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The Sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* in Rome: Preliminary Reconstruction and Visualization of the ancient Landscape using 3/4D-GIS-Technology

Introduction

The findings presented here were obtained by applying new computer-based methods to already known material (old maps and excavation drawings as well as unpublished archival material). We used those data for the reconstruction of ancient buildings in plan and of the ancient landscape. Over the years our ideas concerning this area have matured, what follows is the current state of our knowledge¹.

The *Porticus with Piscina* / the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in the Augustan *Regio III*

Rodolfo Lanciani labelled this structure, found while building the road Via Buonarroti in 1885 (later L. da Vinci, today: A. Poliziano; fig. 1) on his map *Forma Urbis Romae* (*FUR*, fol. 30) as *Tempio Egizio* (*Regio III*) *ISIS ET SERAPIS*. At first we did not follow Lanciani and referred to this building as *Porticus with Piscina*². The reasons for our caution were three: within this building no *Aegyptiaca* were ever documented³, the ground plan of this structure (measuring 122 x 93 m in our new reconstruction, fig. 1) does not show the characteristic eclecticism of Roman sanctuaries of the Egyptian cults⁴, and there are no temples for *Isis* and *Serapis*. Because of the water channels and some water storage facilities found there we reconstruct the open area within this building as a garden. Unfortunately the *Porticus with Piscina* was only vaguely dated by its excavators⁵.

de Vos⁶ identifies the *Porticus with Piscina* and several adjacent buildings with the sanctuary of the Egyptian cults, but she bases her hypothesis on some wrong assumptions. In this paper we will demonstrate that this building was in fact part of this sanctuary (fig. 1, label *ISIS ET SERAPIS*, "*Porticus with Piscina*", *FORUM: PETRONIUS MAXIMUS*). This is possible because of the new evidence published by Ingo

¹ Cf. our bibliography.

² HÄUBER 1990, 43. 54, map 1.

³ Cf. HÄUBER 1991, 312. 29, nos. 1-30; 1998, 109. 10, fig. 14; DE VOS 1997; HERKLOTZ 2004, 56. 57, figs. 1-2, Appendix, nos. 8. 17, 19-25, 29, 32.

⁴ Cf. TAYLOR 2004, 255.

⁵ Cf. HÄUBER 1990, 100 (time of Sulla -1st century A D).

⁶ DE VOS 1993-1997.

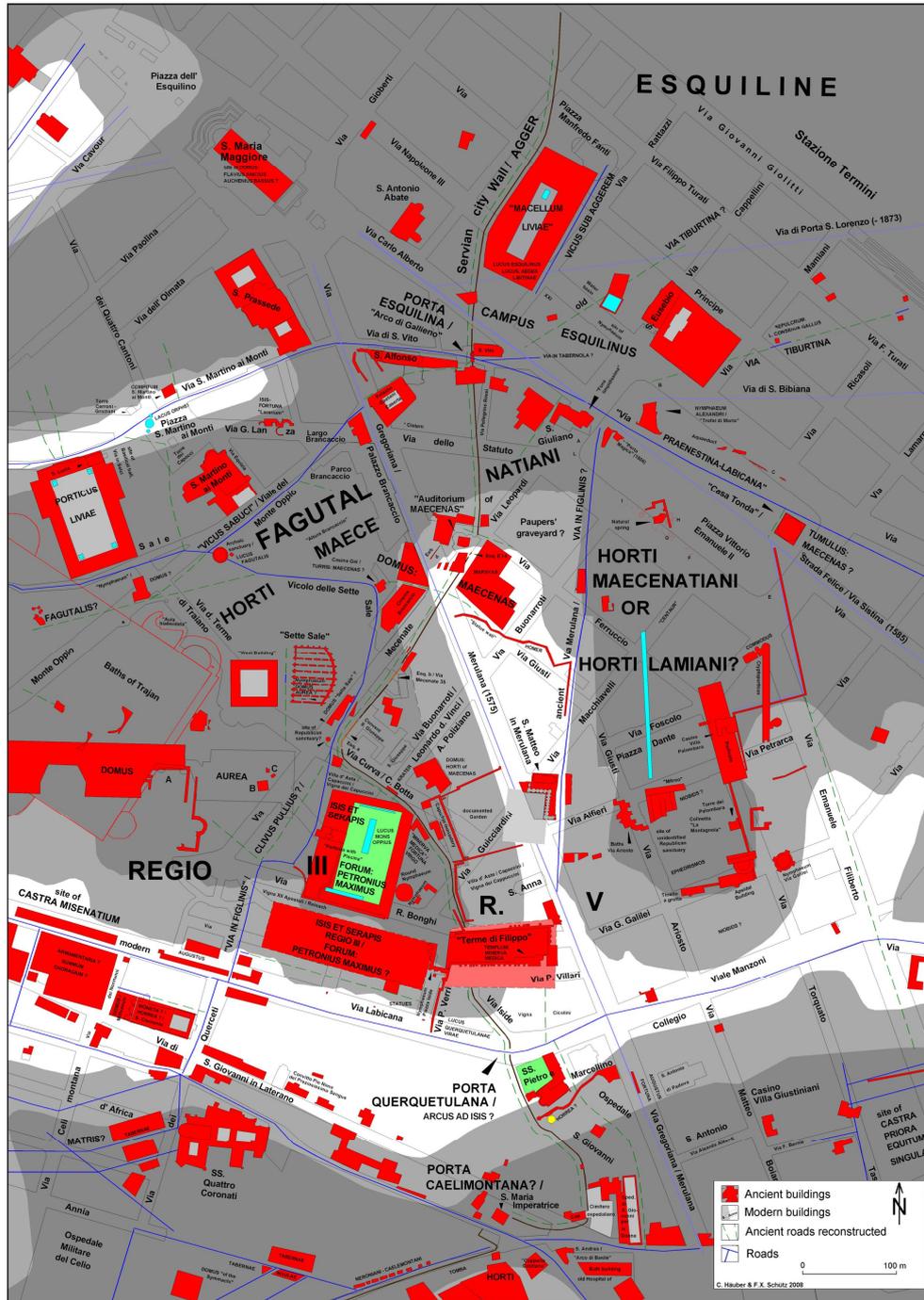


Fig. 1 . The area of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* in Rome and the adjacent *Horti Maeceniani*. The current street plan was drawn after the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Rome. Integrated into this background is a shaded relief map, based on G.B. Nolli's Rome map (1748) and on modern studies. Ancient buildings, including many churches, are indicated with red areas, some are copied after Nolli's map, the light grey areas within them are courtyards, reconstructed courtyards are indicated with lighter grey areas, reconstructed ancient buildings with pink areas, the reconstructed extension of the plateau of the Oppian near Via A. Poliziano is indicated with a grey area bordered by a dotted line, the green areas indicate gardens, light blue areas water basins, ancient roads are indicated with dark blue lines (3 m wide), post-antique roads copied after Nolli's map with lighter blue lines (3 m wide), reconstructed ancient roads with green dotted lines, extant sections of the Servian city Wall with light brown lines (4 m wide), the reconstructed course of the Servian city Wall with dark brown lines (4 m wide). The map was created with the AIS ROMA 2008, Chrystina Häuber and Franz Xaver Schütz (preliminary reconstruction).

Herklotz⁷, who studied the finds made by Leonardo Agostini in the 1650s in this area. An analysis shows that some of the finds recorded by Agostini were still visible and described in the garden of the Capuchin monks by Friedrich Matz and Friedrich von Duhn⁸. As we shall see, this allows the identification of the 'Porticus with Piscina' as part of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis*.

Nymphaea east of the 'Porticus with Piscina'

East of the 'Porticus with Piscina' stood a circular, probably Republican structure and an Imperial one with rectangular groundplan. Because of their hydraulic installations both were surely correctly identified by their excavators as *Nymphaea* (fig. 1, labels: Round *Nymphaeum*; *Nymphaeum*⁹). de Vos¹⁰ identifies the round building with the temple of *Serapis*, because she erroneously believes that Pirro Ligorio saw the 'Cerbero del Bufalo'¹¹ of Villa Albani, a marble statue of a cerberos, there. Pirro Ligorio¹² saw the 'Cerbero del Bufalo' in the ancient building called "Terme di Filippo" (fig. 1, label: "Terme di Filippo").

The forgotten Hadrianic building in Vigna Reinach

Lanciani¹³ described in 1880 an ancient brick building, measuring at least 130 x 40 m in plan, containing brick stamps of the year AD 123, in Vigna Reinach, which was located between Via R. Bonghi and modern Via Labicana (fig. 1, label: Vigna XII Apostoli / Reinach). This building, which was completely overlooked in recent studies, was perhaps a substructure or else a monumental staircase. Those scholars who support the reconstruction of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* by de Vos follow her suggestion that the 'Porticus with Piscina' was accessible over terraced ramps¹⁴.

The Nymphaeum at Piazza Iside and the substructure on Via Pasquale Villari

East of the building in Vigna Reinach stood the Hadrianic *Nymphaeum* of Piazza Iside (fig. 1, label: *Nymphaeum* Piazza Iside¹⁵). Adjacent to the east stood the partly extant substructure on Via P. Villari, Pirro Ligorio's "Terme di Filippo". It is built in *opus reticulatum* and has several building phases (late Republican, Augustan, Flavian and Hadrianic¹⁶). We drew its ground plan after Nolli's map. That the complete structure as drawn by Nolli was ancient is proven *inter alia* by Giuseppe Magi's etching of the new church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino (1753¹⁷). Some antiquaries believed that this substructure extended so far north, as to incorporate the ancient building which had contained the former church of S. Matteo in Merulana (fig. 1), only to be divided from the 'Terme di Filippo', when the modern road of Via Merulana was built (fig. 1). Based on a report datable to the 18th century¹⁸, prior to Nolli's map, from which we learn that a great section of this building had recently been destroyed, we drew a pink area indicating the loss; the building stood at the time in Vigna Cicolini (fig. 1, label: Vigna Cicolini).

⁷ HERKLOTZ 2004.

⁸ HÄUBER (forthcoming).

⁹ DE VOS 1997, 134. 35, 144. 145 nos. 5, 6 figs. 207, 209; *BCAR* XXXV, 1907, 214. 215.

¹⁰ DE VOS 1997, 135.

¹¹ Rome, Villa Albani (inv. no. 779), 1, 65 m high, 2, 32 m long; *BOL* 1998, 502. 3, cat. no. 965, pls. 253-54, late Hadrianic or early Antonine period.

¹² HÄUBER 1990, 100; 1991, 234, no. 42.

¹³ *NSA* 1880, 80.

¹⁴ Cf. *ENSOLI* 2000, 268. 269; *THEIN* 2002, 149.

¹⁵ *CARUSO* 1985.

¹⁶ *DE VOS* 1997, 106. 107.

¹⁷ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 62. 63, fig. II.1; cf. for Nolli's Rome map, *op. cit.*, 63. 64, fig. II.2.

¹⁸ *LANCIANI* 2000, 155; HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 131.

The *Lucus Querquetulanae Virae*, the *Porta Querquetulana* and the *Servian city Wall*

The *Nymphaeum* at Piazza Iside stood at the slope of the Oppian, above the valley of modern Via Labicana, which follows an unknown archaic road¹⁹. The adjacent substructure on Via P. Villari, the ground floor of which is buried under modern street level, stood at a much lower level than the *Nymphaeum*; one phase of it was built under Domitian. Recently another substructure built under Domitian was excavated south of the church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino. Gianfranco de Rossi²⁰ identifies this substructure tentatively as *Horrea* (fig. 1, labels: SS. Pietro e Marcellino; HORREA ?; the yellow dot marks the excavation area).

In this part of the Oppian remains of the Servian Wall were described in the 19th century, leading through the Vigna Capaccini down towards SS. Pietro e Marcellino²¹ (fig. 1). We have, therefore, re-located the *Porta Querquetulana* at the ancient road underneath modern Via Labicana near the *old* church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino (fig. 1, the label "SS. Pietro e Marcellino" refers to both churches, the old one is indicated by a red area²²). As part of this hypothesis we suggest that the *Nymphaeum* at Piazza Iside replaced the natural spring within the sacred grove of the *Querquetulanae Virae*. The *Lucus* of those Nymphs 'touched' the *Porta Querquetulana* at its inner side²³ (fig. 1, label: LUCUS QUERQUETULANAE VIRAE).

The area of the *Porticus with Piscina* bordered on the *Horti Maecenatiani*. De Vos²⁴ interprets a "cippo funerario aniconico", found at the junction of Via P. Verri with Via P. Villari as proof that Horace²⁵ was right in saying that "la zona era occupata da una necropoli per schiavi". We conclude, therefore, that *Maecenas*, who had just cleared this graveyard²⁶, must have extended his *Horti* from the *Porta Esquilina* in the north to the *Porta Querquetulana* in the south (fig. 1). We know that *Maecenas* loved to sit with his poets in the shade of an oak tree, called "*quercus*" in this text²⁷, listening to "*nymphas cadentes*" ('falling waters'). We have, therefore, suggested that *Maecenas* sat under one of the oak trees of the former *Lucus* of the *Querquetulanae Virae* which he had incorporated into his *Horti*²⁸.

The *Servian city Wall* and the temple of *Minerva Medica* / *Fortuna Virgo*

When ashlar masonry walls and a Republican votive deposit (datable between the 4th-2nd centuries BC²⁹), comprising dedications to *Minerva* were found in 1887 south of the former Via Curva/C. Botta, they were immediately attributed to the temple of *Minerva Medica*. Its location on plan is based on a drawing by the excavators (fig. 1)³⁰.

Carlo Ludovico Visconti³¹ wrote that "the temple of *Minerva Medica* stood in front of a building shortly before inhabited by Capuchin monks", and "within the *Servian Wall*"³²; the latter statement is overlooked by most scholars. Data provided by Wolfgang Helbig³³, by Matz and von Duhn³⁴ and Lanciani's *FUR* (fol. 30) allow the conclusions that this former Capuchin monastery occupied the Casino of the former Villa D'Aste and the adjacent estate and that the Casino stood on Via Curva (fig. 1, label: Capuchin monastery³⁵).

¹⁹ HÄUBER 2005, 16.

²⁰ DE ROSSI 2007, 6.

²¹ NIBBY 1839, 96. 97.

²² HÄUBER 2001, 81. 3, 85; 2006, 45; HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 93. 97.

²³ Festus 314 L.

²⁴ DE VOS 1997, 113, fig. 181.

²⁵ Sat. 1, 8, 8-10.

²⁶ HÄUBER 1990, 101. 102.

²⁷ *Elegiae in Maecenatem* I, 33-36.

²⁸ HÄUBER 2001; 2006, 45; 2009, 314.

²⁹ PENSABENE 1980; COMELLA 1981, 736, 764, no. 61; 1982; DE VOS 1997, 108.

³⁰ HÄUBER 1990, 54. 9, fig. 32, map. 1; 1998, 103. 5; cf. GATTI LO GUZZO 1978; DE VOS 1997, 108. 112; THEIN 2002, 168.

³¹ BCAR XV, 1887, 167, 192.

³² HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 91. 92.

³³ HELBIG 1867, 141.

³⁴ MATZ, DUHN 1891 I, "Plan der Stadt Rom: 217 V.[illa] d'Aste" = Vigna de' PP.[adri] della missione. Il 26". That those "Padri della missione" were Capuchin monks was explicitly stated by HELBIG 1867, 141.

³⁵ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 136. 138.

Considering also the sections of the Servian Wall found *in situ* in this area (fig. 1, labels: Esq. a; Esq. b / Via Mecenate 35³⁶), we conclude that the former Via Curva followed the course of the Servian Wall³⁷.

Since the shrine on Via Carlo Botta and its votives were found *inside* the Servian Wall, this was *not* the temple of *Minerva Medica* recorded by the Constantinian regional catalogues for Regio V, because that Regio should be identified with the area outside the Servian city Wall (fig. 1, labels: REGIO III; R. V). We have, therefore, set the name of this Republican shrine in inverted commas (fig. 1, label: "MINERVA MEDICA").

Others have rejected the identification of this Republican shrine with the temple of *Minerva Medica* either also because of topographical problems, or because of doubts concerning its cult patron³⁸. The worshippers of this shrine attributed the cult patron(s) with power over health, marriage and the sphere of female reproduction, including the protection of infants³⁹.

One type of terracotta heads of very young, veiled women from the shrine on Via Carlo Botta⁴⁰ shows the traditional headdress of brides, the *sex crines*⁴¹. Considering the location of the shrine on Via Carlo Botta near a gate in the Servian Wall, and that some of its votives and one marble statue from this area represent brides, we identify this shrine with the temple of *Fortuna Virgo*⁴². We also identify the round *Nymphaeum* or the one at Piazza Iside (fig. 1) with the "*fons muscosus*" described by Plutarch⁴³ near the temple of *Fortuna Virgo*⁴⁴. Other middle- and late Republican Etrusco-Latinal shrines, where rites of passage were performed, are also located near city gates⁴⁵.

The Isium Metellinum, the "Egyptian temple found in 1653 near SS. Pietro e Marcellino" and the sanctuary Isis et Serapis in Regio III

Lanciani⁴⁶ identified the '*Porticus with Piscina*' with the Egyptian sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in Regio III because of reports on an "Egyptian temple", found in this area in 1653, in combination with two groups of finds which turned up in near-by 'statue-walls'. One group of those 'statue-walls'⁴⁷ was found while building Via Buonarroti/Poliziano and the Convent of the Suore di S. Giuseppe di Cluny (fig.1, labels: Convent S. Giuseppe; S. Giuseppe). There fragments of the 'Torello Brancaccio' at Palazzo Altemps⁴⁸ came to light, a ptolemaic cult statue of an Apis bull. The other finds were excavated in Vigna Reinach: one head of *Serapis* and four of Isis (see for the 'findspot' fig. 1, label: STATUES). They are the *Aegyptiaca* and the inscription mentioning *ISIS E[t Serapis]* (CIL VI 35571), which are commonly attributed to the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in Regio III⁴⁹.

De Vos⁵⁰ - being unaware of the building in Vigna Reinach - believes that the *Aegyptiaca* from Vigna Reinach belonged originally in the substructure on Via P. Villari (fig. 1). She identifies this building with the *Isium Metellinum*, which is only known through the *Historia Augusta*⁵¹, with the "Egyptian temple found in

³⁶ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 84. 93.

³⁷ HÄUBER 1990, map 1; 2001, 83; HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 92.

³⁸ C. CARLUCCI, "Minerva Medica, Tempio". In *LTUR* III (1996) 256.

³⁹ COMELLA 1981, 764; 1982, 124; 2005, 51. 55, pl. IVb; HÄUBER 1998, 98. 106, 108; cf. DUCATÉ-PAARMANN 2003.

⁴⁰ GATTI LO GUZZO 1978, 88, Teste votive, Tipo II 1, Rome, Antiquarium Comunale (inv. no. 2567); Comella 1981, 783 B IV, fig. 19.

⁴¹ We thank Prof. Mario Torelli, with whom we discussed our hypothesis on September 22nd, 2008. He agreed with us that this head type wears the *sex crines* and represents a bride; cf. Torelli 1984, 33. 41, figs. 16, 17, 20. 22.

⁴² HÄUBER 1998, 90. 108, fig. 9; 2001, 88; HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 68, 85, 91. 2; HÄUBER (forthcoming). Fundamental on *Fortuna Virgo* is COARELLI 1988, *passim*; 2001, 29. 38.

⁴³ *De fort. Rom.* 10.

⁴⁴ HÄUBER 2001, 88.

⁴⁵ COMELLA 2005, 51.

⁴⁶ LANCIANI 1888.

⁴⁷ COATES STEPHENS 2001, 237 (Appendix, no. 16).

⁴⁸ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps (inv. no. 182594); DE ANGELIS D' OSSAT 2002, 262. 263 (L. Sist Russo).

⁴⁹ HÄUBER 1990, 48; ENSOLI 1997, 306. 321, and cat. nos. V. 15-17, 22-23; 2000, 268. 69, figs. 1-3; DE VOS 1997, 101, 122. 129; SPINOLA 2001, 92, 94, 96. 97, figs. 20-1; COATES-STEPHENS 2001, 237 (Appendix, no. 17).

⁵⁰ DE VOS 1994, 132; 1996; 1997, 102. 107.

⁵¹ *SHA, trig. tyr.* 25,4.

1653 near the church of SS. Pietro e Marcellino" described by P.S. Bartoli and G.P. Bellori, and with the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis*, recorded indirectly by the Constantinian regionary catalogues for Regio III (which was named *Isis et Serapis*). Bartoli and Bellori report that Cassiano dal Pozzo commissioned drawings to be made of the coloured stuccowork decoration of this "Egyptian temple", showing representations with Egyptian subject matter. de Vos⁵² identifies two drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, belonging to the Museo Cartaceo of Cassiano dal Pozzo, with those which were made for him in the "Egyptian temple found in 1653".

The very detailed description of the substructure on Via P. Villari of the 18th century does not mention the subject matter of its wall decoration, which means it cannot possibly have been something exotic like Egyptianizing representations. Judging from this and all other available evidence⁵³, this substructure does not qualify as *Isium Metellinum*, nor as the "Egyptian temple found in 1653", nor as the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*.

Ernesto Iezzi⁵⁴ and Giandomenico Spinola⁵⁵ locate the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* on top of the substructure on Via Pasquale Villari; Spinola identifies it at the same time with the *Isium Metellinum*. The identification of the substructure on Via Pasquale Villari with the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* is difficult to accept, since the greater part of this building stood in the Augustan *Regio V* (fig. 1).

The substructure on Via P. Villari: Isis Patricia or temple of Minerva Medica in Regio V?

Because the substructure on Via P. Villari dates to the late Republican period, de Vos⁵⁶ suggests its identification with the *Domus* of *Metellus Pius*, including the *Isium Metellinum*. Serena Ensoli⁵⁷ follows her and suggests at the same time the identification of the presumed *Isium Metellinum* with the *Isis Patricia*, which is mentioned in the Constantinian regionary catalogues for *Regio V*. The shrine *Isis Patricia* was already earlier located here⁵⁸. *Isis Patricia* and *Isium Metellinum* - in case the latter existed at all⁵⁹ - must have been two different shrines though, because the *Caecilii*, of whom the *Metelli* were the most prominent family, were a plebeian *gens*⁶⁰.

Considering the date of this substructure, the fact that, like the *Auditorium* of Maecenas' it 'breaks' the Servian city Wall (fig. 1), the re-location of the Porta Querquetulana in this area, the literary sources and some finds, we suggest that Maecenas built this substructure, and on top of it a temple of Minerva. This was the temple of Minerva Medica, recorded by the Constantinian regionary catalogues for *Regio V* (fig. 1, label: *TEMPLUM: MINERVA MEDICA*). Since the substructure has a Domitianic building phase, the temple was perhaps renovated under Domitian⁶¹.

The Forum and Domus of Petronius Maximus

The *Forum* of *Petronius Maximus* is recorded by the inscriptions *CIL* VI 1197 and 1198. Both were supposedly found in the 17th and 18th centuries in the area of the Vigna Reinach, at the time called "Orto della Confraternità dei Ss. XII Apostoli" (fig. 1, label: Vigna XII Apostoli / Reinach). The inscriptions record

⁵² DE VOS 1993, 82, figs. 1-2; 1994, 132. 33, 151. 155, figs. 9-10; 1996, fig. 72; 1997, 100, 108, 113, 141. 142, figs. 157, 158 (suggested date: Flavian period).

⁵³ See *supra*, n. 18; cf. HÄUBER 1990, 50; ANGELELLI 2000, 318. 321.

⁵⁴ IEZZI 1993, 29.

⁵⁵ SPINOLA 2001, 100.

⁵⁶ DE VOS 1997, 101. 107.

⁵⁷ ENSOLI 1997, 311. 12; 2000, 269.

⁵⁸ Refused by THEIN 2002, 150.

⁵⁹ Cf. the comment on the *Historia Augusta* by CLARIDGE 1998, 35: "Possibly written by six different authors or a clever forgery, of uncertain date and doubtful veracity".

⁶⁰ *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (Stuttgart / Weimar 1997) Sp. 883 s.v. *Caecilii* (Elvers).

⁶¹ HÄUBER 2006, 44. 5, fig. 4; 2009, 314; HÄUBER (forthcoming).

that the Christian *Petronius Maximus* built as "conditor" one "forum", when he had been *cos. ord.* for the second time (*i.e.*, 443-445 AD⁶²) and that he dedicated it to the western Roman emperor Valentinian III, who was a pious Christian. We learn from *CIL VI 1197* that this "forum" was erected at the site of a building which was at the time in decay. Scholars believe that *Petronius Maximus* built his *Domus*⁶³ next to this *Forum* and that both must have stood near-by. But where exactly? If the *Forum* and *Domus* of *Petronius Maximus* had occupied the area of the former sanctuary of the Egyptian cults, this would mean that this sanctuary had already been in decay quite some time before AD 443. Considering the probable lifetime of this sanctuary (until about the end of the 4th century⁶⁴), this seems possible.

An analysis of Leonardo Agostini's letters, which relate to his excavations in this area, proves that *CIL VI 1197* was found east of the 'Porticus with Piscina', possibly near the *Nymphaeum* with rectangular ground plan (fig. 1)⁶⁵. It was, therefore, perhaps *Petronius Maximus*, who cleared the area of its *Aegyptiaca*, which ended up as building material in 'statue walls'.

The prominent location of the sanctuary Isis et Serapis in Regio III

The 'Porticus with Piscina' stood on a terrace of the Oppian which was protected by the Servian city Wall. Between the modern roads of Via Mecenate and Via A. Poliziano (fig. 1) the city wall changes its orientation abruptly. This can only be explained with the former contour of the valley, in which the modern Via Merulana runs. Later the area of this part of the valley was raised. This became evident when the Convent of S. Giuseppe was being built (fig. 1), because all of its structures had to be erected on 20 m deep foundation walls⁶⁶. The fact that the excavators found on top of this artificial plateau right in front of this Convent a *Domus* of the Augustan period, which has been attributed to the *Horti Maecenatiani* (fig. 1, label: *Domus: Horti* of MAECENAS⁶⁷), proves that Maecenas had commissioned this substructure. Lanciani⁶⁸ mentioned that the adjacent Capuchin monastery (fig. 1) was also built on an ancient "platform"; in our reconstruction we drew one light grey area, which indicates the entire area of those substructures (fig. 1). As a result of all this, Maecenas had direct access from his *Horti* to the terrace of the Oppian with the sanctuaries discussed here.

The area of those sanctuaries was (in theory) located between the *Horti Maecenatiani* and the *Domus Aurea* (fig. 1), but we do not know, whether it had at any stage belonged to either one. Nicholas Purcell⁶⁹, Edward Champlin⁷⁰ and Fabiola Fraioli⁷¹ discuss the question of how the access to the *Domus Aurea* could have been organized, especially in the case of pre-existing sanctuaries. According to Fraioli this area belonged neither to the *Horti Maecenatiani*, nor to the *Domus Aurea*.

Our reconstructions of the ancient topography in plan (fig. 1) and in '3D' (figs. 2-3), show that the position of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* was not peripheral as suggested by De Vos⁷² - who does not assume a city gate in this area - but on the contrary very prominent. This seems to rule out the possibility that at the site of the 'Porticus with Piscina' or that of the building in Vigna Reinach could have stood a sanctuary of the Egyptian cults before the emperor Caligula. Considering the locations of those buildings, the Neronian or Flavian date of the stuccowork decoration of this sanctuary⁷³, and the date of the statues from this area, we have suggested that this sanctuary was founded by Nero or else by one of the Flavian

⁶² C. Lega, *Forum Petronii Maximi*. In *LTUR II* (1995) 312.

⁶³ F. GUIDOBALDI, *Domus: Petronius Maximus*. In *LTUR II* (1995) 140; PANCIERA 1996; BAUER 1997; HERKLOTZ 2004, 56. 57.

⁶⁴ Cf. DE VOS 1997, 123. 124; ENSOLI 2000, 269.

⁶⁵ HÄUBER (forthcoming).

⁶⁶ DE ANGELIS BERTELOTTI 1991, 115; HÄUBER 2006, 44. 45; HÄUBER (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ HÄUBER 1990, 50, 51, 54, 58, 100, 101, figs. 33, 67, maps 1, 3; THEIN 2002, 110.

⁶⁸ LANCIANI 1888, 206; cf. HÄUBER 1990, 57.

⁶⁹ PURCELL 2001, 551.

⁷⁰ CHAMPLIN 1998.

⁷¹ FRAIOLI 2007, fig. 1.

⁷² DE VOS 1997, 123; cf. LING 2000, 543; THEIN 2002, 149. 152.

⁷³ suggested date by Prof. Harald Mielsch: Neronian-Flavian periods (personal communication); cf. HÄUBER 1998, 101 n. 63, figs. 2, 3.

emperors⁷⁴. de Vos⁷⁵ suggests instead a *redecorazione* of this sanctuary under the Flavians. There is nothing which could prove that any family member of the *Caecillii Metelli* built a *Domus* here with the *Isium Metellinum*. de Vos⁷⁶ uses the late Republican building phase of the substructure on Via Pasquale Villari in a circular argument, as if it provided 'evidence' for the existence of this *Domus* at this site⁷⁷. Most scholars locate the *Isium Metellinum*

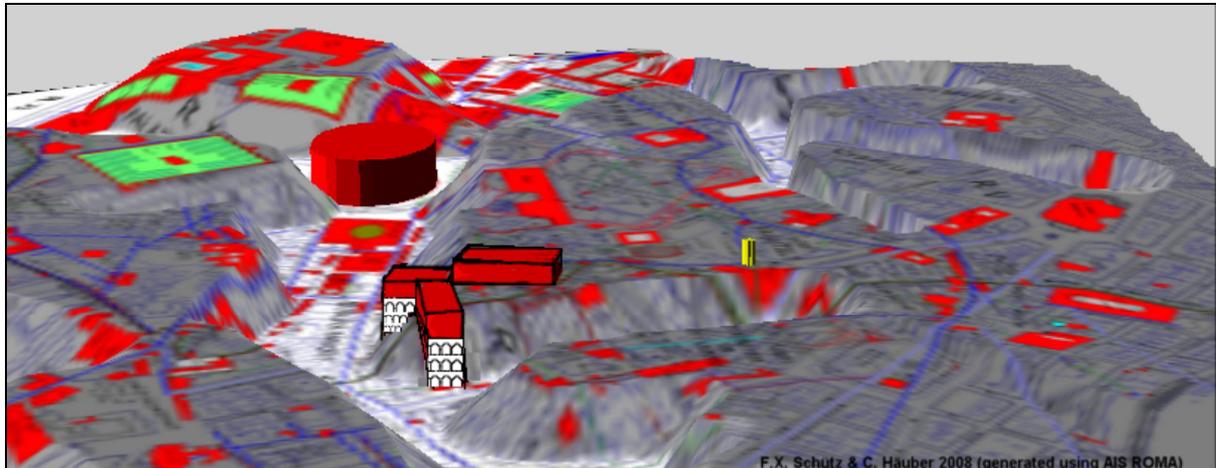


Fig. 2 . The area of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* in Rome and the adjacent *Horti Maecenatiani*, seen from east. 'Three dimensional' computer visualization on the basis of the map fig. 1. It was created with the AIS ROMA 2008, Franz Xaver Schütz and Chrystina Häuber (preliminary reconstruction).

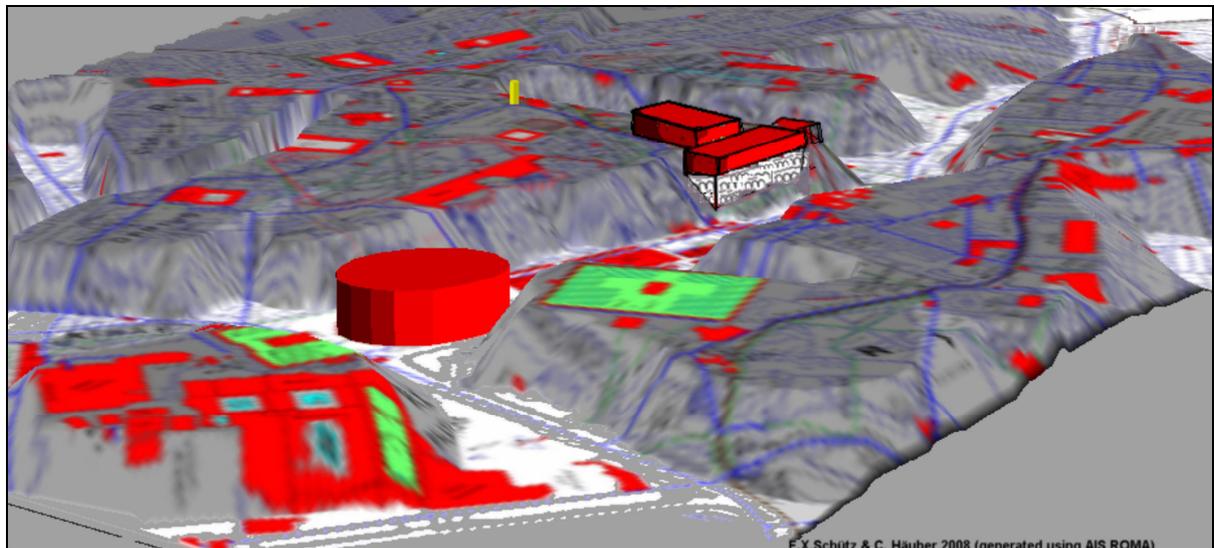


Fig. 3 . The area of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* in Rome and the adjacent *Horti Maecenatiani*, seen from southwest. 'Threedimensional' computer visualization on the basis of the map fig. 1. It was created with the AIS ROMA 2008, Franz Xaver Schütz and Chrystina Häuber (preliminary reconstruction).

⁷⁴ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 132; HÄUBER 2009, 312.

⁷⁵ DE VOS 1997, 107, 113; cf. THEIN 2002, 150.

⁷⁶ DE VOS 1993-1997, 101. 107.

⁷⁷ Cf. LING 2000, 543. 44.

on the Caelian instead, where the presence of the *Caecilii Metelli* is well documented. Of these we follow Carlo Pavolini⁷⁸, who locates the *Isium Metellinum* outside the Servian Wall and within the Villa Celimontana⁷⁹.

The drawings from the Museo Cartaceo of Cassiano dal Pozzo, representing the stuccowork decoration of the sanctuary Isis et Serapis in Regio III

Roger Ling⁸⁰ refuses the entire proposal of de Vos discussed here. He⁸¹ rightly observes that she has not provided proofs for her assumption that the drawings from Cassiano dal Pozzo's Museo Cartaceo⁸² actually relate to the sanctuary on the Oppian. In our opinion they do, but because of reasons unknown to de Vos and to Ling. According to Helen Whitehouse⁸³ there are some arguments for the correctness of the identification suggested by de Vos: the unidentified artist of those drawings was working for Cassiano in exactly the period, when the "Egyptian temple near SS. Pietro e Marcellino" was found, Cassiano ordered drawings to be made of its stucco decoration, and the drawings to which de Vos refers are the only ones with this subject matter in Cassiano's 'Paper Museum'⁸⁴.

The scenes visible on those drawings prove, therefore, the survival of the Republican cults of the temple of 'Minerva Medica' / *Fortuna Virgo* right into the Imperial period because the coffered stuccowork ceiling shows, for example, Minerva standing in front of *Isis-Fortuna*⁸⁵. In the other sanctuaries of the Egyptian cults at Rome *Isis-Fortuna* was not worshipped⁸⁶. This seems to be a further argument in favour of our suggested location of the temple of *Fortuna Virgo* in this area.

The fragmentary cult statues of the sanctuary Isis et Serapis in Regio III

We have elsewhere identified the following fragmentary, over-life size marble sculptures with the cult statues worshipped in this sanctuary⁸⁷. The 'Cerbero del Bufalo'⁸⁸ already mentioned was found in the 'Terme di Filippo' (fig. 1); it was part of the cult statue of Serapis. The probable head of the cult statue of Serapis⁸⁹ was found in the 'statue walls' of Vigna Reinach (fig. 1); this was previously unknown. It is the only head of Serapis in the Musei Capitolini lacking its *modius*, which has a flat area for its addition. Both this and its statue type match Visconti's⁹⁰ description of the head found in Vigna Reinach.

The excavators of the 19th century also found a "grande cornucopia marmorea", which, because it was of larger proportions than a lifesize statue found together with it, must have belonged to an over-life size statue⁹¹. It may in theory have belonged to the cult statue of *Isis-Fortuna* in her temple on the Oppian, known from the stuccowork ceiling drawn for Cassiano dal Pozzo⁹². The cornucopia was found while building Via Buonarroti/ Poliziano, in the area of the 'Porticus with Piscina' (fig. 1), its current whereabouts is unknown. If

⁷⁸ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 133.

⁷⁹ PAVOLINI 2000, 20. 6, pls. 13-17, fig. 35; 2006, 15. 18; 2007, 312.

⁸⁰ LING 2000, 544.

⁸¹ LING 2000, 544; p. 545 (suggested date: Neronian or Flavian periods).

⁸² See *supra*, ns. 52, 73, 81 and *infra*, n. 84.

⁸³ Personal communication to Häuber.

⁸⁴ Cf. now WHITEHOUSE 2001, 249. 253, 265, cat. nos. 61, 62 (suggested date: 2nd half of the 1st century AD).

⁸⁵ DE VOS 1997, 108, fig. 157.

⁸⁶ Cf. ENSOLI 1997.

⁸⁷ SCHÜTZ, HÄUBER 2001, 292, figs. 10, 11.

⁸⁸ See *supra*, n. 11.

⁸⁹ Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (inv. no. 1217 / S), marble, 61 cm high including modern restoration, head without *modius* 44 cm high; ENSOLI VITTOZZI 1993, 234, fig. 74 (the *modius* is a modern restoration, suggested date: time of *Commodus*); ENSOLI 1997, 576; 2000, 280. 82, 287 figs. 22-24.

⁹⁰ BCAR XV, 1887, 133 no. 1, p. 354 no. 5.

⁹¹ BCAR XVIII, 1890, 305, 341 no. 1; NSA 1890, 282; cf. HÄUBER 1998, 95, 107. 108, fig. 9.

⁹² See *supra*, ns. 52, 73, 81, 84.

the cornucopia was part of the cult statue of Isis-Fortuna, this would identify the *Porticus with Piscina* with the area of the temple of Isis in this sanctuary. The distribution of those three finds would then prove the reconstruction of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III* by Lanciani and de Vos in the most beautiful fashion. Even without the assumption that the lost cornucopia belonged to the cult statue of Isis-Fortuna, their suggestion is proven, since at least one or two fragments of the cult statue of *Serapis* from his temple in this sanctuary are now known and are recorded to have been found close to the *Porticus with Piscina*. Since the two notes written by the excavators of the 19th century on this cornucopia had not explicitly suggested that it could have been part of a statue of an Egyptian deity, Lanciani and everyone since held the opinion that no single Egyptian or Egyptianizing item was found within the area of the *Porticus with Piscina*.

Because it is now proven that *Petronius Maximus* built his *Forum* at the site of the *Porticus with Piscina*, we may assume that he changed the remains of the previous building accordingly. This, taken together with the *Aegyptiaca* discussed by de Vos and by us in this paragraph, allows the conclusion that the *Porticus with Piscina* was part of the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*. It further explains why its ground plan does not show the characteristic eclecticism of Roman temples of the Egyptian cults⁹³, and why the excavators of the late 19th and the beginning of the 20th century did not find anything here which looked like temples of *Isis* and *Serapis*.

Further hypotheses, which cannot yet be proven

We further suggest⁹⁴ that the following sculptures were originally on display in the sanctuaries discussed here, 1.) a group of statues in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome, which were carefully deposited in a building within the presumed *Horti Lamiani*⁹⁵, together with the *Esquiline Venus* and the bust of *Commodus* as *Hercules Romanus* (fig. 1, labels: HORTI MAECENATIANI OR HORTI LAMIANI; *Cryptoporticus*; the findspot is labeled COMMODUS⁹⁶), 2.) the *Esquiline Group*, Aphrodisian statues in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen⁹⁷. They were found in *statue walls* at the future sites of *Via Buonarroti/ Poliziano* (fig. 1, the find spot is labelled "KRATER") and of the Convent of S. Giuseppe (fig. 1)⁹⁸.

Mette Moltesen⁹⁹ notes the close stylistic similarities between the bust of *Commodus*, his Tritons (or Sea-Centaurs) and the statues of the *Esquiline Group*, and dates the latter convincingly "around 200". We add the observation that also the head of the cult statue of *Serapis* from his temple in the sanctuary *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*¹⁰⁰, the bust of *Commodus*, his Tritons and the statues of the *Esquiline Group* show close stylistic similarities. The *Esquiline Venus* represents a (Greek) bride (because she wears a specific bridal coiffure and winds a cloth around it, stands naked in front of the beholder, and wears sandals - like brides on Greek vases) and counts among the *Aegyptiaca* from the area. We identify the bust of *Commodus/Hercules Romanus* (together with its accompanying Tritons) as a cult statue in an *aedicula sacra* of the imperial cult, commissioned by the emperor *Septimius Severus* and put on display in the temple of *Serapis*; *Severus* had proclaimed himself in AD 195 son of the deified *Marcus Aurelius* and brother of the deified *Commodus*. *Commodus* was an initiate of the cult of *Isis* and had probably restored the *Serapeion* at *Alexandria*, which was destroyed under his reign¹⁰¹.

⁹³ Cf. HOFFMANN 2005, 1.

⁹⁴ Cf. HÄUBER (forthcoming).

⁹⁵ HÄUBER 2009.

⁹⁶ HÄUBER 1988; HÄUBER (forthcoming).

⁹⁷ MOLTESEN 2000.

⁹⁸ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, 90.

⁹⁹ MOLTESEN 2000, 118. 119 with n. 26, p. 122, fig. 9.

¹⁰⁰ *Supra*, n. 89.

¹⁰¹ HÄUBER (forthcoming).

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