

**Sacred by Design:
Expressing Latin Identity through
Architectural Mouldings**

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**Part 1 of 3
Text, Tables, Appendices, and Bibliography**

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Declaration of Authorship

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Expressing Latin Identity through
Architectural Mouldings**

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I, Stephen Smith, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the works of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

Sacred by Design: Expressing Latin Identity through Architectural Mouldings

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My thesis examines the nature of Roman religious identity and its expression through a distinctive design of religious architecture. This design has a double-rounded profile, with two counter-posed rounded mouldings around an hourglass-shaped waist.

The design is found on temples and altars in Latium from the beginnings of stone architecture in the sixth century BC until the last decade BC. It became a symbol of Latin religious identity in the fourth century BC, in response to the Volscian invasion. My catalogue of surviving examples shows that this design was used on religious architecture only in Rome, northern Latium, and a few colonies, and was probably the only design used there until the second century BC. Similar rounded mouldings are found in Etruria, but they were used differently.

The repeated use of the double-rounded design with little variation over such a long period enabled successive generations to evoke the shared cultural memories and moral associations that played an important part in the Romans' self-definition of their ancestral identity. Even when Greek architectural forms began to be adopted in the second century BC, this design was occasionally revived to evoke traditional values.

A modified version that drew on Greek models also appeared in the second century BC. This had smaller, counter-posed rounded mouldings separated by a tall, flat surface. The modified design was used widely on temple podia in Italy, both where a development of the earlier tradition might be expected, but also in areas that were not thoroughly 'Romanised' until much later.

The double-rounded design becomes far less common in the first century BC. From the latter half of Augustus' reign, both the traditional and modified versions of the double-rounded design were no longer part of the Roman architectural tradition. It was revived only once more, under Antoninus Pius.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Religious architecture often plays an important role in studies of ancient societies. Temples, altars, and other religious objects are not only analysed as technical achievements, but are also regarded as indicators of political, cultural, and artistic developments. They can be seen as reflecting the aspirations and fears of ancient peoples at particular times, and they were an important part of everyday lives. They also had a wider, civic significance, as focal points of collective beliefs and practices, and as symbols of group identity.

My thesis looks at one element of religious architecture and how it relates to the self-definition of a shared Roman and Latin religious identity. I will argue that a particular design of mouldings on religious architecture was used to signify that identity from the sixth to the first century BC. In this context I define a religious identity as a sense of belonging to a primarily self-defined social grouping that distinguishes itself from others in terms of its history, cults, and religious rites, and asserts that difference through distinctive cultural practices and material objects. The objects that I will argue were used in this way include temple podia, altars, and bases for votive statues, and the design that I will examine combines particular architectural mouldings in a double-rounded profile, composed of two counter-posed rounded mouldings around an hourglass-shaped waist (fig. 1.1).

This moulded profile was first identified as a distinct design in 1903, but no typologies of it have been compiled since the 1960s. At that time, these studies sparked a debate on whether the design was Etruscan in origin or native to Latium. Since then, a great many more examples of the design have been discovered. This has created the need for a much more comprehensive typology to be drawn up, and the opportunity to carry out a more detailed survey of the design's origins, use over time, and cultural significance.

1.1. METHODOLOGY

My intention in this thesis is to build on previous studies and more recent archaeological discoveries to address three related questions:

1. What is the nature of the archaeological evidence for the use of the double-rounded design on religious architecture in central Italy?
2. How does the design's use relate to expressions of identity in Rome, Latium, and beyond?
3. What evidence is there that the design came to be used to evoke memories of that identity?

The basis of my approach is the identification and study of all the surviving examples of objects that use this design, and of representations of such objects on other artefacts, such as mirrors, vases, and coins. Information on all these objects, and their description, is collated in my catalogue in Part 2 of this thesis.

Throughout the thesis, I will consider similarities and differences between the objects, based on their moulded profiles, location, and date, where this is known. In particular, I will examine patterns of use, in order to distinguish similarities over time, both in terms of the objects' form and their geographical distribution. I will also analyse these patterns against the backdrop of political and religious developments, in order to determine the relationship between these objects and the development of a Latin religious identity, and to consider the extent to which memory might have played a role in their use over time. Key elements of this will be identifying the extent to which Rome and Latium shared a common architectural tradition regarding the use of this double-rounded design, and establishing whether that tradition was distinctly different from practice elsewhere, and especially in Etruscan religious architecture.

1.2. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This introductory chapter looks at the nature of identity and whether it is possible to identify a distinct Latin identity in the archaeological record. It then compares this with the variety of surviving ancient literary sources that touch on Latin identity, history, and religion, and discusses the nature and extent of a common religious culture as part of that identity.

Chapter 2 sets out a definition of the type of architectural moulding that I believe is distinctive of Latium, and looks at previous scholarship on the subject. I also propose a new terminology for this moulding, based on the most commonly-used Italian terms, since the standard English terms that have been used since the 1960s are too general and liable to be misleading. I also set out the criteria I have used in my catalogue, as well as the definitions that I follow for different religious objects, and I consider how altars might have been used in religious rituals.

Chapter 3 examines the archaeological evidence for religious architecture in Latium from its first appearance in stone, in the sixth century BC, until around the end of the third century BC. It demonstrates that, in northern and coastal areas of Latium, the double-rounded design is the normal form that is used for all types of religious objects during this period, with very little variation.

Chapter 4 looks at the use of architectural mouldings in Etruria. It shows that, although similar moulded elements are found in Etruscan architecture, they are used differently, and as part of a much greater variety of architectural decoration, and establishes, therefore, that the double-rounded design was Latin rather than Etruscan. It also demonstrates that U-shaped altars in Latium differ significantly from Etruscan and Greek forms, and can be regarded as a distinct Latin architectural tradition.

Chapter 5 considers the relatively few examples of the double-rounded design elsewhere in central Italy, and concludes that, although they can all be linked with the establishment of Roman dominance in the areas where they are found, there

is no evidence of the systematic extension of this architectural tradition outside Latium.

Chapter 6 looks at developments in the second and first centuries BC. This was a transitional period for the double-rounded design, when a modified version with smaller rounded mouldings above and below a tall, flat surface was introduced, drawing on Greek influences. I set out the evidence, both for the development of this new design and the continued use of the traditional form, and I consider how the evocation of memory might have played a role in the survival of the traditional design.

Chapter 7 examines the Augustan period, which marked the end of the transitional period, and the final use of the double-rounded design, in both its traditional and modified form. It also looks at a revival of the design on one monument of the Antonine period, in the mid-second century AD.

Chapter 8 discusses whether religious objects, and in particular altars, can be invested with cultural significance in the expression of Latin identity, and be used as a means of evoking memories of that identity and the cultural values associated with it. I also examine the significance of the limited geographical distribution of the design, and discuss the implications this might have for the nature and timing of the self-definition of Roman and Latin religious identity.

Chapter 9 provides a conclusion by drawing together the various themes explored in the thesis, and setting out how they answer my three research questions.

1.3. LATIN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

Defining the nature of a Latin religious identity is bound up with wider, difficult questions about the extent to which ethnic and cultural identities can be ascribed to the ancient world. 'Identity' itself is a term that only became widely used in

social sciences from the 1950s onwards.¹ In the 1960s it became closely linked with ethnicity in the notion of belonging to a distinctive group set apart from others by race, religion, national background, or some other cultural marker.² 'Ethnicity' is an even more problematic term in archaeology, both because the theory that distinct material cultures coincide with ethnic boundaries has been shown to be flawed, and because of the theory's past use in support of nationalist and racist claims.³

1.3.1. Identifying ancient identities

Several methodological approaches have been applied to the study of ancient ethnic identities, drawing at times on broader sociological and anthropological work.⁴ The conclusions rely most commonly on archaeological, linguistic, and literary evidence.⁵ There is no complete consensus on a set of features that might be regarded as distinctively characteristic, but the aspects most commonly cited include a shared history, genealogy and mythology, a common ethnic name, shared language, shared religion, similar material culture, and territorial unity. The notion of identity is even more fluid, in which ethnicity can be only one of many social identities that individuals or groups might adhere to. An important observation is that this sense of ethnic identity in opposition to other groups often emerges or becomes more strongly felt in the context of migration, conquest, or when people feel that the boundaries marking the identity of their community are under external threat.⁶

Above all, identity requires some kind of identifiable marker through which individuals and groups can express a sense of belonging to a particular collective social entity by following subjectively-constructed common practices or by employing accepted representations of mutual identity, through a series of

¹ Gleason 1983: 910; Hölscher 2008: 52-3.

² Gleason 1983: 928.

³ Shanks and Tilley 1987: 86-7; Shennan 1989: 5-6; Hall 1997: 129-35; Jones 1997: 15-26; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 8-9.

⁴ For a discussion of the techniques adopted, see in particular Hall 1997: 17-26; Lomas 1997: 1-5; Cornell 1997: 10-8; Huskinson 2000: 10-1; Farney 2007: 26-34.

⁵ Colonna 1988: 412-47; Bradley 2000: 111-7.

⁶ Cohen 1985: 12, 50, 109; Hall 2002: 10.

conscious choices over which elements have significance and which do not.⁷ Pierre Bourdieu emphasises the way in which identity is created over time through the repetition of practices, which he calls 'habitus'.⁸

There has been a debate on the value of archaeological evidence in determining ethnic identity. For example, Jonathan Hall regards cultural signifiers of identity as contextually highly variable, and argues that, although ethnic groups may communicate their identity via material symbols consciously or unconsciously selected from a broader cultural repertoire and endowed with 'emblemic' significance, they construct their identity discursively. He believes that what they say about themselves is more important than what they do, and that therefore archaeological evidence alone is not sufficient to investigate ethnic identity among past societies.⁹ Siân Jones agrees that certain artefacts may be actively and selectively employed in the marking of ethnic boundaries, and that ethnic identity has a strong discursive element, but argues that cultural dimensions do not always play a secondary role to discursive strategy in the construction of ethnic identity. She concludes, therefore, that archaeological evidence allows the analysis of not only ethnic symbols, but also those cultural practices which shaped the discursive construction of identity in the past.¹⁰

Sam Lucy argues that, although characteristic artefacts, languages and 'cultures' frequently do not coincide, communal identities such as ethnicity are aspects of social practice constructed through shared ways of doing things, and thus the uses of material culture in social interactions can be used to study those identities.¹¹ Catherine Morgan stresses that the focus in examining ethnic identity should be on only those categories of artefact selected by a group to carry social or political meaning under particular circumstances, rather than on the totality of a society's material culture.¹²

⁷ Hall 1997: 2, 20-1; 2002: 17; Jones 1997: 84; Huskinson 2000: 5; Alston 2008: 147-8; Fulminante 2012: 91-2.

⁸ Bourdieu 1977: 78-85. See also Jones, S. 2007: 48-9.

⁹ Hall 1997: 32-3, 142; 1998: 266-9; 2002: 19-29.

¹⁰ Jones 1997: 84; 1998: 272-3. See also Pitts 2007: 700-2.

¹¹ Lucy 2005: 86-7, 101.

¹² Morgan 1991: 133-4.

1.3.2. Romanisation and Roman identity

There has also been a lot of recent discussion, particularly in English-language works, of the concept of 'Romanisation' and the processes through which aspects of Roman culture spread throughout the rest of Italy and beyond. 'Romanisation' is now a controversial term, as various scholars have moved from the original view of the deliberate export from Rome, and eager adoption by provincial elites, of a 'superior' and uniform Roman culture, towards more complex ideas of diverse hybridisation of local and incoming elements, substantial variations between regions and between social classes, or the existence of a broad circulatory system of cultural influences within a overall imperial framework.¹³ In particular, David Mattingly argues that the term 'Romanisation' is misleading and should be dropped, both because it implies a single, standardised process rather than the variety of ways in which it was experienced, and because the generalisation it represents now obscures the multiple and often contradictory understandings of what it means.¹⁴ He favours an approach based on what he terms 'discrepant identity', examining the heterogeneity of response to Rome, to culture change, and to identity (re-)formation from different sectors of the population in the context of Roman colonial expansion.¹⁵ Greg Woolf has suggested that focusing on particular aspects of cultural and social change might be more profitable than seeking to link them all together under another grand narrative to replace the old concept of Romanisation.¹⁶

Simon Key and Nicola Terrenato make an important distinction in this context between two very different cultural groupings that are both known as Roman: 'the original culture of the city-state of Rome, which was rooted in the Latin Iron Age, and the late Republican and Imperial culture, which resulted from a cross-fertilization of the Hellenistic mentality with a variety of central and western

¹³ See, for example, the summaries in Terrenato 1998a; 2001; Woolf 1998: 4-7; Hill 2001: 12- 5; Webster 2001: 209-17; Gosden 2004: 104-13; Hingley 2005: 14-48; Pitts 2007: 693-6; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 9-14; 2012; Stek 2009: 9-16.

¹⁴ Mattingly 1997: 8-9; 2011: 38-40, 205-7.

¹⁵ Mattingly 2011: 213-45.

¹⁶ Woolf 2014: 46-50.

Mediterranean and European perspectives'.¹⁷ They describe the cultural transformations that took place in Rome between the fourth and the second centuries BC as 'the Romanization of Rome', as the traditional culture of the city was heavily transformed by external influences to become something very different, losing its homogeneity in the process. The term 'Romanisation', they suggest, can be retained for the formation of the second, composite and far more complex Roman culture.

In practice, most discussion of 'Romanisation' follows this definition without explicitly recognising the distinction. Commentators tend to concentrate on the development and spread of features of Keay and Terrenato's second Roman culture during the Imperial, or sometimes late Republican, period. In terms of the original culture of the city, Emma Dench notes that very little work has been done on specifically Roman ethnic and cultural self-definition, unlike the legal aspects of citizenship and institutions.¹⁸

In this thesis I will examine a core element of the definition and development of identity in Keay and Terrenato's first Roman culture, which did not, however, feature in the later outward spread of Roman culture. In other words, I will focus on what made the Romans Roman, rather than what made other people Roman. I will argue that the use of double-rounded moulding on religious architecture contributed to how the Romans themselves came to define their ancestral culture, based on practices that they shared with their Latin neighbours, but that its use continued to be almost exclusively restricted to Rome and northern Latium, and did not survive to become part of Keay and Terrenato's second, transformed Roman culture during the Imperial period.

1.3.3. Archaeological evidence for Latin identity

In central Italy, the origins of ethnic identity are usually identified in the early Iron Age, around the tenth and ninth centuries BC, when distinctive cultural and

¹⁷ Keay and Terrenato 2001: ix.

¹⁸ Dench 2005: 26. See also Hingley 2005: 56-7, though he, too, concentrates on the Augustan period and legal issues of citizenship. Curti 2001: 20-1, and Dench 2003: 300-4, discuss the Hellenistic context in which Romans defined and expressed their identity in the third century BC.

social groupings can begin to be discerned. In recent years, however, there has been a recognition that the evidence is problematic: the archaeological remains are dominated by grave goods; the identifiable cultures underwent considerable changes and interactions over time; the ancient literary evidence mostly comes from a very different, later context; and modern political and social ideas have often influenced scholarship on the subject.¹⁹

It is also clear that the Iron Age and archaic communities in central Italy were not isolated, and therefore social markers, particularly in terms of material culture, do not always follow precise boundaries. Objects that suggest a shared identity or at least strong inter-connexions between groups might be typical of local areas, wider regions, or of wealth and status, and are found in overlapping patterns.²⁰ More widely, the borders between regional entities are usually blurred, both in terms of material culture and language.²¹ The early material culture of Latium does not have clear boundaries to the east with the Sabine areas or to the south within parts of Latium itself and with Campania.²² Even to the north, the distinction with Etruria is not always clear-cut.²³ The Etruscan city of Veii, for example, has more cultural features in common with Latium than the rest of Etruria, and was supported against Rome at the end of the fifth century BC by its Latin-speaking neighbours, Fidenae, Capena, and Falerii, whilst Etruscan Caere had strong links with Rome and supported her against Veii.²⁴

In spite of differences in methodology and interpretation of social developments, and the impossibility of defining neat boundaries, there is significant evidence that, in the period up to the seventh century BC, a distinct identity (the 'Latial culture') developed in Latium, based on many aspects of shared material culture,

¹⁹ On the limitations of the archaeological evidence for the Italic peoples, see the contributions in Bradley *et al.* 2007, and Stek 2013, with further bibliography. See also Dench 1995: 4-10, 186-217, on the peoples of Central Italy, and Alföldi 1965: 8-46 and Ampolo 1970-71; 1980 on Latium.

²⁰ Fulminante 2012: 102.

²¹ Bradley 2000: 112-4.

²² Colonna 1988: 515-20; Bietti Sestieri 1992: 3; Farney 2007: 29-31.

²³ Peroni 1996: 502-3.

²⁴ Salmon 1953: 128; Cornell 1991: 12-6; 1995: 320-1; Bradley 2000: 112-3. See also Colonna 1988: 520-4. Terracotta decorations from temple roofs which were made from the same moulds around 530 BC have been found at Veii, Rome, and Velitrae: see Winter 2009: 311-3; 2012: 70.

the Latin language, the same process of urban and architectural development, similar political and religious institutions, and a common name.²⁵

1.3.4. Literary evidence for Latin identity

Roman writers paid great attention to the origins of Rome and Roman customs, often linking them with the topography of the city and of Latium.²⁶ A large part of the literary tradition concerning the ethnic identity of the Latins dates from the late Republic and the reign of Augustus onwards, by which time a separate Latin identity was becoming submerged within a larger Roman identity encompassing the whole of Italy and increasingly beyond. Although ancient writers place the origins of the Latin identity much further back in history, the sources need to be treated with caution. Roman descriptions of their history were seen from the perspective of contemporary circumstances, and even sought to shape the present through imagining the past, beginning perhaps as far back as the sixth century BC.²⁷ There is a strong argument that the outline of early Roman history in the surviving accounts is reliable, whilst recognising that elements may have been emphasised, altered, or created to serve contemporary purposes, and that aspects which in fact date from after the Roman conquest of Latium may have been mistakenly assumed to represent a more ancient tradition.²⁸

Ancient historical works mark a decisive turning-point in 338 BC, when Rome definitively established hegemony over Latium and transformed its political relations with the Latin cities. Before then, Rome was just one among several communities in Latium that shared elements of Latin identity, albeit one that increasingly dominated its neighbours. After 338 BC the Romans chose to maintain the sense of a shared Latin culture and history, but with changes that suited their purposes. However difficult and complex the relationship between Rome and the Latin cities might have been before the conquest, and however strong the sense of shared identity might have been, there is certainly evidence

²⁵ Bietti Sestieri 1992: 221, 244; Cornell 1995: 48-51; 1997: 9; Bradley 2000: 116-7; Forsythe 2005: 58; Scott 2005: 105; Smith 2007: 34-7.

²⁶ Price 1996: 815-7; Dench 2005: 13-4, 137-8; Smith 2005: 80-1.

²⁷ Smith 2005: 81. Dench 2005: 14-5 also notes that Roman 'invention of tradition' does not begin in the late Republic.

²⁸ Cornell 1995: 1-30; 2005: 48-53, 59-60.

that Rome emphasised its 'Latinity' and its historical links with Latin communities at the end of the fourth century BC.²⁹

As a central element of this, the literary tradition also places great emphasis on the early existence of a shared Latin religious identity. This is expressed in particular through festivals at fixed locations where several communities met together to practise common religious rites, and especially the cult of Jupiter Latiaris at the *Feriae Latinae* on the Alban Mount.³⁰ The list provided by Pliny (*HN* 3.5.59) of the Latin communities that participated in this cult contains names such as the *Velienses* that seem to refer to individual hills in Rome, as well as others that were long extinct at the time of writing, and might therefore preserve a memory of a Latin religious identity that existed even before the period of urbanisation in the eighth century BC.³¹

Other common cults which are mentioned in the literary sources and later inscriptions, but which might well have existed from very early times, were at Lavinium, at the grove of Diana and at the *Lucus Ferentinae* at Aricia, at Tusculum, at Ardea, and perhaps elsewhere.³² Many were probably used mostly by small local groupings, and membership of some may have overlapped. The ancient sources do not always agree on which cities participated in the cults, nor on which could be defined as Latin, but it was participation in the annual festival on the Alban Mount that effectively came to define the Latin peoples, the *nomen Latinum* that ranked alongside other ethnic identities in Italy.³³

These shared sanctuaries were by no means unique to Latium. They are similar to Greek amphictyonies, and examples are known in other parts of Italy.³⁴ In Latium their status is complicated by the impact of the growing military and

²⁹ Dench 2005: 252.

³⁰ Scullard 1981: 111-5; Smith 1996: 215-23; Cornell 1997: 9; Dench 2005: 201-2; Simón 2011: 116-21; Fulminante 2012: 97-8.

³¹ Colonna 1988: 447-8; Bradley 2000: 116-7.

³² Cornell 1995: 294-8; Smith 1996: 222; Farney 2007: 65-7.

³³ Salmon 1953: 95-8; Cornell 1989a: 266; 1995: 294-5; Smith 1996: 196-8; 216-7; Liou-Gille 1997: 730-43.

³⁴ Smith 1996: 216; Liou-Gille 1997: 729-30; Bradley 2000: 125; De Cazanove 2007: 44-5; Bourdin 2012: 299-355; Bradley and Glinister 2013: 187-8.

political power of Rome. These religious associations could also form the basis for political and military alliances, either alongside Rome against foreign enemies, or against Rome itself in the case of the Latin League.³⁵ As either religious or military associations, therefore, they did not necessarily include Rome,³⁶ but were still an expression of Latin identity. The people of Ardea, for example, emphasised at this time their descent from the Rutuli to demonstrate that their own heritage in Latium was as ancient and prestigious as Rome's.³⁷

1.3.5. Changes after 338 BC

After 338 BC the Romans dissolved the Latin League and removed any possibility that it could again form the basis for joint opposition to Roman interests. Livy (8.14) describes how the Latin cities were either incorporated into the Roman state individually as *municipia* (with or without the vote), or bound tightly to Rome through separate treaties, as in the case of the two most powerful Latin cities, Tibur and Praeneste, and the colonies founded together by Rome and the Latin League in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.³⁸ In political terms, Latin status now denoted the granting of certain rights on a community by Rome, irrespective of their location or their ethnic or cultural background, but the concept of the original Latins as a distinct group of communities, the *nomen Latinum* or *prisci Latini*, persisted and is reflected in later writers.³⁹

In terms of religion, however, Rome maintained and even strengthened its ties with Latin cities. New bilateral religious arrangements were put in place, as well as revived or re-imagined federal activity centred on particular deities, in a way that emphasised a sense of a common religious community amongst the Latins.⁴⁰

³⁵ Cornell 1989a: 264-74; 1995: 297-8; Smith 1996: 221-2; Forsythe 2005: 183-5; Farney 2007: 66-7.

³⁶ Liou-Gille 1997: 744-64.

³⁷ Bourdin 2005: 586-609.

³⁸ See also Salmon 1953: 133-5; Sherwin-White 1973: 28-35; Cornell 1989b: 365-7; 1995: 348-52; Oakley 1998: 540-2. Mouritsen 2007: 157 argues that at least Lavinium and Lanuvium were not simply incorporated into the Roman state but retained a degree of separateness.

³⁹ Alföldi 1965: 10; Oakley 1998: 541; Dench 2005: 252; Briscoe 2008: 216-7; Fulminante 2014: 43. Walbank 1972: 149-52 stresses the political separateness of Rome and the Latin cities, and argues that *nomen Latinum* was coined after 338 BC to describe the new Latin juridical status and not their ethnic identity.

⁴⁰ Smith 2005: 80.

Lanuvium was the site of the sanctuary of Juno Sospita, but instead of removing her cult to Rome through *evocatio*, which had in the past been imposed on defeated cities, Rome insisted that the sanctuary be held in common by both cities.⁴¹ There are remains of architectural terracottas that date from the end of the sixth century BC, and evidence that the sanctuary was restored and enlarged in the late fourth century BC.⁴² The Roman consuls sacrificed there each year, and the most important magistrate of the city, who performed the civic religious rites associated with such a post, was a Roman senator, at least in the late Republic.⁴³

Rome also created a new bilateral relationship between the sanctuaries of Diana on the Aventine hill at Rome and by Lake Nemi in Aricia, which had originally been rivals. There was a tradition that Servius Tullius founded the sanctuary of Diana on the Aventine, outside the *pomerium* of Rome, in the mid-sixth century BC to be a common shrine for all the Latins.⁴⁴ There is archaeological evidence that a shrine of Diana already existed by Lake Nemi in Aricia in the seventh century BC. A fragment of Cato contains an inscription from the shrine that seems to date from the last decade of the sixth century BC, recording its dedication by a citizen of Tusculum on behalf of eight Latin cities.⁴⁵ This might reflect a decision by the Latin cities of the area to take advantage of the weakness of Rome after the fall of the kings to establish a new religious association in direct opposition to the one centred on the Aventine.⁴⁶

It seems that the Aventine Diana was modelled on the Artemis of Ephesus,⁴⁷ probably to emphasise the new shrine's role as a Greek-style amphictyony, whereas the Diana of Aricia had a triple-figured form, combining Artemis, Selene, and Hekate,⁴⁸ in addition to the Artemis-type that accounts for most of the votive

⁴¹ Liv. 8.14.2. See also Smith 2005: 79-80; Cooley 2006: 236-7; Bispham 2007: 105; Dillon 2015: 119-21.

⁴² Coarelli 1987: 153-5.

⁴³ Cic., *Mur.* 90; *Mil.* 45. See also Hermans 2012: 329.

⁴⁴ Liv. 1.45; Dion. Hal. 4.26. See Green 2007: 97-105.

⁴⁵ Cato, *Orig.* 2.28 C = fr. 58 Peter. See Gordon 1934: 1; Green 2007: 12, 88-9.

⁴⁶ Thomsen 1980: 297-300; Coarelli 1987: 165-9; Liou-Gille 1992: 411-21; Cornell 1995: 297-8; Smith 1996: 216-8.

⁴⁷ Strabo 4.1.5 says via a copy of the Ephesian Artemis at Massalia. See also Cornell 1989a: 267; Thomsen 1980: 301-7; Smith 1996: 218.

⁴⁸ Thomsen 1980: 293, 304-8, 314; Liou-Gille 1992: 426.

representations found in the sanctuary.⁴⁹ After Rome's defeat of the Latins in 338 BC, the two sanctuaries were no longer rivals, but both continued, and their cults seem to have converged considerably. The temple at Aricia was rebuilt, or perhaps one was constructed for the first time,⁵⁰ and it remained a common Latin sanctuary, whilst the one on the Aventine became a model for practices at other sanctuaries.⁵¹

Rome continued the Latin League's communal religious aspect, based on the annual *Feriae Latinae* on the Alban Mount. Membership of this festival became fixed, and this in effect now defined those communities which shared the traditional Latin religious identity. The festival now conformed even more strongly to Rome's convenience and priorities,⁵² but the centrally important role that it played in the Roman political and religious calendar, continuing until the end of fourth century AD, shows that it was not just an empty gesture towards defeated neighbours, but a valued means of demonstrating Rome's belief that it shared its origins and religion with a group of Latin communities.

Each year, one of the first duties of the consuls was to set a date for the *Feriae Latinae*. Their correct celebration of the festival on the Alban Mount, in the presence of all the Roman magistrates and priests as well as the other Latin communities, was necessary before they could undertake any military campaign. Following the festival, the consuls and the other magistrates and priests continued to Lavinium, where they made sacrifices to the Penates and Vesta.⁵³

Rome's pre-eminent status was demonstrated by the Latin communities having to formulate a prayer to the Roman people, which the magistrate from Lanuvium failed to do in 176 BC, and having to ask for their share of the sacrificed bull,

⁴⁹ Green 2007: 76-81.

⁵⁰ Ghini 1997: 182; Green 2007: 14-6; Ghini and Diosono 2012: 271, 274-5.

⁵¹ Cooley 2006: 244-5.

⁵² Scullard 1981: 111-5; Farney 2007: 66-7; Grandazzi 2008: 904-5. Brennan 1996: 321 and Simón 2011: 121 suggest that Rome might have assumed the management of the festival in the mid-fifth century BC. Smith 2012: 276-7 stresses the festival's role in preparation for war and binding the Latin allies to the Roman army.

⁵³ Liv. 8.11.15. See also Liou-Gille 1996: 85-7; Pasqualini 1996: 250-1; Simón 2011: 116-8; Ceccarelli 2012: 110. Pina Polo 2011: 103-8 notes that Livy never mentions the ceremony at Lavinium, and suggests that the consuls did not normally attend it.

which in 199 BC provoked complaints from the representatives of Ardea or Laurentum that they had not received their due allocation.⁵⁴ There are no archaeological remains of any temples or altars on the site of the festival, the modern Monte Cavo, so it is impossible to say whether they used double-rounded moulding.

Lavinium and Alba Longa were also given a particular significance at this time. The legend became established that Aeneas founded Lavinium after fleeing from Troy with the Trojan Penates, and then moved to Alba Longa, where he created a dynasty of Latin kings that would lead to the founding of Rome, before finally returning to Lavinium at the end of his life and disappearing into the River Numicus. This legend is found frequently in ancient literature, but not before the late fourth century BC.⁵⁵ It appears to be a deliberate appropriation by Rome of the figure of Aeneas and elements of earlier legends in order to create a new foundation myth, partly to connect with Greek culture, but also to link these existing Latin sanctuaries with Rome.⁵⁶

This link was given substance in both structures and rituals. At Lavinium, several new altars were erected in the sanctuary outside the city (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.1). Nearby, a tumulus that housed a burial from the seventh century BC was given a *pronaos* and *cella* at the end of the fourth century BC in the style of a *heroon*.⁵⁷ There is epigraphic evidence from the area of a hero-cult of Aeneas which dates from towards the end of the fourth century BC.⁵⁸ This *heroon* might perhaps be the one described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.64.4-5) as having been built to or by Aeneas.⁵⁹ The association between Rome and Lavinium was revived again in the early imperial period.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Simón 2011: 122; Pina Polo 2011: 104-8.

⁵⁵ Galinsky 1974: 2; Horsfall 1985: 9.

⁵⁶ Galinsky 1969: 8-13; Castagnoli and Castagnoli 1967: 2-3; Gruen 1992: 21-9; Wiseman 1995: 54; Smith 1996: 3; Erskine 2001: 146-8; Scheid 2006: 75, 79; Ceccarelli 2012: 109-10.

⁵⁷ Sommella 1971-72: 70-4; Galinsky 1974: 3-5; Holloway 1994: 135-8; Moser 2014: 19-20.

⁵⁸ Ceccarelli 2012: 111.

⁵⁹ Somella 1971-72: 74; Galinsky 1974: 6. Erskine 2001: 143-4 doubts the identification.

⁶⁰ Dench 2005: 202-3.

1.3.6. *The formulation of Rome's early history and traditions*

The period towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BC saw not only the Aeneas legend being made part of Roman history, but also the construction of a wider set of ancestral myths about early Rome. They were linked with the topography of the city, and built on old traditions to express a new Roman identity that reflected contemporary social and political developments. These myths covered the foundation of the city and later important events, including those of Romulus and Remus, Numa Pompilius, and Quirinus, and formulated for the first time a body of quasi-historical stories that could become the canonical shared memory of Rome's past, and of the achievements and qualities of their Roman ancestors.⁶¹ The same period also sees the first evidence of the self-glorifying and competitive ethos of the Roman ruling class, which now included plebeian families, who started to elaborate their own distinguished ancestries and create monuments to ensure that their achievements would be remembered.⁶²

1.3.7. *Other religious links with Latium*

There were also other ways in which the Romans emphasised their religious links with Latin cities. From the Augustan period authors refer to the *cinctus Gabinus* as the correct way of wearing the toga for performing religious rites, with the folds gathered up to allow freedom of movement and to cover the head.⁶³ Whether or not the practice originated in Gabii, which came under Roman control in the late sixth century BC,⁶⁴ or only became associated with the city much later, it shows a willingness to ascribe a fundamental aspect of Rome's religious identity to its Latin neighbours. The Latins seem to have shared with the Romans the tradition of sacrificing with head veiled, although there is some evidence that

⁶¹ Wiseman 1995: 128; 2004a: 123-6; Curti 2000: 89, 91; Gabba 2000: 19; Hölkeskamp 2004: 201-2. Wiseman 1998a: 86 suggests that the legend of the Dioscuri appearing at the battle of Lake Regillus dates from around 304 BC.

⁶² Wiseman 1986: 89; 1995: 109-10; Hölkeskamp 1993: 26-32; 2004: 201; 2011: 232-3; Farney 2007: 53-6; Roller 2013: 119. Davies 2012: 148-9 also notes the likely influence of contemporary monuments celebrating Alexander the Great and his successors.

⁶³ Wilson 1924: 86-8; Dubourdieu 1986: 3-5; Scheid 1995: 19; Cooley 2006: 244; Glinister 2008: 196-7.

⁶⁴ Cornell 1995: 209-10.

this practice was also found in Etruria and elsewhere in central Italy.⁶⁵ One or more of the priesthoods of *flamen Dialis*, Vestal Virgins, *rex sacrorum*, and *Salii* which are known at Rome are also found in other Latin cities, such as Lavinium and Tibur, and were believed to have existed in Alba Longa, although most of the evidence is from Imperial times, and they may be similar to known examples from this period of invented or recreated ancestral links with Latin cities rather than genuinely ancient shared religious practices.⁶⁶

The literary sources are clear, therefore, that there was a distinct Latin identity from a very early period. The elements of this identity as it is described fulfil the six components of Anthony Smith's definition of an ethnic group: a collective name; a common myth of descent; a shared history; a distinctive shared culture; an association with a specific territory; and a sense of solidarity.⁶⁷ In terms of shared culture, there was not only the strong religious element, but also language, which was described as 'Latin' rather than 'Roman'.⁶⁸ Even the long-standing right of intermarriage between citizens of Rome and Latin cities, the *ius conubii*, was seen as having created or strengthened a common ethnic descent.⁶⁹

The Latin identity portrayed in the literary sources was clearly determined from a Roman perspective, particularly regarding the common myth of descent, shared history, and sense of solidarity. The most detailed expositions came at times when the Roman authorities most wanted to emphasise a collective identity for wider political reasons: after their conquest of Latium in 338 BC; and in the late Republic and early Imperial period, when most cultural markers tended to be described as 'Latin' rather than 'Roman'.⁷⁰ Even so, it is unlikely that ancient authors could have invented an account that fundamentally contradicted the historical traditions of the Latin cities,⁷¹ and the elements chosen by Rome to

⁶⁵ Glinister 2008: 204-12.

⁶⁶ Wissowa 1915: 1-33; Purcell 1983: 167-70; Saulnier 1984: 520-5; Price 1996: 842; Beard *et al.* 1998: 1.51, 57-9, 323-4

⁶⁷ Smith 1986: 22-30.

⁶⁸ Dench 2005: 31, n.84, 315.

⁶⁹ Dench 2005: 24.

⁷⁰ Dench 2005: 137-8.

⁷¹ Cornell 2005: 49-50.

define that Latin identity must have been recognisable to the other communities as legitimately Latin in character for them to be accepted.⁷²

This thesis looks at one aspect of the material culture of Latium: the use of double-rounded architectural mouldings from the beginnings of stone architecture to the time of Augustus, on temple podia, altars, and other religious objects, and considers whether they were used throughout this period as a signifier of the Latin religious identity that is described in the literary sources.

⁷² Lucy 2005: 96 makes the general point that conceptions of ethnic identity must make genuine contact with people's actual experience to have any currency, and that symbols of identity must be plausible to their intended audience.

CHAPTER 2

TERMINOLOGY AND DESIGN

The use of mouldings as an architectural feature or decoration existed from an early date in Egypt, but seems first to have become prevalent, and very varied in form, in archaic Greek architecture.⁷³ This thesis examines the use of a specific type of rounded moulding whose profile is not found in Greek architecture but originated in central Italy. In particular, it considers its use in a design based on two counter-posed rounded mouldings of this type that appears on temple podia, altars, and other similar objects from the beginnings of stone architecture until the time of Augustus.

2. TERMINOLOGY OF MOULDINGS

2.1.1. Rounded wave moulding

There is no standard terminology to describe this distinct rounded profile, nor the various moulded elements of the design used on these podia and altars. The terms that are used most frequently are largely taken from the conventional modern terms for similar-looking elements in Doric and Ionic columns and cornices. These terms do not always correspond to their use in ancient Greek or Latin,⁷⁴ and are not necessarily the exact equivalent of the ancient forms.

The basic shape of this rounded profile is at fig. 2.1. It is a wave-like shape with a convex outer section and a concave inner section. The convex section often curves inwards at the end, so that its outline is between a quarter-round and half-round, and the concave section usually ends vertically. The relative dimensions of the different parts of the curve can vary considerably, with the convex section sometimes being long and shallow, and sometimes short and very rounded.

⁷³ Shoe 1965: 5; Edlund-Berry 2002: 40.

⁷⁴ Robertson 1943: 379-90 discusses the differences. See also Dinsmoor 1950: 387-97.

Lucy Shoe coined the term ‘Etruscan round’ for the earliest rounded mouldings in central Italy, including the wave-like profile.⁷⁵ This term can be misleading. Shoe used it to cover a wide range of different rounded profiles.⁷⁶ On the one hand, therefore, it includes some mouldings, such as the simple half-round (torus) and quarter-round, which are also widely found in Greek architecture. On the other hand, it obscures the unique nature of this wave-like profile, which is not a Greek form, but has been shown by subsequent archaeological discoveries to have been commonly used in Latium. Shoe’s term also reflects her view that these rounded mouldings were Etruscan forms that were adopted by their culturally-dependent neighbours to the east and south-east, including the Romans. Her colleague, Ingrid Edlund-Berry, has explained that they came from a unified architectural tradition that included the territory of both Etruscan and Latin speakers.⁷⁷

Since I shall argue that the wave-like profile had a distinct, symbolic significance in the way that it was used in Latium, and that it was neither wholly Etruscan in origin nor used in the same way in Etruria, I shall not use the term ‘Etruscan round’. Instead, I shall use the term **rounded wave moulding** for this profile, and restrict it to mouldings that have the wave-like features of the shape in fig. 2.1. I shall not use this term for other types of rounded mouldings, such as the half-round (torus) or quarter-round, for which I shall follow the standard terms illustrated in fig. 2.2. A glossary of moulding terms used in this thesis is at Appendix 1.

⁷⁵ Shoe 1965: 31, ‘The form is a single-curved moulding, either quarter or half round or oval. In general the quarter form is used for the principal moulding, the half for smaller secondary mouldings with a large quarter round or in combinations especially with fasciae, sometimes with the beak’.

⁷⁶ For example: Shoe 1965: 15; Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xv-xvi, xxii, xxvii, n.15; Edlund-Berry 2008: 441, n.3; Winter 2012: 61, 66-7. Ginouvès and Martin 1985: 160, n.213 regard Shoe’s ‘Etruscan round’ not as a separate shape, but as a variety of quarter-round mouldings: ‘*il s’agit en effet, en principe, d’un quart-de-rond renversé étiré vers le haut, avec le sommet bien arrondi et la base se terminant à peu près verticalement; mais bien des variations du profil sont possibles, entre le quart-de-rond ou d’ovale et le demi-rond ou ovale*’ (in fact, as a rule, it is an inverted quarter-round that is extended towards the top, with a very rounded upper part and a lower part that ends almost vertically; but many variations in the profile are possible, from a quarter-round or oval, to a half-round or oval).

⁷⁷ Edlund-Berry 2008: 441, n.3.

The rounded wave profile has similarities with the Greek *cyma reversa* (fig. 2.3),⁷⁸ but its convex section tends to be more rounded.⁷⁹ The *cyma reversa* is one of several moulded forms which were used in the upper parts of Greek temples, and which were presumably developed in stone from earlier wooden versions (fig. 2.4),⁸⁰ to enable the overhanging horizontal cornice and the terracotta *sima*, or gutter, to project away from the walls and so protect them from rain-water.

Shoe argued that the *cyma reversa* was developed from the Ionic *ovolo* moulding and appeared first at Ephesus in around 560 BC, whilst the *cyma recta* and *hawksbeak* developed from the Doric *cavetto* moulding, with the *cyma recta* appearing first on Corfu in around 580-560 BC and the *hawksbeak* in Athens later in the sixth century BC.⁸¹ The earliest appearance of the rounded wave moulding in central Italy was about thirty years later, around 530 BC, in the second phase of the archaic temple at S. Omobono in Rome, but as a large decorative element of the podium, placed underneath a simple half-round.⁸²

Early temples in central Italy had several differences in design from archaic Greek temples. They relied on wood and mud-brick for the roof and walls, rather than the greater use of stone in Greek temples, and protected their walls by means of deeply overhanging rafters sheathed at the end in terracotta, without the Greek arrangement of projecting the horizontal cornice outwards.⁸³ There is, therefore, much less use of mouldings at the roof level on early temples in central Italy.⁸⁴ Instead, mouldings appear in stone and with larger proportions on the podium, an architectural feature which is not found on Greek temples. They also appear from an equally early date on altars and other objects. Despite the similarity of several forms, this difference in architectural function, and the use of the rounded

⁷⁸ *Cyma reversa* also has a double, wave-like curvature, in which the convex part protrudes; when the concave part protrudes, it is known as a *cyma recta*. See Ginouvès and Martin 1985: 162-3.

⁷⁹ Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xxiv-xxv.

⁸⁰ Lawrence 1996: 72.

⁸¹ Shoe 1936: 54, 90-1, 100. See also Robertson 1943: 37-8, 61, n.2 to p.37; Shoe 1952: 61, 159.

⁸² Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xxiii, xxvii, n.33. See Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.

⁸³ Turfa and Steinmayer 1996: 1, 8-31.

⁸⁴ Winter 2009 provides a comprehensive review of the architectural terracottas used on the roofs of early temples in central Italy; Winter 2012 examines the use of the 'Etruscan round' in these architectural terracottas, although she always uses the term here to describe a half-round.

wave moulding, argues for treating the use of these mouldings in central Italy as a distinct tradition which need not be tied to Greek usage.

I accept that my term ‘rounded wave moulding’ risks confusion with the terms *cyma* and *cymatium/kymation* (‘wave’ and ‘little wave’), which are used in modern scholarship to describe specific types of moulding.⁸⁵ These terms, however, are generally used only in those forms, and my use of the English word ‘wave’ is intended to draw a distinction with the profiles now known by those names, whilst recognising that there are similarities. I discuss in Chapter 6 the possibility that the mouldings which are usually described as *cyma reversa* on Roman podia, altars and bases from the second century BC onwards might have developed from, or been strongly influenced by, this rounded wave moulding from central Italy rather than just being a direct copy of the Greek form.

2.1.2. Double-rounded moulding

Examples of rounded wave moulding, quarter-rounds, and half-rounds occur frequently in central Italy from the sixth century BC onwards. In this thesis I shall concentrate on an architectural design that is based on placing two rounded wave mouldings vertically opposite each other and counter-posed, so that they curve inwards to form a pinched, hourglass-shaped waist at the centre. I shall use the term **double-rounded moulding** for this design.

2.1.3. Possible origin of the double-rounded design

The shape of the rounded-wave moulding and the double-rounded design must have been difficult to carve in stone, and yet they are the forms that are used in Latium from the first appearance of stone architecture in the sixth century BC. It is possible that, even then, they represent a tradition of religious conservatism by seeking to reproduce an earlier, wooden form. An altar could be made from a section, or ‘drum’, cut from a tree trunk by splitting it in half, inverting the two halves, and connecting them together with a peg or collar. This would produce

⁸⁵ Vitruvius and other ancient sources do not use the terms consistently to refer to a specific form of moulding: see Robertson 1943: 382-3; Rowland and Howe 1999: xvi, n.3, 202. Howe 2005: 43, n.14 records Shoe’s persuasive suggestion that Vitruvius used *cymatium* as a generic term to indicate that the actual design of the profile was left up to the architect.

flat surfaces for resting on the ground and for burning the sacrificial offering (see section 2.4.2 below), as well as the characteristic hourglass-shaped waist in the middle. The height of the altar could be adjusted by attaching rectangular wooden planks to the bottom and top, and the upper surface could be protected from the sacrificial fire by the use of turf or a metal brazier (fig. 2.5).⁸⁶ The only ancient reference to a wooden altar, however, relates to a sacrifice made by Septimius Severus at the Secular Games in AD 204.⁸⁷

2.1.4. Moulded elements of the double-rounded design

The structures and objects that incorporate this double-rounded design can display considerable variation in their moulded decoration, including in the relative size and angle of the curved sections, and in the range of other moulded features that might also be present.

Ferdinando Castagnoli first addressed the issue of what to call these moulded features when he produced a comprehensive typology of objects with double-rounded moulding in 1959-60. He noted that, although the distinctiveness of this design had long been noted, there was no fixed terminology for describing it.⁸⁸ He usually refers to it with a phrase such as '*con una doppia gola*' ('with a double moulding'), and he uses the terms '*echino*' and '*echino di base*' for the upper and lower rounded wave mouldings, whilst noting that at Lavinium the *echino di base* is always '*una doppia gola rovescia*' ('a double cyma reversa'). Castagnoli's terms match those used by Lucos Cozza in his excavation report for the Lavinium altars,⁸⁹ and have since been widely followed by Italian scholars.⁹⁰

There is less consistency in English texts. Apart from Edlund-Berry, who follows Shoe's terms and calls it an 'Etruscan round', very few writers in English have described such objects since Shoe's study. Vedia Izzet uses general terms like

⁸⁶ Meiggs 1982: 219-47; Ulrich 2007: 94-103, 239-68; Adam 1994a: 87-101, 196-213 discuss the types of wood available in Italy, and Roman woodworking tools and carpentry.

⁸⁷ Pighi 1965: 154, 162-3, 300-1.

⁸⁸ Castagnoli 1959-60: 146-7.

⁸⁹ Cozza 1975.

⁹⁰ Frascarelli 2012: 133-4 lists some other terms that have been used, but also follows Castagnoli and Cozza.

‘moulded and carefully shaped with convex and concave curves, points and angles’, and ‘curved stone cushions’.⁹¹ Simonetta Stopponi mainly follows Castagnoli’s terms, such as ‘the “hourglass” type, with an echinus or Etruscan round base-moulding topped by a crown of an inverted echinus and abacus’.⁹² More recently, Claudia Moser also follows Castagnoli, using terms such as ‘echinus’ and ‘plinth’, and ‘half-round molding’ rather than ‘Etruscan round’.⁹³

To maintain consistency with Castagnoli, the subsequent Italian descriptions, and the most recent works in English, I shall use the English versions of Castagnoli’s terms rather than Shoe’s for the various elements that might occur on these objects, as set out in Table 1:

Table 1: Terminology of Mouldings

	Castagnoli (1959-60)	Shoe (1965)	Used in this thesis
	<i>Abaco</i>	Fascia	Abacus
	<i>Echino</i>	Crowning round	Upper echinus
	<i>Becco di civetta</i>	Beak	Hawksbeak
	<i>Collo</i>	Scotia	Scotia
	<i>Echino di base</i>	Base round	Lower echinus
	<i>Listello</i>	Fillet	Fillet
	<i>Toro</i>	Small round	Torus
	<i>Plinto</i>	Base fascia	Plinth

2.2. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The first person to identify objects with double-rounded moulding as a distinct group was Franz Studniczka in 1903.⁹⁴ His aim was to provide parallels and dating evidence for the fragmentary remains of a monument that had been uncovered in 1899 under the Lapis Niger in the Roman Forum (cat. no. D10). He believed that the surviving blocks with rounded moulding would originally have

⁹¹ Izzet 2000: 42.

⁹² Stopponi 2000: 27.

⁹³ Moser 2014: 21-2.

⁹⁴ Studniczka 1903: 139-45.

had similar, inverted upper sections, and that the two long sides formed the bases for sculpted lions that marked what was believed to be the grave of Romulus.

He listed fifteen examples of objects with similar double-rounded moulding, including representations on a mirror, a grave stele, two vases, a cinerary urn, and coins, as well as two surviving *gave cippi*, miniature terracotta altars or *arulae*, a capital block from a statue base, and five altars. He identified another representation of an altar on a sarcophagus from Chiusi as the oldest example of the type that would develop into the double-rounded design, but did not include it in his list. He stressed that the list was unlikely to be comprehensive, and a year later he added an object believed to be an altar that had just been uncovered at Lavinium.⁹⁵

Studniczka thought that the design was Greek in origin, but noted that all his examples differed from Greek usage, and so he called them an '*etruskisch-italisch*' phenomenon. In his view, the form developed over time with the curves tending to project further outwards until the shape merged with the Doric echinus profile to come close to the curve of the Lesbian *cymatium* (the *cyma reversa*).

Studniczka was followed by Helen Cox Bowerman, who published her thesis on surviving sacrificial altars in Rome in 1913.⁹⁶ She divided the altars into two main classes: those with a curving profile and those with a straight profile. She catalogued three altars in the first class: the Altars to Verminus, to Vediovis, and of Calvinus (cat. nos C14, C15, and C17). For parallels to this type she reproduced Studniczka's list, adding the sarcophagus from Chiusi cited by Studniczka as a sixteenth example, but not the remains under the Lapis Niger, nor the example from Lavinium cited by Studniczka in 1904. She added a further twelve items, comprising a representation on an Etruscan cinerary urn, eight representations on Etruscan mirrors, one on a bronze relief in Copenhagen, and two on Etruscan tomb paintings. I do not believe that all these and Studniczka's items are true

⁹⁵ Studniczka 1904: 243. The Lavinium altar was from the forum and might well be a statue base rather than an altar (cat. no. D16, and see Chapter 6, section 6.3).

⁹⁶ Bowerman 1913: 8-14, 59-72.

examples of the double-rounded form, and I explain in Appendix 2 why I have excluded some of them from my catalogue.

The great majority of the twenty-eight items listed by Bowerman were Etruscan in origin, and of the Roman examples, she believed that the coins were minted by men whose families were originally Etruscan, and the miniature altars were made by Etruscan workmen. For her, only the bronze relief was possibly Roman rather than Etruscan. Bowerman, therefore, concluded that the rounded wave moulding and the double-rounded design were Etruscan, though probably Babylonian in origin, and that the reason why so few altars of this type survived at Rome (as was thought at the time) was because the form was associated with Etruria and mainly favoured at Rome by men of Etruscan ancestry. I do not believe that is this borne out by the evidence or subsequent discoveries, as I discuss in Chapters 3 and 4.

The most important typology of the double-rounded form was produced by Ferdinando Castagnoli in 1959-60.⁹⁷ This came after the excavation of a total of seventeen altars at Lavinium with this form (cat. nos B1-B17), and Castagnoli sought to describe parallels, both for their U-shaped design and their double-rounded mouldings. He concluded that their design, and their orientation to the east, were directly inspired by Greek models, with parallels in Etruria.⁹⁸ I discuss this in Chapter 4, section 4.4, but there are important differences in design and how the altars might have been used, and virtually all of the surviving Greek examples are later than the earliest altars at Lavinium. It is likely, therefore, that the design was conceived in Latium, and that any Greek influence was relatively minor.

Castagnoli did not set out an itemised list of objects with double-rounded moulding, but he cited numerous examples and comparators. Besides the representations on coins and other objects, and the miniature altars mentioned by Studniczka and Bowerman, he included a donative base from Tivoli, various

⁹⁷ Castagnoli 1959-60.

⁹⁸ Castagnoli 1959-60: 153-4.

Etruscan *cippi*, three balustrades or bases from Etruria, as well as temple podia at S. Omobono in Rome, Villa San Silvestro, Isernia, and Ardea. He also included the altars in the sanctuary at Lavinium and the one from its forum, the two altars at S. Omobono in Rome, the altars to Verminus, to Vediovis, and of Calvinus, an altar found by the Via dei Serpenti in Rome, half an altar with an inscription by Quinctius, a fragment of an altar with an inscription by Longinus, two other altars in Rome, half an altar seen by Thomas Ashby on the Via Prenestina, altars in Ostia, and an altar at Fiesole. These are all included in my catalogue. Based on these examples, he argued that the remains under the Lapis Niger must have been an altar, rather than bases for lions marking the grave of Romulus, as Studniczka proposed (I discuss in Chapter 3, section 3.2.6, why I think that this is unlikely).⁹⁹

Since the majority of altars with double-rounded moulding that he identified were from Rome and Latium, Castagnoli concluded that the idea that this form was limited to Etruria should be dropped.¹⁰⁰ This also implied for him that Etruria should no longer be seen as the determining factor in the development of architecture in Italy, since Etruria, Latium and part of Campania all provided contributions.

Castagnoli stressed the difficulty in tracing a clear line of development for the form bearing in mind its regional variations, but suggested that the study of this double-rounded form should be taken into account in considering the development of a new design of Roman podium from the third century BC onwards with smaller cyma mouldings at top and bottom, since it needed to be established how much inspiration they drew, not only from Greek models, but also from this older, moulded type of Etrusco-Roman podium. As I discuss in Chapter 6, section 6.6, I believe that the double-rounded moulding form played a central role in the development of the newer podium design, both in terms of the profile of the moulding used, and in the placing of moulded elements of similar size and profile in a counter-posed position at the top and bottom of the podium.

⁹⁹ Castagnoli 1959-60: 151.

¹⁰⁰ Castagnoli 1959-60: 171-2.

In 1965 Lucy Shoe published a comprehensive review of Etruscan and Republican Roman mouldings.¹⁰¹ This was the third part of a monumental and extremely thorough programme of research in which she described and catalogued first the mouldings of mainland Greece and then those of the Western Greek areas.¹⁰² To do this, she used a Maco template, an engineering device with thin, movable metal staves that could record the profiles with great accuracy.¹⁰³

By studying the moulded profiles in detail, Shoe recognised that the Etrusco-Italic examples were different in size and often in profile from Greek forms. She called the most distinctly different type the ‘Etruscan round’, though, as I explained in section 2.1.1, she included a broad range of rounded profiles in that term. Shoe concentrated in her work only on individual moulded profiles. Although she noted that several objects, especially altars, had two counter-posed ‘Etruscan rounds’, she did not discuss this double-rounded form as a distinct design, but included them alongside other uses of the profile in each different type of monument (podium, altar, base, etc.). In the case of the later, modified version of the double-rounded design, with smaller rounded mouldings above and below a tall, flat surface, she listed the upper and lower mouldings separately.

Shoe believed, as the name implies, that the ‘Etruscan round’ was created by the Etruscans and was taken directly from them by the Romans and by others in central Italy who had come under the cultural influence of Etruria.¹⁰⁴ In particular, she stated that the use of double-rounded moulding on temple podia and altars in Latium and in Latin colonies and settlements elsewhere was derived from the form of one type of grave *cippus* in use at Orvieto.¹⁰⁵ I argue in Chapter 4 that the double-rounded design, and the U-shaped and rectangular altar forms, were not derived from Etruscan originals, nor from this type of *cippus* in particular.

¹⁰¹ Shoe 1965.

¹⁰² Shoe 1936 and 1952.

¹⁰³ Her method is described in Shoe 1936: 1; Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xviii-xix; and Edlund-Berry 2005: 1-6.

¹⁰⁴ Shoe 1965: 21-2, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Shoe 1965: 30, 95, 108.

Shoe also drew a sharp distinction between the 'Etruscan round' and the Greek *cyma reversa*. This is reflected in the structure of her article, which divides the examples into one or other of these categories. She argued that the Romans made a conscious change from using the Etruscan form to the Greek form in around the third and second centuries BC on temple podia, altars, and bases.¹⁰⁶ In discussing individual examples, however, she sometimes implies that the distinction was not so clear-cut. For example, she noted that the 'Etruscan rounds' on some of the Lavinium altars and the monument under the Lapis Niger came closer to the *cyma reversa* form, that there was great variation in the profiles she categorised as *cyma reversa*, and that some of the earliest examples of what she categorised as *cyma reversa* at Paestum and Rome retained characteristics of 'Etruscan rounds'.¹⁰⁷ I discuss in Chapter 6, sections 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6, whether this should be seen more as a development in the existing moulding rather than a change from an Etruscan to a Greek form.

Shoe (under her married name Meritt) and Edlund-Berry re-published Shoe's 1965 article in 2000, without changes but with an additional summary by Edlund-Berry of subsequent significant discoveries.¹⁰⁸ Among these new discoveries are, for example, the two archaic podia from S. Omobono in Rome, the podium beneath the cathedral at Sora, and the remains of an altar from Ardea, all of which I have included in my catalogue (see Chapter 3, section 3.1).

In view of the many examples from Rome and Latium, Edlund-Berry comments that the evidence suggests a common architectural tradition, which she argues should continue to be called 'Etruscan', provided it is recognised that it includes the territory of both Etruscan and Latin speakers.¹⁰⁹ She maintains a distinction between the *cyma reversa* and the 'Etruscan round', but sees them being used in combination in second-century BC temple podia, and describes the *cyma reversa* forms on these podia as having proportions which connect them back to the

¹⁰⁶ Shoe 1965: 23-4, 29-32, 143-4.

¹⁰⁷ Shoe 1965: 144-5, 157-9, 169-70.

¹⁰⁸ Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000. See also Edlund-Berry 2002: 38.

¹⁰⁹ Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xxii. See also Edlund-Berry 2008: 441 n.3.

traditions of the 'Etruscan round'.¹¹⁰ In other articles, she suggests that this form of moulding had become by that time a distinctly Roman architectural language, and its appearance in central and southern Italy during the second and first centuries BC can be taken as an indicator of Romanisation.¹¹¹

Edlund-Berry recognises that her brief survey of discoveries since 1965 could not have been intended to be comprehensive.¹¹² There are several examples of buildings or objects with double-rounded mouldings that are not mentioned, and others have come to light since the re-publication of Shoe's article in 2000.

2.3. CATALOGUE

My catalogue, in Part 2 of this thesis, is intended to be as complete a record as possible of the surviving examples and representations of objects with double-rounded moulding that have been discovered to date. The examples are grouped by type rather than chronologically or geographically: A. temple podia; B. U-shaped altars; C. square or rectangular altars; D. bases and other objects; and E. representations on other objects.

The examples come both from Etruscan and from Roman or Latin sites, and it is clear that the rounded wave moulding and the double-rounded design were part of a common architectural language used in both Etruria and Latium, and in areas which came under their control, from the sixth until the first century BC. My aim is to examine the evidence for a distinct Latin tradition within that common architectural language, which used the double-rounded design on altars and other objects in such a way that it could be regarded as a signifier of a traditional Latin religious culture.

As part of this, I will argue that this distinct Latin tradition was characterised by the association of the double-rounded design with a limited number of specific religious forms, which remained relatively constant until they were superseded

¹¹⁰ Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xxiii-xxv.

¹¹¹ Edlund-Berry 1995: 347; 1996: 17-8; 1998: 374; 2008: 445.

¹¹² Edlund-Berry 2002: 38, 41 n.5.

by new and very different forms. Categorising the objects in the catalogue by type is, therefore, intended to help demonstrate how distinctively Latin the use was of these specific forms in combination with the double-rounded design.

A chronological view is also important, however. In considering the distinct Latin use of forms with the double-rounded design, I will examine whether they originate from Greek or Etruscan models, and whether their later use can be interpreted as a deliberate evocation of the memory of a traditional Latin culture through the preservation of old architectural forms. As far as possible, therefore, I have tried to list the examples chronologically within each section of the catalogue, even though many of them cannot be reliably dated.

I have not grouped the objects in the catalogue geographically. The entries all come from Latium, Etruria, and central Italy east of Latium, but the examples to the east of Latium, and the later ones in Etruria, appear to be associated with the imposition of Roman control in those areas, as I argue in Chapter 5. Grouping the entries as if there were three separate traditions would, therefore, risk obscuring this important aspect.

By grouping the entries by type of object, the catalogue shows clearly that all of the examples categorised as temple podia, U-shaped altars, and square or rectangular altars are from Latium, or from Roman/Latin contexts outside Latium. This implies that it was a distinct Latin tradition to use double-rounded moulding on podia and altars, but only rarely on other objects, whereas Etruscan practice was much more varied, both in the range of forms that different types of objects took and in the range of mouldings used, with no specific association between the double-rounded design and podia or altars. I discuss this in more depth in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.4. TERMINOLOGY OF OBJECTS

Some of the objects in the catalogue are difficult to categorise, due to their poor state of preservation,¹¹³ or because there are differing interpretations of an object's purpose and, in particular, of what might constitute a podium or an altar.

2.4.1. *Temple podia*

The term 'podium' has come to be used for several architectural features, and as a more general reference to any kind of raised platform. I shall follow the new definition set out by Charlotte Potts, which limits the term to a type of raised substructure which must be negotiated to enter a surmounting structure which occupies all, or very nearly all, the surface of the substructure.¹¹⁴ There are two objects in the catalogue which, though not podia under this definition, are still difficult to categorise. The platform at Marzabotto (cat. no. D2) has been interpreted as a podium or a very large altar, and the platform at Pieve a Súcana (cat. no. D3) has no clear remains of a staircase and so might itself be an altar.

2.4.2. *Altars and bases*

Altars were a vehicle for humans to make offerings to the gods through a sacrificial sharing of food, a process which in this case involved burning to transfer ownership of the gift.¹¹⁵ Since altars were an indispensable part of this central element of Roman religion, their design was copied on other objects that were intended to honour the gods. Even temples were votive gifts to the gods,¹¹⁶ and so the podia in the catalogue might have been given double-rounded moulding in the style of altars in order to emphasise this aspect.

¹¹³ The double-rounded 'hourglass' shape has an inherent structural weakness in the narrow central stem, which makes it easy for the upper and lower sections to become detached.

¹¹⁴ Potts 2011a: 41-3; 2015: 39-40.

¹¹⁵ The literature on Roman sacrifice is much less extensive than on Greek sacrifice: see Feeney 2004: 2-4; Elsner 2012: 121-3; Scheid 2012: 84-5 for brief summaries. The nature and procedure of sacrifices are described in Wissowa 1912: 417-9; Ogilvie 1969: 41-52; Dumézil 1970: 557-9; Beard, *et al.* 1998: 36-7; *ThesCRA* i, 184-7, s.v. "Les sacrifices dans le monde romain" (F. Prescendi); Scheid 2007: 263-7; Prescendi 2007: 31-51. Aldrete 2014 discusses the practical issues involved in killing large animals during Roman sacrifices. See also Scheid 1985: 193; Rüpke 2007: 142-51 on how sacrifices defined hierarchies, created obligations between gods and humans, and created specific linkages with deities.

¹¹⁶ Warde Fowler 1911: 146; Stambaugh 1978: 567-8; Ziolkowski 1989-90: 761.

The difficulty of distinguishing between altars and bases for statues or other types of votive objects has long been recognised.¹¹⁷ They are equally likely to be found by temples, in sanctuaries, or near burials, either individually or in conjunction with each other. Different altars can have different functions, depending on whether they are intended for the sacrificial burning of meat or other offerings, the receipt of libations, or the marking of a person's memory or grave without necessarily being used for any kind of offering. This difference in function might be reflected in their size.

Modern categories given to ancient altars, which are based on their perceived function, such as 'votive altar' or 'funerary altar', do not correspond with the distinctions between the terms used in Latin.¹¹⁸ The words most commonly used are *ara* or *altaria*, but *focus*, *foculus*, and *mensa* are also used, and occasionally other terms, such as *acerra* or *thymiaterium*.

The words *ara* and *altaria* seem to derive from roots meaning 'to burn', which suggests that a burnt offering played a role in Latin religious rites from a very ancient period, though these terms come to be used not only for different types of altars, but also by extension for other objects with the same shape as altars.¹¹⁹ Extending the meaning of the word *ara* in this way might have happened by analogy with the Greek word βωμός, which in the Roman period came to be used for other objects that had the shape of an altar, and perhaps took on some of the symbolic reverence of an altar.¹²⁰

The word *focus* also derives from a term for fire, and remains closely linked with the burning of offerings, with the term either being virtually synonymous with *ara* or *altaria*, or referring to a brazier or the area on the upper surface of an altar where the fire was kindled. *Foculus*, its diminutive form, refers to portable altars or tripods that hold a fire pan. These were mainly associated with preliminary,

¹¹⁷ For example Hermann 1961: 10, 61-2; Shoe 1965: 109; Schraudolph 1993: 23-7; Dräger 1994: 12; Coulton 2005: 145.

¹¹⁸ *ThesCRA* iv, 173-6, s.v. "Altare (romano-repubblicano)" (M. Menichetti).

¹¹⁹ Bowerman 1913: 5-8; Candida 1979: 4-5; Kleiner 1987: 19; Dräger 1994: 57; Siebert 1999: 90-3, 251-2; Scheid 2005a: 44-6; Rüpke 2007: 141.

¹²⁰ Coulton 2005: 127-30, 143-4.

non-blood sacrifices, and perhaps served to convey to the gods the identity of the individual making the sacrifice.¹²¹ The *mensa* is primarily a table on which the sacred vessels and implements were kept, but could also be used inside temples for offerings left by worshippers that were probably not burned.¹²² *Acerra* and *thymiaterium* are both smaller, more specialised objects on which sacrifices could be made, but are probably different from all the objects in the catalogue.¹²³

One method of distinguishing altars from bases is through the wording or nature of an inscription. In the case of objects with double-rounded moulding, however, there are very few that carry an inscription and, where they do, it is not normally unequivocal. Inscriptions only start appearing on these objects around the middle of the second century BC. This means that none of the U-shaped altars has any form of inscription. Six of the square altars have inscriptions (cat. nos C14-C17 and C20-C21) but the only one that explicitly names itself as an altar, with the word '*aara*' (an archaising spelling which I discuss in Chapter 6, section 6.2.4), is the one dedicated to Vediovis at Bovillae by the *gens Iulia* around the end of the second century BC (cat. no. C17). The other inscriptions state or imply that the monuments are restorations, which suggests that they are all altars, but this is not conclusive.

A second means of distinguishing the objects is the nature of their upper surface. Holes or sockets would indicate that they were intended to carry statues or other objects, but the weakness caused by the central 'waist' of the double-rounded moulding means that the upper half is often missing, and excavators' descriptions sometimes pay little attention to the upper surface.¹²⁴ The inscribed base from Acquoria, near Tivoli (cat. no. D1), and the badly-damaged base from the Campo dell Fiera at Orvieto (cat. no. D12) both have sockets in their upper surface for holding some kind of object, and so can be classified as bases.

¹²¹ Bowerman 1913: 3-4; Dumézil 1970: 314-5; Kleiner 1987: 19; Siebert 1999: 93-4, 252-3; Rüpke 2007: 140-1.

¹²² Bowerman 1913: 4-5; Kleiner 1987: 19; Siebert 1999: 98-102, 253-5; Rüpke 2007: 141.

¹²³ Siebert 1999: 95-7, 250, 255. Colonna 1977: 162, n.84 identifies *acerrae* with the terracotta *arulae* that I discuss in Chapter 3, section 3.4.

¹²⁴ Hermann 1961: 61-2; Coulton 2005: 133-4.

A third method of determining an object's function can be its size. In the Imperial period funerary altars, which served as grave markers rather than places for sacrifice,¹²⁵ were usually between 1.00m and 1.20m high, whereas altars intended for burning offerings were around 0.80m high.¹²⁶ The latter matches the height of Altar XIII at Lavinium (cat. no. B1), which survives virtually intact, as well as the distance between the step and the surviving upper surface of Altars XI and XII (cat. nos B13-B14), and the likely height of the other altars at Lavinium.¹²⁷ Some of the upper part of the U-shaped altar at Castrum Inui (cat. no. B21) also survives, and indicates a height of around 0.85m.¹²⁸

It is a reasonable conclusion from this that objects of this type with a height of around 0.80m to 0.85m could be altars whose upper surface was intended to be used for some form of sacrifice. Even then, it is possible that they might be bases for other objects and their height merely coincidental, or intended to create a visual link in both size and shape with an altar. In addition, objects that are a little shorter than this might in fact have been altars, but designed to carry a portable brazier in metal or terracotta, or a covering of turf or other material, before being used for sacrifices.

2.4.3. Statues

I discuss in section 2.5 below the possible interpretation that Tables III and IV of the *Tabulae Iguvinae* indicate that statues and other votive objects might have played a role in religious ceremonies in conjunction with an altar. The concept of distinguishing between a 'cult statue' and other images is very problematic in a Greek context,¹²⁹ but in Latin there was a greater distinction made between a *statua* as a portrait statue of a person, a *simulacrum* as a statue that represented a god as a focus of devotion, and a *signum* as a more general image of a god, especially in dedications, or what in modern terms would be deemed a 'work of

¹²⁵ Kleiner 1987: 21; Boschung 1987: 12.

¹²⁶ Altmann 1905: 28; Candida 1979: 5. Kleiner 1987: 31 shows a wider range of heights, but many are well over one metre in height. Representations in Roman art show altars at, or slightly below, waist height: see the plates in Ryberg 1955.

¹²⁷ Castagnoli 1959-60: 146.

¹²⁸ Di Mario 2007: 82.

¹²⁹ Donohue 1997: 31-3; Mylonopoulos 2010: 4.

art'.¹³⁰ Livy 26.34.12, for example, talks of priests being consulted in 210 BC to decide which statues captured from the Campanians were sacred or profane, to determine how they might subsequently be treated.

This distinction, however, seems to have been far from absolute. Any dedicated image of a god might be turned into a form of cult, and there might have been a fluid interchanging of roles between dedicatory object, divine representation, or focus of cult activity over time and depending on circumstances. Peter Stewart further proposes that the phrase '*signum cum basi*' on statuary dedications might sometimes mean not 'a statue with its base' but rather 'a statue with an altar'.¹³¹

This fluidity of function might also be reflected in the shape and decoration of the bases that such objects stood on. The similarity in form between altars and certain bases, and the convergence of terminology which came from it, is probably intended to create a thematic, and even possibly functional link between those objects. Olaf Dräger also suggests that, when the altar form was used as a base in this way, it carried over some of its symbolic meaning¹³².

My catalogue therefore seeks to distinguish as far as possible between altars and bases. The fact that such a distinction cannot always be drawn with confidence indicates that some bases were intended to be visually associated with altars and take on an element of their religious reverence. Since the key visual feature of these altars is their double-rounded design, it is that shape which becomes the signifier of the object's identity as an altar, and so it is through using that design in a base or other object that such an association can be established.

2.5. THE DESIGN OF ALTARS AND THEIR USE IN RITUALS

Unlike the wide variety of Greek and Etruscan altar forms, Roman and Latin altars with double-rounded moulding had only two basic forms: U-shaped and square or slightly rectangular. Even the U-shaped form could be regarded as a square or

¹³⁰ Stewart 2003: 186. See also: Vermeule 1987: 20-2; Witschel 1995: 250; Estienne 2010: 259-63.

¹³¹ Stewart 2003: 190.

¹³² Dräger 1994: 30. See also Coulton 2005: 145.

rectangular altar surrounded by a higher outer casing, leaving a gap on one side so that the sacrificer could stand directly in front of the central section (see Chapter 3, section 3.2). This outer part provided a broad, flat surface that was different from the Greek altars *ad antas* with which they are often compared (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.1), and the question arises whether these elements of the U-shaped altars had some ritual use in addition to the central section that was similar to other altars.

2.5.1. Ritual use of U-shaped altars: evidence from the *Tabulae Iguvinae*

Some indications of the way in which altars in Italy were used in rituals come from the *Tabulae Iguvinae*. These are bronze tablets from Gubbio engraved with religious texts in the Umbrian language. Some sections use the Umbrian alphabet and date from around 200 BC, and some use the Latin alphabet and date from the early first century BC.¹³³

In particular, Tables III and IV, which are in the Umbrian alphabet, set out instructions for the New Year's rites in honour of **Puemun- Pupřiko-** and **Vesuna**.¹³⁴ They contain several technical words and phrases whose precise meaning has been much debated. The most important terms for whether the passage sheds light on the use of altars are **spanti**, **peřum** and **ereçlum**.

The ritual described involves several types of offering, prayer and other actions, but in one section (III 31 to IV 13) a sheep is sacrificed, with two slices cut from it in association with a **spanti** before being offered at the **peřum** along with a type of cake called **struçla**,¹³⁵ then two slices cut at a second **spanti** before being offered at an **ereçlum** to **Puemun- Pupřiko-**, followed by three slices cut at a third **spanti** and offered at another **ereçlum** to **Vesuna** of **Puemun- Pupřiko-**. A **struçla** cake is similarly divided and offered to the gods after the meat, and each **ereçlum** is anointed before further offerings of **vestiçia** and **mefa** cakes are made. **Vestiçia** cakes and a kind of blood pudding are then offered to **Hula** and **Tursa**.

¹³³ Poultney 1959: 24; Sisani 2001: 237.

¹³⁴ Weiss 2010: 3-4, 441. Prosdocimi 1984: 124-9 describes Tables III and IV as a distinct pair.

¹³⁵ See Lacam 2012: 557-60 on the nature of the cakes used in this ritual.

Spanti was initially understood to refer to the ‘side’ of the altar.¹³⁶ Since the ritual describes the use of **spanti** three times in relation to cutting slices of the sacrificed sheep, this was thought to involve the front, right and left sides of a rectangular altar. In this interpretation, **spanti** was the name of either an area on the platform or ground next to the altar, as shown in diagrams by Giacomo Devoto (fig. 2.6) and N. Orsi (fig. 2.7), or the side surfaces of the altar itself, as in the diagram by Ambros Pfiffig (fig. 2.8). Following the excavation at Lavinium in the late 1950s, Castagnoli proposed that **spanti** referred instead to the central, left and right upper surfaces of a U-shaped altar similar to those found at Lavinium.¹³⁷ Pfiffig was convinced by this explanation and revised his translation¹³⁸.

In 1968, however, Giovanni Colonna drew a connection with the appearance of the word **spanti** in Etruscan inscriptions of the early seventh century BC on shallow dishes or platters, and concluded that **spanti** must be the name of this kind of platter.¹³⁹ Although he suggested that the term might subsequently have been used in Umbria to describe sections of a U-shaped altar, in support of Castagnoli’s proposal, it has since become generally accepted that **spanti** is a term used in both Etruscan and Umbrian to denote a type of platter used for non-liquid offerings, and that in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* it does not refer to an area on or next to an altar.¹⁴⁰

The **peřum**, which appears as *persom* in the parts of the *Tabulae Iguvinae* that use the Latin alphabet, is the location for the first offering of cut meat in this part of the ritual. It is usually thought to derive from $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\nu$ and is translated as *fossa* or ‘pit’,¹⁴¹ although James Poultney interprets it as a mound or turf-altar.¹⁴² Michael Weiss believes that the link with $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\nu$ is unlikely, but that **peřum** must be the

¹³⁶ Devoto 1937: 240, 388-9; Vetter 1953: 208, 434; Poultney 1959: 209.

¹³⁷ Castagnoli 1959-60: 152.

¹³⁸ Pfiffig 1975: 75.

¹³⁹ Colonna 1968: 265-7.

¹⁴⁰ Prosdocimi 1994: 24; Van der Meer 2007: 46; Weiss 2010: 366, n.24, 367. See also Bagnasco Gianni 1994: 4-8, where the five platters on which the word **spanti** occurs are described in detail.

¹⁴¹ Devoto 1937: 389; Vetter 1953: 420; Pfiffig 1964: 17; Ancillotti and Cerri 1996: 394-5.

¹⁴² Poultney 1959: 263.

term for something capable of being made, with exterior boundaries of some sort and common to gods and men; he concludes that it was a ritually-delimited place on the ground.¹⁴³ Willy Borgeaud similarly sees it as a '*cercle magique*'.¹⁴⁴

The word **ereclum** does not occur outside Tables III and IV of the *Tabulae Iguvinae*, where it appears eight times in various forms.¹⁴⁵ Its etymology is unclear,¹⁴⁶ and its meaning can only be interpreted from the sense of the text. The **ereclum** is a location where the slices of sacrificed sheep are offered to a deity from the **spanti** platter. There seems to be two of them in this ritual (one for each deity), and they are distinguished from both the **asa**, or altar, and the **peřum**.¹⁴⁷

Devoto interprets **ereclum** as a separate and smaller subsidiary altar, and translates it as '*foculus*'.¹⁴⁸ A late-first century AD section of the inscribed records of the *Fratres Arvales*, for example, specifies that preliminary offerings be made at a portable silver *foculus*, topped by a sod of turf in a manner reminiscent of Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* 12.119: *Romani moris fuerat cespitem arae super imponere, et ita sacrificare* (it was a Roman custom to place a sod of turf on top of an altar, and sacrifice in this way).¹⁴⁹ Pfiffig and Borgeaud also interpret **ereclum** as a subsidiary altar, but made of stone slabs.¹⁵⁰ Maria Louisa Porzio Gernia sees it as a container for sacred vessels that is placed on the altar and approached from different directions during the ritual.¹⁵¹ Castagnoli proposes that **ereclum** refers to the inner part of a U-shaped altar protected by the three raised sides.¹⁵²

¹⁴³ Weiss 2010: 332-6.

¹⁴⁴ Borgeaud 1982: 177.

¹⁴⁵ Weiss 2010: 346.

¹⁴⁶ Weiss 2010: 349-50, 352-3.

¹⁴⁷ Weiss 2010: 346-8. See also Borgeaud 1982: 179.

¹⁴⁸ Devoto 1937: 389-90. See also Pisani 1964: 210-1; Ancillotti and Cerri 1996: 357-8.

¹⁴⁹ Henzen 1874: 21, 23; Scheid 1990: 326-7, 553, 561-2, 570-1. See also Warde Fowler 1911: 146, 164, n.2; Wissowa 1912: 417; Siebert 1999: 93-4, 252-3.

¹⁵⁰ Pfiffig 1964: 96; Borgeaud 1982: 148.

¹⁵¹ Porzio Gernia 2004: 137, 158-61.

¹⁵² Castagnoli 1959-60: 152.

Emil Vetter, on the other hand, suggests that **ereclum** might refer to a cult image or '*simulacrum*',¹⁵³ and this is followed by Poultney.¹⁵⁴ Weiss also sees the **ereclum** as a cult image, perhaps something like a herm, and his diagram places it near, but physically separate from the altar (fig. 2.9).¹⁵⁵ He argues that this would be similar to the Greek practice of offering food on top of a stone pillar, and he cites inscriptions on altars that mention columns holding statues of Jupiter, as well as the sixth century BC column at the 'House of the Etruscan Column' in Pompeii (VI.5.17), which he suggests supported a statue of a god next to an altar.¹⁵⁶

There are, however, difficulties with the examples he puts forward. The inscriptions are from the Imperial age, and from an area of modern Germany where there are a large number of statues of Jupiter, often of enormous proportions.¹⁵⁷ The column in Pompeii survives to a full height of 2.84m (fig. 2.10),¹⁵⁸ which would make some of the actions involved in the ritual described in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* very difficult to perform. For example, at one point (IV 20-1) a covering needs to be placed on one element of the offerings that are on the **ereclum**. The location of the offering to **Vesuna** is also described as **supru sese erecluma** (IV 3), which Weiss translates as 'literally "from the top side from the altar at the **ereclum**" or idiomatically "at the **ereclum** located on the top side of the altar"'.¹⁵⁹ He adds that 'the word **supru** should not be understood here in the sense of elevation, but rather to the top side of a geometric plane'. Later in the same ritual an offering to **Hula** is made **supu erecle** (IV 17) and one to **Tursa** is made **super erecle** (IV 19), and both these are made while kneeling.

The fact that these offerings to **Hula** and **Tursa** are apparently made at the same locations as those to **Puemun- Pupřiko-** and **Vesuna** is regarded by Pfiffig as

¹⁵³ Vetter 1953: 208, 399.

¹⁵⁴ Poultney 1959: 209.

¹⁵⁵ Weiss 2010: 350-2.

¹⁵⁶ See Weiss 2010: 351 for the Greek analogy, and 352, n.350, for the references to the inscriptions and Pompeii.

¹⁵⁷ Becatti 1960: 13; Haftmann 1972: 34-5. *CIL* 13.6397 is from near Ulm, and *CIL* 3.11900 from Heidelberg.

¹⁵⁸ Sogliano 1901: 362; Bonghi Jovino 1984: 363-5. A second, similar column was incorporated into a house at VI.14.18 in Pompeii.

¹⁵⁹ Weiss 2010: 348.

arguing against an **ereclum** being a cult image, since it is unlikely that an offering would have been made to a different god to the one represented by the statue.¹⁶⁰ Weiss does not accept this as conclusive, since **Hula** and **Tursa** could have been seen as subservient deities to the ones depicted, at least in these rites.¹⁶¹ If **ereclum** should be interpreted as some kind of cult image on a plinth or column that is near to an altar and wide enough to accommodate the type of offerings and rituals described in the *Tabulae Iguvinae*, a better example might be the depiction of a column with a statue next to an altar in a wall-painting dating from the mid-first century BC from Bedroom M of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (fig. 2.11).¹⁶²

An association between statues and sacrifices has also been inferred from the *Tabula Veliterna*, a bronze tablet from Velletri inscribed with a sacred law in Volscian using the Latin alphabet and dating from the early third century BC.¹⁶³ This interpretation rests on the first three words: **deue declune statom**, and whether they refer to a statue of the goddess Declona which, if defiled, required a sacrifice in expiation,¹⁶⁴ or a statute made in the name of, or concerning the property of the goddess.¹⁶⁵ Even if the reference is to a statue, it clearly concerns purification after exceptional circumstances, and not the regular use of the statue in rituals as a receptacle for offerings.

In the records of the *Fratres Arvales*, a statue of the goddess Dia is anointed with perfumes or oils during the rituals at the house of the order's president, but not with the incense and wine that are the only sacrifices on this, the first of three days of rituals.¹⁶⁶ Blood sacrifices are later made in front of a statue of the

¹⁶⁰ Pffiffig 1964: 95, n.326.

¹⁶¹ Weiss 2010: 351.

¹⁶² Lehmann 1953: 85-90, 110-3, 194, 198-9, 201; Ling 1991: 26-31.

¹⁶³ Vetter 1953: 156; Pulgram 1976: 254; Rix 1992: 39-40, 42, citing parallels in *CIL* I², 366 and 401. Crawford 1981: 542 doubts that it was originally from Velletri.

¹⁶⁴ Radke 1961: 780, 796; Altheim and Stiehl 1961: 87; Durante 1963: 251, citing parallels in *CIL* I², 724 and 2510; 1978: 811-2.

¹⁶⁵ Pisani 1964: 123; Pulgram 1976: 256; Rix 1992: 40, 47.

¹⁶⁶ Henzen 1874: 12-3; Beard 1985: 128, 156-8; Scheid 1990: 509, 525-7.

goddess in her sanctuary outside Rome, but there is no suggestion that the statue itself received any part of the sacrifice.¹⁶⁷

Whilst there is no clear evidence, therefore, of statues being used in rituals in the way that Weiss suggests, it remains possible that some objects identified as altars might be bases for cult images or votive offerings. These might have been made to resemble altars and placed near to them because they played some part in particular rituals, including perhaps receiving offerings.

There is nothing, however, in Weiss's analysis of Tables III and IV that rules out Castagnoli's proposal that the offering places in this ritual could all be part of the same, U-shaped altar. Indeed, many of Weiss's own translations seem better suited to this explanation. This would, however, require the important substitution of **ereclum** as the term that might denote parts of the raised, U-shaped surface of the altar, instead of **spanti**.

In this interpretation, the **asa**, or altar proper, would be the lower rectangular area enclosed by the U-shaped surface, which Castagnoli thought was the **ereclum**. This section was directly in front of the sacrificer, and its size and shape, if it could be extracted from the larger structure, would be similar to square or rectangular altars (see fig. 3.8). The wings on the upper surface would provide the two separate locations for offerings to specific gods, with the sacrificer facing in different directions, without any need for the **ereclum** to be physically separate.¹⁶⁸ Their flat surfaces would be better suited than a cult image to receive offerings of slices of meat and to allow a cover to be placed over part of the offerings, and the change in divine attribution in different parts of the ritual could be signalled by prayer or some other device.

In this case, the **peřum** would be a sacrificial pit nearby, or perhaps a separate structure, like the altars at Portonaccio and Punta della Vipera, which both have a

¹⁶⁷ Beard 1985: 158-60; Scheid 1990: 579.

¹⁶⁸ Borgeaud 1982: 179 envisages them as separate structures but with the sacrificer facing east at the **ereclum** of **Puemum** and west at the **ereclum** of **Vesuna**, whilst the altar of Jupiter is in the middle, but there is no textual support for this.

form of sacrificial pit or shaft for libations in the centre (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.2). The altars in Latium, however, are not associated with sacrificial ditches, although the two altars at S. Omobono in Rome have small wells at their outer, north-eastern corners (cat. nos B19-B20).

The continuing uncertainty over the meaning of **ereclum** in particular means that there remain several possible interpretations of this part of the *Tabulae Iguvinae*. No U-shaped altars have been found in Umbria, and it cannot be said that the ritual described in Tables III and IV requires such an altar. These Umbrian rituals might also have been quite different in practice from those carried out in Latium. It does, however, illustrate that U-shaped altars would have provided opportunities for elements of separation to be introduced into rituals, whether in terms of the gods being honoured or the type of offering being made, through the use of different parts of the same altar.

2.5.2. Cato's descriptions of sacrifices

Cato the Censor describes sacrifices in Latium in the second century BC that are also directed primarily towards one god but involve offerings to other deities as well. These are private rituals on his estate, although they are very similar to public sacrifices.¹⁶⁹

In one ritual (*Agr.* 134), the harvest is preceded by an initial invocation (*praefatio*) with incense and wine, and then an offering of one type of cake (*strues*) to Janus and another type (*fertum*) to Jupiter, followed by offerings of wine to both gods. These offerings are repeated after a female piglet has been slaughtered, and then finally the organs and wine are sacrificed to Ceres. In another ritual (*Agr.* 141), before a new field is cleared and ploughed, Janus and Jupiter are invoked first with wine, and then the pig, sheep and ox (*suovetaurilia*) that had been led around the field are sacrificed to Mars, with *strues* and *fertum*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Scheid 2005a: 280-1.

¹⁷⁰ See Scheid 2005a: 129-60; Prescendi 2007: 52-5.

A reference to an initial offering to Janus and Jupiter is also found on an inscription from Tivoli referring to a *lex arae* of Diana of the Aventine.¹⁷¹ This is assumed to have included Juno as well, although the part of the inscription where her name would have been is missing, and Cato does not mention her in the rituals he describes.¹⁷² It is therefore likely that making offerings to other gods was a standard preliminary to at least some types of sacrifice in Latium.

In the *Tabulae Iguvinae*, all the gods receive a form of meat sacrifice as well as cake, whereas in Cato's sacrifices the preliminary offerings to Janus and Jupiter are not from the animal, which is reserved for the final offerings to Ceres or Mars. The *strues* and *fertum* perhaps originally fulfilled the role that incense came normally to play in the preliminary sacrifices, and were two of several types of cakes that were used in rituals, as well as other foodstuffs.¹⁷³ There was also the salted flour known as *mola salsa* prepared by the Vestal Virgins and used in public sacrifices at Rome.¹⁷⁴ Charred remains of fruit, cereals, plants, nuts, vegetables, and animals have been found in ritual deposits in Pompeii, for example, including in pits that date from the second or first century BC.¹⁷⁵

In blood sacrifices, the parts of the animal to be sacrificed were burnt on an altar,¹⁷⁶ but there seem to have been local variations in the way that these portions were prepared. Very few animal bones were found at the altar complex at Lavinium, in spite of careful excavation, and the remains discovered suggest that meat offerings there had already been boiled without bones and were brought to the altars in a jar (*olla*). A similar procedure was followed at Satricum, although there the jars also contained bones.¹⁷⁷

Even if the cakes and other substances were only used as offerings to the other deities invoked in the preliminary stages of the ritual, they nevertheless had the

¹⁷¹ *Inscr. Ital.* 1.1.73.

¹⁷² Scheid 2005a: 144-5.

¹⁷³ Dumézil 1970: 557-8; Scheid 1990: 573-6; 2011: 107-8.

¹⁷⁴ Scheid 2007: 264.

¹⁷⁵ Fulford and Wallace-Hadrill 1999: 116-8; Van Andringa 2011: 82-6.

¹⁷⁶ Wissowa 1912: 418; Dumézil 1970: 558.

¹⁷⁷ Bouma 1996: 223-5, who also says that cooking the sacrificial portions of animals was typically Roman and different from Etruscan practice.

full status of a sacrifice and were carried out in much the same way as a blood sacrifice.¹⁷⁸ John Scheid speculates that these preliminary offerings might have been made at a *foculus*, leaving the blood sacrifice to be made at the main altar.¹⁷⁹ A U-shaped altar would, however, provide distinct areas where these different offerings could be made, whilst preserving any hierarchy of the deities involved in a particular ritual, and any necessary separation between surfaces to be used for blood and non-blood sacrifices.

2.6. CONCLUSION

The rounded wave moulding, and the double-rounded design that combines two counter-posed rounded wave mouldings around a narrow waist, are unique to central Italy. The term ‘Etruscan round’ that was coined by Lucy Shoe in 1965 to describe rounded mouldings is misleading, and I shall instead use terminology that is consistent with the majority of Italian scholars and the latest English-language usage. There has not been a general typology or detailed study of objects that use the double-rounded design since the 1960s, and the fact that many other such objects have subsequently been discovered has created a need to compile a more up-to-date survey.

My catalogue provides a comprehensive list of the surviving objects that use this design, and the representations of such objects on other artefacts. This shows that all the temple podia, U-shaped altars, and square or rectangular altars that use the double-rounded design are from Rome and Latium, whereas in Etruria similar mouldings are used differently, and on a wider variety of objects. The type of altar with a raised, U-shaped upper surface around a central core also appears to be a distinct Latin form, and could have been designed to provide separate areas for different offerings, thereby enabling several elements of a sacrificial ritual to be carried out at a single altar structure. I will discuss the archaeological evidence for the double-rounded design and its geographical distribution in more detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

¹⁷⁸ Scheid 2011: 112-4.

¹⁷⁹ Scheid 2005a: 144.

CHAPTER 3

THE EARLY USE OF DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDING IN LATIUM

Many examples survive in Latium of the use of the double-rounded design with rounded wave mouldings on religious architecture, including temple podia, altars, and bases for votive objects. This chapter examines the archaeological evidence for this design from the appearance of stone architecture in the sixth century BC until the third century BC, when Rome had definitively conquered all of Latium and was about to expand further into Italy. Chapter 4 will consider the use of rounded mouldings in Etruria, to determine the extent to which this architectural tradition might be regarded as distinctly Latin. Chapter 5 will look at examples outside Latium from the third century BC onwards, and Chapter 6 will return to Latium and examine developments there in the second and first centuries BC.

3.1. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE – TEMPLE PODIA

Temples with podia first appear in central Italy in the sixth century BC, beginning in Rome and Latium.¹⁸⁰ These podia carried mouldings from the outset, and a double-rounded design is used at an early stage, although the evidence for whether this design was a widespread, defining feature of early Latin podia is limited. Table 2 lists all the surviving podia with double-rounded mouldings, and their locations are shown on the map at fig. 3.1.

Table 2: Temple Podia with Double-Rounded Moulding					
Cat. No.	Location	Date (all BC)	Dimensions (in metres)		
			Height	Length	Width
A1	Rome, S. Omobono	c. 530	1.61	13.2	11.54
A2	Ardea, Casarinaccio	Late 6 th C	1.82	31.5	23.35
A3	Ardea, Castrum Inui, Temple B	490-470	1.55	22.0	14.6
A4	Palestrina	Late 4 th /3 rd C?	?	20-24	30-34
A5	Sora	3 rd C?	3.0	37.0	24.0
A6	Villa San Silvestro	3 rd C?	3.26	29.0	20.72
A7	Isernia	3 rd C?	?	30.0	22.0

¹⁸⁰ Potts 2011: 41-6.

3.1.1. Rome: Area Sacra di S. Omobono, second archaic temple (cat. no. A1)

The earliest securely identified example of a podium that raises a religious structure directly from the ground, without an additional terrace or platform, is the first phase of the temple in the Area Sacra di S. Omobono, located in the Forum Boarium in Rome.¹⁸¹ This dates to around 580-575 BC, and its 1.7m-high podium had a simple half-round moulding, with one course of blocks above and five below, the lowest of which extended beyond the others and was perhaps originally buried.¹⁸² Temple I at Satricum in the south of Latium, dating from around 540 BC, may have had a very similar profile,¹⁸³ though when it was rebuilt between about 500 and 480 BC it showed much stronger Greek influence, with a two-stepped base rather than a podium.¹⁸⁴

The altar associated with the first phase of the temple at S. Omobono appears to be the earliest altar placed on the external axis of a cult building in central Italy. The very earliest altars and cult buildings in Etruria and Latium were normally sited and oriented independently of each other, and Etruscan practice seems to have been to place an external altar to one side of a cult building.¹⁸⁵

The second phase of the temple at S. Omobono has a form of double-rounded moulding, and dates to around 530 BC. The main surviving evidence is at the north-western corner, where part of the podium was retained at the bottom of a foundation sunk for a fourth-century temple, which was built on a different alignment on a deep platform that buried the archaic levels.¹⁸⁶ These remains show that, in the second phase, the podium was extended outwards, at least on its western side (though not on the northern, rear side) by the addition of four new courses, of which the middle two were a half-round over a rounded wave moulding.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸¹ Potts 2011: 42-5, tab.1; 2015: 40-42, 46-9, tab.2. See also Colonna 1987: 64-5; 2006: 54-5.

¹⁸² Gjerstad 1959-60: 34.

¹⁸³ Bernabei and Cozza 1896: 31-2, fig.4; Colonna 2005: 112, 114, fig.1; Edlund-Berry 2008: 442.

¹⁸⁴ Barletta 1996: 47-8.

¹⁸⁵ Prayon 1991: 1285-6, 1292-3; 1997: 367; Potts 2015: 72.

¹⁸⁶ Gjerstad 1959-60: 34-5, 38.

¹⁸⁷ Ioppolo 1972: 14-5; 1989: 32-3; Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 41-3.

At the same time, the previously square podium was extended to become rectangular and incorporate the altar within its front.¹⁸⁸ The excavator mentions briefly that a recovered fragment of the altar had the same moulding as the extended podium (cat. no. C1).¹⁸⁹ Whoever designed the second phase of the temple clearly wanted to link the podium and altar, both visually and physically. It is impossible to say whether the double-rounded moulding design was taken from the earlier altar and extended to the podium, or applied to them both simultaneously during the second phase.

This is the earliest appearance on a podium of double-rounded moulding.¹⁹⁰ The design at S. Omobono, with a half-round over a rounded wave moulding, is similar to the mouldings on two blocks of cube tombs in the Banditaccia necropolis at Caere, whose date is uncertain but might be contemporary (cat. nos D4-D5 and see Chapter 4, section 4.1.2). The fragmentary remains of Altar IX Inferior at Lavinium, also from the mid-sixth century BC, indicate that it too might have had the same profile (cat. no. B3 and section 3.1.2 below).

Although the use of double-rounded moulding on podia and especially on altars continued, this particular design using a half-round as the upper element is not found elsewhere. The temple at S. Omobono was destroyed by fire in around 510 BC and not rebuilt. Its later influence, at least in terms of its podium and altar mouldings, seems to have been very limited. The type of double-rounded moulding which became the standard, based on two opposed rounded wave mouldings, is particularly characteristic of altars (see sections 3.2 and 3.3 below), but was also present on other early temples in Latium.

¹⁸⁸ Colonna 1991: 53.

¹⁸⁹ Ioppolo 1989: 36: *‘l’ara antistante il tempio risulta totalmente asportata e di essa è stato rinvenuto soltanto un frammento angolare della modanatura superiore, avente le stesse caratteristiche del podio,* ma dimensioni minori’* (The altar opposite the temple proved to have been completely removed and from it was found only one fragment of the upper moulding, which had the same features as the podium,* but on a smaller scale.) [*in context, the extended podium of the second temple]. No photograph or drawing of this fragment has been published.

¹⁹⁰ Edlund-Berry 2008: 441-2.

3.1.2. *Ardea: Casarinaccio (cat. no. A2)*

The temple in the Casarinaccio district of Ardea, in the ancient forum, also dates from the late sixth century BC. Its podium contained a band of rounded wave moulding that might have formed the lower part of a double-rounded design. The podium is only partly preserved, with the whole of its south-western front and some other elements missing. Rounded wave moulding is present in all the sections of the podium that survive, but its profile on the rear, north-eastern side is not as high or deep as that on the long south-eastern side.¹⁹¹ There are no remains of any upper element of rounded moulding. It is generally assumed that the podium had a double-rounded design, but it is impossible to be certain whether that would have incorporated a half-round, as at S. Omobono, or an inverted rounded wave moulding.¹⁹² Nevertheless, it is another example from the sixth-century BC of the rounded wave moulding being used on temple podia in Latium as well as on altars.

3.1.3. *Ardea: Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro (cat. no. A3)*

By far the best surviving example is from Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro, the ancient site of Castrum Inui on the coast south-west of Ardea. The entire podium of the second phase of Temple B survives, though parts are badly weathered.¹⁹³ This dates from between 490–470 BC, and has double-rounded moulding on all sides, with an abacus, upper echinus, lower echinus, and a plinth with a rounded top and a small, rectangular fillet at the bottom. The lower echinus is larger than the upper echinus and projects beyond it, as is found on all the U-shaped altars where elements of the upper echinus survive. Plaster was applied to the podium in the third century BC, and the temple was still in use in this form when a new temple was built nearby in the mid-second century BC.

¹⁹¹ Stefani 1954: 7-8; Morselli and Tortorici 1982: 91; Di Mario 2007: 31-3. Shoe 1965: 84-6 regards the sections as so different that she gives them two separate entries.

¹⁹² Castagnoli 1959-60: 166.

¹⁹³ Di Mario 2009: 333; 2012: 467, 469-71; Ceccarelli 2010b: 194; 2011: 252-3; Torelli 2011: 200-2.

3.1.4. *Palestrina (cat. no. A4)*

The fourth example, at Palestrina (ancient Praeneste), is very fragmentary. A survey of the city's archaeological remains after the Second World War drew attention to two moulded blocks in an ancient wall under the cathedral which were thought to have been re-used from elsewhere.¹⁹⁴ Fausto Zevi later argued that they were in their original position, and were the remains of a temple podium with double-rounded mouldings.¹⁹⁵ He regarded them as similar to remains at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia (cat. nos A5-A7), and therefore probably of the same date, which is usually assumed to be the early third century BC (but see Chapter 5, section 5.2.6). This similarity is now widely accepted,¹⁹⁶ but the remains are poorly recorded, and although it is a reasonable possibility that they are from a podium with double-rounded moulding, it is impossible to date it with any certainty.

3.1.5. *Rome: Capitol*

Castagnoli suggests that the podium of the archaic temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, built at the end of the sixth century BC on the Capitol in Rome, might also have had double-rounded moulding, on the basis of a coin minted by Marcus Volteius in around 78 BC.¹⁹⁷ The temple was destroyed by fire in 83 BC and had not been rebuilt when the coin was issued, and so it is assumed that it represents the original temple.¹⁹⁸ The coin shows the temple standing on two lines which appear to have rounded ends, but such lines are usually interpreted on coins as representing steps. Only the temple foundations survive, and with no remains of the exterior of the original podium it is impossible to confirm this hypothesis.¹⁹⁹

3.1.6. *Other early temples in Latium*

The surviving remains of podia from other early temples in Latium are too sparse to determine how common and widespread the use of the double-rounded design

¹⁹⁴ Fasolo and Gullini 1953: 27-9.

¹⁹⁵ Zevi 1989: 42-4.

¹⁹⁶ For example, Pittaccio 2001: 50, 169-71.

¹⁹⁷ Castagnoli 1984a: 8-9.

¹⁹⁸ Crawford 1974: 399-402; Bastien 1978: 187; Hill 1989: 24.

¹⁹⁹ For the results of the most recent excavations, from 1998-2002, see Mura Sommella 2000a; 2000b; 2001; Danti 2008; and Albertoni and Damiani 2008.

was. In the Roman Forum at Rome, some elements of walls survive from the original podia of the Temple of Saturn, built around 500 BC,²⁰⁰ and the Temple of Castor and Pollux, built around 485 BC,²⁰¹ but in both cases they are embedded in later podia and do not preserve any external mouldings. On the south-western part of the Palatine Hill, remains of foundations belonging to 'Building N' survive, probably from a podium built around 525 to 475 BC, but there are no traces of the exterior face of the podium, nor any mouldings.²⁰² On the acropolis at Ardea, the two lowest courses survive of a temple podium, built around 540 BC, but they appear to be foundations and have no mouldings.²⁰³ At Velletri (ancient Velitrae), only a partial outline survives of a temple dating from the fifth century BC.²⁰⁴ A temple podium on the acropolis at Segni (ancient Signia), dating from around 490 BC,²⁰⁵ and two podia on the minor acropolis at Norba from broadly the same period,²⁰⁶ are built in a very different style using polygonal masonry without mouldings. The latter two sites are on the Monti Lepini, in the south-east of Latium, beyond the area where religious architecture in stone with double-rounded moulding has been found.

The evidence certainly suggests that double-rounded mouldings were used on temple podia in the northern part of Latium from an early date. There is no evidence of any other type of podium facing during this period, but there are so few surviving remains, especially in Rome, that it cannot be certain that the double-rounded design was the only one that was used. The second phase of the temple at S. Omobono stood for only about twenty years and its type of moulded design was not subsequently followed. The remains at Palestrina are slight, and no other objects with double-rounded mouldings have been found in the city. Only the area in and around Ardea has good surviving evidence for its use. I discuss in Chapter 4, section 4.3, the evidence relating to podia in Etruria, but the

²⁰⁰ Cifani 2008: 109-11.

²⁰¹ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 61-79.

²⁰² Pensabene 2001: 11-3; Cifani 2008: 162-3.

²⁰³ Stefani 1944-45: 92-3.

²⁰⁴ Mancini 1915: 70-4.

²⁰⁵ Cifarelli 2003: 51-61.

²⁰⁶ Quilici Gigli 2003: 306-11, 312-4.

earliest examples there do not have rounded wave mouldings or a double-rounded design.²⁰⁷

3.2. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE – U-SHAPED ALTARS

Table 3 lists the twenty-two examples of altars in Latium that share a similar U-shaped design with double-rounded mouldings.

Table 3: U-Shaped Altars						
Cat. No.	Location and Altar	Date (all BC)	Both Parts?	Dimensions (in metres)		
				Height	Length	Width
B1	Lavinium, XIII	By mid-6 th C	Yes	0.82	2.52	1.60
B2	Lavinium, VIII Inf.	By mid-6 th C	No	c. 0.38	2.69	2.04
B3	Lavinium, IX Inf.	By mid-6 th C	No	Only fragments remain		
B4	Lavinium, IV	Mid-5 th C	No	0.38	4.80	2.35
B5	Lavinium, III	Mid-5 th C	No	Only fragments remain		
B6	Lavinium, I Inf.	Mid-5 th C	No	?	3.20	2.26
B7	Lavinium, II Inf.	Mid-5 th C	No	?	3.15	1.22
B8	Lavinium, V	Mid-5 th C	No	c. 0.46	3.25	2.02
B9	Lavinium, VI	Late 5 th /4 th C	No	c. 0.67	3.27	2.25
B10	Lavinium, VII	Late 5 th /4 th C	No	c. 0.66	2.79	2.19
B11	Lavinium, IX Sup.	By end 4 th C	No	c. 0.67	3.00	2.20
B12	Lavinium, X	By end 4 th C	No	c. 0.67	2.64	1.93
B13	Lavinium, XI	By end 4 th C	Yes	0.97	2.64	2.21
B14	Lavinium, XII	By end 4 th C	Yes	1.06	2.77	2.18
B15	Lavinium, I Sup.	3 rd or 2 nd C	Yes	?	2.52	1.88
B16	Lavinium, II Sup.	3 rd or 2 nd C	No	?	3.50	1.85
B17	Lavinium, VIII Sup.	3 rd or 2 nd C	No	?	2.47	1.82
B18	Colle della Banditella	4 th C?	No	0.50	?	?
B19	Rome, S. Omobono (W)	Early 4 th C	No	?	4.00	2.16
B20	Rome, S. Omobono (E)	Early 4 th C	No	Probably the same as B19		
B21	Castrum Inui	4 th or 3 rd C	Yes	0.85	4.20	2.28
B22	Tivoli	Unknown	No	0.35	1.63	?

They all date from the sixth to the third century BC, or possibly a little later. Their shape takes the form of a long central section flanked by much shorter projecting wings, so that the sacrificer stands between the wings and reaches the upper surface either by standing on the ground or on steps set between the wings. This design is unique to Latium. They are often called altars *in antis*, or *ad antas*, by analogy with the term given to certain Greek altars.²⁰⁸ I argue in Chapter 4, section 4.4, however, that these Latin altars were significantly different from both

²⁰⁷ For a comprehensive survey of temples with podia in Latium and Etruria before c. 470 BC, see Potts, 2015.

²⁰⁸ For example, Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 61-2.

Greek and Etruscan altars, and so I will instead use the term ‘U-shaped’ for the overall design of the Latin altars, and ‘wings’ for the projecting sections rather than *antae*. The locations of the surviving U-shaped altars are shown at fig. 3.2.

3.2.1. Lavinium (*cat. nos B1-B17*)

The discovery in the late 1950s of a sanctuary to the south of the ancient city of Lavinium transformed knowledge of this type of altar, and of objects with double-rounded mouldings more generally. The sanctuary has a row of thirteen stone altars (fig 3.3 and 3.4). There are also remains of a further altar set apart from the others which probably predated them slightly, but too little survives to tell whether it was U-shaped or had double-rounded moulding (fig. 3.5).²⁰⁹ No temple has been found on the site.

Four of the altars in the row (I, II, VIII, and IX) replaced earlier altars, of which some remains are preserved beneath them, so that in total there are seventeen examples of altars in the row, all of which follow the same basic U-shaped design (fig. 3.6).²¹⁰ The oldest (XIII, followed by VIII Inferior and IX Inferior²¹¹) are from the early- to mid-sixth century BC, broadly contemporary with the second phase of the temple at S. Omobono. They increase in number over time: a line of five altars (IV, then III, I and II, and finally V) was added in the mid-fifth century BC; two (VI and VII) were added in the second half of the fifth or in the fourth century BC; and three more (X, XI, and XII) were added, Altar IX was rebuilt, and Altar XIII was perhaps abandoned at the end of the fourth century BC,²¹² around the time when Lavinium was incorporated into Roman territory after the re-conquest of Latium.²¹³ A maximum of twelve altars in the line were in use at the same time. Overall, there are five broad phases of construction, although the last three altars

²⁰⁹ Shoe 1965: 100 also describes an earlier, fourteenth altar beyond Altar XIII, but Cozza 1975: 89, n.1 states that further excavation disproved this. Recent excavations, however, have confirmed a fourteenth altar on the same eastern alignment as the oldest three in the row, though with far less surviving than Shoe describes: see Panella 2012: 580-3; Moser and Hay 2013: 365-6.

²¹⁰ Castagnoli 1959-60: 145-7; Shoe 1965: 100-3. Castagnoli *et al.* 1975: 3-4 and Panella 2004: 252 summarise the construction sequence, and Cozza 1975 describes them in detail.

²¹¹ Moser 2014: 25-67 argues that the distribution of artefacts shows that Altar IX Inferior replaced the earliest monumental focus of the sanctuary, which prescribed the location, form, and orientation of the site as a whole.

²¹² Moser and Hay 2013: 364; Moser 2014: 17-8, 21-2.

²¹³ Smith 1996: 3, 220.

to be erected (I Superior, II Superior, and VIII Superior) can only be dated approximately to the third or perhaps second century BC.

The votive objects and pottery found at the site indicate intensive use of the sanctuary from the fourth to second centuries BC; the site was deliberately buried and abandoned at the end of the second century BC.²¹⁴ It was probably a federal Latin sanctuary, either associated with Venus as an 'Aphrodisium', or with the cult of the Penates, or related to the Latin League.²¹⁵ Cult activity at the site perhaps involved each member community maintaining their own altar. It was near the tumulus that was re-modelled as a *heroon* at the end of the fourth century BC, probably to commemorate Aeneas (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.5).

All the altars face east, but the five added in the fifth century are on a slightly different alignment.²¹⁶ Although they are all largely similar in shape, their dimensions vary considerably. Altar IV is by far the largest, measuring 4.80m by 2.35m. The others range from 2.47m to 3.50m in length and from 1.22m to 2.25m in width, and around 0.80m to 1.10m in height.²¹⁷

The poor preservation of the upper section in many cases makes it difficult to compare all the details of their profiles (fig. 3.7), but their essential form of two opposed rounded sections remains very similar in most of the altars, from the earliest (Altar XIII, built by the mid-sixth century BC²¹⁸), to those built at the end of the fourth century BC, and the three rebuilt after that (fig. 3.8). Altars IV and V have different rounded profiles with no surviving rounded wave moulding, and are included in the catalogue because of their close association with the other altars at the site.

²¹⁴ Moser 2014: 18, 24-5, 30-1.

²¹⁵ Torelli 1984: 157-73; Zevi 1993: 45-8; Cornell 1995: 109. See also Smith 1996: 134-5, 219-22.

²¹⁶ Moser and Hay 2013: 364.

²¹⁷ Cozza 1975: 96-146, 149. Since some altars have steps, the resulting height of the offering-table would have been approximately the same.

²¹⁸ Only elements of the base of the slightly earlier, separate altar known as Altar XIV survive: see Panella 2012: 581, fig.12.

Very little survives of the sixth-century BC altar beneath Altar IX, but fragments found very close by suggest that it had a profile very similar to the second temple at S. Omobono (cat. no. A1 and section 3.1.1 above), with a half-round over a rounded wave moulding.²¹⁹ Altars XI and XII, from the end of the fourth century BC, have almost completely lost the hawkbeak at the base of the upper echinus which is seen in the earliest altars and in the later, rebuilt form of Altar I Superior.

All the altars have an abacus above the upper echinus (where this element survives), providing a flat surface on the top of the altar. I discuss in Chapter 2, section 2.5, the shape of the upper surface and its possible use in sacrifices. In the earliest altars the lower echinus rests directly on a stone platform, whereas in later altars it is raised on a plinth, with or without moulding. The three latest altars, from the third or possibly second century BC (Altars I Superior, II Superior, and VIII Superior), are built with long, parallel blocks rather than the earlier method of using squarer blocks,²²⁰ although their outward appearance is similar (fig. 3.9).

The archaic origin of the site might well have strengthened the tendency to preserve a traditional form in the new and rebuilt altars, but the similarity in their design might also reflect the communal nature of the sanctuary. Each altar has a sufficiently distinct profile to mark its individuality, and therefore perhaps the individuality of the community responsible for it, but by following the same basic design so closely, and by maintaining that design over time when altars were added or rebuilt, all the Latin communities worshipping at Lavinium seem to have been expressing a strong sense of common identity and adherence to a shared religious tradition.

3.2.2. *Ardea: Colle della Banditella (cat. no. B18)*

Fragments of moulding have also been found south-west of Ardea beneath the Colle della Banditella, by the road to Castrum Inui on the coast.²²¹ The largest

²¹⁹ Cozza 1975: 122.

²²⁰ Giuliani and Sommella 1977: 359.

²²¹ Melis and Quilici Gigli 1982: 37; Crescenzi and Tortorici 1983: 91; Crescenzi 1990: 195; Smith 1996: 136.

comprises a piece of abacus, including some of its flat upper surface, a quarter-round echinus, a hawksbeak above a concave section, and a torus.

Hawksbeak moulding has only been found elsewhere in Latium on the altars at Lavinium, and so it is reasonable to assume that these fragments are also from a U-shaped altar. There are similarities with both Altar XIII and Altar I Superior at Lavinium, though Letizia Ceccarelli correctly points out that their profile matches Altar I Superior (cat. no. B15) more closely than Altar XIII (cat. no. B1).²²² The conservatism in altar design at Lavinium, and the general difficulty in using moulding profiles for dating purposes, mean that the altar beneath the Colle della Banditella might well be earlier than the third-century BC date for Altar I Superior at Lavinium, but it need not be as old as the sixth century BC date of Altar XIII. Since the earliest votive material found in the area is from the fourth century BC,²²³ the altar is likely to date from then as well.

Ancient sources mention a federal *Aphrodisium* at Ardea,²²⁴ and there has been much debate over whether this existed in addition to an *Aphrodisium* at Lavinium, or whether there was only one.²²⁵ The possible identification of this sanctuary with the site at the Colle della Banditella has now been ruled out.²²⁶ Excavation has shown that there was no temple on the Colle della Banditella itself,²²⁷ but there must have been a sanctuary below it, centred on one or more altars, and the surviving fragments are from an altar with double-rounded moulding that is very similar to those at the Lavinium sanctuary.

3.2.3. Rome: Area Sacra di S. Omobono (cat. nos B19-20)

There were also large U-shaped altars aligned in front of the two republican temples at S. Omobono in the Forum Boarium in Rome.²²⁸ They are about 4.00m

²²² Ceccarelli 2010a: 315-6.

²²³ Ceccarelli 2010a: 318.

²²⁴ Plin. *HN* 3.5.56; Strabo 5.3.5.

²²⁵ Ceccarelli 2012: 114 summarises the arguments.

²²⁶ Ceccarelli 2010a: 315-9; 2012: 114. Colonna 1995: 48 had argued that the *Aphrodisium* was on the Colle della Banditella.

²²⁷ Ceccarelli 2010a: 315.

²²⁸ Colini 1938: 280; 1940: 75; 1959-60: 4; Castagnoli 1959-60: 147-8; Somella 1968: 65; Torelli 1973: 100-3; Coarelli 1988: 211.

long and 2.16m wide. Both faced east, whilst the temples faced south. Both altars had small wells at their north-eastern corner, although there is no record of any finds from them.

The altars probably date from the early fourth century BC. The surviving lower section consists of an echinus and torus, and is similar to altars at Lavinium of a broadly similar date (Altar VII from the late fifth or fourth century BC, and Altars IX, X, XI and XII from the fourth century BC), but without a plinth course. More of the western altar survives than the eastern, and its dimensions are longer than most of the Lavinium altars, but similar to the one at Castrum Inui.

3.2.4. Ardea: Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro (cat no. B22)

Excavations from 1999 at Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro, the site of ancient Castrum Inui on the coast near Ardea, uncovered a U-shaped altar with double-rounded moulding, as well as a rectangular base or altar, probably of a similar profile (cat. no. D11), standing in front of a temple with double-rounded moulding (cat. no. A3).²²⁹ The entire base section of the U-shaped altar survives, and part of its upper section, which shows that it had a double-rounded design.

Its dimensions are very similar to the altars at S. Omobono in Rome, and close to Altars IV, II Inferior, and II Superior at Lavinium, which are much longer than the other altars at that site but approximately the same width, leaving a relatively wide space for the sacrificer between the two wings. Its height is broadly similar to Altar XIII at Lavinium, but is less than Altars XI and XII. The latter two altars, however, have steps to enable the sacrificer to reach the upper surface comfortably, whereas at Castrum Inui the sacrificer would have stood on the ground.

The altar's moulding comprises an abacus, over a quarter-rounded upper echinus with no hawkbeak, and a facing quarter-rounded lower echinus with a torus at the bottom. This resembles Altars XI and XII at Lavinium, but without their lower plinth since this altar, like those at S. Omobono in Rome, is set directly on a paved

²²⁹ Di Mario 2007: 81-6; Ceccarelli 2012: 115.

surface. There were no archaeological finds which enabled the altar to be dated, but based on these stylistic similarities and the type of peperino used, the excavators concluded that it probably dated from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century BC.²³⁰

3.2.5. *Tivoli (cat. no. B23)*

Part of the upper section of what seems to be an altar with double-rounded moulding is embedded in the 'Tempio della Tosse' at Tivoli, which was originally Roman in date, but was converted into a church in the Middle Ages. It is 1.63m long, and has an abacus, upper echinus and the remains of a central stem.²³¹ Without examination of the other sides, it is impossible to be certain what type of altar it might have been. From its length, it is probably the side of a U-shaped altar similar to those from Rome or the coastal cities, but the traces of a central stem suggest that it could alternatively be the long side of a rectangular altar similar to the second-century BC examples at Sora (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.2). The excavator thought that it was probably moved from the sanctuary of Hercules Victor, but it might instead have come from the nearby sanctuary at Acquoria, where two double-rounded objects have been found (cat. nos C38 and D1, and section 3.3.1 below).

3.2.6. *Rome: Comitium (cat. no. D10)*

Another U-shaped monument was discovered in 1899 in the Comitium in the Roman Forum, but only a few blocks above a plinth course and foundation platform remain.²³² It is larger than most of the Lavinium altars, and has much squarer dimensions than any other example, with a very deep space between the projecting wings. There is a plain rectangular block in the space between the wings. The connecting section at the end of the wings is very thin, with no remains of any moulded lower course, and it is situated against a large rectangular foundation whose purpose is unclear. Blocks with rounded wave mouldings survive on both wings, and may well be the lower echinus of a double-

²³⁰ Ceccarelli 2011: 252, n.5.

²³¹ Giuliani 1970: 200-1.

²³² Boni 1899: 151; 1900: 336-8, diagram 9a. See also Gjerstad 1941: 106-7; Romanelli 1981: 66-70; 1984: 1-17; Holloway 1994: 81-8; Ammerman 1996: 124-7; Claridge 2010: 75-7.

rounded design, resting on an un-moulded plinth course. The monument probably dates from the second half of the fourth century BC.²³³

The remains were originally thought to be from a monument that marked what was believed to be the tomb of Romulus or another figure from the early history of Rome, with the two wings interpreted as bases for lion statues in front of a *sacellum* standing on the large rectangular foundation (fig. 3.10).²³⁴ It was often also associated with the *Mundus*, a foundation ditch dug by Romulus in the Comitium according to Plutarch,²³⁵ but on the Palatine in other ancient sources.²³⁶ After the excavation of the altars at Lavinium, however, Castagnoli argued that it too was a U-shaped altar,²³⁷ and this view has become widely accepted (fig. 3.11).²³⁸ Filippo Coarelli has further identified it as an altar in the Volcanal sanctuary, where Romulus was said to have been killed.²³⁹

In spite of this identification, it has some distinctly different features from other U-shaped altars. Its shape is very unusual, with uniquely deep wings, no trace of a central offering-table between the wings, and a rear connecting section that is too thin to support a section of double-rounded moulding similar to that on other altars. The rectangular block between the wings is not found elsewhere. Its orientation is also unique: the other U-shaped altars all face east, or south-east at Castrum Inui, but this monument faces south-south-west. If it were an altar, it would be difficult to explain the large rectangular foundation that abuts the connecting section of the monument, since any structure standing on this foundation would have been directly in front of the sacrificer.

These anomalies are so pronounced that I think it is unlikely that the monument was an altar. Its features seem more suited to its being some kind of base, as

²³³ Coarelli 1983: 133.

²³⁴ Boni 1899: 151; 1900: 325-6; Studniczka 1903: 132-7; 1904: 241-3; Marucchi 1906: 40; Hülsen 1926: 9; Gjerstad 1941: 135; Lugli 1946: 118-9.

²³⁵ Plut. *Rom.* 11. See also Ov. *Fast.* 4.821-4.

²³⁶ Frothingham 1914: 315-7; Du Jardin 1927-29: 63-9; Deubner 1933: 281-4; Castagnoli 1951: 390-3; Grandazzi 1993: 526-7; Mastrocinque 1998: 685-6.

²³⁷ Castagnoli 1959-60: 151-2.

²³⁸ For example, Shoe 1955: 104.

²³⁹ Coarelli 1983: 174; 2007: 54-7.

Studniczka argued, whose sacred or historic nature was emphasised by copying the type of double-rounded moulding found elsewhere on altars. The later fourth century BC was a time when Rome's Latin identity but pre-eminent regional status were being expressed through new foundation myths and shared religious festivals, following Rome's defeat of the rebellious Latin communities in 338 BC (see Chapter 1, sections 1.3.5-6). This monument stood next to the bronze rams, or *rostra*, which were taken from warships surrendered by Antium at the end of that conflict and attached as a trophy to the speakers' platform in the Comitium.²⁴⁰ It would, therefore, have been an appropriate time and context for a monument to be erected commemorating some aspect of Rome's origins, using an architectural design that had become associated with a traditional Latin identity.

3.2.7. *Common characteristics*

The U-shaped altars that have survived *in situ* either stand in front of temples, as at S. Omobono in Rome and Castrum Inui, or in a sanctuary with a group of altars of similar design, as at Lavinium, which does not appear to have had a temple. They all have a long rear section and much shorter wings, although those at Lavinium tend to be squarer, with a shorter central section than those elsewhere. The ratio between the length and width of most of the altars at Lavinium is between around 1.2 to 1 and 1.6 to 1. This compares with 2.6 to 1 for Altar II Inferior, 1.89 to 1 for Altar II Superior, and 2.0 to 1 for Altar IV, whilst the ones elsewhere, at S. Omobono in Rome and Castrum Inui, all have a similar ratio of 1.85 to 1 (see Table 2).

The remains at Lavinium account for more than three-quarters of the examples, and most of those where sufficient survives of their upper sections to understand the overall design. They all have deep, rounded moulding on all sides, with a narrow 'waist' between the lower and upper sections, but with variations in their profile. Where elements of both lower and upper sections survive, the lower echinus is larger and projects beyond the upper echinus. Altars IV and V at Lavinium have rounded mouldings but distinctly different profiles. They are normally constructed from two types of stone: at Lavinium, their core is

²⁴⁰ Cornell 1995: 349.

cappellaccio and the outer blocks are tufa; at S. Omobono in Rome, their core is tufa and their facing is *peperino*.²⁴¹

All the U-shaped altars come from three areas of Latium: Lavinium, Ardea and the nearby Castrum Inui on the coast; Rome; and the area around Tivoli (if the one embedded in the ‘Tempio della Tosse’ was indeed U-shaped). This matches the overall distribution of other early examples of the double-rounded design (see section 3.3.4). All the remains are sufficiently similar to conclude that U-shaped altars with double-rounded moulding were a common form throughout this part of Latium, and that they followed the same basic design with little variation from the mid-sixth to the third century BC, or possibly a little later.

This U-shaped design is often regarded as deriving from Etruscan or Greek models, but I argue in Chapter 4, section 4.4, that the surviving Etruscan and Greek examples are quite different in design, and were possibly used slightly differently in sacrifices, and that these U-shaped altars are, therefore, a distinct type of religious architecture that is only found in Latium.

3.3. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE – SQUARE AND RECTANGULAR ALTARS

Table 4 list the thirty-one objects from Latium that can with confidence be identified as altars, but which are square or rectangular rather than U-shaped, and whose height would have been greater than their width. The moulding on these altars always extends around all four sides, indicating that they were meant to be free-standing.

Several also survive from outside Latium, and I will discuss in Chapter 5 whether these were the result of a Latin architectural form being introduced when Roman control spread beyond Latium or the continuation of a local tradition. The distinction between these altars and bases to hold other objects is not always certain (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2).

²⁴¹ Frascarelli 2012: 135, n.35.

Table 4: Square and Rectangular Altars in Latium						
Cat. No.	Location and Altar	Date (all BC)	Both Parts?	Dimensions (in metres)		
				Height	Length	Width
C1	Rome, S. Omobono	c. 530	No	?	?	?
C2	Corcolle	c. end 6 th C	No	0.35	?	?
C3	Gabii, S. of temple	2 nd half 4 th C	No	?	?	?
C4	Gabii, S. of temple	2 nd half 4 th C	No	?	?	?
C5	Gabii, W. of temple	2 nd half 4 th C	No	?	?	?
C6	Gabii, W. of temple	2 nd half 4 th C	No	?	?	?
C7	Gabii, W. of temple	2 nd half 4 th C	No	?	?	?
C14	Rome, Verminus	c. 142?	Yes	1.03	0.75	0.75
C15	Rome, Calvinus	c. 127?	Yes	1.06	0.82	0.67
C16	Rome, Quinctius	c. 123?	No	?	?	?
C17	Bovillae, Vediovis	c. 100?	No	0.46	0.96	0.96
C20	Rome, Longinus	1 st C	No	0.48	0.72	0.70
C21	Rome, Crispinus	9	No	c. 0.56	0.75	0.75
C22	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	0.575	1.29	1.025
C23	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	?	?
C24	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	?	?
C25	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	?	?
C26	Castrum Inui	2 nd C?	Yes	c. 0.98	1.01	0.89
C27	Rome, S 2755	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes	1.01	0.71	0.69
C28	Rome, S 2756	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes	1.06	0.74	0.73
C29	Rome, S 1330	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes?	?	0.74	0.74
C30	Rome, S 2109	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes	1.05	0.75	0.73
C31	Rome, Altar A	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.75	?
C32	Rome, Altar B	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.59	?
C33	Rome, Altar C	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.74	?
C34	Rome, Altar D	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.75	?
C35	Rome, Via XX Settembre	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes	0.90	0.80	0.73
C36	Ponte di Nona	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	0.77	0.60
C37	Casale di Roma Vecchia	1 st C?	Yes	0.71	0.56	0.56
C38	Tivoli, Acquoria	Unknown	No	0.40	0.64	0.64
C39	Tivoli, Cartiera Amicucci	Unknown	No	0.38	0.63	0.615

Unlike some of the U-shaped altars, none of these thirty-one altars is known to have been aligned with a temple, and none has so far been found at the same site as a U-shaped altar. This might suggest some difference in cult practice: perhaps U-shaped altars were used for the main civic or federal gods who were honoured at regular festivals and had temples or sanctuaries dedicated to them, whereas the smaller altars were used elsewhere for more personal devotion or for specific vows to other gods.²⁴²

²⁴² Yavis 1949: 141 notes that Greek monolithic altars were also not usually the main altar of temples.

The only possible example of a rectangular altar alongside a U-shaped altar is an object at Castrum Inui which I have categorised as a base (cat. no. D11). It is situated closely in front of the U-shaped altar (cat. no. B21), but on a different alignment. It is slightly smaller than the altar, and only its lower half survives. The profile of its moulding matches the altar's closely and they are probably contemporary. The excavator identifies it as an altar as well,²⁴³ but its long rectangular shape and location next to a U-shaped altar are unique in Latium, so it might be a base for votive objects which was given the same mouldings as the altar to emphasise the religious nature of the donation. Its closest comparator is a rectangular object with double-rounded mouldings from the Campo della Fiera at Orvieto, which might be a *donarium* base for bronze statuettes probably built by M. Fulvius Flaccus after 264 BC (cat. no. D12, and see Chapter 5, section 5.4.1).

A further problem is that many of these altars cannot be securely dated. Those that can range from around 530 BC to 9 BC, a far longer time-span than the U-shaped altars, the latest of which probably date to the third century BC. There are two from the second half of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century BC (cat. nos C1 and C2), and five from the fourth century BC at Gabii (cat. nos C3-C7), but none from the rest of the fifth century BC, which is also a period when there are relatively fewer U-shaped altars. By contrast, there are six square or rectangular altars datable to the second or first century BC (cat. nos C14-C17 and C20-C21), after the latest U-shaped altars, and perhaps another sixteen that might also be from this period, based on their profiles, size or material (cat. nos C22-C37, and see Chapter 6, section 6.2.6). Two cannot be dated with any degree of certainty (C38-C39).

3.3.1. *Early examples*

The earliest of these altars, from around 530 BC, is associated with the second phase of the temple at S. Omobono in Rome and matched the temple podium's unusual double-rounded profile of a half-round over a rounded wave

²⁴³ Di Mario 2007: 81-6.

moulding.²⁴⁴ It was not rebuilt when the temple was destroyed in about 510 BC (cat. no. C1 and section 3.1.1 above).

The other early example is from Corcolle, between Tivoli and Gabii (cat. no. C2).²⁴⁵ It is dated from its inscription to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century BC.²⁴⁶ The remains consist of four main fragments, which preserve the outline of a lower echinus in the form of a rounded wave and a plinth, and it appears to have been approximately square.²⁴⁷ The inscription is very fragmentary, and is cut into three sides of the lower echinus, unlike inscriptions from the second or first century BC, which are all on the abacus.

Even though the upper section is missing, the rounded wave moulding on the Corcolle altar has the characteristic vertical section at its upper end, which provides a square, flat area in the middle to support an upper section. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the altar had a double-rounded design, although it cannot be certain that the upper section incorporated an inverted rounded wave moulding of the type found on later altars.

Its profile is different from the base found at the sanctuary site at Acquoria, near Tivoli, which has an inscription on a very deep plinth that dates it to the second half, and probably towards the end, of the sixth century BC (cat. no. D1).²⁴⁸ This base has a unique double-rounded shape not found on any other object, with a tall but shallowly-rounded lower echinus and a much smaller half-rounded upper part, with no abacus. Another object of unknown date that was found at this site has a different double-rounded design, and from its size is probably an altar (cat. no. C38).²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ Ioppolo 1989: 36.

²⁴⁵ Morandi 1978: 89-91.

²⁴⁶ *CIL* I², 2833a; Morandi 1978: 90; Prosdocimi 1979: 199; Moreau 1988: 316-8; Vine 1991: 219; Friggeri 2001: 23; Morandi 2004: 51.

²⁴⁷ Morandi 1987: 98, 104-6, figs 1-7.

²⁴⁸ Mancini 1926: 216-7; Castagnoli 1959-60: 163-4; Shoe 1965: 98; Friggeri 2001: 22-3.

²⁴⁹ Antonielli and Cesano 1927: 241; Mari 1991: 114-5; Adembri 2012: 288-9.

3.3.2. *Later examples*

There are no surviving square altars that are certainly from the fifth century BC. The next oldest examples that can be securely dated are five altars that have been found at an extramural sanctuary east of Gabii, all of which date from the second half of the fourth century BC (cat. nos C3-C7).²⁵⁰ A further object in the sanctuary appears to be the lower half of a double-rounded base for a votive statue or other object standing on an inscribed pier from the second half of the third century BC, but it might instead be an altar that was placed there later (cat. no. D14). There are four badly-damaged altars in a courtyard or room near the Temple of Hercules in Ostia (cat. nos C22-C25).²⁵¹ From their profile, Shoe dates them no later than the second quarter of the third century BC,²⁵² but it is very difficult to trace any chronological development from the shape of rounded mouldings and their date must remain uncertain. There are also the lower halves of four altars in Rome (cat. nos C31-C34)²⁵³ and one in Tivoli (cat. no. C39)²⁵⁴ that are broadly similar, but might date from any time between the fourth and second century BC.

The upper half of an altar with double-rounded moulding which was seen by Thomas Ashby in 1901 at Ponte di Nona is now lost, and is not mentioned in the excavation report from ten years later (cat. no. C36).²⁵⁵ This sanctuary lies nine miles (fifteen kilometres) east of Rome on the Via Prenestina, and seems to have been most intensively used between about 250 and 150 BC.²⁵⁶ The altar might, therefore, date from the late third or early second century BC, but this is also uncertain.

3.3.3. *Other early altars in Latium*

There are very few remains of other early altars in Latium. In the fourth phase of the Regia in Rome, dating from around 540-530 BC, there is a single block in the courtyard which, because of its location opposite the main entrance to the

²⁵⁰ Guaítoli 1981: 169-71; Majerini and Musco 2001: 498; Musco 2006: 314.

²⁵¹ Becatti *et al.* 1953: 106-7; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Zevi 1976: 54; Rieger 2004: 225; Pensabene 2007: 49, 50, fig. 7.

²⁵² Shoe 1965: 157-8.

²⁵³ Castagnoli 1959-60: 160, fig.19; Hermann 1961: 29, n.78.

²⁵⁴ Giuliani 1967.

²⁵⁵ Ashby 1902: 174; Pasqui 1912: 198-9.

²⁵⁶ Fenelli 1975: 244-5; Potter 1979: 111, 119-20; Comella 1981: 738-9.

building, may be part of the foundation of an altar.²⁵⁷ Its design cannot be inferred. More survives of the Altar to Saturn in the western part of the Roman Forum, which probably dates from the sixth century BC, but with later alterations. The remains form a cube, partly composed of the bedrock, 3.95m. long and 2.80m wide, but this might only represent part of the altar and its original height cannot be determined.²⁵⁸ It is unlikely, therefore, that the surviving remains reflect the original design of the altar. Neither of these altars have remains of double-rounded mouldings, and so they are not included in my catalogue, but too little of them survives to prove that they certainly did not follow this design.

3.3.4. *Common characteristics*

As with the U-shaped altars, the surviving square and rectangular altars and other objects with double-rounded moulding come from the coastal region of Latium, Rome, and the area east of Rome as far as Tivoli. In this case, however, there are far fewer examples from the coastal region, and far more from east of Rome (fig. 3.12). The earliest examples, from Rome and the area around Tivoli, date from the sixth century BC, but the design continues in all three areas into the fourth century BC and later, as I discuss in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.4. **TERRACOTTA ARULAE**

Another type of object which is relevant for understanding the distribution and development of altars with double-rounded moulding is the miniature terracotta altar known as an *arula*.²⁵⁹ In Rome and Latium many *arulae* had a distinctive shape which confirms that a double-rounded form was associated there with altars of all types, from the end of the sixth century BC onwards (cat. no. D19).

Arulae are hollow, and can be square, rectangular or circular. They are usually decorated with a moulded relief on one side, or occasionally on three or all four

²⁵⁷ Brown 1974-75: 17, 32.

²⁵⁸ Lanciani 1902: 130-1; Cifani 2008: 111. Coarelli 1983: 202-6 identified it as the Altar to Saturn rather than Vulcan.

²⁵⁹ Studniczka 1903: 142, no.10; Bowerman 1913: 60-1, no.10; Castagnoli 1959-60: 162. Ricciotti 1978: 5 notes that Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.3 uses *arula* for a small altar, but Plin. *HN* 17.77 refers to turf laid around an elm-tree (perhaps reminiscent of the shape of an altar). Colonna 1977: 162, n.84 identifies *arulae* with *acerrae*.

sides, and were often painted. They are found in sanctuaries and houses as well as cemeteries and tombs,²⁶⁰ in mainland Greece, the Greek areas of Sicily and southern Italy, and in central Italy. This type of object might well have originated at Corinth in the sixth century BC,²⁶¹ but their production in Sicily and southern Italy could not have started much later, if at all,²⁶² and the earliest example at Rome is from the end of the sixth century BC.

The function of *arulae* has been much debated.²⁶³ It is now generally accepted that they were small-scale, portable replicas of monumental altars. A few had a depression in their upper surface or signs of burning, and they might have been used for burning perfume, incense or other offerings, or for receiving libations, perhaps through supporting a brazier or other cult vessel. They might also have been purely symbolic votive objects. It is likely that, as with larger altars, they fulfilled various functions depending on circumstances.

The shape of *arulae* varies by location, and has long been recognised as following the design of the local monumental altars.²⁶⁴ In Rome and Latium there is a distinct form, with double-rounded sides reminiscent of those on larger altars. Sometimes the lower section is wider than the upper one, as in the oldest surviving *arula* from Rome, dating from the end of the sixth century BC (fig. 3.13).²⁶⁵ In others, the two sections are the same width, such as those with one of the most popular reliefs, Europa on the bull (fig. 3.14).²⁶⁶ On occasion, the curves follow the shape of the reliefs, particularly when they depict palmettes or other foliage (fig. 3.15), but on others the curved shape is quite independent of the relief (fig. 3.16). Two moulds have been found in Rome and one in Ardea,

²⁶⁰ Fischer-Hansen 1977: 7.

²⁶¹ Swindler 1932: 512-5, 519, thought that they were imported from Cerveteri (supported by Ryberg 1940: 155); Broneer 1947: 215-6, 221-2; 1950: 370, 375, argued that later discoveries prove their Corinthian origin. See also Yavis 1949: 171-5.

²⁶² Van Buren 1918: 16, 52; Ricciotti 1978: 6-7, with bibliography of sites at n.6 and n.7.

²⁶³ See in particular Ricciotti 1978: 13-5; Nagy 2000: 8.

²⁶⁴ Ryberg 1940: 155-6; Ricciotti 1978: 5-8; Nagy 2000: 8-9.

²⁶⁵ Stuart Jones 1926: 331, no.146; Dressel 1879: 256-7, no.3; Van Buren 1918: 25-6, no.II,ii,1; Ryberg 1940: 158-9; Ricciotti 1973: 75-6, no.47; 1978: 73-4, no.1.

²⁶⁶ Ryberg 1940: 164 says that this subject, and the later one of Thetis or a Nereid on a dolphin, account for well over half the *arulae* found in Rome.

confirming local manufacture.²⁶⁷ The oldest *arula* from Rome is also relatively large, measuring 0.13m high, and 0.28m by 0.11m at its base. Others with double-rounded sides are typically between about 0.09m to 0.15m high, with bases around 0.10m to 0.16m by 0.8m to 0.11m.

This double-rounded shape is not found in the Greek areas of southern Italy and Sicily. Some *arulae* at Tarentum have slightly incurved sides (fig. 3.17),²⁶⁸ but this is a quite different shape, and even if Tarentine decorative motifs might have influenced those in Rome and Latium, the design with double-rounded sides is a distinct variant.

There is no comprehensive survey of all surviving *arulae*.²⁶⁹ Elizabeth van Buren's catalogue of Italian examples remains the most extensive, although the dates she assigns them are disputed.²⁷⁰ Enrico Dressel published the earliest study of examples found in the Esquiline necropolis at Rome,²⁷¹ and noted the similarity with altars and representations of altars on coins.²⁷² Since then, various surveys of examples held in Rome and those included in exhibitions have been published.²⁷³ These surveys often describe design types rather than individual altars, and the same mould can, of course, be used to produce many similar objects.²⁷⁴ Of the published examples about half or slightly more typically have double-rounded sides,²⁷⁵ but this cannot be taken as a representative sample of the original numbers.

²⁶⁷ Dressel 1879: 291; Ryberg 1940: 156; Ricciotti 1973: 74, 78, no.52, 96, no.88; 1978: 28-9, 80, no.16.

²⁶⁸ Ryberg 1940: 159-60; Jastrow 1946: 73.

²⁶⁹ Elisabeth Jastrow started but did not finish one: see Jastrow 1941: 3.

²⁷⁰ Van Buren 1918. Ricciotti 1978: 3, 18 criticises the dating.

²⁷¹ Dressel 1879: tabs 10, 10a.

²⁷² Dressel 1879: 281.

²⁷³ Della Seta 1918: 176, 199, 222, 298 (Museo di Villa Giulia); Stuart Jones 1926: 314-31 (Capitoline Museums, Palazzo dei Conservatori); Paribeni 1928: 271 (Museo Nazionale Romano); Colini 1929: 58-9 (Antiquarium Comunale di Roma); Ryberg 1940: 154-76 (Rome in general); Ricciotti 1973: 72-96 (Roma Medio Repubblicana exhibition); Ricciotti 1978 (Antiquarium Comunale di Roma); Forni 1981 (Enea nel Lazio exhibition).

²⁷⁴ Ryberg 1940: 156-7; Jastrow 1941: 12-3.

²⁷⁵ Giovanna Arciprete, in an unpublished thesis, says that thirty of the fifty *arulae* in the Museo Nazionale Romano have double-rounded sides: see Barbera 1995: 222, n.60.

There does, however, appear to be a change in design over time. Darma Ricciotti discusses in detail the difficulty of dating such objects, which often has to rest on stylistic considerations.²⁷⁶ She concludes that all the *arulae* in the Antiquarium Comunale at Rome from the sixth and fifth centuries BC have double-rounded sides, and that this form continues into the third century BC, whilst examples with square sides appear first in the fourth century BC and continue until the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC.²⁷⁷ She also considers the examples with double-rounded sides where the lower part is wider than the upper part to be generally earlier than those where both parts are the same size.²⁷⁸

Arulae with double-rounded sides also occur in Latium outside Rome,²⁷⁹ at Ardea,²⁸⁰ Artena,²⁸¹ Castel Porziano,²⁸² Fidenae,²⁸³ Fregellae,²⁸⁴ Lanuvium,²⁸⁵ Lavinium,²⁸⁶ Norba,²⁸⁷ Palestrina,²⁸⁸ Satricum,²⁸⁹ Segni,²⁹⁰ and Velletri.²⁹¹ This is a far wider distribution than the monumental stone altars with double-rounded moulding, and covers both *Latium vetus* and *Latium adiectum*, including the areas subject to Volscian occupation or influence in the fifth and early fourth centuries BC (see Chapter 8, section 8.3). To the north of Rome they have been found at Caere,²⁹² Falerii Veteres,²⁹³ Nazzano,²⁹⁴ Nepes,²⁹⁵ and Nomentum,²⁹⁶ and a few

²⁷⁶ Ricciotti 1978: 55-64.

²⁷⁷ Ricciotti 1978: 65-71, tab.2.5; see also Ricciotti 1973: 75-96.

²⁷⁸ Ricciotti 1978: 19-21.

²⁷⁹ Ricciotti 1978: 26-7, 75-8, with bibliography, and distribution map at 27, fig.a. Her list does not include examples now known from Alba Fucens, Castel Porziano, Fidenae, Fregellae, and Palestrina.

²⁸⁰ Van Buren 1918: 37, no.V,i,1; Jastrow 1946: 70-1, fig.3.

²⁸¹ Ashby and Pfeiffer 1905: 102, fig.13.

²⁸² Paribeni 1928: 271, no.824; Ricciotti 1973: 86, no.67.

²⁸³ Di Gennaro and Ceccarelli 2012: 220-1.

²⁸⁴ Monti 2000: 11.

²⁸⁵ Walters 1903: 174, 427-8, nos B616-7, D771-2; Van Buren 1918: 27, no.II,v,3.

²⁸⁶ Castagnoli 1959-60: 162, fig.21; Forni 1981: 220-1, nos D192-6.

²⁸⁷ Paribeni 1928: 271, no.828.

²⁸⁸ Gatti and Demma 2012: 360-1.

²⁸⁹ Della Seta 1918: 298; Ricciotti 1973: 77, nos.50-1.

²⁹⁰ Della Seta 1918: 222.

²⁹¹ Mancini 1915: 87; Van Buren 1918: 44-5, no.VI,xii,7; Cressedi 1953: 59, tab.3.

²⁹² Mengarelli 1935: 91, tab.18.5; 1936: 82-3: figs 5-6.

²⁹³ Comella 1986: 82-7.

²⁹⁴ Van Buren 1918: 44, no.VI,xii,6.

²⁹⁵ Van Buren 1918: 40, no.VI,i,5.

²⁹⁶ Pala 1976: 98, fig.255, no.51.

examples have been found in Campania at Cales and Capua, and in Puglia at Arpi, Lucera and Brindisi.²⁹⁷ One has also been found at Alba Fucens.²⁹⁸ Their distribution is shown at fig. 3.18.

Most of the *arulae* from outside Latium are from Latin colonies, or are thought to have been derived from Roman types.²⁹⁹ Those from Falerii Veteres, for example, date from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century BC and include many with Europa on the bull, which is very popular at Rome, as well as some unique designs, which might indicate local production.³⁰⁰

Ricciotti also notes a correlation between the form of *arula* and the date of colonisation, with the *arulae* from Latin colonies of the fifth and fourth centuries BC (Signia, Velitrae, Norba, Ardea, Satricum, Fregellae, Nepes, Cales, Luceria, and now Alba Fucens) all having double-rounded sides, whereas those from colonies of the third and second centuries BC (Hadria, Aquileia) all have straight sides.³⁰¹

This would imply that *arulae* with double-rounded sides were created first at Rome and spread to the rest of Latium, and then further afield, as part of the expansion of Roman control. This might be true, but a precise sequence of dating is impossible, and there are fifth century BC *arulae* at Lanuvium, Lavinium, Satricum, and perhaps elsewhere in Latium. It is quite possible, therefore, that the adoption of a distinct double-rounded form for *arulae* as soon as they appear in Latium, in the sixth century BC, happened at about the same time in Rome, in the coastal Latin cities, and in the Alban Hills.

There are several points of similarity between *arulae* and stone monumental altars in Latium. Both appear first in the sixth century BC, both use a double-

²⁹⁷ Ricciotti 1978: 28.

²⁹⁸ Personal communication from Dr. Cécile Evers, director of the Belgian excavations at Alba Fucens. The *arula* was found in undatable fill in the forum area in 2007 and, although damaged, has double-rounded sides. The relief is Eros riding on a panther; a similar relief is on an *arula* with double-rounded sides from Lanuvium and now in the British Museum: Walters 1903: 428, D772; Woodward 1929: 103, no.142.

²⁹⁹ Ryberg 1940: 176; Ricciotti 1978: 28-31.

³⁰⁰ Comella 1986: 82-7.

³⁰¹ Ricciotti 1978: 31.

rounded design from the outset, and both are not found in any other form until much later. They also both appear at an early date in different parts of Latium, and not just Rome, and there is no significant local variation in design. Individual examples might vary in detail, but there is an overall uniformity in design that suggests a firm association between double-rounded moulding and religious objects on the part of several different Latin communities.

3.5. CONCLUSION

Temple podia and altars begin to be constructed in stone in Latium from the mid-sixth century BC. From the outset, wherever elements of the outer surface survive, they all have rounded mouldings. The oldest temple podium did not have double-rounded moulding, but by the end of the sixth century BC this design was being used on at least some podia. With altars the examples are more numerous and more clear-cut. U-shaped altars, square altars, terracotta *arulae*, and votive bases all have double-rounded moulding when they first appear in the sixth century BC. The examples in stone come from three main areas of Latium: the coastal region; in and near the city of Rome; and the area towards Tivoli to the east. Terracotta *arulae* with double-rounded sides are found more widely in Latium. U-shaped altars in particular seem to be unique to Latium, and there are no clear examples before the second century BC of any altars in Latium that do not use a double-rounded design.

The archaeological evidence, therefore, suggests that there was a link between religious architecture and the double-rounded design in the northern part of Latium, and that this link was common to all types of religious object. There is very little variation in design, both across the different parts of Latium that shared this architectural tradition, and between the different examples of particular types of religious architecture. The consistent and widespread early use of the design in northern Latium suggests that it was not a Roman form that spread to the rest of Latium through Rome's expanding influence, but a common form that was used independently from the outset in different parts of Latium.

Around the time of the Roman re-conquest of the rest of Latium in the later fourth century BC, new altars using the double-rounded design appear in all three areas of Latium that shared this architectural tradition, but not in the re-conquered territory. It is likely that the continuation of this relative uniformity in the double-rounded design resulted from a conscious emphasis being placed on preserving the common features of an existing local architectural tradition that had by then been identified as a Latin cultural marker. This continuation of relative uniformity over time in the Latin double-rounded design contrasts strongly with the local distinctiveness in the use of architectural mouldings in Etruria, which I shall examine in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

EARLY DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDINGS IN ETRURIA AND OTHER POSSIBLE INFLUENCES

In her extensive survey of architectural mouldings in central Italy, Lucy Shoe demonstrated that they represented a tradition that was distinct from Greek practice.³⁰² My catalogue contains many different types of objects with rounded wave mouldings in a double-rounded design, from a wide range of locations in central Italy, and dating from the sixth until the first century BC. This design is unknown outside this area,³⁰³ but takes various forms within this common architectural tradition. It is less clear whether this common tradition spread from a single source, or resulted from a combination of different traditions, in which distinct local characteristics might be discernible.

There is a long-standing view that Rome and Latium in the archaic period were under Etruscan domination, either through conquest, settlement or cultural superiority, and that much of early Roman art, architecture, engineering, religion and other skilled areas were of Etruscan origin.³⁰⁴ As a result, Roman and Latin artefacts and buildings from the sixth and fifth centuries BC are often described as Etruscan and included in surveys of Etruscan material. This view is reflected in the approach of Bowerman and Shoe to objects with double-rounded moulding (see Chapter 2, section 2.2).

More recently, it has been argued that archaic Rome remained independent, comparable in all respects to contemporary Etruscan cities, and was part of a shared culture formed from native Italic, Greek and orientalising features that covered Latium, Etruria, and some other communities in central Italy.³⁰⁵ Part of that shared culture included religious beliefs and practices, and here too the idea

³⁰² Shoe 1965: 34-5. See also Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xxii; Edlund-Berry 2002: 37; 2008: 441, n.3.

³⁰³ Castagnoli 1959-60: 171 notes, however, the similar shape of the flat finial painted with scrolls and palmettes on a sixth-century BC Greek grave stele. See Robinson 1913: 96, 99.

³⁰⁴ Summarised at Cornell 1995: 151-63. See also Cornell 1997: 15-8; Potts 2011b: 4-5.

³⁰⁵ Colonna 1987: 62, 66; Cornell 1995: 163-72; Smith 2000a: 30. Forsythe 2005: 117-8 accepts the case against Etruscan domination, but stresses the significance of Etruscan influence.

of Etruscan dominance has been questioned, in favour of a model that emphasises the close relationship between Rome and the rest of Latium, and envisages more flexible amalgams of native traditions and outside influence.³⁰⁶

In terms of architecture, there has been a recognition that the temple emerged first as a distinct type of building at Rome, and that Vitruvius' term *tuscanicus* (4.7.1-5) implies 'old-fashioned' rather than Etruscan, for which he uses *tuscus* or *etruscus* (1.7.10), and, therefore, that he did not codify specifically Etruscan buildings.³⁰⁷ Following the discovery of the sanctuary at Lavinium, there is also a greater readiness to accept that the origins of altars with double-rounded moulding are at least as much Latin as Etruscan.³⁰⁸

I examined in Chapter 3 how a double-rounded design using the rounded wave moulding was characteristic of temple podia, altars, and other religious objects in parts of northern Latium from the sixth to the fourth century BC and later. This chapter looks at the use of similar mouldings on objects from Etruria from the same period, and at the possibility of Greek influence, to determine the extent to which this design can be regarded as a distinctly Latin rather than an Etruscan or a shared architectural form.

4.1. ETRUSCAN TOMBS

The best evidence for the earliest forms of architectural mouldings used by the Etruscans comes from a funerary context, either on the tombs themselves or on grave markers, or *cippi*. Both are characterised by considerable variety between and within the various Etruscan cities.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Beard 1987: 3; North 1989: 578-9; Smith 1996: 186; 2000b: 153; 2001: 34-8; Beard *et al.* 1998: 1.10-2.

³⁰⁷ Brown 1972: 342-3; Cornell 1995: 167; Potts 2011b: 8-9. Edlund-Berry 2013: 695 regards Vitruvius' term *tuscanicus* as meaning 'Etruscan-inspired'.

³⁰⁸ Boëthius 1962: 253; Castagnoli 1959-60: 172; 1977: 348-8; Steingraber 1982: 113; Colonna 1987: 64; Holloway 1994: 129; Smith 1996: 134; Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xxi; Edlund-Berry 2008: 445-6.

³⁰⁹ Shoe 1965: 15; Boëthius 1978: 94.

4.1.1. Etruscan tomb types and decoration

From the early seventh century BC, elite members of society across Etruria built large tumuli, or burial mounds, over monumental chamber tombs as a means of commemorating their dead and displaying their social and cultural status.³¹⁰ The seventh-century tumuli at Cerveteri (ancient Caere) are the earliest datable Etruscan structures with mouldings.³¹¹ They take the form of a circular drum, either wholly rock-cut or with masonry added to a rock-cut base, which supports a mound of earth, with mouldings on the upper part of the stone drum. The earliest tumuli have half-round bands, sometimes in combination with a flat fascia (figs. 4.1 and 4.2).

From the early sixth century BC other moulded shapes are found, especially in a combination which becomes widespread across Etruria: a flat fascia on top, a half-round in the middle, and a hawkbeak below. In an early example on the Tomba Policroma tumulus at Cerveteri, the fascia is instead a quarter-round and forms the beginning of the conical mould of earth (fig. 4.3).³¹² On a similar tumulus at Bieda, the fascia is flat and the mound begins separately above it (fig. 4.4).³¹³

This combination of mouldings became more widespread when other types of tombs began to be constructed. Towards the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC there was a major change in funerary architecture with the appearance of 'cube tombs'. Instead of the earlier large, circular mounds, these tombs were much smaller, square structures.³¹⁴ This change was accompanied by stricter planning in the layout of some necropoleis. At Cerveteri and Orvieto this planning was carried out on a large scale, in line with contemporary changes in urban design.³¹⁵

³¹⁰ Riva 2010: 37, 95.

³¹¹ Åkerström 1934: 30; Shoe 1965: 14, 42-3. On the early excavations of the Cerveteri necropoleis, see Pace *et al.* 1955.

³¹² Naso 1996: 53.

³¹³ Koch *et al.* 1915: 211.

³¹⁴ Izzet 2007: 95-7.

³¹⁵ Oleson 1976: 214-6; Cosentino 2014: 180.

This new approach resulted in rows of tombs whose size, design, orientation and decoration were similar, and no doubt regulated. At the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri cube tombs were inserted into the existing necropolis and constructed in the same way as the surrounding tumuli, with rock-cut bases built up with masonry blocks. In the Crocefisso del Tufo and Cannicella necropoleis at Orvieto the tombs were more often built wholly from blocks.

In both cities rows of tombs were joined together and given a collective façade, with a moulded cornice running across the top of several tombs or an entire row. At Cerveteri, towards the southern end of the Via dei Monti della Tolfa, a block of tombs has a quarter-round above a hawksbeak (fig. 4.5). The six tombs near the southern end of the parallel Via dei Monti Ceriti to the east have a quarter-round above a torus with a hawksbeak beneath them (fig. 4.6), similar to the nearby Tomba Policroma (see fig. 4.3).³¹⁶ Other blocks in the necropolis have a plain façade, topped by a quarter-round. In the Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis at Orvieto, two central blocks in the wholly planned necropolis also have a fascia above a torus with a hawksbeak beneath them (fig. 4.7).³¹⁷

In central and southern Etruria several cities built rock-cut tombs in nearby cliffs, such as Bieda, Norchia, S. Giuliano, and Castel d'Asso.³¹⁸ Many of these took the shape of cube tombs, and their moulded decoration very frequently used the combination of a fascia above a torus with a hawksbeak below, occasionally with minor variations, but rarely as the only moulded decoration.³¹⁹

The main characteristic of the moulded decoration on Etruscan funerary architecture is, therefore, variety, but the fascia-torus-hawksbeak combination at or towards the top of a tomb is a design that gained more than just local usage. It became the most distinctive moulding on Etruscan tombs, and continued in use

³¹⁶ Oleson 1982: 45; Cristofani and Nardi 1988: 81-2; Naso 1996: 64-6; Izzet 2007: 111, 117.

³¹⁷ Åkerström 1934: 78; Bizzarri 1962: 26-7; Colonna 1967: 22-3; Bruschetti 2006: 21-3; Izzet 2007: 118-9.

³¹⁸ Rosi 1925: 17-9; Oleson 1976: 205-8.

³¹⁹ Rosi 1925: 19-23, figs 11-12, describes and illustrates the various profiles. Koch *et al.* 1915: 268-71, figs 65, 66, describes the Bieda profiles in detail.

largely unchanged for some time,³²⁰ but was usually accompanied by a range of other mouldings, so that the overall impression is still one of variety.

The use of this fascia-torus-hawksbeak combination seems to have been confined to tombs and *cippi*, since it is not found on other religious structures. The original excavators at Satricum in southern Latium discovered a piece of torus moulding from the podium of Temple I, dated to around 540 BC, and reconstructed it with a fascia above and hawksbeak below.³²¹ There was, however, no evidence of hawksbeak moulding, and the podium is now thought to have had a vertical face with a single torus towards the top, as on the first temple at S. Omobono in Rome (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.).³²² The fascia-torus-hawksbeak combination is also often shown on reconstructions of an altar at Vignanello from the late sixth century BC, but this is conjectural, as nothing survived above the hawksbeak.³²³

Evidence that this combination might have been more widely used is provided by a plaque from an unknown tomb in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri.³²⁴ This shows an elaborate altar made from eleven courses of blocks in four different colours (fig. 4.8). The outer edges of the top six courses comprise two sets of fascia-torus-hawksbeak combinations, with similar proportions to those seen on tombs. Finds from tumuli indicate that religious rites were carried out above the burial chamber, and ramps or stairs were often incorporated to provide access to the upper surface.³²⁵ Steps were also often provided alongside rock-cut tombs to allow access to the space above them.³²⁶ It is possible, therefore, that funerary altars at these necropoleis might have had the characteristic fascia-torus-hawksbeak moulding to create a visual link with the associated tomb architecture, but this single plaque is the only evidence that supports this.

³²⁰ Oleson 1982: 43-5.

³²¹ Bernabei and Cozza 1896: 31-2, fig. 4.

³²² Colonna 2005: 112, 114, fig.1; Edlund-Berry 2008: 442.

³²³ Giglioli 1924: 259-60; Edlund 1987: 72; Izzet 2000: 42-4, fig.3.1b; Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 71.

³²⁴ Roncalli 1965: 18-9; Colonna 1985: 43.

³²⁵ Colonna 1986: 398; 2006: 142; Izzet 2007: 93; Prayon 2010: 77; Riva 2010: 130-1.

³²⁶ Rosi 1927: 72-3; Åkerström 1934: 82; Oleson 1976: 213; Riva 2010: 134.

4.1.2. Rounded wave moulding

The rounded wave moulding is very rarely found on Etruscan tomb architecture. There are two examples: a type of rock-cut cube tomb at Norchia and Castel d'Asso; and two blocks of cube tombs in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri.

Rock-cut cube tombs at Norchia and Castel d'Asso have a single quarter-round or a rounded wave forming a transition to a narrower top section of the façade, but always together with other mouldings, and never in a double-rounded profile. An example is the Tomba Prostila at Norchia, where the rounded wave moulding sits between two bands of fascia-torus-hawksbeak moulding (fig. 4.9).³²⁷

The profile of these tombs bear a striking resemblance to a type of tall, square *cippus* found mostly in southern Etruria (Vulci, Viterbo, Blera, and Cerveteri). This has a similar moulded upper section and a stylised door which mimics the entrance to a cube tomb (figs 4.10-11).³²⁸ *Cippi* of various types appear to have been placed on the tops of cube tombs,³²⁹ and the design of these tombs and this type of *cippus* emphasises this by combining the two shapes in one structure: the cube tombs having large stylised *cippi* on top, and the *cippi* having small stylised tombs underneath (fig. 4.12).³³⁰ This type of *cippus* is found both with and without inscriptions, and usually has a hole in its upper surface to hold the polished rounded stone found on several *cippus* types (fig. 4.13).³³¹ In the case of these tombs, therefore, the appearance of a rounded wave moulding comes from the appropriation into their design of a *cippus* type that includes this moulding.

The other example of rounded wave moulding on Etruscan tomb architecture is very different. It is found at the base of two blocks of tombs in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri (cat. nos D4-D5). One block, containing two tombs, is at the southern end of the Via dei Monti della Tolfa, but it is separate from, and set

³²⁷ Rosi 1925: 24-5, figs 13-14. See also Colonna di Paolo and Colonna 1978: 391. The profiles of such tombs are at Rosi 1925: 23, fig. 12.l-q.

³²⁸ Rosi 1927: 77-8; Shoe 1965: 60; Blumhofer 1993: 174, appendix 4a, type F.

³²⁹ Bruschetti 2006: 21-3; Izzet 2007: 98.

³³⁰ Åkerström 1934: 79-80; Oleson 1982: 43.

³³¹ Blumhofer 1993: appendix 4a also classifies it as type F, but it is found more widely in Etruria than the tomb type.

slightly back from the joined blocks of tombs that form the rest of the row. The other block, containing three tombs, is at the southern end of the parallel Via dei Monti Ceriti, but is separated from the row of tombs on that street and oriented differently, facing south on to the Via delle Serpi.

On both blocks there is a levelled plinth cut from the rock on which the blocks sit, with a band of separate mouldings consisting of a half-round over a rounded wave placed on top of the plinth. The profile of the mouldings is very similar on both blocks,³³² although they are deeper on the block at the end of the Via dei Monti Ceriti. The moulding is not continuous, since it is cut by doorways to the tombs, but these reveal that the upper walls of both blocks rest on the half-round course, which suggests that the mouldings were an original feature of the tombs.

Unfortunately, the excavation of this area by Mario Moretti in the early 1970s has not been published and it is known that the tombs were heavily restored.³³³ A photograph from the 1970s (fig. 4.14) shows the site before the Via dei Monti della Tolfa had been excavated, and it is just possible to see the poor state of preservation of the facings of these two blocks.

The restored blocks are reminiscent of the earliest appearance of the double-rounded design on the second temple podium at S. Omobono in Rome from around 530 BC, which also had a half-round over a rounded wave moulding (cat. no. A1 and see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1.). The date of the two blocks at the Banditaccia necropolis is not certain. They might be from the second half of the sixth century or the first half of the fifth century BC,³³⁴ but they are most likely to date from the beginning of the fifth century BC.³³⁵ Their position by the main east-west Via delle Serpi, with the eastern block facing that street rather than being aligned with the row of tombs behind it, suggests that the eastern block, or perhaps both, were built at an early stage in the introduction of rows of cube

³³² Cristofani and Nardi 1988: 81; Naso 1996: 66.

³³³ Oleson 1976: 215; Cristofani and Nardi 1988: 81-2.

³³⁴ Cristofani and Nardi 1988: 81; Naso 1996: 64; Izzet 2007: 95-8, 117.

³³⁵ Cosentino 2008: 75.

tombs. They were probably, therefore, erected some time later than the second temple at S. Omobono, and after the temple had been destroyed by fire.

These two blocks of tombs are unique in having moulded decoration at the bottom of their façades rather than the top, and they might well represent the first use of a double-rounded design in Etruria. Their similarity with the podium at S. Omobono is striking, but it is difficult to deduce what relationship there might have been between such different structures in the two cities, whose construction was also separated by thirty or more years.

Neither this style of decorating cube tombs, nor the use of a half-round over a rounded wave, appears again in Etruria. The second temple at S. Omobono was destroyed within about twenty years and not rebuilt, and this type of double-rounded moulding is also not seen elsewhere in Latium, except perhaps on Altar IX Inferior at Lavinium, which also dates from the mid-sixth century (cat. no. B3 and see Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.). Whatever the link between the sites might have been, the wider influence of this particular version of the double-rounded design with a half-round on top seems to have been limited, and it was a version with two opposed rounded wave mouldings that became the standard in Latium.

4.2. ETRUSCAN CIPPI

Etruscan grave markers, or *cippi*, are also characterised by their variety. They differ considerably in size, shape and material, and there are strong variations both between the types used in different regions, and within individual cities.³³⁶

There is no comprehensive survey of Etruscan *cippi* and their development. Stephan Steingraber identified eight broad types, but included many different shapes under each type without further detailed categorisation.³³⁷ Martin Blumhofer identified sixteen different types, of which one (his Type H4) has a double-rounded form with opposed rounded wave mouldings.³³⁸ This type only

³³⁶ Steingraber 1997: 109.

³³⁷ Steingraber 1991: 1081-2.

³³⁸ Blumhofer 1993: 172-3, fig.4a.

occurs in Orvieto, and Shoe regarded it as the origin of the double-rounded design found on all the podia, altars and other objects in Latium and elsewhere.³³⁹

This Orvietan type can vary in its proportions and some details, but its essential form remains constant.³⁴⁰ The *cippi* are rectangular or occasionally square, and have a rectangular or square hole in their upper surface to hold a rounded or oval stone, usually of polished serpentine or basalt. Their profile consists of an abacus, sometimes with a torus at its bottom, an upper echinus with a shallow hawkbeak or squared torus, a short central stem, a lower echinus of quarter-rounded or rounded wave shape, and a plinth, sometimes with a torus at its top. The upper part is usually smaller and shallower, and projects less far than the lower echinus. On occasion there is a large difference in size between the two parts, but sometimes they are approximately the same size.

The example in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico at Orvieto is representative of the type, at 0.21m high, 0.23m long and 0.19m wide, with the upper part only slightly smaller than the lower part (fig. 4.15).³⁴¹ Other examples at Orvieto have a smaller upper part or are badly damaged, and are either broadly similar in size at the base, or up to about twice as large (figs 4.16-19). There are also examples in museums in Rome, Florence, Perugia, Berlin, Copenhagen, and Washington, DC (figs 4.20-21).³⁴² Of the twenty-one complete examples whose dimensions are given by Shoe,³⁴³ twelve are between 0.19m and 0.26m in height, with three slightly shorter (between 0.11m and 0.13m), and six taller (up to 0.58m). Their base dimensions are more varied, but fourteen of the twenty-one are between 0.15m and 0.30m long, and between 0.14m and 0.30m wide; the other seven are larger, up to 0.62m by 0.58m. The majority, therefore, are far smaller than the altars in Latium, with only a few of the largest examples approaching the altars'

³³⁹ Shoe 1965: 19, 30, 90-92, 95-6, 108.

³⁴⁰ Shoe 1965: 60-8.

³⁴¹ Probably Shoe 1965: 65, XVII,10, although the 'extra fillet at bottom of base fascia' recorded by Shoe is only perhaps faintly visible on one of the long sides.

³⁴² Rome: Giglioli 1935: 30, tab.158; Shoe 1965: 65; Florence: Milani 1900: 294-6, fig.4; Castagnoli 1959-60: 164; Shoe 1965: 63-4, 67; Perugia: Saioni 2003: 12, nos 399-400; Cante and Manconi 2004: 35, no.71; Berlin: various authors 1891: 481, no.1244; Copenhagen: Poulsen 1927: 104-5, no.H.212; Castagnoli 1959-60: 164; Poulsen 1966: 38, no.H.212; Washington DC: Shoe 1965: 61, fig.7, 67.

³⁴³ Shoe 1965: 64-8.

base dimensions, although not their height, which is normally between about 0.80m and 1.05m (fig. 4.22).

The profiles of these *cippi* are very reminiscent of the altars from Latium, but the evidence for their being the source of the double-rounded design in those altars is not strong. The *cippi* are difficult to date. They are very unlikely to be older than the middle of the sixth century BC, which is when the second temple podium at S. Omobono in Rome and the earliest altars at Lavinium were constructed, and they are perhaps more likely to date from the fifth century, when Etruscan Orvieto was at its height.³⁴⁴ It is by no means certain, therefore, that this *cippus* form was in use before the double-rounded design had already become established in Latium.

These *cippi* were also only one of several types in use at Orvieto. Blumhofer lists it as one of six types found there, more than in any other city in Etruria,³⁴⁵ and it seems to have been relatively uncommon. Early excavation reports record numerous *cippi* of several different types, but not with this double-rounded design.³⁴⁶ Antonio Minto found some in the Cannicella necropolis,³⁴⁷ and it was one of the vast range of *cippus* types found by Mario Bizzarri in the Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis, where he notes one in the typical nenfro of that necropolis, but patched with a piece of trachyte that is typical of the Cannicella necropolis.³⁴⁸

It is possible that the design of these *cippi* had some wider influence. Two connecting pieces of what appears to have been a parapet or facing found at the Belvedere Temple at Orvieto have a very similar profile, with the upper echinus much smaller than the lower (cat. no. D8). Only one side is moulded, and its rear is flat, implying that it was set against a wall. The temple dates from the early fifth century BC, but these pieces are of a different stone from the rest of the temple and were not found in place, and so it is not clear whether they were

³⁴⁴ Blumhofer 1993:172; Bruschetti 2006: 25-6.

³⁴⁵ Blumhofer 1993: appendices 4a, 4b: Vetulonia and Tarquinia have five types, the other cities between one and three. At least eight or nine distinct types, however, are on display in Orvieto museums: see Cardella 1888: 60-1.

³⁴⁶ Gamurrini 1887a: 344-9, tab.7. For other reports of excavations at the Orvieto necropoleis, see: Gamurrini 1880; Klakowicz 1972, 1974; Bonamici *et al.* 1994.

³⁴⁷ Minto 1939: 8-10, fig.7.

³⁴⁸ Bizzarri 1962: 117-8, fig.36.

original or added later.³⁴⁹ This tends to strengthen the argument for dating these *cippi* to the fifth rather than the sixth century BC, but is not conclusive. There is no evidence that this *cippus* shape was used on altars in Orvieto or elsewhere.

The closest parallel outside Orvieto is a representation on a large cinerary urn or sarcophagus from Città della Pieve, near Chiusi (cat. no. E10). The sculpted female figure is resting her feet on an object with double-rounded moulding that is usually described as a footstool. Its size in relation to the sculpted figures, and its general profile, is similar to these *cippi* from Orvieto, but it has a central scotia and not the hawk's beak which is invariably found on the Orvietan *cippi*. The cinerary urn is dated to the mid-fifth or fourth century BC.

Even if this type of *cippus* was in use at Orvieto at the earliest possible date, in the mid-sixth century BC, the fact that it was a relatively uncommon type among several in the city, and was not adopted outside Orvieto or copied on altars there, makes it unlikely that it was the origin of the mouldings that appear in Latium at that time, as Shoe proposes. Stone *cippi* are rare in Latium outside Palestrina, and the isolated transference of this design from an area where it appears on *cippi* but not altars, to a distant area where it appears on altars but *cippi* are rare, is difficult to explain.

It might be more likely that, as Castagnoli argues, the design of the Latin altars originated in Latium and spread its influence northwards into Etruria, since many more examples come from Rome and Latium, and several date from before the probable appearance of this type of profile in Orvieto in the fifth century BC.³⁵⁰ The existence, however, of an isolated line of influence from Latin altars to Orvietan *cippi* in the fifth century BC is arguably as implausible as the reverse influence existing in the sixth century BC. The most likely conclusion is, therefore, that the design of the *cippi* at Orvieto arose independently, as individual moulded elements that were already in widespread use were put together in another of the wide variety of combinations found in Etruria.

³⁴⁹ Izzet 2000: 42-3.

³⁵⁰ Castagnoli 1977: 348-9.

There are examples of Etruscan *cippi* with a different type of double-rounded moulding. A *cippus* from Populonia, dated by its inscription to the early fifth century BC (cat. no. D6), and one from Vulci (cat. no. D17), have the same profile, in which the upper echinus is the same size as the lower, but separated by a tall central stem with a torus at both its top and bottom. This design is similar to a *cippus* from the Villa Cassarini sanctuary near Bologna, which has an even longer central stem (cat. no. D7). It is also closely reminiscent of the profile of the platform known as Altar D at Marzabotto, also near Bologna (cat. no. D2), and the altar or base depicted on a funerary stele from the same city (cat. no. E9), both dated to the fifth century BC. A very similar form is found on the circular base of a grave monument from near Tuscania in the south of Etruria, dated to the mid-fourth century BC (cat. no. D9).

This type of double-rounded moulding with a long central stem is much more widespread in Etruria than that of the *cippi* at Orvieto, both in terms of its geographical spread and the different categories of objects on which it appears. It also appears to have influenced other *cippi* designs, such as an unpublished example at the Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis in Orvieto, where the lower echinus and central stem are retained but the upper section is more elaborate and the upper echinus reduced, in effect, to a large torus (fig. 4.23).

This type, therefore, has a stronger claim than the *cippi* from Orvieto described above to be regarded as the most characteristic Etruscan double-rounded moulding design. It has less in common with Latin altars, which do not have a long central stem, and both these Etruscan forms of double-rounded moulding only seem to have come into use in the fifth century BC, and so can be discounted as the origin of the double-rounded design used in Rome and Latium.

4.3. ETRUSCAN TEMPLE PODIA

Podia have generally been regarded as an Etruscan architectural form that was introduced to Rome and Latium under Etruscan political dominance or cultural influence, becoming a constant feature of the canonical Etrusco-Italic or Tuscan

temple that was later codified by Vitruvius.³⁵¹ Recently, however, Charlotte Potts has provided a clearer definition of a podium as a piece of architecture unified with its superstructure, and demonstrated that the earliest examples appeared in Rome and Latium as a new and distinctive feature in the emergence of temples as an architectural form, some fifty years before they are recognisable in Etruria.³⁵²

The earliest temples in Etruria either do not have podia, or their podia do not have examples of rounded wave mouldings or a double-rounded design.³⁵³ The earliest example with rounded mouldings is Temple III at Tarquinia, from the first quarter of the fourth century BC,³⁵⁴ but this consists of a large half-round, with a much smaller half-round above it, forming the base for two surviving square courses.³⁵⁵ The blocks are *nenfro*, in contrast to the *tufa* of the rest of the temple.

Several sections of what appears to be a parapet also survive from the stylobate of Temple III at Tarquinia (cat. no. D13)³⁵⁶. Unlike at the Belvedere Temple in Orvieto (cat. no. D8), these sections are moulded on both sides with very characteristic double-rounded mouldings, including a hawksbeak. There are traces of slots where metal clamps would have joined the pieces together, which means that they must have formed a long decorative parapet, or perhaps bases for votive objects, rather than being part of a podium or serving as an altar. Its profile is the closest parallel to the double-rounded design of Latin altars, such as the older altars at Lavinium with a hawksbeak,³⁵⁷ and is very similar to the first century BC altars at Fiesole (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.2.). Since, however, the parapet at Tarquinia is no older than the fourth century BC,³⁵⁸ and is not an

³⁵¹ For example: Robertson 1943: 195; Shoe 1965: 21-4; Boëthius 1978: 48; Edlund 1987: 143; Stamper 2005: 8; Edlund-Berry 2008: 441.

³⁵² Potts 2011: 41-6. Bonghi Jovino 2012: 7 maintains that Temple I at Tarquinia had a podium and was earlier, but Potts 2015: 40 argues that, because the substructure is far larger than the temple, it should be regarded as an artificial terrace rather than a true podium unified as a piece of architecture with the temple superstructure.

³⁵³ Potts 2011: 42-3, tab.1, but see Bonghi Jovino 2012: 7-8.

³⁵⁴ Romanelli 1948: 242-4; Shoe 1965: 89-90; Colonna 1985: 70-8; Bonghi Jovino 1986: 355-76; 2009: 16; Izzet 2000: 42-3, fig.3.1c.

³⁵⁵ The mouldings are of different sizes on different sides of the temple: Shoe 1965: 89-90 lists three separate entries.

³⁵⁶ Romanelli 1948: 247-8.

³⁵⁷ Castagnoli 1959-60: 165; Shoe 1964: 104.

³⁵⁸ Bonghi Jovino 2009: 16; Bagnasco Gianni 2011: 50-1.

integral part of a podium, it cannot have been the inspiration for the use of rounded wave mouldings or a double-rounded design on temple podia in Latium.

4.4. GREEK AND ETRUSCAN ALTARS

4.4.1. *The origins of Latin U-shaped altars: comparison with Greek altars*

I described in Chapter 3, section 3.2, the twenty-two certain or likely examples from Latium of altars with double-rounded moulding that follow a U-shaped design with projecting side-sections or wings (often called *antae*). In his survey of the typology of the Lavinium altars, Castagnoli concludes that their U-shaped form was directly inspired by Greek models.³⁵⁹ Others have followed this conclusion.³⁶⁰

Greek altars took many forms. The standard typology by Constantine Yavis distinguishes about twenty-five different types, with a dozen sub-divisions of two of the most numerous types.³⁶¹ He sees the use of *antae* originating in his category 'Stepped Monumental Altars', as panels extending beyond the front of a cubical altar onto the sides of the *prothesis*, or platform, on which the sacrificer stood, and the flanks of the staircase leading to it.³⁶²

A closer potential model for the U-shaped altars of Latium is the type Yavis calls 'Ceremonial Altars in Antis', which occur first in the classical period and which he describes as formed by adding the *antae* of 'Stepped Monumental Altars' to 'Ceremonial Altars' (where the *prothesis* rests directly on the ground), so that the *antae* enclosed most of the *prothesis*. He lists examples from the Agora in Athens, the Sanctuary of Poseidon on Delos, Selinus (Selinunte) in Sicily, and two from the Sanctuary of Poseidon on Thasos;³⁶³ I discuss these examples below.

³⁵⁹ Castagnoli 1959-60: 153-4. His fig.8 on p.154 shows an altar from the Sanctuary of Poseidon on Thasos but wrongly describes it as from the Sanctuary of Poseidon on Delos. Castagnoli 1977: 347-8, argues that the eastern orientation of the Lavinium altars reflects Greek influence.

³⁶⁰ For example: Boëthius 1962: 253; Panella 2004: 252; Steingräber and Menichelli 2010: 61. Smith 1996: 134 suggests a fusion of Greek models and Latin techniques. Moser 2014: 23 calls them 'non-Italic'.

³⁶¹ Yavis 1949: xiii, 55-6, 229, 231-53.

³⁶² Yavis 1949: 115-27, 185-91.

³⁶³ Yavis 1949: 183-5.

A later typology by Hélène Cassimatis, Roland Étienne, and Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet includes other forms of plinths or bases, and comprises twenty-seven distinct types, including the equivalents of Yavis's 'Ceremonial Altars in Antis' and 'Stepped Monumental Altars' with *antae*.³⁶⁴ According to Herbert Hoffmann, both the Greek T-shaped and U-shaped stepped altar forms had Egyptian origins, with the first Greek prototype being built at the trading colony at Naukratis in Egypt, before being adopted on Samos and then elsewhere.³⁶⁵

The oldest known example of a Greek altar with *antae* on either side of the *prothysis* is at the sanctuary of Hera on Samos.³⁶⁶ A sequence of eight successive altars of increasing size date from sub-Mycenaean times to the sixth century BC.³⁶⁷ Altar III, from the first half of the eighth century BC, measured 4.40m by 4.00m and was the first to be built with *antae*. Altar V, from the second half of the eighth century BC, was given the U-shaped walls across the back of the altar and on the *antae* that afterwards became characteristic of this type of Greek altar. This addition seems to be linked with a change in ritual practice, when the sacrificial ashes began to be preserved on the altar, protected from the wind by the U-shaped walls.³⁶⁸ The same shape was kept in the later altars, culminating in Altar VIII in the mid-sixth century BC, which at 28.30m by 5.40m was seven times as large as its immediate predecessor (figs 4.24-25).³⁶⁹

Of the altars cited by Yavis, the one in Athens is now accepted to be the foundation of the small Temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria on the western side of the Agora. Its associated altar was situated some 4.50m to the east and can be reconstructed with confidence as rectangular without projecting *antae*.³⁷⁰ The altar by the Temple of Small Metopes at Selinunte dates from the fifth century BC and is virtually square (2.73m by 2.65m).³⁷¹ Although the

³⁶⁴ Cassimatis *et al.* 1991: 269-73, fig.17, A6 and F5.

³⁶⁵ Hoffmann 1953: 192-3.

³⁶⁶ Yavis 1949: 120.

³⁶⁷ Schleif and Buschor 1933: 146-50; Schleif 1933: 204-7; Hoffmann 1953: 192-3.

³⁶⁸ Stampolidis 1991: 291-2 proposes that such U-shaped walls were instead a relic of the back- and arm-rests of 'altar-thrones' where originally the deity was thought to come to sit, rest and eat.

³⁶⁹ Schleif 1933: 174.

³⁷⁰ Yavis 1949: 183-4; Thompson 1937: 86; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 139-40.

³⁷¹ Gàbrici 1929: 82; Yavis 1949: 184.

prothysis and the platform that would have carried the altar remain, none of the upper elements survive (figs 4.26-27). The shape appears consistent with a rectangular altar surface enclosed by a raised structure on three sides, but this cannot be certain.

The altar of Poseidon on Delos, which is also cited by Yavis, was built before the middle of the third century BC and only fragments survive *in situ*, though its overall dimensions can be reconstructed from other elements nearby.³⁷² Above its plinth, the altar measures about 3.51m by 2.06m. The central area is enclosed on three sides by walls which are formed in part by the vertical continuation of the *antae* (0.39m wide), and which rise at least 0.50m above the altar surface (figs 4.28-29).

Two earlier altars on Delos appear to be similar in design, with four or five steps leading to a rectangular offering-table with a raised rear wall and *antae*. One to the west of the Prytaneion dates from around 500 BC.³⁷³ It measures 1.975m by 1.664m, and had four steps. Its *antae* extended 0.45m in front of the offering-table onto the *prothysis*. Enough survives of the altar and one *anta* to enable a reconstruction (figs 4.30-31). The second altar, to the east of the lake, is from about the same date. It is more fragmentary, but seems to follow a similar design on a slightly smaller scale, measuring 1.305m in length (fig. 4.32).³⁷⁴

Of the two altars on Thasos, one stands just outside the Sanctuary of Poseidon and is Hellenistic or Roman in date.³⁷⁵ It was preserved virtually intact, with only two blocks from the crowning of the *antae* needing to be restored (fig. 4.33). It provides, therefore, the best evidence for the design of this type of altar. Its dimensions at the *prothysis* are 1.92m by 1.61m, with the body of the altar measuring 1.86m long, 1.55m wide, and 0.91m high, including the enclosing walls on top. The other altar is inside the sanctuary and might date from the fourth

³⁷² Vallois and Poulsen 1914: 29-32; Yavis 1949: 184.

³⁷³ Étienne 1999: 234-46; Bruneau and Ducat 2005: 191.

³⁷⁴ Vallois 1929: 198-200; Bruneau and Ducat 2005: 243.

³⁷⁵ Bon and Seyrig 1929: 333-7; Yavis 1949: 184.

century BC, but only its foundation survives (fig. 4.34).³⁷⁶ This has the same outline as the other altar but is larger: 3.35m by 1.55m.

Other Greek altars have similar, short U-shaped walls which enclose the upper surface, but do not extend forward as true *antae*.³⁷⁷ A well-preserved example is in the theatre at Priene, dating from around 181 BC.³⁷⁸ This measures 1.65m long, 0.93m wide, and 1.38m high, with a platform providing a step in front. The sides of the U-shaped walls are decorated with gables in relief (figs 4.35-36).

Table 5 summarises the dimensions of these Greek altars with *antae*. All of the altars, from whichever part of the Greek world or date, are similar in form, although they vary considerably in size. The ratio between their length and width is broadly similar in most cases to the U-shaped altars in Latium, with many around 1.2 to 1 or 1.7 to 1, whilst the one inside the sanctuary of Poseidon on Thasos is 2.16 to 1.³⁷⁹ The mid-sixth century BC Altar VIII on Samos, however, is much larger and, at 5.24 to 1, relatively far longer than any Latin U-shaped altar.

No.	Location and Altar	Date (all BC)	Dimensions (in metres)
1	Samos, Hera III	1 st half 8 th C	L: 4.40; W: 4.00
2	Samos, Hera VIII	Mid-6 th C	L: 28.30; W: 5.40
3	Selinunte	5 th C	L: 2.73; W: 2.65
4	Delos, Poseidon	By mid-3 rd C	L: 3.51; W: 2.06
5	Delos, W. of Prytaneion	c. 500	L: 1.98; W: 1.67
6	Delos, E. of lake	c. 500	L: 1.31; W: unrecorded
7	Thasos, outside sanctuary	3 rd – 1 st C?	L: 1.86; W: 1.55
8	Thasos, inside sanctuary	4 th C?	L: 3.35; W: 1.55
9	Priene	181	L: 1.65; W: 0.93

Importantly, the sacrifice associated with these Greek altars is believed always to have taken place on the rectangular central surface of the altar, and not on the *antae* or on the raised U-shaped walls, which are usually interpreted as protecting

³⁷⁶ Bon and Seyrig 1929: 330; Yavis 1949: 185.

³⁷⁷ Yavis 1949: 181 calls these walls 'barriers'; Ginouvès and Guimier-Sorbets 1991: 280 use the term *bordure* ('frame' or 'kerb').

³⁷⁸ Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 241-2; Schede 1934: 71; Yavis 1949: 181.

³⁷⁹ Yavis 1949: 178 says that the ratio of average length to width of Greek ceremonial altars is 1.7 to 1, or, when considered together with ceremonial altars *in antis*, around 1.57 to 1 (from an average length at the base of 2.2m and width of 1.4m).

the burning offering or ashes from the wind. This may be different from the top surface of the few U-shaped altars from Latium where sufficient of the upper section survives: Altars XIII, XI, XII and I Superior at Lavinium (cat. nos B1, B13-B15). The U-shaped altars at Lavinium and elsewhere in Latium are all similar in form, even though their dates range from the mid-sixth century BC to the third century BC or perhaps later (see Catalogue section B and Chapter 3, section 3.2). They all have a square or rectangular area directly in front of where the sacrificer would have stood, which presumably formed the offering table. The U-shaped area around this offering table, however, is considerably broader than on the Greek examples, and is raised only slightly above it. It does not, therefore, have the appearance of a wall protecting an inner focal point for sacrifices, as on Greek altars, and this U-shaped area on the Latin altars is both broad and accessible enough to raise the possibility that it might also have had some ritual use (see Chapter 2, section 2.5).

The sequence of altars on Samos shows that the Greek form of altar with *antae* was being developed in the eighth century BC, but all the other surviving examples are later than Altar XIII at Lavinium. There is a general similarity between the Latin U-shaped top surface and the Greek *antae* enclosing a space where the sacrificer could stand and perform rituals, and some of the U-shaped altars in Lavinium (but not elsewhere in Latium) have one or more steps for the sacrificer, as is common on Greek altars. The possibility of influence from Greek models that no longer survive, therefore, cannot be ruled out, but by the time that the earliest altars in stone appear in Latium they already have distinct differences and are by no means close copies of surviving Greek examples.

4.4.2. *The origins of Latin U-shaped altars: comparison with Etruscan Altars*

Another widely-held view is that the U-shaped altars of Latium are Etruscan in origin.³⁸⁰ Etruscan altars also took several different forms. Steingraber distinguishes seven types, but identifies the altar at the sanctuary of Portonaccio

³⁸⁰ For example: Hermann 1961: 28; Shoe 1965: 95-7.

outside Veii as the only example in Etruria of the rectangular type with *antae*.³⁸¹ J. Euwe-Beaufort disputes Steingraber's typology as being based on too few examples, and lists six types, adding Punta della Vipera and Pieve a Súcana to Steingraber's examples of altars with *antae*.³⁸² Silvia Menichelli later revised Steingraber's classification into ten types, adding Tomb 13 at the Vigna Rosa necropolis by Falerii Veteres and, tentatively, some remains from Fiesole to the list of altars with *antae*, but categorising Punta della Vipera as square and Pieve a Súcana as rectangular.³⁸³ All three include the U-shaped altars at Lavinium and Rome in their lists of Etruscan altars.

Only the base of the altar survives at Portonaccio. It probably dates from the fifth century BC. It is large and rectangular (5.40m by 4.40m), with a square sacrificial ditch at its centre (2.0m by 2.0m), in which there was a deposit of burnt material about 0.40m deep and a scattering of votive objects.³⁸⁴ There were steps only on the western side, which suggests that the altar had *antae* enclosing the central sacrificial ditch (figs 4.37-38). With nothing remaining of the enclosing walls, it is impossible to determine whether they were wide enough to be used to burn sacrificial offerings, which were then deposited in the ditch, or whether they were burnt in the central area, or just deposited there after being burnt elsewhere.

In either case, the dimensions and the central sacrificial ditch make the Portonaccio altar very different from the U-shaped altars in Latium. It is also probably later than the earliest altars at Lavinium, and so it is very unlikely to have been a model for the development of altars in Latium.

The remains of the altar at Punta della Vipera are fragmentary (fig. 4.39), but it was nearly square (2.45m by 2.35m), with a large central block cut through by a hole in the shape of an hourglass.³⁸⁵ The shape of the upper section is uncertain,

³⁸¹ Steingraber 1982: 110-3. Pfiffig 1975:74 also only mentions the Portonaccio altar as being of this type. *ThesCRA* iv, 166-71, s.v. "Altare (Etruria)" (A. Comella) lists three main types, by function rather than design.

³⁸² Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 104.

³⁸³ Menichelli 2009: 121; Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 61-4, 68-71.

³⁸⁴ Stefani 1953: 38-40; Ward-Perkins 1961: 30; Colonna 1985: 99-101; 2002: 140, 150-1.

³⁸⁵ Torelli 1967: 332; Colonna 1985: 149-50.

but surviving pieces of nenfro might have formed a U-shaped crown around this central block, with access on one side by means of two steps (fig. 4.40). The mouldings on the nenfro pieces are similar to those at the temple of Ara della Regina, and so the altar might date from the beginning of the fourth century BC.

The Punta della Vipera altar probably had *antae* but, as with the Greek examples, the rear wall and *antae* seem not to have been used for any ritual function, but instead enclosed a space where offerings or libations were dropped through the central hole as part of a chthonic cult. It is, therefore, quite different from the U-shaped altars in Latium, but similar in form to the Portonaccio altar, which suggests that they are examples of a distinct Etruscan type of altar.

The structure at Pieve a Sòcana, north of Arezzo, has a double-rounded profile, and probably dates from the fifth century BC, though this is uncertain (cat. no. D3).³⁸⁶ It was situated to the east of a temple, but its large size (4.99m by 3.75m, and 1.03m high) means that relatively little of its surface could be reached by a sacrificer standing beside it, and suggests that it functioned as a platform rather than an altar, even though there are no clear remains of steps.³⁸⁷ It is, therefore, very different from both Greek and Etruscan altars with *antae* and the U-shaped altars in Latium. It appears to be similar in function to the structure known as Altar D at Marzabotto, dating from the early fifth century BC (cat. no. D2).³⁸⁸ This is much larger (9.20m by 9.10m, and 1.12m high), with a surviving set of stairs on one side, and has double-rounded moulding with a tall central stem similar to other Etruscan objects (cat. nos D6, D7, D9, and D17), and the altar or base depicted on a funerary stele from Marzabotto (cat. no. E9).³⁸⁹ It probably functioned as a raised *temenos* on which altars and other cult objects were placed, rather than the structure itself serving as an altar.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁶ Cherici 2004: 221-2.

³⁸⁷ Colonna 1985: 164-7; 2006: 143; Thuillier 1991: 244. Steingraber 1982: 108-9 assumes a wooden staircase. Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 101 discerns traces of a stone staircase.

³⁸⁸ Brizio 1889: 260-1; Gozzadini 1865: 21-2, tab.6; Steingraber 1982: 107; Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 100; Vitali *et al.* 2001: 45-53, 198-230; Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 61, 69. It was heavily restored in 1947-48 after being damaged during the Second World War: see Arias 1949: 43-5.

³⁸⁹ Castagnoli 1959-60: 166; Shoe 1965: 90.

³⁹⁰ Colonna 2006: 140; Potts 2011a: 47.

The altar in Tomb 13 in the necropolis of Vigna Rosa in the Celle district of Falerii Veteres is cut from the rock, and is 1.95m long, 0.70m wide and 1.00m high. It has been dated to the sixth century BC, and is very similar to the Greek altars *ad antas* described above (fig. 4.41).³⁹¹

The possible altar at Fiesole has been hypothesised on the basis of a surviving block crowned by a sculpted lion and two pieces of a decorated panel.³⁹² They probably date from the second half of the sixth century BC, and the lion might have formed a corner *acroterion* of an *anta* on an altar similar in form to the Greek altars on Samos and Delos (fig. 4.42-43). Even so, it would also have been very different from the U-shaped altars in Latium, where there is no evidence of sculpted figures on raised, wall-like *antae*, nor of decorated panels.

An example of a smaller, rectangular altar with a moulded form was found in a sanctuary at Pozzarello, near modern Bolsena, dating from the third or second century BC (fig. 4.44).³⁹³ It measures 0.80m by 0.42m at the top, but at 0.63m high it is quite low for an altar. Its deeply incurved sides, however, are very different from the double-rounded designs found in Latium, and are very similar to the type of Greek altar identified by Yavis as 'Altars with Concave Sides'.³⁹⁴

As with the Greek examples, none of these Etruscan altars is similar in form to the U-shaped altars in Latium, and many date from after their first appearance. The differences in design and the early date of several of the altars at Lavinium suggest that the U-shaped altars in Latium were not derived directly from either Greek or Etruscan models, but were developed independently in Latium.

In particular, the *antae* of the Greek and Etruscan altars either form or carry raised walls which do not seem to have been used themselves for offerings, but

³⁹¹ Cozza and Pasqui 1981: 126-8; Colonna 1996: 167-8; Menichelli 2009: 121; Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 69.

³⁹² Bruni 1994: 52-5, 63-5, 79-81; De Marco 2013: 65. See also Menichelli 2009: 116-7, though she does not include this altar in her list in Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 68-71.

³⁹³ Gàbrici 1906a: 70-1; 1906b: 188; Tamburini 1985: 45; 1998: 101-2; Acconcia 2000: 125.

³⁹⁴ Yavis 1949: 167-8, no.61E. See also Cassimatis *et al.* 1991: 272, tab.1, no.A5. Elderkin 1941: 10-1 suggested that such altars were depicted in the painted gables of Etruscan tombs, but Danner 1993: 135-6, and Naso 1996: 385-8, argue that these represent stylised roof supports.

which enclose a central area where the ritual activity took place, either on an offering table or, in Etruria, some form of sacrificial ditch. From the outset, the wings of the Latin altars did not carry raised walls, but they provided a broad and flat U-shaped surface which was as accessible as the central offering table, and so might also have been used for certain elements of a sacrifice.

4.5. REPRESENTATIONS OF ALTARS ON OTHER OBJECTS

There are no similar surviving examples from Etruria of square or rectangular altars with double-rounded moulding until the first century BC (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.2.). There are, however, several representations of altars or bases with double-rounded moulding on other objects found in Etruria. These include engraved mirrors from the end of the sixth century BC (cat. no. E1), the fifth century BC (cat. no. E3), and the fourth century BC (cat. no. E6), as well as a funerary stele from Marzabotto from the fifth century BC (cat. no. E9), and vases from the first quarter of the fifth century BC (cat. no. E11), and the fourth or third century BC (cat. nos E12-E13). Other examples on engraved mirrors are undated (cat. nos E4, E7, and E8), or from Palestrina in Latium (though the mirrors are always described as Etruscan), where they date from the late sixth century BC (cat. no. E2) and the later fourth or early third century BC (cat. no. E5, inscribed in Latin).

Although all of these, and some later representations on Etruscan cinerary urns (cat. nos E14 and E15), depict objects with recognisably double-rounded mouldings, their designs vary widely and bear little similarity to surviving examples. Many other mirrors and cinerary urns depict altars with moulded profiles which are not truly double-rounded designs (see Appendix 2).

These representations imply that altars with some form of double-rounded design, or combinations of rounded mouldings, might have been found throughout Etruria at all periods. It is notable, however, that no such altar survives, and those that do are considerably different from those in Latium. Even in Palestrina there are no surviving altars with double-rounded moulding to provide a context for the representations on mirrors from there. The depictions

must have been recognisable for the objects' owners, and they suggest that altars with a double-rounded design were known outside the areas of Latium where the surviving examples have been found, but the archaeological evidence that this design was used in Etruria is lacking.

4.6. CONCLUSION

The rounded wave moulding and double-rounded design are part of a common architectural language of Etruria and Latium which is distinct from that of the Greek areas of southern Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. Etruscan buildings, *cippi*, and altars are characterised above all by the variety of their decoration. Rounded wave moulding and double-rounded designs were among many different types that were used. None of the Etruscan architectural forms consistently used only these features, and they cannot be regarded as a signifier of any specific type of object, or region of Etruria.

A fascia-torus-hawksbeak combination is the most characteristic Etruscan form of moulding, but even this is far from universal, and it usually appears together with other forms. When a double-rounded design is used, a version with a long central stem is more characteristically Etruscan than the form found in Latium, whose similarity with one type of *cippus* from Orvieto is probably coincidental.

Practice in Rome and Latium, by contrast, is characterised by the lack of variety, especially on altars. As I set out in Chapter 3, a double-rounded design appears on a wide range of objects, such as temple podia, U-shaped altars, square and rectangular altars, and bases for votive offerings in the sixth century BC, at the same time as these objects are first made of stone. This seems to have been the standard form for altars from the beginning and, in addition, terracotta *arulae* were uniquely made in a double-rounded form in Rome and Latium from their first appearance, also in the sixth century BC. There are also early examples of podia with a double-rounded design, but these are less frequent, and it is not clear whether they too would all have used this design as standard. Where they do, it might well have been intended to associate them with altars.

The evidence, therefore, shows that the use of double-rounded design on religious objects was a particular Latin practice within the broader, common architectural language of central Italy. The mouldings and forms used in Rome and Latium were not wholly separate from Etruscan practice, but nor were they simply derived from it. U-shaped altars were a Latin form, perhaps with some Greek influence, and there are no Etruscan antecedents for either the U-shaped altars or the types of square and rectangular altars found in Rome and Latium.

The way in which the double-rounded design was used on religious objects in Latium can, therefore, be regarded as a distinct architectural tradition. This distinctiveness meant that it could come to signify an ancestral Latin religious identity, whose memory could continue to be invoked over time by the use of elements of the design. I shall consider in Chapter 5 how this double-rounded design was used in the areas of Italy outside Latium that were conquered by Rome in the third century BC, and in Chapter 6 how it remained in use in Rome during the second and the first centuries BC.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXPANSION OF ROMAN CONTROL AND LATIN IDENTITY IN THE THIRD CENTURY BC

The later fourth century and the first half of the third century BC saw a forced redefinition of the relationship between Rome and the other Latin communities, followed by a large expansion of Roman control in central Italy. To the east of Latium in particular, these military conquests were consolidated by the establishment of new settlements, which also served to imprint aspects of Latin cultural and religious identity on this expanded Roman territory.

I demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4 that the use of double-rounded mouldings on religious architecture was a distinct tradition in the northern and coastal areas of Latium. Examples have also been found at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, Isernia, and Carseoli, which were all settlements or colonies founded during this territorial expansion. Roman control over Etruria was established differently, and examples there of objects with double-rounded moulding from this period, such as those in older Etruscan sites at Orvieto and Fiesole, are more difficult to interpret. In this chapter I examine the surviving evidence and consider whether the double-rounded design was used as a cultural signifier outside Latium in the third century BC and later.

5.1. THE CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ITALY

The settlement between Rome and the Latin cities established at the beginning of the fifth century BC finally broke down in 341 BC, in the face of continuing Roman expansion and Rome's treatment of the Latins more as subjects than allies. Many Latin cities united in opposition to Rome, but with the final defeat of this revolt in 338 BC, most Latin communities were incorporated into the Roman state and their inhabitants became Roman citizens (see Chapter 1, sections 1.3.4-5).³⁹⁵ The two largest, Tivoli and Palestrina, remained independent allies, but with reduced

³⁹⁵ Sherwin-White 1973: 58-62; Cornell 1995: 347-51.

territories and a requirement to provide Rome with troops. From this point on, most of the colonies which were founded as Rome's control spread throughout central Italy were Latin colonies, but this term now denoted a specific legal status in relation to Rome, rather than an ethnic or linguistic identity.³⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the great majority of the new colonists in each location must have been either Roman citizens, whether from Rome itself or the newly-enfranchised Latin cities, or from the other Latin cities, who also provided a large part of the Roman army.³⁹⁷

The period between the foundation of Caesarea in 334 BC, the first new Latin colony outside Latium, and Aesernia in 263 BC, the last such colony, forms a distinct phase in the expansion of Roman power in Italy. The nineteen Latin colonies founded during that period, and the six citizen colonies that acted as coastal garrisons, consolidated Rome's military gains and established control over the conquered territories and key communications routes (fig. 5.1).³⁹⁸ Towards the end of this period, the Romans changed from planting individual colonies in central Italy to integrating large tracts of conquered land as *ager Romanus* and opening it up to settlement. For example, Roman control over the Samnite lands was based on colonies, whereas the Sabine peoples were incorporated into the Roman citizen body, and much of their land was occupied by Roman settlers.³⁹⁹

This period also fixed in Roman minds the extent of Roman Italy. This had expanded from Latium eastwards across central Italy to Picenum and the lands around the colony of Ariminum on the Adriatic coast, northwards into the neighbouring part of Etruria, and southwards to the colonies at Beneventum and beyond. This notion was to remain valid in legal terms until the Social War in the early first century BC.⁴⁰⁰ As Edward Bispham describes it: 'the "frontier of Latinity" moved ever deeper into Italy, away from the Tyrrhenian epicentre'.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ Salmon 1969: 15-7; Cornell 1995: 351-2; Dench 2005: 123.

³⁹⁷ Cornell 1989b: 386-9; Bradley 2006: 171-9.

³⁹⁸ Salmon 1955: 64-5; 1969: 59-64, 110-1; Cornell 1989b: 368, 390-1, fig.48; 1995: 357-8, 364-8, 380-3.

³⁹⁹ Dench 1995: 14-6; David 1996: 35-43.

⁴⁰⁰ Bispham 2006: 89; 2007: 57.

⁴⁰¹ Bispham 2006: 91.

This process undoubtedly involved the movements of large numbers of people from Rome and Latium into this area. It would have been natural for them to continue to use and create in their new homes artefacts whose form and style were familiar to them from their place of origin, and which might also have retained cultural significance as signifiers of their Roman or Latin identity. This might have been particularly important in religious objects, and Olivier de Cazanove emphasises, in addition to their political and military functions, the ‘function of colonies as religious staging posts of Roman expansion’.⁴⁰²

There are several examples of double-rounded mouldings on temple podia and altars to the east of Latium and in Etruria that date from after the Roman conquest. Table 2 in Chapter 3, section 3.1, lists the temple podia alongside the similar examples in Latium, and table 6 below lists the altars. They are all very reminiscent of the designs used earlier in northern Latium, and it is possible, therefore, that they were introduced into these areas as a conscious signifier of traditional Latin religious identity, in order to proclaim Rome’s new dominance. I consider below the nature of the remains and their possible significance, starting first with the Latin colonies and new settlements to the east of Latium, and then Etruria.

Table 6: Altars with Double-Rounded Moulding outside Latium						
Cat. No.	Location and Altar	Date (all BC)	Both Parts?	Dimensions (in metres)		
				Height	Length	Width
C8	Villa San Silvestro	3 rd C?	No	?	c. 1.00	?
C9	Sora, Mars	2 nd C?	No	0.50	1.51	0.76
C10	Sora, A	2 nd /1 st C?	No	0.58	0.91	0.41
C11	Sora, B	2 nd /1 st C?	No	0.60	?	0.67
C12	Sora, C	2 nd /1 st C?	No	0.45	0.36	0.40
C13	Sora, D (Flora)	2 nd /1 st C?	No	0.54	0.94	0.37
C18	Fiesole, standing	1 st C	Yes	1.15	2.31	1.45
C19	Fiesole, in pieces	1 st C	Yes	1.15	c. 2.35	c.1.40
C37	Carseoli	Unknown	No	0.40	0.70	0.40

⁴⁰² De Cazanove 2000: 75.

5.2. TEMPLES AND ALTARS IN THE LATIN COLONIES AND SETTLEMENTS

5.2.1. Sora temple (cat. no. A5)

Work on the cathedral at Sora in the 1970s revealed that it stands on the podium of an ancient temple.⁴⁰³ The podium measures around 37m by 24m, with an overall height of about three metres.⁴⁰⁴ There is an abacus above a section of double-rounded moulding, and a plinth course. The foundation blocks beneath are in *opus quadratum* with alternating courses of headers and stretchers, and were perhaps originally below ground level. The moulding is very rounded, with only a slight 'wave' element on the lower echinus, which is larger and extends further out than the upper one; the work is very similar to the mouldings at Isernia (see below).⁴⁰⁵ No moulding survives on the eastern side, but 20m remains on the western side,⁴⁰⁶ and it has also been found on the northern side.⁴⁰⁷ The southern front is obscured by the cathedral but seems to have had steps.

It was originally assumed that the temple would have been built shortly after the colony of Sora was founded, in 303 BC. More recently, however, examination of the remains found of terracotta decoration, a roof tile, and the construction technique of the foundations revealed during excavation, suggests that it might have been built in the second or even first century BC.⁴⁰⁸ I discuss the likely date of the temples at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia in section 5.2.6 below.

Remains of a wall found on higher ground to the north-west were, at first, thought to belong to a second, similar temple.⁴⁰⁹ They are now assessed as later work to consolidate the sloping ground behind the cathedral.⁴¹⁰ A piece of rounded moulding found in the area must, therefore, have come from the podium where

⁴⁰³ Tanzilli 1982: 127-37; 2009: 43-4.

⁴⁰⁴ Zevi Gallina 1978: 64-5.

⁴⁰⁵ Tanzilli 2012b: 48.

⁴⁰⁶ Zevi Gallina 1978: 64; Mezzazappa 2003: 101-2; Tanzilli 2012b: 47, n.74.

⁴⁰⁷ Lolli Ghetti and Pagliardi 1980: 177.

⁴⁰⁸ Tanzilli 2012a: 25-8.

⁴⁰⁹ Lolli Ghetti and Pagliardi 1980: 178-9; Mezzazappa 2003: 104; Tanzilli 2009: 44-5.

⁴¹⁰ Tanzilli 2012b: 35-7.

the cathedral now stands, and was later re-used in the consolidation work, together with the remains of ancient altars.⁴¹¹

5.2.2. Sora altars (cat. nos C9-C13)

Pieces of five altars with double-rounded moulding have been found in the vicinity.⁴¹² They all follow a very similar design, whilst each differs in size and details. The key features of this design are a strongly rectangular shape and quite intricate profile, including tori and fillets as well as abacus, plinth and echini.

The best preserved of these altars has the inscription MARTEI on the abacus (cat. no. C9).⁴¹³ The upper section survives in three large parts, two of which were held together by a swallow-tail lead clamp. When complete, the altar would have been 1.51m long, 0.76m wide, and about one metre high. It is believed to date from the second or early first century BC, based on the epigraphy and stylistic comparisons with other altars.⁴¹⁴ The stylistic comparisons cannot be conclusive, since there is no demonstrable development of the double-rounded design over time. The presence of an inscription suggests the second or early first century BC, though it could have been added at that time to an earlier altar. The dative form of the inscription is normally earlier, but both the use of that spelling and the double-rounded form may have been deliberately archaizing, in line with what was happening in and around Rome at the same time (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.4). The other four altars are more fragmentary.⁴¹⁵ One has part of an inscription that was probably [FLO]RAE, in which the letter A is in an archaizing style found from the third century BC onwards (cat. no. C13).

The double-rounded design of these altars at Sora clearly derives from the traditional form in Latium which I describe in Chapter 3, and is reminiscent of the temple podium in the city.⁴¹⁶ From their general similarity, it is reasonable to

⁴¹¹ Tanzilli 2012b: 46-9.

⁴¹² Zevi Gallina 1978: 65; Lolli Ghetti and Pagliardi 1980: 178-9; Mezzazappa 2003: 103; Tanzilli 1982: 137.

⁴¹³ Tanzilli 2009: 36; 2012b: 40-1.

⁴¹⁴ Tanzilli 2009: 36; 2012a: 24; 2012b: 39.

⁴¹⁵ Tanzilli 2012b: 41-3.

⁴¹⁶ Tanzilli 2012b: 37-9.

assume that all five altars date from around the same time. Whether this is the third century BC, in the first generations of the new colony, or later as a more archaizing form, the use of the double-rounded design in the altars and temple podium might well have been intended to associate the colony with an ancestral Latin religious identity. The long, rectangular shape of the altars, however, is different from all the examples in Latium, and in this way they form a distinct group. It is possible, particularly if the altars in fact date from the second or first century BC, that they represent a later stage in the local development of an architectural tradition in altar design, in which the elements of the traditional Latin double-rounded design have been preserved over time, but in a form that by then had become unique to Sora.

5.2.3. Villa San Silvestro (cat. nos A6 and C8)

A temple podium with double-rounded moulding stands under the parish church at Villa San Silvestro near Cascia, in Sabine territory conquered by Rome in 290 BC and divided among new settlers (cat. no. A6). The podium is well-preserved, and measures 29m by 20.72m, with a total height of 3.26m (probably 2.67m was originally above ground).⁴¹⁷ It has an abacus, a quarter-round upper echinus, a rounded-wave lower echinus that is larger and projects further outwards, and four lower courses, of which the lowest is slightly offset and probably formed the foundation.⁴¹⁸ The moulding ran along all four sides and the two projecting wings that flanked a frontal staircase. The podium was covered in thick white plaster, but this may have been added when the steps and superstructure were rebuilt, probably following an earthquake in 99 BC.⁴¹⁹

The temple stood in the forum, and was aligned with the local land centuriation. Finds in the area date from the third to the first century BC, but there is then a gap in occupation until late antiquity.⁴²⁰ The temple has generally been assumed to have been built in the early third century BC, soon after Roman control was

⁴¹⁷ Bendinelli 1938: 143-4; Coarelli and Diosono 2009: 59-60.

⁴¹⁸ Shoe 1964: 90-2; Castagnoli 1959-60: 166.

⁴¹⁹ Bendinelli 1938: 144; Coarelli and Diosono 2009: 60, 65-6; Diosono 2009: 81-3.

⁴²⁰ Diosono 2009: 84.

established in the area, but this is now disputed (see section 5.2.6 below).⁴²¹ The architectural terracottas found near the temple all date from the first century BC, and there are no such remains to indicate an earlier phase.⁴²²

Excavations in 2006 found part of an echinus from an altar, with a similarly-shaped moulding to the podium, but on a smaller scale (cat. no. C8).⁴²³ It is about one metre long, which means that the altar must have been rectangular. If it was originally two or more metres long, it was quite possibly U-shaped, since virtually all altars of around this size in Latium were U-shaped. The excavators thought that the flat surface on one side might have been intended to butt against another similar block, which suggests that the complete altar was large.

5.2.4. Isernia (ancient Aesernia) (cat. no. A7)

A section of the eastern side of a temple podium is visible underneath the cathedral at Isernia.⁴²⁴ The double-rounded moulding is very similar to that found at Sora (see section 5.2.1). It consists of a tall abacus, very rounded upper and lower echinus, also with only a slight 'wave' element on the lower echinus, which is larger and projects further than the upper echinus, and a plinth course, set above slightly projecting foundation courses.⁴²⁵ Excavations in the 1980s revealed the western side of the podium, although only the lower echinus and plinth survive, and a frontal staircase at the southern end, flanked by two projecting wings.⁴²⁶ The podium is estimated to have measured around 30m by 22m. As at Sora, this temple has been assumed to date from soon after the establishment of the Latin colony, in 263 BC, but it may be later (see section 5.2.6 below).

A section of double-rounded moulding incorporated into a medieval arch to one side of the rear of the temple podium has always been interpreted as an altar⁴²⁷.

⁴²¹ Coarelli and Diosono 2009: 60.

⁴²² Stopponi 2009: 76-8.

⁴²³ Coarelli and Diosono 2009: 62-3.

⁴²⁴ Pasqualini 1966: 82; Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 185.

⁴²⁵ Castagnoli 1959-60: 166; Shoe 1965: 92.

⁴²⁶ Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 185; Terzani 1996: 149-51; Uytterhoeven 1998-99: 244-6.

⁴²⁷ Pasqualini 1966: 83; Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 185.

The profile of all elements of the moulding matches very closely that of the temple podium. Its measurements, and those of the podium mouldings, have not been published in detail, but the remains in the arch have been calculated as 1.70m in height.⁴²⁸ This is about twice the height that is practicable for an altar, and suggests that the section's similarity with the profile of the podium is because it was originally from the podium itself. The fact that only one moulded profile can be seen (though a corresponding half could be more deeply embedded) and that its side is seemingly flat (though heavily weathered) strengthens the likelihood that, as at Sora, it is a section from the podium re-used in the medieval period rather than the in-situ remains of an altar or second podium. I have not, therefore, included it in my catalogue as an altar with double-rounded moulding.

5.2.5. Carseoli (cat. no. C37)

In 1901 George J. Pfeiffer, Thomas Ashby, and Rodolfo Lanciani visited the site of Carseoli, a Latin colony founded in 298 BC. Among the items they discovered was a fragment they tentatively identified as part of an altar.⁴²⁹ The profile in their diagram clearly represents an abacus and upper echinus. At 0.40m high, this implies an overall height of 0.80m or slightly more, which is appropriate for an altar. Their top view suggests a U-shaped altar, although at 0.70m long it is three or four times shorter than the ones at Lavinium, and five or six times shorter than the ones at Rome and Castrum Inui. It appears, therefore, to have been a square altar but with some kind of recess in the top reproducing the U-shaped form, or perhaps forming a square central niche. Either of these would be unique, and the fragment is now lost. Determining its date is impossible.

At the time of their visit to Carseoli in 1901, only a few altars with double-rounded moulding had been found. Studniczka did not publish the first typology until 1903, and so it is not surprising that Pfeiffer and Ashby did not draw more attention to this fragment. The recess in its upper surface might indicate that it was a statue base with rounded moulding, but from its size it is more likely to be

⁴²⁸ Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 103.

⁴²⁹ Pfeiffer and Ashby 1905: 121, 123, fig.13.

part of an altar. In either case, it is another example of an object with rounded moulding in a Latin colony founded during this period.

5.2.6. *Date of the temples at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia*

As explained above, there is no conclusive evidence to date the temple podia at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia.⁴³⁰ At Villa San Silvestro, the only architectural terracottas that have been found date from the first century BC, but it is known that the podium is earlier, since elements of it were clearly re-built at that time. It can, therefore, only be dated by stylistic comparisons of its mouldings, which is inevitably speculative.

At Sora and Isernia, terracotta antefixes of a *potnia theron*, or 'mistress of animals', have been found associated with the temples. These depict a winged female figure flanked by rampant lions or panthers. As a decorative feature they are overwhelmingly associated with Latium and the colonies in central Italy, and are therefore regarded as another expression of Latin identity.⁴³¹ The *potnia theron* device was probably introduced to central Italy around the turn of the fourth and third centuries BC, where it took two distinct forms, but the oldest surviving example, at Falerii, dates from the mid-third century BC, and most date from the second century BC or later.⁴³² The examples at Sora are thought to be from the second century BC or possibly later,⁴³³ and those at Isernia are very similar.⁴³⁴

The close similarity of the podium mouldings at Sora and Isernia also suggests that the two temples were built at around the same time, and quite possibly by the same group of builders. It is generally very difficult to use the profile of double-rounded moulding to determine their date, since there is no clear and consistent development of the form over time. There is, however, a distinct

⁴³⁰ See also Edlund-Berry 2014: 165-6. She regards the podium mouldings as Etrusco-Italic rather than deriving from the city of Rome proper, whereas I see the double-rounded design as characteristic of a smaller area, which includes the city of Rome as well as the coastal and northern parts of Latium: see Chapter 3, sections 3.2.7 and 3.3.4, and Chapter 8, section 8.3.

⁴³¹ Andr n 1940: ccxxix-ccxxx; Strazzula 1981: 193; Comella 1993: 66-8, n.114.

⁴³² Andr n 1940: ccxxix; Comella 1993: 65, 67-9; Rous 2011: 85, 89.

⁴³³ Tanzilli 2009: 40-1; 2012a: 25-8.

⁴³⁴ Terzani 1996: 151-2.

change in the design of temple podia in the second century BC (see Chapter 6, section 6.6.2). The new design that first appears at this time has smaller rounded mouldings separated by a tall, flat surface, and is found very widely in Central Italy. The size and style of the moulding on the podia at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia, are very different from the modified form that is characteristic of the second century BC, and seem to belong to the earlier phase of this architectural tradition.

Ultimately, the architectural terracottas only indicate that the roofs were decorated or re-decorated at the same time. For the date of the temple podia at Sora and Isernia there are, therefore, two possibilities:

- a. Both podia were built at some point in the third century BC in the earlier Latin style, and then their roofs were replaced in the second century BC with the type of architectural terracottas prevalent at that time; or
- b. Both temples were built for the first time in the second century BC, with their podia given deliberately old-fashioned mouldings that were no longer being used anywhere else at that time, but their roofs were given the latest style of architectural terracottas.

In either case, the use of double-rounded mouldings must have been intended to associate the temples with traditional Latin religious architecture. This was either a continuation into the third century BC of the older tradition from Latium, or an archaising measure in these particular locations during the second century BC. Given such widespread and frequent use of the modified double-rounded podium design in the second century BC, including several sites that are not far from Isernia (see Chapter 6, section 6.6.2), I believe that it is much more likely that the podia at all three locations were all originally built at some time in the third century BC, and that the podia remained largely unchanged during the later rebuilding of their superstructures.

5.3. OTHER EVIDENCE FOR 'ROMANISATION' IN LATIN COLONIES

The remains at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia in particular are clear examples of the use of the typically Latin double-rounded design in the new colonies and settlements established in central Italy in the third century BC. It may be significant that they, as well as Carseoli, are among the earlier foundations in this phase of expansion, and are relatively close to Latium. One explanation might be the origins of the new colonists in these areas. It is very difficult to estimate what proportion of settlers might have come from Rome, the Latin cities, or other allies, and it is even less clear to what extent the indigenous population might have been allowed to remain.⁴³⁵ In addition, of course, some Roman citizens at this time might have originated in other Latin cities under the Latin right of *ius migrationis*.⁴³⁶

The use of the double-rounded design in Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia, particularly if the podia were built soon after they were founded in the third century BC, might well suggest that there was a higher proportion of settlers from northern Latium in these particular locations, and that they chose to continue the traditional religious architecture of their home region. These are, however, the only such examples in the new colonies, and the overall evidence from the expanded territory suggests a more varied use of architectural designs depending on local circumstances, rather than any coherent or widespread programme of imposing the style that signified a traditional Latin religious identity.

At Alba Fucens, for example, the colony founded with Sora in 303 BC, elements of two temple podia survive. The one on the Pettorino hill is very fragmentary: only one course of the facing stones remains and there are no indications of rounded mouldings.⁴³⁷ The other temple was later integrated into the church of San Pietro

⁴³⁵ Salmon 1955: 65; 1969: 24, 59-64; Bispham 2006: 91-2; Bradley 2006: 171-7; Harvey 2006: 127, 130-1. Brunt 1971a: 72, 84-5, 538-44 suggests that about half were Romans, with the rest Latins and other allies, but probably very few former inhabitants. Gabba 1988: 21 regards Romans as the largest group, then Latins, and thirdly other allies, with some indigenous inhabitants in certain locations. Scheidel 2004: 10 assumes that between half and three-quarters were Romans.

⁴³⁶ McDonald 1944: 20-3; Brunt 1971a: 85; Sherwin-White 1973: 34, 103-4, 107, 110.

⁴³⁷ Mertens 1969: 8-13.

and is well-preserved.⁴³⁸ Its podium is 1.70m high, 17.30m long, and 14.50m wide, and on the sides and rear it extends about 0.80m beyond the *cella* walls, which are in *opus quadratum* and survive to a height of 7.10m. The podium is faced in closely-fitting polygonal blocks, with no decorative moulding (fig. 5.2). This is very different from those at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, Isernia, and the surviving examples with double-rounded moulding from northern Latium, but is reminiscent of the fifth-century BC podia at Segni and Norba in south-eastern Latium (fig. 5.3), where the double-rounded design is not found. There is no clear dating evidence for either temple at Alba Fucens, but they were probably built in the third or second century BC.⁴³⁹

Recent work has refuted the idea that colonies in this period were established according to a standard urban design, with a religious and political topography modelled on Rome.⁴⁴⁰ In particular, it is now argued that the presence of a cult to the Capitoline Triad as a defining feature of colonies is an assumption based on literary sources from the late Republican or early Imperial periods, and is not valid for the middle Republic.⁴⁴¹ In fact, the evidence for Capitolia of any period in Italy is fairly thin, and there is no certain correlation of such temples with colonial foundation or status, or any indication that they were seen as a necessary element.⁴⁴²

Instead, the evidence for religious cults in the colonies indicates variety, with the continuation or adaptation of some local cults, but also the introduction of traditional Latin as well as Roman cults.⁴⁴³ This was presumably intended to preserve in the colonies a link with the ancestral religious identity of Latium itself. At Rimini (ancient Ariminum) there was a cult of Diana Nemorensis, the deity of a very ancient Latin federation (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.5).⁴⁴⁴ At a

⁴³⁸ Mertens 1969: 13-22.

⁴³⁹ Mertens 1969: 20-2; 1988: 98-9.

⁴⁴⁰ Torelli 1999: 16; Bispham 2006: 74-8; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 103-4; Stek 2014a: 87-8.

⁴⁴¹ Bispham 2006: 93, 118-22.

⁴⁴² Bispham 2006: 100; Quinn and Wilson 2013: 133-42, 167-8.

⁴⁴³ De Cazanove 2000: 74-5; Bispham 2006: 93-5, 113-7. See also Stek 2014a: 101. See Bolder-Boos 2014: 280-9, and Glinister 2015: 151-4, for the continuing role of local tutelary deities in Roman colonies before the first century BC.

⁴⁴⁴ Bispham 2006: 109.

sanctuary near Pesaro (ancient Pisaurum) there are inscriptions to deities that are arguably more important in Latium rather than Rome, such as Fides, Mater Matuta, Juno Lucina, Marica, the Nine Divinities, Diana, and Pater Liber.⁴⁴⁵ The colony of Pisaurum was founded in 184 BC, but the sanctuary and the first arrival of settlers from Rome and Latium might date from the third century BC.⁴⁴⁶ A second century BC inscription from Pisaurum names a group of *cultores Iovis Latii*, a reference to the god of the federal cult on the Alban Mount that defined the traditional Latin communities (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.5), although this was probably an antiquarian creation from the reign of Antoninus Pius rather than a survival from the colony's foundation.⁴⁴⁷

Connections have also been made between the expansion of Roman identity through the colonies and the diffusion of a distinct material culture,⁴⁴⁸ and more specifically the presence of particular types of religious objects, such as architectural terracottas, including *potnia theon* antefixes. In particular, the timing and geographical spread of terracotta anatomical ex-votos through central Italy until the second century BC have been seen as closely linked to the expansion of Roman urban centres, architectural forms, and religious practice through the colonies.⁴⁴⁹ This view has been criticised, however, on the basis that the archaeological evidence shows that anatomical ex-votos were never a specifically Roman form, and are not limited to, or present in, all the areas of Roman colonisation.⁴⁵⁰ The more general distribution of pottery types also does not match the spread of colonies, and there are significant variations between colonies, which perhaps reflect the varying origins of the settlers.⁴⁵¹

There is a stronger argument that the spread of the type of miniature terracotta altar, or *arula*, with double-rounded sides that I set out in Chapter 3, section 3.4,

⁴⁴⁵ Harvey 2006: 123-6.

⁴⁴⁶ Coarelli 2000: 197-200 dates the first settlement to the third century BC, but Harvey 2006: 126-9 sees no reason to date any grave *cippi* before the foundation of the colony in 184 BC.

⁴⁴⁷ Harvey 2006: 132-5; Farney 2007: 73-4.

⁴⁴⁸ Bispham 2006: 85-92.

⁴⁴⁹ Torelli 1999: 121-7. Comella 1981 sets out the archaeological evidence in some detail. De Cazanove 2000: 75-6 suggests also a possible link with a growing popularity of healing cults, or the introduction of the cult of Asklepios in the first decade of the third century BC.

⁴⁵⁰ Gentili 2005: 372; Glinister 2006: 11-26; Sisani 2007: 151-2, 454, tab.8; De Cazanove 2015.

⁴⁵¹ Morel 1988: 51-2, 62.

correlates with the expansion of colonies in central Italy during this period. In addition, unlike anatomical ex-votos, there is clear evidence that the type of *arula* with double-rounded sides is a distinct form that originated in Rome and northern Latium, alongside religious architecture in stone with double-rounded moulding. These *arulae* with double-rounded sides are also found throughout Latium, and seem to have been the only form in use there for some time. It would, therefore, be natural for this form to be introduced by the new settlers, and their distribution matches fairly closely the colonies founded up to the end of the fourth century BC, together with a few sites not far to the north of Rome.

Even so, it is by no means clear that the presence of cultural signifiers such as *arulae*, other religious objects with double-rounded sides, or traditional Latin cults, represents a coherent policy of using symbols to proclaim the ancestral Latin identity of the new colonies. The relatively slight and varied nature of the evidence suggests instead that local circumstances were more important. For colonists coming from Rome and the northern part of Latium, religious architecture using the double-rounded design would have been familiar, and would perhaps have been regarded as the most appropriate form to be used, especially in relation to traditional Latin cults. For colonists from outside this area, or for local inhabitants who became incorporated into the colonies, this would not have been the case. Different colonies would have had different, and potentially mixed, priorities when establishing their religious identities, and this seems to be reflected in the varied evidence that has been found.

5.4. DOUBLE-ROUNDED OBJECTS IN ETRURIA DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD

Rome also conquered Etruria in the late fourth and early third centuries BC. The arrangements it imposed on conquered Etruscan territory were, however, different from those in the Sabine and Samnite areas to the east of Latium. The surviving historical accounts raise many questions, but it is clear that Rome extended her control northwards to the River Arno by 264 BC in a series of

campaigns and alliances.⁴⁵² In the south of Etruria, Cerveteri (ancient Caere) was incorporated into the Roman state, and colonies were founded at Cosa and Castrum Novum on the coast.⁴⁵³ Otherwise, the defeated Etruscan cities remained nominally independent but bound to Rome by treaties of alliance which restricted their external relations and required them to provide troops for Rome.⁴⁵⁴

Unlike to the east of Latium, therefore, there was no great expansion of Roman and Latin settlement and identity into Etruria at this time. On the basis of language and other customs, Etruria seems not to have become strongly Romanised until the first century BC, especially in the more northern areas.⁴⁵⁵

In Chapter 4 I set out the evidence for the rounded wave moulding being only one of many types of architectural mouldings used in Etruria, with the double-rounded design being used much more rarely than in Latium, and usually in a different form. There are far fewer objects with double-rounded moulding in Etruria during the period of Roman control than before, and it remains possible that the use of the rounded wave moulding from the third century BC onwards was simply part of a continuing tradition. There are, however, two sites in Etruria where there are objects with double-rounded mouldings that seem to have more in common with practice in Latium and, from their context, might have been intended to symbolise the dominance of Rome and evoke the design's association with an ancestral Latin religious identity.

5.4.1. *Orvieto, Campo della Fiera*

The sanctuary at Campo della Fiera, which lies outside the Etruscan city of Volsinii just to the west of the plateau of Orvieto, is probably the site of the *Fanum Voltumnae*, the federal sanctuary where delegates from the twelve Etruscan

⁴⁵² Harris 1971: 49-84; Cornell 1989b: 378-81; 1995: 355-63; Staveley 1989: 423-4; David 1994: 20-1.

⁴⁵³ Harris 1971: 147-9.

⁴⁵⁴ Harris 1971: 85-91; 1973: 357-8.

⁴⁵⁵ Harris 1971: 169-84; Rawson 1978: 135; Torelli 1995: 26-9; Terrenato 1998b: 96, 105; Benelli 2001: 10-3.

peoples used to meet.⁴⁵⁶ In the sacred precinct there are remains of a temple that was probably built between the fourth and third centuries BC and repaved in the late Republican or early Augustan period.⁴⁵⁷

In front of the temple are two objects with rounded mouldings that were excavated in 2007. One appears to be an altar: it is the right height (0.76m), and its mouldings bear some resemblance to examples depicted on Etruscan cinerary urns (see Chapter 4, section 4.5), but they do not form a double-rounded design and I have not included this altar in my catalogue.⁴⁵⁸ The other object originally stood on a platform with the same orientation as the temple and lying on its axis. Sufficient fragments survive to enable it to be reconstructed as a large rectangular monument with an abacus, upper echinus, thick central stem, a lower echinus that extends further than the upper section, and no plinth (cat. no. D12).⁴⁵⁹ Its upper surface has a raised central section, and several holes of varying sizes around the rim, in some of which there are traces of bronze. It is very likely to have been a *donarium* for displaying bronze statues or other votive objects.

Close dating of the *donarium* is impossible: it probably dates from the third century BC, and might well have been erected by M. Fulvius Flaccus after he conquered Orvieto in 264 BC, following a local revolt against their Etruscan masters.⁴⁶⁰ An inscription on another *donarium* situated between the two U-shaped altars at S. Omobono in Rome (cat. nos B19-B20) records that it was erected to hold objects captured by M. Fulvius Flaccus at Volsinii (fig. 5.4).⁴⁶¹ The *donarium* in Rome is circular and quite different in style and decoration, with a prominent band of egg-and-tongue below the abacus, but it also has a range of holes on its upper surface.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁶ Stopponi 2011: 19.

⁴⁵⁷ Stopponi 2011: 22-5.

⁴⁵⁸ Stopponi 2011: 28, figs 28-9.

⁴⁵⁹ Stopponi 2011: 24-8; Frascarelli 2012: 132-3.

⁴⁶⁰ Stopponi 2011: 27; Frascarelli 2012: 136-7. On the revolt and conquest of Volsinii, see Harris 1971: 83-4, 91-2, 115-8.

⁴⁶¹ Torelli 1968: 71-4; 1973: 100-4. Plin. *HN* 34.34 says that 2,000 statues were taken from Volsinii.

⁴⁶² Mercado 1963-64: 44-51; Ioppolo 1963-64: 69-88.

If the *donarium* at Campo della Fiera is earlier, from the fourth century BC, it must have been one of the locations from which Fulvius Flaccus took statues. It has several similarities, however, with the *donarium* in Rome, and their dimensions both seem to be based on the Roman foot.⁴⁶³ It is more likely, therefore, that it was a new monument erected after the Roman conquest, at the same time as the one in Rome. In that case, using the double-rounded form that was common on altars and other objects in Latium but rare in Etruria, in such a prominent location in the temple precinct and re-using statues captured there by Roman forces, might well have been intended to emphasise that Rome had taken ownership of this Etruscan federal sanctuary and its contents. The design of the monument now associated these votive objects with a traditional Latin religious identity, in spite of their continuing presence in the old Etruscan sanctuary. At Rome, Fulvius Flaccus had no need to emphasise their new ownership in this way, since they had been moved to a Roman religious site, and there he could emphasise his wealth and power by using a Greek form of decoration on his monument.

5.4.2. *Fiesole (ancient Faesulae)*

The other site in Etruria where the double-rounded design might have been used by Romans to signify a Latin religious identity is Fiesole. The objects are associated with a temple on a site in the centre of the city. One is a large rectangular base measuring 2.58m by 2.44m and 1.27m high, situated on the left side at the top of a flight of steps leading to the front of the temple (cat. no. D15).⁴⁶⁴ It may have been matched by a similar base on the other side of the steps, and probably supported statues of some kind.⁴⁶⁵ It has a complicated profile, with the upper and lower echinus separated by a scotia with an unusual flattened upper torus rather than a true hawk's beak. The temple dated originally from the fourth or early third century BC, but was rebuilt after a fire in the early decades of the first century BC;⁴⁶⁶ this base must date from the time of the rebuilding.

⁴⁶³ Stopponi 2011: 26-7, n.31; Frascarelli 2012: 133, 140-1.

⁴⁶⁴ Gatti 1925: 30-1; Castagnoli 1959-60: 165; Shoe 1965: 92.

⁴⁶⁵ Lake 1935: 120; Lombardi 1941: 51.

⁴⁶⁶ Lombardi 1941: 50-1; Boitani *et al.* 1975: 32.

There is also a section of moulding on the site, which appears to be a lower echinus and plinth (fig. 5.4). The rounded wave moulding is some 0.33m high and the plinth is 0.30m high. The section has a straight back, and so was originally the outer facing of a larger structure. From its size, it might have been part of the facing of a podium, which suggests, therefore, that the re-built temple of the first century BC might also have had some form of double-rounded moulding. The section, however, is damaged and very weathered, and does not survive in situ, and so this must remain conjectural.

Some distance in front of the temple, and standing on its axis, there is a large, rectangular altar with double-rounded moulding (cat. no. C18). It is made from three blocks of stone, and has an abacus, bowl-shaped upper echinus, hawksbeak at the centre, curved lower echinus, and plinth. The level at which it stands corresponds exactly with that of the rebuilt temple, and it is therefore assessed to have been erected at the same time, in the early first century BC.⁴⁶⁷ When excavated, it was flanked by dry stone walls and covered by flat stone slabs, which were put in place when the ground level was raised to support a new road in the third century AD.⁴⁶⁸ Its published dimensions include these surrounding stones,⁴⁶⁹ but the altar itself is 1.15m high, 2.31m long, and 1.45m wide.

Several works refer to a circular hole on the altar's upper surface leading to a large sacrificial ditch underneath it, in which cremated bones and ashes have been found.⁴⁷⁰ There is no trace of either feature discernable today.

There are also the elements of a second, very similar, altar on the site (cat. no. C19). This also consists of three pieces, but in this case the altar is not complete or in situ, and its three pieces are stored separately in a group of assorted architectural elements not far from the other altar. This second altar has the

⁴⁶⁷ Maetzke 1955-56: 227, 240-1; Caputo and Maetzke 1959: 54-5; Castagnoli 1959-60: 161; Caputo 1960: 150; Shoe 1964: 106; Pfiffig 1975: 82.

⁴⁶⁸ De Marco 2013: 24.

⁴⁶⁹ Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 103.

⁴⁷⁰ De Agostino 1954: 13-4; Caputo 1960: 149; Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 103.

same profile as the standing altar, with abacus, bowl-shaped upper echinus, hawkbeak, curved lower echinus, and plinth. Its dimensions are also very similar, and it seems to be made from the same type of stone. This altar is not referred to in any of the excavation reports or other literature.⁴⁷¹ Its close similarity to the standing altar must mean that it, too, dates from the early first century BC, and it suggests that there was a second temple somewhere on the site that might also have been built or rebuilt at the same time.

The most likely context in the early first century BC for the rebuilding of temples and erection of new altars is the foundation of a colony at Fiesole for Sulla's veterans around 80 BC, which also saw the construction of a theatre nearby.⁴⁷² The new civic elite might have used an archaising double-rounded design to emphasise their Roman identity, thereby proclaiming their dominant social position and the new status of the city. There was certainly local resentment at the new arrangements. An ancient source mentions a violent revolt at Fiesole in 78 BC that led to the colonists returning some land to dispossessed former owners,⁴⁷³ and there seems still to have been strong lingering discontent among the dispossessed at the time of Catiline's conspiracy in 63 BC.⁴⁷⁴ The new structures erected when the colony was established certainly mark a stylistic break with earlier buildings on the site, but there are difficulties with assuming that the use here of the double-rounded design was intended to signify a traditional Latin religious identity.

By 80 BC the double-rounded design would have been distinctly old-fashioned, even in Latium. I describe in Chapter 6 and 7 how it continued to be used or evoked in Rome during the first century BC, but there is good evidence that there would have been sufficient surviving examples of double-rounded altars in Rome at that time to provide a context to enable such archaising references to be understood. In Fiesole, there would have been no such context or visual parallels. The size, rectangular shape, and moulded profile of the base and altars at Fiesole

⁴⁷¹ The pieces were measured and photographed on the site by the author in August 2014.

⁴⁷² Salmon 1969: 131; Brunt 1971a: 287, 305-9; Harris 1971: 261, 268, 342-3.

⁴⁷³ Granius Licinianus 36. See also Harris 1971: 268; Scardigli 1983: 129-31.

⁴⁷⁴ Sall. *Cat.* 27-8; Cic. *Cat.* II 20. See also Harris 1971: 268-9, 289-94.

are also very different to anything that is known to have still been standing in Latium at the time (the sanctuary at Lavinium, where there were altars with hawksbeaks, was abandoned in the second century BC: see Chapter 3, section 3.2.1). The examples in Rome from the second and first centuries BC are all relatively small square altars or bases. The closest parallel to the base at Fiesole is the platform at Pieve a Sócana (cat. no. D3), although the latter has a true hawksbeak rather than a central scotia. The altars at Fiesole match closely the profile of the parapet at Tarquinia (cat. no. D13), but this is some distance from Fiesole and at least a century earlier.

It is possible that the most important consideration for the incoming colonists was to signal a break with the past. The double-rounded design provided a strong contrast with the earlier structures, and was presumably intended as some form of archaising reference, even if it would not readily have been associated locally with a Latin religious identity. Perhaps local craftsmen were used, who drew on now-lost examples of the double-rounded design from Etruria rather than following contemporary developments in Rome. The most that can be said is that it is a striking use of the double-rounded design in a colony of the first century BC, with no surviving parallel in any other colonies of this period. It may have been intended to signify the ancestral Latin religious identity of the new civic elite at Fiesole, but it is an isolated example that probably arose from local circumstances, rather than a centrally-directed or widespread move to exhibit such symbols of Latin identity in the new colonies.

5.5. CONCLUSION

The conquest of central Italy and Etruria during the late fourth and third centuries BC marked a swift and large increase in Roman territorial control and military power. To the east of Latium, considerable numbers of people moved from Rome and Latium to establish new colonies and settlements in the conquered territories. At Sora, Villa San Silvestro, Isernia, and Carseoli there are examples of temple podia and altars that use the double-rounded design that by then had become associated with a traditional Latin religious identity.

The podia, in particular, are difficult to date, but it is reasonable to conclude that they were first built in the third century BC, and possibly soon after the settlements were first founded. This might, therefore, indicate that many of the original settlers in those locations came from the areas of Latium where the double-rounded design was the traditional form of religious architecture, and that they chose to carry that tradition with them as a signifier of their ancestral identity. At Sora, the unique double-rounded design of a group of altars from the second or first century BC seems to indicate that a distinct, local architectural form developed over time from the older Latin architectural tradition.

More generally, however, the varied nature of the evidence from the conquered territories implies that there was no coherent or widespread policy of using the double-rounded design or other signifiers to proclaim the ancestral Latin identity of the new colonies. Variations between the colonies suggest that they followed different forms depending on local circumstances. In Etruria, there are even fewer examples of the double-rounded design from this period, and the likely context of their appearance at both Campo della Fiera and Fiesole strongly suggest that they resulted from specific local circumstances.

The double-rounded design, therefore, was an important signifier of Latin religious identity in Latium, but was not used in a systematic or widespread way by early colonists outside Latium to signify their ancestral identity. It seems to have been a design that had to remain rooted in the areas where it originated, and could not be exported very far beyond the borders of Latium, or adopted by peoples who were not closely descended from those original Latin communities. Within that part of northern Latium, however, and especially in the city of Rome, the design continued to be used into the second and first centuries BC, as I shall examine in Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 6

DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDINGS IN THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES BC

The second century BC was a period of transition for the double-rounded design. On the one hand, a modified form of the design was introduced, which drew on Greek models by using smaller, counter-posed rounded wave mouldings above and below a flat surface. This modified design was used both on altars in Latium, and on temple podia throughout central Italy. On the other hand, there are several examples of the traditional double-rounded design continuing to be used for new altars in and near Rome, which might have been intended to evoke memories of ancestral religious and moral values. This juxtaposition of long-standing traditional forms with new, Greek-inspired ideas in a period of transition was mirrored in wider social and artistic changes during this period.

6.1. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Rome in the second century BC experienced far-reaching social, political, economic, and cultural developments that gave rise at the same time to strong reactions in support of traditionalism. The influx of wealth, works of art, and familiarity with Greek culture that had started with Rome's conquest of southern Italy continued on an even greater scale with campaigns in the Greek east.⁴⁷⁵ This new wealth was often seen at the time as corrupting traditional Roman values.⁴⁷⁶

Roman writers of the second century BC consistently saw political issues in terms of morality, and regarded the appropriate response to the perceived growing moral crisis to be the assertion of the traditional Roman respect for authority, the established state religion, and public morality.⁴⁷⁷ Cato the Elder exemplifies those who disapproved of the uncritical adulation of Greek culture and the effects of luxury, and who championed the preservation of what was seen as the

⁴⁷⁵ MacMullen 1991: 424-8.

⁴⁷⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 315-55 examines Roman attitudes towards, and attempts to curb, luxury, and compares them with more modern examples.

⁴⁷⁷ Earl 1967: 17-42.

traditional Roman cultural identity, based on values such as dignity, piety, and austerity.⁴⁷⁸ 'Veristic' portraiture, which emerged in the second century BC in contrast to the Hellenistic portrait styles being introduced to Rome at the time, might well have been intended to give physical expression to these qualities.⁴⁷⁹

With these new riches came increasing disparities in wealth and competition for power, adding to a period of social tension and political conflict.⁴⁸⁰ The tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, in particular, emerged as popular spokesmen against nobles who were taking control of public lands, putting forward a range of reforms between 133 and 121 BC, but both meeting violent deaths.⁴⁸¹ The control of religious institutions and the religious powers of the tribunate were also drawn into this political conflict between the traditionalist *optimates* and more radical *populares* groupings among the nobility in the 140s and 130s BC, because of their potential for blocking or supporting popular legislation.⁴⁸²

6.1.1. Religious conservatism

It became common for politicians to seek support by arguing that their actions were more historically and religiously correct than those of their opponents.⁴⁸³ This led to a marked reduction of innovation in state religious matters at Rome, and several revivals of archaic religious ceremonies informed by antiquarian research, as part of a growing policy during the second century BC to define an ancestral Roman religious tradition, and to restore and defend it against foreign influences.⁴⁸⁴ This seems to start around 160 BC, and is particularly strong from the mid-140s BC. Pierre Gros detects a similar conservative reaction against Hellenistic architectural influence in the temples built in Rome in the decade after 121 BC, when the Gracchan reforms were overturned.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁸ Astin 1978: 157-81; Gruen 1992: 70-83.

⁴⁷⁹ Smith 1981: 37-8; Jackson 1987: 32-3, 44; Stewart 1990: 1.231; Gruen 1992: 152-82; D'Ambra 1998: 26-8; Tanner 2000: 19-22; Stewart 2004: 7-10; Rose 2008: 102-11, 117-8.

⁴⁸⁰ Badian 1972: 684-90 describes the social and military crises in the decade before 133 BC.

⁴⁸¹ McDonald 1939: 143-6; Brunt 1971b: 74-93.

⁴⁸² Taylor 1962: 22-4; Rawson 1974: 193-8, 207-12; Beard *et al.* 1998: 1.109-10; Farney 2007: 5.

⁴⁸³ Orlin 2007: 66.

⁴⁸⁴ Rawson 1973: 161-2; 1974: 198-202; North 1976: 8-9; Beard *et al.* 1998: 1.110-3.

⁴⁸⁵ Gros 1976a: 402-4, referring to the temples of Concord (c. 121 BC), Castor and Pollux (c. 117 BC), and Magna Mater (c. 111 BC).

6.1.2. Commemorating achievements

The new wealth financed large-scale public building projects in Rome and the rest of Italy during the second century BC,⁴⁸⁶ and there was a growing desire on the part of the Roman nobility to associate themselves with architectural monuments. New constructions, including temples, were increasingly named after the individuals who had them built.⁴⁸⁷ In addition, Roman coins change in the 130s BC from depicting constant symbols of civic identity to commemorating individual family achievements, for example through the depiction of monuments erected by or for ancestors.⁴⁸⁸ The change in coinage designs in particular was probably intended to address the Roman electorate, in response to legislation that made it more difficult to coerce voters when they cast their ballots.⁴⁸⁹

For the same reason, the inscriptions on monuments such as public buildings, temples, honorific statues, bases of votive offerings, and altars were an important means of addressing the viewer, and of ensuring that the name, deeds, and qualities of the benefactor were remembered.⁴⁹⁰ There is a sharp increase in this period in the number of epigraphic texts of this type.⁴⁹¹ It is notable that, at Rome, all the inscribed altars of the second and first centuries BC described below carry the names of the dedicators, whilst those from the first century BC do not name the god to whom they were dedicated. By contrast, the inscribed altars at Sora from the second century BC only name Mars and Flora (cat. nos C9 and C13).

At the same time, senators started to record the history of Rome in the form of a continuous annalistic narrative. The first was Q. Fabius Pictor's *annales Graeci* in about 210 BC, but they became especially popular in the period between 155 and 120 BC.⁴⁹² Partly this was another means of asserting the historical achievements

⁴⁸⁶ Coarelli 1971 summarises the evidence for the city of Rome.

⁴⁸⁷ Orlin 2007: 66-7.

⁴⁸⁸ Alföldi 1956: 71-4; Crawford 1974: 728; Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 74; Meadows and Williams 2001: 42-4. A full list these moneyers and their designs is at Flower 1996: 333-8. See also Chapter 8, section 8.2.2.

⁴⁸⁹ Taylor 1962: 25-6; Flower 1996: 79-80.

⁴⁹⁰ MacMullen 1982: 246; Woolf 1996: 25-9; Flower 2009: 68.

⁴⁹¹ Friggeri 2001: 48.

⁴⁹² Badian 1966: 2-7; Frier 1999: 201-12.

of prominent Roman families,⁴⁹³ but there was also a general desire to set out the values and deeds that had enabled Rome to be so successful, and a specific intent to highlight and revive those values in a time of violent political turmoil.⁴⁹⁴

6.1.3. *Antiquarianism*

The mid-second century BC also saw the emergence of antiquarianism at Rome. Elizabeth Rawson saw this as a response to political conflict, and linked the first flowering of antiquarianism to this period of crisis, and a second to the breakdown of order in the 50s BC.⁴⁹⁵ Unlike historiography, antiquarianism did not aim to set out a chronological literary narrative, but rather to address contemporary questions through providing information on the origins and development of Rome's political and religious institutions or customs.⁴⁹⁶ Many annalists in the 140s and 130s BC included antiquarian details.⁴⁹⁷ Others, such as C. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Iunius Congus 'Gracchanus', respectively an opponent and supporter of the Gracchi, wrote more specific works on the origins of political institutions whose powers were under dispute at the time.⁴⁹⁸

Antiquarian authors were interested in the monuments, inscriptions, and topography of Rome and Latium, as a means of determining ancestral practice or locating ancient events.⁴⁹⁹ This would no doubt have included altars, particularly if they were associated with neglected deities whose cults might have been revealed by other antiquarian research to be relevant to contemporary problems. This might well have been the case with the altar dedicated to the god Verminus (see section 6.2.1 below).

The antiquarian interest in ancient monuments, and the political desire of Roman aristocrats to associate themselves with the memories of moral values and ancestral achievements that they represented, led not only to references to them

⁴⁹³ Alföldi 1956: 74; Meadows and Williams 2001: 45-6.

⁴⁹⁴ Rawson 1976: 705; 1985: 217-8; Frier 1999: 213.

⁴⁹⁵ Rawson 1972: 35.

⁴⁹⁶ Momigliano 1950: 286-7; Rawson 1985: 233-5; Stevenson 1993: 26, 54-5, 164; Forsythe 2005: 64-5.

⁴⁹⁷ Badian 1966: 11-2; Rawson 1976: 689, 696-713; Frier 1999: 207-12.

⁴⁹⁸ Rankov 1987: 90-3; Stevenson 1993: 54-5; Frier 1999: 209-10.

⁴⁹⁹ Rawson 1976: 692, 696-9; 705-6; 1985: 235.

being included in histories or annals, and representations of them on coins, but also to the erection of new monuments that were intended to be seen as part of the same tradition.⁵⁰⁰ It is in this context that we see the continued use of the double-rounded form at Rome.

6.2. CONTINUED USE OF THE TRADITIONAL DOUBLE-ROUNDED DESIGN

Table 7 lists the twenty-four altars from Rome and Latium with double-rounded mouldings that certainly or probably date from the second and first century BC.⁵⁰¹ They are mostly square, with broadly similar dimensions. Many have lost their upper part, but the remains indicate a standard height of around one metre.

Cat. No.	Location and Altar	Date (all BC)	Both Parts?	Dimensions (in metres)		
				Height	Length	Width
C14	Rome, Verminus	c. 142?	Yes	1.03	0.75	0.75
C15	Rome, Calvinus	c. 127?	Yes	1.06	0.82	0.67
C16	Rome, Quinctius	c. 123?	No	?	?	?
C17	Bovillae, Vediovis	c. 100?	No	0.46	0.96	0.96
C20	Rome, Longinus	1 st C	No	0.48	0.72	0.70
C21	Rome, Crispinus	9	No	c. 0.56	0.75	0.75
C22	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	0.56	1.13	0.90
C23	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	?	?
C24	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	?	?
C25	Ostia	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	?	?
C26	Castrum Inui	2 nd C?	Yes	c. 0.98	1.01	0.89
C27	Rome, S 2755	4 th or 2 nd C?	Yes	1.01	0.71	0.69
C28	Rome, S 2756	4 th or 2 nd C?	Yes	1.06	0.74	0.73
C29	Rome, S 1330	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes?	?	0.74	0.74
C30	Rome, S 2109	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes	1.05	0.75	0.73
C31	Rome, A	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.75	?
C32	Rome, B	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.59	?
C33	Rome, C	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.74	?
C34	Rome, D	2 nd or 1 st C?	No	?	c. 0.75	?
C35	Rome, Via XX Settembre	2 nd or 1 st C?	Yes	0.90	0.80	0.73
C36	Ponte di Nona	3 rd or 2 nd C?	No	?	0.77	0.60
C37	Casale di Roma Vecchia	1 st C?	Yes	0.71	0.56	0.56
C38	Tivoli, Acquoria	Unknown	No	0.40	0.64	0.64
C39	Tivoli, Cartiera Amicucci	Unknown	No	0.38	0.63	0.615

⁵⁰⁰ Meadows and Williams 2001: 46-8.

⁵⁰¹ These altars are also included in Table 4 in Chapter 3, section 3.3, which lists all the square and rectangular altars in Latium with double-rounded moulding.

6.2.1 *Altar to Verminus (cat. no. C14)*

In 1876 an altar was found near the eastern corner of the Baths of Diocletian under the *agger* of the 'Servian' Wall.⁵⁰² It has an inscription on its abacus:

VERMINO
A · POSTVMIVS · A · F · A · N · ALBI
DVO · VIR · LEGE PLAETORIA

([This altar was dedicated] to Verminus by the joint magistrate Aulus Postumius Albinus, the son of Aulus and grandson of Aulus, in accordance with the law proposed by Plaetorius)

The god Verminus is otherwise unknown, and the inscription does not state that it was a restoration of an earlier altar. This *Lex Plaetoria* is mentioned in only one other inscription, on an altar in front of Temple C in the Largo Argentina which was also erected by a person named A. Postumius Albinus, who is probably the same individual (see section 6.5.1 below).⁵⁰³ The form of this altar is quite different from the one to Verminus: it is larger and rectangular, and it uses the modified double-rounded design, with smaller rounded wave mouldings above and below flat surfaces on all sides. Unlike the altar to Verminus, the one in the Largo Argentina is described as a restoration, but without specifying the deity.

The establishment of *duoviri* under a specific law implies that there was a particular public interest in erecting these altars.⁵⁰⁴ Since they were erected under the same law, which is otherwise unrecorded, it is likely that the same person was responsible for both altars. It is not, however, possible to date them

⁵⁰² Lanciani 1876: 24-9, tab.3; Studniczka 1903: 142, no.12; Hülsen 1905: 41-2, n.2; Bowerman 1913: 10-11, 61, no.12; Oliver 1932: 161; Marchetti Longhi 1933: 177, 179; Mustilli 1939: 8; Shoe 1965: 107-8; Helbig 1912: 595-6; 1966: 399-400; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160. When this altar and the Altar of Crispinus (cat. no. C21) were moved from the Antiquarium Comunale to the Musei Capitolini in the late 1920s, their lower sections were transposed and its original base is now displayed with the upper section of the other altar (see Catalogue). The upper and lower parts of the two altars have been attached using an irreversible glue, and separating the elements would inevitably damage the altars.

⁵⁰³ Marchetti Longhi 1933: 173-4. See also Lanciani 1876: 26-8; Kajanto *et al.* 1981: 91-6.

⁵⁰⁴ Orlin 1997: 172, and see 172-8 for the role of *duoviri* in dedicating temples.

precisely. There were consuls called A. Postumius Albinus in 180, 151, and 99 BC, and arguments have been made for each of them to have erected the altars.

Giuseppe Marchetti Longhi dates the lettering of the inscription on the altar to Verminus to the first half of the second century BC, and so favours the consul of 180 BC.⁵⁰⁵ Livy records a plague that attacked cattle in 175 BC and humans in 174 and 173 BC, leading to a day of supplication in the Forum (41.21).⁵⁰⁶ If this were the *iumentorum verminatio* cattle disease mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 28.180, 30.144), and Verminus were associated with it in religious records, or because of the similarity of his name, this might have led to his cult being created or revived then. The consul of 180 BC was also appointed a *decemvir sacris faciundis* in 173 BC,⁵⁰⁷ and so he might have erected the altars as an extension of this role under a more specific *Lex Plaetoria*.

Filippo Coarelli, however, believes that the script is later, and notes that Livy does not mention such a response to the plague of 175-173 BC. He argues that the plague of 142 BC provides a better context,⁵⁰⁸ and that it was, therefore, erected by the consul of 151 BC.⁵⁰⁹ Rawson agrees, but warns against taking this as evidence that this consul, who produced a history of Rome, also had antiquarian interests.⁵¹⁰ Peter Wiseman suggests that it might have been the consul of 99 BC, but at an earlier stage of his career, as the altar in the Largo Argentina was buried by a pavement laid in 106 BC.⁵¹¹

The altar's find-spot does not help to date it more precisely. When the 'Servian' Wall was greatly enlarged in 87 BC, its *agger* encroached on the altar, which was

⁵⁰⁵ Marchetti Longhi 1933: 193.

⁵⁰⁶ The annual *Ludi Florales* were also instituted in 173 BC in response to a crop blight: see Ov. *Fast.* 5.327-30, and Morgan 1990: 21-6.

⁵⁰⁷ Münzer 1939: 27-30.

⁵⁰⁸ Obseq. 22; Oros. 5.4.8-9.

⁵⁰⁹ Coarelli 1997: 314-6. See also Mustilli 1939: 8. Kajanto *et al.* 1981: 92-6 believe that the style of the inscription is later than 175 BC. Helbig 1912: 595 supports the consul of 151 BC, but Helbig 1966: 399-400 supports the consul of 180 BC.

⁵¹⁰ Rawson 1973: 161, n.2.

⁵¹¹ Wiseman 1986: 97. Coarelli 1997: 316, n.67 believes that this is too late, and that the consul of 99 BC was probably the son of L. Postumius Albinus, consul in 154 BC, and so could not have been the one in the inscriptions.

found at a slightly lower level, enclosed in a stone niche and upside-down.⁵¹² It might, therefore, have already been neglected in 87 BC but was then re-buried respectfully,⁵¹³ or was 'de-consecrated' then. In either case, it does not indicate how long beforehand it was erected. Dates around 173 BC or 142 BC, therefore, are both plausible. If the otherwise unrecorded god Verminus had to be identified through antiquarian study, then a date around 142 BC might be more likely, as it fits more closely with the known period of antiquarianism at Rome.

The altar, therefore, appears to have been intended to evoke memories of an ancestral Latin religious identity. The choice of the old double-rounded design, when the same dedicator used the new, Greek-influenced form for his altar in the Largo Argentina, places it firmly in the older architectural tradition. The dedication to an obscure god like Verminus signals trust in a traditional Latin deity to alleviate a plague, rather than, for example, Apollo, and it is very likely that only the traditional altar design was regarded as appropriate for such a god. Both these features exemplify the practice of using antiquarian research to address a contemporary civic problem and the spirit of religious conservatism that were typical of the mid- to late-second century BC at Rome.

6.2.2. *Altar to the Unknown God, or the Altar of Calvinus (cat. no. C15)*

An altar found on the Palatine Hill with double-rounded moulding has two unique features.⁵¹⁴ It is the only altar of this type with *pulvinus*, or bolster, mouldings on top, which is one of the earliest examples of this decoration on an altar.⁵¹⁵ It also retains traces of two coats of plaster over most of its surface, which perhaps implies that it was originally coloured. The inscription refers to a C. Sextius Calvinus, who might be the consul of 124 BC, which would mean that he would have been praetor by 127 BC,⁵¹⁶ but another person with this name was praetor in or around 92 BC:⁵¹⁷

⁵¹² Lanciani 1876: 24; Oliver 1932: 161.

⁵¹³ Säflund 1932: 157.

⁵¹⁴ Studniczka 1903: 142, no.15; Bowerman 1913: 12-4, 61, no.15; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 108-9.

⁵¹⁵ Hermann 1961: 29; Helbig 1966: 865.

⁵¹⁶ Broughton 1951-86: 1.511.

⁵¹⁷ Broughton 1951-86: 2.18; Cic. *Brut.* 31.130, *De or.* 2.61.249. See also Marucchi 1906: 297.

SEI · DEO · SEI · DEIVAE · SAC
C · SEXTIVS · C · F · CALVINVS · PR
DE · SENATI · SENTENTIA
RESTITVIT

(The Praetor Gaius Sextius Calvinus, the son of Gaius, restored [this altar] sacred to the god or goddess [of this place], in accordance with a decision of the Senate)

The altar is usually said to have been discovered in its original location, near the modern church of S. Anastasia towards the bottom of the slope on the south-west corner of the Palatine, by the Velabrum.⁵¹⁸ Rodolfo Lanciani, however, pointed out that it was found twelve metres above the ancient surface level.⁵¹⁹ Apart from relatively minor abrasions, the altar is undamaged, and the most likely explanation is that it was originally erected much nearer to the crown of this corner of the Palatine and slid down to its eventual find-spot when a substantial landslide in the eighteenth or nineteenth century uncovered the various ancient substructures that are visible in this area today.

The cryptic nature of the deity to which the altar is dedicated has given rise to three interpretations of its purpose. One is that it is an altar to Aius Locutius. The second is that it refers to an unknown deity inhabiting that part of the Palatine hill. The third is that it marks the edge of the original *pomerium* and does not specify the deity's name in order to prevent an enemy from appeasing him or her (see the map at fig. 6.1).

Aius Locutius is the title given to the voice of an unknown deity who warned of the approach of the Gauls in 390 BC but was ignored. An altar was subsequently erected to the deity in the area where the voice was heard, which is described by ancient authors as at the bottom of the Nova Via, by the grove of Vesta on the

⁵¹⁸ Pascal 1894: 189; Marucchi 1906: 295; Lugli 1946: 450; Tomei 1994: 1042; 1997: 30. I follow the convention of regarding the side of the Palatine towards the House of the Vestals as the northern and the side facing the Circus Maximus as the southern.

⁵¹⁹ Lanciani 1894: 33. See also Bowerman 1913: 12.

slope of the Palatine hill.⁵²⁰ This is interpreted as the stretch of the Nova Via near the Temple of Vesta, but the precise identification of the spot depends on whether the altar and the grove of Vesta stood to the south of the road,⁵²¹ or to the north, by the House of the Vestals,⁵²² and whether the Nova Via followed a 'low', 'middle', or 'high' elevation before the area's redevelopment after the fire of AD 64.⁵²³

Esther Van Deman believed that an altar from the Republican period found under the eastern part of the later House of the Vestals was that of Aius Locutius.⁵²⁴ This would have been on the line of the 'low' elevation of the Nova Via south of the Republican residence of the *pontifex maximus*. Henry Hurst and Dora Cirone suggest that a foundation excavated in 2002 by the southern wall of the Imperial House of the Vestals, and probably dating from the second century AD, might be the remains of the shrine.⁵²⁵ Both might be correct, if the shrine was relocated when the House of the Vestals was greatly enlarged and re-aligned after AD 64, especially if the Nova Via was re-routed at the same time from the 'low' to the 'middle' elevation.⁵²⁶

It is clear, nevertheless, that the altar of Aius Locutius was situated somewhere on the north-western corner of the Palatine, whereas the altar of Calvinus was found on the south-western corner, having probably slid down the slope. There seems no reason why such an altar would have been moved so far in antiquity,⁵²⁷ and, therefore, it is very unlikely that it is the altar to Aius Locutius.

It might instead be dedicated to a local tutelary deity whose name was also unknown, related either to a particular topographical feature in that part of the

⁵²⁰ Cic. *Div.* 1.45.101; Liv. 5.32, 50; Gell. 16.17.2; Plut. *Cam.* 14.2; *Mor.* 319a.

⁵²¹ Corelli 2012: 50-1.

⁵²² Cecamore 2002: 59.

⁵²³ Hurst and Cirone 2003: 22-4, fig.4, summarise the arguments put forward for 'low', 'middle', and 'high' elevations for the line of the Nova Via before AD 64. Wiseman 2004: 182 notes that the literary evidence tends to support the 'low' hypothesis in Coarelli 1983: 228-34, 265.

⁵²⁴ Van Deman 1909: 19, plan A; 1923: 396.

⁵²⁵ Hurst and Cirone 2003: 67-9.

⁵²⁶ Hurst and Cirone 2003: 54-5, 78-9 believe that the excavations in 2002 support the 'middle' elevation both before and after AD 64.

⁵²⁷ Pascal 1894: 189; Marucchi 1906: 297-8; Hülsen 1926: 70; Lugli 1946: 142

Palatine, such as the Lupercal, or by extension to the whole of Rome through the hill's connexion with the origins of the city.⁵²⁸ The formula *sei deo sei deivae* ('whether a god or goddess') on the inscription is similar to others recorded by the *Fratres Arvales* and by ancient authors when the deity of a location or a natural event is unknown.⁵²⁹

The third interpretation is that it is a boundary marker for the *pomerium*, or sacred boundary of the city, since it was found close to the line described by Tacitus, which was marked by boundary stones.⁵³⁰ This runs from the *Ara Maxima* of Hercules in the Forum Boarium along the Circus Maximus at the base of the Palatine.⁵³¹ Since, however, the altar of Calvinus was probably erected on or near the crest of the hill, it cannot have marked the *pomerium*.

Since the altar's likely original location rules out its identification with both Aius Locutius and the *pomerium*, it was probably erected to an unknown local tutelary deity that might also have had wider significance for Rome. The use of the double-rounded design, with an inscription reminiscent of Aius Locutius from the fourth century BC, would have evoked memories of ancestral religious practices, but the addition of the new *pulvinus* mouldings perhaps sought to imply that Calvinus was able to combine proper adherence to the traditional religion with modern aesthetic tastes. It is likely that the dedicator was the praetor of 127 BC, but Rawson noted several Roman military disasters between 114 and 101 BC and other disturbing events that provoked a renewed emphasis on traditional religious forms,⁵³² and so the praetor of 92 BC is also possible.

⁵²⁸ Pascal 1894: 189, 200-1; Marucchi 1906: 297-8; Bowerman 1913: 13; Lugli 1946: 402; Helbig 1966: 865.

⁵²⁹ Henzen 1874: 144 for the *Fratres Arvales*. See also Cato *Agr.* 139; Gell. 2.28; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 2.351, and the first century BC inscription from Tivoli at *CIL I*², 1485 = *CIL XIV*, 3572.

⁵³⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 12.24. See also Varro, *Ling.* 5.143. The extensions of the *pomerium* by Claudius and by Vespasian and Titus, and its restoration by Hadrian, also had boundary markers, of which some survive: see Boatwright 1984: 37-8; 1986: 18-22.

⁵³¹ Platner 1901: 420, 425; Scott 1929: 55; Lugli 1946: 402; Evans 1980: 96; Boatwright 1984: 39; Tomei 1994: 1042; Orlin 2002: 10.

⁵³² Rawson 1974: 198-202.

6.2.3. *Altar of Quinctius (cat. no. C16)*

Lanciani records the discovery of half an altar similar in design to that of Verminus near the Scala Santa in Rome.⁵³³ This is now lost, but the part of the inscription that had survived indicated that it was dedicated to Fortuna in one of her guises by T. Quinctius:

F O R T V N A ...
S A C ...
T · Q V I N C T I ...
S E N A T I · S E N T E ...

(Titus Quinctius ... [dedicated this altar], sacred to Fortune... in accordance with a
decision of the Senate)

The name of the dedicator is likely to have been T. Quinctius Flaminius, and three generations with that name were consuls in 198, 150 and 123 BC, as well as a moneyer in 110 BC.⁵³⁴ It is possible that another was a praetor in 104 BC, but was recorded incorrectly as T. Flaminius.⁵³⁵

The altar cannot be dated with more certainty. If the dedication is to Fortuna Primigenia, it might be the consul of 198 BC, since his brother, L. Quinctius Flaminius, dedicated spoils from Leucas in Praeneste, near the shrine of the goddess, when he was consul in 192 BC (see section 6.3 below). Both dedications might therefore have been intended to assert the family's traditional link with Praeneste and its goddess, at a time when others had vowed and dedicated the first temple in Rome to Fortuna Primigenia.⁵³⁶ On the other hand, the coincidence of a C. Sextius Calvinus as praetor in 127 BC and consul in 124 BC (see section 6.2.2 above), and a T. Quinctius Flaminius as praetor in 126 BC and consul in 123 BC, might suggest that they were the ones to erect these two altars with similar designs. The military and religious turmoil between 114 and 101 BC might also argue for the praetor of 104 BC, if he were better attested.

⁵³³ Lanciani 1885: 162. See also Castagnoli 1959-60: 160.

⁵³⁴ Badian 1971: 103-4.

⁵³⁵ Broughton 1951: 2.509, n.1; 2.559.

⁵³⁶ The temple was vowed in 204 and dedicated in 194 BC: Liv. 29.36, 34.53; see also Champeaux 1982-87: 2.4-9; Orlin 1997: 142-3, 183-4, 187. On the link between the Quinctii and Praeneste, see Demma 2012: 40-3.

6.2.4. Altar of Vediovis (cat. no. C17)

The only inscribed altar of this period from outside Rome is the one found at Bovillae in the Alban Hills.⁵³⁷ This altar was clearly intended to evoke memories of an ancestral Latin past in order to shape contemporary views of the people who dedicated it. It uses the double-rounded design, but the carving is crude, as if the aim was to make it appear to be already very old. Its inscription, which is on three sides of the abacus, is archaising:

VEDIOVEI · PATREI
GENTEILES · IVLIEI

VEDI// [...] AARA

LEEGE · ALBANA · DICATA

(The members of the clan of the Iulii [set up] this altar dedicated to Father Vediovis in accordance with the laws of Alba [Longa])

By naming the *gens*, or clan, rather than an individual, it suggests timeless continuity and prevents it from being dated precisely. Its script pretends to be old, by following the pseudo-archaic spelling conventions proposed by the grammarian L. Accius, which were popular from around 132 to 74 BC, with lettering of approximately the same period, and so the altar is usually dated to around 100 BC.⁵³⁸

The nature of Vediovis (or Veiovis) and his associations with Jupiter and Apollo are much debated, but he was clearly an ancient Latin deity. Bovillae itself was connected through various legends to Alba Longa and the ancestral origins of Rome through Aeneas and Ascanius/Iulus, from whom the Iulii claimed descent, and through them from the goddess Venus.⁵³⁹ There is no other known link between the Iulii and Vediovis, however. There were temples to Vediovis in

⁵³⁷ Studniczka 1903: 142, no.14; Bowerman 1913: 11-2, 61, no.14; Dobosi 1935: 266-7; Strong 1939: 146; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 107. Only the upper part was found.

⁵³⁸ Dobosi 1935: 270-1; Weinstock 1971: 8; Badian 2009: 14; Smith 2010: 252. For the spelling conventions proposed by Accius, see Dangel 1990: 54-6.

⁵³⁹ Weinstock 1971: 5-10; Hall 1986: 2584-6.

Rome on the Capitol and the Tiber Island, but the former was dedicated by L. Furius Purpurio in 192 BC, and neither seems to be connected with the Iulii.⁵⁴⁰

The altar, therefore, is often interpreted as an attempt by the Iulii at the end of the second century BC to establish a legendary genealogy, at a time when the *gens* had little political prominence and were not alone in claiming descent from Venus.⁵⁴¹ By the late 90s BC, the Iulii had gained the consulship, and the connection to Vediovis became less important as their political power increased and their claim on descent from Venus grew stronger. The link with Bovillae was maintained, however, and was later emphasised by Augustus and Tiberius (neither of whom had been born into the *gens Iulia*).⁵⁴²

The altar from Bovillae is a clear example of how a Roman *gens* at the end of the second century BC could use a range of archaising devices to create a connection with an ancestral legend: dedicating it to an ancient Latin deity; using what was thought to be an archaic form of script; siting it in an historically significant location; and using the traditional double-rounded design.

6.2.5. Altar of Longinus (cat. no. C20)

A large fragment of the upper part of an altar, with part of its inscription, was found on the Oppian hill:⁵⁴³

[... Co]MINIVS T · F · LONGINVS
PR · EX · S · C

(The Praetor [Titus Co]minius Longinus, the son of Titus, [dedicated this altar] by decree of the Senate)

⁵⁴⁰ Only remains of the temple on the Capitol have been found, the earliest phase of which is from around the time of L. Furius Purpurio: see Colini 1942: 48-52.

⁵⁴¹ Badian 2009: 12-5; Smith 2010: 251-3. For the desire in the second century BC onwards to establish legendary genealogies, and the primacy of links to Trojan heroes and Alba Longa, see Wiseman 1974: 153-8; Farney 2007: 53-65.

⁵⁴² Weinstock 1971: 7; Bleisch 2001: 185; Farney 2007: 56-8; Badian 2009: 15.

⁵⁴³ Pietrangeli 1941: 167-8; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 109.

The lettering probably dates from the first century BC. There is only space for about three missing letters at the beginning of the name, and Wiseman judges that the most likely restoration is T. Cominius Longinus, who may have been from Narbo in Gaul and introduced to the Senate by Caesar, reaching the praetorship in the late 40s or early 30s BC.⁵⁴⁴ If so, it is notable that he chose what by then would have been a very old-fashioned altar design. It must, therefore, have still been at that time a readily-identifiable signifier at Rome of an ancestral Roman identity, so that a new-comer to the Roman elite could use it in this way to associate himself with that traditional identity, and the religious and cultural values that went with it.

6.2.6. *Uninscribed altars*

There are several other altars with broadly similar dimensions and double-rounded moulding, but which do not carry inscriptions. One was discovered in 1904 on the Via Venti Settembre in Rome but is now lost (cat. no. C35).⁵⁴⁵ Others are in the Musei Capitolini in Rome and were presumably all found in the city: four are complete (cat. nos C27-C30),⁵⁴⁶ but only halves of the others survive (cat. nos C31-C34).⁵⁴⁷ Without inscriptions, it is impossible to date these altars with certainty, but their similarity in size and form to the inscribed altars of the second and early first centuries BC indicates that they are probably from the same period. They also suggest that there might well have been considerable numbers of altars with double-rounded moulding in Rome at the time, even with the introduction of the new straight-sided forms; I discuss this transition below.

6.3. STATUE BASES WITH ROUNDED MOULDING

Military success was the most important means for a Roman aristocrat to gain prestige,⁵⁴⁸ and the public display of booty captured on campaign, with an accompanying inscription, was used to spread and preserve an individual's fame.

⁵⁴⁴ Wiseman 1965: 159-60.

⁵⁴⁵ Gatti 1904: 272; Castagnoli 1959-60: 161, n.68.

⁵⁴⁶ Colini 1929: 23-4; Castagnoli 1959-60: 156, fig.14, 160-1, fig.19, 171, fig.33; Shoe 1965: 107-8.

⁵⁴⁷ Castagnoli 1959-60: 161, fig.19 shows four half-altars, but Hermann 1961: 29, n.78 mentions five.

⁵⁴⁸ Harris 1979: 17-36 discusses this in depth.

Several such inscriptions from the second century BC survive, and two are on bases that have been regarded as using double-rounded moulding.

One was found in the street in Palestrina (ancient Praeneste) that separates what is now believed to be the civic centre from the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia. It is a fragment of travertine measuring 0.25m high and about 0.57m long, and might have originally been around 1.23m in length. It consists of an abacus above part of a shallow rounded moulding (fig. 6.2), with part of an inscription preserved on its abacus:⁵⁴⁹

[*L. Quinctius T. f. Le*]VCADO · CEPIT
[*eidem conso*]L · DEDIT

([Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, the son of Titus,] captured [this object] at [Le]ucas and donated [it] when he was consul)

It appears to be the base for an object taken from the Greek island of Lefkada (ancient Leucas) by L. Quinctius Flamininus, and dedicated when he was consul in 192 BC. The inscription follows a common formula that specifies where the object on the base was captured.⁵⁵⁰ The tradition of dedicating spoils in cities with a family connection, or which provided allied troops, is most clearly seen in the several dedications of L. Mummius after his sack of Corinth in 146 BC.⁵⁵¹

The other example is from Luni (ancient Luna). It is in the local marble and measures about 0.45m high, 0.91m long and 0.91m wide. It also consists of an

⁵⁴⁹ *CIL* I², 613 (= *CIL* XIV, 2936; *ILLRP* 321); Cicerchia 1885: 57-8; Watzinger 1903: 40; Waurick 1975: 14, no.5; Kruschwitz 2001: 155-6; Demma 2011: 37-40. Bloy 1998-99: 50, n.10 notes that the usual restoration is wrong, as L. Quinctius Flamininus was the son of Titus, not Lucius; see Broughton 1951-86: 1.350.

⁵⁵⁰ See Waurick 1975: 13-5; Bloy 1998-99: 50-1; Demma 2011: 37-8 for this formula. Bloy 1998-99: 58 also notes, in the case of M'. Acilius Glabrio, that statues could be erected many years after they were captured. Schatzman 1972: 202-5 argues that generals at this time had unlimited control over the distribution of booty (*manubiae*), though Churchill 1999: 93-101, 109-10 argues that it remained public property which the general could only use in the public interest.

⁵⁵¹ Waurick 1975: 33-5; Gruen 1992: 125-7; Bloy 1998-99: 58-60; Yarrow 2006: 57-68; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 131-3.

abacus above a rounded moulding (fig. 6.3). There is an inscription on the abacus:⁵⁵²

M CLAVDIUS M F MARCELVS
CONSOL · ITERVM

(Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the son of Marcus, [set up this statue] when he was consul for the second time)

It was erected in the forum of the Roman colony by M. Claudius Marcellus, who was consul for the second time in 155 BC and celebrated a triumph over the nearby Ligurians and Apuani. Since it does not specify where the object on the base was captured, it might well have held a statue of Marcellus instead, a practice which became increasingly common in the second century BC.⁵⁵³

Studniczka and Bowerman include the Marcellus base in their list of objects with double-rounded moulding, whilst Castagnoli mentions it in a footnote.⁵⁵⁴ Neither base, however, retains any trace of a matching, lower rounded moulding, and both have also been interpreted as the tops of columns that supported statues.⁵⁵⁵ Studniczka relates the Marcellus base to a Doric capital used as a grave marker at Megara Hyblaea in Sicily (fig. 6.4),⁵⁵⁶ but this seems to be an isolated re-use of an unrelated object, and the Flamininus and Marcellus bases have the rectangular echinus of double-rounded altars rather than the round echinus of Doric capitals.

There may have been other statue bases with double-rounded moulding. An example from Lavinium (cat. no. D16) is usually described as an altar, but its height (1.34m) and its location in the forum among many other statue bases, suggest that it, too, was probably a statue base. The Marcellus base might have

⁵⁵² *CIL* I², 623 (= *CIL* XI, 1339; *ILLRP* 325); Remedi and Henzen 1858: 8-9, 11-2; Garrucci 1877: no.889; Milani 1912: 251; Durante and Gervasini 2000: 13; Angeli Bertinelli 2011: 73-4.

⁵⁵³ Gruen 1992: 118-22. See also Becatti 1960: 39; Haftmann 1972: 27; Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 163-5.

⁵⁵⁴ Studniczka 1903: 142, no.11; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.11; Castagnoli 1959-60: 166, n.97. Demma 2011: 37 believes the Flamininus base originally had double-rounded moulding.

⁵⁵⁵ Bloy 1998-99: 50; Angeli Bertinelli 2011: 73.

⁵⁵⁶ Studniczka 1903: 144. On this, see Cavallari 1880: 227; Orsi and Cavallari 1890: 786-7.

been about 0.90m high if it had a matching lower section, which might have been tall enough to display a statue. The surviving part of the Flamininus base is only 0.25m high, and very broad, but its original location in a niche might have enabled it to be placed on a tall plinth.

I believe that there is too much uncertainty over the original form of these two bases to include them as examples of objects with double-rounded moulding. The Marcellus base might have been a suitable size in this form, but the likelihood that it held a statue of Marcellus himself suggests that it was probably in the tradition of honorific columns. The shallowness of the moulding on the Flamininus base also suggests that it must have had a much taller lower section. Neither, therefore, provides conclusive evidence that the double-rounded form was regularly used in Latium on honorific as well as religious objects. The base from the forum in Lavinium is the only probable example. Other contemporary examples of bases supporting captured or honorific statues have straight sides and are about one metre high, enabling both the statue and the accompanying inscription to be seen clearly (see section 6.5.1 below).

6.4. INTRODUCTION OF THE MODIFIED DOUBLE-ROUNDED DESIGN

The influence of Greek art and architecture increased substantially in Rome during the second century BC. There were changes in the types of material used, the nature of architectural elements, and in the forms of moulding. The first marble temples in Rome were built in the second half of the second century BC, using a Greek architect and marble transported from Greece.⁵⁵⁷ Large numbers of Greek works of art were also brought to Rome,⁵⁵⁸ and the representational conventions of Greek art began to be adopted in Roman art.⁵⁵⁹

At around the same time, a new double-rounded design is seen on both altars and temple podia in Italy. Instead of large rounded mouldings above and below a narrow, pinched waist, this new design has much smaller rounded mouldings,

⁵⁵⁷ Gros 1976a: 393-4; 1996: 128; Cornell 2000: 49.

⁵⁵⁸ Pollitt 1978: 155-8; Kuttner 1995a: 159-63.

⁵⁵⁹ Kuttner 1995a: 170-1; 1995b: 58.

which are still counter-posed but are now separated by a tall, flat surface in-between. The style and dimensions of this design must have drawn on the example of Greek altars, statue bases, and stelai, whose predominantly flat surfaces provided much more space for an inscription, and allowed the addition of more elaborate decoration.

The mouldings themselves also changed.⁵⁶⁰ Shoe argued that the Romans made a conscious decision at this time to change from using the traditional rounded wave moulding, which she included in her term 'Etruscan round', to the Greek cyma reversa.⁵⁶¹ On occasion, however, the rounded mouldings that were used in this new design were reminiscent of the profile of the traditional rounded wave moulding, as Shoe herself acknowledged when discussing individual examples.

6.5. STRAIGHT-SIDED ALTARS AND BASES

There are few surviving examples of altars and bases with straight sides from the second and early first centuries BC, and most of them cannot be closely dated. There are two large-scale artistic representations of altars, which also cannot be securely dated, and depictions on two series of coins from the early first century BC. I discuss all these below.

6.5.1. Surviving altars and bases

The best-preserved example of the new double-rounded design is a large rectangular altar in front of Temple C in the Largo Argentina in the Campus Martius in Rome. It is 1.25m high, 2.60m long, and 1.20m wide, and has a flat surface 0.72m high on all four sides, with an abacus and rounded wave moulding 0.27m high above it, and a counter-posed rounded wave moulding and plinth of the same size below (figs 6.5-6).⁵⁶² The central section is made from two long rectangular blocks placed together vertically, whilst the crowning and base mouldings are each made from four blocks placed together horizontally. The

⁵⁶⁰ Gros 1996: 127. See Chapter 2, section 2.1.1, and Appendix 1, for a description of rounded mouldings.

⁵⁶¹ Shoe 1965: 23-4, 29-32, 143-4.

⁵⁶² Marchetti Longhi 1933: 173-93; Kajanto *et al.* 1981: 91-6.

temple faces east, and the altar is placed on its axis, with a short side facing the temple, on a slight north-east to south-west orientation.

There is an inscription at the top of the flat surface on the long, northern side, which says that it was a restoration carried out by A. Postumius Albinus under the *Lex Plaetoria*, but does not name the divinity to whom it was dedicated:⁵⁶³

A · POSTVMIVS · A · F · A · N · ALBINVS · DVO · VIR · LEGE
PLAETORIA · REFICIVNDAM · COERAVIT

(Aulus Postumius Albinus, the son of Aulus and grandson of Aulus, oversaw the restoration [of this altar] as joint magistrate, in accordance with the law proposed by Plaetorius)

As I discussed in section 6.2.1 above, an A. Postumius Albinus also dedicated an altar to Verminus under the *Lex Plaetoria*, but using the traditional, double-rounded design. Since the two altars were probably dedicated by the same person, the most likely date for the erection of the altar is around 142 BC.⁵⁶⁴

The rounded wave mouldings separated by the flat surface of the altar in the Largo Argentina are much smaller than in the traditional design, but they are still very deep and rounded, in a style that is more reminiscent of the old rounded wave profile than the typically smaller Greek cyma reversa. Marchetti Longhi suggests that its moulding was intended to recall the older double-rounded form, and although Shoe regards it as a straightforward cyma reversa, Coarelli describes it as a very flattened cyma reversa that had by now moved far from the larger and more rounded models of the archaic tradition.⁵⁶⁵ The lower echinus also survives of an altar in front of Temple A in the Largo Argentina, whose rounded profile is so similar that Marchetti Longhi argues that it, too, was erected by the same A. Postumius Albinus.⁵⁶⁶ These early examples of the new design on

⁵⁶³ *CIL* I², 2711 (= *ILLRP* 121).

⁵⁶⁴ Kajanto *et al.* 1981: 92-6; Coarelli 1997: 314-6. See also Shoe 1965: 153.

⁵⁶⁵ Marchetti Longhi 1933: 181; Shoe 1965: 159-60; Coarelli 1997: 314.

⁵⁶⁶ Marchetti Longhi 1936: 95-7. See also Shoe 1965: 159; Kajanto *et al.* 1981: 91; Lugli 2014: 26.

altars might, therefore, represent an initial desire in Rome to preserve a memory of the Italian rounded wave moulding, and its associations with a traditional Latin religious identity, even in the new, Greek-inspired designs that were being introduced during the second century BC.

A similar rounded wave profile is found on the surviving fragments of the lower moulding of the altar in front of Temple 2 in a group of four Republican temples at Ostia, which are dated to the early or mid-first century BC (fig. 6.7).⁵⁶⁷ The shared podium of the temples has the same rounded wave profile (see section 6.6.2).

There are two other surviving altars of the second century BC from Latium, but their decoration is more thoroughly Greek in style. One is from the Sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae, although only fragments of the cornice and base survived, and nothing of the central body of the altar.⁵⁶⁸ The other was found in the Sanctuary of Juno at Gabii, and has an inscription by M. Cornelius Cethegus, which either refers to the consul of 181 BC or the consul of 160 BC.⁵⁶⁹ Both are rectangular altars that have a Doric frieze as the main element of the cornice, and a range of other Greek-style mouldings rather than the traditional rounded-wave moulding. This style of altar was not confined to Latium, with similar second century BC examples also surviving from the Temple of Aesculapius at Pompeii,⁵⁷⁰ and from the temple at Vastogirardi.⁵⁷¹ The same type of decoration is found on the sarcophagus of C. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus at Rome, from the early third century BC, or perhaps the second half of the second century BC.⁵⁷²

The other surviving examples of altars and bases follow the Greek style of flat, straight sides with small mouldings at the top and bottom. A large base from the site of the Porticus Octaviae and the earlier Porticus Metelli in Rome is composed

⁵⁶⁷ Paribeni 1914: 456; Shoe 1965: 158; Rieger 2004: 45, 266.

⁵⁶⁸ Crawford and Keppie 1984: 25; Verzar Bass 1986: 49.

⁵⁶⁹ Coarelli 1982.

⁵⁷⁰ Pernice 1932: 55-8. Marcattili 2006: 23-5 argues that the altar dates from the third century BC. The temple was formerly thought to have been dedicated to Jupiter Meilichios.

⁵⁷¹ Morel 1976: 260.

⁵⁷² Saladino 1970; Coarelli 1972: 43-8.

of a single block of Pentelic marble, measuring 0.80m high, 1.12m long, and 1.35m wide (fig. 6.8).⁵⁷³ It has two inscriptions:⁵⁷⁴ one identifies it as the base for a statue of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus and mother of the Gracchi, and dates from the time of Augustus; the other probably dates from the Severan period, and indicates that the sculpture was the work of Tisicrates. The base itself seems to be older: Coarelli dates it to around 100 BC, as the most likely time when supporters of the Gracchi would have been able to erect such a statue.⁵⁷⁵ Its mouldings are unusual.⁵⁷⁶ At the top is a rounded moulding close to a base cyma recta, with a rounded wave or cyma reversa below it, and a flat fascia. At the bottom are a flat fascia, a rounded wave or cyma reversa, and a narrow plinth.

Coarelli regards the Cornelia base as almost identical to a base dedicated at Delphi by M. Minucius Rufus around 106 BC.⁵⁷⁷ This has dedications in both Latin and Greek,⁵⁷⁸ as well as two later Greek inscriptions. This base, however, was a repositioned rectangular orthostat from a wall of the Daochos Monument, which dates from the fourth century BC,⁵⁷⁹ and has no moulded decoration (fig. 6.9).

There are also four surviving round altars or bases from Rome or Latium that are probably from the late second or first century BC, although it is difficult to date them closely. They all have straight sides with relief decoration.

The first is known as the Altar of Mercury and Maia. It was found outside Rome on the Via Appia, and is now in the Vatican (fig. 6.10).⁵⁸⁰ It is made of white marble, and it is not only small (0.59m high), but also has the type of domed top found also on some Greek round altars, which would have made it difficult to hold

⁵⁷³ Lanciani 1878a: 209-13; Coarelli 1996: 280-99. Plin. *HN* 34.31 mentions a statue of Cornelia in this location.

⁵⁷⁴ *CIL* VI, 10043 (= *ILS* 68).

⁵⁷⁵ Coarelli 1996: 284-98.

⁵⁷⁶ Shoe 1965: 167-8 thought that the base was Augustan, but noted that the form of the mouldings was earlier.

⁵⁷⁷ Coarelli 1996: 288.

⁵⁷⁸ Bourget 1929: 346-7, n.526; Daux 1936: 597-8. Reinach 1910: 304-6, 327-9 argued that there were two statues, one with a Latin dedication and one with a Greek dedication.

⁵⁷⁹ Pouilloux 1960: 78. Jaquemin and Laroche 2001: 316, 321 believe that the monument was a building constructed around 361 BC, with Daochos II adding the family statues in the 330s BC.

⁵⁸⁰ Samter 1893; Altmann 1905: 5, 235-6; Ducati 1908: 134-5; Taylor 1925: 303-4; Lippold 1956: 406-7, no.50; Felletti Maj 1977: 166.

a fire directly or support a portable brazier.⁵⁸¹ It was, therefore, probably a purely votive object or used only for libations. It does not have rounded wave mouldings: at the top is an abacus, fillet, quarter-round, and concave collar, and at the bottom a fillet and torus. The relief depicts garlands and two figures at an altar with straight sides and an abacus and cyma recta at the top, and a cyma recta and tall plinth at the bottom. An inscription above and below the relief records its dedication by two officials of the *Lares Compitales*,⁵⁸² and is dated on stylistic and grammatical grounds towards the end of the second century BC.

The second example is from Tivoli (ancient Tibur) and is now also in the Vatican (fig. 6.11).⁵⁸³ It is made of marble and is 0.895m high, which is a more normal height for a functioning altar. Its mouldings are Greek in style: at the top there is a narrow fascia, a torus, a cyma recta, and a small torus; at the bottom there is a fillet, small torus, a very shallow cyma recta over another shallow cyma recta that is wider and projects further outwards, and a flat plinth. It has a relief of garlands and *bucrania*, and inscriptions in both Latin⁵⁸⁴ and Greek.⁵⁸⁵ Its date is uncertain. Walter Altmann associates it with the Altar of Mercury and Maia as an early example of Hellenistic influence,⁵⁸⁶ in which case it might date from the late second or early first century BC. The use of *bucrania* was common on Greek altars from the second century BC onwards,⁵⁸⁷ but in Rome the depiction of ox skulls rather than heads only became common under Augustus,⁵⁸⁸ and so it might date from the late first century BC.

The third is an object in white marble in the Villa Borghese in Rome (fig. 6.12).⁵⁸⁹ It is also small (0.53m high), and so was probably either a purely votive altar or a base for a statue. Its top part is damaged, but is narrower than the bottom, which has a double torus above a modern plinth. Its relief depicts a sacrifice to Hercules

⁵⁸¹ See Coulton 2005: 128 for Greek votive altars with similar, domed tops.

⁵⁸² *CIL* I, 804 (= *CIL* VI, 2221).

⁵⁸³ Altmann 1905: 5; Lippold 1956: 365-6, no.110.

⁵⁸⁴ *CIL* XIV, 3533.

⁵⁸⁵ *IG* XIV, 1123.

⁵⁸⁶ Altmann 1905: 5, 235-6.

⁵⁸⁷ Yavis 1949: 148-52.

⁵⁸⁸ Zanker 1988: 117.

⁵⁸⁹ Ryberg 1955: 23-7; Helbig 1966: 2.718-20, no.1958; Felletti Maj 1977: 170-4; Holliday 2002: 170-2; Moreno and Viacara 2003: 156-7, no.123.

Invictus, and includes a representation of a round altar with plain, straight sides and a double torus at the top and bottom with small fillets, as well as what appear to be an abacus and plinth. Its date is also uncertain. If the goddess depicted is Venus Genetrix, and is based on the sculpture made by Arcesilaus for Caesar's Forum Iulium, it must date from after 45 BC, and is perhaps Augustan.⁵⁹⁰ If, however, it represents a different goddess, such as Hebe or Iuventas, and the toga depicted is the short version that pre-dated Augustus, it could be from the first half of the first century BC.⁵⁹¹

The fourth object is from Civita Castellana (ancient Falerii Novi), north of Rome (fig. 6.13).⁵⁹² It is tall (1.04m high and 0.70m in diameter), and made from white marble. Two holes in the upper surface indicate that it was probably a base for a *tropaion*, or trophy.⁵⁹³ It has no rounded mouldings: at the top there is a fascia decorated with vine scrolls; and at the bottom a fascia with an interlinked leaf pattern. The relief shows Mars, Venus, Vulcan, and Victoria crowning a figure that might be Aeneas, Romulus, or perhaps the dedicator in military dress, as well as an altar with straight sides. It probably dates from around 40 BC.

Several bases for honorific statues or votive objects captured on military campaigns survive from the first half of the second century BC.⁵⁹⁴ I discussed in section 6.3 above the two examples with an inscribed abacus and rounded echinus that were dedicated by L. Quinctius Flamininus in Palestrina in 192 BC and by M. Claudius Marcellus in Luni in 155 BC. The other surviving examples from this period, erected by M. Claudius Marcellus in 214 BC, by M'. Acilius Glabro in 191 BC, and by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 189 BC (fig. 6.14), are in the Greek style. All three are rectangular blocks that have flat surfaces and straight sides, with an inscription on the flat surface and small mouldings at the top and bottom.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁰ Borda 1949-50: 168-203; Moreno and Viacara 2003: 156.

⁵⁹¹ Helbig 1966: 2.719; Felletti Maj 1977: 173-4.

⁵⁹² Herbig 1927; Ryberg 1955: 27; Felletti Maj 1977: 190-1; Hölscher 1988: 382-3; Kleiner 1992: 51; Kuttner 1995: 32-3, 141-2, 239, n.100; Holliday 2002: 172-3, 251, n.70.

⁵⁹³ Herbig 1927: 131-2.

⁵⁹⁴ Waurick 1975: 13-5 lists all the examples, with plates.

⁵⁹⁵ Helbig 1966: 2.465-6, no. 1675; Waurick 1975: 13-5; Bloy 1998-99: 50-1. See Coulton 2005: 133-6, 144-6 for Greek altar-shaped objects functioning as statue bases.

6.5.2. *Representations of altars and bases*

There are even fewer representations of altars or bases on other objects from the second or early first centuries BC. The four surviving examples date from around 130 BC to 81 BC. They all show altars or bases with straight sides and small Greek-style mouldings at the top and bottom, rather than the rounded wave moulding of either the old or modified form of the double-rounded design. This may reflect a growing preponderance of altars and bases from the later second century BC onwards that drew more heavily on Greek decorative designs but no longer survive. It might also reflect the adoption in Rome at this time of the representational conventions used on Greek votive objects, coupled with the more widespread use of Greek artists.⁵⁹⁶

The oldest example is part of the terracotta decoration of a temple pediment that was found in hundreds of pieces under the Via di San Gregorio in the valley between the Palatine and Caelian hills in Rome. The overall composition depicts a sacrifice, and is possibly the earliest such depiction in Roman art.⁵⁹⁷ One figure that could be substantially re-constructed is a goddess sitting and resting her right hand on an altar, or perhaps a base (fig. 6.15).⁵⁹⁸ The reconstructed figure and altar is 0.68m high and 0.44m wide. The altar is shown in a three-quarters view, and has very small mouldings above and below plain, straight sides. At the top are a narrow abacus, a flat fascia rather than any form of rounded moulding, and a torus. At the bottom are a very shallow cyma recta, a torus, and a narrow plinth. Nail holes in and near the base indicate that something would have been mounted on the altar, which may have largely obscured it.⁵⁹⁹ The pediment decoration is in the neo-Attic style of the mid-second century BC,⁶⁰⁰ which derived from Greek sculpture of the fourth century BC,⁶⁰¹ and is usually dated, on stylistic grounds, to the third quarter of the second century BC.

⁵⁹⁶ Kuttner 1995: 58-9.

⁵⁹⁷ Ryberg 1955: 22-3.

⁵⁹⁸ Guarducci 1926: 133-8; Andr n 1940: 350-60; Helbig 1966: 408-11; Coarelli 1968: 345; Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: 74-5 and no.48; Felletti Maj 1977: 139-42; Strazzulla 1990-91; Kleiner 1992: 52-4; Holliday 2002: 158-60; Ferrea 2002: 41-2, 46-7, 85, no.30c.

⁵⁹⁹ Kuttner 1995: 58-9

⁶⁰⁰ Felletti Maj 1977: 141; Kleiner 1992: 54; Kuttner 1995: 59.

⁶⁰¹ Andr n 1940: 360; Coarelli 1968: 345. The gods, for example, are shown in a larger scale than the human figures.

Another example is on the monument conventionally known as the 'Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus'. One side of this large base probably represents the *lustrum* sacrifice at the end of a census held by Marcus Antonius, the grandfather of the *triumvir*, in 97 BC.⁶⁰² At the centre of the composition, a togate figure with veiled head stands by an altar as the sacrificial animals for a *suovetaurilia* are led towards him. The altar is large and rectangular, and has plain, straight sides (fig. 6.16). At the top are a narrow abacus, then a torus, scotia, torus, half-round, and torus. At the bottom, there are a double torus, a narrow fascia, a double torus, another narrow fascia, and a narrow plinth.

Both these examples depict sacrifices that are very Roman in character, but the representations of the altars are unlike any surviving Roman examples from this period. The size and style of their mouldings are Greek in character, particularly the use of the *cyma recta*,⁶⁰³ and they are more elaborate than the mouldings on the surviving Roman honorific bases. The closest comparator is the altar depicted on a Greek votive relief in the neo-Attic style, now in Munich, which dates from between about 150 and 100 BC, or perhaps the beginning of the second century BC (fig. 6.17).⁶⁰⁴ This altar is shown in a three-quarters view, and has side-walls on its upper surface which are decorated with gables in relief, as found on surviving Greek altars of the second century BC (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.1). It has plain, straight sides, and the mouldings at the top are a half-round, a *cyma recta*, and a double torus, and those at the bottom are a torus, a *cyma recta*, a half-round, and two plinths, of which the lower one projects slightly further outwards.

There are also two coins from this period that depict sacrifices at an altar. One is a series of *denarii* minted by L. Pomponius Molo in either 97 BC or between 94

⁶⁰² Ryberg 1955: 27-34; Coarelli 1968; Bianchi Bandinelli and Torelli 1976: 74 and no.42; Felletti Maj 1977: 175-82; Stewart 1990: 228-9; Kleiner 1992: 49; Kuttner 1995: 56-7; Holliday 2002: 161-2;

⁶⁰³ Shoe 1965: 182, 185 noted that the Romans used the *cyma recta* as a base moulding much more frequently than the Greeks, although it is more common on late Hellenistic bases. See also Shoe 1936: 182; 1952: 174. Coulton 2005: 133 says that the torus and *cyma recta* are common profiles for the base mouldings of Hellenistic round and rectangular altars and bases, and the *ovolo* and *cavetto* for the crown mouldings.

⁶⁰⁴ Pollitt 1986: 197; Stewart 1990: 1.225, 2.360, fig.824; Holliday 2002: 159-61, 249, n.17; Wünsche 2005: 118.

and 89 BC. It shows Numa Pompilius at an altar with plain, straight sides and small double torus mouldings at the top and bottom (fig. 6.18).⁶⁰⁵ The other is a *denarius serratus* minted by A. Postumius Albinus in 81 BC, which also shows an altar with plain, straight sides and small double torus mouldings at the top and bottom, sometimes also with a narrow abacus and plinth (fig. 6.19). Both probably depict round altars, although the small size of the representations makes it difficult to be certain, and both depictions are similar to the altar represented on the round altar in the Villa Borghese (see section 6.5.1 above). These depictions, and the survival of four round altars with straight sides from the late second and first century BC, might indicate that this was an increasingly common altar form from the end of the second century BC onwards.

6.6. THE NEW TEMPLE PODIUM DESIGN

The second and early first centuries BC saw considerable monumental building in Italy. This was made possible by several related factors: the influx of wealth from the Roman conquest of the Greek East; the profits made by Italians in trading settlements established on Delos and elsewhere; and the intensification of cultural interaction with the Hellenistic world.⁶⁰⁶ In Rome, the construction of new temples seems to become less frequent during the second century BC, although the repair and reconstruction of existing buildings continued.⁶⁰⁷ Outside Rome, several new extra-urban sanctuaries were built, combining elements taken from Hellenistic architecture with both traditional features of Italic architecture and innovative new techniques.⁶⁰⁸

The new design of double-rounded moulding that I described above in relation to altars, with smaller, counter-posed rounded mouldings above and below a flat surface, becomes a distinctive feature of temple podia during this period, not only in Rome and Latium, but also more widely in central Italy.

⁶⁰⁵ Grueber 1910: 311, no.733; Ryberg 1955: 37, n.77; Crawford 1974: 332-3, no.334/1 (Pomponius), 389, no.372/1 (Postumius); Felletti Maj 1977: 161; Holliday 2002: 180, 182.

⁶⁰⁶ Stek 2014b: 229-31. On Italian merchants in the East, see Hatzfeld 1912; 1919; Càssola 1970-1; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2002; Ferrary *et al.* 2002.

⁶⁰⁷ Cornell 2000: 48.

⁶⁰⁸ Coarelli 1987; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 103-43; Stek 2014b: 232-42.

6.6.1. Temples with an early variant of the modified double-rounded design

A variant on this design first appears even earlier, at the beginning of the third century BC. This has the smaller rounded mouldings, but only at the top of the podium, above a tall, flat surface, with or without a flat plinth course at the bottom that projects slightly further forward. The earliest example of this is the podium of Temple C in the Largo Argentina in Rome, which dates from the early third century BC.⁶⁰⁹ Shoe categorised this rounded moulding as probably the earliest surviving cyma reversa crown, but noted that its deeply rounded profile was strongly reminiscent of the Etruscan round (fig. 6.20).⁶¹⁰ Another example in Rome from the late fourth or early third century BC is the podium of an earlier phase of the rectangular Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium, which had very similar rounded mouldings on its crown but no surviving remains of any corresponding lower mouldings (fig. 6.21).⁶¹¹ Temples A and B on the acropolis at Lanuvium (figs 6.22-23),⁶¹² and probably the temple known as the Capitolium at Minturnae built soon after 191 BC,⁶¹³ also follow this design.

6.6.2. Temples with the modified double-rounded design

There are many more examples of temple podia that use the new design, but with smaller rounded mouldings at both the top and the bottom, and they are found over a much wider area, including northern Etruria and Umbria, the Sabine and Samnite lands, and Campania, as well as Rome and Latium. Table 8 lists the clearest examples of these temple podia. They date from the early second to the mid-first century BC, and I discuss them all below.

⁶⁰⁹ Marchetti Longhi 1932: 280-9; Coarelli 2007: 275.

⁶¹⁰ Shoe 1965: 146.

⁶¹¹ Shoe 1965: 148; Colini and Buzzetti 1986: 9-20; Ruggiero 1991-92: 253-5, 264-5; Adam 1994b: 3. The need for a podium over five metres high to protect the temple from flooding might have strengthened the desire for a tall, flat surface. The area around the Largo Argentina in the Campus Martius was also prone to flood, and Temple C has an unusually high podium, at 4.25m.

⁶¹² Bendinelli 1921: 302-10; Galieti 1928: 80-1, 109-13. Shoe 1965: 148 categorised the moulding of Temple A as cyma reversa.

⁶¹³ Johnson 1935: 18, 22-3.

Table 8: Temple Podia with the Modified Double-Rounded Design				
Location and Temple	Date (all BC)	Dimensions (in metres)		
		Height	Length	Width
Teano, Temple C	Mid-3 rd C	1.81	?	11.48
Rome, Largo Argentina, Temple A	First quarter, 2 nd C	2.25	22.00	9.50
Teano, Temples A, B, and D	First half, 2 nd C	?	c. 13.10	c. 9.15
Pietrabbondante, Temple A	2 nd quarter, 2 nd C	1.65	17.70	12.20
Cosa, Capitolium	2 nd quarter, 2 nd C	2.89	29.00	23.20
Tivoli, Rectangular Temple	Mid-2 nd C	1.76	15.90	9.15
Gabii	Mid-2 nd C	1.79	23.64	17.62
Fregellae	c. 130	?	?	?
Volterra, Temple A	c. 130-120	?	25.85	13.00
Vastogirardi	Last quarter, 2 nd C	1.83	17.92	10.81
Paestum, Forum Temple	Late 2 nd /early 1 st C	3.48	25.63	13.52
Ortona, Temple B	2 nd half, 2 nd C	1.90	13.33	15.80
Pietrabbondante, Temple B	End 2 nd /early 1 st C	3.57	35.75	23.10
Pompeii, Temple of Isis	End 2 nd C	1.47	7.30	6.14
S. Giovanni in Galdo	Beginning of 1 st C	1.54	8.10	c. 7.00
Cori	c. 100-80?	c. 1.45	c. 17.50	c. 7.70
Tivoli, Round Temple	1 st half 1 st C	2.40	Diameter: 14.20	
Ostia, four temples	Early or mid-1 st C	2.35	33.50	11.55
Schiavi d'Abruzzo	2 nd C	1.79	c. 21.00	c. 11.00
Quadri	2 nd C	2.21	19.70	14.50
Nogna	2 nd C	c. 2.20	13.20	11.00
Reate	2 nd C?	?	?	?
Nemi, Temple K	2 nd C?	2.52	c. 35.00	28.80

All of the examples, except the round temple at Tivoli, use the same basic podium design, even when it is very different from the local architectural tradition. The profiles of their mouldings vary. Some are similar to the Greek *cyma reversa* or are simple quarter-rounds, but many are strongly reminiscent of the rounded wave form used in the traditional Latin double-rounded podium and altar design that I described in Chapter 3.⁶¹⁴

The only surviving example in Rome is the second phase of Temple A in the Largo Argentina.⁶¹⁵ This dates from the first quarter of the second century BC, and was preserved by being embedded in the new podium when it was rebuilt in the early first century BC. The upper echinus is smaller than the lower echinus, but neither is as rounded as the traditional rounded wave form (fig. 6.24).

⁶¹⁴ Edlund-Berry 1996: 15-18 notes that this type of moulding is used very widely in Italy, particularly in the rebuilding of religious sanctuaries in the second century BC, including, for example, on a large round altar in the otherwise Greek Central Sanctuary in Morgantina in Sicily.

⁶¹⁵ Marchetti Longhi 1936: 101-5; Shoe 1965: 152, 159.

The mouldings on the podia at the Latin colonies of Cosa and Paestum, on the other hand, are particularly similar to the traditional form. The temple known as the Capitolium at Cosa was built in the second quarter of the second century BC.⁶¹⁶ The upper echinus appears to be slightly larger than the lower echinus, and they are separated by three courses of flat, rectangular blocks, with a plinth course at the bottom (fig. 6.25).⁶¹⁷ Shoe categorised the mouldings as Etruscan round rather than cyma reversa, and noted the similarity of the upper echinus in particular to the mouldings on the sixth-century BC Casarinaccio temple at Ardea (cat. no. A2).⁶¹⁸ The very fragmentary remains of the nearby altar suggest that it might, too, have had rounded wave mouldings above and below a flat surface.⁶¹⁹

At Paestum, the podium of the temple in the forum probably dates from the end of the second or the beginning of the first century BC.⁶²⁰ It has rounded wave mouldings above and below three courses of flat-sided blocks, of which the central course is wider than the others (figs 6.26-27).⁶²¹ Shoe categorised them as cyma reversa, probably because she believed that they dated from around 80 BC, but she stressed their similarity to the Etruscan round and suggested that they might have copied those on an earlier podium built around 273 BC.⁶²²

There are several other examples of podia in Latium at this period that follow the same design. These include the rectangular temple at Tivoli (fig. 6.28)⁶²³ and the Temple of Juno at Gabii (fig. 6.29),⁶²⁴ both of which date from the middle of the second century BC, some fragmentary remains at Fregellae from about 130 BC

⁶¹⁶ Scott 1992: 96-7; Taylor 2002: 68.

⁶¹⁷ Brown *et al* 1960: 49-50, 69-75; Brown 1980: 53. The surviving parts of the upper echinus were not found in situ, and reconstructions show the upper echinus curving inwards, in the same direction as the lower echinus; this would have been unique, and the podium must originally have followed the modified double-rounded design with counter-posed mouldings.

⁶¹⁸ Shoe 1965: 88. See also Edlund-Berry 2008: 444.

⁶¹⁹ Brown *et al.* 1960: 81-4.

⁶²⁰ Greco and Theodorescu 1987: 35; Theodorescu 1989: 119.

⁶²¹ Krauss and Herbig 1939: 20, 30; Greco and Theodorescu 1987: 30-1; Greco 1988: 85-6; Theodorescu 1989: 117-9; Pedley 1990: 116-9.

⁶²² Shoe 1965: 153-5, identifying the profile of the late-fourth century base in the Comitium in Rome (cat. no. D10) as the closest parallel. See also Theodorescu 1989: 123.

⁶²³ Delbrück 1912: 11-18; Shoe 1965: 151, 162; Giuliani 1970: 126-32.

⁶²⁴ Jiménez 1982: 64-6, 80.

(fig. 6.30),⁶²⁵ a temple at Cori that might be from the early first century BC (fig. 6.31),⁶²⁶ and a group of four temples at Ostia from the first century BC (fig. 6.32).⁶²⁷ The round temple at Tivoli probably dates from the first half of the first century BC, and has rounded wave moulding at the bottom of its podium, but very different, and more complex, moulding at the top (fig. 6.33).⁶²⁸

In addition, the recent excavations in the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi have uncovered three phases of Temple K, dated to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century BC, the second half of the second century BC, and the mid-first century BC.⁶²⁹ The third phase podium has rounded wave moulding at its base, below walls in *opus reticulatum*. The walls must, therefore, date from the mid-first century BC, but the mouldings are much more typical of the mid-second century BC, and may perhaps have been reused from the second phase (fig. 6.34).

Temple podia with this modified double-rounded design are also found in other areas of central Italy, besides Latium and Latin colonies. On the acropolis of Volterra (ancient Volaterrae) in Etruria, a section of rounded wave moulding survives at the base of the podium of Temple A (fig. 6.35), as well as similar fragments from the cornice.⁶³⁰ All aspects of the design and construction of the podium are distinctly different from the earlier temples on the acropolis and the Etruscan architectural tradition.⁶³¹ The finds indicate that the podium dates from the mid-second century BC,⁶³² whereas this northern part of Etruria is not thought to have become strongly Romanised until the first century BC.⁶³³

⁶²⁵ Verzar Bass 1986: 45-6.

⁶²⁶ Delbrück 1912: 30; Shoe 1965: 152; Brandizzi Vittucci 1968: 77-8, 95. Descriptions of the podium before it became badly weathered suggest that it has similar rounded mouldings at both the top and bottom.

⁶²⁷ Lanciani 1886: 164; Paribeni 1914: 452-5; Meiggs 1960: 350-1; Shoe 1965: 152, 162; Zevi 1973: 566-74; Rieger 2004: 47-9, 54; Pensabene 2007: 85-107.

⁶²⁸ Delbrück 1912: 18-22; Shoe 1965: 164, 177; Giuliani 1970: 132-43.

⁶²⁹ Pullan 1887: 59-64; Blagg 1983: 26; Moltesen 1997: 49-51; Ghini and Diosono 2012a: 273-5; 2012b: 128-9; Ghini 2013: 28-30.

⁶³⁰ Levi 1928: 36-9; Cristofani 1973: 20; Bonamici 2003: 74-8.

⁶³¹ Bonamici 2003: 74, 78.

⁶³² Bonamici 2003: 74, n.149.

⁶³³ Harris 1971: 169-84; Rawson 1978: 135; Torelli 1995: 26-9; Terrenato 1998b: 96, 105; Benelli 2001: 10-3. See Chapter 5, section 5.4.

Similar mouldings are found on second-century BC temple podia at Nogna, near Gubbio in Umbria, which has rounded wave mouldings at its base and very fragmentary pieces of cyma recta moulding from its crown (fig. 6.36),⁶³⁴ and at Reate in the Sabine area, where rounded wave mouldings survive at the base (fig. 6.37).⁶³⁵ In the forum at Ordona (ancient Herdonia), in south-central Italy, the podium of Temple B has similar rounded wave moulding at its base to the temple at Paestum, and a less rounded moulding at the top (fig. 6.38).⁶³⁶ There are four temples at Teano (ancient Teanum Sidicinum) in Campania whose podia have rounded wave mouldings (fig. 6.39): one (Temple C) dates from the mid-third century BC retains the mouldings at both the top and bottom of the podium, whilst the other three, which date from the first half of the second century BC, only have their base mouldings.⁶³⁷

The Temple of Isis at Pompeii was redecorated after the earthquake of AD 62, but the underlying structure seems to have remained undamaged.⁶³⁸ The base of the podium is plain, but the cornice under the later decorated plaster has rounded mouldings that are similar to the other podia described here (fig. 6.40). Excavations between 1988 and 1991 have shown that the temple was originally built towards the end of the second century BC, before Pompeii became a colony.⁶³⁹

There are also several examples of podia with rounded wave mouldings in this modified double-rounded design in Samnite territory, including two temples at Pietrabbondante: Temple A from the second quarter of the second century BC (fig. 6.41);⁶⁴⁰ and Temple B from the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC, which has an unusual profile at the top of the podium and a rounded

⁶³⁴ Fiorini 2011: 40-5.

⁶³⁵ Reggiani 1987: 370-1.

⁶³⁶ Van Wonterghem 1979: 41-7, 67-8, 76.

⁶³⁷ Johannowsky 1963: 136-7.

⁶³⁸ Blanc *et al.* 2000: 239-44, 258.

⁶³⁹ Varone 1989: 229; Zevi 1994: 37-8; Varone and Iorio 2005: 392; D'Alessio 2009: 76. Blanc *et al.* 2000: 301-4 argue that the temple was first built in the Augustan period, on the basis of the oldest surviving decoration and statuary, without discussing the structure underneath the post-earthquake decoration.

⁶⁴⁰ Shoe 1965: 94, 151 (under 'Bovianum Vetus'); La Regina 1976: 226. See also Morel 1976: 259; 1984: 36; Stek 2009: 40.

moulding at the bottom that combines elements of both cyma recta and cyma reversa (fig. 6.42).⁶⁴¹ There are other examples at Vastogirardi, dating from the last quarter of the second century BC (fig. 6.43),⁶⁴² at S. Giovanni in Galdo, from the beginning of the first century BC (fig. 6.44),⁶⁴³ and at Schiavi d'Abruzzo (figs 6.45-46)⁶⁴⁴ and Quadri (fig. 6.47),⁶⁴⁵ which can only be dated generally to the second century BC.

Although some of these examples are from Latium, where a development of the traditional Latin double-rounded design might be expected, many are not. The use of the same podium design over such a large area, irrespective of local architectural traditions, and the use in many cases of mouldings that are closer to the rounded wave profile of the Latin tradition rather than the Greek cyma reversa, is very striking. It is very difficult, however, to regard this as either the deliberate imposition or adoption of a Latin identity in all cases. Indeed, several of the areas would soon prove to be hostile to Rome. The Samnite sanctuary at Pietrabbondante, for example, appears to have played an important regional religious and political role, and the construction there of Temple B and the adjacent theatre, and the temples at nearby sanctuaries such as Vastogirardi, S. Giovanni in Galdo, Schiavi d'Abruzzo, and Quadri, can be seen as an affirmation of Samnite identity in the period before the Social War, even though they draw on Roman and Latin architectural models as well as Hellenistic.⁶⁴⁶

6.7. CONCLUSION

The second century BC was a period of increasing cultural change and social turmoil at Rome. For the double-rounded design, in common with many aspects of art and architecture, it was a period of transition. New wealth, materials,

⁶⁴¹ La Regina 1976: 229; Stek 2009: 41. La Regina 1976: 225, fig. 6 shows a similar but smaller moulded profile on the cornice of a podium from the sanctuary known as the Fondo Patturelli at Capua. This has been identified as a platform supporting an altar, but the reconstruction is problematic: see Koch 1907: 368-85; Heurgon 1942: 330-1; Rescigno 2009: 31-2.

⁶⁴² Morel 1976: 255-9; 1984: 36-8; Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 257-9.

⁶⁴³ La Regina 1976: 237-41; Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 295-8; Zaccardi 2005: 67-80; Stek 2009: 43.

⁶⁴⁴ La Regina 1976: 230; Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 269-73; Lapenna 1997a: 81-2; 2006: 57-8.

⁶⁴⁵ La Regina 1976: 230; Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 316; Lapenna 1997b: 68.

⁶⁴⁶ Stek 2010: 39-42; 2014b: 240.

expertise, and cultural influences from Greece gave rise to new architectural forms, but for some time these stood alongside more traditional practices. In the second half of the century, in particular, religious conservatism, supported by a new interest in antiquarianism, was seen as a means of countering the perceived moral decline brought about by the cultural changes, and of countering political opponents.

The paucity of surviving evidence makes it very difficult to date precisely when the traditional double-rounded design was superseded by the modified design with smaller rounded mouldings and a flat, central surface. The transition seems to have happened at a different pace for different types of objects.

Some objects, such as round altars and artistic representations, follow Greek models directly from their first appearance in the second century BC. This may have resulted from, or been influenced by, the presence of Greek craftsmen in Rome. There are statue bases that have rounded mouldings, although probably only one surviving example used the double-rounded design. From early in the second century, however, there are also examples of bases with straight sides in the Greek style.

In terms of temple podia and square or rectangular altars, there is a marked difference in the pace of change, with the traditional design remaining in use on altars for much longer than on podia. The podium of Temple C in the Largo Argentina and the remains of the earlier phase of the Temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium indicate that much taller podia with a flat surface and small, rounded mouldings at the top were introduced at Rome at the beginning of the third century BC. From the start of the second century BC, however, the modified double-rounded design, with rounded mouldings both above and below a flat surface, becomes the standard form for podia not only in Rome and Latium, but also more widely in central Italy.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁷ Gros 1996: 127, 134-5 also dates the change in podium mouldings to the second century BC.

The smaller form of rounded moulding on the modified double-rounded design has similarities with the less deeply-rounded Greek *cyma reversa*, but several examples tend to be more reminiscent of the traditional rounded wave form. In Rome, Latium, and Latin colonies this might represent a desire to preserve a memory of the traditional rounded wave moulding and its associations, but the range of locations in central Italy where this form of podium is found makes it very unlikely that the modified design was seen as a signifier of Latin identity outside Latium. Towards the beginning of the first century BC, the profiles of the rounded mouldings become closer to the *cyma reversa*, and there is a greater variety of mouldings, with the growing use of complex forms and the *cyma recta*.⁶⁴⁸ These developments also seem to happen first in Rome.⁶⁴⁹

With altars, the period of transition seems to be much longer. The use of the modified double-rounded design on the altars in front of Temples A and C in the Largo Argentina in Rome dates from the mid-second century BC, but these are isolated examples. The fragmentary remains of at least one altar in Ostia that uses this design date from the first century BC, but the other surviving altars from the second and first centuries BC are either round or have Doric friezes as decoration. Neither of these forms is found in Latium before this time, and they must have been copied directly from Greek models.

Alongside these few examples of new Greek-inspired forms, there are many more altars from in and near Rome that continue to use the traditional double-rounded design during the second and first centuries BC. Where they have an inscription, each example appears to be intended to evoke memories of an ancestral Latin religious identity.

It is not clear what proportion of standing altars in Rome during this period had the double-rounded or the straight-sided form. Olaf Dräger, in his survey of

⁶⁴⁸ Shoe 1965: 173-87.

⁶⁴⁹ See Adams 1994b: 49, 50-1, fig.37, where the closest comparators for the surviving Temple of Portunus are also in Rome, to which could be added the evidence above for the use of the rounded wave form continuing for longer outside Rome.

Roman altars, dates the change to the late second and first centuries BC,⁶⁵⁰ and this is certainly the time when other forms begin to appear alongside the traditional double-rounded design. It is likely, however, that the traditional design remained a familiar sight, at least in Rome, until the late first century BC.

A great many more altars survive from the time of Augustus onwards. These include only a very few examples of either the traditional or modified double-rounded designs, and even the use of the rounded wave form becomes very rare. The Augustan era clearly marks the end of the transition period away from the double-rounded design, and I will examine this in Chapter 7.

⁶⁵⁰ Dräger 1994: 56, 176-7.

CHAPTER 7

DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDINGS UNDER AUGUSTUS AND LATER

The Augustan period saw the end of the double-rounded design. There are only a few examples of the traditional form that date from this time, and even the modified double-rounded design was superseded by new forms, with the cyma recta and other mouldings replacing the rounded wave or cyma reversa.

After Augustus established control over the Roman state there was a move to create a new artistic language that combined both Greek aesthetics and Roman values, and drew in particular on archaic and classical Greek models.⁶⁵¹ For public buildings, and especially temples, a new architectural tradition was created that added archaic or classical Greek features to building designs that had already begun to transform the old Italic form, and now regularly made use of the most expensive materials and lavish decoration.⁶⁵² Augustus presented himself as the re-founder of Rome, and this became the focal point for evocation through monumental architecture. From the latter half of Augustus' reign, with only one exception, both versions of the double-rounded design, and the associations that they carried with them, were no longer part of the Roman architectural tradition.

7.1. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE UNDER AUGUSTUS

Augustus introduced a wide range of religious reforms, but portrayed them as the restoration of traditional practices after a period of neglect, even though they included many innovations.⁶⁵³ These related in particular to accommodating Augustus' exceptional role in all aspects of Roman society, and a desire to establish a new sense of unified cultural identity that now included both Romans and Italians (not just Latins) after a prolonged period of civil war.⁶⁵⁴ Trends in religious architecture that had begun under the late Republic intensified, not least

⁶⁵¹ Gros 1976b: 74-7; Zanker 1988: 239-52; Walker 2000: 70-1.

⁶⁵² Gros 1976b: 41-2; Zanker 1988: 105-10, 255-61; Wilson Jones 2000: 139-42.

⁶⁵³ North 1986: 252-4; Beard *et al.* 1998: 1.181-210.

⁶⁵⁴ Orlin 2007b: 74-81, 88-92.

because of the very large number of monuments that Augustus restored and created, and the unprecedented wealth available to him. His new structures became vehicles for his system of visual imagery,⁶⁵⁵ and he sought to appropriate selected memories of the Republican past evoked by monuments, places, and images from that era in support of the notion that they had both pre-figured and led naturally to his new regime.⁶⁵⁶ Pierre Gros notes, for example, that the first temples restored by Augustus were not always the most prominent, but those associated with the foundation legends of Rome.⁶⁵⁷

At the beginning of the Augustan period, there were a variety of different ornamental styles used on temples, which were probably the work of architects and craftsmen from the Greek East. Then, from about 20 BC, the number of styles reduced, though they were still derived from Asiatic or Greek models, before a more definitive decorative tradition of increasing richness became established from the beginning of the first century AD.⁶⁵⁸

Altars and bases with straight sides in the Greek style had already started to appear alongside the traditional, double-rounded design in the second century BC (see Chapter 6, section 6.5). By the time of Augustus, however, the transition to the new style was all but complete.⁶⁵⁹ The ornamental borders and mouldings of the new, straight-sided altars and bases of the Augustan period were also often covered in detailed decoration,⁶⁶⁰ in sharp contrast to the old, double-rounded form, and even the surviving straight-sided examples from the second and first centuries BC.

7.2. DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDING UNDER AUGUSTUS

In spite of Augustus' portrayal of his religious programme as a revival of ancestral forms and values, he does not seem to have used the double-rounded design, in either the old or modified form. There are very few examples of objects with

⁶⁵⁵ Zanker 1988: 101-35.

⁶⁵⁶ Gowing 2005: 18-9; 138-45; Orlin 2007b: 84-8.

⁶⁵⁷ Gros 1976b: 26.

⁶⁵⁸ Strong 1953: 129.

⁶⁵⁹ Dräger 1994: 18, 23.

⁶⁶⁰ Zanker 1988: 112.

double-rounded moulding from this period, and it is possible that some of these represent a continuation of the old tradition by members of the senatorial class rather than by Augustus himself.

7.2.1. *Altar of Crispinus (Cat. no. C21)*

The only double-rounded altar that can be closely dated has an inscription recording its dedication by the consuls of 9 BC, Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus (the brother of the emperor Tiberius and father of the emperor Claudius) and T. Quinctius Crispinus:⁶⁶¹

NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANIC
T · QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS COS
EX S · C · RESTITVER

(The Consuls Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus and Titus Quinctius Crispinus restored [this altar] by a decision of the Senate)

The altar must, however, have been erected after Drusus' death in 9 BC, since the Senate granted the title of Germanicus posthumously, and it was not a later addition to the inscription.

The altar was excavated on the Cispan hill, and only the upper half was found.⁶⁶² Its context was not recorded, but it may have been near the temple of Juno Lucina.⁶⁶³ The altar's inscription does not mention a deity, but states that it is a restoration. The inscription is set in a deeply-incised recess, which perhaps removed an earlier inscription. The altar, therefore, might not have been a new recreation of the double-rounded form, but an already old altar that was quickly given a new inscription after Drusus' death.

⁶⁶¹ Gatti 1897a: 164-5; 1897b: 104; Studniczka 1903: 142, no.13; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.13; Mustilli 1939: 7; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 109; Helbig 1912: 595-6; 1966: 399-400.

⁶⁶² It was displayed in Rome's Antiquarium Comunale on the lower half of a separate, unrecorded and slightly larger altar: see the photograph in Pais 1905, facing p.18. When it and the altar to Verminus (cat. no. C14) were moved to the Musei Capitolini in the late 1920s, their lower sections were transposed and it is now displayed with the base from the other altar (see Catalogue). The upper and lower parts of the two altars have been attached using an irreversible glue, and separating the elements would inevitably damage the altars.

⁶⁶³ Van Buren 1914: 190; Castagnoli 2007:179.

This demonstrates that altars with double-rounded moulding could still be found in Rome at the time of Augustus, and that the form was regarded as suitable, at least as a restoration, for the consuls to be associated with it, including a prominent member of the Imperial family. By re-using, or re-creating, an altar using the old-fashioned double-rounded design, the aim was probably to link Drusus (and Crispinus) with the traditional Roman values that it symbolised. Since this design is so different from the Greek-inspired altar forms being used at the same time for Imperial commissions, such as Augustus' new compital shrines in Rome, the choice of this very old design might also, perhaps, represent a desire on the part of Crispinus and the Senate to associate Drusus with specifically Republican traditions and values (see section 7.2.4 below).

7.2.2. *Other monuments*

No other altar with double-rounded moulding can be certainly dated to the time of Augustus. There is a relatively small (0.71m high) altar at the Casale di Roma Vecchia, five miles (9.8km) from the centre of Rome on the ancient Via Latina (cat. no. C37).⁶⁶⁴ It has no inscription, but it is the only example of a double-rounded altar made from marble, which suggests that it was erected around the time of Augustus. There must have been some local significance in recreating the traditional form in an expensive material that was more readily suited to the finer decoration of the straight-sided altar design.

There is one other example of a similar object with an abacus and rectangular echinus. It has been variously identified as a capital, base, or half of a double-rounded altar (fig. 7.1).⁶⁶⁵ Its provenance is unknown, but it is now in the Musei Capitolini in Rome. It is made of marble and is 0.66m high, 1.17m long, and 1.0m wide. Both the abacus and echinus are covered in spirals of vines and acanthus which are typical of the time of Augustus, or perhaps Tiberius.⁶⁶⁶ If it represents half of a double-rounded object, it would originally have been around 1.30m high, which is unusually tall for an altar. Its rectangular shape argues against its being

⁶⁶⁴ Ashby 1907: 87; Brandizzi Vittucci 1981: 96, no.221; Dräger 1994: 19.

⁶⁶⁵ Stuart Jones 1926: 14, no.22; Dräger 1994: 19, 228-9, no.61.

⁶⁶⁶ Ghisellini 1988: 190; Zanker 1988: 179-83; Dräger 1994: 229.

a capital, and it is probably, therefore, a base, although it is impossible to be certain whether it had a double-rounded form.

The latest representation of something similar to an altar with double-rounded moulding is on a bronze plaque depicting the eastern god Sabazios with his attributes and cult objects (cat. no. E16).⁶⁶⁷ Originally from Rome, this is believed to date from the first century AD. The altar depicted has approximately the same shape as other double-rounded altars, but the vertical lines on its surface might be meant to indicate metal, like on the two vessels next to it. The flames on its upper surface confirm that it is an altar, and so it suggests that a connection between the double-rounded form and altars survived into the early Imperial age.

7.2.3. Representations on coins (cat. no. E17)

Altars with double-rounded moulding are depicted on four series of *quadrantes*, the lowest denomination Roman coin, which were minted under Augustus.⁶⁶⁸

The dating of the coins is disputed. Most scholars believe that they came at the end of the period from about 19 BC to 4 BC when Augustus re-opened the mint at Rome.⁶⁶⁹ During this period the system of bronze, or *aes*,⁶⁷⁰ coinage was reorganised, using new metals. No bronze coins had been minted at Rome since 82 BC, although several generals had minted such coins on campaign to pay their troops.⁶⁷¹ Under Augustus, brass, or *orichalcum* (an alloy of copper and zinc), was introduced for the *sestertius*, which was no longer minted in silver, and for the *dupondius*, which was half the value of the *sestertius*. Copper was used for the *as*, which was no longer minted in bronze and had half the value of the *dupondius*, and for the new *quadrans*, which had a quarter the value of an *as*.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁷ Roscher 1909-15: vol.4, 247-9, fig.8; Bowerman 1913: 60, no.26; Kjersgaard 1968: 109.

⁶⁶⁸ Studniczka 1903: 141; Bowerman 1913: 60; and Castagnoli 1959-60: 159 all include them as examples of objects with this design. Grueber 1910 and Babelon 1963 identify them as coin-anvils but the depictions of garlands indicate that they represent altars.

⁶⁶⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 85-7 proposes both the earliest start-date and latest end-date for this period, 23 BC and 2 BC respectively. Mattingly 1923: xcv also dates the first bronze coinage to 23 BC; Kraft 1951-52: 34, and Bay 1972: 115 suggest 3-2 BC for the final college.

⁶⁷⁰ These terms are conventionally used to describe all coins using bronze, *orichalcum*, and copper: see Grant 1946: ix, n.1.

⁶⁷¹ Mattingly 1923: xlv-xlvi; Bay 1972: 112-3.

⁶⁷² Mattingly 1923: xlvii-xlix; Grant 1953: 6; Bay 1972: 113.

The bronze coins of this period were struck in huge quantities.⁶⁷³ Howard Mattingly believes that the *quadrans* ‘was not issued on the grand scale’ and only circulated in Italy,⁶⁷⁴ but Michael Grant says that they are found ‘in some quantity’ outside Italy,⁶⁷⁵ and Humphrey Sutherland lists some types as ‘common’.⁶⁷⁶

The four issues of *quadrantes* are most often ascribed to 9 BC, 8 BC, 5 BC, and 4 BC, but with a recognition that each date might be inaccurate by a year or two. Suggestions based on their style or distinct metal content that they date from AD 10 onwards, when bronze coins were next minted at Rome, or even after the death of Augustus, have not found favour.⁶⁷⁷ I shall follow the most widely-accepted dating and assume that they are Augustan.

The *quadrantes* all bear the moneymen’s names⁶⁷⁸ and the title III VIR A. A. A. F. F.⁶⁷⁹ None of these four colleges of moneymen produce coins other than *quadrans*. The colleges, and the items depicted on their coins are:

1. 9 BC: Lamia, Silius, Annius. Their names appear together, and the coins have three formats: (a) the letters ‘SC’ on one side, and clasped hands holding a *caduceus* on the other (fig. 7.2); (b) SC on one side, and a *simpulum* and *lituus* on the other (fig. 7.3); and (c) a cornucopia between

⁶⁷³ Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 71.

⁶⁷⁴ Mattingly 1923: xvi-xvii, n.4, xlix.

⁶⁷⁵ Grant 1946: 93; 1953: 17.

⁶⁷⁶ Sutherland 1984: 74-8.

⁶⁷⁷ Grant 1953: 109; Carter and Buttrey 1977: 60, 64. See also Robertson 1962: xxxvi; Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 83, n.112.

⁶⁷⁸ Bowerman 1913: 62 cites the identification by Schulze 1904: 94, 122 of Sisenna and Annius as names of Etruscan origin as evidence that all double-rounded altars were Etruscan, but on p.423 Schulze identifies Annius as Oscan, and the name is also attested at Praeneste in Latium in the mid-Republic: see Degraffi 1969: 114-5; Franchi De Bellis 1997: 223.

⁶⁷⁹ *Tresviri aere argento auro flando feriundo*, the traditional title, which continues into the third century AD: see Mattingly 1923: xlix, and Crawford 1974: 599. The coins of 5 BC and 4 BC name four moneymen, but they continue to style themselves ‘*tresviri*’. Willers 1909: 181-3 calls the coins *semisses*, but from Grueber 1910: 75, n.2, onwards they are always identified as *quadrantes*.

SC on one side, and an altar on the other (fig. 7.4). The altar is always shown with double-rounded moulding.⁶⁸⁰

2. 8 BC: Pulcher, Taurus, Regulus. As with the college of 9 BC, their names appear together, and the coins have the same three formats: *SC* and clasped hands holding a *caduceus*; *SC* and a *simpulum* and *lituus*; and a cornucopia between *SC* and an altar. The altar on these coins also always has double-rounded moulding (fig. 7.5).⁶⁸¹

3. 5 BC: Apronius, Galus, Messalla, Sisenna. Their names appear together, with two names on each side, in eleven different permutations. The coins only have one format: *SC* on one side and an altar on the other, but there are two types of altar depicted: either with double-rounded moulding (fig. 7.6),⁶⁸² or with straight sides between projecting moulding at the top and bottom (fig. 7.7).⁶⁸³ Coins with the same permutation of names show both types of altar. There is some variation in the way the altars are depicted, and because of this and the small size of the coins,⁶⁸⁴ it is not always easy to distinguish between the two types. In the catalogues that show multiple examples, the ones with double-rounded moulding are slightly more numerous than the ones with straight sides, but that need not reflect the relative numbers minted.

⁶⁸⁰ Willers 1909: tab.16.3; Grueber 1910: 88, nos 4619-20; Mattingly 1923: 40, no. 202; Robertson 1962: 21, nos 108-9; Babelon 1963: I.113; Giard 1976: 117-7, pl.27, nos 589-600; Sutherland 1984: 74, no. 422.

⁶⁸¹ Willers 1909: tab.16.6; Grueber 1910: 76, nos 4577-8; Mattingly 1923: 41, nos 207-8; Robertson 1962: 22, no. 113; Babelon 1963: I.358; Giard 1976: 119, pl.27, nos 601-15; Sutherland 1984: 75, no. 425.

⁶⁸² Willers 1909: tab.16.10; Grueber 1910: 112-5, nos 4713-4, 4719-25, 4727-8, 4730, 4732-4; Mattingly 1923: 46-9, nos 243, 249-55, 257-8, 260, 262-4; Robertson 1962: 22, no. 114; Babelon 1963: II.99, II.523; Giard 1976: 132-7, nos 757-8, 763, 767-8, 770-9, 785, 789, 793, 795, 797, 799, 800, 804-6, 810-1, 815-8, 821-2, 826-7, 831-2, 834, 836-7, 841-2, 844-8; Sutherland 1984: 76-7, nos 443-7, 450-64.

⁶⁸³ Willers 1909: tab.16.10; Grueber 1910: 112-5, nos 4715-8, 4726, 4729, 4731; Mattingly 1923: 46-9, nos 244-8, 256, 259, 261; Robertson 1962: 22, no. 115; Babelon 1963: II.523; Giard 1976: 132-7, nos 759-62, 764-5, 769, 780-3, 787-8, 790-2, 796, 801, 807-9, 812-4, 819, 823-4, 828-30, 835, 839, 849-52; Sutherland 1984: 76-7, nos 443-5, 448-50, 455-6, 458-61, 464.

⁶⁸⁴ Around 17mm in diameter, about the same as the modern British five pence coin.

4. 4 BC: P. Betilienus Bassus, C. Naevius Capella, C. Rubellius Blandus, L. Valerius Catullus. Each coin bears only one of the four names, but they all share the same format, with *SC* on one side and an altar on the other, which always has double-rounded moulding (figs 7.8-11).⁶⁸⁵

These *quadrantes* are the only state coins issued during Augustus' lifetime that do not bear either his portrait, name, or other image of him, apart from those at the end of his reign which already show Tiberius.⁶⁸⁶ Like all the bronze coins issued between 19 and 4 BC, but not the gold and silver coins, they all display the letters '*SC*', an abbreviation for *Senatus Consulto*. There are three main interpretations of what the letters *SC* signify on these coins: a division in responsibility between the Emperor and the Senate for the two groups of coinage; the Senatorial nature of the honours depicted; or a guarantee that the coin types were legal tender, perhaps deriving from an actual *senatus consultum*, or decree of the Senate.⁶⁸⁷ The most likely explanation is that *SC* indicated that the new denominations being produced at Rome, using a different type of metal, had been authorised by the Senate and were valid coins.⁶⁸⁸

The extent to which the Senatorial moneyers named on the coins could decide on the imagery they used must remain uncertain. Augustus retained control of the coinage, even when he worked through the Senate, but the possibility that the Senate, rather than the Emperor, might have determined what should be depicted on the new bronze coins could have implications for the nature of the memories that the depictions of double-rounded altars were intended to evoke.

The extent to which Roman coin designs during the Imperial period were intended to communicate messages from the Emperor to the populace is

⁶⁸⁵ Willers 1909: tab.17.4-7; Grueber 1910: 110-1, nos 4707-12; Mattingly 1923: 49-50, nos 265-70; Robertson 1962: 22, nos 116-9; Babelon 1963: I.257, II.251, II.404, II.524; Sutherland 1984: 78, nos 465 [incorrectly printed as 456], 466-8.

⁶⁸⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 71. This also makes dating them difficult. Two types of *quadrantes* were minted at Lugdunum in 10 BC, but they were in *orichalcum*, bore the name and portrait of Augustus, and depicted an eagle or bull on the reverse: Sear 2000: 333-4, nos 1707 and 1708.

⁶⁸⁷ See, for example, Grant 1953: 159; Kraft 1962: 42; Bay: 1972: 111-2, 114, 121-2; Burnett 1977: 45-6, 56; Sutherland 1984: 3; Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 80-8.

⁶⁸⁸ Proposed by Bay 1972: 114, and supported by Crawford 1985: 261-2, and Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 81-3.

controversial. They might have sought to persuade people of the Emperor's merits and successes, or been intended as a public tribute to him from the moneyers by representing something that appealed to the Emperor. In either case, the representations on the coins are likely to have been intended to evoke respect for his achievements and divine support, or portray values that he wanted people to share.⁶⁸⁹

The other objects depicted on the coins of 9 BC and 8 BC are fairly common items. The cornucopia can represent prosperity, but also became closely associated with the *Genius Augusti* (see below).⁶⁹⁰ Clasped hands symbolise harmony, and the *caduceus* is associated with the goddess Pax, the personification of political peace: both popular Augustan themes.⁶⁹¹ The *simpulum* (or *simpuvium*⁶⁹²) and *lituus* are religious objects associated with particular priests. The *simpulum* was used in pouring wine in rituals, and on Republican coins represented the college of *pontifices*, the leading member of which was the Pontifex Maximus.⁶⁹³ The *lituus* represented the college of *augures*.⁶⁹⁴ Caesar was both Pontifex Maximus and an augur, and *denarii* issued in 46 BC depicted a *simpulum* and *lituus*, together with a sprinkler and jug, and the inscription AVGVR and PONT MAX.⁶⁹⁵

The use of these symbols on coins continued under Augustus, as well as the tripod and *patera* as symbols of the other two main colleges of priests, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* and the *septemviri epulones*, to which Augustus also belonged.⁶⁹⁶ This is shown most clearly on *denarii* issued in 16 BC by C. Antistius Vetus⁶⁹⁷ and in 13 BC by C. Antistius Reginus (fig. 7.12),⁶⁹⁸ which depict all four symbols of the

⁶⁸⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1981: 20-1, 36-7; 1986: 67-70; Levick 1982: 106-8.

⁶⁹⁰ Galinsky 1996: 302.

⁶⁹¹ Toynbee 1956: 213, 217, 220.

⁶⁹² Fortson 2008: 60-4.

⁶⁹³ Zwierlein-Diehl 1980: 407; Siebert 1999: 236-9.

⁶⁹⁴ Taylor 1944: 353; Fears 1975: 597-600; Stewart 1997: 178-86; Siebert 1999: 130-2, 267-8.

⁶⁹⁵ Grueber 1910: II.576, Africa nos 21-5; Sydenham 1952: 170, nos 1023-4; Babelon 1963: I.14, no. 16; Crawford 1974: 478, no.467; Seaby 1978:106, nos 4, 4a; Zwierlein-Diehl 1980: 408.

⁶⁹⁶ Ryberg 1949: 86; Zwierlein-Diehl 1980: 408-9, 412-13; Beard *et al.* 1988: 1. 186-92.

⁶⁹⁷ Mattingly 1923: 20, nos 98-9; Giard 1976: 97, nos 368-71; Sutherland 1984: 69, nos 367-8.

⁶⁹⁸ Mattingly 1923: 24, nos 119-20; Giard 1976: 113, nos 542-7; Sutherland 1984: 73, no. 410.

colleges, in their order of precedence.⁶⁹⁹ A moneyer identified only as C. Marius Tro. also issued *denarii* in 13 BC showing a veiled figure holding a *simpulum*, which is believed to represent Augustus as Pontifex Maximus.⁷⁰⁰

There are some minor variations in the depictions of the double-rounded altars on the *quadrantes*, but they all follow the same design, with four elements. The upper section is a bowl-shaped semicircle, often but not always holding twin garlands meeting in the centre; there is never an abacus on top. Beneath that, there is a stem, sometimes barely visible, separating the upper section from the two lower sections. These consist of a bar with rounded ends, usually as wide as the upper section, and sometimes in the form of a central part with an outer rim separated by a groove. At the bottom, there is a splayed base section, extending wider than the upper section and central bar. There is never another stem separating the two lower sections.

The garlands indicate that they must represent altars. They do not, however, have the symmetrical upper and lower sections found on surviving altars. The central bar with rounded ends on the coins might represent a torus or the central stem often found between the upper and lower echinus but, if so, it is far more visually prominent than on the surviving altars. The splayed base section on the coins is unlike either the lower echinus or plinth found on altars.

Altars are not frequently shown on Republican or other Augustan coins, and are usually either part of a sacrifice scene, shown beside a temple, accompanied by attributes of a particular deity, or identified with a specific altar through an inscription, such as the great altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum inaugurated in 10 BC. The only other example of what seems to be a generic altar was on *sestertii* minted in 47 BC by C. Antius Restio (fig. 7.13), though it may have had a personal significance that is no longer recognisable.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ Mattingly 1923: cvi; Zwierlein-Diehl 1980: 412-3; Zanker 1988: 126-8. For the colleges of priests, see Rüpke 2011 and the summary at North 2000: 23. Augustus did not become Pontifex Maximus until 12 BC, but had been a *pontifex* since 48 BC: see Beard *et al.* 1988: 1.186.

⁷⁰⁰ Mattingly 1923: 20, no. 100; Giard 1976, 111, no. 527; Sutherland 1984: 72, no. 398.

⁷⁰¹ Grueber 1910: I.522, nos 4034-5; Sydenham 1952: 162, nos 973-4; Crawford 1974: 470, nos 455/4-5; Seaby 1978: 15, Antia 4.

The altars on the *quadrantes* are not accompanied by any identifying symbols or inscriptions, perhaps because of their small size. They might, therefore, be simply a general evocation of the type of traditional piety to which Augustus wanted the Romans to return.⁷⁰² In particular, Augustus emphasised the importance of animal sacrifice at a time when it was under attack, at least in some intellectual circles.⁷⁰³ This is seen, for example, in the partly archaising and partly novel rituals of the Secular Games of 17 BC, in which Augustus himself made a series of sacrifices to mark the beginning of the new age,⁷⁰⁴ and the many representations of Augustus in statues and on coins in a toga with veiled head whilst sacrificing.⁷⁰⁵ Because of their essential role in sacrifices, altars could serve as a reminder of this religious rite as well as being a more general symbol of piety.⁷⁰⁶

There was, however, a religious reform which might have linked such a depiction of an altar more specifically with Augustus himself. This was his transformation of the old cult of the *Lares Compitales* into the cult of the *Lares* and *Genius Augusti*. He instituted this new cult alongside a reorganisation of the administration of Rome into 265 *vici*, which involved the erection of new altars at crossroads, often dedicated by local officials of the cult (*vicomagistri* and *ministri*).⁷⁰⁷ The new arrangements took effect in 7 BC, but the process of establishing them might well have begun in 12 BC, when Augustus became Pontifex Maximus.⁷⁰⁸

This was a very significant initiative, stamping Augustus' imprint on the administration of the city, and linking it with a new kind of Emperor-cult that operated on public street-corners. The new altars would have made this change visible throughout Rome, which might explain why altars were shown on the

⁷⁰² Toynbee 1956: 220. For Augustus' religious reforms, and his focus on *pietas*, see for example Gordon 1990a: 183-4; Galinsky 1996: 291-4, and Scheid 2005: 177-8.

⁷⁰³ Gordon 1990b: 207-10; Green 2008: 41-4.

⁷⁰⁴ Zanker 1988: 167-9; Beard *et al.* 1998: 1.201-5; Feeney 1998: 28-31.

⁷⁰⁵ Zanker 1988: 127-9; Gordon 1990b: 211-3.

⁷⁰⁶ Rüpke 2007: 141.

⁷⁰⁷ Taylor 1931: 185-6; Ryberg 1955: 53-6; Fullerton 1985: 482; Zanker 1988: 129-35; Beard *et al.* 1998: 1.184-6.

⁷⁰⁸ Ryberg 1955: 53; Niebling 1956: 317; Tarpin 2002: 137-40; Lott 2004: 84-6.

lowest denomination coins used for everyday purchases⁷⁰⁹ by the urban plebs, freedmen, and slaves, to whom the reforms meant most.⁷¹⁰ The *quadrantes* of 9 BC and 8 BC also depicted religious objects or concepts which the viewer was probably intended to associate with Augustus, and the *simpulum* and *lituus*, for example, were also represented on the new compital altars.⁷¹¹

If the *quadrantes* were intended to refer to these reforms, however, it might be expected that the altars depicted on the coins would resemble the new altars being erected in the *vici*. Several of these survive, including at least twelve that are Augustan. They do not follow a single template, especially in their relief decoration, but without exception they have straight sides rather than double-rounded moulding, and even all the altars shown on their decorative reliefs are rectangular or round with straight sides (fig. 7.14).⁷¹²

The appearance of straight-sided altars on the coins of 5 BC might, therefore, be an attempt to depict more closely the type of altars being erected. Even in that year, however, there seems to have been at least as many coins minted showing altars with rounded moulding, and the coins from 4 BC, as well as those from 9 BC and 8 BC, only show altars with double-rounded moulding. It seems likely, therefore, that the altars depicted on the *quadrantes* were intended to evoke more general memories of traditional piety rather than a specific reference to Augustus' establishment of the new cult of the *Lares* and *Genius Augusti*.

For this to be successful, the depiction had to be recognisable: the viewer needed to understand easily that the object represented on the coins was an altar. This type of representation is often called an 'icon', following the term developed by Charles S. Peirce for the type of sign that stands for an object because it resembles the physical properties or a distinctive quality of the object.⁷¹³ Such icons are

⁷⁰⁹ Crawford 1970: 40-3.

⁷¹⁰ Galinsky 1996: 300, 308-9; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 276-90.

⁷¹¹ Hano 1986: 2346, no.12; Hölscher 1988: 391-2, no. 218; Galinsky 1996: 304.

⁷¹² Ryberg 1955: 56-62; Hano 1986: 2337-2, 2363; Hölscher 1984: 27-9, 1988: 390-8; Simon 1986: 97-103; Schraudolph 1993: 54, 228-31; Galinsky 1996: 302-8; Lott 2004: 136-48.

⁷¹³ Peirce published relatively little during his lifetime, but all his papers have subsequently been published: see Peirce 1931-58. For a discussion of his ideas on semiotics and how they developed,

used, for example, in many modern traffic or other directional or information notices that seek to convey their meaning without the need for language. This is often achieved in a simplified or curtailed way, with one recognisable aspect of the object signifying the whole, such as the shape of an aeroplane indicating the presence of an airport,⁷¹⁴ or a telephone handset with bell-shaped transmitter and receiver denoting the whole apparatus. In the case of telephone handsets, this type of iconic sign is still used today (fig. 7.15), even though this telephone design is now old-fashioned and no longer regularly encountered in everyday life. The sign continues to reproduce an old design because its very distinctive shape remains able to evoke memories for a large number of viewers of the object that it is intended to represent, even if more modern examples of the object itself do not follow the same design.

A similar intention might lie behind the decision in all four years to depict double-rounded altars on the *quadrantes*, even when, in 5 BC, they also depicted altars with straight sides. The moneyers must have believed that the double-rounded design would still be easily and widely recognised. It is clear, however, that the straight-sided design would by then have been the norm for new altars, although the altars restored by Drusus and Crispinus and at the Casale di Roma Vecchia indicate that there might well have still been many old altars with double-rounded moulding to be seen in Rome at this time. It is also clear that it had been usual to use the straight-sided form in representations of altars and bases on reliefs and coins since as early as the late second and early first century BC (see Chapter 6, section 6.5.2).

These moneyers might, therefore, have reverted to the double-rounded design because it would have been a more distinctive sign on such a small coin. They might also have wanted to use an old altar form to represent the kind of traditional piety championed by Augustus, rather than a more 'naturalistic' depiction of the newer design being erected at the time.

see, for example, Hawkes 1977: 126-9; Pharies 1985: 34-6; Short 2004: 222-4. See also the critique in Eco 1976: 191-4, 199.

⁷¹⁴ Jones, A. 2007: 17-9.

7.2.4. Possible continued Senatorial adherence to the double-rounded design

It is possible, however, particularly if the Senate retained control over the images portrayed on the bronze coinage, that the old-fashioned double-rounded design was intended to emphasise continuity with a religious identity that stretched far back into Republican times. They might have sought in this way to evoke memories of the traditions and moral values associated with those times, as an unconscious, or perhaps deliberate, counterpoint to the contemporary, straight-sided design. This may also be true of the double-rounded altar restored by the surviving consul, Crispinus, after the death of Drusus in 9 BC (see section 7.2.1 above).

These examples may simply represent the continued, long-standing use of the double-rounded form to evoke memories of a traditional religious identity, at a time when Augustus' new system of religious imagery had only recently been introduced, and had not, perhaps, been explicitly specified. The contrast, however, with the straight-sided altars erected for Augustus' new cult of the *Lares* and *Genius Augusti*, and the possibility that the design of both the altar of Crispinus and the depictions on the *quadrantes* was chosen by Senators rather than the Emperor, might also imply that this design was still viewed by the Senate as an evocation of continuity with the Republic and its values.

Perhaps, therefore, they represent the final example of the Roman Senatorial elite using in self-conscious retrospection a traditional architectural design that they regarded as a core signifier of their ancestral identity, before their status, traditions, and ancestral memories were thoroughly eclipsed by the new Imperial regime and its new architectural forms. If so, 4 BC was the last time that an attempt was made to evoke such memories through the use of the traditional double-rounded design.

7.3. A FINAL REVIVAL UNDER ANTONINUS PIUS

The only example after the time of Augustus of the use of rounded wave mouldings in a double-rounded design comes from a monument erected in Rome in the mid-second century AD. A series of reliefs in Proconnesian marble has

been excavated between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries in and around the modern Piazza di Pietra, near a temple which has been identified as the Hadrianeum built by Antoninus Pius and dedicated in AD 145 to his adoptive father, the emperor Hadrian.⁷¹⁵

Nineteen surviving reliefs (and a further four recorded but now lost) contain a near-life-size female figure, without an accompanying inscription, but which have always been interpreted as personifications of provinces or peoples of the Roman Empire. Six reliefs (and a further three recorded but now lost) show military trophies, in three different designs (with variations in the shield decoration on one of the designs).⁷¹⁶ Their position when they were found indicates an original sequence of two personifications with their heads turned towards each other across a trophy panel that alternated between the three designs (fig. 7.16).⁷¹⁷

The reliefs were previously thought to have been part of the exterior decoration of the Hadrianeum, either on the podium or as a balustrade on the attic, or part of the interior decoration of the cella.⁷¹⁸ Amanda Claridge, however, has demonstrated that they formed the frieze on the attic of a colonnade to the north of the temple, which would have defined the precinct and might well have continued along all four sides (fig. 7.17).⁷¹⁹

Most studies of the reliefs have concentrated on trying to identify the provinces or peoples represented, in the context of the Roman tradition of such personification series, and as a possible indicator of imperial policy towards the provinces.⁷²⁰ Very little attention has been paid to the moulded blocks that form the background to the figures. These bear a remarkable similarity to the altar and podium design with smaller rounded-wave mouldings at the top and bottom of a flat surface which emerged during the second century BC.

⁷¹⁵ Lanciani 1878b: 12-4, 21-7; Claridge 1999: 117-21.

⁷¹⁶ Sapelli 1999a: 15, 17; 1999b: 28-82. See also Stuart Jones 1926: 3-11, nos 1, 3, 5-12 for the examples in the Musei Capitolini in Rome.

⁷¹⁷ Presicce 2005: 94-5.

⁷¹⁸ Strong 1911: 5, pl.2; Toynebee 1934: 153-5; Claridge 1999: 121-5.

⁷¹⁹ Claridge 1999: 125-6. See also Presicce 2005: 86-96; Smith 2013: 119-20.

⁷²⁰ Toynebee 1934: 152-3, 157-9; Hughes 2009: 2-3; Boatwright 2010: 171-4.

The blocks were just over two metres high and a little under two metres wide. At the top and bottom were identical, counter-posed sets of moulding, consisting (at the top) of an abacus about 15cm high, an echinus with rounded-wave moulding 29cm high, a fillet 3.5cm high, and a torus 3.2cm high (fig. 7.18).⁷²¹ The figures, which are carved in very high relief, stand on the lower echinus, with their heads touching the underside of the upper echinus. The central section of the blocks is completely plain, apart from the personification figure. Without the figures, the blocks would very similar to the altar in front of Temple C in the Largo Argentina in Rome (see Chapter 6, section 6.5.1).

The plain background enables the figure to be seen more clearly, especially as the original viewers would have been some fifteen metres below them. The rounded-wave mouldings, however, do nothing to enhance the figures' visibility, and create a somewhat awkward composition, with the figures seemingly squeezed between the upper and lower mouldings. The grand simplicity of the moulding is also in stark contrast to the very ornate decoration on the entablature of the Hadrianeum itself, which continued the use of an ornamental style from Asia Minor from the later part of Hadrian's reign.⁷²² This suggests that the use of what would have been a very plain and unusual design in the mid-second century AD was not coincidental, but intended as a deliberate reference to the older form.

Groups of figures representing personified peoples of the Empire were erected by Augustus in a *Porticus ad Nationes* in Rome, following an earlier example known only from literary sources to have been in a chamber off one of the porticoes adjoining Pompey's theatre.⁷²³ A partially-preserved series of reliefs of this kind on inscribed bases was also on the façade of porticoes leading to a temple in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, dating from the time of Tiberius to Nero,⁷²⁴ which emphasised the city's connection with the Julio-Claudian family.

⁷²¹ Sapelli 1999a: 15.

⁷²² Strong 1953: 122-6, fig.2, 130-42; Cozza 1982: 16-27; Liljenstolpe 1996: 65-6; Gros 1996: 186-7; Thomas 2007: 32-4.

⁷²³ Smith 1988: 71-7; 2013: 113-6; Kuttner 1999: 346, 350.

⁷²⁴ Smith 1988: 50-70; 2013: 86-110.

The single surviving figure in the attic storey of the Forum Transitorium at Rome, and fragments of a second figure, have now been identified as part of a similar series (fig. 7.19).⁷²⁵ The forum was started under Domitian, in the context of his celebration of the Secular Games in AD 88 and the introduction of moral and social reforms, both of which drew on Augustan precedents.⁷²⁶ The installation of a series of personifications in the new forum, which adjoined the Forum of Augustus, would have provided a strong visual reference to Augustan values.⁷²⁷

Similar considerations apply to Antoninus Pius, who was also closely associated with the ancestral Latin religion. Even before his accession, he was noted for his piety and respect for traditional religious practices. This led to comparisons during his lifetime and later with Numa, the traditional founder of Roman religion,⁷²⁸ and public recognition of this quality by the Senate through the granting of the *cognomen* Pius, which also referred to his loyalty to Hadrian.⁷²⁹ He also celebrated Secular Games, in AD 148, and had since his accession issued a series of medallions in preparation for the games that depicted scenes from the legends of Aeneas and Romulus and early Roman history.⁷³⁰ He linked himself publicly with both Romulus and Augustus,⁷³¹ and restored a temple associated with Numa, and others in his birthplace, Lanuvium, including the temple of Juno Sospita, which held an important place in traditional Latin religion.⁷³²

The use by Antoninus Pius of a series of personifications, as in the Forum Transitorium, must have been intended to recall Augustan values.⁷³³ The incorporation into the monument of double-rounded mouldings as a visual reference to a much older architectural tradition is also in keeping with the wider

⁷²⁵ Wiegartz 1996: 173-8; Del Moro 2007: 181-5; Meneghini 2009: 103-4; Smith 2013: 119.

⁷²⁶ D'Ambra 1993: 3-5.

⁷²⁷ Wiegartz 1996: 178-9.

⁷²⁸ SHA *Ant. Pius* 2.2-3, 13.4. See also Champlin 1980: 84-5; Rémy 2005: 257-8.

⁷²⁹ SHA *Ant. Pius* 2.3-7, 5.1-2. See also Toynbee 1925: 170; Beaujeu 1955: 280-9; Hammond 1957: 47; Birley 2000: 150-4.

⁷³⁰ Toynbee 1925: 170-2; Rémy 2005: 259-60.

⁷³¹ Grant 1994: 15-6.

⁷³² SHA *Ant. Pius* 13.3. See also Beaujeu 1955: 291-4.

⁷³³ Smith 1988: 76.

cultural climate of Antoninus Pius' reign.⁷³⁴ It is impossible to be sure whether such a reference would have been widely recognisable in the mid-second century AD, or whether it was only for the private appreciation of Antoninus Pius and a handful of historians. There will have been at least some altars and temple podia with mouldings of this type that still survived, although they may have been very rare in Rome itself and only familiar to people with keen antiquarian interest.

7.4. CONCLUSION

The double-rounded design barely survived the end of the Republic. Even though Augustus represented his religious reforms as a return to traditional practices, his style of religious architecture marked a further step away from traditional Latin forms, and the cultural identity he wanted to emphasise was one that encompassed all of Italy, under Roman sovereignty, rather than just Latium.

Against this background, there was no place for a style of architectural moulding that carried associations with a much older architectural tradition, a more limited ancestral Latin religious identity, and a political system that had now been replaced. The double-rounded design and the rounded wave moulding, therefore, were not used in the new Imperial architectural tradition. The examples that survive from the time of Augustus are few in number, and it is quite possible that they represent the Senate's continued adherence to traditional forms.

The design was not entirely forgotten, however. The use by Antoninus Pius of the modified version of the design in the portico of the Hadrianum in the mid-second century AD might have been an obscure and unique historical reference, but it demonstrates that the rounded wave moulding still had the ability to evoke cultural associations some seven hundred years after the original version of the double-rounded design had first appeared in Latium.

⁷³⁴ Toynbee 1934: 156; Beaujeu 1955: 296; Thomas 2007: 175.

CHAPTER 8

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE, IDENTITY, AND MEMORY

I set out in Chapter 1 the evidence for a distinct Latin identity. The ancient literary sources placed great emphasis on common religious festivals and practices as features that both defined that Latin identity and maintained a sense of communal partnership in Latium rather than outright Roman hegemony. In Chapter 3 I showed that double-rounded moulding was used on all types of religious architecture in northern and coastal areas of Latium from its first appearance in stone in the sixth century BC. In Chapter 4 I demonstrated that architectural mouldings were used differently in Etruria, and that the double-rounded design was, therefore, a distinct, Latin tradition within the broader, common architectural language of central Italy. This double-rounded design remained the standard form in Latium until the second century BC, when it was joined by other, more heavily Greek-influenced forms, but it continued to be used until the time of Augustus, as I set out in Chapters 6 and 7.

This chapter examines whether the use of the double-rounded design on religious architecture could have been invested with cultural significance in the expression of Latin identity, and considers whether it came to be used as a means of evoking memories of that identity, and of the cultural values associated with it. I shall concentrate in particular on altars, as this is the type of object that used the design in a similar form for the longest period: around five hundred years. It should be remembered, however, that the symbolic value of such altars would have been enhanced for most of this period by their sharing the same form of moulding with other religious objects, such as temple podia.

8.1. ALTARS AS SIGNIFIERS OF LATIN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

Since religious practices played such an important part in the expression of Latin identity, it is reasonable to infer that the design of artefacts associated with those practices, such as altars, might exhibit features that symbolise that identity. As

Stephen Shennan puts it, 'the creation of ethnic identities should have repercussions in terms of the self-conscious use of specific cultural features as diacritical markers, a process which might well be reflected in the archaeological record'.⁷³⁵

8.1.1. Double-rounded moulding as decoration

Sacrifice played a central role in ancient religions, including in Rome and Latium, as I discussed in Chapter 2, sections 2.4 and 2.5. The two main elements were an invocation of the god or goddess who would be the recipient of the offering, and the burning of the offering, which brought about its transfer to the god. This burning took place on an altar, and therefore the altar was an indispensable and universal element of religious practice. Monumental stone altars were substantial objects, which remained in place and on public view even when they were not in use, and so might well be the type of artefact that would be selected to carry social meaning as part of asserting a group identity.⁷³⁶

The main functional element of the altar was a flat upper surface on which the offering could be burned, raised to a convenient height by the body of the altar. It is not clear whether there was a second functional element which identified the altar as specifically dedicated to the god in question. There are very few carved inscriptions on Latin altars before the second century BC, and only very rare examples of surviving paint or plaster that might indicate some form of variable decoration to mark its dedication. It is possible that each altar was reserved for a particular god, or for a particular ritual that involved more than one god, and it may be that the slight differences in size, shape, or moulded profile were intended as distinguishing markers. On the other hand, the invocation by the sacrificer might have been regarded as sufficient to direct the god's attention to a particular altar.⁷³⁷

⁷³⁵ Shennan 1989: 16.

⁷³⁶ Morgan 1991: 133-4.

⁷³⁷ Rüpke 2012: 17-8 discusses the representation of the human supplicant in votive offerings and of the deity in statues as aids to ritual communication.

Double-rounded moulding on altars does not seem to perform any functional role in the process of sacrificing, and can therefore be regarded as a form of decoration. It would have required considerable skill and effort to achieve the design, even in relatively soft stone. The design might well represent an element of religious conservatism, if it sought to reproduce an earlier wooden form based on two inverted halves of a 'drum' cut from a tree trunk, as described in Chapter 2, section 2.1.3. Whether it translated a largely natural wooden shape into the more difficult medium of stone, or was a wholly new design, its survival as the only known design of altar in Latium until the second century BC, and its continued use thereafter, suggests that double-rounded moulding was invested with the quality of a cultural tradition in Latium. Although each surviving example has a different profile, to a greater or lesser extent, the overall variation in form across all of them is relatively minor. This indicates that there was a strong desire to signify their commonality as altars through the reproduction of a recognisably traditional design, and that this restrained any desire to distinguish between different altars.

8.1.2. Double-rounded moulding as a symbolic 'style'

In this way, double-rounded moulding can be regarded as an example of 'style', as the term has been used in some approaches developed in the 1970s to inferring cultural meaning from archaeological artefacts. In this sense, style denotes a characteristic manner of doing something, including the construction of an artefact, which is peculiar to a specific time and place. Choices from among all the possible options for the form and design of an object are socially transmitted, and therefore similar choices are more likely to be made within a particular social group, and much less likely to be made in a separate, unrelated group as well.⁷³⁸

Choosing to produce objects in a particular way might be constrained by practical considerations, but non-utilitarian aspects are likely to provide greater licence in design. The resulting differences from other similar objects might be a 'passive' variation that is nevertheless diagnostic of a particular context, or a more 'active' or 'iconological' method of information exchange through being chosen to

⁷³⁸ Sackett 1977: 370-1; 1982: 72-3.

symbolise social boundaries, ethnicity, or group affiliation.⁷³⁹ More widely, the maintenance of a group identity depends on those traits that groups use as symbols of their identity that are separate from other groups, rather than on the totality of their cultural traits.⁷⁴⁰

This need not mean that such symbols retained the same meaning for all viewers and in all contexts, or that their meaning remained unchanged throughout their history.⁷⁴¹ Over time, however, the cumulative effect of shared adherence to what the symbols stand for can create a 'persistent cultural system' that underpins a strong sense of identity and tradition.⁷⁴² The use, therefore, of double-rounded moulding on altars and other religious objects could well have been one means of marking identity, and it is notable that the design remained largely unchanged from the sixth to the second centuries BC, and beyond.

8.2. ALTARS AS OBJECTS FOR CREATING AND EVOKING MEMORIES

Such a conservative transmission of a cultural form tends to occur in particular with highly visible examples of material objects invested with authoritative credibility, such as those connected with religious rituals.⁷⁴³ The relationship between material objects in the archaeological record and their role in evoking memories is not straightforward, however.

On the one hand, objects can prompt and guide the course of memory, particularly in the case of monuments formally constituted for that purpose, and archaeological evidence can be used to help understand those processes.⁷⁴⁴ On the other hand, understanding the function of tradition and memorialisation in relation to particular artefacts is problematic, since apparently 'old' objects or forms of behaviour, especially in a religious context, might be a product of a slow pace of change in inherited ritual practices rather than a specific expression of

⁷³⁹ Wobst 1977: 320. See also Wiessner 1983: 257-8 on 'emblemic style'; and Shanks and Tilley 1987: 91-4; Shennan 1989: 5-6; Hodder 1991: 27-8; Hall 1997: 131-2.

⁷⁴⁰ McGuire 1982: 160.

⁷⁴¹ Hodder 1989: 252, 263; Hall 1997: 23.

⁷⁴² Spicer 1971: 796; Smith 1986: 14. See also Bourdieu 1977: 78-85.

⁷⁴³ Rowlands 1993: 142.

⁷⁴⁴ Alcock 2002: 2, 18-9.

social memory.⁷⁴⁵ For most of the surviving Latin altars there is only the evidence of the continuing similarity in their design, but many examples from the second and first centuries BC have inscriptions, and these provide an additional source of evidence about what their dedicators might have valued and sought to recall.

8.2.1. Citation of design elements over time

Artefacts connect individuals with past actions because they endure over time, and the same effect can be achieved through the notion of citation, in which earlier artefacts and practices are referenced in later artefacts and practices through the reiteration of distinctive features.⁷⁴⁶ The repeated citation in Latin altars of the same design elements over a period of around five hundred years would have provided a sense of continuity, permanence and stability, and strengthened the identification in people's minds of the double-rounded design as their local architectural tradition. It would also have invested the altars with the qualities of a mnemonic device, as new altars would cause people to recall older examples because of their visual similarity, and to evoke through that memory the cultural and historical associations that an older altar might convey, both in the context of the past and the present.⁷⁴⁷

Artefacts such as altars connect with past actions and events because they are creations from the past that physically endure into the present, where they can be re-experienced.⁷⁴⁸ The altars' identity and associations are not just preserved through memory and tradition, since their enduring incorporation into the regular, ritualised activity of religious sacrifices both generates their meaning in the present and continues their constructive dialogue with memories of past practices.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁵ Morgan 2014: 174-5.

⁷⁴⁶ Connerton 1989: 37; Jones, A. 2007: 55-6, 159-60; Borić 2010: 25-6.

⁷⁴⁷ Rowlands 1993: 141, 144; Assmann 1995: 129; Jones 2007: 22-6, 56-61. Moser 2014 examines these concepts in relation to the sanctuary at Lavinium (see also Chapter 3, section 3.2.1).

⁷⁴⁸ Jones, A. 2007: 3, 56-7.

⁷⁴⁹ Blake 1998: 68; Jones, A. 2007: 40-1. Winkler 2002: 94-8 explores the relationship between monuments and repetitions in the creation of material persistence, or 'tradition'.

Because of their religious function, altars are primarily instruments of social, or cultural, memory. They connect people to their ancestors in a remembered or mythologised past through their association with a history of repeated narratives and ritual behaviour in specific places invested with special meaning.⁷⁵⁰ Such memory preserves a reconstructed store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its identity and its distinctiveness from others, and enables that identity to be communicated through reusable symbols and rituals.⁷⁵¹ This requires a body of shared memories amongst members of the community that they are interested in, and can recall together or have evoked for them.⁷⁵²

8.2.2. Roman monuments and memory

For Romans, places and monuments were especially significant as repositories for memory.⁷⁵³ During the Republic in particular, the mixture of old and new monuments in Rome provided the most readily-available evidence for the city's history,⁷⁵⁴ and a means of establishing contact in the present with the actions of their ancestors in the past. Popular memory of the past in Rome might have been generated primarily through an oral culture of song and drama,⁷⁵⁵ but places and monuments were symbolically charged and contributed to that popular memory, whilst also providing the setting for contemporary life and politics.⁷⁵⁶ Experiencing the past through monuments in this way was not just a commemoration of earlier events and people, but was also intended as a reminder of achievements and moral standards to provide an inspiring example for later generations of Romans who viewed the monument.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁰ Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 3-5.

⁷⁵¹ Assmann 1995: 129-33.

⁷⁵² Connerton 1989: 3, 36-40.

⁷⁵³ Edwards 1996: 18, 28-30; Woolf 1996: 30-2; Meadows and Williams 2001: 41-2; Gowing 2005: 132-3. Rowlands 1993: 142-3 argues that European cultures have a particular affinity for monumentality, linked with a linear concept of time and memory. Jenkyns 2013: 311-3 stresses that aesthetic motives were also important in the construction of Roman monuments.

⁷⁵⁴ Purcell 1989: 165; Edwards 1996: 30; Fowler 2000: 203; Hölkeskamp 2005: 255; Flower 2009: 65, 68, 74.

⁷⁵⁵ Wiseman 2014: 51, 57, 62.

⁷⁵⁶ Hölkeskamp 2014: 70.

⁷⁵⁷ Jaeger 1997: 11, 15-8; Thomas 2007: 165-70. Roller 2004: 4-8 discusses the role of exemplary discourse in Roman culture, including the commemorative role of monuments, and its relevance for all levels of society.

The Romans placed great importance on memory in many aspects of life, and regarded the past as not only inextricably linked to, but also as defining the present.⁷⁵⁸ The concept of the *mos maiorum* was believed by the Romans to be central to their cultural identity, and represented the traditional ways of their ancestors that needed constantly to be preserved, encompassing notions of custom, morality, and lifestyle.⁷⁵⁹ The term *antiquus*, or ‘ancient’, could be used as a form of praise by the Romans, with connotations of respect, venerability, and even sanctity.⁷⁶⁰ In the same way, however, as Roman religious festivals could be constantly re-interpreted to link the past with the present,⁷⁶¹ monuments that represented the past were constantly being re-experienced by individuals and social groups in a process that embodied memories in a new form appropriate to the present.⁷⁶²

More active evocations of the past are generally intended to serve the purposes of the present.⁷⁶³ Since it is possible through the selection and shaping of the subject of commemoration to manipulate how past actions should be remembered, their meaning can be deliberately refashioned to give them new meaning in the present. As Catherine Morgan points out in the context of ancient Greece, using past symbols of authority could legitimate new forms of activity in relation to ‘traditional’ values, or establish the ‘ancestral’ credentials of new sanctuaries as power structures shifted.⁷⁶⁴

The repeated use of the double-rounded design in new altars, particularly from the second century BC, when a modified design influenced by Greek altars began to be used at Rome, would have linked the altar (and its dedicator) with the old architectural tradition. This would enable the altar to evoke memories of that tradition’s historical, religious, and moral values in a contemporary social and

⁷⁵⁸ Gowing 2005: 2.

⁷⁵⁹ Hölkeskamp 2004: 184-7; Dench 2005: 66, 139; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 215-7.

⁷⁶⁰ Jenkyns 2013: 260-1.

⁷⁶¹ Beard 1987: 1-3, 6-7.

⁷⁶² Farrell 1997: 375; Roller 2004: 32-3. See also Jones, A. 2007: 86-7.

⁷⁶³ Schwartz 1982: 374-5.

⁷⁶⁴ Morgan 2014: 173.

political context. The addition of other archaising features, such as old-fashioned letter-forms, spelling, or grammar in an inscription, would have appeared to situate the altar even more firmly in the past. Erecting a monument that evoked the past so strongly would have been intended to make the viewer associate the dedicator with a particular set of remembered ancestral values, in implied contrast with the values espoused by others.

In the later second century BC, the ability of monuments to remind viewers of the past was extended through depictions of them appearing on coins. This meant that the monuments would be 'seen' more widely and frequently, and enabled other symbols and references to be added, so that the intended message could be made as clear as possible. Such representations were intended to remind contemporary viewers of still-standing monuments in the city, thereby evoking memories of the achievements and moral qualities of the people commemorated by those monuments, which in turn ought to lead to the viewers' associating those qualities with the contemporary descendants of those families, who were responsible for minting the coins. This was probably a response, at least in part, to legislation on secret ballots introduced in 139 BC, which meant that candidates had to advertise themselves to voters rather than being able to exert direct pressure on them.⁷⁶⁵

The earliest examples of coins depicting a monument in this way in order to refer to family achievements are those issued in 135 and 134 BC by the brothers C. and Ti. Minucius Augurinus.⁷⁶⁶ These portrayed two distinguished ancestors alongside the Columna Minucia, which seems, in spite of inconsistent literary evidence that perhaps reflects earlier creative family historiography, to have been erected in around 439 BC in honour of L. Minucius for distributing corn to the people.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁵ Flower 1996: 79-83; Wiseman 1998a: 76-7, 195, n.12. See also Chapter 6, section 6.1.2.

⁷⁶⁶ Crawford 1974: 273-6, nos 242/1, 243/1; Hill 1989: 60; Meadows and Williams 2001: 43.

⁷⁶⁷ Wiseman 1998b: 91-4, 99-105.

The erection of monuments often happens in times of perceived change and instability,⁷⁶⁸ as does the elaboration, or even the invention, of tradition.⁷⁶⁹ Both use references to an historic past in order to establish legitimacy among potentially competing memories of that past, in support of an individual's or group's position in the present.⁷⁷⁰ Roman history was always subject to creative reinterpretation, from which a version of the past could be derived that met present needs.⁷⁷¹ In this way, for example, families might exaggerate the achievements of ancestors,⁷⁷² and antiquarian claims of traditional authenticity could be used to establish legitimacy for even innovative proposed courses of action, particularly during the political conflicts of the late Republic.⁷⁷³

8.2.3. Double-rounded moulding and memory

The continued use over such a long period of the same design, with little variation and no clear evidence of alternative designs until the second century BC, is a strong indicator that the double-rounded design was a distinct cultural tradition associated with Latin religion. As time went on, this self-conscious retrospection through the repeated use of the design would have caused successive generations to recall earlier altars because of their visual similarity, and, through that, would have evoked the shared cultural memories and moral associations associated with the Latin religious identity.

In the second and first centuries BC, when new, Greek-inspired designs were increasingly used, but religious conservatism also became an important political tool, there is clearer evidence that the double-rounded design was used to evoke memories of that ancestral identity. At this time of increasing cultural change, architectural innovation, and social and political conflict, the surviving inscriptions on altars, which I discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.2, suggest that the double-rounded design was regarded as necessary when the intention was to link the dedicator with traditional cults or values. Even at the time of Augustus, when

⁷⁶⁸ Woolf 1996: 31.

⁷⁶⁹ Hobsbawm 1983: 1-2, 12-3.

⁷⁷⁰ Connerton 1989: 3.

⁷⁷¹ Wiseman 1998a: 76; Cornell 2005: 50, 59.

⁷⁷² Cic. *Brut.* 62; Liv. 8.40.

⁷⁷³ Gowing 2005: 10, 18-9; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 217-37.

the double-rounded design was finally replaced by other forms, it is possible that late examples represent attempts by the Senate to emphasise continuity with an ancestral tradition, as I discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.2.4.

8.3. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE DOUBLE-ROUNDED DESIGN

Altars with double-rounded moulding were, therefore, important signifiers of a Latin religious identity, and the repeated use of the design over time could be used to evoke memories not only of the Latin architectural tradition, but also of the ancestral values that were associated with that religious identity.

The design is not, however, found throughout the whole of Latium. The surviving examples come from the coastal region between the mouth of the Tiber to Ardea, from in and around Rome, with one example in the Alban Hills, and from the area east of Rome to Tibur and Praeneste (fig. 8.1). Miniature terracotta altars, or *arulae*, with double-rounded sides (see Chapter 3, section 3.4) are much more common and have been found more widely (fig. 8.2), but the distribution of the stone objects suggests that the heartland of the Latin religious identity might have been relatively limited.

8.3.1. *The area of Latium vetus*

Ancient authors make a distinction between *Latium vetus*, stretching from the rivers Tiber and Anio in the north to Circeii in the south and the Apennines and Monti Lepini in the east, and *Latium adiectum*, stretching further south from Circeii to the river Garigliano, or Liris (fig. 8.3).⁷⁷⁴ In the later Republic *Latium adiectum* was regarded as less archetypically Latin than *Latium vetus*,⁷⁷⁵ as it had been occupied in the fifth and early fourth centuries BC by peoples from beyond Latium, and subject to re-conquest and colonisation by Rome and the Latins. The precise boundary between the two parts of Latium is not clear, but *Latium vetus* is usually thought to have extended some distance south of Ardea.⁷⁷⁶ This boundary seems to follow the transition zone between the Latin and Campanian material

⁷⁷⁴ Plin. *HN* 3.5.56-9; Strabo 5.3.2-4.

⁷⁷⁵ Farney 2007: 45-9.

⁷⁷⁶ Cornell 1979-80: 71; Bietti Sestieri 1992: 25; Solin 1996: 4-6, 10-20; Carafa 1997: 615-7; Bourdin 2012: 143-7; Fulminante 2014: 41-4.

cultures,⁷⁷⁷ but is well beyond the area where double-rounded mouldings are found, and extends into territory that seems to have been occupied in the invasions of the fifth century BC.

8.3.2. *The Volscians*

One of these invading peoples was the Volscians, who probably originated in the Apennine Mountains. The literary sources describe an invasion by them of the southern part of Latium at the beginning of the fifth century BC, followed by intermittent battles against the Romans until the mid-fourth century BC.⁷⁷⁸ During this period several cities changed hands more than once, and Latin colonies were established at intervals to try to defend territory.⁷⁷⁹ There may well also have been some preceding, smaller-scale Volscian migration in the sixth century BC.⁷⁸⁰ Several cities are described as becoming Volscian, including Antium, Satricum, Velitrae, Cora, Artena, Signia, and Fregellae (fig. 8.4).⁷⁸¹ These seem to mark the furthest limit of the lands controlled, or at least most heavily influenced, by the Volscians. These areas covered the Monti Lepini, most of the Pomptine plain, and the coast from Antium to Tarracina, all of which appear to have still been within the Roman sphere at the end of the sixth century BC, according to the terms of a treaty between Rome and Carthage.⁷⁸²

There is also a marked change in the archaeological record in Rome and Latium at the end of the sixth century BC,⁷⁸³ but especially in southern Latium. There are far fewer finds datable to the fifth and early fourth centuries BC, as well as evidence of nucleated urban centres in the south being abandoned and replaced by a more dispersed settlement pattern until the second half of the fourth century BC, when there is intensified occupation across the area.⁷⁸⁴ This coincides closely with the Roman historical tradition of a Volscian invasion of this area at the

⁷⁷⁷ Fulminante 2014: 42.

⁷⁷⁸ Radke 1961: 807-21; Cornell 1989: 282-94; 1995: 304-9; Gnade 2002: 135-86.

⁷⁷⁹ Salmon 1953: 124-5.

⁷⁸⁰ Gnade 2002: 141-3.

⁷⁸¹ Manni 1939: 232-8; Radke 1961: 823-6; Coarelli 1990: 154; Cristofani 1992: 19; Van Royen 1992: 35-6.

⁷⁸² Polyb. 3.22. See Cornell 1995: 210-4.

⁷⁸³ Holloway 1994: 171-2 and Scott 2005: 104-5 believe that the economy of Rome, Lanuvium, and Lavinium in the fifth century BC may have been stronger than generally thought.

⁷⁸⁴ Attema 1993: 208-9, 226, 230; Gnade 2002: 2.

beginning of the fifth century BC, and the definitive Roman re-conquest and reorganisation of the whole of Latium in 338 BC.⁷⁸⁵

There is some archaeological evidence that might demonstrate substantial Volscian presence in southern Latium during this period, but its significance is disputed. The *Tabula Veliterna* from Velitrae has an inscription in Volscian using the Latin alphabet and dates from the early third century BC.⁷⁸⁶ At Satricum, Marijke Gnade argues that the placement contrary to Latin practice of new cemeteries, with child burials, within the settlement area at the beginning of the fifth century BC, and the presence of pottery similar to that found further east, together with a Volscian inscription on a personal object, indicate a cultural break with the past by new, Volscian inhabitants.⁷⁸⁷ Jelle Bouma, on the other hand, sees the new cemeteries as responding to a reduction in the inhabited area, and argues that the continuity in votive gifts at the cult site, when set against relatively few non-indigenous vessel types and one non-Latin inscription, indicates a predominantly Latial cult continuing in a region that was subject to Volscian influence.⁷⁸⁸ Christopher Smith suggests that it is probably wrong to try to label Satricum at this time as either 'Roman', 'Latin', or 'Volscian', as archaic Latin society seems to have been very open, and the Latin population in the area is unlikely to have been replaced wholesale by the arrival of Volscians, who might well have contributed to the continuity of the cult in the city.⁷⁸⁹

As Smith says, the population is likely to have been mixed at Satricum, and the situation will probably have been true in other areas affected by the Volscians, with a greater or lesser impact on local social and cultural continuity. The archaeological evidence does not definitively prove the historical account of a Volscian invasion, but it certainly demonstrates a Volscian presence in southern Latium, as well as a substantial change in social and economic circumstances from

⁷⁸⁵ Cornell 2005: 54-6 suggests that the decline in prosperity seen in the archaeological record in the fifth and fourth centuries BC provides some corroboration for literary accounts of early Rome.

⁷⁸⁶ Pulgram 1976: 253-4; Rix 1992: 39; Cornell 1995: 304; Gnade 2002: 147-8. Crawford 1981: 542, however, doubts that it was originally from Velitrae. See also Chapter 2, section 2.5.1.

⁷⁸⁷ Gnade 2002: 106-34. She also supports (pp.150-2) the proposal that Suessa Pometia was renamed Satricum by the Volscians.

⁷⁸⁸ Bouma 1996: 194-205.

⁷⁸⁹ Smith 1999: 474.

the beginning of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century BC. However strong the population presence or cultural influence of the Volscians might have been, it is notable that the boundary between the area reportedly occupied by them in the literary sources and the rest of Latium matches much more closely the limit of surviving stone objects with double-rounded moulding than the boundary between *Latium vetus* and *Latium adiectum*.⁷⁹⁰

No stone objects using the double-rounded design have been found in any of the cities described in the literary sources as occupied by the Volscians. Their southern extent ends on the coast at Ardea, some distance north of Antium and considerably further north than the boundary with *Latium adiectum* at Circeii. Velitrae, on the southern slopes of the Alban hills, is thought to be the most northerly place occupied by the Volscians, and there are no examples of the design from there, or from to the areas to the south and east, including at Satricum (fig. 8.4). To the east of Rome, the literary sources describe incursions at the same time from the Sabines and Aequi. The extent of their conquests is even less clear, though it is possible that the Aequi overran Tibur and Praeneste at the beginning of the fifth century BC.⁷⁹¹ There are objects with double-rounded moulding from the area around Tibur, but although all those that can be dated are from before the beginning of the fifth century, one (cat. no. C39) might date from the second half of the fourth century. At Praeneste there are only the two moulded blocks from a temple podium of uncertain date.

One possible explanation for this limited geographical distribution of the double-rounded design is that the arrival of the Volscians in southern Latium, and the pressure elsewhere from peoples to the east, brought about significant cultural changes. On the one hand, it may well have led to a deliberate break with previous Latin traditions for up to a century and a half in those areas with a substantial Volscian population, as Gnade argues happened at Satricum. On the other hand, it may also have strengthened the desire of the Romans and Latins in the parts of Latium they still firmly controlled – which largely coincides with the

⁷⁹⁰ I am grateful to Edward Bispham for suggesting this to me.

⁷⁹¹ Cornell 1995: 306.

distribution of the double-rounded design – to emphasise symbols of their common identity in opposition to the invading peoples. These symbols might already have been commonly accepted as representative of that identity, or the memory of them might have been manipulated at that time, investing objects or practices with a symbolic relevance that had not previously been apparent or regarded as important.

Victory over the Volscians was only achieved as part of Rome's overall conquest of Latium in 338 BC. After this, Latin identity became primarily a legal term, but the later historical tradition suggests that a sense of Latins and Romans sharing a common ethnic identity played a part in the differing Roman treatment of communities in Latium. Livy implies that Antium was a unique exception, since the existing population, whom he regards as Volscian rather than Latin (6.33), were allowed to be enrolled as colonists themselves when a new colony was sent to the city after the war (8.14). Appian also records that C. Gracchus argued in the late second century BC for all the rights of Roman citizenship to be granted to the Latins because of their *syngeneia*, or kinship, which did not apply to other allies (*B Civ.* 1.23). There may also, of course, have been practical reasons why Roman citizenship was granted to Latin communities, but only looser ties with Volscians and others, since their existing legal rights and social institutions were already much closer.⁷⁹² In either case, the Romans seem to have distinguished between their affinity with the Latins in terms of identity, social structure, religious practices, and cultural traditions, and their dissimilarity with the Volscians.

The limited distribution of objects using the double-rounded design might, therefore, be due to the interruption to cultural commonality in the south of Latium during the period of Volscian domination being so profound, in spite of the new colonies established during and after the re-conquest, that the Latin identity of this region now lacked the same prestige as the areas that had never been occupied. As a result, these southern and south-eastern parts of Latium, including areas that were later regarded as within *Latium vetus*, subsequently

⁷⁹² Sherwin-White 1973: 61.

remained outside the religious architectural tradition that had continued to develop in the north.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological and literary evidence suggest the early existence of a distinct Latin religious identity. Shared religious practices were regarded as a central element of that common Latin identity, and the archaeological evidence shows the use in Latium, but not elsewhere, of the double-rounded design from the first appearance of religious structures in stone in the sixth century BC.

Altars and other religious architecture are the type of object that could be invested with cultural significance in the expression of Latin identity. Double-rounded moulding is a style of decoration that could be used as a means of marking identity, and its apparently exclusive use, with relatively little variation, until the second century BC indicates that it was seen as a distinctive cultural tradition.

This sense of a distinct identity appears to have emerged first in response to invasions into Latium in the fifth and early fourth centuries BC, and was then defined more systematically in a set of ancestral myths that were formulated around the end of the fourth century BC, following Rome's re-conquest of Latium. The fact that the use of the double-rounded design was limited to the northern part of Latium, which was not occupied or heavily influenced by the invaders, and which contains all of the sites that feature in Rome's new foundation myths, suggests that this period was key to the definition of the Latin religious identity. It may well have been in the fifth and fourth centuries BC that the architectural tradition of using double-rounded moulding on religious objects gained greater significance as a cultural marker that distinguished the Latin people from others.

As a result, the double-rounded design became an important element of the self-definition of an ancestral Latin identity that could not subsequently be adopted by other peoples as aspects of Roman culture spread throughout Italy and beyond. Its memory, and the associated connotations of ancestral morality and

authority, could, however, continue to be evoked by Romans themselves through the use of the double-rounded design, as their traditional culture was increasingly transformed during the second and first centuries BC, until the changes introduced by Augustus superseded this traditional design.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined the archaeological evidence for the use of double-rounded mouldings in religious architecture in central Italy from the sixth to the first centuries BC. It has established that this was a Latin rather than an Etruscan architectural tradition, and it has offered a new perspective on the significance of this tradition for the expression of Latin religious identity. It has also provided insights into the connexions between antiquarianism and architectural conservatism during the second and first centuries BC. This concluding chapter recapitulates the arguments made in the thesis, and shows how they address my three research questions.

My first chapter set out my research questions, and established three key points. First, it is possible to identify a distinct Latin identity in the general archaeological record, even though there are no neat boundaries with other peoples of central Italy and the value of archaeological evidence alone in the determination of ethnic identity has been much debated. Second, the Roman literary tradition places great emphasis on the early existence of shared religious cults and practices as a central element of what they perceived as a common Latin identity. Third, both the literary and archaeological evidence indicate that the period towards the end of the fourth century BC, when Rome established control over the rest of Latium, was when the nature and boundaries of the Latin identity were defined, in terms of which communities shared a common history, religion, and ethnic ancestry.

Chapter 2 set out the terminology that I have followed in this thesis. It explained that the standard terms for rounded mouldings in English that have been used since the 1960s are too general and are liable to be misleading, and that, in particular, the term 'Etruscan round' covers too wide a variety of shapes and inevitably implies that these forms were originally Etruscan and were later adopted by other peoples in central Italy. I propose, therefore, a new terminology for such mouldings, based on the most commonly-used Italian terms, with the

most distinct form called a **rounded wave moulding**, and the design composed of two counter-posed rounded wave mouldings around an hourglass-shaped waist called a **double-rounded moulding**.

Against that background, the rest of the thesis addressed directly my research questions. In terms of the nature of the archaeological evidence for the use of the double-rounded design on religious architecture in central Italy, Chapter 3 showed that double-rounded moulding was used on religious architecture in Latium from its first appearance in stone in the sixth century BC. The evidence for temple podia is sparse, and the earliest surviving example of a podium, at S. Omobono in Rome, had a slightly different version of rounded mouldings. By the end of the sixth century BC, however, the double-rounded design is found on podia and there are no surviving early examples of any other design. U-shaped altars, square altars, votive bases, and miniature terracotta altars, or *arulae*, also all have double-rounded moulding when they first appear in the sixth century BC, and there are no clear examples before the second century BC of any altars in Latium that do not use a double-rounded design. The archaeological evidence shows that there was very little variation in the double-rounded design over time, but that its use in stone was limited to three main areas of Latium: the coastal region; in and near the city of Rome; and the area towards Tivoli to the east.

Chapter 4 showed that the rounded wave moulding and the double-rounded design were used in Etruria, but that Etruscan religious architecture was characterised by the variety of its decoration, and other forms of moulding were more characteristic of Etruscan usage. The use of the double-rounded design on religious architecture was, therefore, a distinct Latin tradition within the broader, common architectural language of central Italy. It also demonstrated that U-shaped altars were a distinct Latin form, though perhaps with some Greek influence, and that there are no Etruscan antecedents for the types of altars found in Rome and Latium.

Chapter 5 looked at the use of double-rounded mouldings outside Latium, in the areas conquered by Rome in the fourth and third centuries BC. It concluded that

there was no coherent or widespread policy of using the double-rounded design or other signifiers to proclaim the ancestral Latin identity of the new colonies, and that variations between the colonies indicate that local circumstances dictated their choice of architectural forms. This suggests that the double-rounded design was regarded as rooted in the areas of Latium where it originated, and could not be exported far beyond those borders or adopted by people who were not closely descended from those Latin communities.

The remaining chapters looked at how the double-rounded design's use related to expressions of identity, and at how its use came to be used to evoke memories of that identity. Chapter 6 demonstrated that the second century BC was a transitional period for the double-rounded design, with a modified version based on smaller rounded mouldings above and below a tall, flat surface being introduced that drew on Greek influences. This new design is found widely on temple podia throughout central Italy, in a way which suggests that this modified design was not seen as a signifier of Latin identity outside Latium. There are several altars from in and near Rome in the second and first centuries BC that continued to use the traditional double-rounded form, and where these have an inscription, they all appear to reflect contemporary support for religious conservatism, and to be intended to evoke memories of an ancestral Latin religious identity.

Chapter 7 established that, even though Augustus represented his religious reforms as a return to traditional practices, his reign marked the end of the period of transition away from the double-rounded design. The few examples that survive from this period might, in fact, reflect the Senate's continued adherence to the traditional form, and both the rounded wave moulding and the double-rounded design had no place in the new architectural forms that emerged under Augustus. A final revival of the modified version of the double-rounded design by Antoninus Pius in the mid-second century BC is an isolated example of how the design continued to retain some ability to evoke memories of a traditional identity long after it had ceased to be used on new buildings.

Chapter 8 demonstrated that religious objects, and in particular altars, can be invested with cultural significance as an expression of identity, and can be used as a means of evoking memories of that identity and the cultural values associated with it. It showed that monuments were especially important for Romans as repositories of cultural memories, which were regarded as reminders of achievements and moral standards as inspiring examples to be followed by later generations. It also set out how the limited geographical distribution of the double-rounded design matches the literary evidence in establishing the extent and nature of the communities that were regarded as belonging to the traditional Latin identity.

Overall, the archaeological evidence is clear that the use of the double-rounded design on religious architecture is a distinct Latin architectural tradition. It is seen as soon as stone architecture is adopted in the sixth century BC, and its appearance at the same time in the coastal part of Latium, in Rome, and in the areas to the east of Rome, indicates that it was a common tradition in those areas rather than something imposed by Rome through conquest.

The close correlation of this archaeological evidence with the area of Latium that was not conquered by the Volscians in the fifth century BC, and the continued use of the double-rounded design there after the re-conquest of Latium, suggests that the design became regarded as a signifier of a traditional, unconquered Latin identity at that time. The very limited subsequent use of the design outside that part of Latium implies that this architectural form was seen as a core element of Latin identity that could not be transferred, either to new cities or to new people who were not rooted in those ancestral communities.

The design came to be modified, under Greek influence, in the second century BC, but that new form seems to have lost its essential link to this ancestral Latin identity, since it is found widely in central Italy, and even in areas where Roman influence only became strong around a century later. The traditional double-rounded form, however, remained in use with very little variation from earlier examples, and the archaeological evidence indicates that it was regarded as

symbolical of traditional religious values and an ancestral Latin identity until Augustus replaced it with new architectural forms that were intended to convey new cultural associations.

Relatively little attention has been devoted to the process of Roman ethnic and cultural self-definition. There has been heated debate over how, why, and whether, other peoples adopted aspects of Roman culture and identity, without a clear definition of what made the Romans Roman in their own eyes, rather than what made other people Roman. This thesis offers the view that the sense of an ancestral identity shared between Rome and certain Latin communities was identified in the face of the Volscian invasion in the fifth century BC, and has put forward evidence that shows that the rounded wave moulding and the double-rounded design were identified then with that identity, and retained that association until at least the end of the first century BC.

APPENDIX 1

GLOSSARY OF MOULDINGS

(See also fig. 2.2)

Abacus: The square or rectangular block at the top of an altar.

Cavetto: A single concave curve above or below a fascia.

Cyma recta: A double curve with the concave section protruding.

Cyma reversa: A double curve with the convex section protruding.

Echinus: The convex moulding below an abacus or above a plinth.

Etruscan round: A term coined by Lucy Shoe for a range of rounded mouldings found in central Italy.

Fascia: A flat projecting band.

Fillet: A narrow flat band.

Half-round: A convex moulding with a semi-circular profile.

Hawksbeak or **Beak:** A concave, overhanging curve cut beneath a rounded moulding.

Ovolo: A convex moulding with the point of maximum projection towards the top.

Plinth: The square or rectangular block at the bottom of an altar.

Quarter-round: A convex moulding with a quarter-circular profile.

Rounded Wave: A very rounded double curve with the convex section protruding which is typical of central Italy.

Scotia: A concave moulding usually found at the centre of a double-rounded altar.

Torus: a convex half-round moulding.

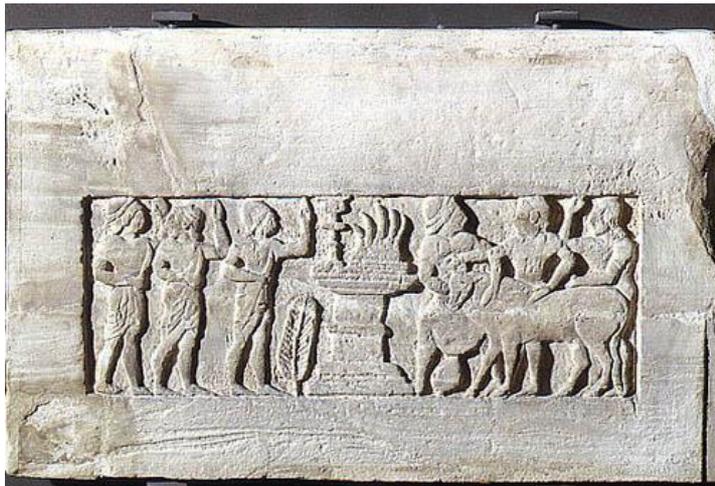
APPENDIX 2

ITEMS EXCLUDED FROM THE LIST OF DOUBLE-ROUNDED OBJECTS

There are eight items listed by Studniczka and Bowerman that I have not included as true examples of objects with double-rounded moulding.

A2.1. Altar depicted on a funerary urn from Chiusi.⁷⁹³

Studniczka cites this as the earliest development of the double-rounded form, with the upper and lower mouldings on a rectangular block starting to increase in size, influenced by the Doric echinus. Its rounded mouldings are, however, too small to be regarded as the principal element of its design, and its long, central rectangular section with a torus is similar to many other depictions on Etruscan mirrors and urns. Dating from around 470-450 BC, it is later than the earliest examples of altars, bases and podia with prominent double-rounded mouldings from Lavinium, Corcolle, Tivoli and Rome in Latium.



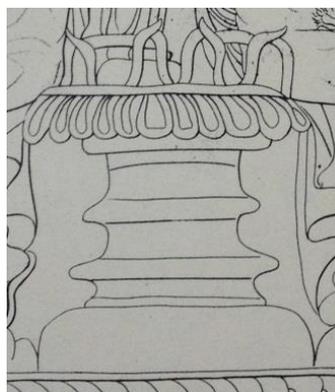
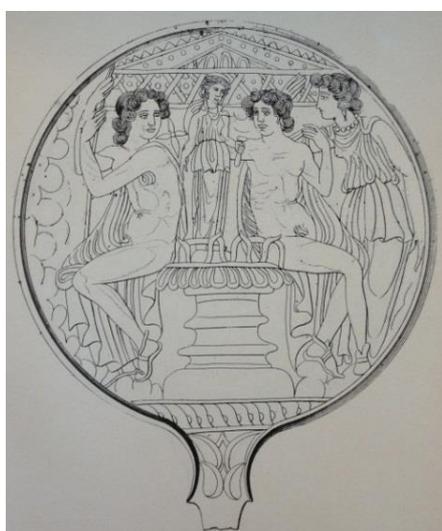
Paris, funerary urn from Chiusi (Musée du Louvre Ma 3611).
http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=27906 (accessed 3 June 2015).

⁷⁹³ Studniczka 1903: 143; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.16; Jannot 1984: 23-5 (his Pl.B.I.105 is misidentified as Ma 3610). See also Briguet 1972: 856-77, who demonstrates that two reliefs associated with Ma 3611 are fakes.

A2.2. Stone base dedicated by M. Claudius Marcellus from Luni.⁷⁹⁴

I argue in Chapter 6, section 6.3, that this base may not have followed the double-rounded design, but is nevertheless important for tracing the development of this type of moulded decoration.

A2.3. Altar depicted on a mirror in Berlin.⁷⁹⁵ The altar has two tori on a tall central section with shallow concave curves, making it very different in character from altars with double-rounded moulding.



Berlin, mirror. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.2, tab.239 (and detail).

A2.4, A2.5. Altars depicted on two mirrors in Berlin.⁷⁹⁶

These two mirrors depict Tyro and her sons in a similar composition to another mirror that I have included.⁷⁹⁷ On one, the altar has two central tori (like the altar on the mirror in Berlin at A2.3 above), and the other has a single torus on a long, central stem that is only slightly curved (like the altar on the cinerary urn from Perugia at A2.1 above). Perhaps significantly, the mirror that depicts an altar with more pronounced double-rounded moulding (cat. no. E7, which also has a

⁷⁹⁴ Studniczka 1903: 142, no.11; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.11.

⁷⁹⁵ Gerhard 1840-67, vol.2: 8, 222-3; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.19.

⁷⁹⁶ Gerhard 1840-67, vol.4: 99-101; Bowerman 1913: 61, nos 21, 22..

⁷⁹⁷ Chapter 4, section 4.5, and cat. no. E7

typically Etruscan long central section) shows a temple in the background, unlike the other two mirrors.



Berlin, mirror. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.4, tab.351.2 (and detail).



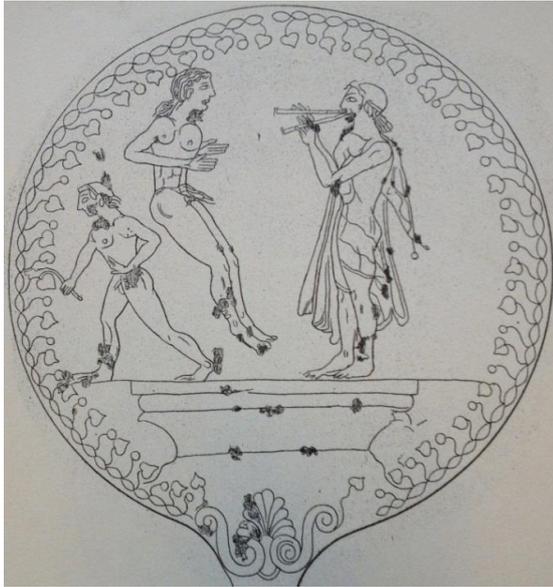
Berlin, mirror in Berlin. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.4, tab.351.3 (and detail).

A2.6. Altar depicted on a mirror from Chiusi in Boston.⁷⁹⁸

This mirror shows a flautist, dancer and another figure on a line representing the ground, below which there is a capital-like base consisting of a thin abacus, a thin half-round, a larger hawkbeak section, and a barely-sketched element at the bottom. Although similar to elements of double-rounded moulding, it is

⁷⁹⁸ Klügmann and Körte 1897 (Gerhard vol.5): 189-90, tab.144; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.25; Mayer-Prokop 1967: 35, tab.39.1-2; De Puma 1993: 26-7, 76-81, fig.5a-f.

decoration filling the space at the bottom of the mirror rather than an object in the composition.



Boston, mirror from Chiusi. Klügmann and Körte 1897 (Gerhard vol.5), tab.144.

A2.7, A2.8. Altars or bases in two Etruscan tomb paintings, from the ‘Tomba dei vasi dipinti’ and ‘Tomba delle leonesse’ at Tarquinia.⁷⁹⁹

The painted shape in the centre of a gable in these and other Etruscan tombs has been thought to represent an altar.⁸⁰⁰ There are Greek altars with concave sides,⁸⁰¹ and a similar altar from the third or second century BC was found in the sanctuary at Pozzarello, near Bolsena.⁸⁰² More recently, Peter Danner has argued that the shapes are stylised architectural supports that do not represent actual objects such as altars, and Alessandro Naso, from studying fifty-eight similar depictions at Tarquinia and a further forty throughout Etruria, agrees that the vast majority are stylised decorations, even if they developed initially from

⁷⁹⁹ Bowerman 1913: 62, nos 27, 28.

⁸⁰⁰ Elderkin 1941: 1, 10-11. Körte 1908: 5-6, tab.42, cited by Bowerman, does not mention the shape.

⁸⁰¹ Yavis 1949: 167-8; Cassimatis *et al.* 1991: 272, tab.1, types A5, B5.

⁸⁰² Gàbrici 1906a: 71; 1906b: 188; Tamburini 1985: 45; 1998: 102; Acconcia 2000: 125. See Chapter 4, section 4.4.2.

representations of real architectural elements.⁸⁰³ In any case, altars with concave sides are very different from the double-rounded design.



Tarquinia, 'Tomba dei vasi dipinti'. *Monumenti dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 9 (1870): tab.13 (detail).



Tarquinia, 'Tomba delle leonesse'. Körte 1908: tab.42 (detail).

⁸⁰³ Danner 1993: 25-38; Naso 1996: 375-94.

ABBREVIATIONS

Journal abbreviations follow those used in *L'Année philologique*.

Classical references are abbreviated in accordance with S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds) (1996), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn), Oxford.

<i>CIL</i>	Various authors (1873 – present), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
<i>IG</i>	Various authors, (1873 – present), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin.
<i>ILLRP</i>	Degrassi, A. (ed.) (1963-65), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> (2 vols), Florence.
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, H. (ed.) (1892-1916), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin.
<i>ThesCRA</i>	Various authors (2004-06), <i>Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles, CA.

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**Sacred by Design:
Expressing Latin Identity through
Architectural Mouldings**

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**Part 2 of 3
Catalogue**

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CATALOGUE

The following is a list and description of all the objects, or representations of objects, that use the original version of the double-rounded moulding design. The distinction between these and other objects with rounded mouldings is not always clear-cut, but I have followed a strict approach, including only objects that clearly, or very probably, had two opposed rounded sections as a main element of their design. There are nine items listed by Studniczka and Bowerman that I have not included as true examples of objects with such double-rounded moulding; these are described in Appendix 2.

The objects are mostly listed individually, but there are three groups (certain *cippi* from Orvieto, terracotta *arulae*, and four issues of coins under Augustus) that have only one catalogue number each, and are discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this thesis. Each section is arranged in broad chronological order where this can be deduced, but precise, or even approximate, dating is often difficult. The information on each item covers, as appropriate: last recorded location; date of construction; date of discovery or excavation; material; orientation; and dimensions. Descriptions are from the top of an object to the bottom, and all measurements are in metres, unless otherwise stated. Each entry is followed by the relevant bibliography.

A: TEMPLE PODIA

A1. Rome, Area Sacra di S. Omobono: second archaic temple.

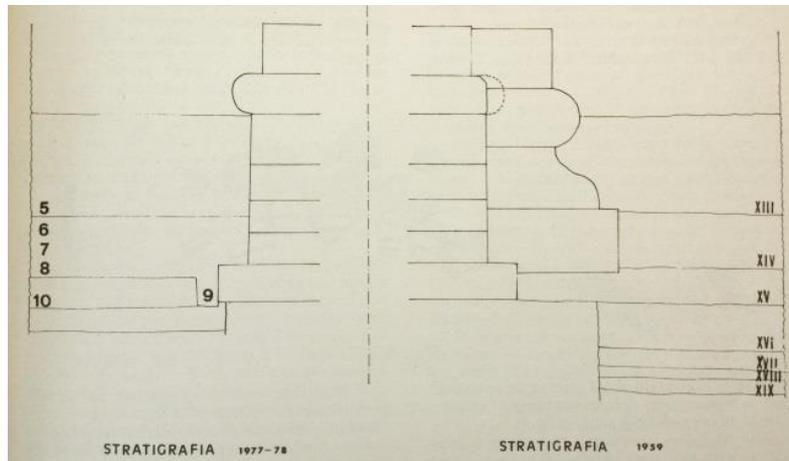
In the Forum Boarium. Around 530 BC. Several excavations from 1938.

Orientation: south-south-west. H: 1.2m, L: 13.2m, W: 11.2m (Colonna 1991: 53); or H: 1.61m, L: 13.2m, W: 11.54m (Ioppolo 1989: 33; Winter 2009: 316).

The first temple on this site was built around 580 BC and measured 10.3m square and 1.7m high. Its podium was crowned by a simple half-round moulding. In the second phase the podium was re-faced, at least on the western side (but not on the northern, rear side) by the addition of four courses, of which the middle two

were a half-round over a curved lower echinus. This is the first appearance of the opposed, double-rounded shape, though the upper section is a half-round rather than a curved echinus under an abacus.

The podium was also lengthened on the southern side in this second phase to become rectangular and incorporate the formerly separate altar, which had a similar moulded profile but with smaller dimensions (see cat. no. C1). The second temple was destroyed by fire around 510 BC. Only the north-western corner survives, where a foundation was sunk for a fourth-century BC temple built on a deep platform of rubble and fill that covered the archaic remains.



Rome, Area Sacra di San Omobono: archaic temple. Section diagram of (left) the north side of the podium, belonging wholly to the first phase, and (right) the west side, with the extended podium of the second phase. Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 43, fig.3.

Gjerstad 1959-60: 33-8, 99-100; Castagnoli 1959-60: 165-6; Shoe 1965: 22; Ioppolo 1972: 15; Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 41-4; Ioppolo 1989: 32-3; Colonna 1991: 51-7; Holloway 1994: 70-80; Edlund-Berry 2008: 441-2; Winter 2009: 149-50, 316; Potts 2011a: 43-5, 49.

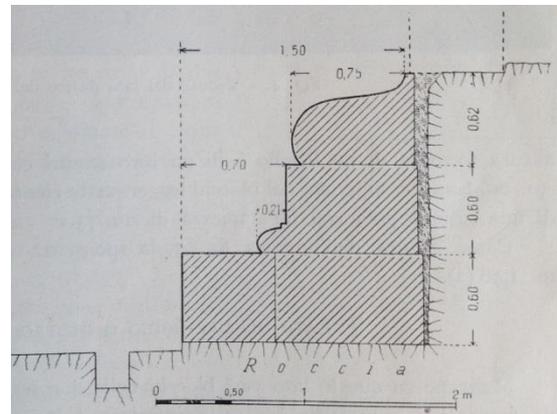
A2. Ardea, Casarinaccio.

In the Casarinaccio (or Casalinaccio) district, in the ancient forum of Ardea. Late sixth century BC. Excavations between 1926 and 1934. Orientation: south-west. H: 1.82m; L: at least 31.5m, W: 23.35m.

Large parts of the podium are missing, including the whole of its front. Three courses of the facing remain: a 0.60m-high plinth at the bottom with no moulding;

a central 0.60m-high course inset by about 0.50m with a fillet and torus at the bottom, and on top a moulded echinus section 0.62m high. The profile of the echinus moulding on the rear, north-eastern side is not as high or deep as that on the long south-eastern side.

The surviving echinus moulding are of the type that elsewhere always forms the lower part of a double-rounded profile, but at Ardea no element of any upper moulding survives, and so it cannot be certain that the podium had this design.



Ardea: temple at Casarinaccio. Left: northern side of podium, Stefani 1954: 7, fig.2a. Right: profile, Stefani 1954: 7, fig.3.

Stefani 1954: 7-10; Castagnoli 1959-60: 166; Shoe 1965: 84-6; Morselli and Tortorici 1982: 91; Zevi 1989: 43; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992: 124; Di Mario 2007: 31-3, 44.

A3. Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro (ancient Castrum Inui): Temple B, second phase.

In the Fosso dell'Incastro sanctuary. 490 – 470 BC. Excavations from 2007. Orientation: west-south-west. H: 1.55m; L: 22m; W: 14.6m.

The entire podium survives, though parts are badly weathered. There were five steps at the front. It faces the altar and base (or two altars) at cat. nos B21 and

D11. The moulding consists of an abacus (0.45m high), upper echinus (0.29m), lower echinus (0.29m), and a plinth with a rounded 'S'-shaped top (perhaps weathered from a simple torus or quarter-round) and a small rectangular fillet (0.07m) at the bottom.

The plinth projects about 0.07m beyond the lower echinus, as on the northern and eastern sides of the podium at Ardea, Casarinaccio (cat. no. A2), although there the plinth does not have a rounded top and there is a small fillet and torus at the bottom. Its profile with a torus or 'S'-shaped round below the lower echinus and a fillet at the bottom of the plinth is most closely matched by altars IX Superior and X at Lavinium, dating from the second half of the fourth century BC (cat. nos B11-B12). Many other U-shaped altars at Lavinium, S. Omobono and Fosso dell'Incastro have a fillet or torus either at the bottom of the lower echinus or at the bottom of a plinth, but not both. The lower echinus is larger, and projects beyond the upper echinus, as on the podia at Sora, Villa San Silvestro, and Isernia (cat. nos A5-A7), and on all the U-shaped altars where elements of the upper echinus survive, and on some other altars and bases. One or perhaps two layers of plaster were applied to the podium in the third century BC.



Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro: Temple B, second phase.
<http://www.castruminui.it/areasacra.html>



Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro: Temple B, second phase, detail of podium. Di Mario 2012: 473, fig.10.

Di Mario 2009: 333; Ceccarelli 2010b: 194; Torelli 2011: 200-2; Di Mario 2012: 467, 469-71.

A4. Palestrina (ancient Praeneste).

Under the cathedral. End of the fourth or first half of the third century BC?

Excavation in the late 1940s. Orientation: south-south-west. Estimated original L: 20-24m, W: 30-34m.

The remains consist of two moulded tufa blocks in the northern wall of an ancient building under the cathedral, seemingly part of an upper and lower echinus.

Fausto Zevi argues that they are in their original position, and that their double-rounder profile and the likely size of the structure indicate a temple podium similar to those at Villa San Silvestro, Sora and Isernia, and of a similar date.

The evidence for a podium with double-rounder moulding at Palestrina is therefore slight and poorly recorded, but the moulded blocks are distinctive and it is likely that there was such a podium. Its assessed date assumes that the

temples at Villa San Silvestro, Sora and Isernia were built shortly after the colonisation of those areas, and that the details of their design were in line with contemporary usage in Latium rather than deliberately old-fashioned.



Palestrina: moulded remains under the cathedral. Fasolo and Gullini 1953: 30, fig.39.

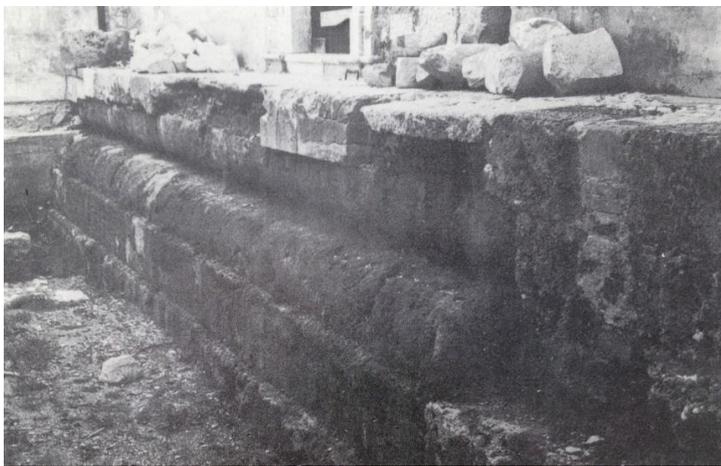
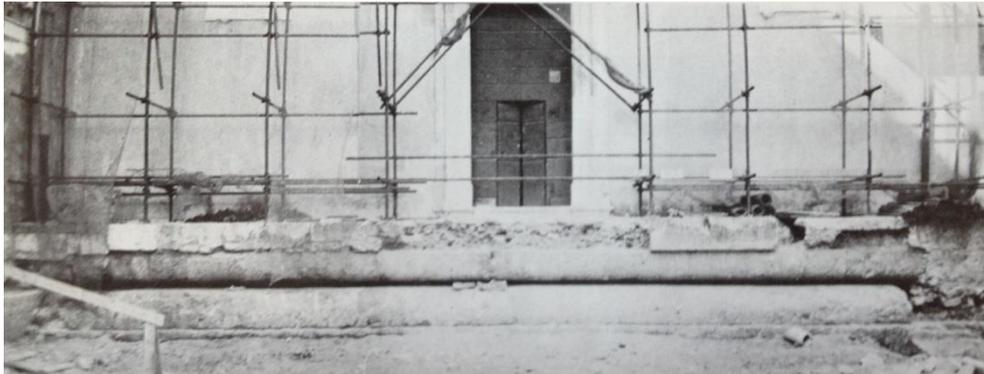
Fasolo and Gullini 1953: 27-9; Zevi 1989: 42-4; Pittaccio 2001: 50, 169-71.

A5. Sora.

Under the Cathedral. Third century BC? (Latin colony 303 BC). Discovered in 1974; excavations 1977-79. Orientation: south (Zevi Gallina 1978: 65; Catalli and Scheid 1994: 57); south-east (Mazzazappa 2003: 102). H: 3m, L: 37m, W: 24m.

Architectural terracottas indicate that the roof was rebuilt in the second century BC, but the style of moulding suggests that the podium was built in the third century BC. The plinth course is 0.62m high, the double-rounded moulding 1.15m, and the abacus 0.38m, so probably only 2.15m was above ground. The lower echinus is larger and extends more deeply than the upper one. No moulding survives on the eastern side, but 20m remains on the western side and

it was also found on the northern side. The southern front is obscured by the cathedral.



Sora: temple. Zevi Gallina 1978: tab.27.1 (top). Zevi Gallina 1978: tab.27.2 (bottom).

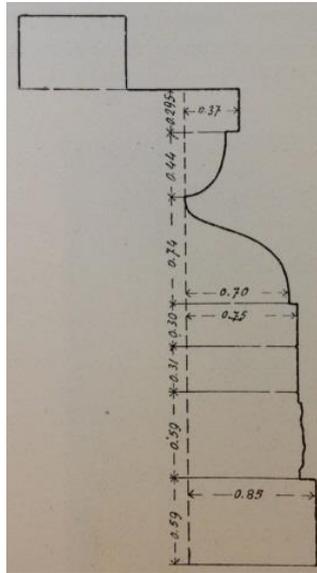
Zevi Gallina 1978: 64-5; Lolli Ghetti and Pagliardi 1980: 177-9; Beranger 1981: 62; Tanzilli 1982: 127-37; 2009: 43-4; 2012a: 25-8; 2012b: 35-7, 46-9; Catalli and Scheid 1994: 55-8; Mezzazappa 2003: 101-3.

A6. Villa San Silvestro.

Under the parish church. Third century BC? (area conquered by Rome in 290 BC). Several excavations from 1921-23. Orientation: south-east, in line with local centuriation. H: 3.26m, L: 29m, W: 20.72m.

The four lowest courses below the moulding are 0.59m, 0.59m, 0.31m, and 0.30m high. The lower moulded course is 0.74m high, the upper is 0.44m (1.18m in total), and the abacus is 0.295m high. The lowest course served as a foundation and was buried, and therefore 2.67m of the podium were above ground. The

lower echinus is larger and extends more deeply than the upper one. The moulding ran along all four sides, and two projecting wings flanked a frontal staircase. The podium was covered in thick white plaster, perhaps from the reconstruction of the steps and superstructure after an earthquake in 99 BC.



Villa San Silvestro: temple. Left: northern side of podium. Photograph by Lily Withycombe, August 2010. Right: profile of western side. Bendinelli 1938: 146, fig.5.

Bendinelli 1938: 143-57; Castagnoli 1959-60: 166; Shoe 1965: 90-2; Ciotti 1966: 306; Stalinski 2001: 273, 278-9; Diosono 2009: 59-69.

A7. Isernia (ancient Aesernia).

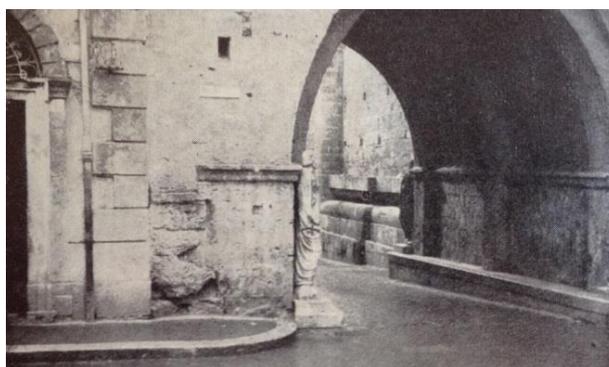
Under the Cathedral. Third century BC? (Latin colony 263 BC). Excavations in the 1980s. Orientation: south-south-west. L: 30m, W: 22m.

A section of about 13m of the eastern side of the podium is visible under the cathedral. The lower echinus is larger and extends more deeply than the upper one. Excavations in the early 1980s revealed the lower echinus and one lower course on the western side. Two projecting wings flanked a frontal staircase.

A section of moulding about 1.70m high is incorporated into a medieval arch to one side of the rear of the temple. It seems to comprise two courses of abacus, a double-rounded section where the lower echinus is larger and extends more deeply than the upper one, and one surviving lower course. It has always been interpreted as an altar, but the similarity in size and profile to the moulding on the temple suggests that it might have been a section of the podium that was reused in the Middle Ages, and so it is not included separately in the catalogue.



Isernia: temple. Left: eastern side of podium. Pasqualini 1966: 82, fig.7. Right: western side, Terzani 1996: tab.2



Isernia: section of moulding embedded in medieval tower. Left: Pasqualini 1966: 83. Right, showing it in relation to the eastern side of the temple: Pasqualini 1966: 81, fig.6.

Castagnoli 1959-60: 166; Shoe 1965: 92; Pasqualini 1966: 83; Diebner 1979: 23; Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 185; Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 103; Terzani 1996: 149-51; Uytterhoeven 1998-99: 244-6.

B: U-SHAPED ALTARS

B1-B17. Lavinium.

In situ. Seventeen altars from the mid-sixth century to the third century BC, or perhaps later. Discovered in 1957 onwards. Tufa outer moulding around a cappellaccio core. Orientation: east. Remains vary from very fragmentary to virtually complete. Varying sizes.

A row of thirteen stone altars in a sanctuary outside Lavinium. The oldest date from around the middle of the sixth century BC, broadly contemporary with the second temple at S. Omobono, and they increase in number over time, until twelve were in use together when it reached its greatest extent in the second half of the fourth century BC. Four altars (I, II, VIII, and IX) replaced earlier altars whose remains are preserved beneath them, so that in total there are seventeen, all of which follow the same basic U-shaped design. The bottom of a further, older altar is set apart from the others. It may also have had double-rounded moulding, but the remains do not verify this and so I have not included it in the catalogue.

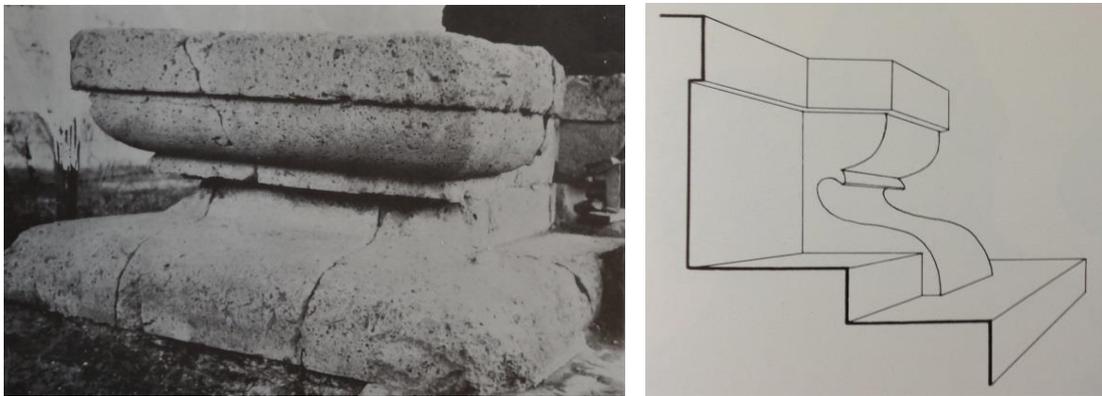
Other finds, especially votive objects, show intensive use of the site from the fourth to second centuries BC, when the site was abandoned. The altars were probably associated with a federal cult, perhaps involving the different Latin communities each maintaining their own altar at the site.

The construction of the altars can be grouped into five broad phases. They are largely similar in shape, though they all differ in profile, sometimes only slightly. Their dimensions vary considerably. Altar IV is by far the largest, measuring 4.80m by 2.35m. The others range from 2.47m to 3.50m in length and from 1.22m to 2.25m in width, and around 0.80m to 1.10m in height. The poor preservation of the upper section in many cases makes it difficult to compare all the details of their profiles, but their essential form of two opposed rounded sections remains very similar from the earliest (Altar XIII, built by the mid-sixth century BC), to those built at the end of the fourth century BC and the three rebuilt after that. These three latest altars (Altars I Superior, II Superior, and VIII

Superior) are built with long, parallel blocks rather than the earlier method of using squarer blocks, although their outward appearance is similar. The archaic origin and communal nature of the site might well have strengthened the tendency to preserve a traditional form in the new and rebuilt altars.

B1. Altar XIII. By the mid-sixth century BC. H: 0.82m, L: 2.52m, W: 1.60m.

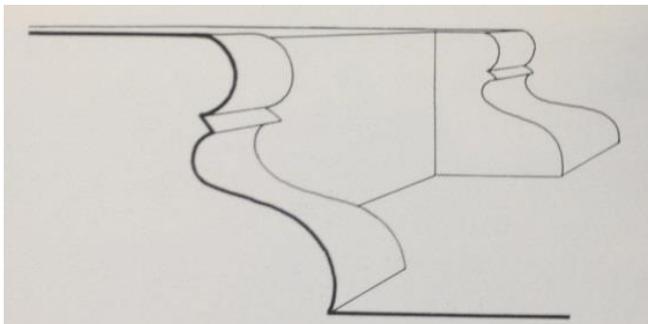
The oldest and most complete altar, having been buried in the second half of the fourth century BC when Altars IX Superior, X, XI and XII were built. Abacus, upper echinus with hawksbeak, and lower echinus resting directly on a platform.



Lavinium: Altar XIII. Left: Cozza 1975: 147, fig.180. Right: Cozza 1975: 149, fig.183.

B2. Altar VIII Inferior. Mid-sixth century BC. H: c. 0.38m; L: 2.69m, W: 2.04m.

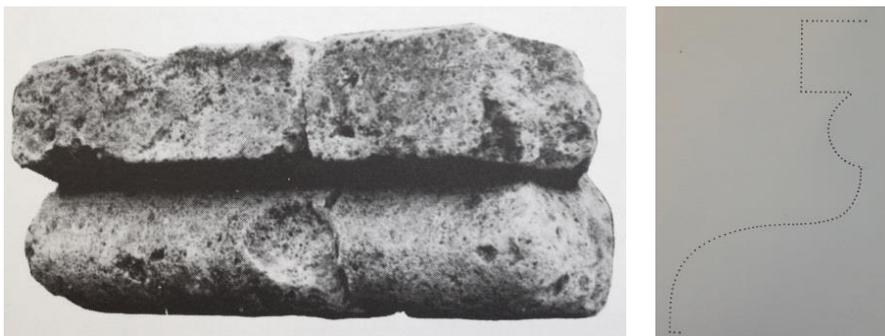
Upper part missing. Torus, hawksbeak and lower echinus resting directly on a platform.



Lavinium: Altar VIII Inferior. Cozza 1975: 118, fig.133.

B3. Altar IX Inferior. Mid-sixth century BC.

Only fragments remain, which suggest that it might have had a profile similar to the second temple at S. Omobono, with abacus, half-round, and lower echinus. Traces of red paint survive.



Lavinium: Altar IX Inferior. Left: Cozza 1975: 135, fig.4. Right (reconstructed profile): Cozza 1975: 132, fig.156.

B4. Altar IV. Mid-fifth century BC. H: 0.38m, L: 4.80m, W: 2.35m.

The most distinct altar in terms of size and profile. By far the largest at Lavinium, but similar in dimensions to those at S. Omobono and Castrum Inui. Upper part missing. Remains of the lower echinus, torus, plinth, fillet and torus on a platform.



Lavinium: Altar IV. Left: Cozza 1975: 105, fig.107. Right: Cozza 1975: 107, fig.111.

B5. Altar III. Mid-fifth century BC.

Too few fragments remain to reconstruct its size or moulding. Shares a common platform with Altars I and II Inferior.



Lavinium: Altar III. Cozza 1975: 103, fig. 104.

B6. Altar I Inferior. Mid-fifth century BC. L: 3.20m; W: 2.26m.

Upper part missing. Lower echinus and shallow plinth. Common platform with Altars III and II Inferior.

(No photograph available.)

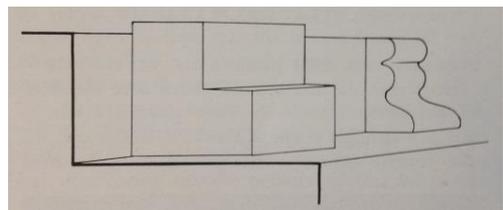
B7. Altar II Inferior. Mid-fifth century BC. L: 3.15m, W: 1.22m

Upper part missing. Lower echinus resting directly on the common platform with Altars III and I Inferior.

(No photograph available.)

B8. Altar V. Mid-fifth sixth century BC. H: c. 0.46m; L: 3.25m, W: 2.02m.

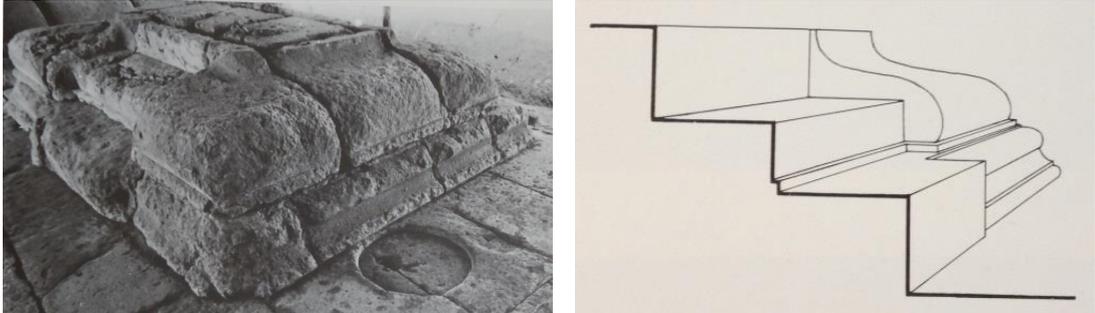
A distinct profile. Upper part missing. Two half-rounds over a lower echinus resting directly on a platform. Two steps survive between the wings, suggesting that this altar might have been unusually high.



Lavinium: Altar V. Left: Cozza 1975: 108, fig.113. Right: Cozza 1975: 109, fig.117.

B9. Altar VI. Second half of the fifth century or fourth century BC. H: c. 0.67m, L: 3.27m, W: 2.25m.

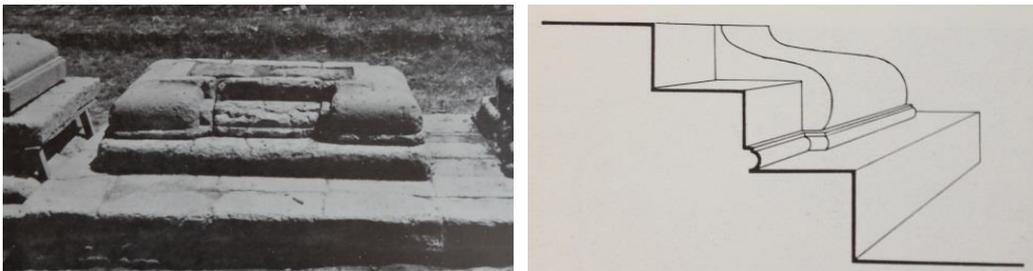
Upper part missing. Lower echinus, fillet, torus, scotia, and torus resting directly on a platform.



Lavinium: Altar VI. Left: Cozza 1975: 112, fig. 121. Right: Cozza 1975: 114, fig. 125.

B10. Altar VII. Second half of the fifth century or fourth century BC. H: c. 0.66m, L: 2.79m, W: 2.19m.

Upper part missing. Lower echinus, fillet, and a 24cm plinth.



Lavinium: Altar VII. Left: Cozza 1975: 114, fig.126. Right: Cozza 1975: 116, fig.129.

B11. Altar IX Superior. Second half of the fourth century BC. H: c. 0.67m, L: 3.00m, W: 2.20m.

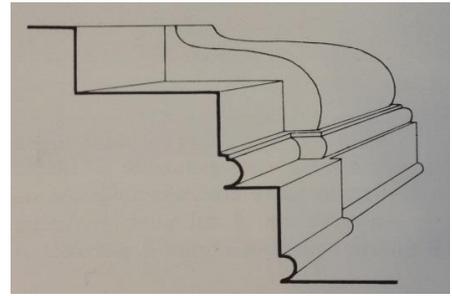
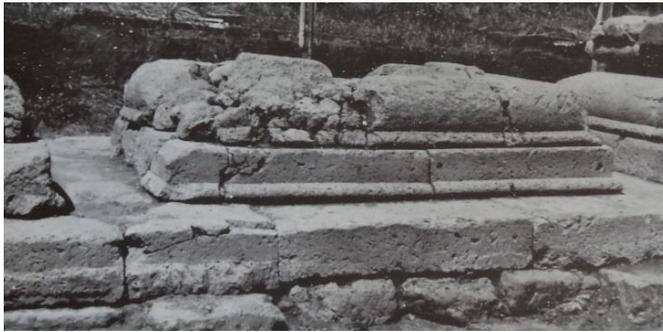
Upper part missing. Lower echinus, fillet, torus, and plinth with torus at the bottom. Common platform with Altars X, XI and XII.



Lavinium: Altar IX Superior. Left: Cozza 1975: 120, fig.136. Right: Cozza 1975: 121, fig.139.

B12. Altar X. Second half of the fourth century BC. H: 0.665m; L: 2.64m, W: 1.93m.

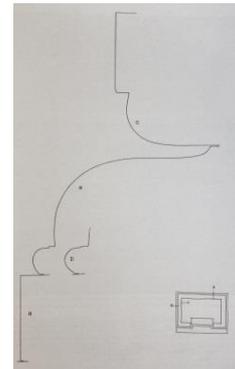
Upper part missing. Lower echinus, torus, and 26cm plinth with 10cm torus at the bottom. Common platform with Altars IX Superior, XI and XII.



Lavinium: Altar X. Left: Cozza 1975: 137, fig.164. Right: Cozza 1975: 138, fig.166.

B13. Altar XI. Second half of the fourth century BC. H: 0.965m, L: 2.64m, W: 2.21m.

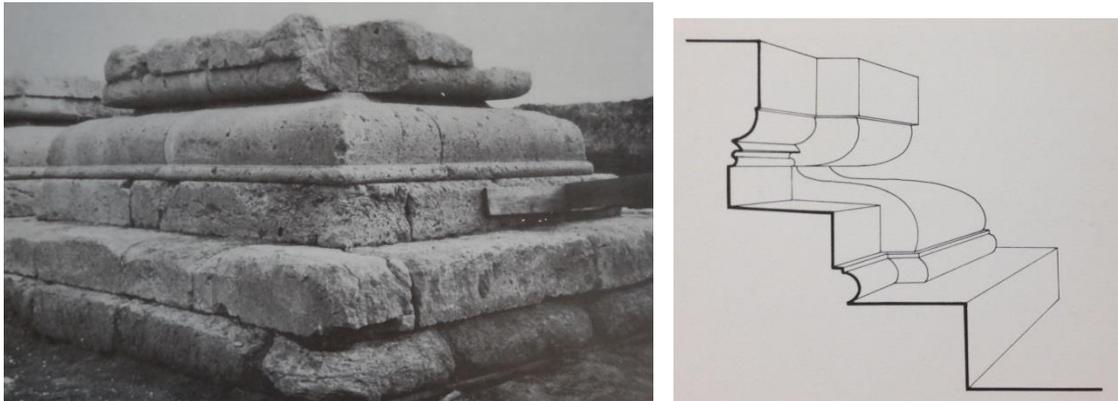
Virtually complete. Abacus, upper echinus, lower echinus, torus, and plinth. Common platform with Altars IX Superior, X and XII. The upper echinus extends much less far than the lower one, as in the podia of Sora, Villa S. Silvestro, and Isernia (cat. nos A5-A7).



Lavinium: Altar XI. Left: Cozza 1975: 139, fig.167. Right: Cozza 1975: 141, fig.171.

B14. Altar XII. Second half of the fourth century BC. H: 1.06m, L: 2.77m, W: 2.18m.

Virtually complete. Abacus, upper echinus, lower echinus, torus, and plinth. Common platform with Altars IX Superior, X and XI. The upper echinus extends much less far than the lower one, as in the podia of Sora, Villa S. Silvestro, and Isernia (cat. nos A4-A7).



Lavinium: Altar XII. Left: Cozza 1975: 147, fig. 179. Right: Cozza 1975: 142, fig. 172.

B15. Altar I Superior. Third century BC or later. L: 2.52m, W: 1.88m.

Elements of the whole profile survive. Abacus, scotia with the upper part similar to a hawk's beak, lower echinus, fillet, and plinth. Both of the wings have flowers sculpted in relief on the lower echinus.



Lavinium: Altar I Superior. Left: Cozza 1975: 96, fig. 94. Right: Cozza 1975: 101, fig. 101.

B16. Altar II Superior. Third century BC or later. L: 3.50m, W: 1.85m.
Upper part missing. Lower echinus, fillet, and plinth. Both of the wings
have flowers sculpted in relief on the lower echinus.



Lavinium: Altar II Superior. Cozza 1975: 99, fig.98.

B17. Altar VIII Superior. Third century BC or later. L: 2.47m, W: 1.82m.
Upper part missing. Upper echinus, torus, and plinth.



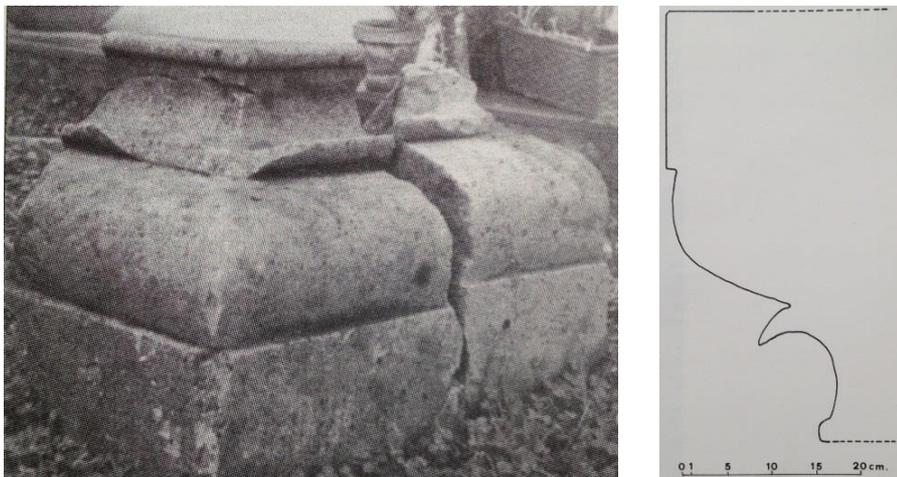
Lavinium: Altar VIII Superior (and Inferior). Cozza 1975: 117, fig.130.

Castagnoli 1959-60: 145-8; Shoe 1965: 100-3; Castagnoli *et al.* 1975: 3-4; Cozza
1975: 89-174; Castagnoli 1977: 464-5; Giuliani and Sommella 1977: 359;
Holloway 1994: 128- 41; Cornell 1995: 109; Smith 1996: 134-5, 219-22; Panella
2004: 252; 2012: 580-3; Moser and Hay 2013: 363-6; Moser 2014.

B18. Ardea, below the Colle della Banditella.

In situ. Fourth century BC? Discovered in 1981-82. Tufa. Three main fragments of the upper half: H: 0.50m.

The fragments were found at the bottom of a slope below the Colle della Banditella, just south of Ardea. The largest fragment comprises a tall abacus, the upper echinus, a hawksbeak above a concave section, and a small torus. A hawksbeak is also found on Altars XIII at Lavinium (cat. no. B1), but the torus means that its profile matches Altar I Superior more closely (cat. no. B15). This dates from the third century BC, but altar designs at Lavinium are conservative, and the Banditella altar is probably as old as the first votive deposits in the sanctuary, which date from the fourth century BC. Since hawksbeak mouldings have only been found elsewhere in Latium on the early U-shaped altars at Lavinium, it is likely that this altar was also U-shaped.



Ardea: altar found below the Colle della Banditella. Left: Ceccarelli 2010: 316, fig.4 (showing the upper part inverted). Right: Crescenzi 1990: 195, fig.8.4.4.

Melis and Quilici Gigli 1982: 37; Crescenzi and Tortorici 1983: 91; Crescenzi 1990: 195; Ceccarelli 2010a: 315-6.

B19-B20. Rome, Area Sacra di S. Omobono: two altars.

In situ. Early fourth century. Discovered in 1937-38. Peperino outer moulding around a tufa core. Orientation: east. Most of the lower half of the western altar,

and one section of the lower half of the eastern altar. Both originally: L: c.4.00m; W: 2.16m; wings 1.20m across and 1.00m deep.

These two altars are aligned with the fronts of the two republican-age temples. Both faced east, like the altars at Lavinium, although the temples faced south. Both also had small wells at their north-eastern corner, although there is no record of any finds from them. Much more of the western altar survives than the eastern, and the remains suggest that the two were very similar. The surviving lower sections consist of an echinus and torus, which is similar to altars at Lavinium of a broadly similar date (Altar VII from the second half of the fifth century, and Altars IX Superior, X, XI and XII from the fourth century: cat. nos B10-B14). They do not have the plinths of the Lavinium altars, and stand instead directly on a paved area which is also in peperino, with rounded moulding along its edge. They are longer than all the altars at Lavinium apart from Altar IV (cat. no. B4), but have similar dimensions to the one at Castrum Inui (cat. no. B21).



Rome, Area Sacra di S. Omobono. Top: western altar. Bottom: eastern altar. Photographs by author, September 2012.

Colini 1938: 280; 1940: 75; 1959-60: 4; Lugli 1946: 544; Castagnoli 1959-60: 148-9; Shoe 1965: 104; Somella 1968: 65; Torelli 1973: 100-3; Pisani Sartorio and Virgili 1979: 44; Coarelli 1988: 211.

B21. Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell’Incastro (ancient Castrum Inui).

In situ. Fourth or third century BC. Discovered in 1999. Peperino. Orientation: south-east. Lower half and part of the upper half: H: 0.85m, L: 4.20m, W: 2.28m; wings W: 1.23m and 1.24m, 1.78m apart.

The altar is near a temple but not aligned with it. It stands next to another altar or base (cat. no. D11). Its moulding comprises an abacus, an echinus with no hawksbeak, set over a facing echinus, and a torus at the bottom. This resembles Altars XI and XII at Lavinium (cat. nos B13-B14), but without their lower plinth since the altar at Castrum Inui, like those at S. Omobono in Rome (cat. nos B19-B20), is set directly on a paved surface. There were no finds to date the altar, but the stylistic similarities and the type of peperino used led the excavators to conclude that it probably dates from the fourth or third century BC.

Its dimensions are similar to the S. Omobono altars, and close to Altar IV at Lavinium (cat. no. B4), being much longer than the other altars there but approximately the same width, leaving a relatively wide space for the sacrificer between the two wings. Its height is similar to Altar XIII at Lavinium (cat. no. B1) but less than Altars XI and XII (cat. nos B13-B14), which have steps between their wings, whereas at Castrum Inui the sacrificer would have stood on the ground.



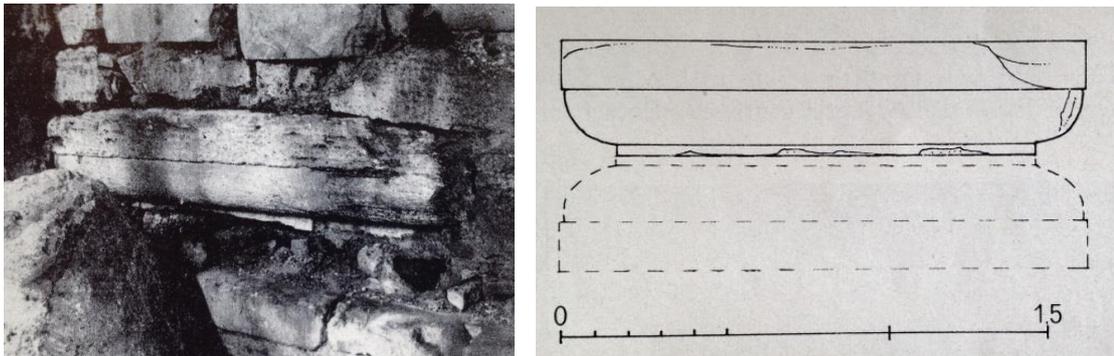
Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell’Incastro: altar. Left: Di Mario 2007: tab.30b (showing adjacent base or altar, cat. no. D11). Right: Di Mario 2007: 85, fig.41.

Di Mario 2007: 81-6.

B22. Tivoli (ancient Tibur).

Embedded in the 'Tempio della Tosse'. Date unknown. Re-used in the Middle Ages. Travertine. Upper part survives: H: 0.35m; L: 1.63m; W: unknown.

Used as a doorstep when a Roman building was converted to a church in the Middle Ages. Only one side of the upper part is visible, with an abacus 15cm high, an upper echinus 16cm high, and the remains of a central stem 4cm high. If the visible part represents the side of the original altar, it could have been U-shaped. Otherwise, it might represent the long side of a rectangular altar similar to those found at Sora (cat. nos. C9-C13). It might have originally come from the sanctuary of Hercules Victor or the sanctuary at Acquoria.



Tivoli: possible U-shaped altar. Left: Giuliani 1970: 201, fig.228. Right: Giuliani 1970: 201, fig.229.

Giuliani 1970: 200-1.

C: SQUARE AND RECTANGULAR ALTARS

C1. Rome, Area Sacra di S. Omobono: second archaic temple.

S. Omobono storerooms. Around 530 BC. Discovered 1962-63. One fragment.

Only one fragment remained of the altar of the second archaic temple (cat. no. A1), which was incorporated into the podium. It had the same moulding as the podium (a half-round over a curved lower echinus), but with smaller dimensions.

(No photograph available.)

Ioppolo 1972: 15, n. 17; 1989: 36; Colonna 1991: 53-4.

C2. Corcolle.

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. End of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BC. Discovered in 1975. Peperino. Four main fragments. H: 0.345m, L: originally 0.70-0.90m.

Found with a votive deposit. The fragments preserve the profile of a plinth 0.215m high and a lower echinus about 0.13m high. An inscription, which is very fragmentary, is cut into three sides of the lower echinus. The altar is dated from the style of the script. Other moulded fragments were found at the site which might have come from different altars.



Corcolle: altar. Left: photograph by author, September 2012. Right: Morandi 1987: pl.2.

CIL I², 2833a; Morandi 1978: 89-90; 1987: 97-100, 104-6, 110; 2004: 51-2; Prosdocimi 1979: 198-215; Moreau 1988: 316-8; Vine 1991: 219-20; Friggeri 2001: 23.

C3-C4. Gabii: two altars.

In situ. Second half of fourth century BC. Discovered 1976-77. Tufa and *Lapis Gabinus* peperino. Lower part of both. Measurements not published.

In an extramural sanctuary east of Gabii, to the south of an *oikos*-style building dating to the beginning of the fifth century BC. They both have a plinth with a lower echinus above it, and remains of a central stem. The upper part is missing on both. On the smaller altar the echinus is much shallower than on the other. Votive objects were found at the base of the larger one, beneath the pavement.



Gabii: two altars (on the right of the picture). Guaitoli 1981: 170, fig.12.

Guaitoli 1981: 170-1.

C5-C7. Gabii: three altars.

In situ. Second half of the fourth century BC. Discovered in 1999. *Lapis Gabinus* peperino. Lower part of all three. Measurements not published.

Found together, west of the temple in the extramural sanctuary to the east of Gabii, above a burnt layer. They are heavily damaged, but all three have remains of a lower echinus and plinth.



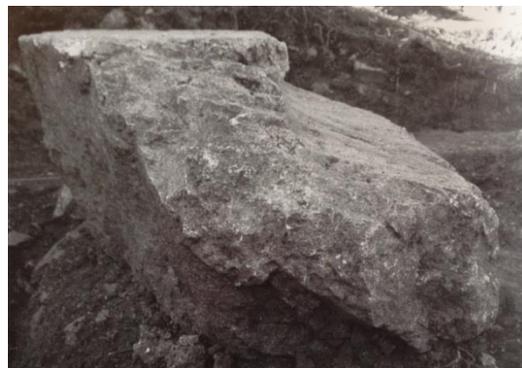
Gabii: three altars. Majerini and Musco 2001: 498, fig.16.

Majerini and Musco 2001: 498; Musco 2006: 314.

C8. Villa San Silvestro.

In situ. Early third century BC (area conquered by Rome 290 BC). Discovered in 2006. Breccione. One large fragment: L: c. 1.00m.

Part of the lower echinus, similar to the moulding on the temple podium (cat. no. A6) but with smaller dimensions. Its original position in relation to the temple is unknown. The flat surface on one side might have been intended to butt against another similar block. This might mean that the altar would have been at least two metres long, in which case it would probably have been U-shaped.



Villa San Silvestro: altar. Left: Diosono 2009: 62, fig.6a. Right: Diosono 2009: 62, fig.6b.

Diosono 2009: 62-3.

C9. Sora.

Museo della media valle del Liri, Sora, inv. 2047-8. Second century BC (Latin colony 303 BC). Discovered in 1977 near the front steps of the temple under the cathedral (cat. no. A5). Travertine. Three main fragments, together: H: 0.50m, L: 1.51m, W: 0.76m.

The two main fragments were held together by a swallow-tail lead clamp. They form a large part of the upper half. Their moulding consists of an abacus 21cm high with the inscription MARTEI, torus, upper echinus, fillet, and short central stem. The altar is dated on stylistic grounds, although the dative ending -EI of the inscription is normally earlier and may be deliberately archaising.



Sora: altar to Mars (shown inverted). Zevi Gallina 1978: tab.28.3.

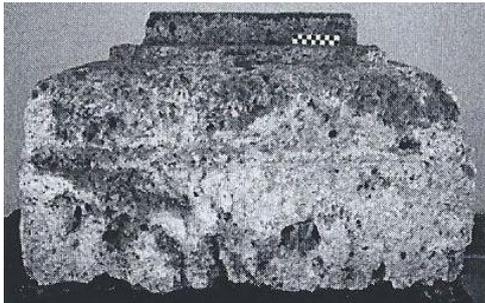
Zevi Gallina 1978: 65; Lolli Ghetti and Pagliardi 1980: 178; Catalli and Scheid 1994: 58; Mezzazappa 2003: 103; Tanzilli 1982: 137; 2009: 36; 2012b: 40-1.

C10-C13. Sora: four altars.

Museo della media valle del Liri, Sora. Second or early first century BC?

Discovered in 1979 behind the temple under the cathedral (cat. no. A5), although that may not have been their original location. Travertine. Four large fragments with different dimensions, indicating that they come from four separate altars.

C10. Altar A. Part of lower (or perhaps upper) section. H: 0.58m; L: 0.91m; W: 0.41m. Central stem 7cm high above a fillet (0.03m), lower echinus (0.15m), torus (0.05m), and plinth (0.28m). On both sides of the plinth there is a carved slot for a clamp to tie the block to another.



Sora: Altar A. Tanzilli 2012b: 41, fig.7

C11. Altar B. Part of lower or upper) section. H: 0.60m; L: unrecorded; W: 0.67m. Central stem 12cm high above a fillet (0.05m), lower echinus (0.14m), torus (0.04m), and plinth (0.24m).



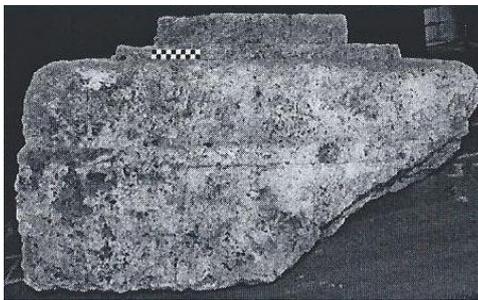
Sora: Altar B. Tanzilli 2012b: 41, fig.10.

C12. Altar C. Part of lower or upper section. H: 0.45m; L: 0.36m; W: 0.40m. Fillet 0.05m high, lower echinus (0.14m), torus (0.04m), and plinth (0.22m).



Sora: Altar C. Tanzilli 2012b: 2, fig.12.

C13. Altar D. Part of upper section. H: 0.535m; L: 0.94m; W: 0.37m. Abacus 0.25m high, torus (0.04m), upper echinus (0.14m), fillet (0.03m), and central stem (0.07m). On the left side there are traces of a slot for a clamp. The letters RAE remain of an inscription in the middle of the surviving long side of the abacus, at the top. Their position suggests three, or perhaps four, preceding letters, which might therefore have read [FLO]RAE. The letter A is in an archaising style found from the third century BC onwards.



Sora: Altar D (shown inverted). Tanzilli 2012b: 43, fig.14.

Tanzilli 2012a: 23-5; 2012b: 36-42.

C14. Rome: Altar to Verminus.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini: inv. S 1707. Around 142 BC?
Discovered in 1876 in the Via del Macao on the Viminal. Peperino. Complete: H: 1.03m, L: 0.75m, W: 0.75m.

This altar has been displayed incorrectly with the base from cat. no. C20 since at least 1933, and probably since they were moved from the Antiquarium Comunale to the Musei Capitolini in the late 1920s. Lanciani 1876 describes it as it was found, and Hülsen 1905 publishes a photograph showing it with its original base, and I shall treat the altar as if it had been restored to that original arrangement.

Found in the *agger* of the 'Servian' Wall near the Baths of Diocletian. Originally with symmetrical upper and lower parts, with a tall abacus bordered at the

bottom with a torus, upper echinus, thin central stem, lower echinus, and a tall plinth topped with a torus. On the abacus is an inscription to the god Verminus:

VERMINO
A · POSTVMIVS · A · F · A · N · ALBI
DVO · VIR · LEGE PLAETORIA

([This altar was dedicated] to Verminus by the joint magistrate Aulus Postumius Albinus, the son of Aulus and grandson of Aulus, in accordance with the law proposed by Plaetorius)

The A. Postumius of the inscription is probably the consul of 151 BC, and the Lex Plaetoria might have involved the restoration of altars of traditional cults, although the inscription does not state that it was a restoration.



Rome, Altar to Verminus. Left: Hülsen 1905: 42, fig.8 (original arrangement). Right: photograph by author April 2015 (current arrangement).

CIL I², 804 (= *ILLRP* 281); Lanciani 1876: 24-9; Studniczka 1903: 142, no. 12; Hülsen 1905: 41-2, n.2; Bowerman 1913: 10-11, 61, no. 12; Oliver 1932: 161; Säflund 1932: 157; Marchetti-Longhi 1933: 177, 179-89; Mustilli 1939: 8; Münzer 1939: 27-30; Shoe 1965: 107-8; Helbig 1912: 595-6, 1966: 399-400; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Rawson 1973: 161, n.2; Kajanto *et al.* 1981: 92-6; Coarelli 1997: 315-23.

C15. Rome: Altar to the Unknown God / Altar of Calvinus.

Rome, Museo Palatino: inv. 379604. Around 127 BC? Discovered around 1820 or in 1829 on the Palatine. Travertine. Complete: H: 1.06m, L: 0.82m, W: 0.67m.

Unique in having *pulvinus* mouldings on top. It has symmetrical upper and lower parts, with a tall abacus with a torus at the bottom, upper echinus, central scotia, lower echinus, and a plinth with a torus at its top. Below the abacus there are remains of two coats of plaster, perhaps implying that it was originally painted. Discovered in the south-western part of the Palatine, towards the Velabrum, and probably fallen from higher on the hill. It was probably dedicated to an unknown tutelary god of a feature on this part of the Palatine. The abacus has an inscription referring to a C. Sextius Calvinus, who might be the consul of 124 BC (and therefore a praetor by 127 BC) or his son (cf. cat. no. C16):

SEI · DEO · SEI · DEIVAE · SAC
C · SEXTIVS · C · F · CALVINVS · PR
DE · SENATI · SENTENTIA
RESTITVIT

(The Praetor Gaius Sextius Calvinus, the son of Gaius, restored [this altar] sacred to the god or goddess [of this place], in accordance with a decision of the Senate)



Rome, Altar to the Unknown God/Altar of Calvinus. Photograph by author, September 2012.

CIL I², 801 (= *ILLRP* 291); Lanciani 1894: 33; Pascal 1894: 188-94; Studniczka 1903: 142, no. 15; Marucchi 1906: 295-8; Bowerman 1913: 12-4, 61, no. 15; Hülsen 1926: 70; Lugli 1946: 401-3; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 108-9; Helbig 1966: 865; Tomei 1994: 1042; 1997: 30.

C16. Rome: Altar of Quinctius.

Now lost. Around 123 BC? Discovered around 1885. *Lapis Albanus* peperino.
Half: dimensions not recorded.

Described by Lanciani as half of an archaic altar similar to that of Verminus, found in the former Villa Giustiniani Lancellotti, near the Scala Santa in Rome, inscribed:

F O R T V N A ...
S A C ...
T · Q V I N C T I ...
S E N A T I · S E N T E ...

(Titus Quinctius ... [dedicated this altar], sacred to Fortune... in accordance with a
decision of the Senate)

The T. Quinctius is probably T. Quinctius Flamininus, the consul of 123 BC. If so, the similarity of the phrasing to cat. no. C15 suggests that the C. Sextius Calvinus of that inscription might be the consul of 124 BC and not his son.

(No photograph available.)

CIL I², 656 (= *CIL* VI, 30870); Lanciani 1885: 162, no. 1087; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160.

C17. Bovillae: Altar to Vediovis.

Rome, Palazzo Colonna. End of second century BC. Discovered in 1826.

Peperino. Upper part only: abacus: H: 0.23m, L: 0.955m, W: 0.955m; echinus: H: 0.23m, L: 0.905m, W: 0.90m.

Only the upper part survives, consisting of a tall abacus and an unusually large, square upper echinus. The abacus has a dedication to Vediovis by the *gens Iulia* on three sides, which identifies it as an altar:

VEDIOVEI · PATREI
GENTEILES · IVLIEI

VEDI// [...] AARA

LEEGE · ALBANA · DICATA

(The members of the clan of the Iulii [set up] this altar dedicated to Father Vediovis in accordance with the laws of Alba [Longa])

This inscription probably dates from around the end of the second century BC, and might be an attempt by the Iulii at that time to claim a legendary genealogy.



Bovillae, Altar to Vediovis. Doboši 1935: 267, fig.1.

CIL I², 1439 (= *ILLRP* 270); Studniczka 1903: 142, no. 14; Bowerman 1913: 11-2, 61, no.14; Doboši 1935: 266-73; Strong 1939: 146; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 107; Weinstock 1971: 8; Bleisch 2001: 185; Badian 2009: 14-5; Smith 2010: 252-3.

C18. Fiesole: standing altar of later temple.

In situ. First century BC. Discovered 1900. Pietra serena. Complete: H: 1.15m, L: 2.31m, W: 1.45m (published as H: 1.71m, L: 2.50m, W: 1.71m, but this must include the blocks that surrounded it when it was found).

Rectangular and made of three blocks (two forming the upper section, and one the lower), with abacus, bowl-shaped upper echinus, hawksbeak at the centre, curved lower echinus, and plinth. Dated by its stratigraphic relationship with the nearby temple. Discovered protected by a dry stone wall and covered by flat stone slabs built when the ground level was raised in the third century AD.



Fiesole: standing altar of later temple. Photograph by author, August 2014.



Fiesole: standing altar of later temple, as excavated. Studniczka 1903: 141, fig.88.

Milani 1900: 295-6; Studniczka 1903: 141-2, no. 9; Bowerman 1913: 60, no. 9; De Agostino 1954: 13-4; Maetzke 1955-56: 227; Caputo and Maetzke 1959: 54-5; Castagnoli 1959-60: 161; Caputo 1960: 149-50; Shoe 1965: 106; Pfiffig 1975: 82; Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 103; De Marco 2013: 24.

C19. Fiesole: altar in pieces.

Probably on the site where it was found. First century BC. Discovery unknown. Pietra serena. Complete, but with its three original sections now separate H: c. 1.15m, L: c. 2.35m, W: c. 1.40m.

Very similar in size, shape, and construction to the other altar from the same site (cat. no. C18). Not referred to in the excavation reports or other works.



Fiesole: altar in pieces. Left: two halves of upper section. Right: lower section. Photographs by author, August 2014.

C20. Rome: Altar of Longinus.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. S 975. First century BC. Discovered in 1941 on the Oppian. Lapis Albano peperino. Fragment: H: 0.48m, L: 0.72m, W: 0.70m.

Only a fragment of the upper part survives, with an abacus, a thin torus and part of upper echinus. Its abacus has an inscription by Longinus, probably dating to the first century BC:

[... CO]MINIVS T · F · LONGINVS
PR · EX · S · C

(The Praetor [Titus Co]minius Longinus, the son of Titus, [dedicated this altar] by
decree of the Senate)

There might have been a T. Cominius T.f. Longinus from Narbo. The inscription perhaps implies a restoration of an older altar. The altar is likely to have been about one metre tall or slightly more, similar to other restored altars of the second and first centuries BC.



Rome, Altar of Longinus. Pietrangeli 1941: 167, fig.II.I.1.

ILLRP 296; Pietrangeli 1941: 167-8; Castanoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 109;
Wiseman 1965: 159-60.

C21. Rome: Altar of Crispinus.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Montemartini Centrale, inv. S 1702. 9 BC. Discovered in 1897 by the Via dei Serpenti on the Cispan. *Lapis Gabinus* peperino. H: 1.13m, L: 0.75m, W: 0.75m.

This altar has been displayed incorrectly with the base from cat. no. C14 since at least 1933, and probably since they were moved from the Antiquarium Comunale to the Musei Capitolini in the late 1920s. Gatti 1897a and b states that only the upper half (60cm high) was found, but Pais 1905 publishes a photograph showing

it with the base it was displayed on at that time, and I shall treat the altar as if it had been restored to that arrangement.

The upper half has a broad abacus with no torus and an upper echinus. The lower half that it had in 1905 must be from a separate, unrecorded altar, and has a short central stem, lower echinus, and plinth without torus. It is larger than the upper part (0.89m x 0.89m). The abacus has an inscription by the consuls of 9 BC recording its restoration:

NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANIC
T · QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS COS
EX S · C · RESTITVER

(The Consuls Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus and Titus Quinctius Crispinus restored [this altar] by decree of the Senate)

The inscription is set in a deeply-incised recess, which perhaps removed an earlier inscription.



Rome, Altar of Crispinus. Left: Pais 1905: facing p.18 (original arrangement). Right: photograph by author, September 2012 (current arrangement).

CIL VI, 37063; Gatti 1897a: 164-5; Gatti 1897b: 104; Studniczka 1903: 142, no. 13; Pais 1905: 18; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.13; Mustilli 1939: 7; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 109; Helbig 1912: 595-6; 1966: 399-400.

C22-C25. Ostia: four altars.

In situ. Date unknown. Discovery unknown. Tufa and peperino. Only the very bottom of one, most of the lower part of two, and all the lower part of one: H: 0.575m, L: 1.29m, W: 1.025m.

Located in a courtyard or room near the Temple of Hercules (I. 15.3), and perhaps moved there during the imperial age. All are badly damaged, but they are rectangular, with similar surviving dimensions. The one whose lower half survives has a short central stem and a shallow lower echinus (together, 0.195m high), and a very broad plinth (0.295m) with a torus at the bottom (0.085m); Shoe proposes a date no later than the second quarter of the third century BC. The remains suggest that it was originally just over a metre tall, in line with the altars from the second century BC.



Ostia: four altars. Rieger 2004: 228, fig.194 (detail).

Becatti *et al.* 1953: 106-7; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 157-8; Zevi 1976: 54; Rieger 2004: 225; Pensabene 2007: 49, 50, fig.7.

C26. Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro (ancient Castrum Inui).

In situ. Second century BC? Discovered around 1999. Peperino. Complete: H: c. 0.975m; L: 1.01m, W: 0.885m.

The upper part seems to have been deliberately removed and placed on its side next to the base. The upper part (c. 0.50m high) has a broad abacus, fillet, torus, and shallow upper echinus. The lower part (0.475m high) has a shallow lower echinus, torus, and a broad plinth (0.21m high).



Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro: altar (top half lying on its side to the right of the base, next to a well). Di Mario 2007: 71, fig.32.

Di Mario 2007: 70-1.

C27. Rome: Altar S 2755.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. S 2755. Date unknown. Discovery unknown. Peperino. Complete: H: 1.015m, L: 0.72m, W: 0.69m.

Very similar to cat. no. C28, and much more crudely constructed than other examples. It has a tall abacus 0.26m high, a half-round upper echinus (0.20m), a half-round lower echinus (0.20m), and a tall plinth (0.35m). The central 'waist' is far less pronounced than on other examples, the incision being only as deep as the

ones between the abacus and upper echinus, and between the plinth and lower echinus. There are traces of a square-cut recess on the upper surface, which might be similar to the one recorded on the altar at Carseoli (cat. no. 40), but there are areas of damage which were perhaps caused by the altar's re-use in a later structure.

There is no published information about the discovery of this altar and cat. no. 28. Their similarity, and distinct difference from other examples, indicates that they were made in the same place at the same time. Their crude construction perhaps suggests that they date from around the introduction of peperino to Rome in the fourth century BC, or that they came from a location outside the main area of the double-rounded tradition (the Capitoline Museums online catalogue says, without reference, that they came from Viterbo in southern Etruria, which would be a very unexpected location for this type of object in this type of stone).



Rome: Altar S 2755. Photograph by author, April 2015.

Castagnoli 1959-60: 171, 172, fig.33; Shoe 1965: 107, XXVII,11.

C28. Rome: Altar S 2756.

Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. S 2756. Date unknown. Discovery unknown. Complete: H: 1.06m, L: 0.74m; W: 0.73m.

Very similar to cat. no. C27. It differs only slightly in its dimensions, with an abacus 0.25m high, a half-round upper echinus (0.22m), a half-round lower echinus (0.22m), and a plinth (0.37m). It has the same very shallow 'waist' and general crude construction, with the marks of a five-toothed claw chisel about 0.03m wide still clearly visible on the underside of the upper echinus.⁸⁰⁴ Its top is heavily damaged, perhaps from the altar's later re-use, but there are faint traces of a square-cut recess. There are also some traces of burning on the upper surface, and remains of concrete plaster on the side of the altar, although these might not be ancient.



Rome: Altar S 2756. Photograph by author, April 2015.

Castagnoli 1959-60: 171, 172, fig.33; Shoe 1965: 107: XXVII, 10.

⁸⁰⁴ I am grateful to Amanda Claridge for this identification.

C29. Rome: Altar S 1330.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. S 1330. Date unknown. Discovery unknown.

Peperino. Complete, in two pieces: H: recorded by Shoe as 0.525m, but this must refer to only half of the altar; top: L: 0.587m; W: 0.58m; bottom: L: 0.744m; W: 0.74m.

The lower part is much wider than the upper part, which suggests that the two halves might originally have come from different altars. It has a tall abacus, thin torus, upper echinus, thin central stem, lower echinus, broad torus, and tall plinth.



Rome: Altar S 1330. Colini 1929: tab.28.1.

Colini 1929: 23-4, tab.28.1; Castagnoli 1959-60: 156, fig.14, 160; Shoe 1965: 108, XXVIII,4.

C30. Rome: Altar S 2109.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. S 2109. Date unknown. Discovery unknown.

Complete: H: 1.05m; top: L: 0.75m; W: 0.73m; bottom: L: 0.74m; W: 0.64m.

Not described in detail in the references. Shoe detected faint traces of the bottom parts of a row of letters on one side of the abacus, which suggests that it is likely to date from the second century BC.

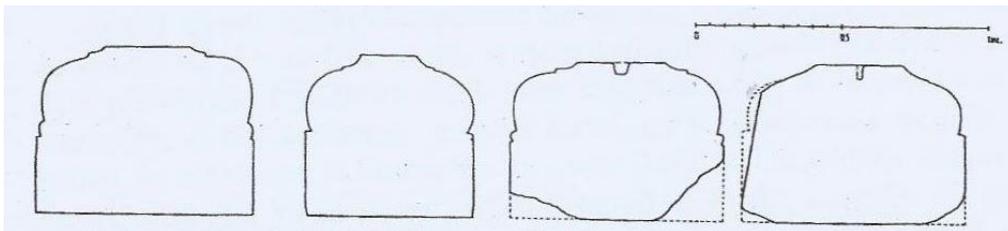
(No photograph available.)

Colini 1929: 23-4, no. 437; Castagnoli 1959-60: 160; Shoe 1965: 108, XXVIII,5.

C31-C34. Rome: four altars.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Giardino Caffarelli. Date unknown. Discovery unknown. Lower halves of all four. Measurements unpublished, but their lengths are approximately 0.75m, 0.59m, 0.74m, and 0.75m.

Four half-altars, with remains of central stem, lower echinus, and plinth. Three have a torus at the top of the plinth. Hermann mentions five half-altars but Castagnoli shows four, and there are only four now in the Giardino Caffarelli. For convenience I refer to them, from left to right in Castagnoli's drawing, as Altars A, B, C, and D.



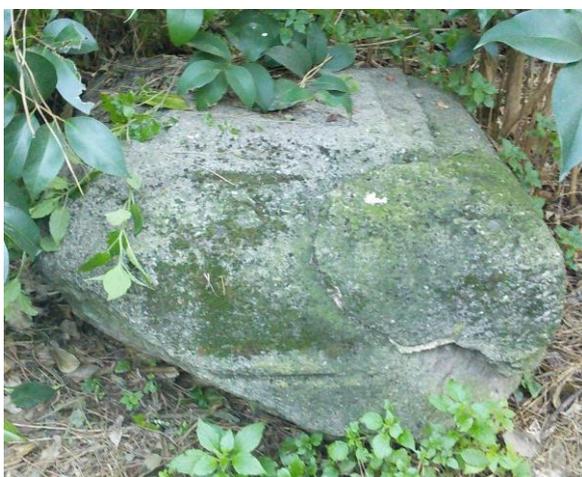
Rome: four altars. Castagnoli 1959-60: 160, fig.19.



Rome: Altar A. Photograph by Soprintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.



Rome: Altar B. Photograph by Soprintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.



Rome: Altar C. Photograph by Soprintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.



Rome: Altar D. Photograph by Soprintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.

Castagnoli 1959-60: 160, fig.19; Hermann 1961: 29, n.78.

C35. Rome.

Location unknown. Date unknown. Discovered in 1904. Peperino. Apparently complete: H: 0.90m, L: 0.80m, W: 0.73m.

Discovered on the Via Venti Settembre and described as an archaic altar.

(No photograph available.)

Gatti 1904: 272; Castagnoli 1959-60: 161, n.68.

C36. Ponte di Nona.

Now lost. Between 250-150 BC? Seen by Thomas Ashby in 1901. Stone unknown. Upper half: L: 0.765m, W: 0.595m.

Ashby records the upper half of an altar 'of the primitive type exemplified in the altars of Verminus and Veiovis' between Ponte di Nona and Osteria dell'Osa, nine miles (fifteen kilometres) east of Rome on the Via Prenestina. This is now lost, and was not noted in an excavation report ten years later. The sanctuary was most intensively used between about 250 and 150 BC, and the altar might therefore also date from this period.

(No photograph available.)

Ashby 1902: 174; Pasqui 1912: 198-9; Potter 1979: 111, 119-20.

C37. Rome, Casale di Roma Vecchia.

In the Casale di Roma Vecchia. Date unknown (Augustan?). Discovery unknown. White marble. Complete: H: 0.71m, L: 0.56m, W: 0.56m.

The Casale di Roma Vecchia is on the ancient Via Latina five miles (eight kilometres) south-east of Rome. Uniquely in marble, it has a broad abacus with a thin torus at the bottom, upper echinus, torus on the central stem, lower echinus, and plinth with a thin torus at the top. Although shorter than might be expected

for a sacrificial altar, it perhaps supported a portable brazier or protective material, raising it to a more practicable height of 0.80–0.85m.



Rome, Casale di Roma Vecchia: altar. Brandizzi Vittucci 1981: tab.44, fig.169.

Ashby 1907: 87; Brandizzi Vittucci 1981: 96, no. 221; Dräger 1994: 19.

C38. Tivoli, Acquoria.

Tivoli, Villa d'Este. Date unknown. Discovered in 1925. Tufa. Lower half survives: H: 0.40m; L: 0.64m; W: 0.64m.

Found in the same excavation that discovered the votive base from the second half or late sixth century BC (cat. no. D1), but the detailed context is not recorded. The excavator's description indicates the remains of a square central stem with sloping sides measuring 20cm on each side and a few centimetres tall, above a rounded wave moulding 18cm high, and a plinth 20cm high.

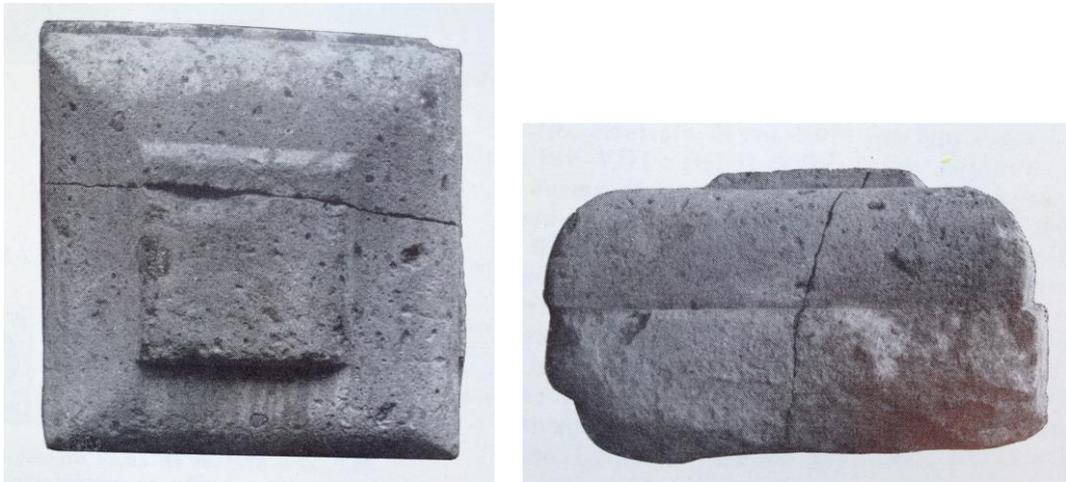
(No photograph available.)

Antonielli and Cesano 1927: 241; Mari 1991: 114-5; Adembri 2012: 288-9.

C39. Tivoli, Cartiera Amicucci.

Tivoli, Villa d'Este. Date unknown. Discovered before 1957. Tufa. Lower half survives: H: 0.38m; L: 0.63m; W: 0.615m.

Found just outside the ancient city wall of Tivoli, by a necropolis. It has the remains of a central stem, a lower echinus, and a plinth. Its date is unknown, although it is similar to the altars at Gabii that date to the second half of the fourth century BC (cat. nos C3-C7).



Tivoli, Cartiera Amicucci: altar (left, from above; right, from the side). Giuliani 1967: tab. 8.

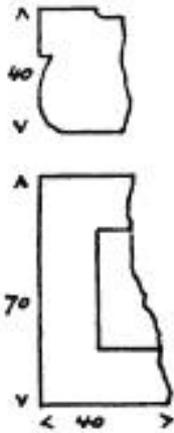
Giuliani 1967.

C40. Carseoli.

Now lost. Date unknown (Latin colony 298 BC). Seen by George Pfeiffer and Thomas Ashby in 1901. Limestone. One fragment: H: 0.40m, L: 0.70m, W: 0.40m.

Tentatively identified by Pfeiffer and Ashby as an altar. The profile in their diagram seems to represent an upper echinus and an abacus. At 0.40m high, this would imply an overall height of 0.80m or slightly more, which is appropriate for an altar. Their top view suggests a U-shaped altar, but at 0.70m long it is three or four times shorter than the ones at Lavinium, and five or six times shorter than

the ones at Rome and Castrum Inui. It would appear, therefore, to have been a square altar but with a shallow recess reproducing the U-shaped form, or perhaps forming a square central niche.



Carseoli: diagram of possible altar. Pfeiffer and Ashby 1905: 123, fig.13.

Pfeiffer and Ashby 1905: 121, 123, fig.13.

D: BASES AND OTHER OBJECTS

D1. Tivoli, Acquoria: votive base.

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Second half/late sixth century BC. Discovered in 1926. Tufa. Complete: H: 0.64m, L: 0.47m, W: 0.41m.

Base for a votive offering, from a sanctuary site below the city of Tivoli (ancient Tibur). Its upper surface has a rectangular recess with two circular sockets. There is no abacus, but a relatively small half-round upper echinus, larger curved lower echinus, and a very deep plinth (0.45m high). The plinth holds an inscription recording a donation by a father in honour of his son *Qetios*.



Tivoli, Acquoria: votive base. Left: profile. Right: upper surface. Photographs by author September 2012.

CIL I², 2658 (= *ILLRP* 5); Mancini 1926: 216-7; Castagnoli 1959-60: 163-4; Shoe 1965: 98; Friggeri 2001: 22-3.

D2. Marzabotto: 'Altar D'.

In situ. Beginning of fifth century BC. Discovered 1856. Travertine. Orientation: north-south. Outline largely complete (but restored): H: 1.12m, L: 9.20m, W: 9.10m.

Probably a platform or raised *temenos*, rather than an altar or podium. It has five steps on the southern side leading to a platform measuring 3.30m by 2.80m. Its facing, which also runs along the sides of the platform with steps, consists of an abacus, upper echinus (25-27cm high), torus (7-8cm), central stem (27cm), a similar torus to the upper one, and a lower echinus the same size as the upper one, resting directly on a foundation of dry stones. The profile is very similar to the one on the funerary stele from Marzabotto (cat. no. E9) but without the plinth. It was badly damaged in the Second World War and was restored in 1947.



Marzabotto: 'Altar D'. Colonna 1986: fig. 356.

Gozzadini 1865: 21-2, tab.6; Brizio 1889: 261-2, tab.2; Arias 1949: 43-5; Castagnoli 1959-60: 166; Shoe 1965: 90; Steingraber 1982: 107; Vitali 1985: 91; Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 100; Vitali, Brizzolara and Lippolis 2001: 45-53, 198-230; Colonna 2006: 140-1; Steingraber and Menichelli 2010: 61, 69; Potts 2011a: 47.

D3. Pieve a Súcana (north of Arezzo): platform or altar.

In situ. Fifth century BC? Discovered between 1969-73. Sandstone. Badly damaged, and its upper section is restored: H: 1.03m, L: 4.99m, W: 3.75m.

Situated 5.77m to the east of the entrance to a temple. The upper section was dismantled and re-used in antiquity, and its blocks have been restored. The

profile has an abacus, thin upper echinus, hawksbeak over a central stem, lower echinus, and two lower courses forming a plinth. It may have been an altar on which sacrifices were made while standing on the ground, but from its size it was more probably a platform, as at Marzabotto (cat. no. D2), although there are no clear remains of steps. There was apparently evidence of burning in the centre and, since the upper section was missing when it was excavated, this suggests a sacrificial ditch, as at Portonaccio outside Veii and Punta della Vipera.



Pieve a Súcana: platform or altar. Colonna 1986: fig. 355.

Pacini and Grassi 1985: 164-7; Thuillier 1991: 244; Steingrüber 1982: 108-9; Euwe-Beaufort 1985: 101; Cherici 2004: 221-2; Colonna 2006: 143; Steingrüber and Menichelli 2010: 62, 70.

D4-D5. Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis: tomb façades.

In situ. Beginning of the fifth century BC? Excavated in the early 1970s and heavily restored. Stone unrecorded. Moulding at base of façades: (a) half-round: H: 0.30m, W: 0.22m; rounded wave: H: 0.42m, W: 0.33m; (b) half-round: H: 0.32m, W: 0.35m; rounded wave: H: 0.42m, W: 0.52m.

This moulding is only found on a block of two tombs at the southern end of Via dei Monti della Tolfa, and a block of three tombs at the southern end of Via dei

Monti Ceriti to the east, in the Nuovo Recinto section of the necropolis. The base moulding consists in both cases of a half-round over a rounded wave.



Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis: tomb façades. Photographs by author, March 2013.

Oleson 1976: 215-6; Cristofani and Nardi 1988: 81-2; Naso 1996: 64-6.

D6. Populonia: *cippus*.

Castello di Populonia, Gasparri Collection, inv. 26. Early fifth century BC?

Discovered several decades before the 1970s. Liparite. Damaged, but full profile survives: H: 0.34m, L: 0.26m, W: 0.23m.

From the necropolis of Cerbone. Shallow abacus, upper echinus, long central stem with a torus at each end, lower echinus, and shallow plinth. The upper surface has a central recess. There is an inscription on the upper echinus, just below the abacus.



Populonia: *cippus*. Martelli 1978: tab. 59, fig. 58.

Martelli 1978: 325-7.

D7. Bologna, Villa Cassarini: *cippus*/base.

Bologna, Soprintendenza archeologica, inv. 41416. Date unknown. Discovery unknown. Limestone. Virtually complete: H: 0.785m, L: 0.37m, W: 0.34m.

There is a recess 5cm deep on the upper surface. It has a broad abacus (0.11m), upper echinus, very long central stem (0.155m) with a torus at each end, lower echinus, and very broad plinth (0.225m). It tapers lightly upwards.



Bologna, Villa Cassarini: *cippus* or base. Gualandi 1974: 74, fig. 3.

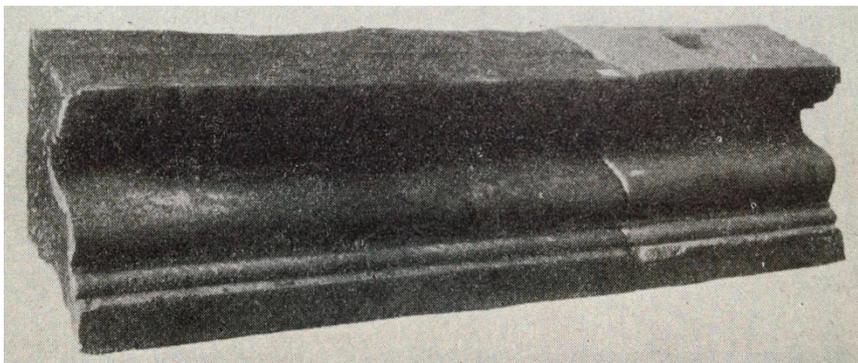
Gualandi 1974: 44-6; Colonna 1985: 92.

D8. Orvieto, Belvedere temple: parapet, base or altar.

Location unknown. Fifth century BC? Discovered in 1925 and 1934. Nenfro.

Two pieces that fit together: H: 0.415m, L overall: 1.69m, W: 0.27m (top), 0.41m (bottom).

Only moulded on one side, which suggests that it represents a parapet or a facing for a part of the temple, or an associated altar. It has a thin abacus, very thin upper echinus, hawksbeak, large curved lower echinus, tall torus, and a plinth. This is similar to the profiles of a type of *cippus* found at Orvieto. The Belvedere Temple where these pieces were found dates from the fifth century BC, but it is not certain whether these pieces were part of the original design or added later.



Orvieto, Belvedere temple: parapet, base or altar. Minto 1934: 78, fig. 6.

Pernier 1925: 157; Minto 1934: 78; 1942: 570-2; Orsi 1942: 226; Castagnoli 1959-60: 165; Shoe 1965: 99.

D9. Tuscania, Val Vidone: base of grave monument.

Florence, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, inv. 13922/78008. Mid-fourth century BC. Discovered before 1897. Nenfro. Several large fragments.

Circular base holding a sculpture of a lion attacking a ram. Thin abacus with an inscription naming the family who owned the tomb, quarter-round upper echinus, torus, tall central stem, torus, and quarter-round lower echinus. Similar

in profile to 'Altar D' at Marzabotto (cat. no. D2), the Populonia *cippus* (cat. no. D6), the Villa Cassarini *cippus* (cat. no. D7), and the Vulci base (cat. no. D17).



Tuscania, Val Vidone: base of grave monument. Photograph by author, August 2014.

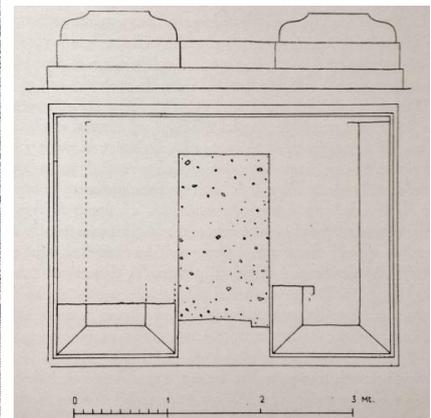
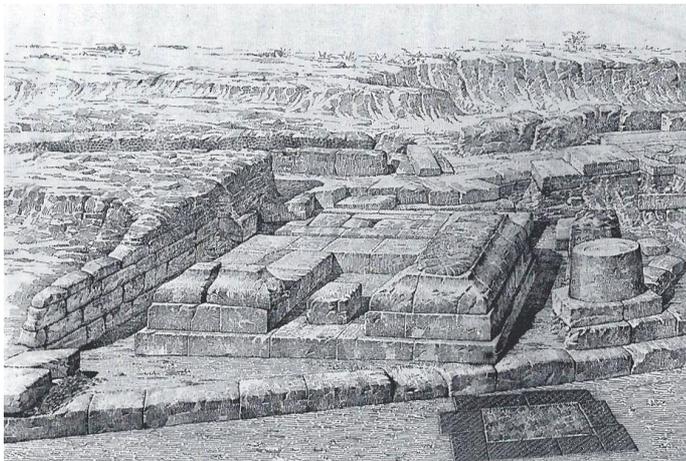
Milani 1912: 290; Ducati 1927: 426; Riis 1941: 105; Brown 1960: 150-2; Shoe 1965: 75-6.

D10. Rome, Comitium: base or altar.

In situ. Second half of the fourth century BC. Discovered in 1899. Grotta oscura. Orientation: south-south-west. Fragments of lower elements of the wings: L: 2.66m, W: 1.31m and 1.33m, 1.00m apart; overall: 3.75m x 2.88m.

Platform, plinth course, several blocks from the lower echinus of two wings, and an unmoulded rectangular block between the wings. First identified by Studniczka as the grave of Romulus, with the surviving wings as bases for lion statues. This was the accepted view until after the excavations at Lavinium, when Castagnoli argued that it was an altar with a similar design. Coarelli proposes that it was part of the Volcanal sanctuary, alongside an earlier *cippus* inscribed with a sacred law and a later column base.

Its shape is unique. It has squarer dimensions than any other U-shaped altar, with a much deeper space between the wings, no trace of an offering-table between the wings, and a very thin rear connecting section. Its orientation is very different from all other U-shaped altars, which faced east. There are contemporary foundations behind the connecting section which were interpreted by Studniczka and Gjerstad as supporting a *sacellum* dedicated to Romulus. These foundations and the block between the wings (H: 0.29m, L: 0.725m, W: 0.52m) are usually omitted in reconstructions showing the monument as an altar, since anything on the foundations would have been directly in front of the sacrificer, although the block may have been similar to the step on some of the Lavinium altars, allowing the sacrificer to reach the upper surface comfortably. The differences from other U-shaped altars are so pronounced that the monument is more likely to have been a base of some sort.



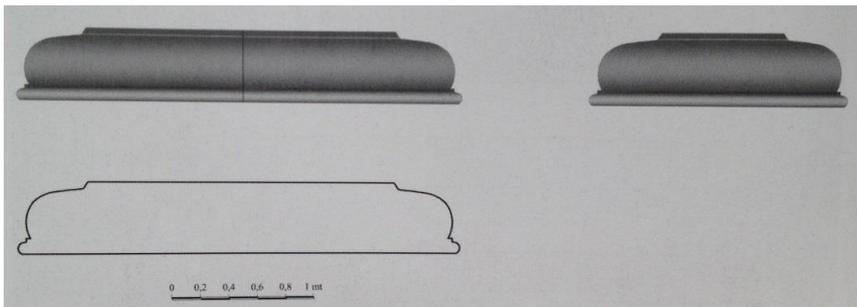
Rome, Comitium: base or altar. Left: monuments below the *Niger Lapis* drawn at the time of excavation. Holloway 1994: 84, fig. 6.1 (detail). Right: Castagnoli 1959-60: 151, fig. 6.

Boni 1899: 151; 1900: 325-7; Studniczka 1903: 132-7; Hülsen 1905: 40-2; 1926: 8-9; Marucchi 1906: 40; Gjerstad 1941: 106-7; Lugli 1946: 117-9; Castagnoli 1959-60: 151-2; 1984b: 59; Shoe 1965: 104; Romanelli 1981: 67-70; Coarelli 1983: 119-38; Holloway 1994: 81-8; Ammerman 1996: 124-6.

D11. Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro (ancient Castrum Inui).

In situ. Fourth or third century BC. Discovered around 1999. Peperino. Only the lower part: H: c. 0.51m, L: 3.20m, W: 1.85m.

Situated on its own platform, closely in front of a U-shaped altar (cat. no. B21) but on a different alignment (its long sides face east-north-east and west-south-west). It is smaller, and none of its upper part survives, but the moulding of its lower part matches the nearby altar very closely, with part of the central stem, lower echinus, fillet, and a torus at the bottom. Identified by Di Mario as an altar, but its shape and size, and position next to a U-shaped altar, are unique in Latium. It might therefore be a base for statues or other votive objects, with the same profile as the altar to emphasise its religious nature.



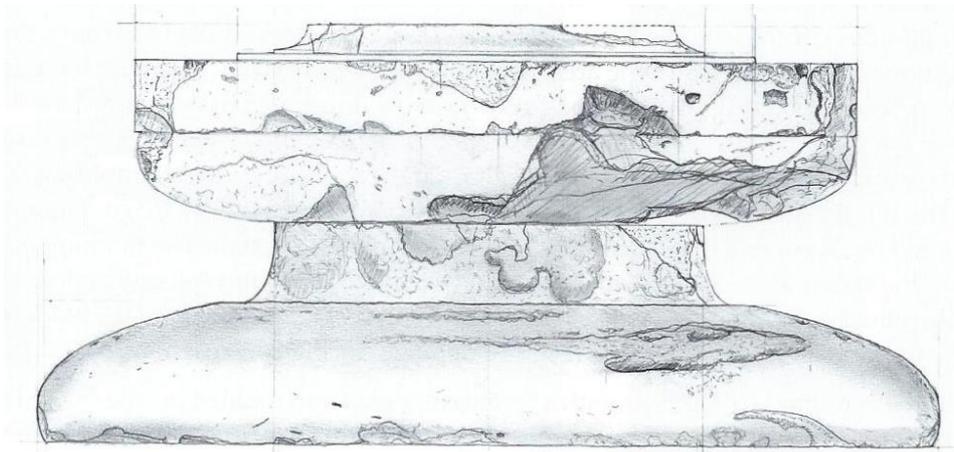
Ardea, Le Salzare, Fosso dell'Incastro: base or altar. Top: Di Mario 2007: 86, fig. 42. Bottom: Di Mario 2007: 86, fig. 43.

Di Mario 2007: 81-6.

D12. Orvieto, Campo della Fiera: base or altar.

In situ. Third century BC: around 264 BC? Discovered 2007. Trachyte outer moulding around a tufa core. Several fragments: H: 0.97m, L: 1.40m, W: 0.98m.

Elements were found on the same axis as a temple, in a site that was probably the *Fanum Voltumnae*, the Etruscan federal sanctuary. Its position suggests an altar, but Stopponi links it with another block with small holes on its surface, in some of which there are remains of bronze. The reconstructed monument has a central raised element on top, abacus, bowl-shaped upper echinus, central stem, and an inverted bowl-shaped lower echinus. There are traces of plaster. It is probably a *donarium* base for supporting small bronze statues built by M. Fulvius Flaccus, who conquered Volsinii in 264 BC.



Orvieto, Campo della fiera: reconstruction of base or altar. Stopponi 2011: 28, fig. 27.

Stopponi 2011: 25-8; Frascarelli 2012: 131-60.

D13. Tarquinia: parapet.

In situ. Fourth, third or second century BC? Discovered around 1948. Stone unrecorded. Well-preserved sections: H: 0.63m, L: 0.56m, W: 0.54m.

Associated with the steps of the Ara della Regina temple, its function is unclear. Its profile has an abacus, bowl-shaped upper echinus, hawkbeak, central stem, curved lower echinus, torus, and a plinth. This is similar to many altars, and also the base or parapet at Fiesole (cat. no. D15). Several sections survive with the same profile, and there are traces of where metal clamps would have joined the pieces together, which suggests that it was probably some kind of parapet.



Tarquinius: parapet. Top: Shoe 1965: 105, fig. 24. Bottom, with surviving sections highlighted: Colonna 1986: fig. 388.

Romanelli 1948: 247-8; Castagnoli 1959-60: 165; Shoe 1965: 104.

D14. Gabii: base for votive offering, or altar.

In situ. Second half of the third century BC? Discovered 2007-08. *Lapis Gabinus* peperino. Bottom half, standing on tall, inscribed monument. Dimensions unpublished.

The base appears to be square, and has a tall central stem, lower echinus, and plinth. There is a hole in the centre of the upper surface, perhaps for a peg to hold the upper half in place, or to attach a statue or other votive object onto the base as it survives. It stands on a pier of four courses of two rectangular blocks, laid

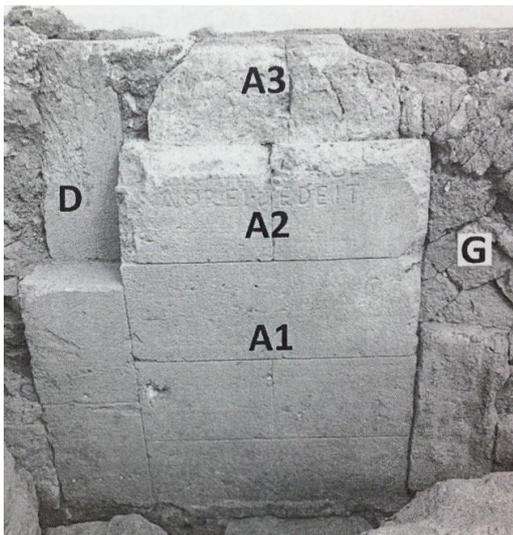
alternately with headers and stretchers. The square upper surface of these blocks is larger than the moulded base, which is positioned centrally on them. The top course, below the moulded base, has an inscription running across two headers:

[Q · FABIO · Q · F · COS]OL

[HO]NOREI · DEDEIT

(The Consul [Quintus Fabius, the son of Quintus,] dedicated [this object] to Honos)

The lettering, and the monument's stratigraphic position, date it to the third century BC. Virtually nothing remains of the name of the dedicator, but it might be Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus ('Cunctator') or his son, who between them held the consulship six times between 233 BC and 209 BC. The father dedicated a temple to Honos outside the Capena Gate at Rome in 233 BC, and so the monument might be of the same date. It was by an entrance to a sanctuary just to the east of Gabii. Three sides of the monument were later buried and the entrance closed, perhaps in the second half of the second century BC, when the sanctuary seems to have become a cemetery. Part of the fill used blocks similar to those in the monument. This might mean that the monument was originally taller, and that the base was instead a double-rounded altar that was placed on the secure footing of the shortened monument after the restructuring. This would explain why the base is significantly smaller than the top of the monument.



Gabii: base or altar (indicated as A3). Fabbri, Musco, and Osanna 2012: 240, tab.10.3.

D15. Fiesole: base.

In situ. First century BC. Discovered 1923-24. Tufa. Complete: H: 1.27m; L: 2.58m; W: 2.44m.

Situated at the top of a flight of steps in front of a temple. Its profile has a bowl-shaped upper echinus some 0.34m high, a scotia 0.30m high with a flattened upper torus rather than a true hawkbeak, curved lower echinus 0.35m high, and a plinth 0.30m high. From its width, it likely to have been a base for an object.



Fiesole: base. Photograph by author, August 2014.

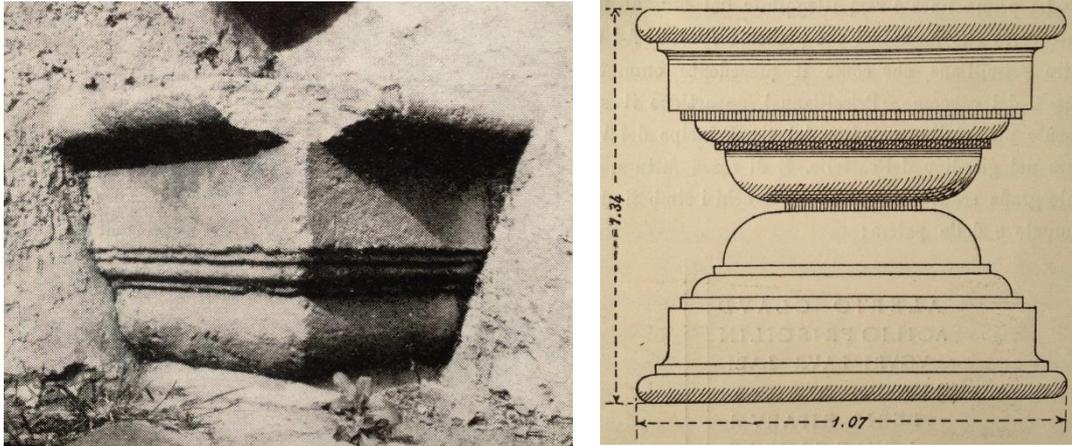
Galli 1925: 30-1; Maetzke 1955-56: 240-1; Caputo and Maetzke 1959: 50, 56; Castagnoli 1959-60: 165; Shoe 1965: 92.

D16. Lavinium: base or altar.

In situ. Date unknown. Discovered around 1903. Peperino. Part of upper half; assumed originally: H: 1.34m, W: 1.07m.

Found in the ancient forum of Lavinium. It has unusually elaborate moulding, with a torus over an abacus, a torus between two fillets, a relatively narrow upper echinus, thin central stem, and part of the lower echinus. If the missing lower

part were similar, the reconstructed object would have been taller than other objects of this type, and much taller than might be expected in an altar. Although near a temple, it is therefore possible that it might have been one of the many statue bases found in the area, but preserving the double-rounded form.



Lavinium: base or altar. Left: Castagnoli 1959-60: 157, fig. 18. Right: reconstruction. Lanciani 1903: 170, fig. 11.

Lanciani 1903: 143; Castagnoli 1959-60: 161; Fenelli 1995: 542-4.

D17. Vulci: base or altar.

Rome, Villa Giulia. Date unknown. Discovery unknown. Purple tufa. Complete: H: 0.547m, L: 0.68m, W: a. 0.545m, b. 0.43m.

Shoe records an abacus with torus at the bottom, upper echinus, central stem, lower echinus, and plinth with torus at the top. This is a similar profile to 'Altar D' at Marzabotto (cat. no. D2), the Populonia *cippus* (cat. no. D6), the Marzabotto funerary stele (cat. no. E9), and the Villa Cassarini *cippus* (cat. no. D7), though the latter has a longer central stem.

(No photograph available.)

Shoe 1965: 106-7.

D18. Orvieto: *cippi*.

A type of grave-marking *cippus* from Orvieto has a double-rounded design. It is one of several types of *cippi* at Orvieto, but has not been found outside the city. Shoe saw this type as the source of the double-rounded design in Rome, Latium and elsewhere. I discuss them in detail in Chapter 4, section 4.2.

D19. Latium and elsewhere: terracotta *arulae*.

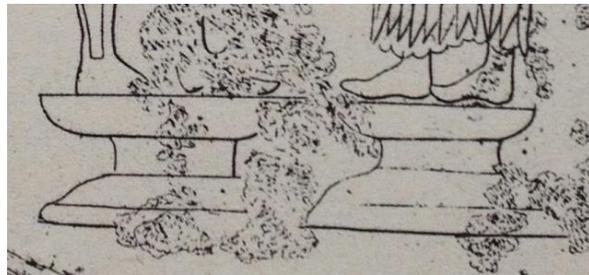
In Rome and Latium many miniature terracotta altars, or *arulae*, have a double-rounded form that is reminiscent of contemporary altars. Most *arulae* with this design from outside Latium come from Roman or Latin colonies, or derive from Roman types, and their shape therefore seems to have been particularly associated with Roman and Latin altars. I discuss them in detail in Chapter 3, section 3.4.

E: REPRESENTATIONS OF DOUBLE-ROUNDED ALTARS ON OTHER OBJECTS

E1. Mirror: Apollo and Artemis standing on bases or altars.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, inv. 1300. Last quarter or end of the sixth century BC. Found somewhere in Etruria around 1848.

The bases or altars have a bowl-shaped upper echinus with no abacus, a small central stem, and an inverted bowl-shaped lower echinus on a rounded plinth.



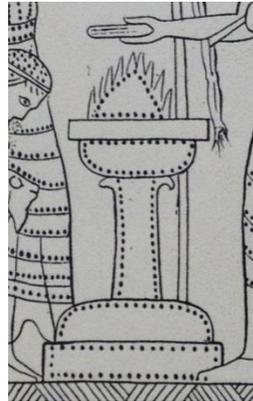
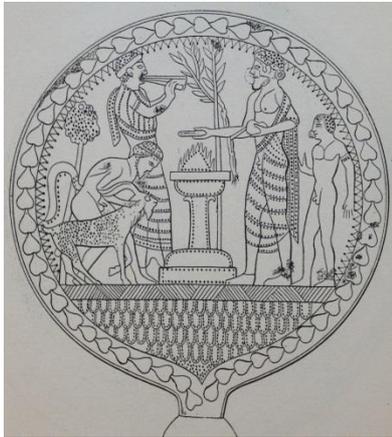
Mirror: Apollo and Artemis on bases or altars. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.4.1: tab. 292 (and detail).

Gerhard 1840-67, vol.4: 24-5, tab.292; Babelon and Blanchet 1895: 517-8; Studniczka 1903: 138-9, no.1, fig.83; Bowerman 1913: 59, no.1; Castagnoli 1959-60: 163, fig.9a; Mayer-Prokop 1967: 12, 43-5; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1973: 123-8, 532-5.

E2. Mirror: Dionysian sacrifice at an altar.

Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 646. Late sixth century BC. From Palestrina.

The altar has a fire on top of an abacus, a bowl-shaped upper echinus, a very long and straight central stem topped with a hawksbeak, an inverted bowl-shaped lower echinus, and a plinth.



Mirror: Dionysian sacrifice at an altar. Klügmann and Körte (Gerhard vol.5): tab. 36 (and detail).

Klügmann and Körte 1897 (Gerhard vol.5): 47, tab.36; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.23; Mayer-Prokop 1967: 21-2, tab.17.1-2; Carpino 2003: 23, pl.29.

E3. Mirror: Athena in front of an altar.

Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Second half of the fifth century BC. Possibly from Vulci.

The altar has a tall abacus, a bowl-shaped upper echinus, a central stem, and an inverted bowl-shaped lower echinus without plinth. Originally identified by Gerhard as a fountain, but amended in his vol.2.



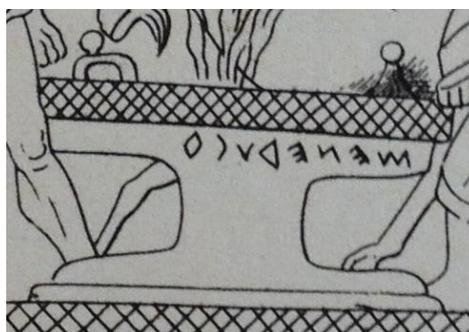
Mirror: Athena in front of an altar. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.1, tab. 38 (and detail).

Gerhard 1840-67, vol.1: 23-4, tab.38; vol.2: 134, n.52; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.18; Castagnoli 1959-60: 159, fig. 9d; Zimmer 1995: 34-5, 144-6, fig.31a-d.

E4. Mirror: Hercules and Minerva by an altar.

Gerhard's personal collection. Date and provenance unknown.

The altar has an abacus, a deep central 'waist' with a long stem engraved as a single element, and a thin plinth.



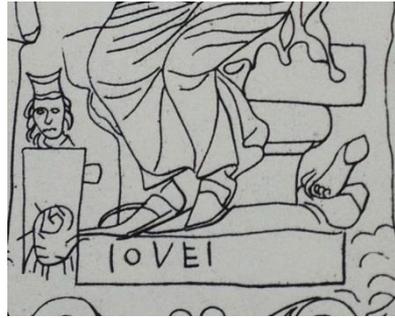
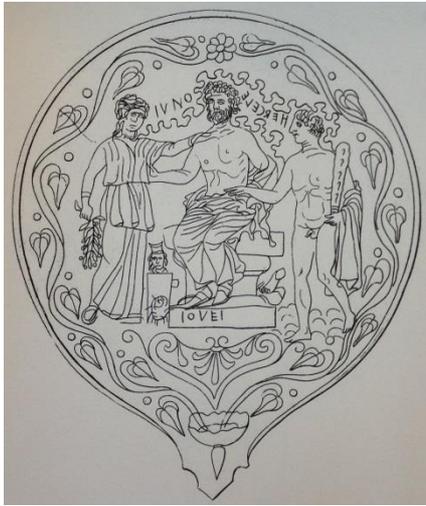
Mirror: Hercules and Minerva by an altar. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.2, tab. 140 (and detail).

Gerhard 1840-67, vol.2: 4, 134-5, tab.140.

E5. Mirror: Jupiter sitting on a base or altar, with Juno and Hercules.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 96.18.16. Late fourth to early third century BC. Provenance unknown but inscribed in Latin, so probably from Palestrina.

The base or altar has a tall abacus, a rounded upper echinus, a thin torus at the top of a central stem, a curved lower echinus, and a wide plinth with the inscription IOVEI in the dative, which perhaps refers to an actual inscription (cf. MARTEI and FLORAE on second-century BC altars at Sora (cat. nos C9, C13)).



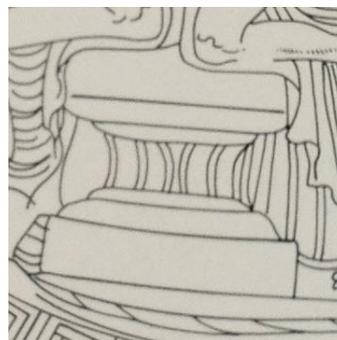
Mirror: Jupiter sitting on a base or altar. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.2: 4, 139, pl. 147 (and detail).

Gerhard 1840-67, vol.2: 4, 139, pl.147; Bonfante 1997: 32-4, 104-7, fig.7a-d.

E6. Mirror: Telephos kneeling on an altar.

Bern, E. and P. H. Bloch-Diener Collection. End of the fourth century BC. Found between 1895 and 1901 in Monteriggioni, near Siena; probably made in Orvieto.

The altar has a tall abacus, two upper echinus sections, a concave central stem with curved vertical lines, two rounded lower echinus sections, and a tall plinth.



Mirror: Telephos kneeling on an altar. Jucker 2001: fig. 31a (and detail).

Jucker 2001: 63-6, 224-7, fig. 31a-f.

E7. Mirror: Tyro and her sons.

Formerly in the Campana collection. Provenance unknown.

The altar has a tall abacus, two rounded upper echinus sections, a long, slightly curved central stem, a narrow rounded lower echinus, and a tall plinth. It is similar in composition, but with the addition of a temple façade in the background, to two mirrors in Berlin that I have not included because their altars are too dissimilar from the double-rounded form (see Appendix 2).



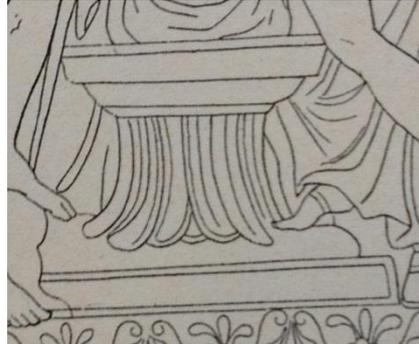
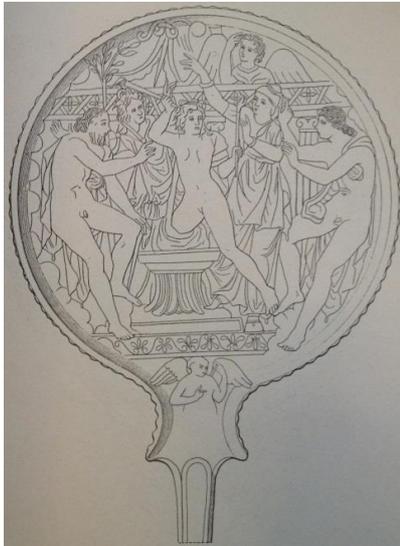
Mirror: Tyro and her sons. Gerhard 1840-67, vol.4.1: tab. 351.1 (and detail).

Gerhard 1840-67, vol.4.1: 99-100, tab.351.1; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.20.

E8. Mirror: Cassandra kneeling on an altar.

Rome, Musei di Villa Torlonia. From Vulci.

The altar has an abacus with another, thin section above, two rounded upper echinus sections, a concave central stem with curved vertical lines overlapping the rounded lower echinus, and a plinth.



Mirror: Cassandra kneeling on an altar. Klügmann and Körte 1897 (Gerhard vol.5): tab. 125 (and detail).

Klügmann and Körte 1897 (Gerhard vol.5): 161-2, tab.125; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.24.

E9. Funerary stele: woman standing on a base or altar.

Marzabotto, Museo Etrusco P. Aria, inv. 441. Mid-fifth century BC. Found at Marzabotto in 1868. H: 1.52m (overall), 0.81m (prepared surface), 0.415m (the figure); W: 0.28m; D: 0.24m.

The figure shown in low relief is probably a heroised representation of a deceased woman, either drinking from a cup or holding a flower bud to her lips or nose. The base or altar has a tall abacus, upper echinus, thin torus at the top and bottom of a central stem, rounded lower echinus slightly wider than the upper echinus, and a tall plinth. The moulding is similar to the profile of the platform known as 'Altar D' on the acropolis of Marzabotto (cat. no. D2).



Funerary stele: woman standing on a base or altar in low relief. Bentz and Reusser 2008: fig.15 (and detail).

Brizio 1890: 272-3, 364; Studniczka 1903: 139, no.2, fig.84; Bowerman 1913: 60, no.2; Castagnoli 1959-60: 163, fig. 9b; Gianninoni 1969: 246; Mansuelli *et al.* 1981: 39, 41, fig.27; Pairault-Massa 1981: 134-54; Sassatelli 1985: 44; Govi 2007: 72; Bentz and Reusser 2008: 117, fig.65; Rask 2011: 107-9, fig.15.

E10. Cinerary urn: footstool or *cippus*.

Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 73577. Mid-fifth or fourth century BC. Found at Città della Pieve, near Chiusi, between 1864-78. Alabaster.

Large cinerary urn or sarcophagus with a sculpted lid depicting a reclining man and a sitting woman, who rests her feet on a wide footstool with double-rounded moulding. It has an abacus, upper echinus, scotia, lower echinus and plinth. Its size in relation to the sculpted figures suggests an object similar to the double-rounded grave *cippi* from Orvieto (cat. no. D18), although it has a central scotia rather than the hawksbeak on the Orvietan *cippi*. It therefore perhaps represents a grave *cippus* rather than a footstool.



Cinerary urn with footstool or *cippus* (and detail). Photographs by author, August 2014.

Milani 1888: 219-22; 1912: 234; Ducati 1927: 318-9; Giglioli 1935: 43; Shoe 1965: 110.

E11. Vase: amphora showing a libation at an altar.

Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. ZV 1653. First quarter of the fifth century BC. Probably from Orvieto. H: 41.5.

The altar has a tall abacus, bowl-shaped upper echinus, tall central stem with a torus at top and bottom, and what looks like an inverted bowl-shaped lower echinus and plinth, but some fragments of this part of the vase are missing.



Amphora showing a libation at an altar. Martelli 1992: tab. 73.3.

Herrmann 1898: 134-5, no. 20; Knoll and Kästner 1988: 151-2; Martelli 1992: 342-6; Cristofani 1995: 114; Pieraccini 2011: 129.

E12. Vase: krater showing Dionysus and a satyr at an altar.

Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität, inv. T952. Beginning/early fourth century BC. Provenance unknown, but possibly Falerii or Vulci. H: 0.34m; W: 0.24m; Diam.: 0.23m.

The altar has a pile of wood on top of a double abacus, bowl-shaped upper echinus, quarter-rounded section perhaps representing a hawk's beak, small central stem, and an inverted bowl-shaped lower echinus on a platform of blocks.



Krater showing Dionysus and a satyr at an altar. <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/1570614> (accessed 18 October 2012).

Studniczka 1903: 139-40, no.3, fig. 86; Bowerman 1913: 60, no.3; Beazley 1947: 49-50; Castagnoli 1959-60: 159, fig. 9c.

E13. Vase: drawing of a krater with Aphrodite and Apollo next to an altar.

Location unknown. Fourth or third century BC. Provenance unknown, but perhaps from Falerii. Drawn whilst on sale in Rome.

The altar is oversized in relation to Aphrodite and Apollo. It has fruit on top of a tall abacus, half-round upper echinus, curved lower echinus, and tall plinth.



Drawing of a krater with Aphrodite and Apollo next to an altar. Gerhard 1858: tab. 320.1.

Gerhard 1858: 91, tab.320.1; Reinach 1900: 157, fig.3.6; Studniczka 1903: 141, no.4; Bowerman 1913: 60, no.4

E14. Cinerary urn: sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

Perugia, Giardino Meniconi. Second century BC. L: 0.54m.

The altar has a thin abacus, a rounded upper echinus, central torus with a dividing line, curved lower echinus, and thin plinth.



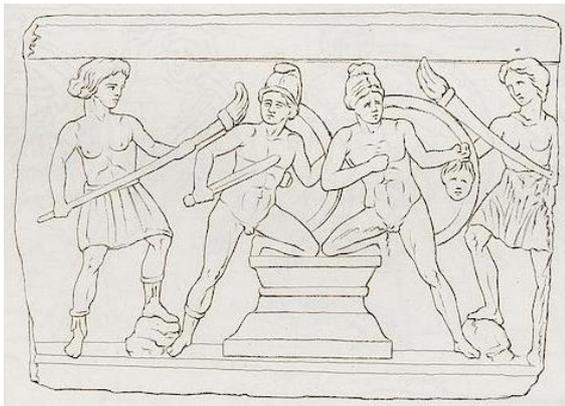
Cinerary urn: sacrifice of Iphigeneia. Brunn 1870: tab. 42.14.

Brunn 1870: 46-7, tab.42.14; Studniczka 1903: 141, no.5; Bowerman 1913: 60, no.5.

E15. Cinerary urn: two Trojans kneeling on an altar.

Florence, last recorded in the Museo della Società Columbaria. Second century BC? L: 0.40m.

The altar has an abacus, a slightly rounded upper echinus, a wide torus on top of a slightly concave central stem, a slightly curved lower echinus, and a plinth. It has much in common with other altars on mirrors and urns that do not have strongly-rounded mouldings, and Studniczka does not mention it, but it has the elements used in depictions of double-rounded altars and can be taken to be another example. It probably did not survive the destruction of the museum in 1944.



Cinerary urn: two Trojans kneeling on an altar. Brunn 1870: tab. 63.32.

Brunn 1870: 68, tab.63.32; Bowerman 1913: 61, no.17.

E16. Bronze plaque: Sabazios with attributes and cult objects, including an altar.

Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 4977. First century AD. From Rome.

The altar has a fire on top of an abacus, a tall rounded upper echinus, a central torus with no stem, a tall rounded lower echinus, and a plinth standing on a

platform. Uniquely, the altar appears to be round, and the faint vertical lines suggest that it might be intended to be metal, like the two vessels nearby. In spite of these differences, and its relatively thin profile, it has a clear double-rounded, 'hourglass' shape that might well reflect this traditional altar design.



Bronze plaque: Sabazios with attributes and cult objects, including an altar. Roscher 1909-15, vol.4: 247-9, fig. 8 (and detail).

Roscher 1909-15, vol.4: 247-9, fig.8; Bowerman 1913: 60, no.26; Kjersgaard 1968: 109.

E17. Coins: four issues of *quadrantes* struck at Rome in 9, 8, 5, and 4 BC.

Altars with double-rounded moulding, often hung with garlands, are depicted on four series of *quadrantes*, the lowest denomination Roman coin, minted under Augustus. Studniczka 1903: 141; Bowerman 1913: 60; and Castagnoli 1959-60: 159, all include them as examples of objects with this design. These coins demonstrate the continued significance of this type of altar design into the last years of the first century BC. I discuss the depictions on them and their significance in Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.

**Sacred by Design:
Expressing Latin Identity through
Architectural Mouldings**

Stephen Smith

Royal Holloway, University of London

**Part 3 of 3
Chapter Figures**

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD.

December 2015

FIGURES: CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION



Figure 1.1. The double-rouned design on the Altar to the Unknown God / Altar of Calvinus (cat. no. C15). Photograph by author, September 2012.

FIGURES: CHAPTER 2

TERMINOLOGY AND DESIGN

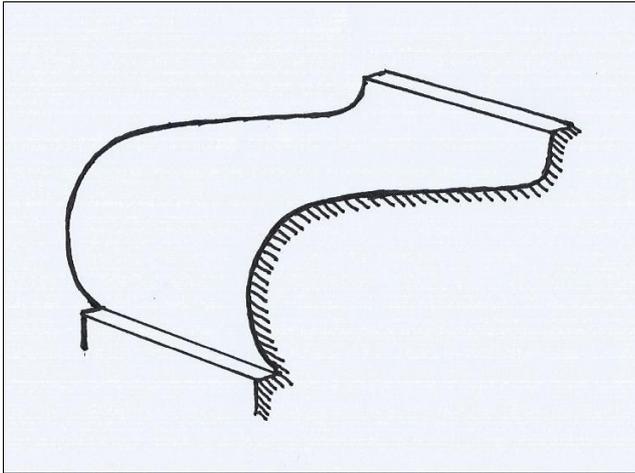


Figure 2.1. Rounded Wave Moulding. Drawing by author.

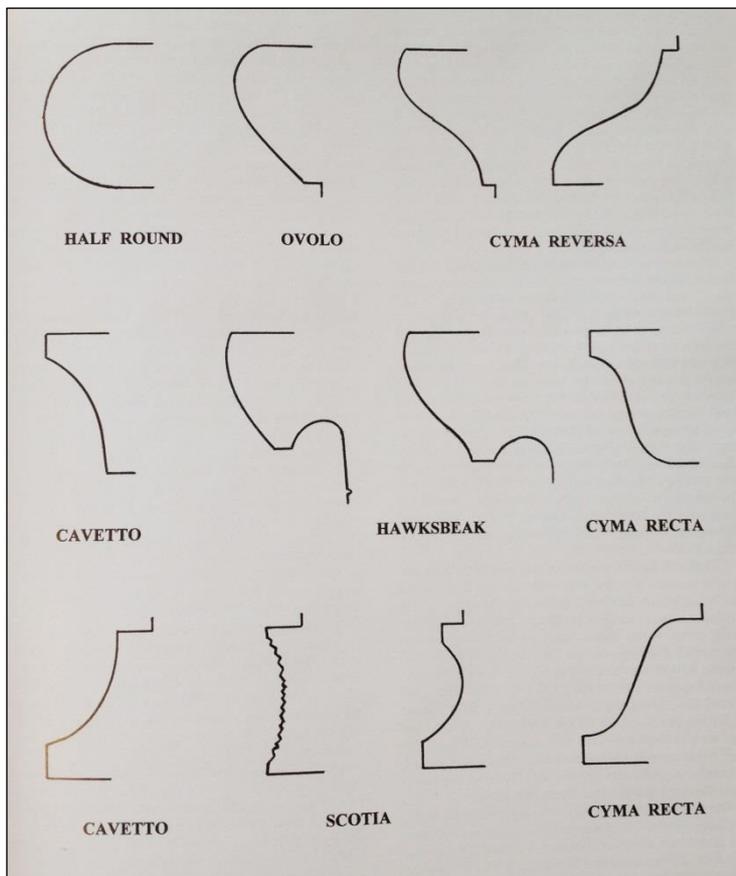


Figure 2.2. Standard terms for mouldings. Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000: xiii, fig.B.

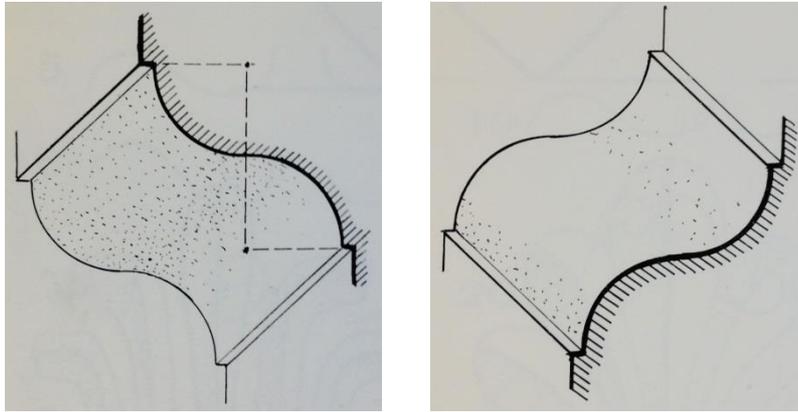


Figure 2.3. Cyma reversa, in an upper position (left) or lower position (right). Ginouvès and Martin 1985: pl.49.4-5.

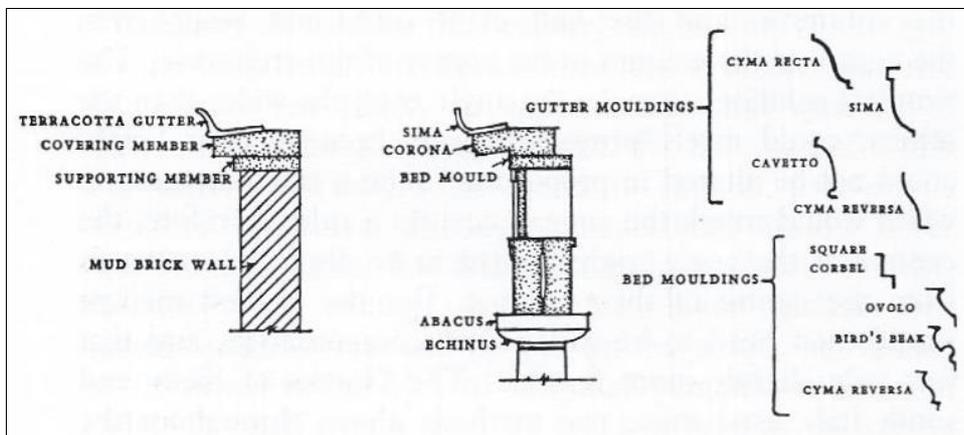


Figure 2.4. Adaptations in stone of wooden functional mouldings. Lawrence 1996: 72, fig.98.

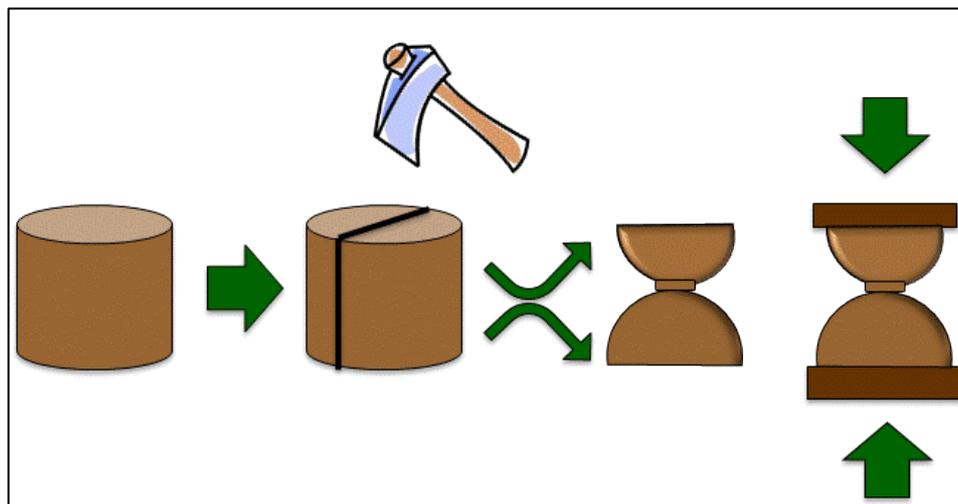


Figure 2.5. Possible wooden origins of the double-rounded design. Diagram by author.

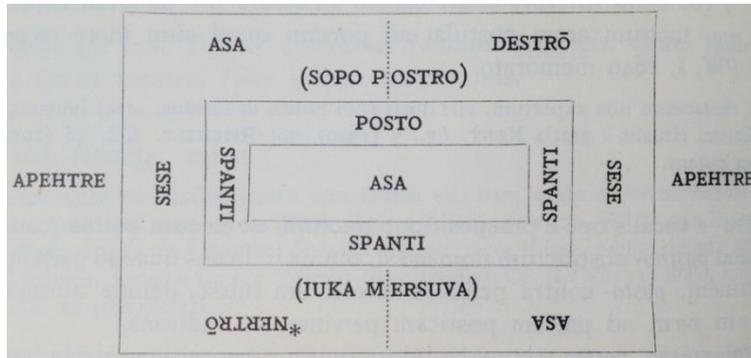


Figure 2.6. Interpretation of altar described in *Tabulae Iguvinae*. Devoto 1937: 240.

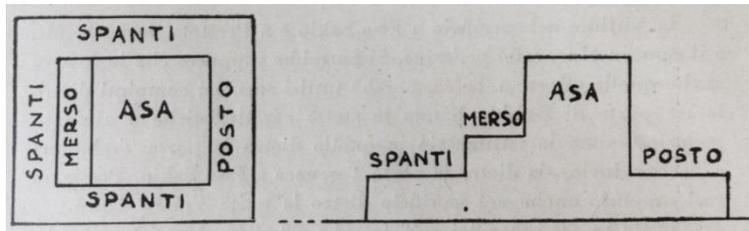


Figure 2.7. Interpretation of altar described in *Tabulae Iguvinae*. Orsi 1942: 219, fig.1.

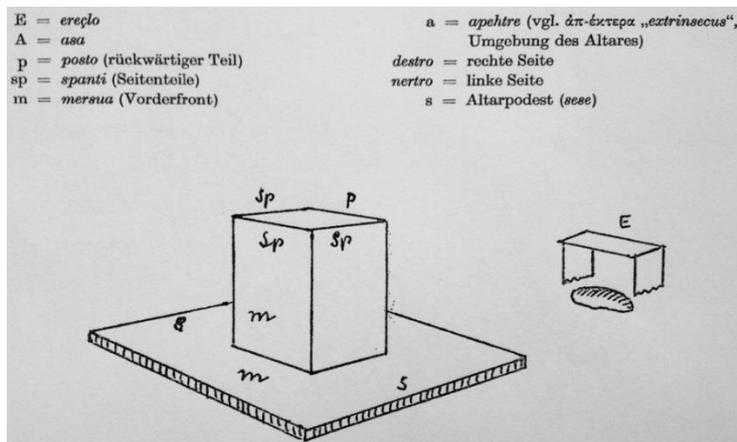


Figure 2.8. Interpretation of altar described in *Tabulae Iguvinae*. Pfiffig 1964: 97 (detail).

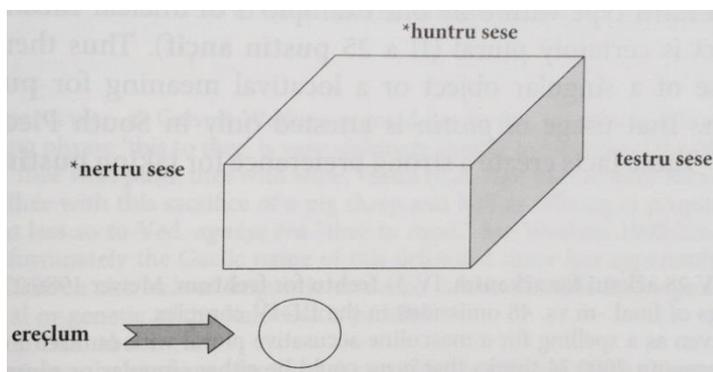


Figure 2.9. Interpretation of the relationship between altar and **ereçlum** described in *Tabulae Iguvinae*. Weiss 2010: 348.

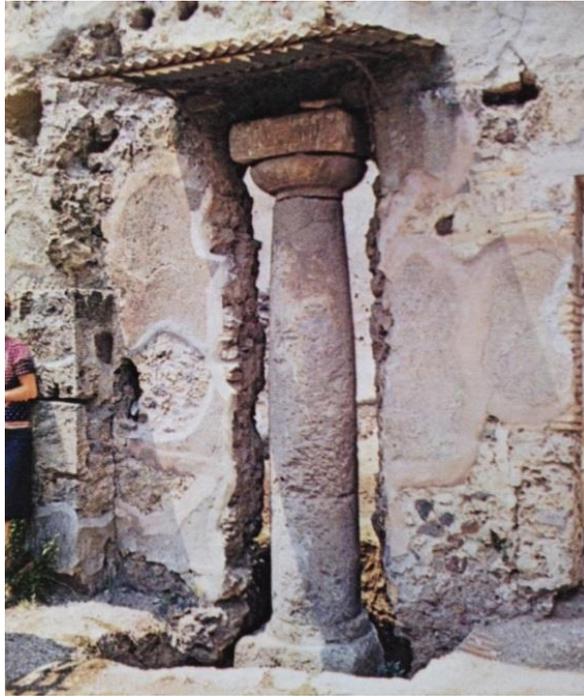


Figure 2.10. Pompeii, column at the 'House of the Etruscan Column'. Bonghi Jovino 1984: vol.2, tab.5.3.



Figure 2.11. Boscoreale, wall-painting from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor.
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7b/Scene_3%2C_left.jpg (detail)
(accessed 27 May 2015).

FIGURES: CHAPTER 3

THE EARLY USE OF DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDING IN LATIUM



Figure 3.1. Map of central Italy showing the locations of podia with double-rounded moulding. Map by author.

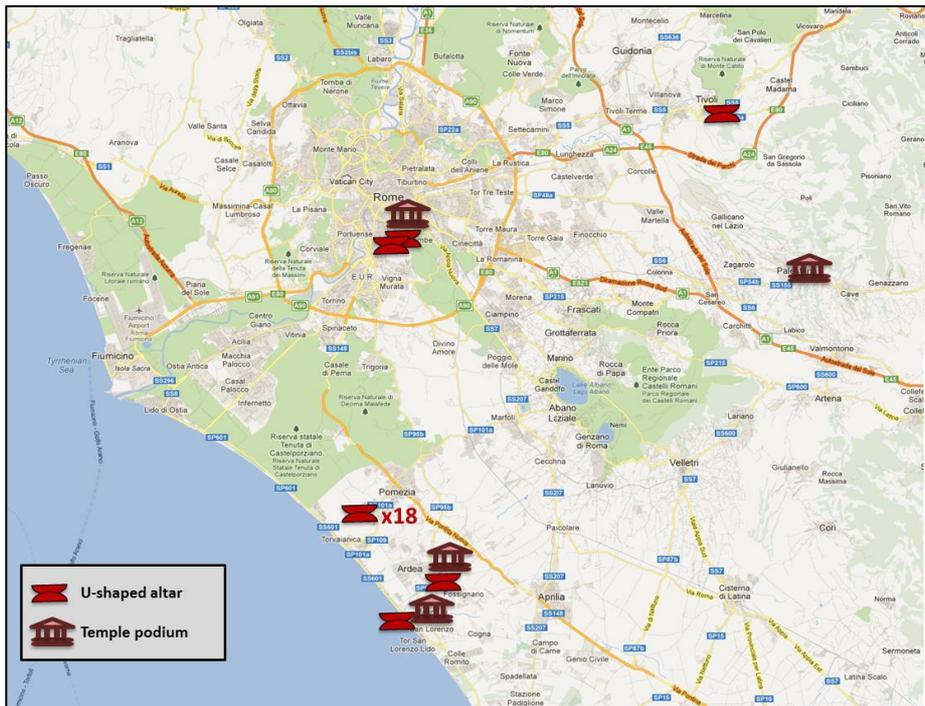


Figure 3.2. Map of Latium showing the locations of podia and U-shaped altars with double-rounded moulding. Map by author.

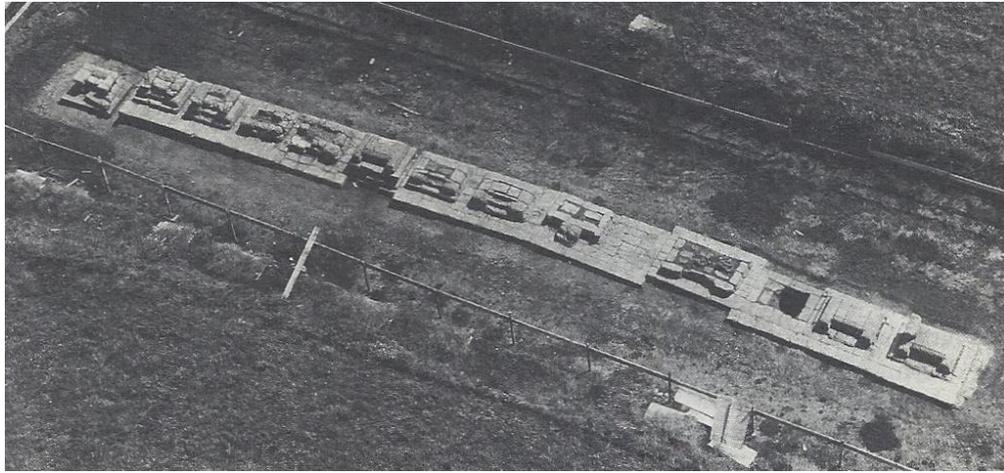


Figure 3.3. Lavinium, altars (numbered I–XIII, right to left). Castagnoli 1977: 464, fig.3.



Figure 3.4. Lavinium, altars (Altar XIII closest). Cozza 1975: tab.1.



Figure 3.5. Lavinium, altar set apart from the others (known as Altar XIV). Panella and Avilia 2005: 33.

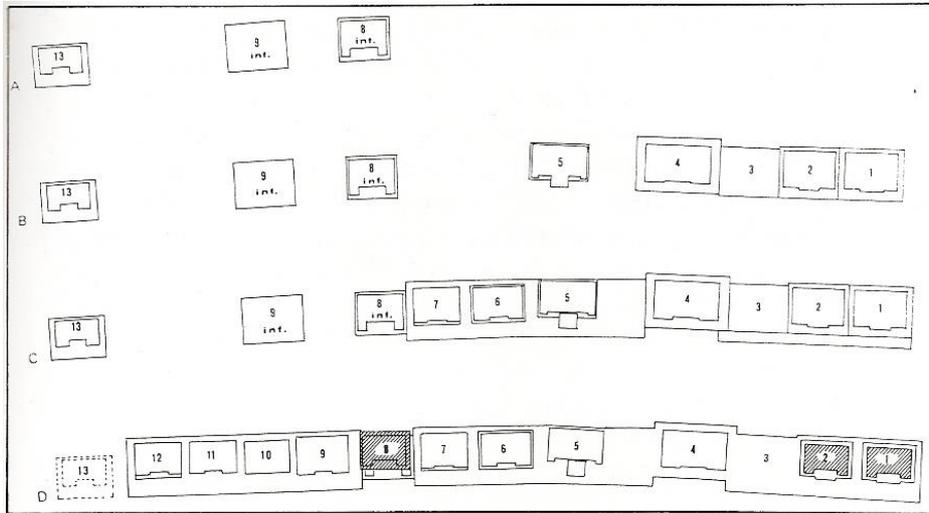


Figure 3.6. Lavinium, building phases of altars (A: mid-sixth century BC; B: mid-fifth century BC; C: second half of the fifth, or the fourth century BC; D: end of the fourth century BC, with shaded altars later). Holloway 1994: 131, fig.10.3.

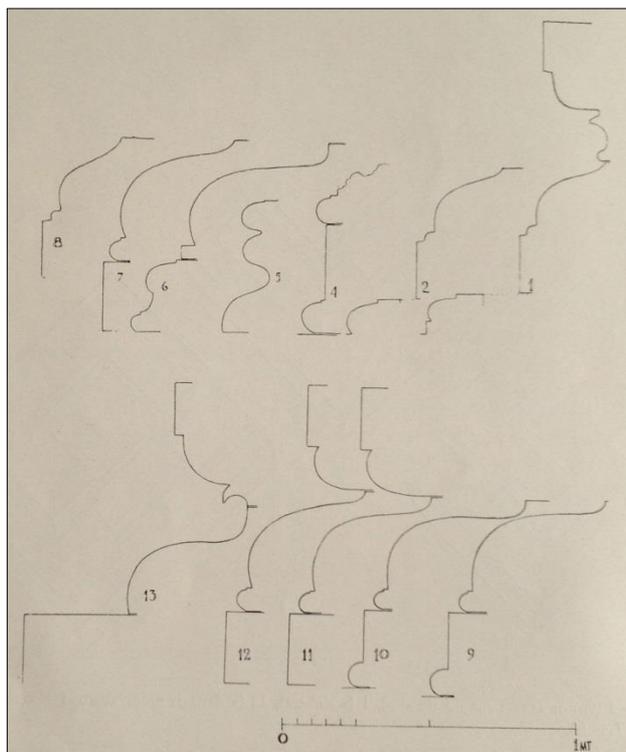


Figure 3.7. Lavinium, profiles of altars. Castagnoli 1959-60: 148, fig.3.

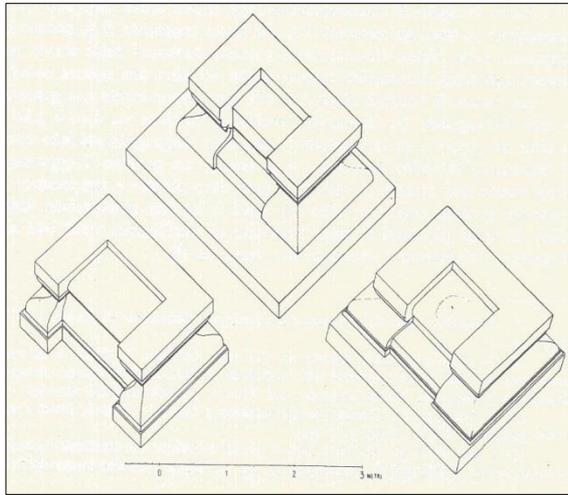


Figure 3.8. Lavinium, reconstruction of altars (top: Altar XIII, from the mid-sixth century BC; left: Altar I Superior, from the third or perhaps second century BC; right: Altar XII, from the end of the fourth century BC). Castagnoli 1959-60: 147, fig.2.

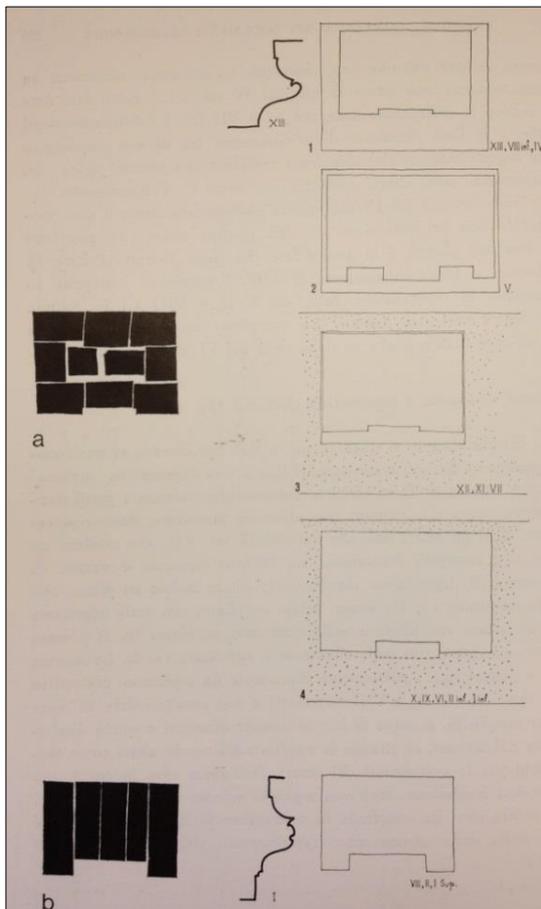


Figure 3.9. Lavinium, method of construction of altars. Giuliani and Sommella 1977: 360, fig.3.

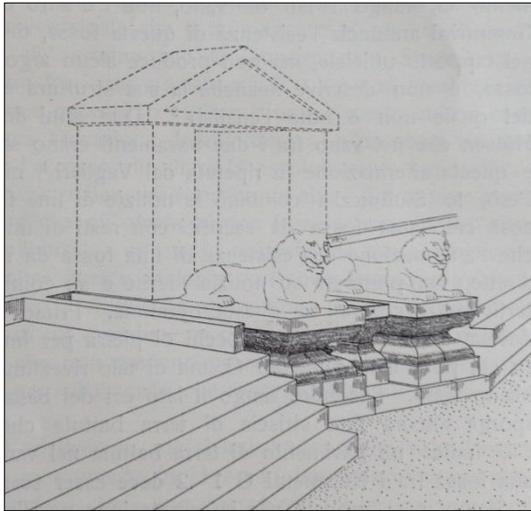


Figure 3.10 (left). Monument in the Comitium restored as Tomb of Romulus. Gjerstad 1941: 136, fig.8.

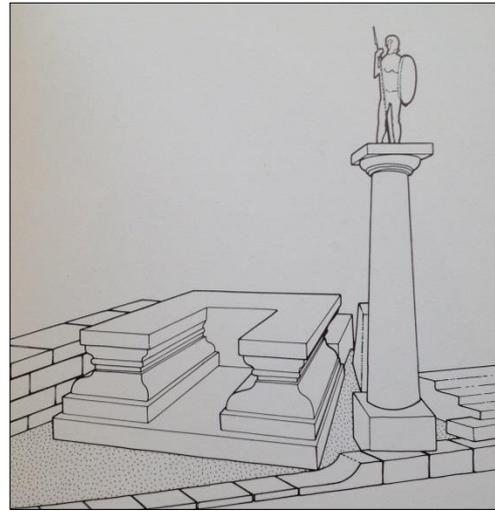


Figure 3.11 (right). Monument in the Comitium restored as an altar. Coarelli 1983: 175, fig.47.

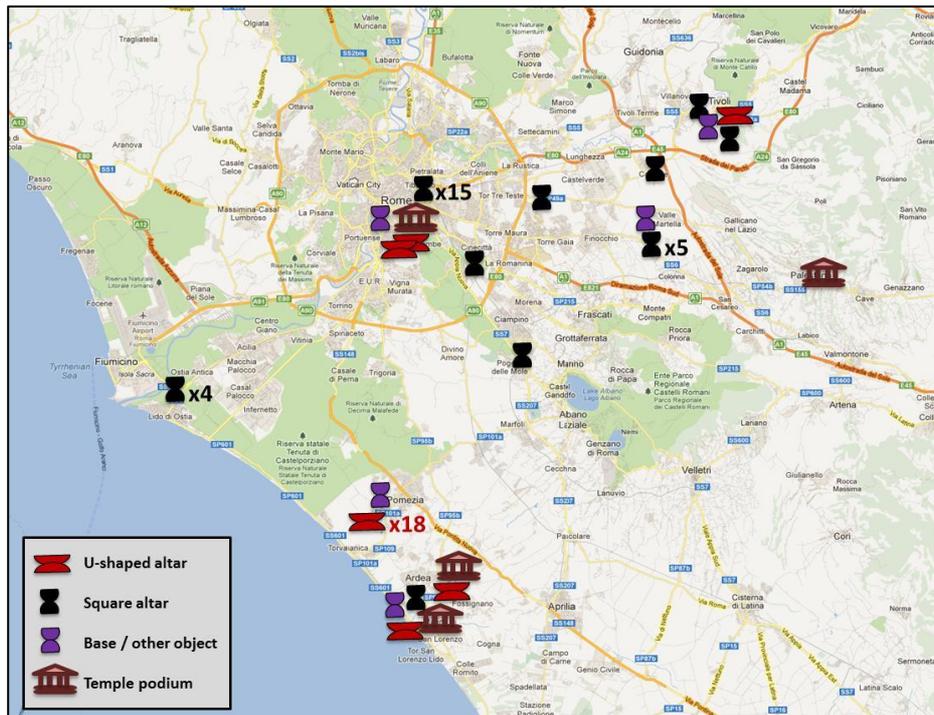


Figure 3.12. Map of Latium showing the locations of all objects with double-rounded mouldings. Map by author.



Figure 3.13. Rome, *arula* with relief of a siren. Ryberg 1940: pl.36, fig.155.



Figure 3.14. Rome, *arula* with Europa on the bull. Van Buren 1918: pl.19, IV.i.5.



Figure 3.15. Rome, *arula* with palmette. Ricciotti 1978: tab.4, no.8.



Figure 3.16. London, British Museum, *arula* with running satyr, originally from Lanuvium. Photograph by author, May 2012.



Figure 3.17. Tarentum, *arula*. Jastrow 1946: 72, fig.6.



Figure 3.18. Map of central Italy showing the locations of *arulae* with double-rounded sides. Map by author.

FIGURES: CHAPTER 4

EARLY DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDINGS IN ETRURIA AND OTHER POSSIBLE INFLUENCES



Figure 4.1. Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis, Tumulus I. Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.2. Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis, Tumulus II. Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.3. Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis, Tomba Policroma. Photograph by author, March 2013.

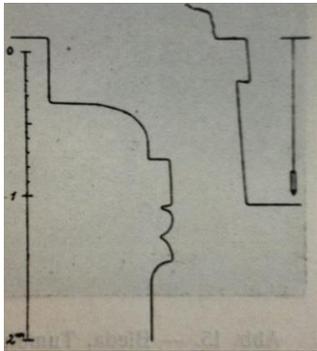


Figure 4.4. Bieda, façade of tumuli. Koch, von Mercklin and Weickert 1915: 211, fig.14.



Figure 4.5 (left). Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis, tombs on Via dei Monti della Tolfa. Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.6 (right). Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis, tombs on the Via dei Monti Ceriti. Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.7. Orvieto, Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis, cube tombs. Photograph by author, March 2013.

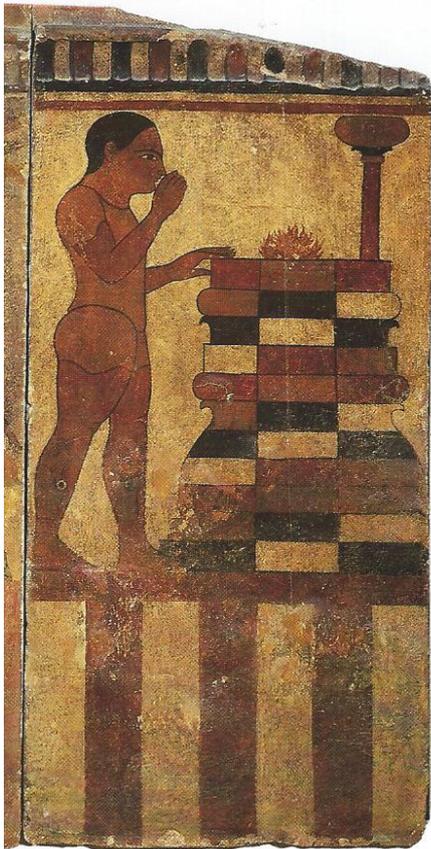


Figure 4.8. Plaque from Cerveteri showing altar. Pasquier 1998: 61, CP 6628.



Figure 4.9. Norchia, Fosso Pile necropolis, Tomba Prostila. Oleson 1982: pl.25, fig.46.



Figure 4.10 (left). Vulci, tomb-shaped *cippus*. Oleson 1982: pl.23, fig.42.



Figure 4.11 (right). Rome, Museo Villa Giulia, tomb-shaped *cippi*. Photograph by author, March 2013.

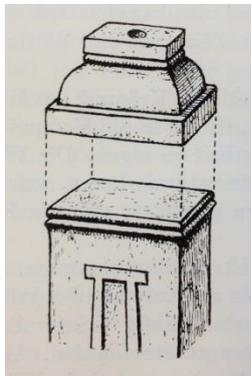


Figure 4.12 (left). Elements of tomb-shaped *cippus*. Åkerström 1934: 81, fig.15.6.



Figure 4.13 (right). Orvieto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, *cippus*. Photograph by author, March 2013.

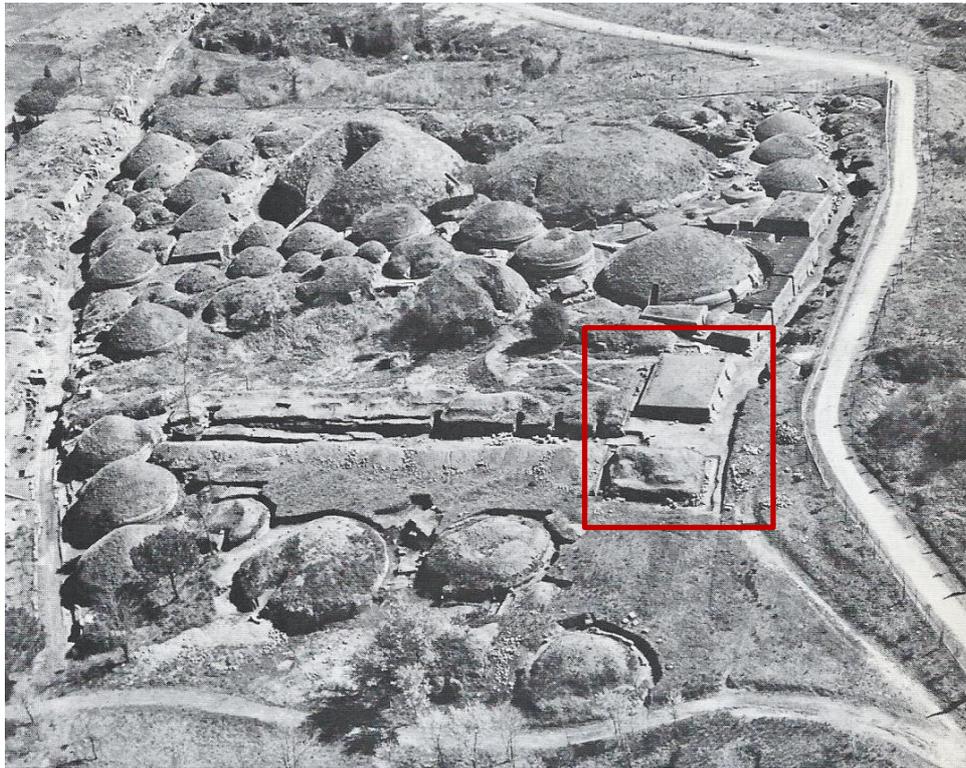


Figure 4.14. Cerveteri, aerial view of Banditaccia necropolis: blocks with double-rounded moulding highlighted and (below) enlarged. Boëthius 1978: 71, fig.61.





Figure 4.15. Orvieto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, *cippus* (front and side). Photographs by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.16. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, *cippus*. Photograph by author, March 2013.

Figure 4.17. Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, *cippus* (displayed upside down). Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.18 (left). Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, *cippi*. Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.19 (right). Orvieto, Museo Civico, *cippus* (with 10cm ruler). Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 4.20 (left). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *cippus* from Orvieto. Anonymous 1928: 83, no.H212.

Figure 4.21 (right). Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano, *cippus* from Orvieto. Photograph by author, August 2013.

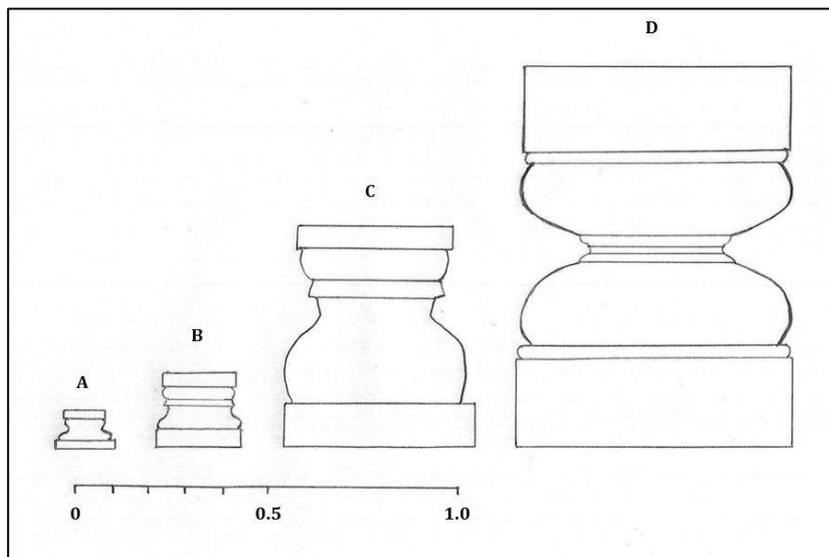


Figure 4.22. Comparative sizes of *cippi* from Orvieto and double-rounded altars (A: shortest recorded *cippus*; B: typical *cippus* (Orvieto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico); C: tallest recorded *cippus*; D: typical double-rounded altar (Altar to Verminus)). Drawing by author.



Figure 4.23. Orvieto, Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis, *cippus*. Photograph by author, March 2013.

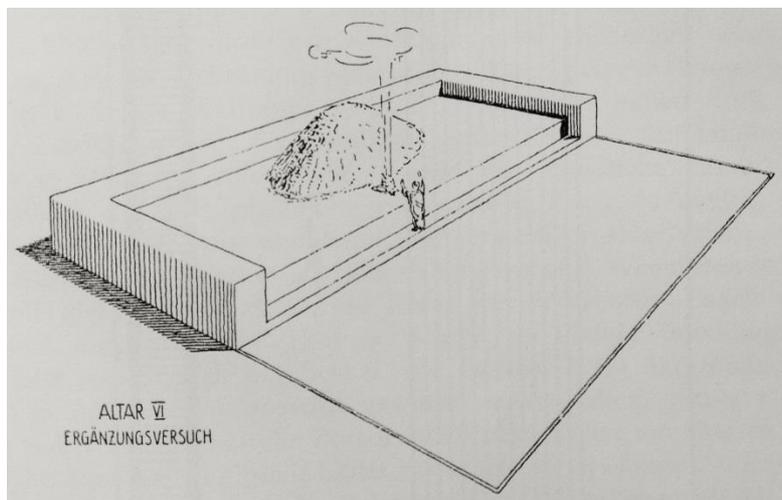


Figure 4.24. Samos, reconstruction of Altar VI. Schleif 1933: 205, fig.30.

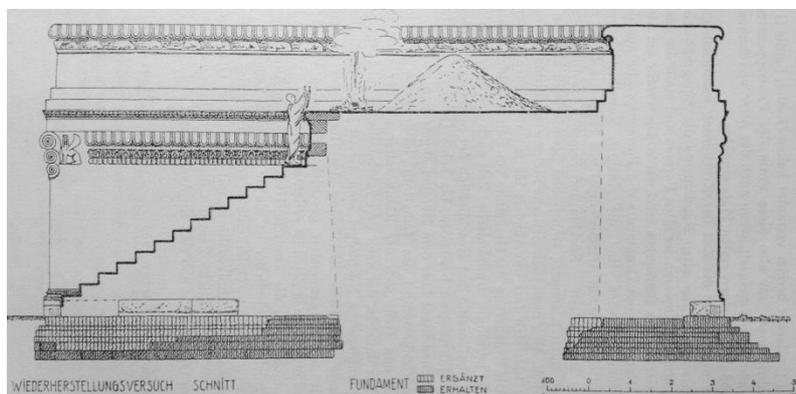


Figure 4.25. Samos, reconstruction of Altar VIII. Schleif 1933: 209, fig.33.

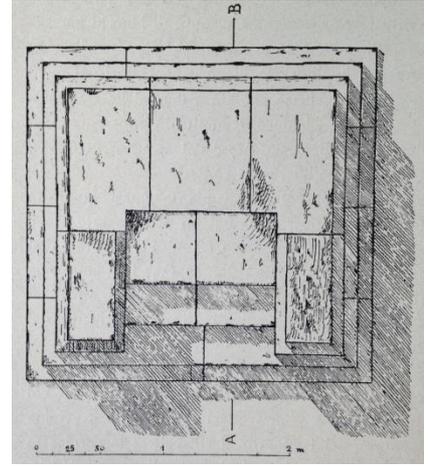
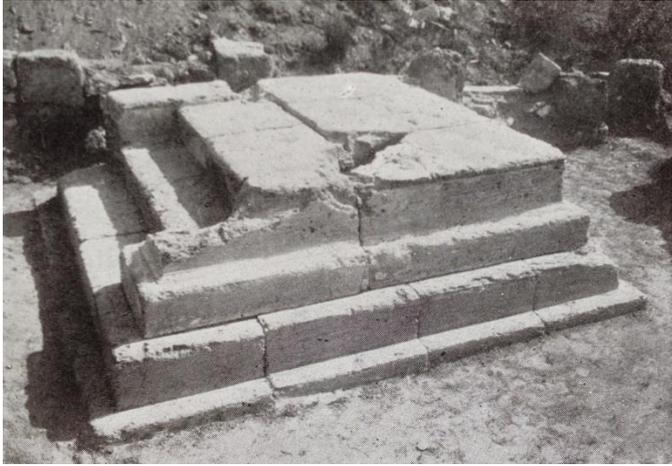


Figure 4.26 (left). Selinunte, altar by the Temple of Small Metopes. Gàbrici 1929: tab.18, fig.6.

Figure 4.27 (right). Selinunte, plan of altar by the Temple of Small Metopes. Gàbrici 1929: 83, fig.7.



Figure 4.28. Delos, remains of altar of Poseidon. Photograph by author, June 2015.

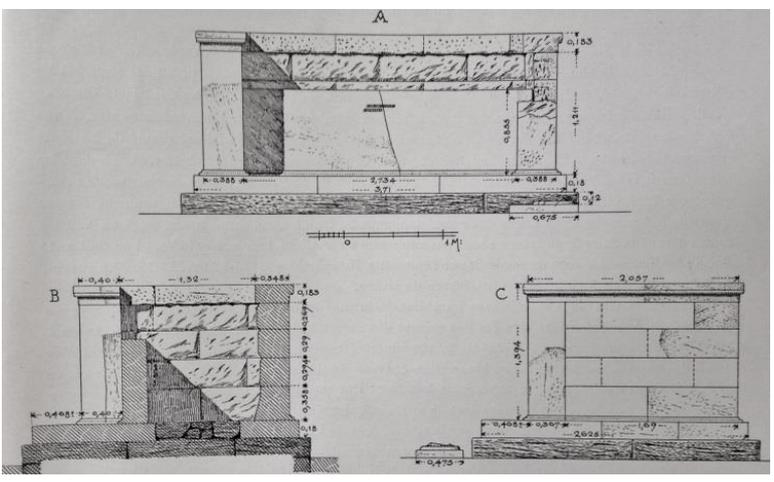


Figure 4.29. Delos, reconstruction of altar of Poseidon. Vallois and Poulsen 1914: 33, fig.61.

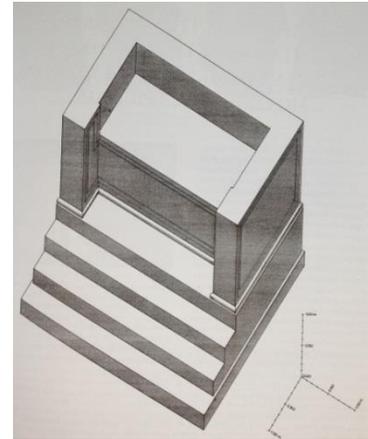


Figure 4.30 (left). Delos, remains of altar to the west of the Prytaneion. Photograph by author, June 2015.

Figure 4.31 (right). Delos, reconstruction of altar to the west of the Prytaneion. Étienne 1999: 253, pl.6.

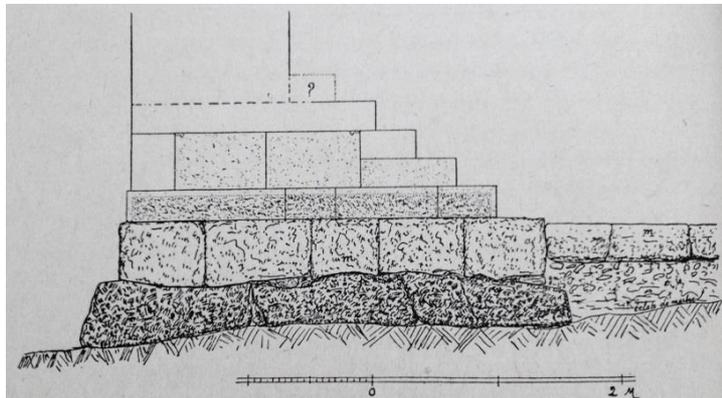


Figure 4.32. Delos, remains of altar to the east of the lake. Vallois 1929: 192, fig.4.

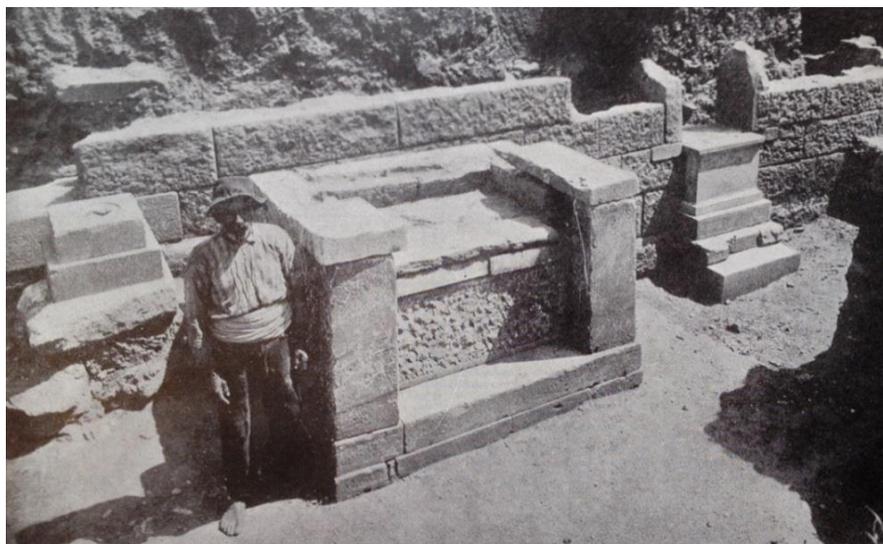


Figure 4.33. Thasos, altar of Hera. Bon and Seyrig 1929: pl.21.

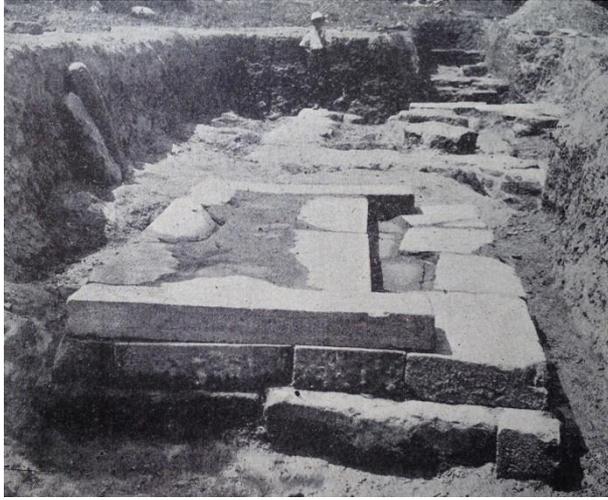


Figure 4.34. Thasos, altar in the sanctuary of Poseidon. Bon and Seyrig 1929: 331, fig.7.

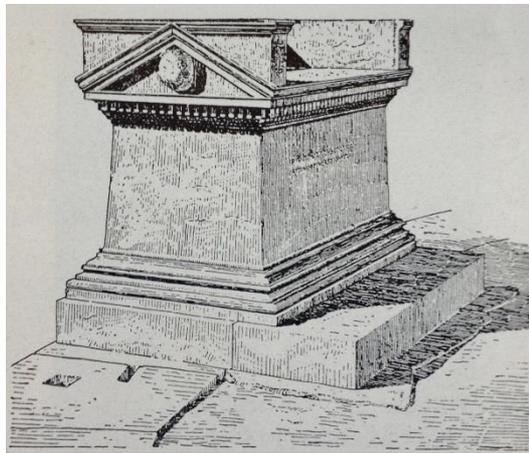


Figure 4.35 (left). Priene, altar in the theatre. Wiegand and Schrader 1904: 241, fig.238.

Figure 4.36 (right). Priene, altar in the theatre. Schede 1934: 75, fig.87.



Figure 4.37. Veii, Portonaccio altar. Photograph by author, March 2013.

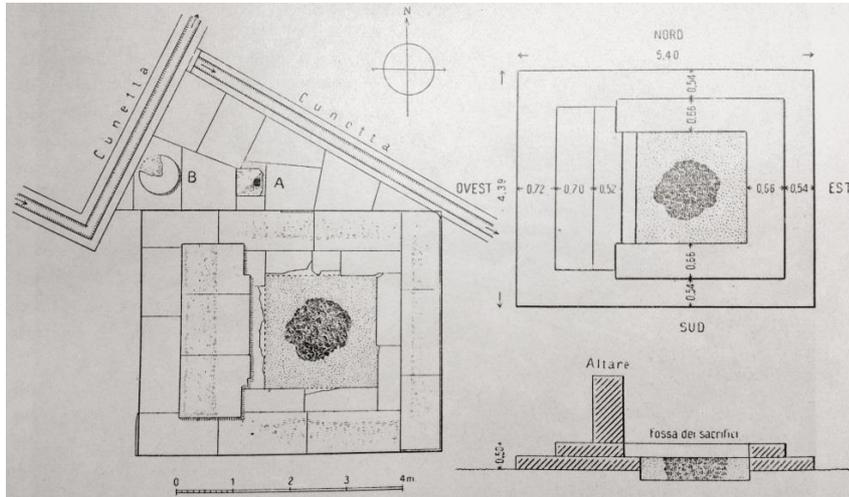


Figure 4.38. Veii, Portonaccio, plan and reconstruction of altar. Stefani 1953: 42, figs 17, 18.

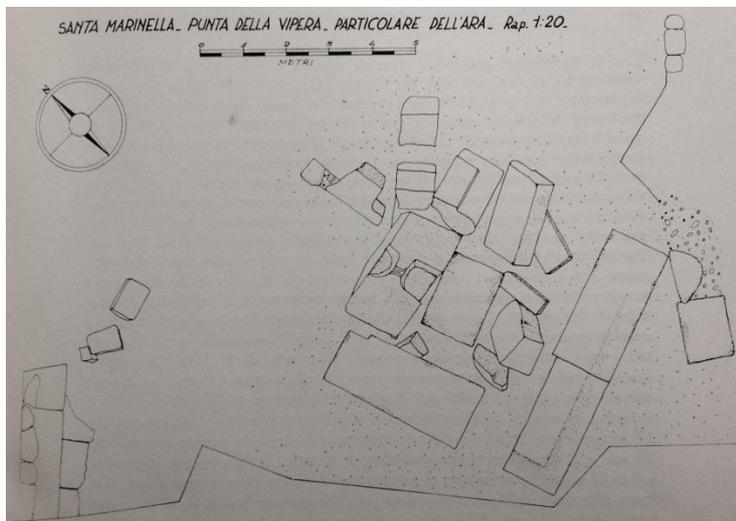


Figure 4.39. Punta della Vipera, remains of altar. Torelli 1967: 333, fig.2.

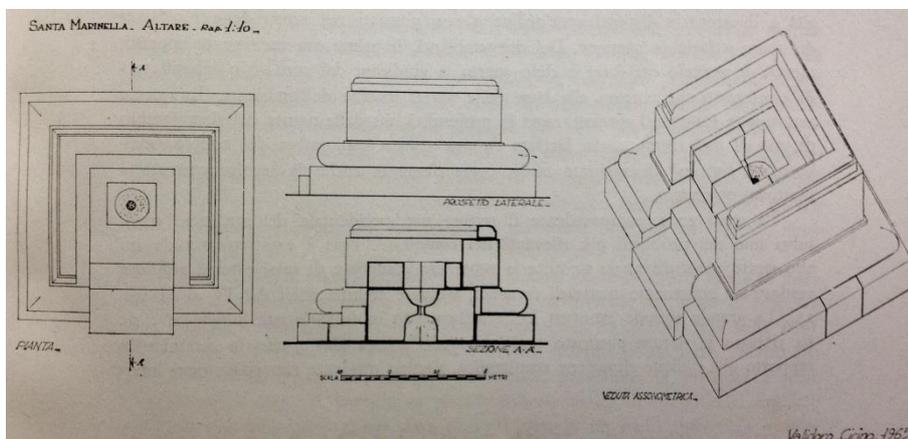


Figure 4.40. Punta della Vipera, reconstruction of altar. Torelli 1967: 333, fig.3.

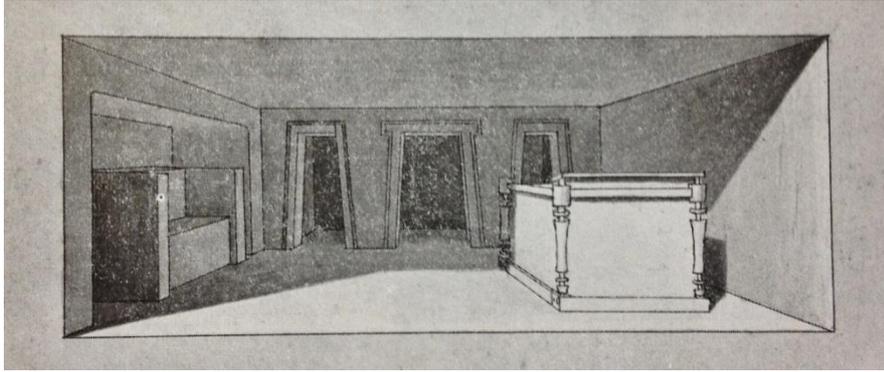


Figure 4.41. Falerii Veteres, Celle, Vigna Rosa necropolis, Tomb 13 (altar on the left). Cozza and Pasqui 1981: 127.



Figure 4.42 (left). Fiesole, sculpted lion from possible altar. Photograph by author, August 2014.

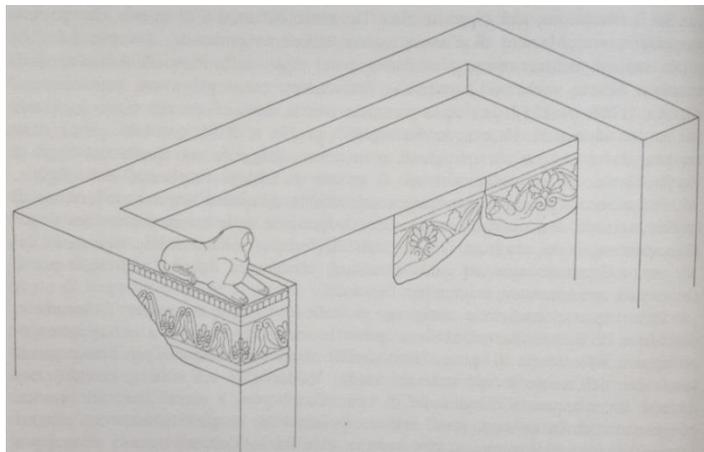


Figure 4.43 (right). Fiesole, reconstruction of possible altar. Bruni 1994: 80, fig.36.



Figure 4.44. Pozzarello, altar. Tamburini 1998: 102, fig.190.

FIGURES: CHAPTER 5

THE EXPANSION OF ROMAN CONTROL AND LATIN IDENTITY IN THE THIRD CENTURY BC

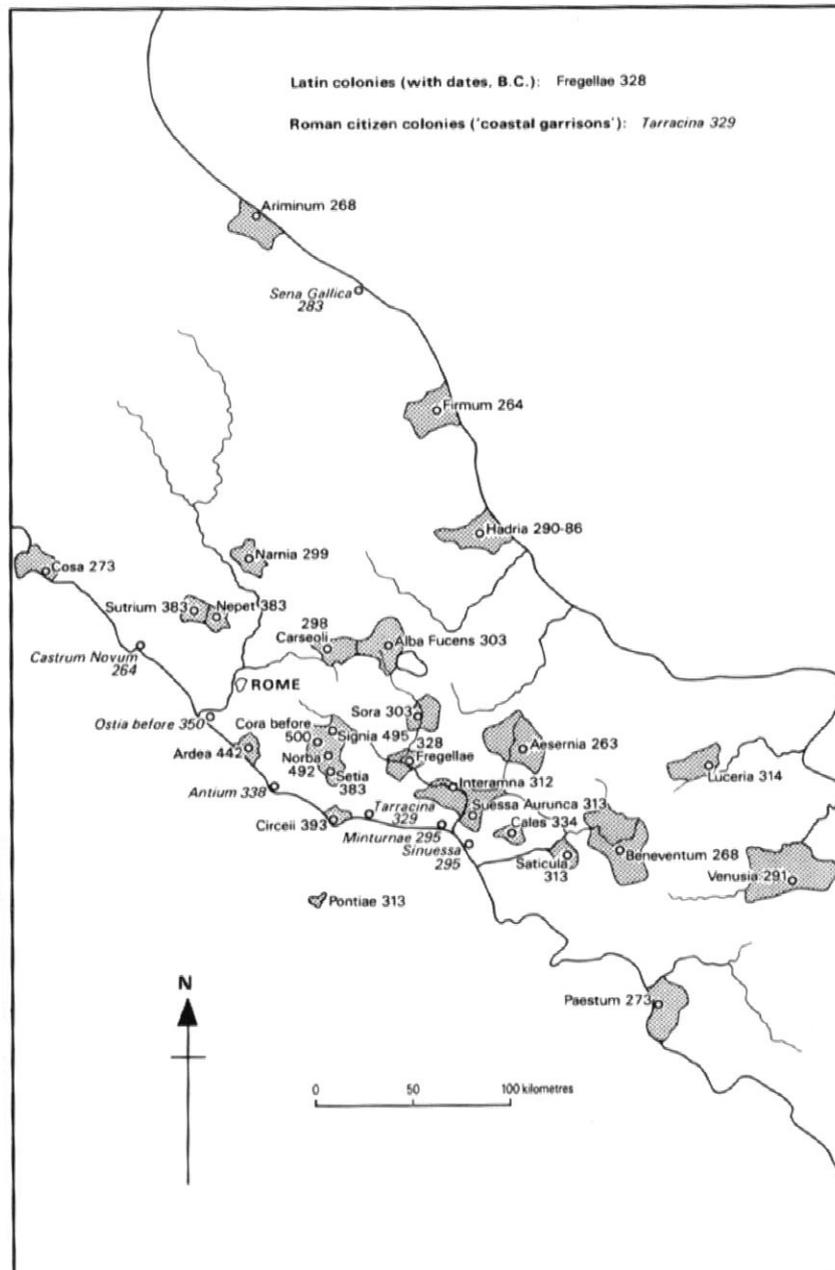


Figure 5.1. Map of Roman colonisation in Italy to 293 BC. Cornell 1989b: 390, fig.48.



Figure 5.2. Alba Fucens, ancient temple incorporated into church of San Pietro. Photograph by author, September 2010.



Figure 5.3. Norba, temple podium on the minor acropolis. Photograph by author, September 2010.



Figure 5.4. Rome, Area Sacra di S. Omobono, *donarium* of M. Fulvius Flaccus. Coarelli 1988: 215, fig. 38.



Figure 5.5. Fiesole, possible section of podium. Photograph by author, August 2014.



Figure 6.2. Base for votive object erected by L. Quinctius Flaminus. Watzinger 1903: 40, fig.5.



Figure 6.3. Base for statue or votive object erected by M. Claudius Marcellus. Durante and Gervasini 2000: 13, fig.9.



Figure 6.4. Megara Hyblaea, grave marker. Orsi and Cavallari 1890: tab.4.2.

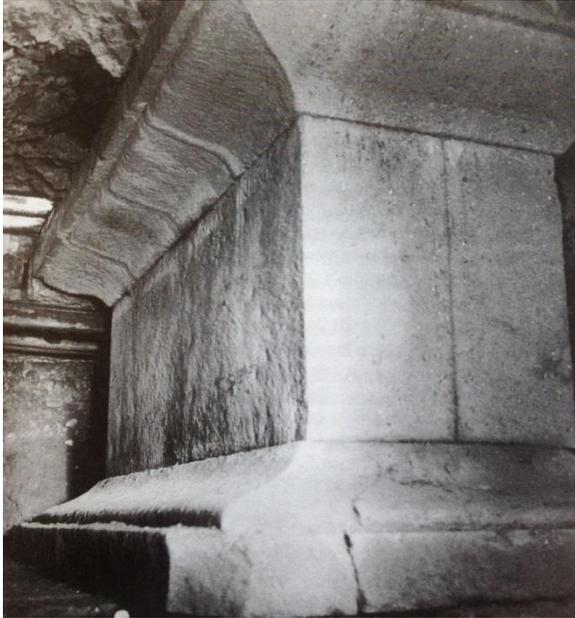


Figure 6.5. Rome, Largo Argentina, altar in front of Temple C. Coarelli 1997: 312, fig.59.

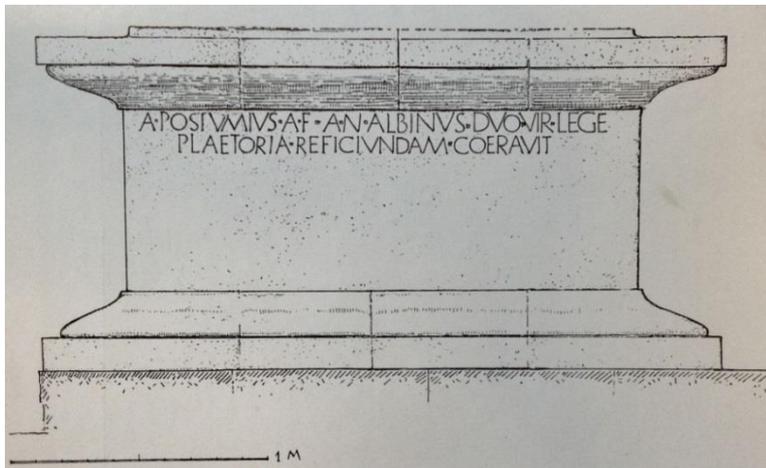


Figure 6.6. Rome, Largo Argentina, altar in front of Temple C. Coarelli 1997: 312, fig.58.



Figure 6.7. Ostia, altar in front of Temple 2. Rieger 2004: 44, fig.9a.



Figure 6.8. Rome, base for statue of Cornelia. Photograph by author, April 2015.

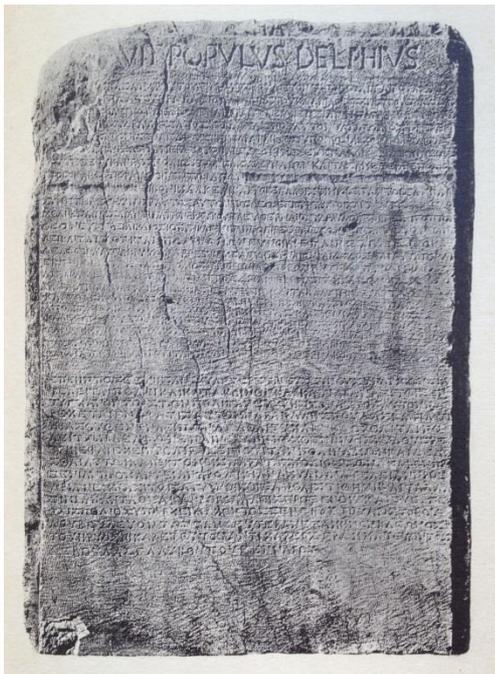


Figure 6.9. Delphi, base of M. Minucius Rufus. Orsi and Cavallari 1890: tab.4.2.

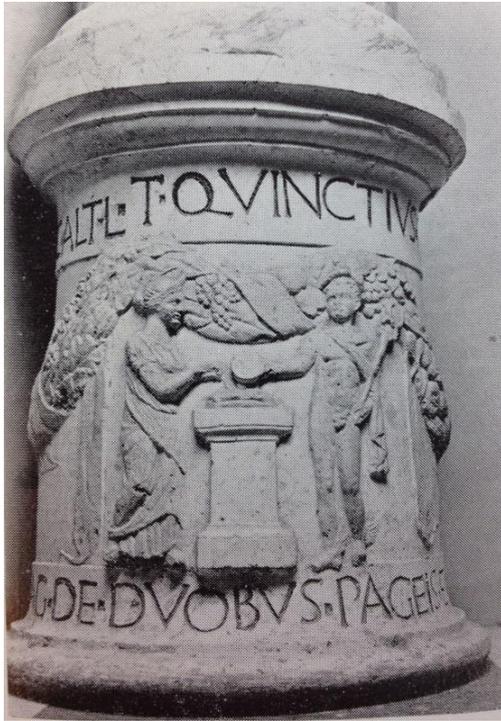


Figure 6.10. Rome, Vatican, Altar of Mercury and Maia. Felletti Maj 1977: tab.21, fig.56.



Figure 6.11. Rome, Vatican, altar from Tivoli. Altmann 1905: 5, fig.2.



Figure 6.12. Rome, Villa Borghese, altar. Felletti Maj 1977: tab.22, fig.59d.



Figure 6.13. Civita Castellana, base. Photograph by author, March 2013.

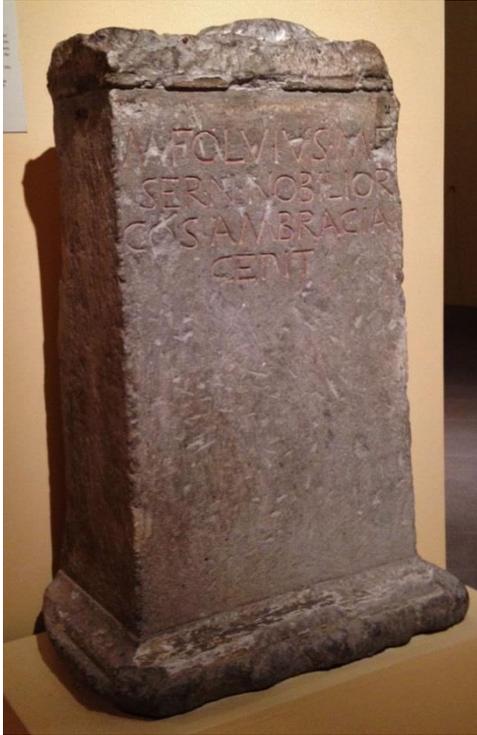


Figure 6.14. Rome, base erected by M. Fulvius Nobilior. Photograph by author, April 2015.



Figure 6.15. Rome, detail of pediment decoration found under the Via di San Gregorio. Photograph by author, April 2015.

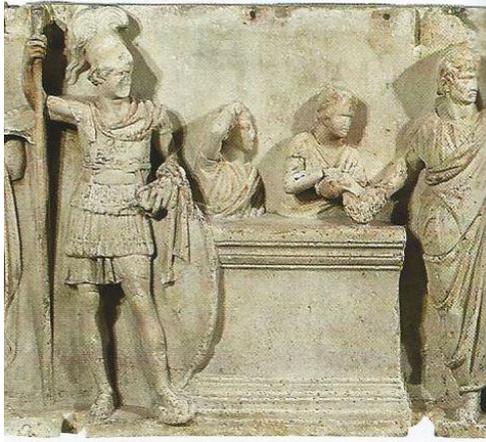


Figure 6.16. Paris, 'Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus'. Pasquier 1991: 72-3 (detail).

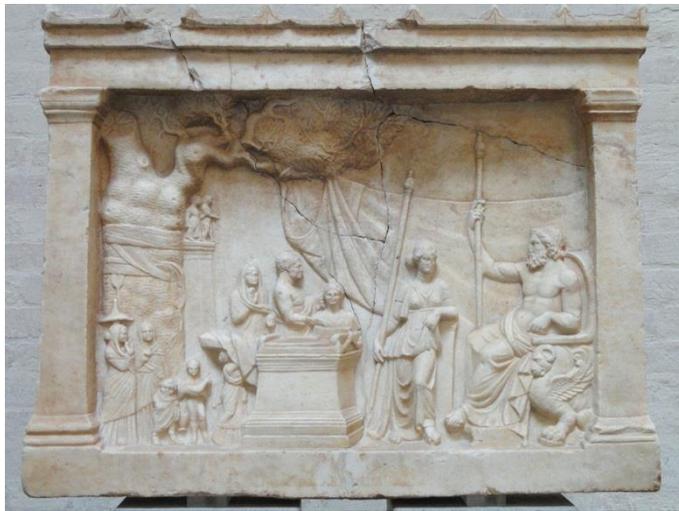


Figure 6.17. Munich, relief in the Glyptothek. Holliday 2002: 161, fig.83.



Figure 6.18 (left). *Denarius* of L. Pomponius Molo, 97 or 94-89 BC. British Museum R.8006.

Figure 6.19 (right). *Denarius* of A. Postumius Albinus, 81 BC. British Museum 2002,0102.3172.

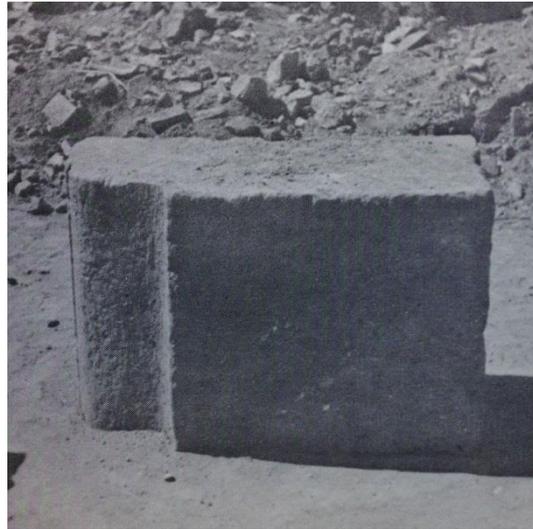
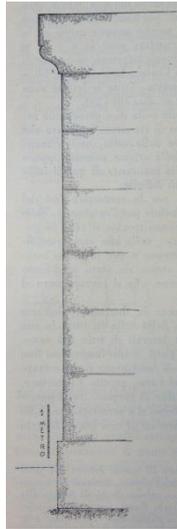


Figure 6.20 (left). Rome, Largo Argentina, podium of Temple C. Marchetti Longhi 1932: 284, fig.11.

Figure 6.21 (right). Rome, Forum Boarium, block from the podium of an earlier phase of the Temple of Portunus. Colini and Buzzetti 1986: 21, fig.20.

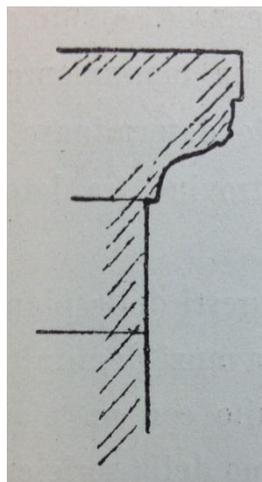
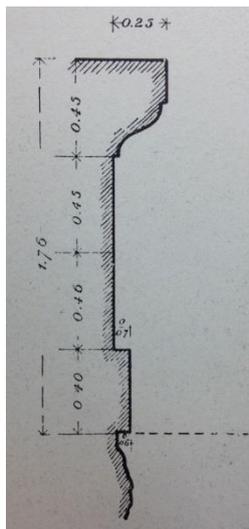


Figure 6.22 (left). Lanuvium, podium of Temple A. Bendinelli 1921: 310, fig.6.

Figure 6.23 (right). Lanuvium, podium of Temple B. Galieti 1928: 113, fig.11.

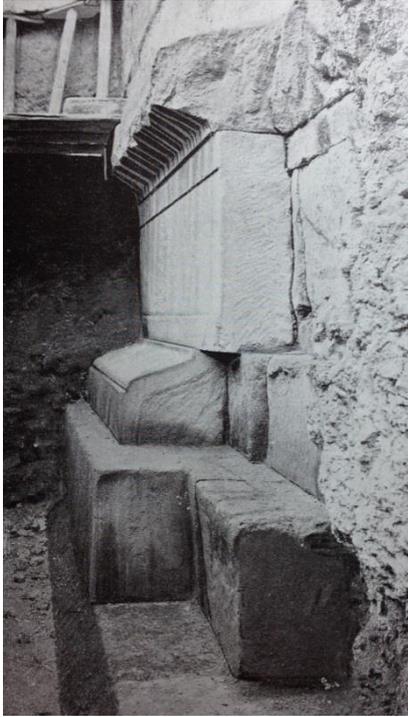


Figure 6.24. Rome, Largo Argentina, podium of the second phase of Temple A. Marchetti Longhi 1936: tab.2.



Figure 6.25. Cosa, podium of 'Capitolium'. Brown *et al.* 1960: 71, fig.47.



Figure 6.26 (left). Paestum, podium of the temple in the forum. Photograph by author, October 2012.

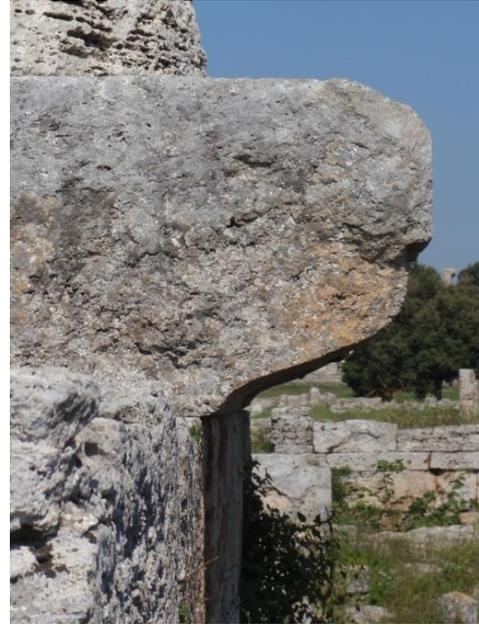


Figure 6.27 (right). Paestum, moulding at the top of the podium. Photograph by author, October 2012.

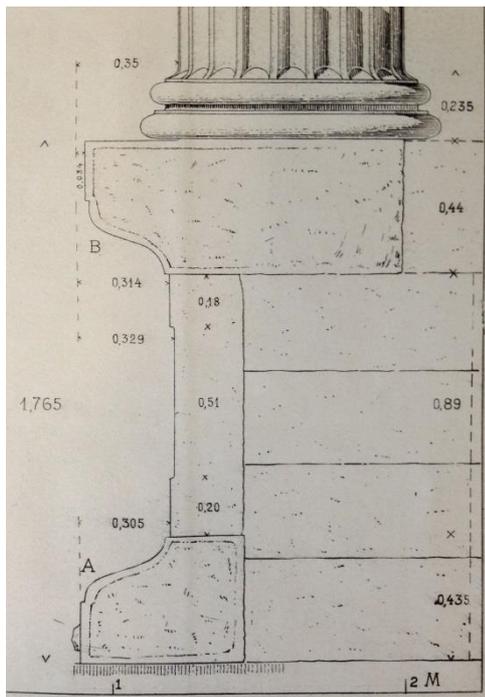


Figure 6.28. Tivoli, podium of rectangular temple. Delbrück 1912: tab.9 (detail).

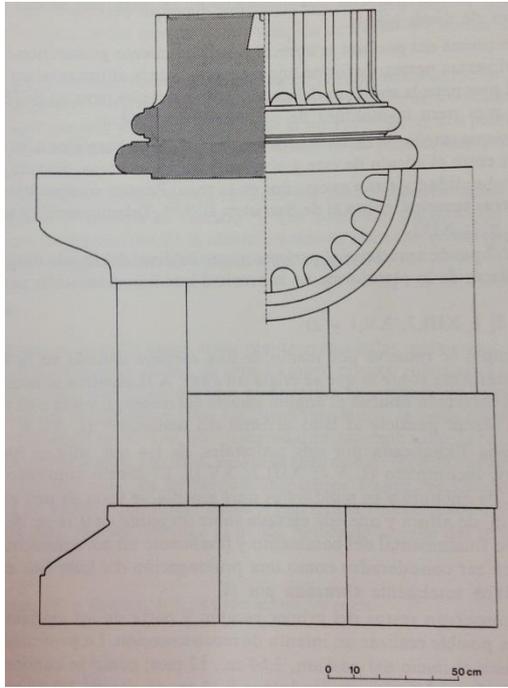


Figure 6.29. Gabii, podium of Temple of Juno. Jiménez 1982: 65, fig.12.



Figure 6.30. Fregellae, fragment from podium. Verzar Bass 1986: 178, tab.24.6.

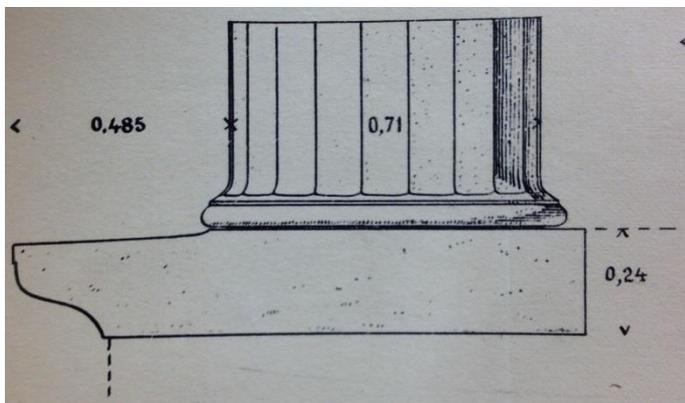


Figure 6.31. Cori, podium of Doric temple. Delbrück 1912: tab.18 (detail).

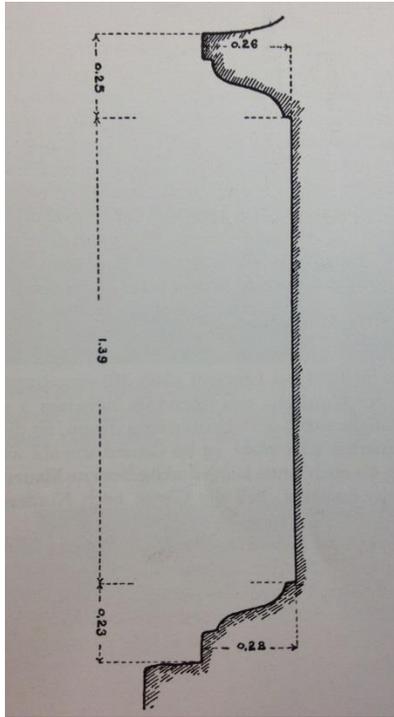


Figure 6.32. Ostia, podium of the four Republican temples. Rieger 2004: 49, fig.19.

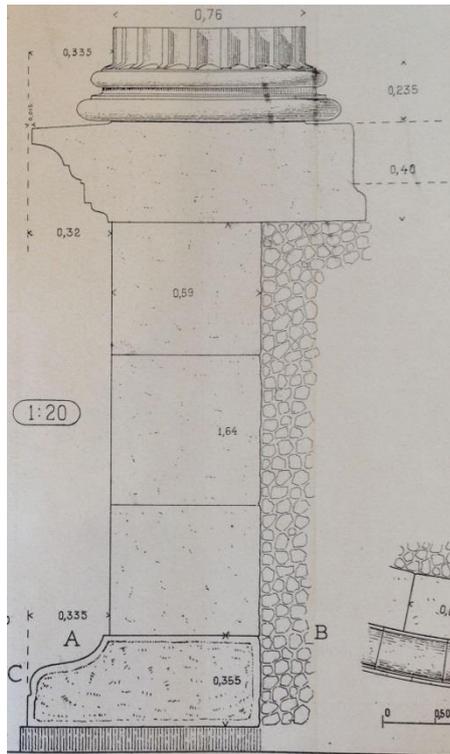


Figure 6.33. Tivoli, podium of round temple. Delbrück 1912: tab.10 (detail).

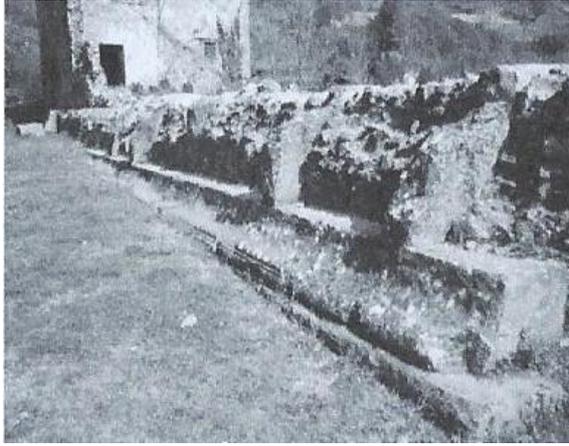


Figure 6.34. Nemi, podium of the third phase of Temple K. Ghini and Diosono 2012a: 272, fig.5.



Figure 6.35. Volterra, podium of Temple A. Photograph by author, March 2013.



Figure 6.36. Nogna, podium. Fiorini 2011: 44, fig.7.

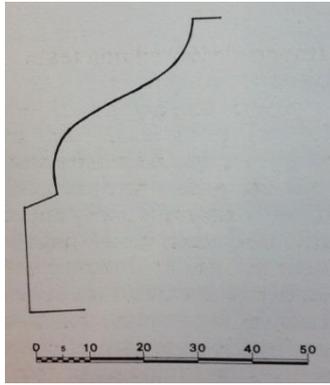


Figure 6.37. Reate, base moulding of podium. Reggiani 1987: 370, fig.7.

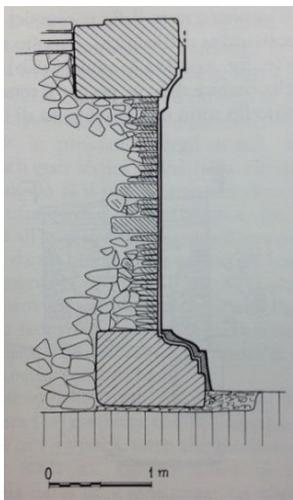


Figure 6.38. Ortona, podium of Temple B. Van Wousterghem 1979: 47, fig.14.

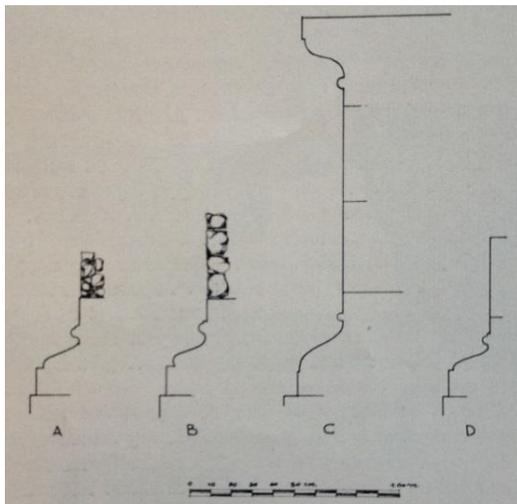


Figure 6.39. Teano, podia of four temples. Johannowsky 1963: 140, fig.8.



Figure 6.40. Pompeii, Temple of Isis. Photograph by author, February 2015.

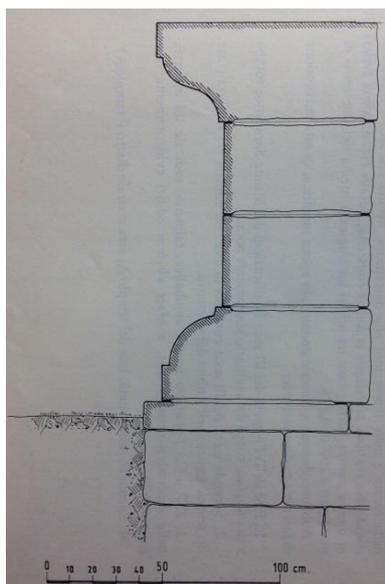


Figure 6.41 (left). Pietrabbondante, podium of Temple A. La Regina 1976: 225, fig.5.

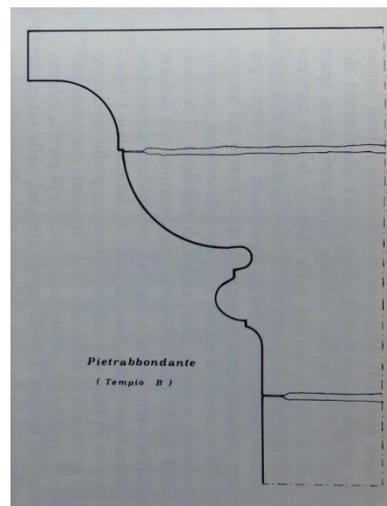


Figure 6.42 (right). Pietrabbondante, moulding at the top of the podium of Temple B. La Regina 1976: 225, fig.6 (detail).



Figure 6.43. Vastogirardi, podium. Morel 1976: 263, fig.2.

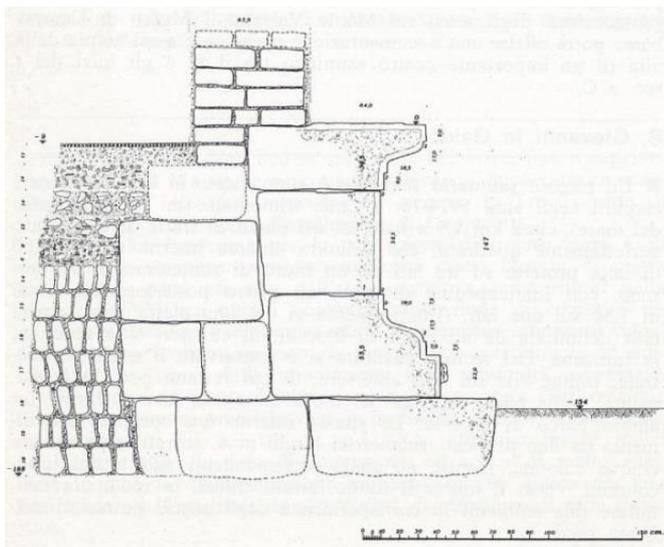


Figure 6.44. S. Giovanni in Galdo, podium. Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 296.



Figure 6.45 (left). Schiavi d'Abruzzo, podium. Lapenna 2001: 46.



Figure 6.46 (right). Schiavi d'Abruzzo, podium at time of excavation. Lapenna 2006: 62.

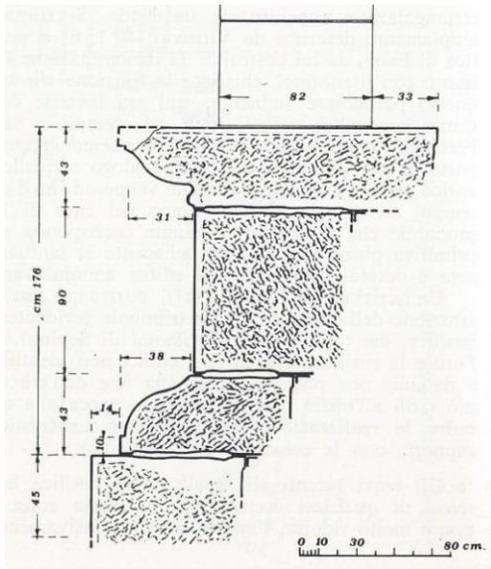


Figure 6.47. Quadri, podium. Coarelli and La Regina 1984: 316.

FIGURES: CHAPTER 7

DOUBLE-ROUNDED MOULDING UNDER AUGUSTUS AND LATER



Figure 7.1. Rome, probable Augustan base (probably displayed inverted). Photograph by author, September 2012.



Figure 7.2. *Quadrans* of Lamia, Silius, and Annius, 9 BC: hands clasping a *caduceus*, and *SC*. British Museum R.6223.



Figure 7.3. *Quadrans* of Lamia, Silius, and Annius, 9 BC: *lituus* and *simpulum*, and *SC*. British Museum R.6224.



Figure 7.4. *Quadrans* of Lamia, Silius, and Annius, 9 BC: double-rouned altar, and cornucopia between *SC*. British Museum 1904,0203.78.



Figure 7.5. *Quadrans* of Pulcher, Taurus, and Regulus, 8 BC: double-rouned altar, and cornucopia between *SC*. British Museum 1843,1024.4.



Figure 7.6 (left). *Quadrans* of Apronius, Galus, Messalla, and Sisenna, 5 BC: double-rounded altar. British Museum 1907,0708.9.

Figure 7.7 (right). *Quadrans* of Apronius, Galus, Messalla, and Sisenna, 5 BC: straight-sided altar. British Museum 1904,0203.72.



Figure 7.8 (left). *Quadrans* of Betilienus Bassus, 4 BC: double-rounded altar. British Museum R.6248.

Figure 7.9 (right). *Quadrans* of Naevius Capella, 4 BC: double-rounded altar. British Museum 1904,0203.97.



Figure 7.10 (left). *Quadrans* of Rubellius Blandus, 4 BC: double-rounded altar. British Museum R.6250.

Figure 7.11 (right). *Quadrans* of Valerius Catullus, 4 BC: double-rounded altar. British Museum R.6251.



Figure 7.16. Naples, section of Antonine frieze depicting peoples of the Empire by the Hadrianeum. Photograph by author, February 2015.

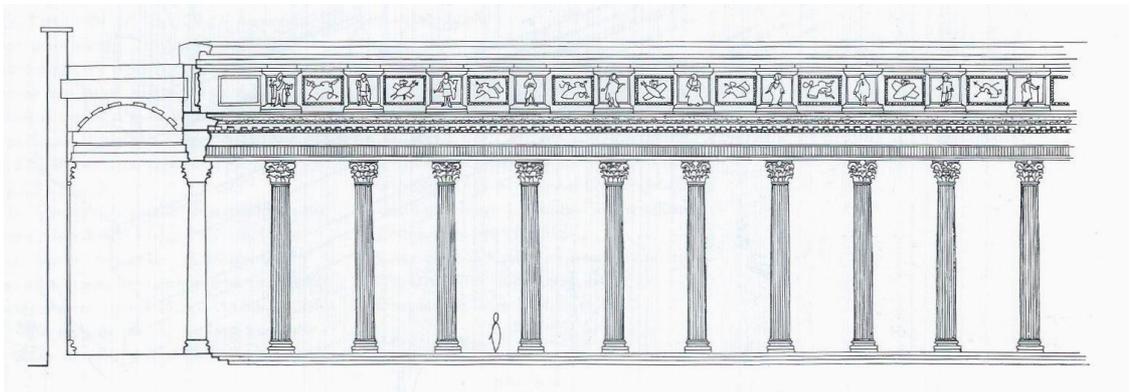


Figure 7.17. Position of Antonine frieze by the Hadrianeum. Claridge 1999: 125.



Figure 7.18 (left). Rome, figure from Antonine frieze by the Hadrianeum. Photograph by author, April 2015.



Figure 7.19 (right). Rome, figure from the Forum Transitorium. Photograph by author, April 2015.

FIGURES: CHAPTER 8

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE, IDENTITY, AND MEMORY

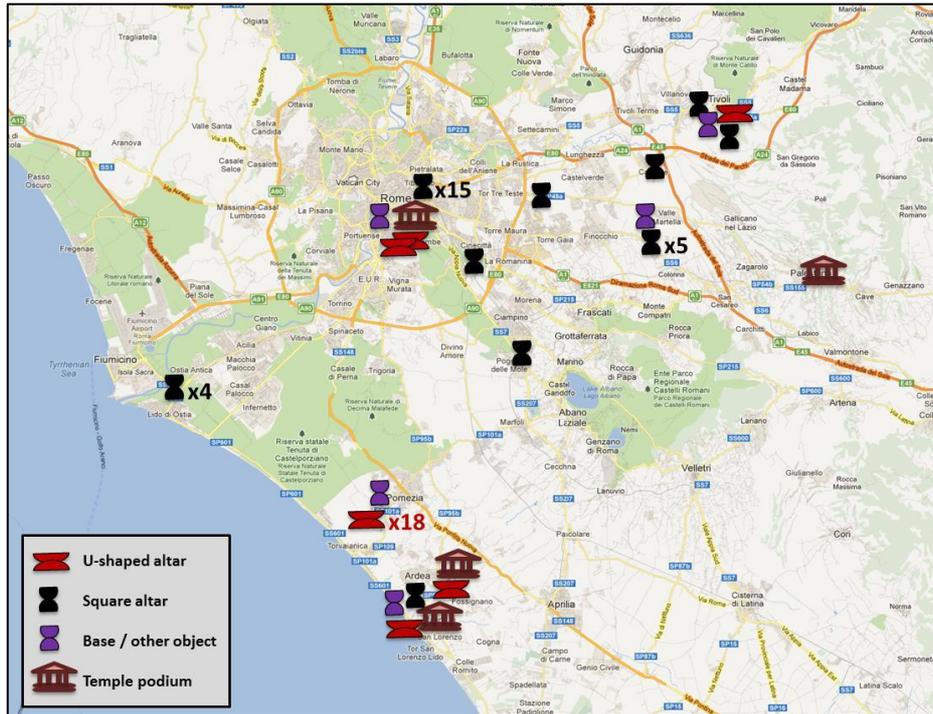


Figure 8.1. Map of Latium showing the locations of all objects with double-rounded mouldings. Map by author (the same as figure 3.10).



Figure 8.2. Map of central Italy showing the locations of *arulae* with double-rounded sides. Map by author (the same as figure 3.16).



Figure 8.3. Map of *Latium vetus* and *Latium adiectum*. Map by author.

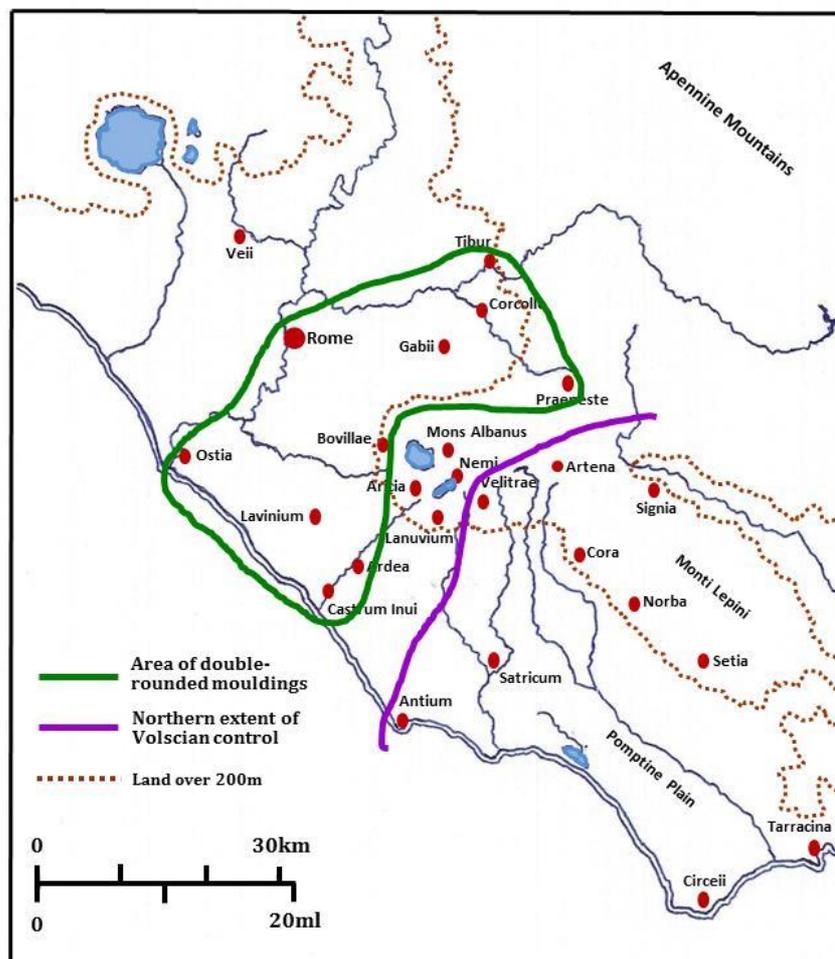


Figure 8.4. Map of Latium showing the area of stone objects with double-rounded mouldings, and the northern extent of Volscian control. Map by author.