

Short-Term Phenomena and Long-Lasting Places

The Altars of the Lares Augusti and the Compita in the Streets of Ancient Rome

ABSTRACT The altars of the *Lares Augusti*, their imagery and spatial contexts, as well as the institution of the Augustan *vicomagistri* are commonly treated as a homogeneous phenomenon in Roman archaeology. Starting from an adjusted concept of ‘biography of places and objects’, the paper analyses the material evidence along the (multidimensional) line from the setting up of the altars in certain spatial contexts — mostly compital shrines — to the renovations of altars and shrines, to their abolishment. Thus, the assumed homogeneity of the cult of the *Lares Augusti* in the moment of its reinvention (dating to the last decade of the first century BC) becomes secondary to the highly individual and situational adaptations of altars, inscriptions, and compital shrines including the veneration of the *Lares Augusti*. Seen in its *longue durée* in the neighbourhoods, with differences, contingencies, and changes, the institution of the *Lares Augusti* unfolds as a highly adaptable religious, social, and spatial practice in imperial Rome’s urban environment.

KEYWORDS *Lares Vinales/Lares Augusti*; altars; iconography; *vicomagistri*; inscriptions; religion in Rome’s city quarters; context-based meaning of objects and places; biography of places and objects.

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On *Vici*, *Compita*, and *Lares* in Imperial Rome

In 1932, when the construction work for the Via dei Fori Imperiali in Rome took place, a small temple building, an altar, and some pieces of architectural decoration were found among many remains in an area that was the heart of the ancient city of Rome (Fig. 8.1).

The inscriptions on some of the pieces inform us that the structure was the *compitum* (a crossroad or neighbourhood sanctuary) of the *Vicus compiti Acili*, and that it was under the responsibility of *vicomagistri* (the official who took care of the place and the cult) (6, 21, Fig. 8.2a–b).¹ Whereas the location was overbuilt by the promenade, the architecture was published soon after the discovery and became the model for compital shrines for the *Lares*. These

¹ Bold numbers refer to the material in the Appendix.

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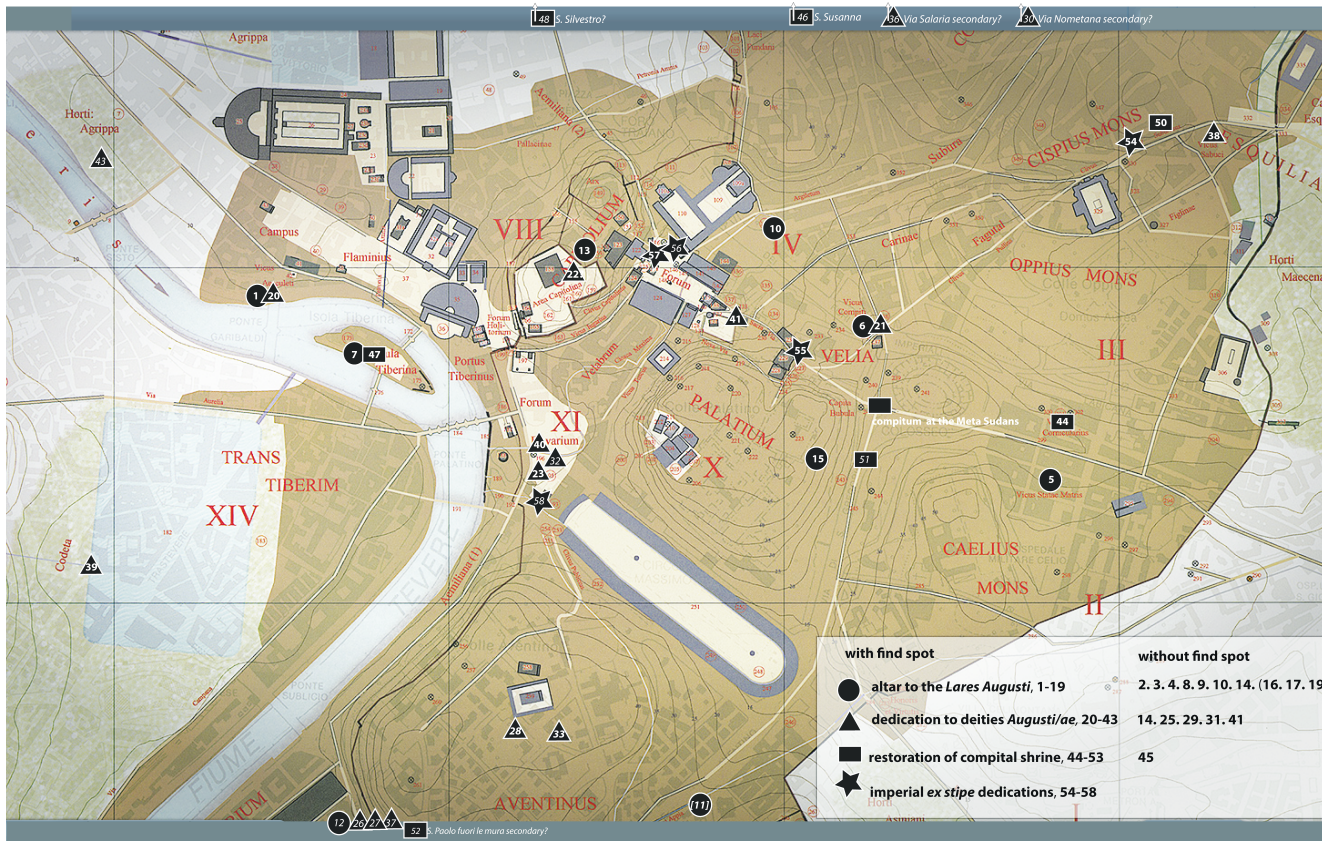


Figure 8.1. Map with the findings of compital shrines, altars, and inscriptions as listed in the Appendix. Source: A.-K. Rieger; background: map of 'Digital Augustan Rome', copyright L. Haselberger and D. G. Romano.

Roman tutelary deities in charge of social and spatial entities, like a community, a family, a household, a polity, or a neighbourhood, were given new meaning under Augustus and were renamed in *Lares Augusti*. The fragmentary altar (6, Fig. 8.2a) dedicated by the *collegium* (an association) of *vicomagistri* from the *Vicus Acili* fell into oblivion (and today its location is unknown), even though it once lay at the heart of the compital shrine.

Altars for the *Lares Augusti* dedicated by *vicomagistri* are a phenomenon seen in Augustan Rome, when Augustus and his counsellors undertook the intentional political-religious reinvention of the old institution of the *Lares Compitales*, in the course of a necessary administrative reorganization of the city. This went along with the (re-)installation of compital shrines and compital altars in the neighbourhoods of Rome. The imagery and inscriptions of the altars and shrines, their distribution in the city of Rome, as well as the establishment of the *collegium* of the *vicomagistri*, which lived on for a long time, makes this group of material apt to be studied under the aspects of biography of objects from religious contexts in urban places.

But how can the concept of 'biography' help interpret objects from compital shrines and the institutions behind them in republican and imperial Rome? How far does the metaphor of 'object biography' offer more insights into the phenomenon of the altars of the *Lares Vicinales* and the compital shrines? Or — the other way around: How can we conceive of the existence phases of an object like an altar or a shrine differently and more profitably in order to accept it in its entire significance through time?

'Biographies', 'Social Life', and 'Itineraries' of Things in Historical Research: Some Adjustments to Variations of a Concept

Thinking about things and places in historical research through a biographical perspective leads to many new insights and corrections, especially in the field of cultural anthropology, museum studies, material culture studies, colonial studies, art history, and archaeology. In their seminal works, the anthropologists Igor Kopytoff (1986), Alfred Gell (1986), and Arjun Appadurai (1986) focused on the pathways of consumption and commodification of things impacting a person's identity. The archaeo-

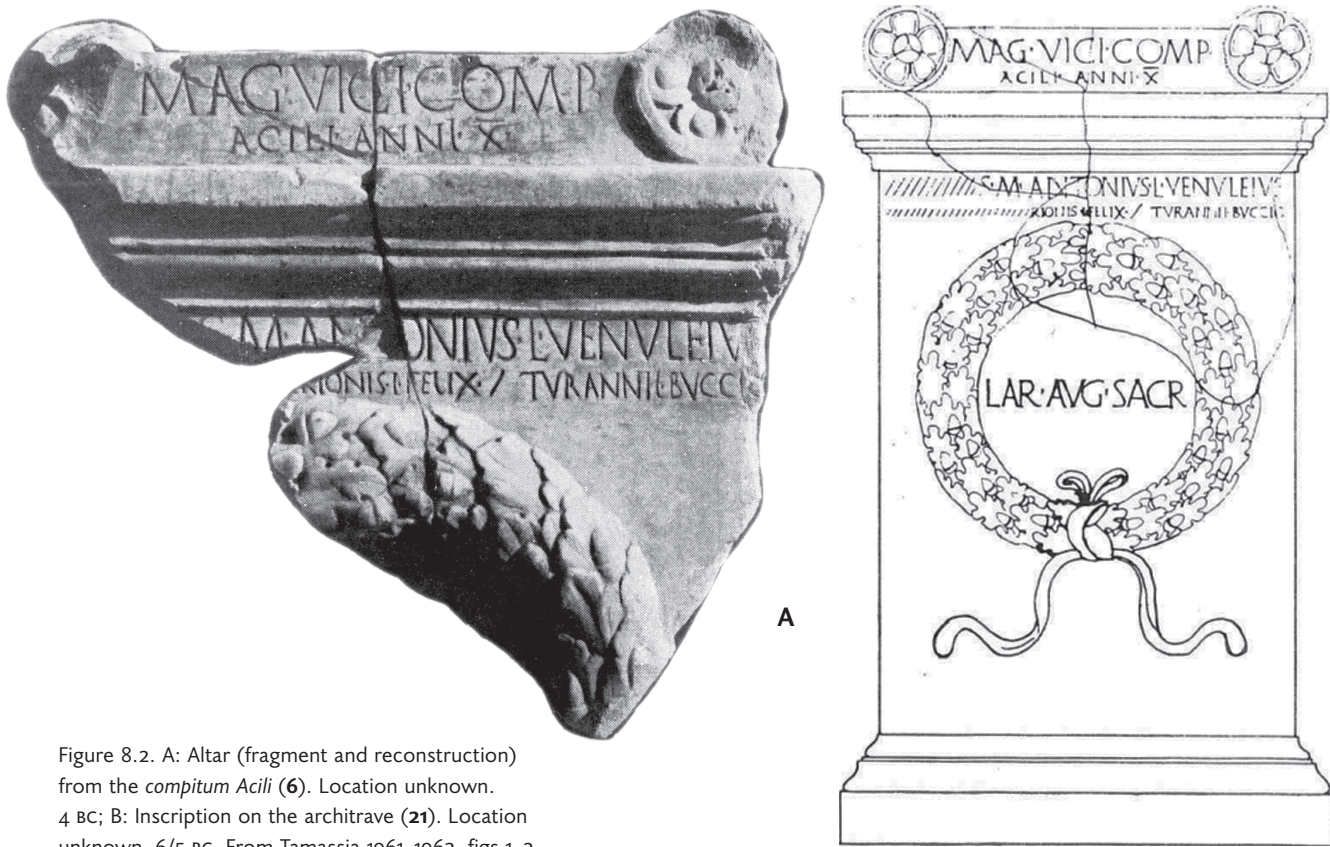


Figure 8.2. A: Altar (fragment and reconstruction) from the *compitum Acili* (6). Location unknown. 4 BC; B: Inscription on the architrave (21). Location unknown. 6/5 BC. From Tamassia 1961–1962, figs 1–2.



logists Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall (1999) and Cornelius Holtorf (1998) concentrated on the changing meanings and functions of objects from past cultures through time, while the art historian William J. T. Mitchell (2005) analysed impact of image-objects on the biographies of human agents and vice versa.² Processual archaeologists from the

1960s,³ who drew the continuous lines from production to abolition of objects, the 'Material Turn' in the 1990s (Miller 1998), and thoughts about the agency of objects (Gell 1998), contributed with their view on objects in archaeology and the concept of bio-

2. Hofmann 2016; Joy 2009; Hodder 2012, e.g. fig. 3.3. See also Hoskins 2006 on biographical objects.

3. The functional approaches of processual archaeology were developed by Lewis Binford (1968), Colin Renfrew, and Michael Rowlands (1982). See Hofmann and Schreiber 2011, 164, with graph in Abb. 4.

graphy entered the debate.⁴ Since objects conventionally are considered as dead, the application of 'biography' and 'agency' implements aspects of the objects' dynamics, process, and change. Recently, actor-network theory (ANT) (Callon 1980; Latour 1999; 2007) and theory of entanglement (Hodder 2012), emphasizing the potential of objects and their locations to take part in interaction with other agents like humans or spaces, developed the thoughts on object biography further.⁵ Yet, the problems arising from viewing an object as an agent and as a biomorphic entity are obvious: it leads back to a reification of social relations, and an essentialism or positivism of historical and archaeological hermeneutics (Jung 2015, 37).

From the idea that objects and places have biographies, a suitable analytical core remains: objects (and places) change their meaning depending on surroundings, environment, embedding, and agents who interact with them. To bring this core assumption to bear on an archaeological material, as for example presented in the story of the *compitum vici Acili* in the beginning, I propose the following adjustments to the concept of 'object biography':

- i. Biography is about organisms that physically disappear, vanish, and die, while materials of objects often persist much longer. The trap of object biography is the equation of a start (birth = raw material, production) often combined with an 'intention', development (aging = changing roles and positions), and end (death = destruction, deposition) as applied also to 'archaeological cultures'.⁶ The existence and archival characteristic of objects and places have to be understood more open-ended, with recurrence, permanence, or reappearance, in order to soften the focus on the 'death' of an object, the end of its functionality, or its deposition in archaeological applications of the 'biography of objects'. There is variegated evidence for the meaningfulness of invisible, obliterated, deposited, or imagined

objects, so that we have to de-anthropomorphize the approach and go beyond the (intentional) birth or death of an object or place.⁷

- ii. Biography implies a certain linearity due to our linear understanding of time in the modern Western world, and birth and death as two points in life. Applied to historical periods, linear biographical development can hardly be followed even with the best, complete evidence at hand. The risk is, even when we allow for breaks, disruptions, and discontinuities, that interpolations and conjectures find their way into our analysis.⁸ This objection weighs even heavier when we take into account that archaeological-historical research tries to enlighten the practices of people behind the often very complex objects ((inscribed) architecture or image-objects, for instance), whose various parts can start to have various 'lines' and consequently disruptions to be pursued by the researcher.
- iii. 'Biography' and 'social life of things' are often about the impact of objects on humans, or the reconstruction of the human being, and their (individual) practices when using the objects. This is also a general interest of archaeological research. However, with a stricter focus on the objects themselves and their story, the other agents do not take centre stage. With this view, the role and the existence in certain circumstances and surroundings (archaeological contexts) of objects can be assessed first, and in a second step, the relation to humans can be detected. The rather mono-linear and monolithic way from an (image-)object to its significance (often equated with ascribed functionality) has to be broken up in favour of the pursuit for the reconstruction of multifaceted, situational meanings.
- iv. What Hans-Peter Hahn (2015) calls 'Eigensinn der Dinge', I interpret as the object's individuality — again a metaphor from the human sphere. The need to look for it is, in the course of archaeological typologization, an important point because it admits differences, even when an object is part of a typological group. It accounts for the heterogeneity of objects even when functionality affordances and other features are similar,

4 Hahn and Weiss (2013) use 'itineraries' instead of biography, criticized by Jung (2015).

5 Callon (1980) started to set out the problem of how to describe materially and socially heterogeneous systems, while Latour (1999, 19), following on Callon and Latour (1981), emphasized the attempt of ANT 'to learn from the actors without imposing on them an *a priori* definition of their world-building capacities'. Also see Latour 2007. Hodder (2012) applied the ANT on the entangled relationships of objects and humans. Cf. Ingold 2010, presenting a convincing approach on the 'life of things' restricting the agency of object.

6 The aspect of memory and retrospect would also hold true for human beings whose story can change as often as it is retold or rewritten.

7 See Rieger 2016 for prolonging the agency of objects beyond the moment of their deposition. Cf. Jung 2012, 376 and 380 for criticism of the 'Anthropomorphisierung' of objects.

8 Hahn 2015, 43. Hahn further remarks that the concept of biography is an invitation to 'fabulieren' (2015, 53).

which offers — as the material from the altars and shrines for the *Lares* will show — much more nuanced insights into societal processes.

Hence, my contribution uses ‘biography’ as a metaphor for an analytical approach that focuses on the heterogeneity of altars to the *Lares Augusti*; on the phases of use and changes of practices at the compital shrines, their locations and relocation; and on changes in an object’s meaning or significance. As a first analytical step, it seems appropriate to introduce the strict archaeological methods of the analysis of the object and the context. The object itself and the context embrace the storylines transmitted by raw material, provenance, iconography, and function, as well as of spatial and social settings, depositional processes and the post-depositional phases of an (image-) object. A focus on the beginning phase and the phases at times with strong evidence biases the picture of the object’s significance and character. An assessment of a religious, social, and political phenomenon like the compital shrines and the altars of the *Lares Augusti* can only be valid when we take into account its decrease, changes, or fading out. When we analyse (image-) objects like the altars of the *Lares Augusti*, taking a ‘context-first’ — rather than a ‘feature-first’ — approach, their invention, production, use, and reuse, the abolition of their locations, and the changes of meaning can provide insights into dynamics and changes in the urban processes of Rome between the end of first century BC and the third century AD (and beyond).⁹

In conclusion, I argue for extenuating the impact of this political trick and administrative necessity, bound to a century-old institution. Tracking the involved agents, users, and addressees, as well as their responses to the altars and shrines down into the third century AD, I demonstrate that the initiative under Augustus has a decisively indefinite character and develops in many facets, and with different dynamics.¹⁰

An Augustan Ideal? Compital Shrines and Altars for the *Lares* as Urban Ritual Places

When we start from the premise that a city is a massively interacting settled area, a place of myriads of individual or group-related activities, a place of diverging or converging interests, of conflicts and changes, all these interactions form and transform the city on various spatial and social levels or dimensions (Batty 2012). The social, spatial, and material interactions take place in every moment of a city’s life.

Where now can we grasp the junction of the individual and the larger society to understand the interaction? The streets and neighbourhoods are a social and spatial setting where the individual meets the larger societal settings. In ancient Rome, the *vici* (neighbourhoods), and the religious institutions and locations related to them offer the evidence: the *Compita*, shrines set up in streets, where people venerated the *Lares* on an irregular base and also at a yearly festival, allow for drawing a differentiated picture of their phases of use and the varying interests of agents involved there. The *Lares* were the gods of a place where various territories met (*Lares Compitales*), of the social group of a neighbourhood (*Lares Vicinales*), or of a family (*Lares Familiares*).¹¹

Many of the known altars for the *Lares* and pertaining structures, inscriptions, and remains came to light during the restructuring of Rome in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All of them, distributed over the entire city, complement the image of Rome as a city of temples, public buildings, large infrastructural facilities, and sumptuous furnishings (Fig. 8.1). Hence, the altars of the *Lares* and the compital shrines reflect an important level of religious life in the city, since they cover larger social and spatial entities and allow for a bottom-up view.

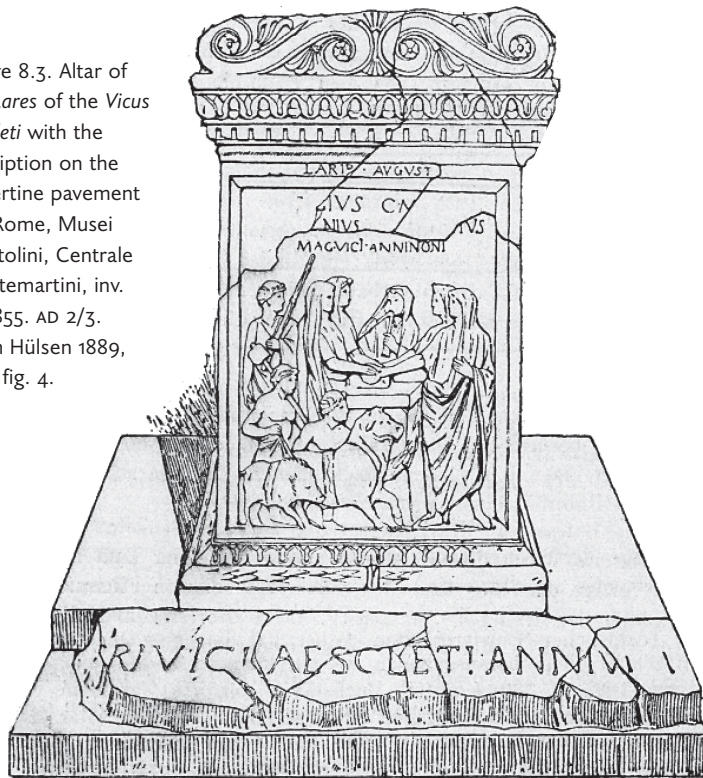
When Augustus and his counsellors linked the *Lares Vicinales* and their worship to the emperor’s *Lares* — consequently called *Lares Augusti* — and the *Genius Augusti* (*genius*: power/spirit of an individual), this is commonly seen as a politically informed (re-)invention. However, the reorganization of the compital shrines between 12 and 7 BC under Marcus Agrippa as *aedilis* (as magistrate with administrative competences) can be seen also as the end point of developments and administrative steps

⁹ See Rieger 2018, 36–44 for a clearer definition of what ‘context’ one might speak of.

¹⁰ Thinking along the lines of (Foucauldian) power relations and in terms such as ‘Programmatik’ and ‘Propaganda’, Zanker (1987) and Pollini (2012) concentrate on probable intentions on the side of the inventing agents disregarding the various receivers of the ‘messages’ over time. Cf. Polito 2012.

¹¹ On *Lares* and *Compitalia*, see Lott 2004, 61–127; Flower 2017. For a discussion of origin and developments, see Stek 2008. The *Compitalia* or *ludi compitalicia* were not fixed in the calendar but determined every year by the magistrates (*feriae conceptivae*) and subject to political interference, cf. Stek 2008, 112.

Figure 8.3. Altar of the *Lares* of the *Vicus Aesclleti* with the inscription on the travertine pavement (1). Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. no. 855. AD 2/3. From Hülse 1889, 266, fig. 4.



from the Late Roman Republic. The census-driven reallocation of *regiones* and *vici* in the city of Rome went hand in hand with changes in the layout and furnishing of already existing compital shrines.¹² The altars of the *Lares Augusti* produced for compital shrines, together with the establishment of the *collegium* of the *vicomagistri* taking care of the cult, attest to rather individual initiatives in the various *vici* and to the entanglement with other religious expressions, followed by certain negligence or even abolishment, as will be shown in the following.¹³

What was the intention of this administrative act and of the institution of the *Lares Augusti*, the *vicomagistri* and *ministri* (subaltern officials), and the compital festivals in Augustan Rome? Suetonius (*Aug.* xxxi) described it as a measure in order to revitalize old and forgotten cults. However, Suetonius writes as representative of a retrospective interest of antiquarianism in the times of Augustus, as evidenced in various areas of intellectual life (Rüpke

2014; Scheid 2005). Furthermore, any source about number, names, and locations of *vici* is highly individual: both the base in the Capitoline Museum (second century AD) and the *Catalogus Regionum* (fourth century AD) do not intend to give a complete list of an institution of the early first century AD.¹⁴ The *Lares* had their place in the social and religious life of Rome for centuries, but they changed their meaning in the early Principate. The change was combined with a translation into partly new images, layouts of shrines, and institutions and agents.¹⁵ How, then, did this change impact on the already existing shrines? How were the new species of image-objects, the altars, created? For how long did the 'new' aspects last or linger?

Variations over Short Time: The Altars from Various *Vici* and their Imagery

The imagery on the altars is — apart from the *collegia* as social institutions — the most studied feature of the phenomenon of the *Lares Compitales*. The reliefs often show the perpetuated act of the sacrifices to the *Lares* during their (or a) festival. However, when seen as representatives of a city-wide institution, the number of twelve altars, plus eight with either imagery or remains of inscriptions that may perhaps refer to the institution of the *Lares Augusti/Vicinales*, is not high (1–20). Moreover, the variations in imagery, decoration, and inscriptions are as numerous as are the similarities.

An altar of a *vicus* called *Aesclleti* from the year AD 2/3, which has imagery and inscription as well as a find context, serves as point of reference in the study of the *Lares Augusti* and their shrines. The altar came to light in the Campus Martius in 1888 in the course of building work for the Ponte Garibaldi (1, Fig. 8.3). The altar is made from marble, at that time a prestigious material not at everyone's disposal.

The workmanship of the figures as well as of the ornaments on the upper and lower mouldings of the altar makes it a non-average piece. One side of the altar shows the relief of a rectangular altar where four *magistri* prepare for a sacrifice of a bull and a pig (as relevant animals for the cult of the *Genius Augusti* and the *Lares*) (Fig. 8.3). They face the altar in pairs, reaching out to its *focus*, wear a toga, and

12 In the republican era, the *ludi compitalicia* were celebrated at shrines in the neighbourhoods (Cic., *Pis.*, viii); cf. Hano 1986; Lott 2004. Plinius (*HN*, iii. 66) attests fourteen *regiones* and 265 *vici* for the Flavian period.

13 The *vicomagistri* seconded by *ministri* started their office on 1 August and took care of the shrines and the festivals. Even though chosen from the *liberti*, the *magistri* were allowed to wear a *toga praetexta*, hence, *vicomagister* was an office of a high social status.

14 The inscription on a marble base *CIL* vi. 975 refers to a census in AD 73.

15 The institution of the *Lares* and their shrines were not *abolita*: their worship was a highly contested religious affair in the Late Republic, see Flambard 1981.



Figure 8.4. Front and back of a fragmented altar (4). Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile ottagonale, inv. no. 958. Augustan/early Principate. From Panciera 1987, figs 8 and 11.

appear *capite velato* (with the head covered by a piece of the toga). Servants (or *ministri*?) handling the sacrificial animals, a flute-player behind, and a *lictor* on the left side of the depicted altar frame the sacrificial scene (Hölscher 1988).

The *lares* themselves are depicted on the side of the altar, standing on their tiptoes, represented in a move, and standing on a base, so that they were regarded as representations of the gods, as statuettes. The laurel branches that they carry are common in imperial times and hint to the Apollinic/triumphal

references of Augustus. The allusion to Augustus continues on the back, where a wreath appears — fragmented, but still recognizable as a *corona civica*. As regards the sacrificial scene, the altar, on the one hand, reflects the pursuit for the assimilation to imagery commissioned by the imperial court (composition, quality, material, iconography of the *magistri*), and, on the other hand, neatly combines the various phases of a sacrifice as seen on any compital shrine (Moede 2007, 166–68).

Another marble altar whose imagery relates it to the cult of the *Lares Augusti* was made in the time of Augustus (2) and has been known since the sixteenth century, today belonging to the collection Chigi-Albani. Its reliefs explain the same story as the altar from the *Vicus Aesclleti*, but with less personnel. To the right of a central round altar appears only one official — a *vicomagister*, recognizable by his toga and *capite velato*, pouring a libation onto the altar. A flute-player physically and acoustically frames the rite. Since servants lead sacrificial animals from the right to the altar, the scene relates to the various ritual steps that the *vicomagistri* were responsible for.

A rarely attested close relationship in the imagery of the sacrificial scene — its composition and style — can be seen on the piece from the collection Chigi-Albani (2) and on one in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (3). The resemblance allows for assuming the same workshop for their production. Even though their quality dwell on a level of workmanship far below the altar from the *Vicus Aesclleti* (1), the *chaîne d'opératoire* of the altars to the *Lares Augusti* becomes clear: there might have been models — individually copied in various workshops, commissioned by the *vicomagistri* — but not a concerted distribution of a fixed set of imagery on the altars distributed to the *vici*.

For a better understanding of the processes behind the creation of the altars in the various *vici*, we can draw on another fragment in the Vatican Museums (4, Fig. 8.4).

Even though no *Lares* are mentioned on this piece, the decoration in relief resembles the sacrificial scene on the altars in the collection Chigi-Albani and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (2, 3), combined with the one on the altar of the *Vicus Aesclleti* (1). The form of the depicted altar is rectangular, and the position of the *victimarii* is like the position on the altar *Aesclleti*, but the single *togatus* and the flute-player behind the altar resemble the scenes on the altars from the collection Chigi-Albani and the one from the Palazzo dei Conservatori. However, the fragment here shows more figures behind the *togatus* to the right of the altar.



Figure 8.5. A: Altars from the *Vicus Censori* (7), Frankfurt Liebieghaus, inv. no. 284 and Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 47808. 7/6 BC. From <<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131500>> and <<http://fotosar.it/index.php?it/8/risultato-della-ricerca/visualizza/1885>> [accessed 26 March 2017]; B: architrave from an aedicula of the *Vicus Censori* (47), Rome, Musei Capitolini. AD 100. From <http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121647&lang=it> [accessed 26 March 2017].

The *vicomagistri* of every *vicus* had the choice and responsibility of commissioning an altar. Asking the same workshop could have made things easier and more economical.

Another variation is represented by the altar of the *Vicus Statae Matris*, dedicated in 2 BC, showing no figural scenes or any depiction of a ritual and its agents (5).¹⁶ While the narrow sides show a *patera* and an oak-leaf wreath (the *corona civica*, the civic crown, referring to Augustus's title of *pater patriae*, father of the nation), the main message of this altar lies in the two long inscriptions on the larger sides. They tell us that the *ministri* dedicated this altar to the *Lares Augusti*. But they or a ritual for them are not depicted.

The same choice in imagery can be traced in a fragmentary altar gaining less attention (because the architectural remains around it, and the noble family the *vicus* is named after, raised more scholarly interest): the altar from the *compitum Acili* (6, Fig. 8.1). An inscription running along the pulvini of the altar tells us that the 'magistri vici compiti Acili of the year X' dedicated the preserved altar (AD 3/4). The inscription continues on the lower parts of the altar with the names of the *magistri* — and might have addressed the *Lares Augusti* in the wreath (Tamassia 1961–1962, 162 n. 13).

Another example of the sober type of altars belongs to the *Vicus Censori* on the Tiber Island, where twin altars were found (7, Fig. 8.5a). They belong to the very early pieces of altars to the *Lares Augusti* (7/6 BC).

16 Other dedications to Mater Stata are 25, 28, 30, 31, 36.

Festoons made from oak leaves between laurel branches are the only sculptured decoration.¹⁷ This alludes — as in the altar from the *compitum Acili* — once more to imagery of the early Principate, the *corona civica* of Augustus, and the Laurels of Apollo placed at the house of Augustus. Yet, the *Lares* themselves do not feature at all in the imagery of the altars, only in the inscriptions to the *Lares Augusti*. Financed by the *ministri vici*, not the higher ranked *magistri*, the altars reflect a big effort made by the responsible persons in the *vicus*, shortly after the reinstitution of the compital cults.¹⁸

Variations in this type of imagery are also manifest, as a fragment of an altar in the Capitoline Museum attests (8), most likely dating to Augustan times: three sides show laurel branches, whereas on the fourth side a bull head and two *bullae* are depicted over a festoon of oak leaves. The fragmentary inscription can be attributed to the *Lares*.

An early altar (7/6 BC) from an unknown neighbourhood is yet again different and unique: here, the *Lares* with small cornucopia in their hands appear on the wider side of the block, but together with the *Genius* depicted as *togatus* (9). On each side, two *magistri*, accompanied by a flute-player, are sacrificing on an altar. An oak-leaf wreath and a laurel appear on the reverse. The inscription on the mutilated piece dedicates this altar to the *Lares Augusti* but also to the *Genii Caesarum*.

At the other end of the scale, the altar of the *Vicus Sandaliarius* on the Esquiline, dedicated in 2 BC, is characterized by close links to Augustus and his family (10). Augustus himself stands as *togatus capite velato* with augural attributes between a younger man and woman — both identified according to portrait features from the imperial family, most probably Gaius Caesar and Livia or Iulia (Pollini 1987, 32–33; Boschung 1993, 125, Kat. Nr. 36, Taf. 67.4–5). On the back, the *corona* from oak leaves and laurel trees alongside a *patera* and a jar (*urceus*) are depicted. One side bears the *Lares*, in this case carrying a cornucopia, while on the other side a Victoria features with shield and *tropaion*. This could be a reference to the *clipeus virtutis*, a shield given to Augustus by the senate for his virtue (as depicted on the Belvedere Altar). The inscription dedicates this altar not only to the *Lares*, but also to the emperor himself. The imagery and inscription of the altar refers directly to the emperor and would have needed a sculptor skilled enough to make the portraits. In this regard,

the altar and the *collegium* from this *vicus* act differently to the *magistri* as commissioners of the altars mentioned before.¹⁹

The altar of the *Vicus Sandaliarius* is closer to the so-called Belvedere Altar. This marble piece represents a monument (altar/base?) made in the closer environment of the imperial court, most likely not commissioned by one of the *vici* (Buxton 2014; Hölscher 1988; Zanker 1969). Among the programmatic imagery, one of the smaller sides shows Augustus handing over the *Lares Augusti* at a compital altar to the *ministri*, in their typical dress, of the *vicus*.²⁰ The official character of the entire altar and the early date led to various interpretations, for example that it was made for the sanctuary of the *Lares* on the Velia, reinstalled by Augustus. One could argue that the early date and the probable high visibility of this altar made it a model for subsequent altars to the *Lares Augusti*. However, this holds true only to a very limited extent as the examples above demonstrate. Being commissioned and sculptured within a rather short period, the altars cover a wide range of variations in the iconography and choices, with more ritual, symbolic, or dynastic implications.²¹

What do the altars of the *Lares Augusti* show us about the institution of their worship and pertaining *collegia* in the *vici*, its longevity, and the ways in which it was brought into existence?

- i. As to the chronology of the altars, the ones we know of are produced between 7 BC and AD 3/4. In the subsequent decades of the first century AD, the *collegia* of the *magistri* and *ministri* live on and dedicate statues or *sacra* to various gods (of which the inscribed bases are preserved). However, altars with sculptured imagery decrease in number after Augustan times, and the imagery is reduced to oak-leaf wreaths and laurel branches — motifs that become common also on funerary altars.²² Finally, the *Lares* feature in building inscriptions rather than on altars (cf. 34–53).

19 Also, the location of the *vicus* behind the Forum of Augustus, where the temple to Mars Ultor was dedicated the same year as the altar, relates it to actions of the imperial court.

20 The statuettes are also depicted on the monumental frieze, commissioned by the imperial court, of a procession of the *vicomagistri*, see Zanker 1987, 137–38, Abb. 110. Also on other image-objects, the handover of statuettes was depicted, see the altar in the Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 1909 (Zanker 1987, 138–39, Abb. 111) and the Belvedere Altar, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. no. 1115 (Zanker 1987, 96–102, Abb. 112).

21 Claims such as that of Severy 2003, 128 ('dozens of these cults and altars sprang up all over Rome') are exaggerated given the number of the monuments.

22 For these motifs, see the Flavian altar 39 with unclear addressee, and the altar 18 (not dated) to the *Lares*. Compare with the

17 47 mentions the name of the *vicus*, as does CIL VI. 975.

18 That the *ministri* were slaves becomes clear by the names in genitive following the personal names of the *ministri*, denominating their owners.

Thus, the altars are a short-term phenomenon (with a heavily pushed production) (cf. ii, p. 116).

- ii. The number of altars in the *vici* is small, and — depending on preservation²³ — does not exceed nine. Four are certain (1–4, Figs 8.3–8.4), and five more might be counted among them (15–19 with undated texts, Fig. 8.10a–b).²⁴

Thus, the altars to the *Lares Augusti* are a rather marginal phenomenon given the probable number of *vici*, on the one hand, and altars to gods recorded for Rome, on the other (cf. ii, p. 116).

- iii. The imagery of the altars is highly variable and their workshops different.²⁵ Hence, they have no ‘birthplace’ in the form of a workshop or an inventor (cf. ii, p. 116), propagating a certain type and iconography; they are the result and product of differing initiatives, commissioners, and producers (cf. iii, p. 116).

Thus, the altars represent the individual situation in the various *vici* (cf. iv, pp. 116–17).²⁶

The imposition of the cult of the *Lares Augusti* at the compital shrines was somehow regulated. However, there is no predefined kind of altar as focal object in the shrine with a certain imagery that marks the turning point from *Lares Vicinales* to *Augusti*. The reorganization of the cult of the *Lares* was organized by the members of the *collegia*, sometimes with refurbishment of the compital shrines in the neighbourhoods — in rare cases they might have organized even the installations of new ones.²⁷ The individual solutions of shrines, altars, and imagery represent the rather localized function of the altars and of the *Lares* themselves: they strongly related to the people of the *vici* they belonged to.

funerary altar at Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 2214 (Boschung 1987, Kat. Nr. 935, Taf. 53 <<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/152180>> [accessed 28 June 2018]) and at Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 1893 (<<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/52088>> [accessed 28 June 2018]).

23 Some of the marble slabs listed in the Appendix could have been parts of altars.

24 15 is dedicated by the *collegium structores*, not the *vicomagistri*. Since it is undated, it could either be a sign of variation in the first century AD or a sign of the common increase of *collegia* in the second century AD.

25 As Zanker (1969, 154–55) pointed out, different workshops produced the altars.

26 Wallace-Hadrill (2003b, 200–01) convincingly analysed the intentions and undertakings of the individual *vici* to memorialize themselves.

27 No older phases are for example described for the *compitum* at the Meta Sudans.

Shrines to the *Lares* and ‘Augustan’ Deities in the Urban Space: Traces of Overlaps

While the altars and the imagery that could strictly be called altars of the *Lares Augusti* are a short-term and marginal phenomenon ending in the first decade of the first century AD, the dedications and the record about restorations of compital shrines continued well into the third century AD (44–53). Also, the institution of the *collegia* of the *vicomagistri* and *ministri* and the spatial structures of the compital shrines were much more persistent than the decorated altars: even if no new altars to the *Lares* were set up, renovations of the shrines attest to the ongoing practices and their uninterrupted significance.

The compital shrine in *Vicus Aescleti* in the Campus Martius (1, 20, Figs 8.1 and 8.3) came to light in the 1880s along the Via Arenula (Gatti 1888b). In Antiquity, from late republican times onwards, the area was a dense commercial and administrative part of the city, intertwined with habitations, renovated in Flavian times.²⁸ The excavation at the corner of Via S. Bartolomeo de’ Vaccinari and Via Arenula yielded ‘[...] l’ara marmorea [...] collocata sopra un piano formato di lastroni di travertino; e questi portano [...] l’iscrizione: [Ma]g[istri] *vici Aescleti anni VIII* [...]’ (Fig. 8.3) (Gatti 1888b, 330). Later, in 1916, pieces of an architrave were retrieved in the vicinity of the find-spot of the altar (20). While the pavement is a dedication by the *vicomagistri* of the year AD 2, the architrave carries the fragmented inscription ‘to the *Lares Augusti*’ of probably Flavian date (according to the reading by Silvio Panciera (1987)). Hence, the altar was part of a larger layout, marked out in the street area between the Tiber and the Campus Martius, even though we do not know the exact location of the altar itself. The architrave points to an architectural frame, an aedícula or the like. All the parts of the compital precinct enabled cultic practices as well as they were appropriate to enhance the social standing of the *magistri* of this *vici*. Yet, the architrave is later than the altar and the pavement inscription, and the restoration of the aedícula could have taken place in the AD 80s, when the entire area underwent changes (Wallace-Hadrill 2003b) (cf. iii, p. 116).²⁹

Due to the preserved architecture, the *compitum* *Acili* at the northern slopes of the Velia close to the

28 See Wallace-Hadrill 2003a on the rather low degree of gentrification in Roman neighbourhoods.

29 The location might be given by the limits of the *Vicus Aescleti* and the *Vicus Stabularius*, see Panciera 1987, 351.

Forum (and the later Colosseum) is the best-known shrine for the *Lares Vicinales*; pieces like the sober altar described above (21, Fig. 8.1) that was found some years before the building was discovered during the installation of the Via dei Fori Imperiali in the 1930s are less known. The shrine consisted of an aedicula on a podium of c. 3 × 3 m, with four steps leading up to the colonnaded front. The aedicula and its podium are revetted with travertine, and were constructed directly on the *basolati*, the huge cobblestones, of the street (Fig. 8.6).

However, the sacred place itself (not the name of the *vicus* as street and quarter) was abolished when Nero had his Golden House built between the Palatine, Velia, and Esquiline. Before, it had various phases of use. The *compitum Acili* existed already in republican times (third century BC) and got its name from a famous senatorial family, the Acili (Plin., *HN*, XXIX. 6. 12–13; Leone and Palombi 2008).³⁰ An inscription on the architrave refers to the year 5 BC, only two years after installing the cult of the *Lares Augusti* in the compital shrines (21). In the building inscription, the *ministri* appear in smaller letters on the fasces below the two *magistri*. Even though the *Lares Augusti* are not mentioned, the reference to a *collegium* of the *vicomagistri* early in the Principate hints to them being worshipped there. The long-lived and renewed cult place of the *compitum* ceased to exist with Nero's measures in the valley. This means that the *compitum* with its altar had a short life in the days of the *Lares Augusti*, and only some decades later it was abolished (cf. ii, p. 116).

But what happened to other shrines and altars in the first century AD? Were the first altars still there, or were they combined with other objects and practices? Broadening the perspective from the *Lares Augusti* to the dedications *ex stipe* (paid from a donation) and the dedications to gods with the epitheton *Augustus/Augusta* allows for a better understanding of how (some of) the altars to the *Lares Augusti* and the compital shrines lived on.

A debated find context on the Esquiline sheds light on the question of the *Lares Augusti* in the years after AD 3/4, which the excavator Giulielmo Gatti (1888a) interpreted as a compital shrine even though no hard evidence for this assumption exists. The findings from the western end of the Via S. Martino ai Monti in 1888 comprise a precinct along an ancient street and two rectangular bases or altars, of which the upper parts are missing (Figs 8.1 and 8.7a–b). A tufa podium represents a republican phase and is

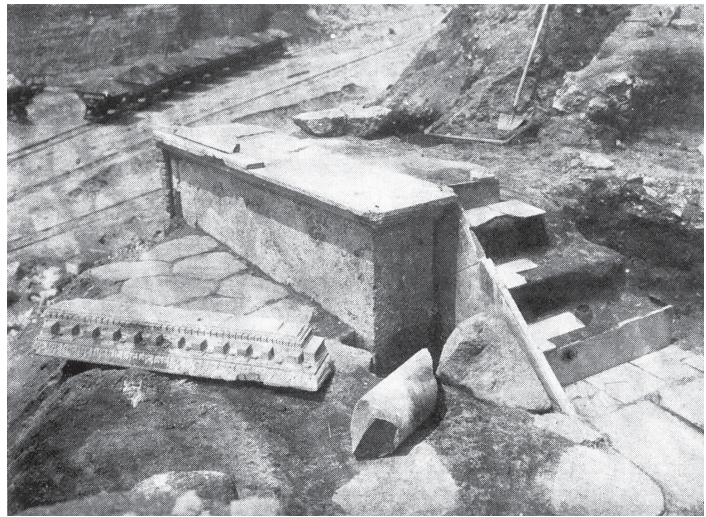


Figure 8.6. Pavement around and podium of the *compitum vici Acili* (6 and 21). From Colini 1961–1962, fig. 6.

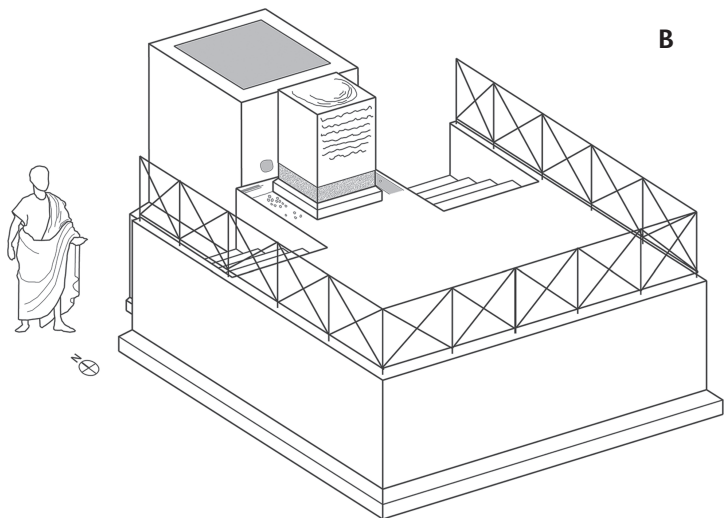


Figure 8.7. A: Remains and B: reconstruction of the compital monument on the Esquiline (54). A: from Gatti 1888a, tav. 12; B: from Andrews and Flower 2015, fig. 11.

30 Concerning age and relations of the *compitum* to the Acili, see Dondin-Payre 1987.



SACRVM · HERCVL
 MAG·VICI·ANNI·X̄I
 A · A · MARCI · ATHENODOR
 LIB · HILARVS · ET · BELLO
 5 N · LVCIVS · HERMEROS
 AEQVITAS · MAG · ITER
 PONDERA · AVRARIA · ET
 ARGENTARIA
 VICINIAE · POSVERVN̄
 10 IDEM·TVENTVR

 ANNO · XIX
 PRO·PARTE IN
 VIGVL·PRO VICIN
 VNA · CVM · MAGIS̄R
 15 CONTVLERVNT

in adversa parte:
 mercuri O·AVGVSTO·SACRVM · MAG · VICI
 qui · k · AVG · PRIM̄I · MAGISTER · INIER
 N · LVCIVS · N · L · HERMEROS
 L · SVTORIVS · L · L · ANTIOCHVS
 5 Q · CLODIVS · Q · Q · L · NICANOR

in aversa parte:
 MERCVRIO · AVGVSTO · sacrum
 MAG·VICI
 QVI·K·AVG·PRIMI·MAGISTER·Inier
 Q · CLODIVS · Q · Q · L · NICA nor
 N · LVCIVS · N · L · HERM eros
 L · SVTORIVS · L · L · ANT iochus

Figure 8.8. (above) Remains of a base and an altar/base to Concordia Augusta (40) from the Forum Boarium. Location unknown. Last decade BC? From Colini 1970–1971, figs 5 and 2; (below) Inscriptions from altars/bases to Mercurius Augustus and Hercules by vicomagistri from the Forum Boarium (23 and 32). Locations unknown. 7/6 BC and AD 4/5. From *CIL* VI. 282–83.

situated on the *basolati* of the street as in the case of other compital shrines. On this podium, the smaller base made from marble was set up in front of the larger one made from travertine.

Only the marble base carries an inscription stating that Augustus dedicates a statue of Mercurius

Augustus paid from the New Year's *stips* (donation) of the *populus Romanus* (the populace of Rome) (54) that can be dated to the year 10 BC, but there is no decoration in relief. There is no doubt that this consecration to *Mercurius* differs from the one to the *Lares Augusti*: no *magister* or *minister* is acting, no

Lar is mentioned, but Augustus himself appears as dedicator of the statue of the god with his epitheton. Similar inscriptions from various places in the city lead to the interpretation of a gift to the *vici* by the emperor as return for the annual New Year's *stipes* that the population of the *vici* had to pay in the form of the consecration of a deity's statue (54–58).³¹ The relation to the *Lares Augusti* lies now not only in the omnipresence of the epitheton, but also in the time of the year and the place in the city where these statues were returned to the people and set up: the *Compitalia*, the festival for the *Lares (Augusti)*, and the collection of the *stipes* largely coincided in the beginning of January. Moreover, the place where the statues in return for the *stipes* were set up is labelled *vicatim*. The referential space of a *vicus* was its compital shrine.³² The finds of an architrave close to the eastern end of Via S. Martino ai Monti with the inscription to the *Laribus Augustis* from AD 203 confirm the existence of a proper compital shrine in this street (50, also 38, no images available); *scholae* as meeting places for the *collegia* can be identified on the Forma Urbis Romae (cf. iii and iv, pp. 116–17).³³

According to recent restudying of the area, a striking feature of the Esquiline shrine is that it was in use, but unfinished (Andrews and Flower 2015, 58–60). In the context of 'biographies', this is an often neglected, but telling issue: the people in the city of Rome, the *collegia compitalia*, and the inhabitants and professionals in a *vicus*, reacted differently to the various and numerous (hastily) instigated measures in the reign of Augustus. Not all initiatives were brought to an end. People in charge of compital shrines, or interested in them, came and left, and places like the Esquiline shrine remained in a non-finished state. Since the reinvented measures in the early years of Augustus's reign offered ways of showing loyalty, social distinction, and political (and economical) influence, people in the city of Rome adapted the 'inventions' from the imperial court to their local and individual interests and possibilities. The creation of the altars to the *Lares Augusti* and their installation at some of the compital shrines in Rome might have functioned as initial

pushes — but then, things went on independently (cf. i and iii, p. 116).³⁴

The imperial dedications *ex stipe* play a role on the spatial and social level of the *vici*. Even though not explicitly related to the *Lares Augusti*, these dedications contain for the first time the epitheton Augustus/Augusta for deities in dedications that are not initiated by the imperial court (or the senate) for triumphs, victories, or the like (Lott 2004, 103, 108; Zanker 1987, 250). Findings from the Forum Boarium offer more evidence for a crossroad shrine, a dedication by a *vicomagister*, and a New Year's dedication by the emperor comparable to the earlier one to Mercurius Augustus on the Esquiline. A marble base dedicated to Concordia Augusta (40, Fig. 8.8a) stands right on the street pavement in front of a travertine base, in front of today's S. Maria in Cosmedin. A little to the south, a New Year's dedication was found (58), as well as two more dedications, to Mercurius Augustus and Hercules, set up by *vicomagistri* active in the quarter (23, 32, Fig. 8.8b).³⁵

How early *vicomagistri* started with the veneration of deities with the epitheton Augustus/Augusta is recorded in the dedication to Diana Augusta from 7/6 BC (22). Even though the *Lares* do not appear, the dedicator determines himself deliberately and visibly as *vicomagister*. Another base to the same goddess is given by the *magistri* of a neighbouring *vici* (29). So the *collegium* of the *vicomagistri*, the compital shrine as the consequent place of setting up such a dedication, and the deities Augusti/Augustae are linked from the beginning. Even though we cannot be sure that the find-spot of the dedications to Mercurius and Apollo Augustus and the fragments of the Fasti of the *vicomagistri* correspond to their original context, the association of the finds tells us a lot about their former closeness. Found in a large room close to the Horrea Galbani between the Aventine and Testaccio, the bases (and statues) were dedicated by *vicomagistri* (26, 27) shortly before the turn of the era.³⁶ The *Lares* are not represented in the preserved remains; yet, their presence is recollected in the place of setting up the dedications and the dedicans (cf. iv, pp. 116–17).

31 See Andrews and Flower 2015 with substantial arguments. According to them, the travertine base carried also a statue (Andrews and Flower 2015, 50–51, fig. 4). See further Leone and Palombi 2008, 424; De Angeli 2001; Panciera 1980, 205–06.

32 On the *stipes* collected on 1 January and the subsequent redistribution, Suet., *Aug.*, XL. 2, XLIII. 1, LVII. 1; Leone and Palombi 2008.

33 Cf. the fragments 10l, 10mnl of the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, see <<https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/index.php>> [accessed 28 June 2018].

34 In the scope of the LAR-approach, these are the moments where changes and appropriations of existing sets of rituals or practices can be grasped.

35 Cf. the altar to Venus Augusta 24 found in a secondary context, set up by the same person as 23 and 32.

36 Whether this was a *schola* or only a storeroom of marble works remains open. See also Rüpke 1998. Interestingly, another younger base or altar (AD 44) with reference to *magistri* and *ministri* in the same dimensions as the ones from Augustan times and with a person carrying a laurel branch, was also found in the same area (37).

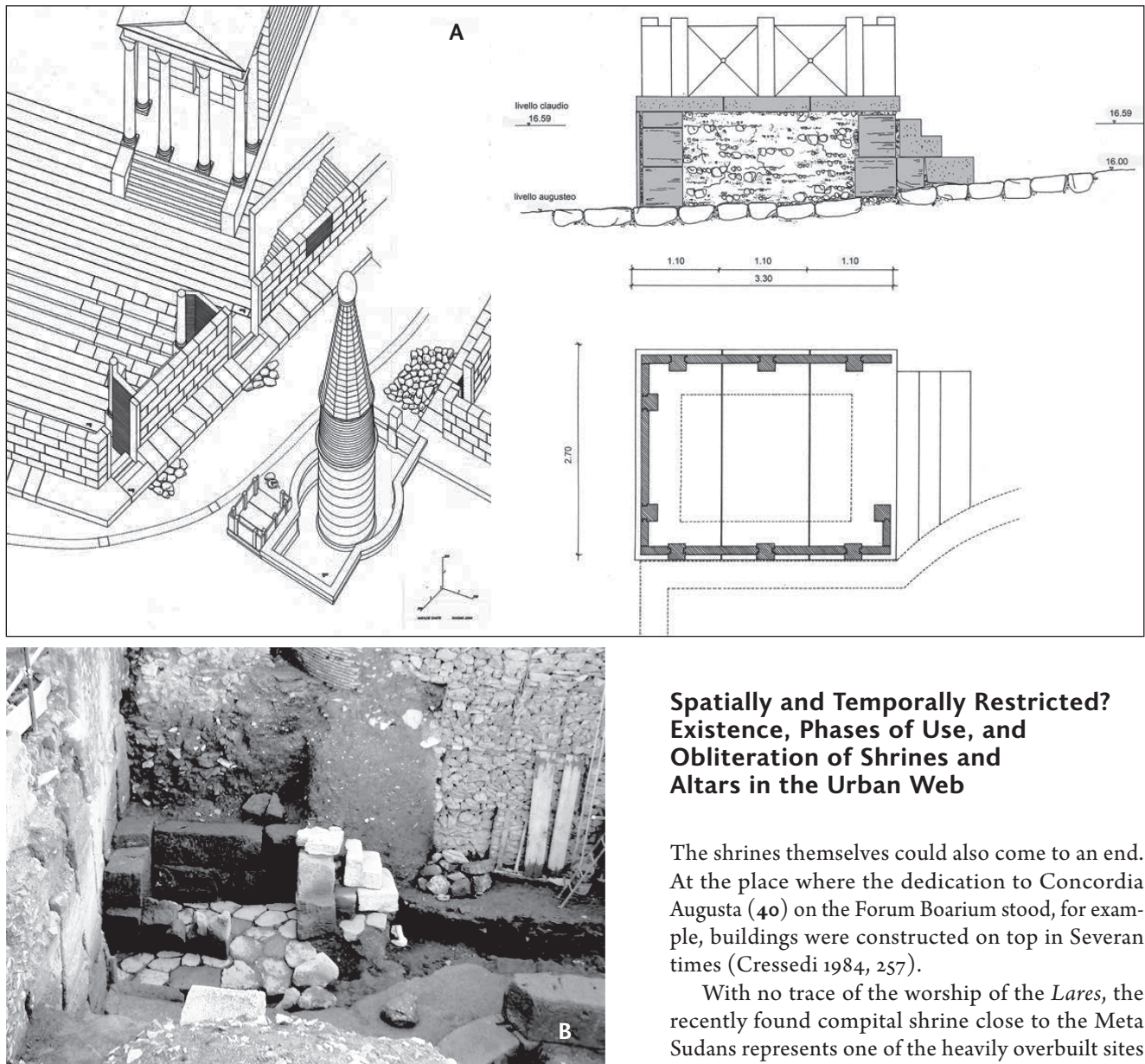


Figure 8.9. A: Reconstructions and B: remains of the compital shrine at the Meta Sudans. A: from Cante 2013, figs 4 and 30; B: from Cante 2013, fig. 11.

Variable and changing dedicational practices appear in the material manifestation of the compital shrines. As with the altars to the *Lares Augusti*, the dedications by the emperor *ex stipe* also only span a short time. Pieces from two decades are preserved. Only the dedications to the deities Augusti/Augustae turn out to be the more persisting and long-lasting invention in the context of the compital shrines and the *Lares*.

Spatially and Temporally Restricted? Existence, Phases of Use, and Obliteration of Shrines and Altars in the Urban Web

The shrines themselves could also come to an end. At the place where the dedication to Concordia Augusta (40) on the Forum Boarium stood, for example, buildings were constructed on top in Severan times (Cressedi 1984, 257).

With no trace of the worship of the *Lares*, the recently found compital shrine close to the Meta Sudans represents one of the heavily overbuilt sites in the city of Rome. In the scope of the (hi-)stories of compital altars and shrines, the findings at the Meta Sudans serve as comparison and connection of the findings at the *compitum Acili* (6, 20) and the one on the Esquiline (54). It was established in the course of the Augustan construction of the Meta Sudans — between the later Flavian Meta and the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 8.9a). A small podium of tufa ashlar (c. 3 × 3 m), comparable to the one of the *compitum Acili*, abuts the southern wall of the fountain's basin and is placed directly on the *basolati* (basalt pavement) of the street (Fig. 8.9b). Stairs made the podium accessible, while an enclosure, again constructed from tufa blocks, set the podium off the street.

The position is quite appropriate for a compital shrine, since four *regiones* of the ancient city of Rome



Figure 8.10. A: Altar to the *Lares Augusti* (19). Rome, S. Paolo fuori le mura. First half of the second century AD. From <https://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/cil_view.php?KO=KO0047118> [accessed 26 March 2017]; B: Inscriptions from slabs or altars to the *Lares Augusti* (15–18). From Gruterus, Scaliger, and Welser 1602, pl. 106.

met in this area of the valley.³⁷ Over the first decades of the first centuries AD, the level of the street increased and obliterated the steps to the podium. Even though no inscription or findings — apart from the lower part of a ceramic vessel (*dolium*) — point explicitly to a compital shrine, the position and layout makes this interpretation plausible. With the Domus Aurea of Nero and the subsequent building measures of the Flavians, the compital shrine as structure disappeared from the map of Rome — as did the *compitum Acili* — but was replaced by the Meta Sudans (cf. i and iii, p. 116).

What happened to other places of the worship of the *Lares Augusti*? Are there less radical cut-offs in the various phases of compital shrines? When looking at the Tiber Island, we can trace various phases. In the *Vicus Censori*, an aedicula on the Tiber Island is attested by an inscription on an architrave that can be dated to the year AD 100, saying that the *magistri* of the *collegium* restored the aedicula to the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genius Caesarum* (47, Fig. 8.5b). In the decades between the dedication of the altars (7, Fig. 8.5a) and the restoration of the aedicula, a *minister* recorded a *sacrum* to Aesculapius Augustus in AD 24/25 (34). The dedicant does not mention the *Lares*, but connects Aesculapius to the imperial court with the epitheton Augustus. The wor-

ship of compital gods persisted over generations. However, it remains open whether the *Lares* or rather Aesculapius Augustus as the representative of the place — taking over the competencies of the *Lares* — were still venerated.

From the various other building inscriptions, we can track more changes going on in the compital shrines: twelve inscriptions record restorations between the mid-first and third centuries AD. However, in four of them the *vicomagistri* do not act on their own initiative, but on *permissu* (with permission) or *iussu* (by order) of a state official (45–48, 51). The earliest evidence is from the year AD 83, when the *magistri* of the *Vicus Honoris et Virtutis* restore their compital shrine referring to a *permissu tribunis plebis* (with permission of the plebeian tribune) (45, 46, 48 (listing only three *magistri*)). Later, in AD 116, a dedication not only to the *Genius Caesarum* and the *Lares Augusti*, but to the emperor himself, testifies the changes in the character of the *collegia* and the cult of the *Lares*. In the mutilated record about the restoration, the *magistri* of an unknown *vicus* include the Divus Traianus in the dative, as addressee (49). Interestingly, the involvement of higher officials of Rome becomes virulent — a *tribunus plebis*, a *praetor* (a magistrate with judicial competences) (47), or a *procurator* (a magistrate with financial competences) (51), framed in a dedication to the emperor as the recipient. These inscriptions use a different wording compared to inscriptions of the time of the early

37 For the phases of the structure and the *regiones*, see Zeggio and Pardini 2007, 10, 14–17.

Principate when the *vicomagistri* tested their reach, loyalty, and influence independently from higher officials. There are still *magistri* (and the latest restorations of shrines for the *Lares Augusti* from the first half of the third century AD (51–53) mention the colleagues), but also state officials as points of references are involved in the affairs of the *compita* and *collegia* (51).³⁸ Among these late records is a small altar with only an inscription by *vicomagistri* (19, Fig. 8.10a). *Lares* and the *collegia* still existed, as did many of the compital shrines. Only the days of sumptuous images have passed (cf. iii and iv, pp. 116–17).

Conclusion

In this survey of the altars to the *Lares Augusti* and compital shrines through the lens of a modified concept of biography, I have attenuated the phenomenon of the reorganization of the cult of the *Lares* in the *vici*, renamed *Lares Augusti*, quoted among the powerful initiatives of Augustan times.

The altars proved not to have a long duration, were produced only in the short time span of less than two decades (between 7 BC and AD 3/4), and did not achieve a long-lasting impact in the compital shrines of Rome. The small number of altars for the *Lares Augusti*, on the one hand, and the many ways in which the altars as image-objects (altar and iconography of its relief) ‘migrated’ to other forms of dedicatory or cultic practices in the responsibility of the *collegia* of the *vicomagistri*, on the other hand, show that the early Principate saw only an initial, temporally limited boost of this phenomenon. The individuality of the image-objects is an underestimated aspect in a research prevalently interested in patterns, analogies, and top-down views.³⁹

The perspective on the image-objects, the dedicants, and the contexts and their various durations, opened the view to the possible diversifications of the initiative of Augustan times that instigated the creation of objects as well as institutions. Only the institution of the *vicomagistri* proved to be long lasting. However, over the period of their existence, the dedicational (epigraphic) habit of the *vicomagistri* changed — according to socio-political developments in general, but also to a modified importance of the compital cults and the *Lares Augusti*. Important to note is that contemporaneously to the dedications to the *Lares Augusti*, dedications to deities with the

epitheton Augustus/Augusta by *vicomagistri* started at the compital shrines. Such dedications visibly implemented the deities who were linked to the emperor in the streets of the city. Moreover, symbolically imbued imagery like the *corona civica* and the laurel used on the altars for the *Lares Augusti* soon found its way into the imagery of funerary altars or wall paintings of imperial Rome.⁴⁰ Moreover, it seems that a spatial fusion of dedications *ex stipe*, returned to the neighbourhoods by the emperor, and some compital shrines took place.

These parallel and overlaying features and practices at compital shrines provide insights into processes and changes in the urban social and spatial web of Rome between the end of the first century BC and the third century AD. The ‘context-first’ — instead of a ‘feature-first’ — approach allows for a reconstruction of the phases of the altars as (image-) objects and dedications and their changing settings. Every single altar and every single shrine tells a different tale about reasons for its installation, different dynamics among the agents behind it, or about the practices, the use, the frequentation, or abolition.

The altars of the *Lares Augusti* were a short-term phenomenon, but they were embedded in an old and long-lasting institution, the *Lares Compitales* or *Vicinales*, while their spatial settings, the compital shrines, changed within the web of imperial Rome. The perspective on the (image-)objects, the inscriptions and their chronologies as well as their locations has made it possible to account for the processes in certain historical situations. This ‘context-first’ approach makes it possible to attenuate the sharp turning points that historians in a retrospective and selective view are able to grasp, and that can be paralleled with the beginning, the development or growth, and the end — the biography — of phenomena. However, biomorphic and biomimetic terminology cannot serve as an analytical tool, but can provide helpful and persuasive metaphors for a more agent-based perspective on ancient socio-religious practices.

Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'année épigraphique</i> , published in <i>Revue archéologique</i> and separately
BCom	<i>Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma</i>
Cic., Pis.	Cicero, <i>In L. Pisonem</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
NSc	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>
Plin., HN	Plinius maior, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Suet., Aug.	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i>

38 At this time, a different name for the *collegium* appears, the *cultores Larum Augustorum* (42).

39 See Polito 2012 for a review of the research on Augustan art. See Wallace-Hadrill 2003b, 202 on variations in the *vici*.

40 See n. 22.

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Appendix — Inscriptions on Altars, Bases, and Architecture Related to the *Lares Augusti* and Compital Shrines in Rome

The first line(s) of each entry contain(s): Provenance. Location. Date. Material. Dimensions. Bibliography.

A. Altars to the *Lares Augusti*

- 1 **Altar of the *Vicus Aesclati***, cf. 20 (Fig. 8.3)
(<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/16250>)
Via Arenula/Vicolo S. Bartolomeo de' Vaccinari. Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. no. 855. AD 2/3. Marble. h. 105 cm. NSc 1888, 498–99; Lott 2004, no. 26; Panciera 1987, 68–70; Hölscher 1988, Kat. Nr. 217.
CIL vi. 30957: Front: *Larib(us) August(is)*. Rear: *magis(tri) vici anni noni*.
- 2 **Altar, Chigi-Albani** (<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/130302>)
?. Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. no. 3352 (formerly at Soriano). Augustan/early Principate. Marble. h. 82 cm. Lott 2004, no. 57; Zanker 1970–1971, 147–51.
No inscription.
- 3 **Fragment of an altar, Musei Capitolini**
(<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/147653>)
?. Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. no. 1276. Augustan/early Principate. Marble. h. 49 cm. Zanker 1970–1971, 147–51; Hölscher 1988, Kat. Nr. 219; Lott 2004, no. 58.
No inscription.
- 4 **Fragment of an altar, Musei Vaticani** (Fig. 8.4)
?. Musei Vaticani, Cortile ottagono, inv. no. 958. Augustan/early Principate. Marble. h. 65.5 cm. Lott 2004, no. 62; Panciera 1987, 73–78, figs 8–10. Panciera 1987, 75: [...] | [...] *rtilius* *M*[...] | *s*(..?) *p*(..?) *i*(..?) [...].
- 5 **Altar of the *Vicus Statae Matris*** (<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/57000>)
Via Labicana (ancient Via Claudia). Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. no. 2144. 2/1 BC. Marble. h. 68 cm, w. 45 cm, d. 30 cm. Gatti 1906, 186–208, *BCom* 82, 1970–1971, 149; Hano 1986, 2341–42; Hölscher 1988, 392, Kat. Nr. 220; Lott 2004, no. 23; Panciera, 2006, 526, no. A31.
CIL vi. 36809a: Front: *Lares Augusti*: [*La*] *ribus* *Aug[ust(is)]* | *vic{e}i Statae* | *Matris* | *ministri anni* *VI* | *L(ucius) et N(umerius) Savoni* | *Felix L(uci) Crautani Ptolomei* | *Eudoxus C(ai) Caesi L(uci) f(ilii) Nigri* | *Polyclitus Sex(ti) Nachiari Fausti* | *L(ucio) Caninio Gallo C(aio) Fufio* | *Gemino* || *co(n)s(ulibus)* || *XIV K(alendas) Oct(obres)* //
CIL vi. 36809b: Rear: *Laribus Augusti{i}s* | *ministri anni VI* || *Felix L(uci) Crautani* | *Florus Sex(ti) Avieni* | *Eudoxus(!) C(ai) Caesi* | *Polyclitus Sex(ti) Anchari* || *L(ucio) Caninio Gallo* | *C(aio) Fufio Gemino co(n)s(ulibus) XIII K(alendas) Octobr(es)*.
- 6 **Altar from the *compitum Acili*** (Fig. 8.2)
(<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131488>)
Compitum Acili.?. AD 3/4. Marble. Tamassia 1961–1962; Lott 2004, no. 27.
AE 1964, no. 74b: *Mag(istr)i vici compiti / Acili anni X* [...] | [...] *M(arcus) An[t]onius* | [...] *rionis l(ibertus) Felix, L(ucius) Venuleiu[s]* | *Turanni l(ibertus) Bucci[o]*.
- 7 **Two altars of the *Vicus Censori***, cf. 47 (Fig. 8.5a)
(<http://fotosar.it/index.php?it/8/risultato-della-ricerca/visualizza/1885>; <https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131500>)
Tiber Island. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 47808, Frankfurt Liebieghaus, inv. no. 284. 7/6 BC. Lunensian marble. h. 107 cm, w. 99.5 cm, front sides preserved. Lott 2004, no. 8 (labelled as bases).
CIL vi. 446: *Larib(us) Aug(ustis)* | *ministri* | *qui K(alendis) Aug(ustis) primi inierunt* | *Antigonus M(arci) Iuni Erotis* | *Anteros D(ecimi) Publici Barnai* | *Eros A(uli) Publici Damae* | *Iucundus M(arci) Ploti Anterotis*.
CIL vi. 447: *Larib(us) Aug(ustis)* | *ministri qui k(alendis) aug(ustis) primi inierunt* | *Anteros D(ecimi) Publici Barnai* | *Eros A(uli) Publici Damae* | *Iucundus M(arci) Ploti Anterotis/Antigonus M(arci) Iuni Erotis*.

8 Fragment of an altar, Musei Capitolini

(<<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/39468>; <https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/52071>>)

?. Musei Capitolini, Giardino. Early Principate?. Marble. Lott 2004, no. 56; Hano 1986, no. 8.

Lar...

9 Altar, Musei Vaticani (<<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26658>>)

?. Musei Vaticani, Sala delle Muse, inv. no. 311. 7/6 BC. Marble. Schraudolph 1993, 231 Kat. Nr. L 105; Lott 2004, no. 7.

CIL VI. 445: *Laribus Augustis G[eniis Caesaru] m sacr[um] | Q(uintus) Rubrius Sp(uri) f(ilius) | Col(lina) Pollio || L(ucius) Aufidius | Felix || Cn(aeus) [...] | P[...] || [...] Diciniu[s] | [P] hileros || [m]agistri qui K(alendis) Augustis primi mag[isterium ini]erunt.*

10 Altar of the Vicus Sandaliarius (<<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/6013>>)

?. Florence, Uffizi, inv. no. 972. 2 BC. Marble. h. 110 cm. Lott 2004, no. 20; Boschung 1993, 125, Kat. Nr. 36.

CIL VI. 448: *Imp(eratore) Caesare Augusto XIII M(arco) Plautio Silvan(o) co(n)s(ulibus) | D(ecimus) Oppius | (mulieris) l(ibertus) Iaso D(ecimus) Lucilius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Salvius L(ucius) Brinnius | (mulieris) l(ibertus) Princeps L(ucius) Furius L(uci) l(ibertus) Salvius | mag(istri) vici sandaliari || Laribus Augustis.*

11 Fragment of an altar

Viale Aventino/Via Aventina. Antiquario Comunale del Celio, inv. no. 4351. Marble. 39 × 26 × 82 cm. Panciera 1980, 204–05, no. 8; Lott 2004, no. 60.

AE 1980, no. 55: *Larib[us Aug(ustis)] | L. Naevius [...] | P. Servilius [...] | A. Aristius [...] | [...]*

B. Altars or Bases Related to the Lares Augusti through Dedicants or Imagery**12 Fragment of an altar or base**

Schola of the vicomagistri. ?. AD 7/6. Marble. 40 × 10 cm. Lott 2004, no. 10.

Mancini 1935, 78, no. 2: *mag(istri) vici qui k(alendis) Au[g(ustis)] | [ma]gisteru[m ...].*

13 Fragment of an altar with woman sacrificing

Vicinity of the 'Vittoriano'. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 49481. Augustan. ?. ?. Hano 1986, 2348, no. 15bis; Hölscher 1984; 1988, Kat. Nr. 221; Galinsky 1996, 308–09; Lott 2004, no. 66.

14 Parts of a small altar/base with dancing Lar and Togatus

?. Museo Palatino. Augustan?. Marble. ?. Hano 1986, 2348, no. 15; Lott 2004, no. 59.

No inscription.

C. Slabs and Inscriptions to the Lares Augusti, Undated or Roughly Dated**15 Slab** (Fig. 8.10b)

Palatine, eastern slopes. ?. ?. ?. Gruterus, Scaliger, and Welser 1602, pl. 106.8.

CIL VI. 444: *Laribus Augusti[s] | collegium struc[torum].*

16 Slab/tablet? (Fig. 8.10b)

?. 'in aedibus Maffaeiorum'. ?. ?. ?. Gruterus, Scaliger, and Welser 1602, pl. 106.9.

CIL VI. 441: *Laribus | Aug(ustis) | sacr(um).*

17 Slab/tablet? (Fig. 8.10b)

San Pietro, Vatican?. ?. ?. ?. Gruterus, Scaliger, and Welser 1602, pl. 106.10.

CIL VI. 442: *Larib(us) | Aug(ustis) | sacr(um).*

18 Altar or base (Fig. 8.10b) (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR029418&partId=1>)

'Apud Sartrium'. Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. no. 11314. ?. Marble. ?.

CIL VI. 443: *Laribus | Augusti[s] | sacr(um).*

19 Altar or base (Fig. 8.10a) ([http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_06_00454.jpg;PH0004092&nr=1](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_06_00454.jpg;PH0004092&nr=1))

?. S. Paolo fuori le mura. First half of the second century AD. Marble. ?. Rüpke 2005, Nr. 3493.

CIL VI. 454: *Laribus | Aug(ustis) | vici mag(istri) f(ecerunt) | Q(uintus) Munatius Selin[p(us)] | M(arcus) Munatius Irenae[us] | M(arcus) Ulpius Agathon[us] | T(itus) Vibius Hermes.*

D. Dedications of Statues to Deities with the Epitheton Augustus/ Augusta or of Buildings or Statues by Vicomagistri from Augustan Period

20 Aedicula and pavement of the *Vicus Aesclети*, cf. 6

Via Arenula. ?. AD 2 (pavement), Flavian (architrave). Travertine (pavement), marble (architrave). ?. Gatti 1888b, 328, 330, 379; 1889, 69; Hülsen 1889, 266 with fig. 4; Panciera 1987, 62–78 with fig. 3; Lott 2004, no. 9.

CIL VI. 30957: Architrave: *Laribus Augustis magistris qui kalendis Augustiis primi inierunt | Terentius A. A. libertus Bithus At [...] | [...] | Antonius libertus [...] Eros | [...]*

Pavement: *[Ma]g[i]stri vici Aesclети anni VIII.*

21 Aedicula of the *Vicus compiti Acili*, cf. 1 (Fig. 8.2)

Compitum Acili. ?. 6/5 BC. Marble. h. 37 cm, l. 176 cm. Dondin-Payre 1987; Colini 1961–1962; Tamassia 1961–1962; Lott 2004, no. 12.

AE 1964, no. 74a: *[Imp(eratore) Caes]are Augusto pontiff(ice) maxs(imo) trib(unicia) potest(ate) XVII | [imperatore XIV L(ucio) Cor]nelio Sulla co(n)s(ulisbus) mag(istri) secun(di) vici compiti Acili [...] | [...] | [...] Licinius M(arci) Sextiliae l(ibertus) | Diogenes | L(ucius) Aelius L(ucii) l(libertus) | Hilarius | M(arcus) Tillius M(arci) l(ibertus) Silo.*

22 Base or altar to Diana Augusta

Capitoline Hill?. ?. 7/6 BC. Marble. ?. Panciera 2006, 524; Rüpke 2005, Nr. 901; Lott 2004, no. 5; Gruterus, Scaliger, and Welser 1602, pl. 40.14.

CIL VI. 128: *[D]ianae August(ae) | sacrum | Q(uintus) Avillius Adaeus | magister vici | qui K(alendis) Augustis primus | magisterium init.*

23 Base or altar to Mercurius Augustus, cf. 32 (Fig. 8.8b)

Forum Boarium. ?. 7/6 BC. ?. ?. Lott 2004, no. 6.

CIL VI. 283: Front: *[Mercuri]o Augusto sacrum mag(istri) vici | [qui K(alendis)] Aug(ustis) primi magister inier(unt) | N(umerius) Lucius N(umeri) l(ibertus) Hermeros | L(ucius) Sutorius L(uci) l(ibertus) Antiochus | Q(uintus) Clodius QQ(uintorum) l(ibertus) Nicanor*

rear: *Mercurio Augus[to sacrum] | mag(istri) vici | qui K(alendis) Aug(ustis) primi magister i[nier(unt)] | Q(uintus) Clodius QQ(uintorum) l(ibertus) Nica[nor] | N(umerius) Lucius N(umeri)*

l(ibertus) Herm[eros] | L(ucius) Sutorius L(uci) l(ibertus) Ant[iochus].

magistri in different order on each side

24 Altar to Venus Augusta

Mitreo S. Stefano Rotondo (secondary). Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 205824. First decades of the first century AD. Marble. ?. Lott 2004, no. 48; Panciera 1980, 203–04, no. 7; Zanker 1987, 140.

AE 1980, no. 54: *Veneri August(ae) sacr(um) | N. Lucius Hermeros | Aequitas mag(ister) ter(tium).*

Decorated with drinking birds.

25 Cippus to Stata Mater

?. Musei Vaticani. 6 BC. Marble. ?. Lott 2004, no. 11.

CIL VI. 763: *Statae Matri sac(rum) | Q(uintus) Coelius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) | Apollonides | mag(ister) vici | D(ecimo) Laelio Balb(o) | C(aio) Antistio Vet(ere) co(n)s(ulibus).*

26 Base to Mercurius Augustus from the schola of the vicomagistri, cf. 27, 37

Schola of the vicomagistri. ?. 3/2 BC. Marble. ?. Lott 2004, no. 17; Mancini 1935, 75.

CIL VI. 34: *Mercurio Aug(usto) sac(rum) | mag(istri) anni V d(onum) d(ederunt) | M(arcus) Milionius M(arci) l(ibertus) Auctus | P(ublius) Cornificius PP(ublitorum) l(ibertus) Eros | M(arcus) Pontius M(arci) l(ibertus) Eros | P(ublius) Sulpicius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Felix.*

27 Base to Apollo Augustus from the schola of the vicomagistri, cf. 26, 37

Schola of the vicomagistri. ?. 2/1 BC. Marble?. ?. Lott 2004, no. 21; Mancini 1935, 72.

CIL VI. 33: *Apollini Aug(usto) sacrum | magistris anni VI d(onum) d(ederunt) | Sex(tus) Trebonius Sex(ti) l(ibertus) Philemo | A(ulus) Cornelius A(uli) l(ibertus) Nysus | Q(uintus) Fufius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Epaphroditus | C(aius) Sulpicius Galb(a) L(ucius) Ragia.*

28 Slab to Vulcanus Quietus Augustus and Stata Mater Augusta (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=142802>)

Aventine, Orti Della Valle. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 2597. 3/2 BC. Marble. h. 24.5 cm. Lott 2004, no. 19; Panciera 2006, 168.

CIL VI. 802: *Volcano Quieto Augusto | et Statae Matri Augustae | sacrum | P(ublius) Pinarius Thiasus et | M(arcus) Rabutius Berullus | mag(istri) vici Armilustri anni V.*

29 Base? to Diana Augusta by eight *magistri*

?. ?. 1 BC/AD 1. ?. ?. Lott 2004, no. 24.

CIL VI. 129:

Dianae Augustae | sacrum | mag(istri) Anni Septimi | Gn(aeus) Coruncanius Gn(aei) f(ilius) Co[l(lina)] Rufus | A(ulus) [S]ervilius Onesimus | Q(uintus) Marius Demetrius | M(arcus) Carsenus Nasta | M(arcus) Lurius Maritimus | A(ulus) Rubrius Sestini l(ibertus) Anteros | Sex(tus) [P]lotius Iucundus | L(ucius) Appuleius Iun[c]us.

30 Small base (reworked) to Stata Mater Augusta
(http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=032768)

Via Nomentana, Tenuta Capobianco. Antiquarium Comunale del Celio. 6/5 BC. Marble. h. 13. Lott 2004, no. 13.

CIL VI. 764: *Statae Matri August(ae) | magistr(um) anni secundi | C(aius) Duronius Saturninus | Cn(aeus) Campanius Logus | Q(uintus) Licinius Tychius | Q(uintus) Cafatius Diadumenus.*

31 Tablet/slab to Stata Fortuna Augusta from the Vicus Sandaliarius, cf. 10

?. ?. AD 11/12. Marble. ?. Lott 2004, no. 30.

CIL VI. 761: *Germanico Caesare | C(aio) Fonteio [Cap]itone co(n)s(ulibus) | K(alendis) [I]an(uariis) | Statae Fortunae Aug(ustae) | sacr(um) | Sex(tus) Fonteius | (mulieris) l(ibertus) Trophimus | Cn(aeus) Pompeius Cn(aei) l(ibertus) Nicephor | mag(istri) vici | sandaliari reg(ionis) | IIII anni XVIII | d(onum) d(ederunt).*

32 Cippus/base to Hercules by vicomagistri

(http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDRo76876&partId=1)

S. Maria in Cosmedin, Vigna Ciciaporci. ?. AD 4/5. Marble. ?. Lott 2004, nos 28, 31; Panciera 1980, 204–06; Rüpke 2005, Nr. 2298.

CIL VI. 282: *Sacrum Hercul(i) | mag(istri) vici anni XI | AA(uli) Marcii Athenodor(i) | lib(erti) Hilarus et Bello | N(umerius) Lucius Hermeros | Aequitas mag(ister) iter(um) | pondera auraria et | argentaria | viciniarum posuerunt | idem tuentur | anno XIX | pro parte in/vigil(antes) pro vicin(ia) | una cum magistr(is) | contulerunt.*

33 Slabs with dedication of the *plebs* and *magistri* to Gaius Caesar (fragment at <<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD027753>>)

Aventine. One fragment: S. Alessio. 2/1 BC?. ?. ?. NSc 1914, 222; AE 1949, no. 176; Lott 2004, no. 15.

CIL VI. 899 (= 40323): *Pl[eb]s urbana quae hab[it]at | [i]n regione [u]rbis X[III] | [magistr]i(?) vicorum [...] | [C(aio)] Caesari [Augusti] f(ilio) | princip(i) iu[ventutis] | pontif(ici) co(n)s(uli) [designato] | aere c[on]lato.*

E. Post-Augustan Dedications to the *Lares Augusti* or to Deities with the Epitheton *Augusti/Augustae***34 Altar to Aesculapius Augustus** ([http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$D_03837.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$D_03837.jpg))

Tiber Island. Musei Vaticani. AD 24. Marble. ?. Lott 2004, no. 32.

CIL VI. 12 (= 30684): *Aesculapio | Augusto sacrum | Probus M(arci) Fictori Fausti | minister iterum anni XXXI.*

35 Fragments of a base to Hercules Tutor Augustus

(http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDRo31326) Between the Palatine and Celio (secondary). Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, AD 25. Marble. h. 30 cm. Lott 2004, no. 33.

CIL VI. 343 (= 30743): *[He]rculi Tuta[tori] | [A]ug(usto) sacr[um] | [...] teius Epaph[roditus] [...] | [...] eronius C(ai) f(ilius) [...] | Varus | [mag(ister)] anni XXXII | [vici] Bubl[ari] (?) reg(ionis) X | [iussu] e[ius] VI K(alendas) Iu[l(ias)] | [Cn(aeo) Lent]ulo Gaetu[lico] | [C(aio) Cal]visio Sabino [co(n)s(ulibus)].*

36 Slab/tablet to Stata Mater Augusta of the Vicus Minervae (http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDRo29202&partId=1)

Via Salaria (secondary), Villa Perucchi. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 29305. AD 44. Marble. h. 70 cm. Lott 2004, no. 34.

CIL VI. 766: *Statae Matri | Aug(ustae) sacrum | mag(istri) reg(ionis) VII | vico Minervi | anni L(ucius) | Ap(pius) Arrenus Appianu(s) | L(ucius) Cornelius Eutychus | Sex(tus) Plotius Quartio | C(aius) Vibius Phylades | dedicata est | XVII K(alendas) Sep(tembres) | lustratione.*

37 Altar to Apollo Augustus, cf. 26, 27

Schola of the *vicomagistri*?, between the Aventine and Testaccio. ?. AD 44. Marble. ?. Lott 2004, no. 35; Tarpin 2002, 320, *R43 (6).

CIL VI. 35: *Apollini Augusto | sacrum | magister et minister | anni LII d(onum) d(ederunt) | L(ucius) Laberius L(uci) l(ibertus) Felix | tertius q(uin) q(uennalis) Nunniorum | Lune(n)sis et Montani.*

38 Fragment of base?

Via Merulana/Via S. Martino ai Monti. ?. After AD 43?. Travertine. ?. Malmberg 2009, 46.

CIL VI. 801: *Volcano Quieto Au/gusto sacrum mag(istri) reg(ionis) | III vic(i) Sabuci ann(i) L[...] | C(aius) Iulius C(ai) l(ibertus) Salvius C(aius) Flav(ius) | Gabior[...] | ves[*

39 Altar by vicomagistri (<<http://fotosar.it/index.php?it/8/risultato-della-ricerca/visualizza/3753>>)

Via Emilio Morosini. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 58640. Flavian. Marble. h. 85 cm. Boschung 1987, Kat. Nr. 911; Rüpke 2005, Nr. 2790.

CIL VI. 36851: [... 3 lines] *L(ucius) Cacurius [...] | Sex(tus) Pomptin[us...] | L(ucius) Valerius Narcissus | M(arcus) Lusius Atticus | Magistri [...] | [...] | dedicata VIII k(alendis) Februariis.*

40 Altar or base to Concordia Augusta (Fig. 8.8a)

Forum Boarium. ?. Last decade BC?. Marble. ?. Colini 1970–1971; Cressedi 1984, 257, fig. 3 *Conc]ord [iae] Aug(usta) Sacr(um).*

41 Altar

Forum Romanum in front of the ‘Tempio di Romolo’. In situ?. Second century AD. Marble. h. 105 cm. Platner 1929, 315.

CIL VI. 30954: *Laribus Aug(ustis) Sacrum.*

42 Base (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR104098&partId=1>)

?. Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. 2.623. Severan. Marble. h. 30 cm.

CIL VI. 1038 (= 30955) [... erasa] *Hermadion Aug(usti) lib(ertus) culto | ribus Larum Aug(ustorum) rationus patrimoni d(onum) d(edit).*

43 Base/cippus

Between Ponte Sisto and Farnesina. Museo Nazionale Romano. ?. Marble. h. 43 cm. NSc 1880, 141; BCom 1880, 133, no. 377.

CIL VI. 30952: *Laribus | Aug(ustis).*

F. Restoration of Compital Shrines, First/Second Century AD**44 Marble slabs about renovation of an aedicula of the Vicus Corniculari**

Ludus Magnus/between the Palatine and Oppius. ?. AD 53. Marble. h. 36 cm, w. 123 cm. Lott 2004, no. 36 (with wrong AE number); AE 1960, nos 61–63 (63 is dated to AD 22).

AE 1960, no. 61: *Laribus Augustis mag(istri) reg(ionis) III vici Corniclarum | ann(or)um LXI aediculam vetustate vexatam et tectum eius | sua impensa refecerunt et marmorarunt | C. Iulius Macareus M. Graecinius Cerullus | N. Graecinius Philetus M. Gaius Speratus | L. Iunio Gallione T. Cutio Cilto co(n)s(ulibus).*

45 Architrave from an aedicula of the Vicus Honoris et Virtutis

?, Rome. Verona, Museo Maffei, inv. no. 28446. AD 83. Marble. h. 27 cm, w. 87.5 cm. Modonesi 1995, 78–79, no. 83; Lott, 2004, no. 37.

CIL VI. 449: *Laribus Aug(ustis) et Geni(i)s Caesarum [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Domitiano Aug(usto) co(n)s(uli) IX] | desig(nato) X p(atri) p(atriae) permissu A(uli) Anni Camartis tr(ibuni) pleb(is) aediculam reg(ionis) I vici honoris | et virtutis magistri anni LXXXII a s(olo) impensa sua restituerunt | C(aius) Iulius C(ai) l(ibertus) Zosimus M(anus) Birrius M(anus) l(ibertus) Hierus M(anus) B[...]*

46 Architrave from an aedicula of the Vicus Portae Collinae

S. Susanna, ‘ad radices Quirinalis’ (Gruterus, Scaliger, and Welser 1602, pl. 128.3). ?. AD 98/99. ?. ?. Gruterus, Scaliger, and Welser 1602, pl. 128.3; Gesemann 1998, 394, A. 27; Lott 2004, no. 38.

CIL VI. 450 (= 30768): *Laribus Augustis | Imp(eratoris) Nervae Caesaris Traiani Aug(usti) Germ(anici) co(n)s(ulis) II permissu Ti(beri) Allieni Sicini Quintiani tr(ibuni) pl(ebis) | idem probavit aediculam regionis VI vici portae Collinae vetustate | conlapsam a solo sua impensa restituerunt magistri anni CI[3] | Ti(berius) Sicinius Ti(beri) l(ibertus) Receptus A(ulus) Varro A(uli) l(ibertus) Felix P(ublius) Vettius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Possidonius C(aius) Turranius C(ai) l(ibertus) Geni[alis].*

47 Architrave from an aedicula of the Vicus

Censori, cf. 7 (Fig. 8.5b) (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121647&lang=it>)

Tiber Island. Musei Capitolini, ground floor, second room to the right. AD 100. Marble. h. 39 cm, w. 185 cm. Lott 2004, no. 39.

CIL VI. 451 (= 30769): *Laribus Augustis et Geniis Caesarum* | *Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Nervae filio Nervae Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) pontifici maximo trib(unicia) pot(estate) IIII co(n)s(uli) III desi[g(nato) IIII]* | *permissu C(ai) Cassi Interamnani Pisibani Prisci praetoris aediculam reg(ionis) XIII vici censori magistri anni CVI[I]* | *vetustate dilapsam impensa sua restituerunt idem {pr} probavit* | *L(ucio) Roscio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus)* | *Ti(berio) Claudio Sacerdot{a}e* || *L(ucius) Cercenius L(uci) lib(ertus) Hermes* | *P(ublius) Rutilius P(ubli) f(ilius) Priscus* || *M(arcus) Livius* | *(mulieris) lib(ertus) Donax* | *L(ucius) Coranius L(uci) lib(ertus) Euaristus* || *dedic(atum)* | *IIII K(alendas) Ian(uarias)*.

48 Slab (architrave?) from a building of the Vicus Iovis Fagutalis (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121648>)

S. Silvestro?. Musei Capitolini, ground floor, second room to the right. AD 109. Marble. h. 39 cm, w. 85 cm. Lott 2004, no. 40.

CIL VI. 452: *[Laribus A]ugust(is) vici Iovis Fagutal[is et]* | *[Geniis Caesarum I]mp(eratori) Nerva divi Nervae f(ilio) Traian[o]* | *[Aug(usto) Germanico Dac]ico pont(ifici) max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIII imp(eratori) VI [co(n)s(uli) V]* | *[permissu...]* *Pollionis trib(uni) pleb(is) aed(iculam) reg(ionis) III vetusta[te]* | *[dilapsam a solo ma]gistri anni CXXI sua impensa restitu[er(unt)]* | *[...] Phoebus A(ulus) Nonius A(uli) l(ibertus) Onesimus* | *[...] Callistus L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) l(ibertus) Eutichus*.

49 Fragment of an architrave

(<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=122950>)

Via Rua (Via del Portico d'Ottavia, secondary). Fragment b: Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, fragment a and c lost. AD 116. Marble. h. 19.5 cm, w. 82 cm (fragment b). NSc 1887, 72; BCom 1866, 402; 1887, 33, no. 1740.

CIL VI. 30958: *Laribus Augustis et Geniis Caesarum* | *[Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Nervae f(ilio) Nervae Traiano Opt]imo Aug(usto) Ge[rmanico]* | *[Dacico pontifici maximo trib(unicia) pote]st(ate) XX imp(eratori) XIII*

co(n)s(uli) [VI p.(atri) p(atriae)] || *[e]x s(enatus) c(onsulto) qui aediculas La[rum Augustoru]m sua impensa restitueru[nt mag(istri) vic(orum)]* | *urbis reg(ionum?)* [XIII].

G. Restorations of Shrines or Dedications, Third Century AD**50 Fragments of a slab**

Via S. Martino ai Monti/Via S. Lucia ai Selci. Antiquarium Comunale del Celio. AD 203. Marble. ? NSc 1888, 388–89 ('grande lapide marmorea'); Lott 2004, no. 43 (labelled as rebuilt aedicula).

CIL VI. 30959: *[I II[...] Larib(us) Aug(ustis) [...]]* | *[Imp(erator) Caesar L(ucius) Severus Pius Pertinax Au[g(ustus) Arabic(us) Adiabenic(us)]* | *[Parthic(us) max(imus) pontif(ex) max(imus) tri]b(unicia) pot(estate) XI imp(erator) X[I co(n)s(ul) III proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) et]* | *[Imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Pi]us Felix Aug(ustus) tr(ibunicia) [pot(estate) VI co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae)]*.

51 Fragment of a base (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121230>)

Piazza S. Gregorio al Celio. Musei Capitolini, Sala del Fauno. AD 223. Marble. h. 28 cm, w. 26 cm. Lott 2004, no. 47.

CIL VI. 453: *Laribus Aug(ustis) | [aed(iculam)] reg(ionis) I | [vi]co III ararum | iussu | C(ai) Ponti Faustini | Graniani pr(ocuratoris) | mag(istri) fecerunt* | *Valerius Onesimus | L(ucius) Pompeius Euphrosyn | D(ecimus) Granius Augustinus | Ti(berius) Claudius Hermes*.

52 Slab/tablet? from the Vicus Vestae

S. Paolo fuori le Mura. In situ. AD 223. Marble. l. 100 cm, h. 50 cm. NSc 1878, 235; 1883, 229; BCom 1878, 106, 130; Lott 2004, no. 46.

CIL VI. 30960: *Laribus Aug(ustis) et [Genio]* | *[Im]p(eratoris) Caes(aris) [[M(arci) Aureli Alexandri P]]ii Felic[is Aug(usti) pont(ificis) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) II co(n)s(ulis) p(a)tris] p(atriae)]* | *aediculam reg(ionis) VIII vico Vestae v[etustate conlapsam]* | *a solo pecunia sua restituer[unt magistri anni CCXXX ...]/nius Pius L(ucius) Calpurnius Felix [3 per]* | *C(aium) Iulium Paternum praef(ectum) vigil(um) em(inentissimum) [v(irum) 3 L(ucio) Mario Maximo II]* | *L(ucio) Roscio Ael[iano co(n)s(ulibus)]* | *curantibus M(arco) Servilio Crispo et M(arco) Servilio*

53 Fragment of slab/tablet

Via San Gregorio close to the Arch of Constantine. Musei Capitolini, Atrio. AD 222–35. Marble. h. 39 cm, w. 35 cm. *NSc* 1878, 236; *BCom* 1878, 130, no. 5; Panciera 1987, 80, no. 6; Lott 2004, no. 45. *CIL* VI. 30961: [La]ribus A[ugustis et Genio] | [Imp(eratoris) Caesaris M(arci)] Aurel[is] Se[veri Alexandri Pii Fel(ici)s Augusti] | [pontificis maxi]mi trib(unicia) po[test(ate) 3 co(n)s(ulis) p(a)tris] p(atriciae) aediculam] | [reg(ionis) ... vico ...] ruina dilapsa[m a solo restituer(unt) magistri] | [anni ... qui infra s]cripti sunt M(arcus) Ae[...] | [...] allus M(arcus) Aemilius [...] | [...] VI Kal(endas) I[ulias(?)].

H. Dedications ex stipe**54 Base to Mercurius** (cf. Fig. 8.7) (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR137099>)

Via S. Martino ai Monti/Via Giovanni Lanza. In situ. 10 BC. Marble. h. c. 100 cm. *BCom* 1888, 149, 221; *NSc* 1888, 224; Andrews and Flower 2015; Panciera 1980, 205–06; Lott 2004, no. 2.

CIL VI. 30974: Imp(erator) Caes[ar] divi f(ilius) August(us) | pontif(ex) maximus co(n)s(ul) XI | tribunicia potest(ate) XIII | ex stipe quam populus Romanus | K(alendis) Ianuariis apsent(i) ei contulit | Iulio Antonio Africano Fabio co(n)s(ulibus) | Mercurio sacrum.

55 Base to Lares Publici (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR137093&partId=1>)

Velia. Naples, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 2606. 4 BC. Marble. h. 115 cm. Andrews and Flower 2015; Panciera 1980, 205–06; Lott 2004, no. 16.

CIL IV. 456 (= 30770): Laribus publicis sacrum | Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus | pontifex maximus | tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XVIII | ex stipe quam populus ei | contulit K(alendis) Ianuar(iis) apsent(i) | C(aio) Calvisio Sabino L(ucio) Passieno Rufo co(n)s(ulibus).

56 Base to Vulcanus (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR140721&partId=1>)

Between the Curia and the Arch of Septimius Severus. Naples, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 2596. 9 BC. Marble. h. 106 cm, w. 133 cm. Panciera 1980, 205–06; Andrews and Flower 2015; Lott 2004, no. 3.

CIL VI. 457 (= 30771): Imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) Augustus | pontifex maximus | imp(erator) XIII co(n)s(ul) XI trib(unicia) potest(ate) XV | ex stipe quam populus Romanus | anno novo apsent(i) contulit | Nerone Claudio Druso co(n)s(ulibus) | T(ito) Quinctio Crispino | Volcano.

57 Base to unknown deity (<http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR141288>)

Close to the Arch of Septimius Severus. ? 8 BC. Marble?. ? Panciera 1980, 205–06; Lott 2004, no. 4.

CIL VI. 458 (= 30772): [...] | [Imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) Augustus] | [pontifex maximus] | [imp(erator) XIII] co(n)s(ul) XI [trib(unicia) potest(ate) XXVI] | ex stipe quam po[pu]lus Romanus | calendis Ianuar[iis] contulit | C(aio) Marcio Censorino C(aio) Asinio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus).

58 Fragments of a base to unknown deity

Via della Greca/S. Maria in Cosmedin. Palazzo delle Esposizioni. AD 10. Marble. 26 × 46 cm. Panciera 1980, 205–06, no. 10; Lott 2004, no. 29.

AE 1980, no. 56: [Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus] / [pontifex maximus] | [tribunicia potest(ate) XXXII] | [ex] stipe quam [populus] [kal(endis) Ianuariis ei] contulit | [P. D]olabella C. Silano co(n)s(ulibus).

All webpages were accessed 26 March 2017.