

AENEAS IN THE TROAS AND LATIUM REGIONS

Mythology and Archaeology

“On the Steps of Aeneas: a common cultural heritage between Italy and Turkey” was funded by the European Union in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture.

The project, developed by the Aeneas Route Association, in partnership with the Sapienza University of Rome and the Municipality of Edremit (Türkiye), as part of the Common Cultural Heritage between the European Union and Turkey (IPA-II), constitutes one of the many international collaboration activities promoted and coordinated by the Association.

In the belief that culture plays a fundamental role in promoting dialogue and cooperation, it integrates two main objectives: the dialogue between civil society and institutions and the enhancement of a common European culture. The project activities include the creation of an interactive digital platform called ARISTE (Aeneas Route Information System for Tourism and Education) on the theme of the journey of the Trojan hero.

One of the main components of the project was the International Conference held in Edremit (Turkey) on October 26, 2021, “Aeneas in the Troad and Lazio: mythology and archeology”: the proceedings are published in this volume. The summary of the conference results will be also available in an informative form through the ARISTE platform for dissemination to a larger audience and to schools.



The Conference participants at Troy excavation

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(TR2016/DG/03/A2-03-EuropeAid/167523/ID/ACT/TR)
“On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage
Between Italy and Turkey”

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Mythology and Archaeology

edited by Sandra Gatti



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“On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage Between Italy and Türkiye”

Aeneas in the Troas and Latium Regions: Mythology and Archaeology

Proceedings of the International Symposium
Edremit, 26 October 2021

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AENEAS AND THE TROIAN TOPOGRAPHY OF LAVINIUM

Abstract

In the article, the "Trojan geography" of Lavinium is briefly outlined as defined by the comparison between the ancient sources and the results of the excavations and research conducted by the archaeological mission of the Sapienza University of Rome in the area of today's village of Pratica di Mare (Pomezia - Rome). These excavations have contributed to deepen the archaeological themes connected to the Trojan myth, but above all, they have returned the complex image of a Latin community, from its origins, to Romanization, up to the profound transformations of the imperial age.

Keywords: Lavinium, Sol Indiges, Numicus, Minerva.

The Virgilian epic of the landing of Aeneas in Lazio is only the latest and most celebrated elaboration of a series of strands of the myth-historical tradition relating to the origins of Rome¹. Between the Archaic age and the Middle Republican Age, these different traditions saw the involvement of several coastal towns in Lazio such as *Lavinium* and Ardea, with Etruscan contributions, in particular of *Veii*, and Greeks. Modern historiography has much debated between the "romanocentric" vision of the construction of the myth of the Trojan origins of *Lavinium* and the indigenous, independent aspiration, to the claim of a noble mythic origin, Greek or Trojan, by the different centres (fig. 1).

In this regard, there is no doubt that, beyond the multiple readings of the sources relating to the most ancient periods, the moment of the definitive crystallization of the myth of Aeneas as the founder of Lavinium is permeated with Roman interests.

¹ In the immense bibliography on the myth of Aeneas, see the original readings and elaborations of the recent one BETTINI, LENTANO 2013.



Fig. 1 - Lazio between the Orientalizing and the Archaic Periods (re-elaborated by QUILICI 1976)

This moment, which is crucial for the Roman religious history, and more generally for ancient Lazio, sees the Greek historians as leading players, who, in their work of myth-historical reconstruction of the Trojan diaspora, also highlight the geographical and environmental similarities between the Trojan landscape and that of the Latium coast, coming to assign to *Lavinium* the role of the ancestor city of the new lineage of Aeneas². In particular, a decisive role seems to have been played by the work of a Sicilian historian, Timaeus of Tauromenion, who was active around 300 BC³.

The narration of the events following the landing of Aeneas is based on a sort of Trojan geography of *Lavinium*, which has been defined more and more precisely from an archaeological point of view thanks to sixty years of research and excavations by Università di Roma la Sapienza at Pratica di Mare⁴. This undertaking, of course, has not only contributed to identifying and deepening the archaeological themes connected to the aspects of the Trojan myth, but also, above all, has returned the complex image of a Latin community, from its origins to Romanization, up to the profound transformations of the imperial age.

The Trojan topography of Lavinium is chronologically articulated as follows (fig. 2):

The city of *Lavinium*, the Trojan foundation;

The sanctuary of *Sol Indiges*, the place where Aeneas landed;

The sanctuary of Minerva, connected to the simulacrum of Palladium;

The temple of Vesta and the Penates, directly connected with the Penates of Rome;

The *Numicus* river, the place where the episode of Aeneas' disappearance is set during the battle with Mezentius;

The *Heroon* of Aeneas, tomb - cenotaph of the founder.

² For the relationship between the Trojan foundations of the West and the Trojan landscape it remains fundamental: MUSTI 1981.

³ For the identification of Lavinium with today's Pratica di Mare (Pomezia - Rome), the history of the studies including the first research on the ground and the reasoned analysis of ancient sources see CASTAGNOLI 1972. A bibliographic update on all the topics about Lavinium in FENELLI 1990.

⁴ A brief summary of the excavations of the archaeological mission *Lavinium* in JAIA 2017b.

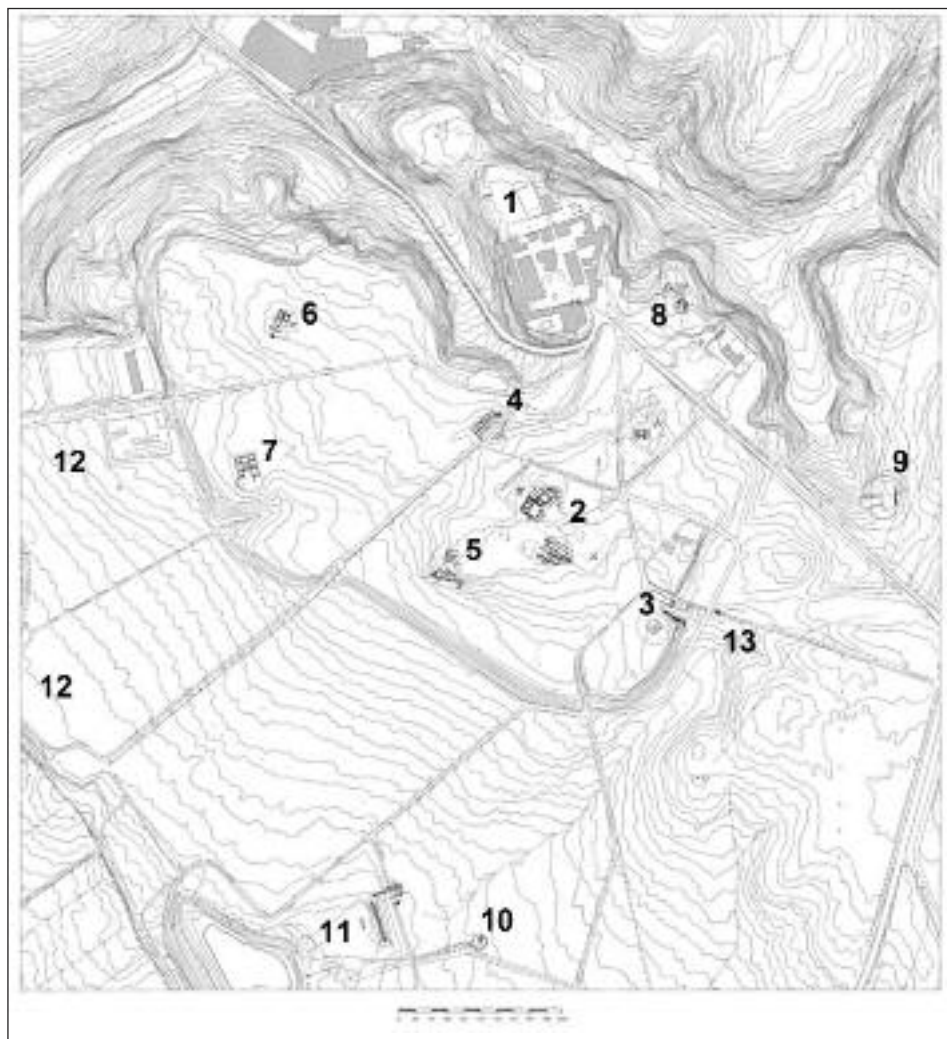


Fig. 2 - Lavinium. Main excavations in the urban area: 1. Acropolis; 2. Forum; 3. Gate to Ardea; 4. Seat of the College of Dendrophori; 5. Public baths; 6. Productive area; 7. Constantinian Baths; 8. The inhabited area of the Iron Age. Excavations in the suburbs: 9. Votive area of the Sanctuary of Minerva; 10. Heroon of Aeneas; 11. Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars.

With the exception of the temple of Vesta and the Penates, which has never been traced, all the other places have been identified and, in part, archaeologically investigated.

The *Sol Indiges* sanctuary

As it is known, the myth narrates that Aeneas and his companions, exhausted by hunger and thirst, landed on the coasts of Latium. Here, having even consumed the tables of bread on which the food was served, they were able to quench their thirst thanks to a miraculous event that caused a spring, rich in water, to flow from the ground. In the mythical tale, then follows the famous episode of Aeneas' attempt to sacrifice a sow as a token of thanks, which the Trojan hero will chase up to a height where he will finally succeed in his intent. Here he will establish *Lavinium*. Two altars will be dedicated on the landing site.

In 1965, based on the description of the places deduced from the sources, in particular from Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁵ and Strabo⁶, and following a short excavation campaign conducted in the coastal dunes of Torvaianica also on the basis of a note by Th. Ashby, F. Castagnoli identified *Locus Solis Indigetis*, the sanctuary near the historic port of Lavinium, indicated by sources as the place of the mythical landing of Aeneas in Latium⁷. The excavation was then systematically resumed in the years 2005-2012 (Fig. 3).

The sanctuary is located along the banks of a vast lagoon, now reclaimed, at the point where the waters found their way to the sea. In general, the description of the place of worship outlined by Dionysius of Halicarnassus reflects a common arrangement of several sanctuaries connected to the ports of Latium and Etruria (e.g., in Latium: *Castrum Inui*, port of Ardea; in Etruria: *Pyrgi*, port of Caere and, in part, *Gravisca* port of Tarquinia). These are places of exchange, with the possibility of water supply, open to foreigners, to whom the right of hospitality is guaranteed. The access to these areas will, since the Archaic age, be regulated by treaties, as it is well clarified in the first Roman - Carthaginian treaty. In particular, the description of Dionysius is undoubtedly related to the sanctuary of *Sol Indiges*.

Recent excavations have made it possible to identify the cult building in its remaking from the Middle Republican age. It is a temple probably of the peripterus sine postico type, surrounded by colonnades with the exception of the rear side. The identified variant is unique in its kind,

⁵ Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I, 53-56.

⁶ Strabo, 5, 3, 2.

⁷ CASTAGNOLI 1967. History of studies and bibliography in JAlA 2009a.

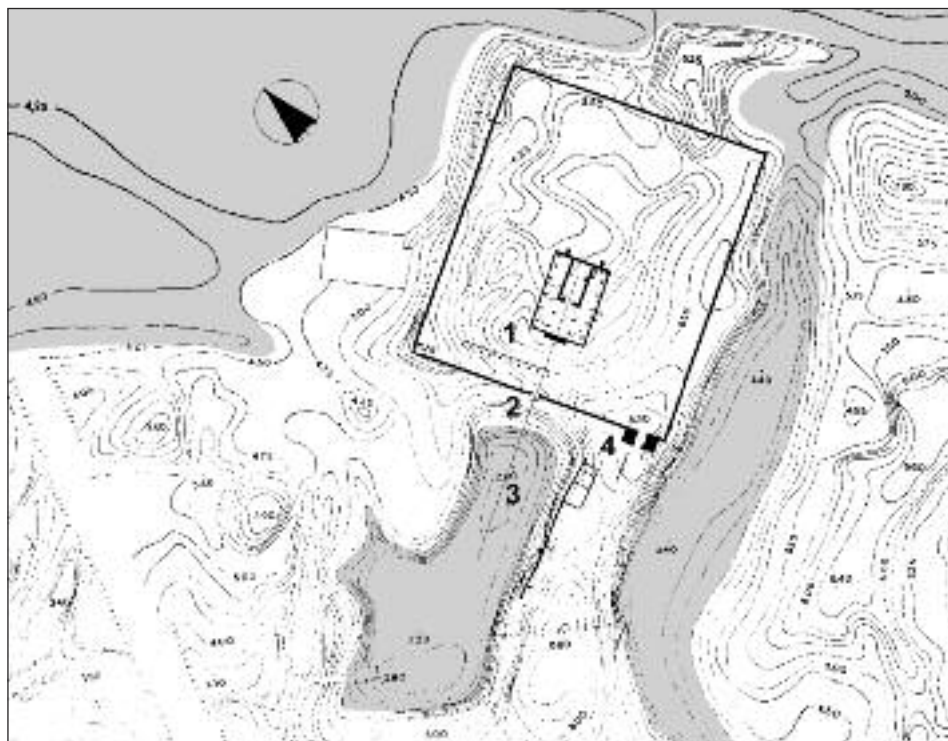


Fig. 3 - Sol Indiges Sanctuary: 1. Temple; 2. Pedestrian gate; 3. Source (hollow place sacred to the Sun); 4. Carriageable gate of the middle-republican wall circuit. The areas occupied by water (lagoon, river, source) are in grey

because two doors in correspondence with the side arcades had to open in the back wall, as demonstrated by the presence of two narrow stairs leaning against the rear of the podium⁸.

Earliest building phases of the temple, dating from the last twenty-five years of the sixth to the first half of the fifth century BC, are attested by a series of fragments relating to the terracotta decoration. Among these, many fragments of acroterial statues which preserve a rich polychromy (fig. 4)⁹.

Simultaneously with the rebuilding of the temple, dated to the second twenty-five years of the third century BC, the sanctuary was surrounded

⁸ JAIA 2009b, JAIA 2017a, 268-270.

⁹ JAIA 2011.

by a defensive wall circuit that enclosed a quadrangular area. This arrangement transformed the ancient place of worship located on the mythical place of Aeneas' landing into a fortress, intended to protect the port of the city from feared attacks by the sea, in particular by the Carthaginians. This is not an isolated operation, but a coordinated action in the broader project of building a defensive system that would block all accesses to the ports of Latium and Campania. This system includes the foundations of the first citizens colonies, the *coloniae maritimae*: Ostia, Antium (338

BC), Terracina (329 BC), Minturnae and Sinuessa (296 BC). These are flanked by Formia and Fundi (*civitas sine suffragio* in 334 BC) and Circeii, a *prisca* Latin colony. In particular, where the urban entity is not located on the sea but in the immediate hinterland, a new coastal foundation is not used but the fortification of the sanctuary located near the port (*Lavinium*, Ardea, probably Astura)¹⁰.

In the case of the Sanctuary of Sol Indiges, the problem arose of combining the defensive aspects with the practice of rituals linked to the primitive place of worship, identifiable in a large rectangular hollow (basin) placed in front of the temple, which should correspond to the source which miraculously appeared to the thirsty Trojans, the "hollow place" sacred to the Sun described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This hollow is located immediately in the west of the line of the walls and remains separate from the rest of the place of worship (fig. 3.3). The solution adopted was to open a monumental pedestrian door, aligned with the median of the temple, and to create a small arcaded square in the area in front of the

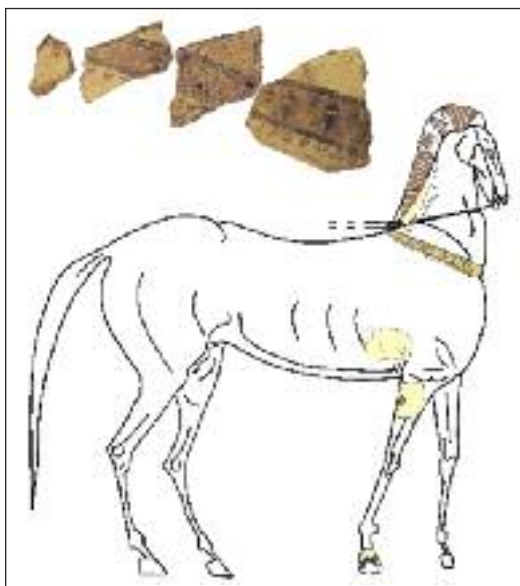


Fig. 4 - Sanctuary of Sol Indiges: Fragments of a horse statue in terracotta with preserved polychromy (end of the 6th century BC)

¹⁰ JAIA 2013 and JAIA, MOLINARI 2011.

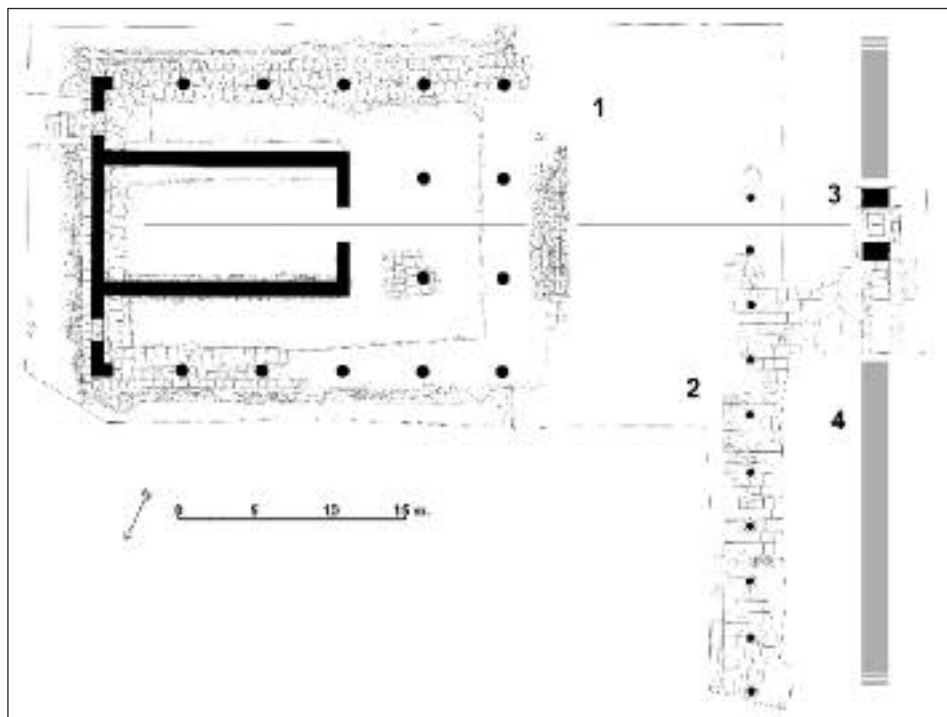


Fig. 5 - Sol Indiges Sanctuary: 1. Temple (periptero sine postico); 2. Portico of the square in front of the temple; 3. Pedestrian gate; 4. Defensive walls (second quarter of the third century BC)

building of worship (fig. 3.2 and fig. 5). In this way, the contact between the primitive place of worship and sanctuary was maintained, even in a narrowness of spaces that forced the gates to be opened on the back wall of the side porticos of the temple to allow the flow of the faithful¹¹.

Lavinium and the Numicus River

The identification of Lavinium with today's village of Pratica di Mare (Pomezia) is due to Pirro Ligorio in the second half of the sixteenth century, but only a century later, the centre appears precisely located in the Lazio Map by I. Mattei (1666). Subsequently, the area was the subject of explorations by the most important topography scholars of

¹¹ JAIA 2013.

Rome and Lazio: Antonio Nibby, Rodolfo Lanciani, Giuseppe Tomassetti, Thomas Ashby. The first explorations within the Borghese estate in Pratica di Mare were conducted in May 1955 by Ferdinando Castagnoli and Lucos Cozza. In 1957, excavations which brought to light the suburban Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars and the archaeological mission of the Institute of Ancient Topography of Sapienza in Lavinium began.

The scientific implications of the explorations conducted in the area of the city have been of great scientific importance and can only be partially summarized through this historical and topographical profile.

The oldest settlement was located in the area of the northern extension of the hill of the Borgo di Pratica di Mare, the so-called Little Acropolis, and it can be dated from an advanced phase of the Middle Bronze Age, with testimonies for the Recent Bronze Age and more widespread presences of the Late Bronze Age¹² (fig. 2.1). Thirteen burials identified below the levels of the forensic area probably refer to this first settlement (fig. 2.2). These are the cremation tombs dated between a middle phase (2-3) and the lowest end of the Late Bronze Age (phase 3)¹³.

The contemporaneity between the most recent tomb in the Forum and the oldest one in the southern extra-urban necropolis, the famous Tomb 21 with a hut-shaped urn and a miniaturized panoply of weapons, has led to the hypothesis that this is the moment in which a “proto-urban” reality is defined, in a very similar way to what seems to happen in the case of the large communities of southern Etruria (fig. 2. 12 and fig. 6)¹⁴.

The community of Lavinium develops during the Iron Age in a similar way to the other communities of archaic Latium. This is evidenced by the productive presences in the central area (furnaces of the VIII century BC), by a sector of the inhabited area formed by numerous huts of different typologies (IX-VII century BC) and by the first fortifications (late VIII-VII century BC) (fig. 2.8). The eastern necropolis is characterized by rich burials of the recent Orientalising (7th-early-6th century BC) (fig. 2.13).

¹² SOMMELLA 1969.

¹³ GUAITOLI 1995, 551-557; JAIA 2007.

¹⁴ GUIDI 2010.



Fig. 6 - Lavinium, western protohistoric necropolis. Panoply of the miniaturized weapons of Tomb 21 (10th century BC)

The first testimonies of places of worship appear, materialized in the typical miniaturist hand-crafted votive jars.

The archaic age, and in particular the second half of the sixth century, seems to mark the peak of the urban development of the city as an independent reality. On the Forum square (fig. 2.2), now defined as the central public area, and two articulated and complex structures are built, with a plinth in tuff blocks and elevation of the wall in half-timbered style, probably intended for non-residential use only (*atria publica*)¹⁵; in the eastern sector of the town, however, a building with a tiled roof replacing the huts. This area will soon be transformed into a defensive bastion following the construction of a new wall in tuff blocks. In the sanctuaries, the presence of abundant ceramics imported from Greece stands out. In the eastern necropolis, immediately outside the gateway to Ardea, a chamber tomb with a mound was built which would have a continuity of use until the fourth century BC (fig. 2.13). On the register of a large nikos-thenic amphora in bucchero, found in connection with the oldest burial in

¹⁵ For the forensic area of the city and more generally for the excavations in the urban area, see FENELLI 1984, FENELLI, GUAITOLI 1990 e FENELLI 1995.

the tomb, an inscription in Etruscan is engraved: *mini m[ulu] vanice mamar.ce: a.puniie* - given to me by Mamarce Apunie (Fig. 7)¹⁶. The same character is known from another identical inscription engraved on the handle of a bucchero vase, found in the sanctuary of Apollo di Portonaccio in Veii. This is a rare testimony of the complex intertwining of noble-type relationships between Lavinium, the other communities of Latium and Etruria in the age of the *Tarquinius*.

After this flourishing period, the city does not seem to stand up to comparison, especially economically, with the neighbours, more dynamic realities, especially between the second half of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. In fact, the Lavinium's statal structure, from a certain point of view, already presents some elements of weakness when the conflict between Rome and the Latin communities, which succumbed in 338 BC, develops. Entering the Roman orbit involves, at first, a rebirth of the city, although this probably comes at the cost of replacing the urban élite. The city becomes a municipality early. The walls are partly rebuilt and partly completed in the sections where the defences were previously natural¹⁷. As for the internal roads within the urban area, there are signs of rectification of the routes, a fact suggesting extensive renovations which also involve the definitive layout of the forensic area.¹⁸. The relocation to Lavinium and its territory of a large group of settlers or



Fig. 7 - Lavinium, eastern necropolis. Nikosthenic amphora in bucchero with Etruscan inscription (second quarter of the 6th century BC)

¹⁶ GUAITOLI 1995, 557-562.

¹⁷ JAIA 2016, 207-211.

¹⁸ JAIA 2016, 207.



Fig. 8 - Lavinium, forensic area. Architectural facing slab with the representation of Hercules with the Nemean lion (Augustan age)

citizens from the Roman area is evidenced in the sanctuaries and necropolises by the large amounts of black-glazed ceramic materials, even over-painted, of Roman production or inspiration. The type of votives is typical of the Republican middle age. The sanctuary of Sol Indiges, as we have seen, becomes a fortress, and the mound tomb identified with the Heroon of Aeneas is monumentalized.

This propulsive period ends around the second twenty-five years of the second century BC,

when the expansionist horizon of Rome has shifted from Italy to the Mediterranean. The archaeological evidence for the second and first centuries BC is scarce, particularly those relating to material culture. The ancient shrines of the city are abandoned. The only significant urban intervention is the reconstruction, in *opus incertum*, of the large temple that occupies the short northern side of the Forum. The urban history of Lavinium in the imperial age has yet to be written or, better said, something escapes in the definition of the real structure of the city. Lavinium remains a *municipium*; the forensic area is certainly the subject of interventions and renovations. In the Augustan age, the terracotta decoration of the temple of the Forum was replaced with the insertion of slabs from the cycle of the labours of Hercules (Fig. 8). Slabs made with the same matrix will form part of the new decoration of the temple of the coastal sanctuary of *Sol Indiges*¹⁹.

The colonnades that delineated the sides of the forensic square are from the late Flavian period. In the rooms on the western side of the forum, there is a sacellum probably dedicated to Isis and the seat of the imperial cult, the Caesareum, with portraits of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius (Fig. 9)²⁰.

¹⁹ FENELLI, JAIA 2007.

²⁰ FENELLI 2019.

The public baths of the Severian age are positioned to the north-west of the forum. To the north-east of the forensic area there is a rectangular building with an internal arcaded courtyard which was identified thanks to the relevant corpus of inscriptions found, with the seat of the college of Dendrophores²¹. However, the impression is that, apart from the central area,



Fig. 9 - Lavinium, forensic area. Portrait head of Augustus

the rest of the city does not see a continuity of consistent occupation with the previous urban design, but that the spaces are occupied by articulated private residences which are more similar to the many villas that characterize the landscape of the coastal Latium in this period.

However, the bond of *civitas religiosa* with Rome remains strong: the consuls will continue to sacrifice with the water of the Numicus river, identified by Ferdinando Castagnoli with the current Fosso di Pratica. The sanctuary of Sol Indiges, located on the site of the mythical landing of Aeneas, is still mentioned in the Liber Pontificalis with the toponym of *Digitus Solis*²².

The sanctuary of Minerva

One of the most relevant aspects of the exploration of Lavinium is that relating to places of cult²³. Among these, the extra-urban sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars and the unloading of votive material referable to a place

²¹ On the corpus of the inscriptions please see NONNIS 1999.

²² DUCHESNE 1886, 184: (under the pontificate of Sylvester 314-335 AD) “*possessiones omnes maritimas usque ad Digitum Solis, praest. sol. DCLV; possessio Grecorum, in the Ardeatine territory, praest. sol. LXXX*”. The indication does not relate to the Ostiensis area as for example Tomassetti believed, but indicates “*possessiones omnes*” of the Laurentian coastal territory “*up to*” *Digitum Solis*, clear decomposition for Sol Indiges, followed by possessions in the Ardea territory.

²³ For a discussion of the cults in *Lavinium* please see FENELLI 1989-1990.



Fig. 10 - Lavinium, Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars (VI-III century BC)

of worship, not localized, relating to Minerva, play a prominent place in the history of the archaeology of the sacred²⁴.

The sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars is located along the road that led from the city to the coastal lagoon and its physiognomy is unique in the panorama of places of worship in central Italy. A series of altars, facing east is placed on a single alignment, the number of which was enlarged up to a total of twelve working at the same time (Fig. 10). The religious activity is attested from the mid-sixth to the entire third century BC; immediately north-east of the altars was a support building for worship practices, with evidence of productive activities consisting of kilns and concentrations of weights for frames²⁵.

The identification of the titular divinity of the sanctuary is much discussed: the Aphrodisium, common sanctuary of the Latins known from the sources (Alföldi²⁶, Torelli²⁷ etc.) or the sanctuary of Indiges, a local

²⁴ In-depth reflections on some aspects of the archaic Latin religion, based on the sacred contexts purified in TORELLI 1984.

²⁵ For the excavation of the sanctuary see CASTAGNOLI *et alii* 1975 and GIULIANI 1981.

²⁶ ALFÖLDI 1965.

²⁷ TORELLI 1984, 157-173.



Fig. 11 - Lavinium. Sanctuary of Minerva: statue of a young offerer (third quarter of the 5th century BC)



Fig. 12 - Lavinium. Sanctuary of Minerva: statue of an adult "capite velato" (late 4th century BC)

primordial divinity, in connection with the nearby necropolis areas and with the *Heroon* of Aeneas²⁸.

In 1977, a periodic inspection carried out in an area where a brief excavation test had been conducted in 1960 at a building with materials attributable to a cult area led to the discovery, in an extra-urban sector, of the votive area of the sanctuary of Minerva.

The presence of a worship of Minerva in *Lavinium* materializes the tradition of Palladium saved by Aeneas together with the Trojan Penates. However, from an archaeological point of view, the extraordinary element of the complex is represented by the main core of the votive area, consisting of more than one hundred terracotta statues, mostly donors, dating back to between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC (Figs. 11-12). The large statue of Minerva *Ilias*, currently exhibited with the other materials

²⁸ Zevi 1993.



Fig. 13 - Lavinium. Sanctuary of Minerva: statue of Athena Iliàs with reproductions in terracotta and plaster (first half of the 5th century BC)

in the Civic Archaeological Museum *Lavinium* in Pomezia, probably constitutes the cult statue (Fig. 13)²⁹.

It is the largest complex of terracotta statues found in Italy. The study and reconstruction of this deposit is still in progress, but the ideas for research are really infinite: the manufacturing technique, the chronological stylistic seriation of the statues, the correlations between the different shops, the type of jewels, the hairstyles, footwear, etc.

The Heroon of Aeneas

In 1967-1968, in an area not far from the Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars, the tumulus tomb identified by Paolo Sommella with the *Heroon* of Aeneas, cenotaph of the founding hero, was unearthed. This is a unique find of its kind due to the particularity of the phases identified³⁰. The actual and typical burial is made up of a large square pit with, in the centre, a box made up of slabs of friable tuff. The tomb, datable to around the middle of the 7th century BC, is covered by a mound. It is a typical tomb of princely rank from the Orientalizing period, with dozens of vases, andirons, pikes and elements of an iron chariot, bronze weapons, etc. (Fig. 14).

In the first half of the sixth century BC, the burial was reopened and some bucchero vases were placed inside. At the end of the IV - beginning of the III century BC, when *Lavinium* had already entered the Roman orbit, the mound was monumentalized with the insertion of a tuff door, preceded by a mixed entrance floor delimited by tuff blocks. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 64, 4-5) reports that he saw a tumulus in *Lavinium*, crowned by trees, on which there was an inscription dedicated to the Pater Indiges, which was believed to be the tomb of Aeneas (Fig. 15).

The identification of the mound with the tomb that was pointed out to Dionysius of Halicarnassus as that of Aeneas is discussed; however, those who rejected this interpretation have not, so far, provided a convincing

²⁹ For the sanctuary of Minerva see FENELLI *et alii* 1981, FENELLI 1989-1990 and FENELLI 2012.

³⁰ On the excavation of the tumulus tomb and the identification of Aeneas' Heroon, see SOMMELLA 1971-72 and SOMMELLA 1974.



Fig. 14 - Lavinium. Heroon of Aeneas (mid-7th - late 4th century BC)

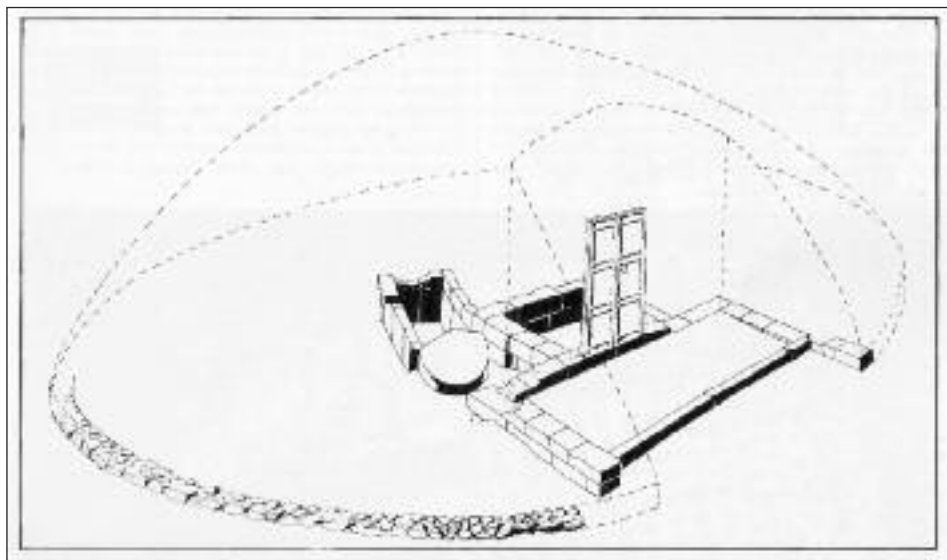


Fig. 15 - Lavinium. Heroon of Aeneas. Reconstructive hypothesis of the mound at the end of the 4th century BC

critical reading of the unusual phases of reopening and, subsequently, of monumentalizing the deposition.

Among those who recognize the burial as the *Heroon* of Aeneas, however, the dynamics by which the identification of the person buried during the Orientalizing age (a prince or king in flesh and blood) with Aeneas was much discussed (a divinized semi-human) and with the *Pater Indiges* (a divinity), because this operation appears scarcely consistent with the Latin religious tradition between the sixth and fourth centuries BC.

For some scholars, this process can only be justified if it presupposes the collective removal of the identity of the person really buried in the tomb, first as a function of identification with Aeneas, who must have maintained, at least in part, human characters, and with subsequent assimilation of the deceased to the progenitor *Indiges* (Castagnoli, Sommella).

On the other hand, the chronological series of events (reopening and subsequent monumentalization) seem to set precisely the stages of a completely new process within the Latin world: in a first phase (6th century), after an examination one would say “autoptic “ of the burial (Torelli), an eminent citizen personality,” a founder “, to be understood in a general sense as an architect of urban unity (one can think, for example, of the builder of the first walls), is identified, about a century after his death, with the most important supernatural entity of the Lavinates, the *Pater Indiges*, the ancestor Father. In a second phase, probably immediately after the Roman conquest, the recognition of the founder of *Lavinium* in the figure of Aeneas by Rome through the mediation, in particular of the Greek historians, allows to attribute to the Trojan hero the idolized burial of the founder - Indiges.

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