this structure and the Sertorian War, as well as between the cult of Stator and the civil wars of the 1st cent. BCE. Moreover, this paper draws attention to some important aspects of the religious relationship between Rome and the provinces, such as the military background that seems to be consistently attached to the worship of Stator both in Italy and beyond, its close association with the fights between and subsequent coexistence of Romans and Sabines, and the role of this attribute of Jupiter in the civil struggles that characterized the end of the Roman Republic.

INTRODUCTION

The worship of Jupiter Stator has been the subject of intense debate among modern scholars because of its relevance to the monarchical and Republican traditions of Rome. The characteristics of the cult to Stator, as well as its protective connotations in times of war, whether external or civil, meant that it enjoyed special importance between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BCE.

The intention of this paper is to explore a novel and significant case study, that of the temple of Jupiter Stator, recently discovered by archaeologists in Carthago Nova. The ensuing discussion will seek to demonstrate its connection with the victory that the senatorial armies secured in the Sertorian...

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War, as well as showing the importance of different aspects of the cult to Stator, such as the role that this deity played in the spatial and temporal contexts of military crisis in Italy and the Empire, and its ethnic connotations and association with the subjugation of the Sabines. The final section of this paper will discuss how Stator acted as a guarantor for good Roman citizens in confronting internal seditions. His worship during the period of the civil wars of the late Republic became the source of inspiration for Cicero to gather the Senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator on the day he delivered his first speech against Catiline.

DESCRIPTION AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE TEMPLE

In 1993 archaeologists discovered a small Roman religious complex on the outskirts of ancient Carthago Nova. The site is located in the bay of present-day Cartagena (Murcia, Spain), south of Santa Lucía District, at the foot of a hill known as Cabezo Gallufo (fig. 1).

The aedes, measuring 10.45×5.79 m, consists of a double rectangular structure comprising two rooms, separated by a wall, which were erected at different times. The original building, to the left of the plan below, had only one altar dedicated to offerings (see I, II and III in fig. 2). The second room, to the right, erected later in time, had three podia, while an inscription on the pavement indicated the divinity to whom worship was rendered: Iuppiter Stator (see IV in fig. 2). This sacellum was added in the final phase of the site after successive restorations of the first room. The entrance was longitudinal and transversal, giving access to both chambers.

As the inscription found on the site shows, the second cella was commissioned by a freedman whose name was Marcus Aquinius Andro (fig. 3):

Fig. 1 – Location of the Temple of Jupiter Stator (Cabezo Gallufo). From Amante Sánchez et al., 1995, p. 534, modified with the assistance of Denis Paredes Roibás.

Fig. 2 – Building phases of the Temple of Jupiter Stator (I-IV) and placement of inscription (arrow). From Amante Sánchez et al., 1995, p. 548.

Fig. 3 – Inscription of M. Aquinius Andro dedicated to Iuppiter Stator preserved at the Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cartagena. Picture by Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón.
Employing his own capital, he dedicated the temple to Jupiter under the title of Stator, often translated as “the Stayer”, i.e., “one who establishes or upholds.” It is not possible to determine a precise difference of chronology between the different phases of the temple, but at least the mosaic and the second room of the temple were sponsored by Aquinius Andro.

Archaeologists have also found a ritual deposit at the entrance of the aedes which is related to the last stage of the building: up to 669 animal skeletal remains have been discovered, most of them astragals of ovines. This finding has been associated with a religious banquet of foundational character probably carried out by the family members and relates. Given the status of the devotee, the nature of the dedication, the location of the structure on the outskirts of Carthago Nova and not within the city-walls, as well as the short period of worship, a clear private component can be inferred concerning the cult rendered to Stator in the temple.

To give a chronology to this unique aedes, the only one dedicated to Jupiter Stator known so far on the Iberian Peninsula, we have different dating features. Modern authors tend to point to a broad chronology between the last third of the 2nd century and the first third of the 1st century BCE (133-66 BCE). It is important to note that, after this period, the cult of the temple stopped and the structure was no longer in use by the second half of the 1st century BCE. From an archaeological point of view, the amphorae fragments of the Dressel 1a, Lamboglia 2 and Mañá C2b types and the pottery fragments of Campaniense A attached to the stratigraphy of the second stance of the temple are characteristic of Sertorian contexts. If we get into the epigraphical field, the appearance in Spain of other similar inscriptions on pavement, such as those of El Burgo de Ebro (Zaragoza), Itálica (Sevilla) or Mazarrón (Murcia), leads us to ascribe that of Stator to the late Republican period. The archaic form quravit, the abbreviation in -i of the nominative Aquinius, or the lead ingots belonging to the gens Aquinia discovered in Cartagena also refer to late Republican chronologies. Therefore, the ascription of the aedes Iovis Statoris of Carthago Nova to the Sertorian War (82-72 BCE), or at least its final phase, within this possible framework that encompasses approximately sixty years, is fully plausible.

THE AQUINII AND THE METELLI: TWO FAMILIES LINKED BY THE SERTORIAN WAR

Leaving aside the chronology, we must rely on other sorts of arguments if we are to firmly establish a relationship between the bellum Sertorianum and the temple in Carthago Nova. This twofold aedes is a unique case in the Iberian Peninsula and no other dedication to Jupiter Stator has been found in Spain; given its exceptionality, the erection of this sanctuary on the outskirts of Cartagena must have required a strong motivation.

Q. Metellus Macedonicus, after celebrating his triumph in 146 BCE, sponsored the construction

3. See “stator” in OLD.
6. On these typologies in Sertorian contexts of the Ebro Valley, see Beltrán Llorís 2002, p. 59-64. Sites along the east coast of Spain related to the Sertorian War where Dressel 1A, Lamboglia 2 and Campaniense A have appeared: Saetabit Jáïva (Pérez Ballester 2014, p. 60-61); Tossal de la Cala, Benidorm and Cap Negret, Alicante (Bayo Fuentes 2014, p. 99, 110); Libisosa/Lexuza (Uroz Rodríguez – Uroz Sáez 2014, p. 201-201); Illici/Elche (Ronda Femenia – Tendero Porras 2014, p. 223-225; also Mañá C2b); Valensial/Valencia, destroyed in 75 BCE during the Sertorian War (Ribera i Lacomba 2011, p. 460; Pascual Berlanga – Ribera i Lacomba 2015, p. 739-750; also Mañá C2b).
7. The inscription from El Burgo de Ebro, of a religious nature and mentioning the names of two freedmen, has been dated between the end of the 2nd century and the 70s BCE (AE 2001, 1237; HEp 11, 621; Ferreruela et al. 2003, p. 217-230). That from Mazarrón, with two magistrì in charge of aedilician activities, has a chronology between the final years of the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st century BCE (HEp 1, 487; Ramallo Asensio 1979-1980, p. 306-307). The mosaic of Trahius from Itálica has been dated to 90-70 BCE (CILA II, 578; AE 1988, 707; Canto 1999, p. 178-182).
in Rome of an *aedes lovis Statoris* next to the Circus Flaminius beside the temple dedicated to Juno Regina; both religious structures were included within the Porticus Metelli. The identification of this building with the *Caecilia Metelli* was such that, in Pliny and Vitruvius, the Temple of Jupiter Stator and the Porticus appear to be directly mentioned as *aedes Metelli* and *porticus Metelli*, respectively. As has been pointed out, there is a possible parallel between the double nature of the temple in Carthago Nova, whose structure is composed of two adjoining rooms and a longitudinal entrance, and the two cults, those of Regina and Stator, included within the Porticus Metelli. Given the connection between the worship of Stator and the Metelli, there might be a nexus between the temple in Carthago Nova and one of the most important families in Republican Rome.

The freedman Andro who sponsored the *aedes* had been a slave of the *Aquinii*, an Italian lineage of *negotiatores* involved in the exploitation of mines of the peninsular south-east that is often attested in Carthago Nova in the 1st century BCE: along with the case of Andro, we find the epitaph of a freedwoman called *Aquinia Stratonice*, lead ingots with the names of Marcus and Gaius Aquinius, and a series of coins minted by C. Aquinius Mela in the Augustan age. The written sources testify to a close, perhaps client-based relationship between the Aquini and the Metelli. We know of M. Aquinius, a senator who accompanied Metellus Scipio in Africa shortly before Caesar’s victory. Plutarch, for his part, mentioned an Ἀκοῦνος, certainly an Aquinius

who, while serving as Metellus Pius’ legate during the Sertorian War, was defeated by the rebel commander at Lacobriga in 78 BCE. Therefore, the *Aquinii* were not only tied to the Metelli, they also actively participated in the *bellum Sertorianum*. Finally, the appearance in the wrecks of Escombreras II and III of Cartagena of lead ingots with the brand of the *Aquinii* and the seal of a *Societas Baliarica* could also point to a connection between this family and the Metelli; the Balearic Islands were conquered in 121 BCE by Metellus Balearicus, who, in Mallorca, founded the colonies of *Palma* and *Pollentia* too. The commercial interests of the *Aquinii* on these islands might well be related to the importance enjoyed there by the Metelli.

The erection of the temple dedicated to Jupiter Stator in Carthago Nova could be explained by the links between the *Aquinii* and the Metelli: the former owed their promotion to the patronage of the latter; both families were highly involved in the *bellum Sertorianum* and seemed to share a deference towards the same invocation of the main god of the Roman Pantheon. It is possible that the freedman, M. Aquinius Andro, commissioned his *aedes* in the aftermath of the Sertorian War, imitating the devotion demonstrated by the noble family of Metellus Pius, the commander who ended the revolt in Spain alongside Pompey the Great.

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11. Plin., *NH*, 36.40; Vitr., 3, 2, 5. The temple is also called *aedes lovis Metellinae [porticas]* in Festus (496; I follow Russell 2016, p. 124, who adds *porticus* in the genitive). On the Porticus Metelli and the two temples it included see Gros 1973; Coarelli 2018, p. 351-357. On its private nature and the close links between the Metelli and the cult of Stator see De Stefano 2015, p. 42-44; Russell 2016, p. 120-126.
13. The *Aquinii* of Carthago Nova were probably Italian immigrants settled in the city as *negotiatores* (Curchin 1991, p. 138-139).
15. RPC 157; Llorens Forcada 1994, p. 54, 145.
16. Caes., *Bfr.*, 57. We also know of an Ἀκοῦνος, probably a M. Aquinius, perhaps the same character, who supported Cassius and Brutus (App., B.C., 2, 119; Crawford 1974, no 498-499; Broughton 1952, p. 364).
17. Plut., *Sert.*, 13, 6; Broughton 1952, p. 87; Konrad 1994, p. 139. Koch (1988, p. 404) already suggested this connection between the *Aquinii* of Italy, probably from ancient *Aquinum* (Schulz 1973, p. 526, 540), and those established in New Carthage. Ancient authors referred to the members of this *gens* indistinctly as *Aquinus* and *Aquinius*; see, e.g., the case of the poet referred to as *Aquinius* in Cicero (*Tusc.*, 5, 63; Dougan – Henry 1934, p. 255: six out of eight manuscripts have the form *Aquinius* instead of *Aquinos*), but Aquinus in Catullus (14, 18). The fact that the *nomen Aquinius* appears in Appian and Plutarch, respectively as Ἀκοῦνος and Ακοῦνος could well be explained by the difficulties in transliterating Latin into Greek.
19. Strab., 3, 5, 1. Both colonies were probably re-founded in the aftermath of the Sertorian War with contingents of veterans (Olesi Vila 2010, p. 1014-1017).
20. It should be noted that there was an important difference between the vow, construction and dedication of a temple by a private individual and by a magistrate *cum imperio* or the Senate *ex S.C.*: in the first case the religious implications were only associated to the commissioner of the building, while in the latter the action of devotion had a public nature and involved the Roman Republic as a whole. See Aberson 1994, p. 41-43 and passim; Cavallero 2018.
However, one question emerges: why would a *libertus* such as Andro commission such a building? An answer may be found in the high social status enjoyed by the freedmen in Carthago Nova in Republican times as agents of Italian merchant families. If we look at the 48 inscriptions found in this city and its territory dating between the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, of the 61 individuals mentioned, we find as many as 31 freedmen and 8 slaves. That is to say, up to 64% of those listed had a non-free condition, while 36% of them (22 in number) are Roman citizens or *ingenui*. In turn, we often see freedmen and slaves acting as *magistri* in *collegia* organizations in charge of building activities similar to those associations of the Italians in Delos, or *liberti* as devotees in religious inscriptions. If we consider the important economic and social position held by the non-free people in Carthago Nova, as well as the role they played as delegates of Italians with influence in Hispania, it seems unsurprising to find, in this temporal and spatial context, a *libertus* such as M. Aquinius Andro sponsoring, with his own capital, the erection of a temple dedicated to Jupiter Stator to commemorate the end of the Sertorian War.

THE CULT OF STATOR AND THE MILITARY REALM

The cult of Jupiter Stator was closely associated with deeds of arms and victories that the Romans had obtained in a defensive position at times of military crisis. According to an influential tradition, Romulus vowed to build a temple to Stator if the god intervened in the fight against the Sabines when the enemies of the Romans were about to take the city. Jupiter listened to the king and stopped the flight of his army; thanks to this divine intercession, the Romans finally resisted on the Palatine and drove the Sabines away. Long after these mythical times M. Attilius Regulus commissioned the *aedes Iovis Statoris* at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE after defeating the Samnites at the Battle of Luceria. This temple was erected in the indeterminate place, between the forum and the *Collis Palatium*, where Romulus had asked for Jupiter's aid in the fight with the Sabines, a legend that was probably created at the same time as the construction of the structure in the 3rd century. Metellus Macedonicus himself erected his temple after the submission of Macedonia in 146 BCE, while Cicero decided to gather the Senate in the Romulean *aedes Iovis Statoris* to face the Catilinarian conspiracy. All four cases have a context of serious military crisis in common: at the beginning of the campaign, the Roman forces lost on the battlefield but, thanks to the support of Jupiter Stator, they eventually prevailed over the enemy, whether Sabines, Samnites, Macedonians or fellow Roman citizens.

We can draw similar conclusions from the analysis of the epigraphical evidence for the cult of Stator. Three inscriptions found in the vicinity of Alba Fucens attest the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to this god in the second century CE; the worship, which dates back to the Republican

21. The corpus of Republican inscriptions found in Carthago Nova and its adjacent territory in Díaz Arío 2008, p. 99-142. I have excluded from my calculation those individuals who can be considered as foreigners in the city, such as provincial magistrates or members of families of *negotiantes* mentioned in pottery fragments.

22. The inscriptions from “Castillo de la Concepción de Cartagena” (*CIL* II, 3434; *CIL* F, 2271; *ILLRP* 778) and “Cabo de Palos” (*CIL* II, 3433; *CIL* F, 2270; *ILLRP* 777).

23. *AE* 1982, 636 (to Serapis and Isis); *CIL* II, 3409 (to Hercules *Gaditanus*): both inscriptions have been dated to the first half of the 1st century BCE.


25. Liv., 1, 12, 3; Plut., *Rom.*, 18, 5-7; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 2, 50, 3; Flor., 1, 1, 13; Serv., *Aen.*, 8, 635, 640.


27. Metellus began the war in Macedonia with serious defeats on the battlefield; hence, he vowed to build a temple to Stator (*Pietillé-Castrén* 1987, p. 129; *Coarelli* 1997, p. 489).
age, was probably related to the function that the Latin colony, founded at the time of the Battle of Luceria, had as a stronghold of Rome in the central area of Italy. The reality does not change when we approach the Imperial period: in the provinces of Dacia, Raetia and Africa, inscriptions dedicated to Stator have been found in frontier areas where the fighting was continuous; the devotees, often soldiers, asked for the god’s protection when they joined in the fight or defended the frontiers of the Empire against foreign attacks. As for the inscriptions of Jupiter Stator from Rome, they either commemorate the victories of the emperor or add the attribute victor to the name of the deity.

Since the cult of Jupiter Stator generally had a connection with the military realm, it could be proposed that the dedication of the temple by the freedman M. Aquinius Andro on the outskirts of modern Cartagena could also contain a martial and victorious symbolism. In the chronological frame that we are concerned with, that is, between the last third of the 2nd century and the first third of the 1st century BCE, there is only one known deed of arms that affected Carthago Nova: the siege that the city suffered at the hands of the Sertorians in 76 BCE.

Carthago Nova supported Sertorius in the first stages of the war: the rebel dux embarked from the city to flee towards Africa in 81 BCE as the Sullan commander, C. Annius Luscus, was progressing across the Iberian east coast. Nevertheless, at a certain point, the city switched to the Senatorial camp and operated as a naval bastion of Metellus Pius and Pompeius Magnus. This would explain why, as Cicero reports, L. Cornelius Balbus and C. Memmius, Pompey’s lieutenant, were besieged in Carthago Nova by the Sertorians:

The prosecutor admits everything else: that Cornelius was with Quintus Metellus and with Gaius Memmius, in both navy and army, in Spain during a most strenuous campaign; that when Pompeius arrived in Spain and had Memmius as his quaestor, Cornelius never left Memmius, that he was besieged at Cartaghe and present at those major and hard-fought battles, on the Sucro and the Turia, that he stayed with Pompeius until the very end of the war.

Sallust seems to have narrated the blockade of Carthago Nova since two of the fragments of the Historiae describe the geography of the area: the first depicts a city surrounded by water which could be said to be an island; the second portrays an enclave fortified in three zones. Both descriptions coincide with those given of Carthago Nova in Livy and Polybius; and, if Sallust included in his work an explanation of the battle, it can be inferred that the siege of the city had significance in the Sertorian War.

Sertorius planned the attack on Carthago Nova by sea with the aim of blocking its bay. Although a land attack through the isthmus of Cartagena is not certain, what is evident is that the

29. CIL III, 1087; IDR III, 5, 226 and CIL III, 1089; IDR III, 5, 230; ILS 3010: both inscriptions, dated to the Dacian Wars or their aftermath, are from Alba Iulia, ancient Apulum, in Dacia, where there was a Roman military camp; the dedicator of CIL III, 1089 was Legatus Augusti. CIL III, 895: ILS 3023: inscription from Turda, Romania, the ancient castrum of Potaiassa; dated to 201-230 CE, it shows a tribunus militum that was devotee of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Stator Depulsor.
30. This inscription from Saal an der Donau, which depicts a centurion gratefully acknowledging the aid of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Stator, is no doubt related to the Marcomannic Wars (CIL III, 5937; Dietz – Fischer 1996, p. 169-170).
31. ILS 3011: found in Khemchela (Algeria), ancient Masula, on the southern frontier of the province of Africa.
32. ILS 3012: inscription dedicated to Jupiter Stator and Conservator asking for the victory of Marcus Aurelius on the battlefield. CIL VI, 877a, 32323-32324; AE 2002, 192; a full reconstruction of this fragmentary inscription appears in Schnegg-Köhler 2002, p. 17-45: Stator is called victor in this official document of Augustus dated to 17 BCE. Pseudo Cicero also links Stator and victory when he explains that the Romulean temple in the Urbs was in Palati radice cum Victoriae conlocatam (Ps.-Cic., or. pr. qu. in ex. Irel., 24).
33. The year 76 is the date of the siege according to Konrad’s revision of the chronology of the Sertorian War (Konrad 1995, p. 186).
34. Plut., Sert., 7, 4
A rebel commander employed the fleet installed in Dianium, modern Denia, his naval operations base, to assault and take over the city. A project of the University of Alicante has discovered a series of Sertorian fortifications in ancient Contestania dating to the 70s BCE whose function was to control the Spanish east coast. These archaeological sites, along with ancient sources, inform us of the maritime potential that Sertorius enjoyed during the war, a sufficient power to attempt the conquest of the most prominent city of Republican Hispania.

However, Carthago Nova, led by C. Memmius, resisted the attack and rejected the enemies. The location of the Temple of Jupiter Stator on Cabezo Gallufo Hill, with a privileged panoramic view overlooking the Bay of Cartagena, if we stand at its entrance, “as if wanting to embrace the city under its protection”, could commemorate the resilience of Carthago Nova against the Sertorian onslaught.

Since the worship of Jupiter Stator was linked to the military victories obtained by the Romans as defenders, it is plausible that this aedes Iovis Statoris was erected libens merito by the Aquinii, as a private initiative, because of the aid that the god had lent to Carthago Nova by keeping the city unshakable and protecting it against the siege arranged by Sertorius.

Konrad has conclusively demonstrated that L. Afranius, Pompey’s legate in Spain in the Sertorian War, became governor of the province of Citerior sometime between 71 and 67 BCE, immediately after the conflict. Since Carthago

Nova was the provincial capital, the erection of the temple of Jupiter Stator could well have taken place during Afranius’ magistracy, and thus the sacred building might have represented a way for some inhabitants of the city, such as the Aquinii, to ingratiate themselves with the Pompeian officers like Memmius (and perhaps Afranius as well) who had defended Carthago Nova against the Sertorian assault of 76 BCE.

STATOR AND THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ROMANS AND SABINES

The aedes of Cartagena may also contain an ethnic dimension. The cult devoted to Stator was strongly linked to the fights and differentiation between Romans and Sabines. According to tradition, Romulus was the first to establish a cult of Jupiter Stator in the urbs: as his people fled from the Sabines, the king entrusted himself to Stator to bring his troops back in order to fight.

This foundational legend could explain the appearance of worship to Stator in Sabina in Republican times. Since the devotion to this invocation of Jupiter is extremely rare in Italy, the epigraphic evidence from Forum Novum and Nursia requires an explanation. Sisani attributes the appearance of inscriptions to Stator in Sabina to the arrival of Roman settlers in the region. In that vein, it could be proposed that the devotion of the god under this appellation had a further meaning: like Romulus when he fought to defend the city, the colonists who established themselves among the Sabines sought the protection of Stator in a hostile land.

The Sabine origin of Sertorius, a native of Nursia, cannot be overlooked because the legend of Romulus and the ethnic connotations of Stator’s cult possibly provided the inspiration for the construction of the aedes discovered in Cartagena. In other words: just as Romulus, with the assistance of Jupiter Stator, had managed to hinder the Sabines when they were about to take Rome, the inhabitants of Carthago Nova, under the protection of the same deity, had succeeded in resisting the siege that the Sabine commander Quintus Sertorius had laid against their city.

JUPITER STATOR AS THE DEFENDER OF GOOD CITIZENS IN TIMES OF CIVIL DISCORD

Devotion to Stator was originally associated to the fight of Rome against Italic and foreign enemies, as is apparent from the aforementioned instances of Romulus and M. Atilius Regulus.
when the Romans were fleeing from their foes, the god intervened to bring them back onto the battlefield and win the battle.

However, by the 1st century BCE the ancient accounts confirm a correlation between the cult devoted to Jupiter Stator and the civil struggle: thus, the deity became the defender of the good cives in times of internal discord. The link is most strongly asserted by Cicero, who chose the Romulean aedes Iovis Statoris as the venue of the Senate session of 8 November 63 BCE, the day on which he delivered his first Catilinarian. Stator is explicitly defined in the speech as the ancient guardian of Rome:

We owe a great debt of gratitude to the immortal gods and especially to this Jupiter Stator, the god who from the earliest times has stood guard over the city, for enabling us time and again to escape this pestilence, so foul, so revolting, and so deadly to our country.47

Furthermore, Jupiter Stator was the one who kept the Urbs and the Empire strong in the face of those bad citizens who had risen up from its interior and became enemies of the commonwealth. Thus, Stator ensured the welfare of all good citizens when confronted by those Romans who, like Catiline and his followers, sought to destroy the city:

[Catiline] be off to your sacrilegious and wicked war! And you, Jupiter, who were established by the same auspices as those by which Romulus founded this city, whom we rightly call the ‘Stayer’ (Stator) of this city and empire, may you drive him and his associates away from your temple and the other temples, away from the buildings and the walls of the city, and away from the lives and fortunes of all citizens! And on these men who are the opponents of decent citizens, the enemies of their country, brigands of Italy, and linked together in an unholy alliance and syndicate of crime, on these, living and dead, may you inflict everlasting punishment!48

From the 1st century BCE the cult of Stator was closely linked to civil confrontation, with Jupiter acting as guarantor and benefactor of the good Romans in opposition to those fellow-citizens who had sought to destroy the res publica. In this way, “the Stayer” was responsible for the safety of Rome by keeping away and repelling the inner enemies from the city walls, while Cicero, in his speech, attempted to appear as a Romulus fighting Remus in a fratricidal (and civil) contest.49

Similar conclusions can be drawn from other ancient accounts. Seneca claims that the original logic behind the attribute Stator was to define Jupiter as the stabilizer of all things under his protection.50 Plutarch, for his part, translates it as Στήσιος and Ἑπιστάσιος, literally the one who is “over the stasis”.51 It is probably because of the connotations associated with Stator that Caesar, upon his return to Rome after his victories over Pompey, offered a spear and auctioned his goods in the Temple of Jupiter Stator to indirectly celebrate the end of the Civil War and legitimate his victory over the inner enemies of Rome.52

Given that the bellum Sertorianum must be considered as a civil war waged in a provincial territory,53 the temple in Cartagena would acquire new ideological and political connotations. Thus, the city of Carthago Nova, when it had to resist Sertorius’ attack, would have come under the protection of Jupiter Stator, the god who acted as guarantor of Rome in the face of attempts by the evil cives to destroy its empire.

47. Cic., Catil., 1, 11: magna dii immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huibus urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem iamque infestam rei publicae pestem tetiens iam effugiimus (Trans. Berry 2009).
48. Cic., Catil., 1, 33: [Catilina] proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. tu, Iuppiter, qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a
49. Vasaly 1993, p. 47-59; Habinek 1998, p. 84-87; Ver Eecke 2008, p. 250-256. It should be noted that Rome, according to the tradition, prospered in the mythical times of Romulus as a bi-ethnic community of Latins and Sabines thanks to the pact between the Roman king and Titus Tatius. From the perspective of the Ist c. BCE, the cult of Stator, linked to civil confrontation, could have been regarded by the Romans as associated to the fratricidal fights with the Sabines.
51. Plut., Cíc., 16, 3: Στήσιος; Rom., 18, 7: Ἑπιστάσιος.
Pliny mentions that, at one point in the first half of the 1st century BCE, a member of the Metelli commissioned the Greek sculptor Pasiteles to create an ivory statue of Jupiter for the temple to Stator in the family’s Porticus. Coarelli has conclusively shown that the Metellus in question was Pius, who ordered the sculpture after returning from Spain to celebrate his victory in the Sertorian War. The erection of the temple in Carthago Nova could well be seen as a parallel action to that of Metellus Pius in Rome.

Modern scholars tend to consider that the relationship between Stator and the civil wars depicted in the Catilinarians was a novel rhetorical invention of Cicero. However, if we consider that both Metellus’ offering and the construction of the temple in New Carthage to celebrate the defeat of the Sertorians in Hispania were slightly earlier than Catiline’s conspiracy of 63, we can conclude that Cicero did not invent anything ex novo, but relied on pre-existing associations within the Roman collective consciousness, which linked Jupiter Stator to the defence of citizens when they were attacked by their own compatriots.

**CONCLUSION**

The chronology of the Temple of Jupiter Stator in Cartagena, the existing ties between the Aquinii and the Metelli, the military implications of the cult of Stator, its possible association with the siege suffered by Carthago Nova during the Sertorian War, and the connotations of this invocation of Jupiter as protector of Rome in the face of civil conflicts suggest that this religious structure was closely related to the bellum Sertorianum. Moreover, it seems plausible that the erection of the aedes Iovis Statoris in Carthago Nova, sponsored by the freedman M. Aquinius Andro, took place immediately afterwards and was ideologically motivated by the civil war that the Sabine Q. Sertorius instigated in Roman Spain and shook the provinces of Citerior and Ulterior for a decade.

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