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An exhibition of the Q-Kolleg

at the Winckelmann-Institut
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

in cooperation with
Dipartimento Scienza dell` Antichitá
Sapienza-Università di Roma

19/06/2019 – 31/12/2019

Edited by Jessica Bartz

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On the cover: Groundplan of the Casa di Menandro in Pompei and map of the Forum Romanum in Rome

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Content

Grußwort

Prof. Dr. Susanne Muth

Forschendes Lernen – und das zugleich in einem internationalen Dialog: dies bildet ein Angebot in der aktuellen universitären Ausbildung, das nicht hoch genug zu schätzen ist. Seit 2012 können Studierenden der Klassischen Archäologie an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin diese einmalige Chance nutzen – in Form von internationalen studentischen Forschungsteams, sogenannten ‚Q-Kollegs', die für 1 Jahr gemeinsam zu einem übergreifenden archäologischen Thema forschen und dabei eigene Forschungsprojekte realisieren. Diese Chance, die die Studierende der Klassischen Archäologie an der Humboldt-Universität in den Dialog zunächst von 2012 bis 2016 mit Studierenden des Department of Classics der University of Nottingham und seit 2016 mit Studierenden des Dipartimento Scienza dell'Antichitá der Sapienza-Università di Roma bringt, ist einem ganz einzigartigen Programm des bologna.labs der HU Berlin zu verdanken, welches Freiräume für selbstbestimmtes und forschungsorientiertes Lernen ermöglicht und fördert.

Das Ziel dieser Q-Kollegs ist ein anspruchsvolles: Die Fellows ‚sollen', respektive ‚dürfen' eigenständig und zugleich in Eigenverantwortung eigene Forschungsthemen suchen, diese nach wissenschaftlichem Standard bearbeiten und sie schließlich auch publizieren, um sie damit einer öffentlichen und kritischen Überprüfung zu unterbreiten. Gleichzeitig haben die Fellows die Chance, im internationalen Austausch ihre Forschung in einer ‚fremden Sprache' zu präsentieren – wobei dabei nicht nur vordergründig das reine Sprechen in einer Fremdsprache gemeint ist, sondern auch und noch

mehr, das inhaltliche Denken und argumentative Diskutieren in einer anderen, strukturell und traditionell fremdartig funktionierenden *Wissens*sprache zu erproben: Besser und nachhaltiger kann es nicht gelingen, mit Neugierde und sensibler Offenheit den Gewinn im internationalen Dialog zu erkennen und die eigene Forschungsposition kritisch zu hinterfragen, ihre Stärken und Schwächen zu analysieren und sie schließlich vertreten bzw. modifizieren zu können. Kurzum: es sind wichtige Ideale und Ziele im wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten und Forschen, die dank des Q-Kollegs gefördert, trainiert und weiterentwickelt werden können.

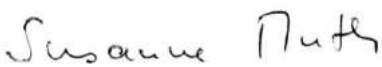
Die Ausstellung, deren Begleitband hier vorgelegt wird, ist der beste Beweis für die einzigartige Chance und den kaum zu bemessenden Gewinn, den das Q-Kolleg seinen Fellows eröffnet. Am Beispiel des Themas „Öffentliche Räume im Römischen Reich / Spazi pubblici dell´impero romano" haben Studierende der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin und der Sapienza-Università di Roma aus verschiedenen Perspektiven die Frage nach einer angemessenen Definition der verschiedenen Qualitäten städtischer Räume im antiken Rom diskutiert. Seit 2016 lag der Fokus des Q-Kollegs auf der römischen Stadt, zunächst mit Konzentration auf die sogenannten öffentlichen Räume, im 2. Jahr dann ausgeweitet auf den Vergleich von öffentlichen und nicht-öffentlichen, d.h. ‚privaten' Räumen. Die Gegenüberstellung der Termini ‚öffentlich' versus ‚privat' bei der Analyse des römischen Stadtraumes erweist sich dabei als hochgradig problematisch, da sie in der damit implizierten schlichten Polarität kaum den komplexen Phänomenen der antiken römischen Kultur gerecht wird. Doch auch im Wissen, dass sich im antiken Rom die verschiedenen Formen sozialer Interaktionen eher graduell in ihrer öffentlichen bzw. nicht-öffentlichen Qualität abstufen und somit mit Hilfe polarisierender Kriterien kaum auf allen bewertenden Ebenen erfasst werden können, tut sich die archäologische bzw. überhaupt die altertumswissenschaftliche Forschungsdiskussion weiterhin nicht leicht, für die Umschreibung und Bewertung der verschiedenen kulturel-

len Praktiken und Orte eine angemessene Terminologie zu finden. Und die sprachlichen und inhaltlich-strukturellen Unterschiede, mit denen die verschiedenen Wissenschaftsnationen und –traditionen dem Problem begegnen, trägt bislang ebenfalls wenig zu Klärung dieser Fragen im internationalen Dialog bei. Umso begrüßenswerter ist es somit, dass sich der jüngste Fellow-Jahrgang des Q-Kollegs dieser anspruchsvollen Diskussion gestellt hat und aus seiner Perspektive Überlegungen und Vorschläge zur Markierung sowie Lösung dieses Problems diskutiert.

Die Veröffentlichung der von den Fellows verfolgten Forschungsfragen und erarbeiteten Forschungsergebnisse erfolgt in der begrüßenswerten Kombination von schriftlicher Publikation und Ausstellungs-Präsentation – und damit in einer besonders herausfordernden und zugleich wertvollen Form, neues Wissen dem wissenschaftlichen und öffentlichen Dialog zur Diskussion zu stellen. Diese doppelte Form der Publikation zu realisieren, bildet eine ebenfalls wichtige Erfahrung, den die Fellows des Q-Kollegs hierbei gewinnen konnten. Ermöglicht werden kann dies alles freilich nur unter sorgfältiger und umsichtiger Begleitung. Hier ist vor allem Jessica Bartz M.A. als Koordinatorin auf Berliner Seite zu nennen: Sie hat das übergeordnete Thema für den Fellow-Jahrgang ausgewählt, die Fellows in ihrer Forschungsarbeit engagiert und zugleich einfühlsam begleitet sowie gefördert – und schließlich auch mit großem und bewundernswertem Einsatz bei der Realisierung der Ausstellung sowie des Begleitbandes unterstützt. Ihr gilt daher mein ganz besonderer und tiefer Dank. Ebenfalls möchte ich aufrichtig unseren Kooperationspartnern der Sapienza-Università danken, die sich auf das Wagnis des Q-Kollegs mit uns eingelassen haben: meinem hoch geschätzten Kollegen Prof. Dr. Marco Galli, der die Realisierung dieses gemeinsamen Q-Kollegs immer mit großer Begeisterung und Engagement von römischer Seite begleitet hat, sowie Chiara Tesserin, welche dankenswerterweise die Organisation der Fellowarbeit auf römischer Seite übernommen und in Rom die Fellows umsichtig

begleitet hat. Ein tiefer und aufrichtiger Dank gilt auch dem bologna. lab der Humboldt-Universität, namentlich Dr. Wolfgang Deicke, Dr. Monika Sonntag und Laura Schilow, die überhaupt die Möglichkeit dieser einzigartigen Form des ‚Forschenden Lernens' im internationalen Kontext eröffnet und die Aktivitäten des Winckelmann-Instituts immer engagiert und großzügig unterstützt haben.
Dank und zugleich Gratulation – beides aus ganzen Herzen – möchte ich schließlich den Hauptakteuren dieser Ausstellung sagen: den Berliner und römischen Fellows David Andreas, Konstantinos Bilias, Giulia Moretti Cursi, Elena Scricciolo, Francesca Grigolo, Luca Masciale, Karina Pawlow, Tim Renkert, Patrick Rieger und Francesca Russo. Sie haben ihre Forschungsarbeit zu einem glanzvollen und bewunderungswürdigen Abschluss getragen und verdienen hierfür große Anerkennung!
Der Ausstellung „public | private. Eine studentische Ausstellung des Q-Kollegs am Winckelmann-Institut" wünsche ich nun allen erdenklichen Erfolg, viele interessierte Besucher sowie ein positives und anerkennendes Feedback! Und allen Besuchern der Ausstellung und Lesern dieses Begleitbandes viel Spaß und gewinnvolle Anregungen!

Prof. Dr. Susanne Muth Berlin, 26. Mai 2019



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Grußwort

Prof. Dr. Marco Galli

Q-KOLLEG 2016-2018: un bilancio

Negli anni accademici 2016-17 e 2017-2018 si sono svolti tra il **Winckelmann-Institut della Humboldt Universität di Berlino** e il **Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità di Sapienza Università di Roma** due cicli del progetto Q-Kolleg incentrato sul tema di "**Öffentliche Räume im Römischen Reich / Spazi pubblici nell'impero romano".** L'iniziativa parte dall'invito della collega Susanne Muth, che ringrazio per questa straordinaria opportunità e occasione di confronto e di discussioni; tutto il lavoro è stato coordinato nelle diverse fasi dal Jessica Bartz, Chiara Tesserin, Simone Mulattieri, a cui va il nostro sincero ringraziamento. È stata una straordinaria occasione di scambio e di confronto reciproco di esperienze, di idee, di metodi ma anche di crescita personale e non solo scientifica. I nostri due istituti di Berlino e Roma hanno per questa finalità stretto nel 2016 una "Convenzione per la promozione di progetti scientifici e attività didattico-formativa in ambito archeologico". I temi affrontati nei due anni sono stati molti, tutti stimolanti e ricchi di spunti per ulteriori ricerche e approfondimenti; la preparazione dei lavori, la raccolta dei materiali e, infine, la visita ai luoghi indagati, sia a Roma che a Pompei, hanno coinvolto tutti i partecipanti al di là dello studio comportando un impegno notevole. La mostra che ha ora luogo presso il Winckelmann Institut riflette solo una parte di questa straordinaria esperienza, che certamente porterà i suoi frutti anche in futuro. Vorremmo ringraziare anche gli amici e i colleghi che hanno generosamente contribuito al successo

dell'iniziativa dando la loro disponibilità ad accompagnarci nei siti archeologici, nei musei e offrendo lezioni e seminari. A Alessandro D'Alessio e Patrizia Fortini (Parco Archeologico del Colosseo, Foro Romano e Palatino) Lucrezia Ungaro (Soprintendenza Archeologica Capitolina) Paolo Carafa (Sapienza) Heinz Beste e Stephan Freyberger (DAI Rom), Thomas Frolich che ha permesso l'accesso alla Biblioteca del DAI durante il periodo del Q Kolleg a tutti i partecipanti, a tutti loro va il nostro più sentito ringraziamento.

Prof. Dr. Marco Galli Roma, 20 maggio 2019

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Vorwort

Jessica Bartz

Willkommen in der Ausstellung „public | private. Eine studentische Ausstellung des Q-Kollegs am Winckelmann-Institut“! Diese Ausstellung, welche am 19.06.2019 eröffnet wurde und voraussichtlich bis zum 31.12.2019 in den Sammlungsräumen des Winckelmann-Instituts der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin zu sehen sein wird, ist ein Gemeinschaftsprojekt zwischen der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin und dem Dipartimento Scienza dell` Antichitá der Sapienza-Università di Roma.
Ihr Ziel ist es, bei Ihnen, den Besucher*innen, die Frage aufzuwerfen, was ein öffentlicher und was ein privater Raum eigentlich ist. Diese Frage mag auf den ersten Blick banal und vielleicht auch unnötig erscheinen. Lässt man sich auf diese Fragestellung allerdings ein, so wird einem schnell bewusst, wie schwierig eine klare Antwort ist - betrachtet man Aspekte, wie rechtliche Besitzverhältnisse, den Nutzungsanspruch bestimmter Personengruppen, die Funktionen hinsichtlich der Gemeinschaft, die Zugänglichkeit usw. Betrachtet man verschiedene Kontexte der römischen Antike, so stellen wir überall fest, dass es diese Dichotomie in der Definition von Räumen kaum gibt, da jeder antike Raum Aspekte des Privaten sowie des Öffentlichen enthält (paper 01). Betrachten wir z.B. Atriumshäuser: Im Gegensatz zu unserem heutigen Wohnverständnis sind diese durchaus als Räume mit besonderer öffentlicher Relevanz zu begreifen, in denen der Hausherr (*patronus*) seine Bittsteller (*clientes*) oder noch wichtiger seine Gäste zum Gelage (*symposium*) eingeladen hat. Andernfalls ist wohl kaum der Ausstattungsluxus zu erklären, der sich in den vor allem aristokratischen Wohnanlagen manifestiert - etwa in den großen Villenanalgen nahe Roms (*horti*, paper 06), in der

Anlage von kleineren Badeanlagen innerhalb eines Wohnhauses (*balnea*, paper 07) oder eng damit verbunden in der prächtigen Ausgestaltung gar von Latrinen (paper 08). Auch gibt es vor allem an Fourmsanlagen das Phänomen, das Atriumshäuser sukzessiv mit öffentlichen, administrativen oder religiösen Funktionen besetzt oder gar in der Folgebebauung durch entsprechende öffentliche Funktionsbauten, wie den Basiliken, ersetzt wurden und damit wohl keine „privaten" Wohnhäuser darstellten, sondern „öffentliche" *atria* waren (paper 03). Das Forum Romanum stellt in diesem Zusammenhang ein besonders spannendes Areal dar, als wichtigstes öffentliches Zentrum der Stadt und Mittelpunkt des Römischen Reiches. Aber auch hier lassen sich verschiedene, ganz persönliche und private Bedürfnisse der Nutzer*innen, wie die Selbstdarstellung im öffentlichen Kontext, greifen (paper 02). Angrenzend an das Forum Romanum und die Kaiserfora befindet sich die *subura*, die eben je nach Veränderung in der Ausgestaltung der großen Platzanlagen, aber auch in der unterschiedlichen Wahrnehmung von Räumen je nach Zeitgeist aus den antiken Quellen unterschiedlich zu bewerten ist (paper 05). Ein interessantes Beispiel für den Übergang vom Privaten zum Öffentlichen sind auch für die *subura* nachzuweisende Altäre für die Laren (*lares compitalis*), ein Kult, der ursprünglich dezidiert zum Haus gehörte, aber vor allem ab augusteischer Zeit in den öffentlichen Bereich der Straßen transferiert wurde – quasi als Hauskult der öffentlichen Gemeinschaft, eng verbunden mit dem Kaiserhaus, dem *patronus* des römischen Volkes (paper 04). Dieses Spiel im Changieren der antiken Räume zwischen öffentlich und privat ist auch in seiner Rezeption interessant. Hier zeigen die inszenierten Räume in Antikenfilmen ein eigenes Spiel in der Umsetzung der Räume, wobei neben dem eigentlichen schwierigen Verständnis hinsichtlich der antiken Räume noch Unschärfen durch die eigene Wahrnehmung von Räumen aus den Zeiten, in denen die Filme entstanden sind, hinzukommen (paper 09). Die Ausstellung ist so konzipiert, dass in drei wichtigen topographischen Räumen - Forumsanlagen,

Subura und Wohnhäuser - verschiedene Funktionen und Teilräume auf ihre öffentlichen und privaten Aspekte hin befragt werden können. Auch wenn die Ausstellung keine klaren Antworten liefern kann, so gelingt es ihr hoffentlich den Diskurs dieser Fragestellung in der bisherigen Forschung zu hinterfragen sowie die Reflexion in der eigenen Wahrnehmung neu in Gang zu setzen.

Die Publikation, die die Ausstellung begleitet und die Sie gerade in den Händen halten, soll die in der Ausstellung gezeigten Inhalte vertiefen, aber auch den teilnehmenden Fellows die Möglichkeit geben, erste Erfahrungen mit einer so wichtigen Form der Präsentation von Forschungsergebnissen, nämlich der eigenen Publikation, zu sammeln. Dies ist eines der wichtigsten Ziele des Q-Kollegs, das dezidiert Forschung und Lehre eng miteinander verschränkt.

Bei dem Q-Kolleg handelt es sich um ein internationales, studentisches Austauschprojekt. Innerhalb eines bestimmten Themengebiets arbeiten Fellows zweier internaitionaler Partnerinstitute für je zwei Semester gemeinsam an eigenen Forschungsprojekten. Die Kommunikation und gemeinsame Diskussion erfolgt die meiste Zeit über aufgrund der Distanz digital, z.B. durch Videokonferenzen. Den Fellows werden darüber hinaus Reisemittel für einen persönlichen Besuch des Partnerinstituts zur Verfügung gestellt, um den Hochschulort besser kennen zu lernen, aber auch um die gemeinsame Forschungsarbeit zu stärken.

Das erste an der HU Berlin realisierte Q-Kolleg wurde ab Februar 2012 als Kooperation zwischen dem Winckelmann-Institut für Klassische Archäologie und dem Department of Classics der University of Nottingham durchgeführt. Betreut wurden diese auf Nottinghamer Seite von Prof. Dr. Katharina Lorenz und Dr. Will Leveritt sowie auf Berliner Seite von Prof. Dr. Susanne Muth, Dr. Christoph Klose, Dr. Arne Reinhardt und zuletzt Jessica Bartz. Seit dem WiSe 2016/17 ist als neue Partneruniversität das Dipartimento Scienza dell` Antichitá der Sapienza-Universitá di Roma hinzugekommen, betreut durch Prof. Dr. Marco Galli, Prof. Dr. Susanne Muth, Simone Mulattieri (1. Kollegjahr), Chiara Tesserin

(2. Kollegjahr) und Jessica Bartz (1.-2. Kollegjahr). Dieses Q-Kolleg befasst sich thematisch mit „Öffentliche Räumen im Römischen Reich / Spazi pubblici dell´impero romano“. Der öffentliche Raum in der Stadt Rom, aber auch in wichtigen römischen Städten Italiens, wie Ostia und Pompeji, wurde dabei vorrangig in den Blick genommen und auf seine historische, pragmatische, funktionale, politische sowie repräsentative Funktion hin untersucht. In den internationalen Arbeitsgruppen wurde dabei multilingual (deutsch, englisch, italienisch) an den verschiedenen, eigens erarbeiteten Unterprojekten gearbeitet. Am 11. Juli 2017 wurden die Ergebnisse des ersten Q-Kollegs mit Rom in der gemeinsamen Konferenz „Public Spaces of the Roman Empire“ an der HU Berlin einem öffentlichen Publikum präsentiert. Für die Veröffentlichung der Ergebnisse des zweiten Q-Kollegjahres mit Rom wurde eine gemeinsame Ausstellung realisiert, die nun ab Juni 2019 am Winckelmann-Institut gezeigt wird. Diese fungiert quasi als Abschluss des zweiten Kollegjahres, aber auch als Abschluss der gemeinsamen, in vielerlei Hinsicht fruchtbaren Zusammenarbeit mit unseren italienischen Kolleg*innen.

Allen voran möchten wir dem bologna.lab danken, das neben der finanziellen Unterstützung in der Realisierung der Ausstellung und Finanzierung des Drucks überhaupt Q-Kollegs an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin ermöglicht. Hierbei sind Dr. Wolfgang Deicke, Dr. Monika Sonntag und Laura Schilow zu nennen, die durch ihr Engagement „Forschendes Lernen“ als zentrales Anliegen in der Lehre der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin durch verschiedene Formate, von denen Q-Kollegs nur ein Beispiel ist, verankern und so einen wichtigen Beitrag in der wissenschaftlichen Ausbildung angehender Wissenschaftler*innen leisten. Für die Übernahme der Reisekosten, ohne die die gegenseitigen Besuche und die Festigung der Partnerschaft beider Universitäten nicht möglich gewesen wären, danken wir auf Seiten der Sapienza dem ehemaligen Direktor des Dipartimento Scienza dell` Antichitá, Prof. Dr. Enzo Lippolis†, sowie auf Seiten der HU Berlin dem bologna.lab sowie dem Internatio-

nal Office, hier namentlich Petra Frank. Eine der wichtigsten Danksagungen gilt Prof. Dr. Susanne Muth, Projektleiterin des Q-Kollegs am Winckelmann-Institut, für ihre stetige Hilfestellung bei der inhaltlichen Ausrichtung des Q-Kollegs und für das Vertrauen sowie die Freiräume, die Inhalte in eigener Regie verantwortungsvoll umsetzen zu können. Auch danken wir herzlich Herrn Prof. Dr. Marco Galli, der mit viel Geduld und Engagement beide Kollegs auf italienischer Seite betreut hat, im zweiten Jahr dabei durch Chiara Tesserin unterstützt wurde. Auch ihr möchten wir danken, vor allem für die Organisation des Besuches der Fellows in Rom im März 2018. Dr. Agnes Henning gilt unser aufrichtiger Dank für die Begleitung in der Konzeption der Ausstellung, deren Ratschläge stets eine Bereicherung darstellten. Dem Projekt "digitales forum romanum" verdanken wir die Möglichkeit, ein wissenschaftlich fundiertes Modell des Forums in der Ausstellung zu zeigen. Prof. Dr. Lorenz Winkler-Horacek möchten wir für die Leihgabe der Repliken von Laren aus der Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der Freien Universität Berlin danken. Wir danken zudem Prof. Dr. Bernhard Weisser, Leiter des Münzkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, für die Überlassung der Bildrechte verschiedener Münzen in diesem Band sowie Dr. Francesca de Caprariis für die Möglichkeit, die *Forma Urbis Romae* in angemessener Form in der Ausstellung zu präsentieren. Der Unidruckerei möchten wir danken, so kompetent und zuverlässig den Druck dieses Begleitbandes übernommen zu haben.
Mein ganz persönlicher, letzter Dank gilt den teilnehmenden Studierenden, namentlich David Andreas, Konstantinos Bilias, Giulia Moretti Cursi, Elena Scricciolo, Francesca Grigolo, Luca Masciale, Karina Pawlow, Tim Renkert, Patrick Rieger und Francesca Russo, die bis zum Schluss, auch über die eigentliche Kollegszeit hinaus, an der Realisierung und Umsetzung der Ausstellung und des Begleitbuches gearbeitet haben. Ohne ihr Engagement wäre dieser großartige Abschluss nicht möglich gewesen!

Jessica Bartz Berlin, 20. Mai 2019

01 | Public and private spaces in antiquity: A problem of alternative definitions?

Jessica Bartz

Semantic boundaries and philological-historical approaches

If we want to get a better understanding of the question of what a public and what a private space meant during ancient times, the problems already start with the semantic meaning throughout different languages - which have apparently similar terms in their vocabulary, but obviously have different connotations. If, for example, one compares the English term "public" and "private" with the German "öffentlich" and "privat" in such a way, one notices that the German term "öffentlich" is connected with the idea of freely accessible areas whereas the English term "public" means of or concerning the people as a whole. With the German word "privat" something intimate or internal is meant whereas the English word "private" is connected with the idea of things that don´t belong to the state[1]. But one has to say, that the meanings can be inverted, too, depending on the context of their usage and on the social and cultural custom.

If one consults in ancient sources for the meaning of "*publicus*"[2] and "*privatus*"[3] on the basis of their context, the question in which both terms can be used becomes even more complex. The meanings in

[1] Cf. a more comprehensive discussion on that at Winterling 2005, esp. 227. For the English meaning also cf. Russell 2016, 26.

[2] According to the Latin dictionary of Lewis – Short 1879 *pūblĭcus* means: I. of or belonging to the people, State, or community; that is done for the sake or at the expense of the State; public, common. II. Transf., common, general, public.

[3] According to the Latin dictionary of Lewis – Short 1879 *prīvātus* comes from the verb *privo* and means: I. Apart from the State, peculiar to one's self, of or belonging to an individual, private (opp. *publicus* or *communis*; cf. *domesticus*); II. In the time of the emperors, private, i.e. not imperial, not belonging to the emperor or to the imperial family.

this case hardly correspond to our expectations, the terms are rather linked to asset and ownership relations as well as to political agitation[4]. The meanings that we associate with our modern understanding are better grasped with the Latin terms of *res publica* and *domus*[5]. The affairs of the state (*res publica*) also included the political use of public space, which was rather reserved for men who held Roman citizenship. Women, on the other hand, have been seen to take care of the household (*domus*) and were therefore more likely to be in the private sphere[6]. According to this understanding, the perception of a space of the "*publicus*" has little to do with free accessibility for all Roman citizens, but with the possibility of participating in the political events manifesting themselves in public space like the Forum Romanum, but actually also at the Roman houses.

The ancient author Vitruvius is describing the different areas of a Roman aristocratic house: "When we have arranged our plan with a view to aspect, we must go on to consider how, in private buildings [*privatis aedificiis*], the rooms belonging to the family [*familiarum*], and how those which are shared with visitors [*communia*], should be planned. For into the private rooms [*propria loca*] no one can come uninvited, such as the bedrooms, dining-rooms, baths and other apartments which have similar purposes. The common rooms [*communia loca*] are those into which, though uninvited, persons of the people can come by right, such as vestibules, courtyards, peristyles and other apartments of similar uses."[7] At a Roman house public spaces for all kind of visitors existed, e.g. the *atria*[8] and peristyles are used for this,

[4] For the best discussion on that on the basis of ancient sources cf. Russell 2016, 25-40.

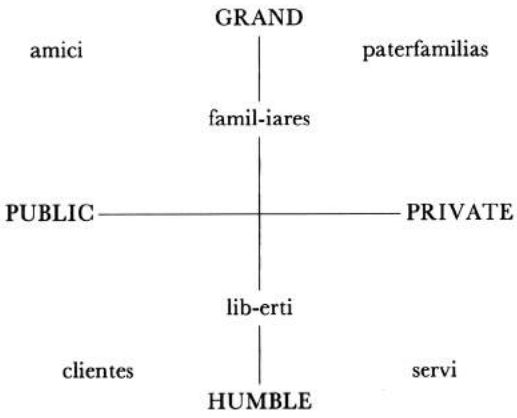
[5] Winterling 2005, 229.

[6] In details this is a bit superficial as spaces in Roman house are determined by their functions and not predetermined by gender. Cf. Tuori 2015, 7. Vitruvius, too, when he describes Greek houses, distinguishes as a difference that in the Greek the genders were separated. This did not seem to apply so strictly to the Roman houses. See Vitr. 6, 7, 2-4.

[7] Vitr. 6, 5, 1 (transl. by Frank Granger. Loeb Classical Library 1934). Cf. Tuori 2015, 7-8; Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 54. 84; Winterling 2005, 224.

[8] For a further discussion of *atria* cf. the paper of Luca Masciale "*Atria publica populi romani*: Structures contaminated by memory" in this booklet on pages 48-78.

as well as private spaces only for invited guests, like the *triclinia* ('rooms for the *symposium*') and *cubicula* (`sleeping rooms'). It is obvious that those "private" rooms also had aspects of public integrated as the rooms there have been very important for the self-representation of the owner of this house. This is due to the fact that the *symposium* was one essential aspect of the Roman social life. As often as possible important guests have been invited to a *symposium*, while drinking and eating political and social connections have been strengthened. In addition, the model was developed that the deeper a guest could enter the 'private' rooms of the owner, the more important his social position must have been **(Fig. 1)**[9]. So, for Roman male citizens no distinction between the public-political sphere and the non-political private home, like we might distinguish today, existed. Only in this way the luxurious interior of aristocratic houses is understandable, where precious wall-paintings, mosaics and sculptures can be detected[10]. Roman living was not a place of secluded privacy, but aimed at a very public, albeit strongly regulated and with a limited audience[11].



▲ **Fig. 1** Scheme of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill with the distinction of the spheres of a Roman house in contrast to the status of the people in there

[9] Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1988, esp. 52-56.

[10] If the owner could afford this also small thermal baths (*balnea*) have been used to impress the guests. For a further discussion of the *balnea* cf. the paper of David Andreas "Bathing in Rome: *thermae* for the masses, *balnea* for the elite?" in this booklet on pages 141-154.

[11] It must be noted that the explanations refer decidedly to *atrium* houses, as they are especially known for the Vesuvian cities. Whether and to what extent these aspects have to be transferred to all Roman forms of living, e.g. multi-storey rental houses called *insula*, would have to be discussed, but cannot be done for capacity reasons. See also Touri 2015, 11-12. For the most reflected analysis on private and public aspects of Roman houses cf. Tuori – Nissin 2015.

Studies in the context of Roman housing have shown that the *atrium* houses were the economic and social centre of their owners. Therefore, they were designed to meet both the private life of the inhabitants and the demands of public, especially political, life[12].

Ancient spaces through modern glasses

Today, public spaces are rather areas for walking through, occasionally they can be used by every citizen. Above all, however, these public spaces are normally areas with very little intended action and are not as multifunctional as ancient spaces have been. In antiquity numerous central aspects of public, social and political life, like communication, interaction and representation took place in public spaces. Political communication, for example, took place in the form of public speeches on the speaker's stand (lat. *rostra*) at the Forum Romanum **(Fig. 2)**. Today´s political communication and participation tend to take place in the private sphere, since it is mediated by other media that force people to be in private spheres (like internet, television, radio, etc.). In this way of thinking nowadays the attendance on political communication is independent from the outward appearance of the surrounding space, it is even uncoupled from any kind of physical space, whereas the Roman citizens had to assemble at certain spaces which therefore became public. The non-necessity to assemble due to digital media reinforces the action-free state of modern spaces nowadays[13]. Therefore, modern public squares seem usually rather depoliticised, they only may be occupied by a central memorial monument of a former ruler or an important historical personality, or only by a fountain. Newly constructed squares are often just decorated by a pavement or green area with trees on it**.** This is different to the outward appearance of Roman squares

[12] Tuori 2015, 7-9 with more bibliographical advices. Furthermore Wallace-Hadrill 1994, esp. 3-37 and Zanker 1995, who highly influenced the studies on domestic architecture and the social system connected with that.

[13] Only a few years earlier, freedom of expression in places served as an indicator of the public status of this area. Cf. Selle 2003, 20.

▲ **Fig. 2** The Forum Romanum today

such as the Forum Romanum, where the struggle for political supremacy was carried out by the aggressive beneficence of buildings and monuments. Especially during the time of the Roman Republic on the aristocrats' behalf and also during the Roman Empire, when the focus was increasingly shifted on the ruling family, this very important square was continuously lined with buildings erected on the efforts of several protagonists (why they have been named accordingly, cf. all the basilicas), or with numerous honorary statues[14]

[14] Honorary statues of private people as a medium of public representation within the city already demand a high degree of audience effectiveness, which is why areas which are hardly accessible to the public are unsuitable for the erection of such a statue. Furthermore, honorary statues functioned as *exempla* (role models), which influenced the public opinion and furthermore the political climate. Cf. Hölscher 1984, esp. 12-19; Sehlmeyer 1999, 11-18.

and monuments[15]. Therefore, the Forum Romanum is a historically grown square, which manifested in an inhomogeneous outward appearance; in contrast to that modern urban sociologists often analyse squares that were conceived as a unit and designed in exactly one particular way according to the wishes of the ruler or the predominant political system, so that on the other side conclusions can be drawn about the intentions of the client or the society behind them on the basis of the design of the square[16].

As mentioned before[17], Roman *atrium* houses have been areas with both public and private aspects. If one compares the way of Roman living with our today's living culture, then differences are noticeable. These concern on the one hand the arrangement and accessibility of the rooms and thus their functional interaction, but also their decorative design. In modern apartments an increase of a combination of kitchen, dining area and living room can be observed, without affecting any walls separating, so that in case of having guest the process of cooking will be a collective event. In ancient, above all aristocratic, houses cooking was due to a different social composition taken over by slaves, so kitchens were always separated from the actual dining rooms. Using small service corridors, which ran between the cooking area and the *triclinia*, slaves were able to transport the food unnoticed by the guests[18]. Considering the interior decoration, the rooms of modern houses are dominated by an almost astonishing emptiness, simplicity and clarity - only a few pictures are hung on the wall, the walls themselves are usually painted in one colour. In contrary, the

[15] Some of these were also combined monuments such as the magnificent triumphal arches, like the Arch of Septimius Severus, which had both a practical use as an entrance to the square, but also functioned as surfaces of narrative pictorial decoration illustrating the victory of the triumphant, as well as carriers of a honorary statue or even a group of statues.

[16] This way of analysis might be transferable to the Imperial Fora, which have been erected by one specific ruler and were an expression of the self-image of the builder. For an analysis of the Forum Romanum and the Imperial Fora cf. the paper of Patrick Rieger and Elena Scricciolo "Public and private spheres of the Fora in the city of Rome" in this booklet on pages 30-47.

[17] Cf. the analysis of the chapter "Semantic boundaries and philological-historical approaches" in this paper.

[18] Compare the groundplan of the *Casa del Menandro* at Fig. 4 in paper 07 of this booklet.

rooms of Roman houses were decorated with splendid wall-paintings, which seem almost overloaded for our present understanding. Above all, this may be related to the fact that the frequency of important guests in Roman houses was much higher, since in aristocratic circles the *symposium* was of great importance, accordingly, the interior decoration played an important role in the self-representation of the owner. This means that the more often guests have access to certain areas of a house, the more important the interior decoration might become. But this have to be overturned by comparing the places of sleeping in modern and antique living houses. Normally in modern apartments guests have no access to bedrooms. Nevertheless, these are often equipped with the most expensive furniture, such as cupboards or especially the bed. The value results from the appreciation of the comfort that one would like to achieve while sleeping. Today's living is designed to contribute to relaxation. We would assume that according to the handling just mentioned, ancient bedrooms (*cubicula*) were devoid of decorations, as they were not, according to ours today, rooms attended by guests. This was by no means the case. In the *cubicula* we can find just as magnificent mosaics and wall-paintings as in the often-frequented *triclinia*. Their spatial proximity to the *atria* and *triclinia* emphasizes the representative and therefore public character that Roman *cubicula* had, even if those rooms normally could have been locked up[19]. It can therefore be assumed that these rooms did not just fulfil one function but different ones[20]. The *cubiculum* is thus a space that can shift in its significance between public and private, depending on the concrete temporary use, which is contrary to our understanding of the bedroom nowadays[21].

[19] Therefore, it is assumed by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill that *cubicula* are more private than the *triclinia*. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 59. On the problems of labelling rooms to the term *cubiculum*, the functions of sleeping areas in Roman houses and their localisation within the houses cf. Nissin 2015, esp. 107-108. 117-118.

[20] From literary sources it is clear that guests also have been welcomed in *cubicula*. See Plin. ep. 5, 3, 11; Tac. dial. 3, 1 and so on. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 59 note 44.

[21] Incidentally, this form of typology and ambiguity in the functional definition and the resulting flexibility applies to all rooms of the Roman houses.

So, the examples of Roman squares and Roman houses have shown that in general theoretical concepts on modern spaces are difficult to transfer to ancient spaces, since they have arisen in a certain socio-economic and political situation, good for the time in which the concepts arose, but they may not apply to antiquity[22].

Ancient spaces as spheres between public and private

The concepts of public and private spaces are complex. They are multidimensional constructs that cannot be clearly defined in their most extreme sense. Their use also fluctuates between scientific and everyday use. Another problem is, that both public and private aspects can be grasped in almost all kinds of Roman spaces.

Especially during the Republican period, the high need to self-representation, which was a reaction to the overall competition of the aristocrats for acknowledgment and political offices depending on the political and social system, lead to eccentric strategies of handling with their spaces. Aspects of accessibility, but also exclusivity played an important role in this respect. Of course, one has to say, that this high level of public self-representation was mostly a Republican phenomenon, lasting, respectively relocating in many aspects, to the middle of the 1st century A.D. At that time, the political system changed into the Imperial structures, with the Imperial family now representing itself primarily in the public areas of the city - as a symbol of the new system. The Roman aristocrats consequently had only the opportunity to represent themselves by illustrating their proximity and loyalty to the Imperial family[23]. The need to represent oneself on the other side, however, did not stop then, but shifted to different, often inwardly turned spaces.

For example, during the Republican period the decoration and outward appearances of funerary monuments are decidedly directed

[22] Alike Russell 2016, 1 note 4.

[23] This can be e.g. observed by the enormous number of private portraits showing characteristics of the hairstyle of the Imperial family.

towards public viewers, since Roman tombs were not located in closed-off areas, as is the case today, but along the accessing roads to the Roman cities. This is why these streets are also called funerary streets ('Gräberstraßen'), the most famous being the Via Appia. Also, the design of the tomb monument with magnificent materials, forms **(Fig. 3)** or portraits of the owners or the deceased refer not only to the private wealth, but this form of self-representation is decidedly directed to the outside and should show the observer the position of the deceased, of the family or of the sponsor of the funerary monument. This behaviour of self-representation changed during the beginning of the Imperial period when funerary tombs established with a more inwards directed appearance[24].

▲ **Fig. 3** Tomb of Caecilia Metella, 1st century B.C. erected at the Via Appia; material, form, size and positioning expressed the wealth of the *gens Metelli*

Dealing with one's own self-representation in public space is always dependent on the political system and thus subject of constant change. This phenomenon can be observed in many contexts of Roman cities. But complicating aspects have to be added that are not just looking for the question of self-representation within the different spaces.

[24] The open way of self-representation has turned inward since the beginning of the Imperial period, when collective tombs like *columbaria* or family monuments became the norm. Cf. to the overall development of Roman tombs Hesberg 1992, esp. 26-45.

Public and private spaces... from various perspectives

In order to define spaces, the concept of the dichotomy of public and private has prevailed. This is due to the fact that both the one and the other term alone can transfer a whole series of characteristics to a specific space. But, the borderline between the private and public sphere is anything but rigid: what is considered as private or public is a social question and is thus subject to social change. Against this background, the definition of "private" and "public" for antiquity and the question of the delimitability of both fields must be discussed again and again in very controversial ways. In addition, there is a broad grey area between the public and the private, which each group and society has to redefine for itself based in their 'level' of consciousness. The evaluation of a public or private space therefore is a subjective one depending on the perspective.

If we consider different places, we have several, sometimes competing, protagonists keeping in mind, because spaces are: 1. for someone, so several users are entitled to them; 2. from someone, so the spaces must fulfil various functions. Only in rare cases we can reduce a space to one function which is used by one group of identic people, however, most spaces do not function according to a simple singular pattern because of their inherent multifunctionality.

Some scholars formulate that a public space despite of its function is a space that is easily accessible by all people[25]. But these people also need a reason to come together in order to characterize space as a place and to define it. Here we return back to its functional assignment, such as political participation. However, this assignment of functions is also problematic because every form of specific function automatically excludes individuals or groups. For example, only male citizens could participate in the political elections in Rome, excluding slaves, women, children and people without Roman citizenship and these will certainly have entered the Roman Forum for

[25] E.g. while planning new squares the overall accessibility, e.g. also for people with a disability, is one of the main tasks of the urban city planners. Cf. Selle 2003, 19.

some other reasons. So, we cannot address a space only as political[26]. The biggest difficulty about a definition of what means a public or private space relates to the generally less discussed status of the analogy between space as a philosophical or political configuration and space as a physical dimension in Roman cities[27]. The definition of what space means therefore should be discussed at this point. However, since we approached the subject from an archaeological perspective, we want to understand space as a three-dimensional, detectable entity. However, any scientific discipline will certainly use further approaches, so that even from this perspective an understanding of "public" and "private" spaces seems more complicated.

P.O.P.S.: Only a modern phenomenon?

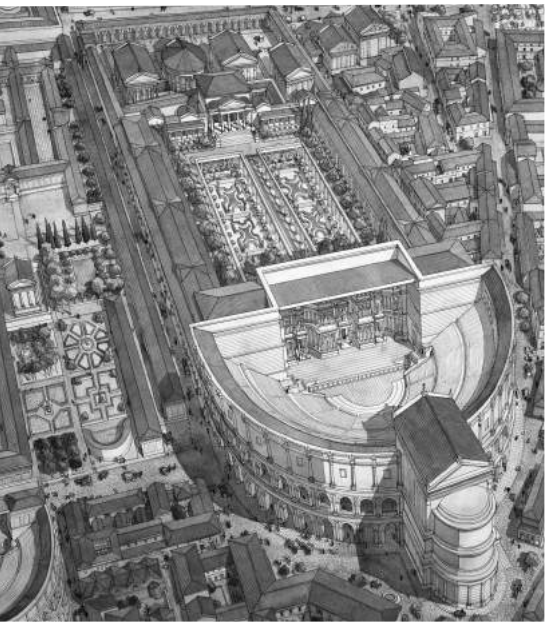
An increasing phenomenon in modern cities are areas that appear as if they were public spaces with no limited accessibility and the possibility to be used by everyone, such as parks, etc. In those areas a broad or larger proportion of the public could potentially be present, but - and this is the critical factor – those spaces are owned under private law. That is why they are called P.O.P.S. ('privately owned public spaces') or quasi-public spaces[28]. Accordingly, these spaces are subject to certain restrictions, such as a ban on photography, the selection of visitors to certain groups, people can stay in the spaces only under certain conditions (e.g. purchase of a drink, etc.)[29]. An interesting example from Berlin might be the Sony Center at the Potsdamer Platz, which is an enclosed square surrounded by entertainment buildings and economic structures. Those squares lack essential features of public spaces (especially the accessibility for

[26] The same problem arises if one wants to define public places as places of economy or of religion. Also, not all social groups are integrated then. Legal ownership assignments, on the other hand, have the difficulty that they often only look at two-dimensional surfaces but omit three-dimensionality – like the architecture on it or the needs of the users of space.

[27] See Selle 2003, 26-28.

[28] Cf. Selle 2003, 16.

[29] For this increasing modern phenomenon cf. Németh 2009.



▲ **Fig. 4** Reconstruction drawing of the complex of Pompey at the Campus Martius showing the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the theatre, the gardens and the Curia

everyone at any time) and there only private companies would have house rights instead of public institutions.

Overall, this phenomenon underlines the close interlocking of "public" and "private" aspects in spaces, which neither visually nor functionally always appear unambiguous. Also, a lot of ancient examples might fit into this category of spaces, which seem to appear public, but are for some reasons private.

One example is the complex of the Theatre of Pompeius Magnus dedicated in 55 B.C., which was more or less the first permanent theatre in Rome[30]. It had some aspects which we would perceive as a public space by today's standards or as a space intended to satisfy political, public and social needs. The ground plan of the complex consists of a theatre, on top of it the Temple of Venus Victrix was located, and an adjacent quadriportico. The portico contained galleries, shrines, gardens and meeting halls **(Fig. 4)**. For the people living in the city of Rome this portico with beautiful gardens have been a place to be where the trees spent cooling shadows during the summer months[31]. The amenities of this place were intentional,

[30] Before that theatres always have been annually erected by wooden structures. Actually, it was forbidden to build theatres made of stone, so it was said, that the permanent grandstands have been only monumental steps to the Temple of Venus Victrix. Cf. Tert. de spect. 10, 5.

[31] Ov. ars. 1, 67; Ov. ars. 3, 387. The ancient author Ovid is therefore advising Roman men and women to go there to find a partner.

▲ **Fig. 5** *schola*–tomb of the priestress Mammia at the Porta Ercolano in Pompeii with the form of a bench, 1st century A.D.

so the Roman population should stay there furthermore to see the various monuments in honour of Pompey. The complex was thus the culmination of the Republican, aristocratic understanding of self-representing in public. The location of the theatre is of historic significance due to the murder of C. Julius Caesar that took place within the complex, located in a meeting hall called the Curia Pompeia behind the stage. The structure was being used on a temporary basis for meetings of the senate at that time. The room, in which Caesar was murdered was then walled up, later it even became a public toilet[32]. After the death of Pompey, the theatre complex somehow became a case for the Imperial responsibility. From ancient sources we know that Augustus and later again Tiberius restored the building[33]. So, the building complex, which was originally privately owned, became the concern of the Imperial welfare, which of course was closely linked to the public interest.

Another illustrating example might be so-called *schola*-tombs in Pompei[34]. These are funerary monuments which consist of a stone bench where travellers along the roads could rest as the tomb of the priestess Mammia illustrates **(Fig. 5)**. Because the erectors of such tombs wanted visitors to get a clue of the achievements of the

[32] Cass. Dio 47, 19, 1; Suet. Caes. 88.

[33] It has been Augustus's personal achievements who paid with his money for the repairs, of course not naming his name next to the one of Pompey in all the inscription at the complex. Cf. Res gest. div. Aug. 20. Only with the restoration of the Tiberius whose name was supplemented in the inscriptions. Tac. ann. 3, 72, 4; Suet. Cal. 21; Suet. Tib. 47.

[34] Hesberg 1992, 33. 167-170; Zanker 1995, 131-133.

deceased[35], they invented an architecture which should have been used. While resting at the semi-circular bench inscriptions attached on them could be read or the precious material used to erect the tomb was recognised. Several funerary monuments show equivalent kinds of usability for a certain public, like the connection of tombs with surrounding gardens[36]. So, the intentional accessibility of the privately-owned land of funerary monuments makes those areas very public.

To conclude this, P.O.P.S. ('privately owned public spaces') or quasi-public spaces are defined as areas of a high intended accessibility due to specific interests, like self-representation or economic interests, but can easily be restricted due to the legal private ownership of those areas.

Conclusion

As we have seen it is very difficult to handle the concepts of public and private spaces. There are numerous publications on ancient public or private spaces, although the use of the terms rarely seemed to be much reflected[37]. Furthermore, it is astonishing that most of scientific research on ancient spaces either looks at one side or the other, so always focussing on either private or public aspects[38]. After all, there are numerous transitions, innumerable blurs and no clearly assignable spaces, so that misunderstandings are unavoida-

[35] Note that the erector of a Roman funerary monument does not necessarily need to be the same person as the deceased. In case of the monument for the priestess Mammia e.g. the magistrates of Pompeii erected it for her. Cf. CIL 10, 998: M[AM]MIAE P(ubli) F(iliae) SACERDOTI PUBLICAE LOCUS SEPULTUR(ae) DATUS DECURIONUM DECRETO ("To Mammia, daughter of Publius, public priestess, the place of the tomb given by decree of the decurions").

[36] This is indicated by some funerary inscriptions: CIL 06, 10237; CIL 06, 10876; CIL 06, 13823; CIL 10, 2244.

[37] Often one term is chosen to be the opposite of another: "public architecture" vs. "private architecture"; or even of whole pair of terms is opposed: "public architecture" vs. "domestic, commercial, religious, etc. architecture". Cf. Anderson 1997, 241–242; Russell 2016, 1.

[38] Of particular note is the anthology of Tuori – Nissin 2015 that has already been cited many times, highlighting various public or private related aspects based on the living context.

ble. Ultimately, the question arises as to why one should think about a pair of terms that, in their pure form, do not seem to function for the ancient reality.

In order to talk about spaces, however, a mutual vocabulary must be created. Spaces are alternatively sometimes defined as political, religious or economic; but those terms do not work well because spaces are not purely political, religious or economic. So, it seems problematic wanting to describe spaces only with one term or with just one characteristic. It is probably utopian to describe complex ancient structures, such as a Roman house, the Forum Romanum or the Pompeius-Theatre-Complex, with just one term. Ancient spaces are multifunctional, just as they are used by very different groups of people. By defining spaces, we always have to consider several aspects as:

- accessibility and delimitability
- possession and ownership
- maintenance and responsibility
- purpose, beneficiary and usage
- time frame (the understanding of space also has been unstable in antiquity)

Perhaps the inaccuracy of the terms ‘public’ and ‘private’ is precisely their advantage, since, if understood as flexible concepts, they are able to include different aspects and thus seem more far-reaching than the characterization of a room as a passage or dwelling space or otherwise as a trading, political or sacral space. Accordingly defined ‘public’ or ‘private’ spaces have therefore to be understood more generally, but leaves open the possibility to look at spaces differentiated. It’s a change of perspective that helps to think about spaces from multiple points of view and to deal with its normative dimension.

Spaces consist of a conglomerate of public and private needs as well as partial aspects whose meaning must be clearly defined. It is important that a public or private character of a space is defined less

on the basis of its real existence and outward appearance than on the basis of the actions taking place in these spaces and the form of participation of different groups of people. So, talking about spaces it is our duty to define consistently what we mean by public or private spaces before inaccuracies arise in the use of the terms.

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Evidence of figures
Fig. 1 Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 79 fig. 10; Fig. 2 Photo by Jessica Bartz; Fig. 3 Photo by Jessica Bartz; Fig. 4 Reconstruction by J.-C. Golvin, <https://jeanclaudegolvin.com/de/project/italien/italie-roma-theatre-de-pompee-cesar-jc-golvin-2/> (22/05/2019); Fig. Photo by Jessica Bartz

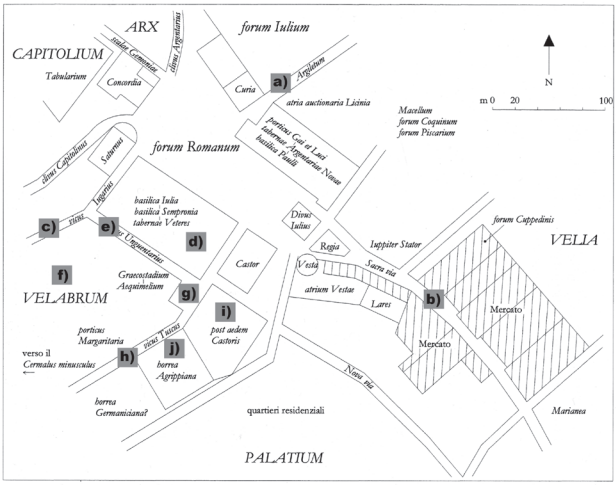
02 | Public and private spheres of the Fora in the city of Rome

Patrick Rieger – Elena Scricciolo

When someone hears the term '*forum*' one would think about considerable cults and political events or would imagine it as a marketplace like area. It would be common to apply our modern mind constructs on something which is instead not easy to grasp: researching the Roman Fora makes clear that exploring those multifunctional and multipurpose areas is not enough to fully explain a *forum*. The Roman Forum, which has a long living history of over thousand years, changed its functions and usage multiple times and was subjected to the alternating ruling people, which frequently also used it to follow their own agendas. Even the surrounding architecture often changed over the years of its existence, from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. to the end of the 3th century A.D.[1], so that it may be argued that the Forum was reborn over and over again.

But describing the composing elements, the architecture and the development of the Forum Romanum is not the aim of this paper: since the Forum has been the focal point of the scientific history concerning the city of Rome, the goal was already fulfilled by plenty of scientific works about this area. The purpose is rather to understand how this space, a place of the community par excellence, was concretely used and perceived by the Roman people. To further understand the Forum Romanum we also will compare it to the Imperial Fora and explore how the definition and functions of the Forum may have changed over time.

[1] The last big changes on the Forum happened after a huge fire of the year 289 A.D. See Kolb 1995, 77. 669.



Roman professions and their topographical context:

a) Argiletum: *bookseller**

b) via Sacra: aurifex, auri acceptor, aurivestrix, bub(u)larius, cabator, caelator, coronararius, flaturarius, gemmarius, margaritarius, mellarius, negotiator, pigmentarius, tibiarius, unguentarius, vascularius

c) vicus lugarius: purpurarius

d) basilica Iulia: nummularius

e) vicus Unguentarius: *unguentarius**

f) Velabrum: argentarius, aurarius, capsarius, lector, margaritarius, negotiator penoris et vinorum, vinarius, *miller**, *butcher**

g) statue of Vortumnus: faber argentarius

h) vicus Tuscus: vestiarius (tenuarius), purpuarius

i) post aedem Castoris: argentarius, sagarius, *bookseller**, *shoemaker**, *prostitution**

j) horrea Agrippiana: vestiarius

*professions in italic are known from literary sources

The plan is based on Papi 2002, 46 fig. 1. The letters highlighted in grey are additions by Jessica Bartz (first published in Bartz 2019).

▲ **Fig. 1** Plan of the Forum Romanum with the professions attested there

The Forum: a place to be or not to be?

Who were actually the Forum's users? Which persons and from which social and professional classes used to be there? Was the area simply accessible to everyone or were there any borders? Was the area somehow and sometimes delimited and did it have any well recognizable physical limit?

At the Forum we have to imagine many different people like merchants, sellers, hucksters and shopkeepers close by, and together with them people passing by, roaming and shopping[2]. It was presumably a noisy and chaotic place that attracted everyday crowds of buyers and sellers[3]. In the Macellum nearby it was possible to buy meat and fish or refined food, along the accessing roads one could buy clothes, shoes, books, gold, silver, precious stones, spices and perfumes **(Fig. 1)**. In

[2] For the most outstanding summary of all economic buildings around the Forum Romanum see Papi 2002, 45-62. Furthermore, see Bartz 2019.

[3] A vivid description of the Forum can be found in Plautus (Plaut. Curc. 470-485).

addition, slave trade and prostitution found their place in the Forum and in the accessing streets[4]. The stores were mainly located along the Sacra Via and the Nova Via, beyond the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Vicus Tuscus and at the Velabrum, but the Forum itself was surrounded by *tabernae*[5].

Tarquinius Priscus firstly ordered to build *tabernae* around the square (*circa forum*): they were two parallel lines of rooms aligned to the long southwest side (*tabernae veteres*) and to the northeast side (*tabernae novae*), and a group of *septem* (then *quinque*) *tabernae* on the northwest side. Initially called *tabernae lanianae* - because their main function was the distribution of meat - were later converted into *tabernae argentariae*, because they were reserved to banking business[6]; the butchers have been replaced by the *argentarii* and in the access roads only precious objects could have been bought, because the shopping possibilities have been quite good because of many surrounding structures such as the Macellum, the *forum Piscarium / Piscatorium*, the *forum Coquinum* (?), *the forum Cuppedinis* and the accessing roads with different shops.

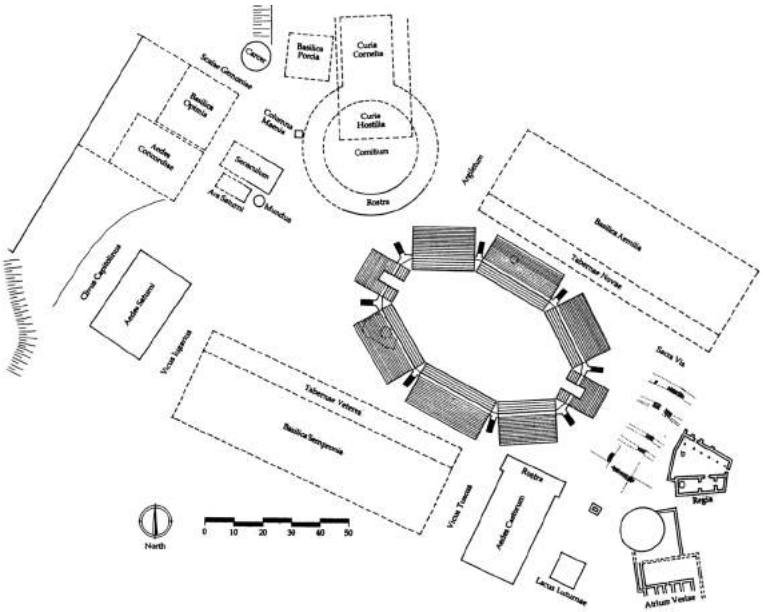
This change was due to the necessity of giving more dignity to the Forum which became more and more the administrative and political hearth of the city with a high demand representational function. The transformation, which also offered a better traffic control and a contributed to the space's regulation, clearly caused a big change in terms of users, sounds, smells and habits. Under Caesar and Augustus the Forum also faced many building activities, which further restricted not only the accessibility but also the usage of the square itself[7].

[4] For prostitution around the forum see Plaut. Truc. 66-75.

[5] Liv. 26, 11, 7; Varro Non. Marc. 532, 13.

[6] Varro Ap. Non. Fr. 853L; Liv. 44, 16, 10.

[7] E.g. the construction of the Temple of Divus Iulius at the east side of the Forum, which segregated the Regia and the Vesta sanctuary complex from the rest of the Forum. Cf. Köb 2000, 333.



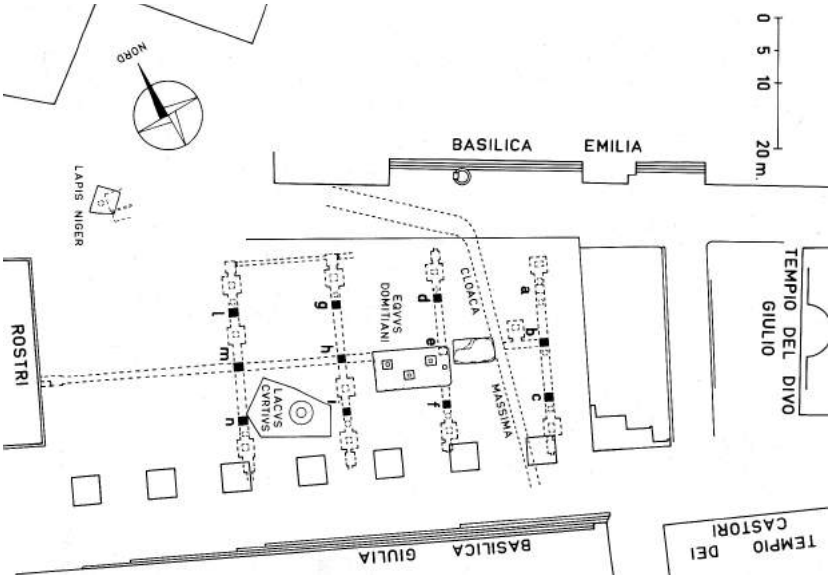
▲ **Fig. 2** Plan of the Forum Romanum during the Republican period with hypothetical grandstands for gladiatorial contest

Access to and limits of the Forum Romanum

The Forum Romanum was a multifunctional space. Since it was the centre of different aspects of the city life, people came to the Forum for many purposes. One of them was politics: the Forum was the competitive stage for ambitious politicians and citizens attending the political speeches, voting at the elections or involved in trials. The Forum was also used for announcements[8] and speeches from the *rostra* or from one of the surrounding temples with a speaker's platform in front of it[9]. But people also came to the Forum in order to visit some of the most important sanctuaries of the city. Moreover for a certain

[8] They were kept at the Temple of Saturn, because Cassius Dio describes a damage to the tablets erected there (Cass. Dio 45, 17 ,3). Furthermore cf. Köb 2000, 177-178.

[9] E.g. the Temple of the Dioscuri could be used as a speaker's platform. See Kolb 1995, 58.



▲ **Fig. 3** Plan of the Forum Romanum with the underground system (so-called *hypogeum / gallerie cesaree*) maybe for gladiatorial contests

period, probably till the Augustan age, gladiatorial games took place here[10]: for the *munera* the rectangular area along the *Comitium*, the Temple of Saturn, the Temple of the Dioscuri and the Regia was used and the audience could find place on temporary wooden grandstands called *spaectacula*[11] **(Fig. 2)**. Those were placed in front of these buildings and upon the *tabernae* or, later, on the upper floor of the porticus: in 318 B.C. for the first time the censor Caius Maenius built balconies, so-called *maeniana*, named after him[12]. An entry fee - which was later revoked by Gaius Gracchus[13] - had to be paid for access to those balconies and this indicates that the entrance was somehow controlled. There were also parts of an ancient *hypogeum* like architecture **(Fig. 3)** found under the pavement of the Forum, in which animals

[10] Köb 2000, 173-174; Welch 2007, 30-71.
[11] Vitr. 5, 1, 1-2.
[12] Cf. Fest. 134b, 22, but not every ancient source agrees with that (cf. Welch 2007, 32-35).
[13] Plut. C. Gracch. 12, 5-6. Also cf. Freyberger 2009, 49.

and gladiators may have been kept[14]. The architectonical type of the stone amphitheatres was initially not existing and gladiatorial contests have taken place at the Forum Romanum; with the monumentalising process (and probably for security reasons) the *munera* were moved in designated spaces like the Augustan amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus or later to the Colosseum[15].

The accessibility and the limits of the Forum is another issue which has to be discussed. People were likely free to access the *tabernae* to buy goods when they were opened; the *basilicae*, which had many functions and were probably used as court places[16], were one of the most frequented parts of the square. There are still traces of "game boards" **(Fig. 4)** on the steps and floor of the Basilica Aemilia and Iulia, which were probably used to shorten the waiting time or functioned as meeting places[17].

▲ **Fig. 4** Steps of the Basilica Aemilia with game boards incised

We have to imagine anyway that in some specific events, for example political elections or assemblies, the area (or a part of it) was temporary circumscribed in order to reserve it to citizens and to exclude other not authorized people; the *tabernae* themselves could be

[14] These tunnels and rooms were probably filled up and closed in 10 A.D. C.f. Köb 2000, 174-176.
[15] For further reading concerning both buildings see Welch 2007, 108-127. 128-162.
[16] For a debate about an early use of *basilicae* as court places read Welin 1953, 111-120.
[17] Köb 2000, 181-182. The board games in the Basilica Aemilia were located near the columns, so that they probably would not be in the way for other people.

▲ **Fig. 5** Coin with the bust of Faustina I and the front view of the Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina showing fences around it, 141–161 A.D.

surely locked at night and did benefit of some kind of monitoring; the temples were enclosed by fences and gates, as shown in the reverse of a sestertius of Antoninus Pius **(Fig. 5)**[18].

There were some spaces - in or next to the Forum - which were not completely or not always accessible to all people. It would be absurd to think for instance that it was possible to freely access the *aerarium populi Romani*, located at the Temple of Saturn, even if it was belonging to the community. The same situation concerned many other spaces, which cannot easily labelled as public or private but had for sure a sort of border control: the Temple of Vesta, on the southeast side of the Forum, included a holy fenced area with the temple and a residential space with rooms for the Vestals; the first part was reserved to religious rituals which were fundament of the most ancient functions of the Roman state (and therefore public, in the meaning of appertaining to the community), while the latter part was of course not private and not owned by the priestesses, but at the same time neither accessible to the public[19].

[18] It is not quite clear whether those fences functioned as a marker of the holy ground of the temple (so-called *templum*) or where necessary for security reasons.

[19] Russell 2016, 3-4.

Discussed is the interpretation of the *cancelli fori* mentioned by Cicero[20] and of the "pozzetti votivi" (so-called ritual pits), small rectangular holes, which are archaeological documented and located in lines in three of the four sides of the square: one opinion is that they materialized the limit of the consecrated area for the *comitia* and were used to install the delimitation fences of the assemblies[21]. As said the square could have had concrete limits and fences in order to reserve it to specific activities und determined persons; however, the Forum has not always been delimited by buildings and the later constructions underwent several transformations, so that it's not possible to be more precise and define remarkable perimeter.

A changing space: The role of private *gentes* and public magistrates

Another point would be to understand whether spaces and buildings in the Forum were public or private property. In a passage of Cicero, the Forum is called "*forum populi romani*"[22], as if Cicero had the necessity to mark the public status of the Forum. The exact definition of "*populus romanus*" refers to the community of Roman free adult males, but of course the access to the Forum was not only reserved to this component of the whole population of Rome; women, slaves and *liberti* were every day working and roaming in the Forum, as well as foreigners visiting the city for specific reasons. And even if the property of the Forum affected the *populus* and not a single person, this would not mean that there was no control and anything was allowed to happened there. Moreover, *tabernae* and – till a certain point – *atria* were existing in the area and the owners had at least a visual control on the space. The *tabernae* were practically single rooms risen up upon public soil and they were in fact public property: the state outsourced them and franchised to individuals the sale right in exchange for the periodic collecting of a *solarium*

[20] App. civ. 3, 30; Cic. Sest. 58, 124; Dion. Hal. ant. 7, 59, 1; Varro rust. 1, 2, 9.

[21] Coarelli 1985, 126-131. But due to a lack of closer research the interpretation of the so-called *pozzetti* is quite difficult.

[22] Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 58.

or of a *vectigal*[23]. They could therefore easily belong to the modern category of "Private Owned Public Spaces" (P.O.P.S.): we could in fact imagine that the owners ran the shops and had control on customers and activities happening in the space of their own *taberna* and they could also lock the shops for security reasons. The *tabernae* themselves could have had a residential area on a mezzanine, as it's clearly documented in Pompeii and Herculaneum[24].

We do not have to forget that the space evidently transformed during the time and some status change occurred during the long and varied history of the Forum. At the beginning there were even private houses facing the Forum. According to the sources, in 210 B.C. a fire destroyed *latrinae*, the *atrium Regium* and the *forum Piscatorium*, and some private *aedificia* burnt as well[25]. In 184 B.C. Cato built the Basilica Porcia after buying and demolishing two *atria* and four *tabernae* (from privates?); the acquired space was made public[26]. In 169 B.C. the censor Tiberius Sempronius, in order to build a basilica named after him, bought the private house of P. Africanus Scipio behind the *tabernae veteres* and the statue of Vertumnus, and the *tabernae* next to it[27]. Varro refers that the houses of Numerius Equitius Cuppes and Manius Macellus were demolished in order to build the *Macellum* and the *forum Cuppedinis*, right beyond the Basilica Aemilia[28]. On the backside of the Regia some atrium houses existed from the end of 4th cent. B.C. to the end of the 1st cent. B.C.; C. Calpurnius Piso owned a *domus* dominating the Forum[29]. Even under the later built Imperial Fora, there are still traces and remains of late Republican houses[30]. Thus, some important Roman people used to have their home at the Forum or very close to it and the position

[23] Russell 2016, 79-81.
[24] E.g. Pompeii VI, 6 and Herculaneum V, 14-15 (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994 and Pirson 1997).
[25] Liv. 26, 27, 2.
[26] Liv. 39, 44, 7; Plut. Vit. Cat. Mai. 19, 2.
[27] Liv. 44, 11, 10-11.
[28] Varro Ap. Don ad Ter. Eun. 2, 2, 25.
[29] Tac. ann. 3, 9.
[30] Meneghini 2015, 14-18.

of the house could clearly be seen as symbol of control and power of those people and as the will to show their prosperity and their affinity to the centre of political and religious life.
The question concerning the *atria* is also interesting although many aspects are not clear[31]. Were they private houses or civic buildings? Buildings with the definition '*atrium*' are known having commercial, religious or administrative functions (like *atrium Libertatis, atrium Publicum, atria Licinia, atrium Suturiom, atrium Maenium et Titium*), but the real functions, the usage and in some cases even the identification of all these places remains unclear by the sources. We know that some *atria* (or some parts inside an *atrium*) could have a domestic/residential use, and some of them always maintained the name of the *gens*, meaning that they were built or owned by a certain family[32].
Other notably huge changes affected the Forum after the big fire of 210 B.C.: the 2nd-1st cent. B.C. is a period of big architectonical and spatial transformations. The paving was renewed and several new monumental buildings appeared all around the square. In 184 B.C. Cato built the Basilica Porcia; in 179 B.C. and in 169 B.C. were built the Basilica Fulvia and the Basilica Sempronia (then restored by Caesar in 54-46 B.C. and by Augusts in 2 B.C.-12 A.D. and called Basilica Iulia). Not after 80 B.C. on the north-east side a porticus was built in front of the *tabernae novae*, which was de facto the façade of Basilica Fulvia-Aemilia, then restored in 54-50 B.C.; on the southwest side another *porticus* was created in front of the *tabernae veteres* giving access to the Basilica Sempronia[33]. The *tabernae* were left on the back part of the *porticus* and reserved to bank activity, while the food distribution was placed out of the Forum[34].

[31] Russell 2016, 83-87.
[32] For a further discussion of private *atria* becoming public buildings cf. the paper of Luca Masciale "*Atria publica populi romani*: Structures contaminated by memory" in this booklet on pages 48-78.
[33] Coarelli 1985, 140-149. 199-209.
[34] But this probably already happened thanks to C. Maenius before 310 B.C. (Varro vit. pop. rom. 2).

The Forum started to be more and more decorated. All these actions, which improved the *dignitas* and made the Forum more adorned and imperious, were not part of a general project but of continuous single plans and interventions. Through this process the Forum resulted to be more regular and monumental and its borders were concretely defined.

Great part of these interventions was made by magistrates (*censores* or *aediles*), public delegates of the Roman state, and the buildings themselves were ownership of the Roman Republic and were built with public finances. The single magistrate and his family gained of course in public benevolence and visibility: the inscription recorded their own name and work and remind it to everybody attending the Forum. It seems that a sort of patronage existed on public buildings built from a *gens*: the basilicas assumed the gentile name of the builder and the family's heirs themselves provided - often with private expenses - at the restoration and embellishment of the building[35]. Till the end of the Republican period private buildings existed around the Forum. But by the end of the 1st cent. B.C. all the buildings surrounding the Forum became public, had at least civic-administrative use or have been replaced by public buildings like the huge basilicas.

The Forum became the place where the Romans could celebrate past heroes and ancient virtues[36]. Everything contributed to expand the glory of Rome and the power of the families as well. As centre of the city and then of the Empire and as memorial of the deeds of the *populus romanus* the Forum had always a high visibility and surveillance and the Romans felt the necessity to adorn it. The increase of munificent initiatives can clearly also be read as increase of personal influence and interest by individuals or groups of people who wanted to extend the private power to the public sphere. According to

[35] This is for instance the case of the Basilica Aemilia, restored and celebrated by coins of M. A. Lepidus in 61 B.C.

[36] Russell 2016, 57.

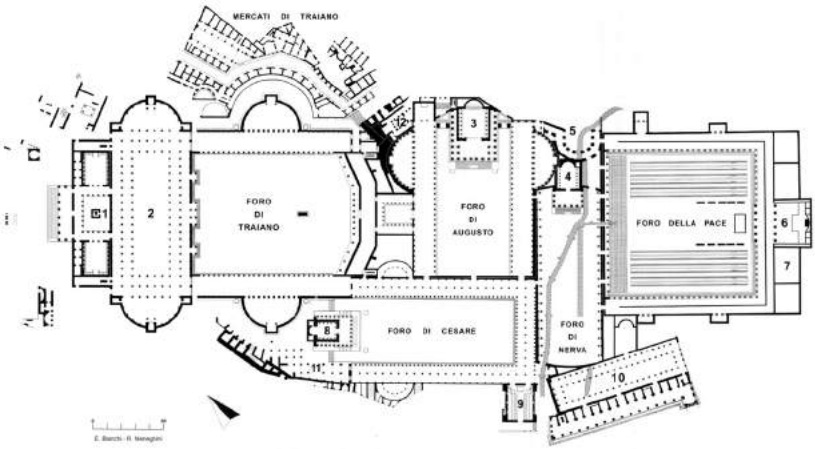
Pliny plenty of not voted statues were removed in 158 B.C. from the Forum[37]; the information is particularly important for us because it gives the idea of the Forum's square perceived as a public prestigious stage where it was possible to show the own status; it also informs us that there were people who unofficially - and illegally - succeeded in having their statue placed in the centre of Rome. Private families and individuals had strong interest in increasing their personal status and used the Forum as a competitive trampoline. This competition among the aristocratic families and politicians led to many important building projects and public spaces (for example the Theatre of Pompey) and laid the groundwork for the Imperial representation and thus (among other) for the Imperial Fora.

The Imperial Fora: A more private sphere?[38]

The Imperial Fora **(Fig. 6)** had many similarities, but also many differences with the Roman Forum. Like the Roman Forum the Imperial Fora were a place for trials or administrative functions. But one of the big differences is that the Imperial Fora were planned structures, which served specific functions, while the Forum Romanum "grew naturally" over a large period of time and was in a state of constant change. As planned constructions the Imperial Fora were built upon the emperor's properties, financed by spoils of war and

[37] Plin. nat. hist. 34, 30.

[38] In this Chapter we tried to summarise the function and usage along with possible architectural evidences of the Imperial Fora for possible restricted accessibility. The decoration, architecture and history of the Imperial Fora will be greatly ignored in this paper, as it is discussed repeatedly in scientific literature (e.g Meneghini 2015) and is not aim of this paper. Further we will only focus on the Forum of Caesar, Augustus and Trajan, because the Templum Pacis, even if often mentioned with the other Fora, is to be considered a sanctuary, and the Forum Transitorium did not have much functions whom ancient sources refer to.



▲ **Fig. 6** Plan of the Imperial Fora

"given to the public"[39]. Even if this may sound generous, the true reasons for building these Fora were to represent the emperor as a good, mighty and just sovereign ruler[40].

The Imperial Fora often were supposed to relieve the old Forum Romanum and served as a stage for the emperor[41]. They followed a certain pattern, established by Caesar with his *forum Iulium* and basically consisted of a square, surrounded by *portici*, which may have contained *tabernae*[42]. The towering and completely enclosed walls and building structures gave a clearly closed and thus visually more private character to the Imperial Fora than it was the case at the Forum Romanum.

[39] See Palombi 2016, 41. While reflecting on how the emperors bought the proprieties with private money to build the Fora, Palombi refers to "the consecration and publication" of the monuments. The spaces made public were considered *res in usu publico* and considered as *opera publica*. He also mentions that some *cippi* found nearby could witness the borders of the Fora and prove the public status of the Fora, especially the Forum of Augustus and the Forum of Trajan.

[40] Köb 2000, 325.

[41] Köb 2000, 325.

[42] Köb 2000, 326.

Unlike the Forum Romanum the Imperial Fora were more self-contained and only had a few certain entrances **(Fig 7)**. This fact may show that the Imperial Fora may have had a restricted access, so that for example only approved citizens could enter, or that it could be closed for certain events or for the night. This could have been to protect the Fora from possible vandalism, which often occurred on the old Forum[43].

▲ **Fig. 7** Reconstruction drawing of the *forum Augustum* showing the entrance from the *subura*

The *forum Iulium*, was the first of the Imperial Fora: planned and build by Caesar shortly before his death in 44 B.C. It was meant to inherit some of the political and administrative functions of the old forum. Appian mentions the new built Forum not as a marketplace, but as a place where people could meet and "*settle business*"[44]. Tribunals have probably been held on the square itself, while the *tabernae* inside the *portici* were used for administrative duties and the temple served as gathering place for the senate and as a speaking platform, a so-called *rostrum*[45].

The Forum of Augustus did not only follow the example of the Forum of Caesar, but further surpassed its predecessor. Augustus himself planned a whole iconographic program to justify his reign as a descendant of Venus and Mars. The whole forum was aligned to show Augustus as the destined or godsend sovereign[46]. This whole program might show the transmission of private values (such as

[43] Köb 2000, 183. For more examples on vandalism in the late republic and their possible effects in later times see Davies 2019.

[44] App. civ. 2, 102, 424.

[45] Köb 2000, 204-205.

[46] For an analysis of the iconic program of Augustus during his reign we recommend cf. Zanker 1980 and Zanker 1987.

showing ones ancestors/ heritage)[47] within a public context. But besides its representative function it had also important political and military functions to establish itself as the new political centre of the Roman Empire. The functions described in the ancient sources included: decisions of the Senate about wars and triumphal marches, the erection of statues for victorious commanders and annual festivities organized by those commanders[48]. To protect the Forum of Augustus from possible fires, which often started in the *subura*[49], the north-eastern walls were made fireproof. The extreme height of the wall (33 meters high)[50] might also indicate a separation from the "low-class" citizens living in the *subura*. Anyway, the Forum was still accessible from the *subura* through an entrance on each side of the temple of Mars Ultor (Mars the Avenger).

The *Forum of Trajan* was the last and biggest of the Roman Imperial Fora[51]. It was divided into three parts: the square with two *portici* at its sides, the giant Basilica Ulpia and the column of Trajan surrounded by two libraries. The square itself was probably used for triumphal marches and important ceremonies. It was also used for tribunals and for the announcement of new laws[52]. The Basilica Ulpia, probably served as place for the courts and kept the archives of the *praetores*, but might also have had other functions, which are unknown. The Bibliotheca Ulpia contained Greek and Latin texts and books and probably served as platforms to go around the giant column of Trajan, which showed a relief of his victory against the Dacians. Even though it was so prestigious, the accessibility is quite unsure. Was it possible for everyone to go in there and read books, or was only a small clientele allowed? The ancient sources

47 Russel 2016, 14.

48 Suet. Aug. 29; Cass. Dio 55, 10.

49 For a better understanding of the Subura see the paper of Tim Renkert "An approach to understand the Subura: The "Argiletum" and its function between public and private spaces in Rome" in this booklet on pages 102-123.

50 La Rocca 1995, 41.

51 According to Kolb 310 m x 188 m (Kolb 1995, 389).

52 Köb 2000, 292.

do not give much answers to this question, how public or restricted/ private those libraries were. Only the findings of honorary statues may suggest, that the libraries were open to a wider audience[53].

Conclusion

So why is it important to differentiate the Fora regarding the public and private spheres? Although all the Fora where undeniable public, they had many differences in functions, architecture and maybe attracted different sorts of visitors. Even if the new Imperial Fora helped to relieve the old Forum and wanted to establish themselves as the new central places, the Forum Romanum was probably still the leading public square[54]. It was still used to meet, hear political speeches, visit the temples, or simply as a way to get to other places like the Capitol or the merchants, which were nearby. The Imperial Fora, on the other hand, were not meant as giant squares, or crossroads, which could connect different places[55]. They further were a way to represent the power of the emperor, which is indicated through their architecture and sculptural endowments, which makes them look more like *temenoi* (holy sanctuaries)[56].

It must be stated how uneasy and unpractical it could be, to label the space of the Forum private or public, and this for three main reasons. First: because, as seen, the Forum Romanum was such a particular entity in the urbanistic life of Rome and many different aspects crossed each other. Second: the few ancient sources we have, especially about the Imperial Fora, focus mainly on the intended functions and not on the way of usage and the daily business. Third: it should always be reminded that public and private in ancient times were elastic concepts, maybe not even suitable to a complex context such as the Forum. Sometimes the two categories are simply not opposite to each other, they interfere, cross, overlap and not rarely

[53] Köb 2000, 298.
[54] Köb 2000, 152.
[55] The only exception is the Forum Transitorium.
[56] Köb 2000, 334.

some places could fit in both the categories. We should therefore avoid applying modern categories to the ancient world and always keep the perception of the historical context.

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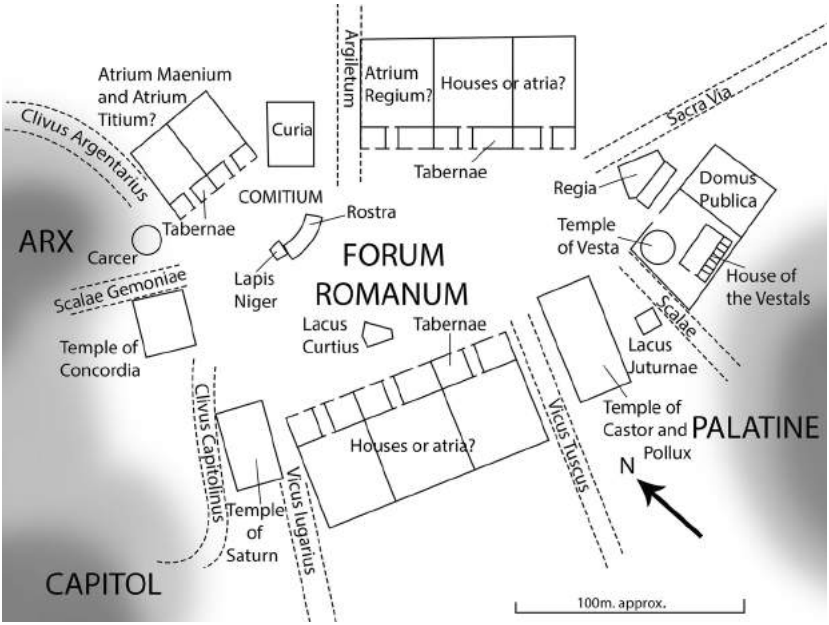
03 | *Atria publica populi romani*: Structures contaminated by memory

Luca Masciale

The *atrium* house – An etymological approach

During the Republican period public and private privileges appeared - two connotations partially similar and not totally separate[1]. These need to be considered especially in the area of the Forum Romanum, where a *domus* – house of private property - is often used as a social and somehow public place **(Fig. 1a-b)**. This is due to the design of one of its inner parts: the *atrium*. Accessed from the road, after a small open space, the *vestibulum*, and a brief hallway, the *fauces*, is followed. This environment is mentioned in Vitruvius[2] *communia cum extraneis* and identified as a public space like the ones that can be found in aristocrats' and magistrates' houses. Livy mentions, in the description of the Gallic conquest, *atria principum*[3], which occupied the *forum* area. Varro[4] describes the *atrium* as an open space commonly used by everyone, underlining its main function as the room for the *salutations* of the *clientes* to their *patronus*. Possible etymological hints of the word *atrium* can be found at Servius[5], coming from 'blackened' (lat. *ater*) - referring to a place where people used to eat and cook and where the fire blackened the walls; another source of the word might derive from *atria* (Adria), an Etruscan city full of houses with huge entrances, later copied by

[1] Regarding to the difference between public and private space in the Roman city see Zaccaria Raggiu 1995.
[2] Vitr. 6, 5, 1.
[3] Liv. 5, 41, 6-8.
[4] Varro ling. 5, 33, 161.
[5] Serv. Aen. 1, 637.



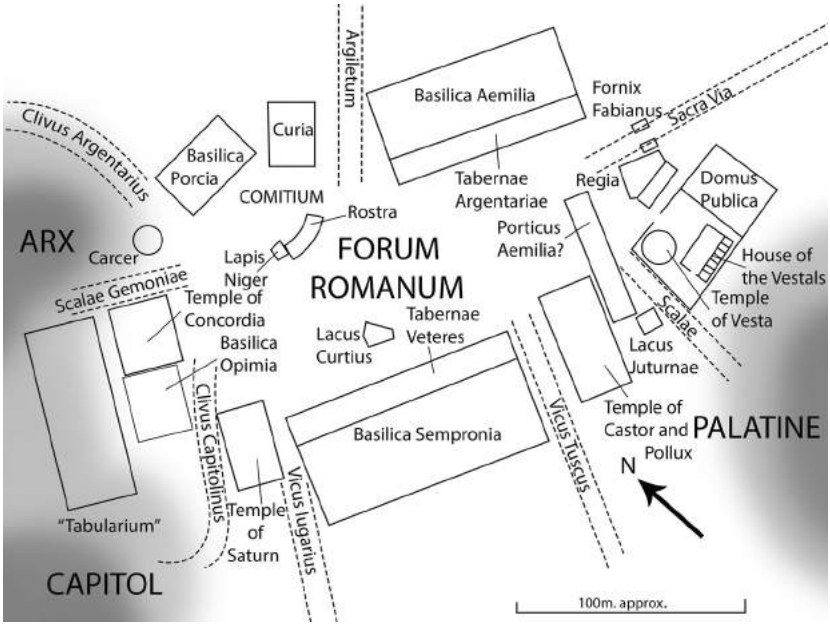
▲ **Fig. 1a** Sketch map of the Forum Romanum around 200 B.C.

the Romans and called *atria*; other assume that the name referred to very wide buildings (*magnas aedes et capacissima*) like the *atria Licinia* and the *atrium Libertatis*[6]. The same author mentions at the same verse that within the *atrium* images of ancestors were worshipped, lightened by candles and lanterns. Displaying these portraits gives a great religious and ideologic value to a place - the most visible in the mansion - in which the inner and the outer parts meet[7]. As we can see through sources, Roman *atria*[8] had different functions.

[6] Serv. Aen. 1, 726.

[7] In the *atrium* of the aristocratic *domus* the exhibition of images of the ancestors are described in Plin. nat. hist. 25, 6. 35, 11; Sen. benef. 3, 28, 1; Mart. 4, 60.

[8] Cf. *LTUR* I, 1993, "*atrium Maenium*" (F. Coarelli), 135; "*atrium Regium*" (F. Zevi), 137; "*atrium Vestae*" (R.T. Scott), 138-142; "*atrium Minervae*" (F. Zevi), 135-136; "*atrium Libertatis*" (F. Coarelli), 133-135; "*atrium Sutorium*" (E. Tortorici), 137; "*atria Licinia*" (E. Tortorici), 132.



▲ **Fig. 1b** Sketch map of the Forum Romanum around 60 B.C.

In Rome, close to the Forum, different house are attested: the *atria Maenium et Titium* were replaced by the *basilica Porcia*, the *atrium Regium* and *atrium Vestae* were next to the *regia* and respectively *aedes Vestae*, the *atrium Minervae* was probably in relation to the Curia, beside the *atria* at the Forum the *atrium Libertatis* which was later included in the *basilica Ulpia* of the Forum of Trajan, the *atrium Sutorium* must be located at the Argiletum district and the *atria Licinia* have been near the *Macellum* area. The following analysis will discuss the different monuments separately, focussing on the main features of the research history.

Atria Maenium et Titium

According to Livy Marcus Porcius Cato bought two *atria* (*Maenium et Titium*) at the Forum Romanum to build the *basilica Porcia* there[9]. Although the ancient authors point out that it was bought from private land this might be due to a misunderstanding of the Imperial source[10]. The architectural analogy can be recognised in buildings at the Forum of Cosa which looks similar to the Roman Forum[11]. The examples of *atria* of this Latin colony has in their inner parts one or two utility rooms flanked by two *tabernae* **(Fig. 2)**[12]. These fit to the description of Livy according to him Cato also bought *quattuor tabernas*. This means that each *atrium* had two *tabernae* on its front[13]. In the ancient sources we have otherwise no hint to the *gens Titia*[14], but from the *Maenii* we know *C. Maenius*, consul of 338 B.C., whose name is linked to several monuments of the Forum[15].

On the basis of Pliny and other sources[16], F. Coarelli suggests the *columna Maenia* was placed at the west side of the *comitium* - an open-air public meeting space at the Forum Romanum located at the north side of the later Arch of Septimius Severus[17]. The column is also depicted on a coin of L. Marcius Censorinus in 82 B.C. **(Fig. 3)** flanked by the figure of Marsyas and topped by a statue, which showed

[9] Liv. 39, 44, 7. One of them can be identified as the same one mentioned in Porphyr. Hor. c. 1, 3, 21 and Cic. div. in Caec. 16, 50, both referring to a *domus* on private lands owned by a certain Maenius.

[10] Coarelli 1992, 45.

[11] Brown 1980, 33-36.

[12] Brown et. al. 1993, 57-97.

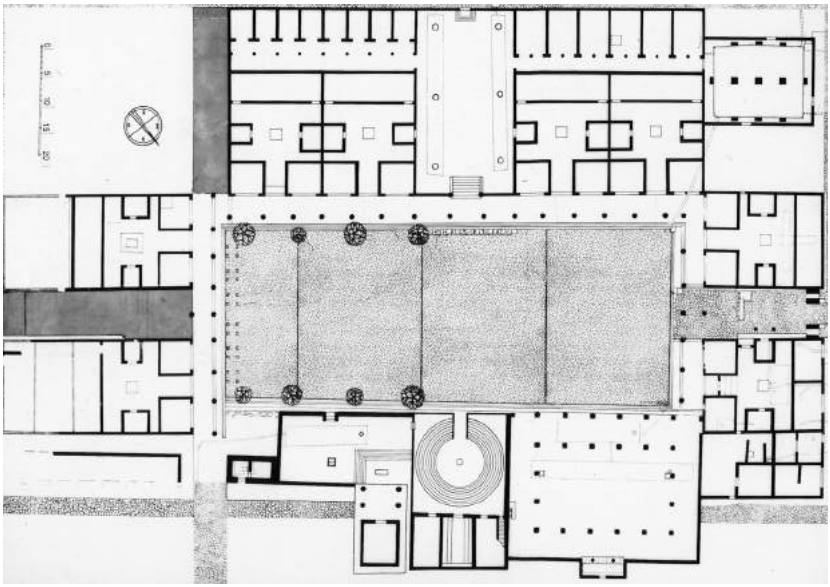
[13] It is assumed that each of the two *atria* was fitted on the front with two *tabernae*. See a different interpretation in Fentress – Bodel 2003, 21-23, who by comparing the buildings of Cosa with the a*tria Maenium et Titium* interpret the former as dwelling houses. On the contrary, F. Coarelli considers the same text as an interpretative error of the mention at Livy (see note 10).

[14] For the hypotheses that interpret the *atrium Titium* as the seat of the *Titii sodales* see Torelli 2004, 71; cf. Masier 2009, 11-66 (esp. 19-29).

[15] For *columna Maeniae* cf. the ancient sources in note 10. For the enlargements of the *comitium* by the same Maenius, censor of 318 B.C., cf. Taylor 1966, 21.

[16] Plin. nat. hist. 7, 60; cf. also Varro ling. 6, 9, 89 (*Ibid*., 6, 2, 5); Cens. 24, 3.

[17] For the identification of the *comitium* as a *templum* cf. Detlefsen 1860, 128-160; Palmer 1969.



▲ **Fig. 2** Plan of the Forum of Cosa with *atria* around the square

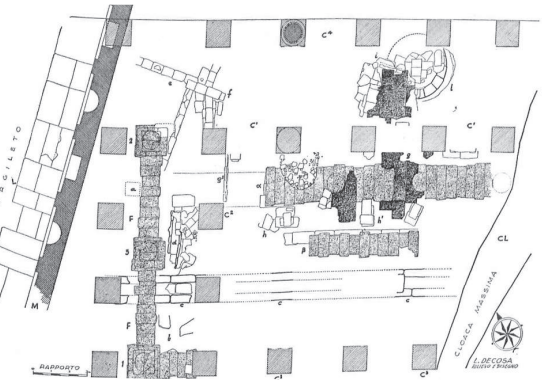
▶ **Fig. 3** Coin of L. Marcius Censorinus depicting the statue of Marsyas and the *columna Maenia*, 82 B.C., minted in Rome

a Victoria[18] or a Minerva[19]. The statue of the satyr and the column, close to each other and also to the place of political discourses (*comitium*), complete each other in their semantic value[20]. It is not by chance that in this place Cato built the basilica named after him asserting his plebeian personality in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.[21].
The *basilica Porica*, which was built above the purchased atria, functioned as the seat of the tribunes of the people (*tribuni plebis*) where they also held several judicial proceedings[22]. Even it is not delivered for the prior structures maybe one can assume that the *atria* had somehow the same function. Therefore functionally speaking, the basilica is more in continuity than in a complete upheaval in this area, only the building type has changed.

Atrium regium

The *atrium regium* building has been mentioned by Livy among the damaged buildings after a fatal fire at the Forum in 210 B.C.[23] and then among the ones who were rebuilt the year after[24]. The fire developed within the *septem tabernae* - five when they were rebuilt again - and the *tabernae argentariae*, renamed *tabernae novae* after their restoration. The fire also reached some structures behind them, which were then rebuilt by *basilicas*, and there were also *privata aedificia*, the *forum piscatorium* and the *atrium regium*. According to Livy, the *tabernae* must be sought between *lautumie* and the

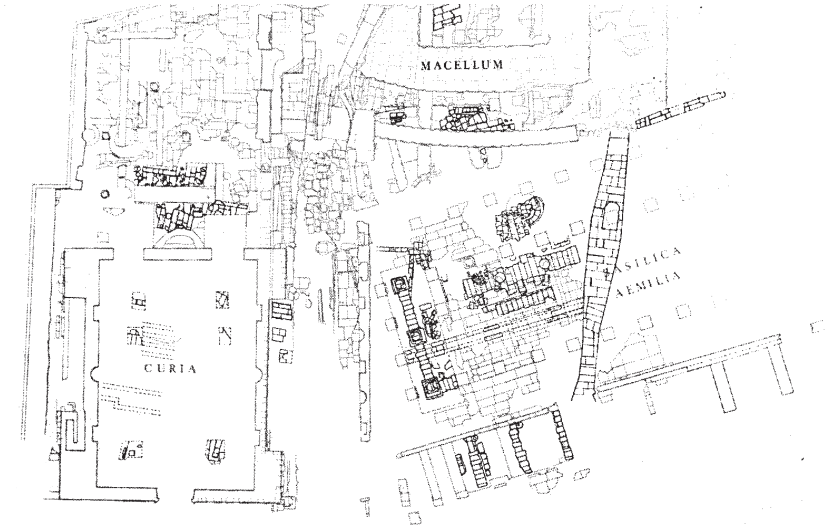
[18] Crawford 1974, 378.
[19] Torelli 1982, 117.
[20] *Marsia* as a symbol of *libertas plebeia*, the column raised to the point of the finish line of the sunset, in addition to establishing the *suprema diei* and the *iudicia* (Plin. nat. hist. 7, 60) it is a place where *debitores a creditoribus proscribebantur*, so frequented by the *frenatores* and usurers, but also where they were *triumviri capitales*, educated around to 288 B.C. (Liv. 11: between 299-286 B.C.).
[21] Concerning the topographical location cf. Ascon. Ped. in Mil. 2, 34; Plut. Cato mai. 19, 3; Liv. 39, 44; Plut. Cato min. 5, 1. For archaeological remains connected with this structure cf. Colini 1941, 91-92; Colini 1946-8, 195; Colini 1981, 79-81; Bartoli 1963, 37 fig. 19.
[22] Liv. 39,44,7; Plut. Cat. Min. 5,1; Plut. Cat. Mai. 19, 2.
[23] Liv. 26, 27, 2-4 (210 B.C.).
[24] Liv. 27, 11, 16 (209 B.C.).



▲ **Fig. 4** Sketch of the excavation at the *basilica Aemilia* showing the fundaments of a prior basilica

comitius, more precisely behind this one[25]. Plautus also mentions a new basilica within the 208 B.C. restoration of the Forum, the so-called *basilica Plautina*, which M. Gaggiotti identified as the *atrium regium* area[26]. The basements α and β - so defined by Carettoni's excavation under the *basilica Aemilia* - might be identified as the ones of the mentioned basilica at Plautus

▼ **Fig. 5** Sketch of the excavation at the *basilica Aemilia* showing the rests of the *macellum* and the shops (*tabernae argentariae*)



[25] The identification between *tabernae novae* and *septem tabernae* was solved by Coarelli 1992, 148 n. 28.

[26] Plaut. Curc. 470-482. Cf. Gaggiotti 1985a, 53-80; Gaggiotti 1985b, 55-66. See also Duckworth 1955.

(Fig. 4)[27]. So, putting this information together the *atrium regium* must be located at the north side of the Forum, preceded by the bankers' shops (*tabernae argentariae*) and flanked at the bottom by the *macellum* **(Fig. 5)**[28].

Considering the functions of the *atrium regium* this building probably featured as a public residence, where during the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. important, Hellenistic regal guests have been welcomed[29]. On the other hand, the royalty of this building might have been an "archaic" value[30] assuming the civil tasks of the former *rex*, Numa Pompilius[31]. Furthermore, the same building with that archaic duty played later an important role for the juridical duties[32].

Because of the lack of archaeological sources about the *atrium regium* and through the analogy of some names, it has been related to the *regia* and then interpreted as close to this one, to the *atrium Vestae* and to the *domus publica*, thus at the east side of the Forum[33].

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[27] According to Carettoni 1948, 111ff. foundations α and β are attributable to the phase of 179 B.C. or to Sullan age, while foundation F to the Caesarean phase of the Basilica Emilia. Fuchs 1956 relates foundation F to 179 B.C. and the α and β structures to an older building (*basilica „plautina"*?). Same conclusions in Tortorici 1991, 25-26; Bianchini – Antognoli 2014, 111; Palombi 2016, 108.

[28] About the topographical location of *Macellum* see Palombi 2016, 158-161. 80-87.

[29] Zevi 1991, 475-487. In this regard the news of Eutropius referring to the visit of Hieron II. in 327 B.C. is put in relation to attend the *ludi Romani*. Eutr. 3, 1 (237 B.C.). The literary reference is exploited by Welch 2003, 5-34, who follows the interpretation of Zevi and hypothesizes a new building of the *atrium regium* between 273 B.C., first contacts with the Ptolemaic dynasty, and 210 B.C., the fire that allowed its transformation into the basilica mentioned at Plautus.

[30] Gaggiotti 2004, 45-54.

[31] Cass. Dio. 1, 6, 2. He is mentioning the αρκεια of the *via Sacra*, identified with the *atrium regium*. See also Gaggiotti 2004, 51-53. 64-73.

[32] The events following 209 B.C. can be traced back to three important censors and the historical moment in which they invest this magistracy. In 179 B.C. the structure underwent interventions by M. Fulvius Nobilior bringing back the name of Fulvia up to 159 B.C., when M. Aemilius Lepidus contracted the restoration of the basilica and gave it, at least up to 78 B.C., the double name of *basilica Fulvia-Aemilia*, the same one, depicted in a coin of 61 B.C. with the inscription AIMILIA REF [ECTA]. The latter is finally replaced in 55 B.C. by the *basilica Paulli*, constructed by the triumvir L. Aemilius Paulus who kept the axis of the previous *basilica Fulvia* and finished it around 34 B.C.

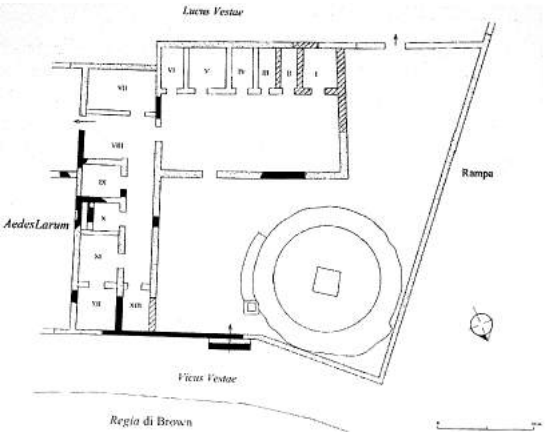
[33] Cf. Steinby 1987, 139-184; Steinby 2012a; Steinby 2012b, where she distinguishes the *basilica Aemilia* from the *basilica Fulvia* as two different buildings.

Atrium Vestae

Archaeological operations at the *atrium Vestae* testified that the structures, after the fire of 148 B.C.[34], were differently oriented than the phase of the building which was constructed under Nero and which we can see nowadays[35]. The original layout instead did not provide secure chronological data but because of its structural connection to the Temple of Vesta we can date it to 7 B.C. and thus contemporary to the *regia*[36].

The layout of the *atrium Vestae*, in its oldest phase, appeared as a courtyard adjacent to the *aedes*, with six rooms looking to its southern side, identified as the accommodations of the priestesses **(Fig. 6)**[37]. In the first half of the 1st century B.C. the sanctuary was renewed at its east side due to the presence of nine rooms, earlier roughly testified, likely to be linked to the paths of the ritual life[38]. The famous fire under emperor Nero of 64 A.D. heavily destroyed the building so that it was immediately rebuilt with some modifications, already planned by Augustus in 12 B.C. The *pontifex maxi-*

▼ **Fig. 6** Plan of the *atrium Vestae* in its oldest phase



[34] Liv. ep. Oxyrh. 127-129. Same chronological range for the masonry in square work and the mosaics in Morricone Matini 1980, 20-21.

[35] Van Deman 1909, pl. A; Carettoni 1978-80, 325-355.

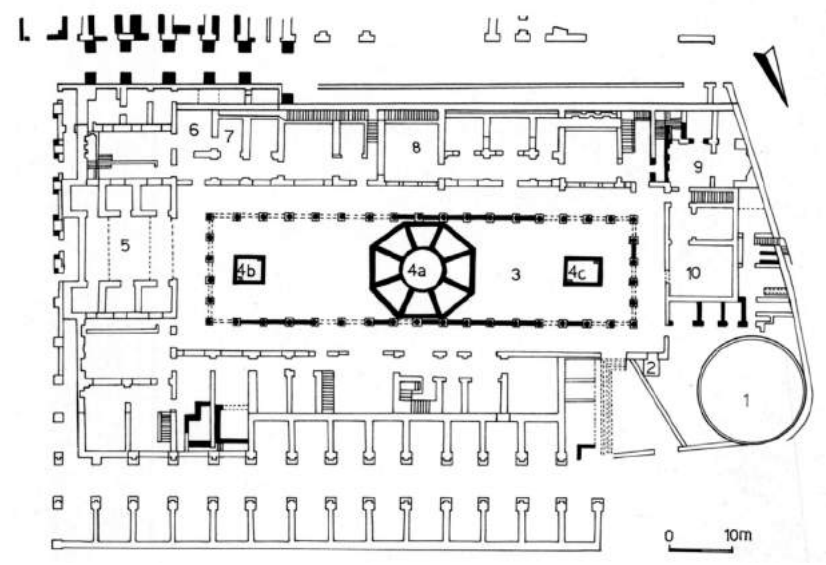
[36] The Temple of Vesta (*aedes Vestae*) retains at the same position. For dating, referring to the oldest materials found in wells connected to the temple, see Gjerstad 1953-1973, v. III, 359-374. On the path that separates the *atrium Vestae* from the *regia* see Coarelli 1983, 64 n. 34; for a different interpretation cf. Brown 1974-5, 15-36.

[37] Cappelli 1986, 1ff.; Caprioli 2007. According to Wisemann 2017, 13-45 the Temple of Jupiter Stator should be placed on the *atrium* area.

[38] Arvanitis 2010, 53.

mus Augustus in fact had connected the area occupied by the *domus publica*[39] to the *atrium* and the *aedes Vestae*, moving within his own mansion in *palatinum*, the seat of this ministry. The structures today, in which Trajan's modification and Constantine's restoration are attested, consist of a wide rectangular yard surrounded by a colonnaded porch. In the middle of the east side there is a big area (*tablinius*) **(Fig. 7)**[40]. During the Republican period the *vestalia*, the festival for the goddess Vesta, were celebrated from June 9th to 15th[41]. On these days the matrons could enter barefoot the sacred temple and the *penum vestae*, where sacred items were kept, was reopened. Moreover, ancient sources refer to the last day when there was the *stercoratio*, a purification process of the temple consisting of cleaning up from

Fig. 7 Plan of the *atrium Vestae* showing the Imperial layout



[39] As *pontifex maximus* Caesar was elected in 62 B.C. who then lived in the *domus publica*. For the identification of this with the *domus regis sacrorum* and its connection with the *domus publica* cf. Coarelli 1983, 74ff.

[40] Bossi 2017, 545-554.

[41] Barraco 2017, 177 fig. 3.

the dung of animals (*stercus*) accumulated over the year, and this signed the end of the productive cycle of the earth and the beginning of a new season[42]. The temple cella in fact did not host the cult image of the goddess Vesta but a *flammam vivam* (an everlasting herd fire) and, hidden from the eyes of mortals, the *palladium* and the *simulacrum* of Minerva brought to Rome from Ilium probably by Aeneas[43].

Atrium Minervae

In the late ancient catalogues of the 12 regions of Rome the *atrium Minervae* is mentioned in *regio* VIII, between the *senatum* and *Forum Caesaris/Forum Iulium*[44]. They topographically testify it is located close to or within the *Curia Iulia*. Moreover, most of academics detected the *atrium Minervae* in Dio's Αθήναίον[45], in fact, he asserts that Augustus "devoted the *Athenàion* - named also *chalcidicum* - and *Curia Iulia* to his father"[46]. The text is rightly connected to Augustus' *Res Gestae*[47], which mentions that the *chalcidicum* was connected to the Curia. This leads F. Zevi to identify it as a monumental vestibule placed on the front of the senate compound[48]. About this complex triple identification between *Athenàion, chalcid-*

[42] Varro ling. 6, 32; Fest. From the *fasti* of Ovid (Ov. fast. 6, 395ff.) is deduced that the ceremony was fixed in a single date (June 9th), probably in the archaic period, when its development was in the area between *Aedes Vestae* and *infima Nova Via*.

[43] Ov. fast. 6, 291; Ov. fast. 6, 421-428.

[44] Valentini – Zucchetti 1940-1953, 113, 1. 114, 2.

[45] Cass. Dio. 51, 22.

[46] See Lanciani 1883, 3ff.; Lundström 1922, 369-382; Castagnoli 1960, 92-96; Bartoli 1963, 2-13; Callmer 1969, 277-284.

[47] R. Gest. div. Aug. 4, 1 (19); R. Gest. div. Aug. 6, 34 (35).

[48] Zevi 1971, 237ff. The hypothesis of the scholar would admit that the small Diocletian *porticus* of small size and low volume refers to a reductive structure with respect to the original one of the times of Caesar and Augustus (cf. Amici 1991, 64).

icum and *atrium Minervae* most of the recent studies has been done[49]. Among all according to A. Fraschetti[50] the structural connection between Augustus' *chalcidicum*[51] and the *Athenàion/atrium Minervae* has been repeated: the same environment with two temporally consequent appellations.

Nevertheless, a golden statue of Minerva was raised in the Curia after Agrippa's death[52]. The conspiracy revelation would happen on March 19 during her celebration day (*quinquatrus Minervae*), thanking the deity with a simulacrum. Next to it later an image of the emperor Nero was put, but after his death the statue of Nero was destroyed while the statue of Minerva was probably moved in the *chalcidicum* in front of the senate room[53]. The importance of the *atrium Minervae* seemed to continue till the late antique period[54]. A 390 A.D. law referring to the crime of homosexuality was outlined on May 14 in Rome just in the *atrium*[55]. Furthermore, we know that in 472/3 A.D.[56] a restoration of the statue of Minerva was instructed whose inscription[57], discovered in the Roman Forum "in *aede divae Martinae*"[58], has to be linked to the Imperial simulacrum.

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[49] For the previous identification of *chalcidicum* see Lanciani 1883, 6ff., who puts it together with other senate offices in the area west of the Curia; cf. Thomsen 1941, 105ff.; Nash 1976, 230, locate it behind the Curia as well as in Morselli – Tortorici 1990, 229-131 (in particular the author underlines the increase number of senators from 600 under Sulla to 900 in the Augustan period, considering a narrowing of the senatorial structure to make room for the *vestibule/chalcidicum*); Richardson 1978, 360 n. 1. 362, assumes it on the left side of the Curia between this and the church of San Martina.

[50] Fraschetti 1999, 133-174.

[51] The architecture of the Augustan period was recognized in the building represented in a *denarius* of Octavian in which the colonnade front is referred to as *chalcidicum*. Cf. Hülsen 1910, 21.

[52] Tac. ann 14, 12, 1.

[53] One hypothesis, mentioned by Fraschetti 1999, links this to Domitian's intervention in the restoration of the Curia after a fire broke out in Campus Martius in 80 A.D.

[54] E.g. the *atrium* is mentioned in *Mos. et Rom. legum collatio* V.III, *FIRA* II, 557: *prop(osita) pr. Id. Maias Romae in atrio Minervae*.

[55] In *Cod. Thod*. 9, 7, 6 posted with another date in *foro Traiani* (cf. Fraschetti 1999, 156).

[56] This happened in the year after the urban prefect *Anicius Acilius Aginatius Faustus*. See Fraschetti 1999, 159-163.

[57] CIL 06, 526.

[58] Lanciani 1883, 11.

▲ **Fig. 8** Coin of Octavianus showing the Curia Julia, 29–27 B.C.

Excavations of Bartoli allowed the documentation of a masonry core, 6,88 m wide, on the front of the Curia, which was classified as part of a porch. It continues westwards further the senate compound, leading to the hypothesis of a front column of more than one building[59]. It is considered that these rests belong to the *chalcidicum* as well as the monumentalising of the hall of the Curia with a porticus on the front, which is also depicted on a coin of the Augustan age **(Fig. 8)**[60]. This hypothesis then would not accept the contextual relation between the opening of the *Curia Iulia* and the construction of the *atrium Minervae*[61].

For a topographic reconstruction of this area, now occupied by the church of Santi Luca e Martina, one must resubmit a drawing of Antonio da San Gallo il Giovane made in anticipation of the rebuilding of the original 17th century church **(Fig. 9)**[62]. The drawing shows two travertine pylons in the front of the church (3.13 x 5,03 m) attributable to an Imperial arch (*Arcus Panis Aurei?*). Torelli places the *atrium Minervae* just in the space between the Curia and this arch, linking the first two buildings to each other through the porch of the *chalcidicum* excavated by Bartoli. According to him this placement finds a confirmation in the *congiarium*, an event depicted

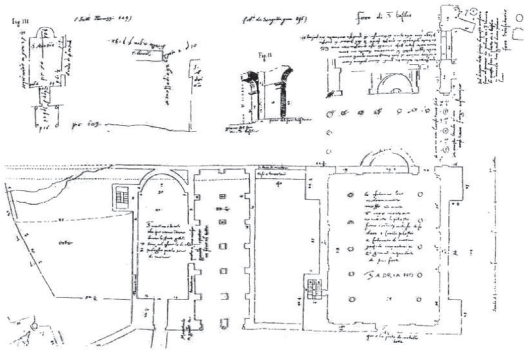
[59] Bartoli 1963, 39-40.

[60] Zevi 1971, 237-251. Then mirrored by Fraschetti 1999.

[61] This is contrary to what M. Torelli asserts. Cf. Torelli 2004, 63-109.

[62] Jordan – Hülsen 1871, 250-258. In the drawing (inv. No. 896) the chapel of the early Christian oratory is drawn, for convenience, on the longitudinal axis of the Curia.

many times on coins, held close to a statue of Minerva and then substituted with procedures of *liberalitas* after the first imperial age. One of its representations can be found in on relief of the Arch of Constantine in Rome in which the scene is depicted within the shops of the porch of the Forum Iulium and thus close to the *atrium Minervae* **(Fig. 10)**[63]. It is possible then to find a topographic location for the *congiarium* in the area between the *atrium Minervae*, the *comitium* and the Curia, in which the statue of Minerva plays a symbolic role analogous to the one of the *columna Maeniae* mentioned above[64].



▲ **Fig. 9** Drawing by Antonio da Sangallo depicting the Curia Julia

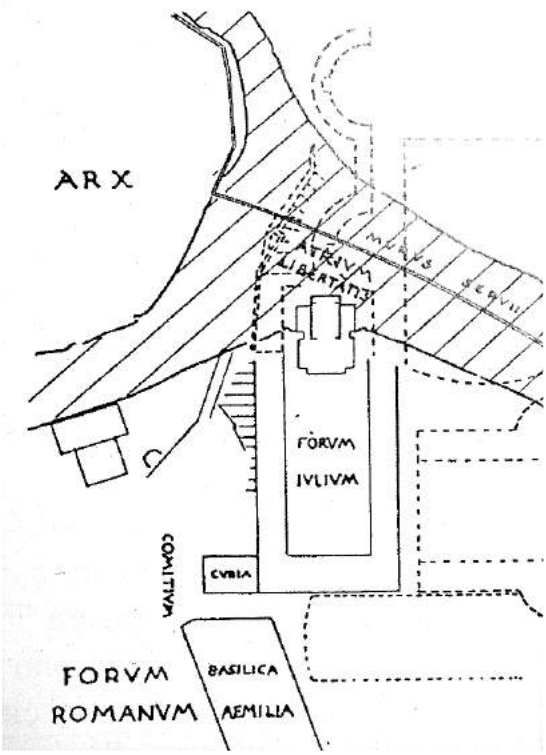
Atrium Libertatis

The *atrium Libertatis* was the official headquarter of the *censor* during the Republican period and can be located between the Capitol and

▼ **Fig. 10** Relief from the Arch of Constantine in Rome, the scene might took place inside the *atrium Minervae*, 315 A.D.

[63] Virlouvet 1995, 76-81. The same setting with an internal and external view can be found respectively in the Aurelian relief reused in the Arch of Constantine and in the *adventus* scene of the Arch of Benevent.

[64] According to some academics the placement of this statue is on the top of *atrium Minervae*. In the light of this proposal Augustus would devise only a monumental venue in which the compound of the Curia reflected the *Libertas Senatus* while the *atrium Minervae* the *Libertas Populi Romani*.



▲ **Fig. 11** Sketch of the area between the Capitol and the Quirinal showing the location of the *atrium Libertatis*

the Quirinal, to the north-west of the Forum Iulium **(Fig. 11)**[65]. Its construction is dated to 443 B.C., when the censure was instituted in Rome[66].

This compound was later connected to the so-called *villa publica* in 193 B.C.[67]. This intervention was considered as a completion started the previous year by the censors Sextus Elius Petus and C. Cornelius Catego[68], who disposed the restoration of the *atrium Libertatis* that was destroyed by a fire probably in 210 B.C.[69]. The life of this *atrium* strongly changed during the later periods, especially during the construction works of the Forum Iulium in 54 B.C.[70]. C. Asinus Pollio after he defeated Illirians in 39 B.C. rebuilt newly the *atrium*

[65] Castagnoli 1947, 276-291.

[66] Soulahti 1963; Kunlel – Wittman 1995, 446-461. It is assumed that a seat was needed for the judiciary already in the second half of the 4th cent. B.C.

[67] *LTUR* V, 2000, 202-205, s.v. "Villa Publica" (S. Agache); about the topography of the area and the respective monuments (including the Temple of Minerva Chalcidica) see Coarelli 1997, 168-175; cf. Richardson 1976, 159-162. The author believes that the structure survived the triumphs of Titus and Vespasian (see Ios. Bell. Iud. 7, 5, 4). About the last archaeological investigations in this area of the Campus Martius cf. Filippi 2015, 77-101.

[68] Liv. 34, 44, 5.

[69] Fest. 277L.

[70] This was commissioned to Oppius and Cicero. See Cic. Att. 4, 16, 8.

Libertatis[71], which can be considered as Caesar's urban plan who also made Varro to look after the project of the first public library in Rome[72]. A poet's portrait will be then hung in the library made by Pollio in the *atrium*[73].

This building was the archive of the ocensors, in which *tabulae* with the lists of the free citizens - from which the *atrium Libertatis* takes its name - were kept[74]. The location between the Capitol and the Quirinal near the *carcer* might explain the detention of the hostages of Taranto and Turi in 212 B.C.[75] and the interrogation of slaves reminded by Cicero[76].

With the rebuilding the *atrium* turns up to belong to the so-called *monumenta Pollionis* together with a certain basilica[77], whose presence would be testified by a lost inscription in the sepulchre of Drusus' freedmen in Rome[78].

The *atrium* can be traced in the rebuilding of the *monumenta Asini* started by Trajan who, in order to build his own *forum Traiani*, broke the Capitol-Quirinal axis and destroyed the *atrium Libertatis*. Nevertheless, he maintained the functions of the *atrium* wihtin the new *basilica Ulpia* integrated within the new complex attested by fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* with the inscription: [atrium] (L)*ibertat*(is) in one of its exedras **(Fig. 12)**. This confirms that the censorial activities were carried out in the same place they were destined since the 4th century B.C., but were hosted in a different building from 2nd century A.D. onwards[79].

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[71] The only reference to the presence of the building is given by the discovery at the foot of the arce, following the construction of the Museo del Risorgimento, of terracotta architectural cladding slabs of the "Campana" type of the same matrices as those found at the house of Augustus on the Palatine Hill. Cf. Strazzulla 1990.

[72] Suet. Aug. 29

[73] Isid. orig. 6.5.2; Plin. nat. hist. 7, 11, 5; 35, 10; Ov. trist. 3, 1, 69.

[74] Cf. Liv. 43, 16, 13. The *atrium* also served as a *tabularium* in which the bronze *tabulae* referring to the *ager publicus* were preserved, see Licin. 28, 35.

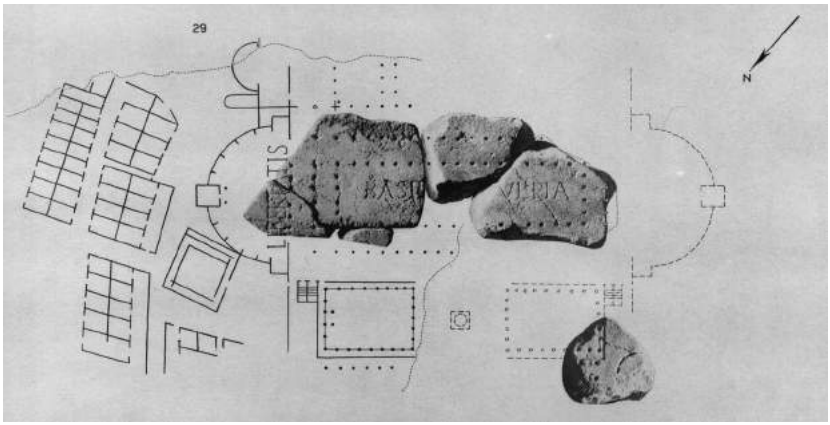
[75] Liv. 25, 7, 12.

[76] Cic. Mil. 59.

[77] S.v. in *LTUR* I, 170 "*basilica Asinia*" (F. Coarelli).

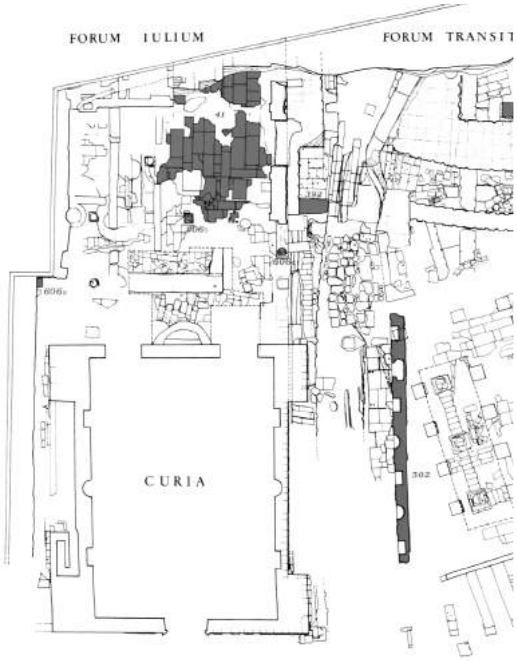
[78] CIL 06, 4330: Rhoci atriens(is)/ de basilica/ Asinia maritam (sic) fecit.

[79] Meneghini 2009, 142.



▲ **Fig. 12** Fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* showing the *atrium Libertatis* inside the Forum of Trajan

▼ **Fig. 13** Structural interventions behind the Curia Julia



During the late antiquity the location and architecture radically changed. In 437/446 A.D. Teodosius II. and Valentinianus III. wanted a statue of Aetius to be built *vindex libertatis* and placed it just in *atri libertat*(is)[80]. This inscription has been found close to the Curia[81], so a connection to Cassiodorus can be found who underlines the tight relationship between the *atrium* and the senate room[82]. The sack of Rome in 410 A.D. brought deep

[80] Fraschetti 1999, 179-184.

[81] Morselli – Tortorici 1990, 30 fig. 18; cf. Degrassi 1962, 299ff.; Mazzarino 1976, 297ff.

[82] Cassio. Var. 5, 21, 3. He names the Curia *aula, gremium* or *penetralia Libertatis*.

changes into the Curia and to the Forum Iulium behind it[83]. In this last compound the porch's colonnade was turned into a grand "aisle" **(Fig. 13)**[84], which can be identified as the *atrium Libertatis* frequently mentioned in sources of the 4th–5th century A.D.[85].

Atria Licinia

Only ancient sources relate to the *atria Licinia* and their topographic location and function[86]. They were connected with the *argiletum*[87], which was located on the east side of the *basilica Fulvia-Aemilia*[88]. By the name of this *atrium* we can imagine it was originally private, belonging to *gens Licinia*. The fame of this family has been reported by sources until the late Imperial period[89]. At the end of the Republic they were said to own plenty of houses along the *via Sacra* at the north side of Palatine Hill[90]. To localize these *atria* an epistle of Horace is helpful which mentions a Volteius Mena, who while going back home walked along the so-called *vicus ad Carinas*[91] and met the barber (*tonsor*) Philippus at his shop[92]. They met again the next morning and ended up lunching together in order to establish a strong friendship, probably due to the close prox-

[83] Before that the fire of Carinus, in 283 A.D., led to the reconstruction of the Curia and to modify the colonnaded front of the Forum of Caesar incorporated in a brickwork wall built against the perimeter wall in chunks of peperino of the Forum Transitorium. Cf. Friends 2007, 166 fig.10. The last changes of the Curia took place between 536-539 A.D. (Procop. bell. Goth. 1, 19-20) and in 630 A.D. by Pope Onorius I. Cf. Lanciani 1883, 3.

[84] Marble and granite slabs as floor for a large space, probably discovered, and the insertion of two columns on plinths that do not follow the intercolumn of the rest of the *porticus*, create a defined area. Morselli – Tortorici 1990, 253-255.

[85] Fraschetti 1999, 205-212.

[86] Cic. Quinct. 3, 12; Serv. Aen. 1, 723.

[87] Palombi 2016, 166; Welin 1953, 4ff.; cf. Wistrand 1933, 55-63 they put the *atria Licinia* in the current area of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

[88] Tortorici 1991, 44. Probably this is the area where the archaic *tabernae laenianae* were located.

[89] Iuv. 1, v. 109; Iuv. 14, v. 306; cf. Cic. Quint. 2, 3, 7.

[90] Palombi 1994, 49-63.

[91] This road is also mentioned at Dion. Hal. 1, 68, 3. For the identification of the road between the Basilica of Maxentius and the Templum Pacis cf. Palombi 1997, 36-37. 49-50.

[92] Hor. epist. 1-7, v. 46ff.

imity between the mansion and the barbershop[93]. As a result, Mena himself could practise his auctioneer profession just in the *atria Licinia* many times. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude that this activity is also mentioned by Horace[94] in reference to the figure of the father who was a *coactor exactionum*. He claimed the sums to award the auction sale both the building and its use ended at the end of the 1st century B.C.[95]. An epigraphy from the city Superaequum can be dated to the same time and testified the donation of an *atrium auctionarium* and of a statue of *Mercurium Augustum sacrum*[96]. Therefore, those *atria* seem to have had a multifunctional nature and their structure have been present in Rome at least until the end of the 1st century B.C.[97].

Atrium sutorium

There are different ancient sources and archaeological evidences attesting the *atrium sutorium*. It is mentioned in the *fasti Praenestini* as a building where the *tubilustrium* took place on march 23rd, a ceremony concerning the *lustratio* of graves that were said *sacris*[98]. Its name relates to the Argiletum - according to Martial who locates it in *primis faucibus Suburae*[99]. The *sutores* are supposed to act in the artisans' district where the *Macellum* was or in one of its areas adjacent to the *subura*[100]. The *atrium* anyway did not appear in sources after 1 B.C., probably because of the loss of craftwork in the area which was substituted by the building of the Imperial Fora. Corpora-

[93] For the *domus Marci* (property of the father of Philippus here quoted: orator, lawyer and finally consul in 91 B.C.) and the connection with the figure of Augustus see Palombi 1997, 146-147.

[94] Hor. sat. 1, 6, 81-88.

[95] Palombi 1997, 148.

[96] CIL 09, 3307.

[97] Torelli 2004, 71-72.

[98] Degrassi 1963, 123. 429. For the *tubilustrium* cf. Varro ling. 5, 24, 117. 6, 14; Fest. 480L.

[99] Mart. 2, 17, 1-3.

[100] For an introduction to the *subura* and the connection to craftmanship in this area cf. the paper of Tim Renkert "An approach to understand the *subura*: The "Argiletum" and its function between public and private spaces in Rome" in this booklet on pages 102-123.

tions are mentioned with their endorsements in several inscriptions[101]. The connection between the religious ceremony mentioned above and the *collegium* of the *sutores* is also enshrined by a date, May 23rd: *X. Kal. Iun. Np. Tubilustrium/Feriae Volcano*[102]. Volcanus is a divinity and said to be the maker of the *tubae* used in the army[103], moreover he is worshipped by setting the enemies' weapons on fire[104]. So, the *atrium* could host two very similar celebrations, in which the *sutores* could take part as the owners of that building. The day of March 23rd was also dedicated to Mars[105] attended by *Salii Palatini*[106] - an ancient group of dancers-priests fostered then by Augustus who determined the end of the celebrations in his *forum Augustum* within the Temple of Mars Ultor[107]. The *mansiones Saliorum Palatinorum* are documented in several 4th century inscriptions[108], why this *atrium* is connected with the structure under the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi **(Fig. 14)**[109]. This building, probably from the age of Sulla, consists of walls from the age of Augustus, Domitian and Trajan. There is also a rectangular *atrium*, probably from the Republican period, with three arcades on the north, south and west sides, upheld by marble pillars. On the other hand, a single arcade on the east side[110] shows the monu-

[101] In two artisan's names are attested and a reference to the area "*de Subura*", and one was found in a funerary *aedicula* of the age of Hadrian mentioning "*sutor a porta Fontinalis*". Cf. Palombi 2016, 235-237.

[102] Degrassi 1963, XII.2, 461ff. Cf. Ov. fast. 5, 725-726.

[103] Hor. carm. 1, 1, 23-24; Isd. Orig. 3, 172.

[104] The relationship between *Volcanus* and *tubilustrium* is analysed in Camassa 1984, 816-819; Capdeville 1995, 416ff. The first attestation of this ceremony refers to the time of Tarquinius Priscus (Serv. Aen. 7, 562); cf. Latte 1960, 118; Torelli 1984, 100ff.

[105] Or even to Minerva if we consider: Ovid. fast. 3, 849; cfr. Lyd. mens. 4, 60 (referring to Mars and Neride / Nerio).

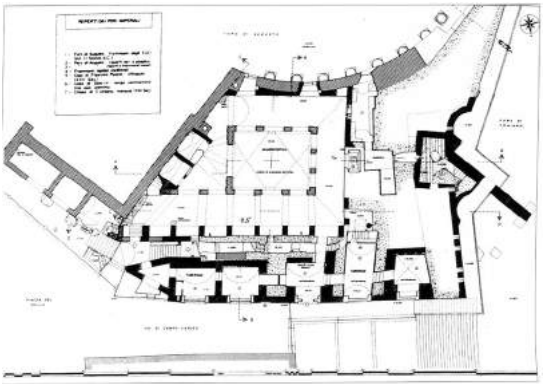
[106] Pol. 21, 13, 13; Granino Cecere 2014; Schaefer 1980.

[107] R. Gest. div. Aug. 10, 1; Suet. Claud. 33, 1. Cf. Edelmann 2003, 189-205.

[108] CIL 06, 2158; CIL 06, 3295; CIL 06, 3826.

[109] Palombi 2016, 167. 235-240.

[110] A structure in *opus reticulatum*, that divided the ambulatory to the north and a cementitious one to the west, has been dated to an earlier period by I. Gismondi, a chronology confirmed by Piras – Subioli 1990, 25-35.



▲ **Fig. 14** Planimetry of porticoed hall in the *Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi*

mentalising of an entrance at the top of a drain[111]. A study by E. Tortorici[112] dates this porch earlier, linking it to the *domus Sex. Pompeius* which Ovid defined as *contigua Augusto Foro*[113].

The attribution to the house of Sextus Pompeius (cos. 14 B.C.) is not convincing to some scholars who instead relate the structure to a project of Augustus for terracing and upholding the rear part of the hill that leans on the slope in this point (the Capitol-Quirinal area)[114]. The architectural analysis of this compound correlates this with the *porticus Triumphii* at the Forum Holitorium, it also proposes the design of a *via tecta* connected to the Servian Walls[115] and to the near *Porta Sanqualis*[116]. The rituality of the *tubilustrium* finds its place in this *atrium*-shaped structure that survived the urban renewals in this area like the construction of the Forum of Augustus and the one of Trajan **(Fig. 15)**[117].

[111] The authors document this access stairway in the Flavian-Traian phase of the cd. "terrazza domizianea".

[112] Tortorici 1993; s.v. *Domus Sex. Pompeius* in *LTUR* II, 1995 (E. Tortorici), with reference to the relief of I. Gismondi.

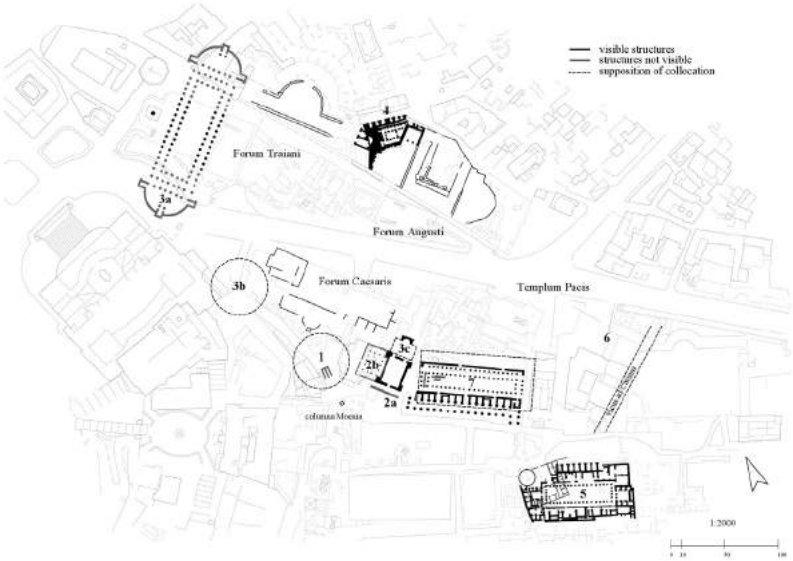
[113] Ovid. pont. 4, 15, 15-20.

[114] Lamboglia – Musolino 1997, 45-57. See also Delfino 2010, 11-31.

[115] The walls would seem to follow a straight line passing through the Forum of Trajan, in the middle of the two exedras. See Meneghini 2003, 230-34; Meneghini 2007, 22. A different interpretation proposes Abbondanza 2015 (109-131, part 116 n.44), noting the ashlar faces of the travertine blocks used in the pillars, and hypothesizes a disassembly of the structure in coincidence with the construction of the "Aula del Colosso".

[116] About the location of the *Porta Sanqualis* see Palombi 2016, 141 and 174; on the idea of *via tecta* see Abbondanza 2015, 19; cf. Palombi 2016, 162 in which the toponymic connection mechanism between the gate-sanctuary-religious festival in Porta Fontinalis is confirmed, as it was also for the Porta Carmentalis, Sanqualis and Salutaris.

[117] See Palombi 2016, 223-225 (details on the ceremonies in the area). 273-276 (for the *mansiones Saliorum Palatinorum*).



▲ **Fig. 15** Planimetry of Roman Forum and surrounding area with location of *atria publica* and main structures that replace them: 1. cross-hatching, *atrium Moenium et Titium* (in grey *basilica Porcia* (?)); 2. *atrium Minervae* (a. hypothesis Zevi/Fraschetti; b. hypothesis Torelli); 3. *atrium Libertatis* (a. post 2nd cent. A.D, exedras of *basilica Ulpia*, b. after 2nd cent. A.D., c. in the late period); 4. *atrium Sutorium* (?); 5. *atrium Vestae* (in grey, structures refer to Republican period (2nd–1st cent. B.C), in black, structures post neronian's fire); 6. *atria Licina*, 7. in black, *basilica Aemilia*; in grey, *basilica plautina* (?); cross hatching, Atrium Regium (?).

Conclusion

The great architectural renewals realised in centre of the city of Rome let to the disappearance of buildings which nevertheless maintained their historical memory linked to their original location. The oldest *atrium* according to the sources is the *atrium Vestae*. Moreover, it is the only one related to a cultural scope, from the archaic era onwards. The fireplace reported to be in this wide-open space, communicating with the *aedes* and the

assumed accommodations, matches with the description of the ancient domestic *atrium* houses. From them it also took the function of having a close connection to the sanctuary and religious duties. Both features last till the late antiquity. If we agree with the prior mentioned hypothesis another example for this is the *atrium Sutorium*. It was located within the Argiletum district, close to the Roman Forum, what explains the presence of artisans (*sutores*) in that *atrium*. Moreover, this and the *atrium Vestae* turn out to be related to very ancient ceremonies.

About the divine name of the *atrium*, it is possible to consider the *atrium Minervae* - which has been mentioned in the sources with the Latin genitive of the goddess's name - as the one dedicated to Vesta (or *atrium Libertatis*). However, the *atrium Minervae* might be the only *atrium* in very close contact with the senate's seat, the *Curia*. Its collocation in fact perfectly reflects the double influence of the goddess in the field of both politics and war. About the other ones, we can trace their topography and ideology through the buildings which replaced them, although we have no archaeological proofs. The *atrium Libertatis*, original seat of the ensure and hypothetically monumentalized through the so-called *basilica Asinia* and a *museion*, was integrated in the Forum of Trajan. This Imperial square, due to some ornaments celebrating the army, breaks up with the previous architectural tradition since it is provided with a basilica and not with a temple on one of its sides. The *atrium Libertatis* can be located in the exedras of the *basilica Ulpia*.

The *atrium Regium* and the *atria Maenium et Titium*, placed respectively in the east side and in the west side of the Curia, would occupy the same area later destined to the first forensic basilicas mentioned in the sources: the so-called *basilica Plautina* and *basilica Porcia*. If we associate the *atria Licinia* to the *Macellum* area, they would turn out to be it, replaced then by the Templum Pacis. In this respect, the presence of original Greek sculptures and treasures from different backgrounds in the Forum made by the emperor Domitian might

recall the auctioning of private stuff of the *atria Licinia* themselves. From this analysis emerges that the structural morphology of *atria* would perform different functions depending on the place they occupy, yet being all close to the Roman Forum. The intended use of a structure changes just when it leaves the private context of a *domus* and is reintroduced within an urban renewal. Thus, the examined *atria* in Rome, imbued with a religious, political and economic values, were highly public spheres.

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04 | *Lares* and *lararia*: The domestic religion brought out to the sidewalk

Konstantinos Bilias – Francesca Grigolo

One of the most important fields of the Roman public life is undoubtedly the religion. The divine element, either it concerns the twelve Olympian Gods, the deified members of the imperial family or the *lares*[1], the protecting divinities of the Roman *domus*, who constitute the main focus of our research, was always present in every situation of the Roman private and public life[2].

According to the Roman way of thinking, the state is inseparably bound up with the religion and that is the reason, why religion and worship dominate the Roman public spaces. The aim of our research is to examine a special part of the Roman religion, which is to be found in the public spaces, but is nevertheless deep-rooted in the domestic religion. It is the question about the connection between the "*lares familiares*" and the "*lares compitales*", so between the protecting divinities of the *familia*, that means the smallest unit of the society and the protecting divinities of a wider group, the neighborhood: a real meeting point between "*publicus*" and "*privatus*". The domestic religion is considered to constitute the first form of worship's expression, before people got organized in bigger societies, where a central worship, an early form of the "state religion", was essential for the social cohesion. But even in the times after the establishment of the state religion, the domestic religion continued to be practiced. It is in general a Roman characteristic, that new institutions are just

[1] Eisenhut 1969, 494-496; Tran tam Tinh 1992; Mastrocinque 1999.

[2] Ètienne 1989, 191-194; For the urban and extra urban sanctuaries of Pompeii: D'Alessio 2009.

being added to the old ones without really replacing them[3]. Therefore, it is very interesting to examine the character of the worship of the *lares*, who occur in both spheres, which comprise the two poles public and private.

Genesis and role of the *lares*

In order to crystallize the character of this special worship and its important presence in the public and private spaces, we should firstly consider their genesis. Before embracing the Olympian Gods, the Romans were worshiping different divinities, which were connected to specific places, objects and even processes. Every tree and every stream for example was connected to a divinity. These divinities were therefore endless and their powers were affecting only the people near them. That is the reason why the Romans focused on worshiping the divinities, who were connected to their houses, their jobs and their environment in general[4]. The archaeological evidence of this worship are the small shrines **(Fig. 1)**, which the Romans used to found within their properties. Besides the divinities of the natural phenomena, there were divinities for every occasion and every concept, also for the life in the *domus*, such as the divinity of the domestic fire, which was so important that also remained after the embracement of the Olympian Gods as the goddess Vesta, the divinities of the stockpile of the household (*penates*) and of course of the *domus* in general, the *lares*. We could thus speak of a kind of animism, because these divinities were more likely natural powers and only seldom were given anthropomorphic characteristics or emotions, as this is well-known from the standard divinities borrowed from the Greek cultural circle[5].

Roman antiquarians and historians posed the problem of the etymology when it comes to the term *lar* (pl. *lares*): in fact, according to

[3] Shelton 1998, 359-360.
[4] Shelton 1998, 363-364.
[5] Shelton 1998, 361.

Valerius Maximus[6], the noun would have an Etruscan origin. Varro, on the other hand mentions the *lares* in two passages: firstly, examining the origin of the names of some Roman divinities, he attributes among others also to the name *lares* to have roots both in the language of the Romans and the Sabines[7], secondly, discussing the bidirectional practice of adapting names on the example of Greeks and Latins, he derives the term *lares* from older Latin *lases*[8]. The term is attested for the first time in the so-called *Carmen Fratrum Arvalium*[9], in which Mars and the *lares* are invoked to ensure fertility in the fields.

▲ **Fig. 1** *Lararium* of the *Casa del Menandro* in Pompeii, *atrium*

The mission of the *lar* is simultaneously specific and abstract. Specific is it when it comes to the acting field, which is strict the *domus* per se and the *familia*, who lives in it, which consists not only of the members of the family, as we understand it in the modern society, but also of the people, who work for them in the *domus*. The affiliation of the *lares familiares/domestici/casanici* to the *domus* is underlined from the fact that the word *lares* could be used

6 Val. Max. De Praen. 4.
7 Varro ling. 5, 10, 74.
8 Varro ling. 6, 1, 2.:"[…] ab Lasibus Lares […]."
9 CIL 06, 32482: Enos Lases iuvate […] (Lares help us […]).

as a synonym for "home"[10]. The mission remains abstract, because the god has to take care of the *domus* in general, with everything possibly implied. But we should keep in mind, that this mission can only be fulfilled, if the main condition of the Roman religion – both in its private and public form. Very enlightening for the influence of one's life by the *lares* and for the importance of the prayers and calming offerings to them is the Prolog of Plautus' *Alularia*, where the *lar* describes how he punished the irreverent and neglectful *dominus* in not revealing him a hidden treasure in his own house and in obtaining his premature death. The same happened to his son, who acted just like his father, whereas his daughter gets the *benevolentia* (good-will) of the *lar* for being devout and honoring him[11]. That means the *lar* protects the *domus* if the *pater familias* offers the fitting sacrifices. It is his responsibility to found a domestic shrine for their regular worship and carry out the everyday rituals, but also the ones which were connected to special occasions of one's life. These regular sacrifices were essential for calming down the *lares*, who guaranteed then the prosperity of the *domus*. The domestic cult must have been extremely popular mainly during the 1st cent. A.D., as a significant quantity of the bronze *lar*-statuettes dated in this period are to be found nearly all over the empire. The important position of the *lares* has been maintained also in the following centuries, which is inter alia testified by a Theodosian edict of 392 A.D., which explicitly prohibited the secret worship of the *lares*, the *penates* and the *genius*[12].

The *lares* at the *domus*

Ancient sources often mention that the *lares* were kept in lockable places, which spans from the simple *armaria*, wooden shrines[13] to a big individual room, which was apparently the *lararium* of

[10] CIL 06, 1227: „Gradly we came here, but much more gradly do we depart, eager to see again, O Rome, our own Lares"; see translation at De Marchi 1896, 27-28. 28 fn.1.

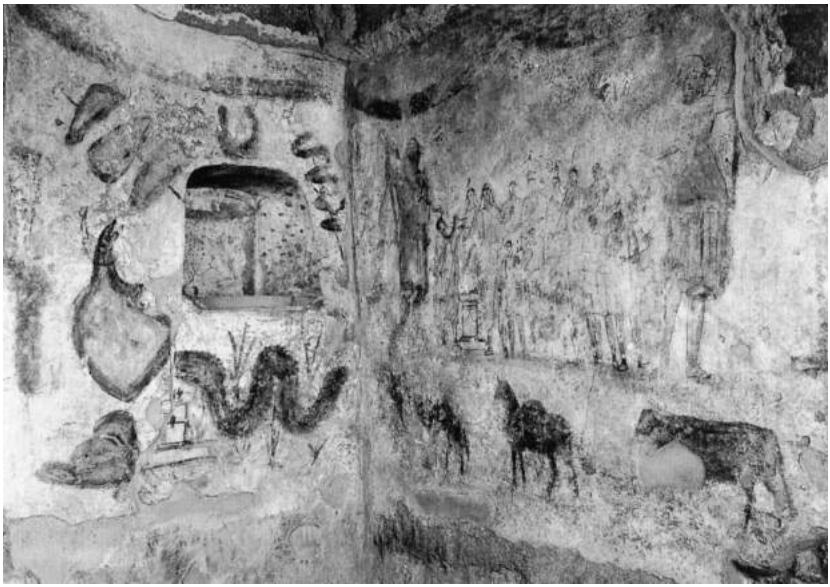
[11] Plaut. Aul. 1-29.

[12] CTh 16, 10, 12.

[13] Tib. 1, 10, 15-16.

Alexander Severus, which in classical archaeology gave the conventional name to all the domestic shrines[14]. These shrines, the so called *lararia* (sing. *lararium*)[15], were situated most of the time in the *atrium* of the house **(Fig. 1)**, but also in the kitchen, in the *peristyle* or in the garden. Each *domus* should have at least one *lararium*. These centers of the religion in the private sphere were most of the time set on the wall in a niche or erected on small altars, decorated with paintings. Sacrifice-processes, sacral ceremonies/processions and everyday working life are dominating the illustration program **(Fig. 2)**. The religious aspect is placed of course on the foreground. To the *lararium* belonged the representation of the *lares*, the twin deities who are usually depicted as dancing youths with drinking horns in pairs of bronze statuettes or even as a fresco. In the same way – either as a statuette or in a fresco or in both – was depicted the so-called *genius* of the *pater familias*. The *genius* is in contrast to the *lares* not a deity fixed on certain places, but on certain persons. Every Roman man is from the time of his birth till the end of his life accompanied by his *genius*, which can be understood either as ones "othersoul", "life-double"[16], a kind of guardian angel, or derived from the words *gens* and *gignere* (to give birth) as in every man inherent power, which is necessary on the first place for the fathering but in general for every activity and situation of the human life[17]. Those different interpretations of the *genius* are noticeable already in the Roman imperial era[18]. The female equivalent to the *genius* is the Juno of the woman. The iconography of the *genius* differentiates him from the other divinities, with the personal features of the *pater familias*, *toga*, *capitae velato* (ritually covered head) and *phiale* for the libation or a *cornucopia*. The iconographic program of the *lararia* was often enriched with serpents, the so called *agathodaimones* (noble spirits), who are usually

[14] Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 29, 2.
[15] Eisenhut 1969, 493; Höcker 1999, 1145; Giacobello 2008.
[16] Otto 1912, 1155-1156.
[17] Wissowa 1912, 175-176; Latte 1960, 103.
[18] Cens. 2, 2-3.



▲ **Fig. 2** *Domus* of Sutoria Primigenia, Pompeii, Regio I, Insula 13.2, room 17, two- and three-dimensional depiction of a *lararium*

▼ **Fig. 3** *Lararium* from the *Casa delle Pareti rosse*, Pompeii, Regio VIII, Insula 5.37

depicted in pairs and were known as protectors of special places also in the Greek religion. In relation to the social and financial status of the *domus,* the number of the statuettes and the quality of the frescos, the materials and the offerings differed of course. *Lararia*, with just a painted representation of the domestic deities, tend to be typical for the servants' quarters, whereas the more expensive statues are to be assigned to the more representative rooms

of the *domus*[19]. A characteristic example showing the juxtaposition of two- and three-dimensional depictions of the worshiped deities is the *lararium* of the *Casa delle Pareti rosse* (Regio VIII, Insula 5.37) **(Fig. 3)**[20]. A rather modest painting of the *lares* and the *genius* on the back wall and six bronze statuettes of the Lares (2), Mercury (2), Apollo and Hercules were found *in situ* in the *aedicula* allowing us to gain certain evidence. Within this group of statuettes there is no unity of size, style or number, which is a common feature for lararium ensembles in general, as the lararia existed over generations and old statues were preserved while new ones were added, according to the preferences and attitude of the *pater familias.*

As already said, the worship of the *lares* aimed at their *benevolentia* (good-will). According to Cato's *De agricultura*[21] the offerings could be fruits, a cake, wine, incense, wreaths etc. Apart from that, by each meal a small share was predestined for the *lares*, whereas their statuettes and the one of the genius could be brought to the table and be honored from all the banqueters[22]. The small every day offerings could also be carried out by domestic slaves, the *servi.* Furthermore, the domestic deities had to be saluted by entering[23] and leaving[24] the *domus*. But apart from special days every month[25], like the *kalendae*, *nonae* and *ides*[26], the domestic deities were honored with offerings at ones birthday were the man celebrates his genius and the

[19] Kaufmann-Heinimann 2007, 199.

[20] Boyce 1937, 77 no. 371; Adamo Muscettola 1984 15-20; Fröhlich 1991, 291-292 Cat. L96; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 222 GFV37.

[21] Cato agr. 134.

[22] Petron. 60, 8-9.

[23] Cato agr. 2, 1; Plaut. Stich. 534-535.

[24] Plaut. Mil. 1339ff.

[25] Cato agr. 143, 1-2.

[26] There are three periods in which the months were divided by the Romans, following the circle of the moon. The *kalendae* indicated the 1st day of the month, when the crescent moon appeared, the *nonae* indicated the first quarter of the moon and therefore corresponded to the 5th day of the months of January, February, April, June, August, September, November and December; and to the 7th day of the months of March, May, July and October. The *ides* describe the day with full moon corresponded to the 13th day in the months when the *nonae* fell on day five and to the 15th day in which the *nonae* fell on day seven. See Rüpke 1999, 160-162.

woman her Juno[27], on the February 22nd during the celebration of the *Caristia*, a kind of gathering of all the relatives[28], and at many other fixed celebrations and of course with numerous private reasons at every opportunity, where the factor public and private varies, from a wedding to the return of a lost family member[29] or the coming through of a serious danger[30].

But we should not forget, that the *lares* were in the first place of great importance in the benchmarks of one's life. At these initiation rituals there were specific offerings for the *lares*. After every birth a lamb or a pig, after a death a wether should be sacrificed, except for these occasions to the *lares* has also been sacrificed in order to protect the sick from death, but also the *liberti* (the freedmen) used to offer their chain to the *lares*[31]. Additionally, the initiation to world of the adult was also accompanied by special offerings to the *lares*. That happened a day before the girl's marriage or when a boy reached the age of 15/16. He offered to the *lares* his children clothes, the *toga praetexta* and his *bulla*, a kind of lucky charm, which was given by the birth of free Roman children[32]. These rituals were of course much more important than the everyday offerings to the *lares*, which could also be carried out by the *servi* and we can imagine that they were interfering also in the public sphere. The leading role was played by the *pater familias*, who incarnates the unity and solidarity of the *domus*.

Rituals and *lararia* in the public Roman life

Such occasions were the best opportunity for the *pater familias* to show off the financial and social prosperity of his *domus*. Even in the *domus*, which to our modern mind should be the most private space of a society, we face the difficulty to define its "more private" and

[27] Tib. 4, 6, 1ff.
[28] Ov. fast. 2, 631ff.
[29] Plaut. Rud. 1206ff.
[30] Iuv. 12, 86ff.
[31] Mastrocinque 1999, 1149.
[32] Dozio 2011, 291.

▲ **Fig. 4** Groundplan of the *Casa del Menandro*, Pompeii, Regio I, Insula 10.4, the *lararia* and detected religious objects are marked with a grey circle

"less private" spheres. The *lararia* could eventually help us roughly differentiate the zones. At this point it is to be noticed, that many Pompeian houses have more than one *lararium*. One of the *lararia* was then usually more well-tended and luxurious and was located

in a very prominent place in the house[33]. And this special *lararium* was of course destined for hosting accordingly special and representative events which broke the more or less strict character of the domestic religion, which constitutes one more evidence stressing the difficulty of taking the "*publicus*" and the "*privatus*" completely apart in the Roman reality.

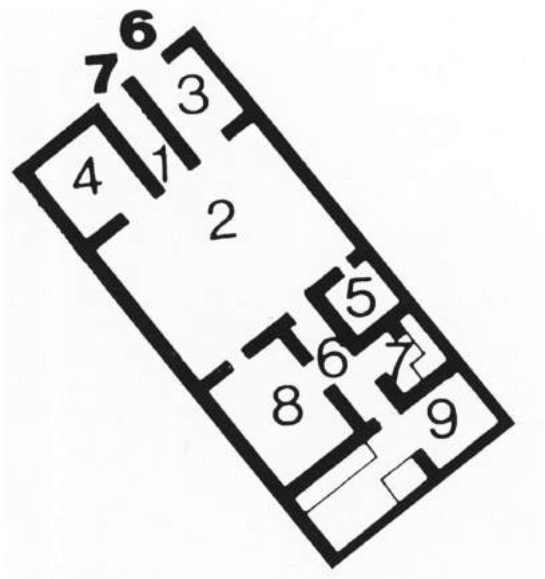
One of the most representative examples for this spatial conflict is the House of Menander (Regio I, Insula 10, 4; **Fig. 4**)[34]. It has three *lararia*, one in the *atrium* of the procurator and two others in the kitchen, which were no longer in use at the time of the eruption. Furthermore, there is an *aedicula* in the hall of representation and a niche in the exedra that opens to the peristyle **(Fig. 5)**. The first *lararium* is located on the west wall of the *atrium* **(Fig. 1)**. It had a protruding base and was built into the wall to the left of the entrance, near a hearth. Its painted ornamentation imitates the use of precious polychrome materials. Inside the *lararium* one plate and three terracotta oil lamps

▼ **Fig. 5** *Aedicula* at the peristyle of the *Casa del Menandro* (room 25)

[33] To get an imagination how elaborate those *lararia* could have been the newest excavations in Pompeii might give us a good example. The well preserved *lararium* was embedded in the wall and flanked by images of the *lares* combined architecturally with a small fountain. Cf. the article of Quinn 2018 in the New York Times.

[34] Ling 1997, 47-144; Stefani 2003; Ling 2005, 3-103; Allison 2006, 56-153. 298-334.

were found, one decorated with a sun in relief and another with the image of an eagle. As for the *lararia* placed in the kitchen, the one is on the west wall while the other one is always on the same wall but in the eastern part of the room. The first *lararium* is only painted: today only the corner of a panel is stuccoed in white and framed in red. Inside the decoration, a part of a snake can be seen. The second *lararium* is also painted, despite the very few traces, we can distinguish the scene, where we see the *genius*, a *camillus* and a trace of a *lar*. The scene was finally crowned with garlands. The distinction between the two kinds of *lararium*, the more representative one and the two apparently more private is noticeable on the first place of course on the topography of the *domus*, that means the different scale of its visibility and accessibility, in the atrium and the kitchen on the other end of the spectrum, but also on the luxury and the representative character of the decoration.



▲ **Fig. 6** Groundplan of the of *Casa del Sarno Lararium*, Pompeii, Regio I, Insula 14.7, *lararium* in room 9

A further case presents the *House of the Sarno Lararium* (Regio I, Insula 14, 7; **Fig. 6**)[35], a modest Pompeian House most probably belonging to the lower social class. The *lararium* **(Figg. 7-8)** is located on a podium in the center of the south wall of the *viridarium* (garden) and forms therefore the central visual axis from the entrance through the corridor, whereas another very plane niche lararium hides on the west wall. Rather through its visibility, boosted by its elaborate red

[35] De Vos 1982, 332-334; De Vos 1990, 938; Fröhlich 1991, 262-263 Cat. L33.

▲ **Fig. 7** *Casa del Sarno Lararium* in Pompeii, Regio I, Insula 14.7

▼ **Fig. 8** *Casa del Sarno Lararium* in Pompeii, view from the entance to the south along the *atrium*

color, than through its accessibility as placed at the very back of the house, the main *lararium* intervenes in the public sphere. It could be seen from the outside being conceived as the focus of the view from the street[36], but was still not accessible to everyone, making for a characteristic example of how volatile is the border between *publicus* and *privatus*. On the back wall of the niche the figure of the *genius* is depicted, standing on a basis covered with plants and pouring a libation on a round altar, while holding over his left shoulder a *cornucopia*. The basis is also decorated. The river god Sarnus is shown pouring water into the river and overlooking the busy activity at the harbor. This includes products being delivered and weighed, donkeys and mules carrying goods to and from barges, and a boat loaded with them. This *lararium* is in the one hand the place of the domestic worship's practice, but on the other hand, it fulfills with

[36] Clarke 2003, 79: The owner of the house wanted to imitate the common features of the higher class's houses as they are presented in Pompeii and Herculaneum.

a small water canal around it also the function of the missing *impluvium* and *compluvium*, which are expected at least from the wealthier Pompeian houses. Additionally to its prominent position in the house, the few bronze objects (2 *lares*-statuettes, a lamp and a phiale) found in it, its eye-catching red color, its iconographic program[37] praises the *pater familias* as a pious patron with an idealized financial and social status, which abstains from the truth, if we consider the concentrated use of the available space[38]. The question about how strictly private domestic worship is, is raised again, even for the lower social classes.

The *lares* as part of the public city life

At that point it has just to be underlined, how difficult it really is to speak about entirely public and private spaces. And as mentioned before, when it comes to such designations the *lares* are a very exceptional case. Thus, they were standing on the center of the private sphere of the religion and later on became also part of its public character. If the *lares* did not get the proper offerings and they did not get calmed from the *pater familias*, not only his own *familia* but the whole society was in danger. The Romans trying to get the situation under control gave also responsibility to the state to carry out religious rituals, in order to ensure the prosperity of the whole society and protect it from the individual's negligence. In this way the state religion appeared[39]. The link between the two spheres is, as already mentioned, the *lares*. If the *lares* of the private and semi-private sphere were the *lares familiares* the ones of the public are the so called *lares compitales*, who were worshipped on the crossroads. These "chapels" consist of either an altar or a niche on the wall **(Fig. 9)**. About the cult of the *lares* in the crossroads, Ovid in his

[37] De Vos 1981, 119-130 concerning the identification of the workshop, which was active in the last decades of Pompeii in this district and to which this economical but showy decoration is attributed.

[38] Clarke 2003, 78; cf. Similar examples of such compacted constructions throughout region I: I, 12, 7; I, 13, 2; I, 13, 7; I, 14, 3.

[39] Shelton 1998, 360.

▲ **Fig. 9** Unpublished *compitum* at the *vicus lugarius* in Rome

Fasti[40] mentions the myth of the origin of this cult: the nymph Lara was seduced by Mercury in a forest and from their love the *lares* were born, who at the time of the Author had to watch over crossroads and the city Rome, in general. In another passage there is a hymn, in which it is commanded to offer incense and to sacrifice to the *lares* on February 22nd. On May 1, an altar is erected to the *lares*, as they protect Rome and its inhabitants.

In the iconography the dog is a worthy companion of the *lar* and watches the crossroads with him. Finally, in the city every crossroads venerates three gods, the two *lares* and the *genius Augusti*. For them also the so-called *ludi Compitalicii* (crossroad games) were held. In this festival, celebrated once a year, boxing matches and simple dramatic performances – above all pantomimes - took place. Furthermore, wine was poured amply to freedmen

▼ **Fig. 10** Bronze satuette of a *lar* from the *Casa del Menandro*

[40] Ovid. fast. 2, 611-634.

and slaves. According to Cato[41], this custom could possibly have influenced the iconography of the *lares* in general, as young dancers with drinking horns and bowls **(Fig. 10)**. As regards the *ludi Compitalicii*, Pliny narrates the origin of the games themselves[42]. Within the context of such celebrations also processions through the city took place with the statuettes of the deities worshiped in the *compita* (crossroads) being carried, as depicted in the relief (Inv. no. 9485) of the Museo Gregoriano Profano in the Musei Vaticani **(Fig. 11)**.

▲ **Fig. 11** Relief fragment with procession of the *lares*, 1st cent. A.D., Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Inv. no. 9485

Furthermore, a very prominent example underlining the presence of *lares* in the public sphere is the sanctuary of the public *lares* **(Fig. 12)**, which was erected on plots of destroyed houses, represents the will of the city of Pompeii to receive the favor of the gods after the earthquake of 62 A.D., as well as its desire to reunite with the imperial deity, but 79 A.D. it was not still complete[43]. Everything contributes to making this monument exceptional and at the same time unusual: the plan is characterized by a spacious courtyard surrounded by niches walls and a central large apse; the decoration, completely in marble, is very rich. In the apse there was a pedestal

[41] Cato agr. 57.

[42] Under the reign of Tarquinio Prisco, suddenly a male genital appeared in a hearth, who inseminated a young girl of Queen Tanaquil, Ocresia, from whom Servio Tullio, successor to the throne, was born. While the boy was sleeping in the Regia a fire was lit on his head and he was believed to be a lar of the family: this was the reason why he first instigated the *compitalii*, the games in honor of the *lares*. Plin. nat. hist. 36, 204.

[43] Eschebach 1984, 292.

▲ **Fig. 12** Sanctuary for the public *lares* and the Imperial cult in Pompeii, built between Augustus and 62 A.D., Regio VII, Insula 9.3

that could support three statues of natural size; on each side there was a small room that housed a larger statue, and therefore this sanctuary, rather than a temple, suggests a small imperial hall or private *lararium*, in which the niche is a main feature. The *genius Augusti*, standing under the apse, was flanked by the two *lares*. Just like in private *lararia*, the cult of the *lares Augusti* is here associated with the statues of other gods, like Venus Pompeiana, Ceres, Bacchus, Hercules, Mercury and Fortuna[44].

In Rome, the most prominent freedmen were able to assert their social rank in the small sanctuaries of the artisan guilds, but above all as *vicomagistri*, magistrates of the cited deeds that were held in the 265 *vici* created by Augustus in 7 B.C. The local cults were originally dedicated to the *lares*, the protector spirits of the ancient agrarian religion, which were now depicted in the act of dancing with the *cornucopia* in hand and venerated in pairs of neighborhood deities. But next to the *lares* were now the statuettes of the *genius Augusti*, protectors and guardians of the city. Just like the *pater familias* incarnating the unity and prosperity of the *domus* is represented in the domestic *lararium* by his *genius*, Augustus as the caring *pater patriae*

[44] Ètienne 1989, 194.

is represented in every *compitum* by the *genius Augusti* **(Fig. 13)**. He had created the conditions for the reorganization of the cult of the *lares* with the administrative reform. The reconstruction of the Temple of the *lares* on the Velia contributed to revive the old cult and to promote the construction of new *aediculae* at the crossroads of the various vices. Today the marble decoration of the *Compitum Acilii* (erected in 5 B.C.; **Fig. 14**) remains, with an inscription in large letters on the trabeation: a dedication to the emperor Augustus of the sanctuary of the *lares*[45]. In the inscription also the *magistri* appear with the qualification of dedicators. Thanks to the *fasti* of Ovid we can get a fairly precise idea of the festivities celebrated in Rome and, in general, in the Western Provinces during the first years of the Empire. Even, the most famous Roman poet of Augustan era, Virgil, speaks about the *lares* in a passage[46] of his *Aeneid*, while Pliny the Elder in the 1st cent. A.D. treats in his *Naturalis Historia* both the rituals connected to these deities[47] and the origin of their cult[48] and the administrative reorganization of Rome[49]

▲ **Fig. 13** Altar for the *lares Augusti* at the *vicus Sandalarius*, Florenz, Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv. no. 972

[45] CIL 06, 456: Laribus Publicis sacrum / Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus / pontifex maximus / tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XVIIII / ex stipe quam populus ei / contulit K(alendis) Ianuar(iis) apsenti / C(aio) Calvisio Sabino L(ucio) Passieno Rufo co(n)s(ulibus). Cf. Colini 1961-62.

[46] Verg. Aen. 8, 543: "Excitat hesternumque larem parvosque penatis."

[47] Plin. nat. hist. 28, 5, 27: "[…] In mensa utique id reponi adolerique ad Larem piatio est."

[48] Plin. nat. hist. 36, 70, 204.

[49] Plin. nat. hist. 3, 5, 66.

▲ **Fig. 14** *Compitum Acili* in Rome at the end of the *vicus Sandaliarius*

under the emperor Augustus. According to Suetonius, the Roman historian of 1st cent. A.D., Augustus decided to renew the ancient practice of erecting *aediculae* at the corners of the main streets of each district[50], whereas in the Constantinian era, there were 424 little chapels throughout Rome. Concerning the altars and the *aediculae* placed at the crossroads, they were erected by the *vicomagistri*, the administrators of the *vici* of the Augustan city of Rome. The *vicomagistri's* responsibilities included watch over the traffic, crime and fires and, obviously, to sacrifice to the *lares* and to the *genius* of the emperor[51]. We should imagine the offerings of the *vicomagistri* to the deities to be much more expensive and elaborate than the ones the paterfamilias carried out in his domus and this because they were intended for a public celebration, where people from the whole *vicus* watched the proceedings and waited for their share of meat and wine[52]. A very interesting example comes from the so-called "*vicus Aesculeti*", in Rome **(Fig. 15)**, where an altar dedicated to the *vicomagistri* was found, now in the Centrale Montemartini of the Musei Capitolini (Inv. no. 855). On this altar, the *vicomagistri* are sculptured in *toga* (with an edge over their heads), indicator of their social *status* of citizens, freeborn or freedmen. The *vicomagistri* are represented here in the act of sacrifice with a *patera* on their hands and offer a bull to the *genius Augusti*. On the right side, there is only one lictor. Lastly, the altar is crowned

[50] Suet. Aug. 31, 21-23.
[51] Clarke 2003, 81.
[52] Clarke 2003, 84.

▲ **Fig. 15** Altar for the *lares Augusti* at the *vicus Aesculeti*, 4 B.C.–2 A.D., Rome, Musei Capitolini, Inv. no. 855

by an inscription, dedicated to the *lares Augusti*[53]. At the end of the 19th century, when the archeologist R. Lanciani[54] wrote his *Rovine e scavi di Roma Antica*, there were still two *aediculae*: that of *Vicus Sobrius* near S. Martino ai Monti and that of *Vicus Vestae*, behind the homonymous temple and to the right of the entrance to the House of the Vestals. According to Lanciani, a statue of Mercury was probably placed in the *aedicula*: this last hypothesis based on the discovery of an inscription near the *aedicula*, DEO.MERCVRIO. Moreover, in June 1878, an inscription dating back to the reign of Severus Alexander was found at Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome: the *magistri vicorum* re-established *aediculam Regionis VIII vico Vestae.*

Conclusion

The *lararia* as chapels for the guardian-deities on the one hand of *domus* and its occupants, and of districts or *insulae* on the other are constituting a further parameter of the conflict, or rather the juxtaposition of "*publicus*" and "*privatus*". With a relative way of proceeding and considering the complexity of "rather public" and "rather private" spheres even in the Roman *domus*, it is pos-

[53] CIL 06, 30957: LARIB[us] AUGUST[is]. The inscription isn't kept entirely, in fact you can read on the last line MAG[istri]. VICI. ANNI. NONI and two names [l…] S. L. L. SALVIUS (on the right side) and P. CLODIUS. P. L (on the left side). See Clarke 2003, 84-85.

[54] Lanciani – Rodríguez Almeida 1985.

sible to construct a line of the different grades of publicity in this form of religion, from the "rather private" plain domestic shrines in the non-representative rooms of the *domus*, through the "less private" more sophisticated and luxurious domestic shrines in the *atrium* to the "rather public" crossroad-shrines. The first one expresses the private, personal religiousness, the second one serves the self-representation of the *familia* and the third gives to a certain district the character of an expanded *domus*. Each one of them with the own peculiarities, symbolisms and intentions is related to the other two and constitutes a step of the sociopolitical evolution of the domestic religion which has been brought out to the sidewalk.

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Fig. 1 Dozio 2011, 291; Fig. 2 Clarke 2003, 76 fig. 40; Fig. 3 Photo by Giorgio Sommer no. 9206, also published in Simon 1986, 97 fig. 123; Fig. 4 Dickmann – Meller 2011, 247 fig. 1; Fig. 5 Dozio 2011, 296 fig. 6; Fig. 6 Clarke 2003, 79 fig. 41; Fig. 7 Fröhlich 1991, Pl. 6; Fig. 8 Photo by Stanley A. Jashemski <https://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/R1/1%2014%2007.htm> (09/05/2019); Fig. 9 <https://www.romanoimpero.com/search?q=-Compitum+Iugarius> (09/05/2019); Fig. 10 Dozio 2011, 292 fig. 2, Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei; Fig. 11 Photo by Jessica Bartz; Fig. 12 Photo by Mentnafunangann <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Santuario_dei_Lari_Pubblici_1.JPG> (09/05/2019); Fig. 13 Fotothek DAI Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-2007.0678, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/6013> (09/05/2019); Fig. 14 Colini 1961-62, 152 fig. 7; Fig. 15 Fotothek DAI Rom, Neg. D-DAI-ROM-2001.2177 <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/16250> (09/05/2019)

05 | An approach to understand the *subura*: The "Argiletum" and its function between public and private spaces in Rome

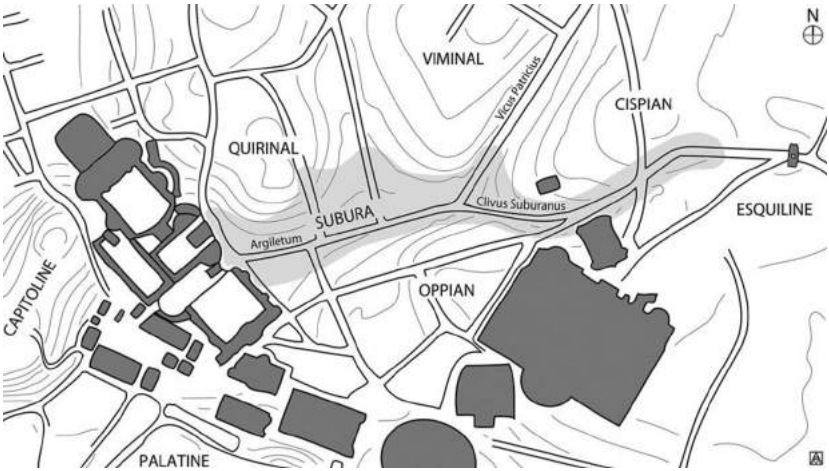
Tim Renkert

There are a few areas in Rome which have influenced the way of how we look at Roman everyday life like its political and social center – the Roman Forum, its places of entertainment – Colosseum and Circus Maximus – and Rome's most popular neighborhood: the *subura*.

While Colosseum, Circus Maximus and the Imperial Fora have been in the focus of research dating back to the early days of archaeology, a systematic approach to understand neighborhoods and their importance for the city has been understudied considerably too long. The most obvious reason for this is the difficulty of realizing large-scale excavations in areas which are still populated nowadays. But such would be necessary to gain a comprehensive insight into the complex structures of inner-city suburbs – suburbs like the ancient *subura* in the city of Rome. And, not less complicating, back in the days when the first excavations were conducted most people didn't care much about complex issues like the interaction of a neighborhood with its surrounding areas and nearby public infrastructure. Not to say they didn't care at all.

The *subura* is by far the most popular residential neighborhood of ancient Rome and at first sight it might still provoke images created by scholars of the past and our modern-day pop culture – movies, TV series and books[1]. In the *subura* every aspect of the Roman society seems to culminate like as if it reflects whatever we find astonishing or disconcerting about the Roman way of life – the vitality, the exo-

[1] Andrews 2014, 61.



▲ **Fig. 1** Plan of the *subura* in the Imperial period, with approximate extents of the neighborhood shaded in gray

ticism, the vulgarity. Most of these images trace back to a biased presentation of the actual material and therefore our access to the *subura* must be through using both, literary and archaeological sources. According to Harry J. Leon, the *subura* can be described as "thickly populated district occupying the valley between the *Viminal*, the *Esquiline*, and the Imperial Fora and continuing up the west slope of the *Esquiline*."[2] **(Fig. 1)**. Moreover, "this district, inhabited by laborers and small shopkeepers, was (…) crowded, noisy, dirty and rather disreputable (…)".[3] Basically not the place to be as one would think, but in fact the center of many people's life in ancient Rome. Therefore, a broader debate about its former appearance would be of high value to understand Rome and its functionality as a whole. And since the entire neighborhood can only be studied by those parts of it which have been a topic of research yet, our approach will mainly focus on the *Argiletum*, the *subura*'s principal road and eponymous for the nearby area.

[2] Leon 1961, 152.
[3] ibid., 152.

Speaking of linguistics, the etymology of *subura* has still to be seen as ambiguous. Three ways seem possible: a derivation of *succusa*, derived from latin *succus*, meaning "moisture" or "dampness" and referring to the character of the soil where the *subura* was located; of *submura*, referring to the famous fire wall[4], which separated the neighborhood from bordering parts of Rome like the Forum Romanum; or of *suburbana*, a term referring to its location outside of Rome's historical center at the Forum[5]. A different, distinctly older wall with defensive purpose, the *murus terreus Carinarum*, could be another possible source for the titling of this neighborhood as "below the city" since it separated the area close to the Palatine Hill from the territory beyond[6].

But regardless what the true origin of its modern name is, another reflection is worth it. If we take a further approach to understand the neighborhood, we should rethink the Forum Romanum first. Basically, reduced to its core, the Roman Forum is just a monumental intersection of important roads serving multiple functions. And since it is connected to the bordering neighborhoods through these roads, the activities and needs from the nearby residential areas severely influence the events on the Forum[7].

Description of the neighborhood and its spatial structure

Keeping in mind what we just postulated above, the Roman Forum can be seen as the natural result of the chiefly organic growth of the city, the needs of its people and the usual mechanics of public affairs. Naturally, the area in the center of such a process suddenly becomes the hotspot of the urban development, even if it might only be for a limited period. In the case of Rome not only the Forum developed,

4 Andrews 2014, 62.

5 Pariente 1977, 425-427.

6 Coarelli 1980, 194.

7 For a detailed analysis of the Forum Romanum see the paper of Patrick Rieger and Elena Scricciolo "Public and private spheres of the Fora in the city of Rome" in this booklet on pages 30-47.

but the region on its very edge to the northeast. This area between *Capitolinus*, *Quirinalis* and *Velia*, where the Imperial Fora will be built later on, is known as *the Argiletum* and already existed during the Republican period[8]. The term *Argiletum* itself most likely refers to both, the neighborhood directly at the northern border of the Forum, which has most likely been named that way first[9], and subsequently the main road leading from the Forum through the Argiletum district towards the northeastern valley[10]. The latter initially divides the Argiletum neighborhood in a northwestern and a southeastern part[11], before it splits into the *vicus Patricius* (towards the northeast) and the *clivus Suburanus* (towards the east)[12]. Once we take a look at this prominent main road, we are still able to track its course nowadays to a surprisingly great extent. While entering the city through the *porta Esquilina*, of which remains are still preserved as the Arch of Gallienus **(Fig. 2)**, we already find ourselves in the *subura*. Remains of the paving suggest that from here the ancient road roughly followed the course of today's Via di S. Vito, Via di S. Martino and Via in Selci. Close to the intersection of the latter and Via Cavour or Via Urbana,

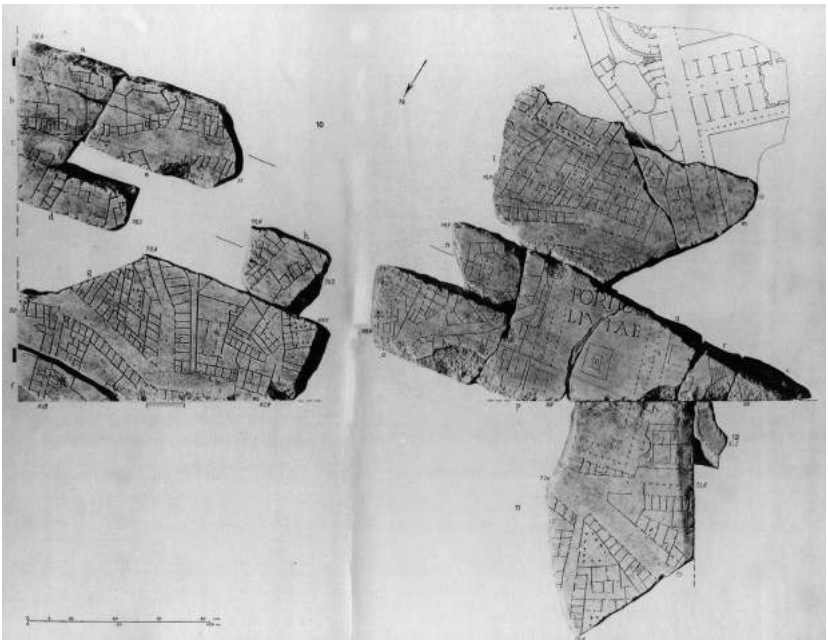
▲ **Fig. 2** Arch of Gallienus in Rome at the *porta Esquilina*, entrance to the *subura*

[8] Simelon 1994, 541.
[9] Robinson 1994, 462.
[10] Coarelli 1980, 194; Simelon 1994, 541.
[11] Simelon 1994, 541.
[12] Coarelli 1980, 194.

an important fork in the road can be expected, probably highlighted by monumental architecture. Just a few steps further the route continues following the Via Leonina, which merges into the Via della Madonna dei Monti and now leads through the Argiletum district towards the Roman Forum. As we follow the course of the modern-day streets it becomes easily imaginable that ancient roads like the clivus *suburanus* and the *vicus Patricius* not only served as traffic routes, but as edges for the *subura* district itself. Numerous distinctive and often architecturally elevated nodes along their path – such as fountains, monuments and small brick plaques, but also trees and graffiti[13] – allowed its people to find their way through the extraordinarily narrow and irregular alleys which were typical for Rome[14]. Due to this complex road network in the *subura* some parts of it must remain unclear at this stage, especially in its middle section[15]. To define the exact border of the Argiletum district and the adjoining *subura* neighborhood is of similar difficulty and can only be at a rough estimate[16]. Archaeological sources, e.g. the precious fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* **(Fig. 3)**, can only give a very limited insight into the expanse of the Argiletum and the *subura*. For this reason, the most prudential spatial division of both areas at this time is leaving room for future approaches on a wider basis of knowledge and puts focus on a less definite distinction, above all comprehending the Argiletum as the street and consequential the area between the Basilica Aemilia on the Roman Forum and the *subura*[17].

But how do we have to visualize appearance and atmosphere in the neighborhoods? Of course, even if we think of them as the home of their inhabitants, they were more than just simple housing areas. E.g. while the northern part of the Argiletum mainly had the character of a residential neighborhood, its southern part was characterized

[13] Malmberg 2008, 45-48.
[14] Bradshaw 1923, 54.
[15] Coarelli 1980, 194.
[16] Robinson 1994, 462.
[17] Coarelli 1980, 61.



▲ **Fig. 3** Fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae* showing the area of the *subura*

by commercial operations too[18]. Due to the fact that it was located directly next to the Roman Forum the activities and needs of the district influenced the events on the Forum and vice versa. Consequently, Rome's central spot for mercantile trade during the Republican period arose in the Argiletum, with the most relevant mercantile events taking place in its streets and alleys. Rome's people came to the Argiletum and *subura* to do whatever had been part of their daily life: eating, buying goods, taking part in the life of society, working in one of the numerous shops or manufactories, some even just passing through[19]. As we know from vivid descriptions in our literary sources, this bustling activity created an atmosphere

[18] Robinson 1994, 462 et. seq.
[19] Russel 2016, 48.

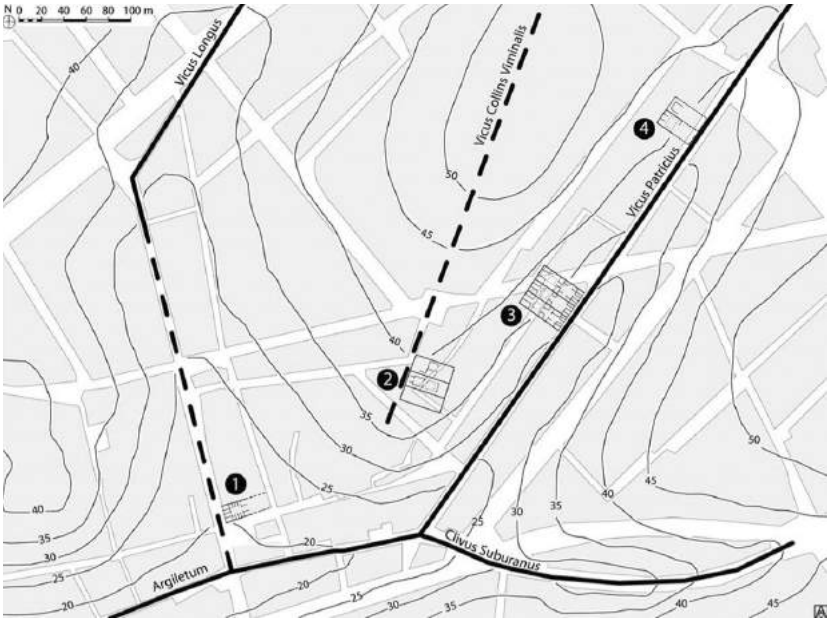
depicting the districts as loud[20], dirty and wet[21]. Basically, not the place to be and not a preferred place to life – if you were lucky enough to choose. Most of these people weren't. Hence, they had to accept the threat of robbery, collapsing houses, frequent fire disasters and being hit by objects thrown out of high windows[22]. Additionally, they had to deal with the noise of the goods traffic during the night, making it a true challenge to sleep properly[23]. Apart from that bars, brothels, shops and markets in the *subura* undoubtedly had a large and devoted clientele[24].

Moreover, one of the most important collection points for the sewer system of Rome and its water supply existed directly in the midst of the *subura*[25]. The most probable reason for such a major circumstance is the necessary proximity between the crowded bars and restaurants of the district, which produced endless amounts of waste, and its big afflux towards the Cloaca Maxima[26]. As reflected in this example we are able to postulate that the needs of the district as stated above, which resulted from the actions taking place in the neighborhood, had a huge impact on the construction of the local facilities. The emperors, but also the residents living in the Argiletum and *subura* adapted their building activities to own individual needs and plans, for public and for private purposes.

Change comes to the *subura*

Following the aspect of a neighborhood constantly changing its face due to public and private affairs, it is highly interesting to have a brief look on the history of the *subura* as far as we know it. Linking the events which took place in the district to its architectural

[20] E.g. Mart. 12, 18, 1. See also Anderson 1982, 101.
[21] Mart. 5, 22, 5-9.
[22] Bradshaw 1923, 55; Iuv. 3, 5 et. seq.
[23] Bradshaw 1923, 54.
[24] As pointed out in the chapter "social groups and professions" of this paper.
[25] Gowers 1995, 25; Iuv. 15, 3.
[26] Gowers 1995, 27.



▲ **Fig. 4** Plan of the street network at the *subura* and known examples of atrium houses: 1. Santi Sergio e Bacco; 2. Via Cimarra/Via Ciancaleoni; 3. *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment 11e; 4. Santa Pudenziana. Modern city blocks are shaded in grey.

appearance helps us to understand the structures and most probable reasons of both: public building programs and individual construction activities. Any of such approaches to the *subura* must include the timeframe of middle Republican Rome which is the earliest for reliable evidence. During the 2nd century B.C. the district hosted important religious festivals and was considered to be a prestigious place to live in since it was close to the political heart of Rome – the Forum[27]. But shortly afterwards, in the aftermath of Rome's military conquests during the 2nd century B.C., the area has most likely experienced vast waves of immigration from foreigners, suffered from its poor drainage and ventilation in the valley and

[27] Andrews 2014, 75.

became a more and more unpleasant, undesirable place to live. It is highly probable that many of the elite houses, which existed in the neighborhood before, moved to the hills above the valley due to these factors[28].

Nevertheless, some wealthy owners and their properties can be traced throughout the entire Imperial period until late antiquity[29], most of them concentrated at the major streets of the district (Argiletum, *vicus Patricius* and clivus *Suburanus*, **Fig. 4**) where they were most visible to the public and served corresponding functions[30]. Some of these houses in the northwestern part of the Argiletum neighborhood were located in close vicinity to the *atrium Libertatis*, a public building containing the offices of the censors. It was restored by Gaius Asinius Pollio in about 39 B.C. and apparently had a remarkably positive impact regarding the circulation of books, which had been almost an exclusive good for Roman aristocrats[31].

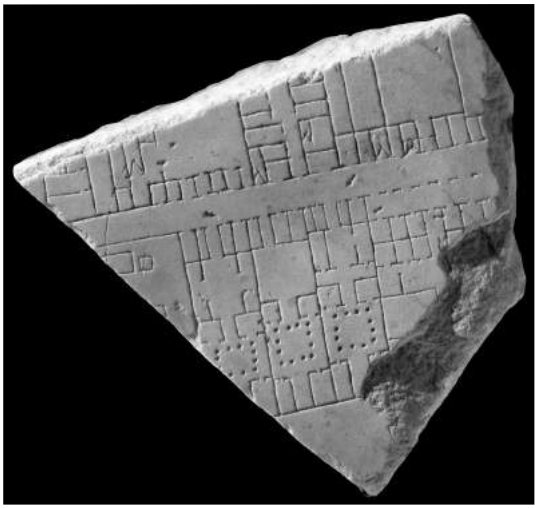
As we know from Cicero, the Argiletum and its important market became an increasingly crowded area in the middle of the 1st century B.C.[32]. Quarters close to the Roman Forum became more and more popular, especially during Caesar's efforts to extend the Forum (which led to the chance of making good money with property)[33]. Caesar planned to link popular and very traditional institutions like the *atrium Libertatis* with his own architectural agenda for propaganda purposes[34]. As part of his building program the Argiletum road possibly led to his Forum Iulium as a broad and colonnaded street which seemed to be a very "suitable architectural form" back then[35].

[28] ibid., 75 et. seq.
[29] ibid., 65.
[30] ibid., 75 et. seq.
[31] Simelon 1994, 541 et. seq. For further information concerning the *atrium Libertatis* see the paper of Luca Masciale "*Atria publica populi romani:* Structures contaminated by memory" in this booklet on pages 48-78.
[32] Robinson 1994, 463.
[33] ibid., 463.
[34] ibid., 463 et. seq.
[35] Anderson 1982, 104.

▲ **Fig. 5** Recontruction drawing of the Forum Transitorium

Some remains along the course of the Argiletum road indicate columns and further architectural elements which were later extended under the reign of emperor Domitian[36], who additionally monumentalized the whole complex, referring to the Templum Pacis[37]. The columns along the street followed a type of architecture known from the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g. Jerash, Palmyra, Perge etc.), colonnaded streets, and were a sweeping expression of a new, prestigious style of architecture[38]. As we look into alterations of the Argiletum district which can be noticed during the 1st century A.D., especially the replacement of a remarkably large part close to the Roman Forum by the Forum Transitorium attracts our attention **(Fig. 5)**. This part was inaugurated by emperor Nerva in 97 A.D.[39] and, as Tortorici outlines, in the run-up to such extensions the method of expropriation seems to have been used conspicuously often[40]. This is important as it illustrates the relevance of the Argiletum district as well as the means of choice while converting the Forum and its nearby areas. It appears from archaeological evidence, which mainly relates to the foundation of churches and allows a statement at least for the 1st century A.D., that there have been standardized parcels, resp. *insulae* in the *subura*, as exemplified at the house structures under the ruins of *Santi Sergio*

[36] Packer 1997, 330.
[37] Anderson 1982, 108-110.
[38] Patterson 1992, 210.
[39] Coarelli 1980, 110 et. seq.
[40] Simelon 1994, 541.



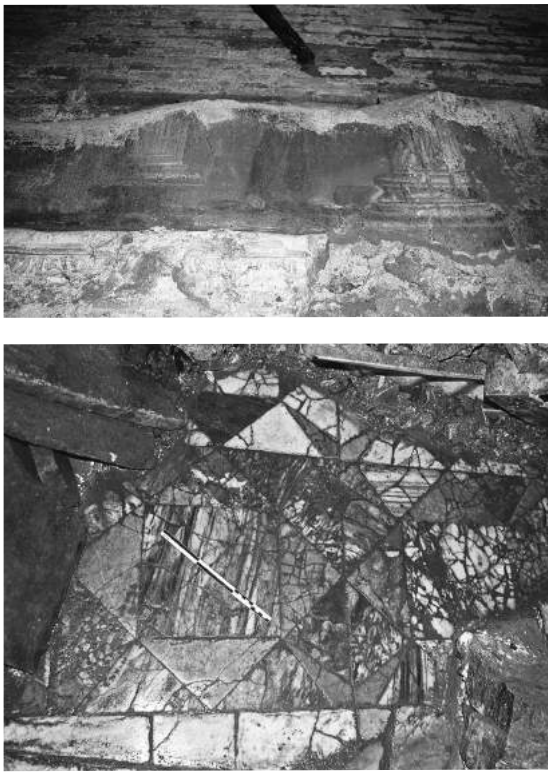
▲ **Fig. 6** Fragment nr. 11e of the *Forma Urbis Romae* showing *atrium* houses (cf. structure 2 in Fig. 4 on page 115)

e Bacco[41]. As shown on a fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* **(Fig. 6)**, these insulae partly consisted of atrium houses which grew somewhat gradually in the 1st century B.C.[42]. The obvious presence of wealthy residents in the *subura* even during the Roman Imperial period, as ascertained by archaeological evidence, indicates that the neighborhood was probably not as discredited as the ancient authors tell, e.g. women which would lose their honor once they went to the *subura*[43]. In parallel, the *tabernae*[44] allow us to study the economic orientation of the district throughout its ancient history. While those near the Forum first oriented themselves towards the alignment of the Argiletum – and did so at least until 210 A.D. – they increasingly followed the alignment of the Forum itself[45]. Obviously, the economic focus more and more displaced towards the Forum, the consequence being that a tremendously important part of public life centered at Rome's very core. But conversions did not only affect the alignment or general conception of development in the *subura*, they also included changes regarding the furnishing of houses as seen by the example of rich decorative elements, e.g. opus sectile pavements and wall-paintings in residential houses **(Fig. 7a-b)**. They

41 Andrews 2014, 65.
42 ibid., 70 et. seq.
43 ibid., 80.
44 Small shops which commonly lined the streets.
45 Russel 2016, 67.

must have been added during the late antique period of the neighborhood and illustrate the continuity of wealthy living in these urban areas[46].

Ultimately, all the structural changes mentioned above only seem to reflect the interaction of the Forum Romanum as the core area of public activities in Rome with the population of its surrounding neighborhoods. It appears to be impossible to approach neither the Roman Forum nor the affected population without understanding the other in question. Therefore, we'll attempt to comprehend the composition of the people who lived in the *subura* and the Argiletum.



▲ **Fig. 7a–b** a: Detail of preserved fragment of painted plaster corresponding to a Domus in the *subura*, showing a striding female figure between two columns. Note the bottom edge of the plaster, which has clearly been cut to install the later stucco molding.; b: *opus sectile* pavement of a *domus* in the *subura*.

Social groups and professions

As outlined above, the *subura* suffered from bad reputation already during the days of the ancient authors and it is still considered as the "neighborhood of the poor" in many minds, even nowadays. This very reduced appraisal seems to be the result of a lack of perspectives in the tradition of individual stories. Apparently, it became almost iconic to

[46] Andrews 2014, 83.

▲ **Fig. 8** Inscription naming a *lanarius* at the *subura* (CIL 06, 9491)

characterize the *subura* as an infamous place – including all the nasty phenomena which come along with that: dirty streets, weaselly traders, sick residents and omnipresent sex workers. But does that really live up to the reality of the *subura*?

First and foremost, it is important to emphasize that, indeed, other groups and professions have been a part of tradition as well as they have been a part of research[47]. The questionable issue with that is the emphasis put on groups and aspects which fit to an image of a harmful neighborhood. Therefore, it still seems necessary to compile all the information that we can get about the social structure of the *subura* as well as the Argiletum and, as a second step, to assess the result as non-intentional as possible. It is important to remember that *subura* and Argiletum were two separate neighborhoods, hence the social structure in these districts differ on occasion.

As we look into the *subura* first, we read about "barking dogs, butcher shops and rickety structures", which we have to picture to ourselves all around us[48]. Sex workers pursue their business in the midst of the neighborhood[49], here and there creating the atmosphere of a red-light district with its iconic stories of cheating husbands and innocent infants[50] in this "hotbed of sin"[51]. Young, virginal men are sent out to visit the "experienced women" of the *subura* to attain man-

[47] As they are mentioned in our ancient sources and every so often in the scholarly literature too.
[48] Andrews 2014, 61.
[49] Mart. 6, 66, 1-6.
[50] Mart. 11, 61, 2-10.
[51] Anderson 1982, 101.

hood[52]. Hawker, fortune-tellers and beggars fill the streets[53]. It almost seems like the *subura* WAS the seedy place, that we've been told of. But – and that is the point – our knowledge of its population doesn't stop here. We know about busy street sceneries, hairdressing[54], meat processing[55] and fruit[56] cultivated directly inside of the *subura*[57]. In the case of textile manufacturing[58] we're even able to combine the reports of Martial with an inscription, telling us about L. Cornelius Eros, a so called *inpiliarius* (a textile manufacturer), and his business with socks made of felt[59]. Also, a wool maker, lat. *lanarius*, is epigraphically attested at the *subura* **(Fig. 8)**. The extensive production of goods for the daily needs right in the middle of the neighborhood met its customers in the immediate vicinity[60], at well-equipped markets in the streets of the *subura*[61]. The area had been well-known for its restaurants as well as for the red-light district mentioned before[62].

Additionally, we have evidence of a Jewish community in the *subura* established in the 1st century A.D.[63]. This was by far not the only one in Rome, but even though it is not located yet, we at least know its synagogue's name[64]. Moreover, even some African inhabitants were mentioned to live in the area through which the *vicus Capitis Africae* went[65].

[52] Mart. 11, 78, 9-11.
[53] Bradshaw 1923, 55.
[54] Mart. 2, 17, 1-3.
[55] Iuv. 11, 114.
[56] Martial refers to „yellow fruits".
[57] Mart. 10, 94, 4-5.
[58] Mart. 9, 37, 1-4.
[59] CIL 06, 33862.
[60] Mart. 12, 31, 1-9.
[61] Anderson 1982, 101.
[62] Gowers 1995, 25.
[63] La Piana 1927, 220 et. seq.
[64] Leon 1961, 416 et. seq.
[65] This street has been located near the Colosseum, at the southern border of the *subura* neighborhood. See La Piana 1927, 220.

Summarizing the evidence given above it seems that the socially weaker part of the population[66] was, indeed, accommodated in districts of a lower level such as the *subura*[67], but there are further aspects, especially an extensive local production, to be considered. The district must have appeared as a loud and dirty neighborhood with multiple businesses, but that doesn't mean it must have been an unpopular place to live. The infrastructure of the *subura* offered many benefits of the Roman lifestyle, which increased the closer the area was located referred to the Roman Forum. That brings us to the Argiletum district – the neighborhood closest to it.

The Argiletum appears in many aspects similar to the *subura* as the neighborhood generally functions in a very comparable way. Just like the *subura*, it has been a residential area and an important space for the interaction of public matters and private needs. However, some slight differences allow us to broaden our perspective on that topic. While earlier we've been considering the existence of prostitutes, hairdressers as well as people involved in the production of fruit, meat and textiles amidst the *subura*, we have evidence of different professions in the Argiletum.

The main road itself must be imagined as densely populated by book sellers[68]. Those obviously launched their business in direct neighborhood of the paper storing places, the *horrea Chartaria*, which were located nearby[69]. And most importantly, we do have archaeological evidence for these book sellers – frankly a welcome choice as we must rely on literary sources for our study all too often[70]. Highly vivid examples of such evidence delivered by archaeology are the titles of newly published books[71] written on the door posts of houses,

[66] That refers to sex workers, foreigners and people conducting "dirty businesses".
[67] Scobie 1986, 405.
[68] Gowers 1995, 25; Peck 1914, 78.
[69] Coarelli 1980, 195.
[70] Robinson 1994, 463.
[71] Of course, this grading refers to the moment when these titles were written on the door posts, not our own present age.

resp. shops in the Argiletum[72]. Therefore, even though it was spread over other parts of Rome too, a concentration of book trade can be assumed in the district – with its core area at the *vicus Sandaliarius*[73] and most significant peak in the 2nd century A.D.[74]. Furthermore, Martial tells us about shoemakers located in the Argiletum district[75] – presumably a widespread profession in the *subura* too[76]. As we get closer to the threshold of the Argiletum and the Roman Forum, our survey of groups and professions situated in the neighborhood more and more reflects the interplay of occupation and architecture as a tool regarding public concerns. In the context of the increasing role of the Roman Forum as representative space and its public image during the late 4th century B.C., most *tabernae* located on the edges of the Forum – and therefore bordering the Argiletum – changed hands from simple grocers to money-changers and thereby contributed to the change of needs in a political framework[77]. Likewise, Horace reports on money-changers as based at the *Ianus summus*[78] – a transverse arch, which scholars assume to be located at the transition of Basilica Aemilia and the arcade-like *tabernae* of the Argiletum. On that score we must understand these structures – the so called *tabernae argentariae* – and those who worked there, which included goldsmiths as well[79]. Eventually, African lamps and Palestinian wine, which can be connected to *tabernae* built in an area that was later occupied by the Forum Transitorium, might indicate additional business segments common in the Argiletum[80]. As we have seen, those professions most visible to the people in the Argiletum area differ decisively from the ones most relevant for the

[72] Bradshaw 1923, 54 et. seq.
[73] A street probably located in the north-east of the Templum Pacis, hence near the examined area.
[74] Peck 1914, 78.
[75] Mart. 2, 17, 2-3.
[76] La Piana 1927, 212.
[77] Fowler 1988, 262 et. seq.
[78] Hor. epist. 1, 1, 52-61.
[79] Dennison 1908, 323.
[80] Robinson 1994, 463.

subura. While – in the first place – businesses in the latter seem to meet the needs of its residents and therefore private demands, some businesses present at the Argiletum served a strong public purpose as well[81]. This thought might roughly express the character of both neighborhoods and the social life taking place in their streets.
Interestingly some well-known historical figures like Caesar, who lived in a "modest house" in the *subura* before he was chosen as *Pontifex Maximus* and had to move to the *domus Publica* at the *via Sacra*[82], and Cicero, who lived in the Argiletum district, can be connected to this area[83]. It might be revealing and a bit amusing regarding our first impression of these quarters, that Cicero became a victim of a gang attack while walking through the streets of his own neighborhood, ultimately to be saved by his escort[84].
To get a further idea of the procedures and the social structure in the considered districts, it helps to talk about the price of property and its affordability by reasonable standards. E.g., the worth of one *insula* of the Argiletum district at the time of Cicero, which accommodated roughly 175 to 290 people, came up to approx. HS 1,000,000 – which is approx. 2700 times the yearly income of a normal Roman legionary or approx. 3 times the yearly income of a governor/proconsul[85]. Thus, we see that any property in these neighborhoods was equivalent to a tremendous investment – the consequence being that any large-scale structural change to the Argiletum must have been of notable public importance. That fits together perfectly with the vital role of the Argiletum as Rome's mercantile center in Republican times. On the other hand, it illustrates the dimension of impact of the Imperial building programs towards the quarter[86].

[81] As set out regarding the money-changers during the late 4th century B.C. and the following decades.
[82] Suet. Iul. 46, 1.
[83] Anderson 1982, 102.
[84] Brunt 1966, 4.
[85] Frier 1978, 6.
[86] Anderson 1982, 102.

Public and private matters

Even though it cannot be explained in detail at this point, it is important to be aware of the fact that privacy was a matter of wealth among the Roman society and therefore – at least to a certain extent – not available for everyone. The wealthy class knew different nuances of it related to habitation, bathing and sex. The poor on the other hand literally lived anywhere, in *tabernae* and *insulae*, some probably even in the baths[87]. Perhaps due to these masses of people living in close proximity to Rome's political heart, the *subura* has always been a source of unrest in Roman history[88]. Its streets have been the location of multiple riots as well as their suppression – among other reasons possibly as a consequence of being situated between the Marmertine prison, where slaves were held captive, and the *Campus Esquilinus*, the place of executions[89]. Several events such as the *Equus October*, a ritual competition among the inhabitants of the *subura* and those of the *via Sacra* during the Ides of October, took place there[90]. And as we know from a Neronian coin, the oldest and most important Temple of Janus[91], of which no traces remained, was located in the Argiletum[92], while we have evidence for a temple of Isis near the *subura*[93]. Not to forget funeral processions, which did not only take place on the Roman Forum, but ran through its periphery – the Argiletum – as well[94]. Evidently, the field of funerary cult just as the *Equus October* illustrates the complexity of public and private aspects within Roman life, as it touches rituals of being part of the Roman society as well as very intimate, individual experiences and needs – by this example the moment of death. Combined with the space, on which actions were happening, and the architecture built to address these matters, the Argiletum apparently stands out as a transition area. It links the center of Rome's public life –

87 Scobie 1986, 401 et. seq.; ibid. 428-430.
88 Russel 2016, 66.
89 Kelly 2007, 168 et. seq.
90 McDonough 2012, 1.
91 In the style of a transverse arch with a statue of the two-faced god in the middle of the gateway.
92 Coarelli 1980, 61 et. seq.; Jordan 1870, 251-253.
93 La Piana 1927, 217.
94 Favro – Johanson 2010, 27 et. seq.

the Roman Forum – with the corresponding space for personal fulfillment in the nearby neighborhood – the *subura*. Against this background, it is important to recognize that the terms "public" and "private" cannot easily be used as a label for neither the Roman Forum nor the residential districts. Roman life always consisted of both: public and private aspects. Only their relative significance differed from one topic to another.

Conclusion

As we have seen, it does not seriously work to reduce the *subura* to images of dirty streets, poor people and sex work only. Ancient sources like Martial, Horace or Juvenal might tell us lively stories about the *subura*, but need to be trusted with caution since they write in a very satiric and pointed, partly vulgar language and highlight certain stereotypes such as the untalented artist or the spoony cuckold in their writings. Hence, we looked for as much information regarding the structure of the neighborhood as possible. With success, as we were able to study the existence of many different professions and social groups in the *subura* and Argiletum, widening our knowledge of the area. Taken together with the results of our brief look at the Imperial building programs and their impact on the bordering residential areas, we get a fair impression of all the different factors interacting in these districts. The *subura* was far from being such a terrible place as it is usually locked in the heads of the people. The *subura* has never been a residential area populated exclusively by the poor. Fortunately, our approach allowed us to study the transition area between *subura* and Roman Forum – the Argiletum. This region of Rome is probably one of the most interesting to look at while surveying public and private spaces in the city. And it indicated that a distinction between both always ends at a certain degree as public and private matters usually merge at some point. As a consequence, our understanding of "privacy" and "public affairs" in the ancient world should be thoroughly reviewed. That is so important because the fusion of individual life choices with public matters usually

happens when it comes to truly invasive issues – like religion, politics or social environment. Since these topics are some of the most important in the ancient world at all, we cannot risk to misunderstand processes just because of categorizing "private" and "public" all too strict.

Like a hinge the Argiletum worked for the people living in the northeast of Rome, connecting them with the center of an Empire right in front of their doors. It was the borderline between Imperial propaganda, expressed in vast building programs constantly changing the appearance of the area, and the demands of ordinary people. Unfortunately, the issue whether the residents of the *subura* would have preferred the Roman Forum or markets among their neighborhood must remain unclear at this point. Further research on the success of local businesses and their outreach, possibly realized through a study on the spread of simple goods produced in the *subura* as presented above, will be an interesting challenge for the future.

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Evidence of figures
Fig. 1 Andrews 2014, 62 fig. 1; Fig. 2 Photo by Jessica Bartz; Fig. 3 Carettoni 1960, pl. 18 © The Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project & Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma <https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/carettoni/largeimg//18.jpg> (15/05/2019); Fig. 4 Andrews 2014, 74 fig. 13; Fig. 5 Coarelli 2009, 203 fig. 1; Fig. 6 Forma Urbis Romae, Frg. nr. 11e © The Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project & Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma <https://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragments/color_mos_reduced/011e_MOS.jpg> (15/05/2019); Fig. 7a-b Andrews 2014, 81 fig. 18 (a) & Andrews 2014, 79 fig. 15 (b); Fig. 8 Rome, Musei Capitolini, Sala del Fauno, NCE 2596, Photo by EPIGRAPHIC DATABASE ROMA <http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=119833&lang=it> (15/05/2019)

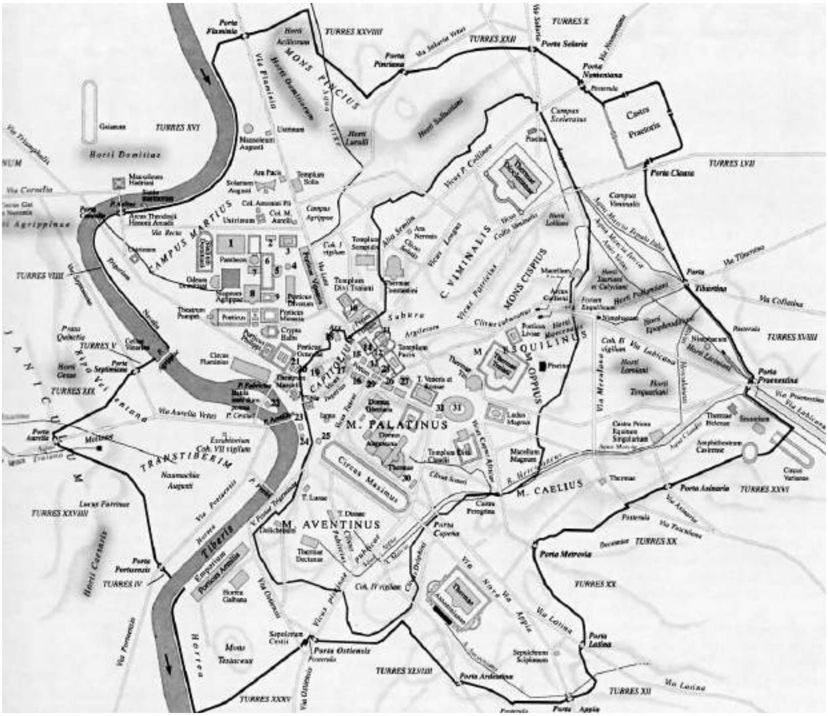
06 | Roman *horti*: A topographical view in the Imperial era

Giulia Moretti Cursi

Historical context and functions

According to a well-known definition of S. Settis the Roman *horti* are "the result of a continuous struggle between art and nature"[1]. In these places, which can be attested in the periphery of the city of Rome **(Fig. 1)**, the natural frame was in perfect harmony with the architectural structures to effect leisure and entertainment. Such as the pavilions, intended to host banquets and symposia (*diaetae*), and with other buildings borrowed from public architecture, such as arcades, theaters and gymnasiums, and from sacred architecture, such as temples and sacred areas[2]. In a passage from Pliny you will find some features summarizing the function and use of the *horti* in Roman times: the *religio*, the *saturica signa* and the *tutela Veneris*[3]. Starting from a definition of the term *hortus* Pliny gives a lexical association between the term *hortus* and the term *heredium*[4]. Originally, a plot of land the size of two *iugera* (a Roman unit of area, equivalent to Roman feet) is meant, which was assigned to the colonists in the first phase of Roman colonization[5]. Varro instead attributes the origin of the term to Romulus who divided the earth by assigning a datum to his small field, which was left as an inheritance[6].

1 Settis 2002, 3.
2 Those were copied from the palaces of the *diadochi*. Cf. Paolucci 2007, 72.
3 Plin. nat. hist. 19, 49-56.
4 Pliny mentions this after having considered the non-existence of the term *villa* as his contemporaries meant it in the law of the twelve tables.
5 Cifani 2009, 312.
6 Varro rust. 1, 10.



▲ **Fig. 1** Map of Rome showing the location of the *horti*

At the time of Pliny the *horti* had lost their original rural character, while preserving some features of sacredness linked to the use of the land, as places dedicated to the production of foodstuffs. This function is also confirmed by the testimony of Horace who, celebrating Maecenas for the construction of his famous *horti* on the Esquiline, mentions a statue of Priapus carved in wood and placed as a guard gardens to ward off thieves and harmful birds[7].

The element of *tutela Veneris* highlighted by Pliny shows that the

[7] Hor. sat. 1, 8, 1-10. Priapus was a minor rustic fertility god, protector of livestock, fruit plants, gardens and male genitalia.

horti are dedicated to the goddess and, also according to Varro[8], this found its confirmation in the presence of numerous sanctuaries dedicated to the goddess, which can be documented for some *horti* in Rome[9]. The protective role of *Venus* within the gardens is also confirmed in Athens by the existence of a temple of Aphrodite which took its name (*en kepois*) from the gardens that surrounded it[10].
In the text of Pliny[11] the term *kepos* also indicates the physical place where Epicurus used to keep his philosophical school, which found in the serene relationship between man and nature one of the founding elements. The same idea is noted in the verses of Lucretius: "it is sufficient, lying among friends on the tender grass, near a stream of running water, under the branches of a large tree, to be able to pleasantly treat the body with not great expenses; especially when time smiles, and the season disseminates the green lawns with flowers"[12]. We also read that even Maecenas "preferred the shade of an oak, the waterfalls and a few hedges of earth covered with fruit trees; honoring the Muses Pieridi and Febo in his sweet gardens he sat talking to the chirping of birds"[13]. Between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D. by noble houses the social role played grew out of proportion, becoming the mirror of the *dignitas* of those who lived there. The spaces of private life were filtered through the forms of public architecture, in part pre-existing and partly assimilated by the models of Hellenistic palaces, which is delivered by Vitruvius: "But for the nobiles, who must serve as their offices with citizens and followers, and who hold important magistracies, they must build regal vestibules, other tall and very wide peristyles,

8 Varro rust. 6, 20.

9 Like the Venus Lubentia or Libitina on the Esquiline, a Venus in the area of Mecenate's *horti*, the Venus Erycina on the Quirinal Hill in connection with the Sallustian *horti* and perhaps even the Venus Victrix inserted in the monumental complex of the theatre of Pompey to which his *horti* were connected. Cf. Talamo 2008, 27-35; Paolucci 2007, 73; Castelli 1988; Häuber 2005, 86.

10 Paus. 1, 19, 2.

11 Cf. note 3.

12 Lucr. 2, 29-33.

13 App. Vergil. el. in Maec. 1, 33-36.

with woods and walks (*ambulationes*) in a style that adds luster to their dignity; moreover libraries, galleries of paintings and basilicas, executed with magnificence no less than that of public buildings, as their houses are often the venue for meetings on public affairs, as well as for private arbitrations"[14].

The publicity of the *horti* is also witnessed by the two public banquets offered by Caesar in his *horti trans Tiberim* to which all the people participated celebrating his triumph over Spain[15]. The splendid residences of the most powerful Romans were then opened at the entrance of the urban plebs and used as means of a personal relationship, but also of political propaganda. Before Caesar, in 70 B.C., Crassus gave a huge banquet as a great sacrifice offered to Hercules[16], and after him this is attested for Lucullus in 63 B.C., at the end of the triumphal procession of celebrating the victory over Mithridates and in which incredible riches were gained from the enemy[17].

At the same time the *horti* were also, in addition of being centres of power and instruments of illustrating personal prestige, a sort of refuge from the affairs of the Roman *forum* and the stressful political quarrel of public life, thanks to their relationship with nature and their peripheral position. A space dedicated to the *otium* (leisure time), on the model of what Augustus had granted to Maecenas[18], where the princeps also took refuge when he had health problems[19] and which Tiberius also chose when he returned from exile in Rhodes in 2 A.D.[20].

[14] Vitr. 6, 5, 2.

[15] Cass. Dio 43, 19, 1; Hor. sat. 1, 9, 16-19; Plut. Caes. 55, 1.

[16] "He spread for the people a banquet with 10,000 tables" (Plut. Crass. 12, 2).

[17] "He offered a great banquet to the city, including also the peripheral areas that the Romans call *vici*" (Plut. Luc. 37.4).

[18] "to live secluded in Rome itself as in a foreign living room" (Tac. ann. 14, 53).

[19] Suet. Aug. 72, 4.

[20] "immediately changed house, passing from the house of Pompeii, to the Carine, to the gardens of Maecenas, on the Esquilino; and he abandoned himself to complete rest, observing only his private duties and abstaining from any public office" (Suet. Tib. 15, 1)

▲ **Fig. 2** Group of Laocoon and his sons, Cortile del Belvedere, Musei Vaticani, Inv. no. 1059, 1604, 1607

Greek sculptures in Rome: *horti* as open-space museums?

Because of Tiberius' stay in the *horti* of Maecenas the emperor gave a new importance to the sculptural decoration of those places using works referable to a late Hellenistic current, baroque and anticlassical, which he also used in the decoration of his *villa* in Sperlonga[21].

It is therefore possible that works referable to this school found in the Esquiline *horti*, like a head of a centaur coming to light between the present via Machiavelli and Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, in an area of uncertain attribution between the Maecenatians and Lamian *horti*, where they referred to a Tiberian-era park arrangement. The famous sculptural group of the *Laocoon* **(Fig. 2)** mentioned by Pliny in the *domus Titi*[22], which maybe meant an area on the Oppian Hill that belonged to the *horti* of Maecenas, was also part of this renewal program[23].

Even the new sensitivity of the Romans towards gardens has distant origins: they represent the echo of the fabulous Babylonian gardens and of those oriental *paradeisoi*, known and admired through the descriptions of the Greek writers who saw them and were fascinated

[21] Cf. La Rocca 1998, 203-225.

[22] Plin. nat. hist. 36, 37-38

[23] For a discussion of the ancient location cf. Bartz – Mulattieri 2017, esp. 452. Furthermore Häuber 1991, 211; La Rocca 1998, 220.

Fig. 3 Attic stele depicting depicting a knight in the act of hitting a fallen enemy, mid-5th century B.C. from the horti of Maecenas, Albani private collection

Fig. 4a-b Fragments of a funerary stele with two figures from the end of the 5th - beginning of the 4th century B.C., found in 1887 in the excavations of Villa Palombara, Musei Capitolini, Rome

by them[24]. The Roman conquests of the Greek cities of Syracuse (211 B.C.), Taranto (209 B.C.) and Corinth (146 B.C.) and the consequent acquiring of precious objects from those areas had caused a massive influx of originals of Greek works of art to Rome[25]. They, partly intended for the decoration of public monuments, soon became the prey of generals and rich personalities of the political elite, who used them to increase the prestige of their private dwellings[26].

The deeper knowledge of Greek culture and art favoured the tumultuous development of collecting works of art, and also the formation of merchant and expert figures charged with finding the most prestigious and sought-after works. In the Sallustian *horti*[27], as well as in the Esquiline *horti*[28], the creation of very fine decorative programs with sculptures from Greece and Magna Graecia can be attested. An example is offered by the beautiful and monumental Attic stele of the mid-5th century B.C. from the *horti* of Maecenas depicting a knight in the act of hitting a fallen enemy **(Fig. 3)**. The style, not far from the formal language of the famous Parthenon frieze of the Athenian acropolis, gives the relief a courtly tone that accentuates its value and excellent formal execution. According to Winckelmann's testimony, the stele, now in the Albani collection, was found in 1764 in the area of Villa Caserta on the Esquiline, not far from the arch of

[24] These were large parks where a part of the extension was left to wild nature, populated with animals and where the Persian kings could devote themselves to great hunting trips, while the other areas were divided into cleverly cultivated areas and natural areas crossed by streams gurgling and populated by the local fauna.

[25] Talamo 2008, 27-35.

[26] Polyb. 9, 10, 13.

[27] For all the topographical aspects of this area see: Innocenti Leotta 2004; Cipriani 1982, 29; Talamo 1998, 123-136; Innocenti – Leotta 2004, 193. For the archaeological discoveries found in this area see: Talamo 1998, 139. 144-151. 166-169; Innocenti – Leotta 2004, 194; Langlotz – Hirmer 1963, 83-85; Candilio 1990; Vermeule – Cahn – Hadley 1977, 6 n. 10; Poulsen 1951, 216 n. 292; Palma – Giuliano 1983, 185 n. 78. 163-164 n. 70.

[28] For the initial phase of building and reclamation of Maecenas' *horti* see: Royo 1994, 233-234; Bell 1998, 301. A terminus post quem for this phase is given by the 9th satire by Horace, which dates between 38 and 35 B.C., where the poet celebrates the activity of reclamation undertaken by Maecenas in his *horti*. For the archaeological discoveries found in this area see: Häuber 1983; Häuber 1998; Tomei 1992, 948-949; Bell 1998.

Gallienus (Esquiline Gate) and therefore in the full area of the *horti* of Maecenas. From the Auditorium area comes a funerary stele, datable to the middle of the 5th century B.C., which presents a female figure dressed in a complex fashion dress where, with calligraphic expertise, all the different fabrics that make it up are characterized **(Fig. 4)**. The stele of the girl with a dove comes from the *horti Lamiani*, which is attributed to a workshop of artists from southern Italy active in the early years of the 5th century B.C. The group of the Ephedrismos **(Fig. 5)** dating to the end of the 4th century B.C. represents two girls with an elegant drapery, intent on a game similar to the 'race to leapfrog'. A fortunate discovery allows to establish that the group was originally used as an acroter, together with another one to mirror it, in the architectural decoration of a temple in Tegea, city of Arcadia, in Greece, probably occurred in the Augustan age[29]. The geographical origin of this group could be connected with the news of Pausanias according to which after the battle of Actius Augustus brought the ancient statue of chryselephantine worship of the temple of Alea in Tegea to Rome[30].

To summarize, one should certainly rate the luxurious objects within the *horti* as an indication of the military success and prosperity of the owner. Accordingly, it is only logical that these should be seen and received by visitors in any form. Be it that clients paid their respects to patrons, rich aristocrats organized splendid events on their estates, or that the *horti* might be partly open to the public, the magnificent architectures and precious sculptures should have been seen by a certain public.

It is difficult to say why the classical Greek sculptures fascinated the owners of the gardens or why a relatively large number of Greek funerary monuments could be found. This is also because the founding contexts of the objects are rarely well documented. On the other hand, the further history of the gardens is very complex.

[29] Fuchs 1983, 368.

[30] Paus. 8, 46, 1.

▲ **Fig. 5** Group of the Ephedrismos, end of the 4th century B.C., Sala degli Horti Lamiani, Musei Capitolini (Palazzo dei Conservatori), Rome

Development of the *horti* during the Republican and early Imperial period

Among the ancient *horti* mentioned in Rome are the *horti Scipionis* that appear in a passage by Cicero in relation to an auxiliary ceremony that took place in the year 163 B.C.[31]. This property was outside the *pomerium* (a religious boundary around the city of Rome)

[31] Cic. nat. deor. 2, 4, 11. Cf. Talamo 2008, 27-35.

and had to be close to the *auguraculum* (a roofless temple on the Arx) visible from the plain of the Campus Martius. A possible location therefore might be on the slopes of the Quirinale, as owner the name of P. Cornelius Scipius Africanus was advanced[32]. These *horti* seem to have been the oldest in Rome.

The phenomenon of the *horti* then increased during the 1st century B.C., when the monumental centre of the city was surrounded by greenery. The gardens of Pompey e.g. were famous, but now they are very complex and difficult to appoint topographically[33] **(cf. Fig. 1)**. After the death of Pompey, the *horti* came into the possession of Marcus Antonius[34], who received Octavianus, the later princeps Augustus, there in 44 B.C. It is said that this property passed to Agrippa after the death of Marcus Antonius, who decorated it with many works of art including a lion and the famous Apoxyomenos, both sculptured by *Lysippus*, which Pliny mentioned in front of the Agrippa thermal baths[35]. In the area of today's Trastevere the *horti* of Caesar can be located, in which e.g. Cleopatra was hosted during her stay in Rome[36] and where in 46 B.C. Caesar celebrated his famous triumph by organizing a banquet to which all the people of Rome were invited[37]. Not far from these, on the Pincian Hill, were the so-called *horti* of Lucullus[38], possessed by Lucius Licinius Lucullus in the central decades of the 1st century B.C. The *horti* can be located outside Porta Capena, near the place where the Via Appia and Via Latina branch off, next to the Asinian *horti*[39]. In the same area were the *monumenta* of Asinius, which consisted of an amazing artistic collection[40].

[32] Richardson 1992, 199; Talamo 2008, 27.

[33] A suggestive hypothesis places them in the area of the Campus Martius near the site where Pompey built the first stone theatre in Rome in 55 B.C., crowned at the top of the cavea by the temple of Venus Victrix. Cf. Talamo 2008, 27-35.

[34] Cic. Phil. 2, 109.

[35] Plin. nat. hist. 34, 62.

[36] Cic. Att. 15, 15, 2.

[37] Plut. Caes. 55, 4. See also Talamo 2008, 28.

[38] Broise – Jolivet 1994, 191-192; Broise – Dewailly – Jolivet 2000, 438.

[39] As mentioned in a passage in Frontinus: Front. aqu. strat. 21.

[40] Plin. nat. hist. 36, 33-36.

▲ **Fig. 6** Dirkegruppe, 200–150 B.C., Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Neapel, Inv. no 6002

Famous of this is a sculpture representing the punishment of Dirce, now recognizable in the large sculptural group of the "Toro Farnese" preserved in Naples **(Fig. 6)**, which were later a part of the interior of the baths of Caracalla.

Roman *horti* as imperial and public property

Like all properties of Agrippa, even the *horti* of the Campus Martius were left in inheritance to Augustus, who made them public[41] and with them also all the works of art they contained. It was Agrippa's conviction that the statues and the paintings had to be considered as public goods and not relegated to the enclosure of the private villas of the rich[42]. The area and the monuments preserved the memory of the old owner so much so that in pond of the baths of Agrippa Nero organized an amazing water festival[43]. The donation of the gardens of Agrippa, already of Pompey and of Marcus Antonius, is an act of pacification and munificence of the new government of Augustus aimed at erasing the political and civil tensions of the late Republican age - modulated on the previous will of Caesar of the Roman people its splendid gardens in Trastevere. Even Maecenas donated his possessions to Augustus, who thus entered the *patrimonium principis*. In 21 A.D. Sallustius Priscus

41 Cass. Dio. 54, 29, 4.
42 Plin. nat. hist. 35, 36.
43 Tac. ann. 15, 37.

donated the *horti Sallustiani* to Tiberius excluding the operations of the legitimate descendant C. Passienus Crisippus and his wife Agrippina Minor. During the reign of Caligula, the *horti Lamiani* on the Esquiline were already imperial property. In 33 A.D. Agrippina Maior also left the *horti* in Trastevere to her son Caligula. At the time of Claudius, therefore, most of the gardens on the Esquiline Hill were imperial property except for the *horti* of Pallans, a powerful freedman of Claudius and trusted supporter of Agrippina Minor, who later fell into disgrace with the emperor and was killed from Nero together with Seneca and Agrippina Minor. The property was later confiscated for the benefit of the emperor Nero.

The management of the immense property was entrusted to a central administration with delegation to a *procurator* of the *horti* to whom the staff responsible for the care of buildings and gardens were assigned. The *procurator* also depended on the assignment of funeral spaces within the property, reserved for its inhabitants only, as evidenced by an inscription from the 2nd century A.D. which recalls Moscho, procurator of the *horti Maiani* and *Lamiani*[44].

The functions of steward were carried out by the *dispensator*[45], by the *exactor*[46] and by the *supra hortos*[47]. In general, those who carried out different functions, such as the *diaetarca*[48] who took care of those elegant buildings immersed in the green, born to find rest and coolness (*diaetae*), and the gardener (*topiarius*), were also freedmen and servants of the imperial family. witnessed in several inscriptions[49]. In the large community were included the *vilici* also with administrative functions[50], a doctor is attested in the *Sallustian horti*[51] . When the emperor resided in the property the employees of the

[44] CIL 06, 8668.
[45] CIL 06, 8667; CIL 06, 8675; AE 1977, 49.
[46] CIL 06, 8673.
[47] CIL 06, 4346.
[48] CIL 06, 8666.
[49] Like CIL 06, 4360, 4361, 4423, 8639, 8738, 9082.
[50] CIL 06, 8667, 9005.
[51] CIL 06, 6299.

imperial house moved with him along with a detachment of soldiers of the praetorian troops[52]. The *horti* thus become imperial headquarters, equipped with the necessary facilities to house the court and all the offices relating to the complex central administration, as is also witnessed for the *horti* of Gallienus: "Whenever he went to the gardens named after him, all the staff of the Palace followed him. And there went with him, too, the prefects and the chiefs of all the staffs, and they were invited to his banquets and bathed in the pools along with the prince."[53]. Under the Julio-Claudian era there were restorations, enlargements and sumptuous decorations aimed at transforming the ancient palaces into the emperor's second residences. The *horti* of Lamiani and Maecenas were chosen by Caligula as the venue for the hearing to foreign embassies[54] and the Lucullian *horti* were elected by Claudius as a place to receive representatives of the Semitic and anti-Semitic factions of Alexandria in 53 A.D.[55]. Even Nero often visited the Sallustian *horti*[56].

The testamentary legacies in favour of the emperor were assigned to his successor[57]. Therefore, the patrimony of the princes throughout the 1st century A.D. did not vary but remained in its entirety, but in later centuries the possessions have been sold for political or economic reasons. During the reign of Trajan there is an explicit reference to the emperor's assent for the sale of his properties[58], including the economic policy of resorting to the sale of private goods of the emperor to sustain the expenses for the army and the armaments of the Dacian wars. This is the case of Lucullian *horti*, sold to the family of Acilius who owned them during the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. Another example is the property of the rhetorician M. Cornelius

[52] Suet. Nero 47; Tac. ann. 15, 55.
[53] Hist. Aug. Gall. 17, 8.
[54] Phil. legat. ad Gaium 351 ss.
[55] Papyrus 511 of Berlin.
[56] Tac. ann. 13, 47.
[57] Dig. 31, 56.
[58] Plin. paneg. 50.

Fronto, master of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and *consul suffectus* in 143 A.D., on the Esquiline Hill which stood in the former *horti* of Maecenas, evidenced by the numerous *fistulae aquariae* discovered near the Auditorium.

A juridical reform that invests the emperor's private assets intervenes only at the end of the 2nd century A.D. and provides for the prohibition of the sale of gardens and buildings in use by the emperor himself with the exception of the possessions of the Sallustian *horti* and of the *fundus albanus* which are used by the emperor and cannot be left in inheritance. In 69 A.D. troops of Vitellius and the Sallustian *horti* burst into the city and were the scene of clashes with the army of Vespasian[59]. Once the city was reconquered, Vespasianus provided for the restoration of the great complex on the Quirinal Hill and transformed it into a public park where he received friends and even those who passed in the area, were authorized to enter because the doors of his palace were open throughout the day and at the entrance it was no guard post[60]. The Sallustian *horti* did not become public gardens, because they were not given to the Roman people like those of Caesar in Trastevere or of Agrippa in Campus Martius, but they took on a particular connotation of public property still in use by the emperor[61]. The decay of the *horti* began in 410 A.D. when the Goths of Alaric burned numerous buildings and a large part of the palace[62], but the area was garrisoned in the nearby *domus Pinciana* where Belisario took office a century later during the Gothic wars[63].

[59] Tac. hist. 3, 82.
[60] Cass. Dio. 66, 10, 4.
[61] Ulp. dig. 30, 39, 8-9.
[62] Prok. BV 3, 2, 23.
[63] Lib. Pont. 1, p. 291s.

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Evidence of figures
Fig. 1 Cima – Talamo 2008, 29 fig. 1; Fig. 2 Photo by Jessica Bartz; Fig. 3 Cima – Talamo 2008, 22 fig. 13; Fig. 4 Cima – Talamo 2008, 24 figg. 14-15; Fig. 5 Fuchs 1983, 368 fig. 408-409; Fig. 6 Photo by Jessica Bartz

07 | Bathing in Rome: *thermae* for the masses, *balnea* for the elite?

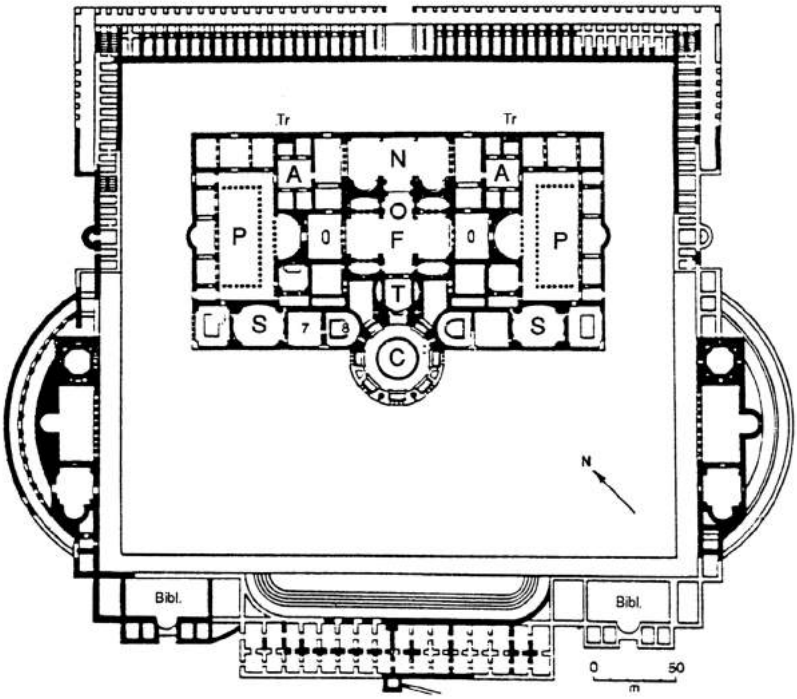
David Andreas

Especially in a city like Rome, hygiene was very important factor to prevent the spread of diseases. The emperors were responsible for providing the population with cleaning facilities. They did not implement this through water connections and bathing facilities in every household, but regulated it centrally via large public thermal baths. The Baths of Caracalla, or *thermae Antoninianae*, are a kind of role model for these typical Roman building complexes, which are one of the most well-preserved Roman bath ruins and were the second-largest bath complex in the city of Rome **(Fig. 1)**.

The construction of the baths began in 206 A.D. by the emperor Septimius Severus, who named this complex after his son Caracalla, and was inaugurated in 216 A.D. The ground plan consists of a large central building containing the baths, surrounded by a garden, which is enclosed by a rectangular enclosing wall (*peribolos*), containing porticoes and different rooms. The rooms of the central building contained of precious mosaics (walls and floors), paintings, and gilt bronze doors, the ceilings were made of glass. Spectacular sculptures, like the Farnese Hercules **(Fig. 2)** or the Farnese Bull (see Fig. 6 in paper 06), now in Naples, and marble columns lined the interior[1] The emperors used these buildings to create small palaces for the Roman population, in which they could stay and operate in various ways.

In contrast to modern natatoriums or thermal complexes, the great roman *thermae* had a specific order of rooms. The visitors had to leave

[1] Cf. Brödner 2011, 220-229; Yegül 1995, 146-162.



▲ **Fig. 1** Groundplan of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome

their clothing in the *apodyterium*, afterwards they went to a lukewarm room (*tepidarium)* to warm up the body. It follows the *caldarium* with a basin of hot water, where slaves rub their masters all over with perfumed oil and then scrape it off with a knife called a *strigilis*. The *caldarium* also had large windows that allowed sunlight to heat the room. If it was available, they could also visit a sweating room (*laconium*). At the end the heated body was cooled down in the *frigidarium.* The *natatio,* a great pool, offered the possibility to swim. The process was not strictly predetermined, it was also possible to go back or forth and to repeat the procedure multiple times. The intention behind was the cleaning of the body, but the *thermae* also

offered spaces for physical activity (*palaestra*) too[2]. And despite the bathing and sporting opportunities the complex contained a library, with one wing filled with Greek works and a second for Latin.

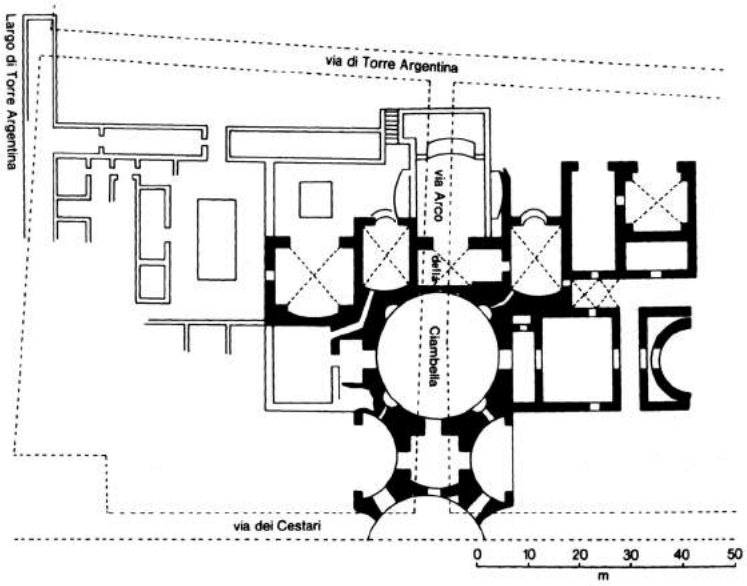
The *thermae Agrippae*: The publicizing of a private bath

As well as this public building type is known to us, this idea had to be born first. Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa built the first large thermal baths in Rome, which, in contrast to the baths that had been customary until then were equipped with rooms for wrestling and other sports (taken from the Greek *gymnasium*), for conversation and even for teaching **(Fig. 3)**. Only little archaeological elements are preserved, despite that the complex is known because of literary sources and illustrations from the *Forma Urbis Romae* (the Severan marble plan)[3]. The building had measures of 100 m x over 100 m and was symmetri-

▲ **Fig. 2** So-called Herakles Farnese, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Inv no. 6001

[2] Künzl 2013, 83.

[3] Brödner 2011, 42; Yegül 1995, 133-137.



▲ **Fig. 3** Groundplan of the Baths of Agrippa in Rome

cally composed[4]. The baths were built between 25 and 19 B.C. and have been privately owned by Agrippa[5]. In his will, he made it possible to visit them free of charge, which was probably the starting point for the open accessibility of the later imperial baths in Rome[6].

How does it happen that a respected, high-ranking politician and confidant of emperor Augustus opens his private bath for an unspecific public and in how far could that have affected the bathing habits of the people?

[4] Künzl 2013, 53. This duplication of bathing rooms became the standard in the later erected and huge Imperial thermal complexes.

[5] Künzl 2013, 53.

[6] Cass. Dio 54, 29, 4: "At any rate, even at his death he left them gardens and the baths named after him, so that they might bathe free of cost, […]" (transl. Earnest Cary).

During Agrippas lifetime there already were 170 small unspectacular baths, called *balneum* (pl. *balnea*), in the city of Rome[7]. During this time bathing didn't seem to have any greater social or representative status in the society. This was about to change. The *thermae Agrippae* is not only the earliest great bath in Rome, but also the first to be addressed as *thermae*, instead of *balneum*[8]. Before Agrippa's baths were built the designation of *balnea* was used "to describe smaller, more modest, private bathing establishments - specifically, those from the republic - and *thermae* for larger, more luxurious baths like Agrippa's."[9] So it seems that there was a shift in the naming of bathing because of the publicizing of a formerly private building. It was surely not Agrippas intention to create a new designation of baths, but it is possible that he was aware of the impact the published will would have as a political statement. A fact that may be discussed is that he opened it after his death and not during his lifetime.

The change of a private into public or semi-public space seems to be a socio-political act that happened not only with baths, but also with private gardens in the city's periphery, so-called *horti*[10]. In 46 B.C. Julius Caesar moved the *epulum publicum* - the public feast traditionally held in the space of the Forum Romanum or Forum Boarium after a triumph – while celebrating his triumph over C. Pompeius to his own *horti* in *trans Tiberim*[11]. Here it is even more obvious that the publicizing must be seen as a political statement. It is possible that Rome's rich elite tried to follow Agrippas example of building luxurious and representative baths.

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7 Künzl 2013, 53.

8 Hrychuk Kontokosta 2019.

9 Hrychuk Kontokosta 2019, 69.

10 For a further discussion of the *horti Romani* cf. the paper of Giulia Moretti Cursi "Roman *horti*: A topographical view in the Imperial era" in this booklet on pages 124-140.

11 Hrychuk Kontokosta 2019, 67. Interestingly these *horti* became public domain after the death of Caesar in 44 B.C., who bequeathed it to the *populus romanus*. See Cic. Phil. 2, 109; Suet. Caes. 83.

The *balneum* as a public and private space during the Roman Empire

For an understanding of bathing architectures as private or public spaces it is important to understand, when, how and by whom they were used. Besides the great baths built by the emperors, there were other types of baths in private houses. The following part will therefore focus on small baths connected to Roman houses, which are called *balneum*[12], and wants to clarify the function of these kind of baths as a private and public space inside a roman *domus*[13].

Despite several preserved examples, a huge amount of them at Pompei and Herculaneum, the ancient authors lively tell us about those kinds of baths. E.g. Pliny the Younger is describing in a letter to his friend Gallus his beautiful house and of course also his *balneum*: "Then comes the cooling-room of the bath, which is large and spacious and has two curved baths built out of opposite walls; these are quite large enough if you consider that the sea is so near. Next come the oiling-room, the furnace-room, and the hot-room for the bath, and then two rest-rooms, beautifully decorated in a simple style, leading to the heated swimming-bath which is much admired and from which swimmers can see the sea. Close by is the ball-court which receives the full warmth of the setting sun."[14]

Especially the baths in private houses offer great comfort in a small space, but we can't expect that these were only used by the owners. They have almost the same rooms with the same functions as the great ones[15]. But the private baths could be rent and used by

[12] The most important studies concerning this kind of baths are De Haan 2010 and Nielsen 1990. For a helpful discussion of the terms *thermae* and *balnea* see the paper of Francesca Russo "*Latrinae*: A public business" in this booklet on pages 155-170, esp. 157-160.

[13] The main difference between the great Imperial baths complexes and *balnea* seems to be the ownership, the scale of the architecture and the absence of space for gymnastics etc., which can be found at many Imperial *thermae*. Cf. Yegül 1995, 43. 55. For an outstanding analysis of private and public aspects of baths of earlier Hellenistic period cf. Trümper 2014.

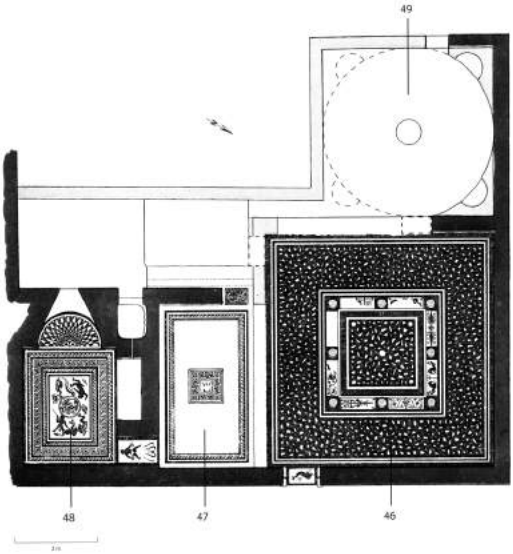
[14] Plin. epist. 2, 17 (tansl. by Betty Radice). See also Brödner 2011, 186-190 with more examples.

[15] De Haan 2010, 116.

▲ **Fig. 4** Groundplan of the *Casa del Menandro*, Pompeii, Regio I, Insula 10.4

paying an entrance fee[16]. In this way the spaces become accessible for more people. They transform from a private into a temporary public space[17], but with the opportunity to create a room with a limited and controlled accessibility.

[16] Künzl 2013, 52.
[17] Künzl 2013, 52.



▲ **Fig. 5** *Balneum* of the *Casa del Menandro* in Pompei with integrated mosaics

Taking a bath and cleaning the body was, in difference to nowadays, not a complete private and intimate act. In roman society it was "a social process, to be shared not only with invited guests (in private baths) but with everyone (in public ones)."[18] The private baths in villas were used for example during social events like welcoming visitors or dinner parties (*symposium*)[19].

The *balneum* of the *Casa del Menandro* in Pompei, which is an interesting and one of the best preserved examples, is settled in the house's south western part **(Fig. 4)**[20]. Its first phase is dated into the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C. during a great expansion in the south of the *domus*[21]. It is assumed that the *balneum* of this house has been used until the earthquake of 62 A.D., afterwards the bath was renovated until the eruption of the Vesuvius in 79 A.D.[22]. Because the *domus* was not inhabited during the renovation works, no objects, like costly oil bottles or statues made of bronze or marble, have been found which could have indicated the value of the *balneum*. Thus, only a description of the preserved magnificent architecture gives an idea of how luxurious this bath has once should have been.

[18] Fagan 1999, 1.
[19] Fagan 1999, 1.
[20] De Haan 2010, 172-183 Cat. K.11. For more examples of domestic baths complexes in Pompei cf. De Haan 2010, 152-240 Cat. K.6-K.26; Yegül 1995, 50-55.
[21] De Haan 2010, 172. 182-183; Ling 1997, 229. The chronology is mainly provided by the wall-paintings and stucco reliefs still preserved in parts of the complex.
[22] Bremen 2011, 237; De Haan 2010, 172. 182-183.

▲ **Fig. 6** Mosaic of room 46 of the *Casa del Menandro* showing hippocampi, dolphins and tendrils

The guests entered the bath through a kind of *atrium*, so-called *atriolum*, a room with a central marble basin (*impluvium*) and brick columns around it (room 46 in **Fig. 5**)[23]. In between areas of monochrome mosaics are laid out, which show hippocampi, dolphins and tendrils **(Fig. 6)**[24]. The floor and the bottom of the *impluvium* are made of *opus sculatum*. On the north-

▲ **Fig. 7** Mosaic of room 46 of the *Casa del Menandro* showing a slave

[23] De Haan 2010, 174-176; Ling 1999, 61.

[24] For full enumeration of the pictures see De Haan 2010, 175.

▲ **Fig. 8** The apsis of room 46 of the *Casa del Menandro* with a wall-painting showing a lake with ducks, water plants and several bathing women

ern and eastern wall friezes of mythologic creatures from the first phase of the bath are preserved. The *compluvium* in the roof top is the only source of natural light in the room. By walking to the south of the *atriolum* one entered a room which is not well preserved, but assumed to be an *apodyterium*. From here the guests entered the *tepidarium* (room 47 in **Fig. 5**)[25]. It is roofed in with a barrel vault and designed with ornamentals of monochrome mosaics[26]. The room was not only to warm up, after the bathing it functioned as a *unctorium*, a room for personal hygiene, where the body was rubbed with ointment, hair was removed, and the skin was treated with pumice stone[27]. Through a narrow corridor with a barrel vault and a threshold, which prevents water from flowing into the *tepidarium*, the guests entered the *caldarium* (room 48 in **Fig. 5**)[28]. Doing that they could have noticed a beautiful mosaic on the floor. The upper part shows *strigilis* framing an *aryballos*, the lower part shows a slave with small oil bottles, who

[25] De Haan 2010, 176-177.
[26] Bremen 2011, 237.
[27] Bremen 2011, 239.
[28] De Haan 2010, 177-181.

seems to run into the *caldarium* **(Fig. 7)**[29]. The *caldarium* has an apsis in its western part where a *labrum*, a water basin, stood. The apsis is painted with various scenes **(Fig. 8)**, showing a lake with ducks and water plants and several bathing women - as an allusion of the actions taking part in this room[30]. The ceiling of this rooms and the part above the wall-painting was decorated with stucco. The floor was decorated with an extensive mosaic showing a scene under water with fishes, dolphins, a crab and a hippocampus that is killed by a man with a dagger and a trident, another man is swimming between the animals. In the centre there is a colourful emblem with an acanthus and a bird.[31]

▲ **Fig. 9** Ruins of the *laconicum* of the *Casa del Menandro* (room 49 in Fig. 5)

Another interesting indication of the bathing complex of the *Casa del Menandro* is the *laconium* to the west of the *atriolum* (room 49 in **Fig. 5**), which is built by a round structure with niches and a typical central heating place **(Fig. 9)**[32]. Its size is unusual for private baths, but it gives an impression how luxurious the baths in general have been. Besides the extremely beautiful and elaborate architectural elements,

[29] Bremen 2011, 241. Maybe it shows an *unctor*, a professional rubber for the visitors of the *balneum*.
[30] De Haan 2010, 179-180; Yegül 1995, 125-126 esp. fig. 139a.
[31] Bremen 2011, 244; De Haan 2010, 178-179.
[32] Bremen 2011, 242; De Haan 2010, 181-182; Dickmann 2011, 212.

paintings and mosaics, there is one important construction which provides the luxury of hot rooms and water: the *hypocaustum*. This heating installation is located under the floors and behind the walls. In case of the *Casa del Menandro* the *praefurnium* stayed unfinished[33]. It should have replaced an oven. Till the renovation the oven heated the *balneum* and was used to bake bread[34]. The *praefurnium* would have send the heat between small pillars which carry the floor so that it stays warm[35]. Thanks to *tegulae mammatae* there is a hollow space between the walls and the warm air would have heated them too[36]. All in all, the *hypocaustum* works like a kind of underfloor heating. We have seen that the *balneum* of the *Casa del Menandro* designed in such an expensive way that it is quite unlikely that the *dominus* kept it only for himself.

To determine in how far a private bath can be public, it is necessary to understand its function for social purposes. In case of the *Casa del Menandro* the bath is placed in the back area of the house, next to the *peristylium* and on the opposite site of the *triclinium* (room 18 in **Fig. 4**). So, it counts to the more private rooms in the *domus* where only guests close to the status of the *dominus* could enter. While having guests during the *convivium / symposium* at the *triclinium* the bath was a significant part and should also demonstrate the prosperity of the owner of the house. Also at the *balneum* it was possible to enjoy an exclusive and discrete atmosphere for conversations[37]. During the time of use the *balneum* was one of the most prestigious and extensively designed rooms of the *domus*[38] and one of the greatest private baths of the whole city[39]. That's why it can be suspected that it was a symbol of the high status of the owner and also

[33] Bremen 2011, 241.
[34] Bremen 2011, 241.
[35] Künzl 2013, 79.
[36] Bremen 2011, 239.
[37] Bremen 2011, 243.
[38] Bremen 2011, 237.
[39] Bremen 2011, 243.

representative in the high-class society of Pompei[40]. It is important to specify that it is not the whole society, but the upper class which is the specific public addressed by this *balneum*.

Conclusion

In difference to the great *thermae*, like the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, which provide access for a wide public, the *balnea* were reserved to a more specific and smaller group of users, exclusively selected by the owner. This play with a restricted area might be one of the main differences between *thermae* and *balnea*, whereas there are hardly any differences in the interior and decoration of these complexes. And precisely because these bathing facilities within a Roma *domus* were not accessible to everyone, their visit and the possibility of bathing would have been of special importance for the elite.

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[40] De Haan 2010, 130.

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Fig. 1 Weber 1996, 84 fig. 69; Fig. 2 Photo by Jessica Bartz; Fig. 3 Weber 1996, 74 fig. 58; Fig. 4 Dickmann 2011, 209; Fig. 5 Bremen 2011, 238; Fig. 6 Bremen 2011, 244; Fig. 7 Bremen 2011, 241; Fig. 8 Bremen 2011, 243; Fig. 9 Bremen 2011, 242

08 | *Latrinae*: A public business

Francesca Russo

This paper intends to present a brief study about *latrinae*, urban Roman toilets, as a public space in the social context of three main cities of the Roman Empire: Rome, Ostia and Pompei[1].

Despite the archaeological evidence unfortunately these facilities are rarely named by the ancient authors and probably they are not the kind of structures to be celebrated in inscriptions. The few ancient texts which refer to *latrinae* mentioned them in relation to other events[2], but they were real key point for urban society. In contrast to our modern habits of using toilets in our own private flats or in private cabins in public, not every Roman house had the appropriate facilities. So collective urination and defaecation in public toilets, *latrinae,* have been the norm.

Although *latrinae* have not been built in the monumental centre for reasons of urban décor, it was necessary to promote their construction near the points of greatest influx of the population. And in fact, most of the known *latrinae* are located within or near the huge Imperial baths. It seems weird that not so many examples of *latrinae* have been found close to exhibition buildings[3]: in this case they were probably temporary facilities especially built on the occasion of particular games and performances. Certainly, it is easier to place *latrinae* inside baths because both the structures are based on the use

[1] This study is without any claim to completeness. It was based on previous studies carried out by the authors mentioned in the footnotes to which reference is made for further details.

[2] Elagabalo's death in 222 A.D. seems to be the only historical event linked with *latrinae*. See Cass. Dio 80, 20.

[3] Gros 1996, 501.

of lots of water and as we will see shortly the connection between *latrinae* and baths seems to be ideal. Then, due to the analysis of some aspects of Roman baths it is possible to make considerations and hypothesis concerning *latrinae*.

Latrinae connected to bathing complexes. A terminological discussion

Some scholars talk of *thermae* and *balnea* as different type of buildings with their own characteristic. L. Revell[4], in line with F. Yegül[5] and I. Nielsen[6], has suggested a clear distinction between the *thermae* belonging to roman legionary settlements and the *balnea* belonging to the auxiliary forts based not only on nomenclature but also on social aspects. In particular, Yegül states that dimensions and property can be the reasons of differences between the two typologies: he identifies private structures as *balnea* and public structures as *thermae*. It is very difficult to find rules to make a distinction since especially in the case of baths there is no clarity even between the same concepts of "private" and "public". For example, with "public" one might think to a compound open to everyone and not only to a select group of people or to a social class, even if it was built by a private individual. In the same way, private baths could have been donated by a private individual for a selected group of people to use them not necessarily for the family of the contributor. A. Burgers accepts the definition of *thermae* only for complexes including a gym[7]. It is hopefully possible to deepen this matter by consulting the ancient texts[8]. P. Gros claims that the word *balinea* appears for the first time in the Plauto's *Rudens* and *Mostellaria* with reference to both private and public bath-houses[9]. For the definition of these build-

4 Revell 2007, 231.
5 Yegül 1992, 43-44.
6 Nielsen 1990, 3.
7 Burgers 2001, 69.
8 For a full list please refer to Scobie 1986.
9 Plaut. Rud. 383; Plaut Most. 756. Cf. Gros 1996.

ings, both terminologies *thermae* and *blanea* can often be found as regards to the same building as indicated on an inscription conserved in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples[10]. In other cases, the word *thermae* seems to be preferred to indicate the massive Imperial buildings that replaced the more ancient and no longer usable *balnea*[11]. Also, in Vitruvius[12] there seems to be no difference between private and public and he claims to be able to speak about public baths for those facilities intended for public use regardless of the property which could be both private and public. A special reference needs to be made for that kind of structures include in private houses[13].
Regarding the juridical property, the same considerations may be related to *latrinae* because in most cases such facilities are built inside bath houses for public use. In this respect, from the first half of the 1st century B.C., it is possible to read the word *foricae* for *latrinae* with more than one seat[14], for public use even if private property and with different floor plans[15]. Finally, the word *necessaria* appeared in 254 items within the catalogue of the 12 regions of Rome, written in the 4th century A.D.[16].
Concerning the architectonical aspect there are no constant feature or floor plans for these structures probably because of the simplicity of the *latrina* itself, which just needs of a continuous seat set on shelves fixed to the wall by iron rivets and a drainage channel flows under

[10] CIL 10, 1063: Thermae M. Crassi Frugi / Aqua Marina et Baln(eum) / Aqua Dulci Ianuarius L(ibertus).

[11] CIL 14, 2101: Imp. Caes. L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug. et imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Antonino Pio Felici Aug. / senat. populusq. Lanivinus in locum balnearum, quae per vetustatem in usu esse desierant , thermas ex quantitatibus, quae / ex indulgentia dominorum / nn. principum honorariarum summarum sacerdotiorum adquisitae sunt, item ex usuris / C kalendari, ampliatis locis et cellis, a fundamentis exstruxit et dedicavit.

[12] Vitr. 5, 10, 1 - 5, 11, 2.

[13] For a further discussion of the *balnea* cf. the paper of David Andreas "Bathing in Rome: *thermae* for the masses, *balnea* for the elite?" in this booklet on pages 141-154.

[14] Hobson 2009, esp. 173; Jansen et al 2011.

[15] There are no records in Vitruvius' text about that. Cf. Gros 1996, 498.

[16] Gros 1996, 498. Also 144 *foricae* are attested within the late ancient catalogue of the regions. Cf. Hobson 2009, 5.

▲ **Fig. 1** Reconstruction image of a typical Roman *latrina*

the seat **(Fig. 1)**. In the Greek and Roman world *latrinae* with irregular shapes have been observed, but also square, rectangular, semi-circular, and these shapes may depend on floor plans of the rooms were the *latrinae* were built[17]. It is possible that layout match some necessity linked to climatic and functional aspects.

Latrinae in the Imperial baths in Rome are particularly meaningful. Even in these cases there doesn't seem to be any constant groundplan and layout of the rooms but it is possible to recognise some common features. In fact, *latrinae* are close to baths and they are often built near the gym in order to use the same drainage system or they are built near the *frigidarium* in order to exploit the run-off water and briefly clean the surfaces. Sometimes *latrinae* can be close to the baths entrance, maybe when they were used by the passers-by too. Groundplans can be both semi-circular and rectangular and it can be maybe more elaborate with an entrance vestibule when facilities are close to the gym. So, in case of *latrinae* linked to baths it is possible that their placement was standardized in order to simplify users' direction and specially the planning of a well-functioning drainage system. As already mentioned, part of the run-off water from the cold pools[18] was diverted towards *latrinae* due to a slight slope then pipeline position and dimensions should be well calculated to get enough pressure. Sewer had to follow a free from angles way to avoid

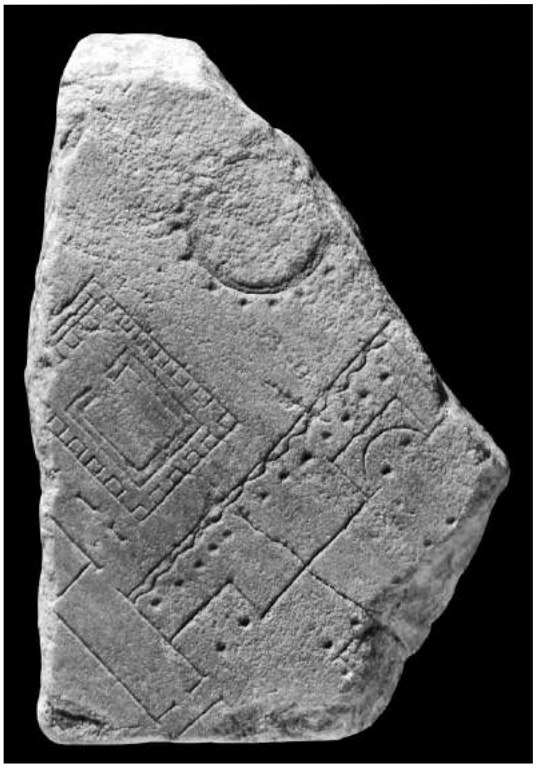
[17] Merletto 2000, 301-303.

[18] For Imperial baths in Rome it has been calculated 4000 m³ of water flow per hour (Neudecker 2014, 33-41). But for the baths of Caracalla 5000 m³ of water flow an hour have been calculated with the elevated tank (Lombardi – Corazza 1995, 72).

congestion[19]. It has been suggested a circular groundplan for *latrinae* in summer baths[20] overlooking a central open area and enclosed spaces with smaller dimensions for *latrinae* in winter bath houses.

Public *latrinae* in Rome

Regarding to Rome's public *latrinae* in addiction to those related to bath houses it is right to mention *Forma Urbis Romae* frg. nr. 37 for Largo Argentina area, frg. nr. 4 for the Temple of Claudius on the Celio Hill and frg. nr. 12 for semi-circular *esedra* at the Baths of Trajan. All these fragments have similar characteristic which are especially clear in frg. nr. 37a **(Fig. 2)**: here it is possible to recognise a *latrina* by a wavy line on the back of a rectangular room open on a *porticus*. Archaeologist have dug the rectangular room and pipes following a wavy course, so it has been suggested that wavy live on the fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* could symbolize the drainage system[21]. Similar situation for *latrinae* built in the *forum Iulium* **(Fig. 3)** close to the c*livus Argentarius* and for the *esedra* in the theatre of Balbus become a *latrina* in the first quarter



▲ **Fig. 2** Fragment nr. 37a of the *Forma Urbis Romae* with a *latrina* delineated by a wavy line

[19] Greig 1982.
[20] Especially in northern Africa. Cf. Nielsen 1990.
[21] Neudecker 2014, 33-41.

▲ **Fig. 3** Ruins of the semi-circular *latrina* on the south side of the Forum Iulium

of the 2nd century A.D.[22] These facilities are characterized by a simpler patterns and decorations compared to *latrinae* in Imperial bath houses in Rome. G. G. Fagan has calculated how many hours the pools would be used an it is probably an amount of five hours a day, then he tried to calculate how many people would used the same pool at the same time in order to estimate the *latrinae* daily users[23]. He realizes the lack of precision of this data because different facilities, such as *caldarium* and *frigidarium*, could be used at different times, as even the inside of thermal complex could be roughly frequented day by day[24].

Latrinae in the city of Pompei

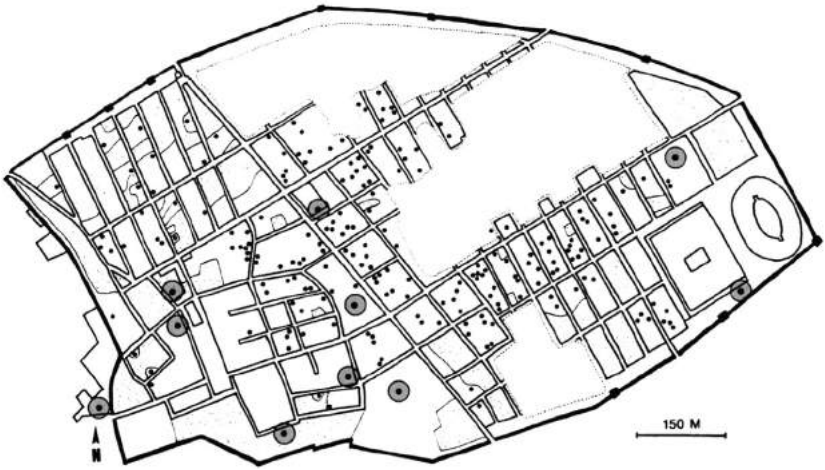
Pompei is obviously a lucky case study for such facilities **(Fig. 4)**. It must be considered that the city is not equipped with a sewer system extended to all the inhabited area, but the drainage system is limited to baths and bigger private houses[25]. Probably rainwater was enough to clean roads and sewers, but it should be noted that only two *latrinae* in Pompei of the several preserved ones are linked to a septic tank, which would not have been frequently cleaned out if considering the porous and permeable ground of the city. *Latrinae* in private

[22] At the semi-circular *latrina* within the Crypta Balbi paintings and graffiti on the pilasters are preserved. Cf. Merletto 2000, 301 note 26; Sangui 1985, 471-475.

[23] Cf. Fagan 2000, 281-287.

[24] For example, it can be assumed that number of users would significantly increase on holidays.

[25] Hobson 2009, 46-47.



▲ **Fig. 4** City plan of Pompei with all *latrinae* marked

houses can be located close to the kitchen[26] or in small rooms near the entrances, in any case directly connected to the cloaca below (cf. Fig. 4 of paper 04 with the marked *latrinae* in the *Casa del Menandro*). Recognising a *latrina* is not so easy[27]: the seat is often made of wooden material and therefore has not been preserved, a trace of the hollow in the wall that was to house the seat may persist, and all these elements should be included in a very small and narrow room with only one window to enter light and fresh air. A conduit in front of the plinth allows the evacuation of the excrements into the cesspits. In buildings with more than one floor preserved it is possible to observe the presence of *latrinae* on the second floor[28]. In most

[26] It has been suggested that smokes from kitchen could be helpful to cover the smell from *latrinae*. Cf. Jansen 2002.

[27] Cf. Hobson 2009, 47-53. Regarding to structural aspects of *latrinae*, there is very interesting the method to identify such facilities in the city of Pompei used by Jansen 2002. She realized a map of the detected structures due to the presence of plinths on a rooftile-made floor.

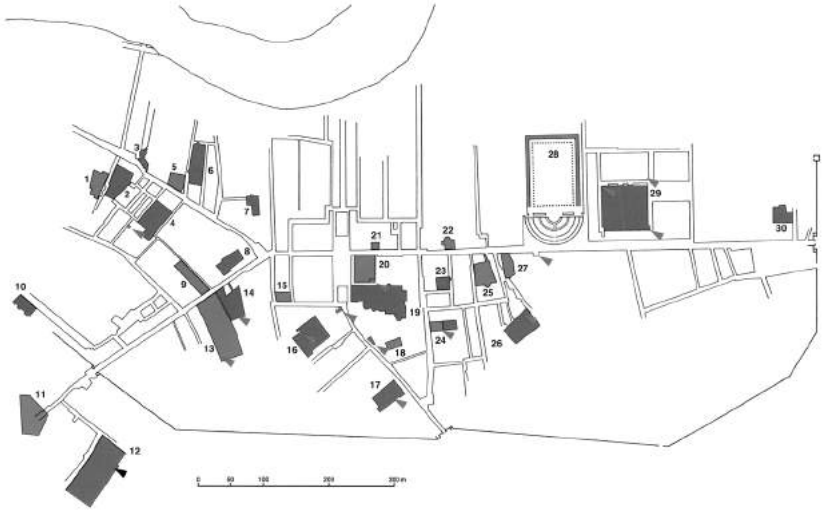
[28] They can be identified due to the study of pipeline running along the wall. These elements have a diameter range from 12 cm to 24 cm. The first one should lighten the roof by the weight of rainwater which flows down along the street. The larger one should be drainage culvert included in buttresses or inside the walls. Cf. Hobson 2009, 71-77.

▲ **Fig. 5** *Latrina* on the outer wall of the *cavea* of the Theatre of Pompei, 80 B.C.

cases, these upper *latrinae* would seem to be placed near the stairs, inside niches made in the walls. Because of the limited possibility of drawing up groundplans for the upper floors, it is not possible to understand the degree of privacy that these niches could offer, but considering their location it is likely that there was no need for excessive isolation. It can also be assumed that togas and tunics guaranteed a certain level of confidentiality even in the presence of other people, but obviously a complete privacy could only be guaranteed inside latrines equipped with individual seats isolated from each other which is certainly an indicator of a high level of luxury. It should be considered that the word *forica* is easily linked to anything but a private and isolated place.

In any case, the presence of decorations such as mosaics and wall-paintings demonstrate the importance attributed to these facilities. Many examples of *latrinae* are attested in public places such as in bakeries, *thermopolia* and shops. The first *latrinae*, which is considered public, were built on the outer wall of the *cavea* of the theatre in 80 B.C. in *regio* VIII 7, 20 **(Fig. 5)**. They were sumultanously used by 6 people in a poorly lighted, ventilated and narrow room due to the curved wall of the theatre[29].

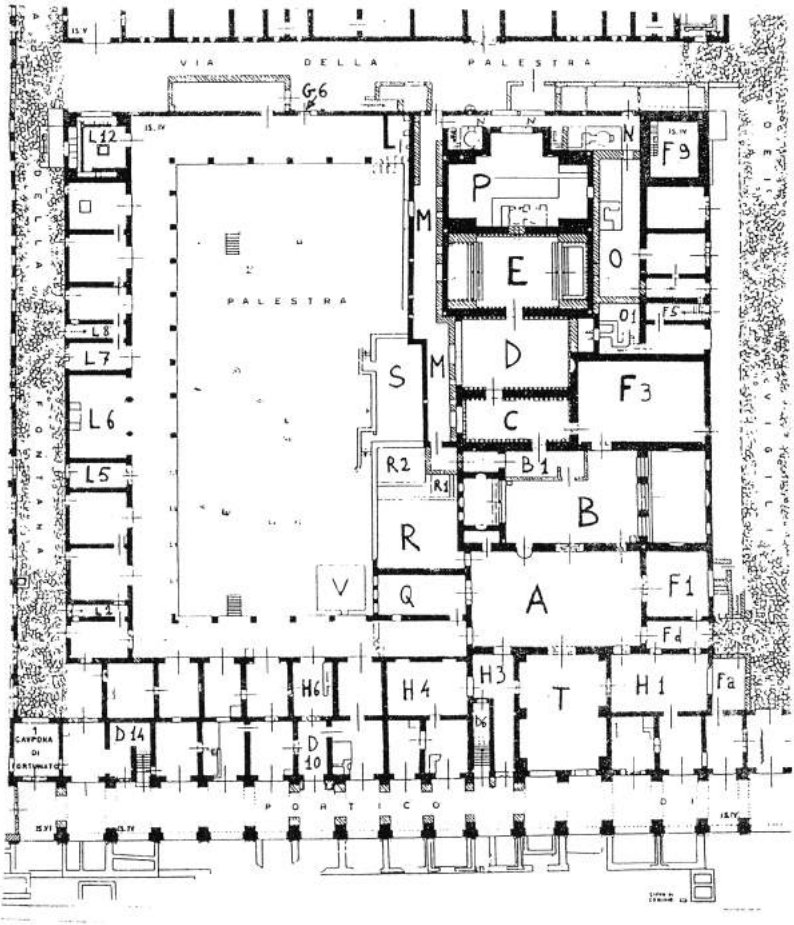
[29] It is possible to imagine the same situation in *latrinae* close to the so-called Republican baths dated to the beginning of the 1st century B.C.



▲ **Fig. 6** City plan of Ostia with all *latrinae* marked with arrows

Latrinae in the city of Ostia

Contrary to Pompeii, the soil in Ostia is marshy and sewers have been built for *latrinae* too and so a more frequently and expensive maintenance was required. Even in Ostia *latrinae* are connected to bath houses and so placed in a strategic position **(Fig. 6)**. In fact, they are outside the baths in order to be used also by passers-by and not depending on baths opening hours, but *latrinae* can be also built inside the bath houses close to the gym or in the corridor near the entrance. In some cases, as in the thermal baths of Neptune, both types are present (see rooms L12 and H1 in **Fig. 7**). This is one of the most important baths of the city whose construction began under the reign of Hadrian and ended in the first years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. Here there are both internal and external *latrinae*. The external ones flank the main entrance of the building overlooking Via dei Vigili and preserve a decorative apparatus characterized by a Nilotic mosaic. The *foricae* of the so-called *Terme*



▲ **Fig. 7** Hadrianic Baths of Neptune in Ostia, at rooms L12 and H1 have been the both *latrinae* of this complex

del Foro, the biggest baths in the city, are the most well preserved in Ostia. They comprehend stone seats on three sides and a basin against a pillar placed between the two entrances, supplied by a small fountain. A channel supplied by the baths themselves, allowed

the flow of water below the holes of the seats. The *latrina* is located south of the baths and it could be accessed directly from the gym which could also be reached by crossing the eastern portico of the *forum* along the so-called via della Forica. Another *forica* was built along the final stretch of the so called Via del Tempio Rotondo, one of the most frequented crossroads of the city at the entrance of the southern *maximum cardine* behind the *forum* which is a pedestrian space. The importance of this crossroad in stressed by the presence of the *latrinae* and a nymphaeum placed in the corner. The fountain was built in the period of Trajan and it is composed by five niches for housing statues, probably it was coated with marble in the last years of the 5th century A.D., when the *latrina* was built. This *latrina* was composed by several architectural elements taken from ancient buildings - such as the seats which consist of overturned gravestones and sarcophagi.
For completeness it should be recalled that several elements used instead of *latrinae* are mentioned in some texts and graffiti. These elements could be used in private houses or during travels. Different words are used to indicate these kind of chamber pots such as *matellae* for men urinal, *scaphium* for women urinal and *lasanae* or *dolia curta* for defecation of both sexes. It is likely that these objects were used mainly by high-ranking personalities. Unfortunately, a ceramic form closely related to this purpose does not seem to exist or has not yet been recognized.

The dynamics of public and private spheres in the *latrinae*

Despite the fact that the architectural-planimetric aspects do not reveal significant details, many questions still exist regarding *latrinae* - especially regarding how people considered those facilities and these aspects will be never discovered by an archaeological excavation. For example, the sewers of the waste water would perhaps also have been used for the immersion of the sponge used for cleaning or for washing hands. Other methods for washing are also

attested, certainly in some cases they are regional variations, such as the use of papyrus. The use of the sponge is known thanks to graffito and paintings from the *latrina* placed at the entrance of *Terme dei Sette Sapienti* in Ostia **(Fig. 8)** and thanks to Seneca[30], who seems to suggest that sponges where left of the floor for a common use.
Of course, there is a big difference between modern and ancient ideas of hygiene. Ancient Romans were not aware of bacteria and germs, except for few and vague concepts, but the great deployment of baths in roman ancient towns has prompted many authors to highlight Roman lifestyle as particularly careful to body care and personal hygiene. Drainage system from those facilities as well as the drainage system of a whole cities are seldom excavated, and they are very often bad preserved. For these reasons and for the lack of evidence in the ancient sources some authors[31] consider the ancient world as unconcerned about hygiene and cleanliness. It is also true that authors such as Seneca, Martial and Juvenal mention the presence of excrement in the streets[32]. Surely the presence of channels with running water inside the *latrinae* is indicative of a certain degree of cleanliness, as well as the presence of *opus signinum* to waterproof the walls and the use of tiles for paving. On the other hand, the use of sponges for personal cleanliness and the absence of dividing elements between the seats would seem to contradict everything and the immersion in baths pool after having covered the body with unguents. Moreover, just the doctor Cornelius Celsus, who lived during the reign of Tiberius, advised against going to public latrines for their own health. Another problem that should not be underestimated is the filling of cesspits and sewers, even if it is known the existence of a specific officer, the so-called *conductor foricarum*. The reference to apotropaic symbols and to the gods Fortuna, Hecate and Juppiter in graffiti,

[30] Sen. ep. 70, 20; AE 1941, 5b: Verbose tibi / nemo / dicit dum Priscianus / [u]taris(?) xylosphongio nos / [a]quas(?) (No one speaks to you with many words while you, Priscianus, use the sponge on a stick (rod)). See also Neudecker 1994, 17. 36; Koloski-Ostrow 2015, 116.

[31] "Pessimists" in Jansen 2000, 275-279.

[32] Cf. Hobson 2009, 105-115.

wall-paintings and dedications must have had a precise function and maybe these gods had a proper role in the protection from evils and illness[33].

Finally, it is worth mentioning another widely debated argument: the frequentation of latrines by women. Some useful points can be concluded from the social context in a broad sense. The matter should not exist in the private sector of the Roman houses because women were not allowed to appear in public during the symposium for instance. So, one has to ask if society could accept women to use public facilities. One could imagine that single *latrinae* located along streets cold have been restricted for women (or men)[34]. Considering the baths men and women have been separated by different opening times or by the duplication of the architectural structures (cf. Fig. 1 in paper 07). Furthermore, findings such as hair clips and jewellery confirm the presence of women in the baths. It is possible to imagine the same situation for *latrinae* close or into bath houses and in these cases archaeological evidence shows the existence of rooms which could guarantee a certain degree of separation through separate accesses. However, separate multi-seat *latrinae* are very rare, as is the presence of double baths in the same building, one for both genders. Regarding to the opening time, it is possible to have an idea because several lamps have been found in Ostia baths, probably to ensure

▲ **Fig. 8** Wall-painting from the *Terme dei Sette Sapienti* in Ostia, a graffito mentions a sponge-stick for cleaning

[33] Jansen et al. 2011, 176.
[34] Hobson 2009, 137.

visibility in evening or even at night. Unfortunately, the study of sources, whether consulting texts, graffiti or objects, does not help to understand how and if women had access to these structures as they are never mentioned in this regard.
To conclude the privacy of a user of public *latrinae* was very limited due to the number of seats and no separating walls[35]. Even in Roman houses (*domus*) several *latrinae* with more than one seat can be detected. Furthermore, the luxurious interior, like mosaics, wall-paintings, fountains etc., especially within a Roman *domus*, illustrates that *latrinae* have been spheres for a certain public and at the same time they provide space for the community – sometimes restricted by gender or status depending on the kind of ownership of the estate and/or the maintenance of the facilities.

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09 | The Representation of Antiquity and its Spaces in Films: Some Thoughts on Filmic Reconstruction

Karina Pawlow

How the antiquity came into films: an introduction

When we think of antiquity, certain pictures come to our mind. Most likely, it will be a picture representing magnificent architecture like temples, a circus or a theatre. It might be a scene of an ostentatious banquet, the so-called symposia, were people eat, drink, dance and celebrate. The image may be also situated in the old Egypt or Mesopotamia including gigantesque pyramids and sphinxes. And most likely, all of those pictures coming to our mind will derive from a film (or will at least be influenced by those we have seen).

The antique film is well known to the contemporary spectator beginning with the film Gladiator by Ridley Scott (2000) that evoked a revival of this genre[1]. However, the antiquity was a favoured topic from the very beginning of this "new medium". The astir interest of the filmmakers in the representation of antiquity in early films arose from a long-termed tradition they could take up.

Tt was truly not before the 18th and 19th centuries, were many campaigns in different parts of the world were organised by the ruling countries like France, Germany and Great Britain, that a real "anticomania" gripped the western civilizations. After those parts of the Roman Empire that are located in nowadays Italy were thought to be explored, the focus was postponed to the more "savage" parts of the territories. First, it was Greece, then North Africa and the Middle East that became part of the so-called Grand Tour.

[1] Wieber 2007, 20.

▲ **Fig. 1** Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Cleopatra, 1875, oil on canvas, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney

Speaking of images of the antique, one could certainly name over hundreds of artists who reflected on them after seeing it recorded in works of the explorers (drawings, photography etc.). They also gathered their inspiration from different objects that after the campaigns were shown in the newly established museums (sculptures, altarpieces, architectural decoration etc.). One of the most famous and successful artists was Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836-1912). Most of his paintings show scenes from the Greek and Roman history and mythology, but also from the mysterious Egypt **(Fig. 1)**.

His paintings and those of the well-known John Martin and Jean-Léon Gérôme directly inspired stage settings for theatres that frequently took up antique topics. Alma-Tadema himself made sketches for stages of productions like the so-called toga plays *Hypatia* (1893) which was situated in Alexandria and *Julius Caesar* (1898) by Sir Herbert B. Tree[2].

To return to the cinema one should tell that with the development of the cinematic techniques especially the glance of the expensive toga plays faded. Concurrently, the film as a new medium derived as an entertainment vehicle of the lower class since it was cheaper, new and attractive for the moving pictures[3]. Furthermore, filmmakers sought to reach the middle and upper classes by showing them

[2] Mayer 1994, 9.
[3] Richards 2008, 22.

a well-known and dearly beloved topic, which is the antiquity[4]. One of the first silent films preserved to us in full length is *Héliogabale: L´orgie romaine* directed by Louis Feuillade. The eight minutes film was released in November 1911 and shows the emperor who celebrates one of his vast orgies. Later on, some of the lions exposed in the arena for amusement escape. The court members take flight and abandon the emperor. At the end of the movie, a group of praetorians assassinates Heliogabalus who is begging for his life. They expose his disembodied head on a pike.

Most of the scenes in this film quote famous historical paintings. A good example is the scene (5:35 min) in which rose blossoms are spread over the banquet society that clearly refers to Alma-Tadema´s *The Roses of Heliogabalus* **(Figg. 2-3)**.

▲ **Fig. 2** Lawrence Alma-Tadema, The Roses of Heliogabalus, 1888, oil on canvas, private collection

▲ **Fig. 3** Still shot from *Héliogabale: L´orgie romaine* (by L. Feuillade), 1911

Of course, saying that early films merely copied paintings would be simplifying and denying their creative force. With the evolution of this medium, it established quickly an own visual language adapted to its very own peculiarity, namely the movement in spaces. Thus, it soon developed to an

[4] Butsch 2012, 158.

own pictorial tradition nonetheless reverting often enough to other conventions, visual ones and with regard to their contents.

Evoking the past: creating a legible, authentic and "real" image of an antique city

After telling about the success of the antique in the early film period and its revival after the millennium, one should ask himself why we as spectators believe in the pictures we see. In other words, how is it possible for a director to create an image of a city that is forever lost, in many cases too long time ago to have any solid traces, and to make us immediately link the sequences he/she shows with a certain location and/or culture?

On one hand, we have arguments that lay on the pictorial meta-level. That is, the *cogency* of the image of an antique space that we believe to might have looked this way, which I will discuss in the next chapter. On the other hand, we can use arguments that touch the content, hence historical correctness or *authenticity* of the narration, costumes, settings etc.[5]. To evoke antique spaces and thus a past antique world, it requires that both arguments are fulfilled. This is important to trick the spectator´s eye but simultaneously to provide enough plausible visual hints he or she could connect to an already known image of the antique. For it is known since the beginning of 20th century that our visual experience plays the biggest role in the perception process. The brain processes the stimuli captured by the eyes then being connected to former images seen, thus establishing visual conventions[6].

But what is a “known image of the antique” actually? Let´s first speak about *authenticity* of a filmic antique space to clarify that. When creating a film, the makers are confronted with a substantial lack of material and information. Time, natural forces and human

[5] Theodorakopoulos 2010, 3. I use the two different terms, *cogency* and *authenticity*, in further writing discriminated as described.

[6] Agotai 2007, 28.

hands changed the cities or destroyed them in many cases. Of course, we have physical remains, but their state of preservation differs a lot, never showing a "full picture". So how is it possible to depict something that is not yet depicted? The answer seems simple: reconstruct it. The Oxford Advanced Learner´s Dictionary explains "reconstruction" as "the process of putting something back into the state it was before" or "a copy of something that no longer exists"[7]. Therefore, a reconstruction is the process and its product at the same time. Though this certainly doesn´t explain the absurd fact that one cannot copy something that doesn´t exist if one doesn´t know from any other source how this something did look like.

Archaeologists see themselves confronted with this problem day by day. Even though they are fortunate in some exceptional cases to have relics and literary descriptions of an ancient city like those of Alexandria written by Strabo, a textual description of a space remains more than vague to add the missing parts. A reconstruction made after it hence is a fiction even if using physical findings and other hard data is possible. This may cause trouble to a scientist, but not to a filmmaker who is used to create fictions and not to reproduce the most exact reality possible. Jeffrey Richards sums up neatly: "[Historical films] cannot represent history accurately as they invariably play fast and loose with characters and events to meet the constraints of time, the demands of drama and the expectations of audiences."[8].

Nonetheless, the fiction needs pieces of reality to become a successful and credible fiction. Even though the spectator doesn´t know how a certain city *exactly* looked like, he/she mostly knows how it *should look* like, thus from former experience of the reconstructions seen, whether filmic or from other media. By using reference objects that help the audience to establish a connection between the filmic picture and what they *consider* the picture of the past reality, a filmmaker

[7] Hornby 1997, 1264.
[8] Richards 2008, 1.

can ensure his reconstruction of an antique space to be an *authentic* one. By doing so, he/she creates a *fantastic* reality, but a reality, not an unreality. It is one version of how an ancient city *could* have looked like some thousands of years ago[9].

Making cogent reconstructions with Glass or Matte paintings

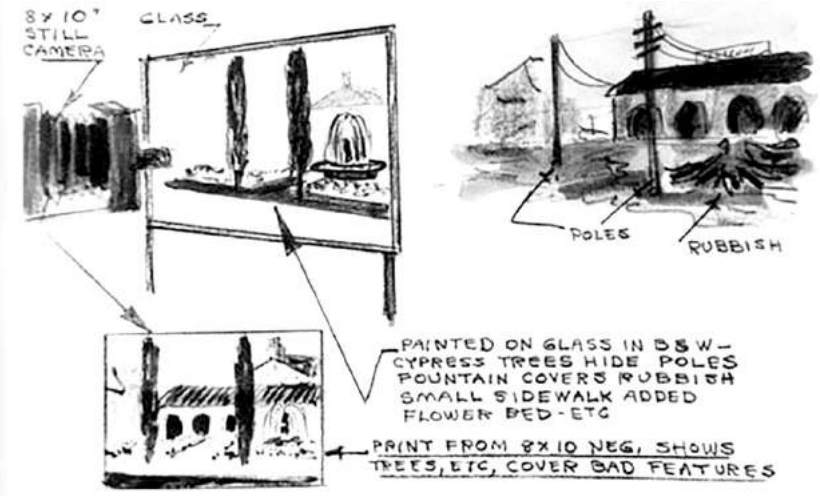
For the overall impression of the viewer it is not only significant *what* is shown, but also *how* it is shown. Touching this topic, one is likewise tangent to the special filmic effects before the computer era. How were antique spaces reconstructed for filmic purposes without 3D-animations? There were different options.

The easiest one is to build a whole set. Magnificent sets like those of Cinecittà in Rome were erected for this purpose, but not every production could afford such an effort. Another problem is: an architectonical set always preserves a certain period of a culture and cannot be used for every historical film.

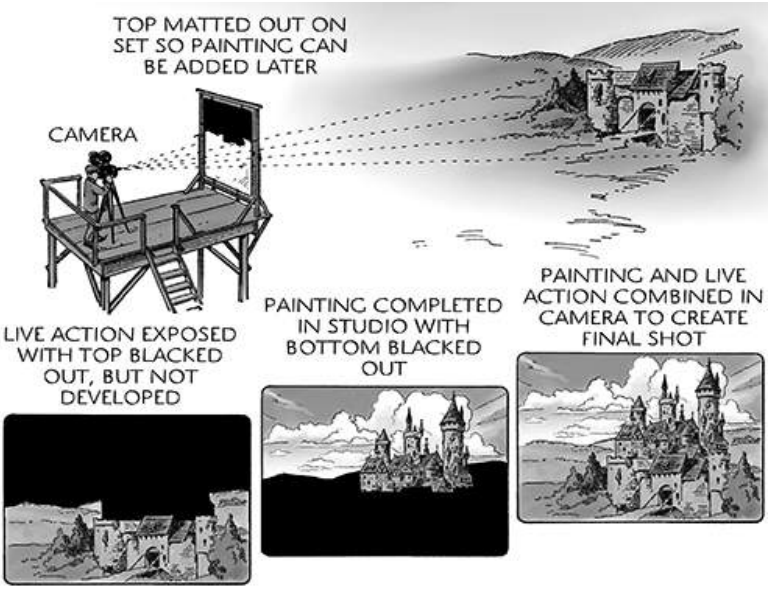
Another lucrative option in the time of analogue technologies would be to simply paint the missing parts of a set or replace a set completely. to the filmmakers used the advantages of a painting that could show everything imagined and that could be easily changed or replaced by another one. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were two techniques developed to do so. They are called the 'Glass' or later the 'Matte painting', depending on the surface the paintings were made on **(Fig. 4)**. The first Glass paintings were tested in photography to cover unwanted elements of a real motive. Norman O. Dawn was the first to use this technique in film producing his *Missions of California* in 1907 after he met the brothers Lumière and the French film Pioneer Georges Méliès[10].

The image produced using this technique is called a Glass shot. The Matte shot is the follower of the Glass shot that is painted on some

[9] Berghaus 2005, 21.
[10] Hamus-Vallée 2016, 45.



▲ **Fig. 4** Scheme of a Glass Shot made by Norman O. Dawn in 11.02.1905



▲ **Fig. 5** Scheme of an original-negative matte set-up

▲ **Fig. 6** Composed panorama view of Alexandria from *Cleopatra* (1963)

non-transparent surface e.g. canvas, then using a more sophisticated montage technique. There are different ways to create a Matte shot, but the basic idea remains the same. A painter illustrates elements on canvas and leaves the space for the real films blocked (in black). This idea evolved later into the nowadays-used Green screens or Blue screens. The montage of the two images, the painted and the filmed one, follows in studio after the shoot **(Fig. 5)**.

Using such a technique is a striking point for the *cogency* of an image. We have to bear in mind that there are two different images being put together in a Glass or Matte shot: a static and a moving one. The static one is of course the painted image, thus the reconstructed antique city. It has to fulfil a number of criteria to evoke an unimpeachable image of the space. Because creating space for and in films means creating a three-dimensional framework, although it is transferred into a flat picture by the camera filming it. The Glass painting is a painting from the very beginning and thus two-dimensional. It is also fix in some aspects yet not changeable after it was made. Such aspects are perspective of the architectures and spaces, light and framing. Another important criterion is the movement, that of the camera and that of the filmed elements (persons, ships, carriages etc.). It is not a problem for the real space shot but may become one for the painting. If the painted image doesn´t match exactly the filmed one, there will be no *cogency* of the whole Glass/Matte shot produced. I will now

explore how this mechanisms work showing the audience a public space of an antique city using the very specific example of Alexandria.

Reconstructing a credible filmic Alexandria

Choosing Alexandria as an example of the theoretical assumptions made before is interesting for different reasons. First, it was made an illustrious city that represents the Egyptian during the Roman regime more than any other city. One reason was an Egyptomania, which played its role in the occidental so-called Orientalism. Another reason is the city´s description by Strabo, which provoked a number of reconstructive models made by archaeologists. The third reason is its popularity as the setting place of a story of a great pharaoh that is still the probably most famous Egyptian female ruler, Cleopatra VII. The vogue of this story in the filmic medium can be traced back to its very beginnings. Many of those toga plays in the late 19th century told stories about the conquered Egypt. Why? Because they united "[…] ´the austere grandeur of Rome´ with the ´gorgeous splendour of the East´ […]"[11]. In that way the path of the filmic Cleopatra began during the early 20th century, the first famous and notable one in 1917 featuring the mysterious Theda Bara.

However, it was the monumental saga released in 1963 that became one of the greatest films depicting the life of the great pharaoh.

[11] Richards 2008, 21.

Cleopatra was directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz and featured Liz Taylor in the chief part. The film shows and impressive panorama of Alexandria at the very beginning **(Fig. 6)**. The spectator sees Caesar´s ship entering the harbour of Alexandria after the battle of Pharsalos. The camera slowly pans from right to left following the movement of the ship. Thus, it reveals a distance view of the harbour and the city, the market place, some sphinxes, a palace complex in the foreground and more monumental buildings yet hardly recognisable in the background. The only important and notable marker on the horizon is the Lighthouse of Alexandria.

To clarify how the concept of *cogency* and *authenticity* works in this specific case, it is significant to understand the different components this filmic panorama consists of. First, it is important to mention the use of a natural setting found in Torre Astura close to Nettuno, Latium. A medieval castell was chosen to film the landscape from above while including the rooftop of a building into the picture shown **(Fig. 6)**. The medieval harbour was overbuilt with a magnificent film set that also includes the palace complex, the monumental staircase and the details such as an obelisk, two guardian sphinxes and a small Egyptianized four-column temple. Meanwhile, the complete city´s landscape and the background buildings connected to the palace on the very left are part of a great painting realised by Joseph Natanson together with the landscape architect Mary Bone[12].

Authenticity

Which elements did the filmmakers use to provide an *authentic* reconstruction of the city´s harbour and palace complex? We first have to address the antique sources. What do we actually know about the appearance of Alexandria? As already mentioned, Strabo gives us a quite detailed description of what he has seen during his visit between 24-20 B.C. in *Geographica* (XVII 1,9-10). The most

[12] The Telegraph 2003.

important architectures he noticed are the Lighthouse, the royal harbour and the palace behind it. He also speaks about a *heptastadium* that connects the isle of Pharos – the location of the Lighthouse – and the main land. This description is especially interesting for two reasons. It conserves a state of Alexandria only some years after Cleopatra´s reign. Furthermore, archaeologists used it to create a model of the ancient metropolis **(Fig. 7)**.

▲ **Fig. 7** A Model of Alexandria in times of Strabo, view from North, American Museum of Natural History, New York

It is that the natural landscape of Torre Astura wasn´t chosen without bearing this reconstruction in mind. Similitudes of the topography can be easily made out by comparing both the panorama and the model (watch e.g. the horizon line edged by the *heptastadium* and the Lighthouse at its end). The clear reference of the filmic landscape to the scientific landscape makes it a *visual testimonial* of the film team´s expertise[13].

Monuments as symbols

Another important visual testimonial of *authenticity* is the placement of crucial objects that function as symbols for something. Those visual testimonials or raw material from the real antiquity, to put it in Berghaus´ words, are important for a filmic reconstruction to be legitimated and hence *authentic*. Not by the viewer, but by the

[13] Lindner 2007, 57.

▲ **Fig. 8** Reverse of a tetradrachm showing the Lighthouse of Pharos, 134/135 A.D., stamped in Alexandria

▲ **Fig. 9** Reverse of a drachm showing L. Isis Pharia (an alexandrine deity), the Lighthouse of Pharos in the background, 148/149 A.D., stamped in Alexandria

real past antiquity itself.[14] Thus, it seems a balancing act between interpretation plus creativity and mere incompetence or even faking of history. How to measure a decision between one and the other? Lindner tries to answer this: „The reason for the popularity of more or less positivistically oriented judgements may be the idealistic image of a film as a theatre of illusions.“[15]

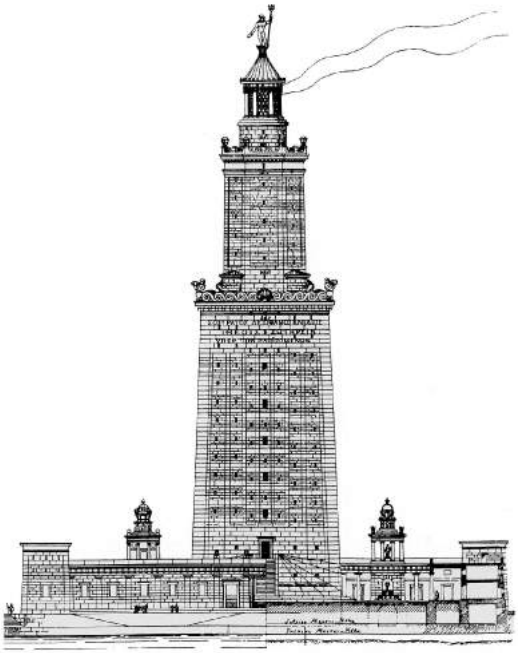
The Lighthouse of Alexandria makes part of such an illusion of the city being a very important visual testimonial. Erected in 3rd century B.C., it became quickly a symbol of the city in antique times. Many depictions of the Lighthouse could be found on antique coins **(Figg. 8-9)**. One should bear in mind that antique coins didn´t reproduce architecture as it looked like in reality, for simple reasons such as the very scarce space on the small surface that forced the coin makers to simplify outlines and structures. By doing so,

[14] Berghaus 2005, 21.

[15] Lindner 2007, 53: “Die Ursache für die Beliebtheit mehr oder minder positivistisch orientierter Urteile dürfte im Idealbild von Film als Illusionstheater bestehen” (English trans. by author).

they simultaneously spotlighted the most important characteristics of an architecture. In our case, what we see on both coins is an oblong construction with many windows along the sides and an emperor´s statue flanked by Tritons.

This symbolic importance of the Lighthouse wasn´t lost throughout the Middle Ages: geographic treatises and maps show the Lighthouse as a stylised icon which even replaces the name of the city thus standing *for* Alexandria[16]. Although there were almost no remains found, the archaeologist Hermann Thiersch (1874-1939) dared a reconstruction of the Lighthouse at the beginning of the 20th century using literary sources, coin images and an intaglio **(Fig. 10)**[17]. What can be seen is a more elaborated version of the coin imprinting shown above: a simple, rectangle façade, almost undecorated, despite of the windows placed in a symmetrical order along the walls[18].



▲ **Fig. 10** Reconstruction drawing of the Lighthouse of Alexandria by Hermann Thiersch, 1909

However, the example of the Lighthouse of Alexandria shows not only the fact that the filmmakers of *Cleopatra* integrated *some* light-

[16] García 2015, 115.

[17] Grimm 1998, 45.

[18] The strengths and weaknesses of Thiersch´s reconstruction are not subject to this paper, thus I forgo the comparison between the archaeologist´s work and the sources he had on hand to conclude how close his reconstruction drawing could possibly get to the real appearance of the Lighthouse.

house in their panorama view. They clearly referred to this scientific reconstruction by using it as a template for their own vision of the monument[19]. But Mankiewicz and his team were not the first: the precursor film *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1945) starring Vivien Leigh used the Lighthouse as a scene set also quoting Thiersch´s reconstruction. Pascal shows the Lighthouse in a close-up (01:07:00-01:07:10) before it becomes the setting of an event. Because of the wide spread of Thiersch´s reconstruction of the Lighthouse in different media (also graphics and painting), it is plausible to think that the contemporary viewer did know about it to make this link between the archaeological and the filmic reconstruction[20].
Consequently, it is the topographic location of the Lighthouse of Pharos and it´s appearance that establish the visual connection between the reconstructed filmic version in *Cleopatra* and the *real* antique object. Although the *real* reality of the antiquity can never be reached[21], the filmmakers clearly claimed to at least provide an *authentic* version of it.

Antique statues

There are also other visual testimonials of the *authenticity.* One favourite filmic trick is the antique statue, which can be involved in pictures in very different ways to prove reliability of the image created[22]. In this special case, it was the Venus Genitrix that was chosen to cover the interface of the two Glass paintings **(Fig. 6)**. This statue type doesn´t seem to be a casual choice, because the sculpture was subject of astir discussions from the beginning of the 20th century. The Roman marble copy, now exposed in the Louvre, was found in Fréjus, France, on the Julian Forum, and is therefore known as Aphrodite Fréjus. It belongs to the statue type of Venus Genitrix that was named after an image on a coin marked with the

[19] For the impact of Thiersch´s reconstruction see Reddé – Golvin 2005.
[20] García 2015, 122.
[21] Berghaus 2005, 20.
[22] Lochmann 2008, 129.

inscription VENERI GENITRICI. The coinage shows a female figure in a chiton holding an apple in the left hand while rearranging her manteau with the right one[23]. Pliny describes furthermore a Venus Genitrix that was made for the newly built Forum of Caesar (46 B.C.) by sculptor Arkesilaos[24]. Regardless the fact, that the statue was meant to be disposed in a Forum in South France, it is a very special hint to Cleopatra´s connection with Caesar, one of the protagonists of the story, who at the very same moment enters the harbour of Alexandria. The statue creates also an interesting link between the visual and the narrative pointing to the beauty of Cleopatra that yet didn´t appear in the film: everyone knows about the Judgement of Paris and the apple that at the end was given to καλλίστῃ - the most beautiful one, that is Aphrodite[25].

Other architectonic elements like the palace, the sphinxes and the obelisk also provide visual hints for the location of the scene. In contrary, they do so not because they show very specific objects (we know this kind of monuments from different Egyptian cities), but because they exemplify the merge of the Greco-Roman and the Egyptian[26]. The sphinxes and obelisks clearly belong to the latter while the royal palace was built after the Parthenon of Athens, picking up a pictorial tradition well known from the *vedute* of the Akropolis that were widely spread since the Renaissance[27].

Cogency

After exploring which elements were chosen to represent Cleopatra´s Alexandria, it is now the moment to speak about how they work together respective to the Glass painting. Watching this panoramic view of the ancient Alexandria doesn´t evoke any suspicions to the spectator. Neither does it reveal the fact that the whole background

[23] Harcum 1927, 143.
[24] Plin. nat. hist. 35, 156.
[25] Türk 1902, c. 1580-1638.
[26] Lllewellyn-Jones 2002, 287.
[27] Klamm 2017, 53.

was painted. The entire scene seems *cogent*. Why? One of the striking points is the creation of a depth effect in the filmic space. It is naturally given while filming a real space. But how to create it on a flat surface such as glass?

Perspective and depth

One thing is the placement of the camera on a terrace-like platform from where the viewer seems to overlook the harbour. The scene starts exactly at the point where the gable roof points towards the Lighthouse thus creating an imaginary line into the depth **(Fig. 6)**. Simultaneously, it breaks flatness by disturbing horizontals and verticals (applying the principles of central perspective). The second important criterion is the variance of objects size depending on their distance from the camera. The constancy of object dimensions signalises the audience which object is closer to their standing point (that of the camera) and which one located farther away[28]. Hence, it is logical to show full sized acroteria statues and cut the Venus´ head and legs in turn because the latter stands in the very foreground. The buildings in the very background are then not only very small-sized, but also painted in a sfumato-like styled: their edges vanish with the distance thus imitating the eye´s perceptive habit.

To create the most cogence image on a pictorial level also means to integrate the Glass painting as an extreme long shot. Depicting objects that are diegetically placed in the very front of the camera would quickly reveal the painting as such[29]. It would require realising very detailed images in quite a hyper realistic manner. This is also the reason why we barely find Glass or Matte paintings used for interior shots for that they tend to look like painted theatre settings and hence don´t fulfil the illusionist claim films have, especially those evoking antiquity. Showing a very distant panorama and using real architecture plus built setting instead, *Cleopatra* avoids successfully

[28] Linschoten 1961, 153.
[29] Humus-Vallée 2016, 155.

▲ **Fig. 11** Still shot from *Spartacus* (by S. Kubrick), 1960 (01:22:59)

these kinds of fails. A good "bad practice" example to clarify, why the scene in *Cleopatra* is a notably cogent one, is comparing a scene from *Spartacus* (1960) **(Fig. 11)**.

Although Gracchus acts on a built veranda and the spectator sees a troop of soldiers marching along the river, the background remains too masklike because of the objects placed diegetically close to the camera.

Before coming to my last argument for the pictorial *cogency* of *Cleopatra´*s Alexandria, the movement, I want to further draw attention on other small but important elements of the Glass painting. Those are the light and the shadows of the two pictures, which obligatory have to match. They not simply underline the impression of depth by creating the third dimension in the painted part, but also make the painting and the real film smoothly melt with each other. Why? Because light and shadows work according to the principle of the undetected detectable[30], which means, the viewer doesn´t perceive them when they match, but subconsciously sees an error in the image if the shadows are missing or don´t match according to the source of light in the real space. In the panoramic view of Alexandria, one clearly detects the light coming from the right upper corner thus cre-

[30] Hamus-Vallée 2016, 159.

▲ **Fig. 12** Still shot from *Anthony and Cleopatra* (by C. Heston), 1972 (00:03:32).

ating shadows on the left parts of the objects, the painted and the real ones. Another aspect that makes the light conditions difficult to discern is the movement of the camera.

Camera movement

Usually, the usage of a Glass painting wouldn´t permit any movement of the camera because the static painting can´t stand the change of perspective. In this case, two large glass plates were put together, the interface covered by the already mentioned Venus statue. The camera itself remains on its place, but it is possible to move it around the own axis, at least within a certain angle. This movement is not only responsible for the fact that the viewer hasn´t enough time to compare light conditions at the beginning and at the end of the scene (remember that we never actually see the complete panorama while watching the film, cf. **Fig. 6**). It is also responsible for the *cogency* between the painted and the real image because one never gets to fix the filmic picture with the eyes long enough to unveil the painted parts of the panorama. In the scene picked from *Spartacus* we could already see that a movement within the picture is not enough to defreeze a static picture. I show yet another example to put against *Cleopatra´*s panorama: a still taken from Heston´s *Antonius and*

▲ **Fig. 13** Still shot from *Caesar and Cleopatra* (by G. Pascal), 1945 (02:06:16)

Cleopatra (1972) **(Fig. 12)**. This scene shows an equestrian riding towards the palace of Alexandria. The whole complex in the background was realised with a Matte painting. Although all elements of the composition like the basin and the paths point towards the vanishing point (which is the palace´s façade), the lack of camera movement reveals the Matte painting as such because of its flatness. Showing this view for some seconds, the spectator gets too much time to detect the illusion.

Conclusion

At the end, it is the matter of combination of all those criteria mentioned in "fake" and real picture that help creating a cogent and visually plausible image of the antique. A last example from *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1945) that uses an extended Matte painting without any camera movement may underline this point. At the same

time, this image **(Fig. 13)** resists the critical proof of the audience´s eyes because of the corner view (central projection) chosen, which creates depth and correspondence between the painted and the filmed image, also by correctly using lights and shadows.
The examples show that there is no standard to create a cogent and authentic reconstruction of an antique space. There are many different elements on the pictorial and content level that have to harmonically merge. Using a built set on a landscape that topographically at least partially matches the landscape of the antique Alexandria and a Glass painting that fulfils the pictorial requirements, *Cleopatra* offers us quite a spectacular and credible panoramic view of this ancient metropolis.

Reconstructing the past: can we ever grasp the full picture?

Exploring the filmic reconstruction of an ancient city using analogue techniques, it could be seen how complex the different mechanisms can get if it comes to creating both, a *cogent* and an *authentic* picture of an ancient city now lost. Filmmakers developed multiple ways to make their audience believe in their version of the antiquity. To enhance their own historical competence and testify the expertise of the team[31], they worked on different meta-levels of the final shot. The important point: antiquity lovers did know how certain cities *should* look like so it would be too risky to dare a very shocking variance[32]. To ensure the success of a movie, filmmakers therefore had to integrate known images of the antique. They could find them in original objects and literary sources, but also in scientific and artistic works. Creating the very first films, it was the static picture repertoire directors borrowed from: graphics, photography, historic painting and theatre stage sets. With the evolution of this new medium, the visual treasure hove of experience became swiftly one peculiar to the moving picture. We can see how strong this visual tradition might be by com-

[31] Lindner 2007, 57.
[32] Lllewellyn-Jones 2002, 284. See also chapter 1.1 and Richards 2008, 1-24.

paring the here shown *Cleopatra* with other films set in Alexandria. In O. Stone´s *Alexander* (2004) the spectator sees Ptolemy at the very beginning of the film overlooking the harbour of Alexandria. The reconstructed topography of the city and the Lighthouse set at the top of the headland remind us certainly of *Cleopatra´*s panorama. Another striking example is *Asterix and Obelix: Mission Cleopatra* (2002). Being a film adaptation of a comic, this comedy certainly doesn´t raise any claim to be authentic. Nonetheless, it uses several visual anchors such as again the Lighthouse, obelisks and a sphinx to provide a credible picture of the setting shown. Although these films are made already using complex 3D-techniques, they still refer to the visual heritage of the past.

To sum up, it is important to bear in mind that filmic reconstructions always remain *a version* of a possible antiquity. It is not only crucial to integrate elements of the antique reality[33], but also to implement those of the spectator´s own reality. It is a significant part of a fiction to have the possibility to draw conclusions concerning the own contemporary world by using the material of the past world shown. Following the different narrative and pictorial hints, the viewer is capable of reflecting on his/her own life and society[34]. As at the end, "[historic films] are always about the time in which they are made and never about the time in which they are set."[35].

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[33] Berghaus 2005, 21.
[34] Luhmann 1996, 70. See also footnote 118.
[35] Richards 2008, 1.

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Evidence of figures
Fig. 1 Benjamin 1997; Fig. 2 Edwards et al 1996, 62; Fig. 3 From: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ItDDsJ35tuI> (27/12/2018), 5:29 min; Fig. 4 Hamus-Vallée 2016, 44; Fig. 5 Mattingly 2011, 3 fig. 1.2; Fig. 6 Lizcano 2016; Fig. 7 Grimm 1998, 29; Fig. 8 Interaktiver Katalog des Münzkabinetts der SMB, object number 18201371 <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18201371> (07/01/2019); Fig. 9 Interaktiver Katalog des Münzkabinetts der SMB, object number 18200455 <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18200455> (07/01/2019); Fig. 10 Grimm 1998, 45 fig. 43b; Fig. 11 Spartacus 1960 (01:22:59).; Fig. 12 Anthony and Cleopatra 1972 (00:03:32); Fig. 13 Caesar and Cleopatra 1945 (02:06:16).

10 | The Basilica Julia Project. Parco archeologico del Colosseo – Sapienza Roma – IBAM-CNR Lecce

Marco Galli

The Basilica Julia Project looks at the transformation of public space in the city of ancient Rome: an emblematic case study is the Roman Forum, a place of intense social communication. This multidisciplinary research aimed at the analysis and reconstruction of the transformations of the south side of the Forum Romanum **(Fig. 1)**. The issue is investigated with reference to the Archaic and Republican phases, on the basis of the archaeological evidence associated with the important southern sector of the Forum in the 6th to the 1st centuries B.C.

Adopting an interdisciplinary perspective, the work group, composed of archaeologists, architects, classical philologists, archaeozoologists and experts in archaeometry, is tackling three research topics: (1) domestic culture in Republican Rome, including the consumption and dietary practices of the elites inhabiting the southern side of the Forum; (2) the transformations of the landscape of the Forum in the late Republican age, with the creation of the basilica Sempronia as a monumental and multifunctional space; (3) the digital restitution of the various urban landscapes of the south side of the Forum as a means of understanding the constructed space and its social properties. During the activities of the Q Kolleg 2016 it was possible for the Berlin-Rom participants to have access at the archaeological finds of the Fabbrini excavation in the storerooms of the Parco Archeologico and to visit the archaeological site of the Basilica Julia with S. Freyberger and M. Galli **(Fig. 2a-b)**.

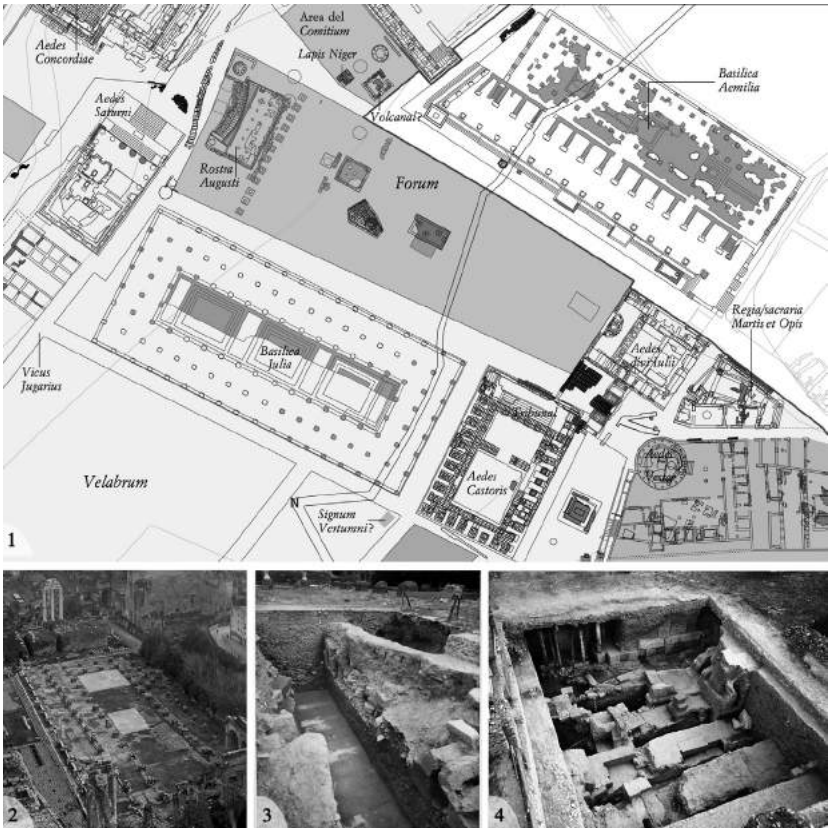
▲ **Fig. 1** The point-cloud arising from the architectural survey of the Forum Romanum is integrated with the point-cloud produced image by the survey of the Fabbrini's excavation

The historical framework

Along the southern side of the Roman Forum, the excavations conducted in the course of the 19th century by Luigi Canina (1848-1852) and Pietro Rosa (1871-1872) brought to light the Basilica Julia, the large building commissioned by Julius Caesar and rebuilt by Augustus to provide a venue for economic transactions and judicial activities **(Fig. 3a)**. The conserved structures of the basilical complex and the broad stretches of marble paving have made it difficult to investigate the more ancient phases of the area. It was only in the years 1960-1964 that Laura Fabbrini, under the direction of the Soprintendente for Rome Gianfilippo Carettoni, was able to excavate two broad areas inside the central nave of the Basilica **(Fig. 3b)**, the results of which have remained substantially unpublished.

Since 2015 the Basilica Julia Project has been working on the analysis of the stratigraphic sequences and the architectural reconstruction of the private and public buildings that succeeded each other in this area. Thanks to the 1960-1964 excavations beneath the Augustan building, it was possible to bring to light the remains of the Basilica of Caesar, the Basilica Sempronia (169 B.C.), two large buildings with residential function dated to the 5th-4th cent. B.C. **(Fig. 3c-d)**. After a first phase resulted in reconstructing the stratigraphic sequences on the base of the archive documentation and the systematic study of all archaeological materials, the Basilica Julia Project saw a complete survey campaign. The research is being carried out thanks of an agreement act between the Parco Archeologico del Colosseo, Foro Romano e Palatino (dir. dott.ssa A. Russo), the Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità Sapienza University of Rome (represented by M. Galli) and Istituto per i Beni Archeologici e Monumentali Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (IBAM-CNR), Lecce (represented by T. Ismaelli), with the support of the Dipartimento di Storia, Disegno e Restauro dell'Architettura of Sapienza.

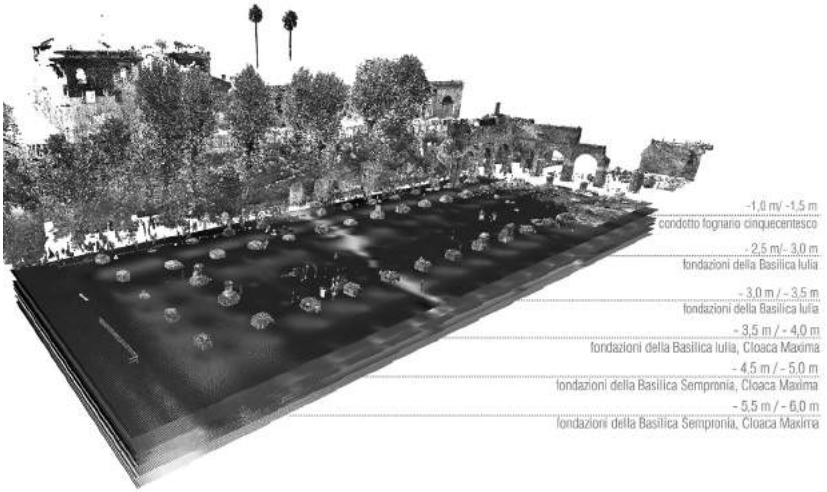
▲ **Fig. 2a-b** Visit of the storerooms of the Parco Archeologico and of the archaeological site of the Basilica Julia with S. Freyberger and M. Galli



▲ **Fig. 3.a–d** a: Plan of the Roman Forum, b: View of the Basilica Iulia from the Capitoline Hill, with the indication of the L. Fabbrini's excavations. c–d: View of the central and east excavation areas under the Basilica Iulia, 1964

The representation of the visible and the knowledge of the non-visible

In order to obtain an overview of the structures that preceded the Augustan building, the research combined instrumental surveys of the structures that are still visible on the surface and inside the



▲ **Fig. 4** The point-cloud arising from the architectural survey is integrated with the point-cloud produced on the basis of the ERT data

eastern excavation area with geophysical investigations aimed at documenting the structures that are still buried and, more generally, the ancient morphological features of the site **(Fig. 3c-d)**. In this last part of this research the Basilica first underwent architectural surveys (C. Inglese, M. Griffo Sapienza) and geophysical prospections (L. De Giorgi, I. Ditaranto, G. Leucci, G. Scardozzi IBAM). The data obtained were integrated into a single virtual environment **(Fig. 4)**, pushing the boundaries of interpretation beyond the perception of the physical evidence and making it possible to jointly represent what is visible and what is not. In this sense, the process described uses the potential of the virtual world to optimise and enhance the reading of reality.

Prof. Dr. Marco Galli

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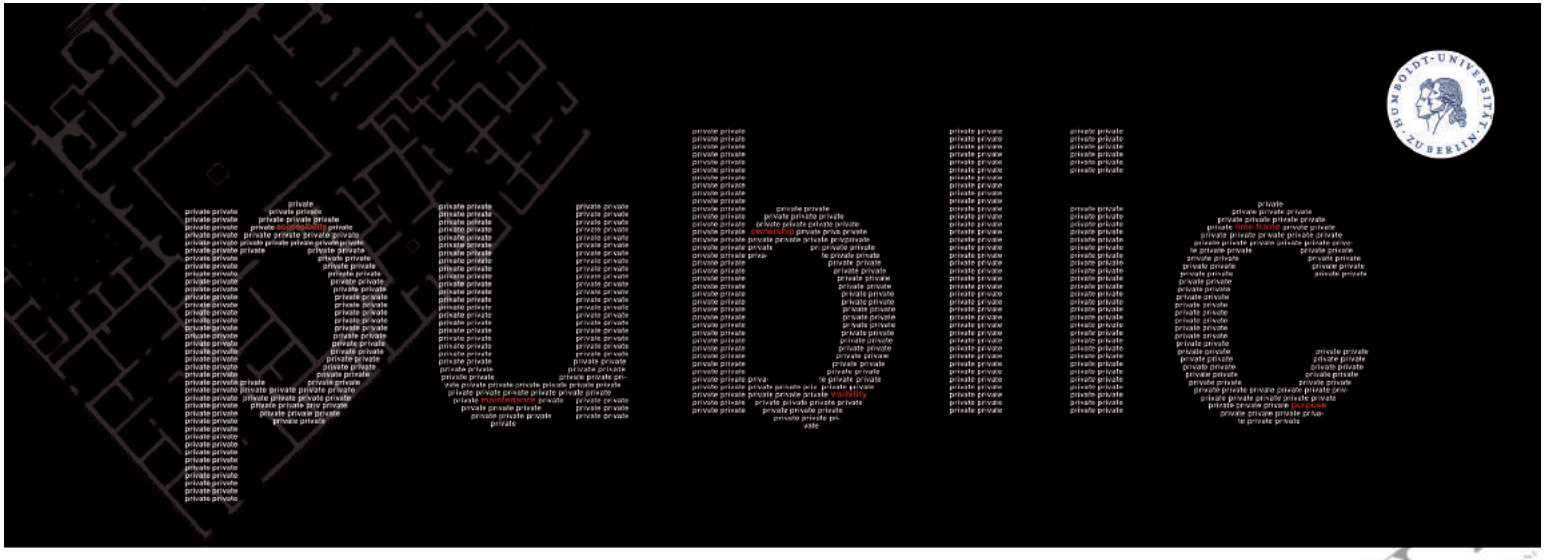
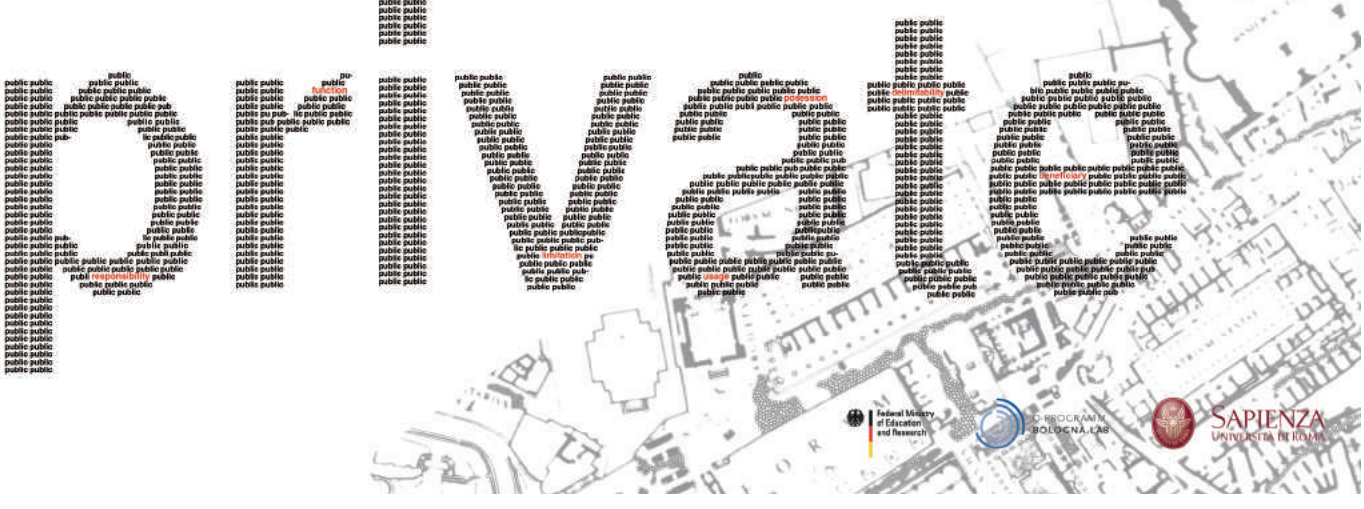
Evidence of figures
Fig. 1 © Sapienza IBAM-CNR; Fig. 2a-b Photos by Jessica Bartz; Fig. 3a Carandini 2012, vol. 2 pl. 31, courtesy P. Carafa, graphic elaboration M.C. Capanna; Fig. 3c-d Archive Archaeological Parc of the Colosseum; Fig. 4 © Sapienza IBAM-CNR





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