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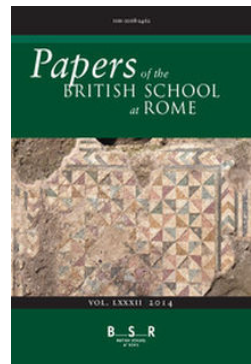
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Praeneste: A Study for its Restoration

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PRAENESTE: A STUDY FOR ITS
RESTORATION

By H. CHALTON BRADSHAW, A.R.I.B.A.

THIS study forms part of my work as Rome Scholar in Architecture, 1913, and was undertaken in accordance with the Memorandum of the Faculty of Architecture of the British School at Rome.

In collecting and arranging material and in writing these notes I have been helped by my wife who, as holder of the Mary Ewart Travelling Studentship from Newnham College, Cambridge, has collaborated with me throughout. To her I owe many ideas and suggestions of archaeological importance in my scheme for restoration.

Further, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Ernest Prestwich, M.A., A.R.I.B.A. In 1911 Mr. Prestwich made a survey of the existing antiquities of Palestrina with a view to making a restoration. As he was unable to carry out this plan he very kindly put the material he had collected at my disposal. This has been very valuable to me throughout.

Finally, I have to thank the Director for his continued help and advice. Dr. Ashby used his expert knowledge of topography and bibliography unsparingly on my behalf, and even went over the site with me and helped in taking levels and measurements. He is responsible for many valuable suggestions and some of the photographs reproduced are his.

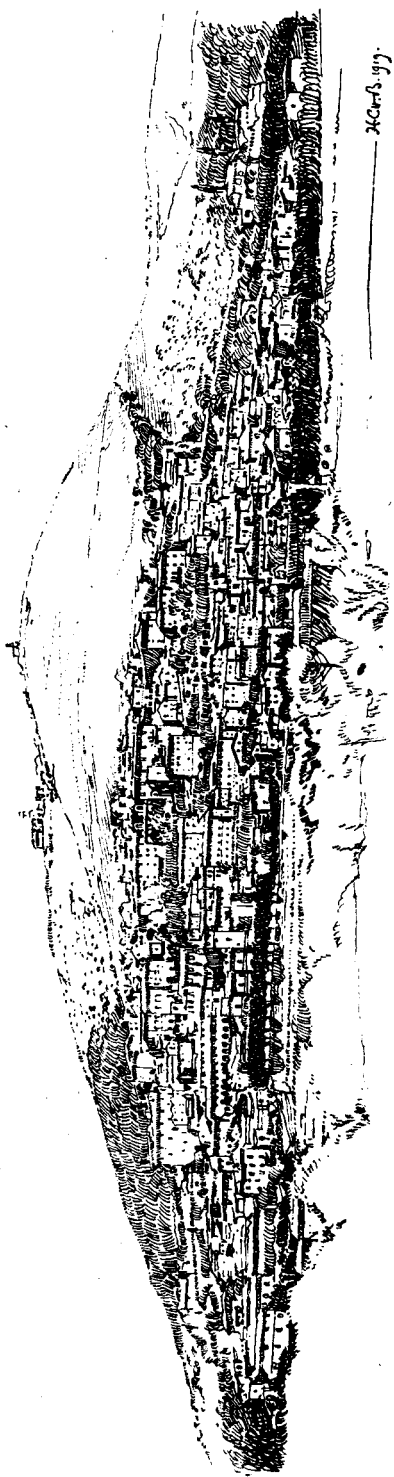


FIG. 1.—VIEW OF PALESTRINA.

I.

The town of Praeneste¹ (modern Palestrina) lies about 23 miles east of Rome on the slope of Monte Glicestro, a spur of the Apennines, where the limestone of the mountains runs down into the volcanic plain. The town faces nearly due south towards the Alban Hills, and is in a position of great natural strength, which was made still stronger by artificial means. Strabo² mentions it with Tibur as a stronghold, and adds that as such it was the more redoubtable of the two. Its climate is healthy and cool, compared with that of the plain, and in Imperial times it was a favourite resort of those who wished to escape from the heat of the Roman summer.

The origin of Praeneste is quite unknown. Various contradictory legends are given of its foundation. It was attributed by Virgil³ to Caecubus, son of Vulcan, probably following the popular tradition, but by others to Telegonus,⁴ son of Odysseus, or to Praenestos,⁵ his grandson. These last traditions give some colour to the statement made by Strabo in the passage referred to above, that both Tibur and Praeneste were

¹ For further details with regard to the history of Praeneste, see E. Fernique, *Etude sur Préneste*, Part I. (Histoire de la ville de Préneste). R. Van Deman Magoffin, *Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste*, Part II. (Municipal History); also the preface to the Inscriptions from Praeneste, *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 288.

² Strabo, v. 3, 11: Πραινεστὸς δ' ἐστὶν ὅπου τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐπίσημον χρηστηρίαζον. ἀμφοτέραι δ' αἱ πόλεις αὗται τῇ αὐτῇ προσιδρύνεσθαι τυγχάνουσιν ὀρευνῇ, διέχουσι δ' ἀλλήλων ὅσον σταδίου ἑκατόν, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης Πραινεστὸς μὲν καὶ διπλάσιον, Τίβουρα δ' ἑλαττον. φασὶ δ' Ἑλληνίδας ἀμφοτέρας Πραινεστὸν γοῦν Πολυστέφανον καλεῖσθαι πρότερον. ἐρυμνὴ μὲν οὖν ἑκατέρα πολὺ δ' ἐρυμνοτέρα Πραινεστός· ἄκραν γὰρ ἔχει τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὑπερθεὶν ὄρος ὕψηλόν, ὅπισθεν δ' ἀπὸ συνεχοῦσης ὀρεινῆς αὐχένι διζευγμένον, ὑπεραίρον καὶ δυσὶ σταδίοις τούτου πρὸς ὄρεϊαν ἀνάβασιν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρυμνότητι καὶ διώρυγι κρυπταῖς διατέτρηται πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῶν πεδίων ταῖς μὲν ὕδρεϊας χάριν ταῖς δ' ἐξόδων λαθραίων, ὧν ἐν μὲν Μάριος πολιορκούμενος ἀπέθανε.

³ At Praeneste is the notable shrine of Fortune with its oracle. Both of these towns (sc. Praeneste and Tibur) are situated on the same range of mountains and are 100 stades distant from one another. Praeneste is twice as far from Rome, Tibur less. It is said that both are of Greek origin, and that Praeneste was formerly called Polystephanos (the Many-crowned). Both are strong places but Praeneste is far the stronger. For as citadel above the city it has a lofty mountain divided from the ridge by a narrow neck, above which it towers for two stades in direct ascent. Besides being naturally strong the site is pierced in all directions right down to the plain by secret tunnels, some for the sake of water and some to serve as hidden exits. In one of these, while he was besieged there, Marius died.

⁴ Vergil, *Aeneid* vii. 677-679.

⁵ Plutarch, *Parallel*, 41.

⁶ Steph. Byz. s.v. Πραίνεστος.

believed to be Greek in origin, Praeneste being originally called Polystephanos¹ (the Many-crowned).

The earliest settlement was probably on the acropolis (now Castel S. Pietro), which at an early date was connected by long walls of Cyclopean masonry with the town which grew up round the sanctuary of Fortune on the lower slope of the mountain. The natural strength of Praeneste and its position commanding both the way into the land of the Aequi up the valley of the Liris and also the pass of Algidus, the principal routes between Northern and Southern Italy, together with the fame of its oracle combined to make it one of the most important towns of Central Italy.

Finds of ivory and bronze² in the necropolis prove that as early as the eighth or seventh centuries B.C. it had dealings not only with Etruria but with Phoenicia and the East, while the later 'cistae Praenestinae,' or incised bronze caskets, and mirrors testify to its continued prosperity in the third and second centuries B.C.

In the earliest historical times Praeneste was probably a member of the Latin League whose head was Alba Longa. At any rate Livy³ tells us that in 499 B.C. it withdrew from the League and formed an alliance with Rome. This early friendship did not, however, prevent Praeneste from becoming one of Rome's greatest adversaries during the years of her struggle for the headship of Latium, which was finally achieved in the Latin War, 340-338 B.C. Even after the triumph of Rome, Praeneste, though deprived of part of her territory, was not absorbed in Rome, but remained an allied city. During the Second Punic War in 216 B.C.⁴ Praeneste showed its loyalty by the feats of the heroic band of its citizens who, under M. Anicius, after the defeat at Cannae, defended Casilinum against Hannibal. These men refused the Roman citizenship offered by the Senate in recognition of their deed, and Praeneste remained a separate community until the Social War, B.C. 90, when, with other towns which had not rebelled or which had laid down their arms at once, it received the full franchise and became a Roman Municipium.⁵

¹ This name seems particularly suitable when we consider the walls which surround the city and support the terraces rising one above the other on which it is built. Cf. Nissen, *Landeskunde*, ii. p. 620.

² Many of the finds are in the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome. Helbig³, ii. pp. 313 ff., and also C. Densmore Curtis, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. iii.

³ Livy, ii. 19. ⁴ Livy, xxiii. 17. ⁵ By the Leges Julia and Plautia Papiria.

During the Civil War, B.C. 82, the younger Marius took refuge at Praeneste after the battle of Sacriportus, and Sulla blockaded the town. On its surrender Marius committed suicide and Praeneste was punished by the slaughter of its male inhabitants, the loss of its privileges as a Municipium, and the settlement of a military colony on part of its territory. Soon after this Sulla, who called himself the favourite of Fortune, largely remodelled the city, placing the forum at the foot of the hill in the plain and rebuilding the Temple of Fortune¹ on a large scale, so that it occupied much of the site of the earlier town.

From this time Praeneste seems to have changed its character. Its fine scenery and healthy climate made it popular with wealthy Romans. Villas were built on the plain below and on the neighbouring hills, and Horace² ranks it with Tibur and Baiae as a health resort. Augustus³ stayed there, and it was in gratitude for recovery from an illness in a villa near that Tiberius⁴ restored to the town the position of Municipium. It was patronised by other emperors, including Hadrian, who probably built the large villa (on the site of the modern Campo Santo) in which the famous Antinous Braschi was found,⁵ and Marcus Aurelius. Pliny the Younger,⁶ and Symmachus,⁷ were among the private persons who possessed villas near Praeneste.

From the earliest times the fame of Praeneste was bound up with that of the sanctuary and oracle of the Goddess Fortune, who was here worshipped as Primigenia or 'First-born' (of Jupiter). The oracle delivered its responses by means of 'lots' or slips of wood with letters carved upon them. These were supposed to have leapt from the rock when it was cleft by a certain Numerius Suffustius, according to Cicero,⁸ who gives the legend of their origin and also the most important reference to the shrine found in any ancient writer.

It is uncertain how soon the oracle became famous outside Latium, but the fact that during the First Punic War the Consul Lutatius Cerco⁹ wished to consult the lots but was not allowed by the Senate on the

¹ Pliny, *H.N.* 36, 25, confirms this by his mention of the 'lithostroton' with which Sulla adorned the pavement of the 'delubrum' of Fortune at Praeneste.

² Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3.

³ Suetonius, *Aug.* 72.

⁴ Aulus Gellius, xvi, 13.

⁵ Helbig³, i. 289, p. 191. The brick stamps prove the villa to have been built in the reign of Hadrian.

⁶ Pliny, *Epist.* v. 6.

⁷ Symmachus, *Epist.* i. 2, iii. 50.

⁸ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii. 41; see below, p. 238.

⁹ Valerius Maximus, i. 3, 2.

ground that a Roman should consult none but national oracles, goes to show that by the third century B.C. its importance was considerable. In 168 B.C. Livy tells us that King Prusias of Bithynia made offerings to the Goddess Fortune of Praeneste.¹ Cicero, in the chapter in which occurs the description of the shrine, speaks of the visit paid by the famous Greek philosopher Carneades, who is reported to have said that Fortune at Praeneste was more fortunate than anywhere else.²

The shrine of the Goddess seems to have suffered severely when Praeneste was captured by Sulla. But Sulla paid special reverence to the Goddess Fortune whom he held as his patroness, and under him the shrine was rebuilt with great magnificence on a much larger scale. This restoration must have made it the largest sanctuary of the kind in Italy and a conspicuous landmark.

Cicero³ says that in his day the consultation of the lots had partially fallen into disuse, and that only the vulgar and ignorant now believed in them. Tiberius⁴ tried to abolish their use, and ordered the box in which they were kept to be transported to Rome. The story goes that when the box was opened in Rome the lots had disappeared, but that they appeared once more when the box was restored to its place. Terrified by this portent, Tiberius desisted from his intention and left the oracle alone. At any rate the cult of Fortune and her oracle continued under the Empire. Domitian⁵ put himself under the protection of the Goddess every year, and the oracle foretold his assassination in 96 A.D. Alexander Severus⁶ also consulted the lots, which are said to have promised him the Empire if he could escape the plots of Elagabalus, replying in the words of Virgil, 'si qua fata aspera rumpas, tu Marcellus eris.'

Christianity found a powerful opponent in the Goddess Fortuna Primigenia, though the existence of Christians at Praeneste in the third and fourth centuries A.D. is proved by the martyrdom in 274 A.D. of St. Agapitos, and by the record of a bishop of Praeneste as early as 313 A.D.⁷ Constantine, on his acceptance of Christianity, ordered the closing of the oracle and shrine, in common with all other pagan buildings; but on the accession of the Emperor Julian it was again reopened, and fragments of an inscription in his honour have been

¹ Livy, xlv. 44.

² 'Nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam.'

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 63.

⁵ Suetonius, *Domitian*, 15.

⁶ Lampridius, *In Alex. Sev.* 4.

⁷ For further information about Christian Praeneste see Marucchi, *Guida*, pp. 145 ff.

found. The oracle was finally closed by the Emperor Theodosius, who in 392 A.D. put an end to pagan cults. After this time Christianity conquered, and Praeneste became one of the suffragan bishoprics of the Roman See. The relics of the martyred saint, Agapitus, were removed from the basilica outside the town, where they had been buried, and placed in one of the most important buildings of pagan Praeneste, which became the Cathedral dedicated in his honour. The great temple built by Sulla in the upper part of the town became the seat of mediaeval barons, and the name of the town itself gradually changed from Praeneste—Civitas Praenestina to Penestrina, Pelestrina, and finally Palestrina.

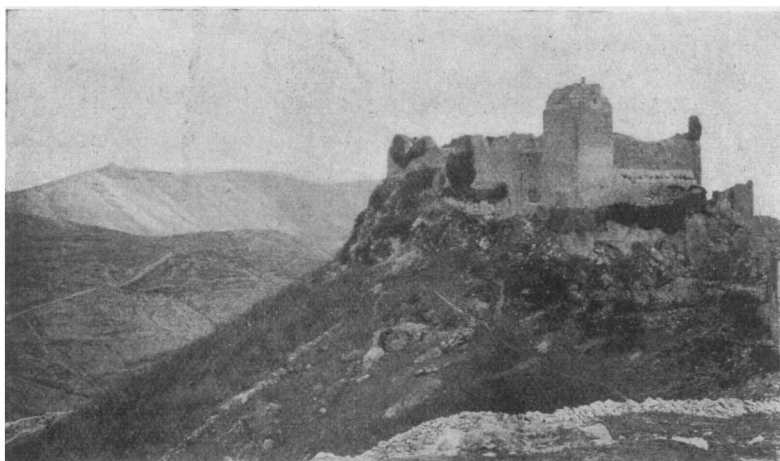


FIG. 2.—CASTEL S. PIETRO.

The earliest notice that we have concerning mediaeval Palestrina is the deed of gift by which Pope John XIII. ceded the territory of Palestrina to his sister Stefania in 970 A.D. Her family remained in possession till 1043 A.D., when by the marriage of the last of the line, Emilia, to Stefano de Columna, Palestrina passed into the hands of the Colonna family. On the death of Emilia the Pope, Gregory VII., laid claim to the estate on the ground that as she was the last of the line, the property should now revert to the Holy See. This claim was resisted by her son Petrus de Columna, and in 1117 A.D. Pope Paschal II. took it from him by force. After Paschal's death, however, Petrus recovered Palestrina,

and the Colonnas continued in undisturbed possession for nearly two hundred years.

In 1297 A.D. the Colonnas revolted from Pope Boniface VIII., and the next year the city was taken and razed to the ground. But under



FIG. 3.—A STREET IN PALESTRINA.

Clement V. the Colonnas were allowed to regain possession and rebuild their city.

In 1437 A.D. the Colonnas again rebelled, this time against Pope Eugenius IV., who followed the example of his predecessor Boniface, and ordered the unhappy city again to be levelled with the ground. This was carried out by Papal troops under Cardinal Vitelleschi.

Soon after this the Colonnas once more reconciled themselves to the Church, and Pope Nicholas V. (1447-1455 A.D.) gave permission to rebuild the city. This was done by Stefano Colonna, who also restored the fortress on the site of the ancient acropolis (Fig. 2). His son Francesco restored the palace.

From this time the city took on its modern aspect. The Colonnas remained its feudal lords, though with limited rights, until 1630 A.D., when it passed by purchase to the Barberini family, who still keep the title of Princes of Palestrina. The last event of historical importance which may be said to concern the town is the defeat in the plain below of the Bourbon troops from Naples by Garibaldi and his soldiers in 1840.¹

The modern town is a dirty, picturesque place with winding streets that break at intervals into flights of steps (Fig. 3). Built into the walls of the many mediaeval houses that remain can be seen pieces of cornices, friezes and architraves, while broken column drums and other fragments are to be found in most of the gardens.

II.

The literary notices of the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste and its oracle are very scanty. The passage in Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii. 41,²

¹ G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, pp. 138 ff.

² Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii. 41, 85-86: 'Numerium Suffustum Praenestinatorum. monumenta declarant honestum hominem et nobilem, somnis crebris ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iuberetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis irradientibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Jovis pueri qui lactens cum Junone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam appetens castissime colitur a matribus. Eodemque tempore in eo loco ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam eoque conditas sortis quae hodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur. Quid igitur in his potest esse certi quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscantur atque ducuntur? . . . Quis robur illud cecidit, dolavit, inscripsit?'

'From the records of Praeneste we learn that Numerius Suffustus, a man of rank and consideration, was ordered by frequent dreams, which at the last became threatening, to break open the flint rock at a certain spot. Terrified by his visions he began to do this, though his fellow-citizens laughed at him, and when the rock was shattered lots leapt out carved in oak with the marks of ancient letters. This is the place which is now religiously enclosed near the shrine of Jupiter Puer, who as a suckling child sits with Juno in the lap of Fortune seeking her breast, and is worshipped by mothers with the purest rights. They say that at the same time honey flowed from an olive tree at the spot where now is the Temple of Fortune, and that the haruspices declared that the lots would be held in the greatest honour, and that at their command a chest was made of the olive

referred to above, is the most important. This passage, besides giving the origin of the lots, tells us more than any other authority about the original shrine. From it we learn that the spot where the lots leapt out of the rock was in Cicero's time in a sacred enclosure and that near it was the shrine of Jupiter Puer,¹ who was represented as a sucking child with Juno in the lap of Fortune and was worshipped by matrons. Cicero continues that the Temple of Fortune stood on the spot where honey had flowed out of an olive tree, from the wood of which was made the chest which contained the sacred lots.

With regard to the Temple we learn from Pliny that it contained a heavily gilded statue of Fortune.² In another place³ Pliny, in talking about various kinds of paving, mentions that called 'lithostroton,' and says that the pavement of this kind given by Sulla to the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste remained in his day. This gift of Sulla has by many been thought to be the mosaics with marine and Egyptian subjects, the former of which is still *in situ*, while the latter, the famous Nile mosaic, was removed and restored and is now in the Palazzo Barberini at the top of the town.

Livy tells us that in commemoration of the exploit of M. Anicius at Casilinum, his statue was set up in the Forum at Praeneste with an inscription, a copy of which was attached to three statues in the Temple of Fortune.⁴

From an inscription of the age of the Antonines⁵ recording a gift

tree in which the lots were placed and from which they are now taken when Fortune bids. What certainty can there be in these lots which are shuffled and drawn by the hand of a child? . . . Who cut down that oak and worked it and carved letters upon it?'

¹ The best explanation of this cult seems to lie in the fact that Fortune as Primigenia was also called 'Jovis Puer' (*i.e.* filia). This is shown by inscriptions. This was probably later misunderstood and referred to Jupiter himself, and so gave rise to the cult of Jupiter as a babe. Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 208 ff.

² Pliny, *H.N.* xxiii. 61. He is discussing the method of gilding by means of thin gold plates 'bracteae' and continues 'crassissimae ex iis Praenestinae vocantur etiam nunc retinente nomen Fortunae inaurato ibi simulacro.'

³ Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvi. 64: 'Lithostrota coeptavere iam sub Sulla parvulis certe crustis. Exstat hodie quod in Fortunae delubro fecit.' Cf. Marucchi, *Atti Pont. Acc.* 1910, pp. 146 ff.

⁴ Livy, xxiii. 19, 18: 'Statua eius indicio fuit Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, velato capite, cum titulo laminae aeneae inscripto, M. Anicium pro militibus qui Casilini in praesidio erant votum solvisse, idem titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positus fuit subiectus.'

⁵ *C.I.L.* xiv. 2867: 'L. Sarioleus Naevius Fastus consularis ut Triviam in Iunonarium, ut in prona aedis statuam Antonini Augusti, Apollinis, Isityches, Spei, ita et hanc Minervam Fortunae Primigeniae donum dedit cum ara.'

of statues we learn of the existence of a building called the 'Junonarium' and also that the Temple of Fortune had a 'pronaos.'

Beyond references to sacred buildings and dedications, there is a passage in Varro¹ from which we know that Praeneste possessed a very ancient 'solarium,' or solar clock, with an inscription. Traces of this clock, showing it to have been of peculiar design, were found in 1882 by Professor Marucchi² on the southern face of the building which is now the main part of the Cathedral of S. Agapito.

An old 'aerarium' is under the building now the seminary. Its name is fixed by an inscription of pre-Sullan date.³ The 'Fasti Praenestini,' the celebrated calendar of Verrius Flaccus, were set up either in the upper or lower part of the Forum (there is a variety of reading in the passage in Suetonius).⁴ Marble slabs of this calendar were used as building material in the old basilica of S. Agapito outside the town, but one fragment was discovered near S. Maria dell'Aquila on the site of the Forum of the Roman Colony.

There is one important reference in mediaeval times to the temple in the upper part of the town. It is given in Petrini's *Memorie Prenestine*, and is numbered Monumentum XXXII.⁵ It is from a petition of the

¹ Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, vi. 4: 'Meridies ab eo quod medius dies. D antiqui in hoc loco non R dixerunt ut Praeneste incisum in solario vidi.'

² Marucchi, *Annali dell' Ist.* 1884, pp. 286 ff. Cf. also Guida, p. 65, Fig. 9, and *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1918, pp. 226, ff., for his latest ideas on the subject. He uses this clock together with a passage from Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 59) to endeavour to identify the building with the Junonarium mentioned in the inscription given above (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2867).

³ *C.I.L.* xiv. 2975: 'M. Anicius L. f. Baaso, M. Mersieus C. f. aedilis aerarium faciendum dederunt.'

⁴ Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, 17: 'Statuam habet (sc. Verrius Flaccus) Praeneste in inferiore (v.l. superiore) fori parte contra hemicyclium in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo pariete incisos publicarat.'

⁵ Petrini, *Memorie Prenestine*, xxxii. p. 430: '... Item dicunt in Civitate Penestrina que totaliter supposita fuit exterminio et ruine cum Palaciis suis nobilissimis, et antiquissimis, et cum Templo magno et solemn, quod in honorem Beate Virginis dedicatum erat, edificatis per Julium Caesarem Imperatorem, cujus Civitas Penestrin. fuit antiquitus et cum scalis de nobilissimo marmore amplis, et largis, per quas etiam equitando ascend poterat in Palacium et Templum predicta, que quidem scale erant ultra centum numero Palacium autem Caesaris edificatum ad modum unius C propter primam litteram nominis sui, et Templum Palacio inherens opere sumptuosissimo edificatum ad modum S. M. Rotunde de Urbe. Que omnia per ipsum Bonifacium et ejus tyrampnidem exposita fuerint totali exterminio et ruine, et cum omnibus aliis Palaciis et edificiis et Domibus ejusdem civitatis, et cum muris antiquissimis opere Sarraceno factis de lapidibus quadris et magnis, que sola dampna tam magna, et inextimabilia sunt, quod multa et magna bona non sufficiunt ad refectionem ipsorum, nec aliqua ratione vel summa pecunia possent, ut fuerint refici propter magnam antiquitatem, et nobilitatem operum predictorum.'

Colonna family for the restitution of their rights after the destruction of the city in 1297, and gives the only description of the upper Temple extant, showing that it had flights of marble steps leading up to a hemicycle above which was a round temple crowning the whole design.

III.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. GIULIANO DA SANGALLO (1445-1516). Drawing of apsidal building. Cod. Vat. Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 43a.

2. PIRRO LIGORIO. Plan and perspective of restored sanctuary. The originals are in Turin (Archivio del Stato), as there is a copy of both in Cod. Ottoboni. Lat. 3373, f. 71, 72. There are also copies in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 50, 51, and of the plan in the Vienna Hofbibliothek, Sammlung Architektonischer Handzeichnungen N. 272 (Fig. 4). (They are attributed by Egger to GIROLAMO RAINALDI and reproduced by him.)

Portions of the above and the Sangallo drawing are reproduced by Canina and Delbrück.

3. ANDREA PALLADIO (1518-1580). Sketch plans, elevations and sections showing schemes for the restoration of Praeneste. *R.I.B.A. Library*, vol. viii. 10, 11, ix. 1-9, reproduced by Burger, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur*, 1908-1909, pp. 203-210.

'Item in Castro Montis Penestrin., quod similiter totaliter dirui fecit, ubi erat Rocca nobilissima, et Palacia pulcherrima, et muri antiquissima opere Sarraceno, et de lapidibus nobilibus sicut muri pred. Civitatis. . . .'

' . . . Next they mention the town of Penestrina, which was entirely laid waste with destruction and ruin, with its most noble and ancient palaces and its great and solemn temple, which was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, all of which were built by the Emperor Julius Caesar to whom the Town of Penestrina belonged of old, and with its broad and spacious flights of noble marble steps up which a man might even ride on horseback to the temple and palace aforesaid. And the palace of Caesar, which was built in the shape of a single C because of the first letter of his name, and the temple above and adjoining the palace which was built with most noble and sumptuous workmanship in the shape of S. M. Rotunda (*i.e.* the Pantheon) in Rome. All of which, through this same Boniface and his tyranny, were laid waste in utter destruction and ruin: with all the other palaces also and buildings and dwelling houses of the same city, and with its ancient walls of Saracen workmanship made of great square stones. Which alone are such great and inestimable losses that many and great riches would not suffice to restore them, nor could they by any means, not even by the greatest sums of money, be rebuilt as they were, because of the great antiquity and excellence of the aforesaid works.

'Next they mention the Citadel of the Mount of Penestrina, which he likewise caused to be destroyed, where was a noble fort and beautiful palaces and most ancient walls of Saracen workmanship and of noble stones like the walls of the aforesaid city. . . .'

4. M. SUARESII. *Praenestes Antiquae Libri Duo*. Roma, 1655. Mainly an ecclesiastical history, but contains references to pagan remains. Three plates, plan, elevation and perspective of Praeneste restored after Pietro da Cortona (see p. 65 of Suarez' book). The originals are at Windsor.

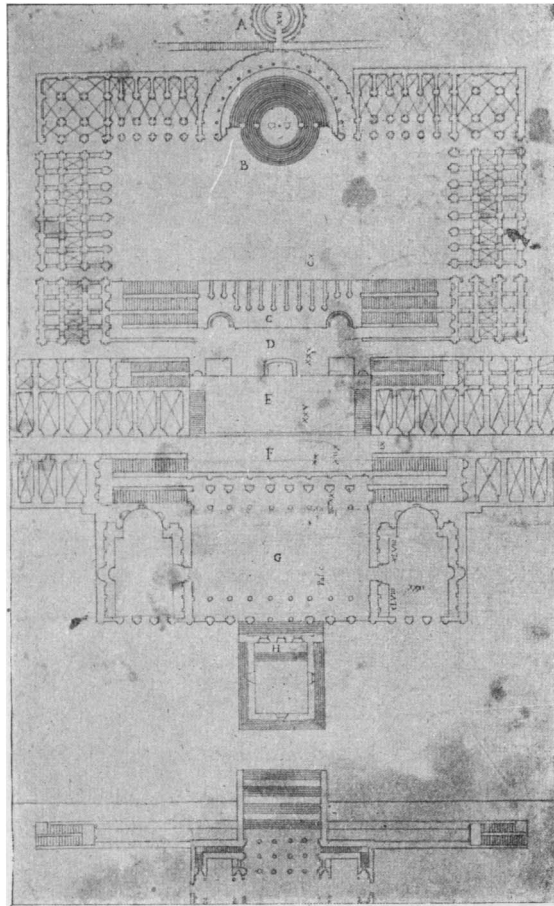


FIG. 4.—VIENNA COPY OF PIRRO LIGORIO'S PLAN.

5. L. CECCONI. *Storia di Palestrina città del prisco Lazio, illustrata con antichi iscrizioni e notizie finora inedite*. 1756. One plate giving map of Palestrina and surrounding country.

6. GEORGE HADFIELD, 1792. Views and restoration of Palestrina. *R.I.B.A. Library*. Six sheets, two showing restored plan and elevation, remainder perspectives giving actual state of the town. (These drawings were the subject of a lecture given before the Royal Institute of British Architects in May, 1848, by J. Papworth.)

7. PETRINI. *Memorie Prenestine disposte in forma di Annali*. Roma, 1798. Contains *inter alia* the petition of the Colonna family giving the description of the later temple.

8. HUYOT. 1811. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts*. Paris. *Monuments Antiques*, iii. Pl. 189-191. Six drawings, plans and elevations, showing état actuel and restoration.

9. NIBBY AND THON. *Il Tempio della Fortuna Prenestina*. Roma, 1825. Description, plans and restoration. Text reproduced in Nibby's *Dintorni di Roma*, vol. ii. pp. 475 ff. Roma, 1848.

10. LUIGI ROSSINI. *Antichità dei Contorni di Roma*. Roma, 1826. Perspectives, état actuel, restored plan and elevation.

11. GUÉNÉPIN. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts*. Paris, 1840. Plans and elevations showing état actuel and restoration.

12. TÉTAZ. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts*. Paris, 1846. Collection Lampluée. Restaurations de monuments anciens, envois de Rome. Plans, elevations and sections, with details of the apsidal building, état actuel and restoration.

13. T. L. DONALDSON. *Circ.* 1848. *R.I.B.A. Library*. A drawing of Huyot's restoration 'corrected (?) on the spot.'

14. CANINA. *Edifici*, vi. Pl. 111-119. Roma, 1856. Restoration details and map.

15. BERNIER, 1875. N. wall of 'area sacra.' D'Espouy, Pl. 47.

16. E. FERNIQUE. *Étude sur Préneste*. Paris, 1880. One plate giving plan of town. Contains the fullest description and history.

17. P. BLONDEL. *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'école française à Rome*, 1882, pp. 168 ff. Two plates showing elevation and plan of état actuel. The most complete plan showing the remains of the ancient town.

18. CIPOLLA, 1889. Restored plan and elevation in the Municipio at Palestrina. Drawn by LAMBUSIER.

19. R. VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN. 'A study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste.' *Johns Hopkins University Studies*,

1908. Gives a useful list of buildings mentioned in inscriptions at Palestrina.

20. D. VAGLIERI. Articles in *Not. Scavi* and *Bull. Comm.*, 1909, vol. xxxviii. pp. 212 ff.

21. R. DELBRÜCK. *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*. Vol. i. pp. 47 ff. 'Das Heiligtum der Fortuna in Praeneste.' 1907. Ten plates and forty-four illustrations in text. An analysis and description of the lower group of buildings and an attempt to decide their identity. Vol. ii. pp. 1 ff., 1912. Additional remarks and one plate giving his idea of lower group.

22. O. MARUCCHI. Various articles and notes of excavation since 1881. The most important are :—

Bull. Ist. 1881, pp. 248 ff. ; 1882, pp. 244 ff.

Bull. Comm. 1895, pp. 26 ff. ; 1904, pp. 233 ff. ; 1907, pp. 275 ff.

Atti. Pont. Acc. 1910, pp. 67 ff. ; 1918, pp. 226 ff.

Also *Guida Archaeologica dell'Antica Praeneste*. Latest edition, Rome, 1912.

In the foregoing bibliography mention has been made of all the authorities of any importance dealing with Praeneste. The numerous articles cited in the catalogue of the German Archaeological Institute deal in the main with the necropolis. A few references to casual discoveries in the town itself will be found in *Notizie degli Scavi*.

IV.

Since the Renaissance Praeneste has been the subject of several restorations. These attempts show two main faults. Firstly, temple buildings, colonnades and open spaces all connected with the sanctuary have been made to cover the whole slope of the hill ; secondly, a perfect balance has been shown throughout. The reason for this is that early schemes for restoration were made without any exact measurements of the actual remains visible. Discoveries and excavations which have recently been made on the site, though not on any large scale, suffice to disprove these restorations, in all of which imagination plays a large part. Hadfield's is a particularly striking example of this freedom of treatment, no design showing less likeness to the possibilities of the

actual remains than his ; while in the latest, that of Cipolla, the central and most ancient of all the buildings is not shown.

A fair amount has been written on the subject of Palestrina and its history. The first scientific and careful survey of the site is that by Nibby. Of late years, since excavation has begun, the amount of literature dealing with Palestrina has largely increased. The most valuable general description (giving plan and elevation of the ruins) is that of P. Blondel, who lived for some years at Palestrina. The work of the later authorities in the list is also important.

In the preparation of my drawings of the actual state of Praeneste (Pl. XXVII., XXVIII., XXIX., XXX.), I have depended chiefly on the surveys made by Mr. Prestwich. The plan (Pl. XXVII.) has been based on the Stato Ponteficio Survey of 1818, kindly supplied by the Ufficio Tecnico di Finanza di Roma, supplemented by the levels and survey of the 1° Reg. Genio stationed in Palestrina during the war. The whole has been brought up to date and corrected by measurements and levels which I took on the spot.

I have made no study of the lower part of the city (*i.e.* the Roman forum and its surroundings below the present town), and have limited my restoration to the part above the Via degli Arcioni. A certain amount is visible south of this road, but until further excavations have been made any attempt at a reconstruction of this part would be useless.

The date chosen for the restoration is the end of the first century A.D. (Pl. XXXI., XXXII., XXXIII.). The site of the ancient town was at this time partly covered by the sanctuary as rebuilt by Sulla, who founded a new Roman colony at the foot of the hill. Here was the forum with new public buildings, which later included libraries,¹ an amphitheatre,² and even a school for gladiators.³ Houses and public buildings must, however, have existed in the more ancient part of the town, and there is no warrant for supposing that this part contained the temple buildings only.

Before the time of Sulla there was obviously no attempt at symmetry in the planning of the town. The lower terrace walls and south boundary are not parallel. The axis of the central building under the present Cathedral was not parallel with that of the group of

¹ *C.I.L.* xvi. 2196, Magoffin, p. 53.

² *C.I.L.* xiv. 3010, 3014, Magoffin, p. 52.

³ *C.I.L.* xiv. 3014.

buildings forming the ancient shrine. In the reconstruction which followed Sulla, an axis was taken passing through the centre of the space between the two grottos, and terraces were made at right angles to this line. The design of the upper part of the town is completely balanced, and repeats and confirms the lines of the early sanctuary. Two small hemicycles were made on the upper terrace to correspond with the two grottos. On the lower terrace, in Imperial times, a large water-tank was



FIG. 5.—POLYGONAL WALL AT CASTEL S. PIETRO.

built which practically corresponded with one already existing on the east. In this way the town began to assume a symmetrical appearance, but there was far from being a perfect balance between the two sides.

It will now be convenient to study the town in greater detail.

Walls.—The early town was joined to the citadel (on the site of the modern Castel S. Pietro) by long walls of polygonal masonry¹ (Figs. 5

¹ Cf. the city walls of Norba.

and 6). These walls were not destroyed by Sulla after the taking of the city with the exception of the wall on the south, although the town was no longer fortified. The wall is nearly complete on the east side. On the west no trace of ancient wall exists between the Porta San Francesco and the Porta San Martino, except for two small pieces in the modern wall, the line of which has therefore been adopted in the design. On the south the wall is of 'opus quadratum' of the time of Sulla (Fig. 7), with an arcade to the east of the central gate.

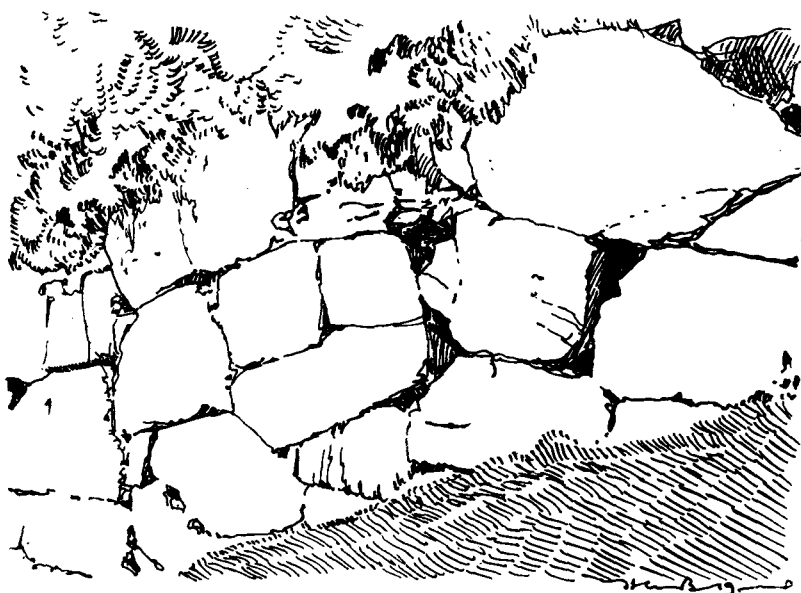


FIG. 6.—POLYGONAL WALL.

Main Roads and Gates.—The main road from Rome was the Via Praenestina, which after Sulla's time ran into the new part of the town on the plain. Pieces of ancient paving show that a road led up from the lower town to a gate in the walls where is now the modern Porta San Martino. This paving is visible outside the present gate along the modern road. South of this, below the present Cardinal's Garden, is a gap in the wall. This may also have been another small gate as shown in the restoration, although the sides are broken.

In the centre of the south wall and on the axis of Sulla's building is

a large gap in the 'opus quadratum' wall and remains of what appears to be the flank of an entrance. This was the main approach from the new forum to the temple and the old town.

On the east side the main entrance was where is now the Porta Santa Maria, at the end of the modern Via Anicia. Part of the Cyclopean wall on the north side of the modern entrance ends in a vertical edge, which makes it likely that in ancient times there was a gateway here; remains of a gate tower also exist at this point. In the Via Anicia just inside the gate are some large blocks of 'opus quadratum' and the drum



FIG. 7.—OPUS QUADRATUM OF S. WALL.

of an applied column. At the modern Porta del Sole, in the south-east corner of the town, there was probably only a postern, as this entrance is considerably lower than the level of the ancient forum. The road on this side, which now leads to Valmontone and Cave, like the road on the west, also led from the lower part of the town to the more ancient part above. At the Porta Portella there was a postern which is still visible.

South of the town, along the line of the Via degli Arcioni, a road existed, the paving of which was seen by Huyot in 1811.¹

¹ Huyot, *Mon. Ant.* Pl. 189. See also his report in the *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts*.

The road to the citadel, which still remains as the 'strada antica,' zigzagged up inside the walls.

Roads within the Walls.—The greater part of the ancient remains consists of terrace walls (Figs. 8 and 9). These walls, which run practically east and west across the whole town, help to fix the lateral communications. The levels of the tops of the walls, column bases and entablatures *in situ*, and some fragments of ancient road paving



FIG. 8.—TERRACE WALL.

give the relative heights of each stage of the town. The roads shown in the restoration have been arrived at by careful measurements of these remains and by the lines of the modern roads where they are suitable.

In making a main approach from the forum of Sulla on the centre axis I have followed the restorations of Pirro Ligorio and Palladio and the opinion of Magoffin.¹ The base found in the Piazza Garibaldi (see Fig. 10) and the building under the Cathedral establish this axis.

¹ Magoffin, p. 32.

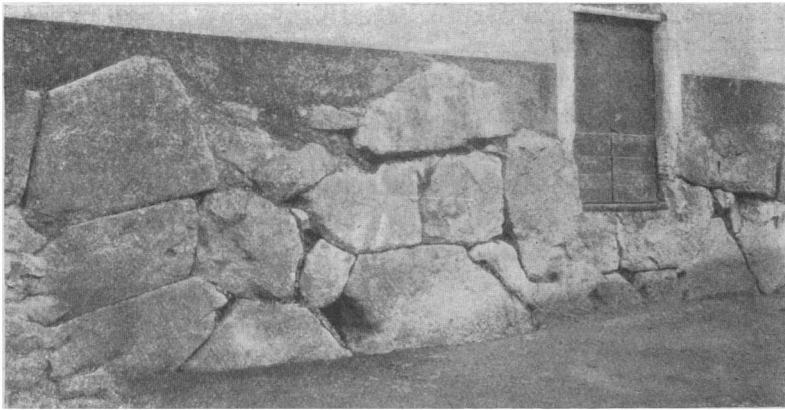


FIG. 9.—TERRACE WALL.

The main approach from the west, along what is now the modern Corso, is fixed by two fragments of retaining wall which exist below the level of the modern street in the houses Nos. 82 and 102. The lower road, parallel to this and running past the open reservoirs, has also a retaining wall, which can be seen under the house of the Cicerchia family in the Via Pierantonio Petrini. The retaining walls of the upper part of the town being much higher are plainly visible.

The Ancient Forum.—Excavations have been made in the modern Piazza Regina Margherita (Fig. 11) which show that an open space existed here in ancient times. • Four steps running right across in front of the modern seminary were found;¹ and the paving of this space and of an ancient road leading into it, and the steps of a podium are to be

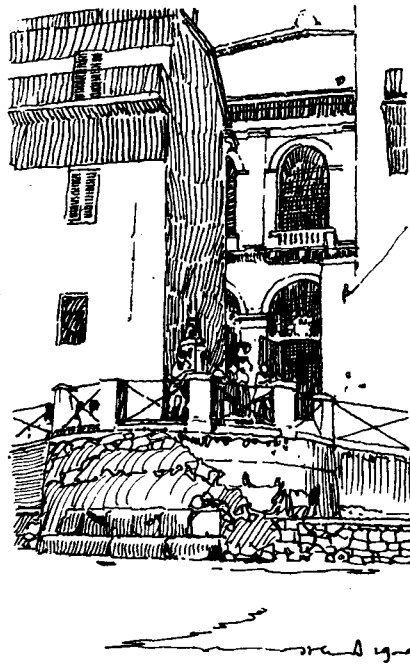


FIG. 10.—PIAZZA GARIBALDI SHOWING BASE.

¹ Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, pp. 231 and 232, Figs. 8 and 9.

seen at the north-east corner of the Cathedral. It is natural to see in such an open space in the middle of an ancient town the forum. This identification is made all the more probable by the fact that round this space, on the north and west sides, were the most important buildings of early Praeneste. The aerarium is to be seen here under the modern seminary. This is proved by an inscription in it giving its name.¹ As we know that in ancient towns that the usual place for the aerarium was

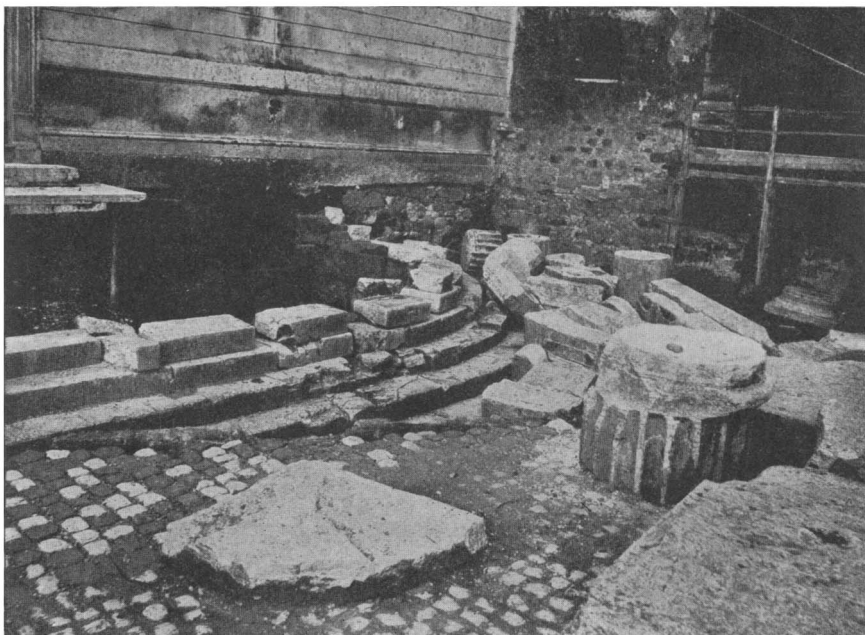


FIG. II.—EXCAVATION IN PIAZZA R. MARGHERITA, SHOWING ANCIENT ROAD AND FORUM.

the forum,² it makes it all the more likely that this space was the forum. How far it extended south and east is not yet known, but the slope of the ground limits possibilities on the south side. On the east it has been restored so that the temple is in the centre of the north side (as was the case at Pompeii).

¹ *C.I.L.* xiv. 2975. See above, p. 239, n. 3. The inscription belongs to a date earlier than Sulla, probably to the second century, P.C. Cf. Marucchi, *Guida*, p. 45 and Fig. 5.

² Vitruvius, v. 21: 'Aerarium carcer curia foro sunt coniungenda.'

Every former restoration shows the forum extending to the west so that the central building (under the Cathedral) stands in the middle. What evidence there is, however, is against this idea. Had there been such a forum there would have been no reason for the ancient road on the east side of the central building. The grotto, to which it obviously leads, could have been reached across the space to the west.

Lower Temple and Adjoining Buildings.—In assuming that the two grottos and the area connecting them were the ancient sanctuary of Fortune referred to by Cicero in the passage given above, I follow all important authorities¹ except the late Professor Vaglieri² and Professor Hülsen,³ who believe this group of buildings to be secular.

Enough exists of the building on the east side to give a satisfactory restoration.⁴ It is of 'opus incertum' with applied columns still in good preservation (Pl. XXXIV. and Fig. 12). Like the Temple of Concord at Rome, the entrance was on one of the long sides. The famous Nile mosaic, now in the Palazzo Barberini at the top of the town, covered the floor of the grotto at its north end.⁵ This is the building generally accepted as the Temple of Fortune.

The exact arrangement and appearance of the building on the west, which is believed to be the Grotto of the Lots, is more difficult. I have shown it partly covered, and supposed that in the rebuilding of Sulla, when the whole of this group was elaborated, it was enclosed on the south side and a façade built to correspond to that of the temple.

The shrine of Jupiter Puer is said by Cicero to have been near the spot where the lots sprang out of the rock. I have placed it in this enclosure.

The space between the grottos offers a more difficult problem. A variety of opinion exists as to how this area was treated; the question has been discussed in detail by Professors Marucchi⁶ and

¹ On this point Marucchi and Delbrück are the most important.

² Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, pp. 230 ff. Vaglieri believes that if the temple is to be found in this part of the town it is the building incorporated in the Cathedral.

³ Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, p. 267, n. 113, mentions that Professor Hülsen thought it was probably a library.

⁴ As mentioned in the bibliography, Tétaz has made a careful study of this building and its details.

⁵ Marucchi, *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1910, pp. 146 ff.; a discussion of the Nile mosaic and of mosaic pavement found in the upper temple which Marucchi believes to be the 'lithostroton' of Sulla.

⁶ Marucchi, *Bull. Comm.* 1907, pp. 302 ff.

Delbrück,¹ who believe it to have been open to the sky, and Professor Vaglieri,² who believed it to have been roofed over. Delbrück, in a detailed article, shows by careful drawings what he considers to have been its appearance. Professor Marucchi gives many reasons why he

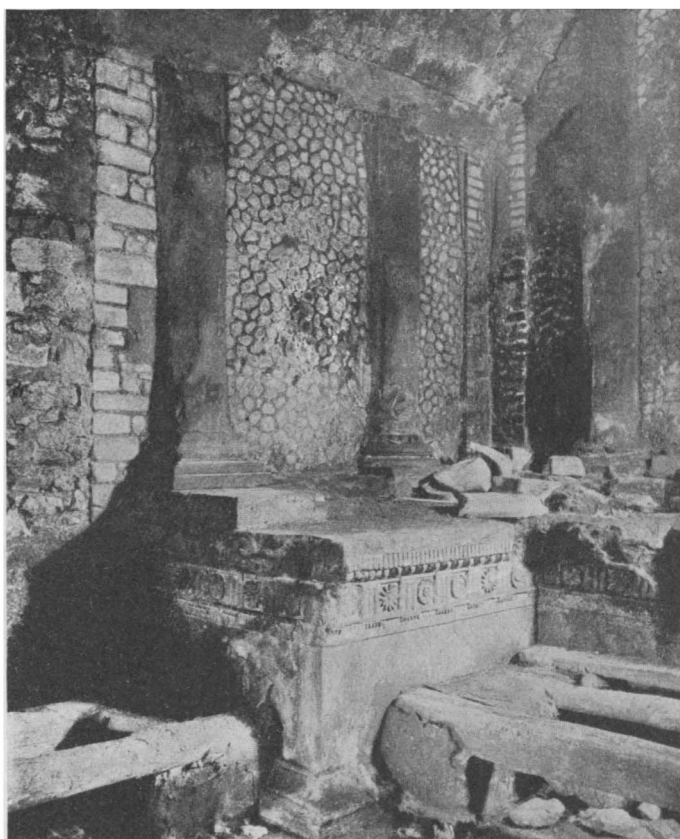


FIG. 12.—TEMPLE OF FORTUNE, INTERIOR.

considers this area to have been open. I agree, however, with the conclusion of the late Professor Vaglieri that it was roofed over.³

The difficulties of the problem will be more clearly understood by reference to the plan of this area (Pl. XXIX.). To have any *raison d'être* at all

¹ Delbrück, i. pp. 67 ff.; ii. p. 41.

² Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, pp. 233 ff.

³ This is also Dr. Ashby's opinion.

the window openings and the arches above on the north side (Pl. XXXV.) must have corresponded with actual windows and arches on the south side. Otherwise such a treatment for this wall would be pointless, as it forms part of the retaining wall to the cliff. The existence of columns corresponding to the applied columns of this wall is proved at B (Fig. 13). At C

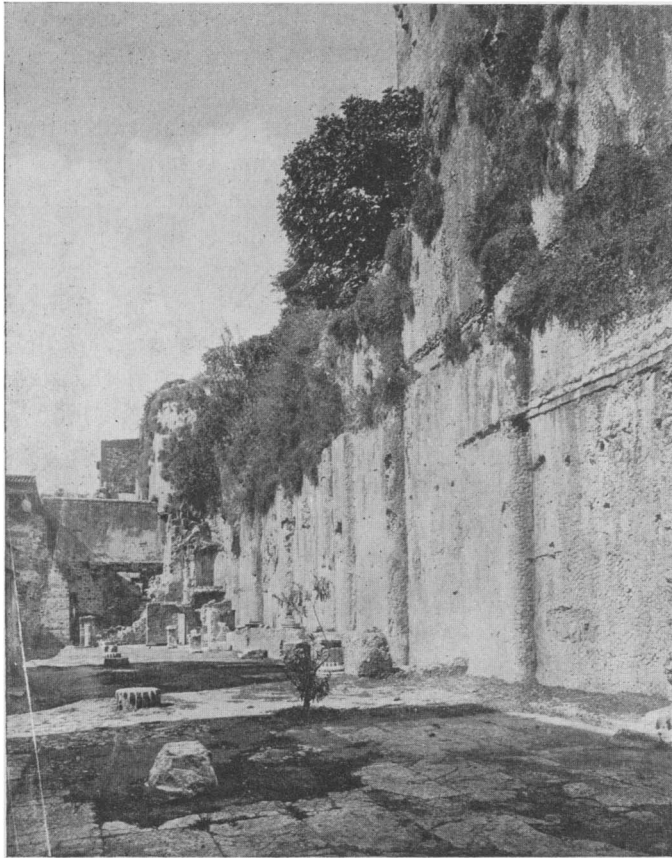


FIG. 13.—AREA BETWEEN GROTTOES SHOWING APPLIED COLUMNS AND CORRESPONDING BASES.

there is part of a wall which would have formed a foundation for a row of columns on this line. In the crypt below S. Agapito the wall marked D is visible. This wall obviously corresponded to the double wall referred to above if the area was roofed. The columns at E (in the Museum) are

only half the intercolumnation of those of the north wall. This, however, would not matter, as the two rows would not be seen together. The fragment of column in the crypt does not appear to me to be *in situ*. The column bases at F belonged to a portico which ran round the temple and are on a considerably lower level, *i.e.* that of the forum.

The foregoing seems to show that the area was covered, and this theory is borne out by the fact that there are no traces of gutters or channels for the disposal of rain-water in the area. The channel existing between the two parts of the wall on the north is no evidence either way. It would be necessary in any case to carry off the water from the cliff.

The most ancient building of Palestrina is now part of the modern Cathedral of S. Agapito. It is of 'opus quadratum.' The east and west walls have been pierced with arches and made to form the piers of the nave.¹ The north wall has been destroyed, except in the crypt, where a fragment is to be seen, and the south wall is visible only from the balcony over the modern entrance. Sufficient exists, however, to give the exact size of the rectangle. The excavation, still open in the Piazza Regina Margherita, shows that this building stood on a podium with steps leading down to the street and forum on the east side. In 1884 Professor Marucchi discovered traces of the Solarium mentioned by Varro on the south wall.² The colonnade surrounding these walls, shown on practically all restorations, is therefore proved impossible. It is probable that this building was restored and embellished in the time of Sulla, as it was the centre of his whole scheme. There is a doubt about its identification, but the general belief is that it was the Curia, or Senate House, of pre-Sullan Praeneste.

Upper Temple and Buildings.—The restoration of the upper part of the town is an easier matter. The whole formed an architectural setting for the more ancient shrine below. A large open space surrounded by a colonnade with a hemicycle, the steps of which still exist (Fig. 14 and Pl. XXXVI.), in the middle of the north side, commanding a magnificent view of the plain to the south, is crowned by a round temple. This space probably served, as Professor Marucchi suggests,³ as an open place for

¹ Cf. Temple of Concord at Girgenti.

² Marucchi, *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1918, pp. 226 ff. Contains the most detailed discussion of the problem of the central building, with photographs of the traces of the 'solarium.' A very clear drawing of the 'solarium' is also given in his *Guida*, Fig. 9.

³ Marucchi, *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1910, p. 157.

functions and sacrifices, which were not possible in the ancient forum owing to its restricted size and to the presence of other monuments. The circular temple at the top is mentioned in the Colonna petition,¹ in which

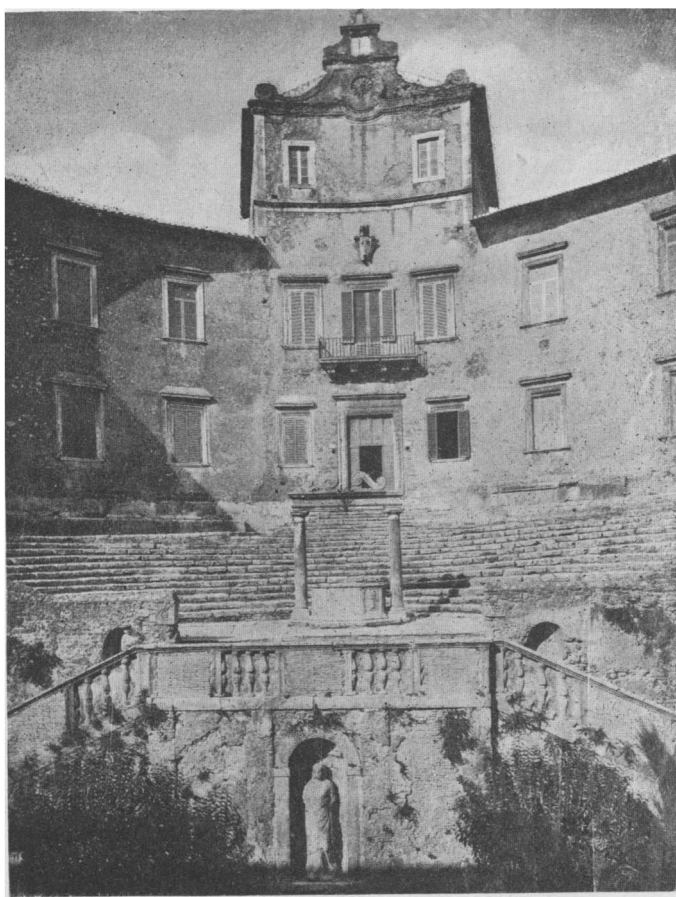


FIG. 14.—PALAZZO BARBERINI, SHOWING STEPS OF HEMICYCLE

it is described as like S. Maria Rotunda, *i.e.* the Pantheon. This is most unlikely, considering the date, although Palladio restores it in this way. Probably all that is meant is that it was a circular building. We have examples of contemporary round temples in the so-called Temple of

¹ See above, p. 239, n. 5.

Vesta, in Rome, in its earlier form, and of the Sibyl at Tibur (Tivoli). These are both peripteral, and I have consequently followed them in my restoration. The semicircular flight of steps is shown in the Pirro Ligorio drawings, and also in Huyot's restoration. The large block of tufa found in front of the modern staircase was probably the substructure of a colossal statue.¹

Reservoirs.—The problem of water must always have been important to Praeneste, which was dependent on reservoirs for a satisfactory supply,² at any rate until the construction of aqueducts, and even afterwards as a matter of convenience. There are remains of five reservoirs. The most ancient, of 'opus quadratum,' is along the modern Corso, and is mentioned only by Magoffin.³ There were two tanks, open to the sky, on the lower platform. A considerable part of one exists in the Barberini garden. It is of brick construction, faced with cement, and probably of Flavian date.⁴ In the east part of the town traces of two walls of 'opus incertum' have been found, which were probably part of the north and south walls of a reservoir on that side. There is also an aqueduct like the one existing under the Barberini garden. The construction is much earlier than that of the other reservoir, and the tanks could not have corresponded in size nor in relation to the centre axis. Pieces of granite columns in the gardens on this side suggest colonnades such as I have shown in the restoration.

Below the town, on the west, is another large reservoir (Fig. 15) of brick which, according to Nibby, is of the time of Tiberius,⁵ but the brickwork seems to be considerably later.⁶ This probably supplied the lower town. Finally, at the Porta San Martino is a small reservoir of 'opus incertum,' which is unfaced and must have been below the level of the ancient road.

Other Buildings.—In suggesting other suitable buildings I have referred to similar towns such as Anxur (Terracina), Tibur, Tusculum and Pompeii. The basilica shown on the east of the forum is like that which exists at Anxur, and the temple, with its enclosure on the west

¹ *Not. Scavi.*

² Strabo, v. 3. 11. See above, p. 231, n. 2. ³ Magoffin, p. 41.

⁴ This is also the opinion of Mr. C. Densmore Curtis, who kindly examined the brickwork with us.

⁵ *Analisi*, p. 503; *C.I.L.* xiv. 2911 was found near here

⁶ Mr. Curtis agreed with us in this.

of the central axis, is similar to that of Apollo at Pompeii. In the remaining space I have suggested quarters for the priests and attendants of the sanctuary, and have also shown shops and houses, small baths and villas. These are all natural to a famous shrine and health resort such as we know Praeneste to have been ; but it must not be forgotten that after Sulla and in Imperial times the centre of civic life lay not here but in the new town on the plain, where in consequence were many buildings which might otherwise have been looked for here.



FIG. 15.—RESERVOIR BELOW THE TOWN.

The type of house has been assumed to be rather that of Ostia¹ than of Pompeii. The Pompeian type would not have been so adaptable because of the restrictions of space imposed by the terraces. The Ostian house, unlike the Pompeian 'domus' with its atrium and horizontal development, depends for light on a façade with windows and develops

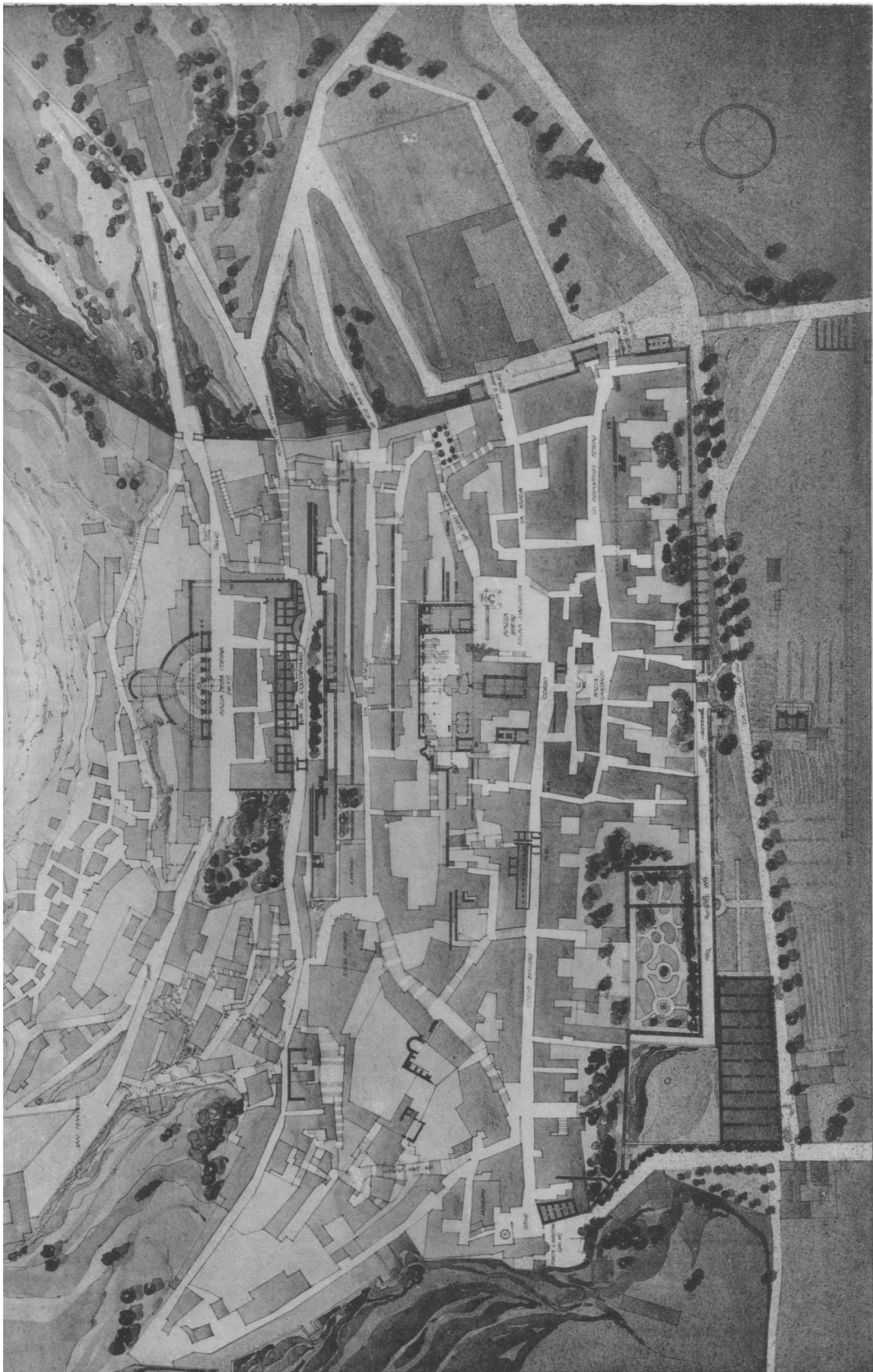
¹ Calza, *Mon. dei Lincei*, xxiii. 1915. *La Preminenza dell' 'Insula' nella Edilizia Romana*.

vertically after the fashion of a modern house. Thus it is much more fitted for places where for any reason the land available for building is limited, as must have been the case on the hill at Praeneste.

Very little is known of the planning of villas in the neighbourhood of Rome ; but for the general appearance of their exterior I have been guided by wall paintings¹ in Rome and at Pompeii.

[Figs. 2, 5, 9 and Pl. XXXVI. are reproduced from photographs by Dr. T. Ashby ; fig. 3, from a photograph by Brogi ; figs. 8, 11, 12, 15, from photographs by Moscioni ; figs. 13, 14 and Pl. XXXIV., XXXV., from photographs by Alinari.]

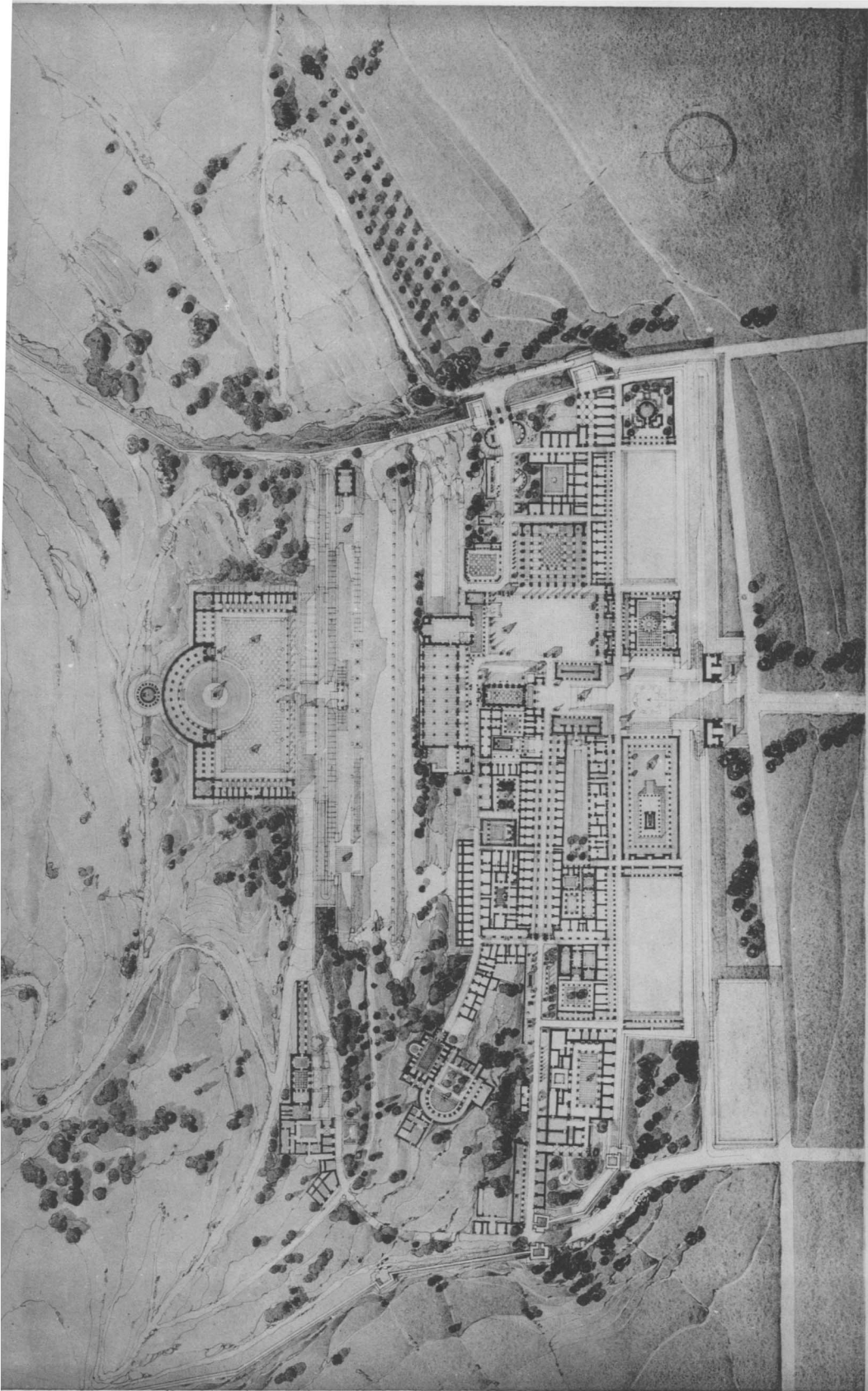
¹ Rostovtzeff, 'Die Hellenistisch-Romanische Architekturlandschaft' (*Röm. Mitt* 1911, 1-2). Photographs *passim*.



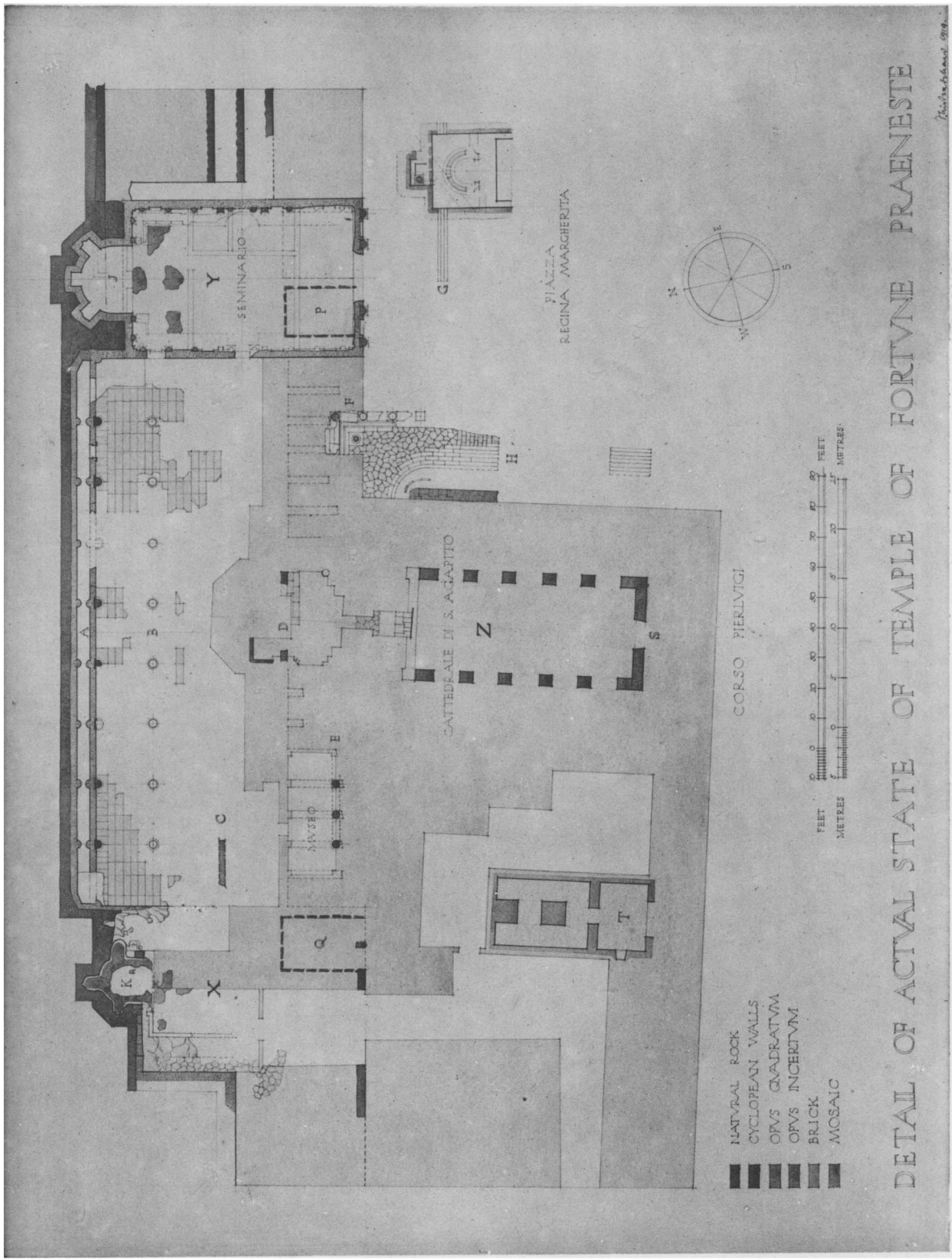
ACTUAL STATE

PRAENESTE

PLAN OF

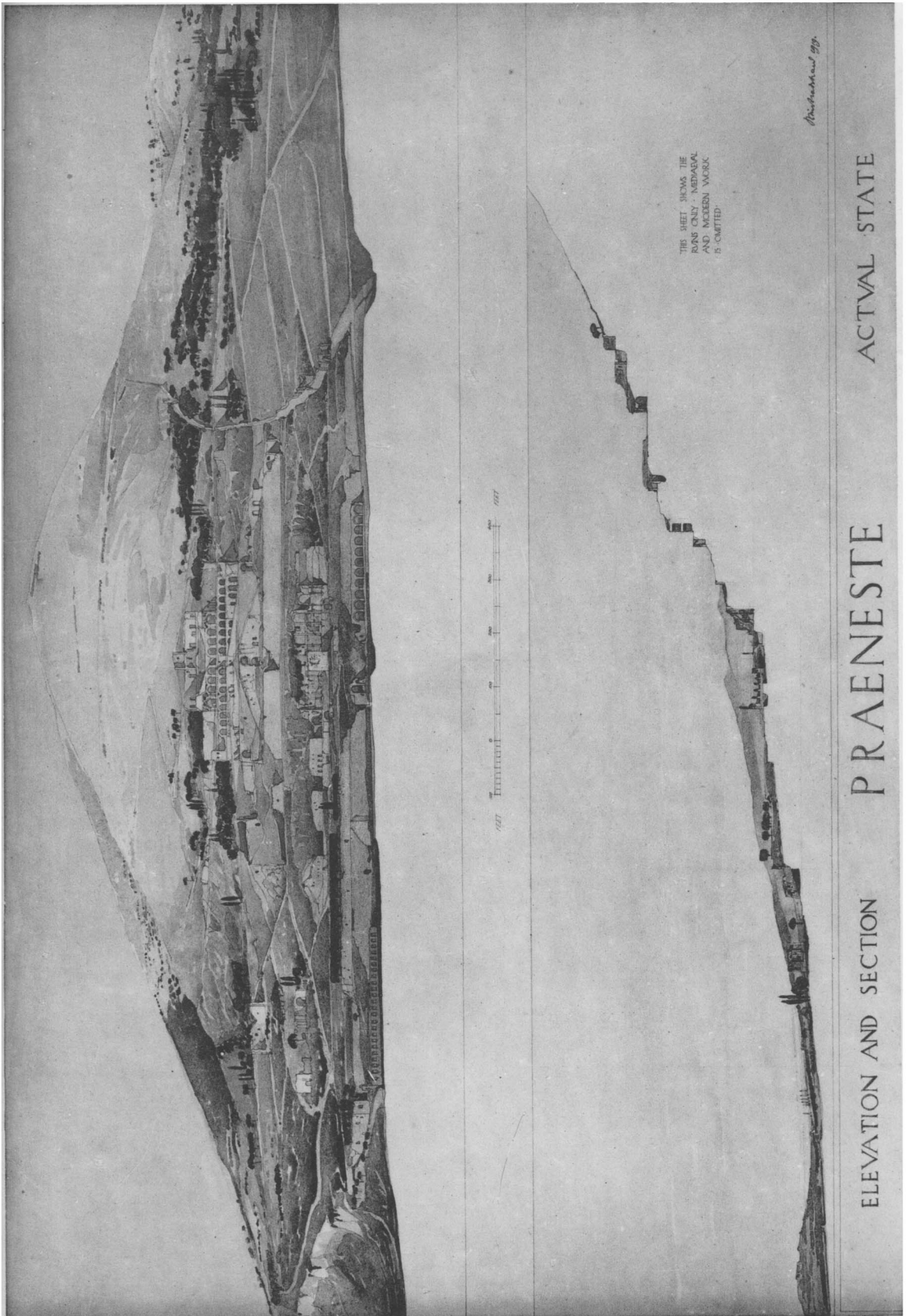


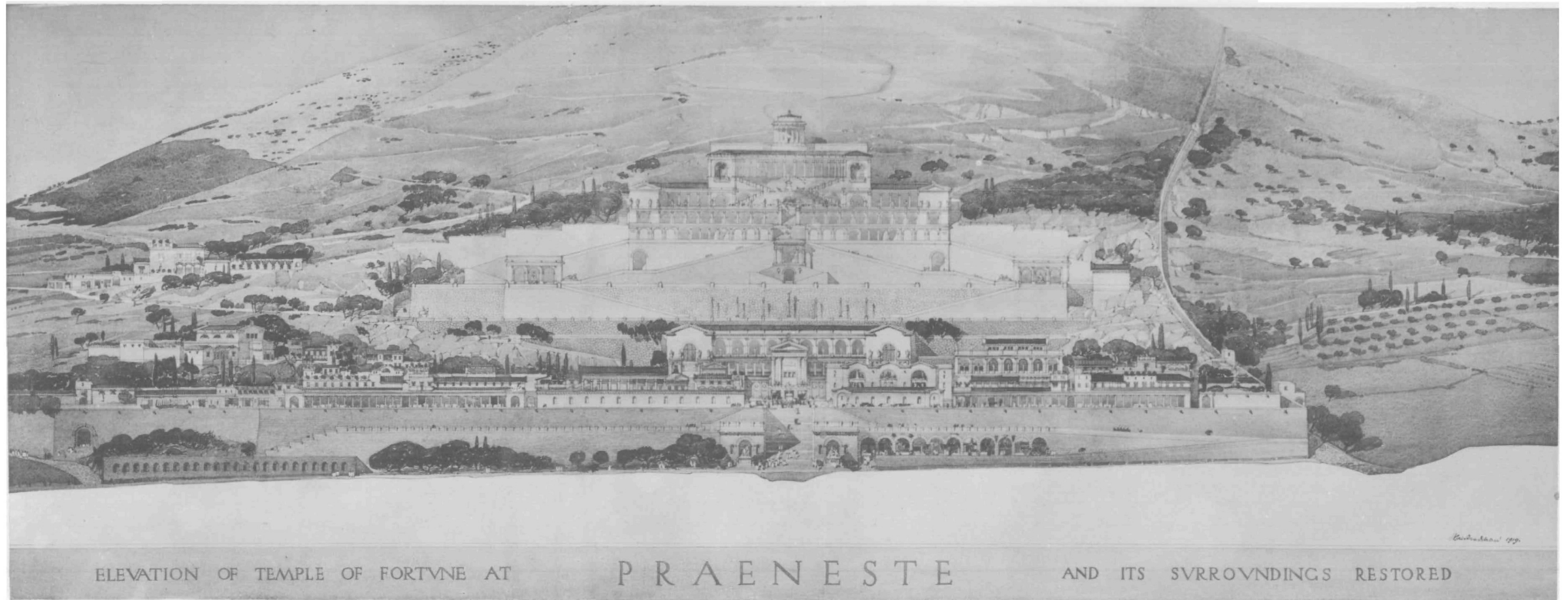
PLAN OF TEMPLE OF FORTVNE AT PRAENESTE AND ITS SVRROVNDINGS RESTORED

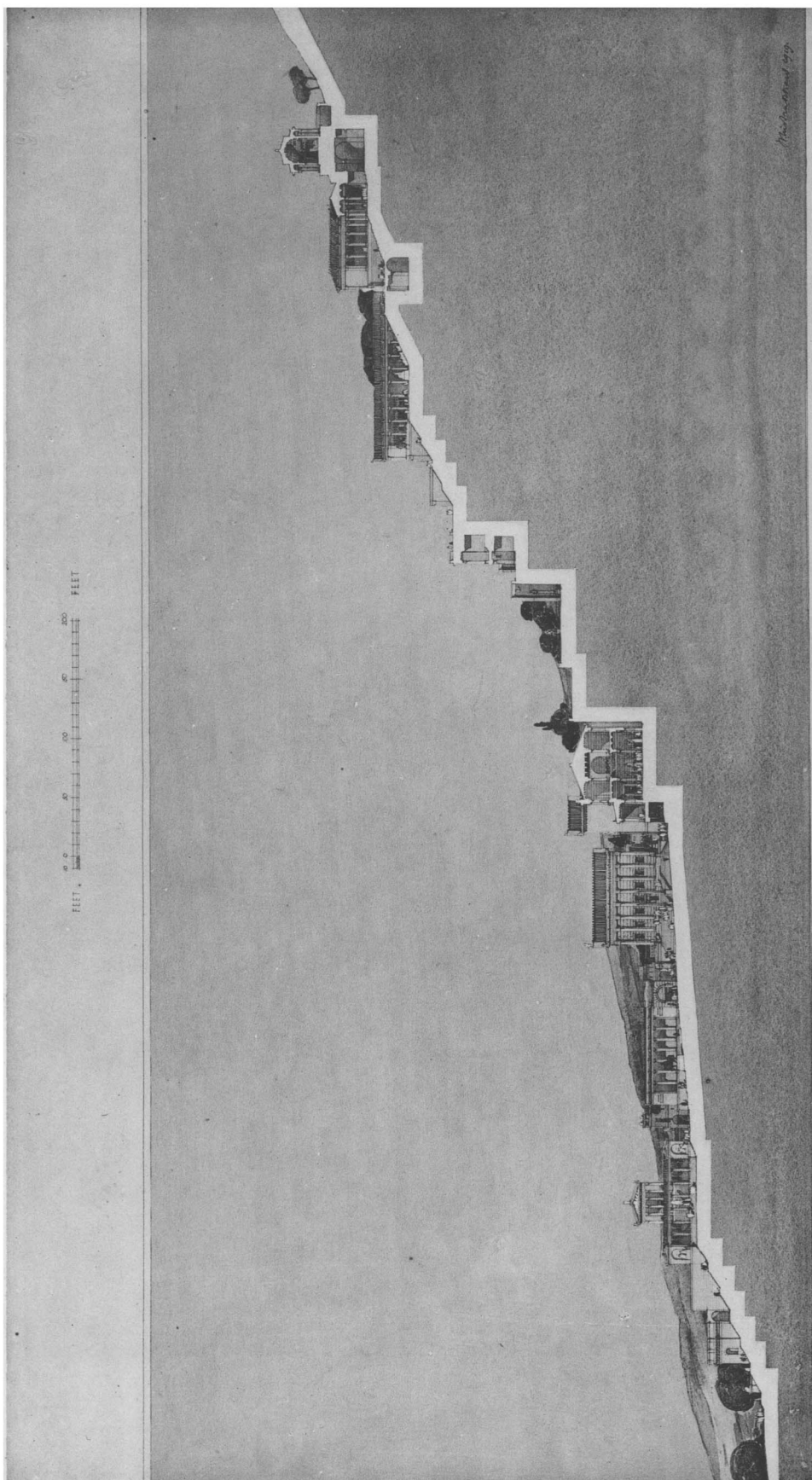


DETAIL OF ACTUAL STATE OF TEMPLE OF FORTUNE PRAENESTE

Archaeol. Inst. 1891.



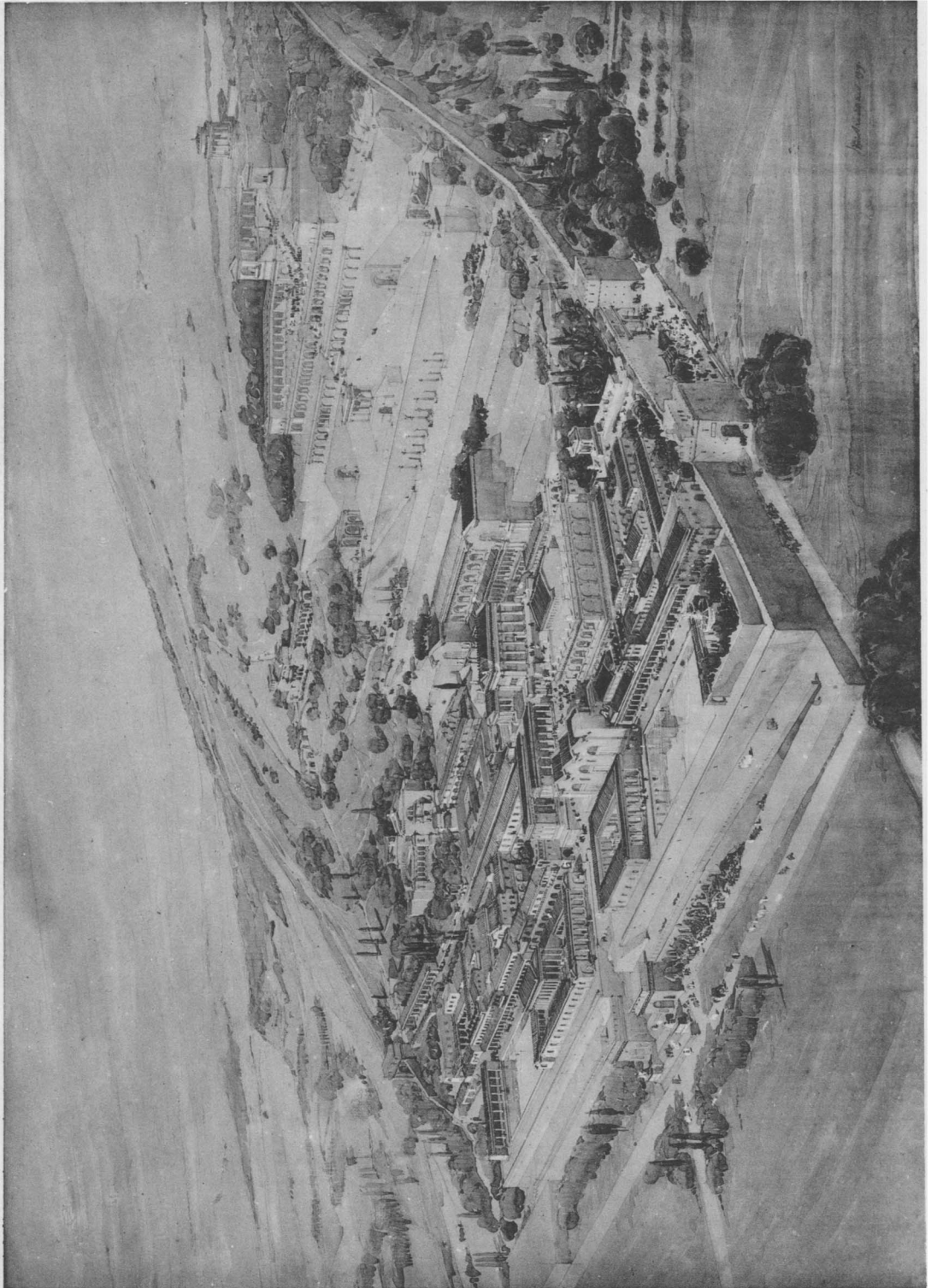




RESTORED

PRAENESTE

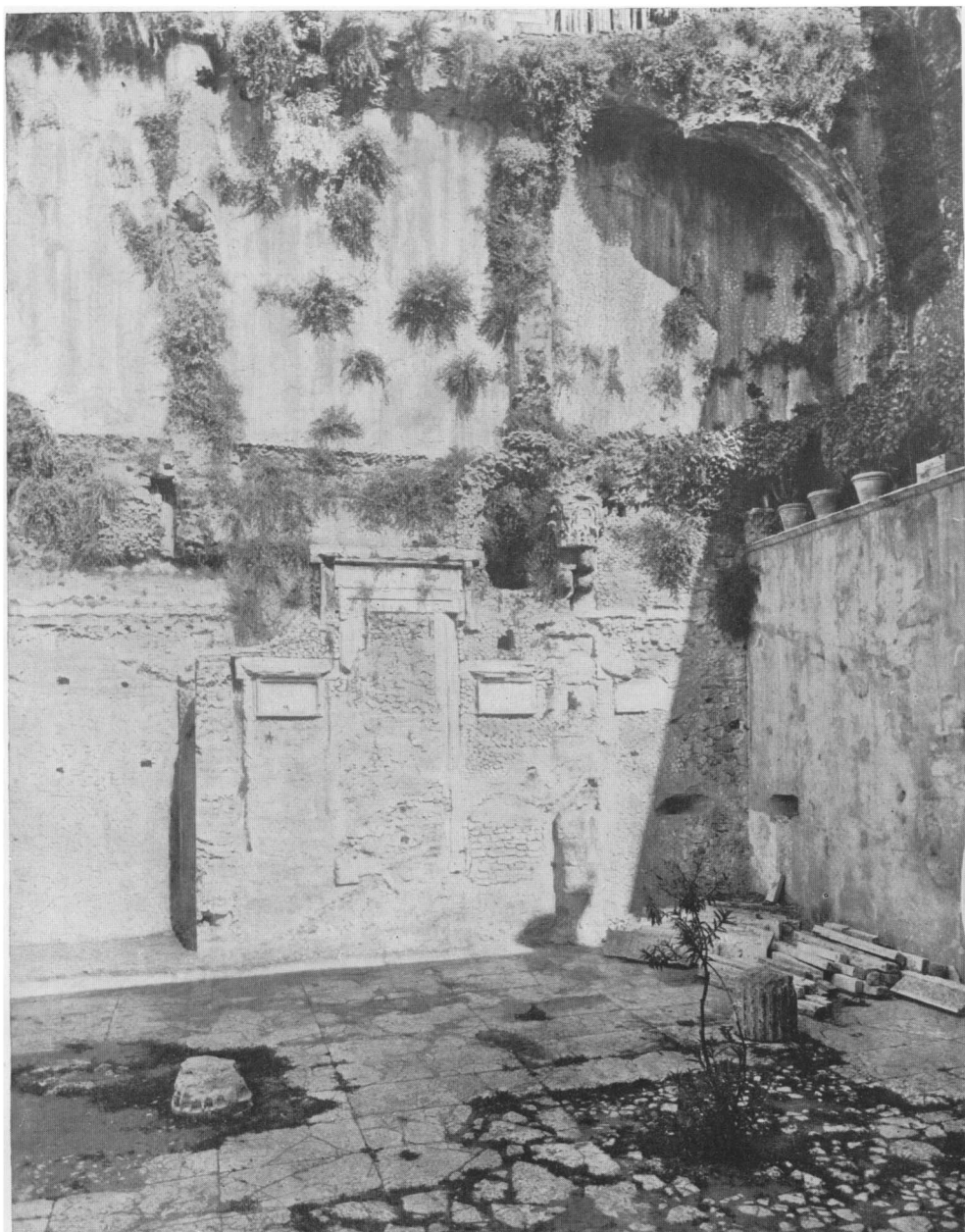
SECTION



GENERAL VIEW OF PRAENESTE RESTORED.



PRAENESTE: THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNE, NOW A SEMINARY



PRAENESTE: NORTH WALL OF SPACE BETWEEN GROTTOS SHOWING WINDOW
OPENINGS AND ARCHES



PRAENESTE: DETAIL OF ARCADE OF UPPER TEMPLE