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THE MARBLE PLAN OF THE VIA ANICIA AND THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX IN CIRCO FLAMINIO*: THE STATE OF THE QUESTION*

by P.L. Tucci

Much has been written in the past three decades about the marble plan found in the Via Anicia, which depicts the late Republican Temple of Castor and Pollux in Circo Flaminio, *and its importance for the study of temple architecture and ancient cartography. Far less attention has been paid to the identification of the temple in the topography of the southern Campus Martius. In 1996 an excavation carried out in Piazza delle Cinque Scole brought to light the remains of a 'monumental building' that has been identified resolutely by the excavators as the Temple of Castor and Pollux. In this article, after a survey of what is known from the marble plan and previous excavations, I explain why my alternative location of the temple better fits the evidence from the Via Anicia plan and the 1996 excavation. I also shed new light on the area of the circus from the late Republican period to late antiquity and on transverse cella temples.*

Molto è stato scritto nel corso degli ultimi trent'anni sulla pianta marmorea di Via Anicia, che mostra il tempio tardorepubblicano di Castore e Polluce in Circo Flaminio, *e sulla sua importanza per lo studio dell'architettura templare e dell'antica cartografia. Molta meno attenzione è stata prestata alla localizzazione del tempio nella topografia del Campo Marzio meridionale. Uno scavo effettuato nel 1996 in Piazza delle Cinque Scole ha portato alla luce i resti di un 'edificio monumentale' che gli scavatori hanno identificato in modo deciso con il tempio di Castore e Polluce. Nel presente articolo, dopo un riesame della pianta marmorea e degli scavi precedenti, espongo i motivi per cui la mia localizzazione alternativa del tempio è più rispondente alla pianta di Via Anicia e allo scavo del 1996, con nuove osservazioni sui templi con cella trasversale e sull'area del circo tra l'età tardorepubblicana e la tarda antichità.*

INTRODUCTION

There are no sources about the vow, construction and dedication of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius. Three calendars (*Fasti Antiates Maiores*, *Allifani* and *Amiternini*) attest that its *dies natalis* was the 13 August. Vitruvius (*De arch*. 4.8.4) includes it among the temples with a transverse cella (that is, with the cella larger than the pronaos). It was probably built after the triumph of either P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus in 74 BC, or Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 71 BC.[1] Antonio Maria Colini believed that it was literally

[1] F. De Caprariis, 'P. Servilio Isaurico e un 'nuovo' monumento della Roma tardo-repubblicana', *Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 19–20 (1996–7), 49–60; F. Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio. Dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* (Rome, 1997), 504–15.

inserted into the circus. A possible location was suggested by Carlo Pietrangeli in 1952, eight years before the actual position of the circus was identified by Guglielmo Gatti, in an article dealing with the Dioscuri placed at the top of the Capitoline *cordonata*: indeed, these statues were recovered between the church of San Tommaso ai Cenci and the nearby synagogues.[2]

This area of the circus (Fig. 1) was partially excavated in the early twentieth century after the demolition of the Jewish ghetto, and is depicted on fragments 32 h–i of the Severan Forma Urbis, that were identified by Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida in 1977.[3] In 1983, a marble plan different from the Forma Urbis came to light near the Via Anicia, in Trastevere.[4] It shows the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the area of the circus, some warehouses and the left bank of the Tiber, on which is depicted a building that might be identified with the shed housing the 'ship of Aeneas' described by Procopius (*Goth.* 4.22).[5] The topography visible on the Via Anicia plan partially overlaps fragment 32 i of the Forma Urbis — the temple would have appeared in the missing slab corner (cf. below, Fig. 15). Indeed, the two plans share the same scale (1:240) but have a different orientation; otherwise the inscriptions on the Via Anicia plan, with southeast at the top, would appear nearly upside down. Other plans incised on marble are known, though most are isolated fragments depicting unidentified areas and, like the Via Anicia plan, unlikely to have belonged to complete plans of Rome.[6] The Via Anicia plan is surely older than the Forma Urbis and is more detailed: the thickness of the walls is indicated by double lines, the names of the proprietors are inscribed in the genitive inside the buildings (exactly as 'Castoris et Pollucis' is inscribed inside the temple), and the lengths of the porticoes facing the river Tiber are given in Roman feet. Apparently, this plan was a cadastral document linked to the collection of taxes, either for street repairs or for the safe upkeep of the bank in front of private properties.[7]

[2] A.M. Colini, *Il tempio di Veiove*. Aedes Veiovis inter Arcem et Capitolium (Rome, 1943), 54 n. 5; C. Pietrangeli, 'I Dioscuri capitolini', *Capitolium* 27 (1952), 41–8; G. Gatti, 'Dove erano situati il teatro di Balbo e il circo Flaminio?', *Capitolium* 35 (1960), 3–12. See M. Bevilacqua, *Il monte dei Cenci* (Rome, 1988), 10 and 106, for the possible mention of one horse already in 1488. Apparently, the Dioscuri statues were smashed into several fragments intentionally.

[3] E. Rodríguez-Almeida, 'Forma Urbis marmorea. Nuovi elementi di analisi e nuove ipotesi di lavoro', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 89 (1977), 219–56. Fragment 32 g does not match 32 h and should be removed from group 32. The circus had a wooden structure and was converted into a square paved with travertine slabs in the Augustan age.

[4] The Via Anicia plan is displayed in the Museo Nazionale Romano, at the Baths of Diocletian.

[5] P.L. Tucci, 'Dov'erano il tempio di Nettuno e la nave di Enea?', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 98 (1997), 15–42, esp. pp. 35–42.

[6] A marble plan found in 1999 in the Templum Pacis is the only other case allowing for a comparison with the Severan Forma Urbis (specifically, with fragments 16 a–d that depict the Forum of Augustus): cf. P.L. Tucci, 'New fragments of ancient plans of Rome', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20 (2007), 469–80, esp. pp. 478–80.

[7] F. Castagnoli, 'Un nuovo documento per la topografia di Roma antica', *Studi Romani* 33 (1985), 205–11; E. Rodríguez-Almeida, 'Un frammento di una nuova pianta marmorea di Roma', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 1 (1988), 120–31.

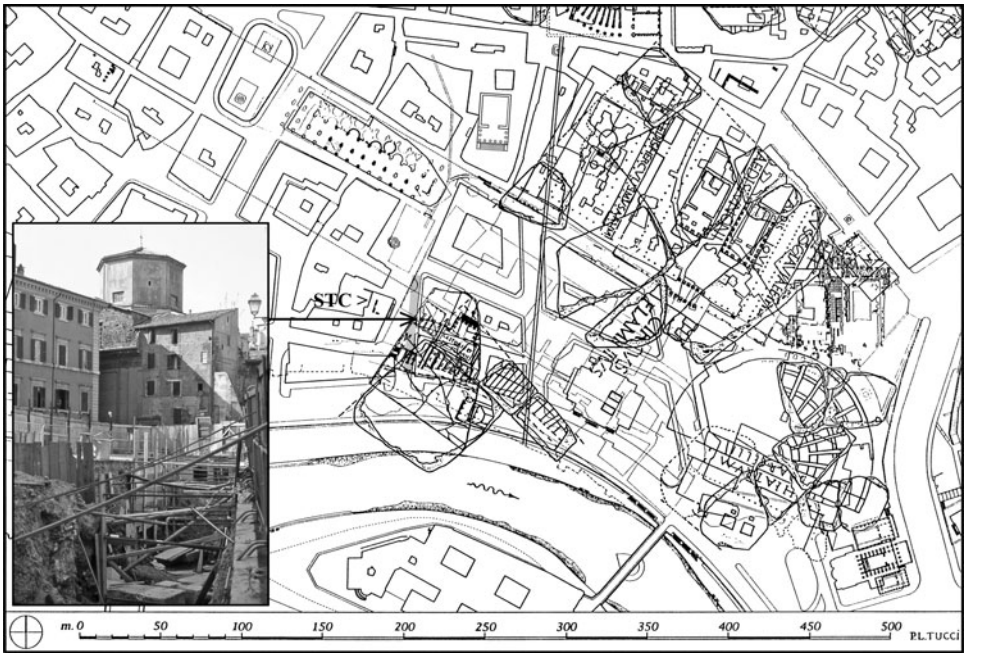

Fig. 1. Rome, the area of the Circus Flaminius. In the inset, the trench of the 1996 excavation (in grey in the plan) looking north. STC = San Tommaso ai Cenci. *(Drawing and photo: author.)*

The archaeologist who first published the Via Anicia plan suggested that the church of San Tommaso ai Cenci was built over the temple, and identified a few Imperial walls visible beneath that church with the substructure of the pronaos.[8] If this were the case, however, the pronaos floor would have been about 9 m above the circus, although the staircase of the temple in the Via Anicia plan has just eight steps. I have argued elsewhere that these walls belonged to a warehouse with a gabled entrance.[9] A slightly different location for the temple, east of the church of San Tommaso, was also suggested, in accordance with the slab edges of the Forma Urbis.[10] However, this can not be right, as this area contained the warehouses found in 1996. Precisely because of the slab edges, I proposed an alternative location further east, beneath the

[8] M. Conticello De' Spagnolis, *Il tempio dei Dioscuri nel Circo Flaminio* (Rome, 1984); M. Conticello De' Spagnolis, 'Nuove osservazioni sull'area del tempio dei Dioscuri in Circo Flaminio', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 91 (1986), 91–6. Cf. Rodríguez-Almeida, 'Un frammento' (above, n. 7); B. Poulsen, 'The Dioscuri and the saints', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 21 (1993), 141–52.

[9] P.L. Tucci, 'L'entrata di un magazzino romano sotto la chiesa di S. Tommaso ai Cenci', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 108 (1996), 747–70. However, the location of the Via Anicia plan presented at the Museo Nazionale Romano is still based on the correspondence of the pronaos of the temple with the church of San Tommaso ai Cenci.

[10] Castagnoli, 'Un nuovo documento' (above, n. 7).

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modern block of the Jewish ghetto occupied by four apartment buildings (the so-called *villini*) (Fig. 1). Indeed, due to the 'wrong' position of the Theatre of Marcellus in the Forma Urbis, it is necessary to shift fragments 32 h–i, and consequently the Via Anicia plan, *c.* 36 m toward the east.[11]

Finally, when in 1996 an underground service tunnel was built in Piazza delle Cinque Scole, the remains came to light of a 'monumental building' and some warehouses that stood between the Circus Flaminius and the Tiber (Fig. 1, inset).[12] The excavation was directed by Paola Ciancio Rossetto (Soprintendenza Comunale) and supervised by Massimo Vitti, who immediately claimed they had discovered the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo*.[13] Fourteen years later a description of this excavation was published by Vitti alone, followed by an article including the analysis of the walls discovered in the early twentieth century during the construction of *villini*.[14] Although I had solicited the publication of at least one section of the profile of the podium, in his report of 2010 Vitti presented once again a preliminary analysis of the data with the promise of a response to my remarks, which is still missing in his latest article.[15] My main concern was, and still is, the absence of a podium, a typical feature of Roman temple architecture, which is implied by the eight

[11] P.L. Tucci, 'Nuove ricerche sulla topografia dell'area del Circo Flaminio', *Studi Romani* 41 (1993), 229–42, tav. XIII. Without this adjustment, the temples in the Forum Holitorium would be misplaced.

[12] P. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Rinvenimenti nel Campo Marzio meridionale', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 96 (1994–5), 197–200; P. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Rinvenimenti e restauri al portico d'Ottavia e in Piazza delle Cinque Scole', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 97 (1996), 267–79; P. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Castor et Pollux in Circo', in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* V *(T–Z)* (Rome, 1999), 234–5; P. Ciancio Rossetto and M. Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni marmoree del tempio dei Castori *in circo Flaminio*', in *Atti del VII colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico* (Ravenna, 2001), 575–86.

[13] Our disagreement led to the publication of two *addenda* to the *LTUR*, both updating F. Coarelli, 'Castor et Pollux in circo, aedes', in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* I *(A–C)* (Rome, 1993), 245–6: Ciancio Rossetto, 'Castor et Pollux in Circo' (above, n. 12) and P.L. Tucci, 'Castor et Pollux in Circo', in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* V *(T–Z)* (Rome, 1999), 234.

[14] M. Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis in Circo', *Bollettino di Archeologia Online* (2010) *(Proceedings of the International Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Rome on 22–26 September 2008)*, 74–86 (http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/bao_document/articoli/7_Vitti_paper.pdf (last consulted 09.05.2013)). See also http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/ (last consulted 09.05.2013) and http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=65:la-stanza-e-11&catid=6:arte&Itemid=65 (last consulted 09.05.2013); M. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori 'in Circo': lo stato della questione', in E. La Rocca and A. D'Alessio, *Tradizione e innovazione. L'elaborazione del linguaggio ellenistico nell'architettura romana e italica di età tardo-repubblicana* (*Studi miscellanei* 35) (Rome, 2011), 109–34. It is Ciancio Rossetto alone who is credited with the identification of the temple: cf. Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above), 74, and Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above), 109.

[15] P.L. Tucci, 'Imagining the temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo Flaminio*', in A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker (eds), *Res Bene Gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby* (Rome, 2007), 411–25; Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above,

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steps before the pronaos of the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Via Anicia plan.[16]

The identification of the Temple of Castor and Pollux is not a minor topographical matter, but concerns broader issues, such as Roman Hellenistic architecture and the typology of Roman temples. Moreover, if the Via Anicia plan could be related correctly to the walls excavated in and around Piazza delle Cinque Scole, a *terminus ante quem* for the plan itself would follow (indeed, the Via Anicia plan cannot be later than the early second century AD, as will be explained below).[17] The ultimate objectives of my article are to explain why my alternative location of the temple fits better the evidence from the marble plans and the urban context, and to clarify why the exact location of the Via Anicia plan does matter: I am not just moving a temple a few metres to the east! Vitti remarks that I am the only one who disagrees with his identification, but I am afraid that no one else has examined minutely his archaeological reports, which may ultimately seem persuasive thanks to the use of archival drawings, brightly-coloured plans, and a mass of details about levels, measurements and building techniques.[18] In fact, these reports are rife with mistakes of both an archaeological and a technical nature (cf. Fig. 2), which may lead to a skewed vision of the ancient remains excavated in Piazza delle Cinque Scole.

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n. 14), 74–5 n. 3; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14). Cf. Ciancio Rossetto and Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni' (above, n. 12), 582 n. 35.

[16] The podium is attested also by two stripes running along the walls of the cella and on either side of the pronaos: see the reconstructions (with some incorrect details) in Conticello De' Spagnolis, *Il tempio dei Dioscuri* (above, n. 8), figs 15 and 24, as well as in M. Conticello De' Spagnolis, 'La lastra marmorea di Via Anicia', in A. Capodiferro, M.L. Conforto, C. Pavolini and M. Piranomonte (eds), *Forma. La città antica e il suo avvenire* (Rome, 1985), 228–9. See also Rodríguez-Almeida, 'Un frammento' (above, n. 7), fig. 7, and Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), fig. 24.

[17] On this sector of the southern Campus Martius, see Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio* (above, n. 1), fig. 75; F. Zevi, '*Minucia frumentaria, crypta Balbi, circus Flaminius*: note in margine', in A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker (eds), *Res Bene Gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby* (Rome, 2007), 451–64, esp. pp. 451–3; F. Coarelli, *Roma* (Bari/Rome, 2008), figures at pp. 349 and 351; E. La Rocca, 'La forza della tradizione. L'architettura sacra a Roma tra II e I secolo a.C.', in E. La Rocca and A. D'Alessio, *Tradizione e innovazione. L'elaborazione del linguaggio ellenistico nell'architettura romana e italica di età tardo-repubblicana* (*Studi miscellanei* 35) (Rome, 2011), 1–24, who overlooks the Temple of Neptune — cf. F. Bianchi and P.L. Tucci, 'Alcuni esempi di riuso dell'antico nell'area del circo Flaminio', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 108 (1996), 27–82; Tucci, 'Dov'erano il tempio di Nettuno e la nave di Enea?' (above, n. 5); S.G. Bernard, 'Pentelic marble in architecture at Rome and the Republican marble trade', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 23 (2010), 35–54.

[18] See Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 109–10. Vitti's identification of the temple is accepted by E. La Rocca, 'Roma e il Giubileo. Le attività della Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma nell'ultimo quinquennio', in S. Baiani and M. Ghilardi (eds), *Crypta Balbi–Fori Imperiali. Archeologia urbana a Roma e interventi di restauro nell'anno del Grande Giubileo* (Rome, 2000), 13–22, esp. p. 20; and L. Fiorentino, *Il Ghetto racconta Roma* (Rome, 2005), 48–50, but not by A. Carandini (ed.), *Atlante di Roma antica* (Milan, 2011), II, tav. 19. These alternative locations are the only possible ones.

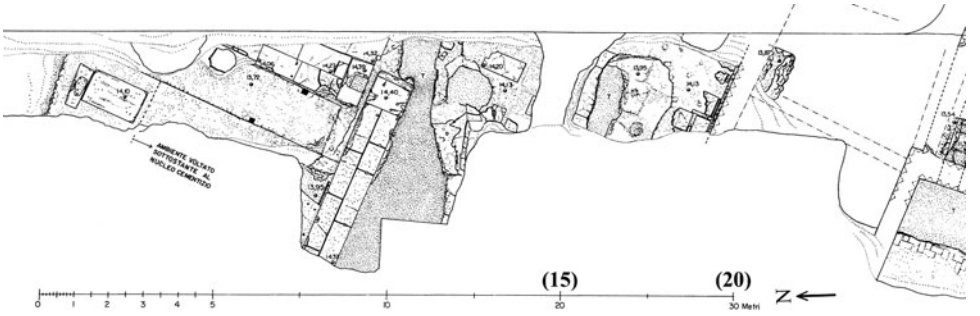

Fig. 2. Plan of the building discovered in Piazza delle Cinque Scole. Note the incorrect metric scale (the correct numbers added in parentheses by the present author). *(Drawing M. Vitti and P. Vitti, from Ciancio Rossetto, 'Rinvenimenti e restauri' (n. 12), fig. 11.)*

THE DRAWINGS

I have already stressed that the temple depicted on the Via Anicia plan is not compatible with the remains of the monumental building of Piazza delle Cinque Scole because the presumed base of the cult statues found in the 1996 excavation is eccentric, compared with the axis of the actual temple.[19] Vitti solves this problem by overlaying the plan of the excavation on a much-reduced drawing of the Via Anicia plan, so that the base depicted on the marble plan is perfectly aligned with the presumed base (Fig. 3). However, in his drawing the length of the transverse cella is about 4.3 m shorter than the Via Anicia plan's cella at the scale of 1:240. Another 'side effect' is that the presumed rear wall of the temple and the warehouses behind it appear to have been displaced by at least 2.5 m — the result of an early second-century restoration according to Vitti. In fact, these modifications are just the consequence of the incorrect metric scale of Vitti's plans. I am not talking of a difference of just a few centimetres: Vitti reduces the Via Anicia plan by approximately 17%, as if it were at a scale of 1:290 instead of 1:240.[20] It is worth noting that the

[19] Tucci, 'Imagining the temple' (above, n. 15). I also remarked that in Vitti's plan of the excavation (the basis for all his subsequent drawings) the metric scale is mistaken: indeed, 20 m is given on the scale instead of 15, and 30 m instead of 20 (Fig. 2). The same error reappears four times in Vitti's article of 2010 (his figures 4, 7, 21 and 23). In his latest article, when the plan of the excavation is overlaid on the Via Anicia plan, the metric scale is simply missing (one can just check the lengths in Roman feet marked by the Roman surveyors): cf. his figures 18 and 23. In his figure 9, where the early twentieth-century excavations, the Via Anicia plan and the modern plan of the area are overlaid together (cf. below, Fig. 13, left), the walls discovered a century ago are misplaced, the marble plan is drawn at a scale of 1:940, and the modern city at a scale of 1:840.

[20] Cf. the LI Roman foot long portico with its actual length in Fig. 3, left: with this reduction the Roman foot would correspond to approximately 24 cm instead of 29.6 cm. My drawing (Fig. 3, right) is just an example of what Vitti's plan should look like at the right scale (the horizontal lines, which help check the reduction made by Vitti, are at intervals of 3.25 m). The metric scale of the Via Anicia plan can be determined also through comparison with the Severan Forma

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extension of the warehouses behind the temple over the Tiber bank and the disappearance of the road along the river are not discussed at all, although such changes do not appear on the Severan Forma Urbis (cf. below, Fig. 15).[21]

In 2007 I published the overlaid plans of the Via Anicia and of the excavation according to Vitti's identification. Now that his version is finally available (Fig. 3, left), I expected a few words on the discrepancy with my drawing (Fig. 3, right).[22] Vitti just admits that the comparison between the monumental building and the Via Anicia plan highlights some metric differences.[23] As a matter of fact, in his drawings the temple is too small, and the reduced size of the cella makes it compatible with the position of the presumed axial base. We are told that the cella (in fact, the excavated building) is 10.9 m deep, instead of 9.6 m as in the Via Anicia plan at the right scale (Vitti uses the precise depth measured by Conticello De' Spagnolis on the marble plan): a difference of just 1.3 m.[24] However, in Vitti's plan the cella is less deep and this difference is of at least 2.5 m.[25]

To sum up, Vitti's identification is based on the use of the Via Anicia plan at the wrong scale. With a smaller cella the presumed base of the cult statues can be compatible with the axis of the temple depicted on the marble plan, but it is necessary to pretend — without the support of archaeological evidence — that the rear side of the temple was rebuilt further back. As a mere matter of simple logic, the plan drawn at the right scale cannot support Vitti's point of view: for example, at the scale of 1:240 it is impossible to justify the misaligned temple's base and axis. Moreover, at the right scale other problems call for an

Urbis. For the scale of 1:240, see Conticello De' Spagnolis, *Il tempio dei Dioscuri* (above, n. 8), 49–52, although she referred the lengths in Roman feet to the depths of the buildings, as immediately pointed out by Castagnoli, 'Un nuovo documento' (above, n. 7); Rodríguez-Almeida, 'Un frammento' (above, n. 7); F. Coarelli, 'Le plan de via Anicia. Un nouveau fragment de la Forma Marmorea de Rome', in F. Hinard and M. Royo (eds), *L'espace urbain et ses représentations* (Paris, 1991), 65–81; L. Pedroni, 'Per una lettura verticale della Forma Urbis marmorea', *Ostraka* 1 (1992), 223–30; D.W. Reynolds, *Forma Urbis Romae: the Severan Marble Plan and the Urban Form of Ancient Rome* (Ph.D thesis, University of Michigan, 1996), 34; R. Meneghini and R. Santangeli Valenzani (eds), *Formae Urbis Romae. Nuovi frammenti di piante marmoree dallo scavo dei Fori Imperiali* (*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* Suppl. 15) (Rome, 2006), 27, 171; M.P. Muzzioli, 'Sui portici raffigurati nella lastra di Via Anicia', in A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker (eds), *Res Bene Gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby* (Rome, 2007), 219–37. I checked the metric scale directly on the Via Anicia plan.

[21] It is very unlikely that the Forma Urbis was not updated (see below): in general, the streets and the pre-Severan buildings are always depicted.

[22] Cf. Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 77; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 128.

[23] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 80.

[24] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 80.

[25] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 77. Indeed, the brick facing of the presumed axial base, that is a distance of 8.50 m from the front wall of the presumed cella, in Vitti's plan is beyond the limit of 9.60 m that Vitti has taken as the depth of the cella on the Via Anicia plan (cf. Fig. 3, left).

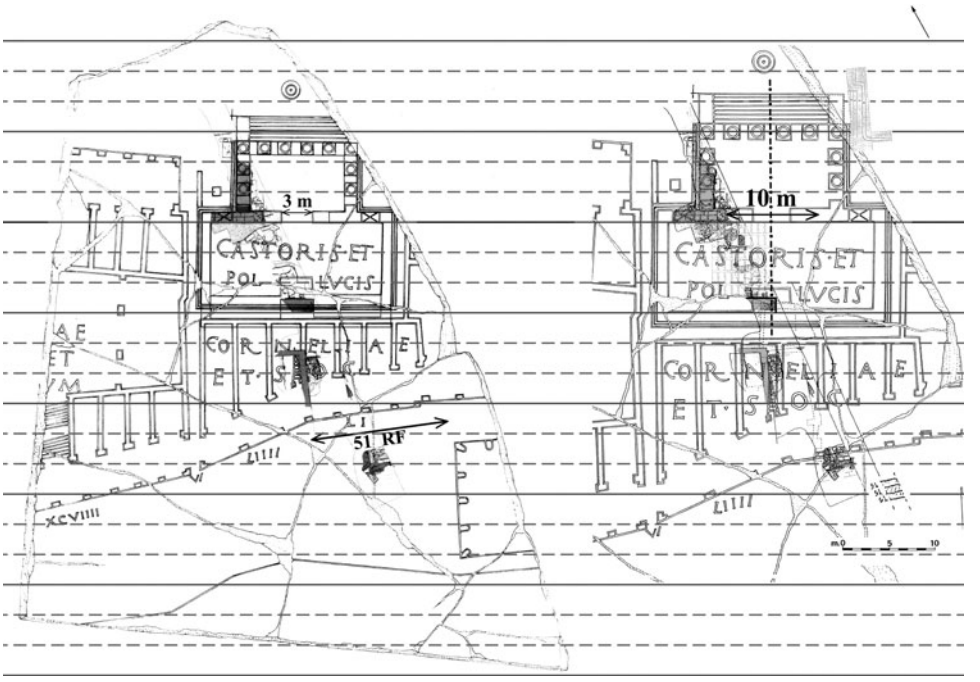

Fig. 3. The complete plan of the 1996 excavation overlaid on the Via Anicia plan, according to Vitti's identification of the temple. Left, Vitti's drawing, with the Via Anicia plan reproduced at the wrong scale. *(From Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (n. 14), fig. 17.)* Right, the correct overlay of the plans. *(Drawing author, showing Vitti's location of the temple.)* The grey line passing along the temple entrance (in the Via Anicia plan) can be used as a reference to assess the reduction of size of the marble plan itself in Vitti's drawing. The metric scale in the bottom right-hand corner does not apply to the Via Anicia plan on the left because of its reduced scale.

explanation, such as the excessive width of the entrance to the cella, the missing podium, and the different plan and location of the warehouses behind the temple. Although the Via Anicia plan is very carefully carved and one can be absolutely certain of its accuracy, in the next sections I shall also consider the archaeological evidence independently from the topography depicted on this plan.

THE ENTRANCE TO THE PRESUMED CELLA

A block of white marble that originally supported a door-jamb was still *in situ* next to the concrete foundation of the presumed west side of the pronaos, and belonged to the entrance to the monumental building (Fig. 4, right).[26] In Vitti's plan the entrance outlined on the Via Anicia plan is just 3 m wide, whereas it is

[26] Tucci, 'Imagining the temple' (above, n. 15), 414 and n. 18.

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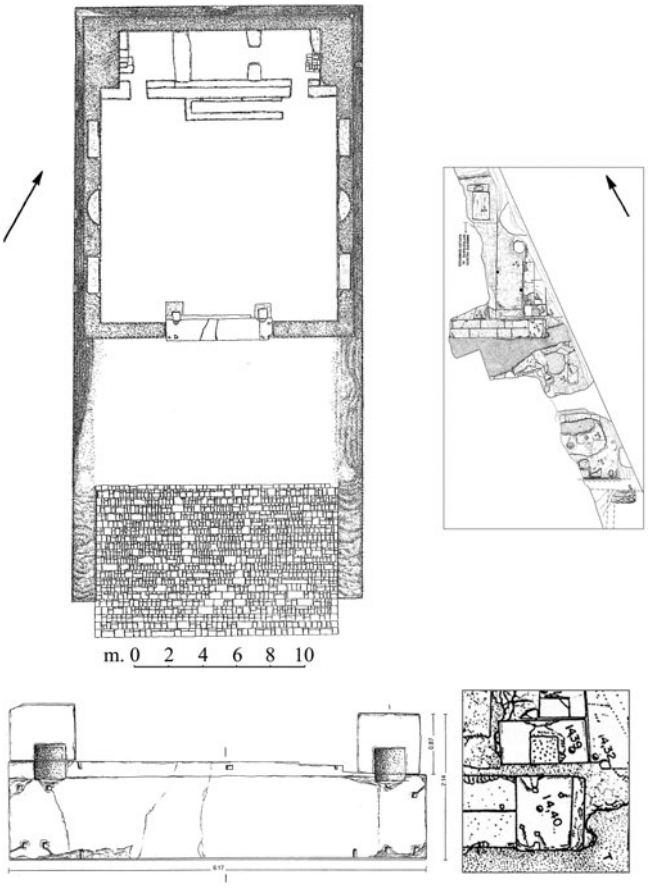

Fig. 4. Above: the Capitolium of Ostia *(from Albo, 'Il Capitolium di Ostia' (n. 30), fig. 1)* and, at the same scale, the building of Piazza delle Cinque Scole (from Vitti's survey: see Fig. 2). Below: the threshold of the Capitolium of Ostia *(from P. Pensabene, Ostiensium marmorum decus et decor*. Studi architettonici, decorativi e archeometrici *(Rome, 2007), fig. 142)* and, at the same scale, the entrance to the building of Piazza delle Cinque Scole (from Vitti's survey: see Fig. 2).

3.85 m wide on the marble plan at the right scale of 1:240 — further proof that he has the scale wrong. If Vitti were right to correlate the excavated building with the Via Anicia plan's temple, he should consider that in his plan the door-jamb block implies a width of the actual entrance of 7.125 m (Fig. 3, left). He just tells us that the actual entrance seems to be larger than on the Via Anica plan.[27] Moreover, if Vitti had drawn the marble plan at the right metric scale, the width of the entrance to the monumental building as he reconstructs it would be approximately 10 m because of the different position of the axis of the temple (Fig. 3, right). This

[27] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 80; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 127.

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widening from 3.85 to 10 m implies a radical reconstruction of the wall between the pronaos and the cella, and such an improbably wide doorway would occupy the whole width and height of the same wall. This is an event that Vitti himself does not consider, since he does not (and can not) argue that the door-jamb block was moved to widen the original entrance. Not only its size — just imagine an architrave more than 10 m long, not to mention the doors — but the layout itself is unheard of in Roman temple architecture. The plans of other temples with transverse cellas show that there was an obvious proportional ratio: larger temples had wider entrances, and only a small temple such as that of Veiovis had an entrance as large as the pronaos.

Vitti highlights the similar depth of the thresholds of his proposed temple and that of the Capitolium at Ostia (115 and 121 cm, respectively — in fact, 106 and 127 cm), but does not consider the width of the entrances.[28] The Capitolium, the pronaos of which is as large as that of the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Via Anicia plan, has an entrance approximately 4.5 m wide (Fig. 4) instead of the *c.* 3.85 m for the entrance on the marble plan, and less than the 10 m of Vitti's reconstruction.[29] In addition, at Ostia the block of marble with a square recess for the door hinge is inserted into the floor inside the cella (Fig. 4, below) — the doors opened inwards.[30] The similar block found *in situ* in the monumental building completely reverses Vitti's identification of the cella and pronaos of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, because it would be inserted into the floor of the latter.[31] It is likely that the threshold of the monumental building was just 3–3.5 m wide, and that the entrance stood on the left of the axis marked in Figure 3, right.

A break visible on the presumed foundation of the northwest side of the pronaos is highlighted by Vitti with a line (Fig. 5, above). According to him,

[28] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 79 n. 11: he shows the plans of the temples of Veiovis, Castor and Pollux, and Concordia in figure 24, but at different scales (the metric scales are missing). See also Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), fig. 27.

[29] Vitti mentions the Temple of Concordia in the Roman Forum, which had an entrance *c.* 7.7 m wide, but it was much bigger than the Temple of Castor and Pollux. A relief in the Vatican Museums shows the façade of a temple with a transverse cella and tall podium, tentatively identified with the Temple of Concordia: see *CIL* VI 29816; M. Guarducci, 'Il tempio della dea Concordia in un bassorilievo dei Musei Vaticani', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 34 (1961–2), 93–110; E. Simon, in W.H. Helbig, *Führer durch die Öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I (Tübingen, 1963), 105–6, n. 140; G. Becatti, 'Opere d'arte greca nella Roma di Tiberio', *Archeologia Classica* 25–6 (1973–4), 31–6; C. Gasparri, *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* (Rome, 1979), 23–5; C. Parisi Presicce, 'I Dioscuri capitolini e l'iconografia dei gemelli divini in età romana', in L. Nista (ed.), *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (Rome, 1994), 153–91, esp. p. 170 (he suggested a possible identification with the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in Circo Flaminio*). The temple on the relief had two rooms beneath the sides of the cella and, since the relief dates to the second half of the second century AD, then (according to Vitti's view) Parisi Presicce's identification would be wrong.

[30] Cf. C. Albo, 'Il Capitolium di Ostia. Alcune considerazioni sulla tecnica edilizia ed ipotesi ricostruttiva', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 114 (2002), 363–90, figs 1 and 8.

[31] See also Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 125 and fig. 22. For Vitti, the block for the hinge dates to the Domitianic/Trajanic age and was eventually raised: Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 124.

Fig. 5. Above: the trace of the anta (according to Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (n. 14), fig. 12). In the inset, a detail of Vitti's plan: see Fig. 2. Below: the same foundation, showing no traces of a break. *(Photos: author.)*

this break is the imprint of the temple anta depicted on the Via Anicia plan.[32] This line, however, does not correspond to any real trace on the foundation (Fig. 5, below) and in the plan of the excavation (cf. the broken line in the inset of Figure 5, corresponding to Vitti's red line). It is not even clear why there should be a break there. The concrete foundation appears to be partially damaged closer to the blocks of tuff, as marked in Vitti's plan with an actual line that has nothing to do with the size of the presumed anta block.[33] Vitti also states that this concrete foundation has the same width (1.52 m) as the plinths of the

[32] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), fig. 12; cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), fig. 19.

[33] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 124.

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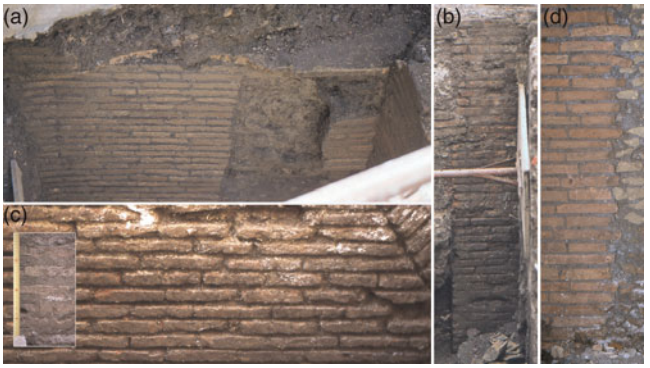

Fig. 6. The brick facings of: (a) the *taberna* facing the Tiber (lower sector); (b) the *taberna* behind the monumental building of Piazza delle Cinque Scole (in the inset, the brick facing of the latter at the same scale); (c) the outer wall of the *taberna*, just behind the building; (d) the warehouse beneath the church of San Tommaso ai Cenci. *(Photos: author.)* (Plate 1 in colour section at the back of the issue)

columns of the temple, but in fact the foundation should be larger.[34] According to the Via Anicia plan, the anta was approximately 1.7 m wide, which means that it was slightly larger than the concrete foundation (which means that the red outline of the anta in Vitti's photo is 'compressed' within the edges of the foundation: see Fig. 5). The Temple of Castor and Pollux can be compared to the extant Temple of Portunus, where plinths of 1.45 m required a foundation nearly 2 m thick. The concrete foundation in Piazza delle Cinque Scole must have supported a thinner wall. Also, the wall of the cella visible on the Via Anicia plan would be approximately 1.7 m thick, whereas the surviving wall is just 1.06 m thick; even considering the marble veneer, the difference in thickness is remarkable.

THE BRICK FACINGS

The brick facings of the warehouses next to the monumental building, including the walls beneath the church of San Tommaso ai Cenci (Fig. 6), date to the late first–early second centuries AD. Their characteristics are summarized in Table 1. The modulus (five bricks and five joints of mortar) is around 27.5 cm, with bricks 3.6 cm thick.[35] When there is an exception, as in the case of the *taberna* next to the Tiber, the higher modulus (30 cm) is easily explained with the use of thicker bricks (4–4.5 cm). In general, the courses of bricks are higher than the joints of mortar (Fig. 6).

[34] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 78; see also Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 124. Cf. L. Crozzoli Aite, *I tre templi del Foro Olitorio* (Rome, 1981), tav. IX, for the foundations of the three temples in the Forum Holitorium.

[35] Vitti never gives the height of the joints of mortar.

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Table 1. Characteristics of the brick facings of the warehouses next to the monumental building.

	Modulus	Brick thickness	Mortar height	Colour
San Tommaso ai Cenci[1]	25.5–28 cm (26 cm more frequently)	3.5–4 cm	1.6–2 cm	mostly red
Warehouse behind the 'temple'[2]	27–27.5 cm	3.5–3.8 cm		
Southernmost *taberna*, below[3]	27.5 cm	3.6 cm		red and yellow
Southernmost *taberna*, above[4]	30 cm	4–4.5 cm		red and yellow

[1] Tucci, 'L'entrata di un magazzino' (above, n. 9), 763.
[2] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 76 n. 6; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 110–11.
[3] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 75 n. 5; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 112 (also a modulus of 27 cm).
[4] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 75 n. 5; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 111.

According to Vitti, the brick facing of the monumental building, visible in two sides of the presumed axial base (Fig. 7), is identical to that of the warehouses, and therefore Domitianic or Trajanic in date. He claims that the late antique dating I suggested surely can be excluded because the bricks are all homogeneous and the courses are perfectly regular (Table 2).[36]

In this base, the modulus is higher than the average 27.5 cm of the warehouses (Fig. 7), but the difference is not due to the use of thicker bricks. Indeed, the bricks are just 3.2 cm thick (not 3.8 cm), but the joints of mortar are about 3 cm high (different from the 2.2 cm of Vitti's article, which can be determined easily since we are told that the brick facing is homogeneous). Vitti, discussing the front and short sides of the presumed base, claims that both brick facings belong to the same structure, with yellow bricks, 3.8 cm thick and 27 cm long, and a modulus of 29–31 cm. Yet, Domitianic and, for example, Constantinian brickworks may have the same modulus but be quite different as to the thickness of the bricks and the height of the joints of mortar. The modulus alone is meaningless. Also, in the monumental building the bricks are not 27 cm long, but range between 23 and 28 cm, and some are just 14 cm long (Fig. 7). For these reasons, in my 2007 article I concluded that the wall is likely to be late antique. It is true that towards the end of the first century AD bricks were '*tutti* omogenei per dimensioni e fattura … e i ricorsi sono perfettamente regolari',[37] but, although the brick courses of the front side of the presumed axial base are regular (horizontal), they consist of heterogeneous bricks: indeed, there is a similarity with the brick facings

[36] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 81 n. 17; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 129 n. 77.
[37] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 81 n. 17.

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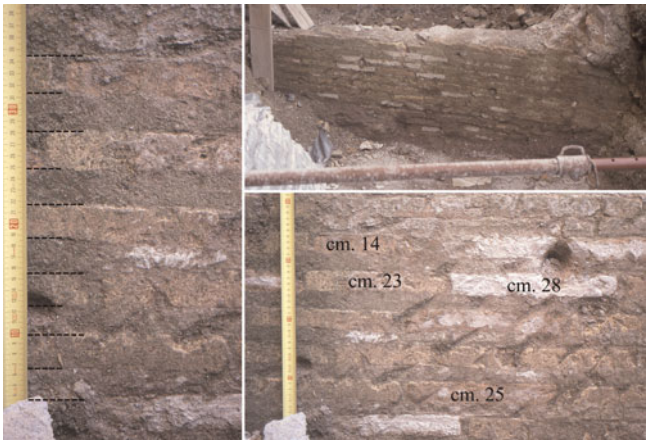

Fig. 7. Left: the modulus of the brick facing of the building of Piazza delle Cinque Scole. Right: the wall of the building (above) and detail with the different lengths of the bricks (below). *(Photos: author.)* (Plate 2 in colour section at the back of the issue)

of the Basilica of Maxentius and of the Temple of Venus and Rome.[38] Even quick comparison of the ratio bricks/mortar in the monumental building and in the warehouses reveals a striking difference (cf. the inset in Fig. 6, b).

The 'few courses' of yellow bricks on the presumed short side of the axial base also warrant attention, because no photos have been published and the actual corner with the front side was not seen at all.[39] The plan of the excavation (Fig. 2) shows that these bricks were preserved up to 13.87 m above sea level (asl), therefore below the marble floor of the building (14.20 m asl) and the preparation of the lower floor (13.95 m asl). It is not impossible that these bricks belonged to the same phase as the first marble floor, but it would be important to know the number of these 'few courses'. Anyway, since Vitti gives detailed information on its brick facing, which appears to be different from that on the front side, it is likely that his Domitianic or Trajanic modulus refers precisely to the side facing. That said, one wonders if, instead of being the remainder of the presumed base, these bricks might have belonged to a pre-existing wall razed to the ground and belonging to the warehouses next to the temple: indeed a wall may have stood there, according to my location of the Via Anicia plan (cf. below, Fig. 9).[40]

[38] Late antiquity commonly refers to the period of transition that began in the early fourth century with Constantine, but may start even in the mid-second century with Marcus Aurelius: cf. G. Clark, *Late Antiquity. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2011), 1 and 10. Indeed, Vitti claims that 'non si può escludere che possa trattarsi di un intervento di età imperiale successivo' (after the early second century AD): cf. Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 81.

[39] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 77; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 119.

[40] If the Trajanic brick facing belonged to a pre-existing wall (in pale grey in Fig. 9, below), the problem of the axis would be solved, but it would be hard to justify the presence of a Trajanic wall

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Table 2. Characteristics of the brick facings of the monumental building.

	Modulus	Brick thickness	Mortar height	Colour	
Wall of Vitti's temple (front side)[1]	29–31 cm	3.8 cm	2.2 cm (?)	(mostly) yellow	brick length = 27 cm
My own survey	31 cm	3.2 cm	3 cm	red and yellow	brick length = 23–8 cm (even 14 cm)

[1] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 77 n. 9.

My late antique dating of the brick facing of the monumental building corresponds to Vitti's dating of its actual marble floor. As for the presumed ashlar wall of the cella, which in 1999 Ciancio Rossetto dated to the late Republican period, Vitti now dates it to the late first or early second century AD. It consists of reused blocks, as suggested by a hole for lewis irons, their different heights, and their dimensions (although in the plan of the excavation the hole is missing and the joints look regular: Fig. 8).[41] No metal clamps were used to join the blocks of tuff and the only block of marble — quite unusual in Imperial squared-stone masonry. Vitti, who claims that the width of the blocks is regular and downplays the evidence of the lewis hole, justifies the absence of metal clamps by mentioning the Temple of Veiovis, the walls of which, however, were built with blocks of Grotta Oscura tuff and in the first half of the first century BC, not at the time of Domitian or Trajan.[42]

THE FLOORS

Inside the monumental building a thick layer of *cocciopesto* with a smoothed top surface was found, and identified with the original, late Republican floor of the cella of the Temple of Castor and Pollux.[43] It was noticed only in a very small area, and (in Vitti's view) would be the only surviving element of the original temple.[44] This floor eventually was replaced by a marble floor and by a subsequent marble floor at a higher level, the slabs of which were partially

beneath a late Republican temple. If the brick facings were both late antique in date, Vitti would even lose the only dating element for his presumed temple. The concrete core of the presumed axial base is not described in Vitti's reports.

[41] Ciancio Rossetto, 'Castor et Pollux in Circo' (above, n. 12), 235. The width of the blocks (approximately 53 cm) is anomalous: the dimensions were generally multiples of the Roman foot (that is, approximately 60, 75 and 90 cm).

[42] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117 n. 32. In the Temple of Portunus the blocks of the cella were not connected by metal clamps — cf. J.P. Adam, *Le Temple de Portunus au Forum Boarium* (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 199) (Rome, 1994), 49 — but this, too, is a late Republican building.

[43] Ciancio Rossetto and Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni' (above, n. 12), 577, 582; Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 78, 81; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 119.

[44] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 124, 129.

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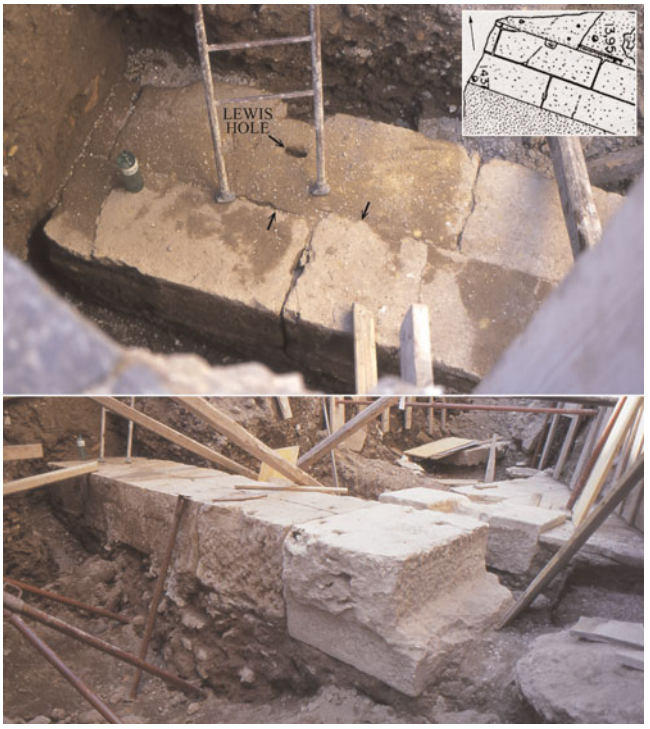

Fig. 8. The squared-stone masonry, showing the misaligned joints (note the arrows) and the only hole for lewis irons (above), not recorded by Vitti (inset: cf. Fig. 2), and the foundation of the ashlar wall (below). *(Photos: author.)*

preserved. However, the layer of *cocciopesto* might have been the preparation for the missing marble floor above or, judging from its thickness, might have belonged to another building, such as the portico depicted on the Via Anicia plan west of the temple (Fig. 9).[45]

In 2001 Vitti dated the uppermost marble floor, on stylistic grounds, to between the first and fourth centuries AD, but he preferred the early second century AD (with a fourth-century restoration) because of the presence, in both preparations, of fragments of *ardesia*, a material used mostly in the first two centuries AD.[46] However, he must admit that marble floors 'a rettangoli

[45] *Cocciopesto* was mostly used to line cisterns and protect the extrados of vaults exposed to the elements, and can be found in open spaces and porticoes (as in the Templum Pacis). It often has been taken as evidence for two different phases of paving, as highlighted by L.C. Lancaster, *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome. Innovations in Context* (Cambridge, 2005), 58–9. Cf. Colini, *Il tempio di Veiove* (above, n. 2), 21, 26, who assigned a thin layer of *opus signinum* (*sic*) found inside the cella of the Temple of Veiovis (just 7 cm thick, and at 48–55 cm below the actual floor) to the preparation of a mosaic floor.

[46] Ciancio Rossetto and Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni' (above, n. 12), 579 and n. 21, 580. See also Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 78; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14),

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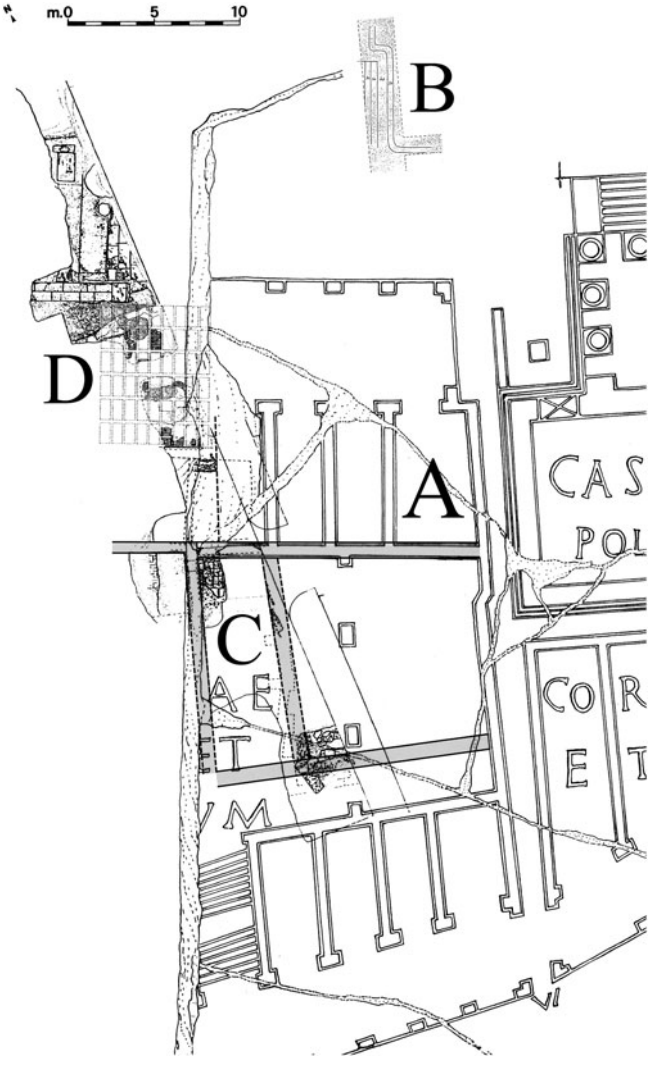

Fig. 9. The plan of the 1996 excavation overlaid on the Via Anicia plan at the same scale, according to the author's location of the temple. *(Drawing: author.)* A = first-century AD phase (walls indicated in outline: Via Anicia plan); B = possible modification of the circus floor (steps and gutter discovered in 1910: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio Gatti, carta 3562); C = early second-century AD phase (in grey: 1996 excavation); D = fourth-century AD phase (monumental building: 1996 excavation).

119, 123. It is not clear what Vitti means when he states that the level of the floor inside the temple was raised to *c.* 1.8–2 m: Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117, fig. 16.

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listellati', like the floor at the higher level, are not attested in temples.[47] Ten years ago, he claimed that this floor belonged to the same phase as the brick facing of the axial base. Now the same floor is considered to be late antique — an indirect confirmation of my dating of the brick facing.[48] It is apparent that the excavators have no dating elements (they mention the lack of stratigraphical units associated with the building), and so the late Republican and Imperial phases are based just on their identification of the monumental building with the temple.[49]

Cocciopesto was missing from beneath the floor of the presumed pronaos, which slanted and was exposed to the elements.[50] In 2010 Vitti claimed that the slanting floor is a peculiarity attested in other temples,[51] but the relevant footnote is a reference to his article with Ciancio Rossetto of 2001, with no page number (and, indeed, in that article there is no list of temples with slanting floors). In fact, the temple in question would be the only one with a *cocciopesto* floor in the cella, a slanting floor in the pronaos, a unique pattern in its later marble floor, reversed (and gigantic) doors, and no podium.[52] Considering the right position of the axis, it would even be smaller than in the Via Anicia plan phase. Apparently, expectations of what might be found seem to have determined the interpretation of what was actually found.

For instance, the 'vaulted room' beneath the concrete core shown in the excavation plan (next to the concrete foundation), which is dated to the fourth

[47] Ciancio Rossetto and Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni' (above, n. 12), 581; cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 122 (he mentions the third-century AD mosaics of the Temple of Hercules at Ostia). Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 82, claims that the floor of the presumed temple constitutes another element supporting his identification because of the similarities with the floors of other temples; his footnote 19, however, is a reference with no page number to Ciancio Rossetto and Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni' (above, n. 12), in which the absence of comparable examples is noted.

[48] Ciancio Rossetto and Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni' (above, n. 12), 581. In the caption of Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), fig. 7, the colours are inverted. The thickness of the slabs was not homogeneous, suggesting reused elements.

[49] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 81; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 113 n. 15.

[50] See Ciancio Rossetto and Vitti, 'Le pavimentazioni' (above, n. 12), 575: 'dislivello di 37 cm su una lunghezza di 4 m'; Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 76: 'pendenza del 9,25 %'; see also Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 120, 124 n. 65. The pronaos floor diminishes from 14.32 m asl next to the entrance to 14.06 m asl in just one-third of the pronaos depth (below, Fig. 14), a difference of 26 cm that, multiplied by three, gives a total of 78 cm and thus a level of 13.54 m asl next to the staircase — updating Tucci, 'Imagining the temple' (above, n. 15), 417 n. 4. The top surface of the concrete foundation, which is horizontal, is at 13.72 m asl: this means that toward the column in the corner of the pronaos the foundation would be higher than the presumed floor (below, Fig. 14).

[51] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 78. In his latest article, Vitti only mentions the use of slabs of white marble in some temples: Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 123 n. 62, 124 n. 66.

[52] Moreover, if the level of the threshold of the entrance to the cella is given by the raised block with the recess for the hinge and by the marble block nearby, a few steps would have been necessary inside and outside the entrance.

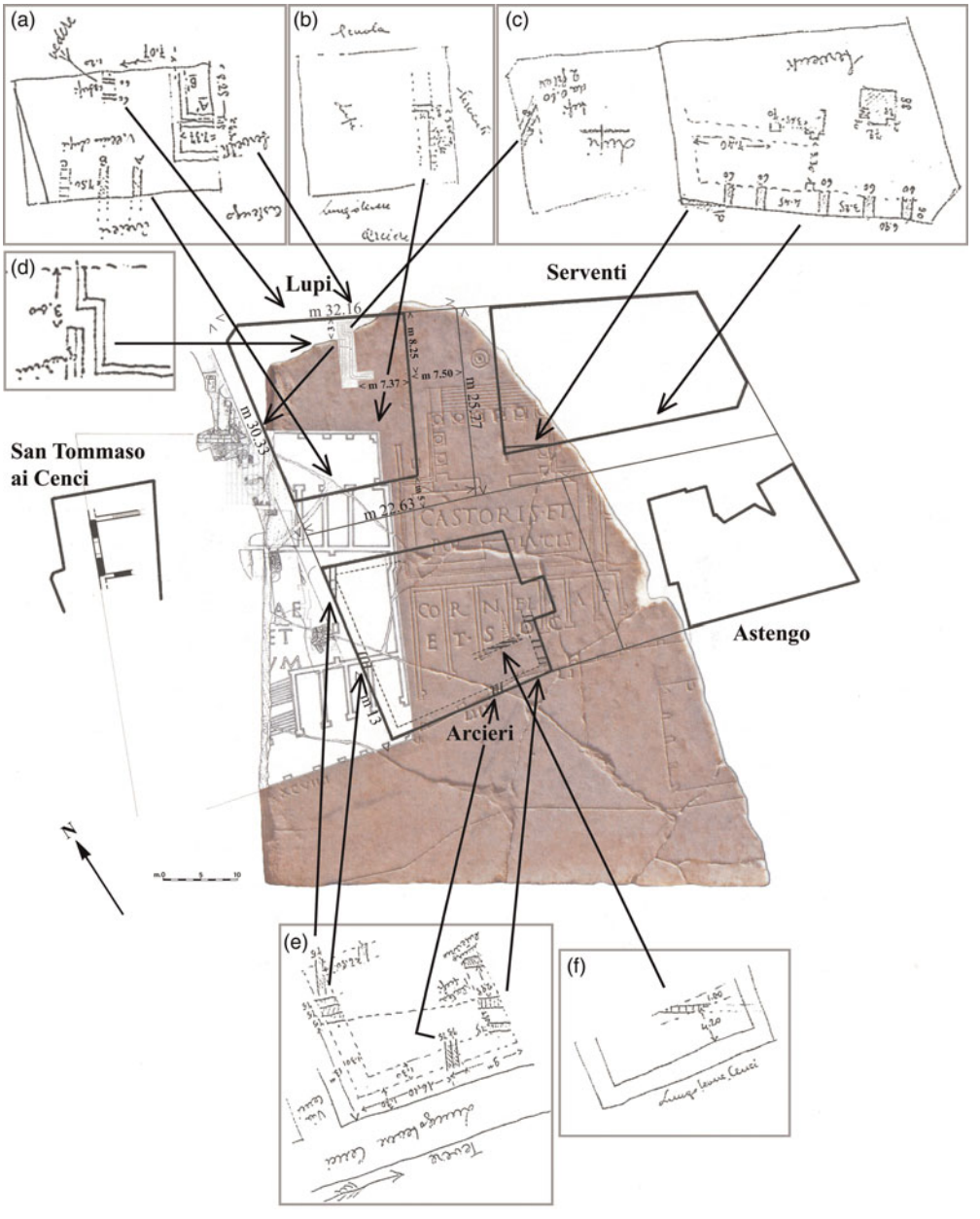

Fig. 10. The plan of the 1996 excavation overlaid (at the same scale) on the Via Anicia plan, according to the author's location of the temple, with the drawings of the early twentieth-century excavations. *(Drawings and photo: author.)* In the insets, Giuseppe Gatti's notes, from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio Gatti: a) taccuino 12, 777; b) taccuino 13, 819; c) taccuino 12, 783; d) taccuino 12, 777; e) taccuino 13, 823; f) taccuino 12, 784).

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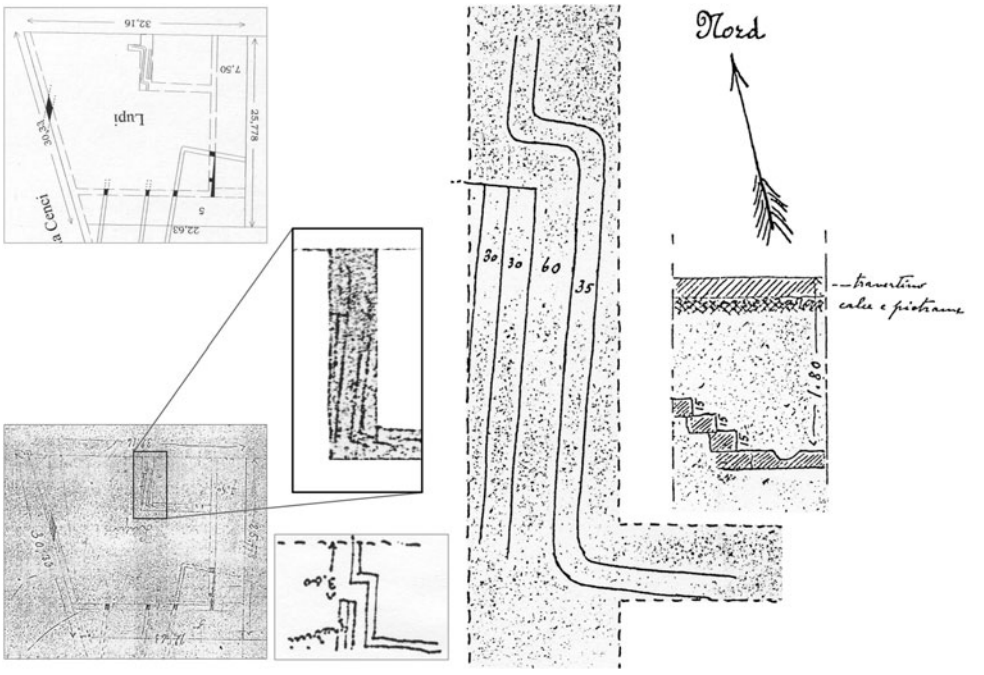

Fig. 11. Top left corner: the walls found in 1910 beneath the *villino* Lupi, redrawn by Vitti *(from Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori 'in Circo' (n. 14), fig. 6)*; bottom left corner: the original drawing (from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio Gatti, carta 3564, with detail in the inset; cf. the same structures in the inset below, from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio Gatti, taccuino 12, 777). Note that in Vitti's plan the staircase is upside down. Right: plan and section of the same structures (adapted from Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio Gatti, carta 3562).

century AD (Fig. 2), in my view was just a thin layer of concrete laid below the travertine floor at 14.1 m asl (cf. below, Fig. 11) and above a layer of debris and earth that was eroded by rainwater during the course of the excavation, thus giving the impression of a cavity that was mistaken for a barrel vault.[53] Otherwise, did this presumed vault spring directly from the concrete foundation? Just imagine the thickness of the barrel vault at the impost: it

[53] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 76; Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 129 (for the dating). At the right scale (Fig. 3, right) its limit is not aligned with the presumed front colonnade of the pronaos (cf. Fig. 3, left). One afternoon this concrete layer collapsed after a rainstorm, thus exposing the imprints of several vertical posts on the outer side of the concrete foundation to a depth of about 50 cm (see below, Fig. 14). They eventually were covered by the collapsed edge of the trench (see the inset in Fig. 1). Yet, not even the '*quattro* ritti ancora perfettamente individuabili' — cf. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Rinvenimenti e restauri' (above, n. 12), 276 — are drawn in the published plan: cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117. The wooden planks that held back the earth during the pouring of the concrete were fastened to these posts, a clear sign that the foundation was made below ground level, when the floor of the circus was much higher than in the first centuries BC/AD.

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would have been impossible to see its intrados, given the narrowness of the 1996 trench. Vitti has never shown a section of this vault that, moreover, would have covered an underground room. He even mentions the tiny spaces on either side of the podium that in late antiquity would have been turned into vaulted rooms, although in 1910 no traces were found on the opposite side of the presumed pronaos, as described below (cf. Fig. 3, right).[54]

THREE IMPORTANT STEPS

An excavation undertaken in 1910 during the construction of the *villino* Lupi, next to the site excavated in 1996, brought to light two travertine floors of the Circus Flaminius located at different levels (Figs 10 d and 11). The lower level, characterized by a semicircular gutter and at least three travertine steps (each 15 cm high), was discovered at a depth of 6 m.[55] One of the sections shows that the higher floor was 1.80 m above the other (Fig. 11).[56] In other notes, however, the depth of the lowermost floor with the gutter is of 6.5 m, whereas the upper floor is 1.2 m above it.[57] In that area, the modern street level is at circa 17.54 m asl; consequently, the lowermost floor of the circus (with a difference of 6.5 m) is at 11.04 m asl (Fig. 12), as I pointed out in 2007.[58] In 2007 I also reconstructed the hypothetical profile of the podium of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, considering eight steps at 25 cm high, giving a total height of the podium of 2 m (Fig. 12). With the floor of the circus at 11.04 m asl (and possibly at a lower level when the temple was first built) and the presumed original floor of the temple (Vitti's layer of *cocciopesto*) at *c.* 13.57 m asl — a difference of 2.53 m — each of the eight steps would be circa 31.6 cm high. I cannot provide a complete list of heights of temple steps, which rarely survive, but the most common height ranges between 21 and 26 cm: therefore 31.6 cm is too high for a convenient step.[59]

[54] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 81–2.

[55] A. Pasqui, in *Notizie degli Scavi*, May (1910), 162: 'Si videro solo tre gradini, i quali misuravano m 0,28 di pedata, e m 0,15 di alzata. La direzione di questa gradinata è da est ad ovest: parallelamente alla gradinata correva una cunetta … sopra la detta platea ve ne era un'altra anch'essa a grosse lastre di travertino, poggiate sopra un piccolo strato di calce e detriti'. Another report, by Giuseppe Gatti, confirms that there were *at least* three steps; see Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 114. These steps appeared on the side of a trench and were just partially excavated, but it is likely that they continued outside of the trench, further overlapping the pronaos (according to Vitti's identification) and excluding the presence of a late antique vaulted room.

[56] Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio Gatti, carta 3564 and mostly 3562. These drawings are published in the present paper with permission no. 1074/2013 by the Ministry of Heritage and Culture, Archivio Centrale dello Stato.

[57] Cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 114.

[58] Cf. Tucci, 'Imagining the temple' (above, n. 15), 416 n. 34 (11.25 m asl or even less).

[59] Temple B at Largo Argentina: 21.8 cm; Temple of Veiovis: 22 cm; Temple of Portunus: 24.5 cm; Temple A at Largo Argentina: 26 cm; Temple of Divus Vespasianus: 27 cm (in this case, because

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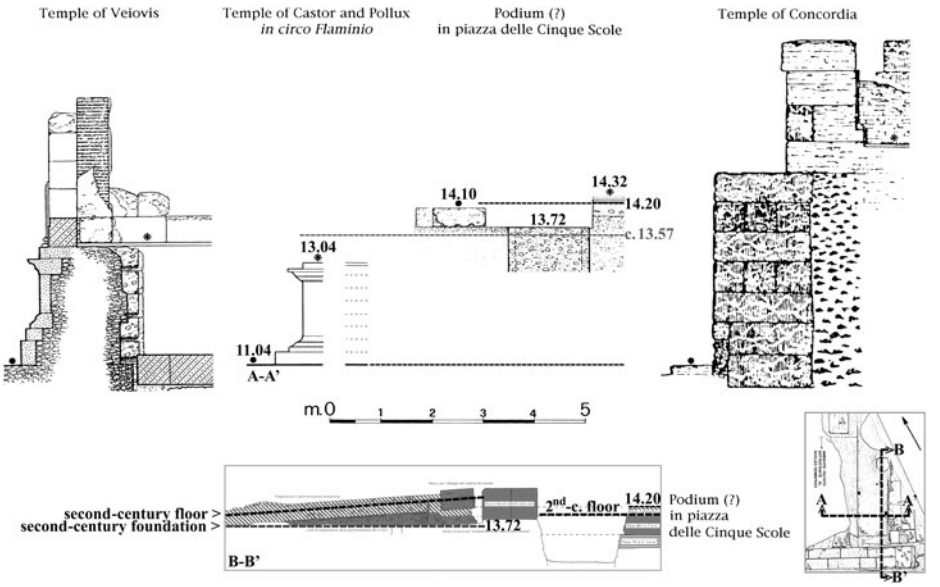

Fig. 12. Sections (at the same scale) of: the Temple of Veiovis; the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in Circo Flaminio* (according to the Via Anicia plan); the building of Piazza delle Cinque Scole; and the Temple of Concordia Augusta. *(Drawings author.)* Below: section of the presumed west side of the pronaos according to Vitti. *(Adapted from Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori 'in Circo'' (n. 14), fig. 16.)*

If one also considers the actual position of the three travertine steps, Vitti's identification should be definitively ruled out. In his latest article, Vitti examines them for the first time and claims that they do not interfere with the temple (Fig. 13). In fact, with the right metric scales and a correct location, they overlap the southeast side of the presumed pronaos (Fig. 3), that eventually would have been covered by the higher travertine floor. In his figure 6 (cf. Fig. 13, left) Vitti redraws a plan made in 1910, which shows the walls that were discovered when the foundations of the *villini* were being built. In the original plan — just a sketch (Fig. 13, right) — the alignments of the four *villini* are not correct and other

of the lack of space before the pronaos, it was necessary to insert the uppermost steps between the column plinths and, very likely, to build higher steps). In my reconstruction I considered eight steps 25 cm high just to have a round figure of 2 m for the podium height. According to M. Sediari, 'La topografia della Regio IX di Roma in età severiana', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 98 (1997), 215–48, esp. p. 245, the floor of the circus was at 9.30–9.50 m asl. Vitti considers Sediari's analysis reliable — cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117 n. 29 — but since the original floor of the temple was at *c.* 13.57 m asl, this means 4.07–4.27 m above the floor of the circus, and a staircase in which each of the eight steps was *c.* 50 cm high. Despite the reduced plan, the excessive width of the entrance, the position and the dating of the 'axial' base, and so on, below I shall indulge Vitti's identification once more and temporarily ignore the actual level of the circus deriving from a depth of –6.50 m and consider the depth of 6 m indicated in the *Notizie degli Scavi* quoted above: therefore, the lowermost floor level of the circus can be assumed to be at 11.54 m asl.

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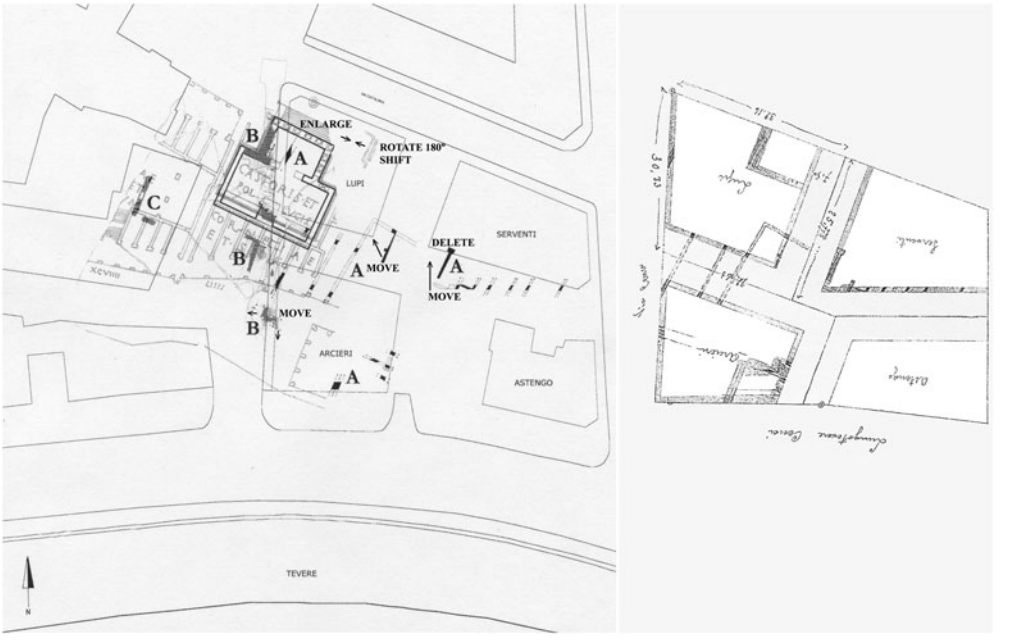

Fig. 13. Left: plan of the excavations in the area of the four *villini* according to Vitti. *(Adapted from Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori 'in Circo'' (n. 14), figs 9 and 6.)* Different metric scales are used at the same time, and the walls are misplaced, as in the original sketch on the right-hand side (Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Archivio Gatti, carta 3564). I have indicated the necessary modifications; note also the position of the bank of the Tiber.

details are approximate: for instance, lines of the same length correspond to either 22.63 or 32.16 m. Vitti overlays this schematic sketch on a modern plan and, because of the misalignments mentioned above, most of the ancient walls end up outside the *villini* (Fig. 13, left), where no excavations were made, and wrongly occupy my temple location.[60] In his drawing, in which the elevations are not considered at all, the metric scale is missing but it is possible to determine that the plan of the modern city and the Via Anicia plan are drawn at a different scale (1:840 and 1:940, respectively). More importantly, the steps and the gutter are misplaced and even upside down, so that the staircase leads far from the temple. Vitti remarks that the only remains that can be referred to a monumental building are precisely the steps with the semicircular gutter and the nearby floor: in his view, they stood far from the temple, but at the same scale and in the right position there is a conflict with the east corner of the pronaos.[61]

Vitti has clearly misunderstood the description in the *Notizie degli Scavi* according to which the direction of the steps was from the east to the west: he

[60] Compare the more reliable (although not perfect) plan published in Gatti, 'Dove erano situati' (above, n. 2), fig. 10.

[61] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117.

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notes that this orientation is not attested by the archival drawing, in which there is a north–south alignment.[62] However, the author of the 1910 report was not addressing the alignment of the steps but rather the direction of the staircase, which could be ascended from east to west. Vitti also fails to see that in the sketchy plan of the structures found in 1910 the steps and the gutter are not oriented as in his own plan; their orientation is clearly visible in two more drawings — one, in particular, with a large arrow pointing toward the north (Fig. 11).[63] Although the steps and the gutter were approximately in the middle of the north side of the *villino* Lupi — building and surrounding property included — and they are redrawn by Vitti as such (Fig. 11, top left-hand corner), in his general plan they appear shifted toward the east, far from the site of the presumed temple (Fig. 13).[64] In conclusion, a correct version of Vitti's plan requires an enlargement of the temple depicted on the Via Anicia plan toward the southeast, and a shift of the steps and gutter toward the northwest, with the conflict mentioned above (Fig. 13).[65] Ignoring that these steps overlapped his presumed temple, Vitti remarked that their height of *c.* 15 cm is not compatible with the Temple of Castor and Pollux, thus sparing me the discussion of whether they possibly belonged to a later phase of the temple itself (but for the sake of completeness, see below).[66] Moreover, in the 1996 trench these two phases (steps and gutter — higher travertine floor) were clearly missing (cf. Fig. 3, right).

At this point, it is worth considering the two stripes visible around the cella and the pronaos in the Via Anicia plan (Fig. 3). They might represent the cornice of the podium (overlapping the base of the podium itself) and an offset at the foot of the wall of the cella, or indicate a travertine step at the bottom of the podium and the cornice of the podium (the cornice overlapping the base below).[67] On

[62] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 114 n. 20.

[63] This drawing with the large arrow is even inserted in Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), fig. 7. However, since he did not publish the original plan of 1910, this mistake can hardly be detected. Different from Vitti's drawing, in the original plan the smaller perpendicular trench with the gutter going towards the west is missing.

[64] The actual position of both gutter and steps can be determined with certainty using the various archival drawings, considering that the space between the boundary wall and the outer east wall of the *villino* Lupi was 7.5 m wide (Fig. 10), and the distance from this wall to the trench in which the gutter and steps were found was 7.37 m (*c.* 15 m in total). The edge of the staircase was also at a distance of 3 m from the outer wall facing the street parallel to the Lungotevere (Fig. 10, d). Since the total length of the north front of the Lupi property was approximately 32 m, the excavation of the steps was carried out on the axis of the property itself.

[65] One might overestimate the proximity of the steps to the southeast side of the pronaos and think of a reconstruction of the main staircase of the temple, as I highlighted in Tucci, 'Imagining the temple' (above, n. 15), 414–15 and fig. 3 (here updated on account of more accurate plans). However, the side steps of Roman temples were provided with a parapet and did not reach the corner columns (there would not be enough space for the upper axial staircase), not to mention the problem of the concrete foundation (see below, and Fig. 14).

[66] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117 n. 28, where he misinterprets note 34 and fig. 3 (in fact fig. 5) of my 2007 article: in that drawing I was not considering the steps found in 1910.

[67] Two steps topped by the moulding of the base of the podium, as in the Temple of Hercules at Ostia, would imply a further stripe, at least in the phase depicted on the marble plan.

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the Via Anicia plan the two stripes end in correspondence with the corner columns and do not continue around the pedestals of the frontal staircase (the southeast pedestal is missing on the marble plan, but we can assume that the temple was symmetrical). It is precisely in this sector that the three steps found in 1910 stood: do they represent a modification of the original plan of the temple? We can even assume that the marble plan was not accurate in this case and that the two stripes continued along the pedestal placed on both sides of the staircase, but the problem is that not only the reports and drawings attest that the steps belonged to an actual staircase (they were 15 cm high and 28–30 cm deep), but also that the third element was an actual step.[68]

We might even consider a modification of the original staircase after the Via Anicia plan was carved, and imagine two side staircases (Fig. 14).[69] However, they would have left the two sides of the original podium of the pronaos exposed from beneath the corner columns to the wall of the cella, so that the tall concrete foundation would be inexplicable.[70] The Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum was provided with a speakers' platform approached by lateral staircases, but the popular assemblies (*contiones*) that were put up in the Circus Flaminius (and possibly near the Temple of Bellona) date to the late Republican age, a period in which the plan of the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo* is attested by the Via Anicia plan, where there was not a platform anyway. In conclusion, it is likely that the three steps belonged to a raised area of the circus, as suggested by the direction of the gutter. They are not compatible with the podium of a temple. Since they are not depicted on the Via Anicia plan, they might date to the second century AD (cf. Fig. 9).[71]

THE PODIUM

According to Vitti, the rear side of the presumed temple, with its late first- or early second-century brick facing, was rebuilt toward the Tiber (see above), and consequently the Via Anicia plan depicts an earlier phase of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. The dating of this marble plan to before the end of the first

[68] By analogy with the Temple of Hercules at Ostia — cf. Adam, *Le Temple de Portunus* (above, n. 42), fig. 37.7 — after the two steps one would expect to find the mouldings of the base of the podium, but in 1910 a third step was recorded.

[69] However, the continuation of the steps would be in conflict even with the corner column of the pronaos.

[70] In Figure 14 one can see that the hypothetical side staircases would create a sort of platform before the pronaos. With the lowermost level of the circus (11.04 m asl) more steps would be necessary and the platform would be too narrow.

[71] If one wanted to identify these steps with the southeast limit of the pronaos, according to Vitti's location of the temple, besides the problem of the levels outlined above one should also consider that the width of the pronaos would correspond precisely to its depiction on the marble plan (cf. Fig. 3), which means a complete incompatibility regarding the entrance being 10 m wide and the eccentric base discussed above (not to mention the problem of the warehouses, as outlined in the next section).

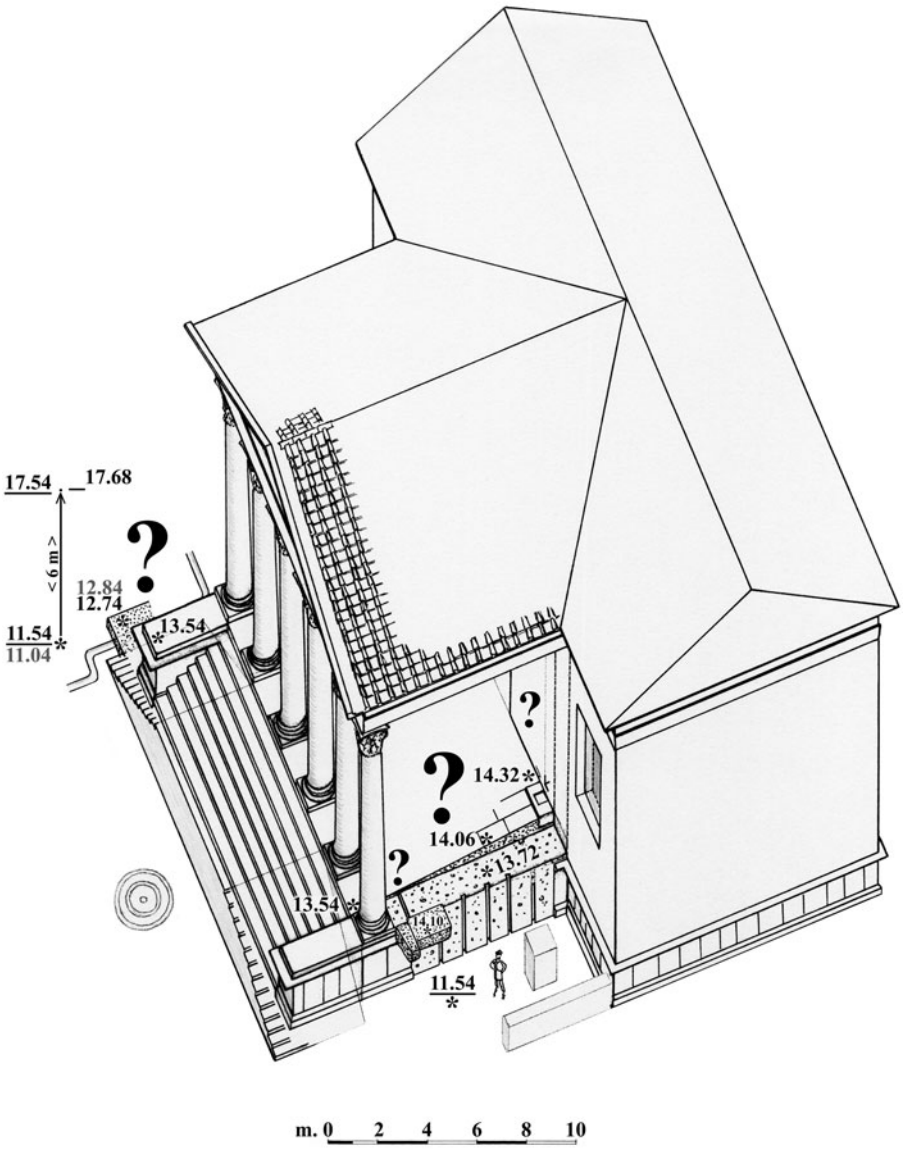

Fig. 14. Axonometric view of the Temple of Castor and Pollux according to Vitti's reconstruction, and with a hypothetical double staircase. *(Drawing: author.)* The question marks highlight some of the major problems in Vitti's identification (for example, the overlapping with the staircase found in 1910 and the concrete foundation in the west side of the presumed pronaos).

century AD is correct (not because of the presumed shifted wall, though) but, thanks to this chronological difference, Vitti interprets the archaeological evidence freely, even implying that the original podium of the temple disappeared — an unprecedented event, considering the reconstructions and restorations of other Republican temples. To discuss this part of the structure, I

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have drawn an axonometric view of the Temple of Castor and Pollux as depicted on the Via Anicia plan, and I have associated with it the walls found in Piazza delle Cinque Scole according to Vitti's reconstruction (Fig. 14). First of all, however, it is necessary to go back to the sections (Fig. 12) and consider that the floor in *cocciopesto* (at approximately 13.57 m asl) was just 15 cm beneath the top of the concrete foundation (13.72 m asl) dating to the Imperial age, the level and the technical characteristics of which (I refer to the traces of the wooden formwork discussed above (n. 53)) imply that it was an actual foundation and that, when it was built, the floor of the circus was higher than in the late Republican age. In Vitti's reconstruction the concrete foundation would have replaced the external facing of the podium on the northwest side of the pronaos. Even assuming that this part of the temple was so damaged as to require a total reconstruction (different from the nearby squared-stone masonry of the presumed cella?), the restored temple would have been built without a podium, despite the efforts made to raise the ground level around it. According to Vitti, the concrete foundation was the actual foundation of the northwest side of the pronaos. Vitti adds that eventually two rooms, or (underground) vaulted chambers, were added to the pronaos sides, apparently below the top of the concrete foundation.

This scenario is problematic. In fact, there is no space for the profile of a podium between 13.72 m asl (the top of the concrete foundation) and the second-century AD slanting floor of the presumed pronaos. The alternative is even worse: it would be necessary to assume that the concrete foundation was built well above ground level (*c.* 2.18 m if the circus floor was at 11.54 m asl). In Roman temples, the vertical slabs between the base and the cornice were thick enough to allow the pouring of concrete inside the podium (see the Temple of Veiovis in Figure 12), unless an actual ashlar wall was built, as customary in large temples (see the Temple of Concordia Augusta in Figure 12). It would have been even more reasonable to use a brick facing, as in several temples built or restored in the Imperial age, but the use of a wooden formwork for a podium, above ground level, can be excluded.[72] Vitti himself claims that the blocks of tuff were used exclusively for the elevations and the exterior of the core, but there is no trace of and space for such blocks on the northwest side of the monumental building.[73] The concrete foundation with the imprints of the wooden posts, which according to him was built together with the squared-stone masonry nearby between the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries AD, requires a totally different dating and

[72] It is unlikely that the floor of the circus was temporily raised on the side of the pronaos to build the concrete foundation, and eventually lowered to its original level. The four rectangular foundations inside the Temple of Veiovis had a different function and were built well inside the podium, leaving its exterior side intact: see Colini, *Il tempio di Veiove* (above, n. 2), 10–12. (In the case of Veiovis, since the inner long sides were built inside the earth that filled the podium inside the cella, the use of wooden formworks also on the opposite side was inevitable.)

[73] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 127.

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reconstruction.[74] The concrete foundation was not a shapeless mass of concrete; its edges were straight and vertical, and the traces of wooden posts make it clear that there were no slots for stone elements belonging to the external profile of a podium.[75]

THE BUILDINGS DEPICTED ON THE VIA ANICIA PLAN

According to Vitti, the walls found in the 1910s beneath the four *villini* did not belong to the Temple of Castor and Pollux.[76] According to my location, however, the temple covered just the southwest corner of the *villino* Serventi and the northeast sector of the *villino* Arcieri, where nothing at all was recorded (Fig. 10). Similarly, no foundations, floors, or architectural elements were recorded beneath the *villino* Lupi, where the east half of the monumental building stood. On the basis of the early twentieth-century drawings, neither 'my temple' nor the monumental building would exist! Yet, the latter occupied the site of a rectangular square, known in the Middle Ages as the 'mercatello' (little market) and eventually as the 'Piazza delle Scole' (square of the synagogues). There is no reason to assume that its state of preservation was not identical in the sector excavated in 1996 and in the area occupied by the *villino* Lupi, which cut the monumental building diagonally into two halves: it is unlikely that its eastern half had been spoliated in the Middle Ages envisioning the plan of a twentieth-century building. Only the rear wall of the monumental building, on which the outer wall of the synagogues was built, appeared to have been completely spoliated: 'my temple', the site of which was occupied by several houses, might have shared the same fate.

Vitti stresses that only commercial buildings were found during the previous excavations, but if the temple was dismantled and no structures were recorded in the two small sectors reached in 1910, this does not rule my identification out. Otherwise, we should assume that there was an empty space on this side of the circus or, as I have already stressed, that even the monumental building did not exist at all. In short, Vitti's dismissal of my location is based on the

[74] Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 81.

[75] It is worth repeating that the level of the modern footpath marked in the plan of the excavation (17.68 m asl), very likely corresponding to 17.54 m asl at street level in 1910, implies that the floor of the Circus Flaminius next to the steps found in 1910 was at 11.54 m asl. Consequently, the top of the higher travertine floor discovered in 1910 reaches the level of 12.74/12.84 m asl (–6 m and +1.20 m; –6.50 and +1.80), more or less at the mid-height of the original podium (Fig. 14) and approximately 1 m below the top of the concrete foundation (13.72 m asl), which, however, was not built above ground level. Following Vitti's reconstruction, the level of 13.54 m asl would have been preserved at the top of the staircase of the pronaos; however, the plinth of the corner column could not rest on a foundation higher than the floor of the pronaos. Moreover, the presumed travertine floor of Vitti's side chamber would have been higher than the pronaos floor (14.10 and 13.54 m asl, respectively).

[76] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 116–17.

argument that absence of evidence is evidence of absence. However, the area between the four *villini* was not excavated at all (it seems so only in Vitti's drawing, in which the ancient walls are misplaced: see Fig. 13), and the excavation of the few trenches overlapping the temple (on the north side of the *villino* Arcieri and the west corner of the *villino* Serventi) brought to light nothing at all in the first case, and an ashlar wall at a depth of 8.5 m in the second. In any case, although there is no 'smoking gun' for my alternative location of the temple, an indirect confirmation is provided by the other buildings discovered in the area.

The walls of the warehouses found in 1996 have an alignment that is compatible with my location of the Via Anicia plan, being inserted into the pre-existing structures in a logical way (Fig. 9), as opposed to Vitti's scenario (Figs 3, right, and 13). Vitti is just concerned for the fact that in his reconstruction the walls beneath the church of San Tommaso ai Cenci stood inside the courtyard northwest of the temple, but he highlights that, according to my location, there would be bigger inconsistencies.[77] On the contrary, in my view the walls found in the 1996 excavation stood in that courtyard with precisely the same orientation.[78] Vitti assigns these walls to the *tabernae* between the temple and the Tiber depicted on the Via Anicia plan, and claims that there is a perfect correspondence with his location of the marble plan (cf. Fig. 3, right).[79] The wall behind the presumed temple is shifted, and the walls of the *tabernae* are not orthogonal anymore: they even block the road along the Tiber and invade the river-bank.[80] However, the Forma Urbis shows no modifications: in the Severan age the partition walls of these *tabernae* were still perpendicular to the rear wall (they even appear to be aligned opposite to how they are depicted in Vitti's plan)

[77] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117 and n. 31. With Vitti's identification of the temple, an ancient wall found in Via di San Bartolomeo de' Vaccinari — see P. Virgili, 'Scavi in Via delle Zoccolette e adiacenze', *Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica* (*Archeologia Laziale* VIII) 14 (1987), 102–8, esp. pp. 102–5 — does not correspond with the marble plans (cf. Figs 1 and 13).

[78] In either case, these walls attest that the space of that courtyard was built over in the early second century AD, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the Via Anicia plan. Similar changes are inevitable also according to Vitti's reconstruction of the area. In my view, the modifications of the warehouse and the steps next to the gutter confirm that the Via Anicia plan dates to before the Flavian or Trajanic ages. In the wall of the courtyard toward the circus, the corner visible in Vitti's plan (Fig. 2, right-hand side) and its continuation toward the southeast may have been connected incorrectly: it is likely that the wall was rectilinear and that there was a vertical slot for a down-drain

[79] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117.

[80] The southernmost wall is not ancient. Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 75, claims that the walls of the warehouses were bonded to an orthogonal wall 90 cm thick, to be identified with the rear side of the building, but the walls were not orthogonal at all (cf. Fig. 3) (indeed, the width of the only *taberna* uncovered varied from 3.75 to 4.7 m). The excavators — cf. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Rinvenimenti e restauri' (above, n. 12), 274 and n. 33 — also noticed that the warehouse had a modular layout, as on the Via Anicia plan, but this conclusion cannot be reached knowing the width of a single *taberna*. Apparently, these observations take for granted the correspondence with the marble plan.

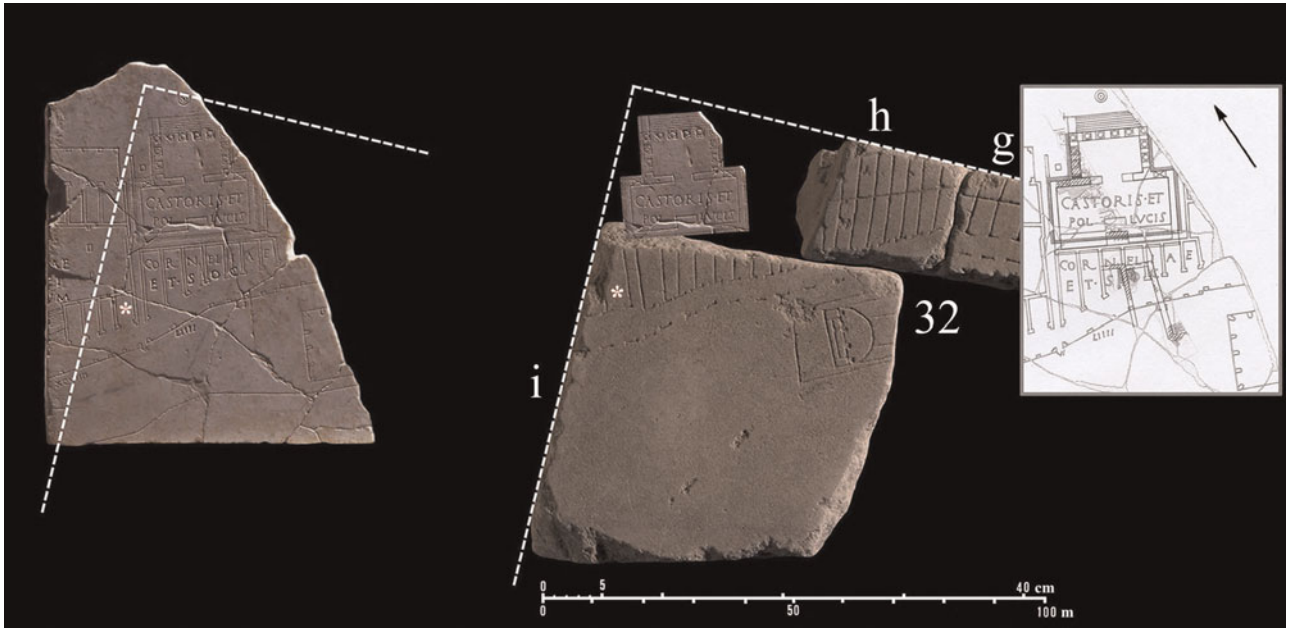

Fig. 15. Left: the marble plan of the Via Anicia *(photo: author)*. Right: fragments 32 g–i of the Forma Urbis, showing the position of the (missing) temple of Castor and Pollux, which would have appeared in the corner of the slab (adapted from forma.urbis.stanford.edu). Note the different depth of the *taberna* marked with an asterisk on the Via Anicia plan and on the Severan Forma Urbis. Also compare the *tabernae* depicted on the Forma Urbis behind the temple (the latter not preserved) with Vitti's plan (in the inset: from Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori 'in Circo'' (n. 14), fig. 23).

and the road along the Tiber still existed (Fig. 15). Vitti notes that the excavated warehouses opened toward the river, although no entrances were found.[81] It is worth noting that the only difference between the Via Anicia plan and the Forma Urbis is the greater depth of the *tabernae* toward the Tiber in the block northwest of the temple in the latter plan (that, indeed, is not a mere copy of the former). This is consistent with my reconstruction of that block, in which the rear wall of the four small *tabernae* opening toward the Tiber is shifted backwards (Figs 9 and 15). More important, in Vitti's plan there is a widening of the left bank of the river toward the circus (Figs 1 and 13). Also the levels confirm that the warehouses discovered in 1996 must have been built on the site of the courtyard visible northwest of the temple.[82]

Last but not least, with my overlaying of the plans (Fig. 9), it appears that the concrete foundation seen in 1996 was built in the (originally) empty space before the portico on the northwest side of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, when the floor of the circus had already covered the steps and the gutter. In my reconstruction there is also a perfect alignment of the ashlar wall of the monumental building with the edge of the portico (Figs 9 and 10). It is not unlikely that the few courses of bricks that Vitti thought belonged to the side wall of the cult base were instead the remainder of a pre-existing Trajanic wall incorporated beneath the late antique wall, which would further dismiss his identification of the temple. According to my reconstruction, the layer of *cocciopesto* seen in 1996 belonged to the portico facing the Circus Flaminius, and a new building was built over that portico in late antiquity.

As for the walls discovered and recorded one century ago, these are sometimes too high, and sometimes too deep, in the stratigraphic sequence, compared to the actual levels of the travertine floors of the Circus Flaminius. Indeed, these walls were not recorded in archaeological excavations, but were seen in the bottom of trenches (*c.* 1.3 m wide and 8.5 m deep, well below the Imperial levels of the Circus Flaminius) made for the foundations of the outer walls of the four *villini*. Vitti, on the basis of misplaced archival drawings (Fig. 13), claims that the ancient walls found in 1910 do not support my identification, but on the contrary the walls that were contemporary with the Imperial floors of the circus do correspond to the walls depicted on the Via Anicia plan.[83] Moreover, the easternmost wall found under the *villino* Lupi is already misplaced in the general plan that was drawn after the excavations for the *villini* combining the different surveys

[81] Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 109.

[82] In my view, the walls excavated in 1996 were just substructures, which explains the level of the relieving arches, the presence of a drain, a basalt-paved area, and the lack of an entrance. These structures are incompatible with the topography depicted on the Via Anicia plan and on the Severan Forma Urbis, according to Vitti's location of both plans. See Tucci, 'Imagining the temple' (above, n. 15), 417–19, for a detailed discussion of the levels. Vitti acknowledges that a future analysis of the levels (still missing in his articles) will help our understanding of the chronology and the relationship of the buildings: Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 117 n. 29.

[83] Vitti does not discuss the walls that do not correspond to his location of the temple (cf. Fig. 13).

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(Fig. 13): it is located under the outer wall of the *villino*, whereas it was found inside the area of the *villino* itself (Fig. 10, b).[84] It is worth noting its correlation with the southeast end of the portico depicted west of the temple on the Via Anicia plan.

In February 1910, an ashlar wall 6.6 m long was recorded at the southwest corner of the *villino* Serventi, at a depth of 8.5 m (or perhaps 7.5 m, according to a note in a drawing). It was made of blocks 60 cm high and thick. What did the excavators find before reaching the depth of 8.5 m? This lack of information testifies to the gaps in the archaeological reports. The ashlar wall might have belonged to a structure older than the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the pronaos of which, according to my identification, partially occupied the southwest corner of this *villino*. Next to this ashlar wall, but at a depth of just 3 m (*c.* 14.5 m asl), a level much higher than the late antique floor of the circus and even higher than the floor of the temple, a series of brick-faced walls was found, but they stood southeast of my proposed pronaos (Fig. 10, c: the *villino* Serventi is on the right).[85]

Beneath the southeast corner of the *villino* Arcieri (cf. Fig. 10, e), in December 1909 or January 1910, at a depth of 8 m the remains of an ashlar wall ('costruzione ad opera quadrata') were discovered, which might have belonged to the foundations of the front wall of the *tabernae* behind the temple. When the other ashlar wall mentioned above was discovered in February 1910, it was noticed that it could actually have belonged 'alla medesima costruzione scoperta nell'adiacente villino Arcieri, giacchè l'orientamento è il medesimo, cioè da nord-est a sud-ovest, come pure la profondità è uguale'. It is more likely that they both belonged to structures older than the temple. The 'construction in square-stone masonry' mentioned above was actually a sort of wide foundation, and indeed it is marked as such in the general plan of 1910 ('platea') and in the original sketch ('platea di tufi'). A sector of this structure at least 2.95 m wide was recorded: it was built with blocks 60 cm thick, precisely like those found beneath the other *villino*.[86]

Nearly in the middle of the west side of the *villino* Arcieri another structure made of square-stone masonry was found in December 1909 at a depth of 8 m

[84] The outline of the *villini* in the archival drawings corresponds to their outer walls: cf. the south corner of the *villino* Serventi in Fig 10, c.

[85] In particular, no partial plans show the westernmost wall that appears only in the general plan drawn in 1910, which is a mere collage of the sketches made during the excavations. This wall should be consequently deleted (cf. Fig. 13, with the indication 'DELETE'). It is not unlikely that when the general plan was drawn, its author misinterpreted the pier with the flat pilaster and the arrow next to it in the original sketch. I would also note that some 'medieval' walls excavated in the last two decades in the area of the Ghetto had regular brick facings made with triangular bricks. Inside the transverse cella of the Temple of Concordia in the Roman Forum, too, a later wall can be seen with a perfect brick facing. Also, other temples in the area of the Circus Flaminius show that a podium could be spoliated or completely demolished, and its site occupied by medieval houses.

[86] *Notizie degli Scavi* 1 (1910), 4–5; 2 (1910), 54–5. The early twentieth-century records also mention (and show in section) a staircase found west of the 'platea', but it is impossible to locate it. It was not on the south, as the drawings might suggest, because the structure with parallel lines represents another ashlar wall. On the Via Anicia plan a staircase is depicted precisely west of the 'platea'.

(cf. Fig. 10, e). It consisted of three courses of blocks of tuff measuring 75 cm in width and 68 cm in height, that apparently did not belong to the 'platea' found on the opposite side of the same *villino* because of the different size of the blocks. According to my location of the Via Anicia plan, this ashlar wall corresponds to the foundation of the southeast wall of the courtyard northwest of the temple (cf. Fig. 10). Indeed, one of the brick-faced walls discovered in this area in 1996 rested on at least one course of blocks of tuff.[87] The different ashlar walls seen in 1910 might have belonged to two different properties, as implied by the Via Anicia plan, although they seem to share the same alignment.[88]

CONCLUSIONS

Is it possible to assume that the Temple of Castor and Pollux stood on the actual site of the monumental building, and that it was radically rebuilt and altered in late antiquity?[89] Unfortunately, there are no comparable examples of such a

[87] In Vitti's view, this ashlar wall stood on the bank of the Tiber, outside the porticoed road (cf. Fig. 3, right). Note that in his plan (cf. Fig. 13, left) the perfect correlation of this ashlar wall and the southernmost brick wall with a foundation of square-stone masonry found in 1996 is just the consequence of another mistake: the brick wall, which in his plan is next to the lower letter B, was found west of the modern sidewalk — cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), figs 1–2 — which means that in the same plan either the walls found in 1996 or the outline of the modern blocks are not located correctly (cf. Fig. 3, right).

[88] These walls are quite different from the foundations of the Trajanic warehouses excavated in the area of the Portus Tiberinus, which consisted of isolated piers of travertine linked by flat arches made of *bipedales*: cf. A.M. Colini, 'Il porto fluviale del Foro Boario a Roma', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36 (1980), 43–53. It is worth stressing that in the Circus Flaminius the level of the modern Lungotevere is at *c.* 18 m asl and the Tiber at *c.* 7 m asl; this means that the ashlar walls were seen between 9.5 and 10 m asl, below the level of the (Augustan?) travertine floor of the circus (*c.* 11 m asl).

[89] I would also exclude that the pronaos became tetrastyle (with the missing side colonnades replaced by underground chambers), which would allow a location of the Via Anicia plan toward the west, or that there were two entrances and two bases inside the cella (the surviving brick facing is against such an axial division). The construction of a concrete foundation inside the pronaos also should be rejected: Vitti himself does not consider this possibility, since for him this foundation did belong to the hexastyle pronaos: cf. Vitti, 'Aedes Castoris et Pollucis' (above, n. 14), 80–1, figs 11–17. In any case, the warehouses toward the Tiber negate such possibilities. Vitti overestimates the recovery of a small fragment of one of the Dioscuri, that he found in the core of the boundary wall of the Ghetto built in 1555 — cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 128 n. 72 — that might have ended up in the area of the monumental building for various reasons (see above, note 2, for the possible reuse of the head of a horse in a house located in the same place as the new findings). As a matter of fact, the statues of the Dioscuri required a base of *c.* 3.11 × 3.18 m (the one on the left in the Capitoline setting: total length 4.25 m) and of *c.* 3.35 × 3.16 m (the one on the right: total length 4.69 m): cf. P.L. Tucci, 'Il tempio dei Castori in Circo Flaminio: la lastra di Via Anicia', in L. Nista (ed.), *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma* (Rome, 1994), 123–8, esp. p. 127 n. 6. On the Via Anicia plan the pedestals on either side of the frontal staircase and the axial base are too small, but the Capitoline statues date to the Antonine age. In any case, the monumental building is also unfit

restoration. In particular, this strange temple would have no podium, differently from all the Republican temples of the Campus Martius restored in the Imperial age and from other temples located next to the Tiber (in the Forum Holitorium and in the Forum Boarium). If in the area of the 1996 excavation the temple has to be smaller to match its depiction on the Via Anicia plan, as Vitti implies with his reduced plans, it should be observed that the walls of the nearby warehouses dismiss such a radical restoration of the temple.

Perhaps a late antique building is considered not as appealing as a late Republican temple, but the walls and floors found in 1996 appear to belong to a building smaller than and different from the temple. The travertine floor of the Circus Flaminius was raised on at least two occasions during the Imperial age, as attested elsewhere in the Campus Martius (for example, at the Area Sacra of Largo Argentina and in the area of the Horologium Augusti), and the monumental building is clearly in phase with the highest floor (14.1 m asl). After the construction of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, other monuments occupied the area of the circus, including the Theatre of Marcellus, the Arch of Germanicus (and possibly the Arch of Drusus the Younger), and the Flavian building at Via de' Calderari. Is it conceivable that between the second and fourth centuries AD nothing else was built there? My alternative interpretation, considering the archaeological evidence as well as the Via Anicia plan vis-à-vis the Severan version, shows that towards the end of the first century AD there was not the dramatic urban change implied by Vitti's reconstruction, but just the saturation of the courtyard west of the temple. The monumental building would attest that the area of the circus was still important in the fourth century AD.

The use of blocks of tuff for its ashlar wall can be compared with the travertine blocks (re)used at the bottom of the walls of the Diocletianic Senate House. The monumental building might have been planned with a transverse hall considering the limited depth of the portico facing the circus (and it is possible that its plan was quite different: see above, pp. 98–102). An entrance like a pronaos can be found in a series of Roman non-religious buildings dating to different periods, such as the Odeon in the Agora of Athens and the 'Library of Hadrian' in the same city, both with tetrastyle porches. In 2007 I had made a few suggestions already, including a

for the two statues. The pedestals would have been as wide as the concrete foundation (just 1.52 m), and in conflict with the upper travertine floor seen in 1910; the axial base would push the rear wall of the presumed temple over the warehouses. Discovered in the 1996 excavation were also a few architectural elements dating to the Julio-Claudian period and to the third century AD: Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 120 n. 38. Beneath the *villino* Serventi, in front of 'my' Temple of Castor and Pollux, a large marble slab was found bearing the dedication, in Greek, to a deity that could not be identified because of its state of preservation: see *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma* (1911), 88.

synagogue similar to that at Dura Europos, which would also explain the construction of the main medieval synagogue in Rome in the area of the courtyard west of the temple.[90] Of course, there are other possible alternatives.

Be that as it may, at least one can confidently exclude the identification of the monumental building with the Temple of Castor and Pollux. According to my alternative location (which fits better with the archaeological evidence, the Via Anicia plan, and the shift of the Forma Urbis fragments of the circus), the temple stood on the same north–south alignment as the oldest temples in the central Campus Martius (the Pantheon, the temples at Largo Argentina, and so on). In addition, it stood in front of Neptune, probably because the Dioscuri were held to be patrons of travellers (and of sailors in particular). If so, these 'prerequisites' would explain the location of the temple as close as possible to the east sector of the circus, where, however, the space between the circus itself and the Tiber was extremely narrow, with the consequent adoption of a transverse cella to avoid building the rear side of the cella on the river-bank and on huge substructures.[91] For Vitti, the lack

[90] See R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Diaspora* (Leiden/Boston, 1998). In the list of buildings with transverse plans I would include the 'Kultsaal' in the heroon of Kalydon, also known as the Leontion, dating to the second century BC: see E. Dyggve, F. Poulsen and K. Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (Copenhagen, 1934). For a later period, I would mention the axial hall of the Templum Pacis, although the pronaos and the cella have the same width. See also Tucci, 'Imagining the temple' (above, n. 15), 419. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 129 n. 81 claims that doubts on my identifications were raised by Mary T. Boatwright in www.bmcreview.org/2009/08/20090822.html (last consulted 09.06.2013), who wrote that I 'tentatively' identified the monumental building with the *Secretarium Circi*, or even with a synagogue. Indeed, I simply tendered these alternatives, pointing out that there was no conclusive evidence for either one (apparently, Vitti misinterpreted that 'tentatively'). Vitti highlights the excessive dimensions and the differences in plan, but simply because he is convinced that the monumental building is the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the cella of which measured *c.* 9 × 24 m. In fact, its actual dimensions are likely to be nearly half those of the temple (the synagogue at Dura Europos measures *c.* 7.85 × 13.50 m). A rectangular hall discovered in the 1930s near Via Marmorata and identified with a *schola* measured 6.6 × 12.1 m: C. Lega, 'Schola (Via Marmorata)', in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* IV *(P–S)* (Rome, 1999), 260–1.

[91] The temples with transverse cella built in Rome are (in chronological order) the Temple of Veiovis on the Capitoline Hill, perhaps the Temple of Venus Victrix in the Theatre of Pompey, the original Pantheon in the Campus Martius, and the Temple of Concordia Augusta in the Roman Forum: see P. Gros, *Aurea templa* (Rome, 1976), 143–7; P.G. Monti, 'I templi a cella trasversale. Una testimonianza di Fregellae nell'ambito di una rara tipologia architettonica', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche)* 10 (1) (1999), 19–55; P. Gros, *L'architettura romana dagli inizi del III secolo a.C. alla fine dell'alto impero* (Milan, 2001), 146; B.D. Rous, 'Forms or cult? Temples with transverse *cellae* in Republican and early Imperial Italy', *BABesch* 82 (2007), 333–46; A. Monterroso Checa, *Theatrum Pompei. Forma y arquitectura de la génesis del modelo teatral de Roma* (Madrid, 2010), 270–8. The case of the Temple of Juppiter Jurarius on the Tiber island, dedicated in 196 BC, is uncertain: see F. Giuliani, 'Isola Tiberina, ecco il tempio di Giove', *La Repubblica* (Rome edition) (5 June 1999), iii, and *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 71 (1998–9), xxiii. Outside Rome, cf. the Tiberian temple in the provincial forum at Augusta Emerita: P.M. Cruz and A. Pizzo, 'L'architecture monumentale d'*Augusta Emerita*. De nouvelles

of space behind the temple is not a concern (his warehouses even occupy the bank of the Tiber), and indeed he maintains that the choice of the transverse cella did not originate from this problem.[92] One can exclude that its cella was planned considering its insertion in the circus (it is possible that they were not even aligned), or that it was located on that side of the circus because the last temple to be built in the area (in fact, there was a lot of space available).[93] Religious reasons can be excluded, too, considering that the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum was a *peripteros* built on a tall podium. In the light of the discussion on the phenomenon of transverse cella temples as part of the 'Hellenization' of Roman religious architecture, the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo* should be considered as a mere architectural experimentation: other innovative buildings had appeared in the area of the Circus Flaminius, such as the Temple of Hercules and the Muses (with its circular cella and a front porch — a forerunner of transverse cella temples?), the Temple of Jupiter Stator (the first marble temple in the city), and the Porticoes of Octavius and Metellus. The Temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo* was just the elegant solution to a topographical problem, inspired by the similar case of the Temple of Veiovis. Apparently, in

perspectives', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 123 (2011), 581–95 (esp. p. 586 and fig. 2).

[92] Cf. Vitti, 'Il tempio dei Castori' (above, n. 14), 133–4, who does not consider that the temple plans might have been governed by the associated cults or by aesthetic considerations. He concludes that the insertion of windows into its façade is an innovation and a clear sign of the Greek influence, but both the circular cellas of the Round Temple by the Tiber (late second century BC) and of the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli (early first century BC) had two windows on either side of the entrance.

[93] Cf. F. Zevi, 'L'identificazione del tempio di Marte 'in Circo' e altre osservazioni', in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon* (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 27) (Rome, 1976), II, 1,047–64, esp. p. 1,049. In fact, it is not even certain whether the two long sides of the Circus Flaminius were parallel and straight for their entire length: the Circus Maximus and the Circus of Maxentius show slight changes in their long sides: J.H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London, 1986), 124–6. In the Via Anicia plan, the portico of the warehouse west of the temple and the temple itself have different alignments, which means that one of them did not follow the orientation of the circus. When I first located the Via Anicia plan, I first shifted it, together with group 32 g–i of the Forma Urbis, *c.* 36 m toward the east and then I slightly rotated the fragments in order to have the same alignment of the temple and the northeast side of the circus: Tucci, 'Nuove ricerche' (above, n. 11), tav. XIII. Apparently, this rotation is not necessary. The portico of the warehouse northwest of the temple (and eventually the monumental building, which occupied its very site) might have had the same alignment as the circus, and the temple, instead, might have had the same alignment as the Theatre of Marcellus. My plan of the Circus Flaminius (cf. Fig. 1) dates to the early 1990s (the version published in the present paper was updated in 1996 after my identification of the Temple of Neptune) and does not show this correction. (However, another possibility is that the temple had the same orientation as the circus, and that the portico northwest of the temple acquired this orientation after it was depicted on the Via Anicia plan.)

our case-study a difference of a few metres does matter, in that it may explain this temple's significance and layout.[94]

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