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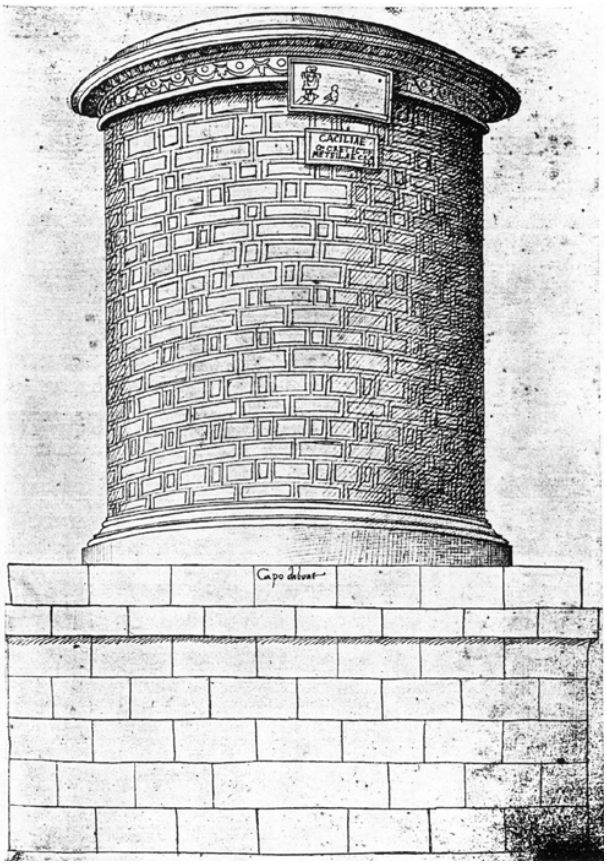
The tomb of Caecilia Metella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The Tomb of Caecilia Metella

TUMULUS, TROPAEUM AND THYMELE

Henrik Gerding

Lund 2002

There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress, with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone,
And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity, where wave
The green leaves over all by time o'erthrown; –
What was this tower of strength? within its cave
What treasure lay so lock'd, so hid? – A woman's grave.

Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's pilgrimage* 4.99

Frontispiece:
Codex Escurialensis, 33r (B1)

The tomb of Caecilia Metella:
tumulus, tropaeum and thymele

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Preface

Many people have contributed to the making of this book. Most of all I would like to thank my parents and my brothers, who have always encouraged me and helped me in every way, particularly during the final stages of the work. I am much indebted to my supervisor and tutor Prof. Örjan Wikander, who was constantly prepared to share his knowledge or scrutinize drafts with unfailing precision. It is always a great pleasure to engage in discussions with him, whether it concerns the subtleties of late Republican prosopography or our mutual interest in horror movies. Prof. Wikander also generously shouldered the arduous task of creating an index, for which I owe him my deep gratitude. I also want to express my warm appreciation of the courtesy shown to me by Dott.ssa Rita Paris at the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, who graciously granted me the permission to conduct the close study of the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

Several friends and colleagues have read and commented on the manuscript, thereby improving it: Prof. Eva Rystedt and all the participants of the graduate seminar of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History at Lund University, in particular Mr. Dominic Ingemark, Ms. Jenny Wallensten and Mrs. Ida Östenberg. I have also greatly enjoyed and benefited from exchanging ideas with Ms. Gunhild Eriksdotter and Dr. Thomas Rydén. I am grateful to Mr. Kai Holmgren for instructing me in the use of a total station, and to Mr. Niklas Hillbom and Mr. Attila Toth for assisting me in the field. Likewise, I would like to thank the following people for kindly offering their aid and assistance in various ways: Prof. Henner von Hesberg (Köln), Prof. Charlotte Wikander (Göteborg), Mr. Fraser Hunter (Edinburgh), Prof. Giuseppe Capelli (Rome), Asst. Prof. Roberto Salvati (Rome), Prof. Jan Rosvall (Göteborg), Mrs. Elisabet Göransson (Lund), Dr. Anders Göransson (Lund), Mr. Bengt Pettersson (Lund), Ms. Stefania Renzetti (Rome), Arch. Germanio Foglia (Rome), Dr. Carlo Micara (Frascati), Dott.ssa Monica De Simone (Rome), the staff of the former Department of Classical Studies at Lund University, former and present staff members of the Swedish Institute at Rome, the guards at the tomb of Caecilia Metella and the staff of Lund University Library. All those mentioned here have contributed significally to my investigations concerning the tomb of Caecilia Metella. However, they are not to be held responsible for the ideas presented in this thesis, and all remaining errors are entirely my own.

My research was greatly facilitated by generous scholarships and grants given by the following foundations: Hildur Gabrielsons donation, Helge Ax:son Johnsons stiftelse, Stiftelsen Harald och Tonny Hagendahls minnesfond, Stiftelsen Sven Kristenssons resestipendiefond, Torsten och Ingrid Gihls fond, Svenska institutet i Rom, Fondazione Famiglia Rausing and Stiftelsen Hilma Borelius.

Finally, my thoughts go out to friends and loved ones who patiently endured my absentmindedness during the years I spent thinking on this monument.

Lund, August 2002

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I. Introduction

OUTSIDE ROME, by the third milestone along the Via Appia rises an imposing structure identified as the tomb of Caecilia Metella. It is positioned on an elevated spot overlooking Rome and the surrounding *campagna*. The conspicuous location on the most important approach into Rome can only be interpreted as a call for attention. In this study the monument will be given that attention. (*Figs 1–4*)

The tomb of Caecilia Metella is an important archaeological monument. It has been studied for centuries and various aspects of it have been frequently discussed. In spite of this there is still no detailed archaeological documentation available and many of the problems surrounding the monument have not yet been resolved. Instead, inaccurate data and obvious misinterpretations concerning both this building and circular tombs in general have been allowed to spread. In particular, the unique internal arrangement of the grave has been neglected in previous research, as has the importance of the building for the early development of the brick-facing technique. This aspect alone can help us understand the development of the building industry and evolution of technology in Roman society. But there are also other aspects to follow up, such as the historical context of the building and how it reflects Roman beliefs in afterlife. Thus, when I first confronted the tomb of Caecilia Metella in 1997 there were a number of good reasons to undertake this study.

Scholars have long hinted at the need for such a study. In 1912 E.B. Van Deman in her important treatise on Roman concrete constructions noted, "The data for the tomb of Caecilia Metella are not complete",[1] and until recently this was largely still true. Other scholarly treatises have pointed out the lack of detailed and reliable depictions,[2] and suggested studies on closely related topics, such as the semantics of late Republican funeral architecture (here the tomb of Caecilia Metella is specifically mentioned), the origin of Roman circular tombs, and the roles of commissioners and architects in the development of the tumulus.[3] Finally, there has been a call for monographs on sepulchral monuments and circular tombs in particular, to examine the relationship between the tombs and their patrons.[4] This study aims to respond to some of these requests.

The following pages will expound in greater detail the intentions, ideas and documentation strategies of the present study. First, however, summaries of the later history of the monument and previous research will be presented. They have been included in the introductory chapter, as they constitute a necessary background for the description of the building and the subsequent discussions of its various aspects.

I.1 The history of the monument

It can be assumed with some probability that the grave of Caecilia Metella was tended by members of her family, presumably the Licinii Crassi, for some period,[5] but from there on the history of the monument is left in the dark. We know that the area was owned by Herodes Atticus in the second century AD, and that he consecrated it to the memory of his wife, Annia Regilla, along with various chthonic deities. However, not until well into the Medieval period do written sources on the tomb itself appear. Thus, we are told that the monument belonged to the church by AD 850 and was called Ta Canetri Capita, or tacanetricapita.[6] Unfortunately, there is no information about its state of preservation at this time. We know nothing of any effects that the barbarian invasions might have had

[1] Van Deman 1912, 396 n. 5.
[2] Napp 1933, 24; Daltrop 1968–1969, 134 n. 14.
[3] v. Hesberg & Zanker 1987, 11; v. Hesberg 1992, 243.
[4] Kleiner 1988, 118. See also Kockel 1983, 34; Eck 1984, 148.
[5] The Licinii Crassi were practically extinct by AD 69, but both religious and civil laws protected unattended tombs to some extent throughout antiquity. Syme 1986, 282; *Codex Theodosianus* 9.17.1–5. For a detailed discussion on the family of Caecilia Metella see chapters III.6.5 and III.7–8.
[6] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 553; Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 63; Paris 2000, 10. G. Tomassetti suggested that the name might have derived from cata-cretici-capita.

Fig. 1. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. View from the northwest. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

Fig. 2. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. View from the west. Photo by the author 1997.

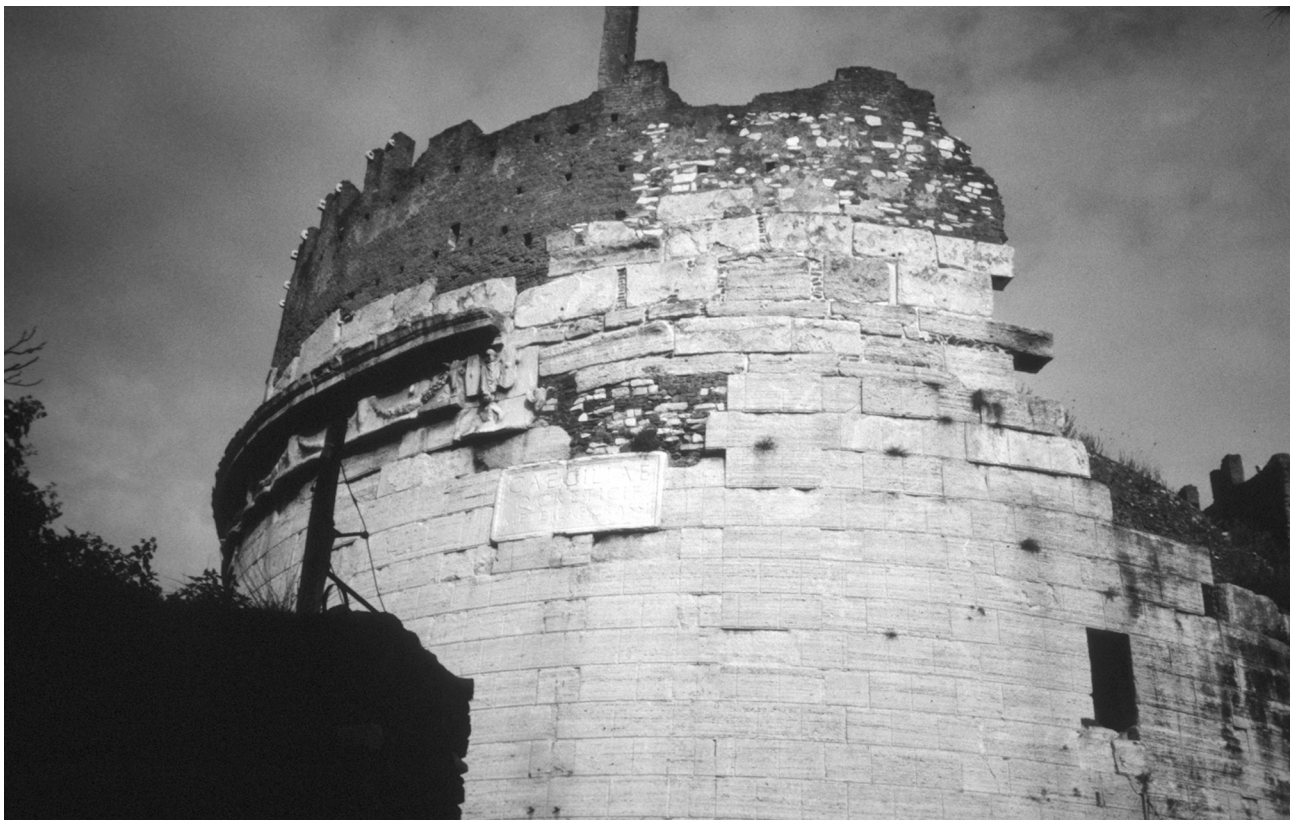

Fig. 3 (left). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. View from the southwest. Photo by the author 1999.

Fig. 4 (above). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. View from the northeast. Photo by the author 1999.

on the tomb of Caecilia Metella, and the same applies for the subsequent widespread devastation of the Normans. However, during the Middle Ages the inhabitants of Rome systematically plundered old tombs for sarcophagi.[7] From the 8th century onwards huge amounts of marble, travertine and limestone from ancient monuments were burnt in the lime ovens. Sepulchral monuments in particular were popular targets for looters.[8] It is difficult to imagine that Caecilia's grave went completely unaffected through these events.[9] The fact that it was property of the church is probably the main reason for its relatively good state of preservation, compared with that of similar monuments. In a document from the 11th century the tomb is described as *peczutum*.[10] This word has been interpreted as synonymous with the modern Italian word *pizzuto*, i.e. pointed, and the passage has often been taken to mean that the monument once carried a conical superstructure of earth or stone which was still preserved in the 11th century.[11]

With the papacy of Bonifacius VIII (1294–1303), former Cardinal Benedetto Caetani, the Caetani family began expanding its power in and about Rome. Between March 1302 and May 1303 his relative Cardinal Francesco Caetani bought all the land surrounding the tomb of Caecilia Metella and turned the place into a well fortified castle.[12] (*Fig. 4*) The residence is situated directly to the south of the tomb and was built almost exclusively in *peperino*, a material which clearly distinguishes it from the ancient mausoleum. The tomb itself became the main tower (keep) of the fortress and was supplied with crenellated walls around the top. A circuit wall encloses more than 200 m of the Via Appia, and the present church of S. Nicola di Bari was built within together with a small settlement. By this time the grave and its location was known as Capo di Bove, referring to the *bucrania* on the frieze.[13] It has been suggested that a castle was first built at the site by the counts of Tusculum in the 11th century, and also that the monument was fortified already in the Byzantine period, but no conclusive evidence for either of these hypotheses has yet been presented.[14]

Already after a few years the Castrum Caetani shifted owners as it became the property of the Savelli family, but it also passed through the hands

[7] Lanciani 1902–1912, I 5.
[8] Lanciani 1902–1912, I 22.
[9] For a discussion on the date of the damages on the podium, see chapter II.4.1.
[10] Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 61; Paris 2000, 11, 32. Whereas the former dates the source to the 11th century, the latter puts it at the end of the 13th. There is also mention of another document where the word *prezatum* is used instead.
[11] *EAA* II (1959), s.v. 'Cecilia Metella' (A. Longo); Crema 1959, 250; *EAA* VI (1965), s.v. 'Roma' (M. Torelli & F. Zevi), 874; Quilici 1972, 36f.; Coarelli 1981, 48; Paris 1997, 53.
[12] Paris 2000, 47. It has been stated before that the monument was handed over by Bonifacius VIII to his nephew, Pietro Caetani, in 1298, 1299 or 1300, and that the latter was responsible for erecting the castle. Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 553; Lanciani 1902–1912, I 37; Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 66.
[13] Sometimes the Latin form was used – Caput Bovis. See for example Valentini & Zucchetti 1953, 557 (Indici, s.v. 'Caput Bobis, Bovis').
[14] Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 64; De Rossi 1969, 23; Quilici 1972, 37; Quilici 1977, 56; *Roma e dintorni* 1977, 414f.; Coarelli 1981, 48. See also Paris 2000, 15.

of the rivalling Colonna and Orsini families before it was deserted in 1484, or 1485.[15] After that the place was occasionally used as temporary quarters for soldiers.[16] In 1312 the castle was actually besieged and partly fired, but it was probably not until the 16th century that the tomb suffered serious demolition.[17] The damages to the upper part of the rotunda on the south side, as well as to the crowning Medieval wall, most likely belong to the middle of the 16th century, as they appear in several depictions datable to the second half of that century,[18] but not in any of the earlier ones.[19] (*Fig. 3*) We also know that Cardinal Ippolito d'Este undertook an excavation in search of antiquities at the site in 1560.[20] Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) had major parts of the castle torn down.[21] However, when he gave permission for the tomb to be used as a stone quarry in 1589, the wild protests in Rome forced him to abandon the project and protect the grave from further destruction.[22] During the following centuries the interest in the monument turned more and more towards the scholarly side, although not only within the archaeological and historical faculties. The tomb was repeatedly used for astronomical and trigonometric measurements, in 1751, 1812, 1824, 1855 and 1871.[23] In 1824 a small pinnacle was erected on top of the crenellated wall, which today can provide a useful point of reference for dating 19th century depictions of the sepulchre.

I.2 Previous research

Earlier studies on the tomb of Caecilia Metella, as well as various references in scholarly literature, have been listed in chronological order in appendix A. The overwhelming majority of these texts are just brief descriptions or passing mentions made in handbooks, topographical studies or other treatises of general character. A smaller part is made up by studies of similar tombs or sepulchral monuments as a group. A few entries from various dictionaries have also been included. Aside from these there are only four catalogue posts that treat the tomb of Caecilia Metella exclusively.[24] However, I make no claim of having included all references ever made to the building. Several exceptions have been made intentionally for the truly insignificant ones, and there are surely many more that I have not yet found, although, hopefully none of importance. They have been commented on regarding their content and also evaluated to some extent. The chronological arrangement enables an easy assessment of how scholars have made use of the findings of their predecessors. For example, A. Nibby wrote the first text of some length (seven pages) treating the tomb of Caecilia Metella in 1839.[25] His thoughts and wording were adopted by scholars well into the next century. However, Nibby was to some extent succeeded as the main authority by G. Tomassetti, writing on the tomb and the castle in 1910.[26]

Appendix B contains a provisional list of depictions and reconstructive drawings, far from being complete. The monument in question has for several centuries constituted one of the most popular motifs for artists in Rome, and the production has been substantial. Consequently, I have chosen to exclude all kinds of paintings from the list since they often are less accurate than drawings and engravings. Here will follow a short summery of the various topics discernable in the previous research on the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

I.2.1 Cicero and the tomb of the Metelli

Perhaps as a result of the profound lack of ancient literary sources on this monument, early scholars readily accepted every scrap of information that was offered, for example by Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13 (probably written in 45 BC): *An tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos*?[27] Several writers, at least from the 16th century onwards, believed that this *sepulcrum Metellorum* was identical with the tomb of Caecilia Metella.[28] According to some of them the present monument is really the family

[15] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 554f.; Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 68f.; De Rossi 1969, 24; Paris 2000, 19–21.
[16] Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 69.
[17] L. Quilici mentions destructive events in 1536 and 1571. Quilici 1972, 39.
[18] G.A. Dosio (B7), UA 2552, reproduced in Muñoz 1913, tav. 1.1; G.A. Dosio & G.B De Cavalieri (B8), *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium*, Roma 1569, tav. 50; Unknown artist (B10), reproduced in Ripostelli & Marucchi 1908, 148. The denotations within brackets refer to depictions listed in appendix B.
[19] See appendix B. Several of these drawings, however, are not quite realistic and should be treated with caution.
[20] Venturi 1890, 197f.; Lanciani 1902–1912, III 188.
[21] Visconti 1825, 32 n. 10.
[22] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 555; Lanciani 1902–1912, IV 123; Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 69; Paris 2000, 21.
[23] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 555f; Paris 2000, 33–37.
[24] Meogrossi & Cereghino 1986; Paris 1997; Paris & Meogrossi 1997; Paris 2000.
[25] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 550–556.
[26] Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 60–70.
[27] "Going out through the Porta Capena, as you see the tombs of the Calatini, the Scipiones, the Servilii, the Metelli, do you really feel sorry for them?"
[28] E.g. Pirro Ligorio (Rausa 1997, 43); Nardini 1666, I 85; Parker 1877, 23; Ooteghem 1967, 239 n. 3; Purcell 1987, 28 n. 20.

tomb of the Metelli or the "Crassi-Metelli" (i.e. the descendants of Caecilia and her husband).[29] Others stated that the tomb of Caecilia Metella was erected on the same site as the family tomb of her ancestors, thereby obliterating its forerunner.[30] Of course, these ideas have also been contested,[31] the main objection being that Caecilia was a member of the Licinii through marriage. Thus, there would be no obvious reason for her to be buried amongst the Metelli. Furthermore, as we shall discover there are no indications that the tomb held, or was intended to hold, more than one burial (see chapter V.2.2).

I.2.2 The Farnese sarcophagus

In the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome stands an ancient Roman sarcophagus that has somehow been associated with the tomb of Caecilia Metella. According to tradition the sarcophagus was found in the tomb and taken to its current location by Pope Paulus III (1534–1549).[32] There seems to be no firm evidence to support the veracity of this hypothesis, although references are made to it already at the end of the 17th century. It has also been suggested that the sarcophagus was found inside the tomb already at the construction of the Caetani castle, and was left there until the 16th century.[33] In the records of the Farnese collection from 1697, however, the piece was registered without a specified provenience.[34]

A. Nibby doubted the credibility of the tradition, and rather believed that the sarcophagus was originally found somewhere in the surroundings of the tomb. He also suggested that it should be dated to the time of Herodes Atticus.[35] This view now seems to be the prevailing one. Besides, at the time of Caecilia Metella cremation was the normal burial custom, and we should expect a cinerary urn to have been used rather than a sarcophagus.[36] Recently the Farnese sarcophagus was the object of a detailed study. The author presents a complete bibliography on the subject, and after a thorough analysis of the evidence he suggests a date between AD 180 and 190.[37]

I.2.3 The identity of Caecilia Metella's husband

The early writings on the monument, especially those from the 19th century, concentrated on Caecilia Metella herself and on the identity of her husband in particular.[38] The inscription on the tomb declares Caecilia to be the wife of a Crassus. Unfortunately, there are several possible candidates passing by that name and they have all had their advocates. The first, and perhaps obvious, choice fell on the famous *triumvir* M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 68).[39] Already in 1835 this hypothesis was seriously questioned,[40] but it still continued to circulate until the beginning of the following century.[41] By that time most scholars had adopted the idea that the older son of the *triumvir*, carrying the same name (*RE* 56), was the one mentioned in the inscription.[42] However, soon another candidate was forwarded: the grandson of the *triumvir*, also by the name of M. Licinius Crassus and consul in 30 BC (*RE* 58).[43] That suggestion did not catch on, though, and support for the Crassus of the middle generation continued to grow. Although virtually no new evidence or arguments have been presented since 1896, today this identification seems to be regarded as a fact.[44] For an updated review and analysis of the prosopographical evidence, see chapter III.7.

I.2.4 The date of the tomb

Another topic that has been pursued from early on until the present is the date of the monument. Despite immense efforts the date of construction of the tomb of Caecilia Metella has still not been stated with any precision. However, the majority of sepulchral monuments have this problem in common. Yet, the basis for dating this particular tomb is actually better than in most cases. Proposed dates range

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29 Parker 1877, 23.
30 Purcell 1987, 28 n. 20. This theory might find support in an altar supposedly found at the site. The altar was presumably dedicated by the father of Caecilia Metella already in 71 BC, i.e. before the present monument was erected. However, the altar is lost and the original report, dating from the 16th century, cannot been verified. Pirro Ligorio (Rausa 1997, 43).
31 E.g. Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 550; Canina 1834–1844, IX 518; Andræ 1882–1889, 255; Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 60.
32 Bartoli 1697, tav. 38; De' Ficoroni 1744, 162; Piranesi 1756, tav. 52; Uggeri 1804, 59; Hirt 1821–1827, 235; Visconti 1825, 32 n. 9; Gailhabaud 1852, I.
33 Lanciani 1902–1912, I 37.
34 Ambrogi 1997, 44.
35 Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 552f. Followed by Canina 1853a, 87f. n. 25; Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 63 amongst others.
36 See for example Morris 1992, 43.
37 Ambrogi 1997, 72.
38 There exist no literary sources that mention Caecilia Metella, a fact that has made it exceedingly difficult for scholars to expand on this subject.
39 E.g. Uggeri 1804, 57; Orelli & Henzen 1828–1856, I no. 577.
40 Drumann 1835, II 55f.
41 Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 550; Gailhabaud 1852, I; Canina 1853a, 87; Parker 1877, 23; Azzurri 1895, 20 n. 1; d'Espouy 1905, I 9.
42 E.g. *CIL* VI (1876), 1274 (W. Henzen); Hübner 1885, no. 61; Hülsen 1896, 58; *RE* III (1897), 1235, s.v. 'Caecilius' no. 136 (F. Münzer).
43 Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 60.
44 For a recent example see Gros 2001, 431.

from 67 BC to the end of the reign of Augustus. A complete list of all previously suggested dates can be found in chapter III.1.3 (table III.1), where the details of the chronological debate have also been expounded.

I.2.5 The typology and origin of circular tombs

In 1906 W. Altmann initiated a discussion on the typology and origin of Roman circular tombs,[45] a discussion that accelerated during the 1960s and 1970s. There have been two major viewpoints on this subject: On the one side, all Roman circular tombs are tumuli and originate from Etruscan sepulchral traditions.[46] On the other, most of the monuments belonging to this category are the products of Hellenistic architectural influences, albeit given a Roman touch.[47] Some scholars have wisely opted for hypotheses somewhere in between of these extremes,[48] whereas others presented completely different alternatives.[49]

Parallel to this debate, the role of the mausoleum of Augustus has been addressed. According to some scholars this monument represented the culmination of a development which included a number of late Republican circular tombs.[50] The opposing side, however, saw the mausoleum of Augustus as the first of its kind, inspiring others to build those very same circular tombs.[51] Thus, it comes down to a question of chronology: Which was the first Roman circular tomb? M. Eisner evaded the problem by distinguishing the circular tombs of emperors from those of private citizens, describing them as belonging to separate traditions. According to him the former developed primarily from the funerary architecture of Hellenistic rulers.[52] In the 1980s these lines of investigation were to a large extent replaced by formal typologies treating Roman sepulchral monuments in general.[53] The typological questions surrounding the tomb of Caecilia Metella will be further elaborated in chapter IV.

[45] Altmann 1906.
[46] Noack 1910, 117; Rivoira 1921, 10; Robertson 1929, 265f.; Castagnoli *et al.* 1958, 116.
[47] Windfeld-Hansen 1965, 54; v. Sydow 1977b, 294–296; Kovacsovics 1983, 63.
[48] Åkerström 1934, 195. Matz 1941, 219; Fellmann 1957, 97.
[49] B Götze, for example, suggested an "Indo-Germanic" origin, while R.R. Holloway looked towards the prehistoric mounds of Troia. Götze 1939, 31; Holloway 1966.
[50] McCracken 1942, 333f.; Blake 1947, 169f.
[51] Ducati 1938, 113f.; Holloway 1966; Richard 1970, 386f.; Verzar 1974, 416; Van Wonterghem 1982, 118.
[52] Eisner 1979.
[53] Gabelmann 1979; Van Wonterghem 1982; Kockel 1983; Kovacsovics 1983; Eisner 1986; Fedak 1990.

I.2.6 Excavations and restorations

During the first half of the 19th century a renewed interest awakened in the Via Appia and its monuments, which resulted in a variety of archaeological and antiquarian activities. Of course, the area had known this kind of attention before. We know that some sort of excavations were carried out in the immediate vicinity of the tomb of Caecilia Metella already in the 1540s by Pope Paulus III and in 1560 by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, but these men were merely scavenging for antiquities. In 1804 a French architect, H.A.V. Grandjean de Montigny, conducted excavations around the monument, primarily along the east side of the podium, but we have no reports.[54] The first archaeological excavation inside the tomb took place in 1836. The purpose was to investigate the layout of the lower parts of the building by making soundings in the cella and the upper corridor. Nothing in particular was found but it was established that the reconstructive drawings of P.S. Bartoli and G.B. Piranesi were not entirely correct.[55]

Towards the middle of the 19th century the monument was given structural repairs for the first time, and the interior parts of the castle were protected from further devastation. This was done by closing up a large breach in the inner wall with a new gate. By then the old gate had already been walled up, partly with sculptural fragments thus put on display. Subsequently on the instructions of A. Canova more inscriptions and architectonic fragments were put up along the wall facing the Via Appia.[56] This development was continued by A. Muñoz, who gathered archaeological finds (mostly marble pieces) from a vast area along the Via Appia in the castle, turning it into an antiquarium.[57] In the first decade of the last century there was once again a growing interest in the Via Appia as an archaeological area, and also in the Medieval history of the Castrum Caetani. The following years the tomb of Caecilia Metella began to appear in various studies and handbooks on Roman architecture and construction technique, probably due to the restorations made by Muñoz between 1909 and 1913.[58] His work also included the clearing of the lower chamber and the construction of the stairs leading down to it.

[54] *Roma antiqua* 1992, 256.
[55] Nibby 1838–1841, 552; Canina 1853a, 88; Canina 1853b, 158.
[56] Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 63; Paris 2000, 23.
[57] Quilici 1977, 57; Paris 2000, 32f., 68. For the inscriptions collected at the site see Leone & Licordari 1980–1981.
[58] Muñoz 1913.

Excavations were carried out in the cella and on top of the monument in 1976–1977,[59] in the inner courtyard of the castle in 1985,[60] and along the north and south sides of the podium in 1998–1999.[61] On all three occasions various restorations were executed. The last work preceded the construction of a museum within the castle, which opened in June 2000. In March 2001 excavations on top of the rotunda were once again resumed by Italian archaeologists.

I.2.7 Architectural documentation

It can be rather bewildering to read the dimensions attributed to the monument in various texts. Many of these obviously faulty figures seem to have perpetuated themselves throughout the centuries. Several authors, for example, have claimed the monument to be around 20 m in width although the actual figure exceeds 28 m.[62]

There have been made at least four major works of documentation on the tomb of Caecilia Metella (including at least both a plan and a cross-section): by P.S. Bartoli (probably executed in the 1690s), by G.B. Piranesi (made between 1745 and 1756), by L. Canina (made between 1830 and 1840), and by G. Foglia (made in 1976 and 1985).[63] Each one can be described as more accurate than the previous, but the drawings of the three first all suffer from the implementation of imaginative reconstructions and similar "improvements". To these can be added a range of complementary works, for example the plan and elevation of A. De Romanis (made in the early 19th century), G. Pinza's modified version of Canina's plan and section (made about 1905), the detail sections of the two corridors by A. Muñoz (made between 1909 and 1913), and the isometric projections of M. Eisner (probably made in the 1960s or 1970s).[64] Some details of the construction which today have disappeared can be extracted from early depictions, but none of fundamental importance.

I.3 Aims and limits of the present study

Although documentation is a necessary step in the analysis of the building, it is not a primary aim of this study. Instead, the main purpose has been to explain the building. Why is the monument designed the way it is? Or, to put it in slightly different words, what intentions, ideas and practical considerations lay behind its physical appearance? Of course, this question can be divided into several parts, each of which is equally important in order to understand the tomb of Caecilia Metella: When was the building erected? What was its original layout? Where in the tomb was the burial located? What was the function/meaning of the internal arrangement of space? Some questions regard circular tombs as a group: What significance did Roman circular tombs have? From where did the concept of the circular tomb originate? Others are related to construction techniques and the organisation of the Roman building industry: Why were these particular materials used, and to what extent did the methods of construction influence the design?

The choice of questions raised in this study is partly motivated by the unique interior layout of this tomb, but it also reflects my interest in exploring the possibilities of using buildings archaeology to reach the people and the ideas behind the buildings.[65] C. Palyvou expressed a similar concern at an international conference in Athens on the function of Minoan palaces:[66]

> I have often thought about how one should deal with architectural remains. One should perhaps try to go backwards in the process of architectural design and try to reconstruct the architect's purpose, the Building Programme, the technical specifications, etc. But this is very difficult, especially if one is ignorant of the cultural and social conditions. In any case, architectural analysis has to rely on clear methodology and has to be paralleled by analysis in other areas.

I find myself in a more advantageous position since the tomb of Caecilia Metella belongs to a historic period where literary sources can support my ef-

[59] Paris 2000, 81. These excavations did not go very deep and the results seem never to have been published.
[60] Meogrossi & Cereghino 1986.
[61] The excavations of 1998–1999 were made under the supervision of Dott.ssa Rita Paris at the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma. They are as yet unpublished, but some of the results are indirectly referred to in the new Electa guide. Paris 2000.
[62] Gailhabaud 1852, I; Baumeister 1885–1888, I 608; Rivoira 1921, 6; Ashby 1927, 183; Crema 1959, 250; Frova 1961, 55; *Roma e dintorni* 1977, 414f. The most blatant mistake was made by M.E. Blake, in her otherwise invaluable treatise, when stating that the podium was 22.30 m in width and the drum 29.50 m in diameter. J.M.C. Toynbee uncritically repeated this misinformation. Blake 1947, 171; Toynbee 1971, 155.
[63] P.S. Bartoli (B15); G.B. Piranesi (B18); L. Canina (B46); G. Foglia (B63 & 65), reproduced in Meogrossi & Cereghino 1986, figs 322–325 and Paris 2000, figs 38, 41, 44.
[64] A. De Romanis (B35), reproduced in Nardini 1818, 170; G. Pinza (B53); Muñoz (B58); M. Eisner (B66).
[65] In its widest sense the term "buildings archaeology" is used to denominate the archaeological study of architectural structures. See e.g. Wood 1994. For a brief discussion on my own application of buildings archaeology see chapter I.5.
[66] Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 330.

forts. Still, it is in the interpretation of architectural remains that I recognise a true potential for expanding and improving our methodology. Thus, apart from elucidating some of the problems concerning this particular monument, this investigation constitutes a general attempt to approach history through architecture.

Essential to the questions raised here are the conscious act of constructing a building and the circumstances surrounding that process. Consequently this study will focus on the original phase of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, largely disregarding its later history. An attempt is made to pin-point the date of construction in order to facilitate the interpretation of the monument. Accordingly, the concluding historical discussion mainly treats the transition between the late Republic and early Augustan times. As regards the typological background and development of circular tombs another time-frame will be used. Several of the already proposed theories suggest an origin as far back as the early Iron Age, but this study will emphasise the last few centuries BC. To some extent the development immediately following the tomb of Caecilia Metella will also be discussed.

Ideally a treatise on the tomb of Caecilia Metella would include comparative studies of other circular tombs in Italy, of circular tombs in other geographical areas, of circular tombs of other ages, of contemporary tombs of other categories, and so on. However, this is not possible and probably would not contribute significantly to this kind of investigation. Instead a limited catalogue of comparative material has been made, appendix C, including mainly Roman circular tombs but also some other similar monuments believed to have some relevance to the study. References to objects included in the catalogue will be given as C1, C2, C3 and so on. In the chapters treating materials and construction techniques, buildings belonging to other categories will be introduced as the discussion proceeds. Here the focus will be on the development in and about Rome, although it can be argued that other parts of the Italian peninsula closely followed the fashion of the capital.

I.4 Basic terminology

Since the typologies, and thus also the terminologies, of sepulchral buildings in general and circular tombs in particular are in a state of confusion two lines of action are possible: to adhere to one of the existent typologies and use its terminology, or to establish an alternative terminology. Both alternatives have their disadvantages, but the second one was chosen to provide a preliminary tool in the early stages of the study. The table above contains my own definitions of some of the most commonly used terms. It should be stressed that, although references are made to various typologies, it is merely the use of the words that is of interest here. For a proper typological discussion see chapter IV.

1.	circular tomb	–	a sepulchral monument including a major structural element that is circular in plan
2.	tumulus	–	a grave mound (barrow) of earth or stone; subgroup of category 1
3.	cylindrical tomb	–	a tomb including a major structural element with a cylindrical shape, given that the height is more than ¼ of the diameter; subgroup of category 1
4.	tumulus on *krepis*	–	a tumulus with a cylindrical basis that does not classify as a cylindrical tomb; subgroup of category 2

Table I.1. Definitions of elementary terminology.

The proposed terminology presents a few problems. Most important, how should cylindrical tombs crowned with a tumulus be classified? This conflict between two alternative subgroups is the direct consequence of my effort to make distinctions which other typologies overlook. In the case of the combination of a stone cylinder with an earth mound I have focused on how the visual effect depends on the dominant part of the structure. As the cylinder grows higher the tumulus element on top gradually disappears from the line of sight when viewed from a close distance. (*Fig. 5*) Consequently the tomb of Caecilia Metella is termed "cylindrical tomb" although it is possible that it once carried an earth mound. One apparent gain with this approach is that it does not presuppose the development of the cylindrical tomb from the tumulus, but allows them to be treated as separate architectural concepts.

The classification can be said to combine the main principles of two different groups of typologies already in use. On the one hand, we have typologies emphasising the symbolic value and presumed common origin of all circular tombs, denominating them as tumuli. On the other hand, there are typologies based solely on the structural composition of the tomb. Here a cylinder on a square podium can be treated in the same category as two square bodies on top of each other, both being described as "zweistufig".

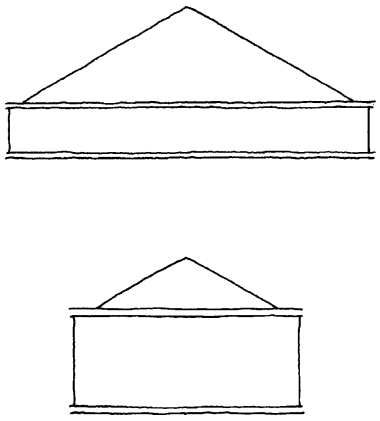


Fig. 5. Terminology – schematic illustration of tumulus on *krepis* and cylindrical tomb with crowning tumulus.

I.5 Buildings archaeology as a historical method

As already stated, this study is not primarily intended as a complete documentation and publication of an ancient monument. Nor is it a survey and compilation of a category of buildings. Rather, it is an attempt to extract information about various aspects of Roman society, using buildings archaeology as an instrument for reading the past. This has, of course, been done more or less since the beginning of classical archaeology. However, the growing emphasis on deductive reasoning and the desire to encompass "sufficient" amounts of material to support conclusive statements have marginalized the study of the single object. In effect, the possibilities inherent in this approach have for a long time been overlooked. The advantages of a narrow but at the same time far-reaching study lie not as much in the answers the monument might provide as in the questions it raises. The dynamics of this kind of heuristic approach may well provide insights into areas not immediately connected to the monument and otherwise difficult to reach.

Buildings archaeology is difficult to define as a discipline or a method since it entails a large variety of analyses and approaches. One way of ordering these is to arrange them in a formation that mirrors the design process. This might have some relevance if we are trying to work our way backwards compared to the architects. Methods of documentation tend to shape our thinking and the interpretation of architecture is sometimes limited by the two-dimensionality of plans and elevations. Analyses in three dimensions should be natural to the study of architecture, and if we also consider the building process a fourth dimension has to be introduced. Thus, the different stages of the interpretive process, just as those of the design process, can be aligned with levels of dimensionality, as suggested in the model below.

Table I.2. A theoretical model of the design process and its reversion expressed in four dimensions. The vertical arrows describe the sequential order within the two respective processes.

	The design process		The interpretative process
(One dimension)	The line of sight and the line of thought *(perception and inspiration)*		The narrative line – writing history *(reconstruction)*
	⇓		⇑
Two dimensions	The extension and the systematisation of the plan *(organisation)*		Plan analysis and function analysis, metrics and symmetries
	⇓		⇑
Three dimensions	Determining the volumes and geometries of masses and spaces *(formation)*		Documentation in three dimensions, spatial and typological analyses
	⇓		⇑
Four dimensions (including time)	Addition and subtraction of material, the building process *(construction)*	⇒	Deconstruction through stratigraphical and contextual methods

The left part of the proposed model, i.e. the "design process", is meant to reflect the working procedure of the architect. The basis for his work was determined by the way he perceived and experienced his own world, what he had seen etc. It is reasonable to assume that he began with the organisation of the plan before he attended to the exact formation of the structure. At each stage various external factors operated to influence the result. Among these external factors we can distinguish, for example, the wishes of the commissioner and the contents of the building program,[67] the conditions on the site, laws and regulations, as well as pre-existing models. To these can be added the limitation of construction techniques and the organisation of the building industry. Perhaps the building process should be treated separately from the early stages of the design process, represented here by the first three steps. However, I prefer to regard the construction work as the direct continuation of the design work. Several aspects of the layout in both Greek and Roman architecture only crystallised during the line of construction.[68]

The right hand side of the model describes the reversed process of interpreting the building, exemplified by some general means of investigation. It starts at the bottom with the deconstruction of the building with close consideration to the stratigraphical and structural relationship between the various elements – the reversion of the building process. A continued investigation includes analyses in both two and three dimensions, striving ultimately at revealing the governing factors and the original premises. The model is not meant to be seen as a step-by-step manual, as the analytical tools always have to be chosen with regard to the nature of the building and the questions one seeks to answer. During the course of work it became necessary for me to limit the scope of the present investigation. Thus, I have come to focus in particular on the intentions of the commissioner. By refraining from a closer look on the role of the architect I have intentionally moved away from the technical aspects of the design process. Still, the present study follows the above model to some extent, as it starts with the deconstruction of the building itself and proceeds towards a deepened analysis of the historical context. This is done in a number of steps represented by the various chapters as shown in the following diagram (table I.3).

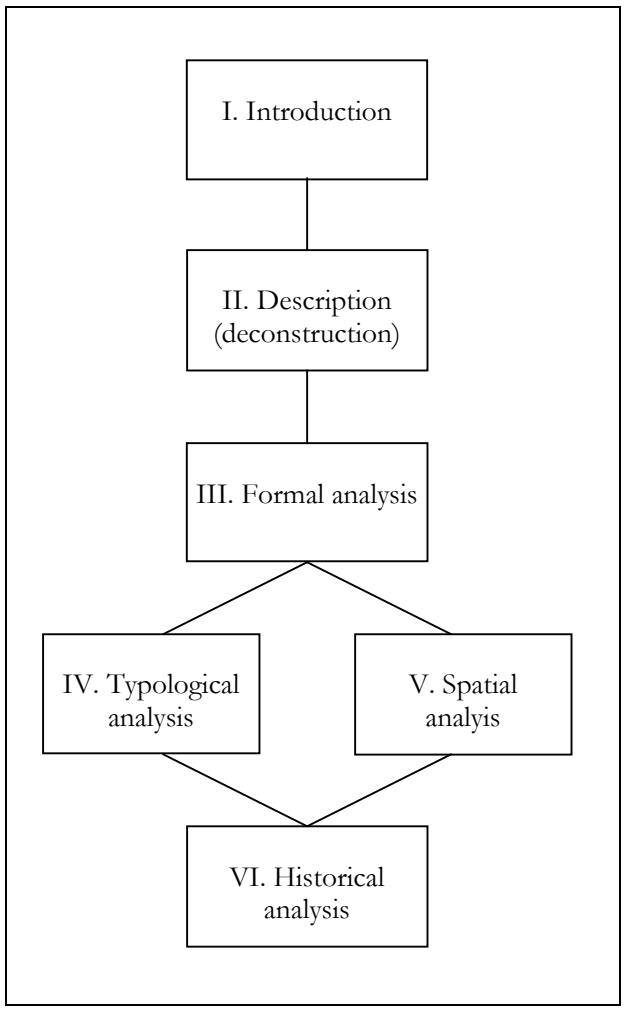


Table I.3. Flow chart for the disposition of the thesis where the boxes correspond to the different chapters. Various analytical tools have been chosen for different aspects of the building. Whereas some chapters are relying on previous conclusions, others can be seen as parallel investigations.

Each chapter treats a separate topic and in each case a different methodological approach is applied. Thus, in the second chapter the physical formation of the building is asserted through stratigraphical deconstruction; in the third chapter the date and commissioner of the building are determined through a formal analysis of building materials, construction techniques, decoration, and prosopographical evidence; next the meaning of the external and internal layout is investigated through typological and spatial analysis respectively; finally a historical reconstruction is put forward by exploring the wider context of the monument.[69] Each chapter contains a fair measure of interpretation, the degree of which may be said to escalate. The analyses of the different chapters are to a large extent relying on

[67] The building program might include basic considerations such as the function and capacity of the building, but also the intended "message" of the architecture.

[68] Sometimes the form and proportions of various building elements could not be established until the elements beneath them had been erected. Coulton 1977, 58f.

[69] The different methods and any theoretical discussions belonging to them are presented in the respective chapters.

the results of the previous ones but some aspects are also treated several times from different angles.

The general purpose of creating narrative history from buildings archaeology is to illuminate the events and conditions which had a bearing on architectural design, and to emphasise that the act of erecting a public monument represented a highly conscious process springing from the historical context. As already stated, this study does not aim to prove some general laws concerning circular tombs, but rather to clarify the dynamics working in a specific case. Hopefully, this might put some perspective on what we already know of other similar buildings. In short, this is an inductive study, rather than a deductive.

I.6 Methods of documentation

I.6.1 Three-dimensional documentation

At the outset of the study the purpose of the documentation was basically twofold: documentation for the sake of presentation and documentation as active investigation. However, whereas the former should be as complete and unbiased as possible, the latter is often made in search for answers to specific questions and therefore tends to be both partial and subjective. This conflict can rarely be avoided, and in this case it led to the subsequent elimination of the first objective. Furthermore, the shape and size of the monument made it difficult to perform a detailed documentation of the entire building. Instead I chose to concentrate my efforts on the construction of a three-dimensional computer model of the interior of the tomb in order to facilitate the spatial analysis. Hence, it has to be stressed that the documentation presented in this study is far from complete.

As the process of measuring the building became an integrated part of the analysis, it was essential that the person who made the measurements also interpreted the results. With the introduction of technically advanced methods of documentation this has become increasingly difficult, though. As a consequence of my involvement with the MEM-project at Lund University I was able to procure the necessary skills to perform most of the documentation work myself.[70] This objective, however, also put a limit on how much work could be executed within the frames of this project. For practical reasons the documentation work was concentrated to two field campaigns, comprising 17 days in June 1998 and 23 days in March 1999. On both occasions I was aided by one assistant.[71]

For the main architectural documentation of this monument I chose a method originally developed by the MEM-project at Lund University.[72] It is based on measurements made with a total station and results in a three-dimensional computer model of the building. The reason for this choice was twofold. Firstly, this is a study which is largely concerned with three-dimensional traits and aspects of the tomb. These are often difficult to capture and analyse with traditional, two-dimensional documentation. Secondly, the method provides means for visualising and studying the exact relationship between interior and exterior elements of a building. This is essential as the correlation between the inside and the outside of the tomb of Caecilia Metella is unusually complex, both as regards the structure and the meaning of the architecture. A total station generally also measures with a very high degree of accuracy. However, whereas this method gives the three-dimensional position of points, surfaces and other elements, it does not automatically include information on the materials, textures or nature of the surfaces, as handmade drawings easily can. It would be possible, though, to add this kind of visual information onto two-dimensional prints-out of the model.

I.6.2 Measuring with a total station

The total station is basically an electronic theodolite which emits an infra-red light beam.[73] When the beam is reflected on a surface the exact distance to that point is given. This distance is recorded together with the vertical and horizontal angles of the instrument. If the position of the total station (the "station point") is known, the internal processor calculates and records the coordinates of the measured point (the "data point"). From a number of different station points inside as well as outside the object in question all data points can be measured within a single coordinate system. If there is no particular reason to adhere to an existing coordinate system, it is usually preferable to create a local coordinate system aligned with the building in order to facilitate the reading of the coordinates. For the work on the tomb of Caecilia Metella two different total stations of the Leica brand were used, a WILD

[70] I am much indebted to Mr Kai Holmgren for sharing his knowledge and experience in measuring with a total station.

[71] I would like to express my gratitude for this valuable assistance to Mr Niklas Hillbom and Mr Attila Toth.

[72] For information on the practical implementation of this method, beyond what is presented below, see Holmgren 1996; Eriksdotter 1999.

[73] I present here a rather detailed description of our working procedure, since I found it difficult myself to gather this kind of information when preparing the project.

TC1610 and a WILD T1010 with an attachable WILD DIOR3002S. The former measures against various kinds of reflecting devices (prisms or tape), which provide a very high degree of accuracy, whereas the latter measures without prisms altogether, which allows the operator to reach points otherwise inaccessible, although with slightly less accuracy. The metric system was applied throughout.

For the measuring of the tomb of Caecilia Metella a total of 24 station points were established, 14 inside the monument and 10 outside, although not all of them were used for recording data points.[74] Origin was placed in the centre of the building, defined by a station point (no. 1) at the bottom of the cella. In order to avoid negative numbers origin was chosen as (100, 100, 100). The next station point (no. 2) was positioned at the entrance of the upper corridor, and together they defined the main axis of the coordinate grid. In order to confirm the accuracy of the primary station points a closed polygonal train had to be created, whereby each new station point was measured from the former until the first one was reached again, without intolerable deviation. Thus, station points nos. 1–5 formed a circle from the bottom of the cella, through the upper corridor, outside the tomb, down the stairs, through the lower corridor and back to the cella again. The deviation at the returning point did not exceed 1 mm in any direction.

The location of the station points and procedure of measuring data points should be planned as carefully as possible, in order to minimise the number of movements of the station, among other things. All building elements, or groups of elements, which were to be measured, had first to be recorded as plain hand-made line drawings, either in elevations or in simple perspectives. Theses sketches were complemented by pre-printed recording sheets with continuous numbering. Each data point was registered on the sketch as well as on the recording sheet. This documentation provided a necessary aid in the subsequent editing of the data points on the computer, and can be helpful in future reinterpretation of the model. All together more than 4000 data points were recorded inside and outside the tomb. Generally, the error in these measurements can be estimated to be less than 5 mm. As a rule, in the following description of the monument I will not present measures in greater detail than centimetres.

Using the TC1610 there are basically three different measuring techniques: measurements against a prism held vertically above the data point (attached to a long or short rod of known height); against a prism attached to a short rod, positioned in the line of sight in front of the data point; or against a reflective tape pressed to the data point. Data points can also be recorded through off-set, whereby another nearby point is measured and later adjusted according to the known deviation. The choice of method depended above all on the accessibility of the data point. If the point could not be reached at all it was necessary to revert to the WILD T1010.

The conditions surrounding this particular object offered several difficulties in the process of measuring, the major ones being effects of confined spaces, insufficient light and obstructed lines of sight. The practical minimum distance for measuring with the TC1610 indoors proved to be 1.75 m (sometimes no less than 2 m) which also happened to be the width of the lower corridor. Therefore, a comparatively large number of station points had to be used for a relatively small room. Also, in a long and narrow room, like this one, most data points have to be measured obliquely against the walls. When the angle gets too steep it is no longer possible to use the large prism in the line of sight but, on the other hand, with a reflecting tape against the wall the infra-red beam gets too drawn out. The best solution would have been to use a smaller prism that could be placed almost parallel to the wall, but without one at the time we had to come up with a makeshift solution. Thus, we placed a reflecting tape perpendicular to the wall and measured with a small off-set from the data point, which was later corrected in the field computer. We also learned that extreme care should be given to the setting out of station points. Their physical manifestation should be as permanent as possible and their location meticulously described on separate recording sheets.

I.6.3 The computer model

The coordinates of the data points, which had been stored on a GRM10 recording module, were transferred to a computer through a GIF10 unit. This was done at the end of each day. Leica software (File) was used to read the information on the recording modules. The coordinates were then converted in Geodos from the .pxy format into the .odb format in order to be edited and conveniently imported by the CAD program. For the editing a simple but slightly modified word-processing program was used. This work consisted of three parts: correcting off-sets and mistakes known from the recording sheets, copying data points needed in several elements (e.g. corner points) and, finally, dividing the data points into files corresponding to various components. A component can be either

[74] Some station points were only used to establish other station points.

the exterior limits (the contours) of a surface, the interior limits of a surface (i.e. a hole), a break line or a group of free points within a surface. In the CAD program (Microstation) the components appeared as opened or closed curves, or free points, which together defined the measured surfaces. An important principle behind the choices of data points was the aim to produce complete and reliable surfaces. Arbitrary break-lines and structural horizons outside the context of well defined surfaces were avoided. The purpose of this was partly to increase the consistency of the model, but also its reliability, as it minimises the risk of spurious surfaces being imagined by the eye of the observer.

This way a three-dimensional wire-frame model was made, from which any kind of plans, elevations or isometrics can be produced. The wire-frame model is not ideal for presentation, as it is difficult to read for anyone unfamiliar with the building, but the "see-through" nature of it makes it suitable for analysis. (*Plates 1–4*) Elements can be viewed from all directions, hidden surfaces can be easily compared with those lying in front of them, and the distance between any two points can be measured. In order to generate cross-sections or shaded isometric projections, the surfaces have first to be triangulated and filled (rendered). This part of the work is time-consuming and partly requires the aid of specialists experienced in computer-aided design. Finally, the model can also be used for technical analyses on the structure, as well as for making reconstructions.

As the model is transformed into two-dimensional drawings naturally some of its positive features are lost. In plates 1–4 the model has been shown from a "top view", a "front view", a "left view" and an "isometric view". The front and left views represent the building as seen from the south and west respectively. They are to be regarded neither as elevations, nor as sections, as they show the boundaries of all overlapping surfaces. The purpose of including these is primarily to give an impression of the wire-frame model.

II. Description of the monument

OF COURSE, like all other architectural edifices this funerary monument was built from the ground upwards, but in this case that statement is perhaps even more true than usual. The massive walls of the tomb were constructed through the successive casting of horizontal layers of concrete, one on top of the other. This *modus operandi* meant that all parts of the building went up together, bestowing both exterior and interior architectural elements a close structural correlation. In the following description of the monument I have tried to mirror this condition by the use of stratigraphical units (SU). Here SUs do not, as usual, signify various events or phases in the history of the building, but rather different steps in the original process of erecting the tomb.[75] This is an attempt to treat all elements with equal concern and to establish their relative chronology. However, a particular SU can denote a single block of stone or a structural element, as well as an entire layer of the building, representing everything from the exterior revetment to the interior brick wall. (*Plate 5*) This approach was originally used in the field documentation and following analyses, but has been kept in the final presentation, as it often facilitates making references to various parts of the construction (although initially the reader may feel the opposite).

II.1 The site

The tomb of Caecilia Metella is located on an elevated position on the Via Appia outside Rome. It is situated on the east side of the road, close to the third milestone from Porta Capena. The rise in the landscape represents the extreme northern edge of a lava ridge, carrying the Via Appia south. (*Fig. 6*) In the immediate vicinity of the monument this "basalt cap" is about 2–3 m thick and rests on a layer of reddish brown tuff of unknown depth. The lava rock is visible in some places but for the most part covered by a thin coat of earth.[76] The sepulchral building completely dominates the site, today just as it must have done when it was originally constructed.

The most important criteria for choosing a funeral site was, of course, postulated by the law forbidding interments inside the *pomerium*.[77] We do not know the exact limits of the *pomerium* during the first century BC, but by the time of Claudius this sacred border probably crossed the Via Appia just outside the Servian wall.[78] Visibility was most certainly an important aspect of the location of the monument. This would favour a site on high ground, near a well trafficked road, close to the city gates and with as few obscuring elements as possible. During the late Republic and early Augustan times large funeral monuments still tended to be spaced with some interval, as not to steal attention from each other.[79] Later on the extramural environment became considerably more dense, as the gaps were filled in. We are also told by the correspondence of Cicero that even though a beautiful setting of the sepulchre was highly valued, a high frequency of visitors and passers-by was an even more important criterion.[80]

The location of the tomb could very well be explained by the factors presented above. It should be noted, though, that this place was also the closest available one outside Rome which offered *selce*, i.e. pieces of lava rock, used as *caementa* in the concrete of this building (see chapter III.2.5). Whether the building material governed the choice of the site or vice versa is difficult to say. However, there are good reasons to believe that the site had been used

[75] For the most part the numbering of the units represents the sequential order of the building elements, but there are a few exceptions. For example, the internal order of SU5 and SU6 cannot be established. Also, SU38 must have been put in place before SU36 and SU 37 but was given a higher number for practical reasons.

[76] For a more detailed description of the geological conditions see Paris 2000, 95–101.

[77] This decree goes back at least to the Twelve Tables. *RE* III (1897), s.v. 'Bestattung' (A. Mau), 354.

[78] Lugli 1970, 21.

[79] v. Hesberg 1992, 29.

[80] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 12.19.1, 12.12.1, 12.23.3. These letters describe Cicero's efforts to find a suitable site for the tomb of his daughter.

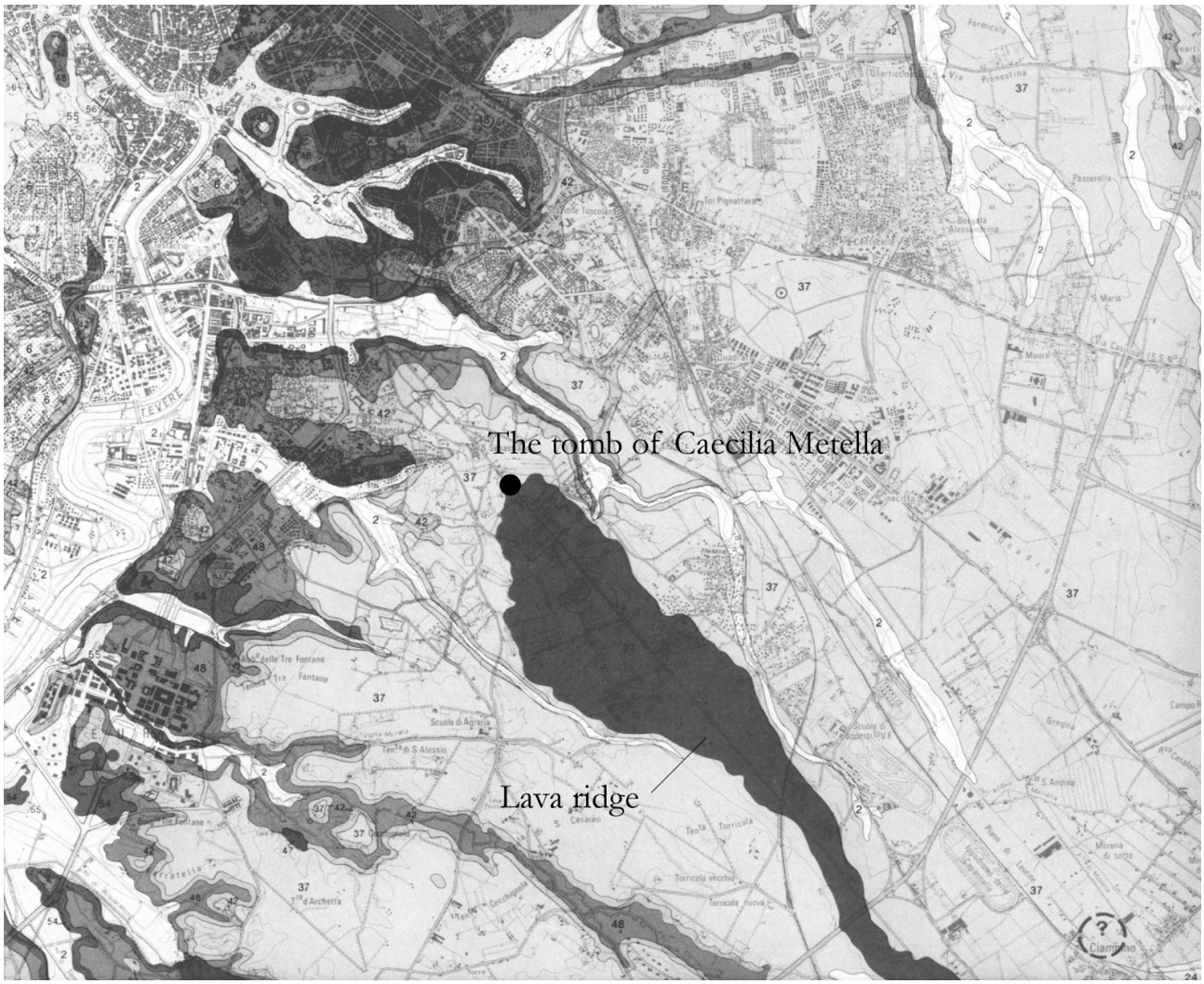


Fig. 6. Detail of *Carta geologica del complesso vulcanico dei Colli Albani* 1988 (D. De Rita, R. Funiciello & M. Parotto), showing the centre of Rome and the area immediately to the southeast.

as a stone quarry already before the erection of the tomb. Just as in several other places in the vicinity, *pozzolana* had also been extracted from this rise, resulting in a maze of *cuniculi* directly under the Caetani castle.[81] Other than that, we do not know much about the use of this area before the monument was built. An inscription found in a nearby hypogeum identifies the general area as *horti Manliani*,[82] i.e. gardens, or perhaps even a villa, of the Manlii.[83] This *gens* was prominent in late Republican times (2nd and 1st century BC).

The tomb of Caecilia Metella was erected immediately adjacent to the Via Appia, allowing only a minimum width for the sidewalk between the paved road and the podium wall.[84] This is probably the result of a wish to build on as high ground as possible, to increase the visibility, as the ground slopes away from the road. The maximum variation in ground level today between different points around the podium is about 4 m. The four sides of the building are not perfectly aligned with the cardinal points of the compass. However, for the sake of convenience henceforth the façade facing the Via Appia will be referred to as the west side of the building, and the façade with the entrance as the south side.

II.2 General layout and dimensions

Externally the monument consists of two major elements: a square podium and a cylindrical drum (or rotunda). The core of the building was built mainly in concrete (*structura caementicia*) and completely covered by a travertine revetment, which can

[81] Paris 2000, 98f.
[82] Wuilleumier 1951, 34–41.
[83] Quilici 1977, 39; Coarelli 1981, 47.
[84] Generally 3.10 m.

still be seen on the rotunda, although it has been stripped from the podium.[85] Overall, enough of the tomb is preserved to allow a fairly good reconstruction, except for the crowning structure and the entrance. These parts have been subject to both demolition and later building activities, which render the original remains difficult to interpret. The *caementa* used as aggregate in the concrete are pieces of local *selce*, with the exception of a few places where bricks or tuff stones were used. Occasional pieces of travertine can be found. As facing on the internal walls we have an early example of Roman brick work, *opus testaceum*.

The monument gives the impression of being almost a solid mass as only a small part of the interior is accessible. This internal space can be divided into four separate units: the cella, the upper and lower corridors and the west compartment. The cella is basically a wide circular shaft, about 6.6 m in diameter, rising all the way through the centre of both the podium and the rotunda. However, towards the top of the cella the walls are slightly inclined, narrowing the space. The two corridors are positioned within the square podium, one above the other. Both of them communicate with the cella and extend radially from it towards the south façade of the podium. The upper corridor opens up to the outside at ground level whereas the lower is situated mostly below ground level. Today the lower corridor is connected to the bottom of the cella through a low passage, but can also be reached directly from the outside through a modern stairway. The west compartment is a nondescript chamber adjacent to the lower corridor. Due to its asymmetrical position and rough character, it can be assumed that it did not belong to the funerary space of the tomb, but has been opened up in a secondary phase.

The present width of the podium, without any revetment, is about 28.6 and 28.8 m along the north and south sides respectively, and somewhat less along the east and west sides, 28.4 and 28.1 m.[86] It is probable that the podium was intended to be a perfect square with equal sides, and this may very well have been the case before it lost the revetment. The present variations are probably due to varying degrees of deterioration and differences in the thickness of the original revetment. This would have added at least 0.6 m on each side, and the original width including the travertine facing would then have been approximately 30 m. Many who studied the monument have been content to measure only the west side of the podium, facing the Via Appia, and thus underestimated its original size.[87] The diameter of the drum which still retains most of its revetment seems to range between 28.4 and 28.7 m.[88] A profiled base adds another 0.7 m all around the drum and probably brought its surface at the cardinal points of the building flush with that of the podium.[89] The diameter of the drum comes very close to a hundred Roman feet which would make the building a *hekatompedon*.[90] The original monument is preserved to a maximum height of 22.8 m above foundation level, or 21.7 m above ground as seen from the Via Appia today. The crenellated wall made of small *peperino* blocks, which presently crowns the rotunda, belongs to the Medieval constructions.

II.3 The foundations

II.3.1 The concrete foundations: SU1–4

The foundations of the podium, where they have been exposed, are resting on the tuff rock.[91] On the south side of the podium the lava rock has been cut away at a straight line to allow for these foundations. This could be explained by an unwillingness to build on two different beds, or by the requirements of the interior plan. It is also possible that the steeply cut ending of the basalt rock is the result of earlier quarrying at the site. On the north and south sides trenches were sunk into the porous tuff rock, in which concrete foundation walls (SU1 and 2) then were cast up to an equal level. The foundation

[85] For the evidence see chapter II.4.1.

[86] As my own measurements of the exterior are incomplete I have supplemented these measures from the plan of G. Foglia, which is the most accurate documentation as of yet. Meogrossi & Cereghino 1986, 602 fig. 322.

[87] See for example Wilson Jones 1989, 141.

[88] These measures were also extracted from the plan of G. Foglia. M. Wilson Jones reached the rather exact figure of 28.32 m when studying the monument, whereas the extrapolation of my own, unfortunately incomplete, measurements in the computer model suggests a diameter of approximately 28.7 m. Meogrossi & Cereghino 1986, 602 fig. 322; Wilson Jones 1989, 141.

[89] This was also the conclusion of M. Eisner, who suggested an original dimension of both elements close to 30 m. Baldassare Peruzzi measured the drum, including the base, to be 29.62 m in diameter. The original width of the podium, as well as the diameter of the superimposed base, was calculated at 29.64 by M. Wilson Jones and at 29.57 in the guide recently published by Electa (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma). Eisner 1986, 40; B. Peruzzi (B3), UA 477r, reproduced in Wurm 1984, 469; Wilson Jones 1989, 141; Paris 2000, 29.

[90] The Roman foot was 29.6 cm.

[91] The exterior parts of the foundations were investigated in an excavation carried out by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma in 1998–1999. The results are as yet unpublished.

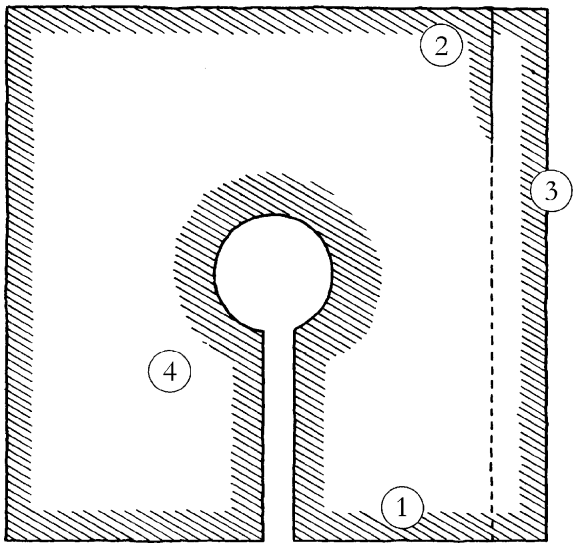


Fig. 7. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Schematic illustration of the foundation level (SU 1–4).

wall on the south side (SU1) does not reach the upper rim of the trench, whereas that on the north side (SU2) rises above it.[92] These walls appear to have been considerably wider than the original travertine revetment which rested upon them. Due to the sloping ground, the foundations on the east side (SU3) had to be set at a lower level, as they otherwise would have been left visible. This also includes the north-east corner and the easternmost part of the north foundations.[93] The vertical position of the foundations on the west side is unknown, but can be assumed to coincide with SU1 and 2.

Internally, both in the cella and the lower corridor, we find a continuous concrete wall (SU4) forming the approximate shape of a keyhole in plan. This wall seems to be a direct inward continuation of the external foundations of the south façade. Thus, SU1 is interrupted by the lower corridor, the extension of which creates a gap in the perimeter of the foundations. (*Fig. 7*) SU1, 2 and 4 together defined the exterior and interior limits of a platform for all subsequent construction work, with the exception of the east side where the podium wall began on a somewhat lower level. Henceforth, the upper surface of SU1, 2 and 4 will be referred to as the foundation level.

Along the exterior perimeter of the podium the concrete foundations were cast in trenches, only occasionally reinforced by planks, while imprints on the internal substructures clearly reveal a shuttering of wooden boards. These were applied horizontally in the lower corridor and vertically in the cella, in order to form the desired circular shape. There are no signs of upright posts in the concrete walls of the lower corridor, where they could have been expected, but it is possible that they were applied on the outside, integrated in a wooden structure allowing the two opposite forms to support each other. However, this hypothesis would imply that the entire interior space was dug out before casting, without leaving a string of tuff in the middle. The foundations of the cella suggest otherwise, as the imprints of the vertical boards at one place seem to stop a short distance below foundation level. The remaining part of the concrete wall appears to have been cast against the naked side of a trench, indicating that the interior was dug out only after the foundation walls had been made.

When clearing the lower corridor from earth and debris in the early 20th century, A. Muñoz could follow the concrete walls down to a depth of approximately 3.0 m below foundation level without any obvious interruptions.[94] It is quite likely that the foundations of the entire podium proceed at least to this depth. The upper end of an excavated recess in the east wall of the concrete foundation can be seen in the passage between the cella and the lower corridor. The greater part of this cavity is covered by the present earth filling in the lower corridor, and would have been made at a time when the lower corridor was completely cleared, perhaps by Muñoz himself.

II.3.2 The stone ring of the cella: SU5

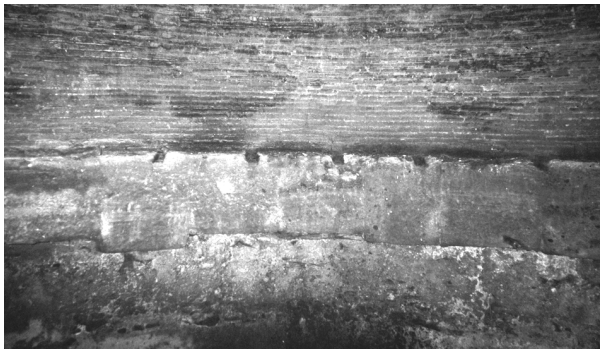
The transition from foundations to proper walls in the cella differs from that in the lower corridor. In the cella the concrete is topped by a protruding row of ashlar blocks (SU5) on which the brick faced wall is resting, whereas the brick lined walls of the lower corridor stand directly on the concrete foundation. The blocks are made of *lapis Gabinus* (also called *sperone*) and form a continuous ring spanning the passage to the lower corridor with a flat arch. (*Figs 8–10*)

These inwardly projecting blocks, easily levelled and reworked, offered the possibility to adjust the exact position of the cella walls. Any mistakes in the setting out of the foundations could thus be corrected before proceeding with the precarious work on the central shaft. This process was not needed for the more straightforward construction of the lower corridor. The interpretation of the stone ring

[92] At some places there are traces of these trenches having been extended upwards with wooden planks.

[93] The resulting step in the foundations of the north side can be seen on a depiction from the early 19th century. H.A.V. Grandjean de Montigny (B32).

[94] Muñoz 1913, figs 4, 5.



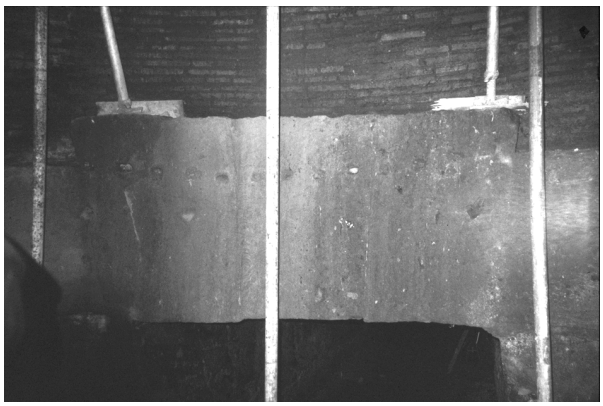


Fig. 8. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. View of the protruding stone ring from the upper corridor. The concrete floor at the bottom of the cella is partly destroyed. Photo by the author 1997.

Fig. 9. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The protruding stone ring at the bottom of the cella. Photo by the author 1999.

Fig. 10. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Part of the protruding stone ring spanning the passage between the cella and the lower corridor. Photo by the author 1999.

as a purely technical feature, is supported by the irregular size and rough surface of the projecting segments (cf. the well dressed blocks of the doorway in the upper corridor). Furthermore, the analysis of the computer model shows that the central axis of the brick lined shaft deviates from that of the foundation walls. For some reason, during the line of construction, the centre of the cella was shifted approximately 0.2 m towards the Via Appia. As a result of moving the cella after the original setting out of the building, the central axes of the two corridors and the cella do not coincide. Thus, the entrance from the upper corridor into the cella is not parallel with the south façade, as it otherwise would have been.

The three blocks that constitute the flat arch are 20–25 cm higher than all the rest and demonstrate a horizontal row of small holes on the side facing the cella. This line of holes traces the upper level of the adjacent blocks, although it sags slightly in the middle. Possibly, there are traces of lead inside these holes, although a verification of this would have to await a chemical analysis. On the top surface of the projecting ring we find several cuttings. These grooves constitute pairs and obviously held some kind of bars or poles spanning the bottom of the cella at regular intervals. A few, somewhat smaller, grooves indicate that additional cross-pieces rested on top of the first at a straight angle. The aforementioned holes along the inner surface of the flat arch fit well into the system, as its curvature corresponds exactly with the upper surface of the stone ring on the opposite side. Thus, we have traces of a horizontal grille with its lower members spaced 0.63–0.73 m from each other, and its upper ones at an interval of approximately 14.5 cm. (*Plate 7*) The diminutive size of both cuttings and holes suggests that the grille was made of metal. It was not aligned according to the main orientation of the podium and the corridors, but according to the deviating intersection between the upper corridor and the cella. Viewed from the upper corridor the grid would, thus, appear to be perpendicular with the rest of the building.

II.3.3 The floor of the cella: SU6

Although a floor level generally would be expected in connection with the upper surface of the foundation walls, no trace of a floor can be found there. Furthermore, an original floor at this level would actually have rendered the low passage between the cella and the lower corridor completely useless. Instead there is a lower, distinctly concave, floor (SU6) in the cella 0.5–0.6 m below the stone ring. (*Fig. 8*) There are no visible indications of a floor level in the lower corridor, although it is possible that any remains that existed were destroyed when A. Muñoz cleared the room from debris. Unfortunately, the floor in the cella closest to the lower corridor is also badly damaged, and hence cannot reveal any information on the nature of the transition from the one space to the other.

The concave floor at the bottom of the cella is made of cast concrete with a differentiated *caementa*

consisting of large stones at the lowest level, pieces of broken bricks on top of that and small pieces of terracotta at the surface. This is a kind of *cocciopesto* generally used as a watertight coating. The floor is at least 0.50 m thick at the edges, probably more, and has a maximum concavity of 0.76 m. It is tilting slightly from the west down towards the east at an angle of 2.5 degrees, probably as a result of settling. The edge of the floor has facets corresponding to the wooden imprints of the foundation wall, showing that it was cast at this level and not at some higher location from where it since has slid down. There seems to be a homogenous gap of some centimetres in width between the edge of the floor and the wall on all sides. This could be due to settling, or indicate that the wooden shuttering of the wall was still in place when the floor was cast.

The concave floor is only preserved to about 60%. The missing parts were probably removed during the course of some undocumented excavation during the last century. The remaining surface exhibits a pattern of picked indentations, the purpose of which seems to be to offer horizontal footing, perhaps for some kind of scaffolding. Possibly, they are related to the restoration that has been carried out on the cella walls at some time in the latter half of the 20th century. It should be pointed out that the concavity of the floor may not be intentional, but the result of a poor foundation allowing the construction to sag in the middle. However, the regularity, as well as the depth, of the shape makes me inclined to believe that it was original. Furthermore, despite the existence of a crack in the floor, the length of the curve from one side to the other is too great to fit as a straight line across the cella. Where the complete width of the floor can be measured, the curved distance is at least 6.47 m, whereas the corresponding horizontal diameter is less than 6.40 m.

II.4 The exterior of the podium

II.4.1 The podium wall: SU7–21

The square podium has completely lost its original travertine revetment, although pieces of the headers are still visible, embedded in the concrete core. (*Figs 11–12*) This core was cast in several layers (SU7–19) all between 0.70 and 0.85 m thick, with the exception of SU15 which is only 0.55–0.60 m thick.[95] The layers correspond to the heights of the facing blocks, and the work on the revetment and the core were probably interlaced, keeping the two elements constantly at the same level. Thus, the travertine blocks could function as exterior form-work in the casting process. Every concrete layer was topped by a thin blanket of rich lime mortar mixed with crushed travertine.[96] SU7, 8 and 9 are found only on the east side and bring the exterior wall up to the level of the foundations on the other sides.

Every other row of travertine blocks had alternating headers and runners whereas the intermediate ones only had runners. Thus, headers can be found in SU8, 10, 12, 14, 16 and 18. The spacing of the headers is highly irregular and varies between the different layers. Also, the ground level varies around the monument and the number of layers visible on each side is not the same. Above SU19 we find a considerably thinner layer of concrete, 0.4 m thick and originally lined by horizontal travertine slabs (SU20). The purpose of this layer was perhaps to level off any discrepancies on the upper surface of the podium wall. The perimeter of wide slabs could easily be checked and trimmed, before the careful casting began. This procedure was probably made easier to execute with precision by the relative thinness of the layer. The few remaining stones of this layer do not seem to have extended all the way out to the surfaces of the podium wall, though. (*Fig. 13*) Since the remaining distance is rather short, it is possible that these blocks originally backed some kind of cornice, protruding from the face of the podium.[97] This is confirmed by a drawing made by Baldassare Peruzzi where a travertine *fascia*, 45 cm in height, projects 29 cm from the podium wall at this level.[98] Three other depictions from the 15th and 16th century also supports this reconstruction.[99]

Finally, the podium was covered by a continuous layer of well cut ashlar blocks (SU21) 0.75 m high constituting, at the same time, a firm platform for the cylinder and an impressive upper surface at the corners of the podium, which were open to the skies. A written note made on the drawing of Peruzzi seems to indicate that this layer was made of marble, and not travertine. However, it could only be true for the peripheral blocks, which are now missing, as the inner ones, many of which are still visible under the wall of the cylinder, apparently are

[95] This layer (SU15) is situated exactly between the upper and lower corridors and probably deviates in thickness for this very reason.

[96] According to M. Eisner this was found only between every second layer. Modern restorations have obscured the picture, however. Eisner 1986, 37.

[97] A corresponding projecting element can be found on the tomb of M. Calpurnius Rufus at Attaleia. Stupperich 1991, Taf. 28.2.

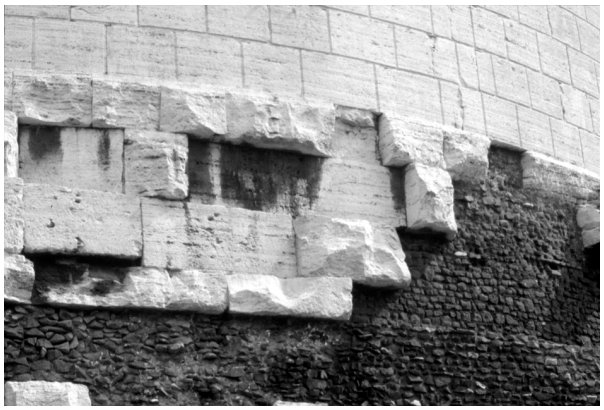
[98] B. Peruzzi (B3), UA 477r, reproduced in Wurm 1984, 469.

[99] *Codex Escurialensis* (B1), 33r; G. Colonna da Tivoli (B5), 78v; A. Lafréry (B4). They are all reproduced in Rausa 1997, 46–49 figs 3.9, 3.15, 3.20.

Fig. 11 (above). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The west side of the podium. Photo by the author 2002.

Fig. 12 (below). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The north side of the podium. Photo by the author 2002.

Fig. 13 (top right). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The top layers of the podium and the base of the drum (SU20–23) on the west side of the monument. The lowest blocks (SU20) may have backed a protruding *fascia*. Photo by the author 2001.



made in travertine. We should be cautious in giving this note any credit at all, since one block on this level has been broken not very far from the original surface, as if it once extended all the way constituting a header. This block, which is situated on the west side of the podium, is definitively of travertine. The total height of the podium from foundation level to the top of SU21 is 8.3 m.

Early depictions of the tomb, some of which are quite reliable, show that the podium revetment definitely was dismantled before the 1560s.[100] However, pillagers probably stripped the podium of most of its travertine revetment prior to 1302, as the walls of the castle abut directly onto the concrete core. This can be seen today at the south-east corner of the podium. Here a Medieval wall rests on top of the heavily eroded podium.[101] That the same once applied to the west side of the monument is evident from various depictions made in the 16th and 17th century, at which time the Medieval gate straddling the Via Appia was still connected to the west side of the stripped podium.[102] (*Fig. 14*) It is possible that a few pieces of the revetment still remained *in situ* in the early 16th century, as the sketches of Baldassare Peruzzi made in the 1530s include a measured profile of the upper part of the podium and the base of the rotunda (SU19–25).[103] In 1447 G.F. Poggio Bracciolini wrote that he had seen the monument complete (*integrum*), but then went on stating that a large part of it had been removed for the burning of lime.[104] This has been interpreted to mean that the writer saw the tomb before as well as after the destruction.[105] However, it is unlikely that this took place during the life-time of Poggio Bracciolini, since the castle was then still inhabited. The word *integrum* probably only reflects that the tomb had not completely disintegrated, like so many other Roman sepulchres. Very few pieces of travertine can be found in the Medieval constructions and it is most likely that the revetment was transported to some lime oven or reused at another construction site.

II.4.2 The entrance (equivalent to SU15–21)

The corners of the podium have now lost their stone protection and are rather heavily eroded, especially the south-west corner. The south façade has also been severely damaged and completely lost its original appearance. This is mainly due to the incorporation of the tomb in the Medieval castle, which is connected to this side of the monument. Much of the external damages to the façade have since been partly covered up by restorations, made of small pieces of porous tuff mixed with *peperino*, tracing the approximate outline of the rotunda also at the level of the podium.[106]

It is on this side (i.e. the south side) of the podium that we find the entrance. (*Fig. 15*) This means that it was not facing the Via Appia directly but had an intermediate space secluding it somewhat from public attention. In spite of its present, heavily restored, condition some things can still be said about the entrance. The height of the original opening corresponds to SU16–19, and the top of the arch must have been at the lower level of SU20. The surface of the concrete core at the level of SU16, revealed by the recent excavation outside the tomb,[107] indicates that the original travertine revetment of the south façade turned at the corners of

[100] For example G.A. Dosio (B7), UA 2552, reproduced in Muñoz 1913, tav. 1.1.
[101] The revetment, as well as the concrete core of SU19–20, must have been destroyed before the wall was erected.
[102] G.A. Dosio (B7); G.A. Dosio & G.B De Cavalieri (B8); G.B. Cavalieri (B9); Unknown artist (B10); G.J. de Rossi (B13).
[103] B. Peruzzi (B3), UA 477r, reproduced in Wurm 1984, 469. This drawing has wrongly been interpreted as evidence for the survival of the entire revetment into the 16th century. Wilson Jones 1989, 141.
[104] G.F. Poggio Bracciolini, De varietate fortunae 1.229–232: *Iuxta uiam Appiam ad secundum lapidem integrum uidi sepulchrum .Q. Cecilie Metelle opus egregium et id ipsum tot seculis intactum ad calcem postea maiori ex parte exterminatum.* "Next to the Via Appia by the second milestone I saw the tomb of Q. Caecilia Metella, which is still standing. It is an excellent piece of work and it remained intact for so many centuries but was then greatly damaged for the production of lime."
[105] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 555; Paris 1997, 54.
[106] On the west side of the podium, at the partly restored southwest corner, there is a small sign reading "R 1976". The nature of this restoration is similar to that around the entrance.
[107] The excavation, taking place simultaneously with my investigations in 1998 and 1999, was conducted under the supervision of Dott.ssa Rita Paris at the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

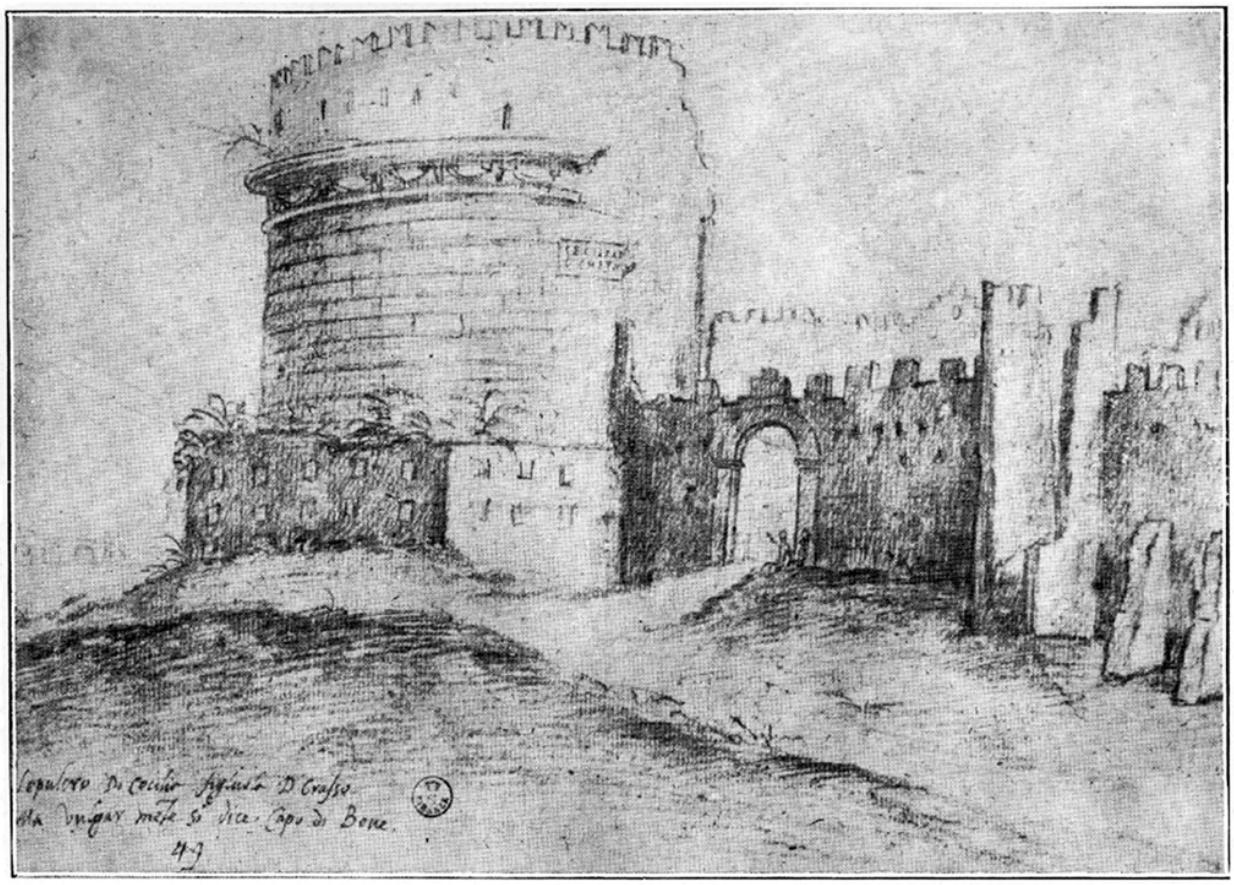


Fig. 14. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. G.A. Dosio, UA 2552 (B7).

the upper corridor and probably proceeded into it for approximately 1.7 m. Thus, the entrance was completely framed by ashlar blocks, probably forming an arch. It can be noted that the voussoirs of such an arch would interfere with SU20, and probably also SU21, but still fit within the wall of the podium. The former layer probably also corresponds to the thickness of the barrel vault of the corridor, which was then covered by the blocks of the latter. That is, the height of the podium was just enough to allow for the two corridors within, roofing and all.

The excavation mentioned above has also shown that the original ground level varied dramatically along the south façade. From the Via Appia the ground rose gradually until one reached the entrance, then the lava rock suddenly dropped away, probably as the result of quarrying, revealing the entire podium wall. It seems likely that the remaining lava was purposely left in order to provide a natural ramp leading from the road up to the entrance. Still, the ground did not reach the level of the upper corridor, and there must have been a small flight of stairs at the entrance.[108]

[108] This was suggested to me by Dott.ssa Rita Paris.

II.5 The interior of the podium

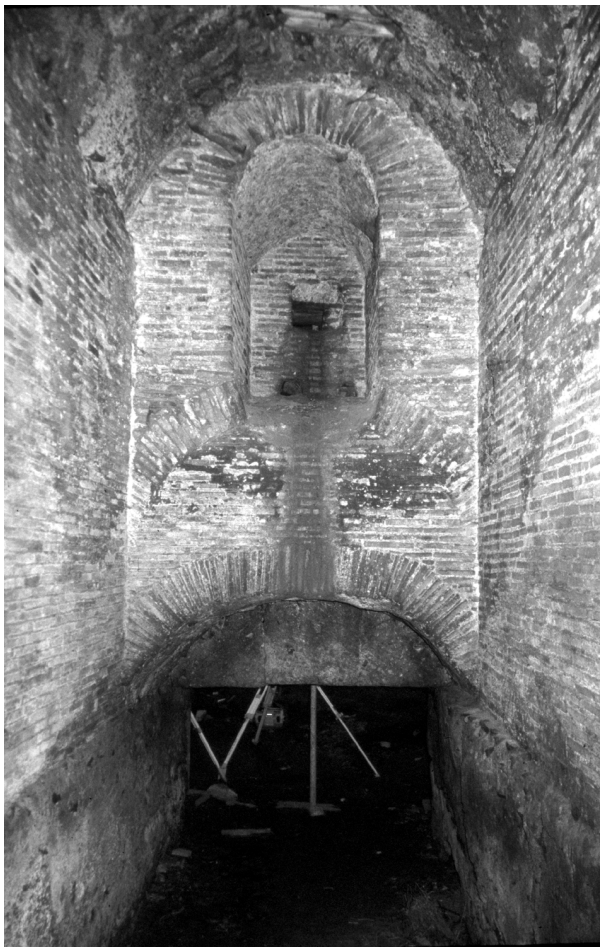
II.5.1 The lower corridor (equivalent to SU10–14)

The lower corridor is today accessible through a staircase along the south side of the podium. This was constructed by A. Muñoz between 1909 and 1913,[109] and there is absolutely nothing to indicate that it was preceded by a Roman entrance.[110] In fact, the present staircase would be completely obstructed by the original travertine revetment, of which several traces remain, and any other opening blocked by the basalt rock still *in situ*.

The lower corridor, or chamber since it apparently did not have a communicative purpose, is today approximately 9.5 m long and 1.75 m wide. (*Figs 16–17*) However, due to the work of Muñoz it is difficult to establish the original extent towards the south. Above the concrete foundation, the east and west walls are lined with a brick facing. A five-stone module on the east wall is 22 (occasionally 23)

[109] Muñoz 1913, 10.

[110] A number of architects and archaeologists who studied the tomb have interpreted the lower corridor as an original entrance into the cella, from P.S. Bartoli to M. Eisner. P.S. Bartoli (B15); Eisner 1986, 40.



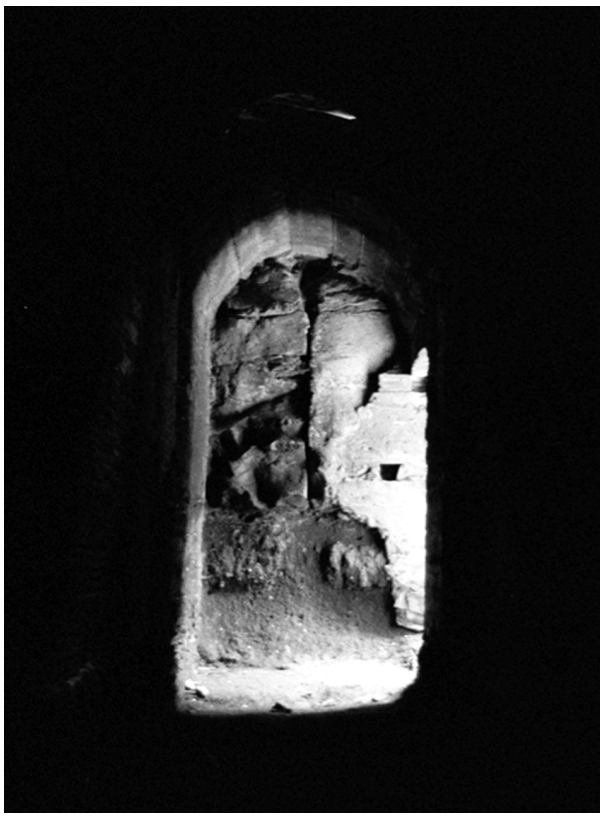


Fig. 15 (above). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The south side of the podium and the entrance to the upper corridor. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

Fig. 16 (top right). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The north end of the lower corridor with the niche and the passage to the cella. Photo by the author 1999.

Fig. 17 (bottom right). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The south end of the lower corridor with the modern stairs to the right. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

cm high, on the west 19 cm. This is a noticeable difference and probably represents two different teams of masons. The brick facing of these walls is between 2.42 and 2.54 m high and terminates with a row of nine put-log holes on each side spaced with an average interval of 0.9 m. These put-logs had the purpose of carrying a centring for the barrel vault which still shows the crude imprint of wooden planks. The brick walls as well as the original barrel vault are only preserved to a maximum length of 7.75 m since the remaining part of roof and walls belongs to Muñoz' reconstructions. However, the most extreme southern edge of the brick facing seems to have been an abutting joint, which indicates that the original walls never extended further south anyway.

The north wall of the corridor is also faced with brick but is not supported by any foundation wall. Instead it is carried by a rather flat-arched barrel vault spanning the passage into the cella. The intrados of this vault reveals that pieces of a yellowish and highly porous tuff similar to pumice were used as *caementa* in the concrete. The vault, which rests directly on the concrete foundation layer on either side (SU4), is cut short by the stone ring in the cella (SU5) bridging the entrance with a completely flat arch composed of three blocks. The length of the passage is 2.28 m, whereas the three stones of the flat arch are 1.33, 1.42 and 1.25 m long respectively, including the part projecting into the cella. This means that the stone arch presents a highly irregular

Fig. 18. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The vaulted ceiling of the west compartment. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

Fig. 19. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The well-shaft at the inner end of the west compartment. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

face towards the lower chamber. The fact that the blocks are of quite different size and not very well dressed suggests that they were not meant to be seen. In other words, the passage was probably not intended to be used at a regular basis. It should also be stressed that the passage is completely below the foundation level.[111]

In the centre of the north wall a vaulted niche, originally 1.20 m high and 0.78 m wide, opens up. The floor and front edge of the niche have eroded so that the present opening is considerably larger. The damage has cut through a relieving arch in the brick wall beneath the niche. The depth of the niche is 1.55 m and the thickness of the remaining wall separating it from the cella consequently 0.73 m. Three almost horizontal channels (approximately 12 × 16, 12 × 16 and 21 × 16 cm² in section) communicate between the niche and the cella. The two lower ones are situated at the level of the floor of the niche and they are built with a barely perceptible gradient. That is, the channels enter the cella 3–4 cm below the floor of the niche. Although their openings are rectangular, the channels themselves have a triangular section. The third conduit is positioned higher up in the centre of the back wall, and it seems to be sloping in the other direction. However, the inclination is so small that it falls within the margin of error. The niche has brick faced walls on all three sides and a somewhat carelessly shaped barrel vault.

The brick walls in the lower corridor still have some traces of wall plaster and it is reasonable to expect that all surfaces above the foundation, including the niche, were thus covered. Muñoz, who cleared the room from fill and debris in the beginning of the last century, mentions fragments of painted stucco decorated with palmettes which may have belonged to the roof.[112] There are two holes in the barrel vaulted roof, a small one 0.2 m from the north wall and a larger one at the other end, close to where the original Roman vault meets its modern equivalent. The smaller one is now filled up with rubble but probably once communicated with the upper corridor.[113] The other is still open and provides some light into the lower corridor. In its present form it is most probably a construction of Muñoz, and it is doubtful that it had a Roman predecessor.[114]

II.5.2 The west compartment (equivalent to SU11–15)

In the west wall of the lower corridor, 0.6 m above foundation level (1.6 m above the present floor), we have the entrance to the west compartment. A considerable part of the original brick facing has been cut away and a shallow recess excavated into the concrete wall. At the south end of this recess the worker(s) finally burst through into an existing cavity. (*Figs 18–19*) This compartment has a rather irregular shape but is basically the intermediate, triangular, space between the west wall of the lower corridor and another wall extending radially from the cella towards south-west. The connecting wall is broken at a slight angle and roughly follows the curvature of the drum, albeit at a lower level. At the narrow end of the compartment, towards the cella,

[111] If there was an opening at the south end of the lower corridor, it would have to be above foundation level because of SU1. The difference in height between entrance and passage would, thus, have to be compensated by a flight of stairs inside the corridor, of which there are no traces whatsoever.

[112] Muñoz 1913, 8.

[113] This hole is shown open in the drawings of P.S. Bartoli and mentioned as a trap-door by A. Hirt. P.S. Bartoli (B15), tav. 36; Hirt 1821–1827, 235f.

[114] Neither P.S. Bartoli nor A. Hirt have included it in their descriptions.

we find an approximately 7.0 m deep well-shaft. Although the walls of the shaft are not perpendicular a rough measure of it in section would be 1.8×1.8 m^2. Between this shaft and the entrance a massive square pillar of concrete occupies a considerable portion of the compartment. It is unclear whether it is leaning against the west wall of the lower corridor or if it is the other way around, but it is definitely prior to both the floor and roof of the compartment. Both the present floor surface and the ceiling are sloping down towards the centre of the building. However, the compartment seems not to be completely clear of its fill and it is doubtful whether the original floor has been reached everywhere.

The west wall of the corridor is 0.89 m thick and lined with bricks on both sides. However, on the inside (within the west compartment) the brick facing only covers half the wall, the upper part having been cast against wooden shuttering. No other wall in the compartment has brick facing. The concrete roof is a loosely shaped vault cast against some amorphous material, probably earth rubble. All evidence points towards the west compartment being one out of several partitions created during the construction of the podium. Each partition constituted a closed section divided by radial walls, and was filled with earth before they were covered by concrete. The purpose of the compartments would be to lessen the amount of concrete used in the core of the building and there could very well be additional compartments on higher levels, both in the podium and the rotunda, superimposing the one identified.

II.5.3 The upper corridor (equivalent to SU15–21)

The upper corridor constitutes the proper entrance into the tomb and leads directly into the cella. (*Fig. 20*) This corridor is today 10.70 m long and 2.45 m wide, but was actually a little longer (0.9–1.0 m) when the travertine revetment of the podium remained. Its concrete walls are lined with a brick facing and carry a barrel vault, as in the lower corridor. Today the floor is sloping inwards, probably as a result of the continuous raising of the ground level outside. The level of the original Roman floor surface is situated 0.54 cm below the present floor at the entrance, and is visible at the inner end of the corridor where the two floor levels converge.

In the construction process the lower corridor was first covered by a barrel vault cast in concrete with *selce*, about 0.40 m thick along the central axis. It was then covered by an additional 0.20 m of concrete, this time with pieces of bricks as *caementa*. Upon this level the brick walls of the upper corridor were raised step by step to a height of 2.16 m, thus providing a casing for the concrete behind. Then the proper floor was laid out between the brick walls with a thickness of about 16 cm. Finally, the walls were plastered. Recently uncovered fragments of the lower end of this coating mark the original

Fig. 20. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The upper corridor. Photo by the author 1997.

Fig. 21. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The upper left corner of the stone door-case with a pivot hole. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

Fig. 22. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The joint between the left door-post and the lintel. In the lower left corner remains of plaster can still be seen. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

floor level.[115] The floor itself is gone but could very well have been made of stone slabs.

The brick facing is badly damaged, particularly on the upper parts of the walls. It is possible that the floor level in the upper corridor at some point in time was higher and thus protected the lower parts. The brick lining does not extend all the way to the entrance, but stops close to the point where the brick walls of the lower corridor end (with a difference of 14 cm). The remaining part of the corridor, closest to the entrance, is the work of A. Muñoz and later restorations, and probably replaces an original structure of travertine ashlar blocks extending inwards from the revetment. The fired bricks used in the walls of the upper corridor, and probably also in the rest of the building, were made from flat roof tiles which had their flanges cut off. Pieces of these flanges can be found in the concrete fill immediately behind the facing, indicating that the shaping of the bricks was made by the masons at the site. The bricks are quite irregular in size and vary between 10 and 35 cm in length and between 2.5 and 3.5 cm in thickness. The walls have no put-log holes as in the lower corridor and the architect must have chosen another method for supporting the casting form for the roof. The five-stone module on both sides is 22 (occasionally 23) cm which corresponds to the east wall of the lower corridor.

As can be seen from a deep cavity made in the west wall of the upper corridor, the bricks do not only constitute the outermost layer of the concrete wall, but have also been used as *caementa* for some distance into the wall. The bricks appear to be carefully positioned horizontally in the mortar bed. Roman concrete constructions using reused tiles as aggregate are known as *structura testacea*. This type of masonry extends for about 0.8–0.9 m into the concrete core, at which point the bricks are substituted with the usual *selce*. The concrete containing bricks and the one containing *selce*, at this place, look as if they have bonded well, without any visible seam. There is also a vertical zone of about 0.2 m in width where the two materials occasionally have been interlaced. That means that the two sections of the wall were cast simultaneously, or nearly so. The wall of *structura testacea* was topped by a thin layer of lime and crushed travertine.

6.77 m into the corridor the brick walls are interrupted by a large stone door-case. (*Figs 21–22*) It is made of six ashlar blocks of *lapis Gabinus* on each side and spanned by a flat arch of similar blocks. They are all of somewhat irregular size but smoothly worked on all exposed surfaces. Traces of plaster reveal that the door casing was at least partly covered by this material and perhaps even decorated. There are pivot holes in both threshold and lintel on both sides, indicating the existence of two robust door leaves opening outwards. The blocks of the lintel are considerably longer than those of the door posts, and thus replace the barrel vault with a flat stone roof on the south side of the door. This was necessary to let the doors swing open without being hampered by the vault. Most of the threshold has been completely worn away and it is impossible to say if it was made of one or several blocks. As the small hole in the roof of the lower corridor is positioned directly under the threshold it is likely that this was equipped with some kind of funnel or duct to complete the channel. A small cavity in the surface of each post shows that the door could be bolted on the outside by a crossbar, but does not reveal the original date of this installation.

II.6 The exterior of the rotunda

The drum is constructed basically in the same way as the podium, with a core of cast concrete layers corresponding to the rows of the stone facing. The travertine revetment of the rotunda can be divided into three architectural elements: the base, the wall and the entablature. The state of preservation of the rotunda is considerably better than that of the podium, especially on the north and east sides. The south side, however, has suffered severe damage partly concentrated around the entrance spreading upwards and partly to the top spreading downwards. The total height of the drum, including base and entablature, is 12.0 m. The diameter of the drum above the base ranges between 28.4 and 28.7 m (see chapter II.2).

II.6.1 The base of the rotunda: SU22–23

The circular base consists of two rows of travertine blocks, a flat one (SU22) topped by a receding profile (SU23), 0.73 and 0.59 m high respectively. There is a row of well cut backing stones behind the facing blocks of SU22, also in travertine. SU22 has headers between every or every other runner, whereas the blocks of SU23 all rest on both facing and backing blocks of SU22. The profile mouldings consist of a half-round, a small raised fillet, an inverted *cyma recta*, another small fillet and a cavetto. The depth of the base is about 0.7 m.[116]

Obviously the decoration and surface treatment of the tomb were never quite finished as one of the

[115] These traces were found by the author close to the entrance on the east wall.

[116] The extant blocks seem to have shifted slightly, which makes exact measurements difficult to obtain.

Fig. 23. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Detail of the base of the drum (SU22). Photo by the author 1999.

Fig. 24. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Detail of the base of the drum (SU23). Photo by the author 1999.

preserved blocks of the base profile is only cut out halfway and a header in SU22 below still carries its protective rustication. (*Figs 23–24*) These particular blocks can be found on the southwest side of the drum. However, the same phenomenon appears on two other blocks belonging to SU22 on the east side of the monument.[117] The final dressing and surface treatment of the travertine revetment were probably carried out from the top downwards as the exterior scaffolding was taken down. Since SU22 is the first row of revetment blocks (counting from the bottom) of which some part of the original exterior surface still remains, it is actually quite possible that nothing below this level was ever completed.

II.6.2 The wall of the rotunda: SU24–37

Above the profile follows the main surface of the wall built in 14 rows (SU24–37), the first ten having a height between 0.57 and 0.63 m and the four topmost of approximately 0.72 m. Just as the podium, the drum has alternating headers and runners in every other row, although much more regularly spaced. (*Figs 25–27*) The thickness of the runners, where measurable, is between 0.66 and 0.74 m, whereas the headers seem to extend at least 2.25 m into the concrete wall.

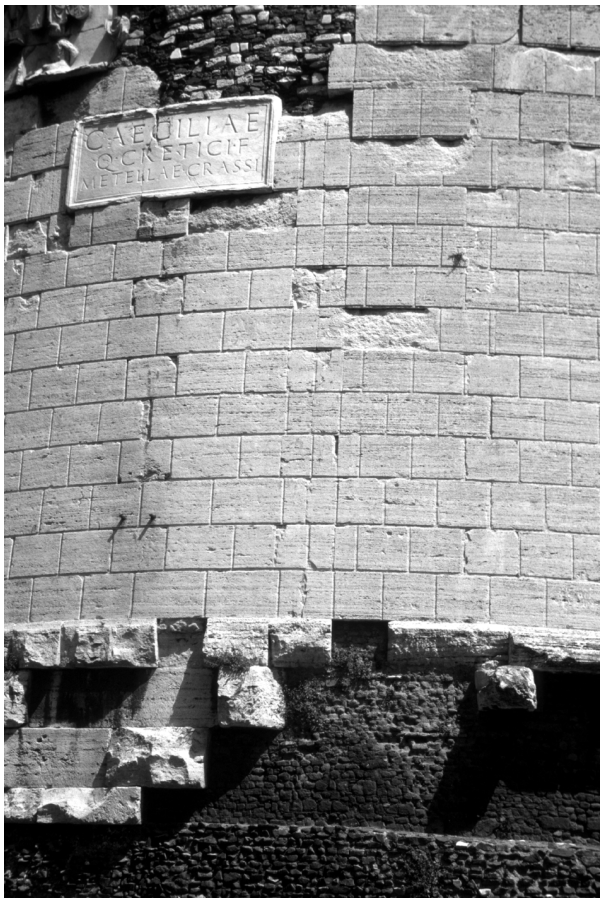
The blocks have been rendered a pattern of false joints, creating the impression of equally sized blocks having been used throughout.[118] (*Fig. 28*) Ideally, each header corresponds to one raised panel, the runners in between to two and the larger runners in the intermediate rows to three. However, this system has not been carried out in perfection, as some true joints cut straight through the raised panels. These irregularities in the pattern are concentrated along vertical lines tracing the entire wall of the rotunda (SU24–37) from top to bottom. There is one at the west cardinal point of the drum and another about 2 m east of the south. Possibly, they appear also on the east and north sides, although this has not yet been verified. In connection with these anomalous joints we also find panels of inconsistent size. The phenomenon can be explained as the consequence of the last blocks in each row being a little longer than the others in order to fill up the final remaining gap. If the already identified lines of irregularities have their equivalents on the east and north sides, we can hypothesise four teams of stone masons working simultaneously on the travertine revetment of the drum in a clockwise direction. In general they used ashlar blocks of equal size but as they reached the starting point of the team in front of them they had to accommodate the final stone to the space that was left. When the false joints then were cut out into the surface of the wall, the pattern had to be adjusted to suit these blocks resulting in both exceptionally large panels and panels split by true joints.

On the south-west side of the rotunda a small doorway has been cut out in the travertine revetment of SU29–31. (*Fig. 3*) From there a stairway leads to the top of the monument, following the perimeter of the drum counter-clockwise. This stairway has been cut out in the concrete core just behind the travertine revetment. The area corresponds to the most heavily damaged part of the rotunda, and since many of the headers were cut off from the concrete core it was probably the easiest part to tear down by looters quarrying for stone. The doorway, which is inaccessible today, could once be reached through the rampart of a curtain wall belonging to the Castrum Caetani, which connected to the monument.[119] The making of both the

[117] Tellini Santoni *et al.* 1998, fig. 265.

[118] It is possible that the facing of the podium was once treated in a similar way, although this is purely speculation.

[119] This connecting curtain wall is shown on a depiction from the 16th century whereas the doorway itself is not evident on any depiction until the 17th century. Unknown artist (B10), reproduced in Ripostelli & Marucchi 1908, 148.



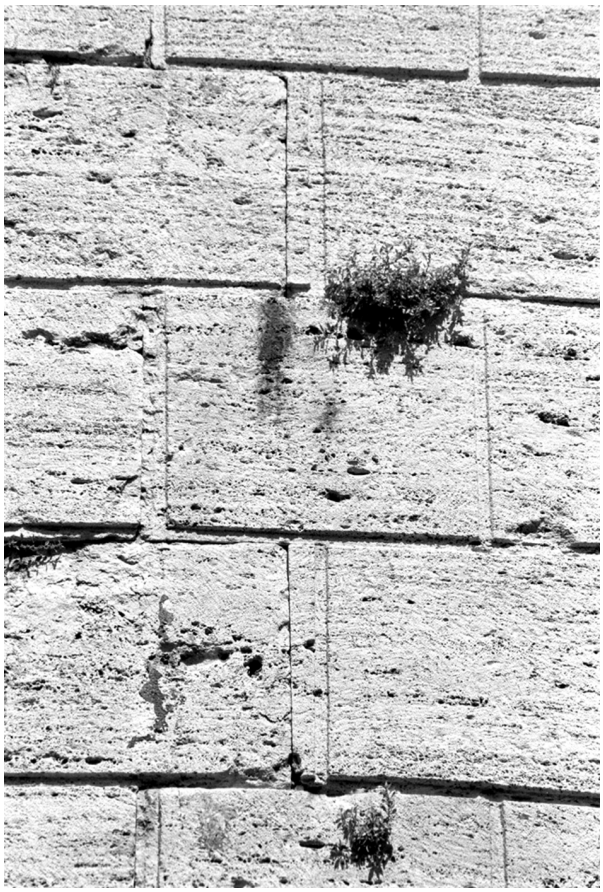


Fig. 25 (above). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The travertine revetment of the drum. Photo by the author 2002.

Fig. 26 (top right). Detail of the travertine revetment of the drum. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

Fig. 27 (bottom right). Section of the travertine revetment showing the bond between the headers and the concrete core. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

doorway and the stairway can in all likelihood also be ascribed to the Medieval phase.

Several revetment blocks of the rotunda have been badly eroded, obviously as a result of them having been positioned with their grains vertical instead of horizontal. Thus, their outer faces and raised panels have chipped off, as plants and frost damages have worn the stone. This phenomenon does not occur randomly, but is concentrated to certain rows.

II.6.3 The inscription: SU38

The famous inscription (SU38) giving Caecilia Metella's name is found on the west side of the rotunda facing the Via Appia. (*Fig. 29*) It is cut out in a marble block which is positioned within the travertine revetment and spans over two ordinary rows (SU34 and 35). It is possible that the last four

rows of the drum were made larger than the others in order to accommodate the inscription.[120] The front of the block measures 3.15 × 1.50 m² and is framed by a small raised profile.[121] The inscription reads as follows:[122]

CAECILIAE
Q·CRETICI·F
METELLAE·CRASSI

The block carrying the inscription has previously been identified as being made of Pentelic marble,[123] but seems rather to be cut in another material, possibly *pavonazzetto*. For a detailed treatment of the inscription see chapter III.6.

II.6.4 The entablature of the rotunda: SU39–40

The upper part of the drum is decorated with a continuous frieze (SU39) with skinless *bucrania* connected by garlands and with alternating *paterae* and rosettes above the garlands.[124] This frieze was interrupted above the inscription by a figurative relief, which extended downwards and thus replaced the topmost row of travertine blocks (SU37). (*Figs 30–31*) The main part of this relief is now missing but what is left depicts a *tropaion* and what seems to be a fragment of a draped figure, possibly the lower leg of a *togatus*. The *tropaion* consists of two barbarian shields, a helmet and a mantle. At the foot of it sits a captured barbarian with his arms tied behind his back. The missing parts of the figurative relief and the adjacent frieze must have been taken away before the construction of the Caetani castle, since the crenellated wall on top of the monument firmly rests on ashlar blocks which replace the lost sculptures.

The *bucranium* closest to the figurative relief appears to be extremely well preserved. It seems to be covered by a thin yellowish brown coat, which also appears on other parts of the frieze. The frieze is made in Pentelic marble,[125] whereas the cornice crowning it (SU40) is made of the usual travertine. The cornice has a rather complex profile composed of a long series of superimposed mouldings. They are, from the bottom, a small *cyma reversa*, a (projecting) fascia, a fillet, a quarter-round *ovolo*, a *corona*, a fillet, a quarter-round *ovolo*, a fillet, a *cyma recta* and finally another fascia. Possibly, the cornice was never finished, since it lacks any kind of carved decorations or dentils. According to M. Eisner the soffit of one block is decorated with a fleuron coffer between slanting eaves ("Tropfenplatten").[126] Unfortunately I have not yet been able to verify this observation.

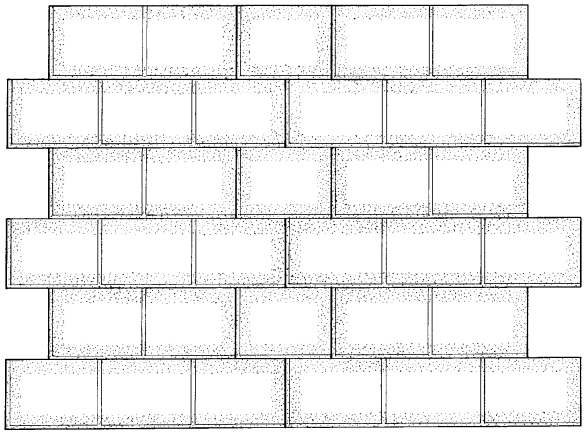


Fig. 28. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Schematic illustration of the organisation of blocks and false joints on the travertine revetment of the drum.

II.7 The cella

The circular shaft of the cella has a preserved height of 23.7 m, of which 22.3 m are situated above the foundation level. (*Fig. 32*) There is nothing internally that indicates the external transition from podium to rotunda, but further up, approximately 13 m above foundation level, the walls start tapering inwards. From that point on, the walls deviate from the vertical line at a constant angle of five degrees. The diameter of the cella just above the stone ring (SU5) is 6.61 m, and at the top 5.6 m. The upper corridor enters the cella 5.25 m above the bottom, i.e. above the lowest point of the concave floor. There is no convincing evidence of an original partition floor at the entrance level, nor of stairs leading up or down. Thus, we have to assume that any visitor to the tomb only had access to the upper corridor, and that the small area between the great doors and the central shaft (approximately 2.4 × 2.7 m²) provided those religious functions or offered those personal experiences that motivated a visit to the grave.

[120] Another possibility is that the architect sought to compensate for optical contraction.
[121] This huge block has an estimated weight of 7–9 metric tons and would thus have strained the capacity of normal cranes. See O'Conner 1993, 171.
[122] *CIL* VI 1274, VI 31584; *ILS* 881; Gordon 1958, 30–32.
[123] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 550.
[124] Eisner 1986, 37. These elements are extremely worn and it is actually only the *paterae* that can be identified with certainty.
[125] *EAA* II (1959), s.v. 'Caecilia Metella' (A. Longo), 448f.; Paris 1997, 53.
[126] Eisner 1986, 37.

Fig. 29 (above). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The inscription. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

Fig. 30 (left). View of the upper part of the drum from the northeast. Photo by the author 1999.

Fig. 31 (below). The figurative relief. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

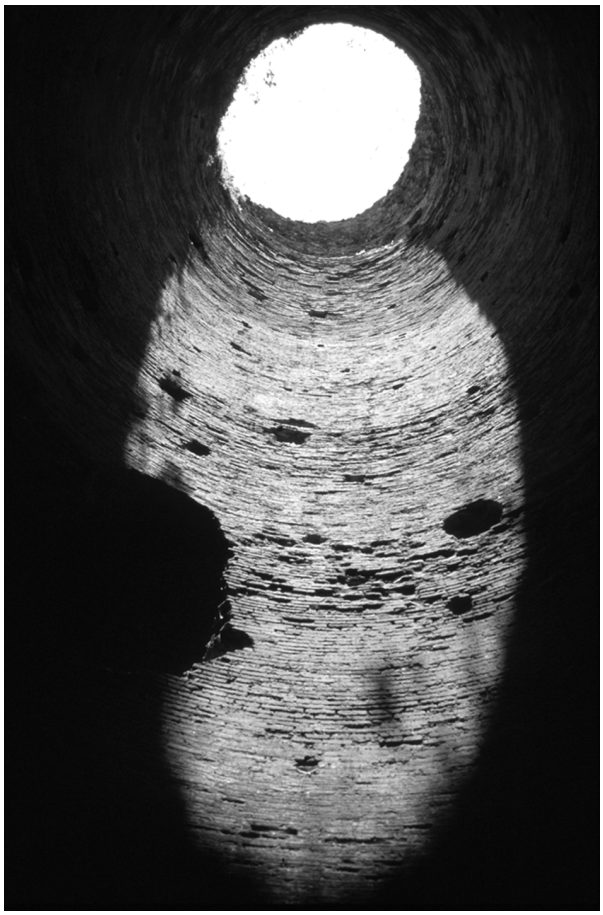
Fig. 32 (top right). The cella with remains of a broken vault at the top. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

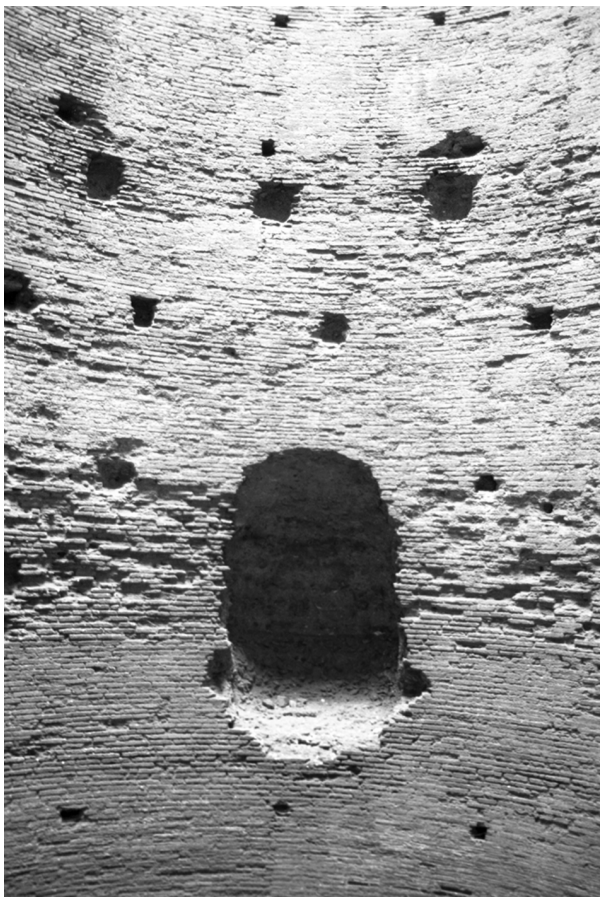
Fig. 33 (bottom right). The brick wall of the cella opposite the upper corridor. Photo by the author 1997.

Just as in the two corridors, the walls are built in *structura testacea* about 0.8 m thick. But as opposed to the walls in the upper corridor, where the transition between *structura testacea* and *selce* concrete was seamless, an apparent crack between the two different materials is visible at the entrance from the upper corridor into the cella. This could possibly be explained by more time having elapsed between the construction of the brick wall and the subsequent casting behind it. At the top of the cella the brick facing has been partially restored. The bricks that were used for this purpose have a chipped surface which clearly distinguishes them from the original ones. They are also slightly set back from the surface of the true cella wall.

There are a great number of holes in the brick lining of the cella (at least 143 were counted). An overwhelming majority of these are original construction holes, or put-log holes, divided into 12 rows with 10–14 holes in each. The first row of put-log holes is located 4.6 m above the concave shaped floor, which means that the scaffolding was free-standing until the construction work reached this height (approximately 15 Roman feet). The figure is consistent with other Roman buildings,[127] and could be seen as indicating a Roman origin for the concave floor. The different rows are separated from each other by a distance of 28–32 bricks and each hole represents two (sometimes three) bricks in height. Many holes have been enlarged in later times to serve various functions, and at two different levels above the entrance of the upper corridor into the cella holes for cross-beams can be identified. These cross-beams, three at each level, were probably inserted in the Medieval period to support floors or landings. The largest cavity in the cella wall is situated opposite to the upper corridor and measures approximately 2.7 m in height, 1.6 m in width and 1.0 m in depth. It is basically a very rough recess excavated into the concrete wall. This could have been done during the Middle Ages or later, but would probably require some kind of floor or landing to work from. Another large cavity, 3.2 m wide, exists immediately above the entrance from the upper corridor. It extends horizontally and actually corresponds to three individual holes for cross-beams on the opposite side of the cell. The fact that this latter cavity was reported and described in 1804 whereas the former one was not even mentioned, may indicate that the former did not then exist.[128]

There is an interesting difference in the preservation of the brick facing in the upper and lower parts of the cella. (*Fig. 33*) The division line is located





[127] DeLaine 1997, 145.
[128] Uggeri 1804, 59.

immediately below the entrance of the upper corridor, and from this line down the facing is almost completely intact whereas the upper part has suffered substantial, presumably manmade, damage. A possible explanation could be that the cella from early on was filled with earth and rubble, perhaps from the collapsing roof, perhaps intentionally, and that this fill constituted a floor level all through the Middle Ages protecting the lower walls of the cella. Further evidence for this is the lack of large holes for wooden beams, which would have been necessary to span the cella with a floor at the level of the upper corridor. Although none of it is to be seen today, traces of plaster on the cella walls were reported in the 19th century.[129]

II.8 The superstructure

II.8.1 The altar ring: SU41–42

The cornice carries an additional, receding row of rather high travertine blocks (SU41), continuing the line of the rotunda wall. This row is only partly preserved and above this level Medieval battlements take over almost completely. However, there are a few blocks that may still be *in situ*, hinting at a so-called "altar ring" (SU42) on top of the aforementioned row. Vertically standing blocks, identified as stylised altars, were probably connected by horizontal orthostates, with the two alternating one after the other.[130] There are at least three (perhaps five?) remaining altar-stones left in SU42, incorporated in the Medieval constructions: one on the northwest side, two on the southeast and three possible ones on the north to northeast. They are approximately 1.5 m high and 0.7 m wide and have simple projecting bands at the foot and the top. (*Fig. 30*)

II.8.2 The interior top ring: SU43

Within SU41, on approximately the same level, there are remains of another stone ring (SU43). (*Fig. 34*) It rests on a concrete layer that constitutes a horizontal floor on top of the monument, within the altar ring. This concentric ring is withdrawn about 2.9 m from the outer surface of the rotunda, and probably formed a wide channel for drainage along the perimeter of the drum, together with SU41. Its upper and outer surfaces are rather well dressed, whereas the backside is rough. This may indicate that the ring was backing an earth fill on top of the monument.[131]

Fig. 34. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The interior top ring. Photo by the author 1999.

Fig. 35. The tomb of Caecilia Metella. The top of the drum with remains of a broken vault in the centre. Photo by N. Hillbom 1998.

II.8.3 The roof of the cella: SU44

The upper end of the cella rises above the last concrete layer of the rotunda (equivalent to SU40) and was once roofed by a domed vault (SU44), which is now only partly preserved. (*Fig. 35*) The concrete of this vault has *caementa* that differ from the usual *selce*. It includes pieces of a yellowish and highly porous tuff similar to pumice, probably to lessen the weight of the vault and minimise the risk of having it collapse. However, this tuff is not unique for the building as it can also be found in the small barrel vault spanning the passage between the lower corridor and the cella. On the west side of the broken cupola there is an opening with projecting spur walls and steps leading into the cella. The present structure seems to belong to the Medieval period, although a preceding one cannot be ruled out.[132]

[129] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 552.
[130] For a discussion on the meaning of this element see chapter IV.1.
[131] Eisner 1986, 41 n. 108.
[132] This opening can be compared to a similar one in the conical vault of the Forum Baths at Pompeii. Licht 1968, 211f. figs 211–212.

III. Formal analysis – the date and commissioner of the tomb

III.1 General considerations

This chapter constitutes a presentation and formal analysis of the most important physical aspects of the tomb, and also of the prosopographical evidence concerning the family of Caecilia Metella. Whereas the description of the monument in the previous chapter was arranged with an emphasis towards the general structure and internal stratigraphy of the building, here we will look at separate features, such as building materials, construction techniques and decoration. These individual analyses aim to identify the commissioner of the building and to determine the date of the tomb. The wide range of these investigations also encompasses many other issues, and will thus lay a general foundation for the interpretative (both typological and spatial) and historical analyses in the following chapters.

III.1.1 Problems of dating

One of the intermediate aims of the present study is to establish a precise date for the construction of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. However, due to the lack of direct literary and epigraphic information on this subject, the query provides a formidable task. A superficial investigation will immediately present several indications that the building must be placed within the first century BC or the first half of the following one. The inscription and the materials used (among other things) practically exclude any other period. But to narrow down the time-frame further, or to pin-point the exact date, demands considerably more effort. The problem at hand is well illustrated by a statement of M.E. Blake (perhaps somewhat tainted by resignation): "Unfortunately, it [the tomb of Caecilia Metella] has thus far defied all attempts to date it with precision."[133] Nonetheless, a considerable number of scholars have tried. Their efforts will be discussed below and a complete overview is presented in table III.1.[134] It can be noted that several of the authors have only used a single criterion, such as decoration, when dating the tomb.

This brings us to a methodological problem of some importance. Can the monument be dated by its construction technique, its ornamental decoration or general shape without falling into a circular argument? The extant chronologies of these features, found for example in handbooks on Roman architecture, may partly be derived from a very limited number of buildings, including the tomb of Caecilia Metella. There are several instances in previous research, where scholars erroneously work in both directions simultaneously, producing chronologies regarding both the monument and the particular feature in question, the two thereby seemingly supporting each other. Furthermore, the fact that a certain trait until now has not been found to exist before a given date does not conclusively exclude an even earlier date of origin. Thus, we have to constantly be prepared to re-define our knowledge on these matters. To minimise these problems I will use as many criteria as possible and present the comparative material in some detail. Finally, I will also try to evaluate the various pieces of evidence according to their estimated credibility.

Another crucial issue is to define exactly what event we are trying to date at every point of the discussion. It is important to emphasise that a tomb could be constructed long before or after the intended owner was dead.[135] What is more, the tomb may not originally have been intended for the person who finally came to rest in it. Thus, there are at least four different time-related questions to consider:

When did Caecilia Metella die?
When was the construction of the tomb initiated?
How long was the monument under construction?
When was the inscription made?

[133] Blake 1947, 171.
[134] See also chapter I.2.3.
[135] The tomb of Verginius Rufus was still not finished ten years after his death. Plinius minor, *Epistulae* 6.10.

III.1.2 The evidence

The various kinds of evidence that we have at our disposal for reaching a date of construction have been summarised below. The given order represents, by and large, the course of appearance in this chapter and follows my general line of argumentation.

The building materials. (III.2)
The construction techniques. (III.3)
The frieze, the relief and other decoration. (III.4–5)
The inscription on the tomb. (III.6)
Prosopographical information. (III.7–8)

A typological analysis of the form and layout of the monument cannot be considered a very precise instrument of dating, and in my view it does not contribute at all in this regard. Thus, I have not included it in this chapter, although the issue will be discussed in the next one from another point of view, that of architectural interpretation. As of yet there is no useful stratigraphical, or similar archaeological, information at hand, but future excavations around, within and on top of the sepulchre might change that.[136]

Most of the evidence presented in this chapter has been discussed before. My aim is to make a complete review of what has been said by earlier scholars and present a renewed analysis, while also introducing some new criteria for dating the tomb. The most important one is a study of punctuation marks in Roman inscriptions between 68 BC and AD 14. Other issues that have not been considered before are the draped figure of the relief and the use of light aggregate in the vaults. Some historical facts, which have previously been overlooked, should also be taken into account, such as the early death of the husband of Caecilia Metella. His early demise recasts the question of the identity of the commissioner of the tomb.

III.1.3 Previously suggested dates

All previously suggested dates of the tomb are listed in table III.1. The majority of these references derives from various handbooks on Roman architecture, archaeological guides or similar treatises of a general character. Most of the authors have not made any detailed studies of their own on the tomb of Caecilia Metella. Several probably did not even visit the building before writing on it. Thus, many of the suggested dates are merely a reiteration of what others have said. Those authors who have clearly stated that the proposed date results from the work of previous scholars have not been included here. Unfortunately, very few scholars have presented any arguments to support their suggested dates. Some names appear several times in the table and in all those cases the author has, more or less, repeated the same date.

The very early dates of construction that were proposed in the 19th century were all based on the two (false) assumptions that Caecilia Metella was married to the famous *triumvir* Crassus (*RE* 68), and that the tomb had to be built before his death in 53 BC. This line of reasoning seems to originate from A. Nibby. After that, most studies, with only a few exceptions (for example Matz 1928), tended to favour an Augustan date.[137] This was the general state of affairs until the paper of G. Lugli was published in 1956, advocating a date shortly after 50 BC.[138] In this article the author tried to pin-point the time of death of Caecilia Metella using prosopographical evidence. In doing this he made several mistakes. He erroneously stipulated that M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58), the presumed son of Caecilia, had to be 43 years of age to enter his consulship. At that time, however, the Sullan minimum age requirement was not upheld (see below chapter III.7.4). Lugli also seems to have assumed that both the father and the husband of Caecilia Metella had to be still alive when she died, since they appear in her epitaph. In the end, the only real argument that is presented in support of the suggested date of the tomb (and thus of her death) is the restricted use of marble in the construction.[139] All the subsequent adherents of this early date most likely fall back on this article.

Another group of dates is centred in the late Augustan period (around 10 BC or later). This alternative was supported in one case by the presence of fired bricks in the tomb,[140] and in the others by comparisons with the *bucrania* of Ara Pacis. It has to be stressed that some scholars have proposed an (early) Augustan date merely on the grounds of a superficial comparison with the mausoleum of Augustus, which happens to be one of the few dated monumental circular tombs. Both R. Fellmann and A.E. Gordon should be mentioned for making detailed reviews of the thitherto existing evidence.

[136] The final publication of the excavations that were carried out around the tomb in 1998 and 1999 has not yet come out.

[137] The fact that the inscription of the tomb was not included in the first volume of *CIL*, published in 1863, indicates that the editors considered it to be made after the death of Caesar.

[138] Lugli 1956, 239. Already some years before B. Götze had revived an early date around 50 BC, but it is unclear on what grounds. Götze 1939, 18.

[139] Lugli 1956, 238.

[140] Frank 1924, 145.

Nibby 1838–1841, 550	(the tomb)	67–53 BC
Canina 1853a, 87 n. 25	(the tomb)	67–53 BC
Parker 1877, 23	(the tomb)	67–53 BC
Hübner 1885, no. 61	(the inscription)	early Augustan
Hülsen 1896, 58	(letters of the inscription)	Augustan rather than late Republican
Noack 1910, 117f.	(the tomb)	contemporary with Augustus' tomb
Woelcke 1911, 47	(letters and shape of tomb)	Augustan
Van Deman 1912, 395f.	(construction technique)	Augustan (i.e. 44 BC–AD 14)
Sandys 1919, 42	(letters of the inscription)	early Augustan
Rivoira 1921, 17	(the tomb)	middle or late Augustan
Toebelmann 1923, 8f.	(the frieze)	after 30 BC
Frank 1924, 25, 145	(building materials)	ca 20 BC; after 10 BC (!)
Ashby 1927, 183	(decorations)	early Augustan
Matz 1928, 287	(the tomb)	late Republican
Strong 1929, 136	(typology and the frieze)	early Augustan (before 13 BC)
Robertson 1929, 340	(the tomb)	ca 20 BC
Bendinelli 1931, 276	(the tomb)	late Republican or early Imperial
Napp 1933, 24	(the frieze)	after 9 BC
Götze 1939, 18	(the tomb)	middle of the 1st century BC
Blake 1947, 171	(historical facts)	ca 30 BC
Lugli 1956, 239	(death of Caecilia)	50–40 BC (closer to 50)
Castagnoli 1956, fig. 25	(the tomb)	last decades of the Republic
Vermeule 1957, 241	(the frieze)	early Augustan (before 13 BC?)
Lugli 1957, 587	(the tomb)	50–40 BC (probably 50)
Fellmann 1957, 68	(construction and frieze)	ca 20 BC (with reservation)
Gordon 1958, 32	(letters of the inscription)	early Augustan
EAA II (1959), 448	(revetment and frieze)	late Republican
Crema 1959, 250	(the tomb)	shortly after 50 BC
EAA IV (1965), 875	(the tomb)	50–40 BC
Holloway 1966, 172	(historical facts)	after 28 BC
Bammer 1968–1971, 30	(the frieze)	Augustan
Honroth 1971, 19f.	(the frieze)	late Augustan (after 9 BC)
Quilici 1972, 35	(the tomb)	50 BC or shortly after
Quilici 1977, 53	(prosopography)	50 BC or shortly after
Coarelli 1981, 48	(the tomb)	early Augustan
Marta 1986, 17, 30	(concrete and bricks)	44–23 BC
Simon 1986, 166	(the tomb)	early Augustan
Eisner 1986, 204f.	(the frieze)	shortly before 9 BC (20–10 BC)
Zanker 1988, 16f.	(the tomb)	ca 30 BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 141	(the tomb)	ca 10 BC
Kockel 1992b, 67	(the tomb)	the end of the 1st century BC
von Hesberg 1992, 97	(the tomb)	the first 10 years of Augustus' reign
Paris 1997, 53	(decorative elements)	30–20 BC
Quilici 1997, 42, 43	(the tomb)	ca 50 BC; 50–40 BC
Paris 2000, 10	(the tomb)	30–20 BC
Gros 2001, 431	(decorative elements)	15–10 BC
LTUR Suburbium I (2001), 111	(the tomb)	last quarter of the 1st century BC

Table III.1. Previously published dates of the tomb. The column in the middle specifies what the given date pertains to, or what criteria the author has used in reaching the date. In cases where the exact intentions and criteria of the author are unknown, the date has been supposed to apply to the tomb in general.

III.2 Building materials

This section is a review of the different building materials employed in the tomb of Caecilia Metella,[141] and some that were not (*Anio tufa*, *lapis Albanus* and Carrara marble, which are distinguished by an asterisk [*] in the headings). These have been included to illustrate some of the most important alternatives at hand, and thus bring to light the active choices made by the architect. The order in which the various stones are presented can be said to represent their quality, or exclusivity, whereby materials of comparable standing will be treated together. Italian, Latin and English expressions have been mixed in a way that I feel corresponds best to standard archaeological terminology.

III.2.1 Grotta oscura tufa

This is probably the material used as *caementa* in the concrete of the vault spanning the passage between the cella and the lower chamber (equivalent to SU10), and in the concrete of the cupola (SU44). It is a granular and porous greyish yellow tuff which was used in squared-stone masonry from the 4th until the end of the 2nd century BC and continued to be used in foundations even later.[142] Because of its comparatively light weight, it became standard material for the aggregate in vaulting. This practice of lightening vaults by the use of carefully selected materials was introduced in the period of Augustus,[143] and can be witnessed in another cylindrical tomb dating from this time, the tomb of L. Sempronius Atratinus at Gaeta (C12).[144]

*III.2.2 Anio tufa**

This material is not present in the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The *Anio tufa* is reddish brown, with a relatively fine texture. It was used sparingly during the latter half of the 2nd century BC, but became the standard tuff stone in construction by the time of Augustus.[145]

*III.2.3 Lapis Albanus**

Lapis Albanus was never used in the construction of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, although it appears abundantly in the Medieval Castrum Caetani. This rather hard grey tuff is known for its black and white inclusions, which has also given it the name *peperino*. It was used at least from the 3rd century BC onwards, but was not generally accepted as a building material until late in the 2nd century BC.[146]

III.2.4 Lapis Gabinus

This stone, also called *sperone*, was used for the foundation ring at the bottom of the cella (SU5) and the door-case in the upper corridor (equivalent to SU15–21). It is similar to *peperino* but is coarser, sometimes layered and has a brownish tone. *Sperone* does not lend itself readily to the cutting of inscriptions or detailed ornaments, and generally presents a rather unattractive appearance. This was compensated by the lower cost of transportation from the Gabine quarries to Rome (compared to those in the Alban mountains),[147] and when used superficially it was often covered by stucco. As it happens, *lapis Gabinus* does not hold stucco very well,[148] which probably explains why the door-case in the upper corridor has lost all traces of plaster, except for a small spot in a well protected corner. (*Fig. 22*) According to G. Lugli *lapis Gabinus* was used in Rome from 144 to about 30 BC,[149] whereas T. Frank put its period of greatest use to about 125–50 BC.[150] However, it was quarried already from the 4th century BC. The earliest reported uses of Gabine stone seem to indicate that it was chosen for construction which was to be submitted to special dampness.[151] It was utilized for example in the construction of Aqua Marcia (144 BC), Pons Mulvius (109 BC), Pons Aemilius (late 2nd century), the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima (late 2nd century), Tabularium (78 BC), Pons Fabricius (62 BC) and Forum Julium (46 BC).[152] It was also used, in combination with *peperino*, for the massive walls surrounding the Augustan Forum, erected perhaps in 30 BC.[153]

III.2.5 Selce

This is the term commonly used for petrified lava utilized in construction. *Selce* – in this case a leucitic lava originating from volcanic eruptions in the Alban mountains – constitutes the main part of the aggregate in the tomb of Caecilia Metella. (*Fig. 12*)

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141 For the marble block carrying the inscription see chapter III.6.1.
142 Blake 1947, 27.
143 Blake 1947, 345f. The presence of pumice in vaults adjacent to Forum Julium might indicate an even earlier date of 46–44 BC. Amici 1991, 52. It has also been stated that the first recorded example of this practice should be dated to the reign of Caligula, but this must surely be wrong. Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970, 205.
144 Personal observation.
145 Blake 1947, 33f.
146 Blake 1947, 35.
147 The transportation of *lapis Gabinus* along the Anio was described by a contemporary author. Strabon 5.3.11.
148 Frank 1924, 25; Blake 1947, 35.
149 Lugli 1957, 308.
150 Frank 1924, 25.
151 Blake 1947, 38.
152 Frank 1924, 25.
153 Lugli 1957, 308.

This monument actually marks the extreme northern point of a lava ridge, stretching from the Alban mountains towards Rome and carrying the Via Appia for a long distance. Archaeological excavations have shown that *selce* was quarried at the site of the tomb, probably to be used in its construction.[154] This material has a long history of use, for example as pavement on roads,[155] and appears as *caementa* from the period of Julius Caesar onwards.[156] The number of known examples of this particular use from before the time of Augustus seems to be limited, though, and the often mentioned *cuniculi* of the Forum Romanum are not dated with precision.[157]

III.2.6 Lapis Tiburtinus

This material forms the revetment of the rotunda, including its base and cornice, and once also covered the podium. (*Fig. 25*) Travertine, as it is generally called, offered the same economical advantage as *Anio tufa* and *lapis Gabinus*, with the quarries located close to navigable water-ways. It was used in the construction of Pons Mulvius in 109 BC,[158] as revetment on various temple podia from about 100 BC,[159] and on tombs from about 60 BC, e.g. on the tombs of Bibulus (C58) and Eurysaces (C61). The rebuilt temple of Saturnus, which was dedicated in 42 BC, represents one of the first instances where travertine was used freely,[160] and its popularity continued to grow well into the imperial age.

*III.2.7 Carrara marble**

Carrara marble does not appear to have been used on the tomb of Caecilia Metella. Although the quarries at Luna, which are located near the border between Etruria and Liguria, had already been worked for some time, it was not introduced as a building material in Rome until 48 BC.[161] However, it did not take long before this domestic white marble was employed as revetment on a large scale, for example on the pyramid of C. Cestius (C62) erected between 25 and 12 BC.

III.2.8 Pentelic marble

The stone, which the frieze of the tomb is made of, has been recognised as Pentelic marble, by the present author as well as by others.[162] (*Fig. 31*) The identification is supported by the faint yellowish hue. However, it should be noted that this imported white marble sometimes can be notoriously difficult to distinguish from the Italic Carrara marble. The use of Pentelic marble in general is mentioned for example by Cicero (67 BC) and Strabon (late first century BC).[163]

III.2.9 Bricks

Although bricks from this period can be either sun-dried or fired (i.e. baked or burnt) bricks, only the latter kind will be treated here. Both sun-dried bricks and fired roof tiles had long been in existence throughout the Mediterranean, yet ordinary fired bricks were rare before the reign of Tiberius. They had been used occasionally in Mesopotamia since the 3rd millennium BC, but did not appear in the Greek world before the middle of the 4th century BC.[164] The shape and size of these bricks indicate that they were developed from their sun-dried counterparts, but they were used mostly for very specific purposes: either in constructions submitted to dampness (e.g. in walls beneath the ground) or as a substitute for a large number of stones that had to be cut in a complex way (here the moulding process could be labour-saving). This Hellenistic building tradition soon spread to southern Italy and Sicily,[165] but never managed to fully replace the much cheaper alternative of sun-dried bricks. We have evidence of fired bricks being used in central Italy (Sarsina) before 50 BC.[166] Here they made up the walls and the barrel vault of a subterraneous sepulchral chamber with little or no mortar. However, this mode of making and utilizing fired bricks was soon superseded by a new kind of brick, which was primarily used in combination with Roman concrete.

Before the regular production of fired bricks commenced in Rome and the neighbouring areas, broken roof tiles were employed instead. These had their flanges cut off and were then sawed or chiselled into convenient units, sometimes carefully shaped, sometimes broken up into irregular pieces. They were, however, always given at least one per-

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154 Paris 2000, 89.
155 The first part of the Via Appia was paved with *selce* (*silex*) in 293 BC. Livius 10.47.4.
156 Blake 1947, 40, 349.
157 See e.g. Blake 1947, 332.
158 O'Conner 1993, 51.
159 Lugli 1957, 321.
160 Frank 1924, 33.
161 Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 36.7.48. Although this passage does not provide a specific year, 48 BC has for a long time been the generally accepted date. See for example Blake 1947, 53. Some scholars have, however, chosen to question it. Lugli 1957, 329.
162 Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 550, 552; *EAA* II (1959), s.v. 'Caecilia Metella' (A. Longo), 448; Quilici 1977, 51; Paris 1997, 53.
163 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1.8.2; Strabon 9.1.23.
164 Dinsmoor 1950, 388.
165 See appendix D.
166 Ortalli 1987, 166f., Taf. 23a.

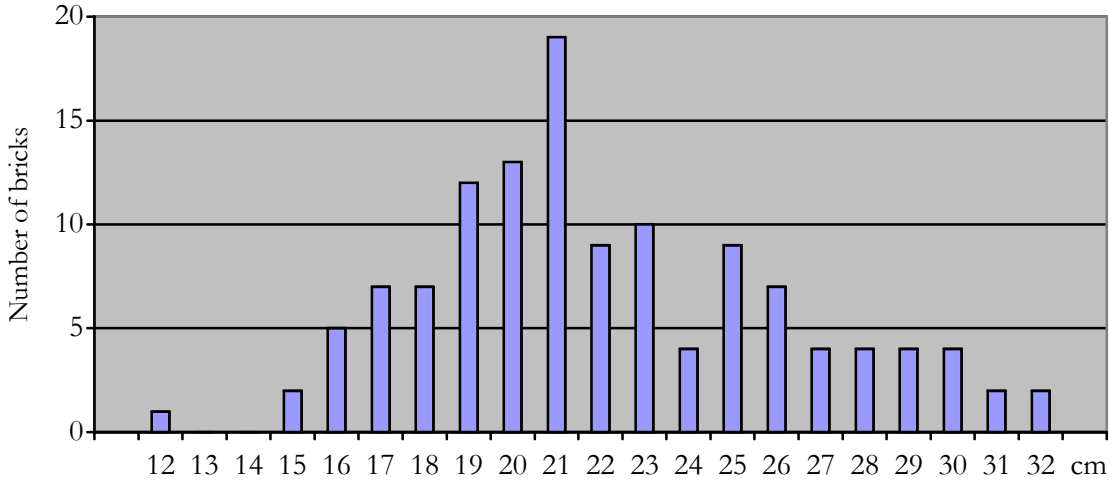


Table III.2. The dispersion of length of 125 bricks in the upper corridor.

fectly straight side, facing outwards. This practice of using recycled *tegulae* developed in Campania during the first half of the 1st century BC, and continued even after true bricks were being mass produced, at least until the middle of the 1st century AD.[167] Whereas Hellenistic fired bricks were quite thick, the typical Roman brick of Imperial times was considerably thinner than modern ones, and it is probable that this trait was modelled on the reused tiles. Contrary to the tiles, the true bricks were sawed into neat triangles in order to augment their bonding with the concrete core. According to most scholarly authorities this invention (i.e. the production of regular triangular bricks) should be placed after Augustus.[168]

In the tomb of Caecilia Metella fired bricks appear as wall facing and *caementa* in the walls of the upper and lower corridors and in the cella. (*Fig. 33*) These bricks are red, fine-grained and well fired. Pieces of cut off flanges found in the concrete behind the brick facing of the upper corridor confirm that they were made of roof tiles, and demonstrate that the process of shaping the bricks took place at the building site. The thickness varies between 2.5 and 3.5 cm and the length roughly between 10 and 35 cm. A sample of 125 bricks were measured along the walls of the upper corridor.[169] The dispersion of their length can be seen in table III.2. The diagram shows a nearly symmetrical curve with a quite significant cluster around 21 cm. A possible explanation for this would be that the original tiles had a dimension of approximately 42 cm and that they were often broken roughly in half. Pieces less than 15 cm in length were probably discarded or used as *caementa*. A five-stone module measures 22 (occasionally 23) cm in height, with the exception of one wall-section in the lower corridor where it is only 19 cm.[170] The measurements correspond well with the earliest brick constructions in Rome.[171]

III.3 Construction techniques

Whereas we have several literary sources touching upon the subject of building materials, Vitruvius is the only one that treats construction techniques. In order to better appreciate the nature of this information, I have gathered all relevant references made by this author in the concluding section of this subchapter.

III.3.1 Squared-stone masonry

This heading might have covered the extraction, shaping, transportation, lifting and final positioning of the stone ashlars. However, here I will focus on the organisation of the courses of blocks in the travertine revetment, i.e. the application of headers and stretchers. (For the drafted margins and false joints see chapter III.5.3.) The revetment of both the rotunda and the podium was provided with frequent headers in every second layer of blocks, although more regularly spaced on the former than

[167] Cf. chapter III.3.3.
[168] Blake 1947, 352; Lugli 1957, 585. However, for a possible earlier date in Augustan times cf. v. Hesberg & Pfanner 1988, 467.
[169] These samples were measured continuously, row by row, at four different wall sections with the exclusion of any brick that commenced or ended a preserved row.
[170] See chapter II.5.1.
[171] Marta 1986, 30. For some examples see appendix D.

the latter. On the face of the drum the headers, representing one unit in width (equal to one raised panel), are separated by stretchers two units in length (two raised panels), i.e. the horizontal distance between the headers of the drum is about twice the width of the headers. The intermediate rows consist of only stretchers, three units in length, with the joints between them centred above each header. Thus, the vertical joints are placed closer together than they would have been if the long stretchers were centred above the headers themselves. However, this was the only way to create a symmetric bond and still have the raised panels overlapping each other by half. (*Fig. 28*) Obviously, the impression of the "false bond" was as important as the true one. The travertine blocks of the tomb cannot readily be compared with all-stone masonry, laid according to e.g. the *maniera romana*, since the revetment is an integrated part of a concrete construction.

The frequency of headers is slightly higher than in "Casal Rotondo" (C6), but not as high as in the Mausoleum of Augustus (C8), which has headers in every layer. Several later cylindrical tombs have no headers at all, or just a few randomly spaced. Were the chronological data better for this group of monuments it might be possible to trace the exact development of this structural feature.

III.3.2 Structura caementicia

This is the term used by Vitruvius for the Roman equivalent to modern concrete,[172] sometimes also known as *opus caementicium*. It was made by mixing semi-liquid mortar and aggregate (*caementa*) in some kind of casting forms or lost shuttering. The aggregate consisted of broken pieces of stone or bricks, and usually made out between ½ and two thirds of the concrete's entire volume.[173] As opposed to modern aggregate, which is rather fine and always strictly graded, the Roman *caementa* had a fairly large and homogenous size (roughly that of a clenched fist). Nor was the aggregate mixed with the mortar beforehand, but it was positioned piece by piece in horizontal layers within the casting forms, sometimes with great care.[174] Mortar was then poured on top of it before the next layer of aggregate was put in place. Mortar, which is a rather wide expression, was usually made of lime, sand and water. It was not until Roman builders realised that volcanic earth constituted an excellent substitute for sand that the use of concrete became truly economical, as good siliceous sands are rare in the vicinity of Rome.[175] As it were, some volcanic ashes (*pozzolana*) actually improved the quality of the mortar and gave it hydraulic properties, although the Roman engineers did not immediately recognise this.[176]

Various forerunners of true (i.e. monolithic) concrete, consisting of stone rubble embedded in mud, clay or lime, can be found all around the Mediterranean basin and were probably indigenous to the Romans too.[177] But it is very likely that they drew on practices from southern Italy or Sicily where the development was further ahead.[178] Perhaps Campanian architects acted as the mediating link for the importation of this construction technique as well as others. There is, however, no doubt that it was the Romans who brought the material to the fore. Porticus Aemilia probably represents one of the first known instances of *structura caementicia* in Rome. However, whether the use of this construction technique should be attributed to the original building (193 BC),[179] or a later restoration (174 BC),[180] is somewhat unclear.[181] Other early examples are found in the podia of the temples of Concordia (121 BC) and Castor (117 BC).[182]

Typical for concrete of the Augustan period is the dusky-red mortar made from unsifted red *pozzolana*.[183] This is the kind of mortar found also in the tomb of Caecilia Metella and the *pozzolana* seems to have come from near-by pits.[184] *Cuniculi* for the quarrying of *pozzolana* have actually been found directly beneath the sepulchral monument and the Castrum Caetani.[185] That means that both this component and the aggregate (*selce*) were quarried in the immediate vicinity of the building site. The presence of thin intermediate layers of lime mixed with crushed travertine, which can be seen in the core of the podium, is considered typical for the Augustan period.[186] These were probably applied at the commencement of each separate casting stage in order to prevent the drainage of moisture and lime

[172] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 2.4.1, 2.7.5. At other times, though, he uses only *structura*.
[173] MacDonald 1965, 150.
[174] DeLaine 1997, 135 n. 6; Wright 2000, 116.
[175] Frank 1924, 37f.
[176] Blake 1947, 340f., 349.
[177] Blake 1947, 325; Wright 2000, 115f.
[178] See for example Lauter 1986, 57.
[179] Lauter 1986, 58.
[180] Lugli 1957, 409.
[181] These concrete walls have also been said to belong to an even later restoration from the period of Sulla. Boëthius 1939, 133 n. 32.
[182] Blake 1947, 329.
[183] Blake 1947, 334.
[184] Blake 1947, 339.
[185] Paris 2000, 99.
[186] Blake 1947, 348. However, R. Marta chose somewhat wider chronological limits: 44 BC–AD 41. Marta 1986, 17.

into the underlying concrete layer, or possibly to augment the adhesion between the layers.[187]

According to Frontinus, for the best results, construction work with concrete was restricted to the period between April 1 and November 1.[188] Work should also cease during the hottest part of the summer. The same source implies, however, that this rule was not always adhered to.

III.3.3 Opus testaceum and structura testacea

Opus testaceum is the modern archaeological term for the Roman method of facing concrete walls with a single layer of brick masonry. It served the twofold purpose of providing a form to cast within and a protective surface for the concrete.[189] *Opus testaceum* should not be confused with *structura testacea*, a more specific term which Vitruvius used to designate walls where broken tiles were applied both as aggregate and facing. These intimately related construction techniques were both introduced sometime during the 1st century BC. The earliest examples of *opus testaceum* in Italy have been dated to about 80–50 BC, and can be found for example in Pompeii, Cales and Casinum.[190] During the following two centuries it gradually replaced other facing techniques, such as *opus incertum* and *opus reticulatum*, until it became the predominant one. The use of broken tiles for both facing and *caementa*, which perhaps should be regarded merely as a subtype or variant, was more short-lived and has been confined to a period ranging from Augustus to Caligula.[191]

The walls with fired bricks in the tomb of Caecilia Metella are somewhat difficult to classify, and should perhaps be regarded as something with properties of both *opus testaceum* and *structura testacea*. Behind the superficial brick lining of the walls the use of bricks (now as *caementa*) continues for some distance, 0.75–0.90 m, into the wall but instead of terminating with another smooth brick facing, concrete containing *selce* then takes on without an apparent seam.[192] In other words, walls about three feet thick, made principally of fired bricks, served as the interior casing of the concrete core, corresponding to the exterior travertine revetment and going up almost simultaneously with the core.

Trying to establish when fired bricks, or broken tiles, were first used as facing on concrete walls in Rome is difficult. However, we know with some certainty that the technique was in use in Rome at least by 12 BC. This year provides the *terminus ante quem* for no less than five different buildings with bricks: the Domus Publica (rebuilt between 36 and 12 BC),[193] the theatre of Marcellus (dedicated in 13 or 11 BC),[194] the theatre of Balbus (dedicated in 13 BC),[195] the Rostra Augusti,[196] and the pyramid of C. Cestius (built between 25 and 12 BC)[197]. However, the theatre of Marcellus was in all probability completed to the degree that it could be used already in 17 BC,[198] and the Rostra Augusti has tentatively been dated to about 20 BC.[199] Only a short distance to the south of Rome this construction technique can be found in another building also dated to about 20 BC, the tomb of Munatius Plancus at Gaeta (C13).[200] There have been some other contenders for the title as the first brick construction in Rome, all of which can be seriously questioned: the so-called "Torrione di Micara" (C4), the "piccolo lupanare" at the Forum Romanum, the tomb of Aulus Hirtius, the tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus (C15), and the tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus (C65). I consider all of these buildings dubious as concerns either the date or the presence of bricks.[201]

Without anticipating the final conclusions regarding the date, it appears that the tomb of Caecilia Metella belongs to the very earliest examples of *opus testaceum* and *structura testacea* in Rome. There may have been several reasons for choosing this novel construction technique. Apart from questions of costs, availability and extant expertise, which are difficult to assess, technical explanations have been put forward. In steeply curved walls, as those of the cella, bricks might provide greater strength and stability than for example *opus reticulatum*.[202] However, what is more important, *structura testacea* re-

[187] Blake 1947, 350.
[188] Frontinus, *De aquae ductu urbis Romae* 2.123.
[189] The structural need for the latter may have been overestimated by the Roman engineers. Wright 2000, 122.
[190] See references in appendix D.
[191] Blake 1947, 349 n. 3.
[192] However, the lower part of the wall between the lower corridor and the west compartment has brick lining on both sides.
[193] Blake 1947, 256; Welin 1953, 212f.; Lugli 1957, I 586; Nash 1961–1962, I 362.
[194] Cassius Dio 54.26.1; Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 8.25.65.
[195] Cassius Dio 54.25.2. Bricks were used for the columns of the portico behind the theatre. Observation of the author.
[196] *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Rostra Augusti' (P. Verduchi), 215.
[197] *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: C. Cestius' (C. Krause), 278f.
[198] *LTUR* V (1999), s.v. 'Theatrum Marcelli' (P. Ciancio Rossetto), 32.
[199] Van Deman 1909, 186. For an alternative interpretation of these brick walls see Coarelli 1983–1985, II 253f.
[200] Fellmann 1957, 24f.
[201] See appendix D for a detailed discussion.
[202] Cf. the origin of Hellenistic fired bricks. Čičikova 1957, 152.

duced the permeability of the wall and protected its surface from humidity within the core.[203] Despite any efforts to drain the top of the building from rain water, the construction would have been exposed to moisture being absorbed by the concrete structure. Another Roman cylindrical tomb, that of L. Sempronius Atratinus at Gaeta (C12), faced the same problem but was provided with a different solution. There the internal walls of the tomb were separated from the core structure by a narrow space allowing the humidity from above to be drained away internally. (*Fig. 36*) Moisture penetrating the surface of the walls would be particularly detrimental to interior decoration and these preventive measures may indicate the existence of wall paintings.

III.3.4 Segmented earth filling

In large supportive constructions, such as terraces and podia, or other massive structural elements, it would be a waste of fund to use only stone or concrete. Instead the Romans concentrated the more expensive, and durable, materials to places of particular stress and filled out the remaining volume with earth or rubble.[204]

For the construction of massive cylinders (including tumuli) of any height, the most simple procedure would be to erect a peripheral containing wall and fill out the interior with earth. However, depending on the size of the structure and the materials used, the outward pressure working on the containing wall might cause a problem.[205] Apart from the obvious solutions of strengthening the outer wall, there were some other options available to the Roman architect: (*Fig. 37*) Semicircular additions along the inside of the wall would cushion the horizontal force and buttress the containing wall; concentric walls in the interior of the cylinder would separate the fill and diminish its outward pressure; radial walls dividing the fill into segmental compartments might also have lessened the problem to some degree, but above all they would help stabilize both exterior and interior walls during construction. These three methods (semicircular buttresses, concentric walls and radial walls) were all used either exclusively or in various combinations. In the Mausoleum of Augustus we find all three of them together.

Fig. 36. The tomb of L. Sempronius Atratinus (C12). Sepulchral chamber with double walls. Photo by the author 1997.

It has been stated that these techniques for interior buttressing constituted a specifically Roman feature, "found among neither Etruscan tumuli nor Hellenistic extant examples and rarely in the Greek tumuli of the classical period".[206] However, this statement has been questioned and some possible Hellenistic prototypes have been pointed out.[207]

From what can be deduced from the layout of the west compartment it seems likely that the greater part of the tomb of Caecilia Metella consists of earth-filled sections divided by radial walls. It should perhaps be noted that the only hitherto identified compartment is located in the lower part of the podium and that it is no more than 2.6 m in height internally.[208] However, since it is inconceivable that a hollow (although filled out) space was superimposed by 17 meters of solid concrete, it is reasonable to conjecture a vertical continuation of the triangular section, probably interrupted by vaulted concrete floors at regular intervals. These

[203] Lugli 1956, 238; Lugli 1957, I 534. Cf. Crema 1959, 136.
[204] In some cases sepulchral edifices were built of massive concrete, but the method was never applied on the truly monumental ones.
[205] Naturally, the presence of interior spaces/structures within the mass of the element would effect the need for supportive measurements, as would any crowning structures.
[206] Reeder 1992, 266.
[207] Davies 2000, 56.
[208] The compartment is not completely cleared of its fill, though.

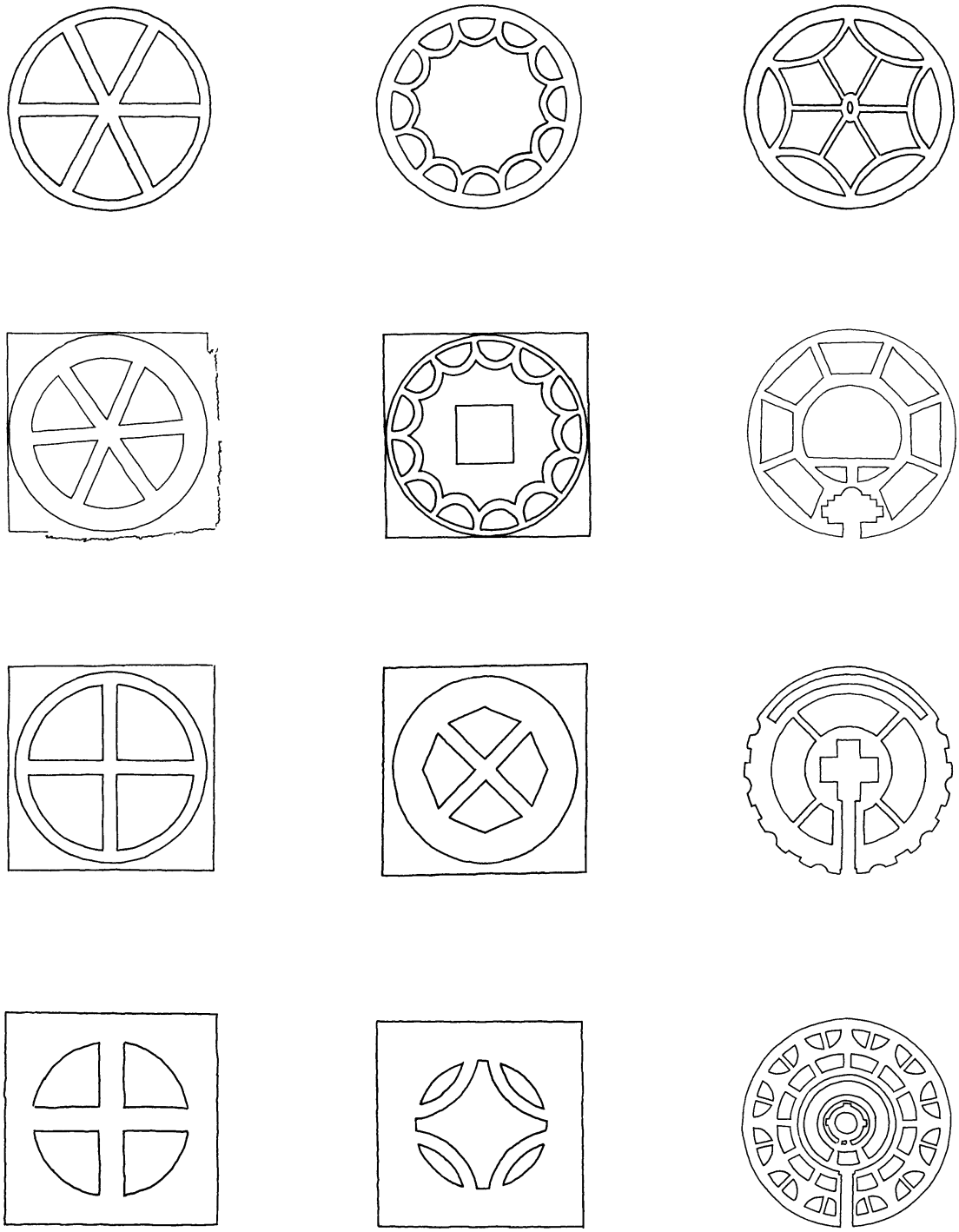
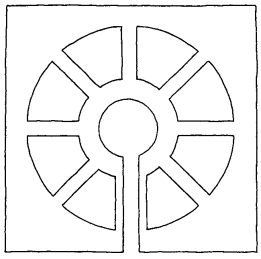


Fig. 37 (above). Schematic illustration of internal supportive structures: Tumulus close to Todi, after Crema 1959, fig. 259; "Tomb of the Horatii" I (C2), after Crema 1959, fig. 260; Tumulus at Marcigliana (C16), after Crema 1959, fig. 261; Circular tomb at Carsulae (C38), after U. Ciotti in Van Wonterghem 1982, fig. 6; "Tomb of Priscilla" (C11), after Bruto, Messineo & Vannicola 1984, fig. 128; Circular tomb close to the Via Latina, after L. Fortunati in Windfeld-Hansen 1965, pl. 10; Circular tomb at Corfinio (C43), after Van Wonterghem 1982, fig. 6; Tomb of C. Ennius Marsus (C35), after M. Gaggiotti in Van Wonterghem 1982, fig. 6; "Carceri Vecchie" (C31), after De Franciscis & Pane 1957, fig. 79; Circular tomb at Torrenova (Roma), after E. Stefani in Van Wonterghem 1982, fig. 7; "Casa Tonda", after Bruto, Messineo & Vannicola 1984, fig. 127; Mausoleum of Augustus (C8), after G. Gatti in Windfeld-Hansen 1965, pl. 1. Note the differing scale of the various plans.

Fig. 38 (top right). Hypothetical solution for the internal structure of the tomb of Caecilia Metella based on the position of the west compartment. The outer wall of this chamber has been extrapolated as a circle sector, and the concrete pillar adjoining to the east wall has been excluded.

floors, judging from the west compartment, appear to have been slanting down towards the center of the building, probably in order to facilitate the drainage of the earth fill. Thus, the square well-shaft close to the cella wall can be explained as a major outlet (perhaps one of several) draining the entire construction and leading the water to conduits, fissures or *cuniculi* below the foundation. (*Fig. 19*)



III.3.5 Flat arches

Two flat arches, consisting of five and three stone voussoirs respectively, are found in the tomb of Caecilia Metella, forming the lintels of the door-case in the upper corridor and the stone ring spanning the passage between the cella and the lower chamber. (*Fig. 10*) Horizontal arches appear from the beginning of the first century BC.[209] Several lintels in the Tabularium (78 BC), for example, were built on this principle,[210] and the construction technique was also used at Forum Julium (46–44 BC).[211]

III.3.6 Barrel vaults

Both the upper and the lower corridors of the tomb of Caecilia Metella are roofed with ordinary barrel vaults.[212] One of the earliest reported instances of barrel vaults made of cast concrete in Rome belongs to the Porticus Aemilia (174 BC).[213] In the first century BC this method of roofing spaces of modest size became increasingly common, but nevertheless by the time of Augustus concrete vaults were still not trusted for the construction of bridges.[214]

III.3.7 Domed vaults

Remains of curved concrete structures at the upper end of the cella indicate that this space was once covered by a hemispherical concrete dome, or cupola, approximately 5.6 m in diameter. A few recorded buildings allow us to trace the early development of this kind of construction.

The so-called *frigidarium* of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii has a partly preserved conical dome, about 6.5 m in diameter, with straight inward sections and a wide *oculus* at the top.[215] This structure is generally dated to the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC, and is probably the earliest known Roman concrete dome of any kind.[216] During the following years, until the end of the Roman Republic, several other similar domes appeared,[217] as well as "cloister vaults"[218] and small hemispherical domes made of stone blocks fitted as double-curved voussoirs.[219] However, it is not until we reach the Augustan era that we find hemispherical domes of cast concrete,[220] represented primarily by the so-called "Tempio di Mercurio" in Baiae, 21.55 m in diameter. There is still some disagreement regarding the exact date of this building,[221] but the impressive size indicates that Roman architects had already experimented with this kind of structure for some time. It is interesting to note that this dome, just like the ones in Pompeii, also had an *oculus*. The purpose of central openings was probably to provide lighting, but in the early stages there might also have been structural reasons.[222] The Baths of Agrippa on Campus Martius include a circular hall, which was once covered by a large dome, about 25 m in diameter. Some scholars date this building to the Augustan period as well,[223] although others have ascertained (probably correctly) that the structure should not be dated before the Severian period.[224] The same applies to the so-called "Tempio di Apollo" on Lake Avernus. This building had an even larger dome, 37 m in diameter, which should be ascribed to the second half of the 2nd century AD or the beginning of the 3rd.[225]

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209 Lugli 1957, 358.
210 Delbrueck 1907–1912, I 28.
211 Amici 1991, 49.
212 For the use of light aggregate in vaults see chapter III.2.1.
213 Rivoira 1925, 31; Lugli 1957, 680.
214 Blake 1947, 344.
215 The upper part of the dome is not quite preserved, but there is no reason to doubt the existence of an *oculus*.
216 Robertson 1929, 244.
217 For example in the Forum Baths at Pompeii and Herculaneum respectively. For references see Nielsen 1990, II 7f.
218 For example in the sanctuary of Hercules in Tivoli and Tabularium in Rome. Crema 1959, 17, fig. 55.
219 The so called "Sacrarium gentis Juliae" provides one example. Rivoira 1925, 7.
220 The *laconicum* of the Central Baths at Cales, dated to 80–60 BC, probably had a dome, but the shape of it is unknown. Ødegård 1997, 221.
221 Several scholars place the building in the Augustan period. Maiuri 1930; Lugli 1957, 687; Crema 1959, 17; Rakob 1988, 290f. Others prefer a somewhat later date in the Julio-Claudian period. Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970, 298f.; De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 235; Adam 1994, 186f.
222 Licht 1968, 217.
223 Gros 1996, 395.
224 Licht 1968, 232. Cf. Adam 1994, 186f.
225 Pagano & Rougetet 1988–89, 202f.

III.3.8 Cocciopesto (opus signinum)

Lime mortar mixed with powdered terracotta and/or small potsherds obtains a hydraulic quality, which improves its strength and absorption capabilities. When its surface is covered with certain water resistant coatings it becomes almost impermeable. This material, which is often called *cocciopesto*, was used in Selinous before 272 BC and rapidly spread all over Sicily and southern Italy.[226] It appears to have been known in Rome by the middle of the 2nd century BC.[227] The Romans used it mainly for pavements and as lining for basins, cisterns and aqueducts. The term *opus signinum* is generally understood as equivalent to *cocciopesto*, although its use in the literary sources is somewhat ambiguous. A variant of *cocciopesto*, including small pieces of potsherds, was used for the floor of the cella (SU6).

III.3.9 Vitruvius on construction techniques

Roman architecture or construction technique cannot be discussed without mentioning Vitruvius. Perhaps, the relevance of his work for this subject in general has sometimes been overestimated. This is understandable as it constitutes our only major literary source on the topic. In this case, however, there is another reason for studying Vitruvius with extra care. The author was a contemporary of Caecilia Metella and he could very well have been alive to witness the construction of her tomb. According to recent estimates *De architectura* was written between 35 and 25 BC.[228]

Vitruvius clearly mentions baked bricks (*later coctus*)[229] as well as the use of broken tiles as bricks (*testa*, *structura testacea*, *tegulae sine marginibus*) [230]. In some cases it is unclear, though, exactly what kind of brick is meant (*later testaceus*).[231] The author treats the problem of earth filling breaking the retaining walls through its outward pressure. He also mentions possible solutions (1.5.7; 6.8.5–7). Vitruvius describes the use of hemispherical domes in baths (5.10.5), and also of *selce* as *caementa* in cisterns (8.6.14). The use of raised panels on squared-stone masonry is mentioned (4.4.4). Apparently this was a purely decorative feature. However, here the panels are described to be corresponding to the joints, not creating false joints.

Vitruvius also touches upon the subject of funerary architecture (2.8.3–4). It is obvious that the passage in question treats sepulchral monuments outside Rome, although this is not always made clear in extant translations/commentaries. The author makes use of this category of buildings as an example of poorly made concrete constructions; perhaps because the first freestanding graves had begun to fall apart by this time. He describes buildings with a core made of concrete cast within a stone revetment and points to the weakness of the construction. As a remedy Vitruvius advocates the use of tile-brick walls.[232] The question is whether the solution he proposes relates to the erection of internal revetment walls inside the tomb, or supportive walls behind the facing blocks of the exterior revetment.[233] The passage indicates that the architects of this time concerned themselves with the development and improvement of sepulchral architecture, and that *structura testacea* played an important part in this development. Compared to the archaeological evidence presented above, this text indicates a slightly earlier date for the introduction of this construction technique, at least before 25 BC.

III.4 The frieze

At the upper end of the drum runs a continuous frieze (SU39), approximately 1.0 m high.[234] It is made of Pentelic marble (see chapter III.2.8), and portrays skin-less *bucrania* connected by garlands. Heavily weathered *paterae* and rosettes alternate above the garlands.[235] The frieze is framed by two

[226] Lauter 1986, 56.
[227] Blake 1947, 323.
[228] Fleury 1990, Introduction xxiii. Cf. Baldwin 1990.
[229] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 1.5.8.
[230] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 2.8.4, 19; 2.8.17, 18; 5.10.3.
[231] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 8.3.8. A comparison of the context with 1.5.8 suggests that it designates baked bricks rather than tiles.

[232] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 2.8.4: *quodsi qui noluerit in id vitium incidere, medio cavo servato secundum orthostatas intrinsecus ex rubro saxo quadrato aut ex testa aut ex silicibus ordinaries struat bipedales parietes, et cum his ansis ferreis et plumbo frontes vinctae sint.* "But if anyone wants to avoid this problem, he should leave an empty space in the middle behind the revetment and construct internal walls two feet thick in red ashlar stone, bricks or opus vittatum; and the front should be fastened to these with iron cramps and lead."
[233] The latter alternative was advocated by E. Wistrand, and is exemplified by the tomb of the Curiatii (C14). Wistrand 1943, 131.
[234] Although the frieze has been depicted a great number of times, very few drawings are both detailed and accurate. The lack of good reproductions has been pointed out before: Napp 1933, 24; Daltrop 1968–1969, 134 n. 14. A selection of useful depictions includes G.B. Piranesi (B18), tav. 50; A. Uggeri (B29); J.A. Leveil (B39); L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, I tav. 32; L. Canina (B46); B. Stefani (B60), fig. 28 (photo); M. Eisner (B66), Taf. 9 (photo); G. Foglia (B63), reproduced in Paris 2000, fig. 38.
[235] The rosettes were recognised by L. Duc; L. Canina and M. Eisner, whereas G.B. Piranesi, A. Uggeri, M. Honroth and myself only saw *paterae*. J. Gailhabaud appears to have

Fig. 39. The tomb of Cornelia (C7). *Bucranium* of the Nacktschädel type on a "altar" block. Photo by the author 2002.

raised horizontal bands, the lower one being twice as high as the upper, and projecting much farther from the surface of the frieze. On the west side of the rotunda, above the inscription, the decorated zone expands downwards and the frieze is interrupted by a figurative relief. This field was originally 5.2 m wide and 1.75 m high, but today only a third of it is preserved (the left part). The frieze is also partly missing on the west and south sides of the drum. The entire decoration is cut in high relief. I will proceed by discussing the various elements separately. (*Fig. 31*)

III.4.1 The bucrania

Three types of *bucrania* can be distinguished within Graeco-Roman art and architecture: the complete bovine head, best represented by the German term "Vollkopf", the skull of a bull (or cow) with empty sockets but still covered by skin – "Hautschädel" – and the naked skeletal cranium – "Nacktschädel".[236] The skulls on the tomb of Caecilia Metella belong to the third category. The first sculpted *bucrania* in the Greek world date from the beginning of the 3rd century BC, and can be found for example on the Temple of Demeter in Pergamon and on the Arsinoeion on Samothrace.[237] The round temple at Tivoli ("Temple of Vesta") from Sullan time represents one of the earliest Roman examples. Originally *bucrania* symbolised the heads of sacrificed animals deposited at sanctuaries,[238] but they could probably also be perceived as a purely decorative feature. During the 1st century BC the Roman Haut- and Nacktschädel got a funerary connotation in addition to the sacrificial one. This development possibly originates from Etruscan art, where funerary urns dating from 2nd century BC were decorated with both *bucrania* and garlands.[239] However, the transition between the two connotations hardly represents an enormous leap of imagination, and the latter connotation soon also appeared in Hellenistic art.[240]

At the end of the Republic a prevalence for Vollköpfe and Hautschädel was terminated with the introduction of naturalistic Nacktschädel, reproducing anatomical details of the skull.[241] According to F. Toebelmann this shift took place around 30 BC, at the latest.[242] The *bucrania* on Basilica Aemilia in Rome constitute one of the earliest examples, provided that the frieze can be attributed to the building dedicated in 34 BC.[243] Other examples of Nacktschädel are found on the tomb of Cornelia in Rome (C7),[244] (*Fig 39*) the Temple of Apollo Sosianus and the so-called "Naples frieze" from Pompeii. They are all difficult to date with precision, but the tomb of Cornelia has been placed at 40–30 BC, the Temple of Apollo in early Augustan times (between 32 and 12 BC) and the Naples frieze around 20 BC.[245]

seen only rosettes and no *paterae*. L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, I tav. 32; L. Canina (B46); Eisner 1986, 37; G.B. Piranesi (B18), III tav. 49–50; Uggeri 1804, 58; Honroth 1971, 73 no. 21; Gailhabaud 1852, I.

236 Napp 1933, 2. It has been argued that the Vollkopf-type should not be labelled *bukranion* at all, but rather *bukephalion*. Börker 1975.

237 Rumscheid 1994, 277. However, *bucrania* appeared as decoration on Greek vases already in the 4th century BC. Beazley 1939, 36–38.

238 Rumscheid 1994, 276.

239 Ducati 1937.

240 Vermeule 1957, 240.

241 Robertson 1929, 210; Napp 1933, 21; Bammer 1968–1971, 30. The latter clearly sees the new naturalism as an Augustan trait.

242 Toebelmann 1923, 8.

243 Toebelmann 1923, 29.

244 Daltrop 1968–1969, 134–136.

245 *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: [Corn]elia L. Scipion[is f.]' (L. Chioffi), 281; Lugli 1970, 285; Honroth 1971, 72 no. 10.

Ara Pacis (dedicated in 9 BC), which is the first securely dated building with this kind of Nacktschädel, also represents the closest available parallel to the *bucrania* on the tomb of Caecilia Metella, both being rather long and narrow.

III.4.2 The garlands

The earliest Greek ornamental garlands appeared as painted decoration on walls or other flat surfaces and belonged to the sepulchral sphere.[246] Although the funerary connotation remained from early Hellenistic time through antiquity, they were also to be found in other kinds of sacred, or even profane, contexts. The first example of sculpted garlands is offered by the Temple of Demeter in Pergamon mentioned above.[247] The garlands of this building are suspended between *bucrania*, and this combination was to become a popular motif. Although garlands sometimes are carried by other animals, Cupids or nothing more than imaginative nails, *bucrania* represent by far the largest group.[248] In most cases, Hellenistic garlands are composed of leafs only, although fruit-garlands were used occasionally from the second century BC.[249]

The Hellenistic garland was introduced in Roman art and architecture about the same time as *bucrania*, i.e. at the beginning of the first century BC. Here the fruit-garlands no longer were restricted to occasional exceptions, but rather seem to dominate the picture. Another novelty of the Roman period is the noticeable swelling on the middle of the hanging festoon, whereas earlier garlands had approximately the same thickness throughout their length. This innovation was quickly adopted in the eastern provinces, for example on the Temple of Apollo in Aigai (46–30 BC) and the Octagon in Ephesos (third quarter of the first century BC).[250]

The methods for applying Greek and Roman garlands onto the *bucrania* went through a gradual transformation.[251] Having originally run continuously above the bovine heads, they were later placed behind them, as if they were both suspended from the same nail. As the next step the garlands were depicted as tied to the horns of the *bucrania*, the string and tie being more clearly shown with time. The first step is represented by the friezes on the Tempel of Apollo in Aigai and on the Regia in Rome (36 BC), whereas the next is first evident on the Ara Pacis.[252]

The garlands on the frieze on the tomb of Caecilia Metella consist mainly of fruits and show a slight swelling on the middle. They disappear behind the *bucrania*, although the horns are bound with narrow *taeniae* which possibly could be meant to hold the garlands. However, I find this unlikely and the *taenia* should rather be seen as a substitute for the adorning pearl-string, usually hanging from the horns of *bucrania*. The ends of these *taeniae* flutter loosely above as well as below the garlands in a way repeated both on the Naples frieze and the Ara Pacis. E. Strong placed our frieze "midway between the heavier garlands of the tomb of Bibulus and the delicate wreaths of the Ara Pacis", and was followed by C. Vermeule in this conjecture.[253] M. Honroth argues that the fruit-garlands on the tomb of Caecilia Metella can not possibly be dated before 30 BC, due to the high relief and the fluttering *taeniae* among other things. Instead she recognises a close correlation with the frieze on the Ara Pacis and later works, and thus places it in late Augustan time.[254] However, the modest swelling and the way the garlands disappear behind the bovine skulls, in my view, seem to indicate a date earlier than the Ara Pacis.

III.4.3 The figurative relief

Unfortunately, today only a third of the original relief is left *in situ*, the rest having been destroyed or removed before the 14th century.[255] However, the part that remains is rather well preserved and portrays a trophy.[256] This *tropaion* consists of a cross-shaped stand carrying a tasselled mantel, a helmet with cheek-pieces and two decorated shields. A bare-chested man with his hands tied behind his back is sitting at its foot. At the lower right corner of the remaining piece of the panel, separated from the *tropaion*, we find a fragment of a draped figure. The relief was obviously positioned symmetrically above the inscription, and it seems reasonable that the relief itself was symmetrically composed. Hence, we can assume with some confidence that the tro-

[246] Honroth 1971, 7.
[247] Honroth 1971, 7.
[248] Honroth 1971, 8f.
[249] Honroth 1971, 9. Throughout the text the term fruit-garland will be used also for the combination of fruits and flowers.
[250] Rumscheid 1994, 288.
[251] Rumscheid 1994, 288.
[252] Napp 1933, 19–22. The ends of the garlands and the strings connecting them to the horns are not yet clearly visible on the Ara Pacis.
[253] Strong 1929, I 136; Vermeule 1957, 241.
[254] Honroth 1971, 19f.
[255] The blocks that replace the missing part of the relief support the crenellated wall on top of the monument. This wall, which thus must post-date the destruction of the frieze, was erected at the beginning of the 14th century.
[256] For adequate reproductions of the trophy see references above (supra n. 234), with the addition of F. Azzurri (B49), which only depicts the shields.

phy had a counterpart at the other end, framing a central motif.[257] Although the two trophies (the real and the hypothesised) might have constituted nothing more than just a compositional frame, we must also consider the possibility that they were an integrated part of the scene, whether historical or mythological.

III.4.4 The tropaion

The trophy can only be interpreted as a symbol of military victory, and the tangible character of this symbol, as opposed to for example a Victoria, indicates that it signifies a particular military achievement rather than victorious qualities in general. The question that immediately arises is: Whose victory does it signify? Several candidates have been suggested, all of them relatives of Caecilia Metella: M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 68) was awarded an *ovatio* in 71 BC for having crushed the slave revolt;[258] Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (*RE* 87) celebrated a triumph in 62 BC after having subdued Crete;[259] P. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 63) was a victorious commander under Julius Caesar in Gallia;[260] M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 56) also served under Caesar;[261] M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) celebrated a triumph in 27 BC after his campaigns in Thracia.[262] It should not be ruled out completely that the trophy on the relief speaks as a reminder of several, perhaps all, of these accomplishments.

Interpreting the details of military trophies in Roman art does not always produce useful and reliable information regarding the vanquished enemy. Did the artist have access to the actual spoils, or sufficient knowledge of them to make naturalistic reproductions? Was it even desired by the commissioner that the sculptors conveyed ethnic distinctions and depicted objects with a high degree of accuracy; or was a standardised iconography applied, where a few barbarian attributes were used again and again regardless of who the enemies had been? It can be noted that many trophies seem to include Roman armour rather than barbarian ones,[263] and that others are simplified to the degree that no particular traits can be recognized at all. However, it is my belief that we have trophies of both kinds: some that are mere abstractions and some that are intended to announce the identity of the conquered people. F. Hunter suggests a distinction between generic and specific motifs.[264] That is, striking objects (as for example the *carnyx*) are more likely to be significant than commonplace items (e.g. shields and spears). M.R. Alföldi is even more positive: "Die Analyse zeigt immer wieder, daß die Trophäen-Darstellungen in ihren Einzelheiten zunächst verbindlich sind, sie sollen – und können – über den besiegten Feind informieren."[265] Surely, in some cases the artists probably never saw the physical objects they were reproducing, but at the same time we know that spoils of various kinds were omnipresent both in the public and the private sphere.[266] Furthermore, the objects depicted need not be naturalistically reproduced in order to signify an ethnic group, as long as the viewers have a common set of references.

The helmet crowning the *tropaion* has large, double-pointed *bucculae* with three rivets on each side, and a deep vertical neck guard. The latter might have been contorted due to lack of space. There also appears to be some kind of reinforced front which is decorated with a palmette (or possibly a lily).[267] This part of the helmet, i.e. the appliance on the front, might represent an additional plate, which is a feature of the traditional Attic helmet, common in Roman art but with few archaeological parallels.[268] Although the headgear cannot positively be identified as belonging to a particular known type, it seems to be of a general Roman-looking style and it bears some resemblance with the helmets that were adopted by the Roman army after Caesar's conquest of Gaul. Accordingly the helmet might also depict any of the Celtic prototypes.[269] Since the Romans did not mind mixing their own weapons with barbarian ones in trophies, both solutions are possible. The tasselled mantel has some, rather vague, icono-

[257] The relief was reconstructed this way by P.S. Bartoli (B15), tav. 36; L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, I tav. 32; Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 553; L. Canina (B46); Azzurri 1895, 24; Hülsen 1896, 51.
[258] Suggested by Gailhabaud 1852, I.
[259] Suggested by Gailhabaud 1852, I ; Azzurri 1895, 24; Simon 1986, 166.
[260] Suggested by Hülsen 1896, 54; Picard 1957, 201.
[261] Suggested by Hülsen 1896, 54; Picard 1957, 201; Zanker 1988, 16.
[262] Suggested by Tomassetti 1910–1913, 61; Holloway 1966.
[263] Possibly, these objects represent spoils taken by the enemy and subsequently regained by the Romans.
[264] Hunter 2001, 91.
[265] Alföldi 1999, 97.
[266] Polybios 6.39.10; Livius 10.7.9, 23.23.6; Propertius 1.16.1–4; Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 35.2.7. For the presence of spoils in Roman households see Rawson 1990, 159–161.
[267] The ornament has some resemblance with the lily found on a helmet of the Karthagian triumphal reliefs. This flower was interpreted as an attribute of Juno Lucina. Tillessen 1978, 110.
[268] Robinson 1975, 27. Cf. discussion in Leander Touati 1987, 52.
[269] The Gallo-Roman helmet of the type Port perhaps constitutes the closest parallel. Bishop & Coulston 1993, 60f., 93; Feugère 1994, 74–76.

graphic parallels,[270] but they can hardly be taken as firm evidence for its provenience. Nor does the captive provide any conclusive information. A single male barbarian sitting beneath a *tropaion* could possibly be interpreted as indicative of Gaul,[271] but the same motif may also appear in the context of other provinces.

Crucial for the interpretation of the relief, and perhaps also for the understanding of the monument, are the two decorated shields. (*Fig. 31*) Both shields are oblong, the right one having the approximate shape of three partly overlapping circles, the left one being hexagonal. The former is decorated with abstract (vaguely floral?) ornaments, perhaps representing a thunderbolt,[272] whereas the latter demonstrates an assortment of barbarian weapons and military insignia: two bundles, each consisting of two *carnyces* (trumpets with zoomorphic mouths) and what might be a spearhead, project up- and downwards along the middle. Together with a narrow horizontal band terminated by crescents at both ends, sometimes called anchors,[273] they divide the shield into four fields. Each of the lower fields displays a couple of linked torques, whereas the upper fields are furnished with two animal standards carrying boars, or possibly one boar and one wolf/dog.[274]

C. Hülsen found close parallels to the hexagonal shield, the *carnyces*, the torques and the boar standards on the triumphal arch in Orange, and consequently interpreted the weapons and insignia as Gallic.[275] At the same time he refuted an earlier suggested connection to Crete.[276] G.C. Picard also interpreted the various elements (including the captive) as Gallic and described the composition as a typical Caesarian trophy.[277] Each by themselves, the hexagonal shield, the *carnyx* and the torque cannot be considered as exclusively Gallic attributes. The hexagonal shield had a wide-spread use, also among Roman *auxilia*, and the torques appear as Roman military decorations.[278] *Carnyces* were used by various Celtic nations and have also been attributed to German and Dacian tribes along the northern frontier. Some scholars argue that this emblem developed into a general barbaric symbol within Roman Imperial iconography regardless of its use,[279] but a thorough analysis of the evidence (archaeological as well as iconographic) strongly indicates that these ethnic groups did have the *carnyx*.[280] At any rate, authors of both convictions stress that the emblem had a clearly Gallic connotation during the 1st century BC. Furthermore, the boar standard is, as far as we know, unique for Gaul,[281] and the combination of insignia speaks convincingly in favour of this identification. From the first century BC onwards, personifications of *Gallia* carried torques, *carnyces* and boar standards as attributes, e.g. on the harness of Augustus from Prima Porta.[282] In view of the massive Caesarian propaganda, transmitted not least by coins, it is reasonable to conclude that in the public eye these symbols must have had primarily Gallic connotations.

Nevertheless, the interpretation of the emblems as Gallic has been questioned. R.R. Holloway argued that the trophy was more likely to refer to the victories of M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) at the Macedonian frontier.[283] According to him all the elements of the left shield can be attributed to Germanic tribes, as well as Gallic.[284] Secondly, in his view, the supposed anchors of the shield symbolise the combined ground and naval assault of a Moesian fortress during the campaigns of Crassus; and thirdly, since the Thracian triumph of Crassus was

[270] E.g. on the reverse of a coin from about 12 BC, depicting a subjugated German. Mattingly & Sydenham 1984, no. 416. Cf. Mattingly & Sydenham 1923, pl. 2 fig. 25; Mattingly 1960, pl. 43 fig. 5. Tasselled mantels are also carried by captured Gauls depicted on the arch at Glanum. Rolland 1977, pl. 22, 24.
[271] Picard 1957, 81f., 201.
[272] Holloway 1966, 172. Usually, Roman thunderbolts have zigzag-shaped branches with sharp angles. However, in some cases they appear in a more organic form, for example on a coin from 40 BC and on the Campidoglio frieze. Crawford 1974, no. 522/4; Polito 1998, fig. 49.
[273] Hülsen 1896, 53; Woelcke 1911, 47; Picard 1957, 201; Holloway 1966, 172. The suggested identification of these crescents as anchors is extremely vague. Anchors in Roman art usually have slightly hooked ends and a clearly visible ring at the end of the stock, elements which these objects lack.
[274] The latter was suggested by Mr Fraser Hunter, curator at the National Museums of Scotland. Personal letter, 23rd March 1999.
[275] Hülsen 1896, 54. In fact, shields with crescents, as well as tasselled mantels, can also be found on the reliefs of this monument. See Amy *et al.* 1962, pl. 16–20, 28.
[276] Azzurri 1895, 24.
[277] Picard 1957, 201. The author mentions some depictions on coins as examples of this Caesarian type. A somewhat extended selection includes Crawford 1974, nos. 452/2, 452/4, 452/5, 468/1, 468/2, 482/1.
[278] Maxfield 1981, 86–88.
[279] E.g. Vendries 1999, 388–390.
[280] Hunter 2001, 93–95. Cf. Albrethsen 1987, 104.
[281] Fraser Hunter, personal letter, 28th October 1998. Cf. Hunter 2001, 91. The wolf has also Celtic connotations. Polito 1998, 60.
[282] For further examples see *LIMC* VIII (1997), s.v. 'Gallia' (M. Henig), 594–596.
[283] Holloway 1966.
[284] The main opponents of Crassus were the Bastarnae, described by several ancient authors as Germans. Strabon 7.3.17; Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 4.14.100; Tacitus, *Germania* 46.

much greater than any known exploits of his supposed father in Gaul, Holloway found this connotation to be more probable. None of these arguments is in any way conclusive, and although the proposal constitutes a distinct possibility, the internal evidence of the left shield still points more strongly towards Gaul.

The right hand shield could possibly also be attributed to various Iron Age cultures, preferably Celtic ones.[285] However, it has also been identified as an *ancile*, i.e. the sacred shield of the *Salii*.[286] In that case, it would not represent spoils of war, but rather carry a religious significance, symbolising the *virtus* of the Roman soldiers. Although this theory explains a Roman style thunderbolt decorating the shield[287] there are several problems, the major one being the lack of close iconographic parallels. The literary descriptions of Roman *ancilia* indicate that they were bilobate – perhaps shaped as an oval cut out on both sides towards the middle.[288] Consequently, *ancilia* are often recognised as figure-of-eight shields, depicted for example on Augustan coins.[289] There is, however, also the closely related shield of the Lanuvian goddess Juno Sospita. She is sometimes equipped with a figure-of-eight shield,[290] but in some cases she carries a trilobate shield that is identical to the present one.[291] If the shield of Juno Sospita and the *ancile* have a common iconography, which is my belief, then the interchangeability between the bi- and trilobate shapes could be applied also in the case of the latter.

Disregarding for a moment any possible differences in origin and meaning of the two shapes, it is interesting to note that bilobate shields can be found on some other Roman trophies depicted on coins.[292] They all appear within a rather short span of time and are associated with Julius Caesar (victory at Pharsalos 48 BC), M. Brutus (Thracian victory 43 BC) and M. Antonius (campaign in 37 BC?). This feature has been interpreted both as the personal emblem of Caesar,[293] and as something pertaining to traditional Thracian armament.[294] We also find the bilobate shield on the metopes of the cylindrical tomb of L. Munatius Plancus together with a broad assortment of weapons. In this case it was again denominated *ancile*, but interpreted as an actual Gallic shield due to similarities with the Caesarian trophies and the archaeological find of a British Iron Age shield.[295] It can be added that L. Munatius Plancus celebrated a triumph *ex Gallia* in 43 BC.

III.4.5 The draped figure

Although we only have a very small fragment of the draped figure A. Nibby and L. Canina suggested that the central motif depicted a Victoria writing on a shield.[296] F. Azzurri also proposed a Victoria,[297] whereas J. Gailhabaud restricted himself to a sitting female.[298] C. Hülsen proclaimed that the fragment resists any attempts of identification.[299] In my opinion there was room for more than one person between the two trophies, and the draped figure would not have been in the centre of the picture, as in the scene described by Nibby and Canina.[300] Furthermore, there are no traces of either wings nor shield extending to the left of the figure and, finally, I have found no sculptural representation of a Victoria, sitting or standing, where the folds match the ones on our relief.[301] Nibby interpreted the fragment as the hip of the goddess, but that would not leave enough room for her legs. Rather, the fragment seems to reveal the shape of a leg from the thigh to the middle of the lower leg. The cloth covering the lower leg is stretched obliquely upwards and to the right. Several heavy folds, forming the shape of a U, transcend from just below the kneecap up on either side of the thigh. This curved bundle of cloth rises at an angle much too steep to correspond to the mantel of a Victoria. Instead, it gives the impression of a hanging *sinus*, which suggests that the fragment belongs to a standing *toga-*

[285] Fraser Hunter, personal letter, 28th October 1998.
[286] Picard 1957, 118f., 201.
[287] For shield-blazons see e.g. Bishop & Coulston 1993, 82.
[288] Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.43; Festus, s.v. 'Mamuri Veturi', 117 Lindsay; Dionysios, *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70; Plutarchos, *Numa* 13. However, in other descriptions and depictions from the Imperial Age *ancilia* are made out as round shields.
[289] Mattingly & Sydenham 1984, nos. 343, 344. Cf. Baumeister 1885–1888, III, s.v. 'Salier', 1546f.; Schäfer 1980, 364f.
[290] Reinach 1920, pl. 418 no. 731; Crawford 1974, nos. 480/2a, 480/2b.
[291] Crawford 1974, nos. 379/1, 379/2, 509/4, 509/5. This similarity was also recognised by Woelcke 1911, 47.
[292] Crawford 1974, nos. 452/3, 503/1, 504/1, 505/5, 506/2, 507/1b, 536/4.
[293] Picard 1957, 204.
[294] Cf. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.43; Dionysios, *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.70.
[295] Fellman 1957, 52–54.
[296] Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 553; L. Canina (B46).
[297] Azzurri 1895, 24.
[298] Gailhabaud 1852, I.
[299] Hülsen 1896, 51.
[300] L. Duc recognised this off-centre position but seems to have exaggerated it a little, reconstructing the frieze as depicting a man (*togatus*?) standing at the foot of a bed with a reclining woman. L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, I tav. 32.
[301] See for example Hölscher 1967; *LIMC* VIII (1997), s.v. 'Victoria' (J.C. Balty), 237–269.

tus.[302] Above the fragment we can also see the contours of the missing upper body, indicating the right arm and shoulder. This type of *toga*, presenting a *sinus*, first appeared in the Augustan era, as far as we can tell from preserved and datable representations.[303]

The presence of a *togatus* practically eliminates the possibility of mythological and purely symbolical motifs (personifications, seasons, *eroti* etc.) in the central scene. Instead it indicates some kind of group portrait, a genre motif or a historical scene (i.e. one describing an actual event). Since the funerary portrait at this time was used predominantly by freed slaves that alternative should also be discounted.[304] Some sort of funerary genre motif was suggested by L. Duc, who pictured a woman reclining on a bed with a man standing at her feet.[305] He appears to have overestimated the size of the relief, however, and it would be difficult to fit in a bed.

III.5 Other decoration

III.5.1 The base of the drum

The receding profile of the base consists of a half-round, a small raised fillet, an inverted *cyma recta*, another small fillet and a cavetto. The depth of the base is about 0.7 m. The same combination of mouldings can be found on several other circular tombs: C4 ("Torrione di Micara"), C6 ("Casal Rotondo"), C7 (tomb of Cornelia), C10 (Via Collatina), C15 (tomb of Lucilius Paetus).[306] Actually, this seems to be by far the most common profile used in this context, and the exceptions are merely variations of the same theme. Complex base mouldings that included a *cyma recta* were introduced in Rome at the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC, replacing the somewhat older *cyma reversa*. The development was probably a result of direct contact with Hellenistic Greek architecture.[307] Looking at the comparison of temple podia in Latium made by J.-P. Adam you find the best match with the base profile of Temple A at Largo Argentina (Rome), which was built at the beginning of the Augustan era.[308]

III.5.2 The cornice

The cornice is made of large travertine blocks and has a rather complex profile composed of a long series of superimposed mouldings. They are, from the bottom, a small *cyma reversa*, a (projecting) fascia, a fillet, a quarter-round *ovolo*, a *corona*, a fillet, a quarter-round *ovolo*, a fillet, a *cyma recta* and finally another fascia. Possibly, the cornice was never finished, since it lacks any kind of carved patterns or decorations. The *cyma reversa* might have been intended to be a Lesbian cymatium, the *ovolo* an egg-and-dart and the projecting fascia a row of dentils. According to M. Eisner the soffit of one block is decorated with a fleuron coffer between slanting eaves ("Tropfenplatten").[309] Unfortunately I have not yet been able to verify this observation.

III.5.3 Drafted margins and false joints

As has already been described in the previous chapter (II.6.2), the travertine revetment of the drum was furnished with drafted margins, which sometimes correspond to the actual joints but sometimes constitute "false joints" across the surface of the blocks. (*Figs 25–26*) Thus, a pattern of raised panels is produced. I prefer not to describe this as a form of rustication, as the primary aim most likely was not to embellish the individual blocks but to create the impression of a bond (organisation of blocks) other than that which was actually used (cf. chapter III.3.1).[310] Instead of alternating headers and stretchers, the viewer perceives uniform blocks, having nearly the same dimensions in height and width. G. Lugli appears to have believed that they were all true joints, classifying the wall as being made of only headers.[311] (*Fig. 28*)

A great number of Roman buildings have drafted margins, many of which belong to the Augustan period: the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome, the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, the temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne (Isère), the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara, the Tropaeum Alpium at La Turbie. However, the best parallels to the false joints of the travertine revetment are found in tombs, one outside Porta di Nocera, Pompeii (South-West 17),[312] and two in Rome: Casal Rotondo (C6) and the tomb of Lucilius Paetus (C15). In neither case the pattern of false joints is exactly the same as on the tomb of Caecilia Metella, but they all share the basic principle of creating the

[302] This coincides with A. Uggeri's description of "une partie de figure consulaire debout" on the frieze, as well as the reconstruction of L. Duc mentioned above. Uggeri 1804, 58.
[303] Goette 1989, 27.
[304] Kleiner 1988, 117.
[305] L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, I tav. 32.
[306] For additional examples see Eisner 1986, nos. A48, F1.
[307] Shoe 1965, 181f.
[308] Gros 1996, 134 fig. 145 (after J.-P. Adam).
[309] Eisner 1986, 37.
[310] That is to say, the drafted margins were important, rather than the raised panels.
[311] Lugli 1957, 187.
[312] D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983; Adam 1994, 113f.

impression of a different, more regular, bond. They all date from the late Caesarean to the Augustan period.

III.5.4 Interior wall decoration

Inside the tomb of Caecilia Metella there are still traces of wall plaster on the brick walls of the lower corridor and on the stone door case in the upper corridor. Pieces of plaster, which are now gone, were also reported to have existed on the cella walls in the 19th century.[313] It is therefore surmisable that all interior surfaces were thus covered. When A. Muñoz cleared the lower corridor he found fragments of painted stucco decorated with palmettes, probably belonging to the vaulted ceiling.[314] In the late Republican and early Augustan times wall paintings inside tombs were rare. The pyramid of C. Cestius represents one of the few examples we know of.[315] However, this might be due to the poor preservation of most monumental tombs. The art of forming stucco reliefs first arrived in Rome about 70 BC, but soon flourished, for example in Villa Farnesina during the Augustan period.[316]

III.6 The inscription

On the west side of the cylinder, incised on a marble block (SU38) facing the Via Appia,[317] we find the inscription giving us the name of the deceased.[318] (*Fig. 29*) The outward surface of the block measures 3.15 × 1.50 m² and the text reads:

CAECILIAE
Q·CRETICI·F
METELLAE·CRASSI

The genealogical information thus given us is perhaps the most distinct instrument for dating the tomb and will be discussed in this chapter, as well as in the following ones.[319] However, the inscription in itself, besides its written contents, might also provide some means of dating. The different aspects that I will consider for this purpose can be listed as follows: the material of the block, the shape of the letters, the punctuation marks, the formula of the text and the basic contents of the text. It should be noted that the marble block could have been chosen, cut, positioned on the sepulchre and decorated long before as well as some time after Caecilia Metella died. The text, however, including the punctuation marks, most probably was inscribed after her death. Sepulchral inscriptions commissioned while the intended owner of the grave was still alive generally record the purchase of the tomb/site, declare who had legal access to it, or include the words *vivus*, *sibi* or *vivus sibi fecit*.[320]

III.6.1 Material of the block

The block carrying the inscription is made of a fine-grained white stone, which has previously been categorized as Pentelic marble.[321] In my opinion, however, there are good reasons to question the correctness of that statement. There are distinct differences in both colour and texture between this stone and the one used for the frieze.[322] Without having had the opportunity to study the block closely,[323] I would rather identify it as being of *pavonazzetto* (i.e. Phrygian marble), due to the purplish veins. The Romans were slow in adopting marble for inscriptions, and a dedication to the deified Caesar made in 43 BC is considered to be one of the very first.[324] Generally, epigraphists perceive the use of this material as an attribute of the Imperial Age.[325] The quarries in Phrygia were at least partly owned by M. Agrippa, who exploited them to adorn the capital, before they passed into imperial hands.[326] *Pavonazzetto* was used in Basilica Aemilia[327] (probably at the restoration 14–2 BC), in the temple of Mars Ultor (dedicated 2 BC), in the temple of Concordia (dedicated AD 10), in Basilica Julia (dedicated AD 12) and in Horti Lamiani (perhaps late Augustan).[328] The marble is also mentioned by Lygdamus in the *Corpus Tibullianum* and by Strabon.[329] The latter describes how pillars and slabs of remarkable size were transported from the quarries to Rome. In other words, the use of Phrygian marble in Rome is well testified for in the Augustan period, although there seem to be no earlier examples.

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313 Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 552.
314 Muñoz 1913, 8.
315 v. Hesberg 1992, 116.
316 Wadsworth 1924, 12; Bay 1973, 135.
317 For details on the position of the block carrying the inscription see chapter II.6.3.
318 *CIL* VI 1274, VI 31584; *ILS* 881; Gordon 1958, 30–32.
319 See chapters III.7 and III.8.
320 Keppie 1991, 107.
321 Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 550.
322 See chapters III.2.8 and III.4.
323 The inscription is positioned 13.5 m above ground.
324 Frank 1924, 34.
325 See for example Henriksén 1992, 13.
326 Blake 1947, 59.
327 Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 36.24.102.
328 Blake 1947, 59f.
329 Tibullus 3.3.13–14; Strabon 12.8.14. Lygdamus was most probably a contemporary of Tibullus.

No.	Date	Shape	Comments	References
1	100–50 BC[330]	▲	tomb of Bibulus	Degrassi 156; Gordon 2; Nash II 319
2	72 or 68	▲		Degrassi 388
3	68?; 62	▲	Pons Fabricius	Degrassi 166; Nash II 189
4	54	▲ ▶		*CIL* VI 40857; Degrassi 206A; Gordon 3
5	53	▲		Degrassi 348
6	52	▲		Degrassi 400
7	43	▼	tomb of Pansa	Degrassi 176; Gordon 5
8	42; c. 44	▲	found in Ocriculum	Degrassi 173; Gordon 4
9	42	▲		Degrassi 350
10	36 or soon after	▼ ◀	dedicated by Calvinus	Degrassi 180
11	33	▲		*CIL* VI 40319
12	30–20[331]	▲	tomb of Eurysaces	Degrassi 305; Nash II 329
13	29–21	▼		Gordon 7
14	27	▲		*CIL* VI 40886
15	27–24	▼		*CIL* VI 40302
16	27 BC–AD 14	▼		*CIL* VI 40301
17	27 BC–AD 14	▼		*CIL* VI 40303
18	27 BC–AD 14	▼		*CIL* VI 40304
19	27 BC–AD 14	▼		*CIL* VI 40305
20	23–20	▼		*CIL* VI 40306
21	22–12	▼		*CIL* VI 40316a
22	20	▼		Gordon 8
23	19–	▼		Gordon 11
24	18–17 (or 30?)	▼		Gordon 9
25	18–17 (or 30?)	▼		Gordon 10
26	17	▼		Gordon 12
27	17–	▼		Gordon 14
28	14	▼		Gordon 15
29	–12[332]	▼	tomb of Cestius	Gordon 16 &17; Nash II 321
30	12	▼		*CIL* VI 40308
31	12 or later	▼		*CIL* VI 40358
32	12 BC–AD 14	▼	inset metal letters	*CIL* VI 40309
33	11 or 10	▼		*CIL* VI 40356
34	11–4	▼		Gordon 27
35	10/9–8	▼		*CIL* VI 40333
36	9	◀		Gordon 18
37	9	▼		*CIL* VI 40329
38	9	▼		*CIL* VI 40359
39	8	▼		Gordon 20
40	8	▼		Gordon 21
41	c. 8–2	▼		Gordon 28
42	8 BC–AD 4	▼		Gordon 47
43	7 or 6	▼		Gordon 22
44	6	▼		Gordon 23
45	6	▼		Gordon 25
46	5 or 2	▼		*CIL* VI 40326
47	5–1	▼		*CIL* VI 40323

[330] The tomb of Bibulus has been more precisely dated to about 60 BC. Frank 1924, 144; Blake 1947, 32, 147; Eisner 1986, 203.
[331] Date from Ciancio Rosetto 1973, 67.
[332] This is the two inscriptions on the bases of the dedicatory statues. The inscriptions on the tomb itself, *CIL* VI 1374, actually have triangles pointing upwards. However, there may be a difference in date between them.

No.	Date	Shape	Comments	References
48	5–1	▼		*CIL* VI 40324
49	4 BC–AD 8	▼		*CIL* VI 40320
50	3	▼		Gordon 29
51	2	▼		Gordon 32
52	2	▼		Gordon 33
53	2	▼		*CIL* VI 40310
54	2	▲	inset metal letters	*CIL* VI 40311
55	2	▼		*CIL* VI 40325
56	2	▼		*CIL* VI 40325a
57	2	▼		*CIL* VI 40330
58	c. 2	▼		*CIL* VI 40331
59	2	▼		*CIL* VI 40335
60	2 BC–AD 14	▼		*CIL* VI 40312a
61	2 BC–AD 14	▼		*CIL* VI 40312b
62	AD 1	▼		Gordon 34
63	1	▼		Gordon 35
64	2 or 4 or later	▼		*CIL* VI 40364
65	4–10	▼		Gordon 36
66	4–8	▼		*CIL* VI 40336
67	5–6	▼		*CIL* VI 40313
68	5/6–8	▼		*CIL* VI 40338
69	6	▲	inset metal letters	*CIL* VI 40339
70	8–10	▼◀		Gordon 37
71	soon after 8–10	▼		Gordon 38
72	11	▼▶		Gordon 39
73	12	▼		Gordon 40
74	12	▼		Gordon 41
75	12	▼◀		Gordon 42
76	12	▼▲		Gordon 48

Table III.3. Punctuation marks in dated inscriptions from the vicinity of Rome between 68 BC and AD 14.

III.6.2 Letters

The epitaph of Caecilia Metella is often mentioned as a good example of *scriptura monumentalis* of the early part of the Augustan age.[333] It is often difficult to say whether this is deduced solely on the basis of the character of the letters, or follows suggested dates of the tomb. However, at least one author clearly confines the discussion to the mode of lettering, and dates it as "probably Augustan – not pre-Augustan [...] but early-Augustan rather than later".[334]

[333] See for example Sandys 1919, 42.
[334] Gordon 1958, 32. A previous author has made a similar remark. Hülsen 1896, 58.

III.6.3 Punctuation marks

The three punctuation marks in the inscription of Caecilia Metella are distinct triangles, pointing upwards. This kind of punctuation was common during the late Republic, although sometimes circular dots and squares were also used.[335] In the days of the early Empire we find that the triangles are often turned upside down, or replaced by elevated commas (hooked reversed triangles). The full range of intermediary shapes shows that the two marks (triangles pointing down and commas) are variations of the same theme.[336] Although this general development has been recognised before,[337] there have been no attempts to find out if the change was sudden, or to pin-point the exact time of transition between right and reversed triangles.

[335] Squares seem to have been used mainly during the time of Sulla or earlier.
[336] Later the comma sometimes assumed the ornamental form of an ivy-leaf, *hederae distinguentes*.
[337] Sandys 1919, 54.

A preliminary study (table III.3) has been made by the present author, based on three publications of photographically reproduced dated Latin inscriptions.[338] The study is only concerned with triangular and comma-like punctuation marks, as other shapes are extremely rare during the later half of the first century BC and practically non-existent in the beginning of the following century. The geographical area is restricted to Rome and its vicinity, as changes of fashion in the capital may have taken some time in reaching neighbouring areas. The chronological frame is chosen as 68 BC–AD 14, as this covers all possible dates for the tomb of Caecilia Metella ever suggested.[339] Furthermore, I have only included reasonably well dated inscriptions, i.e. inscriptions attributed to a specific year or a specific interval of years. Of course, the three publications in question do not present the complete number of dated Latin inscriptions from this period and geographical area, but to search out the remaining lot systematically would be highly impractical, if not impossible. The complete material studied comprises 76 inscriptions (or sets of inscriptions). Those cases where two triangles are shown in the table represent inscriptions with carelessly made punctuation marks pointing in several directions.

In order to find a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of reversed triangles and commas in Rome, nos. 20 and 22 are really the most important inscriptions. These examples demonstrate firmly that the new punctuation marks were in use by the year 20 BC. Inscriptions 13 and 15 could be taken as support of an even earlier *terminus ante quem* in the twenties, but they are not as securely dated. No. 10 can not be used for this purpose as itself only has a *terminus post quem*, and the date of no. 7 can be questioned.[340]

More interesting, though, is to determine when the punctuation mark visible in Caecilia Metella's inscription went out of use. With two exceptions, no. 14 seems to be the last well dated example, dedicated in 27 BC. Of course, this is no proof against its further use,[341] but from 20 BC reversed triangles and commas seem to completely dominate while triangles pointing upwards are exceptional. The two exceptions already mentioned, nos. 54 and 69 from 2 BC and AD 6 respectively, are not ordinary inscriptions but inset metal letters. This kind of monumental writing may have constituted a separate craft, with its own traditions and standards. Triangles pointing upwards resurface occasionally in Tiberian and later times, but reversed triangles and commas make up the vast majority.

III.6.4 The formula of the text

The text is surprisingly short. It reveals the names of the deceased and the two closest male relations, her father and her husband. The name of the husband is not even given in full,[342] and he would have had to be of some repute if the contemporary reader were to identify him immediately. It has also been suggested that the use of just "Crassi" for the husband indicates that he was the only man alive carrying that *cognomen* at the time of Caecilia Metella's death.[343] However, it is highly doubtful whether this was possible before AD 69.[344]

There are several examples of similar epitaphs, but the best parallel, to my knowledge, is found in *CIL* VI 1296:

[CORN]ELIA·L·SCIPION[IS·F]
VATIENI

This inscription belongs to another, albeit smaller, circular tomb which has been dated to 40–30 BC.[345] The only real difference lies in the use of the nominative case instead of the genitive/dative for the deceased. Caecilia is also supplied with her family's *cognomen* in a feminine form, as are several other female members of her *gens*. Thus, her father is mentioned only by *praenomen* and *agnomen* to avoid repetition. The same would not have been possible for Cornelia as there exists no feminine form of Scipio. The persons included in the inscription of Cornelia are not identified with certainty, but if our Vatienus is identical with P. Vatinius (*RE* 3) he was indeed a man of some repute.[346] This was a general of Caesar's who became consul in 47 BC and celebrated a triumph in 42 BC.

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[338] *CIL* VI:8:2; Degrassi 1965; Gordon 1958. Since several inscriptions derive from buildings that are still standing, I have also included additional references to Nash 1961–1962.
[339] See chapter III.1.3 (table III.1).
[340] See "The tomb of Aulus Hirtius" in appendix D.
[341] One more example of triangles pointing upwards, not included in any of the studied publications, is provided by the inscription on the Augustan obelisk in Campus Martius. This was dedicated in 10 BC and demonstrates that some stonecutters continued to use the old punctuation mark in the Augustan period. Nash 1961–1962, II 134.
[342] Neither is the name of the father, although it can be deduced.
[343] Paris 2000, 28.
[344] See Syme 1986, 282.
[345] *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: [Corn]elia L. Scipion[is f.]' (L. Chioffi), 281. See also Nash 1961–1962, II 327; Eisner 1986, 123f. It can be added that the inscription of Cornelia has triangular punctuation marks pointing upwards.
[346] *RE* 2:e Reihe VIII:A (1958), s.v. 'Vatienus' (F. Münzer), 2394. Contra Wiseman 1971, 270 nos. 466, 467. See also *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: [Corn]elia L. Scipion[is f.]' (L. Chioffi), 281.

III.6.5 The contents of the text

The unanimous interpretation of the inscription is that the tomb belongs to the noble lady Caecilia Metella, daughter of one Quintus Creticus and wife of a Crassus.[347] So far there is an almost complete consensus among previous scholars.[348] The identification of the father with Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (*RE* 87), consul in 69 BC and conqueror of Crete, was made early and has never really been questioned,[349] although there were others of that *gens* carrying the same *agnomen*.[350] The most solid piece of chronological information given us by the inscription is the use of the *agnomen* Creticus which Q. Caecilius Metellus adopted after having celebrated a triumph in 62 BC.[351] This date thereby produces a *terminus post quem* for the making of the inscription, and thus probably also for the death of Caecilia Metella. Of course, theoretically he could have been given the name already at the time of his first military victory in Crete (in 68 or 67 BC), but it seems unlikely that it would have been used in any formal context before the actual triumph.[352]

Unfortunately, Caecilia Metella herself is not known from any literary sources but appears in two other sepulchral inscriptions, one belonging to a slave and the other to a freedman of hers.[353] They will be considered in greater detail later on. When it comes to the identity of her husband a number of suggestions have been raised, although most scholars have now gathered around one theory.[354] The name Crassus could actually be applied to a large number of noble Romans, from various *gentes*. The persons that we know of, apart from the Licinii, who used this *cognomen* during the first century BC are Otacilius Crassus (*RE* 9), naval officer in 48 BC, M. Aquilius Crassus (*RE* 16), *praetor* in 43 BC, and P. Canidius Crassus (*RE* 2), *consul suffectus* in 40 BC.[355] The use of this *cognomen* alone, though, strongly indicates that we are dealing with a member of the Licinii. In fact, I would say that it effectively excludes all other possibilities.[356] Even within this *gens* there are a number of Crassi, belonging to various branches of the family, which can be discounted on the very same grounds: Licinius Crassus Damasippus (*RE* 65), P. Licinius Crassus Dives (*RE* 71), P. Licinius Crassus Iunianus (*RE* 75). None of these persons would be styled only as Crassus.

However, among the Licinii there are still five candidates of some interest: M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 68), M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 56), P. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 63), M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58), M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (*RE* 59). Whereas most early writers tended to favour the famous *triumvir* M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 68), later on his oldest son carrying the same name (*RE* 56) gained more support.[357] The presumed son of this M. Crassus, i.e. M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) who was consul in 30 BC, has also been identified as the husband of Caecilia Metella,[358] but was soon rejected in favour of his father.[359] From that time on the case appeared to be settled, and I will here restrict myself in stating that I concur in the latter conclusion. Consequently I also recognise the *triumvir* M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 68) as Caecilia Metella's father-in-law and M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) as her son. (See stemma *fig. 40*.) The evidence for all of these identifications has already been expounded in a most convincing way by the scholars mentioned above, but most of the data will be presented again in the following prosopographical discussion.[360]

III.7 The Licinii Crassi

Among the Licinii Crassi there are five male members of particular interest. All of them have at some time or other been pointed out as Caecilia Metella's husband, either directly or indirectly.

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347 See for example Keppie 1991, 103.

348 J.M.C. Toynbee, though, seems to interpret *Crassi* as representing the name of the son, although it is obvious that she misunderstood R.R. Holloway in this regard, as has already been recognised by H. Bloch. Toynbee 1971, 155; Holloway 1966, 171–173; Bloch 1982, 148.

349 The identity of the father was clearly recognised by W. Drumann but, most likely, he was not the first. Drumann 1835, II 55.

350 Four candidates have been mentioned. Hülsen 1896, 55. It can be shown that at least one of them is much too late to be the father of Caecilia Metella. The other three will be presented below.

351 See for example Drumann 1835, 54.

352 Ooteghem 1967, 236.

353 Bloch 1982.

354 Cf. chapter I.2.3.

355 Kajanto 1965, 244.

356 Cf. Hülsen 1896, 50 n. 3; Lugli 1956, 236.

357 W. Drumann suggested this already in 1835, but the idea was not taken up again until much later when it was adopted by C. Hülsen and F. Münzer. Drumann 1835, II 55f.; Hülsen 1896, 50–58; *RE* III (1897), s.v. 'Caecilius' no. 136 (F. Münzer), 1235.

358 Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 61. Although G. Tomassetti indicated that Publius, the second son of the *triumvir*, also had been considered as an alternative, I can find no references to support this.

359 See for example *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 56 (F. Münzer), 268f.; Syme 1939, 22 n. 1; Lugli 1956, 234f.

360 See chapters III.7 and III.8.

III.7.1 M. Licinius P. f. Crassus (RE 68)

Born	115 or 114 BC[361]
Consul	70 BC
Consul II	55 BC
Died	53 BC[362]

The famous *triumvir* M. Licinius Crassus is sometimes, although wrongly,[363] supplied with the name Dives. He is known to have married Tertulla, the widow of one of his older brothers,[364] and they had two sons, Marcus and Publius. The marriage probably took place shortly before 87 BC.[365] Times were unfavourable for the Sullan party and Crassus went into exile in 85 BC, leaving his wife behind.[366] However, he returned to the Italian peninsula in 83 BC, ending up on the winning side. Although he succeeded in reaching the highest offices and amassing enormous amounts of wealth, he was not satisfied. His desire for military glory and a triumph drove him to his death at Carrhae.[367] Caecilia Metella could only have been married to the *triumvir* if Tertulla died before her husband or was divorced, but the evidence speaks against it.[368]

III.7.2 M. Licinius M. f. Crassus (RE 56)

Quaestor	54–53 BC[369]
Last mentioned alive	49 BC[370]

Marcus, with regard to his *praenomen*, most likely was the *triumvir* Crassus' eldest son. There are known exceptions to this rule, but in far the most cases the first-born son received the father's *praenomen*.[371] The reversed order between the two brothers has been suggested by one scholar,[372] but his arguments were later refuted.[373]

Like his brother (see below), Marcus served under Julius Caesar in Gallia, but carried the rank of *quaestor*. Although he is first mentioned in the province late in 54 BC, it is possible that he participated in the second expedition to Britannia earlier that year. R. Syme, however, would have him still in Rome at that time, and further suggests that Marcus might have been *quaestor* in Rome already in 55 BC and that he acted as *proquaestor* in Gallia the following year.[374] M. Antonius, who had previously been a *legatus* of Caesar,[375] was promoted to *quaestor* in 52 or 51 BC,[376] whereas M. Crassus disappeared from the scene. Quite probably he had to return to Rome to attend to family affairs after the deaths of both his father and brother in 53 BC. In April 49 BC he was appointed governor of Gallia Cisalpina by Caesar but was replaced by M. Calidius already the next year.[377] Since the minimum age requisite for being a *quaestor* at this time was 30 full years,[378] Marcus must have been born before 84 BC. Taking into account the probable time of marriage of his parents and his father's period of exile, we may place his birth somewhere in the years of 87–85 BC. Since M. Crassus is not mentioned at all after 49 BC we may presume that he died in the province, perhaps from a decease.[379]

III.7.3 P. Licinius M. f. Crassus (RE 63)

Praefectus equitum	58 BC[380]
Died	53 BC[381]

Publius, in all likelihood, was the younger son of the *triumvir* (see above), and it has been suggested that he was born in 86 BC, based on various pieces of indirect information.[382] More recently, though, 83/82 BC was forwarded as a more likely alternative.[383] Since he served as *praefectus equitum* under Caesar between 58 and 56 BC and also held command over a legion,[384] he was certainly born before 80 BC. Military service was begun at 18 years of age, and commanding a legion would require some previous experience. He was obviously a successful soldier and brought a number of Gallic tribes into

361 Plutarchos, *Crassus* 17.2; Ward 1977, 46.
362 Plutarchos, *Crassus* 31.
363 See Ward 1977, 46f.; Broughton 1951–1986, III 120.
364 Plutarchos, *Crassus* 1.1.
365 Hülsen 1896, 57; *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58b (F. Münzer), 270.
366 *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58b (F. Münzer), 270; Ward 1977, 54; Syme 1984, 1220.
367 Cf. Cicero, *In Pisonem* 58.
368 Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 50; Cicero, *Ad familiares* 5.8.2.
369 Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 5.24, 5.46–47, 6.6.
370 Appianos, *Bella civilia* 2.41.
371 Salomies 1987, 212.
372 Sumner 1973, 149f. Cf. Ward 1977, 55f.
373 Syme 1984.
374 Syme 1984, 1221f. So also *PIR*², L 186.
375 Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 7.81.
376 Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 8.2. For a discussion on the exact time, see Syme 1984, 1222 n. 18.
377 Hieronymus, *Chronica Eusebii* 2.137d Schöne (*s.a.* 57 BC). T.R.S. Broughton hesitates between 49 and 48 BC for this appointment. Broughton 1951–1986, II 266f., 280. Yet another replacement was appointed late in 47 BC upon the death of M. Calidius. Appianos, *Bella civilia* 2.111.
378 Mommsen 1887–1888, I 570–572. Cf. Astin 1958, 40.
379 So Syme 1984, 1224; Syme 1986, 272.
380 Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 1.52.
381 Plutarchos, *Crassus* 25.11–12.
382 *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 63 (F. Münzer), 291.
383 Syme 1984, 1223.
384 Possibly as *legatus*.

subjugation, including the Veneti.[385] Back in Rome he held the office of *monetalis*, either in 55 or 54 BC.[386] Publius was also elected *augur*,[387] and he was held in high esteem by Cicero.[388] He married Cornelia, Pompeius' future wife, in 55 BC or the following year.[389] She was the daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who later became a Metellus through adoption. Before they had any children P. Licinius Crassus died in the East, participating in his father's campaign.[390] Thus, he could only have been the husband of Caecilia Metella if she died before 55 BC and Cornelia was his second wife.

III.7.4 M. Licinius M. f. Crassus (RE 58)

Military command (?)	41 BC[391]
Governor of Crete and Cyrenaica (?)	37–35 BC[392]
Consul	30 BC
Proconsul in Macedonia	29–28 BC
Triumph	27 BC (4 July)

This prominent Roman is recognised as the son of M. Crassus (*RE* 56) and grandson of the great *triumvir*, all carrying the same name. Theoretically, he could have been born any time between 73 and 48 BC, if we only consider the life-span of his father. However, given that he himself was consul in 30 BC, the limits can be narrowed. By that time the old requirement of 43 years for entering the consulship was no longer upheld. After the battle at Actium we should count with a minimum age of 33 years instead,[393] although exceptions could be made even from this rule. That brings us to a possible interval of 73–63 BC for the birth of Crassus. E. Groag suggested 67 BC as the date of birth, but on weak and partly false grounds.[394]

The identification of him with the Crassus mentioned in the civil war in 41 BC is under dispute,[395] but we do know that he fought with both Sex. Pompeius and M. Antonius before he turned his coat and joined the Octavian side.[396] He then entered the consulship together with the victorious *triumvir* without first having been *praetor*, and held it during the first half of the year. Probably before the end of that year M. Crassus left Rome for the province he had been allotted, Macedonia (including Achaea), from where he soon after entered upon a military venture in Thracia and Moesia. The highly successful war is best described by Cassius Dio.[397] The author does not supply us with exact dates but it is made clear that there were actually two campaigns separated by a winter season. That must have been the winter of 29/28 BC. After having celebrated his triumph we know nothing more of him, which may indicate that he either had to flee public life or met with an early death.

III.7.5 M. Licinius M. f. Crassus Frugi (RE 59)

Consul	14 BC

The consul of 14 BC was first believed to be the previous Crassus' biological son. However, it has later been shown that he was, in fact, his adoptive son.[398] His real father was probably M. Piso Frugi (*praetor* 44 BC).[399] It has been established that this M. Crassus, rather than his adoptive father, was *augur*,[400] but he is otherwise relatively unknown. He has never been pointed out as the husband of Caecilia Metella explicitly, but was sometimes confused with or identified as the consul of 30 BC.[401]

As a curiosity it can be mentioned that the lineage of Caecilia Metella lived on through the descendants of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, who ultimately reached the highest seat of power as the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. (See stemma *fig. 40*.)

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385 Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 2.34.
386 Sydenham 1952, 155 no. 929; Crawford 1974, no. 430.
387 Plutarchos, *Cicero* 36.1.
388 Cicero, *Ad familiares* 5.8.2, 4.
389 *RE* IV (1901), s.v. 'Cornelia' no. 417 (F. Münzer), 1596f.; Syme 1984, 1225.
390 Plutarchos, *Pompeius* 55.1.
391 Appianos, *Bella civilia* 5.50.1.
392 Grant 1946, 55–58; Broughton 1951–1986, II 397. Cf. Syme 1939, 266 n. 3. This hypothesis, based solely on numismatic evidence, seems somewhat uncertain.
393 Mommsen 1887–1888, I 574. However, it is unclear exactly when this rule was formalised. Syme 1939, 369 n. 2.
394 *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 270. The author wrongly believed that the consul of 14 BC was a biological son.
395 This identification was advocated for example by H. Dessau, but it is also possible that the passage refers to P. Canidius Crassus (*RE* 2). Dessau 1906, 150 n. 2.
396 Cassius Dio 51.4.3.
397 Cassius Dio 51.23–27. See also Livius, *Periochae* 134–135; Florus 2.26; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 1.7; Zonaras 10.32. See chapter VI.2.1.
398 Syme 1960.
399 Syme 1960, 14–16; *PIR*², L 189 (M. Licinius Crassus Frugi).
400 Broughton 1951–1986, III 119.
401 For example by G.T. Rivoira, who managed to mix up three generations of Licinii Crassi as one and the same person. Rivoira 1921, 6.

III.8 The Caecilii Metelli

III.8.1 Q. Caecilius C. f. Metellus Creticus (RE 87)

The following chronological facts are known about the proposed father of Caecilia Metella:[402]

Candidate for *praetor*	75 BC[403]
Pontifex	73 BC[404]
Consul	69 BC
Proconsular command on Crete	68–63 BC[405]
Triumph	62 BC (May)
Last mentioned alive	54 BC[406]

From this can be deduced that Quintus was born in 114 BC or earlier, as he would have to be at least 40 years old to hold the praetorship.[407] On the other hand he was probably not born earlier than 120 BC, as a man of his background would not have to stand for election again and again, nor postpone the candidature far beyond the age of 40. If he got a daughter between 20 and 50 years of age that would give us a possible interval of 100–65 BC for the birth of Caecilia Metella. As will be seen this interval can be shortened down, however. Quintus probably also had at least one son (see below). The pacification of Crete earned him the salutation as *imperator* and a triumphal celebration. His triumph, however, was delayed due to political obstruction.[408] He died sometime between 54 and 50 BC.[409]

III.8.2 Q. Caecilius Q. f. Metellus Creticus

In the *Fasti consulares Capitolini* one Q. Caecilius Q. f. M. n. Metellus Creticus Silan(us) is recorded as a consul of the year equivalent to AD 7.[410] The use of the agnomen Creticus strongly indicates that Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (*RE* 87) had male descendants. Information on these intermediate generations has been sought for and what could not be firmly established has been conjectured. In this manner a number of shadowy characters were outlined. The person in this heading is a supposed senior son of the previous Creticus.[411] However, he is not an ancestor to the mentioned consul and his existence may therefore be regarded as complete speculation.[412] Theoretically, it could be argued that this is a possible father of Caecilia Metella, as his name matches the one in the inscription. It would be absurd, though, to make use of a conjecture which lacks proper grounds and was not even recognised by the *Real-Encyclopädie*.

III.8.3 M. Caecilius Q. f. Metellus Creticus (RE 79)

This individual has been presented as a son of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (*RE* 87), a younger brother of the previous character,[413] and grandfather of the late Augustan consul. His existence (and full name) can be deduced from the latter relationship, and he may also correspond to an otherwise unknown Caecilius Metellus mentioned in a few sources.[414] This alternative is easily discounted as a possible father of Caecilia Metella since he has the wrong *praenomen*.

III.8.4 Q. Caecilius M. f. Metellus Creticus (RE 88)

The final link between the conqueror of Crete and the late Augustan consul is perhaps better known to us. The adoptive father of the consul and the son of the previous Creticus has been identified as a *praetor urbanus* and proconsul on Sardinia before AD 6, although his *praenomen* and *agnomen* had to be conjectured.[415] However, R. Syme has questioned this inference.[416] Once again a possible father of Caecilia Metella appears. Such a hypothesis would implicate M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (*RE* 59) as her husband, the earlier Crassi being too old. Apart from the general uncertainty concerning this Caecilius, several objections can be raised. It becomes difficult to

[402] For more detailed information on his career see *RE* III (1897), s.v. 'Caecilius' no. 87 (F. Münzer), 1210–1212 and Ooteghem 1967, 220–239.
[403] Sallustius, *Historiae* 2.45 Maurenbrecher (frag.). The actual year of his praetorship is disputed. W. Drumann and C. Hülsen suggested 72 BC whereas T.R.S. Broughton favoured 74 BC. Drumann 1835, 51; Hülsen 1896, 55; Broughton 1951–1986, II 108 n. 3.
[404] Broughton 1951–1986, II 113f. Cf. Cicero, *De haruspicum responso* 12.
[405] Cassius Dio 36.1a (Xiphilinos); Appianos, *Sikelike* 6.2; Velleius Paterculus 2.34.1–2. The date of Quintus' return from Crete is uncertain. W. Drumann suggested 66 BC, T.R.S. Broughton 65 BC, but he may have stayed there until 63 BC. Drumann 1835, II 54; Broughton 1951–1986, II 539.
[406] Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 27.
[407] See for example Astin 1958, 41. Contrary to A.E. Astin I count the year of birth as a full year.
[408] Sallustius, *De Catilinae coniuratione* 30.3–4.
[409] According to Velleius Paterculus 2.48.6 Creticus died before the outbreak of the civil war.
[410] *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII.1 (1947), 60f.
[411] Hülsen 1896, 55 no. 3. For recent adherents of this hypothetic senior son see Wiseman 1974, 179f., 182f.; Syme 1986, stemma XVIII.
[412] For the origin of this conjecture C. Hülsen incorrectly refers to Drumann 1835, II 56, whereas the second edition of this treatise (Drumann 1902, II 47) refers back to Hülsen 1896, 55!
[413] Hülsen 1896, 55 no. 4.
[414] Drumann 1902, II 45f.; *RE* III (1897), s.v. 'Caecilius' no. 79 (F. Münzer), 1206.
[415] Hülsen 1896, 55 no. 5; *RE* III (1897), s.v. 'Caecilius' no. 88 (E. Groag), 1212; *PIR*², C 62.
[416] Syme 1986, 253, stemma XVIII.

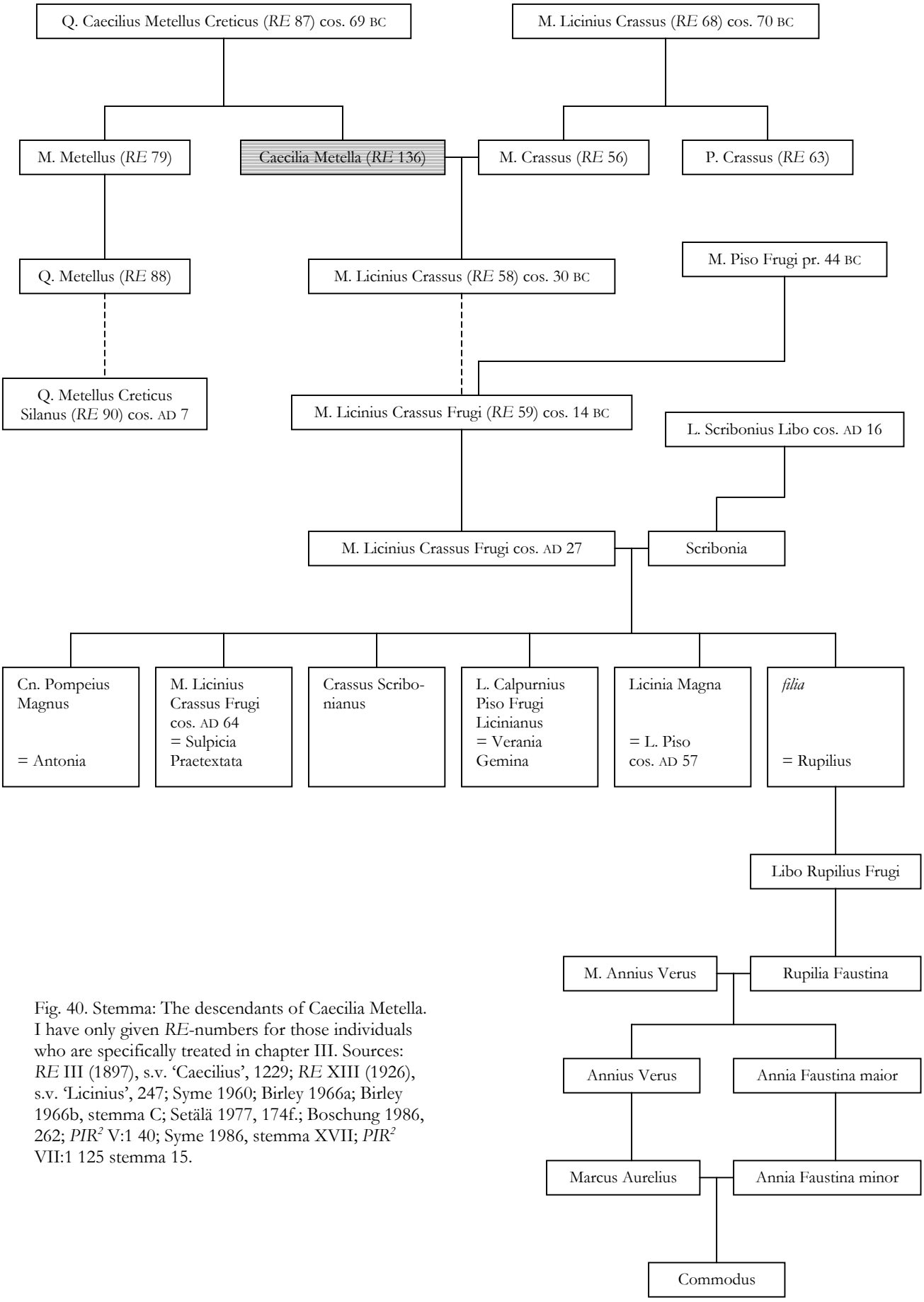

Fig. 40. Stemma: The descendants of Caecilia Metella. I have only given *RE*-numbers for those individuals who are specifically treated in chapter III. Sources: *RE* III (1897), s.v. 'Caecilius', 1229; *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius', 247; Syme 1960; Birley 1966a; Birley 1966b, stemma C; Setälä 1977, 174f.; Boschung 1986, 262; *PIR*^{2} V:1 40; Syme 1986, stemma XVII; *PIR*^{2} VII:1 125 stemma 15.

explain the monumentality of the grave and also the Gallic connotations of the trophy. Furthermore, it is highly doubtful whether M. Licinius Crassus Frugi would be styled just Crassus. Consequently, I have to concur with the original, and current, assumption regarding the identity of Caecilia Metella's father.

III.8.5 Caecilia Q. f. Metella (RE 136)

Based upon the assumption that Caecilia Metella was the daughter of Q. Caecilius C. f. Metellus Creticus (*RE* 87), the wife of M. Licinius M. f. Crassus (*RE* 56) and the mother of M. Licinius M. f. Crassus (*RE* 58), we can now give a very rough outline of her life:

Born	100–75 BC
Married	73–63 BC
Had a son	73–63 BC
Died	62 BC–AD 25

The first and most important fixed point here is the previously calculated interval for the birth of M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58), the presumed son of Caecilia Metella. The time of her own birth is deduced from her father's age and the assumption that she was at least 12 years old when she married. We can also make the probable conjecture that she did not marry before 73 BC, as her supposed husband otherwise would have been younger than 14 at the time of the marriage. The legal minimum age for marriage, at least from the Augustan period and probably earlier, was 12 for women and 14 for men.[417] The possible time of Caecilia's death, considering genealogical information only, unfortunately falls within the exceptionally wide limits presented above.

However, if we not only consider what is theoretically possible (within the limits of reason), but also what seems to be likely, we can tentatively produce a more precise set of figures. Thus, it can be assumed that M. Crassus (*RE* 56) was at least 17 years old when he married (rather than 14); that Caecilia Metella was at least 14 years old (rather than 12), and probably not older than her husband;[418] and that the marriage was arranged and held before Caecilia's father left for Crete in 68 BC.[419] Furthermore, I would like to argue that Caecilia Metella most likely passed away after her husband. If M. Crassus (*RE* 56) was alive to tend to the funeral of his wife, we have to ask ourselves, why did he furnish a tomb only for her and not for both of them? Married couples were usually buried together, and although this could not always be, for various reasons, we constantly find evidence for the preparations of family tombs.[420] In this case, however, the inscription gives no indication that someone was going to follow Caecilia to the eternal rest in that sepulchre.[421] Moreover, the building itself implies a prominence of the deceased that few Roman women attained. Those who did had generally lived as widows for some time, and had thereby acquired some independence both socially and economically.

In addition, we have the epitaph of Q. Caecilius Hilarus, which identifies the person in question as a freedman of a Caecilia, wife of Crassus:[422]

Q·CAECILIVS·CAECILIAE
CRASSI·L·HILARVS·MEDIC^VS

This inscription dates to the final years of the Republic or early Augustan times, and the former owner of Hilarus has already been convincingly identified as our Caecilia Metella.[423] If Caecilia was married *in manu*, she could have had no property of her own nor conducted any manumission until after her husband had died – if it was a free marriage she would have been under the *potestas* of her father, with the same limitations, until his death.[424] As a final point it can be added that exceptionally few Romans reached the age of 80,[425] and that this age should perhaps be used as a more likely upper limit instead of the one suggested above. We thus reach a new set of proposed dates. The figures within

[417] Hopkins 1964–1965, 313.

[418] R.P. Saller calculated the mean age at first marriage for women to be about 20 years, for men about 30 years. The median age for marriage within the senatorial elite he reckoned to be somewhat lower, but still with a considerable difference between men and women. Saller 1994, 37–41. Cf. Hopkins 1964–1965.

[419] Marriage alliances were of fundamental importance to the high aristocracy and a matter which entailed the personal involvement of the *pater familias*. However, we know that Cicero arranged his daughter's marriage from the province. The wedding was held before he returned to Rome. Cicero, *Ad familiares* 8.6; *Ad Atticum* 6.6.

[420] For example in inscriptions recording the purchase of two adjacent *loculi* or a grave plot intended for a married couple. Cf. Kleiner 1987, 57.

[421] The inscription occupies the entire surface of the block, which has been permanently fixed in a central position on the drum.

[422] *CIL* VI 37380, 1–2.

[423] Bloch 1982.

[424] Gardner 1986, 9–14.

[425] According to one of the best demographic models at hand (in this case Coale-Demeny² Model West Level 3 female), less than two percent (1.6 %) of the newborn female population reached 80 years of age. Even if we postulate that the women in question became at least 20, the percentage only rises to 3.6. These numbers should be taken as guidelines, though, not as exact figures. Saller 1994, 24. Cf. Parkin 1992, 92.

brackets represent the optimal guess according to the present author.[426]

Born	87–82 BC	[82]
Married	70–68 BC	[68]
Had a son	70–63 BC	[63]
Died	49–3 BC	

Similar estimates have been presented before, mostly without the support of arguments, though. R. Syme, for example, first suggested that the marriage of Caecilia Metella took place in the period 68–63 BC,[427] but later opted for "the vicinity of 63 BC".[428] The birth of M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) he envisaged one or two years later.[429] However, that would make him suspiciously young for the consulship. If we are correct in assuming that Caecilia's husband died in 49 BC, it can be deduced from the contents of the inscription that she never remarried but remained a widow for the rest of her life. Although corresponding to the traditional ideal of the *univira*, this was rather unusual for women belonging to the Roman elite.[430]

III.9 Conclusions

III.9.1 The date of the tomb

The use of building materials and construction techniques as criteria for dating buildings is problematic. Very seldom do they provide definite dates and even though we sometimes can gather a reasonable amount of comparative material, very few of these buildings are dated themselves. However, it can be argued that construction techniques constitute a somewhat better criterion than building materials. The employment of materials, although sensitive to trends, was influenced by structural, financial and geographical considerations. Construction techniques, on the other hand, if found efficient, quickly spread and made a distinct imprint on architecture. The use of Pentelic marble, *opus caementicium*, flat arches, barrel vaults and *cocciopesto* were introduced early and do not contribute significantly to establish a date. Remaining criteria belonging to these two categories have been listed in table III.4, the most useful and reliable ones first.

Light aggregate in vaults	–	Augustan era and later
Intermediate blankets of lime	–	Augustan era (44 BC–AD 41)
Tile bricks/*structura testacea*	–	from about 30 BC to the period of Caligula
Selce as aggregate	–	from the period of Julius Caesar
Mortar made of unsifted red pozzolana	–	Augustan period
Hemispherical concrete vault	–	Augustan era and later
Lapis Gabinus	–	144 to about 30 BC
Abundant use of *lapis Tiburtinus*	–	from about 42 BC
Absence of *Anio tufa*	–	before Augustan era
Absence of Carrara marble	–	before 12 BC

Table III.4. Summary of chronological evidence pertaining to building material and construction techniques.

A general tendency regarding the choice of building materials during the first century BC is the succession, in chronological order, of tuff stones to travertine and finally to marble as standard revetment (or exterior squared-stone masonry) on monumental buildings. Thus, buildings pertaining to the same category and being of equal dignity could tentatively be ordered chronologically along this principle. When compared with the pyramid of C. Cestius (C62), which has a marble revetment, the tomb of Caecilia Metella might therefore be regarded as earlier, i.e. erected no later than 12 BC. However, as has already been stated above, this kind of dating is extremely tentative, and those criteria have consequently been put at the end of the list.

Another important aspect concerning building materials should be considered. The architect behind the tomb of Caecilia Metella seems to have been very economical in the choice of materials, without compromising the stability or the durability of the building in the least. By far the largest part of the construction is composed of concrete, the major components of which (*pozzolana* and *selce*) could be extracted at the construction site. Only the lime had to be found elsewhere.[431] However, burnt lime is comparatively light and can be slaked and left to mature at the site. The exterior revetment was made of travertine which could be transported along the Anio and the Tiber. For stones in the foundation or under stuccoed surfaces, Gabine stone was chosen instead of *peperino*, which would have had to be hauled more than twice the distance on land. The

[426] The lower figures are preferred mainly because they allow for a greater difference in age between husband and wife.
[427] Syme 1939, 22 n. 1.
[428] Syme 1986, 271. Cf. Syme 1984, 1225.
[429] Syme 1986, 272. Before that A.M. Ward had suggested 62 or 61 BC for the marriage and 61 for the birth of Crassus, but without stating why. Ward 1977, 203.
[430] Parkin 1992, 132.

[431] For a discussion on the sources of lime see DeLaine 1997, 88f.

use of bricks as facing on the interior wall can be given several technical explanations, but in any event discarded roof-tiles were probably cheaper than well-cut reticulate stones and could be found closer at hand, considering the magnitude of building activities in Rome.

The stylistic evaluation of the frieze points towards a date in the Augustan period, or after 30 BC. Thus, E. Strong and C. Vermeule dated the decorative elements as early Augustan, R. Paris between 30 and 20 BC, M. Eisner between 20 and 10 BC and P. Gros between 15 and 10 BC.[432] M. Honroth wanted to place the garlands and the *bucrania* typologically after those on the Ara Pacis, which she regarded as a style-forming work of art.[433] A.E. Napp made the same inference, but apparently had to work with two not quite accurate and largely contradictory depictions of our frieze.[434] It is likely that many more studies have suffered from lack of close-up photos and reliable detailed drawings. Furthermore, it has been questioned that a typology based on so few objects (i.e. ornamental friezes with garlands and *bucrania*) can offer any precision regarding the date.[435] Honroth obviously felt that the date she arrived at did not fully comply with the rest of the building, and thus suggested that the frieze and the relief were added at a later restoration.[436] This is highly doubtful, since it would imply that the blocks of Pentelic marble were inserted into the wall without disturbances to the crowning structure. When it comes to the figurative relief, it is difficult to extract any detailed chronological information, although it seems to post-date the conquest of Gaul. However, if the identification of the draped fragment as a *togatus* is correct, then the low hanging *sinus* places it in the Augustan age or later.

To sum up the chronological evidence pertaining to the inscription, the material of the block and the shape of the letters favour an Augustan date, probably early, without setting any definite limits. The performed study of punctuation marks indicates that it is rather unlikely that the inscription on the tomb of Caecilia Metella was made later than the mid 20s BC. The last recorded and well dated example of the continuous use of triangles pointing upwards dates to 27 BC. Ample evidence tells us that only a few years later a new punctuation mark had taken over. The use of the *agnomen* Creticus gives us a reliable and definite *terminus post quem* at 62 BC. The similarity with *CIL* VI 1296 does not constitute any hard evidence, but at least does not speak against a late republican or early Augustan date. The same applies for the base profile and the drafted margins. Genealogical and prosopographical information give us a possible interval for the time of death of Caecilia Metella between 62 BC and AD 25. This, purely theoretical, time frame can be substituted, however, by the much more reasonable limits of 49–3 BC.

All in all, there are several strong indications that the tomb should not be dated before 30 BC: the use of light aggregate in vaults and red *pozzolana*, the fired bricks, the frieze, the style of the *toga*, and the letters of the inscription. None of these factors are absolute criteria, and by themselves they can only provide approximate dates. However, taken together it becomes very difficult to argue in favour of an earlier date than the one mentioned above. On the other hand, there are some pieces of evidence speaking for a date before 20 BC, perhaps even before 25 BC: the use of *lapis Gabinus*, the absence of *Anio tufa*, the letters of the inscription (again) and, most important, the punctuation marks. It is essential that the last two criteria pertain to the inscription, which post-dates both the death of Caecilia Metella and the construction of the tomb, and thus sets a lower limit to all these events. The *terminus ante quem* suggested by the punctuation marks has not been touched upon in any previous treatise on the tomb of Caecilia Metella, but in my opinion constitutes the single most valuable criterion. Most of the others are based on only a handful of known and securely dated examples. Punctuation marks are the closest we get to a "serially produced", and therefore typologically sensitive, item. The number of well dated objects which can be used as comparative material vastly exceeds those of all other categories. Thus, I suggest that the tomb of Caecilia Metella was built sometime between 30 and 20 BC, perhaps closer to 30. The possibility should not be ruled out that Caecilia died several years before the construction of the tomb commenced, and that the remains were transferred to their final resting place after its completion. Concerning the duration of the construction work, the evidence reveals little. Suffice to say that the building could have been erected in less than a year,[437] and that the external decoration was never completed (see chapter II.6.1).

III.9.2 The commissioner of the tomb

If we conclude that the composition of the trophy most probably is indicative of a Gallic victory, two possible victors related to the owner of the grave

[432] Strong 1929, I 136; Vermeule 1957, 241; Paris 1997, 53; Eisner 1986, 204f.; Gros 2001, 431.
[433] Honroth 1971, 19f. Contra Kranz 1975, 79.
[434] Napp 1933, 24f.
[435] Kraus 1953, 55.
[436] Honroth 1971, 20.
[437] The pyramid of C. Cestius, which is corresponding in size, was completed in 330 days. *CIL* VI 1374b.

emerge: Marcus and Publius, the two sons of the *triumvir*. Both C. Hülsen and G.C. Picard reached the same conclusion.[438] To our knowledge, Marcus never distinguished himself as a commander on his own during his sojourn in the Gallic province, whereas his younger brother, Publius, stands out as one of Caesar's most talented officers. The reported victories of the latter would correspond well to the *tropaion*. Still both scholars favoured Marcus as their main candidate, thereby postulating some hitherto unknown military achievement. Their choice was evidently based on the fact that they recognised Marcus as the husband of Caecilia. Thus, previous authors on this subject have often confused the commissioner of the building with the husband of Caecilia Metella. Or rather, they have merely assumed that it was the husband who arranged for the funeral of Caecilia Metella. However, the commissioner of the tomb need not be identical with the man behind the victory in question, and it was not necessarily the husband who built the tomb. In this case, that seems extremely unlikely. Since Marcus, who is still identified as the husband of Caecilia Metella, probably died in 49 or 48 BC, and the tomb, in view of the evidence, seems to have been erected after 30 BC, we are left with two significant options: Either Caecilia Metella had the grave built for herself before she died, or the monument was commissioned by her son, M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58), cos. 30 BC. As we have already seen, the contents of the inscription strongly indicate that the tomb was made after Caecilia's death (see introduction to chapter III.6). There is also another indication in favour of the latter alternative. Within Roman society the responsibility for arranging a burial was intimately linked to the right to inherit.[439] As the *pater familias* (generally) was the legal owner of all assets within a household, he was also responsible for burying all other family members; no one else would inherit them as long as he was alive. This heavy responsibility would sometimes result in anticipatory preparations. I would like to argue that in those cases a tomb or sepulchral monument was built in advance, it was either made by a *pater familias*, caring for the needs of the entire family, or by someone without close kin (i.e. heirs) to rely on.[440] That Caecilia Metella would forestall the duties of her son seems unlikely. At least within a couple of years after his father's death, M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) assumed the *toga virilis* becoming the head of the family, and in all probability he was also the commissioner of the tomb.

The relief decorating the tomb is not only a piece of art, but carries a political and, in some ways, personal message. I believe that this message should be understood with regard to the commissioner of the tomb, rather than the deceased.

[438] Hülsen 1896, 54f.; Picard 1957, 201 n. 2.

[439] Cicero *De legibus* 2.48–51. Saller & Shaw 1984, 126. That meant for example that the main beneficiary had to reimburse anyone else who had made expenses for the burial.

[440] Cf. Saller & Shaw 1984, 132, 134.

IV. Typological analysis – the exterior layout of the tomb

THE PRESENT chapter constitutes an analysis and interpretation of the exterior architecture of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, but it can also be seen as a reaction against the majority of typological studies published on funerary architecture. The analysis is based on the assumption that the tomb of Caecilia Metella is related to other monuments demonstrating a similar exterior layout, and that the investigation of such connections might contribute to the understanding of the former. However, the individual building will remain at the centre of the study. Instead of creating a formal typology covering a large quantity of objects, I will use so-called "ideal types" as a heuristic tool.

IV.1 Defining the exterior layout

From the present remains it can be concluded that the outward appearance of the tomb of Caecilia Metella consisted of at least two major structural elements: a cylinder on top of a square block. The profiled base and the entablature of the cylinder automatically put an emphasis on this element, hinting at an abbreviated order.[441] The square block, thus, could be regarded as a podium, or even a plinth.[442] However, it should be noted that the interior funerary space is confined within this podium, with the exception of the cella which extends upwards through the drum. The preciseness with which the entrance fits within the podium wall indicates that the interior arrangement actually dictated the height of the podium.

Above the cornice, a so-called "altar ring" provided a visual conclusion to the wall of the drum. Early on, B. Götze recognised the altar ring as a typical feature of Roman circular tombs. He also convincingly argued for the identification of the vertical stones as stylised altars and proposed that they had developed from boundary stones (*cippi*), which once designated the sacred area of graves. This element, which had first encircled the sepulchres, was subsequently placed on top of them.[443] At least one scholar has interpreted the altar ring as a crenellation, thus giving this part of the tomb a military connotation.[444] He compared it with the presence of picturesque fortification towers in some Roman villa complexes. The obviously religious symbolism of the element, demonstrated by the decoration on several other examples,[445] lessens the credibility of this interpretation.

A third major element, besides the podium and the cylinder, has also been suggested: a conical mound crowning the monument. During the last two centuries some scholars have advocated a top cone made of stone, whereas others favoured one made of earth. In recent years, however, most writers have propagated the latter alternative.[446] The interior top ring (SU43) might suggest some kind of earth filling within its circumference, although it does not reveal of what shape and height. Other than that, the evidence for the conical mound seems to be restricted to a comparison with the Mauso-

[441] Although the lower part probably did have a projecting *fascia* (see chapter II.4.1), there is nothing to indicate a full entablature.

[442] The cylindrical tomb at Pietrabbondante (C32) provides an example of how the lower square block was sometimes treated as a compositional element of equal standing to the drum. (The denotation C32 refers to the catalogue in appendix C, as do similar ones appearing in the following.)

[443] Götze 1939, 12–14. Cf. Götze 1935, 343–350.

[444] Quilici 1972, 37.

[445] "Casal Rotondo" (C6), tomb of Cornelia (C7), anonymous tomb at Vicovaro (C21), "tomb of Cartinia" at Falerii Novi (C23), anonymous tomb at Reggio Emilia (C44), tomb of C. Utianus Rufus at Polla (C45). The altar rings of these tombs are all decorated with sacral utensils. In one case the orthostats are even provided with the elaborately voluted tops belonging to typical Roman altars: Anonymous tomb at Vicovaro (C21).

[446] Stone: L. Canina (B46); Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 62; Rivoira 1921, 6; Quilici 1972, 36. Earth: Crema 1959, 250; *EAA* VI (1965), s.v. 'Roma' (M. Torelli & F. Zevi), 874; Coarelli 1981, 48; Paris 1997, 53. A number of authors chose not to specify the material, e.g. Muñoz 1913, 10; Ducati 1927, 580; Matz 1928, 287; *EAA* II (1959), s.v. 'Cecilia Metella' (A. Longo), 448.

leum of Augustus, as it was described by Strabon,[447] and the mention of the tomb of Caecilia Metella in a Medieval document as a *monumentum peczutum*, interpreted to mean that it was pointed.[448] Two different scholars have made brief mention of archaeological evidence supposedly confirming the original existence of an earth mound.[449] However, neither of these references can be corroborated by primary sources, and the exact nature of the evidence is unclear. Possibly, they both refer to the coat of earth that is still present on top of the drum.

Roman circular tombs are generally envisaged to have carried conical elements. Also in this case, a crowning tumulus is the most favoured solution by far, although a simple flat ending of the cylinder has occasionally been suggested.[450] It should be noted that there are some circular tombs with flat tops,[451] and others which had interior earth fill reaching the top of the building without forming a complete mound. The most important example of this is provided by the so-called "Carceri Vecchie" at S. Maria Capua Vetere (C31). This circular monument has a central chamber surrounded by segmented compartments filled with earth. The compartments were open to the skies, but the earth masses could not reasonably have covered the funerary chamber since it was provided with vertical light-shafts.[452] Also in the case of the tomb of Caecilia Metella a limited or partial cover of earth on top of the drum is conceivable and there are several possible explanations for it. The purpose might have been to provide footing for "decorative" plants and trees;[453] protect the concrete surface from direct exposure of rain water;[454] or meet the terms of funerary law.[455] It may also be relevant that the architect of the tomb of Caecilia Metella chose a particularly light aggregate for the concrete of the cupola,[456] as if he feared that it would not sustain its own weight. Would he then trust it to carry an earth tumulus? It is not possible to calculate the load bearing capacity of the now missing vault, yet it has been pointed out that concrete vaults by this time were not even trusted to carry the road surface of bridges.[457]

The question of a conical earth tumulus on top of the tomb of Caecilia Metella obviously has to be left open until further evidence can be presented.[458] Still, it is justifiable to speculate in the possible appearance of a crowning tumulus. Since the interior top ring is withdrawn from the periphery of the drum, the diameter of the suggested mound would have been only about 22.5 m. With an inclination of, say, 30 degrees the conical element would have had an approximate height of 6.5 m.[459] Taking in consideration the height of the entire monument, the protruding cornice and the raised altar ring, together with the withdrawn position of the interior top ring, the hypothesised earth mound could not have been very prominent for viewers on the ground, although it would be visible from a far distance.

IV.2 A review of previous typologies

IV.2.1 Existing typologies on sepulchral architecture

There exists a considerable number of typologies concerning sepulchral monuments which also, to some degree, account for the tomb of Caecilia Metella. More often than not these typologies present thoughts about the meaning and origin of the respective types. A quick review of the topic also provides a methodological background to my own

[447] Strabon 5.3.8. "The most noteworthy is what is called the Mausoleum, a great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-green trees to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; …" Translation H.L. Jones (Loeb Classical Library) 1923.

[448] See chapter I.1.

[449] "Bei den Restaurationsarbeiten am Grab der Caecilia Metella ist 1976 auch für diese Anlage ein Erdtumulus gesichert worden." v. Sydow 1978, 438 n. 15. "Demnach konnte man obenauf antike Erdschüttungsreste identifizieren, welche die [...] postulierte typologische Einordnung des Grabbaus als Tumulus mit Podium vollauf rechtfertigen." Eisner 1986, 41 n. 108.

[450] See e.g. Uggeri 1804, 58; H.J. Chauvet (B31), reproduced in d'Espouy 1910–1912, vol. III, tav. 181; L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, vol. I, tav. 32; *Enciclopedia italiana* XXIII (1934), s.v. 'Metella, Cecilia', 65.

[451] E.g. the tomb of Veia Barchilla (South-East 3), Porta di Nocera, Pompeii (C33). D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983.

[452] De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 106f. figs 79–82. Cf. v. Hesberg 1992, 101.

[453] Cf. Strabon above.

[454] A sloping and grass-clad coat of earth would slow down as well as reduce the infiltration of water.

[455] In theory a burial place was not considered a true grave nor protected by religious laws until it had been covered by earth. Cicero, *De legibus* 2.57.

[456] See chapters II.8.3 & III.2.1.

[457] Blake 1947, 344. C. O'Conner, in his comprehensive survey of Roman bridges, also recognised arches made entirely of concrete as a late phenomenon. O'Conner 1993, 166.

[458] At the time of writing, excavations are underway on top of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, which might provide an answer to the question.

[459] R. Fellmann suggested this angle for the tumulus of the tomb of L. Munatius Plancus (C13), whereas the earth cone on top of the Mausoleum of Augustus (C8) was reconstructed with an inclination of slightly less than 30 degrees. Fellman 1957, 30f.; v. Hesberg & Panciera 1994, 197.

"alternative" typological model, which is introduced further on.[460]

In 1928 F. Matz wrote an article titled "Hellenistische und römische Grabbauten".[461] His basic argument was that the best (and perhaps only) way to reach an understanding of Roman sepulchral buildings from Imperial times would be to gather and identify the various types of their Hellenistic equivalents and predecessors. He proceeded in doing just that by contemplating the general idea behind the monuments, as well as the relationship between exterior form and interior layout. Illustrating some principal types with a number of key monuments, he traced their development through the centuries. Two of these general types were represented by the stylised "Grabhügel" and the elevated "Totenhaus", exemplified by the "Lion Tomb" at Knidos and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos respectively. It is interesting that he chose to attribute these particular monuments to two different types although their outward architectural form expresses noticeable similarities, namely the presence of a stepped pyramid carried by some kind of columnar order. The basic idea behind the "Totenhaus" type, according to Matz, was that the high podium separated the dead from the world of the living and thereby contributed to his (or her) heroisation. He recognised the same two categories in sepulchral monuments of later times and other geographical areas, the "Grabhügel" term being applied to Numidian circular tombs, and "Totenhaus" to the tombs of Theron (C54) and Bibulus (C58) in Italy. However, when it came to Roman circular tombs, and the tomb of Caecilia Metella in particular, Matz discounted Hellenistic prototypes altogether. Postulating a conical element on top of the cylinder, he considered the tomb to be the direct descendant of the Etruscan tumulus. The major differences, as he saw it, were the shift in proportions between the two structural elements (mound and *krepis*) and the transformation of the interior layout, which, in the case of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, he deemed unintelligible.[462]

Several decades later H. Windfeld-Hansen constructed a more specific and formal typology covering ancient circular tombs with annular corridors.[463] This was a categorisation of buildings based solely on the analysis of the plan. However, among the Roman circular tombs he distinguished between the Etruscan tradition of tumuli and the Hellenistic tradition involving cylindrical, tower-like tombs, thereby taking a more holistic view.[464] The otherwise formal treatment of the objects resulted in a multitude of divisions and many types were only represented by a single building. Since the study was focused on the annular corridors, the tomb of Caecilia Metella was not categorised.

The typology of H. Gabelmann cannot be considered complete either, and probably originates from a case-study of Roman provincial monumental tombs.[465] This is a typology based on the architectural structure, or composition, of the building. Gabelmann focused on what he called the "Mausoleumsgrundform".[466] The concept was basically that of an architectural order resting on a high podium, and it went back to the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos and its predecessors (e.g. the Nereid Monument at Xanthos). The author recognised the elevating aspect as the original idea behind these buildings, just as Matz had before him. In Roman times this kind of monument developed further, becoming more frontal, and sometimes included other elements which added to their height. According to Gabelmann, however, the group should be separated from the tower-tombs of, for example, North Africa and Palmyra. He distinguished four types of the "Mausoleumsgrundform":[467]

I. Säulenfronttypus
II. Aediculatypus
III. Baldachintypus
IV. Relieffronttypus

Circular tombs like the one of Caecilia Metella were not really accounted for in this typology, but *monopteroi* (also closed ones) on podia fell within type III.

F. Van Wonterghem, in his study of a Roman circular tomb in Corfinio, to some extent also treated this group as a whole.[468] However, he limited his comparative material to circular tombs of "modest" size, i.e. those having a diameter of no more than 17 m. Among these he distinguished between two major types: tombs having an interior earth fill, and tombs built entirely of concrete with an internal funerary chamber.[469] The author also

[460] Unfortunately I was not able to consult the works of W.K. Kovacsovics on the typology of Roman funerary architecture before submitting the manuscript for print. Kovacsovics 1978; Kovacsovics 1983.
[461] Matz 1928.
[462] Matz 1928, 286–288. Later on F. Matz altered his position and recognised a Hellenistic influence also in this case. Matz 1941, 219.
[463] Windfeld-Hansen 1965.
[464] Windfeld-Hansen 1965, 53f.
[465] Gabelmann 1977, 107–117. See also Gabelmann 1979, 7–11.
[466] A second important group he labelled "Pfeilergrabmäler".
[467] The way of numbering in this and following lists corresponds to the original treatises.
[468] Van Wonterghem 1982.
[469] Van Wonterghem 1982, 106, 112.

implied a chronological development from the first type to the second.

When discussing the tombs outside Porta di Ercolano at Pompeii, V. Kockel arranged them according to a number of major types:[470]

A. Stelen in Hermenform
B. Scholae
C. Grabaltäre
D. Mehrstöckige Grabbauten
    1. Aedicula
    2. Aedicula (distyl-prostyl)
    3. Aedicula (tetrastyl-prostyl)
    4. Monopteros
    5. Tetrapylon

Kockel also recognised other types, which are represented at this location only by one or two examples. Among these can be found both exedras and a circular tomb. His primary divisions appear to correspond to some kind of natural grouping of this specific material, based on the fundamental character of the monuments. The type labelled as "Mehrstöckige Grabbauten" translates well into the "Mausoleumsgrundform" of Gabelmann, but Kockel is critical to the use of this term. In his view it puts too much emphasis on that particular monument, which only represented a single branch of the type and gave rise to very few direct imitations. According to Kockel, his classification is phenomenological and neutral to the question of origin, but takes into account the multitude of variations.[471] When it comes to circular tombs, which receive a fairly good treatment with plenty of references, he introduces a new interesting method of classification based on the proportions of the cylinder.[472] Looking at the relation between the diameter and the height of the drum, he distinguishes tombs having a proportion of about 1:1 from those at 3:1 or more. He also recognises a middle group ranging from 1:1 to 2:1. The type as a whole is seen as quite distinct from *monopteroi*. Finally, he suggests that the large Roman circular tombs were often more consciously related to the surrounding landscape than other sepulchral monuments, and that this should be seen as a Hellenistic trait.

The work of M. Eisner on sepulchral monuments in and about Rome is a truly impressive feat and constitutes an extremely valuable contribution to the study of Roman funerary architecture, as the catalogue is both detailed and exhaustive.[473] His classification includes the following types:

a. Tumuli
    ebenerdig
    mit Podium
b. Altäre
c. Pyramide
d. "Würfelgräber"
e. "Pilastergrabbauten"
f. "Exedra"
g. Nichtgedeutete Grabbauten

Only those circular tombs, which had definitely carried an earth mound, were straightforwardly declared as tumuli by the author. A large number of tombs, however, were included in this group at a following stage merely on the basis of their circular shape, sometimes in combination with evidence of interior earth fill. The tomb of Caecilia Metella was counted among these. It can be noted that the last group (Nichtgedeutete Grabbauten) is by far the largest, and that it encompasses about one half of the material.[474] Eisner treated the interior layout separately and with its own typological divisions.

W.L. MacDonald presented a typology of Roman funerary monuments that has a broader scope than all the previous ones, in the way that it is not based on a specific archaeological material.[475] His categories are established with regard to form and visual appearance, and the explicit purpose of the classification is to "suggest the extensive range of Roman funerary design".

I. Scenic displays
    A. With one principal façade
        1. Aediculas, loges
        2. Elaborately patterned walls
        3. Prostyle structures
        4. Exedra forms
    B. Intended to be seen from any side
        1. Staged, articulated towers
        2. Four-square monuments
        3. Tholoi
II. Unitary forms
    A. Strongly verticalized
        1. Orders standing free
        2. Plain towers
        3. Pyramids
        4. Obelisks
    B. Volumetric, with horizontal emphasis
        1. Cylinders and rotundas
        2. Single chambers
        3. Massive, rectilinear blocks

This is not a traditional typology, where a number of objects is divided into groups and subgroups, but rather a theoretical construction meant to cover all possibilities. The purely visual criteria for classification are consistently applied. They contribute little

[470] Kockel 1983, 15–36.
[471] Kockel 1983, 27.
[472] Kockel 1983, 34f.
[473] Eisner 1986.
[474] The fact that this group made up such a large part of the typology aroused criticism from V. Kockel. Kockel 1992a.
[475] MacDonald 1986, 145.

to the understanding of the architecture, but illustrate well the remarkable diversity among Roman tombs. Still, it becomes clear that the type corresponding to the tomb of Caecilia Metella (II.B.1) in reality is very wide ranging, covering everything from plain earth tumuli to the mausoleum of Galerius in Thessalonike.

The monograph of J. Fedak treating Hellenistic (and some other) monumental tombs all around the Mediterranean basin is an accomplishment of the same magnitude as that of Eisner. Its lack of detail in the treatment of the different objects is more than compensated by its wider scope. The author admitted to the problems of creating a broadly applicable classification, and he affirmed that no such system should employ primary divisions based on a mixture of structural, formal and stylistic considerations. He therefore chose the construction of the tomb as the basic criterion, and used the rich and well documented material of Lycia and Karia as a reference point for establishing the general classification:

I. Built tombs
- A. Altar tombs
- B. Column tombs
- C. Courtyard complexes
- D. House tombs
- E. Mastaba tombs
- F. Pharos tombs
- G. Pillar tombs
- H. Portico tombs
- I. Pyramidal tombs
- J. Sarcophagi
- K. Temple tombs
- L. Tholos and cylindrical tombs (with or without free-standing or engaged columns)
- M. Tower/pinnacle tombs
- N. Others

II. Rock-cut tombs
- A. Free-standing
- B. Engaged

III. Mixed constructions
- A. Free-standing
- B. Engaged

IV. Tumuli
- A. Earth mounds
- B. Earth mounds with enclosing stone rings
- C. Built mounds of cut-stone construction
- D. Mixed construction

As can be seen, secondary divisions are based on quite different criteria, such as form, motif or structure. Most types have further subdivisions which are not included here. Tumuli, for example, were subdivided according to the roofing of the interior chamber. It can also be shown from the table that J. Fedak separated *tholoi* and cylindrical tombs from tumuli, much in the same way as I have in the presentation of my basic terminology (chapter I.4). However, reading the text of Fedak makes evident that Roman cylindrical tombs are still treated mainly as tumuli.[476]

One of the most recent, and perhaps most important, contributions on the topic of Roman sepulchral architecture is the deep-probing handbook of H. von Hesberg: *Römische Grabbauten*.[477] Here (once again) the problems of constructing a typology on funerary monuments are reviewed. The author points to the difficulties of using formal criteria for categorising these buildings, due to the extreme variation in form and the tendency among Roman architects to reuse pre-existing elements in ever new combinations. A further complication arises if the layout of the internal space is to be included, as it is often unrelated to the exterior design. As a consequence of these problems, von Hesberg chooses to discuss the development of some basic motifs without making excessively narrow typological distinctions.[478] The following table actually represents the headings of the chapters covering that discussion, but to some extent it also mirrors a typological classification.

1. Einfache Grundformen
   - 1.1 Der umfriedete Bezirk
   - 1.2 Häuser und Türme
   - 1.3 Hypogäen und Felsgräber
2. Altehrwürdige Motive
   - 2.1 Der Tumulus
   - 2.2 Pyramiden und Steinkegel
3. Das Vorbild der öffentlichen Ehrenmonumente
   - 3.1 Mehrstöckige Aediculabauten
   - 3.2 Statuen auf Säulen und Bögen
   - 3.3 Exedren und Scholae
4. Streben nach sakraler Aura
   - 4.1 Altäre
   - 4.2 Tempel

IV.2.2 The use of typologies

What is a typology, and what is it used for? Of course, a typology can be a simple classification used only to distinguish various groups of objects from each other, and to provide them with labels for the sake of convenience. These are often based on criteria which are easy to define, such as material or provenience, and can be exemplified by the typology of J. Fedak above. However, whatever criteria are used, typologies are often believed to convey some kind of chronological or interpretative significance.[479] V. Kockel, for example, sought the relationship between the choice of type and the social

[476] Fedak 1990, 124.
[477] v. Hesberg 1992.
[478] v. Hesberg 1992, 55f.
[479] The basic chronological principle of typologies is that similarity between objects corresponds to closeness in time.

standing of the occupant/commissioner of the tomb, although he admitted to the limitations of the method: "Die Typologie kann zwar gewisse formale – oft sicher unbewusste – Traditionen aufdecken und zu ihrem Verständnis beitragen, sie bietet aber häufig keine Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Kontext eines Motivs oder einer Bauform in einem bestimmten historischen Moment."[480]

J. Ganzert questioned the purpose of a typology on sepulchral monuments altogether.[481] In the end, according to him, each singular form represents its own type, and the possible combinations of elements are infinite. Any formal classification, thus, has to recognise the majority of objects as atypical or distinguish them as special cases. His critique was directed against H. Gabelmann, V. Kockel and W.K. Kovacsovics, among others. If one necessarily had to classify, J. Ganzert preferred less formal typologies, mirroring regional and sociological traits.[482]

The main problem of creating a typology for a category of buildings is the inherent complexity of architectural structures. The essential characteristics of buildings are not as easy to isolate and define as, for example, those of drinking vessels. Thus, a formal (or purely phenomenological) typology must either restrict itself to considering only a few well defined criteria, or accept the infinite possibilities of variations, combinations and partial overlaps between different types. In both cases the typology risks losing its interpretative significance. Moreover, in contrast to ceramics and similar artefacts, buildings were never mass-produced, and they were seldom made in series. The degree to which the design of a particular building corresponds to an original model (or prototype) may vary considerably from time to time, without a discernable pattern. That is, the personal choices and decisions of individual architects and commissioners may have had a much greater influence on the form and layout of a building than the geographical or chronological setting. As a result, the gradual (evolutionary) development of a building type is often very difficult to follow. The fact that sepulchral buildings constituted one of the most experimental and innovative fields within Roman architecture only adds to the problem.

Of course, quantitative studies based on formal criteria may still reveal valuable information about general trends and cultural influences. Studies on the development of funerary architecture over a large span of time might also help us to better understand the individual forms the monuments take on. Thus the reviewed typologies all have considerable merits, each in its own way. However, they rarely give us any explanations and have to be supplemented by contextual studies of single objects. Trying to present a possible compromise between the two approaches I will suggest an alternative typological model.

IV.3 Alternative typological model

Instead of making a detailed survey of the complete material, and thereby "finding out which types actually existed", I will try to work backwards by postulating the existence of a number of architectural concepts and investigating their relevance for the tomb of Caecilia Metella. Rather than applying usual typological divisions based on formal criteria these concepts will be introduced as ideal types with the aim of facilitating the interpretation of the exterior architecture.

IV.3.1 The notion of architectural concepts

Following J. Ganzert, I deem classifications based on strictly formal criteria, such as the geometry of the plan, the composition of the elevation and the construction technique, as non-significant for the deeper understanding of a category of buildings.[483] Instead I prefer a methodology similar to that of F. Matz (see above chapter IV.2.1). By considering the general appearance of the building rather than isolated and quantifiable criteria he tried to capture the "Bauidee" or "Baugedanke" behind the monuments. Similarly, by discussing possible architectural concepts I intend to indicate how certain buildings were experienced, or meant to be experienced, in terms of visual semantics and cultural associations. The transmission of ideas and messages through architecture is an extremely complex process, the dynamics of which depend on both the sender and the receiver. It must also be emphasised that the intended appearance of a building is only one among several factors influencing the design process, others being for example the practical considerations of the building program and limitations in construction techniques. However, I would like to put forward that the use of various recurring motifs played an important role in Roman architectural design. Even though a funerary monument is made up of different aspects (structural, functional, symbolical etc.) it can be argued that the overall compo-

[480] Kockel 1983, 31.
[481] Ganzert 1984, 173.
[482] J. Ganzert tentatively suggested a North African type, a Syrian type, a type of Asia Minor and an Italic type.
[483] Of course, these aspects are all essential when studying an individual monument in its own context.

sition to a large extent was governed by architectural concepts. Below I will introduce five such concepts, which are to be seen as ideal types.[484] Unfortunately, these concepts do not always relate to an exact architectural form, which makes it very difficult to offer clear definitions. It is inevitable that some of them correspond more closely to an abstract idea, others to a particular form.[485] Hence, I have chosen to characterise them primarily by presenting some key examples.

Although my use of architectural concepts has much in common with the classification of Matz, there are some major differences. Whereas he saw the different categories as representing separate lines of development, where each object had to be attributed to the one or the other, I would like to argue that several concepts may be combined in one and the same building. In other words, a building may represent a large number of architectural ideas to varying degrees. Also, I would prefer not to take an evolutionistic view on buildings, where one kind of tomb gave rise to another along a distinct hereditary line. Instead I would like to focus on the process taking place in the minds of the commissioner and the architect. The design of a building was not determined by what category it belonged to *per se*, but by what message the commissioner wanted to convey and by what models the architect had seen.[486] These factors resulted in an architectural concept, which to a large extent governed the design. Of course, I can never hope to prove that the ancient Romans experienced or understood a certain building in a certain way, and the architectural concepts should therefore be regarded as a heuristic tool for the construction of interpretations and hypotheses, later to be evaluated.

IV.3.2 The correlation between external and internal design

Whereas F. Matz treated the relationship between exterior form and interior layout as a basic principle for tracing some of the important typological developments within Hellenistic sepulchral architecture, H. von Hesberg saw the two aspects as separate and mainly unrelated elements.[487] Accepting the previously suggested approach, whereby the design of a

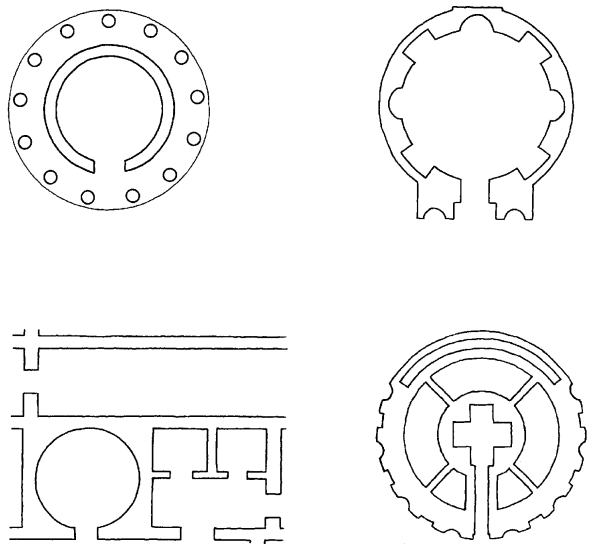

Fig. 41. Schematic illustration of exterior and interior circular concepts: "Alte Tholos" at Delphi, after Seiler 1986, Abb. 21 (external concept); Pantheon in Rome, after Licht 1968, fig. 98 (internal concept); The royal Macedonian palace at Vergina, after C Börker in Lauter 1986, Abb. 43. (internal concept); "Carceri Vecchie" (C31), after De Franciscis & Pane 1957, fig. 79 (external and internal concepts?).

building is seen as the product of one or more architectural concepts, it would be hazardous to try to encompass both exterior and interior design in one and the same typology. The external and internal layout might have been worked out along quite different guide lines, on the basis of different concepts. I will here demonstrate why it is reasonable to assume that this was often the case with Roman circular tombs.

Let us consider the formation of the plan of various circular buildings. (*Fig. 41*) First, it can be established that the circular aspect of the interior layout sometimes is a direct consequence of the exterior design. This is the case in most *tholoi*,[488] following the traditions of Greek temple architecture where the inside is subordinate to the outside. In other buildings we have the reversed order, where the exterior plan is the direct result of an internal concept, for example the Pantheon of Hadrianus in Rome. Here the outward appearance of the circular body mattered little to the experience of the building and was even hidden from the view of approaching visitors. In both situations one concept is dominating the entire plan. However, an internal circular concept can also be applied without interfering with the exterior shape, or being hindered by it. This is apparent in the layout of the royal Mace-

[484] Cf. the ideal types of P. Ørsted. Ørsted 1985, 22f.
[485] Due to the varying degree of correlation between concept and form, it might appear as if my ideal types represent a mixture of quite different categories, treating both form and function. However, what is important is that they all mirror some fundamental architectural idea that influences the design.
[486] By models is meant buildings that might have acted as a source of inspiration.
[487] Matz 1928, 267; v. Hesberg 1992, 56.

[488] For the ambivalent meaning of the word *tholos* see chapter IV.4.5.

donian palace at Vergina, where a circular room is incorporated within an otherwise completely rectilinear structure. Finally, if we turn to the Roman circular tombs, it is obvious that they could just as well be given a square or cruciform chamber.[489] In fact these were the most common solutions by far, whereas circular chambers were extremely rare (see chapter V.3.1). Thus, the architect was free to exploit various concepts for the exterior and interior design and might even combine two different circular motifs irrespective of each other. Due to the special character and uniqueness of the interior layout of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, this part is much better suited for spatial analysis than typological. Consequently I have divided the interpretation of the external and internal architecture in two separate chapters, and I will restrict the typological discussion to the external one.

IV.4 Some architectural concepts of circular buildings

There is a limited number of basic geometric solutions for the ground plan of a building, and the round element is destined to appear sooner or later in the architecture of any culture. It is simply too common to be carrying only a single meaning. Apart from any symbolic significance, there are also purely visual/psychological effects to consider. The internal space of rectangular buildings, for example, may transmit a feeling of direction along a longitudinal axis, whereas central buildings, particularly circular ones, convey a notion of focus towards a vertical axis. Exterior shapes produce other effects, harder to define in a conclusive way. A circular (or rather cylindrical) body faces all directions simultaneously, and thus enhances the sense of a solitary unit. As an expansion of this, it may be said that circular buildings tend to be less integrated with the immediate (built) environment than with the surrounding landscape.[490] However, the strength of these arguments has to be evaluated in each individual case with regard to the specific circumstances. Any general conclusions must be of little significance, and I will not pursue them further here.

The brief exposé of some architectural concepts presented below is an attempt to identify some possible meanings of the exterior circular motif within Roman and Hellenistic architecture, mainly sepulchral. It is not my intention to perform an exhaustive account of these concepts, but rather to demonstrate the likely existence of some particularly relevant ones. Once again it should be stressed that as ideal types they are in no way mutually exclusive, nor immediately and unequivocally represented by the archaeological material. That is, the concepts might be partly overlapping or closely related; they might correspond to similar architectural forms, and any number of them might be found in one and the same building. I treat Hellenistic and Roman edifices without distinction for two reasons: Firstly, in my view, Roman architecture of the late Republic was closely integrated with the wider Hellenistic tradition;[491] secondly, many of these buildings were probably well known and could thus constitute sources of inspiration regardless of their individual contexts.

K. de Fine Licht used a somewhat similar approach when looking for relevant architectural models for Hadrianus' Pantheon in Rome.[492] After having discussed the conditions and limitations of such an undertaking, he investigated some groups of monuments: Hellenistic *tholoi* (with the function of *heroon* or as indicators of royal divinity), memorials (including victory monuments), tombs and circular halls in baths. The first three alternatives were discounted, mainly because they represented external motifs with little or no bearing on the design of the Pantheon, whereas the last one was recognised as an important source for the layout of the building in question. However, it may be noted that de Fine Licht, rather than discussing the conceptual meaning of the buildings, looked for the inspiration/origin for the spatial solution on a purely constructional level. Possibly the two issues are too entangled to be separated, and we have to accept the idea that sometimes architectural features were imitated without any deeper symbolical significance being transmitted.

Another previous study that presents a close affinity to the one put forward here was carried out by F. Robert in the 1930s.[493] His aim was to identify the intention and symbolical meaning behind Greek circular buildings. However, whereas he strove to reveal a common cultic significance for the round shape, I admit to the existence of various interpretations from the start. Robert treated buildings belonging to a generally religious context, while my own study is conducted from a more sepulchral perspective. The difference between the two fields

[489] As for example in the anonymous tomb at Via Collatina (C10), the tomb of Lucilius Paetus (C15), the so-called "Torrione" at Via Praenestina (C17), the tomb of the Plautii (C18) and the "tomb of Cartinia" at Falerii Novi (C23).
[490] Cf. the remark by V. Kockel cited above.
[491] Cf. Rakob 1976, 366; Ward-Perkins 1979, 197.
[492] Licht 1968, 208–216.
[493] Robert 1939.

is not very prominent, though. In his extensive treatise, he discussed a number of Greek terms, *tholos* (or *skias*), *enagisterion* (as a place for sacrifices to the dead), *thymele*, *hestia* and *tholidion*, and considered known or possible examples of each category. The study came to include other phenomena such as *heroa*, *bothroi*, tumuli and military trophies. Robert mainly investigated the use of these words in ancient texts but also looked for architectural and cultic correlations between the buildings in question. His conclusion was that the chthonic aspect constituted a common denominator for a majority of the buildings.

IV.4.1 The traditional tumulus

This concept, although corresponding to an architectural idea, is more than the others presented here linked to a specific physical form: the conical mound. Variations in appearance are mostly limited to different choices of material and construction. Tumuli can be found all around the Mediterranean basin, and in many different cultures.[494] This implies that it should be seen as a common human phenomenon; perhaps merely an easy way of attaining a huge constructive mass with limited means. Thus, it can be questioned if it really should be included as a conceptual type. Still, in scholarly debate it has often been bestowed with symbolical meanings, and ethnic implications. The great antiquity of the tumulus tomb might have given it special connotations, as a thing associated with past generations. I would also like to suggest another possible connotation: the soldier's grave. On the battlefield the conditions often called for extraordinary measures, such as mass burials and simple forms of interments, resulting in earth mounds and barrows.[495] The form may have been transferred into a wider context, but still carried the same association.[496]

IV.4.2 The royal tomb

As Rome's political sphere of interest expanded eastward, the Romans became more and more involved in dealings with the Hellenistic monarchies. Treaties were made and wars were fought until, finally, Rome had incorporated them all within its borders. Thus, during the last two centuries of the Republic the Romans once again became acquainted with symbols of kingship. The Hellenistic kingdoms, in one way or another, all traced their royalty back to the Macedonian state, and Alexander the Great was both the personification and role-model of the Greek king. Thus, it can be argued that the tomb of Alexander the Great should not be regarded merely as an example, or representative, of this ideal type, but that it actually constituted the image of a royal tomb. Accordingly, this monument has been pointed out as the most important model for the Mausoleum of Augustus in its capacity of royal tomb.[497] It has also been stated that it formed a recurring concept in both Hellenistic and Roman architecture.[498] Since the tomb of Alexander the Great has not yet been found, we do not know exactly what it looked like,[499] but on the basis of the few extant sources it has been reconstructed as a grand tumulus.[500] Apart from this edifice, there are a number of other monumental circular tombs which constitute royal graves:

- The royal Macedonian tombs (4th century BC)[501]
- The royal tumulus at Pergamon (3rd or 2nd century BC)[502]
- "Le Medracen", Batna, Algeria (2nd century BC)[503]
- "Tombeau de la Chrétienne", Tipasa, Algeria (first half of 1st century BC)[504]
- Tomb of Antiochos I, Nemrud Dagh, Turkey (ca 34 BC)[505]

Judging from the general appearance of the here mentioned examples, it seems as if we are once again dealing with a group of tumuli. We should not rule out the possibility that one form had several connotations, but in terms of distinctive marks (separating this hypothetical concept from the "traditional tumulus" above) it can be noted that these Hellenistic tombs, excluding their Macedonian predecessors, constitute lavish stone constructions rather than earth piles. Also, their extraordinary size

[494] In some regions the tradition of tumulus tombs was particular strong, e.g. western Anatolia, Macedonia/Thracia, Etruria and North Africa. For the use of tumuli within the Roman Empire see Amand 1987; Amand 1988.
[495] E.g. the circular monument at Gradistea-Muncelului in Dacia. Götze 1935, 346–348. Cf. Tacitus, *Annales* 1.62.
[496] R. Trummer hints at a similar connection. Trummer 1984, 46.

[497] Bernhard 1956, 152f. Followed by Richard 1970, 381. Contra Kraft 1967, 206.
[498] Coarelli & Thébert 1988, 786–800.
[499] The mummified body of Alexander was actually buried three times in three different tombs, but for the present purpose it is his final resting place in particular that attracts interest.
[500] Thiersch 1910, 65. Cf. Lucanus, *De bello civile* (*Pharsalia*) 8.692–699; 10.19–23; Strabon 17.1.8 (C794); Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 18.1.
[501] Andronikos 1980.
[502] Dörpfeld 1908, 365–369; Conze *et al.* 1913, 240–243.
[503] Rakob 1979, 132–138. See appendix C (C46).
[504] Rakob 1979, 138–142. See appendix C (C47).
[505] Goell 1957. See appendix C (C50).

sets them apart from other tumuli. Perhaps the circular aspect was not as important as the idea of an artificial mound (= *sema*) and a huge constructive mass. Two monumental tombs, which otherwise demonstrate close affiliation with the above mentioned examples, have a square plan.[506]

IV.4.3 The heroon

The *heroon*, i.e. a shrine dedicated to the cult of a *heros*, is perhaps more of a function than an architectural concept. Mostly a *heroon* is to be recognised as the grave where the *heros* was buried, and can thus, in theory, take on the shape of any kind of sepulchre.[507] However, we can still identify some general motifs within this genre. One of them is unmistakably circular and can be exemplified by the following monuments:[508]

- Cenotaph of Menekrates, Corfu (ca 600 BC)[509]
- "Kerameikos Rundbau", Athens (550–540 BC)[510]
- "Grab am 3. Horos", Athens (ca 375 BC)[511]
- Circular tomb (N1), Kyrene (middle of the 4th century BC or somewhat later)[512]
- Circular tomb at Mghernes, Libya (3rd century BC?)[513]
- "Tomb of Kleobulos", Lindos (2nd or 1st century BC)[514]
- "Heroon am Theaterhang", Miletos (end of 2nd or beginning of 1st century BC)[515]

They are all low cylindrical buildings standing by themselves or within a closed precinct. The superstructure, where preserved, constitutes a rather flat conical roof and is built of stone slabs. The focus lies on the wall of the cylindrical body, which is made of well cut ashlar masonry. It has been suggested that the Greek circular *heroa* developed from Bronze Age tumuli, and in this context the role of the "Einfassungsmauer" was particularly stressed.[516] That is, the earth mound remains as an interior fill but has disappeared as a visual element.

506 Monumental tomb at Rhodini. Fedak 1990, 85f. Numidian royal tomb. Rakob 1979, 142f.
507 A *heroon* can many times, but not always, be identified by its location within the city.
508 Fedak 1990, 62f.
509 Kalligas 1969; Koenigs, Knigge & Mallwitz 1980, 42f.; Fedak 1990, 62.
510 Koenigs, Knigge & Mallwitz 1980, 1–55.
511 Koenigs, Knigge & Mallwitz 1980, 99–125.
512 Rowe 1956, 9f.; Stucchi 1975, 78–81, figs 73, 74.
513 Rowe 1956, 9; Stucchi 1975, 80, figs 77, 78.
514 Dyggve 1960, II 487–489. See appendix C (C48).
515 Müller-Wiener & Weber 1985, 16–23. See appendix C (C49).
516 Koenigs, Knigge & Mallwitz 1980, 38f.

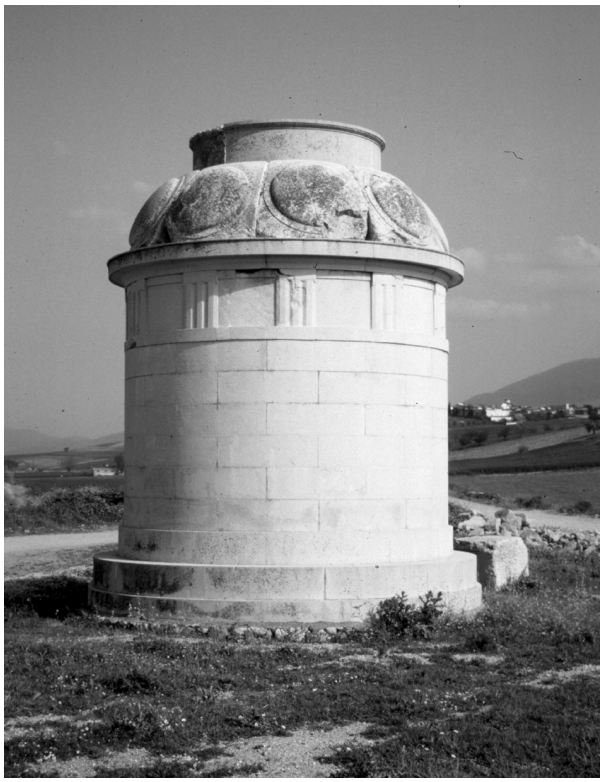

Fig. 42. The victory monument at Leuktra.
Photo by the author 2000.

IV.4.4 The monumental tropaion

There is a definite link between the graves of soldiers and the early Greek victory monuments, and the two categories were sometimes combined in a single battlefield memorial. Still, there are also several reasons to treat them as separate concepts. Many victory monuments were built away from the battlefield and had no funerary function at all. Just as sepulchral monuments, victory monuments display a wide variety in form and layout but the circular building constitutes a recurring theme.[517] This group can be described as monumental *tropaia*. The following list provides some examples:

- Theban victory monument, Leuktra (for the date of the present structure see below.)[518]
- Victory monument of Attalos I, Pergamon (235–230 BC)[519]
- "Rundmonument für Eumenes II", Miletos (166 BC)[520]

517 Cf. Robert 1939, 209.
518 Orlandos 1962.
519 Schober 1951, 53–55.
520 Kästner 1991.

- Tropaeum Alpium, La Turbie (7–6 BC)[521]
- "Ephesos Rundbau", Ephesos (middle of the 1st century BC)[522]
- Tropaeum Traiani, Adamklissi (beginning of 2nd century AD)[523]

Most of these monuments can be recognised as distinctly military *tropaia*, i.e. displays of spoils taken from the fallen enemy, but they have close affinities with some civilian commemorative buildings such as the monument of Lysikrates in Athens (334 BC).[524] The architectural form differs somewhat in elaboration, but what brings them together is a closed cylindrical body that presents a more accentuated verticality than the previous buildings. We are no longer dealing with a containing wall, but a solid entity. The Theban victory monument at Leuktra is perhaps of particular importance. (*Fig. 42*) It was obviously well known in late Republican Rome,[525] and its present form may even result from a restoration dating to the Roman period.[526] This tower-like structure, just as several of the others mentioned above, served as an elaborate base for the trophy proper. On the testimony of Florus we know that this practice was taken up by the Romans before the end of the Republic:[527]

Utriusque victoriae quod quantumque gaudium fuerit, vel hinc aestimari potest, quod et Domitius Ahenobarbus et Fabius Maximus ipsis quibus dimicaverant locis saxeas erexere turres, et desuper exornata armis hostilibus tropaea fixerunt, cum hic mos inusitatus fuerit nostris. Numquam enim populus Romanus hostibus domitis victoriam exprobravit.

These events took place in the 120s BC and Florus seems to imply that at this time it had not yet become a custom among the Romans to build monumental *tropaia*, but that it later was.

IV.4.5 The tholos

Finally, I will treat briefly a concept of a more complex nature, the *tholos*. Within modern terminology the word *tholos* is usually found in two separate contexts, although some scholars have been trying to negotiate a common denominator between the different meanings. Firstly, we have the *tholos* of monumental Bronze Age tombs (primarily Mycenaean), signifying the interior beehive-shaped grave chamber.[528] Secondly, we have the *tholos* of Classical Greek and Roman architecture, recognised as a solitary circular building above ground, demonstrating some kind of columnar order. It is the latter concept I will be discussing here. In spite of the distinction just made, the Graeco-Roman *tholos* is still a very broad term, which includes buildings of quite different appearance: non-peripteral, peripteral and monopteral – both open and closed. It can also be established that *tholoi*, even those of a similar appearance, were used for various purposes. A possible shared quality is that they all have an interior space, although the architectural concept is of a predominantly exterior nature. Thus, they can be regarded as "utilitarian" buildings, apart from being monuments.

Scholars have tried for centuries to identify a deeper meaning to this kind of building,[529] either philologically by investigating the use and origin of the word in ancient literature, or through analyses of the various functions of known *tholoi*. The former method was primarily used by F. Robert whereas the latter corresponds to the study of F. Seiler.[530] The conclusions, if not directly negative, have often been fiercely disputed. Even the ancient writers had their own theories. According to Servius, who was probably leaning on Varro, round temples were dedicated in particular to Vesta, Diana and a third god who is identified sometimes as Hercules, sometimes as Mercurius.[531] However, it has already been shown that his statement does not fully comply with known examples.[532] This seems to imply that the author was misinformed, and that we should disregard his statement. It is still interesting, though, that Servius truly believed that the circular building had a certain connotation. Perhaps the concept behind the *tholos* was the architectural idea of some kind of "special" cult building, based on geometric exclusivity and functional flexibility. If you wanted one

521 Formigé 1949. See appendix C (C63).
522 *Forschungen in Ephesos* 1906, 143–167; Alzinger 1974, 37–40.
523 Florescu 1965. See appendix C (C66).
524 Dinsmoor 1950, 236f.; Bauer 1977.
525 Cicero, *De inventione* 2.23.69.
526 This conclusion was based on details of the construction technique. Picard 1957, 43 n. 2.
527 Florus 1.37.6 (3.2). "The great joy caused by both these victories may be judged from the fact that both Domitius Ahenobarbus and Fabius Maximus set up towers of stone on the actual sites of the battles which they had fought, and fixed on the top of them trophies adorned with the enemy's arms. This practice was unusual with our generals; for the Roman people never cast their defeats in the teeth of their conquered enemies." Translation E.S. Forster (Loeb Classical Library) 1960.

528 The term is also used for similar tombs of later times.
529 E.g. Pfuhl 1905.
530 Robert 1939; Seiler 1986. Apart from the function of these buildings F. Seiler, concentrated on the historical development of the Greek *tholos*.
531 Servius, *Aeneis* 9.406.
532 Altmann 1906, 87f.; Robert 1939,11f.

particular building in a complex to stand out from the rest, you used the *tholos*.

It is sometimes stated that the *tholos* had strong connections to the tumulus or other circular sepulchral motifs, not only through general chthonic associations,[533] but as the direct descendant of these earlier concepts.[534] The interdependence may have worked both ways: According to one scholar, two *tholoi* in particular, the Arsinoeion on Samothrace and the circular building at Epidauros, constituted important models for the Mausoleum of Augustus.[535] Furthermore, it has been argued that the *tholos* at Epidauros constituted a fictive tomb and *heroon* of Asklepios.[536] Thus, it may seem that the architectural concepts presented here are not only closely related but that they blur into each other in an almost indiscernible way. However, the confusion can also be seen as an indication of the idea that several separate concepts often were used in combinations. In some cases the architect chose to emphasise the sepulchral character, in others that of a temple or *heroon*. Altogether, it is difficult to demonstrate that *tholoi* as a group represented any singular conceptual significance. The buildings in question are too diverse, regarding function as well as physical appearance. Correspondingly, the conclusion of Robert concerning the chthonic aspect inherent in the circular form is, however interesting, too general to be of any great help in the interpretation of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The chief result of his study was rather to point to the diversity of concepts associated with circular buildings.

IV.5 The message of the building

IV.5.1 Evaluation of current ideas

The most commonly advanced explanation for the meaning and origin of Roman circular tombs is their direct descent from the Etruscan tumulus.[537] When elaborated on, the idea seems to be that the form represented either an archaism of a general kind, or a direct reference to Etruscan ancestry.[538] I would like to question the merit of this explanation. The phenomenon of archaisation, although it may have occurred occasionally, is difficult to recognise as an important trend within the highest social strata of the late Republic and early Augustan times. The connotation of the old Etruscans in particular would be politically pointless, and is hard to find otherwise in Roman society.[539] At this point, it is important to distinguish between archaisation on the one hand, i.e. the imitation of the antique, and continuity of traditions on the other, which was fundamental to the *mos maiorum* of the Romans. The interpretation of circular tombs as the choice of old Etruscan families is not compatible with the majority of known cases. Furthermore, we have no real evidence of an Etruscan vogue at this time, except for the curious interest shown by the emperor Claudius.[540] Instead, Etruscan associations seem to have been avoided. Very few senators of Etruscan descent used a name form that effectively demonstrated their origin.[541] If we only consider isolated architectural traits, it may well be that Roman architects drew some inspiration from the Etruscan *nekropoleis*, but the basic concepts would have been more up to date, as indeed the construction techniques were.[542] Consequently, I turn against the simplistic equation of Roman circular tombs with Etruscan tumuli.

I would like to propose that the relatively tall cylindrical tomb should be distinguished from the tumulus on a *krepis*, based on the fundamental difference in appearance.[543] This difference is likely to correspond to variations in concept.[544] However, there is no denying that the traditional tumulus existed as a conscious motif in late Republican sepulchral architecture. The tomb of Sulla was proba-

[533] Robert 1939.
[534] Cf. Fedak 1990, 180f.
[535] Reeder 1992, 302.
[536] Robert 1939, 326f., 338; Roux 1961, 190f.; Riethmüller 1996, 107.
[537] See chapter I.2.5.
[538] See for example Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970, 179 (563) n. 96; Trummer 1984, 50.
[539] There has been recognised a tendency among the Romans to use the word "Etruscan" as equivalent to "ancient" or "outmoded". Furthermore, in the late Republic Etruscan civilisation was even looked upon as alien, mysterious and barbaric. Cornell 1995, 169.
[540] For an opposite view see Harris 1971, 30. The author points to the use of elaborated Etruscan genealogies in the early Principate. However, he only refers to the homage made to Maecenas (probably intending Horatius, *Carmina* 1.1; 3.29; *Sermones* 1.6; Propertius, *Elegiae* 3.9) and Persius, *Saturae* 3.27–28. Discussing architecture L. Polacco spoke about the "etruscheria" of the Augustan era, but the only example he could offer was the Mausoleum of Augustus. Polacco 1952, 140.
[541] See for example the compilation in Torelli 1969. Cf. Syme 1939, 360. For this argument I am much indebted to Prof. Ö. Wikander.
[542] Cf. Reeder 1992, 266.
[543] Cf. the definitions in chapter I.4..
[544] H. von Hesberg also made a distinction between high and low cylinders, the latter group represented foremost by large tombs with a diameter of 34–41 m. However, both groups were still seen as belonging to the same generic type, tumuli, and having the same origin. v. Hesberg 1992, 94–96.

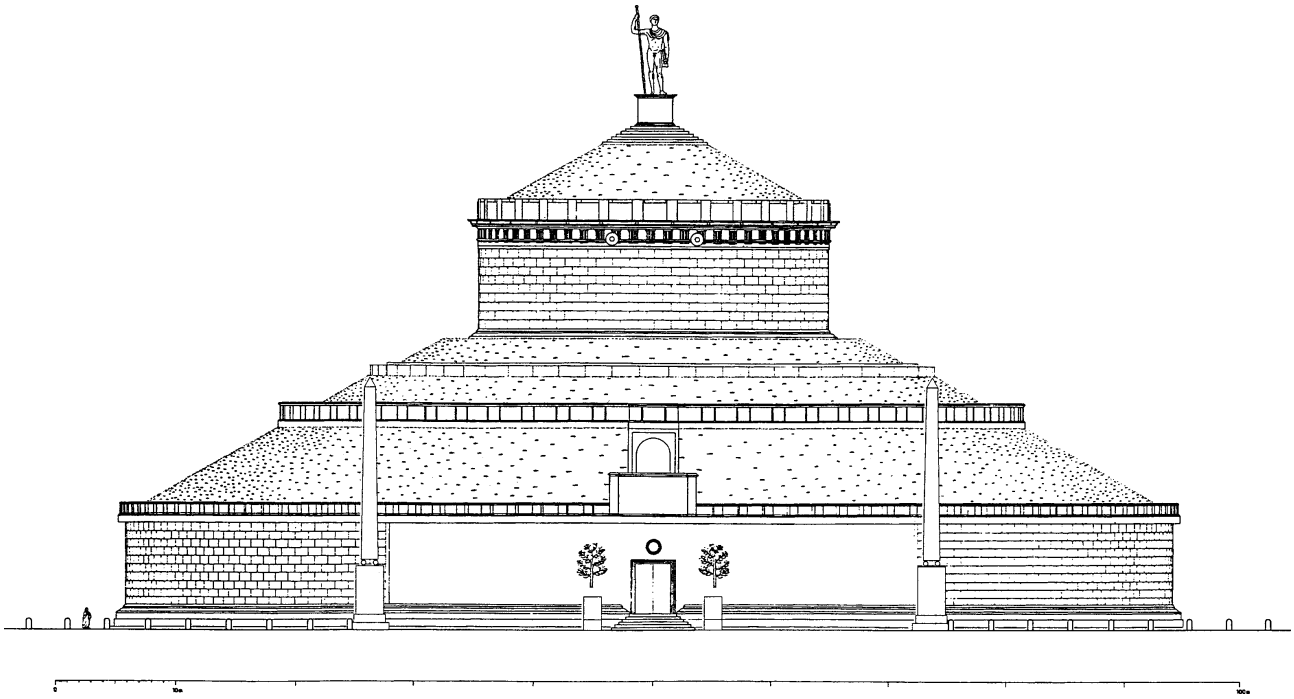

Fig. 43. Reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus made by H. von Hesberg. Courtesy of H. von Hesberg.

bly some kind of mound,[545] and the two so-called tombs of the Horatii on the Via Appia (C2 & C3) cannot be said to be anything else than tumuli. Both of them should probably be dated to pre-Augustan times. We should also consider the tomb of Julia, daughter of Julius Caesar, located on the Campus Martius.[546] Although the form of all these graves is likely to have been that of the traditional tumulus, the concept need not necessarily be that of the Etruscan tumulus, as has already been pointed out by R.R. Holloway and P. Gros.[547] At a somewhat later stage the cylindrical tomb was introduced, but the tumulus still continued to co-exist alongside it.[548] The so-called "Torrione di Micara" (C4) might exemplify some kind of initial confusion between the two motifs, as it constitutes a mixture regarding both its construction and proportions.[549] Perhaps it is telling that this tomb was never finished. However, the Mausoleum of Augustus represents a successful fusion between the two architectural concepts.

This particular building has always stood in the centre of any discussion concerning Roman circular tombs, primarily due to the prominence of its commissioner. In this case we should also consider that it was probably built almost at the same time as the tomb of Caecilia Metella.[550] The models for the Mausoleum of Augustus have been discussed for more than a century, and over the years the debate has been oscillating between three points of attraction: the Etruscan tumulus (of course), the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, and the tomb of Alexander

[545] Lucanus, *De bello civile* (*Pharsalia*) 2.222; *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: L. Cornelius Sulla' (E. La Rocca), 286. The identification of the tomb as a proper tumulus has been defended by M. Eisner and P. Gros, among others, although the validity of the evidence was questioned by H. von Hesberg. Eisner 1979, 321, 323f.; v. Hesberg 1989, 209; Gros 2001, 423.

[546] See Livius, *Periochae* 106; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 84.1; Plutarchos, *Pompeius* 53.4; *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: Iulia (tumulus)' (F. Coarelli), 291. Suetonius describes the tomb as a *tumulus*.

[547] Holloway 1966; Gros 2001, 422. Whereas the former draws attention to the prehistoric mounds at Troia, the latter points to Greek and Macedonian tumuli as sources of inspiration.

[548] See appendix C.

[549] Apparently, the earth fill was meant to be kept in place only by a thin stone revetment, despite the relatively tall proportions. (For the interior brick constructions see appendix E.)

[550] There are two competing theories regarding the time of construction of the Mausoleum of Augustus. According to K. Kraft (supported by H. von Hesberg) the building was first conceived in 32 BC and finished in 28 BC. In the view of F.W. Shipley and J.-C. Richard (recently advocated by P.J.E. Davies) the construction work lasted from 28 BC to 23 BC. Kraft 1967, 200; v. Hesberg 1994, 54; Shipley 1931, 49; Richard 1970, 380–384; Davies 2000, 50.

the Great.[551] The tomb has been interpreted as an instrument for securing a dynastic succession, leaning on Hellenistic royal prototypes,[552] but also as a domestic political counterstroke directed against the foreign (i.e. Hellenistic) associations of Marcus Antonius.[553]

Research on the Mausoleum of Augustus took a major leap forward with the work of H. von Hesberg and S. Panciera, who presented a detailed and plausible reconstruction.[554] (*Fig. 43*) The new impetus of this work did not significantly change the debate, though. In my opinion, von Hesberg in his own analysis put too much emphasis on the crowning tumulus hypothesised on top of the upper cylinder.[555] Instead, an attempted conceptual reading of the entire monument implies that it represented a traditional (or royal) tumulus to which a second cylindrical element was added.[556] This, in turn, suggests that the second element was something distinct from a tumulus. It is my belief that the combination of two different architectural concepts, thus captured by the previously suggested terminology (see chapter I.4), accurately mirrors the actual intentions of the design. Perhaps the second cylinder should be compared with the different kinds of markers that we often find on the summit of sepulchral earth mounds.[557] Alternatively, the triumvir's tomb represented a new form of eclecticism.[558] The significance of the upper part of the Mausoleum of Augustus as a separate element was recognised by J.C. Reeder.[559] However, she preferred to see it as a "round temple or *tholos*", arguing for a possible connection to the Arsinoeion on Samothrace.[560] This is an interesting but tenuous theory. It becomes overshadowed by an even more important observation: The reconstruction of von Hesberg shows the second element to have a striking outward resemblance with the tombs of Caecilia Metella, L. Munatius Plancus (C13), L. Sempronius Atratinus (C12) and others. That is, these tombs might not be related to the Mausoleum of Augustus as a whole, as generally presumed, but only to the upper part. The fact that each part individually (tumulus and cylinder) has close architectural parallels in the immediate geographic and chronological surrounding, convinces me that we are dealing with two basically different concepts.

One theory that has not yet been touched upon is the idea that some cylindrical tombs represented monumentalised circular altars.[561] R. Trummer distinguished the high-rising cylindrical tombs on podia from their more squat tumulus-like cousins, and preferred the just mentioned explanation in the case of the former category. However, the connection between the tombs and the altars is restricted to the cylindrical shape, and disregards the differences in scale and proportions. Moreover, it does not account for the architectural elaboration of the cylindrical tombs: base profiles, emphasized ashlar masonry and rich entablatures.

B. Götze did not make any basic distinction between the various kinds of Roman circular tombs, but still saw two different concepts behind them. He traced their origin to the mound raised over the fallen warrior on the battlefield, but also to the royal tomb. These two ideas, according to him, fused into a new, and more specific, concept: the tomb of an *imperator*.[562] The *imperator* of the late Republic embodied the victorious Roman soldier and also tended to identify himself with the kings of his Hellenistic opponents.[563] Götze argued that the Romans were inspired by prehistoric mounds in the vicinity of Rome, which they believed were the graves of old kings. Although it is impossible to say exactly what models were used, the hypothesis offers a plausible scenario and applies particularly well to the first known tumulus of the Roman Republic, the grave of Sulla,[564] as it adequately explains the introduction of a form that had not been used in Latium for many centuries. Unfortunately we do not know the identity or status of the owners of the two tumulus tombs on the Via Appia supposed to belong to the Horatii.

The cylindrical tomb might have been an elaboration or an architectural abstraction of the old tumulus motif, but the pronounced difference in proportions and clear emphasis on the cylinder wall speaks against it. Particularly in the case of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, where the grave and sepulchral chambers are confined within a square podium, it is

[551] E.g. Castagnoli *et al.* 1958, 116 (Etruscan tumuli); Richard 1970 (Mausoleum of Halikarnassos); Bernhard 1956 (tomb of Alexander the Great).
[552] Richard 1970; Reeder 1992, 272; Davies 2000, 52, 172.
[553] Kraft 1967, 206.
[554] v. Hesberg & Panciera 1994. For earlier reconstructions see Gatti 1989.
[555] v. Hesberg & Panciera 1994, 47f.
[556] As opposed to a "structural reading", which merely indicates a stepped podium.
[557] The cylindrical structure that was found on top of the Belevi tumulus should be noted in particular. Kasper 1976–1977, 143.
[558] Cf. Reeder 1992, 271.
[559] Reeder 1992, 270f.
[560] The Arsinoeion had been presented as a possible model for Roman circular tombs already before. Åkerström 1934, 194f.; Quilici 1972, 37.
[561] Trummer 1984, 48; Zanker 1988, 16.
[562] Götze 1939, 19f. Followed by Fedak 1990, 124.
[563] For references on the imitation of Alexander the Great in particular see Reeder 1992, 274 n. 54.
[564] Cf. Appianos, *Bella civilia* 1.105–106.

unjustified to regard the tall cylinder as a mere *krepis*. Instead, these tombs present characteristics that are consistent with two other circular concepts, the *heroon* and the monumental *tropaion*. Also, their association with new, mostly Hellenistic, construction techniques[565] implies that they represented a new influx of ideas.[566] Such a development need not necessarily be linked to a new concept, but there is some evidence that it was, as both the form and the techniques seem to have appeared quite suddenly and fully developed. I would like to suggest that early cylindrical tombs constituted an extension of the "Sullan" concept of the *imperator* tomb, carrying an even more precise meaning as the architectural manifestation of a triumphal celebration. Both the idea in itself and its physical appearance can be derived from the two Hellenistic concepts mentioned above: the *heroon* and the monumental *tropaion*. The new form could easily maintain parts of the old concepts, the royal tomb and the soldier's grave, as the Roman triumph carried a clear association to royal distinction, and obviously also to soldiering. It was recently put forward that the Mausoleum of Augustus had the dual role of tomb and trophy,[567] but the interpretation of this building as a combined victory monument and *heroon* has been made before.[568] Still earlier, G.C. Picard and F. Robert pointed to a general connection between tombs, victory monuments and *heroa*.[569] Finally, the Tropaeum Traiani clearly demonstrates that if the cylindrical monument did not combine the tomb and the military trophy already at the end of the Republic, at least it did so by the time of Traianus.

To sum up the typological discussion so far, it has been shown that the Roman cylindrical monument may have carried a number of connotations and associations, which are partly intertwined. The focus has probably shifted with time from one concept to the other, and the contents of these concepts might have changed between a general statement and a very precise meaning. The intention could very well have been to draw on all the related concepts, but the architect could also choose to stress some particular connotation by emphasising some architectural element. Thus, in the case of the tomb of Caecilia Metella I would argue that all the above presented architectural concepts are represented in the exterior design but that the concepts of the *heroon* and the monumental *tropaion*, in particular, are dominant. I also suggest that the latter concept now included a distinct triumphal connotation.

IV.5.2 The tomb of Caecilia Metella as a triumphal monument

Most sepulchral monuments in and about Rome are anonymous ruins, long since robbed of their contents and lacking identifying inscriptions. A minority can still be attributed to known persons, though. The following list includes all securely identified or presumed commissioners/owners of cylindrical tombs (following my own strict definition of the term), which are situated in the vicinity of Rome:

L. Licinius Lucullus (*RE* 104) (?)	triumph in 63 BC
L. Munatius Plancus (*RE* 30)	triumph in 43 BC
P. Vatinius (*RE* 3) for Cornelia (?)	triumph in 42 BC
Octavianus	triumph in 29 BC
M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) for Caecilia Metella	triumph in 27 BC
M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (*RE* 261) (?)	triumph in 27 BC
L. Sempronius Atratinus (*RE* 26)	triumph in 21 BC
M. Plautius Silvanus (*RE* 43)	*ornamenta triumphalia* AD 9

Seven tombs out of eight can be associated with a *triumphator*,[570] whereas the eighth belongs to two men who were both awarded *ornamenta triumphalia*.[571] In three cases, however, the identification, although generally accepted, must be regarded as uncertain.[572] It should also be noted that in two cases it is not the owner of the grave but the presumed commissioner who is the *triumphator*, the owners being women. Extending the geographical area outside the immediate sphere of Rome we can add a couple of more names. As it happens their tombs are all datable to the 1st century AD or later:

Veia Barchilla (Pompeii)	
C. Ennius Marsus (Saepinum)	
C. Fabius Secundus (Pompeii)	(uncertain identification)
Acilii Glabriones (Alife)	
C. Utianus Rufus (Polla)	
M. Calpurnius Rufus (Attaleia, Turkey)	
Q. Lollius Urbicus (Constantine, Algeria)	

565 Fired bricks, concrete vaulting, drafted margins and elaborate interior buttressing. See e.g. Davies 2000, 56.
566 H. Windfeld-Hansen also saw the tower-like Roman cylindrical tomb as a Hellenistic phenomenon, distinct from the tumulus tradition. Windfeld-Hansen 1965, 53f.
567 Davies 2000, 62.
568 See for example Boschung 1980.
569 Picard 1957, 44–46; Robert 1939, 203–210. For a closely related discussion on Roman memorials see Frischer 1982–1983.
570 The connection between circular tombs and a number of *triumphatores* has been noted before. Götze 1939, 19; Richard 1966, 354.
571 Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (*RE* 47), who later shared the tomb of M. Plautius Silvanus, was awarded *ornamenta triumphalia* about AD 57.
572 The attribution of the tomb of L. Sempronius Atratinus is rather well founded but has still been questioned. Trummer 1984, 53f.

None of these latter persons are known to have celebrated a triumph, which in itself is quite understandable. After 19 BC military triumphs were no longer celebrated by others than members of the imperial family.[573] Instead successful commanders were awarded *ornamenta triumphalia,* as for example the two Plautii, owners of a cylindrical tomb at Ponte Lucano (C18). Thus, as we proceed into the first century AD the connection between cylindrical tombs and triumphs can no longer be traced. When triumphal celebrations were no longer awarded to private citizens, but only to emperors, the symbols connected to this phenomenon could develop along two different lines: Either they became part of the imperial set of emblems, or they lost their original significance. The multitude of cylindrical tombs erected in the 1st century AD speaks in favour of the second alternative.[574]

Looking at the dimensions of the above listed tombs another possible pattern emerges:

"Torrione di Micara" – tomb of Lucullus? (C4)	ø 28.6 m
The tomb of L. Munatius Plancus (C13)	ø 29.5 m
The tomb of Cornelia (C7)	ø ca 11 m
The Mausoleum of Augustus (C8) (upper cylinder)	ø 29.6 m
The tomb of Caecilia Metella (C9)	ø 28.7 m
"Casal Rotondo" – tomb of Corvinus? (C6)	ø 28.5 m
The tomb of L. Sempronius Atratinus (C12)	ø ca 34 m
The tomb of the Plautii (C18)	ø 17.4 m
The tomb of Veia Barchilla (C33)	ø ca 7 m
The tomb of C. Ennius Marsus (C35)	ø 8.8 m
The tomb of C. Fabius Secundus (C37)	ø 3.2 m
The tomb of the Acilii Glabriones (C42)	ø 11.9 m
Tomb of C. Utianus Rufus (C45)	ø ca 8 m
The tomb of M. Calpurnius Rufus (C52)	ø ca 16 m
The tomb of Q. Lollius Urbicus (C53)	ø 10.2 m

With the exception of the tombs of Cornelia and the Plautii all the monuments with a possible connection to a triumph have a diameter close to a 100 Roman feet. Buildings with a main dimension of a 100 feet (*hekatompedon*) are sometimes interpreted as having a mark of royal distinction, but the relevance of that theory in the present context is questionable.[575] Nonetheless, it might still represent a significant trait of "triumphal" tombs. It can also be noted that this dimension is rare for circular tombs in general after the 1st century BC.[576]

We have no literary sources that explicitly treat the connection between the Roman triumph and cylindrical monuments, just a couple of indirect references. Apart from the passage from Florus,[577] cited above (chapter IV.4.4), we are presented with an interesting detail from the triumphal procession. In a general account of these celebrations it is stated that the chariot of the triumphant general did not resemble one used in games or in war, but was fashioned in the shape of a round tower.[578]

As I have argued that the early cylindrical sepulchral monuments should also be regarded as victory monuments, commemorating the achievements of the commissioner, it might be of some relevance to point out that the opposite situation also existed. A number of Roman victory monuments also served as tombs. However, the relation between the two functions can be turned around and the priority questioned. Several triumphal arches of the early Imperial age, for example, actually constituted sepulchral monuments, either as proper graves or as cenotaphs.[579] Another prominent example is the Column of Traianus, which efficiently advertises the military achievements of the deceased.

IV.5.3 The role of the commissioner

Usually ostentatious tombs are understood to commemorate the exploits of the deceased, but in the case of Caecilia Metella (and also Cornelia), if the above interpretation is correct, it is the triumph of the commissioner that is advertised. What grounds could M. Licinius Crassus have had for giving the tomb of his mother the shape of a triumphal monument?

Originally the Roman aristocratic funeral consisted of three main parts: *pompa funebris, laudatio funebris, ludi funebres*.[580] They were all important means of display and "Selbstdarstellung". By the end of the Republic the monumental tomb provided another powerful instrument for communicating these kinds of messages. The introduction of free-standing Roman sepulchral monuments can be dated to the late 2nd century BC and was accompa-

[573] With the exception of A. Plautius (*RE* 39), who was awarded an *ovatio* in AD 47. From Vespasianus onwards the triumph became a strictly imperial prerogative.
[574] It is also possible that a vague triumphal connotation lingered on in the cylindrical tombs even though the commissioners could not make any formal claim on this honour.
[575] Cf. Wilson Jones 1989.
[576] See catalogue in appendix C and table C.1, which also include anonymous tombs.

[577] Florus 1.37.6 (3.2). Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus were both awarded triumphs for their victories.
[578] Zonaras 7.21.
[579] Lehmann-Hartleben 1934, 111f. Among the examples mentioned: "L'arco di Caprara nelle Spagna, un arco ad Aix-les-Bains, l'arco dei Gavii a Verona, l'arco dei Sergii a Pola, l'arco dei Giulii a St Remy (?), l'arco di Tito (?)." However, it is not thus implied that the commissioners of all these buildings had celebrated a triumph.
[580] Engels 1998, 176f.

nied by a sudden wealth of expression.[581] The fact that the first generation of Roman magistrates, active in the eastern provinces (i.e. Macedonia and Asia), was being buried in Rome by this time, might lead us to suspect that we are dealing with an imported Hellenistic phenomenon, perhaps associated with aspects of ruler cult.[582] However, it need not necessarily be that all magistrates in this way wanted to identify themselves with Hellenistic rulers. Rather, they had found a new medium for the senatorial competition back home. This process coincided with another new development, the aggrandisement of the funeral of aristocratic women. The formalities surrounding the death of important men had always been exploited for political purposes, but during the 1st century BC women's funerals also became involved in the political struggle and were used for the personal aims and glorification of the surviving family. Honouring prominent female members of their family was one of several ways that men used to gain status through women.[583] This seems to coincide chronologically with the growing importance of the names of the mothers in Roman nomenclature.[584]

In 102 BC Q. Lutatius Catulus (*RE* 7) pronounced a *laudatio* over his mother Popilia. This was the first *laudatio* over a woman.[585] Julius Caesar delivered an *encomium* upon the death of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in 68 BC.[586] It marked a turning point in his political career. The same year he delivered a eulogy over his wife, Cornelia, the first over a young woman.[587] Julius Caesar also honoured the memory of his late daughter, Julia (died 54 BC), with *munera* (funerary games) in 46 BC, held for the first time to a woman.[588] In 51 BC Octavianus, at the age of twelve, delivered a funeral oration from the public *rostra* in honour of his grandmother, Julia.[589] Octavianus' mother, Atia, was honoured with a public funeral in 43/42 BC,[590] whereas his sister, Octavia, on her death in 11/10 BC was given two orations, upon which public mourning was declared.[591] These are all examples of the growing political significance of aristocratic women's funerals. One of them is of particular importance for this discussion as it clearly demonstrates how funerary manifestations were exploited for the embellishment of a triumph:[592] Julius Caesar gave the *munera* in honour of his daughter eight years after her death at the time of his own triumphal celebrations.

In view of the previously proposed date of the tomb (see chapter III.9.1), it is quite possible that the death of Caecilia Metella coincided chronologically with the triumph of M. Licinius Crassus,[593] and that he exploited the situation for his own political purposes. This way the triumphal celebration of Crassus could be both prolonged and magnified. Perhaps aspects of self-enhancement that were usually banned from the triumph could be resorted to within the frames of traditional funeral rites. Funerary games, for example, would be an efficient elaboration of the triumphal celebration, and were used in exactly this way by Julius Caesar. In the case of Crassus, funerary games could be conveniently held next to the tomb, on the grounds where the circus of Maxentius was later built. The sepulchral monument would play an important part in this regard, being the only permanent reminder of the event.

We should also consider the close connection between the *pompa triumphalis* and *pompa funebris*.[594] The funerals of Julius Caesar and Augustus were modelled on the triumphal procession, as was later that of Traianus.[595] The funeral procession of Pompeius, as well as his tomb, were meant to reflect his triumphal celebrations.[596] Just like the funerary

[581] The embellishment of the exterior of sepulchres had begun already by the middle of the 2nd century BC, but at first entailed traditional rock-cut tombs. v. Hesberg & Zanker 1987, 9f.; v. Hesberg 1992, 22f.
[582] The connections between the funerals of Hellenistic rulers and the funerals of the Roman nobility have been highlighted by several scholars. See for example Pfister 1909–1912, II 433–438.
[583] Pomeroy 1975, 182f. Of course, many of these women were wealthy and powerful in their own right.
[584] See Wikander 1996.
[585] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.11.44.
[586] Plutarchos, *Caesar* 5.1; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 6.1.
[587] Plutarchos, *Caesar* 5.2; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 6.1.
[588] Plutarchos, *Caesar* 55.2; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 26.2; Engels 1998, 185.
[589] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 8.1; Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 12.6.1.
[590] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 61.2; Cassius Dio 47.17.6.
[591] Cassius Dio 54.35.4–5.
[592] The *laudatio* held by Q. Lutatius Catulus, the date of which is uncertain, may be related to his disputed triumph over the Cimbri in 101 BC. Yet another example of how the burial of a noble woman was explicitly associated with the triumphs of her ancestors is provided by Propertius' elegy to Cornelia. Propertius, 4.11.29–44.
[593] She may also have died some years previously, the actual burial being postponed by her son's absence.
[594] Versnel 1970, 99f., 115–129. Although the author wants to play down previously stipulated parallels, he stresses a strengthened connection from the late Republic: "What is remarkable, however is that, at the end of the republic and in the early imperial period, the triumph sets its mark much more deeply on the *funus* than it did before." Versnel 1970, 122.
[595] Richard 1966.
[596] Lucanus, *De bello civile* (*Pharsalia*) 8.733, 8.816.

speech, the procession called to mind the exploits of the family of the deceased. All prominent ancestors were present, impersonated by actors who wore, not only the *imagines*, but also the official insignia of the *maiores*. They were preceded by lictors and possibly also by pictures of their warfeats.[597] Those who were present could easily count how many *triumphatores*, censors and consuls there were among the ranks of the family. This was one of the most important ways of measuring the prestige of a noble *gens* – a property which was fundamental to the position and political power of an individual Roman aristocrat.[598] Thus, elite funerals were held equally to the benefit of the deceased and the living relatives.

The inscription on the tomb of Caecilia Metella is short and simple but it efficiently drew attention to the two important families from which the commissioner descended, the Metelli and the Crassi, and thus also to their past achievements. The Caecilii Metelli had celebrated at least 8 triumphs in less than a 100 years (146–62 BC),[599] most recently the father of Caecilia Metella. P. Licinius Crassus, the father of the *triumvir*, had been awarded a triumph in 93 BC, the *triumvir* himself was given an *ovatio* in 71 BC,[600] and his sons fought eminently under Caesar. Although the extant *tropaion* most likely is a direct reference to one of these brothers, it is quite possible that it also symbolised the military achievements of their entire *gens*.[601] Similarly, we may hypothesise that a corresponding trophy to the right indicated both the conquest of Crete and the glorious history of the Metelli.[602] Thus, the juxtaposition of text and relief would be most explanatory. It should be noted that the prestigious associations of both the Crassi and the Metelli could only be exploited in the funeral of the commissioner's mother, not in that of his father.[603]

M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58), the commissioner of the tomb, was also a *triumphator* and perhaps his personal accomplishments constituted the subject for the central part of the figurative relief. This, however, was not necessary. By putting himself against a background of historical victories he could advertise his own achievements without seeming to do so. The monument was erected as a tomb and adorned with the emblems of the closest family, but to contemporaries, who had witnessed his triumph, the message must have been plain.

As a final curiosity, it can be mentioned that M. Licinius Crassus has been ascribed another victory monument, commemorating his military accomplishments in Thracia and Moesia. Already in 1896 A. Furtwängler attributed the *tropaion* at Adamklissi (present day Rumania) to this general.[604] Although it has been asserted several times since then that the building dates to the reign of Traianus, it is a strange coincidence that this circular monument, ca 100 feet in diameter, is one of the closest architectural parallels to the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

[597] Cassius Dio 56.34.3.
[598] Flaig 1995. Cf. Flower 1996, 270–280.
[599] A probable ninth celebration has been conjectured for 142 BC.
[600] He continued to strive for the highest military honour, though. Cicero, *In Pisonem* 58.
[601] Cf. chapter III.9.2.
[602] See chapter III.4.3.
[603] Flaig 1995, 140f., 146f.
[604] Furtwängler 1896, 51–77; Furtwängler 1904. This theory only caught my attention at a very late stage of my research.

V. Spatial analysis – the interior layout of the tomb

IN A PREVIOUS chapter I have given a detailed account of the design, layout and construction of the tomb of Caecilia Metella as it appears to us today, as well as occasional reconstructive clarifications on a basic level (see chapter II). I have also argued that the internal and external design may not only have had quite diverse functions and carried different messages, but also been guided by completely separate architectural concepts (see chapter IV.3.2). In the present chapter the interior layout will be analysed in depth, reconstructed and interpreted. This will be made primarily on the basis of the actual remains, but also with references to post-Medieval pictorial evidence and the use of analogies. The starting point for the discussion is that the interior layout, as opposed to the exterior one, is something out of the ordinary and in many respects unique. Thus, it cannot automatically be understood or explained by comparison with the average Roman tomb. Instead I will look for parallels regarding the representational use of space within a wider sphere of religious and commemorative architecture. In order to interpret the meaning of the interior layout, however, we have first to know what it originally looked like and how it was perceived by the contemporary visitor.

V.1 Defining the interior layout

V.1.1 Transformations and previous reconstructions

Here will follow an expansion of the reconstructive interpretations made in chapter II, pertaining to the interior of the tomb. Concerning the main supporting structures most parts of the building are self-evident. The major exception is the extreme southern ends of the upper and lower corridors. These have been subject to thorough devastation and following restorations, the latter mainly carried out by A. Muñoz in the early 20th century.[605] In my opinion, the destruction of both the entrance of the upper corridor and the corresponding part of the lower corridor took place at the same time and for the same reason: The travertine blocks framing the doorway, the threshold block(s), and the blocks that would have supported these all the way down to the foundation level[606] were probably taken away by looters at an early stage, as they would have been relatively easy to retrieve.[607] All of the mentioned blocks were basically part of the podium revetment but extended inwards along the walls of the two corridors for a short distance, as can be deduced from imprints of the revetment on the concrete core immediately to the east of the entrance.[608] In the lower corridor ashlar blocks possibly also filled up the space between these travertine spurs.

The removal of these blocks must have resulted in a huge cavity exposing the south end of the lower corridor to the outside. This probably happened before AD 1515, as a written notation on a depiction of that date describes the entry as *uacuu* (void), and with a dimension larger than the actual doorway.[609] The cavity in the floor of the entrance must have severely hampered a normal use of the upper corridor and it was probably soon filled up with earth and rubble, either through natural dispersal or intentionally.[610] The described occurrence of events

[605] See Muñoz 1913.

[606] It is highly probable that the ground level outside the entrance was originally somewhat lower than that of the upper corridor, and that a small flight of steps led up to/into it. This kind of structure would have needed a firm foundation. For the former observation I am much indebted to Dott.ssa Rita Paris.

[607] Cf. chapter II.4.1.

[608] This corner was exposed in the excavations of 1998–1999.

[609] Bernardo della Volpaia (B2), *Codex Coner*, 49v, reproduced in Ashby 1904, pl. 57. The blocks framing the entranceway are obviously reconstructed in this depiction.

[610] The gap in the floor would have been approximately 1.8 m long and occupied the complete width of the entrance. The nature of the cavity in the south façade after the filling of the lower corridor is clearly shown on the cork model of G. Altieri from the second half of the 18th century, and is hinted at in a vast number of depictions. The model is presently at The Museum of Mediterranean and Near East-

would adequately explain why the lower corridor is partly filled with earth sloping from the south end of the room inwards on the cross-section made by G.B. Piranesi,[611] and why many other depictions inaccurately represent this part of the building.[612] (*Fig. 44*) It is possible that the destruction of this part of the podium and the subsequent filling of the lower corridor occurred already some time before 1302, when the Caetani castle was built. However, this can only be verified through a detailed analysis of the archaeological strata of the Mediaeval courtyard. The fill of the lower corridor was finally cleared away by Muñoz after he had "rediscovered" this subterraneous room. He extended its walls and its barrel vault to the south, thus giving the entrance of the upper corridor a new floor, and installed a stairway along the core of the podium where the travertine revetment had once been.[613] (*Fig. 45*)

Two issues which have constantly recurred in various reconstructions of the tomb need here to be finally dismissed: the existence of a chamber opposite the lower corridor on the other side of the cella, and a domed vault originally spanning the lower part of the cella and carrying a floor at the level of the upper corridor. Both of these ideas seem to originate from the cross-section of Piranesi,[614] and have thence been adopted by several authors as a matter of fact.[615] In reality, there are no other passages at the bottom of the cella above the level of the concrete floor (SU6), except the one leading to the lower corridor. This hypothesis was perhaps invalidated already with the excavations made in 1836,[616] but was definitely disproved by the investigations of Muñoz.[617] The idea about the lower vault dividing the cella into an upper and a lower space has been more long-lived. The presence of the protruding stone ring (SU5) was even forwarded as evidence for its correctness, the stone ring being interpreted as the impost of the vault.[618] However, the suggested design is extremely improbable, if not impossible, for constructive reasons. A domed vault spanning a room needs to be firmly integrated with the load bearing structures to its sides. There would be absolutely no point in giving the walls of the cella a perfectly executed brick lining only to proceed by casting a concrete vault against it. The protruding stone ring would perhaps make sense as a support for a wooden centring, but could not sustain the entire weight of the vault. Furthermore, a lower vault in the cella should probably have left traces on the brick surface after its collapse or removal; on the contrary, this part of the brick wall is quite smooth and excellently preserved.

But, how did these ideas come to be in the first place? The imaginative reconstructions of Piranesi, in my view, demonstrate a profound lack of awareness of the actual conditions. Those parts of the monument that he could see were obviously depicted in their present state (or almost so),[619] and not subjected to reconstructions, whereas those that were inaccessible to him had to be conjectured. That is to say, Piranesi knew nothing of the lower part of the cella. The best (and perhaps only) explanation for his ignorance may be that the cella, at that time, was filled with earth and/or rubble to the approximate level of the upper corridor. The cross-section of Piranesi shows that the "upper floor" of the cella actually is covered by a layer of earth spilling into the upper corridor. The artist did know, however, of the lower corridor and its connection with the cella, probably in the same way as P.S. Bartoli had found out about it before him and A. Muñoz would after him; that is, through the hole in the floor of the upper corridor by the framed doorway (see below). It is interesting to note that both Bartoli and Piranesi (as everybody else before Muñoz) had a very limited, and in many respects erroneous, understanding of both the south and the north ends of the lower corridor. This was probably due to masses of earth obstructing any close investigations.

There are also other indications that the lower part of the cella was once filled. Pirro Ligorio made a cross-section of the tomb in the 16th century, the first one we know of.[620] This drawing cannot be regarded as a true depiction of the object, but perhaps it is significant that the floor of the cella is shown to be on the same level as the entrance, i.e.

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ern Antiquities in Stockholm and has been published by V. Kockel. Kockel 1998, 70–72.

[611] G.B. Piranesi (B18), III tav. 49.

[612] It was apparently believed by some that the entrance corridor was not an original part of the construction, but that it had been excavated into the podium at a later stage. This was probably deduced from the rough and cave-like appearance of the entrance. Muñoz 1913, 6.

[613] Muñoz 1913, 7, 10.

[614] G.B. Piranesi (B18), III tav. 49.

[615] A. Uggeri (B28), pl. 11; H.J. Chauvet (B31), reproduced in d'Espouy 1910–1912, III tav. 181; J.A. Leveil (B39), reproduced in Gailhabaud 1852, I; A. Hirt (B42), Taf. 11; L. Canina (B46); Crema 1959, 250; *EAA* VI (1965), s.v. 'Roma' (M. Torelli & F. Zevi), 875; Sanpaolesi 1971, 15; Quilici 1977, 52; Coarelli 1981, 48.

[616] Nibby 1838–1841, 552; Canina 1853a, 88; Canina 1853b, 158.

[617] Muñoz 1913, 9f. G. Pinza seems to have had an indication of the true situation some years before A. Muñoz, though. Pinza 1905, 714.

[618] Crema 1959, 250; Sanpaolesi 1971, 15; Quilici 1972, 36; Coarelli 1981, 48.

[619] He excluded the Medieval additions in his drawings.

[620] Pirro Ligorio (B6), reproduced in Rausa 1997, 45 fig. 3.2.

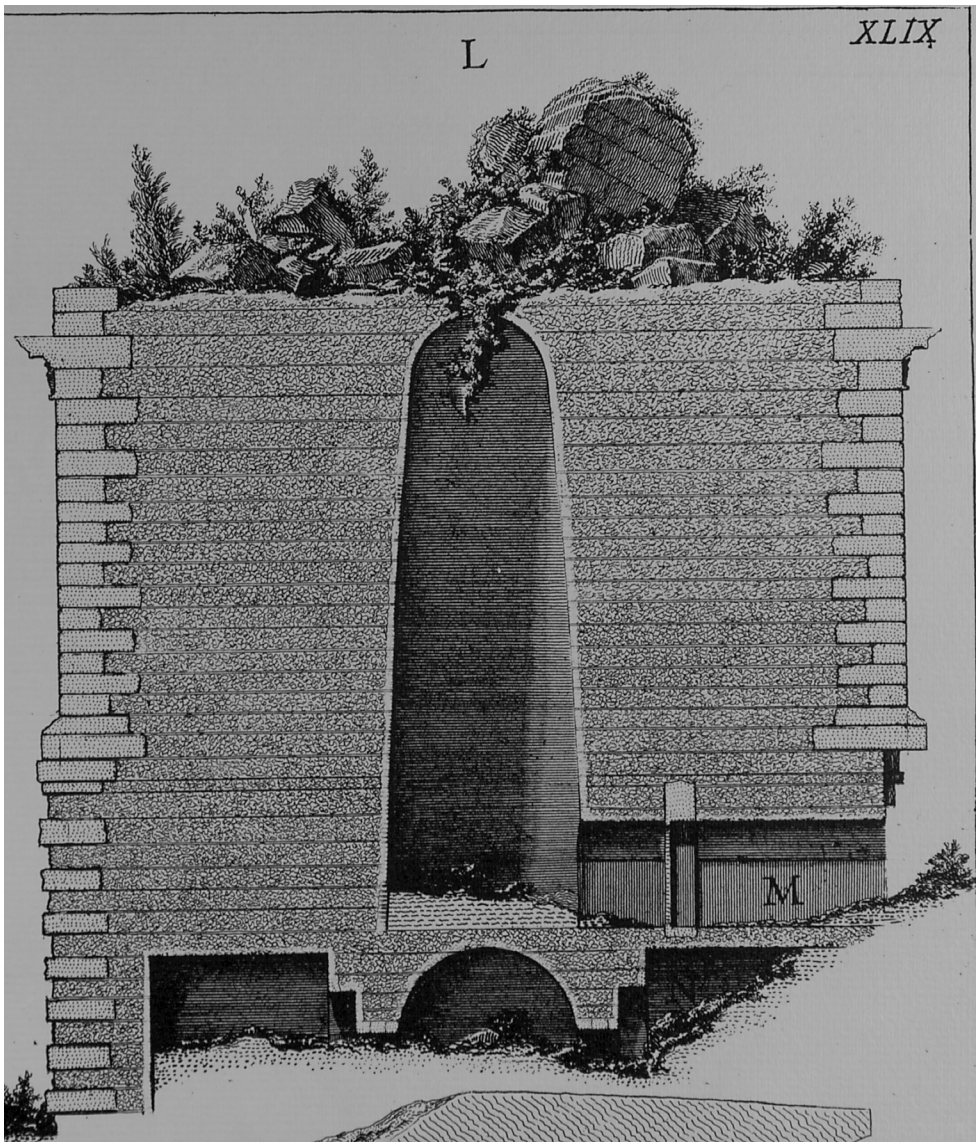


Fig. 44 (left). Cross-section of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. Detail of Piranesi 1756, III tav. 49.

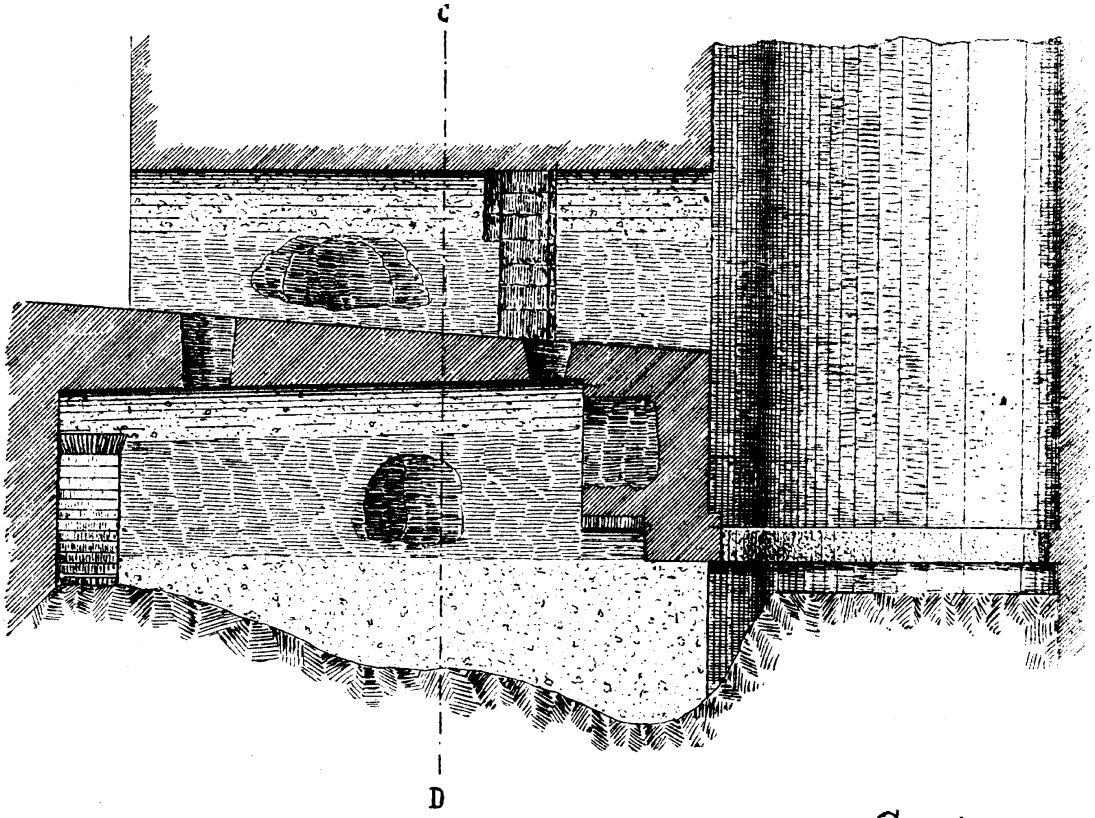
Fig. 45 (right). The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Plans and cross-sections of the upper and lower corridors. Muñoz 1913, 6–9.

the upper corridor. The drawings of L. Duc were executed in the second quarter of the 19th century and are considerably more reliable.[621] Here the cross-section clearly shows a line cutting the cella at the level of the upper corridor as if it was filled.[622] It also depicts the ruined state of the floor at the entrance of the upper corridor. Furthermore, A. Uggeri, who is the first writer to describe the interior of the monument in writing, says that the cella had two storeys and that the upper one was circular in plan whereas the lower was square.[623] This description is repeated in the accompanying plans. If Uggeri could have observed the walls of the lower part of the cella, he would have immediately recognised that this could not possibly be true. Instead he casually mentions a cavity in the cella wall above the entrance from the upper corridor, just as if he had been strolling into the cella directly from the upper corridor.[624] The excavations carried out in 1836 also imply the presence of accumulated material in the cella, although we cannot say at what level nor how deep the diggings proceeded.

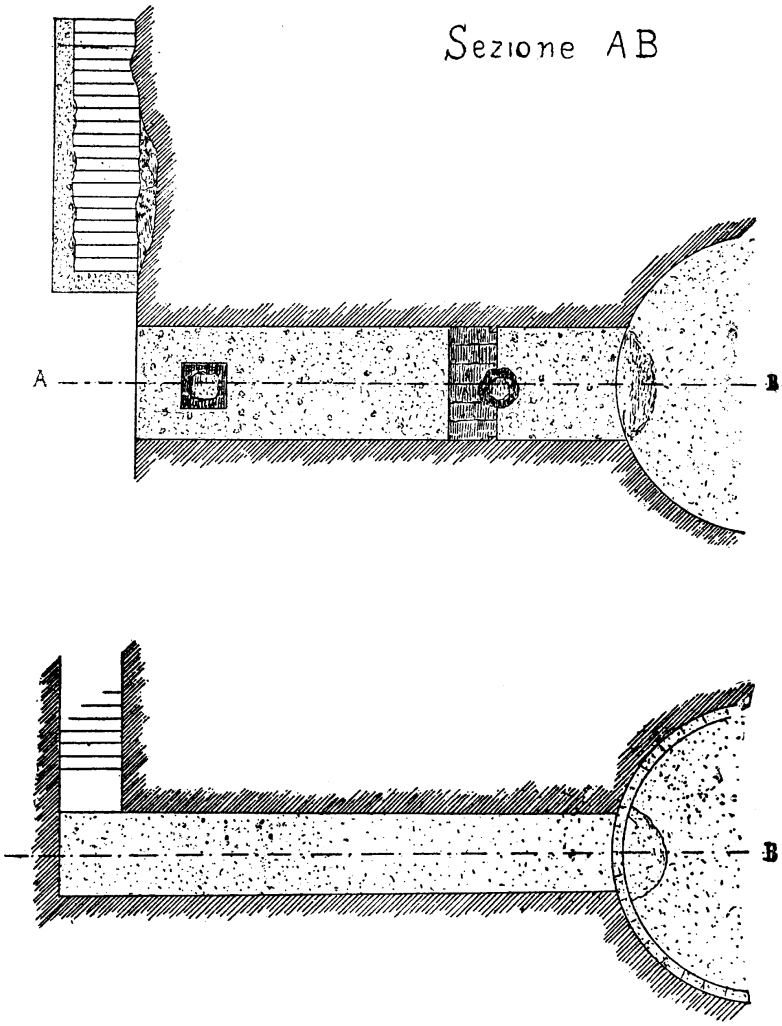
Perhaps the most important piece of evidence is provided by the building itself. Several of the original construction holes in the wall of the cella have been enlarged in order to accommodate various secondary functions. At two different levels it is

[621] L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, I tav. 32.
[622] A similar line appears in the reconstructive cross-section made by P.S. Bartoli. P.S. Bartoli (B15), tav. 37.
[623] Uggeri 1804, 59.

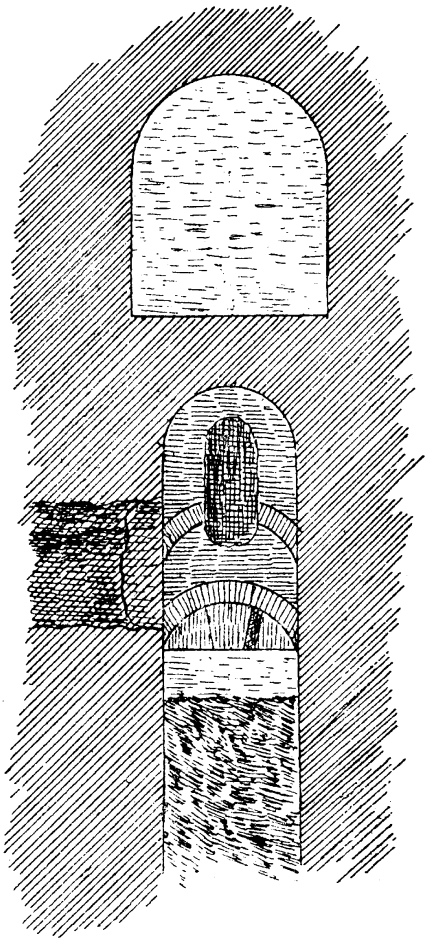
[624] The cross-section of J.A. Leveil, which is probably made between 1816 and 1824, indicates that there was no brick lining in the cella below the level of the upper corridor. With the cella empty it would be impossible to get that impression. However, we can not be one-hundred percent sure that the artist actually had a look inside the monument himself. J.A. Leviel (B39), reproduced in Gailhabaud 1852, I.



Sezione AB



Sezione CD



plain that such holes have been cut out opposite each other for the insertion of wooden beams to support a floor. This change probably dates from the Medieval period when the tomb constituted the main keep of Castrum Caetani. The occupants of the castle probably wanted to use the interior space of their retreat more efficiently, and also enjoy easy access to the top of the main tower. However, both of the mentioned floors were installed well above the level of the upper corridor, where there are no corresponding traces. Instead, there is at the level of the upper corridor a distinct shift in the character of the brick surface. Above this line the cella wall has suffered considerable and evenly distributed damage; below this line the wall is perfectly preserved and no construction holes at all have been reworked. (*Fig. 33*) On the basis of these facts, I would like to suggest that the cella was once filled with earth to the level of the upper corridor at least from the early part of the Medieval occupational phase, i.e. the beginning of the 14th century to the early 19th century. Possibly the fill was deposited there even earlier and remained even longer. In 1877 J.H. Parker stated that the centre of the mausoleum was occupied by a deep pit, though partly filled with earth.[625] The protruding stone ring (SU5) at the bottom of the cella was never once mentioned or depicted before Muñoz, and it is my belief that he was the first to reach this level. However, it seems as if the concrete floor of the cella (SU6) was not uncovered until 1976.[626]

There are two explanations for the filling of the lower part of the cella, and we must also consider the possible combinations of these alternatives. One would be the collapse of the domed vault once covering the cella. If the monument carried a crowning tumulus of earth, a large portion of this would have fallen into the cella together with the broken pieces of the concrete vault. The other explanation would be that the cella was intentionally filled either through the top of the roof or through the upper corridor. The reason for such an undertaking can only be guessed at. It is possible, although not very likely, that the aim was to create a floor level on top of the earth masses. However, it would have been much easier to support such a floor with wooden beams, spanning the width of the cella. Another reason may be that someone wanted to permanently seal the lower parts of the tomb.[627]

[625] Parker 1877, 22.
[626] Eisner 1986, Taf. 10.3. In this photo, which is taken in 1976, the excavations are clearly in process.
[627] An example of a building intentionally filled up with earth in order to render it inaccessible is provided by the so-called Basilica Sotterranea. Bay 1973, 131.

V.1.2 Transitional and separating elements

Apart from the entrance to the upper corridor, which has been discussed already, there are a number of doorways, openings and passages that need to be examined further: the two holes in the ceiling of the lower corridor, the niche in the lower corridor, the breach into the west compartment and the passage between the lower corridor and the cella. The stairs leading down to the lower corridor will be treated separately further on.

In the vaulted ceiling of the lower corridor close to the north wall the outlet of a small vertical shaft is located. This roughly circular hole has been blocked from below, apparently in modern time. The upper end of the shaft has been paved over and cannot be found today, but it was recorded by A. Muñoz as well as by two earlier visitors.[628] Measurements reveal that it was once located directly under the threshold of the framed doorway, placed somewhat towards its inner side. Another hole, this time square, is still visible in the floor of the upper corridor, just inside the main entrance. This is in all probability a modern construction. Both P.S. Bartoli and A. Hirt recorded only the innermost of these two holes connecting the upper and lower corridors, and it is likely that the one closest to the entrance was actually opened up by Muñoz in order to provide light for the newly extended lower corridor. The position of the hole by which the latter reportedly "discovered" this chamber was not specified, but it is perhaps telling that it was mentioned in connection with the framed doorway of the upper corridor.[629] This also indicates that the present pavement, more or less, is the work of Muñoz.

The niche in the north wall of the lower corridor was interpreted as a walled-up window by Muñoz.[630] This conclusion is strange as the brick masonry on both sides of the dividing wall is well bonded with the surrounding structure. There are no signs whatsoever indicating a secondary construction. Obviously, Muñoz presumed that the lower corridor must have received light from somewhere, and therefore invented this window leading into the cella. G.T. Rivoira adopted the idea of the window and compared it with the opening in Basilica Sotterranea, between the vestibule and the central nave.[631] The comparison between the two buildings is interesting, but in this particular case invalid. The back wall of the niche is 0.73 m thick and perforated by

[628] Muñoz 1913, fig. 4; P.S. Bartoli (B15), tav. 37; Hirt 1821–1827, II 235f.
[629] Muñoz 1913, 6.
[630] Muñoz 1913, 8.
[631] Rivoira 1921, 43.

three horizontal ducts leading into the cella.[632] They have been described as "Lichtkanäle",[633] but the amount of light seeping through them is negligible. Rather, the triangular shape (visible in the two lower ones) is reminiscent of typical Roman drainage channels.

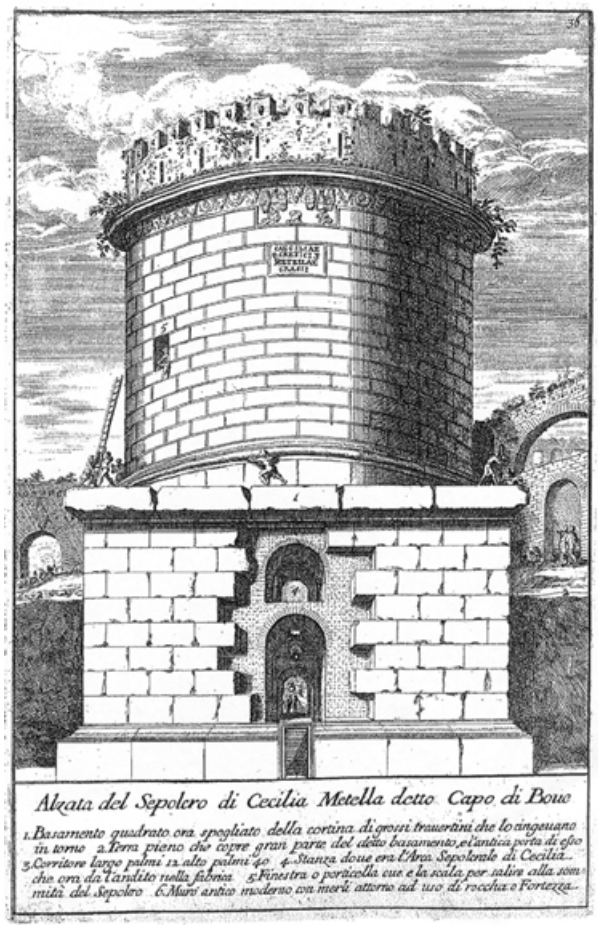
Concerning the breach from the lower corridor into the west compartment, we can simply conclude that it is a secondary opening, and that it might be related to the cavity in the west wall of the upper corridor. Perhaps treasure hunters were looking for secret compartments, and perhaps the partial success in the lower corridor provoked a similar attempt above it. However, this is merely speculation and it is impossible to say when they were made. What *can* be shown is that the well shaft in the north corner of the west compartment definitely is an original Roman construction.[634] Its concrete walls have been cast against horizontally placed wooden boards, and one of its sides supports the partition wall towards the lower corridor which is made in Roman *structura testacea*. Both the compartment and the shaft were in all likelihood once filled with earth, and the most reasonable explanation for the shaft is that it belonged to a system of interior channels which drained seeping water from the huge masses of earth fill within the monument.

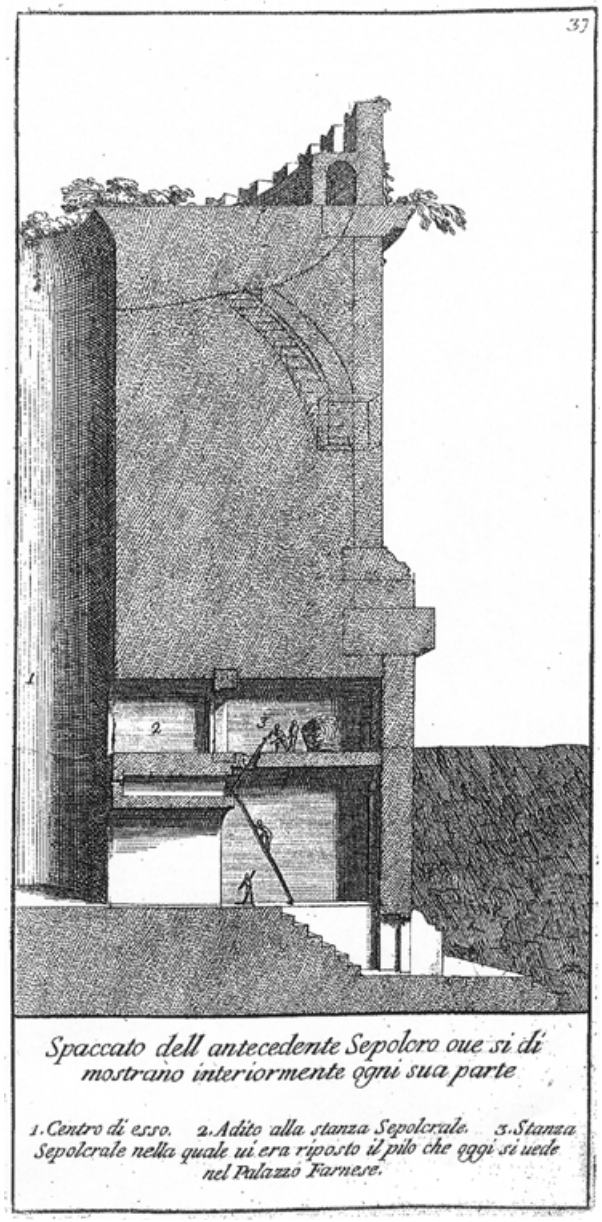
The most difficult problem in trying to reconstruct the original layout of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, and possibly the greatest puzzle of the whole building, concerns the floors and floor levels of the cella and the lower corridor. The former room has a floor at an unexpected level; the latter has no preserved floor level at all. At any rate, Muñoz excavated the lower corridor to a maximum depth of about 3 m below the foundation level without reporting to have found any traces of a floor. Disregarding for a moment the concrete floor in the cella, and looking only at the lower corridor, we have three alternatives. Either Muñoz did not reach down to the original floor level, or he passed it by without recognising it, or there was no substantial floor at all in that room. All three options seem unlikely, not to say preposterous, but one of them has to be correct. The key to the problem is partly found in the concave concrete floor of the cella. If it is an original Roman construction, the first alternative can be positively excluded.[635] Unfortunately, it is still very difficult to date this floor with certainty, although new scientific methods for dating concrete are presently being developed. The way the surface of the floor has been constructed corresponds well to late Republican *cocciopesto*, but a similar technique probably continued in use for centuries. In any case, it ought to predate the Medieval castle since it most likely was covered with fill from that time on (see discussion above). The third alternative implies that the builders left the lower part of the room in the same approximate state it had after preparatory dirt-work and foundations had been executed, or simply filled it up to form a rough dirt floor at some other level.[636]

Could then Muñoz have missed the original floor of the lower corridor, and dug through it? Again, it seems unlikely but we have some indications that he could have. The southern damage to the floor of the cella (SU6) corresponds remarkably well to the north limit of the diggings of Muñoz, as described in his own drawings.[637] (*Fig. 45*) Thus, it seems that he cut right through this floor, without making any mention of it. It is quite possible that he assumed that the passage between the cella and the lower corridor was originally man-high and therefore did not anticipate finding the floor until he had reached about two meters below the flat arch of the passage. Perhaps he simply disregarded what he found above that level, or dismissed it as secondary structures.

Finally, we shall treat the crowning vault of the cella. This was a hemispherical (or approximately hemispherical) dome, 5.6 m in diameter. It was made of cast concrete with a particularly light aggregate. Since only parts of it remain today, we cannot establish with certainty whether it had a central *oculus* or not. The presence of a covering earth tumulus on top of the monument practically eliminates the possibility of an *oculus*, and vice versa. We can merely observe that the majority of early Roman concrete domes had *oculi* (see chapter III.3.7), and that several other monumental circular tombs had some kind of interior lighting.[638] At least in one case that light was provided by an *oculus*.[639] M. Eisner supported the idea of a crowning earth

[632] The thickness of the wall corresponds well with the depth of the *structura testacea* around the cella. See chapter II.7. This is a further indication that the niche was closed off from the cella from the very beginning.
[633] Eisner 1986, 40, 197. It seems as if M. Eisner imagined the light to have been carried in the opposite direction compared to the ideas of A. Muñoz.
[634] It has been suggested that it was used as a well for drawing water by the inhabitants of the castle. Eisner 1986, 37.
[635] The two adjacent rooms could hardly have had floor levels differing 2.5 m in altitude without as much as a vertical supporting wall.
[636] The anonymous tomb on Via Collatina (C10) provides an example of a rather elaborate sepulchral chamber in Rome with a simple earth floor. Colini 1963–1964, 112.
[637] Muñoz 1913, figs 2–4.
[638] E.g. "Carceri Vecchie" at S. Maria Capua Vetere (C31). For additional examples see Eisner 1986, 196f.
[639] Eisner 1986, 134f. (no. F7).





Figs 46–47. Reconstructed elevation and cross-section of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. Bartoli 1697, tav. 36–37.

tumulus but suggested that a built light shaft pierced that tumulus (probably at an angle) and connected to the present opening at the base of the cupola (see chapter II.8.3).[640]

V.2 The use of the interior space

One of the principal functions of a tomb is to serve as the final resting place or the "house" of the deceased, corresponding to the houses of the living. However, we must also consider the living users of sepulchral buildings. The relatives of Caecilia Metella most likely had access to her grave and probably returned to visit the tomb on certain occasions, as this was part of the funerary cult. In trying to understand the use of space in this particular building, I will limit the present discussion to a spatial analysis. What we know of funerary cult from literary and archaeological sources is treated in chapter V.3.2.

V.2.1 Entrance sequence

Entrance sequence analysis is a way of defining architecture as it is experienced, rather than how it is built. The method concentrates on the motion towards, into and through the building by investigating the sequence of spaces and the use of transitional elements. Variations in tempo and emphasis can be evaluated for example through changes in direction, altitude and light. As will be shown, the clarification of the entrance sequence is crucial for the understanding of the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

Firstly, it should be noted that although the building was clearly visible for miles around and loomed high above the frequent passers-by, the entrance was discretely set back on the south façade and could hardly be seen from the road. Any visitor

640 Eisner 1986, 197 n. 678.

would have to leave the Via Appia, perhaps finding his or her way through a gap between two sepulchral monuments.[641] This withdrawn position was nothing unusual, though, and can be found on many other tombs.[642] The difference in altitude between the level of the ancient Via Appia and that of the entrance appears to have been about 2 m.[643] The way the lava has been quarried along the south side of the building gives the impression that it has intentionally been left to form a ramp leading from the road up to the entrance. However, it did not quite reach the level of the upper corridor and perhaps we must conceive of a small flight of steps, of which all traces are now gone.

This entrance leading into the upper corridor was, in my opinion, the main entrance and the only entrance into the tomb. Several previous authors have maintained the idea of P.S. Bartoli from 1697 that the cella in Roman times was entered through the lower corridor, which consequently had to communicate with the outside already then.[644] (*Figs 46–47*) The original reconstruction of Bartoli can now be proved wrong, as he imagined the entrance at a point far below the foundation level of the south façade. An original entrance at the level of the modern doorway, at the foot of the stairs, can also be disproved. Firstly, and most importantly, there was simply not enough room for a passageway between the concrete core and the lava rock when the travertine revetment was covering the podium. Secondly, such an entrance would have been positioned on a much higher level than the interior passage into the cella, if the latter is to be imagined as a proper doorway. There are no traces of any stairs compensating for this difference and we still have the concrete floor of the cella to account for (see chapter V.1.2). Thirdly, the flat arch above the interior passage has hardly been worked at all on the side facing the lower corridor, the blocks being of different size. This negligence is striking when compared to the well cut doorframe of the upper corridor, and implies that the element was not even meant to be seen from this direction.[645] Furthermore, A. Muñoz made no mention of any entrance into the lower corridor from the outside, beside the one he constructed himself. Instead he imagined the lower chamber as a completely secluded room and actually thought that it would have been helpful to introduce some meagre light from the cella.

Returning to the entrance sequence, we can only speculate about the area directly outside the upper corridor. Altars, benches and other conceivable installations, if there were any, have left no traces.[646] The entrance itself might have had some kind of gate but would not really need it, as there was a solid enough door further in. The reason for having the gate at the far end of the corridor instead of at the beginning might have been to render the impression of entering a tunnel without being able to see what was waiting ahead. The effect of suddenly confronting the cella behind the doors would also have been greater than if it was discerned already from a distance. Perhaps we should also compare this arrangement with the traditional division found in both prehistoric and later graves between *dromos*, antechamber and sepulchral chamber, where the gate (*stomion*) usually separates the two former elements. Thus, the space between the doors and the cella in the tomb of Caecilia Metella might be viewed as a kind of antechamber, rather than a mere continuation of the corridor. At any rate, this was as far as the visitors came. Standing in the area behind the doors, 2.4 by 2.7 m² in size, the visitors could look into the cella but hardly proceed any further. It is quite conceivable that benches were placed along the walls (or even two parallel *klinai*, although that would make the space a bit crowded). As the doors opened outwards, there would be room for eight to ten seats on the benches (counting with 50–60 cm per seat). The best parallel to such an installation can be found in the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi. In the rarely mentioned interior space

641 During the excavations carried out in the courtyard of Castrum Caetani in 1985 three successive tombs were revealed close by the road, immediately to the south of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. If "zona B" is related to a building contemporary with the tomb of Caecilia there would have been a passage between them about 3 m wide. Meogrossi & Cereghino 1986, 605–607.

642 E.g. the tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus, which also presents the epitaph towards the road (Via Salaria) but has its entrance on the opposite side.

643 This can be deduced from comparing a 19th century depiction of the road with the stratigraphical units of the measured computer model. The picture implies that the original pavement was situated slightly lower than the present one. G. Cottafavi (B44), reproduced in Nibby 1838–1841, I.2 553 tav. 21.

644 P.S. Bartoli (B15), tav. 37; Ashby 1927, 183; Lugli 1957, 587; Eisner 1986, 37. See also the similarly reconstructed cross-sections of H.J. Chauvet (B31), reproduced in d'Espouy 1910–1912, III tav. 181 and L. Duc (B43), reproduced in d'Espouy 1905, I tav. 32.

645 Cf. the internal arches in the *tabernae* of Forum Julium, which are dressed only on the side facing the entrance not on the inside. Amici 1991, 52 fig. 64.

646 We know of two altars found in the general area (perhaps within the church of S. Nicola di Bari): one known as the "Ara of Epaphroditus" and another dedicated by a Q. Caecilius Metellus in 71 BC. Pirro Ligorio 66v–68v (for a modern transcription see Rausa 1997, 43). The former is know from other publications as well, whereas the latter seems to have disappeared. *CIL* VI 8439 a/b; Altmann 1905, 158 no. 194; Ericsson 1980, 118–123.

of this monument there are parallel benches along the walls of a small vaulted chamber, at the end of which a deep shaft opens up.[647] (*Fig. 48*)

It is difficult to say with certainty whether the hole penetrating the floor under the threshold was a part of the original construction or not. At least, it seems to have been enlarged during the centuries, as the lower rim is ragged and unsymmetrical. One possible interpretation is suggested by a comparison with funnels found in the thresholds of some other ancient tombs.[648] (*Fig. 49*) These were undoubtedly used for libations, which were probably performed on the act of entering or leaving the tomb. Alternatively these funnels made it possible, when the doors were closed, to make offerings which otherwise would be presented inside the tomb. Thus, we might conjecture that the threshold block, which is now missing, had some sort of conduit, and that it was continued by the shaft through the floor. Any liquids poured into the hole ran down into the lower corridor.

The cella has a circular plan 6.6 m in diameter, and the chamber was originally more than 24 m high. When standing at the bottom of the cella (or looking at a cross-section of the tomb) one is above all struck by the soaring height, but from a vantage point at the inner end of the upper corridor the topmost part of the cella is largely cut off from view. The cupola can only be seen if one is leaning into the cella. Instead the eyes of a visitor are naturally drawn towards the bottom of the cella. The accentuated verticality and the deeply sunken floor transmit the character of a shaft. However, the sizeable width of the cella and the fact that it is wider than the corridor in particular make it a room too. The effect of looking into the cella from the upper corridor is that of experiencing a truly monumental space which cannot be entered. The beholder could take part of the architectural experience, but encroached by rigorous restrictions.

Apparently the walls of the cella were covered by plaster and we have good reasons to suspect that they were decorated by wall paintings.[649] In view of the restricted space behind the doors of the upper corridor and the extraordinary transition from the corridor into the cella, it seems likely that the act of looking into the cella was the main point of the whole arrangement. For parallels to a possible pictorial program I believe that we should turn to Hellenistic funerary paintings, as for example those in

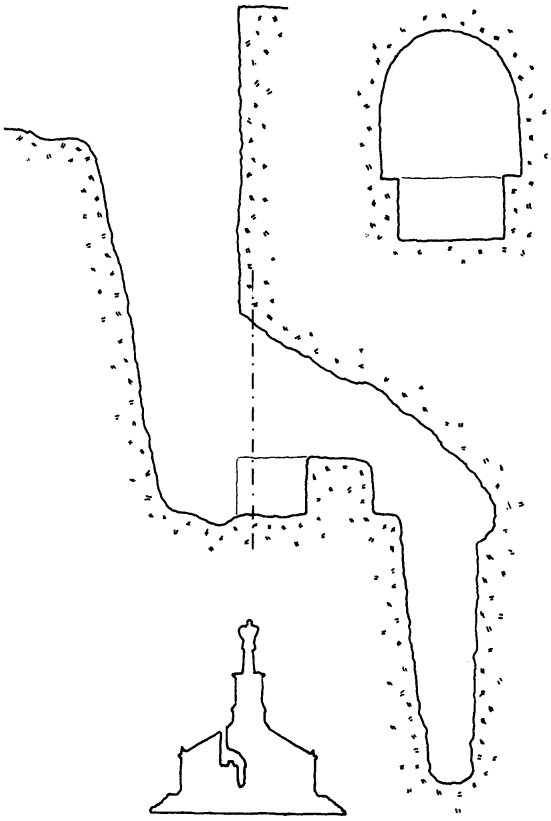


Fig. 48. Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi. Sections of the interior shaft, after Florescu 1965, Abb. 50.

Kazanluk, in present Bulgaria.[650] The subject of possible light sources has already been touched upon. If there would be any point in standing at the end of the upper corridor looking into the cella, there would have to be at least some light. One distinct alternative is that the doors were left open letting in the sun-light through the corridor. If, however, the doors were closed, torches could provide a suggestive but rather limited illumination. An *oculus* in the cupola can as yet neither be confirmed, nor completely rejected. The bottom of the cella was perhaps intended to hold a small amount of water. It has a bowl-shaped floor which is covered by water resistant *cocciopesto* and the construction procedure of the floor vis-à-vis the walls is comparable to that of a cistern.[651] The easiest way of explaining the presence of water would be an *oculus*, but there are other possible solutions. A water channel leading from the drainage trench behind the altar ring into the cella is hardly more farfetched than M. Eisner's idea about a light channel through a tumulus (see above). Whatever solution we choose to see for the interior lighting, it is important to

[647] Florescu 1965, 186 Abb. 50.
[648] This phenomenon was observed by the present author in some tombs at Petra, for example the so-called "Treasury" (the Khasneh), which has been tentatively dated to the beginning of the 1st century AD. Fedak 1990, 153.
[649] See chapters II.7 and III.3.3.

[650] Hoddinott 1975, 100–103.
[651] Vitruvius 8.6.14–15.

stress that the cella originally was much darker than it is today. At the present the upper corridor is constantly open, and the hole at the top of the cella is at least twice as wide as an *oculus* would be.[652] If there was water at the bottom of the cella it could hardly have reached higher than the rim of the concave floor, unless the lower corridor was also filled. Rather, we have to imagine that any surplus water spilled into the connecting passage to be drained away, as the rain water does today. That means a maximum depth of about 75 cm at the middle of the room, which is enough to create a water mirror optically duplicating the height of the cella in the opposite direction.

The metal grille resting on the stone ring and spanning the cella would be quite conspicuous, whereas the passage into the lower corridor hardly could be noticed by an observer, unless one was aware of it beforehand. Obviously it was not meant to be used on a regular basis, if at all. The lower corridor appears to have been decorated with painted stucco,[653] although it was a dark, secluded and barely accessible room. However, there are numerous examples of art being made for the benefit of the gods, or meant to be seen only at a single occasion. We need not look far, as the pyramid of C. Cestius presents a richly decorated burial chamber, which was sealed off after the single deposition. Finally, it can be concluded that the living users of the tomb had access to the upper corridor and could view cella but not enter it. There is nothing to indicate that they ever entered the lower corridor.

V.2.2 The location of the burial

The early discussions regarding this question were coloured by the theory of the Farnese sarcophagus (see chapter I.2.2), and included some highly imaginative ideas.[654] Leaving these misconceptions behind us, we can enter upon a more sober approach. First it has to be established whether the tomb was intended to accommodate one or several burials. The most important piece of evidence is, of course, the inscription. It only mentions one deceased and leaves no room for additional names.[655] Moreover, its symmetric position on the western cardinal point of the drum, beneath the figurative relief facing the

Fig. 49. The so-called "Treasury" (Khasneh) at Petra. Threshold block with libation funnel. Photo by the author 1999.

Via Appia, seems to exclude additional inscriptions. Still, this may not be a conclusive lead, and there are at least two situations where a tomb intended for multiple burials may appear to be dedicated to only a single person. Either the epitaph focuses on a representative of the group who is of singular importance, for example the *pater familias* in a family tomb,[656] or the tomb is built for one person in particular but with the intention that it will become a hereditary grave, serving future generations.[657] However, in both cases the primary dedicatee would have been a man. Thus, in this case there is no reason to anticipate more than one burial.

Where then could the burial be located? As we in all likelihood are dealing with a cinerary urn,[658] there are a few distinct alternatives: a) it was placed in a niche, b) it was put on a bench/shelf, c) it was placed on top of a base standing on the floor.[659] The only suggestion put forward to date, advocated by G. Lugli and M. Eisner, is a position at the centre of the floor at the bottom of the cella.[660] This choice was obviously influenced by the misconception that the lower corridor constituted the main entrance to the tomb, leading directly to the cella. As a result the upper corridor was interpreted as a

652 The *oculus* in the octagonal hall of the Domus Aurea, spanning almost half the entire diameter of the vault, probably strains the limit.

653 See chapter II.5.1.

654 P.S. Bartoli suggested that this sarcophagus originally stood in the upper corridor. P.S. Bartoli (B15), tav. 37.

655 The inscription on the tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus (C15) provides a conspicuous example of how ample space was sometimes left on a plaque to accommodate future inhabitants of the tomb.

656 E.g. the tomb of L. Munatius Plancus (C13).

657 Cf. the dynastic sepulchres of the Emperors. J.H. Parker saw the monument as the family tomb of M. Licinius Crassus, the husband of Caecilia Metella, and imagined that a "catacomb" connected with the lower part of the cella. This was probably wild speculation but is interesting in the light of the recent find of *cuniculi* under the building. Parker 1877, 23.

658 In the late Republican and early Augustan period cremation was the completely dominant burial custom among the Roman elite. See e.g. Toynbee 1971, 40; Morris 1992, 43.

659 Sinn 1987, 12–14.

660 Lugli 1957, 587; Eisner 1986, 143. J.H. Parker made a similar remark but probably referred to the old tradition about the Farnese sarcophagus. Parker 1877, 23.

secondary entrance, providing a vantage point for looking down on the sarcophagus or cinerary urn. Lugli never tried to explain why anyone would want to do that. Eisner suggested that the public thus could admire the splendid interior without the burial itself risked being damaged or disturbed.[661] However, he did not refer to any other Roman tomb where the interior was made available to public view. Usually tombs constituted strictly private space, although they could be made accessible to select groups of people.[662] The preceding discussion has shown the lower corridor to be the innermost space of the tomb, rather than the original entrance to the cella. Consequently I would like to argue that this space also constituted the burial chamber. Furthermore, here we find a niche for which we have no other explanation. (*Fig. 16*) I therefore propose that the remains of Caecilia Metella were deposited in the niche in the north wall of the lower corridor. Considering the social and economical status of the deceased we should probably envisage a large decorated cinerary urn of marble, alabaster or possibly some precious metal.[663] It is also conceivable with two containers (one inside the other) made of different materials.

There is a third possible location, although no substantial evidence speaks in its favour. The cavity in the cella wall opposite to the upper corridor could possibly be an enlargement of a small original niche, but the evidence indicates that it was excavated in its entirety after 1804.[664]

V.3 Concepts of space in funerary contexts

What then was the function/meaning of the internal spatial arrangement of this particular tomb? The solution has to be sought among the religious notions of both Greeks and Romans. Before initiating the concluding discussion, I will present some aspects of funerary space, which through the use of analogy might provide possible interpretations. Apart from various traits of sepulchral monuments and cultic installations, I have included ideas related to the perception of afterlife and the liminal sphere. The evidence, both physical and conceptual, can be divided into several, partly overlapping, themes:

1. Other sepulchral monuments
2. Libations in funerary cult
3. *Bothroi*
4. The abode of the dead
5. Space in mystery cult
6. Oracles of the dead
7. *Katabaseis* – passages to the netherworld

V.3.1 Other sepulchral monuments

To my knowledge no other Greek or Roman tomb has the same, or even a similar, internal spatial arrangement as the mausoleum of Caecilia Metella. The closest parallel might be the so-called "Gold Kurgan" a few kilometres west of Kerch (Pantikapaion) on the Crimean Peninsula.[665] This stone tumulus is dated to the 4th century BC and once covered three separate tombs: two square chambers and one beehive-shaped *tholos*[666] with an accompanying *dromos*. They had all been robbed of their contents when they were found in 1832 and 1854 respectively, and are almost completely destroyed today. It is the *tholos* that draws our attention. (*Fig. 50*) Like the other two, this tomb was built of well cut ashlars and covered by corbelled vaults. However, the floor of the circular chamber was situated about three metres below the entrance from the *dromos*, and could only be reached with a ladder. The wall opposite the entrance was provided with a niche, perhaps intended for the remains of the dead. The beehive *tholos*-shape is unique for this region and its presence has been explained as an influx from Thracia,[667] where the tradition of raising tumuli ran continuously from the Bronze Age down to the Roman period. Although similar *tholoi* can be found there, none of them presents the same kind of difference in floor levels. We do not know if the tomb of the Gold Kurgan was intended for visitors after the funeral ceremonies, or if the *dromos* was sealed off and covered by earth, but the architectural idea of separating the dead from the world of the living through a domed chasm shows a striking resemblance with the tomb of Caecilia Metella, whether coincidental or not.

Looking closer to home, we find one sepulchral monument that might bear some relevance to our case: the so-called "tomb of the Curiatii" (C14).[668] (*Figs 51–52*) By the fifth mile-stone of the Via Appia, only a few kilometres from the tomb of Caecilia, lies an earth tumulus supported by a concrete wall once covered by a marble revetment. The exact

[661] Eisner 1986, 144, 196.
[662] Eck 1984, 156 n. 34.
[663] Sinn 1987, 7–9.
[664] A. Uggeri meticulously described the cavity above the entrance from the upper corridor, but did not mention any opposite it. Uggeri 1804, 59.

[665] Gajdukevič 1971, 269–271.
[666] For the ambiguous meaning of this term see chapter IV.4.5.
[667] Gajdukevič 1971, 271. Cf. Hoddinott 1975, 70.
[668] Eisner 1986, 54f.

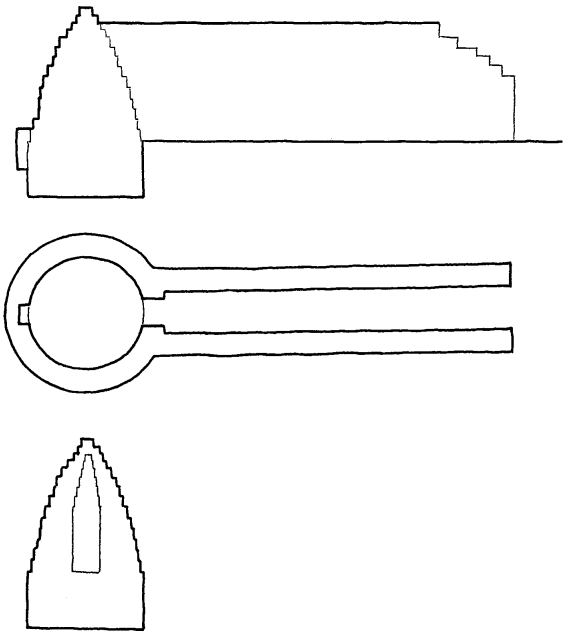
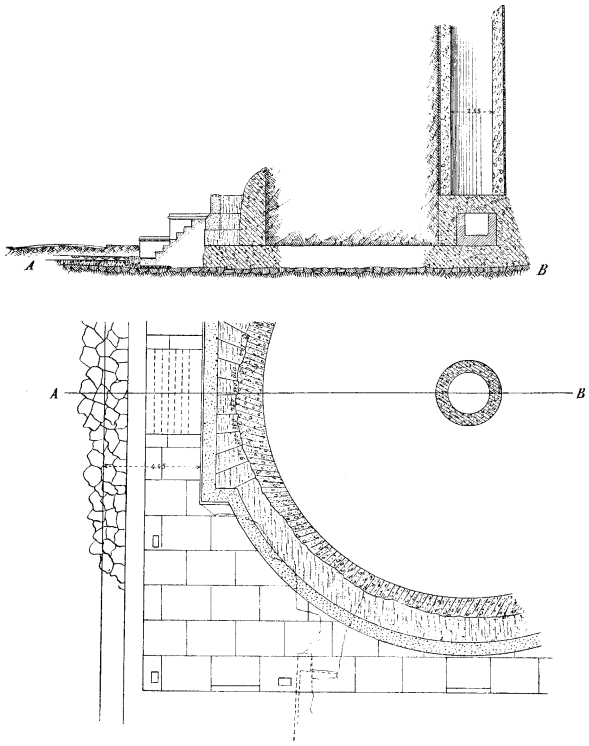


Fig. 50 (right). The so-called "Gold Kurgan" at Pantikapaion. Plan and sections, after Gajdukevič 1971, fig. 67.

Fig. 51 (above). The so-called "tomb of the Curiatii" (C14) on the Via Appia. Photo by the author 1999.

Fig. 52 (below). The so-called "tomb of the Curiatii" (C14) on the Via Appia. Plan and section. Pinza 1907, fig. 63.



date of the monument is not yet established, but in view of its architectural decoration it cannot be placed before the middle of the 1st century BC.[669] It distinguishes itself from its two neighbours[670] by a central shaft of concrete that must have extended all the way to the top of the mound. This "tube" is about 10 m high but less than 2 m in diameter internally. A sealed cavity in the base of the central shaft held the interment. There are two possible explanations for this tube: either it supported something (perhaps a statue?) standing on top of the tumulus, or it provided some sort of communication between the grave and the outside world.[671] From the excavation report it is evident that the remains of the deceased were deposited and the cavity sealed off before the cylinder was constructed.[672] Thus, there seem to be no practical reasons to access the interior of the grave once it was finished. However, in order to provide a structural support it would not have to be hollow.

In order to find further parallels we have to make a clean distinction between two different aspects of the cella, to some extent represented by the already mentioned buildings: the cella as a circular chamber, and the cella as a vertical shaft. Notwithstanding all other peculiarities, the circular plan of the cella in itself can be counted as an unusual trait of the tomb. Only a small minority of Hellenistic and Roman sepulchral monuments had a circular interior space, even among so-called circular tombs. In the exhaustive catalogue of M. Eisner, comprising more than a hundred monumental tombs in and about Rome, there are only two examples besides the tomb of Caecilia Metella.[673] They probably both

[669] Eisner 1986, 201. The use of marble revetment suggests a date in Augustan or later times.
[670] Both of them are called the "tomb of the Horatii" (C2 & C3).
[671] One scholar has described this installation as an oversized *cippus*. v. Hesberg 1992, 95. This interpretation can be categorised under the former alternative.
[672] Pinza 1907, 210, fig 63.

[673] Eisner 1986, 191f. (F7 & P/T1). Contrary to M. Eisner, I do not include funerary monuments with annular corridors.

belong to the beginning of the 1st century AD.[674] The so-called "Sacrarium gentis Juliae" (C57) is a somewhat earlier building with a circular interior space.[675] It could once be found close by the Via Appia outside Rome, but is now completely destroyed. Looking outside Italy a few Hellenistic examples can be noted, but they are still vastly outnumbered by rectilinear constructions.[676] In the scholarly debate the idea of a circular grave chamber is intimately linked with the traditional Greek *tholos* tomb, which was used mainly in prehistoric times but also later. As already mentioned above the beehive-shaped *tholos* survived in Thracia throughout the Hellenistic period, but was this building type known to the Romans? There are a small number of tombs on the Italian peninsula that strongly resemble the Greek *tholos*, for example at Casal Marittimo in Etruria,[677] and at Cumae.[678] However one need not go so far away from Rome. The lower part of the so-called Carcer Mamertinus (or Tullianum) at Forum Romanum originally constituted a circular building covered by a corbelled vault. At some point in history it was truncated and given a second storey. The circular chamber is built of well cut ashlar blocks of *peperino* and has been dated to the Archaic age.[679] It has often been interpreted as a cistern, but corresponds remarkably well with a traditional *tholos* tomb.[680]

Rock-cut chamber graves, and other tombs located underground, are sometimes provided with vertical shafts. They are perhaps best represented by a hypogeum at the foot of the Aventine in Rome.[681] This sepulchre is today completely destroyed or lost, but has been recorded in an engraving from the 17th century.[682] The subterranean burial chamber of this tomb was connected to the surface through a vertical shaft, but was also easily accessed by a normal stairway. The shaft has been described as a light well and is thus given a quite logical explanation, which accounts for most (if not all) of the cases belonging to this group. Apart from the scale, a fundamental difference between this example and the cella of Caecilia Metella is that the lower end of the latter space was inaccessible. The extension of the cella to the top of the cylinder could be a way of providing light to the interior of the building, but that does still not explain the relation between the upper and lower corridors.

A completely different kind of shaft that appears in funerary contexts is more wide spread – wells for drawing water. There are numerous examples in Ostia, on Isola Sacra and on the Via Latina, all of them between 0.5 and 1 m in diameter. The design is functional and they often have a subordinate position outside the tomb or in a corner of a room. They are quite common at catacombs, and a well can also be seen in the hypogeum mentioned above. There are several possible explanations for the presence of these wells. In many cases the water was needed for the preparation of mortar used for example in the sealing of *loculi*. This, of course, implies that we are dealing with a tomb meant for multiple burials. The wells may also have been employed for the rites of deposition or at the funerary meals, eaten at the tomb.[683] This topic will be treated further below. In at least one case the use of the well is somewhat ambiguous. The sepulchral chamber of an anonymous tomb on the Via Collatina had seats along the walls for some sort of gatherings. In the middle of the floor was situated a well shaft, 0.6 m in diameter, which was probably used for drawing water.[684] However, at the bottom of the well were found pot sherds and fragments of bone,[685] which indicates that offerings were also made into the shaft.

Thus, the cella of the tomb of Caecilia Metella is something more than just a circular chamber and far more than a vertical shaft. The hypothetical function as a light well does not explain the more peculiar aspects of the layout, and the cella was definitely not built for the purpose of drawing water. As already stated above, to my knowledge the interior layout of this tomb, with its particular entrance sequence, is not mirrored in its entirety by any other sepulchral monument. The closest available parallels regarding the spatial composition (the Gold Kurgan and the tomb of the Curiatii) are themselves largely unexplained and do not provide any help.

V.3.2 Libations in funerary cult

Common for almost all religious beliefs within the Roman Empire, irrespective of the details of their particular eschatology, was the idea that the spirit/shade of the dead needed some sort of nour-

674 Cf. Eisner 1986, 206, 210.
675 Rivoira 1925, 6.
676 The only examples of Hellenistic tombs with circular sepulchral chambers that are treated by J. Fedak are the Lion tomb at Knidos and the *tholoi* at Krannon, Kazanluk, and Pantikapaion. Fedak 1990, 76–78, 166–168.
677 Middle of the 6th century BC. Åkerström 1934, 163f.
678 Pellegrini 1903, fig. 2. The tomb at Cumae has been dated to the 3rd century BC, but according to some it represents an even later Roman imitation of Bronze Age *tholoi*. Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970, 178.
679 Fortini 1998, 23.
680 See for example Altmann 1906, 94.
681 Windfeld-Hansen 1965, 49f.
682 Bartoli 1697, tav. 45.
683 Cf. v. Hesberg 1992, 17.
684 Colini 1963–1964, 112.
685 Colini 1963–1964, 115.

ishment. This observance was manifested in offerings of edibles and drinks at the tomb. The popularity of these kind of rites is proved by their persistence even within Christianity. Some groups may have clung to the tradition merely to demonstrate their affection, piety or devotedness. The celebration of these ceremonies gave rise to various sepulchral installations and influenced funerary architecture as a whole. Thus we often find altars, offering tables, libations tubes, benches, dining rooms and even kitchens in connection with graves.

Roman funerary cult can be divided into offerings/sacrifices and funerary meals (often labelled banquets). The former were made either to provide nourishment for the deceased, as appeasement or as an act of devotion. The meals often included some kind of offerings to the dead, but also represented a social event, strengthening the bonds among the surviving family members as well as preserving the memory of the deceased. Both sacrifices and meals might have had purifying functions, cleansing the living from religious pollution. These obsequies were performed both at home and at the tomb, and were concentrated to certain days following the burial and annual festivals.[686] The *silicernium* was a meal taken at the tomb, probably directly after the burial, whereas the *novemdiale sacrificium/novemdialis cena* (sacrifice and meal) occurred on the ninth day after the burial (inclusive reckoning), closing the period of intense mourning. Further celebrations were held on the birthday of the deceased, on the anniversary of the death/funeral, and on several annual festivals such as the *Parentalia*, *Dies Violaris* and *Rosalia*.

I will here focus on libation tubes as they represent a direct physical link between the living and the dead. Other kinds of observances could be conducted outside the tomb or even in a separate building. Libations too could be poured at an altar or directly onto the ground, but occasionally it was deemed essential that the liquid actually reached the remains of the deceased. If the sarcophagus or cinerary urn was easily accessible the practical arrangement could be limited to a small hole in the lid,[687] otherwise a conduit was prepared to facilitate the libations. Thus, sarcophagi and urns that were buried in the ground or walled up within altars or benches were sometimes connected to the surface through pipes made of lead or terracotta. These installations are not very common but have been found at various sites all over the Roman Empire.[688] They are mainly dated to the 1st century AD or later, but may have appeared in Syracusae and Pompeii a bit earlier. Many of these graves belong to people of humble origin, but libation tubes were also used in monumental tombs, for example, on the Via Nucerina at Pompeii.[689] In this particular case three separate conduits led from the outside to three different burials within the same sepulchral building. W. Wolski and I. Berciu, who made a general study of the phenomenon, claimed that it was used predominantly by people of East Mediterranean background, and suggested that it first originated from Asia Minor.[690] In this region the tumulus at Belevi constitutes an elaborate and monumental example, where terracotta pipes carried offerings from the top of the mound to the interior chambers. This tomb has been interpreted as a *heroon* and should probably be dated to the 6th century BC, although it was rebuilt in the 4th century BC and offerings continued to be made throughout antiquity.[691]

The concept of libation tubes adequately explains the hole by the threshold in the upper corridor. Its location, less than 0.5 m from the burial niche, would easily allow the liquid to be carried by lead pipes all the way to the cinerary urn. Even without the pipes the offering would reach the burial chamber, if not the urn. However, the same explanation does not hold for the cella. Although we should not entirely discount the possibility that funeral libations were made from the upper corridor into the cella, this could not be the sole purpose behind the design of this monumental space.

V.3.3 Bothroi

Closely related to the libation tube is the Graeco-Roman concept of the *bothros*. By this word is understood an artificial pit meant to receive offerings to deities residing in the underworld. Not only do *bothroi* carry a sepulchral connotation,[692] some architectural features also make them interesting as a possible parallel to the interior arrangement of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The Asklepieion in Athens, for example, includes a monumental *bothros*, which shows some resemblance with the lower part of the cella. However, most Greek *bothroi* were rather small and simple holes in the ground acting as primitive receptacles.[693] Although some of them

[686] For funerary meals and banquets in general see Lindsay 1998.
[687] Sinn 1987, 14.
[688] Wolski & Berciu 1973.
[689] Mau 1888, 127f.; Kockel 1987, 190. For additional examples see Kockel 1983, 40.
[690] Wolski & Berciu 1973, 378f.
[691] Kasper 1976–1977.
[692] Ekroth 1999, 48.
[693] Judging from literary sources, a majority of *bothroi* were used only at a single occasion. Ekroth 1999, 51.

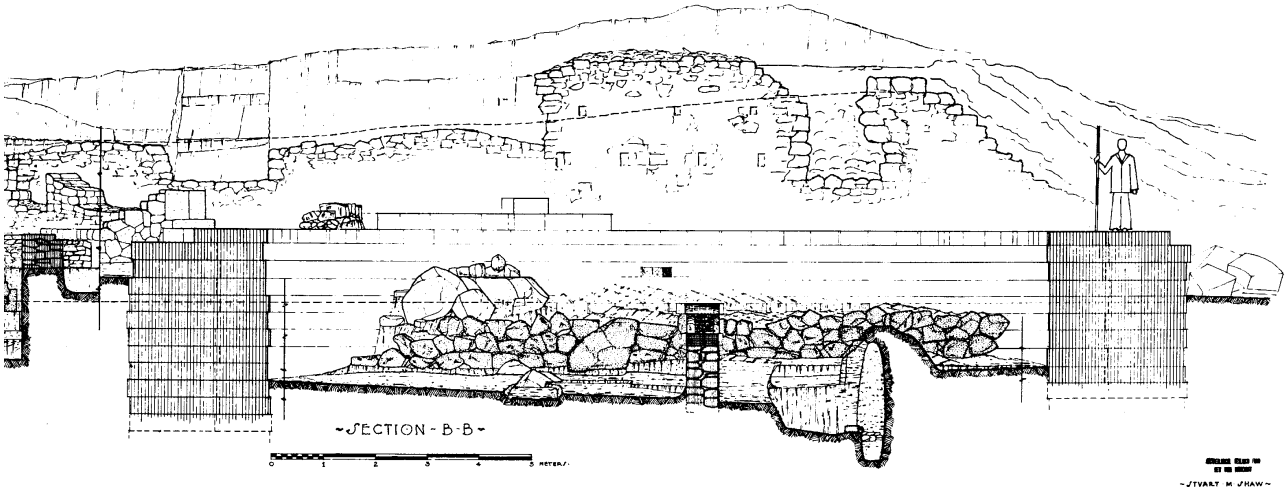


Fig. 53. The Arsinoeion at Samothrace. Cross-section through foundation walls and *bothros*. Lehmann 1950, fig. 16.

were situated inside a cultic building,[694] very few constituted a closed and unitary architectural space by themselves.

In that respect the *bothros* found inside the Arsinoeion at Samothrace differs from most others. This structure had the interior shape of an elongated beehive, 0.5 m in diameter and 2.5 m in height.[695] (*Fig. 53*) It might have been used primarily for libations, but bones of sheep were also found near the mouth. The sacrifices were not deposited from the top of the cylinder, though. Instead the shaft was approached through an opening on one side, situated only at a slightly higher level than the floor of the pit. The usual appearance of *bothroi*, resembling that of an open trench or a well shaft, was thus substituted by a small cylindrical "crypt" with a *dromos* and a sunken floor. This unusual solution was repeated in another, late Republican or early Imperial, *bothros* at Samothrace inside the so-called Anaktoron.[696] It is important to stress, however, that both of these were built on a much smaller scale than the cella in the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

Monumental *bothroi* are often associated with gods related to fertility and agriculture, or gods belonging otherwise to the netherworld – generally recognised as chthonic deities. Some of the most prominent examples are Demeter/Ceres (Eleusis, Akragas), Persephone/Proserpina (Morgantina), Despoina (Lykosoura), Hades/Dis Pater (see below), but also the Kabeiroi at Samothrace, Thebe and Delos.

This kind of sacrificial pits was not restricted to the Greek or Hellenistic cults, but had its place also within the traditional Roman religion. Here the most important example of the *bothros*-idea is represented by the *mundus*. The literary and epigraphical evidence on the Roman *mundus* appear to speak of two different, although related, phenomena. On the one hand there are descriptions of provisional trenches dug into the earth and immediately filled up after the sacrifice had been made. This ritual was associated with the founding of a city.[697] On the other hand we are told of a permanent structure which was somehow related to the goddess Ceres and was opened up on certain days of the year.[698] It consisted of an upper and a lower part joined to each other, the lower one representing the abode of the spirits of the dead. Based on the descriptions at hand, this lower space has been reconstructed as a subterranean vaulted chamber reached through a vertical shaft.[699] From two other sources we are told that *mundus* is the name of a shrine dedicated to Dis Pater and Proserpina, the gods ruling jointly in the netherworld,[700] and also that a *mundus* constituted some sort of altar appropriate for infernal deities.[701] The two statements agree well with both the above versions of *mundus*. F. Coarelli has argued that the

[694] For example the Thymele at Epidauros and the *tholos* in Eretria. Riethmüller 1996, 79f.; Seiler 1986, 37, 39.
[695] Lehmann 1950, 11f.
[696] Lehmann-Hartleben 1940, 334. For the date see Cole 1989, 1572 n. 36.
[697] Ovidius, *Fasti* 4.820–824; Plutarchos, *Romulus* 11.1–2. It is the latter writer who names this kind of trench *mundus*, but he also uses the word *bothros*. Cf. the inscriptions found in Capua (*CIL* X 3926) and Corfinio (*CIL* IX 3173). Van Wonterghem 1983.
[698] Festus, s.v. 'Mundus', 124–126, 144–146 Lindsey.
[699] Cumont 1922, 71.
[700] Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.17–18.
[701] Servius, *Aeneis* 3.134.

two versions are merely different aspects of one and the same religious institution. According to him the sacrificial trench associated with the foundation of Rome was later turned into a permanent shrine dedicated to Dis Pater and Proserpina.[702] On the basis of solid literary evidence he managed to locate this shrine and has identified it as the monument usually known as the Umbilicus Urbis on the Forum Romanum.[703] The present remains date from the Severan period, but were preceded by a Republican building erected at the end of the 2nd century BC. The structure rising above ground once constituted a small circular *monopteros*, but there was also a subterranean chamber beneath it that is inaccessible today.[704] In effect the literary sources describe the *mundus* as a gate to the *inferi*, which stayed closed most of the time but was opened on some occasions:[705]

Mundus cum patet, deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet.

Possibly there is a link to the *lapis manalis*, which also is described as a gate to the netherworld (*ostium Orci*).[706] Furthermore, there seems to have existed the idea that by descending into some ancient shaft (possibly the *mundus*) the future could be divined.[707]

Finally, the internal arrangement of the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi needs to be considered. (*Fig. 48*) It includes a vertical passage leading from the top of the monument to a small vaulted niche with seats. At the far end a low banister separates the room from a crevice, approximately 1 m wide and 4 m deep.[708] Although nothing has been written about this installation, the shaft has many of the characteristics of a *bothros*.

V.3.4 The abode of the dead

According to the original Roman tradition the spirits of the dead carried on an uneventful existence lurking around their mortal remains.[709] The *manes* and *lemures* of the Romans did not retain their individuality and there seems to have been no general belief in final judgement or retribution. There existed a vague notion of a common underground dwelling for the dead, the *inferi*, but not the colourfully elaborated kingdom of Hades as in Greek religious belief. However, these ideas were subsequently imported, either through direct contact or through the mediation of others. The mythological constructions adopted by the Romans included everything from Charon and Cerberus to a detailed topography of the netherworld. The concept of Hades became firmly rooted in the minds of the Romans, and there was no doubt as to its subterranean location. Towards the end of the Republic, though, strong rationalistic and transcendental movements began to undermine these very same precepts, at least among the educated classes.[710] Epicureans and Peripatetics rejected the survival of the soul whereas Stoics and Neo-Pythagoreans envisaged a purified after-life among the celestial spheres, or even divine inhalation. Belief in the existence of Hades did not perish, though, but was maintained, particularly among the lower strata of the population. Soon, emerged the dualistic idea of a heavenly "paradise" and an underground "hell", admitted by some Pythagoreans, Gnostics and, above all, followers of Mithras.

The exact arrangement of the traditional (originally Greek) netherworld varies somewhat between different writers, but the main elements are always the same. The most important characteristic in all descriptions is the stretch of water, whether it is called Okeanos, Kokytos, Acheron or Styx, over which the dead had to pass. To some extent this might appear as a paradox, as the location is variously described as "beyond the sea" and "beneath the earth". There are also reports of an entrance (*stomion*),[711] inside of which a chasm opens up.[712] However it is unclear whether this entrance is to be found on the near or far side of the Stygian waters. The netherworld is generally described as a dark and gloomy place and this is perhaps the most common attribute given to it by the sources.[713] Often, Hades is provided with two sub-departments: the Elysian Fields and the Tartarus, the former being the abode of the blessed, the latter the dwelling of the dam-

[702] Also in Bolsena was found a subterranean structure, which has been interpreted as a *mundus*. It dates from the early years of Volsinii Novi and could be related to the foundation of this city. Pailler 1971, 384–402; Coarelli 1983–1985, I 220f. Cf. Lambrechts 1996.
[703] Coarelli 1983–1985, I 207–226.
[704] *LTUR* III (1996), s.v. 'Mundus' (F. Coarelli), 288f.; *LTUR* V (1999), s.v. 'Umbilicus Romae' (F. Coarelli), 95f.
[705] Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.18 (after Varro). "When *mundus* is open, a door is open to the sinister gods of the netherworld, so to speak." Cf. Festus, s.v. 'Mundus', 144–146 Lindsey.
[706] Festus, s.v. 'Manalem lapidem', 92 Lindsey. Cf. *RE* IX (1916), s.v. 'Inferi' (K. Latte), 1542.
[707] *Scholia Bernensia ad Vergilii eclogas* 3.104f. Cf. Coarelli 1983–1985, I 223.
[708] Florescu 1965, 186 Abb. 50.
[709] Cumont 1922, 4.
[710] Cumont 1912, 175.
[711] Loukianos, *Dialogi mortuorum* 13(13).3, 22(27).8–9. Cf. Loukianos, *De luctu* 4.
[712] Loukianos, *Dialogi mortuorum* 4(21).1. Cf. Loukianos, *Necyomantia* 10.
[713] See for example Loukianos, *De luctu* 2.

damned. Occasionally, more precise landmarks are mentioned, but seldom by more than one writer.[714]

The descent of Aeneas, described by Vergilius, is one of the most detailed accounts of the world below.[715] It is also close in time to the tomb of Caecilia Metella. However, it is impossible to say whether it truly reflects the current beliefs on afterlife at that time.

V.3.5 Space in mystery cult

Next to funerary cult, chthonic divinities and traditional eschatology, mystery cults constitute another religious phenomenon that might be of importance for the interpretation of the interior space of the sepulchre.[716] Several mystery cults were intrinsically concerned with the afterlife of their adherents, and often included a complex eschatological symbolism. I will here make a short rendering of the mystery cults of the late Republic and Augustan times, looking at their conceptions of the beyond as well as their use of ritual space.

The influx and diversity of mystery cults and related movements in Italy and Rome were particularly strong during the 1st century BC. Among the various groups that flourished at this time we find the closely related Orphic, Pythagorean and Neo-Pythagorean sects. The worship of Kybele/Magna Mater and Dionysos/Bacchus were introduced in Roman religious life even earlier but gained renewed strength as mystery cults.[717] The cult of Ceres and Bona Dea had already been incorporated with state ritual, but they still carried traits of private religion. The Great mysteries of Eleusis and Samothrace carried a special appeal to Roman aristocrats of the late republic,[718] and Octavianus was initiated in the former cult in 31 BC.[719] The cult of Isis was introduced in Rome early in the 1st century BC,[720] that of Mithras somewhat later.[721] However, the latter sect did not prosper until about AD 100.[722]

In terms of the most general characteristics, many of the religious doctrines required cult sites situated underground in caves, crypts or subterranean vaults. In the mysteries of Isis, for example, the cultic space is closely interwoven with the conceptions of afterlife.[723] In several of the mysteries the participants metaphorically approached the realm of the dead, perhaps even crossing the border, before they returned to the living again. This was an important part of the initiation rites and symbolised the re-birth into a new personal relationship with the god.[724] The mysteries also influenced the traditional funeral cult. At the end of the Republic funerary meals were eaten for the benefit (salvation) of the living rather than the departed.[725]

One of the best known examples of buildings used for some kind of mystery cult in Rome is the so-called Basilica Sotterranea, which was found outside Porta Maggiore in 1917. This subterranean structure is situated on the Via Praenestina outside the ancient *pomerium*. It consists of a barrel vaulted hall about 12 m in length and 9 m in width,[726] divided into three aisles by two rows of massive pillars. The central nave has an entrance at one end and an apse at the other. The entrance is reached through a square antechamber, which was originally connected to the surface by a long sloping corridor.[727] A multitude of tombs have been excavated in the immediate area and it has been suggested that the underground "basilica" was once attached to a sepulchral monument at street level.[728] What immediately attracted the attention of numerous scholars was the well preserved stucco reliefs covering the walls and ceiling. The pictorial program includes a wealth of mythological motifs alluding to triumph

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[714] See Garland 2001, 49–51.
[715] Vergilius, *Aeneis* 6.236–901.
[716] The use of the term "mystery cults" is somewhat dubious, since it focuses on a particular aspect which needs not be equally important in all the religions implicated. However, in this context it serves its purpose, other alternatives being too wide (e.g. "private cults") or too narrow (e.g. "oriental cults").
[717] The Bacchanalia were prohibited by the Roman senate in 186 BC and the cult was suppressed, but it resurfaced again in the late 1st century BC. Nilsson 1957, 20; Tripolitis 2002, 25.
[718] See for example Tripolitis 2002, 21; Cole 1984, 91.
[719] Cassius Dio 51.4.1.
[720] Kamm 1995, 96.
[721] Tripolitis 2002, 56.
[722] Burkert 1987, 7.
[723] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.6: *et cum spatium saeculi tui permensus ad inferos demearis, ibi quoque in ipso subterraneo semirutundo me, quam vides, Acherontis tenebris interlucentem Stygiisque penetralibus regnantem, campos Elysios incolens ipse, tibi propitiam frequens adorabis.* "And when you have completed your lifetime and go down to the underworld, you will find me [Isis] in the subterranean vault, shining in the darkness of Acheron and reigning in the innermost quarters of Styx, while you yourself inhabit the Elysian fields, and you will adore me frequently, as I am well-disposed of you." Translation W. Burkert 1987.
[724] Meyer 1987, 8.
[725] Cumont 1922, 203.
[726] For a good description of the building as it was found see Gatti & Fornari 1918.
[727] The square vestibule was also provided with a light well in the roof. In the middle of the floor, directly beneath the light well, a shaft opened up, proceeding to a depth of 2.55 m. The purpose of the latter was probably to drain away any rain water that might come through the light well.
[728] Crema 1959, 184.

over death and mystery cults.[729] Two sacrificial pits were found in the apse revealing animal offerings. It has been argued, on the basis of the decoration and other features of the building, that the Basilica Sotterranea was used for gatherings by a Neo-Pythagorean sect, and this view is now widely accepted.[730] Technical aspects of the construction, as well as the style of decoration, date it to the middle of the 1st century AD.[731] The building was abandoned already before it was completed and intentionally filled with earth from the outside.[732] These doings have been associated with the persecution of Neo-Pythagoreans (*mathematici*) conducted for example in AD 52, and also with the accusations of superstitious practices raised against T. Statilius Taurus in AD 53.[733] It is possible that T. Statilius Taurus was the patron of the sanctuary and a prominent member of this sect. Of particular interest, with regard to the subject of the present study, is the close connection between cult room and funerary functions. Obviously, a location in the midst of sepulchral monuments did not preclude other religious activities.

V.3.6 Oracles of the dead

Among the many different kinds of oracles that existed in the Greek world we also find so-called "oracles of the dead". The idea was that the deceased (or at least some of them) possessed knowledge of the future. Naturally, they could also provide information about past events and their own unfortunate fate. To get in touch with the dead the inquirer had to summon them, or descend to their realm. Mostly, though, the two parties met half way. The most famous example of an oracle of the dead belongs to ancient literature – the visit of Odysseus to the shores of Hades and his consultation with Teiresias, as described in the eleventh song of the Odyssey. This text constituted the model for Aeneas' journey to the netherworld, but it might also have inspired some of the permanently established oracular shrines.

We know of at least two permanent shrines where visitors could consult the spirits of the dead. The grave of Trophonios at Lebadeia and the Nekyomanteion at Ephyra. The former was an important sanctuary in Boiotia dedicated to the *heros* Trophonios,[734] which also constituted a passage to the netherworld. According to some descriptions the visitors actually descended into the realm of the dead through this shrine,[735] according to others they lay down at the entrance of this passage and received their answers as visions.[736] It is also uncertain whether the information was given by Trophonios himself or by some other spirit the inquirer might have encountered. However, most sources agree that the visitor went down into some sort of subterranean chamber.[737] The best description of the spatial arrangement at the oracular shrine is given by Pausanias.[738] The entrance into the crypt was situated within a circular structure of stone, 2 cubits high. On top of this basement rested a metal grating furnished with a double door. On the ground within the enclosure an artificial chasm opened up, leading down into a underground chamber shaped as an oven. This circular space was approximately 4 cubits in diameter and 8 cubits deep. The visitors descended through the hole by a ladder that was brought for this purpose. At the bottom of the crypt ("between the floor and the structure") there was a small passage to one side just large enough for a man to squeeze in his legs.[739] Halfway through the inquirers would find themselves drawn downwards into Hades[740] to receive the answer to their questions by vision and hearing. They were later thrown out the same way finding themselves on the floor of the crypt. Paralysed with terror they ascended to the surface to be questioned by the priests.

A subterranean structure has been found at the site, which is believed to correspond to the oracular shrine of Trophonios.[741] It is the remains of a beehive-shaped "tholos" with the exact same dimen-

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729 For the stucco reliefs see Strong & Joliffe 1924; Wadsworth 1924; Bendinelli 1926–1927.
730 Cumont 1918, 62–64; Carcopino 1923; Carcopino 1927; Strong & Joliffe 1924, 110; Aurigemma 1961a, 14f.; Bay 1973, 135, 188. Contra Bendinelli 1926–1927, 842f.
731 Strong & Joliffe 1924, 69; Crema 1959, 184; Aurigemma 1961a, 11; Bay 1973, 134.
732 Gatti & Fornari 1918, 30; Bay 1973, 128, 131.
733 Tacitus, *Annales* 12.52, 59. Gatti & Fornari 1918, 51f.; Cumont 1918, 59f.; Carcopino 1923, 7; Robertson 1929, 245f.; Bay 1973, 136f. A columbarium belonging to the *Familia T. Statili Tauri* is situated close by. Nash 1961–1962, II 359.
734 Herodotos 1.46, 8.134; Aristophanes, *Nubes* 507–508; Plutarchos, *De genio Socratis* 21–22 (590A–592E); Pausanias 1.34.2, 4.16.7, 9.39.2–9.40.2; Loukianos, *Necyomantia* 22; Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 614A.
735 Pausanias 9.39. 9–14.
736 Plutarchos, *De genio Socratis* 22 (590B–592E).
737 Herodotos 8.134; Aristophanes, *Nubes* 507–508; Plutarchos, *De genio Socratis* 21 (590A); Pausanias 4.16.7; Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 614A.
738 Pausanias 9.39.9–14.
739 In another literary source we are told of a very low passage, which the inquirer had to crawl through in order to reach Trophonios' cave. Loukianos, *Dialogi mortuorum* 10(3).2.
740 This is not stated explicitly by Pausanias but is supplied by Loukianos, *Necyomantia* 22.
741 Vallas & Faraclas 1969.

sions as the crypt described by Pausanias. However, because of two sherds dating from the 3rd century AD the structure has been interpreted as a reconstruction made after the Herulian invasion. The sanctuary in its entirety has a close connection to the cult of Demeter and Persephone and it has been suggested that the shrine of Trophonios was associated with local mysteries.[742]

Another famous oracle of the dead in the Greek world was the so-called Nekyomanteion at Ephyra in Thesprotia (Epiros).[743] According to tradition this sanctuary was situated near the place where Odysseus summoned Teiresias. In the 1960s a Hellenistic building complex was excavated at Ephyra, which has been identified as the Nekyomanteion.[744] The complex centres around a square building made in massive polygonal masonry with a superstructure of bricks (both baked and unbaked). The interior of this structure comprises a rectangular hall with three square rooms on each side. Beneath the central hall there is a large vaulted chamber. To reach the central hall visitors had to follow a circuitous route along several dark corridors and then go through a twisting passage. The latter has been described as a labyrinth and included three arched doorways barred with iron. At several places along the way traces of sacrificial offerings have been found by the excavators. It also appears that libations were made inside the entrance to the central hall, which ran down into the subterranean chamber.[745] In the adjacent rooms were found figurines of Persephone and Kerberos. The sanctuary was probably destroyed by the Romans in 168 BC.

These two shrines were not exceptional. Less famous but still interesting is the oracle in Kyrene situated by the agora.[746] Other oracles of the dead are attested at Tainaron in Laconia, at Hermione in the Argolid, at Aigialos near Sikyon, at Phigalia in Arkadia, at Herakleia in Pontus, and at Cumae in southern Italy,[747] but no physical remains have been positively identified. The so-called Sibylline cave at Cumae should not be confused with the Vergilian entrance to Hades, which was located in the woods close to Lake Avernus.[748] Close by at Baiae a unique underground complex has been recognised as a place where the spirits of the dead could be consulted.[749] According to this theory the layout aims at architecturally mirroring Hades as it was then perceived (cf. chapter V.3.4). After having descended down a ca 175 m long tunnel visitors had to cross a stretch of water before they could reach the innermost chamber. The original date of this rock-cut installation is difficult to ascertain but the complex appears to have been closed by the end of the 1st century BC and laboriously filled with earth masses.

V.3.7 Katabaseis – passages to the netherworld

Whereas the initiation rites of mystery cults merely re-enacted the journey to the netherworld, some places were considered to provide an actual gate to Hades. These entrances could be found all over the known world, but were not open to everyone. To descend into the netherworld as a living being and come back again was originally a strictly divine prerogative. In extension it also came to be an accomplishment assigning heroic standing (see below), which is quite understandable in view of the semi-divine status of *heroes*. Oracular shrines constitute a striking exception to this rule.

The rape of Persephone is perhaps the most famous example of a divine passage to Hades in Greek mythology, and it has been described by several ancient writers.[750] Just as there were different opinions as to where this event took place, there were a great number of locations viewed as gates to the netherworld. In addition to the already mentioned oracles of the dead, some of the most famous descents were found at Eleusis in central Greece and Bosra in the Near East.[751] Often these entrances were located in the midst of inaccessible marshlands, or at the bottom of deep chasms. Sometimes they were recognised as volcanoes, caves or springs gushing forth from the bed rock. The sulphuric pools at Ampsanctus in Campania constituted one such gate to Hades,[752] the so-called Tarentum in Rome another.[753] The passages could be permanent but also temporary, like the abyss that appeared spontaneously on the Forum Romanum and then closed itself after the appropriate sacrifice.[754] But what is more important, they could be artificially constructed.

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742 Metzger 1979.
743 Herodotos 5.92; Pausanias 1.17.5.
744 Dakaris 1962; Dakaris 1963; Dakaris 1973.
745 Dakaris 1962, 88.
746 Rowe 1956, 4.
747 Dakaris 1962, 85.
748 Strabon 5.4.5.
749 For a detailed description and interpretation see Paget 1967a; Paget 1967b; Hardie 1969. Their view has been contested by others, who have interpreted the complex as a thermal installation. Castagnoli 1977, 77f.; Pagano, Reddé & Roddaz 1982, 273 n. 9. Cf. Amalfitano 1990, 218–223.
750 E.g. Apollodoros 1.5.1; Cicero, *In Verrem* (II) 4.48.106–107; Diodorus Siculus 5.3; Pausanias 1.38.5, 6.21.1.
751 For an exhaustive list see *RE* X (1919), s.v. 'Katabasis' (R. Ganschinietz), 2383–2387. Cf. Rohde 1903, 212–215.
752 Vergilius, *Aeneis* 7.563–571; Servius, *Aeneis* 7.563; Coarelli 1998, 187.
753 *RE* X (1919), s.v. 'Katabasis' (R. Ganschinietz), 2386.
754 This is only one of the traditions that were attached to Lacus Curtius. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.148.

The two oracles of the dead that were discussed in detail above were wholly man-made structures, although their topographical setting provided a physical connection to the netherworld. In the one case the grave of Trophonios acted as a direct link between the two worlds, in the other the proximity to river Acheron was crucial. However, the most conspicuous examples of artificial openings to Hades are Roman. The institution of the *mundus* has already been treated in chapter V.3.3. Perhaps it has more in common with the concept of *bothroi*, as it was more a means of communication and sacrifices than a passageway to the netherworld. However, the difference is subtle.

Perhaps the most spectacular artificial entrance to Hades is that which was built in the villa of Hadrianus at Tibur. The installation at Tibur is described by a literary source as representing the entire *inferi*, but reasonably it also included a descent.[755]

Tiburtinam villam mire exaedificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lycium, Academian, Prytanium, Canopum, Poecilen, Tempe vocaret. et, ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam inferos finxit.

This descent was identified by the early topographers and is still recognised as such today.[756] In a remote part of the villa (the so-called High Ground) an approximately 100 m long and 15 m wide gully has been dug into the ground. At the far end it narrows into a shallow cave from which a small spring once issued forth. Above the cave there are remains of a cistern and it has been suggested that an artificial waterfall covered the mouth of the cave. Behind the waterfall, which could be passed on both sides, a passage connected the cave with a vast underground complex of tunnels and subterranean galleries. The identification of this installation as an opening to the *inferi* is supported by its close correlation with another well-known entrance to the netherworld at Bosra.[757] Instead of the now familiar theme of the chasm or vertical shaft, this place is described as a deep valley or gorge leading up to a dead end where an underground river was gushing forth from the face of the rock in a spectacular waterfall.[758] It may be deduced from the above cited source that the artificial "Styx" at Tibur was but a small part of an ambitious attempt to recreate the whole world (including the netherworld) within the domains of the villa, perhaps as a manifestation of power. However, it is also likely that this particular feature reflected Hadrianus' keen interest in mystery cults.[759] A third possible interpretation is that a passage to Hades constituted a vital part in the self-glorification of the Roman elite, based on the identification with *heroes*.

Before mystery cults opened up for each and everyone to attain eternal salvation, only some people were deemed worthy of immortality.[760] Thus, kings, warriors, priests, lawgivers and founders were declared *heroes*, generally some time after their death. Within the Classical Greek and Hellenistic world we can discern a continuous trend where the status of *heroes* successively became the prerogative of more and more people, until the graves of ordinary men and women were frequently described as *heroa*.[761] The transition of the attribution of heroic standing from long dead kings and mythological characters to just about anyone was reached by way of the elite. From there the new phenomenon trickled down to the lower classes. The same pattern can be found among the Romans and towards the end of the Republic these ideas were particularly prolific.[762] The heroes of the Republic were compared to *heroes* of divine nature.[763] The extensive cult of Hellenistic rulers might also have induced Roman generals fighting in the East to depict (or view) themselves as living *heroes*.[764]

As already suggested above, a journey to the netherworld was a vital element in the construction of a *heros*. The reason for making such a journey was basically to search for someone inhabiting the domains of Hades, and possibly to take them away from there, to seek information regarding afterlife in general, or to divine one's own future. A list of the most important *heroes* who made the descent to the underworld (*katabasis*) includes:[765] Dionysos[766],

[755] Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Hadrianus* 26.5. "His villa at Tibur was marvellously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even made a Hades." Translation D. Magie (Loeb Classical Library) 1953.
[756] See Gusman 1904, 179–181; Aurigemma 1961b, 147f.; MacDonald & Pinto 1995, 122–124, 131–138; E.S.P. Ricotti 1998, 390–395.
[757] Damaskios, *Vita Isidori* 199.
[758] Hadrianus travelled through the province of Arabia in AD 130 but we do not know whether he ever visited Bosra.
[759] Birley 1997, 283, 302, 306.
[760] Beside the concept of immortality, the living strived for a privileged afterlife, for example in the Elysian fields. In both cases the *heroes* had precedence before the common people.
[761] Lattimore 1942, 97–99.
[762] Cumont 1922, 115.
[763] Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.66.165.
[764] For the connection between Hellenistic ruler cult and the cult of Roman officials in the eastern provinces see Price 1984, 42–47. The latter phenomenon first appeared at the end of the 3rd century BC but became common only in the 1st century BC.
[765] Cf. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 251.

Orpheus[767], Theseus[768], Herakles[769], Odysseus[770], Aeneas[771], Pythagoras[772].

This does not necessarily mean that Roman aristocrats/emperors themselves tried eagerly to reach the realm of the dead. But, the possibility of contacting or perhaps even dining in the presence of *heroes* and gods in a liminal zone indirectly made them members of that select group. Perhaps it is in this context we should understand the "Styx" at Tibur and similar installations such as the *triclinium* cave at Sperlonga.

V.4 Interpretation of the internal spatial arrangement

The close spatial analysis of the building has provided answers for some problems and unresolved issues (e.g. regarding the entrance sequence and the location of the burial), but we still lack an explanation for a large number of peculiarities inherent in the interior layout. The most important questions are:

- Why does the entrance corridor open up into a central shaft without further access in any direction?
- What was the purpose/meaning of the concave floor at the bottom of the shaft, the covering grid and the adjoining passage to the sepulchral chamber?

These, closely related problems become accentuated if we consider that Roman graves are otherwise either completely sealed off, or located in some kind of funerary chamber which is accessible from the outside.[773] In the first case, the remains of the dead (whether they are one or several) are permanently enclosed within the sepulchral monument as it is constructed. In the second, the tomb is designed with the purpose of allowing the living to return, either for further burials (as in a family tomb) or to perform funerary rites/veneration in the immediate presence of the dead. In the case of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, however, there exists a spatial connection without the possibility of personal access. The living are demonstratively separated from the dead by the deep shaft and the metal grid, but at the same time the two worlds have been linked to each other on a spatial and architectural level, surpassing in monumentality any of the usual ducts and libation tubes. The function of space can be divided into the use of space and the meaning of space. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the exact use of the interior of the tomb beyond what has been said already in chapter V.2, I believe that we have sufficient clues to understand the meaning of space in the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

The artificial distance that has been established between the living and the remains of the dead in this case is not consistent with normal funerary practice. A burial place was regarded as sacred and was protected from violation under religious law, but it was not considered unapproachable or polluted, as can be shown for example by the frequent intermingling of tombs and wine shops outside many Roman towns.[774] Accessibility of a grave was purely a matter of private legislation, governed by ownership of the land. Still, the clearly articulated disconnection of communication within the tomb of Caecilia Metella implies a prohibited precinct, or the presence of something usually out of bounds for the living. One phenomenon that would fit this description is the concept of a passageway to Hades.

According to this interpretation the upper corridor belongs to the realm of the living. Beneath it we have the *inferi*, represented by the lower corridor – the vaulted chamber of the *mundus*. It should be noted that the location of the burial in this room provides an essential manifestation of the netherworld as a whole. The libation tube at the threshold enables sacrifices to the deceased, whereas the cella constitutes the passageway itself, the vehicle for descent. Its form draws on sacrificial pits, *bothroi*, Archaic *tholoi* and natural chasms. At the bottom of the cella a shallow pool of water represents the dark waters of Acheron, beyond which lies the actual gate, inaccessible and out of sight. The position of the gate below the foundation level may be quite intentional. To an architect the foundation level is an important structural boundary, signifying the limit between the subterranean parts and the superstructure. Here it has become a distinct borderline between this world and the beyond, enhanced by the protruding stone ring and the metal grid. The

766 Iophon, *TrGF* 22 F 3; Apollodoros 3.5.3; Diodorus Siculus 4.25.4; Pausanias 2.31.2, 2.37.5. Cf. Aristophanes, *Ranae*.
767 Diodorus Siculus 4.25.2–4; Vergilius, *Georgica* 4.453–527; Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 10.1–85; Pausanias 9.30.4; Loukianos, *Necyomantia* 8.
768 Apollodoros, *Epitome* 1.23–24; Diodorus Siculus 4.63; Pausanias 9.31.5; Loukianos, *De luctu* 5. Cf. Plutarchos, *Theseus* 31.
769 Homeros, *Odysseia* 11.601–626; Apollodoros 2.5.12; Diodorus Siculus 4.25.1–26.1; Loukianos, *Necyomantia* 8.
770 Homeros, *Odysseia* 11; Loukianos, *Necyomantia* 8.
771 Vergilius, *Aeneis* 6.
772 Diogenes Laertius 8.21, 38, 41. Cf. Herodotos 4.94–96.
773 For this dichotomy see e.g. Eisner 1986, 142.
774 v. Hesberg 1992, 17.

arrangement of this grid effectively eliminates the use of the cella as a well or cistern. Possibly its main purpose was to dissuade looters and tomb robbers from entering the sepulchral chamber. The upper corridor already had a strong gate, though, and there are no other examples of Roman tombs displaying such extreme security installations. However, we know that metal grids sometimes had an apotropaic function. One source describes how an iron grille was used to prevent a restless spirit from leaving his tomb.[775] The descent into Hades in Ephyra was sealed by three successive metal gratings. Thereby the beings of the netherworld were prevented from escaping into the world of the living.[776]

A casual, symbolic equation of the grave with Hades is quite natural, as numerous sepulchral inscriptions show. However, such a metaphor, whether used in literature, epitaphs, wall painting or funerary sculpture,[777] should be separated from the idea that a man-made structure actually constitutes a physical entrance to the netherworld. That we are dealing with something more than funeral symbolism is strongly indicated by the emphasis on the central space as a passageway and the monumentality of its design. The construction of such a passage would not have been made for the benefit of the deceased, offering an easy and convenient access to the intended destination. A grave always mediated the transportation of the deceased to Hades by itself, without the aid of elaborate installations.[778] In my opinion, a physical representation of the passage to the *inferi* was not meant for the dead, but for the living. Thus, the monument was partly a tomb and partly something else.

It is possible that the exterior architecture of the tomb was in accord with this interior concept, as we have depictions of cylindrical buildings which have been interpreted as gates to Hades. One of the best examples is provided by a relief from Samothrace,[779] which should be compared with the so-called "altar" of Persephone at Kyzikos.[780] Both of these cylindrical monuments have friezes with alternating *bucrania* and garlands.

Before considering possible explanations for constructing an entrance to the netherworld within the tomb of Caecilia Metella, it might be worth looking at the topographical context. As mentioned above (chapter V.3.7) the validity of artificial descents into Hades was often strengthened by infernal associations provided by the location. In fact, the area around the Via Appia appears to have some important connections to the underworld: Firstly, the Valle della Caffarella and neighbouring areas (i.e. the immediate surroundings of the tomb) demonstrate some extreme geological conditions. Apart from the wealth of active mineral springs,[781] the ground emits carbon-dioxide in quantities large enough to kill both people and animals under certain conditions.[782] The emission of poisonous gases is the most prominent characteristic of two important gates of Hades on the Italian peninsula, Ampsanctus and Lake Avernus (Campi Flegrei).[783] Secondly, the location of the tomb coincides with the so called Triopion of Herodes Atticus.[784] In the second half of the 2nd century AD the wealthy Herodes Atticus consecrated a large piece of land, on which the tomb of Caecilia Metella was also situated, to the memory of his late wife, Annia Regilla, and the gods of the netherworld.[785] In the 15th century two inscribed columns were found in the immediate vicinity of the tomb, which describe the Triopion as sacred to Demeter, Kore and *theoi chthonioi* (Ceres, Proserpina and gods of the netherworld).[786] These columns probably marked an entrance to the consecrated area somewhere close to the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The 16th century antiquarian Pirro Ligorio was aware of this find, and envisaged a temple to Proserpina and Ceres on the opposite side of the road from the tomb. However, he also interpreted the cella of the tomb of Caecilia Metella as a possible shrine dedicated to Proserpina and other infernal deities.[787] Perhaps he was inspired by the altar of Epaphroditus, which was found close by. The front relief of this sepulchral

[775] Pseudo-Quintilianus, *Declamationes maiores* XIX 10.15–18.
[776] For Roman belief in the apotropaic property of iron see Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 34.54.151.
[777] For some examples see Propertius 4.11.1–28 (literature); Lattimore 1942, 87–95 (epitaphs); Bendinelli 1931, 386f. (wall paintings); Altmann 1905, 13–19 (funerary altars and cinerary urns).
[778] *RE* X (1919), s.v. 'Katabasis' (R. Ganschinietz), 2382f.
[779] Altmann 1905, 15, fig. 9.
[780] Donaldson 1966, 156–162, no. 43. Cf. Lehmann & Lehmann 1973, 26–47.

[781] For example the acidic spring of Egeria. Quilici 1968, 335.
[782] Dr. Roberto Salvati, Department of Geological Sciences, Roma Tre. Personal communication.
[783] Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 2.95.207–208. Sulphuric emissions on mount Soracte can also be linked to the cult of Hades/Dis Pater. Edlund 1987, 46.
[784] Lugli 1924; Quilici 1968; Kammerer-Grothaus 1974.
[785] The limits of the Triopion were most likely defined by the Via Appia and the stream Almone (Almo) flowing to the east of the road. Its boundaries to the north and south are unknown, but the sacred area probably extended from the second to somewhere beyond the third milestone.
[786] *IG* XIV 1390.
[787] Ligorio, 66v–68v, 75r–75v (for a modern transcription see Rausa 1997, 43).

altar depicts the rape of Persephone by Hades.[788] Somewhat later two more inscriptions were found on the Via Appia, which together constitute a lengthy eulogy to Annia Regilla and a detailed description of the Triopion.[789] From these it is evident that the sacred area included a *heroon* to Annia Regilla and a temple dedicated to Ceres and the empress Faustina, venerated as the "new Ceres".[790]

The use of this locality for manifesting the connection between prominent aristocratic women and certain divine powers may have been founded on established practice. Faustina, Annia Regilla and Caecilia Metella may all have had a special relation to the goddess Ceres. This goddess, which in many ways corresponded to the Greek Demeter, had an important liminal aspect entailing the custody of the borderline between the world of the living and the world of the dead.[791] A particular cult of Ceres, the *initia Cereris* or *sacra Cereris*, which was closely associated with the Thesmophoric cults of Magna Graecia, was prolific in Rome by the end of the Republic. This cult was celebrated exclusively by women and the priestesses were chosen among the women of the leading aristocratic families.[792] At the same time the practice of identifying and assimilating elite women with Ceres developed.[793] The first recorded example of this involves Livia, the wife of Augustus, and subsequently the phenomenon became a prerogative of female members of the imperial family. The association of Faustina with Ceres belongs to this tradition. Annia Regilla was a relative of the empress and a priestess of Demeter Chamyne at Olympia, whose temple was situated on an alleged descent to Hades.[794] We do not know of any religious offices held by Caecilia Metella, but it is interesting that Faustina most likely was a direct descendant of hers. (See stemma *fig. 40*.)

There is another aspect of the location of the tomb which may be of relevance if we are to view the tomb of Caecilia Metella as a *fanum*. It is generally believed that shrines dedicated to foreign (i.e. non-Roman) deities had to be situated outside the *pomerium*.[795] This applied in particular to certain mystery cults[796] and the worship of infernal gods.[797] To the latter group should be counted also Ceres.[798] The installation inside the tomb of Caecilia Metella could be related to any of these divinities. Furthermore, it has been established above that the lower part of the cella was filled with earth before the 14th century. If this was done intentionally in order to permanently seal off the lower parts of the tomb, the act might be compared with the filling of the Basilica Sotterranea shortly after its completion.[799] The abrupt closing of this cult room was probably related to the persecution of T. Statilius Taurus and the Neo-Pythagorean sects in the 50s AD.[800]

Having concluded that the interior layout of the tomb of Caecilia Metella is best understood as an entrance to the netherworld, in addition to its purely funerary function, we can now postulate three basic explanations for the existence of such a passage:

- The monument acted as a shrine (*fanum*) dedicated to one or several of the gods of the netherworld (for example Ceres and/or Proserpina) in analogy with Umbilicus Urbis or the Triopion of Herodes Atticus.
- The tomb constituted an oracle of the dead similar to those in Ephyra and Lebadeia.
- The edifice was used for mystery cults, initiation rites or banquets, in analogy with Basilica Sotterranea or Arsinoeion/Anaktoron at Samothrake.

The three options correspond to closely related and partly overlapping spatial and religious concepts, although presenting different solutions to the exact interpretation of the building. The first alternative provides the best religious parallel, the second one offers the closest architectural equivalents whereas the third entails interesting historical correlations.[801] Thus, the building may be labelled as a *thymele*, since the intimately associated explanations closely match the multivalent function of the *thymele* in Epidauros, entailing sacrificial, funerary, oracular and infernal

[788] Altmann 1905, 158 no. 194; Ericsson 1980, 118–123.
[789] *IG* XIV 1389 = *CIG* III 6280.
[790] Annia Galeria Faustina maior (*RE* 120). The temple has been identified as the present church of S. Urbano, which is situated 700 m distant from the tomb of Caecilia Metella. This identification was rejected by H. Kammerer-Grothaus, though, who suggested another location within the Triopion. Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 147f., 160 n. 141.
[791] Spaeth 1996, 79.
[792] Spaeth 1996, 105.
[793] Spaeth 1996, 119f.
[794] Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 137f. Cf. Pausanias 6.21.1–2; *RE* III:2 (1899), s.v. 'Chamyne' (Jessen), 2109.
[795] Stambaugh 1978, 560; Schilling 1979, 94–102.
[796] Cassius Dio 53.2.4.
[797] Festus, s.v. 'Tauri ludi', 478 Lindsey.
[798] Vitruvius, *De architectura* 1.7.2: *item Cereri extra urbem loco, quo ‹non quolibet› nomine semper homines nisi per sacrificium necesse habeant adire*. "Ceres also should be outside the city in a place to which people need never go except for the purpose of sacrifice." Translation M.H. Morgan 1914.
[799] Bay 1973, 131.
[800] Bay 1973, 135–137. Similarly, great efforts were made already in antiquity to fill the so-called "oracle of the dead" at Baiae with earth in order to render it inaccessible. Paget 1967a, 112.
[801] For historical connections to the mystery cult at Samothrace see chapter VI.3.1.

aspects.[802] Regardless of which explanation is preferred, the presence of the tomb means that the religious aspect must have been of a private character,[803] arising perhaps in response to the personal belief of a single individual. In all three cases we can recognise an attempt to create a liminal zone in order to facilitate the contact between the living and the divine. Possibly, a more specific, ulterior motive can be inferred from the construction of such an exceptional building. The commissioner and patron of the tomb might have wanted to identify himself with Hellenistic rulers, either in the guise of a "royal" protector of an important cult, as a "heroic" transgressor of boundaries, or as a "mythical" founder of a new sanctuary.

This kind of manifestation differs from the usual manner of self-aggrandisement through euergetistic building enterprises. In contrast to baths, porticoes and other public buildings this private shrine did not benefit the Roman citizens at all. Thus, whereas the exterior architecture of the tomb carried a message intended for a general audience (see chapter IV.5), the interior architecture turned to a smaller and probably considerably more exclusive set of people – perhaps the closest supporters or fellow initiates of M. Licinius Crassus.[804] Rather than an accessible shrine, which could be visited at any time, it is likely that the building was normally closed and was only opened up on certain days, as was the *mundus* (see chapter V.3.3). The exposure of the descent may have constituted the main ritual of a cult centring on the tomb of Caecilia Metella.[805] The suggested scenario fits well into a larger trend. A substantial number of Romans who were awarded a triumph initiated the construction of a temple or a shrine, often as the direct consequence of a battle vow.[806] Towards the end of the Republic these generals to a much greater extent than before chose to build private shrines rather than state temples.[807] It has been argued that the main reason for this was that private shrines focused the attention on the individual behind the building, whereas the construction of public temples necessitated the involvement of the senate as well as rivalling magistrates. As the competition between individual generals and the senate increased, private building enterprises became more attractive. At the same time monumental building in general, and post-triumphal building in particular, became less conventional and more coloured by personal motivations. Thus, late Republican architecture conveyed both political statements and individualised messages.[808]

It is well known that Roman temples and sanctuaries often served a secondary function apart from housing a god or a goddess.[809] The temple of Saturnus, for example, doubled as state treasury, that of Castor and Pollux held the offices of the consuls. Also, there are profane buildings with an added cultic aspect, especially when it concerns triumphal buildings, foremost the theatre of Pompeius, which included a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix, and the Curia Julia, which housed a cult of Victoria. The presence of a grave within a shrine is somewhat more problematic, though, as burials within sanctuaries were generally forbidden in the Graeco-Roman world. However, there are exceptions to this rule and F. Pfister managed to collect a large number of mythological and historical examples.[810] He recognised some recurring explanations for these special cases, the most important one being that the deceased was the founder of the sanctuary or a priest/priestess of the deity. The combination of a tomb and a shrine thus has to be seriously considered, without necessarily having to settle on which function was the primary one. There is one interesting indication that the amalgamation of tomb and temple existed in the consciousness of the Romans in the Augustan period. According to Vergilius a *tumulus templumque vetustum desertae Cereris* was once situated outside the gates of Troia.[811] Since Romulus had founded Rome as a new Troia, Vergilius had good reason to portray the home town of Aeneas as a mirror image of the eternal city, including known topographic features.

[802] See for example Seiler 1986, 85f. Similarly, J.R. McCredie used this term for the Arsenoeion on Samothrace.
[803] Lawfully erected tombs were automatically classified as *locus religiosus*, whereas public temples were designated as *res sacrae*. These two categories were mutually exclusive. However, a private shrine was not legally regarded as *sacrum* but *profanum*. Thus, the combination of it with a tomb actually improved its "religious status". *Digesta* 1.8.6; Watson 1968, 1–9; Stambaugh 1978, 559; Orlin 1997, 171. Cf. Bodel 1986, 39f.
[804] Cf. Eck 1984, 135.
[805] Alternatively, the meaning of the interior layout was significant only at the time of the inauguration.
[806] For further discussion of post-triumphal building see chapter VI.2.4.
[807] Orlin 1997, 196.
[808] Favro 1996, 86.
[809] See e.g. Stambaugh 1978; Stambaugh 1988, 219f.
[810] Pfister 1909–1912, II 450–459.
[811] Vergilius, *Aeneis* 2.713–714. It is evident from a passage further on (2.742) that we are dealing with a single monument.

VI. Historical analysis – the context of the tomb

VI.1 Summary of previous conclusions

The close investigation of the structural remains of the tomb of Caecilia Metella has resulted in the following observations: The monument was originally entered through the upper corridor which led into the cella. This central space constituted an empty void, without further access from the point of entrance. The innermost part of the corridor was separated by a gate and might have been some sort of antechamber. A hole in the floor by the threshold probably functioned as a libation tube. The bottom of the cella is provided with a concave watertight floor, which was once covered by a metal grid. Both of these installations can be dated to the period before the Medieval occupational phase and probably belong to the original building. The lower corridor was originally not accessible from the outside, only through a small passage connected to the cella below the metal grid. The grave of Caecilia Metella was probably located in the niche in the north wall of the lower corridor. The outward decoration of the building was never completed. It cannot yet be determined whether the cylinder was crowned by a tumulus or not.

The conclusions from the analyses of the preceding chapters are that the tomb of Caecilia Metella was probably built sometime between 30 and 20 BC (chapter III), and that the commissioner of the building most likely was the son of Caecilia Metella, M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58), cos. 30 BC. The monument could very well have been erected in less than a year, but the construction work could also have lasted for quite some time. Caecilia was between 53 and 67 years old when she died. She died as a widow. I have suggested that the monument exteriorly should be regarded not only as a tomb, but also as a political statement by M. Licinius Crassus, referring to the military accomplishments of his ancestors and to his own triumphal celebration in particular (chapter IV). Similarly, the interior of the tomb had a secondary function beside housing the remains of Caecilia. The complex and unique interior design indicates a religious significance far beyond the usual funerary cult. The most reasonable interpretation of this interior arrangement appears to be as a physical manifestation of a passageway to Hades (chapter V). Both the exterior message and the interior religious function have a common denominator in the self-advertisement of a successful Roman general of the Late Republic, who not only tended to identify himself with Hellenistic rulers, but also actively promoted his self-image as a living *heros*.

It is my intention now to re-evaluate the known facts of the suggested commissioner and the historical context of the building in the light of these conclusions.

VI.2 The silent conflict

VI.2.1 The career of M. Licinius Crassus

I. Morris, among others, has suggested that Augustus had a monopoly on display in Rome,[812] and there seems to be a general consensus around the idea.[813] If we were to follow that opinion, the tomb of Caecilia Metella must be seen as an insignificant and/or misdirected attempt of political architecture. This interpretation was also made by P. Zanker who declared the monument to be an example of "pointless" self-aggrandisement.[814] Alternatively, as I will try to show, the tomb of Caecilia Metella represented one of the very last private building enterprises to challenge Augustus on the public stage, and the aforementioned monopoly only materialised somewhat later, after the erection of the tomb.[815] An interesting question then is if the commissioner of the tomb, M. Licinius Crassus, was in a position to make such a challenge?

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[812] Morris 1992, 46.
[813] Cf. for example Reeder 1992, 273f.; Orlin 1997, 130.
[814] Zanker 1988, 16.
[815] For a discussion on the development of senatorial display see Eck 1984.

There can be no doubt that Crassus[816] belonged to the highest ranking aristocracy of his time. Through his parentage he combined two of the wealthiest and most prestigious plebeian families, the Licinii Crassi and the Caecilii Metelli.[817] Being the sole descendant of the *triumvir* M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 68), he must have had considerable financial assets, unless his family property had been confiscated during the civil war. We do not know the identity of Crassus' wife, or even if he was ever married. However, looking for a possible candidate there is one woman in particular that presents a credible alternative: Scribonia, the wife of Sex. Pompeius.[818] After the death of Sextus in 36 BC she would constitute a good match for opponents of Octavianus.[819] There are many examples of widows who remarried close friends or allies (even brothers) of their former husbands. We also know of another conjugal bond between the Licinii Crassi and the Scribonii. (See stemma *fig. 40*.)

It is possible that M. Licinius Crassus' first involvement in the civil wars should be dated to 41 BC, when we hear of a Crassus fighting at Perusia together with L. Antonius against Octavianus.[820] He would then have been between 22 and 29 years of age. Despite defeat and flight his military career continued: the troubled times presented plenty of opportunities.[821] After having sided with both Sex. Pompeius and M. Antonius, Crassus at some point shifted his allegiance and joined with the Octavian cause.[822] This took place perhaps as late as 31 BC.[823] In 30 BC he became consul together with Octavianus without first having held the praetorship. Possibly this appointment was a reward for his new stance, perhaps it was a precondition.[824] He held this office for the first six months, and may have left for his allotted province later the same year.[825] As governor of Macedonia and Achaea he embarked upon a war against various tribes in Thracia and Moesia, which was fought in two consecutive campaigns. The war is best described by Cassius Dio.[826] As the details of the chronology have been questioned, we will look closer at these events.

The Bastarnae, probably a Germanic tribe,[827] had previously crossed the Istros (modern Danube) and subdued parts of Moesia, including the land of the Triballi. When they began advancing further south and assaulted the Dentheleti, who were under treaty with the Romans, Crassus took his legions to the field to meet them.[828] Perhaps the main reason was to repulse the invaders before they threatened the Roman province. A reasonable guess would be that he marched north along the Strymon valley, probably in the spring or early summer of 29 BC.[829] The Bastarnae fell back and were pursued to the river Kebros (present Cibrica/Tzibritza), a small tributary to the Danube. In his pursuit Crassus was met by Moesian resistance but it was easily swept aside. In the ensuing battle the Bastarnae were decisively beaten and their king, Deldo, was killed by the hand of Crassus himself. In the mopping-up operations the Romans were aided by Roles, king of a tribe of the Getae. Crassus continued his campaign by subduing a majority of the Moesian tribes until winter forced him to withdraw south. On its way back to the Macedonian province the Roman army was greatly harassed by various Thracian tribes, which previously were believed to be friendly.

The war against the Bastarnae and Moesians was regarded as a great success by the Romans and would have ended here. Soon, however, the Bastarnae took to the field again, perhaps already the same winter (early in 28 BC).[830] Once again they attacked the Dentheleti, and once again Crassus came to

[816] For the sake of convenience from now on M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58), the son of Caecilia Metella and consul in 30 BC, will be called only Crassus.
[817] This appears to have been a consciously designed alliance, taking in view that both the sons of the *triumvir* married women of the Metelli. The father of Cornelia, Publius' wife, had been adopted by a Metellus. Cf. Syme 1939, 36 n. 3; Ward 1977, 112 n. 53; Syme 1986, 271.
[818] A sepulchral inscription found in Rome implies that a Scribonia had some kind of relation to the family of Caecilia Metella. *CIL* 6.37380; Bloch 1982, 148f.
[819] However, it has been suggested that Scribonia died before Sextus, as she was not mentioned accompanying her husband in his flight.
[820] Appianos, *Bella civilia* 5.50.1. For the problems of this identification see chapter III.7.4.
[821] Cf. Syme 1939, 216.
[822] Cassius Dio 51.4.3.
[823] Syme 1939, 296.
[824] *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 271f.
[825] So Charlesworth 1934a, 117.
[826] Cassius Dio 51.23–27. See also Livius, *Periochae* 134–135; Florus 2.26; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 1.7; Zonaras 10.32. For modern accounts of the war see *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 272–280; Charlesworth 1934a; Danov 1979, 123–126; Reinhold 1988, 160–164.
[827] Strabon, 7.3.17; Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 4.14.100; Tacitus, *Germania* 46. Cassius Dio, though, calls them Scythians. Cassius Dio 51.23.3.
[828] The strength of his army is often estimated as four legions. See for example Wilkes 1996, 550.
[829] So *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 272–275; Charlesworth 1934a, 117. It has also been suggested that the first campaign took place already in 30 BC, but the proposal is hardly convincing. B. Gerov advocated another route along the Bregalnitza river. Gerov 1980, 69.
[830] *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 278. The division of the Thracian war into two distinct campaigns is supported by Livius, *Periochae* 134–135.

their assistance. Very quickly he fell upon the Bastarnae and defeated them. This operation was also extended by a lengthy punitive campaign, this time directed against the Thracians who had assaulted his troops the previous year. Thus, he subdued the Maedi, the Serdi and the Bessi, but spared the Odrysae. Then he turned his forces against the Getan king Dapyx, who was fighting the Roman ally Roles. Crassus overwhelmed and crushed his opponent and also reduced many other tribes of the Getae. Perhaps the most notable achievement of this second campaign was the retrieval of the Roman standards which C. Antonius (cos. 63 BC) had lost to the Bastarnae/Getae in 60 BC. These were kept in the strongly defended fortress of Genucla on the Istros, which was now besieged and captured by the Roman soldiers. It is quite possible that the recovery of the lost standards was the principle aim of Crassus in turning upon the Getae. Crassus finished his campaign by enforcing Roman authority throughout the territory and putting down revolts among the Moesians. He may have returned to Rome late in 28 BC, before the winter storms.[831]

For the accomplishments of his first campaign Crassus was voted *supplicationes* and a triumph. From two inscriptions we also learn that Crassus was saluted as *imperator*, at least in his own province.[832] However, according to Cassius Dio,[833] Octavianus alone assumed this title, which has led many scholars to suppose that Crassus was first hailed as *imperator* by his legions but was later deprived of this title.[834] Recently it has been argued that Cassius Dio must have had it wrong. Augustus' seventh imperatorial appellation, which was previously attributed to the Thracian war, has now been shown to most likely represent the capture of Alexandria.[835] Furthermore, it is quite unreasonable that a commander should be awarded a triumph but not be entitled to an imperatorial salutation. We know that Crassus did celebrate his triumph *ex Thraecia et Geteis* on the 4th of July in 27 BC,[836] and strangely this is the last we hear of him.

VI.2.2 Crassus and the spolia opima

Spolia opima was the armour of an enemy commander, who was killed by his Roman counterpart on the battlefield in single combat. To dedicate these spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitolium was the highest military honour any Roman could be awarded.[837] Tradition had it that only three persons dedicated the *spolia opima*: Romulus, A. Cornelius Cossus (in 437 BC) and M. Claudius Marcellus (in 222 BC). According to Cassius Dio, Crassus killed Deldo, king of the Bastarnae, with his own hands during the first Thracian campaign.[838] The authenticity of this account has never been questioned and more than one scholar have stressed the tremendous feat of Crassus, among them H.I. Flower:[839]

> In trying to understand Crassus' position in 27 it is essential to consider the magnitude of his achievement both as a general and a warrior. In an age when single combats had become largely a thing of the past, he personally killed the enemy leader, although it does not seem to have been in a formal pitched battle. He was the first and apparently the only Roman general ever to come close to repeating Marcellus' feat at Clastidium.

However, there are no indications that he ever made the exclusive dedication. Cassius Dio made a point of stating that Crassus never got to deposit the captured armour in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as he did not hold the supreme command.[840] The events concerning Crassus, Augustus and the *spolia opima* have been the subject of a major scholarly debate lasting for almost a century.[841] The issues that have been discussed concern the exact qualifications for winning this honour, whether Octavianus was instrumental in denying Crassus his reward, the treatment of the topic by contemporary writers, and the significance of this affair for the Augustan settlement in January 27 BC.

Although the *spolia opima* had been a topic before, the discussion really started with an article by H. Dessau in 1906,[842] treating a passage from Livius (4.20). Here Livius tells us that Cossus dedicated the *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius as consul, not *tribunus militum*, as previously believed. The crucial evidence was supplied by Augustus himself, who had personally found an instructive inscription on the actual spoils (a linen corslet) hanging in the temple. Dessau argued that the story had a political side to it. Augustus could not allow a successful general, springing from the most renowned and politically prominent families, to enter Rome as a

[831] So Syme 1986, 274.
[832] *ILS* 8810 = *IG* II/III² 4118 (Athens); *BCH* 50, 1926, 441f. no. 78 = *AE* 1928, 44 (Thespiae).
[833] Cassius Dio 51.25.2.
[834] For example Syme 1939, 308. Others have suggested that both took the title simultaneously. Schmitthenner 1962, 34.
[835] See Schumacher 1985, 209–211; Reinhold 1988, 162f.; Rich 1996, 95–97; Flower 2000, 52. Cf. Badian 1982, 38–41.
[836] *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII.1 (1947), 87.
[837] For the nature and origin of this institution, as well as relevant sources, see Versnel 1970, 306–313.
[838] Cassius Dio 51.24.4.
[839] Flower 2000, 50.
[840] Cassius Dio 51.24.4.
[841] For a recent summary of this debate see Rich 1996, 85–92.
[842] Dessau 1906.

new Romulus. Thus, he had a personal interest in depriving Crassus of his award. By eliminating A. Cossus as an important precedence the nature of Crassus' command could be questioned: as proconsul he did not fulfil the prerequisites for the *spolia opima*.[843] Dessau was the first to recognize the connection between the digression of Livius and the "Crassus affair".[844] Of equal importance was the article of E. Groag on Crassus in the *Real-Encyclopädie* twenty years later. The author emphasized the sensitive political situation in 30–27 BC and brought up the possibility that Crassus might have competed for the ultimate power with arms, being commander of a seasoned and victorious army. According to Groag this potential threat was eliminated by Octavianus through his "re-instalment" of the Republic,[845] thus providing an ulterior motive for the settlement of 27 BC. The ideas of these two scholars have since gained support from numerous others.[846]

S.J. Harrison has pointed to the fact that according to Cassius Dio, Julius Caesar was awarded the right to dedicate the *spolia opima* in 45/44 BC, although he did not meet the conditions required.[847] That is, he had not killed an enemy commander in single combat, but his achievements were held to be equivalent. Whether this is true or not, Julius Caesar never got around to make use of this honour before his untimely death.[848] Harrison continued by suggesting that Octavianus probably was not reluctant to exploit any relaxation of the rules concerning the *spolia opima*, and that his restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in the late 30s BC was the first step in an attempt to secure that honour for himself.[849] When Crassus killed the king of the Bastarnae with his own hands in 29 BC, Octavianus, according to this theory, frustrated his claim on the *spolia opima* by pressing the case of more rigorous rules and personally produced the essential evidence.

Thereby, Octavianus also forfeited his own chances of winning the ultimate martial honour. This could be one reason for his new politics in 27 BC (see below chapter VI.2.3). Octavianus could no longer uphold a position based on his status as *triumvir* and former military glories, especially as he now risked being surpassed by braver and more successful generals. The suggestion by J.W. Rich that Octavianus had a genuine antiquarian interest in the Cossus problem and that this was the real reason for taking on the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius is farfetched and also disregards the political consequences of his remarkable "findings".[850] It should also be considered that the inscription on the linen corslet hardly could have been authentic,[851] and that even the historicity of Cossus' dedication rightly should be questioned.[852] Rich further stated that Crassus may have chosen not to dedicate the *spolia opima* of his own accord in order to avoid offending Augustus, and that this surely was Augustus' preferred outcome.[853] However, should we not rather ask ourselves: What did Crassus prefer? To seek out the enemy leader on the battlefield with the purpose of forcing him into single combat would have been an extremely dangerous undertaking and the outcome of such a fight highly uncertain. The act speaks of a clear ambition and a strong determination.[854] It is unlikely, to say the least, that Crassus would just give up any rewards that were his due.

VI.2.3 The reforms of Augustus

Since the article of E. Groag was first published in 1926,[855] it has been fiercely debated to what degree this affair lay behind the Augustan settlement in January 27 BC.[856] E. Badian has argued that the restoration of the Republic began in 28 BC, perhaps even in 29 BC,[857] and that the question of *spolia*

[843] Dessau 1906, 144f.
[844] A previous author had already recognized a political tension between Crassus and Augustus, though. Furtwängler 1904, 403.
[845] *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 283–285.
[846] E.g. Charlesworth 1934b, 125f.; Syme 1939, 308–310; Springer 1954–1955, 29f.; Mócsy 1966; Earl 1968, 55f.; Cartledge 1975; Maxfield 1981, 104; Daly 1981, 50f.
[847] Cassius Dio 44.4.3; Harrison 1989, 408f. The authenticity of this episode has been questioned, though. Syme 1979, 419 n. 1.
[848] That the *spolia opima* was a current propagandistic topic is further illuminated by a coin depicting the dedication made by M. Claudius Marcellus. Crawford 1974, no. 439. The exact date of the coin is disputed but generally recognised as 50 or 45 BC.
[849] Cf. Flower 2000, 48f.
[850] Rich 1996, 116.
[851] See for example Springer 1954–1955, 30; Walsh 1961, 14f.; Ogilvie 1965, 563f.; Daly 1981, 53f.; Reinhold 1988, 162; Miles 1995, 40–46; Flower 2000, 53. For the contrary view Càssola 1970. This would not be the first accusation of forgery raised against Octavianus. Cf. the testament of M. Antonius. See Syme 1939, 282; Daly 1981, 54.
[852] Flower 2000.
[853] Rich 1996, 126.
[854] Cf. the similar ambition of Augustus' stepson, Nero Claudius Drusus (*RE* 139), to win the *spolia opima*. For sources and discussion see Rich 1999; Flower 2000, 58.
[855] *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 270–285.
[856] The ideas of E. Groag have been strongly defended by P. Cartledge. Positive at first, R. Syme turned hesitant. Cartledge 1975; Syme 1939, 308, 310; Syme 1986, 274f.
[857] Similarly R. Syme notes that the reforms which culminated with the settlement in January 27 BC, were initiated already in the beginning of 28 BC. Syme 1979, 409.

opima probably was not raised before the preparations for Crassus' triumph had commenced in 27 BC.[858] Thus, there would have been no "crisis" and the so-called "Crassus affair" could not have constituted the motivating reason for the Augustan settlement. This line of reasoning is hardly convincing, though. As has already been shown Crassus won the victory that earned him his triumph in 29 BC, probably in the early summer, and it was in the same battle that he killed king Deldo single-handedly (see chapter VI.2.1). The news of his achievement would have reached Rome soon afterwards and it would have been clear to everyone what ambitions this might prompt in the general. The sources do not tell us how Augustus reacted to these news at the time, but perhaps we might judge from the actions that he took from then on and the reforms that he initiated.[859] In effect, from 28 BC to 23 BC, Augustus took every conceivable measure in order to prevent a similar incident to occur again.

Even after the battle of Actium Octavianus had opponents in the senate, and many *nobiles* would be glad to see someone else in power.[860] The military oligarchy was not to be trusted.[861] The rise of yet another victorious general, favoured by the gods, was the last thing that the remaining *triumvir* wanted. The single most important precaution was the division of the provinces achieved in the settlement of 27 BC: All the armed provinces (Gaul, Spain and Syria) fell to Augustus and his legates; those that the senate was allowed to keep were stripped of their legions.[862] Thus, any future promagistrate was rendered incapable to conduct large-scale military operations. In 28 BC he re-introduced an interval of five years between the consulate and the proconsulate, thereby hampering too quick and splendid careers.[863] He retained a firm grip on the consulship year after year.[864]

Although Octavianus first "bestowed triumphs quite lavishly upon his generals",[865] after 27 BC fewer of these honours were allowed until they were finally restricted to the imperial family. This tendency has already been fully recognised as a calculated policy from the part of Augustus. Crassus, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus and Sex. Appuleius all had their triumphal celebrations granted before 27 BC. After that the number of triumphs dwindled drastically.[866] According to F.H. Hickson the achievements of Crassus lay behind this new policy, which aimed at stopping potential rivals.[867] Instead the triumph was deliberately transformed into a symbol of succession. However, the restrictions were not confined to formal honours and festivities:[868]

> Thus it was very early on that Augustus deprived potential rivals of a critical means of self-enhancement. But at the same time he struck at the other means by which many *triumphatores* had sought to prolong the recollection of their victory beyond its immediate celebration and thereby to bestow permanence on their own person: by the display of booty or the erection of buildings.
>
> The triumph, triumphal buildings, and the festivals linked with their completion thus already disappear at the start of the Augustan period from the repertoire of senatorial self-advertisement.

In 28 BC the senate was purged by Octavianus, allegedly of unworthy elements, in practice of opponents.[869] On a general level the old and prestigious *nobilitas* was suppressed and kept from the important positions, whereas new men were favoured.[870] But even these were kept at bay. In 27 BC C. Cornelius Gallus was severely punished for over-advertising his military exploits in Egypt: the imprudence cost him his life.[871] In 24 or 23 BC M. Primus stood trial for high treason as he had waged war in Thracia without proper authority.[872] Augustus also eradicated the Greek custom of exalting Roman officials with divine honours.[873] However, the *princeps* could not be content with staving off

[858] Badian 1982, 24–27.
[859] The phrasing of Cassius Dio (51.25.2) implies that the triumph of Crassus was voted in his absence, even before the end of his first campaign. Octavianus returned to Italy in the summer of 29 BC, and did not enter the city until the 13th of August. Thus, it is possible that the senate awarded Crassus a triumph without the *triumvir* being present. During the middle Republic generals had had to apply for a triumph when they got back to Rome. However, Octavianus set a new precedent.
[860] Schmitthenner 1962, 31; Raaflaub & Samons 1990, 447.
[861] Syme 1939, 308.
[862] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 47.1; Cassius Dio, 53.12.1–7. Syme 1939, 310, 326f; Syme 1986, 274f.
[863] Cassius Dio 53.14.2.
[864] Earl 1968, 68.
[865] Maxfield 1981, 103.
[866] The number of imperatorial titles also declined from 27 BC, and Augustus confined the right to *auspiciae militiae* in his own hand. Syme 1939, 404; Rich 1996, 101.
[867] Hickson 1991, 127f.
[868] Eck 1984, 139f., 142.
[869] Syme 1939, 349.
[870] Syme 1939, 310, 327f.; Syme 1986, 387. *Viri triumphales* and *nobiles* of consular rank were shunned in particular.
[871] Cassius Dio 53.23.5–7. Syme 1939, 309f.
[872] Cassius Dio 54.3.2. Syme 1939, 333; Syme 1986, 387. It has also been argued that M. Primus acted on the direct orders of Augustus but was later sacrificed in the courts by his patron. B. Levick even suggested that M. Licinius Crassus was behind the prosecution of M. Primus in order to get to Augustus: "…to expose the constitutional impropriety of Augustus' behaviour". Levick 1975, 159.
[873] Syme 1939, 404f.; Price 1984, 51.

potential contenders. Perhaps the campaigns in Spain 27–25 BC should be regarded as an attempt from Augustus to improve his military reputation and strengthen his position in Rome.[874]

As many writers have noted before, the recovery of C. Antonius' standards by Crassus is ignored in the *Res Gestae*.[875] This accomplishment was probably at least as important as the killing of Deldo. In taking back lost Roman standards Crassus partly restored the family's military honour, which had been smudged by the defeat of his grandfather. It is also quite conceivable that Crassus, with his Thracian war, sought to equal the old *triumviri* by adding a new large province to the Roman realm. The alleged threat of the Bastarnae might have been a convenient pretext for initiating the war.[876] The nature of his second campaign in particular indicates that he ultimately strove to subdue and conquer the entire region, rather than just secure the borders of his province.[877] Perhaps the senate rejected a proposal from Crassus to mount a permanent Roman authority over Thracia and Moesia.[878] But what did Crassus strive for? He could not challenge Augustus directly, but in order to establish himself as an independent political power he had to retain his military *imperium*. It is a reasonable supposition that he sought a renewed proconsular command, something that had already been granted several other generals. The best place to fulfil those ambitions would probably be in Syria.[879] A victorious campaign by Crassus against the Parthians might have proven disastrous to Augustus, though, and could not be allowed. In the late summer of 28 BC Crassus constituted a powerful agent in the civil strife that had persisted for more than half a century. A year later his assets were useless and it would have been futile to stake everything on the basis of them.[880]

We have no compelling reasons to believe that Crassus' triumph was obstructed or purposely delayed.[881] It is reasonable to assume that the celebration would need some time for preparations. Still, the situation was exceptionally favourable for Octavianus. He could bring about his reforms and consolidate his position without facing the personal involvement/opposition of Crassus. A magistrate invested with *imperium* hoping to become a *triumphator* could not enter the city before the actual celebrations without loosing his right to a triumph.[882] Thus, he could not show up in the senate but had to wait complaisantly outside the *pomerium*. One can not help thinking that this would be a suitable occasion for him to direct his energy on the erection of a victory monument.

VI.2.4 Post-triumphal building

Between 44 and 29 BC the embellishment of Rome was dominated by so-called "manubial buildings".[883] This term denotes building projects funded from war booty or, more generally, monuments commemorating military victories.[884] They could be linked to triumphal celebrations, battle vows, or both. As late as 33 BC a partisan of M. Antonius raised a new temple in Rome, but within a few years Octavianus appears to have got a firm hold of post-triumphal, and other, building activities. His own triple triumph was commemorated by the restoration of Porticus Octaviae. About the same time the Curia Julia, the Chalcidicum and the temple of Divus Julius were dedicated, although begun earlier. In his sixth consulship Octavianus began an enormous restoration program, entailing 82 temples and shrines in Rome, and soon after his henchman Agrippa initiated an equally impressive building spree.

For some *triumphatores* no knowledge of post-triumphal building activities has survived, among them Crassus, but we have no reason to believe that they were passive. After his own triumph Octavianus incited victorious generals to spend their *manubiae* on the improvement of public highways.[885] He set an example by refurbishing the Via Flaminia as far as Ariminum. This exhortation was followed at least by two other *triumphatores*: C. Calvisius Sabinus (28 BC) and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (27 BC), both of them repairing segments of the Via Latina.

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[874] Cf. Schmitthenner 1962, 31.
[875] E.g. *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 280; Charlesworth 1934a, 118; Schmitthenner 1962, 34 n. 27; Reinhold 1988, 163.
[876] *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 58 (E. Groag), 275f.
[877] Cf. Gerov 1980, 239, 440.
[878] The provinces Moesia and Thracia were established in AD 6 and AD 46 respectively.
[879] This province offered possibilities for great conquests, rich bounty, honour and fame. The thought of retrieving the standards that his grandfather lost to the Parthians in 53 BC must have crossed Crassus' mind.
[880] "…the era of rival military leaders had closed." Syme 1939, 324.
[881] The question is intimately connected to the date of Crassus' return from the province, which is uncertain. Still, R. Syme favoured this view. Syme 1939, 303.
[882] Cicero, *Ad familiares* 8.6.1. Cf. *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Pomerium' (M. Andreussi), 99.
[883] Favro 1996, 94. Cf. Shipley 1931; Blake 1947, 156–158. The tendency might have continued beyond that date: "Every case of an individual mentioned as the builder of larger buildings under Augustus concerns senators who had held a triumph." Eck 1984, 138.
[884] For the inaptness of this term see Orlin 1997, 159–161.
[885] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 30; Cassius Dio 53.22.1–2. Rich 1990, 155.

Crassus might have joined them,[886] perhaps choosing the Via Appia which had not been spoken for. But was this all he constructed?

In the scholarly debate, it has previously been suggested: a) that Crassus did not meet the requirements to dedicate the *spolia opima*; b) that he was denied this rightful award through the fiendish machinations of Octavianus; and c) that Crassus himself simply chose not to claim the honour. This is as far as the discussion has come to date. Until now it has never been suggested that Crassus indeed did make a dedication out of the unique spoils. Cassius Dio merely stated that Crassus killed king Deldo and would have dedicated his armour to Jupiter Feretrius as *spolia opima*, had he been general in supreme command. Could then the *spolia opima* be dedicated to any other deity? Vergilius' answer to that question would have been yes, as he identified the dedicatee of Marcellus' spoils as Quirinus.[887] This statement appears to contradict other sources, which place the three traditional dedications in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.[888] The discrepancy has been viewed as a misunderstanding on the behalf of Vergilius,[889] but it might still bear witness to some general confusion. It may be that the part of the tradition which involved the temple of Jupiter Feretrius only evolved at this point of time, at the instigation of Augustus.[890] H.I. Flower has convincingly argued for the relatively late construction of the entire tradition of *spolia opima*.[891] Festus, in his description of the *spolia opima*, does not stipulate any particular temple or god for this occasion, but he does mention three different classes of *spolia* to be dedicated to various deities.[892] The interpretation of this passage is disputed. One scholar has understood it to mean that the first class, dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, was to be considered as preeminent, but that the others were originally also called *spolia opima*.[893]

Consequently, if there was any dispute related to the spoils of Crassus, it might have concerned what temple they should be dedicated in. This question was probably not irrelevant to Octavianus. He had recently rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, and it was in this building that Romulus allegedly had made his dedication. On the other hand, it is also possible that Crassus was unwilling to let his accomplishment be associated with the religious building program of Octavianus and sought another solution. This hypothesis requires that the dedication of Crassus was disqualified as a true *spolia opima* by later writers, since it never appears in the sources. Whatever the case might have been with the *spolia opima*, since Crassus did possess the arms of Deldo, what did he do with them?[894] It is reasonable to conjecture that Crassus did bring them back to Rome and that they were displayed in his triumphal procession.[895] As regards their subsequent fate there are three basic options: 1) They were kept as private property in the house of Crassus. 2) They were put up for display in a public place. 3) They were dedicated to one or several gods and deposited in the appropriate temple.[896] In view of the symbolical importance of these particular spoils, the first alternative is not very likely, especially if the taking of the arms was associated with a battle vow to some deity. It has been suggested too that captured suits of armour were set up in tombs.[897] Sceptics argue that this was mainly a non-Roman practice and had probably ceased in Italy by the end of the Republican era.[898]

We do not know if one had to apply for the *spolia opima*.[899] However, in order to erect a temple in Rome a *triumphator* had to have the consent of the senate,[900] where Augustus had the final word. E.M. Orlin has convincingly demonstrated the special conditions that regulated the building of vowed temples, setting them apart from other public edifices. Although Roman generals were free to make any vows they felt were necessary to secure a successful outcome of their military campaigns, it was up to the senate to decide if and how these vows should be fulfilled. If the senate gave their assent the temple was built with money from the state treasury and the cult was incorporated with state religion, but otherwise the general was bound to his vow as a private citizen and had to erect the temple with his own means to appease the gods:[901]

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886 Shipley 1931, 36.
887 Vergilius, *Aeneis* 6.859.
888 For example Livius 1.10; Propertius 4.10; Valerius Maximus 3.2.3–5.
889 Rich 1996, 125.
890 The first author to link the *spolia opima* to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius is Livius. The writing/publication of his first book is generally placed at 27 BC. E.g. Mensching 1967, 22.
891 Flower 2000.
892 Festus, s.v. 'Opima spolia', 202–204 Lindsay. The deities he mentions are Jupiter Feretrius, Mars and Janus Quirinus. Cf. Plutarchos, *Marcellus* 8.5.
893 Versnel 1970, 308f.
894 Cf. Flower 2000, 51.
895 As in the triumphal procession of M. Claudius Marcellus. Plutarchos, *Marcellus* 8.
896 For the setting up of spoils in temples, public spaces and households see Rawson 1990.
897 Rawson 1990, 168.
898 Flower 1998, 231.
899 Cf. Rich 1996, 99, 106f.; Flower 2000, 51.
900 Mommsen 1887–1888, II 619; Pape 1975, 41; Stambaugh 1978, 558.
901 Orlin 1997, 61, 67.

If a general made a temple vow for which the Senate declined to assume the obligation, the general might have to build a private shrine in order to fulfill the vow; such a temple would not be part of the state religious system and its impact could be minimized.

… a victorious general might act on his own to fulfill a temple vow made on his campaign, but without Senatorial action it would remain a private family shrine.

It has already been demonstrated (see chapter IV.5) that the exterior architecture of the tomb of Caecilia Metella should be understood with regard to the military achievements of M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58). The suggested shrine inside the tomb (see chapter V.4) may then represent a battle vow made by Crassus to some deity, in connection with his campaigns in Thracia.[902] This would be comparable to, for example, the re-erection of the temples to Honos and Virtus outside Porta Capena by M. Claudius Marcellus. It is worth noting that Marcellus' own tomb was situated next to the shrine.[903] In that case the tomb of Caecilia Metella can be interpreted as a "victory monument" internally as well as externally. Furthermore, if Crassus dedicated his remarkable *spolia* in this shrine (following this line of conjecture), the building may have constituted a substitute to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in the same way that the temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitolium did.[904] H.I. Flower has shown that the retrieval of the Roman standards from the Parthians and the placing of them in the latter shrine was the closest Augustus ever got to dedicating the *spolia opima* and that his staging of this event was a conscious allusion to this unattainable honour.[905]

Finally it must be emphasised that we have no direct evidence of any uprising, political opposition or even animosity towards Augustus from the part of Crassus after the battle of Actium. We only know for certain that they had previously been fighting on opposite sides, and that Crassus disappeared into silence after his triumph in 27 BC.[906] The lack of information on Crassus' own dealings after his military campaigns in particular has been mentioned as a major impediment in casting further light on this affair.[907] However, in the desperate search for literary texts with any relevance to the subject an obvious source of information has been neglected. The tomb of Caecilia Metella is a clear statement that Augustus was not the only one fit to rule on hereditary and military merits. The commissioner of this building, perhaps more than any other, had reason to make such a claim.

VI.3 Meeting the gods

VI.3.1 Samothracian reflections

As already demonstrated in a preceding chapter (V.3.5) the influences of mystery cults on Roman religious life reached a peak in the latter half of the first century BC. These ideas did not appeal only to the lower strata of the population, but also to the highest elite. The information that we have on Crassus' religious involvement is restricted to a single passage.[908] Here Cassius Dio describes how Crassus during his military campaigns spared a particular Thracian tribe (the Odrysae) on the grounds that they partook in the worship of Dionysos. This does not really tell us anything about his personal beliefs, but in view of the internal arrangement of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, which Crassus commissioned, the lead might be worth following up. Are there any reasons to believe that the general picked up some religious ideas during his sojourn in the province?

First of all, it can be noted that there was a very strong tradition of Macedonian rulers promoting the important sanctuary and mystery cult of Samothrace.[909] Apparently this tradition was taken up by the highest Roman magistrates of this province. In fact, many of (if not all) these magistrates were initiates of this cult.[910] S.G. Cole described the initiation of political and military figures on temporary duty in the northern Aegean as an established practice:[911] "After Macedonia became a Roman province, it seems to have become customary for the provincial administration to be initiated at Samothrace." Thus, there are ample reason to believe that M. Licinius Crassus was both initiate and patron of the cult. Incidentally, the first Roman recorded to have shown interest in the sanctuary is

[902] See Orlin 1997, 28f.
[903] *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: M. Claudius Marcellus' (F. Coarelli), 279f.
[904] For this shrine see *LTUR* III (1996), s.v. 'Mars Ultor (Capitolium)' (C. Reusser), 230f.
[905] Flower 2000, 53–55. Cf. Springer 1954–1955, 31f. The dedication by Romulus of the *spolia opima* constituted a prominent motif on the doors of the large temple to Mars Ultor, which soon replaced the small shrine on the Capitolium. Ovidius, *Fasti* 5.559–566.
[906] R. Syme regarded the silence in contemporary sources, e.g. Velleius Paterculus, as an indication of discord. Syme 1939, 310.
[907] Rich 1996, 109.
[908] Cassius Dio 51.25.4–5.
[909] See Cole 1984, 16–25. Among the patrons of the cult we find the following Hellenistic rulers/generals: Philip II, Alexander the Great, Philip III Arrhidaios, Lysimachos, Arsinoë II, Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, Hippomedon, Philip V, Perseus.
[910] Not only the magistrate was initiated but also his retinue. Cole 1984, 90. Cf. Clinton 2001.
[911] Cole 1984, 23, 89. (Quote from p. 89.)

M. Claudius Marcellus, the third winner of the *spolia opima*.[912]

The most prominent aspects of the cult of the Theoi Megaloi at Samothrace are related to the safeguarding of ships at sea and the protection of initiates in battle.[913] Both of these functions were mirrored in the practice of religious vows which resulted in votive gifts. The Theoi Megaloi, although elusive, can be defined as infernal in kind and as with most other mystery cults initiation also procured salvation after death. However, the mystery cult on Samothrace seems to have exercised a special attraction to Roman worshippers:[914]

> It has often been noticed that many Romans, especially after the end of the second century B.C., were initiated in Samothrace. The belief of very ancient correlations between Samothracian and Roman religion was widespread among Romans.

These correlations are strongest reflected in traditions concerning the Roman Penates.[915] According to several ancient authors the Penates were originally brought to Rome from Samothrace, and this island may even have been considered the ancestral home of the Romans. These ideas were particularly prolific during the late Republic but appear to have waned in Imperial times. During the Hellenistic period (including the early Roman occupation) the cult spread to a large number of sites: returning venerants established festivals and shrines in their home towns.[916] As yet nothing has been found to indicate that the cult was ever introduced in Rome, though, except perhaps an early Imperial relief in the tomb of the Haterii. This relief depicts four gods, Demeter, Persephone, Hades and Hermes, which according to some literary sources are identical with the Theoi Megaloi.[917] Hermes certainly was important in the cult of Samothrace and as in Eleusis the mysteries also involved the act of "seeing Persephone".[918] Theoretically this ritual presupposes an entrance to Hades.

The sanctuary at Samothrace includes several edifices which display prominent architectural peculiarities. A direct comparison between the tomb of Caecilia Metella and any specific building on Samothrace can easily be invalidated, but the number of collective correlations is interesting: the Arsinoeion, a non-peripteral *tholos* and the largest circular building in the Greek world, functioned as a *thymele*; both the Arsinoeion and the Ptolemaion were decorated with early sculptural *bucrania*; the Arsinoeion and the Anaktoron contained covered beehive-shaped *bothroi*, the Hieron *bothroi* of the "normal" kind; the interior walls of the Doric Rotunda were faced with fired bricks,[919] some of the earliest known in the Greek world;[920] a separate structure (perhaps a cenotaph-*heroon*) imitated the entrance (*stomion*) of a Mycenaean *tholos* tomb.[921]

The connection between the Samothracian cult and the commissioner of the tomb of Caecilia Metalla outlined here is hypothetical, but may still provide a possible background for one of the three suggested explanations for the internal layout of the tomb presented in chapter V.4. Of course, we should also consider the possibility that several motives worked in conjunction.

VI.3.2 Creating a heros

Between 27 and 25 BC Agrippa had the Pantheon built in Rome,[922] probably on the instigation of Augustus. According to Cassius Dio, the temple was meant to include a statue of Augustus and carry his name. The audacity went too far: Augustus wavered and called it off. In what appeared to be an act of modesty he exchanged his statue for one of Julius Caesar, thus turning it into a *heroon* over the *gens* Julia.[923]

As mentioned in a previous chapter (IV.5.1) the Mausoleum of Augustus has been interpreted as a *heroon* by several scholars. This interpretation was clearly made from a perspective where Augustus was pictured as resting inside the tomb, in the process of being deified.[924] However, the tomb was built by a man in his prime years, several decades before he actually died. Should we then be led to believe that the reading of this architecture had to be post-

[912] The general dedicated statues and paintings at Samothrace after his victory at Syracusae. Plutarchos, *Marcellus* 30.6.
[913] Cole 1984, 87: "…the Samothracian gods offered … victory in battle."
[914] Bloch 1940, 488.
[915] See Cole 1984, 100–103; Burkert 1993, 187.
[916] Hemberg 1950, 213f.; Cole 1984, 5.
[917] Cole 1984, 91 n. 712; Ehrhardt 1985, 350f.; Burkert 1993, 187. For a Pompeian painting with Samothracian connotations see Thompson 1964.
[918] Burkert 1993, 182.
[919] This is my own interpretation of the published remains whereas the excavator (J.R. McCredie) chose to reconstruct the building with a low continuous brick bench. However, the striking similarities between this structure and the brick *tholoi* near Kazanluk (they all date to the end of the fourth century) lend support to the former view. See McCredie 1979, 35–40; McCredie *et al.* 1992, 262–272, plates 79, 90, 91; Hoddinott 1975, 97–99 (especially fig. 14); Dimitrov & Čičikova 1978, 53–55, figs 95–98.
[920] See appendix D.
[921] McCredie 1974; McCredie 1979, 12.
[922] Cassius Dio 53.27.2–3.
[923] Robert 1939, 56; Schmitthenner 1962, 68f.; Favro 1996, 109.
[924] Foremost Boschung 1980, 40.

poned until the building could be taken into use? I think not. If the Mausoleum of Augustus is to be seen as a *heroon*, the intention was rather to benefit from the associative effects in advance; to be recognised as a potential, or even living, *heros*. The most important role of Augustus with regard to the Mausoleum was as the commissioner of the building, not as the future occupant. Similarly, the tomb of Caecilia Metella was a monument commemorating a prominent woman who had passed away, but at the same time many of its aspects pertained to the commissioner. The building might not have been a traditional *heroon*-tomb but it certainly had a closely related function. Whereas a *heroon*-tomb lends heroic status to the deceased, a passageway to the *inferi* gives heroic standing to the one who has access to it.

Advertisement of ancestral pride in funerary context, triumphal celebration of military honours and accomplishments, patronage of private cults and fulfilment of battle vows. All these phenomena were made permanent and apparent with monumental building, bestowing quasi-heroic status to the commissioner through monumentality and permanence alone. Augustus' use of these mechanisms is reflected in several separate buildings: the Pantheon, his own mausoleum, his manubial buildings, the temple of Apollo and the temple of Mars Ultor.[925] In the tomb of Caecilia Metella we have seen evidence of several different aspects fused in one and the same building. Self-enhancement may have been the only motivation, but short-term political aspirations may also have played a part. Seeing his prospects for further military commands or prolonged magisterial authority dwindle late in 28 BC, Crassus may have resorted to grandiose display in order to sway citizenry and senate. A triumphal celebration would be effectively augmented by funerary games and the dedication/inauguration of a private shrine.[926] No wonder that Augustus chose to leave Rome before the event took place.[927] However, if we are to judge from the literary sources, the efforts of Crassus came to nothing. He disappeared from history.

Thus Augustus and Crassus, perhaps born in the very same year, were destined to rival each other in seeking immortal renown; the one fulfilling his ambition by becoming a new Romulus, the other challenging his twin and thereby ending his days in obscurity, as did Remus.

[925] The close connection between the Mausoleum of Augustus and the early Pantheon, in particular, is discussed by P.J.E. Davies. Davies 2000, 140.
[926] The dedication of a temple would be particularly useful for propagandistic purposes if it was elaborated with a *fabula praetexta*. See Flower 1995.
[927] Syme 1986, 274.

General conclusions

APPLYING A "close reading" of the tomb of Caecilia Metella makes it evident that this building is not merely a funerary monument, but a diverse and multifaceted structure. It served several different purposes, functionally as well as communicatively. The most characteristic feature of the tomb is the unique interior layout. It has been suggested by the present author that this arrangement can be recognised as an architectural manifestation of an abstract spatial concept, the entrance to the netherworld. Although this phenomenon originally belonged to a purely mythological imagery, the architect was able to draw on various associated concepts in order to create a physical representation of the motif. The occurrence of this representation within a sepulchral building is best explained as mirroring the personal religious affiliations of the deceased and/or the commissioner. Apart from demonstrating the close connection between a single individual and certain divine powers, it may have served as a focal point for continuous cultic activities of a private character. Lacking other significant parallels the installation may tentatively be labelled as a *thymele*.[928]

It has also been argued in the preceding chapters that the tomb was intentionally used by the commissioner M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 58) for his own, propagandistic purposes. This could be achieved most effectively in the mutual enhancement of several interrelated spectacles. By associating his triumphal celebration with a funeral and the inauguration of a shrine or *thymele* (perhaps in fulfilment of a battle vow) he reached a tripled effect and simultaneously produced a valuable association to Julius Caesar, who orchestrated a similar extended performance. The three constituting parts need not necessarily have been carried out in close chronological order, as each component by itself carried sufficient links to associate to the others. A funeral offered plenty of opportunities for political display and exhibition of ancestral pride (*laudatio*, *munera* etc.), the tomb served as a victory monument commemorating the accomplishments of past and present generations and the dedication of a shrine, originating from a battle vow, may have included a *fabula praetextata* effectively visualising the circumstances surrounding that vow.[929] This way the effect of the original message could be strengthened and extended over a larger span of time than would be otherwise possible. The monument acted as a unifying element and permanent reminder outside of/between the separate occasions of concentrated display.

The concentration of monumental display to the outskirts of the city instead of the civic centre may be due not only to the funeral ingredient, but can be seen as part of a wider strategy. The ordering and embellishment of an important part of the *suburbium* coincide with the Greek idea of a *proastion*.[930] Areas for relaxation, recreation and spectacle, furnished with victory monuments, *heroa* and shrines, emulated the dignity of the city in congruity with the major Greek models, such as the Akademia of Athens and the Kraneion of Korinth. Instead of coming about gradually and haphazardly these areas could by arranged systematically by wealthy and influential commissioners. The most noteworthy example of this kind of euergetistic self-advertisement was administered by Augustus as he transformed the entire northern part of Campus Martius into his personal *proastion*.[931] M. Licinius Crassus' enterprise may not have been equally profound and successful, but the idea of exploiting the Via Appia in this way was founded on well established Republican tradition.[932]

It should also be considered that the tomb of Caecilia Metella may have served various purposes at different points in time, and that the emphasis probably shifted between different functional aspects depending on the circumstances. Thus, the monument could have had a particular meaning and significance when it was commissioned, another during its construction and yet another at the time of the funeral/inauguration. Finally, as the building

[928] See chapter V.4.

[929] See Flower 1995, 182.

[930] Purcell 1987, 26–32.

[931] Cf. Waurick 1973, 116.

[932] The tomb of Caecilia Metella added to the endeavours of the Scipiones and the Marcelli. Cf. Purcell 1987, 27f.; *LTUR* V (1999), s.v. 'Via Appia' (J.R. Patterson), 131.

passed from human into monumental time it was transformed into something completely different.[933] Both the commissioner and the architect had to contemplate the entire range of meanings.

Do the architectural particularities of the tomb of Caecilia Metella represent isolated phenomena or do they answer to a general pattern? As stated in the introduction, this study does not aim at revealing any general laws, but the investigation of a single object may still be used as the starting point for a broader discussion. Firstly, it can be noted that Roman monumental sepulchres were both public and strictly private at the same time. This condition sets them apart from many other edifices. The funerary architecture of the Romans developed drastically from the middle of the 2nd century to the end of the 1st century BC. Contrary to what one might believe it was not bound by conservative preferences. The lack of strict conventions and the wealth of foreign influences made this field one of the most experimental and avant-garde within Roman building. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that sepulchral architecture in this period can be characterised as "personal architecture". On the one hand a monumental tomb was intended to constitute a reflection of the deceased, thereby retaining the memory of him/her, on the other hand it often entailed a large degree of personal involvement from the commissioner. In some cases these two agents may have been one and the same, but not always. All of these notions suggest that the monuments in question, if possible, should be interpreted with close consideration to the individual circumstances and the historical context. They also contribute in explaining the variation in architectural form and the high frequency of technical innovations. The architects had to use all of their skill and imagination in order to comply with the wishes of the commissioners.

Thus, during the 1st century BC building technology developed rapidly, offering new structural solutions and the means for a new architectural language. Still, traditional Hellenistic taste held a firm grip on public building. J. Ward-Perkins has described the development which ensued from this conflict and finally led to the formation of a new Roman architecture.[934] According to him the formal possibilities and spatial properties of concrete vaulting were first exploited in private edifices and public baths of the early Imperial period, and through these media the new architecture gradually gained acceptance to be fully evident in the Pantheon of Hadrianus.[935] However, many of the characteristic traits of this new architecture evolved already in the late Republican period, and it is in sepulchral monuments in particular that we can see the beginning of something new. Thermal installations and monumental tombs constituted new categories of buildings and they were both uncluttered by the taboos of precedent. Apart from utilising the latest building materials and construction techniques, the tomb of Caecilia Metella represents a new architectural language where the interior space has become separated from the exterior structure and can be treated as an independent component.[936] From this time on Roman architects began shaping interior space as a volume in its own right instead of regarding it merely as the empty void between solids.

[933] Concerning the notions of "human" and "monumental time", see Foxhall 1995. The building carried a certain meaning to the three or four generations of Romans who could relate to the circumstances surrounding the construction of the tomb. Then it became another kind of *monumentum*, serving only to maintain the memory of a woman nobody actually knew.

[934] Ward-Perkins 1979.

[935] Cf. Licht 1968, 298 n. 76.

[936] This architectural language coincides with the so-called "second space concept" of S. Giedion, the origin of which he saw particularly in sepulchral architecture. Giedion 1971, 20.

A. Chronological bibliography of the monument with commentary

1. G.F. Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, Helsinki 1993 (1447–1448).

1.229–232. Iuxta uiam Appiam ad secundum lapidem integrum uidi sepulchrum .Q. Cecilie Metelle opus egregium et id ipsum tot seculis intactum ad calcem postea maiori ex parte exterminatum. Despite the use of the word integrum the only reasonable interpretation must be that a large part of the travertine revetment, probably that belonging to the podium, had been removed before the time of the author.

2. P. Ligorio, *Libri delle antichità XLIX*.

66v–68v. The book was probably compiled in the 1560s. The text is transcribed and published by F. Rausa (A131). P. Ligorio describes the building as a family tomb and identifies it with the *sepulcrum Metellorum* mentioned in Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13. He interprets the trophy as a reminder of past exploits accomplished by the Metelli, and suggests that the building may have been dedicated to Proserpina or the gods of the netherworld. The cella is compared to a shrine (*tempio*). Two altars were found in the close vicinity of the tomb, one belonging to a certain Epaphroditus, freedman of the emperor Claudius, and the other to Q. Caecilius Metellus with an inscribed date of 71 BC. See also B6.

3. F. Nardini, *Roma antica*, 2 vols, Roma 1666.

I 85. F. Nardini only mentions the tomb and its inscription very briefly, but seems to imply a connection to the passage in Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13.

4. F. Deseine, *L'ancienne Rome. La principale des villes de l'Europe avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, Leiden 1713.

164–167. A brief mention of the tomb. Caecilia Metella is believed to be the wife of the *triumvir* Crassus. See also B16.

5. F. De' Ficoroni, *Le vestigia e raritá di Roma antica*, Roma 1744.

161f. A brief mention of the tomb. The author notes that the square part of the monument is completely deprived of its travertine revetment and partly buried. The so-called Farnese sarcophagus is said to have been found in the "sepulchral chamber" under Paulus III. See also B17.

6. A. Uggeri, *Journées pittoresques des édifices antiques dans les environs de Rome. Prèmière journèe. Capo di Bove et vallèe des Caménes*, Roma 1804.

57–60; plan 11, 12; tav. 17, 18. A. Uggeri suggests the *triumvir* Crassus as the husband of Caecilia Metella. He states that the frieze is made in Parian marble. He mentions only *paterae*, not rosettes, and describes the draped fragment as a part of a consular figure on foot. According to his sources the Farnese sarcophagus was found within the cella during excavations made for Paulus III. The stone used for the door-case in the upper corridor is identified as *peperino*. The author particularly mentions the cavity in the wall of the cella above the upper corridor and suggests that the drum originally ended with an attica. He refers to Bartoli, Bellorio (= G.P. Bellòri, 1615–1696?) and Piranesi. Apparently the author did not have the opportunity to explore the lower parts of the interior. See also B28.

7. F. Nardini, *Roma antica*, 4th rev. ed. A. Nibby, 2 vols, Roma 1988 (1818).

I 170. A new revised edition of Nardini 1666 (A3). A plate appended after page 170 displays measured drawings of the tomb made by A. De Romanis. See B35.

8. A. Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, 3 vols, Berlin 1821–1827.

II 235f.; Taf. 11, Fig. 25, 26, 27. The short text mention, among other tings, that a sarcophagus was found in the cella. The upper corridor is described as once having had an outer and an inner door, with the added remark that there seems to have been a trapdoor ("Falltür") by the latter. See also B42.

9. P.E. Visconti, *La Via Appia dal sepolcro de' Scipioni al mausoleo di Metella*, Roma 1825.

32 n. 9, 10. A didactic poem of little interest. In the accompanying commentaries it is stated that the "urn" was found inside the tomb under Paulus III and that it was moved to Palazzo Farnese. Sixtus V had the castle demolished.

10. J.C. Orelli & G. Henzen (eds), *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio*, 3 vols, Zürich 1828–1856.

I no. 577. Caecilia Metella is identified as the wife of the *triumvir*.

11. W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, 6 vols, Königsberg 1835.

II 50–56, s.v. 'Caecilii' nos. 29, 30. W. Drumann is the first scholar to question the traditional identification of the *triumvir* Crassus as Caecilia Metella's husband. Instead he proposes the son Marcus as the most likely candidate, although he points out that others carried the name Crassus besides the Licinii.

12. A. Nibby, *Roma nell'anno 1838*, 2 vols, Roma 1838–1841.

I.2 550–556. This is the first text treating the monument to exceed five pages in length, and it has a huge influence on subsequent writings on the subject. (p. 550) The block carrying the inscription is identified as Pentelic marble. A. Nibby assumes that the *triumvir* Crassus was the husband of Caecilia Metella and dates the tomb between 67 and 53 BC. (p. 551) He dismisses the connection to Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13, previously made by P. Ligorio (A2) and F. Nardini (A3). The cella, here described as the sepulchral chamber, is reported to be 30 feet in diameter. (p. 552) The frieze is said to be made in marble, just as the inscription, whereas the material of the door-case in the upper corridor is recognised as travertine. There are traces of plaster on the brick walls of the cella. Furthermore, Nibby informs us that the cella was excavated in 1836 without any important finds being made. The main purpose was to verify the reports on subterranean chambers in earlier studies. The tradition that the Farnese sarcophagus was found in the tomb is also rejected by the author. (p. 553) Nibby suggests that the damaged relief above the inscription once depicted a Victoria writing on a shield flanked by two trophies, as often seen on Roman medallions and coins. Thus, the draped fragment is believed to correspond to the hip of the goddess. In 1299 the tomb was incorporated with a fortified castle by the Caetani family. Before that the top of the monument might have looked like the Pantheon. According to Medieval documents the monument was owned by the church around AD 850, and was called Ta Canetri Capita. (p. 554) Nibby believes that the podium revetment was partly missing already in the 13th century. The author gives an account of the history of the castle. (p. 555) In 1485 the Orsini were driven from the castle, which was deserted from then on. Nibby cites G.F. Poggio Bracciolini (A1) and interprets the passage to mean that a large part of the revetment was still *in situ* up till then but was removed at this time. The monument was threatened by destruction in 1588 but ultimately saved. In 1751, 1812 and 1824 trigonometric measurements were conducted at the tomb. At the last occasion a pinnacle was erected on top of the building for this purpose. See also B44.

13. L. Canina, *L'architettura antica descritta e dimostrata coi monumenti*, 9+3 vols, Roma 1834–1844.

IX 517f.; III tav. 218. The text treating the tomb of Caecilia Metella was published in 1842. L. Canina states that the tomb is not the one mentioned in Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13, that

the "urn" presently in Palazzo Farnese originally belonged to the tomb, and that nothing remains of the tumulus which must once have constituted the superstructure of the monument. For the illustrations see B46.

14. J. Gailhabaud, *Denkmäler der Baukunst*, transl. ed. L. Lohde, 4 vols, Hamburg 1852 (Paris 1844–1850).

I. This unpaged treatise contains a short text on the tomb of Caecilia Metella and three unnumbered plates, which probably correspond to *tav*. 110–112 in the original edition. Caecilia Metella is described as daughter of the conqueror of Crete and wife of the *triumvir* Crassus. The diameter of the cylinder is said to be 63 feet, and the diameter of the cella 15.5 feet; both figures are wrong. According to the author the travertine revetment was stripped from the podium and burnt in the lime ovens; the so-called Farnese sarcophagus was found inside the cella under Pope Paulus III (1534–1549); and the central motif of the figurative relief portrayed a sitting woman. The frieze is described as having only rosettes above the garlands. The trophy is associated with the exploits of Caecilia Metella's father and husband. See also B39.

15. L. Canina, *Gli edifizj di Roma antica*, 6 vols, Roma 1848–1852.

III 139; IV tav. 272, 273, 290; V 26f.; VI tav. 19. Tav. 272 is identical with tav. 218 in Canina 1834–1844 (A13/B46), whereas the text appears to lean heavily on A. Nibby (A12). L. Canina rejects any connection to Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13, identifies the husband as the triumvir and dates the tomb to between 67 and 53 BC. See also B47.

16. L. Canina, *La prima parte della Via Appia, dalla Porta Capena a Boville, descritta e dimostrata con i monumenti superstiti*, 2 vols, Roma 1853.

I 87f.; II tav. 15, 16. Tav. 15 is identical with tav. 218 in Canina 1834–1844 (A13/B46), and the text is repeating the contents of Canina 1848–1852 (A15). However, here the archaeological investigations conducted in the cella in 1836 are briefly mentioned. See also B48.

17. L. Canina, 'Topografia della Via Appia', *AdI* 25, 1853, 132–187.

158. A brief mention of the tomb and the excavations made in 1836.

18. F. Ritschl (ed.), *Priscae Latinitatis monumenta epigraphica* (= *CIL*, Tabulae lithographae.), Berlin 1862.

col. 73; tav. 84 figs D, d;. A depiction of the inscription published together with the elevation made by L. Caninas (A13). F. Ritschl is reported to have been critical to the identification of Crassus made by W. Drumann (A11). That statement cannot be found here, though. Rather he says that it is not clear which Crassus Caecilia was married to.

19. *CIL* VI:1 (1876), 1274 (W. Henzen).

W. Henzen adheres to the interpretation made by Drumann (A11). Numerous references to older descriptions of the inscription are provided.

20. J.H. Parker, *The archaeology of Rome* IX. *Tombs in and near Rome*, Oxford 1877.

22–24. The author assumes that a sarcophagus was originally located in the cella. He describes the cella as a deep pit partly filled with earth, and suggests that a catacomb may be connected with this pit. He dates the building to between 67 and 53 BC on the same grounds as A. Nibby (A12), but interprets the monument as a family grave intended for the descendents of Caecilia Metella and the *triumvir* M. Licinius Crassus. J.H. Parker accepts the connection to Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13. The diameter of the cella is erroneously given as 30 feet. The author refers to L. Canina (A16), who evidently constitutes his main source.

21. E. Hübner (ed.), *Exempla scripturae epigraphicae Latinae a Caesaris dictatoris morte ad aetatem Iustiniani* (*CIL*), Berlin 1885.

no. 61. Caecilia Metella is identified as the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (cos. 69 f.Kr.) and the wife of M. Crassus, the son of the *triumvir*. The inscription is dated to the early Augustan period.

22. A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, 3 vols, München 1885–1888.

I, s.v. 'Gräber', 608; tav. 10, 11 fig. 665. A brief mention of the tomb, including a wildly incorrect measurement of the diameter of the drum (20 m). The text is illustrated by a photo and a reconstruction based on the one made by L. Canina (A13). See B51.

23. A. Venturi, 'Ricerche di antichità per Monte Giordano, Monte Cavallo e Tivoli nel secolo XVI', *Archivio storico dell' arte* 3, 1890, 196–206.

197f. The article treats a document which mentions the excavations (i.e. scavenging) conducted at Capo di Bove in 1560.

24. *ILS* (1892), 881 (H. Dessau).

"Maritus Crassus ignotus est."

25. G. Digard, 'Le domaine des Gaetani au tombeau de Cecilia Metella', in *Mélanges G.B. deRossi, Recueil de travaux publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome*, Paris 1892.

(Non vidi)

26. F. Azzurri, 'Osservazioni sul fregio marmoreo del sepolcro di Cecilia Metella', *BullCom* 23, 1895, 14–25.

According to F. Azzurri the inscription should be interpreted to mean that Caecilia Metella was married to the *triumvir* Crassus. With the article is published the first correct depiction of the two shields of the relief. See B49.

27. C. Hülsen, 'Caecilia Metella', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 6, 1896, 50–58.

C. Hülsen argues that the Crassus mentioned in the inscription most likely is a Licinius. Since both the *triumvir* and his younger son, Publius, can be excluded, the author reaches the conclusion that Caecilia Metella was married to the older son, Marcus. He compares the shields with the reliefs on the triumphal arch at Orange and thus demonstrates a connection to Gaul which strengthens his proposal.

28. *RE* III (1897), s.v. 'Caecilius' no. 136 (F. Münzer), 1235.

F. Münzer concurs with W. Drumann (A11) and C. Hülsen (A27) regarding the husband of Caecilia Metella.

29. W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, 2nd ed. P. Groebe, 2 vols, Leipzig 1902.

II 41–45, s.v. 'Caecilii' nos. 28, 29. New revised edition of W. Drumann (A11).

30. *CIL* VI:4:2 (1902), 31584 (C. Hülsen).

Bibliographic addition to *CIL* VI.1274 (A19).

31. R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, 4 vols, Roma 1902–1912.

I 37, 59f; III 11–14, 188; IV 123. R. Lanciani has gathered information concerning the Medieval history of the monument and refers to extensive damage done to the building during the 16th century. He also mentions that a sarcophagus was found at the bottom of the cella when the tomb was transformed into a fortress around 1300.

32. G. Pinza, 'Monumenti primitivi di Roma e del Lazio antico', *MonAnt* 15, 1905.

711–714. A brief mention of the tomb. G. Pinza points to the deficiencies in previous drawings, made for example by P.S. Bartoli, G.B. Piranesi and L. Canina, and presents a plain but corrected version of L. Canina's plan and section. See B53.

33. H. d'Espouy (ed.), *Fragments d'architecture antique d'après les relevés et restaurations des anciens pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome*, 2 vols, Paris 1905.

I 9; tav. 32–34. The author states that Caecilia Metella was married to the *triumvir* and that the Farnese sarcophagus was found in the cella. Cf. B43.

34. W. Altmann, *Die italischen Rundbauten*, Berlin 1906.

48 n. 2. A very brief mention of the tomb in connection with the circular buildings of the Imperial age.

35. U. Leoni & G. Staderini, *Sull'Appia Antica*, Roma 1907.

108–116. Contains nothing of interest except a couple of photos from before the restorations of A. Muños. See B54.

36. G. Ripostelli & O. Marucchi, *Via Appia ál'époque romain et de nos jours*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1967 (Roma 1908).

139–151. The authors offer a French translation of the text of A. Nibbys (A12). See also B55.

37. F. Noack, *Die Baukunst des Altertums*, Berlin 1910.

117f. F. Noack is one of the very first to view the Roman circular tomb as a direct development of the Etruscan tumulus. He dates the tomb of Caecilia Metella as approximately contemporary with the mausoleum of Augustus.

38. G. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana, antica, medioevale e moderna*, 3 vols, Roma 1910–1913.

II 60–70. (p. 61) G. Tomassetti rejects any connection between the *sepulcrum Metellorum* in Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13 and the tomb of Caecilia Metella. He suggests the grandson of the *triumvir*, M. Licinius Crassus (cos. 30 BC), as the husband of Caecilia Metella and argues that the trophy refers to his victories in Moesia. The author also concludes that the upper, conical part of the monument was still intact in the 11th century, since a contemporary document describes it as pointed (*peczutum* = *pizzuto*). (p. 62) The conical part he imagines to have been made of stone. (p. 63) In 850 the monument was known as tacanetricapita. The Farnese sarcophagus was reported to have been found inside the tomb at the time of Pope Paulus III, but is assumed to originate from the immediate surroundings. (p. 64) The curtain walls of the Caetani castle are dated to the 11th century. (p. 65) The Medieval history of the castle is discussed in detail. (p. 69) In the 16th century the place served as refuge for criminals and the castle was torn down on the orders of Pope Sixtus V. In 1589 the senate discussed the complete demolition of the tomb.

39. K. Woelcke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tropaions* (Diss.), Bonn 1911.

47–49. K. Woelcke dates the tomb to the Augustan period based on the general shape and style of the inscription. The trophy is described as consisting of both Gallic and German armour and is attributed M. Crassus, the son of the *triumvir*. The left shield is compared to the shield of Juno Sospita.

40. E.B. Van Deman, 'Methods of determining the date of Roman concrete monuments II', *AJA* 16, 1912, 387–432.

395–396. E.B. Van Deman dates the building to the Augustan period (i.e. between 44 BC and AD 14) due to the construction techniques. The exact dating criteria for this particular case are not presented. Instead, a lack of available information is noted.

41. A. Muñoz, 'Restauri e nuove indagini su alcuni monumenti della via Appia', *BullCom* 41, 1913, 3–21.

4–14. A. Muñoz, who conducted restoration works along the Via Appia between 1909 and 1913, here gives an account of his own observations and undertakings on the monument. (p. 6) The author ascertains that the upper corridor is part of the original construction and not excavated from the concrete core as was previously believed. He identifies the blocks of the stone door-case as travertine. Some kind of installation (opening?) in the floor revealed the existence of the lower corridor. (p. 7) At the time, this space was to a large extent filled with rubble, which apparently carried parts of the concrete floor of the upper corridor, perhaps dating from the restorations of L. Canina. However, the original floor level of the lower corridor could not be found. Clearing the fill from the corridor showed that the south end came up against the tuff rock, but Muñoz suggests that it was originally terminated by a wall. (p. 8) Pieces of painted stucco decorated with palmettes were found in the lower corridor. These are proposed to have come from the ceiling. The niche in the north wall is described as a walled up window, which was meant to bring in light from the cella. (p. 9) Muñoz did not find any traces of the previously proposed chamber on the opposite side of the cella. (p. 10) In order to make the lower corridor more easily accessible he had a stairway constructed, leading down from the outside. An excavated gallery leads from the lower corridor to a well about 11 m deep. The author assumes that the monument carried a conical superstructure. (p. 11) He believes that the castle in its entirety should be dated to the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. It should be noted that the concrete floor at the bottom of the cella is not mentioned by A. Muñoz at all. See also B58.

42. J.E. Sandys, *Latin epigraphy*, Cambridge 1919.

42. The author mentions the inscription of the tomb of Caecilia Metella as a good example of *scriptura monumentalis* from the early Augustan period.

43. G.T. Rivoira, *Architettura romana, construzione e statica nell'età imperiale*, Milano 1921.

4–8, 17, 43, 49. G.T. Rivoira emphasises the importance of the building as an early example of brick lined masonry. However, the author does not appear to have examined the monument himself. Among other things, an incorrect measurement of the side of the podium is transmitted (22.30 m). He also confuses three generations of the Licinii Crassi as one and the same person. Rivoira declares this type of sepulchral monument to be of Etruscan origin.

44. F. Toebelmann, *Römische Gebälke*, Heidelberg 1923

7–12. F. Toebelmann dates the frieze after 30 BC.

45. *La Via Appia* (= L'Italia monumentale, 10), Firenze 1923.

(Non vidi)

46. T. Frank, *Roman building of the Republic, an attempt to date them from their materials* (= *PAAR* 3), Rome 1924.

25; 144–145. T. Frank at one point dates the tomb to ca 20 BC, at another to ca 10 BC, on the basis of different building materials.

47. G.T. Rivoira, *Roman architecture*, transl. G.M. Rushforth, Oxford 1925.

An English translation of G.T. Rivoira (A43).

48. *RE* XIII (1926), s.v. 'Licinius' no. 56 (F. Münzer), 268–269.

Without any hesitation M. Crassus, the senior son of the *triumvir*, is pointed out as the husband of Caecilia Metella.

49. P. Ducati, *L'arte classica*, 2nd rev. ed., Torino 1927.

580. The width of the podium is reported to be 28 m, and the cylindrical drum is reconstructed as having carried a tumulus. Caecilia Metella is described as the *triumvir* Crassus' daughter-in-law.

50. T. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical times*, new ed., London 1970 (1927).

183. A brief mention of the tomb, which is dated to the beginning of the Augustan period due to its decoration. T. Ashby seems to interpret the lower corridor as an original entrance to the cella and gives the diameter of the drum as 60 feet.

51. F. Matz, 'Hellenistische und römische Grabbauten', *Die Antike* 4, 1928, 266–292.

286–288. F. Matz discusses the typology of sepulchral monuments and stresses the close connections between Roman and Hellenistic tombs. However, he prefers an Etruscan origin for the Roman circular tombs rather than a Hellenistic one. The author points to the increasing correlation between the exterior and the interior in Roman architecture, illustrated by the development from the tomb of Caecilia Metella to "Tor de' Schiavi" and similar examples. Matz perceives the tomb of Caecilia Metella as earlier than the mausoleum of Augustus.

52. E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, London 1929.

I 135–137. A brief mention of the tomb. E. Strong describes the tomb of Caecilia Metella as contemporary with the mausoleum of Augustus.

53. D.S. Robertson, *A handbook of Greek and Roman architecture*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1945 (1929).

265f., 340. D.S. Robertson describes the Roman circular tomb as having developed from the Etruscan tumulus. The tomb of Caecilia Metella is dated to ca 20 BC.

54. *Enciclopedia italiana* III (1929), s.v. 'Appia, Via'.

tav. 163. Two early photos without certain date. See B59.

55. F.W. Shipley, 'Chronology of the building operations in Rome from the death of Caesar to the death of Augustus', *MAAR* 9, Rome 1931, 7–60.

58. F.W. Shipley leans on E.B. Van Deman (A40) regarding the date of the monument.

56. G. Bendinelli, *Compendio di storia dell'arte etrusca e romana*, Milano 1931.

276. The tomb is dated to late Republican or early Imperial period.

57. *CIL* VI:4:3 (1933).

3799 no. 1274. References on the discovery in 1905 of a tomb belonging to a freedman of Caecilia Metella.

58. A.E. Napp, *Bukranion und Guirlande. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* (Diss. Heidelberg 1930), Wertheim 1933.

24f. A.E. Napp places the frieze on the tomb of Caecilia Metella chronologically after that of the Ara Pacis in his study of this particular motif. However, he points to the lack of adequate depictions of the frieze of the tomb.

59. *Enciclopedia italiana* XXIII (1934), s.v. 'Metella, Cecilia', 65.

In this article Caecilia Metella is identified as the wife of the son of the *triumvir*. The height of the podium is given as 7 m, the height of the cylinder as 11 m and the diameter of the cylinder as 29.50 m. The author reports that the upper part of the monument has been reconstructed as a conical superstructure, but that it just as well could have ended with a crenellation, as in the cases of the tomb of Munatius Plancus and the tomb in Attaleia. The Medieval castle was owned by the Caetani, Savelli, Colonna and Orsini families consecutively.

60. B. Götze, 'Das Grabmal der Cartinia in Falerii', *AA* (50), 1935, 334–354.

343–348. The author identifies the "altar ring" as an element usually belonging to circular tombs. Discussing the meaning of this element, he treats what he recognises as a Roman military grave

(or cenotaph) at Gradistea-Muncelului in Dacia. B. Götze also refers to the relief on the Column of Traianus and writes (p. 348): "... hier ist der Beweis, daß bei der Heldenehrung Altäre in größerer Anzahl verwendet wurden."

61. P. Ducati, *L'arte in Roma dalle origini al sec. VIII*, Bologna 1938.

113f. The mausoleum of Augustus is supposed to have inspired other Roman circular tombs, including the tomb of Caecilia Metella. Here the width of the podium is reported to be 22.30 m, which should be compared with a previous statement of P. Ducati (A49).

62. B. Götze, *Das Rundgrab in Falerii. Baugeschichte des römischen Adels- und Kaisergrabes. Grabbau und Bauplanung des Augustus*, Stuttgart 1939.

8–24, Abb. 14. B. Götze dates the tomb of Caecilia Metella to the middle of the 1st century BC. He points to the fact that several men closely related to Augustus were owners of circular tombs, but also recognises the grave type as pertaining to *imperatores* from the time of Sulla. In the long term he sees the Roman circular tomb as an old Latin heritage, and in extension as a "Indo-Germanic" feature.

63. R. Syme, *The Roman revolution*, Oxford 1939.

22 n. 1, 43, 64. R. Syme concludes that M. Licinius Crassus (cos. 30 BC) is the son of Caecilia Metella och M. Crassus, the senior son of the *triumvir*. He puts the time of their marriage somewhere between 68 and 63 BC.

64. F. Robert, *Thymélè. Recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaires dans l'architecture religieuse de la Grèce*, Paris 1939.

194–200, 203–210. The author discusses various categories of ancient circular buildings, such as the *tholos* (or *skias*), the *enagisterion* (a place for sacrifices to the dead), the tumulus and the victory monument, and searches for a common denominator or meaning. He primarily investigates the use of the words in literary sources but also treats architectural and cultic aspects.

65. F. Matz, 'Rezension: Goetze, Das Rundgrab in Falerii', *Gnomon* 17, 1941, 215–222.

Review of B. Götze 1939 (A62). F. Matz provides a lucid summary of various problems surrounding Roman circular tombs and refutes the theory of B. Götze regarding their Indo-Germanic origin. Instead Matz argues for a combined Etruscan and Hellenistic influence, which is a moderation of his previous view.

66. G. McCracken, 'The villa and the tomb of Lucullus at Tusculum', *AJA* 46, 1942, 325–340.

333–335. G. McCracken identifies "Torrione di Micara" as the tomb of Lucullus, and mentions the tomb of Caecilia Metella as another early example of this type of sepulchre.

67. M.E. Blake, *Ancient Roman construction in Italy from the Prehistoric period to Augustus*, Washinton D.C. 1947.

169–171, 293–295, 339. The author prefers early dates for several circular tombs in the vicinity of Rome and sees the mausoleum of Augustus as the culmination of a long series of late Republican buildings. In the description of the tomb of Caecilia Metella the original bricks are recognised as being made of roof tiles, but later (unspecified) additions of thinner bricks are also mentioned. Although this treatise is still one of the most exhaustive concerning Roman building materials and construction techniques, a number of erroneous data have slipped through.

68. G. Lugli, 'Quando mori Cecilia Metella?', in *Amor di Roma* (Te Roma Sequor), Roma 1956, 233–239.

In this article G. Lugli sets out to establish the most likely time of death for Caecilia Metella. Having conducted a prosopographical analysis he suggests a date between 50 and 40 BC, probably closer to 50. However, the author assumes that the son of Caecilia Metella (M. Licinius Crassus, *RE* 58) became consul at the age of 43. He also appears to take for granted that both the father

and the husband were still alive when she died. He explains the use of interior brick lining as a protection against excessive humidity in the concrete structure.

69. *Mostra della Via Appia Antica*, Roma 1956.

7f., 14, 30; figs 16, 40,41. In 1808 Pope Pius VII and the antiquarian Antonio Canova took measures to have the monuments along the Via Appia protected. From this time onwards various scholars, such as E.Q. Visconti, C. Fea and A. Nibby, began to show an archaeological interest in the area. Castrum Caetani is said to have been preceded by an older castle erected by the Conti di Tuscolo. The gate straddling the Via Appia was left standing until 1820. Two paintings depicting the tomb of Caecilia Metella are included in this exhibition catalogue.

70. F. Castagnoli (ed.), *Appia antica* (= Album d'Italia, 6), Milano 1956.

Figs 25–29. Photos by B. Stefani depicting the tomb. In the accompanying text it is stated that the tomb can be dated to the last decades of the Republic and that the Conti di Tuscolo had a stronghold on this site. See B60.

71. C.C. Vermeule, 'A new Trajan II. Interpretation, typology, and date', *AJA* 61, 1957, 229–247.

241. C.C. Vermeule mentions the tomb of Caecilia Metellas in a discussion regarding friezes with *bucrania*, but he does not contribute any new information.

72. G. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana*, 2 vols, Roma 1957.

I 533–534, 586–587. G. Lugli treats the brick walls of the tomb and explains them as protection against humidity. He gives a detailed description of the bricks including measurements. The author interprets the lower corridor as the entrance to the cella whereas the upper corridor served as a vantage-point over the cinerary urn or sarcophagus standing in the middle of the cella.

73. R. Fellmann, *Das Grab des Lucius Munatius Plancus bei Gaèta* (= Schriften des Institutes für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz, 11), Basel 1957.

66–68, 90–93. This is the first extensive publication of a Roman cylindrical tomb. In a supplementary catalogue over similar monuments R. Fellmann gives a good description of the tomb of Caecilia Metella and provides a review of related chronological evidence. R. Fellmann also discusses the origin of Roman circular tombs and concludes that they first appeared in the 1st century BC with mainly Etruscan and, to some extent, Hellenistic models.

74. G.C. Picard, *Les trophées romains: contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome*, Paris 1957.

44f., 201f., 245. G.C. Picard argues that tower-shaped trophies developed from *heroa* consecrated to *theoi tropaioi* and that the distinction between these and tower-shaped tombs also is fine. The author treats the sculpted *tropaion* on the tomb of Caecilia Metella and associates it with Caesar's campaign in Gaul. The so-called "Crassus affair" and his claim on the *spolia opima* are also discussed briefly.

75. F. Castagnoli *et al.*, *Topografia e urbanistica di Roma* (= Storia di Roma, 22), Bologna 1958.

116, 204, 416. It is stated that free-standing Roman monumental tombs from the 1st century BC were often inspired by Hellenistic *heroa*, but that the Mausoleum of Augustus picked up the Etruscan tradition. A brief mention of the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

76. A.E. Gordon, *Album of dated Latin inscriptions* I, *Rome and the neighborhood, Augustus to Nerva*, Berkeley 1958.

30–32. A.E. Gordon presents a thorough review of the genealogical information of the inscription and discusses previous research on it. He dates the inscription to the early Augustan period.

77. L. Crema, *L'architettura romana* (= Enciclopedia classica 3.12.1), Torino 1959.

136, 248–251. (p. 136) L. Crema mentions the tomb of Caecilia Metella (which he dates to ca 50 BC) as an important example of early use of fired bricks. He points out that bricks were first used

in structures submitted to dampness. (p. 248ff.) The author gives a short description of the tomb together with the usual information on Caecilia Metella and her family. However, he erroneously states that the cylinder has a width of 20 m. Crema identifies traces of a crowning circle of *cippi*, and maintains that an earth tumulus on top of the building was still intact in the 11th century. He argues that the cella may have been divided by a lower vault.

78. *EAA* II (1959), s.v. 'Cecilia Metella' (A. Longo), 448f.

A short description of the tomb where the husband of Caecilia Metella is tentatively identified as one of the *triumvir* Crassus' sons. The designation of the tomb as *peczutum* in a document from the 11th century is interpreted as equivalent to *aguzzo*, i.e. pointed. The author states that the frieze is made of Pentelic marble and claims that part of a Victoria writing on a shield is still visible on the central relief. The walls of the cella are described as once having been covered by plaster. Many of these statements probably fall back on A. Nibby (A12). At one instance the author appears to confuse the husband of Caecilia Metella with her son. On the basis of the travertine revetment and the frieze, the tomb is dated to the end of the Republic.

79. R. Syme, 'Piso Frugi and Crassus Frugi', *JRS* 50, 1960, 12–20.

16. Once more R. Syme ascertains that Caecilia Metella was married to the older son of the *triumvir*. He also demonstrates that their son Crassus (cos. 30 BC) adopted M. Crassus Frugi (cos. 14 BC).

80. A. Frova, *L'arte di Roma e del mondo romano*, Torino 1961.

55. A. Frova claims that the width of the podium is 22.30 m, and that the cella consisted of two chambers, one on top of the other. The frieze is described as typical Augustan.

81. *EAA* VI (1965), s.v. 'Roma' (M. Torelli & F. Zevi), 764–939.

874f. The article provides a short description of the tomb, which is reconstructed with a crowning conical earth mound on the basis of a document from the 11th century where the monument is described as *peczutum*. The authors suggest a floor in the middle of the cella carried by a lower vault, and point out that the Farnese sarcophagus does not originally belong to this grave. Furthermore they argue that if the husband of Caecilia Metella was the senior son of the triumvir Crassus, then the tomb can be dated to 50–40 BC. This statement probably derives from G. Lugli (A68).

82. H. Windfeld-Hansen, 'Les couloirs annulaires dans l'architecture funéraire antique', *ActaAArtHist* 2, 1965, 35–64.

53f. A typological treatment of monumental tombs with annular corridors. Roman circular tombs are separated into an Etruscan tradition with tumulus tombs and a Hellenistic tradition with tower-like cylindrical tombs.

83. R.R. Holloway, 'The tomb of Augustus and the princes of Troy', *AJA* 70, 1966, 171–173.

R.R. Holloway associates the trophy in the relief with the victories of M. Crassus (cos. 30 BC) in Dacia rather than with the campaign of his father in Gaul. This implicates a later date for the tomb then previously suggested, and Holloway consequently draws the conclusion that all Roman circular tombs had the Mausoleum of Augustus as their model. According to the author, the origin of this first Roman circular tomb derives from the prehistoric mounds at Troia, carrying mythical connotations.

84. J. van Ooteghem, *Les Caecilii Metelli de la république*, Namur 1967.

239. In a brief mention the marriage of Caecilia Metella and Crassus is dated to somewhere between 68 and 63 BC. In a accompanying note the connection between the tomb of Caecilia Metella and the *sepulcrum Metellorum* (Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13) is revived.

85. K. Kraft, 'Der Sinn des Mausoleums des Augustus', *Historia* 16, 1967, 189–206.

189f., 206. K. Kraft argues that the Mausoleum of Augustus was completed in 28 BC and that work must have begun 3–4 years earlier. He associates the erection of this tomb with the opening of the will of Marcus Antonius in 32 BC and sees it as a demonstration of patriotism rather than a symbol of royal aspiration or identification with Romulus.

86. G.M. De Rossi, 'I monumenti dell'Appia da Porta S. Sebastiano alle Frattocchie', *Capitolium* 43, 1968, 307–328.

This article provides a list (with photographic documentation) of all sepulchral monuments along the Via Appia from Porta S. Sebastiano to the tenth milestone. According to a note the tomb of Caecilia Metella should be treated in a separate article.

87. G. Daltrop, 'Ein Rundgrab bei Vicovaro', *RendPontAcc* 41, 1968–1969, 121–136.

An article on the architectural elements of a Roman circular tomb, dated to the Tiberian-Claudian period. The tomb of Caecilia Metella is briefly mentioned: The author is surprised by contradicting measurements and points out the lack of satisfactory depictions of the frieze.

88. A. Bammer 'Ein Rundfries mit Bukranien und Girlanden', *ÖJh* 49, 1968–1971, 23–40.

30. A. Bammer dates the *bucrania* on the tomb of Caecilia Metella to the Augustan period.

89. G.M. De Rossi, *Torri e castelli medievali della Campagna Romana*, Roma 1969.

23–25, no. 5. The author relates the history of the Castrum Caetani and offers a brief description. He argues that a castle was first built at the site by the Conti di Tuscolo in the 11th century. By 1302 the Caetani family erected the present structures but soon lost possession to the Savelli. De Rossi also mentions the events in 1589 when the monument was close to being completely destroyed.

90. F. Castagnoli, *Topografia e urbanistica di Roma antica*, Bologna 1969.

A new edition of the first part of Castagnoli *et al.* 1958 (A75).

91. J.-C. Richard, '"Mausoleum": D'Halicarnasse à Rome, puis à Alexandrie', *Latomus* 29, 1970, 370–388.

The author discusses the terminology, origin and meaning of the Mausoleum of Augustus. He argues that construction was initiated in 28 and completed soon after 23 BC. In his view, the mausoleum was part of an attempt by Augustus to create a dynasty using the tombs of Alexander the Great and Mausolos as models. All other Roman circular tombs are described typologically as descendants of the Mausoleum of Augustus.

92. A. Boëthius & J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman architecture*, Harmondsworth 1970.

179, 563 n. 96. A. Boëthius rejects the proposal of R.R. Holloway (A83) and instead argues that Augustan circular tombs had an Etruscan origin, although built in a Hellenistic style.

93. M. Honroth, *Stadtrömische Girlanden. Ein Versuch zur Entwicklungsgeschichte römischer Ornamentik* (Sonderschriften herausgegeben vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut in Wien, 17), Wien 1971.

19f., 73, no. 21. This study of Roman garlands places the frieze of the tomb of Caecilia Metella in the late Augustan period, i.e. after Ara Pacis. The relatively late date is explained by M. Honroth with the suggestion that the tomb was restored some time after the original construction and that the frieze and the figurative relief were executed then.

94. P. Sanpaolesi, 'Strutture a cupola autoportanti', *Palladio* 21, 1971, 3–64.

15, fig. 32–34. According to P. Sanpaolesi the cylinder is 25 m in diameter. The author mentions the vault at the top of the cella but also argues for another, lower, vault carried by the protruding stone ring. See also B61.

95. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and burial in the Roman world*, London 1971.

155. Regarding the tomb of Caecilia Metella, J.M.C. Toynbee repeats the argument of R.R. Holloway (A83). In general, the section concerning circular tombs contains several errors.

96. F. Castagnoli, A.M. Colini & G. Macchia, *La Via Appia*, Roma 1972.

Photos by A. La Capra. See B62. (Non vidi)

97. L. Quilici, 'Antichitá della campagna romana V. La tomba di Cecilia Metella', *BStorArt* 15, 1972, 34–40.

The author dates the tomb to 50 BC, or shortly after, and states that Caecilia Metella died young and was buried by her father and husband. These ideas obviously originate from G. Lugli (A68). It is suggested that the cella had an additional, lower vault carried by the protruding stone ring. L. Quilici mentions the Arsinoeion at Samothrake as a possible model for the building, although he recognises the Etruscan tumulus tomb as the main inspiration for the type. The so-called "altar ring" on top of the drum is described as a crenellation with military symbolism. The Caetani castle supposedly had predecessors in Byzantine as well as later times (Conti di Tuscolo). Extensive damage was inflicted to the castle in 1536, 1571 and under Pope Sixtus V. Restorations were carried out in 1836 and in the 20th century.

98. M. Verzar, 'Frühaugusteischer Grabbau in Sestino (Toscana)', *MEFRA* 86, 1974, 385– 444.

416f. The author dates the tomb of Caecilia Metella, as she does all other Roman circular tombs, after the Mausoleum of Augustus. In this regard she draws support from A. Bammer (A88), J.-C. Richard (A91) och M. Honroth (A93).

99. L. Quilici, *La via Appia da Roma a Bovillae* (= Passeggiate nel Lazio, 1), Roma 1977.

39, 51–59. L. Quilici treats the inscription mentioning *horti Manliani*. The diameter of the tomb is given as 29.5 m and the frieze is reported to be made in Pentelic marble. The author relates the theories of a lower vault and an additional chamber opposite the lower corridor. He identifies the husband as the son of the *triumvir* Crassus and dates the tomb to 50 BC, or shortly after. He sees it as a monument over someone who died young. Quilici states that the castle was first built by the Conti di Tuscolo in the 11th century.

100. *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, Roma e dintorni*, 7th ed., Milano 1977.

414f. The diameter of the tomb is given as 20 m. The present castle was built in 1302 by the Caetani family on top of another from the 11th century. It was subject to destruction under Pope Sixtus V.

101. W. v. Sydow, 'Ein Rundmonument in Pietrabbondante', *RM* 84, 1977, 267–300.

In this detailed study of a circular tomb in southern Italy W. von Sydow describes the type as an originally Hellenistic form.

102. W. v. Sydow, 'Ein Tumulusgrab an der Via Appia Antica', *AA* (93), 1978, 432–442.

438 n. 15. A study and reconstruction of the so-called "Tomb of the Aurelii" on the Via Appia. In a note it is stated that it could be established by the restoration work on the tomb of Caecilia Metella in 1976 that the monument had carried an earth mound.

103. W. Kovacsovics, *Römische turmartige Grabdenkmäler* (Diss.), Salzburg 1978.

For his typological discussion the author makes use of the categories "Grabtholos", "Grabtumulus", "Grabaedicula" and "Sonderformen". (Non vidi)

104. M. Eisner, 'Zur Typologie der Mausoleen des Augustus und des Hadrian', *RM* 86, 1979, 319–324.

M. Eisner argues that the Imperial tombs of Augustus and Hadrianus represented a separate tradition, distinct from circular tombs of private citizens, and that they developed from the tombs of Hellenistic rulers.

105. H. Gabelmann, *Römische Grabbauten der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Aalen 1979.

5–7. According to H. Gabelmann the Mausoleum of Augustus was meant to recall royal Etruscan tombs, although it was built in a Hellenistic style. Sepulchral monuments in the northern Roman provinces are attributed by the author either to the "Mausoleumgrundform" or to "Pfeilergrabmäler".

106. C.H. Ericsson, *Roman architecture expressed in sketches by Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Studies in Imperial Roman and Early Christian architecture* (= Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 66), Helsingfors 1980.

121, fig. 41. A reproduction of an engraving dated to 1680 depicting the tomb of Caecilia Metella. See B13. On p. 119 there is a depiction of the altar of Epaphroditus which was found close to the tomb.

107. E. Leone & A. Licordari, 'La collezione epigraphica conservata nel Castrum Caetani', *BullCom* 87, 1980–1981, 83–123.

84. The article mentions recent excavations on top of the tomb of Caecilia Metella during which, among other things, stamped bricks were found. It is not clear whether these are identical with those published in the article, which are all datable to the 1st or 2nd century AD.

108. G.M. De Rossi, *Torri medievali della Campagna Romana*, Roma 1981.

31–34. The text relating to the tomb of Caecilia Metella is a copy of that in De Rossi 1969 (A89). See also B64.

109. F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma* (= Guide archeologiche Laterza, 7), Bari 1981.

47f. The author states that the drum is 29.5 m in diameter and 11 m high. According to him the tomb dates from the early Augustan period. The frieze is compared with that on Ara Pacis, and the husband of Caecilia Metella is identified as Marcus Crassus, the son of the *triumvir*. A crowning tumulus, comparable with that on the Mausoleum of Augustus, is presumed to have existed still in the 11th century on account of a mention in a Medieval document (*monumentum peczutum*). F. Coarelli believes that the protruding stone ring in the cella may have carried a vault. The Medieval castle may originally have been erected by the Conti di Tuscolo in the 11th century. The inscription mentioning *horti Manliani* is touched on.

110. H. Bloch, 'The funerary inscription of the physician of Caecilia Crassi in the Fogg Art Museum', *HSCP* 86, 1982, 141–150.

The article treats three sepulchral inscriptions found in a columbarium close to the Via Salaria. Two of these concern slaves or freedmen connected to Caecilia Metella. The author argues that even if the son of Caecilia Metella raised her tomb, the *tropaion* must signify the achievements of her husband in Gaul. One of the inscriptions indicates a connection between Caecilia Metella and two Scriboniae.

111. V. Kockel, *Die Grabbauten vor dem herkulaner Tor in Pompeji*, Mainz 1983.

34–36. In his account of different grave types the author also treats circular tombs, and through a number of notes (289–297) he provides an ample bibliography on this subject.

112. W.K. Kovacsovics, *Römische Grabdenkmäler* (= Schriften aus dem Athenaion der klassischen Archäologie Salzburg, 3), Waldsassen 1983.

A typology over Roman sepulchral monuments. W.K. Kovacsovics is critical to the "Mausoleumsgrundform" of H. Gabelmann, and introduces the "temple-type" instead. His typology is based on form/"Gestalt". (Non vidi)

113. [Anonymous], 'Tomba di Cecilia Metella', *BullCom* 90, 1985, 429.

A minuscule notice on a stamped brick found at this site.

114. R. Marta, *Roman building techniques*, Roma 1986.

17, 30. On the basis of the concrete and the brick lining R. Marta dates the tomb of Caecilia Metella to between 44 and 23 BC.

115. P. Meogrossi & R. Cereghino, 'Tomba di Cecilia Metella', *BullCom* 91, 1986, 601–607.

This article includes measured drawings made by G. Foglia in 1976 and 1985 of the tomb and the castle. Most important of these are a plan, a cross-section and an axonometric view of the top of the building. See B65.

116. R. Syme, *The Augustan aristocracy*, Oxford 1986.

271–277. A large part of this essay is devoted to the career of Marcus Crassus (cos. 30 BC). The implications of his achievements for the policy of Augustus after 28 BC are discussed. R. Syme dates the marriage of Caecilia Metella to 63 BC and suggests that her son was born a few years later.

117. E. Simon, *Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende*, München 1986.

166f., 170. A brief mention of the tomb. E. Simon associates the figurative relief with the achievements of her father and dates the tomb to the early Augustan period.

118. M. Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms* (= *RM-EH* 26), Mainz 1986.

36–41, 143f., 204f. This catalogue of sepulchral monuments in and about Rome provides us with a detailed description of the tomb of Caecilia Metella and an extensive bibliography. The treatise is a revised version of a dissertation presented in 1968. (p. 37) M. Eisner interprets the lower corridor as the original entrance to the cella. He conjectures that the concrete structure contains a number of earth-filled compartments separated by radial walls. The shaft in the single open and empty compartment is presumed to have been used as a well for drawing water in the Medieval period. The author identifies both rosettes and *paterae* on the frieze. He describes a decorated section on the soffit of the cornice, and counts at least four preserved altars in the "altar ring". (p. 40) Eisner assumes that the original floor level of the cella and the lower corridor is situated far below the present one and that it is covered by a thick layer of earth. He measures the present width of the podium at 28.2 m and estimates the diameter at the base of the drum to be almost 30 m; the height of the base of the drum to be 75 cm; the height of the base mouldings to be 60 cm; the depth of the base mouldings to be 60 cm; the height of the frieze to be 90 cm; and the height of the cornice to be 75 cm. (p. 41) In note 108 archaeological evidence for a crowning earth mound is mentioned. (p. 143) The author assumes that the monument was built for a single burial and that the remains were deposited in the cella. (p. 144) The upper corridor is tentatively interpreted as a vantage point for looking down into the cella. (p. 152) In note 485 it is suggested that the holes in the wall of the cella may have been intended to hold marble slabs. (p. 168) Eisner considers it likely that the tomb of Caecilia Metella carried a tumulus. (p. 197) In note 678 he suggests that the opening in the side of the broken cupola originally supplied the cella with light. (p. 204f.) The tomb is dated to the penultimate decade of the 1st century BC. See also B66.

119. H. v. Hesberg & P. Zanker (eds), *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard. Kolloquium in München vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1985*, München 1987.

The introduction (p. 9–20) written by the editors provides a historical outline of the development of Roman funerary architecture. The need for studies on the semantics of late Republican and

early Imperial sepulchral architecture is hinted at. It is suggested that the tomb of Caecilia Metella may be associated with *heros* cult and evocation of ancient times. The article 'Tomb and suburb' by N. Purcell treats the concept of *proastion*. (p. 28 n. 20) He interprets Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.7.13 to mean that the Metelli had a family tomb on the site of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The article by V. Kockel on Republican tombs in Pompeii (p. 190) touches on libation tubes.

120. P. Zanker, *The power of images in the age of Augustus*, transl. A. Shapiro, Ann Arbor 1988.

15–18, 66, 72–77. P. Zanker argues that the tomb of Caecilia Metella represents a wealthy aristocratic family without any real power and that the *tropaion* on the figurative relief indicates an insignificant victory won by the husband in Gaul. He dates the tomb to ca 30 BC. P. Zanker conjectures a crowning tumulus and sees the lower elements (podium and drum) as having only an elevating function. The building activities of *triumphatores* in general are also discussed.

121. L. Quilici, *Via Appia da Porta Capena ai Colli Albani*, Roma 1989.

40–42. The content of this text is more or less the same as in Quilici 1977 (A99). However, here the tomb is dated to between 50 and 40 BC and the chamber opposite the lower corridor is no longer mentioned.

122. M. Wilson Jones, 'Principles of design in Roman architecture: the setting out of centralised buildings', *PBSR* 57, 1989, 106–151.

117, 125, 140f. The author demonstrates that a majority of Roman central buildings have a "critical dimension" and measurements based on a limited number of multiples, in particular 50, 100 or 150. He states that R.R. Holloway (A83) has shown that the Mausoleum of Augustus was the first of its kind in Rome and suggests that other ones were made as smaller copies of it. The article also includes a catalogue over circular tombs and similar buildings, and their dimensions. Here it is stated that Baldassare Peruzzi (B3) measured the tomb of Caecilia Metella before the podium was stripped of its travertine revetment.

123. J. Fedak, *Monumental tombs of the Hellenistic age: A study of selected tombs from the Pre-classical to the Early Imperial Era*, Toronto 1990.

15–28, 63, 124. J. Fedak discusses the problems of making a typology of sepulchral monuments and presents his own typology, primarily based on the mode of construction. He distinguishes between "built cylindrical tombs" and "tumuli". He associates Greek circular tombs with the cult of *heroes* and sees them as a link between tumuli and *tholoi*. However, when it comes to actual Roman examples the author no longer differentiates between cylindrical tombs and tumuli and opts for domestic (read Etruscan) models rather than Hellenistic.

124. J.C. Reeder, 'Typology and ideology in the mausoleum of Augustus: Tumulus and tholos', *CPCA* 11, 1992, 265–307.

J.C. Reeder presents an excellent summery of previous discussions on the typology of and possible models for the Mausoleum of Augustus. She argues that the prototype for its upper part can be found among Greek *tholoi* – especially in the Arsinoeion at Samothrake. The importance of the tomb of Alexander the Great is stressed, in particular regarding the lower part of the mausoleum.

125. V. Kockel, *Tempel i kork. Modeller av antika byggnader ur Gustav III:s samlingar* (= Medelhavsmuseet, Skrifter, 17), Stockholm 1992.

67–69. V. Kockel gives a short description of the tomb of Caecilia Metella. He dates it to the end of the 1st century BC and sees it as a follower to the Mausoleum of Augustus. The author proceeds with the cork model made by Giovanni Altieri and purchased by King Gustav III in 1784. The model itself contributes with scant information, except for the ruined condition of the entrance before the restoration works carried out by A. Muñoz (A41). See B23.

126. H. v. Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten*, Darmstadt 1992.

10, 32f., 94–113, 243. H. von Hesberg regards the crowning earth mound as the main element of Roman cylindrical tombs. A large number of circular tombs in the vicinity of Rome are mentioned, in many cases without clear references though. The tomb of Caecilia Metella is dated to the first ten years of Augustus' rule. The building is described as being cast in solid concrete. Von Hesberg suggests that the tomb of Caecilia Metella cost over one million *sestertii* to build. The author calls for studies on the origin of the Roman circular tomb and on the relation between commissioner and architect.

127. H. v. Hesberg & S. Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus. Der Bau und seine Inschriften*, München 1994.

46–56. The Mausoleum of Augustus is described as consisting of a crowning tumulus (the chief element) on a *krepis*, which is made up by two cylinders with an intermediate "plantation". H. von Hesberg does not recognise the upper cylinder as an element in its own right. The author follows K. Kraft (A85) regarding the date and places the construction of the mausoleum between 32 och 28 BC.

128. R. Paris, 'Il mausoleo di Cecilia Metella e il Castrum Caetani sulla via Appia', in *Via Appia. Sulle ruine della magnificenza antica*, Roma 1997, 53–57.

R. Paris gives a description of the tomb and a summery of the history of the building. The husband of Caecilia Metella is identified as the Crassus who achieved victories in Gaul. The frieze is reported to have been made in Pentelic marble. The monument is assumed to have carried a conical earth mound, a conjecture which is based mainly on the Medieval document discussed previously by G. Tomasetti (A38). The deep shaft in the west compartment is proposed to have functioned as a well during the Medieval period. Paris dates the tomb to between 30 and 20 BC due to its decorative elements. G.F. Poggio Bracciolini (A1) is cited in the article and a fair number of depictions are reproduced.

129. R. Paris & P. Meogrossi (eds), 'Il mausoleo di Cecilia Metella e il Castrum Caetani sulla via Appia', *s.a.* [Roma 1997]. Leaflet published by *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma*.

The text is a somewhat shorter version of Paris 1997 (A128) with the addition of some measured drawings, including a detail of the figurative relief. See B63.

130. L. Quilici, *La Via Appia. Regina viarum*, Roma 1997.

42–45. L. Quilici dates the tomb to between 50 and 40 BC. Apart from that the author more or less repeats the information presented in Quilici 1977 (A99).

131. F. Rausa, *Pirro Ligorio: tombe e mausolei dei romani*, Roma 1997.

43–51. A transcription of the text by P. Ligorio (A2) and reproductions of his drawings. See B6.

132. A. Ambrogi, 'Il sarcofago cosiddetto di Cecilia Metella: ambito produttivo e cronologico', *Xenia Antiqua* 6, 1997, 39–80.

A detailed and exhaustive study on the so-called Farnese sarcophagus.

133. V. Kockel, *Phelloplastica. Modelli in sughero dell'architettura antica nel XVIII secolo nella collezione di Gustavo III di Svezia*, Stockholm 1998.

70–72. The text on the cork model of the tomb of Caecilia Metella is the same as in Kockel 1992b (A125) but translated into Italian.

134. R. Paris (ed.), *Via Appia. Il mausoleo di Cecilia Metella e il castrum Caetani*, Roma 2000.

This excellent guide is the first monograph ever treating the tomb of Caecilia Metella. However, a large part of the text is devoted to the adjoining castle and the Medieval history of the monument. The six chapters of the book encompass: The history of the monument, the tomb of Caecilia Metella, Castrum Caetani, the collections of the museum, building materials and construction techniques, and geological conditions at the site. See also B63.

135. P.J.E. Davies, *Death and the emperor: Roman funerary monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*, Cambridge 2000.

P.J.E. Davies sets out to investigate the origin, function and meaning of some important Roman sepulchral monuments, including the Mausoleum of Augustus. She recognises the architectural military trophy as a major inspirational theme in the case of the latter. The author concludes that Imperial tombs had two main purposes: to function as a memorial over the deceased and support a dynastic succession.

136. P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine du début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire* 2. *Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux*, Paris 2001.

422, 429–432. P. Gros suggests that late Classical Greek and Macedonian tumuli constituted important models for the tombs of Roman *imperatores* at the beginning of the 1st century BC, transmitting a heroic theme. The author gives a brief description of the tomb of Caecilia Metella, and by comparing the details of the decoration with those on the Ara Pacis he arrives at a date in 15–10 BC. Gros argues that an earth cone originally crowned the monument, pointing to traces of an earth fill on top of the drum.

137. *LTUR Suburbium* I (2001), s.v. 'Appia via' (S. Mineo).

111. The author places the tomb of Caecilia Metella in the last quarter of the 1st century BC.

B. Chronological list of depictions and reconstructions

1. *Codex Escurialensis*, 33r, reproduced in Egger 1975, 98f., pl. 33; Rausa 1997, 46 fig. 3.9.

Drawing made about 1491 (Egger 1975, 46) depicting a partly reconstructed elevation of the tomb (west façade). H. Egger believed it to be a copy of an earlier reconstruction. The podium revetment is shown intact but includes only runners. SU20 protrudes from the podium wall. The building is titled "Capo di boue".

2. Bernardo della Volpaia, *Codex Coner*, 49v, reproduced in Ashby 1904, pl. 57; Rausa 1997, 47 fig. 3.13.

Drawing made 1513–ca 1515 (Günther 1988, 336–338) representing a partly reconstructed elevation of the tomb (south façade?) with accompanying measurements. The artist has depicted a framed rectangle on the drum above the entrance (at the level of SU35–36), probably indicating the inscription. The podium, including the entrance, is shown intact but the word *uacuu* implies that the entrance was already completely destroyed. SU21 protrudes from the podium wall. The drawing has previously been referred to in Wilson Jones 1989, 141. For the attribution of the work see Buddensieg 1975.

3. Baldassare Peruzzi, UA 477r, reproduced in Wurm 1984, 469.

Measured drawings made by B. Peruzzi (1481–1536). According to H. Wurm the sheet dates from between 1531 and 1536. The sketches include a basic plan and a profile showing the exterior of the monument from SU19 to SU25. The width of the base (of the drum?) is recorded as 50 ¾ *braccia* (equivalent to 29.62 m). A written notation on the profile indicates that the top layer of the podium (SU21) was made of marble (not travertine), and the drawing shows that the row of travertine blocks beneath (SU20) protruded from the podium wall. The plan was mentioned by Wilson Jones 1989, 141.

4. Antoine Lafréry, *Speculum romanae magnificentiae*, 1545–1577, reproduced in Rausa 1997, 49 fig. 3.20.

Illustration made between 1544 and 1549 showing a partly reconstructed view of the tomb (from the west?). The reconstructed part of the podium is depicted without any headers. SU20 protrudes from the face of the wall. This print was mentioned in Lanciani 1902–1912, I 60, III 12.

5. Giovanni Colonna da Tivoli, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 7721, 78v, reproduced in Micheli 1982, 112; Rausa 1997, 48 fig. 3.15.

Measured drawings made before 1554 including a reconstructed elevation, a profile of the façade, a depiction of the figurative relief and the inscription. An additional sketch demonstrates the organisation of revetment blocks on the cylinder. SU20 protrudes from the podium wall.

6. Pirro Ligorio, *Libri delle antichità XLIX*, 66v–68v, reproduced in Rausa 1997, 43–45 figs 3.1–3.

Drawings made by P. Ligorio (1510–1583) including a reconstructed view of the tomb (from the southwest), a cross-section and a plan. The book was probably compiled in the 1560s. The proportions of the monument are quite wrong and several elements are incorrectly depicted. The superstructure is reconstructed as a dome similar to that of the Pantheon and an annular corridor

encircles the cella. What is interesting is that the floor level of the cella seems to be aligned with that of the entrance corridor.

7. G.A. Dosio, UA 2552, reproduced in Muñoz 1913, tav. 1.1; Castagnoli 1956, Abb. 27; Rausa 1997, 49 fig. 3.18.

Drawing made between 1560 and 1569 presenting a view of the tomb from the northwest. The podium is stripped of its revetment and the walls of the castle are still connected to the monument. There is some damage to the upper part of the drum.

8. G.A. Dosio & G.B De Cavalieri, *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium*, Roma 1569, tav. 50.

Depiction made between 1560 and 1569 presenting a view of the tomb from the northwest (design by G.A. Dosio, engraving by G.B. De Cavalieri). The podium is stripped of its revetment and the walls of the castle are still connected to the monument. There is some damage to the upper part of the drum. This depiction is closely related to the previous one, Dosio (B7), and the engraving might have been based on that drawing. The print was mentioned by Rausa 1997, 44.

9. G.B. Cavalieri, Galleria Nazionale di Roma, *Stampe* 51 H 22, tav. 94, 887.

Depiction made between 1559 and 1601 mentioned in Tomassetti 1910–1913, II 65. The gate towards Rome is shown intact. This engraving is probably identical with the previous one, Dosio & De Cavalieri (B8). (Non vidi)

10. Unknown artist, reproduced in Ripostelli & Marucchi 1908, 148.

Depiction made perhaps in the second half of the 16th century presenting a view of the tomb from the northwest. The walls of the castle are still connected to the monument. There is some damage to the upper part of the drum. The composition of the motif shows great similarity with Dosio & De Cavalieri (B8) and has probably been copied from it.

11. Stefano Della Bella, Uffizi, reproduced in Muñoz 1913, tav. 1.2.

Drawing made by S. Della Bella (1610–1664), probably between 1633 and 1639, presenting a view of the tomb from the southwest. It seems that the damage to the upper part of the drum is not quite as large as it is now. The walls of the castle are no longer connected to the monument.

12. Le Brun, reproduced in De Rossi 1981, 8.

Print showing a view of the tomb from the west. The depiction is probably made by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), who visited Rome between 1642 and 1646. The walls of the castle are no longer connected to the monument.

13. Giovanni Jacobo de Rossi, *Vestigi della antichitá di Roma*, 1680, reproduced in Ericsson 1980, 121 fig. 41.

Print probably made in 1680 showing a view of the tomb from the northwest. The attribution to Giovanni Jacobo de Rossi was made by C.H. Ericsson. The walls of the castle are still connected to the monument, but the depiction is in all likelihood a copy of Dosio & De Cavalieri (B8). The copy is poorly made, though, and the motif was reversed in the process.

14. G.B. Montano, *Libri di architettura* III, Roma 1691, tav. 33, reproduced in Rausa 1997, 50 fig. 3.21.

Highly imaginative reconstruction of the tomb printed in 1691.

15. P.S. Bartoli, *Gli antichi sepolcri ovvero mausolei romani ed etruschi*, Roma 1704 (1697), tav. 35–38.

Engravings made before 1697 comprising four plates which depict a plan, a cross-section, a reconstructed view of the south façade and the Farnese sarcophagus. P.S. Bartoli interprets the lower corridor as the original entrance and the upper corridor as the sepulchral chamber. Apparently the entrance to the upper corridor was in a very bad state of preservation at this time, which made a correct interpretation difficult.

16. F. Deseine, *L'ancienne Rome. La principale des villes de l'Europe avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, Leiden 1713, 164, 167.

    Two imaginative depictions of the tomb printed in 1713.

17. F. de' Ficoroni, *Le vestigia e raritá di Roma antica*, Roma 1744, 161.

    Depiction printed in 1744. It is a poor copy of P.S. Bartoli (B15), tav. 36.

18. G.B. Piranesi, *Le antichità romane* III, Roma 1756, tav. 49–54.

    Engravings made between 1745 (1753?) and 1756 comprising of six plates. Tav. 49 includes a plan, an elevation, a cross-section, a profile of the entablature and some details of the construction. Tav. 50 is a depiction of the inscription and the figurative relief. Tav. 51 presents a view of the tomb from the north-east, tav. 51 the Farnese sarcophagus, tav. 53 details of the construction and tav. 54 some tools and lifting devices. The cross-section presents several interesting observations. The lower corridor is shown to be partly filled with earth from the south end inwards, and earth has also accumullated inside the cella. The representations of the frieze show only *paterae*. However, the depictions are not entirely reliable. There is a second chamber opposite the lower corridor and a vault in the lower part of the cella. These features were not present in the drawings of P.S. Bartoli (B15).

19. G.B. Piranesi, *Antichità romane de' tempi della repubblica*, Roma 1748, tav. 20 (22).

    Depiction made in 1747 or 1748 presenting a view of the tomb from the west, outside of the castle. The engraving is identical with *Alcune vedute di archi trionfali ed altri monumenti*, tav. 29 (22) from 1765.

20. Thomas & G. Vasi, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Roma, reproduced in Paris 1997, 57.

    Print probably made about the middle of the 18th century (design by Thomas, engraving by G. Vasi (1710–1782)). The depiction presents a view of the tomb from the west. The gate over the Via Appia is still visible but no longer connected to the mausoleum.

21. G.M. Cassini, *Nuova raccolta delle migliori vedute antiche e moderne di Roma*, Roma 1779, reproduced in Castagnoli *et al.* 1958, 116; Paris 1997, 57.

    Depiction made before 1779 presenting a view of the tomb from the northwest. The representation is not quite realistic.

22. F. Piranesi, in G.B. Piranesi & F. Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma* III, Roma 1792.

    Engraving made by Francesco Piranesi between 1770 and 1790 presenting a view of the tomb from the west. The print is about 60 × 45 cm² and titled *Sepolcro di Cecilia Metella*. The southwest corner of the podium is almost completely missing and reveals rows of blocks supporting the cylinder. A vaulted gate spans the Via Appia but is no longer connected to the monument. There is also a large breech in the wall next to the inner gate. The destruction shown on the upper part of the cylinder seems to be identical to the present damage.

23. G. Altieri, published in V. Kockel, *Phelloplastica. Modelli in sughero dell'architettura antica nel XVIII secolo nella collezione di Gustavo III di Svezia*, Stockholm 1998, 70–72.

    Three-dimensional cork model made by G. Altieri before 1781. The model is not accurate. The west side of the podium is shown with some of its revetment left *in situ* and the entrance is facing the wrong direction.

24. Unknown artist, reproduced in Ripostelli & Marucchi 1908, 149.

    Depiction made in the 18th century, probably before 1789 presenting a view of the tomb from the west.

25. F. Morel, reproduced in *Mostra della Via Appia Antica* 1956, fig. 16.

Depiction made in 1775 presenting a view of the tomb from the northwest.

26. C. Labruzzi, *La Via Appia illustrata ab urbe Roma ad Capuam*, Roma 1794, reproduced in Paris 1997, 53, 143.

Two drawings made on a journey along the Via Appia in 1789, one depicting a view of the tomb as seen from the southwest and the other a view from the northwest with the Farnese sarcophagus in the foreground. The gate across the Via Appia is still there.

27. G.B. Cipriani, *Vedute principali e piu interessanti di Roma*, Roma 1799.

Engraving made by G.B. Cipriani before 1799 presenting a view of the tomb from the west. The gate across the Via Appia is still there.

28. A. Uggeri, *Journées pittoresques des édifices antiques dans les environs de Rome*, 1804, tav. 11, 12, (17, 18).

Depictions made before 1804 including plans and views. One of the plans depicts three rectangular chambers in a row within the podium with an entrance from the outside. The gate across the Via Appia is still present on tav. 18.

29. A. Uggeri, *Ornaments d'architecture d'après les édifices de Rome antique*, plan 2, 7.

Depictions of the frieze made in the early 19th century. (Non vidi)

30. Unknown artist, reproduced in De Rossi 1969, fig. 15.

Depiction made in the early 19th century presenting a romantic view of the tomb from the north. The gate across the Via Appia is there but the motif has been reversed.

31. H.J. Chauvet, in H. d'Espouy (ed.), *Monuments antiques relevés et restaurés par les architectes pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome*, 3 vols, Paris 1910–1912, vol. III, tav. 181.

Illustrations made by H.J. Chauvet in 1804 including a small plan, a reconstructed cross-section, a reconstructed elevation and a view from the northeast. The monument is reconstructed exteriorly as having a flat top planted with trees, interiorly with a lower vault in the cella and an entrance via the lower corridor.

32. H.A.V. Grandjean de Montigny, in *Roma antiqua. "Envois" degli architetti francesi (1786–1901). Grandi edifici pubblici*, Roma 1992, 255–259 nos. 141, 142.

Illustrations made by H.A.V. Grandjean de Montigny in 1804 comprising two plates. The first plate includes two small plans, a reconstructed cross-section, a reconstructed elevation and a view from the northeast; the second details of the frieze, the inscription and the Farnese sarcophagus. The gate across the Via Appia is still there. The similarities with the previous item, H.J. Chauvet (B31), are striking.

33. Unknown artist, reproduced in Lugli 1956, 234.

Depiction supposedly from the 18th century, but probably made after 1804, presenting a view of the tomb from the west. The gate across the Via Appia is gone.

34. J.N.L. Durand, *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre, anciens et modernes*, Paris 1809, tav. 20.

Depictions made before 1809, including a small reconstructed plan and elevation.

35. A. De Romanis, in F. Nardini, *Roma antica* I, 4th rev. ed. A. Nibby, Roma 1988 (1818), 170.

Depictions made between 1800 and 1818 including an elevation of the west façade and a plan at the level of the upper corridor. The inscription is reproduced separately. The drawings are excellently executed but do not correspond with reality on every detail.

36. F. Morel & G. Bassi, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Roma, reproduced in Paris 1997, 57.

Depiction probably made before 1816 presenting a view of the tomb in an imaginary landscape.

37. F. Morelli, reproduced in Simon 1986, 166 fig. 217.

Depiction made in 1816 presenting a view of the tomb from the west. It is probably made by the same artist as above, but it is not the same picture. The gate across the Via Appia is gone but the gate leading into the inner courtyard is not yet walled up.

38. P. Parboni, *Raccolta di 50 vedute antiche, e moderne della città di Roma*, Roma.

Depiction made in 1816 presenting a view of the tomb from the west. It was both designed and engraved by P. Parboni.

39. J.A. Leveil, in J. Gailhabaud, *Denkmäler der Baukunst* I, transl. ed. L. Lohde, Hamburg 1852 (Paris 1844–1850).

Depictions made before 1844, probably between 1816 and 1824, comprising three plates. The first plate presents a view of the tomb from the southwest; the second a cross-section, and a plan and details of the profiled base; and the third details of the frieze, the inscription and the Farnese sarcophagus. Just as the print made by Francesco Piranesi (B22) the view shows the southwest corner of the podium to be almost completely destroyed and the cylinder to be resting on ashlar blocks. The section is similar to those of G.B Piranesi (B18) and A. Hirt (B42), but the plan indicates that four chambers were arranged symmetrically around the bottom of the cella, instead of two.

40. A. Penna, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Roma, reproduced in Paris 1997, 57.

Depiction made before 1846, probably between 1816 and 1824, presenting a view of the tomb from the northwest.

41. A. Parboni, *Nuova raccolta delle principali vedute antiche, e moderne dell' alma città di Roma*, Roma 1824.

Engraving made by A. Parboni in 1824 (or just before) presenting a view of the tomb from the west. The old gate into the inner courtyard appears to be still open.

42. A. Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, *Tafelband*, Berlin 1827, Taf. 11, Fig. 25, 26, 27.

Depictions made before 1827 including a plan, an elevation and a cross-section. The cross-section of A. Hirt demonstrates great similarity with that of G.B. Piranesi (B18), with the exception of the two lower chambers which do not communicate with the lower part of the cella in this version.

43. L. Duc, in H. d'Espouy (ed.), *Fragments d'architecture antique d'après les relevés et restaurations des anciens pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome*, 2 vols, Paris 1905, vol. I, tav. 32–34.

Depictions made by Louis Duc (1802–1879) comprising three plates. They were probably made between 1825 and 1831, as he was *pensionnaire* of the French School in Rome during these years. Tav. 32 includes a small plan and cross-section, details of the frieze and a reconstructed elevation. The representation of the frieze is very similar to that of J.A. Leveil (B39). Tav. 33 and 34 depict the Farnese sarcophagus.

44. G. Cottafavi, in A. Nibby, *Roma nell'anno 1838* I.2, Roma 1838–1841, 553, tav. 21.

Depiction made between 1824 and 1839, probably in 1837, presenting a view of the tomb from the southwest. What appears to be the ancient pavement of the road is clearly visible. Sculptural fragments have been inserted in the wall of the castle, but the new gate leading to the inner courtyard is not yet erected. There is a pinnacle on top of the monument.

45. J.B. Rondelet, *Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir*, 2nd ed., 1840 (Paris 1803), tav. 65, 1.

Depiction made before 1840 (perhaps in 1803). (Non vidi)

46. L. Canina, *L'architettura antica descritta e dimostrata coi monumenti*, 9+3 vols, Roma 1834–1844, vol. III, tav. 218.

Depictions made between 1830 and 1840 including a plan, a reconstructed elevation and cross-section, details of the frieze, the trophy and the inscription, and a profile of the cornice. The cross-section depends heavily on G.B Piranesi (B18), duplicating several of his conjectures (a vault in the lower part of the cella and a chamber opposite the lower corridor), whereas the representation of the frieze is very similar to that of J.A. Leveil (B39). The figurative relief is reconstructed as depicting a standing Victoria turned to the left and writing on a shield between two trophies. A rosette has been included in the frieze.

47. L. Canina, *Gli edifizj di Roma antica*, Roma 1848–1852, vol. IV, tav. 272, 273, 290; VI, tav. 19.

Depictions made before 1851 comprising four plates. Tav. 272 is identical with L. Canina (B46), tav. 218. Tav. 273 includes a view of the tomb from the southwest and a reconstructed view from the same direction. Tav. 290 depicts the Farnese sarcophagus whereas tav. 19 in vol. VI includes a map over the area, a view of the tomb from the north and a reconstructed view from the same direction. Sculptural fragments have been inserted in the wall of the castle and a new gate leads to the inner courtyard. There is a pinnacle on top of the monument. SU21 protrudes from the wall of the podium in the reconstructions.

48. L. Canina, *La prima parte della Via Appia, dalla Porta Capena a Boville, descritta e dimostrata con i monumenti superstiti*, Roma 1853, vol. II, tav. 15, 16.

Depictions made before 1853 comprising two plates. Tav. 15 is identical with L. Canina (B46), tav. 218.

49. F. Azzurri, 'Osservazioni sul fregio marmoreo del sepulcro di Cecilia Metella', *BullCom* 23, 1895, tav. 1.

Drawings made in the 1850s depicting the shields on the figurative relief.

50. A. Corsi, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Roma, reproduced in Paris 1997, 57.

Depiction made in the second half of the 19th century presenting a view of the tomb from the north. A new gate leads to the inner courtyard.

51. A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* I, München 1885, tav. 10.

Photo taken before 1885.

52. B. Tellini Santoni *et al.* (eds), *Archeologia in posa. Dal Colosseo a Cecilia Metella nell'antica documentazione fotografica*, Milano 1998, figs 252–265.

Numerous photos from the end of the 19th.

53. G. Pinza, 'Monumenti primitivi di Roma e del Lazio antico', *MonAnt* 15, 1905, 714, fig. 211.

Depictions made before 1905 including a plan and a reconstructed cross-section. The latter is based on the cross-section of L. Canina (B46) but several mistakes have been corrected.

54. U. Leoni & G. Staderini, *Sull'Appia Antica*, Roma 1907, 110–111.

Photos taken before 1907.

55. G. Ripostelli & O. Marucchi, *Via Appia ál'époque romain et de nos jours*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1967 (Roma 1908), 142, 146, 147.

Photos taken before 1908.

56. G. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana, antica, medioevale e moderna* II, Roma 1910, 62 fig. 16, 64 fig. 17.

Photos taken before 1910.

57. R. Paris & P. Meogrossi, 'Il mausoleo di Cecilia Metella e il Castrum Caetani sulla via Appia', leaflet published by *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma*, 1997.

    Photos taken at the beginning of the 20th century.

58. A. Muñoz, 'Restauri e nuove indagini su alcuni monumenti della via Appia', *BullCom* 41, 1913, 6–9 fig. 2–5.

    Measured drawings made between 1909 and 1913 including plans and cross-sections of the interior corridors.

59. *Enciclopedia italiana* III (1929), s.v. 'Appia, Via', tav. 163.

    Photos taken before 1929.

60. B. Stefani, in F. Castagnoli, *Appia antica* (= Album d'Italia, 6), Mailand 1956, figs 25–29.

    Photos taken by B. Stefani before 1956.

61. P. Sanpaolesi, 'Strutture a cupola autoportanti', *Palladio* 21, 1971, figs 7, 32–34.

    Photos taken before 1971 showing the state of preservation of the cella before the restoration carried out in 1976.

62. A. La Capra, in F. Castagnoli, A.M. Colini & G. Macchia, *La Via Appia*, Roma 1972, 116.

    Photos taken by A. La Capra before 1972. (Non vidi)

63. G. Foglia, in R. Paris (ed.), *Via Appia. Il mausoleo di Cecilia Metella e il Castrum Caetani*, Milano 2000, figs 38, 41, 44.

    Measured drawings made by G. Foglia in 1976 representing a segment of the upper part of the drum (including the figurative relief) and an axonometric view of the top of the monument.

64. Unknown artist, reproduced in De Rossi 1981, 33.

    Measured drawings made before 1981 (possibly by G.M. De Rossi) representing elevations of the east and west façades of the castle including the tomb.

65. G. Foglia, in P. Meogrossi & R. Cereghino, 'Tomba di Cecilia Metella', *BullCom* 91, 1986, 601–607 figs 322–325.

    Measured drawings made by G. Foglia in 1976 and 1985 representing a plan, a cross-section and an elevation of the west façade of the castle (excluding the tomb).

66. M. Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms* (= *RM-EH* 26), Mainz 1986, 38–39 Abb. A5a–b, Taf. 9–10.

    Depictions and photos from before 1986, probably from before 1978. Abb. A5a–b constitute isometric projections of the monument.

C. Catalogue of monumental circular tombs

This catalogue lists monumental circular tombs divided into three geographical areas: "Rome, Latium and southern Etruria", "the rest of Italy" and "outside Italy". In addition, the catalogue includes some other buildings which may have relevance for a discussion on the development of sepulchral monuments. Each group have been ordered chronologically according to the earliest suggested date. The catalogue first came into existence as a preliminary working tool for organising comparative material, and should not be regarded as an exhaustive list. The included monuments are predominantly Roman and range from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD. Circular tombs have been categorised according to the terminology defined in chapter I.4. In those cases where measurements were easily accessible, the diameter and the height of drum/base (*krepis*) have been presented, and the proportion between these figures calculated. The number of references is limited to five, and they chiefly pertain to treatises where additional references can be found.

Monumental circular tombs in Rome, Latium and southern Etruria

1. Tomb of Sulla. Campus Martius, Roma.
Tumulus (?).
The tomb is only known from literary sources.

Plutarchos, *Sulla* 38	78 BC
Appianos, *Bella civilia* 1.105–106	
Lucanus, *De bello civile* (*Pharsalia*) 2.222	
LTUR IV (1999), 286	

2. "Tomb of the Horatii" I. Via Appia M. V, Roma.
Tumulus with base of tuff.

Diameter:	ca 28 m
Height of drum/base:	ca 1 m
Proportion:	28
Fellmann 1957, 93	80–44 BC
Crema 1959, 131	Late Republican
Eisner 1986, 56–58, 201	Middle of the 1st century BC

3. "Tomb of the Horatii" II. Via Appia M. V, Roma.
Tumulus with base of tuff and travertine.

Diameter:	ca 18 m
Height of drum/base:	ca 2 m
Proportion:	9
Fellmann 1957, 93	80–44 BC
Crema 1959, 243	Augustan
Eisner 1986, 58f.	Middle of the 1st century BC

4. "Torrione di Micara" (tomb of Lucullus?). Frascati (Tusculum).
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of peperino.
The tomb was probably not finished.

Diameter:	28.6 m
Height of drum/base:	ca 7 m
Proportion:	4.1
McCracken 1942	56 BC
Fellmann 1957, 68f.	ca 25 BC
Crema 1959, 244	
Eisner 1986, 90f., 201	Middle of the 1st century BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 141	25 BC

5. "Mausoleo c.d. a pianta stellare". Via Flaminia, Grottarossa, Roma. Diameter: ca 24 m
Circular tomb on podium.
Bruto, Messineo & Vannicola 1984 — Second half of 1st century BC

6. "Casal Rotondo". Via Appia VI M, Roma. Diameter: ca 28.5 m
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of travertine. Height of drum/base: ca 8.7 m
Proportion: 3.3

Rivoira 1921, 13f.	
Fellmann 1957, 73	20–1 BC
v. Sydow 1977a, 319f.	
Eisner 1986, 61–63, 203	40–30 BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 141	20–1 BC

7. Tomb of Cornelia. Porta Salaria, Roma. Diameter: ca 11 m
Circular tomb with revetment of marble.

Nash 1961–1962, II 327f.	
Eisner 1986, 123f., 205	Late Augustan
LTUR IV (1999), 281	40–30 BC

8. Mausoleum of Augustus. Campus Martius, Roma. Diameter: ca 89.3/29.6 m
Combined tumulus and cylindrical tomb with revetment of travertine. Height of drum/base: 10.4/10.4 m
Proportion: 8.6/2.8

Kraft 1967	32–28 BC
Richard 1970	28–23 BC
Eisner 1979	
Gatti 1989	
v. Hesberg & Panciera 1994	

9. Tomb of Caecilia Metella. Via Appia M. III, Roma. Diameter: ca 28.7 m
Cylindrical tomb on podium with revetment of travertine. Height of drum/base: 12 m
Proportion: 2.4
(For references see appendix A) — 30–20 BC

10. Anonymous tomb. Via Collatina, Roma. Diameter: ca 5.9 m
Circular tomb on podium.

Colini 1963–1964	First half of the 1st century AD
Eisner 1986, 101f., 206	Late Tiberian or early Claudian
v. Hesberg 1992, 106	30–20 BC

11. "Tomb of Priscilla". Via Appia M. I, Roma. Diameter: ca 21 m
Circular tomb on podium.

Eisner 1986, 30–33	
v. Hesberg 1992, 100	Early Augustan

12. Tomb of L. Sempronius Atratinus. Gaeta (Caieta). Diameter: ca 34 m
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of limestone. Height of drum/base: ca 13 m
L. Sempronius Atratinus probably died in AD 7. Proportion: 2.6

Crema 1959, 244–247	ca 20 BC
Coarelli 1982, 354–356	
Wilson Jones 1989, 150	Augustan era
v. Hesberg 1992, 97	Early Augustan

13. Tomb of L. Munatius Plancus ("Torre d'Orlando"). Gaeta (Caieta). Diameter: 29.6 m
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of limestone. Height of drum/base: ca 10.4 m
L. Munatius Plancus died ca 20 BC. Proportion: 2.8

Fellmann 1957	ca 20 BC
Iacopi 1961	
Wilson Jones 1989, 140	20–10 BC
v. Hesberg 1992, 97	Early Augustan

14. "Tomb of the Curiatii". Via Appia M. V, Roma. Diameter: 17.5 m
Tumulus with base revetment of marble. Height of drum/base: ca 3 m
Proportion: 5.8

Pinza 1907	
Rivoira 1921, 15f.	Augustan
Crema 1959, 243	
Eisner 1986, 54f., 201	(After 50 BC)

15. Tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus. Via Salaria, Roma. Diameter: 34.9 m
Tumulus with base revetment of travertine. Height of drum/base: 4.5 m
At the turn of the century the district became a residential area. Proportion: 7.8

Pietrangeli 1941a	
Fellmann 1957, 71–73	ca 25 BC
Eisner 1986, 124–127, 205	Soon after 9 BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 142	ca 20 BC
Montanari 1999	Augustan

16. Anonymous tomb. Marcigliana, Roma. Diameter: ca 34 m
Tumulus.

Crema 1959, 243	End of 1st century BC
v. Hesberg 1992, 95	

17. "Il Torrione". Via Praenestina, Roma. Diameter: 41 m
Tumulus with base revetment of marble. Height of drum/base: ca 9 m
A coin from 15 BC was found in the internal fill. Proportion: 4.6

Pietrangeli 1940	End of 1st century BC
Pietrangeli 1941b	or beginning of 1st century AD
Fellmann 1957, 70f.	10–1 BC
Eisner 1986, 97–100, 211	ca 15 BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 142	First half of 1st century AD

18. Tomb of the Plautii. Ponte Lucano, Tivoli (Tibur). Diameter: 17.4 m
Cylindrical tomb on podium with revetment of travertine.
The drum was erected in two stages.

Fellmann 1957, 74f.	
Lolli-Ghetti 1985	
Conti 1986	
Eisner 1986, 105–108, 206	Late Augustan or early Tiberian
Wilson Jones 1989, 141	ca 2 BC

19. "Tomb of the Servilii". Via Appia M. III, Roma. Diameter: ca 10.8 m
Circular tomb on podium with revetment of travertine.

Rivoira 1921, 11f.	Late Augustan
Fellmann 1957, 74	Late Augustan
Windfeld-Hansen 1965, 45, 63	End of Augustan period
Eisner 1986, 33–36, 206	1st century AD (early?)
Wilson Jones 1989, 142	2nd century AD

20. "Tomb of the Aurelii". Via Appia M. VI, Roma. Diameter: ca 9.1 m
Cylindrical tomb. Height of drum/base: ca 5 m
Proportion: 1.8

v. Sydow 1978	1st century AD

21. Anonymous tomb. Via Valeria, Vicovaro (Varia). Diameter: 9.7 m
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of travertine and marble. Height of drum/base: ca 8.2 m
Proportion: 1.2

Daltrop 1968–1969	Tiberian-Claudian/AD 25–50
Wilson Jones 1989, 142	

22. Anonymous tomb. Tor di Quinto, Roma.
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of marble.

The tomb has been reconstructed at Villa Blanc.
Eisner 1986, 130f., 206f. — Claudian

23. "Tomb of Cartinia". Falerii Novi.
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of Carrara marble.
Diameter: 10.4 m
Height of drum/base: 5.4 m
Proportion: 1.9
Neronean

Götze 1935
Götze 1939
Fellmann 1957, 75–77
Wilson Jones 1989, 142

24. Anonymous tomb. Via Appia M. X, Roma.
Tumulus with base revetment of tuff.
Diameter: ca 30.8 m
Height of drum/base: ca 6 m
Proportion: 5.1

Eisner 1986, 70–73

25. Anonymous tomb. Via Ardeatina, Roma.
Tumulus with base revetment of travertine.
Diameter: ca 38 m
Height of drum/base: ca 5.5 m
Proportion: 6.9
(After 55 BC)

Eisner 1986, 25–27, 210

26. "Torraccio". Via Appia, Frattocchie (Bovillae).
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of marble (?).
Diameter: ca 15 m
Height of drum/base: ca 10 m
Proportion: 1.5
(After 50 BC)

Eisner 1986, 77f., 201

27. Anonymous tomb. Via Appia M. IV, Roma.
Cylindrical tomb with revetment of travertine.
Diameter: ca 11 m
Height of drum/base: ca 3.7 m
Proportion: 3
(After 43 BC)

Eisner 1986, 45f., 210

28. "Tomb of Arruntius" ("Casa Tonda"?). Via Labicana M. IX.
Cylindrical tomb on podium.
Diameter: ca 11.8 m
Height of drum/base: ca 5.5 m
Proportion: 2.1

Ashby 1927, 150
Eisner 1986, 96f.

29. Tomb of Hadrianus. Roma.
Circular tomb on podium with revetment of marble.
Diameter: ca 64 m
Height of drum/base: ca 15 m
Proportion: 4.3

Fellmann 1957, 77f.
Eisner 1979
Wilson Jones 1989, 143 — ca AD 130
LTUR Suburbium I (2001), 15–22 — AD 139

30. "Monte del Grano". Via Tuscolana, Roma.
Tumulus.
Diameter: ca 63 m

Fellmann 1957, 79f. — End of the 2nd century BC
v. Hesberg 1992, 110f. — Middle of the 2nd century AD
LTUR Suburbium I (2001), 193 — Period of Septimius Severus

Monumental circular tombs in the rest of Italy

31. "Le Carceri Vecchie". S. Maria Capua Vetere.
Circular tomb.
Diameter: 20.3 m
Height of drum/base: ca 4.5 m
Proportion: 4.5

Fellmann 1957, 65f. — Middle of the 1st century BC
De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 36–38, 87–104 — 2nd century AD
Johannowsky 1976, 279

Wilson Jones 1989, 148 v. Hesberg 1992, 101	2nd century AD	
32. Anonymous tomb. Pietrabbondante. Cylindrical tomb on podium.	Diameter: Height of drum/base: Proportion:	5.7 m ca 2.6 m 2.2
v. Sydow 1977b	Second half of the 1st century BC	
33. Tomb of Veia Barchilla (South-East 3). Porta di Nocera, Pompeii. Cylindrical tomb.	Diameter: Height of drum/base: Proportion:	ca 7 m ca 2.5 m 2.8
D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983 Kockel 1987, 191, 193, 197	Late Caesarean to early Augustan Augustan/30–20 BC	
34. "Tomb of Vergilius". Via Puteolana, Napoli. Circular tomb on podium.		
De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 12f., 69–72 v. Hesberg 1992, 106f.	Augustan	
35. Tomb of C. Ennius Marsus. Sepino (Saepinum). Cylindrical tomb on podium.	Diameter: Height of drum/base: Proportion:	8.8 m ca 5 m 1.8
Gaggiotti 1973, 21ff. Van Wonterghem 1982, 104, 113	Augustan	
36. Tomb of a tribunus militum. Corfinio (Corfinium). Circular tomb on podium.	Diameter:	ca 10.3 m
Van Wonterghem 1982	Augustan/before AD 47	
37. Tomb of C. Fabius Secundus (?). Porta di Ercolano, Pompeii. Cylindrical tomb on podium.	Diameter: Height of drum/base: Proportion:	3.2 m 4.3 m 0.7
Kockel 1983, 85–90	AD 50–79 Augustan-Tiberian	
38. Anonymous tomb. Carsulae. Circular tomb on podium.	Diameter:	17 m
Van Wonterghem 1982, 104	First half of 1st century AD	
39. Anonymous tomb. S. Vito, Pozzuoli (Puteoli). Circular tomb on podium.	Diameter:	ca 5.5 m
De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 26–28, 66–68	Second half of the 1st century AD	
40. "La Conocchia di Capodimonte". Scudillo, Napoli. Circular tomb on podium.	Diameter:	ca 6 m
De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 22–26, 72	Second half of the 1st century AD	
41. Anonymous tomb. Marano di Napoli. Circular tomb on podium.	Diameter:	ca 7.5 m
De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 28f., 72–76	2nd century AD	
42. Tomb of the Acilii Glabriones. Via Latina, Alife. Cylindrical tomb.	Diameter:	11.9 m
De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 104–110 Wilson Jones 1989, 147		
43. Anonymous tomb. Corfinio (Corfinium). Circular tomb on podium.	Diameter:	ca 14.5 m
Van Wonterghem 1982, 104		

44. Anonymous tomb. Reggio Emilia. Diameter: ca 8 m
Circular tomb on podium.
Van Wonterghem 1982, 116
v. Hesberg 1992, 103

45. Tomb of C. Utianus Rufus. Polla (Forum Pompillii). Diameter: ca 8 m
Circular tomb on podium.
Van Wonterghem 1982, 105, 116
v. Hesberg 1992, 104

Monumental circular tombs outside Italy

46. "Le Medracen". Batna, Algeria. Diameter: ca 56.5 m
Stone tumulus.
Numidian royal tomb.

Fellmann 1957, 64	4th century BC
Rakob 1979, 134–138	2nd century BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 150	Early 1st century AD
Fedak 1990, 137f	First half of the 3rd century BC

47. "Tombeau de la Chrétienne". Tipasa, Algeria. Diameter: ca 60 m
Stone tumulus.
Numidian royal tomb.

Christofle 1951	
Fellmann 1957, 64f.	2nd century BC
Rakob 1979, 138–142	First half of 1st century BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 150	Early 1st century AD
Fedak 1990, 138f	1st century BC or Augustan

48. "Tomb of Kleobulos" ("Hagios Milianos"). Lindos, Rhodos. Diameter: ca 9 m
Circular tomb.

Dyggve 1960, II 287–289	2nd or 1st century BC
Lauter 1986, 214	

49. "Heroon am Theaterhang". Miletos, Turkey. Diameter: ca 14 m
Circular tomb.

Müller-Wiener & Weber 1985, 16–23	End of 2nd or early 1st century BC

50. Tomb of Antiochos I. Nemrud Dagh, Turkey. Diameter: ca 150 m
Stone tumulus.
Hellenistic royal tomb

Goell 1957	ca 34 BC

51. "La Gironette". Autun, France. Diameter: ca 30 m
Circular tomb.

v. Hesberg 1992, 107	Early Imperial

52. Tomb of M. Calpurnius Rufus. Antalya (Attaleia), Turkey. Diameter: ca 16 m
Cylindrical tomb on podium. Height of drum/base: 6.2 m
Proportion: 2.6

Fellmann 1957, 78f.	Middle of the 2nd century AD
Stupperich 1991	Claudian

53. Tomb of Q. Lollius Urbicus. Tiddis (Constantine), Algeria. Diameter: 10.2 m
Cylindrical tomb. Height of drum/base: 5.5 m
Proportion: 1.9

Fellmann 1957, 79	Second half of the 2nd century AD

Other monuments of relevance

54. "Tomb of Theron". Agrigento (Akragas). Diameter: 4.8 m
Rectangular tomb.

Crema 1959, 129	First half of 1st century BC
Fedak 1990, 125f.	2nd century BC

55. Tomb of Ser. Sulpicius Galba. Roma. Diameter: 2.6 m
Rectangular tomb.

Eisner 1986, 22f., 201f.	First quarter of 1st century BC
v. Hesberg 1992, 171	End of 2st century BC
LTUR IV (1999), 299	ca 100 BC

56. "Tomb of the Horatii and the Curiatii". Via Appia, Albano. Diameter: ca 15 m
Rectangular tomb.

Chiarucci 1986	First half of 1st century BC
Gizzi & Ghini 1990	
Eisner 1986, 81–84, 201	(After 50 BC)
Wilson Jones 1989, 143	

57. "Sacrarium gentis Juliae". Via Appia, Frattocchie (Bovillae). Diameter: 7 m
Circular building.
Now completely destroyed.

Rivoira 1921, 6–8	Sullan era

58. Tomb of C. Publicius Bibulus. Campus Martius, Roma. Diameter: 6.6 m
Rectangular tomb.
Probably re-erection of an older tomb.

Delbrueck 1907–1912, II 37–41	Sullan era
Nash 1961–1962, II 319	
Eisner 1986, 17–19, 203	60–50 BC
LTUR IV (1999), 295	Beginning of the 1st century BC

59. "Tomb of Absalom". Kedron valley, Jerusalem. Diameter: 5.8 m
Composite tomb.

Fedak 1990, 143f.	Late 1st century BC

60. Tomb of the Julii. St. Remy (Glanum), France. Diameter: 4.4 m
Composite tomb.

Rolland 1969	
Wilson Jones 1989, 147	Augustan era

61. Tomb of M. Vergilius Eurysaces. Porta Maggiore, Roma.

Nash 1961–1962, II 329	
Ciancio Rosetto 1973	30–20 BC
Eisner 1986, 92–94, 203f.	ca 30 BC
Brandt 1993	

62. Pyramid of C. Cestius. Porta Ostiensis, Roma. Diameter: 29.5 m
Pyramid with revetment of Carrara marble.

Nash 1961–1962, II 321	
Eisner 1986, 138–141, 204	15–11 BC
Wilson Jones 1989, 140	25–10 BC
LTUR IV (1999), 278f.	25–12 BC

63. Tropaeum Alpium. La Turbie, France. Diameter: ca 21 m
Circular monument.

Formigé 1949	7–6 BC
Crema 1959, 251	

64. Cenotaph of C. Caesar. Limyra, Turkey.
Rectangular monument.
Ganzert 1984 AD 4–10

65. Tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus. Roma.
Rectangular tomb.
Nash 1961–1962, II 374
Silvestrini 1987, 82 ca AD 20

66. Tropaeum Traiani. Adamklissi, Rumania. Diameter: ca 30.5 m
Circular monument.
Fellmann 1957, 78
Florescu 1965
Wilson Jones 1989, 150 Early 2nd century AD

67. "La Conocchia". S. Maria Capua Vetere. Diameter: ca 6.5 m
Composite tomb.
De Franciscis & Pane 1957, 34–36, 76–80 2nd century AD

No.	Name	Category	Diameter	Prop.	Original date
1	Tomb of Sulla. Campus Martius, Roma	Tumulus (?)			78 BC
2	"Tomb of the Horatii" I. Via Appia M. V, Roma	Tumulus	ca 28 m	28	80–44 BC; middle of the 1st century BC; late Republican
3	"Tomb of the Horatii" II. Via Appia M. V, Roma	Tumulus	ca 18 m	9	80–44 BC; middle of the 1st century BC; Augustan
4	"Torrione di Micara" (tomb of Lucullus?). Frascati (Tusculum)	Cylindr. tomb	28.6 m	4.1	Middle of the 1st century BC ; 56 BC; ca 25 BC
31	"Le Carceri Vecchie". S. Maria Capua Vetere	Circular tomb	20.3 m	4.5	Middle of the 1st century BC; 2nd century AD
32	Anonymous tomb. Pietrabbondante	Cylindr. tomb	5.7 m	2.2	Second half of the 1st century BC
33	Tomb of Veia Barchilla (South-East 3). Porta di Nocera, Pompeii	Cylindr. tomb	ca 7 m	2.8	Late Caesarean to early Augustan; Augustan/30–20 BC
5	"Mausoleo c.d. a pianta stellare". Via Flaminia, Grottarossa, Roma	Circular tomb	ca 24 m		Second half of 1st century BC
6	"Casal Rotondo". Via Appia VI M, Roma	Cylindr. tomb	ca 28.5 m	3.3	40–30 BC; 20–1 BC
7	Tomb of Cornelia. Porta Salaria, Roma	Circular tomb	ca 11 m		40–30 BC; late Augustan
8	Mausoleum of Augustus. Campus Martius, Roma	(Lower part)	ca 89.3 m	8.6	32–28 BC; 28–23 BC
8	Mausoleum of Augustus. Campus Martius, Roma	(Upper part)	ca 29.6 m	2.8	32–28 BC; 28–23 BC
9	Tomb of Caecilia Metella. Via Appia M. III, Roma	Cylindr. tomb	ca 28.7 m	2.4	30–20 BC
10	Anonymous tomb. Via Collatina, Roma	Circular tomb	ca 5.9 m		30–20 BC; first half of the 1st century AD; late Tiberian or early Claudian
11	"Tomb of Priscilla". Via Appia M. I, Roma	Circular tomb	ca 21 m		Early Augustan
12	Tomb of L. Sempronius Atratinus. Gaeta (Caieta)	Cylindr. tomb	ca 34 m	2.6	Early Augustan; Augustan era; ca 20 BC
13	Tomb of L. Munatius Plancus ("Torre d'Orlando"). Gaeta (Caieta)	Cylindr. tomb	29.6 m	2.8	Early Augustan; 20–10 BC
51	"La Gironette". Autun, France	Circular tomb	ca 30 m		Early Imperial
14	"Tomb of the Curiatii". Via Appia M. V, Roma	Tumulus	17.5 m	5.8	(After 50 BC); Augustan
34	"Tomb of Vergilius". Via Puteolana, Napoli	Circular tomb			Augustan
35	Tomb of C. Ennius Marsus. Sepino (Saepinum)	Cylindr. tomb	8.8 m	1.8	Augustan
15	Tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus. Via Salaria, Roma	Tumulus	34.9 m	7.8	Augustan; ca 25 BC; ca 20 BC; soon after 9 BC
36	Tomb of a tribunus militum. Corfinio (Corfinium)	Circular tomb	ca 10.3 m		Augustan/before AD 47
37	Tomb of C. Fabius Secundus (?). Porta di Ercolano, Pompeii	Cylindr. tomb	3.2 m	0.7	Augustan-Tiberian; AD 50–79
16	Anonymous tomb. Marcigliana, Roma	Tumulus	ca 34 m		End of 1st century BC
17	"Il Torrione". Via Praenestina, Roma	Tumulus	41 m	4.6	End of 1st century BC; ca 15 BC; 10–1 BC; beginning of 1st century AD; first half of 1st century AD
18	Tomb of the Plautii. Ponte Lucano, Tivoli (Tibur)	Cylindr. tomb	17.4 m		ca 2 BC; late Augustan or early Tiberian
19	"Tomb of the Servilii". Via Appia M. III, Roma	Circular tomb	ca 10.8 m		Late Augustan; end of Augustan period; 1st century AD (early?); 2nd century AD
38	Anonymous tomb. Carsulae	Circular tomb	17 m		First half of 1st century AD
20	"Tomb of the Aurelii". Via Appia M. VI, Roma	Cylindr. tomb	ca 9.1 m	1.8	1st century AD
21	Anonymous tomb. Via Valeria, Vicovaro (Varia)	Cylindr. tomb	9.7 m	1.2	Tiberian-Claudian/AD 25–50
22	Anonymous tomb. Tor di Quinto, Roma	Cylindr. tomb			Claudian

52	Tomb of M. Calpurnius Rufus. Antalya (Attaleia), Turkey	Cylindr. tomb	ca 16 m	2.6	Claudian; middle of the 2nd century AD
23	"Tomb of Cartinia". Falerii Novi	Cylindr. tomb	10.4 m	1.9	Neronean
39	Anonymous tomb. S. Vito, Pozzuoli (Puteoli)	Circular tomb	ca 5.5 m		Second half of the 1st century AD
40	"La Conocchia di Capodimonte". Scudillo, Napoli	Circular tomb	ca 6 m		Second half of the 1st century AD
24	Anonymous tomb. Via Appia M. X, Roma	Tumulus	ca 30.8 m	5.1	
25	Anonymous tomb. Via Ardeatina, Roma	Tumulus	ca 38 m	6.9	(After 55 BC)
26	"Torraccio". Via Appia, Frattocchie (Bovillae)	Cylindr. tomb	ca 15 m	1.5	(After 50 BC)
27	Anonymous tomb. Via Appia M. IV, Roma	Cylindr. tomb	ca 11 m	3	(After 43 BC)
28	"Tomb of Arruntius" ("Casa Tonda"?). Via Labicana M. IX	Cylindr. tomb	ca 11.8 m	2.1	
42	Tomb of the Acilii Glabriones. Via Latina, Alife	Cylindr. tomb	11.9 m		
43	Anonymous tomb. Corfinio (Corfinium)	Circular tomb	ca 14.5 m		
44	Anonymous tomb. Reggio Emilia	Circular tomb	ca 8 m		
45	Tomb of C. Utianus Rufus. Polla (Forum Pompillii)	Circular tomb	ca 8 m		
66	Tropaeum Traiani. Adamklissi, Rumania	Circ. monument	ca 30.5 m		Early 2nd century AD
41	Anonymous tomb. Marano di Napoli	Circular tomb	ca 7.5 m		2nd century AD
29	Tomb of Hadrianus. Roma	Circular tomb	ca 64 m	4.3	ca AD 130; AD 139
53	Tomb of Q. Lollius Urbicus. Tiddis (Constantine), Algeria	Cylindr. tomb	10.2 m	1.9	Second half of the 2nd century AD
30	"Monte del Grano". Via Tuscolana, Roma	Tumulus	ca 63 m		End of the 2nd century BC; middle of the 2nd century AD; period of Septimius Severus

Table C.1. Roman circular tombs from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD in chronological order after earliest suggested date. The fourth column shows the proportion between diameter and height of the drum/base where measures are available.

D. Early use of fired bricks

Fired bricks were used in Mesopotamia from the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC (Parrot 1969, 219). They are often encountered in tombs, for example in Mari, Ur and Assur (Wesenberg 1991, 253f.), but also in other buildings. According to W.B. Dinsmoor (1950, 388) "burnt brick did not appear in Greek lands before the middle of the 4th century BC and was used only rarely even in the Hellenistic period". D.S. Robertson (1929, 4) stated that "burnt brick was probably not used for the construction or facing of walls or columns till after the time of Alexander the Great". In the following lists I will present reports of early examples from the Graeco-Roman world up to the Tiberian period. I have chosen to order them chronologically according to the earliest suggested date. After the lists follows a brief discussion on some reports which I have found reason the question. The development and use of early fired bricks will be treated in greater depth by the present author in a separate article.

Early fired bricks in the eastern Mediterranean world

Olynthos, pillar bases in domestic building, before 348 BC
Robinson 1946, 156, pl. 130

Kassope, *katagogeion* (hostel), upper walls, first half of the 4th century BC
Dakaris 1971, 121: burnt bricks and timber bindings; first half of the 4th century BC
Leekley & Efstratiou 1980, 46: upper walls of bricks and beams; 4th century BC
Lauter 1986, 53: well fired bricks; early Hellenistic

Knidos, the sanctuary of Aphrodite, column discs in small *naiskos*, late Classical
Lauter 1986, 55: late Classical or early Hellenistic

Olympia, the Philippeion, after 338 BC
Pausanias 5.20.10: the Philippeion is made of fired bricks
Lauter 1986, 52f.: no archaeological evidence for fired bricks

Samothrace, the Doric Rotunda, interior walls, 325–300 BC
(Lehmann 1950, 14: loose finds of baked bricks; Classical or early Hellenistic period)
McCredie *et al.* 1992, 262–272: perhaps a cenotaph; 325–300 BC

Seuthopolis, tombs, interior walls, 320–280 BC
Dimitrov & Čičikova 1978, 23

Pantikapaion, tombs, ca 300 BC
Gajdukevič 1971, 259: cist graves made of roof tiles

Ephyra, the Nekyomanteion, upper walls, ca 300 BC
Dakaris 1962: late 3rd century BC
Lauter 1986, 53: well fired bricks; ca 300 BC

Dodona, bouleuterion, early 3rd century BC
Dakaris 1971

Nippur, palace, column segments and foundation, early 3rd century BC
Delbrueck 1907–1912, II 96: 3rd century BC
Robertson 1929, 235: early 3rd century BC
Lauter 1986, 55: 3rd–2nd century BC

Lykosura, the temple of Despoina, upper walls, early 2nd century BC
Robertson 1929, 235 n. 3: ca 180 BC
Dinsmoor 1950, 269: second quarter of the 2nd century BC (architect Damophon?)
Lauter 1986, 53: lightly fired bricks; early 2nd century BC

Olympia, temple of Zeus, tympanum walls, second quarter of 2nd century BC
Dinsmoor 1950, 268 n. 4: (architect Damophon?)

Early fired bricks in Italy (except for Rome)

Tombs

Rhegion, underground vaulted chamber tombs, beginning of the 3rd century BC
De Franciscis 1957: 3rd century BC
Lauter 1986, 53f.: beginning of the 3rd century BC
Sarsina, underground vaulted chamber tomb, before 50 BC
Ortalli 1987, 166f.
Tusculum, "Torrione di Micara", 56 BC (C4) (see below)
Capua, "Carceri Vecchie", middle of the 1st century BC (C31)
Caieta, tomb of L. Munatius Plancus, early Augustan (C13)
Pompeii, tomb of C. Fabius Secundus (?), Augustan-Tiberian (C37)
Alife, tomb of the Acilii Glabriones (C42)

City walls

Arretium (Arezzo), ca 300 BC
Vitruvius 2.8.9: wall made of *lateres* (= clay bricks?)
Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 35.173: wall made of *lateres* (= clay bricks)
Del Vita 1920, 186: stretch of wall made of lightly fired bricks
Lugli 1957, 588: 3rd–2nd century BC
PECS, 95: wall made ca 300 BC, partly of lightly fired bricks (perhaps repairs)
Kaulonia, 3rd–2nd century BC
Orsi 1914, 710–725: broken roof tiles between stones and occasional use of baked bricks
Lugli 1957, 588: 3rd–2nd century BC
PECS, 443: city rebuilt in the 4th century BC, abandoned by the 1st century BC
Alba Pompeia (Alba), before 78 BC
Lugli 1957, 588: before 78 BC
PECS, 33: brick-faced wall probably Augustan
Pompeii, Porta Marina, brick quoins, Sullan age
Carrington 1933, 132
Pompeii, Porta di Ercolano, *opus mixtum vittatum*, between 80 BC and the Augustan period
Carrington 1933, 134: Augustan age
Richardson 1988, 380f.: AD 62–79
Adam 1994, 139f.: between 80 BC and the Augustan period
Ariminum (Rimini), 27 BC
Richmond 1933, 158–161: no mention of bricks
Boëthius 1939, 136–138: walls by arch covered with thick burnt bricks; 27 BC
Augusta Taurinorum (Torino), Augustan
Richmond 1932, 53, 56: brick-faced walls and Porta Palatina indubitably Augustan
Lugli 1957, 588: Augustan
PECS, 118f.: city probably founded ca 25 BC; brick-faced wall probably Augustan
Urbs Salvia Pollentinorum (Urbisaglia), Augustan
Lugli 1957, 588: Augustan
PECS, 947f.: brick-faced wall
Mevania (Bevagna)
Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 35.173: wall made of *lateres* (= clay bricks)

Other buildings

Velia, public buildings, mid 4th century BC
Lauter 1986, 54: fired bricks in large quantities; 3rd century BC
Ødegård 1997, 235: mid 4th century to mid 3rd century BC
Kroton, the Lakinion, brick oven, Hellenistic
Lauter 1986, 54: bricks similar to those in Rhegion; Hellenistic
Morgantina, brick oven, early 3rd century BC
Stillwell & Sjöqvist 1957, 158
Morgantina, pierced column discs, first half of the 3rd century BC
Sjöqvist 1958, 160f.: brick columns; second half of the 2nd century BC
Sjöqvist 1962, 138–140: brick columns; ca 225 BC

Lauter 1986, 55: first half of the 3rd century BC
Tyndaris, pierced column discs, first half of the 3rd century BC
Brea & Cavalier 1965, 207
Lauter 1986, 55: first half of the 3rd century BC
Kale Akte, terrace wall, vertical brick chains, 2nd century BC
Lentini, Göransson & Lindhagen (forthcoming)
Pompeii, Basilica, column segments, ca 125 BC
Lauter 1986, 55: ca 120 BC
Richardson 1988, 375: ca 125 BC
Adam 1994, 64: ca 120 BC
Villa dei Centroni, articulated brick wall, fist half of the 1st century BC
Cozza 1952, 271f.
Coarelli 1981, 156: late Republican, probably the first half of the 1st century BC
Pompeii, Odeum, brick quoins, ca 80 BC
Carrington 1933, 132, 134: Sullan age
Richardson 1988, 375: bricks made of roof tiles
Adam 1994, 130f.: ca 80 BC
Pompeii, Forum baths, brick quoins, Sullan age
Carrington 1933, 132: Sullan age
Cales, Central baths, brick quoins, 80–60 BC
Ødegård 1997, 226: dated between 80 and 60 BC due to similarities with Odeum in Pompeii
Casinum, theatre, brick quoins, ca 40 BC/Augustan
Adam 1994, 130f.
Luceria (Foggia), amphitheatre
Crema 1959, 136: bricks made of roof tiles

Early fired bricks in Rome

Tombs

Tomb of A. Hirtius, 43 BC (?) (see below)
Tomb of Caecilia Metella, 30–20 BC
Anonymous tomb, Via Collatina, 30–20 BC (C10)
Anonymous tomb, Villa Borghese, early Augustan
v. Hesberg & Pfanner 1988, 476
Tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus, ca 25 BC (C15) (see below)
Pyramid of C. Cestius, 25–12 BC (C62)
Columbarium of the *liberti* of Livia, late Augustan
Blake 1947, 294
Columbarium of the *liberti* of Augustus, late Augustan
Blake 1947, 294
"Tomb of the Servilii", late Augustan (C19)
Tomb of the Plautii, ca 2 BC (C18)
Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas, Tiberian
Nash 1961–1962, II 346
Tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus, ca AD 20 (C65) (see below)

Other buildings

Piccolo lupanare nel Foro, 60–50 BC (?) (see below)
Lugli 1947, 147–150
Lugli 1957, 587: 60–50 BC
Rostra Augusti, 42–31 BC
Van Deman 1909, 186: ca 20 BC
Blake 1947, 295: ca 20 BC
Lugli 1957, 588: 42–31 BC
LTUR IV (1999), 215: 42–12 BC
Domus Publica, 36–12 BC
Lugli 1957, 588

Structures by the Viminal gate, Augustan
Oliver 1932, 164–167: bricks made of roof tiles
Blake 1947, 295: Augustan
Theatre of Marcellus, 23–17 BC
Lugli 1957, 588: 13 BC
LTUR V (1999), 32: in use by 17 BC
Theatre of Balbus, 13 BC
Cassius Dio 54.25.2: dedicated in 13 BC
Personal observation: brick columns in the portico
Castra Praetoria, AD 21–23
Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970, 203f.

Early fired bricks in the Roman provinces

Sparta, Augustan
Dodge 1987, 107: brick-faced mortared rubble in Roman stoa
Augusta Emerita (Mérida), 25 BC
Richmond 1930, 112: bricks used extensively in the amphitheatre; 8 BC
PECS, 114: founded in 25 BC

The tomb of Aulus Hirtius

In 1938 the tomb of one A. Hirtius was found under Palazzo della Cancelleria in Campo Marzio.[937] The owner has been positively identified as the consul of 43 BC who fell together with his colleague C. Vibius Pansa in the fighting against M. Antonius the same year. Both were honoured with state funerals, and buried in the Martian fields.[938] Since this sepulchre, until now, has been believed to be the earliest securely dated building with *opus testaceum* (*structura testacea*) in Rome,[939] it has some significance for the present study. However, it can be argued that the construction found under Palazzo della Cancelleria may not belong to the original tomb of A. Hirtius and therefore perhaps should not be attributed to the year of 43 BC, but should rather be given a somewhat later, probably Augustan, date.

What remained of A. Hirtius' tomb were two considerable fragments of a walled square precinct, approximately 6 m on either side. The wall, 2.65 m high, was built of fired bricks, covering a thin concrete core, and topped by a row of travertine blocks.[940] In each of the corners oblong travertine slabs with a curved upper end were embedded in the wall. Three of them carry the inscription *A. Hirtius A. f.*,[941] whereas a forth, still *in situ*, has no visible inscription. These corner stones differ in size and have an awkward shape for their position. Looking more like free-standing *cippi* than anything else, the blocks were clearly not cut to present a symmetrical facing at a 90 degree angle. Thus, they show their inscribed front on one side of the corner and only a narrow flank on the other, with the curved upper end making the brick continuation difficult. In comparison with the well cut and highly functional blocks on top of the wall, the corner stones seem out of place.

One possible explanation for this could be that these four corner blocks belonged to a group of inscribed *cippi* which once marked the original sepulchral precinct of A. Hirtius, whether at this site or another.[942] Subsequently they were removed and integrated with a new brick wall construction representing a restoration, aggrandisement or relocation of the original tomb.[943] In my view, the old *cippi* were included not for constructive purposes, nor because of the inscriptions, but rather in order to transmit the sanctity of the original tomb to the new one.[944] It is quite probable that the forth slab also

[937] For exhaustive references see *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. 'Sepulcrum: A. Hirtius' (F. Coarelli), 290 and Nash 1961–1962, II 341, with the addition of v. Hesberg 1992, 64f.
[938] Livius, *Periochae* 119; Velleius Paterculus 2.62.4–5; Valerius Maximus 2.5.10. Cf. also Cicero, *Ad Brutum* 1.15.8–9
[939] Eisner 1986, 210 amongst many others. For my use of terminology see chapter III.3.3.
[940] For good depictions see Nash 1961–1962, II 342f. figs 1113–1116.
[941] *ILLRP* 419.
[942] The use of this kind of delineation of sepulchral areas has been recognised by B. Götze, who also suggested it for the cenotaph of C. Julius Caesar on Forum Romanum. Götze 1939, 13f., Abb. 19.
[943] The tomb of C. Publicius Bibulus on the outskirts of Campus Martius presents another good example of a sepulchral monument being raised on a senatorial decree and then thoroughly restored. Frischer 1982–1983, 68.
[944] Building debris from a ruined temple was not allowed to be dumped or reused arbitrarily. The same might have been applied for tombs.

carries an inscription, although carelessly set facing inwards. Furthermore, it is possible that the brick surface was once coated with plaster, perhaps imitating an ashlar wall. Although often laid bare today, *opus testaceum* is repeatedly shown to have been originally covered with wall plaster,[945] and in this case it would also explain the wide projection of the top stones outside the width of the brick wall. If this was the case, none of the inscriptions would have been visible and their presence quite pointless, unless the *cippi* had had a previous use.

Only a small distance, no more than 60 m, from the sepulchral building under discussion another inscription has been recovered reading:[946]

EX·S·C
C·VIBIO·C·F·PASAE
CAETRONIAN·COS

Without doubt it once belonged to the tomb of C. Vibius Pansa, the colleague of A. Hirtius, and has accordingly also been dated to 43 BC. However, if the two graves were located next to each other and considered a pair, which seems likely, the suggested remodelling probably included both tombs. If the inscription is in some way associated with the brick construction under Palazzo della Cancelleria, it should perhaps also be given a later date. The great disparity between the recovered inscriptions of Hirtius and Pansa, the former being much simpler in both content and execution, indicates that they were probably not made on the same occasion. Thus, the first set of inscriptions may belong to an original tomb whereas the latter inscription may have been commissioned for a reconstruction. Following the traditional date, the punctuation marks of the inscription of Pansa, which are triangles pointing down, constitute an exceptionally early example. The preliminary study of punctuation marks presented by the present author rather shows that this type was introduced in the 20s BC.[947]

According to F. Coarelli the location of the graves of the two consuls should be interpreted as an "anti-Antonian" statement on behalf of Cicero and the senate, as the tombs were erected on M. Antonius' own estate (previously Pompeius' and later Agrippa's).[948] Augustus could very well have had them rebuilt for a similar political purpose, highlighting the past atrocities of M. Antonius and promoting the image of himself as saviour of the Roman Republic.[949] The two consuls were given a special mention in the introduction to the *Res gestae*,[950] probably for this reason. As tombs were considered to be sacred buildings, especially the ones raised on a senatorial decree,[951] they could also have been included in Augustus' large scale restoration activities in Rome, amongst the very large number of temples and sanctuaries that were rebuilt.[952] Alternatively, they constituted a part of his program to refurbish the Campus Martius, transforming it into his personal *proastion*.[953]

The conclusion is that the traditional date of the tomb of A. Hirtius may have to be reappraised. If given a mid-Augustan or later date it can no longer uphold the claim of being the first example of *opus testaceum* in Rome.

Other supposedly early examples of opus testaceum

Apart from the tomb of Aulus Hirtius there are a few other buildings which have been put forward as the very first examples of *opus testaceum* in Rome on questionable grounds: "Torrione di Micara", a circular tomb near Frascati which has on loose grounds been attributed to Lucullus (died 56 BC),[954] presents some internal brick-faced walls. However, it is evident from the irregular layout of these walls that they are secondary installations.[955] The fact that a travertine block in the external wall of the sepulchre, which was meant to carry the inscription, has been left blank indicates that the tomb was never used and probably not even completed (i.e. the rotunda was never filled), and thus supports the hypothesis of a later reuse of the building.[956] The so-called "piccolo lupanare" at Forum Romanum, sometimes also known as *carcer*, is a small constellation of rooms adjacent to the temple of Romulus just by the Via Sacra. This structure, which probably once was a part of a late Republican private house, has partition walls covered by early *opus testaceum*. G. Lugli has dated the structure to 60–50 BC,[957] but the same author has also identified the partition walls as

[945] Blake 1947, 292.
[946] *CIL* VI.37077; *ILS* 8890; *ILLRP* 421; Gordon 1958, 17f. no. 5.
[947] See chapter III.6.3, table III.3.
[948] Coarelli 1997, 558. Cf. Cicero, *Orationes Philippicae* 14.33–34, 38.
[949] We should here consider Octavianus own participation in the battle of Mutina.
[950] Augustus, *Res gestae* 1.2–4.
[951] Cicero, *Orationes Philippicae* 9.14.
[952] Augustus, *Res gestae* 20.4.
[953] Purcell 1987, 27f.
[954] McCracken 1942.
[955] The widely spread plan by L. Canina is definitely not correct.
[956] Furthermore, the size of the bricks and the width of the mortared joints are more consistent with a date in the 1st or 2nd century AD.
[957] Lugli 1957, 587.

belonging to a secondary phase.[958] That is, they may have been installed considerably later. In the first major archaeological publication treating the tomb of M. Lucilius Paetus the presence of fired bricks in the interior was reported.[959] This statement has since repeatedly resurfaced in scholarly literature,[960] although no bricks are to be found in the tomb.[961] The tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus was previously also listed among the early examples of *opus testaceum*,[962] but can easily be discounted since it has now been securely dated at about AD 20.[963]

[958] Lugli 1947, 149.
[959] Pietrangeli 1941a.
[960] E.g. Blake 1947, 294.

[961] Personal observation. Although the presence of bricks has been refuted once before by M. Eisner, the assertion has continued to be made. Some scholars have even used that particular reference to verify the existence of bricks. Eisner 1986, 125 n. 394; v. Hesberg & Pfanner 1988, 480 n. 57.
[962] See e.g. Blake 1947, 294; Lugli 1957, 588.
[963] Silvestrini 1987, 82.

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The abbreviations used are those recommended by the *American Journal of Archaeology* (www.ajaonline.org), with the exception of Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen (ActaAth) and Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom (ActaRom).

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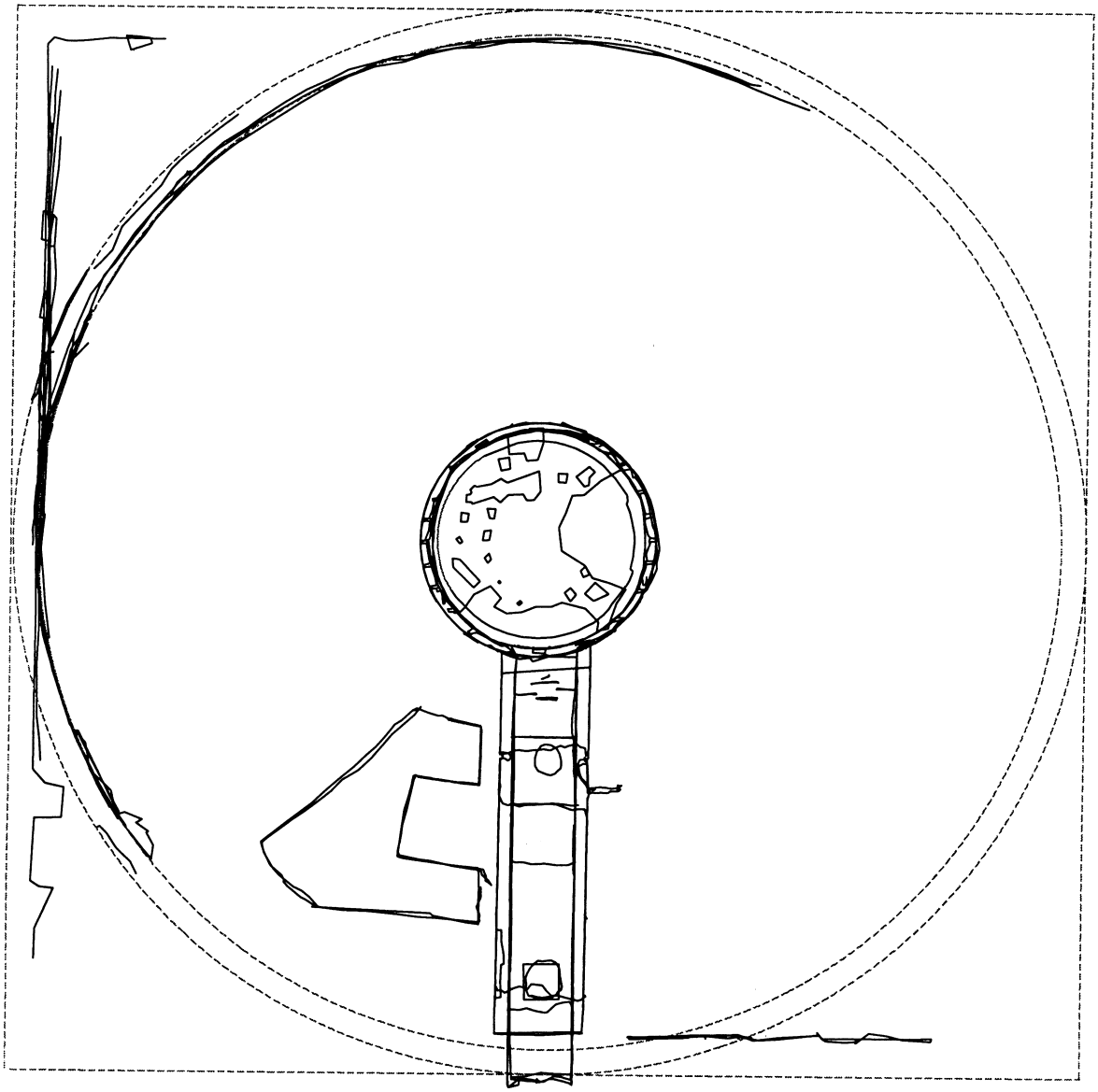


PLATE 1

The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Top view of computer model. The dotted lines indicate the original size of the podium. Scale 1:200

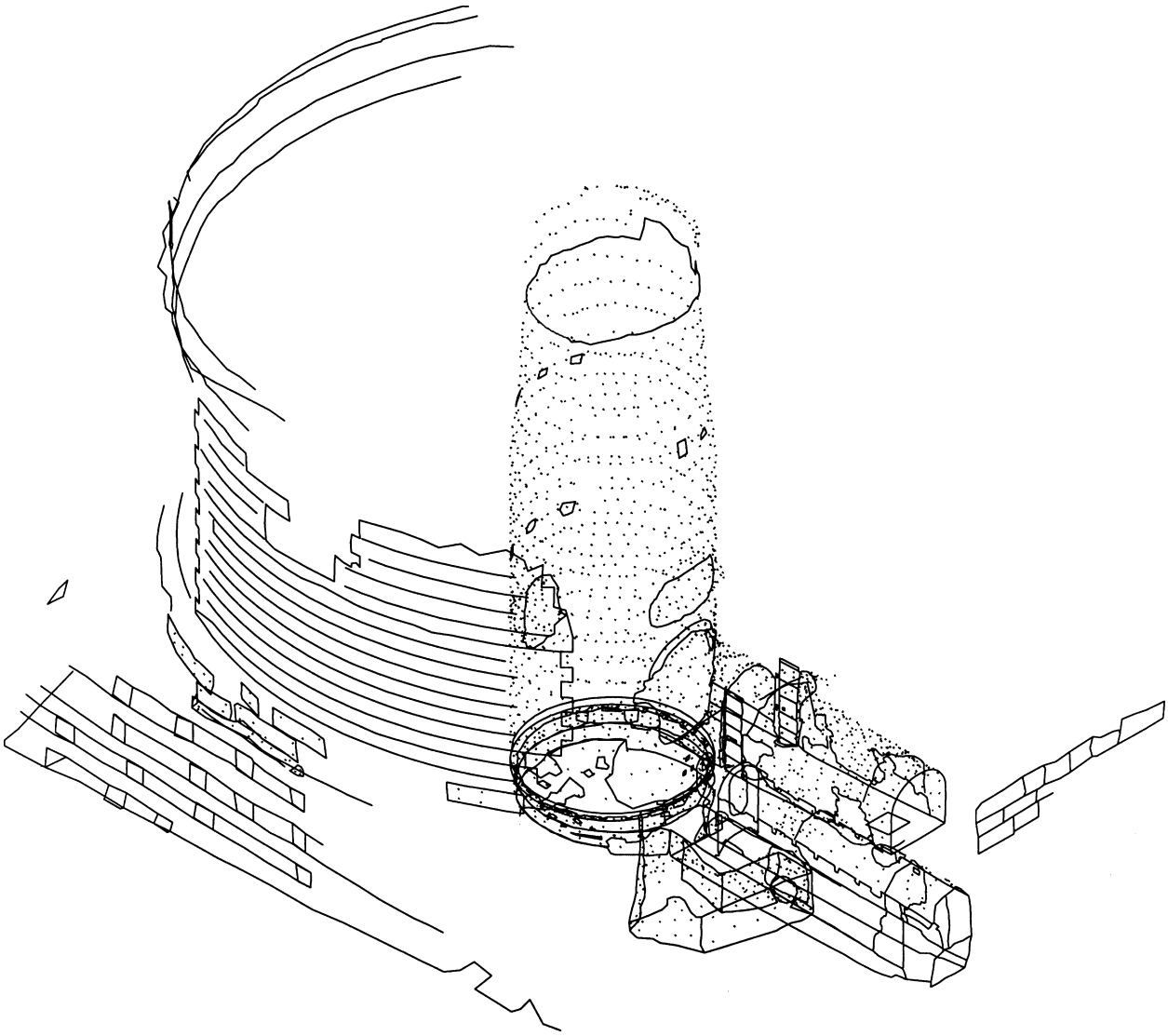


PLATE 2

The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Isometric view of computer model.

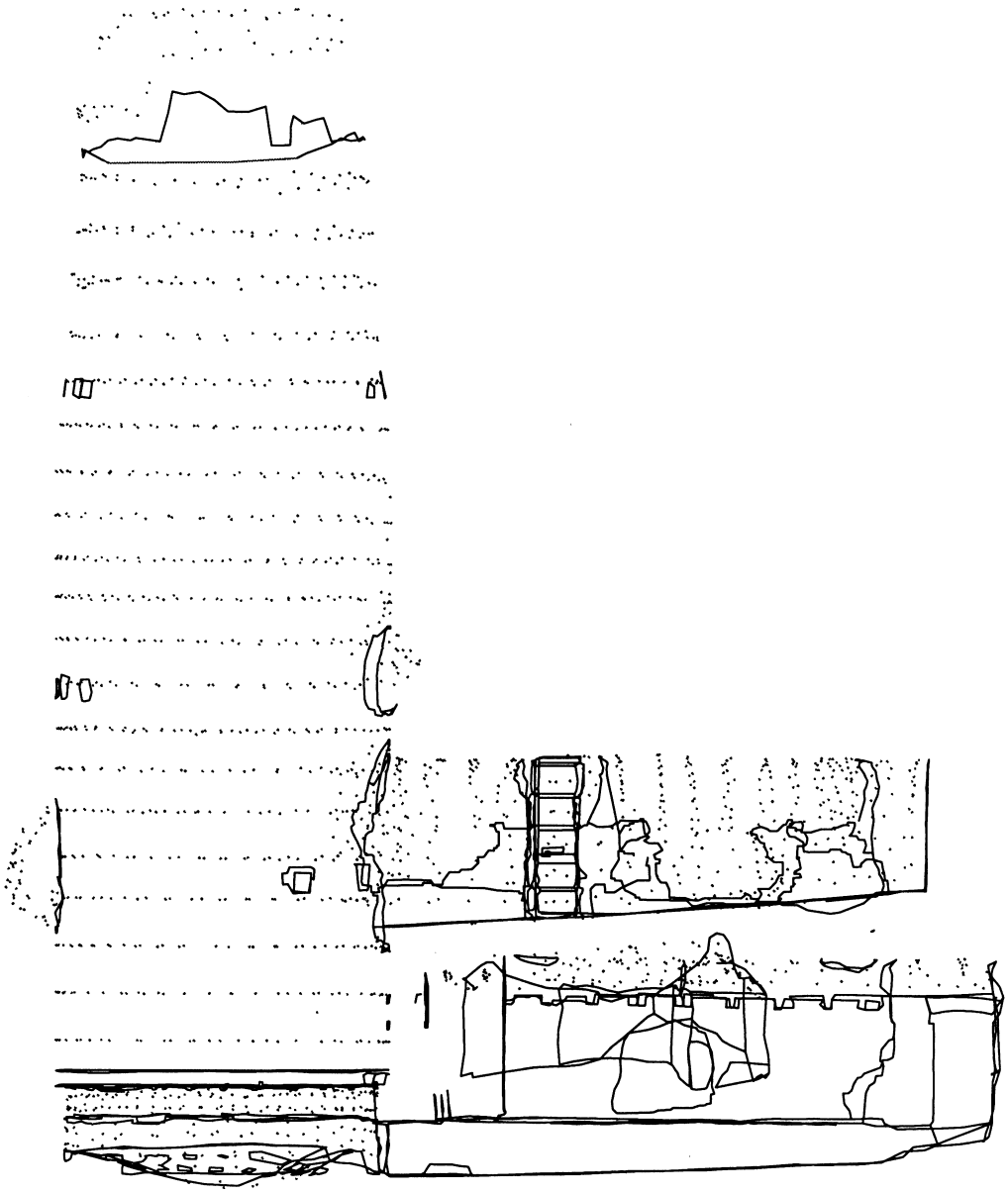
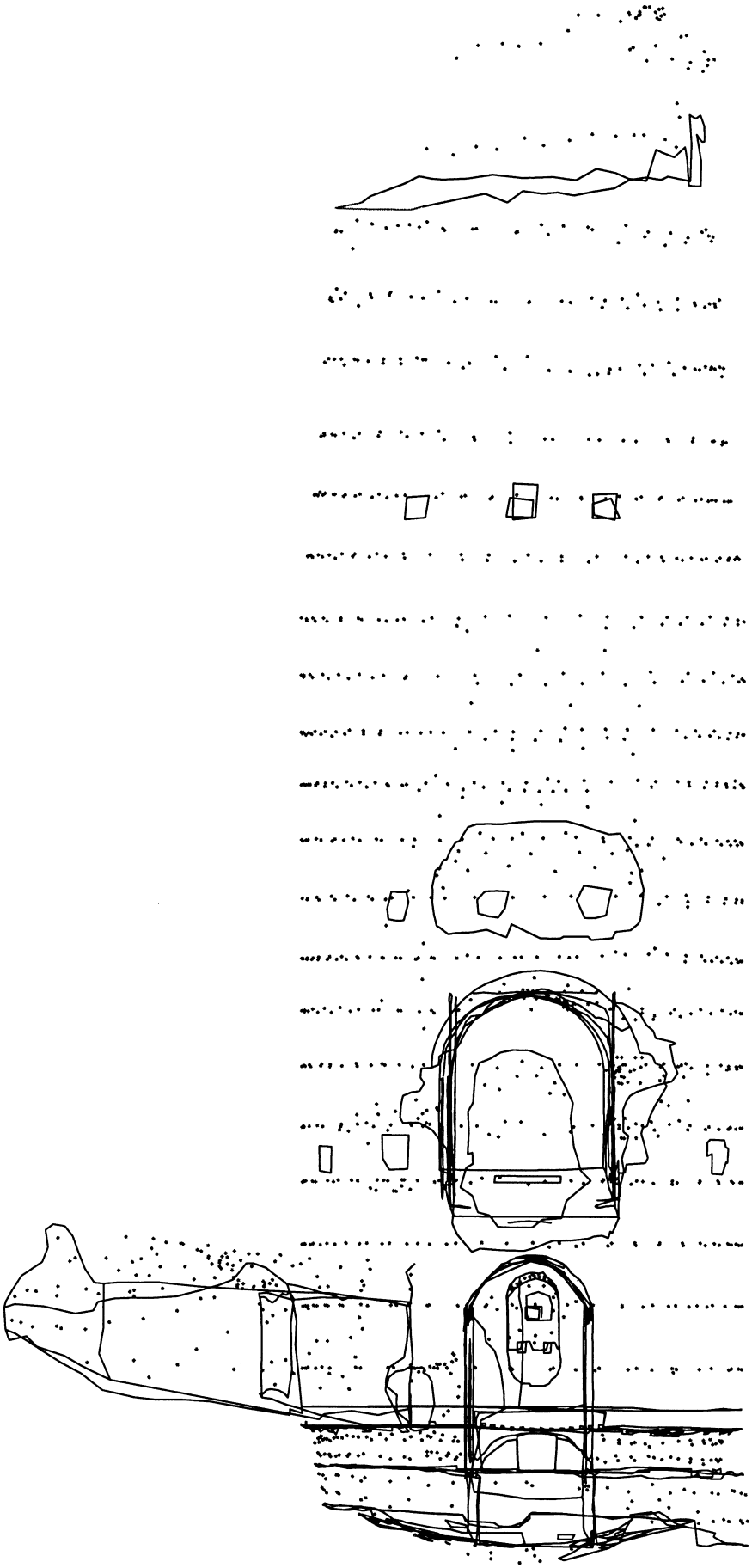


PLATE 3

The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Left view of computer model – interior surfaces only. Scale 1:150

PLATE 4 (opposite)

The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Front view of computer model – interior surfaces only. Scale 1:100



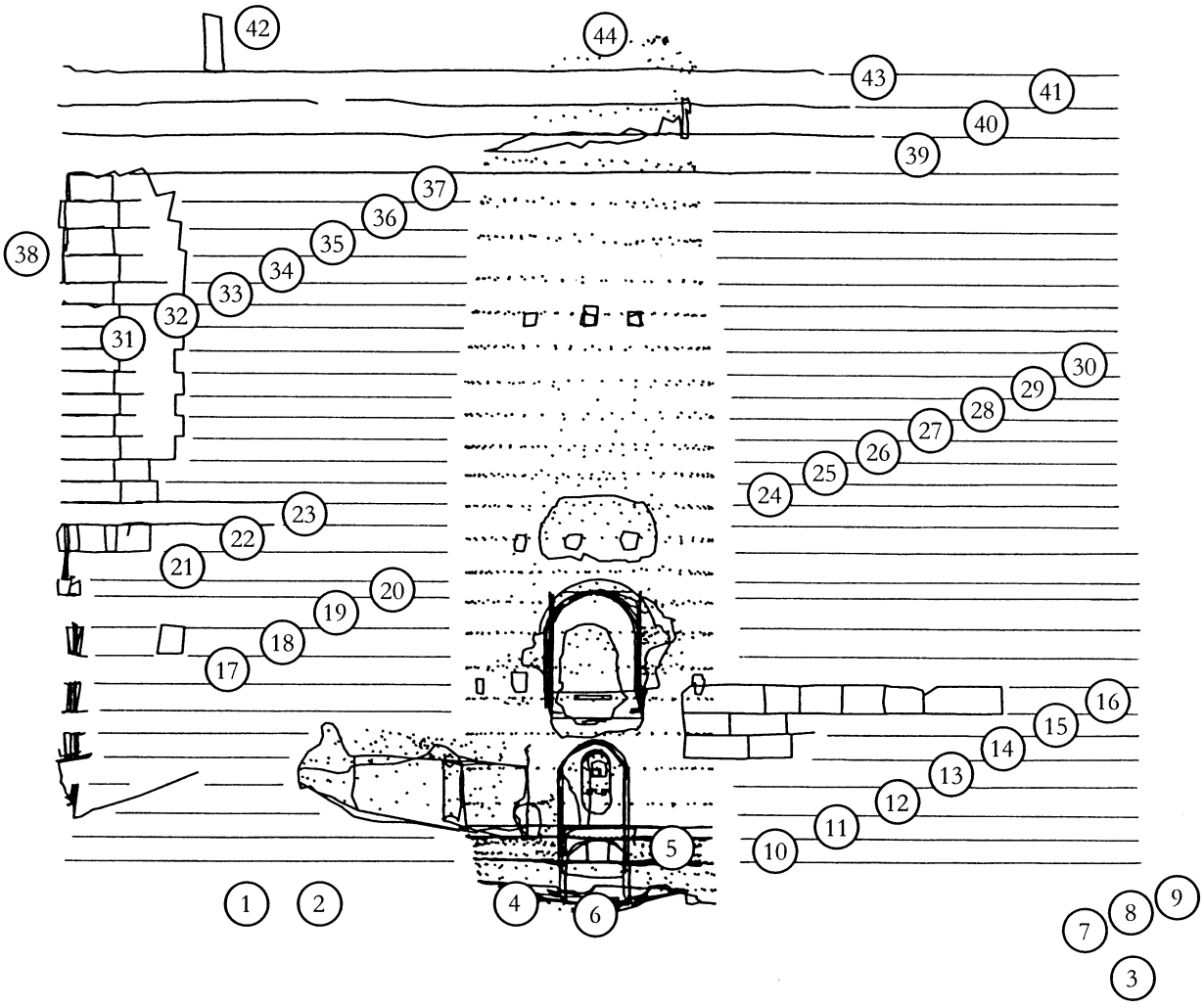


PLATE 5

The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Front view of computer model with stratigraphical units indicated. SU7–37 represent horizontal layers of the building corresponding to rows of revetment blocks. Scale 1:200

PLATE 6 (opposite)

The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Front view of computer model superimposed by schematic reconstruction of the monument. Scale 1:200

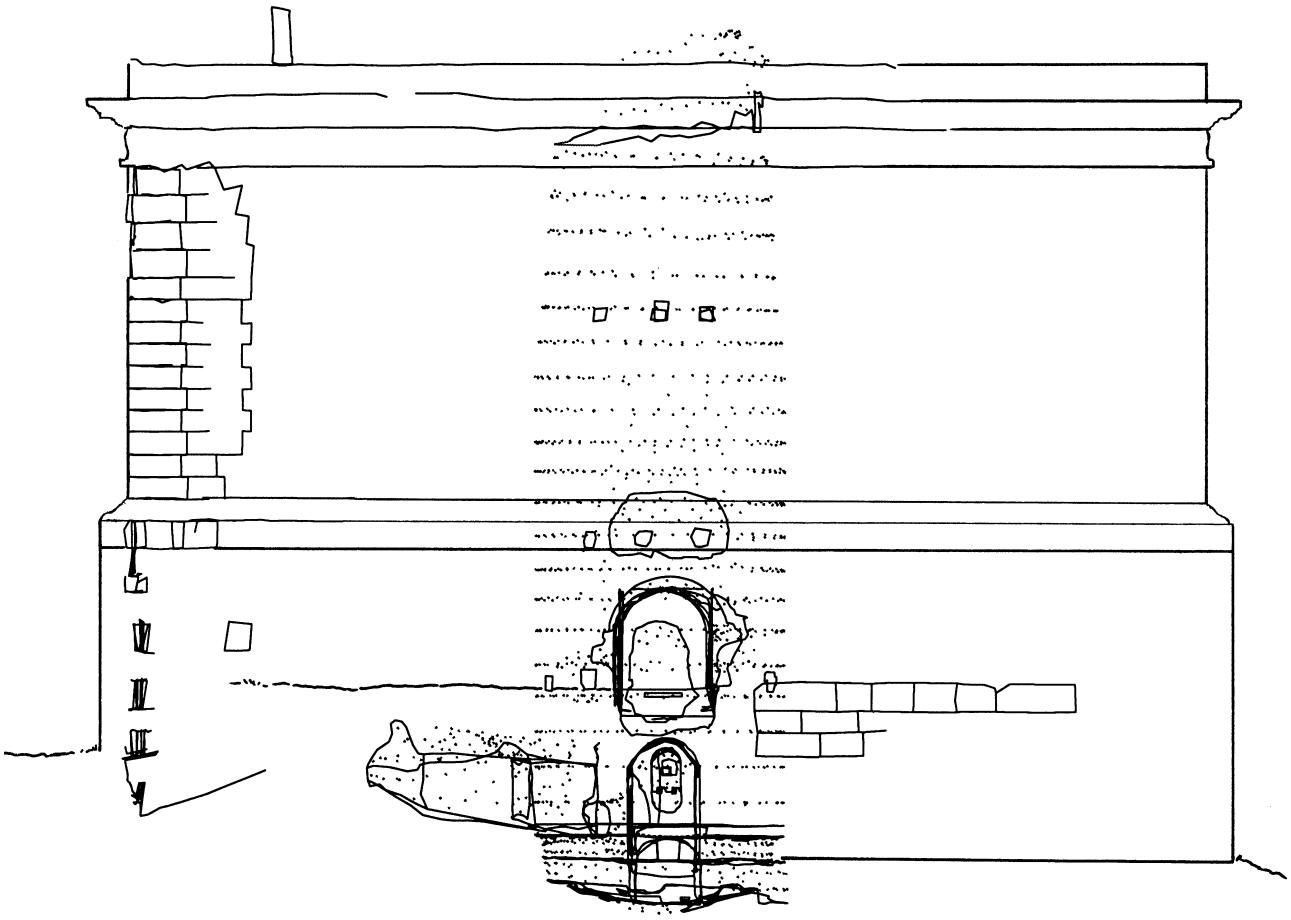
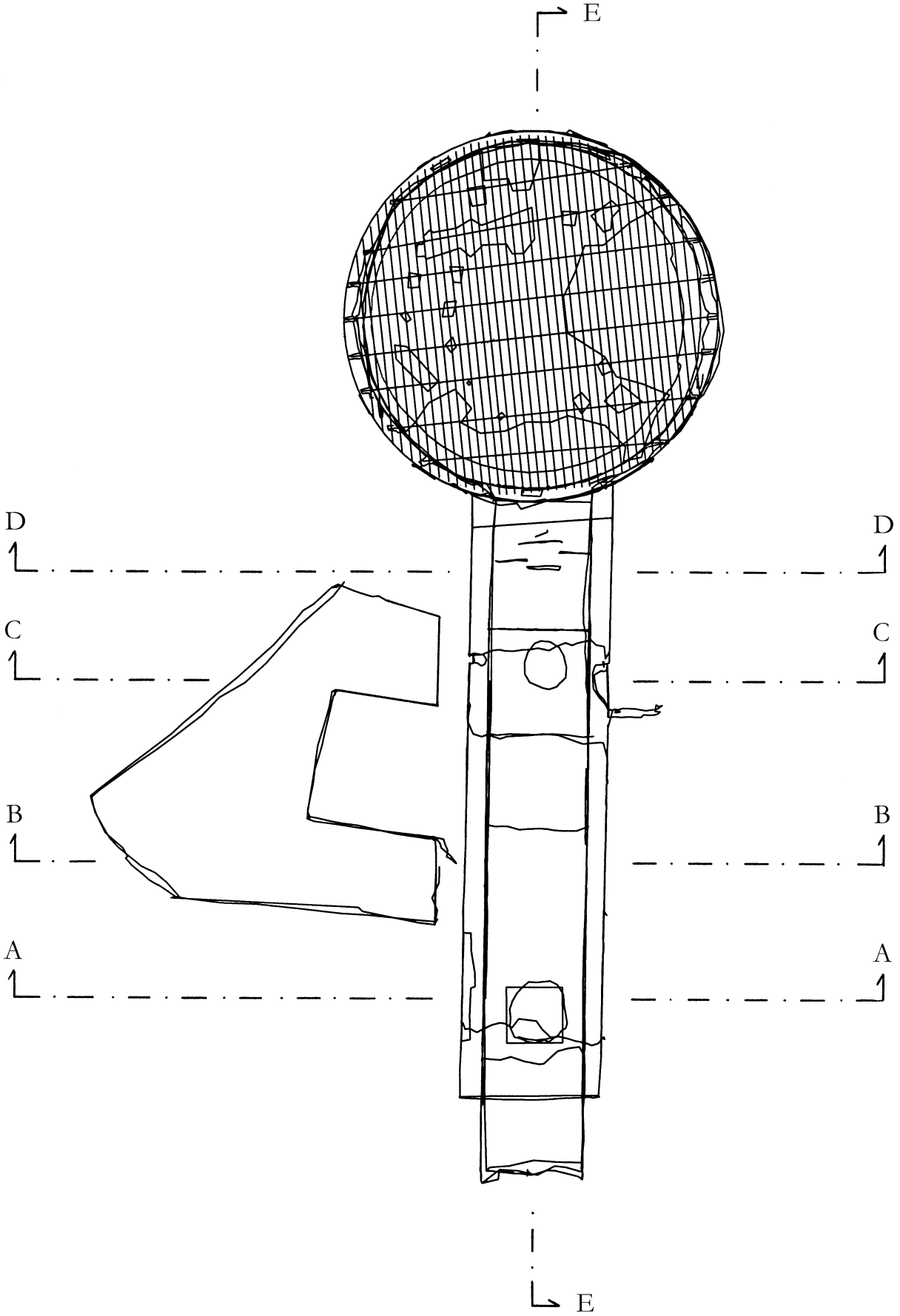


PLATE 7 (next fold)

The tomb of Caecilia Metella. Top view of computer model – interior surfaces only. Reconstruction of the metal grid resting on the protruding stone ring at the bottom of the cella. Scale 1:100

PLATE 8 (next fold)

Vertical sections through the upper and lower corridors and the west compartment. Scale 1:100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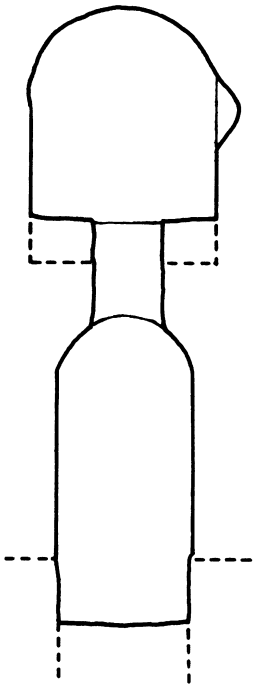
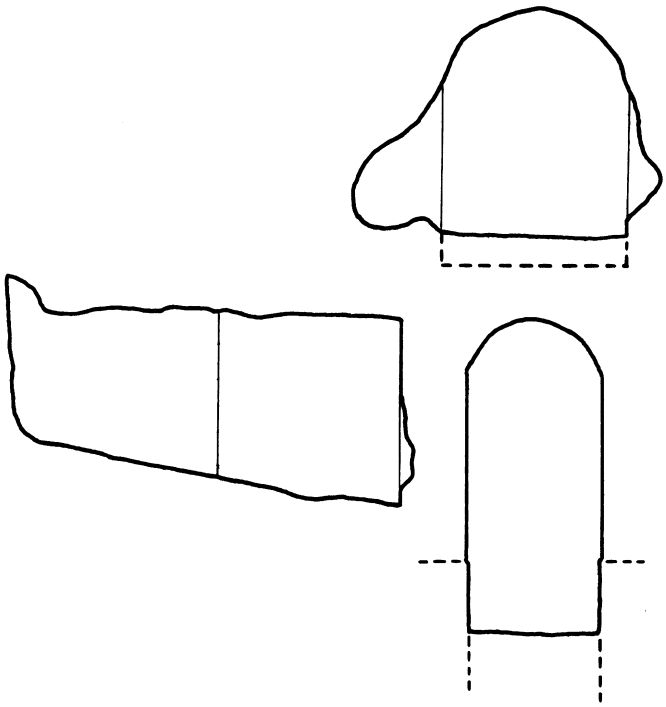
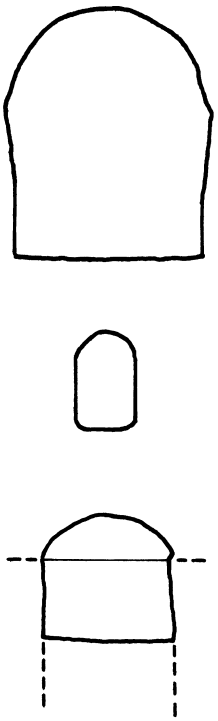


Section A–A



Section B–B



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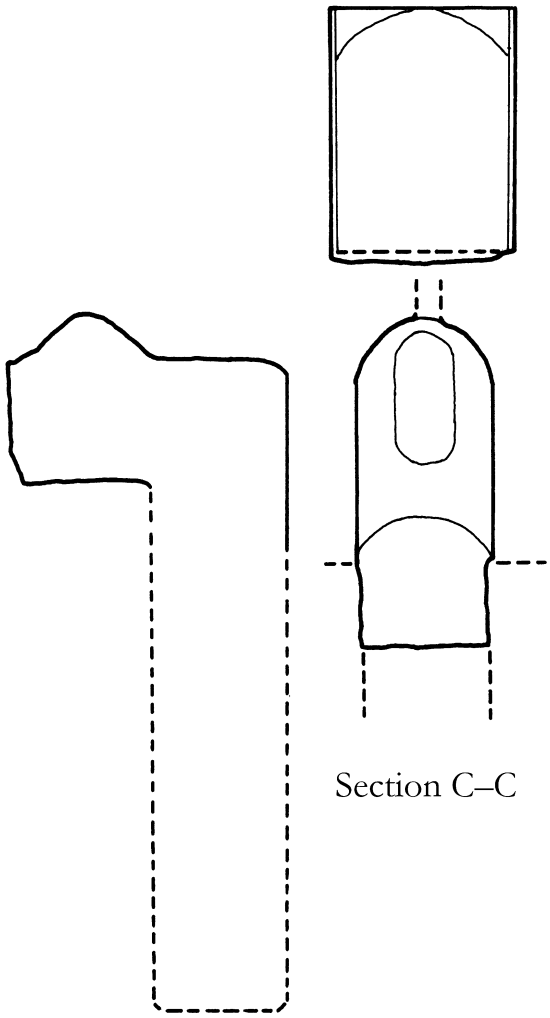

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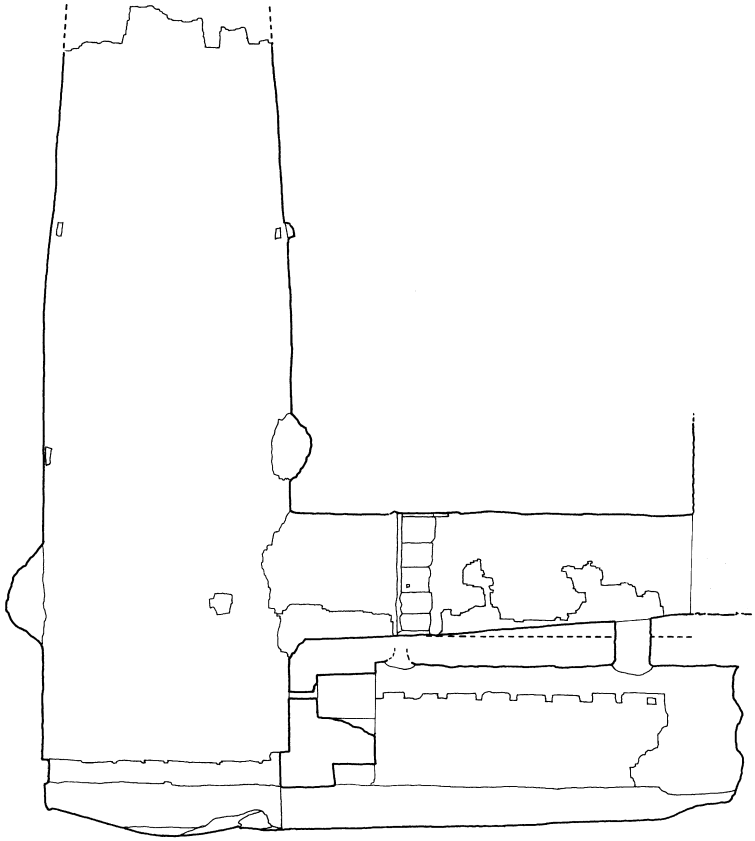

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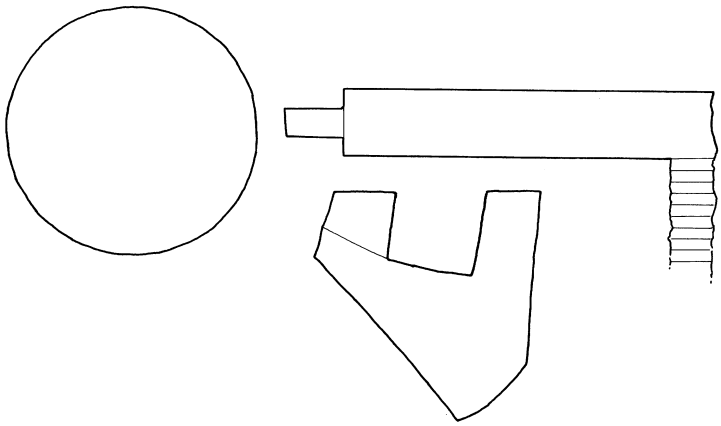

Section F–F

PLATE 9

Vertical section through the upper and lower corridors and the cella. Horizontal section through the lower corridor, the west compartment and the cella. Scale 1:200