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## NEW SOUNDINGS IN THE REGIA: THE EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLY REPUBLIC

All during the Roman Republic, the *Regia* was an ever present reminder to the men who frequented the Roman Forum. Up to the time of the erection of the Temple of Divus Julius, it had loomed at the eastern end of the square, closing the vista in that direction, flanking the *Sacra Via* as it entered the Forum. It was an essential and unquestioned presence, whose significant actuality overshadowed its history.

To latter-day investigators the *Regia*, even before it was located and exhumed, was rather an embarrassment. The scanty and often contradictory allusions of ancient authors raised perplexing questions of just what the *Regia* was and whose it had been. The *Regia* was described now as a *domus*<sup>1</sup>, now as a *fanum*<sup>2</sup>. It was said to contain a hearth, *focum*<sup>3</sup>, and two laurel trees<sup>4</sup>, but also *sacraria* of Mars<sup>5</sup> and Ops Consiva<sup>6</sup>. There was an altar as well, at which sacrifices were performed monthly on the Kalends and Nones to Juno and Jupiter<sup>7</sup> and on *dies agones* to Janus and others<sup>8</sup> by a variety of priests—the *Rex* and *Regina Sacrorum*, the *Flaminica Dialis*, the *Pontifex* and Vestal Virgins<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Festus, 347 L; Plut., *Num.* 14, 1; Serv., *Ad Aen.* 2, 57; 8, 363.

<sup>2</sup> Festus, 346 L.

<sup>3</sup> Festus, 190 L; Liv., *Periocha Oxyrhyncea* 50.

<sup>4</sup> Iulius Obsequens, 19; Liv., *Periocha Oxyrhyncea* 50.

<sup>5</sup> Gell., *N.A.* 4, 6, 1-2; Iulius Obsequens, 6, 36, 44, 44a, 47, 50; Serv., *Ad Aen.* 7, 603; 8, 3; cf. Festus, 439 L.

<sup>6</sup> Varro, *LL.* 6, 21; Festus, 202 L, 292 L; *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium* (*Insc. It.* XIII, 2, p. 31).

<sup>7</sup> Macrobi., *Sat.* 1, 15, 19; 1, 16, 30.

<sup>8</sup> Varro, *LL.* 6, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Varro, *LL.* 6, 12; Macrobi., *Sat.* 1, 15, 19; 1, 16, 30; Festus, 439 L.



By name the *Regia* was obviously a king's: *Regia, domus ubi rex habitat* <sup>1</sup>. But what king's? Rome had always had a king of sorts, even after the Tarquin was expelled. Could he inhabit a *fanum*? How had the *Regia* become the seat of the Pontifex Maximus, as the evidence from the later Republic and the Empire implied? <sup>2</sup>

By the time of Ovid, the king who had given the *Regia* its name was taken to have been Numa, the priestly king <sup>3</sup>. Thenceforward, throughout antiquity this account, most vividly elaborated by Plutarch, was unanimously accepted as history <sup>4</sup>. It seemed not, however, to have formed part of earlier, annalistic tradition. It was not noticed by Livy or Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The antiquarian tradition, touching the rites currently practiced in the *Regia*, knew only of the *Rex Sacrorum* beside the Pontiff, who dominated the most characteristic cults <sup>5</sup>.

The perplexity arising from the written sources was not banished by the discovery of the building itself. The slow and fitful process of lowering the Campo Vaccino to its ancient bed had exposed the site of the *Regia* in the 1870s. <sup>6</sup>. The building was identified in 1886 <sup>7</sup> and excavated by Jordan and Hülsen in 1886 and 1889 <sup>8</sup> and by Giacomo Boni from 1898 to 1901 <sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Festus, 347 L.

<sup>2</sup> Gell., *N.A.* 4, 6, 1-2; Cic., *Att.* 10, 3A, 1; Dio Cass. 43, 24, 4; Plin. *Ep.* 4, 11, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 264; *Tr.* 3, 1, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 15, 41, 1; Plut., *Num.* 14, 1; Dio Cass., frg. 6, 2; Solin., 1, 21; Serv., *Ad Aen.* 2, 57; 8, 363.

<sup>5</sup> Varro, *LL.* 6, 12; Hor., *Carm.* 1, 2, 15; Macrobi., *Sat.* 1, 15, 19; Festus, 439 L; cf. Gell., *N.A.* 4, 6, 1-2; Dio Cass., 43, 24, 4; 44, 17, 2.

<sup>6</sup> F. DUTERT, *Le Forum Romain* (Paris 1876), 14, 40.

<sup>7</sup> *Archaeologia* 50 (1887), 227-250.

<sup>8</sup> *RM* 1 (1886), 94-111; *JdI* 4 (1889), 228-253.

<sup>9</sup> *NSc* (1899), 128, 220-223, 486-488; *Bull Comm* 27 (1899), 144-147; 31 (1903), 42 ff.; *CR* 13 (1899), 186, 322, 330, 466 f., 468; *AA* (1900), 7 f.; *RM* 17

The structures uncovered by these operations did, indeed, display the general form of an archaic *domus* (Fig. 1). It consisted of an oblong building, separated from the *Atrium Vestae* by a street and divided lengthwise into three chambers, the western of which contained a hearth. To the north, a trapeziform courtyard enclosed a cistern, wells and a massive, square foundation. The *Regia*, so constituted, also appeared to belong to that peculiar class of early Roman buildings, like the hut of Romulus and the Capitolium, whose original plans were inviolable. At any rate, the marble *Regia* of the Empire, the *Regia* of Domitius Calvinus, was seen to be founded on an earlier building of tufa, whose outlines it more or less faithfully reproduced. Moreover, Boni's soundings under this earlier building had brought to light potsherds, which could be dated well back in the sixth century <sup>1</sup>.

Thus, on the one hand, it was found possible to conclude from this evidence that, in effect, Ovid's account was substantially trustworthy. The archaic house form, termed a "megaron", acquired vague Mycenaean overtones. The two, successive structures that had been unearthed might be supposed to overlies others of the same plan, the earliest of which must be the dwelling of the ancient king. Ovid's source also affirmed that the tholos of Vesta was the reproduction in marble of a primitive, circular hut and that it, too, was the work of Numa <sup>2</sup>. Had not archaeology, once again, corroborated the truth of tradition? <sup>3</sup>

(1902), 62-66; 20 (1905), 77-80; *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* 5 (1904), 518-525.

<sup>1</sup> *MAAR* 12 (1935), 67-88; I. S. RYBERG, *An Archaeological Record of Rome* ("Studies and Documents", XIII, 1-2, London 1940), 43-45, 71; E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome III* (Lund 1960), 295-309.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 261-264.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. E. TEA, *BullComm* 48 (1920), 155-162; H. MÜLLER-KARPE, "Vom Anfang Roms", *RM, Ergänzungsheft* 5 (1959), 31-42, 94-100.

On the other hand, it was observed that neither the structures excavated nor the finds indubitably attached to them were demonstrably older than the third or fourth century, while the earlier materials from Boni's soundings were not necessarily related to the kind of building found above them. Ovid's account, furthermore, merited little confidence. It was apparently late and manifestly imbued with pseudo-historical and pseudo-scientific rationalism. It presupposed anachronistically the separation of the hearth and *Penates* of the community from those of its king. At the same time, topography, the tradition about the Palatine settlement and the analogy of other primitive communities made the eastern edge of the Forum valley an unlikely spot for an early king's dwelling. As for the tholos of Vesta, circular huts were not to be found in Iron Age Latium, and, besides, excavation had shown that the older remains around the Imperial rotunda were those of a building of rectangular plan<sup>1</sup>.

Meanwhile, both fresh archaeological discoveries and the renewed study and publication of the body of previous findings were rapidly expanding and changing the horizon of early Rome. The time seemed ripe, after 65 odd years, for a fresh investigation of the *Regia*, aimed at resolving or at least clarifying some of the problems it posed. The work was undertaken at the invitation of the Italian authorities and carried out in close collaboration with them at various times during 1964 and 1965. The older excavations were cleaned out and re-examined, and the new soundings were designed to reach the earliest vestiges of the occupation of the site and to furnish stratigraphic sections across its

<sup>1</sup> *NSc* (1900), 172-183; E. B. VAN DEMAN, *The Atrium Vestae* (Washington 1909), 9-14; *MAAR* 12 (1935), 67, 71 f.; *Latomus* 13 (1954), 129; P. STEHOUWER, *Etude sur Ops et Consus* (Groningen 1956), 87, 97; *Mon.Ant* 45 (1959), 9 f., Figs. 1, 2; K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960), 108 f., III, n. 1.

length and breadth as far as possible (Fig. 2). While the work is still unfinished and while the results so far are still under study, it may not be presumptuous to invite critical appraisal of those which, at this stage, seem to bear upon the beginnings of the Roman Republic.

The marble *Regia* of 36 B.C. proves to have been the latest of three superimposed buildings of similar plan, three *Regias*, it is fair to say. Its immediate predecessor, known from the old excavations, can now be dated on fresh evidence to the latter half of the third century. The first of the three, with which we shall be chiefly concerned, had no predecessor of the same description. It was planted *de integro* upon the ruins of a temple and precinct, which had itself supplanted others in an evolution of the site that must be briefly examined.

The area within the perimeter of the Imperial *Regia* was found to have been first occupied by part of a crowded settlement of small huts. The ground over which they spread was a bank of alluvium, sloping northwestward from the corner of the Palatine hill. Along the southern side of the perimeter, the settlement was bisected by a winding, cobbled road, descending westward. It was cut into the slope on the south, banked up and curbed on the north. (A stretch of the south side of this road and traces of the settlement beyond were brought to light by Gjerstad in 1957<sup>1</sup>).

Separate soundings have disclosed the remains of eleven huts. Given the same density, the area within the perimeter would have accommodated some twenty. The huts whose plans may be read from their postholes in the alluvial clay are similar in every respect to those found on the Palatine. Of others the dimensions and orientation may be roughly estimated from partial alignments of postholes. Still others

<sup>1</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome III* (Lund 1960), 328-335, 346 f., 353 f., 356-358.



are revealed only by hearths and kitchen crockery, by sunken, trodden floors covered by layers of carbonized timber and thatch and disintegrated clay walling. There appears to be little variation in size. The huts toward the south were disposed along the road. Those further north appear to have been aligned with the brink of the alluvial bank beyond the northeast side of the perimeter.

The permanence of the settlement is evidenced by repeated rebuildings after destruction by flood or fire. Its duration is roughly measurable by the offerings found in three graves associated with the huts. The oldest, near the southwest angle of our perimeter, is similar to the graves found nearby under the Temple of Divus Julius, whose dates are still debated by prehistorians. Two infant burials, uncovered along the northeast side of the perimeter, are clearly of the third Latial period and may probably be dated not far from 700 B.C. The latest huts in the north half of our field, to judge by the pottery found amid the debris of their destruction, did not long survive the third quarter of the seventh century.

They were replaced by the first stone-founded structures : to the west, the well worn cappellacio slabs of the curbing of a rectangular platform or precinct ; further east, a stretch of the cappellacio foundation of a wall, presumably of crude brick. This appears to have formed part of the southwest side of an enclosure with a sloping, trodden floor. In its center stood a monument, of which there remains only a sort of cippus in the shape of a halved, truncated cone. Its form and the raised, vertical borders on either side at the rear would presuppose a twin, set back-to-back with it or at the other end of an intermediate member. The surviving cippus stands above one side of one of the infant burials.

Were these structures of the end of the seventh century cult places? Although we have no proof, it is hard to doubt it. Perhaps the cults were parental or ancestral. Be that as

it may, the huts of the living still stood side by side along the road to the south.

They finally gave way to the first full fledged building within the confines of our soundings. Two soundings exposed the foundations of rough cappellaccio blocks which enclosed a rectangular room with a doorway in the middle of the east end. From its north side starts the perpendicular foundation, overriding the curb of the older platform, of the retaining wall of a terraced precinct. A third sounding uncovered part of the socketted base for a timber column of the porch; a fourth and fifth the thinly cobbled area to the south, running up to the road. Still another sounding revealed the floor of rammed clay within the room. Set into it on the axis of the doorway was a circular bed of freshly washed pebbles, covered by a layer of purified, whitish clay, the ritual insulation, perhaps, of a cult image.

The plan undoubtedly suggests a temple. This impression is borne out by the numerous elements, found on its floor and in the equivalent strata round about, of the terracotta decoration of its roof. Other fragments of the same sima and revetment frieze, presumably from the same building, were unearthed in the nearby excavations under the Temple of Divus Julius between 1950 and 1954. All may be dated to the second quarter of the sixth century.

At the same time, the terracing of the area north and east of the temple buried the cippus-monument and the foundation of its enclosure. Upon the surviving cippus was set one end of a rough, rectangular base or altar. Along its south side ran a curbing of cappellaccio blocks. Further east, on a line parallel with the front of the temple, were found two stretches of the cappellaccio foundation of a wall containing a doorway. The connecting links are still missing, but it is not, perhaps, fanciful to see in these disconnected structures the elements of a single *area sacra*.

The part around the cippus-altar was presently rebuilt as a self-contained precinct, bounded by a wall with an opening opposite the altar. The space within was paved with slabs of cappellaccio and equipped with a box drain, inclined northward. A portion at least of the precinct was roofed. Its destruction by fire left a layer thick with the debris of the crude brick and tile of its superstructure. These remains and other objects from this layer imply a date in the third quarter of the sixth century.

The conflagration was general and levelled all the structures within the perimeter of our soundings. Their places were taken by a single new temple and new precinct, skirted by a new road to the south. The temple, rising on deep and massive foundations of cappellaccio at the opposite end of the area from its predecessor, was turned at right angles to face somewhat east of north. The foundations define the four sides of an almost square cella with the independent emplacement of the portico of its pronaos. The surviving parallel stretch of the west enclosure cuts across the earlier temple. The open precinct between was found floored with a thick layer of crushed grey and red tufa, perhaps the bedding for vanished slabs of cappellaccio. The new road ran some 0.50 m. above the old and, as before, swung southward as it climbed past the back of the temple. A sidewalk along its northern side was paved with broad slabs of cappellaccio. The roadway was cobbled and had an open drain at the foot of a rough breast wall against the southern slope.

The remains of the temple have not betrayed the identity of its occupant, but its approximate date cannot be doubted. The debris of its destruction, wherever encountered, included most of the members of the covering of its roof, which was richly adorned with molded and painted terracotta. Its antefixes, in particular, place it in the third quarter of the sixth century.





*Fig. 1. Rome. New Soundings in the Regia.  
The Excavations of 1898-1901; air view.*

Fototeca Unione.



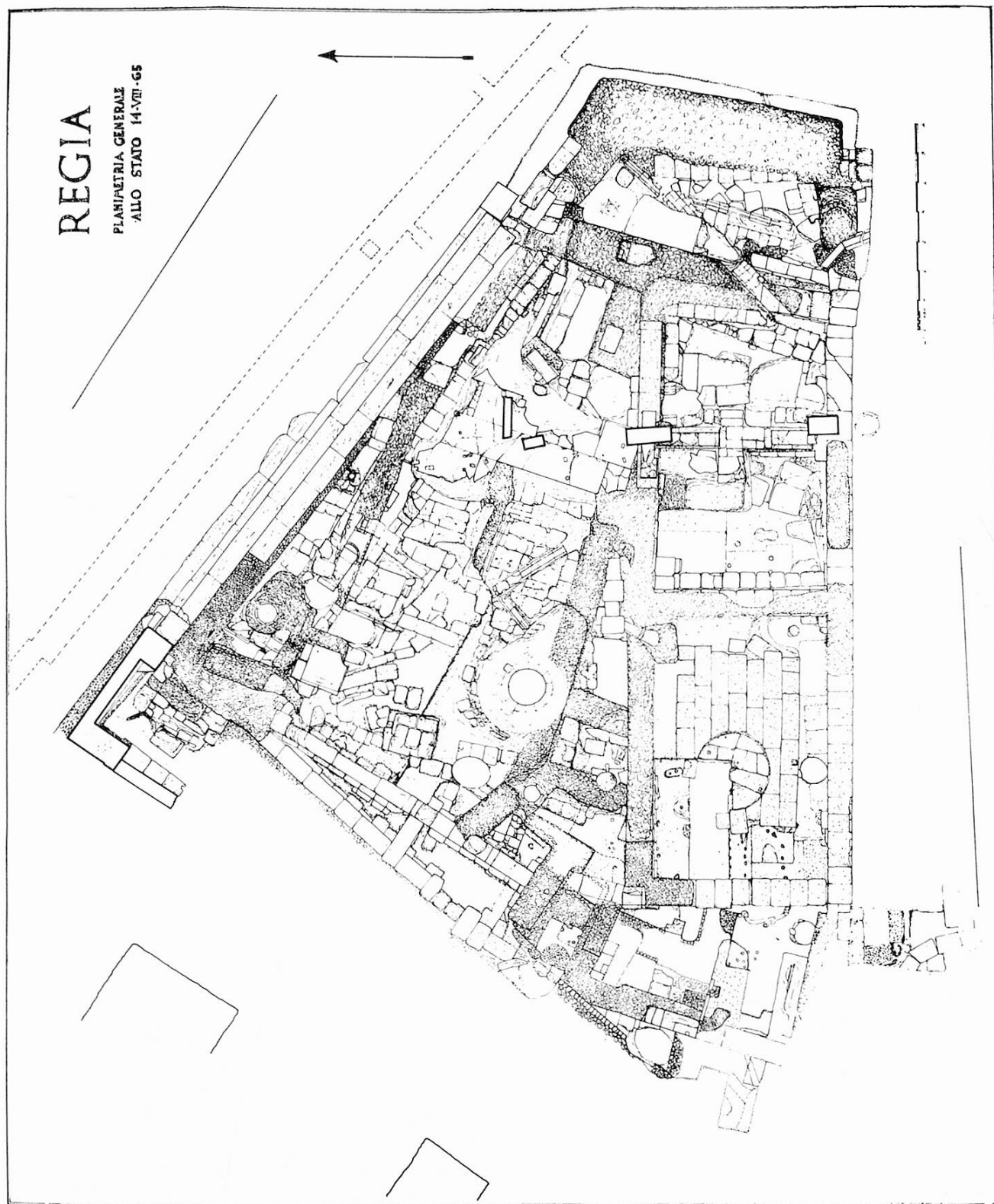


Fig. 2. Rome. New Soundings in the Regia. The Excavations of 1964-1965; general plan.

# REGIA

PLANIMETRIA GENERALE  
ALLO STATO 14-VIII-65

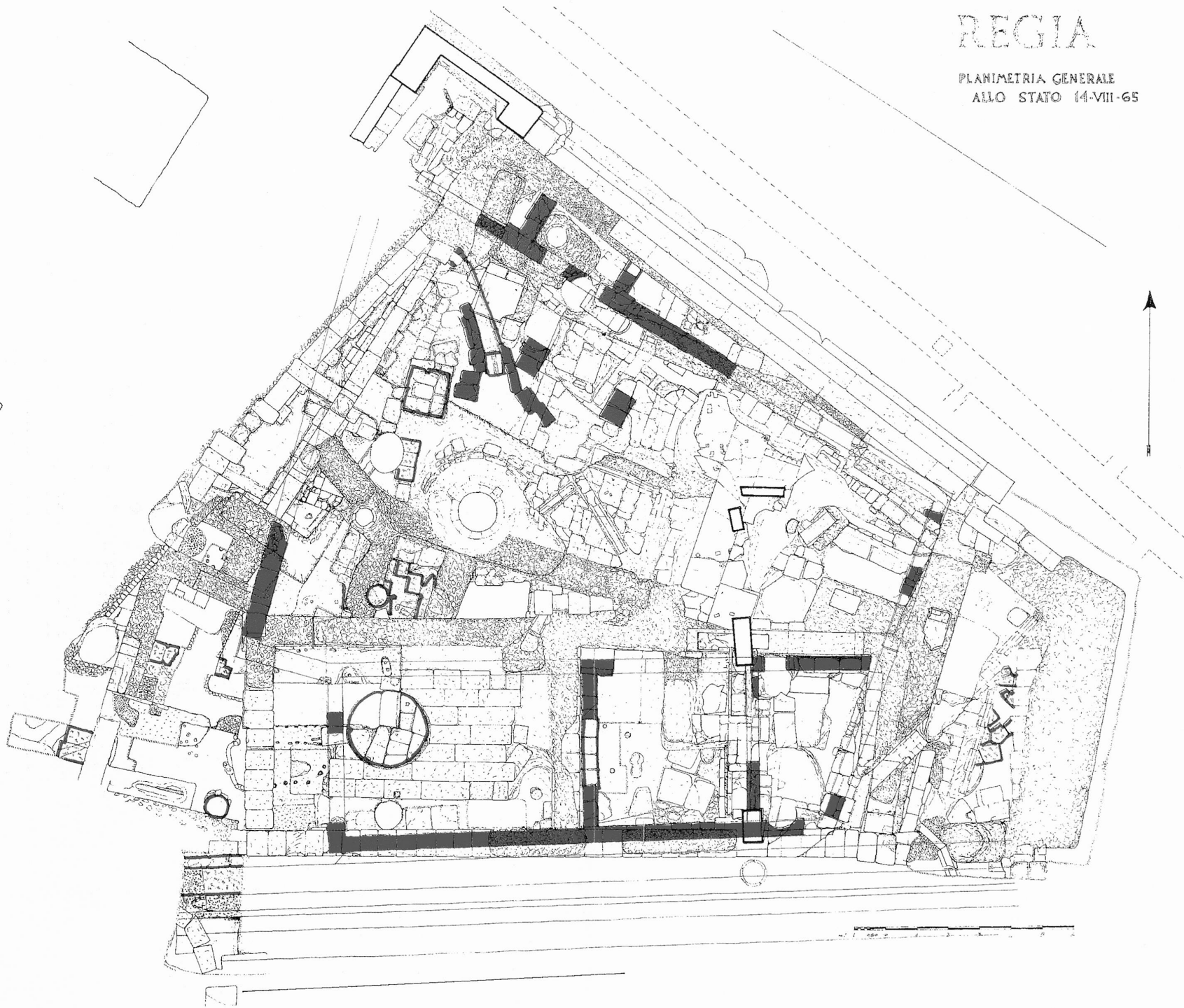


Fig. 3. Rome. New Soundings in the Regia. The Remains of the First Regia; plan, actual state.

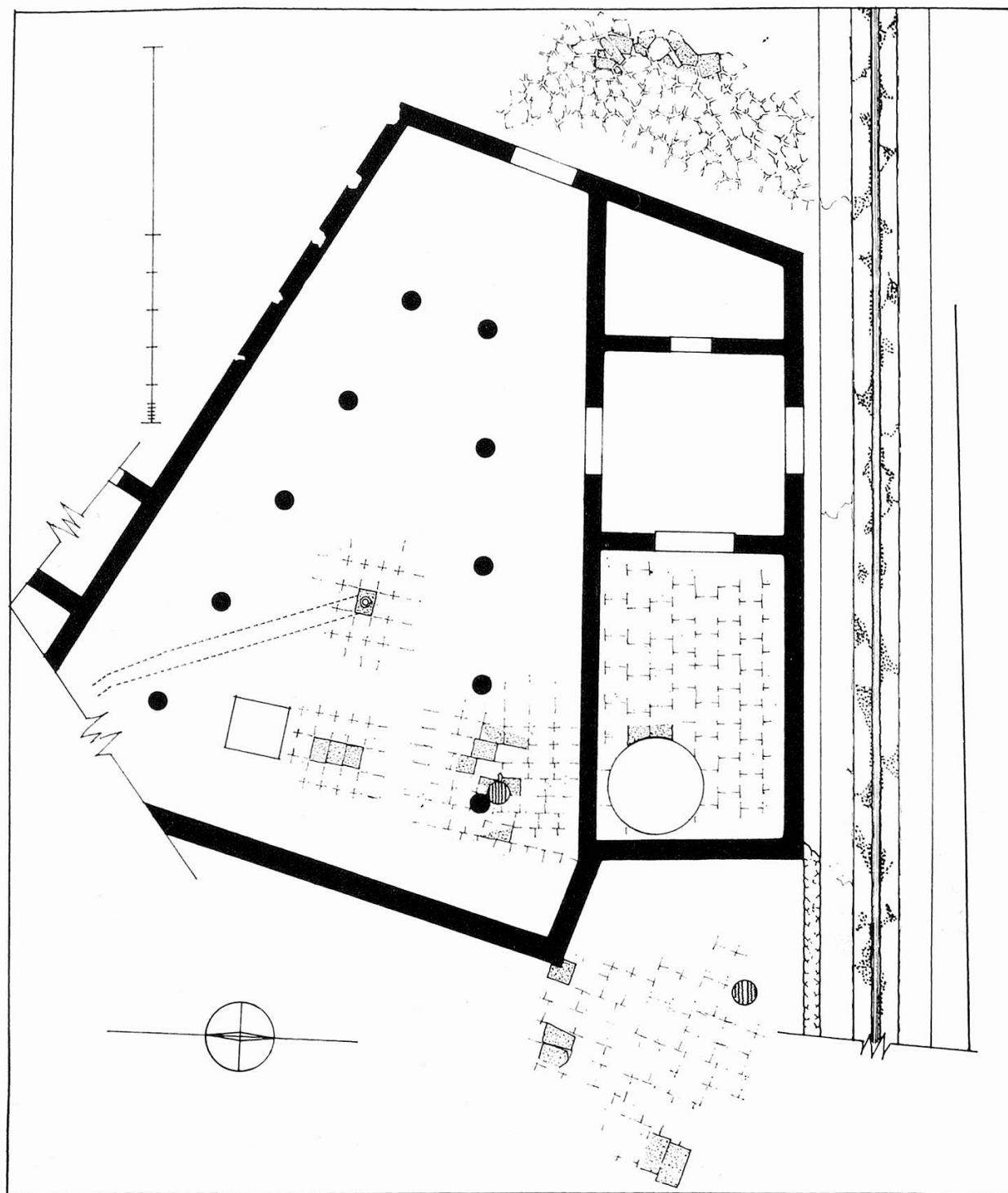


Fig. 4. Rome. New Soundings in the Regia. The First Regia; plan restored.

The sequence of structures we have now briefly examined constitutes, so to speak, the prehistory of the *Regia*. They were, in whatever sense, the precursors of the historical *Regia*, the *Regia* of the singular but unified plan, which was maintained in all essentials down to the end of the Empire. We observe, over the first three-quarters of the sixth century, the progressive suppression of part of a settlement of huts and the progressive substitution of a temple precinct. At least once, toward the end of the period, there was violent destruction and replanning, but the constituent elements remain the same. The first *Regia* took advantage of the structures it supplanted but, in conception, plan and aspect, was a radically new departure (Fig. 3).

The full, asymmetrical site north of the road was now occupied by an oblong, tripartite building on the south and a trapeziform courtyard with annexes on the north. A new and wider road ran straight along its south side. The west wall of the courtyard was the wall of the former precinct. The east wall ran on the east foundations of the demolished temple, giving the *Regia* that obliquity of facade that marked it ever after.

We owe to the religious scruple shown in its successor, the enlarged *Regia* of the third century, the preservation of much of its plan. The later building respected, by using or incorporating, as much of the fabric of the earlier as was necessary or expedient. Thus the lower part of its walls of well dressed blocks of cappellaccio survives in several places. They stood five courses high, making a foundation and socle, from which rose the superstructure of crude brick, plastered with fine clay.

The central chamber of the oblong building was a sort of vestibule, having doorways to the chambers on either side, to the courtyard and, we must assume, from the street. The large, west chamber at least was paved with slabs of cappellaccio. A raised circular hearth of the same stone filled its

northwest corner. Outside the east and west ends of the building were paved areas, the latter containing a well. The cappellaccio pavement at the east end stepped and sloped downward toward the north.

The south wall of the building was founded on the old road. The new road, running 0.50-0.60 m. higher, had thus to be shifted southward. It was also widened, so as to comprise paved sidewalks on either side of a cobbled roadway with an open drain down the middle. Its gradient brought it level with the pavement outside the east end of the building, 0.40-0.50 m. above the floor of the east chamber, evidence that the chamber was not accessible from the outside.

Further north, however, the lower level of this pavement afforded entrance to the courtyard. It, too, was paved with slabs of cappellaccio, one of which was bored to form the intake, near the center of the court, of a deep, covered drain, running north-westward. Near its southwest corner the courtyard contained a well and further north the massive, square foundation of an altar. The discovery of a pair of foundations for piers or columns along the northeast side gives evidence for a portico. Two partition walls, perpendicular to the northeast socle, indicate a range of rooms along this side, whose outer wall lay beyond the perimeter of the Imperial *Regia*.

These elements, isolated, completed and integrated in a coherent plan, give the measure of the first *Regia*'s difference from all that had gone before it on its site (Fig. 4). They give the plan of a complete, archaic house, but of a house adapted to a specific place and specific functions. This *aedes* was not entered, as one would expect, from an end, but from a side, by a doorway facing the *Atrium Vestae* across the road. The east chamber was not a porch and the middle chamber not an anteroom, but a vestibule for chambers at either side. The courtyard sheltered a well but also an imposing altar.



From what we are told of the *Regia* let us attempt to give these spaces names. Let us suppose, for example, that the west chamber with its hearth was the *sacrarium Martis*. The *ancilia* and *hasta* of the god hung and clattered on its walls. The hearth was sprinkled for the god with the blood of the October Horse. Let us suppose that the little east chamber with its narrow portal was the *sacrarium Opis Consivae*, so confined or so holy, as the text of Varro be emended, that only the priest and the Vestal Virgins might enter. The courtyard will be Livy's *Atrium Regium*<sup>1</sup>, the altar that of the periodic immolations to Jupiter, Juno and Janus. There seems to be a place for everything except an inhabitant. This may be a *fanum* in the shape of a *domus*. It is not a habitation.

When was it built? Obviously after the third quarter of the sixth century, when the temple that preceded it was in existence. How long after? The walls themselves impose a limit. The clay plaster that covered them was in part painted. Scores of tiny fragments repeat a single design of narrow blue, white and red stripes. The analogy of the painted tombs of Tarquinia suggests that these come from painted bands at the top and bottom of the walls. At Tarquinia such bands are current in the tombs of the last half of the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries. Narrow stripes with a prevalence of blue recur most frequently in the last quarter of the sixth<sup>2</sup>.

For sharper definition we have to rely on stratified potsherds. The strata formed during the construction of the *Regia* and the laying of its floors, where our soundings have penetrated them, are fairly clear and fairly sound. They

<sup>1</sup> Liv. 26, 27, 3; 27, 11, 16.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Tomba dei Tori* to the *Tomba della Nave*, including the *Tomba della Caccia e Pesca*, *Tomba degli Auguri*, *Tomba delle Iscrizioni*, *Tomba del Pulcinella*, *Tomba delle Olimpiadi*, *Tomba dei Bacchanti*, *Tomba Tarantola*. Cf. M. PALLOTTINO, *MonAnt* 36 (1937), 304.

have yielded hundreds of potsherds. Most of the fragments of imported Greek vessels clearly come from the last quarter of the sixth century. The latest that are more or less precisely dateable may be assigned to its last decade. None of the *Bucchero* or of the local, painted wares appears to be later. The evidence is slim. It can tell us only that, in all probability, the *Regia* was erected not far from the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries.

For present purposes that may be sufficient. It is safe to say (even in this company) that one is on the threshold, if not in the thick, of the Roman Republic. The *Regia* on the Roman Forum was built not for a *rex* but for a *rex sacrorum*. It was built not for his dwelling but for the performance of his sacred duties. Our sources represent the creation of the *Rex Sacrorum* as an act of religious statesmanship by the founders of the Republic. The *Regia* was its material expression. The first *Rex Sacrorum*, we are told, was a certain Manius Papirius. A stray find from Boni's soundings in the *Regia* may be his autograph<sup>1</sup>.

Though no dwelling, the *Regia* kept the outward forms of a kingly house, because it embodied the cults and emblems, which remained inseparable from the office and name of king and without which the state, though no longer ruled by a king, could not prosper<sup>2</sup>. As regalia, indispensable to the new commonwealth, it was transplanted to the vicinity of the public *Forum*, where no king's dwelling had ever stood. It was established in calculated relation to the shrine of Vesta and the house of her virgin ministers. (The straightening of the way between the two connotes the enlargement, if not the installation, of the *Atrium Vestae* in this place). Here the doubling of the ancient, regal hearth

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 5, 1, 4; E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome III* (Lund 1960), 300, Fig. 199, 4.

<sup>2</sup> L. DEUBNER, *RM* 36 (1921), 17-23; K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960), 108-111.

of the community took physical shape. The hearth in the emblematic *Regia* now served only the intimate, bloody cult of Mars. The hearth of the new commonwealth blazed beside it, personified in Vesta. The two, none the less, were bound together by proximity and by the surrogate king and his putative daughters.

This act of religious statesmanship may also be seen as an aspect of the equally statesmanlike act of the deliberate creation of the civic center of the new Republic. As the *Regia* and the house of Vesta came to dominate the eastern, so the Comitium the northwestern end of the Forum. Hitherto the Forum, for all we know, had been a featureless expanse. We hear of no other buildings beside it, save the precincts of Saturn and Vulcan on the lower slopes of the Capitol<sup>1</sup>. We are informed only that it had been drained by means of the Cloaca Maxima and that it was crossed by a road, the Sacra Via, running from the Velia to the Arx<sup>2</sup>. The two temples, of the Castores and Saturn, that came to define its southern and western extremities, were the work of the following decades<sup>3</sup>.

Like the *Regia*, the Comitium, as Gjerstad has shown, was the creation of the beginning of the Republic<sup>4</sup>. Like the *Regia*, it celebrated functions of the old dispensation that were felt to be indispensable in the new. It was not made to serve the great assemblies of the Republic, *comitia centuriata*, *comitia tributa*, but embodied the residual powers of

<sup>1</sup> Festus, 430 L; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 6, 1, 4; Macrobian., *Sat.* 1, 8, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Varro, *LL.*, 5, 47; Festus, 372 L.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. 2, 20, 12; 45, 5; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 6, 13, 4; cf. *CR* 20 (1906), 77-82, 184; *MAAR* 5 (1925), 79-90. Liv. 2, 21, 2; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 6, 1, 4; Macrobian., *Sat.* 1, 8, 1; cf. K. J. BELOCH, *Römische Geschichte* (Berlin/Leipzig 1926), 12 f.; K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960), 254, n. 2; *Hommages à A. Grenier* ("Collection Latomus", Brussels 1962), 757-762.

<sup>4</sup> E. GJERSTAD, *Opus Arch* 2 (1941), 97-158; *Early Rome III* (Lund 1960), 217-223.



the regal *comitia curiata*. Like the *Regia*, it appears to have been transplanted to the borders of the Forum to associate venerable presences with the new reality. *Regia* and Comitium together not only brought to the new center of public affairs the religious and political sanction of the past, but by their position and forms gave shape and measure to the space between them. These poles, religious and political, at either end of the Forum were linked visually by the *Sacra Via* stretching between them and ritually by the action of the *Rex Sacrorum*, when he *comitiavit* or *fugit*<sup>1</sup>. They established the axis of the early Forum.

This glance from the vantage of the *Regia* at the place of the Forum in the beginning of the Roman Republic may suggest a process at once more deliberately revolutionary than what our sources let us perceive and more inherently conservative, the revolution, in sum, of god-fearing aristocrats. It may also suggest the working of a keen and very Roman sense of the efficacy of the deliberately shaped environment in the molding of human impulses.

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Praen.* ad d. 24 Mart. (*Insc. It.* XIII, 2, 122 f.); Varro, *LL.* 6, 31; Festus, 311 L; Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 727 f.; Festus, 346 L; cf. A. DE GRASSI, *Insc. It.* XIII, 2, 415 f.

## DISCUSSION

*M. Gjerstad*: I want to thank Mr. Brown both for his excavation and his conference. The μέγαρον-type of building is not so exclusively Greek as is generally thought. There is a μέγαρον probably in Troy I and certainly in Troy II, and it is represented as far East as Tainat. It was, therefore, an Anatolian type of building too. Hence I consider the possibility that this type was introduced in Italy from Anatolia through the Etruscans, and therewith I regard it as more Etruscan than Italic. What is your view?

*M. Brown*: I can go with you, if you use the term "μέγαρον-type". But at the same time I must underline that it is a very vague term: the μέγαρον-type is found also all over Northern Europe! But I agree that for Rome a transmission of it through the Etruscans is quite probable.

*M. Gjerstad*: If I remember well, you once spoke or wrote to me of two temples of Cappellaccio facing the North, immediately preceeding the *Regia*, the second of which you did not refer to this morning. Could you give me some explications?

*M. Brown*: Since the remains of a foundation, possibly of a second temple, to the West of the precinct under the *Regia*, lie outside the area of the first *Regia*, I left them out of record in this morning's presentation.

*M. Gjerstad*: I would like to bring up the question of dating the early republican *Regia*. In my opinion, in dating the republican *Regia* by means of the red-figured κύλιξ, one must bear in mind, that it only furnishes a *terminus post quem*. Could you show us further ceramic material from the levels relevant to the first *Regia*?

*M. Brown* shows slides of a number of further objects, among which a remarkable number of fragments of objects in bucchero.

*M. Gjerstad*: Bucchero cannot be dated within so narrow margins as Greek pottery, but some bucchero types shown on the slides do not appear earlier in the stratigraphic sequence of the Forum Boarium than in the layer contemporary with the first temple of Fortuna and Mater Matuta. This temple can be assigned to the early 5th century as shown by the style of its architectural terracottas. The profiles of the feet of the Greek black glazed kylikes shown on the slides will also give useful chronological criteria.

*M. Riis*: The Attic black-figured sherd shown by Mr. Brown may be the latest of the imported pottery and is therefore of considerable chronological importance. It belongs to a debased kind which goes down into the first half of the 5th century.

*M. Brown*: In my opinion, the term *buccher o* should be more clearly defined. In the *Regia* the bucchero fragments in the sixth century levels fall into three distinct wares. At all events the bucchero must be re-studied.

*M. Waszink*: Do you think that, after the expulsion of the kings, the *rex sacrorum* dominated the cults of the *Regia* and the *Domus Vestae*? In later times we find, of course, the *pontifex maximus* connected with both the *Regia* and the *virgines Vestales*.

*M. Brown*: Certainly the *pontifices* were connected with the *Regia*. We simply do not possess evidence to show whether the *pontifex* supplanted the *rex sacrorum*, and, if so, when.

*M. Wieacker*: We are not to forget that from the beginning the *pontifices* must have had a *c o n s u l t a t i v e*, not an *e x e c u t i v e* power.

*M. Momigliano*: The trouble is that it is so difficult to establish what the *pontifex maximus* was supposed to do as such, not as one of the members of the *collegium* of the *pontifices*.

*M. Brown*: Indeed we hear only general things about the *Pontifex maximus*, but only quite special things about the *rex sacrorum*.

*M. Wieacker*: Civil law at Rome owed much to this consulting of the *pontifices*. For instance, we may think of the testaments made *in comitiis calatis*.

*M. Alföldi*: The results of M. Brown are fundamental. We know now, that the Republic of the patricians reshaped the topographical frame of the political life after they seized power. What they installed, was not a creation *ex nihilo*, but a reinstallation of most sacred institutions. A hint to this, namely to the appurtenance of the *Regia* to the old double kingship and double state-organization of Rome is the planting of two laurel trees flanking the doorway of this building. The sanctuaries of the Quirinal-group had two myrtle trees flanking their doors, and those of the Palatine group two laurel trees. As the Etruscan rulers resided on the Arx, breaking through the old twofold order, the original location of the State Hearth and the *Regia*, connected with it, must be pre-Etruscan. It is likely that they were placed too between the Palatine-half and the Quirinal-half of the oldest Rome.

*M. Brown*: At any rate, the Comitium seems to have been brought to the Forum from the Capitol since the *comitia calabra*, its purely religious counterpart, remained there in later times.

*M. Momigliano*: What about the fires? Was the temple which preceded the *Regia* destroyed by fire?

*M. Brown*: Apparently not: the great fire was that which destroyed the first temple and precinct in the third quarter of the sixth century.

*M. Gjerstad*: The contents of the archaic pozzo of the Vesta temple show that this sanctuary was destroyed by fire at the same time as the earliest *Regia* building.

*M. Riis*: I should like to return to chronology: Is the first temple to be connected with the antefix of Veientan type?

*M. Brown*: Stratigraphically the antefix is slightly later.

*M. Riis*: As to the second temple, which is dated by the upper part of an antefix: this part alone is difficult to date, because the lower half has disappeared.

*M. Brown*: We have in total three of these antefixes from the *Regia*. They complete each other and are near duplicates of the oldest antefix from Caere of the series, which is now at Berlin.

*M. Riis*: A very important point is: how long a time you will allow for the objects to have been used before they came into the earth under the republican *Regia*.