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## THE AUGUSTAN PALATIUM.

By PROF. O. L. RICHMOND.

(Plates xxxv-xxxvii).

The following paper attempts to fix the position of the house or houses of Augustus on the Palatine and of the temple of Apollo Palatinus. In the enquiries which led up to it, I have to acknowledge effectual help from Miss E. Van Deman, Dr. T. Ashby, Mrs. Strong, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, Professor Giovanni Pinza, author of a theory from which I have appropriated much, and last, but not least, Commendatore Boni and his assistants. Sr. Moggi, Mr. F. G. Newton, and Mr. J. W. Rodger of Cardiff have contributed the plans which accompany this paper.

One word of warning. It is essential for the understanding of the problem that the student who knows the visible monuments upon the hill should banish from his thoughts the whole of Domitian's buildings. The excavated palace by the Villa Mills and the largely unexcavated palace under the Orti Farnesiani were built by Domitian, and altogether dwarfed in scale the erections of all his predecessors save Nero. It is contrary to known facts about Augustus to attribute to his early years of ascendancy work on a scale so disproportionate to republican ideas: "non ita Romuli praecepta et intonsi Catonis."

### I. PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF EVIDENCE.

(a) Temple and house were in the closest proximity.

Augustus "upraised the temple of Apollo *in that part of the Palatine house* which the soothsayers had declared to have been struck by a thunderbolt in sign that it was desired by the god. He *added porticos* together with a Latin and Greek library."<sup>1</sup>

Augustus actually lived "in the inconsiderable house built by the Hortensii, conspicuous neither in extent nor in decoration."<sup>2</sup> This must clearly be different from and much smaller than the 'domus Palatina' even as it was until 29 B.C.; for a part of the latter furnished the site of the temple of Apollo.

The two passages following refer not to 29 but to 36 B.C. and the victor's return from Sicily: "Caesar on his return to the city as victor gave out that he destined to public uses (the sites of) various

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 29.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* 72.

houses which he had contracted through his agents to purchase in order to extend his own; and he promised to make a temple to Apollo and porticos round it, which temple was completed by him with rare munificence."<sup>1</sup> "Then the senate decreed that a house be given to him out of the public treasury; for the site on the Palatine which he had bought for building purposes he made public and dedicated to Apollo on the ground that a thunderbolt had been launched into it."<sup>2</sup>

He had a house on the hill before 36. This was clearly the "modest house built by the Hortensii," who after the death of the great orator in 50 B.C. fell on evil days.<sup>3</sup> He acquired it either in 40 for Scribonia, or in 39 for Livia. It was small, and he planned extensions. He purchased contiguous and neighbouring sites covering enough ground for a temple-precinct, but he did not, between 36 and 29, erect anything there himself. The senate erected at the public expense a house<sup>4</sup> doubtless more magnificent than his own, which can be no other than the "domus Palatina" of Suetonius. As the site for the Apollo precinct was first bought for an extension of the aedes Hortensianae, and the temple itself occupied ground within the domus Palatina, it is clear that the two houses and the temple were all contiguous. The small house dated from before 50 B.C.; the larger, as built by the senate, lasted only from 36-29 B.C.; the temple cella was complete enough to be dedicated on 9th October, 28 B.C.

The first point is thus proved; and henceforward evidence bearing on the exact situation of any one building of this group helps to fix them all. Incidentally Huelsen's theory already falls to the ground; for a small republican house beneath the vestibule of Domitian's later palace could not be called contiguous to a temple on the site of San Sebastiano.

(b) Temple and house were roughly identified in the Augustan age with the site of Romulus' hut and Evander's citadel.

Propertius in 16 B.C. wrote of Rome as viewed from the Capitol<sup>5</sup>: "All this that thou seest, stranger, where lies vast Rome, before the day of Phrygian Aeneas was but hill and grass; from a bare rock the Tarpeian Father used to thunder, and Tiber came as a wayfarer to visit none but our bulls; aye, and where stands the Palatium sacred to naval Phoebus the exile cows of Evander were covered by them."<sup>6</sup> These golden temples have grown for gods who once were clay; a hut made artlessly was once no shame; where yonder house of

<sup>1</sup> Velleius Paterculus, ii, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cassius, xlix, 15, 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* ii, 37.

<sup>4</sup> For the actual remains of this short-lived house, to which *this* interpretation is due, see pp. 207, 208.

<sup>5</sup> IV, i, 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Concubere* sc. *cum tauris* demands the transposition, as here, of vv. 7, 8, to precede vv. 3, 4: the sense is in every other way improved.

Romulus [*Remi*, by metrical license] has uplifted itself on steps, once was a single hearth-stone, two brothers' greatest kingdom."

This is the passage from which my own researches set out in 1910. Comment must now be brief. The Apollo temple with its naval trophies stands where Evander, "Romanae conditor arcis," crossed his kine with the indigenous breed, type of the human inhabitants to be. It is on the summit of the Palatine towards the Tiber and the ships. The temples on the Capitol were once primitive shrines; out of the 'casa Romuli' on the Palatine has grown the domus Palatina of the second founder. Yonder in view it stands on a terrace above steps; the site has only altered in its levels.<sup>1</sup>

Let us turn to *Aeneid* viii. Aeneas, arriving like Evander by the Tiber, sees as he rounds the cliff of the Aventine "walls and the citadel and sparse house-roofs" (98). It is Pallanteum, a walled settlement of shepherds, crowned by the arx Romana. Only the south-west flank and brow of the Palatine is visible from the river on that side. Servius (ad v. 90) remarks that in those days the river flowed nearer to the hill, by the Lupercal in the Circus, and no edifices blocked the view. The nearer one approaches to the foot of a hill the less can one see beyond its brow. Virgil and Servius placed Evander's settlement on the south-west flank and brow towards the Tiber. The inference from Propertius is confirmed. The "ara maxima" is "ante urbem in lucō"<sup>2</sup>: Evander on the next morning descends from Pallanteum directly to the ships, "post hinc ad navis graditur," where *graditur* is an allusion to the stairways (*gradus*) of Virgil's Rome. One does not expect from poets topography more circumstantial than this; but these passages, taken together, very strongly suggest that the Augustan buildings faced to the Tiber from the brow above the casa Romuli.

Dio Cassius looks back to their foundation over 200 years of false philology. Under date 27 B.C. he writes<sup>3</sup>: "Kings' dwellings are called Palatium, palace, because Caesar Augustus used to dwell in the Palatium and there used to occupy his praetorium, imperial head-quarters; and his dwelling-house took over from the hill as a whole a sort of prestige also in regard to the fact that the hill had formerly been Romulus' own dwelling-place." The further note, "And Palatium was the name given of old to Romulus' house from the spot upon which it was built and which bore that name," removed from the most modern text of Dio, would mean that the 'casa Romuli' stood within the walls of Evander's Pallanteum, from which Virgil and others derived the word *Palatium*, and that after Romulus the whole hill received this name from his hut, the city of Pallanteum having itself disappeared, and Roma having taken its

<sup>1</sup> cf. ii, xvi, 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> 104; cf. iii, 302.

<sup>3</sup> liii, 16, 5.

place. Augustus concentrated upon his own dwelling-house and head-quarters, that is, upon the modest house of the Hortensii and the domus Palatina, all the added prestige lent by mythology to the spot. The site of his house did not *exactly* correspond with the hut, if only because the hut continued to survive as a symbol of the first age of Rome; but the correspondence was fairly close, and Propertius shows what the relation was.

The position of the 'casa Romuli' is established by the following passages. Dionysius of Halicarnassus is a contemporary witness. He speaks of the ancient method of constructing self-roofed huts of logs and reeds, "one of which still survived even to my time upon the flank of the Pallantium which turns to the Circus; it is called the hut of Romulus, and is preserved as holy."<sup>1</sup> This south-west flank of the Palatine was called the Cermalus in ancient times, and Varro, who died in 27 B.C. quotes the 'Rites of the Argei' for a station of their cult "on the Cermalus by the holy house of Romulus."<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, in the Flavian age, says in his life of Romulus (20) that "he dwelt by the so-called steps of the Stair of Cacus. These are close to the descent from the Pallantium into the great Circus."

We should therefore expect to find the Augustan buildings on the south-west brow of the hill. At the western corner is the precinct and temple of Magna Mater, the identity of which can be firmly established. The chief entrance to the Circus being at its western end, the descent thither must have left the brow not far to the east of this precinct. The literary evidence for our site leads us unmistakably to the region immediately to the east and south-east of the temple of Magna Mater.

(c) Of modern theories Pinza's alone approximates to the truth.<sup>3</sup>

He revives the old view that the house of Livia at the eastern corner of the precinct of Magna Mater, was the house of Augustus, and accepts Reber's contention that the temple-core immediately to the south of this house was that of Apollo Palatinus.

Reber's chief argument was drawn from the Regionaries,<sup>4</sup> which quote as the first group of buildings in the Palatine regio "the hut of Romulus, the temple of the Mother of the Gods and of Apollo of Rhamnus, the fivefold gate, the house of the Augusti and of Tiberius. . . ." The hut of Romulus and the 'pentapylum,' a name transferred from the Ortygia of Syracuse, indicate that the chronicler mentions first the approaches on the south-west. The 'house of the Augusti' includes the vast complex of buildings,

<sup>1</sup>i, 79, 11.

<sup>2</sup>"Cermalense quinticeps apud aedem Romuli" (*de Ling. Lat.* v, 54).

<sup>3</sup>*Bull. Comm.* i, 1910.

<sup>4</sup>'Notitia' of age of Constantine; 'Curiosum' much later.

dating from Domitian to Septimius Severus, which covers the eastern side of the hill to the southern angle. With that he groups the 'domus Tiberiana,' a term which includes everything between the house of Livia and the foot of the hill at its northern angle, the Orti Farnesiani, Santa Maria Antica and the north-western and north-eastern faces between the precinct of Magna Mater and the Casino Farnese. The two greater divisions of the later palace, separated only by a narrow area, balance one another; so do the pair of temples. That of Magna Mater lies between the hut of Romulus and the domus Tiberiana; that of Apollo, if Reber was right, between the same point and the domus August(i)ana. There are to this day only the two temple-cores upon the summit of the hill; they face the same way, to the Aventine over the Circus, and they are close together. Pinza quotes Ovid, *Tristia*, iii, i, 59, who describes the Apollo temple as "sublime upon lofty steps." The temple-core indicated by Reber and Pinza is approached by five flights of steps, whereas that of Magna Mater has but one. The name given to it by the excavators, Iupiter Victor (or Propugnator), has absolutely nothing to support it. The temple of Iupiter Victor is placed by the Regionaries between the main palaces and the 'curiae veteres' at the eastern angle of the regio, i.e. in the neighbourhood of San Sebastiano.

The house of Livia, on the other hand, received its name on good grounds, for the leaden pipes stamped *Iulia Aug(usta)*, which are hung there, were found in the excavation of it. It is more than probable that Livia possessed this house after the death of Augustus, and its small size and humble position on the rock-level suggest "the modest house of the Hortensii."

Certain considerations would confirm such an identification. It has no marble decoration or exquisite pavement.<sup>1</sup> Yet, alone of republican houses on the summit of the hill it survived Domitian's appropriations and all later vandalism until the final catastrophe. There is no evidence that the house of Augustus was blotted out. Two points might suggest the contrary. Suetonius (l.c.) speaks of the severe simplicity of his furniture, specimens of which, couches and tables, survive to his day. It is not unlikely that they were preserved in situ, in the atrium and triclinium of the aedes Hortensianae where he dwelt. Those are exactly the rooms which survive in our house of Livia, with their wall-decoration well preserved and their floors never relaid. Again, within the house where he lived as pontifex maximus, Augustus had dedicated a little shrine and altar of Vesta on 28th April, 12 B.C. The dedication day was a feast in the calendar.<sup>2</sup> The whole building became a precinct of the

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Herodotus. Praen. et Caer.* ad iiiii kal. Mai.

Palatine Vesta and sacred. There is no proof that the sacred house of the second founder was not preserved, as was that of the first, in token of his simplicity of life.

The temple and house suggested by Pinza conform well to our first requirement, which was that they should be in the closest proximity. The temple stands on ground highly suitable for an extension of the house. They conform also to our second requirement, which was that they should bear some obvious relation to the legendary sites of Romulus and Evander.

(d) The evidence afforded by the material and construction assigns to the house of Livia and the neighbouring temple-core dates favourable to my theory.<sup>3</sup>

For our present problem the cardinal facts are these. It has been proved from the study of dated monuments that the style of concrete construction and reticulate work changed about 35–29 B.C. From about 200–35 the republican house-walls were built of a concrete formed of tufa-fillings, generally light in colour, embedded in ashy-gray mortar. Between 35 and 29 a new style was introduced gradually which, at least in Rome, wholly ousted the old. The body of the structure was henceforward a dusky-red mortar (to be distinguished from the later red on a white ground); the ‘pozzolana’ in it is almost wholly red-brown or red, the ‘caementa’ (filling) regularly of red-brown tufa, with no triangular brick or marble and few tiles. The reticulate facing is now of a smaller type. The *opus quadratum* changes correspondingly. The tufa used is red-brown and the concrete of the dusky-red type. There is no survival in Rome of the ashy-gray mortar after 29 B.C. One of the latest monuments made with it is the Rostra Iulia, whereas the temple-core of Divus Iulius behind them, dedicated in 29, is made with the dusky-red. But no instance of the dusky-red occurs earlier than 36–35 B.C. (or later than Caligula).

This test applied to the house of Livia (plates xxxv, xxxvi) reveals (1) that the front court (atrium, triclinium, etc.), having ashy-gray mortar and wide reticulate, is anterior to 36 B.C. and might be much anterior; (2) that the back part of that older house has been twice reconstructed. A series of foundations in black ‘selce’ concrete, unmistakably Domitianic, cuts through the lower chambers of the preceding building, which was of dusky-red mortar with narrow reticulate; and these in their turn have replaced chambers of ashy-gray mortar and wide reticulate, the lowest courses of which are the foundation of the rebuilt walls.

<sup>3</sup> See Miss E. Van Deman, *American Journ. Archaeol.* 2nd ser. xvi, 1912, pp. 230, 387. Her novel and important results have won wide accept-

ance, and it is on them that I have based my theory at this point.



We have then a republican house, the atrium of which has never been rebuilt; the back part was rebuilt entirely in the Augustan or Tiberian age; Domitian sealed up the basement at the back with foundations for a construction of his own.

The adjacent temple-core is of Augustan concrete with dusky-red mortar, faced with *opus quadratum* of red-brown tufa. This solid concrete is built up from the rock-level, which is here a little above the level of the basement of the house of Livia. The present height of the cella-floor is one metre above the calculated height of that of Jupiter Capitolinus. Beneath the pediment a hurried restoration was made in much later times. Now there is no record of any temples save two being built upon the summit of the Palatine by Augustus or any of the Caesars. That of Magna Mater was entirely rebuilt by Augustus after the fire in A.D. 3<sup>1</sup>; but the core of it which survives belonged first to Metellus' temple of 110 B.C. It is of ash-gray mortar with 'caementa' of peperino, perhaps from a building demolished in the vicinity. The other was the temple of Apollo Palatinus or Actius, begun in 29 and dedicated, but not completed, in 28 B.C. The evidence from this side is therefore wholly favourable.

(e) Pinza's theory, however, breaks down in other points.

Some of Suetonius' description of Augustus' house suits the house of Livia very well, as we have seen.<sup>2</sup> But no degree of poetic license in a contemporary poet can fit on to the house of Livia such phrases as Ovid's "doorposts conspicuous with shining armour and a dwelling worthy of a god."<sup>3</sup> Moreover Propertius (l.c.) speaks of the house of the second Romulus as uplifted upon steps: "gradibus domus ista Remi se sustulit." The only visible doorway giving access to the house of Livia opens at the street-level upon a narrow staircase which *descends* into the atrium 18 feet below. Less conspicuous doorposts could scarcely be contrived, nor a house less likely to suggest divinity in its owner. Pinza conjectures, indeed, that Augustus made a state entrance to the house of Livia on the east side behind the temple, but the extant Augustan walls and staircase there indicate a small courtyard above the basement and rooms round it, but nothing so stately as the atrium in front.

The temple of Apollo Palatinus had porticos added to it which included a library. Pinza places the library in the angle between the temple and the house of Livia, where certain remains are visible, but these are remains of a square colonnaded atrium quite unsuited to the storage of scrolls.

The porticos of the fifty Danaids he places on a causeway, whose foundations he rightly recognises as of Augustan *opus quadratum*,

<sup>1</sup> Mon. Ancy. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Tristia*, iii, 1, 33; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* viii, 721.



running from the western angle of his precinct to the north-west below the front of Magna Mater. He supposes the causeway to have had twice its actual width, which was that of one narrow street. There is no room for one portico, much less for two, or for the fifty sons of Aegyptus on horseback 'sub divo,' that barbarous addition of a later age. Nor could any portico in this locality be said to surround the temple.<sup>1</sup>

We must either give up the proposed identifications of temple and house, or discover not only "a dwelling worthy of a god," with conspicuous doorposts raised above steps, but porticos and a library for Apollo Palatinus.

## II. STATEMENT OF THE NEW THEORY.

(f) The Danaid porticos, library and 'area' of Apollo Palatinus.

(i) The porticos, or portico.<sup>2</sup> They were *added* to the temple.<sup>3</sup> Augustus vowed to build them *round* it,<sup>4</sup> but as at least nine years intervened between the vow and the fulfilment of this part of it, he might have modified the plan. However, Propertius, who was present when Augustus formally opened at least a part of them, speaks of the temple as rising in the midst (*medium . . . surgebat*); we may be sure that, so far as the site allowed, they were containing porticos. The date of this opening is fixed by Propertius' incomplete poem (II, xxxi, 1-16, old style). His 'Cynthia' was published in 26 B.C. after the death of Gallus; the third book of his *Elegies* in 23 B.C. after the death of Marcellus. This poem (not to intrude other theories) belongs by position to 25 or 24 B.C. Augustus was absent from Rome between 27 and 24 B.C. in which year fell the second quadrennial celebration of the games commemorating the Actian victory. It is therefore certain that he opened the porticos in the summer of 24 B.C. four years after the dedication of the temple itself.

By Augustan standards, which were not Domitianic, they were of considerable extent.<sup>5</sup> They became a popular resort.<sup>6</sup> There were fifty-one statues arranged between pillars of giallo antico in double row, the fifty Danaids and Danaus himself.<sup>7</sup> They faced upon the 'area Apollinis.' This is certain from Propertius' description, but is confirmed by the statement of Acron as to the fifty sons of Aegyptus opposite to them on horseback, 'sub divo.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Velleius Paterculus, ii, 81, above (a); Propert. II, xxxi, 9, old style.

<sup>2</sup> "aurea Phoebi porticus": Propertius.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 29.

<sup>4</sup> *circa* (Vell. Pat. ii, 81) is less precise than *round*.'

<sup>5</sup> "tanta erat": Prop. l.c. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ovid, *A.A.* i, 73.

<sup>7</sup> Prop. l.c. 4; Ovid, l.c. and *Tristia*, 3, i, 61.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. on Persius, ii, 56.

This later addition (as I think, by Septimius Severus in 204) must have made a ludicrous effect; the fact that the husbands were *on horseback* indicates that the level of the porticos was some five feet above the area. Acron is witness that the porticos were still remembered in the fifth century after Christ; they long survived the appropriations of Domitian. The area was itself of considerable extent; over 8,000 persons were present round the temple when Augustus, in the presence of the Jews, tried the question of the validity of Herod's wills.<sup>1</sup>

(ii.) The library was built in a part of this added 'area,' behind the portico.<sup>2</sup> Apparently it was not ready in 24 B.C. for Propertius (l.c.) passes from the portico to the temple, and, though the poem is incomplete, mention of it would naturally come before v. 7. But by 23–22 B.C. Propertius' works were enshrined there (*Eleg.* III, i) along with Horace's Odes, I–III. Dio Cassius says that Augustus "built up and dedicated the Apollo-shrine in the Palatium and the precinct round it and the magazines of the books."<sup>3</sup> That the library was on the far side of the precinct from the temple itself is suggested more strongly by Ovid's itinerary in *Tristia*, III, i; for his book passes first "the house worthy of a god," then the temple on its steps, then the Danaid portico, and last the library (v. 63).

In those days it was probably one large hall subdivided into Greek and Latin sections<sup>4</sup>, with reference especially to "civil law and liberal learning."<sup>5</sup> Most writers use the singular, and Horace calls it an *aedes*.<sup>6</sup> It was an *aedes* as being dedicated.<sup>7</sup> Augustus used it in later life when he revised the jury-panels,<sup>8</sup> because it was a shrine of civil law; he occasionally received the senate there, and there he set up a statue of himself with all the attributes of Apollo.<sup>9</sup> Inscriptions, however, clearly distinguish the two sections, Latin and Greek.<sup>10</sup>

(g) The site of the porticos, library, and 'area Apollinis' can be identified (plates xxxv, xxxvii).

If we cannot see signs of them in the neighbourhood of the so-called temple of Iupiter Victor, which is in fact the one temple with Augustan foundations now extant on the hill, our premises break down, and this is not Apollo's kingdom.

We must not now dwell upon the glories of this site, commanding

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 2, 6, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 29.

<sup>3</sup> liii, i, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 29, has "cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Schol. on Juvenal, i, 128.

<sup>6</sup> *Epp.* ii, 94.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Dio, l.c.

<sup>8</sup> Suet. l.c.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. on Hor. *Epp.* i, 3, 17, who also uses the singular, *in bibliotheca*: cf. Servius ad Bucol. 4, 10.

<sup>10</sup> *C.I.L.* vi, 5188 (Tiberius), 5189 (Caligula), 5884.

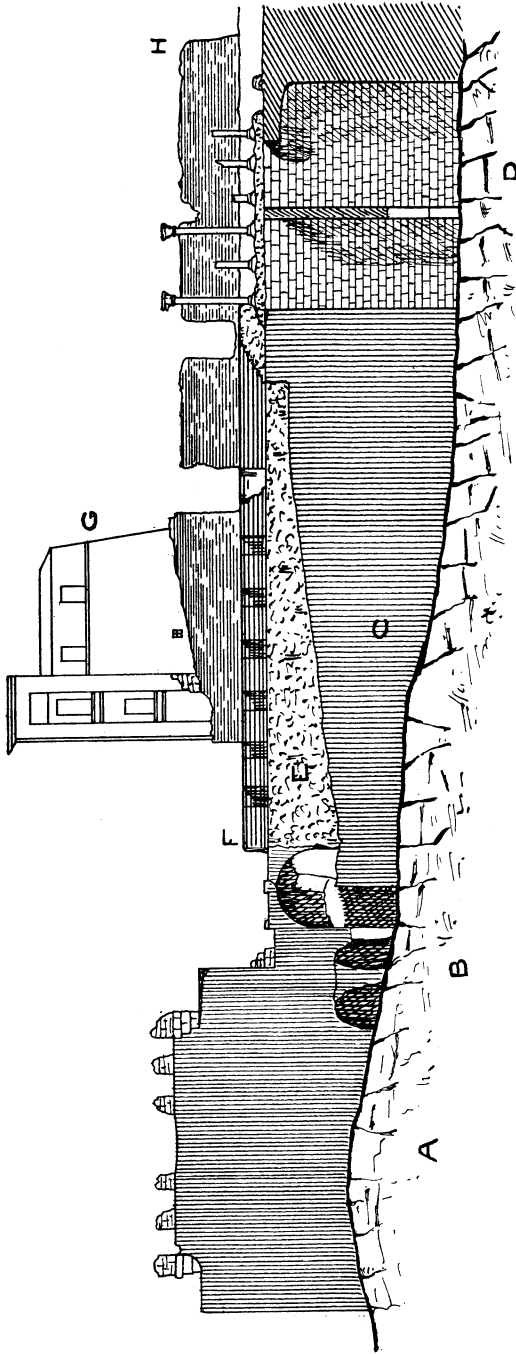


FIG. 26. APOLLO AREA, SECTION S.E. (p. 204).

After Parker, *Archaeology of Rome*, pt. iv (Obelisks) suppl. pl. 2.

- A. Temple-basis of Augustan concrete.
- B. Caverns.
- C. Foundations of area.
- D. Foundations of libraries.
- E. Augustan chambers supporting portico.
- F. Domitian's brick pillar-bases.
- G. Garden-house of Villa Mills.
- H. Domitian's brick palace-wall.

Diana's Aventine and the Circus and the Tiber. Standing upon the platform next below the cella let us take note of the levels around us. Here must have stood the altar. On the north, in the whole angle between the temple and the house of Livia, this level continues on a roughly rectangular platform, which we shall more closely examine in due course. To the south-east of the altar-platform the same

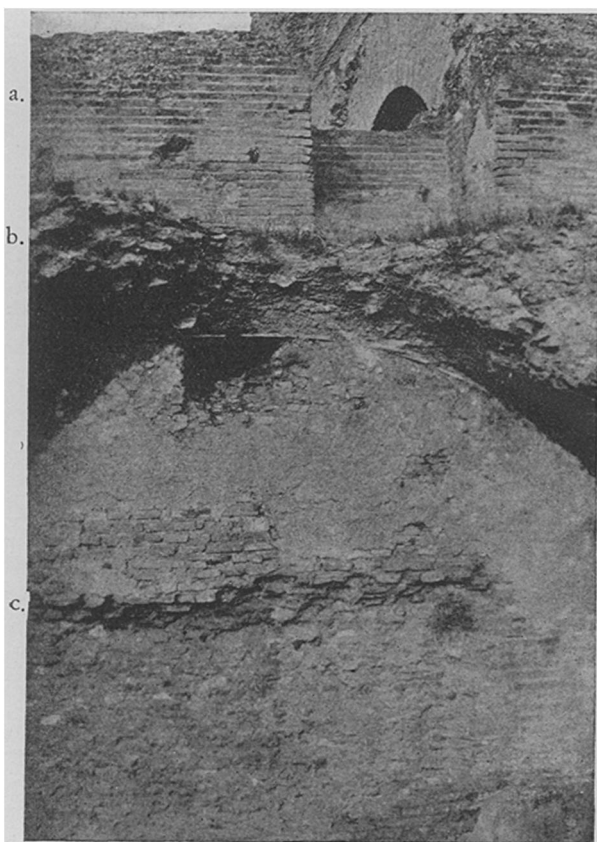


FIG. 27. SECTION OF REMAINS OF DANAID PORTICO (p. 204).

- a. Domitian's pillar-bases.
- b. Augustan dusky-red concrete.
- c. Augustan chambers blocked by Domitian's rough foundations.

level continued over the narrow vaulted substructures skirting the south-west wall of Domitian's palace, and over the far platform separating his banquet-hall from the brow of the hill.

We apply to these buildings on the south-east the test of material and construction used in (d). The vaulted substructures are of Augustan *opus quadratum* with vaults and floor above of his dusky-red concrete. The same work is seen at the northern end of the far

platform. The whole floor of that platform is of the same dusky-red concrete. At the northern end the floor has been pierced; below are revealed chambers 33 feet high supporting the platform above the shelving hillside. These chambers are magnificent specimens of Augustan *opus quadratum*, with reticulate still visible on the north-eastern wall. The Domitianic 'selce'-concrete foundations for the banquet-hall have pierced through them, for the outward thrust from its soaring roof would have crushed them, if unsupported. Domitian, as his brickwork declares, rebuilt all that had stood upon this platform. What we now see is the ruin of two apsidal halls facing towards the temple. That on the south-west has long been called a 'biblioteca' by reason of the tiers of seats remaining; the other, fancifully called the 'accademia' by the excavators, only differed from it in having a smaller niche in the apse. Here are two libraries side by side, built by Domitian upon a huge Augustan platform. They correspond to the two sections of the Augustan library of Apollo. The levels and construction are shown in fig. 26.

The wall of Domitian's palace was built right up to the north-eastern face of the narrow Augustan substructures joining this platform to the temple. The chambers were lit, if at all, from that side. On the south-west the floor over them was supported by a wall some five feet high, part of which survives. It is of Augustan dusky-red concrete. Jutting out from Domitian's façade are six brick pillar-bases, and between them fragments of a white marble pavement once covering the Augustan concrete floor above the chambers. (More of this white marble pavement survives between the apse of the banquet-hall and the libraries.) Domitian, then, built a portico of six bays over the Augustan floor and foundations, connecting the temple with the libraries. It was closed by his façade on the north-east; on the south-west it opened upon the vacant space towards which the two libraries also are turned north-west (fig. 27). This vacant space is itself nothing but a level area, most of which has been raised upon Augustan dusky-red concrete.

We thus discover a group of Augustan substructures 'added' to an Augustan temple-core, and continuing the level of its altar-platform round an area to the edge of the hill. There below the south-west wall of Domitian's libraries we see vestiges of a staircase built by him for access to this raised area. Turning westwards we examine, above and below, the broken edge of the area. We find that the face of the hill is honey-combed with vaulted chambers of Augustan concrete and reticulate, tier above tier. They once belonged to houses overlooking the Circus valley, and approached from a street running north-west and south-east under our 'area'; that they were not originally constructed to support our 'area' is shown also by the irregular layer of black 'selce'-concrete which sealed them above before the laying of the level floor. Immediately in

front of the temple was formerly a very large house, all but the lowest story of which was of the dusky-red concrete; the bath and hypocaust were just below the level of the lowest temple-steps, as can now be seen. This house, with its bath-room, was pulled down to that level by the builder of the temple. On the tiles of the hypocaust Miss Van Deman has found the brick-mark of C. Cosconius, a maker of the latest republican age. Standing below the temple-steps we see at once that the *area* extended towards the valley some distance further than it does now, and covered in all the vaulted rooms visible on the face of the hill. There was a great landslide here in the eighteenth century, and much must have fallen away before. We have to add, all along the edge, at least the width of Domitian's staircase at the south corner.

The builder of the temple and its lofty steps, the builder of this area overlooking the Circus on the finest site in Rome, used the lower stories of existing, recently-built houses to support his upper-structures where they crossed beyond the old street. To support his large platform, where Domitian built libraries, he constructed strong and lofty stone chambers. The inference is that a considerable weight was to be imposed upon it, and only a light weight upon the houses. This builder was Augustus, and his only great public monument on the Palatine was the precinct of Actian Apollo. He vowed to dedicate it on the site of various houses which he had bought, in 36 B.C. or earlier, in order to extend his own. The houses demolished on the face of the hill are later than 36. The inference is that these were not acquired till 29 B.C. when the temple was begun; and I have conjectured that the large house with the bath, immediately over which the temple steps begin, was the house of Antony upon the Palatine. This was presented by the senate to Agrippa and Messalla in 31 B.C. and was burned in 29.<sup>1</sup> The houses bought in 36 were between the house of Livia and the library-platform, to the north-east of the before-mentioned street, one end of which is seen emerging below the front of Magna Mater. According to my conjecture, Antony's legate, Sosius, who is thought to have restored the old Apollo temple at the foot of the Capitol and to have decorated it with the Niobids, rebuilt his house for him also in that year, 35 B.C.; and not till this could be levelled, that is, not till Antony was defeated, could the Caesarean Apollo gain an outlook over the city from the pre-ordained site. The conjecture is based upon the improbability of anyone other than Antony building, between 36 and 29, so as to block this site. If it were true, Apollo had indeed made Caesar's enemy his footstool.

The Danaid porticos are called in the supplement to the monument of Ancyra (36) *στοαὶ ἐν Παλατίῳ*, as distinct from

<sup>1</sup> Dio Cassius, liii, 27, 5.



the ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. If they surrounded our area to the south-east we understand the distinction. Domitian, rebuilding on a greater scale, had six intercolumniations between the temple and the library-platform; his order was Corinthian. Mr. C. A. Harding of Glasgow, who gave me technical assistance in 1910, inferred from the width of the floor that Augustus had nine intercolumniations in that space. I had already inferred from the evidence of art that the whole precinct was decorated by Augustus in the Ionic order. The length of the library-platform provided for fifteen intercolumniations on the same scale, if the portico continued on that side of the area. The Danaid statues were 'alterna columnis.'<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the façade of Domitian being disregarded, the open north-east section had nine statues on each side (= 18). The façade of the library closed in the east side of the next section, so that in fifteen intercolumniations there were but fifteen statues towards the area, with Danaus in the middle (= 33). As there were fifty-one statues in all, including Danaus (Ovid, l.c.) we have to provide for eighteen more, a number equal to that in the north-eastern section. It seems reasonable to suppose that a third section of the Augustan portico, equal to the first in length and opposite to it, closed the area on the valley side, and that it was supported upon chambers, such as we still see, strengthened by an outer foundation, perhaps, of *opus quadratum*. Such a work upon the edge of a hill would be the first to suffer from earthquake or landslide (plate xxxvii).

Domitian, at his restoration, rearranged the statues so that all fifty Danaids faced to the area; opposite to them in still later times were placed the fifty equestrian statues of the sons of Aegyptus (see above). As we saw, the level of the portico is about five feet above the area, and, therefore, the husbands were mounted. Most probably Domitian placed two Danaids in each intercolumniation of his larger scale; thus there were twelve in the north-eastern section with its six pillars, eighteen and Danaus in the ten intercolumniations which he substituted for the Augustan fifteen before the libraries, twelve in the south-western section (= 43, including Danaus). He would then extend his new south-western portico for four bays across the temple front, where there is room for six before we are blocked by the aqueduct of Septimius Severus. It is also possible that he added six bays, and left one on either side of Danaus vacant of statues, so as to improve the access from the area to the two library halls.

I have made the briefest possible statement of my identifications and have suppressed various details, but I submit that the literary evidence combines with the visible remains of the monuments to indicate the Apollo precinct.

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Trist.* iii, i, 61.

(h) The temple was upraised 'in a part of the Palatine house,' which had been struck by lightning.<sup>1</sup>

The term 'domus Palatina' probably came to include the aedes Hortensianae as well as the temple-site and other additions, such as the domus Catulina (see pp. 211, 212), but in 29 B.C. it meant the house presented to Caesar in 36 by the senate [see (a)], with the aedes Hortensianae, if that formed one block with it. The area was on the site of houses, as we have seen. What preceded the temple itself? (plate xxxvi).

The level of the altar-platform is continued not only round the area but over the space on the north-western side of the temple. This space, as far as the side-wall of the house of Livia and the area of Magna Mater, must now be examined. Both Pinza and Richter have pointed out that the platform once reached across the present roadway to the side-wall of the house; the *opus quadratum* foundations on the north-eastern side of the roadway give its outer limit.

Pinza's explanation is the right one; the road is mediaeval, and was cut through the ruins at a level far above the rock. He also rightly called attention to the cavity in the platform, to the south-west of the roadway, within which is visible a fragment of a white plaster floor in position. It belongs to a room on the upper story of a house formerly on the site, roughly on a level with the upper story of the house of Livia, and perhaps one with it. Searching round the broken edges of the platform on the north-west we find reticulate work and a deep cavity showing the site of vaulted rooms, the ground floor of the same former house. This platform, then, has been raised, like the area before the temple, upon the lower story of a demolished house. But this is earlier. It is made of the ashy-gray concrete, which is not found after 29 B.C.

Imbedded in it are the tufa foundations of walls and the travertine bases of pillars surrounding a square colonnaded atrium, whose side towards the house of Livia has been cut away by the mediaeval road. That the platform was designed especially for the now visible ground-plan is shown by a detail of construction. Under the travertine bases of the colonnade a course of black 'selce'-concrete, still stronger than the ashy-gray, is an integral part of the mass; this can be seen from the road. To the south-east of the atrium is a fragment of a party-wall of ashy-gray concrete, and between that and the western corner of the temple-core are more tufa blocks, indicating the continuance of the exterior walls of the house into a second court, which is cut short, however, by the temple itself.

We see the ground-plan, or part of the ground-plan, of a stately and solid republican house, earlier than 29 B.C. in date, yet of a construction far stronger than the common style, e.g. than the house

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 29.

of Livia next door. If we try to imagine this part of the Palatine as it was before 29 B.C. it becomes more peculiar. The rock-level is, roughly speaking, that of the atrium of the house of Livia, some twenty feet below; there was no temple on lofty steps and no palace on either side to dominate the scene. This stately house soared over everything, not excepting Metellus' temple of Magna Mater. The approach to it was as peculiar as its height. There was a vestibule thrown out over the area on the north-west; its foundations were the two conspicuous walls of ashy-gray concrete projecting between A and B on plate xxxvi. This could only be reached by a lofty flight of steps or a slope from the area of Magna Mater, then the chief shrine of the hill.

The best precedent for so stately an approach is the house of one of the Valerii (the traditions differ as to his name and its site). Asconius<sup>1</sup> quotes from Valerius Antias: "For Valerius Maximus (brother of Poplicola), among other honours, a house also was built at the public expense on the Palatine, in such a manner that its way of egress, to confer the greater distinction, led down-hill towards a public space (*in publicum versus*), that is, opened *extra privatum*." According to Livy (2, 7) the house belonged to Poplicola, and was "on the summit of the Velia"; Poplicola pulled it down, on account of its height, and rebuilt it "at the bottom of the slope, where is now the shrine of Vica Pota."

Have we then found the domus Palatina which the senate voted at the public expense in 36 B.C.? This house opened 'extra privatum,' and the incline 'towards a public space' is abrupt. We may be very sure that we have found it, if the temple above is that of Apollo. For we have pointed out that the ground-plan imbedded in the concrete platform indicates that formerly a second court lay behind the atrium, but was destroyed, platform and all, to make way for the temple-core. It was in "a part of the Palatine house" that the Apollo-temple was upraised.

I cannot close this section without again thanking Miss Van Deman for her assistance in the technical points and for her original suggestions.

(i) The house of Livia was a Palatine 'domus publica.'

The Palatine house of 36-29 B.C. had "short colonnades with columns of stone" in the atrium, whose ground-plan survives; their bases are travertine, but the columns may have been of 'lapis Albanus.' The peristyle destroyed for the temple will have been similar in construction. Suetonius' references to the palace,<sup>2</sup> with which this detail agrees, are apparently derived from contemporary accounts of its various parts, only one of which in our view, the

<sup>1</sup> *In Pison.* 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Aug.* 72.

atrium of the house of Livia, was still visible in his day. We need not reject the idea that the house of Livia was the aedes Hortensianae, because there are no visible colonnades in it at all.

With the probability now so strong that we have found the Augustan site, we must more closely examine the house of Livia; for the chief difficulty we raised before with regard to it, namely, that of the doorposts and steps, is in a fair way to be solved already by the lofty steps and vestibule of the domus Palatina next door. We saw that its frescoed atrium, where hang now the leaden pipes of Iulia Augusta, has never been restored or redecorated in imperial times; but that the back court was twice reconstructed, once by Augustus (for we may now be allowed to reject Tiberius), and once by Domitian.<sup>1</sup> There is no indication of fire in the Augustan or pre-Augustan walls; the preservation of the frescoes also refutes any such idea. Probably then the Augustan restoration of the back part was designed to improve it or adapt it to some new purpose.

Iulius Caesar lived in the domus publica near the Vesta temple, as being pontifex maximus. This was a small, old house; but over the door he placed a 'fastigium' (pediment), which betokened divinity in the occupant—one cause of his death. The senate also made his person sacrosanct by its own vote. Lepidus, the next pontifex maximus, did not die till 13 B.C. and Augustus entered upon the office on 6th March, 12 B.C. On 28th April an "aedicula et ara Vestae" were dedicated "in domu Imp. Caesaris Augusti pontificis maximi" (Praenestine Calendar); in the aedicula was a statue of the goddess. According to the Calendar of Caere, 28th April was a "festival, because on that day the statue of Vesta was dedicated in the Palatine house."<sup>2</sup> Dio Cassius<sup>3</sup> says: "When, after the death of Lepidus, he was elected pontifex maximus, and on that account the senate wished to issue certain decrees in his honour, he refused to allow any of them, and when they insisted rose and left the assembly. He not only prevented the ratification of those decrees, but he also refused any house at the public expense; however, because it was necessary for the pontifex maximus to reside altogether on state property, he made public a certain part of his own house, whereas that of the 'rex sacrorum' he gave to the Vestal virgins, because it was contiguous to their buildings." He compensated with worldly possessions the ancient Vesta-cult, whose prestige he was irreparably damaging by setting up within his private house a small copy of the Vesta temple and instituting a festival in its honour. Henceforth Livia will be Vesta on earth as he Apollo. The part of his house in which he dedicated Vesta was, surely, that where lay his family hearth and the 'lectus genialis'; and when we read<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *in domo p.* . . . is best so restored.

<sup>3</sup> liv, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. 72.

that "for more than forty years he (normally) spent the night in the same bedchamber, summer and winter alike . . ." we are forced to the conclusion that his ritual abode as pontifex maximus was the house where he privately dwelt, i.e. the 'aedes modicae Hortensianae.' In A.D. 3 there was a great fire in part of the palace.<sup>1</sup> After the rebuilding Augustus made public the whole of his house,<sup>2</sup> and was at liberty, as pontifex maximus, to live and sleep in any part of it he chose. The house of the Hortensii was acquired by him either for Scribonia or for Livia, in either 40 or 39 B.C; he had been married to Livia for more than 41 years at the time of the fire.

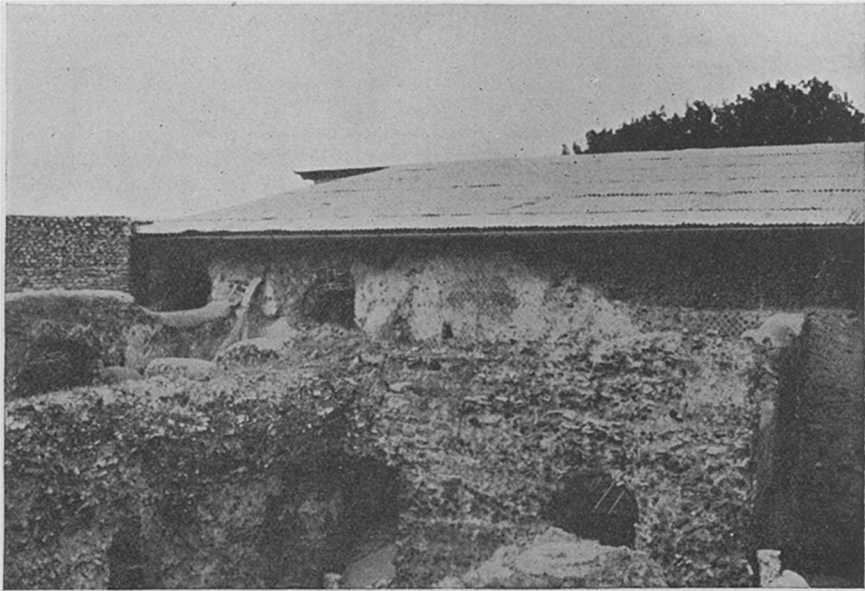


FIG. 28. FOUNDATIONS OF THE 'COMPLUVIUM DEORUM PENATIUM' IN REAR OF THE HOUSE OF LIVIA (p. 211).

We know that there was a 'compluvium deorum Penatium' in his house, whither he transplanted the miraculous palm-tree of good omen.<sup>3</sup> The Augustan penates are represented upon the Uffizi altar as two young huntsmen crowned with laurel. Vesta, according to Ovid,<sup>4</sup> was "Caesareos inter sacrata penates," as Caesar himself was worshipped among the lares of private citizens. Ovid further says that she was on the threshold of her kinsman Phoebus, in the second part of the house, whose first part belonged to him.<sup>5</sup> If we have made probable our identification of the site which Phoebus

<sup>1</sup> Dio Cassius (supplement), lv, 12; Su et. 57, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cassius, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Metam.* xv, 864.

<sup>5</sup> *Fasti*, iv, 949; April 28th.



acquired, the house of Livia is the site to which we should naturally refer the Caesarean Vesta.

The lowly atrium of that house was, of course, no 'compluvium,' but roofed over, as the frescoes prove. There are relics in it of two statue bases, but of no shrine. We have already described the restorations of the back part by Augustus and Domitian. Domitian's small erection was in the middle of it, at the level of the first floor, and left passage-ways to the front part on either side. Though not a trace of the marble superstructure survives the lime-kiln, there is no difficulty in imagining a small court with a concrete floor paved with marble and a small round temple set upon it.<sup>1</sup> In fig. 28 Domitian's 'selce'-concrete is seen in the fore-ground; behind is Augustan reticulate (cf. p. 198).

In our view, then, and it will be confirmed by further evidence, Augustus rebuilt the back of the house of Livia in 13-12 B.C. to prepare it for new honours; and in a small open yard on the level of the first floor dedicated Vesta among the penates on 28th April, 12 B.C. Of this sacred dwelling the only part then remaining for his private use was the lowly atrium and triclinium and the bedroom over the triclinium. "Quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet."<sup>2</sup> The inference is that in that bedroom, which Vesta and Phoebus later guarded, he slept for more than forty years. The statues in the atrium below were those of Augustus as pontifex maximus and Livia as Vestal; and to Livia the whole house passed on the death of her lord. Valerius Maximus (vi, i), writing of Chastity in Livia's years of widowhood, says: "Thou, prop and stay of the Palatium, dost haunt with ceaseless vigil the Augustan household-gods and Iulia's most holy marriage-couch." To the house where these symbols were preserved, Iulia Augusta laid new water-pipes. If, as some assert, those found were to the north-east of the house, I should conjecture that it was Livia who built the lofty and ornate rooms, the plastered barrel-roof of which survives under the south corner of the Orti Farnesiani, where the Domitianic subway emerges. Either Livia or Agrippina, I think, added them to the house of Livia; only the test of material can decide which. Domitian brought a terrace of the new domus Tiberiana over them, and left them imbedded in his foundations.

(k) The domus Catulina was the nucleus of the later palaces (= domus August(i)ana).

Quintus Lutatius Catulus, conqueror of the Cimbri, built a particularly fine house on the Palatine.<sup>3</sup> This Augustus incorporated into his own. Verrius Flaccus taught the sons of Iulia and Agrippa

<sup>1</sup> cf. Statius, *Silvae*, iii, 4, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fastii*, l.c.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. *N.H.* 17, 2.



“in atrio Catulinae domus, quae pars Palatii tunc erat.”<sup>1</sup> Here, then, was the home of Iulia’s married life after 21 B.C.; here Agrippa had been given an apartment as early as 29 B.C. when Augustus made him his own ‘house-fellow.’<sup>2</sup> It was acquired, I conjecture, not later than that year, to replace the senate’s gift-house, which was being destroyed; for the house-plots acquired in 36 had been dedicated to Apollo. Other houses may have been joined to the domus Catulina by Augustus: but this is the only name preserved.

From the basement of the house of Livia, under our supposed ‘compluvium deorum penatium,’ a passage runs underground, or rather under the raised and exaugurated space behind our temple, directly south-east of the Domitianic palace-site, where it approaches the Danaid portico. Under the post-Domitianic nymphaea and the great banquet-hall excavation has recently been proceeding. Though I am naturally not at liberty to publish any detailed account of Commendatore Boni’s latest discoveries, I have twice thoroughly explored this region with him. He has found beautifully frescoed rooms of Nero, rebuilt after the fire, of which many traces remained; a quarry-mark on a large block of marble, TIB. CLAUD; exquisite pavements at various levels; and remains of an elaborate fountain-work, with pillars in fresco behind it, which is evidently that recognised by the excavator on one of the sixteenth-century drawings at Eton. Until the test of material is rigorously applied to these remains, one hesitates to express an opinion as to their dates, but it seems possible that the triclinium with the fountain-work belongs to the time of Augustus, and that Domitian planted his banquet-hall over that of the first emperor and of Claudius. Augustus gave gay, if moderate, banquets, and could hardly have given them in the little house of Livia; and Suetonius (82, 1) also tells us that in summer he sometimes slept “in the peristyle with a fountain playing,” that is, after A.D. 3, when he included the domus Catulina in the domus publica of the pontifex (p. 210). He used to retire for quiet and secrecy to a chamber up aloft, which he called Syracuse; Suetonius’ words (72, 2) are *huc transibat*, which would well suit the relative situation of the house of Livia and our region on the other side of the temple.

The underground passage has two others branching out of it, one to the chambers underneath the temple-core, where its treasury may have been kept, as well as the Sibylline books,<sup>3</sup> the other, narrower, one to an unknown and more distant destination on the north-east.

Whether or no any actual remains of Augustus exist beneath the Domitianic palace, I believe the Augustan subways to be proof that an annex of his palace lay on this side; the only available evidence

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *de Gramm.* 17. References to a house of Catiline are founded upon a false reading of this passage.

<sup>2</sup> ξύνοικον: see p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Virg. *Aen.* vi, 67–71: Suet. *Aug.* 31, 1.

would show that annex to be the domus Catulina. It had served as the 'domus interior' of the women-folk and the grandchildren till they were dead and Iulia disgraced; but after A.D. 3 it is completely rebuilt and receives the builder's name, *domus August(i)ana*. The successive rebuildings and extensions of this to north-east and south-east formed the later residential palace, till Domitian drove his 'selce'-foundations through the whole.

(1) The 'atrium founded with augury.'

In the last two sections we have cleared the ground on the north and east of our temple site. The exactitude of the identifications proposed in them depends upon the force of the general argument preceding and to follow. The whole temple precinct, in our view, separated the earlier residential palace, i.e. the old aedes Hortensianae and the domus Catulina, from the brow of the hill and the hut of Romulus below it.

We have, however, left out of account a piece of the site, which, if our general theory holds, must have been crucially important to the builder in 29 B.C. When the inner court of the domus Palatina, presented in 36 B.C. by the senate, was pulled down to make way for the temple (p. 207), how did he employ the rest of the ashy-gray concrete platform that bore the atrium, and the foundations of the vestibule leading down to the 'area' of Magna Mater?

We can account without difficulty for a strip of the space next to the temple on the south-west; for here must have run a passage equal in width to that between the temple and Domitian's walls on the north-east. From the limit of that passage to the vestibule-foundations is 88 Roman feet; the same measure taken from the side-wall of the house of Livia at right angles brings us within two feet of the south-western edge of the platform. There is room then for a structure 88 feet square between these clearly defined limits.

It is certain that Augustus did not leave the space open. The side-wall of the house of Livia has never been faced; it was hidden from view. The ashy-gray concrete party-wall, in position between the atrium of 36 B.C. and the temple-site (p. 207), is two feet high, and was probably higher when it was excavated (in 1865?). This wall gives the least height above the old concrete at which the new floor can have been laid; and it would seem probable that the new foundations followed the tufa wall-foundations on three sides, the rest of the space being banked with earth.

The structure which once filled in the angle between the aedes Hortensianae and the temple has utterly vanished even to its foundations. The natural inference is that it was of solid marble like the upper-structure of the temple itself,<sup>1</sup> which has also utterly

<sup>1</sup> Servius, *ad Aen.* viii, 720.

vanished ; and, if our theory of the temple holds, that was on artistic grounds inevitable, for the two possessed a close architectural relation. For the same reason Domitian's aedicula Vestae (p. 211) has vanished, while the concrete foundations of the court survive, and the Domitianic walls have everywhere been stripped of their facing. When columns failed for the churches, imperial Rome made mortar for its descendants.

We left out of account this piece of the site, though the visible foundations of the old vestibule promised us justification for the 'proud doorposts' and 'steps' to which Augustan poets refer. But we also held in reserve three passages of Servius, which deserve more attention than topographers have yet accorded to them. They are notes on *Aeneid*, iv, 408 ; vii, 170-175 ; and xi, 235.

(i) "arce ex summa" (iv, 408). "For it was the habit of kings to dwell in citadels for reasons of security. Accordingly Valerius fell under suspicion owing to the immense height of his house on the Esquiline and he pulled it down. In the same way Augustus, having built the Palatium after the Actian war to plans of his own, for all that it was a private house, presented it to the state." "Item Augustus post Actiacum bellum Palatium ex suo praecepto aedificatum, cum esset domus privata, donavit reipublicae."

We noticed the references of Livy and Asconius to this Valerian house (p. 208). It is hardly natural to take Palatium here of the Apollo temple, for royal dwellings are in question. From this passage alone we should infer that Augustus in 29-27 B.C. built something besides that temple, which, like the aedes Hortensianae after 12 B.C. was both private and public property ; and that it was lofty in position and structure and likely to suggest a claim to kingship, if privately held, but actually devoted to some public use.

(ii) vii, 170-175 : "tectum augustum, ingens." "He refers in allegory to the house which, as we said, was built by Augustus in Palatio" . . . "hic sceptrum accipere." "This used to take place in Palatio." "Hoc illis curia templum : " "because . . . there could be no senate-house except on an augurated spot." "Ariete caeso : " "this sacrifice used to take place in the house-door of the Palatium (in ianua Palatii) on festival days."

The 'house' built after Actium stood upon an augurated spot and was used, as we understand the note, for meetings of the senate (cf. p. 201). It combined elements sacred and profane ; for *ianua* is defined by Cicero<sup>1</sup> as "the door on the threshold of a profane building."

<sup>1</sup> *de Nat. Deor.* 2, 27, 67.

(iii) xi, 235. There is another assembly "within the lofty threshold of Latinus' royal dwelling" (cf. "intra tecta vocari:" vii, 168).

"One asks why the senate is summoned to a private house, when it is accustomed to meet only in places which are state-property and augurally founded. But we know that the house of Latinus was augurally founded, and that it was at the same time as much a temple as a senate-house. [Then a reference to vii, 170-175.] It is right therefore that the senate should be summoned to the king's house, as to a place made public property for the world: for he says in the seventh book 'within such a temple . . . did he sit' (192). Therefore the senate used to be consulted in days of yore in the atrium of the Palatium also, the atrium which was augurally founded ('augurato condito'), where also the ram used to be sacrificed, all of which Virgil has transferred to the house of Latinus."

The house-door where the ram was sacrificed led into the 'atrium augurato conditum'; this atrium was an augural 'templum,' i.e. rectangular and probably square, and was used as a curia Palatina.

Servius unsupported is not a reliable witness, and a thing thrice said need not be true, but on this matter the evidence of the monumental remains and of contemporary poets combines with at least two passages of Tacitus to support him.

Ovid speaks of the house of Augustus<sup>1</sup> as a triad. "Phoebus hath a part, the second part passed to Vesta; what is left over from them he possesseth himself, last of the three. Stand, ye laurels of the Palatium! let the house crowned with oak-leaves stand! gods eternal it hath, three in one." The laurels were on either side of the 'ianua,' over which the oak-crown was fixed. "Thou (O laurel) shalt stand also as trustiest sentinel for the august doorposts before the door, and shalt safeguard the oak-leaves in the midst."<sup>2</sup> And laurels were the symbol of Phoebus. We should expect the laurels of the Palatium to stand before that part of the house which was specially sacred to him, and that the 'august,' 'proud,' 'conspicuous' doorposts and 'ianua' and 'vestibulum' formed a symbolic approach to that part. But next to the temple itself, if our view holds, the site most closely related to Phoebus is that where we have recognised the remains of the domus of 36 B.C. upon the platform which gave the level for Phoebus' altar and was partly destroyed for the temple. And it is before that site that the still-extant foundations of a vestibule above steps witness to a stately approach from a sacred area.

We have referred more than once to Ovid, *Tristia*, iii, 1. From the upper end of the Forum he approaches in the spirit the Augustan Palatium. Before temple, porticos, library, in that order, (33): "I behold doorposts conspicuous with shining armour and a dwelling

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*, iv, 951, above.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Met.* i, 562.

worthy of a god. 'Is this also the house of Jove?' I said; for, that I might deem it such, its oak-crown gave my mind an augury. And when I heard its master's name, 'we mistook not,' quoth I, 'and it is true that this is the house of great Jove; but why is the door veiled with a laurel between? why does a shadowy tree set around it its leaves august? because yon house has earned perpetual triumphs? or because it has been ever beloved of the god of Leucas?' " The oak-crown, "ob cives servatos," was voted by the senate on 13th January, 27 B.C. the day on which the title Augustus was assumed.<sup>1</sup> It was affixed "in the vestibule of my house."<sup>2</sup> On that day Augustus "transferred to the will of senate and people the Roman state."<sup>3</sup>

The affixing of the oak-crown and laurels and the title and the act of renunciation have a connexion with the vestibule leading to the atrium of augury august. The title itself was derived by some from the consecration of a site with augury,<sup>4</sup> and by others the title Romulus was suggested, "quia condidisset imperium."<sup>5</sup> Is it not possible that Augustus had conceived a symbolic translation of his ideas into marble, that senatus, equites, populus, all had rights in it, and that when it was completed he presented it to them as a token of the 'respublica'? If so, no site could be more appropriate than that which the senate had voted to himself from the public treasury, and the renunciation would be made more emphatic by a retirement of the donor to a lowly house next door.<sup>6</sup> There is one feature of the visible atrium of 36 to which I have not yet referred. Within the central space there is a small round shaft of travertine, closed with a travertine slab. It is evidently not a drain, nor yet a well. I suggest, provisionally, that it is a 'puteus auguralis,' that, in fact, the senate itself had caused this atrium to be augurated in order that it might be able to consult its owner in his own house.<sup>7</sup>

I do not here formulate any theory, though I purpose to return to this problem when the topographical questions are settled. I am concerned now to prove the existence of an Augustan building, probably important, on a particular site.

Confirmation comes from Tacitus.<sup>8</sup> In A.D. 16 the Hortensius of the day pleads before Tiberius for monetary aid, "with his four sons standing near, in front of the door of the curia, . . . on a day when the senate was held in the Palatium; now he gazes upon the portrait of Hortensius placed among the orators, now upon that of Augustus . . ." This proves the existence of a 'curia in Palatio,'

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*, i, 509.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Ancyr.* 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Ancyr.* 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Augurato*: *Suet. Aug.* 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Florus*, 4, 12, 66.

<sup>6</sup> cf. *Valerius*, p. 208.

<sup>7</sup> cf. the case of P. Scipio Nastica, "cui etiam publice domus in sacra via data est, quo facilius consuli posset": *Pompon. Dig.* i, 2, 2, 37; and the words of Vitruvius at vi, 8, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ann.* 2, 37.



to which other passages may henceforth be referred. It would strengthen the appeal of the beggar if the very site had once belonged to his family.

A more precise indication is given in *Annals*, 13, 5, 2.

Agrippina, the empress-mother, wishing to overawe the senate, "used to summon them to the Palatium to the intent that she might stand by; for she had added a doorway at the back and stood there with a curtain between, which precluded sight but did not interfere with hearing." The back-wall of our 'atrium-curia' to one entering

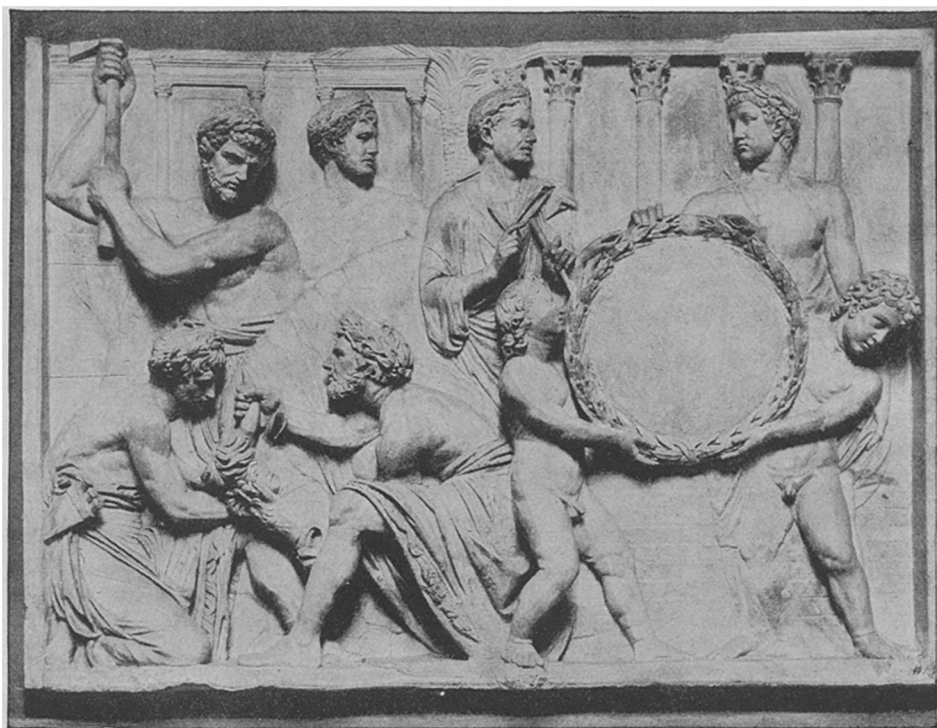


FIG. 29. RELIEF IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE (p. 217).  
Reproduced by permission from the *Papers of the British School of Rome*.

by the symbolic vestibule would be on the south-east; but for the senate there must have been an entrance from the temple-precinct on the south-west, and the north-eastern wall of our building skirted the side-wall of the house of Livia (plate xxxvii). If Agrippina followed Livia's precedent, she continued mistress of that house and its Vesta-shrine after the deification of Claudius. She could stand on the upper sacred floor of her own domus publica, divided by her curtained doorway from the sanctities of the senate. She possessed a sense of humour.

The incomplete and partly restored relief in the Uffizi, here



reproduced, would need a section to itself. I can only now<sup>1</sup> assert that the background, so far as it is preserved, represents, on the right, the Apollo temple as restored in the Corinthian order<sup>2</sup> by Domitian; in the centre, the miraculous palm-tree of good omen in the 'compluvium deorum penatium' (p. 210); and on the left the ground-floor, with façade and doorways to the precinct, of the 'atrium augurato conditum.' Before it is an altar; it was a templum. The relative positions of the three sites are exact (plate xxxvii).

The 'atrium-curia' was lofty and remarkable in construction. It must now suffice to refer to Horace, who set at the forefront of his most Augustan political odes<sup>3</sup> in 23 B.C. the words "cur invidendis postibus et novo sublime ritu moliar atrium?" Virgil's words,

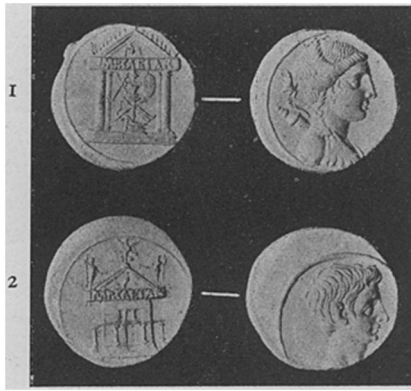


FIG. 30. (1) COIN COMMEMORATING THE SILICIAN VICTORIES OF 36 B.C. (p. 219).  
(2) COIN COMMEMORATING ACTIUM, 30-29 B.C. (p. 220).

approximately of the same date, were "tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis urbe fuit summa."

(m) The approaches to the atrium.

The two doors and porches leading into the atrium from the space before it on the south-west appear in the relief. They make it probable that the way through the atrium to the house of Livia was on the south-eastern side and led into the 'compluvium deorum penatium,' indicated in the relief by the palm-tree. The level outside on the south-west, below the edge of the platform (north-east) and the temple steps (south-east), is slightly lower than the area to the south-east of the temple. Excavation will show whether the level

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stuart Jones anticipated this view in *P.B.S.R.* iii, pp. 241 f. fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> For the Augustan *Ionic* façade, see the author's

article in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgway*, pp. 198 f.

<sup>3</sup> iii, 1, 33.

is due here also to underlying house-floors. We may suppose the area-level to have been continued here by raising the pavement upon earth. This would account for the disappearance of the altar seen in the relief. No steps are shown in the relief except those leading to the cella of Apollo. It is possible, therefore, that the atrium-platform could only be reached from the 'area' by way of Apollo's steps and altar.

On the north-western side, however, lay the vestibulum. It was the first part of the Augustan buildings to catch the eye as one approached from the Forum, by the street once emerging at the north-eastern corner of the area of Magna Mater. Shining armour made it conspicuous,<sup>1</sup> and the gifts of the nations had been 'fitted' to it.<sup>2</sup> But round the entrance itself were only emblems of peace:

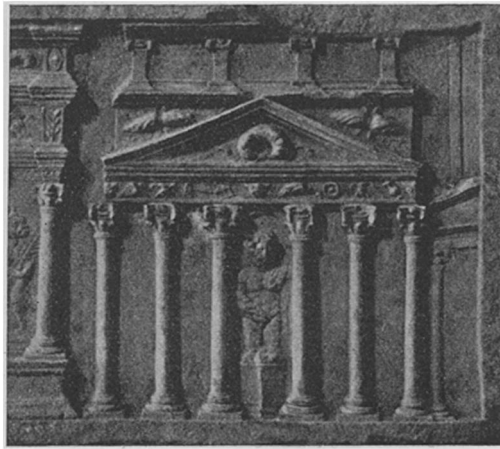


FIG. 31. PART OF THE HATERII RELIEF IN THE LATERAN (p. 220).

the oak-wreath was over the 'ianua,' and the outer door (*προπυλά :* postes) was adorned with laurels.<sup>3</sup>

Coins with the inscription IMP. CAESAR<sup>4</sup> (fig. 30, no. 1) struck before 27 B.C. give a naval trophy under a pedimented 'tholus.' In the pediment is the 'triquetrum,' three-legged symbol, of Sicily (Trinacria). The obverse has a head of Diana. Such a 'tholus' and trophy would naturally be set up outside the door of the victor's house; and it was for the Sicilian victories that the senate voted the domus Palatina of 36 B.C. But if the door of the house stood high above steps, a 'tholus' must be set up below them.

We are told by Servius, shown above to have good knowledge of the Augustan Palatium, how to explain Virgil's allusion<sup>5</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* viii, 721. This too was a 'limen Phoebi.'

<sup>3</sup> Mon. Ancy. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, *Aug.* 121: *B.M. Catal.* 4355 (pl. lx, 1).

<sup>5</sup> *Georgic* iii, 28, 29.

“ columns soaring of naval bronze ” (*navali surgentes aere columnas*), that commemorated the victory over Egypt. “ Augustus, conqueror of all Egypt, which Caesar had in part subdued, took away from the naval contest many beaks of ships ; these he melted down and made of them four columns, which were afterwards placed by Domitian on the Capitol, and there we see them to-day. . . . ”

The relief of the Haterii—if my conclusions, following Frothingham’s, are just, and the buildings shown upon it are merely those built by that firm of contractors for Domitian in various parts of Rome—informs us that he placed them on the Capitol, indeed, but at a most surprising altitude. They appear upon a platform (fig. 31) above the pediment of the restored temple of Iupiter Tonans. Augustus had built the first<sup>1</sup> at the entrance to the area, and later he had “ crowned the pediment with bells.”<sup>2</sup> Domitian crowned his with the Actian trophy, which had guarded, as we shall see, the entrance to the first area Palatina. The columns are Ionic, and bear up a light cornice, probably inscribed.

Another coin with inscription *IMP . CAESAR*, struck before 27 B.C.<sup>3</sup> (fig. 30, no. 2) shows in the foreground four Ionic columns set on an ornamental basis and bearing up a light cornice ; and, behind and above them, a pedimented vestibule whose outer door is closed. Over the door are three windows lighting the vestibule ; in the pediment is Caesarean Venus between her swans, as Mr. Grueber has conjectured before me ; the acroteria are male divinities or heroes ; on the apex is a naval trophy. The trophy and the four columns, and Servius’ note on Virgil, lead us irresistibly to the conclusion that we see here represented the monument commemorative of Actium which Augustus raised and “ fitted to his proud doorposts.” It is confirmed by the statement of Suetonius that Claudius set the naval crown beside the civic, among spoils taken from the foe, “ *fastigio Palatinae domus.* ”<sup>4</sup>

Standing on the foundations of the vestibule which we have recognised as that of 36 B.C. and looking over the space where once the steps covered the now visible tufa blocks, we see immediately below us in the area of Magna Mater certain foundations of the unmistakable dusky-red concrete of Augustus.

The two more westerly and broader foundations, one of which has heeled over since excavation, give room for just such an erection as the Sicilian ‘ tholus,’ which had two columns in front and two behind supporting the pediment (perhaps these, too, were of ‘ naval bronze ’). The orientation is that of the heavy tufa wall running through the archaic circular structure by the house of Livia to the

<sup>1</sup> Suet. 29, 1, 3 ; Mon. Ancy. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. 91, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, *Aug.* 122 ; *B.M. Catal.* 4358, 4359 (pl. lx, 3, 4).

<sup>4</sup> *Claud.* 17.

brow of the hill ; but the little building once faced directly to the vestibule of the Sicilian house above. The concrete had 'set' against tufa blocks since quarried away.

The narrower concrete foundation is of equal length ; it is orientated also with the tufa wall, and lay immediately at the foot of the steps to the vestibule. A very narrow structure must have stood upon it, and a light one ; for one half is suspended on a pillar of tufa blocks over a circular construction in cappelaccio,<sup>1</sup> which was dismantled but not removed. If the other foundations are wide enough for two pillars each, these could only bear a single row. On the side towards the vestibule are four slight projections at regular intervals, indicating that such a row of pillars would have numbered four.

I therefore definitely identify the foundations in concrete between the temple of Magna Mater and the atrium platform as those of the Sicilian 'tholus' and the Actian monument, four pillars of 'naval bronze' and trophy-crowned, pedimented vestibule of white marble. Though 'tholus' and pillars stood so close together, they recorded quite different naval victories, to west and to east ; so the coin-engraver separated them. It is not improbably with their juxtaposition in mind that Virgil<sup>2</sup> follows up his mention of the columns by the lines :

" et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea  
bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentis."

The absence of the laurels in the design of the coin is due to its having been struck before 27, as its inscription shows.

From below the front of Magna Mater towards that of Apollo ran a causeway connecting the two precincts, and offering to that of Apollo an outlet towards the old clivus Victoriae and the streets leading to the Forum. It was borne up on arches of Augustan opus quadratum, rightly recognised by Pinza, over the line of the older road, which had served the houses laid low on the edge of the hill to make room for Apollo (p. 205). To the south-west of this causeway, below the western corner of the precinct, is a lofty foundation of Augustan tile-work, bearing witness to constructions of his date on the face of the hill, which have fallen away like the portico of the Danaids. It is probably not unconnected with the descent to the Circus Maximus from the Palatium (p. 196).

We have now described all the certainly Augustan remains in the region of the 'hut of Romulus.'

If our theory of the Actian vestibule, with its trophies above its pediment and below its steps, holds good, we have justified the passage of Propertius from which we set out (p. 194). He was standing on the Capitol, and beheld from the north-west the soaring 'house of

<sup>1</sup> Its nature cannot be discussed.

<sup>2</sup> *Georg.* iii, 32, 33.

Romulus,' which had 'raised itself on steps' above the ancient hut. The last and stateliest steps to it rose on the north-western side between the trophies of Actium, and it is with these in view that he calls Phoebus of the Palatium *Navalis*. The title occurs nowhere else.

The temple of Magna Mater, which actually hid the four columns and 'tholus,' he ignores, as not yet (in 16 B.C.) an Augustan foundation; but the apex of the vestibule rose high above it and the domus soared above that.

(n) Roma quadrata and Mundus.

This, like section (l), needs a long chapter. I must unwillingly restrict myself to a bold statement of view. There are explicit assertions connecting the Apollo precinct with Roma quadrata, and unless I can reconcile them with my theory it must even now fall to the ground. Moreover, Huelsen's very different theory is founded upon his interpretation of these statements.

(i) Roma quadrata. The central, high ridge of the Palatine once sent down to the marshes on the Tiber-side a cliff, and on the other side irregular, grassy slopes. The extreme angles of the slopes lay, roughly, on the cardinal points of the compass, the steepest point, on the Tiber side, being on the west, and the next steepest, towards the Forum, on the north. The ridge was not in any sense square, nor did the imaginary lines of the pomoerium of Romulus meet at right angles. But in ancient augural theory Roma quadrata meant the four-cornered Palatine city, north, south, east, and west, the outline of which the founder drew with his 'lituus' round the 'templum minus,' or small rectangle, his 'mansio' of observation.

The only Augustan writer to name Roma quadrata is Dionysius of Halicarnassus. At ii, 65, 3, he says: "It was not Romulus who dedicated to the goddess (Vesta) this spot whereon the sacred fire is guarded; and the great proof of this is that it lies without the so-called Square Rome which he walled, and all men establish a shrine of a common hearth by preference in the strongest point of the city, none outside the wall" (cf. i, 88). In naming it he throws doubt on the propriety of the term. Ovid<sup>1</sup> does not name it when he might. Turning towards the Palatine from the Regia and Vesta temple he sees 'yonder' the site of the old gate, Mugonia or Mucionis, within the wall, to the left of it Iupiter Stator, outside the wall, and between them the line of the wall itself: "porta est ait ista Palati; hic Stator; hoc primum condita Roma loco est." He immediately follows these verses with his description of the buildings of the second founder on the summit. Tacitus<sup>2</sup> does not name it

<sup>1</sup> *Tristia*, iii, i, 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann.* xii, 24.

when he describes "initium condendi et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit." For him it was not the outer wall.

Plutarch<sup>1</sup> says: "Romulus had founded the so-called Square Rome and wished to make a city of that site (πολιζέειν τὸν τόπον); but Remus wished to make a city of a certain strong point on the Aventine." A city is made by driving the founder's furrow round the line of the walls, lifting the share at the points first settled for the gates. Romulus already had a square arx, a strong point, and sat there awaiting his omen. It seems then that the popular view of Roma quadrata had altered between the Augustan and the Flavian age, and that the site later 'so-called' was the templum minus, mansio, arx, on the summit.

Solinus<sup>2</sup> says that Libra was the constellation in Rome's horoscope, and quotes Varro for the statement that, when Romulus founded it, it was at first named Square Rome 'because it had been placed at equilibrium.' He continues: "It begins from the grove (*silva*) which is in the area of Apollo, and has its terminus at the brow of the stairs of Cacus, where was once the hut of Faustulus." The hut of Romulus before he became king was by those stairs, on the flank of the hill towards the Circus (p. 196). That of the shepherd-king, who found him by the Lupercal, was at the summit of the same stairs. When Romulus in turn became king he seized the summit. "There was Romulus' augural 'mansio' (*ibi Romulus mansitavit*); and having taken the auspices he laid the foundations of the walls at the age of eighteen years."

The 'area' of Apollo being an Augustan foundation on the site of houses of the preceding epoch (p. 205), Solinus, and Varro, if indeed it is he, are giving the 'gromatic' measurement, between termini, of an Augustan square Rome on the summit of the Palatine; and squares are commonly measured by the length of one side.<sup>3</sup>

Festus<sup>4</sup> says: "Square Rome is the name attaching [to the site] in the Palatium before the temple of Apollo, where those things were deposited which are customarily used for fair omen's sake in a city to be founded . . ." [He is probably quoting Verrius Flaccus.] 'Square Rome,' then, after 29-27 B.C. when Augustus re-founded the city, was not only the templum minus, mansio, arx, of augur Apollo; within it the sacred objects were deposited, which would customarily be thrown by the 'conditor' into a circular 'mundus.' It superseded the old symbolic circle with a square.

The line "from the grove in the area of Apollo to the brow of the stairs of Cacus" passed in front of the temple, which must be between the two. If our theory of the temple holds, the area, or most of it, was to the south-east, the 'brow of the Stairs' to the

<sup>1</sup> *Rom.* 9.  
<sup>2</sup> i, 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Frontinus, below.  
<sup>4</sup> 258: Lindsay, 346.



south-west of the façade. But Festus uses veiled language. The same result is derived from comparing the accounts of the *Ludi saeculares* of 17 B.C. and A.D. 204. Augustus ordered the distribution of fumigatories (suffimenta) "on the Capitol and in the temple on the Palatine" by the xv viri sitting upon a tribunal (Zosimus). The inscription has lost the words [*ante aedem*] before *Apollinis et in porticu eius*, but Mommsen's restoration is certain. The 'Acta' of Septimius Severus doubtless follow the lost 'Acta' of Domitian in recording first the "suffimenta in Palatio in tribunali Augustorum," that is, at the throne in Domitian's atrium. Second, especially if they followed Domitian's, they would name the Capitol: but the words are lost. Third should come the second tribunal of Augustus: it is called that "ad Romam quadratam."<sup>1</sup>

Now if the measured side of the square was that on the brow of the hill, as it would seem, the square itself must have extended over the ground lying behind the brow for an equal length, including the temple, before which the measured side ran. But before making a test, let us know the measure of Romulus.

"It used to be said that two acres were at first distributed by Romulus to each man, and that they were called *heredium*."<sup>2</sup> Frontinus<sup>3</sup> states that "The first measure of a field that was made included it within four boundaries; in general it was 100 feet each way: this is the 'plethrum' of the Greeks, the 'vorsus' of the Oscans and Umbrians; our own measures gave it 120 feet each way. . . . [In a lacuna we supply: "120 linear feet are called an 'actus'; this is as far as a yoke of oxen can bring the plough without a rest. The square with side of 120 feet is called a 'fundus'"]: two such 'fundi' joined together give the measure of an acre (*iugerum*). [The acre is thus 240 × 120 feet.] Then two such 'iugera' joined into one make up a square field (*quadratum agrum*), so that it is<sup>4</sup> two 'actus' along each side (240). Some say that the first (square field) was called the 'sors' and that (a square field) repeated 100 times was called a 'centuria.'"

Thus 'one square field' was the 'heredium' and 'sors' of Romulus.

Let us measure our temple.

The extreme north-east angle of its platform was respected by Domitian, who turned his huge block round it. From this angle to the extreme original limit of the temple steps (south-east) is a measure of 240 Roman feet of 296 millimetres. Allowing for a space along the north-west side as wide as that left by Domitian along the south-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *t* survives before *ad*: Mommsen supplied (*in eo quod est*) *ad R.Q.* But Augustus never had a permanent throne, but a wooden *βῆμα* set out on occasion; (*in eo quod poni sole*) *t ad R.Q.* represents the probable sense.

<sup>2</sup> Varro. *R.R.* i, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *de Limitibus*, ii.

<sup>4</sup> The diagram in the MS. Arcerianus wrongly shows a field 480 × 120.

east, the extreme width of the temple-site is 120 feet. The temple and its steps stand upon a Roman 'iugerum' with the width of an 'actus' of the plough. By doubling the 'actus' and measuring 240 feet from the south-east corner of the steps along the brow of the hill, we arrive within a foot or two of the broken edge above the stairs of Cacus. The lines of 240 feet from this point (north-east) and from the north-east angle of the temple-platform (south-west) meet<sup>1</sup> over the triclinium of the house of Livia and the bedroom now destroyed (p. 211). Vestibule and atrium of augury lie entirely within the second acre. Augur Apollo thus preserved the standard of the 'actus' and the 'scamnum,' as the standards of weight were preserved upon the Capitol. Augustus measured Rome and the earth, and this was his first square field, the 'sors,' the 'heredium,' of the domus Aeneae.

It began "from the grove in the area." Propertius<sup>2</sup> speaks of the poets feasting in Apollo's 'soft grove' at the Actian games of 16 B.C. No doubt Augustus planted laurels and other trees among the fountains of the portico, but the only point of the now visible site where deep soil could have been deposited is immediately in front of the temple steps, where are the remains of the large bath under the area pavement (p. 205).

In my view, then, the imperial Roma quadrata (plate xxxvii) was a square plot of ground, whose north-eastern half was occupied by the cella of Apollo and the atrium beside it. The south-western half to the brow of the hill was open, with the temple-steps descending on the one side. The south-western boundary is given by Solinus; it was at the foot of the steps 'before the temple,' and marked by termini. This boundary-line and the open space were later popularly called 'Roma quadrata,' though the square really included also the buildings. By this line and before the temple the 'tribunal ad Romam quadratam' would be set up.

(ii) Mundus. Like 'Roma quadrata' the 'mundus' has a mystical side, and I am dealing now with problems of topography. I restrict myself to a few remarks which may strengthen my theory.

Commendatore Boni has certainly discovered the 'mundus' of the old Palatine city. I had the honour of exploring it under his guidance and in company with Professor Huelsen. More than a year before this discovery I had lectured, with the Commendatore in the chair, upon my theory and my view of Roma quadrata, as in a sense superseding the 'mundus'; and I had shown that Professor Huelsen must be mistaken in his idea that both were to be sought below by the Porta Mugonia. In 1910 I had taken measurements and levels with the assistance of Signor Bonelli, the surveyor under the Commendatore, and had pointed out how suitable was the site of

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately on this point my plans are slightly inaccurate.      <sup>2</sup> iv, 6, 71.

the Apollo temple for the auguration of the city, thus confirming in some degree Mr. Warde Fowler's comments on the *Carmen Saeculare*.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that, in order to make the Apollo temple the summit of the hill, Augustus raised it upon a mighty basis of concrete (p. 199). The Commendatore found that the ancient 'mundus' had been excavated at the augural centre of the hill, on the true summit, and that the direction of the caverns followed the lines of 'cardo' and 'decumanus.' Domitian covered it with indestructible concrete several feet thick, over which was his area Palatina. The position is to the east of the Apollo temple.

It is thought that the mouth had been covered over and disused not later than the fourth century B.C. So much has been published; and beyond that I do not now wish to go. When the facts are before the world, I shall have something to add to them.

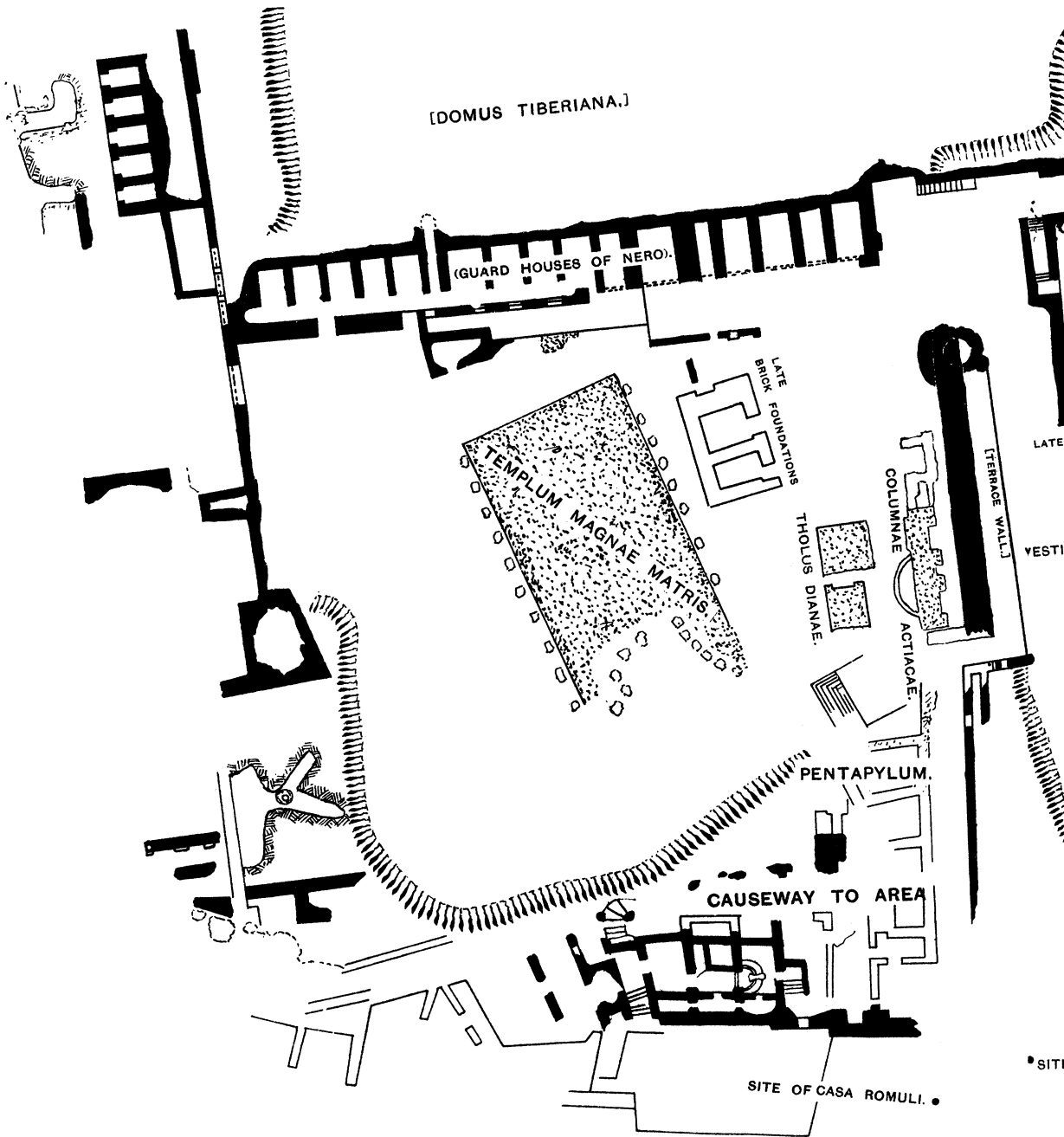
Meanwhile reference must be made to the rest of the passage of Festus quoted above:<sup>2</sup> ['Quadrata' Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt quae solent boni ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi], quia saxo Ψ munitus est initio in speciem quadratam. eius loci meminit Ennius cum ait 'Ψ et quis est erat Ψ Romae regnare quadratae.' It is manifest that Ennius, who died in 169 B.C. did not refer to a Square Rome bearing relation to a temple of 28 B.C. Also that a word has dropped out before or after the corruption of *munitus*, which has no substantive. In 1912 I conjectured that this word was *mundus*: (quia saxo [mundus] munitus est initio in speciem quadratam). In 1913-14 the excavators discovered over the round mouth of the ancient 'mundus' on the Palatine a square depression, and a rectangular block of specially hard stone fitting one half of it. There were fragments of a second such block near by. I supplied the word from the sense of the preceding sentence, which shows the locus 'Roma quadrata' to have somehow superseded the functions of a 'mundus.' With *mundus* inserted, "eius loci meminit Ennius" no longer refers to the site before the temple of Apollo now called Roma quadrata (which Ennius manifestly did not know), but to the site of the old mundus, the possessor of which was king in the Palatine city.

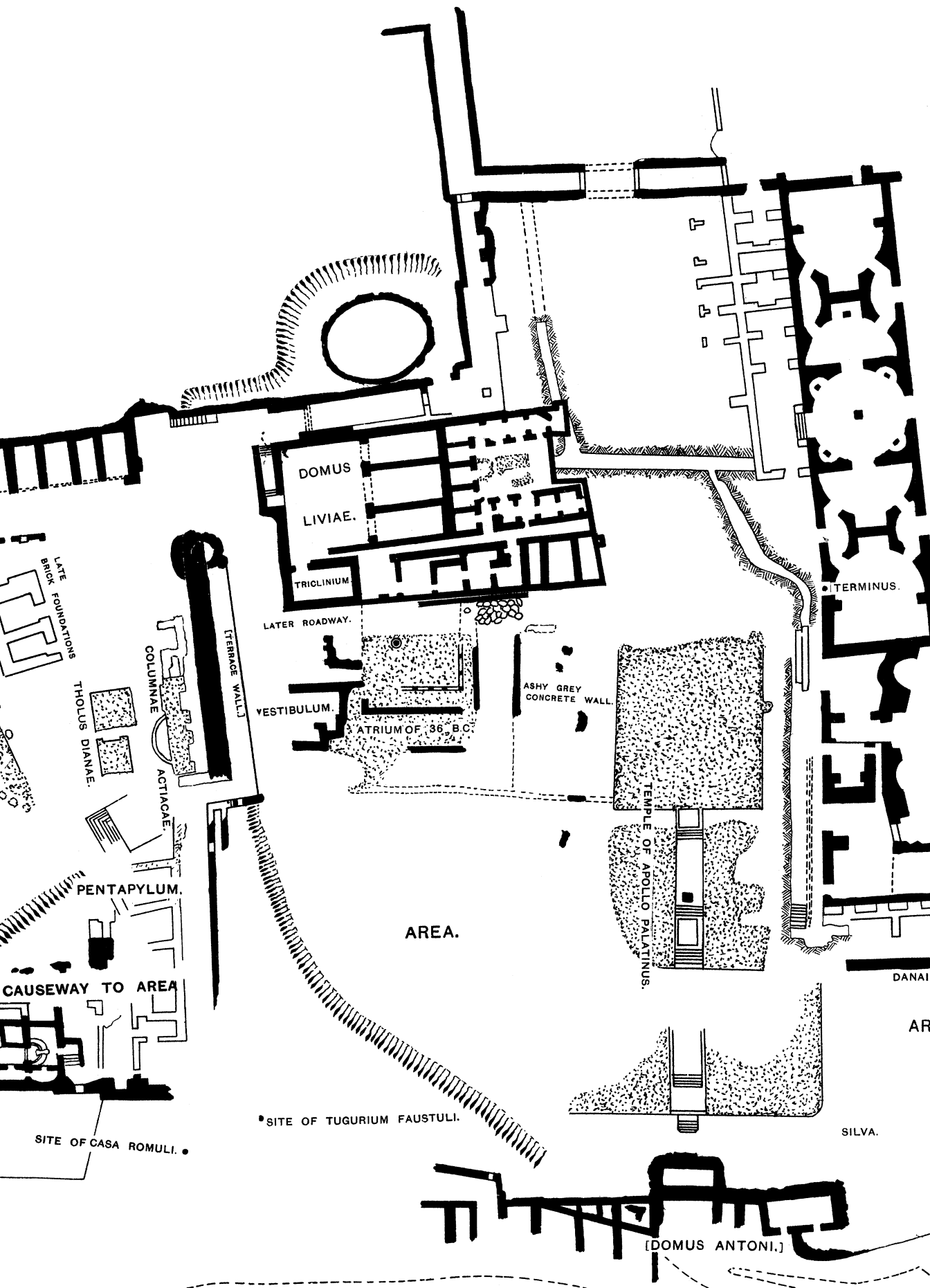
The passage is important as evidence that Festus' source (Verrius Flaccus?), if not Ennius himself, regarded Roma quadrata as a 'locus in Palatio,' and not as the whole hill. It does *not* state that the Roma quadrata of Augustus was exactly on the same site as the original 'mundus.'

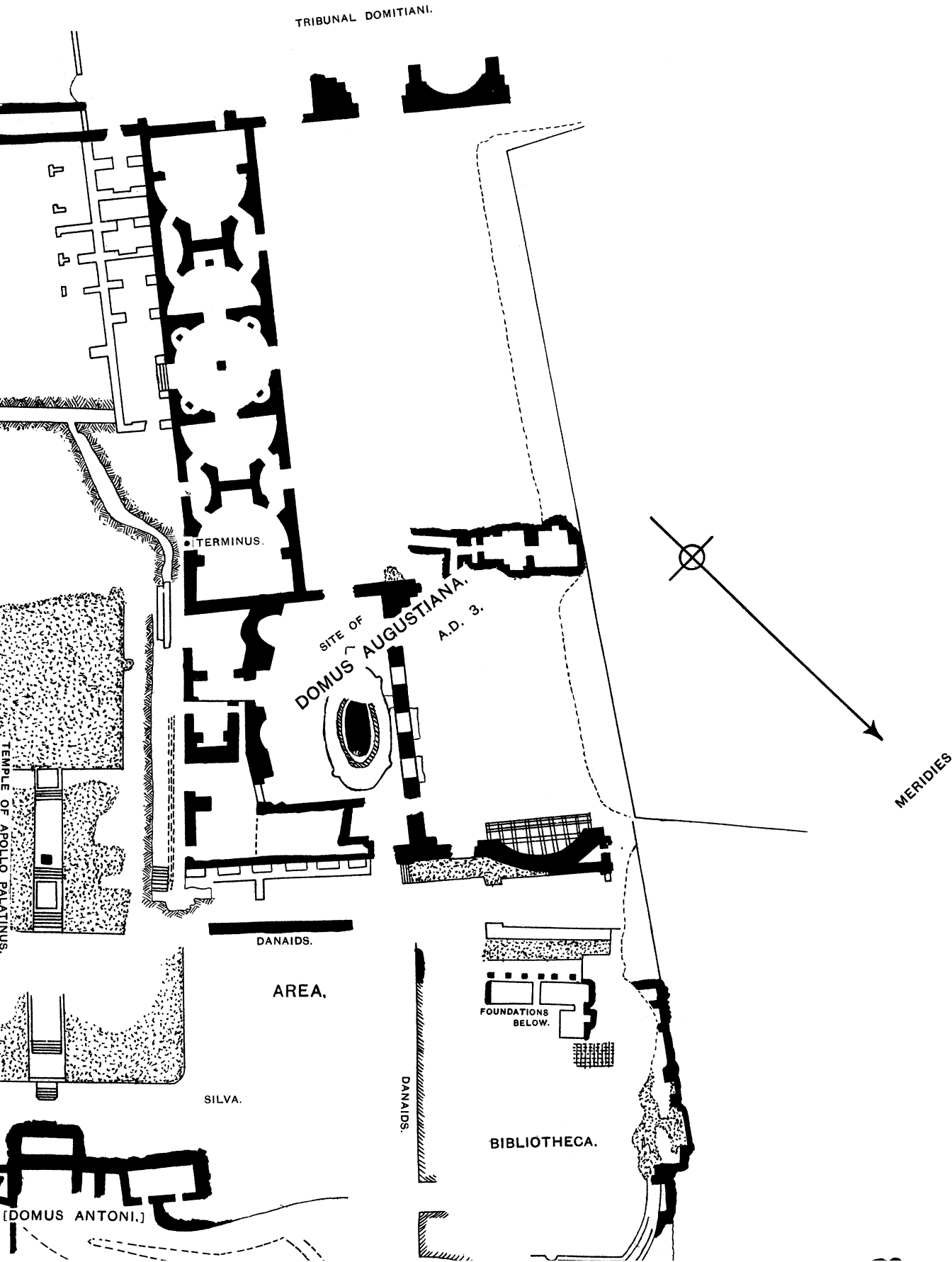
In this paper I have set forth, in summary, my theory of the topography of the Augustan Palatium. Later, if these sections commend themselves, I hope to proceed in more detail to a description of the buildings and an interpretation of their significance as symbols of the foundation of the Roman empire.

<sup>1</sup> C.Q. 1910, no. 3, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> 258: Lindsay, 346.









[DOMUS TIBERIANA.]

(GUARD HOUSES OF NERO.)

TEMPLUM MAGNAE MATRIS

LATE FOUNDATIONS  
BRICK

THOLOS DIANAE

COLUMNAE  
ACTIAE

[FERRAGE WALL.]

PENTAPYLUM

CAUSEWAY TO AREA

SITE OF CASA ROMULI

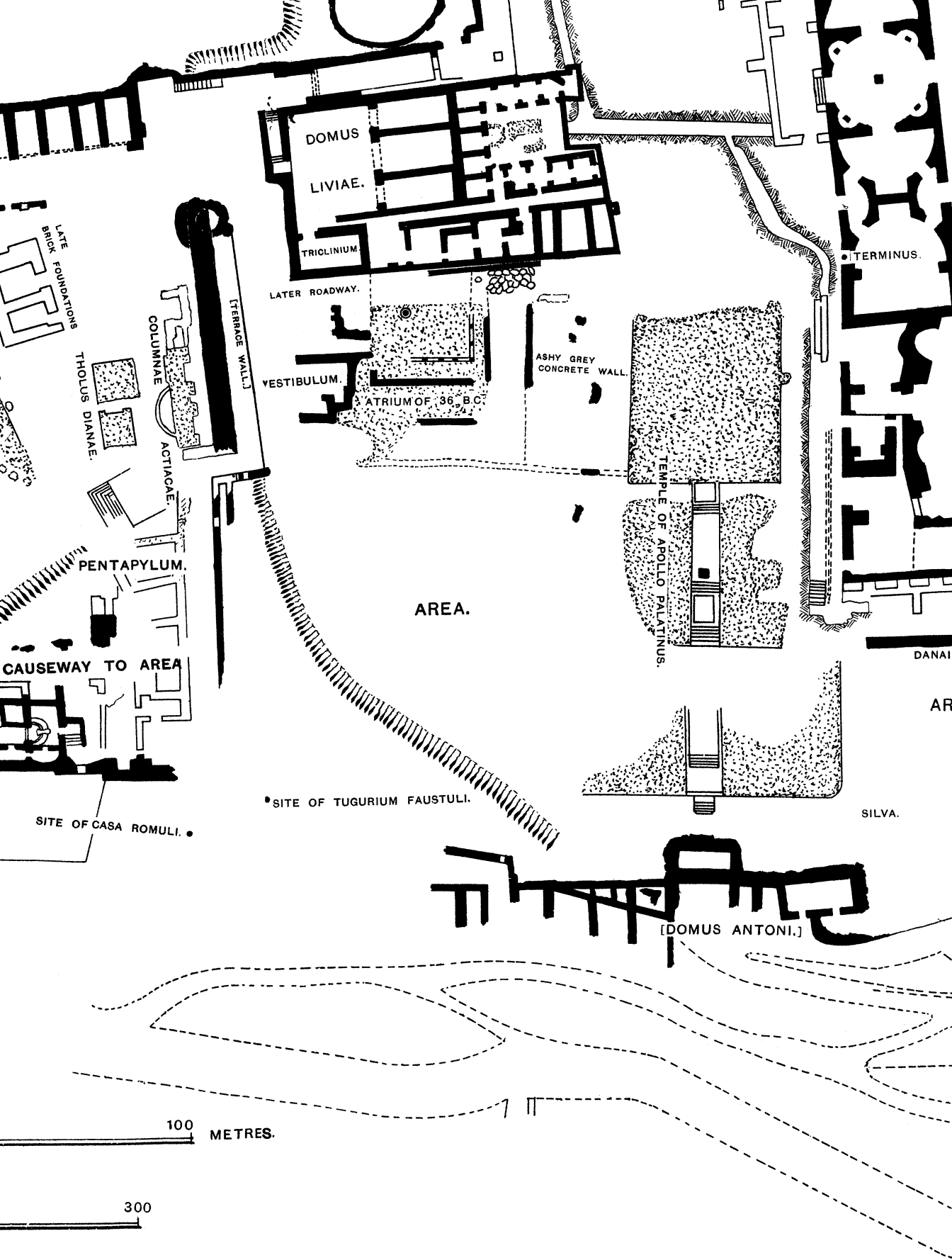
SCALE



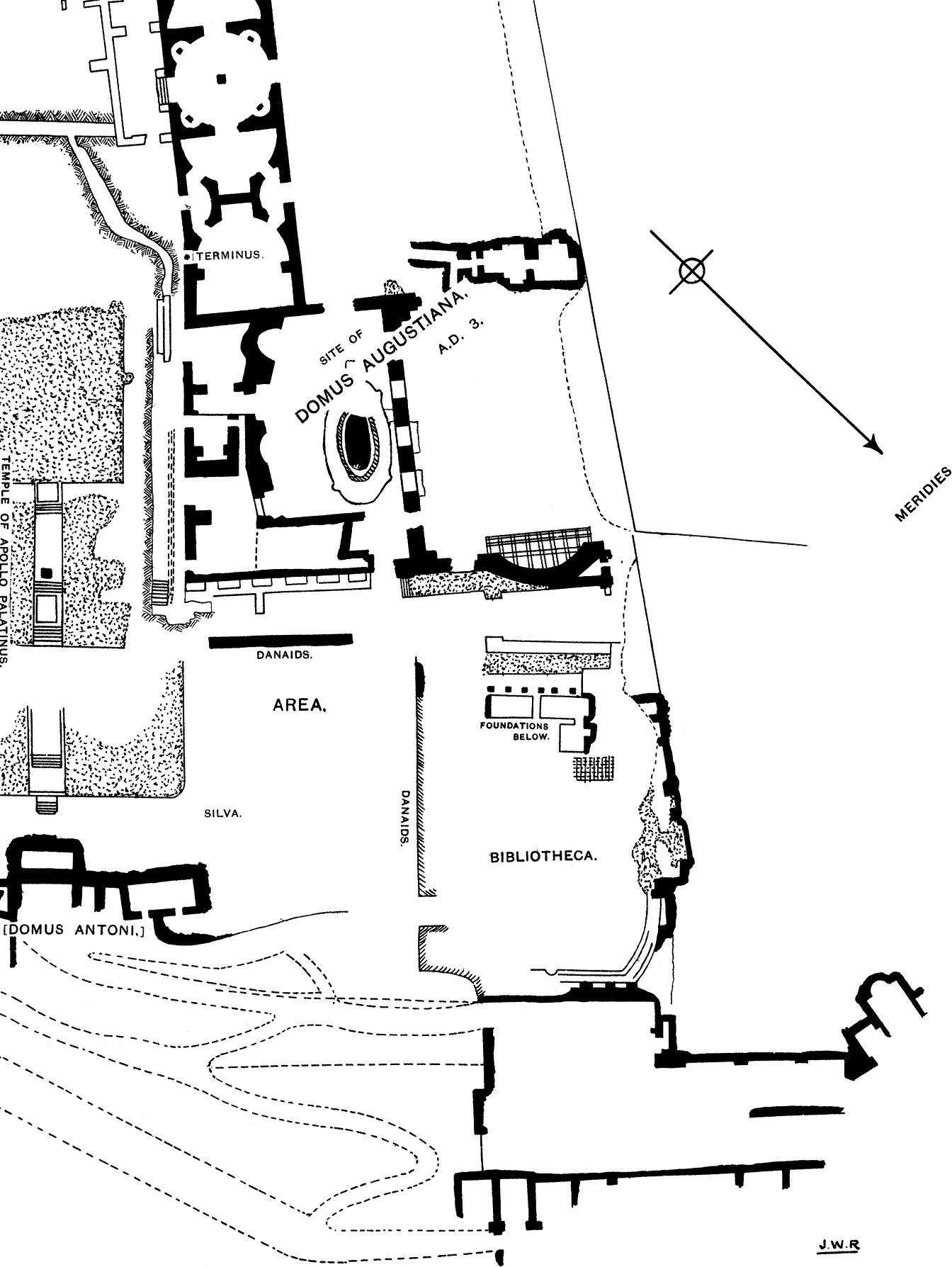
SCALE IN ROMAN FEET



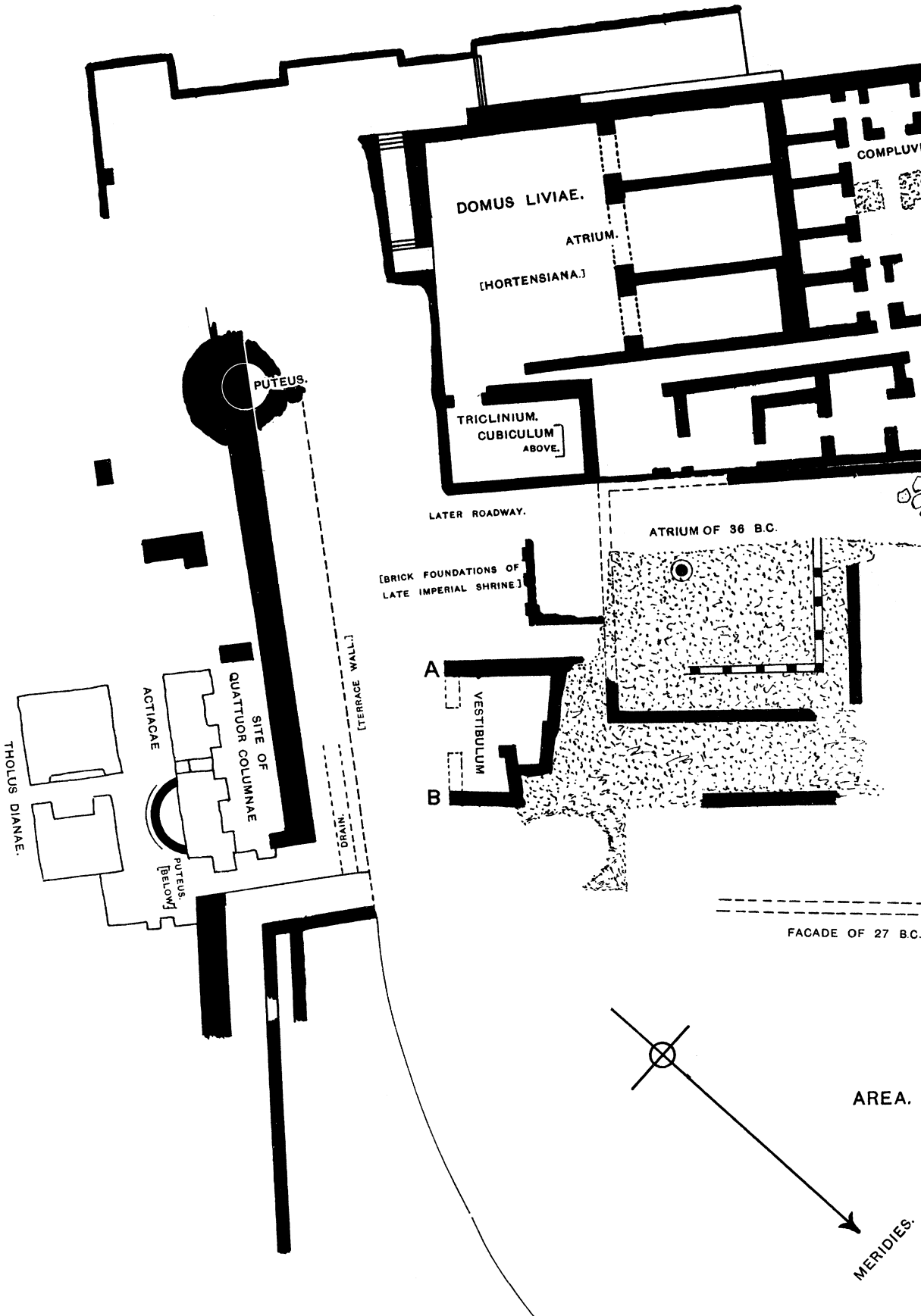
PLAN OF ACTUAL R

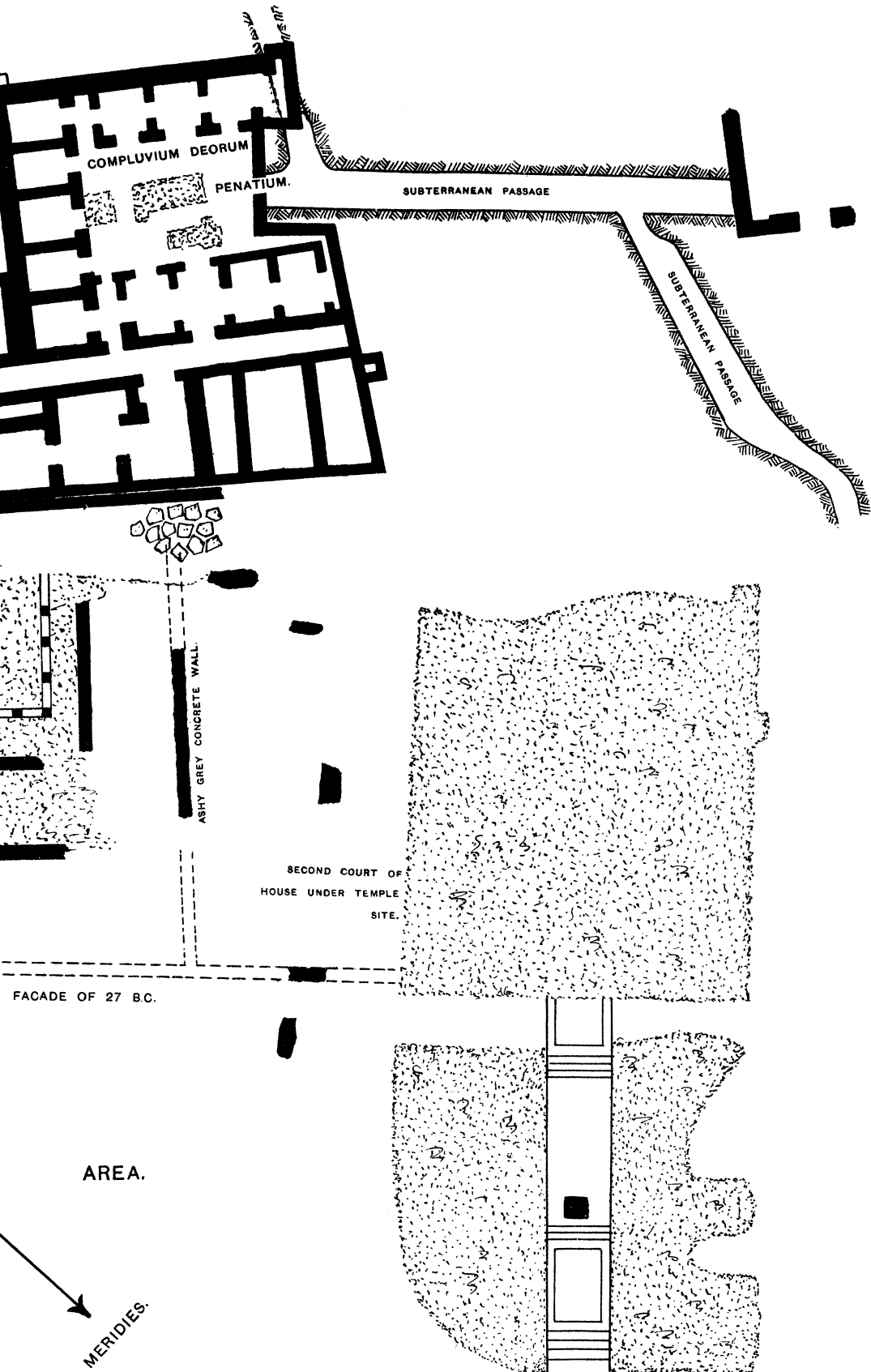


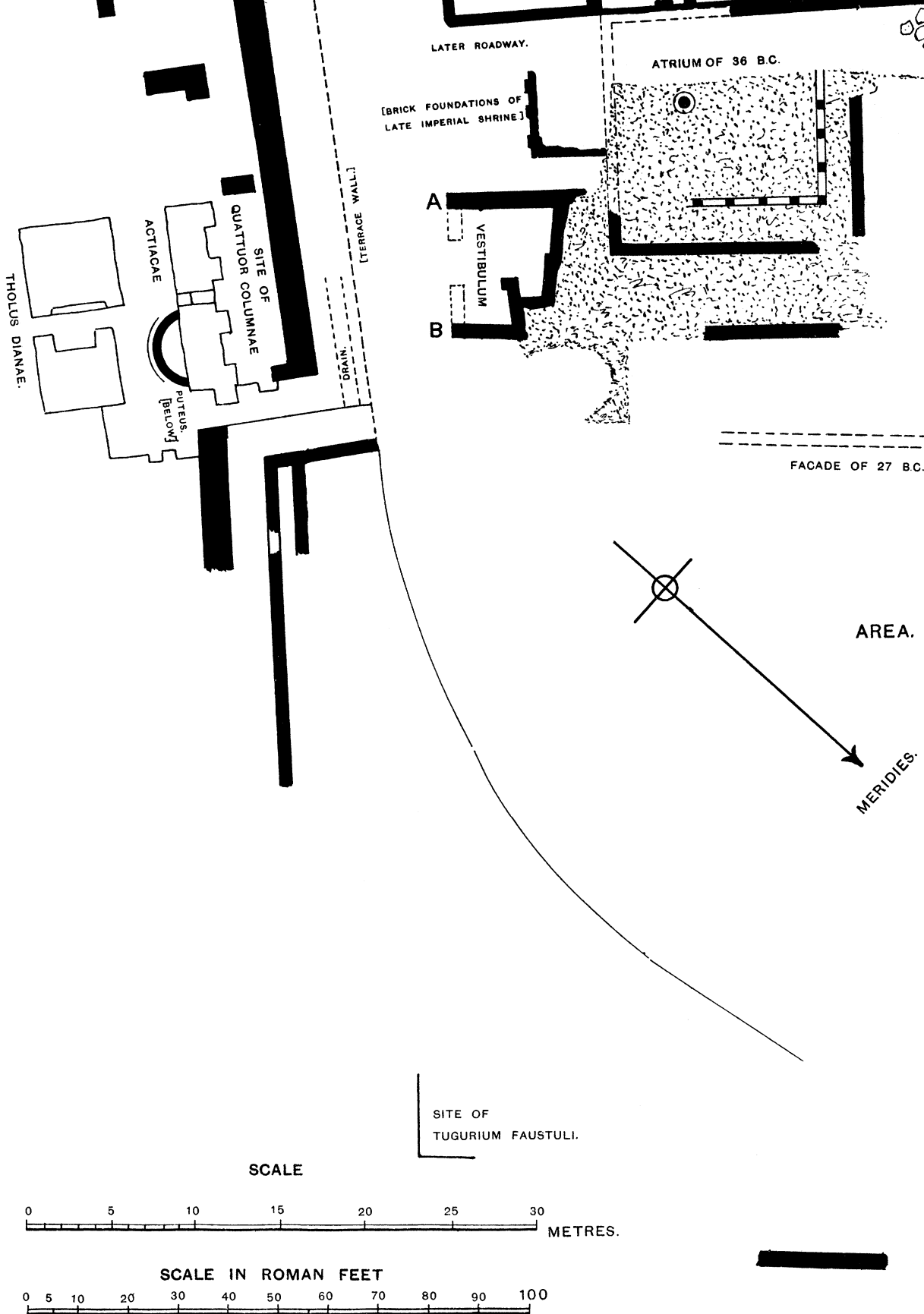
PLAN OF ACTUAL REMAINS ON BROW OF PALATINE HILL, SOUTH-WEST (p. 1)



J.W.R

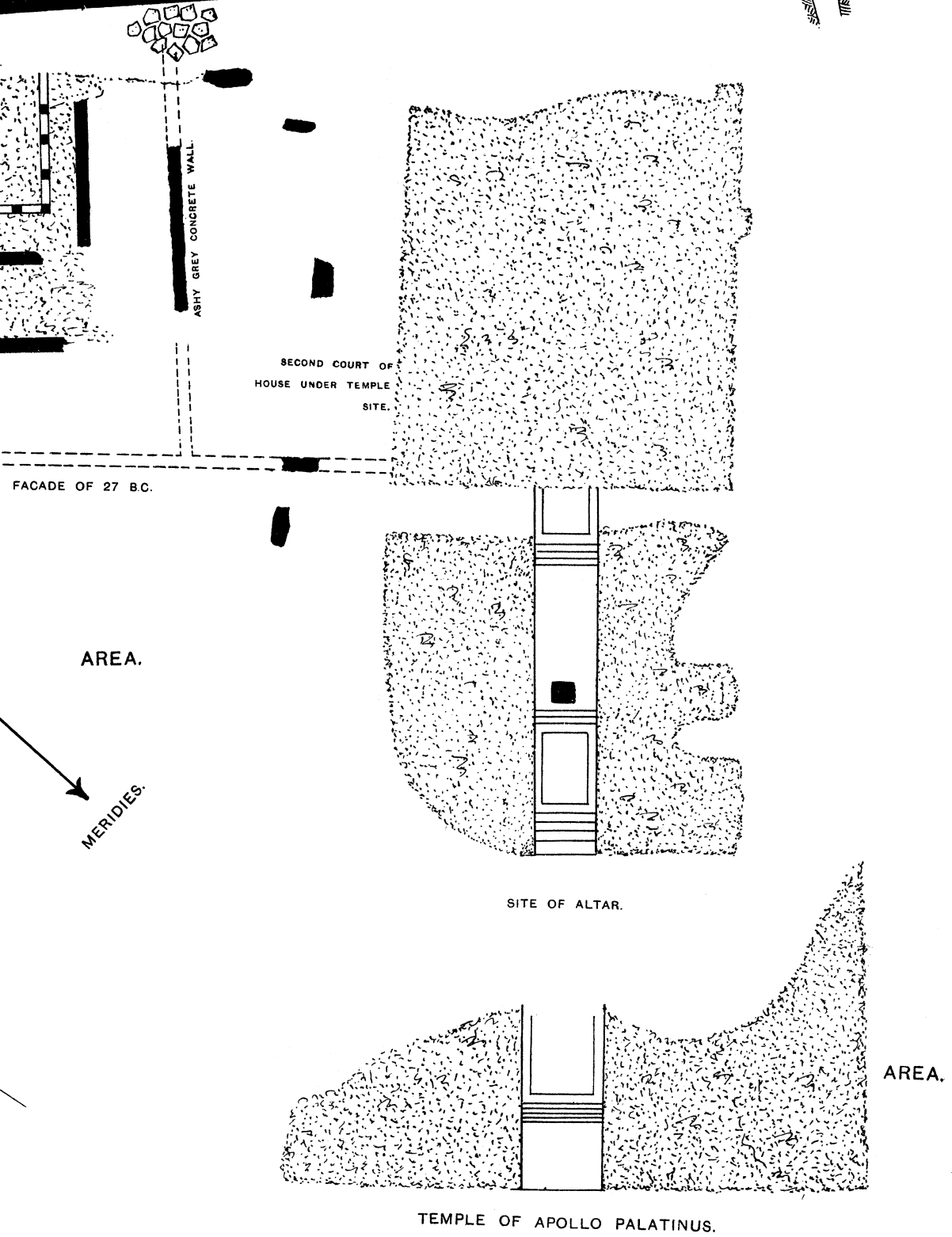






PLAN OF ACTUAL REMAINS BETWEEN HOUSE OF L





J.W.R.



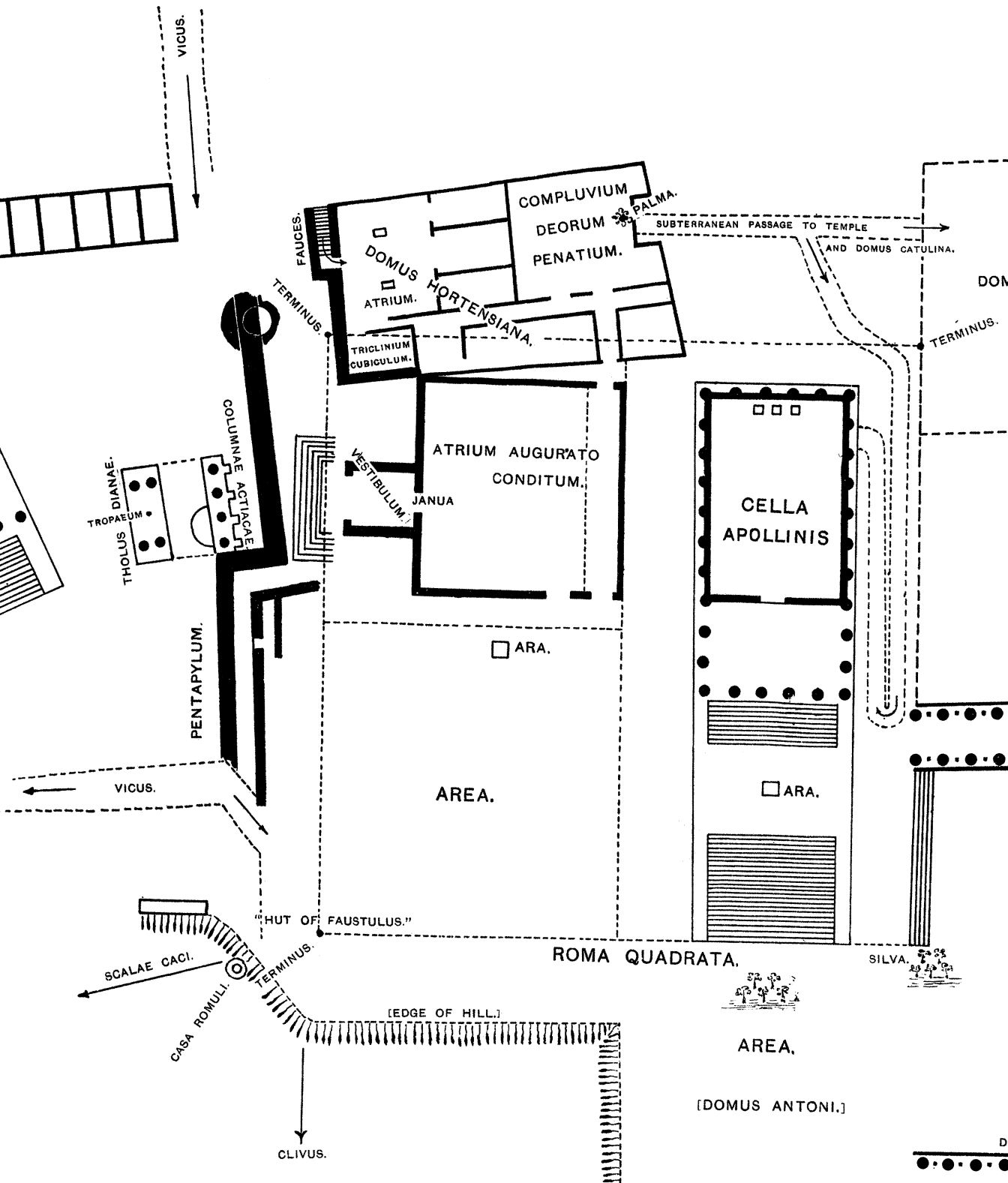
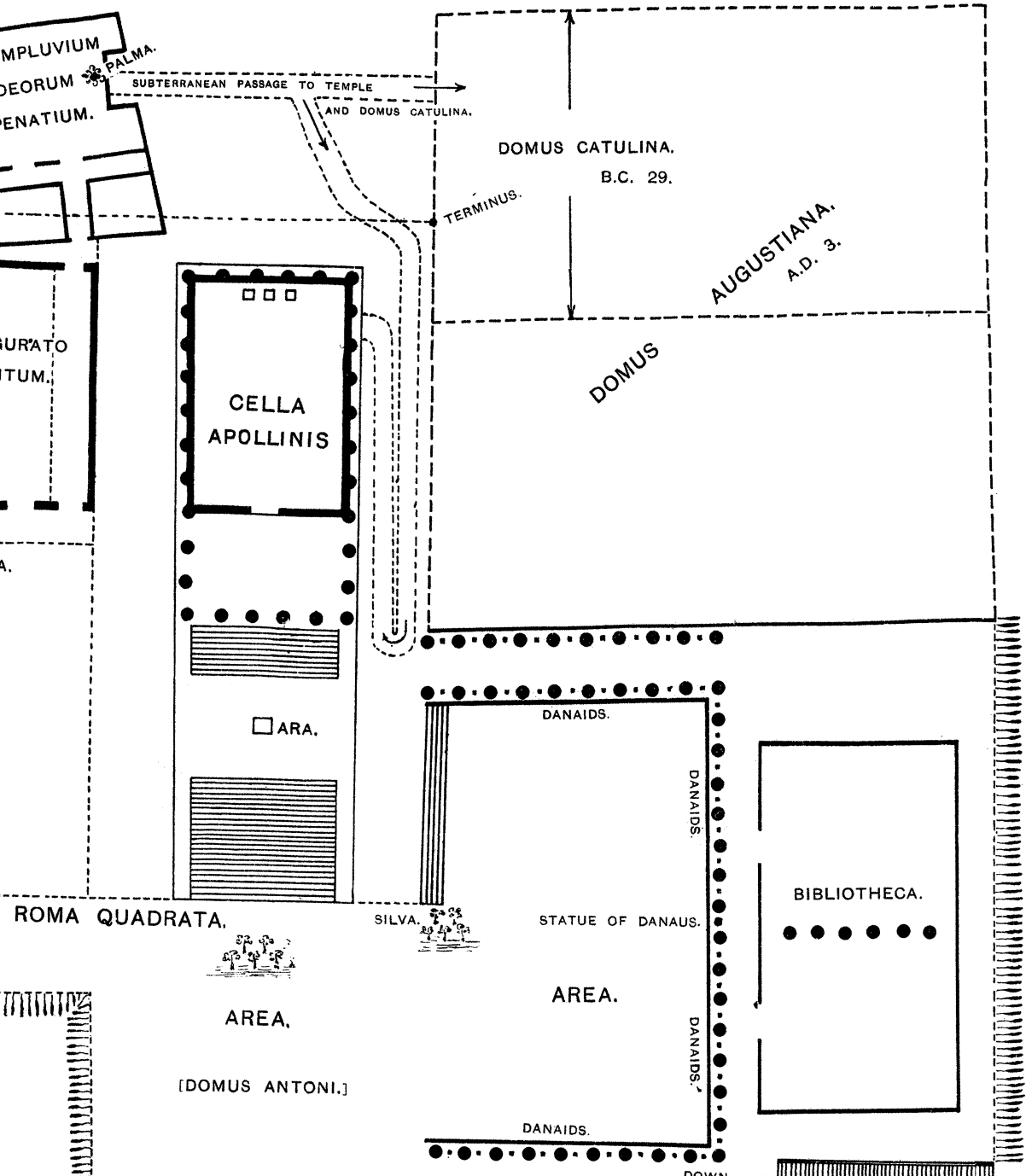


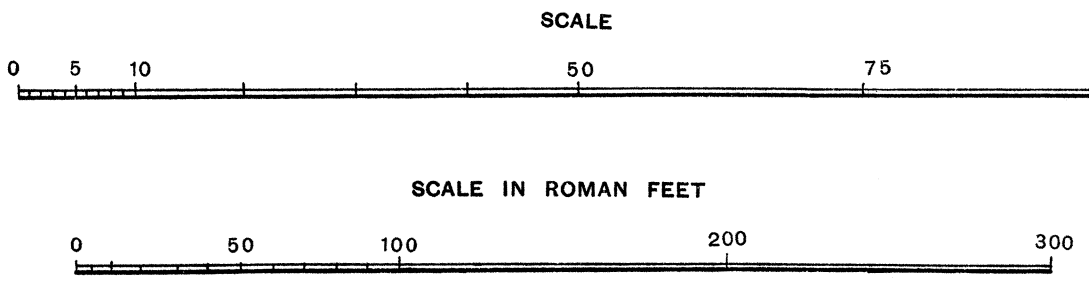
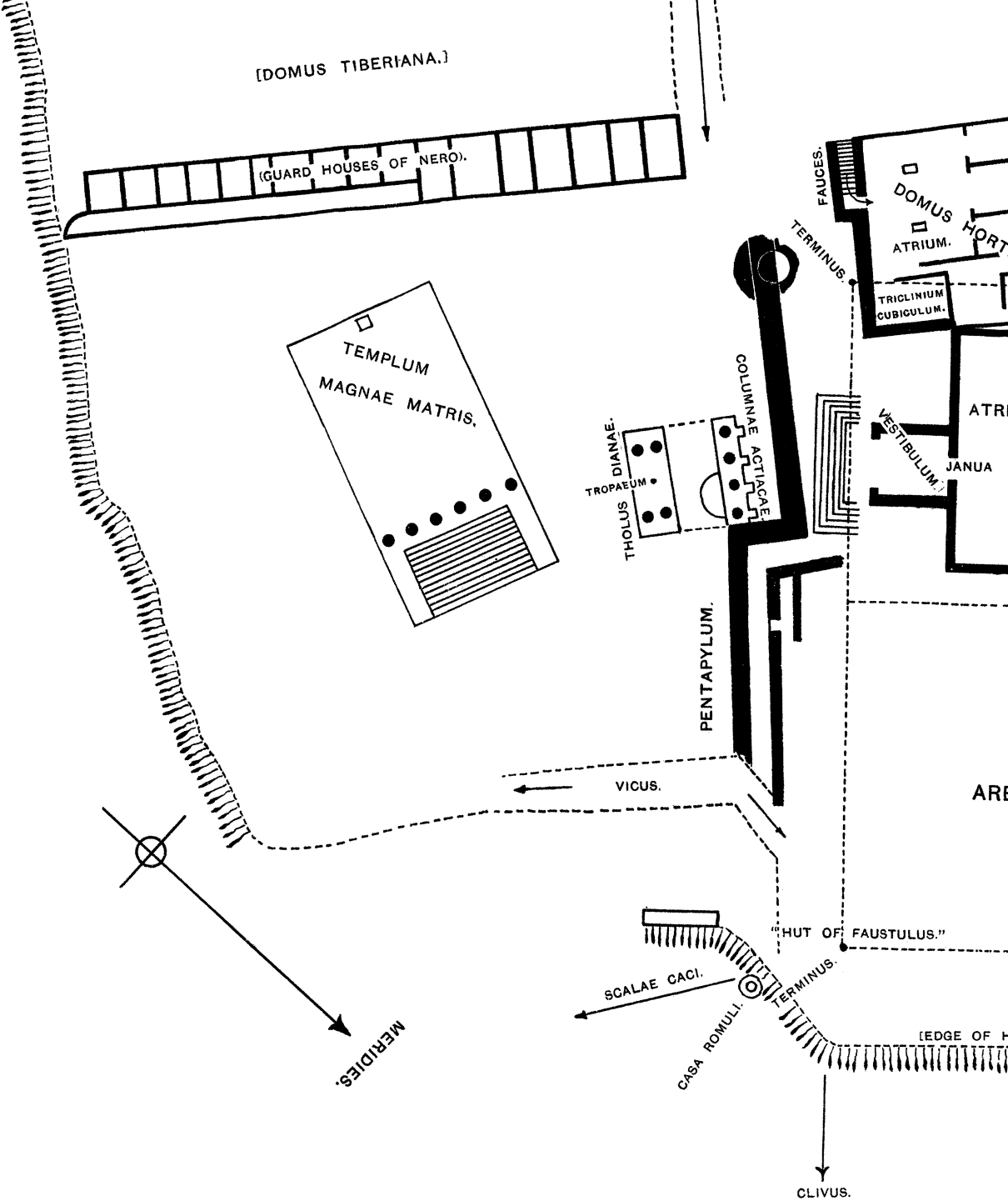
PLATE XXXVII

TRIBUNAL DOMITIANI.

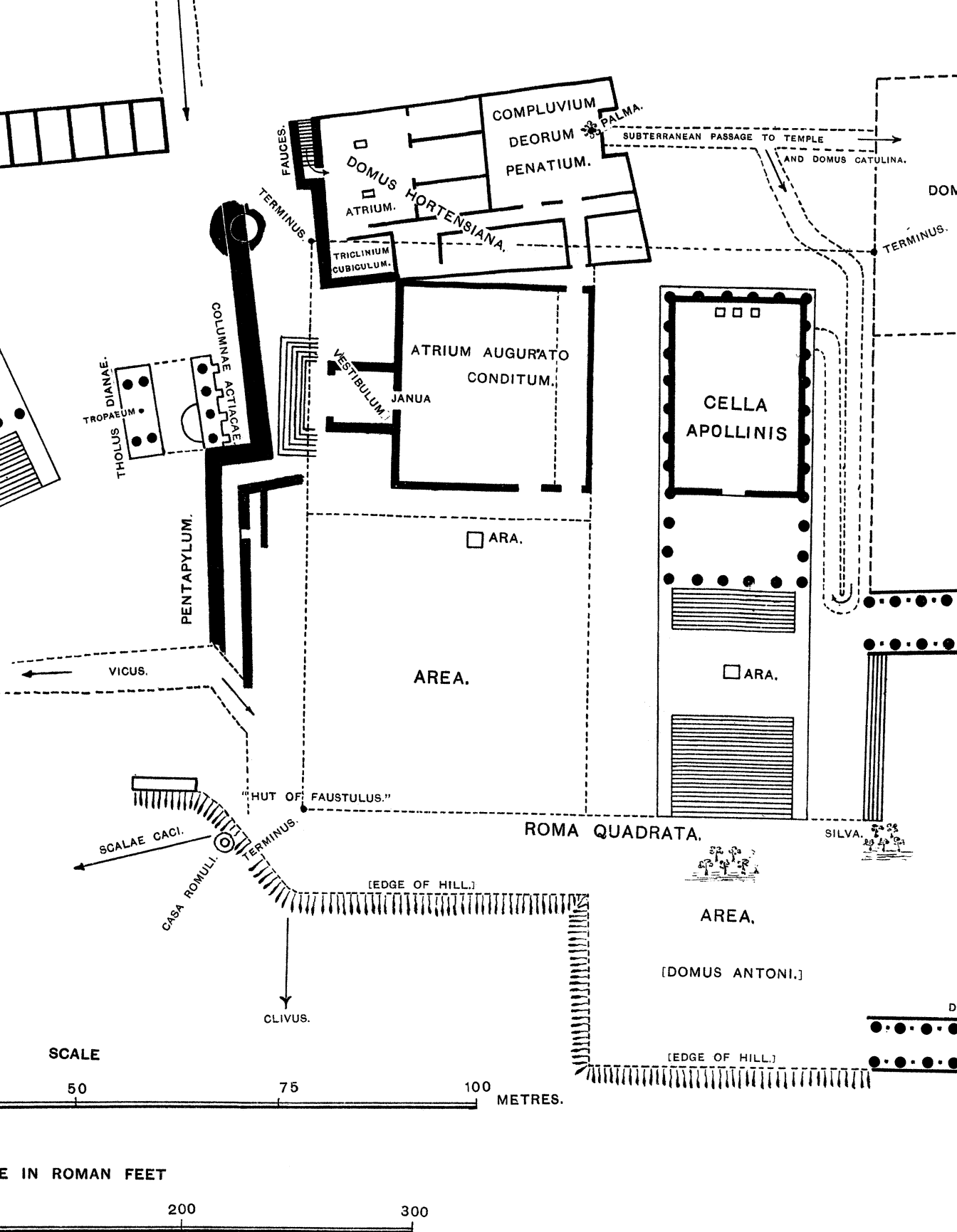


MUNDUS PALATINUS.



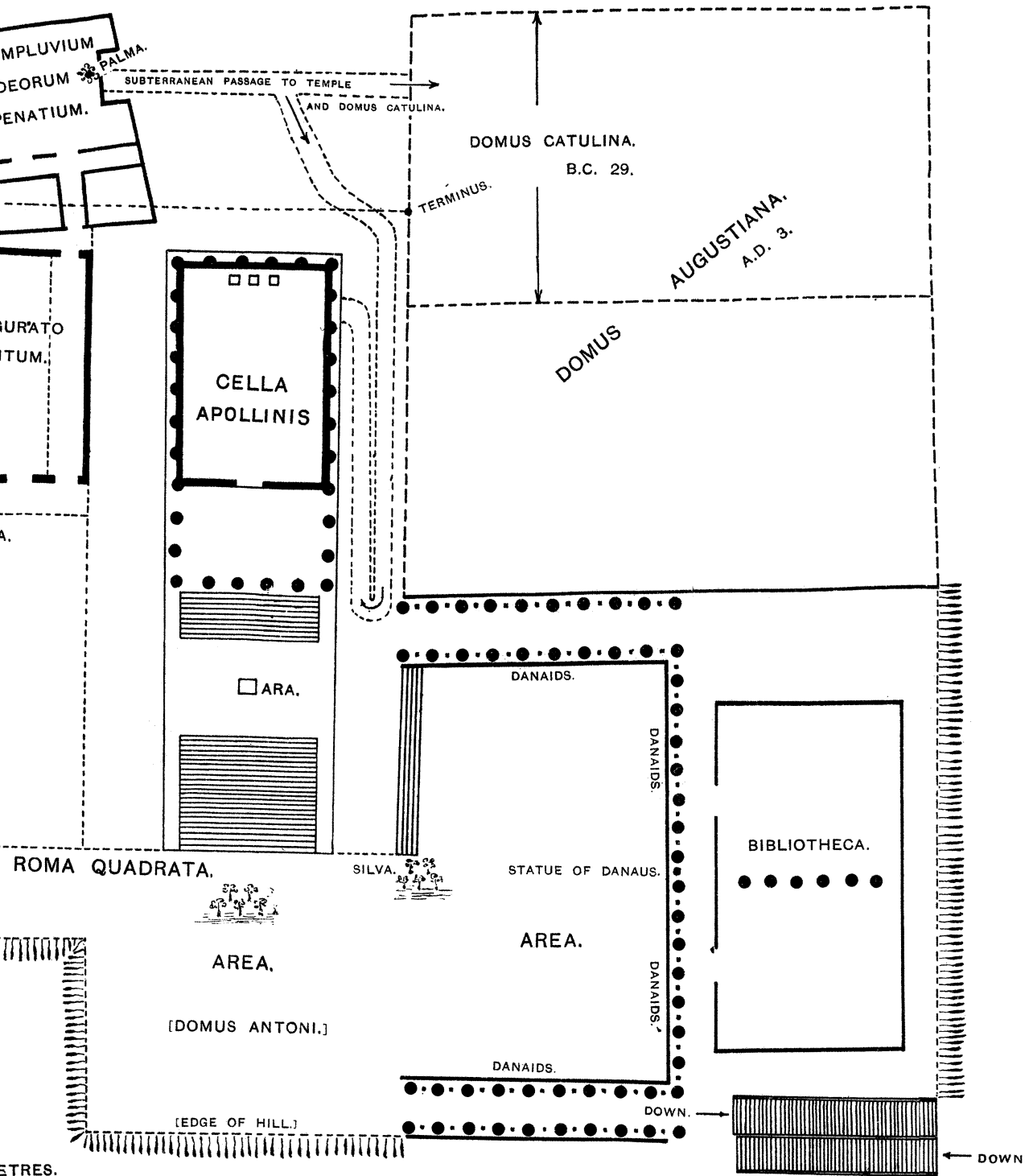


PROPOSED RESTORATION O



PROPOSED RESTORATION OF AUGUSTAN PALATIUM (p.201 f.).





AUGUSTAN PALATIUM (p.201 f.).