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Roman *praedia* as places of ritual practices



1. THE *SUBURBIUM* OF ROME: AN OUTLINE OF ITS DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT*

The topographical definition of the term *suburbium* is still an unsolved problem. According to the approach proposed by Theodor Mommsen and Heinrich Kiepert¹, and recently adopted by the editors of the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae – Suburbium*², it is considered the territory surrounding the city, wide about eight/nine miles from the walls including the *ager Romanus antiquus* (i.e. the portion of land *auspicatus et effatus* object of lustral operations)³. According to Filippo Coarelli, the *ager Romanus antiquus* should rather coincide approximately with the fifth/sixth mile from Rome (COARELLI 2008), but obviously the extension of the territory of Rome has not been the same since the Early Kingdom. The *suburbium* can be defined as the part of *Latium* which extended to the right and to the left of the Tiber up to a maximum distance of nine miles from the city-walls and that, since the Roman Kingdom, became progressively Roman territory⁴.

The dynamic transformations of the settlements in the suburb of Rome can be summarized in the following points:

A) The formation of proto-urban centers with smaller towns or ‘satellites’ *oppida* is generally dated at the half of 9th cent. BCE circa. It is possible that, already from this period, the main settlements in *Latium* took control of the surrounding territory. The formation of urban centers (in particular Rome) is datable to the half of the 8th cent. BCE circa, in substantial continuity with the oldest *oppida* - system.

B) Starting from the second half of the 9th cent. BCE, necropolises were developed on the Esquiline Hill and on the Quirinal Hill. The use of burials outside the city walls could be confirmed by the Laws of the Twelve Tables, which made necropolis one of the most widespread and characteristic signs of the Roman suburb. In addition, the study of the spatial distribution of tombs can be used to understand the development of the extension of the inhabited area over time (MANACORDA 2012).

C) By the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th cent. BCE, the suburb is occupied by so-called *open sites* (farms: CARANDINI *et al.* 2006 and 2009), aimed at the management of agricultural production. Between the late 6th and early 5th cent. BCE, the sub-

* The current project is based on the following ongoing researches focused on the Roman *suburbium*: R. BIANCO, *The cult places of the Rome's suburbium (8th BCE–4th CE)*; M. GALLI, *Sacraria in praediis (2nd–3rd CE)*; M. IPPOLITI, *Between the Tiber and via Appia. Features and transformations of the suburban Landscape of Ancient Rome (9th BC–6th CE)*.

¹ CIL, XIV, 1887, where they exclude the territories where non-Roman magistrates are attested.

² FIOCCHI NICOLAI, GRANINO, MARI 2001-2008.

³ For this area, all the published data relating to archaeological finds

and contexts in the suburb of Rome are collected and integrated with the information deduced from the ancient literary sources. The collected documentation is recorded according Topographical Units (TU). TU are used for the construction of an archaeological map, in which they are represented in a non-symbolic way. For the methodological approach, see: CARANDINI, CARAFA, CAPANNA 2007; CAPANNA, CARAFA 2009; CARAFA 2012; CARANDINI, CARAFA 2017.

⁴ ALFÖLDI 1962; LUGLI 1966; SCHEID 1987; COLONNA 1991; CARANDINI 1997, pp. 447-456; CAPANNA 2005; COARELLI 2008; ZIÓLKOWSKI 2009; FULMINANTE 2014; STEK 2014; SMITH 2017.

urb began to be populated by villas (housing facilities with a high level of luxury, whose structures are interpretable as *partes rusticae* of the buildings/settlements). The birth of villas does not lead to the disappearance of the farms which, on the contrary, are integrated into the new land management system. Villas belonged to exponents of the highest social class, while the work of the soil was entrusted to the *nexi*. Small enclosed villages could probably be realized to accommodate the latter (CARANDINI 2009).

D) The 'landscape of villas' is archaeologically more evident starting from Middle-Republican period (4th-3rd cent. BCE: VOLPE 2012). In this phase, buildings are characterized by so-called canonical features, i.e.:

- a residential part emphasized as *pars urbana* comparable to that of large houses in the city;
- at least from the 3rd cent. BCE, a canonic *atrium*;
- since the Late-Republic, a progressively increasing number of luxury elements represented by large peristyle and thermal environments.

In this period, the slave production model begun and the suburban landscape changed considerably due to the development of major infrastructures that served Rome (CARANDINI 1988 and 1989), such as the creation of a main and secondary road system (312 BCE: *via Appia*), the construction of bridges, viaducts and aqueducts (312 BCE: *aqua Appia* and 272 BCE: *Anio Vetus*).

Different sized necropolises were displayed along the primary and secondary streets, where monumental tombs of the important senatorial families stood. Until the Middle-Republican period, these tombs were mostly dug into the rock with a monumental façade and hosted many family members (such as the Scipions' tomb at the 1st mile of the Via Appia).

E) From the Late-Republican period, however, necropolises developed more varied and sophisticated architectural solutions that show the political and economic power of the highest-class families. This desire of representation made the landscape of the main communication routes increasingly congested by funerary structures, particularly in the streets closest to the city (MANACORDA 2012).

F) With the beginning of the Early Imperial period, number and distribution of the villas remained stable (IPPOLITI 2017), a considerable evolution of these buildings, starting in the Republican period. The residential (or urban) part was more improved than the productive (or rustic) areas, which never lose their agricultural function. These settlements were the core of a *praedium* - system that included productive structures and funerary as well as sacred buildings. During the Early and mid-Impe-

rial period, the suburban villas became grandiose architectural complexes, including baths, circuses and amphitheaters and equipped with impressive sculptural decoration (ROMIZZI 2001; DE FRANCESCINI 2005). These lands and buildings belonged mostly to members of the senatorial order, often hailing from the provinces (according to the Trajan's legal disposition). At this stage, elites continued to use their monumental burials while the funerary landscape was enriched with new impressive architectures, such as the *columbaria* of slaves and freedman.

G) In the late 2nd and early 3rd cent. CE, the so-called villa landscape was characterized by an abandon of buildings, whereas the still existing complexes were increased in size, anticipating a typical phenomenon of Late antiquity.

[M.I.]

2. CULT PLACES IN ROME'S SUBURBIUM

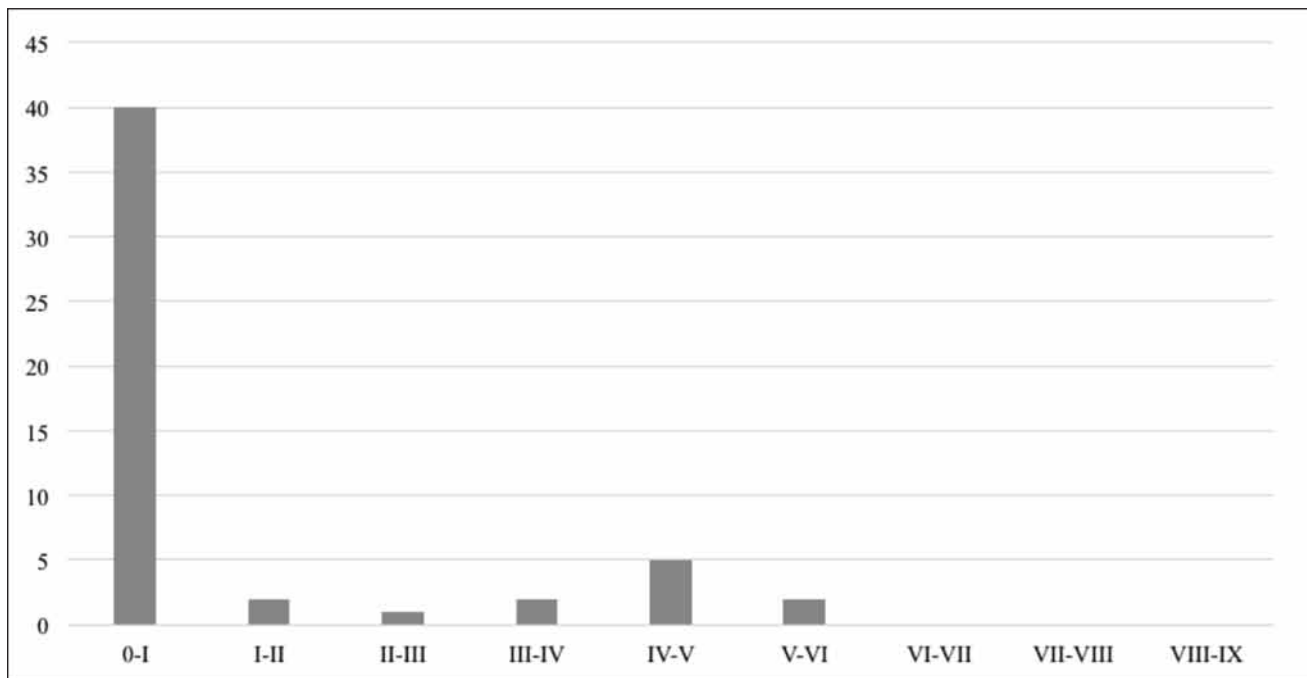
The following analysis will focus on the periods comprised between the Kingdom and the Early-Imperial age, in order to illustrate the evolution of the suburban sacred landscape from the most ancient attestations until early Imperial times⁵. The dated-units have been divided into periods in which is conventionally articulated the Roman history (Kingdom period; Early-, Mid-, Late-Republican period; Early, Mid-, Late-Imperial period). The aim of this contribute is to provide a brief description of the main change observed in the sacred landscape of the *suburbium*. For this reason, the information for each period are merely summarized in the following paragraphs.

2.1. Kingdom period (Pl. 1)

The cult places attested during the Roman Kingdom are mainly documented in the ancient literary sources and/or calendars (tot. 52), on the basis of this documentation it is possible to reconstruct a sacred landscape populated by *arae*, *altaria*, *aediculae*, *fana* and *luci*. According to the oldest Roman calendar, the ceremonies and processions held in this suburban cult places were related to different gods and their fields, as for example, the water sphere (*Fons, Furrina* or the *Camena*), the rural world (*Faunus et Picus, Flora* and *Terminus*), trade and transhumance (*Hercules*) or the funerary sphere (*Nenia, Libitina* and *Laverna*). Only for four contests it is possible to combine the literary sources with the archaeological evidences, while six cases are attested exclusively by archaeological documentation.

⁵ For the methodology see n. 3, with some modifications: TU could be *sacella*, *aediculae*, *aedes* etc. The cult place of Dea Dia, settled at the 5th mile of *via Campana*, can be quoted as example of Site Unit (SU),

which included several Topographical Unit (TU), such as an *aedes*, a *lucus*, *thermae*, etc.



1. New attestations in the suburban territory during the Roman Kingdom.

Concerning the spatial distribution, the cult places seem to be distributed in two sectors: the first is the surrounding area of Rome, comprised in the 1st mile, while the second is the belt located between the 5th-6th mile from it (Fig. 1). Following the literary sources, the territory under control of the city seems to be extended until the territorial limit of the 5th-6th mile from Rome, i.e. the *ager Romanus antiquus*⁶.

Next to these sacred places, whose official worship is attested in the traditional calendars, there are other peculiar cult-places in association with more residential “domestic” contexts⁷. In archaeological perspective the importance of some of this suburban centres is emphasized by the presence of votive deposits, as for example, a group of votive bronzes representing human figures, probably connected with the temple of *Fors Fortuna* at the 1st mile of the *via Campana* (COARELLI 2004); or the most ancient finds coming from another votive deposit, located between the 4th and 5th mile of a linking road between *via Latina* – *via Labicana* (CIFANI 2005).

2.2. Early-Republican period (Pl. 2)

At the beginning of the Roman Republic, it is possible to detect a substantial continuity with the Kingdom period, not only for the occupation of the suburban area but also for the typology of the building

⁶ It is important to remind that the majority of the information coming from literary sources are attested by authors who lived mostly during the Late-Republic and the Imperial-age. For the question of the *ager Romanus antiquus* and the belt of place of worship along this limit, see note 4.

attested (Fig. 2). The same cult places and ceremonies seem to characterize the suburban sacred landscape. In addition, it is remarkable the presence of new sacred areas: 8 are documented by literary sources. Worth to mention is the altar dedicated to Jupiter *Terrificus* (*Διὸς Δειματίου*), as quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus which was vowed after the *plebs* secession of *Sacer Mons* in 494 BCE (FUSCO 2004). Only one cult place can be associated with archaeological data, while two other sites are known exclusively from archaeological data, as for example the beautiful antefixes of Monte della Creta (COLONNA 2005). In the case of the *Herculis templum*, placed at the 1st mile of the *Via Tiburtina*, the presence of this cult place in this period belong to Giovanni Colonna who proposed to date the foundation of this shrine during the Early Republic (COLONNA 1991).

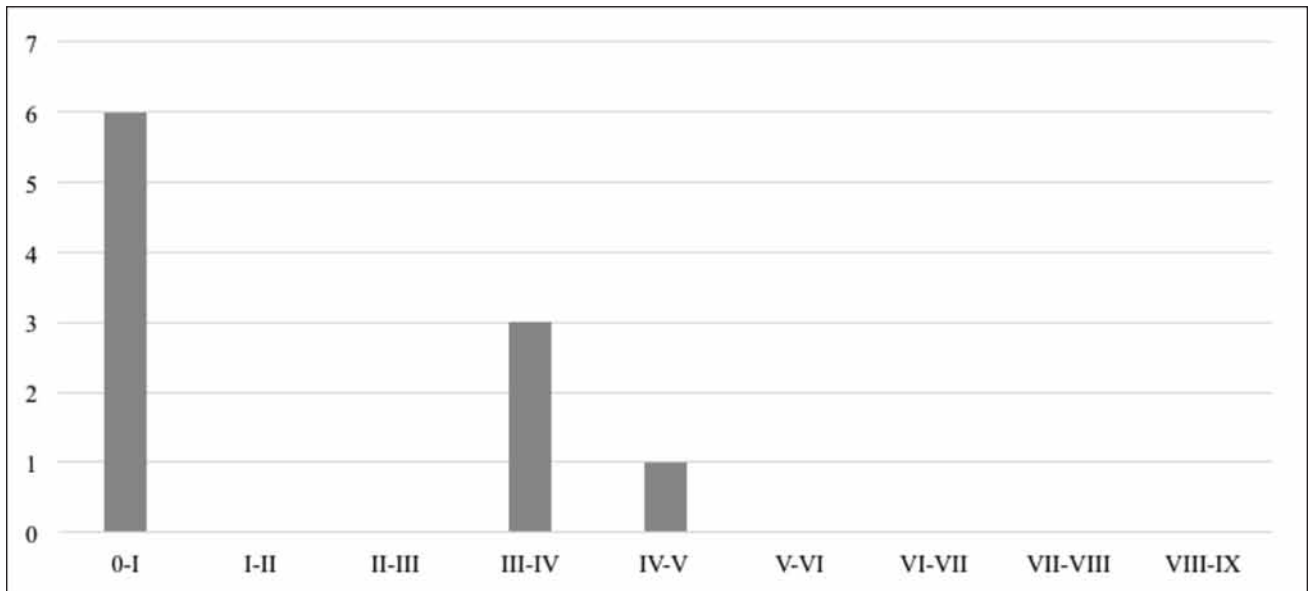
2.3. Middle-Republican period (Pl. 3)

For the Middle-Republican period the archaeological and epigraphic documentation offers an amount of significant new data concerning some of the contexts described in the previous periods.

For example, we can find archaeological evidences in the Verano area related to the temple of *Hercules* at the 1st mile of *Via Tiburtina*⁸; the temple of *Mars*, outside the *Porta Capena*, whose foundation in 388 BCE is

⁷ See the *Villa dell'Auditorium* (CARANDINI *et al.* 2006) and *Pianoro di Centocelle* (REMOTTI 2004).

⁸ Among which a *donarium* voted by *M. Minucius* (*CIL*, VI, 284) in 217 BCE: see MARI 2005.



2. New attestations in the suburban territory during the Early Roman period.

testified by the literary sources⁹; the *aedes Florae*, located in the North-West side of the Quirinal Hill¹⁰; the *lucus* (?) dedicated to *Divae Corniscae*, documented by an inscribed *cippus* dated to the late 3rd cent. BCE¹¹.

The sacred landscape of the Mid-Republican period shows important transformation in the spatial organization end scale. For example, the most ancient places of worship are equipped with temples, attested in literary sources¹² and documented in some cases even by the archaeological evidence¹³. For this phase, a remarkable phenomenon is the creation of many new cult places in the roman suburbium.

It is possible to collect 41 new attestations related to sacred areas, ceremonies, processions and votive deposits. Regarding the distribution of the new topographical units (TU), it can be observed that the most of the attestations is placed in the portion of land lying between the Servian Walls and the 1st mile and in the portion of territory within the limits of the *ager Romanus antiquus*. In comparison with the previous periods, it must be underlined that there are archaeological and epigraphic evidences (tot. 12,32%) settled even outside the limit of the *ager Romanus antiquus*, and in some cases overcrossing the 9th mile boundary. Concerning the sacred buildings, we can see a much more variegated typology. Beside the earlier *aedes*, *arae* and *luci*, new temples are founded in

this phase. More frequently are attested buildings identifiable such as shrines, *aediculae* or small rural sanctuaries (LEGA 1995), significantly located next to *diverticula* or housing structures (Fig. 3). It is worth to mention the increasing number (tot. 13)¹⁴ of ritual deposition of pottery and/or votive material in pits¹⁵.

Even if, at the present state of research, it is not always possible to identify function and attribution to a specific god. Preliminary data are summarized in the following list:

- 1 TU is attributable to the temple of Hercules of the 1st mile of Via Tiburtina (PENSABENE 1979, p. 221);
- 1 TU to a shrine (*sacellum*?), probably dedicated to Hercules (COLONNA 1991, p. 222, n. 43);
- 3 TU could refer to a generic shrine¹⁶;
- 6 TU could be considered ritual depositions into pit of oldest materials with ceramics dating to the Mid-Republican period, perhaps as a result of accommodation and/or rearrangements of the surrounding area during the 4th-3rd cent. BCE¹⁷;
- 2 TU are not definable.

Next to the 'traditional gods', such as *Hercules* and *Fortuna*¹⁸, a new group of deities can be documented, as for example *Aesculapius*, *Iuno Curitis*, *Feronia*, *Venus Erucina* evoked by other cities. At the end of this period emerged of the phenomenon of the personifications of

⁹ CARANDINI, CARAFA 2012, pp. 361-362. For a new hypothesis of location, see DUBBINI 2015.

¹⁰ CARANDINI, CARAFA 2012, pp. 450, 461, with bibliography.

¹¹ COARELLI 1996, p. 25, with bibliography.

¹² *Volcanus aedes*: MANACORDA 2000. *Neptunus aedes*: VISCOGLIOSI 1996.

¹³ *Portuni aedes*: CARANDINI, CARAFA 2012, pp. 424-425, 427, with bibliography.

¹⁴ Older votive deposits are exempt from this count, see CIFANI 2005.

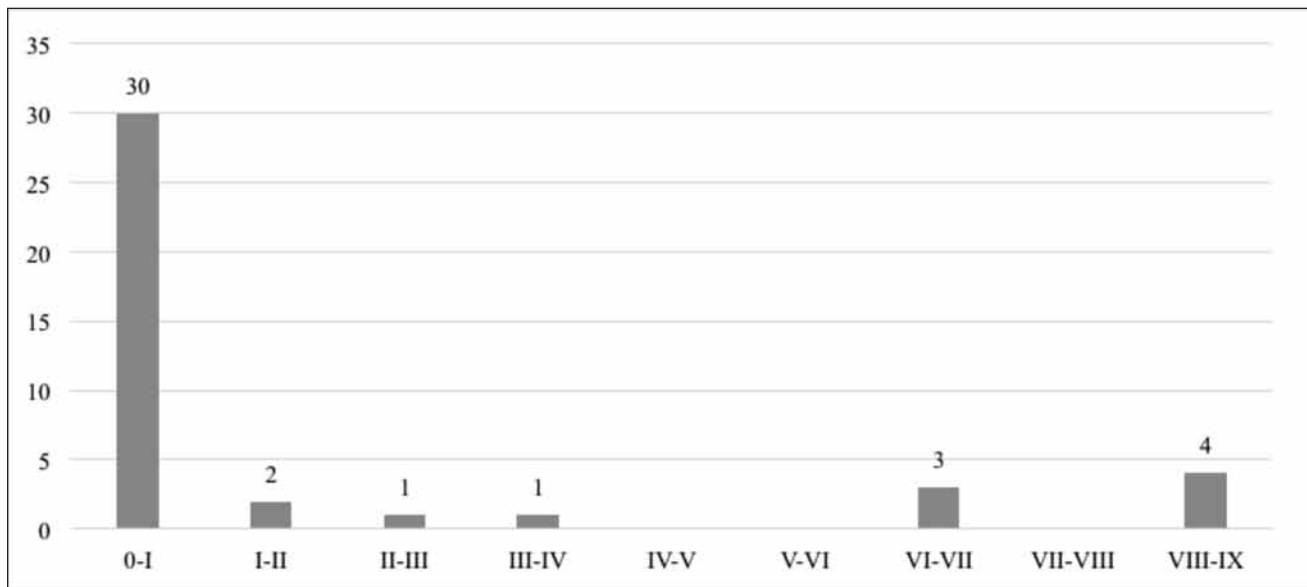
¹⁵ The votive material includes miniature, *genucilia*, *Heraklesschalen*,

anatomical pottery, animal and human figures, statuettes so-called 'Tanagrine': see QUILICI 1974, p. 318, n. 192. Sometimes it was also possible to identify the presence of organic remains. In four cases, they have been identified faunal remains (and/or carpological), sometimes burnt as the ceramic in which they were stored. See: FESTUCCIA, REMOTTI 2004; MANTERO 2002; BRUCHETTI, OLMEDA 2006; SANTOLINI 2009.

¹⁶ CALCI, STAFFA 1984; QUILICI 1974.

¹⁷ REMOTTI 2004; MANTERO 2002; GUAITOLI 1995; BUONFIGLIO, D'ANNIBALE 2009; BRUCHETTI, OLMEDA 2006; SANTOLINI 2009.

¹⁸ I.e. the temple of *Hercules Custos*: PALOMBI 2010.



3. New attestations in the suburban territory during the Middle-Republican age.

virtues, as *Favor*, *Honos*, *Spes*, *Tempestas*, *Virtus*, which will be increased during the following times¹⁹. From a total of 38 cult places:

- For 17 cases it was possible to identify the venerated god;
- For 6 cases, the interpretation as water or healthy worship was proposed in scientific literature²⁰;
- 1 case may be connected to the funerary sphere on the basis of its location in a necropolis area;
- 9 cases are not identifiable.

2.4. Late-Republican period (Pl. 4)

In addition to previous 92 cult places in the Roman suburbium, during the Late-Republican period, new 41 sites are attested. As documented for the more ancient periods, most of the archaeological and historical data is related to sites located in the surrounding area close to the city. It is to stress that 73% of the evidence is settled in the area located between the Servian Wall and the 1st mile, while 27% is distributed in the remaining suburban territory. It is important to remark that the sacred places of the first group have been included in this account only because they are placed outside the *pomerium*²¹. The documentation of the late-Republican phase is summarized as follows.

A) Between the Servian Wall and the 1st mile:

- 5 attested by literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources;
- 9 by literary and archaeological sources;
- 3 by epigraphic and archaeological data;

- 6 only by literary sources;
- 2 only by epigraphic data;
- 2 only by archaeological data.

B) From the 1st to the 9th mile:

- 1 attested by epigraphic sources;
- 4 by epigraphic and archaeological data;
- 4 only by archaeological data.

While the area immediately outside the city walls is mainly characterized by temples and sacred areas, the remaining suburban territory shows the new presence of small cult places, as for example the three *arae* dedicated to the *Lares* found along the *via Portuense* (Fig. 4). Finally, for this phase it is possible to detect the phenomenon of restoration which some suburban sanctuaries underwent, as for example the group of clay fragments perhaps belonging to the decoration of the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris* (STRAZZULLA 2010, with bibliography).

2.5. Early-Imperial period (Pl. 5)

During the Early Empire, the introduction of the Augustan *XIV regiones* changed substantially the suburban landscape (FRASCHETTI 1999; PALOMBI 1999). This fact implicated the change of the internal limit of the *suburbium*, that is to say the ancient place of worship settled around the city walls and within the 1st mile can be considered urban.

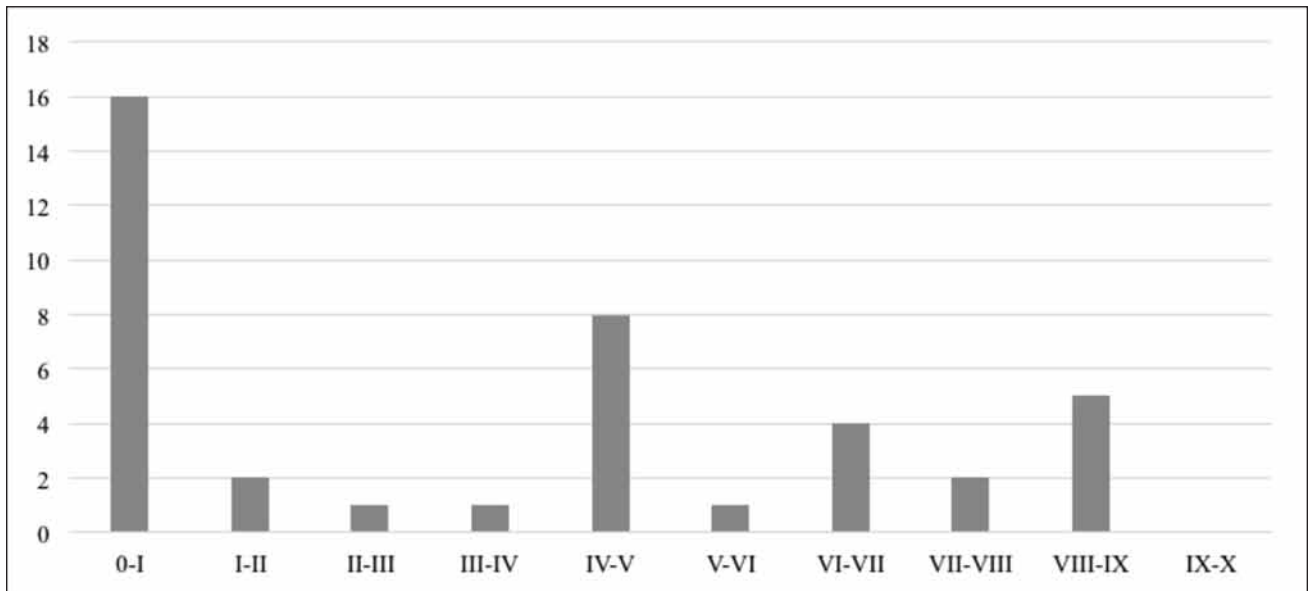
From the Imperial period, sites placed in the suburban area are documented mainly on the basis of epigraphic

¹⁹ I.e. the temple of *Pietas* in *Foro Holitorio*: CARANDINI, CARAFA 2012, pp. 499, 501, with bibliography.

²⁰ See for example: DURANTE 2009, with bibliography; POTTER 1989;

ROTONDI 2006.

²¹ For some of them it is impossible to think that they can be considered suburban cults as, for example, the sacred area of Largo Argentina.



4. New attestations in the suburban territory during the Late-Republican age.

data (tot. 40), as well as archaeological data (tot. 10) and of their association (tot. 14). It could be underlined that there is a lack of information coming from literary sources. Ancient authors seem to be focused on the sanctuaries and temples placed in the area within the 1st mile (now included in the limits of the *XIV regiones*) or on ancient cult places, located along the *ager Romanus antiquus*. On the contrary, there are no literary sources attesting new cult places for this period²². In regard to the extension of the suburban area, it can be emphasized a substantial continuity with the previous periods (Figs. 9-10). Most of the information comes from epigraphic sources that sometimes represent the only witness of the existence of cult places otherwise unknown.

On the base of epigraphic sources it is possible to recognize which deities are celebrated during the early empire, for example are worth to mention: *Aesculapius*; *Apollo*; *Bona Dea* (with epithets such as, for example, *Agrestis*); *Diana*; *Dis Pater*; *Epona*; *Hercules* (with epithets such as *Militaris* and *Primigenius*; sometimes associated with other deities); *Iuppiter* (also associated with other deities); *Lares*; *Liber*; *Nymphae*; *Silvanus*; *Venus*. It's significant that 30% of the testimonies of devotion are related to the cult of *Silvanus*, followed by that of *Bona Dea* (14%), *Hercules* (9%) and *Iuppiter* (9%).

[R.B.]

3. SACRARIA IN PRAEDIIS. SOME KEY-STUDIES OF MODIFICATION AND APPROPRIATION OF SACRALIZED SPACES

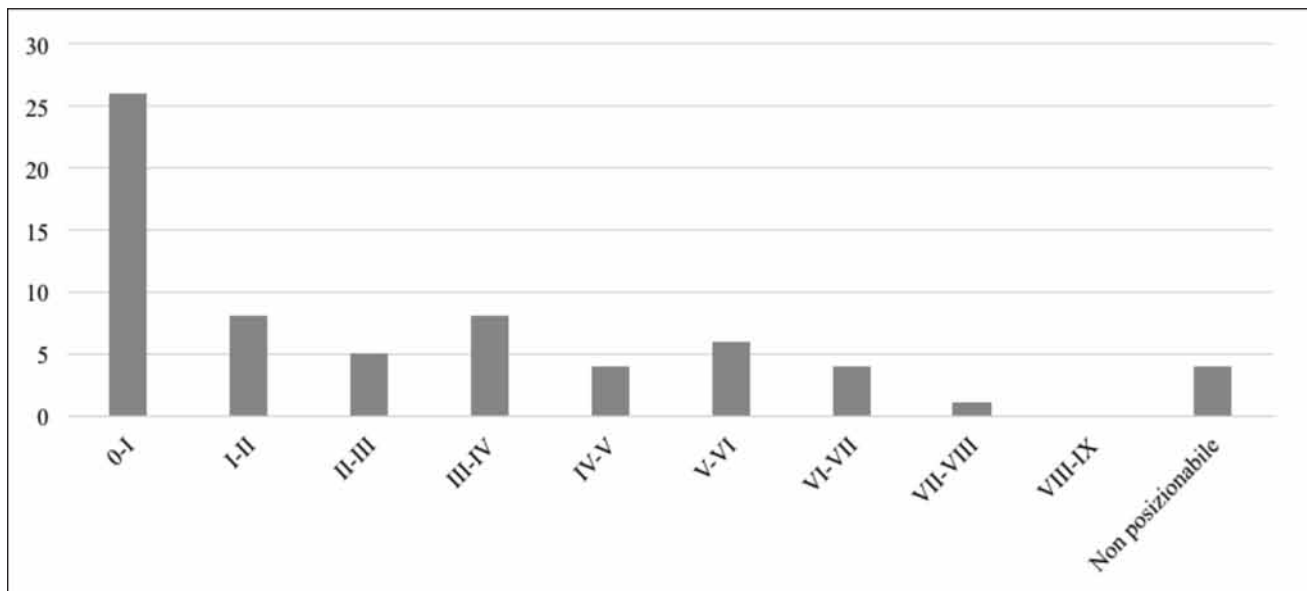
The sacred landscape of the Imperial *suburbium* is characterized by the phenomenon of the constitu-

tion of senatorial *praedia* (ANDERMAHR 1998). During the Imperial period, the densely inhabited urban landscape transformed gradually and imperceptibly into a suburban landscape. Especially during the 2nd and 3rd cent. CE, these extensive private estates owned by Roman aristocracy as well as by provincial elites were refurbished with impressive architectural buildings and sophisticated sculptural ensembles.

Given their 'private-public dimension', the *praedia* incorporated manifestations of collective sociality and an intense religious frequentation. Some large-scaled suburban contexts, like the Quintilii's Villa or the famous *Triopion* of the Athenian politician and sophist Herodes Atticus (103-179 CE: see GALLI 2002, pp. 109-144), both located between the 2nd and the 5th mile of the *via Appia*, were distinguished by the presence of shrines, which included highly organized forms of ritual agency.

The sacred landscape of *praedia* played a fundamental role in the creation of micro-societies. Evidence related to *collegia*, *spirae* and *scholae* highlights the presence of a remarkable degree of social interaction among various agents or groups of agents connected with the *domini* and their affiliates in the suburban estates. A significant epigraphical documentation is provided e.g. by the case of *Iuliae Monime* (CIL, VI, 10231) or by the important dossier of Torrenova (IGUR I, 160). The former is related to the construction *in praedis* of a «*schola* with a hall consecrated to *Silvanus* and his *collegium*», the latter concerns a highly articulated *thiasos* in the *praedia* of the famous senatorial family of the *Gavii Gallicani*, located in the territory surrounding Casale di Torre Nova on the Via Labicana. The Dionysian cultic association

²² The only exception is the temple dedicated to Hercules that literary sources remind placed at the 8th mile of the *via Appia* (MARI 2005).



5. New attestations in the suburban territory during the Early Empire age.

of Torrenova incorporated almost two hundred *mystai*, who were divided into twenty-six categories. These two briefly quoted documents provide a clear evidence of the fact that religious micro-societies acting in the suburban landscape were organized in a formalized way and put under the control of the suburban estates' owners.

In the framework of individual appropriation and modification of norms in the religious field, the selected cases of suburban *sacraria* (taken primarily from the Southern and Northern *suburbium*) will focus on micro-strategies of sacralization, that took place within the senatorial *praedia* surrounding the city of Rome.

[M.G.]

3.1. The southern suburbium: the *sacrarium* of Liber Pater in the *praedia* Amarantiana (Pl. 6)

The area of the *praedia* *Amarantiana* corresponds to modern Tor Marancia estate²³. It is a hilly landscape, rich in springs and crossed by numerous small streams. This territory is featured by a dense road network divided into main arteries, such as the Via Appia and Via Ardeatina heading South, and in secondary *diverticula* connecting the two roads, and extended to the West, towards the Via Ostiense and East towards the Via Latina. This area was part of a large estate, extended up to the 2nd and 3rd mile of the Via Ostiense, which is to be identified as *praedia* of *Munatia Procula* and her cousin, *Numisia Procula*. In addition, the epigraphic documentation recalls the purchase of a tomb located in *Praedis Amarantianis*²⁴. The excavations, carried out by Luigi Biondi in 1821-1822, uncovered the residen-

tial areas of two villas and parts of a necropolis. Worth to mention is the *sacrarium* dedicated to *Liber Pater Kallinicianus* (*CIL* VI 463), which was identified to the South and located on a hill overlooking the villa of *Numisia Procula*. In great detail L. Biondi describes the monumental remains of a circular temple with the presence of underground rooms; additionally, in the surrounding area to the East it was discovered a cave/*nymphaeum* near a thermal complex.

[M.I.]

Within the *praedia*, evocative spaces for ritual functions were planned in connection with the residential buildings of the villa-estate. As the remarkable case of the *sacrarium* at Tor Marancia shows, the location is provided with a suitable apparatus of sacred images in order to create an appropriate atmosphere for religious communication (Galli forthcoming). In this perspective, the sculptural materials found during Biondi's excavations represent a unique case of contextual evidences of sacred objects. The two over-life-size statues of Dionysos and Ariadne are certainly to be considered as the 'cultic images' within the *Liber Pater's* shrine, while the rest of the sculptural setting includes a wide range of small-statues of the god himself and other Dionysian figures.

Remarkable are also other significant testimonies of ritual agency. Two slabs with reliefs, which were found in the subterranean rooms of the temple, replicate the symbolic representations of human footprints. Since this kind of objects has been interpreted as evidence of a votive practice, they can be seen as the result of an act of individual commemoration. These objects record

²³ BIONDI 1847; BUONOCORE 1982; SPERA 2001; DE ROSSI, GRANELLI 2003; DE ANGELI 2004; CALDELLI 2005; BIANCHI 2007.

²⁴ *CIL*, VI, 10233 (211 CE). Both *Munatia* and *Numisia Procula* are attested by the discovery of lead pipes (*CIL*, XV, 7459 and 7498).

the presence of pilgrim-worshippers in the *Liber Pater's* sanctuary who used to leave a perpetual memory of their ritual performance.

[M.G.]

3.2. Praedium Quintiliorum. *The so-called 'Oriental sanctuary'* (Pl. 7)

The land along the Left side of the Via Appia, around at the 5th mile, was a plain bordered on the East side by a band of hills and a stream²⁵. Over the hills was a second road heading South and approximately parallel to the Via Appia, with which it was connected by at least four *diverticula*. The territory between these roads was characterized by the presence of villas surrounded by hydraulic structures and burials. The epigraphic documentation (*CIL*, XV, 7518) attests the presence of a *praedium*, located in the northern zone of this area, owned by *Sex. Quintilius Codianus* and *Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus*, both consuls in 151 AD. The Quintilii's Villa was accessed by the Via Appia through a garden in the shape of *hippodromus*.

Further North, at the crossroad of the modern Via Appia Nuova and Via Appia Pignatelli, was a further building complex known as the so-called Oriental shrine. This context must be imagined as a *sacrarium* certainly connected with the Quintilii's residence, as demonstrated by the discovery, in a lime kiln, of statues and other votive materials strictly related to the worship of *Zeus Bronton*, which is attested even inside the villa. It is conceivable that the materials, found in the secondary context of the late lime kiln, originally came from a nearby environment, tentatively identified with a rectangular shaped structure represented in the plant realized by Pietro Rosa and Luigi Canina on a high ground just to the South-West.

[M.I.]

The peripheral location of the Quintilii's *sacrarium* as well as the related archaeological documentation recall the similar ritual and votive practices attested at the Tor Marancia estate. Among the sculptural materials are to be mentioned small-dimensional marble statues attesting a wide range of cultic and votive images: Mythraic or Egyptian subjects, healing deities like Asclepius and Hygieia, and, finally, numerous deities of the traditional pantheon.

As peculiar manifestation of ritual dynamics is to be considered the attested veneration towards *Zeus Bronton*. Two statuettes found in a late-antique deposit re-duplicate the major exemplar of the seated Phrygian god, which was discovered in a central room of the villa. *Zeus*, qualified by the epithet *Bronton*, is the result of the assimilation of the Greek god with an Anatolian di-

vinity venerated as protector of crops; outside Phrygia, this deity is exclusively known in the Quintilii's context. As attested for the famous case of Herodes Atticus' *Tripion*, similarly the presence of an 'exotic' *Zeus Bronton* in the Quintilii's estate seems to be a cultivated operation of ritual transfer. The creation of a 'Roman' *Zeus Bronton's* image and, consequently, his veneration in the Quintilii's estate can be regarded as an intended micro-strategy of control of sacred suburban space. The individual commitment of the Quintilii as religious specialists does not seem to have given rise to a large diffusion of their 'religious experiment', as evidenced by the lack of other votive attestations of the *Zeus Bronton's* veneration outside the context of the Quintilii's estate.

[M.G.]

3.3. *The northern suburbium. The sacrarium of Liber Pater in the Praedia Constantiorum* (Pl. 8)

The northern suburban area was bounded East by the Tiber and West by the Fosso dell'Acquatraversa²⁶. At the edge of the stream that flowed into the ditch was a small valley surrounded by hills and crossed by the Via Clodia/Cassia. This road, heading North, ran along the ditch in the stretch between 5th and 6th miles. In this portion of *suburbium* the secondary road network is less known than elsewhere, but, probably, it could be more developed than it appears from the findings. Here different excavations and surveys have in fact recognized the remains of at least five villas. In particular, the residential complex of Emperor Lucius Verus was located in the Villa Manzoni area, East of the Via Clodia/Cassia.

Along the Via Clodia, on both sides, were found two buildings and a group of statues buried with an inscription (dated between 222 and 235 CE: *AE*, 1927, n. 103), that certifies and expressly mention a *sacrarium of Liber Pater in Costantiorum praedia*. The southern building was long and narrow, divided into four rectangular rooms oriented East-West and in a largest environment that finished in an apse in the North side. The second building was almost square and divided into six compartments. The south-western environment ended with a semi-circular wall, the south-eastern was paved with a black and white mosaic, and in the southern wall there was a semi-circular basin. In this second building was supposed to be a thermal bath, even if warming structures are not documented.

[M.I.]

The epigraphic and archaeological documentation of the Acquatraversa shrine offer many similarities with the above-mentioned shrines of Tor Marancia and Quin-

²⁵ ANNIBALDI 1935; PARIS 2000; PARIS, PETTINAU 2004; FRONTONI 2007.

²⁶ GATTI 1925; MESSINEO *et al.* 1983; MASTRODONATO 1999-2000; PANCIERA 2002; GRANINO CECERE 2004.

tillii's Villa. A group of three statues of Dionysos recalls the same visual repertoire of the already discussed cases, while an inscription (dated in the age of Severus Alexander) suggests the presence of a Dionysian religious association. In this framework, new significant information is provided by the expression *pro salute imperatoris* quoted on the inscribed marble slab found at the Acquatraversa shrine, that seems to set a link between the cult of Dionysos and the celebration of the emperor. In this perspective, it must be recalled that the Acquatraversa's *sacrarium* dedicated to *Liber Pater* was possibly associated with surrounding villa's estates, among which the major centre was represented by the above mentioned he imperial residence of Lucius Verus (161-169 CE).

[M.G.]

4. CONCLUSIONS

Approaching the topic of ritual agency of the Roman suburban landscape, new data and new factors emerge from the selected key-studies. The analysed archaeological evidence shed light on modification-appropriation processes related the suburban sacred space during the Imperial period. On the one hand, the diachronic investigation of the Suburbium Rome's seems to detect a 'cultural continuity' between the configuration of the suburban landscape during the republican time and the new phenomenon of *sacraria* located in the imperial-senatorial *praedia*. On the other, new groups of social actors come to the fore as agents of innovations in these sacred contexts. In this perspective, the landscape of *praedia* played a fundamental role in the constitution of micro-societies. Evidence related to *collegia*, *spirae* and *scholae* highlights the presence of a remarkable degree of social interaction among various individual agents or groups of agents connected with the *domini* and their affiliates in the suburban estates.

A significant epigraphic documentation is provided e.g. by the case of Iuliae Monime (*CIL*, VI, 10231) or by the important dossier of Torrenova (*IGUR*, I, 160; see SCHEID 1986). The former is related to the construction in *praedis* of a «*schola* with a hall consecrated to Silvanus and his *collegium*», the latter is concerning a highly articulated *thiasos* in the *praedia* of the famous senatorial family of the *Gavii Gallicani* (ALFÖLDY 1979), located in the territory surrounding Casale di Torre Nova on the Via Labicana. The Dionysian cultic association of Torrenova incorporated almost two hundred *mystai*, who are divided into twenty-six categories. These two here briefly quoted documents provide a decisive evidence of the fact that: (1.) the space of *praedia* includes well organized forms of rituality; especially religious micro-societies acting in the suburban landscape were highly articulated in a formalized way; (2.) the presence and activities of cultic associations, under control of the estates' *domini*, seem to give a strong impulse for collective sociality and intense ritual commu-

nication, as evidence of ritual, cultic or votive practices clearly shows.

The planning of evocative sacred places in the *praedia* as well as the design of their suggestive visual décor are revealing the political and cultural ambitions of the donors. Obviously, these points are intended to rise many other questions and, at the present state of research, only the investigation of other documentation can lead to a deeper knowledge of the *suburbium* of Rome during the imperial period.

[M.G.]

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Abstract

Il contributo prende in esame il fenomeno del paesaggio sacro nel suburbio di Roma, al fine di illustrare natura-distribuzione-evoluzione dei luoghi di culto dalle prime attestazioni di età regia fino all'età imperiale. Nella prima parte, si offre una sintesi di una ricerca sistematica condotta sulla base della documentazione archeologica e delle fonti epigrafiche-letterarie che attestano la presenza di luoghi di culto nell'ambito degli spazi extraurbani connessi con la città di Roma. Nella seconda parte, si affrontano in particolare alcuni casi studio di santuari, di cui alcuni sembrano essere parte di praedia senatori. La documentazione archeologica e storica analizzata fa luce sui committenti-funzioni-fruttori degli spazi sacri nei contesti suburbani.

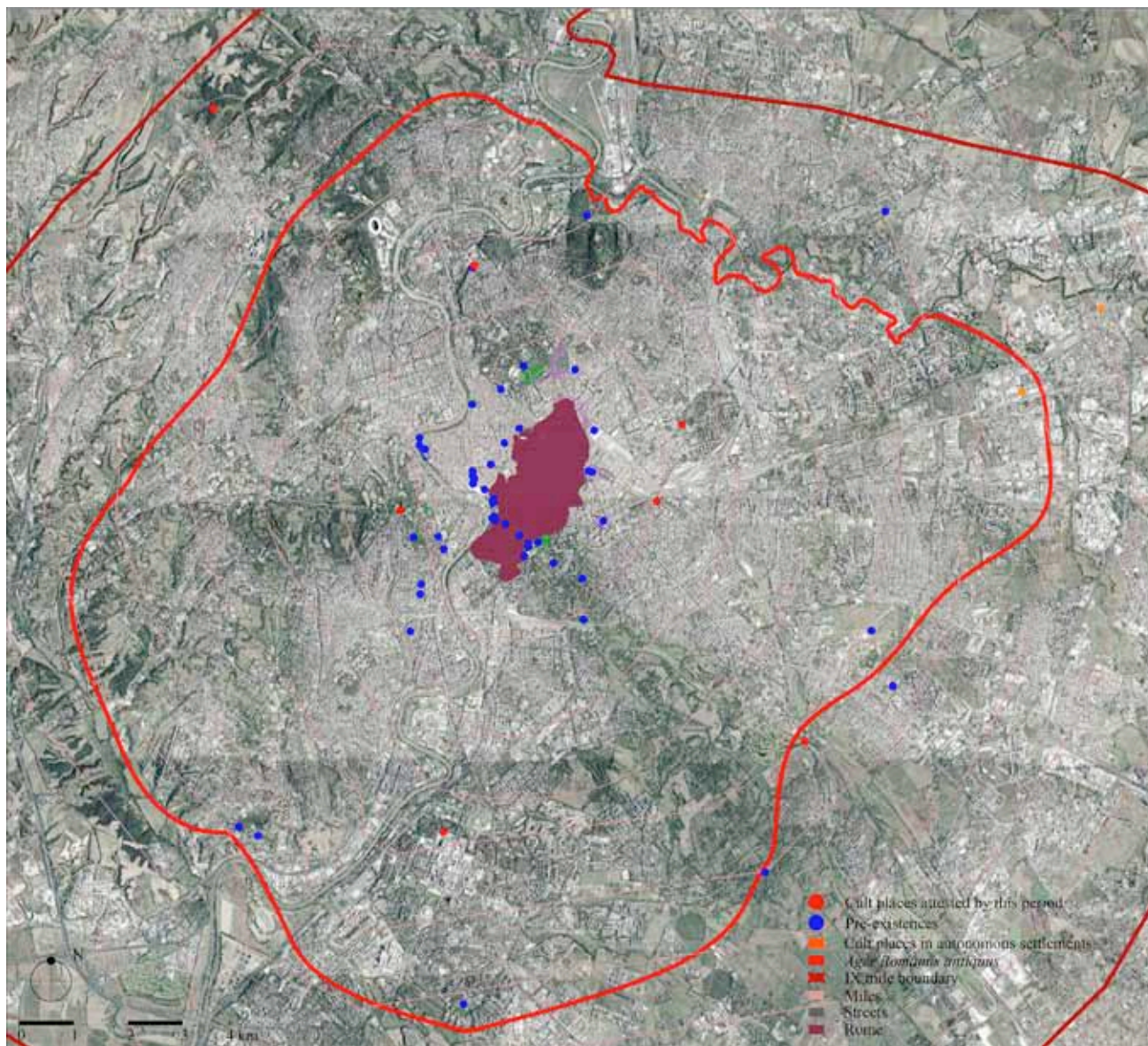


Plate 1. Kingdom period (R. Bianco). Google, Image © 2019 DigitalGlobe.

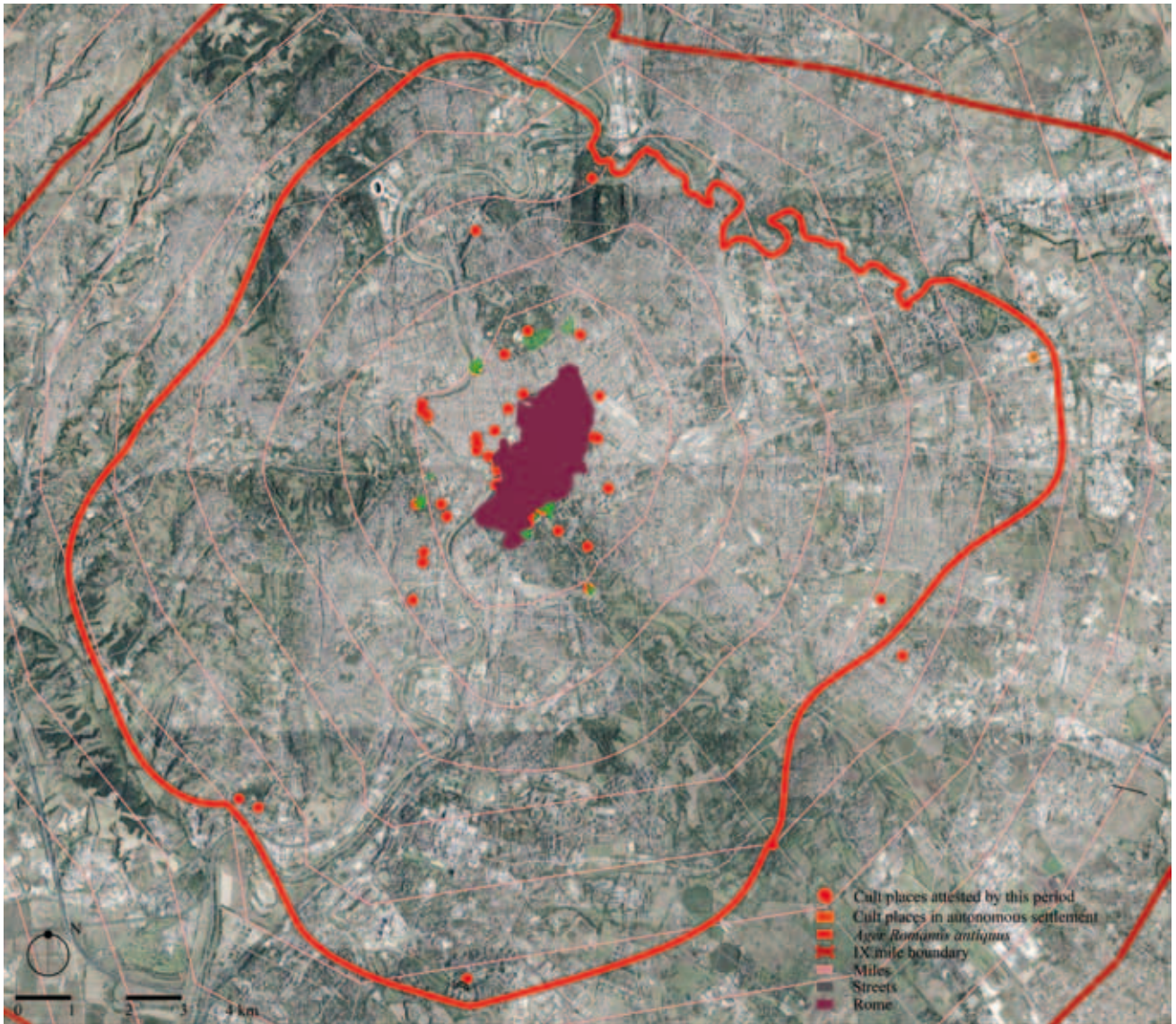


Plate 2. Early-Republican period (R. Bianco). Google, Image © 2019 DigitalGlobe.

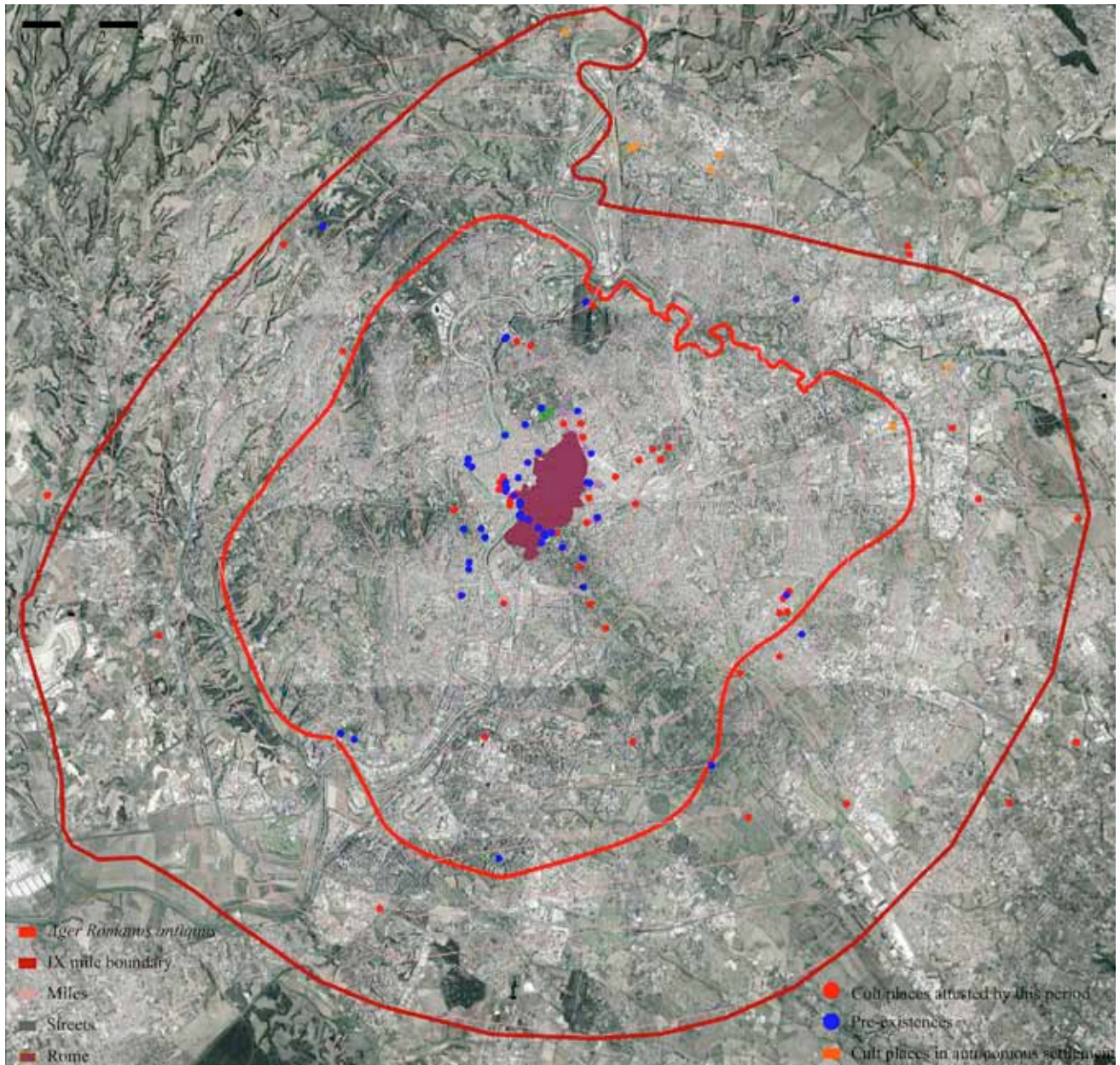


Plate 3. Mid-Republican period (R. Bianco). Google, Image © 2019 DigitalGlobe.

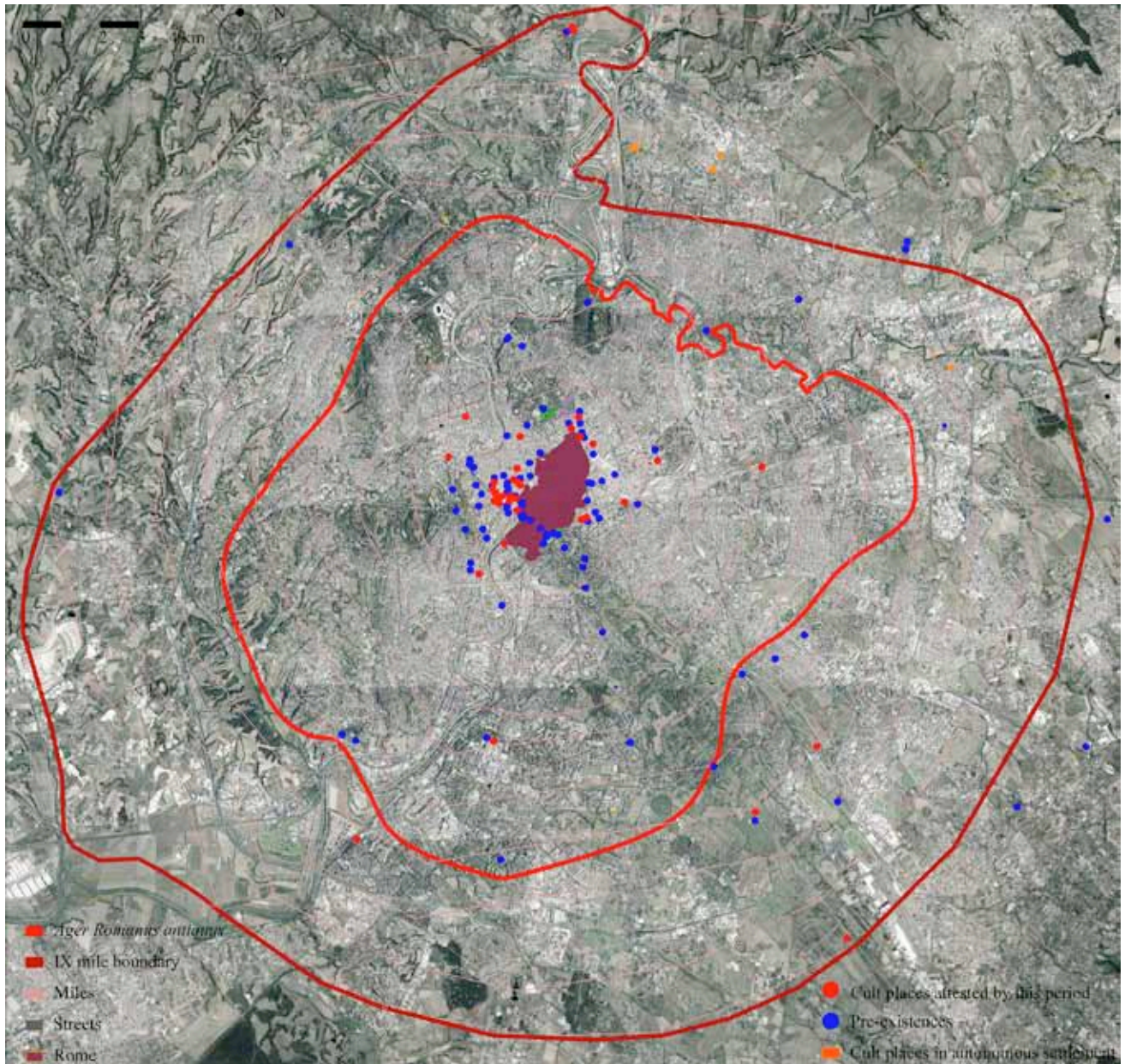


Plate 4: Late-Republican period (R. Bianco). Google, Image © 2019 DigitalGlobe.

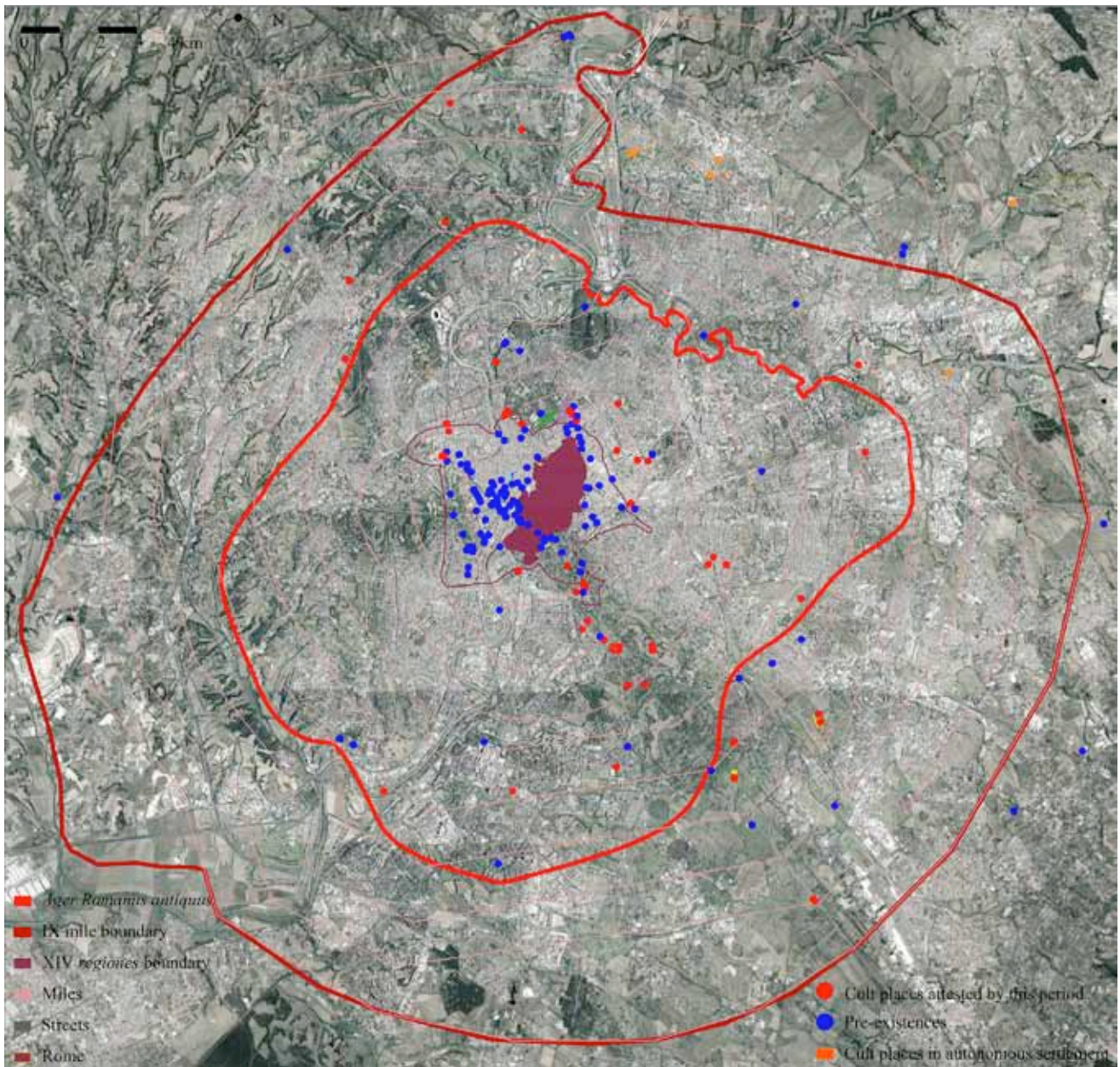


Plate 5. Early Imperial period (R. Bianco). Google, Image © 2019 DigitalGlobe.

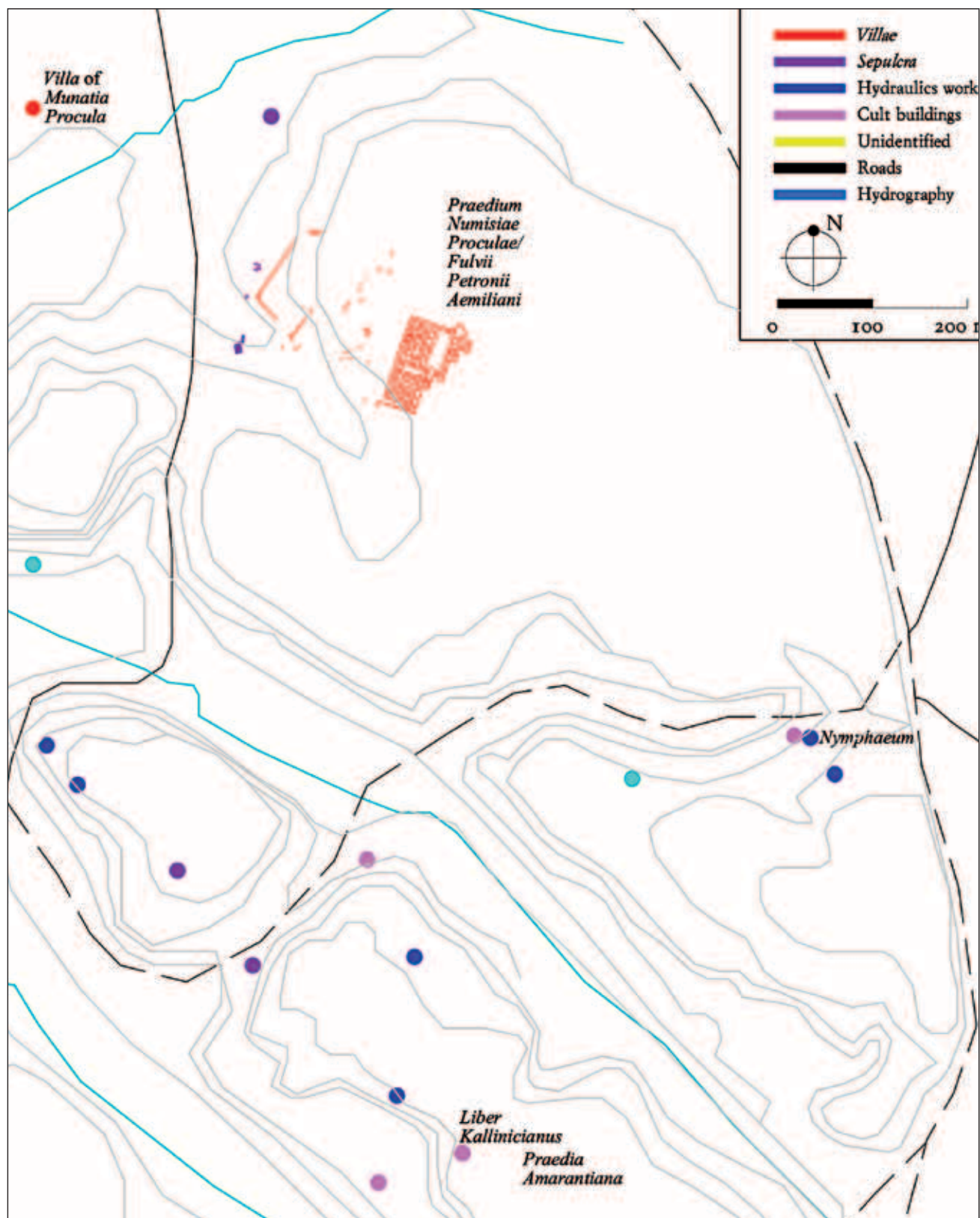


Plate 6. *Praedium Numisiae Proculae*, 2nd-3rd cent. CE (M. Ippoliti).

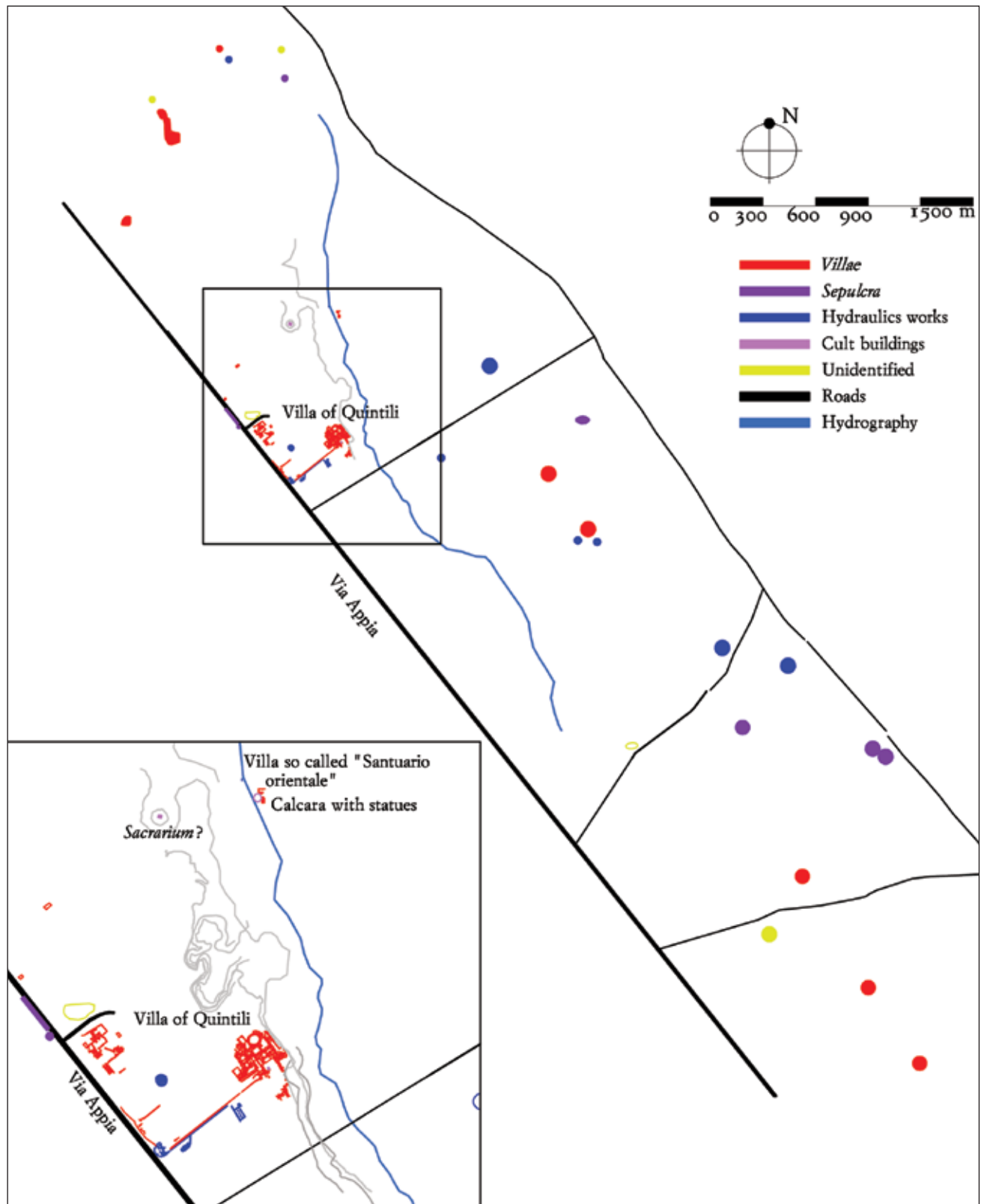


Plate 7. *Prædium Quintiliorum*, 2nd-3rd cent. CE (M. Ippoliti).

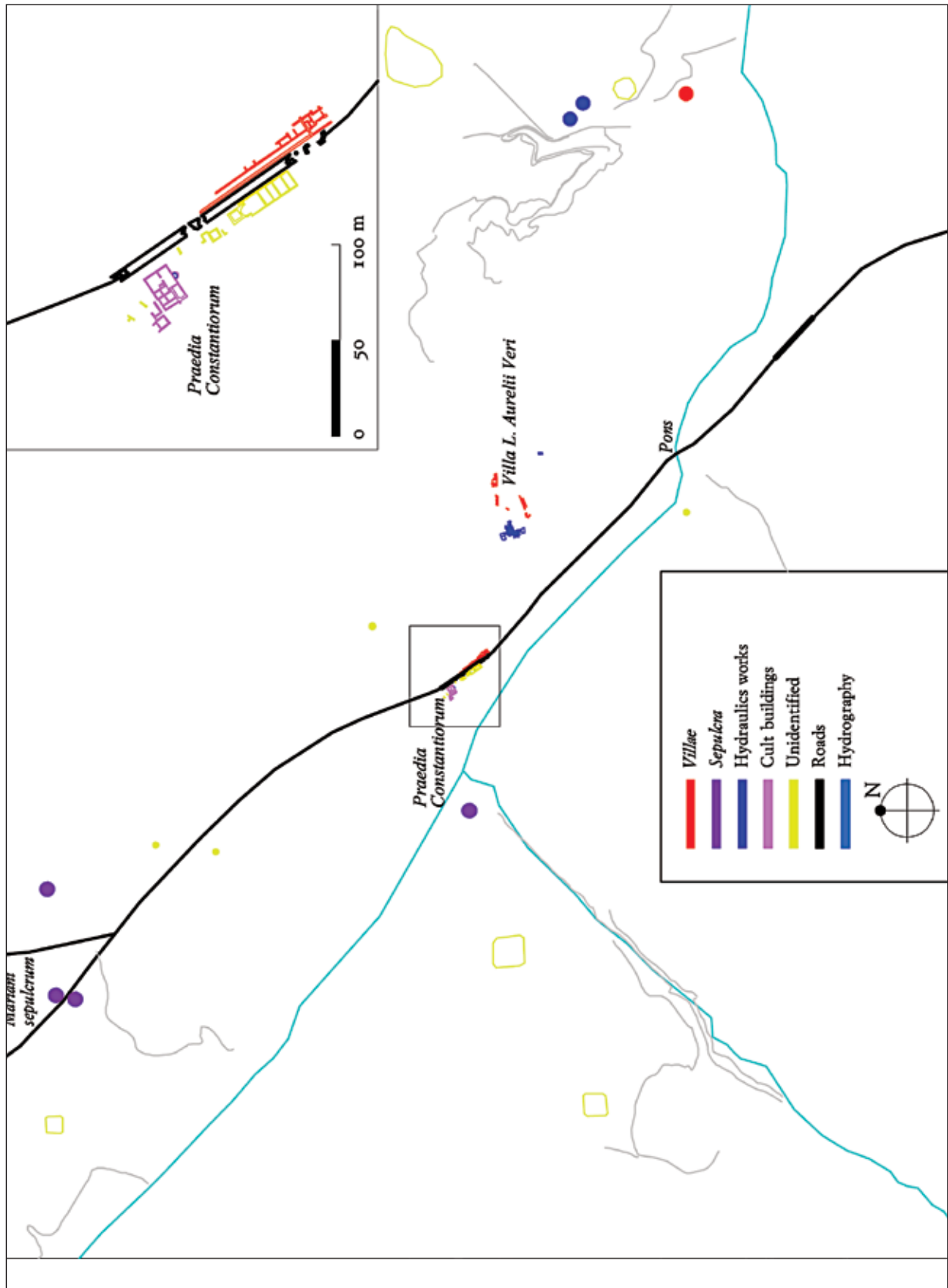


Plate 8. Northern suburb of Rome, *praedia Constantiorum*, 3rd cent. CE (M. Ippoliti).

