

Sant'Omobono: an interim *status quaestionis*

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The church of Sant'Omobono sits above one of the highest human occupation sequences in the city of Rome. Some 3.5 m of sediment lie between the earliest known Bronze Age occupation lens and the base of the foundations of the early 6th c. B.C. temple, a further 13 m above which lies the floor of the present church, reconstructed in A.D. 1482.¹ The site was sacred to the goddesses Fortuna and Mater Matuta for more than a millennium, before one of their temples was converted into a church of San Salvatore, rebuilt many times and eventually rededicated to Saints Anthony and Omobono. The archaeological remains were discovered by chance in 1936, when the dense neighborhood surrounding the church was demolished to make way for new Fascist infrastructure. The site was spared from further construction, and excavations continued sporadically through the latter half of the 20th c. This work was carried out by a diverse cast of archaeologists employing an equally diverse range of methodologies and field practices, though none of this work has been fully published. Since 2009, the Sant'Omobono Project, a collaboration between the University of Michigan, the Università della Calabria, and the Sovrintendenza Capitolina of the Comune di Roma, has continued this research with the goal of understanding and publishing whatever possible from the earlier excavations and bringing updated methodologies to bear on the site. While preparations for comprehensive publication are ongoing, the present article summarizes the main occupation and construction phases at the site as understood after 6 years of work by the project.²

Topography and the earliest history of the area

The so-called "area sacra di S. Omobono" lies at the SW foot of the Capitoline hill, just east of the Tiber Island, at the intersection of the present Via Petroselli and Vico Iugario (the ancient *Vicus Iugarius*), and is flanked on its S and E sides by the brick-faced Uffici Tecnici di Ripartizione V of the Comune di Roma (fig. 1). In antiquity, the site lay at the N end of the Forum Boarium and east of the Forum Holitorium.

Long before extensive human intervention in the area, the site lay in a low position along the Tiber, whose banks would have wandered somewhat with respect to its modern course.³ A program of percussion coring directed by one of the authors (A. Brock) has revealed evidence of pre-Archaic human activity at the site (fig. 2 in color).⁴ Prior to this

1 The apex of the church's cupola lies c.30 m above the base of the Archaic temple's podium.

2 The history of investigation at Sant'Omobono will not be addressed since it has been treated in detail elsewhere: N. Terrenato *et al.*, "The S. Omobono sanctuary in Rome: assessing eighty years of fieldwork and exploring perspectives for the future," *Internet Archaeology* 2012. See also P. Brocato, "Archeologia a S. Omobono tra passato e presente: metodi e intenti," in *id.* and N. Terrenato (edd.), *Nuove ricerche nell'area archeologica di S. Omobono a Roma* (Arcavacata di Rende [CS] 2012) 13-26.

3 A. J. Ammerman and D. Filippi, "Dal Tevere all'Argiletto: nuove osservazioni," *BullCom* 105 (2004) 16-17; A. Ammerman, "Adding time to Rome's *imago*," in L. Haselberger and J. Humphrey (edd.), *Imaging ancient Rome* (JRA Suppl. 61, 2006) 307; *id.*, "Looking at Early Rome with fresh eyes: transforming the landscape," in J. DeRose Evans (ed.), *A companion to the archaeology of the Roman Republic* (Chichester 2013) 170-72.

4 Supplementing and running concurrently with the deep trench excavations undertaken by



Fig. 1. Overview of the Sant'Omobono site, looking north (P. Brocato).

recent campaign, the oldest *in situ* deposits at the Sant'Omobono site were dated to the 7th c. B.C.; coring below Archaic levels, however, has revealed unexpected evidence for earlier anthropic activity. In a tight cluster of cores made within the area of the W *cella*

our project in 2013-14, a series of percussion cores was drilled across the Sant'Omobono site. Each core was produced using gasoline-powered Cobra TT drilling equipment, which can reach a depth of 8 m from ground surface and produce boreholes with a diameter of 5 cm. A first objective was to target areas of the site unlikely to be excavated. Given the substantial amount of standing architecture and pavement still *in situ*, there is limited surface area suitable for excavation. Coring survey provides a relatively cost-effective and non-invasive way to supplement excavation data with stratigraphic profiles across the site. Second, we aimed to sample deeply-buried anthropic levels in order to provide greater context for activity near the Archaic temple. In addition, the cores were employed to sample the natural substrata below the anthropic sequence. This environmental data, drawn from the sedimentary record and planned scientific analyses, would be used to reconstruct the pre-urban landscape of the site. Given these objectives, we focused our drilling efforts in locations that would maximize topographic inferences by producing transects of data points, but this strategy was restricted in part by the visible architectural remains. Moreover, several boreholes were blocked at shallow depths by buried features. Despite such challenges, the team completed 18 separate entries across the excavation area, producing over 70 linear m of stratigraphic data. Several cores were placed inside open trenches, including D10 and A7. The strategy of utilizing the lowest exposed surfaces on site proved fruitful, resulting in repeated samples at and below Archaic levels. Once extracted from the ground, each borehole was cleaned, photographed and drawn, before stratigraphic descriptions were recorded, including noting any visible artifacts. The boreholes were also sampled for additional scientific analyses such as flotation for macrobotanical remains, pollen, radiocarbon dating, grain size analysis, and micromorphology. Analysis of the boreholes is ongoing.

were exposed a series of dark, heterogeneous deposits between 3.2 and 6.1 m above sea level (hereafter asl), containing ceramic sherds and charred seeds. Although the sherds were small and attributable only generally to the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition, four seeds from these deposits were submitted for radiocarbon testing, which returned dates in the late second millennium B.C.⁵ The prehistory of human activity in Rome's floodplain, therefore, is much more extensive than once believed, significantly predating the city's traditional foundation date of 753 B.C. Although the evidence from the boreholes alone does not permit a precise determination of the type of anthropic activity that produced these deposits, considering their low elevation and proximity to the river, it is nonetheless clear that human presence in the valley was highly vulnerable to Tiber floodwaters. Historical records indicate that the Tiber could rise to a level of 10-13 m asl each year in the pre-modern period,⁶ inundating the valley with several meters of water for days at a time. The borehole record confirms that flooding was also a significant hazard in the prehistoric era; alluvial sediments characteristic of floods were interspersed between and covering the anthropic deposits of the late second millennium B.C. Given the practical realities of floodplain occupation, this stratigraphy is interpreted as the product of seasonal or intermittent human activity in the valley during the later Bronze and Iron Ages.⁷

By the 7th c. B.C., persistent alluvial deposition from the Tiber had buried these prehistoric deposits and further aggraded the ground level of the floodplain. Cores intercepted the Archaic ground surface at an elevation of 6.5 m asl in the SW portion of the Sant'Omobono site. Toward the north, this buried floodplain surface slopes gradually upwards to 7.6 m asl until it intersects with the gravel beds that make up the steep hillside of the Capitoline. From the end of the 7th continuing into the early 6th c. B.C., there is evidence for human activity in the area where the first temple would be built a generation or two later; it includes *impasto* sherds, a grinding stone, and fragment(s) of burned clay bearing impressions of reeds, as well as an abundance of charred organic remains.⁸ The exiguous remains make it difficult to identify the nature of this activity; although E. Gjerstad spoke concretely of huts and "hut strata", a single fragment of daub is a doubtful datum.⁹ It should be stressed, moreover, that the early (8th-7th c. B.C.) Greek imported

5 A. L. Brock and N. Terrenato, "Rome in the Bronze Age: late second millennium BC radiocarbon dates from the Forum Boarium," *Antiquity* 90 (2016) 654-64.

6 A. J. Ammerman, "On the origins of the Forum Romanum," *AJA* 94 (1990) 636-38; G. Heiken, R. Funicello and D. De Rita, *The seven hills of Rome: a geological tour of the Eternal City* (Princeton, NJ 2005) 59-84; G. S. Aldrete, *Floods of the Tiber in ancient Rome* (Baltimore, MD 2007) 51-90. Elevations reported in this article have been measured relative to the metal benchmark fixed on the walkway abutting the S wall of the apse of the church of Sant'Omobono, whose elevation is taken as 14.251 m asl. This benchmark has been published with a variety of elevations, which differ only slightly.

7 Cf. A. J. Ammerman, "Environmental archaeology in the Velabrum, Rome: interim report," *JRA* 11 (1998) 220-21.

8 E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome III* (Lund 1960) 385, 397 and 437 (strata 18 and 19). In Settore I, levels AB 27 and 28 contained scarce ceramic (*impasto*, *bucchero*) and faunal remains, as well as flakes of tufo, but it is unclear whether these predate the temple stratigraphically: P. Virgili, "Scavo stratigrafico (1974-1975)," *ParPass* 32 (1977) 32; C. Regoli, "Alcune considerazioni sulla stratigrafia del settore I (scavi 1974-76)," in Brocato and Terrenato (supra n.2) 91. In Settori II and IV, the excavators interpreted levels E12, E12-13, D13, D14 and D15 as predating the temple.

9 The only specific evidence published for the existence of a hut comes from Sector A, Stratum 20,

pottery found at the site was limited to secondary contexts, as the material was incorporated in fill deposits from the late 6th or early 5th c. B.C. (see below).

Colini's Settore II, a small deposit of charcoal, ash, animal bone, ceramics, and flakes of burned tufo, found during excavation within the Archaic altar, was long identified as a *fossa per sacrifici* ("pit for sacrifices") representing a pre-temple phase of cult in the decades surrounding 600 B.C.;¹⁰ G. Ioppolo went so far as to identify the remains of *suovetaurilia* sacrifices in the fauna.¹¹ Through careful re-study of the excavation records, however, C. Regoli has recently shown that the so-called *fossa* does not predate the altar, but rather represents infill after the removal of one or more blocks from the altar; moreover, it is not a pit but a deposit.¹² The "presenza esclusiva" of cow, pig, and sheep/goat within the "fossa" deposit cannot be taken as a "valida conferma" of *suovetaurilia* sacrifices, *pace* Ioppolo, though such an interpretation cannot be excluded.¹³

The presence of terracotta roof-tiles in the fills of the first-phase podium of the Archaic temple and the levels immediately predating it, and their possible appurtenance to an earlier structure or structures, remain unresolved issues.¹⁴

The Archaic temple

In the first half of the 6th c. B.C., a small temple on a podium was built with its back to the Capitoline and facing out to the river harbor. It was set at c.6.5 m asl (fig. 3).¹⁵ Three

"a piece of clayish plaster from a hut wall with impressions of twigs and reeds" (Gjerstad 1960 [supra n.8] 398). More general statements are difficult to assess, as, for example, "these remains of human civilization are those of 'wattle-and-daub' huts, the mud represented in these strata deriving largely from the daubing of the hut walls, and the carbonized material found in the same strata being remains of the burnt wattle and twigs forming the framework of the walls": E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome IV.2. Synthesis of archaeological evidence* (Lund 1966) 363. As admitted by G. Ioppolo ("Il tempio arcaico," in G. Pisani Sartorio, P. Virgili and G. Ioppolo [edd.], *Il viver quotidiano in Roma arcaica: materiali dagli scavi del tempio arcaico nell'area sacra di S. Omobono* [Rome 1989] 29), postholes would be the "elemento fondamentale per l'accertamento dell'esistenza di una capanna", but no such features have been documented within the very restricted area of excavation. To move in the next sentence to speaking of "la casa del dio entro il recinto sacro" (Ioppolo *ibid.* 29), even hypothetically, is a risky interpretative leap, though not so great a leap as identifying it with "l'originaria capanna o *sacellum* che le fonti antiche attribuiscono a Carmenta" (*id.*, "Inediti architettonici dall'Area Sacra di S. Omobono," *BullPontAcc* 70 [2000] 171). It is unclear whether the "pezzo di intonaco argilloso di una capanna costruita con cannicci" mentioned by Ioppolo (1989) 29 is a distinct piece.

10 E.g., G. Ioppolo, "I reperti ossei animali nell'area archeologica di S. Omobono (1962-1964)," *RendPontAcc* 44 (1972) 12-14; *id.* 1989 (supra n.9) 29-31; *id.* 2000 (supra n.9) 170-71. Ioppolo assigned the late 7th-/early 6th-c. date on the basis of the sherd inscribed *uqnus* supposedly found within (*ibid.* [1972] 12-13; M. Pallottino, "Rivista di epigrafia etrusca," *StEtr* 33 [1965] 505-7). This sherd, however, was not discovered within the "fossa" deposit in Settore II, but rather in layer E12 in Settore IV: C. Regoli, "I settori II e IV e i reperti votivi miniaturistici," in Brocato and Terrenato (supra n.2) 55, n.76.

11 Ioppolo 1972 (*ibid.*) 12, n.14.

12 Regoli (supra n.10) 57-59; *id.*, "Settore IV," *Internet Archaeology* 31.

13 Admittedly, the presence of fetal pig and ovicaprid specimens in this and higher strata is suggestive of cult practice; it is the specific identification of the *suovetaurilia* ritual that cannot be confirmed.

14 E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome III* (Lund 1960) 393-97 (Sector A, Strata 13B, 14, 15, 16?), 431-37 (Sector C, Strata 15, 16, 17, 18?, 19?); Ioppolo 1989 (supra n.9) 29-31.

15 Portions of the podium of this Archaic temple were encountered in 1937 during investigations



Fig. 3. First-phase Archaic podium, exposed in D10 in 2013 (scale = 60 cm), looking east (D. Diffendale).

strata interpreted as preparatory fills for its construction included *bucchero* and *impasto rosso* sherds that give a *terminus post quem* for the structure within the first quarter of the 6th c.¹⁶

The temple podium — among the earliest known in Italy — was built in ashlar masonry with stretchers of an unusual variety of Tufo del Palatino, very different from the variety of Tufo del Palatino more commonly used for other 6th-c. B.C. construction in Rome and often referred to in archaeological literature as *cappellaccio*.¹⁷ The tufo used in this first podium is harder and more

made when shoring up the foundations of the church, under A. M. Colini's supervision; by Gjerstad in 1959; in Settori II and IV by Colini in 1962-63; in Settore V in 1964; in Settori VII-XI by Pisani Sartorio and Virgili in 1977; and in sounding D10 (ex-Settore VIII) by our project in 2013. See further P. Brocato and N. Terrenato, "The Archaic Temple of S. Omobono: new discoveries and old problems," in C. J. Smith and P. Lulof (edd.), *The age of Tarquinius Superbus: central Italy in the late sixth century B.C.* (BABesch Suppl. 29, 2016) 99-108; and J. N. Hopkins, *The genesis of Roman architecture* (New Haven, CT 2016) 53-63.

¹⁶ These are Gjerstad's Strata 17-19 (id. [supra n.14] 397-98 and 436-37); southern extensions of these strata were intercepted using hand cores in 2013. Strato 9 in Settore VII-IX may be the fill of a foundation trench for the podium: M. D'Acri, "Per un riesame stratigrafico del Settore VII-IX nell'area archeologica di S. Omobono in Roma," in P. Brocato, M. Ceci and N. Terrenato (edd.), *Ricerche nell'area dei templi di Fortuna e Mater Matuta*, vol. 1 (Arcavacata di Rende [CS] 2016) 128.

¹⁷ F. Marra, pers. comm. A full publication of the chemical analysis of the tufo is forthcoming. The first-phase Archaic podium was *not* built of Tufo rosso litoide or Tufo rosso lionato dei Colli Albani (contra G. Pisani Sartorio and P. Virgili, "Area sacra di S. Omobono," *ArchLaz* 2 [1979] 41), unless different stone types were used along the W and N stretchers of the foundations, which seems unlikely. For a scientific introduction to tufo types used in Roman architecture, see M. Jackson and F. Marra, "Roman stone masonry: volcanic foundations of the ancient city," *AJA* 110 (2006) 403-36. For the early development of Italic podia, see C. R. Potts, "The development and architectural significance of early Etrusco-Italic podia," *BABesch* 86 (2011) 41-52, and now ead., *Religious architecture in Latium and Etruria, c.900-500 B.C.* (Oxford 2015).

compact than typical *cappellaccio* and lacks the micaceous inclusions distinctive to the latter stone. The elongated dimensions of the blocks also differ from those characteristic of *cappellaccio* construction. The podium is built with an external frame of ashlar masonry with an infill of tufo fragments in a greyish-yellow clayey matrix.¹⁸ The podium comprised 7 courses of ashlar tufo blocks, for a combined height of 1.7 m. The lowest course is a fascia or step that projects outward *c.*15 cm, while the sixth course is a torus (half round, Etruscan Round) moulding that also projects 15 cm.¹⁹ The stone podium elevated the temple above the floodplain, but even a common, minor flood would have jeopardized the temple's timber and mudbrick superstructure.²⁰ This environmental hazard probably contributed to the temple's brief existence, as the structure was abandoned after only a few generations and replaced with the high platform supporting the Republican twin temples.

The podium of the first-phase Archaic temple at Sant'Omobono can be plausibly reconstructed as a square with sides *c.*10.3-10.6 m long.²¹ The podium was reached by a frontal staircase 2.20 m wide approaching from the south of which only the lowest step and an imprint of the second have been observed, out of perhaps an original 7. The temple is usually reconstructed as a *distyle in antis* Tuscan type, with closed *alae* flanking a single central *cella*, but evidence for most of these features is limited; not even the columns are structurally necessary.²² Part of a foundation for the *cella* was documented by Gjerstad, but it is not possible to say whether this was flanked by closed rooms or open passages. Ioppolo reconstructed closed *alae* along the temple's flanks due to the lack of evidence for columns, but the remains of the superstructure of the first phase are extremely exiguous and there is no positive trace of the frontal columns. The question of whether the temple's *alae* were columnar or closed cannot presently be resolved.

18 Gjerstad (supra n.14) 381 (Part A-B, Stratum 13).

19 This podium profile with torus has parallels at Caere, on Late Orientalizing tumuli and, especially, early *tombe a dado*, that support an early 6th-c. date: G. Colonna, "Le due fasi del tempio arcaico di S. Omobono," in M. Gnade (ed.), *Stips votiva: papers presented to C. M. Stibbe* (Amsterdam 1991) 53; P. Brocato, *Origine e primi sviluppi delle tombe a dado etrusche* (Arcavacata di Rende [CS] 2012).

20 Aldrete (supra n.6) 81-89. Potts 2011 (supra n.17) 49, notes the benefits of the raised podium, though stops short of explicitly suggesting that the podium was an adaptation to the low-lying, flood-prone environment.

21 10.30 m according to Colonna (supra n.19) 53; 10.60 m according to Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (supra n.17) 43; 36 RF according to G. Ioppolo, "L'architettura del tempio arcaico," in Pisani Sartorio, Virgili and Ioppolo (supra n.9) 34. These dimensions cannot be held to the closest centimeter or even decimeter. Nowhere has it been possible to expose the entirety of any side of the podium. Only one corner (the NW) has ever been excavated, and that during the 1938 investigations. The E-W dimension has been calculated by measuring the distance from the exterior of the W wall of the podium to the projected central axis of the frontal staircase and doubling the result (Ioppolo *ibid.* 33). That the N-S dimension matches the E-W dimension is a highly plausible assumption, but it remains an assumption as no part of the S wall of the podium has ever been exposed. Projecting the front staircase, of which only a single step is known, to the north, one can arrive at the elevation of the top of the podium *c.*10 m from the N wall of the podium. Such a degree of uncertainty also renders hazardous any attempt to determine the ancient foot being used.

22 The length of the span (*c.*9 m) is the primary feature motivating the reconstruction of frontal columns (Ioppolo *ibid.* 34), but, as Hopkins (supra n.15) 55 (with further references) points out, trusses were known and used in contemporary buildings to span even greater distances. A reconstruction of the roughly contemporary (*c.*570 B.C.) Temple I in the Ara della Regina sanctuary at Tarquinia without frontal columns (over a span of *c.*9.6 m) has recently been entertained by M. Bonghi Jovino, "Tempio I," in ead. and G. Bagnasco Gianni (edd.), *Tarquinia. Il santuario dell'Ara della Regina: i templi arcaici* (Rome 2012) 26-27.

Relatively few of the architectural terracottas found at the site can be attributed to the decoration of the first-phase temple.²³ These include plaques in relief representing heraldically-opposed semi-crouching felines, possibly flanking a central Gorgon figure, that would have filled a closed pediment — a Greek element which is otherwise unknown in Italic temple architecture.²⁴ Revetment plaques bear felines in relief processing up the pediment rafters and, together with the remains of pedimental revetments, attest a roof slope of 21°.²⁵ A number of these plaques have their cavetto and torus elements reversed, one of a number of unusual features that can be attributed to an early and experimental phase of local terracotta manufacture.²⁶

An altar was located in front of the temple, some 2.3 m south of the staircase. The intervening ground was paved in chips of tufo.²⁷ While only the foundations of this structure survive, they suggest that it faced east, in common with the later, Republican altars at the site.

The latest datable ceramics (*bucchero* and *impasto rosso*) in deposits immediately underlying the temple foundations give a *terminus post quem* within the first quarter of the 6th c., while the profile of the podium moulding finds parallels in early to mid-6th-c. tombs at Caere.²⁸ The subject and arrangement of the sculptures from the *tympanum* parallel the pedimental sculpture of the Temple of Artemis on Corfu, dated c.580 B.C. These dates are consonant with the earliest Greek pottery (first, Corinthian and Laconian; slightly later, Attic) deposited in association with the temple.²⁹ The construction of the first-phase

23 N. A. Winter, *Symbols of wealth and power: architectural terracotta decoration in Etruria and central Italy, 640-510 B.C.* (Ann Arbor, MI 2009) 149-50 (Roof 3-6), attributed to her "Rome-Campania-Northern Etruria" decorative system. The attempt by M. Cristofani, ("Osservazioni sulle decorazioni fittili arcaiche del santuario di Sant'Omobono," *ArchLaz* 10 [1990] 31-37) to attribute all of the known architectural terracottas to a single phase of the temple around 540-530 B.C. has been effectively refuted by Colonna (supra n.19).

24 A. Sommella Mura, "La decorazione architettonica del tempio arcaico," *PP* 32 [1977] 68 ff.; Winter *ibid.* 149 and 191-92 (3.D.8). Only two fragments of the Gorgon, from the wing and skirt, have been identified. This arrangement finds a parallel in the stone pediment of the Temple of Artemis on Kerkyra, dated c.580 B.C. The terracotta Gorgon plaque from Syracuse attributed by M. Mertens-Horn, "Corinto e l'Occidente nelle immagini. La nascita di Pegaso e la nascita di Afrodite," *AttiTaranto* 34 (1995) 257-89 (followed by Winter *ibid.* 149 and 191) to the pediment of Temple A in Via Minerva probably does not belong to a pediment at all (C. Marconi, *Temple decoration and cultural identity in the Archaic Greek world: the metopes of Selinus* [Cambridge 2007] 54), and hence does not provide a good parallel for the Sant'Omobono temple.

25 So Winter (supra n.23) 149, *contra* the 14° given for the *tympanum* by Ioppolo in Gjerstad (supra n.9) 399.

26 Colonna (supra n.19) 54.

27 Encountered in Settori II and IV.

28 See n.19 for references.

29 E. Paribeni, "Ceramica d'importazione dall'area sacra di S. Omobono," *BullCom* 77 (1962) 109-24; *id.*, "Ceramica d'importazione nell'Area Sacra di S. Omobono (2° Rapporto)," *BullCom* 81 (1968) 7-15; G. Pisani Sartorio, "Esame preliminare dei materiali archeologici (scavo 1974-1975): parte terza," *PP* 32 (1977) 55. Earlier Greek imports have been found at the site (E. La Rocca, "Note sulle importazioni greche in territorio laziale nell'VIII secolo a.C.," *ParPass* 32 [1977] 375-97; *id.*, "Ceramica d'importazione greca dell'VIII secolo a.C. a Sant'Omobono: un aspetto delle origini di Roma," in *La céramique grecque ou de tradition grecque au VIII siècle en Italie centrale et méridionale* [Naples 1982] 45-53), but these come from the fill of the Republican podium, a fill that probably originated, at least in part, on the Capitoline (see below pp. 22-23).

Archaic temple, then, can be comfortably dated to c.585-575; it remained standing until the second half of the same century, when it was reconstructed or refurbished.³⁰ At that time, some of its architectural terracottas were placed within the reconstruction of the altar.³¹

The second phase(s) of the Archaic temple

At some time in the second half of the 6th c. B.C., the podium was remodeled. A new moulding with a bell-shaped ogee (“gola rovescia”) capped by a torus seems to have been added abutting the first-phase podium (fig. 4).³² The blocks of this second moulding are of Tufo Lionato and their ends show anathyrosis. The evidence for this modification is extremely difficult to interpret, however, as it was found apparently *in situ* for only c.1 m, abutting the W face of the podium in its NW corner, during Gjerstad’s excavations.³³ In our sounding D10, only 4.5 m south of Gjerstad’s trench along the W face of the podium, this moulding was not found and it is unclear if there was trace of a robbing trench that would help explain its absence, nor is there any positive evidence for a second moulding along the N wall of the podium (although part of the first-phase torus has been chiseled away).³⁴ The latter point indicates



Fig. 4. Moulding of second Archaic podium, looking northeast (Archivio Storico Sovraintendenza di Roma Capitale - Monumenti).

30 There is no positive archaeological evidence for destruction by fire, despite assertions to the contrary (e.g., Ioppolo 1989b [supra n.21] 34).

31 Colonna (supra n.19) 54.

32 See further Brocato and Terrenato forthcoming (supra n.15). Although not precisely datable archaeologically, stylistically the profile has comparanda with those of early Caeretan *tombe a dado*, suggesting a date c.540 B.C. (Brocato 2012c [supra n.19], in particular tombs 77, 78, and 62-64 of the Nuovo Recinto). We can also compare the mouldings of Altars VIII *inferiore* and XIII at Lavinium (L. Cozza, “Le tredici are. Struttura e architettura,” in F. Castagnoli [ed.], *Lavinium II. Le Tredici Are* [Rome 1975] 116-18, fig. 132, 146-49, fig. 181), dated stratigraphically to the mid-6th c. (C. F. Giuliani, “Santuario delle Tredici Area, Heroon di Enea,” in *Enea nel Lazio* [cat. mostra; Rome 1981] 169).

33 Fragments of a torus moulding in Tufo Lionato were also found (not *in situ*) in Settore IIC, though they are more plausibly attributed to a reconstruction of the altar.

34 G. Colonna (“Santuario di Fortuna e Mater Matuta a Roma,” in id. [ed.], *Santuari d’Etruria* [Milan 1985] 70, followed by F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario* [2nd edn., Rome 1992] 220) hypothesizes that the back of the temple podium was extended farther north in this phase, enveloping the

that the moulding blocks (if they were ever present) must have been removed before the collapse of the temple superstructure. This in turn implies that the second-phase podium moulding was not a load-bearing element.

The foundations of the *cella* proper also seem to have been rebuilt, and a torus block from the first phase was deposited as fill between the exterior of the podium and the *W cella* wall, as was a possible first-phase pavement slab.³⁵ There is limited evidence for a possible new set of steps, beginning *c.* 2 m south of the start of the first-phase steps.³⁶ Excavation in July 1976 proceeded laterally in a small "gallery" from the N side of Settore I, in an attempt to reveal more of the structure uncovered the year before.³⁷ This work exposed 4 steps, of varying dimensions, resting on the topmost of which were glimpsed two further blocks of tufo, of which only 11 cm were visible emerging from the scarp.³⁸ The excavator, P. Virgili, interpreted these two blocks as forming the end of an L-shaped *E anta* of the temple.³⁹ A fragmentary terracotta capital may indicate the presence of columns in this phase, but it must be noted that this was found in the area of the Archaic temple's NW corner.⁴⁰

A further problem in interpreting the steps discovered in Settore I is the total absence of evidence for such steps, or indeed of any structure corresponding to a second phase, in Settore IV. G. Colonna suggested that the steps would not have run continuously across the front of the structure, but rather would have incorporated the altar, dismantled and reconstructed at a higher elevation.⁴¹ There is, however, no positive evidence for this hypothesis, which relies on the supposition that all of the relevant architectural blocks were robbed out prior to the collapse of the temple's superstructure, leaving no archaeological trace. The precise dimensions of the Archaic podium in its second phase, then, are even more uncertain than those of the first phase.⁴² The reconstruction of the *cella* foundations suggests that the E–W width of the *cella* itself, and hence the central axis of the temple, remained

mass of votive materials deposited there. While this would explain why no trace of the second podium moulding was found immediately north of the first podium, there is no positive physical evidence to support such a hypothesis.

35 Gjerstad (supra n.14) 381 and 384–85.

36 The second-phase stairs were encountered for a span of less than *c.* 1 m in Settore I, near their presumed easternmost limit. Colonna (supra n.19) 53 argues for the contemporaneity of these stairs with the new podium moulding.

37 Virgili (supra n.8) 33–34.

38 They are visible in elevation (fig. 3) and photograph (fig. 4) in Colonna (supra n.19).

39 Virgili (supra n.8) 34.

40 Note that the fragments initially interpreted by Gjerstad (supra n.14) 423, fig. 266.1, Stratum C 13, as a column base have since been securely identified as an acroterial statue base (inv. 15854; A. Sommella Mura, "Nota aggiuntiva all'articolo 'Decorazione architettonica del tempio arcaico'," *ParPass* 32 (1977) 312; Winter [supra n.23] 386–87, 5.E.4). Colonna (supra n.34) 70 assigned both the capital and base fragments to a votive monument, but later ("Etruria e Lazio nell'età dei Tarquini," in M. Cristofani [ed.], *Etruria e Lazio arcaico: atti dell'incontro 1986* [Rome 1987] 65, fig. 2) used them to reconstruct a column, a reconstruction which cannot be sustained given the pertinence of the base to the temple's roof. V. F. Timpano, in Brocato *et al.* (supra n.16) 23–32 provides a synoptic account of the provenience of all the architectural terracottas. The absence of decoration attributable to a second-phase tympanum does speak in favor of a columnar façade.

41 Colonna (supra n.19) 52.

42 A fuller exposition of the problems and inconsistencies in the evidence for the second phase may be found in Brocato and Terrenato forthcoming (supra n.15).

the same as in the first phase. Basing any more detailed reconstructions on the exiguous remains becomes extremely risky.⁴³

At some point the Archaic temple was also outfitted with a new terracotta roof-system. This was a hybrid system of Corinthian pan-tiles painted with red and black hourglass patterns and semi-cylindrical cover-tiles, with a slope of 18°.⁴⁴ The ends of the eaves were protected by simas with female heads and lion-head water spouts. The roof also included an acroterial figural group at three-quarters lifesize, generally identified as Hercules and Minerva,⁴⁵ at least two winged sphinx corner acroteria, at least four acroterial volutes, as well as revetment plaques of the Veii–Rome–Velletri (hereafter V-R-V) type along the pediment.⁴⁶ The same mould was used for the face of Minerva, the sphinxes and the antefixes.⁴⁷ Although the Hercules and Minerva are usually reconstructed as standing at the front of the temple's central ridge, the fragments of the group were all found northwest of the temple, that is, by one of the structure's back corners. A second figural pair, of debated identity (Dionysus with Ariadne or Leukothea; Leukothea and Palaimon; Eos and Kephalos), also stood on the roof in this phase, perhaps in the front.⁴⁸

Dating this second roof is another difficult business. Relatively secure is a *terminus ante quem* of the late 6th c. B.C. provided by the latest datable pottery in the destruction deposits of the temple. A deposit of votive materials resting against the N face of the podium, previously held to provide either a *terminus ante quem* for the first phase or a *terminus post quem* for the second, should probably be understood as a secondary dump following the destruction of the second phase, and so cannot be put to chronological use. A. Sommella Mura suggested a date for the second roof c.540-530,⁴⁹ while G. Adornato more recently

43 Colonna (supra n.19), following Ippollo's plans in Pisani Sartorio, Virgili and Ippollo (supra n.9), projected the line of the second moulding in Gjerstad's trench south to intersect with the W projection of the blocks interpreted as an *anta*; restoring this symmetrically across the central axis gives dimensions of c.11.20 x 13.20 m. While this nearly approaches the 5 : 6 proportions of Vitruvius' *tuscanicae dispositiones*, one must be careful to work from the available archaeological evidence rather than retroject the dimensions of a canon that even in antiquity was not ubiquitous.

44 Tiles: Winter (supra n.23) 388 (5.F.2), fig. 5.43, ill. 5.29; 390. Slope: Sommella Mura (supra n.24) 78; Winter *ibid.* 317 (*contra* the 15-16° given by Ippollo 1989 [supra n.9] 33).

45 We refrain here from commenting on interpretative debates concerning the iconography and identification of the Archaic terracottas and their possible political/religious implications.

46 Winter (supra n.23) 316-18 (Roof 5-4). Only revetment plaques representing chariot processions have been found; the banquet scenes, horsemen, chariot races and divine figures known from other Veii–Rome–Velletri roofs are absent.

47 Gjerstad (supra n.9) 364; Winter *ibid.* 317 and 384.

48 The group is reconstructed by A. Mura Sommella, "La dea col tutulo dal tempio arcaico del Foro Boario," in P. S. Lulof and C. Rescigno (edd.), *Deliciae fictiles IV* (Oxford 2011) 177-87, on the basis of a female head now in Copenhagen, which seems to join a cast of a fragment securely discovered at Sant'Omobono. Mura Sommella has presented further evidence in support of this provenience at the 2013 conference "The age of Tarquinius Superbus. A paradigm shift?". If the Copenhagen head did in fact originate in Rome, the obvious time for its departure would be during the Second World War; one is left to wonder how much other material might have gone similarly missing. On the group, see further D. Di Giuliomaria, "L'alloggiamento degli acroteri," in Brocato *et al.* 2016 (supra n.16) 49-77.

49 Sommella Mura (supra n.24) 82 seems to have dated the second-phase revetment plaques to c.540-530 in part by assuming that the structure must have stood for some decades before its destruction at the end of the century, and only then suggesting stylistic reasons for placing them there. Buildings are never guaranteed a minimum lifespan; indeed, they may burn or

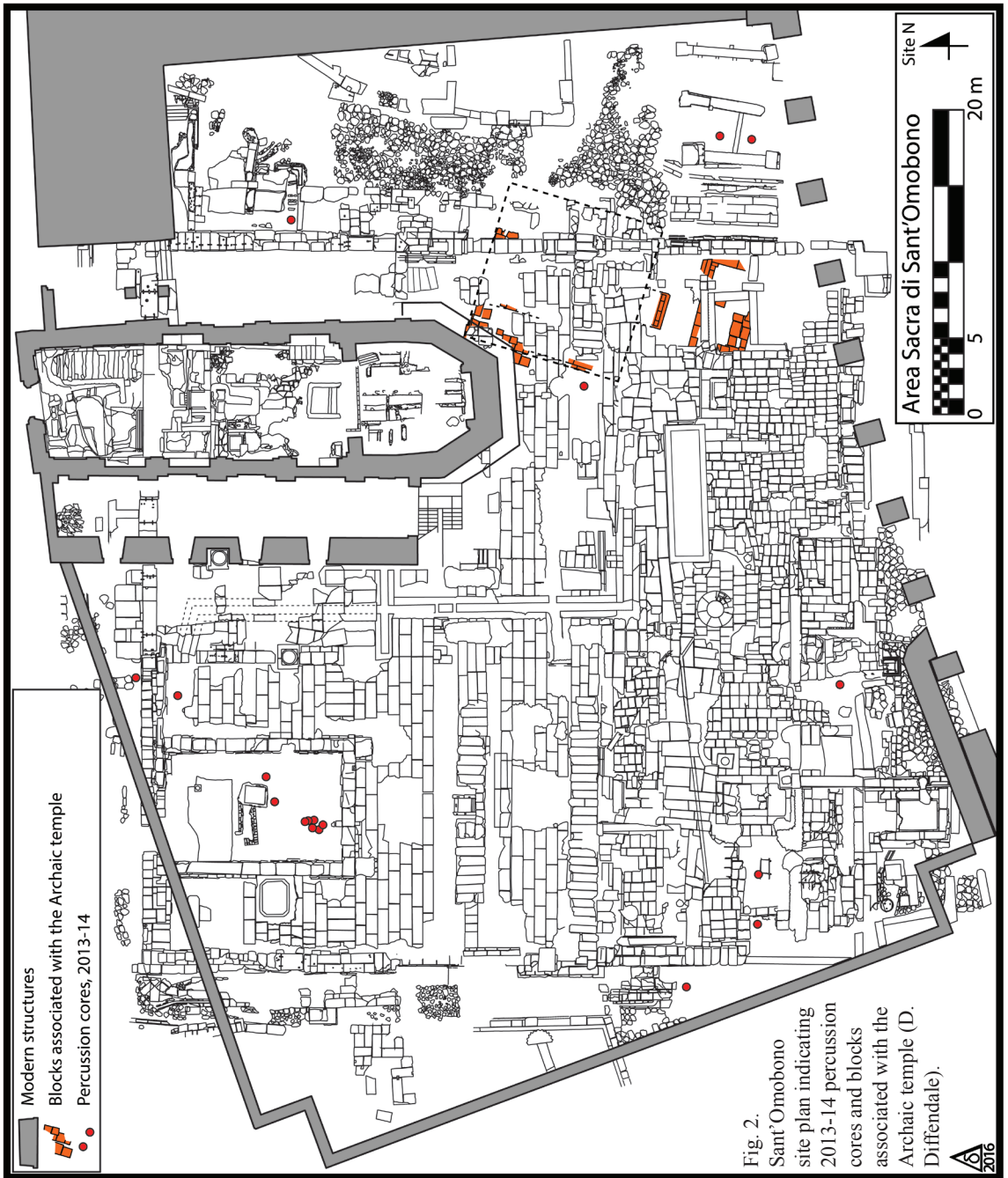


Fig. 16. N end of the E limit of the Republican podium, showing, from bottom to top, 2 courses of Tufo Giallo, 1 course of Tufo Lionato, and 1 course of Lapis Albanus, looking west (D. Diffendale).

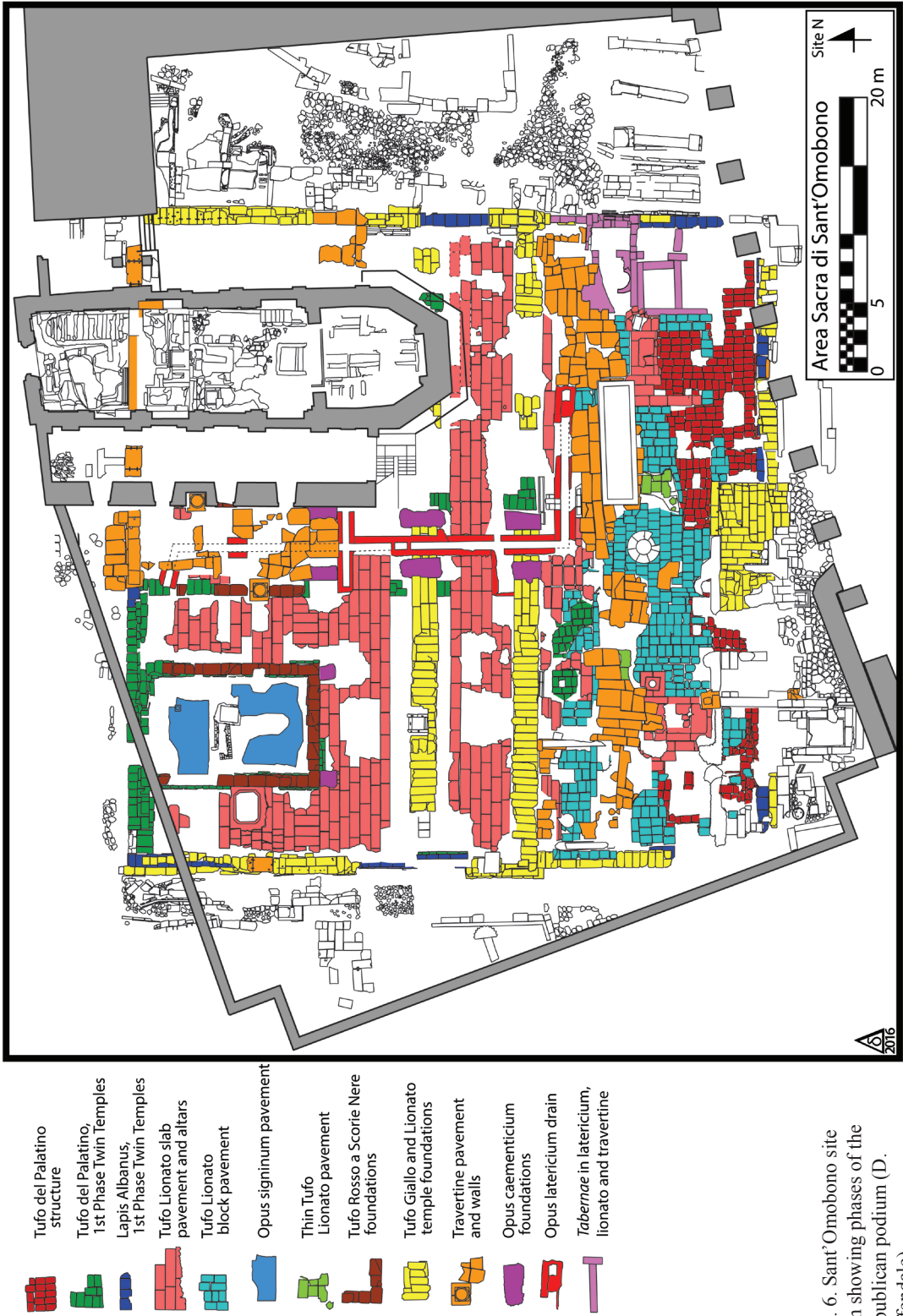


Fig. 6. Sant'Omobono site plan showing phases of the Republican podium (D. Diffendale).

has tried to downdate this to c.530-525.⁵⁰

The V-R-V decorative system as a whole has been dated to c.530 B.C. on the basis of stylistic comparanda with Etruscan Black Figure vase-painting of the Pontic Group, tomb-paintings, sculpture, and bronze-laminated furniture.⁵¹ Some have also drawn a connection between the temples decorated with V-R-V roofs and the career of Tarquinius Superbus (traditionally r. 534-509).⁵² A slightly later modification, probably only partial, of the terracotta system on the Sant'Omobono temple is indicated by three fragments of revetment plaques of the 'Rome-Caprifico' type, a variant of the V-R-V system probably executed by the same workshop and dated to c.520.⁵³

Votive deposits associated with the second-phase Archaic temple

A deposit discovered during excavations in 1977-78 in Settore VII resting against the exterior of the N wall of the Archaic podium, rich with artifacts of a votive nature, has been interpreted by its excavators as a *favissa* connected with the use-life of the second-phase temple.⁵⁴ As noted by one of the excavators, this deposit differs from most votive deposits in that it was found not within a pit, but rather in the space between the back wall of the temple and a hypothetical wall, *opisthodomos*, or rising rock face of the foot of the Capitoline.⁵⁵ This may be better interpreted as part of the post-destruction clean-up operations, and its formation will be treated in the next section, but, since the materials contained within belong to the use of the Archaic temple, they will be treated briefly here. A large quantity and variety of votive objects was retrieved in the deposit, including cut-out sheet bronze figurines; miniature terracotta bread loaves; miniature *bucchero* and *impasto* drinking cups (sometimes with bronze lids); bronze *fibulae*, some decorated with bone and amber; wooden spindles, spindle-whorls, a spool, and a loomweight; Etrusco-Corinthian, *bucchero* and *impasto* ceramics; as well as imported Corinthian, Attic, Ionian and Laconian pottery.⁵⁶ Also found here was an ivory lion plaque bearing one of the earliest Etruscan inscriptions from Rome.⁵⁷ Worthy of mention too

collapse before they have ever been finished. So G. Adornato, "L'area sacra di S. Omobono: per una revisione della documentazione archaeologica," *MEFRA* 115 (2003) 821: "il tempio non ebbe una vita lunga ..."

- 50 Adornato *ibid.* 826. Important for his argument are comparisons between the profile of the terracotta column capital from S. Omobono with the Treasury of the Massaliotes at Delphi (c.535-525) and the (more developed) capitals of the Temple of Athena at Paestum (c.510). His attempt to re-assign all of the first-phase terracottas to the second-phase decoration is not, however, convincing.
- 51 F. R. Fortunati, "Il tempio delle Stimate," *Museo Civico di Velletri* (Rome 1989) 63; P. S. Lulof, "Il tempio arcaico di Caprifico. L'immagine ritrovata," in A. Conti (ed.), *Tetti di terracotta: la decorazione architettonica fittile tra Etruria e Lazio in età arcaica* (Rome 2011) 271.
- 52 E.g., G. Colonna, "I templi del Lazio fino al V secolo compreso," in *ArchLaz* 6 (1984) 405, for a date of c.530 B.C. for the temple under SS. Stimate at Velletri.
- 53 Winter (*supra* n.23) 324 (Roof 5-9); A. Mura Sommella, "Roma. Le lastre di rivestimento con sfilate di guerrieri e di divinità nel tempio arcaico del Foro Boario," in Conti (*supra* n.51) 187-201; Lulof (*supra* n.51) 272. The Rome-Caprifico system is dated slightly later than the V-R-V system to account for some stylistic development and a greater complexity in the figural scenes.
- 54 Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (*supra* n.17) (Strato 5); P. Virgili, "I depositi votivi del tempio arcaico," in Pisani Sartorio, Virgili and Ioppolo (*supra* n.9) 45-46; *ead.*, "Il deposito votivo di S. Omobono," in M. Cristofani (ed.), *La Grande Roma dei Tarquini* (mostra; Rome 1990) 129-30.
- 55 P. Virgili, "Il deposito votivo," in *Enea nel Lazio* (*supra* n.32) vol. 1, 124; *ead.* in Pisani Sartorio *et al.* (*supra* n.9) 45. As previously noted, Colonna (*supra* n.34) 70 would see the second-phase podium extended farther to the north, so as to embrace the votive deposit within the temple foundations.
- 56 See the contributions in *Enea nel Lazio* (*ibid.*) 124-49 and Virgili 1990 (*supra* n.54) 129-30; further, D'Acri forthcoming (*supra* n.16).
- 57 H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte* (1991) La 2.3. This lion, dated to the early 6th c. and interpreted as a *tessera hospitalis*, bears the Etruscan inscription *Araz Silqetenas Spurianas*. While *Araz* is a *praenomen* and *Spurianas* a *gentilicium*, the interpretation of *Silqetenas* is disputed; it could be a further *gentilicium*, an ethnic, or a *gentilicium* indicating a connection with the Punic city of

are alabastra in alabaster, bronze tweezers, bronze hair-rings, figural pendants in bone, worked and unworked astragaloi, as well as wooden boxes (now lost) attested by their bone and bronze decorative elements.⁵⁸ Particularly intriguing are three small bone obelisks, composed of a small base into which is set a vertical shaft; Virgili suggests some connection with solar cult, which would not be out of place in a sanctuary of Mater Matuta.⁵⁹ In any case, this great variety of artifacts suggests the presence of both women and men in the Archaic sanctuary.

Other considerations concerning the Archaic phases

The question of the existence of a second Archaic temple to match the twin Republican temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta has remained one of the most persistent enigmas in the history of investigation at Sant'Omobono. No trace of such a structure has been discovered *in situ*. Deep excavations within soundings A7 and D10 have excluded the possibility that the hypothetical temple could have been within 4 m to the west of the known temple or beneath the *W cella* of the Republican twin temples. The most likely location for such a structure would be somewhat farther west of the known Archaic temple, southwest of the apse of the church. Deeper investigation might be possible in Saggio VI, but the remainder of the area is built over. Inconclusive arguments can also be made on the basis of the architectural terracottas.⁶⁰

Even if nothing in the material record confirms it, the Archaic temple of Sant'Omobono has generally been attributed to a cult of Fortuna, on the basis of the superimposition of the later twin temples and of the historical mentions (Dion. Hal. 4.27.7; Livy 5.19.6) of Servian foundations of cults of Fortuna. It certainly represents the earliest stone temple known from Rome, preceding the inauguration of the massive Temple of Jupiter by a couple of generations. Its creation can be seen in the context of the emporic cults appearing around the Mediterranean at this time, in which Hercules often figures prominently.

Destruction of the Archaic temple and subsequent activity

The Archaic temple went out of use at the end of the 6th c. B.C. Black discoloration encountered during excavation has been interpreted as evidence of destruction by fire,⁶¹ but this may be a misinterpretation of natural concretions. The latest datable materials in these deposits are fragments of Attic Black Figure of the late 6th c., particularly eye-cups.⁶²

Sulcis in Sardinia. See Adornato (supra n.49) 814, n.7 for further references.

58 Virgili in *Enea nel Lazio* (supra n.55).

59 Ibid. 51, fig. 22.

60 The existence of 2 central acroteria and 4 volutes does not necessarily imply the existence of a second temple, *pace* P. S. Lulof, "Reconstructing a golden age in temple construction: temples and roofs from the last Tarquin to the Roman Republic (c.530-480 B.C.) in Rome, Etruria and Latium," in E. C. Robinson (ed.), *Papers on Italian urbanism in the first millennium B.C.* (JRA Suppl. 97, 2014) 114-15, n.12; by necessity the temple will have had both front and rear pediments, and it is not far-fetched to suppose corresponding rear acroteria — nor, indeed, can we rule out the presence of ridge-pole statuary, for which see ead., "Reconstruction and architectural setting of large terracotta statues in late Archaic central Italy: the case of Satricum," in E. Rystedt, C. Wikander and Ö. Wikander (edd.), *Deliciae fictiles* (Göteborg 2003) 277-86. On the other hand, Di Giuliomaria 2016 (supra n.48) suggests that differences in dimensions and plinth-mountings between the two acroterial groups might indicate their appurtenance to separate structures, and further adduces a single fragment of a cover-tile with triangular section, which differs from the semicircular cover-tiles securely attributed to the known temple.

61 Gjerstad (supra n.14) 380-81 (strata 10-11); Pisani Sartorio (supra n.29) 59; Virgili (supra n.8) 29; Ioppolo 1989 (supra n.21) 36.

62 Virgili (supra n.8) 29-30; Paribeni 1962 (supra n.29) 109 and 119-23; G. Colonna, "S. Omobono

Votive materials were dumped against the back wall of the podium at some point before the superstructure collapsed. Originally interpreted by G. Pisani Sartorio and Virgili as an *in situ* votive deposit or *favissa* associated with the use of the second-phase temple,⁶³ it was re-interpreted by others as a deposit of materials from the use of the first-phase temple, dumped on the occasion of the second-phase reconstruction.⁶⁴ The presence of residual *impasto bruno* sherds that predate the construction of the temple, however, suggests a secondary deposition. On stratigraphic considerations, the deposit seems to have been dumped before the mudbrick superstructure collapsed or was leveled.⁶⁵ Although the material generally does not postdate the third quarter of the 6th c., some of the *bucchero* could date as late as the late 6th/early 5th c.⁶⁶

South of the temple, a possible retaining wall of three courses of stone was built perpendicular to and abutting the second-phase staircase, associated with a beaten-earth surface.⁶⁷ The stratigraphic and functional interpretation of these features is not well fixed, though it has been suggested that they served the needs of the cult following the Archaic temple's final destruction. The archival materials are currently undergoing further study.

Thick clayey deposits covering some of the remains of the destruction may have originated in the mudbrick superstructure of the second-phase temple, repurposed as a leveling fill (rather than being *in situ* collapse).⁶⁸

The elongated platform, the Republican podium, and the twin temples

At some point following (probably soon after) the final destruction of the Archaic temple, an elongated platform or structure, the function of which is uncertain, was set E–W along what is now the S edge of the site (fig. 5). It was built in ashlar of Tufo del Palatino,⁶⁹ at least 6 courses deep measuring at least 1.7 m high, but its total height and full spatial extent cannot be determined because it is enveloped within the large podium of the twin temples — it measures at least 32 × 8 m.⁷⁰ It may have been built as a first retaining wall for the successive construction of the large podium; as it survives in precisely the area where the later altars would be placed, and given the physical connection by way of the votive pit between the Archaic altar and the later E altar, the Tufo del Palatino structure could

— la ceramica etrusca dipinta," *BullCom* 77 (1962) 138.

63 Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (supra n.17) 42-44.

64 E.g., Coarelli (supra n.34) 220-21; Adornato (supra n.49) 819-20.

65 P. Brocato, "Settore VII-IX," in Terrenato *et al.* (supra n.2; available at <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue31/1/349settorevii.htm>); D'Acri 2016 (supra n.16) 129-30.

66 D'Acri *ibid.*

67 Virgili (supra n.8) 30, fig. 5 (on the right); Pisani Sartorio (supra n.29) 60-61, fig. 19; Colonna (supra n.19) 53, fig. 3; Regoli (supra n.8) 85-86, fig. 16. The material of this wall is usually described as cappellaccio.

68 Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (supra n.17) 41; D'Acri 2016 (supra n.16).

69 The results of J. Farr, F. Marra and N. Terrenato, "Geochemical identification criteria for 'peperino' stones employed in ancient Roman buildings: a Lapis Gabinus case study," *JArchSci. Reports* 3 (2015) 41-51 (sample SO 1), chemically confirm the identification as Tufo del Palatino, in this case of the friable variety known traditionally as cappellaccio, unlike the so-far-unique type of Tufo del Palatino used for the first phase of the Archaic podium.

70 The structure of the E half of the elongated platform is principally known as a result of the actions of post-antique pit diggers, who cut through later pavements and into the platform itself.



Fig. 5. Sounding D15 showing 6 courses of the Tufo del Palatino structure, looking southwest (D. Diffendale).

have supported altars for the ritual needs of the cult following the destruction of the earlier monument, though this remains speculative.

Following the construction of the Tufo del Palatino structure, but probably not long thereafter, still in the decade on either side of 500 B.C., the area north of it and west of the Archaic temple saw a massive transformation. A large square podium (hereafter Republican podium), measuring some 47 m per side, was raised *c.*3-5 m in height (the underlying topography varies in elevation: see above, p. 9). The podium consists of perimeter walls in Tufo del Palatino and Lapis Albanus, with internal structures of the same materials, infilled with considerable deposits of sediment (fig. 6 in color). The E foundations of this structure were cut into the clay leveling fill sealing the remains of the Archaic temple; its lowest courses here lie directly on the first-phase podium. The two structures differ in orientation by *c.*18°, with the Republican podium oriented closer to true north. The NE corner of the Archaic podium projects beyond the E limits of the Republican podium.⁷¹

The E limit of the Republican podium is built of 7 ashlar courses of Tufo del Palatino on which rest 3-5 courses of Lapis Albanus (fig. 7).⁷² Along the W flank of the podium there are at least 6 courses of Lapis Albanus forming the podium's exterior, with evidence in one stretch for a Tufo del Palatino backing (fig. 8). A fill of chips of Tufo del Palatino laid against the back of the Lapis Albanus blocks at the W limit of the podium was observed in sounding F20. Along the N limit of the podium, a facing of Lapis Albanus was cut into the Tufo del Palatino blocks. The southern extent of

71 It is possible that the Archaic podium would initially have been visible to passers-by, though this is very speculative. Much later, at the end of the 2nd c. B.C., southwest of Octavian's later temple of Apollo on the Palatine, a terrace wall was constructed in such a way as to preserve the remains of earlier, Archaic architecture on the site: S. Zink, "The Palatine sanctuary of Apollo: the site and its development, 6th to 1st c. B.C.," *JRA* 28 (2015) 366. These Archaic remains were again respected and made visible, even framed, by a further, mid-1st c. B.C. restructuring: *ibid.* 367-70.

72 Farr, Marra and Terrenato (*supra* n.69) chemically confirm the identification as Lapis Albanus (Sample SO 2, taken from the SE edge of the large podium). This material has sometimes been called peperino, but the term is imprecise, having been used to describe a range of geologically distinct stones.

the Republican podium envelops the earlier platform in Tufo del Palatino, and the blocks of the latter have been cut back to receive the blocks of Lapis Albanus that formed the façade of the new podium. The first-phase Republican podium is a square measuring 47.41 ± 0.03 m per side if we calculate along the finished outer surface of the Lapis Albanus blocks. This can be interpreted as a square of 160 Roman feet (RF) per side, on a foot measuring just over 0.296 m.⁷³ Joined to the fact that the Republican temples measure 100 RF in length by this standard (see below), this is a further indication that the Lapis Albanus courses were designed integrally with the underlying Tufo del Palatino.

The work of Colini and his collaborators places the construction of the Republican podium and twin temples in the decades around 500 B.C.

F. Coarelli, however, would downdate this phase to the early 4th c. in order to make the archaeological evidence conform to literary sources that, while silent on any early 5th-c.



Fig. 7. E limit of the Republican podium in Settore VII-IX showing 5 courses of Tufo del Palatino and 2 courses of Lapis Albanus, looking west (ASRCM, as for fig. 4).



Fig. 8. W limit of the Republican podium, showing to the right 5 courses of Lapis Albanus; to the left 4 courses of Tufo Giallo, 1 course of Tufo Lionato, and 1 course of Lapis Albanus, looking northeast (D. Diffendale).

⁷³ So already A. M. Colini, M. Bosi and L. Huetter, *S. Omobono* (Chiese di Roma illustrate 57, 1960) 10, though the perfect 47.36 m sides there reported raise suspicions of back-calculation from a round 0.296 foot measure. See also Ioppolo 2000 (supra n.9) 173.

activity, report the building/rebuilding of the temple of Mater Matuta by Camillus following his successful siege of Veii in 396 (Livy 5.19.6 and 5.23.7; Plut., *Cam.* 5). The latest datable material in the deposits associated with the Archaic temple are fragmentary Attic Black Figure eye-cups, of the late 6th c.⁷⁴ The latest datable material in the fill of the overlying Republican podium also dates to the late 6th c.⁷⁵ Hence Coarelli's hypothesis seems unlikely as it would require that no contemporary materials were deposited in either the area of the Archaic temple or the original location of the podium fill (on which see below) for over a century. The fact that the shaft of the votive pit adjacent to the E altar of the Republican temples shares the alignment of the Archaic temple and altar, and communicates with the area immediately west of the Archaic altar, also militates against a long cultic hiatus.

The total amount of fill required for the Republican podium can be estimated at c.7,000-10,000 m³.⁷⁶ While ceramics postdating the end of the 6th c. are absent from this fill,⁷⁷ it contains a great quantity of ceramics dating from the Middle Bronze (Apennine culture) to the Latial Iron Age, both local and imported, which significantly predate the act of dumping the fill.⁷⁸ The place of origin of these prehistoric materials remains open, although most scholars have suggested the nearby slopes of the Capitoline as a likely option.⁷⁹ Looking around Rome of the late 6th c. for potential sources

74 Virgili (supra n.8) 29-30; cf. Paribeni (supra n.29).

75 Pisani Sartorio (supra n.29) 60; G. Colonna, "Area Sacra di S. Omobono. La ceramica di impasto posteriore agli inizi dell'età del Ferro," *BullCom* 79 (1963) 31.

76 Ioppolo estimated the fill at c.30,000 m³, a figure obtained through multiplying the supposed surface area of the podium (c.5000 m²) by a constant depth of 6 m (Ioppolo 1972 [supra n.10] 17). Ioppolo's 5000 m², of uncertain origin, is erroneous; the total surface area of the podium measures only c.2200 m². The elevation of the Archaic ground surface varied (see above, p. 9), and a part of the interior of the podium was occupied by stone foundations. Taking all of this into consideration, the upper volumetric limit for the infill of the podium can be calculated as not more than 10,000 m³. The full extent of the Tufo del Palatino structures in the area in front of the temples proper is the principal 'known unknown' introducing uncertainty. This fill is absent outside the Republican podium, as shown by the excavation in Settore VII-IX (Pisani Sartorio and Virgili [supra n.17] 43).

77 Pisani Sartorio (supra n.29) 60; Colonna (supra n.75) 31.

78 R. Peroni, "S. Omobono — materiali dell'età del bronzo e degli inizi dell'età del Ferro," *BullCom* 77 (1962) 7-32; Colonna (supra n.75); Ioppolo 1972 (supra n.10) 17; La Rocca 1977 (supra n.29) 382-91; La Rocca 1982 (supra n.29).

79 Colini supposed that the fill would have been collected from as near as possible to its intended destination, hence from the slopes of the Capitoline, particularly from the lower parts of the slope, assuming that the amount of available earth would be greater there: "Introduzione allo studio dell'area sacra di S. Omobono," *BullCom* 77 (1962) 6; "L'area sacra di Sant'Omobono. Ambiente e storia dei tempi più antichi," *ParPass* 32 (1977) 10. Peroni (supra n.78) 16 speaks only generally of "una frequentazione, se non addirittura un vero e proprio insediamento, nell'area circostante il Foro Boario". As usual, Gjerstad gave the question a good deal of thought, suggesting the slopes of the Capitoline, Palatine, and/or Aventine hills as possible origins. He specifically objected to a provenience for the fill on the *summits* of the former two hills, however, because (at the time he wrote) no Apennine ceramics were known from those, and since they would have been densely occupied (Gjerstad 1962 [supra n.8] 103). These objections no longer hold, however, as Apennine and other prehistoric ceramics have since been found on the Capitoline and the date for the moving of the fill is no longer post-213 B.C., as Gjerstad believed, but rather in the decades around 500, when the occupation on much of the summit of the Capitoline was or had recently been cleared. Like Colini, Ioppolo looked to the nearby Capitoline slopes, positing an earlier area of habitation there as the source of the prehistoric materials; in addition, he expressed doubts (1972 [supra n.10] 17, n.18) about

of fill rich in earlier cultural material, we might cautiously suggest the excavation of the foundation trenches for the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. The most recent materials in what may be abandonment or leveling layers preceding construction of that temple date to the second half of the 6th c., with fragments of architectural terracottas from preceding buildings suggesting a date after c.530, and the most recent materials in the fill of the temple's foundation trenches dating to the late 6th-early 5th c.⁸⁰ The amount of sediment dug out of the Capitoline temple's foundation trenches has been estimated as c.32,000 m³.⁸¹ A portion of this sediment would have been re-used on site to refill the Jupiter temple's foundations and its terracing, but the remainder would have required disposal. The prehistoric and Archaic occupation known on the Capitoline would account for the classes of material encountered in the fill of the Sant'Omobono podium.⁸² Whatever its precise provenance, the evident off-site origin of the fill should prompt caution in the interpretation of architectural terracottas found above the immediate destruction and leveling layers, since they could pertain to earlier structures on the Capitoline or its environs, rather than to Archaic structure(s) at Sant'Omobono itself.⁸³

The twin temples, first phase

Constructed integrally with the Republican podium were foundations for two south-facing temple *cellae*, probably identical in plan. The *E cella* (sometimes called "Temple B") lies beneath the later church of Sant'Omobono, for which reason little can be said about its earliest phases, but the *W cella* ("Temple A") has been the subject of investigation by our project between 2011 and 2015, offering much more information on its construction phases.

The deep foundations of the *W cella* were cut into a thick layer of gray alluvial sediment that lies above the Bronze Age anthropic deposits.⁸⁴ The foundations themselves consist of 14 courses of more or less regular Tufo del Palatino ashlar, alternating headers and stretchers, measuring c.5.5 m high (fig. 9). Laid against the interior of the foundations and overlying the grey alluvium was a packed surface composed of chips of Tufo del Palatino, into which surface were cut at least three postholes, perhaps a working platform for the construction of the temple foundations. The latest datable material from the matrix of this surface belongs to the beginning of the 5th c. The deep fills overlying the Tufo del

Romans' organizational and technological ability to move large quantities of earth from any greater distances. Despite Ioppolo's scepticism, the transport of sediment from the top of the Capitoline to the site of Sant'Omobono should have been well within the Romans' labor-marshalling, basket-making, and ox-driving capabilities. Accepting this hypothesis admittedly requires a certain suspension of belief in the rôle of Tarquinius Priscus in constructing the temple of Jupiter, counter to the sorts of arguments advanced by, e.g., A. Mura Sommella, "La grande Roma dei Tarquini." *Alterne vicende di una felice intuizione*," *BullCom* 101 (2000) 7-26.

80 The evidence is summarized by G. Cifani, *Architettura romana arcaica: edilizia e società tra monarchia e repubblica* (Rome 2008) 99. See now Hopkins (supra n.15) 118-19.

81 Hopkins *ibid.* 126.

82 A. J. Ammerman and N. Terrenato, "Nuove osservazioni sul Colle Capitolino," *BullCom* 97 (1996) 35-46. The yellow clay, mostly culturally sterile, in the Republican podium fill is interpreted as alluvial sediment in secondary context, which may be the product of dredging the river or disposal of flood débris.

83 As, for instance, the fragmentary antefix from Strato 7 in Settore VI (D'Acri in P. Brocato *et al.*, "La ripresa delle ricerche nell'area archeologica di S. Omobono a Roma," *Mediterranea* 9 [2012] 18-19, fig. 7; note that fig. 7 has been published upside-down). Other fragments of an antefix of the same type (A. Andrén, *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples* [ActInstRomRegSuec 6, 1939] 413, pl. 129, I:9) have been found on site, though their precise provenience is unknown (Sommella Mura [supra n.24] 91, 94, fig. 19; Timpano 2016 [supra n.40] no. 54).

84 Brock and Terrenato (supra n.5).



Fig. 9. Tufo del Palatino foundations of the W *cella* in Sounding A7, looking southwest (D. Diffendale).

Palatino-chip surface alternate between deposits of clay and chunks of various types of local tufo, with numerous inclusions of *impasto* and *bucchero* pottery in secondary deposition (the Capitoline fill already mentioned). Several worked blocks of Tufo del Palatino were also deposited in the lower levels of these fills, apparently discards from the construction process. Resting on these 5 m of fill was a thick surface of Lapis Albanus chips. The immediately overlying fill did not contain materials later than the 5th c.; this Lapis Albanus-chip surface may be the first floor of the W temple, or a preparation level for such.

Excavation in the NE corner of the W *cella* shows that its foundations were constructed integrally with the Tufo del Palatino blocks of the N edge of the Republican podium. The first-phase temples probably had closed *alae*, as suggested by the remains of two continuous foundations in Tufo del Palatino running N–S beneath the line of the later central colonnade. Within the Republican podium deep foundations built in Tufo del Palatino support the columns of the pronaos of the twin temples.⁸⁵ Among the unresolved questions is the interpretation of an E–W row of blocks of Lapis

⁸⁵ One of these pillars rests directly on the podium of the Archaic temple, and the weight of the former has caused the latter to subside. In general, the entire Republican podium has settled toward the south, perhaps because its northern extents are more solidly bedded close to the underlying gravel shoulder of the Capitoline hill. This fact adds to the difficulty of tracing

Albanus lying 1 m below the later northern stylobate in Tufo Giallo (for which see below). The top of these blocks lies *c.*1.5 m below the top of the Tufo del Palatino foundations of the *W cella*, but they are equivalent in elevation to two Lapis Albanus courses in the perimeter of the Republican podium. Their location suggests a stylobate, but they lie at a lower elevation than the top of the known pronaos-column substructures in Tufo del Palatino, and the two elements do not seem compatible. Thus they remain an open question.

As mentioned above, the first-phase Republican podium is a square measuring 160 RF per side on a foot of just over 0.296 m. Nothing of the built superstructure (presumably in mudbrick) of the first-phase temples survives, making precise metrological calculations impossible, but the dimensions approach 50 RF for the length of the *W cella* and 100 RF (N–S) for that of the entire temple inclusive of *pronaos*.⁸⁶ Based on the position of the foundations for the columns of the *pronaos*, these had an intercolumniation close to Vitruvius' Tuscan canon.⁸⁷ Three fragments of revetment plaques discovered in 1938 could date as early as the first half of the 5th c. and hence belong to the decoration of the first phase of the twin temples.⁸⁸

The nature of the pavement of the Republican podium in this first, 5th-c. phase is not clear. The Tufo Lionato pavement that currently occupies most of the temples' porch post-dates this first phase, as it rests in part on the Tufo del Palatino foundations of the *W cella* and overlies the Tufo del Palatino foundations of the first-phase *alae*. Although there is no positive evidence of an earlier stone pavement, excavation in areas where the Tufo Lionato pavement is missing has documented the presence of several strata interpreted as preparation layers for earlier pavement(s).⁸⁹

South of the temples and their porches and running along the S edge of the site stands the pre-existing platform built in Tufo del Palatino. Its top surface may have become the activity-level associated with the first twin temples, but questions remain open. For instance, just west of the E altar there is a gap in the Tufo del Palatino within which is visible the corner of a Lapis Albanus block that does not appear to interface with the underlying platform. It is not presently possible to determine the nature of this block or to which constructive phase it might belong. It could perhaps belong to an earlier altar; the altars

subterranean levels across the site, as they may rest at different levels with different bedding planes.

86 The maximum preserved N–S dimension of the foundations of the *W cella* is 14.58 m, only some 0.23 m short of 50 RF on the 0.2963 m standard, while the maximum preserved dimension from the rear wall of the temples (equal to the N face of the podium) to the front of the pronaos foundations is 29.86 m, or 0.23 m greater than 100 RF on the same standard. Note that the elevation drawing published in J. W. Stamper, *The architecture of Roman temples: the Republic to the Middle Empire* (New York 2004) 41, fig. 28, supposedly representing the Republican twin temples, in fact represents a reduplicated reconstruction of the second-phase Archaic temple by Ippollo. (Stamper's attribution of this elevation to Ippollo 1972 [supra n.10] fig. 9, is mysterious, as the cited article contains neither an elevation drawing nor a fig. 9.)

87 Colonna 1991 (supra n.19) 52 notes the apparently high degree of similarity in plan between the second-phase Archaic podium and the first-phase twin temples. Given the scanty remains of the former, such comparisons are risky.

88 Published in Gjerstad 1962 (supra n.8) 448, 454, fig. 282.3-5, with a parallel from Ardea (Andrén [supra n.83] 440, I.7, pl. 136.478). Because of their discovery during the initial investigations, they do not have a secure provenance. See now Hopkins (supra n.15) 149-50 with fig. 117. Fragments of red painted plaster found attached to the Tufo del Palatino *cella* are attributed to this phase by Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (supra n.17) 44, is mysterious.

89 E.g., L. De Luca, "Il Settore VIII," in Brocato *et al.* 2012 (supra n.83) 21-22 (DA1, DA2, DA3); P. Brocato, "La prima campagna di ricerca," in *id. et al. ibid.* 31, 35, 36 and 38; *id.* and N. Terrenato, "L'area sacra di S. Omobono: nuove indagini," *BullCom* 113 (2012) 400.

visible today probably belong to the same phase as the Lionato pavement of the porch.⁹⁰ It is certain that there were altars associated with the original phase, whether or not they were those presently visible. As the fundamental element of central Italian sacred space, an altar may exist without a temple, but not *vice versa*.

There is a direct connection between the Archaic altar and the later E altar, namely, the votive pit or well adjoining the latter.⁹¹ The shaft of this stone-built pit is quadrangular; it does not share the near-cardinal alignment of the pit-head, altar, twin temples and podium, but instead is rotated some 11° clockwise, sharing the orientation of the Archaic temple and altar, and communicating with the area directly west of the latter. This feature indicates that both the alignment and the location of the Archaic altar were known when the Republican podium was constructed.⁹²



Fig. 10. W *cella* and surrounding first Tufo Lionato (slab) pavement, looking west (D. Diffendale).

The first Tufo Lionato phase of the twin temples

A reconstruction of the twin temples is attested by a pavement in Tufo Lionato (traditionally identified as Tufo di Monteverde and/or Tufo di Aniene) that surrounds the W *cella* on three sides and is preserved south of the E *cella*, forming the floor of the temples' porches (fig. 10). If the early 5th-c. temples had closed *alae*, as seems likely, that was no longer true of the structures of which this Tufo Lionato pavement was a part, since it ran

90 Some researchers consider the altars to have belonged to the original, 5th-c. B.C. phase, later being disassembled and re-assembled at a slightly higher elevation when the pavement level was raised, perhaps in the 4th c. B.C. See, e.g., a section drawn by Ioppolo which bears the annotation "Rialzamento dell'ara (Camillo, 388 a.C.?)".

91 Pisani Sartorio (supra n.29) 60, n.17; Pisani Sartorio, Virgili and Ioppolo (supra n.9) 14, figs. 1-2; D. P. Diffendale, "On the supposed building program of M. Fulvius Flaccus," in Brocato and Terrenato *et al.* 2016 (supra n.16) 151-52.

92 Pisani Sartorio (supra n.29) 60, n.17; Ioppolo 2000 (supra n.9) 168 and 171.

continuously across the *pars prior* (though a later drain has cut away part of the center of it). Although much of the accessible stratigraphy was dug out by A. M. Colini in the 1930s, limited ceramic evidence excavated by our project suggests a broad *terminus post quem* of the 4th c. B.C. for this porch pavement, and it must predate the fire of 213 B.C.⁹³ This reconstruction postdates the first phase of the twin temples, as the pavement slabs rest partially on the Tufo del Palatino foundation blocks of the latter and overlie the foundations of the first-phase *alae* walls.⁹⁴

This porch pavement is constructed of slabs of Tufo Lionato that consistently measure 0.74 ± 0.025 m wide, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ RF on a 0.296 m foot standard.⁹⁵ The joining edges of each slab display anathyrosis. The slabs are oriented E–W, except immediately east and west of the S corners of the *W cella*, where there is a row of slabs oriented N–S. The Tufo Lionato pavement is absent where the two stylobates in Tufo Giallo cross the Republican podium, but remains of the preparation layer for the pavement have been documented where the Tufo Giallo has been robbed out.⁹⁶ This suggests that the porch pavement was originally con-

93 Thus, cautiously, Brocato in *id. et al.* 2012 (supra n.83) 39; Regoli (supra n.8) 47, no. 20; De Luca, *ibid.* 47, no. 21; and especially D'Acri, *ibid.* 48, no. 24. It is also worth mentioning an Attic Red Figure cup fragment published by Gjerstad (supra n.14) 442, 448, 461, fig. 279.8, as coming from the 1938 excavations and attributed by Beazley (*ARV*² 811.52) to the Clinic Painter, a follower of Makron, c.470-60 B.C. Paribeni (supra n.9) 124 n., however, implies that this sherd was *not* found at S. Omobono, which is confirmed by the find of a joining fragment in a box labeled “vecchi scavi” in the Antiquarium Capitolino: Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (supra n.17) 47, n.25 (note that A. Ziolkowski, *The temples of mid-Republican Rome and their historical and topographical context* [Rome 1992] 108, n.20, has confused this sherd for Gjerstad [supra n.14] fig. 279.9). Paribeni (1968 [supra n.29] 14-15, nos. 35-36) also published two Attic Red-Figure sherds dating to the second half of the 5th and early 4th c. B.C., found at S. Omobono but lacking precise provenience within the excavations; Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (supra n.17) 47 n.26, suggest that they might have been surface finds and rule out their possible discovery in the 1938 excavations, since Gjerstad did not include them. The date for a fragment of an Attic Black-Figure jug of the Swan Group, Paribeni *ibid.* 14, no. 34, published as “seconda metà del II sec. a.C.” (and seemingly accepted as such by Pisani Sartorio and Virgili [supra n.17] 47 n.25) is an error for “seconda metà del VI sec. a.C.”, the *floruit* of the Swan Group. An Egyptian Late Period *ushabti* published by Gjerstad (supra n.14) 461, fig. 279.10 might attest 5th-c. activity, but it could date as early as the last quarter of the 6th c. The later 5th-c. Attic Red-Figure cup fragment (Gjerstad 1962 [supra n.14] 448, fig. 279.9 = Paribeni [supra n.9] 124, no. 81) was found in 1938 and thus lacks stratigraphic provenance.

94 A 4th-c. date for the pavement would perhaps not be incompatible with a reconstruction of the Temple of Mater Matuta that Livy (5.19.6; 5.23.7) and Plutarch (*Cam.* 5) attribute to Camillus, vowed in the last year of the siege of Veii (traditionally 396 B.C. on the Varronian chronology) and dedicated following his triumph, but it in no way provides a certain link, even assuming one accepts the historicity of the man himself. Although the vow was made during the siege and was supposed to have been carried out before the end of Camillus' dictatorship, the reconstruction has often been placed in the years following the supposed Gallic sack of 390, in order to account for the lack of evidence for an early 4th-c. destruction (as implied by, e.g., Ioppolo 2000 [supra n.9] 174).

95 A program of chemical analysis of the stone used in this pavement is under way. Preliminary results indicate the use of primarily Tufo di Aneiene, though Monteverde may also be present (F. Marra, pers. comm.). The range of variation in length among these blocks is much greater and does not immediately suggest any standardization; the blocks aligned N–S flanking the *W cella*, however, measure c.1.85 m in length (perhaps 6.25 RF on the 0.296 m foot standard).

96 In sounding D10 (the former Saggio VIII): see Terrenato *et al.* 2012 (supra n.2) fig. 61, available at <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue31/1/images/figure61.html>

tinuous up to the front of the temples. Fragments of this pavement were found broken up and redeposited in the fill of the foundation trench for the northern Tufo Giallo stylobate.⁹⁷ The Tufo Lionato porch pavement was reached by a low, two-step staircase, which, though in a fragmentary state, clearly ran the length of the podium. In the center of the podium, the staircase widened, extending *c.*2 m south to form a low platform of unknown purpose.



Fig. 11. Pavement of Tufo Lionato blocks, looking north (scale of 1.6 m) (D. Diffendale).

South of the temples proper, the staircase leads down to another pavement in Tufo Lionato (fig. 11). This forecourt pavement differs considerably from the temple porch pavement. Where the porch pavement slabs have elongated proportions (2 : 5 or greater) and are shallow ($\frac{1}{2}$ RF), the forecourt pavement is made of blocks of squatter proportions (2 : 3) and deeper (1 RF). While the porch slabs are laid regularly and consistently E–W, the forecourt blocks are less regular in their alignment. While the porch pavement rests on a preparatory layer of sediment, the forecourt pavement beds directly on the Tufo del Palatino blocks of the earlier structure. These differences suggest that the porch and forecourt pavements could belong to different constructive phases, though this is uncertain. Stratigraphically, the forecourt pavement is prior, since it underlies the staircase blocks. While it may have been modified for the insertion of the Lapis Albanus altars (see below), this remains speculative.

None of the remaining architecture on site can with confidence be attributed to the superstructure of the temples in this first phase with the Tufo Lionato pavement; the walls would have been made of mudbrick. As for the roof, Gjerstad mentioned (but did not publish) several fragments of revetment plaques, found during the 1938 excavations, that have comparanda in the 4th–3rd c. B.C.⁹⁸ Although he erroneously attributed these to a hypothetical 4th-c. B.C. phase of the Archaic temple, they could very well belong to the roof of the temples associated with the first Tufo Lionato pavement in the porch.

Between the twin temples, a large cistern lies below the level of the first Tufo Lionato pavement of the porch.⁹⁹ Measuring 27.71 x 2.41 m, it is built in blocks of tufo that spring into a covering

⁹⁷ Brocato *et al.* 2012 (supra n.83) 33 and fig. 14 (Area A, Saggio 3).

⁹⁸ Gjerstad (supra n.14) 459, citing as comparanda Andrén (supra n.83) 430, pl. 132, no. 461 (Lavinium). Gjerstad saw these plaques exhibited in the Antiquarium Comunale; it has not yet been possible to trace them. Sporadic finds at the site of several fragmentary architectural terracottas, currently under study, also have parallels in the 4th–3rd c. B.C.

⁹⁹ P. Virgili, “Area Sacra di S. Omobono: una cisterna fra i templi gemelli,” *ArchLaz* 9 (1988) 77. Colini 1962 (supra n.79) 4, considered this a *favissa*. Coarelli’s argument that this structure was a chamber for the performance of ritual, rather than a cistern, strains credulity; his description of a “mancanza di qualsiasi rivestimento impermeabile” (id. [supra n.34] 312) is directly at odds with the excavators’ report that “tutta la cisterna è stata rivestita con uno spesso strato di cocciopisto a grande percentuale di malta idraulica” (ASRCM, S. Omobono F. 30, 6, 3667, “Relazione C.N.R.”), which is also clearly evident in the published photograph (Virgili *ibid.* 79,

vault.¹⁰⁰ The cistern's floor slopes gently down toward the north. Its floor, walls and vault are all coated with *cocciopesto*. It has three openings, all at the apex of the vault, the southernmost being the largest. Beneath it on the floor of the cistern stood a quadrangular (1.50 x 1.65 m) structure, built of 8 slabs of tufo set vertically, that may have served for the drawing of water. Given that the cistern lies deeper than the Tufo Lionato pavement, it could predate it.¹⁰¹ However, although elsewhere in the porch the pavement slabs join at irregular intervals, just east and west of the limits of the cistern the ends of each row of slabs are aligned (fig. 6), perhaps suggesting that they were cut for the construction of the cistern and then replaced. Alternatively, this alignment of the slabs could in some way mark the boundary between the temple porches proper and the stretch of intervening pavement.



Fig. 12. The W altar in Lapis Albanus, looking northeast (D. Diffendale).

The altars in Lapis Albanus

Two fragmentary altars still *in situ* on the Republican podium are probably also connected with the first Tufo Lionato pavement phase of the twin temples (fig. 12). Unlike the temples, which face south, the altars face east. These are U-shaped in plan and would have originally been of the double-cushion variety with superimposed torus (Etruscan round) mouldings, though their upper cushions (crown mouldings) were removed in antiquity.¹⁰² The altar mouldings are carved in Lapis Albanus, while their substructures are in one or more varieties of Tufo Lionato. The profile and plan of the Sant'Omobono altars find close comparanda in Altars XI and XII at Lavinium, dated stratigraphically to the mid-4th c. B.C., and especially in the U-shaped altar at Ardea, *loc. Fosso dell'Incastro* (not yet dated archaeologically).¹⁰³

fig. 3).

100 The variety of tufo is uncertain. The excavation notebook records that "Da una prima analisi la 'cisterna' appare in blocchi di tufo di Fidene totalmente ricoperta da cocciopesto in parte staccatosi", but Virgili's publication specifies Aniene. That "le pareti sono composte da blocchi ben rifiniti e ben connessi" suggests that the difficult-to-work Fidene was *not* employed.

101 Virgili (*supra* n.8) associated the cistern with the porch pavement in Lionato, citing the fact that there is no cappellaccio (i.e., Tufo del Palatino) pavement overlying the cistern. As already mentioned, however, the quondam existence of such a pavement in the area of the temple porches is uncertain. Where blocks of Tufo del Palatino exist beneath the porch pavement in Lionato, they can be understood as foundations for the *alae* of the first phase of the twin temples. Only south of the temples themselves (inclusive of porches) does an areal feature in Tufo del Palatino exist.

102 F. Castagnoli, "Sulla tipologia degli altari di Lavinio," *BullCom* 77 (1962) 145-72.

103 For the altar profiles, see L. T. Shoe, *Etruscan and Republican Roman mouldings* (Rome 1965) pl.

Immediately west of each altar are three rows of pavement slabs, aligned N–S with the Republican podium, which share the dimensions and manufacture of the Tufo Lionato porch pavement slabs but contrast with the blocks of the surrounding forecourt pavement. These slabs form a platform or *platea* analogous to those associated with the eponymous monuments in the Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium, probably related to the exigencies of the sacrificial ritual.¹⁰⁴ Adjoining each altar to the east are the heads of pits or wells, sometimes (and not implausibly) termed “votive pits”. The W pit is circular in its horizontal section, but the E pit is quadrangular and does not share the N–S alignment of the adjoining altar or the Republican podium as a whole, deviating some 11° and hence sharing the alignment of the Archaic temple and altar.¹⁰⁵

The Folvios bases and related issues

Following his triumph over the Etruscan city of Volsinii in 264, the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus seems to have made a dedication within the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, as attested by the fragmentary remains of at least two inscribed rectangular bases for small bronze statues.¹⁰⁶ As these inscribed blocks were found dismantled within the destruction fill of 213 B.C. (on which see below), their original position within the precinct cannot



Fig. 13. The circular monument in Lapis Albanus, looking north (D. Diffendale).

be determined. At some point prior to 213, a circular monument with fittings for small bronze statues was cut into the Tufo Lionato pavement (fig. 13). Torelli connected this monument with the Folvios inscriptions and likewise assigned its construction to M. Fulvius Flaccus in or after 264 B.C. While it is possible that Flaccus was responsible for its erection, this is not at all

XXIV, nn. 1-2. Lavinium: Castagnoli *ibid.*; Cozza (supra n.32) 139-45; Giuliani (supra n.32) 170-72. Ardea: F. Di Mario, *Ardea, la terra dei Rutuli, tra mito e archeologia* (Nepi 2007) 82-85. For more on the Sant’Omobono altars and related monuments, see Diffendale (supra n.91).

104 Termed *platea* by Cozza (supra n.32) and *prothesis* by Castagnoli *ibid.*

105 Pisani Sartorio (supra n.29) 60, n.17.

106 CIL VI 40895 and 40896. L. Mercado (“Saggi di scavo sulla platea dei templi gemelli,” *BullCom* 79 [1963] 34-67), G. Ioppolo (“Due monumenti repubblicani,” *BullCom* 79 [1963] 68-90) and A. Degrassi (“Area sacra di S. Omobono, esplorazione della fase repubblicana. III. I nomi dei dedicanti del monumento quadrangolare,” *BullCom* 79 [1963] 91-93) all report the initial discovery and interpretation of the inscribed fragments; Ioppolo reconstructed a square monument surrounding the western votive pit. M. Torelli (“Il donario di M. Fulvio Flacco nell’area di S. Omobono,” *QuadIstTopAntRom* 5 [1968] 71-76) connects the fragments with M. Fulvius Flaccus in 264 B.C. and discards Ioppolo’s reconstruction of a single square monument, replacing it with two rectangular bases. Coarelli (supra n.34) uses Torelli’s attribution to assign a hypothetical reconstruction of the entire sacred area to Fulvius Flaccus; Diffendale (supra n.91) argues against Coarelli’s reconstruction. Since the fragments refer to a *Folvio(s)*, and since the cognomen *Flaccus* does not have a contemporary attestation, we employ “Folvios inscriptions” for the fragments and “M. Fulvius Flaccus” for the historically-attested person.

certain.¹⁰⁷ The circular monument has a double-cushion moulding with Ionic *kymation* in blocks of Lapis Albanus around a core of Tufo del Palatino. It rests on the underlying Tufo Lionato pavement in a way that suggests it was a later addition. The Folvios inscriptions and circular monument were certainly not the only monuments dedicated in the precinct, merely the best preserved. Inscribed and uninscribed fragments of Lapis Albanus and limestone monuments are recorded as having been found at Sant'Omobono, both pre- and postdating the fire of 213 B.C.¹⁰⁸

Within the *W cella* there is a floor in *opus signinum*, of reddish *cocciopesto* with inclusions of tufo chips and red, white and black terracotta tesserae.¹⁰⁹ This floor has a *terminus post quem* of the first half of the 3rd c. B.C. derived from the latest ceramics in the underlying fill, and it probably predates the fire of 213.¹¹⁰ It is not impossible that the *opus signinum* pavement was the work of M. Fulvius Flaccus in 264, as suggested by Coarelli, but there is no necessary link between the former and the latter; we are, moreover, in the 'dark age' between 293 and 216 for which Livy's narrative is lost.¹¹¹ Set vertically into the *opus signinum* floor near the NE corner of the *W cella* is a small squared block of Lapis Albanus. Its alignment is slightly askew relative to the *cella* and the podium as a whole, and its purpose is uncertain, though Ioppolo considered it a base for a cult statue.¹¹²

107 A. Frascarelli ("Un donario monumentale a Campo della Fiera," in G. M. Della Fina [ed.], *Il Fanum Voltumnae e i santuari comunitari dell'Italia antica* [= *AnnFaina* 19, 2012] 131-60) proposes that the Folvios inscriptions, the circular monument, and the two altars at Sant'Omobono were part of a single project undertaken by M. Fulvius Flaccus, a project that also included a rectangular monument or *donarium* at Orvieto (*Volsinii*), *loc.* Campo della Fiera. For a variety of reasons this hypothesis cannot be supported: see Diffendale (supra n.91).

108 E.g., A. Degrassi, "Le dediche di popoli e re asiatici al popolo romano," *BullCom* 74 (1951) 46-47 = *ILLRP* 318a; id., "Note epigrafiche. I. Frammenti di 'tabulae triumphales'," *BullCom* 78 (1961) 138 = *CIL* I² 2930; Ioppolo 1963 (supra n.106) 81, n.5; block 16 on pl. 1. These differ from the inscribed dedications of the kings of Asia found nearby, whose original Capitoline provenance we do not doubt. For further details, see Diffendale (supra n.91).

109 M. L. Morricone Matini (*Pavimenti di signino repubblicani di Roma e dintorni* [Mosaici antichi in Italia; 1971] 7 (see n.1 above), 28, pl. VIII) dates it to the second half of the 3rd c. B.C.; ead., *Scutulata pavimenta: i pavimenti con inserti di marmo o di pietra trovati a Roma e nei dintorni* (Rome 1980) 13, following Colini 1977 (supra n.79) 19, re-assigns it to Camillus (early 4th c.); F. Coarelli ("Gli scavi di Fregellae e la cronologia dei pavimenti repubblicani," in I. Bragantini and F. Guidobaldi [edd.], *Atti del II Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico* [Bordighera 1995] 19, n.11) assigns it to a hypothetical reconstruction by M. Fulvius Flaccus in 264 B.C. A. M. Ramieri ("Pavimenti in laterizio ed in mosaico nell'area sacra di S. Omobono," in O. Brandt and Ph. Pergola [edd.], *Marmoribus vestita: miscellanea in onore di Federico Guidobaldi* [Studi di antichità cristiana 63, 2011] 1165-69) reports the opinion of the excavators placing the pavement prior to 213 B.C., but stresses the numerous uncertainties in the data.

110 P. Brocato, "Tempio Ovest," in Terrenato *et al.* 2012 (supra n.2), available at <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue31/1/3412wtemple.htm>. Fragments of *opus signinum*, as well as individual tesserae and wall-plaster, were found in the fill underlying the post-213 B.C. pavement; these fragments could pertain to the same construction phase of the temples as the preserved *opus signinum cella* floor of the *cella* (Mercando [supra n.106]); see also Ramieri *ibid.*

111 Coarelli (supra n.34) 214 has argued that Flaccus was responsible for "un totale rifacimento dell'area", the precise limits of which are left unspecified. His interpretation of a fragment of a Black Gloss cup has justly met with scepticism; while we do not doubt the existence of the sherd, it is useless for dating purposes without a precise published provenience, given the complexity of the multiple, superimposed pavements at the site.

112 Ioppolo 2000 (supra n.9) 173.



Fig. 14. Thin slab Tufo Lionato pavement, dated to post-213 B.C., looking northwest (D. Diffendale).

The fire of 213 B.C. and its aftermath

Livy (24.47.15) records that a fire swept the Forum Boarium in 213 B.C., destroying the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta (along with much else). In the following year the Senate appointed a board of triumvirs for the purpose of reconstructing the twin temples (Livy 25.7.5-6).¹¹³ Evidence of this destruction has been identified just outside the E edge of the Republican podium in Settore VII-IX.¹¹⁴ Within the area of the podium, during excavations in 1961-62 between the two altars, L. Mercado also identified evidence of reconstruction activity.¹¹⁵ Here, overlying the first Tufo Lionato pavement, were two strata; the lower was a grey sandy sediment, while the upper was full of chunks of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere (Tufo di Fidene), along with lesser amounts of Lapis Albanus and Tufo del Palatino.¹¹⁶ Within these strata were building materials such as tiles and fragments of *opus signinum* and painted wall-plaster, animal bones and ceramics.¹¹⁷ Among the latter is a quantity of Black Gloss sherds, which fall mostly within E. A. Stanco's fourth phase of Piccoli Stampigli production, dating within the second half of the 3rd c.¹¹⁸ These deposits were sealed by a new, second pavement in thin slabs of Tufo Lionato, which is preserved

113 We refer to a "post-213 B.C. reconstruction", rather than a "212 B.C. reconstruction", because, although the triumviral commission was appointed in the latter year, it is impossible to say whether it completed its work within the span of one year.

114 Pisani Sartorio and Virgili (supra n.17) (Strato 1); D'Acri (supra n.16).

115 Mercado (supra n.106). Gjerstad (supra n.14) argued that the second phase of the Archaic temple was destroyed by the 213 B.C. fire, but his chronology was unanimously rejected soon after publication.

116 Mercado *ibid.* 36 (saggio *a*, strato II), 39 (saggio *b*, strato II), 43 (saggio *c*, strato II), 67. Cf. P. Sommella, "Area sacra di S. Omobono. Contributo per una datazione della platea dei templi gemelli," *Quad1stTopAntRom* 5 (1968) 70, n.22.

117 For the *opus signinum* fragments, see also Ramieri (supra n.109) 1164, no. 5; fig. 9.

118 E. A. Stanco, "La seriazione cronologica della ceramica a vernice nera etrusco laziale nell'ambito dell III sec. a.c.," in V. Jolivet *et al.* (edd.), *Suburbium II* (ColLEFR 419, 2009), 169-70. See also J.-P. Morel, *Céramique campanienne: les formes* (BEFAR 244, 1981) 55.

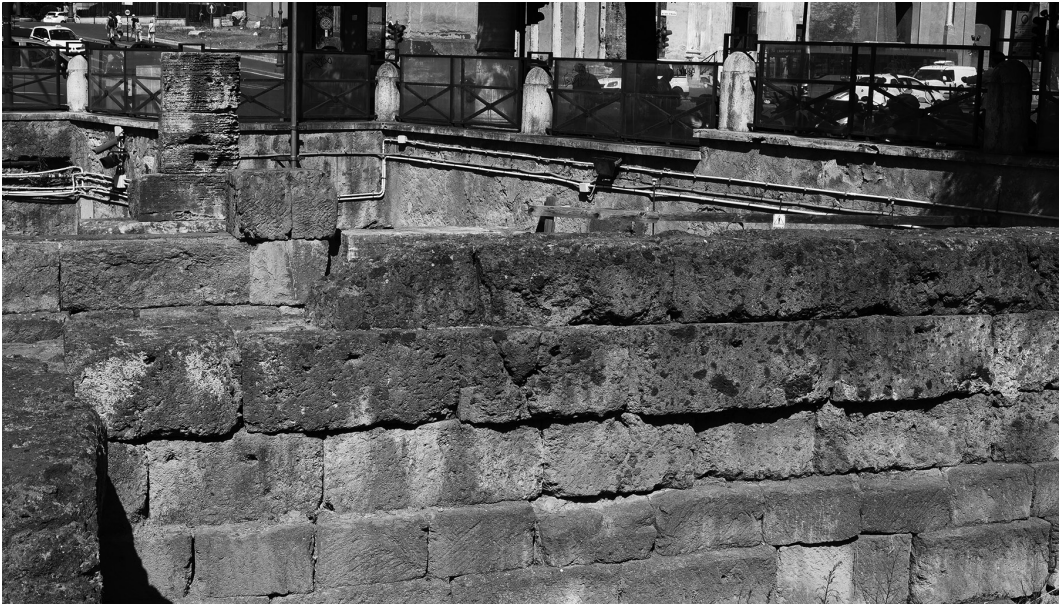


Fig. 15. W foundations of the W *cella* in three courses of Tufo Rosso a Scorie Nere, looking west (D. Diffendale).

only in small areas south of the temples (fig. 14). The fragmentary construction materials, combined with the date offered by the ceramics, suggests identification of these deposits and pavement with the fire of 213 and the subsequent reconstruction described by Livy.¹¹⁹

Possibly as part of this rebuilding, the foundations of the twin *cellae* were raised *c.*1.3 m with three courses of blocks of Tufo di Fidene (fig. 15).¹²⁰ The presence of fragments of Tufo di Fidene below the thin Tufo Lionato pavement, interpreted as working débris, provides a connection, as does the compatibility in elevation between the thin Tufo Lionato pavement and the Tufo di Fidene foundations.¹²¹ East of the W *cella*, a N-S stretch of Tufo di Fidene

¹¹⁹ Sommella (supra n.116) 70.

¹²⁰ An open problem regarding the Tufo di Fidene foundations is their interface with the slabs of the first Tufo Lionato pavement; some (but not all) of the blocks of the lowest course of Fidene have been cut back where the Tufo Lionato slabs abut them. Leaving aside all other considerations, this would seem to indicate that the pavement should postdate the Fidene foundations. However, this would leave the *cella* inaccessible, as there is no place for a doorway at the level of the Tufo Lionato pavement, and no trace of a staircase leading up to the *cella*; the pavement slabs simply abut the lowest course of Fidene. Perhaps the builders encountered the pavement slabs in section while excavating into the collapse débris of the destroyed temple, and trimmed the new blocks rather than cut away the earlier remains.

¹²¹ Although the Tufo di Fidene foundations could conceivably be connected with the precinct-wide restructuring in travertine and marble, there is a series of factors that make this unlikely. First, the N-S Fidene foundation east of the W *cella* was cut for the installation of the travertine column bases. The original ends of the Fidene blocks are dressed and show anathyrosis, while the ends abutting the column base are roughly cut. Second, where the post-213 pavement is preserved, it rests immediately below the travertine pavement; given the thinness of the former, the two pavements rest at elevations only centimeters apart. While it is true that the elevation of the top course of Fidene blocks (14.37 m asl) is closely equivalent to the elevation of the travertine pavement (*c.*14.42 m asl), they are more plausibly connected with the post-213 pavement. The elevation of the still-extant pavement (12.92 m asl) does fall short of the top of the Fidene foundations, but given that both the preceding Lionato pavement and the succeeding travertine pavement reached the temple porch via a series of steps (the former *c.*50

traces the line of the foundations of the first-phase *E ala*, but it does not continue south of the S foundation of the *cella*, unlike the earlier foundations. Near the upper edge of many of the Fidene blocks of the *cella* foundations are holes for the use of cranes.

The Tufo Giallo stylobates and related structures

Possibly to be connected with the *cella* foundations in Tufo di Fidene is a system of foundations that indicate a reconstruction of the twin temples on a slightly larger scale, including a widening of the Republican podium and two parallel E–W foundations for supporting the columns of the temples' *pronaos*.

Two rows of blocks in Tufo Giallo della Via Tiberina (or Tufo Giallo di Grotta Oscura; hereafter Tufo Giallo) run the width of the Republican podium E–W, originally three courses alternating with headers and stretchers. These are interpreted as foundations for the columns of the porches of the twin temples ("stylobates"). The header ends of the Tufo Giallo blocks have drafted upper and lower margins, leaving the remaining central surface only roughly worked. The rough ends of some of these blocks bear inscribed signs or letters, sometimes termed masons' marks but more likely to be quarry marks.¹²² Both of these features are paralleled in the Tufo Giallo blocks of the foundation of the first phases of Temple C (late 4th–early 3rd c.) and Temple A (mid-3rd c.) in Largo Argentina, although in the latter two contexts the marks generally occupy more of the face of each block than do the Sant'Omobono examples.¹²³ The Tufo Giallo blocks in each of these three contexts approach dimensions of 2 x 2 RF on the standard of the 0.296 m foot. Although the Sant'Omobono blocks have been extremely eroded since their exposure in 1937, the drafted margins on their header ends indicate an intended length of 6 RF, beyond which extend the roughly-worked ends.

The Tufo Giallo stylobates are constructed integrally with foundations along the E and W flank of the Republican podium. Along the W limit of the podium, abutting the Lapis Albanus façade of the first phase, are a single course of Tufo di Fidene and 4 courses of Tufo Giallo (the highest of which rests in part on the uppermost course of the first-phase podium in Lapis Albanus), topped by a course of Tufo Lionato, above which was a course of Lapis Albanus attested by two remaining blocks

cm, the latter *c.*70 cm), we should expect the same to have been true of the thin-slab pavement. It is moreover rather difficult to calculate equivalent elevations precisely, given the evident subsidence of the southern reaches of the Republican podium over the intervening millennia. For instance, although the first Lionato pavement is *c.*1.10 m higher in absolute elevation at its northernmost extent than at its southernmost, the porch steps account for only *c.*50 cm of this difference. Hence, rather than extrapolating hypothetical pavement levels, we may be on safer ground arguing by analogy: the thin-slab pavement, where preserved, immediately underlies the travertine pavement; we would expect that its continuation in the area of the porch would similarly lie at an elevation just shy of the surface of the preserved travertine pavement.

- 122 Sommella (supra n.116) prefers to call these symbols and dates them to the late 3rd c. B.C., while H. Becker ("Additions to the known corpus of mason's marks at S. Omobono," in Brocato *et al.* 2016 [supra n.16] 166-72) argues for their identity as Greek letters and a date possibly as early as the early 4th c. B.C., leaving open the possibility of their re-use from the Servian Wall, *contra* Sommella's specific objections to interpreting the blocks as re-used. The evident clustering of particular mason's marks (in particular the Greek *chis* on blocks of the W half of the N stylobate and the *deltas* along the E edge) could speak against a re-use of these blocks, but the marks on the blocks of the W half of the S stylobate are not so consistent.
- 123 G. Marchetti Longhi, "Gli scavi del Largo Argentina: parte I – Descrizione," *BullCom* 60 (1933) 281-82; id., "Gli scavi del Largo Argentina: III – Il tempio A," *BullCom* 64 (1936) 87-91; F. Coarelli, *L'Area sacra di Largo Argentina*. 1. (Rome 1981) 15-16.

(fig. 8). Along the NE limit of the podium, there is no visible evidence of a lowest course in Tufo di Fidene, but there are 2-3 courses of Tufo Giallo, followed by a course of Tufo Lionato and a course of Lapis Albanus (fig. 16 in color). These foundations begin at the S stylobate and continue north, indicating their relevance to a rebuilding of the temple structures proper.

The stylobates — and hence the podium foundations — have been dated either to the post-213 B.C. reconstruction or to the travertine and marble phase.¹²⁴ They certainly post-date the first Tufo Lionato pavement as the blocks of the latter pavement are absent in the areas immediately adjacent to the Tufo Giallo foundations. Excavators of part of the foundation trench of the N stylobate found it filled with broken-up and inverted fragments of the Lionato pavement.¹²⁵ At present, we must refrain from assigning a date to these Tufo Giallo foundations and the temple reconstruction they attest.

South of the temples, the perimeter of the podium was also built up, with 2-3 courses of Tufo Lionato resting directly above the Lapis Albanus blocks of the earlier podium *enceinte*. This construction is probably, though not certainly, connected with the temple foundations in Tufo Giallo; in any case, it predates a staircase in travertine slabs that provides access to the front of the podium. In the center of the S edge of the Republican podium is a rectangular (9.5 x 5.7 m) foundation built in blocks of Tufo Giallo and Tufo Lionato. It includes at least 5 courses of Tufo Giallo, with blocks of Tufo Lionato employed along the outer edges of the uppermost preserved course. Given its central location along the front of the podium, it could represent the remains of some sort of *propylon* or entranceway. It is not possible at present to determine what sort of relationship this central foundation had with the podium facing in Tufo Lionato.

A further element to be brought into discussion of this restructuring is the so-called “*taberna repubblicana*” adjoining the front of the Republican podium in the SW corner of the site.¹²⁶ This is a rectangular room of unknown purpose (though certainly not a *taberna*) whose walls are built up in blocks of Tufo Giallo.¹²⁷ Traces of burning found in conjunction with fragments of Black Gloss dated to the late 3rd c. B.C. were found beneath a pavement or foundation in slabs of Tufo Lionato on which rest the Tufo Giallo blocks of the “*taberna*”, which together suggest a *terminus post quem* of the fire of 213.¹²⁸ The “*taberna*” should predate the adjacent travertine staircase visible in profile, as this latter overlies a shallow drain in Tufo Lionato that turns 90° to respect the “*taberna*”; the shallowness of the drain suggests that it was designed as a visible part of a pavement, rather than as a subsurface feature. Part of an identical drain is preserved west of the “*taberna*” abutting the front of the Tufo Lionato face of the Republican podium.

Other monuments

For 196 B.C., Livy (33.27.3-5) records that L. Stertinius, returning victorious from his Spanish campaign, dedicated from the spoils *duos fornices in foro boario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae ... et his fornicibus signa aurata inposuit*. These are the earliest (presumably free-standing) arches of which we have any knowledge, but Livy's topographic use of *ante* is unfortunately vague, and there are no archaeological remains in the vicinity of the temples that can unequivocally be identified with Stertinius' *fornices*.¹²⁹

124 Sommella (supra n.116); P. Brocato, “Le nuove indagini archeologiche nell'area di S. Omobono,” in id. and Terrenato (supra n.2) 42-43.

125 Area A, Saggio 3: Brocato *et al.* 2012 (supra n.83) 32-34, fig. 14. Gjerstad (supra n.14) 384 had already noted that the foundation trench for the Tufo Giallo stylobate cuts and thus postdates the preparation layer for the Tufo Lionato pavement.

126 Cangemi, “La ‘*taberna repubblicana*,’” in Brocato *et al.* *ibid.* 23-29.

127 This is one of the “*due grandi vasche della fronte*” described by Ioppolo 2000 (supra n.9) 174, assuming it would have had a symmetrical counterpart to the east. Ramieri (supra n.109) 1159-60 adduces 2nd- and 1st-c. B.C. comparanda for the *opus latericium* pavement that include cisterns, service rooms and residential spaces.

128 Ramieri *ibid.* 1158-59.

129 A. M. Colini *et al.* (“*Area sacra*’ di S. Omobono in Roma: Ricerca stratigrafica 1974-1976,”

In 175 B.C., following his triumph for victories in Sardinia the previous year, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*Neue Pauly* s.v. 'Sempronius' I 15) set up an inscribed *tabula picta* of the island within the Temple of Mater Matuta (Livy 41.28.8-10). Not surprisingly, no trace of this *tabula* survives.

A. Kuttner has recently proposed that the so-called "Bocchus reliefs" (or "Sant'Omobono reliefs") might belong to a monument set up at Sant'Omobono, near where they were found, rather than having fallen from the Capitoline, as is traditionally assumed.¹³⁰ Accepting her attribution of this dark limestone monument to a collaboration between Aemilianus and the Numidian royal family after 146 B.C. would situate it on the thin Tufo Lionato pavement of the post-213 B.C. reconstruction. This thin pavement is the most fragmentary of the known pavements within the precinct, unfortunately, and is not sufficiently well preserved to offer direct physical support for Kuttner's intriguing hypothesis. The relationship between the thin Tufo Lionato pavement and the subsequent travertine pavement, however, makes this hypothesis difficult to sustain; since the thin Tufo Lionato pavement is immediately overlain by the travertine slabs, the monument would have been destroyed or dismantled when the latter was built. While it is not impossible that it could have been re-assembled on the new pavement, this would be to build speculation on speculation.

Imperial phases

Perhaps two centuries after the reconstruction following the fire of 213 B.C., the temples and precinct at Sant'Omobono were completely reconstructed in travertine and marble, the pavement levels being raised yet again. Portions of the pavement in large travertine slabs survive. This is the only phase for which any part of the twin temples survives *in situ* above foundation level. The superstructure of the E *cella* was built up with travertine ashlar, portions of which are visible incorporated into the fabric of the later church. The exterior of the N wall of the *cella* evidences a simple moulding of torus and fillet with pilasters (fig. 17).¹³¹ The interior of the *cella* received a mosaic pavement in white tesserae, with a fascia in black tesserae along its margins.¹³² Associated with this reconstruction are fragments of a marble entablature.

Un decennio di ricerche archeologiche [Quaderni di "La ricerca scientifica" CNR 100, 1978] 421) identified the foundation in Tufo Giallo and Tufo Lionato in the center of the S side of the Republican podium with Stertinius' *duo fornices*, which he interpreted as a double arch rather than two separate arches. Although Colini never published details of this hypothesis, a sketch is preserved in one of his excavation notebooks (*Appunti degli scavi di Roma* II. *Quaderni V-VI-VII-VIII-IX-IXb* [Rome 2000] 112-13, pl. VII.3). I. Calabi Limentani's suggestion ("I fornices di Stertino e di Scipione nel racconto di Livio," in M. Sordi [ed.], *Politica e religione nel primo scontro tra Roma e l'Oriente* [Milan 1982] 123-35), that Stertinius' *fornices* were intended to replace the statue bases of M. Fulvius Flaccus that had been destroyed by the 213 fire, has little to recommend it. Coarelli (supra n.34) 371-72 suggests that the *fornices* were in fact an instantiation of the *Porta Triumphalis*, an Imperial phase of which he recognizes in the 6 *opus caementicium* foundations at the center of the Sant'Omobono podium. However, he locates the original monuments "immediatamente a sud del podio, e a contatto con esso" (372, n.34), and it is not clear whether he intends the Tufo Giallo foundation identified by Colini, or some other structure. A. Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Reconsidering the arches (*fornices*) of the Roman Republic," *JRA* 26 (2013) 7-35. stresses that "the *fornices Stertini* represent the first known secular manubial buildings in the city" (15) and remains non-committal on Coarelli's hypothesis. Her analysis downplays any particular religious significance to Stertinius' monuments.

130 A. Kuttner, "Representing Hellenistic Numidia, in Africa and at Rome," in J. W. G. Prag and J. C. Quinn (edd.), *The Hellenistic West. Rethinking the ancient Mediterranean* (New York 2013) 251-59.

131 A. M. Ramieri, "La chiesa di S. Omobono alla luce delle nuove scoperte," *RendPontAcc* 77 (2005) 25 and 27, fig. 15.

132 A. Mucci, "Indagini archeologiche nella chiesa di S. Omobono," *ArchLaz* 8 (1987) 96-97, figs. 3-5; Ramieri *ibid.* 25-26 with fig. 16 and pl. IB.

This phase has been dated to the Hadrianic period on the basis of bricks stamped with the names of Paetinus and Apronianus (*coess.* A.D. 123) in a drain that runs through the site.¹³³ This date should probably be revised, however, as the Hadrianic consular stamps may pertain to a repair of the drain. An Augustan-period fragment of a terracotta antefix with comic mask could belong to the initial travertine and marble phase, but unfortunately it does not come from a secure context.¹³⁴

Perhaps following this reconstruction of the temples, or connected with it, the former forecourt of the Republican podium was remodeled to accommodate new activities. A series of *tabernae* were built within the limits of the podium at its SE corner, facing onto the adjacent street leading down from the Vicus Iugarius to the Forum Boarium. Each of these



Fig. 17. Exterior of the N wall of the E *cella*, showing 3 courses of travertine, looking southwest (ASRCM).

4 shops consists of a front and back room. Preparation layers below the floors in *bipedales* in *Taberna* I contained materials dating to the 2nd c. A.D., dating the floors and perhaps the structures. The fill immediately above this floor contained materials of the second half of the 3rd c. A.D.¹³⁵

The 4 *tabernae* built within the former limits of the Republican podium are just one element of the larger urban fabric that grew up around the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta during the Imperial age. These shops face onto a street leading NNE–SSW from the *Vicus Iugarius* toward the Forum Boarium, which is met at right angles by another street running west from the *Vicus Tuscus*. The latter street entered the area of the podium just south of the front of the E temple and continued west; this became known as the Via Buccimazza by the 19th c. The two streets join just northeast of the northernmost *taberna* within the podium. The E side of the N–S street is flanked by *tabernae* for the full extent it is preserved. To the south, this street entered the arcades of a *via tecta*, the remains of which are visible within the courtyard of the office building of the V Ripartizione.¹³⁶ To the north, perhaps in the Severan period, vaulted *tabernae* in *opus latericium* were built abutting the rear (N) wall of the E *cella*, facing onto the *Vicus Iugarius*.¹³⁷

133 Virgili (*supra* n.99) 80–81.

134 The antefix finds parallels in the coroplastic workshop deposit on Via Gallia, dated between the mid-1st c. B.C. and early 1st c. A.D. Compare L. Anselmino, *Terrecotte architettoniche*. 1 – *Antefisse* (Rome 1977) 113, no. 145, pl. XII.55.

135 Colini *et al.* (*supra* n.131) 422–24; Regoli (*supra* n.8) 94. M. Ceci (“S. Salvatore in Portico e il quartiere produttivo. Spunti di ricerca sul paesaggio postantico nel Foro Boario,” in Brocato *et al.* [*supra* n.16]) suggests a slightly later (late 4th/early 5th c. A.D.) dating for this upper fill.

136 Ceci *ibid.*

137 A. M. Ramieri, “Chiesa di S. Omobono. Ultimi rinvenimenti,” *BullCom* 106 (2005) 399; Ramieri

The generally commercial nature of these numerous *tabernae* is not in question, but the evidence for specific occupations varies. The presence of the *schola* of the *collegium* of the *fabri tignarii* somewhere in the vicinity of Sant'Omobono is attested by several inscriptions dating between the early 2nd and the 4th c. A.D.¹³⁸ The discovery of pigments in Settore I within the SE corner of the Republican podium may indicate the shop of a *pigmentarius* between the 2nd and 4th c.¹³⁹ Finally, numerous furnaces and evidence of metal slag in the environs suggest a concentration of metalworkers in the neighborhood beginning as early as the 4th c.¹⁴⁰

The first church and its successors

Already by the end of the 5th or early 6th c., a pavement in *opus sectile* made from re-used marble was installed in the E *cella*, probably in connection with a Christianization of the space (fig. 18).¹⁴¹ The dedicant of this early church has been a matter of some debate, as it was not until 1575 that cult was offered to Sant'Omobono on this site, in conjunction with Sant'Antonio; prior to this, the church had been titled S. Salvatore in Portico, but the historical record of this earlier name does not predate 1470.¹⁴²



Fig. 18. A portion of the *opus sectile* pavement inside the E *cella*, looking south (scale is 80 cm long) (D. Diffendale).

While the E *cella* was certainly incorporated into a new church structure, the later history of the W *cella*, following the edict of A.D. 408, is less clear. Three travertine blocks from the superstructure of the W temple were found collapsed immediately south of the N stylobate; this collapse occurred at a point in time after the precinct's travertine pavement had already been removed in this area.¹⁴³

(supra n.131), 25 and 27, fig. 15.

138 Ramieri *ibid.* 47-50.

139 Colini *et al.* (supra n.129) 424 and 431-33; Ceci (supra n.135). The chemical analyses of R. F. Beeston and H. Becker, "Investigation of ancient Roman pigments by portable X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy and polarized light microscopy," in R. A. Armitage and J. Burton (edd.), *Archaeological Chemistry VIII* (Am. Chem. Soc. Symp. Ser., 2013) 19-41, document the presence in the *taberna* of pigments of Egyptian blue, green earth, yellow and red ochres, and lime white, as well as various mixtures.

140 Ceci (supra n.135).

141 Mucci (supra n.132) 96-97; Ramieri (supra n.131) 41-45. Mucci cautiously speculates that a travertine block found directly beneath the later 11th- or 12th-c. altar might belong to the Roman cult statue base; this would imply a fairly direct transformation of the religious space between paganism and Christianity.

142 Colini, Bosi and Huetter (supra n.73) 43. Ceci (supra n.135) argues that the church was dedicated *ab initio* to both the Holy Saviour and His mother: the name *S. Salvatore in Portico* alternated in the historical sources with the name *S. Maria in Portico*, until the construction nearby of a new cult structure for Mary in the second half of the 13th c. separated the two names. In so doing, she revives a theory of G. Marchetti Longhi ("Elephas Herbarius' e 'Curtis Dominae Miccinæ'," *RendPontAc* 4 [1925-26] 371)". Ceci further shows that the toponyms *S. Salvatore de Statera*, *S. Salvatore in Aerario* and *S. Salvatore de Maximis* cannot be associated with the church structures at S. Omobono, contrary to the arguments of Hülsen and others.

143 Brocato (supra n.124) 42.

Following the late 5th- or early 6th-c. phase of the church built into the E *cella*, represented by the *opus sectile* pavement, there is probable, though not definitive, evidence for the existence of a High Mediaeval construction phase. This evidence includes sporadic sculptural fragments, some fresco fragments, and traces of 9th-c. walls described by Colini and R. Krautheimer during shoring up of the later church in 1938.¹⁴⁴ The church was refurbished at some point between the later 11th and mid-12th c.¹⁴⁵ The structure gained a cosmatesque pavement, a raised *presbyterium* and altar, and a possible *schola cantorum* built with re-used tufo blocks. A new staircase was required to ascend from the floor level of the church to the raised ground level to its east, possibly communicating with the associated hospital of S. Maria in Portico known from historical records.¹⁴⁶ To this phase should also be ascribed the Romanesque belltower, demolished in 1936, that once adjoined the church to the southeast.¹⁴⁷ At some point thereafter, this church seems to have fallen into disuse, as marked by the installation of a staircase leading up from behind the altar and cutting into the travertine rear *cella* wall, the spoliation of the cosmatesque pavement, and the subsequent use of the space for a large number of burials. These inhumations, which were tightly packed and generally lacked grave goods, could be connected with the hospital of S. Maria in Portico.¹⁴⁸

Activity of the 12th and 13th c. is attested beyond the bounds of the church, primarily in the fills of several domestic refuse pits cut into the architecture of the former Roman sanctuary. Their fills consist of 12th- and 13th-c. ceramics, glass, bronze, coins, stone tesserae, and animal bones, including chicken, sheep and goat.¹⁴⁹

The church of S. Salvatore in Portico (the structure's holy tenant prior to its rededication to SS. Omobono and Antonio in 1575) is first attested in the historical records in 1470, according to which it served as the oratory for the adjacent Hospital of S. Maria in Portico.¹⁵⁰ If the 11th/12th c. church had indeed fallen into disuse, we do not know when and how it was rehabilitated prior to 1470, if at all; this may indicate a renewal of interest not long before the church's most major transformation. In 1482, the entire church was rebuilt, according to the will of Stefano Satri de' Baronilis; the floor was raised c.4.65 m above its 12th-c. level, requiring new construction resting on the former *cella* walls.¹⁵¹ The discovery of collapsed vaulting below this new floor suggests part of the necessity of the reconstruction.¹⁵² It was at this point that the orientation of the church was reversed. While the earlier structures had maintained the southern orientation of the ancient temple, the new church opened north onto the Vicus Iugarius. To this period also is dated the southern, polygonal apse, built with unsquared tufo blocks and re-used bricks and topped by a cupola.

144 Ramieri (supra n.131) 8-9 and 44.

145 Accepting the attribution of the inscribed altar found in S. Maria in Portico as originally belonging to S. Salvatore in Portico (the present S. Omobono), as according to Ceci (supra n.135), would assign this reconstruction to 1073 and the hand of Pope Gregory VII.

146 Mucci (supra n.132) 97, fig. 2. The hospital may have been built in 1191: Ramieri (supra n.131) 17.

147 Mucci *ibid.* 99.

148 *Ibid.* 99-100, fig. 7; Ramieri (supra n.131) 28.

149 Ceramic materials include mostly cooking ware and undecorated fineware, with some fragments of older storage vessels and some limited *maiolica laziale* and other decorated fineware. This material is under study by L. Michelangeli, and the fauna by V. Moses.

150 Mucci (supra n.132) 100; Ramieri (supra n.131) 6-7, figs. 3-4.

151 Mucci *ibid.* 100; Ramieri *ibid.* 18-19.

152 Within this fill were fragments of *maiolica arcaica* of the mid-14th to the mid-15th c. Mucci (*ibid.* 97 and 99 n.5) speculates as to whether this vaulting could pertain to a late phase of the Imperial-era temple.

In 1574, the church was ceded to the Università dei Sartori and subsequently rededicated to the tailors' patrons, Saints Omobono and Anthony. This rededication does not, however, appear to have been accompanied by any major interventions on the church's physical structure, though restorations are attested in 1616, 1767 and 1877 by archival sources. The clearances of the late 1930s saw the church turned over to the administration of the Comune di Roma, but it was given back to the Accademia dei Sartori in 1951, though it no longer serves as their seat. The church remains consecrated but there are no regular services.

Conclusion

This article has aimed to summarize the results of some 80 years of investigation at Sant'Omobono, but it will not be the last word on the subject. Members of the current project continue to study materials related to both historic and its own excavations at the site, and publication of this material is ongoing. Major interpretative questions regarding the archaeological remains at Sant'Omobono remain open: these include the nature of the reconstruction of the Archaic temple in the second half of the 6th c. B.C.; the nature of the pavement associated with the first phase of the Republican twin temples; whether or not the *cella* foundations in Tufo di Fidene should be associated with the Tufo Giallo stylobates, and whether these should be assigned to the post-213 B.C. reconstruction or the Imperial period; the effects of Tiber floods on the sanctuary throughout antiquity; the presence or not of the *Porta Triumphalis* on or near the site; the nature of the transition from pagan to Christian cult space; and the possible disuse or abandonment of the church prior to its late 15th-c. reconstruction.

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