MAPPING AUGUSTAN ROME

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Bibliographic abbreviations
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Catalogue of entries

Entries are arranged in alphabetical order, and each entry's index number is indicated at the end of the title line, if applicable. Items without an index number are either labeled on the map itself, such as area entries or regional roads, or cannot be visualized due to the item's overarching nature or its unknown location. Clearly post-antique Latin titles have been highlighted by quotation marks.

A

ACTIEN ARCH. s.v. "ARCUS AUGUSTI"

AEDICULA CAPRARIA. s.v. "VICUS CAPRARII": STRUCTURE

AEMILIANA (1)

A vague toponym of Republican origin, associated with gens Aemilia, probably used to indicate two different districts. One is frequently located in the SE *Campus Martius (s.v. *Aemiliana [2]) while the other Aemiliana is associated with a sand ship serving in the Aemiliana (NAVIS HARENARIA QVAE SERVIT IN AEMILIANIS: CIL XV 7150; Palmer 149-50).

For the latter Aemiliana, Palmer suggested that its quay should be located between the *Porta Flumentana and *Porta Trigemina, close to the E foot of the *Pons Sublicius, and that it must have been extensively used for the unloading of sand from ships for use as a construction material in Rome. Coarelli (147-54, fig. 28) suggested that the more northern site of the Trajanic warehouses at the *Portus Tiberinus was the site for earlier storehouses of Aemiliana, based upon the reconstruction of the Marble Plan (frags. 621 a-d, 623, 627), on which the surviving label for the area can be reconstructed as AEMILI[ANA] (Rodríguez Almeida 1971, 112, fig. 4). Excavations at *Portus Tiberinus did not reveal any pre- or early-Imperial architecture since the Trajanic rebuilding completely obliterated the earlier levels (Colini; Colini and Buzzetti). The urban layout of the complex, the late-Republican and early-Imperial building activities in the area (known from the epigraphic evidence, cf. Colini 191-92) as well as the textual references (Palmer 148-50) suggest that earlier structures must have preceded these Trajanic warehouses even if they were not as architecturally coherent as the Trajanic reconstruction (Colini and Buzzetti 160, fig. 6). The Republican and early-Imperial toponyms of the area seemed to have survived at least through the Severan period.

Rodriguez Almeida has recently challenged Coarelli's argument by associating the district with the *Porticus Aemilia (Emporium) (Rodríguez Almeida, LTUR 20), which is now placed right outside the *Porta Trigemina, on the NW slopes of the Aventine and by the Tiber. The long extra-mural zone along the Tiber from the *Pons Aemilii to the Porticus Aemilia outside the Porta Trigemina could be tentatively accepted as the Aemiliana until some unambiguous evidence against this assumption shows up in the archaeological record.

O.H.


AEMILIANA (2)

A district outside the city walls (Varro, Rust. 3.2.6; s.v. *Muri; cf. *Continentia) in the SE *Campus Martius. A report that Claudius installed himself in the *Diribitorium to direct those fighting a fire in the Aemiliana seems to confirm this location (Suet., Claud. 18.1). The area may have taken its name from the presence of Aemilian-built structures, including the *Porticus Aemilia (Campus Martius), which ran from the *Porta Fontinalis to the *Ara Martis, and the Temple to the *Lares Permarini (Castagnoli). Varro (Rust. 3.2.6) alludes to the urban character of the Aemiliana in 55-54 B.C., and the frequency of fires there during the Julio-Claudian period also suggests a dense accumulation of buildings. It is reasonable to conclude that there was considerable urban build-up in this region during the Augustan period. The Aemiliana in the S Campus Martius should not be confused with the commercial districts along the *Tiber near the *Pons Aemilii, also described as 'Aemiliana' (s.v. *Aemiliana [1]). Palmer's theory of at least two 'Aemiliana' seems appropriate, since the Aemilii were extremely active in monumentalizing several areas of the city during the 2nd and 1st c. B.C.

A.B.G., E. J.K.


Richardson 3.

F. Castagnoli, Il Campo Marzio nell'antichità (Rome 1947) 93-193, esp. 139-39 n.2.
AEQUIMELIUM

Open space on the SE slopes of the *Capitol, which functioned as a memorial against tyranny. It was an area kept free from construction and its name commemorated the levelling of the house of a would-be tyrant of the 5th c. B.C., Spurius Maelius (e.g., Varro, Ling. 5.157: a-<e>quata Meli domus, ‘the levelled house of Melius’). It was a place to buy sacrificial animals (Cic., Div. 2.39), and it still existed in the Augustan period (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 12.4.6). It stood on the lower slopes of the Capitol by the *Vicus Iugarius

AESCULAPIUS, AEDES

The Temple to Aesculapius (Epidauran Asclepius), built on the Tiber island in 293 B.C. after a serious plague occasioned the introduction of the cult to Rome (Livy 10.47.6-7). From this time on, the *Insula Tiberina acted as a place of refuge and of healing in the Republican city (Guarducci; Brucia 63 f.). Both literary (Varro, Ling. 7.57) and epigraphic (CIL VI7) evidence suggests that the temple, along with the entire island, underwent a major reconstruction and monumentalization around the mid-1st c. B.C. (Degrassi 1987).

The Temple of Aesculapius is believed to have stood on the SE end of the island, probably under the Church of S. Bartolomeo (Richardson; Degrassi, LTUR 21). Although the temple is archaeologically unknown, the mid-1st c. B.C. travertine and tufa revetment at the S tip of the island imitating a trireme prow and its remains (head of Aesculapius and a staff entwined with a serpent, see Claridge 227, fig. 105), as well as the terracotta votive offerings from the head of the *Pons Fabricius (Richardson), strongly support this location. It seems likely that a small-scale temple stood at the very S end, directly above the prow. A hexastyle temple within a precinct is often reconstructed, but this is completely hypothetical (Richardson fig. 37; Besnier 317 f. for Renaissance artists’ reconstructions). The Severan Marble Plan suggests that the small precinct was composed of a courtyard enclosed with a series of rooms (Rodriguez Almeida, Forma pl. 42, frag. 32).

AESCULETUM, s.v. VICUS AESCULEI

AGER: L. PETILIUS

Plot of land in *Trans Tiberim, which belonged to L. Petilius and was situated immediately at the foot of the *Ianiculum (Sol. 1.21). The supposed ‘discovery’ of the stone sarcophagus and books of Numa Pompilius in 181 B.C. left the historical-collective memory of the spot in ancient literature (Liverani; Livy 40.29; Val. Max. 1.1.12). According to Cicero, the spot was not far from the *ara Fontis, an famous altar to sacred springs on the Ianiculum (Cic., Leg. Man. 2.56; OCD 1436-37). The location of this altar is also controversial. A shrine dedicated to *Fons in A.D. 70 was found in 1914 under the current Ministry of Public Education building on Via del Re (Mancini). While some scholars suggest that this must be a later monumentalization of the cult at the same spot (Aronen, Rodriguez Almeida), others are more critical of the discovery (Savage 30-31; Richardson 152-53). Richardson (4 and 152) suggests an alternative location for the *ara and the nearby ager along the *Via Aurelia, especially where the street reached the lower stretches of the Ianiculum. Both hypotheses must remain conjectural in the current state of archaeological evidence; our map tentatively follows Richardson’s suggestion, which fits well with the ‘sub lanicolo’ expression in the cited ancient sources as well as with the location of the springs in the region.


CLAUDIUS, s.v. "Fons/Fontus, ara, aedes:'

Richardson 4.

Richardson 4, 152-53.
S.M. Savage, "The cults of ancient Trastevere,” MAAR 17 (1940) 26-56.
G. Mancini, "Roma: nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio,” NSc 1914, 362-63.
argument in favor of this location is its slight rise; however, one would expect little building rubble left after a largely wooden theater burnt, thus the amphitheater need not be associated with any of the Campus hillocks. Further, Monte Giordano is too far from the three theaters in the SW Campus to be the site of Strabo’s amphitheater.

Richardson takes a different approach and analyzes evidence related to the fire of A.D. 64 (11). Since the three stone theaters mentioned by Strabo all survived the blaze unscathed while the amphitheater burnt, Richardson posits that it must have stood in the SE Campus Martius, specifically in the *Aemiliana (2), an area destroyed during the second outbreak of the fire (Tac., Ann. 15.40). More specifically, Richardson suggests a location E of the Via Flaminia and N of the *Palatinae: Street (near the S end of the modern Piazza dei S S Apostoli). Two factors complicate this proposal; first, Richardson’s suggested location lies well outside the Circus Flaminius. Second, the Tacitus passage is ambiguous and could refer to either of two Aemiliana neighborhoods, one in the Campus Martius or the other along the Tiber S of the Forum Boarium (*Aemiliana [1]).

At present the evidence for the location of the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus is far from conclusive; the location near the Monte dei Cenci offers the best fit for the available data. This spot is near the three theaters of the SW Campus and offers sufficient space for an amphitheater, which, however modest, still required a sizeable site (for an impression, see the Berlin Model, where the amphitheater is placed at about this point). Since this proposal is tentative, the monument is only denoted with an index number on our map.

E.A.D.

Richardson 3, 11.


M. Conticello de’Spagnollos, Il tempio dei Dioscuri nel Circo Flaminius (Rome 1985).


ANSEMA, SACEUM. sv. PALATIUM

ANIO VETUS

The second aqueduct of Rome was begun in 272 B.C. during the censorship of M.‘ Curius Dentatus and L(?)(?) Papirius Praetextatus (Frontin., Ag. 6.1). It was repaired by Q. Marcus Rex in 144 B.C. (Frontin., Ag. 71; Pliny, NH 36.121), by Agrippa in 33 B.C. (Frontin., Ag. 9.9), and by Augustus between 11 and 4 B.C. (Frontin., Ag. 125; CIL VI 1243, 3158; cf. RG 20.2). The entire course of the Anio Vetus within the city ran underground, but from the description of Frontinus, inscriptions recording Augustus’ restoration and remains of the canal itself, we can trace its course (Evans). It approached the city from the E near the *Spes Vetus (Lanciani, FUR pl. 32) and ran along the ridge of the *Esquiliae toward the *Porta Viminalis (Lanciani, FUR pl. 24), turning sharply underneath the modern Stazione Termini (Lanciani, FUR pl. 17) to run SE toward the *Porta Esquilina (Frontin., Ag. 21.3; cf. Mari 1991, 168 ff.). The terminal distribution tank of the Anio Vetus was discovered in 1972 underneath the church of S. Vito (Santa Maria Scrinari).

Frontinus mentions a subsidiary line to the Anio Vetus (Ag. 21.2), the specus Octavianus, but the precise date, course, and function of this line are all uncertain (cf. Evans 78-79; contra, Lanciani).

C.F.N.

Evans, Water distribution (1994) 75-82.


R. Lanciani, I commentari di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti (Rome 1881; repr. 1975) 264-67.

APOLLO MEDICUS/SOSIANUS, AEDES

The Temple of Apollo, specifically of Apollo Medicus (Livy 40.51.6: aedem Apollinis Medicis, for 179 B.C.; though often simply called aedes Apollinis, e.g., Livy 4.29.7), was situated outside the Servian Wall between the *Forum Holitorium and the *Circus Flaminius (Asc., Tog. cand. 70 Stangl: inter forum Holitiorium et circum Flaminiun). It was ‘by the Theater of Marcellus’ (AD THEATRVM MARCELLI Fast. Aquat. and Urb., Degrassi, Insr. Ital. 13.2, 35, 63; cf. RG 21: theatrum ad aedem Apollinis). Lavishly rebuilt in the Augustan period by C. Sosius (cos. 32 B.C.), thus also known as Apollo Sosianus (Pliny, NH 13.53, 36.28: in templo Apollinis Sosiani), the temple was one of the most richly-decorated in Rome.

The cult of Apollo Medicus had long been an architectural presence on the site, since in 433-431 B.C. it was vowed and dedicated by the consul C. Iulius following a plague (Livy 4.25.3; 7.20.9; Viscoglosi, LTUR 49). It has been proposed that in the early 2nd c. B.C. the temple was substantially rebuilt in relation to the construction of a new theater in the area in 179 B.C. (Livy 40.51.3; Viscoglosi 1996, 15-
33). This tetrastyle-diastyle Temple of Apollo (probably the one mentioned in Vitr., De Arch. 3.3.4) was excavated in part below the Augustan phase of the temple (Viscogliosi 1996, 15-33, pl. 1-3).

Well-preserved remains document, undisputedly, the complete rebuilding of the temple by C. Sosius following a new design, probably after his victory in Judea in 34 B.C.; this dating is primarily based on stylistic analysis of the building's splendid architectural decoration (Viscogliosi, LTUR 50-51). The pictorial narratives of the internal frieze suggest that Augustus may have been responsible for the completion of the project, presumably after his triumphs in 29 B.C.; otherwise C. Sosius must have re-oriented his ideology for this narrative program (La Rocca 1985, 83-102; id. 1988, 122-23).

The Augustan temple was a pseudo-peripteral temple with a deep hexastyle pronaos, built on top of a high, opus quadratum tufa masonry podium with an opus caementicium tufa core (Viscogliosi 1996, 35-43, esp. fig. 40 and pl. 5; excavated in 1937-38, see Colini). No staircase was designed in front of the temple, probably due to the limited space between the façade and the *Theatrum Marcelli, so the access to the pronaos was through two flights of small stairs on either side of the podium.

The excavations in 1997 at the Augustan street level between the Temple of Apollo and the Theater of Marcellus identified the circular foundations of the so-called Perirrhantierion resting upon the Augustan pavement, suggesting that this Julio-Claudian/Flavian monument might have had a predecessor on the very spot at the time of Augustus, but for the moment the archaeological evidence still seems to be rather flimsy (La Rocca, LTUR 79-80).

O.H.

A. Viscogliosi, Il Tempio di Apollo in Circo e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusto (Rome 1996).
A.M. Colini, Il tempio di Apollo (Rome 1941).

APOLLO, TEMPLE (PALATINUM)

Temple of Apollo built on the SW *Palatine by Augustus (RG 19: templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus ... feci) and considered one of his most magnificent buildings (Vell. Pat. 2.81.3). In antiquity, the sanctuary was known as a templum (RG 19; Vell. Pat., loc. cit.; Suet., Aug. 29.3) and, occasionally, as an aedes (Prop. 4.6.11: Palatinus ... Apollinis aedem; this rare poetic form, Apollo Palatinus, has been awarded undeserved prominence by its use in scholarship) or a delubrum (Pliny, NH 36.32: in Palatino Apollinis delubro). Construction probably began in 36 B.C. following Octavian's victory at Naulochos over Sextus Pompey and was soon mirrored by C. Sosianus, who rebuilt the Temple of *Apollo Medicus around 34 B.C. After the battle at Actium in 31 B.C., Augustus' temple became an ex voto of the victory of Octavian over Marc Antony (Gros 54) and was dedicated on 9 October 28 B.C. (Dio Cass. 53.1.3; Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 209).

Tradition holds that the temple was built on land Augustus had intended for his residence (*Domus: Augustus), but consecrated to Apollo following the interpretation of the haruspices (soothsayers) after the spot had been struck by a thunderbolt (Suet., Aug. 29.3; Dio. Cass. 49.15.5). The remains of the temple have long been connected with Jupiter (e.g., Lanciani, FUR pl. 29: "Aedes Iovis Propugnator in Palatio," on this Richardson) but were only correctly identified in the 1960s after the investigations of Lugli and the excavations conducted by Carettoni 1967; id. 1978; Gros 56).

The temple is hexastyle, pseudo-peripteral, and has an almost square cela (20.5 x 19 m). Though most accept that the temple faced the *Circus Maximus, Claridge argues that its monumental façade was oriented to the NE, that is, toward the street leading to the house of Augustus (1998, 131; LTUR 225). Elevated on a high podium of opus caementicum and opus quadratum of tufa and travertine, the temple was reached by a lengthy staircase. The opus quadratum superstructure was constructed entirely of Carrara (Luna) marble (Gros 56). The early-Augustan date suggested by the literary evidence is supported by the archaeological finds; for instance, a Corinthian column fragment dates stylistically to the beginning of the Augustan era (Bauer 183-204). Further, either the temple or the Portico of the Danaids (*Porticus: Apollo) was adorned with polychrome terracotta relief plaques dating to 36-28 B.C. (Gros 56). The pediment was decorated with Archaic Greek statues made of Parian marble attributed to the 6th-c. B.C. Chian sculptors Bupalos and Athenis (Gros 54; Pliny, NH 36.4.13). Additional decoration is attested in Propertius (2.31.11-14), who reports that the central acroteria represented the chariot of Helios, and that the double doors of the cela were decorated with ivory reliefs depicting the Celtic attack on Delphi and the myth of the Niobids. The altar of the temple may have been located to the S in the *Area Apollinis, where the Severan Marble Plan preserves an image of a cruciform monument (Rodriguez Almeida).

The temple formed an integral part of a group of Augustan buildings on the SW Palatine, which included his own residence, an open terraced area framed by porticoes (s.v. *Area Apollinis; Porticus: Apollo), and the Greek and Latin Library (*Bibliotheca Latina Graecaq). Excavations revealed that the temple was situated just E of Augustus' residence which physi-
**BALNEUM (COLLIS HORTULORUM)**

Remains of a private Republican bath-house, consisting of a circular room with two semicircular niches, are preserved in the cellar of no. 111 Via Sistina, on the S slope of the *Collis Hortulorum. The mosaic decoration, wall-paintings and opus incertum construction date the building to c.70 B.C. (Fiorini 56); its shape, size, fixtures and decorative motifs suggest it served as part of a private balneum, possibly associated with a residential villa (Fiorini 56-57).

**BASILICA AEMILIA. s.v. BASILICA PAULLI**

**BASILICA JULIA**

The monumental basilica along the S side of the *Forum, between the *Vicus Lugarius and *Vicus Tuscus, begun by Caesar c.54 B.C. (cf. Cic., Att. 4.16.8) to replace the Basilica Sempronia of 169 B.C. (Giuliani and Verduchi) was dedicated unfinished in 46 B.C. (Jer., Ab Abr. 1971) and later completed by Augustus (RG 20.3). This basilica burned (12 B.C.) and was rebuilt by Augustus and dedicated in the names of his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius in A.D. 12 (RG 20.3; Suet., Aug. 29.4); later references show that the name basilica Gai et Luci did not achieve currency (cf. Mart. 6.38.6; Stat., Silv. 1.1.129). This rebuilding probably engulfed the lacus Serviliius (La Regina), a monumental fountain which Festus located (in the past tense) 'at the beginning of the Vicus Lugarius, adjacent to the Basilica Iulia' (370: in principio vicini lugarii, continens basilicae Iulie).

Only the pavement and the foundations of the basilica's pillars have survived, but the broad dimensions of the structure are clear (*LTUR* I, fig. 93). Restorations to the Basilica Iulia by Diocletian (Chron. 148) and by the urban prefect Gabinius Vettius Probianus in either A.D. 377 or 416 (*CIL* VI 1156b, 1658, 31884-86) do not appear to have altered the dimensions of the Augustan Basilica Iulia, part of which is represented on the Severan Marble Plan (Carettoni et al., *Pianta* pl. 21; Rodriguez Almeida, *Forma* pl. 13, frags. 18 b,c,d).

**BASILICA NEPTUNI. s.v. STOA OF POSEIDON**

**BASILICA PAULLI**

The basilica along the N side of the *Forum, opposite the *Basilica Julia was rebuilt c.54 B.C. by L. Aemilius Paullus (Cic., Att. 4.16.8; App., B Civ. 2.26; Plut., Caes. 29.3) to replace the Basilica Fulvia of 179 B.C. (Livy 40.51.5), and referred to after 54 B.C. as Basilica Paulli (with only two exceptions: Varro, Ling. 6.4: Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia; Pliny, *NH* 35.13: Basilica Aemilia). The rebuilt basilica of 54 B.C., which maintained the axis of the Basilica Fulvia and its dimensions to the S toward the Forum and to the N toward the *Macellum, while shortening its extension along its E-W axis (Bauer), was dedicated in 34 B.C. by Paullus’ son, L. Aemilius Paullus Lepidus (Dio Cass. 49.42.2). This basilica burned in 14 B.C. and was restored by Augustus and the friends of Paullus (Dio Cass. 54.24.2-3); it was restored again in A.D. 22 by M. Aemilius Lepidus (Tac., *Ann.* 3.72).

**BELLONA, AEDES**

A large Temple of Bellona, the archaic Roman goddess of war, stood immediately E of the Temple of *Apollo Medicus. The temple was vowed in 296 B.C. by Appius Claudius Caecus during a battle with the Etruscans and Samnites and dedicated after his victory (Livy 10.19.17; Ov., *Fast.* 6.199-208; De Nuccio 71). Archaeological evidence suggests that the temple was rebuilt at the time of Augustus, probably along with the aedes Apollinis (La Rocca 1987, 366). Located just outside the *pomerium, it was a favorable place for the senate to meet, especially to receive generals on their return from military campaigns (Visco-glòsi, *LTUR* 191). In 79 B.C., the consuls Appius Claudius Pulcher and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus placed the imagines cippeatae of their ancestors in the temple (Pliny, *NH* 35.12: in Bellonae aede). The special connection between the temple and the Claudian family is perhaps further supported by the proximity of their
tombs on the W slope of the *Capitolium (Viscogliosi, LTUR 191), but the location of this sepulcrum is not certain (*Sepulcrum: Gens Claudia).

The remains of the temple were discovered in Piazza Montanara in the course of demolition work in 1932-33, and were excavated in 1938-39 (Colini, esp. fig. 1). They were convincingly identified with the Temple of Bellona by Coarelli through an association with fragments of the Severan Marble Plan depicting the temple (Coarelli; Rodriguez Almeida, Forma pl. 23, frags. 31d,e cf. Ziolkowski). The periperal, hexastyle temple had a deep pronao and was raised on a high platform (De Nuccio fig. 4; Viscogliosi 1995, fig. 1). The podium had a concrete core with a mixed aggregate of tufa, which dates to the Augustan period; its encasing opus quadratum masonry has been completely robbed, and very little survives of the marble architectural decoration of the superstructure (De Nuccio). An L-shaped peperino portico enveloped the NW edge of the precinct, both defining the complex of the Temples of Apollo and Bellona, and screening the rising slopes of the Capitoline hill. Based on the dating of the sporadic pieces of architectural decoration, it is suggested that the temple was reconstructed roughly in the same years with the renovations of the Temple of Apollo Medicus, and was probably dedicated by Appius Claudius Pulcher (also known as Appius Maior), consul of 38 B.C., in the year 33 or 32 B.C. after his triumph over Spain (La Rocca 366).

On the Augustan travertine pavement directly in front of the platform of the Temple of Bellona, and adjacent to the porticoes of the *Theatrum Marcelli, the footprint of a "roughly circular" monument was traced by La Rocca (LTUR 300-1; id. 1993, fig. 2 and 23-24), who identifies this spot with the Columna Bellica. Literary sources associate this column with middle- and late-Republican fetales, a ritual declaration of war, which took place before the Temple of Bellona, since that area was considered foreign territory after the collective memory of the 3rd-c. B.C. war against Pyrrhus (Serv., ad Aen. 9.52; Wiedemann 480-82). The ritual was revived at the time of Augustus (Ov., Fast. 6.205) and involved throwing a spear, presumably over the column, which marked Rome's border with the symbolic foreign territory.

Ö.H.


**BELLONA PEDISEQUA, AEDES. s.v. BELLONA PULVINENSIS, AEDES**

**BELLONA PULVINENSIS, AEDES**

Sanctuary of the Cappadocian goddess Ma, who was assimilated to Bellona in Rome, located inside the *Porta Collina and known only from epigraphic and literary evidence. The goddess Bellona of this temple was known by two epithets: PULVINENSIS (CIL VI 490) and PEDISEQUA (CIL VI 3674=30851). Palmer (657) plausibly argues that the temple was dedicated by L. Cornelius Sulla to commemorate his victory over the Samnites at the Colline Gate in 82 B.C. Martial (12.57.9-11) complains that the noisy racket of an inspired throng of Bellona's worshippers on the *Quirinal deprived him of sleep.

More detailed information on the temple's date, site and architectural form can be derived from the epigraphic evidence. Inscriptions uncovered during the 1872 excavations for the Ministero delle Finanze locate the *Vicus Bellonae near the Porta Collina, and it is likely that the temple stood near the eponymous neighbourhood (Palmer 658-59; CIL VI 3674=30851). The shrine was located within a groove and placed on a pulvinus, "a terraced embankment with building and plantings" (Palmer 660), near the Porta Collina and

map index 82

*Campus Sceleratus (LVCVS: CIL VI 2232; PULVINVS: CIL VI 490). Palmer (659) postulates that the shrine stood atop the area of the Campus Sceleratus, based upon a place-name *Centumcellae* which he suggests derived from an exaggeration of the number of subterranean rooms used for the burial of unchaste Vestal Virgins. Since the toponym could also refer to the extensive system of chambers created during the mining of pozzolana in this area of the Quirinal (Canevari 433-35), Palmer's placement of the shrine on the Campus Sceleratus is almost certainly over-restrictive. Viscogliosi (LTUR 1) was not aware of Palmer's research, and erroneously located the temple on the mons Vaticanius (s.v. *Trans Tiberim*); his addendum acknowledges the agger near the Porta Collina as a possible location for the aedes (LTUR V).

E.A.D.

Richardson 58.
Immediately S of the *Basilica Pauli, near the *Sacellum of *Cloacina, the Cloaca Maxima is joined by drainage from the *Sacra Via; from this point the course traverses the Forum in an oblique line, flowing underneath the *Basilica Iulia parallel to the *Vicus Tuscus (Bauer, LTUR).

Just S of the *Forum Romanum is a section of the Cloaca built in opus caementicium; this appears to be a post-Augustan insertion, probably occasioned by the construction of the Julio-Claudian Temple to the Divine Augustus (Bauer, LTUR 289). In the absence of a better source, the course of the Augustan cloaca is reconstructed as a straight line between the known end-points of the older structure. The path of the drain

"CLOACA MEDIANA"

Discharge point of a drain partially preserved in the 19th-c. Tiber embankments (*Tiberis: Grand Embankment) between those of the *Cloaca Maxima and the *"Cloaca Circi Maximi" (Cressedi 262-65, figs. 6-8), hence the modern name "Cloaca Mediana" (Middle Drain). This drain probably served to collect rainwater from the open space of the *Forum Bovarium (Cressedi 265). Late 19th-c. investigations found the drain obstructed just within its mouth, and today only the upper portion of the opening survives, so its full extent and course are unknown (no remains have been unearthed within the *Forum Bovarium). The preserved portions are of Grotta Oscura tufa (Cressedi 265), so the cloaca appears to be of Republican date.

CLOACINA, SACRUM

A small, circular shrine in the *Forum dedicated to Cloacina, the divinity of the *Cloaca Maxima, later identified with Venus (cf. Pliny, NH 15.119). It is first mentioned near the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C. by Plautus (*Curc. 471: apud Cloacinæ sacrum). The shrine, depicted on coins of c.42 B.C. (RRC 494/42b), was located in front of the Republican *tabernae novae

CODETA / CAUDETA

A swampy terrain in *Trans Tiberim, mentioned by Paulus (in Festus 34, 50: *Codeta appellatur ager transsiberim quod in eo virgula nascentur ad caudarem equinorum similitudine). The Regionary Catalogues list it as *campus Codetanus in Regio XIV: Transsiberim. Lanciani locates it under present-day Via Morosini, W of Viale di Trastevere and extends it to the NE (FUR pl. 33), which places it within the marshland of the *Naumachia. A late-Republican boundary stone with the inscription FINIDES [C]AVDETA was found in the lower *Velabrum and across the *Forum Bovarium is well known (cf. Cressedi), and was first mapped in the 19th c. Recently, Bauer has made corrections to the early plan; these have been integrated on our map (cf. LTUR I, fig. 120). D.B., E.A.D., C.F.N.


Cohortes Vigilum: Stationes

Barracks (*stationes) and watchstations (*excubitoria) serving the 7 cohorts of urban watchmen, a force organized by Augustus in A.D. 6 (earlier attempts to organize the city's fire brigades: 22 B.C., Dio Cass. 54.2.4; 7 B.C., 55.8.6-7). The vigiles (watchmen) were originally comprised solely of freedmen (probably c.500 men, Robinson 106-7, 185) and were organized within the framework of the *Regiones Quattuordecim; this system proved to be a lasting success (Dio Cass. 55.26.4-5), surviving into the 4th c. A.D. The 7 cohorts were systematically distributed across the city, each responsible for two regions; according to the late-antique Regionary Catalogues, they were stationed in *Regiones VII, V, VI, XII, II, VIII, and XIV, respectively. The more precise areas of responsibility remain, however, "uncertain and controversial" (Ramieri 292), as does the existence of purpose-built barracks in the Augustan era (Robinson 107, Rainbird 153-56, Baillie

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Cohortes Vigilum: Stationes

Richardson 92.
The late-Republican and early-Imperial urban trading port and industrial warehouse area, was located SW of the *Aventine hill and bordered by the bending course of the *Tiber to the W, the line of the Servian Wall to the SE, and the *Via Ostiensis to the NE. The area witnessed a significant urban transformation from the 2nd c. B.C. through the 1st c. A.D. In order to serve as the developing emporium of the city (Rodriguez Almeida, Étienne, Castagnoli). Recent debate on the so-called "Porticus Aemilia" enables us to put forward a gradual topographical shift of Rome's urban commercial port from the *Forum Bovarium area towards the Emporium during this time period (for further discussion, see below and Porticus Aemilia [Emporium]).

Livy provides evidence for the construction of a series of porticoes and embankments 'outside the *Porta Trigemina' in the first quarter of the 2nd c. B.C. (Livy 35.10.12: porticum ... extra portam Trigeminam, emporio ad Tiberim adiecto, 40.51.6, 41.27.8: extra portam Trigeminam emporium). In contrast, archaeological and epigraphic evidence shows that the large-scale warehouse structures surviving into the time of Augustus were extensively built through the first half of the 1st c. B.C. (see fig. 12; s.v. *Horrea Galbana, *Horrea Lolliana, *Horrea Seiana, Porticus Aemilia [Emporium]). Thus the formulaic expression 'extra portam Trigeminam' used by ancient sources must have indicated the earlier porticoes built on the W slopes of the Aventine along the Tiber and the modern-day Lungotevere Aventino (often referred to as "Via/ Vicus Portae Trigeminae"), both unattested street-names coined by modern topographers, e.g., LTUR III, fig. 190 and Scagnetti 7E; also Richardson 1976, 59; Richardson 1992, 310-11). The embankments excavated along this street demonstrated that the movement of the major commercial port from the *Forum Bovarium area to the Emporium was gradual (Nash).

The lower levels of the recently excavated multi-tiered embankments to the NW of the Porticus Aemilia date to the mid-1st c. A.D. and were constructed directly over the Republican embankments. These tua opus quadratum quays stretched from the *Porta Trigemina to the bend of the Via Ostiensis, and were probably work of the 2nd c. B.C. (Meneghini 436; Mocchegiani Carpano 1981, 146 f.; id. 1985, 86-88). Not much is known about the dates and nature of the smaller-scale warehouse structures that lay between the Porticus Aemilia and the Tiber embankments, despite excavations in the N end of the area between 1915 and 1925 (Gatti 1934, pl. II). For the S half of the area, some warehouse structures are preserved on the Severan Marble Plan (Rodriguez Almeida, *Forma pl. 16, frag. 24 c.d; Scagnetti). Of these, a rather significant building was excavated in 1920-25: a perforated brick structure, built on the same level as the street that separated it from the Porticus Aemilia (Gatti 1934, 142; id. 1960, 82). Even though its date is uncertain, its topographical relationship with the other warehouses may suggest it was constructed concurrently. Republican walls in *opus incertum were found in the Piazza dell'Emporio in 1934 and thus allude to the dense urban fabric in the area (Gatti 1934, 142).

In addition to the street that paralleled the Porticus Aemilia on its Tiber side and the Via Ostiensis which ran along the foot of the Aventine, excavated remains allow the reconstruction of a major artery in the Emporium area that united the warehouse structures along the Tiber (Lanciani, *FUR pl. 40). Following the bending course of the river, this street ran toward the S between the Porticus Aemilia and Horrea Galbana, passed by the Horrea Seiana and continued all the way to the *Horrea Lolliana and the complex of structures laid out in a rectangular plan parallel to this street.

At the time of Augustus the entire area must already have been developed into a vast industrial and commercial zone, balanced by the line of warehouse structures across the Tiber (s.v. *Trans Tiberim). The Berlin model not only misplaces the large warehouse structure, the Porticus Aemilia, but also disregards the street system and the architectural form of the courtyard-type warehouse structures (s.v. Horrea Galbana, Horrea Lolliana). The *Monte Testaccio is likewise erroneously represented as if it were a natural hill and according to its state of deposition in very late antiquity, or perhaps even today. This artificial hill must have been a minor feature in the Emporium cityscape, and was probably pyramidal in overall form. Yet, a monumental late-Republican tomb of the Rusticelii family (*Sepulcrum: Rusticellii) on the S side of the amphora mound indicates the importance of the area.

Ö.H.


ESQUILIAE

The Esquiline hill (Esquiliae: Varro, Ling. 5.50; Livy 1.44.3; only gradually known as Esquilinus mons: Erkell), lay between the *Viminal and *Caelian and consisted of two large spurs which extended into the city: the *Cispian and *Oppian, the W tip of which was called *Carinae. The area within the *Servian Wall was mostly covered with dense urban development; Panella suggests shops and insulae inhabited by the lower classes along the main streets in the valleys, with aristocratic houses on the slopes and high ground, such as the house of Vedius Pollio, inherited by Augustus in 15 B.C. and converted into the *Porticus Liviae. Juvenal also mentions aristocratic housing on the Esquiline (Juv. 3.71-72). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ant. Rom. 4.13.3) implies that the Esquiline was heavily built up within the walls, though it is not clear how best to interpret his testimony that there was also dense housing in the area beyond the walls (4.13.4-5; s.v. *Muri; *Continentia). This area was certainly different. Cicero, in 66 B.C., speaks of sandpits and hortuli outside the *Porta Esquiline (Ciu. 37). We also hear of ‘hollows, garden walls, tombs and sunken lanes’ (Livy, 26.10.6; transl. Wiseman). This area has thus been characterized by Wiseman as a place of work and leisure. The aristocratic horti, which covered most of this area, included villa architecture on a lavish scale, but only within the larger context of a landscaped park setting (s.v. *Esquiline Horti). The *Campus Viminalis was an open space, but there was limited urban development in the *Campus Esquilineus. Commercial activity is attested epigraphically in the grove of *Libitina, and there was an Augustan structure in opus reticulatum under the later Nymphaeum Alexandri (Tedeschi Grisanti). Its function is unknown, but has been interpreted as a nymphaeum (Häuber 99). This area of low-density housing did not extend far, since extra-urban tombs along the roads leading out of the city are attested quite close to the walls, notably the tomb of L. Considius Gallus on the *Via Tiburtina (Lanciani, FUR pl.
should instead be located in the SW Campus Martius, N of the Pons Agrippae where it would have been fed entirely by the Aqua Virgo. There is no evidence that the Euripus was the boundary of the pomerium in the W Campus Martius as early as the Augustan period (Boatwright 489 n.16; contra, Coarelli 1977, 819-22, 830-37).


The Fagutal was a small sacred area on the *Oppian; it is placed between the *Velia and *Subura by Festus (476: *Fagut<al>), and on the Oppian by Varro (Ling. 5.50; for the name, 5.152: *Fagut al fago).

The Fagutal is thus generally placed in the vicinity of S. Pietro in Vincoli (Buzzetti 1995; Richardson; Erkell 133; Fridh 1990, 145). It overlapped slightly with *Carinae in this area, but the two terms were not entirely synonymous (as proposed by Platner-Ashby).

The location of the Fagutal around S. Pietro in Vincoli is consistent with Solinus (1.26), who states that the Fagutal stood at the top of a hill (s.v. *Clivus Pullius). Excavations have revealed continuous habitation from the 3rd c. B.C. (Buzzetti 1995; cf. *Domus: Carinae). In the Augustan period, this was an area of dense housing, in which all traces of the archaic topography (*lucus [grove], *sacellum [shrine], or *lacus [pond], for *FAUNUS, AEDES

A temple was dedicated to Faunus, an ancient Latin god of the forest and its prophetic voices (OCD 590), in 196 B.C. at the N end of the Tiber island (*Insula Tiberina; Ov., Fast. 2.193-94, Livy 33.42.10: *aede Fauni, 34.53.4; Degrassi; Richardson). It was vowed by the tribuni plebis, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Scribonius Curio, and dedicated by the praetor urbanus of the time (Brucia). Vitruvius (De arch. 3.2.3) mentions the building as an example of the tetrastyle, prostyle temple: *huius exemplar est in insula Tiberina in aede lovis et Fauni. There is disagreement among scholars whether this expression should be interpreted as a temple to Jupiter and Faunus (Richardson) or as separate temples for the two gods (Brucia 44). In any case, no archaeological remains can be associated with these structures (*Iuppiter Iurarius).
FORO FABIANUS

An arch at the E end of the *Forum erected by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus in 121 B.C. to commemorate a triumph over the Allobroges (Degrassi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 560), then restored by Fabius’ grandson in 57 B.C. (CIL VI 1303, 1304, 31593). The arch was located at the entrance to the Forum on the *Sacra Via* (cf. Cic., *De or.* 2.267: *ad forniciem Fabianum; Planc. 17.7; Sen., *Constant.* 1.3), but the precise location is much debated. Sources describe the Fornix Fabianus as ‘next to the Regia’ (*iuxta Regiam*; schol. Cic. 211 Stangl), ‘next to the stone wellhead of Scribonius Libo which is in the Porticus Iulia’ (*ad puteal Scribonii Libonis quod est in porticu Iulia*; schol. ad Pers. 4.49), and ‘before the Sacra Via between the Temple of Faustina and the Temple of Vesta’ (*ante Sacram viam, inter templum Faustinae <ac Vestam>; SHA, Gall. 19.4). Scholars have located the arch both to the S and to the N of the *Regia*, but an emerging consensus (cf. Chioffi) favors a location to the N, mainly on the basis of recent excavations (Steinby) and Coarelli’s persuasive analysis of the literary evidence.

C.F.N.


FORS FORTUNA, FANUM

A Republican temple, or temples, dedicated to Fors Fortuna in *Trans Tiberim*, presumably somewhere along the *Via Campana* (later *via Portuensis*), which presents severe topographical problems. Two archaic temples of Fors Fortuna are known to have been built on the Via Campana, one founded by Servius Tullius at the first milestone (Savage 31-35 esp. n.52, n.61; Varro, *Ling. 6.17; fanum Fortis Fortunae*), and the other by an unknown dedicatory at the sixth milestone. The latter is not to be considered here, since it falls well outside the city. Two later temples to Fors Fortuna followed the early foundations mentioned above. The first one is known from a contract dating to 293 B.C. by Spurius Carvilius which specifically mentions a temple near that of Servius Tullius (Livy 10.46.14). The second was a new temple, or restoration, dedicated in A.D. 16 by Tiberius within the confines of *Horti Caesars* (Tac., *Ann.* 2.41.1).

Since the first milestone on Via Campana (as measured from the *Pons Aemilius*; cf. Scheid 642; Palmer 370) would fall within the limits of the *Horti Caesars*, it is reasonable to think that all three temples to the cult (i.e., those of Servius Tullius, Sp. Carvilius and Tiberius) may have been built within the same neighborhood in *Trans Tiberim*; the later ones may even represent the rebuilding(s) of the same *fanum* (Richardson; contra, Savage 33, Champeaux 201, who places Carvilius’ temple at the sixth milestone). Tiberius’ rebuilding also shows that the cult was active upon the same site into the early 1st c. A.D.

The archaeological evidence for these sanctuaries is heavily debated (Champeaux 200 n.8). In 1860, the concrete podium (20.5 × 12.75 m) of a distyle *in antis* temple and three architrave fragments were excavated near the first milestone of the Via Campana, close by Vigna Bonelli or Costa (Monteverde), and about a half mile away from Porta Portese (Visconti). Lan- ciani, following the excavator, identified the temple as that of Fors Fortuna, though without much decisive evidence (Lanciani and Visconti 27-28, pl. I; contra, Palmer 381, who thinks that this structure is too far from the river to be associated with Fors Fortuna). However, a set of 6th-c. B.C. bronze male figurines, which were discovered in 1888 near modern Via F. Chiappini at the end of Viale Trastevere, are associated with the cult of Fortuna, and thus may support this location (Fiorelli). An excavation in 1939-40 explored the area called ‘Pietra Papa’ on the bank of the Tiber and revealed a podium, possibly built at the time of Tiberius, which was identified as one of the temples to Fors Fortuna (iacopi 105-6; contra Le Gall).

Recently Coarelli (43-46) has identified the square-shaped and possibly domed structure shown on the NW corner of the well-located frag. 28 of the Severan Marble Plan as the *aedes Fortis Fortunae* (Rodriguez Almeida, *Foro* pl. 20). It was traditionally thought to represent a tomb (Gatti). The structure appears to have been built along a major street, usually identified as the Via Campana, right across from the industrial *toree* structures. Since Coarelli’s over-imaginative suggestion lacks conclusive evidence and fails to resolve the topographic dilemma presented here, the location of the sanctuary to Fors Fortuna proposed by Lanciani and Visconti is followed on our map, though with reservations. Until disproven by further archaeological evidence, there is no reason to believe the existence of more than one temple to Fors Fortuna around the first milestone.

O.H.

Richardson 154-55.

"FORTUNA" (QUIRINALIS)
Shrine of Fortuna, specifically of Τῦχη Ἐὐσεῖας, on the "Vicus Longus, believed to be founded by Servius Tullius. Plutarch describes the cult site both as an altar (βαθύς; De fort. Rom. 10) and as a shrine (ἰερόν: Quaest. Rom. 74); it probably comprised an altar surrounded by an enclosure wall (Aronen). The exact site of the shrine along the Vicus Longus is unknown (here, Coarelli’s location near the Palazzo Agrippae. Richardson offers a different theory: in that vicinity seems likely (Livy 24.47.15; d. *Spes, Matris Matutae), an altar (Liv. 42.10.5; Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 494-95). Vitruvius locates it near the stone theater (3.3.2: Fortunae Equestris [sc. aedis] ad theatrum lapideum); since he wrote before 26 B.C., this could only have been the *Theatrum Pompeium.

Pietila-Castrén, following Coarelli (1981), theorizes that this temple stood N of Pompey’s theater and was destroyed when Agrippa built the *Stagnum Agrippae. Richardson offers a different theory: in A.D. 22 the Equestrian Order imported Tiberius to help them locate a Temple of Equestrian Fortune where they could make votive offerings on behalf of Livia’s failing health (Tac., Ann. 3.71.1); Richardson suggests that, since the lack of an appropriate shrine in Rome appears to be a new problem, the temple had been destroyed only very recently, perhaps in the fire of A.D. 21; it is cautiously indicated in that area on our map.

"FORTUNA" (VELABRUM). s.v. VELABRUM

FORTUNA EQUESTRIS, AEDES
Temple vowed and dedicated in the 2nd c. B.C. near the *Theater of Pompey in the *Campus Martius; no archaeological remains are extant and its exact location is a matter of debate. Q. Fulvius Flaccus vowed the temple in 180 B.C., when his Roman cavalry bravely turned the tide in a battle against the Celts (Livy 40.40.10, 44.9), and dedicated it at the end of his term as censor on 13 August 173 B.C. (Livy 42.10.5; Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 494-95). Vitruvius locates it near the stone theater (3.3.2: Fortunae Equestris [sc. aedis] ad theatrum lapideum); since he wrote before 26 B.C., this could only have been the *Theatrum Pompeium.

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FORTUNA ET MATER MATUTA, AEDES
Twin temples dedicated to Fortuna and Mater Matuta located at the N border of the *Forum Boarium, just inside the *Porta Carmentalis (Livy 24.47.15-16, 25.7.6). Tradition held that both were founded by Servius Tullius (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 4.27.7, 4.40.7; Livy 5.19.6; Ov., Fast. 6.569-72, 6.613-26), and the temples are often mentioned together (e.g., Livy 33.27.3-4: in foro Boario ante Fortunae aedem et Matris Matutae), even sharing a dedication day (Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 468-69). Since both temples burned in the fire of 213 B.C., which also damaged the *Forum Holitorium and *Porta Carmentalis, a location in that vicinity seems likely (Livy 24.47.15; cf. *Spes, Aedes). These factors led scholars to identify the twin temples discovered in 1937 near the Church of S. Omobono as those of Fortuna and Mater Matuta (Colini et al.; Pisani Sartorio, LTUR); further, archaeological evidence dates this site back to the Archaic period (Gjerstad), which corresponds well with the tradition of the temples’ foundation. The temples share a single, large platform and each has an altar in front of it. Under the nave of S. Omobono is the aedes of Mater Matuta, while the temple of Fortuna lay further S. The visible temple remains seem to belong to the reconstruction by Camillus in 212 B.C. (Livy 24.47.15, 25.7.5-6; Sommella).

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cally joined to the Porticus Pompeianae, given the exedrae facing both N and S along the dividing line between the two, as shown on plans by Lanciani (FLR pl. 21), Gleason, and Coarelli (1997). The E end of the Hecatostylum has been excavated by Marchetti-Longhi; plans of this excavated portion form the basis for our map.

A.G.T.


HERCULES, AEDES AEMILIANA. s.v. ROUND TEMPLE: FORUM BOVARVUM

HERCULES, ARA MAXIMA

A monumental altar to Hercules at the "Forum Boarium, the oldest and most revered center of Hercules' cult in Rome (e.g., Ov., Fast. 1.579-82: ... quae Maxima dicitur, aram; Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 1.40.6, cf. 1.39.4; Strabo 5.3.3) and also the alleged starting point for Romulus' delimitation of the pomerium (Tac., Ann. 12.24: magnam Herculis aram). The altar's approximate location and grand size can be deduced from Servius, who mentions it as 'behind the gates of the Circus Maximus' (ad Aen. 8.271: post ianuas circi Maximi) and explains the epithet Maxima by citing 'the magnitude of the structure' (ad Aen. 8.179: ara ... quam Maximam dicit ex magnitude fabricae). Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes it as 'near' (πλησιον) the Forum Boarium and, while judging the construction inferior, stresses the altar's extremely high reputation; it was the place where 'oaths are taken and agreements made for sealing business transactions' (Ant. Rom. 1.40.6; cf. Ov., Fast. 1.581-82). The remains of a large, solidly built podium, exceeding 20 x 30 m, of Anio tufa blocks with travertine facing under the E part of S. Maria in Cosmedin (Cressedi; Krautheimer) have convincingly been attributed to the altar (Coarelli 1988, 73: "molto probabilé"; Tolotti 440-41, with a purely speculative superstructure; Coarelli, LTUR 17; contra, Ziolkowski, with reference to the 'inferior construction' mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus). The objection by Richardson (187) that this place is "poorly located to be a turning point in the pomerium of Romulus" hardly forms a valid argument, but his conclusion that the platform "is clearly not temple foundations but a solid mass" (Richardson 187) strikes a most important point (since temples, among other buildings, typically do not show solid platforms but individual foundation walls). Our map therefore accepts, with some caution, the identification of this platform with the Ara Maxima. The altar must have formed the focal point of an agglomeration of sanctuaries to Hercules in this area ("Round Temple: Forum Boarium; Round Temple: Tiberis). Its connection with the Invictus epithet of Hercules is not explicitly attested and rests on the attested cult of Hercules Invictus ad circum Maxium (Fast. Alif. and Amit.: Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 181, 191) as well as a postulated temple of Hercules E of the altar ("Hercules Pompeianus, Aedes), combined with a series of mid- to late-Imperial Hercules Invictus inscriptions some 50 m N of it (s.v. Round Temple: Forum Boarium).

D.B., L.H.


Richardson 186-87.


R. Krautheimer, Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae II (Vatican City 1959) 287-88 with fig. 221.

HERCULES CUBANS

A small aediculae sanctuary dedicated to Hercules Cubans in *Trans Tiberim, listed in the Notitia and the Curiosum for Regio XIV: Transstiberim (Reg. Cats.: Hercules cubanum; Nista 13; Richardson; Savage 42 n.149). In 1889, along Viale Trastevere some 600 m N of the Trastevere train station, a rock-carved aedicula shrine of Hercules was excavated along with two inscribed altars and numerous sculptures (Marchetti). The inscriptions on the altars and on the epistle of the rock-cut niche mention the dedication by L. Domitius Permissus to Hercules (CIL VI 30891-92). A series of small tufa sculptures further secures the identification of the cult with Hercules Cubans; the wider sculptural assemblage from the area suggests that the sanctuary existed from the 1st c. B.C. through the end of the 3rd c. A.D. (Nash, Nista 13). This area is thought to have been situated within the limits of the *Horti Caesars (Papi 56).

Ö.H.


Richardson 185.

Nash I, figs. 569-70.


D. Marchetti, "Via Portuense," NSc 1889, 243-47.
HORREA AGRIPPIANA

A massive warehouse built by Agrippa on the NW slope of the *Palatine. Carandini has recently argued that this complex is in fact the later horrea Germanicina et Agrippiniana, but the inscription to the Genius horreorum Agrrippinorum found in the center of the courtyard secures the traditional identification (cf. Graziosi). The excavated portion of the Horrea Agrippiana indicates that its shape was rectangular, not trapezoidal, and that it was multi-storied (Bauer). There is now broad consensus that fragment 42 of the Severan Marble Plan (Carettoni et al., Pianta pl. 33; renumbered as 5a in Rodriguez Almeida, Forma pl. 33) does not, as was long believed, represent the Horrea Agrippiana, underneath the Church of S. Maria Antiqua, uncovered a late-Republican structure, either a house or a commercial building of some sort, and a later pavement in opus spicatum. Because the Horrea Agrippiana also had a pavement in opus spicatum, it has been suggested that this correspondence implies a thorough reworking of the whole area in the Augustan period (Hurst 475), but only further excavation will be able to confirm this hypothesis.

Excavations in 1983-85 in the area to the N of the Horrea Agrippiana, beneath the Church of S. Maria Antiqua, uncovered a late-Republican structure, either a house or a commercial building of some kind. Horreorum A grippianorum, but the inscription to the Genius horreorum Agrrippinorum found in the center of the courtyard secures the traditional identification (cf. Graziosi). The excavated portion of the Horrea Agrippiana indicates that its shape was rectangular, not trapezoidal, and that it was multi-storied (Bauer). There is now broad consensus that fragment 42 of the Severan Marble Plan (Carettoni et al., Pianta pl. 33; renumbered as 5a in Rodriguez Almeida, Forma pl. 33) does not, as was long believed, represent the Horrea Agrippiana, underneath the Church of S. Maria Antiqua, uncovered a late-Republican structure, either a house or a commercial building of some sort, and a later pavement in opus spicatum. Because the Horrea Agrippiana also had a pavement in opus spicatum, it has been suggested that this correspondence implies a thorough reworking of the whole area in the Augustan period (Hurst 475), but only further excavation will be able to confirm this hypothesis.

C.F.N.

A. Carandini, Schiavi in Italia (Rome 1988) 386 n.94.

HORREA CORNELIA. s.v. PORTICUS AEMILIA (EMPORIUM)

HORREA GALBANA

Extensive late-Republican warehouses that define the urban topography of the SE *Emporium area (see fig. 12 above). The identification of the monumental complex is well established, and the late 2nd-c. B.C. date for its construction is not debated. The broad district SW of the *Aventine, bordered by the *Via Ostiensis to the NE, the so-called “Porticus Aemilia” to the NW, and the *Monte Testaccio to the S, was known as the praedia Galbana in the Republican period, and the name may be preserved in the Marble Plan (Rodriguez Almeida, Forma pl. 17, frags. 24 A,B with the restored inscription: [PRAED]IA ET HORREA [GALBANA]). The land in this area belonged to the Sulpicii Galbæ (Étienne 241). The spacious warehouses were organized around three rectangular courtyards immediately SE of the Porticus Aemilia, as shown on the Marble Plan (Rodriguez Almeida, Forma 102-5, pl. 16, frags. 24 a, c; the former is now lost, and known only from 16th-c. drawings). Lanciani’s map illustrates the randomly and scantily excavated portions of the complex (FUR pl. 40).

The small-scale (and largely unpublished) excavations in 1955 revealed concrete walls “faced with slightly irregular opus reticulatum” that were dated to mid-1st c. B.C. (Rickman 104). Coarelli has recently suggested a late 2nd-c. B.C. date for the same evidence (Coarelli 42; cf. Richardson). Confirmation of the earlier construction date for the warehouses comes from the nearby *Sepulcrum of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, consul of 144 or 108 B.C., who is often associated with the construction of the horrea (Rickman 166-67; Étienne 239-40).

Careful examination of the architecture of the three units shows that they are not identical, while the structures that occupied the E courtyard remain unknown (Coarelli 42; Rickman 102). Rodríguez Almeida (1977, 14-18) convincingly argued for a tricohors social organization of the warehouse workers, evident from numerous inscriptions and reflected in the structure of the monument (e.g., the inscription, dated to the time of Galba, from an altar to Bona Dea Galbilla). The inscription, dated to the time of Galba, from an altar to Bona Dea Galbilla, mentioning a dedication by the VILICVS HORREORVM GALBIANORVM COHORTIVM TRIVM: CIL VI 30855; Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 55 fig. 18).

O.H.

Richardson 193.

HORREA LOLLIANA

Courtyard-type late-Republican warehouse complex in the S *Emporium area, known primarily from a large fragment of the Severan Marble Plan (Rodriguez Almeida, Forma 106, pl. 18, frag. 25; for the name, e.g., CIL VI 4226: VILICVS EX HORRES LOLLIANIS) since archaeological evidence for the horrea is scanty (Coarelli 44). The completely preserved label on the Marble Plan makes the identification of the structure certain. This fragment is firmly located S of, and downstream from, the Emporium area, where the Tiber bends to the

map index 214

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map index 273
horrea with porticoes. The two units are dissimilar in the overall size of the courtyards and the arrangement of the rooms around them. The horrea are linked to the "Tiber by means of a wide quay and stairs. On the upper half of the fragment, a narrow set of courtyard structures and a small bath-house "similar to the Stabian baths at Pompei" are shown with the same rectilinear orientation as the horrea (Rickman 112).

The construction of the horrea was associated with the gens Lolliia, whose commercial relations with Delos are known from epigraphic evidence (Étienne 242 n.45). As for the specific individual from the Lollii family responsible for the construction, Coarelli (43) suggests M. Lollius Palicanus, a follower of Pompey, based upon the slim archaeological evidence suggesting a date of the mid-1st c. B.C. for the structures. Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the horrea became imperial property at the time of Claudius (Rodriguez Almeida; Coarelli 43).

Horrea: Sacra Via

Warehouse which extended along the W foot of the *Velia, facing the *Sacra Via opposite the *Domus: M. Aemilius Scaurus (Schingo; Papi, LTUR III). Preserved remains in opus reticulatum and pavements of opus spicatum allow the structure to be dated to the early 1st c. B.C. (Palombi 67-69, figs. 11-12). The identification as a horreum (warehouse) is based upon its architectural form, a sequence of 4 open courtyards enclosed by small tabernae (shops and stalls) (Palombi esp. 69-70; cf. *Horrea Galbana; *Porticus Aemilia [Emporium]). These warehouses may have belonged to the Ahenobarbi, and together with a residence showing extensive use of opus reticulatum were uncovered (Blake; Palombi, for complete references). Even if the Horrea Seiana can be associated with these scanty remains, no coherent plan can be deduced without further systematic excavations in the area.

Horrea Seiana

A prominent Republican warehouse complex in the *Emporium area, not far from the *Tiber, known only from epigraphic evidence (e.g., CIL VI 9471: CONDVCTOR HORREORVM SEIANORVM; Palombi). Based on the findspots of a number of inscriptions which were excavated in situ, Lancelli located the horrea just SE of the so-called *Porticus Aemilia (Lanciani, FUR pl. 40; Rodriguez Almeida; CIL VI 238, 9471, 36778, 36786, 36819). Based on the name of the monument, the foundation of the horrea is associated with the Seii family-clan, and specifically with M. Seius, who was an aedile in 74 B.C. (Étienne; Rickman; Palombi 47). During building construction in 1911 between Via G. Branca, Via G. Battista Bodoni and Via Beniamino Franklin, remains of possible warehouse structures were uncovered (Blake; Palombi, for complete references). Even if the Horrea Seiana can be associated with these scanty remains, no coherent plan can be deduced without further systematic excavations in the area.

Horrea: Agrippa

The estate of M. Agrippa in the W *Campus Martius was donated to the people of Rome at his death in 12 B.C. According to an inscription of the Augustan period (CIL VI 39087), which may describe the boundaries of Agrippa’s property, these horti should be placed between the *Tiber and the *Euripus (Grimal 123-26; cf. Ov., Pont. 1.8.37-38). The SE boundary seems to have been the road that issued from the *Pons Agrippae; a boundary stone was found in this area inscribed M. AGRIPPA(E) PRIVAT(VM) ITER (CIL VI 29781; Coarelli 52). On the other hand, De Caprariis (165-68) places the horti N of the Euripus. It is uncertain whether the term ‘grove’ (βλαστέω) used by Strabo (13.1.19) to describe Agrippa’s property corresponds to the nemus (grove) by the Stagnum Agrippae described by Tacitus (Ann. 15.37; s.v. *Nemus: Agrippa) or
rather should be interpreted as the *horti* proper, which were most probably located by the Tiber (Richardson).

This area seems to coincide with part of Pompey's property (s.v. *Dona Pompei, *Horti Pompei), which would have included his house by the theater (Asc., Mil. 36 C Clarke; Cic., Mil. 67; Plut., Pomp. 40.5; s.v. *Domus: Cn. Pompeius Magnus [2]). The very same *horti* passed to Antony at the death of Pompey and eventually through Agrippa to Augustus, who donated them to the people (Dio Cass. 54.29.4). If the location of the Horti of Agrippa is correct, then the identification of the remains in Vallicella as the *Cenotaph: Agrippa (La Rocca 1984, 87-100) seems more plausible, since it would have been located on his private property (contra, Wiseman). At present, we can be certain that part of Agrippa's property-holdings were on the NW Campus Martius; the extent and boundaries depicted here are based solely upon epigraphic evidence.

Horti Antoniani s.v. Trans Tiberim

**Horti Asiniani**

The estate of the Asiniani, assumed to have been inherited by C. Asinius Gallus from his father, C. Asinius Pollio (who died in A.D. 4), the famed collector of art and donor of Rome's first public library (Grimal 157, Avetta 256, Chioffi, cf. Zecchini 1279). After longstanding 'confusion' over their location (Richardson, Platner–Ashby), the *horti* can now plausibly be located along the *Via Appia's first mile, based on the 1985 publication of a boundary *cippe* from that area (Avetta, cf. Chioffi, La Rocca 236-37). Once critical evidence for the location of the property, the giant "Farnese Bull", listed among the *monumenta* of Asinius Pollio by Pliny (NH 36.33-34) and found at the Bath of Caracalla (S. Balbina), is now less conclusive, as most have come to consider the sculpture a copy (contra, La Rocca 239-74, with extensive conclusions). Furthermore, while Frontinus (Aq. 21.2) testifies that the *specus Octaviani*, a subsidiary line of the *Anio Vetus*, 'extends to the region of Via Nova at the *horti* Asiniani', his account is unconfirmed by archaeological findings; however, it does not preclude an identification with the Severan Via Nova, a monumental avenue parallel to the *Via Appia* alongside the Bath of Caracalla (Avetta, La Rocca 236, cf. Grimal 157). The boundary *cippe* can now plausibly be located along the Bath of Caracalla (La Rocca 236), though it appears premature to locate them with confidence "at the site" (Chioffi) of the baths. With some lingering hesitation, we represent the estate in that area. No doubt featuring water displays and important artworks (including perhaps the famous *monumenta*), the garden estate must have characterized the *Via Appia's appearance close to the city.

L.H., G.V.


Richardson 197.


Platner–Ashby 265.

**Horti Caesaris**

The topography of Julius Caesar's estate in *Trans Tiberim* is known only from fragmentary literary and archaeological evidence (*trans Tiberim...prope Caesaris hortos: Hor., Sat. 1.9.18*), and their exact limits are still unknown (Papi). As part of the S Transtiberine suburbs of Rome (s.v. *Continentia*), it is hard to reconstruct the transformation this territory witnessed, following Caesar's bequest of the gardens and their contents to the Roman people in 45 B.C. (Suet., Iul. 83.2.), through the end of Augustus' reign (Coarelli 43; D'Arms 43; Palmer, esp. n.50 for refs.).

In A.D. 16 Tiberius dedicated a Temple to *Fors Fortuna* within the property (Tac., Ann. 2.41) that is often topographically associated with earlier temples to this cult at the first milestone of the *Via Campana–Portuensis* (Savage 31-35, esp. 32 n.64). Although the location of these temples is still debated, it is likely that at least one cult place can be located in the modern Monteverde region, about half a mile S of the Porta Portese along the Via Campana. The small sanctuary of *Hercules Cubans* along the Via Campana, some 600 m N of Trastevere train station, is also considered...
within the borders of the *horti* (Nash). Lanciani lists the long history of the recovery of artifacts that were associated with the *horti*.

This limited evidence suggests that the *horti* stretched in a long band along the middle and lower W slopes of the *Ianiculum, and were probably bordered by the Via Campana (D'Arms 40-41 esp. n.44; Papi). The terraced and porticoed architecture of the gardens must have covered at least some of these Ianiculum slopes (Val. Max. 9.15.1; Blake points out three porticoes in the area, including one of Augustan date).

In sum, the estate originally included at least the first milestone on the Via Campana to the and arguably extended as far E as Piazza Mastai, but by the Augustan era land in the east may have been subsumed by the *Naumachia or urban development. Note that the linear industrial area of warehouses and their embankments between the Via Campana and the Tiber already would have been under development by the time of Augustus (Palmer 368-69). Palmer (369) argues that the Seven Caesars, a Republican honorific monument to the Julian clan frequented by wine-merchants, could possibly be associated with the same area.

**Horti Calyclani**

These *horti* are known from two boundary inscriptions, found in situ near the church of S. Eusebio between Via Cappellini and Via Mamanzi (Lanciani, FUR PI. 24), which separated the *Horti Tauriani and the Horti Calyclani (CIL VI 29771-ILS 5998: HORTOS CALYCLAN(OS) ETTAVRIANOS). Since the Horti Tauriani extended SE from the apex of the *Via Tiburtina and two "Via Labicana-Praenestina" toward the Aurelian Porta Maggiore, it is logical to assume that the Horti Calyclani lay on the opposite side, N of the Via Tiburtina; this location has been confirmed by the discovery of a new boundary marker of the Horti Calyclani in Via Giolitti, which runs along the S side of the Termini rail station (Gregori). There is no obvious explanation for the name, nor is the date of these *horti* known (Mancioli, Richardson). But the Horti Calyclani were clearly contemporary with the Horti Tauriani, for they are mentioned on the same boundary marker; and since the Horti Tauriani were perhaps Augustan and certainly passed into imperial hands by the mid-1st c. A.D., it is quite probable that the Horti Calyclani also existed by the end of the Augustan period. Despite the problems of dating, the relative position and general extent of these *horti* are shown on the map (s.v. "Esquiline Horti").

**Horti Clodiae. s.v. Trans Tiberim**

**Horti Lamiani**

The *horti* of the Aelii Lamiae (in hortos Lamianos: Suet., Calig. 59), a prominent family in the late Republic, were probably laid out by L. Aelius Lamia (cos. A.D. 3), perhaps in the last decades of the 1st c. B.C. (Cima di Polo, Grimal). These *horti* were adjacent to the *Horti Maecenatis (Pil. Leg. 351.2), so they are placed just to the E, in the area later occupied by the Villa Palombara and Villa Altieri (Cima 39-41). The primary residential quarters have been placed between Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and Piazza Dante (Cima di Polo), an area rich in sculptural finds and architectural remains appropriate for a property which later passed into imperial hands (cf. *Horti Lamiani: Cryptoporticus*), but none of these finds argues for a specific attribution either to the Horti Lamiani or the Horti Maecenatis. Since the border between the two cannot be determined with precision, our map leaves the question open (structures that may have belonged to either are the *Diaeta Apollinis, Esquiline Horti: Colonnade, Esquiline Horti: Apsidal Building*). The E border is not known, although at least by the Imperial period the Horti Maiani are thought to have stood to the E (CIL VI 8668: A MOSCHIO PROC(VRATO) HORTRVM MAIANOVVM ET LAMIANORVM: Cima 39). The N border was the ""Via Labicana-Praenestina". On the S, it extended at least as far as the crest of the Esquiline overlooking the Caelian (Cima 41) but perhaps further (s.v. "Esquiline Horti").
The growth of the city had made the spot a frequented one suitable for a shrine commemorating Cicero’s daughter Tullia (celebritatem nullam turn habebat, nunc audio maximam: Cic., Att. 13.29.1; maxima est in Scapula celebritas: Cic., Att. 12.37.2). While the exact site and full extent of the estate remains unknown, it was in close proximity to the city (propinquitas ... urbis: Cic., Att. 12.37.2) and may have been quite expansive (perhaps comprising 1000 iugera, c.660 acres; inferred by Shackleton Bailey from Cic., Att. 13.31.4); unfortunately, the position of these horti on the Vaticanus Ager is not known with enough assurance to plot them on our map.

E.A.D.


map index 103

Horti Scipionis

Estate on the W slope of the *Quirinal, most likely created in the 2nd c. B.C. by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (RE IV Cornelius 336). Cicero records that in 163 B.C. Ti. Gracchus located his augurial tent on the grounds of these horti to take consular auspices (Nat. D. 2.11: hortos Scipionis); thus the property must have had an elevated site outside the pomerium. Richardson proposes a location in the *Campus Martius near the *Saepa, but auguracula tend to be on the heights (s.v. *Auguraculum [Arx], [Quirinalis]). For this reason, Coarelli’s thesis, which places Scipio’s horti on the collis Mucialis, is followed here. It is unclear whether the estate survived into the Augustan period as an entity or a toponym; Cicero notes that in 44 B.C. Mark Antony removed sculptures from the *Horti Caesaris, which had been bestowed upon the Roman people, to the villa of Scipio (Phil. 2.109: in villam Scipionis). This may or may not refer to the horti under consideration here (in favor of this identification is Richardson, while Coarelli thinks that the reference is to the Tivoli villa of Scipio Metellus).

E.A.D.

Richardson 203-4.

Horti Serviliani s.v. Via Appia

Horti Tauriani

These horti are known from two boundary inscriptions, found in situ near the Church of S. Eusebio between Via Cappellini and Via Mamiani (Lanciani, FUR pl. 24), which separated the Horti Tauriani and the *Horti Calyclani (CIL VI 29771=ILS 5998: HORTOS CALYCLAN(OS) ET TAVRIANOS). A water pipe inscribed with the name of T. Statilius Taurus (CIL XV 7542) was perhaps found on the Esquiline, and may derive from these horti (Papi), or from the family domus (Eck). Grimal argues that the property of the Statilii extended beyond the family necropolis (s.v. *Sepulcrum: Statilii) and the Porta Maggiore (Grimal 1936, 275; accepted by Papi), but he places the core of the horti within the apex of the *Via Tiburtina and **Via Labicana-Praenestina” (Grimal 1969, 149). They were perhaps established under Augustus by T. Statilius Taurus, consul in 37 and 26 B.C. (Wiseman, Hauber). M. Statilius Taurus (cos. A.D.44) certainly owned this property; after his suicide in A.D. 53 (Tac., Ann. 12.59), they passed into Imperial hands. Despite the uncertainties of dating and extent, our map shows the general position of these horti (s.v. *Esquiline Horti).

A.G.T.

Richardson 197, 204.

map index 278

Hortuli: Terentius

Modest estate near the Temple of Mars on the *Via Appia belonging to the comic playwright Terence (d. 159 B.C.; Suet., Ter. 5; Richardson). Suetonius, who calls them hortuli, relates that the poet’s small estate comprised 20 iugera (c.12 acres). Since we cannot be certain where the boundaries were, or even if the property was preserved as such in the Augustan period, it is marked only by an index number.

E.A.D.

Richardson 204.

Ianiculum

The highest and most conspicuous hill of Rome, which forms a continuous ridge with a N-S axis on the edge of *Trans Tiberim; it defines the W limits of the ancient urban topography of Rome (cf. Liverani 1996;
Coarelli). Geologically, it is identified as “an accumulation of marine deposits in regular layers” (Goodhue 16).

The late-antique Regionary Catalogues list the hill as mons Ianiculensis, along with the vicus Ianiculensis and *Pagus Ianiculensis (Liv. 1997, 89). While almost nothing is known about this urban area, a major thoroughfare, namely the *Via Aurelia, connected the *Porta Aurelia to the site of the later Porta Aurelia on the Ianiculum and probably also formed the N limit of the *Naumachia (Taylor 481). A Republican viaduct crossed this thoroughfare near Via della Lungaretta, immediately NE of S. Crisogono (Gatti). The *Ager of L. Petilius and the so-called tomb of Numa Pompilius, which were located at the foot of the Ianiculum by ancient sources (Livy 40.29.3), have convincingly been associated with the area where the Via Aurelia climbed the NW slopes of the hill (Richardson 152). The existence of a *Pagus Ianiculensis (the limits of which are unknown), is the only evidence that *Trans Tiberim was divided into *pagi, i.e., the neighborhood divisions of Rome’s suburbs (Coarelli 18; Richardson 329; s.v. *Continenta). Defensive walls may have ringed the summit of the hill, though their presence in the Augustan era and their extent are debated (“*Arx Ianiculensis”).

IANUS, AEDES

The northernmost of the three preserved temples in the *Forum Holitorium (cf. *Iuno Sospita, Aedes; *Spe, Aedes, dedicated to Ianus and located outside the *Porta Carmentalis (Festus 358: in aede lani, quae est extra eam). The identification is based on the description of the temple as ‘*iuxta’ or ‘*ad’ the “*Theater of Marcellus (CIL IV 217, 245; Serv., ad Aen. 7.607; Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 149, 181, 195; Crozzoli Aite 113; Ziolkowski). Built by C. Duilius soon after 260 B.C., Augustus began to reconstruct the temple, but the project was only completed by Tiberius who rededicated the temple in A.D. 17 (Tac., Ann. 2.49: *Iano templum ... apud forum Holitorium). The S side of the temple is partly incorporated into the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere and the ground-plan can easily be restored, as remains of the temple have also been excavated outside the church (Crozolzi Aite pl. 1; the temple is also represented on the Severan Marble Plan: Rodriguez Almeida, Forma pl. 23, frags. 31 h,i). These remains have been dated to the Augustan period on the basis of their architectural decoration (Crozolzi Aite 106, 111; contra, Coarelli 91).

IANUS QUIRINUS, SACELLM

The shrine of Ianus Quirinus (RG 13: Ianum Quirinum; Hor., Carm. 4.15.9; Suet., Aug. 22), also called Ianus Geminus (Pliny, NH 34.33), was one of the oldest monuments in the *Forum (cf. Tortorici; sacellum: Ov., Fast. 1.275; sacrarium: Servius, ad Aen. 7.607); perhaps it served originally as a bridge (ianus) carrying the *Sacra Via over the *Cloaca Maxima (Holland). Its precise location in the Forum in the Augustan period is unclear. Ancient sources locate the Ianus sanctuary ‘at/near the bottom of the *Argiletum’ (*ad inimum Argiletum: Livy 1.19.2; circa inum Argiletum: Servius, ad Aen. 7.607) and ‘in front of the doors’ of the *Curia Julia (σπὸ τῶν θυρών: Dio Cass. 84.13.3; cf. Procop., Goth. 1.25.18-23). It is probably to be identified with the small structure in brick and travertine still visible at the corner of the *Basilica Pauli facing the Curia (Coarelli), an identification reinforced by Cozza’s location of fragment 212c of the Severan Marble Plan. Although this suggestion implies that the location of the Ianus Quirinus remained unchanged from the archaic period through the 4th c. A.D. (cf. Richardson for the suggestion that Domitian moved it to the Forum Transitorium), it is at least consistent with all the literal references (contra, Staccioli).

According to tradition, the doors of the Ianus Quirinus shrine were closed when Rome was at peace. Augustus boasts in his Res Gestae (13) that these
doors had been closed only twice before his time, but
three times while he was princeps (cf. Livy 1.19.2-3; Suet., Aug. 22). The shrine is depicted on coins of Nero
as a small rectangular building in ashlar masonry
with double doors and no visible roof (RIC I, pl. 20,

C.F.N.
R.A. Staccioli, “Iannum ad infimum Argiletum,” in Etrusca et
Italicca: scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino II (Rome
1997) 567-73.
L. Cozza, “Sul frammento 212 della Pianta marmorea,” JRA
L. Richardson, jr., “The Curia Julia and the Janus Geminus,”

INSULA TIBERINA

One of the ancient names for the Tiber island (e.g.,
Vitr., De arch. 3.2.3: in insula Tiberina; Degrassi,
LTUR). A ridge of alluvial formation (but not on a tufa
bedrock, 270 x 70 m), the island had a strong cultic
character in antiquity with its prominent Aesclepine
precinct (Brucia 10). Its sacred topography was sel-
fected by traffic between the city center and
Trans Tiberin until the mid-1st c. B.C. when the
island witnessed major building activity and was
subsequently incorporated into Augustan Regio XIV,
later known as Transtiberin (Degrassi 1987). Not
only was the Temple of Aesculapius extensively reno-
vated at this time (*Aesculapius, Aedes), but
construction of two bridges, the *Pons Fabricius in 62
B.C. and *Pons Cestius in 49-43 B.C., provided a major
thoroughfare across the island from the S *Campus
Martius and *Forum Holitorium area to the
Transtiberine region (Degrassi 1987, 524-25).
Figment 32 of the Severan Marble Plan, labeled
INTER DVOS PONTES, illustrates a central plaza
bordered by a portico to the NW and the precinct of
Aesculapius to the SE (Rodriguez Almeida,
Forma pl. 24). The travertine and tufa walled embankment at the
SE end of the island in the shape of a ship’s prow
(Degrassi, LTUR fig. 65) and the travertine pavement
excavated under the modern hospital also date from
the mid-1st c. B.C. (Conticello de’ Spagnolis). Also
excavated was a 2nd-c. B.C. pavement with dedicatory
inscription to *Iupiter Iurarius (Conticello de’ Spagn-
olis 374; Degrassi, LTUR 100). Literary and epi-
graphic evidence suggests that the island included
cultic monuments to various other divinities, including
*Faunus (Aedes), *Vedovis (Aedes), and Tiberinus;
these shrines are otherwise archaeologically un-
known (Brucia 44-60 for refs.). Inscriptions of a com-
mital altar were found on the island in the 17th c. (CIL
VI 446-47 = ILS 3612 a-b; Hano; name of vicus not
preserved) and attest to the formal establishment of
a new neighborhood in about the year 7 B.C., when
Rome was re-organized into *Regiones Quattuordecim.

O.H.
M.A. Brucia, *Tiber island in ancient and medieval Rome (New
M. Conticello de’ Spagnolis, “Isola Tiberina,” BullCom 92.2
(1987-88) 372-76.
D. Degrassi, “Interventi edilizi sull’Isola Tiberina nel I sec. a.
C.: nota sulle testimonianze letterarie, epigrafiche ed
M. Hano, “A l’origine du culte impérial: les autels des Lares
M. Guarducci, “L’Isola Tiberina e la sua tradizione ospitalie-

INSULA: VICUS STATAE MATRIS, s.v. CAELIUM MONS: BUILDING (1)
INTER DUOS LUCOS, s.v. ASYLUM

ISEUM METELLINUM

Large, terraced sanctuary of Isis, N of the modern
Via Labicana on the S slopes of the *Oppian. It is
attested on the basis of architectural, epigraphical and
sculptural finds, and may be identified both with the
sanctuary of Isis et Serapis of Augustan Regio III, and
with the Republican Iseum Metellinum. In 1653 the
remains of an Egyptian temple were seen near the
Church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, hence the tradition-
place of this temple near the church (Richard-
son; Hauber 1990, 50-51; Coarelli 57; Malaise 171-
72), but in the 17th c. SS. Pietro e Marcellino was the
only landmark in this area. There is strong evidence
that this temple, which was later destroyed (Lanciani
1897), stood on a large terrace on the S slopes of the
Oppian. It has been shown that a long substructure
with buttresses and vaults of Republican date,
discovered N of Via Pasquale Villari, was part of an
Iseum (cf. *Iseum Metellinum: Substructure). Epig-
graphic and sculptural finds over a wide area suggest
that this Iseum also included the triportico which
stood on a large terrace to the W (s.v. *Iseum Metelli-
num: Porticus-Piscina). The architecture here is
consistent with an Iseum, and this was perhaps where
the main temple of Isis originally stood (de Vos 1997,
113). It is very likely that the Porticus-Piscina and
the substructure in Via Pasquale Villari formed one large
complex, c.260 m in length (de Vos 1993, 87).

Sometime after the Augustan era, this extensive Ise-
um gave its name to the region, Regio III: Isis et Serapis
(de Vos 1997, 99; ead. 1994, 130-31; cf. CIL VI 2234,
32462), and to the local inhabitants, who were known

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recently advocated identifying the podium recovered near the upper reaches of the "Clivus Palatinus" as that of Jupiter Invictus/Victor (followed by Papi, 23, who notes that the podium is of Imperial, perhaps Hadrianic, date). Given the questions surrounding the location of the Palatine cult site of Jupiter Invictus, it is not represented on our map.

E.A.D.

**Iuppiter Iurarius**

Cult site of Iuppiter Iurarius on the Tiber island (*Insula Tiberina*), only known from epigraphic evidence (Degrassi). In 1854, under the cloister of S. Giovanni Calabita in the N sector of the Insula Tiberina, an opus signum pavement revealed a fragmentary dedicatory inscription: DE SIPE IOVI IVRARIO (CIL VI 379-XII 990). This was interpreted as evidence for the presence of a temple to Iuppiter Iurarius on the island (Richardson 221; Brucia; Besnier). Vitruvius (De arch. 3.2.3) refers to a prostyle temple of Jupiter and Faunus on the Tiber island; whether the temple dedicated in 194 B.C. by C. Servilius deo Iovi (Livy 31.21.12) can be equated with this temple, or with a separate temple to Ve(d)iovis (*Vediovis, Aedes Insula Tiberina*), is uncertain (Richardson 406). Given the questions surrounding this cult site, it is not represented on our map.

E.H.

D. Degrassi, s.v. "Iuppiter Iurarius," LTUR III, 143-44. Richardson 221, 406.


**Iuppiter Liberitas, aed. s.v. Area Capitolina/Capitolii**

**Iuppiter Libertas, aed.**

Unlocated Temple of Iuppiter Libertas on the *Aventine, which was rebuilt by Augustus (fec. RG 19); it has been tentatively equated with the Temple of Iuppiter Liber mentioned in the *Fast. Arval*. (Degrassi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2, 33; Richardson; Andreussi; pondered by Coarelli). Though Ziolkowski raises the possibility of an identification with the colonnaded remains under S. Sabina (*Aventinus: Colonnades), re-examination of Krautheimer’s evidence requires that the question remain open. Given the absence of definitive testimony for its location, our map omits even an index number for the Temple of Iuppiter Libertas.

D.B., L.H.


M. Andreussi, s.v. "Iuppiter Libertas, aedex," LTUR III, 144. Richardson 221.


R. Krautheimer et al., *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae* IV (Vatican City 1970) 82 with pl. V.

**Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes**

The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus has been identified, since 1683, with the foundations under Palazzo Caffarelli in the *Area Capitolina*. Originally dating from the Archaic period, this huge temple was arguably the most important and revered sacred building in Rome. It was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, and Minerva, and incorporated pre-existing shrines to Terminus, Juventas, and Mars (August., *De civ. D.* 4.23). Excavations undertaken since 1865 (see Riemann 110-12) have revealed enough to reconstruct a rectangular podium c.62 x 53 m in area and 3.6 m high (Tagliamonte). North of the rear side of the podium is a parallel foundation which was part of the temenos wall of the Area Capitolina (Riemann 112-13), not part of the temple (as Reussier). Several construction phases are visible: a layer of capellaccio tufa blocks (H. c.30-32 cm) set into the bedrock, 5 layers of the same tufa (H. c.40 cm) set back slightly from the course below and, on top, a layer of concrete. However, there are fewer distinct construction phases than known restorations, and the dating of these levels is disputed (Wardle). The Archaic temple burned in 83 B.C. The new temple was started by L. Cornelius Sulla and dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 69 B.C. It was subsequently damaged by lightning on a number of occasions and restored by Augustus at great expense (RG 20.1), perhaps after a fire in 9 B.C. (De Angeli). It is fairly certain from the existing podium remains that the Augustan temple as well as its antecedents and successors all stood on the same foundations (De Angeli). Above the level of the podium, the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus is generally restored in the Tuscan order, with three narrow cellae set behind a deep porch supported by three rows of 6 columns in a peripteros sine postico arrangement (Ulrich 58 fig. 10, 59-60, 67). In addition, there must have been a flight of steps in front of the façade, yet nothing survives of these steps in the archaeological record. Our reconstruction of the steps is hypothetical, but based on Coarelli and on Ulrich (58 fig. 10, 64-65).

A.G.T.
Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (Heliopolitanus)

A sanctuary dedicated to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus (abbreviated on CIL VI 422: I.O.M.H., with VI 30765=ILS 4292; cf. CIL VI 420=ILS 398; VI 421; XIV 24), the chief god of the Syrian solar triad of Heliopolis-Baalbek (Hajjar 213-14), within the limits of the *Lucus Furrinae on the SE slopes of the *Ianiculum (Calzini Gysens, LTUR 138; sometimes referred to as sacellum Deae Suriae, cf. Savage 44-50).

The precinct wall was discovered in 1906 and excavated in 1908-9 on the fringes of the present-day Villa Sciarra-Wurts, along the edge of a ravine, right below the curve of Via Dandolo (earlier called Viale Glorioso; Gauckler; Goodhue pl. 1 for a site plan). While the major phase of the temple (with its peculiar eclectic architecture) was dated to the 4th c. A.D., the excavators identified two earlier phases, which were probably not more than open-air precincts with similar layouts (Goodhue 47). The earliest phase was associated only with the remains of a perimeter wall, and was assigned an insecure mid 1st-c. A.D. date based on construction techniques (Gauckler 253). The second phase, a rebuilding by M. Antonius Gaionas, is dated to A.D. 176-181 by inscriptions (Gauckler 227 ff.).

A partial excavation was conducted in 1981-82 to solve these problems of dating and stratigraphy (Calzini Gysens 1982). Below two separate parts of the later temple, much earlier walls of *opus reticulatum or *mixtum were excavated, and dated from the beginning of the 1st c. A.D. to the mid-2nd c. A.D. (Meneghini 50; Mele et al. pl. 2, areas A and M). Water conduits, built in *opus reticulatum and associated with these earlier levels, are dated from the end of the Temple to Iuppiter Stator ('Stayer') said to be vowed by Romulus during a battle with the Sabines (Livy 1.12.3-7: templum Statoris lovi; Florus 1.1.13; Plut., Rom. 18.7) near the *Porta Mugonia (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 2.50.3; Ov., Trist. 3.1.31). According to Livy, the Romulean temple was never built, and the site remained a *fanum (consecrated location) until 294 B.C. when the consul M. Attilius Regulus vowed a temple to Iuppiter Stator in the heat of battle (Livy 10.36.11, 10.37.15). The Roman Senate, having twice been obligated to erect a temple, now ordered the *aedes built (Livy 10.37.15: aedem lovis Statoris). In the late-Republican period Cicero convened the Senate there to solve these problems of dating and stratigraphy (Calzini Gysens 1982). Below two separate parts of the later temple, much earlier walls of *opus reticulatum or *mixtum were excavated, and dated from the beginning of the 1st c. A.D. to the mid-2nd c. A.D. (Meneghini 50; Mele et al. pl. 2, areas A and M). Water conduits, built in *opus reticulatum and associated with these earlier levels, are dated from the end of the temple in the *Lucus Furrinae and the cult itself were popular in the late-Republican period (Calzini Gysens 1996).
LIBERTAS, AEDES. s.v. IUPPI TER LIBERTAS, AEDES

LIBITINA, LUCUS

The *Esquiline grove of Libitina, a goddess associated with funerals and with Venus; the name is derived from libido, 'desire' (Coarelli, LTUR V; Wiseman 15). It included a templum to Venus-Libitina (Festus 322: templum ... alterum in luco Libitinensi). This grove was probably the headquarters of the libitinarii, professional undertakers (Bodel). An inscription found outside the *Porta Esquilina, which mentions a guild of flute-players, who also took part in funerals (CIL VI 32448), puts this grove in the *Campus Esquilinus just S of the *Macellum Liviae (Wiseman 13-15; Bodel; Coarelli); archaic architectural terracottas have been discovered in this area (Coarelli, LTUR III). The temple seems to have been an early Republican foundation (Ziolkowski) and its survival into the Imperial period is attested (CIL VI 33870, 9974). In the Augustan period this was also a commercial area. Late-Republican tombstones attest that two freedmen, a butcher and a clothes-dealer, had businesses here (CIL II 1268, 1411; Wiseman 15 with n.13).

Lucus Furrianae

A sacred grove and sanctuary to the ancient goddess Furrina dating to the Republican period, located on the middle slopes of the SE *Ianici um, known as the place where C. Gracchus died in 121 B.C. (Plut., Vir. ill. 65.5: in lucum Furrianae; C. Grach. 17.2; Calzini Gysens, LTUR 195; id. 1996, 56-57). Archaeological discoveries in 1906-10 located the site within the limits of the modern Villa Sciarra-Wurts, along a natural ravine that extends along an E-W axis through present-day Viale Dandolo (Gauckler 69-92, esp. pl. 5 for site plan; Goodhue pl. 1-3; Mocchegiani Carpano fig. 1). Among the finds was a marble altar of late 1st-c. A.D. date, dedicated to Zeus Keraunios and the Nymphae Furrianae (CIL VI 36802; Gauckler 15-18; Savage 35-36). This dedication to the nymphs accords with the topographical features of the sacred springs and grottos in the area, as well as with the elaborate hydraulic installations which were incorporated into the natural landscape of the lucus (Gauckler; for the latest but limited archaeological work, see Mocchegiani Carpano). Within the confines of the lucus, a temenos was dedicated to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus H(eioliopolitanus) with a series of later temples. The lucus probably continued to be an important historical and cultic topos in the Transitibine landscape.

Lucus Stimulae

A sacred grove to Stimula, at the N foot of the *Aventinus, known solely through ancient sources (De Cazanove). The site was known as the place where nocturnal rites of the Bacchanalia were performed in the early 2nd c. B.C. (Livy 39.12.4: in luco Stimulae) and it was dedicated to Stimula, who was associated with Semele, mother of Dionysus (Ov., Fast. 6.503). These Bacchic rites are reported by Livy (39.8-18) to...
have been suppressed by the Roman senate in 186 B.C. Accounts of this event locate the lucus near the *Tiber (Livy 39.13.12) at the foot of the Aventine (Ov., Fast. 6.518), perhaps to the NW of the hill (De Cazanove 56-57, esp. fig. 2; Coarelli; contra, Richardson, who favors the SW Aventine). Although the cult survived well into the Imperial period (Richardson), the continued presence of the lucus under Augustus remains a matter of conjecture. The site cannot be sufficiently specified to receive an index number.

F. Coarelli, s.v. “Stimula, lucus,” LTUR IV, 378.
Richardson 236.

map index 255

LUCUS VESTAE. s.v. ATRIUM VESTAE

LUNA, AEDES

Temple of Luna on the *Aventine (cf. Ov., Fast. 884), without identified remains. Its site depends on that of the Temple of *Ceres, whose location, though not known with certainty, can reasonably be narrowed to the lower slope of the Aventine’s N tip, just above the head of the *Circus Maximus. Luna’s temple stood in the immediate vicinity of *Ceres’ (Richardson; Ziolkowski; Coarelli; Andreussi), since its doors are reported to have been dislodged by a storm in 182 B.C. and hurled into the rear wall of the Temple of Ceres (Livy 40.2.2); further, both temples were hit by lightning — presumably the same bolt — on the same day in 84 B.C. (App., B Civ. 1.78). Assuming the temple’s existence during the Augustan period (Tac., Ann. 15.41; yet with Lucina, instead of Luna, as an alternative: Ziolkowski, 99), our map groups its index number together with those for the Temple of Ceres and the adjacent Temple of *Flora. The importance of a cult to Luna and the proximity of her temple to those of Ceres and Flora may appear less “obscure” (Ziolkowski, 99) when one takes into account the potentially destructive effect on crops and vegetation that the full moon was considered to have (Pliny, NH 18.286-92).

D.B., L.H.
Richardson 238.

map index 200

LUPERCAL

A grotto at the base of the SW *Palatine, near the *Circus Maximus, believed to be the site where Faustulus discovered Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 1.79.8, Livy 1.5.1-2, Ovid, Fast. 2.381-424). The site featured a spring, and was once surrounded by a grove; the original ficus Kuminalis grew here, but by the Augustan period, only vestigia of the fig-tree remained near the Lupercal (Ov., Fast. 2.411; cf. *Forum; Richardson; Coarelli; Pliny, NH 15.77-78; Tac., Ann. 13.58).

Following literary sources, the Lupercal can be located on the lower SW Palatine. Dionysius of Halicarnassus places it at the foot of the Germinalis (s.v. Palatine) between the *Velabrum and *Circus Maximus (Ant. Rom. 1.79.8), and also associates the grotto with the Temple of *Victory, which stood atop the SW Palatine (Ant. Rom. 1.32.5). Further, the Lupercal is described as in Circo, ‘at the Circus [Maximus]’ (Servius, ad Aen. 8.90), and used as a landmark for a Palatine theater proposed but never realized by C. Cassius Longinus (c.154 B.C., a Lupercali in Palatio: Vell. Pat. 1.15.3; Richardson 239).

Augustus takes credit for building the Lupercal (RG 19: feci); although what this meant architecturally is unclear, an imperial intervention would have entailed significant alterations (Coarelli, LTUR; Wiseman 15). Concurrently, the festival of the lupercalia was re-organized by Augustus (Suet., Aug. 31.4; on the Lupercalia, Wiseman; cf. *Magna Mater, Aedae). Within the Lupercal were several statues, including a bronze depiction of the she-wolf suckling the twins (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 1.79.8; Livy 10.23) and an equestrian statue of Drusus (CIL VI 912=31200). The presence of an equestrian monument suggests the change in atmosphere the Augustan rebuilding may have brought to a once idyllic, watery grove.

Returning to an early theory advanced by Lanciani, Coarelli suggests that a grotto near the Church of S. Anastasia may be the Augustan Lupercal (LTUR; contra, Richardson). First excavated in 1534, this cave was decorated as a nymphaeum with its walls “encrusted in marine shells” (Lanciani); Coarelli argues, as does Shipley, that this decoration would be appropriate for the Lupercal. Complicating matters is a series of Augustan tufa walls which stand just E of the apse of S. Anastasia (Whitehead pl. 11, A and B; Lanciani, FUR pl. 29); despite their partial preservation, the walls seem to have belonged to a warehouse similar to the *Horrea Agrippae (Whitehead). This suggests further study is needed before Coarelli’s proposal can be accepted, and thus the Lupercal has been represented by an index number on our map.

E.A.D.

Richardson 238-39.
thought it lay near the modern Piazza del Gesù, while Richardson identifies it with an unlabeled square structure depicted on the Severan Marble Plan (Rodríguez Almeida, Forma frag. 35a), as part of a villa Publica reconstituted by Domitian as the Divorum.

The most attractive hypothesis to date is that of Coarelli, who focuses on a series of walls discovered under Via del Plebiscito in 1925. These he associates with a Hadrianic rebuilding of the altar, and from them reconstructs a grand peribolos enclosure, c.65 x 65 m, inside which stood the altar on a massive raised platform. The excavation also revealed some traces of an earlier structure on this site (Mancini). These remains, if Coarelli’s identification holds, might give us some indication of the location and general magnitude of the Republican and Augustan Ara Martis.


Richardson 245.


H. Jordan and C. Hülsen, Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum I.3 (Berlin 1907) 475-77.

MARS ULTOR, AEDES, s.v. FORUM AUGUSTI

MARS ULTOR, AEDES (CAPITOLIUM), s.v. AREA CAPITOLINA/CAPITOLII

MATER MATUTA, AEDES, s.v. FORTUNA ET MATER MATUTA, AEDES

MAUSOLEUM: AUGUSTUS

One of the few surviving Augustan monuments is the monumental tomb built by Octavian early in his reign for both his own burial as well as the interment of other members of gens Iulia and his notable friends (for a discussion of the burials, Macciocca). In 1934, the environs of the ancient structure were cleared of residential urban fabric as part of the creation of a Fascist architectural ensemble at Piazzale Augusto Imperatore. The archaeological excavations and primary architectural restorations were completed in 1938 (Gatti 1934, id. 1938).

In antiquity, the location of the Mausoleum, immediately W of the *Via Flaminia, fell within the N limits of the *Campus Martius. Its colossal architectural form marked the N entrance to the marshland of the Campus, having been built at the mouth of the isthmus created between *Collis Hortolorum and the *Tiber. Strabo (5.3.8) describes the monument, ‘the so-called Mausoleum’ (τὸ Μαυσολεῖον καλούμενον), as a great mound by the river on a lofty platform, topped by poplar trees (ἐξὶ κρηπίδος ψηλῆς λευκολίθου προς τὸ κοτικῷ χώμα μέγα) and with ‘a large sacred grove’ (μέγα ἄλσος) and promenades behind it. Suetonius (Aug. 100.4) approves such an urban setting, and mentions the public groves and walks (silvas et ambulatioe) around the Mausoleum, which were opened to the public by Augustus in 28 B.C. This formal public landscape probably encompassed the area from the modern Piazza del Popolo up to the pavements of the “*Horologium Augusti”, and spanned the wide stretch between the *Via Flaminia and the river (Rakob 687-88; von Hesberg 1994, 35-36; id., LTUR 234). These gardens held numerous altars (including the “Ara Pacis), aediculae and statues, as well as the “Ustrinum Domus Augustae”.

The precise construction dates for the Mausoleum are a matter of debate (Kraft, for a critical discussion of the historical controversy). According to Suetonius (loc. cit.), the building was already completed by 28 B.C., but apparently only to a certain extent, since at the time of the first burial at the Mausoleum (that of Marcellus in 23 B.C.), the construction was still not yet complete (Dio Cass. 53.30.5). Based on the stylistic criteria of the architectural details, especially the design of the Doric entablature, von Hesberg (1994, 47-48, 54-55; id., LTUR 235) argued that the construction must have started before 31 B.C., which concords with the earlier suggestion of Kraft.

The recent study by von Hesberg (1994, figs. 1-3, 46-48) improved our understanding of the building’s overall design, which was known from Gatti’s earlier work (1938, figs. 1, 13 for reconstructed plan and elevation). A lofty travertine socle (diam. 89 m) formed a monumental base (krepis) for its tumulus, while the concentric wall around the burial chamber rose higher to form a cylindrical tower which held a second earthen mound and the statue of the emperor on the summit. Von Hesberg reconstructs a marble Doric entablature for the upper drum, punctuated by shield plates and a marble revetment for the lower socle, extending c.20 m on each side of its main doorway (LTUR 235). The Res Gestae was posthumously inscribed on two bronze tablets and either ‘installed at the entrance of the Mausoleum’ (Suet., Aug. 101.4) or ‘engraved on two bronze pillars’ (RG, praef.). Von Hesberg reconstructs a 120 x 120 m travertine pavement around the Mausoleum (1994, 31-33, fig. 48). The basalt and caementicium foundations for the two red granite obelisks (Amm. Marc. 17.4.16) have been located by the recent coring and excavations adjacent to the drum on either side of the doorway, both c.22 m from the center (Buchner). Based on the archaeological remains of a
short-lived canal that ran from the base of the W obelisk to the Tiber, and which must have been used for the transport of the obelisks, it is now believed that they were raised during the lifetime of Augustus.


MEFITIS, AEDES

Temple on the *Cispian overlooking the *Vicus Patricius (Festus 476: aedes Mefitis; Varro, Ling. 5.49: lacus Mefitis). It is best located on the high ground at the S end of the Vicus Patricius where the valley is deepest (Richardson), rather than further N on the more level ground near Piazzale Esquilino (Rodríguez Almeida). Coarelli suggests that a domus belonging to the Papirii also stood in this area, on the site of Vigna Santarelli (for location, see Lanciani, FUR pl. 23), and that this may have belonged to a Republican branch of the family, either the Papirii Cursoris or Papirii Car-

bones; he also argues that an early member of this family established the cult of Mefitis. Coarelli’s theory is plausible but hypothetical, so only the likely position of the temple (not the domus) is marked on the map.

MENS, AEDES. s.v. CAPITOLIUM: MARBLE PLAN TEMPLES

MERCURIIUS, AEDES

Unlocated Temple to Mercury (aedes: Livy 2.21.7), which overlooked the *Circus Maximus (Ov., Fast. 5.669: templum...spectantia Circum). The only known temple to Mercury in Rome, it is mentioned in the late-antique Regionaries for Regio XI: Circus Maximus. Since Mercury’s Roman cult site is described as ‘behind the turning posts of Murcia’ (Apul., Met. 6.8: retro metas Murtias; s.v. *Murcia, Sacellum), one can deduce a location near her shrine on the *Aventine side of the Circus Maximus (Richardson, Andreussi).

As our map shows, this makes the E slope of the Aventine’s main hill somewhat the more likely site, while the N slope of the SE hill (the “Lesser Aventine”) is not excluded either. Therefore, conservatively, our map does not show the temple.

“META” (VIA FLAMINIA). s.v. SEPULCRUM: VIA FLAMINIA (2)

“META ROMULI”. s.v. SEPULCRUM: “META ROMULI”

MILIARIUM AUREUM

The so-called ‘golden milestone’ in the *Forum erected by Augustus in connection with his supervision of the road system (cura viarum), undertaken in 20 B.C. (Dio Cass. 54.8.4: Χρυσόν τοιούτου μίαν κεκλημένον). The milestone, probably sheathed in gilded bronze (but cf. Dig. 50.16.154, where it is referred to simply as ‘the milestone of the city’, miliarium urbis), was ‘at the end of the Forum’ (in capite Romani fori: Pliny, NH 3.66), ‘at the foot of the Temple of Saturn’ (sub aede(m) Saturni: Tac., Hist. 1.27; Suet., Otho 6.2). The circular concrete foundation discovered by Kahler at the SE corner of the semi-circular stair to the *Rostra of Augustus may be the remains of the

MILIARIUM I: VIA APPIA. s.v. VIA APPIA

Miliarium Aureum, but this is not certain. The Miliarium Aureum represented the notional point of convergence for the roads of the Italian peninsular network (Plut., Galb. 24.4), and distances from Rome could be calculated not only from the *Servian Wall but also from the Forum (Mari), but there is no evidence that the Miliarium Aureum was inscribed with the names of major cities and their distances from Rome.


MINERVA, Aedes

Temple of Minerva on the *Aventine, apparently in a prominent place (in arce: Ov., Fast. 6.728), but without identified remains. It is mentioned in reference to events of the late 3rd-c. B.C. (Festus 446/48) and depicted on the Severan Marble Plan (Rodríguez Almeida, Forma pl. 15, frag. 22: MINERBAE; cf. Tempulum Dianae et Minervae in the Regionary Catalogues, Regio XIII). The temple was rebuilt by Augustus (feci: RG 19), together with (on the Aventine) the temples of *Iuppiter Libertas and *Iuno Regina (Vendittelli; cf. Richardson; Ziolkowski). Its precise location depends on the position of the Marble Plan’s fragment, which has recently been disputed, but the most plausible solution still speaks for the traditional placement in the N center of the hill (for details, s.v. Diana Aventina, Aedes). With due caution, our map shows the temple at that place and assumes that the size of its platform (c.25 x 50 m) had not changed since the Augustan period.

D.B.


Richardson 254-55.


MINERVA CAPTA, DELUBRA / MINERVUM

A ‘Minervium’, or shrine of Minerva, is mentioned by Varro, who places it on a road leading up to the *Caelian (Ling. 5.47), and a shrine or sanctuary of Minerva Capta is mentioned by Ovid, who puts it on the crest of the same hill (Fast. 3.835-38: Captae delubra Minervae). It seems likely that both authors refer to the same place. Following the discovery of a statue of Minerva and an inscription recording a dedication to *Caelian Wall, occupying an area of 22,000 m², with a maximum height of 106 m asl and 36 m above the surrounding street level (Rodríguez Almeida 109, fig. 40, and two suppl. maps; Maischberger). The elevation of this area was 5 to 6 m lower in antiquity. The ancient name of this artificial hill, if it had one, is unknown.

The hill was created by the systematic deposition of amphora sherds to form a terraced pyramidal structure, beginning early in the Augustan era and continuing until its abandonment in A.D. 257 (Blázquez Martínez 1992, 43; Rodríguez Almeida 138-39; Maischberger 30). Rodríguez Almeida was able to produce a schematic diagram that hypothesized the development of amphora deposition on the hill in various periods, based mainly on Dressel’s 19th-c.
survey and analysis of the ceramic chronology (Rodríguez Almeida 135-45, esp. figs. 54-56 and, for Dressel references, 14). According to his model, the first pyramidal terrace within the main core of the mound to the E was formed between the Augustan era and the end of the 1st c. A.D.

Though recent archaeological investigations at the Monte Testaccio have not yet found sherds pre-dating A.D. 144, it is assumed that the deposition must have started when the Roman province of Baetica was integrated into the Roman economy early during the reign of Augustus, since a large proportion of amphoras uncovered on the site are Baetican olive-oil types (Blázquez Martinez 1991; Spanish excavations at Monte Testaccio). Further, by the late-Republican period the Emporium was already well developed with massive warehouses as well as a monumental tomb structure of Rusticelii family ("Sepulcrum: Rusticelii, mid-2nd to mid-1st c. B.C.) immediately to the S of the hill, that demarcated its limits.

However, the topography of the artificial hill in A.D. 14 remains conjectural, and will not be known until the Spanish team provides further evidence for the lower levels of the mound, the results of which will provide the best test of Rodríguez Almeida's hypothesis. Our map follows Rodríguez Almeida's schematic diagram of the hypothetical early depositional state of the mound. Unfortunately, the Berlin model of Augustan Rome simply reproduces the modern topography of the mound and represents it as if it were a natural hill.

O.H.

Spanish excavations at Monte Testaccio: http://www.ub.es/CEIPAC/estu.html

MONUMENTA AGRIPTAE. s.v. CAMPUS MARTIUS

MURCIA, SACELLUM

The shrine of the archaic divinity Murcia (sacellum; Varro, Ling. 5.154) stood within the track of the *Circus Maximus near the first turning post (the SE meto) on the *Aventine side (Tert., De spect. 5, 8; sub monte Aventino: Festus 135; see fig. 9). Varro relates that the small shrine was once surrounded by a grove, but this had been reduced to a single myrtle tree, a vestigium, by the Augustan era (Varro, loc. cit.). In late antiquity the valley was called the vallis Murcia after the goddess, but perhaps only after her shrine had been substantially enlarged (Humphrey 96-97; Coarelli; s.v. "Vallis: Circus Maximus). Since nothing is known of the shrine's Augustan architecture, and its location can only be approximated, it is represented by an index number on our map.

E.A.D.

J. Humphrey, Roman circuses, arenas for chariot racing (Berkeley 1986).

MURCUS. s.v. AVENTINUS

MURI

The Republican city wall of Rome is generally known as the Servian Wall. This remains a convenient label, for it is well-entrenched in modern scholarship, and distinguishes the Republican from the later Aurelian Wall. The Latinized term *Murus Servii Tullii* is a modern coinage. In the Augustan period and the late Republic, the 'Servian Wall' was known simply as 'the walls' (muri), or some variation on that phrase. In the Latin literary sources, we find murus (Livy 1.36.1, 1.38.6, 1.44.4, 6.32.1; Oros. 4.4.1), muri (Livy 2.10.1, 2.39.9, 3.68.2, 4.31.9, 5.39.2, 26.51.9, 26.9.9; Varro, Ling. 5.164; Ov., Met. 15.616; Festus 315; Pliny, NH 3.67; Gell., NA 13.14.1), muri et portae (Cic., Div. 1.101), muri turresque (urbs) (Livy 7.20.9, 22.8.7, 25.7.5), agger murique (Livy 4.21.9), agger et fossae et murus (Livy 1.44.3), murus ac turris (Varro ap. Censorinus, DN 17.8), or moenia (Livy 1.44.4, 2.51.2, 3.66.5, 26.10.3; Pliny, NH 3.66). The ancient historiographical tradition viewed the urbanization and fortification of Archaic Rome as a gradual process, completed only with the construction of the *Agger on the vulnerable *Esquiline plateau toward the end of the Regal period. One tradition held that Servius Tullius (conventionally 578-35 B.C.) added the *Esquiline and *Viminal and built the Agger (Livy 1.44.3; Strabo 5.3.7; Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 4.13.1-3). He also 'surrounded the seven hills with one wall' (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 4.14.1). But a competing tradition attributed the Agger to Tarquinius Superbus (Pliny, NH 3.67; cf. Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 4.54.2), and Tarquinius Priscus was said to have constructed or planned the first stone wall (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 4.54.2), and Tarquinius Priscus was said to have constructed or planned the first stone wall (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 4.36.1). The ancient sources may not agree unanimously as to which of the last three kings of Rome completed the wall (Thomsen 218-22), yet it does seem that the dominant tradition gave most credit to Servius Tullius.

Scholars have traditionally emphasized the Livian statement that the censors in 377 B.C. contracted for the construction of a 'wall of dressed stone' (murus saxo quadrato: Livy 6.32.1). This date is consistent
Extensive water basin built by Augustus in *Trans Tiberim in 2 B.C. to stage mock naval battles and aquatic displays for the Roman people. In the *Res Gestae (23), Augustus gives the dimensions of this large basin as 1800 by 1200 Roman feet (533 x 355 m, and assuming a rectangular form, as has been done without exception), with a possible average depth of 1.5 m (Taylor 471). There was ‘an island in the middle’ of the basin, probably for distinguished spectators, and the island was connected to the bank by a bridge of notable height (Pliny, *NH* 16.200). The useful life of the basin must have been short; literary sources (including Augustus himself) imply that it was subsequently surrounded and perhaps partly replaced by the *nemus Caesarum*, the Grove of the Caesars (Suet., *Aug.* 43.1; later called the Grove of Gaius and Lucius, Dio Cass. 66.25.3).

According to Frontinus (*Ag.* 11.1-2: *opus naumachiae*), the main reason for the construction of the *Aqua Alsietina* was to supply water for the Naumachia and the adjacent gardens in *Trans Tiberim*; its conduit ended behind the Naumachia (Frontin., *Ag.* 22.4: *post naumachiam*). A large conduit discovered on the slopes of Janiculum just above the monastery of S. Cosimato is considered the primary archaeological evidence for the location of the Naumachia, the *Aqua Alsietina* and the *nemus Caesarum* (Taylor 482-83; van Buren and Stevens; Lanciani, *FUR* pl. 33).

Recently three scholars have commented in detail on the problems of the topographic location and shape of the Augustan Naumachia. Coarelli argued that the Naumachia was partly preserved on the Severan Marble Plan (Rodriguez Almeida, *Forma* pl. 20, frag. 28) as a large, blank, rectangular area, which was located by G. Gatti in the S Trans Tiberim (Coarelli 46-47, fig. 3; Gatti 94-95). This hypothesis locates the Naumachia between modern Viale del Trastevere and the ancient *Via Campana-Portuensis*. Coleman supports Coarelli’s argument but suggests an elliptical plan for the basin for structural reasons and by comparison with similar structures (Coleman 52-53, fig. 1). However, in the most recent and comprehensive analysis of an impressive variety of evidence, Taylor returns to an earlier scholarly tradition and proposes an entirely different location for the Naumachia (Taylor). Highlighting the capacity of the *Aqua Alsietina* and its functional relationship with the Naumachia, as well as emphasizing the limited archaeological evidence, he not only proposes an hydraulic system for the basin, but also locates it in a rectangular form on the marshy lowlands of the *Trans Tiberim*, delimited to the N by the *Via Aurelia* and at its SE corner by the Church of S. Francesco a Ripa, the findspot of impressive quantities of black and white mosaics at a depth of 8 m (Taylor 475-77, fig. 4). The suggested orientation of the Naumachia not only works well with the topographical contours of the area, but also coincides with the ancient street pattern (Rodriguez Almeida, *Forma* 140-43, pl. 44; frag. 37a), which was preserved through the mediaeval period (Taylor 479). If such a placement is correct, the Republican viaduct excavated in the *Via Aurelia* near S. Crisogono might well have acted as a discharge canal for the basin (Gatti; Taylor 180). Our map follows this convincing suggestion by Taylor.

Surprisingly, numerous literary accounts witness the survival of the Naumachia, at least in part, down through the late 1st c. A.D., probably due in part to Augustus’ dedication of the surrounding honoriﬁc groves (Suet., *Tit.* 7.3; Dio Cass. 66.25.3). However, the vast area that it occupied must have been taken over by urban encroachment at the end of 1st c. A.D. (Taylor 482).

O.H.


A.M. Liberati, s.v “Naumachia Augusti,” *LTUR* III, 337.


probable course is visible in the network of streets shown on the Severan Marble Plan (Rodríguez Almeida, *Forma* pl. 10; Hauber map 1). Its S course is attested leading down to the Colosseum Valley (Lanciani, *Flor* pl. 23, 30). “Vicus Curvus/Corvi” may have been the name of this curved street across the E Oppian passing through the area most likely inhabited by the

**OPS, AÈDES**

A mid-Republican temple of Ops, the goddess of wealth, stood in *Capitolium* and was struck by lightning in 186 B.C. (Livy 39.22.4: *aedes Opis in Capitolio*). It was probably dedicated by L. Caecilius Metellus in 250 B.C. (Aronen, with Pliny NH 11.174: *in dedicanda aede Opi Topifere*; cf. Ziolkowski); it existed in the Augustan period, for it was here that women and children assembled for the celebration of the *ludi Saeculares* of 17 B.C. (*CIL* VI 32323). The Temple of Ops is believed to have stood next to the Temple of *Fides*: military diplomas of the 1st c. A.D. were attached to both temples; a storm in 44 B.C. damaged both temples (*Obsequens* 68), and the concepts of *fides* and *aedes Opis* (faith and wealth) were closely related (Aronen). Aronen identifies the Temples of *Fides* and *Ops* with the twin temples shown on a fragment of the Severan Marble Plan (Rodríguez Almeida, *Forma* pl. 23, frag. 31 a,b,c; s.v. *Capitolium: Marble Plan Temples*); but this is unlikely, for the Temple of *Fides* almost certainly stood in the SW corner of the *Area Capitolina*, best identified with a temple shown on an adjoining fragment of the Severan Marble Plan (Carrettoni *et al.*, *Pianta* frag. 499; s.v. *Fides*). The Temple of *Ops* stood close by, perhaps set back from the *lemenas* wall of the Area Capitolina, given that an altar of *Isis Deserta* stood “behind the Temple of *Ops*” (Schol. Veron., in *Verg. Aen.* 2.714; noted by Rodríguez Almeida). Its approximate position is marked on the map following Coarelli and von Sydow.

**ORBONA, FANUM. s.v. LARES, AÈDES; PALATIUM**

**PAGUS IANICUL(ENSIS)**

An administrative division (*pagus*) of the Transiberine region, possibly religious in character, known from two inscriptions. Found in 1861 between Piazza Mastai and S. Maria dell’Orto, and ascribed to the early 1st c. A.D. (Liverani; to the Republican period: Richardson), they mention the building activity of the *magistri* of the *pagus* in that area (*CIL* VI 2219=ILS 6079: *MAG. [PAG.]* IANICOL.; *CIL* VI 2220). These inscriptions offer valuable testimony for a built-up zone of Trans Tiberim not far from the city center (Coarelli 18; Liverani), as well as for the division of the Trans Tiberim into *pagi* (Richardson).

The index number on our map marks the findspot of the inscriptions, and denotes the approximate vicinity of the building activities they mention; further, their position excludes the possibility of placing the *Naumachia* on this site.

**PALATIUM**

Prominent hill in the heart of Rome, a place of privileged housing and numinous character, settled first by Romulus, whose connection with the hill was celebrated throughout antiquity. Under Augustus, the region saw intense building activity, especially on the SW Palatine, which was transformed into a magnificent religious-residential center embodying Augustus’ deep personal connections to the hill.

The Palatium rose S of the *Forum Romanum and...
The first stone bridge of Republican Rome which connected the busy *Forum Bovarium area with the *Trans Tiberim (AD PONTEM AEMILIVM: Fast. Allif. and Amit., in Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 181, 191), it was substantially restored under Augustus (Coarelli, LTUR). The identification of a single standing arch of a bridge immediately downstream from the Tiber island, the Ponte Rotto, with the Augustan rebuilding of the Pons Aemilius is undisputed (Richardson). An inscription from a bridgehead arch (CIL VI 878) records the Augustan restoration after 12 B.C.

The bridge was first built by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius in 142 B.C. (Livy 40.51.4) on foundations laid out by M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobili or in 179 B.C. This earlier construction is archaeologically associated with the remains of an abutment just N of the Ponte Rotto, on a slightly different axis than the Augustan rebuilding (Blake; Coarelli 1988, 139 f.). At the time of Augustus, and especially after its restoration, the Pons Aemilius must have carried the heaviest traffic between the two banks on its six-pier structure (Coarelli 1988, 104, fig. 20). The importance of the bridge for the shaping of the early Transtiberine topography and street pattern is evident in the fact that the two major arteries, the *Via Aurelia and the *Via Campana, forked at the W foot of the bridge. Taylor (80) argued that the bridge carried the *Aqua Appia across the Tiber, especially after Augustus restored and supplemented this aqueduct with an additional line.

Northernmost bridge across the *Tiber in Augustan Rome, which connected the *Campus Martius to the N *Trans Tiberim plain and its suburban villas. All but unknown from ancient texts, the pons may have carried Agrippa’s *Aqua Virgo across the Tiber to supply water to Trans Tiberim, and perhaps especially to the vast Augustan villa known as the “*Villa Farnesina” (Taylor 80-85; Evans 107; Nash).

Following the discovery of a Claudian cippus that marked the limits of public property from the Trigarium to Pons Agrippae about 160 m upstream (i.e., N) of the Ponte Sisto (CIL VI 31545=ILS 5926: AD PONTEM AGRIPPA[e]), four concrete foundation piers for a bridge across the Tiber were found near the same location and were subsequently identified as the Pons Agrippae (Borsari). The selce concrete used in these foundations has parallels in the foundations of the *Thermae of Agrippa and in an Augustan vault of the *Cloaca Maxima (Blake). Further, an Augustan tomb (*Sepulcrum: C. Sulpicius Platorinus) at the Transtiberine bridgehead was apparently erected “as an immediate consequence” of the construction of the bridge (Lloyd 202). Tracing the possible route of the *Aqua Virgo’s extension, Lloyd follows this identification (193-94, fig. 1).

An inscription from Ostia records the restoration of a bridge in A.D. 147 by Antoninus Pius (Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.1, 207, 673). Based on the hypothesis that the Ostian inscription referred to the *pons Aurelius, which was also known as *pons Antonini in antiquity, and that this evidence provided a link between the Agrippan and Aurelian bridges, a competing argument was set forth, identifying the *pons Aurelius (modern Ponte Sisto) as the rebuilding of the Pons Agrippae (Le Gall). Coarelli (1977, 824-26, map; id., LTUR) suggested a street scheme for the E *Campus Martius that supported this argument. However, Taylor (id., fig. 3) convincingly refuted the hypothesis with the help of additional evidence from the *Aqua Virgo.

The excavator’s suggestion that the *pons Aurelius was actually built with spolia from the Pons Agrippae is tempting, since the 3rd-c. A.D. bridge functionally replaced the earlier Augustan one (Borsari 96; Lloyd 201). Given the current state of evidence, it seems possible that the bridge was dismantled from its original location, between Via della Catena on the left bank and the “*Villa Farnesina” on the Transtiberine side, some time before the construction of the Aurelian Walls and rebuilt as the *pons Aurelius (Taylor 87-88) in order to make space for the fortifications, protect the bridge, and also transform the river crossing into a more urban and public, rather than a private, route.

Our map follows the widely-accepted, traditional identification of the Pons Agrippae with the four N concrete piers, but with some reservations.
F. Coarelli, s.v. "Pons Agrippae; Pons Aurelius; Pons Valentiniani," LTUR IV, 107-8.

**PONS CESTIUS**

The stone bridge that connected the Tiber island to *Trans Tiberim* (Reg. Cats., Cur.: pontes VIII ... Cestius, Not.: Cestius; Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.1, 207: - - - IMP. ANTONINVS AVG(VSTVS) PONTEM CESTI[ - - - RESTITVIT, of A.D. 152, with Degrassi 238, favoring PONTEM CESTI[VM- - -]. General scholarly opinion attributes its construction to members of the late-Republican Cestius clan, most possibly C. Cestius, builder of the Pyramid of Cestius (s.v. *Sepulcrum: C. Cestius), praetor in 44 B.C., or L. Cestius, praetor of the following year (Degrassi, LTUR 109), suggesting a construction date between 49 and 43 B.C. (Degrassi 1987, 525). Even though it is not known whether Cestius’ construction was an original building or a restoration (Richardson), the stone bridge should be considered within the historical context of the wide-scale building activity on the island at that period (s.v. *Insula Tiberina; Degrassi 1987). The modern bridge, Ponte S. Bartolomeo (L. 80 m), that stands at its site today is a late 19th-c. rebuilding of the Pons Cestius. The ancient structure, which was partly incorporated in the central arch of the modern bridge, must belong to the 4th-c. A.D. rebuilding of the bridge, which then was dedicated as the PONS GRATIANI (preserved in an inscription on the bridge, CIL VI 1175-76; Degrassi, LTUR 109). The ancient bridge was much shorter than the modern one (L. 48.50 m, W. 8 m) and rested on a single arch (Richardson; Degrassi, LTUR). Taylor (80-82) recently suggested that the *Pons Fabricius and the Pons Cestius might also have served as aqueduct-crossings, but there seems to be no conclusive evidence for that.

Ö.H.

Richardson 297-98.

**PONS FABRICIUS**

The bridge that connected the S *Circus Flamininus and *Forum Holitorium area to the *Insula Tiberina (L. 62 m, W. 5.50 m), built by and named after L. Fabricius, curator viarum in 62 B.C. (Dio Cass. 37.45.3; Hor., Sat. 2.3.36: a Fabricio ... ponte; Salamito) in connection with the revitalization of the Aesculapian cult on the island (Degrassi 524; *Aesculapius, Aedes). After the flood of 23 B.C., building inscriptions indicate that the bridge was at least partly restored by the consul Q. Lepidus and M. Lollius in 21 B.C. (CIL I2 751, VI 1305; Blake; Richardson). Taylor (80-82) recently suggested that the Pons Fabricius and the *Pons Cestius might also have served as aqueduct-crossings, but there seems to be no conclusive evidence for that. The ancient bridge, with its two arches resting on a single pier, is still in use, and recently underwent an extensive restoration.

Ö.H.

Richardson 298.
Blake, Roman construction I (1947) 172 n.125.

**PONS SUBLICIANI**

The most ancient and fragile bridge of Rome, the ‘bridge of piles’ (Livy 1.33.6: ponte Sublicio, speaking of the 7th c. B.C.; Festus 374), presents a difficult topographic problem, since it was never substantially built. It stayed mainly as a timber construction on stone pile foundations (Lanciani; Coarelli, LTUR) and so did not survive after the 5th c. A.D. (Richardson; Le Gall 80-82, esp. for ancient literary sources and numismatic evidence). Its exact location is still unknown. It joined the *Forum Bovarium to *Trans Tiberim, possibly providing an important connection with the *Aventine through the *Porta Trigemina, and on the right bank to the slopes of the *Taniculum as well as directly to the *Via Campana (Le Gall 83 n. 4). Le Gall (82-86) has proposed a well-reasoned location for the bridge, downstream from Pons Aemilius; locating its left-bank head immediately S of the *Round Temple by the Tiber, between the *Cloaca Maxima and the *"Cloaca Circi Maximi*. Coarelli’s topographical studies of the Forum Bovarium follow this placement at least for the left-bank head of the bridge (Coarelli, LTUR 113; id. 1988, 33-34). The location of the Trans-
tiberine bridgehead is more obscure; fragment 27 of the Severan Marble Plan, which depicts the right bank across from Forum Bovarium area, neither represents the bridge nor offers a convenient street for it to join (Rodriguez Almeida, Forma 141).

Ö.H.

PORTA CAELIMONTANA. s.v. "ARCUS DOLABELLAEAE ET SILIANI"

PORTA CAPENA

Gate in the *Servian Wall from which the *Via Appia departed (Frontin., Ag. 5.1), situated by a natural depression between the *Caelian and the *Aventine (*Vallis: Via Appia, *Vallis: Circus Maximus; Richardson 301; Lanciani, FUR pl. 35). The gate is mentioned in connection with events as early as the years 484 B.C. (Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 8.4.1: κοτά μιαν...πύλην την καλουμένην Καπένην) and 459 B.C. (Livy 3.22.4: extra portam Capenam). Parker and Gori’s excavations in 1867 identified the gate, which probably consisted of a single arch. Architectural fragments in tufa and travertine indicate the last century of the Republic as their terminus post quem (Säfjund 146-47; Colini 32).

The name of the gate may have derived from either the city of Capena (Servius, ad Aen. 7.697) or Capua (Schol. Juv. 3.11.1-2), or from the sanctuary of the 

PORTA CARMENTALIS

Double gate in the Servian Wall (s.v. *Muri) named for a nearby shrine of Carmenta (Servius, ad Aen. 8.337) at the foot of the *Capitoline where the *Vicus Iugarius departed the city (Livy 27.37.11-14, 35.21.6; Pisani Sartorio 241). Its ominous right gate, dexter ianus, was connected with the disaster of the Fabii (when leaving the city dextrum ianum: Livy 2.49.8; Ov., Fast. 2.201-4); this portal was also called the porta Sceleterrara, the ‘Accursed Gate’, and special restrictions guided entrance or egress through it (injurare egredire: Festus 450). The Porta Carmentalis is identified with the remains of a city gate dating to the 4th c. B.C. found just NW of the *Fortuna et Mater Matuta temples (s.v. *Muri: Forum Bovarium-Tiberius, point 5; suggested by Ioppolo in Coarelli 1988, 395 fig. 96; cf. Colini 10-11, 18; and also by Virgili 1978, 5-6; ead. 1974-75, plan after 150); unfortunately, this hypothesis rests on a problematic interpretation of the archaeological evidence, which ascribes two passages to the gate. Current thought holds that the gate unearthed on the site had only one portal (Coarelli 1988, 394 with insistence; Ruggiero 25 fig. 4). Nevertheless, Coarelli and Ruggiero both accept the identification, noting that the gate was “certainly” within the area bounded by the S angle of the Capitoline, the temples of Fortuna et Mater Matuta, and the three temples at the *Forum Holitorium (Coarelli, 1997, 52, 240; more assertively, id., LTUR III, 325; without discussion, Ruggiero fig. 4). Richardson cautiously concludes that the exact loca-

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*Camenae (Servius, loc. cit.) which was located in close proximity to the gate. Coarelli refutes all three alternatives to propose the city of Cabum on the mons Albanus, the original destination of the *Via Latina, as the etymological origin of Capena (325).

The gate is identified with the arcus Stillans (Coarelli 325), the last arch of the rivus Herculanus, a branch of the *Aqua Marcia crossing the Caelian above the Porta Capena (Frontin., Ag. 19.8-9). Further, the *Aqua Appia ran above the ground near the gate, which was hence described as moist or dripping (Juv. 3.11: madida).

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Our cautious approach cannot follow Coarelli’s speculative conflation of the Porta Carmentalis’ right gate (when leaving) with the ‘right’ and correct one to enter the city (1988, 399; id., LTUR 324); together with his interpretation of the late-Republican portico just outside the preserved gate (*Porticus: Forum Holitorium) as part of an extended porticus triumphi, this leads Coarelli to understand the gate remains as those of the *Porta Triumphalis. Yet, regrettably, such layering of hypotheses lacks the particular, and necessary, supporting evidence of a double gate.

D.B., L.H.

F. Coarelli, s.v. “Porta Capena,” LTUR IV, 325.2.

Richardson 301.

Colini, Celio (1944) 32.


consuls of 18 B.C.), which he argues is the official name of the *Hecatostylum, a hundred-columned structure near the *Theatrum Pompeium, which extended along the N side of the *Porticus Pompeiana to the NE corner of the **Area Sacra** of Largo Argentina. Inscription fragments found S of the easternmost section of the Hecatostylum provide evidence of an Augustan inscribed statue base, which may have supported a group of Julio-Claudian portrait-statues including Augustus and Gaius Caesar, perhaps placed just N of *Temple A in an area that Alfeldy, following Coarelli (1981), identifies as the Porticus ad Nationes. E.J.K., with addenda, p. 275


Richardson 316-17.


PORTICUS AEMILIA (CAMPUS MARTIUS)

A portico stretching from the *Porta Fontinalis to the Altar of *Mars was built by the aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paulus in 193 B.C. (Livy 35.10.12). It probably stretched alongside the *Via Flaminia in the level, SE portion of the *Campus Martius, and it may have given the name *Aemiliana to this area (Richardson). There is no other mention of this portico in the literary record. No remains have been discovered and its architectural form is uncertain. In the absence of further evidence, it cannot be known if this portico was still standing at the time of Augustus, and if so precisely where. It is not shown on our map.

A.B.G.

Richardson 312.

PORTICUS AEMILIA (EMPORIUM)

The vast, monumental warehouse in *Emporium that lay parallel to the Tiber and SW of the *Aventine hill is traditionally identified as the "Porticus Aemiliana" following Gatti (135 f.; see fig. 12 above). The multi-piered structure was built on four levels descending toward the Tiber and roofed by a series of 50 barrel vaults. It was entirely built of concrete, faced with small, irregular blocks of tufa in opus incertum, and measures some 487 x 60 m. Its 50 naves, each perpendicular to its main NE-SW axis, covered a usable area of c.500 m² apiece, c.25,000 m² in all (Étienne 236).

The traditional identification of the building was based on evidence from ancient literary sources and fragments of the Severan Marble Plan. A series of passages in Livy concern building in the Emporium area during the early 2nd c. B.C. (Livy 35.10.13-14, 35.51.13-14, 40.51.6). In one crucial passage Livy mentions, among the several accomplishments of the censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus in 174 B.C., the paving, fencing, and rebuilding in stone of *emporium* outside the *Porta Trigemina, the provision of embankments with stairs to the *Tiber, and finally the repairing of the Porticus Aemilia (et extra portam Trigeminam emporium lapide straverunt stipitibusque saesperunt et porticum Aemiliam reficiendam curarunt gradibusque ascensum ab Tiberi in emporium fecerunt: 41.27.8).

Further, Gatti relocated two important Marble Plan fragments (Rodriguez Almeida, Forma pl. 16, frags. 23, 24) to bring them into concordance with the extant remains and archaeological evidence illustrated by Lanciani after the extensive excavations of 1886 in the area (Lanciani, FUR pl. 40). On fragment 23, Gatti restored the remaining three letters 'tia' as *Porticus Aemilia*, which was then associated with the much earlier work of the aediles Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Aemilius Paulus in 193 B.C. (Gatti 138; Rodriguez Almeida, Forma 102; Livy 35.10.13).

Richardson (1976) criticized this identification on the basis of a number of important issues. First of all, the architectural planning of the building does not correspond to the broad definition of porticus as an architectural type in early Roman building practice, but should rather be associated with warehouses of the time period (Richardson 1976, 58-59; Nünnerich-Asmus). Second, restoring the letters of the full name across the plan of the structure on the Severan Marble Plan is very problematic (Richardson 1976, 58). Third, the building technique, i.e., skillful and structural use of opus caementicium of good quality, faced with opus incertum, is likely to be dated to the 1st c. B.C., most probably to the time of Sulla (Blake I, 9; Boethius; contra Coarelli 1977, 9; id. 1999; Adam). Carter (38) pointed out the absence of any extant structure with "the same degree of size and technical mastery from the next fifty years". The approximate Sullan date for the construction technique of the warehouse is further supported by Blake (I, 251) who compared it to a cellar on the Via Sacra opposite the Basilica of Maxentius (s.v. *Domus: M. Aemilius Scaurus*).

Gatti’s identification of the warehouse structure as the "Porticus Aemilia" is highly debated and should be left aside, yet his architectural reconstruction has been well established with the acceptance of the location of fragments 23 and 24 of the Marble Plan. Recently, following Richardson’s argument, Tuck proposed an alternative identification of the building as the *horrea Cornelia*, the *horrea privata* of the Sullan family, based on an inscription in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (KM 1428; Baldwin and Torelli 119).

The early 2nd-c. B.C. porticoes mentioned by Livy (loc. cit.), earliest of their type in Rome, were probably
constructed in rather impermanent materials (wood, as suggested by Richardson) right outside the *Porta Trigemina on the NW slopes of the Aventine and along the Tiber and roughly on either side of the modern-day Lungotevere Aventino (Richardson 1976, 59; s.v. *Forum Bovarium). Parenthetically we may mention that the Berlin Model locates the large multi-columnar warehouse structure erroneously, and this seems to have confused their reconstruction of the urban topography of the entire Emporium area.

Ö.H.
J.-P. Adam, Roman building: materials and techniques (Bloomington 1994) 80.
A. Boëthius, Etruscan and early Roman architecture (London 1994) 128-29, esp. 231 n. 7.
Richardson 311.
Blake, Roman construction I (1947) 9, 251.

PORTICUS AGrippae; PORTICUS AGrippiana. s.v. STOA OF POSEIDON

PORTICUS: APOLLO (PALATIUM)

Portico, or porticoes, on the *Palatine built by Augustus in close connection with his Temple of *Apollo (RG 19: templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticus ... feci). Erected, perhaps, by 23 B.C. (Carettoni 1983, 9), these colonnades are known primarily through literary evidence (e.g., Prop. 2.31.1-2; Ov., Trist. 3.1.59-62). Propertius refers to 'the golden portico of Phoebus [Apollo]', *aurea Phoebi porticus* (loc. cit.) due to the overall effect created by its *giallo antico* columns. The portico was adorned with statues of the 50 daughters of Danaus (Prop., loc. cit.; Ov., loc. cit.), which were probably rendered as female herms in a variety of colored marbles (Balensiefen 189-98); three of these sculptures, datable to the Augustan period and rendered in black *nero antico* marble, were discovered in 1869 by Rosa directly N of the Temple of Apollo (Tomei 37-38). Fragments of similar female herms in red *rosso antico* marble have also been reported (though not preserved, Tomei 39). There may also have been statues of the sons of Aegyptus (Schol. Pers. 2.56), but this is debated (Balensiefen 189-98). With or without the additional figures, the use of polychrome marble imported from remote regions of the empire must have created a powerful visual effect. The accounts of Propertius and Ovid are generally thought to suggest that the statues of the Danaids were placed in the intercolumniations of the portico (loc. cit.; Gros 55, Tomei 48). However study of the herms leads Balensiefen to propose a two-storied porticus with the Danaids placed along the upper story, though such use of free-standing herms as caryatids would be unique in contemporary architecture (194).

Modern scholarship (e.g., Gros 55) often equates the porticus of the Danaids described by Propertius and Ovid with the porticus connected to the Temple of Apollo and the Greek and Latin Library (*Bibliotheca Latina Graecaqua). However, literary sources address-
Catalogue of entries

**SEPULCRUM: C. Publicius Bibulus**

The façade of this tomb still stands *in situ* at the foot of the *Arx* next to the Victor Emanuel Monument; originally, it faced onto the *Via Flaminia*. The structure is dated to the early 1st c. B.C., but prosopographical considerations suggest that Bibulus himself lived in the 2nd c. B.C. and that this is a rebuilding of an earlier tomb (Richardson). The façade remains, but the rear of the tomb is not known. Boni and Delbrueck provide architectural elevations but no ground-plan. It is shown as a simple square.

A.G.T.


Richardson 353.


**SEPULCRUM: RUSTICELII**

Monumental tomb on the S side of *Monte Testaccio* which belonged to a member of the Rusticelii family (CIL VI 11534) and was built sometime between the mid-2nd and mid-1st c. B.C. Excavated in the 1690s during the construction of a wine cellar (Fontana 296), the monument’s precise topographical location seems not to have been properly surveyed (Rodríguez Almeida, esp. fig. 9 for a reconstruction). Our map follows the approximate location suggested by Lanciani (FUR pl. 44).

The size of the monument was roughly 10 x 10 m in plan and constructed extensively in tufa stone; thus both in design and execution it must have been quite similar to the nearby *Sepulcrum: Ser. Sulpicius Gal-

ba. Rodríguez Almeida (40 n.3) suggests an early 1st-c. B.C. date for the monument, while Blake lists it among the structures of 78 to 48 B.C. Recently a much earlier mid-2nd c. B.C. date for the monument has been proposed, based on the “external aspects” of its construction and the inscription (Verzár-Bass n.72; Fontana).

O.H.


Richardson 359.


**“SEPULCRA SALARIA”**

Expansive Republican and early-Imperial necropolis on the *Collis Hortulorum* N of the “Horti Sallustiani and clustered around the “*Via Sepulcra Salaria*” (Messineo; Lissi Caronna 73), the cemetery extended as far N as the *Sepulcrum: M. Lucilius Pae-

Dense funerary architecture is attested in the area of the Church of S. Teresa (Messineo; CAR II, C nos. 90, 94, 96, 97, 103, 104, 105, 119, 120; index no. 63 e, our representation adapted from CAR II, fig. 1); while the majority of the *columbaria* and tombs represented here are *opus reticulatum* and of Republican or Augustan date, a few post-Augustan additions to the necropolis in *opus latericum* are known (CAR II, p. 56). Two tombs near S. Teresa are worthy of special notice: one is an *opus quadratum* tomb (c.6 x 5.5 m) belonging to two freedmen of Pompey the Great (CAR II, C no. 104.1a; index no. 63 f). The second is a 3rd-c. B.C. tomb located a few meters NE of the church’s apse (c.8 x 8 m: Lissi Caronna 77-102; von Hesberg 122; index no. 63 k). Additional late-Republican/early-Imperial *columbaria* and tombs in *opus reticulatum* are attested S of the church, in Corso d’Italia (CAR II, C nos. 106-10. a, g); also found in this area were funerary inscriptions of the freedmen of Sallust, Octavia and Antonia minor, as well as a marble slab inscribed with the name of a funerary college in A.D. 9 (CAR II, C nos. 106-110. k, m, s). To the E of this necropolis stood a rectangular Republican sepulchre in *opus quadratum* of peperino (CAR II, C no.108; index no. 63 j).

Also well preserved is a group of *columbaria* in *opus reticulatum* excavated near no. 25 Via Pinciana in 1918-20 (Messineo 259-60, figs. 1d, 3; CAR II, C no. 38; index no. 63 u); while only five tombs are rendered on our map, fragmentary remains attest to additional burials in this area.

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Despite excavations in the 1960s (Lissi Caronna), evidence for the cemetery is scant, since the ancient remains were largely destroyed by late 19th-c. development (Messineo 257); as a consequence, most of the tombs can only be represented by index numbers on our map. To avoid a fractured discussion of the necropolis, while still retaining the distinctions between burials that the limited evidence permits, all of the material remains (represented on our map by letters a-gg) have been grouped in this single, monolithic entry. Index numbers are referenced throughout the following discussion to pinpoint the locations of each sepulchre or group of tombs.

**map index 45**

A.G.T.


Richardson 353.


**map index 275**

O.H.


Richardson 359.


**map indices 63a-gg**

Dense funerary architecture is attested in the area of the Church of S. Teresa (Messineo; CAR II, C nos. 90, 94, 96, 97, 103, 104, 105, 119, 120; index no. 63 e, our representation adapted from CAR II, fig. 1); while the majority of the *columbaria* and tombs represented here are *opus reticulatum* and of Republican or Augustan date, a few post-Augustan additions to the necropolis in *opus latericum* are known (CAR II, p. 56). Two tombs near S. Teresa are worthy of special notice: one is an *opus quadratum* tomb (c.6 x 5.5 m) belonging to two freedmen of Pompey the Great (CAR II, C no. 104.1a; index no. 63 f). The second is a 3rd-c. B.C. tomb located a few meters NE of the church’s apse (c.8 x 8 m: Lissi Caronna 77-102; von Hesberg 122; index no. 63 k). Additional late-Republican/early-Imperial *columbaria* and tombs in *opus reticulatum* are attested S of the church, in Corso d’Italia (CAR II, C nos. 106-10. a, g); also found in this area were funerary inscriptions of the freedmen of Sallust, Octavia and Antonia minor, as well as a marble slab inscribed with the name of a funerary college in A.D. 9 (CAR II, C nos. 106-110. k, m, s). To the E of this necropolis stood a rectangular Republican sepulchre in *opus quadratum* of peperino (CAR II, C no.108; index no. 63 j).

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SEPULCRUM: C. SULPICIUS PLATORINUS

The monumental clan tomb of the Sulpicii Platorini at the Transtiberine head of the *Pons Agrippae, immediately inside the Aurelian Wall, probably of late-Augustan date. Discovered and excavated during the construction of the modern Tiber embankments in late-Augustan date. Discovered and excavated during the construction of the modern Tiber embankments in 1880 (Lanciani, FUR pl. 4), it was reconstructed in the Museo Nazionale Romano in 1911 (Paribeni and Berretti). It was a squarish structure, 7.44 x 7.12 m in plan, raised on a travertine podium (Silvestrini 1987, 13 f., figs. 6-14c.; Richardson).

Surviving are several inscriptions associated with the burials accommodated within the tomb, which date from the Augustan to Flavian periods (CIL VI 31761-68a). The building inscription over the entrance mentions C. Sulpicius Platorinus, who is widely accepted as the *triuvir monetalis* of 18 B.C. (CIL VI 31761), although the construction of the tomb could also be attributed to a grandson (Richardson). Blake assigned an Augustan date to the monument on the basis of its squared stone masonry, tile-brick facing, and the type of the concrete employed (see also, Lloyd 202).

On the other hand, Silvestrini's "complex analysis" of the inscriptions and his subsequent correction of Lanciani's (127-30) hypothetical *stemmata* for the clan suggests a slightly post-Augustan date for the erection of the monument; he points to M. Artorius

SEPULCRUM: Q. TERTENTILIUS RVFVS

A Republican tomb in *opus quadratum* of tufa (c.4 x 5 m), located along the N border of the "Horti Sallustiani on the "*Via Sepulcra Salaria" (CAR II, C no. 138; Lanciani, FUR pl.3). Inscribed across the façade in large letters was the tomb owner's name, Q. TERTENTILIVS RVFVS (CIL VI 36411), making this one of the few tombs within the "*Sepulcrum Salaria" whose proprietor is known. 

SEPULCRUM: TITUS TATIUS, s.v. LAURETUM / LORETUM / AVENTINUS

SEPULCRUM: M. VERGILIUS EURYSACES

Sepulchral monument erected by M. Vergilius Eurysaces, a wholesale baker, inside the fork of the *Via Praenestina and *Via Labicana just outside the line of aqueducts. It is dated to the decade 30-20 B.C. (Ciancio Rossetto 1973, 67), but there is some fluctuation (Brandt). In the 3rd c. A.D. it was enclosed within one of the semicircular towers of the *porta Praenestina* of the Aurelian Wall, hence its exceptional state of preservation. In 1838 it was again exposed. Excavations have established its ground-plan as trapezoidal in shape, with a sharp apex (destroyed with the construc-tion of the semicircular tower). There were many other tombs which lined Via Labicana E of the Porta Maggiore, some of which have been excavated but not identified or dated (Ciancio Rossetto 1973, pl. 39).

SEPULCRUM: VIA APPIA

A well-preserved reticulate *columbarium* of square plan (c.6 x 5 m, 7 m deep) with over 300 loculi was excavated near the *Via Appia in 1847 (Coarelli). An inscription dated to A.D. 10 (CIL VI 4418) provides a *terminus ante quem* for the tomb. Inscribed cinerary urns recovered from the site confirm that it was opened under Augustus, and indicate that the tomb continued to receive burials through the Julio-Claudian period (CIL VI 4414-80). Many of the deceased freedmen and slaves interred here served the imperial household, so it is sometimes called the "Monumentum Marcellae" (CIL VI p.908-10; cf. Richardson).
Subura

Populous and busy district located along the *Clivus Suburanus in the valley between the *Cispiian and *Oppian (Richardson), perhaps extending from the *Argiletum to the Servian Wall (*Muri; Welch, Platner–Ashby). The entrance to the Subura from the W, the *primae fauces Suburae (Mart. 2.17.1), lay near La Madonna dei Monti (Welch); W of the Subura was the district of the Argiletum, which extended to the *Forum Romanum. Medieval descriptions of the Church of S. Agatha Gothorum suggest that the Subura may have also extended N into the valley between the *Viminal and *Quirinal (Welch 379). The region was possibly divided into two sectors: Subura maior, corresponding to the upper regions, and Subura minor, equated with the lower, perhaps more commercial sector, nearest the Forum (Welch 380, based upon CIL VI 9526; Platner–Ashby).

Martial and Juvenal vividly describe the Imperial Subura as a loud, filthy, wet and, above all, a lively city-sector (Mart. 5.22, 12.18; Juv. 11.51; Prop. 4.7.15-16), home to numerous tradesmen, artisans, produce vendors, and brothels (Mart. 6.66, 7.31, 10.94, 11.61, 11.78; CIL VI 1953, 9284, 9399, 9491, 9526, 33862). Livy associates the Subura with violence (3.13.2, 3.15.6; CIL VI 9526). Juvenal with collapsing buildings and fire (3.5-9; cf. *Forum Augusti and its firewall), and Horace with noise (Epist. 5.58). A number of leading Republican families had residences in the Subura, including Caesar (Suét., Jul. 46), the gens Mamilla (Welch 382), and C. Sestius, whose residence was close to the entrance to the Subura (*Domus: C. Sestius). Welch proposes a 1st-c. B.C. Jewish synagogue stood in the Subura, near the *Porta Esquiline, but this early date is hypothetical (382; cf. *Synagogae).

Previously, Varro’s description of a Subura extending between the Oppian and Caelian (Ling. 5.45-48) had generated controversy and confusion; however, Welch has recently offered a well-reasoned solution, suggesting that Varro’s broadly-defined Subura refers to an early quarter of the city populated by the tribus Suburanarum, and that over time the toponym became restricted to the valley between the Viminal and Esquiline (380-81).

Richardson 373.
Platner–Ashby 500-1.

Suburbium, s.v. Continentia

Synagogae

The places of religious congregation for the Jewish community of Rome in the Augustan period, are mostly thought to have been located in *Trans Tiberim area, though their precise topography remains unknown (De Spirito). Although several synagogues are known from ancient Rome (LTUR lists 12, Leon lists 11), only four can be singled out as possible early Augustan foundations: those of the Agrippesians, Augustesians, Volumnesians and Hebrews (De Spirito 389-91; Leon 135-59; Williams 136-37 n.72). The locations of these are highly speculative; literary evidence from Philo (Leg. 152-56) locates the Jewish community of Augustan Rome in the most urbanized zone of *Trans Tiberim, while the only relevant Augustan-era archaeological evidence comes from epitaphs found in Jewish cemeteries, especially the one located in the Monteverde catacomb. This cemetery is located 1.5 km outside the city on the modern Via Portuensis (cf. Col lon fig. 2 for a sketch map; on the inscriptions, Müller;

Frey, CII); it was discovered in 1602 and excavated in 1904-6, but is now considerably eroded (Müller 21).

Nevertheless, attempts have been made to locate the Agrippesian synagogue on the site of S. Salvatore in Corte (Leon 140), or at the head of Pons Agrippae (Collon 82-84 and fig. 1), the latter based upon the 1880 discovery of an epitaph mentioning ἱδρων δίκς ἰοίραν between Ponte Sisto and Ponte Garibaldi (Frey, CII 288-89); neither suggestion is based on conclusive evidence (De Spirito 389).

Outside Trans Tiberim, a synagogue in the *Subura near the *Porta Esquiline may be attested by epi graphic material found near the *Via Nomentana (Welch 382, Collon 87-90, CII 531); however, the early-Imperial date for this proseuchē cannot be proven. Note that the ancient terminology differs from contemporary usage, for in antiquity the word ‘synagogue’ (Greek συναγωγή, Latin synagogue) was more...
CATALOGUE OF ENTRIES

TABERNÆ, s.v. CAELIUS MONS: BUILDING (1), (5); CIRCUS MAXIMUS; CLIVUS VICTORIAE; DOMUS: PALATIUM (5), (9); DOMUS PUBLICA; FORUM AUGUSTI; FORUM IULIIUM; HORREA: SACRA VIA; PALLACINÆ: TABERNÆ; PORTICUS GAI ET LUCI; SACRA VIA; SCALÆ ANULARIAE; VELIA: BUILDING (2); VIA DI S. GREGORIO

TABULARIUM

The large, polygonal structure of the late Republic, located on the saddle between the two summits of the Cælius Mons (inter duos luces), overlooking the W end of the Forum Romanum, is conventionally known as the Tabularium (public records office, depository of the tabulae publicae). The imposing remains of this structure were incorporated into Michelangelo’s Palazzo Senatorio, and its high colonnaded galleries still dominate the Forum. The masonry is dated either to the Sullan period or to the 2nd c. B.C. (Purcell 150-51), but excavations under Palazzo Senatorio indicate that the Tabularium was built, in part, over ruins damaged in the Capitoline fire of 83 B.C. (Mura Sommella 1984, Sanzì di Mino, Colini); its current footprint, therefore, was laid down after 83 (for the ground-plan see Sommella Mura 1981, fig. 2; cf. Purcell 136 fig. 2). This date is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence. In the 15th c., a severely corroded inscription, now lost, was seen in the salt-warehouses of Palazzo Senatorio; it recorded the construction of a substructio (substructure) and tabularium by Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 78 B.C. (CIL VI 1314=ILS 35: ... SUBSTVCTIONEM ET TABVLARIVM ... FACIVNDVM COERAVIT). Another inscription, discovered in 1845, mentions Catulus but not the name of the structure (CIL VI 1313). In addition, a funerary inscription of 65-35 B.C. names the probable architect, a certain L. Cornelius, praefectus fabrum and architectus of the consul and censor Q. Catulus (Molisani). The Tabularium was probably built between 78 and 65 B.C., the dates of Catulus’ consulship and censorship respectively (Mura Sommella, LTUR 17; Coarelli 1995, 44).

Yet despite this wealth of information, a serious problem remains: no ancient author, not even Cicero, gives us a name for this central and imposing building (Purcell 135), and the physical remains, too, are difficult to interpret.

The substructio attested on the lost inscription (CIL VI 1314) was the large platform under Palazzo Senatorio which served as the foundations for the entire complex (Mura Sommella, LTUR 17). There were three levels. At the lowest level, a high podium, with cement walls faced with tufa blocks on the inside and peperino (from Gabii) on the outside, forms a large platform to overcome the height difference between the Forum and the saddle of Piazza del Campidoglio. Inside were two distinct sets of rooms served by a N-S internal corridor with small windows facing the Forum; also on this lowest level were two entrances on the S side almost at the level of the Forum opening onto a ramp of stairs that led to the Temple of *Veiovis, where a second set of stairs doubled back to reach the uppermost level (Mura Sommella, LTUR 18; Coarelli 1995, 45). An intermediate level was a porticoed gallery of 11 arches overlooking the Forum, incorporating an internal passageway which connected the two summits of the Capitoline (Mura Sommella 1994, 45). On the upper level, attested only by architectural fragments and from observations of the surviving foundations, stood the records office of the Tabularium proper (Mura Sommella, LTUR 18; Coarelli 1995, 48). The findspot of the lost inscription discovered in the salt warehouses (CIL VI 1314) allows us to locate the archives in the part of the building overlooking Piazza del Campidoglio, in the *Galleria di Sisto IV*, not the gallery overlooking the Forum (Mura Sommella 1994, 48-49, 54 n.23; ead., LTUR 17, 19). Coarelli suggests that there was a monumental façade and several large rooms facing in the direction of Piazza del Campidoglio, and a large colonnaded portico facing the Forum on this uppermost level (Coarelli 1995, 48; cf. Golvin). Our map gives the outline of the Tabularium with internal divisions to mark the gallery overlooking the Forum and a small niche on the S side (discussed below); for a plan of the internal arrangements of the Tabularium, see Sommella Mura 1981, fig. 2.

Purcell has argued that the name ‘Tabularium’ is problematic when applied to the entire building. In particular, he argues that the findspot and wording of the inscriptions do not sufficiently prove that Catulus dedicated a massive public-records office, and that no central archive of this scale was ever required from what is known of Roman administrative practices.

S. Collon, “Remarques sur les quartiers juifs de la Rome antique,” MEFR 57 (1940) 72-94.
N. Müller, Die jüdische Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom (Leipzig 1912).
Richardson 381-82.
D. Manacorda and E. Zanini, “The first millennium A.D. in Rome: from the Porticus Minuca to the Via delle Botte-

THEATRUM MARCELLI

The Augustan successor of the theatrium ad aedem Apollinis (feci: RG 21) and the second stone theater built in Rome, located at the E end of the *Circus Flamininus in front of the Temple of *Apollo Medicus (AD THEATRVMMARCELLI: Fast. Arv. and Urb., in Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 35, 63). Dedicated in either 13 (Dio. Cass. 54.26.1) or 11 B.C. (Pliny, NH 8.65, cf. 7.121: Marcelli theatrum) by Augustus, the theater was named after his nephew Marcus Marcellus (Dio. Cass. 43.49.3). When Julius Caesar initiated the building project in 44 B.C., he had to remove temples and houses from the area, including the Temple of Pietas on the NW end of *Forum Holitorium, to prepare the site for the theater (Richardson 290, 382). The construction took place under Augustus, who bought more land near the Temple of Apollo to extend the site (RG 21). Even though the construction was not complete, part of the celebrations of the ludi Saeculares in 17 B.C. took place in the theater (CIL VI 32323.157). Possibly a larger theater was intended at the time of Caesar (Suet., Iul. 41.1: theatrum summam magnitudinis Tarpeo monti accubans); while the 4th-c. A.D. Regionary Catalogues list its capacity at 20,500 loca, others estimate it held c.13,500 spectators (Not. 176; cf. Ciancio Rossetto, LTUR 34; ead. 1982-83, 8).

Space for only a narrow thoroughfare remained between the rear of the theater and the terrace walls of the Apollo and *Bellaona temples. If the widespread scholarly opinion that this passage served as part of the triumphal procession route is correct, Augustus’ architects must have had difficulty fitting the large theater building on the site. However, the triumphal parade, which originated in the *Circus Flaminius, may not have followed the paved street, but rather have passed through the orchestra of the theater itself (cf. Joseph., BellI 7.131), with the cavea conveniently open to seat spectators (Favro 1996, 164). Since two circular monuments, the Perirrhanterion (s.v. Apollo Medicus, Aedes) and the columna Bellica (s.v. Bellaona, Aedes), may have obstructed the passage behind the theater, a route through the orchestra seems likely. While Favro suggests that the theater’s NE-SW axis (contrary to the E axes of the *Theatrum Pompeiunum and *Theatrum: Balbus) was dictated by the requirements of triumphal processions through the orchestra (1994, 157), it may also have been a product of its restricted building site.

Most of the theater’s plan is preserved on the

THEATRUM POMPEIUM/POMPEIANUM

Pompey’s Theater, dedicated in September 55 B.C., was the first permanent stone theater in Rome, and it remained the largest, and arguably the most important, of the three permanent theaters in the *Campus Mar-
Renaissance architects, as well as discrepancies with the representation on the Marble Plan, suggest caution is warranted when attempting to reconstruct the interior arrangement of the baths (note the varying efforts of Hülsen, Nielsen, and Yegül).

The structure was restored on numerous occasions (SHA, Had. 19.10; Pliny, NH 35.26) and substantially rebuilt after the fire of A.D. 80 (Dio Cass. 66.24.1); as a result, only a small portion of the original *opus quadratum* and *reticulatum* masonry survives (Ghini). Preserved throughout these restorations were asymmetries of the bath's original layout and its N–S orientation, an axis derived from the pre-existing buildings and street pattern (rather than adopting the canonical orientation toward the SW: Vitr., *De arch.* 5.10.1; Yegül 130). For these reasons, the 3rd-c. A.D. and later plans are thought to reflect the Agrippan layout of the baths, if not their specific details (most hesitant to accept this is Ghini, boldest is Richardson).

Thus, the bath is depicted conservatively on our map with a simple, rectangular shape representing the greatest known physical extent of the structure; monuments bordering the complex on the E, W, and S provide firm boundaries, though the extent and nature of

**TIBER. s.v. TIBERIS**

**TIBERIS**

The Tiber, a perennial river with a strong current, reaches Rome having acquired its full supply of water and flows through the city in a relatively shallow bed (depth c. 3 m, fluctuating through the year). Especially during the winter, the Tiber can rise very rapidly to flood its vicinity. Flooding from the Tiber was a major problem for the urban zone. During the reign of Augustus, the river overflowed with remarkable frequency, inundating the city center at least 6 times (Le Gall 29; 27 B.C., Dio Cass. 53.20; 23 B.C., Dio Cass. 53.33; 22 B.C., Dio Cass. 54.1; 13 B.C., Dio Cass. 54.25; A.D. 5, Dio Cass. 55.22; A.D. 12, Dio Cass. 56.27). For as long as a week, the entire *Campus Martius*, the *Emporium*, the *Forum Bovarium*, the valleys between the hills, as well as the lower parts of *Trans Tiberim* would be swept by flood waters. Encroachment onto the Tiber banks by buildings must have increased the destructive effects of the inundations, especially along the Campus Martius, since the river's strong outside currents made the Tiber banks very unstable.

Numerous measures were taken to protect the city from damage rendered by the Tiber floods. Embankment walls of the 2nd c. B.C., and possibly earlier, were erected along the Forum Bovarium to contain the rising waters. Multi-terraced embankments, dating to the mid-1st c. A.D., were recently excavated NW of the Emporium district, where they were built over Republican embankments (Meneghini 436; Mocchegiani Carpano 1981, 146-47; id. 1985, 86-88; Le Gall 103). Julius Caesar intended to divert the river bed from a point near the Mulvian bridge along a straight line following the foot of the Vatican hill, across *Trans Tiberim*, and then aggrandize the urban land; this plan was never realized (Le Gall 113-17; Cic., *Att.* 13.33a. 1). Augustus widened the bed of Tiber and instituted *curatores riparium et albei Tiberis*, officials responsible for the banks and channels of the Tiber, to maintain his renovations (Ramage 71-74; Le Gall 117-18; *OCD* 1522; Suet., *Aug.* 30.1: *ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolacionibus coartatum*; cf. Suet., *Aug.* 37). P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus and M. Valerius Messalla Niger, censors in 55 B.C., styled themselves *curatores riparium*, and erected *cippi* marking the boundary between public and private land, and repaired revetted embankments (Richardson 399).

From Dionysius of Halicarnassus we learn that, in his day, the Tiber was navigable to Rome for sea-going merchant ships up to a tonnage of 3000 units (*amphorae*); larger cargo ships had to be unloaded at Ostia and their goods transported to Rome on modest-sized riverboats (*Ant. Rom.* 3.44). The old commercial harbor, the *Portus Tiberinus*, was positioned close to the city's center, but from the 2nd c. B.C. onward Rome's primary commercial port developed further S in the more spacious Emporium area.

**E.A.D.**


Richardson 386-87.


C. Hülsen, *Die Therme des Agrippa* (Rome 1910).

**OLEN**

Fig. 17. Republican embankment wall along the Tiber. Cross-section near the Pons Aemilius, as documented by Lanciani 1897 (G. Cressedi, BullCom 89 [1984] 273 fig. 18, adapted).


TIBERIS: GRAND EMBANKMENT

The 200-m-long embankment wall retained the E bank of the Tiber beside the Forum Bovarium, between the “*Cloaca Circi Maximi” in the S and the *Pons Aemilius in the N. Documented by Lanciani shortly before its destruction in the course of the late-19th c., the massive wall was built of tufa blocks with a core of opus caementicium (2-3 m thick, pres. H 6 m) and formed a strong bridgehead at the Pons Aemilius (see fig. 17; Lanciani, FUR pl. 28; Cressedi). Coarelli (37-38) plausibly connects the building of this embankment wall with the artificial elevation of the terrain in the central Forum Bovarium, an activity dated to the early 2nd c. B.C. based on the ceramic finds in the homogeneous infill (36; tentatively connected with a major building campaign of the 170s B.C. attested by Livy 40.51.4: Coarelli; cf. *Portus Tiberinus).

The solid embankment wall secured the most sensitive zone of the city’s exposure to the Tiber. Here, at the river’s main curve through Rome, its currents and floods hit the left bank at a destructively sharp angle, and it was at this point that the city’s central public areas and fortifications most closely approached the riverside. The retaining wall also protected a naturally low point in the physical topography of the city, where Rome’s two main valleys, the Forum valley and Circus Maximus valley (*Vallis: Forum-Velabrum; *Vallis: Circus Maximus), drained into the Tiber. In addition — an aspect not yet considered — the wall must have played a formidable, if not decisive, rôle in Rome’s much-disputed defense line along the Tiber (*Muri: Forum Bovarium-Tiberis). A broad strip of land, some 50-80 m wide, separated the embankment wall from the Forum Bovarium proper; within this “embankment strip” was the precinct of the Temple of Portunus (at a notably lower elevation than the Forum) and also the platform of the Round Temple of Tiberis (at a level above the Forum’s). Together with the viaduct leading to the Pons Aemilius, and the artificial harbor of the Portus Tiberinus just N of that bridge, the embankment wall and “embankment strip” define a zone of entirely man-made topography dating to the early 2nd-early 1st c. B.C.; these works must still have determined the Augustan appearance of Rome between the Tiber and Forum Bovarium. For the embankments and quays S of this area, s.v. *Emporium; for the embankment walls in the shape of a ship’s prow, at the down-stream end of the Tiber island, s.v. *Insula Tiberina.

L.H.


R. Lanciani, The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome (Boston 1897, repr. 1967) 63 fig. 27.

TIGILLUM SORORIUM

One of Rome’s most ancient monuments, the Tigillum Sororium was a beam supported by two vertical posts that spanned a road (Festus 380: sororium tegillum; Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 3.22.7-9), probably the *Sacra Via (Richardson; contra, Coarelli). Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates that the beam served in the expiation of Horatius and that located nearby were two altars, one to luno Sororia and the other to Ianus Curitus (loc. cit.). The Arval calendar reports that the Tigillum Sororium was located ad COMPITVM ACILI (CIL VI 32482, of Augustan date; Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 37, 515; *Compitum Acili); thus its location is
fairly secure, despite the absence of archaeological remains. E.A.D.

TOWER OF MAECENAS. s.v. TURRIS MAECENATIANA

TRANS TIBERIM

The developing urban zone on the W (right) bank of the *Tiber, which corresponds to Regio XIV of the Augustan regiones (*Regiones Quattuordecim). The *Ianiculum ridge bordered the W edge of the area, while the lowlands between these slopes and the Tiber were home to burgeoning residential neighborhoods. Trans Tiberim was topographically continuous with the *Vaticanus Ager, a region to its N which featured garden estates and farmland. The region, known by the 1st c. B.C. as trans Tiberim (Cic., Att. 12.19.1; cf. RG 23), was not officially incorporated into the urban zone of ancient Rome until the Augustan administrative reforms of 7 B.C. (Maischberger; cf. Reg. Cats., Regio XIV: Transiberim). In the larger geographical scale, within the urban bounds and beyond the city, the W bank of the Tiber was called RIPA VEIENTANA, in contrast to RIPA ROMANA; these nomenclatures were used on the boundary stones of the Imperial curatores riparum (CIL VI 31547, 31548b, 31555). The Ianiculum ridge was sometimes (confusingly) referred to as Vaticanum mons (Hor., Cerr. 1.20.7-8; Richardson 405).

Two major arteries functioned as the backbone of the Transiberine street network: the *Via Campana and the *Via Aurelia. The Via Campana stretched SW along the Tiber through the S sector of the Trans Tiberim and acted as the borderline between the industrial areas on the river embarkment and the horti, cult places, and villas on the Ianiculum slopes. The Via Aurelia led NW along the *Naumachia and climbed the Ianiculum, passing through the *Ager of L. Petilius and near the *Sepulcrum of Numia Pompius, which was considered a historical monument even in antiquity. The point where this street ascends the hill is the most favorable area to climb over the steep slopes of the Ianiculum, and the Aurelian Wall later passed through the same ravine. On the Capitoline base, 22 vici (neighborhoods) from Regio XIV are listed (CIL VI 975, A.D. 136); however, there is no conclusive evidence that neighborhoods existed under these names in the Augustan period.

Augustan-era building activity in the region included the Naumachia, the *Aqua Alsietina that supplied its water, the *Pons Agrippae with a monumental tomb at its Transiberine end (s.v. *Sepulcrum: C. Sulpicius Platorinus), the villa structures immediately upstream from this bridge (s.v. *"Villa Farnesina"), as well as the restoration of the *Pons Aemilius, which shows the heightened interest in the Transiberine region. Under Augustus, land values in the region must have increased enormously (most recently, Taylor 1995; id. 1997). The late-Republican and Augustan bridges must have served as aqueduct crossings, bringing potable water to the residential neighborhoods of the region; while the Aqua Alsietina's non-potable water served to irrigate the Transiberine gardens and fields when the Naumachia was out of use (Taylor 1995, Evans 111-13).

The densest residential settlement in the area was nestled into the curve of the Tiber across from the *Insula Tiberina and bordered on the W by the Naumachia. Its proximity to the active market area of the *Forum Bovarium and *Forum Holitorium, plus the easy access it offered to the *Circus Flaminius and *Campus Martius, must have made this area very desirable. In the latter half of Augustus' reign, the area of the Naumachia was gradually transformed into a grove (nemus Caesarum); encroachment by the residential neighborhood did not take place before the mid-1st c. A.D. (Tac., Ann. 14.15, who mentions the development of small brothels and taverns; Taylor 1997, 467). Near the Church of S. Cecilia, a neighborhood shrine (sacrum) to Bon Dea was dedicated (Richardson). In the very same area, near the Church of S. Maria dell'Oro, a travertine base dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus was found in 1861 (Detlefsen; CIL VI 415); this is often taken as evidence for the existence of a Republican-period shrine to this Commagenian cult (Chioffi, Bellelli 324-25; on the cult, OCD 802). In 2 B.C. barracks called castra Ravennatum were opened in the Transiberine zone (Coarelli). A grove, the Corniscae Divae, known from a boundary cippus (CIL VI 96 and 30691), stood between the foot of the Ianiculum and the modern Church of S. Francesco Ripa.

In the late-Republican period, the S sector of the region was already under development, having become extremely popular and cosmopolitan with the opening of manufacturing workshops and the shops of many small traders (Le Glay 555-56). Several warehouse structures were built along the Tiber to serve the *Emporium area, as evident in the Severan Marble Plan (Rodriguez Almeida, Forma frag. 28). This growing industrial district must have spawned nearby residential areas for their workers, and may be associated with the small shrines of foreign cults along the Via Campana-Portuensis (documented by substantial epigraphic and architectural evidence, compiled by Palmer, Savage, cf. Calzini Gysens). The *Lucus Furrinarum, a sacred grove on the SE slopes of the Ianiculum, held the most prominent of these foreign cult centers, known as the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods (*Juppiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus), which flourished under the early Empire. Epigraphic evidence from the Monteverde catacomb, which served the earliest Jews in ancient Rome, suggests that during
the Augustan period a substantial number of Jews lived in Trans Tiberim; there were at least four synagogues built in this area (*Synagogae). The SW slope of the Ianiculum served as the *Horti Caesares until Julius Caesar bequeathed his land to the Roman people in 44 B.C. (D'Arms).

The N sector was mostly covered with private gardens and sumptuous villa complexes, which extended further N and beyond the NE slopes of the Ianiculum to join the gardens and farmland in the Vaticanus Ager (s.v. *Horti Scapulani). The best known of these suburban estates is the large and prosperous Augustan villa excavated in the gardens of the *Villa Far-nesina*. Somewhere nearby was the land once belonging to the dictator L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, which was still used as a toponym in the early Empire (Richardson 321). Dio Cassius mentions the *horti Antoniani*, which were located near the Horti Caesares (47.40.2), and Cicero informs us of the *horti Clodiae* which stood opposite the Campus Martius (Cael. 36, Att. 12.44.2). Wineries were associated with some of these *horti*. C. Mucius Scaevola's meadows, the *prata Mucia*, were also in Trans Tiberim (Liverani).


**TRES FORTUNAE, AEDES**

A trio of Republican temples dedicated to Fortuna and known as the Tres Fortunae was located near the *Porta Collina* on the *Quirinal* (s.v. *Quirinal*; Degrassi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2, 461; or perhaps by P. Sempronius Sophus: Coarelli). Ovid records a second temple, dedicated to *Fortuna Publica* (Fast. 4.375-76; Dio Cass. 42.26.3-4); *Fortuna Publica Citerior* may have been the full name of this temple which the *fasti Prænestini* locate on the Quirinal (IN COLLE: Degrassi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2, 437). Richardson admits the dedication of the third temple remains unknown, but Coarelli proposes that it honored *Fortuna Publica Populi Romani Quiritium*, which the calendars also locate in COLLE QUIRINAVI (it too had a dies natalis on May 25; Degrassi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2, 461; Ov., *Fast.* 5.729).

Thus, three temples of Fortuna are known to have been located on the *collis Quirinalis* near the Porta Collina. Vitruvius describes the temple nearest the **TRIGARIUM**

Horseracing track (Philox., CGL 2.201) located in the W *Campus Martius*. The term *trigarium* is generally interpreted as the racing track for chariots drawn by three horses (trigae), an event held only in Archaic times (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 7.73.2). Nonetheless, there could have been a revival of these races in the Imperial period (Coarelli, *LTUR* 89). The Trigarium served as the temporary racetrack (*circus temporalis*) of the ludi...
the name 'Camenae' — listed as a locality in the late-antique Regionary Catalogues — ever comprised the entire valley between Caelian and Aventine, as claimed by Richardson (63). At present, it seems best to coin the term "Via Appia Valley" for this topographical unit, while not excluding its possible identity with the vallis Egeriae (cf. Platner–Ashby). For an overview of the valley's sites and monuments, see *Via Appia.

D. Palombi, s.v. "Regiones Quattuordecim (topographia)," LTUR IV, fig. 84 facing 518.
Richardson 63-64.
Platner–Ashby 89, 546.

**VATICANUS AGER**

The relatively flat territory on the W bank of the Tiber N of *Trans Tiberim and the *Ianiculum (e.g., Cic., Leg. agr. 2.96: *Vaticanum [sc. agrum]; Pliny, NH 3.54; Gell., NA 19.7.1: *in agro Vaticano). The road to Vei, which was known at least by the mid-2nd c. A.D. as the *Via Triumphalis, crossed this plain, and the pyramid-tomb which rose close to the street and the river bank (*Sepulcrum: "Meta Romuli") formed a monumental landmark in the Augustan period (foreground Hadrian’s later use of adjacent land for his much grander mausoleum). In its northern reaches, the Vaticanus Ager was farmland of moderate quality (Cic., loc. cit.) which produced notoriously poor wine (Mart., e.g., 6.92). Closer to Rome it featured horti, lavish gardens adorned with architecture, the existence of which is attested from the time of Cicero (Att. 13.33a.1; notable post-Augustan villas are the *horti Agrippinae and *horti Domitiae).

From Cicero (Att. 13.33a.1; 45 B.C.) we learn that the *Horti Scapulani (Eck) stood in the *campus Vaticanus (a term probably invented for the occasion, Richardson 68); he wished to acquire this property, which had gained some prominence in recent years, in order to build a funeral chapel for his daughter Tullia (Att. 12.36.1; 13.29.1; Verzár-Bass 401-4). Cicero also preserves the account of Julius Caesar’s megalomaniac plan to redirect the Tiber from the Mulvian Bridge along the *montes Vaticani, and thus bring the *campus Vaticanus into union with the *Campus Martius, turning the one into the other in order to gain space for a dramatic expansion of the city (Cic., Att. 13.33a.1: *campum Vaticanum fieri quasi Martium campum). Favro’s schematic map of the intended redirection of the Tiber, from some distance SW of the Mulvian Bridge to the river’s bend at the W tip of the Campus Martius, may come close to the historic plans regarding the Vaticanus Ager, whereas the depicted extension across Trans Tiberim is topographically incorrect and apparently not justified, depending perhaps on Richardson’s equation (405) of the *montes Vaticani with the full range of the ridges to the W of Rome (for discussion of sources on the Ianiculum: Liverani).

L.H.

D. Favro, The urban image of Augustan Rome (Cambridge 1996) 74 fig. 40.
Richardson 68, 405.

**VATICANUS MONS. s.v. TRANS TIBERIM**

**VEDIOVI, AEDES (INSULA TIBERINA)**

A temple dedicated to Vediovis on the Tiber island, known only from literary sources and epigraphic evidence (e.g., Fast. Praen.: VEDIOVI IN INSULA, in Degrassi, Inscr. Ital. 13.2, 111, 388). The shrine was vowed by the praetor L. Furius Purpurio in 200 B.C. and dedicated by C. Servilius in 194 B.C. (Degrassi). Scholars often confuse it with the shrine to *Iuppiter Iurarius (Brucia 48-55), and it is not even clear that they were two separate buildings (Richardson). Such ambiguity is evident in Ovid (Fast. 1.293-94) and Livy (31.21.12, with aedemque deo lovi emendato a aedemque Vediovi); in any case, Vediovis was a form of Jupiter (OCD 1583).

Ö.H.

D. Degrassi, s.v. "Vediovis, aedes (Insula Tiberina)," LTUR V, 101.
Richardson 406.

**VEIOVI, AEDES (CAPITOLIUM)**

The temple dedicated to the 'young' or 'bad' Jupiter in 192 B.C. (Livy 35.41.8, cf. Gell., NA 5.12.8-10) and rebuilt in the early 1st c. B.C. was located inter duos lucos (Vitr., De arch. 4.8.4: *inter duos lucos Vediovis [sc. aedes]; Ov., Fast. 3.430: templo ... lucos Vediovis ante duos; Gell., NA 5.12.2: *aedes Vediovis ... inter Arcem et Capitolium), in the same area as the *Asylum. It has been identified with the remains of a small temple under the SW corner of Palazzo Senatorio on the ground-plan, unusual on account of its transverse *cella fronted by a tetrastyle *pronaos (described by Vitruvius, as noted by La Rocca), is well established through excavations (Colini).

A.G.T.

E. La Rocca, *Prima del Palazzo Senatorio: i monumenti inter
joined the Via Appia. Recently, however, these extant remains, once associated with the Via Ardeatina (Avetta 244-45), have been re-interpreted as a minor “connecting road” to the Via Appia (Quilici 1987, 743-44). The third proposal interpreted as a minor “connecting road” to the Via Appia (Quilici 1987, 741-42 n.44). D.B., L.H.

The range of vastly different suggestions reflects the elusive course of the Via Ardeatina in the vicinity of Rome. Given the open state of the question, our map does not attempt a solution and marks, only for the sake of clarity, the hypothesized site of the Porta N箭as. Whether the huge circular tomb on the Aventine’s extramural SE extension (“Sepulcrum: Aventinus”) was situated along a regional road, as is possible, and whether this was the Via Ardeatina, cannot be resolved (cf. Quilici 1987, 741-42 n.44). J.R. Patterson, s.v. “Via Ardeatina,” LTUR V, 133.

area for the outlet of the Naumachia to the Tiber (Taylor 481). In the 2nd c. A.D. the section closest to Rome became known as the via Aurelia Vetus after Antoninus Pius laid down a new route further N, the via Aurelia Nova, which left the city from the W tip of the Campus Martius to join the Via Aurelia several miles outside the city (for details, Patterson 134).

Ö.H.

"VIA CAELIMONTANA"

Road along the N ridge of the Caelian following the course of Via D. Fontana and Via di S. Stefano Rotondo. It led from Spes Vetus to the “Arcus Dolsbellae et Silani”, where it continued inside the Servian Wall as the “Clivus Scarni”. The name is a modern coinage, but it is known to have been an ancient street, perhaps the most important road on the Caelian (Colini, Pavolini, Claridge, Giannelli). Its course may be determined from Lanciani, FLUR pls. 31, 36, 37.

A.G.T.

Via Campana

One of the most ancient routes that connected Rome to the sea, more particularly to the campus Salinarum at the mouth of the Tiber (Richardson; Scheid 639). Within the townscape it was a major and wide street in the S Trans Tiberim that ran SW from the Pons Aemilius and Pons Sublicius along the Tiber and through the horti of the Iani culum foothills (for the name, e.g., CIL VI 29772—ILS 5999: AD VIAM CAMPANA [sic]). Based on securely located and almost complete fragments of the Severan Marble Plan (27-28; Rodriguez Almeida, Forma 140-47, pls. 19-20) and some scanty archaeological (mostly epigraphic) evidence (Scheid 639 n.2, also 47-48), it was located along roughly the same line as modern Via Portuense but approxi-mately 20-25 m to the W (Coarelli figs. 1-3; Palmer 369ff., esp. n.50) and, further S, along the

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present-day Via della Magliana (Cianfriglia and Corsini 156; Scheid 640, n.1).

In modern scholarship, the street is often referred to as the Via Campana–Portuensis (e.g., Coarelli; Scagnetti map), a name which never occurs in the ancient sources. In the late 1st c. A.D. the Via Portuensis was laid out in conjunction with the construction of the Claudian port, and thereafter the Transtiberine portion of the ancient route was referred to as the Via Portuensis as well, replacing the designation Via Campana (Chiumenti and Bilancia 303-9). However, the two ancient routes forked into two separate courses upon leaving the urban territory; the Via Campana followed Via della Magliana, while the Via Portuensis followed Via Portuense.

Palmer argued that the first part of the Via Campana should be identified as the *Vicus Longus Aquiliae, The Long Street of the Eagle’, listed on the Capitoline base for Regio XIV: Transtiberin, as he suggested that ‘the eagle’ referred to the foreign cult places along the street (Palmer 370; CIL VI 975). The *Pons Aemilius has generally been considered the starting point for the street and is used to determine the locations of monuments at various milestones (Scheid 642); the street ran along the Tiber and acted as a backbone for a variety of altars and shrines such as that of *Fora Fortuna, while separating the area of warehouses along the river from the cultic-garden topography of the Ianiculum slopes (Palmer 369-70; Coarelli).

O.H.

J.R. Patterson, s.v. “Via Campana,” LTUR V, 135.

Richardson 415.


VIA CIRCA FOROS PUBLICOS

Street running behind the grandstands of the *Circus Maximus that led from the *Forum Bovarium to a Temple of Venus (Livy 29.37.2: viam e foro Bovario ad Veneris circa foros publicos). Of the known Venus temples in the city, that of *Venus Obsequens is the most logical reference for this passage (Papi), and thus the road probably ran on the *Aventine side of the Circus (Ziolkowski 191; Coarelli 31, 34, 104-5 fig. 20). While Coarelli extends the street from the starting gates of the Circus to the *Porta Trigemina, neither literary nor archaeological evidence supports this continuation (12; for a detailed rebuttal of Coarelli: Ziolkowski 191). The extensive and continual reworking of the Circus seating in the Imperial era (s.v. Circus Maximus) has obscured any remains of the Augustan street (Lanciani’s wide, straight paved street immediately behind the Circus cavea reconstructs a late-Imperial phase: FUR, pl. 35); as its course is too imperfectly understood, an index number is employed on our map to represent the street.

D.B., E.A.D.

E. Papi, s.v. “Venus Obsequens,” LTUR V, 118.


VIA COLLATINA

Modern name for an anonymous early-Republican road which led from Rome to the village of Collatia (Quilici 1990). Its starting-point was the *Porta Collatina, a gate in the *Servian Wall, best identified as an early name for the *Porta Viminalis. It led SW from this gate, parallel with the *Anio Vetus along a well-attested roadway, called “Via Tiburtina” by Lanciani, FUR pl. 24. It was joined by the *Via Tiburtina and together they passed under an Augustan arch at the Aurelian *porta Tiburtina (s.v. *Porta Tiburtina: Augustan Arch). This intersection was long considered the starting-point of the “Via Collatina” (Richardson; Lanciani, FUR pl. 25). It has also been argued that the road leading from the Porta Viminalis was unimportant (Patterson). However, the monumental Augustan arch is oriented on axis with the “Via Collatina”, not with the Via Tiburtina, an indication that the

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"Via Collatina" was especially important in the Augustan period. Beyond this Augustan arch to the E there was a minor N-S connecting road which led from the "Via Collatina" to the *Via Praenestina at the Porta Maggiore, the Aurelian *porta Praenestina (Bellini, Corrente and Turchetti; Quilici 1963-64).

A.G.T.

J.R. Patterson, s.v. “Via Tiburtina,” LTUR V, 146-47.


Richardson 415.


ancient street rejoined the modern Via Nomentana and follows its course for almost 2 km, to the Ponte Nomentano, a bridge of the late-2nd/early-1st c. B.C. across the Anio (Quilici Gigli 66, 82).

Tombs lined the street outside the Servian Wall, and though most were post-Augustan in date, like that of Q. Haterius, some earlier tombs are known (s.v *Sepulcrum: Via Nomentana [1], [2], [3]; *Sepulcrum: Aletii). Later, brickyards and quarries were located along the street further out from the city (CIL XV 677-82; Richardson).

**Via Nomentana: Building**

Walls of an opus reticulatum building were unearthed under the modern *Via Nomentana near its intersection with Viale Regina Margherita (CAR III, B no. 23); the plan and function of the structure are unknown but it seems not to have been aligned with the Via Nomentana, which ran to its N. Just N of this structure were tombs and possibly a monument of the

**Via Merulana. s.v. Esquiliae**

**Via Ostiensis**

Major urban street and intra-urban route connecting Rome and Ostia, which ran along the E bank of the Tiber (e.g., Pliny, Ep. 2.17.2: Ostiensis [sc. via]). The urban portion of the street seems to have run from the *Porta Trigemina along the narrow ledge of land between the Tiber and the W slopes of the *Aventine until it reached the *Emporium area. This first portion of the street is also referred to as the "Vicus Portae Trigeminae" (Lanciani, FUR pl. 36; Scagnetti; Pisani Sartorio) and several ancient references exist for the dense industrial structures along this street and by the river (e.g., Livy 41.27.8-9; cf. Porta Trigemina, *Porticus Aemilia [Emporium], which include the recently excavated early-Imperial period embankments (Meneghini; s.v. *Tiberis). From the N corner of the Emporium area, the street made a sharp turn to the S and ran immediately below the SW slopes of the Aventine and along the modern Via Marmorata, passing by the *Sepulcrum: C. Cestius, to join the prominent road which ran S from the central *Aventine (s.v. *Aventinus: Street). The late 1st-c. B.C. pyramid tomb of C. Cestius marks the approximate SE urban limit of the street and its associated neighborhood. This long L-shaped street must have been a backbone of overland industrial activity (as was the *Via Campana) since it connected the *Forum Bovarium and the *Emporium area with Ostia. Ancient sources confirm how busy this street was in the mid-to late-Republican period (Patterson; Plaut., Capt. 90). Lanciani's map (FUR pls. 36, 40, 44) traces the street fairly securely with the help of sporadic excavations in the 19th c. or earlier.

**Via Praenestina**

The road to Praeneste led E from *Spes Vetus and the Aurelian porta Praenestina (Porta Maggiore) at a fork with the *Via Labicana, which branched off to the S. In common with the Via Labicana, this road also led into the city to the *Porta Esquilina along the

**Via Recta. s.v. Via Tecta (I)**

**Via Sacra. s.v. Sacra Via**

**Via Salaria**

Major road connecting Rome with Fidenae and other towns to the NE (Patterson); it continued for 149 miles, ending at Castrum Truentinum on the Adriatic (Quilici). The Via Salaria began outside the *Porta Collina, where it intersected the *Via Nomentana (Lanciani, FUR pl. 3, 10). Remains of pavers from the road indicate that when the Salaria left the city, its course was straight and nearly due N (CAR II, C; III,
members of the *gens Sulpicia*).

The Vicus Sulpicius has been plausibly located along the Via Appia in the area of the Baths of Caracalla, based on epigraphic and literary sources. The Capitoline Base lists a bipartite *vicus* of this name in *Regio I* (*VICVS SVLPICI VLTHERIORIS* and *VICVS SVLPICI CITERIORIS*; CIL VI 975, A.D. 136) and the Baths of Caracalla are situated in *vico Sulpicio* (SHA, Heliogab. 17.8), yet the late-antique Regionary Catalogues list them in *Regio XII* (Richardson; Gesemann 400; Lega 193-94). Keeping in mind, however, the continued uncertainty of the regional borders (*Regiones Quattuordecim* need not be incompatible and certainly permit, possible conclusions, see Lega 193-94), the two testimonies need not be incompatible and certainly permit, we think, locating the *vicus* half-way along the Via Appia's first mile, where the "Via Latina branches off the Via Appia (cf. *Arcus Drusi*). As a pre-Augustan extra-urban settlement, the Vicus Sulpicius makes tangible and further illuminates Rome's incipient suburban build-up in the "Via Appia Valley (cf. *Vicus Honoris et Virtutis*)."

D.B., K.T., L.H.

C. Lega, s.v. "Vicus Sulpicius," LTUR V, 192-94.

D. Palombi, s.v. "Regiones Quattuordecim (topografia)," LTUR IV, 199-204, with map on 518-19.


Richardson 428.


**Vicus Tuscus**

The 'Tuscan Row' was an old, history-laden street and its eponymous, adjacent quarter (with an early residential function attested: e.g., Varro, *Ling.* 5.46; Prop. 4.2.49-50; Livy 2.14.9; *Domus: Vicus Tuscus*); the street ran through the *Forum Valley at the E foot of the Palatine and formed the main connection between the *Forum Romanum, the lower *Forum Boarium* (Livy 27.37.15), and the *Circus Maximus* (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 5.36.4). Called, by Cicero, the "street from the statue of Vertumnus to the Circus Maximus" (*Verr.* 2.1.154; Aronen), it was reputed for pageantry and processions (Cic., *loc. cit.: viam tansrum atque pompae*; Coarelli 365-67, for the suggested triumphal route). It was also known by the end of the Republic as a notoriously expensive shopping street (Hor., *Sat.* 2.3.228: *Tuscus turba impia vici*; cf. Mart. 11.27.11).

There is no doubt that the street left the Forum Romanum through the alleyway between the Temple of Castor and the *Basilica Iulia* (e.g., Richardson; Papi 197; cf. Poulsec and Gronne; Aronen), and the remains of a street pavement found *S* of this passage along the *Horrea Agrippiana attest to the presence of the road in the *Velabrum* (Hurst); however, its course beyond this point has not been precisely determined. Coarelli (367 fig. 82), Richardson, and Papi (197) advocate a route through the site of the Severan Arch of the Argentarii (passing over the *Cloaca Maxima*), contrary to the earlier suggestions of Palmer (145 fig. 1) and Scagnetti, who position the course further *N*, close to the foot of the Palatine. Our map leaves this open.

Palmer has argued strongly for an extension of the Vicus Tuscus toward the *Pons Aemilius* (followed by Coarelli, 25, 50, 104-5 fig. 20, 151, cf. 241 fig. 50), which he identifies with the *vici Luccii* mentioned by Cicero (*Att.* 7.3.6). This has found only limited acceptance as the approximate region where these *vici* once stood (Geesemann 393; Lega 176). More importantly, the street issuing from the Pons Aemilius, while carried on a viaduct across the low strip of land behind the Tiber embankment (s.v. *Tiberis: Grand Embankment; *Fortunus, Aedes*), may not have continued as a distinct street-line crossing the Forum Boarium; thus, Palmer's connection is not represented on our map.

D.B., L.H.


Richardson 429.


**Villa Farnesina**

A fairly large and prosperous villa on the W bank of the *Tiber, excavated in the gardens of Villa Farnesina during the construction of the Tiber embankments in 1879* (Fiorelli; cf. Lugli 5-6; Beyen n.2 for bibliography). Remains of a vast complex of wine-cells, the *cellae Vinariae Nova et Arruntiana* (of uncertain date but most probably post-Augustan) lay immediately to its SE.

The monumental villa was symmetrically planned with a hemispherical extension and a set of terraces and gardens cascading toward the Tiber. The villa is often associated with contemporary Augustan monuments to its SE along the river: the *Sepulcrum: Vicus Luccei*.
Sulpicius Platorinus (18 B.C.) and the *Pons Agrippae (19 B.C.) (Taylor 85).

The building complex is dated on stylistic grounds by its well-preserved late Second-Style wall-decorations which the most recent art-historical scholarship assigns to the early part of the Augustan period, c. 20 B.C. (Ling). However, the Farnesina wall-paintings are also referred to as transitional or early Third Style, in which case their date ranges from 20 to 10 B.C. (for a review of the debate, Clarke). Bragantini and de Vos suggest a particular Augustan-Agrippan workshop initiated the Egyptianizing Third Style. Based upon its construction techniques, a slightly higher date for the building complex is proposed, of 35-25 B.C. (Beyen 10). Its architectural design is often found as innovative as its paintings (Favro). Due in part to its proximity in date and location to the *Pons Agrippae, the villa may have belonged to Agrippa and Julia, thereby dating its construction to 19 B.C. (Beyen 15-21), but there is no conclusive evidence to prove this hypothesis.

J.R. Clarke, The houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C.-A.D. 250 (Berkeley 1991) 52-56.

**Villa Publica**

One of the oldest and most important Republican buildings in the *Campus Martius, established in 435 B.C. by the censors C. Furius Paculus and M. Geganus Macerinus (Livy 4.22.7: villam Publicam in campo Martio). It was not a functioning villa for farming, but instead a place where Rome's armies were levied and regulated and where the census was administered (Varro, Rust. 3.2.4). The term 'Villa Publica' seems to have been applied not only to the specific structure but also to the surrounding open space, in which most of the business of the Villa Publica took place (Agache).

The structure of the villa itself has not been located, but is known to have stood somewhere near the Republican *Saepta (Varro, Rust. 3.2.1). This also served, from time to time, as the place where embassies from Rome's enemies were housed (Livy 30.21.12, 33.24.5). The building was probably destroyed at some time after 55 B.C., when it was depicted on a denarius by P. Fonteius Capito (RRC 429/2), but before the reign of Tiberius, when Valerius Maximus (9.2.1) refers to the Villa Publica in the past tense (De Caprariis).

There is general agreement that the open area of the Villa Publica originally included the territory immediately S of the *Diribitorium and E of the **Area Sacra of Largo Argentina. By the time of Augustus, however, this zone was entirely built up with the *Porticus Minucia and the *Theatrum: Balbus. A passage of Josephus (Bell! 7.123) may suggest that some part of this open area was still in existence during the Flavian period. It is therefore probable that the original open area of the Villa Publica also stretched further E, into the area SW of the Temple of *Isis Campense (Coarelli). Richardson has argued that this E portion of the Villa Publica was ultimately transformed into the Dicourum under Domitian. What open area of the Villa Publica there was at the time of Augustus would have been bounded on its S side by the residential district of the *Pallacinae.

**Viminalis, Collis**

One of the seven traditional hills of Rome, it extended from the plateau E of the city and was separated by deep valleys from the *Cispiam and *Quirinal (De Caprariis, LITUR). Along the N face of the hill, retaining walls of opus quadratum and opus incertum were needed to support the steep slope (De Caprariis 1987, 115, n.39; id. 1988, 40-44; Lanciani, FUR pl. 16-17). Little development is attested at this small, narrow tongue of land, which seems to have been primarily a residential zone in the Augustan era (Blake 250, 261, 270). Some indications of residences from the Republican period survive (*Domus: Viminal 1-22), but there is no conclusive evidence to prove this hypothesis.

1. 2, 3, 4; De Caprariis 1988, 44 and Pliny notes that one of the finest Republican domus stood on the Viminal, that of C. Aquilius Gallus (NH 17.1.2; Palombi); unfortunately, even an approximate location of this residence remains unknown, and thus it could not be indicated on our map. One neighborhood, the *Vicus Collis Viminalis, lay in the area S of the Stazione Termini; this vicus name is commonly associated with the hill's main throughfare which ran from the *Porta Viminalis down the central ridge of the Viminal, perhaps descending into the *Subura (though the distance between the street and neighborhood...