

**The Roman Middle Republic at Sant'Omobono**

by

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To Mom and Dad.

*O glorioso protettore,  
che con l'ago e col ditale  
Lavorasti da sartore,  
Dacci sempre un buon lavoro  
Ti preghiamo tutti in coro!  
Facci bene guadagnare  
Con il nostro lavorare!  
Di tue grazie facci dono  
santissimo Omobono.*

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the results of an analysis of the middle Republican (ca. 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE) architectural remains of the Roman temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at the Sant’Omobono site in Rome’s Forum Boarium. The analysis relies on a total station survey of nearly the entire site coupled with photogrammetric documentation, hand drawing, and archival research. It fills a gap in archaeological knowledge by describing in detail the structures of an important religious site in the center of ancient Rome. The results of the analysis allow new questions to be posed of the Classical texts that describe the temples and the rites performed therein. As part of the contextual material for the mid-Republican architecture, a new overview of the use of volcanic tuff in Roman construction has been prepared.

The study identifies three principal phases that can be dated with certainty or a high degree of probability to the middle Republic: a pavement in blocks of Anio tuff that occupies the forecourt of the temples, possibly of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE; a rebuilding of the temples represented by a pavement in slabs of Anio tuff along with two altars, between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE; and a massive rebuilding of the entire precinct with Tufo Giallo, Lapis Albanus, and Anio tuff foundations and a pavement in thin slabs of Anio tuff, dated to 212 BCE.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Se teniamo conto... del carattere desultorio e limitatissimo dei saggi realizzati a S. Omobono, della mancanza di una pubblicazione scientifica integrale dei materiali provenienti da questi, è possibile accettare senza alcuna esitazione una cronologia che urta contro dati notevolmente solidi delle fonti letterarie...?<sup>1</sup>

In Rome, late 1936, workers demolishing a medieval neighborhood south of the Capitoline Hill came down upon the remains of a religious site dating to the era of the Roman Republic. And then they kept digging. At the bottom of deep trenches dug in 1937 were found the spectacular and unexpected remains of an Archaic temple of the days of the Roman kings. Despite their much greater depth, these latter remains have overshadowed the former ever since their discovery. The present dissertation is small attempt to redress the balance.

The Republican-era religious precinct discovered in the 1930s lies beneath the 16<sup>th</sup> c. church of Sant’Omobono, which gives the site its common name.<sup>2</sup> It hosts the remains of twin temples, paired on a shared square platform, very quickly identified by their excavator, Antonio Maria Colini, as the temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna known from the ancient accounts of

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<sup>1</sup> Coarelli 1988: 214.

<sup>2</sup> Omobono Tucenghi (†1197), in Latin *Homobonus*, was the son of a tailor of Cremona, followed his father’s trade, and gave both his inheritance and earnings to the poor. Omobono was canonized only two years after his death, one of the first lay saints, as part of the Church’s response to the heresies of the Cathars—themselves sometimes known as *boni homines* (Prandi and Tumminello 1999: 16–17; Vauchez 2001. On the Cathars see Pegg 2001 and Théry 2002). Omobono was an early example of a “santo del lavoro”; from an early protection of tailors and tailoring, he has become the patron of business persons generally (at least in the Western church; in Greek Orthodoxy one of the relevant figures is Αγία Παρασκευή (Saint Friday)—who was, nonetheless, born in Rome). It being the nature of human brains to seek out patterns, one wonders at the coincidence that this Mr. Good Man should have ended up a tenant in this spot near where, we’re told, his onomastic ancestor Evander (the Greek Εὐάνδρος, “good man”) once operated. Neither man was native to the city: Evander came from Pallantion in Greek Arcadia, a king, while Omobono is not known to have arrived in the flesh; only his cult—today little celebrated—reached Rome, sometime before 1566 (along with a fingerbone and a vertebra in the early 17<sup>th</sup> c.: Vauchez 2001: 100). Rome, though, over the millennia, has made a career out of absorbing (more than a few) good men: Terrenato 2011.

Livy, among others.<sup>3</sup> The archaeological site of Sant’Omobono has been the subject of periodic archaeological investigation off and on since its accidental discovery during Mussolini’s modernizing of his capital.

### **Structure of the Dissertation**

After the general orientation provided by the present chapter, Chapter 2 reviews the history of publication at Sant’Omobono, paying specific attention to the middle Republican period. As has frequently been lamented, no comprehensive publication of the archaeological remains at Sant’Omobono has ever been prepared.<sup>4</sup> There have been several brief excavation reports in addition to publications of specific classes of artifactual material, catalogs accompanying museum exhibitions, and studies of individual monuments within the precinct. Only a handful of these take as their focus the mid-Republican levels of the site. Notable among the latter are Mercado’s report of her 1960–61 excavations between the two altars and the short parade of contributions spurred by her discovery of inscribed monument bases.<sup>5</sup> Otherwise, details of the remains of the middle Republic must frequently be ferreted out of the introductory paragraphs of articles on their way down to the Archaic deposits. The chapter proceeds chronologically, from Colini’s first brief reports in the late 1930s and early 1940s, to the postwar resumption of work in the late 1950s with Gjerstad’s careful excavation and controversial chronology, the concerted campaigns of the site’s heyday in the 1960s and 1970s, the crystallization of competing interpretations by the end of the latter decade, and finally the initial reports of the Sant’Omobono Project in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

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<sup>3</sup> Colini 1940a.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., M. E. Blake 1947: 128–29; Poucet 1980: 293; Coarelli 1988: 205.

<sup>5</sup> Mercado 1963; Ioppolo 1963; Degrassi 1963; Sommella 1968; Torelli 1968.

Chapter 3 delves into a different sort of background necessary for understanding the middle Republican architecture, namely, its building materials. Chief among these are the tuffs (Italian *tuffi*), the products of various ancient eruptions of the volcanoes north and south of Rome. Available overviews of Roman use of tuff still ultimately rely on a paradigm described by Tenney Frank in the late 1910s; although a major advance in its day, it must be updated to account for a century's worth of archaeological investigation, as well as more nuanced historiographical interpretations and, perhaps even more importantly, the results of new methods of identifying such stones. Over the past decade, geochemical identification of Roman tuffs using ratios of immobile elements has shown that both macroscopic and microscopic examination are insufficient to discriminate among various varieties of similar-looking tuffs. This means that identification of tuff in publications of the past 100 years or so cannot be relied on. Although a comprehensive new study is warranted, the chapter marks only a first step in this direction. The critical variables—location, physical properties, use in other dated Roman monuments—of each variety of tuff found at Sant'Omobono—Tufo del Palatino, Lapis Albanus, Lapis Gabinus, Tufo Lionato (Anio and Monteverde facies), Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina, Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere—are listed in order to contextualize the construction presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4 is the heart of the dissertation. It describes in detail the architectural remains that can be ascribed to the middle Republic at Sant'Omobono. It necessarily begins with an overview of the Late Archaic period (historically speaking, the early Republic), when the large square podium was first constructed, which shaped the sanctuary for at least the following five centuries. Among the innovations of this chapter, I distinguish between two pavements in Tufo Lionato—the Anio block pavement and the Anio slab porch pavement—which have not been

previously distinguished. While some limited evidence suggests that the slab porch pavement dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, the block pavement is stratigraphically prior, but cannot currently be independently dated. There follows a description of monuments set into the block pavement (two altars, a circular monument, inscribed statue bases). I devote a special section to the temple structures in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, whose stratigraphic position is vexingly ambiguous. Finally, I describe a series of heavy foundations along with a thin slab Anio pavement that can be identified with the reconstruction of the temples following a fire in 213 BCE. Chapter 4 contains reconstructed phase plans as well as some details of state plans; cross-sections of the site are to be found among the plates at the end of the dissertation. The results of Chapter 4 are intended to provide platforms—literally and figuratively—for the following two chapters, which aim in part to repopulate the sanctuary of Mater Matuta and Fortuna during the middle Republic.

In Chapter 5, I approach Roman and Greek ethnohistorical accounts—the ancient sources—that can be brought to bear on the archaeological remains of the temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna in the Forum Boarium and on the religious rites of the cults housed therein. The goals of the chapter are, then, twofold. The first is to aid in the interpretation of the archaeology of the site by offering dates of reconstructions and descriptions of monuments, surviving or not, that once occupied part of the precinct. The second goal is a reading of the evidence for the performance of rites within the sanctuary, particularly those of the Matralia festival, within the archaeological and architectural context. Because individual passages often include evidence useful toward both of these ends, I have not maintained a strict division between the two.

Chapter 6 picks up on the second goal of Chapter 5 by populating the precinct with monumental dedications and small finds that may have been individual offerings. In the first half

of the chapter, I present the evidence for stone monuments from Sant'Omobono, which, in so far as can be determined, are all dedications by victorious Roman generals. The second half of the chapter treats nonmonumental dedications and small finds that can possibly be recognized as the results of mid-Republican religious practice. The treatment of this material is qualitative rather than quantitative, due to the irregular nature of investigation of mid-Republican deposits, and is meant to signal the presence of certain classes of artifacts at the site, pose questions regarding the religious behavior of individuals visiting the precinct, and offer desiderata for future investigation at Sant'Omobono.

In the concluding Chapter 7, I assess the results of the architectural study of the structures dating to the Roman middle Republic at Sant'Omobono, discuss several ramifications of these results, and offer suggestions for future research. Among the ramifications are further reasons to reject Coarelli's hypothesis that the Porta Triumphalis stood at the center of the precinct.

### **Some Notes**

#### *On the architectural terracottas*

I had originally intended to include in this study an account of the moldmade architectural terracottas of mid-Republican date, in the hope of correlating the dates of at least some of these with reconstructions of the twin temples. So far, however, only the terracottas stored in the on-site *magazzino* have been available to me for study. Unfortunately, the *membra* of this *corpus* are rather *disiecta*, and their inclusion in this dissertation would add significantly to its length without adding significantly to its conclusions. These will be presented in a separate contribution.

### *On the plans*

The plans are based in large part on the results of seven campaigns of total station survey undertaken by the author between 2011 and 2017. Over 90 percent of currently visible blocks (not counting individual basalt flagstones) have been surveyed. Where possible, formerly visible blocks that have since been removed or covered have been incorporated from two earlier plans, aligning these with regard to surveyed blocks. An archival plan in pencil, probably dating to 1937, preserves some details of structures removed for the construction of the Uffici Tecnici of the V<sup>o</sup> Ripartizione.<sup>6</sup> A plan prepared by Pisani Sartorio in 1970 is more reliable in its dimensions than the 1937 plan, but does not record all of the structures visible on the earlier plan.

The podium of the twin temples at Sant’Omobono is oriented slightly east of true north—just over 5° E of N.<sup>7</sup> The current (2017) magnetic declination at Rome is 2° 58’ E, but, as is true of every location on Earth, this has varied quite considerably over time.<sup>8</sup> Since 1510 CE, the date of the first magnetic declination measured at Rome—which was also the first recorded terrestrial declination measurement in the world—when it stood around 6° east, it has reached maxima of 11° 36’ east (around 1570) and 17° 06’ west (around 1810).<sup>9</sup> The site’s absolute position and orientation are represented in Figure 1, using the Monte Mario projected coordinate system generally used at Rome. Because the deviation is slight, the architecture strongly rectilinear, and true north meaningless in an ancient context, the remainder of the plans are aligned to “Site North,” which takes its orientation from the Republican podium.

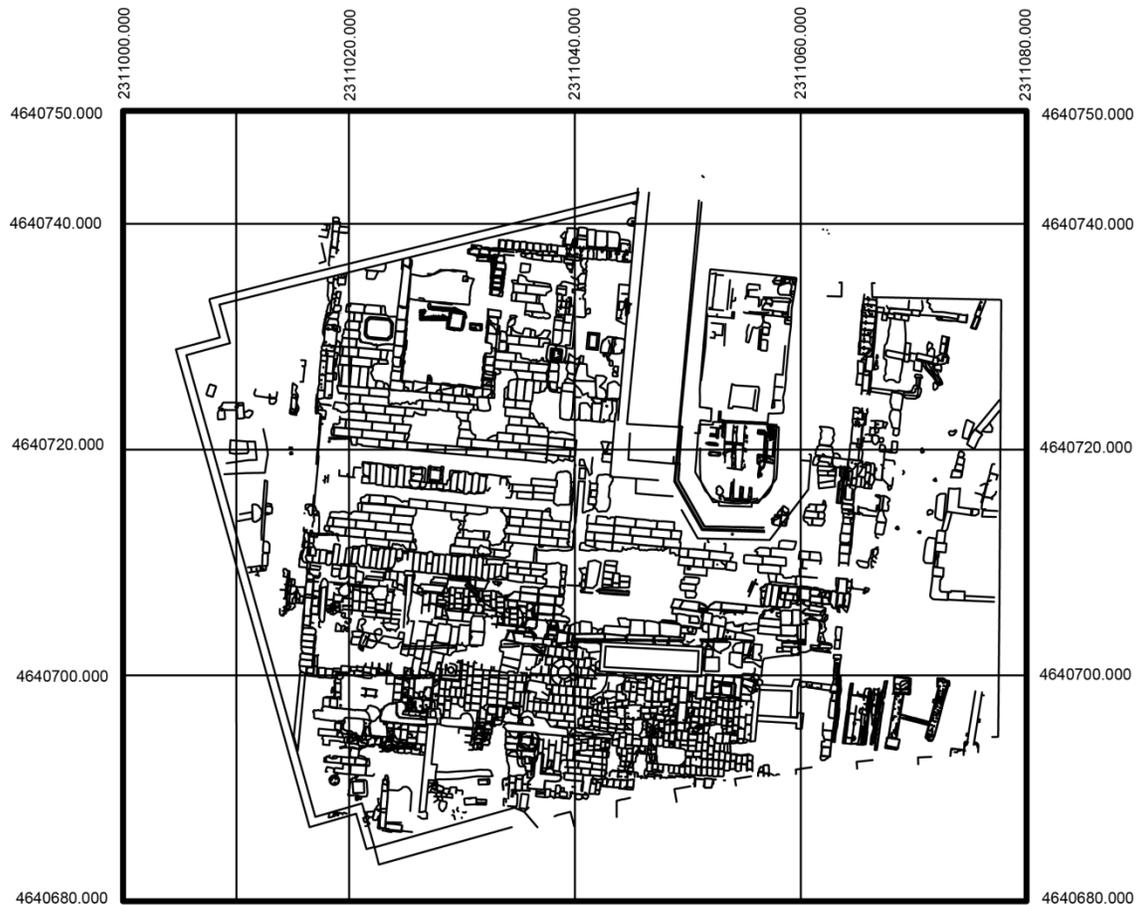
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<sup>6</sup> ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 33, 4041.

<sup>7</sup> The average of orientations measured in AutoCAD based on the results of total station survey is 5.086° E of N.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.magnetic-declination.com/Italy/Rome/1322184.html> (accessed April 20, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Bauer 1903: 41; Dixon 1908.



**Figure 1:** Plan of the Sant'Omobono site, Monte Mario projected coordinate system (author).

### *On elevations*

Over the years, absolute elevations at Sant'Omobono have been given with varying values. There is one primary fixed point on the site, a steel benchmark set into the catwalk along the exterior of the southern wall of the apse of the church. This is *caposaldo* 240 of the Forma Urbis Romae, whose value is recorded as 14.5212 meters above sea level (hereafter “m asl”).<sup>10</sup> This value is known to have been used for at least some of the historical excavations at the site. The architect Giovanni Ioppolo used this value for a composite section drawing of the eastern part of the site. In the printed version of the section, however, used in the exhibit *Il viver quotidiano in Roma arcaica*, the value is given in one place as 14.521 m asl, in another as 14.251

<sup>10</sup> ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 31, 1, 4051.263–264.

m asl.<sup>11</sup> As a result of this uncertainty, Albert Ammerman carried out a new survey in 1999, taking as reference Boni's value of 22.80 m asl for the stylobate of the Temple of Vespasian, resulting in a value of 14.562 m asl for the Sant'Omobono *caposaldo*.<sup>12</sup> Ioppolo's inverted value of 14.251 was used by Stefania Picciola when she created a local system of fixed points at Sant'Omobono in 2009. In 2017, measurement of this system's fixed points by Alessandro Pintucci with a professional-grade GPS (measured twice over two weeks) returned elevations 0.182 m lower than those used by Picciola, indicating a value of 14.069 m asl for the *caposaldo*. My total station survey has been based on the 14.251 m system; all of the elevations in this dissertation have been lowered by 0.182 to reflect the true 14.069 m asl value of the *caposaldo*.

#### *A chronological principle*

Evidently because the site is largely founded on river clay deposits rather than bedrock, apart from its northern extent, there has been a slow sinking of everything southward. This is evident in the remains of the Archaic podium, in the exterior foundations of the early Republican podium, in the Anio block pavement and the Anio slab pavement. This process has been ongoing since antiquity. Other things being equal, the older the structure, the greater the slope. It is visible to the naked eye in the remains of the Archaic podium—or would be, were they exposed to sight. The early Republican foundations along the eastern edge of the Republican podium show a slightly lesser slope, though still evident, especially over longer distances. The late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE foundations on the same line have a very gentle downward slope, barely visually perceptible, but clearly measurable with a total station. It seems to be the case that successive generations of

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<sup>11</sup> The two elevations are present, if barely visible, in Pl. II of Pisani Sartorio, Virgili, and Ioppolo 1989.

<sup>12</sup> Ammerman and Filippi 2004: 16, n. 33.

Roman builders encountered the sloping structures and adapted their new structures to sit level above them.

Given the working principle that the older the structure the greater the slope, a corollary is that structures adapted to different slopes are not contemporary. For instance, the Anio block pavement slopes gently down from north to south. The circular monument is laid onto a surface cut shallowly into this pavement and *dressed level*—that is, not sharing the downward slope of the pavement on which it is founded. The hypothesis, then, is that the pavement as originally built laid level but gradually slumped toward the south; after this slumping had occurred, the plane of repose of the circular monument was dressed level into the pavement.

The principle is also illustrated by the western altar.<sup>13</sup> The remaining blocks of the altar and its plinth repose at various angles: there is a buckled effect. When the upper half of the altar was trimmed to accommodate the new pavement in thin slabs of Anio tuff, the new top surface of the cushion blocks, though roughly dressed, was leveled to a horizontal plane, which it still preserves today. The latter fact suggests that the last localized slumping in the area of the altar occurred in or before 212 BCE, the date of the thin slab Anio pavement.

Care must be taken in distinguishing ancient from modern slumping. For instance, the blocks of the Anio slab pavement immediately south of the western cella today have variable angles of repose. In photos of the site during the excavations of the 1930s, however, the pavement appears much more regular. The archaeological excavation of large post-antique pits within the area of the pavement has evidently contributed to a slumping of the surrounding sediment that underlies the pavement. Despite this localized variability, however, a general downward slope from north to south can be measured in the Anio slab pavement between the

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<sup>13</sup> Described in more detail in Chapter 4.

northern edge of the podium and the northern of the two stylobates, and this latter slope can safely be attributed to sitewide slumping processes rather than archaeological intervention.

## CHAPTER 2: PREVIOUS WORK ON THE REPUBLICAN PHASES AT SANT'OMOBONO

One awaits with eagerness the detailed official publication.<sup>1</sup>

Cette rapidité... n'est pas courante lorsqu'il s'agit de S. Omobono. Non seulement toute publication d'ensemble fait défaut jusqu'ici, mais beaucoup de résultats de campagnes déjà anciennes sont encore fort mal connus, quand ils ne sont pas totalement inédits.<sup>2</sup>

Although no comprehensive account has been published, numerous contributions concerning the excavations at Sant'Omobono have appeared over the past eighty years. Rarely, however, have these focused on the remains of the Republican period, information on which is largely scattered in publications more concerned with the Archaic phases of the site. This chapter will provide a synoptic account of previous treatments of the Republican material from Sant'Omobono, beginning with Colini's early interpretations in the 1930s, through the postwar work of Colini and Gjerstad, the heyday of research in the 1960s and 70s, the more episodic work of the 1980s and 90s, and, finally, the sustained campaigns of the Sant'Omobono Project.

In outlining phases, these articles and chapters take their lead, usually implicitly, from the earliest work by Colini in the 1930s. The 1960s were a watershed in the study of the Republican phases, thanks to Mercado's excavation between the two superposed Tufo Lionato pavements of the temples' forecourt and her discovery therein of inscribed statue bases, which could be tied to historical events. By the end of the decade, the basic sequence of Republican levels was

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<sup>1</sup> M. E. Blake 1947: 128–29.

<sup>2</sup> Poucet 1980: 293.

established, with various parties differing on the dating of the earlier phases of these. In the absence of detailed stratigraphic or material accounts, such differences are made known in sweeping strokes, sometimes based on how much faith the author in question holds in the Roman literary sources.

### Colini's pre-war publications

The first scholarly publication concerning the “area sacra di Sant’Omobono” was that of Colini in 1938, who was also the first to apply that label to the site.<sup>3</sup> Colini briefly mentioned the discovery, between the course of the Via del Mare and Piazza della Consolazione, of “resti del quartiere d’età imperiale in tutti i punti ove si è scavato e, al disotto di questi è stato anche possibile riconoscere tracce della sistemazione più antica”;<sup>4</sup> he recognized the northwest quadrant of this quarter as “un’ area sacra di veneranda antichità.”<sup>5</sup> It is worth quoting his description of the area in full, since it has guided the interpretation of the site ever since, even if some later accounts have neglected its details:

Si tratta di una piattaforma quasi esattamente quadrata ed orientata misurante 47 m. di lato, circondata tutto intorno da sostruzioni di opera quadrata di peperino di breve altezza costituenti una specie di podio a sua volta circondato da strade. Il nucleo della piattaforma è formato in parte di terra di riporto, in parte da una struttura di blocchi di cappellaccio. Lungo il lato settentrionale, che è fiancheggiato dal *Vicus Iugarius* (Via della Consolazione) sono collocate in posizione esattamente simmetrica due celle dietro alle quali, in una zona apparente libera che costituiva la metà meridionale dell’area, sono collocate in posizione ugualmente simmetrica due grandi are di peperino di una forma che ricorda strettamente il basamento del *Lapis niger* e con pozzi sacri accanto. Tra le celle e le are corrono parallele all’asse est-ovest due poderose fondazioni di blocchi di tufo di Grotta Oscura.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Colini 1938. The term is modeled, somewhat inappropriately, as Colini later admitted, on the “Area Sacra di Largo Argentina,” also discovered during the *sventramenti* of the Fascist era (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 29, 8, 3558.1 (1963): “Il suo nome, che difficilmente si potrà cambiare perché è ormai entrato nell’uso corrente, è stato coniato sotto l’influenza di quello dell’Area Sacra della Zona Argentina... Ma ormai da tempo sappiamo che si tratta non di un’area ma di un grande podio quadrato...”). While the Largo Argentina temples are independent, if adjacent, the Sant’Omobono temples are twinned and form part of a single precinct or *templum*; hence, they are not really a sacred “area” *per se*.

<sup>4</sup> Colini 1938: 279.

<sup>5</sup> Colini 1938: 280.

<sup>6</sup> Colini 1938: 280. Colini’s description of “due celle *dietro alle quali*... sono collocate due grandi are” (emphasis added) indicates that he initially interpreted the temples as sharing the orientation of the church, namely, north. This is supported by the evidence of his contemporary notebooks (Colini 2000).

Colini saw in the podium's form, orientation, and contents the makings of an inaugurated *templum*, whose purpose remained unchanged until the end of Antiquity, and, indeed, *mutatis mutandis*, until the present day.<sup>7</sup> He mentioned the deep soundings made in 1936 to reinforce the foundations of the church's apse, investigations which turned up numerous fragments of Archaic pottery and architectural terracottas, as well as a 2 m high segment of a podium with Archaic moldings, built over by a 4 m high structure in cappellaccio blocks.<sup>8</sup> Colini dated this early temple to not later than the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Finally, Colini mentioned the discovery of a series of inscriptions of Asian monarchs, fragments which he considered to have fallen from the Capitoline Hill. Along with these were found a series of sculpted arms-friezes (the so-called "Bocchus" or "Sant'Omobono Reliefs," for which see Chapter 4 below) and a marble Aristogeiton, which Colini recognized as gifts of Hellenistic polities to the Roman people.<sup>9</sup> No site plan was published in this article, though it does include a photographic overview of the site from the already-completed Anagrafe building across the Via del Mare.

In late April of 1938, Colini presented a variety of observations on the archaeology of early Rome, including his recent discoveries at Sant'Omobono, to the V<sup>o</sup> Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani.<sup>10</sup> In this venue he focused on the evidence of the Archaic temple found beneath the apse of the church, explicitly excluding the surface remains as well as "frammenti di *antepagmenta* della fase arcaica rinvenuti presso l'angolo ovest [*sc. dell'area sacra*];"<sup>11</sup> these latter fragments could belong to the first-phase decoration of Temple A. Colini also drew

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<sup>7</sup> Colini 1938: 280–81. "...ed ancor oggi una chiesa—circostanza forse non fortuita—sorge sopra una delle celle..."

<sup>8</sup> Colini 1938: 281.

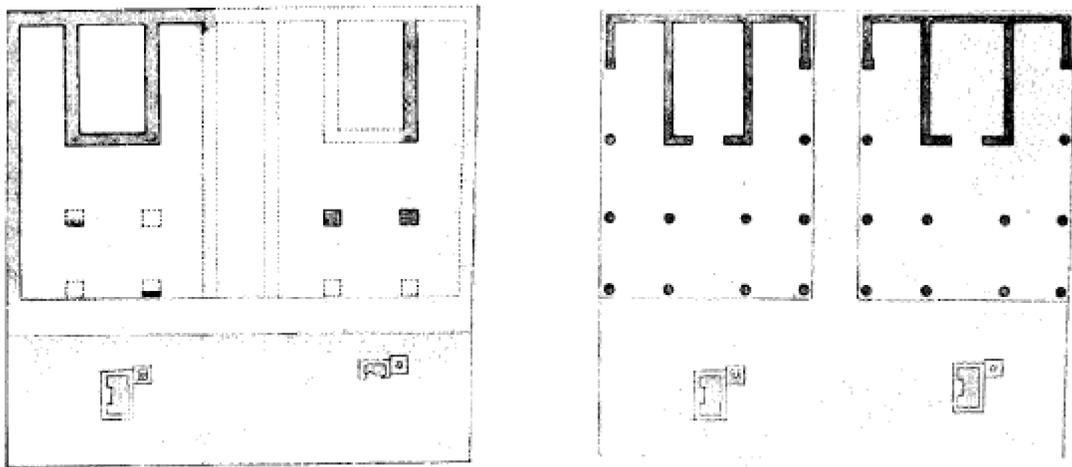
<sup>9</sup> Colini 1938: 281–82.

<sup>10</sup> Colini 1940a.

<sup>11</sup> Colini 1940a: 210.

attention to the design of the large square podium, “costiuita in gran parte da una struttura di blocchi di « cappellaccio » analoga a quella che forma il podio del Tempio Capitolino.”<sup>12</sup>

Colini published a schematic state plan and reconstruction in 1940 (Figure 2), giving the outlines of twin *cellae* with deep tetrastyle porches *a pianta italica*, fronted by altars with adjoining votive pits, all this resting on a podium (or *platea*, in Colini’s terms) measuring 47.50 x 48 m.<sup>13</sup> The reconstruction plan shows the rear wall of each *cella* extending laterally over one intercolumniation and then making a 90 degree turn to the south, extending one further intercolumniation in this direction before terminating in a square pilaster. In these plans, the altars are on axis with their respective *cellae*, but do not share an axis themselves, in keeping with their actual positions.



**Figure 2:** Remains of the first phase Republican podium and its probable reconstruction (Colini 1940b: Fig. 1).

In this publication, a summary of his presentation to the Museo dell’Impero Romano on December 15, 1939, Colini first proposed the identification of the twin temples with those of the goddesses Fortuna and Mater Matuta attested by Livy, and moreover connected the evidence of the Archaic temple with the temple of Fortuna attributed to Servius Tullius by other ancient

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<sup>12</sup> Colini 1940a: 210.

<sup>13</sup> Colini 1940b: 75.

sources. He believed that the discovery at the site of an Imperial-period altar dedicated to Fortuna further supported his proposal, although the additional presence of numerous *diseicta membra*, including Roman tombstones of imperial date—which must have been brought in from elsewhere—means that the altar is not the lock that one might like.<sup>14</sup> Colini hypothesized that the construction of the large square podium might have followed the Gallic destruction in 390 BCE; he further noted a passage of Livy describing the arches of Stertinius erected in 196 BCE in front of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, of which arches “sembrano esisterne le tracce,” though it is not clear from the published summary to which remains he refers.<sup>15</sup> The posthumous publication of his notebooks from the period indicate the lines of his thinking, however, and in an article some 38 years later Colini specifically identified the foundation in Tufo Giallo and Tufo Lionato in the center of the south side of the Republican podium with Stertinius’ double-arch.<sup>16</sup> The publication of research at Sant’Omobono was interrupted by the later stages of the Second World War and its aftermath in Italy. The first postwar publications to deal with the site were based on the prewar excavations rather than any new work.<sup>17</sup>

### *Early postwar publications*

Although Colini’s 1960 guide to the church of Sant’Omobono is not primarily concerned with the ancient remains, its introduction contains a statement of his early ideas about the layout of the Republican sanctuary. In this publication, Colini assigned the construction of the Republican podium to a post-fire period, following either the Gallic sack of ca. 390 BCE or the

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<sup>14</sup> Colini 1940b: 75–76. For the altar, see Chapter 6.

<sup>15</sup> Colini 1940b: 76.

<sup>16</sup> Colini 2000: 112–13, pl. VII, 3; Colini et al. 1978: 421.

<sup>17</sup> As for example, in M. E. Blake 1947. I do not know how much of Blake’s treatment of Sant’Omobono is owed to the notes of Van Deman, who died in May 1937.

Forum Boarium fire of 213 BCE, both events narrated by ancient texts.<sup>18</sup> In contrast with the “piattaforma quasi esattamente quadrata ed orientata misurante 47 m. di lato” of 1938 and the 47.50 x 48.00 m measurement given in 1940, by 1960 the podium had become a square 47.36 m per side, perfectly equaling 160 Roman feet on a 0.296 m standard; such precision makes one suspect that the actual has been adjusted to conform to the ideal. Colini records the initial height of the podium as 1.77 m (6 RF) above the level of the surrounding streets.

According to Colini, both of the *cellae* have a deep pronaos with four columns in front and others along the sides, “tutte piuttosto distanziate.”<sup>19</sup> The accompanying plan (Figure 3) shows four columns along each side, as well as a pair of apparently engaged columns immediately fronting each cella. Colini considered these original, widely spaced columns to have been of tuff, which were later replaced by more closely spaced travertine columns.<sup>20</sup> Colini described the rear wall of each cella extending laterally along the north edge of the podium (the re-entrant walls from the 1940 plan have vanished), with an entrance from the Vicus Iugarius at the midpoint. In the plan, a short staircase communicates between the pronaos of the temples and the platform in front, on which are two east-facing U-shaped altars, each on axis with its respective cella.<sup>21</sup> Contrary to the 1940 plan, the altars are here represented as symmetrically-located on the podium.

At some point prior to the replacement of the tuff columns with travertine, Colini describes the “first” podium as having been covered by the surrounding street level, followed by “il suo rifacimento ad una quota superiore che rappresentò l’aspetto definitivo dell’area.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 10.

<sup>19</sup> Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 10.

<sup>20</sup> Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 11.

<sup>21</sup> “Avanti ai templi si estendeva, scoperta, la metà anteriore del podio, sulla quale sorgevano isolate, orientate da ovest ad est e in asse con le celle, grandi are di forma rettangolare con una rientranza nel mezzo”: Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 10.

<sup>22</sup> Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 11.

Colini does not make clear to which materials he refers, although the travertine pavement is the likeliest candidate. It is at this point in his text, however, that he inserts a note describing the *fornices Stertini* which “avrebbero costituito una specie di ingresso monumentale della platea”<sup>23</sup>

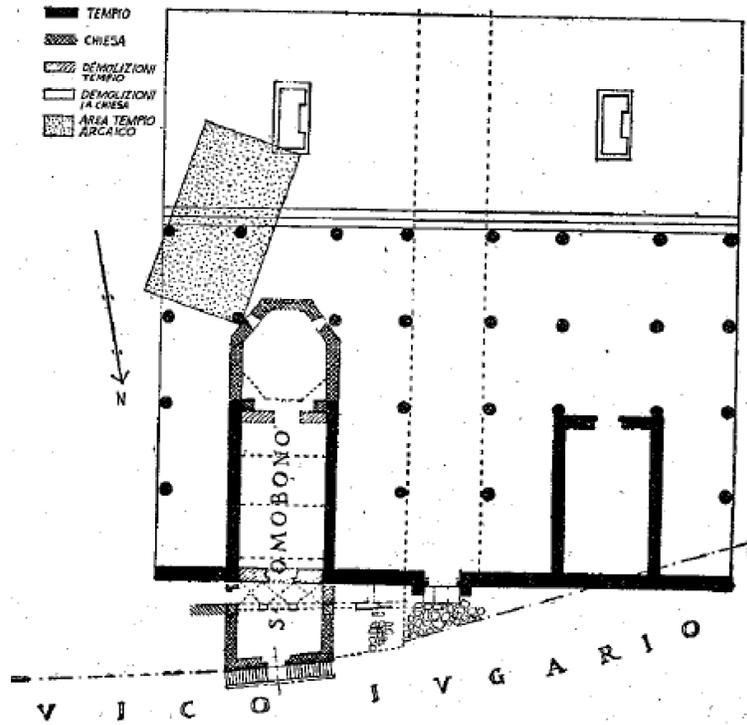


Figure 3: “Rapporto tra la chiesa e i templi (Fortuna e Mater Matuta?)” (Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: Figure 2).

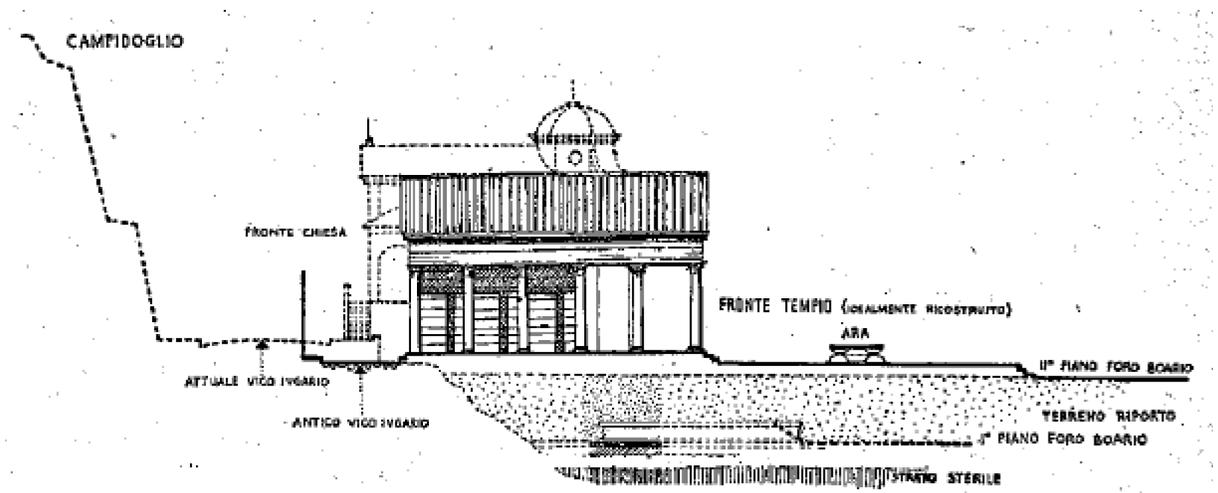


Figure 4: Schematic N-S section of Sant’Omobono and slope of Capitoline (Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: fig. 3).

<sup>23</sup> Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 11; 66, n. 9.

The 1960 book also contains the first section drawing of the site to be published, the initial version of an image that would have a long life in later publications (Figure 4).<sup>24</sup> The section, by Ioppolo, represents a *strato sterile* at the base, on which the first surface of the Forum Boarium and the Archaic temple podium rest, these overlain by *terreno riporto* raising the level to a second surface of the Forum Boarium. A small staircase leads up from the Forum Boarium to the platform on which the altars rest, with a further small staircase leading up to the pronaos of one of the temples, “idealmente ricostruito” in the drawing.

Colini’s introduction to the series of articles on Sant’Omobono in the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1959-60 (not actually written or published until late 1962),<sup>25</sup> describes the podium of the twin temples as of mid-Republican date, and alludes to the circular monument discovered by Mercado’s excavations.<sup>26</sup> No plans accompany this text. Here the square platform measures ca. 47.50 m per side (versus the 47 m square of 1938, 47.50 x 48.00 m of 1940, and 47.36 m square of 1960), with an internal structure in cappellaccio blocks and a peperino revetment.<sup>27</sup> Colini also describes a vaulted chamber on the N-S axis between the two temples, which he considered a *favissa*.<sup>28</sup> The podium’s back rests against the *Vicus Iugarius*, while the eastern edge is flanked by a spur of the latter, containing a sewer. This spur meets the *Vicus Iugarius* in a *largo*, overseen by a compital shrine and *piccoli recinti*. The west side is flanked by a further road, connecting the Forum Boarium to the Forum Holitorium, also containing water channels. According to Colini, “Nelle immediate vicinanze doveva trovarsi la Porta Carmentale; ma su di

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<sup>24</sup> Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 13, fig. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Colini 1962: 4: “...mentre scrivo (autunno 1962)...”

<sup>26</sup> Colini 1962: 3.

<sup>27</sup> Colini 1962: 4.

<sup>28</sup> This would later be excavated and shown to be a cistern (Virgili 1988).

essa e sui problemi ad essa connessi rinvio ogni accenno a quando potrò pubblicare i risultati delle esplorazioni del *Vicus Jugarius* iniziate nel 1938.”<sup>29</sup>

Although he abstains from going into detail, given the ongoing state of the investigation of the site, Colini briefly delineated the podium and its features. The temples were separated by a three-step staircase from the platform with altars that Colini terms “la zona operativa del culto.” Given the total lack of evidence for the temple structures above foundation level, aside from the pavement of the western temple, Colini concluded that they must have been only partially stone-built, and hence their materials were not susceptible to reuse. This initial phase was followed by a general raising of the pavement, now in thin slabs of Monteverde tuff, which required the decapitation of the earlier altars and monuments. Colini did not recognize any trace of the superstructure of the temples of this phase, which nonetheless, in his opinion, “dovevano essere in tufo [sc. lionato] o in peperino.”<sup>30</sup>

Colini identified a third ancient reconstruction, in travertine, reusing the earlier foundations but in part reinforcing them; he interpreted two transverse constructions in blocks of Tufo Giallo as foundations for the columns of the pronaos of this phase.<sup>31</sup> Colini dates this travertine phase to the late Republic or early Empire. It was during this period that the podium became completely engulfed by the surrounding street level, losing whatever topographical prominence it may once have had.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Colini 1962: 5.

<sup>30</sup> Colini 1962: 5.

<sup>31</sup> Such a wide intercolumniation in stone, however, would be highly unlikely or even structurally impossible. It seems clear, rather, that the “stylobates” supported columns that in turn supported a wooden roof.

<sup>32</sup> Colini 1962: 5–6.

## The 1950s and 1960s

### *Einar Gjerstad at Sant'Omobono*

Colini gave the Swedish archaeologist Einar Gjerstad permission to include materials from the 1938 excavations in the latter's massive publication on *Early Rome*. Since stratigraphic information for this material was lacking, Gjerstad undertook a new excavation at Sant'Omobono, under Colini's aegis, between February and May of 1959.<sup>33</sup> Although in other ways quite thorough, Gjerstad's publications do not include any site plan to locate his trench precisely.

Gjerstad identified two phases ("Tempio I" and "Tempio II") of the earliest (Archaic) temple structure on site, an interpretation that has generally been accepted, even if all of his further conclusions have been subject to intense debate.<sup>34</sup> Since Gjerstad dated these to the early 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, respectively, within the period traditionally identified as the Roman republic, his arguments will be reviewed here.

Gjerstad correlated the construction of Tempio I with the third pavement of the Forum Boarium; he dated the temple and pavement to the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE on the basis of ceramics found within them and architectural terracottas, presumably found above them.<sup>35</sup> The majority of the ceramics were of Late Archaic date, but there was also a substantial portion of "subarchaic" bucchero, which Gjerstad dated to the early 5th c. BCE. In his opinion, this date was supported by the associated architectural terracottas. For Tempio II, the evidence was not as good, hence "il materiale archeologico si deve completare con le fonti letterarie."<sup>36</sup> The ceramics, even on Gjerstad's chronology—he thought the dates of Archaic pottery too high—did not date later than

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<sup>33</sup> Gjerstad 1960; Colini 1962: 3; Gjerstad 1962: 33.

<sup>34</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 33.

<sup>35</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 98.

<sup>36</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 99.

the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. He considered Tempio II to have reused most of the architectural terracottas from Tempio I, despite some substitution of revetment plaques. The latter he identified in fragments found during the 1938 excavation, bearing decoration of palmettes, spirals, berries, and lotus flowers, which he compared to types dated by Andrén to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cs. BCE.<sup>37</sup> Having arrived on this basis at a general early 4<sup>th</sup> c. date, Gjerstad turned to Livy for greater precision, finding it in the historian's account of Camillus' vow to rebuild the temple of Mater Matuta upon the successful siege of Veii, hence 395 BCE.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to Templi I and II, Gjerstad also described a "Tempio III," oriented NNE-SSW like the first two, though with a slight deviation:

esiste solo un pilone di blocchi in cappellaccio dentro l'area qui considerata. Questo pilone è fondato sui podii dei templi I e II ma non è tagliato dalle sezioni stratigrafiche, perché la terra intorno al pilone fu già tolta nel 1938. Il peso di questo pilone enorme come si vede nella sezione... ha causato un'inclinazione dei blocchi dei podii dei templi I e II. Altri avanzi del tempio III e dei templi successivi esistono fuori dell'area dello scavo stratigrafico e non hanno con il medesimo connessione alcuna.<sup>39</sup>

Tempio III does not recur by name in Gjerstad's article. Since he dated Tempio I to the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE and Tempio II to Camillus in 395, and given the immediate superposition of Tempio III above the former two, the latter should be Gjerstad's next phase, a reconstruction following the fire of 213 BCE. However, Gjerstad's description of Tempio III does not quite square with that of the reconstruction of 212: "Dopo l'incendio dei templi nel 213 a.Cr. il luogo fu radicalmente riordinato: l'orientamento dei templi secondo i punti cardinali fu abbandonato ed il livello dell'area sacra fu rialzato per mezzo di un riempimento di terra di circa m. 4,40 di altezza."<sup>40</sup>

This prompts the question of which alignment Gjerstad considered to be the cardinal points, since, if anything, the later Republican podium is aligned more closely to north.

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<sup>37</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 99, citing Andrén 1939: 427.

<sup>38</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 100; Livy 5.19.6; 5.23.7.

<sup>39</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 33–34.

<sup>40</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 102.

Gjerstad dated the burning of Tempio II to 213 BCE, the date of a fire mentioned by Livy. In this case, the literary evidence seems to have taken precedence, since Gjerstad mentions it first and in some detail before asserting that “Anche la data dell’incendio è confermata dal materiale archeologico, sebbene i criteri cronologici di questo materiale non sono molti e non molto precisi.”<sup>41</sup> The ceramic evidence consists of three Black Gloss sherds, excavated in strata A11, B9, and B11—the levels containing remains of the burned Tempio II—all of which Gjerstad dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>42</sup> He attempted to bolster this scarce evidence by referring to Colini’s nearby excavation of the so-called *Porta Carmentalis*, which had produced abundant evidence of destruction attributed to the fire of 213. Despite his methodological sophistication, Gjerstad does not seem to have considered the possibility that more than one fire could have affected the sanctuary during its history.<sup>43</sup> It is unclear whether Gjerstad considered the “cappellaccio” podium and the “Monteverde” pavement above it as part of the same construction phase, since he describes his sixth phase as being in “lastre di tufo di Monteverde,”<sup>44</sup> which could refer to several different features on site.

Gjerstad’s chronology in *Early Rome* was strongly criticized soon after its publication, for reasons that do not directly pertain to the mid-Republican period at Sant’Omobono.<sup>45</sup> His

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<sup>41</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 100.

<sup>42</sup> The sherd from A11 is a small rim fragment from a bowl with incurved rim (Gjerstad 1962: 46; 47 fig. 3 Strato 11, 1 = Gjerstad 1960: 392; 394, fig. 249, Stratum 11, 1, where it is dated to “the later 4th and 3rd cent. B.C.”, citing Taylor 1957: 85, A21. Taylor’s chronology of the Cosa Black Gloss material has been re-examined by Scott, but without significantly affecting the date of the bowls with incurved rim: Scott 2008: 46–47; B9, a base and wall(?) fragment from a jug “of red-brown clay covered with slightly lustrous glaze” (Gjerstad 1962: 59; 58 fig. 7 Strato 9, 5; Gjerstad 1960: 402; 403, fig. 253, Stratum 9, 5); the B11 sherd is not illustrated or described, other than as being similar to the sherd in B9 (Gjerstad 1960: 404; Gjerstad 1962: 60). Gjerstad did not publish any ceramic profile drawings.

<sup>43</sup> Recent reconsideration of the “traces of burning” associated with the end of the second Archaic temple identifies this as more likely a mineral deposit than evidence of fire.

<sup>44</sup> Gjerstad 1962: 101.

<sup>45</sup> See, especially, Colonna 1962: 135–40; Peroni 1962: 19–23. Gjerstad’s drastic lowering of the dates of Iron Age and Orientalizing-style pottery rested on his interpretation of burials in the area of the later Forum Romanum.

stratigraphic phasing—which in any case does not much impinge on the middle Republic—is reliable, but the dates he assigns to the phases are not.

*The 1963-64 Bullettino Comunale: Colonna, Colini, Mercado, and Ioppolo*

Giovanni Colonna, in his publication of the later Iron Age impasto from the 1938 excavations for the 1963 *Bullettino Comunale* publication (which did not actually appear until 1966), noted that the comparanda for some of his Gruppo C *ollae* “si mantiene praticamente fino in età ellenistica,” based on stratigraphic excavations at Pyrgi, Veii, and Minturnae, although other factors allowed the Omobono material to be dated to the last three-quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup> Colonna also adduced written evidence for the ritual use of *ollae/aulae* for cooking the innards of sacrificed animals in Republican and later Rome.<sup>47</sup>

Immediately following Colonna’s contribution is Colini’s introduction to Mercado’s excavation report.<sup>48</sup> Here Colini makes explicit the basic, schematic division between the two principal phases at the site, Archaic and Republican, separated by a large earthen fill. Thanks to the resumption of systematic investigation at the site in 1959 and again in 1961, Colini was able to distinguish several subphases within the general Republican phase: a cappellaccio foundation, a pavement in thick slabs of tuff, a thin and very damaged pavement in slabs of Monteverde tuff, and a pavement in thick slabs of travertine associated with a general restoration of the precinct, of uncertain date.<sup>49</sup>

Liliana Mercado’s article describes the excavations she directed during 1961 and 1962.<sup>50</sup> These had the goal of clarifying the chronology of the pavement in thin slabs of Tufo

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<sup>46</sup> Colonna 1963: 20, 32.

<sup>47</sup> Colonna 1963: 32, referring to the *Acta Arvalia*, a *lex sacra* from Lavinium (ILLRP 509), and Varro, *Ling.* 5.98.

<sup>48</sup> Colini 1963.

<sup>49</sup> Colini 1963: 33.

<sup>50</sup> Mercado 1963.

Lionato (there described as Monteverde) intermediate between the travertine pavement and the tuff-block pavement. She describes this latter as having the altars inserted into it.<sup>51</sup> The excavations were divided into three areas or saggi, *a*, *b*, and *c*. The methodology employed in saggi *a* and *b* is described as follows: “Per i saggi *a* e *b* non fu necessario sollevare le lastre di tufo ed il prilievo del terreno tra il pavimento a lastre a quello sottostante a blocchi fu effettuato tagliando da S a N e da E ad O le pareti già libere.” That is, these excavations were made by digging horizontally into the exposed sections. The two *trincee* made in saggio *a* reached widths (sic) of 0.15 m and 0.20 m; the two *trincee* in saggio *b* widths of 0.30 m and 0.50 m.<sup>52</sup>

Mercando distinguished two main strata across the three saggi. The lower was a grey sandy sediment, while the upper was full of chunks of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, along with lesser amounts of Lapis Albanus and Tufo del Palatino. Within these strata were building materials such as tiles and fragments of opus signinum and painted wall-plaster, animal bones and ceramics. Among the latter is a quantity of Black Gloss sherds, which fall mostly within E. A. Stanco’s fourth phase of Piccoli Stampigli production, dated within the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>53</sup> The excavation in saggio *c* also exposed the dismantled remains of a circular monument, the so-called donarium, which was studied in detail by Ioppolo.<sup>54</sup>

#### Studi di Topografia Romana (*Sommella and Torelli*)

The 1968 *Studi di Topografia Romana*, a festschrift for Colini, includes two important contributions to the mid-Republican history of the *aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae*.<sup>55</sup> Paolo Sommella, in his “Contributo per una datazione della platea dei templi gemelli,” provides a

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<sup>51</sup> Mercado 1963: 35.

<sup>52</sup> Mercado 1963: 35 and n. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Stanco 2009: 169–70.

<sup>54</sup> Ioppolo 1963. See Chapters 4 and 6 for the circular monument.

<sup>55</sup> Colini would live a further 31 years.

description of the basic architectural levels of the site (Figure 5) and analyzes the quarry marks found on certain blocks of the Tufo Giallo stylobates.<sup>56</sup> Sommella's article mixes careful attention to detail with overly bold interpretative leaps—even if the latter have turned out to be true on the basis of other evidence.

After Phases I and II, pertaining to the Archaic temple, Phase III sees the construction of the Republican podium, represented by a “sottopavimentazione” in cappellaccio blocks. He suggests that the latter, “non essendo ancora, su basi specifiche di scavo, chiaramente autonomo dal punto di vista strutturale,” might be of a single phase with the immediately overlying course of “tufo di Monteverde,” his phase IV.<sup>57</sup> It is clear that Sommella includes both the forecourt pavement in Lionato blocks and the temple pavement in Lionato slabs within Phase IV. Phase V is the pavement in thin slabs of Tufo Lionato (the thin slab Anio pavement described in Chapter 4), followed by Phase VI, the pavement in travertine.<sup>58</sup> Sommella connects the Phase V pavement with the two large “stylobates” in Tufo Giallo, whose construction required the removal of some of the Phase IV “Monteverde” slabs. The stylobates are composed of three courses of (Tufo Giallo di) “Grotta Oscura.” While the first two courses are of consistent heights, “il filare superiore si presenta, ove conservato, con spessore minore onde permettere il raccordo immediato con la pavimentazione a piccole lastre di Monteverde.”<sup>59</sup>

Sommella's argument here is on uncertain ground; the preserved thin slab pavement is rather thinner than the top course of Tufo Giallo blocks, and they do not rest at equivalent elevations. In both the preceding and following phases, there is evidence of stairs mounting to the pavement of the temples proper, and the same was almost certainly true of the phase

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<sup>56</sup> Sommella 1968.

<sup>57</sup> Sommella 1968: 65. That is, what I refer to as the Anio block pavement.

<sup>58</sup> Sommella signals the unclear relationship between Phases V and VI—a lack of clarity that remains to the present day.

<sup>59</sup> Sommella 1968: 66.

represented by the thin slab pavement. There are other reasons to connect the two structures, however, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Sommella devotes the bulk of his article to the incised marks found on the second course of the Tufo Giallo stylobates; he considers the marks to be without doubt “marchi di controllo apposti ai blocchi in cava.”<sup>60</sup> He recognizes four types of marks, only one of which he describes as a letter, ‘A’ (Figure 6). The incisions are made *a cordone*, that is, with concave section sometimes approaching the triangular. Because of the presence of rustication on the ends of the blocks, Sommella concludes that they were meant to be interred. He then goes on to outline four reasons why the reuse of the blocks from earlier monuments—notably the Servian walls—is unlikely. First, the blocks are homogenous in texture and composition, “segno di una indubbia provenienza da un unico settore della stessa cava.”<sup>61</sup> Second, none of the blocks [*sc.* of the second course], even those without quarry marks, is finished at its header end, and therefore they all belong to the foundations of the same building. Third, given the number of blocks—about a hundred preserved of what Sommella calculates to have been originally over 450—it is difficult to posit a sufficient nearby source at the time of construction of the structures at Sant’Omobono. Finally, Sommella observes that the forms of the signs at Sant’Omobono do not find close parallels in the known signs on the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE “Servian” walls.<sup>62</sup> The open ‘A’ sign, in particular, finds its closest comparanda in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. From this, Sommella concludes that “balza evidente una precisa convergenza per la ricostruzione dei templi seguita ad un anno di distanza dal grande incendio del 213 a.C.”<sup>63</sup> Although the present study supports an attribution of the

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<sup>60</sup> Sommella 1968: 66.

<sup>61</sup> Sommella 1968: 68.

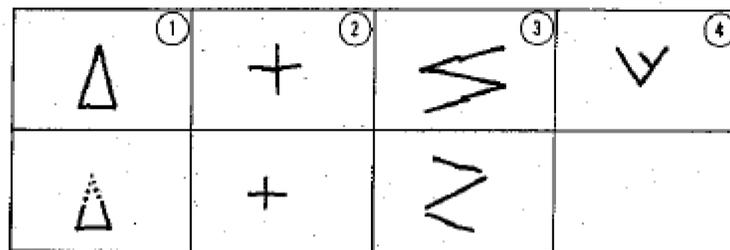
<sup>62</sup> Sommella follows Lugli in assigning a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. date to the Aventine walls, where the Sant’Omobono ‘+’ sign finds its closest parallels.

<sup>63</sup> Sommella 1968: 70, with reference to the Forum Boarium fire and subsequent reconstruction recorded by Livy, on which see Chapter 5 below.

Tufo Giallo structures to the post-213 reconstruction, broadly third-century parallels hardly provide a “precise convergence” with such a date.



**Figure 5:** Schematic section of levels at Sant’Omobono (Ioppolo, published as Sommella 1968: fig. 1).



**Figure 6:** Four types of quarry marks (Sommella 1968: fig. 4).

Immediately following Sommella’s article is Mario Torelli’s “Il donario di M. Fulvio Flacco nell’area di S. Omobono.”<sup>64</sup> Torelli reconsiders the inscribed fragments of Lapis Albanus published by Mercado, Ioppolo, and Degrassi several years prior. He discards Ioppolo’s reconstruction of the inscription as wrapping around the head of the votive pit adjacent to the western altar, finding it highly unlikely. Without this criterion to structure the placement of the fragments, Degrassi’s reading of the inscription also falls apart. Instead, Torelli takes his cue from the fragments of *tabulae triumphales*—also found at Sant’Omobono but understood as having fallen from the Capitoline—which have a more or less fixed formula: praenomen, nomen,

<sup>64</sup> Torelli 1968.

patronymic, magistral or military title, and people or territory conquered.<sup>65</sup> Combining this with detailed attention to the physical properties of the inscribed fragments, which allows him to separate them into two parts and to establish the original length of the blocks, Torelli reconstructs a pair of inscriptions, probably identical, that record M. Fulvius Flaccus' dedication of statues after his capture of Volsinii/Orvieto in 264 BCE: *M. Folv[io Q. f. cos]ol // d(ono) or d(eded) Volsi[nio] cap[to]*.<sup>66</sup>

As Torelli himself rightly states, “Le conseguenze di questa proposta ricostruzione sono palesemente molte e di un certo peso sul piano storico, topografico e archeologico.”<sup>67</sup> The first of these consequences is to validate the *Fasti Triumphales*, which list M. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 264; *MRR* 55) as the conqueror of Volsinii, against the account of Zonaras, who accords Flaccus' consular colleague Ap. Claudius Caudex that honor. This pairs with the account, preserved in Festus, of a painting in the temple of Vertumnus depicting Fulvius Flaccus in triumphal garb. It also offers physical evidence supporting the notice in Pliny, originally from Metrodoros of Skepsis, of the 2000 bronze statues taken from Volsinii during the sack (although only a dozen of these could be accommodated on each of the two inscribed bases).<sup>68</sup> Torelli recognizes in the footprints on the Folvios bases two foot high statues, and on the circular monument—which he also assigns to Fulvius Flaccus without supporting evidence or comment—Plinian *statuae tripedaneae*.<sup>69</sup> As for the composition of the statues, the Folvios bases would support a paratactic composition, the circular monument perhaps a central god with smaller human figures

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<sup>65</sup> Torelli 1968: 71.

<sup>66</sup> Torelli 1968: 72.

<sup>67</sup> Torelli 1968: 73.

<sup>68</sup> It is uncertain whether the plundered statues were dedicated as-is or melted down and recast.

<sup>69</sup> Plin., *HN* 34.11, notes that Roman legates killed on embassies were honored with three-foot high statues in the Forum.

surrounding. Torelli takes the latter from the notice of Sp. Carvilius' (cos. 293) statue of Jupiter, but its recognition in the actual footprints on the monument is difficult.<sup>70</sup>

Torelli considers the ramifications of the new reading for the history of Sant'Omobono. The 264 BCE date provides a *terminus ante quem* (although Torelli does not use the term) for the pavement on which it was deposited; Torelli vaguely suggests that this offers support for a fourth-century date that would accord with the supposed reconstruction of the temple of Mater Matuta by Camillus in the 390s.<sup>71</sup> He identifies this with the initial raising of the Republican podium. Finally, Torelli argues that the Folvios inscriptions were set up at Sant'Omobono because it had important connections with the triumphal procession route, and that Fortuna should be understood as the Roman equivalent of the Etruscan goddess Nortia known at Volsinii/Fanum Voltumnae, hence the temple of Fortuna was a particularly appropriate place for a dedication of spoils from Volsinii.<sup>72</sup>

### **The 1970s, 80s, and 90s**

In his account of Sant'Omobono in the catalog of the exhibit *Roma Medio Repubblicana* of 1973, Torelli summarizes the sequence of phases.<sup>73</sup> He again attributes the first phase of the Republican podium to Camillus in 395 BCE. The second phase, represented by the *platea a blocchi di tufo di Monteverde e di Aniene*, he tentatively attributes to M. Fulvius Flaccus in 264, following Coarelli; the third phase, *platea a lastrine sottili in tufo di Monteverde*, follows the fire of 213. Significant in the fill between the latter two phases are Black Gloss sherds of Lamboglia

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<sup>70</sup> Carvilius: Plin., *HN* 34.43: Fecit et Sp. Carvilius Iovem, qui est in Capitolio, victis Samnitibus sacrata lege pugnantis e pectoralibus eorum ocreisque et galeis. Amplitudo tanta est, ut conspiciatur a Latari Iove. E reliquis limae suam statuam fecit, quae est ante pedes simulacri eius.

<sup>71</sup> Torelli 1968: 74.

<sup>72</sup> Torelli 1968: 74–75.

<sup>73</sup> Torelli 1973.

forms 96 and 27, in addition to some fragments of bowls with overpainted H.<sup>74</sup> In the same catalog, Coarelli rereads a fragmentary *tabula triumphalis* supposed to have been found at Sant’Omobono in 1962.<sup>75</sup> There is, however, no notice of its excavation in published or unpublished accounts.<sup>76</sup> On the basis of letter forms, Coarelli dates it to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>77</sup>

Introducing *Lazio arcaico e il mondo greco* (1977), Colini mentions that Pisani Sartorio had completed a 1:50 scale plan of Sant’Omobono, which “verrà pubblicata quanto prima.”<sup>78</sup> The plan, however, was never published. A summary of the site’s phases in 1978 offers an idea of Colini’s thinking after forty years of involvement with the site.<sup>79</sup> After cogent archaeological arguments for assigning the first phase of the Republican podium to the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, Colini brings in purely literary evidence for a reconstruction by Camillus in 395.<sup>80</sup> This moves him to consider the possible effects of the Gallic sack in 390, but, he concludes, “non sappiamo.” The effect of the subsequent construction of the “Servian” circuit walls, beginning in 378, should also have had ramifications for the sanctuary, but Colini recognizes no traces thereof.

More importantly, for the first time, Colini describes the reconstruction of the twin temples after 213 with regard to materials: he identifies Grotta Oscura (Tufo Giallo), tufo a pomici nere delle cave di Fidene (Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere), and tufo di Monteverde. The last was used in great quantities, perhaps, Colini posits, due to the proximity of the quarries. The geochemical analysis undertaken for the present study, however, attests only the Anio facies of Tufo Lionato, not the Monteverde facies (see the following chapter). Colini also notes that, in

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<sup>74</sup> Torelli 1973: 103.

<sup>75</sup> Coarelli 1973: [---co]soled / [---]s nomen / [---]ctom / [---]d arma. See Chapter 6.

<sup>76</sup> Diffendale 2016.

<sup>77</sup> Coarelli 1973: 105.

<sup>78</sup> Colini 1977: 16.

<sup>79</sup> Colini et al. 1978: 417–22.

<sup>80</sup> Colini et al. 1978: 420.

conjunction with the reconstruction of the temples after 213, the level of the surrounding zone was also raised considerably. He mentions two cisterns, one at the northeast corner of the podium, the other at its southwest, which he calls Late Republican and which he supposes must have been fed by aqueducts.<sup>81</sup> The southwestern cistern must be that which has commonly been referred to as the “*taberna repubblicana*” (see Chapter 4 below).

A 1979 publication by Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio and Paola Virgili provides a brief notice of the 1977–78 excavations in Settore VII-IX, adjacent to the eastern limit of the Republican podium.<sup>82</sup> The first two strata, I and II, are of interest. Strato I was composed of carbonaceous earth and architectural terracottas from the twin temples, debris attributed to the fire of 213; the base of the level was marked by a beaten earth surface connected with the use level of the 4th c. BCE. Strato 2 was composed of organic sediment with charcoal and working chips of tuff, connected with the reconstruction of the temples in the 4th c. BCE.<sup>83</sup> This is the only published reference to archaeological evidence for a fourth-century reconstruction; it consists of but a single sentence, with no indication of the evidence for the date. The two strata appear on a section drawing published with the article (Figure 7). Based on the schematic section, it is possible that the “*terrecotte architetoniche*” found in Strato 1 were simply roof tiles, rather than any moldmade decorations, but as this material cannot now be traced in the on-site magazzino, certainty is currently impossible. The section seems to indicate that Pisani Sartorio and Virgili here identified the fourth-century phase with the three courses of Lapis Albanus that rest on the seven courses of Tufo del Palatino, which would be of early fifth-century date. In their synthesis of phases, Pisani Sartorio and Virgili assign the initial phase of the Republican

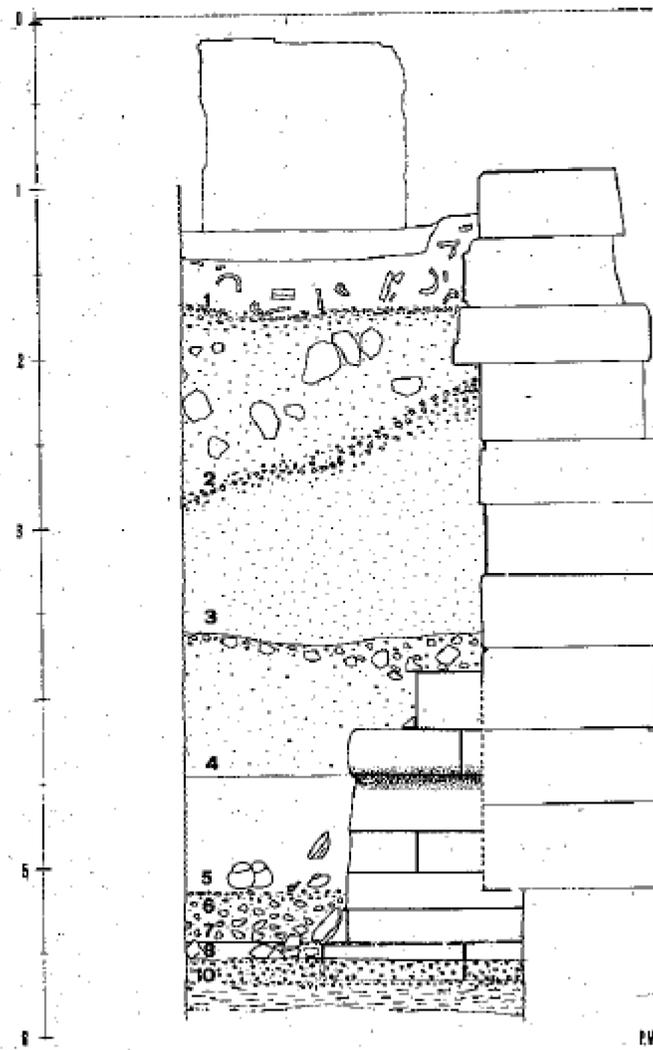
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<sup>81</sup> Colini et al. 1978: 421.

<sup>82</sup> Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979.

<sup>83</sup> Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 41.

podium to the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. and identify this with the cappellaccio pavement.<sup>84</sup> The “pavimentazione a blocchi di tufo di Monteverde e di Aniene” together with the altars are identified with Camillus’ reconstruction. On this pavement were placed the Folvios inscriptions. This was covered in turn by the post-213 reconstruction.



**Figure 7:** Stratigraphic section of Settore VII-IX (Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 42).

Virgili’s 1988 “Una cisterna tra i templi gemelli” does what it says on the tin.<sup>85</sup> In 1980, the central cistern already partially explored by Colini was completely cleared and measured (for details, see Chapter 4). Virgili’s article is well illustrated, with two plans to locate the cistern and

<sup>84</sup> Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 44.

<sup>85</sup> Virgili 1988.

overlying drain, two photographs of its interior, and a plan and axonometric view of a structure within it. Lacking, however, is a section of the cistern, with or without its surrounds. The article provides a measurement of the cistern's elevation—the only to be found, even in the archival material, where spaces were left to be filled in later, but never were. The extrados of the cistern's vault lies 50 cm “al di sotto del livello dell'area con pavimentazione in cappellaccio.”<sup>86</sup>

Unfortunately, this notice is ambiguous, since the true cappellaccio (Tufo del Palatino) pavement is only found in the forecourt of the twin temples, but there are also Tufo del Palatino substructures flanking the cistern between the temples; these lie at different levels. It is also uncertain whether the 50 cm is measured from the top or bottom of the pavement.

The publication accompanying the 1989 exhibit *Il viver quotidiano in Roma arcaica* is, as expected, largely concerned with the Archaic levels of the site.<sup>87</sup> It does, however, include Ioppolo's comparative stratigraphic sections cutting across deposits overlying the Archaic temple, perforce including some Republican levels, notably the Anio slab porch pavement and the debris of 213 laid against the exterior of the Republican podium.<sup>88</sup>

If the section in Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979 suggested that the Lapis Albanus perimeter of the Republican podium belonged to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, Pisani Sartorio 1990 states that the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. podium was built in peperino (Lapis Albanus), “alto in tutto 4 metri.”<sup>89</sup> The lower three of these four meters, however, are built in Tufo del Palatino, not Lapis Albanus. Otherwise, the sequence of phases here is the same as that found in the earlier article.

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<sup>86</sup> Virgili 1988: 80.

<sup>87</sup> Pisani Sartorio, Virgili, and Ioppolo 1989.

<sup>88</sup> Pisani Sartorio, Virgili, and Ioppolo 1989: pl. II.

<sup>89</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1990: 113.

## Coarelli's Foro Boario

Coarelli's *Il Foro Boario*, first printed in 1988, represents the development and coming to fruition of several of his earlier articles, dating back to the late 1960s.<sup>90</sup> The main object of his Chapter 3, "Fortuna e Mater Matuta," is, as usual, the Archaic temple and its cults. He devotes a short but significant section, however, to the Republican phases. Coarelli shares in the consensus dating the thin slab Lionato pavement to the post-213 reconstruction.<sup>91</sup> Where he differs is the phases prior to this. He assigns the initial phase of the Republican podium to Camillus, since there is no attestation of an early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE reconstruction in Roman literature.<sup>92</sup> Between these two phases, Coarelli dates the pavements in Tufo Lionato to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, specifically to 264 BCE, attributing them to M. Fulvius Flaccus after his sack of Volsinii in that year. Coarelli's evidence is a Black Gloss sherd, Morel type 96, ca. 300 BCE, which he discovered on site—an operation he describes as "un piccolo prelevamento da me stesso realizzato."<sup>93</sup> Coarelli describes the findspot of this sherd in detail, but insufficient detail: "tra la pavimentazione in questione [sc. di tufo lionato] e quella precedente, in lastre di cappellaccio... il frammento è stato estratto ben all'interno di una lente di terra compatta, compresa tra i due pavimenti, in un punto prossimo al centro dell'area (e al donario circolare), dove essi sono perfettamente conservati: non c'è alcun dubbio sul carattere e la conservazione di quest lente, né sulla provenienza del frammento da essa."<sup>94</sup> The problem is that Coarelli does not distinguish, here or elsewhere, between what the present study distinguishes as the Anio block pavement and the Anio slab porch pavement (see Chapter 4). The staircase of the latter was cut into the blocks of the former. The location

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<sup>90</sup> Coarelli 1988.

<sup>91</sup> Coarelli 1988: 213.

<sup>92</sup> Coarelli 1988: 216–17.

<sup>93</sup> Coarelli 1988: 214.

<sup>94</sup> Coarelli 1988: 214.

described by Coarelli is probably a pit that was left open just north of the circular donarium. The sequence of structures in this pit is not straightforward, and it would be very important to know from where exactly the sherd was recovered.

There is other evidence, to be discussed in Chapter 4, to date the Anio slab porch pavement to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, but this postdates the Anio block pavement of the forecourt. If Coarelli found the sherd under one of the stair risers, or one of the multiple drains connected with this phase, it would provide a further support for dating the Anio slab porch pavement, but not the Anio block pavement, which could still be earlier.

#### *Holloway and the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE podium*

R. Ross Holloway dedicates a short chapter of his 1994 *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* to Sant’Omobono, which naturally focuses mostly on the Archaic phases of the site.<sup>95</sup> He also makes an important claim about the Republican phases: Holloway dates the initial construction of the Republican podium (with cappellaccio substructures and Monteverde paving) to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, rather than the 5<sup>th</sup> c. as Colini’s team would have it, or Coarelli’s early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>96</sup> Holloway’s evidence is twofold. First, he refers to Gjerstad’s Stratum 11 (*ER* III: 392), with its small rim sherd from a Black Gloss bowl with incurved rim (discussed above), which would date to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. Second, Holloway takes into consideration the material of the first phase Republican podium, namely, peperino (Lapis Albanus). He understands the Folvios inscriptions as the earliest dated use of the stone in Rome, “and the very distance of the quarries [at Marino] from the city would make it unlikely that *Peperino* was used at any

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<sup>95</sup> Holloway 1994.

<sup>96</sup> He also refers to the circular monument as a “well”—an easy enough mistake if working only from a plan (Holloway 1994: 69).

significantly earlier date.”<sup>97</sup> The evidence for use of Lapis Albanus prior to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE will be discussed in the following chapter; suffice it to say for now that such a date is unreliable. As for the Black Gloss sherd, the matter remains not entirely resolved. Not a single other Black Gloss sherd has been found in any of the fills for raising the Republican podium, either in the decades of excavation following Gjerstad’s work, nor in the investigations of the Sant’Omobono Project in the 2010s. Without casting aspersions on the great Swedish archaeologist’s methods, it should be recalled that his trench was located immediately adjacent to Colini’s 1937 trench beneath the apse of Sant’Omobono, and some contamination of deposits is conceivable. Finally, in a footnote, Holloway mentions the restoration of Mater Matuta by Camillus found in Livy, but this does not enter into his description of the site’s phases.<sup>98</sup>

#### *The Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*

Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio wrote the entry *Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes* for the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*.<sup>99</sup> In her summary of the Republican building phases, Pisani Sartorio follows the previous work of Colini, Virgili, and herself, identifying the first phase of the Republican podium with the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. cappellaccio substructures within a peperino podium. The intervention of Camillus is then a “rifacimento totale dei due templi e della pavimentazione esterna a grossi blocchi di tufo dell’Aniene e di Monteverde con bassa scalinata sagomata davanti ai templi e inserimento di due are in peperino ad ante orientate ad E e pozzi rituali ai lati.”<sup>100</sup> The post-213 reconstruction is described basically as it was in Colini et al. 1978: perimeter foundations in Grotta Oscura (Tufo Giallo), pavement in thin slabs of

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<sup>97</sup> Holloway 1994: 80. The italics are original.

<sup>98</sup> Holloway 1994: 184 n. 2.

<sup>99</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1995.

<sup>100</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1995: 283.

Monteverde, and cellae in Fidene (Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere).<sup>101</sup> Pisani Sartorio also connects Livy's notice of *duo fornices* set up by Stertinius in 196 BCE with "un inserimento di blocchi di Grotta Oscura nel basamento del podio dei templi gemelli," a hypothesis first proposed by Colini, but never argued in detail.

### **The Sant'Omobono Project, 2012–2016**

In 2012, Brocato assigned the Tufo Giallo stylobates and the cella walls in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere to the travertine phase, of Imperial date, as being compatible in terms of elevation.<sup>102</sup> The thin slab Anio pavement, however, rests immediately below that in travertine, and it is indeed thin; given the "bumpiness" of the site due to differential subsidence, this slight difference above or below the thin pavement makes elevation an insufficient criterion. An objection in assigning the stylobates to the travertine phase, moreover, is the ca. 5.6 m that separates them. The travertine colonnade attested between the two temples has an intercolumniation of only ca. 3.6 m. On the other hand, the colonnade itself stands some 5 m distant from the cella walls. The problem of reconstructing the Late Republican or Imperial phase(s) in travertine is not within the purview of the present study, but there are reasons to assign the Tufo Giallo stylobates to the post-213 BCE reconstruction. I will discuss these in Chapter 4.

Several sections of the Project's 2012 article in *Mediterranea* touch on the Republican phases. Luca De Luca addresses the archival materials for Settore VIII, excavated in 1976 and 1981. Within this sector was identified an east-west drain in U-shaped blocks of Tufo Lionato. This cuts the preparation layers for the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE Tufo del Palatino pavement, and

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<sup>101</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1995: 284.

<sup>102</sup> Brocato 2012: 42–43.

therefore postdates it, but no more precise dating is forthcoming.<sup>103</sup> Ivan Cangemi contributes a section on the so-called “taberna repubblicana” near the western end of the southern face of the Republican podium; this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.<sup>104</sup>

Two chapters in 2016’s *Ricerche nell’area dei templi di Fortuna e Mater Matuta*, Vol. I, deal with Republican matters. Hilary Becker reconsiders the quarry marks studied by Sommella, arguing that the Tufo Giallo blocks could in fact be reused from some earlier monument, contrary to Sommella’s hypothesis. Although Becker offers comparanda for the open ‘A’ predating the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, Sommella’s other considerations (discussed above) remain, and I consider reuse unlikely. In the following article, the present author studied the monuments connected with the Anio block pavement of the temples’ forecourt, namely, the two altars, their votive pits, the circular monument, and the Folvios inscriptions.<sup>105</sup> The text was consigned in 2014, and the conclusions reached therein differ slightly from those offered here.

### **Conclusions of Previous Literature**

Although there have been numerous articles and chapters that describe some variation of the Republican levels of the *aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae*, these are usually of similar nature, especially with regard to the earlier Republic: a list of phases in which structures are summarily described and loosely connected to Livy. The initial construction of the Republican podium is assigned to the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE by Colini and his team and by the Sant’Omobono Project; to the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE and Camillus by Coarelli and, following him, Torelli; and to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE by Holloway following, in part, Gjerstad. The interpretation of the various structures varies along with the date. Those who favor a 5<sup>th</sup>-c. date interpret the Tufo del Palatino

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<sup>103</sup> De Luca in Brocato et al. 2012: 21–23.

<sup>104</sup> Cangemi in Brocato et al. 2012: 23–29.

<sup>105</sup> Diffendale 2016.

surface of the forecourt as a pavement in its own right, the 4<sup>th</sup>-c. camp has wavered between considering it a pavement and considering it a foundation, and Holloway, the only proponent of a 3<sup>rd</sup>-c. date, understands it as a foundation.

There is something approaching consensus on the large foundations in Tufo Giallo, which are almost unanimously connected with the thin slab Tufo Lionato pavement and attributed to the post-213 BCE reconstruction attested by Livy.<sup>106</sup> Details are usually lacking or confused, however. For instance, the two stylobates are sometimes discussed in isolation, without remarking that they bond with the foundations along the eastern and western limits of the Republican podium. No publication thus far has noted that these latter foundations are not of Tufo Giallo alone, but incorporate Tufo Lionato and Lapis Albanus as well.

There has been no close description of the structures dated to the Republican phases at Sant'Omobono, nor serious attempts at phase plans. Schematic restored ground plans have frequently been published, almost never specifying a chronological range—they appear synchronic by default, giving the impression of a static sanctuary. Among the most popular has been the plan by Ioppolo that represents the twin temples as distyle in antis with closed *alae*, with staircase and central platform, in front of which are the two altars symmetrically located and, between them, the circular monument. The results of careful attention to the architecture preserved on the site, however, make clear that the altars are *not* symmetrically located.<sup>107</sup> In addition, the phase to which the central platform belongs is precisely the phase which began to open up the temple *alae*, as proven by the pavement running continuously across them (see Chapter 4, “The Anio slab porch pavement”). Ioppolo’s plan is thus an anachronistic amalgam,

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<sup>106</sup> Aside from the attempt by Brocato to reassign these to the Imperial period.

<sup>107</sup> Diffendale 2016, and Chapter 4 below.

but it has given rise to the idea that the plan of the temples was static.<sup>108</sup> As for sections, Ioppolo's highly schematic N-S section has been continuously reproduced and lightly modified for over half a century, as it is the only section available that includes the entire site. Much more detailed is the section in *Il viver quotidiano in Roma arcaica*, again by Ioppolo, but this only crosses areas of interest because of the presence of the Archaic temple.

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<sup>108</sup> So, for instance, La Rocca 2012: 75: "Tale pianta sembra sussistere senza variazioni sia nella ricostruzione dei templi... dovuta a Camillo dopo la distruzione di Veio, sia nelle successive ricostruzioni."

### CHAPTER 3: MATERIALS & TECHNIQUES

I should like to stress the timeliness as well as the practicability of making systematic observations on the provenance of the early Roman building materials. The need is very great. Roman archaeology is as yet almost helpless before the problems of early construction, and good scholars still date foundations on the Palatine several centuries apart. This is of course largely due to the almost insuperable complications of the problems. The building materials are so numerous and so varied in texture that the criterion of tool-work cannot be applied as simply as, for instance, in Sicily. The tools had to be adapted to a variety of needs. Again, Rome lay at a point where technical methods of North, South, and East met, so that the attempt to apply criteria of style in a systematic fashion has failed for the early period. However, when he [sic] must face such serious complications, the archaeologist cannot afford to neglect any criterion that may be of service. At least he deserves not to be misled by the numerous misstatements about the provenance of materials which now occur in the handbooks of topography. From the practical side we need of course the fullest possible list of ancient quarries of Rome and its vicinity with a careful description of their products.<sup>1</sup>

Though nearly a century old, Tenney Frank's 1918 *cri de coeur* regarding Roman building materials of the Archaic and Republican periods remains largely valid today. It also conveniently captures the concerns of this chapter, namely, a description of the various building materials used in Roman Republican-era construction at Sant'Omobono along with their provenances, followed by an account of the tools and technical methods employed to turn said building materials into buildings. Although a great number of works have been written in partial answer of Frank's call, none is reliable in every detail, and the recent development of stable-element provenancing of Italian volcanic stone has called into question many previous identifications. This being the case, it is necessary to present the volcanic materials in some detail, running reconnaissance across what might seem already well trodden ground, especially since the great majority of the architecture of the Republican period at Sant'Omobono is in one

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<sup>1</sup> Frank 1918: 183–84.

of several varieties of *tuff* (Italian *tuffo*), a term that describes the products of diverse prehistoric volcanic eruptions in central Tyrrhenian Italy.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, for the student of Roman archaeology, few sites provide so convenient an introduction to the full range of building materials used in Republican construction.<sup>3</sup> This will make it possible to place the mid-Republican-era structures at Sant’Omobono in the larger context of Roman stone masonry. The evidence suggests either that certain materials were used precociously at Sant’Omobono or that the chronology of tuff use at Rome needs revision. The two options are not mutually exclusive.

### **Previous Accounts of Materials Used in Roman Republican Construction**

The first researcher to publish a serious attempt at systematizing pre-Imperial Roman building materials was Tenney Frank in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Frank’s 1918 article on the materials of the so-called Servian walls, from which this chapter takes its introductory quotation, was followed up in 1924 by his *Roman Buildings of the Republic: An Attempt to Date them from their Materials*.<sup>4</sup> In the latter work he identified seven varieties of tuff (which he calls “tufa”) with their quarry locations, followed by a topographic procession across the city of Rome, describing the materials used in major buildings. Frank’s seven tuffs have

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<sup>2</sup> De Casa et al. 1999: 1, n. 1 observe that the word *tuffo* is no longer current in Italian volcanology, having been replaced by “genetic” definitions, but uphold its utility in communicating with archaeologists. “Tuff” is the proper English equivalent of Italian *tuffo*. “Tufa,” meanwhile, is a variety of limestone formed by the precipitation of calcium carbonate in a cool or near-ambient temperature freshwater environment, and “travertine” is a calcareous precipitate formed in higher temperature environments; in practice, tufa and travertine can be difficult to distinguish in the wild (Ford and Pedley 1996: 117–19). Volcanic tuff/*tuffo* and calcareous tufa should not be confounded, then, though it must be noted that tufa was *also* employed in Roman construction, as for example at Pompeii (where it is used alongside tuff!): Kastenmeier et al. 2010. English-language publications frequently employ “tufa” to describe what is properly tuff; vigilance is required. French *tuf* covers both tuff and tufa; the former is indicated by *tuf volcanique*, the latter *tuf calcaire* (Ginouvé and Martin 1985: 42). The historic use of geologically-imprecise terminology is perfectly explicable, of course: terms have generally been those used by stonecutters, whose classificatory systems depend on the working properties of the stones. Tuff and tufa are often worked similarly.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson and Marra, in their 2006 overview of building stones used at Rome, list seven types of tuff. Of these, Tufo di Tuscolo has now been recognized as a modern material without attested ancient use (Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015: 42–43). All of the other six have been identified in ancient masonry at Sant’Omobono. In addition to the tuffs, one finds basalt pavers and travertine.

<sup>4</sup> Frank 1924, described on p. 9, n. 6, as “a preliminary investigation.”

formed the basis of most descriptions since: cappellaccio, Grotta Oscura, Fidenae, Alban, Gabine, Anio (lapis ruber), and Monte Verde (usually written “Monteverde” today), beyond which Frank also considered travertine and pozzolana. His classifications are chiefly based on a collection of fifty samples of tuff taken from both quarries and monuments.<sup>5</sup>

Gösta Säflund’s 1932 *Le mura di Roma repubblicana* includes important observations on the techniques of mid-Republican construction in tuff and the use of quarry marks, though his identification of materials is largely based on Frank.<sup>6</sup> Writing in the 1930s, the geologist Gioacchino De Angelis d’Ossat made sound observations and recommendations on tuff nomenclature, which however were not always followed up in later research.<sup>7</sup>

The truly pioneering work of (Michigan alumna and professor) Esther Boise Van Deman on Roman building materials must be acknowledged, beginning with her 1909 *The Atrium Vestae*.<sup>8</sup> Her published output, however, has mostly to do with concrete monuments, though her copious notes also covered ashlar masonry.<sup>9</sup> Following Van Deman’s death in 1937, her student and colleague Marion Elizabeth Blake published *Ancient Roman construction in Italy from the prehistoric period to Augustus. A chronological study based in part upon the material accumulated by Esther Boise Van Deman* in 1947.<sup>10</sup> In this volume, Blake presented Van Deman’s description and analysis of Roman building materials and their sources followed by a thorough account of building techniques, in a vastly more detailed and thorough way than Frank

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<sup>5</sup> Frank 1924: 13, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Säflund 1932. Säflund omits Lapis Albanus/peperino from his list of materials (xv) and several times in his text corrects citations of “peperino” to either “cappellaccio” or “sperone” (i.e., Lapis Gabinus).

<sup>7</sup> e.g., De Angelis d’Ossat 1936. For instance, in place of the ambiguous geographical descriptor “Grotta Oscura,” he recommends the name *tuffo giallo della via Flaminia*—in Blake’s words, “a more exact term but less easy to remember” (M. E. Blake 1947: 27). De Angelis d’Ossat also recommends *tuffo lionato da costruzione*—“which, though accurate, is awkward” (Blake 29).

<sup>8</sup> Van Deman 1909; Van Deman 1912a; Van Deman 1912b.

<sup>9</sup> Blake reports Van Deman’s reactions to Frank 1924, namely that, although she “took exception to some statements made in it and doubted whether the tufas could be reduced to quite so definite a classification, she accepted his identification of the quarries and, in the main, his chronology” (M. E. Blake 1947: 1).

<sup>10</sup> M. E. Blake 1947.

had done. Among the tuffs, Blake includes cappellaccio, Fidenae, Grotta Oscura, the lithoidal Monte Verde and Anio, and Alban and Gabine stones. Blake's detailed presentation allowed a greater chronological specificity, although she was candid about the uncertainties. She also pointed to evidence suggesting an earlier use of Lapis Albanus and Tufo Lionato than Frank had allowed, although such suggestions seem—unjustly—not to have found a wide audience.<sup>11</sup>

Running in some ways parallel to the work of Van Deman and Blake was that of Giuseppe Lugli, whose 1957 *La tecnica edilizia romana con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio* covers much of the same ground.<sup>12</sup> It has remained the standard reference for many decades, especially in Italian scholarship, sometimes to the detriment of the field; Lugli's identifications of tuff are idiosyncratic and sometimes confused.<sup>13</sup> Moving into the later twentieth century and beyond, the well tilled field of guidebooks to Rome and its monuments almost inevitably includes a sentence or two of summary descriptions of building materials. As is typical for the genre, these tend to fossilize a slightly conservative consensus, and may include idiosyncrasies.<sup>14</sup> Heiken, Funicello, and De Rita's 2005 *The Seven Hills of Rome: A Geological Tour of the Eternal City*, written for a wide audience, has an accessible style and a geologically-informed viewpoint, but fails to engage effectively with earlier scholarship and is less than reliable from an archaeological point of view.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> E.g., M. E. Blake 1947: 129.

<sup>12</sup> Lugli 1957.

<sup>13</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 421, n. 69, note, for instance, that at times Lugli uses the term “tufo litoide” to describe Tufo di Tuscolo, Lapis Albanus, and Lapis Gabinus, and sometimes refers to Tufo di Tuscolo as “tufo dell’Aniene.”

<sup>14</sup> Adam 2005: 21, for instance, lists “seven kinds of volcanic tufa [sic] (Anio, Campidoglio, Cappellaccio, Fidene, Grotta oscura, Monteverde, Peperino).” The inclusion of “Campidoglio” tuff—presumably Tufo Lionato from outcrops on the Capitoline—as a separate variety is unusual, as is the omission of Lapis Gabinus. The most recent English edition of Coarelli's guide to Rome (Coarelli 2014: 538–39), on the other hand, is fairly progressive, leaving the door open to earlier uses of Tufo Giallo and Lapis Albanus than usually admitted. Coarelli does persist in labeling Lapis Gabinus as “sperone,” though.

<sup>15</sup> Heiken, Funicello, and De Rita 2005. To their credit, the authors present a clear explanation of *tufo*, *tufa*, and *tuff*. In the discussion of *Tufo Pisolitico*, however, the nonspecialist reader would have no idea that it might also be called cappellaccio, gray granular tuff, or Tufo del Palatino. The figure on page 43 represents a section of the “Servian” walls, supposedly of “Tufo Pisolitico” and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, when the monument in question is part of the 4<sup>th</sup>

Because the volcanic flows that formed the Roman tuffs are inconsistent in their characteristics, the products of a single quarry may vary greatly in visual appearance, as Frank had already pointed out, while the products of different eruptions separated by tens of thousands of years may appear identical on visual inspection. This clearly has ramifications for the visual criteria employed by archaeologists during the twentieth century to distinguish between the tuffs, and a chemical discriminant seems warranted. Already in 1924, however, Frank had correctly noted the difficulty in applying chemical analysis to tuff because of the transformational effects of atmospheric exposure on major elements.<sup>16</sup> Only around the turn of the present century, with the development of techniques for measuring the relative abundance in tuffs of trace elements that are not subject to alteration processes, has it been possible to effectively fingerprint the Roman tuffs. Jackson and Marra's seminal 2006 article, "Roman Stone Masonry: Volcanic Foundations of the Ancient City," marks an extremely important step in tying the results of such analysis together with archaeological evidence and ancient texts (principally Vitruvius).<sup>17</sup> As to be expected with a nascent methodology, some of the initial identifications have been premature,<sup>18</sup> and it is only presently that effective discrimination among the various varieties of Tufo Lionato has been possible, thanks to the work of Fabrizio Marra.<sup>19</sup> In what follows, I present a description of the tuffs employed at Sant'Omobono, drawing on the results of geochemical analysis where possible.

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c. walls in Tufo Giallo. Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina is erroneously termed "Tufo Giallo della Via Tiburtina" (44). The earliest use of Lapis Albanus is assigned to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina [*sic*], after which, "in a later time, the Forum of Augustus was constructed largely with *lapis Gabinus* and *Lionato* tuff from the Alban Hills [*sic*]" (45). The examples could be multiplied.

<sup>16</sup> Frank 1924: 11.

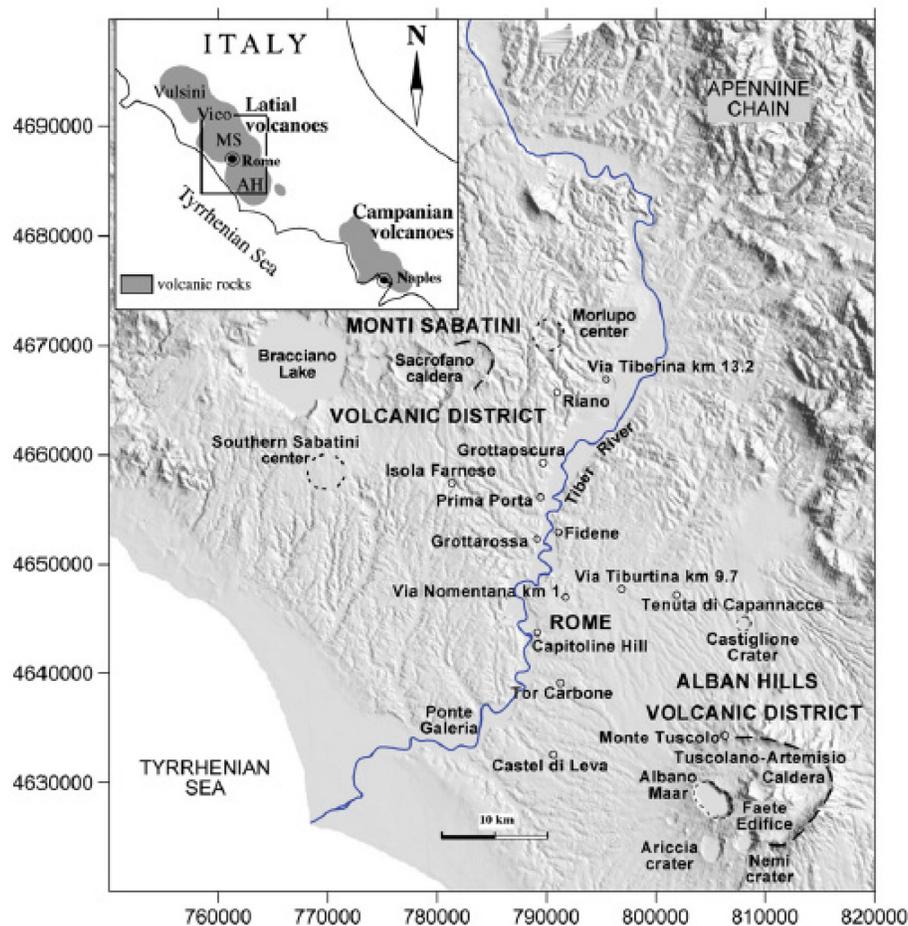
<sup>17</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, Jackson and Marra 2006: 421 identified Tufo di Tuscolo in the Theater of Marcellus, but Jackson et al. 2011 correct this misidentification; the stone in question is actually Tufo Lionato.

<sup>19</sup> Farr 2014; Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015; Marra, D'Ambrosio, and Mattei in press.

## The Tuffs

The Roman tuffs owe their origins to two volcanoes, the Alban Hills volcanic district to the southeast of Rome and the Monti Sabatini volcanic district north of the city (Figure 8).<sup>20</sup> The Alban Hills volcano is marked by periodic eruptions, while the Monti Sabatini has been more continuous, although the products of individual eruption events are nonetheless identifiable.<sup>21</sup> The Monti Sabatini volcano formed about 800,000 years ago, the Alban Hills volcano about 600,000 years ago.<sup>22</sup> Neither is currently active, although the latter shows signs of waking up.<sup>23</sup>



**Figure 8:** The Monti Sabatini and Alban Hills volcanic districts (Marra et al. 2011: fig. 1).

<sup>20</sup> See above, n. 2, for the definitional distinction between tuff/tufo and tufa.

<sup>21</sup> Marra et al. 2011.

<sup>22</sup> Karner, Marra, and Renne 2001: 216.

<sup>23</sup> Marra et al. 2016.

While archaeologists have traditionally identified different types or varieties of tuff with relation to the location of their quarries, geologists divide the tuffs among various lithostratigraphic units: “defined bodies of strata that are distinguished by petrographic characteristics and stratigraphic position.”<sup>24</sup> According to the conventions of geology, the names of lithostratigraphic units are capitalized, e.g., Tufo del Palatino, Lapis Albanus.<sup>25</sup> Although this geological nomenclature generally follows the traditional archaeological type names, it must be stressed that the names of the various lithostratigraphic units *are not always indicative of the geographical origin of the tuff*. For instance, Tufo del Palatino takes its name from its type locality on the Palatine hill, but it crops out on the Capitoline hill as well as the Palatine. As a further example, while the Anio facies of Tufo Lionato takes its name from the quarries along the Anio River northeast of Rome, its products have also been geochemically identified in outcrops on the south face of the Capitoline.

A continuing impediment to the proper understanding of Roman use of tuff in the Archaic and Republican periods lies in Roman historiography. The history of the early Republic was written by Late Republican authors who understood it in terms that made sense to them, and these latter have been further interpreted by modern scholars working within the assumptions of a nation-state paradigm. Among the assumptions of the former group is that bellicose events result in conquest; among those of the latter is that resource extraction follows conquest.<sup>26</sup> As Blake puts it, “The history of squared-stone masonry in Rome and its vicinity... reflects the

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<sup>24</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 405 n. 4.

<sup>25</sup> “As are their type localities, such as Lapis Albanus from the Lago Albano pyroclastic debris flow, Lapis Gabinus from the Valle Castiglione ground surge deposit, and Tufo di Tuscolo from the Tuscolano-Artemisio scoria and ash fall deposits” (Jackson and Marra 2006: 405 n. 4). Note, however, that Tufo di Tuscolo is not attested in ancient Roman masonry; the blocks of the Colosseum referred to by Jackson and Marra 2006 belong to restoration work of the 1930s (Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015: 42–43).

<sup>26</sup> E.g., Fidenae tuff “da un’area sottoposta allo stretto controllo di Veio prima del 435 a.C.” (Coarelli 1992: 121).

growth of Roman power.”<sup>27</sup> Recent scholarship, however, has questioned the notion that early Romans were always bent on conquest, and increasing archaeological evidence proves that various stone types quarried beyond the original bounds of the Roman polity were nevertheless used there before those quarries were incorporated into that polity. There was little or no state-level politics; the meaningful agents were mobile warlords or *gens* leaders, who moved easily between cities.<sup>28</sup> We should probably be looking to these leaders’ abilities to mobilize human and mineral resources for construction projects in Late Archaic and early Republican Rome.<sup>29</sup> It would be interesting to investigate the use of various types of stone in monuments that can be connected with individual magistrates or *gentes*, in order to see whether these actors had any interests or holdings in the areas of the quarries involved.<sup>30</sup>

The case of Fidenae and its namesake stone, Fidenae tuff (Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere), is illustrative of the problems. The date of the latter’s introduction in construction at Rome is generally held to be not prior to the Roman conquest of Fidenae in 426 BCE. The city is supposed to have been conquered already by Romulus, however, and then again in 498 BCE after a rebellion;<sup>31</sup> indeed, Barbina *et al.* count no fewer than seven Roman “conquests” of Fidenae recorded by ancient sources.<sup>32</sup> The notion that stone export to Rome would have begun only following the “final” conquest in 426 smacks of historical retrojection; how could actors at the time have known that any given conquest was or was not to be definitive?

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<sup>27</sup> M. E. Blake 1947: 115. Similarly, “A study of the ancient quarries in the order of their opening might be used as a commentary on the expansion of Roman power” (183).

<sup>28</sup> Terrenato 2011; Armstrong 2016.

<sup>29</sup> The ability of Tiberine cities to control river traffic should not be overlooked, of course. Dion. Hal. 2.53.2 records the plundering by the Fidenates of a shipment of provisions from the Crustumerians to the Romans during a famine, in the age of Romulus. See Quilici Gigli 1986 for context.

<sup>30</sup> Compare Cato, *Agr.* 14: in private construction contracted out, the landowner will supply the material, including stone: *Hae rei materiem et quae opus sunt dominus praebebit et ad opus dabit... lapidem...*

<sup>31</sup> Dion. Hal. 5.59–60.

<sup>32</sup> Barbina *et al.* 2009: 328–29.

In modern narrative terms, the introduction of Fidenae tuff at Rome is usually folded into the introduction of Tufo Giallo following the conquest of Veii in 396; both cities lay upstream from Rome, and were allied against her.<sup>33</sup> As Volpe puts it, once Frank had argued that Tufo Giallo would not have been available in the quantities necessary for the Roman circuit walls prior to the fall of Veii, “è invalsa in tutti gli studi archeologici una pratica «ribassista», per cui tutte le strutture che utilizzavano blocchi di questo tufo sono state inevitabilmente datate non prima del IV secolo a.C.”<sup>34</sup> It has long been known, however, that Tufo Giallo was imported to Rome already in the Archaic period, albeit on a limited scale. The Forum cippus, discovered broken but *in situ* in the *Lapis Niger/Comitium* complex, is a squared block of Tufo Giallo; it bears an inscription dated to the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>35</sup> Admittedly, that is only a single block of tuff, but Volpe notes that archaeologists invariably assign Tufo Giallo structures of otherwise uncertain date to the 4<sup>th</sup> century or later, precisely because of the presence of the material.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the advances of the past century, we still know relatively little about the lifespans of most of the known tuff quarries around Rome, and more are still being discovered.<sup>37</sup> The practice of dating structures based on their building materials should be approached with caution and employed only as a last resort, if at all. Coarelli, for instance, assigns the visible remains of the Ara Maxima under S. Maria in Cosmedin to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE because of the use of Anio tuff: “Questo dato, anche in assenza di altra documentazione, permette una datazione

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<sup>33</sup> Frank 1924: 16–17, 48.

<sup>34</sup> Volpe 2014: 69.

<sup>35</sup> At the workshop “Il Comitium dei Re” (British School at Rome, January 17, 2017), P. Fortini, A. Santelli, and F. Cesari presented evidence of a 9<sup>th</sup> c. BCE structure (possibly oval) in “tufo rosso del Campidoglio” (i.e., Tufo Lionato, presumably), followed by a first phase (Latial IVa?) of the Comitium in “cappellaccio,” a second phase (7<sup>th</sup> c. BCE) in tufo rosso del Campidoglio, and a third and a fourth phase (with the latter of which the cippus is associated) not directly dated and of unspecified materials.

<sup>36</sup> Volpe 2014: 69.

<sup>37</sup> And, doubtless, destroyed by urban expansion.

sufficientemente precisa: anche se la tecnica di taglio e messa in opera rimandano ancora all'età repubblicana, è certo che il manufatto *non può risalire oltre la metà del II secolo a.C.*: in questi anni infatti ha inizio l'uso estensivo nell'edilizia di questo materiale” (emphasis added).<sup>38</sup>

Coarelli here relies on the studies of Frank and Lugli,<sup>39</sup> but in a footnote cites himself for “l'uso sporadico di questo tufo già nella prima metà del II secolo a.C.”<sup>40</sup> In this case, a second-century date for the monument may well be correct, but an earlier date should not be excluded purely on the basis of the material employed.<sup>41</sup>

More recently, researchers have used the identification of Lapis Albanus in the Carcer Tullianum as an argument for the use of archaic, 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE building techniques during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE or later, rather than taking this as evidence that Lapis Albanus was employed already in the Archaic period.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the very title of the paper presents the problem: “Age of Ancient Monuments by Means of Building Stone Provenance.” There is simply not yet sufficient evidence to securely date monuments based on the provenance of the building stone. In what follows, I will describe the basic details of each of the types of tuff used in ashlar masonry at Rome during the Republic, all of which are found at Sant’Omobono.

#### *Tufo del Palatino/Gray Granular Tuff (“Cappellaccio”)*

Tufo del Palatino, a product of one of the oldest eruptions of the Alban Hills volcano, 528±1 ka (528,000 ± 1,000 years ago), is a dark gray, friable, poorly lithified stone with inclusions of leucite and lava fragments.<sup>43</sup> There are accessible outcrops where it emerges from the lower slopes of both the Palatine and Capitoline hills; despite its geological nomenclature,

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<sup>38</sup> Coarelli 1992: 178.

<sup>39</sup> Frank 1924: 26–28; Lugli 1957: 309–11.

<sup>40</sup> Coarelli 1992: 178–79 n. 57, citing Coarelli 1972: 49.

<sup>41</sup> For more detail on the dating of Anio tuff, see below.

<sup>42</sup> Karner et al. 2001.

<sup>43</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 419.

the stone is not restricted to the former hill. Tufo del Palatino is one of two lithostratigraphic units whose products have frequently been referred to in archaeological literature, following Roman Italian usage, as *cappellaccio* (meaning, more or less, “ugly hat,” so called due to its position at the top of hills overlying harder, more useful stones and pozzolanas).<sup>44</sup> The term *cappellaccio*, however, has also sometimes been used to refer to what is now chemically identified as Lapis Albanus or Lapis Gabinus, for which reason I employ “Tufo del Palatino” whenever possible, retaining “cappellaccio” only in citations of earlier literature and using “gray granular tuff” (Italian *tuffo granulare grigio*) for visually identified materials that have not been subject to chemical analysis.<sup>45</sup>

In the archaeological imaginary, Tufo del Palatino—the traditional “cappellaccio”—is the Archaic Roman building stone *par excellence*. No visitor to the Capitoline Museums can fail to be impressed by the massive foundations of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, for instance, while the stone’s tendency to crumble when exposed to the elements gives it a weathered, “ancient” look to which the label “archaic” is easily attached. Many of the known Archaic ashlar structures in Rome are indeed built of grey granular tuff, but the stone continued to be used in new construction until at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE,<sup>46</sup> while chemical analysis has begun to identify varieties of Tufo Lionato in Archaic structures (see below).

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<sup>44</sup> The other is the Grottarossa Pyroclastic Sequence subunit, a product of the Monti Sabatini volcano, whose outcrops are only accessible on the Palatine Hill, and whose products appear to have been used only for some Archaic structures on the hill itself, namely cisterns: Jackson and Marra 2006: 419–20; LTUR 4:17–22. In Emilia-Romagna, *cappellacci* are a type of stuffed pasta.

<sup>45</sup> “Spesso è chiamato cappellaccio; parola che nella buona tecnica si riferisce alla parte superficiale, più o meno alterata, di tutte le rocce, senza tenere conto alcuno della specifica natura litologica. La specificazione di *granulare*, che rimonta al Brocchi, non è equivoca e merita di essere accettata; proscrivendo per sempre l’equivoco nome di *cappellaccio*” (De Angelis d’Ossat 1936: 49).

<sup>46</sup> For 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE use of Tufo del Palatino, Bernard lists the Temple of Juno Sospita at S. Nicola in Carcere, the Lacus Curtius, and the Temple of Hercules Musarum, with domestic use in the foundations of the Casa dei Grifi in the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE: Bernard 2012a: 9 n. 33, with references. Panella’s excavations on the northeast slope of the Palatine have documented a late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE substructure in “cappellaccio” (Panella, Zeggio, and Ferrandes 2014: 187). Frank had already recognized its use “for some cheap underground work even into the first century B.C.” (Frank 1924: 17).

At Sant’Omobono, Tufo del Palatino is used in a large substructure located within the southern third of the Republican podium, and which stratigraphically predates that podium. The identification of this material has been confirmed by chemical analysis.<sup>47</sup> Visually identified gray granular tuff is found in the foundations of the first phase of the Republican podium, both beneath part of the Lapis Albanus exterior as well as in the 15-course deep foundations of the western temple *cella* (analogous foundations are presumed to underlie the eastern *cella*). A *taberna* set against the exterior of the eastern side of the podium rests on a foundation of a single course of gray granular tuff blocks. Finally, eight blocks are used as the core of a circular monument (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE) faced with Lapis Albanus moldings. Fragments of gray granular tuff have also been found during excavation of numerous fills at the site.

### *Lapis Albanus*

Lapis Albanus is the product of one of the most recent eruptions of the Alban Hills volcano,  $36 \pm 1$  ka. It is characterized as an “olive-gray, comparatively well-lithified tuff rich in crystals as well as lava and limestone rock fragments.”<sup>48</sup> This tuff has traditionally been known as “peperino” in archaeological literature, but as with “cappellaccio” this term can be applied to a variety of geologically distinct materials,<sup>49</sup> and the name of the lithostratigraphic unit “Lapis Albanus” is to be preferred when possible.<sup>50</sup> Lapis Albanus is one of a range of stones belonging

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<sup>47</sup> Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015: 46–47 (sample SO-1).

<sup>48</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 421.

<sup>49</sup> The two broad categories of peperino in modern Italian usage are “peperino di Viterbo” and “peperino dei Colli Albani” (Berry and Sciotti 1974: 2–3). Within the latter is to be found the subcategory “peperino di Albano,” i.e., Lapis Albanus. Already in 1936, De Angelis d’Ossat had pointed out the ambiguous usage of *peperino* and recommended the use of *Lapis Albanus* to describe the products of the Albano and Marino quarries (De Angelis d’Ossat 1936: 50–51).

<sup>50</sup> The geological name of Lapis Albanus derives from ancient usage. Vitruvius (2.4.7) includes *Albanae* among the products of *lapidicines molles* around Rome and also uses the Alban stone as a comparison for the color of Anician tuffs (2.7.3). Cicero in the *Pro Scauro* refers to *albanas columnas*. The fragment is preserved by Quintilian (Inst. 5.13.40) as an example of sarcastic mocking, but this does not negate the value of the testimony for use of the term. In Suetonius’ *Life of Augustus* (72.1), the *breves albanae columnae* of the porticos in the emperor’s residence, the

to the class of *tufo grigio litoide* (gray lithoid tuff), which also includes Lapis Gabinus, Tufo di Tuscolo, and an unnamed deposit at km 8.5 of the Via Flaminia.<sup>51</sup> The Lapis Albanus quarry at Marino in the Alban Hills is “a 12 m thick pyroclastic surge deposit that avalanched within an ancient valley,”<sup>52</sup> which in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was described as a “picturesque quarry... [with] a sheer wall sixty feet high which shows very little variation in quality from top to bottom.”<sup>53</sup>

The initial use of Lapis Albanus in construction at Rome was once held to follow the construction of the Via Appia in 312 BCE, this latter being presumed necessary to transport blocks in the absence of a convenient river. While it is true that use of the stone appears to have increased significantly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., there are earlier attestations.<sup>54</sup>

The oldest part of the *Tullianum* at the northwest end of the Roman Forum is constructed in Lapis Albanus, as established by scientific analysis.<sup>55</sup> However, the authors of the study that identifies the stone then use that identification to date the monument. While Karner *et al.* admit that the construction technique suggests a 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE date, they accept Coarelli’s 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE date for the introduction of Lapis Albanus as a building stone at Rome, and so assign the construction of the *Tullianum* to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE or later.<sup>56</sup> The evidence for the introduction of various types

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house of Hortensius on the Palatine, are a mark of frugality—a valence that may also be at play in the fragment from the *Pro Scauro*. Pliny the Elder (36.54) refers to *alia mollitia circa Romam fidenati et albano*.

<sup>51</sup> Cifani 2008: 190, 224. The gray lithoid tuff used in the second phase of the Auditorium villa (ca. 500–350 BCE), for instance, was probably quarried from the Via Flaminia deposit. This may, however, be equivalent to Tufo del Palatino: Karner, Marra, and Renne 2001: 209. Alessandro Pintucci (pers. comm., February 17, 2017) has recently identified Republican-era “peperino” quarries in the area of Praeneste.

<sup>52</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 421. While 12 m is the height at the known quarries, the deposits can reach 25 to 30 m in thickness (Sappa, Giglio, and De Casa 1995: 736).

<sup>53</sup> Frank 1924: 22. The quarry was still in use in Frank’s day, but extraction ceased in 1960 with the construction of the SS 217 highway above its faces. There may have been other quarries producing Lapis Albanus in the vicinity.

<sup>54</sup> In older studies, one sometimes finds the Cloaca Maxima identified as a Regal-period construction in Lapis Albanus. Hopkins 2012: 85–87, n. 13, however, dates the earliest monumentalization of the natural stream to the mid 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE (“the tops of these earliest walls of the Maxima are higher in elevation than a pavement of the Forum that is commonly dated c.450. This indicates that the remains of the extant stone Cloaca Maxima should date to 450 or later”). Further, these earliest phases are in “cappellaccio,” while the use of Lapis Albanus dates probably to the Domitianic period (Hopkins 2012: 90–94).

<sup>55</sup> Karner *et al.* 2001 directly date the stone employed; the returned age of 36±1 ka can only be Lapis Albanus.

<sup>56</sup> Karner *et al.* 2001: 389, 392; Coarelli 1974.

of tuff at Rome is slight, however, and the addition of new data points can change the picture considerably. Geologists and archaeologists cannot rely on published dates of introduction of tuffs to date monuments.<sup>57</sup> There is, moreover, evidence of early quarrying and import of such stone to Rome in the form of sarcophagi.

Gray lithoid tuff (“peperino” including Lapis Albanus and/or Lapis Gabinus) was quarried for use as monolithic sarcophagi, attested for centuries at Rome and in northern Latium, beginning in the decades around 500 BCE. It was used for an urn from Tomb 193 of the Esquiline necropolis, which in turn contained a smaller urn of Greek island marble, dated ca. 510 BCE, and there are two monolithic sarcophagi from the same necropolis dated about a decade later.<sup>58</sup> The eponymous deceased in the Tomb of the Warrior at Lanuvium was laid to rest in such a sarcophagus around 475 BCE.<sup>59</sup> A 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> c. date is assigned to a series of sarcophagi from the necropolis at La Rustica (Tor Sapienza) on the Via Collatina.<sup>60</sup> Thereafter, monolithic sarcophagi continued to be used from the 5<sup>th</sup> until at least the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE and perhaps later.<sup>61</sup> Such peperino sarcophagi occur in the same necropoleis and tombs as sarcophagi of “local” tuff (*sc. Lionato*).<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Karner et al. 2001: 392, do spell out the alternatives: “Presently, we do not have a clear answer as to why an ancient building technique was used at this late date, or alternatively, why a different building stone would have been used to construct the Tullianum in ancient times.” That is, the technique suggests a 6<sup>th</sup> c. date, but there are few or no 6<sup>th</sup> c. monuments known to have used Lapis Albanus. This latter situation will not change if archaeological and stylistic cues are ignored because they predate the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.

<sup>58</sup> Cifani 2008: 325–26; Colonna 1977: 138–46.

<sup>59</sup> Colonna 1977: 151.

<sup>60</sup> Colonna 1977: 155; Carettoni et al. 1976: 156.

<sup>61</sup> Tomb 89 on the Esquiline held a sarcophagus of the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Colonna 1977: 139). A sarcophagus lid carved with low reliefs, dated to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, comes from the Colombella necropolis at Praeneste (Zevi in RMR, 266–8, no. 414), while another, similar lid comes from the Tomb of the Cornelia at Rome, dated to the middle of the same century (Zevi in RMR, 239–40, no. 371). Late 4<sup>th</sup> c.: sarcophagus in the chamber tomb at Lavinium (Guañoli 1995: 560). Late 4<sup>th</sup>–Early 3<sup>rd</sup> c.: one large and six small sarcophagi found in a chamber tomb on Via S. Stefano Rotondo at Rome (La Rocca in RMR, 245; Sapelli in Bertinetti, De Lachenal, and Palma 1985: 349–52). Mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century: monolithic sarcophagi of Scipio and Scipio Barbatus (Zevi in RMR, 236–9, no. 370; Frank 1924: 22–23). Generally mid-republican (4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c.): thirteen sarcophagi from the Colombella necropolis (Adembri 1995) and an unspecified number of “peperino” sarcophagi among 111 tombs at Colombella (Gatti 2009: 161).

<sup>62</sup> In at least one instance it has been suggested that a Tufo Lionato sarcophagus was carved *in situ* for a burial, due to the thinness of its walls: Tomba 12, Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (Barbera et al. 2005: 310). Fabrizio Marra (pers.

It is frequently unclear in the literature whether these “peperino” sarcophagi are Lapis Albanus, Lapis Gabinus, or some other variety of gray lithoid tuff. Zaccaria Mari assigns the sarcophagi found at Corcolle to a Gabine workshop, whose products were exported “in un raggio ristretto,” though it is unclear whether he would ascribe all of the “peperino” sarcophagi of northern Latium to the same workshop.<sup>63</sup> Chemical analysis would be required to discriminate between the various varieties of gray lithoid tuff; it would be extremely interesting to know if true Lapis Albanus was used for monolithic sarcophagi, and if so, at how early a date.

The evidence of the sarcophagi makes clear that gray lithoid tuff was being quarried and worked already around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, that it was at that time already quarried in substantial blocks, and that these products were transported substantial distances from the quarry, to Lanuvium, Rome, and the eastern outskirts of the city.<sup>64</sup> The question remains open, however, whether the source was Gabii, Albano, or elsewhere, and hence whether the sarcophagi could have traveled part of the way via the Anio River (as was likely the case with ashlar blocks of Lapis Gabinus used in Roman construction) or instead had to be transported overland from the Alban Hills. It further remains to be determined to what extent the same quarries produced both sarcophagi and dimension stone.

Chemical analysis has recently identified Lapis Albanus in the first phase of the Republican podium at Sant’Omobono, dated to ca. 500 BCE or slightly later, significantly pushing back the introduction of this stone in Roman construction (unless the Tullianum dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>65</sup> Lapis Albanus was also used as the upper course of the podium of a major

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comm., February 21, 2017) has also speculated about the use of a well-lithified facies of Tufo del Palatino for such sarcophagi.

<sup>63</sup> Mari 2013: 340–42.

<sup>64</sup> Suggested also by Hopkins 2016: 135, who, however, straightforwardly accepts a provenance from the Alban Hills.

<sup>65</sup> Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015, sample SO-2. For the date, see Diffendale et al. 2016: 23–24.

reconstruction of the twin temples probably to be dated to 212 BCE. On a smaller scale, it was used at the site for two altars, probably of the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, as well as for the molding of a circular monument, probably 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, as well as in several fragmentary inscriptions dating between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> cs. BCE.<sup>66</sup> Sporadic architectural elements in gray granular tuff should also be noted.<sup>67</sup>

Nearby, the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE phase of the temples at S. Nicola in Carcere employs Lapis Albanus for its Ionic colonnade. Elsewhere in Rome, the use of Lapis Albanus continued for some centuries, as for instance in the Domitianic Temple of Minerva, the podium and cella of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (141 CE) and the cella of the Temple of Hadrian (145 CE). Post-antique use of Lapis Albanus is also well attested.<sup>68</sup> At Sant’Omobono, it occurs in molded stair treads, now scattered throughout the archaeological area as a result of the 1930s clearance (Figure 9). These treads, when inverted, bear a certain resemblance to Republican-era monument moldings, and caution should be taken when identifying them. Their use has been ascertained by comparison with treads still in use as part of Medieval staircases in Trastevere (Figure 10). Lapis Albanus continued to be used in construction until the 20<sup>th</sup> century; the quarry at Marino was only put out of use by road construction in 1960.

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<sup>66</sup> For all of these monuments, see Diffendale 2016 *passim*, and Chapter 4 below.

<sup>67</sup> For instance, a fragment of a Corinthian capital in “peperino” was discovered in 1973 in the area of the so-called Insula Sertoriana (ASRCM F.29, 13, 3649, report by Virgili), at a depth of 80 cm in a mixed ancient-modern deposit.

<sup>68</sup> Bertelli 2001: 155, for instance, notes the use of “peperino” in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. CE church of S. Teodoro.



**Figure 9:** Post-antique stair tread of gray lithoid tuff (Lapis Albanus?), Sant'Omobono (author).



**Figure 10:** Medieval stair tread of gray lithoid tuff, Trastevere (author).

### *Lapis Gabinus*

An eruption of the Alban Hills volcano  $285 \pm 5$  ka deposited Lapis Gabinus in the area of the Castiglione crater, the site of ancient Gabii east of Rome. This is a hard, well lithified tuff, similar in many respects to Lapis Albanus, with which it may be confused, but generally marked

by the more frequent occurrence of larger scoriae (fragments of dark, porous lava).<sup>69</sup> It has sometimes been referred to as *sperone*, but this term is geologically ambiguous and is to be avoided.<sup>70</sup> The Lapis Gabinus quarries are quite localized around the Castiglione crater, from which a short overland trip allowed access to the Anio river for transport downstream.<sup>71</sup>

Lapis Gabinus has so far been chemically identified at Sant’Omobono in only one structure, a staircase cut into the eastern side of the Republican podium, which leads up from the N-S street east of the podium to the colonnade of Temple B.<sup>72</sup> Since it is cut into the Tufo Giallo foundations of the podium, it must postdate this podium, which is here assigned to the 212 BCE reconstruction. Stray ashlar blocks visually identified as Lapis Gabinus, apparently reused in late or post-antique structures, are also found in the archaeological area at Sant’Omobono.

*Tufo Lionato (Monteverde, Anio, Portuense facies)*

Tufo Lionato (“tawny tuff”) is a lithified pyroclastic product of a powerful 366±4 ka eruption of the Alban Hills volcano during the Villa Senni Eruptive Sequence, which spread its products over an area of some 1200 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>73</sup> While generically described as a “tawny-orange, glassy tuff,”<sup>74</sup> in the area of Rome, Tufo Lionato encompasses multiple facies with differing characteristics that can be distinguished archaeologically.<sup>75</sup> The distinction between Monteverde

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<sup>69</sup> A reliable, comprehensive study of Lapis Gabinus has recently been undertaken (Farr 2014; Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015), to which the reader is referred for greater detail.

<sup>70</sup> Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015: 42–43. De Angelis d’Ossat 1936: 51 pointed out the differences between Lapis Gabinus and *sperone* and stated, in no uncertain terms, that “L’equivoco nome di *sperone*... deve essere assolutamente bandito dagli scritti archeologici.”

<sup>71</sup> Strabo 5.3.11.

<sup>72</sup> Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015, sample SO-3.

<sup>73</sup> De Casa et al. 1999: 2; Karner, Marra, and Renne 2001: 213–14.

<sup>74</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 420.

<sup>75</sup> De Angelis d’Ossat 1936: 50 described this as *tufo lionato da costruzione* and recommended the use of the Latin *Lapis Ruber* rather than *Tufo dell’Aniene* because it crops out in many locations other than the Anio valley. Based on careful visual examination of fresh breaks, he deemed it possible to distinguish between the products of the Pietralata, Ponte Buttaro, and Monteverde outcrops, while admitting that the environmental alteration of ancient blocks made determining provenance difficult.

(or “Monte Verde”) and Anio (Italian *Aniene*) varieties is familiar, even if in practice the two facies have been difficult to discriminate between; a third facies, Portuense, has only very recently been identified. Because of the uncertainty surrounding all earlier descriptions, petrographic identification is here drawn directly from the work of Marra, D’Ambrosio, and Mattei in press.

The Monteverde facies, which crops out on the west bank of the Tiber in the Monteverde area, is “a fine-grained ash-flow deposit characterized by abundant, millimeter-sized, orange scoriae within a sandy matrix, and by the absence of lithic inclusions.”<sup>76</sup> The Anio facies, which crops out primarily along the Anio River northeast of Rome, is a “pyroclastic-flow deposit characterized by occurrence of large scoriae and abundant lava and subordinated carbonate fragments.”<sup>77</sup> A third variety, which crops out today near the Monteverde neighborhood on Via dei Grottoni and Via Portuense, is known as the Portuense facies, a “well-lithified, orange ash deposit, characterized by the almost complete absence of any scorie [or] lithic inclusion.”<sup>78</sup> Though these differences would seem to make visual discrimination theoretically possible, this is frequently misleading, to judge from the results of geochemical analysis.<sup>79</sup> In addition to these

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<sup>76</sup> Marra, D’Ambrosio, and Mattei in press. Note that the petrographic description of Monteverde tuff given at Jackson and Marra 2006: 420 is erroneous, based on observation of blocks now shown chemically to belong to a different facies of Tufo Lionato.

<sup>77</sup> Marra, D’Ambrosio, and Mattei in press.

<sup>78</sup> Marra, D’Ambrosio, and Mattei in press. Portuense tuff is technically not part of the Tufo Lionato lithostratigraphic unit, pertaining to a slightly earlier stage of the eruptive cycle; though identical to Monteverde in its trace-element composition, it is easily distinguished by visual inspection due to its much finer grain size. It has been identified by Marra *et al.* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE phase of Temple C at Largo Argentina.

<sup>79</sup> Manual (technically “digital”) tests are also possible, though they can only be rules of thumb: “When [Anio tuff is] rubbed briskly, a fine film of light brown powder coats the thumb,” while the same process applied to Monteverde tuff “dislodges lava and crystal fragments and generates a coarse powder of glass” (Jackson et al. 2005: 498). Frank had already observed spatial variations in products of the same eruption: “As one follows the quarries up the Anio river one finds the tufas [*sic*] constantly growing coarser” (Frank 1924: 12).

named outcrops, Tufo Lionato also makes up parts of the Capitoline, Palatine, Caelian, and Aventine Hills.<sup>80</sup>

Though its introduction to Roman architecture was held by Frank to date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, Blake noted a “mounting number of instances which point to an earlier use of [Tufo Lionato] than has been supposed,”<sup>81</sup> and it is now known to have been used, in rubble blocks, already in an 8<sup>th</sup> c. wall on the Palatine—“the earliest known wall in Rome to date”—together with Tufo di Palatino.<sup>82</sup> By the Archaic period, squared blocks of Tufo Lionato were being quarried on the Palatine. Unambiguous remains of extraction have been discovered in the area of the Temple of the Magna Mater; these were built over by, and thus must predate, two walls in “cappellaccio” dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>83</sup> The blocks thus quarried were probably used nearby for residential and religious structures of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., though only a fragment of a wall two courses high is known *in situ* in the immediate vicinity.<sup>84</sup>

Tuff quarries in use during the Archaic period have been found north of the city on via Arno and via Nizza.<sup>85</sup> Despite claims to the contrary, there is as yet no good evidence of early (Archaic or early Republican) systematic quarrying of Tufo Lionato on the Capitoline,<sup>86</sup> though the deep foundations of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus were cut into the Lionato

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<sup>80</sup> De Casa et al. 1999: 1; Ammerman and Terrenato 1996. Although Jackson and Marra 2006 attribute the outcrops of Tufo Lionato at the base of the Capitoline to the Monteverde facies, more recent chemical analysis attributes these instead to the Anio facies (Fabrizio Marra, pers. comm., February 21, 2017).

<sup>81</sup> M. E. Blake 1947: 122.

<sup>82</sup> Montanari and Ammerman 2000: 193 suggest that the wall builders may have collected talus at the foot of the Palatine.

<sup>83</sup> F. M. Rossi 2014: 83. Rossi would place the beginning of this quarrying activity at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. or early 6<sup>th</sup> c., though this is merely an inference from the abandonment of the nearby hut settlement at about that date. The workings indicate rough blocks of ca. 90–110 x 60–70 cm dimensions (F. M. Rossi 2014: 78).

<sup>84</sup> F. M. Rossi 2014: 84. Tiles, moldmade architectural terracottas, and domestic pottery suggest the character of the area.

<sup>85</sup> Piranomonte 2007: 184–86, fig. 3.

<sup>86</sup> So Cifani 2008: 232. For example, De Casa et al. 1999: 2 claim the galleries cut into the Capitoline as the earliest source of Tufo Lionato used by the Romans, but do not cite specific evidence in support of this claim.

deposit of the hill from 1 to 1.5 m in places.<sup>87</sup> The products of the Capitoline require more a more comprehensive study to identify them in ancient construction.<sup>88</sup> Information on ancient Tufo Lionato quarries in other areas of the city, such as San Saba or the Fosse Ardeatine, has not yet been collected systematically.

The extensive remains of the Anio tuff quarries along the eponymous river have been carefully catalogued by Quilici, who stresses the magnitude of extraction: the quarry face at Cervara runs for 900 m, while the face from the Raccordo Anulare to Salone continues for some 2.5 km.<sup>89</sup> Initial surface extraction on hilltops was followed by the cutting of galleries; this latter process suggests that the ancients deliberately avoided extracting the tuff closer to the surface, since it was degraded by weather and vegetation.<sup>90</sup> The largest room in such galleries, at Salone, reached dimensions of 100 x 160 m. The dependence of the quarries on river transport is strongly suggested by the fact that most quarries overlook the Anio River and have their openings oriented towards it.

Dating quarries directly is difficult. Structures abandoned in the face of the advancing quarry can provide some range of use. Fill can sometimes suggest a date of abandonment. Independent dating of structures built using a quarry's products is not always reliable, unless a link between the two can be securely scientifically established. Quilici dates the opening of the quarry at Cervara to the Late Republican (late 2<sup>nd</sup>–mid 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE) period, based on the remains

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<sup>87</sup> Ammerman and Terrenato 1996: 46 n. 51.

<sup>88</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 427. De Casa et al. 1999: 10 are skeptical of the possibility of identifying the origin of architectural blocks in specific quarries, given the range of chemical variability even within single outcrops. A sample from the Tufo Lionato outcrop on Via della Consolazione, on the southern slopes of the Capitoline, plots within the Tufo dell'Aniene facies according to trace element analysis, but can perhaps be distinguished from the products of the Anio river valley by major element analysis; this method requires further study (Fabrizio Marra, pers. comm., February 21, 2017).

<sup>89</sup> Quilici 1974: 62–78 (Cervara); 41 (Salone).

<sup>90</sup> Quilici 1974: 41. The quarries frequently show evidence of rough-hewn blocks, water works, lamps, ventilation holes, votive altars, and storage places of the workers.

of a villa partially cut away by stonecutters,<sup>91</sup> but this can only suggest a date at which the quarry face reached the villa. The Anio tuff quarries in general seem to have been in full swing by the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, based on the use of the material at Rome as well as by the dating of rural villas that were abandoned in the face of the advancing quarries, though a period of operation spanning the entire Republic and early Empire is suggested.<sup>92</sup> As already mentioned, there are clearly attested uses of Tufo Lionato that well predate the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE date established by Frank, followed by Lugli and Coarelli. Although monument lists have traditionally separated structures of Anio from those of Monteverde, in what follows I do not distinguish between the two except in the rare cases where geochemical analysis has been performed.<sup>93</sup>

The earliest known major use of Tufo Lionato in ashlar construction is the podium of the Temple of Apollo Medicus (433–431 BCE).<sup>94</sup> Vitti claims to have chemically identified this “tufo litoide marrone scuro” as Tufo di Monteverde, but these claims are dubious.<sup>95</sup> Anio tuff was used in some sections of the original channel of the Anio Vetus, completed in 272 BCE. Vitti reports a Tufo Lionato molding resting on a platea in Tufo Giallo belonging to the Temple of Pietas (dated to 181 BCE on the strength of literary sources and the profile of the molding—

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<sup>91</sup> Quilici 1974: 71.

<sup>92</sup> “riferiscono già alla metà del II secolo a.C. una piena attività dei cantieri, e la loro efficienza per tutta l’età repubblica e la primissima età imperiale” (Quilici 1974: 41).

<sup>93</sup> Lists such as Lugli 1957: 310–11, 313.

<sup>94</sup> While the 1997–1999 excavations did not produce stratigraphic evidence to date this podium, Lionato and “cappellaccio” blocks of the same dimensions were encountered by Delbrück at the rear of the same temple, which allows its placement in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. The temple was vowed in 433 and dedicated in 431 [by the consul. C. Iulius], in response to a plague: Livy 4.25.3. Livy also records a “dedication” in 353 BCE (7.20.9), but as Bernard 2012b: 323, notes, only a single archaeological phase seems to be attested prior to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A 4<sup>th</sup> c. date is attributed to the temple by Jackson et al. 2011: 737.

<sup>95</sup> Description from Vitti 2010, who in n. 22 attributes the chemical identification, done at the Istituto Centrale del Restauro, to De Casa et al. 1999, wherein, however, “per motivi editoriali non sono stati pubblicati i risultati delle analisi del tempio di Apollo Medico.” This attribution to Monteverde is distinguished from the potential source on the Aventine suggested by Jackson and Kosso 2013: 278. Frank (1924:132–3) had already identified this “Monte Verde stone” but was reluctant to accept its use before the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE. Bernard 2012b: 323, suggests that the quarrying of tuff on the right bank of the Tiber might have presented difficulties prior to the fall of Veii and Fidenae. The Tufo Lionato and Tufo di Palatino blocks of the Apollo Medicus podium measure ca. 1 x 2 x 3 RF in courses 27.5 to 30 cm high: Vitti 2010.

analogous to that of the altar of Temple A at Largo Argentina).<sup>96</sup> Anio tuff begins to be widely used in Roman construction from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, following its employment in the Aqua Marcia (144–143 BCE). Lugli, in his list of monuments employing squared blocks of Anio tuff, places the “platea di S. Omobono” in third place—after the Aqua Marcia (144 BCE) and the platform of Temple A at Largo Argentina (ca. 120)—with a date of “120–100.”<sup>97</sup> This date should be raised at least to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. Further representative monuments employing Tufo Lionato include the podium and column drums of Temple B at Largo Argentina (101 BCE) and the Sullan phase of the Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium (ca. 80–70 BCE).<sup>98</sup> Post-antique exploitation of Tufo Lionato for ashlar construction is also known, especially during the Rinascimento and the postwar period, up through the 1970s.<sup>99</sup>

Tufo Lionato was used for many structures at Sant’Omobono. The earliest of these is the podium of the first phase of the Archaic temple. During the Republic, it was used for the blocks of a pavement in front of the twin temples of the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c.; for the substructure and interior fill of two altars associated with that pavement; for the slabs of a pavement of the twin temples dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.; for the channels of multiple drains of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries; and as a part of the podium facing of the 212 BCE reconstruction. Anio tuff was also used for a column base and a series of column drums, found in tertiary context within the archaeological area.

If the first Lionato pavement of the precinct at Sant’Omobono is in fact attributed to M. Fulvius Flaccus as consul in 264 BCE (see Chapters 4 and 5), this suggests an interesting, if tenuous, hypothesis. The same man had been *duumvir aquae perducendae* for the Anio Vetus

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<sup>96</sup> Vitti 2010, specifying “Monteverde” tuff.

<sup>97</sup> Lugli 1957: 310.

<sup>98</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 428.

<sup>99</sup> For instance in the late 18<sup>th</sup> c. Palazzo Braschi, currently seat of the Museo di Roma, the tuff for which was quarried on the Aventine: De Casa et al. 1999: 2–3, 10.

less than a decade prior.<sup>100</sup> As previously mentioned, the Anio Vetus is one of the earliest securely dated uses of Anio tuff in Roman construction. Lugli attributed this to the use of local stone along the route of the aqueduct, which would have no bearing on the introduction of such stone at Rome.<sup>101</sup> We could imagine, however, that Fulvius Flaccus' experience in sourcing stone for the Anio Vetus might have influenced his choice of material for repaving the *aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae*.

#### *Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina ("Grotta Oscura")*

In the area of Rome, Tufo Giallo ("yellow tuff") is an ignimbrite (pyroclastic flow deposit) from the Monti Sabatini volcano. At least four eruptive events deposited varieties of Tufo Giallo. Lower Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina was laid down  $561 \pm 1$  ka, Upper Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina  $548 \pm 4$  ka, Tufo Giallo della Prima Porta,  $514 \pm 3$  ka, and Tufo Giallo di Sacrofano  $285 \pm 1$  ka.<sup>102</sup> So far, however, only one of these has been identified in ancient Roman masonry, namely Upper Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina.<sup>103</sup>

Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina is characterized as "a yellowish-gray to grayish-orange, glassy tuff with large grayish-yellow pumice fragments."<sup>104</sup> Given these characteristics, visual inspection suffices to distinguish it from the other tuffs employed at Sant'Omobono. It is more widely known archaeologically as "(tufo giallo di) Grotta Oscura/Grottaoscura" from the

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<sup>100</sup> Frontin., *Aq.* 1.6.

<sup>101</sup> Lugli 1957: 309. Lugli does not cite any sources or specify further details on this tuff in the Anio Vetus. [Van Deman] refers to "walls, which belong clearly to the original structure... of rough cut-stone made of the harder tufa [sic?] of the region" (34). The reference to "tufa" is difficult to assess, since the term frequently occurs in the sense of "tuff," but the region in question, near Tivoli, is also rich in true geological tufa. Near Monte Falcone, "the original roof, is, as usual, made of two roughly cut slabs of hard tufa of a reddish-brown color, which are about fiftyfive to sixty centimeters wide, thirtyfour thick and ninety high" (51).

<sup>102</sup> Karner, Marra, and Renne 2001.

<sup>103</sup> The identification of Tufo Giallo di Prima Porta *caementa* by Jackson and Marra 2006: 419 is in error (Marra et al. 2011). Like TGPP, Lower Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina is poorly lithified, and hence not suited for use as dimension stone. It has been suggested that Tufo Giallo di Sacrofano was employed for pumice, but more work is required: Marra et al. 2011: 127.

<sup>104</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 418.

location of one of the known ancient quarry locations.<sup>105</sup> I will refer to it simply as “Tufo Giallo.” Two varieties with different resistance to weathering have been distinguished, a softer and more porous type used, for example, in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE “Servian” walls and the interior of the first phase of Temple C at Largo Argentina, and a harder, more resistant type used in the exterior moldings of Temple C and for the *Theatrum Balbi*.<sup>106</sup> Tufo Giallo crops out within the territory of the Etruscan city of Veii; ancient quarries have been identified from the eighth to the ninth mile of the Via Tiberina and at Grotta Oscura, and, recently, very close to the Campana Tomb.<sup>107</sup> These occur both as open-face quarries and as galleries. This is probably the stone that Vitruvius refers to as a product of the *lapidicines Pallenses* (2.7.1).<sup>108</sup>

Two of the most noticeable features of Tufo Giallo are the quite regular dimensions of its blocks and the presence of inscribed quarry marks on blocks. Both can be ascribed to a well-established Etruscan quarrying industry at Veii, predating the Roman exploitation of the outcrops.<sup>109</sup> Many Tufo Giallo blocks have characters inscribed on their header ends; these are sometimes termed “masons’ marks” but are more probably quarry marks.<sup>110</sup> These will be discussed in a separate section below. The typical length:height:width ratio of Tufo Giallo blocks found in mid-Republican construction is 3:2:2 RF. As Bernard notes, such dimensions result in blocks weighing ca. 650 kg; “not coincidentally we see the earliest holes for lifting tongs in

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<sup>105</sup> This term is widely used, Blake suggested, “since it has a picturesqueness which recommends it to memory,” despite the fact that “Dr. Van Deman never adopted the term Grotta Oscura tufa, doubtless because she felt that it had too narrow a geographical application” (M. E. Blake 1947: 27, n. 1). De Angelis d’Ossat 1936: 49–50 justly observes that, “Poichè a Grotta Oscura non mancano altri tufi vulcanici, più o meno litoidi, sarebbe certo più corretta e non equivoca la denominazione di *tufo giallo* della Flaminia, essendo gli altri di colore diverso, come il locale *peperino* ed il *tufo a grosse scorie nere*.”

<sup>106</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 431. The two varieties of Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina encountered in Temple C are attributed to different phases by Jackson and Marra, but, as Bernard 2012b: 209 notes, this hypothesis seems difficult to sustain.

<sup>107</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 418. I thank I. van Kampen (Museo dell’Ager Veientanus, Formello, pers. comm., 2016) for information on the quarry face at the Campana tomb.

<sup>108</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 410–11.

<sup>109</sup> Volpe 2014: 69.

<sup>110</sup> Volpe 2014: 66; “somehow connected with production contracts” (Frank 1924: 95).

Roman architecture on the heavier blocks of *tufo giallo*.”<sup>111</sup> Given the level of organization implied by the standard block sizes and quarry marks, it seems likely that lifting grips were first introduced at the extraction rather than the construction end of the process.

Although it was used in Rome already in the Archaic period, as for example the inscribed cippus in the Lapis Niger complex (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE), Tufo Giallo seems not to have become widely used in Roman construction until after the capture of Veii in 396, though this subject, like much else, requires more comprehensive study.<sup>112</sup> It is best known at Rome for its use in huge quantities for the so-called Servian circuit wall of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>113</sup> Tufo Giallo blocks reused in a later phase have been attributed to the controversial Camillan phase of the Temple of Concordia (367 BCE).<sup>114</sup> The foundations of the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. phase of the Temple of Portunus comprise eleven courses of Tufo Giallo ashlar.<sup>115</sup> During the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, Tufo Giallo was used for the original podium of Temple C in Largo Argentina (ca. 290),<sup>116</sup> a building under S. Pietro in Vincoli,<sup>117</sup> the piers of the Pons Aemilius (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c, or 179),<sup>118</sup> the first phase of Temple A at Largo Argentina (2<sup>nd</sup> half 3<sup>rd</sup> c.),<sup>119</sup> and the *argentariae novae* (after 210) on the site of the later Basilica Aemilia/Fulvia.<sup>120</sup>

Structures employing Tufo Giallo ashlar during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE include the Temple of Magna Mater (204–191),<sup>121</sup> the Temple of Veiovis (first phase, 196),<sup>122</sup> the Temple of

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<sup>111</sup> Bernard 2012a: 10. So also Volpe 2014: 65.

<sup>112</sup> Lombardi and Meucci 2006: 269 report the use of Tufo Giallo in some sort of structure associated with a 7<sup>th</sup> c. BCE votive deposit found adjacent to the podium of the Temple of Concord. For a recent overview of the problems, see Volpe 2014.

<sup>113</sup> Säflund 1932; Lugli 1957; Bernard 2012a.

<sup>114</sup> Säflund 1932: 113; Volpe 2014: 68.

<sup>115</sup> Ruggiero 1991.

<sup>116</sup> Coarelli 1981; Marra, D’Ambrosio, and Mattei in press.

<sup>117</sup> Colini 1966: 13–15.

<sup>118</sup> For a date in the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, see Coarelli 1992: 139–47.

<sup>119</sup> Marra, D’Ambrosio, and Mattei in press.

<sup>120</sup> Liv. 26.27.2; Ertel and Freyberger 2007: 110.

<sup>121</sup> Pensabene and D’Alessio 2006: 37–38.

<sup>122</sup> Colini 1942: 22–27; Albertoni 1999.

Victoria (194–192),<sup>123</sup> the first phase of the Basilica Fulvia/Aemilia (179 BCE),<sup>124</sup> foundations under the Basilica Julia tentatively assigned to the Basilica Sempronia (169 BCE),<sup>125</sup> the platform in front of Temple C at Largo Argentina (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter 2<sup>nd</sup> c.),<sup>126</sup> the house of the Vestals in phases 9 (1<sup>st</sup> half 2<sup>nd</sup> c.)<sup>127</sup> and 10 (138 BCE–1<sup>st</sup> half 1<sup>st</sup> c.),<sup>128</sup> the podium of the second phase of the Temple of Veiovis (150–100 BCE),<sup>129</sup> the internal structure of the Pons Milvius (109 BCE), the *domus* under S. Cecilia (late 2<sup>nd</sup> c.),<sup>130</sup> the foundations of the round temple of Hercules Victor Olivarius (late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE), a retaining wall in the Vigna Barberini (2<sup>nd</sup> c.),<sup>131</sup> numerous walls in the House of the Vestals (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE),<sup>132</sup> and as an intrados facing in substructures on the east slope of the Palatine (late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 1<sup>st</sup> c.).<sup>133</sup> During the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, Tufo Giallo appears in the Sullan phase of the Temple of Veiovis, as well as in certain parts of the Cloaca Maxima dated to the middle of the century.<sup>134</sup> The use of Tufo Giallo as a dimension stone diminished over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, possibly owing to the increasing use of Anio tuff together with travertine, marble, and cement, though it continued to be used as an aggregate in concrete construction at least into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Pensabene 1991: 14–15, 26–27. The blocks, of variable length, are regularly 2 RF wide.

<sup>124</sup> Ertel and Freyberger 2007: 110–11. It is notable that Tufo Giallo seems to have been used for elements of the colonnade of the structure in this phase.

<sup>125</sup> Caretoni and Fabbrini 1961: 54; Volpe 2014: 68.

<sup>126</sup> Marra, D’Ambrosio, and Mattei in press.

<sup>127</sup> Arvanitis 2010: 48–49.

<sup>128</sup> Arvanitis 2010: 49.

<sup>129</sup> Colini 1942: 26.

<sup>130</sup> The date is a stylistic one and depends on the (uncertain) connection between the walls and the pavement (Morricone Matini 1971: 12).

<sup>131</sup> Broise and Thébert 1996: 446; Broise and Thébert 1998: 487.

<sup>132</sup> Caretoni 1978.

<sup>133</sup> Anselmino 2006: 234–35.

<sup>134</sup> The phasing of this monument is quite complex. In addition to earlier Republican occurrences, Tufo Giallo ashlars are identified in a stretch reinforced in conjunction with the reconstruction of the *basilica Paulli* in 55 BCE (Bianchi and Antognoli 2014: 111) and part of a vault, resting on blocks of Anio tuff, connected with the construction of the *basilica Julia* in 46 BCE (Bianchi and Antognoli 2014: 121).

<sup>135</sup> Lugli 1957: 257; Coarelli 1992: 101; Bernard 2012a: 9.

Tufo Giallo is employed at Sant’Omobono exclusively in the foundations of the major restructuring to be dated to 212 BCE. It is most visible in two linear structures running E-W across the podium that served as foundations for the stylobates of the temples, but it was also used in the lower courses of the exterior of the podium, supporting blocks of Tufo Lionato. That is, Tufo Giallo was only used in non-exposed positions, as is true of many of its other uses in the city. This is not surprising; the exposed stylobate foundations have suffered severely from the elements since their exposure in 1936. Vitruvius recommends that *lapis pallens* be employed interred. In the one instance where an exterior use of Tufo Giallo can be documented, the east side of the so-called “taberna repubblicana,” a layer of white plaster covers the exposed face of the blocks (Figure 13).

*Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere Sabatino, Tufo di Fidene, Fidenae tuff*

Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere (“red tuff with black scoriae”) is “a lithified ignimbrite with large black scoria in a reddish ash matrix,” a product of the Monti Sabatini volcano, 449±1 ka (Figure 11).<sup>136</sup> The red matrix and black scoriae make it very distinctive to the eye. The southernmost end of its outcrops lies in the area of the ancient Latin city of Fidenae, for which reason Frank suggested its now common archaeological name, Tufo di Fidene/Fidenae tuff.<sup>137</sup> Vitruvius lists among the *lapides molles* (“soft/yielding stones”) found near Rome *fidenates* (2.7.1), which are generally identified by archaeologists with Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Karner, Marra, and Renne 2001: 204; Sottili, Palladino, and Zanon 2004; Sottili et al. 2010. Earlier research (e.g., Alvarez, Gordon, and Rashak 1975) identified these outcrops as the distal end of a much larger area of deposition, of which the greater part lies north of the Monti Sabatini, the product of the Vico volcanic district. The work of Sottili et al. has disproven this hypothesis.

<sup>137</sup> Frank 1924; Jackson and Marra 2006: 418–19.

<sup>138</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 410. Frank, however, was skeptical of the identification of Vitruvius’ *lapidicines fidenates* with Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, since, to the best of his knowledge, the latter “miserable stone” was not in common use during the architect’s day. Frank suggested instead that Vitruvius was describing a yellowish-gray tuff commonly found as aggregate in concrete construction (Frank 1918: 182–83, n. 2). On one hand, however, Vitruvius



**Figure 11:** Blocks of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere in the western cella at Sant'Omobono (author).

This Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere Sabatino (TRSNS) should be distinguished from Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere Vicano (TRSNV), also known as Vico C Ignimbrite, a much younger (150±4 ka) product of the Vico volcanic district, the next district north of the Monti Sabatini.<sup>139</sup> TRSNV is the bedrock into which were cut, for example, the Etruscan tombs of Norchia and the Roman amphitheater at Sutri, and it makes up much of the plateau of Civita Castellana/Falerii Veteres, where it was used extensively in construction.<sup>140</sup> It is difficult or impossible to distinguish the Vicano and Sabatino varieties of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere by visual inspection alone.<sup>141</sup> The use of TRSNV—perhaps quarried at Falerii—for construction at Rome is conceivable, even if the greater proximity of the Fidenae quarries to both the Tiber and to Rome

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does seem to preserve a stock of architectural knowledge of middle Republican date (Bernard 2012b: 211–13). At Fidenae itself, on the other hand, recent research has documented extensive quarrying of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere during the Empire (Barbina et al. 2009: 331). Coarelli has recently questioned the reality of significant extraction of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere at Fidenae during the Republican period, given its limited attestation, and resuscitates Frank's theory that all the blocks attested at Rome and Ostia can be attributed to the reuse of material from the circuit walls of Fidenae dismantled after its fall to the Romans. This question remains without satisfactory answer.

<sup>139</sup> Sottili, Palladino, and Zanon 2004: 362. Note that “tufo rosso” without black scoriae can refer to a number of different tuffs, usually some variety of Tufo Lionato.

<sup>140</sup> Norchia: Ciccioli et al. 2010. Sutri: Cimarelli and de Rita 2008: 87. Civita Castellana: Giampaolo et al. 2008.

<sup>141</sup> Fabrizio Marra, Istituto Nazionale di Geologia e Vulcanologia, personal communication, February 2017.

makes their products the more likely candidate for use in urban construction.<sup>142</sup> Greater certainty would require an extensive program of geochemical analysis of samples from both outcrops and ancient monuments. Given this imperfect state of knowledge, in what follows I hew to agnosticism and refer to Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere (or TRSN), maintaining “Fidenae tuff” and its congeners only in citations of previous scholarship.

The primary known quarries exist on the slopes of the hill hosting the ancient city of Fidenae itself. Quarry faces of mid-Republican date lie further from the urban center, while those dated to the Empire impinge more directly on the city’s public areas.<sup>143</sup> In addition to the Fidenate urban quarries, there was extensive Roman extraction of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere Sabatino just across the Tiber at Grottarossa.<sup>144</sup> In general, I hold with Di Gennaro and Ceccarelli that “tuttavia la cronologia e l’incidenza delle estrazioni del tufo di *Fidenae* restano ancora da definire.”<sup>145</sup>

The history of Roman use of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere contains many unanswered questions and contradictions, especially as regards chronology. It was probably first quarried no later than the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE,<sup>146</sup> and, as discussed earlier, the date of its first use in construction at Rome is generally held to follow the conquest of Fidenae in 426 BCE. It occurs occasionally in

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<sup>142</sup> See DeLaine 1995 for the greater relative cost of terrestrial versus riverine transport of building materials and Volpe 2014 for calculations of riverine logistics.

<sup>143</sup> Barbina et al. 2009: 331. Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1986: 399 see the growth of the quarries at the expense of the settlement already in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. This perhaps parallels the situation documented by Farr 2014 for Imperial extraction of Lapis Gabinus in the urban center of Gabii.

<sup>144</sup> Marra et al. 2011: 127 (contrary to the statement in Jackson and Marra 2006: 411 that “there are no traces of important ancient quarries in Saxa Rubra (modern Grottarossa)”). The material crops out “un po’ ovunque nell’area vulcanica sabatina, al di là del Tevere” (Barbina et al. 2009: 330, n. 36). See Carbonari 2007 for a small (ca. 40 x 24 m) Roman tuff quarry at Grottarossa. Carbonari identifies this as “tufo di Fidene,” which is supported by his description (“una pasta di colore rossiccio tendente al giallo... una considerevole concentrazione di scorie di colore nero di forma irregolare”), even if the photographs prompt doubts.

<sup>145</sup> di Gennaro and Ceccarelli 2012: 212, n. 17.

<sup>146</sup> Barbina et al. 2009: 330, mentioning early constructions at Fidenae itself and its territory, but without providing specific references.

the 4<sup>th</sup>-c. circuit walls;<sup>147</sup> perhaps the podium of the Temple of Concord (367–366 BCE);<sup>148</sup> the foundations of what is possibly the Temple of Juno Moneta (345–344 BCE);<sup>149</sup> the walls of the *castrum* at Ostia (late 4<sup>th</sup> c.);<sup>150</sup> a foundation on the southwestern Palatine (2<sup>nd</sup> half 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c.);<sup>151</sup> the interior of the podium of Temple C at Largo Argentina (late 4<sup>th</sup> /early 3<sup>rd</sup> c.);<sup>152</sup> the cella of the second phase of Temple A at Largo Argentina (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. ?);<sup>153</sup> some interior walls of the *Tabularium* (ca. 78 BCE);<sup>154</sup> and the Ponte Salario, which spans the Tiber by Antemnae (1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE).<sup>155</sup> As with the state of knowledge of the Fidenae quarries, the situation has not advanced much from Blake’s view in 1947: “The evidence is insufficient to allow any generalization, especially when no one of the specimens can be dated with precision.”<sup>156</sup>

At Sant’Omobono, Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere was used for the foundations of the *cellae* and *alae* of the twin temples, for the lowest courses of the western edge of the podium, for a staircase that descends from the western edge of the podium just south of the temples proper, and a drain running N-S along the eastern face of the podium.<sup>157</sup> On the blocks of the temple foundations one can observe holes for lifting tongs—often but not always near the upper edge—

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<sup>147</sup> E.g., TRSN and Lionato blocks mixed with predominant Tufo Giallo at Via di S. Anselmo: Bernard 2012b: 296.

<sup>148</sup> The existence of a Camillan phase of this temple is contested. *Caementa* of Tufo Giallo and Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere are found in the concrete podium of the Opimian temple of 121 BCE, suggesting the existence of a prior structure on the site employing those materials.

<sup>149</sup> Tucci 2005. These foundations, in which TRSN is integrated with blocks of Tufo del Palatino, are assigned by Cifani 2008: 223 to a restoration of the temple of Juno Lucina.

<sup>150</sup> Frank suggested that the appearance of TRSN at Rome and Ostia might represent the dismantling and reuse of the circuit walls of Fidenae in the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. (Frank 1924: 17, 21–22, 95). Frank’s hypothesis was taken up by Aguilera Martín 2002: 25 with specific reference to the Ostia *castrum*, though ceramics from the excavation of a portion of the foundation trench date to the late 4<sup>th</sup> / early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE: Martin 1996: 20–23.

<sup>151</sup> Possibly contemporary with the Temple of Victoria in 294 BCE (Pensabene 1991: 21–22). M. E. Blake 1947: 126 saw this as a repair of the Servian Wall, perhaps in 353 or 212 BCE.

<sup>152</sup> Marchetti Longhi 1932: 10; Coarelli 1981: 15.

<sup>153</sup> So Bernard 2012b: 364–65. Marchetti Longhi 1936: 106

<sup>154</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 419; *LTUR* 5:17-20.

<sup>155</sup> Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1978: 144–45, 149. The TRSN blocks, apart from those of the arches, measure 59–60 x 86 cm on their header ends and 108–110 cm on their stretcher faces. The bridge may have had an original central arch in travertine.

<sup>156</sup> M. E. Blake 1947: 27.

<sup>157</sup> The material of the large subterranean central cistern could be either TRSN or Anio, contrary to the suggestion in Diffendale et al. 2016 that Anio tuff can be identified. See Chapter 4 for more discussion.

as well as drafted margins, the latter only on “external” faces. This type of drafting appears on other structures in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, probably for the purpose of aligning blocks.

### *Combination of Tuffs*

The generations of Roman engineers responsible for the various phases of the twin temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta clearly recognized the varied characteristics of the tuffs at their disposal and employed these to their advantage. For instance, in the first phase of the twin temples, the buried foundations were built of the locally available and easy to cut Tufo del Palatino. Because these were buried, the susceptibility of this tuff to weathering was not a problem. The face of the podium, on the other hand, since it was to be exposed to the atmosphere, was built of Lapis Albanus, which was much more durable, but harder to cut, and which had to be imported. The same combination of tuffs was used in the circular monument base, perhaps of the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, for the same reasons. The two 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. altars employ Tufo Lionato of the Anio facies for their substructures and for interior fill, while the molded surfaces are of Lapis Albanus.

The most elaborate combination of materials can be seen in the massive reconstruction of the temples attributed to 212 BCE (Figure 12). Tufo Giallo was used for all structures that were not exposed to the elements, including the foundations of the two stylobates and the interior portions of the podium face. Tufo Lionato of the Anio facies was used for exterior surfaces that did not need to take fine details. Lapis Albanus was used for the upper course of the podium exterior, where greater durability was desired. Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere was used for the foundations of the temple cellae, possibly associated with this phase. While we might expect the use of Tufo Giallo, since these foundations would have been buried, this tuff does not seem to have been employed in single rows of stretchers. Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere was also used for

some of the deepest parts of the exterior foundation as well as for drains running along the exterior. Although today this combination of materials makes for a visually appealing contrast, aesthetic considerations should be ruled out as a motivation for the Roman builders, since the exposed surfaces would originally have been faced with plaster.



**Figure 12:** Sant'Omobono, east face of podium, combination of (from bottom to top) two courses of Tufo Giallo, one course each of Tufo Lionato (Anio facies) and Lapis Albanus (author).

### Materials other than Tuffs

In addition to the tuffs, harder stones are also present at Sant'Omobono. These include basalt, travertine, and marble, though the pertinence of the latter two to Republican-era construction is uncertain. The earliest use of travertine at the site, as part of a complete reconstruction of the temples, cannot yet be fixed chronologically.<sup>158</sup> It could potentially date as early as the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, or as late as the reign of Hadrian. White marble may have been introduced contemporaneously with travertine, while colored marble—probably postdating the Republic—is found in *opus sectile* pavements within the church as well as in small fragments found in fills around the site, notably of serpentine and porphyry. Limestone has not been identified, other than in a highly fragmentary inscription of Republican date discovered

<sup>158</sup> The introduction of travertine in public monuments at Rome has traditionally been identified with L. Opimius' reconstruction of the Temple of Concordia in 121 BCE.

somewhere in the vicinity of Sant’Omobono, which may however have fallen from the Capitoline.<sup>159</sup>

Concrete construction is present in the form of two exiguous *opus reticulatum* walls and *opus caementicium* foundations, though these cannot be dated with certainty to the Republican period. There is some evidence of mudbrick, and the walls of the Republican-era temples would have been constructed of timber and mudbrick, although neither of these survives *in situ*. Fired terracottas, both moldmade decorative elements and tiles, were used on the roofs of all of the Republican phases of the temples. Fragments of wall plaster have been found, some perhaps dating as early as the first phase of the Republican temples (ca. 500 BCE). Iron (and bronze?) clamps between blocks are also present, sometimes with lead filling.

### *Basalt*

The introduction of basalt flags for the paving of Roman streets has been connected with a notice of Livy for 292 BCE, recording the paving of a stretch of the Via Appia in *silex*.<sup>160</sup> This perhaps marks the first use of this material for paving, which perhaps remained unusual even into the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>161</sup> Excavation on the Palatine northeast has turned up a basalt-paved street surface of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>162</sup>

At Sant’Omobono, basalt is present in the form of flagstones comprising street pavements along all four sides of the Republican podium, some of which date to the Republican

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<sup>159</sup> Degrassi 1951: 46–47, who holds it to be not later than the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE; ILLRP 318a: [---]ne[--- / ---]ia[--- / --- co]sol[---].

<sup>160</sup> Liv. 10.47.

<sup>161</sup> Laurence 2002. In 189 BCE, the road from Porta Capena to the Aedes Martis was paved in *silex* (Liv. 38.28); in 174, there followed “streets in the city” (Liv. 41.27.5).

<sup>162</sup> Panella, Zeggio, and Ferrandes 2014: 187.

period.<sup>163</sup> Abutting the north face of the podium are two superposed street surfaces, representing different phases of the Vicus Iugarius, both paved with basalt flags. The upper street surface is associated with the entrance to the site constructed in blocks of travertine, variously dated between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE and the Hadrianic period. The lower street surface abuts the podium facing in Lapis Albanus, which provides a *terminus post quem* for the street of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The lower street can be picked up again adjacent to the northwest corner of the Republican podium, where it meets the street coming from the Forum Holitorium to the northwest, and turns to run south along the western limit of the podium. The latter stretch is preserved only where it was built over by foundations in Tufo Giallo, which are associated with the 212 BCE reconstruction of the twin temples. Running west from the podium, beginning just south of the front of the temples themselves, a basalt-paved street leads toward the Tiber. The association of this street surface with that further north is uncertain. The southern edge of the Republican podium is also flanked by basalt-paved street surfaces.<sup>164</sup> To the southwest, a fragmentary surface is associated with an open drain in Tufo Lionato that runs northwest, adjacent to the podium façade also in Tufo Lionato.<sup>165</sup>

### *Mudbrick*

The superstructure of the twin temples was probably built from timber-framed mudbrick in the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE phase. The top surface of the uppermost course of blocks of Tufo del

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<sup>163</sup> For instance, there are exiguous remains of a basalt-paved street to the west of the podium, on which rest blocks of Aniene and travertine probably associated with the reconstruction in the same materials of the temples themselves. If this reconstruction is dated to 212 BCE, the street must predate that event. To the east of the podium, the currently visible basalt pavement of the street flanked by *tabernae* probably dates to Late Antiquity (M. Ceci, Sovrintendenza Capitolina, pers. comm. Feb. 2017), though there were certainly earlier phases, at least one of which was also in basalt. These pavements overlie a sewer built in Tufo Giallo and dating probably to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE (C. Colelli, preliminary report on excavation of C/22W).

<sup>164</sup> In an overview photo from 1938, it can be seen that these flags were at that point almost completely dismantled, presumably as part of the construction of the offices of the V<sup>o</sup> Ripartizione (ASRCM F.29, 1, 3349a).

<sup>165</sup> A drain of smaller dimensions, running obliquely to the other, is represented on the 1970 plan, but it is not currently observable, for which reason nothing more can be said about it here.

Palatino preserves square sockets for the emplacement of wooden beams. Excavations in *saggio* A7, inside the western cella, produced fragments of raw refined yellow clay, which preserve surfaces with the impressions of other materials. None of these fragments approaches the dimensions of full mudbricks. The successive phases of the superstructure of the twin temples were probably also in mudbrick. The (possibly Late Republican) reconstruction of the temples employed travertine ashlar for the cella walls, however. The possibility that the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE phase cellas were built in Fidenae tuff will be discussed in the following chapter.

### *Caementa*

*Caementa* are fragments of stone or terracotta used as coarse aggregate in Roman concrete. They may often preserve evidence of prior building phases, especially in sacred contexts. Frank recognized the principle that “consecrated materials were not usually thrown away.”<sup>166</sup> Concrete construction at Sant’Omobono is quite limited and of uncertain date. There are two foundations poured against the southern face of the western cella, evidently to support pilasters. Between the twin temples, there are three pairs of concrete foundations, which Coarelli and Ioppolo have reconstructed as the basis of a double-bayed freestanding arch.<sup>167</sup> In the northwestern most of these foundations, the *caementa* are entirely fragments of Lapis Albanus.

Stray terracotta architectural elements found at Sant’Omobono also show evidence of having been used as *caementa*. Though surface finds, their mortar encrustation betrays their use.

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<sup>166</sup> Frank based this in part on the testimony of Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.53), who records the proceedings for the reconstruction of the Capitoline temple. In Frank’s telling, “When... the marble fragments could not readily be used again in the same temple the priests had to be consulted and they arranged the matter by ordering it all transported to a lone place in the marshes by the sea.” Tacitus says nothing of the potential for reuse, however: *ab eo contracti haruspices monuere ut reliquiae prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur, templum isdem vestigiis sisteretur* (“The haruspices engaged by [Vestinius] advised that the remains of the previous shrine should be carried off into the marshes, (and) that the (new) temple should be raised on the very same footprint.” Frank’s principle is, nevertheless, probably sound. See, for example, the *bidental* at Minturnae (below).

<sup>167</sup> Ioppolo 1992.

These are all of relatively late date and in tile fabric. We can compare the forum of Minturnae, where numerous fragments of architectural terracottas were found incorporated in the subterranean concrete foundation of a *bidental*, dated to the mid 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE.<sup>168</sup>

### *Cocciopesto*

Two pavements in *cocciopesto* (crushed or broken terracotta fragments mixed with lime and sand) at Sant’Omobono were the focus of excavations by Morricone, as part of her larger study of Republican mosaic pavements.<sup>169</sup> Although she did not publish details of these excavations, some implications are contained in her synthetic publications.<sup>170</sup> More recently, Ramieri has published an overview of all the mosaic pavements at the site.<sup>171</sup> The so-called “Taberna Republicana” is paved with terracotta *cubetti* set into *cocciopesto*; in 1968, portions of this pavement were removed in order to permit excavation, and afterward replaced.<sup>172</sup> This includes varicolored terracotta tesserae, set into *cocciopesto* 4–6 cm thick and resting on an earlier pavement of Tufo Lionato blocks. Ramieri tentatively dated this to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE on the basis of the relatively few parallels available.<sup>173</sup> The western temple cella preserves part of a pavement in *cocciopesto*.<sup>174</sup> This is presently preserved only in the northern half of the cella; the southern half was removed in 2011 order to permit excavation below it.<sup>175</sup> It consists of red,

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<sup>168</sup> Johnson 1935: 29–36. “They were undoubtedly placed there, following religious practice, as commemorative examples of the public buildings destroyed in the fire... Apparently in every instance complete units rather than scattered fragments were assembled and broken up for utilization in the masonry... Furthermore, with ...two exceptions... only one unit of each type was used.” (35).

<sup>169</sup> Braconi 2008 makes the point that the Latin term *opus signinum* is never used in attested ancient literature to refer to pavements—it describes a kind of foundation—and recommends the use of the Italian *cocciopesto* or, if an ancient term is obstinately desired, *pavimentum testaceum*, which is found in Isidore of Seville (15.8.11).

<sup>170</sup> Morricone Matini 1971; Morricone 1980.

<sup>171</sup> Ramieri 2011.

<sup>172</sup> Ramieri 2011: 1154–60, no. 1. For a brief account of the investigations in this area, see Cangemi in Brocato et al. 2012. A fuller account follows here in the following chapter.

<sup>173</sup> Ramieri 2011: 1159–60.

<sup>174</sup> Ramieri 2011: 1165–69, no. 8.

<sup>175</sup> This portion of the pavement had in fact been removed and replaced in 1978 as part of a restoration project.

white, and black terracotta tesserae together with fragments of tuff set into a layer of mortar and reddish *cocciopesto*. Ramieri, on the basis of the archival materials, identifies a subsequent restoration of this pavement, localized in the southwestern portion of the cella and characterized by a more compact matrix. In the first stratum below this pavement were found fragments of a further *cocciopesto* pavement with different properties.<sup>176</sup>

### *Plaster and Paint*

For the soft tuffs, rather susceptible to atmospheric degradation, a coating of plaster was a crucial addition. Aesthetics were also a consideration. Vitruvius stresses the importance of plastering.<sup>177</sup> A block from the upper course of a 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE trachyte monument at Campo della Fiera preserves traces of plaster.<sup>178</sup> The molding of the podium of Temple B at Ardea, loc. Fosso dell’Incastro preserves substantial traces of stucco.<sup>179</sup> In Rome, plastering or stucco is found, for example, on Lapis Albanus columns of the Temple of Janus and the unidentified temple on Via delle Botteghe Oscure, the Tufo Lionato columns of Temple B at Largo Argentina and the Temple of Portunus,<sup>180</sup> and Tufo Giallo blocks of the party wall between the houses of the Vestals and the Pontifex Maximus.<sup>181</sup> At Sant’Omobono, the exterior eastern face of the Tufo Giallo blocks of the so-called “Taberna Republicana” preserves a coating of white plaster (Figure 13).

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<sup>176</sup> Ramieri 2011: 1170. These include white quadrangular tesserae and a different quality of the *cocciopesto*.

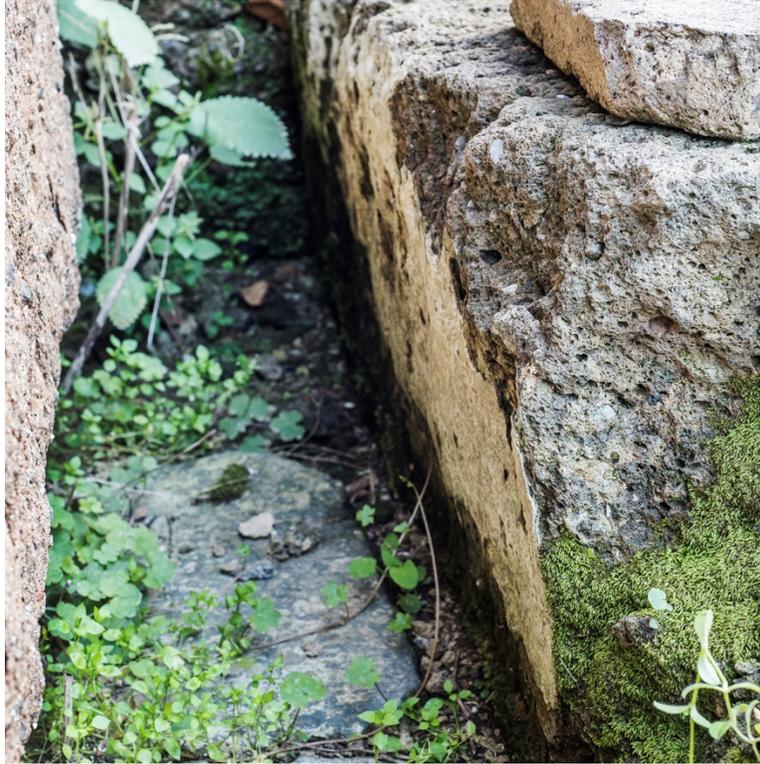
<sup>177</sup> Vitr., *De arch.* 2.7.2, 7.5.8. “Vitruvius mentions such plasterwork no less than 30 times in *De Architectura*; in addition to its decorative function, it seems to have had great importance for protecting soft masonry walls from degradation and decay” (Jackson and Marra 2006: 425). According to Pliny the Elder (36.54), however, lime plaster erodes tuff: *e reliqua multitudine lapidum tofus aedificiis inutilis est mortalitate, mollitia. quaedam tamen loca non alium habent, sicuti carthago in africa. exestur halitu maris, friatur vento, everberatur imbri. sed cura tuentur picando parietes, quoniam et tectorii calce eroditur.*

<sup>178</sup> Frascarelli 2012: 132.

<sup>179</sup> Torelli 2011: 202–3 notes the presence of one or possibly two coats of plaster and attributes them to Late Republican maintenance, as they seem to extend down only so far as the Late Republican ground level.

<sup>180</sup> Jackson and Marra 2006: 429.

<sup>181</sup> Carettoni 1978: 341.



**Figure 13:** Plaster on exterior face of Tufo Giallo block of the “Taberna Republicana” (author).

A worked corner fragment of visually identified Lapis Albanus at Sant’Omobono bears traces of a red substance on one surface (Figure 14).<sup>182</sup> We can compare a base molding block, attributed to the Archaic altar beneath Altar IX at Lavinium, that also bears traces of red paint.<sup>183</sup> The red substance on the Sant’Omobono fragment could have been applied by the Roman masons to ascertain the quality of the joining surfaces.<sup>184</sup> A use for protective properties is also possible.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> The fragment is of unknown provenience within the site.

<sup>183</sup> Cozza 1975: 90, 133.

<sup>184</sup> The technique is better known from Greek masonry. For its use in Lydian architecture, see Ratté 2011: 30. I have not observed any traces of red paint on blocks *in situ* at Sant’Omobono.

<sup>185</sup> Ruddle (red ochre) seems to have been ascribed desiccative and/or waterproofing properties in Greek agricultural and medical contexts, as well as by Greek and Roman shipwrights (Lytle 2013, esp. 537–45), and its application to tuff for similar reasons is at least conceivable. As Lytle notes, such properties do not seem to be borne out by modern science, but this does not negate the evidence for an ancient belief to the contrary.



**Figure 14:** Traces of red substance on worked fragment of Lapis Albanus (author).

### Stone Cutting and Dressing Tools

A variety of tools is known to have been used for the cutting and dressing of stone used in Roman ashlar masonry.<sup>186</sup> A basic principle of stoneworking is that the types of tools and techniques used vary with the characteristics of the stone being cut, so the soft tuffs do not reflect the processes employed on much harder marbles, for instance.<sup>187</sup> There is no general agreement on the tools used to shape tuff, however; some of this may be due to inconsistent vocabulary.<sup>188</sup>

Säflund states that the greater hardness of lithoid tuff (Lionato, Lapis Albanus) with respect to granular tuff (Palatino, Tufo Giallo) is reflected in the presence of point marks on the former but not the latter, while the lithoid tuffs also show evidence of the use of the tooth-head hammer (*martellina a denti*); the latter being introduced in both Lionato and travertine at about the same time.<sup>189</sup> According to Lugli, initial quarrying of tuff was done with the pick (*piccone*) and/or what he calls a *male-e-peggio* (literally, “bad-and-worse”), a type of pick with blade on

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<sup>186</sup> Adam 2005.

<sup>187</sup> Rockwell 1995: 11. Very detailed work on the extraction of calcarenite at Populonia has been done by Camporeale and Pais 2009, which provides a useful parallel for tuff extraction. Although calcarenite is a limestone rather than a tuff, its working qualities would seem to be similar, given that—in Puglia, at least, where its common name is *carparo*—it has been commonly called “tufo” (e.g., Milano 1820: 13; Taramelli 1903: 209), a term applied to easily worked light stone of medium hardness.

<sup>188</sup> In addition, as Rockwell 1995: 31 notes, the axe—useful for soft stone—had been replaced in many regions by hand tools between the sixteenth and the end of the nineteenth century; that is, before the advent of archaeologists wishing to observe and record “traditional” techniques.

<sup>189</sup> Säflund 1932: 122. Adam 2005 makes no mention of the use of the tooth-head hammer in antiquity.

one end and a point on the other.<sup>190</sup> Squaring followed, again with *male-e-peggio*, refinement with a square hammer, anathyrosis and drafting of margins with chisel.<sup>191</sup> The *malepeggio* may also be known as a stone mason's axe or kivel; it has been suggested that this is the quarry instrument referred to in Plautus' *Captivi* (1004) as the *upupa*, given its resemblance to the beak and crest of a hoopoe.<sup>192</sup>

The Archaic Lionato quarry on the southwest Palatine bears signs of the pickaxe.<sup>193</sup> A mid-Republican (ca. 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c.) open air Lionato quarry southwest of Rome near Castel di Decima at Mezzocammino shows the use of pickaxes, while the late Republican workings in the quarries at nearby Tenuta della Mandriola bear chisel holes for the use of the wedge and mallet to separate blocks from the face.<sup>194</sup>

## Quarry Marks

Signs and symbols incised on ashlar are a widely, though not well-known, feature of mid-Republican architecture, and they are present also at Sant'Omobono. With few exceptions, these are probably not masons' marks but quarry marks (It. *segni di cava* or *marchi di cava*); that is, they were incised at the quarry and had significance there rather than at the construction site. They are attested in Etruria and Latium principally between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE. In Etruria, quarry marks occur at Pyrgi, Tarquinia, Veii (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c.?),<sup>195</sup> Vulci,<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Lugli 1957: 219. Lugli records widths of 4.8 to 5.3 cm for marks from the blade of the *male-e-peggio* on Tufo Giallo blocks at Termini and on Anio tuff blocks in the Temple of the Castors. One also finds it written *malepeggio*. There is some disagreement as to whether the instrument of this name has two blades on perpendicular planes, or a blade and a point, which doubtless indicates that both forms are sometimes so termed.

<sup>191</sup> Lugli 1957: 221.

<sup>192</sup> Gianfrotta 1996: 188; Cifani 2008: 240. The occurrence of the word in Plautus is often classed as a pun, but the passage in question is the only evidence for its use as the name of a tool, which may have been called "hoopoe" as straightforwardly as a "fire-dog" in hearths or the "crow" in Roman naval combat. This does not mean that Plautus was not making comic use of it—simply that he was not, properly speaking, punning.

<sup>193</sup> F. M. Rossi 2014: 78, figs. 4–5.

<sup>194</sup> Buccellato and Coletti 2014: 109–10.

<sup>195</sup> For the date, Ward-Perkins 1961: 36.

Volsinium/Orvieto,<sup>197</sup> Volsinii Novi/Bolsena (Fig. 8; 2<sup>nd</sup> c.?),<sup>198</sup> Perugia (3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> cs.),<sup>199</sup> and in Faliscan territory at Falerii Novi (post-240)<sup>200</sup> and Capena.<sup>201</sup> In Latium, quarry marks are known in constructions at Ardea (1<sup>st</sup> half 5<sup>th</sup> c.),<sup>202</sup> Anagni,<sup>203</sup> Gabii (pre-3<sup>rd</sup> c.),<sup>204</sup> Norba, Segni, Setia,<sup>205</sup> and Rome.<sup>206</sup> At Rome, in addition to Sant’Omobono, such marks are found in the Palatine wall near the *Scalae Caci*;<sup>207</sup> in the *agger* on the Esquiline by the Auditorium of Maecenas;<sup>208</sup> in the “Servian” walls on the Quirinal, Aventine, and Caelian;<sup>209</sup> in the foundations of the first phases of Temple C (late 4<sup>th</sup> / early 3<sup>rd</sup> c.) and Temple A (mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c.) at Largo Argentina;<sup>210</sup> in a reinforcement of a tract of an aqueduct on the Caelian, dated in its original

<sup>196</sup> Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2001: 65–66, and fig. 7, who record three instances of two letters (*ce*—with a curvilinear *c*) and one instance of a *X* or trident on a portion of the circuit walls, of as-yet uncertain date.

<sup>197</sup> De Rubertis 2011, digital edition, p. 240, fig. 75.

<sup>198</sup> Bloch 1950: 67–70 offers a 4<sup>th</sup> c. date, no longer supportable since the site is firmly identified as *Volsinii* (i.e.. *Novi*), which was not founded until after the destruction of Orvieto/*Volsinium* in 264; Tamburini 1998: 96–100 tentatively dates the walls to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, without excluding a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. date after 264. Gros 1971: 144–147 places the construction of the walls in the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE. Volpe 2014: 66 expresses continued uncertainty on the date. The Bolsena circuit is notable for the occurrence of curvilinear signs, such as Etruscan ‘8’ and ‘B’, which are rare in other contexts. Attested letters and sequences include *s, t, f, ss, ce, ca, ta, vl, fle*, in addition to nonalphabetic signs.

<sup>199</sup> Arco “di Augusto” (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE): De Rubertis 2011: 33 fig. 16; Muro di via delle Cantine (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE): De Rubertis 2011 (digital edition): 43, fig. 18 and 46–47, fig. 21. Synoptic overview in Säflund 1932: pl. 27.

<sup>200</sup> McCall 2007: 21 and 233, fig. 1.24: ‘VV’ on a block of a tower in the northwest corner of the wall circuit.

<sup>201</sup> See Jones 1962: 139–40 for a date of the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. for the walls.

<sup>202</sup> Quarry marks occur on at least six blocks of the first phase of the Acropolis temple, dated to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE: Stefani 1944: 89–90. Of the eight signs illustrated in Stefani’s fig. 12, three ‘+’; three ‘X’; one approaches ‘X’ shape, consisting of a diagonal line to which on join two shorter lines at oblique angles, one on each side, which do not meet; and one is ‘Σ’ shaped. See M. E. Blake 1947: 106 for further references.

<sup>203</sup> Säflund 1932 pl. 27; M. E. Blake 1947: 107.

<sup>204</sup> Fabbri and Musco 2016: 84–88, fig. 15. An ‘A’ with sloping crossbar and a ‘+’ occur on the stretcher ends of blocks of the curtain wall of an *agger* at the northeastern end of the city. Interestingly, these are described as *tuffo giallognolo* (“yellowish tuff”), i.e., not Lapis Gabinus; blocks from the same curtain wall excavated by Guaitoli were described by him as *tuffo rossastro* and visually identified as Anio tuff from Tor Cervara: Guaitoli 1981: 45–46. The wall has not been directly dated, but a burial cut into the compact strata immediately outside the wall contained a Black Gloss cup of Morel type 2784 b.1, dated to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (Fabbri and Musco 2016: 88–89, fig. 17).

<sup>205</sup> Bruckner 2001: 121.

<sup>206</sup> Lugli 1957: 200 enumerates the examples known to him.

<sup>207</sup> Säflund 1932: 106–7.

<sup>208</sup> Säflund 1932: 108.

<sup>209</sup> Säflund 1932: 112–13; Bernard 2012a: 11.

<sup>210</sup> Marchetti Longhi 1933: 281–82; Marchetti Longhi 1936: 87–91; Coarelli 1981: 15–16. In Temple C, the most frequently occurring signs are ‘+’, ‘H’, and ‘C’; ‘P’ and what might be an ‘F’ also occur, and there may be others.

phase to the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE;<sup>211</sup> a foundation east of the area of the Temple of Concordia;<sup>212</sup> foundations of the Temple of Veiovis (1<sup>st</sup> phase, 196 BCE?);<sup>213</sup> foundations of the Temple of Victoria (2<sup>nd</sup> phase, possibly reused from 1<sup>st</sup> phase?);<sup>214</sup> the (first?) phase of the Basilica Fulvia (179 BCE);<sup>215</sup> the Basilica Sempronia (170/169 BCE);<sup>216</sup> phase 9 of the house of the Vestals (1<sup>st</sup> half 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE);<sup>217</sup> foundations in the Vigna Barberini (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE),<sup>218</sup> and the foundations of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (mid 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE).<sup>219</sup>

All of the Roman examples occur on Tufo Giallo, with rare exceptions.<sup>220</sup> Although this would require a more thorough study, it is conceivable that the predominance of Tufo Giallo is due to the fact that it is the only type of tuff whose ends were frequently left undressed, with the result that it is the only type of tuff to preserve quarry marks. On the other hand, it seems clear that the marks on Tufo Giallo blocks are connected with the traditions of quarrying at Veii. It is perhaps relevant that Tufo Giallo is the only one of the tuffs used in construction at Rome that was quarried in Etruscan territory.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>211</sup> A three-bar sigma: Morretta and Palazzo 2017.

<sup>212</sup> Rebert and Marceau 1925: 63.

<sup>213</sup> Colini 1942: 23–24, fig. 19 (“una grande marca di cava a forma di X”); Albertoni 1999.

<sup>214</sup> Pensabene 1991: 35: “una sigla di lavorazione... costituita da tre aste parallele” on the header end of a block.

<sup>215</sup> Frank 1924: 73.

<sup>216</sup> Caretoni and Fabbrini 1961: 54, pls. I and II, 1. The signs take up much of the end of the block and are mostly rectilinear.

<sup>217</sup> Arvanitis 2010: 48–49. Two blocks (not illustrated) bear the letter ‘V’—in Arvanitis’ words, “forse per *V[ESTA]*, probabile contrassegno di cava inerente alla destinazione dei blocchi.” This is likely a coincidence, however, given the lack of such correspondences in other Roman monuments. In addition, a block in wall M” of the same complex bears the mark ‘H’ (Caretoni 1978: 341 n. 37).

<sup>218</sup> Broise and Thébert 1996: 446 (“Les blocs qui le composent (dimension, marques) correspondent parfaitement aux normes d’extraction pratiquées dans ces carrières du territoire de Véies”).

<sup>219</sup> Lugli 1957: 200, and tav. XLIX, 5. Lugli suggests (204, n. 3) that these blocks were reused from some earlier structure.

<sup>220</sup> Zeggio 2005: 69, 75, n. 67 signals several examples of 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE date on cappellaccio from the Curiae Veteres, though without great detail. Lugli 1957: 200 records a single example, now lost, on a cappellaccio block in the foundations of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

<sup>221</sup> Lugli 1957: 199–200 states, however, that such marks are even more common in Campania, Magna Graecia, and Sicily than in either Etruria (“solo per eccezione”) or Latium. Säflund argued that the quarry marks found on blocks of the “Servian” walls indicated the presence of Greek craftsmen from Syracuse; he identified the incised signs as letters of the Corinthian alphabet and was unaware of Etruscan precedents. In reply to Säflund, Castagnoli pointed



**Figure 15:** Quarry marks on blocks of the circuit wall at Bolsena/Volsinii Novi (author).

Säflund proposed that the signs marked the work of certain groups in the quarry, and this remains the most widely accepted hypothesis.<sup>222</sup> Volpe, following Lugli, recognizes them as specifically marking quarry loads.<sup>223</sup> Other interpretations have included apotropaic signs and the record of civic magistrates.<sup>224</sup> Perhaps the marks record not the work of particular teams, but

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out Etruscan and Latin parallels, and argued that the signs could be comfortably accommodated within the Roman alphabet (Castagnoli 1974: 432).

<sup>222</sup> Säflund 1932: 120.

<sup>223</sup> Volpe 2014: 69; Lugli 1957: 206–7.

<sup>224</sup> At Bolsena, Bloch observed that marks were absent over long stretches of the wall, occurring in dense clusters, and suggested an apotropaic function to protect the most vulnerable portions (Bloch 1950: 67–70). Pellegrini notes, however, that such clusters occur where the walls are best preserved, and in particular where they are preserved above the lowest courses (Pellegrini and Rafanelli 2008: 20). Bloch's observed pattern, then, does not hold. Further, while quarry marks are best known on blocks in the circuit walls, they also occur in other structures at Bolsena, particularly cult buildings (Pellegrini and Rafanelli 2008: 19). Pellegrini recognizes two groups of incised marks on the blocks of the Bolsena circuit, namely, letters and signs. The former are understood as letters of the Etruscan alphabet, which sometimes occur in groups of two or three. Among the latter, *gentilia* can be read: *nuz(rnas)*, *urzi*, and *fle(re)*, the last of which Colonna connects with two homonymous Volsinian magistrates. This could attest to the civic nature of the construction, but it cannot be ruled out that quarry teams might bear the names of *gentes*. There is as yet no good stratigraphic data by which to date the circuit walls of Bolsena directly; the best hypothesis remains that of Bloch, placing these in the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, together with the earliest recognizable public buildings in the city. Colonna has seen in the walls a response to the presence of Hannibal, though perhaps delayed; this would also point to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE (Colonna 1999: 16).

provenance from certain locations, faces or galleries (though these variables might be related). Vitruvius, as already mentioned (2.7.5), records the use of the products of the *rubrae* (Tufo Lionato) and *pallenses* (Tufo Giallo) quarries because of their convenience to Rome; he recommends that these stones should be exposed to the elements for two years prior to use in order to determine the suitability of particular blocks for either foundations or superstructures.<sup>225</sup> Pliny (*HN* 36.170) repeats this advice closely, though referring not to *lapides rubrae* or *pallenses* but more generally to material *in lapide dubio*.<sup>226</sup> Seasoning (curing, aging) of stone to eliminate the “quarry sap” (residual moisture in the stone) is well attested in historical stoneworking.<sup>227</sup> Incised signs could potentially mark the products of certain areas of the Tufo Giallo quarries, in order to keep track of these over a two-year aging period and perhaps to note which areas produced more durable stone.<sup>228</sup> Admittedly, Vitruvius and Pliny wrote several hundred years after the appearance of such marks in Roman architecture. There is the further possible objection that such marks do not appear on blocks of Tufo Lionato, products of Vitruvius’ *rubrae lapidicinae*, which the architect also recommends aging. The argument from silence is riskier than usual in this instance, since, as noted, quarry marks are usually only preserved on the unfinished ends of Tufo Giallo blocks; Tufo Lionato blocks are generally finished on all faces,

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<sup>225</sup> *cum ergo propter propinquitatem necessitas cogat ex Rubris lapidicinis et Pallensibus et quae sunt urbi proximae copiis uti, si qui voluerit sine vitiis perficere, ita erit praeparandum. cum aedificandum fuerit, ante biennium ea saxa non hieme sed aestate eximantur, et iacentia permaneant in locis patentibus. quae autem eo biennio a tempestatibus tacta laesa fuerint, ea in fundamenta coiciantur. cetera quae non erunt vitiata, ab natura rerum probata durare poterunt supra terram aedificata. nec solum ea in quadratis lapidibus sunt observanda sed etiam in caementiciis structuris.* Gros, in Gros, Callebat, and Jacquemard 2003: 108, writes that Vitruvius’ concern for these softer materials is well placed, whereas it would be useless to make such recommendations for more durable materials. The fact that even marble must be seasoned before working suggests that Vitruvius is describing something more than simple seasoning.

<sup>226</sup> *remedium est in lapide dubio aestate cum eximere nec ante biennium inserere tecto, domitum tempestatibus. quae ex eo laesa fuerint, subterraneae structurae aptentur utilius; quae restiterint, tutum est vel caelo committere.*

<sup>227</sup> Rockwell 1995: 17–18. This runs counter to a common trope in Roman archaeology, namely, that tuff is so useful because it is easily cut while wet and more structurally resistant once dry. I am uncertain of the effectiveness of working tuff while still wet; this requires further research.

<sup>228</sup> Sappa, Giglio, and De Casa 1995: 737–38 note a particular difference in compression strength between samples of Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina taken higher and lower in a deposit. Bernard 2012b: 68 also suggests that the use of quarry marks might be connected with the curing process.

and any former quarry marks may have been dressed away during construction. Or, perhaps, Lionato blocks were marked in paint.

### *Quarry Marks at Sant'Omobono*

At least nineteen quarry marks, representing four or five different signs, are known at Sant'Omobono, all on the header ends of Tufo Giallo blocks in the foundations attributed to the reconstruction of 212 BCE (Figure 16).<sup>229</sup> These comprise nine '+' signs, five 'Δ' signs (Figure 18), two three-bar 'S' signs, two open 'A' signs (Figure 17), and one '+' with a tail. Two blocks can be identified that have marks on both ends.<sup>230</sup> In one case, both ends bear a single '+'. The other block also bears a '+' on both ends, one of these accompanied by an open 'A'. A third block, of which only a single end is currently visible, bears a 'Δ' accompanied by a '+' with a tail (Figure 18). This latter block is flanked by two others that each bear a simple 'Δ'. At least four other blocks bear a '+' on one end; the opposite ends of these are either not currently visible or badly eroded. The '+' is the only mark found in conjunction with other symbols.<sup>231</sup>

Becker has recently argued, on palaeographic grounds, that the quarry marks on the Sant'Omobono blocks date to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE and hence are likely to have been reused from the nearby "Servian" walls.<sup>232</sup> Given the number of roughly contemporary monuments on which such marks occur, however, the reuse hypothesis is weakened. Particularly significant is the occurrence of quarry marks in Temple C at Largo Argentina, wherein different qualities of Tufo Giallo were selected for the exterior and interior of the podium. It seems difficult to account for this kind of selection if the builders employed blocks salvaged from an earlier structure.

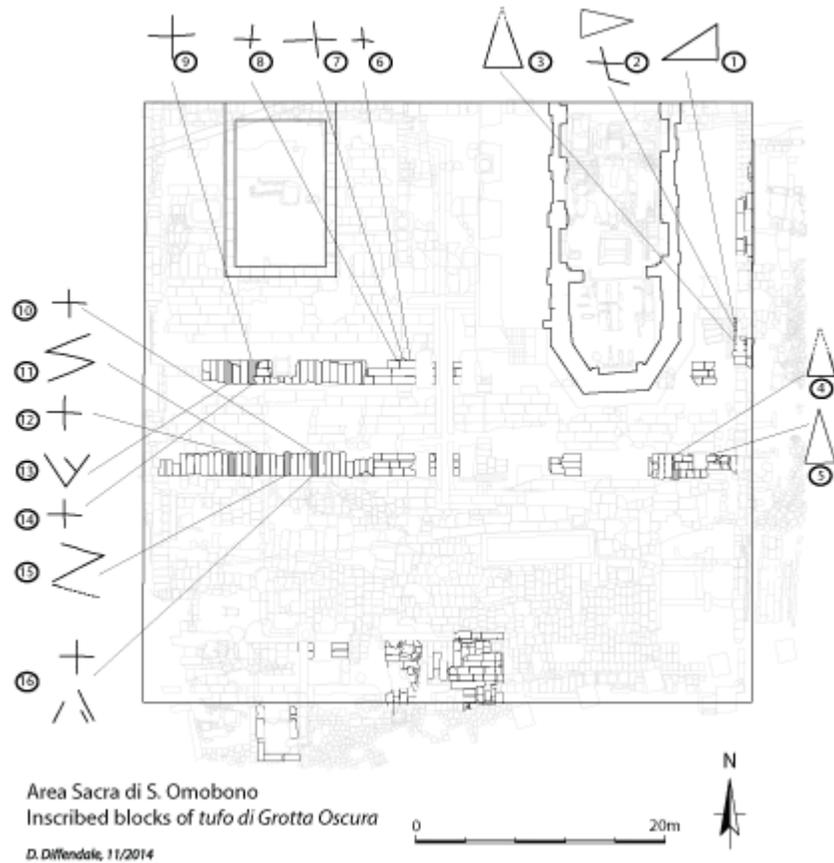
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<sup>229</sup> Previous treatments of these marks are Sommella 1968 and Becker 2016.

<sup>230</sup> One in the northern stylobate, the other in the southern; nos. 9+14 and 10+16 in Figure 9.

<sup>231</sup> In Temple C at Largo Argentina, while all the other signs occupy most of the header face of the block, '+' is generally somewhat smaller; it is also the most frequent sign (Marchetti Longhi 1933: 282–83).

<sup>232</sup> Becker 2016.



**Figure 16:** Quarry marks on Tufo Giallo at Sant’Omobono (author).

Although the sample size is small, some clustering of quarry marks can be observed at Sant’Omobono. All of the ‘Δ’ signs are attested on the eastern side of the podium, while the two occurrences each of ‘S’ and ‘A’ occur only in the western half. Similar clustering can be observed in some stretches of the “Servian” walls. This may support Volpe’s hypothesis that the signs mark quarry loads. Given the increase in the corpus of known signs at Rome and elsewhere since Säflund’s fundamental study, a new comprehensive study is warranted.



**Figure 17:** Open 'A' quarry mark (Figure 16, no. 13) (author).



**Figure 18:** 'Δ' and 'Δt' quarry marks (Figure 16, nos. 3 and 2) (author).

## **Placement of Blocks**

### *Lifting*

At some point, possibly during the middle Republic, cranes for lifting blocks were introduced into certain stages of the Roman construction industry.<sup>233</sup> Although no Republican-era cranes have been preserved, their operation can be securely inferred by the combination of archaeological, iconographic, and textual evidence (Figure 19). Vitruvius describes lifting tongs:

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<sup>233</sup> The earliest evidence for the use of simple lifting devices comes from 6<sup>th</sup> c. tombs at Cortona and Orvieto/Volsinium (Cifani 2008: 242). For an overview of premodern stone lifting technology, see Rockwell 1995: 166–77.

*ad rechamum autem imum ferrei forfices religantur, quorum dentes in saxa forata accommodantur* (10.2.2).<sup>234</sup> Such *saxa forata* are identified archaeologically by pairs of holes cut into blocks, one on each of the two opposite stretcher sides, near the top margin. Similar implements may be familiar from the modern timber or ice-block industries.



**Figure 19:** Terracotta relief representing a victorious general flanked by simple cranes fitted with lifting grips (*ferrei forfices*). From Via Cassia, Rome, late 1st c. BCE/early 1st c. CE. Palazzo Massimo (author).

In studying the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE circuit walls, Säflund noted that crane holes frequently occur near the lower margins of the blocks rather than the upper. This fact suggests that cranes were not employed on the worksite, but at some earlier stage, most likely loading and unloading the rivercraft that carried the stone from the quarry site to the landing stage, with a use in the quarries themselves also possible. The Tenuta della Mandriola quarry south of Rome includes a circular platform, reserved in the bedrock tuff, 120 cm in diameter and 30 cm high, which Buccellato and Coletti hypothesize to have been the base for a horizontal *machina tractoria* (Vitr., *De arch.* 10.1–2)—a capstan.<sup>235</sup> They date the use of this quarry, and with it the capstan, to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, though on what basis is unclear. If paired holes in blocks were to be used with

<sup>234</sup> “...to the end of the *rechamus* are attached *ferrei forfices*, the teeth/points of which are fitted into holed blocks.”

<sup>235</sup> Buccellato and Coletti 2014: 112. The authors refer to the reconstruction in Bessac 2003 (though it is p. 186, figs. 13–14, not p. 183, fig. 7). Bessac’s fig. 15 (p. 189) depicts this sort of capstan employed above the face of a quarry to raise blocks vertically, but leaves ambiguous exactly how the line and block were to avoid contact with the cliff face.

a capstan, however, we would expect such holes to occur, still on opposite stretcher faces, but near the header margins. They do not.

At Sant’Omobono, holes for *ferrei forfices* are attested beginning during the middle Republic. Some of the Fidenae tuff blocks of the western temple have such holes. While in the second course, they appear mostly near the upper edge of the block, in the third course some crane holes occur near the lower edge, again suggesting that cranes were not employed at the construction site itself. Lifting tong holes can also be observed in rare cases on blocks of Tufo Giallo at the site, though this evidence is most frequent on blocks of Fidenae tuff. That the latter is the only material of which the stretcher sides of blocks are drafted only along their margins is probably not a coincidence; that is, blocks of other materials may well have borne crane holes, but such holes were trimmed away when the surfaces of the blocks were drafted.<sup>236</sup>

In the archaeological area at Sant’Omobono, there are three column drums in the Anio facies of Tufo Lionato that bear holes for lifting tongs. Because these drums were found in secondary contexts, reused in post-antique constructions, their original pertinence to the mid-Republican twin temples cannot be proved, though it is likely. This also means that it cannot be determined whether cranes were used to stack the drums during construction, though again this seems likely.

There are also traces of the use of a lewis (Italian *olivella*), a key-like device for attaching blocks to cranes.<sup>237</sup> Slabs of Lapis Albanus set vertically as the lining of a votive pit on the line of the stylobate in front of Temple A bear cuttings on their ends for the fitting of a lewis. Such a

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<sup>236</sup> Säflund 1932: 117 notes, however, that the blocks of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. circuit walls in Tufo Giallo appear to have been finished before being set in place.

<sup>237</sup> Adam 2005: 48–50; Rockwell 1995: 175–76. The OED, s.v. “lewis,” reads “Of obscure origin; possibly < *Lewis* or *Louis* as a surname or Christian name. A dialect form *levis*... suggests connection with French *lever* to raise; but the formation and the phonology are not easily explained on this hypothesis.” The equivalent French word is *louve*; a connection with the equivalent Italian term *olivella* should be investigated.

use is paralleled on the ends of slabs lining other votive pits, including one at Alba Fucens.<sup>238</sup>

The general friability of tuff likely accounts for the more frequent use of *ferrei forfices* than lewis holes; it is probably not a coincidence that they occur at Sant’Omobono only in the well-lithified Lapis Albanus.<sup>239</sup>

Given the absence of cuttings for lifting on the majority of the ashlar blocks at Sant’Omobono, and the frequency with which tong holes are found near lower rather than upper margins, it can be inferred that the Roman builders generally had recourse to the ancient technique of earthen ramps for the emplacement of blocks on the worksite. Although no direct evidence survives from the mid-Republican period, Ioppolo documented this technique in the construction of the Tufo del Palatino courses of the first phase Republican podium, and it has recently been observed in the contemporary foundations of Cella A.<sup>240</sup>

### *Shifting and Alignment*

Once in approximate place, blocks would need to be shifted laterally into their final positions. Pry holes cut for the insertion of levers (“spikes”) are the primary evidence for this shifting. At Sant’Omobono, setting lines—incisions cut into dimension stone by masons for the purpose of aligning adjacent or superposed blocks—frequently co-occur with pry holes. Pry holes and setting lines are most clearly visible in the Lapis Albanus blocks of the east face of the first phase Republican podium. Setting lines are also visible on the Lapis Albanus blocks of the eastern altar. Vertical setting lines are visible on an Anio platea block of the eastern altar and on an Anio tread of the staircase in front of Temple A (Figure 22).

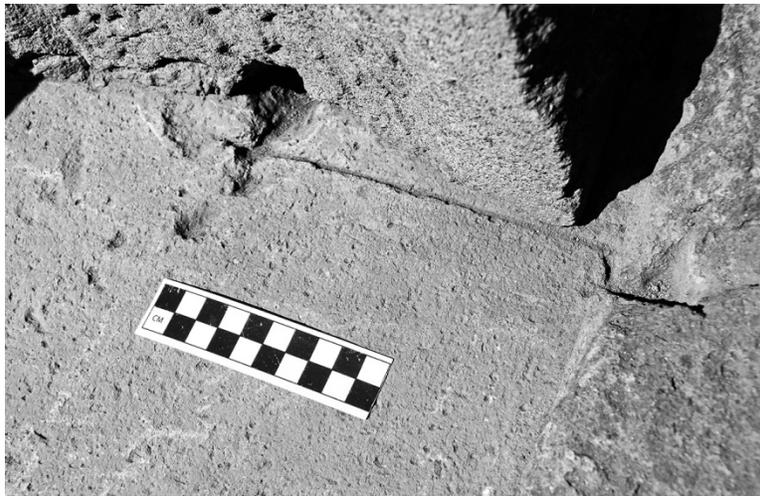
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<sup>238</sup> Near the forum basilica (Lugli 1957: pl. XXXI, 3).

<sup>239</sup> See discussion in Bernard 2012b: 339, who notes the exceptional use of Lewis pins on blocks of well-lithified Tufo Giallo in the podium of Temple C at Largo Argentina.

<sup>240</sup> Ioppolo 1989a: 31, fig. 8. The evidence from cella A (saggio A7) is currently being prepared for publication.

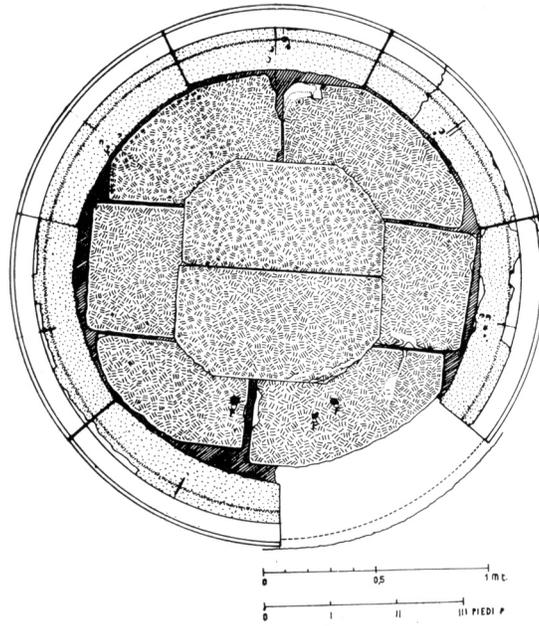
Setting lines are incised into the underlying pavement of Tufo Lionato blocks for the placement of the circular monument's first course, paired with pryholes for shifting these blocks into place. A clear, well incised line runs along the smooth contact surfaces of the southern end of the eastern block of the lower course (Figure 20). Also in evidence in this location are pryholes for shifting the block lengthwise (i.e., circumference-wise) and, apparently, for shifting the block and its now missing neighbor widthwise (i.e., radius-wise).<sup>241</sup> Similar widthwise pryholes are visible in the pavement around the monument's circumference. Setting lines on the top surface of the first course of the circular monument run perpendicular from the outer circumference of the monument toward its center (Figure 21). Flanking these setting lines are pairs of pryholes for fitting the blocks of the upper course into place.



**Figure 20:** Left to right, circumference-wise pryholes, incised setting line, and radius-wise pryhole, cut into Anio pavement for placement of first course of circular monument, 10 cm scale (author).

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<sup>241</sup> At each rising joint, the radial pryholes serve the clockwise block.



**Figure 21:** plan of the first course of the circular monument, showing setting lines and pryholes for the emplacement of the second course (Ioppolo 1963).



**Figure 22:** Vertical setting line on block of staircase in front of Temple A, 5 cm scale (author).



**Figure 23:** Anathyrosis on Lapis Albanus blocks of the eastern altar, 10 cm scale (author).

### *Joints*

In this section I discuss the treatment of joints and joining surfaces at Sant’Omobono.<sup>242</sup> Most joints in the Republican-era masonry at the site are of the “banded” type, in which contact between blocks occurs along “contact bands” at the margins, while the rest of the face is cut back more roughly.<sup>243</sup> Some of these banded joints are of anathyrosis type.<sup>244</sup>

Anathyrosis is present on the majority of ashlar for which it is possible to observe worked header ends. This typically takes the “classic” form wherein the left, right, and upper margins of joining faces are dressed as contact surfaces, while the interior of the face is more roughly cut back. On pavement blocks, only the upper margin is smoothly dressed. Such anathyrosis can be observed on the Lapis Albanus blocks of the first phase Republican podium,

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<sup>242</sup> “It is useful to distinguish between joints—the seams in the face of a wall that separate courses and adjacent blocks (the former known as horizontal or bedding joints, the latter as vertical or rising joints)—and the joining surfaces (the sides, top, and bottom) of a block” (Ratté 2011: 29).

<sup>243</sup> Ratté 2011: 29.

<sup>244</sup> “A specific type of banded joint is the Greek ‘anathyrosis’ joint, characterized by smoothly dressed contact bands cut to regular widths and clearly distinguished from the rest of the ‘joining surface,’ which is usually roughly dressed and slightly recessed” (Ratté 2011: 29).

on the Lionato blocks of the forecourt pavement, the Lionato slabs of the temple pavement, the molded Lapis Albanus elements of the two altars and the circular monument (Figure 16), and the Lionato and Lapis Albanus blocks of the 212 podium reconstruction. Anathyrosis is not present on the thin slabs of the 212 pavement; because these are so thin, the entire joining face is dressed.

Ashlars of Tufo Giallo display banded joints in which there is no neat and easily identifiable junction between dressed contact surface and cut back noncontact surface; rather, the joining surface of the block is cut smoothly back as a shallow concavity. As far as can be determined, blocks of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere at Sant’Omobono do not display banded joints; contact surfaces are dressed uniformly.

### *Clamps*

Some of the rising joints between adjacent blocks were fixed with metal clamps. At Sant’Omobono, iron clamps sometimes survive, but in most cases only cuttings attest the quondam presence of clamps. These were of two types, simple staple and butterfly. Iron staple clamps are preserved—only just—joining Tufo Giallo blocks in the “propylon” along the southern edge of the Republican podium. Cuttings for butterfly clamps are preserved on the top surfaces of some of the Lapis Albanus blocks of the Folvios inscriptions.<sup>245</sup> The Lapis Albanus blocks of the 212 reconstruction in the eastern face of the Republican podium bear cuttings for staple clamps, sometimes with traces of iron still in situ.

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<sup>245</sup> Ioppolo 1963.

## Rustication / *bugnato*

Rustication—the treatment of blocks with smoothly dressed or drafted margins, leaving the face within the margins only roughly dressed—is present at Sant’Omobono only on the blocks of Fidenae tuff in the foundations of Temple A and its eastern ala (Figure 11).<sup>246</sup> True rustication should be distinguished from “quelle sporgenze rustiche che si trovano nelle fondazioni destinate a rimanere coperte e che furono lasciate per risparmio di lavoro.”<sup>247</sup> This latter is also in evidence at Sant’Omobono, on the first course of the Lapis Albanus facing of the Republican podium along its eastern side and on the Tufo Giallo blocks of the 212 reconstruction, again along the east face of the podium (Figure 24). A related treatment is found on the short ends of Tufo Giallo stretchers in the two stylobates. Left and right margins were smoothly dressed, while the central face of the block, upper and lower margins included, was left roughly dressed.



**Figure 24:** Tufo Giallo blocks in foundation of eastern edge of Republican podium, showing tool marks and remainder of roughly dressed surface (left block) indicating contemporary ground level. 1.6 m scale (author).

<sup>246</sup> These belong to Lugli’s type *a parete rustica con refesso*, the most commonly attested in Roman masonry (Lugli 1957: 210–12, fig. 29, 3).

<sup>247</sup> Lugli 1957: 209. Lugli mentions the presence of this feature in numerous temple platforms, including those at Veii, Falerii Veteres, Lanuvium, Ardea, Agrigento and Selinunte.

## Metrology

As regards the study of block measurements, the comments of Frank are still relevant: “Though some good results can be gained from a study of quarry measures, observation will prove that the measures will vary not only in accordance with age but also with the nature of the stone, the type of construction desired, and with the customs of each quarry... It is doubtful whether any conclusion can safely be drawn as to the size of the early foot from the height of the slabs [of cappellaccio].”<sup>248</sup> Säflund notes that blocks of Tufo Giallo were rough cut at the quarry to a height of two feet, but that further refinement would naturally reduce this dimension, a fact with consequences for attempts to derive precise metrologies.<sup>249</sup>

## Conclusions

This chapter has provided an introduction to the materials used in Republican-era construction at Sant’Omobono, particularly the volcanic tuffs, their provenance, and the methods of working them. To build the middle Republican *aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae*, the Romans drew on nearly the full range of dimension stone available locally. Some of these uses appear absolutely typical: Tufo del Palatino in deep foundations, for instance, is known throughout the Republic, while Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina, with its quarry marks, in covered foundations is typical of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. Tufo Lionato has long been identified at the site, but chemical analysis does not support an identification of the use of the Monteverde facies, only the Anio facies, and at a date somewhat earlier than commonly accepted for the introduction of this tuff at Rome. The provenance of the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere used at Sant’Omobono, and in Rome more generally, remains to be identified with precision, whether from the Fidenae

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<sup>248</sup> Frank 1924: 5.

<sup>249</sup> Säflund 1932: 116, n. 4.

quarries, from the dismantled circuit walls of Fidenae, from quarries at Falerii Veteres, or—such are the unknown unknowns—from some other source entirely. The strategic mixing of tuffs in a single building phase, playing to the strengths of each material, which is a hallmark of Roman construction in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, appears well developed at Sant’Omobono already in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. It is not yet clear, however, when travertine was added to this ensemble of tuffs.

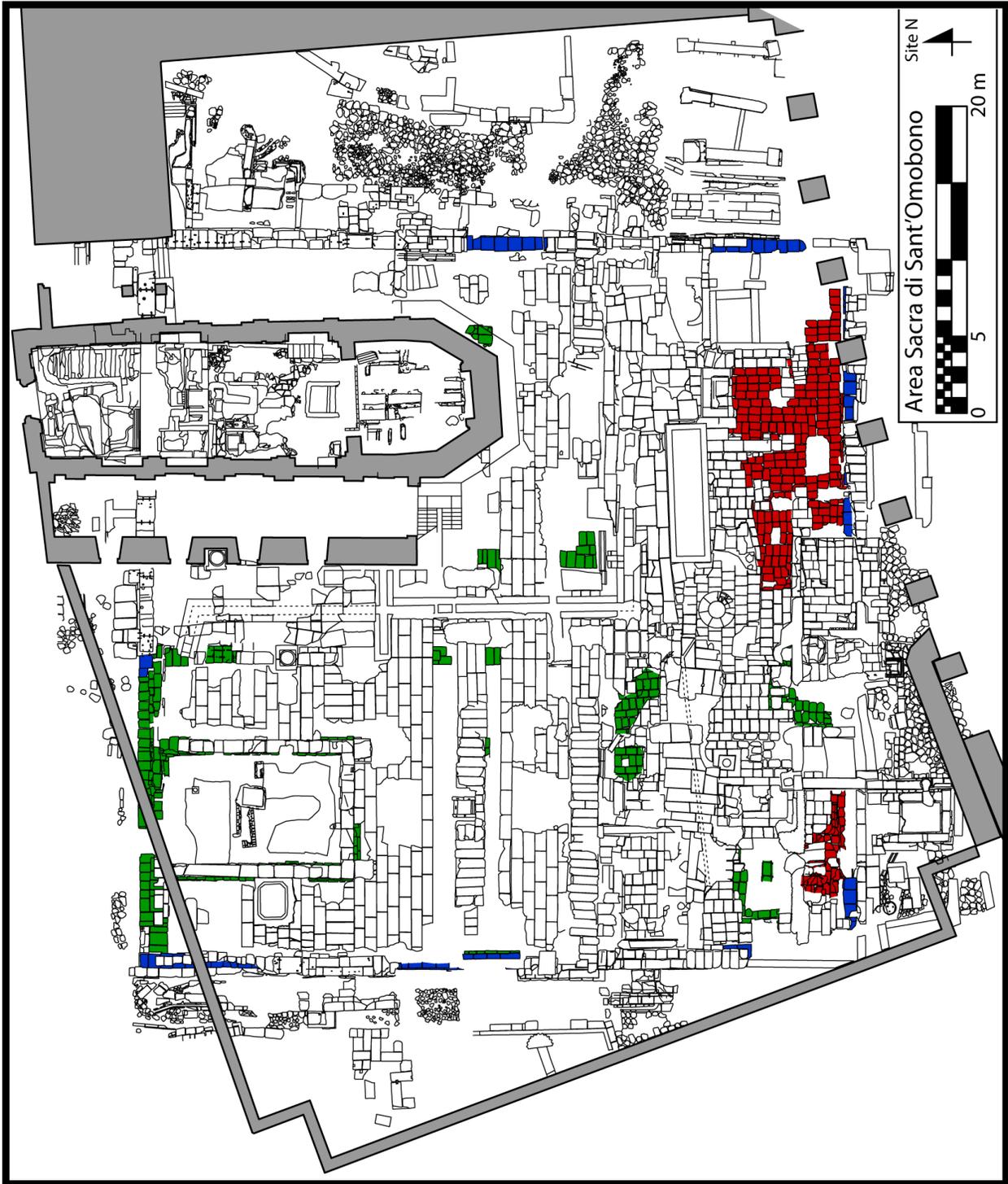
## CHAPTER 4: ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIDDLE REPUBLIC

“There are some things none of us will ever understand; the only people who knew the truth are dead. This isn’t one of those neat storybook solutions, where the detective triumphantly ties up all the loose ends and exposes all the unknown motives. But the general outline is clear, isn’t it?” (Vicky Bliss, in Elizabeth Peters, *Trojan Gold*, p. 349).

This chapter presents a description of the architectural remains at Sant’Omobono that can certainly or tentatively be dated to the period of the middle Republic (ca. 4<sup>th</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE). Archaeological stratigraphy and materials such as ceramics will be described when these are relevant to chronological ends, but a full account of the mid-Republican deposits lies beyond the purview of this dissertation.<sup>1</sup> Before describing the architecture of the mid-Republican phases in detail it will be useful to summarize the early Republican phases of the sanctuary, as the transformation of the site in the decades surrounding 500 BCE gave the area the footprint it would preserve for the better part of a millennium. After that, I present the structures and pavements dated to the middle Republic. These can be divided into two broad phases. The first, of the 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, includes a large cistern, the Anio block pavement of the forecourt of the temples, the Anio slab porch pavement of the temples themselves, and the monuments that stood on the porch pavement. Although all of these features date to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, it cannot be determined whether they were of contemporary construction. After a fire in 213 BCE recorded by Livy, the site was reconstructed on a large scale, as attested by heavy foundations in Tufo Giallo, Anio, and Lapis Albanus together with the thin slab Anio pavement.

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<sup>1</sup> The principal account of mid-Republican deposits remains Mercado 1963. See Chapter 2 for an account of this and other relevant publications. A description of the deposits in Saggio A7 is under preparation.



**Figure 25:** Architecture associated with the first phase of the Republican podium. In red, Tufo del Palatino structure; green, Tufo del Palatino foundations of the podium; blue, Lapis Albanus facing of podium (author).

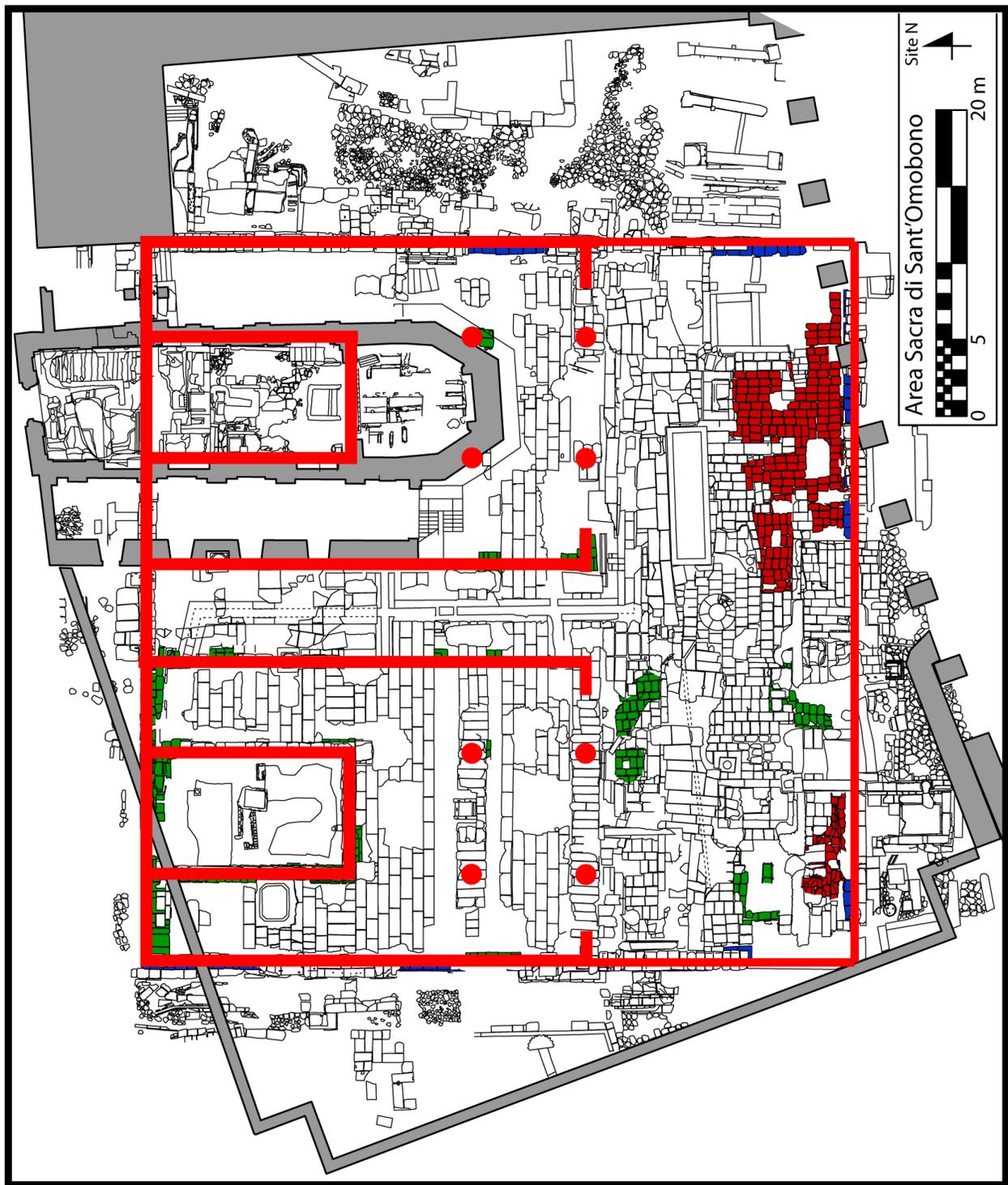


Figure 26: First phase of the Republican podium, restored plan (author).

## The End of the Archaic Temple and the First Phase of the Twin Temples

The Archaic temple went out of use at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. Contrary to the prevailing interpretation, there is no solid evidence for a destruction by fire; the blackish deposits observed during excavation may, in fact, be manganese concretions.<sup>2</sup> The latest datable materials in these deposits are fragments of Attic Black Figure of the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, including eye-cups.<sup>3</sup> South of the temple, a possible retaining wall of three courses of stone was built perpendicular to and abutting the second-phase staircase, associated with a beaten-earth surface.<sup>4</sup> The stratigraphic and functional interpretation of these features has yet to be completely explained, though it has been suggested that they served the needs of the cult following the Archaic temple's final destruction. The archival and artifactual materials from this area are currently undergoing further study. Thick clayey deposits covering some of the remains of the destruction may have originated in the mudbrick superstructure of the second-phase temple, repurposed as a leveling fill (rather than being *in situ* collapse deposits).<sup>5</sup>

### *The Elongated Platform, the Republican Podium – First Phase of the Twin Temples*

At some point following the final destruction of the Archaic temple, probably soon after, an elongated platform or structure of uncertain function was built running E-W along what is now the south edge of the site. This was built in ashlar of Tufo del Palatino,<sup>6</sup> at least 6 courses deep, measuring at least 1.7 m high, but its total height and spatial dimensions cannot currently

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<sup>2</sup> Previous interpretations of fire destruction: Gjerstad 1960: 380–81 (strata 10-11); Pisani Sartorio 1977: 59; Virgili 1977: 29; Ioppolo 1989b: 36. The sediment is undergoing continued study.

<sup>3</sup> Virgili 1977: 29–30; Paribeni 1962: 109, 119–23; Colonna 1962: 138.

<sup>4</sup> Virgili 1977: 30, fig. 5 (on the right); Pisani Sartorio 1977: 60–61, fig. 19; Colonna 1991: 53, fig. 3; Regoli 2012: 85–6, fig. 16. The material of this wall is usually described as *cappellaccio*, most probably Tufo del Palatino.

<sup>5</sup> Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 41; D'Acri 2016.

<sup>6</sup> The results of Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015 (sample SO-1) chemically confirm the identification as Tufo del Palatino.

be determined. Because this structure is enveloped within the large podium of the twin temples, its full extent is uncertain, but it measures at least 32 x 8 m.<sup>7</sup> It may have been built as a first, massive retaining wall for the successive construction of the Republican podium; as this construction exists in precisely the area where the later altars would be placed, and given the physical connection via votive pit between the Archaic altar and the later eastern altar, the Tufo del Palatino structure could have supported altars that served the ritual needs of the cult following the destruction of the earlier monument. This remains speculative, though.

Following the construction of the Tufo del Palatino structure, but probably not long thereafter, still in the decade either side of 500 BCE, the area north of it and west of the Archaic temple underwent a massive transformation. A large square podium (hereafter “Republican podium”) measuring some 47 m per side was raised between ca. 3 and 5 m in height (the underlying topography varies in elevation). The podium consists of perimeter walls in Tufo del Palatino and Lapis Albanus, with internal structures of Tufo del Palatino, infilled with considerable sediment deposits. The eastern foundations of this structure were cut into the clay leveling fill sealing the remains of the Archaic temple, and its lowest courses here lie directly on the first-phase podium. The two structures differ in orientation by ca. 18°, with the Republican podium oriented slightly more than 5° east of north, the Archaic temple ca. 23° east of north. The northeastern corner of the Archaic podium projects beyond the eastern limits of the Republican podium.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The structure of the eastern half of the elongated platform is principally known thanks to the actions of post-antique pit diggers, who cut through later pavements and into the platform itself.

<sup>8</sup> It is possible that the Archaic podium would initially have been visible to passers-by, though this is highly speculative. Much later, at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, southwest of Octavian’s later temple of Apollo on the Palatine, a terrace wall was constructed in such a way as to preserve the remains of earlier, Archaic architecture on the site (Zink 2015: 366). These Archaic remains were again respected and made visible, even framed, by a further, mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE restructuring (Zink 2015: 367–70). It does seem to be the case that, whatever their eventual visibility, the remains of the Archaic temple were respected by the builders of the Republican podium, in as much as the Tufo del Palatino blocks of the latter are cut conform to the blocks of the former.

The eastern limit of the Republican podium is built of at least seven ashlar courses of Tufo del Palatino on which rest three to five courses of Lapis Albanus.<sup>9</sup> Along the western flank of the podium, there are at least six courses of Lapis Albanus forming the exterior of the podium, with evidence of a Tufo del Palatino backing in one stretch. A fill of chips of Tufo del Palatino laid against the back of the Lapis Albanus blocks forming the western limit of the podium was observed in Saggio F20. Along the north limit of the podium, a facing of Lapis Albanus was cut into the Tufo del Palatino blocks. The southern extent of the Republican podium envelops the prior platform in Tufo del Palatino, and the blocks of the latter have been cut back to receive the blocks of Lapis Albanus that formed the façade of the new podium. The first-phase Republican podium is a square measuring  $47.41 \pm 0.03$  m per side, calculating along the finished outer surface of the Lapis Albanus blocks. This can be interpreted as a square of 160 Roman feet (RF) per side, on a foot measure just over 0.296 m.<sup>10</sup> Coupled with the fact that the Republican temples measure 100 RF in length on this standard, this is a further indication that the Lapis Albanus courses were designed integrally with the underlying Tufo del Palatino.

The preserved and visible portions of the exterior of the first-phase Republican podium along its western limit attest a simple monument profile: a first course left rusticated, with its front arris rounded, followed by a fascia, above which two courses of ashlar, surmounted by a further fascia, outwards.<sup>11</sup> It is uncertain whether there was originally any further molding above

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<sup>9</sup> Farr, Marra, and Terrenato 2015 chemically confirm the identification as Lapis Albanus (Sample SO-2, taken from the southeastern edge of the large podium).

<sup>10</sup> So already Colini, Bosi, and Huetter 1960: 10, though the perfect 47.36 m sides there reported raise suspicions of back-calculation from a round 0.296 foot measure. See also Ioppolo 2000: 173.

<sup>11</sup> The Temple of Apollo Medicus, dedicated in 431 BCE, provides a 5<sup>th</sup> c. parallel: the podium has a core of Tufo del Palatino with a facing in 16 courses of Tufo Lionato. The fourth, fifth, and sixth courses of this facing form a 0.90 m high fascia that projects 6 cm from the [podium]; the courses below this would presumably not have been visible (Vitti 2010: n. 25). Bianchini 2010: fig. 11 represents a further fascia at the top of the podium. The simple profile of Temple C across the street at S. Nicola in Carcere is even closer: fascia, three-course tympanum, fascia (Delbrück 1903: pl. 2; Crozzoli Aite 1981: 69). This is dated to the temple's second phase, of Augustan date, but it could reproduce the molding of its first phase, no longer preserved, probably of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE).

the second fascia. This sequence is visible for 4 m along the western face of the podium. The same molding is visible along the eastern face of the podium, as exposed in Settore VII-IX. The only preserved and visible corner of the Republican podium at Sant’Omobono is the northwest. The corner blocks have been cut back into a curve, at the intersection of the Vicus Iugarius, running west along the north flank of the podium, with the north-south street running along the podium’s west side. The angle of the curving surface differs between the two courses on which it is visible; this discrepancy of curvature allows the fascia course that projects from the western face of the podium to become flush with the underlying course on the northern face.

Scholars generally agree that construction of the Republican podium and twin temples began in the decades around 500 BCE. Castagnoli noted in 1974 that the podium belonged to a “fase comunemente attributa agli inizi del IV secolo” but that “non è tuttavia esclusa una datazione più antica.”<sup>12</sup> Coarelli, however, would downdate this phase to the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE in order to make the archaeological evidence conform to literary sources that, while silent on any 5<sup>th</sup> c. activity, report the building or rebuilding of the temple of Mater Matuta by Camillus following his successful siege of Veii in 396 BCE (Livy 5.19.6, 5.23.7; Plut., *Cam.* 5; see Chapter 5).<sup>13</sup> The latest datable material in the deposits associated with the Archaic temple are fragmentary Attic Black Figure eye-cups, of the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>14</sup> The latest datable material in the overlying fill of the Republican podium also dates to the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>15</sup> Coarelli’s hypothesis hence seems unlikely as it would require that no contemporary materials were deposited in either the area of the Archaic temple or the original location of the podium fill (on which, see below) for over a century. The fact that the shaft of the votive pit adjacent to the

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<sup>12</sup> Castagnoli 1974: 435 n. 40.

<sup>13</sup> This century-long gap is still supported by Torelli 2010: 320.

<sup>14</sup> Virgili 1977: 29–30; cf. Paribeni 1962.

<sup>15</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1977: 60; Colonna 1963: 31.

eastern altar of the Republican temples shares the alignment of the Archaic temple and altar, and communicates with the area immediately west of the Archaic altar, also militates against a long cultic hiatus.

The total amount of fill required for the Republican podium can be estimated at ca. 7,000 to 10,000 m<sup>3</sup>.<sup>16</sup> While ceramics postdating the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE are absent from this fill,<sup>17</sup> it contains a great quantity of ceramics dating from the Middle Bronze Age to the Latial Iron Age, both local and imported, which significantly predate the action of dumping the fill.<sup>18</sup> The place of origin of these prehistoric materials remains an open question, though most scholars have considered the nearby Capitoline hill a likely option.<sup>19</sup>

### *The Twin Temples, First Phase*

Constructed integrally with the Republican podium were foundations for two south-facing temple *cellae*, probably identical in plan. The eastern cella (sometimes called “Temple B”) lies beneath the later church of Sant’Omobono, for which reason little can currently be said about its earliest phases, but the western cella (“Temple A”) has been the subject of investigation by the Sant’Omobono Project between 2011 and 2015, offering a great deal more information on its construction phases. The deep foundations of the western cella were cut into a thick layer of gray alluvial sediment that lies above the Bronze Age anthropic deposits.<sup>20</sup> The foundations

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<sup>16</sup> Ioppolo estimated the fill at ca. 30,000 m<sup>3</sup>, a figure obtained through multiplying the supposed surface area of the podium (ca. 5000 m<sup>2</sup>) by a constant depth of 6 m (Ioppolo 1972: 17). Ioppolo’s 5000 m<sup>2</sup>, of uncertain origin, is erroneous; the total surface area of the podium measures only ca. 2200 m<sup>2</sup>. The elevation of the Archaic ground surface varied, and a part of the interior of the podium was occupied by stone foundations. Taking all of this into consideration, the upper volumetric limit for the infill of the podium can be calculated as not more than 10,000 m<sup>3</sup>. The full extent of the Tufo del Palatino structures in the area in front of the temples proper is the principal “known unknown” introducing uncertainty. This fill is absent outside of the Republican podium, as shown by the excavation in Settore VII-IX (Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 43).

<sup>17</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1977: 60; Colonna 1963: 31.

<sup>18</sup> Peroni 1962; Colonna 1963; Ioppolo 1972: 17; La Rocca 1977: 382–91; La Rocca 1982.

<sup>19</sup> Diffendale et al. 2016: 24–25.

<sup>20</sup> Brock and Terrenato 2016.

themselves consist of 14 courses of more or less regular Tufo del Palatino ashlar, alternating headers and stretchers, reaching a height of ca. 5.5 m. Laid against the foundations and overlying the grey alluvium was a packed surface composed of chips of Tufo del Palatino, into which surface were cut at least three postholes, perhaps a working platform for the construction of the temple foundations. The latest datable material from the matrix of this surface belongs to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. The deep fills overlying the Tufo del Palatino-chip surface alternate between deposits of clay and chunks of various types of local tuff, with numerous inclusions of impasto and bucchero pottery in secondary deposition. Several worked blocks of Tufo del Palatino were also deposited in the lower levels of these fills, apparently discards from the construction process. Resting on these 5 m of fill was a thick surface of Lapis Albanus chips. The immediately overlying fill did not contain materials later than the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE; this Lapis Albanus-chip surface may be the first floor of the western temple, or a preparation level for such.

Excavation in the northeast corner of the western cella shows that its foundations were constructed integrally with the Tufo del Palatino blocks of the northern edge of the Republican podium. The first-phase temples probably had closed *alae*, as suggested by the remains of two continuous foundations in Tufo del Palatino running N-S beneath the line of the later central colonnade. Within the Republican podium there are deep foundations built in Tufo del Palatino to support the columns of the *pars antica* of the twin temples.<sup>21</sup> Among the unresolved questions is the interpretation of a row of blocks of Lapis Albanus running E-W and lying a meter below the later northern stylobate in Tufo Giallo (for which, see below). The top of these blocks lies some 1.5 m below the top of the Tufo del Palatino foundations of the western cella, but they are

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<sup>21</sup> One of these pillars rests directly on the podium of the Archaic temple, and the weight of the former has caused the latter to subside. In general, the entire Republican podium has settled toward the south, perhaps because its northern extents are more solidly bedded close to the underlying gravel shoulder of the Capitoline hill. This fact adds to the difficulty of tracing subterranean levels across the site, as they may rest at different levels with different bedding planes.

equivalent in elevation to two Lapis Albanus courses in the perimeter of the Republican podium. Their location suggests an interpretation as a stylobate, but they lie at a lower elevation than the top of the known *pronaos*-column substructures in Tufo del Palatino, and the two elements do not seem compatible. The westernmost block preserves its southern vertical surface, which has the same rustication seen on the lower course of Lapis Albanus in the podium exterior. It is possible, then, that these blocks are not in primary context, but were removed from the exterior of the podium during a reconstruction of the temples and set in this position, perhaps as foundation for the Tufo Giallo stylobate.

As mentioned above, the first-phase Republican podium is a square measuring 160 RF per side on a foot standard of just over 0.296 m. Nothing of the built superstructure—probably timber-framed mudbrick—of the first-phase temples survives, making precise metrological calculations impossible, but the dimensions approach 50 RF for the length of the western cella and 100 RF length (N-S) for the entire temple inclusive of *pars antica*.<sup>22</sup> Based on the position of the foundations for the columns, these had an intercolumniation close to the Vitruvian Tuscan canon.<sup>23</sup> Three fragments of revetment plaques discovered in 1938 could date as early as the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE and hence belong to the decoration of the first phase of the twin temples.<sup>24</sup> The nature of the pavement of the Republican podium in this first, 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, phase is not clear. The Tufo Lionato pavement that currently occupies most of the temples' porch certainly

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<sup>22</sup> The maximum preserved N–S dimension of the foundations of the western cella is 14.58 m, only some 0.23 m short of 50 RF on the 0.2963 m standard, while the maximum preserved dimension from the rear wall of the temples (equal to the north face of the podium) to the front of the *pronaos* foundations is 29.86 m, or 0.23 m greater than 100 RF on the same standard. Note that the elevation drawing published in Stamper 2004: 41, fig. 28, supposedly representing the Republican twin temples, in fact represents a reduplicated reconstruction of the second-phase Archaic temple by Ippolo. (Stamper's attribution of this elevation to Ippolo 1972, fig. 9, is mysterious, as the cited article contains neither an elevation drawing nor a figure 9.)

<sup>23</sup> Colonna 1991: 52 notes the apparently high degree of similarity in plan between the second-phase Archaic podium and the first-phase twin temples. Given the scanty remains of the former, such comparisons are risky.

<sup>24</sup> Published in Gjerstad 1962: 448, 454, fig. 282:3, 4, 5, with a parallel from Ardea (Andr n 1939: 440, I:7, Pl. 136:478). Because of their discovery during the initial investigations, they do not have a secure provenance. See now Hopkins 2016: 149–50 with fig. 117. Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 44 attribute to this phase the “resto di intonaco dipinto nell'ambulacro fra le due celle dei templi gemelli.”

postdates this first phase, as it rests in part on the Tufo del Palatino foundations of the western cella and overlies the Tufo del Palatino foundations of the first phase *alae*. Although there is no positive evidence of an earlier stone pavement, excavation in areas where the Tufo Lionato pavement is missing has documented the existence of several strata interpreted as preparation layers for earlier pavement(s).<sup>25</sup>

South of the temples and their porches exists the preexisting platform along the southern edge of the site built in Tufo del Palatino. The top surface of this structure may have become the activity level associated with the first twin temples. There remain, however, open questions. For instance, just west of the eastern altar, there is a gap in the Tufo del Palatino within which is visible the corner of a Lapis Albanus block that does not appear to interface with the underlying platform. At this point it is not possible to identify the nature of this block, or to which construction phase it might belong. It could perhaps belong to an earlier altar; the altars visible today probably belong to the same phase as the Lionato pavement of the porch.<sup>26</sup> It is certain that there were altars associated with the original phase, whether or not they were the altars that one can see today.

There is a direct connection between the Archaic altar and the later eastern altar, namely, the votive pit or well adjoining the latter.<sup>27</sup> The shaft of this stone-built pit is quadrangular; it does not share the near-cardinal alignment of the pit-head, altar, twin temples and podium, but rather is rotated some 11 degrees clockwise, sharing the orientation of the Archaic temple and

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<sup>25</sup> E.g. De Luca, “Il Settore VII,” in Brocato et al. 2012, 21–2 (DA1, DA2, DA3); Brocato, “La Prima Campagna di Ricerca,” in Brocato *et al.* 2012, 31, 35, 36, 38; Brocato and Terrenato 2012: 400.

<sup>26</sup> Some researchers consider the altars to have belonged to the original, 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE phase, later being disassembled and reassembled at a slightly higher elevation when the pavement level was raised, perhaps in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. For instance, a section drawn by Ioppolo bears the annotation “Rialzamento dell’ara (Camillo, 388 a.C.?).”

<sup>27</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1977: 60, n. 17; Pisani Sartorio, Virgili, and Ioppolo 1989: 14, figs. 1-2; Diffendale 2016.

altar, and communicating with the area immediately west of the latter.<sup>28</sup> This feature indicates that both the alignment and the location of the Archaic altar were known when the Republican podium was constructed.<sup>29</sup> Comparative evidence indicates, however, that such pits could be periodically raised as necessary; this evidence will be discussed below. Further evidence for the continuity of cult is the fact that the lower courses of the foundations of the Republican podium were carefully cut so as to respect the Archaic podium. Although the later foundations run directly over the earlier ones at an oblique angle, they run up to, over, and down the other side of the Archaic podium. The careful respecting of earlier religious structures in new construction has been observed elsewhere in Roman architecture.<sup>30</sup>

### **The Middle Republican Phases**

A transition between the early and middle Republican periods at Sant'Omobono is difficult to identify. The deep Tufo del Palatino foundations of the 5<sup>th</sup>-c. *cellae* probably supported all successive construction phases—however many there were—until the superimposition of three courses of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, probably in 212 BCE. There is no secure archaeological evidence for an early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE construction phase such as might be expected from the accounts of Livy and Plutarch, who report that Camillus dedicated the temple of Mater Matuta following his successful siege of Veii in the 390s. It is possible, however, that Camillus—if he existed—merely dedicated a temple (or temples) already under construction (see Chapter 5 for discussion of the literary evidence). It is also possible that the first Lapis Albanus facing of the Republican podium should be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, as it seems to cut into the

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<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to note that the Temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum, likewise rebuilt in the early part of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, was also rotated clockwise with respect to its 6<sup>th</sup>-c. predecessor, though to a slightly greater degree—17° as opposed to 11° at S. Omobono (Knoop 1985: 87).

<sup>29</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1977: 60, n. 17; Ioppolo 2000: 168, 171.

<sup>30</sup> Zink 2015: 366–70.

Tufo del Palatino substructures of the podium along the latter's northern and southern limits. The first structure to be discussed is a large subterranean cistern that lies between the twin temples. This almost certainly postdates the first phase of the twin temples, but it is uncertain to when in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE it should be dated.

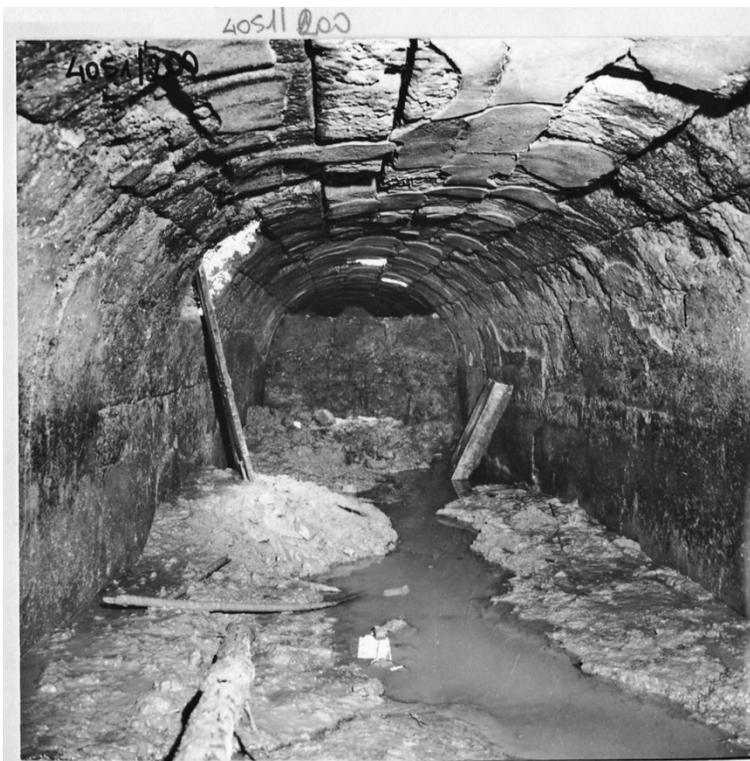
### **The Central Cistern**

Between the twin temples, lying below the level of the preserved Anio slab porch pavement, is a large cistern (Figure 27–30).<sup>31</sup> This was partially investigated in 1937 and fully excavated in 1980; it has since been partially backfilled, and entry is no longer allowed due to the risk of collapse. The cistern measures 27.71 x 2.41 m (interior dimensions) and is built in blocks of tuff that spring into a barrel vault. While the excavation notebook identifies *tufo di Fidene* (i.e., Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere), Virgili's publication specifies Anio tuff.<sup>32</sup> It is impossible to say with certainty based on the photographs alone; there are no telltale *scoriae*, which would securely identify TRSN, but the available photographs do not have detail sufficient to exclude their presence. Whatever their material, the blocks at the northern end of the cistern appear to be better preserved, with tightly fitting joints (Figure 28), while the edges of the blocks in the center (Figure 27) and at the southern end (Figure 29) are eroded. The floor of the cistern slopes gently down toward the north, and its floor, walls, and vault are all thickly coated with *cocciopesto*. The cistern has three openings, all at the apex of the vault; the southernmost of these is the largest, and on the floor of the cistern beneath it stood a quadrangular structure (1.50 x 1.65 m), built of eight slabs of tuff set vertically, possibly for drawing water (Figure 30).

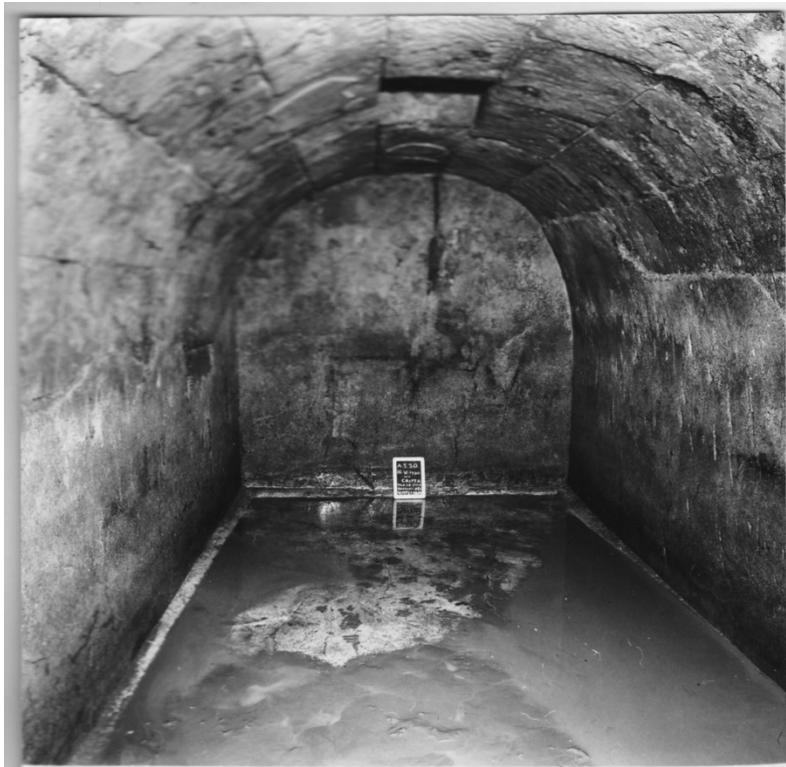
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<sup>31</sup> Virgili 1988. Because it has not been possible to access or re-document the cistern, this discussion is based on Virgili's article in conjunction with the available archival material.

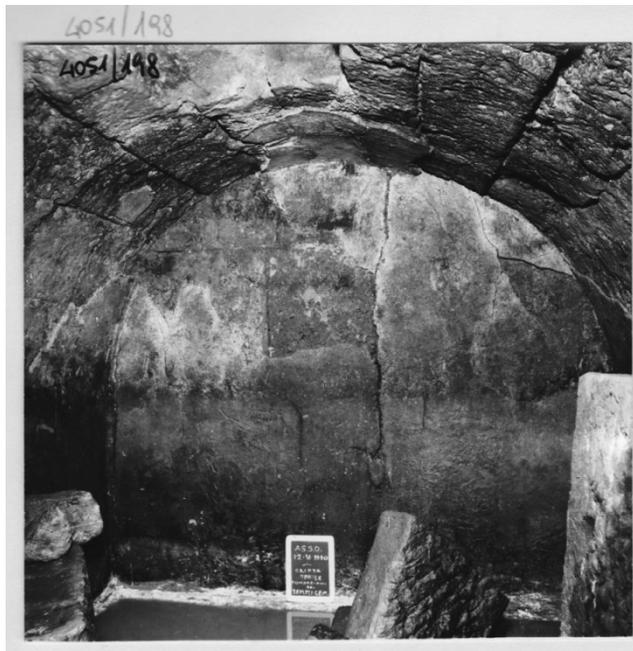
<sup>32</sup> “Da una prima analisi la ‘cisterna’ appare in blocchi di tufo di Fidene totalmente ricoperta da cocciopesto in parte staccatosi” (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 31, 1, 4051.222); “costruita con blocchi di tufo dell’Aniene” (Virgili 1988: 77).



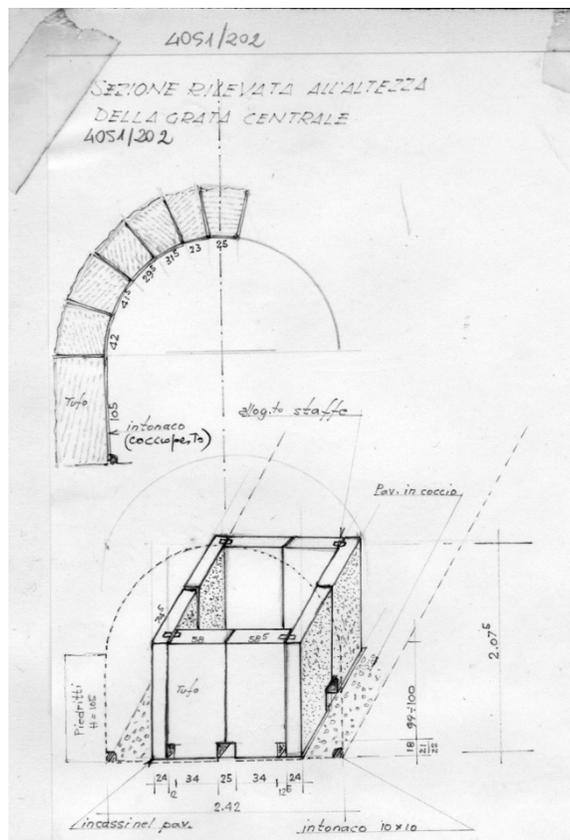
**Figure 27:** Central cistern, looking north, during investigations of unknown date, possibly 1980. A non-original access point, evidently used by the excavators, is visible on the left (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 31, 1, 4051.222b).



**Figure 28:** Central cistern, northern end, June 6, 1980 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 31, 1, 4051.219).



**Figure 29:** Central cistern, southern end, June 6, 1980 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 31, 1, 4051.220).



**Figure 30:** Central cistern, section and isometric sketch with dimensions of cistern and rectangular structure at its southern end (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 31, 1, 4051.225).

*Central Cistern: Interpretation and Chronology*

In his notes from 1937, Colini seems to have regarded the structure as part of a sewer, although at a later date, however, evidently once investigation had shown that it did not continue beyond the limits of the temples, he interpreted it as a *favissa*.<sup>33</sup> Coarelli argued that this structure was a chamber for the performance of ritual (the “chamber of Fortuna”) rather than a cistern, describing a “mancanza di qualsiasi rivestimento impermeabile,”<sup>34</sup> which is, however, directly at odds with the excavators’ report that “tutta la cisterna è stata rivestita con uno spesso strato di cocciopisto a grande percentuale di malta idraulica”;<sup>35</sup> this cocciopisto is also clearly evident in photographs (e.g., Figure 27).<sup>36</sup> The properties of the structure—subterranean, vaulted, coated with hydraulic cocciopisto, with a gentle slope of the floor toward one end, located between the twin temples and thus well-placed to collect runoff from their roofs—make its identification as a cistern secure.

The central cistern cannot be directly dated. It does not appear to bond with or cut the adjacent substructures in Tufo del Palatino, so that no stratigraphic relationship can be identified between the two.<sup>37</sup> Neither is it clear how the access shafts interface with the overlying structures, due to 20<sup>th</sup>-century interventions, although the construction of the *opus latericium* drain in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE must have put these out of use if they were not already so. Given that the cistern lies deeper than the Anio slab porch pavement, it probably predates that pavement,

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<sup>33</sup> Colini 1962: 4. Photographs from 1962 attest some investigation within the cistern in that year (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 32, 7, 3904).

<sup>34</sup> Coarelli 1992: 312.

<sup>35</sup> ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 30, 6, 3667, “Relazione C.N.R.”

<sup>36</sup> Virgili 1988: 79 fig. 3.

<sup>37</sup> “Si constata che i muri perimetrali longitudinali non arrivano a toccare i muri longitudinali in cappellaccio relativi ai due templi.” (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 31, 1, 4051. 223a, June 11, 1980, emphasis original).

unless the joints in the Anio slabs reflect some later intervention in this area (see this chapter, “Anio slab pavement”).<sup>38</sup>

Comparanda are not terribly helpful in assigning a date to the cistern. Adam, among others, dated the introduction of the true arch in Roman construction to the later 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE, with the Porta Iovis at Falerii Novi, *terminus post quem* 241 BCE, serving as “the only definite marker in the early history of the voussoir arch.”<sup>39</sup> There is, however, increasing evidence for earlier *vaults*, primarily subterranean constructions. Adam himself recognizes the vaulting of the Cloaca Maxima under the Basilica Aemilia of around 200 BCE. A drain near the *Meta Sudans* covered by a double-vault in ashlar masonry of grey granular tuff (Tufo di Palatino) has been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>40</sup> An unusual chamber tomb at Lavinium, built in “cappellaccio” ashlar and containing depositions from the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, seems to have been vaulted, based on the presence of keystones among the roof collapse material.<sup>41</sup>

A cistern in the sanctuary at Ardea, loc. Fosso dell’Incastro provides a very close parallel to the Sant’Omobono example. The Fosso dell’Incastro cistern is rectangular, constructed in tuff ashlar springing into a barrel vault, thickly coated with hydraulic mortar, and provided with two points of access at the apex of the vault.<sup>42</sup> It lies adjacent to Temple B in order to collect runoff from its roof, just as the Sant’Omobono cistern lies between the twin temples. Its dimensions (ca.

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<sup>38</sup> Virgili (1977) associated the cistern with the Anio slab pavement, citing the fact that there is no cappellaccio (*i.e.* Tufo del Palatino) pavement overlying the cistern. As already discussed, however, the quondam existence of such a pavement in the area of the temple porches is uncertain. Where blocks of Tufo del Palatino exist beneath the Anio slab pavement, they can be understood as foundations for the *alae* of the first phase of the twin temples. Only south of the temples themselves (inclusive of porches) does a pavement in Tufo del Palatino exist.

<sup>39</sup> Adam 2005: 159.

<sup>40</sup> Cifani 2008: 150–52 (cat. no. 54). The drain is covered by a *via glareata* dated ceramically to the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cs. BCE, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the drain.

<sup>41</sup> Guaitoli 1995: 557–62.

<sup>42</sup> Di Mario 2016: 29; Arena 2016: 84.

3 x 30 m) are similar to those of the Sant'Omobono cistern (2.41 x 27.71 m).<sup>43</sup> The Fosso dell'Incastro cistern is dated, along with the wider building phase of which it is a part, within the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE on ceramic evidence.

In contrast to the Greek world, in which cisterns are rare in sanctuaries, central Italian temples are not infrequently provided with water storage facilities.<sup>44</sup> Water seems to have been of central importance to the practicalities of cult: it will have been needed for cleaning prior to rituals and perhaps upon entering the precinct; it was necessary for boiling the *exta* of the victims; and it will have been required to clean up after the messy act of sacrifice itself.

### **The Anio Block Pavement**

The earliest pavement that can probably be dated to the middle Republic is a surface of the forecourt in front of the twin temples. Resting directly on the blocks of the Tufo del Palatino structure is a pavement composed of a single course of Tufo Lionato blocks.<sup>45</sup> Chemical analysis indicates the use of the Anio facies of Tufo Lionato for this pavement (hereafter, “Anio block pavement”), although occasional use of the Monteverde facies may also be attested. Dimensions loosely cohere around a mean: typical blocks measure ca. 0.80–0.85 m L x 0.58–0.65 m W x 0.26–0.31 m H, or roughly 3:2:1 RF. While the blocks generally approximate rectangles, some have had one or more of their faces cut back to fit snugly against adjacent blocks.<sup>46</sup>

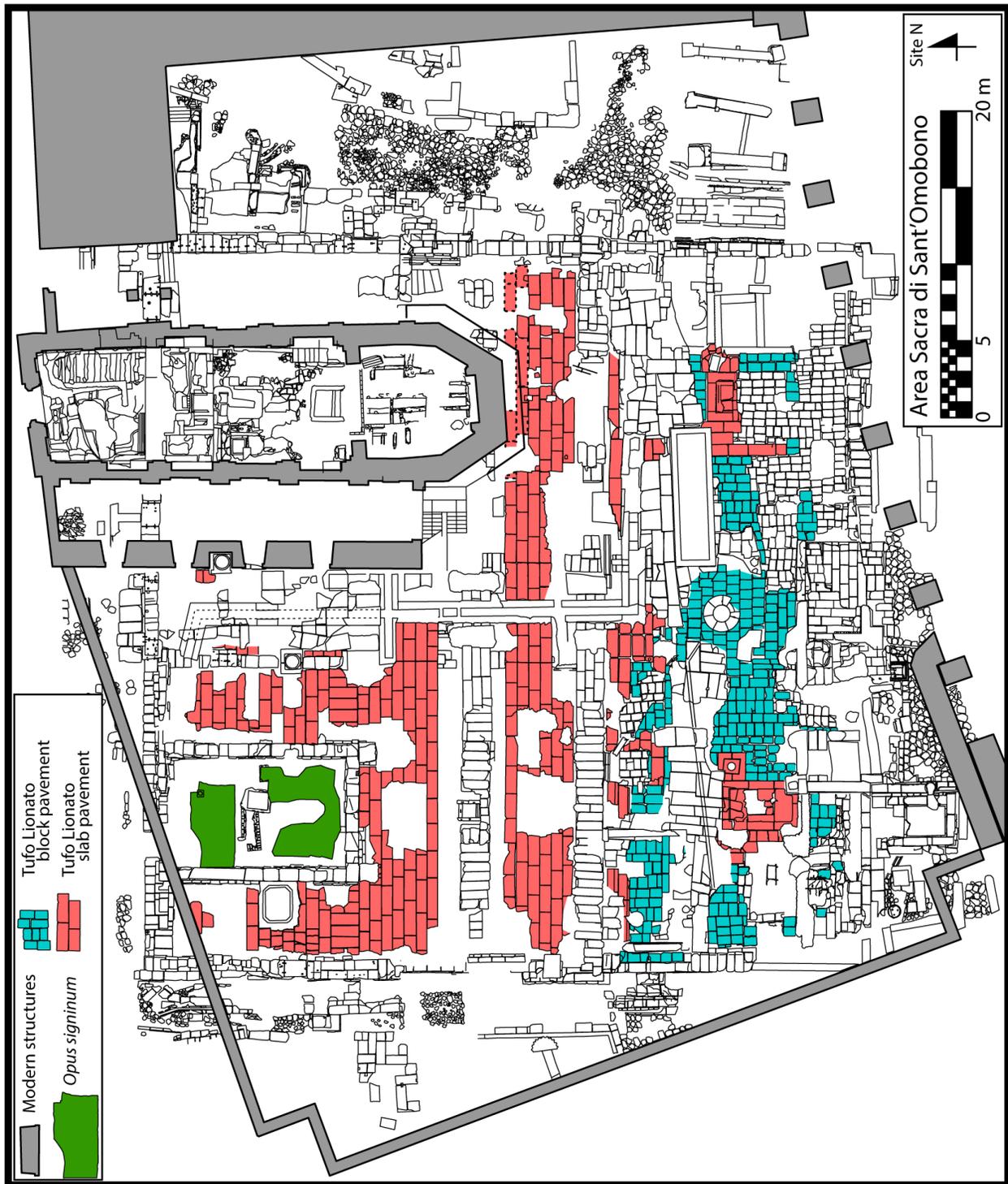
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<sup>43</sup> The blocks each measure ca. 1.80 x 0.45 m. The precise dimensions of the cistern have not been published, nor is it specified whether the approximate dimensions are interior or exterior measurements.

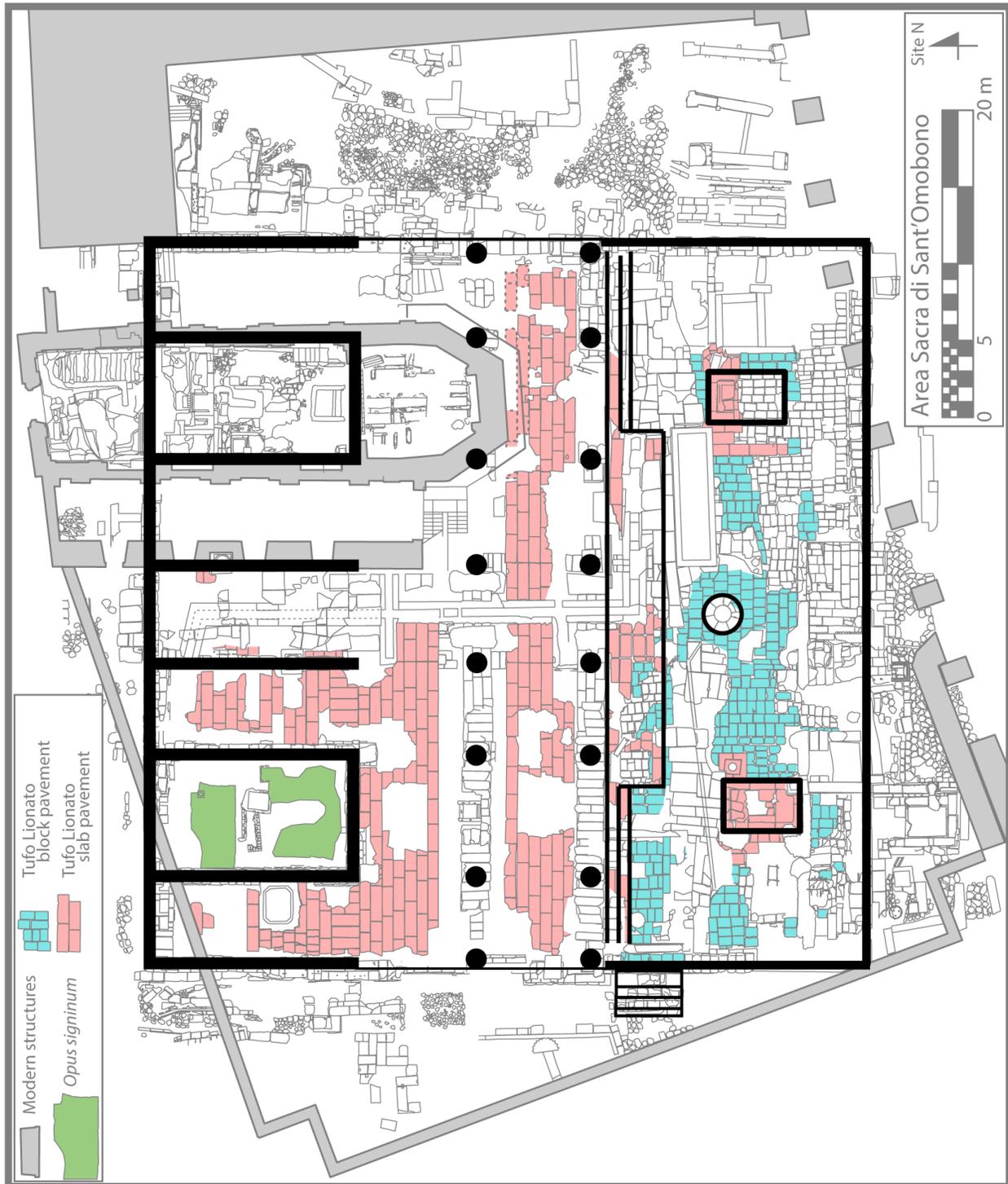
<sup>44</sup> For instance, at Fosso dell'Incastro, at Cosa, and the temple of Victoria on the Palatine, to name just a few.

<sup>45</sup> UU.SS.MM. 22, 23, 26, 72, 88, 89, 99, 100, 170, 178, 186, 190.

<sup>46</sup> Two blocks of USM 72, just east of the circular monument, are cut to the shape of a right trapezoid, and the acute angle of one of these fits into a V-shaped notch in an adjacent block. The irregularity with which these notches and offsets occur suggests that they are not intentional structural features, but rather ad hoc modifications by the stonecutters constructing the pavement, in order to make use of the blocks at their disposal.



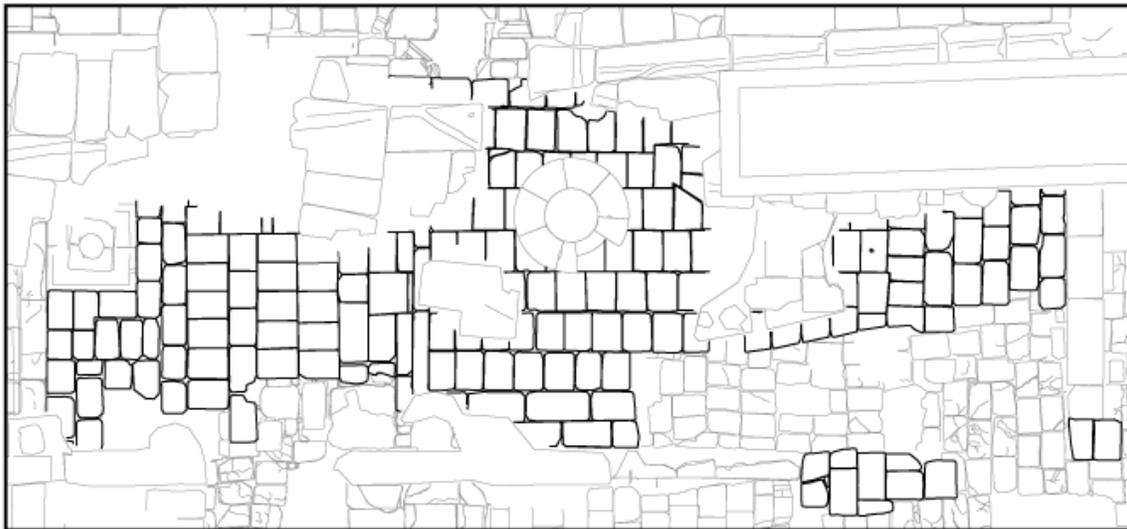
**Figure 31:** Site plan highlighting Anio block pavement (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE) in blue and Anio slab porch pavement (late 4<sup>th</sup> /first half 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE) in pink (author).



**Figure 32:** Restored plan of twin temples in their Anio slab porch pavement phase, ca. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (author).

The Anio block pavement is only partially preserved, but it likely originally extended across the entire extent of the Republican podium south of the twin temples. The eastern extents of the pavement have been completely destroyed by the installation of *tabernae* within the

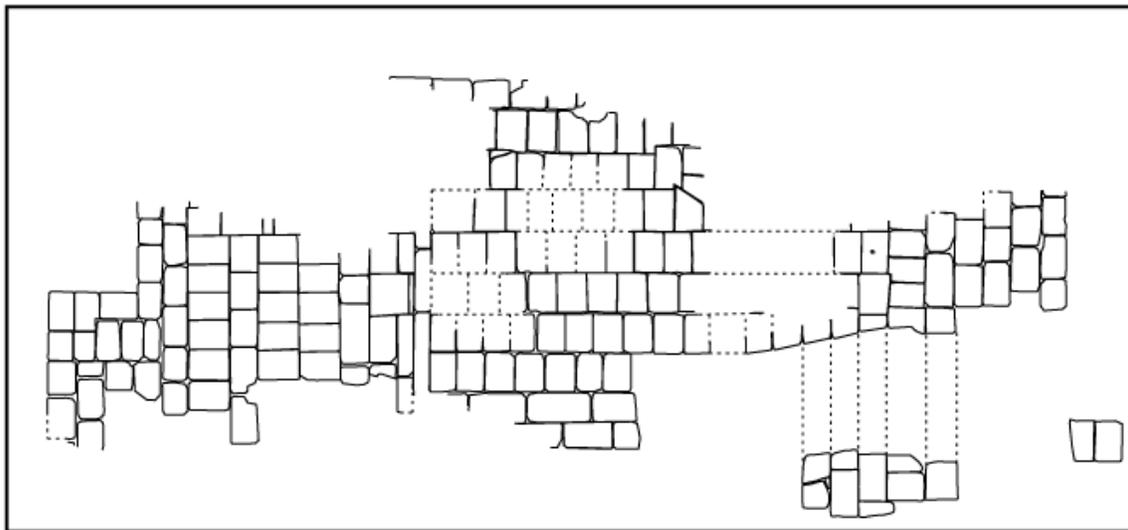
podium during the Imperial period. To the south, the pavement is laid on the Lapis Albanus blocks of the podium facing, though it is impossible to observe its southernmost extent, being covered by the podium facing of the following phase.<sup>47</sup> The pavement interfaces with the western edge of the podium in two different ways. To the southwest, there is a Lapis Albanus ashlar, from which the Anio block pavement is separated by a gap of 10–20 cm. Beginning ca. 1 m to the north—past a gap that cannot currently be investigated due to the presence of stray architectural elements—the Lapis Albanus ashlars are absent, and the Anio pavement blocks continue up to the eastern edge of the Anio blocks forming the façade of the podium.



**Figure 33:** Anio block pavement, central area (author).

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<sup>47</sup> This is just visible in the section left by the cutting of the post-antique rooms along the southern edge of the site.



**Figure 34:** Anio block pavement with restored alignments (author).

The orientation of the blocks of the Anio block pavement varies in alignment and regularity. In some areas, it is quite regular; in others, irregular, probably due to rearrangement in order to accommodate new features, such as the altars. In the central area (USM 72 “a”) of the pavement, the blocks are regularly oriented N-S, apart from several blocks just east of the circular monument. Exceptionally, the northern and southern face, respectively, of two adjacent blocks are cut at angle of roughly 32–33 degrees. The northwestern corner of the southern block fits into a notch cut into the block northwest of it. Within the preserved and observable Anio block pavement, these three blocks are unique in having original oblique faces.<sup>48</sup> Because the pavement immediately to the east is overlain by a series of later strata, the overall pattern here cannot be determined, and it remains unclear whether the obliquity accommodates a feature inserted into the pavement or attests a desire on the part of the masons to make use of a block or blocks whose corners had broken.

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<sup>48</sup> Apart from several blocks to the north that have oblique faces, which were, however, cut for the insertion of a drain, discussed below. Many other blocks of this pavement have oblique or irregular edges due to post-antique activity.

The western edge of the central area (USM 72 “a”) of the Anio block pavement adjoins a strip of blocks (USM 72 “b”) that are narrower than usual, ca. 0.33 m W. A very narrow block (0.09–0.10 m W) abuts a wider block to its west, suggesting the meeting of two different systems. It is possible that this arrangement of narrow blocks represents the insertion of a drain under the pavement; this hypothetical drain would continue a N-S drain attested to the north.

West of this narrow strip, the Anio block pavement shows more regular dimensions and alignment of blocks (USM 72 “c”), for a width of 4.87 m. West of this area again, the pavement is less regular, perhaps as a result of reworking for the insertion of the western altar and its adjacent votive pit head. The blocks immediately adjacent to the altar and pit head, however, are relatively regular; it is only in the area south of these that the blocks are of irregular dimensions. The edges of these blocks show a much greater degree of wear and/or weathering than those elsewhere in the pavement. The reason for this difference is unknown.

The Anio block pavement cannot currently be directly dated. Stratigraphically, it rests on the Tufo del Palatino structure—probably of early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE date—and is overlain by the staircase and platform associated with the Anio slab pavement of the twin temples proper, this latter pavement probably to be dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. The Anio block pavement, then, should date between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE. It is conceivable, though in my opinion unlikely, that the Anio block pavement is contemporary with the Anio slab pavement; this will be discussed later in the chapter. Certainly associated with at least part of the use-life of the Anio block pavement are the two Lapis Albanus altars and the circular monument. Evidence suggests that these were later additions to the pre-existing pavement, and hence they will be described following the Anio slab pavement.

## The Anio Staircase and the Drains Below It

Immediately south of the later southern stylobate in Tufo Giallo—south, that is, of the front of the twin temples—are a series of stone drains, U-shaped in section, overlain by a low staircase that leads from the level of the Anio block pavement up to the Anio slab pavement of the temples proper, with which it is probably of a piece (on which, see below). The staircase preserves two steps. In the center of the area, the lower step expands to the south some 2.2 m, creating a low platform. The upper step is absent in this area. The staircase with platform overlies at least seven stretches of drain. The staircase and platform, along with several of the drains, rest on the northern extent of the earlier Anio block pavement, which has been slightly cut down to receive the new features.

The seven drains have different orientations and/or elevations (see Figure 69 below). Some of these must form parts of the same system(s), but the overall system is unclear, since many of the drains are visible only in profile or for very brief stretches, such that their direction of flow cannot be determined. A further problem is that one or more of these channels apparently served as a conductor of fresh water, since it held a lead pipe (ca. 0.1 m diam.), but this pipe is no longer visible, and there is insufficient detail to locate the proper channel.<sup>49</sup> Each of the drains is composed of U-shaped blocks of Anio tuff laid end to end. The elevations given are those of the channel rather than the top surface of the block.

Drain 1 is the southernmost drain, and is oriented east-west. It is visible only in profile, where its channel sits at 11.90 m asl. Drain 1 rests on the wider surface/foundation of Tufo del

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<sup>49</sup> Ioppolo 2000: 174 locates it “al centro dell’area dei Templi Gemelli... all’interno di un saggio effettuato durante i lavori del 1938, è visibile la sezione di una condotta per l’acqua potabile sita ad una quota superiore della vicina condotta fognante che raccoglie il dilavamento delle acque meteoriche che investivano le coperture dei templi gemelli e dell’antistante area culturale priva di copertura.” An identification with either Drain 2 or Drain 7 seems possible, but neither matches all of Ioppolo’s details. Vitti 2010: 578 compares a similar tuff channel housing a lead pipe in the area of the Temple of Apollo Medicus; he dates the system prior to 296 BCE.

Palatino blocks, and it is overlain by a narrow slab of Tufo Lionato whose top surface is level with the Anio block pavement to the south, which the slab abuts. Drain 1 probably continues to the west, since Lionato blocks of identical width continue for at least 16.7 m. It seems to have been cut by Drain 4.

Drain 2 abuts the northern face of Drain 1 and runs parallel to it, though at a slightly higher elevation (channel 12.00 m asl in its only observable stretch), and is traceable for 0.72 m. It rests on the same Tufo del Palatino surface at the same elevation as Drain 1, but the observable block of Drain 2 is taller/deeper than that of Drain 1. Drain 2 is overlain by the southernmost Lionato slab of the low platform. North of Drain 2 is sediment that is also overlain by the platform slab.

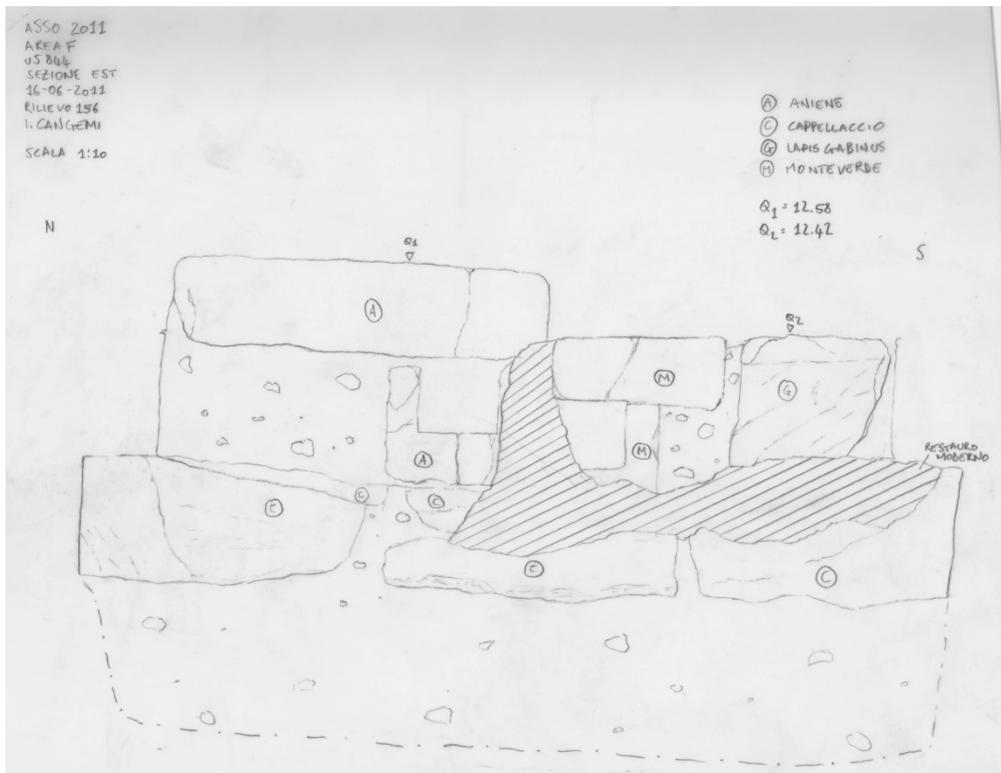
Drain 3 is oriented north-south and lies under the central platform, on the line of the eastern limit of Temple A. It can be traced for 1.37 m and today slopes down from north to south at an angle of approximately  $11^\circ$ : the top of the north block is at 12.33 m asl, that of the south block 12.21 m asl. It may have originally run from south to north, however. The Lionato slab of the platform has a small circular drain hole (diam. 0.12 m) above the southernmost extent of Drain 3; the drain may originally have carried runoff from this drain into Drain 5 to the north.

Drain 4 is oriented northwest-southeast and underlies the central platform. Its course can be traced for 7.5 m, even if most of its blocks have been spoliated. At its northwestern end the channel has an elevation of 12.08 m asl, at its southeastern 11.99 m asl. Drain 4 rests on the underlying surface of Tufo del Palatino; the blocks of the latter have been slightly recessed (0.015–0.065 m) to receive the blocks of the former. The Anio block pavement, which also overlies the Tufo del Palatino surface, has itself been cut away to receive the blocks of Drain 4.

At its northwestern end, the preserved stretch of Drain 4 terminates 0.15 m south of Drain 5, which lies at a lower elevation.



**Figure 35:** Drains (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 28, 6, 3077).



**Figure 36:** Elevation of eastern wall of pit seen in Figure 35, showing Drain 1 to the right/south and Drain 2 to the left/north (Sant'Omobono Project/Ivan Cangemi, 2011).



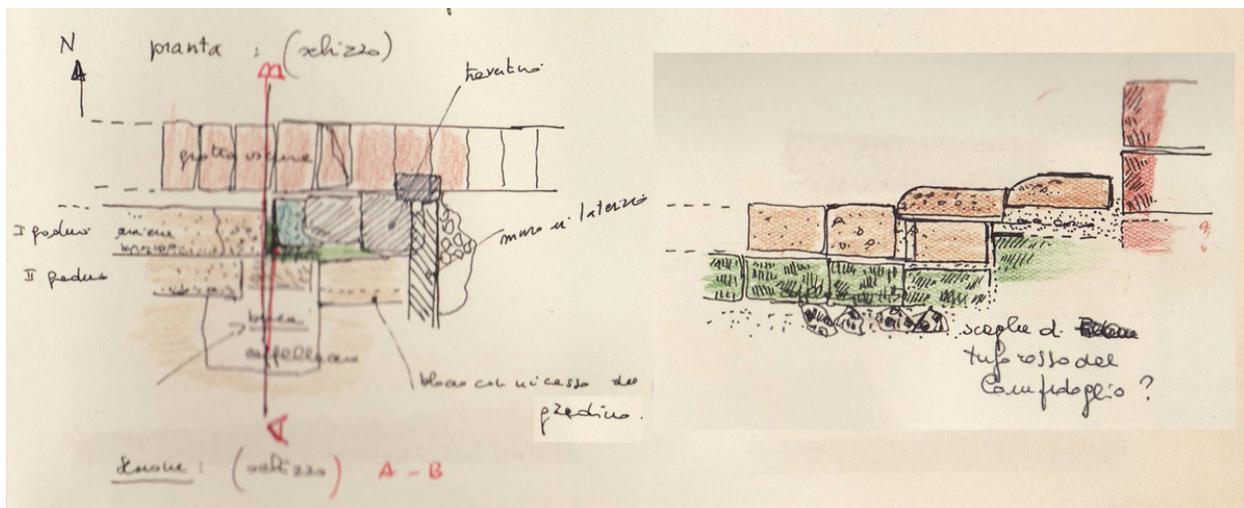
**Figure 37:** Area of the western half of the central platform, showing the line of Drain 4, mostly spoliated, with the Anio block pavement cut obliquely to receive it. In the upper right, immediately underlying the light fixture, are the probable cover-slab and continuation of Drain 1 (Sant’Omobono Project, 2012).

Drain 5 is oriented east-west and probably runs from east to west. It can be traced for a distance of 2.3 m, but may have originally extended 10–11 m further west. Its elevation in the preserved stretch is 11.91–11.94 m asl. It is uncertain on what it is bedded. It is overlain by slabs of Tufo del Palatino. At the eastern end of the drain, the slab is immediately overlain by the Lionato slab of the central platform. At the western end of the visible drain, the TdP slab is overlain by sediment, on which is bedded the second, upper step of the staircase. Drain 5 does not continue further east beneath the central platform.

Drain 6 is oriented east-west, and seems to be the eastern equivalent of Drain 5, both running immediately south of the southern limit of the twin temples. It can be traced for 15.6 m. It rests on a course of Tufo del Palatino slabs. It runs along the southern edge of Saggio D10 (=Settore VIII). Drain 7 is oriented north-south. Its course can be followed for 2.2 m. It is the eastern equivalent of Drain 3, lying on the line of the western limit of Temple B.

### *The Anio staircase and central platform*

The staircase west of the central platform can be traced for 10.35 m, of an original length not greater than 11 m. It is built in slabs of Anio tuff. Two courses of risers are preserved. The lower has elevations of 12.32–12.48 m asl, while the upper reaches the elevation (12.51–12.59 m asl) of the southern extent of the Anio slab pavement beyond the later Tufo Giallo stylobate to the north (for which, see below), indicating that there were no further steps. The upper step is 0.14–0.18 m higher than the lower. The slabs of the lower step rest in a shallow (ca. 0.1 m) recess cut into the underlying Anio block pavement. The slabs of the upper step rest on the sediment overlying the Tufo del Palatino cover slabs of Drain 5.



**Figure 38:** Section of Anio staircase, Oct. 17, 1969. In green, Tufo del Palatino; brown, Anio; red, Tufo Giallo (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 70, 5, 16361 (118)).

Each of the two steps has a trapezoidal section, as the southern surface of the riser is oblique to the top surface. The stair slabs measure 0.69–0.71 m wide and are of variable length (three that preserve original dimensions measure 1.04, 1.52, 1.67 m long). Their rising joints display anathyrosis, and one vertical setting line is preserved on a block of the upper step for the setting of the lower step (Figure 22). There are traces of what was probably an equivalent

staircase east of the central platform, immediately south of Saggio D10; the details of these steps are overlain by the sediment that supports the later travertine pavement.

Between the two staircases lies a low platform, also built in Anio tuff. Only its western half is preserved in any substantial way, as the eastern half was largely destroyed by the construction of a drain in *opus latericium* during the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE; it is likely that the platform was originally symmetrical. The western half measures ca. 3.8 m N-S by 11 m E-W, giving a probable original width of the platform of 22 m. The platform is one riser high—it shares the height of the lower step of the staircase. Because of differential subsidence, however, its top surface has an elevation between 12.46 and 12.63 m asl. The platform does not preserve an interface with the staircases to its east and west, but the lower step probably simply extended further south. There is no evidence for a second step in the area of the platform, so there was probably no access to the temples proper from this area, which stretches the length of the central four columns of the twin temples. There may be some connection between the platform and the large cistern; the primary opening of the latter lies immediately north of the platform, on the axis of the southern line of columns. This could partially explain the profusion of drains in this area. The later construction of the Tufo Giallo stylobates has destroyed all evidence of the head of the cistern, however, along with the interface between the platform and whatever once lay to its north. The Folvios inscriptions could possibly have been installed in this area, though there is no physical evidence of this.

## The Anio slab (porch) pavement of the twin temples

As already mentioned, the low staircase leads up from the level of the Anio block pavement to the level of a pavement of the twin temples in slabs of Anio tuff.<sup>50</sup> This latter Anio slab pavement attests a reconstruction of the temples. The pavement surrounds the western cella on three sides and is preserved south of the eastern cella, forming the floor of the temples' porches.<sup>51</sup> If the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. temples had closed *alae*, as seems likely, that was no longer true of the structures of which the Anio slab pavement formed a part, as it ran continuously across the *pars antica* (though a later N-S drain has cut away part of the center of this pavement). This reconstruction must postdate the first phase of the twin temples, as the pavement slabs partially rest on the Tufo del Palatino foundation blocks of the latter and overlie the foundations of the first-phase *alae* walls. The Anio slab porch pavement is absent where the two stylobates in Tufo Giallo cross the Republican podium, but remains of the preparation layer for the pavement have been documented where the Tufo Giallo has been robbed out.<sup>52</sup> This suggests that the porch pavement was originally continuous up to the front of the temples. Fragments of this pavement were found broken up and redeposited in the fill of the foundation trench for the northern Tufo Giallo stylobate.<sup>53</sup>

This porch pavement is constructed of slabs of Anio tuff oriented E-W, except immediately E and W of the southern corners of the western cella, where there is a row of slabs oriented N-S. The slabs consistently measure  $0.74 \pm 0.025$  m wide, or 2.5 RF on a 0.296 m foot

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<sup>50</sup> Previous literature identified this pavement as of Monteverde and/or Anio tuff, but Monteverde has not been attested geochemically.

<sup>51</sup> A single block of this pavement is visible *in situ* in section in the southern profile of the central basin in Saggio B26.

<sup>52</sup> Saggio D10 (Sett. VIII): Terrenato et al. 2012, fig. 61, <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue31/1/images/figure61.html>

<sup>53</sup> Brocato et al. 2012: 33 and fig. 14 (Area A, Saggio 3).

standard.<sup>54</sup> There are, however, some slight localized variations. For instance, immediately southwest of the western cella, the length of the blocks oriented N-S increases from east to west; consequently, the blocks oriented E-W immediately south of these decrease in width, from 0.71 m in the east to 0.64 m to the west (Figure 31). The joining edges of each slab of this pavement display anathyrosis.

As already mentioned, the lengths of the Anio slabs varies considerably, and there is no discernible pattern in their placement, with one exception. On the line of the eastern limit (that is, on the axis of the eastern wall of the eastern *ala*) of the western temple, and on the line of the western limit of the eastern temple, the short ends of the slabs are all aligned N-S (Figure 31; Figure 32). The reason for this alignment is uncertain. A connection with the underlying cistern is possible. Although the latter cannot be directly dated, it is possible that it is contemporary with the Anio slab phase of the twin temples; perhaps finishing touches were still being made before the pavement could be completed. It does not seem to be the case that the pavement slabs were cut along these lines at a later date (for maintenance to the cistern *vel sim.*), given the length of the slabs that meet—none seems notably shorter than slabs in other areas of the pavement.

The Anio slab porch pavement of the temples differs considerably from the Anio block pavement of the area in front of the temples. Where the porch pavement slabs have elongated proportions (2:5 or greater) and are shallow (0.5 RF), the forecourt pavement is made of blocks of squatter proportions (2:3) and deeper (1 RF). While the porch slabs are laid regularly and consistently E-W, the forecourt blocks are quite varied in their alignment. While the porch pavement rests on a sediment preparation layer, the forecourt pavement beds directly on the Tufo del Palatino blocks of the earlier structure. The Anio blocks that underlie the staircase and central

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<sup>54</sup> The range of variation in length among these blocks is much greater and does not immediately suggest any standardization; the blocks aligned N-S flanking the western cella, however, measure ca. 1.85 m long—perhaps 6.25 RF on the 0.296 m foot standard.

platform show evidence of having been modified to receive the latter; the oblique cutting of the Anio blocks for the insertion of Drain 4 is particularly indicative in this regard.

*Features in the Anio slab porch pavement of the twin temples*

The Anio slab pavement south of the eastern cella, between the lines of the two stylobates, displays a series of features of unclear significance. Visible in the 1970 plan are two cuttings in the pavement, each of which spans two adjacent slabs. The northern cutting measures ca. 0.3 x 0.5 m, the southern ca. 0.35 x 0.6 m. They share a N-S axis, which is close to the N-S axis of the eastern cella. These cuttings are only partially preserved today, as the pavement here was lifted in 2013 and replaced with small block fragments. There was no trace of a third such cutting at an equivalent distance south of the southern cutting (although the block is today no longer present, having collapsed during the excavation of Saggio D10 in 2013). There is no trace of further such cuttings in the slab pavement to the east or west. The equivalent section of pavement near the axis of the western temple is not preserved, so that the presence of similar or identical symmetrical cuttings there cannot be determined. About 1 m southwest of the southern cutting is a tiny feature incorporating lead and another metal, possibly iron, probably for anchoring or attaching something—something small (Figure 39; Figure 40).



**Figure 39:** Lead-lined iron fitting in Anio pavement slab (author).



**Figure 40:** Close-up of fitting in Figure 39 (author).

Cut into, and aligned with, the Anio slab pavement immediately west of the western cella is an octagonal basin lined in cocciopesto.<sup>55</sup> The basin was laid out such that the northern extent of its northern lip neatly abuts the adjoining Anio pavement slabs, whereas the western and

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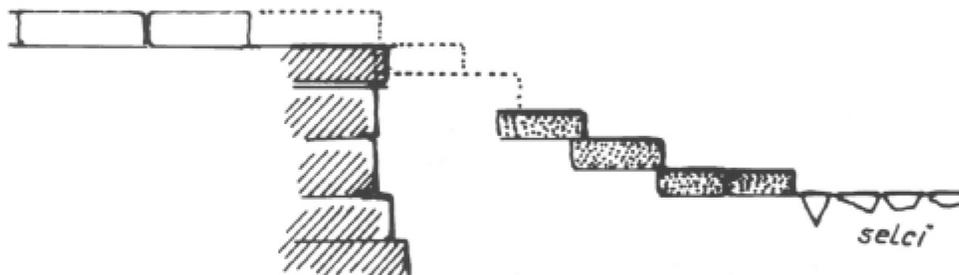
<sup>55</sup> Saggio A8, USM 811, 816, 818, 819, 820.

southern extents do not align so cleanly with the adjoining pavement; the slabs to west and south were partially cut away to receive the basin. This suggests that the basin is not contemporary with the initial construction of the pavement, though they probably coexisted.<sup>56</sup> The bottom of the basin slopes down from southeast (12.34 m asl) to northwest (12.06 m asl), giving depths from 0.48 to 0.76 m. The interface between the bottom and the walls of the basin is beveled.

#### *A possible western staircase*

In his notes from the excavations of 1937, Colini described and illustrated a staircase that communicated between the Republican podium and the street to the west of it, at the northwestern corner of the podium:

Scala di cinque originariamente sei gradini alti m. 0,20 larghi m. 0,45 di cui si sono trovate tracce dall'angolo N-W ad oltre l'asse del decumano la quale metteva in collegamento l'area con la più antica strada di selce. Il suo uso dovette venir limitato mano a mano che l'area della strada venne occupata da costruzioni sì da rimanere accessibile solo presso l'angolo e presso l'asse decumano ove sopravvisse fino ad età imperiale rinnovandosi.<sup>57</sup>



**Figure 41:** Section of the northwestern corner of the Republican podium showing hypothetical staircase (Colini 2000: 98, Quaderno VI, p. 88, redrawn by Ioppolo).

<sup>56</sup> An archival photo, however, *may* show a section of the basin rising up to the level of the top of the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere blocks (Figure 72 below), but this is very unclear; it is difficult to tell whether it is actually part of the basin or part of a later wall. A section drawing by Pisani Sartorio in an excavation notebook, dated July 1969, represents the cistern as overlying the cappellaccio foundation blocks and lying against the first course of the TRSN foundation (Figure 80 below).

<sup>57</sup> Colini 2000: 98 (Quaderno VI, 88).



**Figure 42:** Hypothetical staircase at the northwestern corner of the Republican podium. Note that the only possible blocks of the staircase are the two at the center of the photo, the lower having a longitudinal drain cut into it, the upper resting on it to the right. The stair-like effect to the right is a result of post-antique interventions on the Republican podium (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 65, 1, 16441).

Although Colini describes five steps of an original six, only three such steps are represented in his sketched section, and only two are visible in a contemporary photograph (Figure 42). If Colini's staircase did exist, it would have provided access to the podium from the paved street or piazza to the west. This would imply that the western side of Temple A in this phase was not closed by an *ala*, even partially, but consisted of an open colonnade allowing pedestrian traffic moving up and down the stairs.

### *The superstructure of the twin temples in the Anio slab pavement phase*

Determining the nature of the superstructure of the twin temples associated with the Anio slab pavement is a difficult proposition. There are two possibilities. The first possibility (Hypothesis 1) is that the walls of the *cellae* and *alae* were built of timber-framed mudbrick, of which no trace now remains.<sup>58</sup> The second possibility (Hypothesis 2) is that the currently visible structures in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere formed part of the temples' superstructure during this phase. These two possibilities will be discussed in greater detail following the description of the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structures.

In either case, the temples did not have fully closed *alae*—a change from the plan of the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. temples. In their place were *alae* closed only the length of the *cellae*. For both hypotheses, this is proven by the fact that the Anio slab pavement runs continuously across N-S axis of the *alae* south of the southern limit of the *cellae*. In Hypothesis 2, this is further supported by the fact that the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structure east of the western cella terminates on the line of the southern limit of the cella.

### *The date of the Anio slab pavement phase*

Limited though it is, there is ceramic evidence to date the Anio slab pavement and the reconstruction of the twin temples of which it forms a part. Limited ceramic evidence excavated by the Sant'Omobono Project suggests a broad *terminus post quem* of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE for this porch pavement, and it must predate the fire of 213 BCE.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> A variant on this hypothesis is that the walls were of cut stone, which was completely spoliated during the construction of the succeeding phase—a succeeding phase that, on this hypothesis, would be the currently visible blocks of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere.

<sup>59</sup> Thus, cautiously, Brocato in Brocato et al. 2012: 39; Regoli in *ibid.* 47, no. 20; De Luca in *ibid.* 47, no. 21; and especially D'Acri in *ibid.* 48, no. 24.

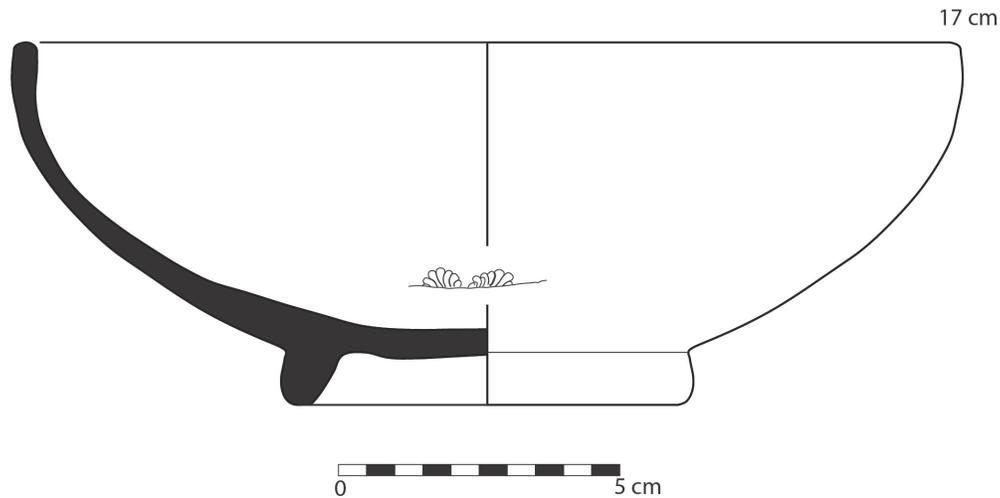
In late 1975, as part of a campaign of restoration and installation of brick supports for the travertine pavement on the site, a small intervention was carried out beneath a slab of the Anio pavement between the two temples. The action is recorded, as frequently, only by tags included in the artifact bags: “1/10/75. Coppa rinvenuta nello strato sotto il pav. a lastre di tufo di Mont. e Aniene presso la fond(azione/amenta[?]) della III colonna del portico fra i due templi (lato tempio B).”<sup>60</sup> Although this description is slightly ambiguous, each of the possible locations it describes is equivalent in its chronological consequences.

The column of the portico between the two temples must refer to the travertine columns, as no earlier phase had a portico between the temples. The third column of this portico, then, refers either to the still-existing column accommodated in a niche of the 1930s brick sheathing of the church, or to the void left by the spoliation of the equivalent column to the west. “Lato tempio B” probably indicates the former, but it is conceivable that it refers to the eastern side (the “temple B side”) of the eastern *ala* of the western temple (A). In either case, the “pav. a lastre di tufo di Mont. e Aniene” would be the same structure, that which I have here termed the Anio slab porch pavement. There is, however, another possibility, which would completely change the situation. If the area surrounding the still extant column is meant, it is conceivable that some trace of the Anio thin slab pavement of 212 BCE—which is otherwise attested *only* in the area in front of the temples—was encountered in section during construction of a retaining wall here, a wall which today makes confirming this hypothetical pavement’s presence impossible. If that is, in fact, the case—which seems impossible to verify without investigations behind the retaining wall, or the discovery of a contemporary notebook entry recording more precise details—then a sherd of ca. 300 BCE underlying a pavement dated to 212 BCE occasions no surprise and has no bearing on the date of the Anio slab porch pavement.

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<sup>60</sup> S. Omobono magazzino, cass. 6a, sacchetta senza numero.

The *coppa* in question is a fragment of a Black Gloss bowl (Figure 43; Figure 44), Morel 2981b, preserving about a third of the whole vessel, with full profile—unusually well-preserved compared with most Black Gloss sherds known from the site. At the center of the interior are the partial remains of two palmette stamps, of an original four, disposed radially. The stamps, fabric, and profile place the bowl in Stanco’s GPS I phase, Ferrandes’ *Facies* 4, ±320–290 BCE.<sup>61</sup>



**Figure 43:** Profile drawing of Black Gloss bowl found beneath a Tufo Lionato pavement, 1/10/75 (author).



**Figure 44:** Photograph of the Black Gloss bowl in Figure 43 (author).

<sup>61</sup> Stanco 2009; Ferrandes 2006: 143–51. Morel 1981: 243–44 would place Type 2981b in the “premières décennies du III<sup>e</sup> s.” For the stamps, compare Morel 1969: fig. 5 nos. 36–37 = Stanco 2009: fig. 5, GPS prima fase, nos. 2–3.

Another, more notorious, Black Gloss sherd might have some bearing on the chronology of the Anio slab pavement. This is the sherd described by Coarelli as a fragment of a “coppetta Morel 96.” Coarelli’s description of the sherd’s provenance leaves it ambiguous as to whether it was found beneath the Anio block pavement or the stairs/platform of the Anio slab pavement. Because he considers both of these pavements to belong to a single construction phase, the difference is immaterial to his argument. Once the pavements are distinguished, however, it becomes crucial to know precisely which block the sherd was found under. If it was found under a block associated with the Anio slab pavement, then it fits with and strengthens a date of the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> century for that pavement. If found under the Anio block pavement, then it would indicate that the latter is more likely to be contemporary with the slab pavement. If it were found under a block associated with one of the drains, however, it could represent a later intervention in an earlier structure. What is evidently required is a pair of controlled and well-documented excavations conducted beneath blocks of each of the two pavements, lifted specially for the occasion. Until such work is carried out, the dating of the pavements cannot be considered secure.

A potential further source of evidence for the date of the Anio slab pavement phase of the twin temples could be the architectural terracottas from the site. These, however, are also ambiguous. Gjerstad mentioned but did not publish several fragments of revetment plaques, found during the 1938 excavations, that have 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup>-c. BCE comparanda.<sup>62</sup> Although Gjerstad erroneously attributed these to a hypothetical 4<sup>th</sup>-c. BCE phase of the Archaic temple, they could well belong to the roof of the temples associated with the first Tufo Lionato porch pavement. Among the stray architectural materials preserved in the *magazzino* at Sant’Omobono are several

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<sup>62</sup> Gjerstad 1960: 459, citing as comparandum Andrén 1939: 430, pl. 132, no. 461 (Lavinium). Gjerstad saw these plaques exhibited in the Antiquarium Comunale; it has not yet been possible to trace them.

fragments that can be dated broadly in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. These materials are quite fragmentary, however, and most are not associated with trustworthy stratigraphic information; it is very much to be hoped that in future it will be possible to study the Republican-era architectural terracottas from Sant'Omobono in their entirety, including whatever materials might be stored in the Antiquarium Comunale or other off-site facility.

The porch pavement in Lionato slabs represents a reconstruction of the twin temples that postdate their first phase, as the pavement slabs partially rest on the Tufo del Palatino foundation blocks of the latter and overlie the foundations of the first-phase *alae* walls. If the evidence of the Black Gloss bowl is reliable, then a date somewhere between the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (prior to the fire of 213) is indicated, and previous hypotheses attributing this phase to M. Furius Camillus in the 390s BCE would have to be discarded.<sup>63</sup> Such a date would be compatible with Coarelli's suggestion that M. Fulvius Flaccus was responsible for a complete restructuring of the temples in or after 264 BCE, although there is no certain link; all that can be said for sure is that the Folvios inscriptions and the slab pavement coexisted for a time. The Anio slab porch pavement probably predates 264, but stratigraphically this is not required: the fragments of the Folvios inscriptions were found deposited on the Anio block pavement, and it is theoretically possible that they were set up on the block pavement before the slab pavement was constructed.

### **The two altars in Lapis Albanus**

We now turn to the two altars in the forecourt of the twin temples. These altars share the elevation of the Anio block pavement and coexisted with it, but several pieces of evidence suggest that they were not constructed contemporaneously with it, and they share characteristics

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<sup>63</sup> Tentatively suggested by Diffendale et al. 2016. Earlier: Ioppolo 2000: 174; Cifani 2008: 165.

with the Anio slab porch pavement. These altars are U-shaped in plan.<sup>64</sup> Each is flanked by a votive pit to its east and a platea paved in Anio slabs to its west. The altars are of the hourglass type (also known as double-cushion, double-echinus) with superimposed echinus (Etruscan round) moldings, though their crown moldings (upper cushions) were removed in antiquity and no trace of them now remains. The altar moldings are carved in Lapis Albanus, with foundations and plateas in the Anio facies of Tufo Lionato. Unlike the temples, which face south, the altars face east. Each altar lies on the central axis of its respective temple to its north. The two altars were discovered during the clearance of the site in 1937.<sup>65</sup> The western altar was found bisected by the cutting for the (early?) modern sewer of the Via Bucimazza (Figure 46).<sup>66</sup> The eastern altar was found with its southern two-thirds missing, cut away to make way for the room of a medieval or early modern structure.<sup>67</sup> Each of the altars was found with the upper surface of its base-molding blocks cut down and its crown moldings removed.<sup>68</sup>

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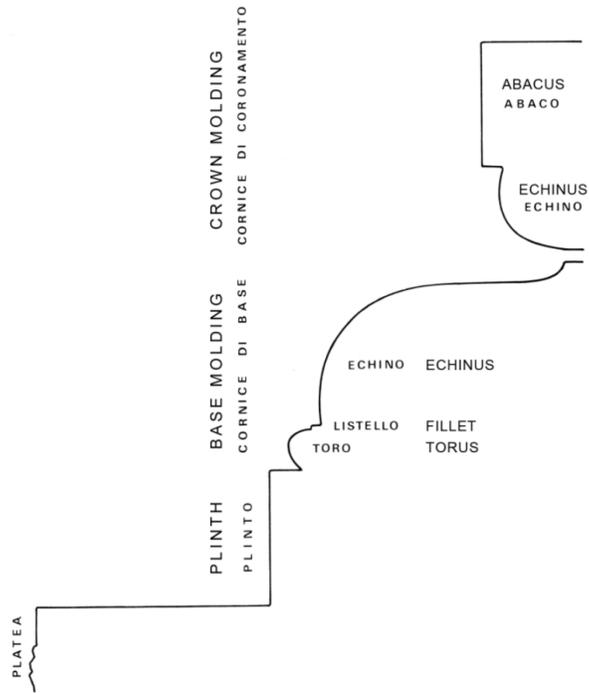
<sup>64</sup> Castagnoli 1962. Altar nomenclature is far from fixed. The type of altar to which the Sant’Omobono examples belong, which consists of a rectangular central element plus two perpendicular wings or *antae* (sometimes described *in toto* as three *antae*), has been variously termed U-, C-, or Π-shaped, for obvious reasons, or, similarly, *in antis* or *ad antas*. There is no ancient precedent for applying the Latin descriptors to altars; I use “U-shaped altars” for simplicity. To describe the altars in elevation, I use an Anglicized terminology of altar parts following those illustrated by Cozza 1975: 94, fig. 93 (reproduced here, with modifications, as Figure 45). Hence I reserve the term “platea” for the stone platform immediately surrounding the altar on its plinth, and refer to the large platform of the entire *area sacra*, which has sometimes been called a platea, as the “Republican podium.”

<sup>65</sup> “Sono collocate in posizione ugualmente simmetrica due grandi are di peperino di una forma che ricorda strettamente il basamento del Lapis niger e con pozzi sacri accanto” (Colini 1938: 280).

<sup>66</sup> Colini 2000: 94 (Quaderno VI:83, April 4, 1937) “anche questa [ara] troncata dal piano di travertino ed inoltre tagliata in due dalla fogna di Via Bucimazza.” This stretch of sewer is indicated on the plan in Narducci 1889, pl. 40. Narducci 1889: 79 records the dimensions of the sewer at Via Bucimazza, num. civ. 42, as 0.50 m wide x 1.10 m high; the elevations of the street as 16.01 m asl and of the sewer as 13.73 m asl, reference point unknown. The missing central portion of the altar was filled in with concrete at some point soon after its excavation; the reconstructed portion is visible already in Colini 1938: Pl. L. Conservation work on both altars has recently been carried out (Terrenato et al. 2012).

<sup>67</sup> Other rooms of this structure are visible in photographs taken prior to the demolition of 1936: ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 65, 1, 16003, 16005, and 16006. The altar itself can be seen in photographs taken during the subsequent demolition and excavation: ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 65, 1, 16037, 16052, 16440, 16442, and 16443.

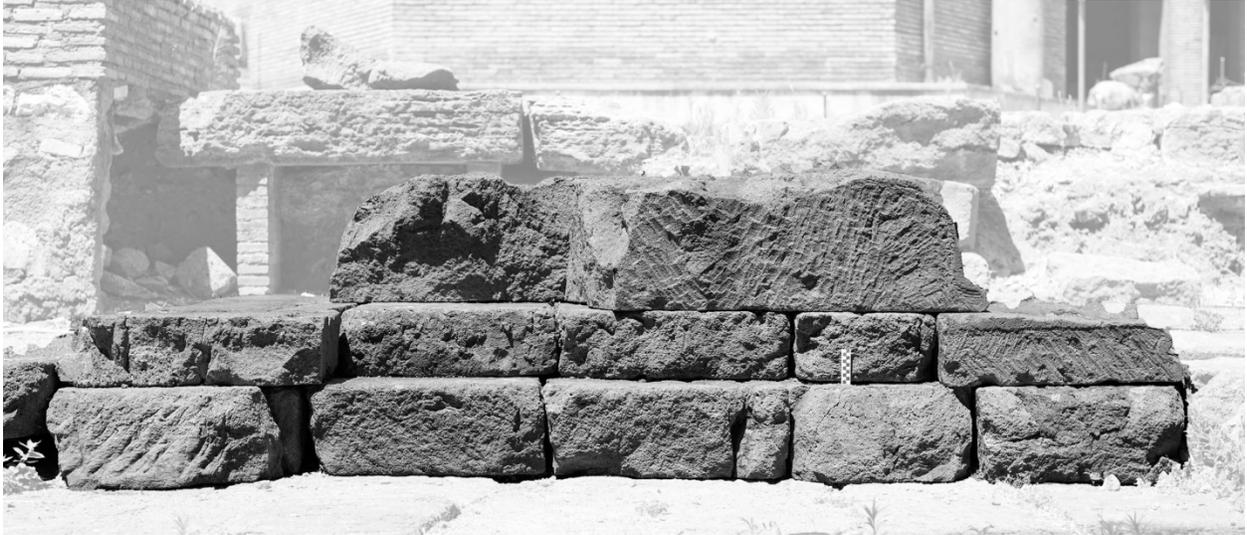
<sup>68</sup> That the altars originally had crown moldings, now missing, is asserted on the basis of comparanda at Lavinium, for instance, and now at Fosso dell’Incastro. Roncalli 1994: 106 hypothesizes that some central Italian altars assumed to be missing their crown moldings are, in fact, missing nothing. No trace of any crown molding blocks has been recovered at Sant’Omobono, but such an absence of evidence can hardly be taken as evidence of absence, especially given that any hypothetical crown moldings must have been removed for the laying of the thin slab Anio pavement.



**Figure 45:** Elements of an hourglass-type altar (modified by author from Cozza 1975: 94, fig. 93).



**Figure 46:** Sant'Omobono, western altar during clearance of the site in 1937 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, doc. 58197.17).



**Figure 47:** Southern elevation of eastern altar as preserved, looking north, 10 cm scale (author).



**Figure 48:** State plan of eastern altar (author).

### *The Eastern Altar*

Thanks to the work of post-antique house builders, we can observe the eastern altar in section (Figure 47). Resting on the Tufo del Palatino surface is a first course of blocks of Anio tuff (ca. 0.27 m high). On these rest a second course of Anio blocks (0.20 m high), bookended to east and west by Lapis Albanus slabs forming the altar's plinth, which together support the altar's Lapis Albanus base molding (preserved height ca. 0.40 m). The top surface of the first

course sits at 12.02–12.03 m asl; the second course and plinth 12.23–12.25 m asl; the base molding as preserved 12.64 m asl. The plinth of the eastern altar measures 3.21 m E-W, its original dimension. It is preserved for only 2 m of its N-S dimension. West of the eastern altar are the remains of three rows of slabs of Anio tuff forming the altar's platea. Lapis Albanus blocks of the eastern altar that preserve their original joining faces exhibit anathyrosis.

Only one base-molding block of the eastern altar survives. This is broken, particularly at its western extent, and does not preserve its original dimensions. These dimensions can be determined by a series of setting lines incised into the plinth blocks.<sup>69</sup> At least five setting lines guided the Roman altar builders; four are visible today (Figure 48), with a fifth visible in an archival photograph (Figure 50). The clearest incision is found south of the southeast corner of the base molding block, running E-W (Figure 49). Its preserved length is 0.15 m, with a maximum width of ca. 0.003 m; at its E end it extends slightly beyond the easternmost extent of the base-molding block, while its west end runs into a crack that makes it impossible to say whether it originally extended to the edge of the block. The setting line is deeply cut west of the point where the echinus of the base molding meets the platform, and more lightly cut east of that point. Two less deeply cut incisions mark the original location of the southwest corner of the base-molding. The more southerly of these is today partially obscured by a crack in the stone. An

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<sup>69</sup> At Lavinium, setting lines appear to be present on the platea blocks of Altars V and VI and maybe IV (Castagnoli 1975, tav. VII), and are present there on the tops of base-molding blocks for the positioning of the crown blocks, for instance on Altars IV (mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE; Cozza 1975: 107) and VI and VII (mid-5<sup>th</sup> to late 4<sup>th</sup> c.: Cozza 1975: 107, 114, tav. VII.). Setting lines are also present on the blocks of altars that were built over, in order to align the base-molding blocks of their replacements, as, for instance, on Altars I and II, rebuilt between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (Cozza 1975: 97, 114; Giuliani 1981: 172, 175; for the date, Fenelli 1989: 489). Without autopsy, I cannot rule out their presence in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> c. Altars VIII, IX, and XIII, nor can I comment on how the attested setting lines compare to those at Sant'Omobono; they are described simply as "linee incise o graffite" (Cozza 1975: 90). The first altar of Temple A at Largo Argentina shows traces of possibly continuous incised setting lines along the N, W and S faces of its base molding (personal observation, 2016. The weathering of the pavement blocks (and their absence at the altar's eastern end) makes it impossible to say with certainty whether all four sides were delimited with continuous lines; an incised line can be traced for ca. 50 cm along the northern edge. I thank M. Ceci, S. Zink and J. Pflug for the opportunity to inspect this altar). Continuous setting lines are also present on a rectangular trachyte monument at Orvieto, loc. Campo della Fiera (Stopponi 2011: 26–27, fig. 26; Frascarelli 2012: 132).

even less-deeply cut incision can be found west of the surviving northwest corner of the block. This is connected to the incision at the southwest by a weathering line that attests the original western extent of the block. An E-W weathering line bears witness to the original northern extent of the block, and runs toward a formerly-visible setting line at the northeast corner of the block (Figure 50). There are no visible traces of any setting lines demarcating the eastern extent of the block. Most of the blocks of the eastern altar are missing, but two dimensions that do survive (E-W width of plinth, ca. 3.21 m; E-W width of wing, ca. 2.13 m) suggest that it shared the dimensions of the western altar.<sup>70</sup> This hypothesis is further supported by the nearly identical molding profiles of the two monuments.<sup>71</sup>



**Figure 49:** Incised setting line at southeastern corner of northern base-molding block of eastern altar (author).

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<sup>70</sup> Contrary to suggestions that its S end was aligned with the S end of the western altar, resulting in a longer altar, such as found in the plan by Pisani Sartorio in Virgili 1977: 23, fig. 4 (which is presumably the basis for the long altar seen in Claridge 2010, fig. 117). Shared dimensions are also supported by the preserved length of the altars' platea blocks, for which, see below.

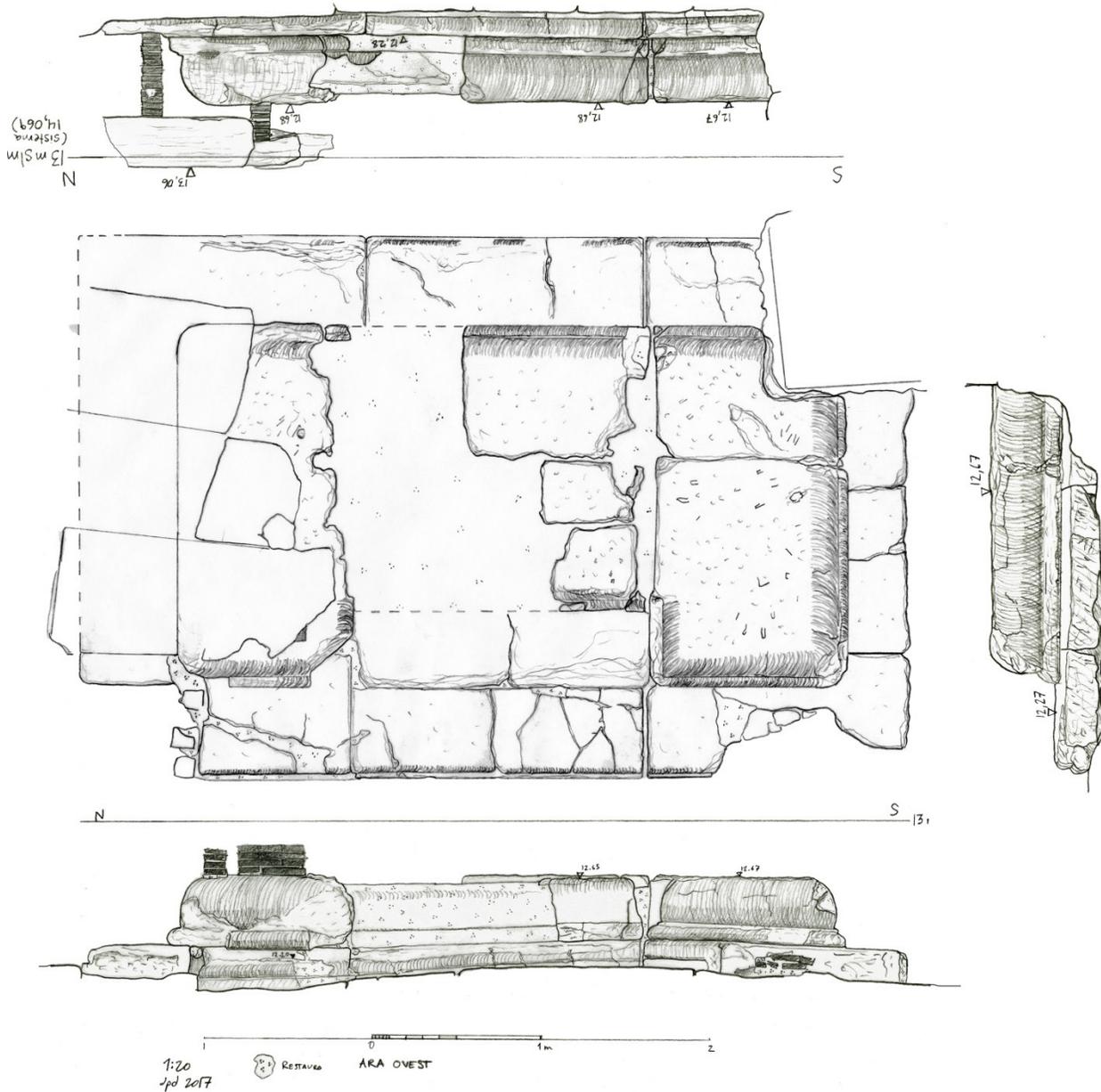
<sup>71</sup> Shoe 1965, Pl. XXIV, nn. 1-2.



**Figure 50:** Setting line at northeastern corner of eastern altar (ASRCM, S. Omobono, 1970, MSA 230).

### *The Western Altar*

The western altar is the better preserved of the two, for which reason its substructures cannot be observed, but all available evidence indicates that it is identical to the eastern altar in material, plan, and execution (Figure 51). The E-W length of the S wing is ca. 2.14 m; the N-S width of the same is ca. 1.18 m. The E-W width of the plinth is ca. 3.20 m. The distance between the wings is ca. 1.73 m. The E-W width of the central block of the base molding is ca. 1.69 m. The E-W width of the plinth block between the wings is ca. 0.45 m. The E-W width of the plinth block to the W is ca. 0.53–0.54 m.

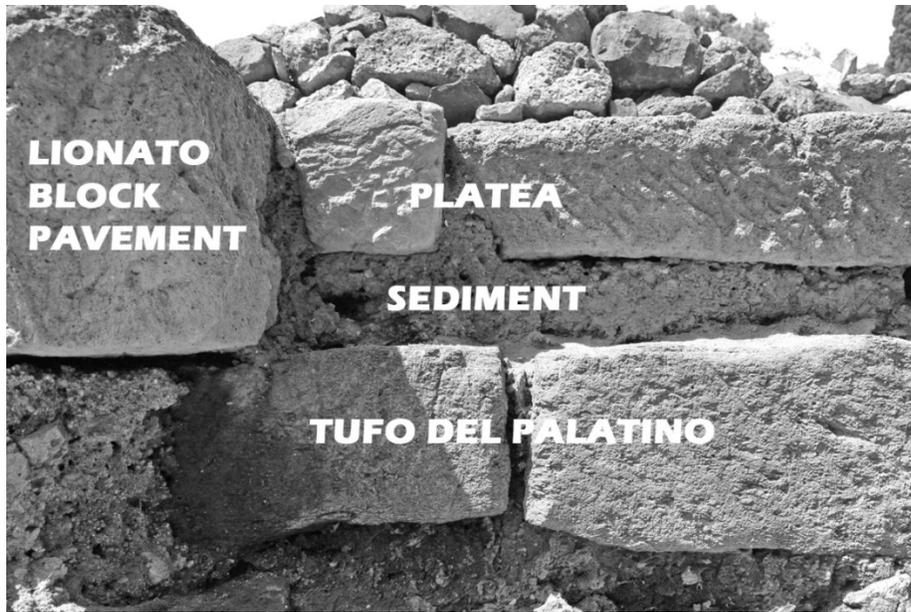


**Figure 51:** Plan of western altar with west, south, and east elevations, 1:40 (author).

### *The plateas of the two altars*

Immediately to the west of each altar are three rows of pavement slabs in Anio tuff oriented lengthwise north-south. The eastern slabs of these pavements abut their respective altars. These slabs measure 1.24–1.77 m L x 0.75–0.78 m W x 0.10–0.15 m H, and their rising joints exhibit anathyrosis. The platea slabs rest on a sediment deposit ca. 0.10–0.15 m deep; this

sediment in turn rests on the underlying surface of Tufo del Palatino blocks. These characteristics contrast with those of the Anio block pavement that abuts the altars and their plateas. This surrounding pavement, it will be recalled, is composed of blocks measuring ca. 0.80–0.85 m L x 0.60–0.65 m W x 0.26–0.31 m H, which have a differently fashioned anathyrosis, and which bed directly on the underlying Tufo del Palatino (Figure 52). The fact that the platea slabs rest on a thin deposit of sediment suggests that they postdate the Anio block pavement, since it can be inferred that they take their elevation from it. In material, dimensions, and workmanship, however, the altar platea slabs are absolutely identical to those of the Anio slab porch pavement, which suggests that these features were contemporary constructions. If the altars (inclusive of plateas and votive pits) postdate the Anio block pavement, as I am suggesting, the block pavement must have been modified to receive them. Some trace of this operation can be discerned immediately east of the western altar, where Anio blocks were laid along the perimeter of the altar and the votive pit, after which the space between these blocks and the unmodified pavement to the east was filled in with blocks of somewhat irregular dimensions. These latter blocks do not neatly abut, and between the easternmost of these blocks and the westernmost of the unmodified pavement is a gap of ca. 0.05 m, whereas most blocks of the Anio block pavement either abut or else are not separated by more than ca. 0.02 m.



**Figure 52:** Interface between platea of western altar and surrounding pavement (author).



**Figure 53:** Altars with plateas at Lavinium (author).

Lavinium offers comparanda. Each of the thirteen winged altars there rests on a lithoid tuff-paved platform—termed *platea* by Cozza—either individually or as a group, and each altar’s platea extends westward, creating a platform behind the wings (Figure 53). Such a feature could potentially accommodate the sacrificial animal prior to the act as well as serve as a platform for

its dismemberment.<sup>72</sup> The thirteen altars at Lavinium were constructed and reconstructed over the course of two to three centuries. Each was built on a foundation in blocks of “cappellaccio,” and each rested on a small lithoid tuff platea, either singly or shared with others.<sup>73</sup> What began as three separate, freestanding altars in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE became four freestanding altars plus four agglomerated altars in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. By the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c, they were being built on shared plateas, so that by the end of that century twelve altars presented a more or less unified paved platform that had been built piecemeal over two centuries.<sup>74</sup> We can also compare the mid-Republican altars in the sanctuary at Ardea, loc. Fosso dell’Incastro. Each altar is surrounded by a small plinth, distinct and slightly raised, surrounded by the pavement of the wider sanctuary area.<sup>75</sup>

#### *The votive pits of the two altars*

Each of the altars is flanked by a built votive pit. Although the precise function of votive pits is not understood, it is clear that Italic religious practice sometimes included the deposition of objects, for which such pits served as receptacles. The heads of the pits at Sant’Omobono are built of Tufo Lionato.<sup>76</sup> Each of the pits is built abutting the northern end of the eastern edge of the plinth of its altar. The northern edge of the head of each pit extends ca. 0.37–0.40 m north of the northern edge of its altar. Each pit head is a square with 1.82–1.85 m sides comprising two adjacent slabs of Lionato, sharing the elevation of the surrounding pavement, resting on slabs of

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<sup>72</sup> Menichelli 2009: 30 considers the U-shaped altar to be the type “prediletto per i sacrifici cruenti” and suggests that the votive pits adjoining the Sant’Omobono altars further indicate their role in blood sacrifice. We could compare Pausanias’ admittedly much later (and foreign) description of the ash altar of Zeus at Olympia, which had a lower part (*prothysis*) for killing the victims and an upper for burning their thighbones: Paus. 5.13.9. The term “prothysis” is in fact used by Castagnoli 1962 to refer to what I, following Cozza 1975, call a “platea”.

<sup>73</sup> Cozza 1975 *passim*.

<sup>74</sup> Cozza 1975; Giuliani 1981: 172, 175.

<sup>75</sup> Di Mario 2007: figs. 27, 38, 39; Torelli 2011: figs. 8, 20, 21, 22; Di Mario 2012: figs. 2, 4, 5.

<sup>76</sup> Probably Anio facies, although these have not been subject to chemical analysis.

equivalent thickness below. Both were cleared in 1937, though no details of these operations survive.<sup>77</sup> Here their observable similarities cease.

The slabs of the western pit head bear a low raised lip along their exterior margins. Above this, the pit terminates in a small roughly square Lionato structure that rises 0.50–0.52 m above the pavement. The western pit itself is circular in section. Below the upper structure and the two superposed slabs of Lionato, a course of Tufo del Palatino blocks is visible in profile. A modern metal grate closes the mouth of the pit, making investigation of its lower structure impossible. Fill is encountered at a depth of 2.2 m below the mouth of the pit, or 1.7 m below the pavement.

The eastern pit has no observable lip and no surviving head structure. There is currently no way to determine whether or not it originally had such a structure, though this seems likely; it is possible that a successive raising of the pit has obliterated the traces of the original head. The eastern pit, unlike the circular western pit, is rectangular in section. This means that it has an alignment, unlike the western pit, and this alignment is oblique relative to the blocks of the pit head, the altar, and the Republican podium as a whole. While the podium is aligned just over 5° east of north, the eastern pit is aligned 18–19°—an alignment much closer to that of the Archaic temple and altar (22–23°) than to that of the podium.<sup>78</sup>

The modern metal grill closing the eastern pit is of a much finer mesh than that of the western, thwarting attempts to determine the current depth of the pit or observe its lower structure. Projecting the pit down from its head, however, its southeastern face would reach the

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<sup>77</sup> Colini 2000: 94: “Dietro [l’ara occidentale] è stato scoperto una specie di bocca di pozzetto, che si dovrà spurgare (dietro l’ara scoperta per prima c’è in posizione analoga una fossetta che ho dato ordine di spurgare)” (Quaderno VI:83, 4 Aprile 1937). Whatever materials may have been recovered during this cleaning cannot now be traced.

<sup>78</sup> This obliquity and its implications were noted by Pisani Sartorio 1977: 60 n. 17. See also von Sydow 1973: 581.

western edge of the platea of the Archaic altar.<sup>79</sup> This circumstance strongly suggests that the position and alignment of the Archaic altar were known when the later votive pit was first constructed. This does not require the currently visible pit head to be of early 5<sup>th</sup>-c. date, however. There is good evidence for the periodic raising of Roman votive pits in tandem with the surrounding occupation levels.

The best comparanda come from the excavations on the northeastern slope of the Palatine in the “santuario veliense.” Teca A and Teca B are votive pits that underwent restructurings as the surrounding pavement was raised.<sup>80</sup> Teca A was in use by the mid 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE at the latest, with successive phases attested at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., and the mid 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE. Such restructurings could change the shape of the pit: the 4<sup>th</sup> c. phase had a circular head structure with rectilinear pit section, while the 1<sup>st</sup> c. modification superimposed a rectilinear exterior with a circular pit section.

In fact, there is some circumstantial evidence that the votive pit adjoining the eastern altar at Sant’Omobono was raised in the 212 reconstruction and again when the forecourt was paved in travertine. About 1.5 m north of the eastern altar is preserved a short stretch of drain cut into the travertine pavement. At its northern end, this stretch connects with the drain cut into the travertine pavement that crosses the podium from east to west; the former drain most likely flowed into this latter east-west drain, although the brevity of its preserved course makes certainty impossible. In any case, the south-north drain is aligned obliquely; if projected to the south, its course both neatly avoids the pit and roughly shares its alignment. This suggests that the drain was cut to take account of the votive pit, evidently still in use—or at least still in

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<sup>79</sup> In his schematic section of the site, Ioppolo represents the eastern pit as communicating with the Archaic altar (Pisani Sartorio, Virgili, and Ioppolo 1989: 14, fig. 2). Although this cannot currently be verified due to the presence of the grate, there is little reason to doubt it.

<sup>80</sup> Panella, Zeggio, and Ferrandes 2014: 184–88.

place—during the Imperial period. There are no equivalent drains in the travertine pavement preserved north of the western altar. There is, however, a central drain whose continuation would carry it close to the center of the circular monument; perhaps this, too, had a successor.

A third votive pit at Sant’Omobono exists in front of the western cella on the line of the northern row of columns. This will be discussed in more detail with the 212 BCE reconstruction, but, given the principles just outlined, it probably dates originally to the first phase of the Republican podium and had a phase contemporary with the pits flanking the altars.

### *The two altars: discussion*

The design of the two altars is a matter of no small interest, but there is not space here for a full discussion.<sup>81</sup> The E-W width of the altars inclusive of plateas is 5.45 m; the western limit of the wings lies at the midpoint of this distance. Although the two altars seem to have been identical in most respects, they are not symmetrically located on the Republican podium.<sup>82</sup> The line of the northern edge of the plinth of the eastern altar lies 0.56 m north of the equivalent on the western altar. The interior western face of the western altar (between the wings) is aligned with the central axis of Temple A. If we assume that Temples A and B had symmetrical footprints within their common podium, then the interior western face of the eastern altar was also aligned with the center line of Temple B. The western edge of the plinth of the western altar aligns with a stub of Tufo del Palatino blocks on the interior of the south wall of Temple A.<sup>83</sup> The eastern limit of the plinth of the western altar aligns with the western limit of the central

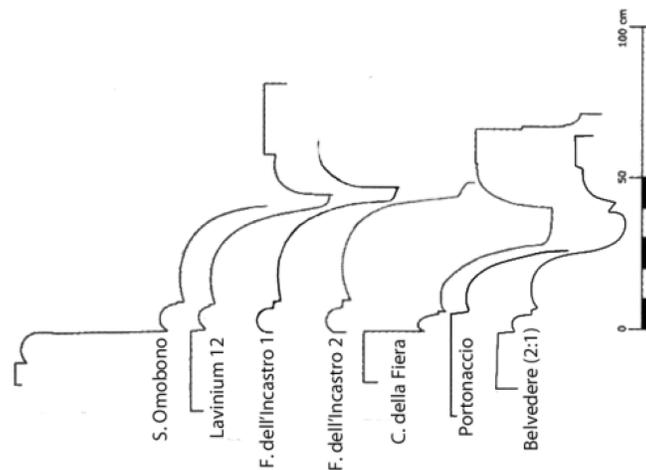
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<sup>81</sup> The proportions of the U-shaped altar at Fosso dell’Incastro appear to be nearly identical to those of the Sant’Omobono altars.

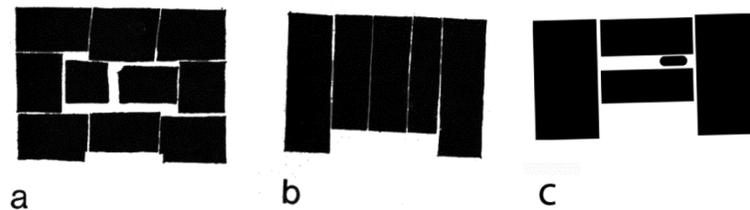
<sup>82</sup> Diffendale 2016. The altars have frequently been described or represented as symmetrical, however, e.g. Colini 1938: 279; Torelli 1973: 102, fig. 9; Sommella Mura 1981: 115, unnumbered figure; Pisani Sartorio, Virgili, and Ioppolo 1989, fig. 1 (reproduced as Pisani Sartorio 1995, fig. 111); Coarelli 1992, fig. 48. Among the exceptions are Colini 1940b, fig. 1 and Sommella 1968, fig. 2 (reproduced as Coarelli 1992, fig. 35).

<sup>83</sup> USM 905 (Brocato 2012: 44).

platform in the Anio slab staircase. The altars are aligned with the Republican podium as a whole. As Castagnoli points out, the 90° difference in orientation between the altars and the temples would allow the officiant to make offerings without turning his or her back to the cult-image in the cella.<sup>84</sup>



**Figure 54:** Profiles of hourglass altars (author).



**Figure 55:** Altar construction techniques: (a) box-type, (b) platform-type, (c) composite-type (after Giuliani-Sommella 1977: 360, fig. 3, with addition by author).

<sup>84</sup> Castagnoli 1979: 151. Castagnoli notes that Vitruvius (4.5.1) recommends the orientation of temples toward the west, allowing the officiant to look toward both the east and the cult image (*ad partem coeli orientis et simulacrum quod erit in aede* – “toward the part of the eastern sky and the image that will be in the temple”).



**Figure 56:** Platea blocks of eastern altar with Lapis Albanus block, possibly from an earlier altar, visible below in a gap in the Tufo del Palatino surface. Looking north. (ASRCM, S. Omobono, 1970 MSA 233).

The profile and plan of the Sant’Omobono altars find close comparanda in Altars XI and XII at Lavinium, dated stratigraphically to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, and especially in the U-shaped altar at Ardea, loc. Fosso dell’Incastro.<sup>85</sup> The date of the latter, built in “peperino,” is difficult to ascertain. It was initially dated generally to the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. by Di Mario, based on the material employed and the comparison with Lavinium.<sup>86</sup> The pavement that surrounds this and another altar at Fosso dell’Incastro has now been dated stratigraphically to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. on ceramic evidence.<sup>87</sup> As noted by the excavator, however, the surrounding pavement was clearly laid beginning from the edges of the altars and working outwards, and the disposition of the

<sup>85</sup> For the altar profiles, see Shoe 1965, Pl. XXIV, nn. 1–2. Lavinium: Castagnoli 1962; Cozza 1975: 139–45; Giuliani 1981: 170–72. The U-shaped altar at Fosso dell’Incastro measures ca. 4.20 x 2.27 m, exclusive of platea, similar to the Sant’Omobono altars. Frascarelli 2012 attributes the Sant’Omobono altars to a single building project that would also include a trachyte donarium at Orvieto, loc. Campo della Fiera; for a rejection of this hypothesis, see Diffendale 2016.

<sup>86</sup> As well as with the altars at Sant’Omobono, which he follows Pisani Sartorio in attributing to a Camillan phase following the sack of Veii in 396 BCE (Di Mario 2007: 82–85). A 4<sup>th</sup> c. date is supported by Torelli 2011: 202.

<sup>87</sup> Arena 2016: 84–85 and 100, fig. 3.

blocks is somewhat eccentric, indicating that the altars are structurally prior—although by how much is uncertain.<sup>88</sup>

The thirteen altars at Lavinium display two different construction techniques (Figure 55, a and b). In the first, termed *a cassa* or *a scatola* (box-type), the altar's base molding is composed of worked blocks surrounding a rubble core; the blocks join via anathyrosis.<sup>89</sup> This is the older of the two methods, employed from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. In the second, *a piattaforma* (platform-type), technique, the altar's base molding is composed of narrow blocks laid side to side, worked to join without anathyrosis. This technique was evidently made possible by the use of a harder tuff, quarryable in longer blocks, though less suited to take fine details.<sup>90</sup> The Sant'Omobono altars do not quite fit either of the systems identified at Lavinium, but show a composite of these. Like the platform-type, each of the wings is monolithic, but, like the box-type, these join the blocks of the center via anathyrosis, while the center is composed of two worked blocks that leave a core to be filled with rubble or smaller blocks. The original design of the Sant'Omobono altars can be more clearly seen in the winged altar at Fosso dell'Incastro, which preserves its entire base molding (Figure 55, c). By comparison, the technique of the winged altar in the Lapis Niger complex is closer to the Lavinium box-type, though here the wings—rather than the center—are built as boxes.<sup>91</sup>

The altars have generally been dated in tandem with the surrounding Anio block pavement. Prevailing opinions assign this either to M. Furius Camillus in 395 BCE<sup>92</sup> or to M.

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<sup>88</sup> Di Mario 2016: 28: “La disposizione eccentrica dei blocchi dello spiazzo deriva, quindi, dalla necessità di provvedere a rivestire un'area occupata da strutture, gli altari, orientate secondo esigenze di culto, ovviamente prioritarie e che prevalsero rispetto ad altre considerazioni.” See also Arena 2016: 85.

<sup>89</sup> Cozza 1975: 96; Giuliani and Sommella 1977: 359; Giuliani 1981: 175–77.

<sup>90</sup> Giuliani and Sommella 1977: 359; Giuliani 1981: 176.

<sup>91</sup> Coarelli 1977: 199, 226 assigns this to his fourth phase of the Comitium, ca. 338 BCE. See Shoe 1965: 104 with Pl. L2 for the profile, which she judges closer to the later altars at Lavinium.

<sup>92</sup> E.g., Pisani Sartorio 1995: 283.

Fulvius Flaccus in 264 BCE.<sup>93</sup> This pavement cannot currently be dated more precisely than the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. If we accept the hypothesis that the altars are contemporary with the Anio slab porch pavement, they would date between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE. This is in accord with the stylistic comparanda from Lavinium (mid-4<sup>th</sup> c.) and Fosso dell’Incastro (first half 3<sup>rd</sup> c. or earlier). It seems clear, then, the existing altars are not contemporary with the initial phase of the Republican podium. They must have had predecessors, however. The altar was the fundamental element of central Italian sacred space; altars may occur without temples, but not the reverse. Partially visible beneath the platea of the eastern altar is a worked block of Lapis Albanus, resting in gap in the surrounding Tufo del Palatino surface (Figure 56). This block could well belong to an altar of an earlier phase.

### **The Circular Monument (“Donarium”)**

Roughly halfway between the two altars on the Anio block pavement sits a circular statue base, commonly called a *donarium* or *donario* (Figure 57).<sup>94</sup> The core of the circular monument is built of eight blocks of gray granular tuff, almost certainly Tufo del Palatino. The six blocks of the core’s lower course measure 0.69–0.81 m L x 0.44–0.59 m W x 0.27–0.30 m H.<sup>95</sup> The two blocks of the core’s upper course measure 0.88–0.90 m L x 0.48 m W x 0.12 m H. These dimensions are squarely within the range of other Tufo del Palatino blocks on site.<sup>96</sup> The monument is faced with both base and crown moldings, each originally composed of seven blocks of Lapis Albanus (Figure 58); curiously, the monument was found with the southeastern

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<sup>93</sup> Coarelli 1992: 214, followed, *e.g.*, by Claridge 2010: 252.

<sup>94</sup> Mercado 1963. The excavations that began to expose the monument were carried out June 9–15, 1961: ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 29, 3480.5a, b, 3480.6a. See also Cangemi in Brocato et al. 2012 and in Terrenato et al. 2012. The monument was cleaned and re-examined by the author and M. Samori in July 2014.

<sup>95</sup> To judge from Ioppolo’s plans, as the blocks are no longer visible due to the anastylosis of the monument.

<sup>96</sup> The presence of these blocks in the core of the monument might suggest that its construction coincided with some repaving work, such that blocks of TdP from the underlying foundation or pavement were available for reuse. The use of TdP is not unusual in multi-element molded monuments of Middle and Late Republican date, however.

block of each molding missing, leaving only six blocks per course (Figure 59). The upper course has a diameter of 2.387–2.3875 m.

Parts of the underside of two blocks in the upper course of the monument have been cut away, leaving a hollow space beneath.<sup>97</sup> Ioppolo interpreted this space as a *thesauros*, since the Tufo del Palatino blocks below show traces of bronze (for some sort of fitting?), and an illegible bronze coin was found in the interstices of the underlying blocks.<sup>98</sup> This hollow lies at the southern end of the monument, perhaps facing visitors if they approached the temples from the south. There is no aperture for the addition of coins *vel sim.* as one would expect for a *thesauros*, however, and the monument's 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE date is slightly too early to reflect the monetization of offerings evident in Italian sanctuaries beginning in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>99</sup> Perhaps it housed some sort of permanent votive cache; whatever it housed was surely the object of deliberate retrieval after the fire of 213, perhaps under the charge of the *triumviri sacris conquirendis donisque persignandis* (Livy 25.7.5–6). At this point we can probably do no better than to—following the long archaeological tradition—assign it “ritual significance.”

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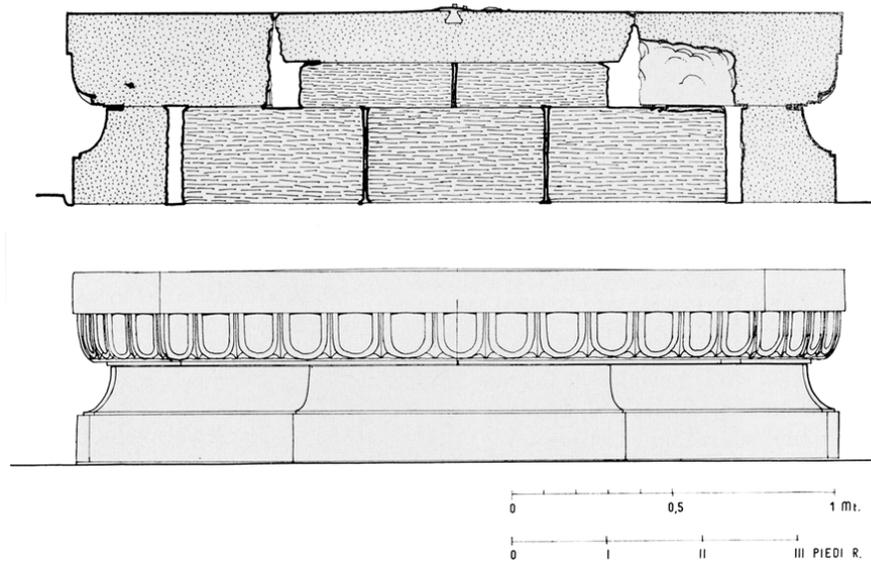
<sup>97</sup> Mercado 1963: 49; Ioppolo 1963: 78–79.

<sup>98</sup> Ioppolo 1963: 78–79. One could also term this a *donarium* in the Servian sense (*Aen.* 2.269): *donaria, loca in templis in quibus dona ponuntur*.

<sup>99</sup> See for example, C. Rossi 2016: 141 on a Late Republican *thesaurus* at Fosso dell’Incastro.



**Figure 57:** The circular monument or donarium in 2014 (author).



**Figure 58:** The circular monument, N-S section and elevation (Ioppolo 1963: 75, fig. 6).



**Figure 59:** The circular monument and Folvios inscriptions during excavation in 1960 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 65, 2, 16101).

*Surfaces, setting lines, and pryholes in the circular monument*

The circular monument was cut into the pavement on which it rests in a manner wholly unlike the altars.<sup>100</sup> As we have seen, the eastern altar has a core and foundation of Anio tuff blocks that rest directly on the Tufo del Palatino course below, and it abuts the Anio block pavement. The circular monument, on the other hand, rests on top of the Anio block pavement. This pavement slopes very gently down from north to south; in order to provide a horizontal resting surface, the builders of the circular monument dressed a shallow level circle into the Anio pavement blocks (Figure 60).<sup>101</sup> The carefully worked blocks of the monument contrast with the

<sup>100</sup> Contra Coarelli 1979: 123, who says that “questa base circolare è inserita nel pavimento [...] certamente c’è un incastro talmente preciso tra pavimento e base circolare che i due sembrano contemporanei.” Coarelli’s claim was immediately answered by Virgili (1979: 124): “Il donario circolare ‘appoggia’ la sua struttura sopra al pavimento a blocchi.”

<sup>101</sup> Ioppolo 1963: 73, with pl. I, section A–B. At Lavinium, the sloping platea south of Altar II superiore was cut down to provide a level resting surface for the (now-missing) Altar III (Cozza 1975: 103–4). Ioppolo cautiously remarked that: “Non si è ancora potuto accertare se il monumento poggiasse su di una fondazione o se sfruttasse a questo fine, la già robusta platea di tufo di Monteverde [...] Di conseguenza rimane aperta la possibilità che il monumento in questione non sia costruttivamente legato con la platea” (Ioppolo 1963: 73). Given the way that the

rough appearance of the surrounding pavement, and there is a gap of as much as 0.025 m between the edge of the monument and the less finely dressed pavement surface (Figure 61). This gap gradually widens from south to north along the circumference of the monument, which further suggests the latter was laid out and built from south to north.

Ippolo noted incisions on the top surface of the *in situ* Lapis Albanus blocks of the circular monument's lower course (Figure 62).<sup>102</sup> These incisions run perpendicular from the outer circumference of the monument toward its center; they are evidently setting lines for the alignment of the blocks of the upper course. Flanking these setting lines are pairs of small pryholes for fitting the blocks into place. Ippolo confirmed the former's utility as setting lines by using them to reconstruct the upper course of the monument from the pieces that had been found dismantled immediately adjacent to the lower course. Ippolo seems to have placed the circular central block by aligning a vertical incision on its outer diameter with the E edge of block I, as well as by noting areas where the anastylosis had been touched up to follow the actual radius of the adjoining block.<sup>103</sup>

In addition to the setting lines for the second course, there are setting lines incised into the blocks of the underlying Anio pavement for the placement of the circular monument's first course, as well as pryholes for shifting these blocks into place. These features are today clearly visible only in the southeastern portion of the monument in the void left by the missing block. A clear, well incised line runs along the smooth contact surfaces of the southern end of the eastern

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monument is bedded on the pavement and the position of the Tufo del Palatino blocks of the core, it is highly unlikely, in fact, that it was constructed integrally with the pavement.

<sup>102</sup> Ippolo 1963: 71–72, figs. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>103</sup> Although this anastylosis is to be judged successful, on the whole, since it restored the original form of the monument and neatly avoided any need to store the disassembled pieces, it should be noted that the circular center block, which had been found intact, seems to have cracked in half during the reassembly process. Note also that, since the southeastern block of the monument's first course has never been found, the block that would originally have rested above it had to be shifted counterclockwise, to rest in the void left by the block of the second course that has never been found.

block of the lower course (Figure 63). Also in evidence in this location are pryholes for shifting the block lengthwise (i.e., circumference-wise) and, apparently, for shifting the block and its now missing neighbor widthwise (i.e., radius-wise).<sup>104</sup> A similar setting line can be seen marking the eastern end of the southern block of the lower course, along with length- and widthwise pryholes. Since similar widthwise pryholes are visible in the pavement around the monument's circumference, and given the radial setting lines for each of the second-course blocks, similar radial setting lines and pryholes may lie hidden beneath the monument's surviving blocks.

The degree of precision evident in the monument and the care taken to align its constituent elements prompt the question of whether said alignment has any significance. In other words, since the ancient architect went to the trouble of incising setting lines, one wonders whether the choice of where to begin incising them has any significance. Once the first setting line was laid out, the rest would follow the geometry of the monument's design. The most immediate observation is that the southernmost point of the circle is tangent to the E-W line of pavement blocks; the northernmost point, however, is some 0.1 m south of the closest joint in the pavement. The center point of the monument is aligned with the northern edge of the plinth of the western altar, and with the N-S center line of the Republican podium. Significance in the alignment of the individual blocks is less evident. None of the joins in either of the courses is aligned on a cardinal point,<sup>105</sup> and, as the joins in the upper course correspond to the midpoints of the lower course blocks, and *vice versa*, neither are any of the midpoints aligned cardinally. The individual blocks of the circular monument are not aligned with the podium.

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<sup>104</sup> At each junction, the radial pryholes serve the clockwise block.

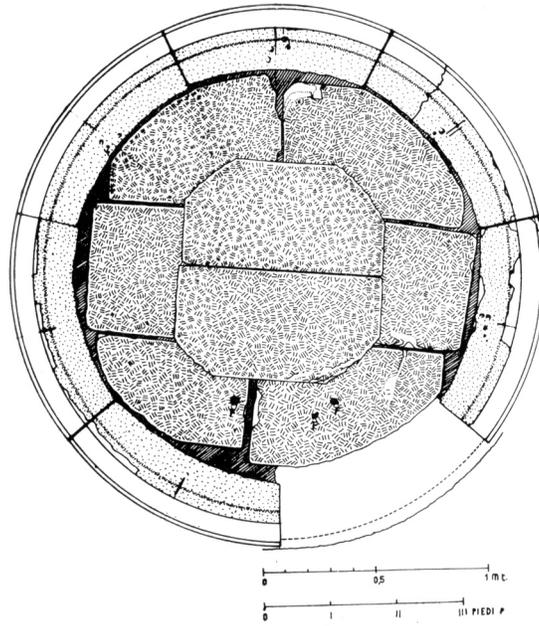
<sup>105</sup> Ioppolo 1963: 74. Note that the outer diameter of the blocks of the upper course projects slightly beyond that of the lower blocks, which accounts for the overhang at the southern end of the monument visible in fig. 16.



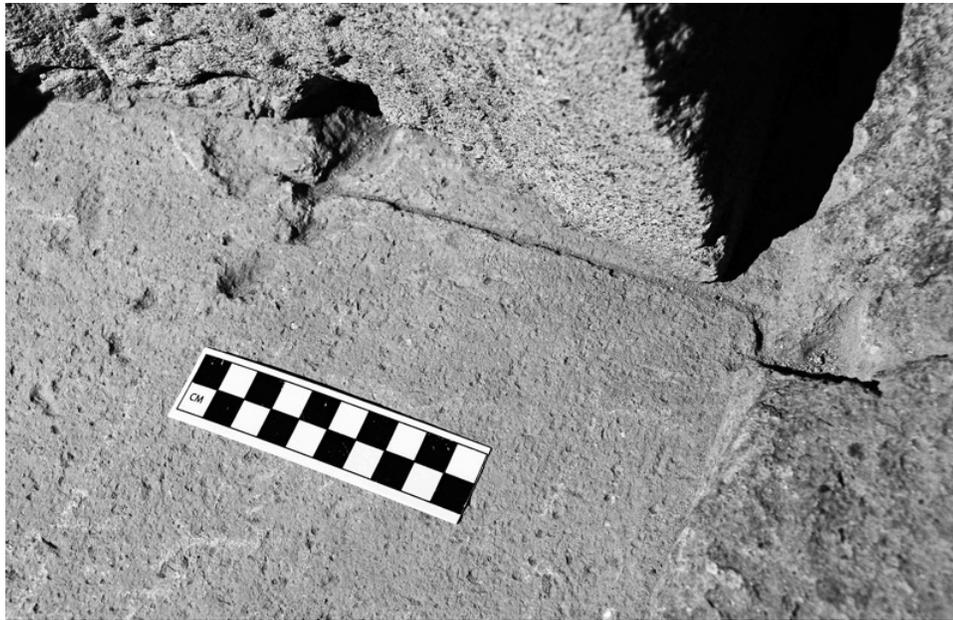
**Figure 60:** Smoothly-dressed surface cut into Anio block pavement for insertion of circular monument (author).



**Figure 61:** Gap between northern edge of circular monument and surface of Anio block pavement (author).



**Figure 62:** Plan of the lower courses of the circular monument (Ioppolo 1963: fig. 4).



**Figure 63:** Incised setting line and pryholes cut into Anio block pavement for alignment of the first course of the circular monument, 2014 (author).

*The Circular Monument: Comparanda, Chronology, and Interpretation*

The excavator of the circular monument, Liliana Mercado, could find only scarce comparanda for the monument, which remains something of an *unicum*. While stone statue bases

are of course quite common, the large, multi-piece circular design and decorative scheme seen in the Sant'Omobono base are particularly curious.<sup>106</sup>

Decorated circular statue bases are attested in Etruria from at least the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, primarily in funerary contexts. In the first half of that century a four-tier cylindrical (or conical) monument was built at Poggio Gaiella, possibly as a funerary altar on top of a tumulus; each of the four tiers bears friezes carved in low relief.<sup>107</sup> Fragments of similar monuments in *pietra fetida* are known from the course of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>108</sup> To the end of that century dates a circular Chiusine monolithic travertine base now in Perugia.<sup>109</sup> Fragments of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE circular monuments in *nenfro* from tumuli at Tuscania provide a parallel for the superposed cushion moldings seen at Sant'Omobono, though otherwise the resemblance is slight (Figure 64); the Tuscania monuments have no *kymation* or other running pattern and are built of a single course of wedges, rather than a course for each molding. A group of miniature Hellenistic circular bases in terracotta from Falerii also provide general comparanda.<sup>110</sup> These have lower cushion moldings like contemporary altars at Sant' Omobono and elsewhere, suggesting that they may represent, even schematically, types of full-scale monuments in stone.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> E.g., Comella 2005.

<sup>107</sup> *Pietra fetida*. Palermo, Museo Cassucini, inv. nos. 8446–8550. Chiusi, Mus. Naz.

<sup>108</sup> E.g., Palermo, Museo Cassucini, inv. no. 8435, which has a significantly smaller radius than the Poggio Gaiella monument.

<sup>109</sup> Diam. 0.70 m. Perugia, Museo Nazionale inv. 264 (634); Jannot 1984: 151–53, 221, no. D,I,14, figs. 519–24).

<sup>110</sup> Comella 1986: 88–92, pl. 47–48 (late 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE).

<sup>111</sup> Comella 1986: 88 excludes the possibility that they might represent *ex votos* of altars *per se*, because they all have a central hole for mounting a statue *vel sim*. Nevertheless, the sequence of moldings—plinth, torus, echinus, small echinus, neck, and hawksbeak—follows that of Altar I at Lavinium (Cozza 1975: 96–99), as Comella herself notes. It may be, then, that the circular form is particularly adapted to use as a statue base. The fact, moreover, that a peculiar type composed of superposed circular steps is attested only at the Sassi Caduti sanctuary, where a large three-step circular stone base was in fact discovered, suggests that these objects had “real world” models.



**Figure 64:** Left, funerary monument of Nevzna Arnth, nenfro, Val Vidone necropolis, Tuscania, 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, now in Florence (author). Right, fragment of similar monument, Tuscania museum (author).

The Sant’Omobono monument’s construction is similar to that of the circular monument, possibly a *puteal*, of the Lacus Curtius complex in its second phase (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE). The latter has a core in rectangular blocks of “cappellaccio”, a perimeter molding (perhaps in travertine, though this does not survive) supported by blocks of “peperino”, pryholes for positioning the facing blocks, all resting on an earlier pavement in Tufo Lionato (though the associated pavement of Phase II was travertine).<sup>112</sup> A larger circular monument (“perirrhantieron”) discovered near the Temple of Apollo Sosianus had, strangely, an interior of travertine and an exterior of tuff.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Giuliani 1996: 166–67; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987: 105–15 (pryholes visible in fig. 142). Giuliani dates Phase I to 184 BCE, Phase II to Aurelius Cotta (78–74 BCE), and Phase III to Augustus. The Phase I Lionato pavement bears a circular cutting that probably attests an earlier circular structure positioned west of the Phase II monument.

<sup>113</sup> Vitti 2010: 576–77: “una fila esterna di blocchi di tufo trapezoidali disposti in maniera radiale (diametro esterno 6,40 m) intorno ad un nucleo interno circolare in blocchi di travertino.” This seems to have supported a monopteros of Julio-Claudian date.

The molding and details of the circular monument are also difficult to place.<sup>114</sup> Mercado adduced a group of South Italian and Sicilian Italic-Ionic capitals for the form of the kymation;<sup>115</sup> to these we can add the group of seven limestone capitals from Trevi di Lazio, which offer a both geographically and formally closer comparison for the archaistic style of the ovoli, and which should date to the (early?) 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (Figure 65).<sup>116</sup> They could even belong to a monument connected with M. Fulvius Flaccus. Batino, following Coarelli, ascribes the Trevi capitals to a hypothetical shrine connected with the construction of the Anio Vetus after 272 BCE;<sup>117</sup> Flaccus was one of the *duumviri aquae perducendae* for the completion of the aqueduct, and his colleague died soon after taking office, leaving the *gloria* to Flaccus.<sup>118</sup> This may be no more than a neat coincidence, however, and we should resist the temptation to identify a “Flaccan” style of Ionic kymation. Despite these 3<sup>rd</sup> c. comparanda, the overwhelming sense one gets from the kymation is of the true Archaic, rather than archaizing.



**Figure 65:** 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE limestone ionic capital, now in the Church of S. Maria Assunta, Trevi di Lazio (Photo by Marina Milella, used under a Creative Commons BY-SA 3.0 license).

<sup>114</sup> Torelli 1968: 74 compares the form of the circular monument to bases for supporting figures at the tops of bronze candelabra.

<sup>115</sup> Mercado 1963: 50. Maetzke in Colonna 1985: 45, adduces the Sant’Omobono circular monument and the sarcophagus of Larthia Seianti as comparanda for the kymation of the sandstone donarium at Fiesole. The resemblance of the ovoli of each of these monuments to those at Fiesole is, however, slight.

<sup>116</sup> Batino 2006: 85 no. 108; 152; 186–88 and pl. XII, 108: “ovoli del *kyma* ionico, che nella porzione inferiore piegano quasi ad angolo retto.”

<sup>117</sup> Batino 2006: 186–88. Quilici Gigli 1987: 141 assigns them instead to an important (but unknown) public building of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. at the latest.

<sup>118</sup> Frontin., *Aq.* 1, 6.

We might also consider the possibility of very local referents for the archaistic style of the kymation, since there are a number of Archaic terracotta fragments with Ionic kymatia known from the earlier phases of the site;<sup>119</sup> even these, however, do not display the extreme flattening of the ovoli seen on the circular monument. Finally, an Etruscan mirror in Berlin dated to ca. 300 BCE bears a representation of two youths sitting on a molded monument, usually identified as an altar (Figure 66); the monument supports a cult image as well as some unidentified horn-like attachments.<sup>120</sup> The top of the monument is fringed with a petal-like pattern; though sometimes identified as a bronze attachment, it could be a schematic representation of an Ionic kymation like that found on the circular monument at Sant’Omobono.



**Figure 66:** Etruscan mirror with youths on monument (Gerhard 1845: pl. CCXXXIX).

The comparanda adduced for the Sant’Omobono circular monument do not permit us to assign a secure stylistic date to it, nor to refine the broad 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE date provided by the monument’s stratigraphic position. Nor are its materials helpful in this regard, since both Tufo

<sup>119</sup> E.g., Arata 1990: 121–22, n. 5.1.12. The terracotta capital (if that is what it is) is at least reminiscent of the form of the circular monument (Arata 1990: 128, n. 5.1.37).

<sup>120</sup> Gerhard 1845: 239; Frascarelli 2012: 139, 158, fig. 32.

del Palatino and Lapis Albanus are now known to have been used together between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE at minimum. The characteristics of the monument's setting lines and pryholes parallel those found in the Lapis Albanus blocks of the 1<sup>st</sup> phase of the Republican podium, though similar features are attested in the foundations of the Archaic altar as well as on some of the blocks of the 212 BCE reconstruction. The Archaic form of the kymation suggests a date in the 5<sup>th</sup> or even 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, but the fine state of preservation of its details speaks to the monument having a short lifespan prior to its interment in 212 BCE.<sup>121</sup> We cannot rule out the possibility that the preserved monument reproduces the form of an earlier base of true Archaic date, given the evidence of careful reproduction of Archaic altar forms at Lavinium and elsewhere.

### **The Folvius inscriptions and other monument bases**

Found deposited together with the dismantled blocks of the circular monument were at least 26 fragments of worked Lapis Albanus (Figure 59).<sup>122</sup> Of these, nine show similar dimensions and workmanship, and have fittings on their top surfaces for the attachment of small bronze statues (Figure 67). These blocks measure 0.26–0.265 m H by 0.24–0.245 m W; the joining pair 17+18 preserve their original length of 1.165 m. The front and top faces of the blocks are drafted, the bottom and rear faces smoothly dressed. The preserved ends of blocks 12, 15, 18, and 24 exhibit anathyrosis, while the end of block 17 is drafted. Blocks 12 and 24 have cuttings on their top surfaces for the insertion of swallowtail clamps.<sup>123</sup> Of this group of nine blocks, six are inscribed (Figure 68). The shared characteristics of these blocks suggest their pertinence to a single inscribed monument.

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<sup>121</sup> At least when first excavated; the monument has begun to suffer from its exposure to the atmosphere over the past half century.

<sup>122</sup> The discovery of the blocks is reported in Mercado 1963 and Ioppolo 1963.

<sup>123</sup> Ioppolo identified swallowtail clamp cuttings also on blocks 13, 15, 17, and 18, but these identifications were disputed by Torelli 1968, probably correctly.

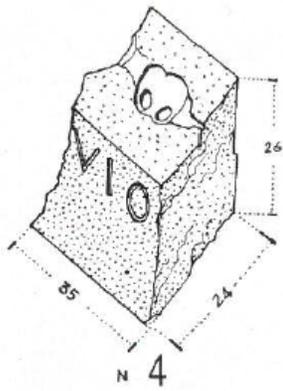


FIG. 12 - BLOCCO n. 4.

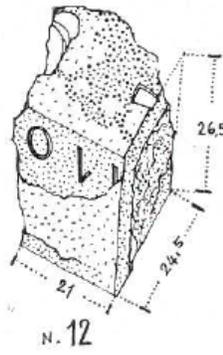


FIG. 13 - BLOCCO n. 12.

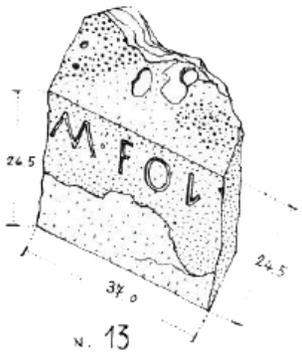


FIG. 14 - BLOCCO n. 13.

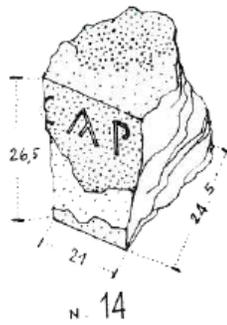


FIG. 15 - BLOCCO n. 14.

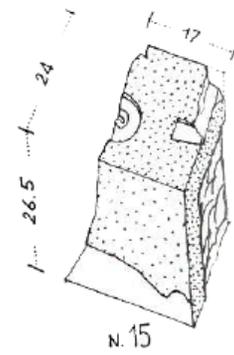


FIG. 16 - BLOCCO n. 15.

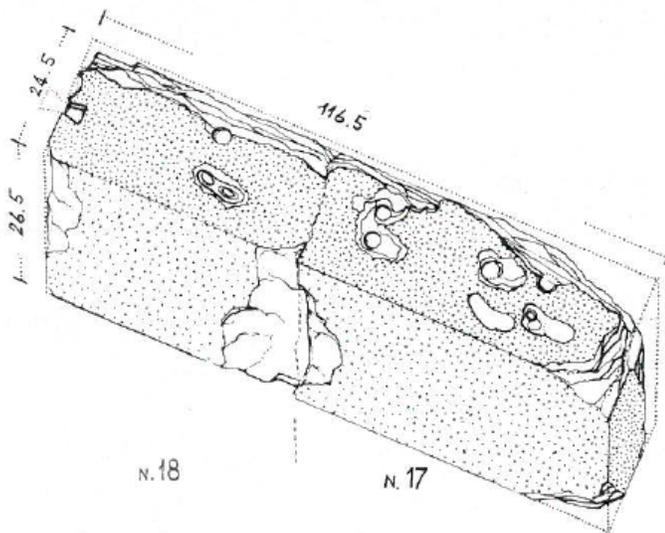


FIG. 17 - BLOCCHI NN. 17 E 18.

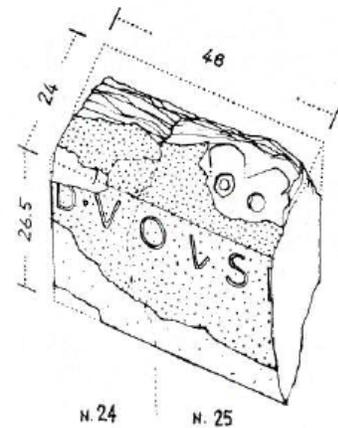


FIG. 19 - BLOCCHI NN. 24 E 25.

Figure 67: Drawings of the blocks of the Folvios bases (Ioppolo 1963, figs. 12-19).



**Figure 68:** The fragments of the Folvios inscriptions (after Ioppolo 1963).

In his reconstruction, Ioppolo combined all nine fragments, together with a corner fragment with torus molding,<sup>124</sup> into a single square monument, which he located flanking the head of the votive pit adjacent to the western altar.<sup>125</sup> Presented with the order of blocks as reconstructed by Ioppolo, Degrassi could do no better than identify an otherwise unknown “M. Fulvius Capitolinus.”<sup>126</sup> Torelli discarded Ioppolo’s reconstruction, separated the blocks into two distinct, though probably identical, inscriptions reading:

M FOLV[IO Q F COS]OL D VOLSI[NIO] CAP[TO]

M(arcos) Folv[io(s) Q(uinti) f(ilio) cos]ol d(?) Volsi[nio cap]to<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Ioppolo’s block 19, composed of two superposed fragments, a plinth 0.227 m H and a torus 0.118 m high.

<sup>125</sup> Although Ioppolo’s reconstruction was deconstructed by Torelli 1968: 72, it has nonetheless been continuously reproduced, e.g. McDonnell 2006: 75 figs. 1–2, while Cangemi in Terrenato et al. 2012 speaks of a “square monument.” Frascarelli 2012: 140 stresses that Ioppolo’s reconstruction is superseded by Torelli’s, but reproduces the former’s design anyhow.

<sup>126</sup> Degrassi 1963: *M(arcus) Fol[ui(os)] | Cap[it]olin(os) ; [Fol]uio[s] ? ; D(ecimus) Vol(u)s(enus) (?)*.

<sup>127</sup> Torelli 1968: 72: *M. Folv[io(s) Q. f. cos]ol // d(ono) oppure d(edet) Volsi[nio] cap[to]*; CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2836: *M. Folv[io(s) Q. f. cos]ol [dede]d Volsi[nio] cap[to]*. Flower 1998: 229 n. 36, though seemingly quoting Torelli’s reading, introduces a supplemented (*m*) into *Volsi[nio] cap[to(m)]*—perhaps through anticipatory dittography, since she goes on to quote the reading of Wachter 1987: 343, *M. Folv[io(s) Q. f. cos]ol d(e) Vols(inieis) cap[to(m)]*. Accepting Flower’s *cap[to(m)]*, we could potentially read locative singular+accusative *Volsi[nii] cap[to(m)]*; the inscription on the cuirass captured at Falerii in 241 BCE offers a nearly-contemporary locative plural in *-es* (*Faleries*). ILLRP

Torelli identified the dedicant as the triumphator over Volsinii in 264 BCE, M. Fulvius (or Folvius, given the cognomen “Flaccus” in later documents<sup>128</sup>), a reconstruction that has been widely accepted. Torelli took the length of the two uninscribed blocks, 17 and 18, as the original length of each of the elements of the monument, that is, 1.165 m or four Roman feet (of ca. 0.29 m). He also considered most of Ioppolo’s swallowtail clamp marks to be illusory, save for those on blocks 12 and 24. This being the case, the evidence for a square monument as reconstructed by Ioppolo falls away, leaving a 2.33 m (ca. 8 RF) long inscription, and a similarly worked 1.165 m (ca. 4 RF) long uninscribed section.<sup>129</sup> Torelli considered block 4 part of a second, identical inscription.<sup>130</sup>

Having discarded Ioppolo’s reconstruction of the Folvius monument(s) as surrounding the head of the western votive pit, Torelli suggested that the inscriptions may have stood somewhere in the area still buried by the later travertine pavement, though he reasonably preferred to await “future, auspiciabili esplorazioni.”<sup>131</sup> In the 49 years since Torelli was writing, no further evidence has come to light, although there have been no major investigations below the travertine pavement in that time. In the absence of such, I offer a tentative proposal for the collocation of the Folvius inscriptions. If we accept Torelli’s reconstruction of 2.33 m long elements, among the fragments we have a minimum number of four such elements. The length of two elements laid end to end, 4.66 m, is squarely within the range (ca. 4.5–4.8 m) of space

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318=CIL I<sup>2</sup> 19=CIL VI 37047 is suggestive in all of this: [---c]osoled / [---]one captom. The editors of CIL VI, pars VIII, fasc. III, G. Alföldy and M. L. Caldelli, supplement *Volsi-* and *cap-* with ablative plural endings rather than the ablative singular reconstructed by Torelli and accepted in CIL I<sup>2</sup>, giving CIL VI 40895: *M(arcus) Folv[io(s) Q(uinti) f(ilius) cos]ol [dede]d Volsi[niis] cap[tis]*.

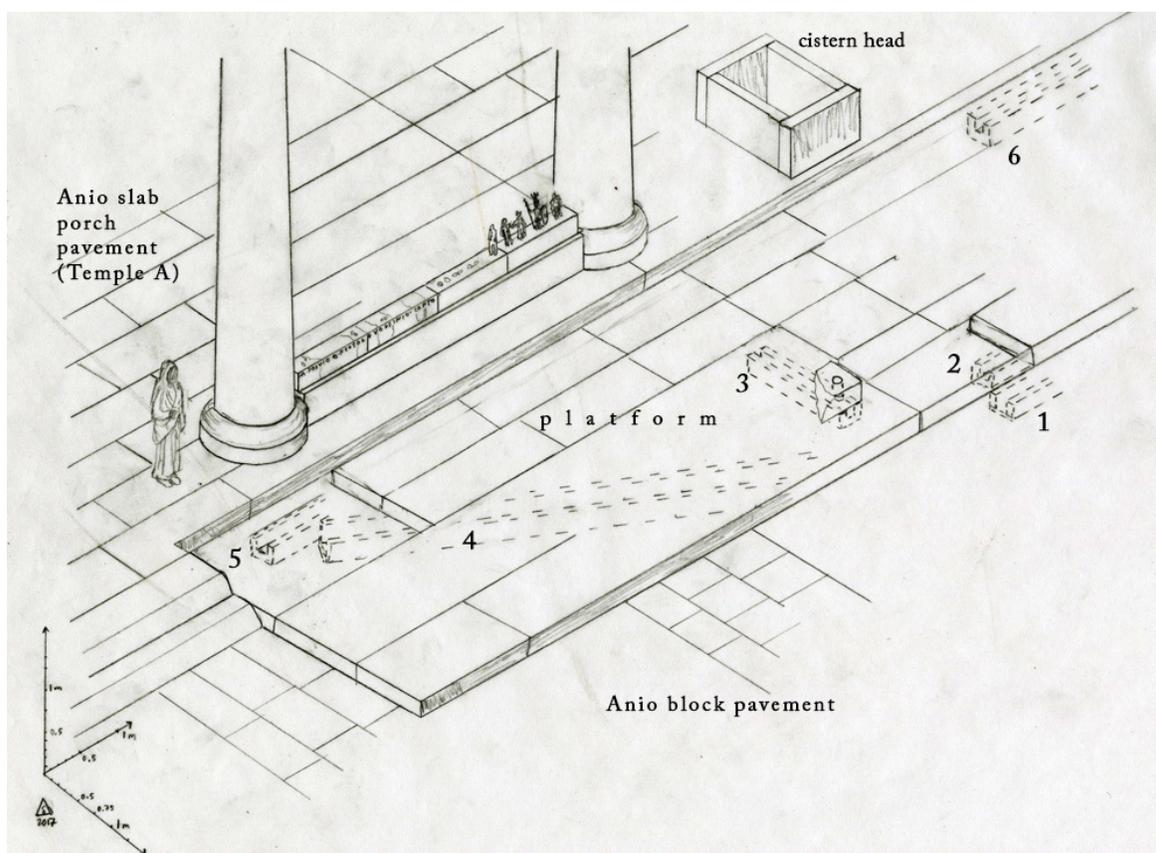
<sup>128</sup> NP “Fulvius” I 8. Following Millar 1989: 150, who comments that “M. FOLVIO... is the name which he actually used, whatever later tradition was to claim,” I use “Fulvius [Flaccus]” when referring to the historical figure, “Folvios” for the inscriptions.

<sup>129</sup> Alföldy and Caldelli (see n. 127 above) have to suggest that a further block is missing between 12 and 24; they supplement [dede]d, contra Torelli whom they describe as “inter frg. b et c nihil perisse putans” (CIL VI 40896).

<sup>130</sup> CIL VI 40896: [M(arcus) Fol]vio(s) [---].

<sup>131</sup> Torelli 1968: 72.

available between the lateral columns of the twin temples. As I have argued above, the absence of an upper step on the central platform of the Anio slab staircase suggests that there was no access to the temples from the platform itself. This would make sense if the intercolumniations behind the platform were blocked by the Folvios bases, while the space between the temples themselves would be occupied by the head structure of the large central cistern (Figure 69). Such a scenario, which implies a close connection between the inscriptions and the design of the staircase, would further support Coarelli's attribution of the entire building phase (represented by the Anio slab porch pavement) to M. Fulvius Flaccus.<sup>132</sup> Since the front of the temples during this phase was completely obliterated by the construction of the Tufo Giallo stylobates following the 213 fire, however, certainty will be forever elusive.



**Figure 69:** Isometric reconstruction of the platform in the central staircase, showing location of numbered drains and hypothetical position of one of the Folvios bases (author).

<sup>132</sup> Though it does not offer any support for including the Anio block pavement in this same phase.

### *Other Monument Bases*

It is worth noting that Ioppolo recorded a block (no. 16) of workmanship similar to that of the inscribed blocks, worked (though uninscribed) on two faces, hence a corner element, with a pair of metal pins and a pair of holes for pins on its upper surface. This was found in the midst of the other fragments, but of different dimensions, for which reason Ioppolo supposed it to belong to a different monument.<sup>133</sup> It is unfortunately illustrated only in plan view, and it has not yet proven possible to identify it in the on-site *magazzino*.

It is germane at this point to note the minor mystery of the provenance of a further inscribed block of “peperino,” evidently a fragment of a triumphal dedication, which has a hole on its top surface for mounting a dedication.<sup>134</sup> This was published by Degrassi as having been excavated at Sant’Omobono “nei primi mesi del 1962,”<sup>135</sup> but the archives preserve a letter from Degrassi to Colini responding to the latter’s inquiry about the inscription; the letter includes two photographs and is dated October 26, 1961.<sup>136</sup> This suggests that the fragment could have originated in Mercado’s excavations in the summer of 1961 that began to expose the circular monument, though there is no mention of it in her post-season report to Colini.<sup>137</sup> For now, it remains a mystery. This block, though, alongside Ioppolo’s block 16 and other fragments,<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Ioppolo 1963: 81 n. 5; pl. I, no. 16. It is not mentioned in Torelli 1968.

<sup>134</sup> Degrassi 1961: [---]co]soled / [---]s nomen / [---]ctom / [---]d aram, 0.18 m H, 0.24 m L, 0.29 m W; CIL 1<sup>2</sup> 2930; AE 1964, 72: [.....cos]oled / [.....]s nomen / [.....]ctom / [.....]d aram (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE?); Torelli 1968: 71; Torelli 1973: 104: [---co]soled / [---]s nomen / [---]ctom / [---]d arma, 0.19 m H, 0.245 m L, 0.296 m W (late 3<sup>rd</sup>–early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE).

<sup>135</sup> Degrassi 1961: 138. So also Sommella 1968: 63 n. 3: “il frammento di *tabula triumphalis*, rinvenuto negli scavi del 1962,” and Torelli 1973: 104: “Dall’ «Area sacra» di S. Omobono (1962).”

<sup>136</sup> ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 28, 3323a, b; 3324, 3325.

<sup>137</sup> ARCSM, S. Omobono, b. 29, 6, 3478-3481. The report was handwritten, as Mercado explains, because there was no typewriter at Phaistos (Crete), where she prepared it.

<sup>138</sup> As, for instance, the highly fragmentary inscription on limestone from Sant’Omobono, held by Degrassi to be not later than the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE: [---]ne[--- / ---]ia[--- / ---co]sol[---] (Degrassi 1951: 46–47; ILLRP 318a). This, however, is often considered among the monuments supposed to have fallen from the heights of the Capitoline. See also Kuttner 2013, esp. 251–59, for the intriguing suggestion that the so-called “Bocchus Reliefs” or “Sant’ Omobono Victory Reliefs” (which she plausibly attributes to an Aemilianus/Numidian collaboration after 146 BCE)

hints at the presence in the precinct of many dedicatory monuments for which we no longer have any evidence.<sup>139</sup>

### **Cocciopesto pavements of the western cella, and a monolithic base.**

There are traces of at least one, possibly several, pavements within the western cella, made of *cocciopesto* inset with tuff fragments and terracotta *tesserae*.<sup>140</sup> The primary pavement was preserved in two large sections, neither preserving original extents. The northern section (USM 139) measures ca. 5.4 m E-W by 3 m N-S, and as preserved it slopes down from 13.28 to 13.20 m asl (Figure 70). The southern section (USM 140) measured ca. 5 x 6 m.<sup>141</sup> These would once have formed part of a single pavement of the entire cella; they were bisected by brick-and-mortar foundations belonging to an early modern structure or structures.<sup>142</sup> The original interface between the *cocciopesto* pavement and the cella walls is not preserved (for further discussion of this point, see below). The pavement is of reddish *cocciopesto* with inclusions of tuff chips and red, white, and black terracotta *tesserae*. This has a *terminus post quem* of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE given by the latest ceramics in the underlying fill, and it probably predates the fire of 213.<sup>143</sup>

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found at Sant'Omobono might actually have been set up at Sant'Omobono, rather than having fallen from the Capitoline.

<sup>139</sup> Evocatively enumerated in Kuttner 2013: 256–58.

<sup>140</sup> USM 139 and 140. These pavements are usually termed *opus signinum*, but following Braconi 2008 I use *cocciopesto* (see above Ch. 3, n. 169).

<sup>141</sup> Having once been lifted and replaced as part of a conservation effort in 1978, it was again removed by the Sant'Omobono Project in 2012 to allow the excavation of Saggio A7.

<sup>142</sup> USM 822, 823, 969, 1030.

<sup>143</sup> Thus Brocato, “Tempio Ovest,” in Terrenato et al. 2012, <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue31/1/3412wtemple.htm>. Morricone Matini 1971: 7 (n. 1), 28, pl. VIII, dated it to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.; Morricone 1980: 13, following Colini 1977: 19, reassigned it to Camillus (early 4<sup>th</sup> c.); Coarelli 1995a: 19, n. 11, assigned it to M. Fulvius Flaccus in 264 BCE. Ramieri 2011: 1165–69 reports the opinion of the excavators placing the pavement prior to 213 BCE, but stresses the numerous uncertainties in the data.



**Figure 70:** Detail of northern section of cocciopesto pavement of western cella, 2016 (author).

Set vertically into the northern section of the pavement, near the northeastern corner of the cella, is a block of Lapis Albanus (Figure 71).<sup>144</sup> This measures 0.44 m W x 0.44 m L (1½ RF square) and emerges 0.68 m above the surrounding pavement; its total height cannot be determined due to the presence of the pavement. Stratigraphically, the base predates the pavement that surrounds it, though they could be effectively contemporary. It is aligned slightly askew (6° E of N) relative to the cella and the podium as a whole (5° E of N). The upper corners of the block are quite damaged, but there at least two irregular cuttings in the block's top surface. There are no evident traces of lead or other metals in these cuttings, but they probably served for the fitting of another element, perhaps a statue. Ioppolo considered this a cult statue base, though it is rather smaller than most known cult-statue bases.<sup>145</sup> Given the lack of metal fittings, which presumably would have been required to secure a heavier object, it could possibly be a base for

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<sup>144</sup> USM 149.

<sup>145</sup> Ioppolo 2000: 173.

the Archaic wooden statue of Fortuna (or Servius Tullius) recorded by the literary sources (see Chapter 5).

A similar tuff block was found buried within the cella of Temple A (1<sup>st</sup> half 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE) at Ardea, loc. Fosso dell’Incastro.<sup>146</sup> This block, though, does not have similar cuttings; its flat top surface is incised with a large ‘V’. It was, moreover, buried by the pavement of the cella, apparently the first such pavement, whereas the Sant’Omobono base was clearly in use contemporaneously with the surrounding pavement.



**Figure 71:** Lapis Albanus base in the western cella, looking west, 2017 (author).

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<sup>146</sup> Di Mario 2007: 74–76; Arena 2016: 87; Torelli 2016: 201. This block, ca. 1 m high, was set within the fill of a pit, close to the center of the temple and measuring ca. 1 m diameter with a depth of ca. 0.50 m. The pit itself seems to have been void of material, but immediately to its west (Arena) or south (Torelli) was a structure interpreted as an *eschara*, in whose deposits were burned remains belonging to at least 40 cows, 21 pigs, and 8 ovicaprids (though the account in Di Mario 2007: 68–69 suggests that the faunal remains were not in particularly close relationship with the pit). The cippus has been interpreted as a marker of the sacrificial acts carried out for the formal foundation of the temple. It was buried beneath the pavement of the cella.

## Temple structures in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere

A series of structures in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere form part of the twin *cellae* and their inner *alae*.<sup>147</sup> Today they are visible principally in the western temple, but are attested also in the eastern temple. The nature of these structures will be discussed following the description; for now I will simply call them “structures” rather than “foundations” or “walls.”

The TRSN structures comprise a single file of ashlar laid head to head. They preserve between one and three courses. The first course measures 0.48–0.485 m high; the second, 0.41–0.43 m in the eastern half of the structure and 0.45–0.47 m in the western half;<sup>148</sup> and the third 0.43–0.435 m. The ashlar display rustication, today difficult to distinguish, but clearly visible in archival photos. In width they measure from 0.80 to 0.92 m with a mean around 0.85 m, inclusive of rustication. Widths at the drafted margins run 0.71–0.80 m with a mean around 0.74 m, 2½ RF on a 0.296 m foot standard. Lengths vary from block to block, from 0.55 to 1.6 m. There are traces of anathyrosis.<sup>149</sup> Holes cut for *ferrei forfices* are visible on some blocks. These are frequently, but not exclusively, near the upper edge of the block; given this inconsistency, the use of a crane on the construction site cannot be inferred.<sup>150</sup>

The TRSN structures of the western cella (A) are preserved along its western (USM 135, 136), southern (USM 137), and eastern (USM 138) limits, and measure just over 9 m E-W. They are preserved for 11.8 m N-S, of perhaps an original 14 m. The *alae* and eastern cella would

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<sup>147</sup> These are visually identified as Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere (Jackson and Marra 2006, though there incorrectly and inconsistently described as “Archaic” and “4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE”). Visual identification is sufficient for this tuff, although geochemical analysis would be required to discriminate between the Sabatino and Vicano varieties (see Chapter 3). It is not Tufo Giallo (*contra* Lugli 1946: 543) or Monteverde tuff (*contra* Morricone Matini 1971: 7).

<sup>148</sup> The blocks of the second course in the southern wall of the western cella rest at two different elevations, which differ by 0.065 m, that to the east being higher. This could suggest that the blocks of this course were laid simultaneously along the eastern and western walls of the cella, and when the working teams met in the center of the southern wall, there was a discrepancy.

<sup>149</sup> Visible on the northern ends of the blocks of the eastern ala of the western temple.

<sup>150</sup> *Contra* Diffendale et al. 2016: 36.

have shared this dimension. The eastern ala of Temple A is preserved in three discontinuous sections (USM 307 and 361, the latter in two parts), having been cut for the insertion of travertine column foundations (USM 305) in a later phase. The western ala of Temple B is today only visible in section (USM 364, 365), adjoining the travertine foundations (USM 302) of the column (USM 303) preserved in a niche of the western wall of the *magazzino*. The TRSN structures of the eastern cella (B) are not visible today, but were seen and sketched in a section by Colini in 1937 (Figure 77).

The western wall of the western cella is not continuously preserved. From the southwestern corner of the cella, it runs for ca. 7.7 m north. There is a gap of 3 m, beyond which lies another 1 m of wall. The northwestern corner is not preserved. When the site was cleared in 1937, this gap was found filled by a later construction including brickwork and what appears to be a threshold. No description of this later construction survives, and it is only visible in archival photographs (Figure 73). Today the gap is filled by a concrete and rubble wall that seems to be a work of archaeological restoration.

The TRSN structure of the western cella seems to have been modified in a later phase. The two southernmost blocks on the eastern side of the cella do not display the rustication evident elsewhere, and they join the blocks to their north in a sabre cut (Figure 78). There is another sabre cut along the southern wall of the cella, 1.6 m west of the southeastern corner (Figure 79). A likely occasion for this intervention would be the reconstruction of the temples in travertine, with which is associated the concrete foundations poured against the southeast and southwest corners of the western cella, probably to support new heavy travertine pilasters. It is unclear why the TRSN blocks of the southeastern corner were cut, removed, and then reset (it being uncertain whether the original blocks were then reset, or replaced by others), however.

Probably as a part of this operation, the blocks of the second course of TRSN were trimmed to an elevation of ca. 13.56 m asl.



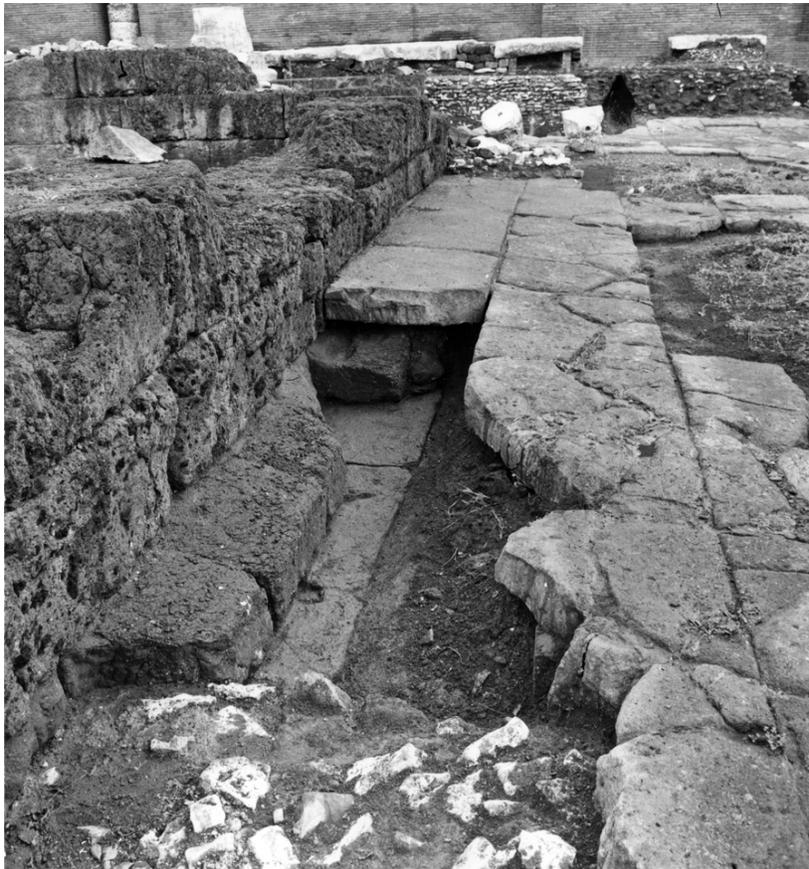
**Figure 72:** Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structures of western cella, looking east, 1937 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 65, 1, 16001, detail).



**Figure 73:** Western cella, looking west-southwest, 1937 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, 0-MSR 50, detail).



**Figure 74:** Western cella, looking west, 1968 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, 1968 -0.tif, detail).



**Figure 75:** The southern wall of the western cella in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, resting on 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE cella foundations in Tufo del Palatino and abutting Anio slab porch pavement, looking east, 1979 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, 1979 MSd 4227.tif).

# Area Sacra di Sant’Omobono: Cella A

Muri in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere: Prospetti (1:50)

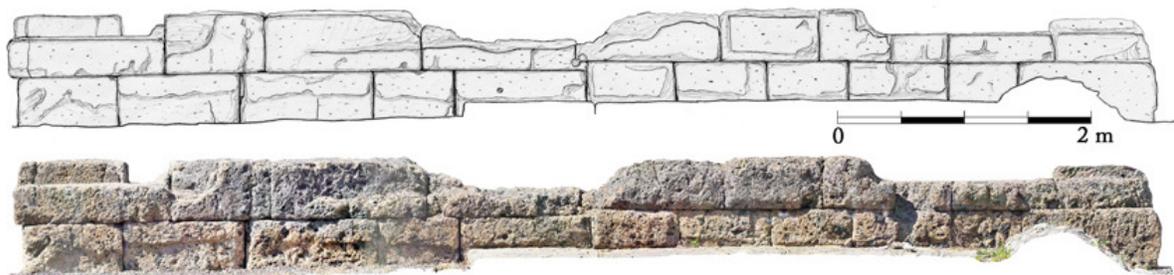
D. Diffendale, 2017

14.5 m slm



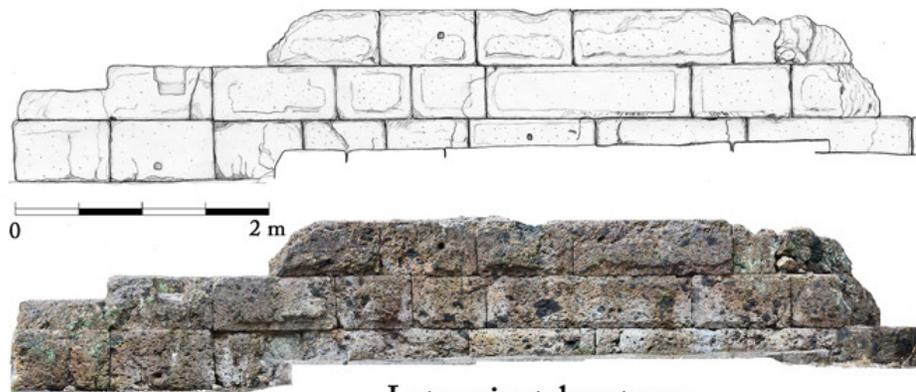
Lato occidentale esterno.

14.5 m slm



Lato meridionale esterno.

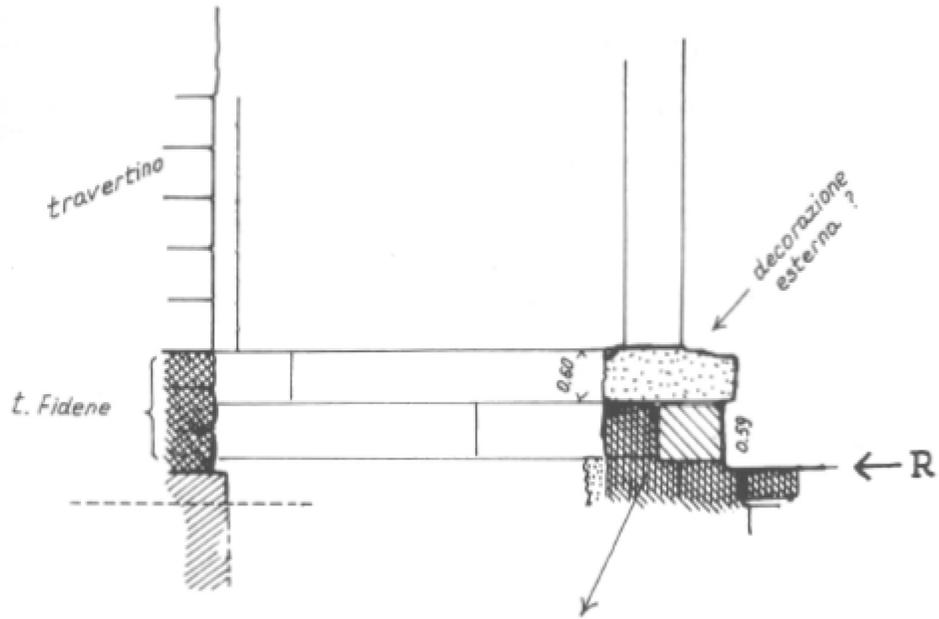
14.5 m slm



Lato orientale esterno.

Figure 76: Drawn and photogrammetric elevations of western, southern, and eastern sides of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structure of Temple A (author).

Guardando verso Via Consolazione



**Figure 77:** Colini's sketch of section of eastern limit of Republican podium, looking north, with the eastern wall of the eastern cella at left (redrawn by Ioppolo for Colini 2000: 101 – Quaderno VI:94).



**Figure 78:** Southeastern corner of western cella, looking west, showing sabre cut and, to the left of it, probable replaced blocks, 2016 (author).



**Figure 79:** Sabre cuts in southeastern corner of western cella, 2016 (author).

*The Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structures: an attempt at interpretation*

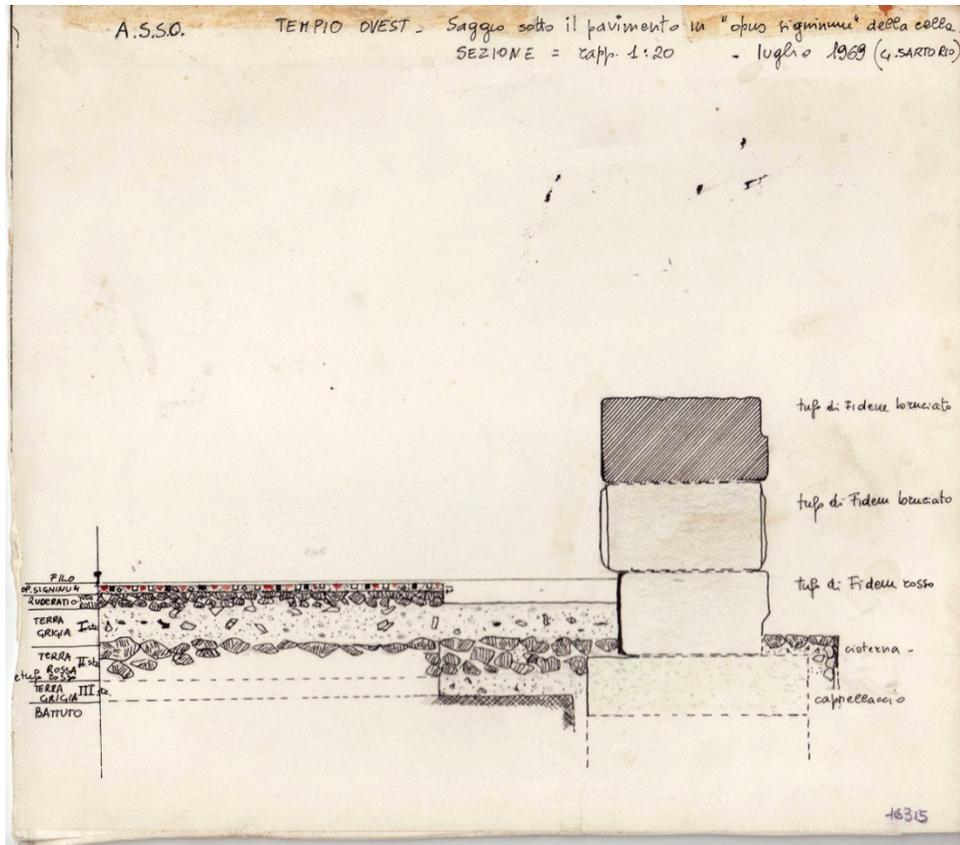
As already mentioned (above, under “Anio slab pavement: chronology”), there are two possible interpretations of the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structures, which it will be convenient to restate here. The first possibility (Hypothesis 1) is that these belong together with the large foundations in Tufo Giallo, Anio, and Lapis Albanus, which are dated to the reconstruction of 212 BCE, and thus that in the preceding period (the Anio slab pavement phase, probably 1<sup>st</sup> half 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE) the walls of the *cellae* and *alae* were built of timber-framed mudbrick, of which no trace now remains.<sup>151</sup> The second possibility (Hypothesis 2) is that the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere blocks formed part of the temples’ superstructure during the Anio slab pavement phase and were reused as foundations during the following period. Stated thus, Hypothesis 1 might seem far more likely. Further supporting it is the absence of TRSN structures along the western and eastern limits of the Republican podium. There are several complicating factors, however.

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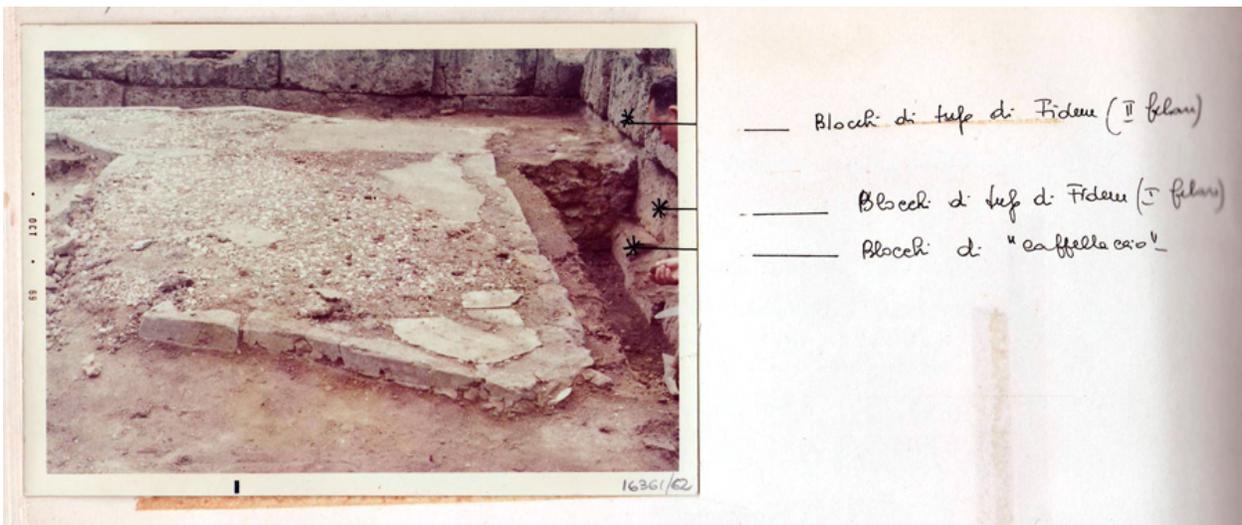
<sup>151</sup> A variant on this hypothesis is that the walls were of cut stone, which was completely spoliated during the construction of the succeeding phase.

The *cocciopesto* pavement within the western cella seems compatible in elevation (13.2–13.3 m asl) with the Anio slab porch pavement outside of the cella (12.9–13.1 m asl). There is no trace of a doorway in the expected location along the front (south) wall of the cella in TRSN—a strike against Hypothesis 2, suggesting that the walls postdate the pavements. Pointing to a similar conclusion is the fact that the *cocciopesto* pavement nowhere reaches the inner face of the TRSN walls, a fact that could be the result of cutting the pavement back in order to insert said walls.

Two pieces of evidence point in the opposite direction, however. Among the archival documentation from the excavations undertaken by Morricone within the cella in the late 1960s is a section drawing by Pisani Sartorio that represents the western foundation wall of the cella, the *cocciopesto* pavement, and the underlying stratigraphy (Figure 80). Above the blocks of the *cappellaccio* (Tufo del Palatino) foundation, the section distinguishes between a first course of “tufo di Fidene rosso” (i.e., Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere) and two superposed courses of “tufo di Fidene bruciato.” The preparation layers for the *cocciopesto* pavement (Strata I and II) are represented as laid against the first course of TRSN. If this representation is accurate, these strata, and therefore the *cocciopesto* pavement, must postdate at least the first course of TRSN. The absence of the *cocciopesto* pavement in precisely this area, however, raises suspicions about the reliability of the underlying stratigraphy (Figure 81). A sketch that evidently forms the basis for the more formal section includes a vertical line—of uncertain import—below the eastern extent of the *cocciopesto* pavement (Figure 82).



**Figure 80:** "Tempio Ovest – Saggio sotto il pavimento in "opus signinum" della cella. Sezione = rapp. 1:20. Luglio 1969 (G. Sartorio)" (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 70, 3, 16315; not at original scale).



**Figure 81:** The investigations of 1969 within the western cella, looking south (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 70, 5, 16361/68).

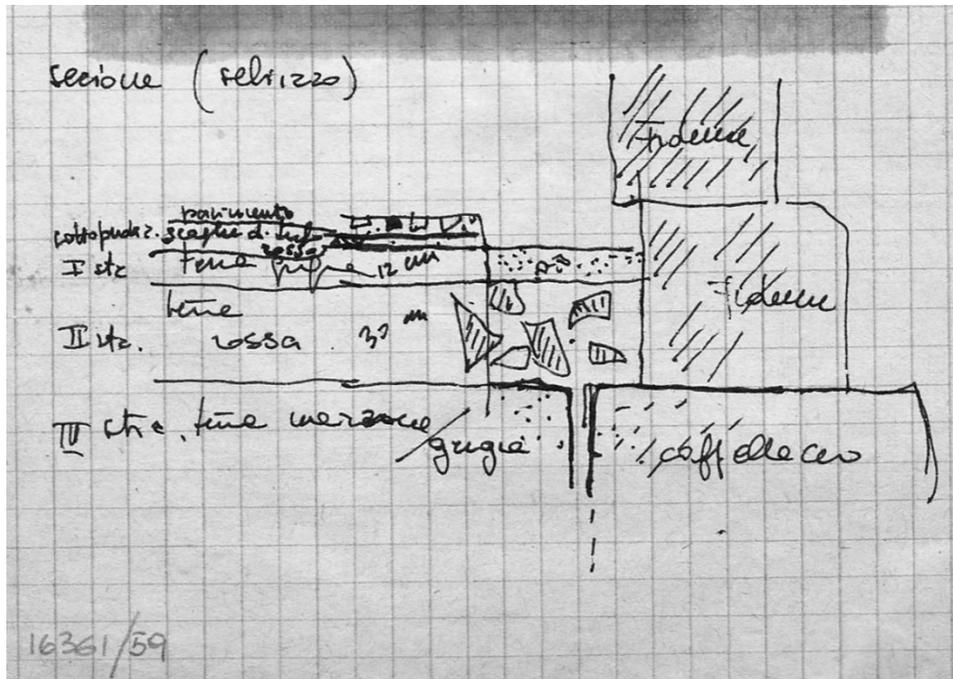


Figure 82: Sketch of same section as Figure 80 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 70, 5, 16361/59).

There is no written description of the interface between these strata and the blocks of the cella, only a general description of the excavation: “Si è iniziato lo scavo per determinare la data del pavimento del Tempio A – praticando una trincea lungo il lato O del tempio dove già era stata fatta una fossa che era stata riempita di pozzolana... La fossa svuotata ha permesso di identificare tre stratificazioni che si sono esaminate partendo dalla fossa riempita di pozzolana. Il giorno 30 si sono scavate le stratificazioni individuate nella trincea lungo il lato Ovest del Tempio” (16361/56-57). The following day, it was decided to remove a section of the pavement “per effettuare un saggio con terreno sigillato” (16361/61), perhaps suggesting that the excavators had doubts about the reliability of the deposits excavated the previous day. The shape and extent of the previously excavated pit filled with pozzolana are totally unknown, though it is possible that this pit had already destroyed any possible connection between the strata underlying the *cocciopesto* pavement and the cella walls. Agnosticism seems the only reasonable response.

The stratigraphy inside the cella, then, cannot resolve the question of the relationship between the *cocciopesto* pavement and the cella walls in TRSN. There is another body of evidence, however, which involves the relationship between the walls and the Anio slab pavement outside. This evidence, too, will be found to be ambiguous in its import.

The relationship of the TRSN blocks of the western cella to the surrounding pavement in slabs of Anio tuff is frankly perplexing. The phase of the temple represented by these blocks does not seem to be compatible with the use of the pavement: the pavement runs directly up to the temple and there is no trace of a door, nor of a staircase that would lead up to a door at a higher elevation. As already stated several times, this would lead one to conclude that the blocks belong to a phase that postdates the use of the pavement. In some places, however, recesses were cut into the TRSN blocks to receive the ends of the pavement blocks.<sup>152</sup> Along the western face of the TRSN blocks of the eastern *ala* of the western temple, the slabs of the Anio pavement have been roughly cut back, and the two do not abut. To the contrary, the eastern face of this wall neatly abuts the Anio slabs, which have not been cut back but preserve their original joining faces. There is no recessing on the TRSN blocks.

Given all of these pieces of evidence, I present several possible scenarios. Each has its difficulties. The basic question is the construction sequence of the Anio slab pavement, the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structures, and the *cocciopesto* pavement.

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<sup>152</sup> This recessing is not consistent. It is present along the entire exterior edge of the south wall, with the exception of the last 1.5 m or so at each end, for which the evidence for later interventions has already been discussed. The recessing is absent from the three southernmost blocks of the western wall, where there are no preserved pavement slabs. It is present starting with the fourth block north from the southwest corner, where a pavement slab is preserved. It continues for at least four blocks (3 m), corresponding with the extent of the octagonal basin. The recess ends. The next 3.3 m of the western wall are not preserved (though this section was restored in cement in the 1930s). Along the eastern wall, recessing is absent from the three southernmost blocks, and it appears to be absent even where the preserved pavement slabs abut the TRSN blocks, and the former seem to have been cut back where they abut the latter.

- (a) The Anio slab and *cocciopesto* pavements predate the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structures. When the latter were built (in this scenario, as foundations), its blocks were recessed so as not to disturb the *in situ* pavement slabs, which were, however, put out of use by the fill for a pavement at a higher elevation. This hypothesis would explain why the *cocciopesto* pavement is nowhere preserved up to the line of the walls, but it requires Sartorio's section to be in error. It would also imply that the TRSN foundations are contemporary with the Tufo Giallo foundations of 212 BCE. The construction of the latter, however, completely destroyed the Anio slab pavement in their vicinity. Fragments of Anio slabs were found broken and redeposited as fill in the foundation trench for the northern Tufo Giallo stylobate. We would have to posit that the builders of this phase took special pains to preserve the slab pavement adjacent to the cella walls, going so far as to recess the new blocks to accommodate the old—which could have no structural benefits—while completely destroying the slab pavement in the area of the stylobates, 5–6 m to the south.<sup>153</sup>
- (b) The Anio slab pavement predates the TRSN structures; when the latter were built, the former remained in use, though a staircase leading up to an entranceway was built directly over the former. No traces of such a staircase remain, however, and this scenario seems further unlikely since we would expect that the podium of the temple should encompass all of the area south to the southern stylobate, all this forming part of the temple's *pars antica*. Having a further set of stairs at the entrance to the cella would be highly unusual. The status of Sartorio's section in this scenario is ambiguous; if it is reliable, then we would have to posit that there were stairs leading

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<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, only the northern stylobate shows evidence of such destruction; the construction of the southern stylobate preserved the earlier structures adjacent to it much more carefully.

- up at least to 13.74 m asl, in order to clear the TRSN wall, before descending to 13.2 m asl to reach the pavement. If the section is not reliable, there may have been a higher pavement within the cella.
- (c) The three courses of TRSN do not represent one phase but two: the first course would be contemporary with the *cocciopesto* and Anio slab pavements, while the upper two courses would correspond to a later phase (probably connected with the Tufo Giallo foundations dated to 212 BCE). This scenario would allow for the validity of Sartorio's section. There are few or no substantial differences between the blocks of the three courses, however.
- (d) The Anio slab pavement, *cocciopesto* pavement, and the TRSN structures are contemporary, but there was no door in the front (south) wall of the cella. There is evidence that could indicate the presence of a door at the northern end of the western wall, and/or a window in the southern wall. The evidence for the former is archaeological; for the latter textual, iconographic, and comparative. This evidence can be combined, or not. As already mentioned, the western wall of the western cella is not continuously preserved. There is a gap of ca. 3 m toward its northern end, which when excavated was filled in with a later construction including brickwork and some sort of threshold. From the photograph, this construction seems post-antique, though this is not secure. Perhaps the missing blocks of TRSN were not spoliated, but were never present, and the gap was left by design as a doorway. It is probably not a coincidence that it is precisely within the span of the gap that the *cocciopesto*

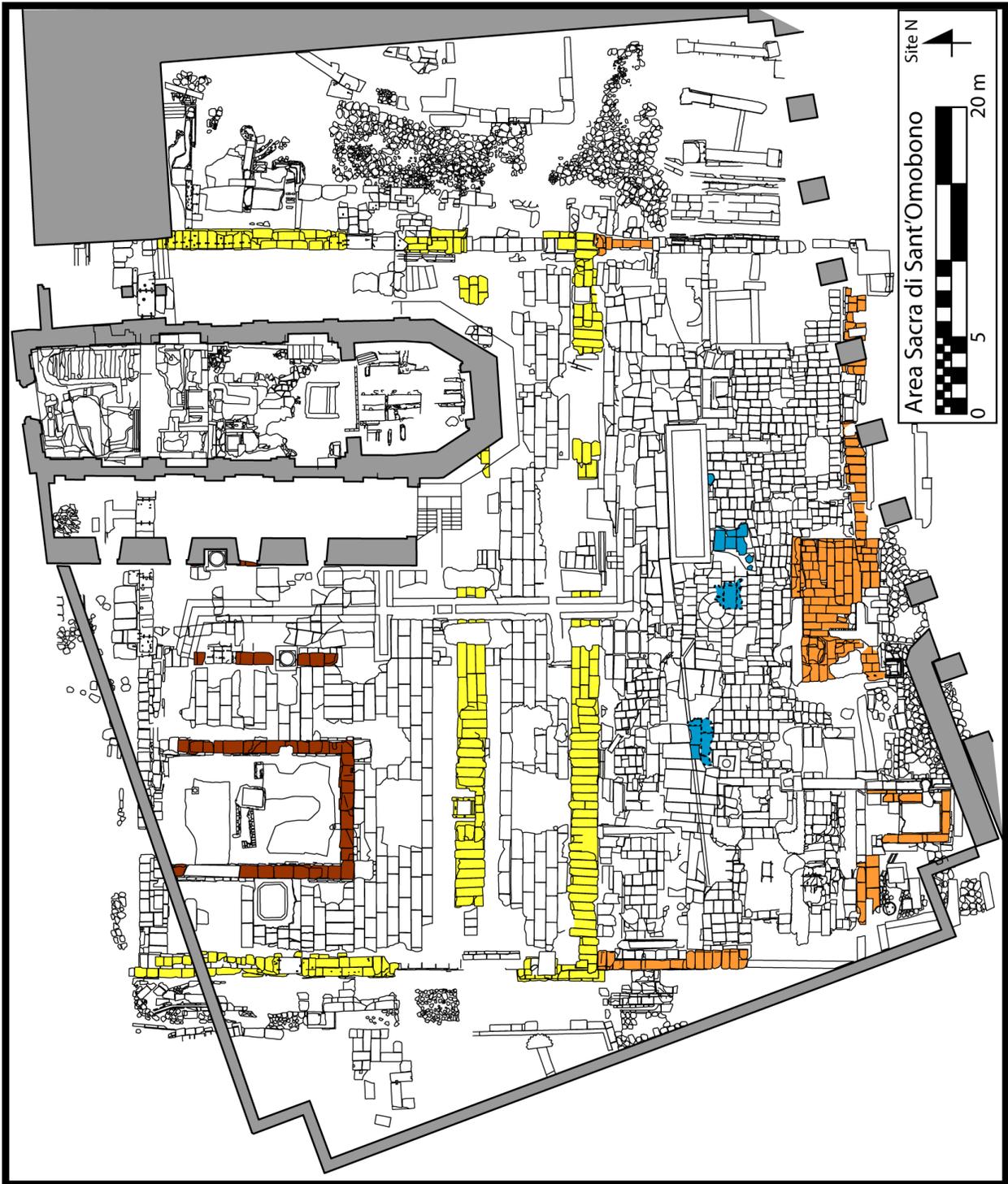
pavement is preserved all the way up to the line of the cella wall.<sup>154</sup> Whether this has to do with ancient or modern realities, however, is uncertain. If this was a doorway, it could correspond with Colini's hypothetical staircase reaching the Republican podium due west of the hypothetical doorway. As for a window, Coarelli has argued that there was some connection between the temple of Fortuna and the Porta Fenestella, and adduced Near Eastern parallels for the woman/goddess at the window as an element of cult.<sup>155</sup> A further part of his argument sees the presence at the site of a "chamber of Fortuna" (*thamos Tuches*), which he identifies with the large central cistern. Since that is clearly a cistern, however, the western cella could fulfil Coarelli's requirements. A window in the southern wall would allow the cult statue—if it were mounted on the oblique Lapis Albanus base—to gaze directly at the western altar. Among the (potentially many) objections to this hypothesis is the fact that there is evidence for a probable central (southern) doorway in the preceding phase(s) of the temple represented by the Tufo del Palatino foundations. This seems like an unusual change of plans, even if the trope of Roman religious conservatism is overblown.

Such, I think, are the possibilities. My gut feeling supports Scenario A, seeing Sartorio's section as misleading, but certainty is impossible.

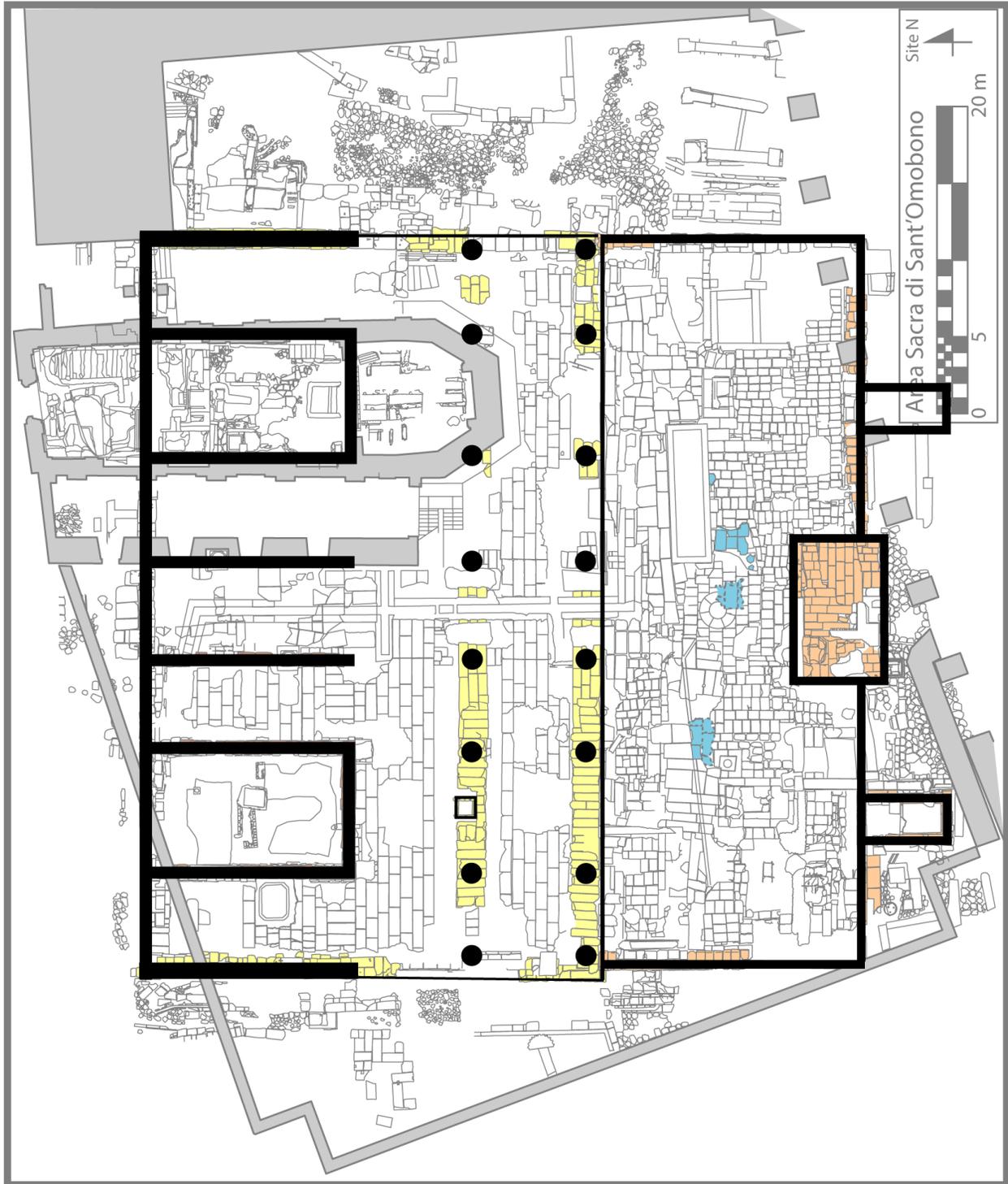
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<sup>154</sup> Three meters could seem excessive for a doorway. The *cocciopesto* is only preserved for a width of two meters, however—a more reasonable span. The treatment of the ends of the TRSN blocks in this area cannot currently be investigated, due to the presence of the modern concrete "restoration."

<sup>155</sup> Coarelli 1992.



**Figure 83:** Site plan highlighting Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere foundations (brown), temple foundations in Tufo Giallo, Anio, and Lapis Albanus (yellow), perimeter of forecourt in Anio and Tufo Giallo (orange), and thin slab Anio pavement (blue). Included with the forecourt perimeter are the so-called “taberna republicana” in the southwest corner and the “propylon” in the center of the southern limit (author).



**Figure 84:** Restored plan of twin temples in their Tufo Giallo-Anio-Lapis Albanus phase, 212 BCE (author).

## Reconstruction of the temples in Tufo Giallo, Anio tuff, and Lapis Albanus

Whatever the date of the Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere structures, a reconstruction of the twin temples certainly postdating the Anio slab porch pavement phase is attested by large foundations incorporating Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, Tufo Giallo, Anio tuff, and Lapis Albanus. These attest an expansion of the Republican podium, the first such expansion since the initial construction of the twin temples in the early 5<sup>th</sup> c; the temples now measured ca. 48.6 m E-W, compared with the previous ca. 47.7 m. During this phase, the perimeter of the forecourt was raised with blocks of Anio tuff set directly above the Lapis Albanus façade of the earlier phase, and the forecourt was paved with thin slabs of Anio. The eastern and western limits of the podium beneath the temples themselves were raised on foundations of Tufo Giallo (resting in turn on a lowest course in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere), while exposed faces of this podium were built in Anio and Lapis Albanus. These eastern and western podium foundations are connected by two continuous foundations in Tufo Giallo (usually called “stylobates” in previous literature on the site) to support columns of the porches of the temples. The northern limits of the podium in this phase are not preserved, although it is almost certain that they followed the line of the earlier phase, since the later travertine phase also maintains this position.

The expanded foundations of the podium of the temples proper directly abut the Lapis Albanus blocks of the first phase Republican podium. Along the western limit of the podium in its northern half, these foundations are comprised of four courses of Tufo Giallo<sup>156</sup> (the highest of which rests in part on the uppermost course of Lapis Albanus) topped by a course of Anio tuff,<sup>157</sup> above which a course of Lapis Albanus is attested by two remaining blocks.<sup>158</sup> To the

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<sup>156</sup> USM 331, 333, 334.

<sup>157</sup> USM 334.

<sup>158</sup> USM 330.

south, there are only three courses of Tufo Giallo,<sup>159</sup> resting on a single course of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere.<sup>160</sup> A small fragment of Anio tuff<sup>161</sup> remains above the Tufo Giallo; none of the Lapis Albanus is here preserved. Along the northeastern edge of the podium, there is no visible evidence of a lowest course in TRSN, but there are at least three courses of Tufo Giallo stretchers,<sup>162</sup> followed by a course of Anio stretchers<sup>163</sup> and a course of Lapis Albanus headers.<sup>164</sup> Probably only the Anio and the Lapis Albanus blocks were meant to be exposed, with the Tufo Giallo and TRSN restricted to subterranean foundations.

The western limit of the podium seems to have been shifted further west in this phase. Some 1.7 m west of the Tufo Giallo foundations of the exterior of Temple A is another line of foundations in Tufo Giallo ashlar, oriented N-S. These rest on the Tufo Lionato cover slab of an earlier N-S drain, also in Tufo Lionato and probably associated with a street. Two courses of these western foundations are preserved today, for a length of 4.7 m. The southern limit of the fill that must have interred these foundations can be identified with an E-W Tufo Lionato wall, three courses high, running obliquely toward the point where the western limit of the podium is joined by the western end of the southern stylobate. Immediately south of this point, mounting the western edge of the Republican podium, are the remains of a staircase.<sup>165</sup> This is built in blocks of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere. It cuts into the western wall of the podium, and its date cannot currently be determined.

The only *in situ* evidence of the front of the temples in this phase is a block of the Lapis Albanus course along the eastern limit of the podium (Figure 85). The lower portion of its

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<sup>159</sup> USM 368.

<sup>160</sup> USM 367.

<sup>161</sup> USM 426.

<sup>162</sup> USM 209, 221.

<sup>163</sup> USM 221.

<sup>164</sup> USM 220.

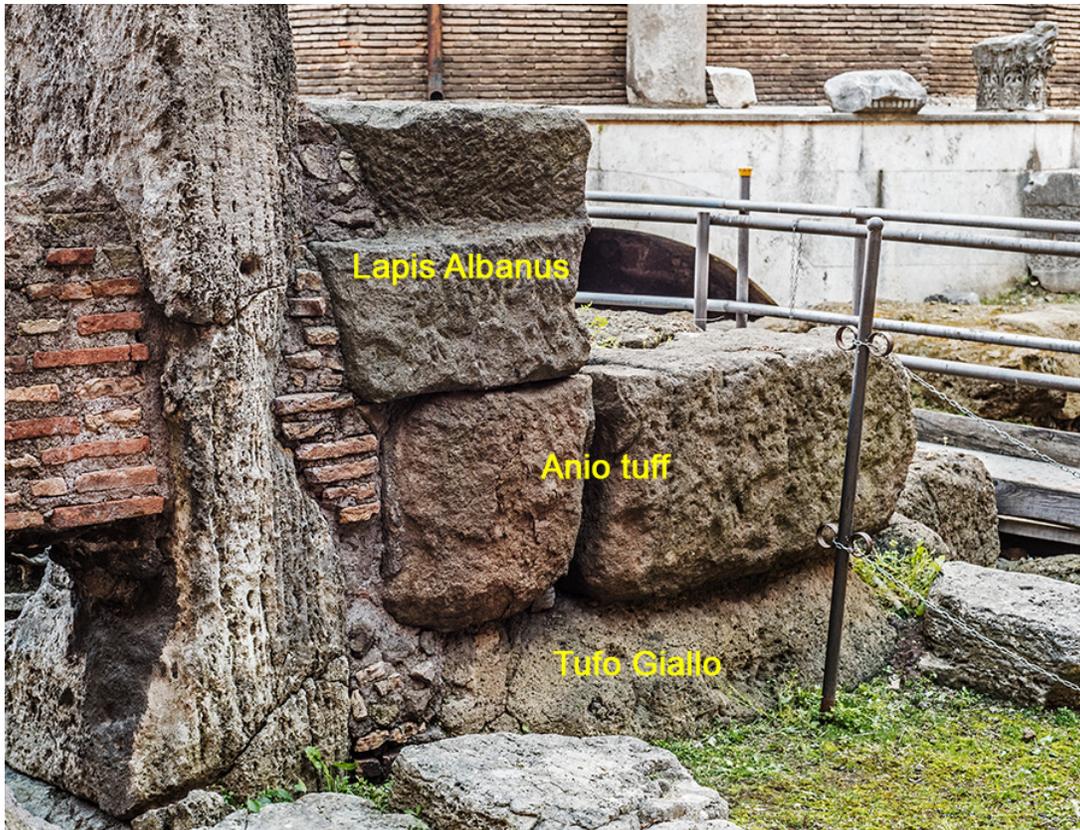
<sup>165</sup> USM 360.

eastern face shares the vertical plane of the podium's eastern exterior with the Anio block on which it rests, while the upper portion is cut back, leaving one quadrant of a cylinder, which allows the eastern face of the podium to make a 90° angle to become the southern face. The surfaces of this block are not finely dressed; it must have been plastered. The continuation of the southern face is not preserved beyond this block. It seems likely that there was some sort of Lapis Albanus facing of the front of the temples; broken blocks of the material can be seen reused as fill to support the later travertine pavement—but only along the front of the temples themselves.<sup>166</sup>

The Lapis Albanus blocks along the northeastern limit of the podium have clamp cuttings in their top surface. These are probably not original: clamp cuttings are not attested in any other blocks of this phase. The southernmost of these Lapis Albanus blocks abuts a travertine column foundation, to which it was once joined by a clamp. The travertine foundation blocks seem to have been inserted into the Tufo Giallo–Anio–Lapis Albanus foundations in a later phase, at which point these blocks were secured with clamps (Figure 86). They seem to have supported a wall above, which probably remained for a great deal of time, as the Lapis Albanus blocks have been quite eroded beyond the line of these overlying blocks.

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<sup>166</sup> Because they largely lie under the travertine pavement, it has not been possible to make a proper study of these Lapis Albanus blocks. In the exposed surfaces, at least, I have not observed any moldings. Wear on some of the arrises could suggest foot traffic.



**Figure 85:** Southeastern corner of the foundations of the twin temples proper, looking northwest, 2017 (author).



**Figure 86:** Travertine foundations (left, USM 218) inserted into the Lapis Albanus and Anio foundations (right, USM 219, 221), looking west, 2017 (author).

### *The Tufo Giallo stylobates*

Two large foundations in Tufo Giallo ashlars span the Republican podium E-W, bonding with the podium foundations at the eastern and western limits of the podium.<sup>167</sup> These are interpreted as foundations for the columns of the porches of the twin temples (“stylobates”). These each would have originally measured just over 47 m E-W, though neither is continuously preserved today. Each stylobate measures ca. 1.8–2.1 m N-S, the length of one header. The first course is of three rows of stretchers laid end to end, the second of a single row of headers laid side by side; the third course, where preserved, is like the first. The first course is bedded on sediment, or on the Tufo del Palatino foundations for the porch columns of the 1<sup>st</sup> phase twin temples, where these exist. The third course of the stylobates seems to have been removed or cut down for the placement of the travertine pavement slabs of a successive phase. Both stylobates were cut by the concrete foundations (of an arch?) at the center of the podium.

The header ends of the Tufo Giallo blocks have smoothly dressed upper and lower margins, leaving the remaining central surface only roughly worked. The rough ends of some of these blocks bear inscribed quarry marks (see Chapter 3 above). The Tufo Giallo blocks approach dimensions of 2 x 2 RF width by height. Although they have been extremely eroded since their exposure in 1937, the smoothly dressed margins on their header ends indicate a theoretical length of 6 RF, beyond which extend the roughly worked ends.

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<sup>167</sup> Northern stylobate: USM 278, 285, 288, 289. Southern stylobate: USM 62, 191, 194, 212, 280.



**Figure 87:** From bottom to top: Anio block pavement, dismantled circular monument, thin slab Anio pavement (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 65, 2, 16093).

*The Anio perimeter and pavement of the forecourt (thin slab Anio pavement)*

The raising of the perimeter of the forecourt is attested by substantial stretches of wall in Anio ashlar along the southwestern and southern limits of the Republican podium.<sup>168</sup> This raised the height of the podium but maintained identical dimensions in plan. The perimeter comprises three courses of ashlar in Anio tuff. The first course, 0.56 m high, is of stretchers laid end-to-end and is laid directly onto the Lapis Albanus blocks of the 1<sup>st</sup> phase podium. The second course is similar to the first, but measures 0.52 m high. The third course, 0.56 m high, is of headers laid side by side. These headers measure 0.53–0.60 m (ca. 2 RF) wide by 1.21–1.32 m long (over 4 RF). The top surface of the third course rests at 12.96–13.06 m asl along the western

<sup>168</sup> Southwest: USM 168, 171, 172, 173; south: USM 12, 418, unidentified; southeast (?): USM 232.

and 12.67 m asl along the southern perimeter (although the original surface is scarcely preserved along the latter); this structure is not preserved along the eastern perimeter of the podium due to the construction of the Imperial-era *tabernae*. The interior ends of the third course blocks rest on a low (ca. 0.37 m high) course of Tufo Giallo blocks, which in turn rest on the earlier Anio block pavement or the Lapis Albanus blocks adjacent to the perimeter.

Running along the exterior of the southern perimeter of the podium is a shallow drain in Tufo Lionato, which turns to follow the exterior of the so-called Taberna Republicana. This is built of tuff blocks in which a shallow concave channel has been cut, probably indicating that the drain was not intended to be covered.<sup>169</sup>

Along the western perimeter, a cutting at the eastern (interior) end of each of the blocks of the third course can be observed. These cuttings are 1.12 m from the western end of the block and have a surface at 12.72–12.74 m asl. A similar cutting was observed in blocks of the southern perimeter by Colini in 1937 (Figure 88). They probably served for the insertion of the blocks of the thin slab Anio pavement.

This paving of at least part of the forecourt of the Republican podium is attested by several fragmentary patches of thin slabs of Anio tuff. This thin slab Anio pavement was only exiguously preserved when the site was first cleared in 1937, and since then it has become even more so as a result of archaeological investigation and erosion. The thin slab pavement was preserved in three primary patches. That which survives today (USM 96), some 2.5 m east of the circular monument, measures ca. 3 m E-W by ca. 3 m N-S. Its surface elevations run from 12.68 to 12.74 m asl (ca. 0.40 m higher than the Anio block pavement near the circular monument). A

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<sup>169</sup> Falzone 2001: 47, publishing such a drain found (perhaps in secondary context) near the Temple of Victoria, notes that the type seems to be common along the perimeter of buildings. Similar drains have been found near the cistern of the Temple of Magna Mater as well as at Artana in the “*complexe aux dolia*” (mid 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE), though the latter drain has a deeper, more concave profile (Lambrechts and De Waele 1989: 164–67).

small portion (USM 99) is also visible in section immediately northeast of the first portion, with an elevation of 12.74 m asl. Some 1.5 m west of USM 96 was another patch, measuring 2 x 1.75 m, which was removed by Mercado's excavations of 1961–62 (Figure 87). A final portion (USM 160) lies immediately northeast of the votive pit of the western altar. It measured 3 x 1.7 m, of which 0.9 x 0.7 m survives today, with an elevation of 12.80 m asl. As usual, the thin Anio slabs have consistent widths (around 0.74 m – 2½ RF) and more variable lengths (1.35–1.50 m)—although very few blocks are preserved to their original length. In the recorded portions, the slabs are consistently oriented E-W.

A section drawn by Colini in 1937 represents a similar pavement—identified as “tufo litoide”—fitting into the Anio blocks of the southern face of the Republican podium (Figure 88). He describes this “α pavimento” as “corrispondente (come livello) immediatamente sotto al piano di travertino (spessore m. 0,19) superiore di m. 0,54 al pavimento β su cui posano le are. Al livello di α si trovano anche altrove tracce di pavimentazione in tufo (nella metà meridionale dell'area) ovunque consumatissime.”<sup>170</sup> Colini's alpha pavement no longer exists; precisely this portion of the southern face of the Republican podium was cut for the construction of a pillar supporting the offices of the V<sup>o</sup> Ripartizione. The alpha pavement seems to be represented on an undated site plan, probably from 1937 (Figure 89), and can be identified in three photographs from the same year (Figure 90, Figure 91, Figure 92).<sup>171</sup> It seems reasonable to connect Colini's alpha pavement with the thin slab Anio pavement—as Colini himself seems to have done.

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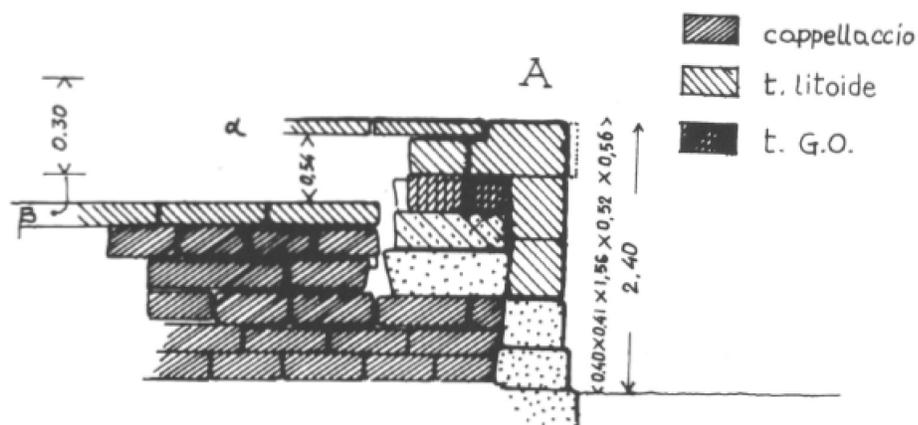
<sup>170</sup> Colini 2000: 99, emphasis original.

<sup>171</sup> The section drawing depicts two slabs north of the podium face, but only one seems to be represented on the plan. The photographs are more ambiguous, but seem to show only one slab.

The thin slab Anio pavement rests on Mercado's Strato II, a deposit with inclusions of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere and (with lesser frequency) Lapis Albanus and Tufo del Palatino.<sup>172</sup> Strato II was laid on Strato I, a grey sandy sediment. Within these strata were building materials such as tiles and fragments of *cocciopesto* and painted wall plaster, animal bones, and ceramics.<sup>173</sup> Among the latter are a quantity of Black Gloss sherds, which fall mostly within Stanco's fourth phase of Piccoli Stampigli production, dating within the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, providing a *terminus post quem* for the pavement, and thus the entire Tufo Giallo–Anio–Lapis Albanus phase.<sup>174</sup>

Lato Sud

Sezione del muro in corrispondenza dell'ambiente Adrianeo (angolo S-E)

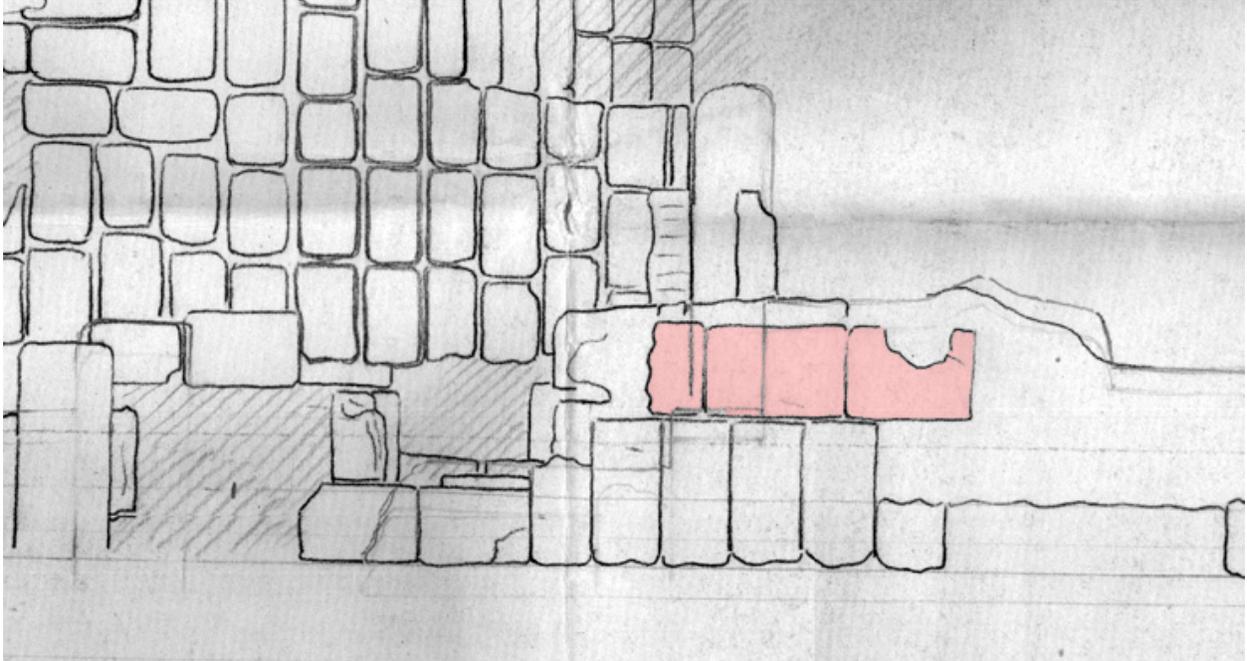


**Figure 88:** Colini, Quaderno VI:91 (April 4 or later, 1937), redrawn by Ioppolo for Colini 2000: 99.

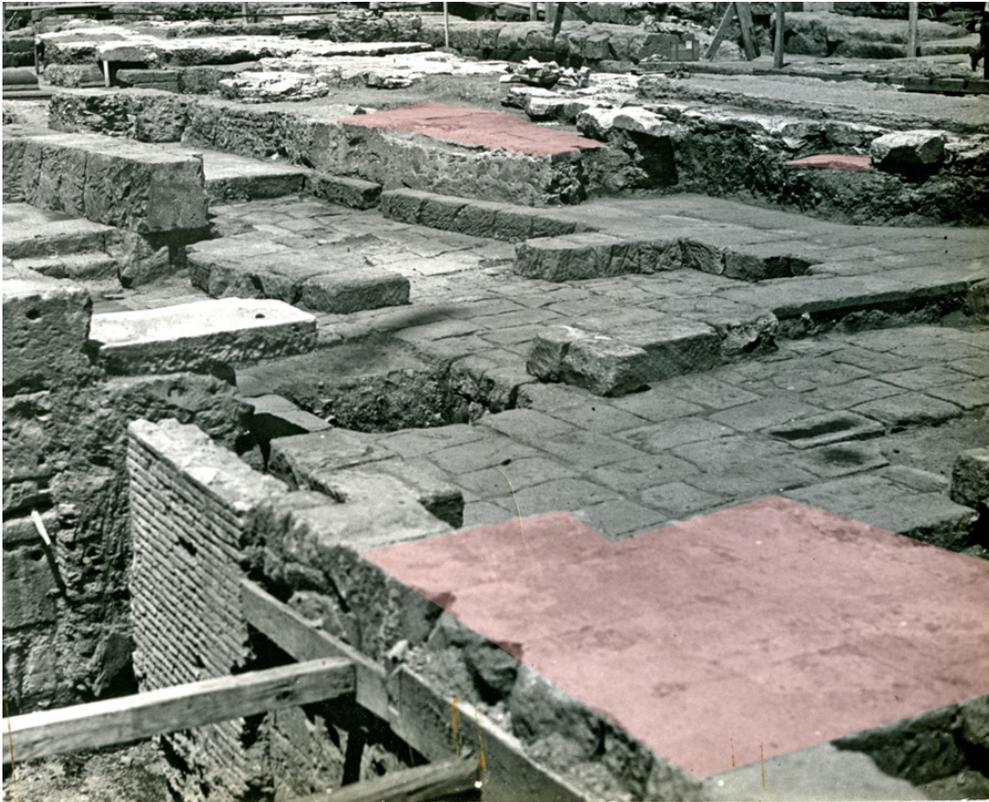
<sup>172</sup> Mercado 1963: 36 (saggio a, strato II), 39 (saggio b, strato II), 43 (saggio c, strato II), 67. Compare Sommella 1968: 70, n. 22.

<sup>173</sup> For the *cocciopesto* fragments, see also Ramieri 2011: 1164, no. 5; fig. 9.

<sup>174</sup> Stanco 2009: 169–70. See also Morel 1981: 55. The risk of circularity in dating these deposits must be acknowledged: it is precisely these deposits, identified with the fire destruction of 213 BCE and subsequent reconstruction of 212, that provide one of the only fixed points in late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE Black Gloss chronology. See Chapter 5 for the identification with a notice of Livy (25.7.5–6), who for 212 BCE records the appointment by the Roman Senate of a triumviral commission *reficiendis aedibus Fortunae et Matris* following the destruction of the latter by fire in the previous year.



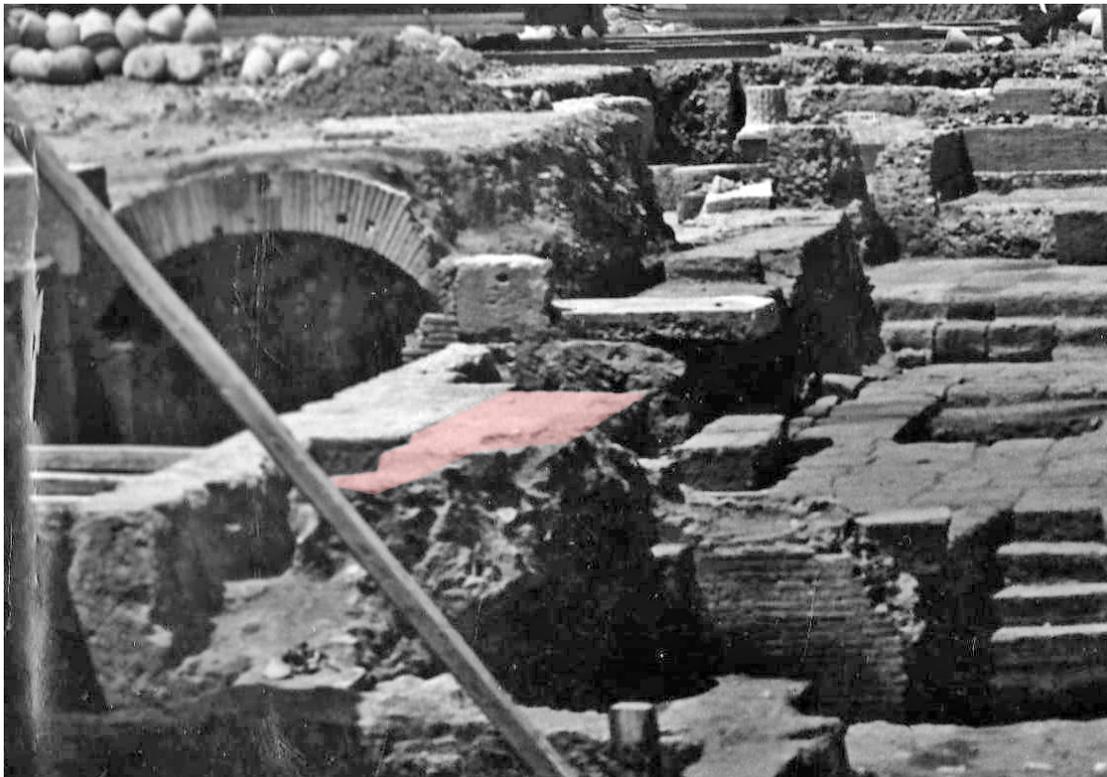
**Figure 89:** Detail of site plan (1937?) with Colini's alpha pavement highlighted (modified detail of 4041\_2.tif).



**Figure 90:** Photograph (1937) looking northwest, showing southern limit of Republican podium and forecourt of the twin temples. Highlighted are two portions of the thin slab Anio pavement (background) and Colini's alpha pavement together with the front of the podium (foreground) (ASRCM, doc58197\_32.jpg, modified by author).



**Figure 91:** Photograph (1937) looking southeast. Colini's alpha pavement is highlighted (ASRCM, S. Omobono, detail of doc58197\_36.jpg, modified by author).



**Figure 92:** Photograph (1937) looking west-southwest, of front of Republican podium. Colini's alpha pavement is highlighted (ASRCM, S. Omobono, 3078.jpg, detail, modified by author).



**Figure 93:** The “taberna repubblicana,” looking east-northeast and down (author).

### *The so-called taberna repubblicana*

A further element to be brought into discussion of this restructuring is the so-called *taberna repubblicana* adjoining the front of the Republican podium in the southwest corner of the site (Figure 93).<sup>175</sup> This is a rectangular structure of unknown purpose—though certainly not a *taberna*—whose walls are built up in blocks of Tufo Giallo.<sup>176</sup> The limited information about the archaeological investigations of this area that can be gleaned from the archives has been presented elsewhere.<sup>177</sup> The Tufo Giallo blocks rest on a pavement or foundation comprising a single course of slabs of Tufo Lionato (Figure 94).<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Cangemi, “La ‘taberna repubblicana,’” in Brocato et al. 2012: 23–29.

<sup>176</sup> This is one of the “due grandi vasche della fronte” described by Ioppolo 2000: 174, inferring that it would have had a symmetrical counterpart to the east. Ramieri 2011: 1159–60, adduces 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE comparanda for the *opus testaceum* pavement that include cisterns, service rooms, and residential spaces.

<sup>177</sup> Cangemi in Brocato et al. 2012: 23–29.

<sup>178</sup> Identified by the excavators as Monteverde, but not yet subjected to geochemical analysis.



10.85 m asl at south to 10.90 m asl toward the north. Where this pavement meets the walls of the room, the excavators found a semicircular “cordolo” of *cocciopesto* covering the corner. Below the course of Lionato, Morricone identified six strata, I–VI. Strata V and VI were distinguished on the basis of a greater density of ceramics in the latter; given this, and the presence of joins between sherds from the two strata, they should be understood as part of the same deposit.<sup>179</sup> Strato V had a regular surface, interpreted as a (*piano di calpestio*), perhaps connected with construction.

The contemporaneity of the slabs of Lionato, walls of Tufo Giallo, and pavement of *opus testaceum* is in doubt; the excavators noted traces of burning on the Lionato slabs.<sup>180</sup> Crucial, then, would be the materials found between the latter and the former.<sup>181</sup> Ramieri tentatively assigned the construction of the room to after the fire of 213 BCE.<sup>182</sup> The “*taberna*” should predate the adjacent travertine staircase visible in profile, as this latter overlies a shallow drain in Tufo Lionato that turns 90 degrees to respect the “*taberna*”; the shallowness of the drain suggests that it was designed as a visible part of a pavement, rather than as an underlying feature.<sup>183</sup> Part of an identical drain is preserved west of the “*taberna*” abutting the front of the Tufo Lionato face of the Republican podium. If the “*taberna*” had a twin located symmetrically

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<sup>179</sup> Cangemi in Brocato et al. 2012: 26.

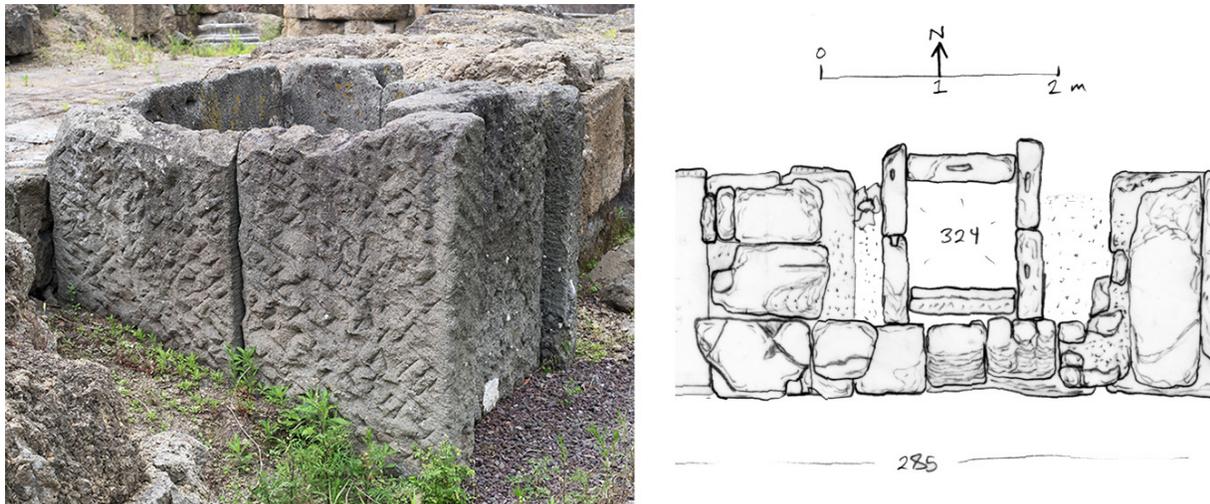
<sup>180</sup> Cangemi in Brocato et al. 2012: 28; Ramieri 2011.

<sup>181</sup> These were recorded by Morricone on July 2, 1972: “materiale trovato in occasione del distacco del pav[imento] a cubetti e fra questo e il lastricato di tufo di Monteverde (luglio 1979). a) 116: cubetto di cotto + materiale in cotto fritturato per ‘cocciopesto’. b) 112: fr. di ceramica fine color crema. c) s[enza] n[umero] inv[entario] fr. di cer. a vernice nera: kylix? d) 113–114 fr. di stucco dipinto” (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 70, 2, c. 16311.37). Although Morricone undertook a preliminary study of these materials in June 1972, no comprehensive study has been undertaken.

<sup>182</sup> Ramieri 2011: 1158–59.

<sup>183</sup> For the shallow form of the drain, compare an example at Ardea, Fosso dell’Incastro along the east flank of Temple B, which is however two slabs wide (Arena 2016: 84, 101 fig. 5).

to the east, they might form part of the class of features known as *avancorpi* or *guance*, attested in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE at Cascia (Villa San Silvestro) and Lanuvium, among others.<sup>184</sup>



**Figure 95:** Left, pit lined with Lapis Albanus slabs south of cella A, looking southwest, 2017 (author). Right, plan of pit within northern stylobate (author).

### *Built pit in front of Temple A*

As already mentioned in connection with the votive pits associated with the altars, there is a built pit within the line of the northern stylobate in front of the western cella (Figure 95). The preserved phase of the pit probably dates to the reconstruction of 212 BCE, although there are some uncertainties (discussed below). The walls of the pit are built from slabs of Lapis Albanus set vertically. The eastern and western walls are each made of two adjacent slabs set side by side, while the northern and southern walls comprise a single slab each. The slabs each measure 0.20–0.22 m thick, with widths of ca. 0.75 m in the eastern and western slabs and ca. 0.9 m in the northern and southern. The top ends of some of the slabs exhibit cuttings for the use of a lewis, the only such cuttings that I have observed at the site. The exterior surfaces of the slabs are roughly dressed and would not have been visible, while the interior faces are smoothly dressed. The eastern and western faces of the interior of the pit bear cuttings, possibly used as footholds.

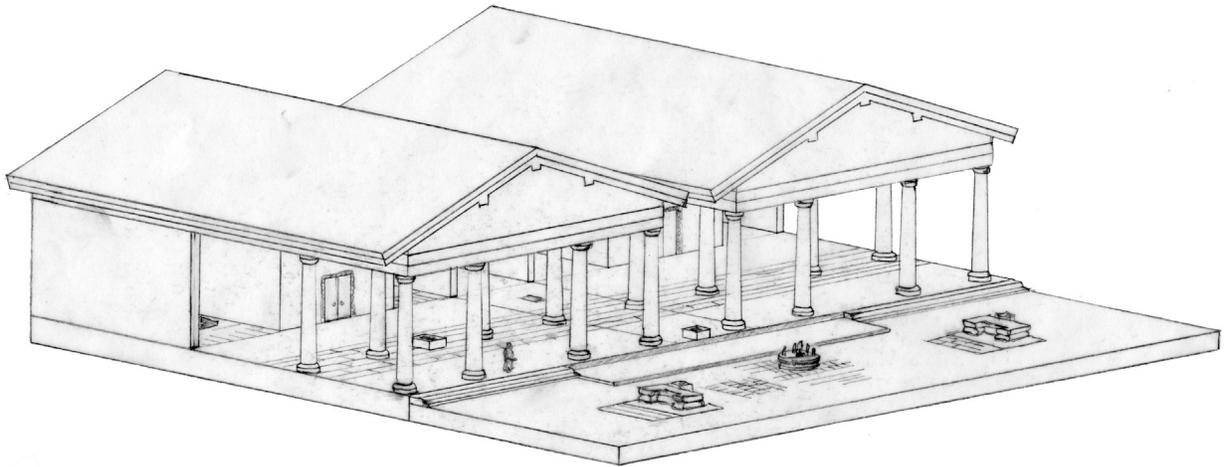
<sup>184</sup> Coarelli and Diosono 2009: 60–61

The northern edge of the pit slabs extends ca. 0.25 m north of the north limit of the stylobate, though this would not have been visible; the northern face of the interior lies roughly on the northern limit of the stylobate. There would probably have been a further structure delimiting the head of the pit connected with the pavement at that elevation, which does not survive. The center of the pit lies ca. 0.1 m east of the central axis of the foundations of the western cella, though the absence of the superstructure means that this deviation may not be significant.

The function of the pit is uncertain. It could well be a votive pit like the ones that flank the two altars, but it is larger than those: large enough to permit human access, which is further attested by the footholds cut into the walls. Why a votive pit would require such access is unclear, unless the volume of depositions was sufficiently great to require regular cleaning out. Such cleaning seems contrary to the purpose of a votive pit, though there is much that we do not yet understand about the use of such pits. Alternatively, we could interpret this pit as a well, which might better explain a need for periodic cleaning; it is not certain, however, at what point in history the level of groundwater would have reached the elevation of the bottom of the pit.

As already mentioned, the pit sits within the line of northern stylobate, and the Tufo Giallo blocks of the latter have been cut away to accommodate it. The relationship of the two structures is uncertain. If the pit is a votive pit, we might expect that the Lapis Albanus slabs represent a raising of the head of an earlier pit. The way that the Tufo Giallo blocks of the stylobate have been cut away to accommodate the pit, however, suggests that the pit was a later addition. It does not fit snugly within the blocks of the stylobate. If it were a later addition, however, it is unlikely that it would represent a renewal of an earlier pit, since the location of the latter would have been hidden by the heavy Tufo Giallo foundations. The construction of a

votive pit *ex novo* is possible, if unprovable, and it could be connected with a change in function of the former forecourt of the twin temples, where the earlier votive pits were located. If this were to be the case, the construction of the pit should probably be assigned to the Late Republican/Early Imperial travertine phase, rather than to the 212 BCE reconstruction.



**Figure 96:** Sketch reconstruction of the twin temples during the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (author).

### **Summary of the Middle Republican Architectural Phases at Sant’Omobono**

Based on the results of my study of the preserved architecture at the site, I understand the architectural development of the *aedes Fortunaе et Matris Matutae* during the Republic to have been as follows. In the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, the first phase of the Republican podium was constructed, raising the level of the sanctuary well above the elevation of the Archaic temple and above the likely line of minor floods of the Tiber. The temples in this phase were distyle in antis, with two rows of columns, and with closed *alae* flanking central *cellae*. At some point in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, the forecourt of the Republican podium was paved with blocks of Tufo Lionato—the Anio block pavement. This phase could possibly be connected with the ancient notices on the dedication of the temple of Mater Matuta by M. Furius Camillus in the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, but this is not at all certain. Also during the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, a large subterranean cistern was

constructed between the twin temples, and a circular monument was set up on the Anio block pavement.

At some point in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, a reconstruction of the temples is attested by the Anio slab porch pavement, with which the two altars may be contemporary (Figure 96). The temples in this phase were tetrastyle prostyle with two rows of columns, the front of their lateral *alae* no longer being closed. Accepting Coarelli's hypothesis, we could attribute this phase to the agency of M. Fulvius Flaccus following the sack of Volsinii in 264 BCE, but this is far from certain. Fulvius Flaccus did set up a pair of inscriptions commemorating his victory somewhere within the precinct, but this is insufficient to attribute the reconstruction to him.

In 213 BCE, the temples were destroyed, along with much of the Forum Boarium, by a fire that swept the area. In 212 BCE, the Senate appointed a triumviral commission to rebuild the temples, and I have identified their work in the heavy foundations of Tufo Giallo, Tufo Lionato, and Lapis Albanus, together with the thin Anio slab pavement of the forecourt. Although their foundations were much more robust, the temples in this phase seem to have maintained the plan of their predecessors, tetrastyle prostyle with a double row of columns. At this time, much of the area west of the Republican podium was raised with fill. The *cellae* of the twin temples in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere could belong to this phase or to an earlier one. In 196 BCE, L. Stertinius raised *duo fornices in foro bouario ante Fortunae aedem et Matris Matutae* (Livy 33.27; see Chapter 5). Stertinius' arches may tentatively be identified with a large foundation in Tufo Giallo and Tufo Lionato inserted into the southern edge of the Republican podium. At some point in the Late Republic or Early Empire, the twin temples were reconstructed yet again, largely in travertine. At this point, the deep colonnaded porches of earlier phases seem to have been abandoned.

## CHAPTER 5: PEOPLING THE SANCTUARY: ETHNOHISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

...o per fortuna o per virtù.  
Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, 1.

Although lacunose, the architectural remains preserved at Sant’Omobono still allow a fair sense of what the built environment of the sacred precinct might have looked like in the Republican period, particularly in the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (Figure 96). How was this built environment inhabited? What behaviors, ritual or not, took place on this stage, and how did it structure them? As with much classical archaeology, we can draw on literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence to sketch answers to these questions. Some of this evidence applies generally to Roman religious practice during the Republic, and its applicability to the public cults of Fortuna and Mater Matuta can be reasonably assumed or argued. Other evidence is specific to either or both of the cults in question.

This chapter is the first of two whose goal is to flesh out the “bones” of the archaeological site in order to reanimate it with human actors; in it I will consider the surviving written texts that describe the temples or the deities to whom cult was offered. This will involve a certain amount of journeying through myth, history, and the murky borderland between them. Some of this will also be useful for questions of chronology of the archaeological remains. As the goal is to better understand human activity at one particular site over a particular period of time, I will not offer any unified theories about the “true” nature of the goddesses, which in any

case is probably a mirage; ancient understandings of deities will have always been contingent. For similar reasons, I will weave back and forth between Fortuna and Mater Matuta, rather than hermetically separating them. In the chapter that follows this one, I offer an overview of the epigraphic and artifactual evidence from the precinct of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, contextualizing these where necessary within broader Roman and Italic religious practices. Some activities in the precinct will have been regularly performed, principally the festival of the *Matralia*, celebrated annually on June 11. Other activities were episodic and contingent, such as the dedication of votive materials, as for instance the offering of a terracotta foot by an individual worshipper or the setting up of a monument by a victorious general.

One of the running questions through both chapters will be the role of gender in structuring cult. Schultz has made clear that while certain *rites* in Roman religion could be restricted by gender, the same was rarely true for entire *cults*.<sup>1</sup> The evidence for the precinct of Fortuna and Mater Matuta bears this out, uneven though it is: literary accounts of the *Matralia* focus exclusively on the participation of *matronae* (and the exclusion of slave women),<sup>2</sup> while the literary and epigraphic evidence of dedications within the precinct are exclusively the products of male agency. The archaeological evidence of ceramics and small finds is gender-ambiguous. Only by reading these various classes of evidence together can we possibly hope to approach a complete view of cult practice; even so, there is much we cannot know. I will begin with what we do know.

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<sup>1</sup> Schultz 2006.

<sup>2</sup> As is the case with the rites of the Bona Dea, Juno Lucina, and the Magna Mater.

## Nomenclature and definitions

The religious precinct at Sant’Omobono hosted a public cult.<sup>3</sup> Soon after the temples came to light, Colini recognized in their shared raised platform, 160 Roman feet square, an inaugurated *templum*, religiously approved for the taking of auspices and meetings of the Senate.<sup>4</sup> Livy calls this structure or structures *aedes Matutae Matris* (5.19.6) and *aedes Matris Matutae* (41.28.8), *templum Matutae Matris* (5.23.7), *templa Fortunae ac Matris Matutae* (24.47.15), *aedes Fortunae et Matris* (25.7.5),<sup>5</sup> and *Fortunae aedes et Matris Matutae* (33.27.4). Plutarch refers to νεὼν θεᾶς ἦν Μητέρα Ματοῦταν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι (*Cam.* 5), τὸ τῆς Λευκοθέας ἱερὸν (*Q. Rom.* 16), and, without reference to a temple, simply Ματοῦταν (*De Frat.* 21). Dionysius of Halicarnassus records one of the ναοὺς δύο... Τύχης established by Servius (4.27.7) and again τῷ ναῷ τῆς Τύχης (4.40.7). Though they do not mention her temple, Lucretius (5.656) and Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.28; *Nat. D.* 3.48) refer simply to *Matuta*, without the *Mater* element. Following Prescendi, however, “*Mater* est le nom de la déesse.”<sup>6</sup> Although it is true that other goddesses, notably Vesta, bore *Mater* as a title, the fact that *Mater Matuta*’s festival is the *Matralia*—not the \**Matutalia*—seems to me decisive.<sup>7</sup> This festival was shared with Fortuna, whose rites were also celebrated by the *matronae*, probably immediately following those of *Mater Matuta*.<sup>8</sup> As Champeaux has demonstrated, and as seems clear from the sources, the

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<sup>3</sup> In the terms of Ziółkowski 1992: 9, “*aedes publica populi Romani*, a construction erected to a deity recognized and worshipped by the state and containing a cult statue of the deity, situated in an inaugurated *templum*.”

<sup>4</sup> Colini 1938: 280–81; Castagnoli 1974: 435–38; Castagnoli 1979: 150–51. No meetings of the Senate in the *templum/aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae* are attested by the sources, however.

<sup>5</sup> The manuscripts omit *Matutae*, which was (re-?)introduced in the 1469 *editio princeps*.

<sup>6</sup> Prescendi 2011: 187 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> It is possible that there was a development in the goddess’s nomenclature. Perhaps she was originally simply *Mater*, giving her name to the *Matralia*, later specified as *Mater Matuta* to distinguish her from an increasing number of other *Mater* goddesses. By the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, “*Mater*” had been re-interpreted as a title by analogy with these other goddesses, such that Lucretius and Cicero call her simply *Matuta*. The introduction of Magna Mater to Rome in 205 BCE may also have displaced *Mater Matuta* as the “default” *mater* goddess.

<sup>8</sup> *Ov. F.* 6.621; Boëls-Janssen 1993: 353.

temple adjoining that of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium was the temple of Fortuna *tout court*, sans epithet.<sup>9</sup>

Livy ascribes the foundation of the cult of Mater Matuta to Servius Tullius, without mentioning Fortuna, though he only mentions Servius in the context of a later intervention on the temple: at 5.19.6, the historian reports a vow made by Camillus during the siege of Veii, to dedicate a temple previously dedicated by Servius (for discussion, see below).<sup>10</sup> Ovid specifies that the cult and festival of Fortuna shared the date, place, and founder of the temple of Mater Matuta: *lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est, auctorque locusque* (F. 6.569).<sup>11</sup> The shared *dies natalis* of the temples is also attested by the *Fasti Antiates*, which record [*G M*]atr(alia) n(efas) p(iaculum) / [*M*]atri Matu(tae) / Fortu[n]ae.<sup>12</sup> Plutarch assigns the foundation of numerous cults of Fortuna around the city of Rome to Servius Tullius (*Quaest. Rom.* 74; *De fort. Rom.* 10), but which of these, if any, is to be identified with that at Sant’Omobono is a vexed question.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, Plutarch also records the dedication of the temple of Mater Matuta by Camillus without any mention of a prior Servian phase (*Cam.* 5; see discussion below). This has led some to posit that the original cult was that of Mater Matuta, to which Fortuna was added at a later date.

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<sup>9</sup> Champeaux 1982: 1.268-70.

<sup>10</sup> There is a long and fraught trail of scholarship on Servius Tullius and his relationship with Fortuna, which lies outside the ambit of this study. See, for a start, Champeaux 1982 and Coarelli 1988.

<sup>11</sup> Ridley 2014: 99–100 notes the common view that Ovid is here relying on Livy’s account, but rightly argues that the difference of Ovid’s treatment and interests suggest the contrary. Elsewhere (118) Ridley implies that the ascription of the temple of Mater Matuta to Servius Tullius was an invention: “There are several reasons why the temple of Mater Matuta was ascribed to Servius: its position in the Forum Boarium, near a major temple of Fortuna, founded on the same day, 11 June, and perhaps the family tragedies common to the goddess and the king.” The temples are not merely “near” each other, however; they are two equal parts of a single *templum*. An inscribed oracular stone from Fiesole attests at least the negative aspect of Servius’ relationship with Fortuna: *Se cedues perdere / nolo, ni ceduas fortu/na Seruios perit* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2841=ILLRP 1070).

<sup>12</sup> ILLRP 9 (between 67 and 55 BCE). Fortuna is absent from the *Fasti Venusini* (CIL 9.421): B III Matr(alia) n(efas) Matr(i) M(atuta)e, and neither goddess is specified in the *Fasti Tusculani* (CIL 14.2575): B Matr(alia), *Fasti Maffeiiani* (CIL 6.2297): B Matr(alia), n(efas), or the Chronography of 354 CE/Philocalus: A B III Matralia. The entire festival is understandably absent from the Christianized calendar of Polemius Silvius.

<sup>13</sup> See particularly Coarelli 1988.

## *Mater Matuta*

The significance of the divine name “Mater Matuta” has been much discussed, but a direct connection with *mātūtīnus*, “of or belonging to the early morning,” seems indisputable.<sup>14</sup> The earliest attestation of the name, in Lucretius, supports a connection with dawn.<sup>15</sup> For Maule and Smith, “Matuta’s name defines her province, *right and timely fulfillment*.”<sup>16</sup>

Outside of Rome, the primary known cult site of Mater Matuta was at Satricum, where Italian and Dutch excavations have revealed a series of temples and rich votive deposits. Among the Archaic deposits are a series of miniature bronze nude female figures, the heads of which are surmounted by a more or less oval disk; these have been read as expressing a solar aspect of the goddess.<sup>17</sup> A figurine of the same type is also known from the Viminal Hill, where there may have been a minor cult of Mater Matuta, as is perhaps suggested by an imperial funerary inscription.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> OLD, s.v. “mātūtīnus.” I am largely in agreement with Dumézil 1980: 50, that “There is nothing mysterious about Mater Matuta. In spite of the strange repugnance of several contemporary authors, she was what the second part of her name implies—from which the adjective *matutinus* derives—and what the poet Lucretius, for example, states explicitly: the goddess of dawn.” Dumézil’s “contemporary authors” include Rose 1934 and Halberstadt 1934.

<sup>15</sup> *Tempore item certo roseam Matuta per oras / aetheris auroram differt et lumina pandit* (Lucr. 5.656). It is worth noting that the MSS read *matura*; *Matuta* is an emendation by Pontanus, accepted by all modern editors after Bockemüller (who suggested *natura*). At Lucr. 5.462, we have *matutina rubent radiati lumina solis*. For Maule and Smith, on the other hand, Lucretius does not identify Matuta with dawn, “but only [says] that she diffuses it, lets it come (*tempore certo ... auroram differt*)” (Maule and Smith 1959: 97 n. 123). The adjective *matutinus* is first attested in the fragments of Accius (*Antenoridae* 82; *Astyanax* 145–6 in Warmington 1936).

<sup>16</sup> Maule and Smith 1959: 85 (emphasis original). Compare Bettini 1979: 37–39: “Da un punto di vista morfologico, l’aggettivo *mātūtus* pare chiaramente composto dall’astratto \**mātus* e dal suffisso *-to-*... In questa luce una *mater* che è *mātūta* indicherà una madre che è caratterizzata dal \**matus*, cioè della ‘disposizione a costruire’: ovviamente, nel senso organico di ‘dar compassione corporea’.”

<sup>17</sup> Richardson 1976; Boëls-Janssen 1993: 345. As Bouma 1996: 268 notes, however, the presence of similar figurines at Campoverde, Valvisciolo/Caracupa, Nemi, Norba, and Gabii documents either a wider dispersal of the cult of Mater Matuta than is otherwise known or the non-specificity of the figurines.

<sup>18</sup> An epitaph of imperial date (1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE) found outside the Porta Salaria names the deceased *aulos*-player Eucerus as *delicious Matris Matutae / VI reg* (AE 1909.75=CLS 1961=ILS 9346=AE 1996.105). *Delicious* is not otherwise attested as a cult title; in a study of the epigraphic occurrences of the word, Sigismund-Nielsen concludes that “a *delicium/delicatus/a* was normally a child of slave status... brought up in the house of his or her master; the relationship existing between master and *delicium* was normally parent/child-like but quite informal, only based on affection and love” (Sigismund-Nielsen 1990: 85). Bruun 1996: 222 argues that the term could also have a more general referent, on the basis of three inscriptions referring to a *delicious populi*, and concludes that “Eucerus was a *delicious* of the goddess Mater Matuta, a flattering epithet surely based on the fact that he had performed music in her temple.” On the basis of the parallels adduced by Bruun 1996, “*VI reg*” should describe the cult location where

The goddess has been interpreted, at various times and by various scholars, as concerned with dawn, childbirth, growth, puberty, maturity, the sea and sailors, war, and victory. She has an (ancient) *interpretatio graeca* as Ino the nursemaid of Dionysus and as Ino's divinized form, Leucothea. If we try to take account of all of these aspects at once and reduce to them to a common denominator, we end up with a purview for Mater Matuta as the continued existence and functioning of the Roman community—which could be argued for any deity in the Roman pantheon.

This ambiguity need not have bothered—and probably did not bother—Romans of the middle Republic. Ennius, for example, is known to have translated into Latin two Greek works on natural philosophy and theology; as Feeney explains, “They are not meant to become any kind of orthodoxy—in fact, they are inconsistent with each other in their presentation of the gods, with the *Epicharmus* presenting the gods as manifestations of natural phenomena, and the *Euhemerus* presenting them as former human beings, given divinity by the peoples who nurtured their posthumous memories.”<sup>19</sup> The two main strands of characterization of Mater Matuta, as the natural phenomenon dawn or the divinized Ino-Leucothea, fit perfectly within these inconsistencies. Prescendi, in fact, suggests that Ennius' *Euhemerus* lies behind Cicero's lists of divinized mortals, among which one finds Leucothea-Matuta (*Tusc.* 1.27–29; *Nat. D.* 3.39–50).<sup>20</sup> She dates the *interpretatio* to precisely this period of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>21</sup>

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Eucerus plied his trade, rather than specifying his residence, and hence provides evidence for an otherwise unknown cult of Mater Matuta in the 6<sup>th</sup> Augustan Region (Alta Semita), to be distinguished from the famous cult paired with Fortuna in Regio VIII, the subject of the present study.

<sup>19</sup> Feeney 2016: 186.

<sup>20</sup> Prescendi 2011: 189–91. Prescendi cautiously hypothesizes that Ennius himself had made the equivalence with Mater Matuta, and notes that he had translated Euripides' *Ino* as his tragedy *Athamas*.

<sup>21</sup> Coarelli 1988: 244–53 makes a strong case for the *interpretatio* already in the Archaic period, however. Roman tragedy could possibly offer evidence for the circulation of the Ino myth at Rome in the middle Republic: A tragedy titled *Ino* is attributed to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE poet Livius Andronicus by the 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE grammarian Victorinus (*Mar. Vict.* 67), citing verses preserved by the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE grammarian Terentianus Maurus (*Ter. Maur.* 1931; Courtney 2003: 128–29). As appealing as such a work would be, its existence is doubtful. Courtney inquit “It is inconceivable that

Now, Greek connections of the cult at Sant’Omobono seem to date back to the Archaic period, as evidenced most clearly by the terracotta acroterial group of Herakles and Athena, perhaps representing the hero’s apotheosis.<sup>22</sup> Roman culture, though, was never “pristine” and free from Greek influence, such that the cult was “Roman” until it was “Hellenized”—it could have witnessed successive adoptions of cultural grecisms. And yet, Feeney reminds us, what we see marked as “Greek” stories in a Roman context may have often just been stories. On the other hand, during the mid-Republic the value of accentuating such connections may have been heightened.<sup>23</sup> The Bacchic themes evident in some of the terracottas from the second-phase Archaic temple at Sant’Omobono would bear more investigation in their potential connection with Ino-Leucothea, but this lies beyond the purview of this dissertation.<sup>24</sup> In the next section, we take one uncertain step from myth toward history.

### *Camilli impares*

As already mentioned, Livy and Plutarch identify the dictator M. Furius Camillus as either dedicator or rededicator of the Temple of Mater Matuta, having vowed it in return for the capture of Veii, in the first decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE.<sup>25</sup> Before discussing these passages in detail,

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these verses could be by Livius Andronicus,” and suggests, following Scaliger, a corruption of the name of Laevius, a poet of (probably) the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE (Courtney 2003: 129). This *Ino* would then be a poem included in Laevius’ collection, the *Erotopaegnia*. The fragment in Terentianus comes from a scene (known from Euripides’ *Ino*) in which Athamas, driven mad by Diana, killed Learchus, his son with Ino. Another possible fragment of Laevius’ *Ino*, preserved by Priscian, describes Ino’s precipitous leap into the sea (Prisc. 1.281; Courtney 2003: 128, Laevius (Melissus?) fr. 12). “Most of [Laevius’] work apparently consisted of legends recounted in Hellenistic sentimental-erotic style... In [fragment] 26 he combines a recherché detail of cult in Hellenistic style with a concept belonging to Roman religion” (Courtney 2003: 119). There is, in any case, then, no real evidence for an *Ino* by Livius Andronicus.

<sup>22</sup> Though Coarelli 1988 argues for an identification of the pair as Melqart and Astarte.

<sup>23</sup> Cp. Feeney 2016: 116: “The *Ludi Romani* are staging more than the claim ‘Rome resembles Greece’: they are claiming ‘Rome resembles Greece more than the other Italians do with respect to international high culture.’”

<sup>24</sup> Cp. Littlewood 2006: li: “Ovid’s use of Bacchic imagery is an essential indication that he understood the cult of Mater Matuta to be a fertility cult. At the same time he understood that the cults of Mater Matuta and Fortuna were associated also with military success, the religious ceremonial of triumph and apotheosis in the Forum Boarium.”

<sup>25</sup> In 396 BCE if run through the Varronian system, but “really” 392 BCE following Livy and Diodorus (Cornell 1995: 401–2).

though, we need to deal with Camillus, the traditions surrounding whom are much debated—Mommsen judged his stories “die verlogenste aller römischen Legenden”<sup>26</sup>—to the extent that some doubt his existence.<sup>27</sup> For Cornell, on the other hand, Camillus’ “importance in Roman public life at this time is proved by the *Fasti*.”<sup>28</sup>

Among the skeptics, George Dumézil has argued that Camillus was a figure from Indo-European mythology, the protégé of the dawn goddess—who in an early Roman context would be Mater Matuta. One does not have to accept the entire comparative apparatus, however, to accept Dumézil’s hypothesis of a special relationship between Camillus and the dawn; in fact I-E comparanda scarcely make an appearance within the first four chapters of his *Camillus: A Study of Indo-European Religion as Roman History*, by which time the connections are overwhelming. One of the French scholar’s key observations is of Camillus’ repeated victories at dawn. Dumézil’s account is quite detailed, and I can do no more than summarize it here: The battle at Mt. Algidus, in which Camillus’ deeds first catapult him to prominence, begins when *iam lucescebat* (“it was just beginning to be light”).<sup>29</sup> In his second dictatorship, Camillus’ victory over Brennus in Plutarch happens ἄμα δ’ἡμέρα (“together with the day”, i.e., at daybreak).<sup>30</sup> Camillus’ victory during his third dictatorship against the allied Volscians, Latins, and Etruscans begins περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον (“around dawn”).<sup>31</sup> The fourth dictatorship is a domestic one. Camillus’

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<sup>26</sup> Quoted by Münzer, s.v. ‘Furius (44)’, in Pauly-Wissowa 1912, col. 348.

<sup>27</sup> Dumézil 1980 and Bruun 2000 relegate the character of Camillus to mythology and folklore, respectively. Cornell 1995: 319 accepts Camillus as a historical figure, but acknowledges that many of the stories surrounding him are “overplayed.” Somewhat surprisingly, the generally skeptical account of Forsythe 2005 does not discount Camillus’ historical existence. For Ogilvie 1965, *ad loc.*, “The tapestry of the capture of Veii is woven from... *threads which can be wholly trusted*—the person of Camillus and the fall of the Etruscan city...” (emphasis added).

<sup>28</sup> Cornell 1995: 319. This, of course, requires one to have faith in the *Fasti* from the early 4<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>29</sup> Livy 4.28.2; Dumézil 1980: 64–67.

<sup>30</sup> Plut. *Cam.* 29; Dumézil 1980: 54–56.

<sup>31</sup> Plut. *Cam.* 34; Dumézil 1980: 56–57.

victory over the Gauls, during his fifth and final dictatorship, again begins ὄρθου (“at dawn”).<sup>32</sup> In what survives of accounts of early Roman history, dawn victories are not common; there is only a doublet of the Mt. Algidus battle, ascribed to Publicola.<sup>33</sup> “The first ten books of Livy contain no other battle voluntarily begun in *prima luce* by the Romans and ending in victory.”<sup>34</sup> Even if one retains Camillus as an historical personage, his connections with dawn are difficult to deny.

Christer Bruun has also addressed the Camillus problem, arguing that he was an Italian folk-hero.<sup>35</sup> Part of Bruun’s analysis focuses on the sudden appearance of Camillus on the historical scene: “Considering that there are many Furii who appear as Roman magistrates during the fifth century B.C., it is all the more surprising that no connections between earlier generations and Furius Camillus are postulated in any of our sources.”<sup>36</sup> Bruun notes the high number of Furii—nine—“for whom Münzer’s entries in Pauly-Wissowa register perplexities, and anachronistic or fictive accounts in the sources... This is a clear indication that the Furii too were objects of ‘the expansion of the past’ and the writing of fictive history.”<sup>37</sup> He suggests that the character of Camillus found in Livy was influenced by theatrical treatments of a pseudo-mythical figure, whose vita was a pastiche of the career of L. Furius Medullinus and an Italian

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<sup>32</sup> Plut. *Cam.* 41; Dumézil 1980: 57–59. In the equivalent story in Livy, the opponent is the Faliscans; the battle begins *prima luce* (“at first light”).

<sup>33</sup> Plut., *Publicola* 22; Dion. Hal. 5.41–43; Dumézil 1980: 67–68.

<sup>34</sup> Dumézil 1980: 68.

<sup>35</sup> Although Bruun (2000: 43) dismisses Dumézil’s study, I believe both studies ultimately point toward the same conclusions.

<sup>36</sup> Bruun 2000: 49.

<sup>37</sup> Bruun 2000: 61.

folk-hero.<sup>38</sup> This latter would be attested as the *Marce Camitlnas* painted on the wall of the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE François Tomb at Vulci.<sup>39</sup>

It is a most remarkable coincidence that *Marce Camitlnas* shares the walls of the François Tomb with the figures of *Macstrna*, *Avle Vipina*, and *Caile Vipina* (and they all seem to be on the same, winning, side).<sup>40</sup> In his famous speech on citizenship, drawing on an Etruscan tradition different from the account transmitted by Livy, the emperor Claudius refers to the close camaraderie between one Caelius Vivenna, an Etruscan general, and Servius Tullius, known as Mastarna by the Etruscans.<sup>41</sup> If Bruun is right about the connection between *Marce Camitlnas* and Marcus Camillus, we would have the two (semi-)mythological dedicators of the Temple of Mater Matuta involved in some military action together.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, as Rathje puts it, the victims of *Camitlnas* and friends “are seemingly surprised from their sleep, as they are emerging from the mantles by which they have been covered.”<sup>43</sup> Could this be an attack at dawn?

Camillus’ existence, and contingently his chronology, is a question of more than antiquarian interest to the present study, since some intervention on the temple of Mater Matuta is attributed to him by both Livy and Plutarch. We turn now to those passages:

*satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veis captis se facturum aedemque Matutae matris refectionem dedicaturum iam ante ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam.* (Livy 5.19.6) (“Everything being already sufficiently prepared for the war, by Senatus consultum he [Camillus] vowed, should Veii be captured, that he himself would offer great games and would dedicate the rebuilt temple of Mater Matuta, previously dedicated by king Servius Tullius” (my translation).)

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<sup>38</sup> The idea that Camillus was the hero of a *fabula praetexta* dates back to Ribbeck 1881 (non vidi); see Wiseman 1998: 3. For the development of historical drama at Rome, which could be set in either the heroic past or the near-contemporary world, see Feeney 2016: 107–9.

<sup>39</sup> The bibliography is large, though the date has by now been well fixed. See, recently, Harari 2007; Rathje 2014.

<sup>40</sup> De Grummond 2006: 175–79. The discovery of two bucchero vessels of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, dedicated in the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii each bearing the Etruscan inscription *mine muluv[an]ece avile vipiennas* (“Avle Vipinas dedicated me” ET Vc 3.9) may suggest some real persons behind the fantastic Vibenna brothers.

<sup>41</sup> CIL 13.1668. For Caile Vipinas, see also Dion. Hal. 2.36.2; Varro, *Ling.* 5.46; Tac., *Ann.* 4.65.1ff.

<sup>42</sup> That *Marce Camitlnas* is depicted killing *Cneve Tarchunies Rumach* (“Gnaeus Tarquinius from Rome”) stirs the pot even further.

<sup>43</sup> Rathje 2014: 60.

*Tum Iunoni reginae templum in Auentino locauit, dedicauitque Matutae Matris; atque his diuinis humanisque rebus gestis dictatura se abdicauit.* (Livy 5.23.4-7) (“Then [Camillus, having just triumphed,] ‘located’ the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine and dedicated that of Matuta Mater; and with these divine and human matters taken care of he abdicated the dictatorship” (my translation).)

ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ δέκατον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσασα τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δικτάτορα Κάμιλλον ἀπέδειξεν ἵππαρχον δ’ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ προσελόμενος Κορνήλιον Σκηπίωνα, πρῶτον μὲν εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος εὐκλεῆς λαβόντι τὰς μεγάλας θεὰς ἄξειν καὶ νεῶν θεᾶς, ἣν Μητέρα Ματοῦταν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθιερώσειν. (Plut., *Cam.* 5) (“Now the Senate, in the tenth year of the war, dissolving the other magistracies appointed Camillus as dictator, he in turn selecting Cornelius Scipio his *magister equitum*; he first of all made vows to the gods that, for a glorious outcome of the war he would offer great games and that he would dedicate the temple of the goddess whom the Romans call Mater Matuta” (my translation).)

Now, both Livy and Plutarch say that Camillus “dedicated” the temple: *dedicaturum, dedicauit*, καθιερώσειν. Livy specifically records that Camillus *Iunoni reginae templum in Auentino locauit, dedicauitque Matutae Matris*,<sup>44</sup> this contrasts the act of *locatio* for the Juno temple with that of *dedicatio* for Mater Matuta. There was no need for Camillus to *locare* the second temple since it already existed, *iam ante ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam*.<sup>45</sup> There is a further wrinkle, however: Camillus *vovit Veis captis se facturum aedemque Matutae matris refectam dedicaturum*.<sup>46</sup> This remaking of the temple is ambiguous; Livy does not write *aedem Matutae matris \*refecturam*. Ziólkowski implicitly acknowledges this ambiguity, writing of Camillus’ “vow to dedicate the temple of Mater Matuta, freshly rebuilt or still being restored,” but does not attempt to explain it.<sup>47</sup> Dumézil opines: “I do not think one can understand this to mean ‘he promised... to restore and to consecrate the temple of Mater Matuta...’ The fulfillment of the vow, which occurs immediately after the return to Rome and the triumph (23.7), precludes

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<sup>44</sup> There is no reference to Camillus’ supposed involvement with Juno Regina in Mignone 2016.

<sup>45</sup> That Camillus did not have to *locare* the temple of Mater Matuta is perhaps a further point against Coarelli’s theory of a century-long cultic hiatus between the destruction of the Archaic temple and Camillus’ reconstruction.

<sup>46</sup> Although not immediately germane to the present argument, it is worth noting that Camillus’ vow is made *ex senatus consulto*, which presumably governs both the celebration of the games and the dedication of the temple. In general, Dumézil 1980: 49–50 n. 9.

<sup>47</sup> Ziólkowski 1992: 236–37.

Camillus' having had time to do the restoration work."<sup>48</sup> He translates the passage "and to dedicate the temple of Mater Matuta which the king Servius Tullius had formerly dedicated, and which had been restored."<sup>49</sup> The implication would be that the temple had been rebuilt by some other party and Camillus merely took the opportunity to dedicate it. The participle *refectam* does not require the rebuilding to have been recent; perhaps this is the literary evidence of an early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE reconstruction that Coarelli found lacking in his attribution of the first phase Republican podium to Camillus.<sup>50</sup>

This still leaves the problem of why neither source mentions Fortuna. Livy elsewhere three times refers to the paired temples in the same breath, and writes of Mater Matuta alone only to record a dedication in her specific temple. Plutarch is elsewhere quite interested in Fortuna, having devoted to her an essay or oration, probably early in his career (*On the Fortune of the Romans*), as well as a pair of Roman questions (36 and 74). Nowhere, in fact, does Plutarch show any awareness of the twinning of the temples, which is the sort of oddity one might expect him to have commented on.

Livy attributes the temple of Mater Matuta to Camillus, and almost as an afterthought attributes it also to Servius Tullius. There is no mention of Servius' foundation of the temple in Book 1, despite the fact that Livy goes into some detail regarding that king's foundation of Diana on the Aventine (Livy 1.45). This suggests that Livy's source for Camillus' dedication of the temple of Mater Matuta also recorded its previous dedication by Servius Tullius. Livy nowhere mentions any connection between Servius Tullius and Fortuna.<sup>51</sup> Plutarch, on the other hand,

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<sup>48</sup> Dumézil 1980: 50 n. 10.

<sup>49</sup> Dumézil 1980: 50.

<sup>50</sup> Coarelli 1988: 211–19.

<sup>51</sup> This is not wholly surprising, given his expressed skepticism regarding the relationship between Numa and Egeria (1.19.5): *simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse* ("he (Numa) pretended that he had nocturnal meetings with the goddess Egeria").

attributes numerous temples of Fortuna to Servius, and the temple of Mater Matuta to Camillus, with no hint of a Servian involvement in the latter.<sup>52</sup> Ovid, meanwhile, attributes both to Servius, on the same day and in the same place (*lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est, auctorque locusque*).

That is not all. Following Mater Matuta and Fortuna in Ovid's *Fasti* comes Concordia: Livia dedicated an *aedes Concordiae* on June 11 (the year unknown)—the same day, that is, as the *Matralia* and the *dies natalis* of Fortuna and Mater Matuta. "Ovid's decision to mention Livia's shrine to Concordia, celebrating the marital harmony of the imperial couple, would seem... an entirely apposite finale to the *Matralia*."<sup>53</sup> Livia was not the first to dedicate a temple of Concordia at Rome; that honor was attributed (by some) to M. Furius Camillus in 367 (Ov., *F.* 1.637–50; Plut., *Cam.* 42.3).<sup>54</sup>

Now, one could suggest that we are dealing with traditions for the foundation of two different temples of Mater Matuta; we have seen above some—very limited—evidence for a second cult site on the Viminal, in Regio VI. I prefer to read all of these passages as referring to the Forum Boarium temple, however—and not just because the latter is the subject of the present work. There are several possibilities. The formal twinning of the temples since at least the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE means that there were some 450 years or so for their traditions to become confused. Their destruction in 213 and reconstruction in 212 BCE happened in tandem, for instance, so it should not surprise us to see some slippage in attribution of founders between one and the other. I would tentatively suggest, however, following Dumézil and Bruun, that Camillus was a myth made into a man by the Roman historiographical tradition (probably by a Furius). He may always have been the mythological founder of the temple of Mater Matuta, or else simply her

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<sup>52</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.27.7) also refers the foundation of the temple of Fortuna to Servius. See below.

<sup>53</sup> Littlewood 2006: 187

<sup>54</sup> N.b. not 397 BCE as in Littlewood 2006: 29. Ziółkowski 1992: 22–24, following Momigliano, doubts the existence of Camillus' temple, probably rightly so; but what is interesting here is that a temple was attributed to him.

protégé. When he was conscripted into the tradition, his connection with the goddess had to be formalized, and this found easy expression as a vow made during his most famous exploit. The well-attested mid-Republican tradition of vowing temples before battle provided a model.<sup>55</sup>

### **Into History: the Later middle Republic and Late Republic**

After the date of Camillus' purported intervention in the early 4<sup>th</sup> c., nearly two centuries passed before the next activity at Sant'Omobono attested by ancient literature, Livy's account of the fire of 213 BCE:

Romae foedum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit. Solo aequata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmentalem cum Aequimaelio Iugarioque vico et templis Fortunae ac Matris Matutae. Et extra portam late vagatus ignis sacra profanaque multa absumpsit (Livy 24.47.15-16).

“At Rome a terrible fire continued through two nights and one day. Everything between the Salinae and the Porta Carmentalis, inclusive of the Aequimaelium, Vicus Iugarius and the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, (was) leveled to the ground. Even outside the gate the wide-ranging fire consumed many things both sacred and profane” (my translation).

The debris of this fire was identified in Mercado's excavations between the two altars in 1961-62 as well as directly abutting the eastern face of the temple podium in Settore VII-X. This fire may be the one from which the Archaic wooden cult statue of Fortuna was miraculously saved (see below). Although risky to speculate, it is worth asking how the temples caught fire. The fact that they did suggests that they were no longer quite so isolated on their high podium as they had been in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. It seems unlikely that the fire was the result of sacrificial practice, even though this normally involved fire; such an occurrence almost certainly would have warranted special notice as a sign or spectacular human failure.

In the year following the fire, 212 BCE, special measures were taken:

Comitia deinde a praetore urbano de senatus sententia plebique scitu sunt habita, quibus creati sunt quinqueviri muris turribus reficiendis, et triumviri bini, uni sacris conquirendis donisque

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<sup>55</sup> See Ziolkowski 1992 *passim*.

persignandis, alteri reficiendis aedibus Fortunae et Matris intra portam Carmentalem et Spei extra portam, quae priore anno incendio consumptae fuerant (Livy 25.7.5–6).

“Then the *comitia* were held by the *praetor urbanus* following a vote of the Senate and the decree of the people, at which were elected a board of five for rebuilding the towers in the walls, and two boards of three, one for collecting *sacra* and recording *dona*, the other for rebuilding the temples of Fortuna and Mater inside the Porta Carmentalis and of Spes outside the gate, which had been destroyed by fire the previous year” (my translation).

Nicolet-Croizat supposes that the absence of censors, under whose purview such reconstructions would normally fall, made necessary the appointment of the boards.<sup>56</sup> The objectives of the *triumviri sacris conquiendis donisque persignandis* are mildly opaque; the verb *persignare* is quite rare in extant Latin.<sup>57</sup> In the present study I identify the product of the *triumviri reficiendis aedibus Fortunae et Matris* as the phase of the twin temples with the large foundations in Tufo Giallo, Anio, and Lapis Albanus together with the thin slab Anio pavement and—possibly—the cella foundations in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere. The latest materials below the thin slab Anio pavement excavated by Mercado date to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, and these deposits are full of traces of burning and broken-up building materials. A *terminus post quem* for the reconstruction is provided by the Folvios inscriptions (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 6) found deposited below the pavement and dated to 264 BCE.

Fewer than 20 years later, Lucius Stertinius, returning from military successes in Spain in 196 BCE, set up the earliest known victory (not technically triumphal) arches at Rome:

L. Stertinius ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in aerarium intulit et de manubiis duos fornices in foro bouario ante Fortunae aedem et Matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornibus signa aurata imposuit (Livy 33.27.3-5).

“Lucius Stertinius, (returning) from further Spain, not even venturing a triumph, furnished fifty thousand pounds of silver to the *aerarium* and from the spoils built two *fornices* in the Forum

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<sup>56</sup> Nicolet-Croizat 1992: 101–2.

<sup>57</sup> Aside from this passage of Livy, it occurs only once in Classical Latin, Pomponius Mela 1.106 (tattoos among the Mossynoeci), and once in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE (Firmicus Maternus 3.7.12), based on searches in Brepols LL-A and LL-B. There are no inscriptions returned on the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby. Although these late attestations might not inspire confidence that the verb is original to Livy, to the contrary the word’s very rarity makes it unlikely to have been interpolated.

Boarium in front of the temple of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, another in the Circus Maximus, and on these arches he set up gilded statues” (my translation).

As a *privatus*, Stertinius seems to have considered his chances of being awarded a triumph slim; as Briscoe comments, “presumably Stertinius did not try for an *ovatio* either.” Platner and Ashby suggest the arches were part of a portico surrounding the two temples.<sup>58</sup> No secure trace of these *fornices Stertini* has been identified archaeologically, although Colini suggested the rectangular Tufo Giallo foundation at the front of the twin temples’ podium as a possible location. This suggestion is plausible, if not conclusive.

A further two decades later, in 175 BCE, the consul Ti. Sempronius Gracchus set up a *tabula picta* in the temple of Mater Matuta to celebrate his victories in Sardinia:

Eodem anno tabula in aede matris Matutae cum indice hoc posita est: ‘Ti. Semproni Gracchi consulis imperio auspicioque legio exercitusque populi Romani Sardiniam subegit. In ea prouincia hostium caesa aut capta supra octoginta milia. Re publica felicissime gesta atque liberatis <...> uectigalibus restitutis, exercitum saluum atque incolumem plenissimum praeda domum reportauit; iterum triumphans in urbem Romam rediit. Cuius rei ergo hanc tabulam donum Ioui dedit.’ Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque in ea simulacra pugnarum picta. (Livy 41.28.8–10)

“In the same year a tablet was placed in the temple of Mater Matuta with this inscription: ‘Under the *imperium* and auspices of the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the legion and army of the *populus romanus* subjugated Sardinia. In this province more than eighty thousand of the enemy were killed or captured. With the public business most favorably carried out and the <captives or allies?> freed, the tribute restored, he brought the army home safe and in good condition, full up with booty; once again he returned to Rome in triumph. On account of which, therefore, he dedicated this tablet as a gift to Jupiter.’ It was in the shape of the island of Sardinia, and on it were painted representations of the battles” (my translation).

Book 41 is preserved only in a single fragmentary 5th c. codex, a circumstance to which some of the problems of this passage can be attributed.<sup>59</sup> Though there is no lacuna in the manuscript between *liberatis* and *uectigalibus*, some noun is required by *liberatis*; this was supplemented with *sociis* by Sigonius while Briscoe suggests *captiuus*. The text of Gracchus’ *tabula* includes several archaic or at least archaizing features. Briscoe sees this as a first-century pastiche and

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<sup>58</sup> Platner and Ashby 1929, s.v. “Aedes Matris Matutae.” Their interpretation, coming seven years before the discoveries at Sant’Omobono, was prescient: “If, as is probable, these arches were part of a colonnade surrounding them both, the temples must have been near together and perhaps had the same orientation.”

<sup>59</sup> Briscoe in the Teubner, iii.

further suggests an attribution to Valerius Antias, “since Claudius Quadrigarius would, one imagines, have produced something much more archaic.”<sup>60</sup> The phrase *legio exercitusque* has attracted some attention over the use of singular *legio* and for its apparent redundancy. At Livy 41.9.2, *duae legiones* had been enrolled for the Sardinian campaign. The word must thus be understood in its archaic sense of the army as a whole, given “le sens étymologique du môt *legio*.”<sup>61</sup> Briscoe states that the use of *index* for ‘inscription’ rather than *titulus* is almost unique, paralleled only in the anonymous Augustan-period hexameter *Panegyricus Messallae*. *Index* as ‘title’ or ‘summary’ of a book, however, is well attested.<sup>62</sup> The TLL cites this passage as the basis for attributing a sense of *index* as an *inscriptio in lapide*.<sup>63</sup> There is, however, no compelling reason to understand Gracchus’ *tabula* as necessarily of stone rather than wood or some other material.<sup>64</sup> It is very unlikely to have been a “topographical relief map” as described by Springer.<sup>65</sup> Gracchus’ *tabula* could have been paraded in his triumph.

A further concern to some editors is the dedication of the *tabula* to Jupiter (*donum Ioui dedit*) in a temple of Mater Matuta. Heusinger emended the *Ioui* of the manuscript to *Inoi*, since the Greek Ino, divinized as Leucothea, was identified with the Latin Mater Matuta; Novák deleted *Ioui* altogether. Briscoe considers both emendations “desperate measures” and notes that, at Livy 40. 52. 7, “a copy of Regillus’ *tabula* is said to have been set up in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol; perhaps the author of our text transferred such an indication to the *tabula* itself.” Before continuing, a distinction should be made between a dedication *to* one god in the precinct of another (“visiting gods”) and a dedication *of* (e.g. a statue of) one god *to* another god in the

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<sup>60</sup> Briscoe 2012: 147.

<sup>61</sup> Jal 1971: 168, citing Varro, *Ling.* 5.87: *quod leguntur milites in delectu*. Briscoe 2012 ad loc.

<sup>62</sup> E.g., Cic., *De or.* 2.14.61; Suet., *Cal.* 49; Livy 38.56.

<sup>63</sup> TLL s.v. *index*: **C 1 d i**. q. *inscriptio in lapide*: Liv. 41, 28, 8. The use of *index* in the *Paneg. in Mess.* is simply a *subscriptio sub imagine* (TLL s.v. *index* **C 1 e**).

<sup>64</sup> The walls of the temple of Mater Matuta in 175 BCE were probably still in timber-framed mudbrick.

<sup>65</sup> Springer 1949: 35

latter's precinct. Both are attested.<sup>66</sup> In the Roman world, "visiting god" dedications in public temples seem to have required official approval by a relevant governing body, but the existence of such requirements attests a real practice.<sup>67</sup> Presumably Gracchus would have had no trouble gaining the Senate's approval to make a dedication to Jupiter in the temple of Mater Matuta. This suggests that the inscription Livy reports is authentic; why would an author of such a "pastiche," as Briscoe would have it, keep in a dedication to another divinity?

Dedications of an image of one deity in another deity's precinct are also well attested.<sup>68</sup> At Cori, for instance, the *magistra* Magia Prisca dedicated a statue of Jupiter to Mater Matuta at some point during the Empire.<sup>69</sup> Votive Deposit III in the sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum included statuettes of Venus, Artemis, Athena, Mercury, and (probably) Hercules.<sup>70</sup> At Sant'Omobono, several fragments of Black Gloss bowls with a painted 'H' in their tondo have been found; such vessels are known elsewhere in Rome and are generally interpreted as somehow connected with the cult of Hercules (see below)—who, after all, stood on the roof of the Archaic temple at Sant'Omobono.

In 169 BCE, six years after Gracchus set up his *tabula* in the *aedes Matris Matutae*, the *prodigium* of a bearded serpent was reported in a certain *aedes Fortunae* (Livy 43.13.4–6):

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<sup>66</sup> For "visiting gods" in the Archaic Greek world, see Alroth 1987. Turfa 2006: 106 expresses uncertainty as to whether Etruscan cult precincts had strictly defined dedicands; "it seems more likely that the place was sacred and gods accrued to it." If so, the "visiting god" concept would be less useful in Etruria. The care taken in alignment of temples and altars, however, and the probable connection between these and specific deities (e.g., Stevens 2009), makes me think that Etruscan sanctuaries *did* have precise dedicands, in which case such sanctuaries were full of "visitors."

<sup>67</sup> Bodel 2008: 255. The impetus for such dedications could come from the host deities themselves, such as in the case of an altar of Mater Matuta that the goddess Juno ordered one Flavia Nicolais Saddane to set up at Beirut (CIL 3.6680): *Matri Matutae / Flavia T(iti) fil(ia) Nicolais / Saddane L(ucii) Antistii / Veteris ex responso / deae Iunonis aram / fecit dedicavitque*. (Note that Kaizer 2005 argues that this is an instance of *interpretatio romana* of the locally popular Leucothea rather than an import of the old Roman cult.)

<sup>68</sup> For a convenient overview of theories, see Bouma 1996: 265–66.

<sup>69</sup> CIL 10.8416 = ILS 3487 (now lost): *Matri [Ma]tutae / Magia Prisca / signum Iovis / d(ono) d(edit)*.

<sup>70</sup> Bouma 1996: 265.

in urbe Romana duo aeditui nuntiarunt, alter in aede Fortunae anguem iubatum a compluribus uisum esse, alter in aede Primigeniae Fortunae quae in Colle est duo diuersa prodigia, palmam in area enatam et sanguine interdiu pluuisse.<sup>71</sup>

“In the Roman city two temple guardians made an announcement, one that a maned serpent was seen by many in the temple of Fortuna, the other that in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, which is on the Hill, (there were) two different prodigies, a palm sprung up in the precinct and it rained blood during the day” (my translation).

As already mentioned, the Forum Boarium temple was the primary *aedes Fortunae* in the city,<sup>72</sup> and it is possible that this *anguis iubatus*, seen by many people, was reported by the *aedituus* (or *aeditua*?) of our temple.<sup>73</sup> It is rare for Livy to specify an informant when reporting *prodigia*.<sup>74</sup>

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in the final decade BCE, records the appearance of a temple of Fortuna, possibly from autopsy, and the vicissitudes of an ancient gilded wooden statue displayed within (4.40.7):

ἐν γὰρ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Τύχης, ὃν αὐτὸς [*sc.* Σέρβιος Τύλλιος] κατεσκεύασεν, εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ κειμένη ξυλίνη κατάχρυσος ἐμπρήσεως γενομένης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διαφθαρέντων μόνη διέμεινεν οὐδὲν λωβηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ ἔτι νῦν ὁ μὲν νεὼς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα, ὅσα μετὰ τὴν ἐμπρησιν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον κόσμον ἐπετελέσθη φανερά, ὅτι τῆς καινῆς ἐστὶ τέχνης, ἢ δ' εἰκὼν, οἷα πρότερον ἦν, ἀρχαϊκὴ τὴν κατασκευὴν: διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι σεβασμοῦ τυγχάνουσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

“For in the temple of Fortuna, which he himself [*scil.* Servius Tullius] had founded, a gilded wooden image of him was set up [that]—when there was a conflagration and everything else was utterly destroyed—alone endured, not harmed by the fire. And even now the temple and all the things in it, which after the conflagration were restored to their former appearance, (are) clearly of recent workmanship, but the image is just as it was before, archaic in style [or “in condition”]: for it still obtains veneration from the Romans” (my translation).

We must first establish that the νεὼς in question is ours, which is relatively easily done. At

4.27.7, Dionysius reports that Servius built two temples to Fortuna, that in the Forum Boarium

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<sup>71</sup> Briscoe’s Teubner text.

<sup>72</sup> Champeaux 1982: 1.268-70.

<sup>73</sup> Briscoe 2012: 431. Briscoe comments that the details of which temple was meant could have dropped from transmission between 169 and Livy’s composition. A mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. CE funerary inscription, CIL 6.8706 = ILS 3717, records one Ti. Claudius Aug. I. Docilis who was *aeditu(u)s* of an otherwise unknown *aedis Fortunae Tullianae*. It is not inconceivable that this refers to our temple, given the strong tradition of its foundation by Servius, but the converse is also true, that Servius is strongly associated with a great many of the temples of Fortuna in the city. It has also been connected with the so-called *aedes Fortunae Seiani*, built by Nero to house a statue of Fortune (perhaps that described by Dion. Hal. in the next entry) once plundered by Sejanus; see Perrin 1994. DiLuzio 2016: 116–17 collects the limited, but existent, evidence for *aedituae*. By the rules of Latin grammar, a hypothetical *aeditua* would be subsumed into the masc.pl. *aeditui* if the temple guardian of Fortuna Primigenia were an *aedituus*.

<sup>74</sup> The only other example, to my knowledge, is a certain M. Valerius at Calatia in 167 BCE (Livy 45.16.5).

and another on the Tiber bank, which he identifies as Τύχη ἀνδρεία.<sup>75</sup> However, this latter is evidently a mistranslation by Dionysius of *Fors Fortuna*, attested by Varro.<sup>76</sup> Valerius Maximus also reports the miraculous survival of the statue of Servius in the *aedes Fortunae*, not that of *Fors Fortuna*.<sup>77</sup> Ovid, moreover, describes the statue of Servius in some detail in the *Fasti*, in the temple of Fortuna that shares the day, founder, and location of Mater Matuta (see below), and alludes to its miraculous salvation from the flames.

Dionysius recognizes only two phases of the temple of Fortuna, namely an original built by Servius Tullius and a post-conflagration reconstruction. This is in accord with Ovid's account, while Livy is silent on the foundation of the temple of Fortuna, and Plutarch ascribes dozens of temples of Fortuna to Servius. Dionysius' description is tantalizing in its lack of specificity. He describes the temple and everything in it (ὁ μὲν νεὼς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα) as having been restored (ἐπετελέσθη) to its former appearance (εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον κόσμον), but clearly of recent production (φανερὰ ὅτι τῆς καινῆς ἐστὶ τέχνης). This contrasts with the archaic production of the statue (ἡ δ' εἰκὼν... ἀρχαϊκὴ τὴν κατασκευήν). It is unclear by what criteria Dionysius judges the temples of modern appearance; the minimal interpretation would be simply that they looked newer than the statue.

Only one fire is known to have destroyed the temples, that of 213 BCE attested by Livy and already discussed. A later fire, occurring sometime between the sputtering out of Livy's narrative in the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the date of Dionysius' composition, cannot absolutely be ruled out, but there is no archaeological evidence of such a conflagration, and the most likely

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<sup>75</sup> ταῦτα διαπραζάμενος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους καὶ ναοὺς δύο κατασκευασάμενος Τύχης, ἥ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἔδοξεν ἀγαθῇ κεχρῆσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Βοαρία, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡίοσι τοῦ Τεβέρριος, ἣν ἀνδρείαν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται.

<sup>76</sup> *Ling.* 6.17. Thus Platner and Ashby 1929: 212: “*Fortis* is incorrectly taken for an adjective and translated ἀνδρεία.” See also Coarelli 1995b. Plutarch (*De fort. Rom.*) translates Fortuna Virilis as Τύχη Ἄρρηγ.

<sup>77</sup> Val. Max. 1.8.11: *Sunt et illa miraculorum loco... quod Serui Tulli statua, cum aedis Fortunae conflagrasset, iniuiolata mansit.*

referent is the fire of 213.<sup>78</sup> There is a further uncertainty as to whether Dionysius describing the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-century temple, or a 2<sup>nd</sup>- or 1<sup>st</sup>-century one, as being τῆς καινῆς τέχνης; this depends on the date of the reconstruction in travertine, which could potentially date to the Late Republic, and, if so, would thus have been the temple seen by Dionysius. The question remains open pending further study.

The statue was of gilded wood (εἰκὼν...ξυλίνη κατάχρυσος), and in Dionysius' time, it remained an object of veneration by the Romans (διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι σεβασμοῦ τυγχάνουσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων). This was not the only wooden statue in Rome, though it was perhaps among the oldest. *Duo signa cupressea Iunonis Reginae* were led in procession to the temple of that goddess during the expiatory rites for the prodigies of 207 BCE (Livy 27.37.12; *simulacra cupressea* 27.37.15). The image of Veiovis on the Capitoline, dedicated in 192 BCE, was of the same material (Plin., *NH* 16.216: *non et simulacrum Veiovis in arce e cupresso durat a condita urbe DLXI anno dicatum?*).<sup>79</sup> A gilded wooden head of the second half of the seventh century BCE, possibly from Vulci, may give an idea of the sort of sculpture described by Dionysius.<sup>80</sup>

The monolithic Lapis Albanus base in the *cocciopesto* pavement of the western temple (see Chapter 4) might have been the base for this Archaic wooden statue during part of the middle Republic. No other statue base is attested within the cella, and the available space between the northern extent of the preserved pavement and the northern wall of the cella is limited—only ca. 1.2–1.6 m. The base could not have supported anything of great size, and there is no trace of lead or bronze in the cuttings on its top, as would be expected for mounting a metal

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<sup>78</sup> Of course, if it were truly an Archaic statue, it would perforce have had to survive any and all fires between the 6<sup>th</sup> century and Dionysius' day. Although the destruction of the second-phase Archaic temple has often been attributed to a fire, perhaps even connected with the fall of the monarchy, based on the interpretation of black discoloration encountered during excavation., this is probably a misinterpretation of natural concretions in the sediment (Diffendale et al. 2016: 20).

<sup>79</sup> See Legrottaglie 2011 for an overview of the evidence for wooden sculpture in classical antiquity.

<sup>80</sup> Sartori in Torelli 2001: 586, cat. 137, with figs. on pp. 222–23 (Milan, Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, inv. A987.01.01).

sculpture. Such a scenario would identify the western temple as that of Fortuna, but this remains speculative.

That Dionysius seems to distinguish between the age of the temples and that of the statue on the basis of visual criteria suggests that the latter was visible. This contrasts strongly with the account of Ovid (*F.* 6.569–572):

Lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est auctorque locusque;  
sed superiniectis quis latet iste togis?  
Servius est, hoc constat enim, sed causa latendi  
discrepat et dubium me quoque mentis habet

(6.579–584):

unde Fenestellae nomina porta tenet,  
nunc pudet, et voltus velamine celat amatos,  
an magis est verum post Tulli funera plebem  
confusam placidi morte fuisse ducis,  
nec modus ullus erat, crescebat imagine luctus,  
donec eum positus occuluere togis?

(6.611–626):

post tamen hoc ausa est templum, monumenta parentis,  
tangere: mira quidem, sed tamen acta loquar,  
signum erat in solio residens sub imagine Tulli;  
dicitur hoc oculis opposuisse manum,  
et vox audita est ‘voltus abscondite nostros,  
ne natae videant ora nefanda meae.’  
veste data tegitur, vetat hanc Fortuna moveri  
et sic e templo est ipsa locuta suo:  
‘ore revelato qua primum luce patebit  
Servius, haec positi prima pudoris erit.’  
parcite, matronae, vetitas attingere vestes:  
sollemni satis est voce movere preces,  
sitque caput semper Romano tectus amictu,  
qui rex in nostra septimus urbe fuit.  
arserat hoc templum, signo tamen ille pepercit  
ignis: opem nato Mulciber ipse tulit

Ovid tells us that the statue of Servius was wrapped in togas, but isn't sure why. Perhaps because the goddess Fortuna was ashamed of her affair with the mortal king, and veiled his beloved features; or that the plebs were saddened by the sight of their murdered king and wrapped up his statue; or, the third reason, for which Ovid goes on at some length (I have omitted some of the Latin), that after Tullia had aided in the murder of her father Servius, she went to the temple he'd

founded; there, a statue of him seated on a throne raised its hand to its eyes and spoke, commanding that it/he be covered to spare him the sight of his wicked daughter. This was accomplished with garments, and the goddess Fortuna forbade that they should be removed. The statue could be prayed to by the *matronae*, but its togas could not be touched. The temple once burned, but the statue was spared by the god of fire, Vulcan, the true father of Servius.

Following Ovid, the statue was seated on a throne,<sup>81</sup> received prayers, and was wrapped in togas, which were forbidden to be touched. If the statue was thus hidden from view, how could Dionysius compare the apparent age of its manufacture with that of the temple? Perhaps—though this seems a stretch—Ovid’s proscription is to be read literally: *parcite, matronae, vetitas attingere vestes* (“refrain, matrons, from touching the forbidden clothes”) would be addressed *only* to the *matronae*, while some other non-matronal actor could remove the garments. Perhaps the entire statue was not covered.

There are other attestations of a statue of *Fortuna* connected with togas and Servius, but recent scholarship has tended to place these in a temple on the Esquiline.<sup>82</sup> Coarelli makes a cogent argument for rejecting attempts to lump these *testimonia* in with those for the statue of Servius in the Forum Boarium temple.<sup>83</sup> Suffice it to say that Ovid is quite specific about which temple he describes, nor is the evidence from Dionysius ambiguous. We should therefore accept the presence in our temple of Fortuna an old statue (perhaps of Servius, perhaps wrapped in togas)—not at all an unlikely thing, in and of itself.

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<sup>81</sup> Littlewood 2006: 183 suggests a comparison with Etruscan seated ancestor figures.

<sup>82</sup> Anselmino and Strazzulla 1995: 278.

<sup>83</sup> Coarelli 1988: 265–72.

## The Matralia

We need now to back up and look briefly at some aspects of Ovid's account of Mater Matuta, which immediately precedes that of Fortuna, along with some excerpts from Plutarch, all of which purport to deal with the conduct of the *Matralia*, the annual festival of Mater Matuta on June 11. Ovid identifies the participants in the *Matralia* as *bonae matres* (*F.* 6.475; cp. 6.621, *matrones* in rites for Fortuna). Varro (*Ling.* 5.106) says that *matronae* made special breads (*testuacia*) for the *Matralia* in his day. The notice of Tertullian, that only once-married women could crown (or wreath) the image of Mater Matuta, points in a similar direction; the most likely occasion for such crowning would be during the celebration of the *Matralia*.<sup>84</sup> The information is insufficient to determine whether the *univirae* should be understood as a subset of the *matronae* celebrating the rites.<sup>85</sup> Ovid then notes the exclusion of slave women from the precinct.<sup>86</sup> Note that the participants in the rites are described as *matres* or *matronae*, but the only group explicitly excluded from the sanctuary is that of slave women. It is possible, then, that men were silent observers of the goings-on.<sup>87</sup> In addition, based on the archaeological evidence, the proceedings could well have been visible from outside the precinct; by the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE at the latest, the ground level surrounding the podium had risen to envelop it, so that it no longer loomed over the Forum Boarium. Each successive reconstruction of the temples, too, seems to show an opening up of the precinct: while the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. temples likely had completely

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<sup>84</sup> Tert., *De monog.* 17.4: *Fortunae Muliebri coronam non imponit nisi univiris sicut Matri Matutae* ("Unless once-married a woman does not place the crown on Fortuna Muliebris, just as on Mater Matuta.")

<sup>85</sup> Tertullian is both late and polemic, moreover, and should be used with caution.

<sup>86</sup> 6.481–82: *quare famulas a limine templi / arceat (arceat enim)*; 6.551–58: *cur vetet ancillas accedere, quaeritis? odit, / principiumque odii, si sinat illa, canam, / una ministrarum solita est, Cadmei, tuarum / saepe sub amplexus coniugis ire tui. / improbus hanc Athamas furtim dilexit; ab illa / comperit agricolis semina tosta dari. / ipsa quidem fecisse negat, sed fama recepit. / hoc est, cur odio sit sibi serva manus...*

<sup>87</sup> As Festus (72.10 P *exesto*) records a ritual formula used by lictors to banish foreigners and women from rites, and as Flemming 2007: 89 has pointed out that this indicates that such groups were otherwise permitted to witness rites, it is possible that men were not excluded from rites undertaken by women, unless otherwise specified—as in the case of Bona Dea.

closed *alae*, the two mid-Republican phases had closed *alae* only the length of the cella, with open colonnades in front; during the travertine phase, whether of Late Republican or Imperial date, the temples seem to have been surrounded by porticos on three of their four sides.

Ovid goes on to admonish women celebrating the festival to pray for their sisters' children rather than their own.<sup>88</sup> Plutarch's information is much the same; he adds the detail that during the rites a slave woman is led into the precinct only to be violently driven out (γὰρ θεράπαιναν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰσάγουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν):

καὶ γὰρ θεράπαιναν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰσάγουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν, εἴτ' ἐξελαύνουσι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέκνα πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐναγκαλίζονται καὶ δρῶσι περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἃ ταῖς Διονύσου τροφοῖς καὶ τοῖς διὰ τὴν παλλακὴν πάθεισι τῆς Ἰνουῦ προσέεικε. (*Cam.* 5).

"...for, having lead a female slave into the precinct, they strike her with a stick (/cudgel/whip), then drive her out; and they take their sisters' children into their arms in place of their own, and at the sacrifice they behave like the nurses of Dionysus, and like Ino suffering on account of (her husband's) concubine" (my translation).

‘διὰ τί δούλαις τὸ τῆς Λευκοθέας ἱερὸν ἄβατόν ἐστι, μίαν δὲ μόνην αἱ γυναῖκες εἰσάγουσαι παίουσιν ἐπὶ κόρρησ καὶ ῥαπίζουσιν;’ ἢ τὸ μὲν ταύτην ῥαπίζεσθαι σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦ μὴ ἐξεῖναι, καλοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἄλλας διὰ τὸν μῦθον; ἢ γὰρ Ἰνὼ ζηλοτυπήσασα δούλην ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ λέγεται περὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκμανῆναι: τὴν δὲ δούλην Ἑλληνες Αἰτωλίδα γένει φασὶν εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δ’ Ἀντιφέραν. διὸ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ πρὸ τοῦ σηκοῦ τῆς Λευκοθέας ὁ νεωκόρος λαβὼν μάστιγα κηρύττει, ‘μὴ δοῦλον εἰσιέναι μὴ δούλαν, μὴ Αἰτωλὸν μὴ Αἰτωλάν’ (*Quaest. Rom.* 16).

"Why is the hieron of Leucothea an abaton to female slaves, and why do the women, having lead one (female slave) only in, hit her on the head and strike her with a stick (/cudgel/whip)? Is it that beating her is a token of it not being permitted, and they prohibit the others because of the story? For it is said that Ino, being jealous of a slave woman on account of her husband, was driven mad with respect to her son: for the Greeks say that the slave woman was of Aetolian stock, and was named Antiphera. On account of which, even among us in Chaironeia, in front of the precinct of Leucothea, the temple custodian, holding a whip, proclaims ‘Let neither male nor female slave enter, neither Aetolian man or Aetolian woman!’" (my translation).

It is striking that Ovid does not mention the violence inflicted on the θεράπαινα; the two passages of Plutarch are the only testimonia of this behavior.<sup>89</sup> One is reminded of the rites of Orthia at Sparta, which by the Roman period involved quite brutal beating of initiates; far from being an archaic holdover, this may have been an innovation that served the expectations of

<sup>88</sup> 6.559–62: non tamen hanc pro stirpe sua pia mater adoret: / ipsa parum felix visa fuisse parens, / alterius prolem melius mandabit illi: / utilior Baccho quam fuit ipsa suis.

<sup>89</sup> Dumézil saw in the expulsion of the slave woman an echo of Indo-European mythology, though this has not won wide acceptance.

Roman spectators for what a true “archaic” ritual should be.<sup>90</sup> It is generally assumed, however, that the rite of expulsion in the *Matralia* predates the Imperial period.

The period of the middle Republic witnessed several phenomena that bear on the range of possible contemporary interpretations of the rite. In the first place, there may have been an increasing stress on traditional family structures.<sup>91</sup> The changing position of slaves in Roman society during this period surely also plays a role, not unrelated to the family. Successive legislation limiting and prohibiting the enslavement of citizens marked off the citizen body as immune from corporal punishment; whipping became a direct way to define the boundaries of the community. Stewart highlights the perception of increasing sexual threat presented by slave women in literature and anecdotes both of and referring to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries.<sup>92</sup> Bettini would see the expulsion in the context of the increasing use of slaves as *nutrices*, especially from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE onwards, against which “le *materterae* riaffermassero simbolicamente la funzione ed il ruolo istituzionali che ad esse attribuiva l'antico costume.”<sup>93</sup> Evidence for such an increased reliance on *nutrices* is slim on the ground, however. While the rite most obviously compels the departure of the slave, it also exerts compulsion on the assembled *matronae*, by forcing their complicity in the violence.<sup>94</sup> In general, as Schultz puts it,

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<sup>90</sup> Bonnechere 1993: 15 notes that the preponderance of evidence for the ritual dates to the Imperial period; the only source predating Cicero is Xenophon’s *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, in a passage (2.9) sometimes considered an interpolation, though Bonnechere supports the authenticity of the reference in Xenophon.

<sup>91</sup> Terrenato 2007: 16: “This was a unique period in which social structures that had been present in some form ever since the Middle Bronze Age were faced with the world of global empires.”

<sup>92</sup> Although we have no evidence for the preceding period and hence no way to say if the threat was actually increasing, it is the *perception* of its increase that concerns our sources for this period.

<sup>93</sup> Bettini 1979: 36–37.

<sup>94</sup> Stewart 2012: 85–86: “The women protect their own social role within the family and counter the threats posed to that role by slave women who had sex or were desired for sex by their masters. Such relationships between male masters and slaves and the effects of these relationships on the family unit form the stuff of historical anecdote.”

“Such a ritual pointed up the distinction between freeborn women and slaves even more so than a simple interdiction on servile participation.”<sup>95</sup>

## Prophecy

At the very end of Ovid’s treatment of the Mater Matuta in the *Fasti*—immediately before he turns to address Fortuna—the poet addresses one Rutilius (6.563–569):

hanc tibi, ‘quo properas?’ memorant dixisse, Rutili,  
‘luce mea Marso consul ab hoste cades.’  
exitus accessit verbis, numenque Toleni  
purpureum mixtis sanguine fluxit aquis,  
proximus annus erat: Pallantide caesus eadem  
Didius hostiles ingeminavit opes.

“This, to you—‘Where are you rushing off to?’—they say that she said, Rutilius, ‘by my light, consul, you will fall to the Marsian foe.’ It came to pass by her words, and the god of the Tolenus ran ruddy, his waters churned with blood. It was the next year: slain on the very same dawn Didius doubled the enemy forces” (my translation).

Ovid here recounts Mater Matuta’s notes of prophetic warning to the consul P. Rutilius Lupus, who fell in battle against the Marsi in 90 BCE,<sup>96</sup> and to one Didius, either T. Didius (cos. 98), whose death is otherwise unknown but was on campaign in 89,<sup>97</sup> or an error for L. Porcius Cato, known to have perished in 89.<sup>98</sup> Mater Matuta is not otherwise known to have been a dispenser of prophecy. Indeed, in recounting Ino-Leucothea’s flight and arrival at Rome, Ovid tells how she besought the goddess Carmenta for a prophecy (6.520–50). At several sites in the Greek world, however, Leucothea is said to have been consulted for oracles. In line 568 Ovid works in a learned reference to “Pallanti(a)s,” a by-name for Aurora, the dawn, making her the daughter of

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<sup>95</sup> Schultz 2006: 147.

<sup>96</sup> Livy, *Per.* 73: *Cum P. Rutilius cos. parum prospere adversus Marsos pugnasset et in eo proelio cecidisset, C. Marius, legatus eius, meliore eventu cum hostibus acie confligit.*

<sup>97</sup> Littlewood 2006: 168–69.

<sup>98</sup> Dumézil 1980: 87.

Pallas rather than Hyperion for metrical reasons.<sup>99</sup>

Mater Matuta's partner in the Forum Boarium, Fortuna, is certainly known for prophecy, though there is no evidence for prophecy in the cult at Rome. Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, of course, oversaw a famous oracle. Rather than prophecy *per se*, however, Mater Matuta's question, "Where are you *rushing* off to?" may hinge on her role as guarantor of timeliness; Maule and Smith point out the stress that Lucretius lays on her actions *tempore certo*—a full seven times in seventeen lines.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Littlewood 2006: 169; OLD, s.v. 'Pallantias'; Lewis & Short, s.v. 'Pallas' II.B-C. Ovid uses *Pallantias* for Aurora elsewhere: *Met.* 9.421, 15.191; *F.* 4.373.

<sup>100</sup> Maule and Smith 1959: 97, n. 123; *Lucr.* 5.656, 661, 667, 669, 670, 671, 672-3.

## CHAPTER 6: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE DURING THE MIDDLE REPUBLIC

Although it is difficult and seemingly impossible to define the emotions and feelings of the participants in cult and to recover their aims and perceptions based on archaeological data, this is no excuse for the archaeologist not to formulate as many statements about the subject as possible.<sup>1</sup>

The failure to realise the potential of their evidence is not a peculiarity of ceramic historians who, as a despised, subordinate but necessary class of archaeologist, reflect faithfully the aims of the main body of their colleagues. The shortcomings of Roman archaeology should be assessed by a classicist. To an outsider it appears a stagnant field which, because so much information over the years has been senselessly accumulated, will prove to be a fertile area for an imaginative scholar.<sup>2</sup>

In this, the second of two chapters attempting to people the sanctuary, I provide an overview of the various classes of artifactual evidence that shed light on the religious practice of dedication within the precinct of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium during the middle Republic. I include both monumental dedications such as statue bases and portable dedications such as terracottas and pottery. The treatment of the latter in this chapter is qualitative rather than quantitative, due to the inconsistent nature of deposits containing mid-Republican material at Sant'Omobono. Notably absent from what follows is any treatment of faunal or floral remains, which have not been systematically collected from any mid-Republican deposits at the site; this is a desideratum for future research.

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<sup>1</sup> Bouma 1996: 249.

<sup>2</sup> H. Blake 1978: 450.

## Monumental Dedications

The effusive, if sometimes elusive, literary accounts of the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta treated in the previous chapter give us a limited amount of information about a few specific things. The evidence of monument bases from the precinct adds a further perspective, though one that we already suspected from the sources—especially Livy—namely that the precinct was a locus for dedications by victorious generals. Among these, we have already seen Sempronius Gracchus’ *tabula picta* and L. Stertinius’ *duo fornices*.

### *The Folvios Inscriptions*

The earliest and most important of these bases at Sant’Omobono are the Folvios inscriptions, whose archaeological situation was discussed in Chapter 4. As already mentioned above, Torelli’s reading of these inscriptions as dedications by the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus following his sack of Volsinii in 264 BCE has been universally accepted. As such, this is a remarkable document; in Fergus Millar’s words, “It is surely worth stressing that M. Fulvius (Flaccus) is in fact the earliest consul in the history of Rome who is recorded as such in contemporary documentary evidence.”<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of these fragmentary inscriptions, Coarelli has assigned an entire reconstruction of the precinct at Sant’Omobono to M. Fulvius Flaccus.<sup>4</sup> This is possible, but far from proven. Ziółkowski notes that the second most common condition for vowing temples during the period 298–219 BCE, after battlefield *vota*, “was the capture, imminent or actual, of a city.”<sup>5</sup> There is another temple with a stronger claim to be the product of such a vow by Fulvius

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<sup>3</sup> Millar 1989: 144.

<sup>4</sup> Coarelli 1988: 211–15.

<sup>5</sup> Ziółkowski 1992: 253.

Flaccus, however, namely the temple of Vortumnus.<sup>6</sup> This combination of possible *evocatio* (or at least dedication of a temple to a god worshiped in the conquered city) with the rededication of an existing temple seems to find a precedent in the behavior of Camillus at Veii, however. Perhaps, to the contrary, Fulvius Flaccus' actions provided the model for those of Camillus, whose ambiguities were discussed in the previous chapter. Fulvius Flaccus' victory over Volsinii seems to have been erased in the literary tradition, "which presented as the conqueror... either Flaccus' colleague Ap. Claudius Caudex or Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges cos. 265, or some unknown Decius Mus."<sup>7</sup> Such a scenario would also offer an alternative rationale to that presented in Chapter 5 for the sources' attribution of a phase of the temple of Mater Matuta to Camillus; with Fulvius Flaccus pushed out of the way, someone needed to be found to take credit for his temple(s). The fire of 213 destroyed the physical evidence linking M. Fulvius Flaccus to the sanctuary, which could have left him to the mercy of the historians.<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, though, his sons Quintus (*NP* Fulvius I 10) and Gnaeus (*NP* Fulvius I 7) were respectively consul and praetor in 212 BCE, and one wonders whether they had anything to do with that year's establishment of the triumvirate for rebuilding the temples—though both men were also busy that year fighting Hannibal in the south.<sup>9</sup>

Whether or not M. Fulvius Flaccus was responsible for rebuilding the entire precinct, his inscribed statue bases must have made an impression during the half-century of their existence in

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<sup>6</sup> Ziółkowski 1992: 183–85 for references.

<sup>7</sup> Ziółkowski 1992: 184; Torelli 1968: 75–76.

<sup>8</sup> Indeed, it is precisely from an epigraphic source that we know about Fulvius Flaccus' consulship at all, namely, the *Fasti*: M(arcus) Fulvius Q(uinti) f(ilius) M(arci) n(epos) Flaccus an(no) CDXXCIX / co(n)s(ul) de Vulsiniensibus K(alendis) Nov(embribus) (frg. XVII+XVIII+XIX+XX+XXI+XXII, 52–53). This cannot be pushed too far, though; we lack Livy for these years. Perhaps a more likely moment for a writing-out of the Fulvii Flacci from the history books would follow the downfall of Marcus [I 9], killed with his two sons in the violence supporting C. Gracchus, after which his house was demolished (Cic., *Dom.* 102; 114).

<sup>9</sup> The son of Quintus [I 10] was the notorious Quintus [I 12] who vowed a temple of Fortuna Equestris while on campaign in Hispania in 180 and dedicated it in 173, having removed the marble tiles for it from the temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton.

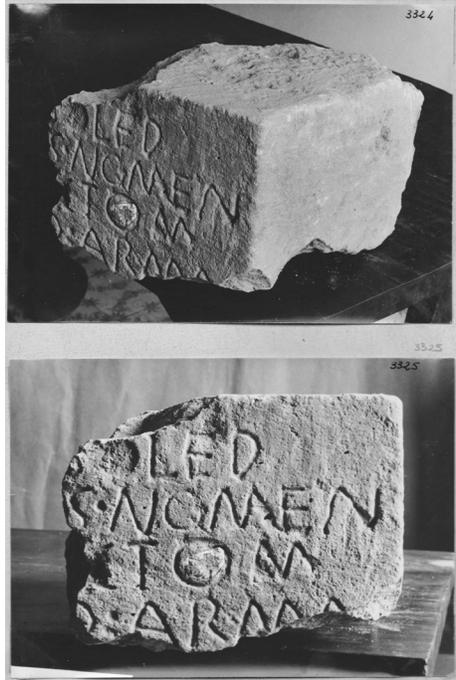
the sanctuary. To judge from the fragments that remain, each block held about four two-foot high bronze statues. A minimum of six such blocks can be ascertained, meaning that something on the order of 24 bronze statues might have been set up, immediate visual signals drawing the eye to the name “M. FOLVIO.” There is no plinth or molding between the inscriptions and the footprints; the correction is direct and was likely effective. If they were set up in the intercolumniations of the twin temples, as I tentatively suggested in Chapter 4, they would have been especially prominent, forcing visitors to the temples to reckon with their existence by blocking ingress through the two inner columns of each temple.

#### *Other Monument Bases*

The Folvios bases were not the only monuments set up in the precinct, merely the best preserved (hence the best known and most historically significant). In documenting the discovery of the Folvios fragments, Ioppolo recorded a block of workmanship similar to that of the inscribed blocks, smoothly dressed (though uninscribed) on two faces, hence a corner element, with a pair of metal pins and a pair of holes for pins on its upper surface. This was found in the midst of the other fragments, but of different dimensions, for which reason Ioppolo supposed it to belong to a different monument.<sup>10</sup> It is unfortunately illustrated only in plan view, and it has not yet proven possible to locate it in the store-rooms, for which reason no more can currently be said about it.

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<sup>10</sup> Ioppolo 1963: 81 n. 5; tav. I, no. 16 (dimensions 0.284 m H, 0.24 m W, 0.26 m pres. L). It is not mentioned by Torelli 1968.



**Figure 97:** Inscribed block (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 28, 21, 3324-3325).

There is a block of Lapis Albanus, bearing a fragmentary dedicatory inscription, which has a hole on its top surface for mounting a dedication (Figure 97). Only the upper right corner of the monument, on which are inscribed the ends of four lines of text, is preserved:<sup>11</sup>

--- CO]SOLED  
 ---]S NOMEN  
 ---]CTOM  
 ---]x ARMA

Coarelli dates the inscription, based on letter forms, to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>12</sup> The inscription seems to record the dedication of arms (*arma*) by a consul (*cosoled*), perhaps after the defeat of some people (*nomen*).

The precise provenance of this block is unfortunately opaque. It was published by Degrassi as having been excavated at Sant’Omobono “nei primi mesi del 1962,”<sup>13</sup> but the

<sup>11</sup> Degrassi 1961: [---co]soled / [---]s nomen / [---]ctom / [---]d aram, 0.18 m H, 0.24 m L, 0.29 m W; *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup> 2930; *AE* 1964, 72: [.....cos]oled / [.....]s nomen / [.....]ctom / [.....]d aram (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE?); Coarelli in *RMR*, 104: [---co]soled / [---]s nomen / [---]ctom / [---]d arma, 0.19 m H, 0.245 m L, 0.296 m W (late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE); Torelli 1968: 71. Supposedly in the Antiquarium Comunale on the Caelian.

<sup>12</sup> Coarelli 1973.

archives preserve a letter from Degrassi to Colini responding to the latter's inquiry about the inscription; the letter includes two photographs and is dated October 26, 1961.<sup>14</sup> This suggests that the fragment could have originated in Mercado's excavations in the summer of 1961 that began to expose the circular monument, though there is no mention of it in her post-season report to Colini.<sup>15</sup> For now, it remains a mystery. This block, though, alongside Ioppolo's block 16 and other fragments, hints at the presence in the precinct of many dedicatory monuments for which we no longer have any evidence.<sup>16</sup>

There is also a highly fragmentary inscription on limestone found at Sant'Omobono, held by Degrassi to be not later than the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE: [---]ne[--- / ---]ia[--- / ---co]sol[---].<sup>17</sup> This, however, is often considered among so-called *tabulae triumphales* supposed to have fallen from the heights of the Capitoline.

Ann Kuttner has recently proposed that the so-called "Bocchus reliefs" (or "Sant'Omobono reliefs") might belong to a monument set up at Sant'Omobono, near where they were found, rather than having fallen from the Capitoline, as is traditionally argued.<sup>18</sup> Accepting her attribution of this dark limestone monument to a collaboration between Aemilianus and the Numidian royal family after 146 BCE would situate it on the thin slab Anio pavement of the post-213 BCE reconstruction. This thin pavement is the most fragmentary of the known pavements within the precinct, unfortunately, and is not sufficiently well preserved to offer direct physical support for Kuttner's intriguing hypothesis. The relationship between the Anio pavement and the subsequent travertine pavement, however, makes this hypothesis difficult to

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<sup>13</sup> Degrassi 1961: 138. So also Sommella 1968: 63 n. 3: "il frammento di *tabula triumphalis*, rinvenuto negli scavi del 1962," and Coarelli in *RMR* 104: "Dall' «Area sacra» di S. Omobono (1962)."

<sup>14</sup> ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 28, 3323a, b; 3324, 3325.

<sup>15</sup> ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 29, 6, 3478-3481. The report was handwritten, as Mercado explains, because there was no typewriter at Phaistos (Crete), where she prepared it.

<sup>16</sup> Evocatively enumerated in Kuttner 2013: 256–58.

<sup>17</sup> Degrassi 1951: 46–47; ILLRP 318a.

<sup>18</sup> Kuttner 2013: 251–59.

sustain: since the Anio pavement is immediately overlain by the travertine slabs, the monument would have been destroyed or dismantled when the latter was built. While it is not impossible that it could have been reassembled on the new pavement, this would be to build speculation on speculation.<sup>19</sup>

Even leaving aside Kuttner's hypothetical placement of the 'Bocchus' reliefs at Sant'Omobono, the epigraphic evidence from the site, lacunose as it is, complements the record of victory dedications transmitted by Livy. At Satricum, too, the cult-place of Mater Matuta may have received at least one monumental dedication of martial character, though several centuries earlier than any attested at Sant'Omobono. This is the famous *Lapis Satricanus*, of around 500 BCE, dedicated by the *suodales* of Poplios Valesios to the god Mars, found reused in the foundations of the second temple of Mater Matuta.<sup>20</sup>

All told, the record of monumental dedications in the precinct of Mater Matuta and Fortuna totals six including the Folvios bases (counted twice), circular monument, Ioppolo's block 16, the *arma* base, and Gracchus' *tabula picta*; seven if we include the fragmentary limestone inscription. These did not all coexist in the sanctuary; Gracchus' *tabula* and the limestone inscription postdate the fire of 213, while the *arma* base could pre- or postdate the fire, and the remainder predate it. The chronological span of these dedications is uncertain, mainly due to the impossibility of fixing a secure date to the circular monument or block 16 (though they share a *terminus ante quem* of 213). The remainder date between the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE and the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE. No other monumental dedications are known from the site before or after these dates,

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<sup>19</sup> One could argue, I suppose, that the "Bocchus" monument was dismantled and interred beneath the new pavement, in the same manner as the Folvios inscriptions and circular monument, and was rediscovered during removal of the travertine pavement at some post-Antique point in history. It is evident that the thin slab Anio pavement was destroyed in some places during the installation of the travertine pavement (if not before).

<sup>20</sup> The bibliography is extensive; see, conveniently, Beard, North, and Price 1998: vol. 2, 1.6b; Lucchesi 2005. While it cannot be proved that this was not moved from elsewhere for reuse, a previous dedication in the Mater Matuta sanctuary is by far the most economical explanation.

aside from a small marble altar of Imperial date, dedicated to Fortuna.<sup>21</sup> Although tempting to correlate these numbers with the heyday of Roman competitive imperial expansion, the differential preservation of later levels urges caution.

### **Non-monumental dedications**

Unsurprisingly, the six or seven monumental dedications attested at Sant’Omobono are outnumbered by portable dedications—but not by many, if pottery is excluded. Leaving aside ceramics, fragments of seven loom weights, two votive altars (*arulae*), and one possible anatomical votive can be attributed to the mid-Republican life of the sanctuary.<sup>22</sup> The evidence of pottery is ambiguous; rarely can we say whether it was an offering in itself, or merely an instrument. To set the stage for consideration of the material of the middle Republic, we turn first to the Archaic deposits.

The Republican votive and artifactual material from Sant’Omobono has received less attention than that of the preceding Archaic period, for several reasons. First of all are the greater age and exotic nature of the Archaic depositions. A large quantity and variety of votive objects was retrieved in this deposit, including cut-out sheet bronze figurines; miniature terracotta bread loaves; miniature *bucchero* and *impasto* drinking cups (sometimes with bronze lids); bronze *fibulae*, some decorated with bone and amber; wooden spindles, spindle-whorls, a spool, and a loomweight; Etrusco-Corinthian, *bucchero*, and *impasto* ceramics; as well as imported

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<sup>21</sup> AE 1941.70= EDR073465: Fortuna sacrum / L. Petronius / Charito / m(agister) q(uin)q(uennalis) c(ollegii) f(abrum) t(ignarium) / aram cum / superficie / aerea d(e) s(uo) d(ono) d(edit). This cannot be proven to have originated at the site, although it is likely.

<sup>22</sup> I note here three other classes of small finds from Mercado’s excavations that I will not discuss in any detail. Lamps: Mercado 1963: Saggio *b*, strato II, lamp fragment (41, n. 15); Saggio *c*, strato II, three fragments of a lamp (54, n. 32, fig. 15); Saggio *c*, strato III, fragments of two lamps (61, nn. 88-89). Black Gloss “*incensiere*”: Mercado 1963: 58, no. 42, tav. V, 12. Cp. Bertoldi 2011: 88, 110, noting frequent traces of burning on examples of Imperial age and suggesting possible uses as incense burners or for heating food or sauces. Unglazed fineware inkwell: Mercado 1963: 59, no. 75 (tav. VI, 7; fig. 18, 2).

Corinthian, Attic, Ionian, and Laconian pottery.<sup>23</sup> Also found here was an ivory lion plaque bearing one of the earliest Etruscan inscriptions found in Rome.<sup>24</sup> Also worthy of mention are alabastra in alabaster, bronze tweezers, bronze hair-rings, figural pendants in bone, worked and unworked astragaloi, as well as wooden boxes, now lost, attested by their bone and bronze decorative elements.<sup>25</sup> Particularly intriguing are three small bone obelisks, composed of a small base into which is set a vertical shaft, which perhaps have some connection with solar cult.<sup>26</sup>

### *Ceramics*

The majority of the mid-Republican material from known contexts at Sant’Omobono was discovered by Mercado during her excavations between the two altars in 1961 and 1962.<sup>27</sup> “Typical” mid-Republican votive materials such as anatomical votives, figurines, or *arulae* are absent from these deposits.<sup>28</sup> We should, however, take into consideration the abundant ceramic material.<sup>29</sup> Ceramic vessels were key components in (at least some) Roman and Italic religious rituals, as the *Acta Arvalia* and Iguvine Tablets, among others, attest.<sup>30</sup> Schultz has also recently argued that pots were not simply *instruments* of sacrifice, but *objects* of sacrifice in their own right.<sup>31</sup> She shows that, following Latin usage, two passages in Pliny and Apuleius usually interpreted describing sacrificing *with* vessels more likely describe the sacrifice *of* vessels. In

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<sup>23</sup> See the contributions in *Enea nel Lazio: archeologia e mito: bimillenario virgiliano: Roma 22 settembre-31 dicembre 1981*, Campidoglio, Palazzo de Conservatori 1981, 124-49 and Virgili 1990, 129-30, and further D’Acri 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Rix, *ET La* 2.3. This lion, dated to the early 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE and interpreted as a *tessera hospitalis*, bears the Etruscan inscription *Araz Silqetenas Spurianas*. While *Araz* is a praenomen and *Spurianas* a gentilicium, the interpretation of *Silqetenas* is disputed; it could be a further gentilicium, an ethnic, or a gentilicium indicating a connection with the Punic city of Sulcis in Sardinia. See Adornato 2003: 814, n. 7 for further references.

<sup>25</sup> Virgili 1989.

<sup>26</sup> Virgili 1989: 51, fig. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Mercado 1963.

<sup>28</sup> The limited evidence of such materials from Sant’Omobono is presented below.

<sup>29</sup> See in general Bouma 1996: 216 sq.

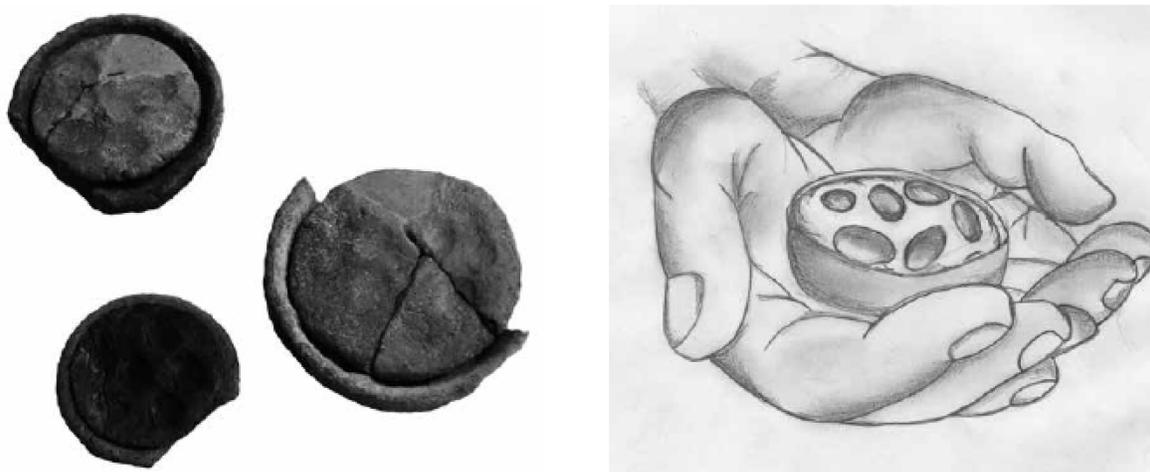
<sup>30</sup> If Weiss 2016 is correct in understanding Latin *caeli* as two halves of the universe, then parallels from the *Rgveda* may be relevant, in which these two halves are described as bowls.

<sup>31</sup> Schultz 2016: 6–9.

both passages, there is an implicit or explicit reference to poverty; “it is reasonable to conclude that the poor could substitute small vessels for more expensive, edible sacrificial offerings.”<sup>32</sup> These vessels, Schultz suggests, would allude to the post-sacrificial meal. These sorts of sacrificed vessels should probably be distinguished, at least to begin with, from those used and/or disposed of as part of the ritual itself. Varro (*Ling.* 5.106), for instance, describes the ritual breads (*testuacia*) made for the Matralia on a hot clay pot (*testu*):<sup>33</sup>

*Testuacium, quod in testu caldo coquebatur, ut etiam nunc Matralibus id faciunt matronae.*

“*Testuacium*, because it was cooked in/on a hot pot, just as *matronae* make it even now for the Matralia” (my translation).



**Figure 98:** Miniature “focacce” –possibly *testuacia*–from Archaic deposits at Sant’Omobono (D’Acri 2016: figs. 13–14; left, M. D’Acri; right, S. Di Napoli)

During the Archaic period at Sant’Omobono, miniature terracotta *testuacia* seem to have been offered in miniature terracotta plates (Figure 98).<sup>34</sup> During the middle Republic, Poulsen has suggested that Genucilia-class plates were made to contain offered *testuacia* and hazards a connection between the Genucilia production and the cult of Mater Matuta.<sup>35</sup> Her argument rests on the interpretation of a graffito incised, post-firing, on the underside of a plate found in

<sup>32</sup> Schultz 2016: 8.

<sup>33</sup> Compare Ovid’s etiological account of these breads in the *Fasti* (525–34, esp. 533).

<sup>34</sup> D’Acri 2016: 137.

<sup>35</sup> Poulsen 2002: 88.

excavation at the Temple of Castor and Pollux: MATRIT. Poulsen rules out a dedication to the Magna Mater, whose cult was not introduced at Rome until 205/4 BCE, and concludes that Mater Matuta was the recipient of the inscription, given the date of the ceramic production (mid 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE).<sup>36</sup> She offers a reading of the graffito as *Matri t(estuacium)*. Perhaps, she suggests, *testuacia* “were presented to the goddess on these very plates.”<sup>37</sup> It is not difficult to accept the offering (or sacrifice) of Genucilia plates to Mater Matuta—and they have been found both at Sant’Omobono and at Satricum—but their range extends much more widely, as Poulsen admits. Both the Archaic miniatures and Genucilia plates are found in numerous cult places of Rome and Latium, and it is difficult to sustain Poulsen’s hypothesis of particular links with Mater Matuta.<sup>38</sup>

Another special class of mid-Republican ceramic production found at Sant’Omobono is that of Black Gloss bowls with overpainted ‘H’.<sup>39</sup> Such bowls were probably produced at Rome in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, and a connection with the cult of Hercules has been suggested.<sup>40</sup> One such bowl was found by Mercado, and another is a stray find, probably from similar deposits (Figure 99; Figure 100).<sup>41</sup> It remains an open question as to why these vessels, if they are connected with Hercules, are also found in sanctuaries of other gods. As already discussed, however, there is much evidence for the dedication of images of deities in the precincts of others. The cult of Mater Matuta, moreover, had some connection with that of

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<sup>36</sup> Mazurek 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Poulsen 2002: 88.

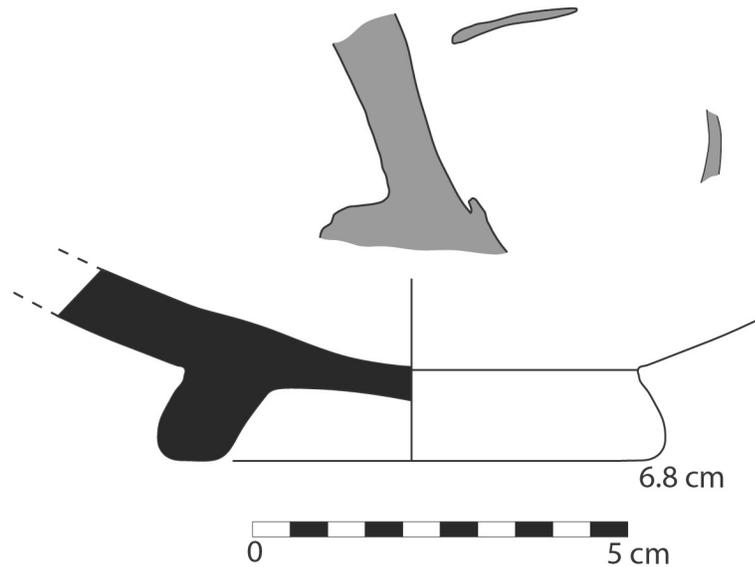
<sup>38</sup> And they are most prevalent in funerary contexts (Mazurek 2015: 28), e.g., Collatina necropolis, Tomb 21, late 4<sup>th</sup> / early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE: Buccellato in Tomei 2007: 333–34, no. II.562.

<sup>39</sup> “*Vasi con H suddipinta/sovradipinta*,” of debated chronology (Ferrandes 2007: 8) and Roman production (Stanco 2009: 159). Stanco assigns them to his GPS V production, ca. 240–210 BCE (Stanco 2009).

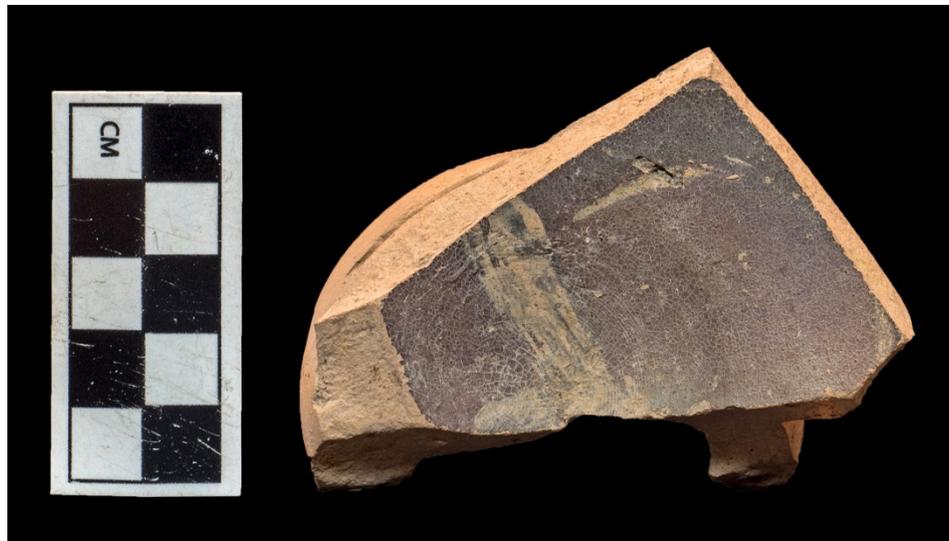
<sup>40</sup> While many bear only a single ‘H’, there is also attested ‘HVI’ (expanded as “H(erculi) V(ictori) I(nvicto)”). Olcese 1998: 142; Cifarelli, Ambrosini, and Nonnis 2002. An earlier production, of the late 4<sup>th</sup> / early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, bearing ‘HRA’ (read as Greek), is known principally from Caere.

<sup>41</sup> Mercado 1963: 59, fig. 16 (saggio c, strato III, n. 72); S. Omobono, magazzino, Cass. 11, Sacc. 6: “5/11/69. rinvenuto nella terra sopra il pavimento di blocchi di tufo di Monteverde – presso il muro ovest di recinzione?” (Figure 99; Figure 100).

Hercules, as attested by the acroterion of the demigod from the roof of the Archaic temple as well as by Ovid's account of Ino-Leucothea's arrival in the Forum Boarium and her interactions with the hero.



**Figure 99:** Profile drawing (1:1) of Black Gloss bowl with overpainted 'H', stray find, 1969 (author).



**Figure 100:** Photograph of Black Gloss bowl with overpainted 'H' in Figure 99 (author).

The only systematic excavation of mid-Republican deposits yet available for study is that of Mercado. There is a small quantity of earlier material present in these strata, including *impasto bruno*, Etrusco-Corinthian, and *bucchero grigio* sherds, which probably reflect some

digging into the podium during the work of clean-up and reconstruction after the fire.<sup>42</sup> In the Mercado deposits, cookwares and Black Gloss finewares are roughly evenly represented (though only diagnostic sherds have so far been published), with a much smaller proportion of commonwares and a few fragments of amphoras. Among the cookwares, *ollae* predominate, with some pans and a few lids. Many of the *ollae* bear traces of burning, on the exterior—as might be expected—as well as on the interior. While it is true that the deposit is interpreted as debris resulting from the fire of 213, such traces of burning occur almost exclusively on the cookware. Some of the *ollae*, moreover, have sooting *only* on the interior. Perhaps these were inverted over a small fire to make *testuacia*, as is done today to make flatbreads in many parts of the Mediterranean.

#### *Anatomical Votives*

One of the most distinctive classes of material culture produced during the middle Republic is that of anatomical votives.<sup>43</sup> These motley collections of grinning or gaping faces, schematic hands, pedicured feet, all manner of internal and external reproductive organs—true *disiecta membra*—must often make a lasting impression on the museum-goer who encounters them *en masse* in a display case. They are almost completely absent from Sant’Omobono. Archaeological investigation within the precinct of Fortuna and Mater Matuta has so far turned up only a single fragmentary terracotta left foot (Figure 101). This was found in sediment that had slumped out from below the travertine pavement, not during excavation.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Mercado 1963: 55, nos. 64-66; 66, no. 164.

<sup>43</sup> See Turfa 2006 for an overview and references to earlier scholarship.

<sup>44</sup> The note in the bag reads “Venuto in luce fra la terra tolta sotto le lastre di Travertino - da Recchioni il 9-9-962.” The *marmista* Ettore Recchioni carried out cleaning and consolidation on the pavements on site from August 2 to October 27, 1962 (ASRCM, S. Omobono, b. 30, 16, 3751, 3751a, 3752). I have not been able to find any more specific information on the findspot, such as to which travertine slabs the note refers.



**Figure 101:** Terracotta foot from Sant’Omobono, stray find, 1962 (author).

The foot fragment rests on a tall plinth. The piece is insufficiently preserved to determine whether it was simply a foot, or belonged to a lower leg or a full body statue. Four carefully modeled toes are preserved; the first (big) toe is missing. The fifth (little) toe does not extend forward as do the others, but is tucked into the fourth toe (“crumpled”), a condition endemic to shoe-wearing populations. While this feature is more common in terracotta sculpture than in anatomical votives, it is not rare in the latter.<sup>45</sup> The foot preserves traces of a white undercoat over the entire surface and red paint on the flesh; this, too, is known from votive examples.<sup>46</sup> While the fragment could conceivably belong to a piece of pedimental sculpture, the fact that the plinth follows the edge of the foot makes this unlikely; bases of pedimental figures almost invariably extend beyond the feet. Anatomical votives are generally dated between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE, and it is rarely possible to assign a more precise date in the absence of stratigraphic data, as is the case with our foot.

Without knowledge of the other materials in the deposit from which the foot emerged, it is impossible to assess whether the deposit was likely to have originated within the precinct or to

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<sup>45</sup> E.g., a 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE foot from Fregellae, the Temple of Aesculapius. Cp. also Kelsey Museum KM 2800 (Pozzuoli).

<sup>46</sup> For example, from Lanuvium – Pantanacci (Nemi museum), Cori – Hercules (Cori museum), Antium (Anzio museum).

have been brought in as fill from elsewhere. Chronologically, in any case, below the travertine pavement is where we would expect anatomical votives to be deposited. Almost none of the sediment directly below the pavement has been excavated, however, precisely because of the presence of the pavement, which would have to be removed for excavation to proceed.

The two series of mid-Republican deposits that have been scientifically excavated—those dug by Mercado in 1961 between the two altars and by the Sant’Omobono Project in 2011–14 in Saggio A7 within the western cella—did not turn up any anatomical votives. The Mercado deposits are interpreted as the debris of the fire of 213 and fill for the post-fire repaving in thin slabs of Anio tuff. The absence of anatomical votives from these deposits is not surprising, however. There is indisputable evidence of at least some management of the debris: the circular monument was dismantled, with each of the blocks of its upper course deposited beside the blocks of the lower course; votives may have been separated out. Certainly, none of the bronze statues that had been mounted on the circular monument were deposited along with it, nor whatever was contained within its hollow chamber. Furthermore, the three deposits dug by Mercado were all in the forecourt of the temples; we might expect portable votives to have been set up somewhere within the roofed area of the temples. No deposits equivalent to those excavated by Mercado have been investigated within the area of the temples (the A7 deposits are earlier), for the simple fact that the majority of this sediment is now gone, due either to disturbance over the last two millennia or the 1930s clearance of the site. The last remaining deposits could lie between the two temples and immediately east of the eastern temple, if these areas were not overly disturbed by the 1937 operations for shoring up the church structure.

It has been suggested that anatomical votives offered in the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta were ultimately deposited elsewhere, along the Tiber.<sup>47</sup> A great number of votives, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE, were discovered during works along the Tiber banks for the canalization of the river during the 1880s.<sup>48</sup> Some 1223 such objects are recorded, originating from at least 27 different locations along the river.<sup>49</sup> These range from the Ponte Margherita in the north to Marmorata at the base of the Aventine in the south, and hence clearly do not all belong to the same deposit; over a third of the total can be attributed with some confidence to the temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island. Of the remainder, some could have belonged to worshippers of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, but given the current state of knowledge it is impossible to either confirm or deny this hypothesis.

The general absence of anatomical votives from the precinct of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, then, can be ascribed to one or more of the following causes: (1) mid- and late Republican deposits likely to contain such materials have not been excavated; (2) anatomical votives were dedicated at the site but did not enter the archaeological record there, having been deposited elsewhere, possibly along the Tiber; (3) anatomical votives were not offered in this sanctuary, and the terracotta foot was either brought in with external fill or is a fragment of pedimental sculpture; and/or (4) anatomical votives were offered, not of terracotta but of materials that do not usually survive, whether because perishable or meltable. Reason (1) is certainly true, but it does not provide evidence for whether such votives were ever offered at the sanctuary in antiquity. Reasons (2) through (4) can neither be confirmed nor denied. Until such

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<sup>47</sup> For instance, somewhat elliptically in Maule and Smith 1959: 76; more directly in Pensabene 1982: 91. Cf. the remarks in Comella 1981: 764–65.

<sup>48</sup> Pensabene et al. 1980, 5 (discovery); 43–45 (date).

<sup>49</sup> The number discovered during the works was much higher, but many pieces were smuggled out by workmen, and the Roman antiquities market was flooded with votives in the years that followed: Pensabene et al. 1980: 5–6.

time as indisputable anatomical votives may be discovered in controlled excavation at Sant'Omobono, the question of whether they were offered in the sanctuary must remain open.

Anatomical votives are, in fact, not well known from temple sites in the city of Rome. In her survey of such materials, Comella lists only the Aesculapius deposit, the temple of Minerva Medica, Temple A at Largo Argentina, and the temple of Magna Mater.<sup>50</sup> Some of this is no doubt due to the continuous occupation of the city, which has disturbed earlier deposits, in contrast to certain rural cult sites, which were never built over. At many urban sites, mid-Republican layers, if they survive, have not yet been reached by excavation. In addition to preservation issues, there may be depositional issues, namely, the restricted amount of space available in urban sanctuaries together with the fact that most were paved; on site deposition of votives may not have been possible.

At Satricum, anatomical votives were offered in the sanctuary of Mater Matuta, principally in Votive Deposit II, with a small number also in V.D. III.<sup>51</sup> Such votives begin to appear in V.D. II in small numbers around 400 BCE, together with standing and seated female figurines.<sup>52</sup> Heads, masks, busts, fingers, hands, uteri, and male genitalia are represented.<sup>53</sup> The quantity of anatomical votives was much greater in V.D. III, and included heads, hands, fingers, legs, feet, uteri, male genitalia, and swaddled babies.<sup>54</sup> This suggests the presence of both male and female worshipers in the sanctuary. Unity of divinity does not imply unity of ritual, however, and offerings to Mater Matuta at Satricum have no necessary, *a priori*, correlation with offerings to Mater Matuta at Rome.

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<sup>50</sup> Comella 1981: 736–37, with further references.

<sup>51</sup> Bouma 1996, pt. I, p. 298.

<sup>52</sup> Bouma 1996: 136

<sup>53</sup> Bouma 1996: 137 n. 206.

<sup>54</sup> Bouma 1996: 138 n. 220 with further references.

## *Arulae*

Non-anatomical terracotta votives are twice as well-represented as anatomicals at Sant’Omobono: there are two fragments of miniature terracotta altars in addition to the single foot fragment. Such miniature altars are generally called *arulae* in the archaeological literature, even if this does not necessarily correspond to Classical Latin usage. One fragment was found in Settore IX (immediately adjacent to the eastern face of the podium) in the “strato superiore” overlying the debris of 213 BCE (Figure 102);<sup>55</sup> the other in the so-called taberna repubblicana below the *cocciopesto* pavement (Figure 103).<sup>56</sup> The two fragments pertain to the lower echinus on the lateral sides of *arulae* of double echinus (or “hourglass”) type.<sup>57</sup> Neither fragment preserves any of the front face of its respective altar. The general type is quite common at Rome and Latium, along with scattered occurrences in South Etruria as well as colonies elsewhere in Italy (e.g., Fregellae, Caes, Luceria, Arpi, Brundisium).<sup>58</sup> Ricciotti dates her Group IA, to which these fragments probably belong, to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> cs. BCE, but a date in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. is quite possible.<sup>59</sup>

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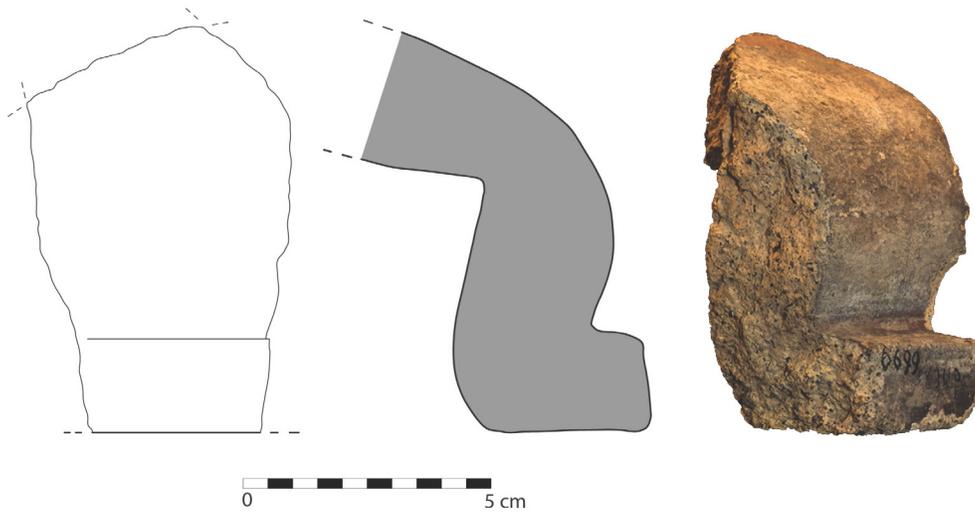
<sup>55</sup> Cass. 39, Sacc. 5: IX Superiore, Inv. 6699. For the stratigraphy, see D’Acri 2016.

<sup>56</sup> Cass. 160, Sacc. 2: “Scavo sotto pavimento a cubetti. II° e III° strato misti – Ott. 1969.” For discussion of the structure, see Chapter 4.

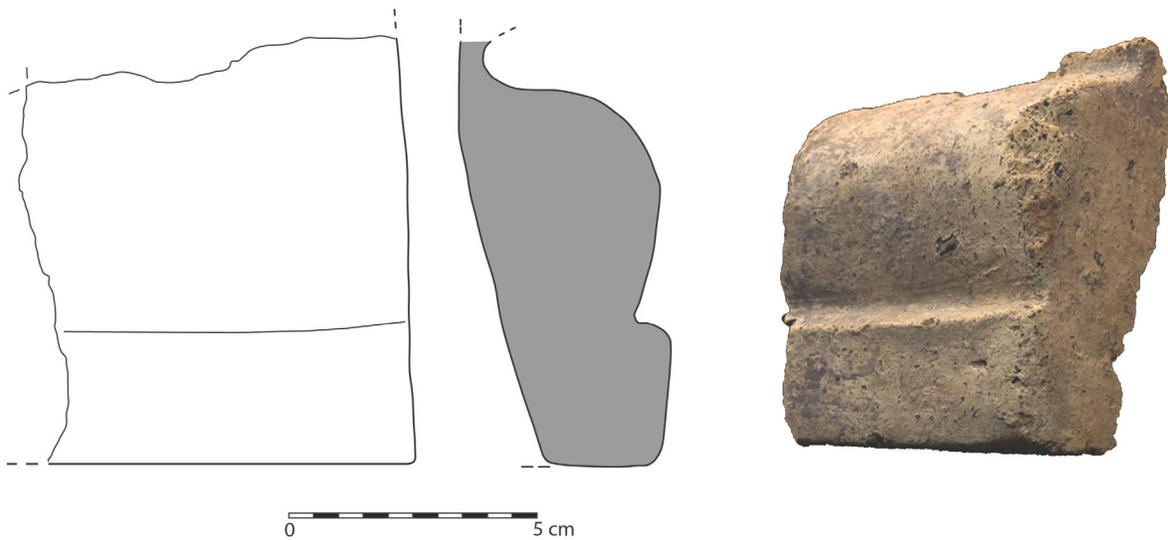
<sup>57</sup> Ricciotti 1978: 19: Group I (arule articolate a doppio echino), subgroup A (arule con echino superiore meno espanso di quello inferiore). The sequence of moldings is the same as that of the full-scale Lapis Albanus altars on site, although *arulae* typically have moldings only on their short sides.

<sup>58</sup> Ricciotti 1978: 26–34.

<sup>59</sup> Ricciotti 1978: 62



**Figure 102:** *Arula* fragment from Settore IX, strato superiore, 2:3 scale (author).



**Figure 103:** *Arula* fragment from the "taberna repubblicana," strato II/III misti sotto pavimento, 2:3 scale (author).

It is likely, but not certain, that the two *arulae* were ex votos in the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta; both were found outside but immediately adjacent to the temples' podium. A single terracotta altar of double echinus type, dated to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, was found in V.D. II at Satricum, and several somewhat later examples in V.D. III.<sup>60</sup> *Arulae* have been

<sup>60</sup> Bouma 1996: 137, 138, with further references.

found in other cult places as well as in funerary and domestic contexts, though rarely published in any detail, and the bulk of the known examples are completely without precise provenance.<sup>61</sup>

The recent excavations of a series of Republican *domūs* at Norba form a notable exception. Seven *arulae* were discovered in *domus* V, for example, including a terracotta altar of double-echinus type found together with a miniature Black Gloss cup and a small lamp, which Quilici Gigli considers “l’armamentario del culto o parte di esso.”<sup>62</sup> *Domus* X had six *arulae*, one or two each in a series of rooms and in the peristyle.<sup>63</sup> One of these rooms also contained glass-paste beads, thirteen loomweights, bronze coins, a small silver patera, and the bases of two large storage vessels built into the pavement. Both houses at Norba were built in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and destroyed, along with the rest of the city, by Sulla in 82 BCE. At Artena, a terracotta *arula* was found in a corner of a house courtyard together with loomweights and “materiale di uso domestico” dated between the mid-4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE.<sup>64</sup>

While one could simply see *arulae* as multipurpose ritual instruments, equally adaptable for use at home, in sanctuaries, or in burials, it is tempting to understand the domestic sphere as their primary context and to regard the appearance of miniature altars in temple or tomb as extensions of domestic religious practices. Their apparent association with loomweights is particularly interesting, as the latter are strongly marked as pertaining to women’s sphere of activities.

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<sup>61</sup> The largest corpus of terracotta *arulae* known at Rome was found during clearing of the Esquiline necropolis in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c., clear evidence of funerary use: Ricciotti 1978. A double echinus altar with gorgon head was found associated with a female burial of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE at Ponte Galeria: Vivarelli in Petriaggi et al. 1995: 365–68, fig. 3.14.

<sup>62</sup> Quilici Gigli 2012: 59. The other six altars included a rectangular terracotta altar and four rectangular limestone examples, of which one bore traces of burning; there is no description of the seventh. One of the seven was found in a storeroom, the others in an *ala* of the atrium, though Quilici Gigli does not provide details of which was where.

<sup>63</sup> Quilici Gigli 2012: 60.

<sup>64</sup> Lambrechts and De Waele 1989: 114; Quilici Gigli 2012: 61. A small fragment of a similar altar was found in a cistern fill of the same house, the “Complexe aux *Dolia*”: Lambrechts and De Waele 1989: 173

## *Loomweights*

Loomweights occur in both Archaic and Republican contexts at Sant’Omobono, albeit in limited quantities.<sup>65</sup> This is not an uncommon situation; “while frequently present in votive deposits, textile tools are never very numerous.”<sup>66</sup> From the Archaic votive deposit, there is one tronco-pyramidal loomweight with transverse hole.<sup>67</sup> Unusually for the site, the mid-Republican evidence outnumbers the Archaic evidence, at least with regard to loomweights (Figure 104). Four loomweights are known from Mercado’s excavations.<sup>68</sup> To these we can add at least three from other contexts.<sup>69</sup>

Such quantities are on par with the numbers reported by Gleba from her survey of textile tools in Italian votive deposits, and with the six loomweights found in a votive deposit associated with the first phase of Temple A at Largo Argentina.<sup>70</sup> Although the sample size is quite small, the presence of loomweights at Sant’Omobono in quantities similar to those found in contemporary votive contexts could act as a proxy for the state of preservation of mid-Republican votive materials in excavated deposits, suggesting that the preservation is relatively good and, hence, perhaps, that the absence of evidence for anatomical votives is actually evidence of absence. A more systematic study of the mid-Republican deposits would be required to push this thesis further, however, especially since only loomweights were recovered in the Mercado deposits.

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<sup>65</sup> Gleba 2009 provides an overview of textile tools in ancient Italian votive contexts.

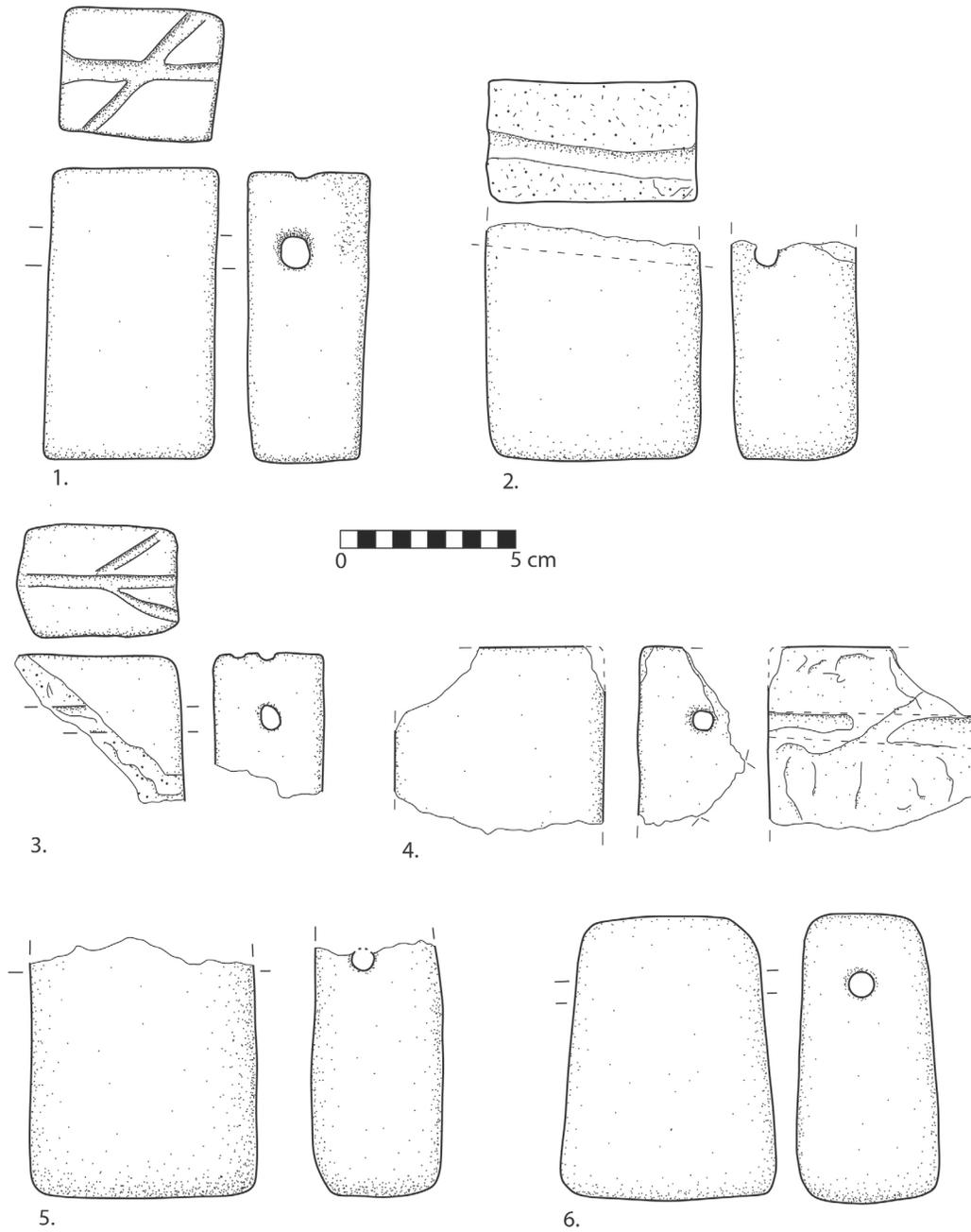
<sup>66</sup> Gleba 2009: 70.

<sup>67</sup> Magagnini 1981. From the same deposit came four wooden spindles, six terracotta spindle whorls, and one bobbin.

<sup>68</sup> Mercado 1963: Saggio *b*, strato II (p. 42, no. 36; not illustrated here); Saggio *c*, strato II (p. 55, nos. 61–62; my Figure 104.4–5); Saggio *c*, strato III (p. 66, n. 163; my Figure 104.2).

<sup>69</sup> Tempio A (1979) inv. 712, impasto chiaro, complete, 263 gr (Figure 104.6); Saggio D (1968), first stratum below travertine blocks, impasto chiaro, complete, 206 gr (Figure 104.1); “Taberna repubblicana,” strato IV sotto pavimento, impasto chiaro (Figure 104.3).

<sup>70</sup> Gleba 2009: 71–72, Table 1. Largo Argentina: Marchetti Longhi 1936: 99–100, fig. 7.



**Figure 104:** Republican-era loomweights from Sant'Omobono (author).

The presence of loomweights probably reflects dedications by women of a certain status.<sup>71</sup> Notable by their absence from Republican deposits are spindle whorls, a factor that accentuates the marked status of loomweights; spinning was kitchen-work or anywhere-work,

<sup>71</sup> Mastrocinque 1987: 111; Gleba 2009: 70.

while weaving was performative atrium-work.<sup>72</sup> The archaeological evidence of upper-class women in the sanctuary parallels the literary evidence for the primary role of *matronae*—perhaps *univirae*—in the rites of Mater Matuta and Fortuna. The exclusion of slave women during the Matralia, together with the concentration of dedications made by victorious generals, supports a reading of the sanctuary as a locus for the performance and maintenance of upper-class identity.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> I thank Drew Cabaniss for this observation. The presence of six spindle whorls in the Archaic deposits seems to indicate some change of practice.

<sup>73</sup> As indeed, were many Roman cults: Schultz 2006: 145–50.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

### Overview of the architectural sequence of the *aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae*

Following the destruction of the second Archaic temple at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, whether due to human or natural factors, a large square podium was raised some five meters above the Tiber bank floodplain, probably in the early 5<sup>th</sup> c BCE. Measuring 160 Roman feet square, the podium would shape the area for the following five centuries and beyond. The podium supported twin south-facing temples, probably distyle in antis with closed *alae*; in front of each temple was probably an east-facing altar, though these are not attested *in situ*. This could possibly be the prior reconstruction of the temple of Mater Matuta to which *refectam* refers in Livy's account of Camillus' vow before Veii in the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. That is, Camillus might have dedicated a temple that had already been rebuilt once since its original dedication by Servius Tullius. There is no unambiguous archaeological evidence of an early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE phase of the temples, although the Anio block pavement of the temples' forecourt could date that early.

At some point following the construction of the block pavement, the twin temples were rebuilt and their porches were paved with slabs of Anio tuff. A low, two-step staircase mounted from the earlier Anio block pavement to this new slab porch pavement. In the center of the precinct, the lower step widened into a low platform, which hid a warren of drains. The temples

in this reconstruction no longer had closed *alae* as the previous phase had; the new *alae* ran only the length of the *cellae*, while the southern half of each temple comprised a tetrastyle porch with two rows of columns. The western cella was paved in *cocciopesto* and included a monolithic statue base in Lapis Albanus, which might have supported an Archaic wooden image of Fortuna or Servius Tullius. This phase of the temples probably dates to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, and a connection with the inscribed statue bases of M. Fulvius Flaccus dating to 264 BCE is possible. If Fulvius Flaccus was indeed responsible for this architectural phase, his prior experience in overseeing the construction of the Anio Vetus might have played a role in the choice of Anio tuff for the pavement. The two altars in Lapis Albanus may also date to this phase.

In 213 BCE, a fire swept the Forum Boarium, destroying the *aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae*. The following year, while Marcus Fulvius Flaccus' sons Quintus and Gnaeus were consul and praetor, the Senate appointed a triumvirate for the reconstruction of the temples. This reconstruction is identified with the temple foundations in Tufo Giallo, Lapis Albanus, and Tufo Lionato (Anio facies) and the thin slab Anio pavement of the temples' forecourt. The attribution to this phase of temple structures in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere remains uncertain, and they could still belong to the previous period. The temples in this phase maintained the plan of the prior, having a tetrastyle porch with double row of columns, but the nature of their altars is unknown.

The successive reconstruction of the twin temples in travertine, probably stripping them of their deep columned porches, of Late Republican or Early Imperial date, lies beyond the purview of this dissertation, but it attests a further step in the gradual opening up of the temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna. The early Republican temples seem to have had closed *alae*—perhaps reproducing the ground plan of the second-phase Archaic temple at a much larger

scale—and hence will have had a dark and restricted aspect to their porches, with access possible only through the two southern columns of the porch. If there was a 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE phase of the temples, its ground plan cannot be ascertained. Both of the attested middle Republican phases of the temples would have presented a more open aspect, as their *alae* extended only as far as the southern end of their *cellae*, resulting in porches completely open to west, south, and east in the southern half of the temples. The Late Republican or Imperial phase of the temples seem to have lost their *alae* altogether, being completely surrounded by colonnades.

### *Porta Triumphalis?*

We can now perhaps put to bed the theory—ingenious though it is—that would place the *Porta Triumphalis* within the precinct at Sant’Omobono. Coarelli has identified six concrete foundations at the center of the Republican podium with the footprint of a double-bayed *Porta Triumphalis*, opening east-west.<sup>1</sup> He assigns these a Domitianic date. If, however, the *Porta Triumphalis* was indeed a specific monument fixed in space (contrary to the skepticism expressed by Beard 2007) that marked the crossing of the pomerium, as Coarelli would have it, we must imagine that a monument of Domitian would have had predecessors in the same location. Whatever monument once stood on the six cement foundations is incompatible with any phase of the temples that included a deep colonnaded porch. The hypothetical double-arch would be hidden by the temple porches. While the later phases of the temples seem not to have had such porches, it is difficult to imagine an earlier gate structure wedged between the porches of the mid-Republican temples. Earlier, the closed *alae* of the early Republican temples would have permitted no east-west passage whatsoever.

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<sup>1</sup> Coarelli 1988; Ippolo 1992.

A gate also requires access—*viabilità*—a thing that the foundations at the center of the podium do not have. There is no sign of approach to the Republican podium from the west during its first phase (its east side is insufficiently preserved to comment). Nor are there signs of such access in the mid-Republican phases, although the filling in of the zone to the west of the podium in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE may have made this possible. A road running east-west *through the porches of the temples* would be quite unusual, moreover. There is no trace of east-west wear on the Anio slab porch pavement, which we might expect. Even if the Porta Triumphalis was not open to quotidian traffic, the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE was full of triumphs, which might have left some mark on this pavement, which was in use at that time.

There is no evidence, then, of a road passing through the location of the Porta Triumphalis proposed by Coarelli. There is however evidence for a road running east-west immediately south of this line—immediately south of the temples proper, that is—a scenario that is not as hard to believe. A road paved in basalt flags approaches, from the west, the Republican podium, to which access is gained by a staircase in Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere. The staircase and road probably date to the 212 reconstruction or slightly later. At a later date, during the Empire, a point of access to the precinct is attested along the eastern limit of the podium, again immediately south of the low stairs leading up to the temples proper. This is a relatively narrow passage, ca. 3 m, limited to the north by the eastern temple and to the south by the northernmost of the *tabernae*, III-IV. A basalt-paved street continues to the east of this point of access. To its west, a drain cut into the travertine pavement attests a road running in that direction; this road continued along precisely the same course, at higher elevations, eventually acquiring the name Via Bucimazza, which survived until the clearance of the neighborhood in 1936.

If, despite all this, one still wanted to place the Porta Triumphalis at the center of the podium, imagining that the procession would enter the precinct just south of the temples, veer north into the porch of the western temple, pass through the gate, and immediately veer south again to exit the precinct, one would also have to imagine the triumph's wheeled conveyances negotiating the temples' front stairs up and then down again—the western Anio slab staircase is sufficiently well preserved to rule out any permanent ramp.

### *The Fulvius Flaccus Problem*

M. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 264) has turned out to be a recurring character in this study. Our knowledge of his connection with the site hangs entirely on Torelli's reading of the lacunose inscriptions partially preserved on fragments of one or more Lapis Albanus statue bases. If we accept Torelli's reading—and there is no compelling reason not to—then we can securely state that Fulvius Flaccus set up a number of bronze statues at the site after his capture of Volsinii in 264, inscribing that fact in stone. Everything beyond this point is conjecture—but the conjectures quickly pile up. Faced with a phase without a founder, Coarelli would like to assign an entire reconstruction of the precinct to Fulvius Flaccus. Once we entertain that hypothesis, others follow: perhaps the precocious use of Anio tuff seen in the sanctuary is due to Fulvius Flaccus' several years' experience overseeing the construction of the Anio Vetus. Perhaps his sons Quintus and Gnaeus, as consul and praetor in 212 BCE, had something to do with the triumviral commission in that year to rebuild the temples their father had built.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps that is why several other descendants had their own involvements with other temples of Fortuna. Perhaps we really should identify a “Fulvian” style of Ionic kymation common to the circular monument and the Trevi di Lazio column capitals possibly associated with the Anio Vetus. And we can even note

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<sup>2</sup> See Coles 2017 for possible personal motives in the formation of triumviral boards for founding colonies.

that Tusculum, home of the Fulvii, is supposed to have gained Roman citizenship thanks to the intervention of Camillus.<sup>3</sup> This comes down to the question: is it a coincidence that M. FOLVIO is the only name that we can associate with the sanctuary in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE? If the inscriptions that Mercado discovered had read AP. CLAUD. instead, would we be seeing Claudii coming out of the (stone)work?

Each of the Fulvian elements can be problematized. The commonalities between the Trevi capitals and the Sant'Omobono base may simply be a shared answer to the problem of putting kymatia on curved surfaces; and the overall effect of the circular monument is rather more archaic than are the capitals. If the Anio block pavement of the forecourt does actually predate the Anio slab porch pavement significantly—if it is not simply structurally prior, built first as part of the same program, but actually built some years before—then the use of Anio tuff in the later pavement is no longer quite so precocious. The offices held by the Fulvius boys in 212 may simply be a coincidence; given the picture that Livy paints of a heightened state of religious sensitivity at Rome that year, the Senate could well have ordered the rebuilding of the burned temples no matter who was consul. And the fragmentary remains of other monument bases hint that M. Fulvius Flaccus' statues were not alone in the precinct; whose names might we find if we dug beneath the travertine pavement to east or west of the circular monument?

As tempting as it is to answer with a definitive yes or no—*Fulvio Flacco o morte!*—prudence dictates that we cultivate a regard for the gray area between, so as not to prejudice future answers as they might be coming into development.

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<sup>3</sup> Livy 6.25–6 ; Plut., *Cam.* 38.4–5; Dio Cass., 28.1–2. On the episode, see Dumézil 1980: 122–28.

## Ritual practice in the precinct of Mater Matuta and Fortuna during the middle Republic

Based on the various lines of evidence presented in the previous chapters, we can sketch out the options various sorts of agents had for interacting with the sanctuary in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. Individuals could make dedications in the sanctuary. Private individuals, male and female, may have dedicated anatomical votives either as prayers for healing or as thank offerings. As discussed, however, the evidence for this practice in the *aedes Fortunae et Matris Matutae* remains ambiguous. Private individuals could also have dedicated other movable offerings, such as *arulae* or inkwells, to one or both of the goddesses, or even to other deities, as suggested by the Black Gloss cup fragment with overpainted ‘H’, possibly referring to Hercules. Such persons could potentially also have erected statues on bases, possibly inscribed; though private dedications of this sort are not attested archaeologically at Sant’Omobono, their existence is plausible given the evidence from other sanctuaries. The two classes of agents most clearly associated by ancient literature with the sanctuary of Mater Matuta and Fortuna are *matronae* and victorious generals. In raw numbers, they are also those most clearly visible in the archaeological evidence—seven loomweights and six monument bases.

Sacrifices were presumably of at least two types, private and state, the latter represented by the *Matralia*. It is true that none of the ancient written evidence for the *Matralia* describes a sacrificial rite during the festival. The prominence of the altars in front of the twin temples, however, suggests they played a central role in at least certain rites in the sanctuary. The *Matralia*, as the principal (and only) festival known to have been celebrated in the precinct, on the *dies natalis* of the twin temples, would be the obvious occasion for sacrifice. Sacrifices could have involved the slaughter of animals or nonbloody offerings, possibly including ceramics. The two known altars, used probably from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, face directly east. Each altar

has a built pit attached to it. The pits clearly form a unit with the altars, and the eastern pit communicates with the location of the Archaic altar, buried five meters below.<sup>4</sup> Given that the priest/officiant would stand to the west of the altar, between the wings, the pits are not convenient to the priest in central position at the altar. The evidence of the *acta arvalia* and the Iguvine Tablets suggests quite a bit of movement during rites, however. In any case, the existence of the pits and their formal arrangement beside each altar implies that they played some important cultic function. Unfortunately, if there was anything deposited in the pits, it was cleared in 1937 and we have no record of it.

Blood sacrifices could be accommodated on the platforms provided to the west of each altar. The victim dismembered, its *exta* may have been boiled in an *aula*; such pots probably also served for the porridge-*pultes* that might be offered. Those making a sacrifice would have required water for cleaning, for boiling, and doubtless for other tasks.<sup>5</sup> For the performance of the *Matralia*, presumably the precinct's cistern could be freely drawn upon; what, though, of private worship? Was the water likewise freely accessible? Could it be purchased? Did one bring one's own (or importune a neighbor, an act of which Plautus' *Daemones* complains)?<sup>6</sup>

On June 11, married women, *matronae*, would have gathered to celebrate the *Matralia*. We do not know at what time of day this happened.<sup>7</sup> They attended with their sisters and their nursing children, and a slave woman was procured from somewhere. The expulsion of the slave could have occurred as the first act of the ritual, as a way of purifying the precinct—or perhaps it was the climactic event of the day; we do not know. Women prayed for, and perhaps nursed,

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<sup>4</sup> The statement of Weiss 2010: 331 (“Pits... were normally the locus for sacrifices made to infernal deities...”), cannot be pushed too far.

<sup>5</sup> Simon 1990: 62; Edlund-Berry 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Plaut., *Rud.* 2.45–48 = *vers.* 133–136. *Daemones* lives adjacent to a *fanum Veneris*, and says that he would know if anyone had been by to make a sacrifice, for “they are always inquiring here for water or fire or vessel or a knife or a spit or an *aula extaris* or something—what use for words? I acquired pots and a well for Venus, not for myself.”

<sup>7</sup> Ovid's treatment of June 11 in the *Fasti* begins (474–76): *Iam, Phryx, a nupta quereris, Tithone, relinqui, / et vigil Eois Lucifer exit aquis: / ite, bonae matres (vestrum Matralia festum)*, which could suggest an early morning rite.

their sisters' infants. They baked *testuacia* on heated ceramic pots. The celebration included one or more sacrificial acts: Plutarch (*Cam.* 5) refers to a θυσία. If bloody, would the *matronae* have had to attend to the procedure themselves, public slaves being excluded?<sup>8</sup> *Testuacia* may also have been offered. The cult image of Mater Matuta was crowned by the *univirae*; we do not know if this group formed a subset of the participants or their totality (aside from the children). The festival would presumably have finished with some sort of ritual dining, although again we have no written evidence for this, and the ceramic evidence requires more systematic study before it can be brought to bear on the question.

### **Future Directions**

The present dissertation marks only a first stage of study of the middle Republic at Sant'Omobono, but it prompts some suggestions for future research. The later 3<sup>rd</sup> c. is the best known period of the Republic at the site, due entirely to Mercado's excavations. It would be worthwhile to excavate these destruction deposits employing modern methods (screens and flotation) to recover faunal and floral material, in the hope of adding to the meager stock of such data from Republican ritual sites. These deposits, however, are rapidly being lost to erosion; every downpour causes a bit more to slump down from under the travertine pavement onto already excavated portions of the Anio block pavement.

The dates of both the Anio block pavement and the Anio slab porch pavement remain to be fixed with any degree of satisfaction. Single sherds pulled from ambiguously located scarps are less than ideal chronological markers. A small campaign involving the lifting of limited

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<sup>8</sup> DiLuzio 2016: 114–17 discusses the evidence for women serving as ritual support personnel, and suggests that “women-only rituals” such as the Matralia “undoubtedly required female assistants as well.” She notes that the only Roman *popa* known by name was one Critonia Philema (CIL 6.9824; Di Luzio 2016, 114–115). As noted in Chapter 5, however, we have no evidence for the exclusion of men from the precinct during the Matralia, only evidence that the rites were performed by matrons. Sticking strictly to the evidence, moreover, it must be noted that only *female* slaves are excluded from the Matralia; *male* public slaves, then, could possibly have carried out the sacrifice.

sections of each pavement would offer the possibility of finding reliable *termini post quos*. Lifting some part of either pavement is the only way to fix a reliable date.

The relationship between the two lower Anio pavements and the perimeter of the Republican podium remains of interest, even if it is likely that the reconstruction efforts following 213 severely affected the relevant stratigraphy. The reopening of a small trench to offer a window on the central subterranean cistern would allow for its material to be ascertained with certainty and could offer a better understanding of its relationship to the other structures in the precinct.

Beyond the limits of the site, a new comprehensive study of the tuffs used in Roman construction is a major desideratum. Such a study will have to take into account archaeological, historical, and geological lines of evidence, this last requiring a sustained campaign of sampling both of monuments of known age and of quarries, and therefore the goodwill of numerous parties in Rome and Lazio. This will no doubt require both good fortune and timely action.

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