

CHRISTINA HÄUBER

The Eastern Part of the
Mons Oppius in Rome

The Sanctuary of *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio III*
Temples of *Minerva Medica*
Fortuna Virgo and Dea Syria
Horti of Maecenas



«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

PUBBLICATO A CURA DI
ROMA CAPITALE
ASSESSORATO ALLA CULTURA, CREATIVITÀ E PROMOZIONE ARTISTICA
SOVRINTENDENZA CAPITOLINA AI BENI CULTURALI
Sovrintendente Claudio Parisi Presicce

BULLETTINO DELLA COMMISSIONE ARCHEOLOGICA COMUNALE DI ROMA

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The Sanctuary of *Isis et Serapis* in *Regio iii*,
the Temples of *Minerva Medica*, *Fortuna Virgo*
and *Dea Syria*, and the *Horti* of *Maecenas*

with Contributions by
Edoardo Gautier di Confienzo and Daniela Velestino

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and *Dea Syria*, and the *Horti* of *Maecenas*

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Via Cassiodoro, 19 - Roma
<http://www.lerma.it>

Graphic design:
«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

Layout:
Giovanni C. Monaco

Tutti i diritti riservati. È vietata la riproduzione
di testi e illustrazioni senza il permesso scritto dell'editore.

I thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for generously providing
financial assistance towards the publication of this work

Christina Häuber. The Eastern Part of the *Mons Oppius* in Rome. The Sanctuary of *Isis et Serapis in Regio iii*, the Temples of *Minerva Medica*, *Fortuna Virgo* and *Dea Syria*, and the *Horti* of *Maecenas*. - Roma : «L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER, 2014. - XXXII, 945 p. : ill. ; 29 cm + 1 CD-ROM. - (Buletino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi ; 22)

ISBN 978-88-913-0492-6 (Paper edition)
ISBN 978-88-913-0490-2 (Digital edition)

CDD 931.1

1. Roma antica - Topografia, 2. Scultura Romana

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PREMESSA

La topografia di Roma antica nasce come scienza agli albori del Rinascimento. Essa è in qualche modo legata alla storia stessa della città, che si è sviluppata senza soluzione di continuità dall'epoca pre- e protostorica fino ai giorni nostri, e, naturalmente, alla sua importanza come centro dell'impero prima, e poi come centro della cristianità.

Sembra, almeno in apparenza, che su Roma si sappia tutto, o quasi, proprio perché i suoi principali monumenti sono ancora lì a testimoniare la duratura grandezza. Invece, le cose non stanno in questi termini. La preservazione, talvolta casuale, di singoli edifici pubblici e privati dell'antichità non equivale ad una conoscenza approfondita del tessuto urbano entro il quale erano inseriti; anzi, proprio la continuità di vita, che ha prodotto una notevole quantità di sovrapposizioni e stratificazioni urbanistiche, non aiuta a risolvere le questioni più complesse. Se non avessimo l'appoggio dei frammenti della *Forma Urbis Severiana* – pochi rispetto alla grandezza della città – non avremmo alcuna idea del rapporto tra alcuni dei principali monumenti superstiti e i quartieri di abitazioni limitrofi.

Alla complessità e variabilità delle condizioni dei singoli siti, si aggiunge poi la natura diversa e frammentaria delle fonti di informazione che, per quanto riguarda i dati archeologici, si fondano a volte su scoperte poco e mal documentate, che a loro volta si intersecano con la storia del tessuto urbano come ulteriori elementi di formazione e informazione. Qualcosa in più si potrebbe ricavare dai numerosi scavi urbani eseguiti negli ultimi decenni; essi però, salvo rare eccezioni, sono stati limitati, per la maggior parte dei casi, a siti minacciati da sviluppo edilizio, oppure a interventi di restauro di edifici monumentali, o ancora ad aree dove era necessario porre mano alle reti infrastrutturali.

Leggere questo intreccio storico e recuperare la conoscibilità della topografia antica della città, al di là degli ovvi caposaldi monumentali sopravvissuti al passare del tempo come componenti dell'identità urbana di Roma, richiede un rigoroso metodo filologico per “sfogliare” le diverse fonti di informazione, ponendole nel giusto inquadramento geografico e cronologico.

A quest'opera meticolosa di raccolta e valutazione delle fonti archeologiche e topografiche su un settore nevralgico dell'antica Roma, il settore orientale del colle Oppio, tra il santuario di Iside e Serapide nella *regio III* e gli *horti* di Mecenate, ha dedicato la maggior parte della propria attività scientifica Chrystina Häuber, con risultati impressionanti che oggi finalmente dopo decenni di lavoro, sono finalmente pubblicati.

Il presente volume è infatti ben più di una semplice monografia: si tratta del risultato del lavoro di una vita, organizzato ed elaborato in forma unitaria e presentato in modo chiaro e completo alla comunità scientifica internazionale.

L'autrice aveva già dedicato all'argomento la sua dissertazione di laurea presso l'Università di Köln e pubblicata nel 1991 con il titolo “*Die Horti Maecenatis und die Horti Lamiani auf dem Esquilin. Geschichte, Topographie, Statuenfunde*”. In precedenza, aveva pubblicato una serie di lavori dedicati alle sculture scoperte nell'area degli *horti* Lamiani (“Il programma scultoreo”, in *Le tranquille dimore degli dei. La residenza imperiale degli Horti Lamiani*, a cura di M. Cima, E. La Rocca, Catalogo della mostra, Roma 1986 [Venezia 1986], pgg. 77-102), tra cui la celeberrima Venere Esquilina (“Zur Ikonographie der Venus vom Esquilin”, *KölnJbVFrühGesch* 21, 1988, pgg. 35-64), un'opera tanto celebre quanto mal conosciuta, proprio perché estrapolata di solito dal suo contesto di appartenenza.

I problemi ancora aperti sono numerosi. Vanno dalla precisa ubicazione del tempio di Iside e Serapide, che pure dà il nome alla terza *regio* di Roma, al recupero del luogo di rinvenimento di numerose sculture, alla loro interpretazione e quindi al significato della loro presenza negli *horti*. Si è trattato di un paziente lavoro di riorganizzazione dei dati documentari, reso necessario dai modi non scientifici d'intervento di scavo nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, al punto che è ormai difficile, per non dire impossibile, determinare il preciso contesto topografico e cronologico di buona parte dei marmi rinvenuti nell'area esquilina. Un esempio fra tanti, che merita di essere ricordato in questa sede, è offerto dal Laocoonte. Ritrovato nel 1506 nella vigna di Felice de Fredis detta "alle Capocce", il gruppo fu subito messo in relazione con la descrizione di Plinio (*Nat. Hist.* 36, 37) che lo attribuisce agli artisti rodii Agesandro, Atanodoro e Polidoro, e lo colloca in *Titi imperatoris domo*. Nelle "Capocce" si devono riconoscere le c.d. Sette Sale, la cisterna d'acqua delle terme di Traiano, tuttora ben visibile nel suo straordinario stato di conservazione. Di qui a supporre che la *domus* di Tito fosse una porzione della *domus Aurea* sopravvissuta all'abbandono del faraonico progetto neroniano, il passo è stato breve. Ma la recente scoperta di un documento d'archivio ha permesso ad Antonella Parisi e Rita Volpe ("Alla ricerca di una scoperta. Felice de Fredis e il luogo di ritrovamento del Laocoonte", *BCom* 110, 2009, pgg. 81-109) di posizionare con precisione il luogo dove era la vigna de Fredis: a est delle Sette Sale, esattamente dove ora sorge l'Istituto di S. Giuseppe di Cluny, nell'isolato compreso tra via Mecenate e via Poliziano, e tra via Merulana e via Carlo Botta. Il Laocoonte, perciò, non è stato rinvenuto né nell'area della *domus Aurea*, e neppure delle terme di Traiano, bensì in un'area limitrofa, occupata in età giulio-claudia dagli *horti* di Mecenate, come io stesso avevo ipotizzato una ventina d'anni fa, e come le ricerche scientifiche hanno dimostrato ("Artisti rodii negli *horti* romani", in *Horti Romani*, a cura di M. Cima ed E. La Rocca, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 1995 [1998], pgg. 203-274). Qualora il Laocoonte fosse stato pertinente alla decorazione di codesti *horti*, come ormai sembra vero-

simile, si potrebbe supporre che Tiberio, trasferitosi, come sappiamo, negli *horti* di Mecenate al ritorno dal suo volontario esilio a Rodi, abbia proceduto ad un aggiornamento del suo assetto scultoreo, impostando un programma "omerico" alla pari di quello della grotta di Sperlonga. Sarà difficile, purtroppo, ricostruire il programma figurativo originario, ma una testa di sileno, rinvenuta nell'area, potrebbe essere pertinente al medesimo contesto. Qui, perciò, avrebbe potuto essere la *domus* dell'imperatore Tito supponendo, sempre in via d'ipotesi, che il figlio di Vespasiano avesse avuto la sua dimora come erede al trono imperiale non sul Palatino, ma negli *horti* già di proprietà di Mecenate, poi, annessi ai *praedia* imperiali, abitati da Tiberio, e quindi congiunti con la *domus Aurea*.

Il nuovo volume raccoglie, insomma, l'eredità di tutti gli scritti che Chrystina Häuber aveva pubblicato sull'argomento in passato, ma integrandoli in modo esponenziale con una massa di nuovi dati e con nuove osservazioni, nonché con i risultati del dibattito accademico che ne era derivato nel corso degli anni, a volte registrando posizioni critiche, a volte vedendo conferme alle ipotesi avanzate e alle scoperte segnalate.

Non meno intenso è stato il suo lavoro di revisione e rielaborazione dell'imponente materiale documentario utilizzato, per presentarlo nella forma organica che oggi viene data alle stampe. Infatti, dal momento in cui Chrystina Häuber pubblicava la sua dissertazione sono passati alcuni decenni, e non senza profitto, visti gli importanti approfondimenti della sua ricerca grazie non solo al supporto di aggiornati sistemi informatici, ma principalmente grazie all'utilizzo dei più sofisticati strumenti elaborati dalle discipline geografiche, in primo luogo le tecnologie GIS (a lei si deve, tra l'altro, l'impostazione del progetto interdisciplinare FORTVNA, dedicato appunto al colle Oppio e all'Esquilino).

Non resta che ringraziare la studiosa per la devozione con cui si è dedicata allo studio di un ricco e complesso settore di Roma e per aver offerto alla comunità scientifica, per gli anni a venire, ampia materia di discussione su una delle più nevralgiche aree dell'Esquilino.

EUGENIO LA ROCCA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND INTRODUCTION

This study was made possible by the generous help of the individuals mentioned here. Without that I would never have achieved any of my goals, and because of their priceless contributions the whole enterprise became a real pleasure. To all of them I wish to express my heartfelt thanks.

When I started writing this text in August of 2008, my first aim was to summarize the results of the research projects “FORTVNA” (1994-2001) and “The Eastern Part of the *Mons Oppidus* in Rome” (2001-2003) which I have conducted together with my husband, the geographer and programmer Dr. Franz Xaver Schütz (now Hochschule München, Fakultät für Geoinformation) and further cooperation partners. In the first project we developed the Archaeological Information System “FORTVNA” for the special needs of topographical studies in Rome; in the second we tested it in the research area presented here. In order to map the results, we started in 2003 our ongoing project “The AIS ROMA”. Its aim is to draw a diachronic map of Rome within the Aurelian Walls, based on the official photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma (now: Roma Capitale) that were kindly provided by the Sovrintendente¹ ai Beni Culturali of the Comune di Roma. Another project came up in 2009, while reporting on the already finished ones.

Preliminary studies were not yet concerned with topography, but were focussed on ancient sculpture. They began in Naples (July-August

1979) during the “Corsi estivi di Lingua e Cultura Italiana dell’ Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano”, which I was able to attend thanks to a scholarship of the Repubblica Italiana. The field trips to the Museums and archaeological sites of the area were directed by Prof. Mario Torelli (Università degli Studi di Perugia), who also discussed with me my doctoral dissertation project, the sculptures from the Villa of the Papyri near Herculaneum that had been the reason for me to attend this course. Mario then and ever since took a personal interest in my work and I learnt through him that someone had already earlier started to study this subject². As a result of this, I had to abandon (again) my dissertation project. I therefore applied for scholarships to go to Rome, hoping to find a new subject there. Mario greatly supported my applications, and, once in Rome, also my studies there. I especially appreciate that he introduced me at the conference “The Topography of ancient Rome: new Developments and Suggestions”, held at the American Academy in Rome (AAR) on March 20th, 1981, to Dott. Eugenio La Rocca (then Director of the Musei Capitolini).

From October of 1980 until September of 1985, I enjoyed the privilege of living and conducting research in Rome, supported by the DAAD, the GF and the PES. In retrospect, I can say that the chance to work in the Museums and Libraries at Rome and the fact that I have found so many close friends there, has changed my

¹ LA ROCCA 2001.

² Cf. WOJCIK 1986.

whole life profoundly. I am therefore also very grateful that my late supervisor, the classical archaeologist Prof. Dr. Andreas Linfert (Universität zu Köln), had insisted that I should find the subject of my dissertation myself. This process had after all started in 1975 and would end, after many failures, only in March of 1981. Because some of the relevant sculptures appear also in this study, I mention the dissertation projects which I had previously started and abandoned with my supervisor's consent: the portraits of the Ptolemaic queens, the statue-type of the Large Herculaneum Woman, the statues from the Villa of the Papyri, from the Villa at Chiragan in France, and from the *Horti Sallustiani*.

By 1990, I had collected almost all of the archaeological finds presented here. Because of the attitude of the responsible 'excavators' of past centuries, they comprise mostly sculptures and inscriptions. Before my publications in 1990 and 1991³, I was able to discuss this material again with Prof. Filippo Coarelli (Università degli Studi di Perugia) in Rome and Prof. Mariette de Vos (Università di Trento) in Utrecht, both of whom had already greatly supported my work during my studies in Rome. After that I concentrated on the archaeological finds in depth, and hoped also to reconstruct the ancient landscape of my research area on computer. Whereas I knew already the potential partners in classical archaeology and ancient history for a project of this kind, I didn't have the foggiest idea which computer programs could be appropriate. I asked many friends and colleagues, but didn't find a solution for a long time. Decisive were my meetings with the geographer Franz Xaver Schütz in Greifswald (then working in a GIS project at the Bereich Geowissenschaften, Universität Greifswald), who started in August of 1994 the GIS project "FORTVNA" with me, and with the classical archaeologist Dr. Harrison (Nick) Eiteljorg II (Director of the CSA, Bryn

Mawr College), who explained to me on December 16th, 1994 at Bryn Mawr College that for my special aims I could not do without a programmer. Luckily I knew one: Franz Xaver Schütz. Nick kindly allowed me to call him in Germany from his office and Franz agreed on the spot to collaborate with me also on those terms. In the following years he has become responsible for ever more tasks in our common research projects, especially concerning geography and GIScience. In addition, he patiently taught me how to use GIS-technology, a methodology I had not even heard of before. Because of all this and his constant help, unfailing encouragement and support it is almost impossible for me to express my great debt to Franz, to whom I therefore dedicate this book.

Cooperation-partners in the projects "FORTVNA"⁴ and "The Eastern Part of the *Mons Opicus* in Rome" were the ancient historian Prof. John Bodel (now Brown University, Providence, USA), the classical archaeologist Prof. Filippo Coarelli, the geographer and GIScientist Prof. Michael F. Goodchild (Director, spatial@ucsb; University of California Santa Barbara, USA), the classical archaeologist and Soprintendente (then SAR) Prof. Adriano La Regina, who gave us access to the substructure on Via Pasquale Villari, and the classical archaeologist and Sovrintendente (SBBCC) Prof. Eugenio La Rocca (now Università di Roma "La Sapienza") and his collaborators in the project "Nuova Forma Urbis Romae": Drs. Susanna Le Pera, Luca Sasso D'Elia, Antonio Mucci and Sabina Zeggio. It was first the Sovrintendente Prof. Eugenio La Rocca⁵, then the Sovrintendente Prof. Umberto Broccoli, and now the Sovrintendente *ad interim*, Dr. Claudio Parisi Presicce, who kindly provided us with the photogrammetric data⁶ of the Comune di Roma (now Roma Capitale). The Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali, Servizio Territorio, Carta dell'Agro e *Forma Ur-*

³ HÄUBER 1990b; EAD. 1991.

⁴ Cf. HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 1997; ID. 1998; ID. 1999; ID. 2001a; ID. 2001b; LA ROCCA 2001; BODEL 2001; HÄUBER *et alii* 2001.

⁵ Cf. LA ROCCA 2001.

⁶ Cf. HILDEBRANDT 1996, pp. 12-13 (on "photogrammetrische Auswertungen"), and *passim*.

bis Romae is cooperation-partner in our project “AIS ROMA”; another partner is Prof. Coarelli. Sig.ra Arch. Maria Grazia Filetici (SSBAR) kindly accompanied us to the substructure on Via Pasquale Villari on November 20th, 2000 and shared the results of her research with us, and the architect Signora Monica Cola generously presented us with copies of her drawings of it.

The architect Signor Antonio Federico Caiola and Dott. Ing. Maurizio Martella kindly accompanied us on November 22nd, 2006 to the section of the Servian city wall in Via Mecenate no. 35a which had just been restored under their supervision; we are indebted to both and to Dott.ssa Mariarosaria Barbera (at the time SAR, now Soprintendente per i Beni Archeologici di Roma), who had invited us to this visit. She also directed the new excavation at the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II in 2002, conducted together with Drs. Massimo Pentiricci, Gianluca Schingo, Laura Asor Rosa and Massimiliano Munzi; they were so kind as to share the results with me in advance of publication. Dott.ssa Barbera also directed the excavation (2006-2009) on Viale Manzoni, Via Emanuele Filiberto. She invited us to see the *domus* which has an Augustan building phase, the remains of which Dott. Donato Colli was so kind as to show us on November 16th, 2006. Also the art historian Prof. Dr. Ingo Herklotz (Universität Marburg), who has studied Leonardo Agostini's ‘excavations’ in our research area generously shared his knowledge with me in advance of publication⁷; Dott. Domenico Palombi presented me with a copy of his *tesi di dottorato* in advance of publication⁸; Dott.ssa Rita Volpe (SBBCC) kindly sent me her unpublished plans of the Baths of Trajan, the cartographic data of which we integrated into our maps; and Dott. Alessandro D’Alessio sent me his article on “Santuari terraz-

zati e costruiti italici di età tardo-repubblicana” in advance of publication⁹. Dott.ssa Rita Volpe, Dott. Emanuele Gatti (then SAR), Dott.ssa Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio (then SBBCC), Dott.ssa Mariarosaria Barbera, Profs. Paolo Liverani (Università degli Studi di Firenze), Clementina Panella (Università di Roma “La Sapienza”) and Carlo Pavolini (Università degli Studi della Tuscia) generously shared with me their knowledge concerning the topography of ancient Rome, and thanks to them I was able too see many sites in the course of excavation. Prof. Andrea Carandini (Università di Roma “La Sapienza”) invited us on September 19th, 2008 to see the maps created in his project “Imago Urbis”¹⁰ which we had the chance to discuss together with him, with Prof. Paolo Carafa and Dott.ssa Fabiola Fraioli.

One avenue of my research, of which many results are published here for the first time, started on March 23rd, 1981, when Dott. Eugenio La Rocca (then Director of the Musei Capitolini) invited me to study the in many cases lost provenances of the ancient sculptural finds in these Museums that had been ‘excavated’ in the period ‘*Roma Capitale*’. I had asked him to grant me permission to study as my dissertation project the sculptures from the *Horti* of Maecenas, kept there. He kindly agreed, but explained to me that it would only make sense to work on that subject, if I first succeeded in this much ‘larger’ project¹¹. On November 22nd 1982, Dott. La Rocca invited me to collaborate with him in the research on the *Horti Lamiani*¹²; in 1986 his relevant exhibition was on display at the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. In March of 1993, Prof. La Rocca (now Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of the Comune di Roma), Amanda Claridge and I decided to organize a Convegno on the *Horti Romani*¹³ which was held at the Palazzo delle Esposizioni in Rome in May of 1995.

⁷ Cf. now I. HERKLOTZ 2004.

⁸ Cf. PALOMBI 1997.

⁹ Cf. A. D’ALESSIO 2010.

¹⁰ Cf. now CARAFA 2010; ID. 2012; CARANDINI, CARAFA 2012; CRESPI, FABIANI 2012.

¹¹ For the results, cf. HÄUBER 1986a; EAD. 1986b; EAD. 1990b; EAD. 1991.

¹² Cf. CIMA, LA ROCCA 1986; HÄUBER 1986a.

¹³ Cf. CIMA, LA ROCCA 1998; HÄUBER 1998a.

At our first meeting in the Capitoline Museums in 1981, La Rocca had shown me the unpublished *tesi di laurea* of Dott.ssa Laura Cianfriglia (at the time SAR, now SSBAR) on the *Horti* of Maecenas¹⁴. I met her soon afterwards and she kindly allowed me to make a copy of parts of her *tesi di laurea*, to quote from it and to publish also a plan which she had found in the Archivio Gai¹⁵, the cartographic information of which is also integrated into the maps published here. Cianfriglia had catalogued all the ancient marble sculptural fragments in the Parco Brancaccio and around the Casina Gai behind Palazzo Brancaccio, which is named after the artist Francesco Gai. With her friendly consent and the support of the Amministratore of the family Brancaccio, Dott. Salvatore Carella, Principessa Fernanda Brancaccio kindly allowed me to study these ancient sculptures again, and my friend Ulrich Friedhoff to take photographs of them for me, some of which I published with his and her consent¹⁶. I had also the chance to see the interior of the Casina Gai on several occasions, because Principessa Fernanda Brancaccio arranged a meeting on April 29th, 1981 with the architect Ing. Comm. Mario Gai¹⁷, the son of the artist, who lived in the Casina Gai, and his son, Signor Franco Gai, who were so kind as to show me Francesco Gai's studio. On July 7th, 1981, I was able to study the just mentioned sculptures for the last time. Dott.ssa Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio accompa-

nied me at the time to many visits on site on the Esquiline, and also to a second meeting with Mario and Franco Gai in Francesco Gai's studio. On June 16th, 1983 she kindly invited me to write contributions on the *Horti* of Maecenas for the catalogue *L'Archeologia in Roma capitale tra sterro e scavo*¹⁸.

The research area of our projects comprised from the beginning the sanctuaries under scrutiny here *and* the *Horti* of Maecenas. But instead of presenting all results in one monograph as originally announced, we published the technical part of the applied methodology first¹⁹. Unlike the aims formulated in our first publication on the project "FORTVNA"²⁰, we have now studied the area diachronically. I thank Prof. Eugenio La Rocca (at the time Sovrintendente ai Beni Culturali of the Comune di Roma), who, when we decided to collaborate in our project "FORTVNA", suggested to me on October 29th, 1997 in Rome to study and map an area of Rome diachronically. We chose the 'eastern part of the *Mons Oppius* in Rome'. In the meantime I have drawn a diachronic map of this area and, as derivations from it, three phase maps²¹ (cf. here **maps 3; 11-14**).

Another change of our aims had far-reaching consequences: after applying at the beginning of our "FORTVNA" project a so-called object-based approach²², with a relational database in the background, on June 1st, 1999 we changed the datamodel to a so-called object-ori-

¹⁴ CIANFRIGLIA 1976-1977.

¹⁵ Cf. HÄUBER 1990b, 12 ("Vorbemerkung"), pp. 41-42 with ns. 61, 88, fig. 24, Karte 2.

¹⁶ HÄUBER 1990b, 12 ("Vorbemerkung"), p. 30 with n. 61, figs. 17-19; EAD. 1991, p. 309, cat. no. 287-289. Dr. Ulrich Friedhoff and Principessa Fernanda Ceccarelli Brancaccio have now been so kind as to generously grant me again the permission to publish these photographs in this volume; I also wish to thank the latter's Amministratore, Signor Antonio Selvaggi, and Dott.ssa Gabriella Centi for their relevant help.

¹⁷ Roma June 19th, 1884-January 11th, 1984. I thank Gabriella Centi for telling me those data (personal commu-

nication); cf. CENTI 1982, p. 24; cf. p. 26 with n. 34, p. 27; CURTO 1978, p. 288, ns. 21, 24; MAZZEO 1982, p. 5. Mario Gai wrote a biography of his father Francesco Gai; cf. GAI 1963 (*non vidi*).

¹⁸ Cf. *L'archeologia in Roma capitale tra sterro e scavo 1983*; HÄUBER 1983.

¹⁹ Cf. HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 1997-2010; SCHÜTZ, HÄUBER 2001; ID. 2003; HÄUBER 2005; EAD. 2012; SCHÜTZ 2008; ID. 2012; ID. 2013.

²⁰ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 1997.

²¹ For a map project, which has a different approach, cf. Haselberger *et alii* 2002; ID. 2008.

²² HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 1998.

ented model²³ which we have been using ever since; the reason for that change is *inter alia* the faster performance of such databases²⁴. The “object-oriented model” I am referring to is a term used in computer science, and according to this usage of the term the photogrammetric data within the Aurelian Walls contain 659.954 such objects²⁵ (i.e. line structures); currently our information system “AIS ROMA”, covering c. 7 square kilometers within the Aurelian Walls, contains c. 2 million such objects (i.e. the photogrammetric data plus the cartographic data so far drawn). The term “object-oriented model”, used here, has nothing in common with the term “object-oriented archaeology”²⁶. The digital maps and ‘3D’-visualizations of the ancient landscape shown here were created with the “AIS ROMA”. This information system is based on the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma (now Roma Capitale) and on the object-oriented software “FORTVNA”, into which functionalities of 3/4D-GIS are incorporated. This and the “AIS ROMA” Franz Xaver Schütz and I developed for the purpose ourselves. We have elsewhere explained why we publish our maps and texts also on the internet²⁷.

Over the years, I have discussed my work regularly with my cooperation-partners and other specialists and presented it in public talks, since 1997 often together with Franz Xaver Schütz. The results of these meetings were fundamental for our subsequent work. I would like to thank those friends and colleagues who invited us to give those presentations and those who attended them, all of whom I thank for their stimulating comments and suggestions. Four of the trips to Oxford and to the US, mentioned in the following, were financed by the British Council Cologne and the inviting institutions, five other

trips to the US and Canada were supported with travel grants by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

Many findings which are published here for the first time were over the years presented in talks: in 1983 at St. John’s College, The University of Oxford, in 1985 at Bryn Mawr College, in 1986 at George Washington University (Washington, D.C.), in 1990 at Princeton University, at the First Williams Symposium on Roman Architecture (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), at the University of Pittsburgh, at New York University (The Institute of Fine Arts), at Bryn Mawr College, at Harvard University, at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, at the Universität Hamburg and in S. Francisco (at the AIA/APA-Annual Meeting), in 1991 at the The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu and in Chicago (at the AIA/APA-Annual Meeting), in 1992 at the University of Copenhagen, at the BSR, at the Universität Göttingen and in New Orleans (at the AIA/APA-Annual Meeting), in 1993 at the Università degli Studi di Perugia, in 1994 at the Peninsula Society of the AIA (Brock University St. Catherines) and the University of Toronto (both Ontario, Canada) and at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, in 1995 at the Convegno “Horti Romani” in Rome and the Symposium “Gardens of the Roman Empire” (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), in 1997 at the Symposium AGIT IX (Universität Salzburg, Institut für Geographie) and at the Symposium “Hellenistische Gruppen” (Liebieghaus Frankfurt), in 1998 at the BSR and in Amsterdam at the 15th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, in 1999 at the Fall Meeting of the Classical Association of Virginia (University of Virginia, Charlottesville), in a Tertulia at Dumbarton

²³ Cf. HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 1999; SCHÜTZ, HÄUBER 2001, p. 285; HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2004, pp. 41-42.

²⁴ Cf. for a detailed discussion, SCHÜTZ 2010, p. 477; Id. 2013.

²⁵ SCHÜTZ 2010, p. 477.

²⁶ For that, cf. CLARIDGE 2004, p. 34.

²⁷ HÄUBER, SCHÜTZ 2001b; HÄUBER *et alii* 2001; for the relevant discussion, cf. JOLIVET *et alii* 2009, pp. 131-135, especially the contribution by Luca Sasso D’Elia.

Oaks (Washington, D.C.) and at the DAI Rom, in 2000 at the Geographische Institute Bonn, at the Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) 534 Judentum – Christentum. Konstituierung und Differenzierung in Antike und Gegenwart, Universität Bonn, at the “Tagung des Arbeitskreises für genetische Siedlungsforschung in Mitteleuropa” (Universität Tübingen, Institut für Geographie), and at the Universität Bochum, in 2001 at the “FORTVNA Workshop” in San Diego (at the AIA/APA-Annual Meeting), at the Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli (SUN), Santa Maria Capua Vetere, at the 53. Deutsche Geographentag at the Universität Leipzig, at the 2nd International Symposium Remote Sensing of Urban Areas (Universität Regensburg, Institut für Geographie) and at the Symposium AGIT XIII (Universität Salzburg, Institut für Geographie), in 2002 at The University of California, Berkeley and at The State University of New Jersey Rutgers, New Brunswick, in 2003 at the DAI Berlin and at the 4th International Symposium Remote Sensing of Urban Areas (Universität Regensburg, Institut für Geographie), in 2004 in Rome at the Third Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture, in 2005 in Rome at the PIAC, in 2006 at the DAI Rom, in 2007 at the Workshop Geschichte und Gegenwart von Bau- und Gartenkultur im Kontext steter Orient-Okzident-Interdependenzen (Universität Hannover), in 2008 in Rome at the 17th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, in 2011 at the LMU München and in 2012 and 2013 (Führungen) at the M. F. A. München. In the Sommersemester (April-July) of 2009, I was able to present many of the ideas first published here to the students of classical archaeology at the Universität Tübingen, who attended my Vorlesung “Römische Archäologie II. Vom Beginn des Prinzipats bis zum Ende des Imperium Romanum”, and in the Sommersemester of 2010 (April-July) at the Universität Tübingen to those who attended my Vorlesung “Römische Archäologie I (Republik)”. My thanks are due to the classical archaeologist Prof. Dr. Thomas

Schäfer (Universität Tübingen) who had invited me to teach these courses.

Prof. Amanda Claridge (Royal Holloway, University of London), whom I had first met in July of 1973 at Dr. Hansgeorg Oehler’s photographic archive MAR (Archäologisches Institut, Universität zu Köln), invited me on December 26th, 1980 to use the Library of the BSR, when she was Assistant-Director there. Ever since we met Amanda has discussed all aspects of my research with me, and has provided constant help and encouragement, recently also through her much appreciated ‘telephone-help-line’.

Much of the research presented here was conducted in the excellent Libraries of the BSR and of the DAI Rom. It is my pleasure to record my gratitude to the Librarians of the BSR, to Luciana Valentini, Valerie Scott, Dr. Demetrios Michaelides, Dr. Anthony Alcock, Beatrice Gelosia, Francesca de Riso and Francesca Deli; the latter has provided me with many scans of publications that I could not get hold of elsewhere, in addition to Maria Pia Malvezzi (then at the BSR), who has arranged countless appointments and *permessi* for me, as well as to her equally efficient successors, Alessandra Giovenco and Stefania Peterlini (both BSR), to the Director of the BSR, Prof. Christopher J. Smith, who greatly supports our work, and to his wife Susan Rothwell Smith, and to the domestic bursar Tommaso Astolfi and his wife Filomena, and the residence manager Geraldine Wellington (all then BSR), as well as to her equally efficient successor, Christine Martin, who, like the other individuals mentioned here, with their friendship and reliable help have made us feel at home whenever we came to the BSR; to the Directors of the Library of the DAI Rom, where I had the good fortune to work since October of 1980, the late Prof. Dr. Horst Blanck and Dr. Thomas Fröhlich and to their relevant teams, especially to the Librarians Elvira Ofenbach and Claudia Sternberg, and to Dr. Sylvia Diebner (then DAI Rom), many of whom have supported my studies for so many years now, and to Prof. Dr. Hugo Brandenburg

(then at the DAI Rom), with whom I had already studied at the Universität zu Köln. He invited us to see new excavations whenever we came to Rome, provided much appreciated bibliographic help, and has always been very generous in sharing his vast knowledge with us.

The Librarians of the BSR have always taken a personal interest in my work, Luciana Valentini was so kind as to introduce me to the scholars who came to this Library, including the late Prof. Lucos Cozza (Università degli Studi di Perugia) and Prof. Ferdinando Castagnoli (Università di Roma “La Sapienza”). Another Librarian, the archaeologist Dr. Demetrios Michaelides (now Professor at the University of Cyprus, Nicosia), suggested on March 19th, 1981 that I should ask Dott. Eugenio La Rocca whether I could study the sculptures from the *Horti* of Maecenas in the Capitoline Museums. A collaboration on this topic La Rocca had offered to Michaelides himself shortly before, who, planning to go back to Cyprus at that stage, could not himself join this project²⁸. Thanks to Dimitri, I thus finally found the ideal subject on which to write my dissertation (cf. *supra*). Another Librarian, the Egyptologist Dr. Anthony Alcock (now Universität Kassel), supported me greatly when I started to study the ‘Esquiline Venus’. He corresponded on my behalf with other Egyptologists and accompanied me in December of 1984 to Sir Ashley Clarke in Venice, who when British Ambassador to Italy had commissioned a marble copy of the ‘replica’ of the ‘Esquiline Venus’ in the Louvre in Paris for the round ‘temple’ in the garden of Villa Wolkonsky. My thanks are also due to the then British Ambassador to Italy, Lord Bridges, who kindly allowed me to study this torso. As the following chapter on the ‘Esquiline Venus’ will show, Tony has thus helped me to solve a great problem.

To find an exciting dissertation project is one thing, but to meet its inherent methodological challenges quite a different matter. Here again, and not by chance, especially the scholars attached to the BSR have helped me to resolve these problems. During my fruitful research years in the Library there, Prof. Lucos Cozza²⁹ and Prof. T.P. Wiseman (University of Exeter)³⁰ introduced me to the field of ‘the topography of ancient Rome’, the potential and methodology of which were previously completely unknown to me. Until then only interested in ancient sculpture, with the vague aim of reconstructing their individual contexts, the sudden realization that this could not only be done, but that those scholars were also willing to teach me the relevant methods, came as a revelation to me at the time – and has given an entirely new direction to my research.

But the list of scholars whom I met at the BSR does not end here. Prof. Nicholas Purcell³¹ (now Brasenose College, University of Oxford), who had just dedicated a study to this subject³², kindly introduced me to the methodology applied in the field ‘the ancient *Horti of Rome*’; he also provided me with a copy of this manuscript in 1983, and the late Dr. Anthony L. Cubberley presented me with photocopies of Rodolfo Lanciani’s *Notes from Rome to The Athenaeum* in advance of publication³³. Another good friend whom I met at the BSR was the late art historian Prof. Michael J. MacCarthy³⁴ (then University of Toronto); he not only shared with me the results of his research in advance of publication³⁵ and supplied me with catalogues related to my own work, but also, like some other friends mentioned here, supported my application for a Junior Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks. The unique atmosphere at the BSR has helped me tremen-

²⁸ I thank Demetrios Michaelides, who kindly allowed me by Email of December 2nd, 2012 to mention this here.

²⁹ Whom I first met in January of 1981.

³⁰ Whom I first met in January of 1984.

³¹ Whom I first met at the BSR in 1982.

³² Cf. PURCELL undated.

³³ Cf. CUBBERLEY 1988.

³⁴ Whom I first met at the BSR in 1984.

³⁵ E.g. MCCARTHY 1991.

dously in finding those scholars whose work relates to my own; in this respect I wish to thank especially, apart from the people already mentioned, Dr. Robert Coates-Stephens (BSR). To give only one example: at one stage, after just having drawn the ground-plan of Antonio Sangallo the Younger's Bastion (1534) at the *Porta Ardeatina* in the Aurelian Walls, I believed I would never find anyone who could possibly explain to me how this Bastion would have functioned. Of course I was wrong, because on November 24th, 2010, I met Dr. Simon Pepper at the BSR, who had studied that topic a long time before, had made reconstruction drawings of the Bastion, and kindly shared his knowledge with me³⁶. Many of the individuals mentioned here have provided aid and facilities from the beginning of my studies at the BSR.

More recently, I additionally used the Libraries of the Universities at Bonn, Regensburg, Tübingen and München, to the staffs of which I am also indebted. Especially to the Librarian Claudia Voos at the then Institut für Klassische Archäologie (Universität Bonn), to the Director of the UBR, Dr. Albert Schröder, and his collaborators of the Multimediazentrum for providing professional scans of many old Rome maps for me, to the Librarians Daniela Ruttloff-Mortari and Sabine Stabenow-Tritschel and the classical archaeologist Dr. Ingrid Hitzl (all then Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Bereichsbibliothek Schloss Nord), to Dipl. Ing. Kartographie (FH) Richard Szydlack, the cartographer of the Forschungsbereich Geographie (Universität Tübingen), for plotting the many different versions of my **map 3**, to the Librarian Christa Kickbusch (Institut für Klassische Archäologie, LMU München), and to the photographer and multimedia-engineer Roy Hessing and the classical archaeologist Dr. Ingrid Kader (both M. F. A. München) for kindly providing profes-

sional scans of the photographs kept at the M. F. A. München presented here and for generously granting permission to publish them. I wish to thank all these individuals for the generous support of my research and for the interesting discussions.

As with my earlier work, Prof. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway (Bryn Mawr College) and Prof. Andrew Stewart (The University of California, Berkeley) discussed with me many of the here published ideas, so did the late Dr. Hansgeorg Oehler (MAR, Universität zu Köln). It was actually because Bruni Ridgway had mentioned in a publication Evelyn B. Harrison's research on ritual haircuts³⁷, that I wondered whether the 'Esquiline Venus' could have undergone a procedure of this kind. Since my Junior Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks (September 1985–May 1986), the late Prof. Wilhelmina F. Jashemski (University of Maryland, College Park and Senior Fellow at DO) opened my eyes to 'garden studies', and Prof. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (at the time Director of Studies in Landscape Architecture at DO), the Head Librarian of the Garden Library at DO, Laura Byers, and the Librarian Anne Day Thacher, supported my work well beyond the call of duty. Prof. Amanda Claridge and Prof. Rose Mary Sheldon (Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, VA) have been so kind as to correct the English of earlier versions of this text. Profs. Frederick E. Brenk, S. J. (at the time Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Roma), Serena Ensolì (Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli), Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway and Dr. Mette Moltesen (then Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen) were so kind as to read earlier drafts of this text and asked many constructive questions. The latter, in addition to this, kindly provided photographs not only of the 'Esquiline Group' in her own museum, but also of the drawing by Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg of the Barberini 'An-

³⁶ Cf. PEPPER 1986, pp. 24–25, figs. 14, 15.

³⁷ Cf. RIDGWAY 1990b, p. 593 n. 37; EAD. 1994, p. 765 with n. 32, who quotes HARRISON 1988.