

the tradition that the dual consulship went back to the beginning of the Republic.

APPENDIX: A NOTE ON THE REGIA

Much attention has recently been focused on the Regia, the building in the Forum that was first excavated in the late nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Its earliest levels were subsequently explored in a brief campaign by the American Academy in Rome in the mid-1960s. The results of these soundings have never been fully published, but the main findings have been outlined in two important papers by the leader of the American team, the late Frank E. Brown.⁸⁷ These reports have strongly influenced recent discussions of the origins of the Republic,⁸⁸ and for that reason some account of them is necessary, although I have consigned it to an appendix because in my opinion the evidence currently available does not prove anything either way.

The American excavations revealed that the republican Regia was preceded by a series of earlier buildings on the same site, going back to the late seventh century BC. In his first published account (1967) Brown suggested that the earlier phases formed a temple complex, which went through several phases of rebuilding. But at the end of the sixth century this complex was destroyed by fire, and replaced by a wholly new type of building, the Regia. These data, in Brown's opinion, confirmed the traditional account, because they seemed to show that the republican Regia originated around 500 BC as a purpose-built structure for a newly created official, the *rex sacrorum*.

In 1974, however, Brown changed his mind. According to his revised version, the republican Regia was only the latest (in fact the fifth) of a series of similar buildings on the same site; the first Regia was now dated to c. 625 BC. It is true that the earlier structures differed from one another in their ground plans, and that the fifth Regia (of c. 500 BC) was a new design which then remained unchanged until the Principate, in spite of successive reconstructions. This architectural sclerosis (as it has been called) may indicate that there was something especially significant about the rebuilding at the end of the sixth century, and that the new plan in some way symbolised the introduction of a new, republican, *rex sacrorum*;⁸⁹ but this is a very weak argument, with none of the force of Brown's original reasoning.

Brown himself (in his second article) regarded the earlier buildings as precursors of the republican Regia, since all of them had the same basic elements – two small rooms connected by a vestibule and facing on to a colonnaded courtyard of irregular shape. He deduced from this that the building must have had the same function from the beginning, and that it cannot have been a residence at any stage of its history. The republican Regia was not a house but a sacred building containing shrines of Mars and Ops Consiva (probably to be identified with the two rooms in the excavated building). In the late Republic the *pontifex maximus* was the occupant of the

