THE CULTS OF ANCIENT TRASTEVERE

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THE CULTS OF ANCIENT TRASTEVERE1

INTRODUCTION

In ancient as in modern Rome, the quarter of the
city on the right bank of the Tiber maintained a
character of its own. It was sufficiently remote to
possess some individuality and at the same time
close enough to be affected by influences from
other quarters of the city. In the religious life of
the city, it was always a section of few public
cults or public gatherings, undoubtedly because it
was not incorporated within the limits of Rome
until the time of Augustus. Since the pomoerium
seems never to have been extended to include the
quarter, its numerous foreign residents were free to
build sanctuaries to the gods of their choice.2 Of the
other parts of Rome, the Aventine alone had a similar
development. It also was extra pomoerium for a long
period and, geographically, was relatively isolated
from the rest of the city. However, two of its three
temples of Roman gods were said to have been
foundations of Servius Tullius, and the temple of
Minerva was known as early as the second Punic war.

1 This study was written while I was a Fellow at the
American Academy in Rome during 1936—1938. I am grateful
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2 A boundary cippus (CIL vi 31538c) of the pomoerium
was found in Trastevere, built into a wall under the church
of Sta. Cecilia. It had been almost certainly moved there
from its original position somewhere across the Tiber; see
PLATNER-ASHBY, s. v. Pomerium, p. 396 f.

With three public temples, the Aventine could not
long remain apart from the religious life of Rome.3
In Rome the district on the right bank of the
Tiber was always called Trans Tiberim, Trastevere in
Italian. The term was and is used carelessly, but in
general it designates the long Janiculum ridge and
the low land between it and the Tiber. It extends
from the steep northern end of the Janiculum at
S. Onofrio as far as the more gradual southern slopes
of Monteverde. In ancient times, the section north
of the Janiculum was properly the Vaticanum or ager
Vaticanus, the Prati or Prati di Castello of to-day.4
This study concerns only the Janiculum and the short
strip of land below it along the river bank. Together
they may properly be called Trans Tiberim or Tras-
tevere; and the location would be evident at once to
an ancient or modern Roman.

In the history of Trastevere, the effect of its
location upon its fortunes is constantly apparent.
The geological formation of the Janiculum ridge
extended originally almost due north and south for
5 km. from Monte Mario at the north to a southern
point in Monteverde opposite the Aventine. At the
Vatican there was an artificial valley, formed by
ancient clay pits. The Janiculum itself from S. Onofrio
to its southern extremity is a ridge about 2 km. in

3 On the Aventine temples, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3,
157—161.

4 Two examples from Latin literature will suffice to
show how loosely the geographical terms were used. HO-
RACE'S lines (Od., i, 20, 7 f.), redderet laudes tibi Vaticani |
montis imago, must refer to the greater heights of the Janiculum.
Similarly MARTIAL, iv, 64, describes as viewed from the
Janiculum places in Rome which are only visible from Monte
Mario, about 3 km. further north.
length. At the Porta S. Pancrazio it attains its greatest height of 83 m. above the Tiber, while its average height is between 60 and 70 m. above the Campus Martius.5 The soil is a marine formation of the older Pliocene period, consisting of an upper layer of coarse yellow sand and a lower layer of grayish-blue clay. As it happened, both clay and sand became famous. From the golden color of the sand, the hill was called Mons Aureus in the sixth century after Christ.6 The clay was used, under the Empire at least, for the manufacture of a cheap, fragile pottery.7 Finally, large tufa quarries at Monteverde were an important source of building material in Republican times.8 The presence of such a high, long ridge naturally created drainage problems which were grave enough to tax the ingenuity of Roman engineers. As a hydrographic map of Rome shows, several small streams flowed down from the slopes of the Janiculum and collected into stagnant pools in lower Trastevere.9 Remains of a Republican viaduct which followed the line of the Via Lungaretta bore witness to the condition of the swampy lowlands at an early period when it was necessary to raise the level of a road on arches.10 At the same time, there was an accompanying lack of drinking water, a shortage which was always to vex the quarter. Of the two aqueducts in Trastevere, the Aqua Alsietina of Augustus was intended to supply water for his naumachia in the region, while the Aqua Traiana was mainly used for the Janiculum mills.11 Neither provided drinking water. The difficulties of communication were another of the undesirable features of Trastevere, and it was not until several bridges spanned the Tiber that intensive

5 This account of the geological formation is based on NISSEN, Italische Landeskunde ii (Berlin, 1902), 489. See Pl. 1.
6 Cf. GATTI, Bull. Com., xvii (1889), 392—399. The Italian name of the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio shows a corruption of the phrase.
7 MART. i, 18, 2; JUV. Sat., vi, 344, Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas. Nothing further is known of this pottery.
8 See TENNEY FRANK, Roman Buildings of the Republic (Rome, 1924), 28—32.
9 See R. LANCIANI, The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome (London, 1897), fig. 1.
10 For reports of discoveries of parts of this viaduct, see Bull. Com., xvii (1889), 475 f.; xviii (1890), 7—9; 57—65; xxv (1897), 166.
these seizures that the Romans instituted the custom of flying a flag on the arx of the Janiculum during meetings of the comitia centuriata.\textsuperscript{18} Until the capture of Veii in 396 B. C., the Janiculum certainly fell into the hands of the Etruscans from time to time. The Tiber constituted only a barrier, never a boundary, and the land on both sides of the river was doomed to be the object of disputes until either Romans or Etruscans were decisively victorious. Both the Tiber and Trastevere were called Etruscan without any explanation as late as the Roman Empire.\textsuperscript{19}

Even after Etruscan wars ceased harrying Rome, the Janiculum continued to fulfill its natural function as a citadel, the arx of Rome which lay directly opposite the arx of the Capitol. When the forces of Marius marched into the capital from Etruria, they entered at the Janiculum, and encamped across the Tiber from the city. Sertorius was stationed above the city, Cinna and Carbo opposite it, presumably on the Janiculum, and Marius took his stand towards the sea. It is significant that Marius took Ostia at the same time. From the position which he held, he controlled entrance to Ostia as well as to Rome.\textsuperscript{20} Marius' occupation of the Janiculum was the last time that the hill was the scene of war until Belisarius defended it against the Gothic hordes of Vitiges.\textsuperscript{21} However, when the praetors were entrusted with the command of Rome to defend the city from the forces of Octavian, they took care to occupy this important point with their troops.\textsuperscript{22}

Under the Republic, the sparsely settled stronghold on the right bank of the Tiber was evidently considered remote and divorced from Rome. For instance, it was said to have been chosen by the plebs as the site of their last secession in 287 B. C.\textsuperscript{23} Like some other sections of Rome, Trastevere was divided into pagi as early as the time of the Gracchi, a fact which implies that the community probably had a certain autonomy.\textsuperscript{24}

In the Augustan reorganization of the city Trastevere was for the first time formally included within the limits of the city of Rome; with the Tiber island, it formed the fourteenth region, called Trans Tiberim. The boundaries of the region have never been definitely determined, but it is probable that they extended far beyond the triangular section which Aurelian included within his wall.\textsuperscript{25} After theavic reforms of 7 B. C., the character of Trastevere seems to have changed. Previously it had been a rural region of small farms. Here Cincinnatus had his prata of four iugera; many other farmers in Trastevere, like Cincinnatus, must often have been summoned from their ploughing to defend their homes from the Etruscans or even from their fellow-countrymen.\textsuperscript{26} Then, too, three sacred luci testify to the wooded country-side of Republican Trastevere.\textsuperscript{27} During the early Empire, the district assumed a character which in many ways foreshadowed the aspect of modern Trastevere. Henceforth it became a quarter of squalid houses and small industries lying beneath the long ridge of the Janiculum which gradually became covered with public gardens.\textsuperscript{28} From inscriptionsal and archaeological evidence, it appears that along the river bank there were several commercial warehouses of the smaller industries in the quarter: those of the leather-workers and furniture manufacturers seem to have been the most prominent.\textsuperscript{29} It seems doubtful that water-mills could have been operated on the Janiculum, before the Aqua Traiana was built. However, when these molinae were finally installed, they ground almost all the flour for the city of Rome. Apparently they lay along the steep eastern slopes which the modern Via Garibaldi follows. From the extreme precautions of both Aurelian and Belisarius to defend the mills, it appears that the protection of the Janiculum was as essential for the welfare of Rome as it had ever been under the Republic. The hill now became not only a military but an economic stronghold.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{18} CASSIUS DIO, xxxvii, 27, 28; cf. LIVY, xxxix, 15, 11. 
\textsuperscript{19} Tuscan amnis is a common synonym for the Tiber. HORACE describes the river rushing past litus Etruscan, Od., i, 2, 14. 
\textsuperscript{20} APPIAN, Bell. Goth., i, 19, 8–10. 
\textsuperscript{21} CASSIUS DIO, xlvi, 44, 51; cf. MACR., Sat., i, 12, 55, for the significance accorded to the Janiculum at this time. 
\textsuperscript{22} LIVY, Epit., 11. 
\textsuperscript{23} See p. 50. 
\textsuperscript{24} SUET., Aug., 50; CASSIUS DIO, iv, 8, 7; L. PRELLER, \textit{Die Regionen der Stadt Rom} (Jena, 1846); PLATNER-ASHBY, \textit{s. v. Regiones Quattuordecim}, pp. 444–447. On the wall of Aurelian, see \textit{I. A. RICHMOND, The City Wall of Imperial Rome} (Oxford, 1930). It seems unlikely that there was a wall on the Janiculum in the Republic as RICHTER believed; see \textit{Die Befestigung des Janiculums} (Berlin, 1882). But see also G. SÄFSLUND, \textit{Le Mura di Roma repubblicana} (Kungl. Historiska institutet utgivna av svenska institutet i Rom, 1; Uppsala/Lund/London, 1932), 188–190, 216 f. 
\textsuperscript{25} On Cincinnatus, see LIVY, iii, 26, 8 f.; the Macia prata. LIVY, ii, 15, 4 f.; the ager Petilii, LIVY, xl, 29, 3. An ager was popularly called Codetta from the grasses which grew there, FESTUS, 50 L. 
\textsuperscript{26} See below pp. 35, 40, 42, note 147; lucus, meaning in classical Latin "grove"., is apparently connected with lux, luceo, etc., and designated a space cleared of underbrush and the like in a primitive forest. As the forest vanished, such clearings as were used for religious purposes were preserved with their heavier trees; and thus the word came to mean "grove": ERNOUT-MEILLET, \textit{Dict. Etym. de la Lang. Lat.} (Paris, 1932), 535, s. v.; F. MÜLLER, \textit{Altital. Wörterbuch} (Göttingen, 1920), 245, s. v. loukos. 
\textsuperscript{27} See JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 645, 649. 
\textsuperscript{28} On the Cortaria, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 638; on the corpus eboraurorum et citiororum, Ibid., 647 f. The glatinarius of the Janiculum inscription, \textit{Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome}, xi (1933), 75, was probably a local resident. 
\textsuperscript{29} On the molinae, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 648; A. W. VAN BUREN AND G. P. STEVENS, cited above, p. 27, n. 11; cf. PROCP. Bell. Goth., i, 19, 8.
With one pivotal industry and several minor occupations located in Trastevere, the population of
the quarter was composed of artisans and laborers who dwelt near their places of employment. The
foundations of only one of theirinsulae have been discovered, but it would seem certain that tenements were packed
closely together in the low land beside the Tiber. Foreigners, some of whom may have been traders,
seem to have been definitely preponderant in the population.31 Inscriptions from Trastevere, and
especially epitaphs from the Via Portuense, almost invariably bear the names of freedmen with cognomina
which indicate foreign origin. Orientals, predominantly Syrians and Jews, as well as free-born Romans
contributed to the motley welter which was the population of Trastevere. Socially, they probably mingled,
but in religious life their dedications show that each nationality clung to the gods of its fatherland
and asserted its right to independence in worship.

In addition to the artisans of Trastevere, a large detachment of sailors from the Ravennate fleet must
have formed a conspicuous element in the population. Probably their duties as couriers between Rome and
Ostia required the foundation of barracks in Rome, and the castra were located in Trastevere.32 There
is significance in their activities at Ostia. After

Trajan had supplemented the harbor which Claudius
built and Nero dedicated at Portus, sea traffic was
increasingly diverted from other Italian ports to the
port of the capital.33 The proximity of Portus to
Trastevere makes it appear highly probable that the
surplus population of the port town may have resided
in the latter, within “commuting distance” of the
harbor. Of all the citizens of Roman Trastevere, the
most famous to-day is a Romanized Syrian, M. An
tius Gaionas, who was commemorated in several
inscriptions erected during the reign of Commodus.34
Since these records of Gaionas were found in both
Portus and Trastevere, it would seem that he had
interests in both places, probably a business in Portus
and a home in Rome. Possibly the situation of Gaionas
was similar to that of many other residents of
Trastevere.

The religious history of the quarter must be
reconstructed mainly from the evidence of inscriptions
and literature. Most of the shrines which were in
the district have been demolished, but there are still
some important remains. Since Trastevere was the
most isolated section of Rome, there was opportunity
for development of an individual character. In the
history of Roman worship, a comprehensive study of
its cults is consequently of some significance.

PART I
GREEK AND ROMAN GODS IN TRASTEVERE
PUBLIC CULTS IN TRASTEVERE

The differentiation between sacra publica and sacra
privata was always marked in Roman cult. The
former were conducted on behalf of the people exclusively by priests or officials of the state or of a
municipality. But sacra privata, devoid of any official intervention, were the concern of a private
individual, a family or a gens, or of a group of individuals. Private worship is exemplified by domestic
rites and by voluntary private dedications of inscriptions,
statues, or shrines for the personal use of the
dedicate35

Undoubtedly public cults were never prominent

31 On foreign populations in Rome, see G. LA PIANA,
"Foreign Groups in Rome", Harvard Theological Review,
xx (1927), 183—405.
32 On the castra Ravennatium, see PLATNER-ASHBY,
p. 108. The epitaphs of the sailors are from their graves in
the Villa Pamphili (CIL vi 3148 etc.).
33 On the development of Ostia and Portus, see L. R.
TAYLOR, The Cults of Ostia (Bryn Mawr, 1912), 7—9;
G. LUGLI and G. FILIBECK, Il Porto di Roma imperiale
eetc. (Rome, 1935).
34 See pp. 37 f.
35 Cf. FESTUS, 284 L; Publica sacra, quae publico sumptu
pro populo fiat, quaeque pro montibus, papis, curis, sacellis :
at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus, familias, gentibus fiunt: 
FESTUS (PAULUS), 285 L.; WISSOWA, 398—408.

in Trastevere because — as indicated above — the
quarter was relatively inaccessible and was not until
a late period included in the city of Rome. No
splendid temples rose in Trastevere; those of Fors
Fortuna seem never to have been renowned for their
magnificence. And yet there were a few occasions
when public priests crossed the river to officiate in
ceremonies on the right bank. In the lives of the
residents, no public festival could have been more
important than that of Dea Dia, which the Fratres
Arvales celebrated at the fifth milestone of the Via
Campana. After Augustus’ revival of the rites of Dea
Dia, preparations for the annual sacrifice in May
must have been a familiar sight in the district.36
In the ancient calendars, among feriae publicae, the
Furrinalia are indicated on July 25 and the Fontinalia
on October 13. As long as these festivals maintained some distinction in the religious life of
Rome, there were public sacrifices in Trastevere in
the lucus Furrinae and at the ara Fontis. The dies

36 On the cult of Dea Dia, see HENZEN, Acta Fratrum
Arvalium quae supersunt (Berlin, 1874). Cf. also HULSEN,
Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte (= Klio), ii (1902), 276—279;
WISSOWA, 561—565. Inasmuch as this sanctuary was
outside the city, it lies beyond the topographical scope of
this study.

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Fortis Fortunae, the birthday of the two temples of Fortuna below Trastevere, was a time of gay festivities under the Empire. Finally the ludi piscatorii or fishermen's games, supervised by the praetor urbanus, consisted partly of an annual sacrifice in Trastevere.37

Apart from these purely public cults, there were those which, though actually official, had a definitely local character. For example, the Larar of an early curia were commemorated on an altar.38 The name of only one of the pagi of Trastevere is known, the pagus Ianicolenensis, but this at once implies the existence of a common cult, directed by the magister pagi.39

In the Republican period, Trastevere, like the city of Rome, was doubtless organized into vici, each with its local cult of the Larar Compitales. In Trastevere there is no evidence for the cults of the vici until the Empire, when worship at the shrines at the compita was directed towards the Larar Augusti and the Genius Imperatoris.

FONS

The puzzling absence of any cult of Janus on the Janiculum is sometimes explained by taking refuge in Cicero's remark that an ara Fontis lay somewhere near the hill.40 Janus, above all, should have been expected to receive recognition in a quarter which he himself had founded. Doubtless it was the association of Janus with running water which suggested to fanciful genealogists the ancestry of Fons, whom they called the son of Janus and Juturna.41 The son, then, rather than the father, was honored near the Janiculum. In addition to the altar in Trastevere, a delubrum in the Campus Martius was sacred to Fons under the Empire.42 Although the altar may have been the

89 One dedication was found to the divae corniscae, sacred cows who probably had some relation to the state cult of Juno; see p. 40.
90 See p. 40 f.
91 CIL i² 1001 = vi 2219 = DESSAU 6079; CIL i² 1001 = vi 2220. The inscription noting a pagus Ianicolenensis belongs in the second century before Christ. On pagi and vici in general, see A. SCHULTEN, "Die Landgemeinden im römischen Reich," Philologus, liii (1894), 629—686.
92 CIC., De Leg., ii, 56, in eo sepulchro quod ... procal a Fontis ara est regem nostrum Numam conditum accepimus. The grave of Numa was sub Ianiculo, see note 51. For general discussions of Fons and his worship, see BÖHM, PW, vi, 2, 2838—41; PESTALOZZA, DE RUGGIERO, iii, 177—185; WISSOWA, 223—225.
93 On Janus and running water, see L. A. HOLLAND, "Janus and the Bridge", Proceedings of the American Philological Association, lxvi (1935), xlv. ARNOBITUS first recorded the genealogy of Fons, Adv. Gentes, iii, 29. However, the story of the descent of Fons from Janus must have been current in Rome by the beginning of the first century before Christ. At that time, denarii of the moneyer Gaius Fonteius bore a

oldest sanctuary of the god in Rome or its vicinity, topographers have been unable to locate it.43 It must have been the scene of the public sacrifice on October 13, the Fontinalia.

Ordinarily the discovery of an aedes of Fons in Rome might be dismissed as merely the disclosure of another dedication at a local spring. But the only known cult center of Fons in Trastevere is of more than passing interest. It was revealed in 1914 during the building of the Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale on the Viale del Re. At a depth of 5 m. under the southwest corner of the cortile of that edifice, workmen found a small vaulted room with carefully plastered brick walls.44 Opposite the entrance, there was a brick niche of a common type, decorated by a pediment with the shell motif below it. Under the niche a frame enclosed the dedicatory inscription, which was placed above a water-spout. On the walls of the room, as well as on the vaulted ceiling, many nail-holes showed where the faithful had hung their dedications to the god. According to the inscription, the aedes was dedicated on May 24, A. D. 70.45 Two men, probably freedmen, with their wives, built it in the first lustrum of a new collegium of which they were magistri quinquennales. Unfortunately they are not explicit about the identity of the collegium. Very probably these freedmen were the officials of one of the moribund collegia aquarum which escaped suppression when Augustus' restrictions spared collegia which were antiqua et legitima.46 These collegia aquarum seem to have been of venerable antiquity, and possibly originated during the period of Rome's wars with her neighbours, when it was imperative to protect all springs and wells from pollution. As urban security grew, the cult of the spring necessarily declined, and the collegia lost their practical value.47 Nevertheless, a few lingered on in the empire, usually

43 JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 624. Both BÖHM and

PESTALOZZA, loc. cit. above n. 40, believe that the ara Fontis was the oldest shrine of the god in Rome.

44 Not. Sc., 1914, 352—363; Bull. Com., xiii (1915), 52—55, fig. 1.
45 The inscription is reproduced in the publications cited in note 44: Imp. Vepsasiano Caesare Aug. II | Caesare Aug. f. Vepsasiano cos. | dedicatum VIIIII K. Iunias | P. Pontius Eros C. Veratius Fortunatus | Mag. II Quinquennales lustri prium | cum Tutilla Helice et Popilia Pnoe coniugib. suis | aedem a fundamentis (A. D. 70). The index to CIL vi (part vi fasc. 1) lists these names as occurring in 39416; part v fasc. 3 ends with 39540, so presumably 39540 will appear in fasc. 4.46 SUET. Aug., 52.
47 For the best account of the collegia aquarum, see RUDORFF, "Die sog. Lex de Magistris Aquarum [i. e. CIL vi 10298], eine altromische Brunnenordnung," Zeit-schrift für Gesch. Rechtswissenschaft, xvi (1850), 203 ff.; MÖMMSEN, ibid., 326, 345; BRUNS, Fontes Ituris Romani Antiqui (ed. GRADENWITZ), no. 178, pp. 394—597. The collegia aquarum must not be confused with the collegia aquatorum or collegia fontanarum which were probably guilds of fullones or fullers; cf. WALTZING, i, 197, and CIL v, 992, 8307, 8308.
collegia with freedmen magistri who dwelt near the springs which they honored. Their dedications are unimaginative and uniform, and display the same formula as the inscription from Trastevere, a precise date of the dedication with a list of the names of the dedicators, magistri and ministri alike. Although the addition of the names of the wives is an innovation, in essentials this inscription conforms to type.

It is tempting to conjecture that this aedes of Fons represents a rebuilding on the site of the Republican ara Fontis, and that these dedicants were continuing or reviving an ancient cult. Their dedication, very significantly, is to the god himself, and not to a genius or numen. Furthermore it is the only sanctuary of Fons known in Trastevere, and the Romans never forgot the enduring sanctity of hallowed ground. The nature of his cult required a spring; there had been a spring here from the earliest days, to be honored once again in the empire. Cicero’s notice locates the ara Fontis near the grave of Numa, which other writers describe as sub Ianiculo. The fact that the steep slopes of the hill begin almost immediately behind the aedes which was found in 1814 strengthens the probability that the location of the original ara Fontis has been discovered at last.

FORS FORTUNA

The only cult in Trastevere which tradition definitely ascribed to the regal period bore features which were to mark the subsequent history of the quarter. Throughout the course of the Roman Empire, signs of foreign influence and adherents of lowly position characterized the religious activities of Trastevere. The cult of Fors Fortuna was typical; it was said to have been a foundation of Servius Tullius, a king of alien birth, and its followers were rowdy plebeians who gladly renounced dignified ceremonies. But its supervision by public priests endowed it with official character and so differentiated it from later foreign cults.

The innovations attributed to each of the Roman kings must always be viewed with caution, yet in the apocryphal stories there is often a kernel of truth. Servius Tullius, for example, was known as the founder of numerous small shrines of Fortuna in Rome, as well as an aedes in foro Boario and a fanum Fortis Fortunae across the Tiber. The absence of the festival of Fors Fortuna from the earliest calendar accords with the tradition of a foreign importation. On the other hand, its omission need not imply that the cult was not ancient. Servius Tullius, whether he was an Etruscan chieftain or not, was always linked in Roman thought with institutions of Etruscan origin. There were, moreover, Etruscan deities whose nature approximated that of the Roman Fortuna. In Praeneste, a city subjected to Etruscan influences, the oracular cult of Fortuna had extraordinary prominence, and in Volsinii the goddess Nortia was apparently considered an Etruscan equivalent of Fortuna. Servius’ traditional introduction of the goddess to Rome, therefore, seems to indicate a Roman assimilation of something foreign.

With the title Fors, as the goddess was venerated in Trastevere, she appeared in her most nebulous aspect. Specific allusions to Fors Fortuna were rare, nor were dedications to her at all common. In Roman drama the name of Fors Fortuna occurs occasionally: if her various cults had not been established firmly by the second century before Christ, casual references would have had no meaning for the average playgoer. No refined philosophical concept...
exalted Fors Fortuna; she was simply the personification of an abstraction, luck or unpredictable chance.\footnote{According to Donatus’ definition, she was apparently the patroness of unskilled men, Fors Fortuna est, cuibus diem festum colunt, qui sine arte aliqua vivunt, a description which would be highly appropriate to the plebs of the empire.\footnote{From the words of Columella, Fors Fortuna would seem to have been especially beloved by market-gardeners, who paid their respects to her after they had come to town and sold their produce.\footnote{There was reason for devotion from such a group, whose livelihood depended very much upon the caprices of the weather.}} Much speculation has been expended in attempts to determine the exact number of shrines of Fors Fortuna which were erected in Trastevere, the number varying from two to four. Varro stated that Servius had founded one temple to the goddess on the right bank of the Tiber outside the city and had dedicated it in the month of June.\footnote{From Livy, there is the information that the consul Spurius Carvilius, with funds derived from the booty of his Etruscan and Samnite campaigns, let a contract in 293 B.C. for a temple to Fors Fortuna near (prope) the temple of the goddess which had been dedicated by Servius.}\footnote{There may be some significance in the discovery, between the fifth and sixth milestones of the Via Campana, of a travertine slab\footnote{commemorating a late republican dedication from the freedmen magistri in Roman drama to the deified Fortuna is Plautus, Pseudolus, 678—80. Fors Fortuna is mentioned twice — in the first instance probably not personified — (Terence, Hec., 586, Phor., 841); forte fortuna occurs in Plautus, Bac., 916, Miles, 287; Terence, Eun., 134, 568.} which was associated may have led these humble retainers to influence their collegia to choose Fors Fortuna as the divinity to whom to address their dedication, and Carvilius’s temple as the shrine at which to offer it. Moreover, the Fasti Esquilini record the dedication of two temples of Fors Fortuna on June 24, located at the first and sixth milestones of the Via Portuensis\footnote{— its course lies not far distant from that of the Via Campana. By the year 16 B.C., therefore, the date of these Fasti, two temples existed on the right side of the Tiber. Servius, then, was responsible for the first temple and Carvilius for the second; Ovid’s expression (Fasti vi, 75)} refers to a shrine so near Trastevere as to be quite accessible to the common folk; and Livy’s prope is to be interpreted freely, in the sense that both the edifices lay on the Via Campana or Portuensis within a couple of hours’ walk outside the gate. Finally Ovid, in his description of the festival, mentions templo propinqua, the foundation of which he attributes to Servius; }

in the patroness of unskilled men, Fors Fortuna est, cuibus diem festum colunt, qui sine arte aliqua vivunt, a description which would be highly appropriate to the plebs of the empire.\footnote{With three temples which lay five miles apart has led some scholars to accept Ovid’s statement, thus interpreted, more reliable, and more inherently probable, than Ovid’s phrase as thus interpreted; but — this has apparently escaped the attention of previous scholars.} It is doubtless this same temple to which Dion. Hal. refers, iv, 27, 7, although he has incorrectly taken Fors as an adjective and translated it dēkēs. This is the explanation of W. W. Goodwin, Plutarch’s Morals (Boston, 1874), iv, 204.\footnote{It has been assumed that two temples were meant by the poet; and reluctance — quite natural — to consider as (inter se) propinqua (cf. Livy’s prope) two temples which lay five miles apart has led some scholars to accept Ovid’s statement, thus interpreted, literally and to conclude that there must have been three temples when he wrote, two which Servius had dedicated, and the one which Carvilius had vowed.\footnote{The statements of Varro and Livy, who assign the foundation of only one temple to the king, appear more reliable, and more inherently probable, than Ovid’s phrase as thus interpreted; but — this has apparently escaped the attention of previous scholars.} It is evident that two temples were meant by the poet; and reluctance — quite natural — to consider as (inter se) propinqua (cf. Livy’s prope) two temples which lay five miles apart has led some scholars to accept Ovid’s statement, thus interpreted, literally and to conclude that there must have been three temples when he wrote, two which Servius had dedicated, and the one which Carvilius had vowed.\footnote{The statements of Varro and Livy, who assign the foundation of only one temple to the king, appear more reliable, and more inherently probable, than Ovid’s phrase as thus interpreted; but — this has apparently escaped the attention of previous scholars.} It is evident that two temples were meant by the poet; and reluctance — quite natural — to consider as (inter se) propinqua (cf. Livy’s prope) two temples which lay five miles apart has led some scholars to accept Ovid’s statement, thus interpreted, literally and to conclude that there must have been three temples when he wrote, two which Servius had dedicated, and the one which Carvilius had vowed.\footnote{The statements of Varro and Livy, who assign the foundation of only one temple to the king, appear more reliable, and more inherently probable, than Ovid’s phrase as thus interpreted; but — this has apparently escaped the attention of previous scholars.}}
—his templo is surely a poetic plural denoting one temple only; it is in fact reminiscent of a previous line in the Fasti in which he had used the same word in the same fashion to refer to Servius' temple of Mater Matuta at the Forum Boarium:67 this poet's habit of re-using a phrase which he had already found pleasing is too well known to require comment. And propinqua means simply "near to Rome."

A phrase in Tacitus has seemed to some to indicate the existence of still another temple, across the Tiber from the main quarters of Rome. At the end of A. D. 16, in the gardens which Julius Caesar had bequeathed to the Roman people, Tiberius dedicated a temple to Fors Fortuna.68 Yet the Fasti Amierniri record the dedication day of only two temples of Fors Fortuna trans Tiberim, and give June 24 as the date, a time which obviously does not coincide with Tacitus' fine anni. Moreover, these Fasti, completely preserved for the latter part of the year, were certainly compiled after A. D. 20, and contain many references to the reign of Tiberius.69 This circumstance, however, need not militate against the statement of Tacitus; rather it offers convincing proof that the work of Tiberius constituted a restoration of a previous temple. Rededications did not necessarily have to be made on the same day as the original natalis templi or dies dedicationis. A recently discovered fragment of the Fasti Annales of Ostia demonstrates this. The temple of Venus Genetrix had its original dedication day on September 26, but the new fragment shows that the temple was rededicated on May 18, A. D. 113.70

Contrary to the view of Wissowa, there is no proof that Augustus changed a single temple birthday in his numerous repairs of ancient temples.71 Tiberius, therefore, probably following the religious policy of his predecessor, restored a temple of Fors Fortuna, and preserved the original natalis templi of June 24. Tacitus' phrase fine anni must refer to the rededication. No zeal for ostentatious building appears to have possessed Tiberius. With characteristic modesty, he completed or restored anonymously many older structures; and his only fresh undertakings of a spectacular character, according to the historians of his reign, were his temple of Augustus and a new stage for Pompey's theater.72 The temple of Fors Fortuna was one of several which Tiberius rebuilt, and thus he restored one of the temples which the Fasti Esquilini had noted as existing in the year 16 B. C.

On the right bank of the Tiber, then, there were two temples of Fors Fortuna. Varro's statement that Servius's temple was extra urbem is noncommittal as to its exact location.73 The second temple, however — as was already suggested above — vowed by Carvilius, is located with a high degree of probability between the fifth and sixth milestones of the Viae Campana and Portuensis (the latter highway did not exist, or at least had not received its name, at the time of Tiberius). When Livy was writing his history, the land on the right bank of the Tiber, and especially points outside actual "Trastevere" and downstream, may well have still seemed remote, and two temples in that general area, though actually five miles apart from each other, might conceivably have been called "near" to each other.

The temple of Servius, then, stood at the first milestone, within the limits, eventually, of the gardens of Caesar. Moreover, the Roman propensity for rebuilding on sacred sites, rather than seeking new locations for the worship of the same deities, seems rather it offers convincing proof that the work of Tiberius constituted a restoration of a previous temple. Rededications did not necessarily have to be made on the same day as the original natalis templi or dies dedicationis. A recently discovered fragment of the Fasti Annales of Ostia demonstrates this. The temple of Venus Genetrix had its original dedication day on September 26, but the new fragment shows that the temple was rededicated on May 18, A. D. 113.70

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to weaken the force of any suggestion that several shrines of Fors Fortuna might have clustered around the first milestone of the Viae Campana and Portuensis.\textsuperscript{74} If our reasoning has been sound, only the temple founded by Servius Tullius and restored by Tiberius stood at that point.

Despite the inadequacy of official reports, it appears that certain remains have come to light near Trastevere which will satisfy all the requirements for the location of this temple. In the year 1860, ruins, presumably of a temple foundation, were found in the Vigna Bonelli, about half a mile from the present Porta Portese, to the right of the present Via Portuense: a location approximately \textit{ad milliarium primum}, and within the limits of the gardens of Caesar. The temple was distyle in antis, and had a concrete podium, m. 20.5 \times m. 12.75, which was faced with large blocks m. 1.6 (l) thick. Three fragments of the marble architrave of the pronaos were found. Certain inscriptions from the same vineyards relate to the cult of Sol; but there is no absolute necessity for associating this cult with the building in question.\textsuperscript{75} The traces of this temple are no longer visible.\textsuperscript{76} Properly, a discussion of the temple of Fors Fortuna \textit{ad milliarium sextum} should lie outside the scope of the present essay. The association of this edifice, however, with the problem of Servius Tullius’s temple has already necessitated its mention, together with that of the inscription of the \textit{conlegia aerarior(um)} which may identify its location,\textsuperscript{77} and a few further words may not be considered wholly irrelevant.

On the western boundary of the former Vigna Ceccarelli, near the Tiber and five miles from the present Porta Portese, Henzen discovered rough walls of limestone and travertine which might have formed part of this temple. Further epigraphical evidence from this site offers confirmatory evidence. Two small bases of travertine display dedications to Fors Fortuna from collegia of lanii, butchers: they date from the first century B. C.\textsuperscript{78} Another Republican inscription attests an offering by vendors of violets, roses, and garlands.\textsuperscript{79} Even if unquestionable remains of a temple structure do not exist at the sixth milestone, the discovery of as many as four dedications to Fors Fortuna in that vicinity can leave no doubt that a temple of that divinity was located there; and that this may have been the temple of Carvilius is suggested by one of the inscriptions.

It is hazardous, of course, to speculate concerning the nature of the cult \textit{ad milliarium sextum} on the evidence of such scanty remains. Nevertheless, the fact that all the inscriptions that were discovered there had been erected by members of collegia is of some significance. Normally in Rome, members of guilds made their dedications to the goddess “Luck” under the simple name \textit{Fortuna}.\textsuperscript{80} It was apparently only at this shrine, six miles out from the city, that guilds exclusively worshipped her under the guise of \textit{Fors Fortuna}. Possibly the predominantly servile origin of the dedicants would naturally dispose them to her worship.

Bibulous hilarity alone seems to have characterized the festival of Fors Fortuna in Trastevere; certainly no other features emerge from Ovid’s description of it:

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Ita, dea laeti Fortem celebrate, Quirites!}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{In Tiberis ripa munera regis habet.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cymba,}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Nec pudeat potos inde redire domum.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Forte coronatae iuvenum convivia lintres:
}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Multaque per medias vina bibantur aquas.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Plebs colit hunc, quia, qui positus de plebe fuisse}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Fortar, et ex humili sceptra tulisse loco.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Convenit et servis, serva quia Tullius ortus
}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textit{constituit dubius templo propinquus deo.}\textsuperscript{81}
\end{flushright}

It is probably fortuitous that the holiday coincided with the date of the summer solstice, the occasion of an ancient European festival of water. If the festival represented a Roman celebration of Midsummer in the tradition of European folklore, the proximity of the temple to the Tiber might be of significance.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{74} PLUT., also, \textit{Brutus}, 20, \textit{de Fort. Rom.}, 5, mentions the shrine in the gardens of Caesar. The \textit{Notitia} has the simple entry \textit{Fortis Fortunae} (\textit{Cur. -no}) under the Fourteenth Region. The shrine in Caesar’s gardens, then, was still known as late as the fourth century, the date of the \textit{Notitia}.\textsuperscript{75} VISCONTI, “Escavazioni della Vigna Bonelli,” \textit{Annali Inst.}, xxxii (1860), 415–417; LANCIANI, \textit{Bull. Com.}, xii (1884), 27 f., pl. 1. Inscriptions to Sol: see below, page 53, note 277.

\textsuperscript{76} Here it is necessary to note a group of 28 votive bronze statuettes of male figures, which came on the market in Rome in 1887. The place of their discovery is not known, beyond the fact that they were found outside Porta Portese. The figurines are of two distinct types: some, probably Greek imports, resemble Greek \textit{votive}, others, possibly of local manufacture, are shown wearing the \textit{pilikos}. See HEBLIG, \textit{Not. Sc.}, 1888, 239–352; HOJSEN, \textit{Rom. Mitt.}, iv (1889), 290 f., has suggested that these statuettes were votive offerings to Fortuna from manumitted slaves; Fortuna was a favorite of slaves and humble folk, especially honored by them in Trastevere. Imported figurines were used first and then replaced by those of local make.

\textsuperscript{77} Above, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{78} As J. G. FRAZER has noted, however, \textit{The Fasti of Ovid} (London, 1929), iv, 355, note 3, OVID placed the
The cult of Fors Fortuna in Trastevere never loomed large in the religious life of Rome. But the words of Cicero suggest that the annual plebeian Tiberina descensio festo illo die was a Roman synonym for abandoned merriment.83 This was the dies Fortis Fortunae of Varro. As a foundation of Servius Tullius, the cult was an importation, and yet one of great antiquity. Carvilius' temple of 293 B.C., and several inscriptions of the Republican period, bear witness to the continuity of the cult from the regal period. Tiberius' restoration of the temple provided for abandoned merriment.83 This was the dies Fortis Fortunae.

FURRINA

Despite the fact that Furrina had once had the distinction of a special flamen and feriae publicae on July 25, the nature of the goddess had become sufficiently unknown by the end of the Republic to confound even the learned Varro: Furrinaelia<\a><\a> quod ei deae feriae publicae dies is; cuius deae honos apud antiquos: nam ei sacra instituta annua et flamen attributus; nunc vix nomen notum pauci.84 Observe as the goddess herself was, her sacred grove had dire associations which made it immortal. It was the scene of one of the most tragic events of Republican history, the death of the tribune Gaius Gracchus. During the riots which preceded his death, Gracchus fled to the temple of Diana on the Aventine until pressure from his friends forced him to escape to a safer place. Accompanied by one faithful slave, he ran across the Pons sublicius and into Trastevere. Bystanders encouraged him in his flight, but without a horse it was impossible to avoid capture. Gracchus' objective was probably the Via Aurelia, which led into Etruria, for it was on the slopes of the Janiculum that the pursuit became too hot. In the lucus Furrinae, his servant killed him to prevent his falling into the hands of his pursuers. After this dramatic incident, the fortunes of the grove of Furrina defy investigation until the Empire.85

solstice on June 26 and it was also marked on June 26 in the Fasti Venasini, CIL, i, p. 221.

83 CIC., De Fin., v, 70. Anyone who has seen the gay July festival of "Noantri" in modern Trastevere must be reminded of the plebeian dies Fortis Fortunae.

84 VARRO, Ling. Lat., vi, 19. For the most recent general discussions of Furrina, see WISSOWA, 240 ff.; ALTLEIM, 116–8. The evidence for her feriae and flamen is from VARRO, Ling. Lat., v, 84; vi, 19; vii, 45; FESTUS (PAULUS), 78 L; CIL i, p. 217, p. 219, p. 225, p. 325.

85 Historians who told the story of Gracchus agree that Gracchus died at the bridge; APPIAN, B. C., i, 5, 26, describes the spot as κόσμος ταξιδιών; AUCT., De Vir. Ill., 65 states definitely that the place was the lucus Furrinae; PLUT., Gaius Gracchus, 17, where the most detailed account occurs, writes εἰς τὸν θυρήματα θυάτηρα, reflecting the confusion of Furrina with the Furiae or Eumenides, cf. CIC., De Nat. Deor., iii, 46. There is no evidence for GAUCKLER’S statement that the grove became accursed and nefastum after the death of Gracchus. PLUT., ibid., 18, refutes such an assertion.

86 CIL vi 36802, GAUCKLER, 15 ff., 55 ff., illustrated on p. 17; Nat. Sc., 1907, 88. The altar is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, no. 53145. On Zeig Keea’vwog see p. 50.

87 See GAUCKLER, 18 ff., 55 ff., for his discussion of the symbolism. For altars decorated at the corners with the horned heads of Zeus, see, for example, W. AMELUNG, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums (Berlin, 1905), ii, 165; Tafeln, ii, 11, 67a; ii, 676, Tafeln, ii, 77, 420a; ii, 687, Tafeln, ii, 77, 420a; W. ALTLMANN, Die Röm. Grabmälerei der Kaiserzeit (Berlin, 1905), 88–100.

88 The Medusa head on this altar suggested to HÜLSEN, Röm. Mitt., xxii (1907), 250, the name Caput Gorgonis in the Regesta Selecta Catalogus. This, he believed, referred to a vicus which led from one of the Tiber bridges to the sanctuary where the grove of Furrina had been. But the common occurrence of this motif on altars precludes any such significance here. CICERO’S identification of Furrina with the Furiae is not sufficient evidence to warrant HÜLSEN’S conclusion that the name of the vicus referred to this special grove. For Medusa heads on altars, see ALTLMANN, op. cit. in preceding note, 6, 200, 252.
It is significant that this base also came from Trastevere, from the vicinity of S. Crisogono. The orthographic variations in the forms Furrina and Furina of the literary texts, Furrina of the calendars, and Ὠφορίνης and Forinarum of the inscriptions demand explanation. Differences in the literary texts may well be due to irregularities in the manuscript tradition. In both inscriptions, the differences must certainly have been caused by the engraver's unfamiliarity with the Latin language. The variation in spelling, then, is actually a negligible factor, and the change from singular to plural number represented a natural outcome of the goddess' degeneration and loss of identity. With the apparent discrepancy of name explained, there seems no further doubt that the altar discovered in the Villa Sciarra and inscribed ὸφορίνης Ὠφορίνης was found on the site of the grove where Gaius Gracchus met his death. Violence in the sanctuary may well have doomed the popularity of a declining cult and new activities must have supplanted the original rites. Worship of the Roman deity probably diminished rapidly until it actually ceased.

Etymological research has shown that peculiarities in the name Furrina probably indicate an Etruscan origin for the goddess. Gauckler perceived Etruscan parallels in the order of the consonants f, r, and n as they occur in Furrina and in various Etruscan place-names. For Altheim, the name Furrina appears comparable to several Etruscan gentile names because of its root, the doubling of the first consonant, and the suffix. The Etruscan occupation of the Janiculum at an early period adds to the weight of these arguments from linguistics.

The determination of the site of the lucus Furrinae reveals something of the nature of the goddess. The Greek inscription with its mention of nymphs suggests the existence of a spring; and the Greek concept of nymphs who dwelt in springs was thoroughly familiar to the Romans of the Republic. Then, too, the designation genius Forinarum in the Latin inscription recalls the numerous Roman dedications addressed more frequently to the genius or numen of a spring, than to the spring itself. Above all, Gauckler's investigations have revealed elaborate hydraulic installations within the limits of the grove.

CIL vi 422 = DESSAU 4292. Iovi Optimo Maximo Hellenistico Augusto Iovi Optimo Maximo Genio Forinarum et alibi batus hic loci Terentia Nica cum Terentio Damariione filio sacerdote et Terentio Damarione lun(o) et Fonteio Onesimo filio sacrorum signum et basin voto sucepto de suo possit lustro eiusdem Damariolnis. CIL vi 10200, naming an ara Forinarum, has been proved to be a forgery; see HÜLSEN, Röm. Mitt., x (1895), 293—296.

94 GAUCKLER, 105 ff., especially 110; pl. V, no. 2; pl. XIII.
95 GAUCKLER, pl. VI.
96 JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 641, note 47, 48. Cardinal Ottoboni's finds were reported only by CASSIO, Corso delle Acque, i, 147 ff., quoted by GAUCKLER, 159, 1.
97 GAUCKLER, pl. XV, reproduces Nolli's map. Cf. GAUCKLER, pl. V, no. 11, "Ancien nympheee Creesenci." GAUCKLER, pl. XVI, described on 135—7. The rectangular basin was 2.09 m. wide, 2.5 m. long, 0.65 m. high with a maximum depth of 0.43 m. There were deep mouldings on the front and both sides.
98 Cf. PLUT., C. Gracchus, 17.
99 GAUCKLER, 117, 8.
100 ALTHEIM, 118.
101 On nymphs in Roman cult, see BLOCH, Roscher, iii, 540—4; WISSOWA, 223 ff.
102 S. M. SAVAGE

Near the site where the altar to the ὸφορίνης ὸφορίνης was uncovered, excavations disclosed an ancient well-head 5 m. below ground at the bottom of a ravine. When the well was cleared down to its original depth of 7 m., four channels radiated out from it at right angles, orientated according to the points of the compass. Two, proving useless, had been stopped at two metres north and south, but those forming a channel from east to west, following the course of a spring, still remained. The well was carefully lined and fed by subterranean springs which converged in a natural reservoir 2 m. above it. Little was found of the equipment of the nymphaeum which the channels must have supplied with water. However, Cardinal Ottoboni's uncompleted excavations of 1720 on the eastern slopes of his villa had revealed a long vaulted channel as well as some coins, images of frogs and serpents, and a statuette of Hercules and the hydra, all these being objects frequently found near a nymphaeum. Moreover, Nolli's map of 1748 shows the plan of a handsome semi-circular fountain in the Villa Crescenzi, which at one time had adjoined the Villa Ottoboni. The fountain was destroyed when the Viale Glorioso was built, but the monumental basin of Carystos marble which almost certainly belonged to it was purchased by an antiquarian. According to Gauckler, it should be assigned to the period of the Antonines. Since it weighed more than two tons, the basin could scarcely have been moved a great distance from its original location. Hence it is highly probable that the marble basin once formed part of the fountain of a sacred spring.

An inscription found in the excavations of 1906 contributed new information about the springs of the lucus Furrinae. In a mass of architectural fragments near the mouth of a water channel, Gauckler found a marble slab, 0.27 m. thick and 1.2 m. square, cut in the center with a round hole, 0.18 m. in diameter at the upper surface. The hole was obviously...
intended for a water pipe, and the back of the slab, meant for invisible, was only roughly finished and had not been in contact with the water. The slab must have been set in place vertically so that the inscription might be easily read. When a heavy calcareous deposit had been removed from the face, the following inscription was legible: *Alexios ὑπὸς καρτερὸς ἄγε& τὸς παρθέοι | ὦν δὲ Γαύνας διευκονομήθη ἔθετο.* This rhetorical notice, of two pentameters, as Gauckler says, was the type to be expected of an Oriental writing in Greek at Rome towards the end of the second century of the Christian era. The dedicant must be the M. Antonius Gaionas whose name appears on three other inscriptions. At Portus, between A. D. 176 and 180, a Gaionas dedicated a granite column to Jupiter Heliopolitanus for the safety of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. A second inscription from Rome, set up on November 19, A. D. 186, was the offering of one M. Antonius Gaionas to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, probably the god of his native Syrian city, and to the emperor Commodus. The dedicant, in this place, added two of his civic titles, *Claudialis Augustalis and Cistiber*.

In his Greek epitaph, Gaionas again repeated the puzzling title Cistiber and added for himself the compliment, δεινὸς κατανόεις πολλὰ μετ’ εὐφροσύνης. There can be no doubt, then, of the identity of Gaionas; from the fulsome inscriptions which he provided for his own immortality, it is almost possible to reconstruct something of his personality. A Syrian immigrant in Rome, he had acquired some minor civic and religious offices and a conscious pride in his petty titles. At the end of the second century, he was a foreign resident of some importance. The office of Cistiber which he commemorated twice was apparently a favorite.

The verses which Gaionas caused to be engraved on the slab are cryptic, to be sure; but an entirely plausible interpretation has been proposed by Franz Cumont. He was the first to perceive that δεινὸς κρατασθὸς is a Homeric expression with the special meaning of “strong barrier,” 

The stone might easily have fulfilled the function of a δεινὸς κρατασθὸς as one side of a basin. From the lime deposit it is obvious that it in fact formed one side of a memorial basin which Gaionas had presented. A pipe had been inserted in the hole in the center of the marble, so that the level of the water in the basin might be lowered if it were necessary. The basin, then, was the δεινὸς κρατασθὸς. That the *nymphae Forrinas* were not forgotten is shown by the altar dedicated to them with Ζήξις Καραγνίαν. The ἔπημα, or victim, which verses the mention, must be one of the sacred fish with which the basin was stocked. In certain Oriental rites, a pond for sacred fish was an

104 *Κιστῖβης in Greek is a διακ λεγόμενος. The office seems to represent a survival in the empire of special police assistants appointed in 186 B. C. to aid in the suppression of the Bacchanalian rites. POMPONIUS, *Diq., i, 2, 2, 31, Et qua i magistratuus vespertinis temporibus in publicum esse inconveniens erat, quinque viri constituti sunt c is Tiberim et alis Tiberim qui possint pro magistratibus fungiri. Ibid. 33, Et tamen hi quaS Cistibres dicimus, postea [per?] aediles senatus consulto creabantur. Cf. LIVY, xxxix, 14, 10, Aditores triumviris quinque viri als cis Tiberim suae quaque regionis aedificis praestat. *See MOMMSEN, Römisches Staatsrecht, ii, 611 ff., who states however that the office did not exist under the Empire. GAUCKLER, 43, 4, has proposed to change the term to cistifer, the bearer of a cista in religious rites. But the office of cistiber definitely existed in Rome. Moreover, in both inscriptions of Gaionas, the word is spelled in the same way, a fact which makes GAUCKLER'S suggestion untenable. In the lex *Tappula of Vercellae (CIL vii, supp. Itall., 898),* VON PREMESTERIN, Her mes xxxix (1931), 167 ff. Gaionas in Rome was following Syrian as well as Roman civic and religious forms.*
essential part of the temple equipment. At some time, then, during the empire, the Eastern residents of Trastevere took possession of the *lucus Furrinae* for the celebration of their rites.

To Cicero, who probably expressed a popular notion, the identity of Furrina was already confused: *Si haec (Hecate) dea est, cur non Eumenides? Quae si deae sunt, quorum et Athenis fanum est et apud nos, ut ego interpretor, lucus Furrinae, Furiae deae sunt, speculatrices, credo, et vindices facinorum et sceleris.* 106 It has been customary to dismiss Cicero’s association of Furrina with the Furiae or Eumenides as the result of a specious resemblance of names. 107 But some relationship, however vague, may have existed between the two, and Cicero’s remark may contribute something to our knowledge of the character of the goddess. Altheim has offered an explanation. 108 Since one inscription mentioned a *genius Forinarum* and a second *Nymphes Forinives*, there was implied an identification of Furrina with nymphs, “the incarnation of the natural forces of the earth,” as Altheim defines them. The Eumenides, similarly, were chthonic deities, at once beneficent and inexorable, and goddesses of the underworld as well. Moreover, in a list of divinities of Hades, Martianus Capella has included Furrina. 109 Since Furrina’s Etruscan origin seems probable, Altheim has concluded that originally she was “an Etruscan form of the earth-mother.” 110 However, the presence of nymphs need not necessarily imply that Furrina possessed dominion over the forces of the earth, and Altheim has greatly magnified the powers of nymphs. Almost invariably nymphs were guardians of springs. 111 As the results of Gauckler’s excavations show, there is incontestable proof of springs and water-courses on the site of the *lucus Furrinae*. It seems proper, therefore, to infer that the original goddess was an aquatic deity. 112

As her rites declined and foreign influences penetrated Roman cult, the goddess of springs lost her identity and acquired a multiple nature, as the designation *Nymphes Forinives* attests. If, as Altheim believes, the original goddess was Etruscan, she was almost certainly an Etruscan goddess of springs.

There is no doubt of the degeneration of the cult of Furrina and a substitution of other deities in her place. But the date of the change presents new problems. Here the peculiar association of the grove with the death of Gaius Gracchus deserves attention. Momentarily the partisans of Gaius Gracchus were stunned by his death, and for a year at least, while his enemy Opimius was in power, they could give no expression to their grief. The decline of this consul, who had successfully manoeuvred the death of Gaius Gracchus, began with his prosecution in the following year. Then, at last, the admirers of the Gracci consecrated the scenes of their deaths as places for offerings and sacrifices. The *lucus Furrinae*, far from being abandoned, was dedicated to this new purpose, at least temporarily. But it is in the period of Opimius’ ascendancy that its fortunes challenge curiosity. Immediately after the death of Gracchus, his followers were outraged when their enemy, the consul Opimius, restored the temple of Concord, perhaps intending an allusion to the harmony which he had achieved through bloodshed. 113 As Augustine remarked, the new temple, on the very spot where riots had occurred, was intended to be a *seditionis ostaculum*, a restraint to those who might imitate the example of the Gracci. 114 It is possible, as well, that the grove of Furrina may have been converted to a similarly ominous purpose, the worship of the Eumenides. In Greek tragedy the Erinyes, alert to punish sin and to impose their crude justice, pursued malefactors until Athena placated their cruel spirits and established them in Athens as the *Σειμανδ θεσει, goddesses of concord. After the Oresteia of Aeschylus had set forth the story of the avenging goddesses, the terms *Erinyes* and *Eumenides* became synonymous and Latin poets could translate *Erinyes* as *Eumenides*. 115 Certainly the conversion of the grove of Furrina to a sanctuary of the Eumenides would accord with the policy of reconciliation which had prompted the building of the temple of Concord. It would not be the dreadful aspect of the Eumenides which Opimius meant to emphasize, but rather their function as peace-makers which they had proclaimed so magnificently in the *Eumenides of Aeschylus*:

> ab eo ponticulo qui est ad Furinas Satricum versus; ad Quint. fr., iii, l. Fin., 38 S. M. SAVAGE

106 De Nat. Deor., iii, 46.
107 WISSOWA, 240, calls the confusion “bloße Spielerlei”.
109 MART. CAP., ii, 164.
110 Although ALTHEIM’S conception of the original nature of Furrina may be questioned, it is possible that a chthonic power was worshipped at some time in the *lucus Furrinae*. The following inscription was not mentioned by him. Three polished marble lintel blocks found on the site bore the words *πολυκληστερη, και τοις μήνι, θυρωρο[γ]*. CIL vi 56805. The rough backs of the blocks imply that they had been set into masonry or had formed an architrave. (GAUCKLER, 243, suggests that these blocks may have formed part of the altar of the Antonine temple). Apparently they belonged to a sanctuary, since there is mention of a *θυρωρο[γ]*. *Πολυκληστερη* is a stock epithet of χθόνι, usually occurring at the end of a hexameter in the Homeric phrase, ἐν χθόνι πολυκληστερη; see HOLSEN, Röm. Mitt., xxii (1907), 239—242. Χθόνι therefore may have preceded *πολυκληστερη* on the stone, which perhaps recorded a dedication to Earth.
111 Cf. note 95 above.
112 CICERO may be referring to a shrine of Furrina near Satricum which he locates significantly near a bridge.
“May the roar of Faction, hungry for evil, never be heard in this place; nor the dust, slaked with the red blood of brethren, grow eager and greedy for brute retribution on brethren slain in revenge! But may they rejoice one another, loving with common affection, and hating as with one soul! For among men, this mendeth much.”\textsuperscript{116}

The steady infiltration of Greek literary ideas into Rome during the third and second centuries before Christ made it certain that an allusion to the Eumenides would carry conviction. The \textit{Eumenides} of Ennius, which had the play of Aeschylus for its prototype, must have been well-known at the time of Gracchus. There were even superficial resemblances between the shrines of the Eumenides in Athens and in Rome. In Athens, at the northeast corner of the Areopagus, the shrine was a deep fissure in the rock which contained a spring.\textsuperscript{117} The site which the \textit{Eumenides} occupied at Rome also possessed a spring, and its location on a dark hill-side may have suggested the seclusion of the Attic shrine. The literary tradition with which the Optimates surrounded the history of the Gracchi had many elements which attracted the “romancing historians” in the period after the Gracchan age.\textsuperscript{118} But as far as Gaius Gracchus himself was concerned, the desire of the Optimates was only to direct attention to the harmony which his death had conferred. Immediately after he died, the \textit{lucus Furrinae} may have become a grove of the Eumenides, awful spirits, to be sure, but spirits of peace. Thus the dedication of the grove was comparable to the dedication of the temple of Concord in the forum. Yet Cicero’s expression, \textit{speculatores \ldots et vindices facinorum et sceleris}, should not be forgotten. The diversion of religious usage to political expediency finds interesting expression in the vicissitudes of the \textit{lucus Furrinae}.

**LUDI PISCATORII**

The \textit{ludi piscatorii} afford an instance, rare in Trastevere, of religious observances which came within the ken of the officials of Rome. Fishermen’s games, as Festus related in a rambling definition, were performed there annually in June under the supervision of the praetor urbanus. \textit{Ludi piscatorii} vocantur qui quotannis mense lunio trans Tiberim fieri vocantur qui quotannis mense lunio trans Tiberim fieri.\textsuperscript{120} Participants in the \textit{ludi piscatorii} may well have been members of the \textit{corpus piscatorum et uratorum totius alvei Tiberis}.\textsuperscript{123} Festus, however, was anxious to explain that the occupation of these fishermen was not to supply fish for the public markets, but rather for the \textit{area Vulcani} in the forum. Here, he believed, fish were obtained for a vicarious sacrifice at the Vulcanalia in August, when live fish were offered to Vulcan in place of human beings.\textsuperscript{124} The intervention of the \textit{praetor urbanus} is of prime importance. To explain this official direction of the games, it should be compared with Ovid’s description of fishermen’s games which he claimed to have seen on June 7, presumably in the Campus Martius.

\textit{Tunc ego me memini ludos in gramine Campi aspicere et dici, labrice Thybri, tuos. festa dies illis, qui lina madentia ducent, quique tegunt parvis aera recarva cibis.}\textsuperscript{120}

In the accounts of Ovid and Festus there are the wide diversities of expression of a poet and of a sober lexicographer. Ovid, silent about the technicalities of the celebration, recorded that the games were in honor of Father Tiber, certainly an appropriate deity for fishermen to worship.\textsuperscript{121} There has been some futile conjecture in the effort to reconcile the contradictory notices of Ovid and Festus on the location of the games. As a solution, scholars have suggested that Trastevere was the scene of the official part of the ceremony.\textsuperscript{122} This would probably be a sacrifice conducted by the \textit{praetor urbanus} and preceding the games which Ovid saw in the open spaces of the Campus Martius.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Fasti}, vi, 237–40. \textit{In gramine Campi} is a conventional expression for the Campus Martius.
  \item WISSOWA, 225, accepts \textit{OVID’s} statement as a possibility.
  \item O. GILBERT, \textit{Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom} (Leipzig, 1885–1890), i, 250, note 2; WALTZING, i, 238; J. G. FRAZER, \textit{The Fasti of Ovid} (London, 1929), iv, 171, noting the differences in location given by Ovid and Festus, suggested that the sanctuary of Tiber on the island, “situated half-way between the two banks, may have been the central point of the celebration.” It is difficult to conceive how any festivities could have been held on the island, crowded as it was with sanctuaries.
  \item CIL vi 1872 = DESSAU, 7266, A. D. 206. The provenience of this inscription is unknown. Cf. WALTZING, i, 257; MARQUARDT, \textit{Römische Staatsverwaltung} (Leipzig, 1886), iii, 198, note 6; WISSOWA, \textit{loc. cit.} above in n. 121. CIL vi 29700 and 29702 are inscriptions commemorating \textit{patroni} of this collegium, which must be assigned to Rome and not to Ostia: see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 5, 639, note 45. Varro, \textit{Ling. Lat.}, vi, 20, on the sacrifice at the Vulcanalia says \textit{animalia}, however. The sacrifice of fish was unusual, but a fish was offered to Tacita at the Parentalia, OVID, \textit{Fasti}, ii, 571 ff. According to FRAZER, \textit{op. cit.} above in n. 122, 170, the sacrifice was “a sort of fire-insurance” in which people attempted to propitiate Vulcan the fire-god by throwing animals or fish into the fire. See H. J. ROSE, \textit{JRS.} xxiii (1933), 46–65.
\end{itemize}
has been proposed that fish were furnished without charge by the corpus to the public for use in the Vulcanalesia, a kind of “liturgy” for the city. In this way, an artificial connection which had not always existed was established between the ludi piscatorii and the Vulcanalesia.

Unfortunately it is impossible to learn at what period the praetor assumed management of these games. Since Festus, following Verrius Flaccus, recorded the fact, it seems very probable that control of the ludi piscatorii had devolved upon the praetor urbanus at some time before Augustus. The praetor’s direction of the ludi piscatorii may even have been as ancient as his supervision of the ludi Apollinares, which dated from their foundation in 212 B.C.

Emphasis on the local character of the games, as well as their marked insignificance, suggests that originally they may have been local ludi, similar to the ludi Capitoline of the Capitoline or the ludi Mercuriales of the Aventine. Residents of these two hills were organized into collegia at the instance of the senate to celebrate games of local consequence. But the presence of the praetor urbanus in the ludi piscatorii of Trastevere indicates an official interest, such as is not attested for the ludi Capitoline and ludi Mercuriales.

DIVAE CORNISCAE

An unusual inscription cut on a rough travertine cippus and found on the slope below S. Pietro in Montorio records a dedication to the divae corniscas. Festus, fortunately, has explained that the corniscas were sacred crows in the care of Juno, who once possessed a grove across the Tiber. From Festus’ words, it would seem that the grove was no longer venerated in his day. On coins of Quintus Cornificius, ca. 44—42 B.C., a crow appears, perched on the shield of Juno Sospita of Lanuvium. Certainly this sacred bird, the cornix, was introduced to suggest in punning fashion an allusion to the name of the moneyer. Doubtless it was in her function as goddess of matrimony that crows were sacred to Juno Sospita of Lanuvium. To Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, the crow signified constancy in marriage. What motivated the choice of this remote spot in Trastevere for a sacred grove is still a baffling question. The inscription belongs in the Republican period, when the district was merely a rural region of Rome. In any case, the divae corniscas, although probably related to Juno, cannot have had any vital or indispensable connection with her state cult in the city on the left bank of the Tiber.

LARES

The minutely specialized powers of the Lares are immediately apparent in a review of their cult. Explanatory titles like viales, semitales, viatorii, or permarini are proof enough of the esteem in which the Lares were held as divinities whose prime function was the protection of some definite locality, be it a road, a path, or even the sea. An altar from Falerii recorded a dedication to the Lares with three of these geographical epithets, votu suscepto Laribus | compitalibus (thus), | viabilibus, | semitalibus | sacrum. Three small altars from Trastevere are analogous. They were found in situ on the right side of the Via Portuensis about one mile from Porta Portese, set side by side, facing the road, about 50 cm. from each other. The two end altars were identical in form and lettering, one inscribed Lares semitales and the other Lares viales. But the central altar, of approximately the same size, was of a more friable tufa, set on a higher base, and engraved with an older type of letter. The reading Lares is certain, but the second word is partly defaced. Comparison with the other altars in the group would suggest that some topographical adjective should be supplied, and Gatti proposed the restoration [c][u][r][i][a][l][e][s]. Probably the

126 Roscher, ii, s. v. Juno, 608 f.
127 AELIAN, Hist. Anim., iii, 9; KELLER, Die Antike Tierwelt ii (Leipzig, 1913), 106.
128 WISSOWA, 170; see also LAING, “The Origin of the Cult of the Lares,” Class. Phil., xvi (1921), 124—140.
129 CIL xi 36810—36812 = DESSAU 3654.
130 CIL vi 56810—56812 = DESSAU 9251 a, b, c; Not. Sc., 1907, 465; GATTI, Bull. Com., xxxvi (1908), 42—47, pl. 4. The altars, found in the Via Balbo during the construction of the railway, are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano.
131 On the central altar, the first letter of the second word has disappeared, uri follows, the next letter is extremely poor, and the word ends in lēs. On the Basis Capitolina, CIL vi 975,
Lares Curiales of Trastevere and the Dei Curiales of Caere were analogous divinities, as Rosenberg has remarked. Although the curiae were the oldest recorded local divisions which possessed common rites, they became decadent at an early period in the history of Rome. Still, memory of the original sacred character of the curiae was preserved to a slight degree in later times in the festival of the Fornacalia, celebrated by the curio maximus. In Trastevere, a remote quarter of Rome, the late Republican inscription under discussion apparently commemorated the tutelary gods of an ancient curia.

After Augustus' administrative division of Rome into regions and vici, four elective magistri vicorum, usually freedmen, were chosen annually to supervise the civic and religious activities of the localities from which they were elected. Ancient sacella at cross-roads, dedicated to the Lares Compitales, remained the religious centers of the newly constituted urban districts, but became mainly subservient to the imperial cult. Henceforth dedications at Compitalla were Laribus Augustis et Genio Caesaris, some of the picturesque character of the early compita festivals still lingered on when the magistri vicorum decorated the shrines with fresh flowers.

So far it has been impossible to determine the boundaries of any of the vici of Trastevere, but two altars of the imperial compita shrines have been discovered. On comparison with other altars dedicated by magistri vicorum, there can be no doubt that an altar found in the Via Emilio Morosini was dedicated to the Laribus Augusti. Both a designation of the deities and a date are lacking, but the names of four freedmen magistri make the identification quite certain. Another altar was revealed, probably in situ, during the excavation of an ancient street corner, immediately south of the Aurelian Wall at the tomb of Sulpicius Platorinus. Here the stone bore but two words, Laribus Aug., but it evidently was the altar of another vicus of Trastevere.

As worship of the Lares was steadily diverted to association with the imperial house, a special collegium was organized whose purpose was veneration of the Lares and the consecrated imagines of the emperor. It is probable that the collegium magnum Larum et imaginum, as the association was called, added the activities of a burial society to its duties towards the imperial cult. In Trastevere, two dedications were found from members of this collegium. Both were addressed to Silvanus as the patron deity of the organization, a fact, which probably indicates a collegium funeraticium with members of inferior social status. In this collegium, the cult of the Lares must have been decidedly subordinate.

137 CIL xi 3595. See ROSENBERG, Der Staat der alten Italiker (Berlin, 1915), 153 f. GATTI did not note the inscription from Caere. The mention of the Dei Curiales in conjunction with the genius of the emperor recalls the cult of the Lares Compitales at Rome as reorganised by Augustus to include his own genius; see L. R. TAYLOR, Local Cults in Etruria (Rome, 1923), 121 f.

138 See WISSOWA, 158.

139 See WISSOWA, 158.

140 CIL vi 671, 692. See p. 43, n. 168.

141 Compitales Lares ornari bis anno institutum vernis floribus et aestivis, SUET., Aug., 31, 4.

142 GATTI, Bull. Com., xxxix (1911), 272—8, CIL vi 56851. The first three lines are lacking. There follows: L. Cacurius. . . . Sex. Pomptinius. . . , L. Valerius Narcissus, M. Luuis Atticus, magistri. . . . (a line lacking), dedicat. VIII K. Febr. Small branches of laurel were carved on the two sides, also the patera and ever. L. 1 should read Laribus Augustis and have the name of the vicus. The names of the magistrates should be followed by the year of the dedication. GATTI had already discussed compita altars, Bull. Com., xxxv (1906), 186—205, where he presents a chronological list of magistri vicorum.

143 CIL vi 30952; Not. Sc., 1880, 141; Bull. Com., viii (1880), 153. The inscription was reported in the periodicals as Laribus Sac., but the reading in the Corpus has been corrected to Laribus Aug. It was cut on a marble altar, 0.42 m. high, with the ever and patera engraved on the sides. The exact point of its discovery is shown in Not. Sc., 1880, pl. 4, fig. 1, point Q. Two dedicatory inscriptions to Silvanus were found in the same place, see p. 42, n. 151.

144 Worship of the imagines of the imperial house probably existed on a small scale in the lifetime of Augustus: cf. OVID, ex Ponto, iv, 9, 105—110, who mentions a shrine in his house with images of the emperor and his wife, of Tiberius, and of Gaius and Lucius. Nola possessed an altar Augusto sacrnum, later restored by a group styled Laurinienses. . . . cultores d. d. (CIL x 1258). TAC., Anni., i, 75, 2, mentions cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domus in modum collegiorum habebantur, and notes a case of sacrilegious treatment of a statue of Augustus.

145 Inscriptions from various parts of the empire record dedications from this collegium, for example CIL iv 507 (A. D. 159); CIL iii 4038, from Pannonia; CIL viii Supp. 17143 (A. D. 128), from Numidia. The following collegia probably had a similar purpose: cultores Augusti, cultores imaginum Caesaris nostri, cultores domus divinæ. According to WALTZING, i, 501, these were all probably funerary colleges as well. BOISSIER, Rev. Arch., xxiii (1872), 84, believed that their only purpose was worship of the imperial family.

146 CIL vi 671, 692. See p. 43, n. 168.
PRIVATE CULTS AND CULTS OF COLLEGIA

In Trastevere the private shrines and dedications to the orthodox gods of Rome reflect the humble condition of the local residents. From a remote period, certain agricultural deities, Albionae, possessed a grove in the region, where private sacrifices were performed.\(^{147}\) From the quantity of dedications to Bona Dea, it appears that there was a modest shrine of the goddess in Trastevere in the reign of Nero.\(^{148}\) A crude but flourishing sacellum of Hercules, erected by a private citizen, stood outside Porta Portese.\(^{149}\) In the vicinity an inscription was found which commemorated an aedes of Hercules Victor.\(^{150}\) Whether these two sanctuaries may be identified or not, it is certain that a cult center of Hercules, maintained by private dedicants, lay near Porta Portese. A small enclosure containing an altar and an aedes represented a private shrine of Silvanus near the Ponte Sisto,\(^{151}\) while an aedicula of the same god existed somewhere in the southern part of the district.\(^{152}\) At another unknown site in the quarter, there was an aedes of Liber Pater and Diana.\(^{153}\) Single private dedications to Febris\(^{154}\) and Fortuna\(^{155}\) were found in a sanctuary of Syrian gods. In addition, there were inscriptions of no special interest commemorating Antinous,\(^{156}\) Apollo,\(^{157}\) "Asclepius",\(^{158}\) Bacchus and Silenus,\(^{159}\) Juno,\(^{160}\) Jupiter Optimus Maximus,\(^{161}\) and Mercury.\(^{162}\)

In any Roman industrial community, dedications from collegia are necessarily conspicuous. Guilds of metal-workers, butchers, and flower-vendors were devoted to the worship of Fortuna at the sixth milestone of the Via Portuensis.\(^{163}\) A similar commercial collegium of wine-merchants honored Liber Pater and Mercury.\(^{164}\) In the same place where their dedication was found, a collegium funeraticium worshipped Fortuna Redux as their patroness.\(^{165}\) A collegium was concerned with the worship of Fons,\(^{166}\) while a collegium dendrophorum, combining religious and secular duties, adhered to the cult of Cybele as

\(^{147}\) Festus (Paulus), 4 L., Albiona ager trans Tibaram diciatur a loco Albionarum qua loco bos alba sacrificabant. Since the same sacrificial victim, a bos alba, was offered to Dea Dia, and a tumulus alba to Bona Dea Agrestis, it seems probable that the tutelary deities of the locus Albionarum were similarly goddesses of agricultural operations. Cf. Aust, PW, i, 1316.

\(^{148}\) Three inscriptions naming Bona Dea (CIL vi 65, 66, 67 = Dessau 3500, 3501, 3501a) were found in situ under the Opera Pia Michelinii in S. Pasquale, Via Anicia, 15. CIL vi 67 commemorates the gift of an image and aedes and implies the goddess' protection of an insula Bolani in Trastevere. From the lettering of the inscription, the insula must have belonged to M. Vetius Balanus, consul suffectus in the reign of Nero, and not to his son of the same name who was consul ordinarius in A. D. 111; see Prosopographia Imperii Romani, iii, 411, 323–4. The Roman well near which the inscription was discovered may have stood in the court of the insula Balani. CIL vi 75 = Dessau 3508, a dedication to Bona Dea Oclata, was found in the garden of Sta. Maria dell'Orto. The epithet Oclata is probably an adjectival equivalent of the phrase, ob luminibus restitutis (thus) of CIL vi 68. One other dedication to Bona Dea was found in the immediate vicinity; see CIL vi 35676.

\(^{149}\) Not. Sc., 1889, 245–247, illustrated on 244 f.; Borsari, Bull. Com., xviii (1890), 9; Hülser, Röm. Mitt., vi (1891), 149 f., with figures; CIL vi 30891 a and b, 50892. The rock-cut sacellum and large altar before it were destroyed in 1889. A figurine among the dedications showed Hercules reclining on a lectus and recalled the entry Hercules Cabans, probably the name of a vicus, in the lists of the Notitia and Curiosum for the fourteenth region (Jordán-Hülser, i, 5, 644). Possibly the statue of the sacellum was a copy of some heroic statue which was responsible for the name of a vicus; see Borsari, loc. cit. The discovery in the same area of seven marble portrait heads of charioteers, suggests that the sanctuary may have been a "center of worship of Hercules by the charioteers," of whom the god was a favourite. See Peter, Röcher, i, 2, 2979 f.; Lanciani, The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome (Boston/New York, 1897). 455. The identification of the portraits as charioteers is due to Petersen, Röm. Mitt., vi (1891), 237 f. The seven heads are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano: see Helbig, Führer, i, p. 185, nos. 1451–7.

\(^{150}\) CIL vi 532 = Dessau 1155. The note on CIL vi 30892 states that no. 532 was found on the same site as the sanctuary of Hercules Cubans.
well as Silvanus. Members of another college, the collegium magnum Larum et imaginum of the imperial house, made dedications to Silvanus.

In having official supervision of its annual ludi, the corpus of Tiber fishermen was exceptional among the guilds of Trastevere.

PART II

THE ORIENTAL GODS OF TRASTEVERE

With private worship in Trastevere, the cults of Oriental deities must be included, for none of those in this region seems to have had the sanction of the state. In sharp contrast to private dedications to Greek and Roman gods, the shrines of Oriental divinities were richer and more extensive. At least two large sanctuaries were built for the worship of Syrian gods, and there were numerous miscellaneous dedications.

DEA SYRIA

The Syrian Atargatis, known as Συρικὴ Θεία in Greece and as Dea Syria in Italy, became by virtue of her manifold powers and mystic rites one of the most powerful of Syrian deities in Rome. Through slaves captured in Eastern wars and itinerant traders, the cult of Atargatis began to spread over the Roman world as early as the second century before Christ. The commercial island of Delos, a gathering place of many nationalities, was especially prominent in the propagation of her rites. In ancient literature, Lucian's essay on the goddess in Hierapolis and Apuleius' description of her wandering priests are the most extensive accounts of the cult. Archaeological research, especially in the Orient, has supplemented these descriptions.

Two statues with bases formerly in the Mattei gardens in Trastevere constituted offerings to Dea Syria and to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The former showed a mutilated image of the goddess seated between two lions, and the latter Jupiter majestically flanked by two bulls. Both statues were set up by the same dedicants in fulfilment of a vow for the safety of an emperor whose name, as the result of a memoriae damnatio, was erased on both inscribed bases. In his publication of the inscriptions, Henzen ingeniously utilized his restoration in an attempt to establish the location of a temple of Dea Syria in Rome in Nero's reign. The Chronographus of the year 354 recorded the incredible capacity of a gastronomic freak who lived in the time of Alexander Severus: hoc imp. fuit polyfagus natione Italus qui manducavit pausa; cistam, latucas, vascellum sardinarium, sardas X, melopepones LXX ........ et ehibit vini greecanici plenum et venit ad templum Isauriae et ehibit labrum plenum et adhuc esurientes esse videbatur. Jordan suggested that probably the notice was interpolated from a similar account of a Neronian glutton in the Chronographus: hoc. imp. fuit polyfagus natione Alexandrinus nomine Arpcorcas, qui manducavit pausa : aprum coctum, gallinam vivam cum suas sibi pinnas, ova C pineas C, ........ et adhuc esurientes esse videbatur. Here, however, there is no mention of a templum Isauriae; and Jordan's argument for an interpolation is not convincing. The name of Dea Syria underwent many variations, especially in inscriptions, where it might be written Diasura, Diassura, or even Isaura. In the present text, the corruption betrays a confused interpretation of Isauriae in the archetype of the manuscript. If, then, a temple of Dea Syria was located in Rome in the

170 Cf. WISSOWA 361, note 2.

171 LUCIAN, De Dea Syria; APULEIUS, Metam., viii, 24—30.

172 CIL vi 116 = DESSAU 4274; CIL vi 117 = DESSAU 4275. CIL vi 116, Deae Suriae sacr. voto suscepto pro salute . . .

173 JORDAN, "Das Templum Deae Syriae in Rom," Hermes, vi (1872), 520—522; DESSAU, ad loc.

174 MOMMSEN, Chronica Minora, i, 147 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Antiq., ix).

175 Ibid., 146. Cf. SUBT., Nero, 37, 2.

176 Cf. WISSOWA 361, note 2.
time of Alexander Severus, it should logically be found in Trastevere, the quarter outside the pomerium in which most Syrian deities were worshipped under the Empire. The existence in Trastevere in Renaissance times of these inscriptions, which probably bore Nero's name, as well as the Neronian date of a literary notice which Jordan associated with a temple of Dea Syria, led that scholar to the conclusion that a temple of the goddess stood in Trastevere while Nero ruled. Moreover, in the first year of that emperor's reign, he had a passing inclination for the cult of Dea Syria, religionum usque quaque contemptor praeter unius deae Syriae.177 Gauckler's discovery, found in Trastevere, the quarter outside the pomerium time of Alexander Severus, it should logically be vaguely recalls her sumptuous cult statue in Hierapolis a pomegranate. Such a representation of the goddess seated on a throne with a lion at either side. She wears a conical head-dress topped by a crescent on which a leaf is carved. Both hands are raised; in the left, she holds the mirror of Aphrodite, in the right a pomegranate. Such a representation of the goddess vaguely recalls her sumptuous cult statue in Hierapolis which Lucian described.179 If the altar may be dated under Nero might provide some support for Jordan's theory, but, as the next section will show, there is no real proof, and the provenience of the stones is not attested.

Like the dedicatory statues to Jupiter and Dea Syria, a small marble altar was exhibited as early as Renaissance times in the Mattei gardens.178 In a crude low relief on the front the goddess is shown seated on a throne with a lion at either side. She wears a conical head-dress topped by a crescent on which a leaf is carved. Both hands are raised; in the left, she holds the mirror of Aphrodite, in the right a pomegranate. Such a representation of the goddess vaguely recalls her sumptuous cult statue in Hierapolis which Lucian described.179 If the altar may be dated in the reign of Nero, it may well have been placed for a short time in a shrine favored by his patronage.180 That this shrine was located in Trastevere is suggested by the appearance of the altar among the collection of antiquities possessed by Battista Mattei.181

177 SUET., Nero, 56.
178 CIL. vi 115, 30696 = DESSAU 4276. The altar is now in the Capitoline Museum; see STUART JONES, Catalogue of the ..., Museo Capitolino, p. 92, no. 11 a; pl. 53, no. 11 A. It is also illustrated in CUMONT, Rel. Orient. 4, 96, fig. 6.
179 De Dea Syria, 52.
180 L. CESANO, De Ruggiero, ii, 2, p. 1469, dates the altar in this period.
181 On Battista Mattei as a collector of memorials of Oriental cults, see Bull. Com., viii (1880), 10. General considerations are in favor of local provenience for most of these. However, given his special interest in this particular class of ancient religious monument, some or all of the stones in question may have been brought from a greater distance; and this is true also of many inscriptions recorded as in Renaissance collections. Other inscriptions formerly in his possession, relating to Oriental cults, have been used for the present study when there appeared to be corroborative reasons for considering them Transtiberine in origin.


182 GAUCKLER, pl. xv, from the Pianta Topografica di Roma of G. B. NOLLI, shows the plan of the Villa Sciarra and adjacent property in 1748.
183 CASSIO, Corso delle Acque, i, 147 f. (quoted by GAUCKLER, 130—132), related the story of the Cardinal's excavations.
important work. In 1920 Gaston Darier published a complete bibliography of articles which referred to the sanctuary.185 Since the excavations were by no means completed in 1909, there is every hope of impressive results from the Italian excavations which will soon be resumed. The following pages present a summary and analysis of Gauckler’s finds.

THE THREE TEMPLES OF THE SYRIAN SANCTUARY

From the dedicatory inscriptions which Gauckler found in his preliminary excavations, there seemed no doubt that a sanctuary of Syrian gods had existed in the vicinity of the Villa Sciarra. Since the temples of Eastern cults nearly always stood on heights, a site near the summit of the Janiculum, the highest point in Rome, represented an obvious choice for a sanctuary devoted to Oriental cults. The abundant supply of pure water, so essential to Eastern rituals, was another desirable feature of the location on the Janiculum. When Gauckler’s excavations ended, he had discovered the traces of three successive buildings, one of which he dated in the reign of Nero, the second in the period of the Antonines, and the last in the fourth century.

Previously the site had been a Roman sanctuary, the lucus Furrinae.186 The subsequent dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Hadad, Jupiter Maleciabrudus, and Zeus Kerakios, are incontrovertible evidence that the old Roman worship was replaced by a genuine cult center of the deities of Syria. Although no specific dedication to Dea Syria was found, Gauckler would identify the earliest remains which he discovered with a temporary sanctuary which Nero may have built during his brief admiration of the goddess. In the absence of more cogent evidence, Gauckler’s theory of a Neronian shrine seems to lack support.

THE SHRINE DATED BY GAUCKLER UNDER NERO

From the meagre remains, it appears that the first sanctuary on the site was not an actual temple, but merely a sacred enclosure.187 It probably consisted simply of an open rectangular temenos, orientated precisely according to the points of the compass. On the eastern side, Gauckler found a long stretch of masonry of the boundary (α, β).188 The structura testacea of which it was built, he dated in the reign of Nero. Since the criteria for dating Roman buildings were not yet established at the time of Gauckler’s work, it seems that his attribution may be erroneous. Below this wall on the hillside lay the pond for the sacred fish, indispensable in certain Syrian rites. The northern side of the enclosure, which coincided with the side of the deep ravine on the site, was composed of a single line of empty wine amphoras of various shapes and sizes (γ, δ). They were set upright in the earth and seemed to mark the northern boundary.189 Close beside the row of amphoras this boundary was completed by an open water channel which was covered before it reached the sacred pond. Since the pond prevented access to the sanctuary at the east, there was a crude stairway cut in the northern hillside. A bridge crossed the channel and led to the entrance, a break in the row of amphoras, near the northeast corner of the enclosure. On the western side, slight traces of a tufa retaining wall were found (χ, ζ) which divided the temenos into two terraces. The altar and adyton probably lay on the upper terrace, while the lower terrace formed an open court. On the western slope above the temenos there was probably a consecrated fountain at the site of the spring.

The pond on the eastern boundary was actually a vast reservoir built of extremely thick walls faced in reticulate; a low parapet separated it from the temenos. The reservoir was more than 5 m. deep and about 25 m. wide, but its length could not be determined. Worshippers might walk along the parapet and throw offerings into the pond. As long as any ceremonies took place in the sanctuary, the pond was a necessary part of its equipment. But after the edicts of D. 341, 353, 354 (346?), and 356, which closed all the pagan shrines in Rome, the reservoir was so thoroughly filled that not a trace of it remained any longer visible.190

THE ANTONINE TEMPLE AND ITS FAVISSA

The first sanctuary on the Janiculum seems to have been abandoned for about one century. The accession of Commodus, an initiate in the mysteries of Isis and Mithras,191 assured imperial protection to oriental cults and probably gave impetus to a rebuilding on the site of the temenos. The most conspicuous member of the new religious community was the Romanized Syrian already mentioned, M. Antonius Gaionas. Perhaps it is of some significance that one of his dedications was for the safety of the emperor Commodus.192 In many
respects the temple of Antonine date followed the plan of its predecessor which lay 2 m. beneath it. It consisted of a square open temenos, probably at least 32 m. on a side. A wall was thicker and consequently projected slightly beneath. Excavations were not completed so as to determine how far the Antonine wall extended in a southern direction, but on the northern side it ended definitely where the steep slope began. Further investigation of the sanctuary revealed an extraordinary plan which has never been satisfactorily explained. On the northern side a single row of wine amphoras, stuck upright in the ground (r, s), was comparable to the short line of amphoras found in the Neronian sanctuary (a, q). This row in the Antonine temple seemed to mark a boundary. However, another line (l, m), set in the ground in the same way, lay perpendicularly to r, s and does not appear to have marked an enclosure line. In order to explain this unusual arrangement, Gauckler suggested that these rows of amphoras divide the temenos into four equal parts as if to define the boundaries of a templum. Excavations on the site have not been sufficiently extended to determine whether or not another line of amphoras intersected l, m. Above all, there is no reason for believing that the augurs of Rome would have performed the ceremony of inauguratio for a temple of foreign gods unrecognized by the state.

Another curious arrangement of amphoras was revealed in the Antonine temple. Along the northern boundary, but within the temenos, a trench had been dug to serve as a favissa. Upon the earth thrown up from the trench a wall had been made, about 2 m. high, of oil amphoras laid on their sides (p, q). All were of the same size and shape, but like the wine amphoras lacked stamps or marks of identification, a fact which suggests that they were made especially for the purpose. The wall which they formed seems to be unique in Roman or Syrian construction, although Ostia, in a street to the east of the great baths, exhibits a well with sides constructed of jars, and rows of amphoras occur in the garden of the house of the Loreii Tiburtini at Pompeii. With the single row of wine amphoras, the intermediate ditch, and the high wall of oil amphoras, entrance on the northern side was impossible except for one very small opening.

This boundary of the sanctuary became stouter as the trench beyond the amphora wall was filled with the usual accumulation of a temple favissa. In a deep bed of ashes and burned bones of birds and small animals, the excavators discovered an immense deposit of vases, lamps, coins, and plates of terra-cotta, glass, or metal. Among the objects of special interest were some fragments of enameled tiles which may have been importations from the Orient. A quantity of peculiarly curved handles seem to have belonged to situla-like containers and are apparently without parallel in Rome. All were broken and lay in piles in the middle and uppermost layers of the favissa. By far the most abundant objects in the trench were small terra-cotta vases about 10 cm. high. Even today scores of them lie heaped in the excavations. Three types recur constantly, one flask-shaped, another pear-shaped, and a third carrot-shaped. All had covers and pointed ends. Evidently they were kept upright by sticking them in specially cut pieces of bone, since several were found to be so placed. From the shape of these vases, each with a lip and a fairly definite neck, it seems that their prototype must have been in glass rather than in clay. However after a careful investigation no comparable examples have been found. It is significant, however, that a glass vase from Syria most closely approximates the type.

The fountain basin which Gaionas had dedicated, the ὑπαίθριον ναόν, lay west of the sanctuary on the hill-side. Covered drainage canals from the spring flowed by both sides of the temenos, u, t on the north side, and e, f on the south. The latter channel supplied water to the delubrum of the temple, a room where ritual ablutions were performed. It comprised two small communicating rooms paved in black-and-white mosaics (c and d). Its location indicates that the entrance to the Antonine temple was near the delubrum on the south side.

As long as the dynasty of the Severi was in power, there was every assurance of imperial protection for

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193 The sanctuary is described by GAUCKLER, 227—249.
194 GAUCKLER, 230, 265.
195 In camps and properly inaugurated cities, the intersecting main streets showed the lines of the cardo and decumanus, but there was no other demarcation. GAUCKLER has interpreted too literally SERV. ad Aen., iv, 200.
196 GAUCKLER, pl. XLVIII.
197 See GAUCKLER, 237.
198 See GAUCKLER, pl. XXXVII.
199 GAUCKLER'S suggestion (235, note 1), that the vases were of Janiculum clay and of local manufacture, cannot be proved.
200 See HARDEN, Roman Glass from Karanis (Ann Arbor, 1936), fig. 5, m; in Oxford, no. 1912.69. I am indebted to Dr. Edith Hall Dohan of the University Museum, Philadelphia, for the suggestion that the prototype might be glass.
201 See p. 56 above.
202 GAUCKLER, pl. XLIV—XLVII.
a Syrian cult. The decline of the sanctuary on the Janiculum probably began after the fall of Alexander Severus. The death-blow to the second shrine was presumably dealt by the edicts of Constantius, which ordered the closing of all temples and the cessation of pagan ceremonies.

THE FOURTH-CENTURY TEMPLE AND ITS SCULPTURES

Imperial tolerance in the reign of Julian the Apostate (A. D. 361—363) gave opportunity for a brief revival of pagan cults. Apparently at that time a third sanctuary of Syrian gods was built upon the site of the abandoned temple of the Antonine period. The last temple, found a meter above the previous structure, was unusually well preserved and displayed a plan in which Oriental and Roman elements were curiously blended. The fourth-century sanctuary, rectangular in shape, was divided into three distinct parts, a temple proper at one end, a chapel at the other, with an atrium or court between the two systems of rooms. At the western end lay the temple proper, consisting of a tripartite narthex (H, G) which gave entrance into a complex of rooms of basilica type (E, A, D). The latter was composed of a nave, flanked by single rooms which, however, were separated from it by partitions rather than by columns. A deep apse, Syrian in type, projected from the western end of the nave. At the extreme back of the apse, the cranium of a man was buried (O). Jaws and teeth had been carefully cut away, and the cranium exactly fitted its container. Obviously it represented that Semitic foundation rite in which a sanctuary was consecrated by human sacrifice.

In the same place, excavators discovered a marble statue of the god which human sacrifice was offered. At the eastern end of the court, opposite the cella proper (C) in this system of rooms was the main entrance to the sanctuary. At the time the temple was abandoned, this door was blocked with architectural fragments and statues.

The cella proper (C) in this system of rooms was a quadrilateral structure, one of whose diagonals coincided with the main axis of the sanctuary. The corner on the western side was lengthened into an apsidal extension which lay between the two pentagonal rooms. Probably the central room was roofed with a light dome. The side walls were pierced with narrow openings, but the deposit of common clay lamps in the room shows that it was really lighted artificially.

In the unpaved rectangular court before the temple (B), traces of the open favissa were distinctly visible as well as the rows of amphorae which had formed part of the equipment of the previous temple. A small postern gate was set in the northern wall of the court (I), while the main entrance to the sanctuary was located in the center of the south wall (J).

At the eastern end of the court, opposite the temple proper and on the same axis, another group of rooms appeared (C, K, L). Their plan seems to be without parallel, and, as Gauckler noted, every precaution was taken to keep them as secluded as possible. Entrance to the main room was through two pentagonal rooms on each side of it (K, L), which opened on the main court. In the pentagonal room on the south side (K), there was a second door (Q). This was presumably for entrance into a delubrum, yet undiscovered, belonging to the last temple.

The lamps are probably Oriental in type; Gauckler, 88 f. The lamps are probably Oriental in type; Gauckler, 176, pl. XXI, XII.
In the center of the large room, a second triangular plinth of stuccoed stone (N) was lying on the main axis of the sanctuary, but not orientated with it. This, similar to the first, was an equilateral triangle, 3 m. on a side, and about 0.4 m. high. It is still in situ. In its center there was a small depression covered by three tiles. When they were removed a small gilded bronze image was discovered lying in the cavity. According to Gauckler, the triangular base was too large and deep to represent an altar. Rather it must have been a hearth, designed to protect a ceremonial fire.

In the excavation of the pentagonal room on the south side, several pieces of sculpture were found buried. Worshippers had evidently hidden them to save them from destruction if the sanctuary were looted. The most exquisite object was a triangular candelabrum base of white Greek marble about 0.6 m. high. Three female figures are shown in high relief at the corners of the triangle, following each other as if in a procession. Since each of the graceful maidens holds the garment of the figure before her, they are probably to be identified as the Horai, who are distinguished in artistic representations by this gesture. If Gauckler’s theory is correct, this candelabrum was probably set upon the plinth, where it held a torch or sacred fire. Fragments of the same marble were found in the central room near the plinth.

In the same southern room excavators also discovered a Parian marble statue of Dionysos, buried about a meter deep. The figure was slightly less than life-size and almost perfectly preserved. The youthful god, crowned with ivy and grapes, stands beside a tree-trunk bound with grape-vines. In his right hand, he holds a kantharos; and his left hand had once held a metal thyrsus. Apparently the statue is a Roman copy of a common Hellenistic type. Technically the only peculiarity is the structure of the head, made of two separate parts of the same marble, cut horizontally at the hair line. When the figure was found, there were distinct traces of gilding on the front hair, face, and hands. Some of the gold is visible, but the rest of the statue presents the glaring white of untreated marble. Since the body is not painted, it is conceivable that the statue was once actually clothed so that only the gilded parts could be seen.

In the central cella (C), the niche in the apse (W) once contained the black basalt statue of an Egyptian pharaoh, a little less than life size. The figure is in the traditional Egyptian pose, standing erect with the left foot advanced. Although the image had been smashed into eight pieces and bore no cartouche, its restoration shows that stylistically it should probably be assigned to the Graeco-Roman period. Statues of the Greek Dionysos and of an Egyptian pharaoh seem at first sight extraneous additions in a sanctuary of Syrian gods. As a matter of fact, they attest very forcefully the high degree of syncretism which characterized religion in Rome in the fourth century after Christ.

Evidently the candelabrum base and the statues of Dionysos and the pharaoh represented the most precious treasures of the sanctuary, since they were segregated in an inaccessible chapel. In the apse of the same room, three coffins were set in the floor. Each was made of tiles and contained the skeleton of a man. They lay perpendicularly to the main axis of the temple, two with heads towards the north, the third with its head towards the south. Other skeletons in coffins of the same type were in other parts of the sanctuary. In the absence of inscriptions or any objects in the graves, it is only possible to conjecture what purpose they fulfilled. Since all the burials were contemporaneous with the temple, they must be the graves of devotees of the cult. The burials at once recall the Christian predilection for interment in churches.

Comparison of the temple plan with other sanctuaries of Syrian gods has limited possibilities. The obvious analogies are with the temple of the Syrian gods at Delos (of the second half of the second century B. C.) and the temples of Artemis and Atargatis at Dura-Europos. The former consists of a court surrounded by small rooms, an odeum, and an altar outside the temple. The latter has a large court, and a naos flanked by small rooms and preceded by a narthex-like chamber. According to Bellinger, the Dura temples and the Janiculum sanctuary show analogies in their arrangements. The Dura temples, however, completely lack the symmetry of the temple in Rome, and the comparison does not seem at all convincing. By far the most pronounced similarity in plan is with the Christian basilica and the complex of rooms at A. Here the group of nave and side-aisles, preceded by a narthex and atri, probably

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212 GAUCKLER, pl. XXXIII.
213 See p. 51 below for description.
214 GAUCKLER, 181—183, pls. XXVII—XXIX. The base is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano. On the representation of the Horai in art, see RAPP, Roscher, i, 2, 2727.
215 GAUCKLER, 185—187, pl. XXV; now in the Museo Nazionale Romano.
216 See p. 52 below.
217 The attire of a statue of Dionysos is described in a fragment of an Orphic hymn, preserved by MACR., Sat., I, 18, 22, cited by GAUCKLER, 185.
218 GAUCKLER, 187—189, pl. XXVI; now in the Museo Nazionale Romano.
219 See pl. 2, and GAUCKLER, pls. XXX—XXXII.
shows the nearest pagan predecessor of the Christian basilica, which did not derive entirely from the secular basilica but had analogies in pagan religious architecture.222 However, the triple arrangement of the Syrian sanctuary, the temple proper, court, and chapel, seems to represent an innovation in ancient temple planning. The deeply projecting apse and the temple court are Eastern elements, but the unvarying axiality and symmetry of the sanctuary show the unquestionable influence of Roman architecture.

JUPITER HELIOPOLITANUS

A rectangular white marble slab engraved on its four borders may have been used as a mensa or table for offerings in the equipment of the Syrian sanctuary when Gaionas was priest.224 The inscription on the borders comprised a dedication for the welfare and return and victory of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.225 Since Commodus is called imperator in the inscription, but not Augustus or Pater Patriae, the dedication must be dated between November 27 and December 23, A. D. 176.226 A religious inscription, cut in the same type of letters, occupied the upper part of the face of the slab, and is restored (with minor alternatives): Iovi [o(ptimo) ? M(aximo) ? Angelo?] Heliopolitano st(acrum). A large space was left in the center of the stone; and at the bottom in inconspicuous letters, the act of dedication was recorded: v(otum?) l(ibens) a(nimo) s(olvit). The names of the consuls follow in the third line: Apro II Pollione II Co(n)s(ulibus). By analogy with another dedication of Gaionas at Portus,227 Gauckler restored Angelus among the titles of Jupiter. The epithet angelus for a pagan god occurs in Latin only in these two inscriptions, and probably is intended to describe the deity as a bearer of good tidings. "Aγγελος was similarly used in Greek.228

When the sanctuary was abandoned after the second century, the mensa was discarded. However,

This is the view of LEROUX, L’édifice hypostyle (above, n. 205), 320 f.

223 GAUCKLER quotes MARCEL DIEULAFOY as stating that the arrangement is comparable to that of Mazdaean fire temples or daityogatous. The quotation is in one of his unfinished papers and therefore no specific reference is given. It appears, however, that nothing is known of the architecture of these temples; see DIHALLA, Zoroastrian Civilization (New York, 1922), 149. DIEULAFOY’S statement was probably a theory.

CIL vi 36793, GAUCKLER, 84 f., 142–148. The slab is illustrated in a photograph in Mél. de l’École Française à Rome, xxix (1909), pl. XI, 1, 2.

225 GAUCKLER, 145 — CIL vi 36793: Pro salute et reditu et victoria || imperatorum Augusti Antonini et Com(m)odi Caes(arii) Germanici(i) || principis turent(uti) Sarmatici || Gaionas Caes(arii) Augustorum a(dono) d(edit).

226 See GAUCKLER, 145, for the evidence for dating.

227 CIL vii 24 = DESSAU 4294.

228 See L. R. TAYLOR, The Cults of Ostia (Bryn Mawr, 1912), 77, note 5.

a later dedicant used the same surface a second time, but turned its top to the bottom. The new inscription was cut in the open space in the center. Its crude irregular letters indicate a date in the late third or fourth century.229 As restored by Gauckler, it reads: C(aius) Aeflanius Martialis iterum Veneri C(aelestis)? c(onsecravit)? v(otum) m(erito). The first three letters of the title of Venus are certainly Cae-, and the restoration Caelestis was proposed by Duchesne. This goddess, then, was probably the paredros of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.230

In a sanctuary in Rome devoted nearly exclusively to Syrian gods, Jupiter Heliopolitanus might well have been the chief divinity. The statue of a seated deity found in the central niche of the cela must undoubtedly be a representation of the god, and the prominent position of his name on the sacrificial mensa is further proof of his supremacy in the temple. Finally, of the five dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus found in Rome, four were discovered in Trastevere, two in the ruins of the sanctuary and two in the immediate neighborhood. In addition to the inscribed mensa, in the débris of the shrine there was a dedication from a soldier: Numimini Iovi O(ptimo) H(eliopolitano) | M. Helvius Rusticus | a militiis sub I Herennio sacerdote | d(edit).231 The base dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Genius Forinarum was found at S. Cri sosogono, a church at the foot of the Janiculum, whither the stone might easily have been carried from the sanctuary on the hill.232 The last dedication from Trastevere was a pillar set up by a soldier and found in the grounds of the Villa Crescenti, which lay directly south of the Villa Sciarr.233 On the summit of the pillar there is a figure of Atargatis represented as Fortuna and flanked by two lions. The paredros of the god was therefore commemorated pictorially, but not mentioned by name. This stone too was probably removed from its former location in the

229 GAUCKLER, 144—6. On the goddess Caelestis, see below p. 55.

230 CIL iii suppl. 7280 = DESSAU 4284 (from Athens) is a dedication to [I. o.] m. et Veneri et Mercuro Helipol(i)ati and CIL iii suppl. 11139 = DESSAU 4285 (from Carnuntum) to [I.] m. H. Veneri Vicitri.

231 CIL vi 36791 = DESSAU 9283, GAUCKLER, 170. The inscription is probably not later than the second century after Christ. GAUCKLER has restored the name of the god in the dative rather than the genitive on the analogy of CIL vi 724, A. D. 194, Numimini Invicto Soli Mitrae.... CIL vi 420, a dedication of Gaionas to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, is of uncertain provenience.

232 CIL vi 422 = DESSAU 4292; quoted above, n. 89.

233 CIL vi 425 = DESSAU 4287; AMELUNG, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, i, p. 279 f., pl. 30, no. 152. The stone was described in CIL as found near the church of S. Cosimato. But the report of FEA, who discovered the pillar, states definitely that it was found in the property of the former Villa Crescenti; quoted by GAUCKLER, 164 ff.
sanctuary. From the preponderance of dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus found in Trastevere and on the Janiculum, there can be no doubt that the temple on the hill was sacred to him and his consort.

**ZEUS KERAUNIOS**

The elegant marble altar dedicated to Zεύς Κεραυνίων and to the Νύμφης Φορφούρη supplies the only mention of the god on an inscription from Rome. Although his name is Greek, the majority of the devotees of this divinity were Syrians. In Greece proper, most dedications to him are late. At first it was Κεραυνίων personified as a warrior whom the Syrians worshipped. After he was assimilated to Zeus, the quantity of inscriptions show that his cult in Syria and Asia Minor was widely spread. In Cyrrhus in northern Syria, for example, the dominant cult was that of Ζεύς Κεραυνίων. From Italy itself, only two dedications to Ζεύς Κεραυνίων were known before the discovery of the inscribed altar which, appropriately enough, stood in a sanctuary of Syrian gods.

**HADAD**

Hadad, the solar deity of Syria, was linked with Atargatis as her parédroς as early as the second century before Christ in the sanctuary of the Syrian Gods on Delos. Merchants trading on the island may have introduced his worship into Italy through the port town of Puteoli, a place where foreign cults as well as foreign merchandise were wont to enter the country. Only one dedication specifically to Hadad is known from the city of Rome, a small marble altar from the Syrian sanctuary. In Italy the god was more frequently addressed by the name of his alter ego, Jupiter Heliopolitanus. On the altar both the epithets of Hadad are geographical, designating places associated especially with his worship. Jupiter could only refer to his sway in the vicinity of Lebanon, while Τεχνομέτρητα must be intended to suggest his cult centers on heights.

**JUPITER MALECIABRUDUS**

A new cognomen of Jupiter, Maleciabrudus, appeared for the first time on a marble altar which had formed part of the equipment of the sanctuary. In deciphering the inscription, Clermont-Ganneau proposed that the epithet be divided into its two component parts, Malek and Iabrudus. The term Malek is difficult to define, but it probably signified the spirit or power of a god, and not the anthropomorphic god himself. Iabrudu, the second part of the compound word, was the name of a town in the Antilleanon. In ordinary usage, “the Malek of Iabrudu” would be an unusual expression: “the Baal of Iabrudu” would be the orthodox designation. Therefore it is necessary to construe the phrase as the equivalent of “Jupiter Malek Iabruditians”, that is “Jupiter Malek, worshipped at Iabrudu”. The altar, then, is one of the many dedications from foreign residents in Rome who felt a kind of nostalgia for the gods of their fatherland.

**FEBRIS**

After Italian governmental restrictions ended Gauckler’s excavations, he found a few objects of interest in the débris of the Syrian sanctuary. The most significant was a small inscribed fragment of Parian marble on which the word febris is clear. From the fine letters it is probably to be dated at the end of the first century after Christ at the latest. As restored by Gauckler, the inscription reads: [permissu sac[erdot[u]m aram] pos>uit d(e) s(uo) [ex viso] F[eb]ris. A goddess Febris is mentioned in Roman literature, but this is the sole example in an inscription of the occurrence of her name. However, Gauckler, 12, suggested that Άνωτότητα referred to some definite locality, but he later followed Hulsen’s suggestion, Röm. Mitt., loc. cit., 232, that the word simply means “worshipped on heights.”

**234** GAUCKLER, 12, suggested that Άνωτότητα referred to some definite locality, but he later followed HULSEN’S suggestion, Röm. Mitt., loc. cit., 232, that the word simply means “worshipped on heights.”


**236** CIL vi 36796, GAUCKLER, 293—295; the fragment is .015 m. thick, .20 m. wide, and .06 m. high. It is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano with the other finds from the Syrian sanctuary.
dedications are known to Tertiana and Quartana, personifications of specific types of fever.\footnote{249} In the city of Rome, there was a shrine with an ara vetusta in Palatio\footnote{251} to this goddess, a temple on the Quirinal in summa parte Vicini Longi near the temple of Salus,\footnote{253} while on the Esquiline there were a shrine of Febris and an aedes Mephitis.\footnote{252} These shrines in Rome are all similar in their location on high healthy summits, and above damp valleys where fevers were easily contracted.\footnote{253} To these requirements the Janiculum would have conformed as an ideal situation for a shrine of Febris. The site of the Syrian sanctuary was nearly the highest in Rome, and the low land of Trastevere from time immemorial had been inadequately drained and subject to accumulations of stagnant water. Gauckler, therefore, suggested that healing powers may have been ascribed to the nymphs of the spring waters of the lucus Furrinae. In that case, the dedication might have been from a resident of Trastevere whom the goddess Febris on the heights of the Janiculum had cured. Possibly future excavations on the site will yield further evidence of a healing shrine among the complex cults which supplanted the worship of Furrina.

FORTUNA

A very small triangular marble fragment was found in some débris in the court in front of the northwest entrance to the chapel of the sanctuary. The top was carefully polished; but from the rough finish of the side, it appears that it must at one time have been set into a wall. Before the tablet was broken, it was probably about 0.20 m. high and 0.30 m. wide.\footnote{254} The beginnings of four lines of an inscription are partially preserved. In the first, large fine letters are clearly legible, reading Fortu- . The lettering changes in the second line, where only four smaller letters are visible: aene-. There follows in the next line: Iar-; and in the fourth line apparently L. Lar-. Gauckler has proposed the following restoration:

Fortu[nam] | aene[am? . . .] | Iar[ibolo?] | L(uicus) Lar[cius . . .].

\footnote{249} CIL vii 999 (from Britain) to Tertiana; CIL xii 3129 (from France) to Quartana.
\footnote{250} Cic., De Leg., ii, 11; De Nat. Deor., iii, 63; PLINY, Hist. Nat., ii, 16; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 5, 45, note 31.
\footnote{251} VAL. MAX., iii, 5, 6; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 418.
\footnote{252} VAL. MAX., loc. cit.; FESTUS, 476 L; on the latter shrine — its exact location is unknown —, JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 5, 353.
\footnote{253} JORDAN, i, 1, 149; H. NISSEN, Ittische Landeskunde, i (Berlin, 1883), 413—415.
\footnote{254} CIL vi 36795; GAUCKLER, 148—156, 218—220; illustrated on p. 218. The difference in size of letters in the two lines seems to indicate that the word aene- describes some object which was dedicated, and is not to be construed as an adjective modifying Fortuna, as GAUCKLER would interpret it.

From the relative proximity of the fragment to the chapel and from the fact that the complete tablet had probably been set into a wall, Gauckler concluded that the stone had been placed in the front of the triangular base in the center of the chapel. In an effort to find Syrian affinities for the dedication, he suggested the identification of Fortuna and Atargatis.\footnote{255} Inasmuch as the only bronze object found in the sanctuary was the snake-bound image, Gauckler believed that the tablet commemorated the gift of the statuette. The theory is now untenable, since it has been proved without doubt that the image did not represent Atargatis.\footnote{256} The inscription obviously cannot concern the image, yet a dedication to Fortuna might very properly have existed among the welter of heterogeneous dedications from this sanctuary, where the tendency to syncretism was constantly apparent. The sway of Fortuna was so great that no phase of human activity lay outside her sphere, and her identification with other divinities was inevitable.\footnote{257}

THE RITES OF THE SYRIAN SANCTUARY

It is possible to present a few very tentative conclusions about the nature of the cult of the Syrian sanctuary, derived from a study of the evidence of the excavations. A phrase in the epitaph of Gaionas, τῷ θεανέκῳ μήδεν ὅψελλόμενον, indicates that he must have participated in the mysteries which formed a part of a Syrian cult.\footnote{258} The image found in the chapel of the shrine was probably used in the mystic ritual of resurrection. It was concealed by three tiles in a cavity of the triangular plinth in the chapel. The figure was that of a youth, tightly swathed in some light garment. A serpent was coiled seven times about his body and between each two of the coils a hen’s egg was placed.\footnote{259} Such an arrangement was unparalleled in resurrection cults, but to Cumont it suggested the lines of Firmicus Maternus, \footnote{258} CIL vi 32316. That there were mysteries in the cult of Dea Syria is known from an inscription from Thuria in Messenia, 50 B. C. —50 A. D., See N. S. VALMIN, Inscriptions de la Messénie, Arbeiterliste (Lund, 1928—9), 124, line 23 f.; 132 f. I am indebted to Dr. Francis R. Walton of Haverford College for the reference.
\footnote{249} See below.
\footnote{257} Cf. PLINY, Hist. Nat., ii, 22: Toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibus horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, rea una agitur, una divinities.
\footnote{258} Cf. PLINY, Hist. Nat., ii, 22: Toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibus horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, rea una agitur, una cognitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur et cum conviciis colitur, inconstans, incerta, varia indignorumque fuitrix. Such was the power of Fortuna in the first century of our era. Cf. LUCIAN, Theaon 'Elauxaia 15, on the triumph of Τόξον over the other divinities.
\footnote{259} Cf. PLINY, Hist. Nat., ii, 22: Toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibus horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, rea una agitur, una cognitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur et cum conviciis colitur, volubilis . . . . . . , a plerisque vero et caeca existimata, vaga, inconstans, incerta, varia indignorumque fuitrix. Such was the power of Fortuna in the first century of our era. Cf. LUCIAN, Theaon 'Elauxaia 15, on the triumph of Τόξον over the other divinities.
Idolum sepelis, idolum plagis, idolum de sepultura proferis.260 The idol, then, was probably removed annually from its place of concealment during the ceremonies of the mysteries. The seven eggs which covered it were symbolic of the new life to come.

From Gaianas' constant mention of his office of deismokophis, there can be no doubt that ceremonial banquets were included in the ritual of the Janiculum sanctuary in common with other Syrian shrines. The abundance of amphoras discovered in the temples as well as the precision of their arrangement suggests that they may have had some ritual significance. Possibly this was simply the storage of food. Among the objects in the favissa, a common type of clay vase was predominant.261 From the covers which invariably accompanied these vases, it seems probable that they may have been used for offerings of water in certain spring rites of Dea Syria where such offerings were made in sealed containers, according to a specific statement of Lucian.262

There is certainly no recondite meaning in the three segmented sculptured heads which Gauckler believed were especially cut to receive "the divine essence." An exhaustive study of all the extant heads of this technique, capita desecta, has proved the fallacy of this theory of Gauckler. Such peculiarities evidently occurred in sculpture of a late period when the artist encountered technical difficulties.263

THE SANCTUARY OF SOL

After his capture of Palmyra (A. D. 271), Aurelian founded a great temple of Sol in Rome. The splendor of the temple treasures bore witness to the value of the spoils, and the monotheistic character of the cult could only emphasize the religious unity which would henceforth accompany political unity in the empire.264 In the religious life of Rome, the worship of Sol was by no means an innovation, for it was said to have been introduced by the Sabine Titus Tatius, and a Sabine family, the Aurelii, directed the cult in Rome.265 The temple of Sol and Luna inside the Circus Maximus was ancient in Tacitus' day.266 Yet despite the traditional Sabine origin of the public sacrifice to Sol Indiges on the Quirinal, Graecus Rome.265 The temple of Sol and Luna inside the Circus Maximus was ancient in Tacitus' day.266 The particular adjective with which the god is designated often reveals the divinity from which he originated.270 Sol divinus and Sol sanctissimus are probably Romanized Syrian gods; Sol aeternus, similarly, recalls the perpetual character of the solar system which had deeply impressed the astrological cults of Syria. Sol invictus (αὐτόκτων), the commonest epithet of the god after the second century, usually refers to Mithras. Yet the loose application of invictus to Serapis, Sabazius, and Elagabalus implies that the word might describe any solar divinity in the Roman empire.

The brief supremacy of Sol in the reign of Heliogabalus foreshadowed the dominion which he was to have under Aurelian. In antiquity the consensus of opinion was that the emperor actually imported images, the Baal of Palmyra and possibly other ritual paraphernalia, to adorn his new temple.271 But there were distinct Roman elements in the cult; not the least was a college of priests recruited from the senatorial order. Aurelian's introduction of the Syrian cult of Sol was by no means a radical innovation. It simply added magnificence and publicity to rites which had been established in Rome for nearly two centuries.

From the quantity of dedications to Sol found outside the Porta Portese there seems no doubt that the humble predecessor of the temple of Aurelian was an extensive sanctuary in Trastevere.272 Before the cult had obtained imperial sanction, it might be

260 FIRM. MAT., Err. Prof. Rel., 22, 2, note 11. 261 GAUCKLER, pl. XXXVII. 262 GAUCKLER, De Dea Syria, 48. 263 GAUCKLER, pl. LIX—LV. Cf. J. R. CRAWFORD, "Capita Desecta," Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome, 1 (1917), 103—119. 264 On the temple of Aurelian in Regio VII, see JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 453—456; PLATNER-ASHBY, s. v. Sol, Templum, p. 491—493. 265 VARRO, Ling. Lat., v, 74; DION. HAL., ii, 50, 3; FESTUS (PAULUS), 22 L. See also KOCH, Gestaerwahrung im alten Italien (Frankfurt am Main, 1933). 266 TAC, Ann., xv, 74; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 115. 267 CIL i, p. 324, Aug. 9. 268 CIL vii, 701, 702; cf. VAN BUREN, PW, xvii, 1, 1709—1711. 269 CUMONT, DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, iv, 2, p. 1382. 270 The following review of Sol in the Orient is based on CUMONT, DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, iv, 2, p. 1385. 271 ZOSIMUS, i, 61; cf. VOPISC., Vita Aureliani, 51, 8. 272 CUMONT believes that it was not entirely the native god of Palmyra that Aurelian brought to Rome — the Palmyrene divinity inspired him as a "model"; DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, iv, 2, p. 1384; Rel. Orient., 106. NOIVILLE argues that Aurelian imposed a Roman cult on the conquered people of Palmyra by bringing Roman priests there, and that the god as he was worshipped in Rome was purely indigenous: Rev. Ét. Anc., xxxvii (1926), 145—176. 273 JORDAN-HÜLSEN, i, 3, 645 f., note 62; PLATNER-ASHBY, s. v. Sol Malachbelus, p. 493.
practised with safety in a place beyond the limits of the city of Rome. Evidence for the cult in Trastevere is entirely epigraphical, but the inscriptions indicate that some buildings were probably erected and that some of the dedicants were people of wealth. The sanctuary certainly existed at the beginning of the second century after Christ, and possibly as early as the Flavian period.

The most impressive dedication by far is a beautiful altar inscribed to Sol Sanctissimus, a title which betrays the Syrian origin of the god.273 Stylistically, the altar is probably to be dated in the Flavian period or slightly later.274 The sculptured reliefs on the four sides of the altar are of unusual interest, and according to the interpretation of Cumont depict the sequence of events in the life of Sol.275 On the left side a youthful deity in Oriental attire is shown mounting a chariot drawn by four griffins. A winged Victory standing behind is about to crown him. The Palmyrene inscription below records a dedication to Malachbel and the gods of Palmyra from the same people whose names were engraved in Latin on the front of the altar. Since Malachbel corresponded to the Italian Oriens, the rising sun or “day-star” of poetry, the relief must represent this aspect of Sol. The accompanying victory signifies his conquest of the darkness. In an obscure Eastern myth, a griffin was said to rise with the sun and travel with it until it set. On the front of the altar a bust of Sol, shown with a nimbus, appears behind the figure of an eagle with wings outspread, a symbol of the sky. Here the god is Shamash or Jaribol, as the Syrians called the sun at the height of its course.276 The right side bears a relief of a bearded man whose head is veiled. In his right hand, he holds the harpê of Saturn, a divinity known in astrological lore as the “day-star” of poetry, the relief must represent this aspect of Sol. The accompanying victory signifies his conquest of the darkness. In an obscure Eastern myth, a griffin was said to rise with the sun and travel with it until it set. On the front of the altar a bust of Sol, shown with a nimbus, appears behind the figure of an eagle with wings outspread, a symbol of the sky. Here the god is Shamash or Jaribol, as the Syrians called the sun at the height of its course.276 The right side bears a relief of a bearded man whose head is veiled. In his right hand, he holds the harpê of Saturn, a divinity known in astrological lore as the

sun of the night. On the back of the altar a cypress tree, with a knotted ribbon at the top, has the figure of an infant emerging from its branches and holding a goat on his shoulders. The cypress, sacred to Sol in Syria, was the parent of Malachbel, even as the myrrh tree was the parent of Adonis. The goat which the child holds is the sign of Capricorn, the month in which the sun entered in December, the month of his birth. This relief, then, shows the birth of Sol at the winter solstice. With this, the life-cycle of the god is complete. Such a sculptured series is unique among religious antiquities, and its beauty is as remarkable as its historical value.

At the beginning of the second century, shortly after the altar to Sol Sanctissimus was dedicated, the benefactions of C. Julius Anicetus were conspicuous in the sanctuary. Possibly it was the general religious tolerance in the period which permitted the sanctuary to be so prosperous at this time. The first of his buildings was a porticus which he states in the commemorative inscription to have been erected in A. D. 102 with the permission of the calatores of Rome.277 Near the place where the inscription was found, there were the traces of a porticus made of pillars in reticulate, and extending towards the slopes of Monteverde. Probably the remains represent the dedication of Anicetus.278 It is significant that in Aurelian’s great temple of Sol, there was a porticus where vina fiscalia were stored.279 If a porticus constituted an integral part of a temple of Sol, there may have been a completely equipped temple near Porta Portese which was abandoned when Aurelian’s edifice usurped its functions. Two other dedications of Anicetus have been found; also two inscriptions in Greek and Latin of C. Licinius N----- and Heliodorus which record the building of an aedes of Bel and Malachbelos.280

273 CIL vi 710 = 30817 = DESSAU 4357, Soli Sanctissimo Sacrarium | Ti. Claudius Felix et | Claudia Helpis et | Ti. Claudius Alypus fil. eorum | vetum solventur libens merito | Calibenses de Coh. III. An inscription on the left side in Palmyrene was the first to be published. Calibenses de Coh. III must signify that the dedicants were employees of the third cohors (court) of the horrea Galbae, cf. CIL vi 30855. GATTI interpreted the inscription in this sense, Rom. Mitt., i (1886), 75 f. The altar, formerly in the gardens of Battuta Mattei (see above, p. 44, n. 181), and now in the Museo Capitolino, is illustrated in H. STUART JONES, Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino (Oxford, 1912), pl. 9 (text, pp. 47—49), and in CUMONT, Rel. Orient., pl. X. Pl. 4.

274 STUART JONES, op. cit., i, 47—9. MRS. E. STRONG, however, dates the altar in the third century, Scultura Romana, ii (Firenze, 1926), 315.

275 The following description is a brief paraphrase of CUMONT, “L’Autel Palmyrénien du Musée du Capitole,” Syria, ix (1928), 101—109, pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX. The article is summarized by CUMONT, Rel. Orient., n. on pl. X, opposite p. 106.

276 In Syria, the sun was called by different names at different points in its course, cf. MACR., Sat., i, 18, 12. See the inscriptions in DESSAU 4329—4545, with the notes.

277 CIL vi 31034; part of the inscription is now in the cortile of the American Academy in Rome: Mem. ix (1931), p. 121, no. 98. The calatores were usually freedmen, servants of priests, and gave permission for offerings and dedications: MOMMSEN, Röm. Staatsrecht, i3j, 359. Cf. CIL vi 817 = 50634, a and b, fragments from the Vigna Bonelli which may refer to the sanctuary of Sol.

278 Not. Sc., 1887, 18 f.

279 VOPISC., Vita Aureliani, 55, 48.

280 For Anicetus, besides CIL vi 31034, cited above in note 277, there are an inscription requesting that no one deface the walls of his building, CIL vi 52 = DESSAU 4355, and a dedication on an altar, CIL vi 709 = DESSAU 4356 (formerly in the Church of Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere). The inscription of C. Licinius N------. ‘Hēlōdoros, CIL vi 50 = DESSAU 4334 = IG xiv 969, came, like the first two of Anicetus, from the Vigna Bonelli outside Porta Portese. Probably CIL vi 51 = IG xiv 970 came from the same aedes of Licinius and Heliodorus, though its provenience is not attested. It shows that there were two persons concerned, not a single T.C. Licinius Heliodorus (cf. the T. Licii Hierocles in PIR, ii, p. 279, L no. 138) as might be possible in restoring CIL vi 50.
At the end of the second century, T. Julius Balbillus was a prominent devotee of the cult of Sol. His numerous dedications, which began in A. D. 199 and lasted until 215, included an "eagle" for Sol Alagabalus.281 Although the activities of Balbillus seem to have preceded the reign of Elagabalus, he appears to have been especially devoted to the Baal of Emesa, after whom the emperor was named.282 Probably at the same time, a negotia<ns vinarius of Palmyrene, was dedicated to Aglibolos and Malachbelos.283 Balbillus was a prominent devotee of the cult of Sol. Aquila Soli Alagabalo lulius Balbillus. MOMMSEN (CIL vi 1603 = DESSAU 1346 (A. D. 201); CIL vi 2129 (A. D. 201); and CIL vi 2130 (A. D. 215); in all of which appears to have been especially devoted to the Baal of Emesa, after whom the emperor was named.282 The dedication may have been the statue of an eagle, symbol of the sky. Cf. CIL vi 2209 = DESSAU 4350 (gardens of B. Mattei); CIL vi 2270 = DESSAU 4531 (A. D. 199); CIL vi 1603 = DESSAU 1346 (A. D. 201); CIL vi 2129 (A. D. 201); and CIL vi 2130 (A. D. 215); in all of which Balbillus is styled sacerdos Solis. The divine founder and patron of Damascus, assimilated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, apparently enjoyed scanty prestige in Italy. Apart from two dedications from the sacerdotes Iovis Optimi Maximi Damasceni of Puteoli, only one other inscription is known to refer to him.289 A veteran of an Oriental legion consecrated in Trastevere a red marble stele surmounted by a pine-cone. Eventually the stone achieved a higher destiny than simply to commemorate the Damascene deity, for it was tied to the neck of St. Callixtus when he suffered martyrdom by drowning.290

**SINGLE DEDICATIONS TO ORIENTAL GODS**

**JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS DAMASCENUS**

Phenomenal popularity, especially among the provincial armies, characterized the cult of Dolichenus, the local god of Doliche (modern Tell-Duluk) in Commagene. Naturally no Roman dedications commemorated Dolichenus until after Vespasian's annexation of Commagene. Thereafter, both traders and soldiers hastened the spread of the cult, which penetrated to every province of the empire. Like most local Syrian deities, he was assimilated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome.291 Here he not only possessed a sacellum on the Esquiline, but a temple on the Aventine near S. Alessio.292 Two stones from Trastevere recorded dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. On one, a marble altar, the god himself was shown in his customary pose standing upon the back of a bull.293

from Trastevere is addressed to Sol Invictus Mithras; CIL vi 717.

**CIL x 1575 f.** Information about I. O. M. Damascenus is very slight; see CUMONT, PW, iv, 2, 2055; DUSSAUD, "Le Temple de Jupiter Damascéen", Syria, iii (1922), 219—250. 290 CIL vi 405 = 50757 = DESSAU 4325. Iovi Optimo Maxim. Damascusco | T. Cassius Myron | veteranus Augg. | d. d., in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. 292 CUMONT, Rel. Orient., passim; CUMONT, "Doliché et le Zeus Dolichenos", Études Syriennes (Paris, 1917), 175—202; WISSOWA, 362. 293 On the Esquiline sacellum (dedicated August 1, A. D. 191) see PLATNER-ASHBY, s. v. Iuppiter Dolichenus, p. 292; JORDAN-HÜLSSEN, i, 5, 357, note 37. On the Aventine temple, see PLATNER-ASHBY, loc. cit.; JORDAN-HÜLSSEN, i, 3, 167 f.; MERLIN, L’Avinent dans l’Antiquité (Paris, 1906), 317 f., 373—376. For the most recent discoveries at the site of the Dolichenum on the Aventine, see COLINI, Bull. Com., ixii (1950), 145—159. 290 CIL vi 415, 418, the altar found near Sta. Maria dell’ Orto. Because of the discovery of these two inscriptions, PLATNER-ASHBY, loc. cit., conjectured that there was a shrine of the god in the fourteenth region. The suggestion lacks support.
JUPITER SABAIZUS

The name of Jupiter Sabazius was already known in Rome in 139 B.C. when a decree of the praeceptor peregrinus purported to expel the Jews who were practising their cult.\(^{294}\) Actually the adherents cannot have been Jews at all. A resemblance of the names of Yahweh Zeboath, the war-god of Israel, and Sabazius, the Dionysos of Thrace and Phrygia, had caused a natural confusion. Doubtless the mysteries of Sabazius and the eschatology of his cult were responsible for his extensive worship in the Empire, especially in Gaul.\(^{295}\) Of the five inscriptions from Rome, two were found in Trastevere engraved on marble altars.\(^{296}\)

CAELESTIS

After the capture of Carthage, the cult image of Tanit, its tutelary deity, was brought by a formal evocatio to Rome, where she became known as Caelestis.\(^{297}\) Although the statue was returned to Carthage at the foundation of the Colonia Junonia in 122 B.C., adherents in Rome swarmed to the Semitic goddess, whose vague nature easily assumed the attributes of Juno, Venus, Diana, or Cybele.\(^{298}\) Deductions to her were abundant throughout the Empire, especially when new impetus came to the cult through the African dynasty of Severus. A single dedication from Trastevere revealed the epithet invicta, unique for Caelestis. An orthodox title of Sol or Mithras, it stands alone among the titles of Carthaginian Caelestis.\(^{299}\)

MAGNA MATER

Since an important center of the worship of Cybele was the Frigium near the Vatican, dedications to Magna Mater should not be abundant in the adjacent quarter of Trastevere.\(^{300}\) Only one small altar has been found, but its designation, praesentia Matris Deum P. Septimius Felix ob coronam millesimi urbis anni,\(^{301}\) The thousandth year of the city was A.D. 247 when Philip the Arab celebrated the last secular games of Rome. In Mommsen's opinion, the corona which Felix the dedicant mentions was probably a prize which he had received as a victor in the secular games of this year.

CONCLUSION

The relative insignificance of Roman public worship in Trastevere was the natural result of the topographical isolation of the quarter. Still, its three most prominent public cults, those of Fons, Furrina, and Fors Fortuna, attest a very early association of Trastevere with the main part of the city of Rome. Under the Republic, before the district became an organic part of the city, the dies Fortis Fortunae marked a great celebration for the people of all Rome. On that occasion, Trastevere, thronged with merry-makers, assumed a definite importance in Roman religious life. The present study has led to the belief that there were only two temples of Fors Fortuna on the right bank of the Tiber, not three or four. The “dedication” of a temple to the divinity below Trastevere recorded by Tacitus constituted a rededication and not a new establishment. While the public cults of Fons and Furrina, despite their antiquity, did not maintain their prominence, they did not vanish completely. A shrine of Fons of imperial date, as I have suggested, probably stood on the site of the ara Fontis which was known to Cicero. As part of the conciliatory policy of the Optimates, the grove of Furrina may have been transformed into a sanctuary of the Furies — as deities of appeasement — after the violent death of Gaius Gracchus in the grove.

Except for the indications of shrines at compita and the records of the cultores Larum et imaginum, there are no important monuments of the worship of the imperial house in this quarter.\(^{302}\) The poverty of most of the residents of Trastevere prevented them from dedicating sumptuous private shrines to Greek and Roman gods. More conspicuous than the foundations of individuals are the dedications of collegia or burial societies, composed for the most part of artisans and especially of freedmen.

Among Oriental gods, the divinities of Syria have almost a monopoly in Trastevere. Their shrines, which necessarily belong to private worship, were far richer than sanctuaries of orthodox Roman gods. Near the summit of the Janiculum, there was an extensive cult center for the worship of Syrian deities, while a large area devoted to Syrian solar deities lay outside the Porta Portese. Sporadic dedications to Syrian gods were made elsewhere in Trastevere. From the numerous signs of Syrian

\(^{294}\) PLUT., C. Gracchus, 11; SOLINUS, 27, 11. On the cult of Caelestis, see CUMONT, PW, iii, 1247—1250; WISSOWA, 375—375.

\(^{295}\) CIL vi 756. An inscription from the Syrian sanctuary (GAUCKLER, 144—6) records a dedication from Trastevere revealed the epithet invicta, unique for Caelestis. An orthodox title of Sol or Mithras, it stands alone among the titles of Carthaginian Caelestis.\(^{299}\)

\(^{296}\) PLUT., C. Gracchus, 11; SOLINUS, 27, 11. On the cult of Caelestis, see CUMONT, PW, iii, 1247—1250; WISSOWA, 375—375.

\(^{297}\) CIL vi 78; DE RUGGIERO, ii, 3. v. Caelestis p. 5. Cf. also Caelestis victris, CIL vi 756. An inscription from the Syrian sanctuary (GAUCKLER, 144—6) records a dedication to Venus Caelestis, probably the paredros of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, see above p. 49.


\(^{299}\) CIL vi 488 = DESSAU 4909.

\(^{300}\) CIL vi 1117, 1118, record dedications to Diocletian, Maximian and Constantine from the corpus corariorum (sic!) magnariorum solatiorum. Cf. note 29 above.
worship, it seems evident that there was in the district a thriving Syrian colony whose members enjoyed the privilege of worshipping their native deities in a section of the city where the *pomoerium* presented no restrictions.  

This investigation has not included a study of Jews and early Christians in Trastevere. From the days of Augustus, the Jews in Rome had their oldest colony in Trastevere. Since the earliest Jewish cemetery in the city was near the Porta Portese, it is probable that an ancient synagogue, perhaps the first in Rome, was situated somewhere in the region. From the location of the churches of Sta. Cecilia and S. Crisogono on the sites of private houses, it appears that groups of Christians must have mingled with the other Orientals of Trastevere.

From the evidence of religion at least, there is nothing to indicate that there were residents of other Eastern nationalities in Trastevere. For example, there is not a single dedication to Egyptian gods, a fact which strengthens the impression that Trastevere was a center for cults which were ignored by the state. The worship of Egyptian deities was recognized by the state when the temple of Isis Campensis was built, at some date before the reign of Vespasian. Thereafter no necessity existed for relegating the cults of Egypt to a remote part of Rome. Yet it is perhaps significant that even in private worship there are no records of Egyptian gods in Trastevere. The paucity of evidence for Mithras is very striking in an Oriental quarter. Possibly future excavations will disclose the Mithraeum, the existence of which in Trastevere is suggested by an inscription.

The literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence from Trastevere reveals a religious history which is entirely consistent with the Inferior social status and predominantly foreign origin which characterized most of its residents. There was a definite preponderance of private dedications to the gods beloved by the common man, and to the *θεοὶ πατρίδος* deities of far countries — and chiefly of Syrian cities — where dwellers in Trastevere had once lived. The dedications from the quarter show that it was an accepted refuge of the unorthodox. In parts of Rome restricted by the *pomoerium* and crowded with state temples such a spontaneous character could never have manifested itself in religious life.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALTHEIM:</strong></td>
<td><em>A History of Roman Religion</em> (English translation by H. MATTLINGLY), New York, 1938.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CIG:</strong></td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CIL:</strong></td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CUMONT:</strong></td>
<td><em>Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain</em>, ed. 4, Paris, 1929.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DAREMBERG-SAGLIO:</strong></td>
<td><em>Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DE RUGGIERO:</strong></td>
<td><em>Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GAUCKLER:</strong></td>
<td><em>Le Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule</em>, Paris, 1912.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IGR</strong></td>
<td><em>Inscriptions Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JORDAN:</strong></td>
<td><em>Topographie der Stadt Rom</em>, i and ii, Berlin, 1871, 1878.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JORDAN-HÜLSEN:</strong></td>
<td><em>Topographie der Stadt Rom</em>, i, 3, Berlin, 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROSCHER:</strong></td>
<td><em>Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WALTZING:</strong></td>
<td><em>Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionelles chez les Romains</em>, i-iv, Louvain, 1895—1900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WISSOWA:</strong></td>
<td><em>Religion und Kultus der Römer</em>, ed. 2, Munich, 1912.</td>
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Whole volumes are denoted by Roman numerals, parts of volumes by Arabic numerals, e.g., iii, 1 = volume iii, part 1.

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303 On the sanctity of the *pomoerium* in a late period, see JORDAN, “Das Tempulum Deae Syriae in Rom,” *Hermes*, vi (1872), especially pp. 516—319.


There is a useful review of the material by CUMONT, “Catacombes juives de Rome,” *Syria*, ii (1921), 145 ff.

306 On the excavations under Sta. Cecilia, see Not. Sc., 1900, 12 ff. A house of the first century after Christ was found built over a Republican house. The remains under S. Crisogono are of at least three periods, a tufa wall of the Republic; brick walls of the Antonine era, probably of a house; and a structure of the third to fourth century, perhaps the original Christian assembly-hall; M. MESSNARD, *La basilique de Saint Chrysogone à Rome* (Studi di Ant. Crist., Pont. Ist. di Arch. Crist., IX; Roma/Paris, 1935), 19—52, especially 30—52.

307 *CIL* vi 727.
PLAN OF THE SYRIAN TEMPLES

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1. Inscription of M. Antonius Gaionas. See pp. 36 f.

2. Gilded Bronze Image from the Syrian Sanctuary.
   Photo. Alinari 30194. See pp. 51 f.
Altar to Sol Sanctissimus. See p. 55.