

UC Berkeley

UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8zr398bq>

Author

Russell, Amy

Publication Date

2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome

By

Amy Russell

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology

and the Designated Emphasis in

Gender and Women's Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Erich S. Gruen, Chair

Professor Carlos F. Noreña

Professor Mark Griffith

Professor Andrew Wallace-Hadrill

Spring 2011

© Copyright by Amy Russell 2011
All Rights Reserved

Abstract

The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome

by

Amy Russell

Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology

and the Designated Emphasis in

Gender and Women's Studies

Professor Erich S. Gruen, Chair

This dissertation uses a combination of literary and archeological evidence to ask how Romans understood and defined public space in Rome during the Republic. The definition of concepts of 'public' and 'private' in Roman culture differed from that current in modern Western discourse, but just like modern definitions, it was ambiguous and manipulable. Taking public space as a starting-point offers new insights into the Roman concepts, and a behavioural approach, aided by insights from space syntax theory, allows for a partial reconstruction of the diversity of spatial experience in the city. Traditionally, lack of behavioural control has been associated with private space, but for the majority of the population, who were not householders, it was public spaces which were characterised by greater freedom of access and behaviour. Public space was not a monolith, but offered a variety of spatial experiences and was experienced differently by different groups. Moreover, just as the space of the Roman elite house was more 'public' than we might naively suspect, public space in the city of Rome was determined by and thoroughly saturated by the private. The Republican Forum Romanum incorporated domestic and commercial space as well as political space, which itself was never neutrally 'public' but always contested. The grand victory porticoes of the Campus Martius mark out sacred space but also space associated with an individual general, and their architecture and decoration increasingly mark them as semi-private, until eventually Pompey's theatre-portico complex incorporates not only a curia but also his own house. We see attempts to exploit the ambiguities of existing discourses of public and private, creating spaces like victory complexes and basilicas. Although Latin uses *publicus* and *privatus* as a natural and exclusive pair, the terms were in fact contested even in ancient times, and very little space in Rome was entirely public or entirely private.

THE DEFINITION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN REPUBLICAN ROME

CONTENTS

Contents	i
List of Figures	iii
List of Abbreviations	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
<u>1. Introduction</u>	1
The ‘spatial turn’ and scholarship on the ancient world	1
Defining ‘public’ and ‘private’	4
Discovering Roman concepts	8
Public and private in action in the house	9
Spatial experience and behavioural approaches to defining ‘public’ and ‘private’	13
Space syntax theory and archaeological approaches to defining the private	19
Status and control	22
<u>2. Revisiting Public and Private in Republican Rome</u>	25
<i>Publicus, privatus</i> and the Roman definition of space	25
Legal texts: <i>publicus, privatus, sacer</i>	26
Plautus: violence and control	28
Claiming public space: violence in the <i>Pro Milone</i>	31
Conclusion: a behavioural definition of ‘public’ space in the Roman world	37
Afterword: Vitruvius and public space in the age of Augustus	39
<u>3. Public Space, Private Space and Political Space in the Forum Romanum</u>	46
The public Forum	47
Communal control and political space	51
Individual control and political space	63
Between public and private: private patrons and political space	77
Conclusion: failures of control	82
<u>4. Individual Claims to Public Space in Republican Victory Monument</u>	85
Individual and community in the victory temple	86
The interplay of public, private and sacred in early political monuments	90
From individual dedications to complexes	92
Visual and spatial differentiation: the role of Greek art	94
1. Marcellus and the arrival of Greek art at Rome	94

2. Hercules Musarum as heterotopia	100
3. Metellus Macedonicus and the Granikos Monument	102
Conclusion: kings, generals, and the control of space	104
<u>5. Controlling Space in Pompey's Victory Complex</u>	108
Archaeology and architecture	113
A unified victory complex	116
Physical control and theatrical surveillance	121
Spectacles of privacy	125
Political space in action in the unified complex	133
Conclusion	136
<u>6. Conclusion</u>	137
Figures	141
Bibliography	174

LIST OF FIGURES

All figures are located at the end of the main text, p. 141-73

<u>Figure 1.1. The view from the doorway of the House of the Wooden Partition, Herculaneum</u> Author's photograph	141
<u>Figure 1.2. The view from the doorway of the House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum</u> Author's photograph	141
<u>Figure 1.3. The House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum: plan</u> Clarke (1991) 251	142
<u>Figure 1.4. View of nymphaeum from the triclinium of the House of Neptune and Amphitrite</u> Clarke (1991) pl. 19	142
<u>Figure 1.5. The House of the Labyrinth, Pompeii</u> Hales (2003) 119	143
<u>Figure 1.6. The House of Octavius Quarto, Pompeii</u> Hales (2003) 115	143
<u>Figure 1.7. House of Octavius Quarto: view from Room f along the water feature</u> Author's photograph	144
<u>Figure 1.8. Grahame's access analysis of the House of the Labyrinth</u> Grahame (2000) 145	145
<u>Figure 1.9. Grahame's illustration of the concept of confinement</u> Grahame (1997) 148	145
<u>Figure 1.10. Street plan of Pompeii</u> Laurence (2007) 4	146
<u>Figure 1.11. Distribution of <i>fauces</i> in Region 6</u> Laurence (2007) 127	146
<u>Figure 1.12. The Vicolo di Narciso with entrances numbered</u> Jones/Schoonhoven (2003) 129	147
<u>Figure 1.13. View south along the Vicolo di Narciso</u> Jones/Schoonhoven (2003) 132	147

<u>Figure 1.14. Patterns of original block layout in Region 1</u> Ciro Nappo (1997) 98	148
<u>Figure 1.15. Typical early Region 1 row house with back garden</u> Ciro Nappo (1997) 100	148
<u>Figure 1.16. Insula 1.11, showing most entrances along north and west side</u> Ciro Nappo (1997)	149
<u>Figure 3.1. The Forum Romanum and Sacra Via in the mid-second century BCE.</u> Wilson (2005) 128 fig. 1	150
<u>Figure 3.2. The Forum Romanum in the mid-first century BCE.</u> <i>CAH IX</i> ² 370 fig. 2	151
<u>Figure 3.3. The Forum Romanum in the Augustan period</u> Giuliani/Verduchi (1987)	152
<u>Figure 3.4. The natural relief of the Forum basin</u> Ammermann (1990) 635 fig. 4	153
<u>Figure 3.5. The area of the Comitium in the regal period</u> Carafa (1998) 119 fig. 80	153
<u>Figure 3.6. The Republican Comitium in Coarelli's reconstruction</u> Coarelli (1985) 23 fig. 5	154
<u>Figure 3.7. The Basilica Aemilia, showing traces of older tabernae on a different orientation</u> Freyberger et al. (2007) fig. 5	155
<u>Figure 3.8 Archaic houses on the Sacra Via</u> Carandini (2004) 93	156
<u>Figure 3.9. The Forum at Cosa</u> Lackner (2009) 348	157
<u>Figure 3.10. The Atrium Vestae in the second century BCE</u> Scott (2009) 19, 34	158
<u>Figure 3.11. The Atrium Vestae in the first century BCE</u> Scott (2009) 36	159
<u>Figure 3.12. Coin of L. Aemilius Paullus (<i>RRC</i> 419/3)</u> Freyberger et al. (2007) 500	160

<u>Figure 3.13. The Imperial fora</u> Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani (2007) 40. Drawing E. Bianchi – R. Meneghini	161
<u>Figure 4.1. Fifth-century double temples in the Area Sacra di Sant’Omobono</u> Coarelli (1988) 206; drawing G. Ioppolo	162
<u>Figure 4.2. Republican <i>tempietti</i>, Ostia</u> Rieger (2004) 56	162
<u>Figure 4.3. Temple of Hercules Musarum on the Marble Plan</u> Carettoni et al. (1960) pl. 29, detail	163
<u>Figure 4.4. Temple of Hercules Musarum: reconstructions</u> Coarelli (1997a) 477, 479	164
<u>Figure 4.5. Standing remains of Porticus Octaviae, successor to the Porticus Metelli</u> (author’s photographs)	165
<u>Figure 4.6. The Porticus Metelli in the second century BCE (reconstruction) with temples of Juno Regina (L) and Jupiter Stator (R)</u> Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) Abb. 19	165
<u>Figure 4.7. Porticus Minucia, showing enclosure outside temple B in the Largo Argentina</u> Coarelli (1997a) 334	166
<u>Figure 5.1. Theatre and portico of Pompey on the Campus Martius (restored plan)</u> Coarelli (1997a) 540	167
<u>Figure 5.2. Aerial photograph of the area of Pompey’s complex</u> Google Earth (© 2010 Google, © 2011 Tele Atlas)	168
<u>Figure 5.3. Surviving substructures of the cavea: digital composite</u> The Pompey Project (http://www.pompey.cch.kcl.ac.uk/Site_Documentation.htm , last accessed 1 May 2011)	168
<u>Figure 5.4. The structures of the cavea as recorded by Packer</u> Packer/Burge/Gagliardo (2007) 513 (Drawing J. Burge)	169
<u>Figure 5.5. The structures of the cavea as recorded by Monterroso Checa</u> Monterroso Checa (2007) 136	169
<u>Figure 5.6. The theatre and portico of Pompey on the Marble Plan</u> Carettoni et al. (1960) plate 32	170

<u>Figure 5.7. The theatre and portico in Gleason's reconstructions: plan</u> Gleason (1994) 18	171
<u>Figure 5.8. The theatre and portico in Gleason's reconstructions: view from the curia</u> Gleason (1994) 22	171
<u>Figure 5.9. Wall-painting from the villa at Boscoreale depicting a pierced scaenae frons</u> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Anderson (1987-88) 23	172
<u>Figure 5.10. Painted representation of a late Republican villa landscape</u> Wall-painting from the house of M. Lucretius Fronto, Pompeii: Mazzoleni (2004) 289	173

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Most abbreviations of ancient texts and authors follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn.); most abbreviations of periodicals follow the conventions of *L'Année Philologique*. The following abbreviations have also been used:

<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (1972-) (Berlin: De Gruyter).
<i>ArchLaz</i>	<i>Archeologia Laziale</i>
<i>BdA</i>	<i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>
<i>BullCom</i>	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>
<i>CAHIX</i> ²	J. A. Crook, A. W. Lintott and E. Rawson (eds) (1994), <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , vol. IX (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). 2 nd edn.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1853-)
<i>DialA</i>	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby (1957-), <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen historiker</i> (Leiden: Brill).
<i>ILLRP</i>	A. Degrassi (1957-63), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> (Florence: La Nuova Italia).
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau (1892), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (Berlin: Weidmann).
<i>LTUR</i>	E. M. Steinby (ed.) (1993-2000) <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> (Rome: Quasar).
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>
<i>OpArch</i>	<i>Opuscula Archeologica</i>
<i>ORF</i> ²	E. Malcovati (1955) <i>Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta</i> (Turin: Paravia). 2 nd edn.
<i>RendLinc</i>	<i>Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Rendiconti</i>
<i>RendPontAcc</i>	<i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Rendiconti</i>
<i>RivStudClass</i>	<i>Rivista di studi classici</i>
<i>RRC</i>	M. H. Crawford (1974) <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (1900-) (Leipzig: Teubner).

All dates in the text are BCE unless noted otherwise.

All translations are my own.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The list of people who have contributed to this project is probably longer than the dissertation itself. I would like to thank all my teachers, colleagues, and friends, and a few in particular:

I cannot thank Erich Gruen enough for his guidance and wisdom over the last five years. He is justly famous for not only his uncompromising critiques but also his infinite kindness, and both have made me the scholar I am today.

Carlos Noreña has been unfailingly generous and supportive. I would like to thank him in particular for always making time to discuss and take seriously my developing ideas. My two outside readers, Mark Griffith and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, have provided me with much stimulating material; Mark's support in my voyages into feminist theory and Andrew's eye for the big picture have been enormously helpful.

I have several mentors outside my committee to whom I owe thanks. Josephine Crawley-Quinn has gone far above and beyond the call of duty; without her I would never have made it to Berkeley or Rome, and would not have made it to the end of my graduate career with my sanity intact. Andrew Stewart has been a valuable source of advice. Leslie Kurke and Crawford Greenwalt were instrumental as members of my orals committee. Two visiting professors at Berkeley, Tonio Hölscher and Annmarie Adams, each helped me advance my thinking in a single semester more than I would have believed possible. Many more of my old Oxford tutors have continued to support and inspire me, especially Alan Bowman and Anna Clark.

My colleagues at Berkeley, Oxford and beyond have helped in innumerable ways. I would like to thank all the members of Erich's dissertation group and the GWS research seminar. I have gained especially important insights from discussions with Henriette van der Blom, Tim Doran, Jane Draycott, Lisa Eberle, Laura Pfuntner, and Joel Rygorsky.

I have been lucky enough to meet in person or electronically a number of scholars who have kindly allowed me access to unpublished work or engaged in fruitful discussions of upcoming projects. Particular thanks go to Michael Anderson, Tolly Boatwright, Jeremy Hartnett, Elizabeth Macaulay Lewis (who was kind enough to give me permission to consult and cite her unpublished thesis in the Bodleian), David Newsome, and Jim Packer.

I spent the academic year 2009-10 as Raleigh Radford Rome Scholar at the British School at Rome, and gratefully acknowledge the School's financial support for this project. Every member of the school, from the director to the kitchen staff, contributed to what was a transformative year for me personally and professionally. Maria Pia Malvezzi's magical ability to get *permessi* and the knowledgeability and helpfulness of Valerie Scott and the rest of the library staff were crucial. Christopher Smith, Robert Coates-Stephens, Lisa Fentress and especially Carrie Vout were wonderful advisors. Each and every one of my fellow-residents has left an impression on this project, and particular academic inspiration came

from Clare Rowan, Nicholas Champkins, Catherine Fletcher, Richard Pollard and Tom True.

Two people who helped me start on this road are not here to see the end of it. All those who knew Corinne Crawford and Peter Derow know how much I owe to them.

Finally, for unquantifiable contributions, my thanks go to my family, Sean and Ian, and to Kim, who kept me alive and – incredibly – even happy through the last stages of this project.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the variety of spatial experiences available in public space in the city of Rome during the middle and late Republic. I ask what it means to call space 'public', and whether this English terminology can still be useful when discussing the ancient world. As well as contributing to ongoing discussions about the nature and manipulation of the public-private dichotomy through history, my work aims to expand the boundaries of 'political' history in the ancient world by considering the various contexts in which political action took place and the range of people who shared 'political' space.

Adopting a behavioural approach to the study of spatial experience, I combine literary and archaeological evidence, along with techniques drawn from space syntax theory, to explore what behaviours were acceptable in the streets, squares and porticos of Rome, who was allowed or expected to enter these spaces, and how access and behaviour were regulated. Roman houses contained different kinds of space, some semi-public and none truly 'private' in the sense usually assumed in modern English (or, indeed Western) discourse. Following this insight, studies of public and private in the Roman world tend to begin with domestic space and track its various gradations of privacy; in analyses which are usually already at least implicitly structuralist, this has the unintended effect of implying an undifferentiated hyper-public space beyond the house, whereas in fact, I will argue, different public places provided different spatial experiences. My project thus enriches our understanding of the nature of public and private space in the Roman world by taking public, rather than private, as its point of departure.

Public space offered a variety of spatial experiences and was experienced differently by members of different groups. The Republican Forum Romanum incorporated domestic and commercial space as well as political space, which itself was never neutrally 'public' but always contested. The grand victory porticos of the Campus Martius mark out sacred space, while also associating this space specifically with an individual general, and their architecture and decoration increasingly mark them as semi-private, until eventually Pompey's theatre-portico complex incorporates not only a curia but also his own house. So just as the space of the Roman elite house, as we have come to understand, is more 'public' than we might naively suspect, public space in the city of Rome was likewise determined by and thoroughly saturated by the private. We see attempts to exploit the ambiguities of existing discourses of public and private, creating spaces like victory complexes and basilicas. Although Latin uses *publicus* and *privatus* as a natural and exclusive pair, rather as English does with 'public' and 'private', the terms were contested even in ancient times, and very little space in Rome was entirely public or entirely private.

'The Spatial Turn' and the ancient world

Over the last few decades, a great deal of scholarship in disciplines including architecture, archaeology, anthropology, philosophy, geography, gender studies, literary theory, urban studies and social history has been concerned with the role space and spatiality play in human experience. This trend has been so profound as to win its own

name ('The Spatial Turn').¹ The key theoretical advance on which all this work is based is the notion that space itself is not a given, but a socially produced entity which is created, understood and experienced differently by different people and cultures at different times. *A fortiori*, individual spaces are differentially experienced and understood. The result of such an understanding of space for the historian is that the space in which events took place is not merely a passive or inert limiting factor (though it is that) but an active participant or contributory agent.²

The spatial turn has been felt in classical archaeology and ancient history, where we are lucky to have available a fairly broad set of spatial data. Space has always been an element of the study of the ancient world: archaeology and topography are intrinsically spatial, and topics such as the development of urbanism and town planning, the geographical spread of ancient empires, the setting of religious ritual or battlefield manoeuvres have given space a role to play in many other sub-disciplines. There is no room here to discuss all the various approaches to space scholars of the ancient world have developed over the centuries during which such topics have been discussed. More recently, however, studies have emerged which underline the importance of space as more than an inert medium in which events take place. The work produced under this banner is able to

¹ For the history of the 'spatial turn', and a wealth of bibliography, see Warf/Arias (2009).

² Modern theorists, and particularly historians, of space take their cue from Foucault, who in a 1967 lecture later published as Foucault (1986) noted that 'the space which today appears to form the horizons of our concerns, our theory, our systems, is not an innovation; space itself has a history in Western experience, and it is not possible to disregard the fatal intersection of time with space'. In the lecture, he is mainly interested in what he terms heterotopias, places which represent that which falls outside normative ideas of what space is. His examples, from cemeteries to brothels, are geographically locatable places which set themselves apart from the space around them and invert, or intensify, its rules; by their difference, they confirm the realness and normality of other spaces. Much of Foucault's work has a spatial aspect; this has been a problem as well as a blessing to later theorists, since it is possible to pick and choose among Foucault's writings which touch on space (as on any topic) and come up with widely varying results, with ensuing problems of translation. A more canonical approach was laid out by Lefebvre (1991) especially 33, 38-39; the original is Lefebvre (1974). His theory of the social production of space is fundamental to all subsequent work. Lefebvre's 'social space' emerges from the interaction of three concepts: spatial practice, the actual locations and movements characteristic of the society which are ingrained through repetition; representations of space, the ways in which a society knows and understands space; and representational spaces, spaces which themselves become part of the symbolic underpinning of the structure of society. Lefebvre's essentially Marxist approach has been followed by the Marxist and materialist geographers who have played a prominent role in theories of space and the spatial turn: Harvey (1989); Soja (1989). The spaces which form the subject of this dissertation are mostly not everyday, standard spaces. Almost all scholars of the ancient world face a problem along these lines; we are hostages to accidents of survival, and what has survived is often precisely what is exceptional. Foucault's and Lefebvre's approaches to space offer one way of seeing the value in the unusual spaces available for our analysis. Each exceptional space is, in its own way, a heterotopia. Such heterotopias, which represent, invert, and contest the assumed normative space which surrounds them, must also be, in Lefebvre's terms, representational spaces, individual spaces in which larger portions of social space can be encoded.

encompass a wide range of subjects, because the concepts of space and spatiality are broad and adaptable to multiple scales, and I make no attempt to produce an exhaustive list here.³

On the very largest scale, ancient Mediterranean concepts of geography have become a fertile topic for research,⁴ as have ancient theories of space itself, particularly the nature of sacred space;⁵ moreover, important recent work has considered space as a historical actor on the largest scale.⁶ Smaller-scale explorations of the potential of space as an object of study have also flourished in recent years. Here, the work of scholars working in Pompeii has been particularly influential. The fortuitous combination of well-preserved floor plans, decorative features (including wall-painting), some artefactual assemblages and a relative wealth of literary evidence has allowed Pompeian scholars, mostly coming from an archaeological perspective, to propose advances in the theory of space which have had

³ The importance of the application of spatial theory to the ancient world is demonstrated by the 2008 establishment of the Topoi group, an ‘excellence cluster’ funded by the German government and based in Berlin. Their research objectives centre around the relationships between space and knowledge in the ancient world, at all scales. The group has already released a number of publications, and more are eagerly anticipated.

⁴ E.g. Clarke (1991). Studies in this field have produced important new theories of ancient imperialism, as they investigate how Romans, in particular, conceptualized the vast swathes of territory they controlled: see especially Nicolet (1991).

⁵ Foucault considered that the key distinction between modern and pre-modern space was the omnipresence of the sacred in pre-modern creation and differentiation of space: Foucault (1986). Definitions of the sacred, and in particular of the profane, are always controversial for the ancient world; it can be argued that all space was indeed defined by reference to the sacred, and thus all space was itself sacred; the very concept of space in the ancient world implies the sacred in even stronger terms than Foucault envisaged, as demonstrated by e.g. Coarelli (2001). Studies of the sacred as an integral part of conceptions of space and of the spatiality of cult have flourished for the Greek world; a good example is Cole (2004). This field owes a great deal to anthropological approaches of the 60s such as Gernet (1963) and Vernant (1969). For the Roman world, too, the sacred delineation of every kind of space makes it difficult to speak of ‘sacred’ versus ‘profane’ space: Rykwert (1976); Catalano (1978); Coarelli (2001); Ghey (2005); Coarelli (2007); Purcell (2007). On the human level, Roman social space was defined by and understood through augural practice; even before this, every space had its *genius loci*. More work is needed before we can understand how Romans might have conceptualized some spaces as more sacred than others, or sacred in qualitatively different ways; even more so, the ways in which such definitions were contested or changed over time. In this project, I adopt a different set of spatial relations to investigate, those of the private and the public spheres, and I do not intend to venture a set theory of sacred space in the ancient world. The sanctity of all space is a given on one level, but that does not mean that it can be ignored. The definition of sacred space recurs as a key theme throughout this project, but must remain an open question. I suspect that, just like ‘public’ or ‘private’ space, sacred space could be and frequently was defined in terms which shifted and admitted of ambiguity. For some of the specific terms of overlap between ‘sacred’, ‘public’, and ‘private’, see below p. 26-28; Anderson (1997) 242-47 also has some useful remarks.

⁶ See especially Horden/Purcell (2000), arguably one of the most influential recent interventions in the study of the ancient world from any perspective.

impact beyond the study of the ancient world.⁷ Much of this work has centred on domestic space.⁸ Already in the 1950s, Drerup was considering the representational and symbolic role of the architecture of the Roman house.⁹ Later scholars, using a range of different theoretical approaches, have explored in detail how Roman houses constituted and were constituted by the social and especially representational activities which took place inside and around them.¹⁰

The great success of spatial approaches to Roman domestic space was one of the factors which prompted me to take on this project. This body of work has demonstrated that socially constructed space is a suitable subject for analysis even given the problems of evidence we face when dealing with the ancient world, and moreover that such analysis reveals a kaleidoscopic variety of spatial types. I aim to apply some of the same approaches to spaces beyond the house, which has not often been the subject of this kind of investigation (except on the very largest scale of empire or long-distance travel). The predominance of domestic space in studies of Roman space and spatial experience must be counterbalanced if we are to avoid misrepresenting the nature of Roman space as a whole. In particular, since so many interesting lines of inquiry concerning Roman space turn on the relationship between public and private space, it is important to approach public space in its own right rather than constantly approaching the question from the perspective of private space. By taking public space as my point of departure, I aim to shed new light on the ways Republican Romans experienced and understood all the space in which they lived.

Defining 'public' and 'private'

One major concern of scholars participating in the spatial turn is the relationship between 'space' and 'place'. The distinction has long been recognised and theorised, often with reference to the personal and experiential criteria mentioned above. The architect Aldo Van Eyck wrote in 1962 that 'whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more. For space in the image of man is place, and time in the image of man is occasion.'¹¹

⁷ Awareness of the methodological problems involved in combining Pompeian archaeological evidence with literary representations drawn from very different contexts have been raised by e.g. Allison (2001); see also Leach (1997); Nevett (1997).

⁸ An excellent theoretical introduction to the study of Roman domestic space can be found in Laurence (1997); together with the other articles in Laurence/Wallace-Hadrill (1997) it provides a snapshot of the field at the end of the millennium.

⁹ Drerup (1959)

¹⁰ The most important statement of this concept is that of Wallace-Hadrill (1994a); and see also Wallace-Hadrill (1988), (1996). Among further explorations of the theme, see especially Fredrick (2002); Hales (2003). The work of Thèbert (1987) in North Africa shares many of the same concerns. Other important contributions to the study of Roman domestic space include the essays in Rawson/Weaver (1997); Zanker (1998). There are also a number of studies which have approached domestic space in Pompeii from an art historical perspective but which share many of the same concerns with definitions of space and representation: e.g. Clarke (1991); Dwyer (1991); Leach (2004); Elsner (2007). Also important are the spatial syntactic analyses of e.g. Grahame (1997), (2000); Anderson (2005), discussed below p. 19-22.

¹¹ Quoted by Lawson (2001) 230.

Compare the English phrases ‘spatial awareness’ and ‘sense of place’: place requires space, but it is space given meaning and value through human experience.¹² In studying place as opposed to space, a number of different constituent factors, from physical location, space, and shape to human perceptions, must be integrated and taken as a whole.¹³ Taken to an extreme, the distinction between space and place can lead to a dismissal of space as a purely abstract, geometrical concept: place with the meaning taken out.¹⁴ The history of space becomes the history of the invention of place. To historians, this could be an enticing narrative of the world as blank slate on which early societies experimented with foundational concepts in town planning and architecture.¹⁵ But ancient historians know that searching for beginnings is usually futile. No society ever had a blank slate to play with, and in fact it makes more sense to write a history of space in which societies (including ancient societies), who necessarily already inhabit chaotically constructed place (Lefebvre’s ‘absolute space’), make attempts in fields from architecture to mathematics to construct clean, abstract, Euclidean space.¹⁶ Indeed, Lefebvre insists that all space, even (or particularly) abstract, imagined space is socially produced and endowed with meaning.¹⁷

In this project, I am interested not only in specific places, but in groups of places which share common characteristics. The concept of such a group has the potential to involve physical form and investment with meaning, two of the criteria used to describe place, but lacks the unique attachment to one specific geographic location which is crucial to the understanding of place. It assumes the existence of something which can be called ‘space’, but which should be defined not in terms of any one location but in terms of a relation which links individual places. An understanding of ‘space’ as a relation shares with many other definitions the basic framework under which ‘space’ is an abstraction of ‘place’, but in this case abstraction is socially produced just as the individual places are. When individual places are understood to share certain (socially produced) characteristics, they can be said to consist of the same kind of space.¹⁸

¹² Tuan (1977) 6: “‘Space’ is more abstract than ‘place’. What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.’

¹³ The sociologist Thomas Gieryn, in Gieryn (2000) 464-5, schematises the constituent factors as three: geographic location, material form and investment with meaning and value.

¹⁴ Gieryn (2000) 465. Gieryn cites Hillier/Hanson (1984) on this point, which oversimplifies their understanding of the interrelations between space and society.

¹⁵ Spencer (2010) 5-6 cites the different, ethnological approach of Augé (1995) 42-54 which regards ‘place’ as something understood by individual societies as a creation rather than a pre-existing reality – but something which was created long ago and is understood through a primordial foundation myth, so that in historical time it does function as a given.

¹⁶ Casey (1997).

¹⁷ Lefebvre (1974); Tuan (1977) does not forget this, rooting his work in an experience not only of place, but also of space – perhaps a particular notion of space found in the American West – with all its connotations of openness, possibility, loneliness and threat.

¹⁸ The similarities and differences will, of course, depend on the particular characteristics in question: so, from the point of view of purpose or state of mind of the spectators, a theatre and an art gallery are both spaces of recreation or cultural edification, but from the point of view of the spectators’ movement in space, they are quite different – one is a space for moving about, whereas the other is a space for sitting still. My definition embraces but expands those which only use ‘space’ in relation to abstract geometry, since geometrical form can be one of the ways in which places are

My chief interest in describing types of space is in the characteristics which were understood in Republican Rome to mark a place as 'public' or 'private'. Any use of these terms to describe space raises a number of methodological and theoretical issues which deserve clarification. It might be possible to use a word like 'public' merely to delineate the material under consideration, using a shorthand which scholars find easy to understand. It is not uncommon to see 'public architecture' in the ancient world treated as a well-defined unit in this way.¹⁹ The assumptions underlying these divisions are useful and often harmless, but for some purposes they fall short. Is, for example, a shop or taberna considered public space? Architecture textbooks which presume an uncomplicated notion of 'public architecture' might have a separate chapter on temples. Even more potentially confusing is the consensus which has built over the last few decades among historians and archaeologists concerning the 'public' nature of some space within the Roman elite house, even though one common definition of 'public space' is simply 'non-residential space'. In this project, I do not aim merely to describe formal or ideological characteristics of a pre-determined set of architectural spaces, but to investigate why and how it is that some spaces are considered 'public' and some 'private'.

The English terms 'public' and 'private' are not well defined, and often used differently in different situations. Even if coherent definitions could be provided, the historical contingency of concepts like these means we should expect a lack of overlap between our own and Roman conceptual frameworks. These issues have generally been investigated separately in modern scholarship. Scholars across disciplines, notably those influenced by feminist theory, have studied the definition of public and private spheres in space and beyond, and investigated and challenged the operation or the very existence of the public-private divide in modern culture.²⁰ Although many in the past assumed that the

similar or the same – and under this criterion, the theatre is quite different from the art gallery but rather similar to a cinema. This example demonstrates the importance of care and consistency in selecting the criteria according to which individual places are to be characterised into types of space.

¹⁹ So, for example, Ward-Perkins (1981) 45 begins his survey of Julio-Claudian architecture by proposing to divide the material into a chronological account of 'public building' and a separate discussion of 'domestic architecture'. A slightly different approach is taken by e.g. Sear (1982) 31: he gives the subheading 'Public buildings', in which fora and basilicas are discussed, and contrasts these in the next few pages with 'Religious buildings', 'Domestic buildings', 'Commercial buildings', 'Entertainment', 'Recreational buildings', 'Utilitarian buildings', 'Honorific monuments', 'Military and defensive architecture', and 'Funerary'. Anderson (1997) 241-2 and *passim* has substantial discussion of the question; he eventually divides his material into 'Public Architecture and Shared Space' and 'Domestic Architecture and Individual Space'.

²⁰ The bibliography is vast, and there is no space here to do justice to all its many variations. Landes (1998) provides an introduction to the major strands of feminist thought on the subject. The work of Carole Pateman, collected in Pateman (1989), and especially Pateman (1983), represents the best aspects of second-wave feminism and has been fundamental to my thinking. For a specifically spatial approach to the problem, see Puwar (2004). The 1990s produced a significant strand of work on urban space, particularly in 18th and 19th century cities, influenced by feminist and gender theory, which has also been influential to the present investigation: Wilson (1991); Walkowitz (1992); Deutsch (2000); Rendell (2002). Penner/Borden/Rendell (2000) provides a convenient

public-private dichotomy was natural and unchanging, neither term is well defined and their construction can be traced through time. Historically, 'public' and 'private' have been associated with a hierarchical gender binary, and the result was and is the exclusion of people assigned to the private sphere from access to power located in the public sphere. Classicists and ancient historians, on the other hand, devote much thought to the mismatch between ancient and modern notions of public and private.²¹ Such an approach naturally tends to view ancient and modern definitions as concrete rather than taking into account their inherent instability.²² My work brings together these two strands: on the one hand, investigation of Roman concepts of public and private as different from our own, and on the other, a challenge to the notion that concepts of public and private are or have ever been neatly defined and simple in operation.

A fuller investigation of the nature of Roman notions of public and private and their relationship with our own must take into account the developing and contested nature of the Roman conceptual frameworks themselves. The problems we face in attempting to understand the ancient concepts of public and private are not merely because our own are different, but also because the ancient concepts were already problematic. Just as they are today, concepts of public and private in Republican Rome were poorly-defined, overlapping and constantly contested, a point missed by work which attempts to pin them down in order to contrast them with our own. And, just as in more recent history, to assume the existence of well-defined concepts of public and private, whatever they may be, restricts our perspective on the ancient world. I see this project as, among other things, a contribution to Roman political history; to break down the public also challenges notions of the political, and provides a rationale for expanding the boundaries of what should be considered political history. More prosaically, political actions take place in (public and private) space, and everyone uses space; considering the spatial context of political action is one way to incorporate a larger range of actors in one's calculations, even if the result is only to be aware that certain people are excluded from political space.

This investigation focuses on the middle and late Republic, beginning with the earliest period for which sufficient evidence is available and ending with the transition to empire – a change which, as Kristina Milnor has demonstrated, brings about a paradigm shift in the understanding of the relationship between public and private.²³ As I examine texts from different periods, it is possible to see that the status of space is often a matter for debate; it can be deliberately manipulated for political reasons, but also changes naturally over time. There already exists ambiguity and the potential for confusion even before

introduction. The most recent queer and trans theoretical approaches tend to note the controversy but choose instead to investigate notions of space itself: Halberstam (2005); Ahmed (2006).

²¹ Most recently, the excellent treatment of Milnor (2005), especially 16-46, with bibliography; and now also Cooper (2007), who discusses the role of the *domus* in Roman discourses of public and private, but is not in fact much concerned with its spatial presence. For specifically spatial applications of the debate, see Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990); Riggsby (1997), (1999).

²² Interestingly, Anderson (1997) 243 recognises that Roman definitions of 'public' and 'private' were 'fluid and interactive', but then *contrasts* this fluidity with modern concepts, making an assumption about the stability of the modern concepts which cannot stand.

²³ Milnor (2005).

English terms are brought into the debate. In this my approach differs from that taken by most scholars working on domestic space, who are often keen to assert that what we see as the ‘public’ nature of areas of the elite Roman house was a long-standing institution and would not have been contrary to contemporary expectations.²⁴ Many of the spaces I investigate were subject to a variety of claims and counter-claims concerning where they fit in the network of concepts which roughly correlate to our ‘public’ and ‘private’.

Discovering Roman concepts

Any discussion of the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ in the Roman world faces problems of definition. The goal of finding Roman concepts even roughly analogous to English ‘public’ and ‘private’ is an ambitious one, and risks circularity. It is not self-evidently true that such concepts even existed in Roman culture, or, if they did, were close enough to our own for a meaningful comparison.²⁵ Strong evidence can be found, however, that such concepts did exist and were applied to space. Support for the existence of what we might call a strict public-private divide in Roman categorisations of architecture and space can be found in the moralising of authors such as Cicero, Pliny and Seneca, who attack inappropriate use of luxurious materials, plundered art and the like in private houses.²⁶ The testimony of the later authors can be discarded; it seems likely on the face of it that they are retrojecting imperial preoccupations, and such an interpretation is confirmed when one notes, for example, the inconsistencies of Pliny’s timeline and his close association of the luxurious *domus* of the late Republic with the palaces of Gaius and Nero.²⁷ Indeed, many of these passages do not draw as clear a distinction between public and private *luxuria* as some modern commentators assume.²⁸ Even Cicero falls close to the end of the period under

²⁴ For a nuanced take on this question, see Hales (2003), arguing that at least some of the openness afforded by the elite Roman house was illusory.

²⁵ For an attempt to derive a very different concept of the public-private divide for Roman culture, see Cooper (2007).

²⁶ E.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.57; Sen. *Epist.* 51.11; Plin. *H.N.* 36.5-6 (but see below n.9); cf. Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) 27; Romano (1994); La Penna (1989). On the rhetoric of *luxuria* and architecture, see Edwards (1993) 137-72.

²⁷ Inconsistencies: e.g. his claim at 17.6 that no public building in Rome had marble columns when L. Licinius Crassus (later cos. 95) installed them in his Palatine mansion during his aedileship. Gaius and Nero: 36.109. See Gros (1976a) 70; Gros (1978) 6 n.4.

²⁸ Seneca’s letter praising the modesty of the Scipio Africanus’ villa (86.1-13) focuses on his bathing suite, and contrasts it not with contemporary private housing, but with public baths. In fact, many of the passages most often cited on this theme attack not specifically private luxury as compared to public, but luxury in general, using private examples (e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 90.9-11). Even so, it may be admitted that the same authors are usually positive about magnificent public architecture – but see Sen. *Epist.* 90.25, attacking the use of marble in both *domus* and *templa*. Pliny, at 36.109-20, lumps together the evils of luxurious *domus*, imperial palaces, and the theatres of Scaurus and Curio. The fact that some parts of Scaurus’ theatre were eventually reused in his house is clearly an afterthought. Pliny also discusses Scaurus’ theatre at 36.5, again disapprovingly. He reports that its *luxuria* was excused *publicis nimirum indulgentes voluptatibus*, but *nimirum* here is clearly deeply sarcastic, and he goes on to explain explicitly that the reason he does not approve of *publicis voluptatibus* is that the line between *publicus* and *privatus* is too easily blurred. The only realm in

discussion here, and his remarks in the Verrines concerning the appropriateness of installing works of art from the public sphere in one's own house must be taken with a grain of salt.²⁹ Nevertheless, there is a definite distinction being drawn. When referring directly to architecture and space, he allows that some *luxuria* may be appropriate in the house of a powerful man, recommending moderation, not necessarily for its own sake but to avoid the danger of having a house too luxurious for one's station.³⁰ It is possible to discern an application of something we might recognise as a sliding scale of public and private here, since in the house of a man who is himself *publicus*, i.e. an active politician, luxurious atria and the like might well be regarded as public space. Elsewhere, Cicero and his contemporaries share a discourse which praises *publica munificentia* while attacking *privata luxuria*, although it is not expressed in spatial terms.³¹ Here, then, we find one possible definition of public and private dependent on the extent to which *luxuria* is permissible. What is key is that the rhetoric of *luxuria* assumes the existence of such a definition, which was indeed contested, and perhaps was only one possible definition among many, but was nevertheless broadly comprehensible to these authors' audiences. Moments like these, when developed Roman discourses of public and private emerge from ancient sources, demonstrate that it is possible to investigate how public and private space were defined in the Roman world without merely misapplying modern concepts. Ambiguities which emerge are not necessarily caused by the mismatch between modern and ancient culture, but were already part of Roman life.

Public and private in action in the house

Existing scholarship on domestic space has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that Romans did not understand public and private space in the same way as we do. The same body of work, the main conclusions of which I review below, also contains tantalizing hints that Romans' own concepts of public and private were not clear-cut, but included ambiguity and overlaps. Many of the scholars who have worked on this material are more interested in exploring the function and structure of the house or even of a particular house than theorizing about public and private, meaning that it is easy to explain away some ambiguities by citing differences between ancient and modern concepts. Although my own investigations have mostly focused on public space, I suspect that a great

which luxurious marble should be allowed, accordingly, is that of the gods – recalling the tripartite division of space discussed below p. 26-28. Note also Vell. Pat 1.11.5, who says of Metellus Macedonicus *vel magnificentiae vel luxuriae princeps fuit* – but, *contra Romano* (1994) 63, he is not talking about Metellus' house, but his temple of Jupiter Stator.

²⁹ E.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.57; note that these are not only luxurious statues, but stolen goods, and also legitimately belong not (only) to the public sphere, but (also) to the sacred.

³⁰ Cic. *Off.* 138-40; *Parad.* 5.37; *Leg.* 3.30.

³¹ Cic. *Flacc.* 28; *Mur.* 76; *Sall. B.C.* 9.2. It is not possible to trace this discourse back to Cato, who, although he claimed *neque mihi aedificatio neque vasum neque vestimentum ullum est manupretiosum neque pretiosus servus neque ancilla* (perhaps thereby defining for us a 'private sphere') went on to say *suum cuique per me uti atque frui licet* (*ORF*² M. Porcius Cato 174). I believe, with Malcovati (*ORF*² 170), *contra Romano* (1994), that Rutilius Rufus' *de modo aedificiorum* (*Suet. Aug.* 89.5) referred to the height of buildings, not their luxury.

deal of the ambiguity found in the definition of space within the house is in fact a product of the ancient concepts themselves.

In the (non-existent) 'typical' Campanian atrium house, the axial line of sight between the entrance and the *tablinum*, and later on through into the peristyle, has been seen as the organising feature of the entire space at least since Heinrich Drerup's researches in the 1950s.³² The long, narrow *fauces* serves, in this interpretation, to frame the view from the street into the house, as do the columns of the atrium and peristyle, where present. Figure 1.1 shows the view from the doorway of the House of the Wooden Partition at Herculaneum, where a rarely-preserved internal partition at the front of the *tablinum* adds to the framing effect. The visual axis can also be read as a conceptual progression, tracing out a hierarchy of different kinds of space, which the house's decoration partly conceals but ultimately reveals.³³

At first glance, it appears that the view from the doorway is privileged; for example, the householder in the *triclinium* (here beyond the *tablinum*) looking down the central axis of the House of Neptune and Amphitrite (fig. 1.2, 1.3) has his back to the beautiful mosaic from which the house takes its name. There is, however, another view available to him; on the left side of the *triclinium*, a decorated fountain (*nymphaeum*) is built into the wall (fig. 1.4). The possibilities for manipulation of multiple points of view can be easily seen by comparing the House of the Labyrinth (fig. 1.5) with the House of Octavius Quarto (fig. 1.6). The off-centre peristyle of the House of the Labyrinth finishes in a richly decorated room which conforms to the original axis of the atrium, with the result that it is visible from the street. The House of Octavius Quarto, built on a similarly shaped plot, organises space differently. From the street there is still visual access through the atrium to a small peristyle and the garden beyond, but when standing in the peristyle (g) it becomes apparent that the central visual axis of the house is in fact bent around, providing additional vistas, again carefully structured with framing columns and water features, from rooms f and h (fig. 1.7). Such additional vistas, hidden from the passer-by, reward those who gain entrance deeper into the house, and are usually richer the further into the house they are, indicating the higher status of the innermost spaces and the people who have access to them. The main visual access of the house seems to privilege the view from the entrance, but often the interior position commands a variety of views unavailable from elsewhere. It is possible to read the complex and innovative plans of houses such as these as constructed by a tension between the two positions.

So far, these interpretations can be only suggestions, but we do in fact have evidence that this was how Romans imagined their houses. Vitruvius' precepts for building an elite house are based entirely around the needs of entertaining clients and friends of varying classes, and even the impression given to those wandering in off the street is of prime

³² Drerup (1959).

³³ Wallace-Hadrill (1994a) 43-97; see also Clarke (1991); Dwyer (1991); Hales (2003). Any overview of this large and rich body of scholarship will necessarily be selective and simplistic; rather than try to do justice to each nuanced argument, I give here a brief summary of some positions which have become canonical and a few examples.

importance (Vitr. 6.5.1).³⁴ During the *salutatio*, clients' relative status dictated their degree of access to the house. Most would not get past the atrium; some would not get past the threshold. In the evening, the householder would receive friends of similar social status for the *cena* in *triclinia* or even bathing suites further within the house.

The social structures propounded by Vitruvius fit well with the emphasis in the architecture on the view from the street, followed by a carefully graduated hierarchy of spaces with their own side views. Those entering the house were positioned in the spatial and social hierarchy along the central axis, where each had a clear view of his or her relative position. Importantly, the key determinant of accessibility was not the need for privacy, but social status. The house was certainly not considered primarily as private space, but was the location for most business and political transactions, involving many visitors, invited and uninvited, as well as the inhabitants. We cannot even imagine a neat public-private divide located further within the house; all areas are open to those of sufficient status. Instead, the house is shaped around a graduated hierarchy of spaces which mix public and private to varying degrees; indeed, it seems likely that individual spaces could offer different degrees of 'privacy' based on the time of day, placement of moveable furnishings, or even gesture and speech of the inhabitants.

The work of scholars working on domestic space has greatly enhanced our understanding of the malleability and multivalency of space in Roman culture, and this work inspires my own. As I have argued, however, these studies do not go far enough in breaking down the divide between public and private. Even the most nuanced appreciation of the various levels of publicity or privacy available in domestic space risks implying that there exists purely public space beyond the walls of the house. The complexities of space within the house would then be formed by the penetration of this uncomplicatedly public type of space into the domestic realm.

It is my contention that the overlap between public and private space has to go both ways. If Romans constituted and experienced semi-public spaces within the house, logically they were also capable of constituting and experiencing semi-private spaces outside the house. In the main body of this dissertation, I identify and analyse a number of such spaces located in what we might schematically designate as 'public space', and I aim to approach them on their own terms, rather than taking the space of the house as a touchstone and moving outwards. Before that, however, it is worth considering, as one of the clearest possible proofs of the concept, how the 'private' space of the house did reach outwards and penetrate the 'public' space beyond.

Much of this kind of extension was deliberate, attempts by householders to increase the total amount of space they could call 'theirs' or over which they could assert some measure of influence. Eye-catching decoration of doorways or house facades projected the owner's personal image into public space, and some owners went further, raising the pavement in front of their doorway or providing some other kind of physical obstruction

³⁴ For Vitruvius' treatment of public and private space, see below p. 39-45.

which forced the passer-by to take notice of the house and adjust his or her course.³⁵ The design and construction of intermediate spaces like vestibula called into question the definition of the house's true threshold not only from the outside looking in, but also from the inside looking out.³⁶ At Pompeii, there is particularly good evidence for streetside benches, often flanking the doors to a house, which had the potential to create stopping-places distinct from the space of the street, intended for movement and more akin to outside rooms of the house.³⁷

Conceptualizing the space of the house as reaching outwards allows us to consider new interpretations of the frequent references to public architecture in Roman houses. Like spatial overlap, interplay between public and private architectural forms worked both ways in Republican Rome. Rich Romans of the second and first centuries BCE used peristyles and other columnar forms, for example, precisely because they were associated with Greek public architecture – they brought prestige.³⁸ But this is the architecture of the Greek gymnasium, of philosophy, exercise and culture, all things which are important parts of public life in the Greek city; the Romans enthusiastically adopt them, but as part of private life.³⁹ It is also the architecture of the Hellenistic palace, a space exemplifying an ambiguity between public and private which could be very dangerous in the Republican system. The influence is not all in one direction: when these motifs appear in public architecture, they are also citing private examples.

Studies of artistic decoration in the private sphere also show substantial overlap with what we might at first glance consider 'public' themes. Romans decorated their houses as well as their public monuments with the spoils of war.⁴⁰ The obvious interpretation of such display, especially given all that we know about the visibility of the Roman elite house, is that houses become more like public monuments; but if we consider that for the Roman viewer, such domestic decoration was not a new discovery but an enduring tradition, it is also fair to say that many public monuments were not unlike houses in their decoration.⁴¹

³⁵ Wiseman (1987); Hartnett (2008).

³⁶ Note the extended discussion at Gell. *NA* 16.5, complete with citations of multiple authorities, on whether the *vestibulum* is inside or outside the house.

³⁷ Hartnett (2008); though of course these benches were not necessarily all provided by the householders of the buildings they abutted.

³⁸ Wallace-Hadrill (1994a) 17-37.

³⁹ Macaulay-Lewis (2008a); see also Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 169-90; for early material see in particular Dickmann (1997).

⁴⁰ Now see especially Welch (2006b).

⁴¹ It is impossible to divide ancient art as a whole into 'public' and 'private' categories by theme or genre. Honorific portraiture, the most obviously 'public' genre of sculpture, was closely connected to the family galleries of the elite house; and although *Idealplastik* is most frequently linked with private display, works of art taken as booty and displayed in public often fall into that category: Stewart (2003) 250-51. Zanker (2008) claims that Greek originals are associated with public display, and copies with private; but see La Rocca (1990) 429-30 questioning the value of this distinction. Stewart (2003) 250-59 suggests that the presence or absence of a dedicatory inscription could mark a statue as public or private in more than a legalistic way; even for the illiterate, the fact of a base changed the viewing experience. He claims that statues in private contexts, without inscriptions, 'are divorced from the kinds of social exchange or interaction that trace relationships among people and their gods

Spatial experience and behavioural approaches to defining 'public' and 'private'

A question about how to characterize space is often in fact a question about spatial experience: how some individual feels in that space. Such a question is amorphous and relatively unhelpful for the ancient world, since we cannot hope to recover the feelings of the dead. Formal description can never replace the richness of spatial experience, but for archaeologists working on architectural material not even a full formal description is usually possible. We may consider ourselves lucky if we can recover an incomplete ground plan. Architecture exists in physical form, containing and contained by real space, but it also exists virtually, in the minds of the people who inhabit it. Every encounter with a building creates a new imagined space, conditioned by bodily experience and vision but also by the ideas and ideals, history, culture, even mood, of the person experiencing it. This imagined space is unique to the individual and to the moment, and like everything that goes on inside the human mind, it can never be fully transmitted to another person. If we accept that architecture's existence includes not only its formal, physical characteristics but also the spatial experience it offers, then we must accept that we can never achieve anything like full knowledge of a building. With a more or less postmodern approach, the implications are vast; the virtual spaces may well be wildly different, no single virtual space is the 'correct' interpretation of the architecture which prompted it, or indeed any more 'correct' than any other; in fact, this could even be expanded to include virtual spaces created in the minds of people who may never have experienced it in real life, built from pictures, or description, or just imagination.

More practically, it is notoriously difficult to assess spatial experience. Architects and designers work with rules of thumb for what makes a space feel welcoming, warm, intimidating, formal and so on, largely drawn from personal experience as well as questionnaires, focus groups and so on. Such methods are difficult to carry out and the information they provide is difficult to interpret; but these problems are minuscule compared to the larger problem facing scholars working on architecture of the past. Ideas of what makes a space feel a certain way are socially constructed and change over time. All our potential interview subjects have been dead for centuries, and the architecture they experienced is long gone too. Given such extreme constraints on the evidence available, what kind of understanding can be achieved of the space- and place-making function of ancient architecture?

Scholars from fields ranging from phenomenological philosophy to sociology to cognitive science are currently engaged in debates on how we can define 'spatial experience' and how different facets of the experience of being in a space come together to form a whole. Some of these facets are more or less easily identified. Perception, not only through sight but also through sound, smell, touch, and even taste forms the basic inputs a human in a space has available. But spatial experience cannot be treated as a simple additive combination of sights, sounds, and other perceptual data. The most important complicating

in the world of Roman public life' (258). I propose that the absence of an inscription or base merely references a different social context – the world of elite *otium*. We might compare the leisured *urbanitas* of Catullus, who compliments his audience by implying that they already know the details of the myth in question. But this need not be only exclusionary – it can also be aspirational.

factor is movement. Our movements through the space are limited by the interaction of the body and the physical form of the space; we walk around tables and through doors, and a limited number of vantage points and orientations are available. As we move through a space we acquire more data using our senses, and these datasets are combined not simply by accumulation, but with the additional element of change over time. The senses, the element of time and the role of the body all play a part in experiencing a space.⁴² Just as hard to ignore is the role of other bodies, which may crowd or even restrict movement, and the role of knowledge and memory.

A recent and exciting development in the study of space in the ancient world has been a new emphasis on space as lived and experienced. Favro's dramatic reconstructions of the spatial experience of Augustan Rome tied into a complementary body of work on vision and spectacle in the urban environment.⁴³ Some very recent work aims to provide closer links between the study of phenomenological spatial experience with the materially-based work of archaeologists and architectural historians by analysing movement in space.⁴⁴

Spatial experience is a complex subject, unique to the individual and difficult to analyse. For the theorists of place and space mentioned above, it certainly falls under the rubric of place: space endowed with meaning. But how can an academic study extract meaning from places of the past? The role of movement has proved a useful analytic tool for several scholars of the ancient world working with spatial experience and cognate topics. Favro's reconstructions of walks through Rome draw on the theory of urban planner Kevin Lynch concerning how different features in the urban landscape, experienced visually and kinetically, can be understood as nodes, edges and so on, and function as elements in the creation of a mental map.⁴⁵ The concept of an imagined space linked to the real space is useful in understanding where in the system meaning is generated. For Lefebvre, customary routes through a city might fall under the category of spatial practice, but in Lynch's formulation they should also be understood as, or as generating, representational space.⁴⁶

⁴² Heidegger in a 1951 lecture known by the English title 'Building, dwelling, thinking' (first published in German in 1954) termed this way of experiencing a space *wohnen*, or 'dwelling', an embodied form of being building on the concept of *dasein*, 'being-in-the-world': Heidegger (1971) 141-60. In general, the idea of investigating spatial experience has phenomenological beginnings; 'orientation', the idea that our experience of the world is distinctively determined by the symmetries and asymmetries of the human body, is also a phenomenological development of an originally Kantian idea. Modern phenomenological approaches to space, especially those of Casey (1997), have been illuminating in my explorations of the concept of spatial experience, but the 'radically empiricist' method of current phenomenological theory, for which see e.g. Seamon (2000), makes it hard to apply to the ancient world which we cannot ourselves experience.

⁴³ Favro (1996); and see now also Spencer (2010) 47-61. On spectacle, see especially Favro (1994) and the papers in Bergmann/Kondoleon (1999).

⁴⁴ Macaulay-Lewis (2008a); Newsome (forthcoming) and other papers in Laurence/Newsome (forthcoming). The work of the Swedish Via Tiburtina project is also promising: Bjur/Santillo Frizell (2005).

⁴⁵ Lynch (1960); Favro (1996) 6. For a practical analysis of routes and wayfinding in the ancient city, see Ling (1990).

⁴⁶ Lefebvre (1991); cf. above n.2.

Moving is a way of knowing, something which would not surprise the ancient authors who used movement through a building as a memory technique.

Favro's use of Lynch's work helps her construct routes whose mental maps can be read using techniques which are more familiar from literary criticism, something which should come as no surprise given the web of juxtaposition and allusion created by the Augustan poets, encompassing the city and its monuments as well as the poetic text. Her choice of particular routes is crucial to that endeavour, but entails a restricted definition of spatial experience. As understood in my project, the spatial experience offered by an individual building or an area of the city takes in more than one possible pattern of movement. Here, the most recent work on movement in the ancient city offers valuable examples of how to approach spatial experience. These studies consider the possible routes as well as the restrictions architectural barriers placed on movement, allowing us a broader, if less detailed, picture of what mental maps were possible.⁴⁷ Approaches like these, which use the physical body to bring together space as experienced by the individual and space as constituted by architecture, seems to me extremely promising, and I hope to situate my own work similarly.

Given the impossibility of a full reconstruction of ancient spatial experience, I propose as a proxy a behavioural approach.⁴⁸ I ask what behaviours are attested as being appropriate to or actually taking place in a particular space, and seek examples of behaviours which correlate with space designated as belonging to particular categories (here, 'public' and 'private'); once identified, the behaviours can be used to diagnose spaces which are not explicitly characterized in our sources. Ambiguities and overlaps in the types of behaviour appropriate to various types of space, or differences between the behaviours considered appropriate and those actually attested, can be examined to reveal ambiguities in categorizations of space.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Extremely influential to me have been the unpublished dissertations of Macaulay-Lewis (2008a) and Newsome (2010); I eagerly await publication of their revised work. Laurence/Newsome (forthcoming 2011) contains chapters by many significant scholars using similar methodologies; Newsome (2009) is also valuable. Shifting from individual routes to patterns of possible routes involves techniques reminiscent of the space syntax theory of Hillier/Hanson (1984), discussed below p. 19-22.

⁴⁸ The term 'behavioural' is borrowed from psychology, where it is contrasted with 'cognitive' as an approach to discovering the processes of the human mind. A cognitive psychologist constructs models of thought processes and tests them in experimental situations. A behavioural psychologist eschews any attempt to understand the mind itself, and instead uses observed human behaviour as data, asking how people react to different situations, not what it is inside the brain which makes them do so. More and more advanced methods of computer simulation and complex artificial intelligences have meant that most psychologists now adopt cognitive approaches. But the basic ideas behind behavioural psychology are useful when, by necessity, our evidence is mainly limited to behaviour.

⁴⁹ The most prominent work applying behavioural approaches to the study of space is that of the architectural theorist Amos Rapoport, most famously in Rapoport (1990). His conclusions are radically behaviourist, placing him in opposition to the phenomenologists cited above. Rapoport (1994) critiqued the notion of place, claiming that in the definition of place as space with some added factor of meaning, the second half is never adequately explained. Instead, he considers behaviour and

Behavioural approaches to spatial experience have the benefit of working on multiple scales. As well as cataloguing attested behaviour on particular occasions in particular spaces, it is possible to take a larger view and ask what behaviours were even possible in a given space. Here, a great deal of theoretical work on behaviour and in particular behavioural control can be used to enhance the discussion. Once again, the work of Foucault is critical; his studies of control as embedded in architecture do not merely consider how architectural barriers prevent certain patterns of movement but also take into account interactions and power relations between humans in space, and in particular the role of surveillance. Taking Jeremy Bentham's panopticon as a starting point, Foucault explains how where all is visible and all is known, it is easy for particular figures or the group to exercise power over individual behaviour, either through the proximate threat of punishment or a more diffuse 'opinion' concerning what behaviours are appropriate.⁵⁰ Visibility is vulnerability to control. Institutionalized surveillance, which need not be part of a formally constituted institution in the general English sense but could be produced by a societal expectation that the group should monitor the individual in certain situations, makes use of that control. It is the awareness of surveillance that limits the range of behaviour possible in a space. Architecturally defined space can make surveillance possible or impossible; just as importantly, it can also draw attention to or conceal the possibility of surveillance, making the inhabitants more or less consciously aware that they may be under surveillance. In interpreting an architectural space out of its cultural context, it is sometimes difficult to tell when visibility crosses over into surveillance. Even so, the central insight that the limits on behaviour in a space are determined as much by awareness of surveillance as they are by the physical boundaries of the space itself is an important one, and fundamental to much recent work on spatial experience.

Scholars interested in the imperfect match between Roman and modern concepts of public and private space have concentrated most notably in the designation, counterintuitive to us, of the elite house as a paradigmatic public space, where surveillance is expected and official business takes place.⁵¹ These investigations have often employed approaches which are essentially behavioural. Rarely, however, have they moved beyond domestic space.⁵² It

posits a feedback loop between behaviour and space: people make decisions about how to behave based on environmental cues, which are themselves formed and interpreted based on past decisions and behaviour. My own behavioural method is not so far from that proposed by Rapoport, but my decision to concentrate on behaviour rather than cognitive experience of space is based on restrictions of evidence rather than a scepticism towards the possibility of understanding meaning and place.

⁵⁰ Foucault (1977); and see also in particular Foucault (1980), (1984), interviews in which Foucault expands on his earlier work. Theorists from Deleuze to Žižek have worked on similar concepts. Overall, however, the tendency is to more and more specificity. Many would posit distinctively modern modes of vision, surveillance, and control, and it is thus hard to apply their work to the ancient world. Foucault's own work does not lack this specificity, but has found wide application.

⁵¹ The huge bibliography on this topic includes Wallace-Hadrill (1988); Coarelli (1989); Clarke (1991); Wallace-Hadrill (1994a); Allison (1997); Grahame (1997); Laurence/Wallace-Hadrill (1997); Grahame (2000); Fredrick (2002); Hales (2003); Anderson (2005).

⁵² The integration of domestic space with the city beyond is discussed by, among others, Laurence (1994); Guidobaldi (2000); Stöger (2008). Spatial experience in public space has often been

may be time to turn to the many ways in which ‘public’ space in Rome was determined by and thoroughly saturated by the private.⁵³ As yet, public space has received little scholarly attention from this point of view. The following discussion will take ‘public’, rather than ‘private’, as its point of departure.

The task of identifying Roman concepts analogous to English ‘public’ and ‘private’ has been taken on by scholars including Andrew Riggsby and Annapaola Zaccaria Ruggiu. They each investigate the definition of ‘public’ and ‘private’ as applied to space in the Roman world. Riggsby finds that certain behaviours, particularly sexual behaviours, are confined to the ‘private’ space of the cubiculum, where they are not visually accessible to anyone but those invited. This behavioural definition, capturing the interaction of humans and architectural space, is more useful to the current investigation than that of Zaccaria Ruggiu, which is complex and nuanced (and never explicitly stated), but essentially predicated on legal status and the right of the state to intervene. Both authors, however, agree that Roman thought definitively privileges the public over the private: space not explicitly defined as private is assumed to be public. Where in our society there might be a relatively universal expectation of privacy and governments are regularly called upon to justify their interventions in all kinds of space, in Rome, the private is theorized as residual, and the community is assumed to have a public interest in a much wider spectrum of activity and thus the space in which that activity takes place.⁵⁴ Riggsby is careful to note that

approached on the level of individual building or area typologies, particularly the square, the forum and the street, as for example Favro (1994); Kellum (1999); Coarelli (2007); or on the level of the entire city, as for example Fridell Anter/Weilguni (2003). Favro (1996) takes on spatial experience in a wider range of public spaces, describing various routes through the city. The only work I know to describe the interpenetration of public and private specifically in public space is an unpublished Oxford dissertation by Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis (2008a), who in the course of an investigation of movement in urban space considers the role of porticos as leisure space in the city, and suggests that access was generally restricted to an elite. The bulk of her work focuses on the architectural barriers which control movement in space, a concept which is also key to the present investigation, but she does not link this form of control over behaviour within space (rather than access to space) to notions of public and private. Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) begins with theoretical reflections on elements of interaction between public and private in both spheres (e.g. 26), and treats the physical obtrusion of private building onto public land (260-64) but the bulk of her analysis is again devoted to the private sphere. The treatment of the intertwined construction of notions of public and private in Milnor (2005) is nuanced and stimulating, but is specifically tied to the unique context of the Augustan period and the anomalous position of the *princeps*, something discussed below.

⁵³ Riggsby (1999) 557 writes, ‘both terms [‘public’ and ‘private’] stand for whole complexes of ideas, so it is almost a given that a particular phenomenon (especially in another culture) should appear both public and private.’ It is indeed unsurprising that the Roman house appears to contain elements of the public; but Riggsby’s statement actually implies an interpenetration of public and private, affecting both realms.

⁵⁴ Bringing in the ‘community’ raises questions of the state. One meaning of the English word ‘public’ is ‘concerning the state’; thus we say ‘public office’, ‘public sector’, and ‘publicly-funded’, for example, as opposed to ‘private enterprise’ or ‘private sector’. This meaning has the potential to cause confusion with what is potentially a wider meaning, ‘open to all’. A shop might be a private company, but its premises are public, especially when compared to a private house. Both meanings can operate in Latin, but there also exists a fundamental difference between Latin and English usage, in that the institution which forms the closest approximation to the English ‘state’ is Latin *res*

his analysis is based on sources which deal almost exclusively with the elite, and elite men are almost by definition ‘public figures’. Their entire life is a matter of public interest. This explains the well-documented ‘public’, visible nature of many areas of the Roman elite house.⁵⁵

Riggsby and Zaccaria Ruggiu both conform to the trend to examine the nature of ‘public’ and ‘private’ mainly through investigation of domestic space. These studies take public space as their implicit point of contrast, examining how far and in what ways this concept penetrates what in modern usage we would expect to be the private space of the house. This approach works well as a way to unravel the types of space to be found within the house, but it does not fully elucidate the public and the private as categories, since it cannot illuminate the different types of space that may exist outside the house. If spaces within the house can mingle attributes of public and private and provide a variety of spatial experiences, the same should be true of spaces outside the house. It seems likely that just as the atrium and the cubiculum provide a different mixture of public and private, so the forum and the portico provide different types of space.

It is clear that the vast majority of space within the city of Rome was considered ‘public’ in the sense Riggsby uses the word. In this kind of public space, a certain standard of behaviour was accepted. People who spent time there would expect to be visible to others and be judged on their conduct. In fact, this visibility and ethical surveillance by the community underpinned the ‘democracy’ of the Roman Republic. But this definition of

publica – or, perhaps even better, *populus Romanus*, from which *publicus* is derived. I suspect that this linguistic difference encodes a conceptual difference. English usage implies that there exists a realm of the public, of which the state is a (defining) example. Latin usage absolutely equates what is *publicus* to an entity which we understand as analogous in some way to the state. The idea of the community, the *populus*, precedes the idea that there is a *res publica*, a public realm. For debates over the meaning of *res publica* see Drexler (1957), (1958); Stark (1967); Moatti (2001); Lyasse (2007); for Cicero’s definition *res publica res populi* (*Rep.* 1.39) see Schofield (1995).

⁵⁵ See above, p. 9-12; for visibility in particular, Wiseman (1987); Wallace-Hadrill (1988); Fredrick (2002); Hales (2003). The behaviours Riggsby (1997) reports as taking place in the *cubiculum* include sleep, sex and reception of one’s social equals or near-equals. This third category is of interest, because he cites a substantial amount of evidence which attests to negative perceptions of political or commercial business which is carried out in secret. In other places, business is transacted in the *cubiculum* without such obvious negative connotations being applied – but these cases can also be interpreted as marginal. The prime example in Cicero of an acceptable meeting *in cubiculo* is that between an advocate and a single, private client. Secrecy is required – but surely one reason for secrecy is the possibility that the client might be guilty? There are also meetings which do not necessarily require secrecy but are carried out *in cubiculo* for the sake of intimacy. How do these occasions relate to the elite man’s need for constant visibility? It may be that the public, visible act is that of moving the conversation from the atrium to the cubiculum, thus underlining the higher status of the visitor compared to a client. It is also possible that there is a slight element of shame, meaning that secrecy remains an important element. An elite man should expect to be visited rather than to go visiting as a matter of course. The conversations *in cubiculo*, Riggsby suggests, are those between a high-status host and a guest of slightly lower status. In this case, the guest might want to avoid being seen visiting at all, and the host, whose status is not much higher, might have an interest in conforming to his guest’s wish.

'public' space neither maps onto what we expect public space to be (nor should we expect it to) nor covers all the usages of the Latin word *publicus* as applied to space.

Space syntax theory and archaeological approaches to defining the private

Textual evidence can take us some way towards determining which behaviours are attested as appropriate in some spaces for some people, but the patchy coverage and undoubted bias of all our textual sources, particularly for early periods, has long made archaeologists suspicious of attempts to use textual sources to reconstruct physical space or even to populate archaeologically attested spaces. An alternative approach is provided by methods which work directly with archaeological evidence to reconstruct the possibilities and limitations formal architectural features placed on behaviour.

Some of the most successful theoretical work on space, and some of the most applicable to the evidence we have from the ancient world, have come from scholars working on smaller scales in the general field of architecture.⁵⁶ Indeed, Foucault's best-known work on space concerns the ways in which prison architecture instantiates the institution's mechanisms of control.⁵⁷ On a purely physical level, the built environment constrains the movement of bodies in space. More broadly, architectural space is both the result of social encounters and the medium in which social encounters are performed. Historians of ancient architecture and urbanism have long expressed such themes in their work, though not always explicitly.⁵⁸ Hillier and Hanson, who conceived an approach known as space syntax theory, write:

By giving shape and form to our material world, architecture structures the system of space in which we live and move. In that it does so, it has a direct relation – rather than a merely symbolic one – to social life, since it provides the material preconditions for the pattern of movement, encounter and avoidance which are the material realisation – as well as sometimes the generator – of material relations.⁵⁹

They propose that built space has a 'logic' which can be conceived as linguistic or syntactic; certain aspects of the syntactic system can be represented using standardized forms, quantified, and compared. Hillier and Hanson's approach, itself partly based on ancient examples, has been adopted and extended by a number of archaeologists, again particularly

⁵⁶ As well as the study of built space, this field includes exciting recent innovations drawing from the perspective of landscape architecture, including von Stackelberg (2009b); Spencer (2010); and see also Leach (1988). There has also been considerable work on landscape in the Greek world, such as Alcock (2002); Cole (2004).

⁵⁷ Foucault (1977).

⁵⁸ Gros (1978) is fundamental. Some more recent primarily architectural studies which are exemplary in their treatment of space and spatial experience as an integral part of their subject include Nünnerich-Asmus (1994); Frakes (2009); Sewell (2009).

⁵⁹ Hillier/Hanson (1984) ix.

those working on the domestic architecture and space of Pompeii.⁶⁰ Space syntax theory faces its own problem in non-domestic space, since many of its techniques work best for groups of small, architecturally defined spaces. Even so, scholars have applied space syntax theory fruitfully to the boundaries between house and street and the integration of houses into urban space.⁶¹ In this project, I use approaches inspired by Hillier and Hanson's syntactic understanding of space, but I have not proposed new technical analyses from a spatial syntactic perspective.

Scholars of Roman domestic space have used space syntax theory to move towards an archaeological investigation of levels of privacy within the house.⁶² Access analysis, a technique which schematizes the rooms of a house into nodes of a network connected by links where direct physical access is possible between one room and the next (Fig. 1.8), is a useful tool here. It can identify areas deep within the house, to reach which several different transitions are required; these, it is claimed are places where inhabitants of the house are less likely to encounter visitors, and could be labelled as private for that reason. Similarly, analysis of views can identify spaces which are not easily subject to surveillance, either from outside the house or from more public areas within the house.

These techniques sometimes throw up fascinating and unexpected conclusions, but often also tend to confirm the received wisdom derived either from common sense or from literary sources. One category of rooms identified by Grahame's use of space syntax theory in Pompeian houses are small rooms with a single door, often just off a central courtyard, like the small rooms 3-16 in the schematic diagram given as Figure 1.9.⁶³ These spaces are private, in that they are shielded from direct surveillance, but they are not hidden, in that they can only be entered from a more public, visible area. They are suitable for behaviours which are socially acceptable but which social norms expect to be carried on out of view of casual observers; but they are less suitable for concealing behaviours which are considered deviant by those who control the outer space, since one can be seen entering and exiting. Grahame refers to this spatial feature, in which entrance is visible but behaviour within is not, as 'confinement'. These spaces match those identified by analysis of private space in the domestic context by Riggsby, who found that Latin sources construct the *cubiculum* as a place suitable for behaviours which are not necessarily scandalous in themselves, but should be conducted in private.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Grahame (1997), (2000); Anderson (2005); space syntax theory is applied to domestic space in Ostia by Stöger (2008), and to Roman gardens by von Stackelberg (2009b). For space syntax theory in Greek domestic space, see Burke (2000); Haagsma (2010) 97-105.

⁶¹ The broader town plan of Pompeii is investigated using space syntax theory by Laurence (1994), (1995); Fridell Anter/Weilguni (2003). Good case studies of the integration of house and street include Jones/Schoonhoven (2003); Newsome (2009). Other useful approaches to the analysis of spaces on the level of the district or town include the papers in Cornell/Lomas (1994) and Bon/Jones (1997); Schoonhoven (2006). Another approach is to consider the space of the street in itself: important are Saliou (1999) on pavements, Ling (2005) on street fountains and Hartnett (2008) on streetside benches.

⁶² e.g. Grahame (1997), (2000); Anderson (2005).

⁶³ Grahame (1997) 146.

⁶⁴ Riggsby (1997).

Spaces of this kind, both in the archaeological record as reanimated by space syntax analysis and in the literary sources, offer some of those who use them the opportunity for a wider range of behaviours than spaces we see as more public. This greater freedom of behaviour has often been taken to be the very essence of privacy. But such freedom is always limited in the domestic context. The architecture of the Roman house, here most obviously in the surveillance of entrances to the private areas, instantiates an ideology in which the space of the house is closely connected to and controlled by the householder.⁶⁵ One way to find a space in which non-householders have access to this kind of freedom unconstrained by confinement is to move beyond the house.

The most obviously 'public' places do not match the spatial syntax of the cubicula; they are not shielded from direct surveillance. If there was non-domestic space in the city which offered greater freedom of behaviour to those who did not have access to private space under their own control, it should be sought in smaller, less travelled streets, where there are no controls on access and little possibility of surveillance. In the streets of Pompeii there may exist such spaces which are similar to the so-called cubicula in terms of space syntax analysis, but which are outside the control of an individual householder.⁶⁶ The orthogonal street plan of Pompeii (Fig. 1.10) means that there are few spaces which could provide a perfect escape from surveillance. Straight roads provide long lines of sight. The more winding roads of the Altstadt might offer regions of lower visibility, and some scholars have connected them to deviant behaviour such as prostitution and gambling.⁶⁷ On the other hand, other analyses of route patterns in Pompeii see these streets as distributive, often traversed by people moving from one part of the city to another, and attributes the taverns here precisely to the fact that these streets were relatively crowded and thus offered businesses many potential customers.⁶⁸

Moving beyond such a central and controversial area, the street plan of Pompeii offers other possibilities, such as the dead ends leading up from the Vicolo di Mercurio in Region 6 (Fig. 1.11), or the roads of Region 1. Some of these, according to Laurence's analyses of doorway patterns and graffiti, had relatively low traffic,⁶⁹ those of Region 1 must have had even lower traffic before the construction of the entertainment complex to the east. The houses of Region 6 show a clear pattern, with entrances tending to be on one long side

⁶⁵ Wiseman (1987); Wallace-Hadrill (1994a).

⁶⁶ Unfortunately but unsurprisingly, there are no archaeologically preserved streetscapes from Republican Rome itself suitable to be used as examples. Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia and similar sites might seem to offer better prospects, and although my expertise concerns the city of Rome itself, I have warily explored some modes of analysis of Pompeian streetscapes. This inevitably involves some fudging of dates, as well as the obvious problem of the similarity or otherwise of spatial experience in Pompeii and Rome; but the following is only intended to act as a demonstration of the possibilities which a new approach to the definition of public and private might offer to the study of urban space more generally, rather than a definitive contribution to our understanding of these specific streets.

⁶⁷ Laurence (1994); Wallace-Hadrill (1994b); and especially Laurence (2007) 82-101.

⁶⁸ McGinn (2002); Ellis (2004).

⁶⁹ Laurence (1994), (1995).

or the other of the block, as Figure 1.11 shows.⁷⁰ This leaves some streets quite literally as ‘back streets’, with few entrances whatsoever. Others show fascinating patterns of variable visibility by status, such as the Vicolo di Narciso (Fig. 1.12, 1.13) which is overlooked by the main entrances of the smaller houses on the east side but only by the so-called ‘private’ entrances of houses like the House of the Vestals on the West.⁷¹ The ambiguity of notions of public and private is clear in this street: it is unclear whether we should read it as the semi-private space of the rich owners of the House of the Vestals, an area of low visibility which is almost an extension of the private parts of their house, accessed by their ‘private’ entrance – and at the same time as public space with respect to the smaller houses to the East? Or should we imagine that it was lower-status occupants of the larger house who used this back door precisely to escape into a different kind of space, free from the control to which they were subject in the private space within the house?

For Region 1, some valuable information about the original pattern of subdivisions within the insula is available.⁷² The blocks were divided into row houses, with entrances along one side and open space in the rear (Fig. 1.14, 1.15, 1.16) The street to the back of the plots would thus not be overlooked by houses, but bounded by garden walls.

Streetscapes like these provide a certain isolation; they would not often be traversed by those merely travelling through, and they were not amenable to surveillance. Moreover, most streets of this type were not subject to confinement in Grahame’s sense, since there are multiple routes available and upon leaving one immediately slips into the main street circulation pattern. In purely formal terms, then, they are similar to the ‘private’ cubacula. These might be places where a wide range of behaviour was possible even for those who lacked space under their own control within the household. It is unclear how this should affect their definition as ‘public’ or ‘private’. We could choose to define them as offering some kind of privacy for behaviour not acceptable in ‘public’, including sexual behaviour. Such a choice is in no way problematic as long as we remember that it in doing so we are constructing our own definition of privacy.

Status and control

Some of the differences which emerge between my work and that of scholars of domestic space can be attributed to the choice of behaviours and actors on which each focuses. Studies which start with domestic space tend to define the private in terms of freedom from interference, control, or surveillance, based on the freedom of the householder to behave as he wishes within his private space. One immediate problem is that the majority of the population were not householders; for them, the most ‘private’ parts of domestic space might be the most controlled, precisely because the householder can exert his own will there.⁷³ In the second chapter of this dissertation, I start by analysing textual evidence to

⁷⁰ Laurence (1994) 117-33; in general on the organisation of space in Reg. 6 see Schoonhoven (2006).

⁷¹ Jones/Schoonhoven (2003).

⁷² Ciro Nappo (1997).

⁷³ One example of a study considering the behaviour and movement of marginalised groups in domestic space is George (1997), on slaves in the house. She finds that since houses are ordered to

propose a new behavioural definition distinguishing public and private which takes public space as its point of departure and considers a greater number of actors. Lack of control is often associated in early Latin texts not with private but with public space; the emphasis is placed on the presence or absence of an individual or group invested with the authority to control access and behaviour. Overall, the community as a whole exerts common control over the types of behaviour permitted in various public spaces, but this control works differently in different spaces, and it is in paradigmatic public spaces such as the street that some extremes of behaviour, such as violence, are subject to the least control.

In the rest of the dissertation, I consider specific examples of spaces which cannot be easily accommodated within any one definition of 'public' or 'private'. These can be found at locations where the issue of control was controversial. My third chapter turns to the Forum Romanum, a political and religious centre, but also a bustling, uncontrolled, mixed-use space. The ideal of regimented, 'political' space is only achieved in the architecturally closed imperial fora, by the power of emperors whose own ambiguous status allowed them to cross boundaries of public and private. Political space was imagined as communally accessible, at least to citizens, but it was also necessary that some authority prescribe behavioural expectations. The architectural monumentalization of the forum both underscored elite control - ultimately sprung from private power - and also, more subtly, called attention to the visitor's status as citizen or non-citizen and defined the crowd as the *populus Romanus*, in whom communal control over behaviour rested. This second kind of truly 'public' control existed in tension with the first, and the various stages in the forum's evolution can be read as attempts by individual members of the elite to reassert private control over public space.

My fourth chapter explores individual attempts to control public space outside the city proper, focusing on case studies of three victory monuments on the Campus Martius. The temple of Honos et Virtus, the precinct of Hercules Musarum, and the Porticus Metelli were all sacred spaces which also blurred lines between public and private. The generals who commissioned them created well-defined architectural spaces and decorated them with famous collections of plundered Greek artwork. In their victory complexes, successful generals used artworks from their personal share of the booty to emphasise their personal investment in the monuments; to create a distinctive spatial experience which set aside their complexes from other public spaces; to gesture towards the role of the Hellenistic monarch; and to allude to the space of leisure and luxury associated with villa living. The result was the creation of public space infused with the private, individual claim of the general, mirroring perfectly the overlapping claims of the general and the state to the glory of victory.

My final chapter takes Pompey's theatre-portico complex on the Campus Martius as a culminating example of space blurring public and private. The relatively well-attested architectural form and decoration of the complex can be compared with a large corpus of literary texts which mention it. Containing a theatre, portico, temples, a curia and Pompey's own house, the complex was unashamedly Greek, feminine and leisurely, but at the same

reflect the needs and aspirations of masters, little can be deduced from their architecture about how slaves used space.

time also uniquely Roman, masculine, warlike and political. It could be a space of freedom and leisure, but also one in which behaviour was tightly regulated, both by the physical control of bodies in space through architecture and by the careful manipulation of meaning in its presentation.

The accepted picture of fine-grained distinctions between types of space within the Roman house must be expanded to allow for similar diversity in non-domestic space. There was hardly any space in the Republican city of Rome which could be confidently labelled as either 'public' or 'private', and in the individual experiences of most people the spaces which fell towards the ends of the spectrum were not necessarily those we might expect. The existence of particularly hard to characterize spaces like those I analyse is made possible by slippages, overlaps and ambiguities in the Roman concepts analogous to our 'public' and 'private'. The changing discourses surrounding these concepts meant that the elite men who were usually their patrons were able to manipulate them for their own ends, as part of attempts to consolidate political power or lasting prestige in the Forum and beyond. It should not be forgotten, however, that the predominance of elite men in the narrative is partly an artefact of our sources and their state of preservation. A complex, developing discourse of public and private could also have been a site of resistance, allowing marginalized members of society room to innovate in spaces (literal and conceptual) which were not yet well defined.

REVISITING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE IN REPUBLICAN ROME

Publicus, privatus and the Roman definition of space

In this chapter, I engage in preliminary text-based investigation of Roman concepts which are not identical to, but are roughly analogous to, our own concepts of ‘public’ and ‘private’. One obvious though not exhaustive approach to the Roman concept of ‘public’ is to examine the use of the Latin words *publicus* and *privatus*. In Latin texts, Roman authors often refer to a fundamental distinction between *publicus* and *privatus*, and both English words are Latin in derivation. But, as noted in the Introduction, this should not lull us into a false sense of security. It is obvious that Latin *publicus* and *privatus* do not map easily onto English ‘public’ and ‘private’, and there is certainly a case to be made for eschewing the English terms altogether when discussing the Roman world, in order to avoid importing their associations.⁷⁴ This is not the place to attempt a full survey of the uses of the terms.⁷⁵ In any case, any such survey must face the problem that the Latin terms are likely to have as wide a range of meaning as the English. Moreover, we might expect to see change over time, and our sample of texts from the pre-Ciceronian period is small. It is not until the Augustan period that we find a surviving author – Vitruvius – who specifically grapples with the application of the terms to space, or at least to architecture. Even so, there are some constants which do apply across a range of texts and periods, and one is their use as a natural and often, it is implied, exhaustive pair. On further examination, however, this pairing can break down; *publicus* and *privatus* are not always exact opposites, and there are third categories which do not seem to fit into either. The following pages examine uses of the terms applied to space in early authors, legal texts, and Plautus, and apply the insights gained to concepts emerging in Cicero’s *pro Milone* and Vitruvius. Obviously this does not represent full coverage even of the texts specifically relevant to the middle Republic; once into the late Republic, several books would be required to examine fully uses of the words. Nevertheless, a limited analysis is suggestive. The changeability and overlap between *publicus* and *privatus* emerges clearly, and consideration of the mechanisms of this variability allows a new possible behavioural definition of *publicus* based on the limits to behavioural control available in public space.

In early authors, use of the words *publicus* and *privatus* and their cognates in ways which can be shown to refer directly to space is rare, although this is probably less to do with changes in word use over time than with the small number of sources from the period and the large range of meanings these terms can take in all periods. Few authors from the third or second century have left enough examples to draw any firm conclusions concerning the use of these terms relating to space; Cato, for example, uses both terms not infrequently,

⁷⁴ Riggsby (1997) provides a good argument for retaining the terms; the less precise usage of Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) is problematic in places, for which see Riggsby (1999). Geuss (2001) is more interested (and successful) in making his argument concerning modern usages of the terms than examining rigorously how well they can be applied to the ancient world.

⁷⁵ The *TLL* reached *publicus* in 2008.

but almost always in relation to abstract concepts, as in the fragmentary *de praeda militibus dividenda*:

fures privatorum furtorum in nervo atque in compedibus aetatem agunt, fures publici
in auro atque in purpuro. (ORF² M. Porcius Cato 224)
*Those who practice private theft spend their lives in chains and fetters, public thieves in gold
and purple.*

In these cases, the meaning of *publicus* must be ‘concerning the *populus*’.⁷⁶ When he uses the terms and their cognates applied to space, the reference is likely to be to ownership, by the *populus* or by some other party.⁷⁷ Little more can be deduced about his understanding of the terms, but it is worth noticing that they are used as natural opposites.⁷⁸

Legal texts: *publicus*, *privatus*, *sacer*

One set of texts from which it is possible to derive a sense of second- and third-century BCE notions of *publicus* and *privatus* is the legal corpus. Even when preserved in later texts, it is likely that some legal concepts date from an early period, and we do have a few early inscriptions against which to compare the later usages. The notion of a proprietor is fundamental to the understanding of space expressed in legal texts. Roman law gives the impression that space does exist in one of two basic forms: owned by the *populus*, or owned by some other entity.⁷⁹ This primary distinction replicates the distinction between *ius publicum* and *ius privatum* which the later jurists use to structure their understanding of the law.⁸⁰ Legal texts sometimes use the formula *publicus privatusve* as a catch-all, demonstrating the exhaustiveness of the pair.⁸¹

⁷⁶ See also ORF² M. Porcius Cato 203 (*malo publico*); 204 (*publicis negotiis*); *De Agr.* 140 (*feriae publicae*) etc. This is also the only meaning found for *publicus* or *publicitus* in Ennius, Caecilius, or Lucilius (Enn. *Ann.* 183 Vahlen; Enn. *Medea Exul* 260 Vahlen = 219 Jocelyn; Caec. fr. 185 Ribbeck; Lucil. fr. 429, 530, 675, 1078 Marx).

⁷⁷ ORF² M. Porcius Cato 230: *ager quem privatim habent*; *De Agr.* 2: *viam publicam*.

⁷⁸ Note also Cassius Hemina ap. Plin. *NH* 32.20: *convivia publica et privata*.

⁷⁹ There exist multiple and interesting exceptions to this general rule, and it may be that in the early period a strict dichotomy had yet to develop. Much discussion on this theme centres on the epigraphically attested *lex agraria* of 111 BCE (Crawford (1996) no. 2; *CIL* I² 585) for which see Lintott (1992), especially 34-39 with bibliography. Capogrossi Colognesi (1999) approaches the problem of the categories of public and private land through a consideration of the communal grazing lands known as *compascua*.

⁸⁰ Ulpian *Dig.* I 1.1.2: *publicum ius est, quod ad statum rei Romanae spectat, privatum, quod ad singulorum utilitatem*.

⁸¹ For use concerning space, note e.g. *Lex Antiona de Termessibus* I.12: *qui agrei quae loca aedificia publica preivataque...* (Crawford (1996) no. 19, *CIL* I² 589); restored at *Lex Repetundarum Tabulae Bembinae* 34 (Crawford (1996) no. 1, *CIL* I² 583). Perhaps Plautus’ use of the formula is derived from legal language.

More interesting for the present investigation is a subset of early texts relating to space, all with a legal flavour, which do not deal solely in strict divisions between *publicus* and *privatus*. In these, a third category of space, the sacred, is implied. The complications that notions of sacred space bring to a public-private binary have already been discussed in the introduction; here I merely wish to demonstrate how the textual evidence shows tension even in legal definitions. Two inscriptions of uncertain (but early) date from Venusia show the local senate deciding *aut sacrum aut publicom locom esse* – ‘whether the place should be sacred or public’, implying that the two terms could be mutually exclusive.⁸² Later texts preserve legal language which may be much older. Cicero certainly assumes a tripartite division when he makes L. Furius Philus state that the natural justice born of wisdom urges us to *sacra publica aliena non tangere* – ‘not touch that which is sacred, public or belonging to another’ (*Rep.* 3.24).⁸³ He also has reason in the *de Domo* to make much of the legal distinction between *sacer* and *privatus*.⁸⁴ Varro defines ‘aedile’ as *qui aedis sacras et privatas procuraret* (*L.L.* 5.81). Cicero and the author of *Ad Herennium* both preserve *controversiae* relating to a tripartite division, with spatial overtones. Cicero’s asks whether the theft *ex privato* of something which is *sacer* should be considered *sacrilegium* or *furtum*; that in the *Ad Herennium* asks whether the theft of property which is *publicus* from a *loco privato* should be *furtum* or *peculatus*.⁸⁵ Clearly there are three separate crimes, and it is unclear whether the ownership of the stolen goods or the location of the theft should be the deciding factor.

Michael Crawford, examining several of these texts, takes the view that the distinction between public and private remains primary, and that the sacred is simply a subset of the public, at least in the middle Republic.⁸⁶ In many of the examples above, however, it is clear that *publicus* and *sacer* are two alternatives, and *sacer* is not a subset of *publicus*; more evidence would be required to show that both are subsets of a broader category equivalent to the English ‘public’. Certainly they are treated together in certain situations, as for example their upkeep by the aediles.⁸⁷ In other situations, however, the key distinction is between the sacred and the profane: within the sphere of religion, there existed both cult described as *publicus* and cult described as *privatus*.⁸⁸ Crawford concludes that the complex multiplication of legalistic categories, including for example the poorly-understood (at least among modern scholars) distinction between *sacer* and *sanctus*, are artefacts of the classificatory mania of the late Republic. I would counter that the underlying problem must be that the categories had always been ambiguous, not that they became more so when

⁸² CIL I² 402-3; quoted text 403.3-5. For Crawford (1989) 95, the crucial point here is that it does not seem to matter whether the place is *publicus* or *sacer*, but the use of two different words does imply that there is some difference.

⁸³ Note that the dramatic date of this dialogue is 129 BCE.

⁸⁴ E.g. Cic. *Dom.* 128: *aedes, non privatorum domicilia, sed quae sacrae nominantur.*

⁸⁵ Cic. *Inv.* 1.11, 2.55; *Rhet. ad Her.* 1.22; compare Quint. 3.6.41, concerning the theft of *pecuniam privatam ex templo.*

⁸⁶ Crawford (1989)

⁸⁷ *Tabula Heracleensis* ll. 29-31 (Crawford (1996) no. 24, CIL I² 593), cited by Crawford (1989) 24.

⁸⁸ Varro *apud* Servius *ad V. Aen.* 8.275: *deos alios esse privatos, alios communes*; Liv. 5.52.3: *deos publicos privatosque.*

subjected to classification.⁸⁹ The existence of a third primary category which can sometimes be contrasted directly with *publicus* and *privatus*, sometimes includes elements of both (in the case of public and private cult) and sometimes is subsumed within the realm of *publicus* demonstrates how loosely defined these terms actually were, and makes it easy to see why the jurists had such a difficult time attempting to codify them. Crawford's explanation upholds a strong division between *publicus* and *privatus*, a tidy conclusion which simply repeats the classificatory work of the jurists. Legally, it made sense for the jurists to try, at least, to assign space to strictly delineated categories. But when we compare their categories not to earlier, less well-defined legal categories but to actual practice, their work did not serve to complicate matters but to simplify the messy realities. The complexities of Roman law were required precisely because Roman space could not be easily divided into two categories of 'public' and 'private', or even *publicus* and *privatus*; rather, the two categories intersected, overlapped, and admitted of degree.

Plautus: violence and control

In order to explore how we can understand the complicated relationship between *publicus* and *privatus*, a larger set of data is required. Luckily, there does exist one larger corpus of texts which allows us to explore early use of these terms in more detail, namely the plays of Plautus, who is our earliest datable source for the *publicus-privatus* pair as well as for the term *ager publicus*. He makes frequent use of both terms in a variety of senses, often referring to space, and many of these appearances allow us to interpret them as a natural pair of exact opposites.⁹⁰ At *Trinummus* 286 Philto is talking about the morals of the day, complaining about those who *sacrum profanum, publicum privatum habent* – 'treat the sacred as profane, the public as private' – a formulation which implies a simple, natural and unambiguous divide. The exhaustiveness of the pair is suggested by usages such as that at *Trinummus* 38: [*gratiae*] *remoramque faciunt rei privatae et publicae* – 'special interests cause delay to public and private business'. The word *privatus* is only found once in Plautus except in conjunction with *publicus*, again demonstrating the natural connection between the pair, though it should be noted that at *Trinummus* 1044 *publicus* is paired with *sacer*.⁹¹ Moreover,

⁸⁹ Aelius Gallus on *sacer* and *sanctus* is preserved in Festus 348-50 Lindsay; cf. Trebatius Testa *apud* Macrobius 3.3.2-5; both cited by Crawford (1989) 95-6.

⁹⁰ The terms are very common in certain plays, notably *Trinummus* and *Captivi*, and completely absent from others (*Aulularia*, *Casina*, *Cistellaria*, *Epidicus*, *Menaechmi*, *Mercator*, *Pseudolus* and *Vidularia*). It may be that this unevenness is produced by Plautus' varying approaches to his Greek sources. Fraenkel (1922) 126 identifies one of the main passages under discussion below (Ergasilus' rant at *Captivi* 790-822) as a Plautine addition. The discussion of *ager publicus* at *Tri.* 141-51 must similarly derive from Roman life rather than Greek precedent, and it is possible to make similar arguments for many of the passages discussed. For this reason, there is little danger that Plautus is importing Greek concepts of public and private, although it is wise to remain vigilant to the possibility.

⁹¹ *Privatus* alone: *Cap.* 166 in the technical sense of 'one who does not hold public office'. *Sacer* and *publicus*: *Tri.* 1044: *mores autem rapere properant qua sacrum qua publicum*. It is interesting to note that the context is legal; compare the tripartite division in the legal texts above. For the *publicus-privatus*

in examining Plautus' use of *publicus* alone, a set of connotations emerges which imply that it cannot be taken as a monolithic concept directly opposed to *privatus*.

When applied to space, the word *publicus* in Plautus has two basic meanings. The first connotes ownership by the *populus* (most particularly in the case of *ager publicus*, which is the basis of an extended joke at *Truculentus* 141-51). It is possible to see this meaning applied to architectural space in the conversation between Tranio and Theopropides at *Mostellaria* 908-11, concerning the purchase of a house:

- Tr.* quoiusmodi gynaecium? quid porticum?
Th. insanum bonam.
non equidem ullam in publico esse maiorem hac existumo.
Tr. quin ego ipse et Philolaches in publico omnis porticus
sumu' commensi.
Th. quid igitur?
Tr. longe omnium longissima est. (Plaut. *Most.* 908-11)
Tr. *What do you think of the gynaecium? What about the portico?*
Th. *Insanely good. For my part I don't think there's any portico in public bigger than this one.*
Tr. *Why, I myself and Philolaches have measured all the porticos in public.*
Th. *And?*
Tr. *It's the longest of all by a long way.*

This humorous exchange implies a basic distinction between property owned by the *populus* and that under private ownership. From an architectural point of view, it is worth noting that the joke assumes that buildings *in publico* are usually larger.

The second basic meaning of *publicus* in Plautus refers to a space which is open to everyone.⁹² In the second sense, the 'openness' is always in Plautus connected with allowable forms of behaviour, as Palinurus' spatial metaphor at *Curculio* 33-8 demonstrates:

- nemo hinc prohibet nec vetat,
quin quod palam est venale, si argentum est, emas.
nemo ire quemquam publica prohibet via;
dum ne per fundum saeptum facias semitam,
dum ted apstineas nupta, vidua, virgine,
iuventute et pueris liberis, ama quidlubet. (Plaut. *Curc.* 33-8)
No one is stopping you or forbidding it – whatever is openly on sale, if you have the money, buy it! No one stops anyone from walking on the public road; so long as you don't make your way

pair, compare also Pl. *Cu.* 552: *qui res publica et privata geritur*, *Cap.* 334: *is privatam servitutem servit illi an publicam?*

⁹² Non-spatial instances of *publicus* referring to a connection with the *populus* include *Cap.* 874: *in publica celoce*; *Tri.* 548: *malos in quem [agrums] omnis publice mitti decet*; *Tri.* 1046: *nonne hoc publice animum advorti*; *Cap.* 334: *is privatam servitutem servit illi an publicam*. This is the only sense in which Terence uses the word (he does not use *privatus* at all): *Ter. Eun.* 290; *Pho.* 412, 978; *Ad.* 443.

through a fenced-off farm, so long as you keep away from wife, widow, virgin, youth and free boys, love what you like!

The *via publica* is compared to merchandise on sale or the love of prostitutes, in contrast to the fenced farmland, which is like a married woman. The basic point that anyone is allowed unimpeded access to the road is strengthened by the attention paid to the absence of an authority preventing it. Here, the comparanda import the idea that other forms of behaviour are also less restricted *in publico*; even clearer is *Rudens* 572: *istic ubi vis condormisce: nemo prohibet, publicum est* – ‘here you may sleep where you like: no one is stopping you, it’s public’. It is also possible to re-evaluate Tranio’s words above (*Mo.* 910-11) about measuring porticos *in publico* in light of these examples; he must have access to the porticos and be free to measure them, something which might not be possible in privately-owned space. The idea of comparing his portico to other private porticos would lose some of the humour, but it would also be impossible, since he cannot know the size of all private porticos.

The same concept of the presence or absence of control over behaviour is at play at *Captivi* 807-10, part of a long rant in which Ergasilus threatens violence against a number of people who offend him:

tum pistores scrofipasci, qui alunt furfuribus sues,
quarum odore praeterire nemo pistrinum potest:
eorum si quouiisquam scrofam in publico conspexero,
ex ipsis dominis meis pugnis exculcabo furfures. (Plaut. *Capt.* 807-10)
Then the pigfarming bakers, who feed their swine on bran which smells so bad that no one can walk past the bakery: if I see a pig belonging to any one of them in public I’ll beat the bran out of their masters with my fists.

Here the road past a mill is not explicitly defined as *publicus*, but Ergasilus is annoyed that the millers’ actions have the effect of prohibiting his access to it. Moreover, in the next couplet, he takes on the role of defender of free access, but only by threatening to restrict others’ behaviour (letting out pigs) *in publico*; but his threat supposes that he will be able to use violence *in publico*. His threat to restrict the behaviour of others *in publico* depends on the fact that no one will be able to police his own behaviour. He uses the same threat later against cheating butchers, which underlines the point that it is not the location of the offending behaviour which is important (since the butchers might equally cheat him in a privately-owned shop), but the location in which Ergasilus will be able to exact his revenge: *in via... publica* – ‘in the public street’ (821). His suggested remedy to those who do not want to encounter his wrath is *continete vos domi* – ‘stay at home’ (804). Vulnerability to violence *in publico* recurs at *Stichus* 614, where Pamphilippus fears violence if he goes *in publicum*, so instead decides to travel *per hortum* – ‘through the garden’.⁹³ Open access is clearly

⁹³ Epigonus and his brother Pamphilippus are teasing the parasite Gelasimus by pretending that Epigonus is holding a dinner party to which Gelasimus is not invited. Gelasimus tries to persuade Pamphilippus to dine at home (where Gelasimus himself hopes to be a guest) by warning him (606): *non tu scis quam – ecflitentur homines noctu hic in via?* – ‘don’t you know how people get killed by night in this street?’ Pamphilippus will be going through his own garden into that of his brother’s, next door, rather than through the private gardens of other owners.

connected to the threat of violence, since the sheer likelihood of meeting someone inclined to violence is increased, but this alone does not explain Ergasilus' plan to attack *in publico*; if he is after cheating butchers or smelly mill-owners, he will find them most easily at their establishments. He prefers to wait until he encounters them *in publico*.

In Plautus, then, *publicus* used to refer to space can mean simply 'publicly-owned', but is also used to indicate a space where there are few controls on access or behaviour. Violence provides a diagnostic, but can also be seen to correlate with other behaviours.⁹⁴ Few restrictions on access, behaviour, or even knowledge apply *in publico*. This behavioural definition provides a counterpoint to a definition (which might seem more natural to us) which views the private in terms of absence of surveillance (and thus a wider range of allowable behaviour). *In publico*, the notion of surveillance is complex, as there is no single proprietor responsible for enforcing behavioural norms.⁹⁵ The circle is therefore closed, and this definition turns out to echo the first, since the proprietor is in fact the *populus*.

Claiming public space: violence in the *pro Milone*

Violence can be used as a measure of the limits of behavioural control in other texts as well. A complete investigation of violence and its locations in the middle and late Republic is well beyond the scope of this project, and could never hope to match Andrew Lintott's treatment, which is still vital and often extremely alert to spatial nuance.⁹⁶ Instead, I use a brief and tightly-focused investigation of one famous episode of violence, the death of Clodius, and its treatment by Cicero in the *pro Milone* to provide examples and flesh out

⁹⁴ The key difference between the concept I find in Plautus, where control over behaviour is connected with private space, and the work of Riggsby (1997) on the *cubiculum*, in which he proposes that private space is free of surveillance and thus a larger group of behaviours is appropriate, is not only the status of the individual under consideration as householder or non-householder. Like Riggsby, I investigate control over behaviour in space by, among other things, singling out one extreme of behaviour and asking where it is attested as appropriate, in the hope of identifying spaces at one end of a continuum. The type of behaviour taken as diagnostic is important. Riggsby chooses sexual behaviour as an extreme likely to be helpful in tracking different kinds of space. His argument is strong, and successfully distinguishes between the spatial experience of different parts of the house on behavioural grounds and links that distinction to notions of public and private. My analysis of the use of *publicus* and *privatus* in Plautus suggests that Riggsby's work can be augmented by a consideration of other extremes of behaviour which are subject to different controls. Sexual behaviour was proscribed everywhere outside the *cubiculum*, meaning that it cannot be useful in distinguishing the gradations of public space. Violence, on the other hand, is attested in a variety of different spaces and we often find our sources debating whether or not it is appropriate in a particular space. Considering the controls which could be placed on violence can also help to disentangle the various types of control, from coercion to surveillance to the application of social norms, which were available. For Plautus' characters, it is space in which none of these mechanisms of control apply which is truly public.

⁹⁵ The importance of surveillance depends in part on social status; elite men were expected to behave in a certain way in public as a condition of or perhaps a sign of their political importance.

⁹⁶ Lintott (1968); see also Nippel (1995), and now also the papers in Zimmermann (2009).

my argument.⁹⁷ Cicero's text gives examples of violence both in a variety of different spaces, and from his reactions to both much can be deduced about the contested nature of these spaces as public or private. He deplors what he presents as a private attempt to impose control over public space, demonstrating not only the continuation of the Plautine idea that public space is space which is essentially uncontrolled, but also that private interests, usually those of the elite, could be conceptualised as encroaching onto public space – and we should assume that often, although not in this limiting case of murder, they were successful.

Quintilian noticed the extent to which Cicero's argument relies on the characterization of different kinds of space.⁹⁸ The only actual instance of the words *publicus* or *privatus* with direct reference to space in the speech corroborates the Plautine concept in which *publicus* is tied to lack of control:

tu P. Clodio cruentum cadaver eiecisti domo, tu in publicum abiecisti, tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequiis, pompa, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semiustilatum nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti. (Cic. *Mil.* 33)
You threw Publius Clodius' bloody corpse out of his house, you abandoned it in public, you left it deprived of images, funeral rites, procession, and eulogy, half-burned on an ill-omened pyre for the dogs of the night to tear apart.

Cicero is addressing Clodius' supporter Sextus Cloelius, and in defiance of the presumably more or less orchestrated nature of Clodius' final cremation in the Curia characterises it as a loss of control.⁹⁹

Throughout the speech, Cicero defends the autonomy of householders within their public space but also excoriates attempts to impose private control on public space. His main argument depends on the idea that Roman citizens cannot rely on any public body to protect them from violence.¹⁰⁰ In this speech, in defense of a man accused of murder, Cicero states that his client Milo does not deny that he killed Clodius, but claims that he did so in legitimate self-defense. Cicero begins by decrying violence of any kind, in any place, stating *nulla vis umquam est in libera civitate suscepta inter civis non contra rem publicam* – 'no violence

⁹⁷ There is no space here to outline the wealth of scholarship on Cicero, the *pro Milone*, or the role of space in his oratory, and I have not attempted to do so in the pages which follow. Even so, I am not aware of much recent work which touches on the construction of space in the *pro Milone* in particular. Vasaly (1993) is key, and provides much relevant bibliography; on space in the *pro Milone*, see especially 22-24.

⁹⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.37: *ducuntur argumenta et ex loco. spectatur enim ad fidem probationis montanus an planus, maritimus an mediterraneus, consitus an incultus, frequens an desertus, propincus an remotus, oportunus consiliis an aduersus: quam partem videmus vehementissime pro Milone tractasse Ciceronem.* Interestingly, this is the passage immediately before he treats the *controversia* concerning theft from public or sacred space.

⁹⁹ Elsewhere, in a neat parallel with the introduction of a corpse into Clodius' opponent's house, Cicero chooses to present this event as one final instance of Clodius imposing his own control on space legitimately under the control of others, in this case the Curia, the *sedem ab universo populo concessam uni ordini* – 'the seat given by the entire *populus* to a single order' (90).

¹⁰⁰ On (the lack of) effective policing in the Roman world, see Nippel (1995).

ever committed between citizens in a free state is not against the public interest' (13) – a tack he is forced to take by his earlier vote in the Senate condemning the affray. But he soon modifies his position. Milo was accompanied by a large armed guard on the day of the killing, which took place outside the city on the Via Appia. Cicero points to the legality of the bodyguard itself as evidence that self-defense is acceptable and even to be expected (10; cf. 30). The law cannot come to the aid of someone under attack:

silent enim leges inter arma nec se exspectari iubent, cum ei qui expectare velint ante iniusta poena luenda sit quam iusta repetenda. (Cic. *Mil.* 11)

The laws are silent in the face of arms and do not order us to wait for them, since anyone who chooses to wait must pay an unjust penalty before he can seek a just one.

A major part of his argument is that Clodius was a naturally violent individual, and he refers to his violent acts taking place in a number of different locations. Cicero claims that he sent a slave to murder Pompey in the temple of Castor on the Forum (18). At 37 we hear of an attack on Cicero himself, by the Regia, again in the Forum Romanum itself; in this case the visibility of the spot, as well as its sacred connotations, are used to make the attack seem particularly loathsome, but violence in political space is not necessarily portrayed as entirely unwarranted.¹⁰¹ Clodius also commissioned an attack on an electoral assembly *in campo* (41), and Cicero specifically claims that on this and other occasions when Clodius took part in violence in political space, Milo might have felt justified in killing him, with the advantage of location (*loco*, 41) as well as justice, occasion and the possibility of impunity.

Later, Cicero juxtaposes Clodius' Forum violence with a second act: *plurimis caedibus in foro factis singulari virtute et gloria civem domum vi et armis compulit* – 'after committing many slaughters in the Forum, he imprisoned a citizen of outstanding good character and reputation in his house by force of arms' (73). Here he positions the two locations in a crescendo; the horrifying violence in the Forum is bad enough, but even worse is the atrocity of attacking a Roman in his own house, the place where he should feel safe from violence – a concept correlated with the private.¹⁰² In fact, Cicero continues on to state that Clodius was a habitual disregarder of the rights of private property, in a long passage:

eum denique cui iam nulla lex erat, nullum civile ius, nulli possessionum termini, qui non calumnia litium, non iniustis vindiciis ac sacramentis alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis inferendis petebat... (Cic. *Mil.* 74)

...that man who knows no statute, no civil law, no property boundaries, who goes after other men's farms not by trumped-up lawsuits, not by unjust claims and oaths, but with camps, armies, and standards blazing.

The passage goes on, to great effect, conjuring up images of Clodius invading private gardens with his army of surveyors. Cicero had suffered the loss of his own house at

¹⁰¹ The Forum is also as the scene of Clodius' violence elsewhere, for example in 38 (*crudelissima in foro caede facta*).

¹⁰² Treggiari (2002) 74-108 has an extensive discussion of the extent to which Roman property owners should feel safe in their own houses.

Clodius' hands, and had always defended property rights, but here he knows that his condemnation of violence directed against private property will strike a chord with the jury. He drives home the point a few paragraphs later:

ea quae tenetis privata atque vestra dominante homine furioso quod ius perpetuae possessionis habere potuissent? (Cic. *Mil.* 78)

What right of uninterrupted possession could there be over your belongings, things which are private and your own, with that insane man in control?

Attacks on houses recur in the speech; for example, at 38 we hear of an attack on Milo's own *domum ac deos penatis* – 'home and household gods' – and at 66 there is a rumour that Caesar's house has also been attacked.¹⁰³ Clodius' final insult against a certain Furfanius was to threaten to place a dead body inside his house (75). This would hurt his reputation, but it would also conclusively demonstrate Clodius' usurpation of the control a private owner should wield over his own space. For Cicero, that control should be absolute: *potuitne, cum domum ac deos penatis suos illo oppugnante defenderet, iure se ulcisci?* – 'would [Milo] not have been able to kill him lawfully, when he was defending his home and household gods from his attacks?' (38). Milo, he proposes, would have been justified in responding to the infringement of his control with lethal violence.¹⁰⁴

The central act of violence in the *pro Milone* takes place not in a private house or the political space of the Forum, but on a public road. This is the kind of place where Milo never travelled without bodyguards (56), since, as Cicero has taken repeated pains to emphasise, he was in constant danger from Clodius and the state could not protect him. In the world of Plautus, a road of this kind is the most 'public', uncontrolled space available and the most likely to be the scene of violence. So it turns out to be for Milo and Clodius – except that the space in which the brawl took place was not, in fact, entirely public. The Appian Way, the location of the killing, had been built by Appius Claudius Caecus, one of Clodius' own ancestors, and was lined with the tombs of his family, and the particular stretch concerned went past his own estate.

The prosecution, or at least the version of the prosecution Cicero wants his audience to remember, appears to have made much of the fact that Clodius was killed among the tombs of his ancestors. At chapter 16, as he has been explaining delicately Pompey's attitude to the case, Cicero introduces somewhat abruptly an earlier case of murder:

domi suae nobilissimus vir, senatus propugnator atque illis quidem temporibus paene patronus, avunculus huius iudicis nostri fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribunus plebis M. Drusus occisus est... (Cic. *Mil.* 16)

In his own house a noble man, the Senate's champion and indeed in those times almost its patron, uncle to the brave Marcus Cato (who is one of our jurors), the tribune of the plebs Marcus Drusus was killed.

¹⁰³ For the various attacks on Milo's house and the debate over their chronology, see Lintott (1974); Masłowski (1976); Ruebel (1979).

¹⁰⁴ On the conflation of home with self and the power wielded inside the house, see Fredrick (2002); Roller (2010).

Cicero's use of word order emphasizes the location of Drusus' murder in his own house, but the complete lack of connection to the previous sentence on a totally different topic means that the reader or listener is at first hard put to decide what the relevance of this case is. In the passage immediately following, Cicero brings out the fact that there was no special investigation after Drusus' death, and appears to be making the point that murders are all to be treated equally seriously no matter who the victim is or what the political circumstances are. The emphatic positioning of *domi suae* goes unexplained – but is immediately picked up again by a second seemingly irrelevant precedent, the case of Africanus, who was killed *domi suae quiescenti* (16). After more discussion of the status of the deceased, Cicero finally gets to his point in a key passage:

nisi forte magis erit parricida, si qui consularem patrem quam si quis humilem necarit, aut eo mors atrocior erit P. Clodi quod is in monumentis maiorum suorum est interfectus – hoc enim ab istis saepe dicitur – proinde quasi Appius ille Caecus viam munierit, non qua populus uteretur, sed ubi impune sui posterum latrocinantur.

(Cic. Mil. 17)

*Unless perhaps we are to say that it is more of a parricide for a consul to be killed by his son than a humble man: in that case, then, the death of Publius Clodius should be taken as crueler, because he was killed among the monuments of his ancestors; at least that is what the prosecution keep saying, almost as if the famous Appius Caecus built the road not for the populus to use, but as a place where his descendants might commit brigandage with impunity.*¹⁰⁵

Cicero's opponents, he implies, claim that a Claudius, descendent of Appius Claudius Caecus, retains a certain connection to the space of the Via Appia, his family's road. The nomenclature and the social memory it preserves constitute a private link between the individual, his family, and the public space of the road. Cicero must counter their attack, reclaiming the road as public space, where no individual or family can exert control; the only legitimate wielder of control is in fact the *populus*, who must be able to use the road in safety and whose laws punish brigandage. It becomes clear why Cicero introduces this point in such a roundabout way: his two implicit arguments are in fact somewhat contradictory. His first line is that the deaths of Drusus and Africanus were not followed by special enquiries, so why should Clodius' be treated any differently? It aids this line of reasoning to make Drusus' and Africanus' killings seem as despicable as possible, worse by far than Clodius', and for that reason the location in the victims' houses is emphasized. Cicero is calling on the longstanding assumption that a householder should feel totally safe and have total control in his own private space, and that a violation of that control is offensive in itself and compounds the murder. He goes on to argue, however, that Clodius' death is not special just because, as his opponents imply, it took place in a location which is connected to his family.

¹⁰⁵ Compare, of course, *Pro Caelio* 34 (prosopopoeia of Appius Claudius Caecus, addressed to Clodius' sister): *ideo viam munivi, ut eam tu alienis viris comitata celebres?*

Elsewhere in the speech, Cicero is happy to use the ambiguous status of the Via Appia and the possible control exerted over it by members of the Claudian *gens* as part of his argument that Clodius, rather than Milo, must have laid the trap (27; 53). If, hypothetically, Milo had wanted to ambush Clodius, he would have chosen some space even less amenable to control, where *neque muta solitudo indicasset* – ‘the silent solitude would not have told tales’ (50). The absence of surveillance in such a place is contrasted by the commanding position Clodius’ villa takes over the road:

ante fundum Clodi quo in fundo propter insanas illas substructiones facile hominum mille versabatur valentium, edito adversarii atque excelso loco superiorem se fore putarat Milo (Cic. *Mil.* 53)

In front of Clodius’ estate, in which, because of its ridiculous substructures a thousand willing men could easily be placed, with his enemy high up in an elevated location, did Milo think he would come out on top?

By entering this space, Cicero would have us believe, Milo put himself into the control of his adversary. Even so, this space must be differentiated from a space such as Milo’s own house, where he would have been quite justified in killing an intruder. The road is public space which private interests have speciously attempted to claim.

Clodius’ attempts to privatize the Via Appia do indeed go as far as murder. Cicero recounts a previous killing, of the *eques* Marcus Papirius:

itaque in eadem ista Appia cum ornatissimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus puniendum – homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Romanum occiderat (Cic. *Mil.* 18)

When Publius Clodius killed a distinguished knight, Marcus Papirius, on the same Via Appia, this deed was not deemed worthy of punishment, since a noble man had killed a Roman knight among the monuments of his family.

Papirius’ story recurs at 37. Cicero uses it as a *reductio ad absurdum*, pointing out that the kind of private links the defense wishes to claim between Clodius and the road cannot stand, or they would impinge on the public nature of the place, where only the *populus* can decide on the legitimacy of violence.

Cicero in the *Pro Milone* constructs the Via Appia as an uncontrolled space where Milo must defend himself against violence. At the same time, he accuses the Claudii of trying to turn it into private space, where they alone can act with impunity. His rhetorical indignation should alert us to, not distract us from, the reality, which is that the private interests of the elite presumably did succeed in imposing some type of ‘private’ control over spaces of this kind. The speech as a whole demonstrates how violence as a diagnostic can work in later texts, but also how the discourse surrounding concepts of public and private space in the Roman world can be rhetorically manipulated. Space which is ‘private’ intrudes into the ‘public’ realm and vice versa as the contexts and the exigencies of the trial demand. And in reality, in terms not just of words and courtroom strategy but of buildings and daily

practice, the same was true: as we shall see, elites did impose their private control over public space not just symbolically but also architecturally.

Conclusion: A behavioural definition of 'public' space in the Roman world

From the analyses of textual sources above, a set of concepts has emerged which can serve as a provisional framework for the investigation of actual spaces in the city of Rome in the following chapters. There did exist concepts analogous to English 'public' and 'private' in the Roman world, and of course we frequently find authors of all periods using the words *publicus* and *privatus* as though they were a natural, exclusive, and exhaustive pair. Closer analysis, however, has demonstrated that the terms and concepts related to them were constantly contested and often a source of tension. As the texts above have demonstrated, Plautus and Cicero both give examples of people disputing the nature of a space with violence: Ergasilus is willing to resort to violence to defend his right to use public space without interruption from others, and Cicero accuses Clodius of trying to use violence to privatize the Via Appia and intrude on his opponents' private space. The various texts I have examined all contribute to a behavioural definition of public space. Such a definition focuses not on the acceptability of behaviours in private space, but on the lack of control over behaviour found in what we might call 'public' space. Again, it is violence that, as I have found, can serve as one important diagnostic of whether a space operates as public or private. In private space, the owner wields control and only he has the license to use violence; this is the kind of space Cicero accuses Clodius of creating on the Via Appia, where he, but not Milo, can legitimately kill. In public space, violence is a course open to all.¹⁰⁶ Examples from Plautus confirm that violence is an extreme case of a wider phenomenon. One characteristic which determined whether space was considered to be public or private was the degree of control an individual or group could exert over all kinds of behaviour there.

It is likely that the practical ability of some individual or group to control access to and behaviour in the space did not coincide exactly with formal legal status, even leaving aside distinctions between *possessio* and *occupatio*.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, it is worth bearing in mind that such control and legal ownership do share a common genealogy. In a society where there does not exist a state holding a monopoly on legitimate violence, a whole range of gradations are possible between spaces where official personnel oversee access and behaviour and spaces where there is no oversight, either official or individual. Although in essence legal texts preserve definitions resting ultimately on ownership, the marginal and

¹⁰⁶ Paradoxically, of course, this can mean that violence is not in fact acceptable at all in public spaces which are also subject to surveillance by a large number of different people, since retaliation from any side can be expected, and this is where community control takes effect. Surveillance, community control, and the impact they have on this model are discussed in relation to political space in chapter 3.

¹⁰⁷ Consider the phenomenon of sleeping in tombs (Ulpian *Dig.* 47.12.3); tombs are explicitly private property, but the fact that one is able to sleep in a place is given as a characteristic of space which is *publicus* at Pl. *Rud.* 582. Zaccaria Ruggiu (1990), (1995) discusses the extent to which the authorities may restrict building and other activities on land which is formally private.

ambiguous examples suggest that practical ability of various entities to control behaviour in space affects the classification of that space as *publicus*, *privatus*, or something else. The space Plautus' Ergasilus refers to as *in publico* may well be the property of the *populus*, but more important to his conception of the behaviours suitable to the space are the facts that it is accessible to all and that the opportunity to police behaviour in it is vested in no one in particular – and thus available to all. Both of these characteristics admit of gradations: a space may be accessible to certain groups of people but not others, and certain people may be more successful in controlling behaviour in it. The move between 'all' and 'some' might stop a space from being considered 'public' in the English sense, but in Latin the issue is entirely different, since *publicus* literally refers not to a universal, but to the already defined subset that is the *populus*. One of the most common uses of the word *publicus* is in the phrase *res publica*, a collocation so common that it is often printed as a single word. This reminds us of the original etymology of *publicus*, from *populus*.¹⁰⁸ The meaning implied is not 'belonging to everyone' but 'belonging to the legally constituted universality of Roman citizens'. Women, slaves, non-citizens, or even people who may be citizens but are not at this moment being considered in relation to their place in the citizen body, are not automatically included.

In all its senses, the Latin word *publicus* as applied to space implies a community. In the sense of 'belonging to the *populus*', the community is clearly defined. In the sense of 'accessible to all', the implied community (the 'all' to whom it is accessible) may be equivalent to the *populus* or may not be; it almost never, though, means the universality of humankind.¹⁰⁹ By looking carefully at groups given access to and control over 'public' space, it is possible to approach the gradations of the 'public' in a concrete way, and move beyond even a one-dimensional set of gradations between utterly controlled and utterly accessible.

In this project, I am interested in asking whether spaces which are thought of as 'public' are actually accessible to everyone, or whether certain groups, such as women, slaves, the poor, non-citizens and so on are excluded. I also ask who controls behaviour in 'public' space – whether, for example, patrons can exert control over behaviour in the 'public' temples and porticos they erect. Mechanisms of control range from the physical barriers of architecture itself – one cannot walk through a wall – to the employment of guards, custodians or less formally identified individuals who have legal or extra-legal power to coerce. Less obviously coercive mechanisms also deserve attention, such as the use of decorative and architectural features as signifiers of the types of behaviour expected in a certain space, or the possibility or impossibility of community surveillance. The following chapters investigate the spatial experience offered by specific public spaces in Republican

¹⁰⁸ *TLL s.v. publicus*. In English 'pertaining to the state', is one meaning of the word 'public', as in the distinction between the public and private sectors; but it is arguably a secondary meaning of the word, and we are more likely to understand 'public' in isolation as meaning 'pertaining to everyone', in contrast to 'private' meaning 'pertaining to the individual alone'. In Latin the meaning 'pertaining to the state' (with appropriate disclaimers about the use of the word 'state') is arguably the primary meaning.

¹⁰⁹ The same argument can be made for *privatus*; the slave who waits on the master during sex in the *cubiculum* is defined as outside the 'everyone' excluded from this private space.

Rome, from the Forum Romanum to back alleys and the grand victory complexes of the Campus Martius. I bring together literary and archaeological evidence to ask what behaviours are attested or considered appropriate in these space, who attempted to control access to and behaviour in them and how, and the relationship between these factors and the mechanisms which signalled them as public or private space. I uncover a huge range of spatial experiences in a city whose public space was constantly contested, politicised and redefined.

.....

Afterword: Vitruvius and public space in the age of Augustus

For an additional case study of how the overlaps, ambiguities, and changes in the construction of public and private space can be interpreted, I turn to Vitruvius. Coming at the very end of the time period under discussion his text, which is more prescriptive than descriptive, is an ideal place to locate tensions and anxieties which build up around the nature of public space during a time when public life was being thoroughly reorganised, and his invention of a sanitised, thoroughly public type of space stands in illuminating contrast next to the messy realities of Republican political space, which I claim had the potential to be at least as ‘private’ as it was ‘public’. Some of Vitruvius’ preoccupations fit better into the imperial period than the Republican, and although this may make his text a good source for the nature of the shift, it also brings a danger of importing anachronism into a study focused on the Republic. Even so, there is more to be gained by considering Vitruvius than by excluding him. His work is the only source from a time period close to the one under discussion which explicitly considers the definition of space as public or private. The knots he ties himself into while attempting to compose his definition can be read as characteristic of his age and its need to rationalise and systematize, and many of the problems he faces in disentangling public and private relate to the appearance of a new type of power, in the *princeps*, which straddled the two. But the difficulties he faces are the legacies of a Republican discourse, and the fact that his treatment of public and private space is not amenable to characterization in Augustan terms brings out some of its most salient characteristics.

Vitruvius’ eagerness to rationalize the entire complex world of Roman architecture introduces neat divisions which often tell us more about his own agenda than Roman spatial experience, especially since his agenda is so closely linked with the historical specificities of his own era.¹¹⁰ His careful use of persuasive definition, especially concerning what typifies Greek and Roman practice, is itself a manifestation of the tension surrounding the nature of space in the late Republic which is the subject of this dissertation. His idealised architecture can be set alongside the physical examples from the period as a case study.

¹¹⁰ Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 144-210; Gros (1994a).

Vitruvius sets up a binary opposition between *publicus* and *privatus* at the very beginning of his work:¹¹¹

aedificatio autem divisa est bipertito, e quibus una est moenium et communium operum in publicis locis conlocatio, altera est privatorum aedificiorum explicatio
(Vitr. 1.3.1)

Construction is divided into two parts, of which one is the building of walls and communal works in public places, and the other is the theory of private buildings.

He follows this distinction in the disposal of his material; beginning with the situation and planning of towns, he treats temples and public spaces in the first five books. At the midpoint of his work, he moves on to *privata aedificia*:

quae necessaria ad utilitatem in civitatibus publicorum locorum succurrere mihi potuerunt, quemadmodum constituentur et perficiantur, in hoc volumine scripsi; privatorum autem aedificiorum utilitates et eorum symmetrias insequenti volumine ratiocinabor.
(Vitr. 5.12.7)

In this book I have written about how buildings necessary for the use of cities in public spaces should be built and completed, as far as occurred to me, but in the next book I will discuss the conveniences and symmetries of private buildings.

As it happens, the symmetry this arrangement might promise is soon disrupted, as after a treatment of the decoration of *privata aedificia* in book 7, he moves back to more communal construction types such as aqueducts in books 8 and following.¹¹² Nevertheless, it is clear that the first level of Vitruvius' theoretical taxonomy consists of grouping building types into one of two categories, either *publicus* or *privatus*.¹¹³

It may seem that Vitruvius is often describing architecture, rather than space, but this should not deter investigation for two reasons. Firstly, architectural form is one of the criteria that contribute towards the characterisation of space, and partial data are better than none. Secondly, Vitruvius' own theory proposes that the architect should have concern for such characteristics as *decor* (1.2.5), which includes not only congruence with tradition, but appropriateness for the function of a space; and *utilitas*, which he defines as *emendata et sine impeditione usus locorum dispositio et ad regiones sui cuiusque generis apta et comoda distributio* – 'the perfect placement of spaces without hindrance to their purpose and their suitable and comfortable distribution in their proper situations' (1.3.2).¹¹⁴ For Vitruvius, use of space, the

¹¹¹ The text of Vitruvius is cited from the Loeb edition of Granger (1931). Other occurrences of the terms *publicus* and *privatus* as a natural and exhaustive pair, both of architecture and with wider reference, include 1.*praef.*3; 2.3.3; 2.8.9; 2.9.11; 5.*praef.*3; 5.9.8; 5.12.7; 6.5.2; 10.*praef.*1.

¹¹² On codification and taxonomy in Vitruvius more widely, see Gros (1969) xlv-liv; Callebaut (1989).

¹¹³ Milnor (2005) 106, 120 expands on possible interpretations of this choice; see also

¹¹⁴ Note especially 7.5.6, an anecdote in which the people of Alabanda are criticised for placing inappropriate statues in public spaces: athletes in the forum, and advocates in the gymnasium. On *decor*, or 'appropriateness', and its reception in architectural theory, see Kohane/Hill (2001); to approach the problem from the opposite starting-point, one might compare the ecological psychologist Roger Garlock Barker's concept of 'synomorphy', the state pertaining when human

behaviour of people in space, and therefore space itself as I define it is part of the architect's work and present throughout his own treatise. His use of concepts such as *auctoritas* and *gravitas* to describe architecture, qualities not rooted in the architecture itself but in the reaction of observers, suggests one way to understand the transfer of meaning between architecture and space, since the observers are located in space. Although some of his descriptions strike the reader as dry and formal, he does not usually distinguish between describing architecture and describing space, subsuming under the single category of *decor* discussions of both weatherproofing and *dignitas* in the decoration of *triclinia*, for example (7.4.4). This suggests that he conceives of the formal features of a building as closely linked to the space it defines.

In his use of the adjectives *privatus* and *publicus*, however, Vitruvius proposes a formal architectural taxonomy which, although it is itself rooted in human behaviour (the use of a building for residential purposes or not) ignores other behavioural factors as well as the reactions of observers which seem so interesting to him elsewhere. The only criterion for determining whether a space is to be defined as *publicus* or *privatus* is the top-level function of the entire building of which it is a part, and the actual use of the space is not at issue.

Vitruvius' use of *privatus*, at least as applied to architecture, is relatively straightforward. He restricts discussion of *privata aedificia* to book 6, in which he covers houses and villas.¹¹⁵ *Privatus* in this context means simply 'residential', and could therefore exclude examples such as non-residential buildings funded by an individual; but the category does include Hellenistic royal palaces which could conceivably serve functions well beyond the residential, since at 2.8.9 he refers to *privatas domos etiam regias* – 'private houses, even royal ones'.¹¹⁶ As is well known, Vitruvius in fact expects most of the *privata aedificia* he discusses in book 6 to serve additional non-residential functions. He distinguishes between areas of the house which are only open to invited guests and those into which all are welcome (6.5.1).¹¹⁷ Although this distinction does capture one set of meanings of the English 'public' and 'private' and is often referred to using these terms by modern scholars, it is worth noting that Vitruvius does not use the words *publicus* and *privatus* in this context. By his definition, this space is still *privatus*, simply because it is in a residential building. The distinction he draws, within the broader category of space which is *privatus*, is between *propria loca patribus familiarum* – 'places properly belonging to the householders' and

behaviour is in accord with what he calls the 'milieu', a term encompassing all physical features of the setting as well as the time: Barker (1968).

¹¹⁵ It is worth noting that his digressions on materials, building technique, decoration, etc., could apply equally to residential and non-residential architecture.

¹¹⁶ Vitruvius does not, of course, have in mind architecture used for sleeping other than the elite *domus*: we might also think of workers who slept in or above their shops or workshops, or even the homeless who made use of porticos and tombs.

¹¹⁷ For full discussion of the semi-public nature of domestic space in light of Vitruvius' comments, see especially Milnor (2005) 94-39 with bibliography; Wallace-Hadrill (1994a) 10-61; Coarelli (1983a), (1989).

communia [loca] cum extraneis – ‘places held in common with outsiders’.¹¹⁸ He does say that elite houses should have architectural features *non dissimili modo quam publicorum operum magnificentia comparatas* – ‘provided with magnificence not unlike public buildings’ (6.5.2), but in this formulation the fact of drawing a comparison between these spaces and *publica opera* actually serves to highlight the strict division – it is notable that the two are similar precisely because they are not the same.

The subtle distinctions between different areas of the house, as carefully documented by modern scholars, are thus at least in Vitruvius’ terms overwhelmed by the primary division of architectural space into residential and non-residential. Naively, this seems appropriate; although it has long been recognised that parts of the elite house were open to at least some non-residents and used for business not substantially different from that transacted in the forum, we might expect the experience of being in the atrium of a Palatine house to have been substantially different from the experience of being in a forum basilica. But as the investigation expands outwards beyond residential space, Vitruvius’ own text identifies different categories of building, and thus, presumably, types of space. These gradations have received far less attention in the modern scholarship.

Vitruvius’ distribution of material between the two halves of his taxonomy is unequal. He devotes only a single book to *privata aedificia*. It is not surprising, therefore, that his much longer discussion of *publica aedificia* includes further subdivisions. What is more striking is that these subdivisions eventually destabilize the original division between *publicus* and *privatus*. *Publica aedificia* are divided into three categories, *una defensionis, altera religionis, tertia opportunitatis* – ‘one for defence, the second for religion, the third for convenience’ (1.3.1). Of these, the first consists straightforwardly of walls and other defences, the second of temples, but the third is more complex:¹¹⁹

communium locorum ad usum publicum dispositio, uti portus, fora, porticus,
balinea, theatra, inambulationes ceteraque, quae isdem rationibus in publicis locis
designantur. (Vitr. 1.3.1)

*The arrangement of communal places for public use, such as ports, fora, porticos, baths,
theatres, covered walks, and the rest which in the same way are set out in public places.*

At times, Vitruvius uses *publicus* to cover this third group alone. At 2.praef.5 Vitruvius, having covered defensive architecture, describes the layout of future books: *insequatur ordo de aedibus sacris et publicis aedificiis itemque privatis* – ‘the arrangement of sacred temples and

¹¹⁸ *Communis* here certainly has implications beyond ‘shared’, including a connection to *munus*, ‘duty’, which implies that there is a link between these spaces and public life; see Milnor (2005) 123. Nevertheless, Vitruvius’ word-choice is careful: the primary distinction is preserved.

¹¹⁹ Vitruvius sometimes uses the word *communis* in connection with this third group specifically, in contrast to religious or defensive architecture, as here, at 6.praef. 7, and at 4.9.1, where he says *explicitis aedium sacrarum compositionibus in hoc libro, insequenti de communium operum reddemus distributionibus explicationes*. In at least one place, however, there is a slight suggestion that *communis* is used to cover religious architecture as well as the third group. At 1.7.1, the land set aside for *opportunitatem et usum communem civitatis* is to be used for *aedibus sacris, foro reliquisque locis communibus*.

public buildings and also private buildings would follow'. The contrast is even clearer at 5.praef. 5:

itaque, Caesar, tertio et quarto volumine aedium sacrarum rationes exposui, hoc libro publicorum locorum expediam dispositiones. (Vitr. 5.praef.5)

Therefore, Caesar, since in the third and fourth book I have demonstrated the science of sacred temples, in this book I will lay out the arrangements of public places.

These passages open the question of whether temples and other religious buildings are really *publica aedificia* in the same way that fora and basilicas are. While in his initial taxonomy Vitruvius uses *publicus* to cover both and indicates a strict contrast with *privatus*, in these examples *publicus* does not cover all types of architecture which are not *privatus*; it excludes temples and could perhaps be translated as 'civic'. If we accept Vitruvius' own definition that architecture is divided strictly into *publicus* and *privatus*, should we then conclude that temples are at least partly *privatus*?

It is only in moments when Vitruvius moves away from formal architectural characteristics to broader considerations that he speaks of anything *privatus* outside the house, when he explains the decision to treat the forum first of all as *publica loca*, stating that *in eo et publicarum et privatarum rerum rationes per magistratus gubernantur* – 'in it both public and private business is overseen by the magistrates' (5.praef.5). This usage must be understood as quite different from that which underlay the initial taxonomy. It is paralleled at 6.5.2, where Vitruvius states that the reason that elite houses need reception areas is that *et publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque conficiuntur* – 'both public policy and private decisions and agreements are conducted' (6.5.2). From these two instances alone, it is hard to pin down the exact distinction he means, but clearly both business which is *privatus* and business which is *publicus* – each requiring the presence of a number of different groups of people – take place in both building types.¹²⁰ These passages testify to the existence of two separate definitions of *publicus* and *privatus* in Vitruvius, one applied to architecture, the other to behaviour. Both are of interest in characterising space as I define it.

The ambiguity in Vitruvius' use of the terms *publicus* and *privatus* results from his desire to codify and classify a realm which is in fact richly diverse. He proposes a clear separation between *publicus* and *privatus* in architecture which his further discussion shows cannot be maintained when the spatial meanings of the terms come into play. Vitruvius is always keen to classify, and the particular classifications he chooses and their failures serve to highlight moments of tension within this project.¹²¹ In the case of the ambiguity of *publicus*, the excess which his classification imperfectly disguises is not the semi-public nature of residential architecture, something he works into his theory without compromising his terms, but the possibility of transfer in the other direction. Is it possible that there could be some elements of the *privatus* in the architecture he terms *publicus*?

¹²⁰ The distinction in force here cannot be whether or not the business involves the state, since magistrates are explicitly involved in both types of business going on in the forum.

¹²¹ Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 144-210 argues that the impulse to classify is political and ideological, deriving from the challenge of constructing a Roman attitude towards Greek theory.

In Vitruvius' text, Augustus stands as a figure who, as he conquers the world, bridges all categories: the entire work, as multiply subdivided as it is, is supposedly for his benefit. Augustus' role in politics and society more broadly is exactly analogous: he stands atop the pyramid, uniting in his person all the diverse realms which make up the Roman state.¹²² In theory, such a hierarchical structure demands that Augustus be the only such bridging figure. At the very start, Augustus is associated with both *publica* and *privata aedificia* (1.*praef.*3). Here, his bridging role makes perfect sense based on what we know about his multiple building projects, many of which themselves challenge notions of public and private.¹²³ Under the Republican system, all noble patrons strove to exert private control over public space through the erection of magnificent public buildings. Now, that control is increasingly associated solely with one man. In actual fact, multiple patrons continued their building programs; but in his text, Vitruvius confines such individuals to book 6 and their *privata aedificia*. The only patron associated with future *publica aedificia* is the patron of the entire book, Augustus himself.¹²⁴

Vitruvius' definition of *publicus* and *privatus* with reference to architectural form rather than spatial characteristics permits him to delineate a definite separation between the two realms. I have argued above that no such clear-cut separation exists in Republican thought, which allows for the interpenetration of public and private space. Indeed, Vitruvius' own inability to reconcile his taxonomy shows that definite separation runs counter to standard usage. The result, I propose, is a slippage, by which Vitruvius' narrow and technical definitions serve to conceal tension centred around broader definitions of the terms.¹²⁵ Vitruvius defines all *privata aedificia* as residential. This ignores the possibility of

¹²² For Vitruvius as reflecting Augustan ideology, see Elsner (1995) 56-7.

¹²³ Milnor (2005) 22-27 illustrates how Augustus' own writing constructs his own position between public and private, in the process redefining the terms themselves; Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) 176: 'il *princeps* identifica la propria azione con la riaffermazione e l'identificazione di ciò che è <<pubblico>> con la persona del principe'; on the public or private nature of the Palatine complex, see Dio 55.12.5 with Milnor (2005) 47-93; Zanker (1988) 49-53, 65-70.

¹²⁴ Gros (1994b) 90: 'Vitruve n'envisage pas que le *Princeps* ou tel magistrat devienne, grâce à ses préceptes, un bâtisseur au sens concret du terme.' Patrons are notably absent in Vitruvius' work. We might expect that the qualities of a successful building (1.3.2) should include pleasing the patron, but in fact this consideration is only mentioned in general terms when the architect is advised to avoid burdening the patron with lawsuits (1.1.10). The concept of adapting a building to the needs of its users is frequent, but the needs of a patron specifically are only mentioned in connection with domestic architecture (1.2.9). There is one tantalising moment when the status of a patron (individual or state) seems the basis for labelling a structure public or private: at 10.*praef.*2, Vitruvius imagines a law whereby architects whose work goes over budget might be forced to make up some of the difference. Here the key question is to whom the money should go. But closer inspection shows that the private patrons are imagined exclusively as involved in domestic construction; they are referred to as *patres familiarum*, and the danger they face if the money is not paid is that they might *e bonis eicerentur*, implying that they were living there. For Vitruvius' own social position, with some consideration of his relationship with patrons, see Gros (1994b); Masterson (2004).

¹²⁵ Other commentators have noted a number of different ways in which Vitruvius' definition of the public and the private has ideological implications. Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 144-210 discusses the overlap between the categories public-private and Greek-Roman; Zaccaria Ruggiu (1995) 121-80

non-residential architecture built by private patrons, and I argue that this is because such architecture would necessarily be in some sense private, implying the intervention of individual interests and control into public space. Yet for Vitruvius, no one controls non-domestic space, except the ultimate 'public figure', Augustus.¹²⁶

emphasises the role of legal distinctions in Vitruvius' work, which complement Greek theory as a more Roman way of systematizing space.

¹²⁶ Note the use of *privatus* in the imperial period to refer to anyone, even a magistrate, other than the emperor; Milnor (2005) 20.

PUBLIC SPACE, PRIVATE SPACE, AND POLITICAL SPACE IN THE FORUM ROMANUM

The Latin authors I analysed in the preceding chapter use the word *publicus* and concepts linked to it to designate space which is free from control. Yet we also find clear instances of control over access and behaviour in some of Republican Rome's most obviously public spaces. Any 'public' space which is under the control of a specific individual or group does share many features, perhaps including features of spatial experience, with private space, and the existence of such spaces demonstrates that it is impossible to draw a clear line between public and private. This is a function of the hazy and manipulable definitions of 'public' and 'private', something we know well in English. Roman concepts were equally malleable. The remainder of this dissertation will examine actual places which fit broad definitions of 'public space', and explore how and where elements of private control are found acting within them. It is these spaces, which cannot easily be described either as 'public' or as 'private', which demonstrate the overlap and ambiguity in Roman concepts as well as our own. As it turns out, they actually constituted the majority of supposedly public space in the Republican city, including its most prominent and ideologically most 'public' areas. Very little space was either fully public or fully private.

This chapter turns to the very centre of Roman public life and the city's most important public space, the Forum. If the house represents private space, the Forum is equally representative of public space: Latin contrasts *domi* and *foris* for 'in' and 'out'.¹²⁷ But it is also easy to see that a forum, and specifically the Forum Romanum, is public in a very different way from the space of an urban back street. In the back street, lack of control is mainly a product of lack of surveillance. The Forum, on the other hand, was a space of high visibility. It was also a space which many people, both individuals and groups, had an interest in controlling, in one way or another. One of the most important functions of the Forum was as political space, and Roman politics demanded the personal presence of participants. Control over access to the space thus also gave control over access to power, and control over behaviour in the space was exactly how power was wielded.

The 'public' nature of the Forum was thus constantly, if mostly implicitly, disputed. Our earliest source paints a picture of the third-century Forum as a multi-purpose space, not at all amenable to control and visited by all kinds of people on all kinds of business. The various building projects of the second and early first century answered to practical needs and reflected changes in the use of the Forum and the changing state of Roman political life. But they also fit into a pattern of attempts to assert control over the space in two diametrically opposed ways: one, to create a sanitized political space in which the community could make decisions away from disruptions, and another to exert influence over that process of decision-making by extending the individual control associated with private space into the public domain. By Cicero's time, the architecture of the square had

¹²⁷ E.g. Plaut. *Merc.* 589; *Mil.* 593; Ter. *Hec.* 218; Cat. 32.6-7; Cic. *Phil.* 2.69; Sall. *BC* 52.21; and many more.

been completely refashioned, and in parallel with that process the nature of the space had been reimagined as a space of *dignitas*, devoted mostly to politics, which was open to a more restricted set of activities and, presumably, people. Such control was never actually achieved in the Republican Forum; later, the new imperial fora would demonstrate what kind of architectural and ideological interventions were necessary to create a more controlled, sanitized political space.

The public, and hence notionally uncontrolled forum always existed in tension with attempts to regularise or even control this most important space for Rome's political life. The first half of this chapter explores the ways in which the Forum was designated as political space, and the effects this had on the spatial experience it offered. Tradition, ritual, religion and architecture all combined to inform the visitor to the Forum that this was a special space, and in particular to draw attention to the role of citizens in political activity and the behaviours expected of them; among other things, this had the effect of excluding women, slaves, foreigners and other marginalized groups from the imagined community inhabiting the Forum space. Here the derivation of *publicus* from *populus* is clear; the Forum was public in the sense of its being connected to and belonging to the *populus*, but not in the sense of being open and accessible to all; from the perspective of those outside the *populus*, it looked more like private space.

In the second half of this chapter, I examine evidence for the presence of private, controlled space in the Roman Forum in the form of areas, buildings or shops which were actually privately-owned or operated. The existence of such spaces right down to the end of the Republic cannot be denied, but tends to be forgotten in discussions of how the Forum as a whole functioned as space. Indeed, since the Roman elite house is semi-public, it is easy to dismiss the interactions and overlaps between public and private space in the Forum as an example of public space extending outwards into what we would see as domestic contexts. Transfer in the other direction, however, is just as important to the spatial experience of the Republican Forum Romanum. The demands of business in the private *tabernae* required certain behavioural standards and their owners or proprietors could enforce their own restrictions on access. More importantly, the existence of private houses surrounding the Forum, themselves locations in which important political and commercial business took place, allowed for the deliberate extension of individuals' spheres of interest into what was officially Rome's most public space. The visual dominance of these houses, the overlap between buildings which were actually family homes and those which shared their architectural vocabulary but served more official functions, and most of all the constant transfer of activity between the Forum square and the neighbouring houses could at times all combine to create a type of space which owed as much to the experience of visiting an elite *paterfamilias* in his own house as to the pure unfettered freedom of the back streets.

The public Forum

I have argued above that one distinguishing feature of the street, as the paradigmatic public space, is a lack of workable control over access and behaviour. Unlike in the case of domestic space, there is no named owner who holds authority over the space of the street.

Overall control resides with the community as a whole, but unlike in a modern Western society, there is no police force or similar state organ to focus and maintain that control.¹²⁸ For some people in some streets, the social force of community disapproval resting on mutual surveillance and the threat of shame or violence may restrict behaviour.¹²⁹ In other situations, social control is not practicable. Some streets may be too isolated for mutual surveillance. Others may be too crowded, offering the protection of anonymity.¹³⁰

The Forum Romanum falls at one end of this spectrum. It was highly visible and subject to surveillance, but also presumably among the city's most crowded spaces. It was bustling and noisy, and always had the potential to be uncontrolled. Asconius, discussing the trial of Milo, says *tantum silentium toto foro fuit quantum esse in aliquo foro posset* – 'there was as great a silence in the whole forum as there can be in any forum'.¹³¹ Even at this moment, in the last decades of the Republic, when Pompey's soldiers were for once performing a substantial display of official control, it was plainly impossible to establish total control over behaviour in a space like this. A standard definition linking the 'public' to visibility, surveillance and control over behaviour would see the attempted imposition of silence for the court proceedings as evidence of the public nature of the space of the forum. Important political business is to be transacted in this space, and it is vital that the behaviour of those present falls within certain bounds to avoid disrupting it. But my alternative conceptualization of the nature of the public, which views lack of control and the possibility of extremes of behaviour as typical of public space, can also offer valuable insights. From the point of view of this second definition, it is the unsuppressed noise in the background which marks the space of the forum as public. The soldiers, trying to clamp down on unsuitable behaviour, make the space less public – and indeed, in this case, there is certainly an argument to be made that they are enforcing the private control of one individual (Pompey) and impeding the free transaction of public, political business, which depends on Cicero's freedom to speak as he chooses and the jury's to vote without intimidation.

A wide range of evidence points to the impossibility of imposing control in the Republican Forum, especially before the mid-second century BCE. Above and beyond its political functions, it was a multi-use space. A diagrammatic map of the mid-second century Forum is given as Figure 3.1. There were dozens of ways in and out of the square, and no easy way of effectively policing its perimeter. Without a clear boundary between the Forum

¹²⁸ On policing, see Nippel (1995).

¹²⁹ On shame, see Kaster (2005). Langlands (2006), though focusing on sexual contexts, has some useful explications of the specific qualities of *verecundia*, *pudicitia* and *pudor*. Barton (2002) 217 cites Catullus 29 on Mamurra's outrageousness: *quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati* (1); *cinaede Romule, haec videbis et feres?* (5).

¹³⁰ Rome was not a face-to-face society, despite the emphasis on visibility we find in our elite sources. In the middle and late Republican city a crowded street must have afforded anonymity for anyone outside a small group of prominent people. The ongoing debate about the city's population is best avoided; but we have concrete evidence from, for example, the use of *nomenclatores*, that the crowd was too large for most people to recognise each other by sight: Cic. *Mur.* 77; *Att.* 4.1.5. Nippel (1995) 29 cites Livy 39.9.1, on the Bacchanalian conspiracy: *primo urbis magnitudo capacior patientiorque talium malorum ea celauit*.

¹³¹ Asc. 41 Clark.

and the streets beyond, activities in neighbouring areas seeped into the Forum as well. Main roads like the Argiletum, the Sacra Via, the Vicus Tuscus, the Clivus Argentarii, and the Clivus Capitolinus converged here; like all Italian fora, the forum Romanum was essentially a monumentalised crossroads.¹³² All these routes meant that that one of its most important purposes was as a thoroughfare.¹³³ The sources confirm that the forum was not solely the preserve of politics, or of the political classes. Originally, it contained houses, a point to which I shall return, and the official residences of several important officials, and thus also of their families and households, were here until a later period.¹³⁴ There were plenty of shops in the forum, and originally these included such quotidian business as butchers as well as the more decorous bankers who were later associated with the remaining commercial space. Multiple sources report these tabernae of various kinds in the forum, as well as the construction of the central market just outside it on the Argiletum. The well-documented commercial character of the Argiletum, Velabrum, and Sacra Via meant that the forum was surrounded by ordinary people going about their business.¹³⁵ Games and funerals also took place in the forum.¹³⁶

Once again, our best witness to the variety of activity going on in the Republican forum is Plautus, who gives a careful topographical breakdown of the different inhabitants of different parts of the forum in the famous monologue from the *Curculio* (466-85). The Choragus gives a long list of people to be found in the forum, including *scorta exoleta* – ‘worn-out whores’ – and people engaged in commercial business, from buying and selling fish to moneylending. An equally evocative idea of a Republican forum like that described by Plautus is given by the frescos of the house of Julia Felix II in Pompeii; these show all manner of people walking, buying and selling, and transacting public business in the local forum.¹³⁷ For the mid-Republican period at least, this is how we should imagine the Forum Romanum: as one of the city’s least controlled, most multi-purposed, and most public spaces.

On the other hand, the forum was also public in the sense that it was a place of visibility and surveillance. Most of what I have said so far applies to the ordinary citizen, or even non-citizen. These people could depend on the anonymity of the crowd, so surveillance was not necessarily a constraint on their behaviour. On the other hand, the topography of the forum did emphasise surveillance, seeing and being seen. The many temples surrounding the open space and the Capitoline towering above emphasised that this space, even more so than most, was under the watchful eyes of the gods. The elite houses looking down from the Palatine, and at least in the early period those on the square itself also reminded visitors to the forum that here, unlike in some less prominent residential district, they were in the line of sight of the rich and powerful. The relative positions of Curia and Comitium have also often been interpreted in terms of symbolic and actual surveillance of the people and their political activity by the Senate; Cicero himself writes

¹³² Martin (1972).

¹³³ Newsome (forthcoming).

¹³⁴ eg. Livy 46.16.11.

¹³⁵ Papi (2002).

¹³⁶ Welch (2007) 30-68.

¹³⁷ For images, see Baldassarre/Pugliese Carratelli (1990-) 3.184ff., 251ff., with Kellum (1999).

speculatur atque obsidet rostra vindex temeritatis et moderatrix officii curia – ‘the Curia, avenger of indiscretion and guide of duty, watches over and guards the rostra’.¹³⁸

Mutual surveillance was built into the topography of the Forum. The square was often used for games, leading to an ongoing play between the space of gladiatorial display and the space of political performance.¹³⁹ Temporary seating would be erected for the games, but the buildings themselves were also used as vantage points, and the balconies of the basilicas and their predecessors made this function obvious and permanent. Both modern and ancient writers debate the origin of the toponym *columna maeniana*, for a column near the Comitium.¹⁴⁰ One of the competing explanations claims that when the original owner sold the land for the erection of a public building, he demanded that one column remain standing and that he and his family should have the right to use it for the erection of a platform for watching the games. The existence of this anecdote demonstrates that the occasional function of forum architecture to support a crowd of spectators was not forgotten when the games were not in progress.

Usually, of course, the crowd in the forum was watching not games, but politics. The people they watched, men who had been born into a certain status and then worked to achieve personal distinction, had a very different relationship to the space of the forum, and indeed to public space in general, from that of the ordinary citizen. If these men melted anonymously into a crowd, they had failed. The constant need for display and publicity, the assumption of unceasing surveillance, which was the life of a Roman man active in politics – and to a lesser extent his family – is nowadays taken for granted, and should not be forgotten here. Paradoxically, these rulers of the world arguably had less control, less latitude in their own daily behaviour, especially in the Forum, than the average member of the crowd. But their role as public figures and their performance of that role in the Forum draws attention to the public role their audience also played.

When speaking in the Forum, a republican orator always addressed his audience as the *populus Romanus*, the Roman people drawn up and organised as a body.¹⁴¹ The fiction in which orator and audience colluded was that these people, whoever happened to be there that day, were exactly equivalent with the sovereign *populus* in its entirety; and of course when a vote came to be taken, it was only the votes of those physically present which counted. Similarly, I propose, the orator addressed his audience as though their sole reason for being present was to participate in political activity, even though there might be plenty of people close enough to hear him speak who were actually shopping, or pickpocketing, or just passing through. The monumental architecture of the forum served a similar purpose. This was not imperial Rome, gleaming with new marble buildings in a number of locations

¹³⁸ Cic. *Flacc.* 57; c.f. Döbler (1999) 28: ‘Dabei ließen sich aber auch von der Curia aus die Bewegungen auf dem Comitium und auf dem Forum selbst während der Senatsversammlungen leicht überblicken, kontrollieren und gegebenenfalls dirigieren’. Hölkeskamp (2006), citing Cic. *Fin.* 5.2, also notes that its visibility from the Comitium served as a reminder of senatorial power.

¹³⁹ See especially Welch (2007).

¹⁴⁰ See Coarelli (1985) 39-53, with references.

¹⁴¹ Hölkeskamp (1995); for further discussion see Mouritsen (2001) *passim*; Morstein-Marx (2004) especially 120-28.

around the city. The space of the forum would have looked markedly different from any other single enclosed space in the city, and its sheer size, expensive materials and workmanship defined the citizen standing within it just as the orator did. Here yet another sense of ‘public’ is implicated: this is the space of state activity, to which the citizen relates in his public function as citizen.

Communal control and political space

The key factor complicating the ‘public’, uncontrolled nature of the Forum Romanum was its use as a space for political activity. ‘Political space’, just like ‘public’ or ‘private’ space, resists definition, and for the same reason: the concept of the ‘political’ is ill-defined and frequently manipulated for various ends.¹⁴² Rather than imposing a modern definition of political space on the ancient world, it is worth examining the ancient sources to see what concepts emerge. Textual evidence confirms that in the middle and late Republic the space of the Forum was considered to be different in quality from other public spaces in the city, and the particular ways in which it is described can be rendered into English as denoting ‘political space’.¹⁴³ The word *forum* itself can have the transferred meaning of ‘politics’ (or perhaps also ‘high finance’): Cicero frequently uses phrases such as *ut primum forum attigerim* for ‘as soon as I embarked on a political career’ (*ad Fam.* 5.8.3), or *cum iam aliquot annos esset in foro* for ‘when he had been active in public life for some years’ (*pro Cael.* 12). Similarly, we find Livy’s Cato the Elder emphasizing the metonymy of Forum and politics when he complains that women agitating for the repeal of a sumptuary law *vix foro se et contione abstineant* – ‘scarcely keep themselves back from the forum and the public meeting’. Both the physical space of the Forum and its ideological importance are at stake here. Usages like these are connected with Varro’s *forensis dignitas* (*ap. Non.* 853 Lindsay) and remarks like that of Dio (46.19) that Antony chose to abuse Caesar in the Forum and on the rostra so that the power of the place would shame him.¹⁴⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.67.4) puts it simply: the Forum Romanum is the place for administering justice, holding assemblies and other civic business (*politikas praxeis*).¹⁴⁵ It held a special place in the Roman imagination, with its storied history fortified by monuments and emphasized by orators. People other than male citizens are rarely mentioned as being present, though they must

¹⁴² Since ‘the private sector’ in modern English tends to refer not to domestic or family life, but to commercial interests as contrasted with the state, it encompasses much of what could from another point of view be considered ‘public’. But some modern approaches to the definition of ‘public space’ tend to be designed to exclude this definition of the ‘private’, and therefore approach what I am now calling ‘political space’. Hénaff/Strong (2001) 1 define public space as ‘the space in which human beings encounter each other with the intention of determining how their lives in common shall be lived’. Taken strongly, this definition encompasses all space inhabited by humans, reminding us of the contentions advanced by feminist and other movements that the distinction between public and private is illusory, and that ‘the personal is the political’.

¹⁴³ Boatwright (2011) prefers the term ‘civic’.

¹⁴⁴ For a careful examination of how Cicero’s speeches make use of the ideological possibilities of the Forum setting, see Vasaly (1993).

¹⁴⁵ Varro (*LL* 5.145) and Festus (74 Lindsay) also have definitions of ‘forum’, but they are referring to fora in general, rather than just the Forum Romanum.

have been.¹⁴⁶ Despite everything that the sources tell us explicitly, not to mention what can be deduced from glancing mentions, about its functions as a multi-purpose space and a thoroughfare, the literary image of Rome's primary political space, at least in the late Republic, was one of a sanitized, orderly area where a dignified speaker could hold sway. Partly, this is due to the rhetorical strategies of our sources – a speaker such as Cicero is primarily concerned with the voting members of his audience and wants to imply that they are listening in complete accord – and partly it is wishful thinking.¹⁴⁷

In any case, the idea that the Forum Romanum should be a political space existed in tension with the basic lack of control pertaining to public space. Even the continued existence of a space to serve as a political arena required a degree of control to stop individuals from appropriating the space as private or building over it. To a certain extent, Romans of the middle and late Republican period had accepted and internalized that the space should be left open as a matter of tradition. But that tradition had to start somewhere, and other expectations for behaviour in a political space did change over time and were enforced using a variety of methods.

The Forum Romanum was defined as an open space already in the regal period. Livy (1.38.6) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.67.5) attribute the drainage of the Forum valley to Tarquinius Priscus, and archaeological evidence supports a date in the sixth century BCE for drainage and paving, although the details remain controversial. A king would provide the necessary authority to declare this a special space, to be kept free from building.¹⁴⁸ It would not be a stretch in English usage to call the forum of the regal period a public space, but, as the example of the transition from Republic to Empire demonstrates, a shift in the nature of power implies a shift in how the words 'public' and 'private' can be understood. The archaic kings of Rome may well have been non-hereditary leaders of a loose confederation of aristocratic families, but they would have occupied a similar grey

¹⁴⁶ Boatwright (2011) explains the ideological exclusion of women well, but also lists a variety of occasions, from funerals to gladiatorial games, when women would have been present. She finds that in the Republic, the prevalence of the exclusionary ideals propagated in our texts and the absence of representations of women in the Forum meant that women would have been made to feel uncomfortable entering the area. In general, I am in agreement – and note that all these arguments apply equally to slaves, non-citizens, the poorest members of society and so on – but I would place more emphasis on the ability of human societies to tolerate a large gulf between representation and reality, especially where gender politics are concerned. Niranjana (2001) cites women in rural India who claim not to work outside in interviews with anthropologists even when the interviewer has seen them doing so. As I see it, there existed a hazy ideal that women (and other marginalized groups) should not enter the Forum, but it was usually ignored, only to be called into service when necessary. Change over time should also be considered; the 'cleaning up' of the Forum which I propose for the second and early first centuries BCE may have involved reinforcing the prohibition, and Augustus' monumental interventions and creation of a new, closed forum type certainly had the effect of excluding women, slaves, foreigners and others from political space; see below p.83.

¹⁴⁷ The frequent disturbances of the ideally controlled atmosphere of political interaction in the late Republic are discussed below p. 82-3.

¹⁴⁸ In fact, it is worth emphasising once more that the presence of a delineated open space in the archaic city has often been cited as evidence for the very existence of kings.

area between public and private as Augustus did later.¹⁴⁹ A king is a permanent public figure, meaning that his private property crosses into the public domain; moreover, all public space should be considered as sharing in characteristics of the private, since eventually authority and ownership revert to him. When the king declares the Forum to be public space, it is this individual authority over space which he employs. Architecturally, the Roman kings' control over the Forum was monumentalised in the Regia, whose name serves as a constant reminder of regal power. It defined the limit of the space directly opposite the natural limit of the Capitoline, from which Jupiter provided divine sanction for regal power.

Modern accounts broadly accept as reasonable the tradition in our sources that the land on which the Forum stands was reclaimed from a marsh.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps influenced, however, by the evidence for occupation in the fringes of the area stretching back into the Bronze Age, some modern scholars have been inclined to repopulate the centre of the piazza too with huts, envisaging the area as more or less inhabitable even before the draining. The latest archaeological and geological interpretation restores a larger marshy area, which would have been flooded on a regular basis (Figure 3.4).¹⁵¹ If this interpretation is correct, the project of raising ground levels in the valley would have been enormous and must have demanded the involvement of large numbers of workers as well as central organisation. Crucially, it would also have created land that was entirely new, and presumably not subject to any prior claims of private ownership. It is tempting to derive from this story a mythical genesis for the category of public space involving land created by the people for the people. Perhaps, indeed, the repetition of the tradition of a massive drainage project did have ideological overtones.¹⁵² The persistence of such a tradition tells us

¹⁴⁹ Note the official preservation of what was thought to be Romulus' own house on the Palatine; the very location of Rome is determined by the place of Romulus' upbringing, a point brought out by Livy at 1.7.3; also in Livy, Servius Tullius' position as king is linked to his position within his own household, and his inability to control his daughters and sons-in-law is the cause of his eventual downfall: *nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes* (Livy 1.42.1). Tullia appeals to an even stronger link between public and private power when she appeals to Tarquinius to take back his position in the household and in the kingdom: "*si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello... di te penates patrique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem*" (Liv. 1.47.3-4). Arguably, Livy portrays this as the intertwining of public and private power as essentially negative, and it is this that Brutus and the people revolt against when the king's son exerts his power in another man's home and over another man's property (his wife). The possibility and indeed desirability of separation between public and private is foreshadowed at 1.56.4-5, when a soothsayer claims that a bad omen is *publica*, but Tarquinius (rightly) fears that it pertains only to his household. The coming disaster will indeed be bad for Tarquinius but good for the state.

¹⁵⁰ e.g. D. Hal. 2.42.5, 2.50.2; Varro *LL* 5.148; Liv. 1.12.10, 1.38.6; Ov. *F.* 6.401; Tagliamonte (1995) 315; Smith (1996) 166; Torelli (2006) 81-82.

¹⁵¹ Ammermann (1990) has reinterpreted wattle-and-daub fragments found under the lowest paving level by Gjerstad around the so-called Equus Domitiani, and traditionally thought to be the remains of huts *in situ*, as material deliberately brought in as part of the ground-raising project.

¹⁵² The presence in stories and presumably in reality of a king organizing the drainage complicates matters, of course – to ask whose property the new land was is a different question when everything is eventually under royal control – but there are also traces in our sources of a tradition of popular

little about the original juridical status of the land in the regal period, however; instead, it should be taken as evidence for debates in the middle and late Republic about the nature of the space of the Forum, public space in general, and the relative roles of state and individual.¹⁵³

According to Livy, the land around the Forum square was given away by Tarquinius Priscus: *ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae* – ‘by the same king the area around the forum was divided among private citizens for building; porticos and tabernae were built’ (1.35.10). The text can be read in two ways: did the king give land away to private individuals who then used it for building porticos and tabernae? Or did the king give some of the land away but keep some for the erection of public porticos and tabernae?¹⁵⁴ In any case, any ‘public’ element in these transactions in fact represents the personal interest of the king rather than of the people more widely.¹⁵⁵

The fledgling Republic inherited the open space of the Forum along with a number of other institutions which now needed redefinition in the absence of a sole ruler who could stand between public and private.¹⁵⁶ It is naïve to think that the shift from monarchy to Republic resulted immediately in anything resembling democracy. Rather, the same few powerful men continued to make most decisions, and the physical location of decision-

antagonism towards burdensome corvées for projects including the building of the Cloaca Maxima under the Tarquins (Liv. 1.56.2), and the tradition could be taken to show the people reclaiming space that they themselves had created from the control of an illegitimate ruler.

¹⁵³ Purcell (1995) 327-29 identifies a range of evidence for ‘the plebeian *forum Romanum*’, a space which belonged to the people and reflected their agency in the state. Key plebeian ideological loci he identifies include the spaces of *contiones* and *comitia*, the Rostra and the podium of the temple of Castor and Pollux, the statue of Marsyas and the shrine of the Genius Populi Romani, and he notes that some of the tabernae were termed *plebeiae*. He sees ideology confirmed by action in events such as the popular adoption of the cult of Stata Mater (Fest. 416 Lindsay) and the trees reported at Plin. *NH* 15.78 as planted *sedulitate plebeia* after Caesar had removed an altar on the spot. This interpretation of a space in which the people feel comfortable and have relative freedom of action has many points of contact with my own classification of public space as space where no individual or group can exert control over access and behaviour. Even so, I would place stronger emphasis on the fact that this is only one facet of an ongoing struggle for ownership and control over the space of the Forum, and indeed the two sides cannot be so neatly distinguished; the question is less who owns the Forum, and more whether it is possible for anyone to own the Forum. Purcell goes on to discuss the ‘aristocratic *forum Romanum*’, and identifies the raised area below the lower Capitoline, location of the Senaculum, Basilica Opimia and Aedes Concordiae, as a possible focus for aristocratic ideology – but it is in fact here that the shrine of the Genius Populi Romani should be located, since Dio connects it with the temple of Concordia (47.2.3; cf. 50.8). The inscription naming the Genius (*CIL* VI.248) found between the *clivus Capitolinus* and the Basilica Julia is reused, so cannot help in locating the shrine.

¹⁵⁴ The corresponding passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.67.3) is not helpful; he states that the king beautified the *agora* and erected *ergasteria* and *pastades*, but this could cover a wide range of degrees of personal involvement, or simply be an example of the common tendency to attribute any activity in a king’s reign to the king himself.

¹⁵⁵ For this reason, the passage does not necessarily fit in the list at Purcell (1995) 326 of sources for a longstanding ‘tradition of state-ownership – and political control – of property in this area’.

¹⁵⁶ See e.g. Liv. 2.2; D.Hal. 6.72-4 on the Rex Sacrorum.

making may well remained in their own private space. The patron opened up his private space to public affairs, with the result that he could then stop any *unwanted* individual or group from asserting control over the political process by force. Political decision-making in such semi-private spaces continued throughout the Republic, and indeed throughout history.

Origin myths aside, however, the political ideology of the middle and late Republic called for the Roman *populus* to act as a sovereign body. A republic based on decision-making by a group requires more than just open space to function. To be successful it must provide political space: space which is public in the sense that it is communal, but where behaviour conforms to certain expectations.¹⁵⁷ Communal control is required to stop any individual or group from asserting control over the political process by force. The Roman Republican system emphasised an ‘ideology of publicity’, in which political processes had to be carried out in public, so that the people could act as witnesses to its correct conduct and legality.¹⁵⁸ This form of institutionalised surveillance was one method by which the Republican system constituted political space.

Another method employed during Republican political activity to make sure that participants acted appropriately was the creation of temporary curbs on behaviour with the use of ritual. At the beginning of a meeting, the people were called together and designated as an assembly, defining their relationship to the state, the speakers, and each other. These designations were not merely political, but also religious. The place of sacred space within any proposed continuum of public and private is hard to pin down,¹⁵⁹ for precisely this reason, the concept of space controlled by a god could be used as a way out of the various problems which attended a conception of the Forum either as private space controlled by individuals or as public space with few limits on access or behaviour. The whole Forum area was ritually defined. It was overlooked by the augur who stood on the Auguraculum of the Arx to perform his task, and in doing so he marked out space both in the sky and on the ground.¹⁶⁰ His primary axis, towards the Mons Albanus, also traced the route of the Sacra Via, and this was also the path by which he descended.¹⁶¹ It is absolutely crucial to bear in

¹⁵⁷ In the literature of political theory, ‘political space’ is a hot topic, but is usually treated on the larger scale of national boundaries and the spatiality of territory: e.g. Ferguson/Barry Jones (2002); there is also a significant body of literature concerning how spaces other than those officially designated for political decision-making are politicised, as theorists rightly question the definition of ‘the political’ itself; see for example the discussion of fortresses and bunkers in Hirst (2005).

¹⁵⁸ The phrase ‘ideology of publicity’ is coined by Millar (1998) 45; he takes his lead from discussions such as Sherwin-White (1982), who examines the insistence on business being transacted in public, with the people as witnesses, in epigraphically preserved laws. For further discussion, see especially Morstein-Marx (2004).

¹⁵⁹ See above p. 3, 26-28.

¹⁶⁰ Varro *LL* 7.8-10.

¹⁶¹ Varro *LL* 5.47; Richardson (1978); Coarelli (1983b) 97-118; Gros/Torelli (1988) 79. A second symbolic division of space was carried out every day when the *accensus consulum* used the passage of the sun behind various monuments around the Comitium to determine and announce the hours: Varro *LL* 6.9.89; Plin. *NH* 7.60. In general on the religious centrality of the Forum, see Purcell (2007).

mind the religious definition of space in the Forum – but at the same time, it is hard to use this fact to draw many conclusions about the spatial experience of those who populated its space. All space in the city of Rome was ritually defined; indeed the very concept of space in Roman thought is arguably derived from augury.¹⁶² We cannot deduce on purely theoretical grounds how different the space of the Forum was from any other in this respect.

A more useful question asks how the ritual space of the Forum was marked in concrete terms. The daily repetition of ritual, and especially the rituals that marked the opening of assemblies in the Forum, was an important factor, but the architectural form of the space was also important, and this was in fact somewhat permeable and ill-defined. The sacred nature of the Athenian agora, including ritual restrictions to access, was made plain by a boundary of *horoi* and basins containing water for ritual washing before entering.¹⁶³ The Roman Republican forum did not have such an obvious, architecturally demarcated boundary, making it a more accessible space.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, religion did have a strong architectural presence in the area. Temples and other sacred monuments around the Forum square, set high on hills or on their podiums, dominated the space visually and provided a permanent reminder of the control wielded by the gods and the necessity of appropriate behaviour to maintain the *pax deorum*. Originally, Rome's connection with its gods was mediated by the monarchy, but other institutions quickly stepped in to fill the gap. The fall of the monarchy was quickly followed by the completion of the monumental temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, and the Forum itself was soon adorned with the first of its own large-scale temples, those of Castor and Pollux and Saturn.¹⁶⁵ The

¹⁶² Rykwert (1976); Catalano (1978); Coarelli (2001), (2007).

¹⁶³ For Athens, see Martin (1951) 164-201; Millett (1998); Cole (2004) 42-7. Sewell (2009) 66-80 considers both the Athenian evidence and its applicability to the Roman context.

¹⁶⁴ The spatial extent of the forum, a matter of controversy today, was fixed in antiquity; it could be enclosed by ropes: D. Hal. 7.59; App. *B.C.* 3.30; Cic. *Sest.* 124 refers to the *cancelli fori*. On the modern debate, see Purcell (1989). The pits or *pozzetti* found in the forum are the subject of much debate: Mouritsen (2004); Coarelli (2005). They do seem to trace the limits of the space at both ends. One set runs in a straight line along the front of the Basilica Julia; another passes in front of the Rostra; there are several different groups in the area of the Comitium and another, in two phases, running along the east end of the forum, under the temple of Divus Julius: Huelsen (1905) 65 fig. 21; Lugli (1946) 118 fig. 22; Cecchini (1985) 71 fig. 7; Giuliani/Verduchi (1987). Coarelli (1985) 125-31 suggests that those along the boundaries of the forum may have been used to hold posts marking off the entire space. He further connects this space to Varro's mention of the forum as *septem iugera* (*RR* 1.2.9); since the forum is not seven *iugera* in dimension, he emends convincingly to *saepia iugera*.

¹⁶⁵ The literary tradition (Liv. 2.20.12; 2.42.5; D. Hal. 6.13) places the temple of Castor and Pollux in the very early fifth century BCE. The surviving parts of the tufa podium of the earliest temple indeed date to this period, and confirm that the fifth-century temple was not much smaller than the Augustan rebuilding now visible and stood on a podium up to five metres tall. For the archaeological material, see Nielsen/Poulsen (1992); Nielsen (1993). The temple of Saturn at the other end of the Forum was, according to tradition, vowed by Tarquinius Superbus but built and dedicated under the Republic (Varr. *ap. Macr. Sat.* 1.8.1; D. Hal. 6.1.4). A cult of Saturn was thought to have existed on the same spot long before. The temple as it stands today is later, and nothing can be said about the size or appearance of the early building; but the parallels of Castor and Jupiter Optimus Maximus suggest that it too was on a monumental scale. On the ideological

Curia and possibly also the Comitium were *templa*, and numerous smaller shrines dotted the area.¹⁶⁶ The specific religious connotations of the Forum and the ritual practices and architectural features which marked them together thus distinguished it from other public space in the city, and in particular marked it as political space.

Not all of the space of the Forum was at all times devoted to public meetings. Some areas were more ‘political’ than others. The Comitium may have existed as open space set aside for public meetings even before the draining of the rest of the Forum. Recent geological investigations have shown that the area would have been a prominent natural feature: a flattish area standing above the marsh and less prone to flooding, it was also dominated by several small hillocks of cappellaccio protruding from the soil (Figure 3.5).¹⁶⁷ This natural theatre was enhanced at a very early period (perhaps the end of the seventh century) when the ground level was deliberately lowered, making the hillocks more prominent. It is tempting to see in these the precursors of the later Rostra. The Romans attributed both Comitium and Curia to Tullus Hostilius (Cic. *Rep.* 2.31). The area was defined both religiously and architecturally throughout its existence, even if the details of its architectural form are controversial.¹⁶⁸ The Lapis Niger, one of the very earliest pieces of evidence we have for Rome’s political, social and religious organization, was located here and is inscribed with what appears to be a *lex sacra*.¹⁶⁹ It is not necessary to favour one reconstruction of the text over another to see that it prohibits some behaviour in a certain space, presumably to be connected with the *templum* of the Comitium. The architectural framing of the Comitium was seen by the Romans themselves as a spatial boundary: Cicero reports that Tullus Hostilius *fecit... idem et saepsit de manubiis comitium et curiam* – ‘himself built and fenced in the Comitium and Curia with money from the *manubiae*’ (*Rep.* 2.31). A miniature boom in building in the fourth century, connected to the figure of C. Maenius (cos. 338), lent the area a new monumentality. It was Maenius who placed ships’ beaks on the speaker’s platform, henceforth known as the *rostra*; he and his consular colleague L.

considerations surrounding the new republic’s dedication of a temple to Saturn, see Gros/Torelli (1988) 83-84.

¹⁶⁶ Carafa (1998) 117 returns to the argument of Mommsen (1845) that the Comitium was not a *templum*; see also Vaathera (1993); the most accepted account is that of Detlefsen (1860), followed by e.g. Coarelli (1983b) 140, arguing that the whole Comitium was an inaugurated *templum*.

¹⁶⁷ Ammermann (1996).

¹⁶⁸ The Comitium area is currently undergoing fresh excavation; until results are published, we must rely principally on the excavations of Boni (1900), Romanelli (1984) and Squarciapino (reported in Carafa (1998) 72-83). The poor state of documentation of these excavations has not noticeably checked the ongoing debate on the date and form of the Comitium in its various stages; Ammermann (1996) has a useful summary, with substantial bibliography. On dating, see especially Gjerstad (1941); Coarelli (1983b) 11-123; Carafa (1998). The reconstructions of Coarelli (1985) 11-123 have been widely reproduced, including here as Figure 3.6, but are far from universally accepted; see Purcell (1989) 161; Carafa (1998); Amici (2004-2005). Most recently, Lackner (2009) 260-65, especially 260 n.277, defends Coarelli’s argument, but see the cautionary words of Gros (2010).

¹⁶⁹ Palmer (1968); for a good overview of the various controversies surrounding the text and its reconstruction, see Smith (1996) 169-71.

Furius Camillus were also honoured with equestrian statues placed on the Rostra, which then became a focus for honorific monuments.¹⁷⁰

The defined area of the Comitium was the primary space within the Forum dedicated to political activity. Varro writes *comitium ab eo quod coibant eo comitiis curiatis et litium causa* – ‘the Comitium is so called because people come together there for the curiate meetings and lawsuits’ (LL 5.155). This is to be contrasted with his definition of ‘forum’ slightly earlier: *quo conferrent suas controversias et quae venderentur vellent quo ferrent, forum appellarunt* – ‘the place where where they bring together their decision-making and where they carry what they wish to sell, they called “forum”’ (LL 5.145). This definition refers to fora in general, not specifically to the Forum Romanum, but Varro’s phrase reminds us that the presence of commercial activity is well attested in the Forum Romanum. The Comitium was defined as a political space, theoretically to the exclusion of retail, in a way which was not extended to the rest of the Forum square. The architectural definition of the space of the Comitium, the concentration of honorific monuments standing as *exempla*, and the shrines which monumentalized its ritual definition helped create a permanent political zone where appropriate behaviour may have been expected. Architectural features provided fixed restrictions on movement: the height of the Rostra would have been a hindrance to any spectator who wished to disrupt a speech, for example. When a meeting was called, however, ritual activity and the presence of officials and attendants were also called upon to enforce any restrictions on entrance or behaviour. The space thus created was both communal (although restricted to certain members of the community, i.e. adult male citizens) and related to the *res publica*, but still falls short of the uncontrolled space I have called ‘public’, at least in theory.

Such restrictions are less plausible for the larger open space of the main Forum square, at least in the early and middle republic. Its sheer size provided one difficulty, and as noted above it would have been full of all kinds of people shopping, loitering, or merely passing through on business unconnected to political activity narrowly defined. The existence of such uncontrolled space in immediate proximity to the ‘political’ space of the Comitium and Curia must have been a constant threat to the order of public meetings. A different problem was that as Rome’s population grew, the Comitium was no longer large enough to serve it. These two problems may seem unrelated, but the political implications of the eventual transfer of public meetings from the Comitium to the open square demonstrate that the question of who was able to gain access to the Comitium was an important one. If we see the late second and early first centuries BCE as a time of conflict between mass and elite – and that is certainly how our sources report these events – then restricting political participation to the relatively controlled space of the Comitium would have been attractive to those wishing to maintain dominance over the assembly. Control directed towards specific political ends has not been a feature of the discussion so far, but it is worth noting the dominating position which the Curia (and indeed the Rostra) held with respect to the

¹⁷⁰ Liv. 8.14.2; in general on the redefinition of the Comitium in the period, see Gros/Torelli (1988) 94-96. Carafa (1998) 143-47 is sceptical of the possibility of reconstructing these interventions in detail. Coarelli (1985) 11-123 has important information on many of the minor monuments in the area. For the early development of the tradition of honorific or political monuments more broadly, see Hölscher (1978).

Comitium. Livy calls the Comitium the ‘vestibule of the Curia’ (45.24.12). By the first century BCE, what is more, both were overlooked by Opimius’ ideologically-charged temple of Concordia.¹⁷¹ The topography of the area made plain the primacy of elite speakers and senatorial decision-making, a topic already well treated in the literature.¹⁷² It also provided plenty of opportunity for more concrete methods of control based on surveillance from above and the proximity of the Carcer and even the Tarpeian Rock.

In 145 BCE, the tribune C. Licinius Crassus defied precedent and conducted a public meeting in the open Forum square.¹⁷³ He, and all speakers who followed his example, still stood on the Rostra, but turned their back towards Comitium and Curia. The act was interpreted at least by the next generation as a populist move; Cicero tells the story as part of his characterization of Crassus as *popularis*, at least at that time, Varro puts it in the context of agrarian legislation, and Plutarch, although he mistakenly ascribes the change to Gaius Gracchus, tells us that that it implied that the people were more important than the Senate and thus moved the constitution from *aristokratia* to *demokratia*. The turn away from the Curia was ideologically important, but practically the turn away from the restricted, controlled space of the Comitium to the more accessible Forum square must have had a considerable, direct impact. But the uncontrolled nature of the public space was also problematic. Orators facing outwards were making a programmatic statement that they were unwilling to accept the control of senatorial groups over the political process. But a space like the mid-republican Forum, to be imagined as Plautus describes it, thronged with every kind of person and activity, was too uncontrolled to serve as political space.

Between Plautus’ time and the end of the Republic, in parallel to its new designation as the space for assembly, the space of the open Forum square came to be refashioned physically and ideologically.¹⁷⁴ The regularity of the plan of the late Republican and Augustan forum (Fig. 3.2, 3.3), so well known and relatively similar to that which can be experienced on the ground today, makes it hard to imagine that in the early second century BCE the piazza took a more organic, irregular shape. Over time, the Basilica Aemilia to the north and Basilica Sempronia to the south fixed the orientation of the long sides of the piazza and defined the space as a rectangle.¹⁷⁵ We do not know the orientation of all the buildings that preceded them, but at least some of the tabernae had followed an older

¹⁷¹ L. Opimius, *cos.* 121 BCE, erected this temple and the neighbouring basilica after the defeat and death of Gaius Gracchus (App. *BC* 1.26). The choice of dedicatee, ostensibly to heal civil dissent, deceived no one, and it was broadly taken as a glorification of the victory of the nobility; Plutarch (*C. Gracchus* 17.8-9) reports that it was graffitied.

¹⁷² On the height of the Rostra: Pina Polo (1996) 23-25; for broader discussion of the ideological and practical effects of the physical form of the Comitium, see Döbler (1999) 22-62; Mouritsen (2001) especially 18-20; Morstein-Marx (2004) 42-57.

¹⁷³ Cic. *Amic.* 96; Varr. *RR* 1.2.9. Plutarch (*C. Gracch.* 5.3) ascribes the change to Gaius Gracchus, but this should be taken as a doublet; see Morstein-Marx (2004) 45-47, *contra* Mouritsen (2001) 20-25.

¹⁷⁴ Favro (1996) 56 considers the new ‘choreography’ of the Forum in terms of a unified spatial experience. In general on the second- and early first-century reorganisation of the Forum, see especially Gros (1978) 16-18; Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) 7-10.

¹⁷⁵ On the controversy surrounding the location of the Basilica Aemilia, see below n. 257.

orientation, perhaps eventually deriving from the cardinal orientation of the Area Vestae and Regia.¹⁷⁶ As the tabernae were incorporated into the basilicas, they gained uniform façades, presenting a united aspect of columns or pilasters which created a visual link to the temples nearby. The so-called Tabularium on the slopes of the Capitoline defined the north-western short end of the square with a similarly articulated façade, and below Opimius' basilica and Temple of Concord continued the theme.¹⁷⁷ At the south-eastern end, the Fornix Fabianus created a monumental entryway.¹⁷⁸ Once the basilicas were in place, a new paving of the Forum square, in conjunction with the little-understood system of underground passageways, acknowledged and fixed the new shape of the square and its coherence as a single unit.¹⁷⁹ At the same time new structures were provided into which some of the mixed commercial activity characteristic of Plautus' Forum moved. The new Macellum was nearby, but the development of the port area with great granaries (including the structure known as the 'porticus Aemilia') and new arrangements for the public distribution of grain redirected food provision into other areas of the city.¹⁸⁰ It is not at all clear which *intervallum* Varro means when he writes *hoc intervallo forensis dignitas crevit*, in connection with the substitution of bankers for butchers, but the second century certainly saw a transformation which fits the bill.¹⁸¹ These interventions and others like them took place over many years and did not flow from a single, deliberate design.¹⁸² Over time,

¹⁷⁶ See below p. 73-4.

¹⁷⁷ The building commonly known as the Tabularium has become the focus of a new wave of topographical investigation in recent years. A now-lost inscription, the findspot of which is not as certain as one might like, records that C. Lutatius Catulus, one of Sulla's most loyal followers and *cos.* 78, constructed a *substructio* and *tabularium*. The massive substructures of the Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitoline, which are of Sullan date, have long been connected with this inscription, but Purcell (1993) questioned the identification and proposed that the building was, instead, the Atrium Libertatis. His conclusion has not won widespread approval, but has prompted others to consider the true identification of the so-called Tabularium. Tucci (2005) conducted new investigations in the area and found that it should be taken as the substructures of a temple. Most recently, Coarelli (forthcoming) finds that the podium supported three temples of Sullan date: the Genius Populus, Fausta Felicitas, and Venus Victrix. If he is correct, this new Capitoline triad would have completely altered the spatial experience of the Forum, dominating the space along the primary axis; the visually overwhelming substructures preserved were only a minor part of the visual and ideological impact of the whole complex.

¹⁷⁸ Until this period, it is arguably more accurate to see the Forum as a widening of the Via Sacra; once the arch was in place (shortly after 121 BCE: Degrassi (1947) 560), it gains a separate existence of its own. Note Crassus' quip *ita sibi ipsum magnum videri Memmium ut in forum descendens caput ad fornicem Fabii demitteret* (reported by Cic. *de Orat.* 2.267).

¹⁷⁹ The date of this pavement is disputed; Giuliani/Verduchi (1987) 52-61 assign it to the Sullan period, while Coarelli (1985) 211-33 supports the earlier consensus that it should be seen as Caesarian. Purcell (1989) 162 points out the importance of the paving itself as a monument, and see 157-58 for discussion of the role of the Forum as a unit rather than a collection of individual buildings.

¹⁸⁰ Morel (1987). On grain distribution, see Virlouvet (1987). For wider discussion of the topography of Rome's food supply, see Rickman (1980).

¹⁸¹ For a useful summary of scholarly hypotheses on the date of Varro's *intervallum*, see Papi (1999).

¹⁸² It may be the case, however, that the fire of 210 BCE prompted many of the changes: Welch (2006a) 501. The full process, however, took much longer; for example, as Ertel/Freyberger (2007) and Freyberger et al. (2007) demonstrate, the Basilica Aemilia of 179 was a much less imposing

however, the result was a move away from a fragmented space to a well-defined area which resembled the agora of a planned Greek polis, bounded with rectilinear columnar stoas.¹⁸³

The process of regularization in space was paralleled by a conceptual shift in Roman political thought.¹⁸⁴ Over the same period, the second and early first centuries BCE, a raft of new legislation laid down regulations concerning the workings of politics and the progression of individuals through the system. Bribery and corruption were the focus of many laws; others stipulated minimum ages for office-holding and set intervals between repeated tenure of the same office.¹⁸⁵ The ballot laws of the 130s also fall into this trend, and Sulla's reorganization of Rome's political and judicial system represents its culmination.¹⁸⁶ All of these measures were intended to curb the excesses of aristocratic competition, and thus arguably made it easier for a young member of the elite to fulfil his political destiny; in doing so, however, they also made the inner workings of politics more transparent to a wider group. Debates surrounding the characterization of Roman political life in this period are not my main concern here, but the apparent political mobilization of the *Ordo Equester* by the Gracchi and the massive extension of the franchise to Italians after the Social War did conclusively change the relationship between politicians and voters over the course of the late second and early first centuries.

The conversion of the wider Forum into political space through regularization and monumentalization was both a part of and a consequence of the changes affecting Roman political life.¹⁸⁷ More participants meant more space was needed; the regulatory curbs on

building. Its preserved column-bases represent intercolumniations too large to support a second storey, which was added in a reconstruction at some later date but before 80 BCE.

¹⁸³ On Greek parallels see further Martin (1972); Welch (2003) 7 notes that 'by the 160s... the appearance of the Forum had changed from its old Italic configuration (central space surrounded by atrium houses) to something closer to that of Greek public squares (surrounded by colonnades)'.

¹⁸⁴ Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) 5 sees a close causal connection to the end of the second Punic war and the turning of attention inwards, to the city and political life.

¹⁸⁵ The *quaestio de repetundis* was founded in 149 BCE: Cic. *Brut.* 106, *Off.* 75. The *Lex Villia Annalis* of 180 laid down minimum ages for office-holding: Liv. 40.44.1, and see Astin (1958). *Leges de ambitu* are attested for 181 and 159: Liv. 40.19.11, Liv. *Per.* 47. See especially Lintott (1990) for these laws, the group of later bribery laws in the mid-first century, and the relevance of contemporary sumptuary legislation to political life.

¹⁸⁶ Cic. *Leg.* 3.35-39 has a full, if one-sided, account of the evolution of Roman ballot legislation. The *Lex Gabinia* in 139 provided for secret ballot in elections; in 137, a *Lex Cassia* extended its provisions to trials before the people, and the *Lex Papiria* of 131 applied the secret ballot to legislation. Finally in 107 a *Lex Coelia* included treason trials, which had not been covered by the *Lex Cassia*. Cicero links this group with the *Lex Maria* of 119, which provided that the *pontes* across which a voter passed to cast his vote should be made narrower, with the aim of making it harder for anyone to see what he had written on his tablet – a clear example of the link between topographical and political regularization.

¹⁸⁷ Both can also be inserted into the even broader trend of reconceptualization and reorganization in all aspects of Roman life which has been called the Roman cultural revolution. Wallace-Hadrill (2008) finds that Romans, often specifically prompted by contact with the Greek world, were engaged in a process of redefinition of their own cultural identity in precisely this period. Just as in his examples, the monumentalization and regularization of the entire city was process taken on

traditional forms of aristocratic control, as well as the traditionally public, uncontrolled nature of the wider Forum meant that the space itself had to be rebuilt and reimagined as a space of *dignitas*, populated (at least in the imagination of men like Cicero) by the right sort of wealthy, politically engaged citizens. A more regular physical space helped achieve control as well as mirror it. The enclosing barriers of regular, columnar facades recalled the porticoed *temene* of religious enclosures; as in the case of the Comitium, sacred space was an important origin and model for political space. More broadly, the unified visual impact of the porticos and the formal entrance provided by the Fornix Fabianus helped to create a sense that this was a space divided from the rest of the city, different in quality from the uncontrolled streets beyond. The actual use of the square for *contiones* and voting assemblies would have created congestion and made the Forum a less attractive route for passers-by or location for shopkeepers, and, as discussed below (p. 68) the change from butchers to bankers in the tabernae would have brought a different clientele.

The effect on the visitor of entering a space designated ideologically and visually as a political space should not be underestimated. Just as the orator addressed the assembled crowd as the *populus Romanus*, giving no heed to the presence of non-citizens or indeed to the absence of many members of the *populus*, the architecture and decoration of the second- and first-century BCE monumentalized Forum addressed the viewer as a Roman citizen and political participant. Statues of famous men crowded the piazza, many dressed in exactly the same toga as the male citizen viewer, with only the purple stripe of high office to distinguish them; this, and their exalted position, marked them as different from the ordinary man but also encouraged him to aspire to emulate them, a process involving a necessary degree of identification. The grandeur of the architecture, decorated with the trappings of conquest, called to mind pride in Rome's power and reach and the viewer's personal contribution to her achievements. Specific architectural and monumental types associated with political activity, from the Rostra to the monuments of earlier politicians, and the increasing absence of other types of space, meant that political meetings and rhetoric were a part of the spatial experience even when no formal political activity was taking place. Much of this is true of the Forum at all stages of its development, but all of these factors were heightened by the architectural changes of the later republican period. As a whole, the monumental complex drew attention to the citizenship status of each person who passed through; in Althusserian terms, it interpellated the viewer as citizen, creating an expectation that he would behave as such.¹⁸⁸

partly as a self-conscious response to Rome's increasing prominence in the Mediterranean and Romans' increasing acquaintance with the adornments of Hellenistic cities; in an oft-cited passage, Livy makes Macedonian courtiers in 182 BCE express their contempt for the *speciem ipsius urbis nondum exornatae neque publicis neque privatis locis* (40.5.7). Similarly, one can point to Cicero's *de Republica* and *de Legibus* as evidence that the reorganization of Rome's political life fit the pattern of exploring relationships between Roman tradition and Greek intellectual models.

¹⁸⁸ Morstein-Marx (2004) 15. By contrast, of course, the same mechanisms worked to erase traces of the presence of non-citizen viewers. Nicolet (1980) puts forward a sophisticated account of the institutions which moulded the identity of the Roman citizen.

Individual control and political space

The combined impact of the changes in the architectural form and ideological representation of the Forum between roughly the 170s and the 80s BCE was to create a larger political space, still thought of as ‘public’ and free from dominance by any one individual, but still subject to a range of controls over access and behaviour. It represented a type of space different from both the uncontrolled public space of Plautus’ streets (and arguably Plautus’ Forum) and the controlled space thought of as ‘private’. As a group, the political elite had a keen interest in maintaining it as a neutral zone, beyond the control of specific individuals or factions. This meant imposing the communal control which defined political space. But another type of control was also in play. Simultaneously, of course, individuals and groups who wanted to influence or indeed dominate the political process used any means they could to exert control, if only temporarily, over the space of the Forum. The result was an ongoing process of push and pull between individual interventions and communal control.

The most obvious manifestations of private control in the Forum and its immediate environs were the actual privately-owned buildings which surrounded it for much of its history. It is too often forgotten that in the middle and late republic, the legal status of the land surrounding the forum was not unified. Multiple sources report that, as well as the temples and other early public buildings, the Republican forum was surrounded by atria and tabernae. From a purely legal point of view it is clear that both atria and tabernae could be privately owned.¹⁸⁹ Livy reports a number of transactions concerning land in the area, which were presumably the subject of official records since public money was involved. So in 184, Livy writes that Cato, as censor, *in publicum emit* – ‘bought for public ownership’ – two atria near the Lautumiae, the Maenium and the Titium, and four tabernae to use the land for his new basilica (39.44.7). Livy’s phrase tells us that the land was previously privately-owned, but that the new building, erected with censorial funds (implied by the context in Livy, explicitly at Plut. *Cat. mai.* 19.2) was public. In 169, the censor Tiberius Sempronius performed the same transaction, and this time Livy is more forthcoming about the details:

Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia quae ipsi attributa erat aedes P. Africani pone Veteres ad Vortumni signum lanienasque et tabernas coniunctas in publicum emit basilicamque faciendam curavit, quae postea Sempronia appellata est.

(Liv. 44.16.10)

Titus Sempronius, out of the money assigned to him, bought for public ownership the house of Publius Africanus behind the Tabernae Veteres towards the statue of Vertumnus and the butchers and tabernae attached to it and had a basilica built, which afterwards was called the Basilica Sempronia.

Again, censorial money is used to buy private property consisting of houses and shops to use for a new public building. These passages are very clear that before the two basilicas were built, the land on which they stood was privately owned and used for both domestic

¹⁸⁹ Gros/Torelli (1988) 97 assume that the tabernae were public, a view countered by Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) 6.

and commercial occupancy. The fact that these may be the same plots originally believed to have been granted by the kings has no discernable effect on their owners' claim to legal ownership and the right to sell. Presumably similar privately-owned residential and commercial buildings occupied the rest of the area.

The tabernae were used for retail. It might be suggested that they also had official storage and administrative functions. On the face of it, this seems likely; items such as the wooden structures for voting, apparatus relating to games in the forum and so on had to be kept somewhere, and the space available for administration and bureaucracy in the temples and other buildings to which our sources assign them may not have been adequate. It is worth noting, however, that there is no unambiguous evidence of the tabernae being used as offices or for storage of articles relating to public business, and the assumption may be based on our own tendency to imagine the Forum as public or political space.¹⁹⁰ Partly, such an image of a Forum dominated by official activity is derived from the later imperial fora: the Forum Julium is equipped with spaces corresponding to tabernae on its long sides, and these must have originally been used as administrative offices, since Caesar excluded commerce from his new complex. The explicit exclusion implies a contrast, something which is emphasised by Appian (who is our source here), and must therefore be taken as evidence for the continuing use of the Forum Romanum tabernae for commercial functions.¹⁹¹

There may even have been a residential component, as in the tabernae with living quarters in a mezzanine which we know were available to rent at Pompeii.¹⁹² Varro understood that butchers had been among the early occupiers of the shops later used for financial business and thus known as the Tabernae Argentariae, writing *hoc intervallo primum forensis dignitas crevit atque ex tabernis lanienis argentariae factae* – ‘during this period the dignity of the forum first increased and the butchers’ shops became bankers’ (ap. Non. fr. 853 Lindsay).¹⁹³ The change was not immediate and other businesses were present too, since Plautus envisages Epidicus searching *in foro / per myropolia et lanienas circumque argentarias* – ‘in the forum, through the perfume shops and the butchers’ and around the bankers’ (Pl.

¹⁹⁰ Purcell (1995) 334 cites Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.38 as evidence for administrative functions, but this passage merely recounts that the façade of one shop was decorated with a shield. Such adornments by triumphators or aediles are known from elsewhere in our sources and do not necessarily imply that the shop within was not operating as usual; Liv. 9.40.16 (for which, see below p. 67) explicitly mentions that the shields were distributed to the *domini argentariarum*. A second rationale underlying the assumption that these should be official spaces is the repetition of the pattern of a forum enclosed by lines of tabernae in colonies such as Cosa, whose planned fora have sometimes erroneously been seen as ordered political spaces. For a variety of retail activity in the tabernae of Cosa, see Fentress (2003) 14 (wine); Brown/Richardson/Richardson (1993) 70, 92-3 (metalworking and food). In general on tabernae and other aspects of colonial fora, see Lackner (2009); Sewell (2009).

¹⁹¹ App. *BC* 2.102

¹⁹² Pirson (1997)

¹⁹³ It is unclear what time period is meant; for the debate see Papi (1999) with bibliography. For further discussion of this passage and its context, see n. 200 below.

Epid. 198-99).¹⁹⁴ The butchers survived until at least 170 BCE, if Livy is to be believed (44.16.10).

The legal status of the tabernae immediately bordering the Forum (the Tabernae Veteres along the south side, and the Tabernae Argentariae or Novae along the North) is not clear in our sources. These are later incorporated into the basilicas, and it is often assumed that in their final form they served public functions.¹⁹⁵ Various stages of the Tabulae Argentariae are preserved archaeologically, and have recently been re-examined.¹⁹⁶ The earliest surviving phase, assigned by the German team working on the monument to the rebuilding after the fire of 210 BCE known as the Tabernae Novae, are on a markedly different orientation from the standing remains of the later basilica (Fig. 3.7), reminding us that the regularization of the Forum's central square took some time. Built of Grotta Oscura tufa, they would not have presented a particularly monumental aspect. As the basilica developed behind them, the tabernae were again rebuilt on various occasions, bringing them into line with the new orientation. The first basilica was structurally separate from the tabernae, but each rebuilding brought a closer link and when, at some point before 80 BCE, the basilica was given its second storey, this was extended over the tabernae, which were entirely rebuilt with new dividing walls and barrel vaults. Two were destroyed to make way for stairs. The final stage included a portico in front of the shops, bringing total architectural unity to the row and integrating them into the monumental architecture of the Forum as a whole. The exact details of the process are debatable, and the archaeological evidence admits of several different reconstructions, but the general trend is unmistakably towards closer architectural and visual integration with the basilica. Each stage of the rebuilding would have involved cooperation between the owner or owners of the tabernae, those operating them, and the patron responsible for the basilica, which was on public land. It might well have simplified matters enormously if the tabernae too were publicly-owned, but there is no firm evidence.

The passage of Livy quoted above concerning the building of the Basilica Sempronia refers to an analogous situation as that architecturally preserved for the Basilica Aemilia and the Tabernae Argentariae. The Tabernae Veteres were already in place when Sempronius was buying land behind them for his basilica; he did not alter them, and their legal status is not mentioned here (or anywhere else). Livy's account of the building of the Basilica Aemilia (or at least a basilica on the north side of the Forum behind the Tabernae Argentariae, which his text as it stands assigns to Aemilius' censorial colleague Fulvius Nobilior) does not mention any changes to the Tabernae Argentariae, but he had included another entirely new set of tabernae in the project.¹⁹⁷ Livy is concerned with the transactions surrounding these as well, and they provide a further parallel. Fulvius builds *basilicam post argentarias novas et forum piscatorium circumdatas tabernis quas vendidit in privatum* – 'a basilica behind the Tabulae Argentariae Novae and a fish-market with tabernae around it which he

¹⁹⁴ For an exhaustive account of the commercial activity in the area surrounding the Forum, see Papi (2002).

¹⁹⁵ Purcell (1995) 334.

¹⁹⁶ Ertel/Freyberger (2007); Freyberger et al. (2007).

¹⁹⁷ On the controversy arising from this passage about the identification of the first basilica in this location, see below n. 257.

sold into private ownership' (40.51.5). The new tabernae around the *forum piscatorium* are not directly on the square, and, as in the case of Sempronius and the Tabernae Veteres, the Tabernae Argentariae (Novae) seem to have been unaffected by the building activity. But it is worth noting that Fulvius' new tabernae were built as a unit with public funds but then sold to private owners, perhaps to help defray the expense of the larger project. *Vendidit in privatum* is emphatic, reversing Livy's usual phrase *emit in publicum* – 'bought for public ownership' (44.16.10, 39.44.7). The existence of this parallel means that the public funds, architectural unity and centralised planning implied in the construction of sets of tabernae like the various stages of the Tabernae Argentariae or the Tabernae Septem cannot be automatically taken as proof that they were publicly-owned.¹⁹⁸

For a later date, there is more evidence the tabernae immediately surrounding the Forum were indeed publicly-owned, though it is still difficult to draw any firm conclusions. Vitruvius, in attempting to differentiate the Roman forum from the Greek agora, makes note of the Roman use of fora for games, and thus the practice of surrounding fora with porticos, tabernae and balconies from which the games may be viewed, *quae et ad usum et ad vectigalia publica recta erant distributa* – 'which were laid out correctly for use and public revenue' (5.1.2). The *vectigalia* may come from shop rents or from the practice of selling seating rights on the balconies for viewing. In context, it is seating rather than rents which is uppermost in Vitruvius' mind, and the question of rents is thrown into question by a later legal text:

qui tabernas argentarias vel ceteras quae in solo publico sunt vendit, non solum, sed ius vendit, cum istae tabernae publicae sunt, quarum usus ad privatos pertinet
(Ulp. *Dig.* 18.1.32)

One who sells tabernae argentariae or others which are on public land sells not the land, but the usufruct, since these tabernae are public, but their use attaches to private individuals.

Ulpian does not mean tabernae leased by the state for a regular rent, but the sale of usufruct. It is unclear exactly what relevance this passage can have to the Republican Tabernae Argentariae or Novae in the Forum, which would have been absorbed into the Basilica Paulli and the Porticus Gai et Luci long before his time. Even so, it is possible that they did constitute a special kind of space, on public soil but under the day-to-day authority of a shopkeeper.¹⁹⁹ Ulpian's distinction between *solum* and *ius* reminds us that although legal

¹⁹⁸ The Tabernae Septem, which were rebuilt after the fire of 210 as five, and thus known as the Tabernae Quinque: Liv. 26.27.2, 27.11.16. Their location in the forum is unknown; Richardson (1992) would place them on the Argiletum or continuing the Tabernae Argentariae beyond the shrine of Cloacina; Coarelli (1985) 148-49 and Papi (2002) suggest below the Capitol.

¹⁹⁹ Support for this proposition might be drawn from their apparent wholesale change in function from butchers' to bankers' shops at some point in the late fourth or early third century BCE. For debates over the exact date of the change, see Papi (1999). The relevant text is a fragment of Varro reported by Nonius Marcellus: *TABERNAS non vinarias solum, ut nunc dicimus, sed omnis quae sunt popularis usus, auctoritas Romana patefacit. Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. II: 'hoc intervallo primum forensis dignitas crevit atque ex tabernis lanienis argentariae factae'* (Non. 853 Lindsay). The change Varro refers to could have involved state intervention, but could equally have been a more gradual process instigated by individual owners. But Varro and Nonius are not making exactly the same point,

ownership is often the foundation of who has control over behaviour and access in a given space, it is not the only determining factor. A delicate balance must be concealed behind texts like Livy 9.40.16, on the fate of some enemy booty: *dominis argentariarum ad forum ornandum dividerentur* – ‘they were divided among the masters of the Tabernae Argentariae to adorn the Forum’. The word *dominus*, used of the proprietors of the shops, implies legal ownership and control, but they are being ordered by the consuls to decorate their facades in a unified way.²⁰⁰

As a whole, the evidence for the legal status of tabernae in and near the forum is not conclusive, but there are hints that public ownership, at least in theory, was a possibility. More importantly for the reconstruction of people’s daily spatial experience, they originally served a variety of commercial functions. The prestigious location and decoration, as well as their architectural unity, distinguished the Tabernae Veteres and Argentariae from others in the city. In other respects, however, the spatial experience they offered was not so different from that offered by other tabernae in prestigious locations such as the upper Sacra Via nearby. If they were rented out by the state, there may indeed have been some confusion over precisely how much control individual proprietors had over the use or decoration of their shops, but no more so than in the case of tabernae rented out by private owners. In fact, the proprietors of tabernae built in front of public buildings rather than, as previously, flanking the fauces of an atrium house would have had more individual control on a day-to-day basis of the spaces they rented because they were not constantly overlooked by their landlord.²⁰¹ In any case, the tabernae were not public space in the same way as the square

which obscures the issue. Nonius’ references to *auctoritas Romana* and *popularis usus* must be somewhat loose, since they also apply to the *tabernae vinariae* which are his main focus. It is only Varro’s reference to the Tabernae Argentariae, which we are used to thinking of as somehow public, which leads modern readers to take this as a statement about legal status. Either the state had much broader authority over tabernae of all kinds than we might suspect, or Nonius is simply pointing out that the word *tabernae* can be used to refer to all kinds of shops which are open to casual passers-by and not just wine shops. Either option makes this a valuable text for the nuances of Roman concepts of public and private, of course, and in terms of spatial experience rather than legal exactitude the result is more or less the same: these are spaces which are under the control of individual shopkeepers but which either communal authority or common practice expect to be accessible. The distinction between ownership and usufruct is of course not an anomaly in Roman law: for the usufruct of tabernae, which included the right to let, see Ulp. *Dig.* 7.1.27.1.

²⁰⁰ The passage has been taken as evidence for both propositions: for state control, Platner/Ashby (1929) 504 (*s.v. Tabernae circa forum*); for *domini* as legal owners, Papi (1999). At Plin. *NH* 21.8 we meet an *argentarius* at the time of the second Punic war who seems to have control not only over his shop, but also *pergula sua* above. On the other hand, Purcell (1995) 334 interprets the practice of ‘shutting the shops’ in a *iustitium* as an indication of public ownership of the space. The power was used, according to Livy, in the early Republic during states of military emergency and is attested as a tactic of tribunes of the plebs in the late Republic: Liv. 3.27.2, 4.31.99, 9.6.8; Cic. *Dom.* 54, 89-90; *Acad.* 2.144. The early examples refer not just to the tabernae in the forum, but throughout the city (Liv. 3.27.2: *tota urbe*). Given the wide-ranging powers of tribunes of the plebs, it seems more likely that the later practice was likewise not based on legal ownership. It involved a popular tribune stirring up a large crowd in the forum, using physical control based on sheer numbers.

²⁰¹ On rental and the varieties of relationships between atrium houses and the tabernae built into them, see Parkins (1997); Pirson (1997). Tabernae attached to the houses surrounding the forum:

beyond. They represent a strong commercial element in the makeup of the Forum Romanum, and consisted of semi-public, controlled space. Individual proprietors operated the shops and could restrict access or make demands on the behaviour of patrons and visitors.

Over time, the particular spatial experience offered by the *tabernae* changed. The rental or sale price of such prime retail estate would have been high, and this alone might explain why they were eventually mainly used for financial businesses. Even so, Varro's connection of financial activity with *forensis dignitas* is also relevant to spatial experience. As the types of business which used the *tabernae* gradually evolved, their clientele would have changed, as would the mechanisms of behavioural control exerted over patrons. A butcher's and a banker's are different kinds of space. Prestigious decoration and the increasing prestige of the location, as well as its visibility, implied that a certain standard of behaviour was expected. The financial function excluded many members of society who operated at a subsistence level.²⁰² The presence of money presumably also meant guards, exercising a formal coercive function. A distinction should also be drawn between banking activity in the open forum square, a characteristic feature of Roman life which relied on visibility and surveillance, and transactions carried on in the more 'private' environment of the *tabernae*.²⁰³ Business in the square itself relied on communal norms to enforce appropriate behaviour on both bankers and clients, but in the *tabernae* individual proprietors could apply their own codes. For visitors to the Forum, the increasing predominance of banking over other kinds of commercial activity meant that the *tabernae* became places where more control was exerted over access and behaviour than previously, and could therefore be conceptualised as more 'private'. Paradoxically, this change depending on the imposition of private control conformed to the general tendency for the later Republican Forum to be imagined as a more controlled, sanitised political space occupied, at least in theory, by a self-policing community of the relatively wealthy.

The *tabernae* were originally connected to and presumably used or rented out by the owners of the houses in the forum area.²⁰⁴ The nature of these buildings, referred to by our sources mostly as 'atria', has been the cause of substantial debate, and recently this issue has prompted scholars to consider the question of public and private space in the Forum Romanum – though even those who adhere entirely to the interpretation that they were private houses have tended to analyse them in terms of the public nature of the Roman house, rather than as an example of the omnipresence of questions of what is public and what is private space in the Republican city.²⁰⁵ These houses contribute to the blurring and

Liv. 44.16.10 *aedes pone Veteres ad Vortumni signum lanienasque et tabernas coniunctas*; at 39.44.7 Cato's purchases consist of two atria and four *tabernae*, which fits the same pattern.

²⁰² For use of credit by the Roman poor, Yavetz (1958) is still fundamental; but a poor family seeking money for rent would not have used the same lenders as a prominent businessman looking to finance some large purchase.

²⁰³ On the topography of banking, see Andreau (1987).

²⁰⁴ Purcell (1989) 160 calls them 'quasi-domestic adjuncts of the first *atria*'.

²⁰⁵ Purcell (1995) has the most nuanced treatment, noting that 'seen from the Palatine, the *f. R.* is a forecourt to the domestic zone of the aristocracy' (329). He proposes that the Forum could be used for both public and private display, but seems to indicate a sharp distinction between the two. Welch

manipulation of boundaries between public and private in both directions. The ideologies and practices surrounding the elite house in Roman culture make them semi-public spaces on any definition, and they therefore extend the public space of the Forum. But it is equally valid to consider their semi-public areas as semi-private. The existence of spaces like these confuses categories in both directions, making room for the extension beyond the house of space which could be considered private. Their owners tried, often successfully, to extend their private control both spatially, into the Forum square which they overlooked, and temporally, in the basilicas and other officially public buildings which many of these same men eventually built in their place.

There is no lack of evidence that important Romans lived near the Forum. The Palatine, Velia, and upper Sacra Via continued to be fashionable addresses after the entire piazza itself was monumentalized. In earlier periods the whole square was bounded by private houses. The kings were thought to have houses in various places at the Eastern end of the area, including the Regia itself, which was thought to have been the house of Numa.²⁰⁶ The Domus Publica, official residence of the Regis Sacrorum, was here.²⁰⁷ But housing in the immediate vicinity of the Forum was not limited to official personages. The sensational discoveries of Andrea Carandini at the eastern end of the forum will continue to be the subject of debate among scholars of the archaic period for some time, but for the present purposes it is sufficient to note that a number of relatively modest atrium houses existed behind the Regia from the late sixth century BCE right down until the end of the Republic (Fig. 3.8).²⁰⁸ After a long period in which they remained in their original form, they were rebuilt at the end of third century; by the first century BCE they were the focus of frequent campaigns of rebuilding and redecoration convincingly linked to the competitive *luxuria* of the late Republic.²⁰⁹ One can be identified as the house of M. Aemilius Scaurus, aedile in 58. Other traces of late Republican housing have been found in the Argiletum,

(2006a) 510 ends her discussion of the atria with the conclusion that they illustrate ‘an important difference between the Forum and the Greek Agora. Agoras were surrounded by temples and stoas, not by houses. This was because in Greece the line between public and private space was clearly defined, whereas in Rome it was not’. She goes on to give a succession of examples of spaces which blur the line between public and private, but they are all from domestic contexts. What still goes unexplored is the possibility of such grey areas outside the semi-public space of the house. Most recently, Sewell (2009) 137-65, who makes several insightful contributions to the ongoing debate and in general sees the houses as links between the worlds of public and private (‘some of the public activities in houses were integrated with those in the Forum and its public buildings. In this way the *domus* appears to have belonged to the architectural vocabulary of the Forum’, 137; ‘The spaces requisite to the *res publica* were not limited to the open Forum but extended to the atria and *tablina* of the *domus* beyond’, 160), still titles his chapter ‘The semi-public function of atrium houses near the fora of Latin colonies’.

²⁰⁶ e.g. Ov. *F.* 264; Dio fr. 6.10; Plut. *Num.* 14; Serv. *ad V. Aen.* 8.363

²⁰⁷ It seems that this house, originally the residence of the Rex Sacrorum (Serv. *ad V. Aen.* 8.363), passed to the Pontifex Maximus (Suet. *Caes.* 46; Dio 54.27.3) over time: Coarelli (1983b) 22-24, 71-72; Tagliamonte (1995) 323; *contra* Carandini (2004).

²⁰⁸ Carandini/Carafa (2000); Carandini/Papi (2005). Further interpretation can be found in Carandini (2004).

²⁰⁹ Papi (1998).

under the later Forum Transitorium.²¹⁰ The spatial experience offered by atrium houses has been much studied at Pompeii and elsewhere, and the insights gained from this body of work, particularly concerning the visual and physical accessibility provided (but also carefully controlled) by the narrow fauces and axial arrangement of the main rooms, are even more applicable here where the number of passers-by was far higher.²¹¹

The atria which were bought by Cato in order to build his basilica in 184 BCE are named by Livy (39.44.7) as the Atrium Maenium and the Atrium Titium; along with the atria, he purchased four tabernae, which suggests that these were typical atrium houses, each with a *fauces* entrance flanked by two tabernae.²¹² Two late sources mention the sale of the Atrium Maenium as an *aition* for the Columna Maenia.²¹³ The connection is probably spurious, which makes it unlikely that they had good sources for the nature of the sale or the building beforehand, but their assumption that the name refers to a house belonging to the Maenius family is reasonable.²¹⁴ The owners of the second house should be the Titii. Similarly, it is known that two more buildings in the immediate vicinity of the piazza were known as the Atria Licinia and the Atrium Sutorium, both gentilical names.²¹⁵ These two are attested in the first century BCE as connected with auctions and as the location for an obscure religious ceremony known as the *tubilustrum* respectively, which should not be taken as evidence that they did not also serve as residences earlier or indeed concurrently with their other functions.²¹⁶ Livy connects one building with an individual as well as his family, naming the house Sempronius bought for the erection of his basilica in 169 as *aedes P. Africani* (44.16.10).

The existence of private spaces so close to the Forum Romanum seemed unlikely to some previous commentators, who preferred to see them as public buildings.²¹⁷ Three main

²¹⁰ Rizzo (2001).

²¹¹ See especially Wallace-Hadrill (1994a); Hales (2003). In general on gradations of privacy inside the house, see p. 9-12.

²¹² Gros/Torelli (1988) 97; Welch (2003) 14.

²¹³ Ps.-Asc. *ad Cic. Div. in Caec.* 16.50; Porph. *ad H. Sat.* 1.3.21.

²¹⁴ Fentress (2003) 23 would believe them, *contra* Coarelli (1985) 45.

²¹⁵ Atria Licinia, near the entrance to the Macellum: Cic. *pro Quinct.* 12, 25; Serv. *ad V. Aen.* 1.726; Atrium Sutorium, possibly in the Argiletum: Varr. *LL* 6.14; Mart. 2.17.1-3. The Atrium Sutorium is usually interpreted as the Atrium of the *sutores*, but this is nowhere stated unequivocally.

²¹⁶ The Atria Licinia, located somewhere near the Macellum (Cic. *Quinct.* 25) are most obviously interpreted from their name as the house of the Licinii, but a passage of Cicero has been used to argue by e.g. Platner/Ashby (1929) 60 *s.v.*; Richardson (1992) 41 *s.v.*; Tortorici (1993); Noreña in Haselberger (2002) 59 *s.v.* that they were public auction rooms; Coarelli (1983b) 32 is more circumspect. In the *pro Quinctio*, Cicero does link a *praeco* with the Atria Licinia (Cic. *Quinct.* 12), but there is no further information which could tell us whether the atria themselves were auction halls, or whether the link is that there were auction halls or a station for the *praecones* nearby. Another frequently cited passage, Servius *ad Aen.* 1.726, merely states that the Atria Licinia, like the Atrium Libertatis, were in his time *magnas aedes*. The Atrium Sutorium is similarly obscure; it was the location of a religious ceremony called the Tubilustrum (Varr. *LL* 6.14). Its presumed location near the Forum (in the Argiletum) is tentative, based on the presence of *sutores* in that area (Mart. 2.17.1-3); but the word *sutorium* might just as easily be derived from a gentilicum Sutorius.

²¹⁷ An extended treatment can be found at Welin (1953) 179-219.

factors – parallels with the so-called ‘atria publica’ at Cosa, the attested semi-public nature of a few buildings known as atria, and the connection between the atria and the basilicas which replaced them – have called into question the ‘private’ nature of the atria. The first of these has proved oddly enduring despite the fact that the Cosa atria are now understood entirely differently.²¹⁸ It was Frank Brown who first published the second-century buildings immediately surrounding the forum at Cosa, which have the exact layout of atrium houses (Fig. 3.9). Eager to see the Cosan forum as a carefully-designed public space which fit his idea of the nature and purpose of the colony, he proposed that these buildings could not be houses since, according to his interpretation, they were not provided with *cubicula* or other living quarters.²¹⁹ They were understood to have public or commercial functions. With these for a parallel, it has been asserted that the atria attested around the Forum Romanum in Rome must also have been public buildings.²²⁰ More recently, however, further excavation and examination of the excavated atria at Cosa has shown without a doubt that these were indeed domestic buildings, well supplied with living spaces (even without postulating a second storey).²²¹ Room G of house 5 is even paved with a mosaic which leaves the shape of a bed in negative. The parallel must therefore be turned on its head; if Cosa has a forum lined with the private houses of the local elite, then why not Rome too?²²²

The concept of atria publica at Cosa gained traction because of the undoubted existence of some public or semi-public buildings at Rome known as atria. Several of these did have official or commercial functions, a second factor which has supported arguments that all atria in the Forum were public even once the evidence of Cosa is discounted. The impulse to explain away the Forum atria as non-residential, however, still springs from Brown’s view of Cosa. Without his suggestion, it is clear that the existence of some atria with public functions does not imply that no atria were private. Moreover, even those atria whose public functions are best attested have clear links with the private sphere, suggesting – as the name implies – that they represent adaptations of a pattern of private building around the Forum rather than a separate departure.

Not much is known about the Republican Atrium Libertatis, located perhaps on the west slope of the Capitoline northeast of the Forum Romanum (Cicero mentions it in connection with the extension of Caesar’s new forum), but it held the censors’ records.²²³

²¹⁸ For discussion of the controversy as a whole, see Fentress (2000); on its application to Rome, most recently Sewell (2009) 146-49.

²¹⁹ Brown (1980) 33-36; Brown/Richardson/Richardson (1993) 101-03. On the theories which lay behind his interpretation see Fentress (2000).

²²⁰ Coarelli (1985) 45; Gros/Torelli (1988) 97 Coarelli (1993); Torelli (1995) 193-94; Gros (1996) 237-8.

²²¹ Fentress/Rabinowitz (1996); Fentress (2003) 14-23.

²²² So e.g. Purcell (1995) 329; Welch (2006a) 501. For further parallels from Alba Fucens, Fregellae and Paestum, each suggestive but none as fully-realised as that of Cosa, see Sewell (2009) 137-46.

²²³ Location: Cic. *Att.* 4.17.7; censors: Liv. 43.16.13. Other records and laws which may have been connected in some way with censorial duties were also kept here: Festus 277 Lindsay, citing a speech of Cato, mentions the law on punishment of the seduction of a Vestal, and Gran. Lic. 28 a map of *ager publicus*. The Atrium Publicum, a building on the Capitol which was struck by lightning in 214 BCE (Liv. 24.10.9) is sometimes, though with no firm evidence, connected with the

Access to this building was unconstrained, at least at certain times: Livy (45.15.5) reports that lots were drawn here *palam* – ‘openly’ – to decide to which tribe freedmen should be assigned. In the Augustan period it was famously and luxuriously rebuilt by Asinius Pollio to include a library.²²⁴ The Marble Plan labels one of the exedrae of the Basilica Ulpia with the word ‘Libertatis’, and it has been speculated that the records and thus the toponym had been moved into the new building.²²⁵

By imperial times, the Atrium Libertatis probably served only bureaucratic and archival functions. In the middle republic, however, there are traces of a residential aspect to match its name. In the late third century BCE, we find it being used to house hostages who are thought to pose little risk of escape or disturbing the populace.²²⁶ It was not uncommon Roman practice to put up hostages in private homes of important families, or even in their own private houses.²²⁷ The Atrium Libertatis served at times as an offshoot of this practice, and was therefore laid out with residential quarters as well as censorial offices and archives. The opulence of Pollio’s rebuilding, especially his provision of a library – and this was Rome’s first public library, meaning that for its original audiences it would have had the characteristics of a private space – makes sense for a building which was a public iteration of what was, essentially, a house. As space, it cannot be easily assigned to categories of public or private or even to a specific point along a single spectrum. It represents the public bleeding into private space, making public a kind of building which was typically private, but it also extends private spatial experience into the public sphere. The openness to public access and scrutiny of parts of the building marks it as at least semi-public, but this does not

quaestors’ archive (mentioned at Pol. 3.26.1): e.g. Welin (1953) 199; Richardson (1992) 42 *s.v.*; Palombi (1993). It is otherwise entirely unknown.

²²⁴ Suet *Aug.* 29; O. *Tr.* 3.1.72.

²²⁵ Castagnoli (1946); for further debates on its exact location in Republican and later periods, see Welin (1953) 183-98; Purcell (1993); Amici (1999); Deman in Haselberger (2002) 59-60 *s.v.*.

²²⁶ Liv. 25.7.12: in 212 hostages from Thurii and Tarentum are kept here *minore cura, quia nec ipsis nec civitatibus eorum fallere Romanos expediebat*. The comparative *minore* should be translated ‘rather light’ *vel sim.*, although if a comparison is sought it might be to the detention in the Carcer of citizens who had disrupted a meeting a few paragraphs earlier (25.4). Hostages or captives who did pose a danger were also kept in the Carcer: in 198 after some Punic hostages at Setia were suspected of stirring up a revolt among their slaves, the order was given that all such hostages were to be more closely guarded, and those in the city itself were placed in the *carcer lautumiarum* (Liv. 32.26.7, cf. 37.3.8). The Carcer and Lautumiae, also in the area to the northeast of the forum, are thus topographically connected to the Atrium Libertatis as well as sharing one function, but have very different ideological connotations and must have offered rather different levels of comfort for detainees. One datum which seems at odds with such an interpretation is Cicero’s account at *Mil.* 59 of the questioning under torture of slaves in the Atrium Libertatis. Given the rest of the evidence for its luxurious decoration, open access, and bureaucratic function, I doubt that the slaves were imprisoned or indeed tortured here, but merely brought here for questioning by or in the presence of officials.

²²⁷ A notable story is that of the younger Tigranes, kept under confinement in the house of the senator L. Flavius after Pompey’s Asian triumph, until in 59 Clodius used a trick to move the prince to his own house, where he was kept without any form of restraint: Asc. 47 Clark. See further Allen (2006) 67-94. A house was apparently built at public expense to house Antiochus IV, but did not remain public property, since it was later the house of the satirist Lucilius (Asc. 13 Clark).

mean it is not also semi-private – the censors going about their business here were visible just as the elite householder was visible in the semi-public parts of his prominent *domus*. A visitor to the Atrium Libertatis would have seen the censorial offices, corresponding to the tablinum of a private house, and residential areas, and the overall effect could be compared to entering a house in which the censors stand in the place of the paterfamilias.²²⁸

There were other buildings known as atria near the Forum which provided spaces even harder to characterise in terms of public or private, especially because they were also spaces with complex religious affiliations. The Atrium Vestae included residential building areas for the Vestals; below the now-visible imperial reconstruction remains of a second-century building have been found, including six small rooms off a courtyard which have traditionally and reasonably been interpreted as the rooms of the six Vestals (Fig. 3.10).²²⁹ In contrast to the central doorway leading from the street to the main area of the precinct, access to these rooms was via a narrow stair tucked behind the temple, and in the first-century BCE redevelopment of the area restrictions on access were made concrete with the installation of a permanent doorkeeper's cubicle at the top of the stairs (Fig. 3.11).²³⁰ Next to it was the Domus Publica, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, laid out, as far as the archaeological evidence can show, as a traditional atrium house.²³¹ These are easily characterised as sacred spaces, and form an excellent demonstration of how classifications of space by religious status cannot be mapped onto classifications in terms of public and private. Spaces used for functions from sleeping to display are found in these buildings just as in private houses.

In the Republican period, both structures had a north-south orientation, lending a visual and spatial connection to the Regia, and unlike in the cases of other buildings in the area which were gradually brought into alignment with the Forum's natural topography, this orientation persisted until the end of the Republic and well beyond. Even the precinct surrounding the Atrium Vestae preserved the old orientation until the mid-first century BCE, creating a street running due east between the precinct and the Regia, at an awkward

²²⁸ Livy reports that in 169 the censors retreated there and refused to perform their duties, specifically sealing the documents, closing the archive, and dismissing the public slaves (43.16.13). The closure could only have taken place on the spot, but Livy's text emphasises their physical movement to the Atrium Libertatis (*escenderunt*). Is it possible that the censors did not close their offices and go home, but instead stationed themselves there and prohibited anyone else from entering? A Republican politician facing opposition could effect an official withdrawal from political activity to their house, not only in cases where the house represents safety from violence, but also in cases where it represents space apart from mainstream politics, such as Bibulus' *spectio* at his home in 59 BCE (Plut. *Caes.* 14.6, Dio 38.6.5).

²²⁹ It has become a commonplace to point out that sources such as Ov. *F.* 6.263 and Serv. *ad V. Aen.* 7.153 imply that the term 'Atrium Vestae' originally referred to the entire precinct of Vesta and was only later used for the residential building alone; the argument, however, is based on interpretation of poetic language and cannot support strong conclusions. For the archaeological evidence, see Scott (2009). I have not been able to consult Arvanitis (2010), which contains additional discussion of the early phases.

²³⁰ Scott (2009) 38; date: 24, 52

²³¹ Originally, this was the house of the Rex Sacrorum; n. 208 above.

angle to the Forum beyond.²³² The shift of alignment marked a transition from one type of space to another, both by its visual impact and by the movement it forced in the bodies of those who entered the area. Such a marked separation emphasised the unity of the three structures, all spaces which shared a particular relationship to Rome's most ancient cults and to the kings, and distinguished them from the space beyond.

The original definition of this area is linked to the earliest process of monumentalization in Rome's centre, when in the 7th century the Regia and a building in the area of the Curia provided the Forum area with its first stone structures.²³³ It might be argued that they marked 'political' versus 'cultic' areas at opposite ends of the Forum.²³⁴ More obviously, however, the Regia and its surrounding structures were strongly associated with the kings. Ideological issues and the temptations of narrative have clouded the archaic events in our sources (both ancient and modern), but it is not necessary to pin down the exact sixth-century details to see that the regal associations of the eastern end of the Forum would have continued to affect the spatial experience of those who visited it. Our sources show that Romans thought the Regia was originally Numa's home, and locate the houses of various different kings in the area.²³⁵ The fledgling Republic, so the narrative runs, divided the king's powers between different authorities, with the consuls receiving his executive power but leaving religious affairs in the hands of the Rex Sacrorum.²³⁶ The space originally given over to the kings was similarly divided. A new street was created dividing the Atrium Vestae and the Domus Publica from the Regia, which had previously been connected to them.²³⁷

The highly visible location of the building, as well as the public function of the cult and the traditional separation of the Vestals from their family ties meant that this space had a strong connection to the entire Roman People, and it would be hard to deny that it was 'public' in such terms.²³⁸ On the other hand, the domestic architecture and restricted access meant that the spatial experience of the Atrium Vestae was essentially private and controlled. The complexities of the space parallel the ambiguous role of the cults practiced by the Vestals, some in the same building and some nearby. The position of the king between public and private explains the difficulty with which these concepts were imposed on his personal or household cults once they were taken over by a new form of government.

²³² The final change to fit the Forum's orientation was made as part of a series of developments which may be linked to Julius Caesar's tenure as Pontifex Maximus: Scott (2009) 43.

²³³ Synthetic overviews include Gros/Torelli (1988) 78-79; Tagliamonte (1995) 320.

²³⁴ Tagliamonte (1995) 320: 'In questo processo di strutturazione e di differenziazione funzionale degli spazi pubblici e privati della vallata, una propria autonoma dimensione sembrano ora assumere, dal punto di vista topografico e monumentale, i luoghi di culto'.

²³⁵ Numa and the Regia: Ov. *F.* 264; Dio fr. 6.10; Plut. *Num.* 14; Serv. *ad V. Aen.* 8.363. Solinus 1.21-6, who follows and expands Varro *ap. Non.* 852 Lindsay, places Tullus Hostilius in the Velia, Ancus Marcius in the *summa Sacra Via*, Tarquinius Priscus by the Porta Mugonia, and Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus on the lower slopes of the Esquiline.

²³⁶ Liv. 2.2; D.Hal. 6.72-4.

²³⁷ Coarelli (1983b) 56-79 constructs a detailed and convincing argument on this point.

²³⁸ For the ritual separation of Vestals from their families, see Gellius 1.12.9; most recently in the modern scholarship, Parker (2005).

The cults of the Lares and Penates, as well as the sacred hearth of Vesta herself, are all reflections of household religious practice on a larger scale.²³⁹ They provide a constant reminder, physically located in the centre of Roman public life, of the importance of the private and domestic. They break down the barriers between individual private spaces by emphasising what each Roman house has in common; but they also act as a single centre for the metaphorical macrocosmic household encompassing all Romans. The single, unified space each of these different processes calls into being is neither public or private, and calls into question the very existence of such a divide.

The atria which surrounded the Forum in the middle republic would not all have been identical in architecture, function, or spatial experience. It is difficult to deny, however, that they each brought, in one way or another, elements of private space and domestic functions into Rome's monumental centre – or, more precisely, reminded the visitor that these elements had never left. Over time, those atria which seem to have been used as family houses without necessarily having any official component were indeed gradually displaced by public buildings, but hard-to-categorise buildings such as the Atrium Vestae and the Domus Publica, arranged like any other atrium house and inhabited not only by a priest but also by his entire *familia*, remained and formed a topographical link between the space of the Forum and the elite houses which still existed nearby and were visible from the Forum.

It has long been acknowledged that connections in location, form, and function between private houses and public space meant that the Roman elite house was a semi-public space. The atria of the Forum also demonstrate the flip side of that proposition. As an inevitable corollary of providing semi-public space inside their houses, the proprietors of these atria and the other elite houses nearby extended their private space and individual control into the supposedly public space of the Forum. One well-known example comes from the early empire, where Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.9.3) describes Piso's *domus foro imminens* – 'house hanging over the Forum' – in a metaphor which links its visual dominance of the space with his increasingly threatening personal power.²⁴⁰ Tacitus is using a longstanding literary and cultural trope which linked an imposing house with aspirations to power.²⁴¹

²³⁹ The Vesta-Penates connection is testified to by e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 15.41.

²⁴⁰ The metaphor is a favourite of Tacitus', repeated at *Ann.* 15.69.1; *H.* 3.70.2; an even stronger iteration is found at Sen. *Thy.* 641-3: *in arce summa Pelopiae pars est domus / conversa ad Austros, cuius extremum latus / aequale monti crescit atque urbem premit.*

²⁴¹ In general on the symbolism of the house as standing for the owner and his place in political life, see especially Wiseman (1987), and also Bodel (1997); Rilinger (1997). On the destruction of houses of tyrants, Roller (2010) is an excellent recent treatment, although he does not tend to consider the spatial aspects of the locations of the houses within the city and in relation to public space. Literary accounts tend to focus on the houses of aspirants to kingship and their destruction as part of the punishment of conspiracy and memorialization of its downfall. The house functions as a location for sinister private plotting to solidify a control which the revolutionary leader then attempts to export into public space. Livy (4.13-16) recounts the conspiracy of Spurius Maelius as taking place inside his house, and constructs in the passage an opposition between the furtive dealings within Maelius' house (*tecta parietesque intra quae tantum amentiae conceptum esset*, 15.8) and his opponents' success in making plain his plans in public, with full transparency and legality, as Minucius reports the initial news of Maelius' wrongdoing in the Senate (13.8-9) and the dictator Cincinnatus calls a meeting after Maelius' death to explain what has happened, going on to say that at the time he was waiting

Previous iterations of the theme include the house of Valerius Publicola high on the Velia, and thus overlooking the Forum, which in and of itself aroused suspicion that he was aiming for kingship until Publicola voluntarily demolished it.²⁴² The house of M. Manlius Capitolinus on the Capitoline hill was demolished after a failed coup. Events of his trial, at least in Livy's version (6.19-20), underscored the potentially dangerous power a house in a prominent place could acquire. Manlius had been instrumental in the defeat of the Gallic attack on the Capitol, and as Livy tells it, was getting a favourable hearing at his trial in the Forum when he repeatedly looked and stretched his arms up to the hill he had saved – Livy repeats the word *Capitolium* seven times in one chapter (6.20). The tribunes holding the trial eventually decided that to get a fair verdict they would have to move proceedings to some place out of sight of the Capitol.²⁴³ Manlius' association with defending the Capitol is prominent, of course, but the presence there of his house as a permanent and highly visible reminder should not be discounted as a factor in both his accusation and the strength of his defence. Afterwards, a law was passed which made it illegal for patricians to live on the Capitoline.²⁴⁴

If the height and visual presence of the houses in these stories was such a threat, we should take seriously the idea that the remaining elite houses overlooking the Forum, such as those on the Palatine, were powerful symbols of the private control their owners could wield even in public space.²⁴⁵ They valued highly visible sites, offering a two-way surveillance: the elite man was permanently on display in his house, advertising his probity, but the citizens going about their business would also be aware that he was constantly looking down on them.²⁴⁶ Other deliberate choices householders could and did take to

to hear Maelius' defence in a legal trial (15.2). The people are furious at the consuls of the previous year, because *eas largitiones coetusque plebis in privata domo passi essent fieri* (13.10); in contrast, Cincinnatus moves quickly to secure the Forum, and when Maelius is caught by surprise and attempts to appeal to his supporters in the crowd, Servilius Ahala catches and kills him (14.6). In this narrative, the emphasis is on activities taking place in the house which should be conducted in public, that is, either the semi-public nature of the house itself or the perfidies of allowing private control over public affairs. The same story, however, is reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus with a somewhat different slant (12.1-4). In Dionysius' version, Maelius affronts the senators by setting up his own tribunal in the Forum and calling assemblies, something the text explicitly notes was not customary for an *idiotes* (12.1.5-6). It is the authorities who are reduced to meeting in secret. Maelius accuses the patricians of using public funds for their own purposes, while he is willing to use his own inheritance to help the poor (12.1.7). This version makes more of the extrusion into public space of private power, and by destroying Maelius' house and confiscating his property the state acts to reclaim its own prerogatives. To the careful analysis of Roller (2010) 125-28 of this episode should be added the complementary role played by the space of the Forum.

²⁴² E.g. Cic. *Rep.* 2.53; Liv. 2.7.6; D.Hal. 5.19.1; Val. Max. 4.1.1; Plut. *Popl.* 10.2-4; see further

²⁴³ On the topographical complexities of such a move, and the various traditions which may lie behind Livy's account, see Wiseman (1979); in general on Manlius in Livy, Jaeger (1997) 57-93.

²⁴⁴ Liv. 6.20.13.

²⁴⁵ The analysis of Sewell (2009) 137-46 of the layout of Republican colonies also shows that large houses not only tend to be built immediately surrounding the forum, but also with a preference for sites set in visually imposing places on high ground above the forum.

²⁴⁶ Livius Drusus, upon being told by his architect that he would build for him a house which offered total freedom from prying eyes, responded that he would prefer a house open to the view of all, so

extend their private space beyond the boundaries of their houses, or at the least confuse the division (such as mixing ‘public’ and ‘private’ architectural and decorative motifs in both domestic and non-domestic space or positioning crowds of clients spilling out of vestibules which themselves were neither public or private) have been discussed in the introduction. It goes without saying that the *domini* of the houses near the Forum used these devices as much as or more than most. In constant competition, they worked to project a private element, subject to their own personal control, out of their houses and into Rome’s political arena.

Between public and private: private patrons and public space

The same high-profile individuals and families who controlled space which was legally private in and around the Forum Romanum also commissioned monuments and buildings in space which was legally public. The best-known evidence for the interplay of individual and communal authority over the open space of the forum is from Pliny (*NH* 34.30), who reports that the censors of 158 tried to assert authority over the space of the forum, clearing away all the statues which had been set up there except for those voted by the Senate or people. This anecdote neatly encapsulates some of the tensions between public and private action which were found throughout the city but which the extraordinary status of the forum highlights. The censors claim they have the power to clear the area but the fact that they have to do so shows that people have been making interventions in the space without official sanction. The eagerness of Romans to erect non-official statues in the forum demonstrates that it is special, but in the end some of that specialness must rest on the exclusivity which the censors are only now enforcing. These private monuments could only achieve their purpose if set up in public space – stretching the definitions of both ‘public’ and ‘private’ to their limits.

Although as a group the second- and first-century monumental buildings surrounding the Forum square contributed to its definition as political space, each individual intervention participated in the same discourse as the statues; it memorialized and claimed a section of public space for its individual patron. The process was often controversial, as representatives of the state aimed to maintain the decorum and restrictions on elite competition which made political space possible. The statues cleared from the Forum in 158 each affected the spectator’s spatial experience on a small scale.²⁴⁷ Larger

that everyone could see whatever he was doing (Vell. Pat. 2.14.3); Cicero often speaks of the prominent position of this same house, which was later his own, as *in conspectu prope totius urbis* (*Dom.* 100) and *in oculis civitatis* (*Planc.* 66). On visibility, see further especially Wiseman (1987); on the limits of that visibility, see Fredrick (2002); Hales (2003).

²⁴⁷ They blocked previously accessible paths, forcing people into certain types of physical movement and decreasing the amount of open space available. Such a process also creates in front of the statue a specific area where someone interested in inspecting it or perhaps reading the inscription will stand, further congesting the route. The fact that a statue of a human figure has a back and a front is important: a small spatial feature can divide even a large space into two. We know that Romans used statues as landmarks when mentally dividing the space of a large square like the Forum; judicial documents (the examples we have are from the early empire, but presumably reflected

projects were even more successful in creating new spaces and manipulating the spatial experience of those who visited them, and were correspondingly more controversial.

The Basilica Porcia replaced two named atria, the Atrium Maenium and the Atrium Titium; it fulfilled new functions, but also represented an essential continuity in providing space which cannot be easily defined as either public or private on the edge of the Forum Romanum. The entire process by which public buildings were substituted for the atria deserves further attention, especially because it has a place in the argument of those who claim them as public space.²⁴⁸ The creation of basilicas in the area behind the tabernae

earlier practices as well) call on the parties to meet in front of a certain statue: the *Tabula Herculensis* 6 mentions a statue of Diana, and the *Tabula Pompeiana Sulpiciorum* 13 a statue of Cn. Sentius Saturninus, both in the Forum of Augustus; for discussion see Neudecker (2011). Apart from the changes in spatial experience caused by the statues' physical existence, they called to mind the individuals they depicted, perhaps more forcibly than we would now expect given the different relationship Romans had to statues, which could be imagined as looking back, coming alive and so on: Elsner (2007). Each individually and as a group they offered ideological messages; Cicero's evocation of Appius Claudius Caecus at *pro Cael.* 33 exemplifies how a statue can bear a message with very real results, and also how that message can be reinterpreted and manipulated. See Vasaly (1993) for more on Cicero's strategy. In general on statues and spatial experience, see Edwards (2003); Stewart (2003).

²⁴⁸ Arguments over the identification of one further elusive monument, the Atrium Regium, have contributed to the prominence of the connection between atria and basilicas. This building, known only from Livy's account of the fire of 210, has been variously identified with the Atrium Vestae, the Regia, or an independent, otherwise unknown structure. At 26.27.2-4 Livy writes that it burned along with the *septem tabernae quae postea quinque*, the Tabulae Argentariae and private buildings behind them, Lautumiae, and Forum Piscatorium, but the Aedes Vestae was saved; at 28.11 he reports the rebuilding of the destroyed buildings, naming specifically the Atrium Regium, Septem Tabernae and Macellum. Topographically, the fire mostly raged along the north side of the Forum, but the threat to the temple of Vesta means the south-eastern end must also have been threatened; there are therefore a wide range of possible locations for the Atrium Regium. The traditional identification with the Atrium Vestae or its precinct is accepted more or less tentatively by Platner/Ashby (1929) 57 *s.v.* Atrium Regium; Richardson (1992) *s.v.* Atrium Regium; Welin (1953) 50 suggested that it should be identified with the Regia, a proposal more recently revived by Wilson (2005) 138. Coarelli (1983b) 22 accepts the identification with the Atrium Vestae, but later Coarelli (1985) 302 has been convinced by Gaggiotti (1985) that it should be located in the location of the later Basilica Aemilia, for which see below. Current consensus places it in the area of the later Basilica Aemilia, the result of a comparison between Livy's note that in 210 *neque enim tum basilicae erant* (26.27.3) and Plautus' mention of a basilica at Plaut. *Curc.* 473, part of a list of features (and the characters associated with them) which moves around the Forum in topographical sequence; it links the basilica with the shrine of Venus Cloacina, and places them both between the Comitium and the Forum Piscarium, i.e. towards the north-west end of the later Basilica Aemilia. Cf. also Plaut. *Cap.* 815: *odos subbasilicanos*. This building may not date from before 210, but is certainly older than the first basilica we know by name, the Basilica Porcia (184 BCE: Liv. 39.44.7): Plautus died in 184, if we are to believe Cic. *Brut.* 60. It has been hypothesized that the basilica Plautus refers to is the rebuilt Atrium Regium: Gaggiotti (1985); followed by Coarelli (1985) 302; Steinby (1987) 174-76; Gros (1996) 236-27; Zevi (1991); Welch (2003). Both could conceivably be located in the same space under the later Basilica Aemilia, and the name Atrium Regium could well be translated into Greek as *aule basilike*, thus solving the mystery of this neologism. The function of neither building, whether

which had previously been occupied by atria meant the creation of space around the Forum which was unambiguously public, at least in legal terms. It may be tempting to see this process as the substitution of one kind of public space for another, with the public basilicas taking over the functions of the hypothetical atria publica.²⁴⁹ If, on the other hand, the private nature of the atria is emphasised, the same process can be seen taking place simultaneously in reverse. Through continuity of location, patrons, elements of architectural and decorative style and even naming conventions, the atria and *domus* which originally occupied these spaces lent some of their connotations of private space and individual control to the later basilicas.

The monumentality of the basilica, its forest of columns, and, as we know at least for later reconstructions, its association with sumptuous decoration all made it a prime choice for a patron looking to display his munificence on a grand scale. The visitor would have been acutely conscious of the patron's wealth and power, the magnificent public *beneficium*

they are the same or different, is known. The Atrium Regium, it has been suggested, might have been another part of the kings' palace, playing the role of an audience hall: Gaggiotti (1985) 58: 'L' *atrium regium* può con ogni probabilità considerarsi pertanto una delle articolazioni della residenza <<ufficiale>> del re (nota, al pari della *regia* e dell'*atrium Vestae*, con la sua denominazione originaria e genuina) e, più precisamente, corrispondere alla *pars publica* (mentre *regia* e *atrium Vestae* appartengono, in età monarchica, alla sfera del privato).' Alternatively, they royal connection might have come from its use either to house or entertain foreign embassies: Zevi (1991); Welch (2003). Neither hypothesis is secure, but both allow for a mix of 'public' and 'private' functions and spaces in the Atrium Regium, exactly as the parallel of other atria near the Forum implies.

The origin of the basilica as a building type is a hoary old problem, and unlikely to be solved any time soon. Neither the form nor the function of the early basilicas is as obvious as we might like; Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) has the best sustained treatment. They were not originally judicial buildings, since trial proceedings usually took place in the open air. This may indeed have been a legal and religious requirement: Coarelli (2009). It is possible to note formal resemblances between basilica architecture and other building types, and from that beginning to make tentative arguments concerning function. Indeed, in the absence of further evidence, it is hard to do much more, but such an approach risks obscuring the reality of a mutually constitutive relationship between form and function. Welch (2003) and Wilson (2005), citing Hellenistic reception halls, do not exactly fall into this trap, but neither considers the difference in spatial experience between the halls and basilicas which the combination of form and function demands. Since the original Hellenistic halls and the *oeci aegyptici* based on them were used primarily for banqueting, they were equipped with couches which blocked the intercolumniations, thus dividing the space and leaving a clearly-defined corridor around the centre of the room, as Vitr. 6.3.9 notes: *subdiu ut sit circumitus*. Vitruvius' choice of term emphasises that this corridor offered a space for movement, a defined route for servers to use as they circulated behind the diners. Such a sharply defined hierarchy of space and strict architectural control over movement was not useful in the Roman basilica, at least in its eventual function as a multi-purpose open hall. Each of the elements of its form has a function, and each affects how it functions as space.

²⁴⁹ Indeed, if the atria were indeed private, domestic buildings and offered their owners the kind of advantages in projecting their private power into public space in the ways I have argued, it is not easy to see how their owners could have been induced to give them up. Welch (2003) 18 suggests that only the fire of 210 and the straightened circumstances of the Second Punic War could have persuaded them to leave.

the building represented placed him under an obligation to its builder, and a monumental dedicatory inscription left him in no doubt of who that was.²⁵⁰ Recent investigations have pointed out that basilicas, in their name and in their architectural form, made direct allusions to Hellenistic palace architecture.²⁵¹ The large columned dining halls of Alexandria, best known from a literary description of Ptolemy IV's barge, were one possible model for the basilica's large hall encircled by columns and lit from a clerestory.²⁵² They had already inspired a type of private dining room known as the *oecus Aegypticus*, known to us from Vitruvius (6.3.9), which again featured a central hall, columns around and a clerestory. It is not necessary to posit a direct line of inspiration between Ptolemy's barge and the earliest Roman basilicas to see that the Roman patrons who developed and continued the basilica as a building type hoped that their buildings and thus they themselves would benefit from an association with regal wealth, power and charisma – and with the semi-private, individual power of the king.²⁵³ Basilical architecture participated in a grandiose, columnar style, inflected not only by temple and temenos architecture but also by the adoption of that architecture in Hellenistic royal and Roman elite private houses. It was this style which, when used in public, eventually came to represent the dignity of political space and thus demanded a certain standard of behaviour, as well as discouraged the presence of those not envisioned as participating in suitably dignified activities; but in its original form it gestured towards private space and the pre-eminence of the individual patron. Intangible factors such as these had real, though subtle, effects on the spatial experience the basilicas offered.²⁵⁴

The best evidence that a patron could hope to exert some measure of private control over the space of his basilica is the continuing connections recorded between the monuments and the families that built them.²⁵⁵ The Basilica Aemilia, which was restored by L. Aemilius Paullus in 55 BCE and henceforth known also as the Basilica Paulli (Cic. *Att.* 4.16.14; App. *BC* 2.26), and rededicated by L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus in 34 BCE (Dio 49.42), serves as one example.²⁵⁶ When it burned in 14 BCE, it was rebuilt with money

²⁵⁰ For Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) 6-7, the success of the basilica as a form of *Repräsentationsarchitektur* is closely linked with its utility as public space, which in Cato's time was sorely needed.

²⁵¹ Welch (2003); Wilson (2005)

²⁵² The description is at Athenaeus 5.205b; for reconstructions and further argumentation on the link with the basilica, see Wilson (2005).

²⁵³ Gaggiotti (1985) argues for a particular connection between the Aemilii and the Ptolemies, which their choice of basilica form was intended to monumentalize. It may be so, but is not necessary; all the patrons of the period were eager to play the role of Hellenistic monarch. See further p. 104-07, especially n. 350, and p. 131-33; Rawson (1975); Bell (2004), especially 151-198.

²⁵⁴ At the same time, basilica architecture created new spatial experiences by using physical architectural barriers to control movement and behaviour. The large open space in the centre attracted similar activities to those which went on in the open Forum square, but unlike the Forum, this was a firmly bounded space, with limited routes of entrance and rows of columns serving to subdivide the area. See especially Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) 11-16.

²⁵⁵ Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) 10-11

²⁵⁶ This should be the same structure as the basilica originally built in 179 *post argentarias novas*, whose patron Liv. 40.51 gives as the censor M. Fulvius Nobilior. If Livy is correct, then the obvious name for the structure would be the Basilica Fulvia. On the other hand, there are several indications that Fulvius' censorial colleague M. Aemilius Lepidus was also a patron of the building, and that it was most commonly known as the Basilica Aemilia. Varro (*LL* 6.4) tells us that in 159 the censor P.

furnished primarily by Augustus himself, but an Aemilius was still allowed to play the part of its official patron (Dio 54.24). Finally, in 22 CE, it was restored once more by another Aemilius (Tac. *Ann.* 3.72). The Aemilii were understandably proud of the magnificent building, and in 61 L. Aemilius Paullus, the future triumvir, placed it on coins (Fig. 3.12).²⁵⁷ All these links belong in the world of family prestige and political manoeuvring, already delicately balanced between public and private. But the most telling sign of how the Aemilii wanted others to see their basilica was the decision of M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 78 BCE), related by Pliny, to decorate it with shields. Pliny writes that the practice of decorating buildings with shields had started with Ap. Claudius Pulcher, *cos.* 79, who dedicated shields decorated with portraits of his ancestors in the temple of Bellona, built by Ap. Claudius Caecus more than two hundred years before (Plin. *NH* 35.12). Pulcher was certainly not the first to put shields on buildings; what was new was that he did so privately. Pliny's exact words, neatly pointing out the confluence of public, private and sacred at stake here, are *clupeos in sacro vel publico dicare privatim primus instituit* – 'he first started the practice of dedicating shields privately in a sacred or public place'. The shields were not the spoils of a specific triumph, and the family connections outweighed mind the place of the temple in the state religion. Pliny follows this story immediately with Lepidus' shields, which he installed *non in basilica modo Aemilia, verum et domi suae* – 'not only in the Basilica Aemilia, but also in his own house' (35.15). The visual link between the house and basilica of the Aemilii emphasised both the semi-public nature of the house and the semi-private nature of the basilica.²⁵⁸

Much ink has been spilled over the question of Rome's first basilica (discussed above n. 249), because despite Plautus' use of the word *basilica* (*Cap.* 815 *Curc.* 473), the author of the *de Viris Illustribus* writes that Cato the elder *basilicam suo nomine primus fecit* – 'was the first to build a basilica in his own name' (47). What the author means here is not that Cato built the first basilica, but that he was the first to build a basilica and name it after himself. We know that Cato built his basilica in the year of his censorship, 184 BCE, with public money (Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 19.2). Its location is given as *in lautumiis* (Liv. 39.44.7); attached to the Curia (Asc. 33 Clark); and next to the Forum, below the Curia (Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 19.2). Plutarch also reports senatorial opposition to the construction. None of the individual aspects of the project were unprecedented; censors frequently built public buildings with public money and named them after themselves, and the monuments of individuals, named for those

Cornelius Scipio Nasica placed a water-clock in the 'Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia'; the clock, though not its location, is also reported by Censorin. *de die nat.* 23.7 and Plin. *NH* 7.215. It is difficult to accept the assertion of Steinby (1987) that these could be two separate buildings, since no source refers to more than one clock. The same building must be the Basilica Aemilia which M. Aemilius Lepidus decorated with shields in 78 (Plin. *NH* 35.13) and which is named as AIMILIA on coins of 61 BCE (*RRC* 419/3 and fig. 3.12 here); its later renovation is the basilica referred to as the Basilica Paulli. Steinby's theory, proposed in Steinby (1987), (1988), (2003) that the Basilica Fulvia was along the north long side while the Basilica Aemilia was on the east short side has not been widely accepted; Patterson (1992) summarizes the various arguments.

²⁵⁷ *RRC* 419/3. On the relationship between coins and monuments as instruments of self-advertisement, see Meadows/Williams (2001).

²⁵⁸ The essential continuity between these 'public' and 'private' modes of commemoration is noted by Hölscher (1978).

individuals, stood all around the Forum.²⁵⁹ Rather, it was the combination of all these factors which the Senate found untenable. For the first time, a substantial public space, linked to the Comitium and directly adjoining the Curia itself, used to house the tribunes of the plebs, was to be built by and named after not a mythical king, but a contemporary politician. The senators knew that the name would give Cato and his descendants a powerful and essentially private measure of control over this supposedly public space, and they were right: when a century later the tribunes wished to remove a pillar which was obstructing their bench, the younger Cato successfully opposed the move (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 5.1-2). The fact that the building had been out of his family's hands for four generations was trumped by the perseverance of Porcian control over the space of the Basilica Porcia.

Conclusion: failures of control

The Forum, as Rome's central crossroads, was Rome's most traversed space (literally a *locus celeberrimus*). It was a public space both in the sense that it was closely connected with the workings of the state and in the sense that it was open to all, and restrictions on access and behaviour were difficult to implement. Much of this chapter has focused on the tensions between these two properties. Access to and control of the space used for making political decisions gave power. Individuals were understandably keen to gain such control over the space of the Forum; at the same time there was a movement to create a regulated space where the political process could take place without any single individual amassing disproportionate power. The turbulent political history of the late Republic saw the space of the Forum and the people gathered there swinging between extremes. Individual politicians had more power than ever before, and some, like Sulla, expressed their power in new monumental complexes which dominated the Forum. At the same time, the uncontrollable, public nature of the Forum was frequently reasserted in episodes of extreme violence, something Roman authors could even treat as a justifiable means for the *populus* to reclaim its space from private domination.²⁶⁰ Violence in the forum is a monograph-length topic in itself, and there is no space to explore it in detail here.²⁶¹ But it is worth noting that some of the moments of most heightened violence came about when particular groups tried to

²⁵⁹ Welch (2003) 6 n.5 notes 'earlier monuments named after individuals, such as the Via Appia, Aqua Appia and Circus Flaminius, had all been located outside the city center'. But Cato himself had bought and demolished the Atrium Maenium and Atrium Titium for his basilica, and although these were named after families rather than individuals, one could also cite the Maeniana, the fornix of Scipio Africanus on the Clivus Capitolinus and the column of Duilius.

²⁶⁰ For example, Cic. *de Orat.* 2.124 makes Crassus praise Antonius' handling of the topic during the trial of Norbanus. Antonius had argued that *seditio* was a justifiable public response to oppression and had prompted necessary change in the past. Cicero's point is that a good orator can take up a bad argument, or one to which he does not necessarily subscribe; but taking into account Cicero's own personal opposition to such so-called popular arguments, it is clear that Antonius could only have been successful if the points he was making reflected an existing ideology held by at least some portion of his audience. Cicero himself uses the argument at *pro Sest.* 92. See further Lintott (1968) 52-66; Nippel (1995) 56-57.

²⁶¹ The fundamental treatment is Lintott (1968), now supplemented by Nippel (1995) and available with corrections and a new introduction in a second edition of 1999. See also Brunt (1966); Gruen (1974) 433-48; and now Lintott (2008).

control the space of the Forum, which allowed them to eject unwanted speakers, for example, or limit their opponents' access to the voting area.²⁶² In 61, Clodius' *operae* seized the *pontes* themselves to prevent an adverse vote on a bill condemning his actions at the Bona Dea (Cic. *Att.* 1.14.5). He was repeating a tactic dating back to at least 212, when a group of *publicani* physically interposed themselves between the people and the voting area (Liv. 25.3), and also attested in 100, when Caepio disrupted voting on one of Saturninus' measures in the same way, destroying the *pontes* and ballot-boxes for good measure (*Rhet. ad Her.* 1.21). There could be no clearer demonstration of the importance of spatial control in Roman politics.

One of the most telling demonstrations of the contestation of control in and around the forum comes from a comparison with the later imperial fora, spaces which were dominated by a single central authority.²⁶³ A cursory glance at their plans, given here as Figure 3.13, shows that they represent very different kinds of space. The Republican forum is disorganised, lacking a single orientation even in its final phase. It developed more or less organically, the product of multiple patrons with different agendas and architectural ideas, often in direct competition. The imperial fora, each erected over a short period of time by a single patron, could not be more different. They have few, small entrances, and (except the Forum Transitorium) would not be useful as thoroughfares.²⁶⁴ They were not required to integrate previous buildings or respect land use – and Augustus' claim that he built his forum without forcibly expropriating land, and its curved profile to the east often cited in support of that claim, has more to do with his self-presentation than with the reality on the ground.²⁶⁵ If Augustus had wanted to acquire the extra piece of land, no higher authority could have prevented it. The imperial fora were spaces in which a single authority had free rein to create an architectural and ideological complex, allowing for the possibility of complete control over the creation of space, whereas the Forum Romanum was a place where control was contested.

As Republican Rome's most prominent public space, the Forum Romanum demonstrated all the complexities and ambiguities surrounding the definition of public space, each taken to an extreme. It was pre-eminently public in two main ways: as a space which was essentially uncontrolled and as a space closely tied to the state and the *populus*. These two ideal types of 'public' space were frequently in tension. What is more, private space was never absent even from this most public space. Private patrons saw the benefits of extending the control they derived from their private space into the space of politics, and were often extremely successful in doing so.

²⁶² At Cic. *Clu* 93, 103; *Mil.* 12; *Sest.* 39, 42; *Asc.* 49 Clark and elsewhere we find emphasis on *contiones cotidianae* and even metaphors of orators 'sleeping on the Rostra'. Apart from the desire to strengthen a message by repetition, the magistrates who used this technique aimed to deny their opponents a chance to speak by physically occupying the space of the Rostra. Dio 39.35 reports an almost comical series of actions on the part of tribunes in 55 to occupy the Rostra.

²⁶³ Our understanding of the archaeology and architecture of the imperial fora has developed dramatically in recent years thanks to new excavations, now published in Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani (2007).

²⁶⁴ La Rocca (2001); Meneghini (2001) and especially La Rocca (2006).

²⁶⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 56.2.

Unresolved ambiguities at the heart of what Romans meant when they thought of a space as 'public' mean that space which is purely and uncomplicatedly public in nature cannot be found even in the most obviously public space the Republican city has to offer. The Forum contained within itself a number of different types of space; these changed over time and offered a various different spatial experiences, including some which varied depending on the status of the visitor. Many owed as much to notions of the private as they did to the public.

Even so, it is possible to make some final general comments on the nature of spatial experience in the Forum. Surveillance and ideological mechanisms of control were probably more prevalent here than in almost any other public space in Republican Rome. Often, however, the essentially uncontrollable nature of Republican public space won out, and Plautus' catalogue of forum characters conjures up a space very different from the regimented political and religious spaces of the imperial fora. We should see the forum as a meeting place for every group of people, hardly amenable to control of any kind. As a coda, it is worth pausing to note that its simultaneous designation as a political space gave slaves, women, foreigners and other marginal groups a valuable chance to witness – which is to say, given the Roman 'ideology of publicity', the idea that the scrutiny of the crowd is a vital part of political activity – it gave them a chance to *participate in* political activity.

INDIVIDUAL CLAIMS TO PUBLIC SPACE IN REPUBLICAN VICTORY MONUMENTS

The previous chapter highlighted, among other things, the attempts made by prominent individuals in the second and first centuries BCE to claim a measure of private control over space near Rome's most prominent political arena, the Forum Romanum. Despite the undoubted success of many of their endeavours, both in exporting elements of the private into public space and in their broader aim of aiding the patrons' careers and the prestige of their families, the intensity of competition for physical space and for attention in such a prestigious location meant that no one intervention could guarantee dominance for very long.

This chapter ventures beyond the Forum to find other spaces which worked on the boundaries of public and private. I aim to shed some light on specific third- and second-century developments in spatial experience by concentrating on one particular new building type, the victory complex.²⁶⁶ This type provides a perfect opportunity to explore questions of private interventions in public space, as the ongoing debates over manubial funding attest. These temples already straddled lines between public and private, but beginning in the late third century changes in their design and decoration resulted in new spatial forms and new spatial experiences. I begin with some preliminary remarks on the nature of individual political monuments in the middle Republic, before moving to an investigation of how such monuments and temples could be used to create distinctive spatial experiences. The second half of this chapter contains three case studies of victory complexes: M. Claudius Marcellus' sanctuary of Honos et Virtus, M. Fulvius Nobilior's Hercules Musarum, and the Porticus Metelli of Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus. These have been selected for their architectural and spatial innovation. It is no coincidence that they were also all spaces which had strong associations with Hellenistic culture and were used for the display of captured artworks from the Greek East. Their three patrons, like many others of the period, used visual and spatial motifs marked as 'foreign' (even if they were not) to carve out new positions within the Roman discourse of public and private.

²⁶⁶ All the temples and complexes I consider here were built by Roman generals (who were also, of course, politicians) to commemorate their success, and many are known to have become part of the official state religion as understood to mean, for example, inclusion in the *Fasti*. They are not all definitively attested in our sources as votive; not all are directly connected to a triumph; and their status as manubial constructions is highly controversial. The arguments in modern scholarship concerning their exact status are a product of our sources, which report such details only sporadically. This practice of our sources is itself revealing. These buildings formed a distinct group, and as far as the spatial experience they offered is concerned their similarities as public religious complexes closely connected to an individual's military and political success outweighed most legalistic distinctions. For closer attention to the details of any specific monument's status and arguments about the meaning and importance of the various distinctions, see Pietilä-Castrén (1987); Ziolkowski (1992); Aberson (1994); Orlin (1997).

Individual and community in the victory temple

The exact nature of the space of the victory temple and its public and private associations is impenetrably – and, I claim, deliberately – ambiguous. Rather than attempting to pin down exactly how the space of the victory temple should be described in terms of public and private, I concentrate on how, within this grey area, the different decisions of different patrons shifted the balance. During this period changes in architectural fashion and construction techniques, as well as the constant pressures of aristocratic competition, gave new life to what was an old Roman tradition of votive victory temples. Rather than individual temples, some generals now also commissioned entire complexes, marked by monumental architectural boundaries like porticos, and distinguished from other public spaces in the cities by their decoration with the finest artworks, gardens and water features reminiscent just as much of villas as of sanctuaries. The new spaces were sometimes distant and physically distinct from traditional public spaces; they could be linked to *otium* and *luxuria* but were also intimately involved in politics and funded by war. The combination of literary and archaeological evidence we have concerning both their formal features and the way they were perceived by their early audiences allows us to track an evolving and always contested discourse of public and private. At times it seems possible to discern deliberate manipulation of the discourse. The complexes provided larger canvases, set apart from the multivocal, uncontrolled public spaces of the rest of the city, in which a patron could create unified spatial and visual experiences and propagate unified messages.²⁶⁷ At its apogee, this trend resulted in spaces so closely connected to and controlled by an individual that they could well be labelled private.

Many of the constructions considered in this chapter belonged to an entirely traditional type of monument, the votive victory temple.²⁶⁸ Before or during a battle, a general would make a vow to the deity of his choice, promising to build a temple if the god helped him to victory. This process is dependent on the individual choices of the commander, and the temple would be understood by later generations in part as a monument to his individual success; but it also stood for the success of the Roman army as a whole, and throughout the process the general is, in a sense, acting as the official

²⁶⁷ A related phenomenon, treated by Clark (2007) especially 205-54, was the choice by generals to dedicate temples to divine qualities, sometimes but not always new deities who could provide cleaner slates on which the patron could inscribe his individual message, making a claim to a personal relationship with a shared concept. Just as with the space of a temple complex, the manipulation of meanings attached to divine qualities involved the introduction of alternative interpretations but also attempts to exert control over existing interpretations. The success of the new interpretations depended on the fact that the very system they were aiming to modify was already in place and widely understood. In exactly the same way, the architecture of these patrons' temple complexes combined innovation and tradition, tapping into and modified existing discourses about space and the nature of public and private space in particular, to mark out physical space for an individual in what might be more obviously understood as the public realm.

²⁶⁸ On mid-Republican victory monuments in general, see Pietilä-Castrén (1987); Ziolkowski (1992); Abernethy (1994); Favro (1994); Orlin (1997); Cornell (2000) has a good synthesis.

representative of Rome.²⁶⁹ The temple and the cult practiced there usually become part of the official state religion, at least insofar as we can gather from sources such as the *Fasti*. The interplay of individual and 'state', and particularly the relationship between the general and the Senate, is not easy to parse in modern terms, and arguably its ambiguity was always essential to its success.²⁷⁰ Its ambiguity was also carried over into the space of the monuments commissioned as part of the process.

The space of temples built according to this formula was sacred space, but also public space, over which it was hard for the individual general to claim any specific control. If the dedication was limited to the temple, then, these interventions could not have been as successful in asserting private claims to public space as, for example, the Forum basilicas. There, the convention of naming the building after its patron and the connection to a tradition of privately-controlled political space gave the patrons a permanent foothold in public space.²⁷¹ Control over space in a temple, on the other hand, was vested in a god, and in a state temple the state also had a claim. Providing sumptuous decoration for a temple was not necessarily the most profitable investment for a patron wishing for visibility, since the *cella* itself might be kept closed.²⁷² Even so, individuals and families worked hard to maintain their associations with temple foundations by, for example, the citation of temple foundations in *elogia*, the practice of depicting one's ancestor's temples on coinage, and taking care of the restoration of their own temples.

In important respects, therefore, the victory temple type could be used in the same way as the political monuments of the Forum, and particularly the basilicas, as part of a private claim to what might otherwise be public space. In the case of the basilicas, patrons could build on a longstanding tradition, represented primarily by the atria, of semi-private space around the Forum: space which was privately-owned and even domestic, but which was also traditionally used for the transaction of political business. The architectural form of the basilica appropriately blurred the lines between public and private, with a monumentality which could be read as severe and controlling, representing the power and wealth of the patron, or even regal, and an enclosing form which contrasted with the uncontrolled space of the Forum beyond. Patrons of victory temples could not rely on any exactly analogous tradition of private space in which their public buildings participated. They did, however, look further afield to draw parallels with architectural types from the private sphere, from tombs to villa gardens.

Some temples, more than others, became closely associated with their individual founders, with naming conventions mirroring those of the basilicas. Our knowledge of this convention is mediated by the gaps in our sources, but several temples can be identified in which a pattern emerges. The temple of Jupiter Stator built by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus following his triumph in 146 BCE was referred to as the *aedes Iovis Metellinae*

²⁶⁹ The relationship between state and general was of course fraught with tension throughout the process, including the question of authority on the battlefield itself, for which see Eckstein (1987).

²⁷⁰ For two differing treatments of this relationship, see Ziolkowski (1992) 235-58; Orlin (1997); further discussion follows below.

²⁷¹ See above ch. 3.

²⁷² Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2007).

by Festus (496 Lindsay) and the *aedes Metelli* by Pliny (following Varro) (*NH* 36.40).²⁷³ Varro speaks of the *aedes Catuli* (*RR* 3.5.12) – and must be referring to the temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei rather than the porticus on the Palatine – and the temple of Honos et Virtus built by Marius was known as the *aedes Mariana*.²⁷⁴ These temples were different in some way to the vast majority which did not attract similar names.²⁷⁵ One thing distinguishing these early examples from their contemporaries is that are all associated with larger complexes (the Porticus Metelli (Fig. 4.6), an enclosure in the Largo Argentina in front of the temple of Catulus' temple (Fig. 4.7), and the *monumenta Mariana*) which provided a well-defined space containing other architectural features, and in particular displays of captured artwork.²⁷⁶ The space they created was set aside from the rest of the public space of the city and shared in the sanctity of the temple, but the naming practice shows that this space was imagined as not so exclusively the domain of the god or the state religion as was the temple itself.²⁷⁷ It was in these larger complexes that the private power of the general achieved spatial expression.

²⁷³ Boyd (1953) points out that Platner/Ashby (1929) 304, *s.v.* Iuppiter Stator, Aedes, have introduced a mistake in the text of Festus, which has been (and continues to be) much reproduced in the scholarship. They give *aedes Iovis Metellina*, with the adjective directly applied to the temple; in fact, as Boyd notes, *Metellinae* stands for *Metellinae porticus*, so, literally, 'the temple of Jupiter in the Metellan porticus'. Boyd also suspects that Pliny's *aedes Metelli* should also be the portico rather than the temple. On this point I am not convinced, and Festus' omission of the word *porticus* suggests to me, which Boyd says was customary, still results in a strong connection between Metellus and the temple. But the phrase as a whole forms a perfect example of the phenomenon I am tracing here: it was the provision of architectural amenities beyond a temple that made it possible to attach a patron's name to the entire complex.

²⁷⁴ Varro's description of a *tholus* answers perfectly to Temple B in the Largo Argentina. *Aedes Mariana*: Vitruvius 7.praef.7 is the only secure attestation of this formula. Cicero refers frequently to the *monumentum Marii* (*Div.* 1.59; *Planc.* 78; *Sest.* 116 naming it as the location of the *templum Virtutis*), but these phrases may equally refer to a portico surrounding the temple. This interpretation is strengthened by the use of the plural *Mariana monumenta* at Val. Max. 4.4.8. Val. Max. 1.7.5 is confusing two different decrees and two different temples, and so cannot be a secure witness, and the text of Vitruvius 3.2.5 is suspect; Palombi (1996a) 33 has a concise discussion of the problem, with references. There are further examples from a later period, when not just the temple, but even the god, could be attached to a name, giving us Hercules Pompeianus (Vitruvius 3.3.5) and Apollo Sosianus (Pliny *NH* 36.26). Orlin (1997) 193-4 discusses these and other examples, and concludes that the early instances are the exception rather than the rule, looking forwards to Augustus rather than backwards to Republican tradition. I prefer to see Augustus as developing further an already well-entrenched Republican practice, but the difference is merely in emphasis.

²⁷⁵ A preserved *elogium* of Marius (*ILS* 59), of Augustan date, tells us that his temple of Honos et Virtus was built from the general's *manubiae*; this might provide one difference, if we accept that most Republican temples were not in fact manubial. Orlin (1997) 194 discusses all the eponymous temples alongside temples known to be manubial, rather than funded by the Senate, although he does not explicitly suggest that they should also be manubial.

²⁷⁶ For the enclosure attached to Catulus' Fortuna Huiusce Diei see Coarelli (1997a) 277-92.

²⁷⁷ Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2007) discusses a wider tendency for sacred groves and other such naturally-defined areas beyond a simple temple but already associated with a cult to be gradually replaced by architectural expressions of space (which could thus be associated with a patron).

Dedications which took the form of a temple alone were less likely to acquire a lasting relationship of quasi-private control with the patron, instead becoming part of the public religious landscape. This should not be entirely surprising, since constructing a temple, as distinct from the complex surrounding it, required the participation of multiple authorities, religious and civic. The money for building these temples may even have come from the Treasury rather than from the patron himself. In modern scholarship it has traditionally been understood that plunder taken from the defeated enemy as *manubiae*, a particular category of booty under the general's own control, could be used to fund the building of the temple, which would then be a personal project of the general. The status of *manubiae* more broadly is an ongoing question;²⁷⁸ some scholars hold that they were the private property of the general, others that they were public but available for the general's use.²⁷⁹ Whatever the legal status of *manubiae*, a temple funded from this source would be strongly connected with the person of its founder, and thus, potentially, problematic for the operation of communal state religion. In fact, it seems that manubial temple-building was rarer in the middle Republic than has been previously assumed.²⁸⁰ The Senate and the rest of the apparatus of the state religion tended to get involved in temple-building, meaning that the original magistrate either had to split the credit as well as the cost or build alone and face possible repercussions; a general who only wanted to monumentalize his own success could easily choose some other form of display.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ The separate debate over how booty came to be assigned as *manubiae* and what particular forms of booty belonged to this category is of less importance for the present investigation; whatever the process was, it is clear that both works of art and either large sums of money or property which could be converted into large sums of money (which could be enough to fund the construction of a temple if so desired) were often included among the *manubiae*.

²⁷⁹ One good recent summary of the debate can be found in Berrendonner (2007). Shatzman (1972); Pape (1975); Tarpin (2000) all see *manubiae* as essentially private property; Berrendonner joins Bradford Churchill (1999) in finding that *manubiae* are still public property but made available to the magistrate.

²⁸⁰ Orlin (1997), 127-39; note that specifically manubial funding is different from funding from the booty more generally, which all our sources tell us was the standard practice.

²⁸¹ See e.g. Aberson (1994) 154-55; Celani (1998) 57; and especially Orlin (1997). At 66-72 Orlin explores the various options open to both Senate and magistrates in detail, and considers their consequences. Asking the Senate for approval of a votive temple gave the vowing magistrate more *gloria* than proceeding alone would have done, since he could then advertise their collective endorsement; the act of piety and service to the state involved in building a temple for the benefit of all rather than an individual monument could also be parlayed into good publicity. All this accords with a traditional view that sees the victory temples as self-glorification plain and simple, but Orlin then asks why, if this was so, we actually see so few such temples compared to the large number of successful magistrates. He argues that constructing a temple – rather than, say, an arch – ascribes the credit for one's success at least in part to the gods, and once the relationship between the gods and the SPQR becomes involved, the Senate takes over much of the procedure, contributing money and having a say over the dedication, which must reduce the original magistrate's involvement. Even so, I find it hard to believe that generals who did choose to build temples did not try their utmost to assert their own claim to the *gloria* temples could bring; the relationship was constantly evolving.

The interplay of public, private, and sacred in early political monuments

Many generals did choose other forms of display, many of which had a long history. The use of booty, manubial or not, to finance something which functions simultaneously as a (public) religious dedication but also a (personal) political monument is attested in the earliest periods for which trustworthy historical records exist. This might not be a temple; it could be a single statue. Examples include Spurius Carvilius Maximus at the beginning of the third century, who had arms and armour which he had captured from his Samnite opponents melted down and made into a colossal statue, which he paired with a statue of himself and set up on the Capitoline.²⁸²

Spurius Carvilius' Maximus' statues were dedications to a god, but other statues were even more implicated in religious discourse, being themselves statues of gods taken from enemy sanctuaries. Our sources portray a gradual shift between the use of these artworks as religious dedications – many of them were cult images in their original contexts – and their use as political monuments, although the extent to which these two motivations can ever be entirely disentangled is debatable.²⁸³ The *locus classicus* for the removal of a cult image is the *evocatio* of Juno from Veii in 396 BCE, reported at Livy 5.22.4-7. Whatever the original context of the removal, Livy's text focuses entirely on religious aspects; the statue itself was reused as a cult image in the new temple of Juno on the Aventine. The account of the removal of the statue of Jupiter Imperator from Praeneste in 380 BCE (Livy 6.29.8-9) is more intriguing. Here there was no official *evocatio*, a procedure whose presence in the ancient sources is rarer than its prominence in the modern scholarship might suggest; the town surrendered rather than be captured, and there is no report of a full-scale sack. The dictator T. Quinctius Cincinnatus (Capitolinus) returned to Rome *triumphans* and placed the image on the Capitoline, between the *cellae* of Jupiter and Minerva, adding beneath it an inscription which Livy summarizes as *Iuppiter atque divi omnes hoc dederunt, ut T. Quinctius dictator oppida novem caperet* – 'Jupiter and all the gods granted this, that Titus Quinctius as dictator might capture ten towns' (6.29.9).²⁸⁴ The same inscription, although not the statue, is also reported by Festus, who mentions that Quinctius dedicated a gold crown.²⁸⁵

²⁸² Plin. *NH* 34.43.

²⁸³ Hölscher (1978) is fundamental. Strong (1973) argues for a gradual change towards artworks, in particular, being valued for themselves more than as religious dedications.

²⁸⁴ The full text of 6.29.9 reads: *dedicatum est inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae tabulaeque sub eo fixa, monumentum rerum gestarum, his ferme incisa litteris fuit*, with the purported text of the inscription following. Livy's use of *ferme* implies that he does not quote the exact text, but he clearly means his readers to think of this as a real inscription. Kraus (1994) *ad loc.* suggests that the documentary evidence it provides serves an important structural role: it 'caps the episode, reifying the new history Quinctius has created', and presumably testifies to Livy's accuracy in his account of the entire campaign.

²⁸⁵ The trustworthiness of Livy's account is bolstered by the testimony of Festus (498 Lindsay), citing the antiquarian Cincius, who refers to what must be the same inscription: *trientum tertium pondo coronam auream dedisse se Iovi donum scripsit T. Quin<c>tius dictator cum per novem dies totidem urbes et decimam Praeneste cepisset*. Presumably both authors are excerpting, independently, the relevant parts of a longer text.

Quinctius' inscription in the form Livy gives it makes clear one of the messages the statue conveyed: it stood as a monument to his achievement. The statue was also a dedication, and Livy's reading of the inscription, which elides the dedicatory element and therefore has the effect of emphasising its status specifically as a political monument, may be somewhat anachronistic.²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, it would be hard to argue that the political motive of memorialising Quinctius' individual achievement was ever absent.²⁸⁷ Quinctius' dedication was successful in memorialising his deeds, as its appearance in two later authors shows, but its effect on later generations does not end there. The use of the Capitoline as a site for dedications was not new, but presumably the presence of Quinctius' statue added to its prestige. Other victorious generals could attract to themselves some of the glory of Quinctius' feat, or even claim to surpass it, by a simple spatial juxtaposition. Close parallels, involving sacred sculpture taken from conquered enemies and rededicated on the Capitoline, include a Heracles by Lysippus dedicated by Q. Fabius Maximus the dictator from the spoils of Tarentum in 209 and the sculptures of the Nixi Di dedicated outside the *cella* of Minerva (and thus very close to Quinctius' chosen site) by M'. Acilius Glabrio after his triumph over Antiochus III and Aetolia of 190.²⁸⁸ Each of these dedications drew attention to the presence of an individual in public life, but the overall effect was of multiplicity, and no one intervention was prominent enough to call the public nature of the space, undominated and uncontrolled by any single private hand other than that of the god, into question. Indeed, the number of different private interventions called for public mediation: by 179 the area was so popular (not only prestigious, and thus needing to be controlled, but also crowded) that the *princeps Senatus* found it necessary to clear away some of the accumulated dedications.²⁸⁹

The existing dedications on the Capitoline mostly had the effect of enhancing the prestige of the space for all dedications, but the idea that some small space could become permanently linked to an individual or family was not entirely absent. There is one example

²⁸⁶ For its status as a dedication, see Fest. 498 Lindsay *Iovi donum* (and previous note); Hickson Hahn (2004). For the nature of political monuments and their relationship with votive offerings, see Hölscher (1978). Livy is clear that Quinctius' statue paid tribute to the gods, but does not include the important detail that the statue itself was a gift to the god.

²⁸⁷ In order to achieve both aims – rendering appropriate thanks to Jupiter and glorifying Quinctius – the statue must be perceived to have some intrinsic value of its own. Unlike the gold crown which may have been dedicated beside it, the statue's value does not lie in its material, and unlike the statue of Juno Regina from Veii, it does not maintain its value as a cult image. Its status as a sacred object is maintained; at least in a later period and for statues taken as booty, this would require that it be dedicated. Even so, the fact that it is a representational piece of art, identifiable as Jupiter Imperator, must enhance its suitability for a dedication of this type.

²⁸⁸ Q. Fabius Maximus: Plin. *HN* 34.40; Plut. *Fab.* 22.6; Strabo 6.3.1; *de vir. ill* 43.6; M'. Acilius Glabrio: Fest. 182 Lindsay. All of these dedications participated in complex webs of allusion to the existing topography and decoration of the area. For Fabius' Hercules and its place in a series of colossal statues on the Capitoline, see Hölscher (1978) 24; Celani (1998) 45-8. For the huge number of other dedications in the area and their interrelationships, see Cadario (1995); Pape (1975) 150-53. For the hotly-debated question of the statues of the kings on the Capitoline, see Hölscher (1978); DeRose Evans (1990).

²⁸⁹ Livy 40.51.3; Augustus repeated the process (Suet. *Gaius* 34). On the various motivations and repercussions of such clearings, see Stewart (2003) 128-36.

which suggests that Quinctius' statue played a determining role in the erection of a new dedication: Cicero tells us that T. Quinctius Flaminius, the victor of Cynoscephalae in 197, dedicated a statue of Jupiter Imperator on the Capitoline which he had captured from Macedonia.²⁹⁰ The association with his homonymous ancestor's statue of the same deity must have prompted Flaminius' choice.²⁹¹ This new dedication, in its context, did more than just honour Jupiter and memorialise Flaminius' victory; it also claimed continuity with a family history of great victories in the service of Rome, a continuity which even promised the same of future Quinctii. Dedications by two members of the same *gens*, of artworks on the same subject, would have achieved this effect even if placed separately; together, they claim a small area of Rome's religious centre for the *gens*. Of course their claim was contested by other members of the ruling class, who in turn tried to dominate the space with their own monuments. Cicero gives us a very evocative later example in the *turma inauratarum equestrium* – 'troop of gilded equestrian statues' – of Metellus Scipio, the consul of 52, who erected various statues of his ancestors on the Capitoline without, apparently, doing the correct historical research, with the result that he misapplied *cognomina* and magistracies to various second-century personages.²⁹²

From individual dedications to complexes

The very popularity of locations like the Capitoline meant that any one individual or family's claim to dominate its space could never be entirely successful or enduring. Other generals chose to stake their claims in places where their achievements could be more securely memorialised and tied to those of their ancestors. In these examples, monuments of a single family gathered together in a single space and set apart from other competing messages made the political impact of the monument clearer. Moreover, these groups were formed of mixtures of public, private, and sacred constructions, but functioned as a whole, causing the categories to blend into each other. The juxtaposition instead emphasises what they have in common: elite monumental display, whether in the form of honorific statues or temples, or indeed buildings, private houses, or tombs, was essentially a single phenomenon which can be assigned to neither the public nor the private sphere.

The spatial experience resulting from multiple monuments of the same *gens* clustered together can be valuably compared to that offered by the private space of, for example, the family's house. L. Cornelius Scipio, the consul of 259, vowed a temple to the Tempestates after his campaign in Corsica.²⁹³ This temple should be located near the Tomb of the Scipios, where Scipio's father Barbatus was already buried and where Scipio himself would be buried in turn.²⁹⁴ We know nothing about the original decoration of this temple, but the

²⁹⁰ Cic *Verr.* 2.4.129.

²⁹¹ Celani (1998) 48-51; Cadario (1995).

²⁹² Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17.

²⁹³ The temple is attested in Scipio's epigraphically preserved eulogy: *CIL* 1² 9 = VI.12897 = *ILS* 3 = *ILLRP* 310; cf. Ov. *F.* 6.193-4.

²⁹⁴ The *Notitia Urbis* lists the temple in Regio I, as part of a group with those of Mars and Minerva. The temple of Mars *extra portam Capenam* is well known, and it seems likely, therefore, that the temple of the Tempestates was nearby. The two temples are also linked by Ovid, *F.* 6.193-4. For

tomb was later endowed with a monumental façade with three statues.²⁹⁵ The use of a podium and columnar architecture in the façade drew obvious parallels with temple architecture, linking the two buildings even more explicitly. Anyone approaching the temple was immediately reminded of its founder and his *gens* as they walked past the tomb.²⁹⁶ The choice of location for the temple assured Scipio that although it was a place for what might be termed public cult, it would not easily be entirely subsumed into the public forms of state religion, but would continue to function as a memorial to his own deeds and those of his family. We might say that some of the tomb's semi-private character was transferred to the temple, and the family of the Scipios could certainly claim to have established ideological control of the complex.²⁹⁷

The potential success of the clustering strategy is epitomized by an area of the Campus Martius which contained such monuments as a Porticus Aemilia (Liv. 35.10.2) and the temple of the Lares Permarini vowed by Lucius Aemilius Regillus and dedicated by Lucius Aemilius Lepidus in the early second century; Lepidus also dedicated nearby temples to Diana and Juno Regina (Liv. 40.52). The area became known as the Aemiliana (Varro *RR* 3.2.6; Suet. *Claud.* 18.1). Whether it was originally the property of the Aemilii or not makes no difference; by the mid-second century it contained a flourishing suburb as well as various different kinds of public space, all named as though they were the private property of the family.

The Scipios and the Aemilii enhanced the impact of their monuments and minimised competing messages by grouping them together in space. Another tactic was to expand, spatially and ideologically, the footprint of an individual monument. Many generals competed to provide something striking, typically meaning something new and exciting, for their audiences. They might have a variety of reasons for making the particular selections they did. For example, using new architectural techniques or materials associated in the Roman mind with the Greek world was the primary method of differentiation for much of this period, and might be read as a statement of political or cultural philhellenism. By contrast, reverting to conspicuously archaic forms could also be a political statement.²⁹⁸ Above and beyond all this, however, any monument which was decisively visually different

discussion, see Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 36-38; Ziolkowski (1992) 162-4. Scammuzzi (1963) mentions a poorly-attested tradition which locates the temple on the site of the Villa Appia delle Sirene, which is directly across the Via Appia from the Tomb of the Scipios.

²⁹⁵ For the tomb itself, see Coarelli (1972), especially 208-09 on its association with the temple and parallels with Marcellus' *Honos et Virtus*. The arrangement of the three statues in niches flanked by columns reminds the modern viewer of nothing so much as the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus. Both sets of statues flirt with the boundary between public and private commemoration: the Scipiones reference public honorific statuary as well as funerary practice, and their (very early) columnar façade makes an obvious allusion to public architecture, while Augustus' collection of great men, with emphasis on the Julii, draws parallels with the galleries of ancestors set up in private houses.

²⁹⁶ On the importance of experiential readings of space, see Favro (1996), especially 10.

²⁹⁷ Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 37 even claims that the temple might have been built on Scipio's private land, although there can be no way to determine this.

²⁹⁸ Gros (1976b).

from its surroundings created a spatial distinction, separating itself from the rest of public space and making it easier for an individual to endow it with a semi-private status.

Visual and spatial differentiation: three case studies on the role of Greek art

Many of the complexes were commissioned by generals returning from the East, and paid for using the profits of their successes there. Even so, it is increasingly difficult to make a simplistic connection between new spatial forms and increasing Roman engagement with the Greek East, given the long and complex history of Roman engagement with Greek culture in South Italy as well as the East. They are also far from being simple copies of Greek originals, either in overall form or in detail. Ideologically, however, it is clear that they operate within the contested relationship between Greece and Rome, a relationship ripe with implications for Roman constructions of other forms of social identity.²⁹⁹ The best attested early complexes of this type have a very specific relationship with the Greek world, as monuments to victories over cities and nations of Greece and Magna Graecia. Their architectural form is closely linked to constructions of Greece, and particularly Greek culture, in the Roman imagination, since one of their main functions was the display of art objects taken from captured cities. Case studies of three of these monuments, the sanctuary of Honos et Virtus built by M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Fulvius Nobilior's Hercules Musarum, and the Porticus Metelli of Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, demonstrate how the display of Greek art formed a vital part of the spatial experience these sanctuaries offered and complicated their status as public space.

1. Marcellus and the arrival of Greek art at Rome

The temple of Honos et Virtus was vowed by M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 and finally dedicated in 205 by his son, just outside the Porta Capena.³⁰⁰ This was the setting for the famous spoils of Syracuse, and it is because of the display of art that the temple, which is not archaeologically attested, is well known in the textual record.³⁰¹ It was the artworks which made Marcellus' precinct visually distinctive, thus offering a distinctive spatial experience.

²⁹⁹ The definition of what exactly we mean, or Romans may have meant, when referring to 'Greece' and 'Greeks' is a minefield. 'Greek' and 'Roman' are not necessarily separable or commensurable concepts – see especially Wallace-Hadrill (2008) – nor was the ancient world divided into two and only two cultures. My concern in this chapter is with representation rather than reality; the 'Greece' to which I refer is the Greece of the Roman imagination. See also below p. 131-33. For an analysis of the use of architecture in the ongoing process of the construction of Roman identity in contrast with an imagined Greece, see especially Gros (1976b).

³⁰⁰ Vow: Liv. 27.25.7; 29.11.13; construction: Liv. 25.40.1-3; dedication: Liv. 29.11.13; location: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121; cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.21; Val. Max. 1.1.8; Plut. *Marc.* 28. For general discussion of the temple, see Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 55-58; Ziolkowski (1992) 58-60; Palombi (1996b) with bibliography; for a controversial, and in my view unsuccessful, re-evaluation of the evidence for its location, see Richardson (1978).

³⁰¹ Liv. 25.40.1-3; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121, *Rep.* 1.21; Asc. 12 Clark; Pape (1975) 6-7.

Livy and Plutarch are clearly wrong when they suggest that Greek art and the varying reactions to it only arrived in Rome after the sack of Syracuse in 211 BCE.³⁰² Rome had participated in a wider Mediterranean visual culture from the very foundation of the city.³⁰³ There is at least one specific example of captured Greek art being brought to Rome before 211, in the triumph of M'. Curius Dentatus over Pyrrhus in 275.³⁰⁴ Even so, it is worth asking why our sources present the decades following the triumph of Marcellus as a watershed period. There can be no doubt that the artistic influx of this period was perceived as very different from what had come before it. The commanders of the time worked within existing traditions, but were also innovative in how they presented their victory monuments.

Looking back from the late Republic and imperial periods, later writers do choose to identify this collection of artworks as a watershed. Livy's treatment is revealing:

dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Marcellus captis Syracusis, cum cetera in Sicilia tanta fide atque integritate composuisset ut non modo suam gloriam sed etiam maiestatem populi Romani augetet, ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusae, Romam devexit, hostium quidem illa spolia et parta belli iure; ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia volgo spoliandi factum est, quae postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum primum quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, vertit. visebantur enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a M. Marcello templa propter excellentia eius generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars compareret.

(Liv. 25.40.1-3)

While these things were happening in Hispania, Marcellus, who had captured Syracuse, and who had made all his other arrangements in Sicily with such great good faith and integrity that he increased not only his own glory but also the majesty of the Roman people, carried away the decorations of the city, the statues and paintings which Syracuse had in abundance, and these were indeed enemy spoils and justly won in war. But from this sprung the first beginning of admiring Greek artworks and from this was born the practice of despoiling everything, sacred and profane, without distinction; which afterwards turned on the Roman gods, and first of all the very temple which was exceptionally adorned by Marcellus. For even foreigners used to go to

³⁰² Liv. 25.40.1-3; Plut. *Marc.* 21.

³⁰³ Ampolo (1990).

³⁰⁴ Florus 1.13.26-27. On this continuity in general, see Gruen (1992) 86-94, also citing the statues given by the Greek city of Thurii in the 280s (Pliny, *NH* 34.22), the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades supposedly erected at the behest of the Delphic oracle during the Samnite war (Pliny *NH* 34.24; Plut. *Numa* 8.10), the practice of erecting equestrian statues, ascribed by Pliny to Greek influence (*NH* 34.19), and the gift of a golden Victory by Hiero of Syracuse in 216 (Livy 22.37.2-5); McDonnell (2006) challenges Gruen's interpretation, noting that the sheer volume of art brought from Syracuse must have made a difference. In terms of the exposure of the Roman people to works of art in a style considered to be 'Greek', the problem is essentially one of degree. Here I concentrate more on the qualitative: the location and context of display of such artworks, and argue that Marcellus' display of a large collection of art, explicitly marked as Greek, in a victory complex does create a new type of viewing experience, and could therefore lay the groundwork for a new attitude towards Greek art, despite Romans' familiarity with the basic type.

see the temple Marcus Marcellus dedicated at the Capena Gate because of its excellent ornaments of this type, of which only the tiniest part remains.

Livy links the taste for Greek art, in particular, to the immoral practice of art theft. This is part of his wider argument about moral decline in the late Republic, an argument which is not unique to Livy but found in many authors of his and the immediately preceding generation.³⁰⁵ Often citing Marcellus specifically, but also other generals who came after him, the combined thrust of this pattern of thought claims that the influx of fine art from the Greek-speaking world was part of a gradual move away from proper Roman traditions towards Greek luxury, which sapped the moral fibre of the Roman people and turned them away from the common good towards individual pleasures.

The attitude of Romans towards Greek art has been described in terms of a dichotomy between ‘Catonians’ and ‘connoisseurs’.³⁰⁶ According to this narrative, hellenophiles of the second century BCE and onwards incorporate the appreciation of Greek art into elite Roman culture, expecting educated Romans to be able to discourse on individual artists and their works and demonstrate their taste in the decoration of their houses and villas. The Catonian group, it is claimed, responds to connoisseurship as a manifestation of *luxuria*, harmful to public morals and implying dangerously regal aspirations on the part of collectors.³⁰⁷ This dichotomy is open to criticism as too simplistic.³⁰⁸ Although both modes of thought can be found in the ancient sources, it is hard to locate solid evidence for the existence of competing parties of ‘Catonians’ and connoisseurs in the second century BCE and earlier - rather than their retrospective construction on the part of later Republican and especially early Augustan authors. It makes more sense to think of both as two rhetorical positions among others, which may be taken up and put down as the situation demands.³⁰⁹

A simple equation between Greek sculpture and *luxuria* must be discarded for Roman viewers of Marcellus’ time. There is no direct textual evidence concerning what they thought about Marcellus’ artworks, and little evidence of any kind concerning the way they were displayed. Nevertheless, it is possible to speculate and draw parallels to monuments

³⁰⁵ This theme as a whole needs no rehearsal, although its nuances can be complex and controversial. Livy’s most striking statement of his thesis is at 1.*praef.*9-12; another *locus classicus* is Sall. *BC* 9-13. In the modern scholarship, see especially Lintott (1972).

³⁰⁶ Pollitt (1978).

³⁰⁷ Pollitt (1978) cites Livy 25.40.2: *ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia volgo spoliandi factum est*. It is worth noting that this is the narrator’s own comment, not that of Cato; Livy’s Cato does say *infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis inlata sunt huic urbi. iam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque et antefixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentes* (34.4.4), but the emphasis here is subtly different. Even in Livy’s words, which need not reflect anything Cato himself ever said, this speech does not directly attack Greek art in itself, but only the fact that it has diverted attention from Roman (and specifically Roman religious) art.

³⁰⁸ See especially Gruen (1992) 84-130; Stewart (2003) 224-31.

³⁰⁹ Stewart (2003) 224-31; compare Wallace-Hadrill (2008) *passim*, especially 17-28, on code-switching.

other generals were constructing in the period. The picture which emerges is of a complex which is in some ways utterly standard, but which also shows innovations which it might be possible to link with Livy's choice to make this monument the start of Roman interest in Greek art.

Marcellus' complex actually contained two temples. There already existed a temple on the site, which Cicero tells us was dedicated to Virtus in 233 BCE by Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.³¹⁰ Marcellus apparently began a renovation of this earlier temple before being told by the *pontifices* that a separate dedication to Honos would be required.³¹¹ The complex is sometimes referred to in the singular as the *aedes* or *templum Honoris et Virtutis*, but it is clear that there were at least two separate *cellae*, and probably two entirely separate buildings.³¹² Valerius Maximus reports that the *pontifices* demanded that *Marcellus separatis aedibus Honoris ac Virtutis simulacra statuerat* – 'Marcellus set up images of Honos and Virtus in separate buildings' (1.1.8). A later description by Symmachus gives a good idea of the final form of the complex as linked but distinct: *maiores nostri... aedes Honoris atque Virtuti gemella facie iunctim locarent* – 'our ancestors placed the shrines of Honos and Virtus joined together with a twin façade' (*Ep.* 1.20.1). Symmachus may be referring to a later renovation, but there are good parallels for the creation of architecturally harmonious complexes of two or more temples, in, for example, the fifth-century double temples in the Area Sacra di Sant'Omobono (Fig. 4.1) or the group of four Republican temples at Ostia (Fig. 4.2). In the case of Sant'Omobono, the double temples represent the elaboration of a previous single sanctuary into an architecturally coherent whole. They even share a podium, and the altars and statue bases in the sanctuary are set out to emphasise the symmetry of the complex.³¹³ A closer parallel comes two generations after Marcellus, when Metellus Macedonicus refurbished the existing temple of Juno Regina, built a new temple to Jupiter Stator next to it, and enclosed them both with a portico (Fig. 4.6). He built his new temple on the same orientation and to the same scale as the existing building, and the surrounding portico creates a completely unified space.³¹⁴ The basic spatial articulation of Marcellus' complex may not have been unlike these.

Cicero tells us that Marcellus' artwork was displayed near (rather than in) the temples.³¹⁵ Rather than simply building a single temple which stood alone, Marcellus

³¹⁰ Cic. *DND* 2.61: *vides Virtutis templum, vides Honoris a M. Marcello renovatum, quod multis ante annis erat bello Ligustico a Q. Maximo dedicatum*. Palombi (1996b) claims that Fabius' temple was also to Honos et Virtus together, although other commentators (including Fears (1981) 835, cited by Palombi) read the Cicero to mean that it was to Virtus alone. The date of the original dedication is also controversial, since Cicero's *multis ante annis* might seem to preclude a passage of less than a generation. Richardson (1978) proposes to attribute it to an earlier Fabius, a view Ziolkowski (1992) 59 finds untenable.

³¹¹ Liv. 27.25.7-9; Val. Max. 1.1.8; Plut. *Marc.* 28.1 check these. For the political implications of the refoundation and the quarrel with the *pontifices*, see Cassola (1962) 314-30; Gros (1979).

³¹² Singular *aedes*: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121; singular *templum*: Liv. 25.40.2. Plural *templa*: Liv. 25.40.3.

³¹³ For the archaeology and interpretation of the complex as a whole, see Coarelli (1988) 205-442; Pisani Sartorio (1995), both with references. For symmetry, Hölscher (1978) 21-22.

³¹⁴ On this complex, see below ch. 5.

³¹⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121: *ad aedem Honoris et Virtutis*.

demarcated an entire sacred complex, and the role of the statuary must have been key to the spatial experience it provided. There is no evidence regarding any kind of monumental perimeter wall, but it would not be unusual, and I would not be the first to suggest that even some kind of portico is possible.³¹⁶ With or without a monumental boundary, the dispersal of a forest of statues in the area surrounding the two temples would have marked the space as different from other open spaces and created an overwhelming viewing experience. In building his complex, Marcellus used art and architecture to carve out a small piece of Rome's public space for himself, just as he marks a small piece of the state's military success for his individual glory.

The complex as a whole conveyed an entirely standard message concerning Marcellus' military success and piety. It was one of many such victory temples erected in Rome during the late third century.³¹⁷ It was the number and the quality of the artworks which distinguished his victory temple from others, and in this they were successful, since Cicero and Livy are still talking about the size and quality of the art collection displayed there years later. From their continued interest in the sanctuary, we can tell that Marcellus' captured art did attract the attention of Roman viewers.³¹⁸ It is not often that the ancient sources report specifically on the effect sculpture and architecture had on a viewer, and it is interesting that on the one occasion when a Latin author does explicitly such an experience, it is mediated through the eyes of a non-normative viewer. Livy puts into the mouth of one of his characters some musings on the effect Marcellus' collection might have on Hiero himself, were he alive to see it:

“si ab res inferis existat rex Hiero, fidissimus imperi Romani cultor, quo ore aut Syracusas aut Romam ei ostendi posse, cum, ubi semirutam ac spoliatam patriam respixerit, ingrediens Romam in vestibulo urbis, prope in porta, spolia patriae suae visurus sit. (Liv. 26.32.4)

“If King Hiero, that most faithful supporter of Roman power, were to rise from the realms below, with what words could we show him either Syracuse or Rome, when, after he looked back on his half-destroyed and despoiled fatherland, he would see as he entered Rome, in the vestibule of the city, almost in the gate, the spoils of his fatherland?”

³¹⁶ Welch (2006a) 503-4: ‘Metellus need not have been the first general to surround his temple with a large portico, however. In fact, the likeliest candidate for this innovation is M. Claudius Marcellus, by reason of the sheer number of statues and paintings brought back by him from Syracuse in 211 and whose Temple of Honos and Virtus, where many of the works were exhibited, became a great tourist attraction.’

³¹⁷ Pietilä-Castrén (1987) catalogues these; close contemporaries include A. Atilius Caiatinus' (cos. 258, 254) temples of Fides and Spes (Cic. *DND* 2.61; Tac. *Ann.* 2.49), C. Lutatius Catulus' (cos. 242) temple of Juturna (Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.139), Q. Fabius Maximus' (cos. 233) temple of Honos (Cic. *DND* 2.61), C. Papirius Maso's (cos. 231) temple of Fons (Cic. *DND* 3.51-2), and M. Livius Salinator's (cos. 207) temple of Juventas (Liv. 36.36.5-6).

³¹⁸ It might be objected that Cicero and Livy are both members of a narrow elite, and it is imperative to keep the divergent experiences of different groups in mind; but note Cic. *Rep.* 1.21, where Philus, discussing a celestial sphere C. Sulpicius Gallus had seen in Marcellus' grandson's own house, mentions another at the temple of Honos et Virtus, and describes that second sphere as *nobilior in volgus*.

Part of the effectiveness of this rhetoric must derive from a sense of disjunction – Romans are expected to see such spoils as glorious, and it is a shock to imagine another point of view.³¹⁹ The artworks stood as permanent reminders of conquest, as booty from the captured city, and they were probably set on bases which named the towns from which they were taken: *CIL* I² 608, an inscribed base not from the Honos et Virtus complex but found elsewhere in the city, reads *M. Claudius M. f. / consol / Hinnad cepit* – ‘Marcus Claudius, son of Marcus, consul, took [this] from Enna’, and this was the usual practice for booty.³²⁰

In his use of art as part of his victory monument, Marcellus was repeating and improving on the examples of his predecessors, like Spurius Carvilius Maximus on the Capitol. The beauty of the art, the glory of the victory and Marcellus’ personal *virtus* are welded into a unified message. The Marcelli may also have employed the clustering tactic exemplified by the Scipios. His grandson, also called Marcus Claudius Marcellus, later erected three more statues in the area, depicting himself, his father, and his grandfather (the builder) with the famous inscription III MARCELLI NOVIES COSS – ‘three Marcelli, nine times consul’, thus demonstrating a continuing link between the Marcelli and the complex.³²¹

Marcellus’ temple need not have been funded entirely or even partially from his own share of the booty; no ancient source specifies this.³²² What is quite clear from the sources is that the artworks displayed around the temple were from that part of the booty Marcellus himself controlled, either as *manubiae* or as private property in the strictest sense. This is the implication of Cicero’s praise at *in Verrem* 2.4.121; notwithstanding Cicero’s polemical intent, it would be otiose to praise Marcellus for displaying the art in public if he had not had the option to keep it in private. The clinching piece of evidence comes from Cicero again. At *de Republica* 1.21, Philus reports a celestial globe which Marcellus *captis Syracusis ex urbe locupletissima atque ornatissima sustulisset, cum aliud nihil ex tanta praeda domam suam deportavisset* – ‘had taken after the capture of Syracuse, that most rich and well-decorated city, although out of so much booty he took nothing else to his house’, while he placed another, finer example in the temple. Marcellus was able to take one globe, and gave the other as his personal donation.

Marcellus’ construction of a votive victory temple followed precedent, as did his personal dedication of captured works of art to a god. What was unusual was his use of large enough quantities of captured artwork (and of high enough quality), in his own temple, to attract comment generations later. The conjunction of two temples surrounded by statuary, and, I suspect, by some kind of monumental wall or even portico, meant that the

³¹⁹ A similar reaction from a foreign viewer is imagined at Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.59 – perhaps Livy’s model for this passage?

³²⁰ See Waurick (1975). More generally, on the art of Rome and its presentation to the viewer as monumentalized violence, see Edwards (2003).

³²¹ Asc. 2 Clark; Coarelli (1972) 208-09 has even been suggested that, just as in the case of the Tomb of the Scipios, Marcellus’ family tomb was located close to the temple.

³²² Orlin (1997) 131-2, distinguishing correctly between the construction and the ornamentation of the sanctuary; contra Pietilä-Castrén (1982) 58; Aberson (1994) 146.

space marked out was more than just the footprint of the temple itself. Recall, again, that all the early examples cited above of temples which become known by the names of their founders are also part of such complexes.³²³ The popularity of such complexes and their success in commemorating their founders when compared to temples which stand alone suggests that it is the space, decoration, and building activity around the main temple which a patron can stamp with his own personality. The space of the temple itself was presumably ceded to the god.

A votive victory temple alone was arguably in danger of being subsumed into the state religion and losing some of the strength of its connection with its founder. Previous generals, such as L. Cornelius Scipio, had used strategies including topographical and architectural links with their (semi-)private monuments to offset the difficulty. Marcellus' choice of dedications of art from his own share of the spoils served the same purpose, tying his own name to his complex with such success that the link continued even after the art was gone. His deployment of art inside and around the temple created an area which offered a distinctive spatial experience, explicitly tied to his martial exploits.

Any reconstruction of Marcellus' complex remains entirely speculative, with the result that the spatial experience to which his use of art contributed is impossible to recover in detail. In the next few generations, however, several more buildings are constructed in Rome to house captured art, and some of these are better attested in the textual and archaeological record, and it is possible to draw more detailed conclusions concerning the choice to use artworks, rather than any other form of personally-funded decoration, to mark out these spaces. We also enter a period when more evidence is available concerning Roman attitudes to Greek culture – although more evidence does not necessarily mean more consensus among modern scholars on how the evidence should be interpreted.

2. Hercules Musarum as heterotopia

M. Fulvius Nobilior, who took Ambracia in 189 BCE, was the patron of the temple of Hercules Musarum in the Circus Flaminius (Fig. 4.3, 4.4).³²⁴ Like Marcellus' temple of Honos et Virtus, it has often been assumed to be a manubial project, when in fact the sources are more easily read to imply only that the statuary with which Nobilior decorated

³²³ Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus' temple of Jupiter Stator was in his new porticus, C. Marius' temple of Honos et Virtus formed part of the *monumenta Mariana*, and Q. Lutatius Catulus' temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei was placed behind a monumental enclosure holding art (Fig. 4.7). It is specifically when Varro is referring to the shape of enclosure and temple together that he calls the temple the *aedes Catuli* (RR 3.5.12).

³²⁴ Eumen. *Inst. Schol.* 7.2-3 (= *Paneg.* 9.7.2-3 Baehrens); Martina (1981); Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 95-103; Aberson (1994) 199-216; Coarelli (1997a) 452-84; Viscogliosi (1996a) with references. Richardson (1977) suspects that Nobilior's temple was to the Muses alone, and Hercules was added by Philippus; indeed, it is not until Ovid (*F.* 6.812; *Ars* 3.168) that our sources clearly report the presence of Hercules, although Nobilior's connection to the Muses is clear from Cic. *Arch.* 27. The argument from silence is unconvincing, however, given the state of the sources and the suggestive existence of iconographic material depicting Hercules and the Muses together, including Pomponius Musa's coins of c.66 BCE (see n. 330 below).

the complex were *manubiae*.³²⁵ Both contained individual votive victory temples within larger complexes. There are other links with the temple of Honos et Virtus: Nobilior moved a *sacellum* of the Camenae attributed to Numa, which had been located in Marcellus' complex, to his own.³²⁶ Nobilior uses many of the same techniques Marcellus does to ensure that his temple will memorialise his personal achievement, but in this case the role played by captured statuary and the spatial experience it creates is easier to untangle.

Nobilior's temple appears on the Marble Plan (Fig. 4.3), and there has also been some archaeological investigation in the area.³²⁷ Pliny tells us that the complex housed a famous set of Greek statues of nine muses and Hercules playing the lyre, taken from Ambracia.³²⁸ A series of coins minted over a hundred years later show exactly those figures, and it seems likely that the artist used Nobilior's sculptures as his model.³²⁹ The complex itself was surrounded by the Porticus Philippi, built in the early Augustan period, and the portico shown on the Marble Plan must represent this or a later reconstruction. It has been suggested, however, that Nobilior's original complex could have included a portico along similar lines. The Marble Plan shows nine markings, consisting of dots inside small squares, along the back wall of the portico. If these markings are to be interpreted as statue bases, then it may well be that this is where the Muses were located, implying an original wall in the same position.³³⁰

The controversy over the location of the statues and date of the portico illustrates the difficulty of reconstructing a monument like this from the Plan and limited archaeological investigation. Even without adhering to any particular reconstruction, however, the available evidence suggests some conclusions about the spatial experience the complex provided. It is clear that this was a complicated monument. The inner row of dots on the Plan probably represent trees, and even if they do not we should imagine architecture, sculpture and planting working together. A combination of curves and rectilinear shapes and a number of changes in level provide an intricate articulation of space (Fig. 4.4). The various levels and other barriers mean that there was limited access between the different parts of the complex: this means movement was restricted to certain well-defined routes.³³¹

Nobilior's complex is strikingly different from other temples known from Rome of the same period. One can find parallels for this or that element, but as a whole it must have

³²⁵ Orlin (1997) 132-33, *contra* Shatzman (1972) 252; Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 101.

³²⁶ Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.8. Clark (2007) 111-16 hypothesizes that Naevius' *Clastidium*, an account of one of Marcellus' victories, was performed at the dedication of his temple; Ennius' *Ambracia* – perhaps performed at the dedication of the temple of Hercules Musarum – would then reference it directly.

³²⁷ Castagnoli (1983); Gianfrotta (1985).

³²⁸ Plin. *NH* 35.66; discussion from an art-historical perspective in Marabini Moevs (1981); Ridgway (1990) 246-74.

³²⁹ Marabini Moevs (1981); disputed by Ridgway (1990) 246-74. The coins are those of Pomponius Musa: *RRC* no. 410. A statue base found in the area (*CIL* I² 615) reads *M. Folvius M. f. / Ser. n. Nobilior / cos. Ambracia / cepit*.

³³⁰ Coarelli (1997a) 482-83.

³³¹ Macaulay-Lewis (2008a) 114-20.

struck contemporary viewers as highly innovative.³³² The temple itself is only a small part of a much larger complex, with a variety of possible uses. It forms part of a trend of increasingly complicated combinations of architectural and spatial typologies in victory complexes, which melded and blurred the lines between different types of space even more successfully than the Scipio's cluster of separate monuments.³³³ The connection to the arts which the dedication to the muses implies was carried through; we know that it became a meeting place for a group of poets, and Nobilior himself was closely connected to the most famous Latin poet of his age, Ennius.³³⁴ Ennius may even have finished his *Annales* with the transfer of the Muses to Rome - a fitting institutional pendant to his own inspiration in the prologue, and a further means for Nobilior to memorialise his connection with the temple.³³⁵ Poetry itself was celebrated by the bronze *sacellum* dedicated to the Camenae, Italian goddesses connected to the muses, which Nobilior also moved into the sanctuary.³³⁶ The final embellishment of the complex was an annotated set of *fasti*, supposedly written by Nobilior himself.³³⁷ The enclosing grove of trees and (perhaps) the portico create a sense of separation from the surrounding area, delineating a space for arts and scholarship, provided with the beauty and calm associated with the Muses.

The design and use of Nobilior's complex brings to mind a range of issues concerning the Roman reception of Greek and Hellenistic culture. Latin poets such as Ennius acknowledged their debt to their Greek predecessors while claiming that they could produce cultural artefacts of equivalent quality in Latin. Their reception of Greek ideas was active and dynamic. Nobilior's complex does exactly the same thing; he brings the Greek statues into the Roman city, but groups them with local goddesses as well, and in the calendar he provides an expression of the traditions of Roman religion organised in a way which suggests Greek scholarship.³³⁸ Here, Nobilior is the active reader of Greek culture, taking the initiative in producing a new mental universe. The result is something entirely new – and that in itself would have helped Nobilior achieve his broader aim of monumentalising his military achievement. He presents himself as a successful general, connected to Hercules, but also as a sensitive patron of the Muses.

3. Metellus Macedonicus and the Granikos Monument

Not long after Nobilior's complex, another building associated with a famous Greek work of art was built directly beside it. In 147 Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus built a

³³² On parallels, specifically for early round temples in the Italic tradition, see Coarelli (1997a) 452-84.

³³³ The culmination of this trend, Pompey's theatre-portico-curia-temple-garden-house complex, is discussed in the following chapter. Cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2007) 208: 'The permeability and reciprocal convergence of religious and profane architecture are reflected in the multi-functional nature of late republican cult compounds'.

³³⁴ Cic. *Arch.* 27; *Tusc.* 1.3. Ennius included Nobilior's campaigns in his *Annales*, and also wrote an *Ambracia*. For further discussion see Gruen (1990) 114-23.

³³⁵ Skutsch (1968) 18-21; Gratwick (1982); Feeney (2007) 143-44.

³³⁶ Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.8.

³³⁷ Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.6; see Rüpke (2006).

³³⁸ Rüpke (2006); cf. Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 239-48.

temple to Jupiter Stator alongside an existing temple to Juno Regina, and surrounded them both with a porticus (Fig. 4.5, 4.6).³³⁹ This porticus was later refurbished and renamed the Porticus Octaviae; parts of that later complex are still visible today (Fig. 4.5).³⁴⁰ Under the empire, it held one of the largest public collections of art in the city.³⁴¹ Much of that accreted over time, but from the beginning this space was used for the display of art, and in particular for one huge sculptural group, the twenty-six equestrian statues by the great Greek sculptor Lysippus known as the Granikos Monument.³⁴²

The bronzes which formed the Granikos Monument, counted among the masterpieces of one of Greece's most famous sculptors, were originally commissioned by Alexander the Great after his victory at the battle of the Granikos in 334 BCE; they depicted twenty-five of the special troops known as Alexander's Companions who had died in the battle, and Alexander himself was also included among them.³⁴³ Alexander had them displayed in the sanctuary of Zeus at Dion in Macedonia.³⁴⁴ The exact location of their display in Metellus' complex is unknown, but their overall visual and spatial impact must have been impressive – 26 life-size bronze horses and riders, displayed in a purpose-built space. Velleius Paterculus testifies to the continuing fame of the sculptural display under the empire:

hic est Metellus Macedonicus, qui porticus, quae fuerunt circumdatae duabus aedibus sine inscriptione positae, quae nunc Octaviae porticibus ambiuntur, fecerat, quique hanc turmam statuarum equestrium, quae frontem aedium spectant, hodieque maximum ornamentum eius loci, ex Macedonia detulit. cuius turmae hanc causam referunt, Magnum Alexandrum impetrasse a Lysippo, singulari talium auctore operum, ut eorum equitum, qui ex ipsius turma apud Granicum flumen ceciderant, expressa similitudine figurarum faceret statuas et ipsius quoque iis interponeret. hic idem primus omnium Romae aedem ex marmore in iis ipsis monumentis molitus huius vel magnificentiae vel luxuriae princeps fuit.

(Vell. Pat. 1.11.3-5)

It is this Metellus Macedonicus who had built the portico which surrounded the two temples installed without inscriptions, which are now encircled by the portico of Octavia, and who brought from Macedonia the set of equestrian statues which face the front of the temples and which are the greatest ornament of that place. They tell this story of the group: Alexander the Great commissioned them from Lysippus, the paramount sculptor of such works, to make statues of those horsemen of his own squadron who had fallen at the battle of the river Granikos, creating lifelike resemblances, and also to place a statue of himself among them.

³³⁹ Vell. Pat. 1.11.3-5; Vitruvius 3.2.5; Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 128-34; Viscogliosi (1996b); Coarelli (1997a) 488-92, 529-38; Viscogliosi (1999a), all with references.

³⁴⁰ Vell. Pat. 1.11.3; Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 36.42; Viscogliosi (1999b) with references. The archaeological remains are published by Lauter (1980-81); Cicancio Rossetto (1997).

³⁴¹ Celani (1998) 151-61 catalogues these. Cicero *Verrines* 2.4.126 already names it as one of the places one might go to see art.

³⁴² Vell. Pat. 1.11.4; Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 34.64.

³⁴³ Calcani (1989); Aristoboulos *FGH* 2.139 fr. 5; Arrian 1.16.4; Plutarch *Alexander* 16.15-16.

³⁴⁴ Arrian 1.16.4.

Metellus, who was the first of all in Rome to build, among these very monuments, a temple of marble, was the originator of this kind of magnificence – or perhaps of excess.

Romans of Metellus' time would have understood perfectly the message of the Granikos monument. Alexander was a name to conjure with in second-century Italy; the famous Alexander Mosaic of Pompeii is not much later. The mosaic shows Alexander bareheaded, charismatic, a king and a leader; we can expect that Lysippus' sculpture would have represented him in the same way. He stands among his fallen comrades, but must have been individualised and set apart in some way as well, maybe by the same device of leaving his head bare. Metellus has conquered Alexander's people and is making a claim to be a new Alexander. In setting up the monument in a portico next to a temple of Jupiter, he follows Alexander's example exactly; the original location was the temple of Zeus at Dion, which also had a portico. Both Velleius and Pliny describe being struck by the individuality of each sculpture, which suggests that one way to experience the complex would be to stroll through at leisure, examining each one closely.

As Velleius also reports, Metellus' temple was the first in Rome to be built entirely in marble.³⁴⁵ We know the name of its architect, Hermodorus of Salamis, a Greek whom Metellus brought to Rome.³⁴⁶ It was originally peripteral, in the Greek style, unlike the older temple of Juno Regina, which was more frontal (Fig. 4.6). The rhythm of multiple long lines of columns, especially those of marble, would still have been unusual in the second-century city, with a definite Greek flavour, and the twenty-six equestrian statues will have added to the spatial patterning. Like Hercules Musarum, this complex is unapologetically Greek in many ways, while at the same time fitting perfectly into the Roman tradition of victory monuments. In terms of spatial experience, it is worth noting how closed the space is.³⁴⁷ Metellus' complex is quite literally walled off from the rest of the city, providing him with a space entirely dominated by his own message.³⁴⁸ Two grand entrances at the front and back invite the passer-by in, but once inside they almost recede into the row of columns, minimising the exit. The small entrances mean the space could literally be controlled.³⁴⁹

Conclusion: kings, generals, and the control of space

The complexes Nobilior and Metellus built to house their captured artworks both create a new public space, but also a space apart, dominated by an individual. They use

³⁴⁵ Vell. Pat. 1.11.5.

³⁴⁶ Vitruvius 3.2.5; cf. Gros (1976b).

³⁴⁷ Gros (1976b) 395 suggests it should be seen as Rome's first 'téménos grec' – literally a space cut off. He also notes that its precedents, such as the porticos of Pergamum, are not in fact as visually isolated. They make use of widening perspectives afforded by the ascending terrain. Metellus was less interesting in reproducing the entire spatial experience of such a sanctuary, which is only possible when it is integrated into a broader urban vision. Instead, his aim was to make a successful but contained allusion to the style.

³⁴⁸ Calcani (1989) 27: the Metelli 'potrebbero aver trovato nel Portico un luogo di espressione analogo al *thesaurus* dei santuari ellentici or se vogliamo alle capelle private delle famiglie nobili cristiane'.

³⁴⁹ Macaulay-Lewis (2008a).

many of the same techniques as Marcellus, but since their monuments are better attested, it is also possible to draw further conclusions about their use of architectural forms to delineate and characterise the spaces they created. Both juxtaposed different architectural and spatial types to create unified complexes which fit neatly into no pre-existing category. Nobilior's sanctuary used innovative architecture which would have felt foreign to the Roman public, and included decorative elements which blurred the lines between Roman and Greek. Metellus used a portico to set his sanctuary apart from the rest of the city in literal fashion. The artworks displayed served in part to heighten such a feeling of difference. They obviously also stood for the general's successes, and also his generosity, since, unlike the funds for temple construction, they came entirely from his own portion of the booty. But Metellus' use of a sculpture connected to Alexander suggests that criteria specific to the particular works of art used and their provenance could also affect the experience of visiting one of these sanctuaries.

Syracuse, the city which provided Marcellus' booty, reached the height of its prosperity in the mid-third century BCE under the king Hiero II, who undertook a major building program in the city. Nobilior took his statues from Ambracia, which had been something of a backwater until it was beautified by king Pyrrhus of Epirus, who was probably a plunderer of art himself; it is possible that he seized the Muses from Athens and installed them at Ambracia, from where they were seized again by Nobilior. The Granikos monument is, of course, absolutely bound up with the personality and power of Alexander. In taking these works of art to Rome and installing them under their own patronage, Roman generals were behaving just like the patrons of the basilicas: moving between a regal world and a republic, they played the part of Hellenistic kings in a city which had thrown out its kings centuries before.³⁵⁰

The three generals under consideration here all made claims to personal, individual presence in what was previously undifferentiated public space. Their complexes use architectural innovations to create new and different spatial experiences, marking off these spaces from the rest of the city.³⁵¹ They deploy *manubiae* and private property to underscore their private claims to be the patrons of their sanctuaries, even as the Senate has a role to play in the dedication of the temples. But it is their use of works of art captured from

³⁵⁰ On the importance of genealogies in the Roman appreciation of art, see Robert (1995), (2007), especially 19-20 for connections to Hellenistic kings. This should cause us no surprise; Romans of the period all sought to grab at the charismatic power of royalty (as noted above n. 253 in relation to the development of the basilica, for example) and it should not be seen as anything more sinister than another way to get a leg up in the punishing aristocratic competition which formed the backdrop to their lives – for which see further Rawson (1975); Hölscher (1990); Kuttner (1999b); Bell (2004), especially 151-98 – and a way of negotiating power in multiple cultural discourses, particularly well elucidated by Tanner (2000) 40-49; and see below p. 131-33. But it is interesting in this context because the divide between public and private functions entirely differently under a royal paradigm. If the state, for want of a better word, is identified in some way with the person of the king, then anything he does is the business of the state and so public in modern English usage; but everything in the state also pertains to him as an individual. In their monuments, these generals attempt to step into this realm in between public and private.

³⁵¹ Gros (1976b) 402, in an apt phrase, calls them 'des îlots <<hellenistiques>>'; and 404: 'des objets monumentaux de marbre, isolés et figés dans leur implacable étrangeté'.

overseas cities which enables them to position not only their spaces but themselves between public and private. In vowing a temple, Metellus can only be one in a long line of generals, subordinate to the Senate. In setting up the Granikos monument within his new portico, he can be the new Alexander.

In each of the case studies above, a general made innovative use of fresh visual and architectural styles to lay claim to a portion of public space for himself and his family. Other examples, perhaps not so innovative and certainly less well attested – which may mean less successful in propagating a general's memory into subsequent generations – can also be inserted into the pattern of using art and architecture to claim personal control over the space around a victory temple. We might consider the temple of Felicitas in the Velabrum, which L. Licinius Lucullus vowed and built in the mid-second century. Cicero names this, along with the *monumentum Catuli* and the Porticus Metelli, as one of the best places to see art in Rome (*in Verr.* 2.4.126). The artworks, which were among those taken from Corinth by Mummius, were displayed around rather than inside the temple, in a portico of some kind.³⁵² We know nothing about the architectural details of the complex, but the portico provided a physical boundary, delineating space and controlling visual and physical access, while the statues created a distinctive atmosphere, different from that of the street beyond. The example of Felicitas also enhances the picture emerging of the importance of Greek visual culture, in particular, for creating semi-private heterotopias: Lucullus' war was in Spain, but rather than displaying Spanish gold or trophies, he asked his friend Mummius to supply Greek sculpture.

A different approach was taken by Lucius Opimius, whose restored Temple of Concordia was not surrounded by a portico, but was linked topographically with his Basilica Opimia next door. Cicero (*pro Sest.* 140) refers Opimius' *monumentum celeberrimum in foro* – 'most visited monument in the Forum'; it is neither the temple nor the basilica which is meant, but the successful combination of the two. The conceptual link between the two buildings and the overlap it suggests between different types of space recalls the clustering of public and private monuments near the Tomb of the Scipios. Opimius' tactic serves as a reminder that there were any number of other monumental building styles a successful general might choose to memorialize his achievements and make his mark on Rome's public space. It would be impossible here to go through all the monuments, sacred and civic, set up by generals during the middle and late Republic; but it is the particular position the victory temple occupies within the discourse of private, public, and sacred that has directed my attention here.

The prestige of temple patronage was one most generals apparently found it hard to resist. But the space of a temple was usually shared with the Senate and always shared with a god. What generals like Marcellus and those who followed him realized was that by directing their financial resources towards the creation of a complex which was more than

³⁵² Sanctuary: Strabo 8.6.23 (*hieron kai stoa*); Dio 76.2; art: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.4, Plin. *NH* 34.69, 36.39. The location is known from comparing Dio 43.21.1 with Suet. *Iul.* 37.2; both report a mishap suffered by Caesar's chariot during his triumph over Gaul, but while Dio gives the location as Lucullus' temple, Suetonius places it in the Velabrum. Pietilä-Castrén (1987) 125 rejects the idea of a portico, but as Palombi (1995) points out, there is no reason to doubt Strabo.

just a temple, they could assert a more univocal claim to an area of public space. They used visual cues as well as physical barriers to create spaces set apart from the city beyond, marked as heterotopias and dripping with what was perceived as foreign luxury. Here their foreign conquests were permanently memorialized, and the prestige connected to imperial expansion which attached to them as individuals rather than to the community as a whole, or their fellow-generals, was maximised by the absence of competing voices. It is not always possible to discern specific architectural or visual features which imposed private control over access or behaviour. But the equation between private space and control works both ways. By constructing and decorating their spaces in ways which gestured towards private styles and excluded the competing, multiple voices characteristic of public space, the patrons of these complexes made a symbolic move towards claiming control, and just like in the case of Cato the Younger and the column of the Basilica Porcia, we find that this claim was respected.

CONTROLLING SPACE IN POMPEY'S VICTORY COMPLEX

In the previous chapter, I explored how patrons of Republican victory monuments distinguished their space from that of the street beyond, suggesting and in many cases achieving a spatial experience which was strikingly different, less uncontrolled, and thus more private. There were clear and immediate benefits to the patrons from this strategy, since it meant that the temple and its surrounding area was more strongly associated with the accomplishments of the individual general and less likely to be seen as an entirely public, religious space. They did so using architectural barriers and visual cues which constituted the space of their complexes as heterotopias, different in visual impact and thus in spatial quality from other public spaces. One of the most prominent, and, it would seem from the reactions of later writers, most successful strategies for creating space which was perceived as 'different' was the use of visual motifs linked in the Roman imagination to Hellenistic culture.

In this chapter I examine Pompey's great theatre-portico complex on the Campus Martius (Fig. 5.1) as the largest and best-known victory complex of the Late Republic, and as the culmination of the trends examined in the previous chapter. Here, the combination of different spatial and architectural typologies to create a unity which was distinctive, set aside from other public spaces and not easily characterized reached its peak, in a complex which combined a temple, theatre, portico, curia, gardens and even a private house. The ample (though still not unproblematic) evidence for this complex allows for a closer examination of exactly how such different spaces were combined architecturally and conceptually. Particularly valuable is the testimony of a few of its original visitors, such as Catullus and Propertius, who can help us repopulate the space with lived experiences. After an overview of the evidence for the complex, I discuss three specific aspects of its positioning between public and private. Control over access and behaviour in the complex took many forms, but notable among them was the emphasis on surveillance implied by the theatre. Gestures towards private architectural and decorative styles, in particular the luxury of upper-class villas and *horti*, created an atmosphere reminiscent of the private sphere (and thus hinted at the presence of a controlling authority in the place of a *paterfamilias*) – though such privacy was always still on public display. Finally, the integration of political and private space in the complex went further than ever before, and the two spaces which might seem most distanced from each other on a spectrum running from public to private – the curia and the house – were in fact conceptually linked and even confused. All of these factors followed earlier precedents in exploiting ambiguities in existing discourses of public and private to create new kinds of space. What made this complex special was its extraordinary success, and that of its patron: the *privatus* who triumphed over Africa and was sent to Spain *pro consulibus*, the man who came closest to achieving the ultimate Roman ambition of being the new Alexander, and whose self-presentation provided the key example (positive and negative) for Caesar and eventually Augustus, was until them the most successful of the late republican dynasts who moved between public and private; his monuments, too, take their

place as the most thorough integration of public and private space achieved until Augustus' Palatium.³⁵³

In the 50s BCE, Pompey the Great commissioned and built a massive theatre, set on concrete substructures on the flat plain of the Campus Martius. Behind the stage was a large rectangular portico containing walks, statuary, fountains and planting. At the top of the cavea stood a temple to Venus Victrix, with the cult image facing inwards towards the stage, and the whole complex formed a sanctuary to the goddess.³⁵⁴ The complex was completed by a curia (the eventual location of the assassination of Julius Caesar) in which a colossal statue of Pompey himself stood, and was placed in gardens, in which Pompey also had a house for himself built.³⁵⁵ The inclusion of gardens and a house meant the complex integrates private space in the strictest sense, but it also provided leisure space from its most personal – prostitution in the portico – to its most political forms – the expression of public opinion in the theatre. Political space was also found in the complex, in the form of the curia. All these activities were carried out under the watchful eyes of the general himself, as represented by a monumental statue, and his protective deity, Venus Victrix. The complex was unashamedly Greek, 'feminine' and leisurely, but also uniquely Roman, 'masculine', warlike and political. It was a space of freedom and leisure, but also one in which behaviour was very tightly controlled.

Pompey's complex has perplexed generations of scholars.³⁵⁶ Its presence in the archive lies at an extreme: we have so little of its physical remains, and yet we know so much about it (or think we do). Its construction in the 50s BCE is well documented in the contemporary testimony of Cicero. It was a favoured subject of writers, especially poets, many of whom speak more or less explicitly about its architecture and the spatial experiences it offered. Today, however, there are very little visible remains of the complex. Pompey's building activity is also a crux for historical reasons. The theatre, in particular, has been a source of great frustration to modern scholars seeking to track the evolution of theatre architecture. As Rome's first permanent theatre, it comes at the much-contested turning point between 'Greek' and 'Roman' models.³⁵⁷ From a Roman point of view,

³⁵³ Note especially Coarelli (1997a) 123-34 and 544 on the 'progressiva privatizzazione del Campo Marzio'.

³⁵⁴ For interactions between public and sacred space, see above p. 3 n. 5 and p. 26-28.

³⁵⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 40.9.

³⁵⁶ Bibliography on specific points is referred to throughout the chapter. The most detailed treatment currently available is to be found in Coarelli (1997a). The works of Gleason (1994) and Kuttner (1999a) are fundamental to my understanding of the monument; Spencer (2010) 167-70 has provided an important new addition to the bibliography, contextualizing their work within a larger study of Roman landscape. The major architectural, topographic, and archaeological studies include those of Richardson (1987); Sear (1993); Gros (1999a), (1999b); Gagliardo/Packer (2006); Monterroso Checa (2006); Sear (2006); Monterroso Checa (2007); Packer (2007); Packer/Burge/Gagliardo (2007); important contributions to the literature on interpretation from historical, literary, and cultural angles include Coarelli (1971-2); Gros (1982); Frézouls (1983); Sauron (1987), (1994).

³⁵⁷ The assumption that Greek and Roman theatres have fundamentally different architectural form comes in part from the ancient sources. Vitruvius works hard to systematize theatre design, just as he does for other architectural types. He asserts that the Greek and Roman theatres are fundamentally different, but, oddly to modern readers, he focuses on the detailed geometry of orchestra and cavea

moreover, the very end of the Republic is vital for our understanding of the development of Roman public space yet frustratingly elusive. The interventions of the great commanders of the Late Republic, including Pompey, set the scene for the transformation of the city's public spaces under Augustus, and to understand the development of Augustan Rome it is vital to understand complexes such as Pompey's. But the building works of Pompey and Caesar were so efficiently co-opted, refurbished and reorganised by the Imperial redesign of public space which they themselves presaged that it is difficult to get a good sense of what they were originally like.

The complex's presence in the literary sources suggests that it was one of the defining monuments of the mid-first century BCE in the minds of Romans who visited it. Despite this prominence, in investigating the site we are faced with a lack of context and a lack of tangible remains. The result is a perfect site for speculation and experimentation, which is no bad thing. The multiple interpretations of this complex which have been advanced in recent years, drawing primarily from literary texts and applying literary theoretical approaches, show important points of contact with the reception the complex received from its original audience, and can provide a suggestive range of ideas concerning how it might have been used and what spatial experiences it might have offered.

Unfortunately, the layers of speculation involved in constructing some of these ideas makes them too hypothetical to be used as the basis for any definitive reconstruction of spatial experience, especially in the first years of the complex's existence. My own approaches to the complex claim no more authority, but they do provide new material to the conversation, since they are primarily based on two solid facts which do not always receive due prominence: its nature as Pompey's victory monument and its essential unity.

rather than the larger-scale differences scholars like Bieber (1961) see between Roman theatres raised on vaulted substructures and Greek theatres built into hillsides. Wallace-Hadrill (2008) has recently demonstrated the ideological work Vitruvius' division of theatres into Greek and Roman performs; cf. also Gros (1994a). As I have argued above, Vitruvius' architectural taxonomy works on a grand scale to delineate areas of public and private control.

Aktüre (2007) examines the ideological use to which the taxonomy of theatre architecture has been put in modern scholarship, arguing that the binary distinction between 'Greek' and 'Roman' theatre types rests on assumptions about the common heritage of Europe in Greece and the derivative nature of Roman culture; in contrast, the more recent privileging of local variation is the product of contemporary conceptualisations of European cultural diversity. She proposes a rhizomatic, as opposed to a linear, model of theatre evolution. The outdated linear model against which she argues demonstrates well the tendency to try to control what is unknowable or excess to contemporary thought structures about the ancient world by a process of simplification and systemization. Her own rhizomatic approach, although still partly framed in terms of 'the evolution of ancient theatre architecture', actually models the overall phenomenon of theatre architecture. Questions about tracing lines of contact are devolved to individual regional or typological groups; she cites approvingly the argument of Nielsen (2002) tracing two distinct evolutionary lines for theatres at cultic sites and in cities. On the one hand, this goes too far; on the other, not far enough. To start with the latter, if we accept that theatre architecture is non-linear and draws from a rhizomatic structure of knowledge, why should it be that in individual contexts theatres evolve in coherent groups? On the other hand, a rhizomatic model is not particularly useful to scholars working on particular examples of theatre architecture and looking to trace individual lines of influence.

These facts are primarily applicable to the first few years of its reception, and are thus of less interest to those scholars who take a longer view of the complex's life. Many of our most interesting sources on the complex come from the Augustan period and later, when the complex's overwhelming association with the individual success of Pompey the Great had been (deliberately) somewhat watered down; the method used to do so was exactly the physical and conceptual separation of the complex into smaller units. For my purposes, however, it is important to focus on the original design of the complex, as the ultimate expression of the genre of individual Republican victory monument explored in the final chapter, rather than its eventual fate as an integrated part of Augustus' vision of his city of marble.

Modern scholars and students often feel an understandable desire to reconstruct a designer or a program behind Roman monuments and their decoration, and this complex has attracted many speculations concerning its designer, intention or meaning. There is something distinctively *planned* about the complex; despite, or perhaps because of, the scanty evidence for the more obviously symbolic elements, such as the sculptural program, it seems to offer tantalising signs of a coherent ideological program or the hand of a master designer. There is even textual evidence, from Cicero's letters, that scholars like Atticus were involved in the selection and display of sculpture.³⁵⁸ Items of statuary were also specifically commissioned, something Pliny makes a point of mentioning: *ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingeniis elaboratas* – 'rather carefully worked for this purpose by the skill of great artists' (NH 7.34). Plutarch (*Pomp.* 42.3) even tells us explicitly that Pompey was personally involved in the architectural conception of the project. Upon seeing the theatre of Mytilene, he ordered a model made so that he could take inspiration from it in his own construction. We even have a few of Pompey's own words on his project.³⁵⁹ These hints of authorial intention are manna to those who seek to read and understand architecture and space in the ancient world; no matter how post-modern one's approach to authorial intention may be, a secure attestation from Pliny or Plutarch of a patron paying attention to the details of his project provides welcome solid ground.

The feeling of security the monument provides turns out to be illusory, however. Although many agree that there is some unified conception behind the complex, few can agree on precisely what it is, and the scraps of concrete evidence we have just push us to more and more frenzied speculation. The state of the evidence forms a major stumbling block. Many interpretative strategies have focused on the complex's sculptural program. A great deal of the evidence we have for the decorative program of the theatre and portico is from Tatian, a late author with an explicitly polemic platform. Moreover, it is clear that Augustus and later emperors significantly altered the layout of the complex, so even such sources as Propertius and Martial must be handled with care, and a scholar wishing to construct a coherent original sculptural program is more or less free to add or subtract

³⁵⁸ Cic. *Att.* 4.9.1; Sauron (1987), (1994) also sees the hand of Varro in the composition.

³⁵⁹ Preserved in Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* 10.5.

anything, since Augustus and his successors will have removed a number of pieces and certainly added others from elsewhere.³⁶⁰

Despite these strictures, a great step forward in our understanding of the complex was made when Coarelli collated the lists of sculptural subjects reported in the portico by a variety of authors, and proposed the existence of three groups of female statues, consisting of poetesses, courtesans and women connected to prodigious births.³⁶¹ His typology has been the basis for most recent reconstructions. Sauron made a landmark attempt to decode the complex as a whole proposes a katabasis narrative, with Pompey playing Hercules the conqueror of the East and Odysseus the master of the seas and the famous women whose sculptures adorned the portico recalling those of the *Odyssey* nekua.³⁶² He also sees Pompey as Paris, asked to judge between Minerva (represented by statues of Muses and poetesses), Juno (represented by statues of mothers), and Venus (present as herself and also in statues of courtesans), who is of course the Victrix. The entire program is linked to the 'tripartite theology' of Varro, who is assumed to be the guiding force behind the complex. Sauron's explanations have been variously described as 'enticing', 'ingenious and largely convincing', 'speculative', and 'decidedly unconvincing'.³⁶³ More recently, one of the pillars on which many interpretations rest, the presence of statues of famous courtesans, has been called into question, reminding us once more of the problems inherent in our source material.³⁶⁴

In what follows, I do not aim to cover every aspect of such a well-known and controversial monument or offer a definitive reading. Rather, after reviewing the evidence on the ground, I select a few features which seem particularly salient to spatial experience, the control of access and behaviour, and the complex's position as 'public' or 'private'. The combination of such varying elements in a unified complex, some traditionally located with the public and some with the private, created a new category of space and called into question the adequacy of previous divisions. The 'private' atmosphere of house and *horti* bled into the theatre, portico, and curia, just as their 'public' nature affected how the house and *horti* were perceived and used. The temple imbued all of these spaces with a sacred aspect, and just as in the earlier victory monuments, the surrounding features made it easier for Pompey to appropriate the space of the temple as a monument to his own personal achievements while still using it as a site for highly visible, public, display. Moreover, the unity of the complex meant that aspects of the spatial experience offered by any one part of it had the potential to affect the whole. While the pleasant gardens were read by the poets as

³⁶⁰ Augustan renovation: *RGDA* 20, Suet. *Iul.* 88, *Aug.* 31.9, Dio 47.19.1; under Gaius and Claudius: Suet. *Cal.* 21.1, *Claud.* 21.3. For further details, see Gros (1999a), (1999b).

³⁶¹ Coarelli (1971-2).

³⁶² Sauron (1987), (1994).

³⁶³ Quotations are from (in order) Castriota (1997) 186; Clark (2007) 227; Kuttner (1999a) 334 n.4; Beard (2007) 342 n.51. Sauron's work cannot be entirely convincing as a reconstruction of the one true rationale behind the monument. It does, however, express tellingly how susceptible the complex is to interpretation, something which was equally true in the first century BCE. Like the contemporary poetry of Catullus, say, the design and decoration of the complex was rich in allusion and patterning on large and small scales; I imagine that it invited and allowed multiple interpretations from its viewers in much the same way.

³⁶⁴ DeRose Evans (2009).

an invitation to a private world of *otium* and love, the surveillance built into the theatre made their dalliances into a spectacle; the politicized theatre and curia made this a place for the transaction of public business, but the presence of house and gardens made it perfectly clear that all such business took place under the control of Pompey himself.

Archaeology and architecture

The general shape of the theatre and portico, if not the complex as a whole, is easy to grasp from an aerial photograph of its location, near the modern Campo de' Fiori in Rome (Fig. 5.2). The street layout preserves the curve of the cavea as well as the general lines of the portico; standing on the Piazza di Grotta Pinta it is easy to understand that one is in a theatre. Remains of the cavea's substructures survive in the basements of the surrounding buildings (Fig. 5.3); these vaulted spaces, however, are harder to read, and cannot give much information about spatial experience.³⁶⁵ Few of the exposed areas were ever meant to be entered by most Romans who visited the complex in its original state. Some may have been access corridors, but many were closed spaces.

Archaeologists and topographers, including the Spanish Antonio Monterroso Checa and a group led by the American Jim Packer, are currently working to record and interpret these remains (Fig. 5.4, 5.5).³⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the two teams are not in agreement; their estimates for the diameter of the cavea differ by almost ten metres. They also interpret very differently the extension at the end of the cavea, which Packer considers to be the substructures for the temple of Venus Victrix (and this is the traditional interpretation), but Monterroso Checa sees as a set of exterior stairs; he reconstructs the temple as pushed forward into the cavea.

Packer and his colleagues have done much to give archaeologists and historians a sense of control over the theatre complex. His measurements map out every inch and angle of the cavea, and his work with older documentation, especially his championing of the 19th-century architect Victoire Baltard (who drew much more of the remains than is visible today) as a reliable witness, demonstrate that our compulsion to understand the details of this monument is not a new one.³⁶⁷ The forthcoming results of Monterroso Checa's project will provide further details, and it may even be possible to integrate the two sets of data. But from the point of view of spatial experience it is difficult to see what we gain from the knowledge that the wedges of the cavea vary slightly at the outside and at the centre. The various reconstructions of the staircases into the cavea are interesting for what they tell us about the differing experiences of people seated by rank at different places in the theatre, but they are mostly based on comparison with other theatres rather than surviving archaeological evidence. Monterroso Checa has also proposed some figures for number, width, and height of seating rows. Tantalisingly, he finds that there is room for precisely

³⁶⁵ The most recent published investigation of these remains is Gagliardo/Packer (2006); Packer/Burge/Gagliardo (2007). The (divergent) conclusions of Monterroso Checa (2006) have yet to be fully published.

³⁶⁶ Gagliardo/Packer (2006); Monterroso Checa (2006); Packer/Burge/Gagliardo (2007).

³⁶⁷ Packer (2007).

fourteen rows below the first *vomitoria*, the number reserved for the Equites under the *Lex Roscia*.³⁶⁸ Further comment will have to wait until his full findings are published.

The rest of the complex is even less well attested archaeologically. A few other remains of the theatre, including part of the scaenae frons and the engaged columns of the façade, came to light in the nineteenth century in the Piazza dei Satiri and the Largo dei Librari.³⁶⁹ There is no detailed study of the remains of the portico to match those of the theatre.³⁷⁰ A large exedra identified as the curia projects into the excavated area of the Area Sacra del Largo Argentina.³⁷¹ Some additional traces have been discovered under the Teatro Argentina, but have since been almost entirely re-covered.³⁷² On the whole, though, the best evidence for the articulation of space in the portico and adjoining areas is the Severan Marble Plan, including lost fragments known from a Renaissance drawing (Fig. 5.6).³⁷³ Whatever changes may have occurred in the centuries between Pompey and the Plan, it seems likely that the basic shape of the complex is preserved. The Plan shows a semicircular theatre set out with the stage to the East, equipped with a columnar scaenae frons. Beyond it is a large rectangular portico containing two symmetrical rectangular features. The sides of the portico are articulated with various niches and other spaces. Beyond the North side is another long colonnade, labelled [HECAT]OSTYLUM. At the midpoint of the theatre's cavea, the surviving parts of the Plan show a single line extending to the West; this has been interpreted as part of the substructures for the Temple of Venus Victrix, which we know from textual sources was located at the top of the cavea along with temples to Honos and Virtus, Felicitas and possibly a fifth deity beginning with V.³⁷⁴

The relationship between the Plan and the remains on the ground is tenuous. As luck would have it, the exedra in the Largo Argentina - the only substantial remaining piece of the architecture of the portico - corresponds to a lacuna in the Plan. Attempts to unite the exedra with its neighbouring structures as shown on the plan result in an awkward angle. This infelicity may be deliberate distortion on the part of the architects, a response to the available site, or may be an artefact of the minor compressions introduced by the cartographers who drew up the Plan. Whatever the cause, however, it draws our attention to the fact that bringing together different forms of evidence concerning this complex is not as simple as fitting together individual pieces of a jigsaw. The plan represents one imagined space, and our reconstructions from sparse surviving foundations another; these two imagined spaces are not necessarily commensurable. Neither is quite the same as the spaces

³⁶⁸ Cic. *Mur.* 40; *Phil.* 2.44.

³⁶⁹ For these and other early excavations, see Packer (2007).

³⁷⁰ The hypothetical reconstruction of its geometry in Gleason (1994) is based on the Plan.

³⁷¹ Marchetti-Longhi (1970-71).

³⁷² Gianfrotta/Polia/Mazzuccato (1968-69).

³⁷³ Carettoni et al. (1960) plate XXXII.

³⁷⁴ Richardson (1987) and Monterroso Checa (2006), (2007) have both challenged the assumption that the projecting line marks the temple, each on different grounds. Richardson sees in the fragment a tree-lined pathway leading to Pompey's house; Monterroso Checa would prefer to move the fragment entirely, and places a monumental staircase at the end of the cavea. Richardson's proposal did not win over the majority of scholars. The presence of other deities is known from fasti: *CIL* I² 217, 244, 324.

imagined in the carefully detailed and measured plans of Packer and Monterrosa Checa, and, as we have seen, those two imagined spaces differ quite extensively.³⁷⁵

No architectural remains have been convincingly attributed to the gardens around the portico or the house nearby. Their location is controversial, and the various mentions in our sources hard to interpret, because Pompey owned several houses in and around Rome.³⁷⁶ That Pompey built a new house as part of his Campus Martius project is attested by Plutarch (*Pomp.* 40), who says that until that time Pompey had lived in a simple house, but while he was building his theatre erected a larger (but still unpretentious) house attached to the larger construction – he compares it to a dinghy being towed behind a ship. Compared to the size of the theatre, the house could not have been anything but small, so we need not take seriously Plutarch’s statement that it was a modest building.³⁷⁷ It must have been close to the theatre and maybe even connected to it in some way, if not architecturally then by some garden feature.³⁷⁸ The location of the *horti* is also unknown.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁵ There is a long history of modelling and reconstructing the space of the theatre-portico complex. Packer (2007) discusses some previous reconstruction attempts, and reproduces a number of images. Canina and Baltard both produced plans and drawings in the nineteenth centuries. The complex appears in Gismondi’s model in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome, with the rectangular areas within the portico reconstructed as long buildings. By far the finest recent artistic reconstructions are those of Gleason (1994). The new virtual models created by the Pompey Project are discussed in Beacham/Baker/Blazebly (2002); Denard (2002); Beacham/Denard (2003); Blazebly (2005); Denard (2005). The most recent virtual reconstructions the Pompey Project has produced offer a different kind of understanding to that offered by Packer’s detailed measurements, but cannot claim the same relationship to the original shape of the complex. Indeed, the reconstructions are explicitly based on plans which Packer has shown to be erroneous. Models and reconstructions are easy to understand, but for that very reason pose a problem. They can easily become canonical after frequent reproduction. Again, we are faced with a false sense of security. Nevertheless, the various plastic, artistic and virtual reconstructions taken as a group, with care to demonstrate their variety, can give scholars and non-scholars alike some sense of the building as a whole. Although they can never replicate an ancient spatial experience, they do remind us of the importance of considering spatial experience in our interpretations of the complex.

³⁷⁶ Richardson (1987) and Sauron (1994) 250 would locate the house to the west of the complex; Jolivet (1983) prefers an area to the north-west near the Monte Giordano; Coarelli (1997a) 554-9 proposes that it be immediately north of the theatre. On the identification of the *domus rostrata*, see below p. 134-35. Further bibliography on Pompey’s various houses includes Richardson (1987); La Rocca (1988); Guilhembet (1992); Jolivet (1995).

³⁷⁷ Nb. also Cicero’s characterization of the goods of Pompey seized by Antony as vast, but *non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis* (*Phil.* 2.66). Pompey’s supposed restraint in matters of private luxury was part of a carefully moderated public persona; he was of course fabulously wealthy and lived in style. Plutarch is heavily influenced by Cicero’s rhetorical strategy in the second *Philippic* of contrasting Pompey’s supposed ‘republican’ moderation with Antony’s excess.

³⁷⁸ See Richardson (1987) for one (not entirely convincing) attempt to reconstruct the connection between the two.

³⁷⁹ The *horti* were on the Campus Martius, disposed around the house – *contra* Palmer (1990) – as is confirmed from statements like those of Asc. 33, 36, and 50 Clark, mentioning Pompey staying *ne domi quidem suae* [i.e. his house within the city on the Carinae] *sed in hortis superioribus*. The *horti* therefore contained a residence, and since Plut. *Pomp.* 40 is entirely clear that Pompey had two houses in Rome, one on the Carinae and one near the theatre, it is clear that Pompey had *horti* on

A unified victory complex

One guiding principle behind the original design of the complex is inarguable. It was a monument to Pompey and his military success, designed to ensure that his many *beneficia* to Rome and its citizens were appreciated during his lifetime and remembered long after his death. Pompey's charisma as patron permeated the entire complex, from his inscriptions in the theatre to his colossal statue in the Curia to his literal presence in the house.

Though the complex is often, entirely reasonably, assumed to be manubial, there is in fact no explicit indication in our sources of an official connection between its construction and Pompey's victories in Asia or his triumph in 61.³⁸⁰ It must have been both planned and understood as a victory monument nevertheless. Given the amount of time it took to erect such a colossal structure, it makes perfect sense that it was begun at the time of the triumph. The money to fund it, whether or not it was officially *manubiae*, was the profit of conquest, and some of the artworks which decorated it must also have been seized in his dismantling of Mithridates' palaces and enormous treasuries; Plutarch specifically reports (*Pomp.* 36) that Pompey was abstemious in his seizures, taking only those things which might dignify his triumph or adorn his temples. The objects themselves are mostly reported by our sources in connection with the triumph, when they displayed in the procession.³⁸¹ Even more suggestive are the live trees which Pliny (*NH* 12.111) reports were carried in the triumph; these must be the same as those which later graced the portico and gardens.³⁸² The *creterrarum tria milia* – 'three thousand bowls' – and *armatura varia peditatus et equitatus* – 'a range of infantry and cavalry armour' – which Cicero writes (*Fam.* 7.1.2) were used as props in the plays at the theatre's dedication were presumably also the same as those carried in the triumph.³⁸³ The clearest tangible link between the complex and Pompey's victories is Plutarch's report (*Pomp.* 42) that the idea came from the general's visit to Mytilene as part of his victory tour of Asia; there, as poets sang his praises in the theatre, Pompey conceived of the idea of building something similar in Rome, and commissioned architects to make

the Campus Martius near the theatre complex. Asconius' mention of *horti superiores* implies that there may have been two separate sets of gardens. The *superiores* could then have been on the Pincian or Quirinal, with only the *inferiores* located on the plain of the Campus Martius. An inscription (*CIL* VI 6229) testifies that at least a part of the *horti* later passed to the Statilii; this part cannot have been on the Campus Martius, which was entirely public or in the possession of Agrippa and the imperial family from the time of Augustus. Coarelli (1997a) 545-59, reconstructing a likely chain of possession from Pompey to Antony to Agrippa, suggests that Pompey's *horti inferiores* correspond to the later *horti Agrippae*, covering a huge swathe of the Campus Martius and beyond. See also Jolivet (1996).

³⁸⁰ Treated as manubial: Aberson (1994) 153; Kuttner (1999a) 345; Welch (2006a) 512; Bowdich (2009) 425. In 61 we know that he dedicated booty on the Capitoline, and may have built a votive shrine to Minerva *ex manubiis*: Plin. *HN* 7.97, 37.11, 18.

³⁸¹ Vell. *Pat.* 2.40; Plin. *HN* 37.11-18; Plut. *Pomp.* 45; App. *Mith.* 116-7; Dio 37.21; Eutrop. 6.16. Some of the statues later recorded in the portico would have been particularly suitable for triumphal display, especially the *Nationes* (Plin. 36.41): Clark (2007) 160, citing Ostrowski (1990) 46.

³⁸² See further Kuttner (1999a) 345; Macaulay-Lewis (2008b).

³⁸³ App. *Mith.* 116 describes the innumerable wagons of arms carried in the triumph, and Plin. *NH* 37.14 has some strong words on the inclusion of drinking vessels.

models. Whether or not it was an official victory monument, then, Pompey certainly meant it to memorialize his great military successes, as the dedication to Venus Victrix makes abundantly clear.³⁸⁴ It should be treated as the last and greatest of the series of such victory complexes, following those of Marcellus, Fulvius Nobilior, and Metellus Macedonicus. Like their constructions, it combined a temple, which was the conceptual and architectural focus, with a larger architecturally defined area in which the general could display his wealth and taste. But it went beyond these constructions in the explicit links it proposed to the general's own public space.

Few of the modern attempts to read the complex and its decorative scheme go beyond the theatre and portico, and many confine themselves to the portico alone.³⁸⁵ The lack of attention paid in modern scholarship to the temple, which was the focus of the complex as Pompey himself presented it at the time, has drawn criticism in the past.³⁸⁶ For the purposes of the present investigation, an even more important omission is the house and private *horti*.³⁸⁷ All the elements, both the technically 'public' theatre, temple and portico and the 'private' house and gardens, were designed and experienced as a unit. More than any preceding complex, they united different types of space, and each affected the spatial experience of the whole. Generals like Marcellus, Nobilior and Metellus had made attempts in their complexes to create an atmosphere redolent of the univocal control of the private sphere; Pompey went far beyond, and actually integrated private space into his victory complex, juxtaposing public and private expressions of the same ideas in such tight proximity that the difference between them was entirely erased. Any interpretation of the complex must take into account all of its elements.

Later interventions, as well as the different states of preservation of the various parts of the complex, have contributed to modern tendencies to approach it piecemeal. It is important, therefore, to bear in mind its original construction and presentation as an organic whole, centred around the temple of Venus Victrix. Pompey's theatre-portico complex was in fact a temple complex: he himself tells us so. Tertullian preserves some of the patron's own words in a polemic passage:

itaque Pompeius Magnus solo theatro suo minor cum illam arcem omnium
turpitudinum extruxisset, veritus quandoque memoriae suae censoriam
animadversionem Veneris aedem superposuit et ad dedicationem edicto populum
vocans non theatrum, sed Veneris templum nuncupavit, cui subiecimus, inquit,
gradus spectaculorum. (Tert. *de Spectaculis* 10.5)

*Therefore when Pompey the Great, lesser only than his theatre, built that citadel of all vices,
fearing future censorial attacks on his memory he placed above it a temple of Venus; and when*

³⁸⁴ Its status as a model for the Forum Iulium and temple of Venus Genetrix is also valuable evidence of how it was perceived; that complex was certainly votive (App. *BC* 2.102), and was indeed initially vowed to Venus Victrix (App. *BC* 2.68).

³⁸⁵ Notable exceptions include Coarelli (1997a) 544-49, much of which also appears in Coarelli (1997b); Clark (2007) 225-34.

³⁸⁶ Hanson (1959) 43-55; Tertullian *de Spectaculis* 10.5.

³⁸⁷ Much of this omission is the result of problems of evidence; see above p. 115.

he called the people by edict to its dedication, he named it not as a theatre but a sanctuary of Venus, "under which I have placed," he said, "seats for spectacles."

The imputation of underhandedness here is Tertullian's, of course, and should not necessarily be taken seriously. Although the final building was a multi-purpose space, and was in fact dedicated in stages, its official function was a sanctuary of Venus, and that aspect need not be obscured by other architectural additions any more than in the cases of the grand complexes of Praeneste or Tibur.³⁸⁸ There are, as has long been realised, many points of contact between Pompey's complex and these Latin sanctuaries. Features common to both include temple placed high up, above a theatre, with porticos and a garden area below.³⁸⁹ In these sanctuaries, as in Pompey's, a defined progression upwards towards the goddess unites the entire complex and confers a sacred aura on each space, even when also used for mundane purposes.

Tertullian (quoted above) mentions Pompey inviting the people by edict to the temple's *dedicatio*. Pliny reports explicitly that this event took place in 55 BCE, the year of Pompey's second consulship. He writes: *Pompei quoque altero consulatu, dedicatione templi Veneris Victricis...* – 'in Pompey's second consulship, at the dedication of the temple of Venus Victrix...' – and goes on to describe the elephant fights which were put on *in circo* for the occasion (*HN* 8.7.19). These sumptuous games find many mentions in the sources, including Cicero, and several provide support for a date of 55.³⁹⁰ Gellius, however, preserves a letter of Cicero's freedman Tiro, in which he refers to a dedication which took place in Pompey's third consulship, of 52 BCE:

"Cum Pompeius," inquit, "aedem Victoriae dedicaturus foret, cuius gradus vicem theatri essent, nomenque eius et honores inscriberentur, quaeri coeptum est, utrum 'consul tertio' inscribendum esset an 'tertium.'" (Gell. *NA* 10.1.7)
"When Pompey," he said, "was about to dedicate the temple of Victory, whose steps act as a theatre, and was inscribing his name and titles, he began to ask whether he should write 'consul tertio' or 'consul tertium.'"

³⁸⁸ See Hanson (1959) 43-55 for a strong assertion of the primacy of the temple, and 45 especially for a demolition of previous scholars who take Tertullian at his word.

³⁸⁹ For the Latin and Italic sanctuaries, see Coarelli (1987). The suggestion of Orlin (1997) 197, following Grimal (1943) 183-88 that the portico-garden should be seen as part of a Hellenistic rather than an Italian tradition must be discarded, especially given new evidence for planting at Praeneste. The Latin sanctuaries themselves are deeply involved in a wider Mediterranean visual, architectural and sacred culture (Wallace-Hadrill (2008) *passim*), making it unnecessary to seek fine distinctions between the two traditions. Pompey's immediate allusions may well be to Hellenistic palaces as well as Latin sanctuaries, but the two typologies were already inextricably intertwined before his time.

³⁹⁰ Cic. *In Pis.* 65 (with Asc. *Pis.* 1 Clark, and Nisbet (1961) 199); Dio 39.38.2-5; Plut. *Pomp.* 52.5. Cicero's letter *ad Fam.* 7.1, describing games given by Pompey, which is attributed to 55 BCE, is less helpful, since its date is based entirely on those games, and neither theatre nor temple is explicitly mentioned (the trial of Caninus mentioned at 7.1.4 is similarly dated only from the letter).

It has often been assumed that Tiro is referring here to temple of Venus Victrix.³⁹¹ Separately, a late source (*Chron. Pasch.* 1.215 Mommsen) places the dedication of the theatre in 52. The same source also, however, mentions games involving elephants and states that it was Pompey's second consulship, rousing suspicion that the notice is misplaced from 55. Some recent accounts have reacted to the evidence of Gellius by proposing two separate dedications, one for the theatre in 55 and a second for the temple in 52.³⁹² It is important to fix the date for the dedication of the complex, because the suggestion that the theatre and the temple were dedicated separately calls into question their unity as a sanctuary. There is certainly confusion in modern readings of Gellius' text, but it is not obvious that the solution should be to separate the dedication of the theatre and the temple. Elsewhere in the same passage, Gellius quotes Varro discussing the same inscription, which he locates only *in theatro*, without mention of the temple (10.1.6). Later, Gellius states that the inscription Tiro is discussing is no longer visible:

nam cum multis annis postea scaena, quae prociderat, refecta esset, numerus tertii consulatus non uti initio primoribus litteris, sed tribus tantum liniolis incisis signifactus est. (Gell. NA 10.1.9)

For when many years later the stage-building, which had fallen down, was rebuilt, the number of his third consulship was indicated not as before with its first letters, but just by three carved lines.

If the destruction of the scaena destroyed the initial inscription, then it must not have referred to the temple, but to the theatre, and we can imagine a two-stage dedication process, but this time with the temple dedicated in 55 and the theatre in 52. This would make sense of the games *in circo*, which strikes an odd note for the dedication of a separate entertainment complex.³⁹³ It would also mean, however, that Tiro, a contemporary source, is mistaken, and that Pompey's own words preserved in Gellius, which refer to the dedication of the temple and its theatre as a unit, are misleading.

The existence of an inscription dating from Pompey's third consulship, wherever it was, tells us that some part of the complex was not finished until 52, and a notice in Velleius Paterculus, referring to far more than just the theatre and temple, confirms a date closer to 49 for the completion of the entire project.³⁹⁴ Maybe we should take Tiro at his word and posit a separate shrine not of Venus, but of Victoria, somehow associated with the scaena,

³⁹¹ Hanson (1959) 50: 'Two modern Italians might be similarly inaccurate in referring to the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria as merely "Santa Maria" or merely "La Vittoria".' (His second reference is to Tertullian's use of Venus without her epithet.)

³⁹² Strong (1968); Richardson (1992) 318, 84; Gros (1999b); DeRose Evans (2009)

³⁹³ Bear in mind, however, that it would be difficult to stage elephant shows in any space smaller than the Circus Maximus.

³⁹⁴ Vell. 2.48.2: *qui si ante biennium, quam ad arma itum est, perfectis muneribus theatri et aliorum operum, quae ei circumdedit, gravissima temptatus valetudine decessisset in Campania (quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute eius primi omnium civium suscepit) defuisset fortunae destruendi eius locus, et quam apud superos habuerat magnitudinem, inlibatam detulisset ad inferos.*

perhaps specifically to mark Pompey's third consulship.³⁹⁵ Such speculation is a side issue, however. A large number of sources, not least Pompey himself, refer to one dedication and one extravagant set of games in 55, which are variously connected to the theatre and the temple. The simplest solution, and the one adopted by many earlier commentators and several more recently, is that both were dedicated at once, in 55.³⁹⁶ The games would have coincided with the *dies natalis*, 12 August, a date which fits well with what we know about the shifting political situation of the year.³⁹⁷ The portico must also have been more or less completed at that date, since Catullus can walk in its *ambulationes*; if this stroll is to be dated after 52, it would postdate the previous last datable poems in his oeuvre, as well as the date for his death accepted by most modern scholars, by at least two full years.

Theatre, temple, and portico were, therefore, all completed at roughly the same time and dedicated together in 55 BCE. In theory, the entire space is linked with the cult of Venus Victrix. It forms an organic unit showing architectural consistency, and, presumably, the hand of a single designer. Beyond this, however, Pompey's presentation of the complex made sure to emphasise the unity of not only theatre, temple and portico, but also the gardens which surrounded them and the house the gardens contained. In 61, during the preparations for his triumph of which the complex was to be the monumental result, Pompey had distributed money to the people in his *horti*, perhaps already designated as the site of the future complex.³⁹⁸ By inviting people into his private space to receive his private munificence as part of his public triumphal activities, Pompey created a parallel with the eventual overlapping of public and private space in the finished complex. At the final dedication, the people were again brought into the *horti*, and again the experience was akin to that of a private owner graciously extending an invitation into his own private space.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁵ For discussion of this possibility see Coarelli (1997a) 568-9, who notes a mention in Dio (1.8.3) of a statue of Victory on the scaena (which fell in 32 CE).

³⁹⁶ The fullest argument, although its primary concern is the dating of Cicero's *In Pisonem*, is Marshall (1975). Earlier studies are not always clear about whether they are referring to the temple, the theatre, or both, presumably because they saw no need to separate them. Thus Platner/Ashby (1929) (s.v. Venus Victrix) note a date of 55, but supposes that the inscription was not put in place for three more years; Hanson (1959) gives 55 but without specification. Temelini (2006) 10 states without argument that the notice of Gellius refers to the fact that Pompey 'as augur made an offering to the goddess Victoria in the temple of Venus Victrix on August 12', an interpretation the text cannot support. Coarelli (1997a) 568-9 supports a date of 55 for both theatre and temple, with a dedication of a temple to Victoria in 52, but would place the inauguration of the theatre on Pompey's birthday, the 29th of September.

³⁹⁷ See Marshall (1975): the *In Pisonem* is delivered a few days before the games, when Crassus is still in Rome (before November), before the news of Caesar's crossing to Britain can reach Rome (probably mid-October) and maybe even before Rome has heard of the bridge over the Rhine (roughly mid-August); it is also the height of summer (Val. Max. 2.4.8).

³⁹⁸ Plut. *Pomp.* 44.4. For the identity and location of the *horti*, see above n. 379.

³⁹⁹ The parallel created by Caesar's later gift of his *horti* to the people cannot be accidental; see von Stackelberg (2009b) 74-80.

Physical control and theatrical surveillance

When Pompey invited the people into his *horti*, he could exercise specific control over their movements; the gardens were gated, and his attendants had the power to regulate who gained access at what time. The opening of the gates on this one occasion only drew attention to the closed, private nature of the space at other times.⁴⁰⁰ The architecture of the finished complex also provided for a range of restrictions on the movement of people in space reminiscent of the control associated with private space. Much of this control was exerted through making visitors aware that they were subject to surveillance. Seeing and being seen was the essence of Roman theatrical occasions, and was built into the architecture of the theatre. Unlike in a modern theatre, the lights could not be dimmed, and the audience was just as much on display as were the actors.⁴⁰¹ The theatre set the tone for an atmosphere of theatrical surveillance which pervaded the complex. It should be emphasised that this was also religious surveillance, and cult ritual could be used as a further control over access and behaviour. The complex taken as a whole was the domain of Venus Victrix, with the plantings beneath forming her sacred grove.

There are inescapable parallels between this sacred architecture and that of Latin hilltop sanctuaries like Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and Hercules Victor at Tibur, and these have long been recognised.⁴⁰² These sanctuaries, interestingly, use architectural forms which are strongly invested in controlling the movement of spatial experience of their visitors. Both feature long covered corridors, and each proposes a single itinerary which determines the entire architectural form. The routes focus distinctly on the temples at their end, but, like the theatre-portico complex complete with *scaenae frons*, do not in fact allow visual access to the temple until one emerges at the top. The temple can be seen from further away, but once engaged in the itinerary the temple is felt rather than seen.

Pompey's theatre, too, provided a specific itinerary which played on the visual and physical accessibility of the deity. The plan of the theatre and portico is governed by a central axis of symmetry, dominated at one end by the temple of Venus Victrix and at the other by the *curia*, containing Pompey's own statue. The central *ambulatio* between the two rectangular features in the portico further emphasises this axis, and Gleason's reconstructions have suggested one way in which it may have been used by the original architects to determine geometrically the layout (Fig. 5.7).⁴⁰³ The long line of the axis is interrupted, however, by the second main spatial determinant, the north-south line of the

⁴⁰⁰ von Stackelberg (2009b) 76 writes, 'By inviting the public to enter their gardens legitimately, Pompey and Caesar created spaces of social encounter where their political success could build on their military success in an entirely private context.'

⁴⁰¹ There is a large bibliography on display and visibility in the theatre and other spectacle sites (such as the circus and the amphitheatre); see in particular Gunderson (1996); Parker (1999); and note Ov. *Ars* 1.99: *spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae*.

⁴⁰² Propertius, too, makes the parallel, by proposing such sanctuaries as alternative destinations for Cynthia. On the links between the complex and Latin sanctuaries, see especially Hanson (1959); Kuttner (1999a); though note the cautions of Coarelli (1997a) 561.

⁴⁰³ Gleason (1994) proposes that the original axis around which the rest of the complex was laid out was taken from a tangent from the temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei.

scaenae frons. This second line is not an axis of symmetry; the portico on one side and the theatre on the other are different and distinct. The portico maintains an east-west orientation, while the theatre opens up into a curve. Even so, however, the axial temple reiterates the importance of the main axis. It remains the primary direction of movement conceptually, if not actually. Pompey himself called the cavea a *gradus* up to the temple, and Claudius is reported to have used the *gradus* as a processional route.⁴⁰⁴ The idea of the cavea as a monumental staircase might seem absurd, but Gleason's perspective drawings, including the one given here as Figure 5.8, of one possible reconstruction of the view from the curia are strikingly suggestive.⁴⁰⁵ Canina's reconstructions include a monumental staircase at the centre, a solution for which there is no direct evidence in the sources, but which is by no means impossible.⁴⁰⁶

It is tempting, as Gleason does, to see this guiding axis as a visual axis, with Venus' eyes meeting those of Pompey's statue in the curia. The massive scaenae frons provides a solid visual block to such a reconstruction. Almost nothing remains of this edifice, but it is shown on the marble plan, mentioned in various texts, and must have survived to some extent into the mediaeval period, when it gave its name to the region Parrione.⁴⁰⁷ It has been suggested that the original conception of the complex, by Pompey's own architects, may not have included this element, and that it was later added by Augustus, whose restoration of 32 BCE is known to have included adjustments to the scaenae frons (Suet. *Aug.* 31.9).⁴⁰⁸ Even

⁴⁰⁴ Pompey: Tertullian *De Spectaculis* 10.5; cf. Gell. *NA* 10.1.7. For the possibility that this phrasing conceals dissimulation, see below. Claudius' descent through the cavea is reported at Suet. *Cl.* 21.1: *ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri, quod ambustum restituerat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit, cum prius apud superiores aedes supplicasset perque mediam caveam sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis descendisset.*

⁴⁰⁵ Gleason (1994).

⁴⁰⁶ Packer (2007) 257-8.

⁴⁰⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 31.9; Dio 66.24.2; Gell. *NA* 10.1.9 refers to a later rebuilding, inscribed with the date of Pompey's third consulship.

⁴⁰⁸ Gleason (1994) 24 proposes a temporary scaenae frons precisely in order to give a clear visual axis, and Spencer (2010) 170 also finds the idea 'attractive'. DeRose Evans (2009) 128 allows the possibility that the scaenae frons is later, but her n.11 misstates the position of other scholars on the issue. Beacham (1991) 163 suggests a wooden scaenae frons. Sear (1993) 687 notes that Crema (1959) 95 and Boethius (1978) 206 also propose a permanent wooden scaenae frons, but he himself finds this implausible. Sear (2006) 84 restates his position: 'Several theatres in Italy had scene buildings made of permanent materials by the middle of the first century BC and it is difficult to see why a building of the costliness and scale of the Theatre of Pompey would have lacked this feature'. Coarelli (1997b) has also come down on the side of an original stone scaenae frons.

According to Jim Packer (personal communication) there are large blocks of Pompeian date in the area of the scaenae frons. Any other remains must, of course, come from one of the several later reconstructions, as must the depiction on the Severan marble plan: Sear (1993). Packer interprets these blocks as the remains of an original scaenae frons, and without having seen them myself I accept his judgement. Purely speculatively, however, I am attracted to the idea that they could represent a monumental foundation intended to support large temporary structures; a theatre like Scaurus' in 58 BCE (Plin. *HN* 36.113-5) with its 360 columns in three tiers, of which the lowest was marble, and 3000 bronze statues, would certainly have required such a base. Pompey's *theatrum* would then be the kind referred to in Servius *ad Georg.* 3.24: *apud maiores theatri gradus tantum fuerunt, nam scaena de ligneis ad tempus fieret.* This type is known in the theatre-temples of Praeneste and Tibur,

with a *scaenae frons*, however, the articulation of the join between theatre and portico is more about connection than division. A clear visual axis is not necessary. Any original *scaenae frons* probably followed the same intended, columnar pattern which its replacement shown on the Plan (Fig. 5.6) displays and which becomes common all over the empire.⁴⁰⁹ This design, with a complex pattern of applied columns, niches and aedicules, plays with the idea of permeability, offering depth as well as solidity. Roman viewers perceived and enjoyed this aspect of play in the architecture. Representations of theatre backdrops were a common theme in wall-painting.⁴¹⁰ In examples, such as one found in the villa at Boscoreale and given here as Figure 5.9, the visual interest lies in the suggestion of depth. The *scaenae frons* is pierced, and the viewer is teased by the receding columns in the upper level with suggestions of what might lie behind the plane – in this case, a portico.

The architecture of portico and double *nemus* presented physical barriers to movement.⁴¹¹ The Marble Plan (Fig. 5.6) shows that the portico had surprisingly few entrances and exits, and modern reconstructions have not found space for a monumental gateway or similar entrance (Fig. 5.1). Once inside, the colonnades, changes of level and arrangement of the gardens circumscribed movement in the *ambulationes* to a few specific routes. The physical barriers of architecture control the body and restrict the viewing positions available. The same was true in the theatre. The Roman theatre was always a space which exerted extreme control over physical movement. Individuals were assigned seats by class, and could only reach their particular seats through specific corridors, which meant that different groups did not mingle. The result of the seating arrangement was a diagrammatic representation of the population, divided spatially into their various groups. Mutual surveillance, between actors and audience and among different sectors of the audience, was also a part of the theatrical experience. These forms of spatial control were in the hands of the theatre's architectural patron: a massive boost to the power of the individual, and one which was now permanently attached to Pompey.

Theatrical imagery, and in particular theatrical surveillance, was not confined to the theatre. Like other generals before him, Pompey was keen to provide a new and different spatial experience. A new and exciting space made for a greater *beneficium*, but also allowed the complex to be presented as a space apart from other public space in the city which resisted individual control and was closely tied to the general's own military success. So much of the complex is architecturally and spatially innovative, but the single element which attracted the most attention, both among its ancient visitors and among modern scholars, is the theatre. Here, to concentrate on the theatre is not to lose sight of the other elements of the integrated complex, since the spatial experience of one area affected all the others; moreover, theatrical concepts of seeing and being seen were built into the entire monument. Surveillance is, of course, one of the most common methods of controlling

as well as the temple of Magna Mater in Rome, for which see Nielsen (2007); see also Coarelli cited in Nielson on the *theatrum et proscaenium* (note the separation) *ad Apollinis*.

⁴⁰⁹ Sear (2006) 84-5; for the role of temporary theatres in the development of this type, see Beacham (1991) 56-69.

⁴¹⁰ Beacham (1991) 69-85

⁴¹¹ These observations are proposed and expanded upon by Macaulay-Lewis (2008a); see also von Stackelberg (2009b) 81-82.

behaviour in space. Here, communal surveillance (as well as the all-seeing eyes of Venus) was combined with and reinforced Pompey's private control over the complex as a patron. Whether or not the link between theatre and portico in Pompey's theatre was visually or physically permeable, it was experienced as *mentally* permeable, and the complex was perceived as a unit. The surveillance suggested by the theatre thus permeates the entire complex, with Venus and Pompey himself as the two most important spectators. This is Venus' sacred space and Pompey's private space as well as public space.

Pompey's decision to build a theatre as part of his monument has often been considered an overtly political act. Later writers supposed that the act of building a permanent theatre was condemned by Roman morality. The abortive attempt by the censors of 154 BCE to build a permanent theatre, known from Velleius Paterculus (1.15.3), is often cited, and traditionally he has been taken at his word. More recently, however, the assumption that permanent theatres were an absolute taboo has been challenged.⁴¹² Whatever the actual reason behind Rome's late adoption of the permanent theatre, however, the idea of conservative Rome's dislike for the theatre should not be understood to be a sign of anti-theatrical, anti-hellenic morality. A much more pressing problem was the association of theatre with the expression of public opinion. Theatres provide a place for the people to gather together, and we know from numerous passages of Cicero that they used this opportunity to express their feelings by shouting or reacting to various lines in the plays.⁴¹³ For this reason, it is not surprising that various groups tried to control the building of theatres. The theatre is not just an architectural intervention into a political debate, but is itself political space.

Theatrical gatherings in the temporary theatres which preceded the permanent ones had always been allowed, so senatorial attempts to prevent theatre building cannot be ascribed to a horror of allowing the people to assemble in this way at all. And there was of course the circus and other places of assembly: theatrical displays were frequent. The concern about what type of building they should be held in is more complex.⁴¹⁴ To build and then destroy a fabulous temporary edifice like that of Scaurus, or the rotating theatre/amphitheatre of Curio, fits perfectly into the Late Republican aristocratic ethos of competitive spending.⁴¹⁵ Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.21) puts forward one argument which sees a permanent theatre as a cost-saving measure, and wonders why it was not done earlier – a proposition which misses entirely the point of conspicuous consumption in republican elite self-presentation.

From another point of view, temporary theatres stood for the temporary, festival atmosphere in which there was more license to express anti-hegemonic opinions, which was then erased with the demolition of the building. Building and rebuilding was also important because it demonstrated senatorial control over proceedings – through a variety of

⁴¹² Beacham (2007).

⁴¹³ e.g. *Att.* 2.19; *Sest.* 55-59.

⁴¹⁴ Compare Cicero's concern over the effect of allowing the public to sit down in a theatre at political meetings: *Flacc.* 16.

⁴¹⁵ Pliny *NH* 36.114-120.

individual senators, who were patrons of the buildings.⁴¹⁶ It would be dangerous to allow one man to control the violent, unpredictable force of public opinion as expressed in the theatre's liberated atmosphere.⁴¹⁷ The principle of rotation thus applied to theatre-building as well as other expressions of power in Republican ideology.

Pompey's theatre was both a popular and an anti-popular monument. He created a building which acted as a monument to public opinion and allowed a permanent venue for its expression, something which might be perceived as a slight to the Senate who were always so concerned about where the people could and could not assemble. His temple was as high as the Arx of the Capitol, and the whole complex has been seen as an alternative, anti-Forum, with an alternative Capitol and alternative Capitoline triad at the top.⁴¹⁸ But he also appropriated public opinion for himself; from now on he was to be its sole patron, and his goddess watched over its expression. Cicero tells us (*Att.* 2.19) that in the years leading up to 55 Pompey himself had been the target of slurs shouted by clagues at the theatre.⁴¹⁹ As well as a benefaction and a recognition of the power of public opinion, Pompey's theatre should also be read as an attempt to modify and control it.

The lack of evidence for the spatial layout of the house and gardens makes it harder to see how architectural control and theatrical imagery was carried through beyond the theatre and portico, but there can be no doubt that they were. Venus Victrix' surveillance from her high perch extends beyond the portico to the complex as a whole; the temple would have been visible from a large area. Theatrical sculptural motifs were also no doubt present, just as in the portico. It is possible to draw some more general links, however, based on the political import of theatrical spatial experience and its links to other political spaces. Roman elite *domus* and *horti*, just like theatres, were spaces of representation and surveillance.⁴²⁰

Spectacles of privacy

The strictures placed on access and behaviour by the complex's emphasis on visibility and surveillance were only possible if a large number of people had access; paradoxically, however, the control they produced worked to reinforce the sense that this was not a public, uncontrolled space but instead shared important characteristics with the private. A favourite conceit of the late Republican and early Augustan poets is to set their own love affairs in this theatrical space. They perform their private lives in public, under the surveillance of Venus as well as the audience in the theatre. The contrast between the

⁴¹⁶ Gruen (1992) 205-10; Bell (2004) 192-93.

⁴¹⁷ For violence breaking out in the crowd at the theatre, see Diod. 37.12, on the rioting in the theatre at Asculum Picenum which sparked the Social war; and of course the famous riot in the amphitheatre at Pompeii recorded by Tac. *Ann.* 14.17 and a fresco from house I iii 23 at Pompeii.

⁴¹⁸ Gros (1982).

⁴¹⁹ For details of the political situation at the moment of the complex's construction, see Temelini (2006).

⁴²⁰ Visibility and surveillance in the Roman elite house is discussed in the Introduction p. 9-12. For *horti* in particular, see Boatwright (1998); von Stackelberg (2009a).

theatricality of their performance and the intimacy of the erotic narratives, which more obviously belong in the private sphere, is a productive tension throughout the genre of love poetry; in episodes specifically set in Pompey's complex, it confirms and is itself amplified by the space's own situation between public and private. A further source of tension comes from status differences between the poets (and their characters) and Pompey as patron. The characters visit the portico to enact narratives which are more suitable to the luxurious privacy of a *locus amoenus* like that of the more amply-patronized Augustan poets (a space which itself contains a tension between the idealized open, public countryside and the reality of a private villa). In the complex, such a space is represented not by the plantings of the portico, but by the *horti*. Again, understanding the unity of the complex, both the visual links between stage and portico and the conceptual links between portico and *horti*, offers a richer interpretation than would be possible if one approached the portico alone.

Whether or not there was a large, visually impermeable structure between theatre and portico, they, and the gardens as well, are experienced as a unit by our earliest witnesses (though most not early enough to have missed the impact of Augustus' renovations). These are the poets, who tell us they strolled in the portico and gardens watched over by Venus, and whose antics with prostitutes among the trees replicated those in the comedies performed just in front of them on the stage. Love affairs, particularly those involving prostitutes, and the use of those affairs as spectacle were appropriate themes for a theatre complex, where any women who did appear on stage were prostitutes, and even in tamer productions with all-male casts many of the female characters were identified as courtesans.⁴²¹ The presence of a group of statues of famous courtesans in the portico has recently been challenged, but it remains undeniable that even if we read them as comic heroines rather than real-life courtesans, the comic characters many refer to were in fact courtesans.⁴²² Adding a further depth to the connection, the goddess Venus presided over the complex from her perch on top of the cavea. The garden was in fact her sacred grove, and carried tantalising allusions of *hierodoulia*.⁴²³ The idea of a temple to Venus rising over a green expanse imported a reference the sanctuary of Venus Erycina at Eryx in Sicily, or rather, to its presence in contemporary Roman minds. This Venus was specifically the patroness of prostitutes, and her home temple in Sicily was renowned as a location for exotic sexual pleasures, something which can only have had a greater hold on the minds of Catullus and his contemporaries since few of them would have ever been there. But they would have known that the temple was built on a perilously steep mountain rising above the plains of central Sicily. The location of Pompey's complex's sensual delights, in the portico below the theatre, also made them into a spectacle: if there was no show on, it was the strolling poets and their lovers in the portico who were positioned in front of the cavea, as if on stage.

⁴²¹ For the shared *infamia* of actresses and prostitutes, and the theatre as a location for prostitution, see especially Edwards (1997).

⁴²² The identification of a group of statues of courtesans originally by Coarelli (1971-2) was taken up by Sauron (1987), (1994); it has been challenged by DeRose Evans (2009).

⁴²³ Whatever the realities of sacred prostitution in the Roman world, Republican Romans were at least as intrigued by the idea as moderns.

Literary texts like these can speak directly to how the complex was experienced by the first generations to use it. They also bring their own problems, of course; rarely do surviving authors speak explicitly about space, instead using architecture as a backdrop for some other narrative or message. They also provide the views of only a very limited section of society. Nevertheless, the large number of writers in Pompey's generation and the next who mention the complex is impressive in itself, and has been fertile ground for scholars investigating aspects of late Republican and early Imperial culture. Previous studies have elucidated these texts in great detail, and there is no need to recapitulate the full catalogue here.⁴²⁴ The overwhelming impression of texts like Catullus 55 and Propertius 2.32 is that the complex, especially the portico, was associated with leisure and enjoyment. The poets highlight female use of the portico in particular, although it is worth bearing in mind that the prominence of women is primarily related to the generic considerations of love poetry. Equally, of course, the fact that love poets choose to set their scenes in this location is revealing; of all possible locations in the city, this one captured their attention as a site for their particular narratives of men, women, love, and leisure.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ Pride of place belongs to Kuttner (1999a). DeRose Evans (2009) is the most recent.

⁴²⁵ Much more could be said here about the display and spectatorship involved in the poet's dalliances. The transactions they enact involved gendered rhetorics of vision and power. Mostly, we find men keeping an eye out for women: Propertius (4.8.75) is forbidden to stroll in the portico because Cynthia is afraid he may be tempted; Ovid (*Ars* 1.67) advises his male reader looking for love to stroll there. Martial (11.47.3) asks why it is that Lattara avoids strolling there, and answers in the next line: *ne futuat*. We might think of the portico as a masculine space, populated by the lovers whom Ovid has just compared to hunters (*Ars* 1.45): tamers of the fantasy nymphs or actual courtesans who inhabit the wilderness. Under closer examination, however, each poet subtly undercuts such a rhetoric of gender, proposing instead a far more complicated network of power. Ovid's hunter is told *ante frequens quo sit disce puella loco* (*Ars* 1.50), implying that this is a space for women, not for men; Compare *Tr.* 2.285-6: *cum quaedam spatientur in hoc, ut amator eodem / conveniat, quare porticus ulla patet?* Propertius does not in fact stroll in the portico, but submits to his *domina's* will. Martial's Lattara is the most compromised lover of all; he has to avoid the portico altogether *ne futuat*, implying that if he were to venture in there, the choice would not be his; he (like Propertius) would lose control over his own body. The poets position the women of the portico as sexually powerful. Catullus, unlike the later poets, writes in poem 55 about a walk in the complex in search of a male friend. What he finds, however, are *femellae* who tease him with untroubled looks. Despite the diminutive *femellae* and the narrator's own address to the women as *pessimae puellae*, his respondent refuses to answer, and instead bares her breasts as a joke (11-12). Perhaps her body is meant to disconcert the narrator, although she may equally be hoping to make him a customer. Though the poets choose to portray the women as having control over the visual exchange, at the end of the day they are in fact the objects of vision and of financial exchange. The same idea that the portico is a place for female display and sexuality, but eventually for male control, is found in Ovid's advice to women, where men's activity on the Campus Martius (sport, military exercises, riding, swimming) is contrasted with women's: *at licet et prodest Pompeias ire per umbras* (*Ars* 3.387). Just as in Catullus, the sexual bargaining envisaged involves a visual exchange. The point of visiting the portico, and the other places mentioned in the next few lines, is to be seen: *fructus abest, facies cum bona teste caret* (3.398). (Is it possible that *prodest* and *fructus* here also refer to prostitution?) One of the alternative locations proposed is the theatre, presumably including Pompey's, and the visual play of going to the theatre to be seen is brought out at *Ars* 1.99, this time in the advice for men who are looking for women: *spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae*.

Another theme running through several of the complex's appearances in poetry is the interplay between nature and artifice. At times, the poets situate their narratives in architecturally defined spaces, while at other times the architecture fades into the background, with trees and plants serving as the primary backdrop. These scenes probably refer to the planted areas inside the portico, but also gesture towards the gardens beyond. The clearest description of the portico is in Propertius, who laments the fact that Cynthia does not choose to visit it, instead choosing further-off sanctuaries:

scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalicis,
et creber platanis pariter surgentibus ordo,
flumina sopito quaeque Marone cadunt
et sonitus nymphis tota crepitantibus urbe⁴²⁶
cum subito Triton ore refundit aquam. (Prop. 2.32.11-16)

I suppose you despise Pompey's portico with its shady columns, adorned with Attalid tapestries, and the dense arrangement of plane-trees rising in balance, the streams which fall from sleepy Maro, and the sound as the water-nymphs babble through the whole city when suddenly Triton pours out water from his mouth.

There are some basic facts here we cannot know from other evidence: the Attalid draperies hung among the columns, the plane trees (this is their first appearance in textual evidence) and their arrangement, the statues of Maro and Triton, and the presence of water features, which might be suspected but could not be confirmed without this passage. More can be said about the details of the passage. Propertius sets up a parallel between columns and trees.⁴²⁷ He calls the columns *umbrosus*, and although they certainly were shady, we might expect this word to refer first of all to shade cast by foliage. The trees, on the other hand, form a structured, architectural *ordo*.

Shade is key to the description of the complex elsewhere in Propertius. At 4.8.75, Cynthia scolds the poet for infidelity, telling him that in the future *tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra* – ‘you will also not stroll dressed-up in Pompey's shade’.⁴²⁸ The word *umbra* has decidedly pastoral, and particularly Virgilian, resonances. It may seem a jump from Propertius' *cultus in umbra* at the end of a line to Virgil's famous *tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra* – ‘you, Tityrus, careless in the shade’ (*Ec.* 1.4), but for once there is clear evidence that some

⁴²⁶ The text given is that of Heyworth (2007). Some previous editors, including Goold (1990), have preferred to read *et sonitus lymphis toto crepitantibus orbe* – ‘and the sound when the water bubbles in the full bowl’. *Toto...orbe* is Heinsius' correction for the ms. *tota... urbe*, and *lymphis* is a variant ms. reading, where most ms. have *nymphis*. In Heyworth's text, the further intrusion of the city into the pseudo-rustic atmosphere, juxtaposed with properly pastoral nymphs, adds an extra piquancy to the passage, but the question remains open.

⁴²⁷ Kuttner (1999a) 356: ‘Striking is the focus on architectural design, and the knowing appeal to its terms by their unparalleled inversion – the columns are shady as if made of trees, the plane-tree ranks within are depicted like columns as an *ordo* of soaring shafts, characterized as in architectural theory by their symmetry and density of arrangement.’

⁴²⁸ Note that the word *spatior* brings us into the world of the gymnasium and philosophy: O'Sullivan (2006).

of Propertius' readers perceived an intertext. Ovid modifies the line to read *tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra* – 'you, though, stroll careless under Pompey's shade' (*Ars* 1.67), and Martial also picks up the phrase: *cur nec Pompeia lentus spatiatur in umbra* – 'why does he not stroll careless in Pompey's shade' (11.47.3). *Umbra* is also used in relation to the portico at elsewhere in Ovid (*Ars* 3.387) and Martial (5.10.5). Taken together, these texts give a sophisticated reading of the complex. The shade is assimilated to a pastoral *locus amoenus*, a place for relaxation and *otium* but not without erotic associations.⁴²⁹ Propertius' *cultus*, however – rightly read by Ovid as a marked alternative to *lentus* – reminds us that this is not a rural locale, but a manufactured paradise, a witty transposition of the countryside into the town, and that columns as well as trees provide shade.⁴³⁰ The allusions to various different space and spatial experiences in these passage only become richer when we recall that the *Pompeia umbra* of the portico is just one part of a larger complex which provided different kinds of space, and in particular two set of gardens: the publicly accessible portico, surrounded by a defining architectural frame, and the more restricted *horti*, which also included architectural artifice but would have offered more open space.

The spatial experience the poets conjure up in these and other passages is that of an erotic garden where the marble columns whose exact placing is a matter of such debate for archaeologists are eclipsed by the living columns of plane trees. On another level, however, the trees continue to be framed by columns and the city beyond, and the lazing satyrs and other bucolic denizens are only sculpture. Martial makes the point (and here the plane grove near the hecatonstylon cannot be anything but Pompey's portico):

Proxima centenis ostenditur ursa columnis,
 exornant fictae qua platanona ferae.
 huius dum patulos adludens temptat hiatus
 pulcher Hylas, teneram mersit in ora manum.
 vipera sed caeco scelerata latebat in aere
 vivebatque anima deteriore fera.
 non sensit puer esse dolos, nisi dente recepto
 dum perit. O facinus, falsa quod ursa fuit! (Mart. *Ep.* 3.19)

Near the hundred columns a bear is on display, where fake fauna adorn the plane-grove. While beautiful Hylas, at play, was teasing its open jaws, he sunk his soft hand in its mouth. But a wicked snake was hiding in the dead bronze, and a wild beast with

⁴²⁹ On the particular tensions and ambiguities involved in imagining a luxury garden as a *locus amoenus* and a space for *otium*, see Wallace-Hadrill (1998); von Stackelberg (2009b) 94-100; Spencer (2010) *passim*, especially 10-30. Virgilian *umbra* also brings another range of associations with the shades of death (e.g. *Aen.* 12.952). For detailed discussion of the complexities of these *umbræ*, see Smith (1965); Theodorakopoulos (1997).

⁴³⁰ The experience is not as relaxed as it might first appear, since one must take care of one's appearance and deportment to achieve erotic aims, and putting the word *cultus* into Cynthia's mouth underscores the ambiguity: what the poetic narrator might claim was an innocent stroll was in fact a carefully planned erotic mission. The tension between *cultus* and *lentus* the poets find in the complex is reminiscent of the constant tension between nature and culture in Roman fantasies of landscape, and in particular the tension between pride in meticulous composition and the pretence of spontaneity to be found throughout Latin erotic and bucolic poetry, not least in Virgil's *Eclogues*.

a worse spirit was alive. The boy did not sense the trick, until the tooth sank in and he died. What a crime, that the bear was false!

The bear in this vignette is *ficta*, not *fera*, in the sense that it is a sculpture, fashioned by man's hands out of dead bronze (*caeco... aere*). But it is also *falsa* and a *dolus* in another sense, since despite the fact that it is inanimate, it does contain an *anima*, and a deadly one. Hylas knows that the false bear cannot bite him, but he forgets that, unlike a real bear, a bronze bear can conceal a snake. Here, it is the tame, controlled nature of the garden sculpture that poses the true danger, just as for Cynthia, it was Propertius going out *cultus* for his nature walk that raised suspicion.

The poets' concentration on the complex's gardens and their lack of precise mentions of its architecture mean that each of these episodes could just as easily have been located in Pompey's *horti* as in the portico. In fact, the *locus amoenus* trope points more obviously to the *horti*, a place which might be supposed to offer a secluded *rus in urbe*.⁴³¹ It may be that connections to the *horti* are merely aspirational. Pompey's gardens were legally private, and had boundaries and gates.⁴³² The poets may not have been granted access. The class differential implied if they were indeed positioned in the portico rather than the *horti* gives yet more resonance to the plays on appearance and reality, especially the appearance of bucolic gardens in the context of urban architecture; though they are in the portico, they would like to imagine that they are in the *horti*, and they value the ambiguity which the spatial juxtaposition of the two spaces allows.

Pompey's decision to grant the public entrance into his *horti* in order to receive a *beneficium* at the time of his triumph created a strong parallel between the *horti* and the eventual portico garden. The arrangement and decoration of the *horti* are not known, but based on contemporary parallels it is safe to say that they were adorned with planting, water features, sculpture, and decorative architecture. All of these features were replicated in the portico, creating an almost identical spatial experience. Whatever the exact spatial relationship between the portico and Pompey's own *horti*, the portico gardens were one green garden space among many in the area to the north of the *pomerium*. The others were private *horti*; this one was a *hortus* graciously provided for the people by a private donor.⁴³³

The sculptural decoration of the complex, prominent in the poets' reminiscences, also had a part to play in the creation of an atmosphere of privacy, referring not just to the monumental sculptural decoration of other public places but also to the private sculpture

⁴³¹ Purcell (1987); and see Spencer (2010) 10-15.

⁴³² Note App. BC 3.14, where Octavian is kept waiting outside the gates to Pompey's *horti*, where Antony is staying.

⁴³³ Macaulay-Lewis (2008a) – though to her, the similarity of spatial experience between the portico and *horti* suggests that the portico (and other later examples like it) were intended mainly for elite recreation – and especially Spencer (2010) 168. Longfellow (2011) 16-17 brings out the particular private resonances of the water features. See also Kuttner (1999a). In general on Roman *horti* as representational spaces standing between public and private see Boatwright (1998); D'Arms (1998); Frass (2006) 177-202; von Stackelberg (2009a); Spencer (2010) 161-71.

collections of contemporary villas and *horti*.⁴³⁴ At first glance, the clearest message of the sculpture is purely political, testifying to Pompey's great victories. Like the generals in the previous chapter, Pompey was building as triumphator, as the conqueror of Hellenized Asia. His triumph paraded exotic curiosities such as botanical specimens alongside captured art, representations in tableau of acts of conquest, maquettes of nations and people and live captives through the streets of Rome.⁴³⁵ The eventual placement of objects from this list and others funded from his conquests in his victory monument was programmatic for his attitude towards conquest and the territories he had conquered, just as was the case for Marcellus, Fulvius Nobilior and Metellus Macedonicus. A group of Apollo and Muses is known from several surviving sculptures. They immediately bring to mind Nobilior's plundered Ambracian muses, but there are significant differences between the two groups. Pompey's muses are thought by modern scholars to be Pergamene in style but first century BCE in date.⁴³⁶ Unlike Nobilior, who took Muses from the city he captured, Pompey commissioned Pergamene artists to create a new group specifically for the complex. Also made specially, this time by an artist with a Roman name, Coponius, were a group of fourteen *nationes*, female figures representing the fourteen peoples over whom Pompey had triumphed.⁴³⁷ For much of this material, sensitive analyses have already been performed by Ann Kuttner, and I will not repeat her work here.⁴³⁸

The artworks displayed in these complexes were officially booty, the product of Roman military might. As such, they entered into the debate over the boundaries of public and private spheres explored for the second century BCE in the previous chapter. The legal status of the portion of the booty termed *manubiae* is a matter for debate.⁴³⁹ In practice, however, commanders were supposed to make sure that booty was displayed in public, as sources from Cato the Censor's speech *uti praeda in publicum referatur* to Cicero's railings against Verres for appropriating artworks from Sicily demonstrate.⁴⁴⁰

Specifically in their parallel function as artworks, however, the sculptures of Pompey's complex were implicated in a second debate about acceptable behaviour in public and in private. It was even more important that booty in the form of works of art be placed in public, since at least by Cicero's time keeping it in private risked running into the rhetoric of *luxuria* – the debilitating moral consequences of private enjoyment of Greek art. But this stipulation comes up against a contrasting pattern of thought which equates 'Greek' with 'private'. Romans of the late Republic were surrounded by what they labelled as Greek

⁴³⁴ The recent interest in Roman gardens and *horti* has produced a wealth of bibliography which there is no space here to cover in full. Important contributions include the papers in MacDougall/Jashemski (1981); Cima/La Rocca (1986); MacDougall (1987) and Cima/La Rocca (1998); the evidence for gardens at Pompeii is available in Jashemski (1979-93); see also Frass (2006); von Stackelberg (2009b); Spencer (2010).

⁴³⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 45.

⁴³⁶ Fuchs (1982).

⁴³⁷ Plin. *NH* 36.5.41-2, citing Varro; Suet. *Nero* 46.1. Östenberg (2003) 220 argues that these are the first such representations of captured peoples.

⁴³⁸ Kuttner (1995), (1999a).

⁴³⁹ Above. p. 89.

⁴⁴⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.55 and *passim*; cf. Berrendonner (2007).

culture on a daily basis, but insisted on a measure of decorum in its use. Public business was to be transacted entirely in Latin, Greek dress was inappropriate for a magistrate performing his duties, and so on and so forth.⁴⁴¹ The same thought can be expressed in more positive terms – Greek culture was associated with leisure and relaxation.⁴⁴² Collections of Greek art were most obviously associated with villas; Cicero’s letters give us plenty of information about his own never-ending struggle to complete the sculptural decoration of his many country villas to his satisfaction.⁴⁴³ In Pompey’s portico, colonnaded walkways, decorated with Greek sculpture and enhanced with plantings and water features, gestured towards the similar delights which the general himself enjoyed in the *horti* nearby. More than that, however, they gestured towards an architectural, decorative and landscape theme which had become associated with *otium* and villa living.⁴⁴⁴ The overall effect must have been similar to that evoked by the painted image of a villa from the house of M. Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii (Fig. 5.10).

Clearly both of these propositions – the associations between Greek art and public display on the one hand, and the associations between Greek culture, privacy, and *otium* on the other – admit of nuance, and they delineate separate scales of public and private which cannot be exactly conflated. But there is an essential similarity between the spatial experience created by Pompey’s portico and that of a villa peristyle, and the similarity was heightened by the proximity of Pompey’s own richly decorated house and *horti*. The ‘public’ areas, no less than the ‘private’, were separated off from the city and endowed with beautiful Greek sculpture, as well as planting and architectural innovations, to be enjoyed at leisure. They provided a glimpse into elite, private, villa living for the masses.⁴⁴⁵ The poets’ heralding of the portico as offering an urban *locus amoenus*, but also their play on the layers of authenticity this conceit allows, shows that they understood the many-levelled spatial experience the space offered. As well as a public space privatized by the overwhelming control of one man, it gave the impression of a private villa or *horti* made accessible to the public.

Patrons from Marcellus onward found that allusion to the Hellenistic world was particularly successful in creating semi-private space. The relationship between ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ was just as complex, ambiguous, and subject to manipulation as the relationship between ‘public’ and ‘private’. As Romans debated how to integrate both of these relationships into their worldview, the two were often mapped onto each other, with ‘Greek’

⁴⁴¹ Wallace-Hadrill (2008), especially 195.

⁴⁴² Zanker (1979).

⁴⁴³ On Cicero’s villas, see Leen (1991). Bergmann (2001) has an excellent explanation of the aspects of Roman garden design perceived as ‘Greek’ as ‘landscapes of allusion’: these places symbolically transported the viewer to Greece itself, allowing an escape into an idealized world of culture and leisure. O’Sullivan (2006) extends the argument to cover the architecture of *ambulationes* and associated spatial practices; to stroll, especially in a garden walkway decorated in ‘Greek’ style, was itself an allusion to Greek philosophy and culture.

⁴⁴⁴ On Hellenization and the Roman garden Grimal (1969) is still fundamental; Bergmann (2001) teases out its cultural importance. See further La Rocca (1986); von Stackelberg (2009a) 64-65.

⁴⁴⁵ *Contra* Macaulay-Lewis (2008a), who sees porticos of this kind as even more separate from the city, dedicated for the use of urban elites.

corresponding to 'private' and 'Roman' to 'public'. The exact relationship as constituted by each viewer, reader, or writer was rarely so simple, and once again it is precisely in the ambiguities and overlaps that individuals could stake new claims and create new concepts. Some patrons of both public and private architecture succeeded in using the ambiguous position of 'Greek' culture in Roman public life as a tool in their creation of a new status for their monuments and for themselves between public and private, taking as their models not the idealized, hyper-public Roman statesman of Cicero's reveries but the Hellenistic monarch.⁴⁴⁶

Political space in action in the unified complex

As in the Forum, an underlying motive in the extension of private control to public space was the control of political space and thus political activity. Pompey's complex functioned as political space in the most straightforward way, in that it contained an inaugurated curia used for meetings of the Senate. The curia, placed at one end of the central axis, gave senators the same line of vision as Venus Victrix, albeit with Pompey's statue towering over them. Appian's account of the events leading up to Caesar's murder (*BC* 2.115) can help create a picture of the political space in action. He tells us that it was usual practice for the Senate to meet here when *ludi* were being held, and that Brutus and Cassius, who were praetors that year, spent the time before the meeting in the portico making themselves available for official business. The political function of the complex was thus not limited to the curia or to senators, but might also concern ordinary Romans spending time elsewhere in the complex. Even if they had no business with the praetors, visitors would have been made aware of the political function of the space by the visually prominent magistrates in purple-bordered togas and their conspicuous lictors. The magistrates, their petitioners, and lictors would also have taken up a substantial amount of space, further restricting the already limited options for movement. The spatial experience suggested by Appian's passage seems remote from the playful erotic gardens of the poets. Perhaps these two imagined spaces were separated by time – though Appian makes a point of mentioning that *ludi* were being held at the same time as the meeting of the Senate.

The coexistence of political and leisure activity in the complex might strike modern observers as odd. To Romans, however, it was a frequent sight – but not necessarily in 'public' space. Elite houses and gardens were the most normal location for political business to take place among erotic sculpture, planting, and tapestry, with members of the household and visitors sharing space. This semi-private form of spatial experience was the dominant one in Pompey's complex. Rather than seeing the house as the pendant to the theatre, the theatre-portico complex should be taken as the pendant to the house, almost as an extension of its gardens.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ Pompey's *imitatio Alexandri* is a trope of the ancient sources, e.g. Sall. *Hist.* 3.88 Maurenbrecher = 3.84 McGushin; Plut. *Pomp.* 2, 46. In general on the Hellenistic monarch as role model for Republican politicians, see above p. 80 and p. 104-07, especially n. 350; particularly relevant to Pompey's complex is Kuttner (1999b) on the use of spectacle.

⁴⁴⁷ It is possible that house, theatre, and portico were all built on private land; Pompey would have acquired a large block of land as *horti*, some of which was then given over to the public complex.

Pompey's house itself walked the line between public and private. He is attested as owning several houses in Rome. Initially, he lived on the Carinae, but had a larger and more richly decorated house built near the theatre (Plut. *Pomp.* 40.4).⁴⁴⁸ One of these was the famous *domus rostrata*, decorated with the beaks of captured pirate ships. Such a display of spoils in a private house referred to earlier practice, but also to the most famous *rostra*, in the Forum, and constitutes one more example of the co-evolution of public and private architectural and decorative styles.⁴⁴⁹ No ancient source states clearly which house, the one on the Carinae or the one near the theatre, was the *domus rostrata*. Scholarly opinion tends to favour the Carinae house, though not without some dissenting voices.⁴⁵⁰ I find it more likely that the new house near the theatre was the site chosen to display the *rostra*. This was the complex most intimately connected to Pompey's pirate victory. What is more, it is here that Pompey must have lived for much of the 50s, since he held *imperium* and could not enter the *pomerium*. Arguments concerning the later fate of the house are also important. Much of Pompey's property was acquired after his death by Antony. The sources tell us of Antony making use of both houses.⁴⁵¹ Cicero, in particular, makes much of Antony's squandering of Pompey's property in an extended segment of the second *Philippic*. The structure of the passage is revealing. Beginning at 2.64-5 with the auction at which Antony acquired the estate, he moves on at 2.65-7 to the speed with which he squandered it, concentrating on the dispersal of moveable property: we hear of wine, silver, clothing, furniture, and tapestries. One house appears in this section, but it is not the focus, only the location for gambling episodes in which its furnishings are wagered and lost. Only after this does Cicero move to treat the house itself, at the end of 2.67: *aedes etiam et hortos* – 'even the house and the *horti*'. This, then, must be the Campus Martius house, set in the *horti*. Its mention sets Cicero into a frenzy of exclamation and apostrophe on the subject of the house and Antony's unworthiness to reside there, building without pause to the ultimate flourish: *an tu illa in vestibulo rostra cum aspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas?* – 'Or do you, when you see the ships' beaks in the vestibule, think that it is your own house you are entering?' (2.68). Cicero is interested in giving his readers a concrete mental image of a house they knew well; he is

Pompey's house and *horti* were certainly privately-owned. When Agrippa built his bath-complex north of the theatre, he did so on private land (Dio 54.29 describes his bequest of this area to the people); a large portion of the Campus Martius at that time belonged to the Horti Agrippae: Coarelli (1997a) 548-55.

⁴⁴⁸ The house on the Carinae is referred to by Sextus Pompey as his family's ancestral house at Vell. 2.77.1; Flor. 2.18. Its location is also given by Suet. *Gramm.* 15 as near the temple of Tellus.

⁴⁴⁹ For earlier display of spoils in private houses, see Welch (2006b).

⁴⁵⁰ Carinae: Guilhembet (1992); Palombi (1997) 140-49. Campus Martius: Jolivet (1983), (1995), arguing that The *domus rostrata* survived for many centuries, and was later owned by the Gordians and Philip the Arab (*Hist. Aug. Gord.* 2.3, 3.6-7, 6.5, 17.2, 32.1-2), while the Carinae was devastated in the great fire of 64 CE.

⁴⁵¹ Cic. *Phil.* 2.64-69 contains an extended rant on Antony's use of Pompey's property. At 2.109, Cicero says that Antony is making use of Pompey's *horti* as well. App. *BC* 2.126 reports Antony summoning the Senate to the temple of Tellus because it was close to his house; this was Pompey's Carinae house, whose location near the temple is given by Suet. *Gramm.* 15.

not here mixing up the two houses. The *aedes* in the *horti* is thus the same as the *domus rostrata*.⁴⁵²

Pompey, like other republican politician, used his house as political space. It was his headquarters on the occasion of the crisis surrounding the death of Clodius.⁴⁵³ When the consul Claudius Marcellus brought Pompey a sword at the end of 50 BCE to ask him to command the armies against Caesar, it was in this house that the conversation took place.⁴⁵⁴ Our sources make much of the Senate's choices of meeting place during these days – important, because only when they met outside the *pomerium* could Pompey attend.⁴⁵⁵ Pompey's new curia was a convenient location. The symbolism of choosing to meet in Pompey's own building, for his own convenience, was obvious, but pointed out even more starkly as the days went on.⁴⁵⁶ After the meeting of the first of January 49 BCE (held inside the city), during which Caesar's letter to the new consuls was read, Pompey summoned the senators. Caesar writes:

misso ad vesperum senatu, omnes qui sunt eius ordinis a Pompeio evocantur. laudat promptos atque in posterum confirmat, segniores castigat atque incitat.

(Caes. *BC* 1.5.1)

After the senate was dismissed towards evening, all the members of that Ordo were summoned by Pompey. He praised the prepared and encouraged them for the future, but criticised those who were more tentative and urged them on.

The description of the occasion and Pompey's speech evokes a regular meeting of the Senate, but this was in the evening, after the official meeting had already been dismissed. What Pompey actually did was to summon the senators individually as his guests to his house on the Campus Martius, where he proceeded to address them as though this was a meeting of the Senate. Spatial distinctions between house and curia were collapsed.

⁴⁵² Note also Cic. *Phil.* 13.11: Sextus Pompey *redimet hortos, aedes, urbana quaedam, quae possidet Antonius*. The house of which the word *aedes* is used here is not *urbana*, so must be the Campus Martius house.

⁴⁵³ e.g. Cic. *Red. Sen.* 4, 29; the texts refer to *horti* as well as a house, so we can be sure that this is the house meant – even if it were not the case that Pompey was at this time unable to enter the *pomerium*.

⁴⁵⁴ App. *BC* 31, mistakenly believing that this stopped Curio from intervening as tribune – but his misunderstanding only serves to highlight that this was a public, political event.

⁴⁵⁵ Caes. *BC* 1.6.1; Plut. *Pomp.* 58; App. *BC* 32; cf. Dio 41.1.3.

⁴⁵⁶ Referring to a meeting of 52 BCE, Asconius writes *item cum senatus in porticu Pompei haberetur ut Pompeius posset interesse, unum eum [sc. Milonem] excuti prius quam in senatum intraret iusserat* (52 Clark); not only was the location chosen for his convenience, but he was able to insist on the exclusion of another senator.

Conclusion

The only parallels for a complex so large and so dominated by the stamp of one personality are to be found in the imperial fora. Those spaces, however, operate entirely differently in terms of spatial experience and the interplay of public and private. The Forum of Augustus emphasises *negotium*, the masculine, and the public (under the private individual Augustus). Its debt to Greek architectural styles is carefully moderated behind a universalizing, classicizing façade. Pompey's shamelessly Hellenistic complex, in contrast, presents an exciting, experimental mix of *otium* and *negotium*, masculine and feminine, public and private.

Pompey's house, from which he could stroll across to meet the Senate assembled in his back garden, both bedecked with the *spolia* of his triumphs, inserted the private into the public in a truly monumental way. The whole complex was his own personal sanctuary, his goddess, his curia, his piece of the cityscape, and the fact that he actually lived in it made it the most successful appropriation of public space yet. But the house was just the crowning statement in a whole constellation of symbolism and architectural form which offered the freedom of public space but also exerted private control.

CONCLUSION

In this project, I have examined some of Republican Rome's most obviously 'public' spaces, from city streets to the Forum Romanum to the religious precincts in the open spaces which circled the built-up centre. One clear conclusion has emerged: none of these spaces were entirely and purely public. Each, in its own way, had ties to concepts of private space. Some of the complexities in the spaces I have identified can plausibly be understood as intrusions of the private into the public. The Forum, for example, was surrounded by residential and commercial spaces, and the patrons of its monumental buildings were keen to use private or even regal architectural and spatial vocabulary to suggest that they held a personal claim to its political space. Other cases could be read as the creation of new semi-public spaces within space marked as private. Pompey's portico garden, a public iteration of the private *horti*, falls into this category. Overall, however, interpretations such as these, which can be reduced to the presence of aspects of one type of space within the other, fail to account for the complexity of the system as a whole. Almost no space can be found which, when closely examined, was clearly and entirely either public or private. It is misleading, therefore, to describe any space as involving an intrusion of one category into the other, or even as a mixture of two types of space. These different types of space did not actually exist.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to retire the concepts of public and private space altogether. Although the space of Republican Rome cannot be divided discretely into categories of public and private, or even a one-dimensional continuum with a 'private' end and a 'public' end, these terms are still useful to describe qualities shared by various different spaces. Romans themselves described space as *publicus* and *privatus*, with reference to a set of concepts which are in some ways closely analogous to modern English 'public' and 'private'. In the introduction, a brief analysis of the rhetoric of *publica magnificentia* and *privata luxuria* demonstrated that such concepts existed. The second chapter teased out some of the specific connotations these words held, and the rest of the dissertation has applied the resulting conclusions to various public spaces, enabling new understandings of how the spaces functioned and how they were experienced and imagined.

It has been my contention throughout that Roman concepts of public and private, and what they might mean when applied to space, were contested, debated and manipulated no less than they are today. My case studies have furnished numerous examples of this manipulation in practice, from Cicero's deliberate rhetorical manipulation of the status of the Via Appia to Pompey's equally deliberate annexation of public and sacred space by juxtaposition with his house and gardens. Other cases show an organic breadth in meaning rather than a deliberate intervention, as for example the slow development in the nature of the Forum Romanum, but these too can help map the reaches of ambiguity in the definition of public space. The Forum in its commercial, residential, sacred and political aspects, and many others not easily defined, was always understood to be essentially a 'public' space, and the definition of 'public' in this sense was elastic enough to encompass all of these.

The ambiguities of Roman definitions of public and private mean that studies which attempt to show how the Roman concepts differed from our own can only ever get so far. Neither the modern nor the Roman concepts can be exactly or even adequately defined, and to attempt to draw comparisons between them means trying to hit a constantly moving target. The appropriate comparison would instead be between the different ways in which they are contested and manipulated, and would focus on the work the total discourse of public and private does in the constitution of each society as a whole. This project has not attempted to rise to such a comparison, but the material I have provided does suggest how the Roman side of the comparison might be approached.

Traces of Roman discourses of public and private are preserved in our textual sources, some of which I examined in my first chapter. Our earliest epigraphic evidence preserves a distinction – certainly no more fixed than any later development, but a distinction that readers were supposed to understand – between public, private and sacred space. At the same time, a division into just two, public and private, was also current. The treatment of sacred space in the dual model thus posed a problem. There was sacred space which was for some purposes considered public and sacred space which was for some purposes considered private; on the other hand, we frequently find sacred space as a whole being treated as a subset of public space. The tripartite division of space lingered in the background throughout the Republic and beyond. Vitruvius' difficulty in defining his subtopics is partly a product of this ambiguity, as is the extraordinary success of the generals in creating semi-private space around victory temples.

My investigation of what criteria Republican literary sources use for assigning the labels *publicus* or *privatus* to space explains why it is that sacred space forms a crux. As shown in particular by analysis of Plautus' plays, space which is *privatus* is space where access and behaviour is under the control of some specific individual or group. Space is *publicus* when few restrictions on access or behaviour are or can be applied. Looking for spaces which give freedom of behaviour is more typically part of the search for private space, but my definition captures the experience of a broad subset of the Roman population, who did not own or control space of their own, and were therefore entirely free to behave as they pleased only outside domestic space. The presence of a god as the ultimate controlling authority over sacred space thus explains why sacred space is so difficult to pin down in Roman discourses of public and private. Another important problem, the great shift in notions of public and private which coincides with the advent of imperial power, is also explicable; once there exists one named individual in whom ultimate authority over all space rests, new definitions must be found.

Control, or lack of control, over access and behaviour are useful topics of investigation not only because they are directly related to the designation of space as public and private in Republican Roman literature, but also because they express in more concrete terms the range of possibilities for situating any particular space between public and private. Spaces can be compared in terms of degrees of control, but the specific methods and outcomes of that control also vary, demonstrating neatly that spaces cannot be ranked on a single scale from public to private, and may even be experienced differently by different people. Finally, spatial control is far more amenable to investigation using our limited

evidence than more abstract notions. Techniques derived from space syntax theory and based on the fundamental insights of Foucault and Lefebvre concerning how institutions and their architecture control the movement of the body in space can be used to draw insights from archaeologically preserved spaces even in the absence of much contextual information. Where we do have textual sources telling us about particular spaces, we can make use of their information about people's behaviour in space as well as their rare insights into people's attitudes towards space to reconstruct the limits of behavioural control.

In particular, examples of extreme behaviour, above all violence, are frequent and are frequently placed in spatial context in our sources, and these can be used to pinpoint spaces where behavioural control was limited. Reports of violence in the back streets of Plautus' imagined city thus complement the spatial analyses of Pompeii's streets in the introduction, bringing into sharper focus a particular part of the urban landscape where the public, uncontrolled nature of space was predominant and brought freedom but also danger. At the other end of the scale, violence in the Forum serves as a reassertion of the public nature of its political space; individual acts of violence most often arose from attempts to impose control over the space and the political processes taking place there, but the actual fighting shows that these attempts did not take place without resistance, and were usually in their turn overturned by new acts of violence. The ultimate result was that no attempt at individual control was truly successful for very long, and over time the uncontrollable, public nature of the space is clear.

The wielders of control in the model I have outlined almost all fit into one group: elite, politically active adult male citizens. This is in part a product of the limitations of our sources, but also reflects reality to some degree. Their motives were sometimes nakedly instrumental, aiming to control political space to affect the behaviour of voters on election day, or adding to their popularity among voters by providing *beneficia* in the form of buildings clearly linked to their individual patrons. Control directed at specific political ends is epitomized by the Sullan reorganization of the Forum; the patrons of the basilicas had less control over the movements in space of those in the act of voting, but their monuments sent a strong message. At other times, the value of privatizing public space was probably part of the more general Roman interest in memorialization and monumentalization: securing lasting prominence for oneself and one's family. Concern with the reception of a monument over generations dictated a close interest in its status as public or private space; a splashy dedication might secure an individual patron prestige in the short term, but for the benefit to last the patron had to stop his building becoming subsumed into public space. Both of these aims, to control specific behaviour in the short term and to secure lasting memory, can be found in the victory monuments of the second and first centuries BCE. Pompey's theatre is an impressive, lasting monument in its rich decoration and sheer size, as well as a *beneficium* to the people of a useful leisure space which they would be expected to repay, and finally it establishes a permanent location for politically charged expressions of public opinion in the theatre in a space whose architecture restricted movement, emphasised surveillance and overflowed with reminders of Pompey's power.

Of the spaces I have investigated, the Forum is the only one where we have enough evidence to draw conclusions about control over space wielded more communally. This

space, more than any other, was constantly contested by individual patrons seeking to establish forms of individual control, but it was also a space designated for a particular purpose, and which invoked communal norms regarding appropriate behaviour in a political space. In part, this communal control resulted from an accumulation of individual interventions, which in the maelstrom of competition did not succeed in retaining their close associations with a patron but instead contributed to a general sense of regularization and monumentalization. Other spatial interventions, like the changes to the voting *pontes* and the movement of political activity from the Comitium to the open square, were prompted by individuals but represented and understood at the time as popular measures designed to reduce political control by individuals or small groups.

My conclusions regarding the definition of public space in the Roman Republic are double. Public space was imagined as chaotic, uncontrolled, competitive, and experimental, and indeed many spaces had these characteristics; we should be more aware of the freedoms of access and behaviour offered to non-householders by spaces which were more public. And yet no site actually provided purely public, anarchic space. Elements of control were always present. Almost all space was mixed-use, with commercial, residential, religious and civic functions separated by short distances, or by time of day, or not at all. The Forum was a marketplace and a residential area, as well as a political space. Pompey's complex was temple precinct, theatre, art gallery, garden, political meeting-place and house. For most public spaces, our evidence does not allow us to paint such a full picture, but I propose that we should imagine almost any public space in the city as crowded with temporary structures which are not archaeologically preserved, such as commercial stalls and shacks used for accommodation by those who had no alternative, and by people going about every kind of business. This repopulation of the city's public spaces with private life mirrors the shift in our understanding of Roman domestic space, now firmly linked to commercial and political activity and disconnected from modern concepts of privacy. Similarly, the idea, easily prompted by musings on the bare stone of archaeologically preserved sites, that there existed in Republican Rome any pure, austere monumental, public space is untenable. Rather, all space was constantly being defined and redefined by the shifting boundaries of the public and the private in Roman culture.

FIGURES



Figure 1.1. The view from the doorway of the House of the Wooden Partition, Herculaneum
Author's photograph



Figure 1.2. The view from the doorway of the House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum
Author's photograph

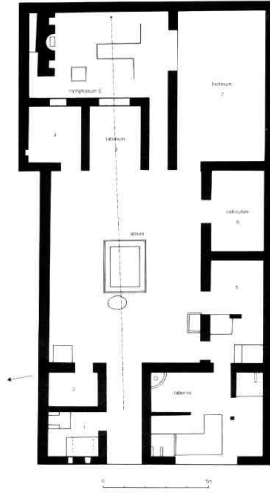


Figure 1.3. The House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum: plan
Clarke (1991) 251

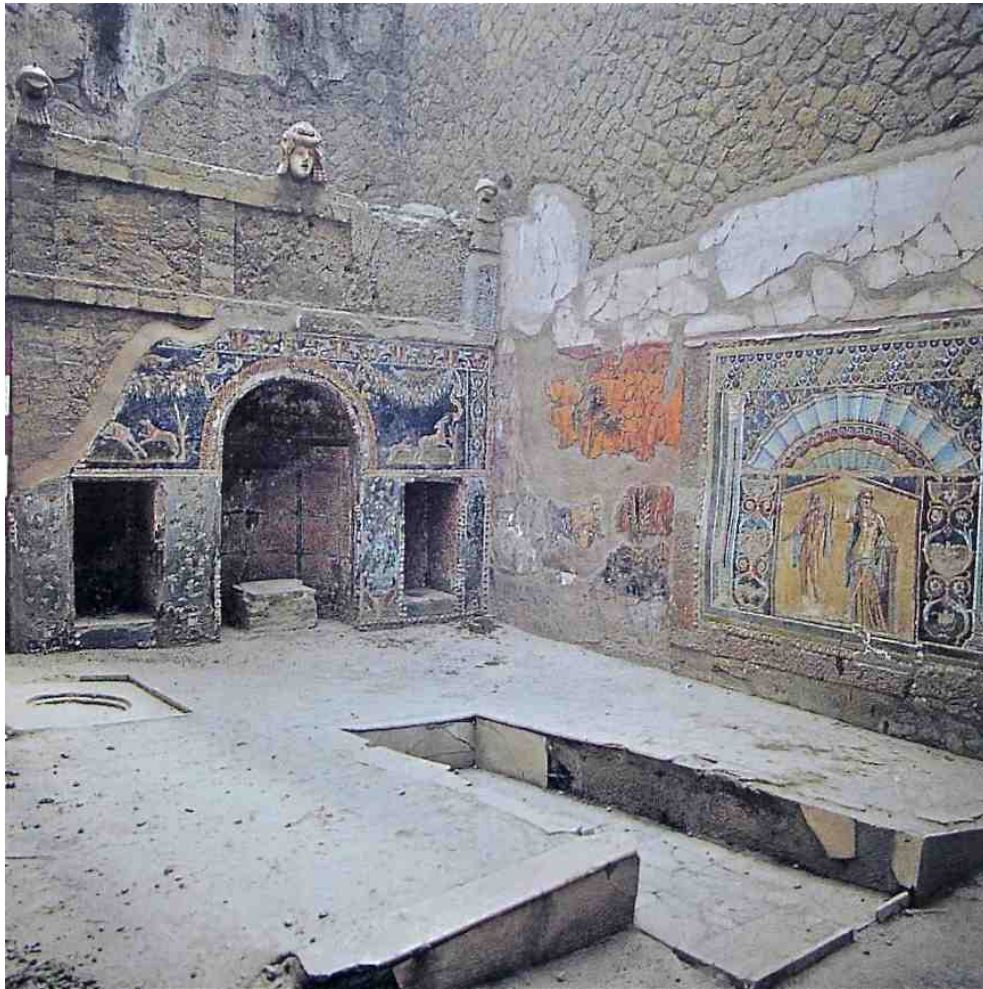


Figure 1.4. View of nymphaeum from the triclinium of the House of Neptune and Amphitrite
Clarke (1991) pl. 19

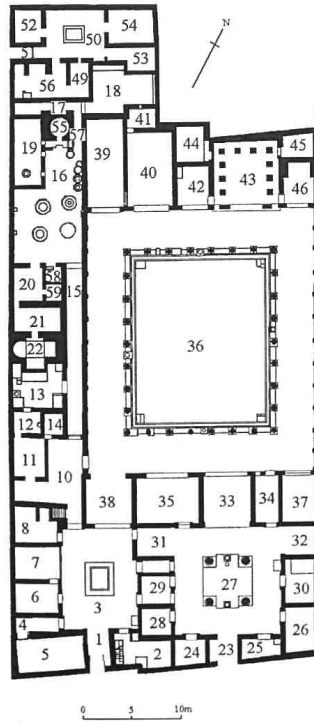


Figure 1.5. The House of the Labyrinth, Pompeii
 Hales (2003) 119

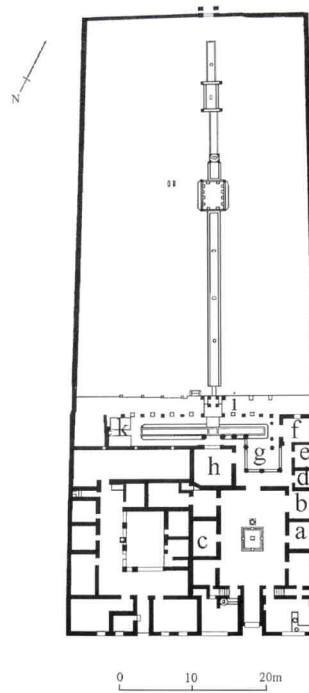


Figure 1.6. The House of Octavius Quarto, Pompeii
 Hales (2003) 115



Figure 1.7. House of Octavius Quarto: view from Room f along the water feature
Author's photograph

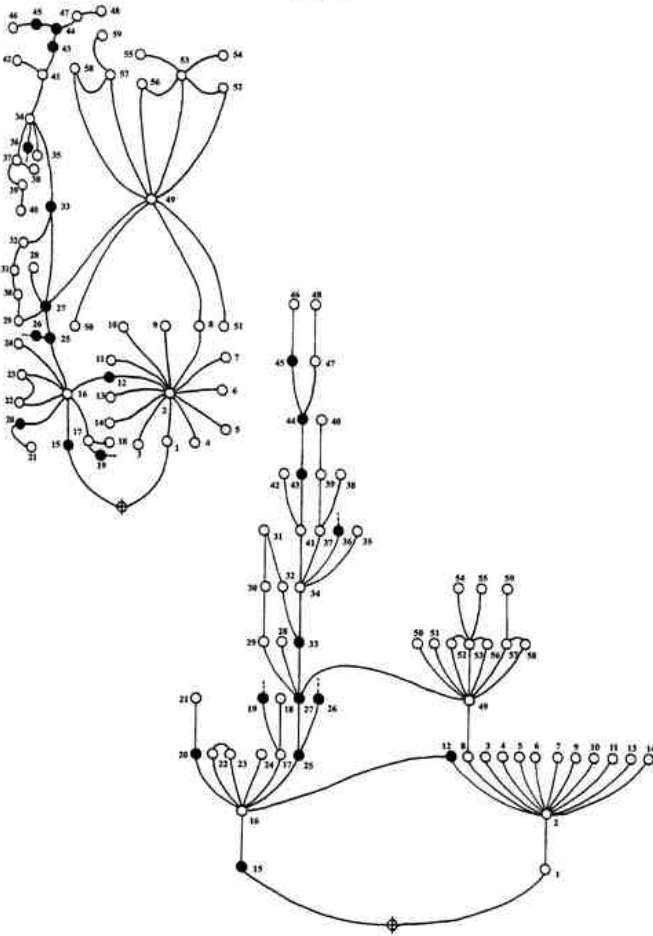


Figure 1.8. Grahame's access analysis of the House of the Labyrinth
Grahame (2000) 145

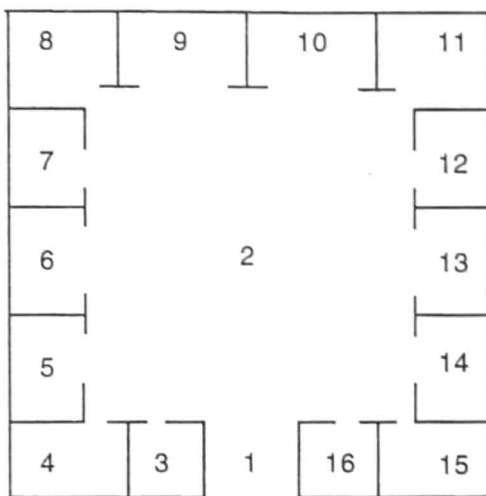


Figure 1.9. Grahame's illustration of the concept of confinement
Grahame (1997) 148

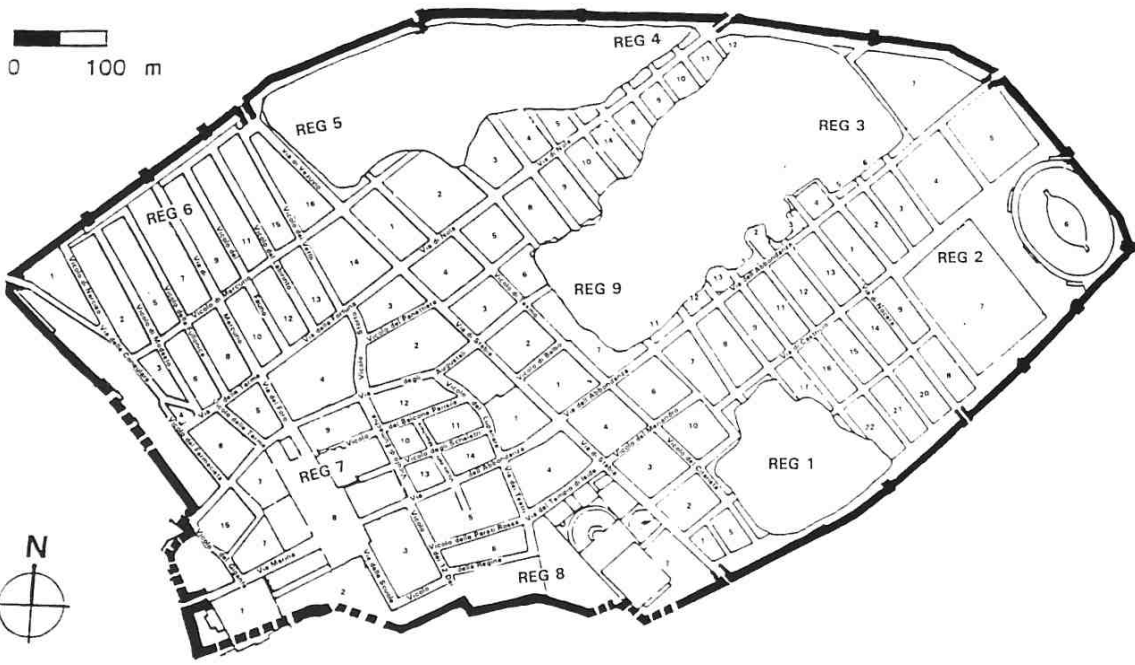


Figure 1.10. Street plan of Pompeii
Laurence (2007) 4

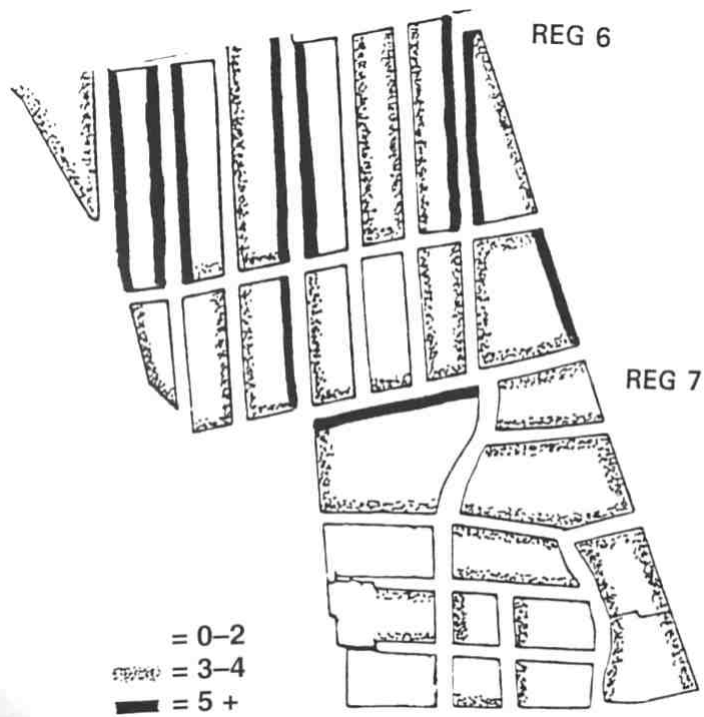


Figure 1.11. Distribution of *fauces* in Region 6
Laurence (2007) 127

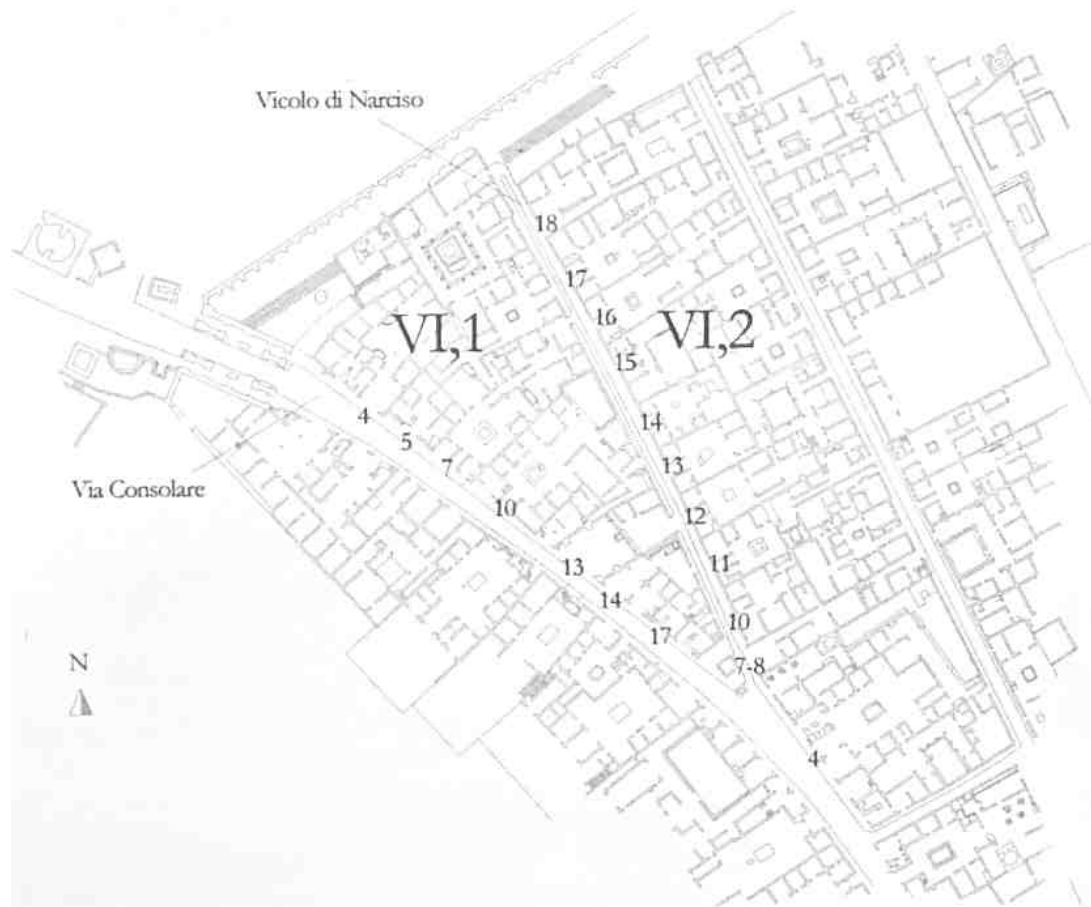


Figure 1.12. The Vicolo di Narciso with entrances numbered
Jones/Schoonhoven (2003) 129



Figure 1.13. View south along the Vicolo di Narciso
Jones/Schoonhoven (2003) 132

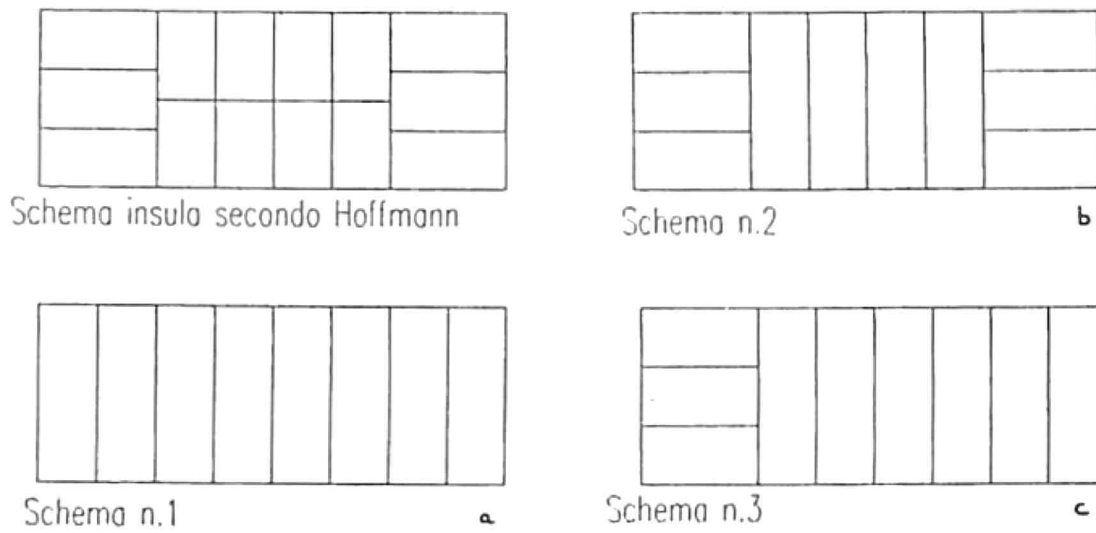


Figure 1.14. Patterns of original block layout in Region 1
Ciro Nappo (1997) 98

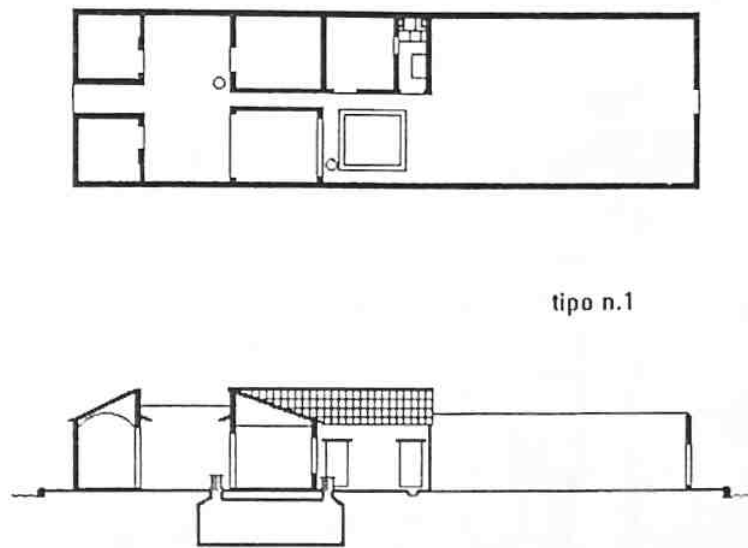


Figure 1.15. Typical early Region 1 row house with back garden
Ciro Nappo (1997) 100

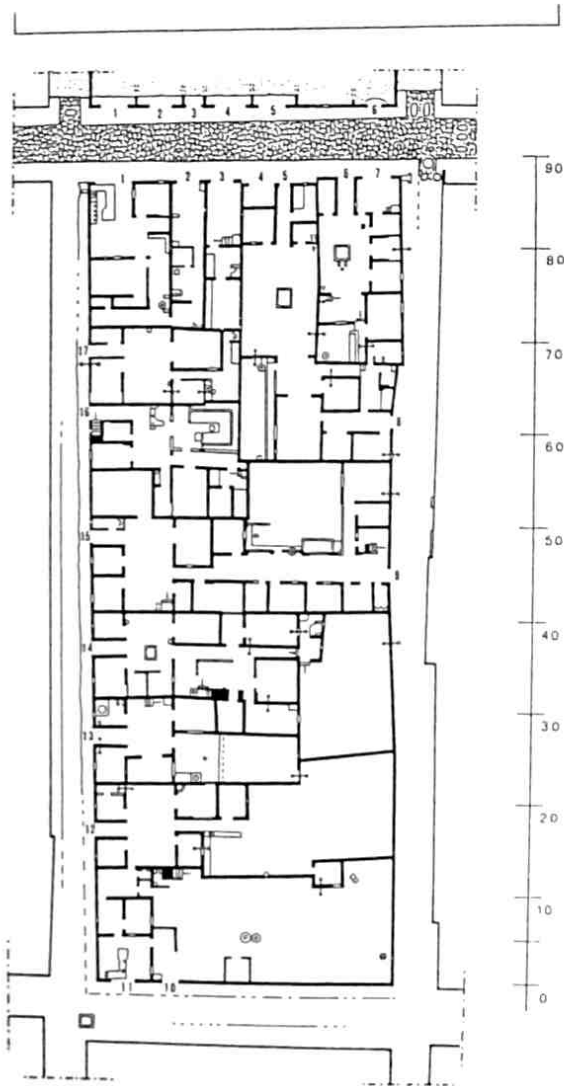


Fig.9. Insula 1.11.



Figure 1.16. Insula 1.11, showing most entrances along north and west side
Ciro Nappo (1997)

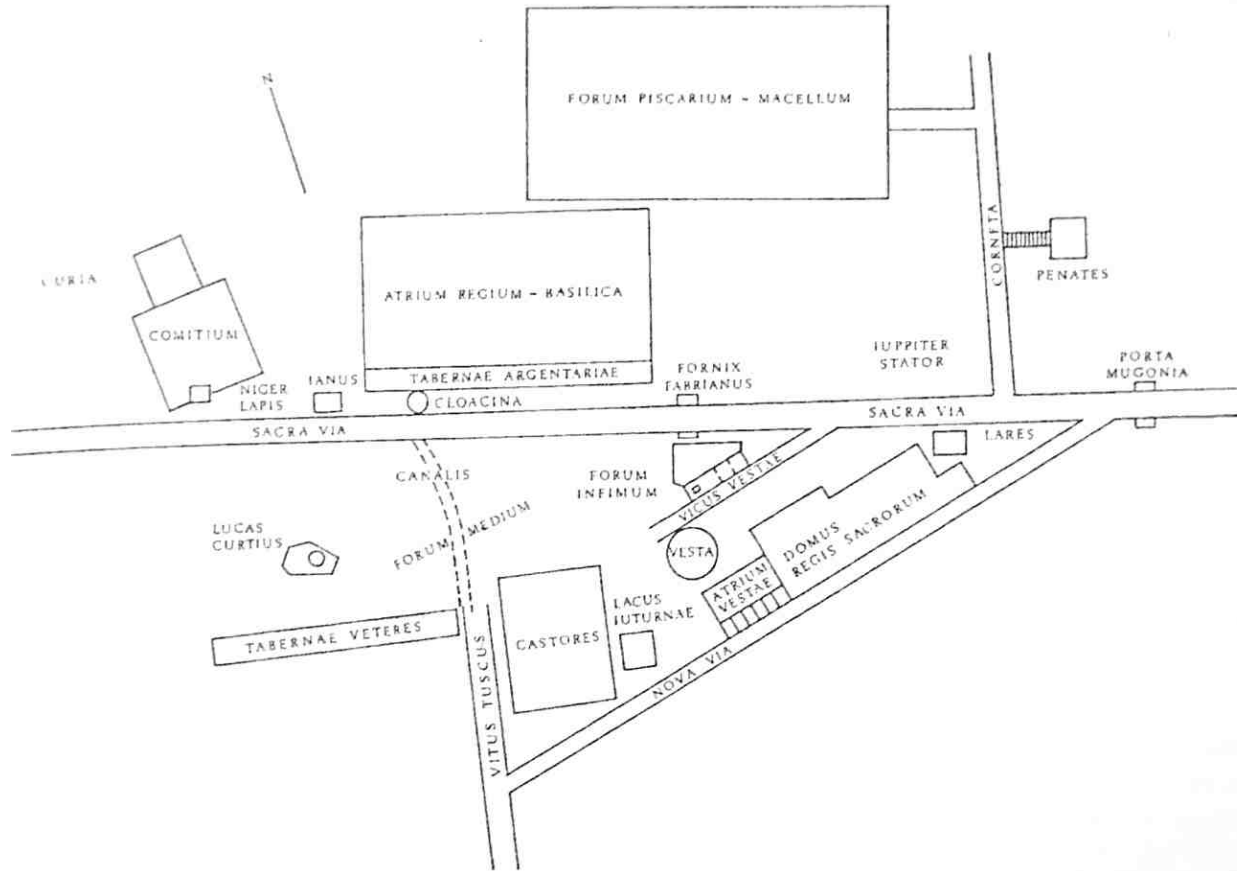


Figure 3.1. The Forum Romanum and Sacra Via in the mid-second century BCE.
 Wilson (2005) 128 fig. 1, after Gaggiotti in *Roma: archeologia nel centro* (1985) 57 fig. 1

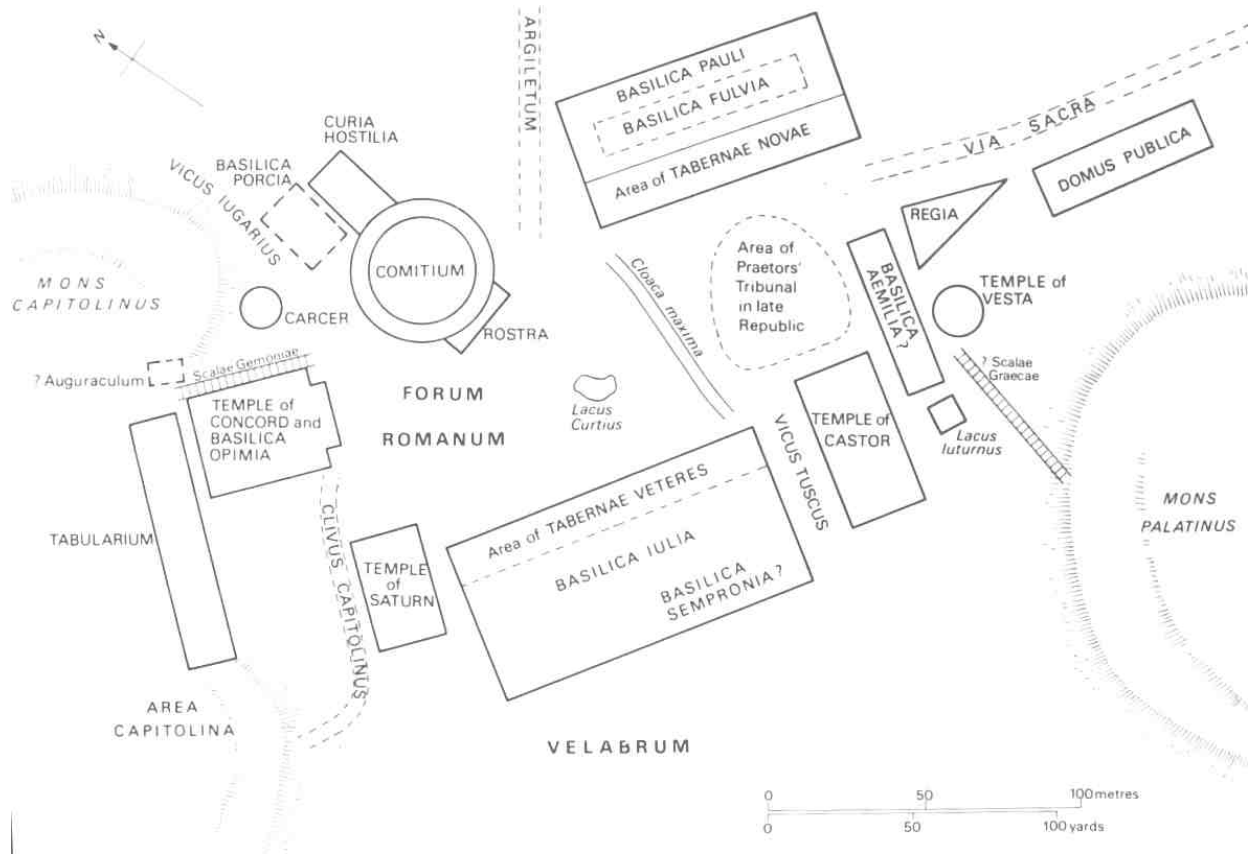


Figure 3.2. The Forum Romanum in the mid-first century BCE.
*CAH IX*² 370 fig. 2

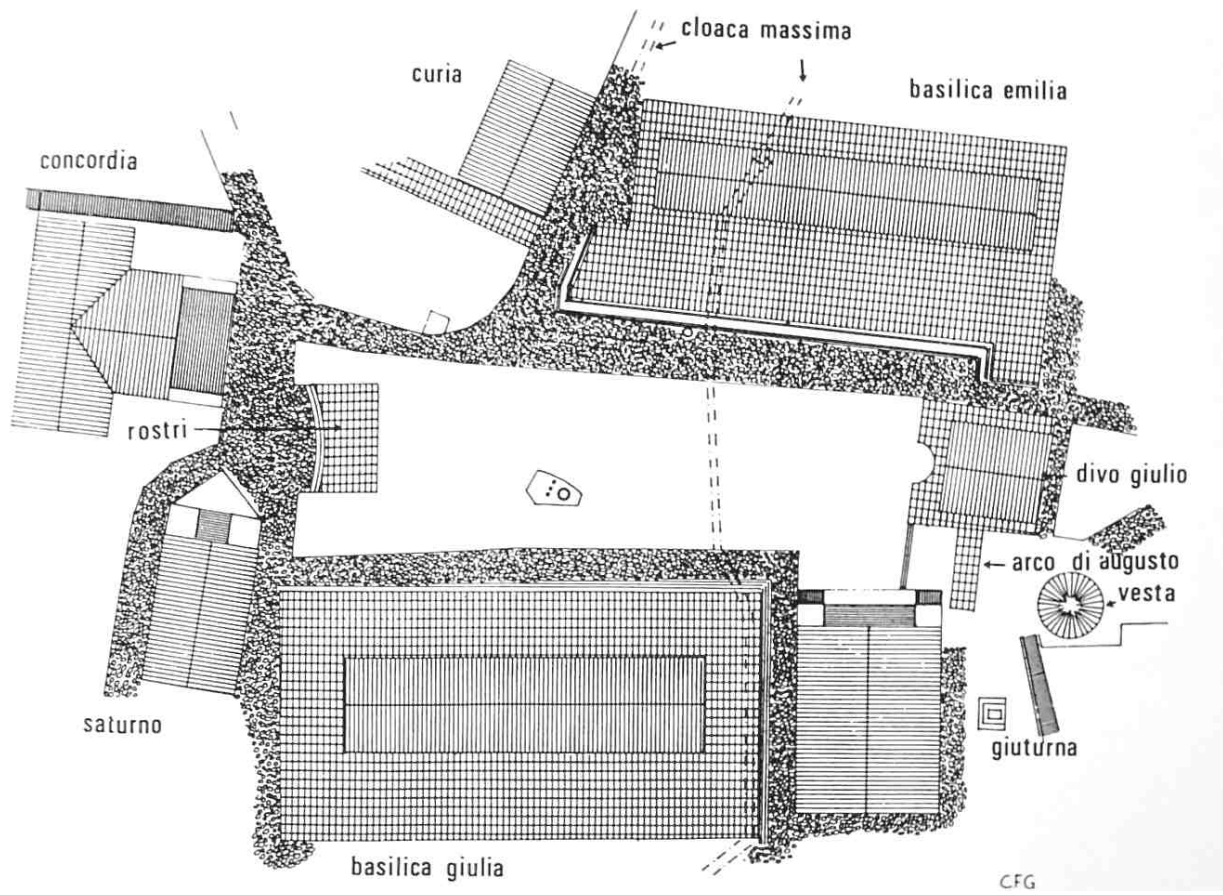


Figure 3.3. The Forum Romanum in the Augustan period
Giuliani/Verduchi (1987)

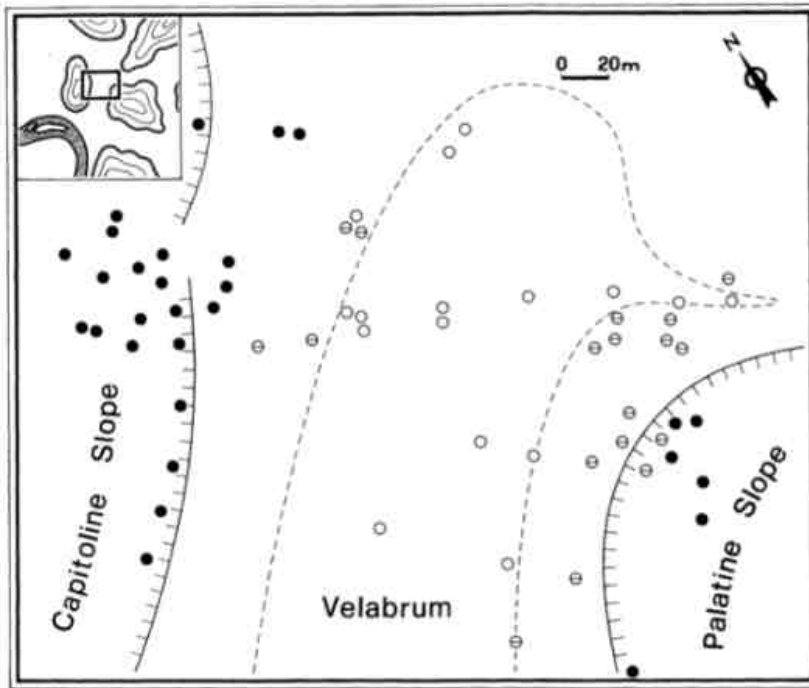


Fig. 4. Map of the Forum basin in which the 9 m contour line of the natural relief is reconstructed. The circular symbols have the following values for elevation above sea level: open (less than 9 m), central bar (9–14 m), and solid (greater than 14 m).

Figure 3.4. The natural relief of the Forum basin
 Ammermann (1990) 635 fig. 4



1: Ara Saturni; 2: Mundus; 3: Lotus et Cupressus; A-C: Massi di cappellaccio rotolati dalla cima del Campidoglio.

Figure 3.5. The area of the Comitium in the regal period
 Carafa (1998) 119 fig. 80

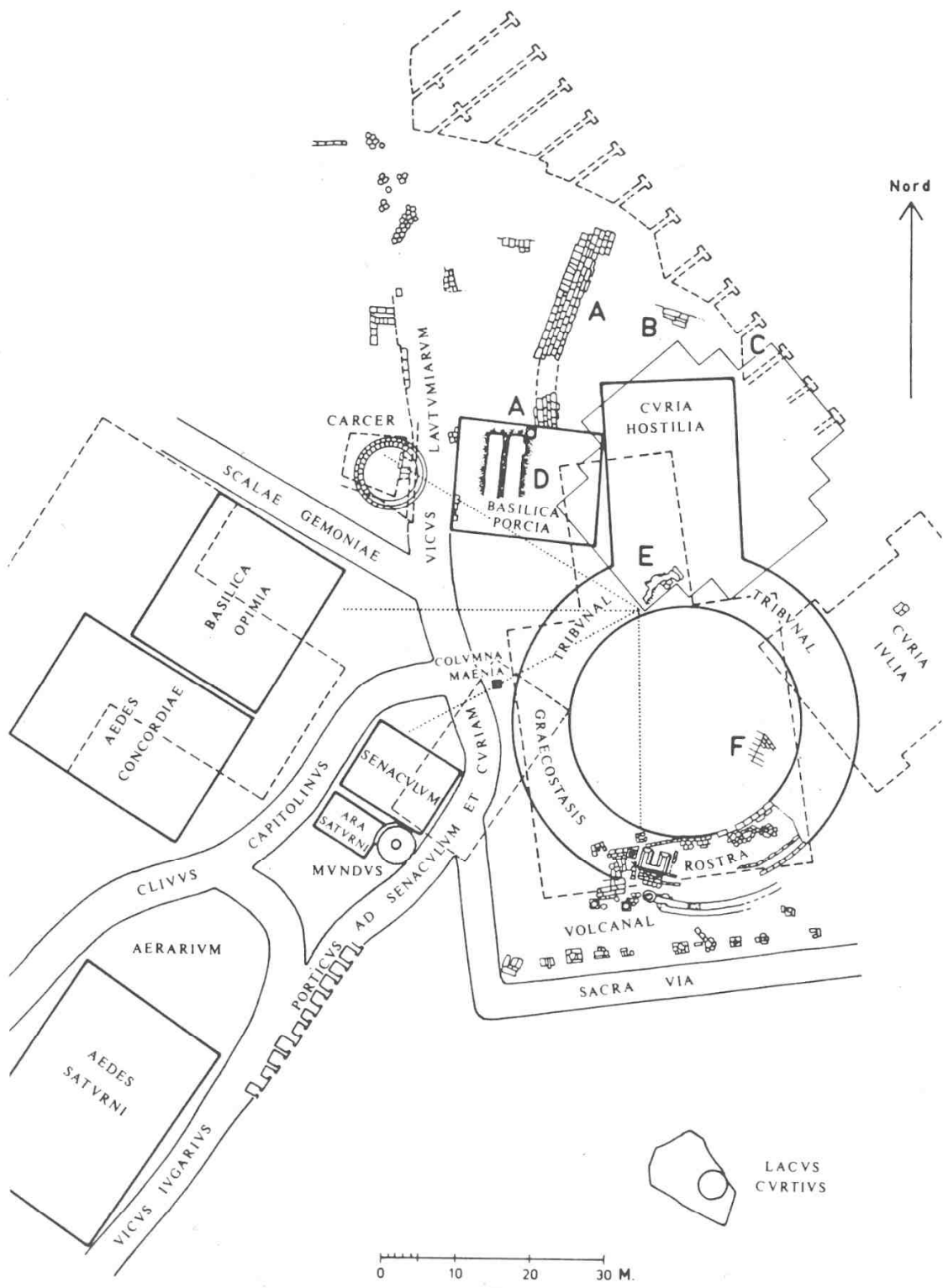


Figure 3.6. The Republican Comitium in Coarelli's reconstruction
Coarelli (1985) 23 fig. 5

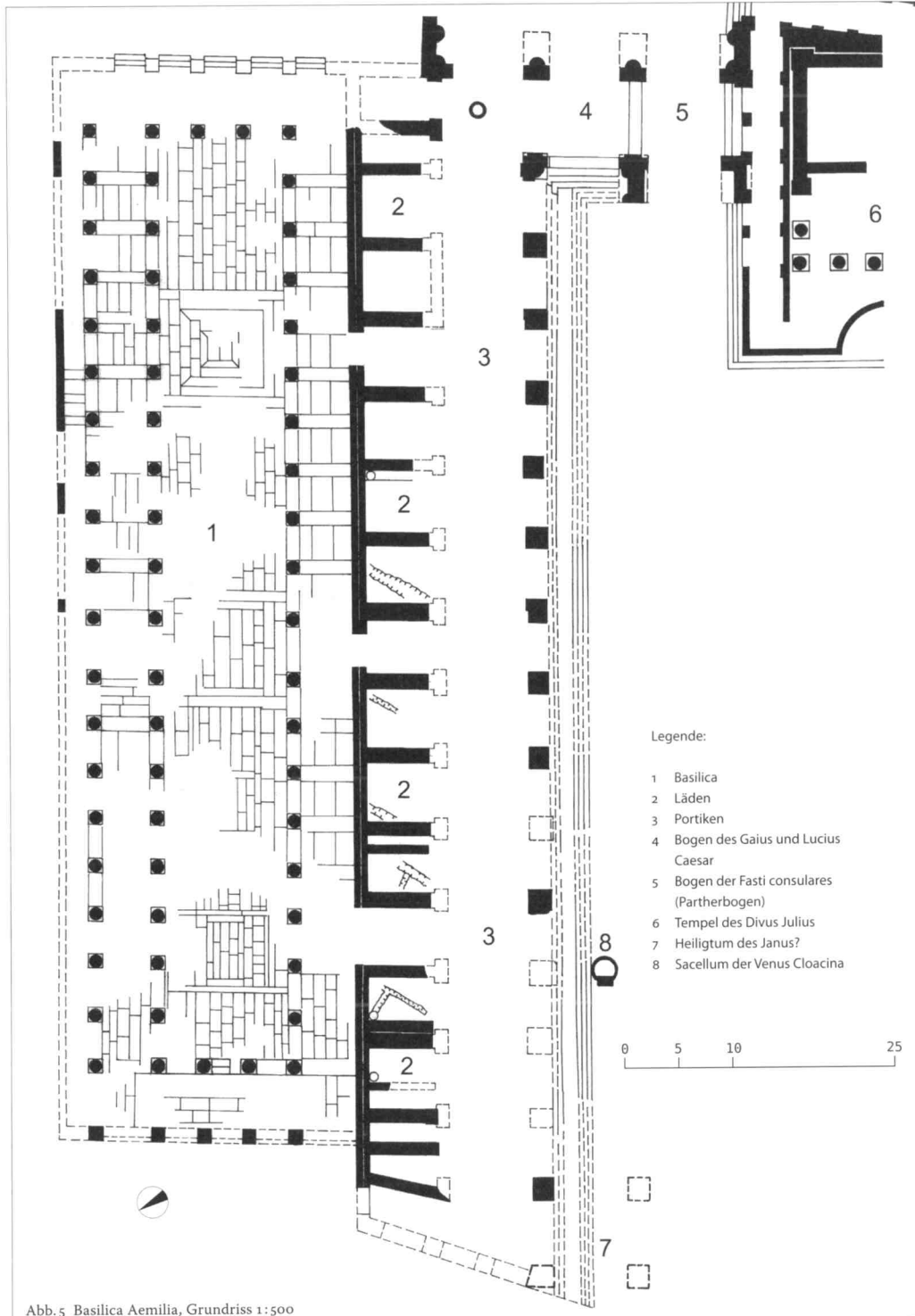


Figure 3.7. The Basilica Aemilia, showing traces of older tabernae on a different orientation
 Freyberger et al. (2007) fig. 5

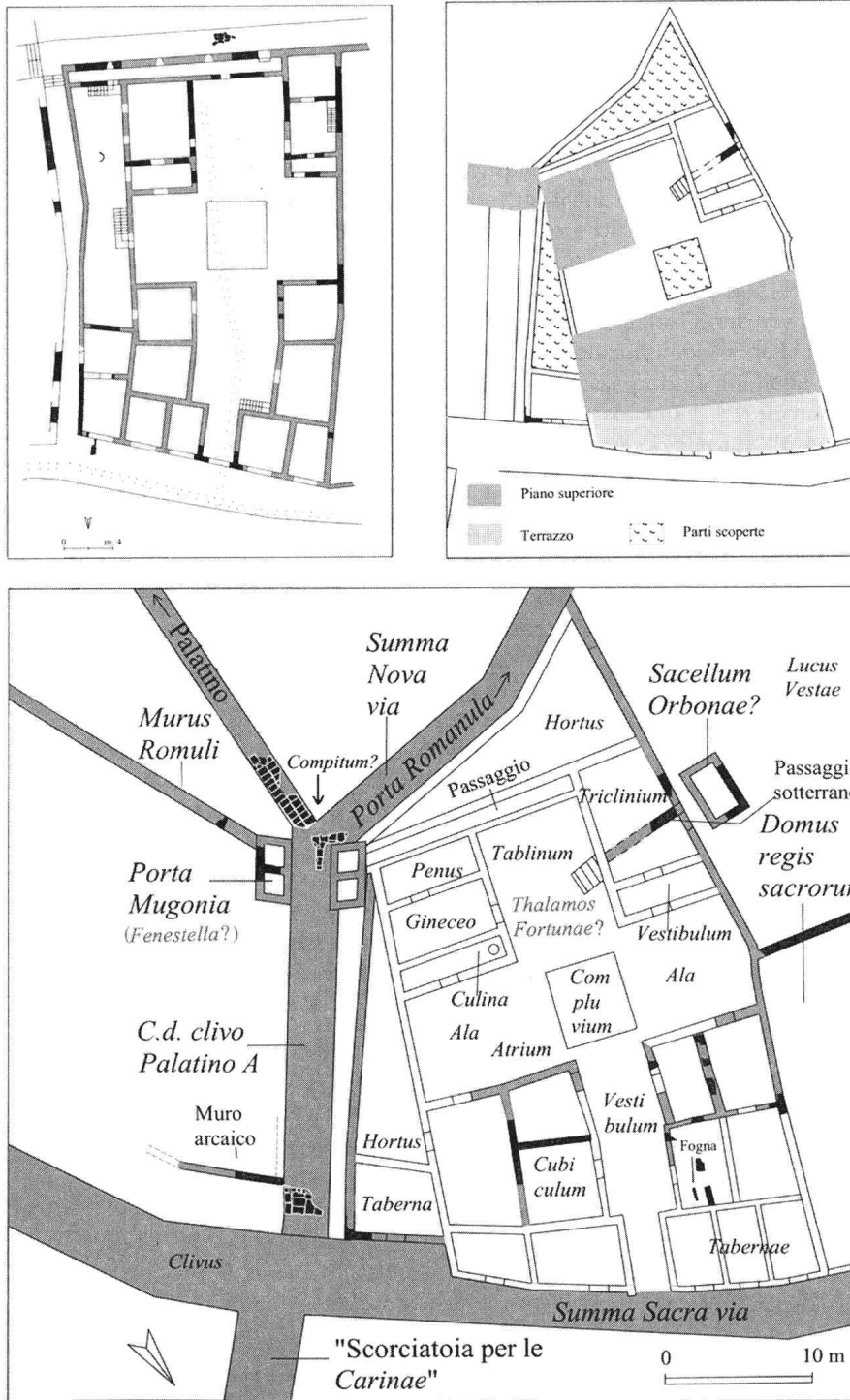


FIG. 9. a. *Domus 3*, (CARANDINI, CARAFA 2000; vedi FIG. 5). b-c. Ricostruzione della *domus Regia tarda arcaica* (D. Filippi) ispirata alla *domus 3*. In nero i resti conservati, in grigio le strutture verosimili, in bianco quelle ipotetiche.

Figure 3.8 Archaic houses on the Sacra Via
Carandini (2004) 93

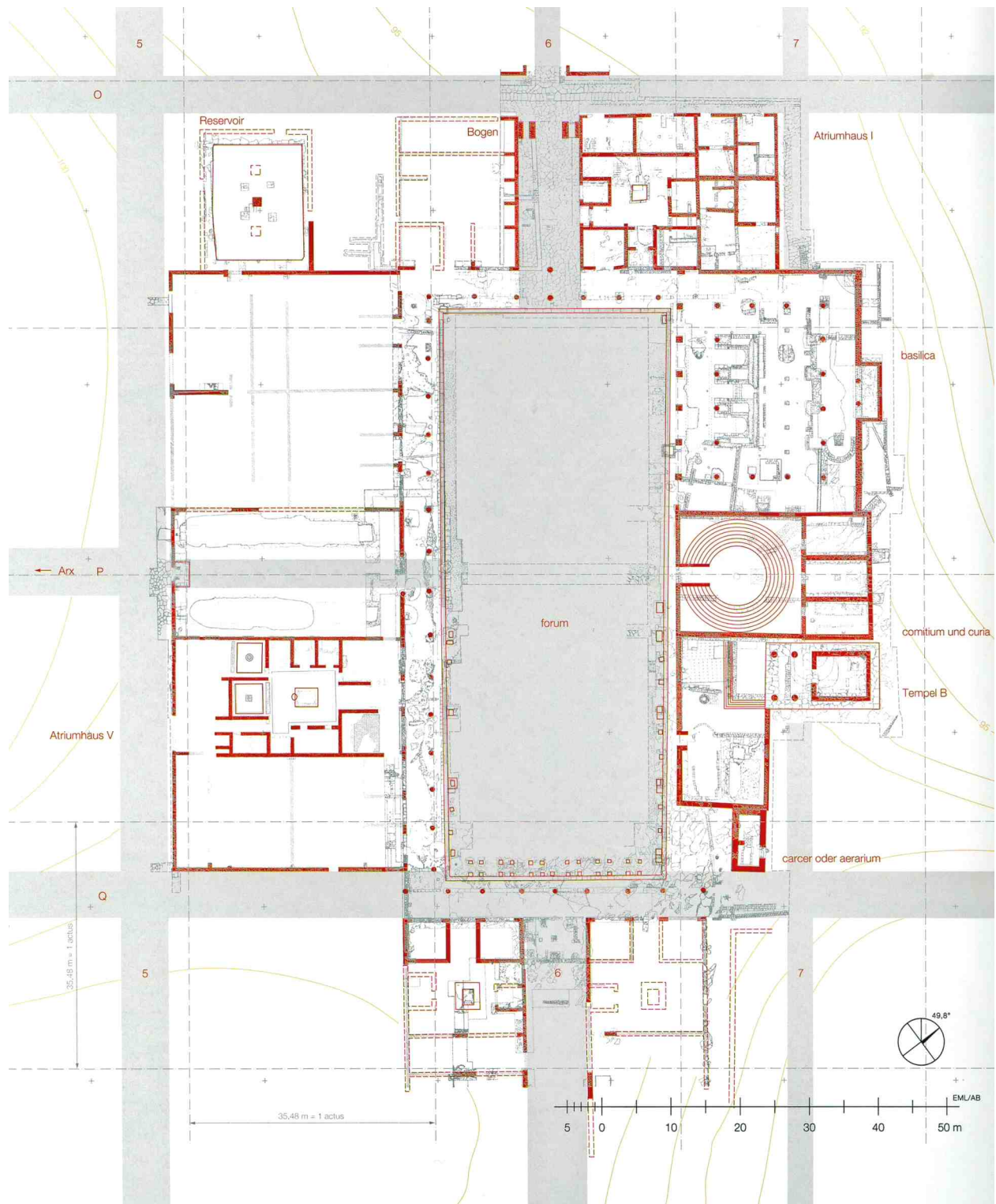


Figure 3.9. The Forum at Cosa
Lackner (2009) 348

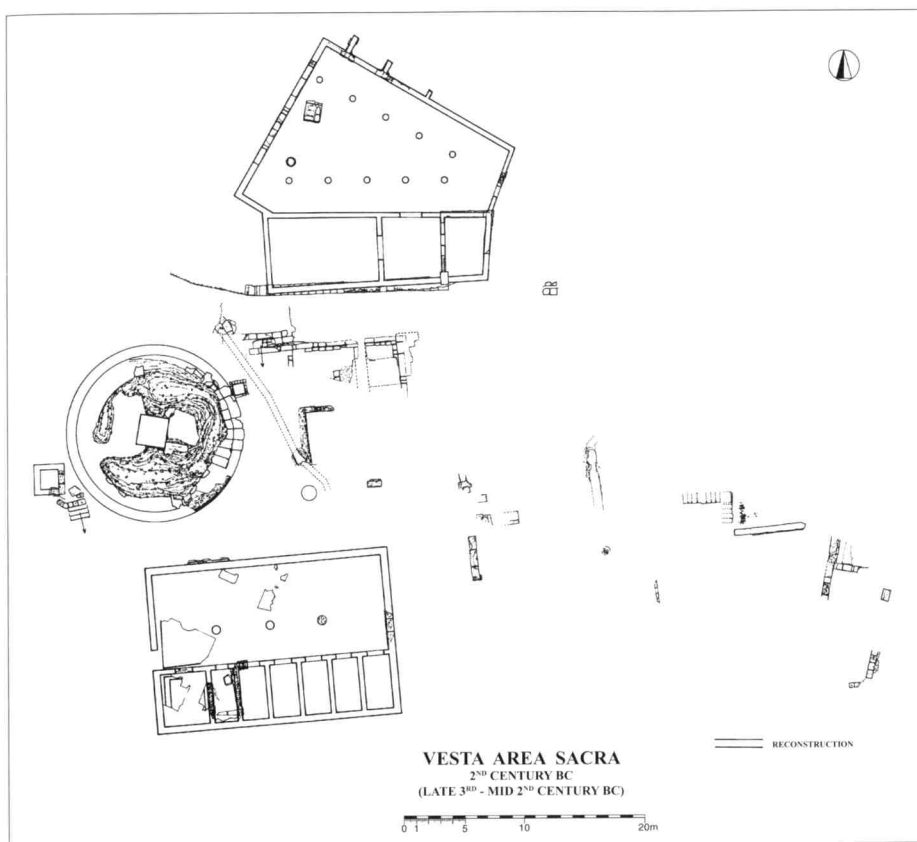


Fig. D1. Phase plan.

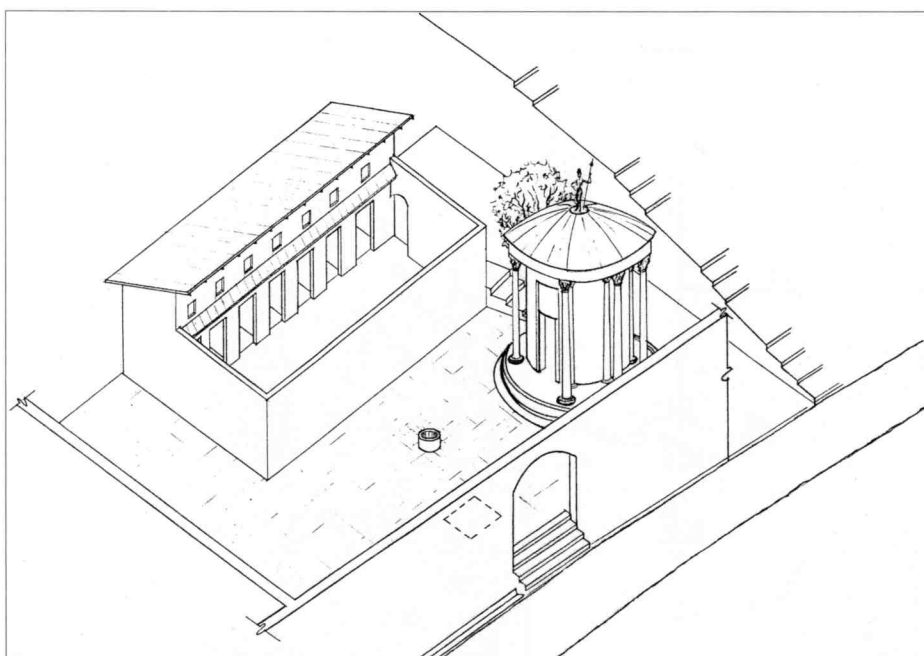


Fig. D24. Temple precinct, restored view southwest of temple, residence, and tree (conjectural).

Figure 3.10. The Atrium Vestae in the second century BCE
 Scott (2009) 19, 34

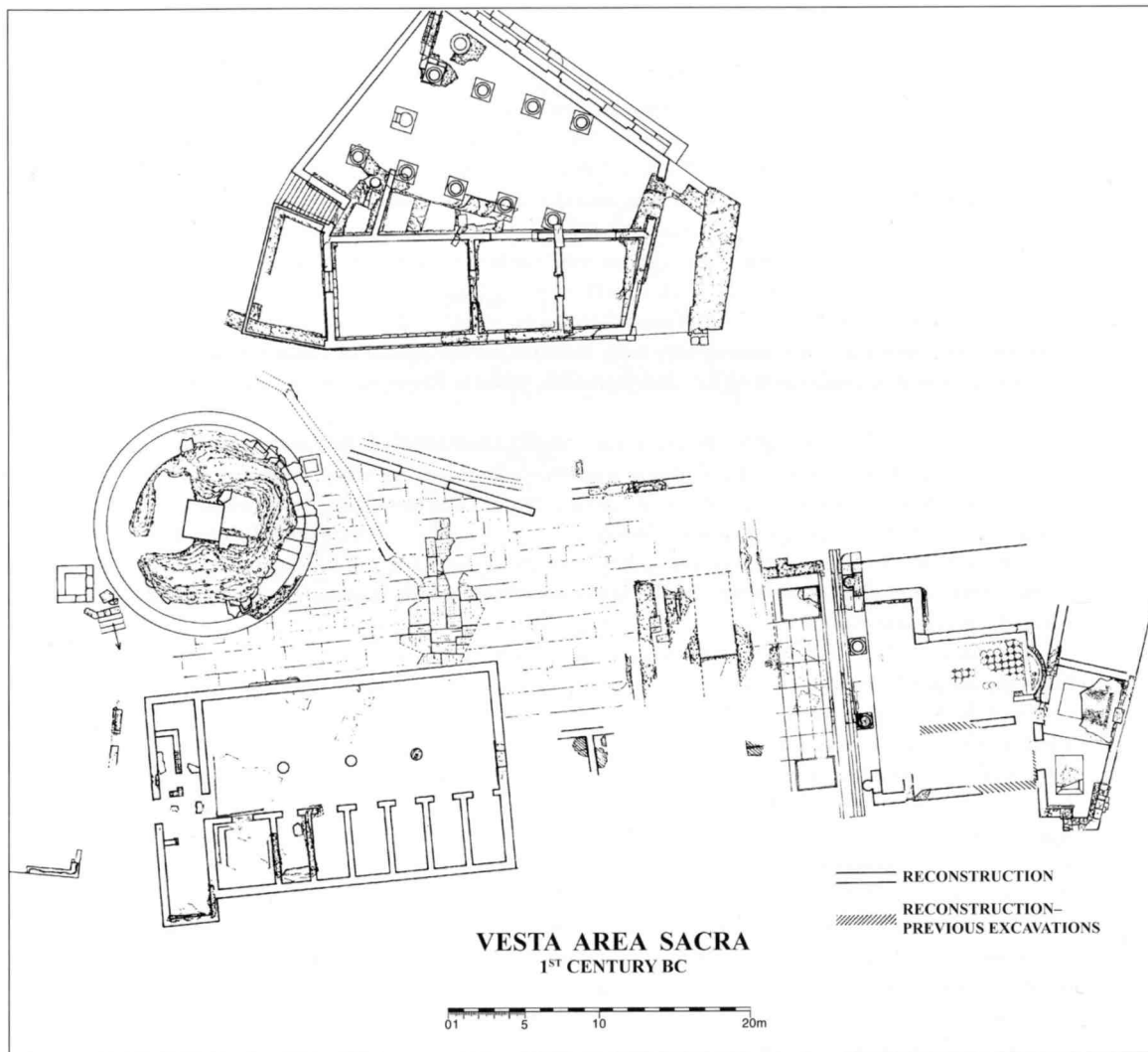


Fig. E1. Phase plan.

Figure 3.11. The Atrium Vestae in the first century BCE
Scott (2009) 36

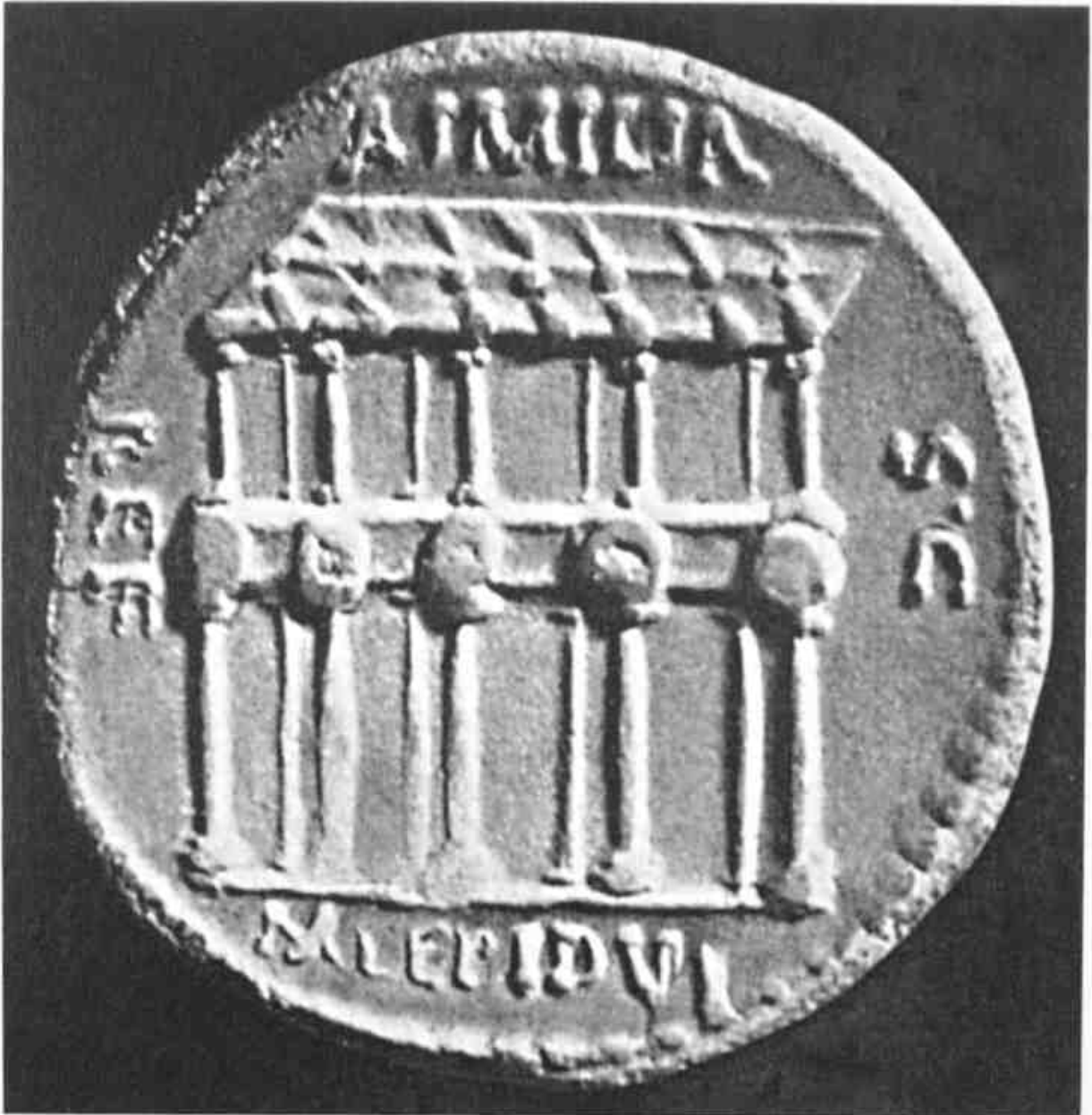


Figure 3.12. Coin of L. Aemilius Paullus (*RRC* 419/3)
Freyberger et al. (2007) 500

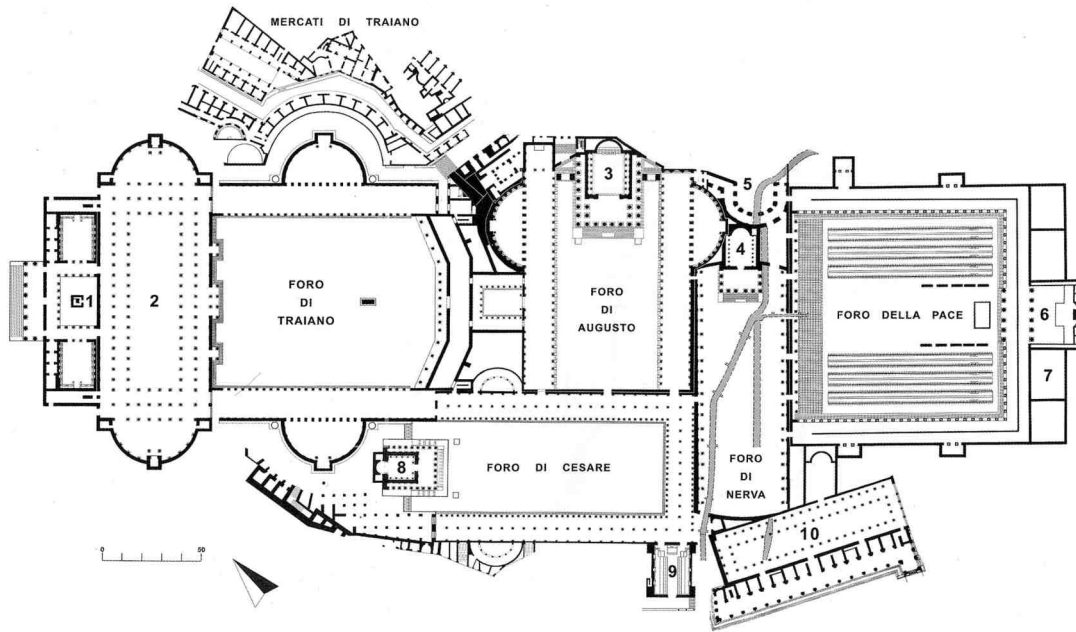


Figure 3.13. The Imperial fora
Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani (2007) 40. Drawing E. Bianchi – R. Meneghini

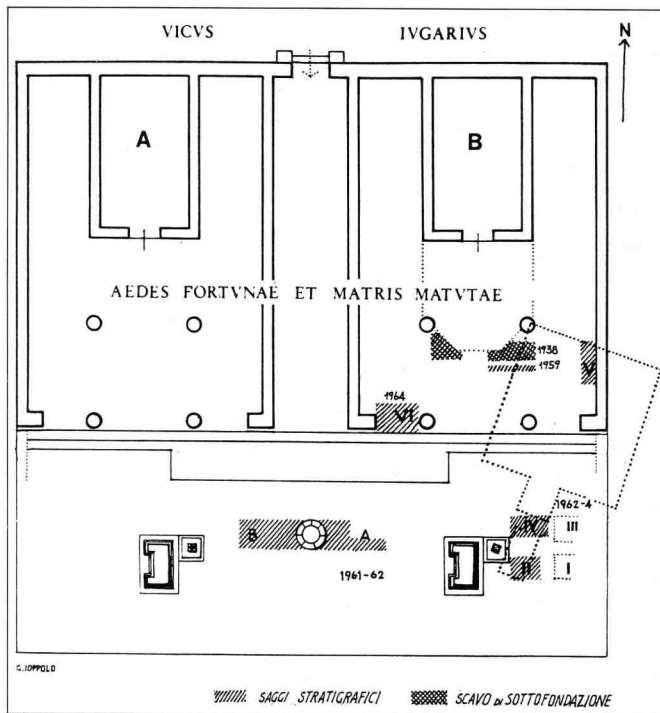


Figure 4.1. Fifth-century double temples in the Area Sacra di Sant'Omobono Coarelli (1988) 206; drawing G. Ioppolo

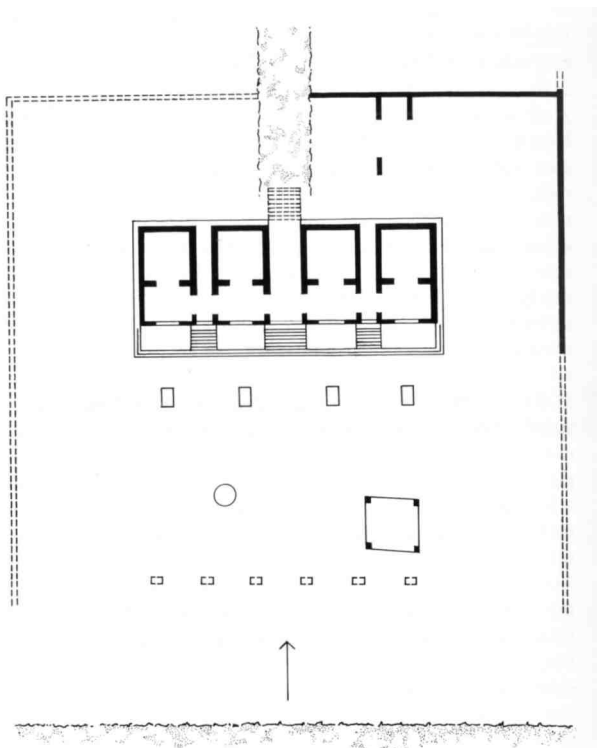


Figure 4.2. Republican *tempietti*, Ostia Rieger (2004) 56

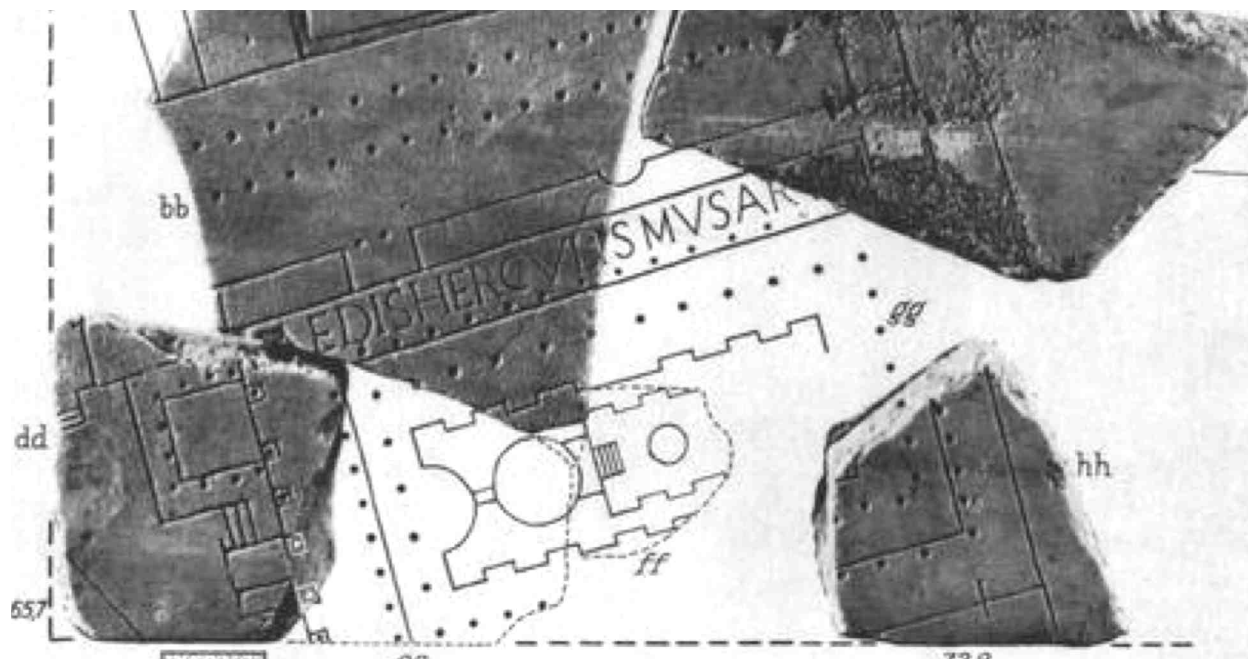


Figure 4.3. Temple of Hercules Musarum on the Marble Plan
Carettoni et al. (1960) pl. 29, detail

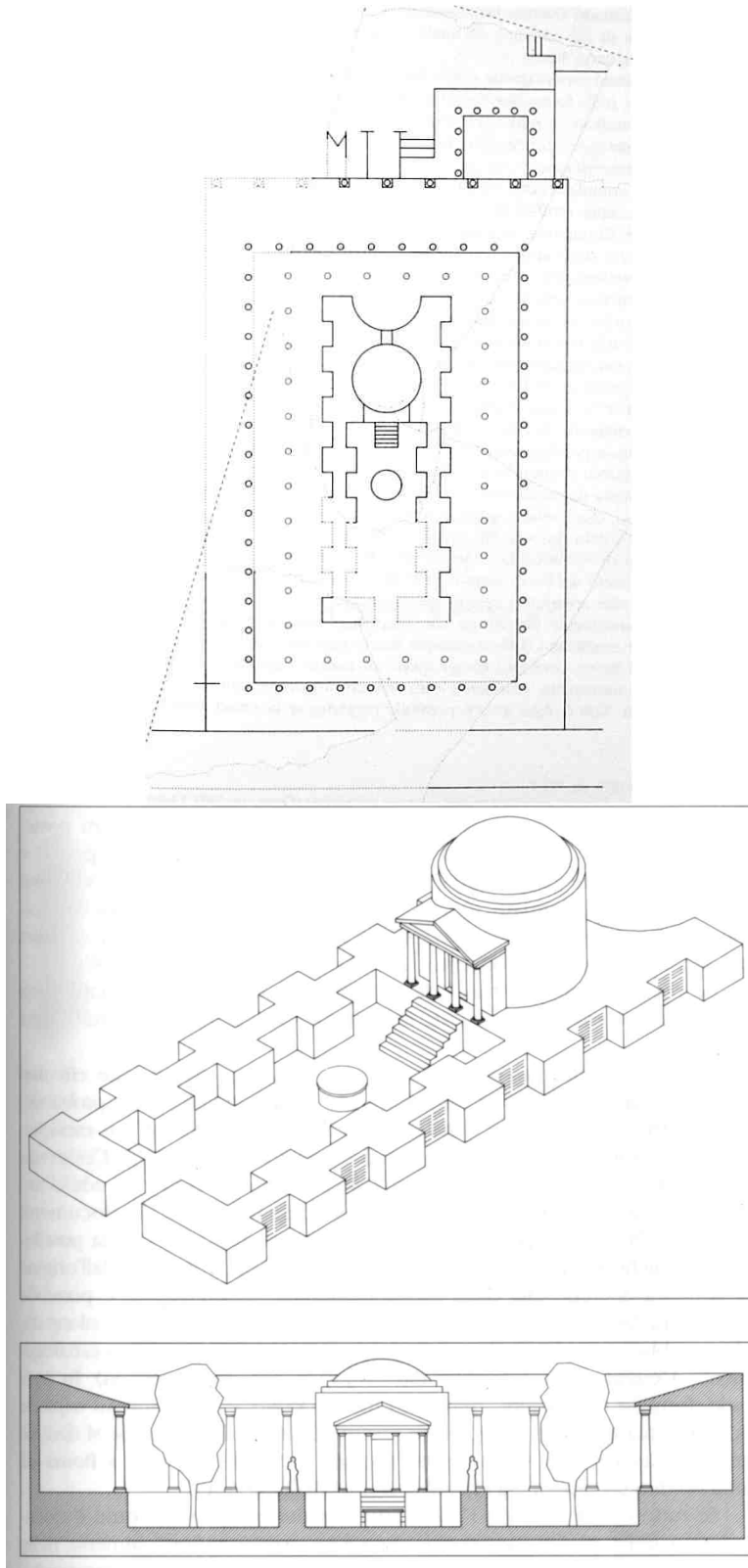


Figure 4.4. Temple of Hercules Musarum: reconstructions
Coarelli (1997a) 477, 479



Figure 4.5. Standing remains of Porticus Octaviae, successor to the Porticus Metelli (author's photographs)

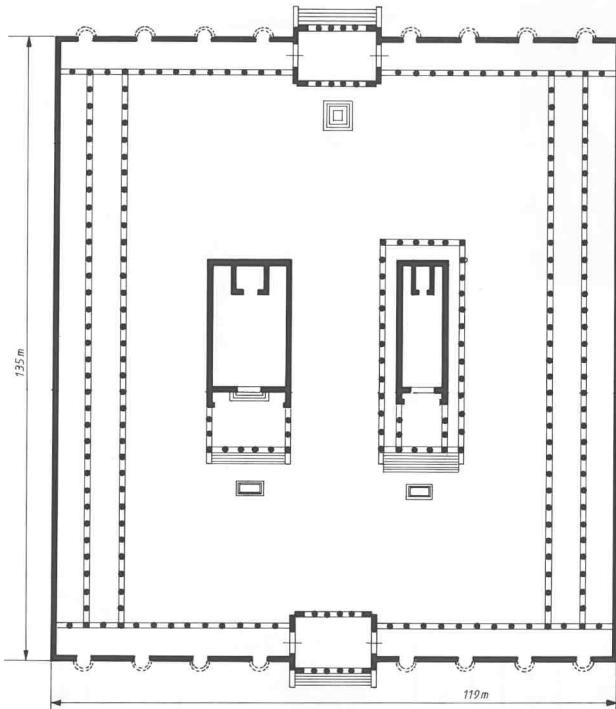


Figure 4.6. The Porticus Metelli in the second century BCE (reconstruction) with temples of Juno Regina (L) and Jupiter Stator (R) Nünnerich-Asmus (1994) Abb. 19

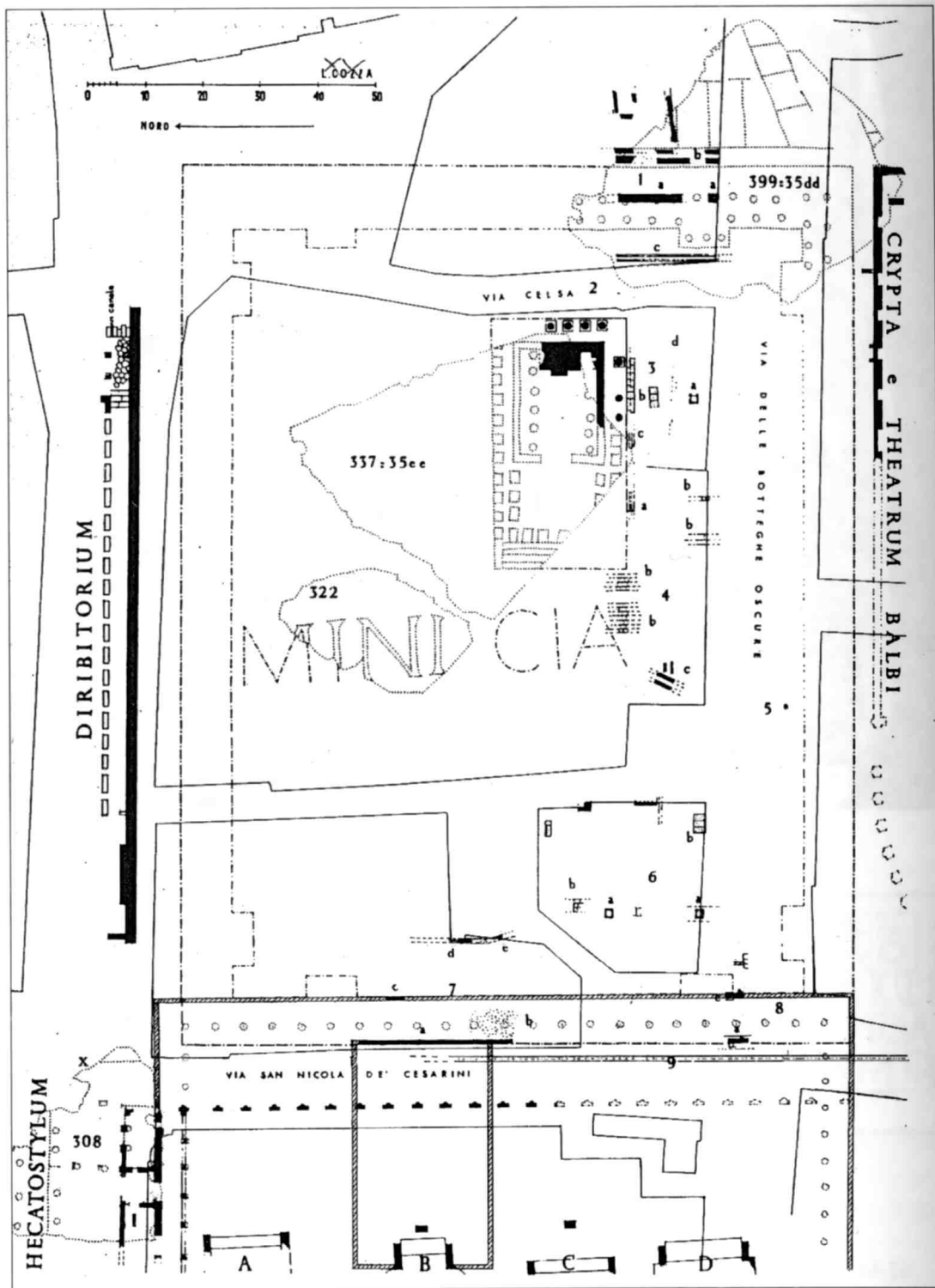


Figure 4.7. Porticus Minucia, showing enclosure outside temple B in the Largo Argentina Coarelli (1997a) 334

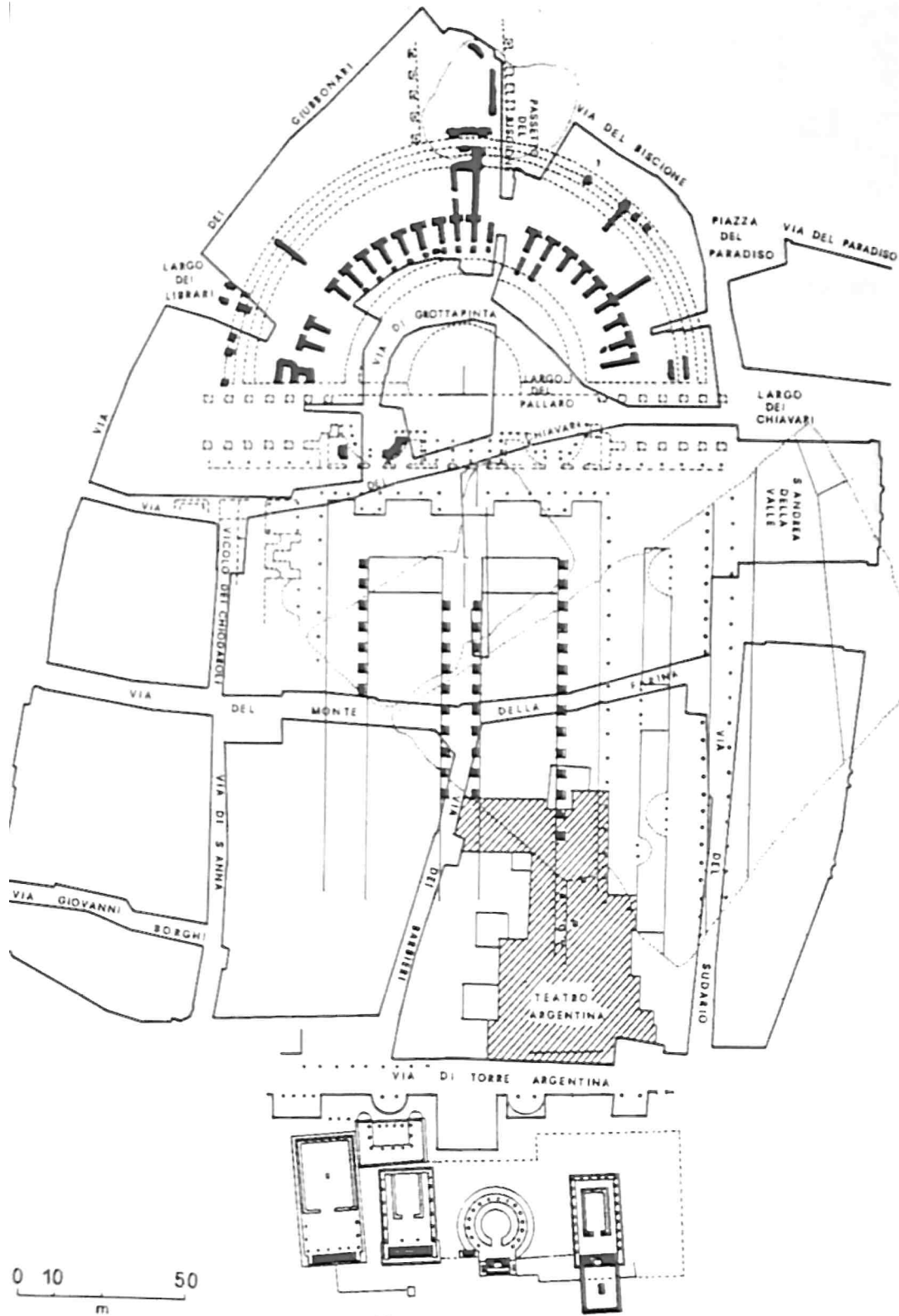


Figure 5.1. Theatre and portico of Pompey on the Campus Martius (restored plan) Coarelli (1997a) 540



Figure 5.2. Aerial photograph of the area of Pompey's complex
Google Earth (© 2010 Google, © 2011 Tele Atlas)



Figure 5.3. Surviving substructures of the cavea: digital composite
The Pompey Project (http://www.pompey.cch.kcl.ac.uk/Site_Documentation.htm, last accessed 1 May 2011)

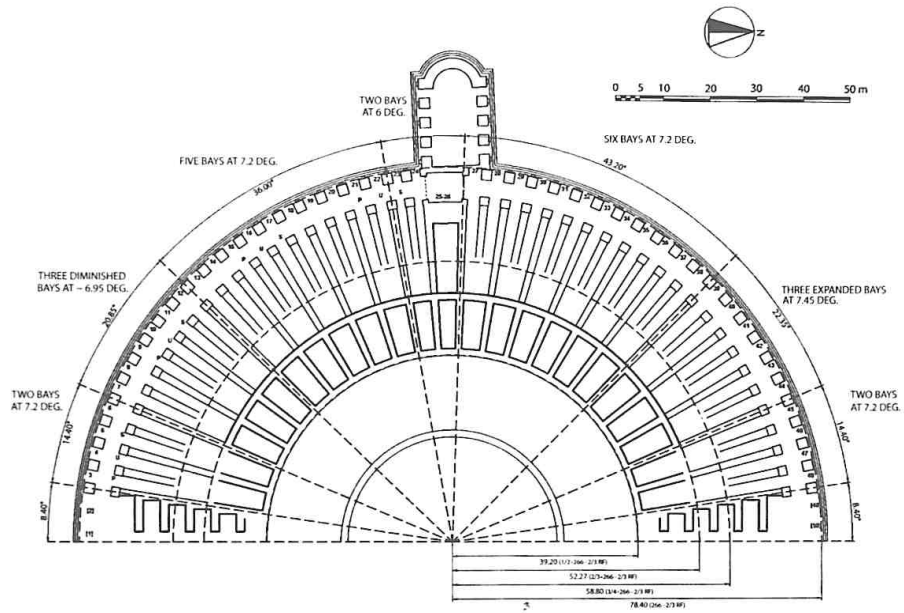


Figure 5.4. The structures of the cavea as recorded by Packer
 Packer/Burge/Gagliardo (2007) 513 (Drawing J. Burge)

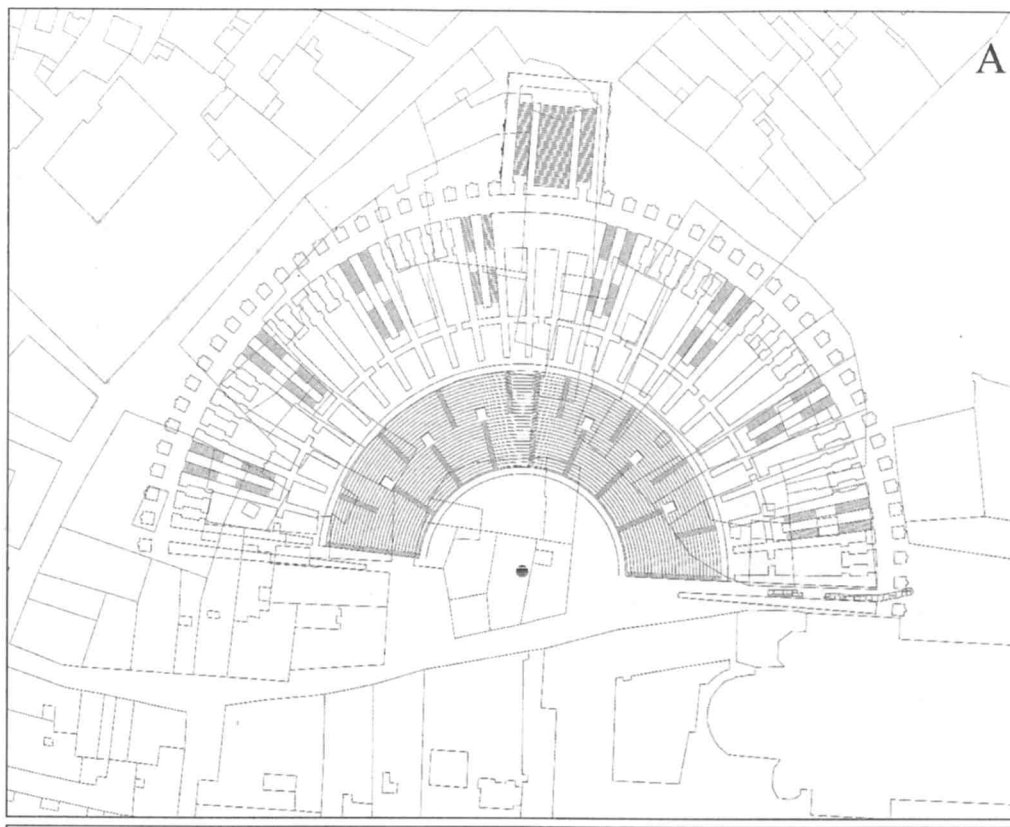


Figure 5.5. The structures of the cavea as recorded by Monterroso Checa
 Monterroso Checa (2007) 136

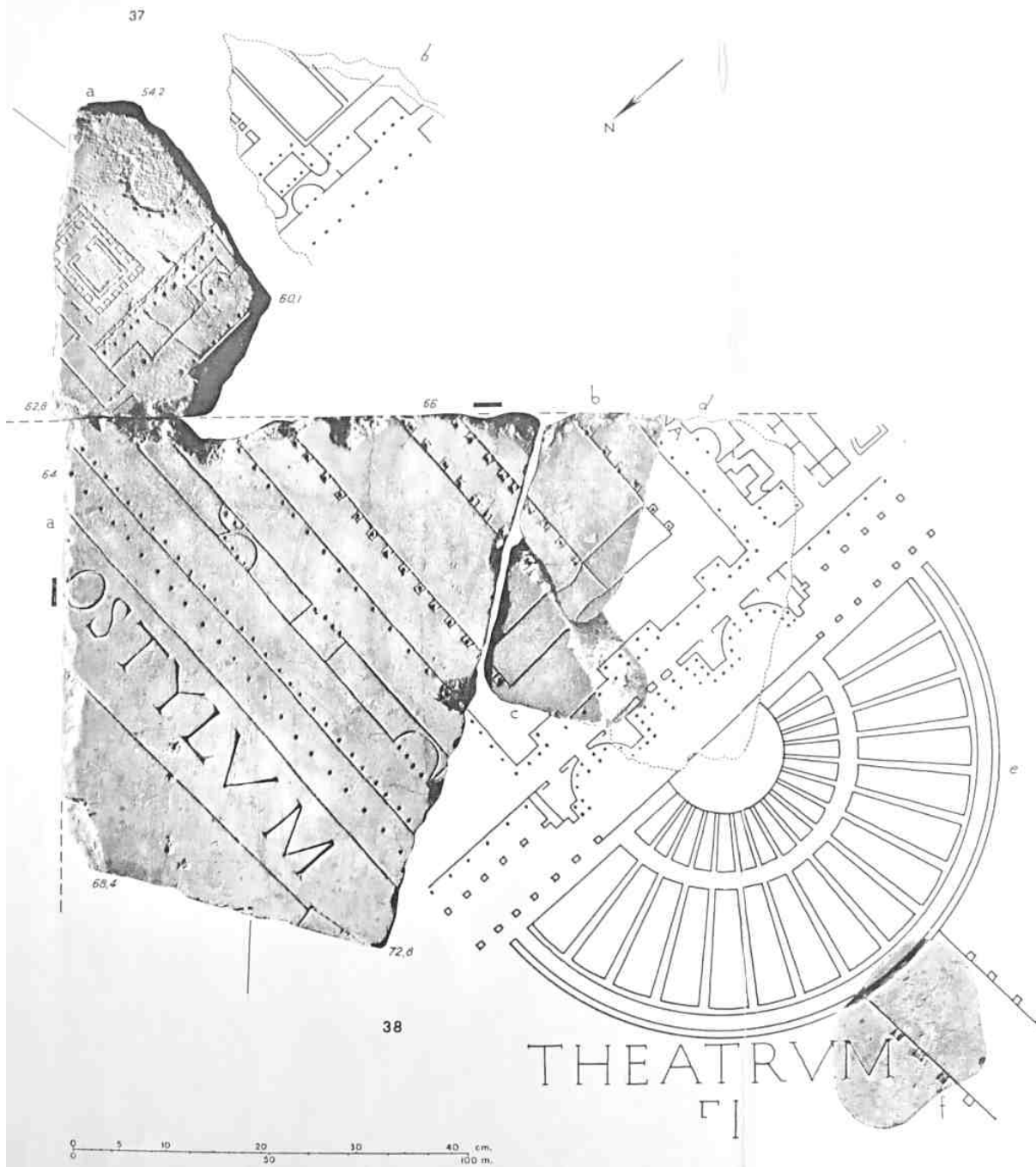


Figure 5.6. The theatre and portico of Pompey on the Marble Plan
 Carettoni et al. (1960) plate 32

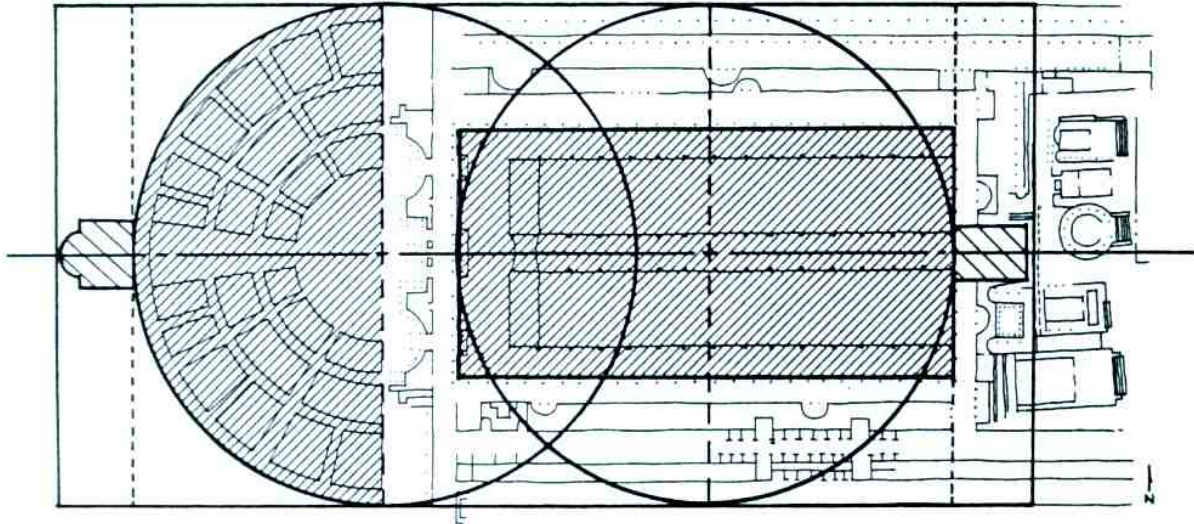


Figure 5.7. The theatre and portico in Gleason's reconstructions: plan
Gleason (1994) 18

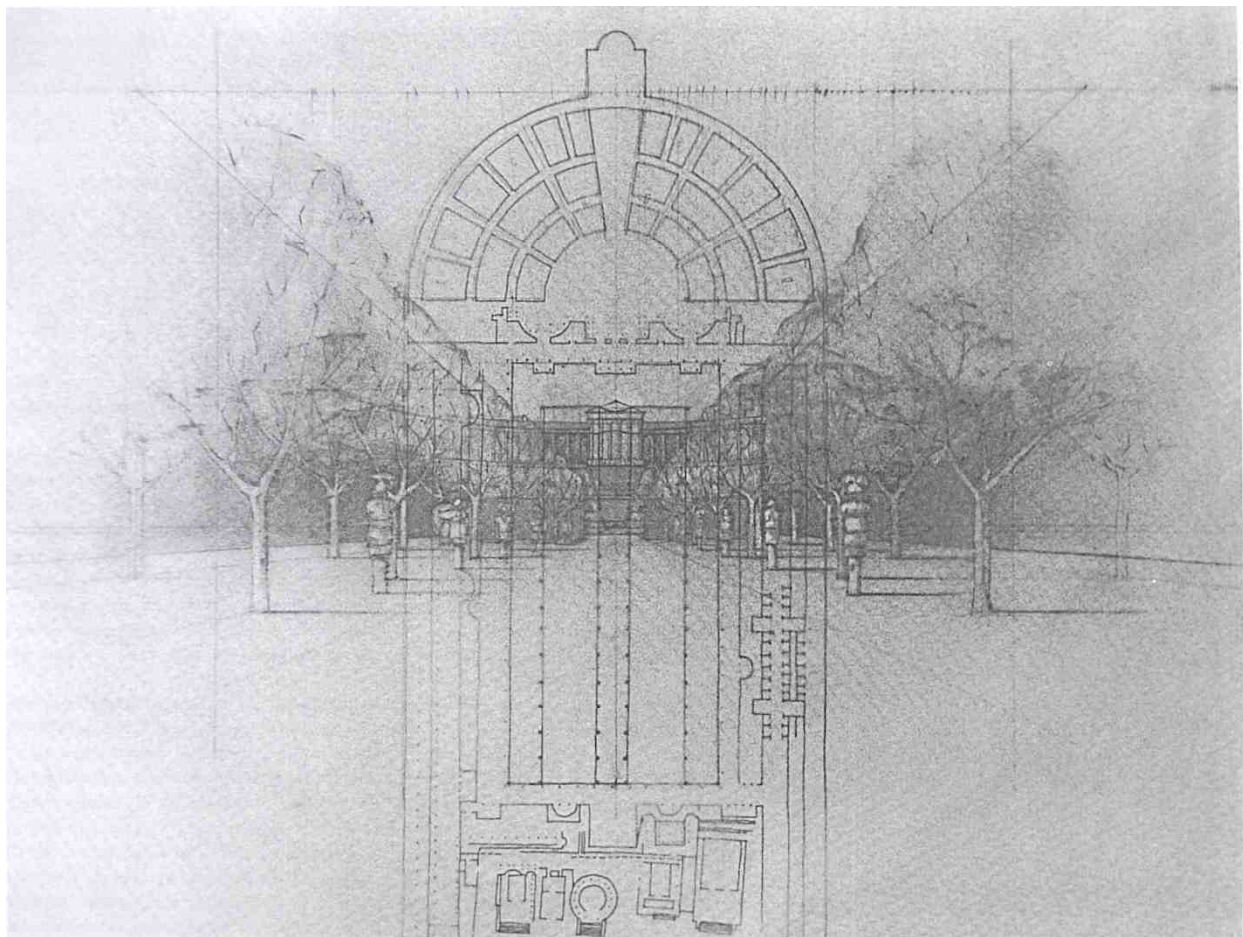


Figure 5.8. The theatre and portico in Gleason's reconstructions: view from the curia
Gleason (1994) 22



Figure 5.9. Wall-painting from the villa at Boscoreale depicting a pierced scaenae frons
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Anderson (1987-88) 23



Figure 5.10. Painted representation of a late Republican villa landscape
Wall-painting from the house of M. Lucretius Fronto, Pompeii: Mazzoleni (2004) 289

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aberson, M. (1994), *Temples votifs et butin de guerre dans la Rome republicaine* (Rome: Institut suisse de Rome) [= Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 26].
- Ahmed, S. (2006), *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press).
- Aktüre, Z. (2007), 'Typological studies of ancient theatre architecture: the tree vs. the rhizome model', in C. Fenwick, M. Wiggins and D. Wythe (eds), *TRAC 2007: Proceedings of the 7th Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2007* (Oxford: Oxbow), 89-107.
- Alcock, S. E. (2002), *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Allen, J. (2006), *Hostages and Hostage-Taking in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Allison, P. (1997), 'Artefact distribution and spatial function in Pompeian houses', in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press), 321-54.
- (2001), 'Using the material and written sources: turn of the millennium approaches to Roman domestic space', *AJA* 105: 181-208.
- Amici, C. M. (1999), 'Atrium Libertatis', in *LTUR*, 5:229.
- (2004-2005), 'Evoluzione architettonica del comizio a Roma', *RendPontAcc* 77: 351-79.
- Ammermann, A. J. (1990), 'On the origins of the Forum Romanum', *AJA* 94: 627-45.
- (1996), 'The Comitium in Rome from the beginning', *AJA* 100: 121-36.
- Ampolo, C. (1990), 'Roma e il mondo greco dal secolo VIII agli inizi del III a.C.' in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Roma e l'Italia: radices imperii* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller), 583-626.
- Anderson, J. C. (1997), *Roman Architecture and Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Anderson, M. (2005), 'Houses, GIS and the micro-topology of Pompeian domestic space', in J. Bruhn, B. Croxford and D. Grigoropoulos (eds), *TRAC 2004: Proceedings of the fourteenth annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (Durham 2004)* (Oxford: Oxbow), 144-56.
- Anderson, M. L. (1987-88), 'The villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* n.s. 45 (3): 17-36.
- Andreau, J. (1987), 'L'espace de la vie financière à Rome', in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 98], 157-74.
- Arvanitis, N. (ed.) (2010), *Il santuario di Vesta. La casa delle vestali e il tempio di Vesta, VIII sec. a.C.-64 d.C. Rapporto preliminare* (Pisa; Rome: Fabrizio Serra editore) [= Workshop di archeologia classica 3].
- Astin, A. E. (1958), *The Lex Annalis before Sulla* (Brussels: Latomus) [= Collection Latomus 32].
- Augé, M. (1995), *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso).
- Baehrens, A. (ed.) (1874), *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Leipzig: Teubner).

- Baldassarre, I. and Pugliese Carratelli, G. (eds) (1990-), *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana).
- Barker, R. G. (1968), *Ecological Psychology: Concepts and Methods for Studying the Environment of Human Behavior* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).
- Barton, C. (2002), 'Being in the eyes: shame and sight in ancient Rome', in D. Fredrick (ed.), *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power and the Body* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 216-35.
- Beacham, R. (1991), *The Roman Theatre and its Audience* (London: Routledge).
- (2007), 'Playing places: the temporary and the permanent', in M. McDonald and J. M. Walton (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 202-26.
- Beacham, R., Baker, D. and Blazeby, M. (2002), 'Mind the gap: virtual reality and theatre history', *Interdisciplinary Science Review* 27 (3): 230-40.
- Beacham, R. and Denard, H. (2003), 'The Pompey Project: digital research and virtual reconstruction of Rome's first theatre', *Computers and the Humanities* 37 (1): 129-39.
- Beard, M. (2007), *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press).
- Bell, A. J. E. (2004), *Spectacular Power in the Greek and Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Bergmann, B. A. (2001), 'Meanwhile, back in Italy...: creating landscapes of allusion', in S. Alcock, J. F. Cherry and J. Elsner (eds), *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press), 154-66.
- Bergmann, B. A. and Kondoleon, C. (eds) (1999), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art) [= *Studies in the History of Art* 56].
- Berrendonner, C. (2007), 'Verrès, les cités, les statues, et l'argent', in J. Dubouloz and S. Pittia (eds), *La Sicile de Cicéron: lectures des Verrines: actes du colloque de Paris, 19-20 mai 2006* (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté), 205-27.
- Bieber, M. (1961), *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Bjur, H. and Santillo Frizell, B. (eds) (2005), *Via Tiburtina: Space, Movement and Artefacts in the Urban Landscape* (Rome: Swedish Institute in Rome) [= *Swedish Institute in Rome. Projects and Seminars*, 4:1].
- Blazeby, M. (2005), 'The theatre of Pompey: a 3D jigsaw puzzle', *Didaskalia* 6 (2): 1-6.
- Boatwright, M. (1998), 'Luxuriant gardens and extravagant women: the *horti* of Rome between Republic and Empire', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti Romani. Atti del convegno internazionale Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider) [= *BCAR Suppl.* 6], 71-82.
- (2011), 'Women in the Forum Romanum', *TAPhA* 140: (forthcoming).
- Bodel, J. (1997), 'Monumental villas and villa monuments', *JRA* 10: 5-35.
- Boethius, A. (1978), *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Bon, S. and Jones, R. (eds) (1997), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii* (Oxford: Oxbow).
- Boni, G. (1900), 'Esplorazioni nel Comizio', *NSc*: 295-340.
- Bowdich, L. (2009), 'Palatine Apollo and the imperial gaze: Propertius 2.31 and 2.32', *AJPh* 130: 410-38.
- Boyd, M. J. (1953), 'The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia and their two temples', *PBSR* 21: 152-59.

- Bradford Churchill, J. (1999), 'Ex qua quod vellent facerent: Roman magistrates' authority over praeda and manubiae', *TAPhA* 129: 85-116.
- Brown, F. (1980), *Cosa: The Making of a Roman Town* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Brown, F., Richardson, E. H. and Richardson, L. (1993), *Cosa III: The Buildings of the Forum: Colony, Municipium and Village* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press) [= *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* vol. 37].
- Brunt, P. A. (1966), 'The Roman Mob', *P&P* 35: 3-27.
- Burke, S. (2000): *Delos: Investigating the Notion of Privacy within the Ancient Greek House*, diss., Leicester.
- Cadario, M. (1995), 'Le dediche d'opere d'arte e i trophaia "Ligures" nell'area Capitolina a Roma', *Quaderni del Centro di Studi Lunesi* n.s. 1: 83-120.
- Calcani, G. (1989), *Cavalieri di bronzo: la torma di Alessandro opera di Lisippo* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider).
- Callebat, L. (1989), 'Organisations et structures du *De Architectura* de Vitruve', in G. Herman and J. J. De Jong (eds), *Munus non ingratum: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture, Leiden 20-23 January 1987* (Leiden: Peeters) [= *BABesch* Suppl. 2], 34-38.
- Capogrossi Colognesi, L. (1999), 'Spazio privato e spazio pubblico', in S. Quilici Gigli (ed.), *La forma della città e del territorio: esperienze metodologiche e risultati a confronto. Atti dell'Incontro di studio - S. Maria Capua Vetere 27-28 novembre 1998* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider) [= *Atlante tematico di topografia antica, Supplemento 5*], 17-41.
- Carafa, P. (1998), *Il comizio di Roma dalle origini all'età di Augusto* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider).
- Carandini, A. (2004), *Palatino, Velia e Sacra Via. Paesaggi urbani attraverso il tempo* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo) [= *Workshop di archeologia classica, Quaderni 1*].
- Carandini, A. and Carafa, P. (2000), *Palatium e Sacra Via I. Prima delle mura, l'età delle mura e l'età case arcaiche* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafo e Zecca dello Stato) [= *Bollettino di Archeologia* 31-33 (1995)].
- Carandini, A. and Papi, E. (2005), *Palatium e Sacra Via II. L'età reppublicana e la prima età imperiale (fino III secolo a.C. - 64 d.C.)* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafo e Zecca dello Stato) [= *Bollettino di Archeologia* 59-60 (1999)].
- Carettoni, G., Colini, A., Cozza, L. and Gatti, G. (1960), *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma urbis Romae* (Rome).
- Casey, E. S. (1997), *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Cassola, F. (1962), *I gruppi politici romani nel III secolo a.C* (Trieste: Università degli studi).
- Castagnoli, F. (1946), 'Atrium Libertatis', *RendLinc* 8: 276-91.
- (1983), 'Porticus Philippi', in K. de Fine Licht (ed.), *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider) [= *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* Suppl. 10], 93-104.
- Castriota, D. (1997), 'Review of Sauron, 1987', *AJA* 101: 185-87.
- Catalano, P. (1978), 'Aspetti spaziali del sistema giuridico-religioso romano: mundus, templum, urbs, ager, Latium, Italia', in *ANRW*, II.16.1:440-553.

- Cecchini, M. G. (1985), 'Tempio di Divo Giulio. La zona prima della costruzione del tempio', in *Roma: archeologia nel centro I* (Rome: De Luca) [= *Lavori e studi di archeologia* 6], 67-72.
- Celani, A. (1998), *Opere d'arte greche nella Roma di Augusto* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane).
- Cicancio Rossetto, P. (1997), 'Indagini e restauri nel Campo Marzio meridionale: Teatro di Marcello, Portico d'Ottavia, Circo Flaminio, Porto Tiberino', *ArchLaz* 12: 93-101.
- Cima, M. and La Rocca, E. (eds) (1986), *Le tranquille dimore degli dei: la residenza imperiale degli Horti Lamiani. Catalogo della mostra a Roma, Palazzo dei conservatori, maggio-settembre 1986* (Rome: Cataloghi Marsillo).
- (eds) (1998), *Horti Romani. Atti del convegno internazionale Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider) [= BCAR Suppl. 6].
- Ciro Nappo, S. (1997), 'Urban transformation at Pompeii in the late 3rd and early 2nd c. B.C.' in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= JRA Suppl. 22], 91-120.
- Clark, A. (2007), *Divine Qualities: Cult and Community in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Clark, A. C. (1907), *Asconius Pedianus, Orationem Ciceronis quinque enarratio* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Clarke, J. R. (1991), *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 BC - AD 200: Ritual, Space and Decoration* (Berkeley: UC Press).
- Coarelli, F. (1971-2), 'Il complesso pompeiano del Campo Marzio e la sua decorazione scultorea', *RendPontAcc* 44: 99-122.
- (1972), 'Il sepolcro degli Scipioni', *DialA* 6: 36-106.
- (1983a), 'Architettura sacra e architettura privata nella tarda repubblica', in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la république romaine: Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome (Rome 2-4 décembre 1980)* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 66], 191-217.
- (1983b), *Il Foro Romano I: periodo arcaico* (Rome: Quasar).
- (1985), *Il Foro Romano II: periodo reppublicano e augusteo* (Rome: Quasar).
- (1987), *I santuari del Lazio in età Repubblicana* (Rome: Nuova Italia scientifica).
- (1988), *Il Foro Boario: dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* (Rome: Quasar).
- (1989), 'La casa dell'aristocrazia romana secondo Vitruvio', in H. Geertman and J. J. De Jong (eds), *Munus non ingratum. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture, Leiden 20-23 January 1987* (Leiden: Peeters) [= BABesch Suppl. 2], 178-87.
- (1993), 'Atrium Maenium', in *LTUR*, 1:135.
- (1997a), *Il Campo Marzio: dalle origini alla fine della repubblica* (Rome: Quasar).
- (1997b), 'Le théâtre de Pompée', *DHA* 23 (2): 105-24.
- (2001), 'Mundus, pomerium, ager: la concezione dello spazio a Roma', in G. Camassa, A. De Guio and F. Veronese (eds), *Paesaggi di potere: problemi e prospettive: atti del seminario Udine 16-17 maggio 1996* (Rome: Quasar).
- (2005), 'Pits and fora: a reply to Henrik Mouritsen', *PBSR* 73: 23-30.
- (2007), 'Aree aperte e concezione delle spazio a Roma', *Fragmenta* 1: 25-32.

- (2009), 'I luoghi del processo', in B. Santalucia (ed.), *La repressione criminale nella Roma repubblicana fra norma e persuasione* (Pavia: IUSS Press), 3-13.
- (forthcoming), 'Substructio et tabularium', *PBSR*.
- Cole, S. G. (2004), *Landscapes, Gender and Ritual Space: the Ancient Greek Experience* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Cooper, K. (2007), 'Closely watched households: visibility, exposure and private power in the Roman *domus*', *P&P* 197: 3-33.
- Cornell, T. (2000), 'The city of Rome in the Middle Republic (400-100 BC)', in J. Coulston and H. Dodge (eds), *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City* (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology), 42-60.
- Cornell, T. and Lomas, K. (1994), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London; New York: UCL Press).
- Crawford, M. H. (1989), '*Aut sacrom aut publicom*', in P. Birks (ed.), *New Perspectives in the Roman Law of Property* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 93-98.
- (ed.) (1996), *Roman statutes* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London) [= BICS Suppl. 64].
- Crema, L. (1959), *L'architettura romana* (Turin: Società editrice internazionale).
- D'Arms, J. (1998), 'Between public and private'. The *epulum publicum* and Caesar's *horti trans Tiberim*', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti Romani. Atti del convegno internazionale Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider) [= BCAR Suppl. 6], 33-43.
- Degrassi, A. (1947), *Inscriptiones Italiae* (vol. XIII.1, Rome: Libreria dello Stato).
- Denard, H. (2002), 'Virtuality and performativity: recreating Rome's Theatre of Pompey', *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 24 (1): 25-43.
- (2005), 'At the foot of Pompey's statue': reconstructing Rome's Theatrum Lapideum', in A. K. Bowman and M. Brady (eds), *Images and Artefacts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- DeRose Evans, J. (1990), 'Statues of the Kings and Brutus on the Capitoline', *Opuscula Romana* 18 (5): 99-105.
- (2009), 'Prostitutes in the portico of Pompey?: a reconsideration', *TAPhA* 139: 123-45.
- Detlefsen, O. (1860), 'De Comitio Romano', *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 59: 128-60.
- Deutsch, S. (2000), *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Dickmann, J.-A. (1997), 'The peristyle and the transformation of domestic space in hellenistic Pompeii', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= JRA Suppl. 22], 121-36.
- Döbler, C. (1999), *Politische Agitation und Öffentlichkeit in der späten Republik* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang).
- Drerup, H. (1959), 'Bildraum und Realraum in der römischen Arkitektur', *MDAI(R)* 56: 147-74.
- Drexler, H. (1957), 'Respublica', *Maia* 9: 247-81.
- (1958), 'Respublica', *Maia* 10: 2-37.
- Dwyer, E. (1991), 'The Pompeian atrium house in theory and in practice', in E. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 195-206.

- Eckstein, A. M. (1987), *Senate and General: Individual Decision-Making and Roman Foreign Relations 264-194 BC* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Edwards, C. (1993), *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- (1997), 'Unspeakable professions: public performance and prostitution in ancient Rome', in J. P. Hallett and M. B. Skinner (eds), *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 66-95.
- (2003), 'Incorporating the alien: the art of conquest', in C. Edwards and G. Woolf (eds), *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 44-70.
- Egelhaaf-Gaiser, U. (2007), 'Roman cult sites: a pragmatic approach', in J. Rüpke (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell), 205-21.
- Ellis, S. J. R. (2004), 'The distribution of bars at Pompeii: archaeological, spatial and viewshed analyses', *JRA* 17: 371-84.
- Elsner, J. (1995), *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- (2007), *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Ertel, C. and Freyberger, K. S. (2007), 'Nuove indagini sulla Basilica Aemilia nel Foro Romano', *ArchClass* 58: 109-42.
- Favro, D. G. (1994), 'Rome. The street triumphant: the urban image of Roman triumphal parades', in Z. Çelik, D. G. Favro and R. Ingersoll (eds), *Streets of the World: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 151-64.
- (1996), *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Fears, J. R. (1981), 'The cult of virtues and Roman imperial ideology', in *ANRW*, II.17.2:827-948.
- Feeney, D. C. (2007), *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Fentress, E. (2000), 'Introduction: Cosa and the idea of the city', in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City: Creations, Transformations and Failures: Proceedings of a Conference held at the American Academy in Rome to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14-16 May, 1998* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= *JRA Suppl.* 38], 9-24.
- (2003), *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press) [= *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome Suppl.* 2].
- Fentress, E. and Rabinowitz, A. (1996), 'Excavations at Cosa 1995: Atrium building V and a new Republican temple', *MAAR* 41: 221-36.
- Ferguson, Y. H. and Barry Jones, R. J. (eds) (2002), *Political Space: Frontiers of Change and Governance in a Globalizing World* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press).
- Foucault, M. (1977), *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (London: Allen Lane).
- (1980), 'The eye of power', in C. Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon).
- (1984), 'Space, knowledge and power', in P. Rainbow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon), 239-56.
- (1986), 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics* 16: 22-27.
- Fraenkel, E. (1922), *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin: Weidmann).
- Frakes, J. F. D. (2009), *Framing Public Life: The Portico in Roman Gaul* (Vienna: Phoibos).

- Frass, M. (2006), *Antike Römische Gärten* (Horn; Vienna: F. Berger u. Söhne) [= Grazer Beiträge Supplementband 10].
- Fredrick, D. (2002), 'Mapping penetrability in late Republican and early Imperial Rome', in Fredrick (ed.), *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power and the Body* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 236-64.
- Freyberger, K. S., Ertel, C., Lipps, J. and Bitterer, T. (2007), 'Neue Forschungen zur Basilica Emilia auf dem Forum Romanum. Ein Vorbericht', *MDAI(R)* 113: 493-552.
- Frézouls, E. (1983), 'La construction du theatrum lapideum et son contexte politique', in *Théâtre et spectacles dans l'antiquité: actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 5-7 novembre 1981* (Leiden: Brill), 194-214.
- Fridell Anter, K. and Weilguni, M. (2003), 'Public space in Roman Pompeii', in G. Malm (ed.), *Towards an Archaeology of Buildings: Contexts and Concepts* (Oxford: Oxbow), 31-39.
- Fuchs, M. (1982), 'Ein Musengruppe aus dem Pompeius-Theater', *RhM* 89: 69-82.
- Gaggiotti, M. (1985), 'Atrium Regium - basilica (Aemilia): una insospettata continuità storica e una chiave ideologica per la soluzione del problema dell'origine della basilica', *ARID* 14: 53-80.
- Gagliardo, M. C. and Packer, J. E. (2006), 'A new look at Pompey's theater: history, documentation and recent excavation', *AJA* 110: 93-122.
- George, M. (1997), '*Servus and domus*: the slave in the Roman house', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (Portsmouth, RI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*) [= JRA Suppl. 22], 15-24.
- Gernet, L. (1963), *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris: Maspero).
- Geuss, R. (2001), *Public Goods, Private Goods* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Ghey, E. (2005), 'Beyond the temple: blurring the boundaries of "sacred space"', in J. Bruhn, B. Croxford and D. Grigoropoulos (eds), *TRAC 2004: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (Durham 2004)* (Oxford: Oxbow), 109-18.
- Gianfrotta, P. A. (1985), 'Indagini nell'area della Porticus Philippi', in *Roma: Archeologia nel centro* (Rome: De Luca), 2:376-84.
- Gianfrotta, P. A., Polia, M. and Mazzuccato, O. (1968-69), 'Scavo nell'area del teatro Argentina', *BullCom* 81: 25-113.
- Gieryn, T. F. (2000), 'A space for place in sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 463-96.
- Giuliani, C. F. and Verduchi, P. (1987), *L'area centrale del Foro Romano* (Florence: L. S. Olschki).
- Gjerstad, E. (1941), 'Il Comizio Romano nell'età repubblicana', *OpArch* 2: 97-158.
- Gleason, K. L. (1994), '*Porticus Pompeiana*: a new perspective on the first public park of ancient Rome', *Journal of Garden Studies* 14: 13-27.
- Goold, G. P. (ed.) (1990), *Propertius, Elegies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Grahame, M. (1997), 'Public and private in the Roman house: investigating the social order of the Casa de Fauno', in Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (Portsmouth, RI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*) [= JRA Suppl. 22], 137-64.
- (2000), *Reading Space: Social Interaction and Identity in the Houses of Roman Pompeii: A Syntactical Approach to the Analysis and Interpretation of Built Space* (Oxford: Archaeopress) [= BAR international series 886].

- Granger, F. (1931), *Vitruvius, On Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Gratwick, A. (1982), 'Ennius' *Annales*', in E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (eds), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2:60-76.
- Grimal, P. (1943), *Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire: essai sur le naturalisme romain* (Paris: Boccard) [= Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 155].
- (1969), *Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire: essai sur le naturalisme romain* (Paris: Boccard) [= Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 155 (2nd edn; first published 1943)].
- Gros, P. (ed.) (1969), *Vitruvius, De l'architecture* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres).
- (1976a), *Aurea templa : recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 231].
- (1976b), 'Les premières générations d'architectes hellénistiques à Rome', in *Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heruigon: l'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine* (Rome: École française de Rome), 2:387-410.
- (1978), *Architecture et société à Rome et en Italie centro-méridionale aux deux derniers siècles de la République* (Brussels: Latomus) [= Collection Latomus 156].
- (1979), 'Les statues de Syracuse et les <<dieux>> de Tarente: le classe politique romaine devant l'art grec à la fin du IIIe siècle av. J.-C.' *REL* 57: 85-114.
- (1982), 'Le fonction symbolique des edifices theatraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome Augustéenne', in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 98], 319-43.
- (1994a), 'Le schéma vitruvien du théâtre latin et sa signification dans le système normatif du *De architectura*', *RA* 1: 57-80.
- (1994b), '*Munus non ingratum*: le traité vitruvien et la notion de service', in *Le projet de Vitruve: objet, destinataires et réception du De Architectura: Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome, l'Institut de recherche sur l'architecture antique du CNRS et la Scuola normale superiore de Pise (Rome, 26-27 mars 1993)* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 192], 75-90.
- (1996), *L'architecture romaine I. Les monuments publics* (Paris: Picard).
- (1999a), 'Porticus Pompei', in *LTUR*, IV:148-49.
- (1999b), 'Theatrum Pompei', in *LTUR*, V:35-38.
- (2010), 'Review of Lackner (2009)', *Gnomon* 82: 61-67.
- Gros, P. and Torelli, M. (1988), *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo romano* (Rome: Laterza).
- Gruen, E. S. (1974), *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press).
- (1990), *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Leiden: Brill).
- (1992), *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Guidobaldi, F. (2000), 'Le abitazioni private e l'urbanistica', in A. Giardina (ed.), *Storia di Roma dall' antichità a oggi I: Roma antica* (Rome; Bari: Laterza), 133-61.
- Guilhembet, J.-P. (1992), 'Sur un jeu de mots de Sextus Pompée: *domus* et propagande politique lors d'une épisode des guerres civiles', *MEFRA* 104: 787-816.
- Gunderson, E. (1996), 'The ideology of the arena', *ClAnt* 12: 113-51.

- Haagsma, M. J. (2010): *Domestic Economy and Social Organization in New Halos*, diss., Groningen.
- Halberstam, J. (2005), *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press).
- Hales, S. (2003), *The Roman House and Social Identity* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Hanson, J. (1959), *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Hartnett, J. (2008), 'Si quis hic sederit: streetside benches and urban society in Pompeii', *AJA* 112: 91-119.
- Harvey, D. (1989), *The Condition of Postmodernity: an Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Haselberger, L. (ed.) (2002), *Mapping Augustan Rome* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Architecture) [= JRA Suppl. 50].
- Heidegger, M. (1971), *Poetry, Language, Thought* (New York: Harper Colophon Books).
- Hénaff, M. and Strong, T. B. (2001), 'The conditions of public space: vision, speech and theatricality', in M. Hénaff and T. B. Strong (eds), *Public Space and Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 1-31.
- Heyworth, S. J. (ed.) (2007), *Sexti Properti Elegos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hickson Hahn, F. (2004), 'Ut diis immortalibus honos habeatur: Livy's representation of gratitude to the gods', in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke and S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literature in Ancient Rome held at Stanford University in February 2002* (Munich: F. Steiner) [= Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 10], 57-75.
- Hillier, B. and Hanson, J. (1984), *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Hirst, P. (2005), *Space and Power: Politics, War and Architecture* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press).
- Hölkeskamp, K.-J. (1995), 'Oratoris maxima scaena : Reden vor dem Volk in der politischen Kultur der Republik', in M. Jehne (ed.), *Demokratie in Rom? Die Rolle des Volkes in der Politik der römischen Republik* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner) [= Historia Einzelschriften 96], 11-49.
- (2006), 'History and collective memory in the Middle Republic', in N. S. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx (eds), *A Companion to the Roman Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell), 478-95.
- Hölscher, T. (1978), 'Die Anfänge der römischen Repräsentationskunst', *MDAI(R)* 85: 315-57.
- (1990), 'Römische Nobiles und hellenistische Herrscher', in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), 73-84.
- Horden, P. and Purcell, N. (2000), *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Malden: Blackwell).
- Huelsen, C. (1905), 'Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum 1902-1904', *MDAI(R)* 20: 1-119.
- Jaeger, M. (1997), *Livy's Written Rome* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Jashemski, W. F. (1979-93), *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, NY: A. D. Caratzas).

- Jocelyn, H. D. (ed.) (1967), *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Jolivet, V. (1983), 'Les jardins de Pompée: nouvelles hypothèses', *MEFRA* 95: 115-38.
- (1995), 'Domus Pompeiorum', in *LTUR*, 2:159-60.
- (1996), 'Horti Pompeiani', in *LTUR*, 3:78-79.
- Jones, R. and Schoonhoven, A. (2003), 'The story of a street: the Vicolo di Narciso and the urban development of Pompeii', in P. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Towns: Studies in Honour of John S. Wachter* (Oxford: Oxbow), 128-36.
- Kaster, R. A. (2005), *Emotion, Restraint and Community in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Kellum, B. (1999), 'The spectacle of the street', in B. A. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (eds), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art) [= *Studies in the History of Art* 56], 282-99.
- Kohane, P. and Hill, M. (2001), 'The eclipse of a commonplace idea: decorum in architectural theory', *arg: Architectural Research Quarterly* 5 (1): 63-77.
- Kraus, C. S. (ed.) (1994), *Livy, Ab urbe condita VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kuttner, A. L. (1995), 'Republican Rome looks at Pergamon', *HSCPh* 97: 157-78.
- (1999a), 'Culture and history at Pompey's museum', *TAPhA* 129: 343-73.
- (1999b), 'Hellenistic images of spectacle, from Alexander to Augustus', in B. A. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (eds), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art), 96-123.
- La Penna, A. (1989), 'La legittimazione del lusso privato da Ennio a Vitruvio', *Maia* 41: 3-34.
- La Rocca, E. (1986), 'Il lusso come espressione di potere', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Le tranquille dimore degli dei: la residenza imperiale degli Horti Lamiani. Catalogo della mostra a Roma, Palazzo dei conservatori, maggio-settembre 1986* (Rome: Cataloghi Marsillo), 3-35.
- (1988), 'Pompeo Magno "Novus Neptunus"', *BullCom* 92: 265-92.
- (1990), 'Linguaggio artistico e ideologia politica a Roma in età repubblicana', in *Roma e l'Italia: radici imperii* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller), 289-495.
- (2001), 'La nuova immagine dei fori imperiali', *MDAI(R)* 108: 171-213.
- (2006), 'Passeggiando intorno ai Fori Imperiali', in L. Haselberger and J. Humphrey (eds), *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation - Visualization - Imagination* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= *JRA Suppl.* 61], 120-43.
- Lackner, E.-M. (2009), *Republikanische Fora* (Munich: Bering & Brinkmann).
- Landes, J. B. (1998), *Feminism, the Public and the Private* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press).
- Langlands, R. (2006), *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Laurence, R. (1994), *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society* (London; New York: Routledge).
- (1995), 'The organization of space in Pompeii', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London: UCL Press), 63-78.
- (1997), 'Space and Text', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= *JRA Suppl.* 22], 7-14.

- (2007), *Roman Pompeii: space and society* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge) [= Laurence (1994) second edition].
- Laurence, R. and Newsome, D. J. (eds) (forthcoming 2011), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- (eds) (forthcoming), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Laurence, R. and Wallace-Hadrill, A. (eds) (1997), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= JRA Suppl. 22].
- Lauter, H. (1980-81), 'Porticus Metelli - Porticus Octaviae. Die baulichen Reste', *BullCom* 87: 37-46.
- Lawson, B. (2001), *The Language of Space* (Oxford; Boston: Architectural Press).
- Leach, E. W. (1988), *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- (1997), 'Oecus on Ibycus: investigating the vocabulary of the Roman house', in S. Bon and R. Jones (eds), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii* (Oxford: Oxbow), 50-72.
- (2004), *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Leen, A. (1991), 'Cicero and the rhetoric of art', *AJPh* 112: 229-45.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974), *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Editions Anthropos).
- (1991), *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Lindsay, W. M. (ed.) (1997), *Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome* (Leipzig: Teubner).
- (ed.) (2003), *Nonius Marcellus. De Compendiosa Doctrina* (Leipzig: Teubner).
- Ling, R. (1990), 'A stranger in town: finding the way in the ancient city', *G&R* 37: 204-14.
- (2005), 'Street fountains and house fronts at Pompeii', in S. T. A. M. Mols and E. M. Moorman (eds), *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele* (Naples: Electa) [= Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 9], 271-76.
- Lintott, A. W. (1968), *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- (1972), 'Imperial expansion and moral decline in the Roman Republic', *Historia* 21: 626-38.
- (1974), 'Cicero and Milo', *JRS* 64: 62-78.
- (1990), 'Electoral bribery in the Roman Republic', *JRS* 80: 1-16.
- (1992), *Judicial Reform and Land Reform in the Roman Republic: A New Edition, with Translation and Commentary, of the Laws from Urbino* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- (2008), 'How high a priority did public order and public security have under the Republic?' in H. van Wees and e. al. (eds), *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt), 205-26.
- Longfellow, B. (2011), *Roman Imperialism and Civic Patronage: Form, Meaning and Ideology in Monumental Fountain Complexes* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Lugli, G. (1946), *Roma antica: il centro monumentale* (Rome: G. Bardi).
- Lyasse, E. (2007), 'Les rapports entre les notions de res publica et civitas dans la conception romaine de la cité et de l'Empire', *Latomus* 66: 580-605.

- Lynch, K. (1960), *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA; London: M.I.T. Press).
- Macaulay-Lewis, E. (2008a): *The City in Motion: Movement and Space in Roman Architecture and Gardens from 100 BC to AD 150*, diss., Oxford.
- (2008b), 'The fruits of victory: the generals, plants and power in the Roman world', in E. Bragg, L. I. Hau and E. Macaulay-Lewis (eds), *"Beyond the battlefields of the Graeco-Roman world". Proceedings from an interdisciplinary postgraduate conference at the Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford, UK, July 2-4 2006* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), 205-25.
- MacDougall, E. B. (ed.) (1987), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks) [= Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 10].
- MacDougall, E. B. and Jashemski, W. F. (eds) (1981), *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks) [= Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 7].
- Marabini Moevs, M. T. (1981), 'Le Muse di Ambracia', *BdA* 12: 1-58.
- Marchetti-Longhi, G. (1970-71), 'Gli scavi dell'area sacra del Largo Argentina. Evoluzione e trasformazione dell'area e dei templi dall'età imperiale all'inizio del Medio Evo', *BullCom* 82: 7-62.
- Marshall, B. A. (1975), 'The date of delivery of Cicero's *In Pisonem*', *CQ* n.s.25 (1): 88-93.
- Martin, R. (1951), *Recherches sur l'agora grecque. Études d'histoire et d'architecture urbaines* (Paris: Boccard) [= Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 174].
- (1972), 'Agora et Forum', *MEFRA* 84: 903-33.
- Martina, M. (1981), 'Aedes Herculis Musarum', *DialA* 3: 49-68.
- Marx, F. (ed.) (1904), *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae* (Leipzig: Teubner).
- Maslowski, T. (1976), 'Domus Milonis oppugnata', *Eos* 64: 23-30.
- Masterson, M. (2004), 'Status, pay and pleasure in the *De Architectura* of Vitruvius', *AJPh* 125: 387-416.
- Maurenbrecher, B. (ed.) (1891-92), *C. Sallusti Crispi Historiarum reliquiae* (Leipzig: Teubner).
- Mazzoleni, D. (2004), *Domus: Wall Painting in the Roman House* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum).
- McDonnell, M. (2006), 'Roman Aesthetics and the Spoils of Syracuse', in K. Welch and S. Dillon (eds), *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 68-90.
- McGinn, T. A. (2002), 'Pompeian brothels and social history', in *JRA Suppl. 47* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology), 7-46.
- McGushin, P. (ed.) (1994), *Sallust, The Histories II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Meadows, A. and Williams, J. (2001), 'Moneta and the monuments: coinage and politics in Republican Rome', *JRS* 91: 27-49.
- Meneghini, R. (2001), 'Il foro di Traiano', *MDAI(R)* 108: 245-68.
- Meneghini, R. and Santangeli Valenzani, R. (eds) (2007), *I Fori Imperiali: Gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991-2007)* (Rome: Viviani Editore).
- Millar, F. (1998), *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Millett, P. (1998), 'Encounters in the Agora', in P. Cartledge, P. Millett and S. Von Reden (eds), *Kosmos: Essays in Order, Conflict and Community in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 203-28.

- Milnor, K. (2005), *Gender, Domesticity and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Moatti, C. (2001), 'Respublica et droit dans la Rome républicaine', *Melanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: moyen âge* 113 (2): 811-37.
- Mommsen, T. (1845), 'De Comitio Romano, Curia Ianique templo', *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 44: 288-318.
- (ed.) (1892), *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII.* (Berlin: Wiedmann) [= Monumenta Germaniae Historiae: Auctores Antiquissimi 9].
- Monterroso Checa, A. (2006), 'Theatrum Pompei. Forma y arquitectura', *Romula* 5: 27-58.
- (2007), 'Forma Urbis y Theatrum Pompei. El fragmento 39F de la Planta Marmórea Severiana', *BullCom* 107: 125-44.
- Morel, J.-P. (1987), 'La topographie de l'artisanat et du commerce dans la Rome antique', in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.C.): actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome (Rome, 8-12 mai 1985)* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 98], 127-55.
- Morstein-Marx, R. (2004), *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mouritsen, H. (2001), *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- (2004), 'Pits and politics: interpreting colonial fora in Republican Italy', *PBSR* 72: 37-67.
- Neudecker, R. (2011), 'The Forum of Augustus in Rome: law and order in sacred spaces', in F. de Angelis (ed.), *Spaces of Justice in the Roman World* (Leiden; Boston: Brill), 161-88.
- Nevett, L. (1997), 'Perceptions of domestic space in Roman Italy', in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 281-98.
- Newsome, D. J. (2009), 'Traffic, space and legal change around the Casa del Marinaio at Pompeii (VII 15.1-2)', *BABesch* 84: 121-42.
- (2010): *The Forum and the City: Rethinking Centrality in Rome and Pompeii (3rd Century B.C. - 2nd Century A.D.)*, diss., Birmingham.
- (forthcoming), 'Movement and fora: from shortcuts to obstacles', in R. Laurence and D. J. Newsome (eds), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Nicolet, C. (1980), *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- (1991), *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Nielsen, I. (1993), 'Castor, Aedes, Templum', in *LTUR*, 1:242-45.
- (2002), *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama: A Study in Regional Development and Religious Interchange between East and West in Antiquity* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press).
- (2007), 'Cultic theatres and ritual drama in ancient Rome', in A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker (eds), *Res bene gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby* (Rome: Quasar) [= *LTUR Supplementum IV*], 239-53.
- Nielsen, I. and Poulsen, B. (eds) (1992), *The Temple of Castor and Pollux I* (Rome: De Luca).
- Nippel, W. (1995), *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Niranjana, S. (2001), *Gender and Space: Femininity, Sexualization and the Female Body* (New Delhi; London: Sage).
- Nisbet, R. G. M. (1961), *Marcus Tullius Cicero: In L. Calpurnium Pisonem oratio. Edited with text, introduction and commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Nünnerich-Asmus, A. (1994), *Basilika und Portikus: Die Architektur der Säulenhallen als Ausdruck gewandelter Urbanität in später Republik und früher Kaiserzeit* (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau).
- O'Sullivan, T. (2006), 'The mind in motion: walking and metaphorical travel in the Roman villa', *CPh* 101 (2): 133-52.
- Orlin, E. M. (1997), *Temples, Religion, and Politics in the Roman Republic* (Leiden: Brill).
- Östenberg, I. (2003): *Staging the World: Rome and the Other in the Triumphal Procession*, diss., Lund.
- Ostrowski, J. A. (1990), *Les personnifications des provinces dans l'art romain* (Warsaw: Éditions Comer).
- Packer, J. E. (2007), 'Drawing Pompey: three centuries of documenting Pompey's theater', in A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker (eds), *Res bene gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby* (Rome: Quasar) [= *LTUR Supplementum IV*], 257-78.
- Packer, J. E., Burge, J. and Gagliardo, M. C. (2007), 'Looking again at Pompey's theater: the 2005 excavation season', *AJA* 111: 505-22.
- Palmer, R. E. A. (1968), *The King and the Comitium: A Study of Rome's Oldest Public Document* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner) [= *Historia Einzelschriften* 11].
- (1990), 'Studies of the Northern Campus Martius in ancient Rome', *TAPhA* 80: 1-64.
- Palombi, D. (1993), 'Atrium Publicum in Capitolio', in *LTUR*, 1:136-7.
- (1995), 'Felicitas, Aedes', in *LTUR*, 2:244-45.
- (1996a), 'Honoris et Virtutis, aedes Mariana', in *LTUR*, 3:33-35.
- (1996b), 'Honos et Virtus, aedes', in *LTUR*, 3:31-33.
- (1997), *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino: Velia, Carinae, Fagatal: storia urbana di tre quartieri di Roma antica* (Rome: Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte) [= *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte. Supplemento* 1].
- Pape, M. (1975): *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom: von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit*, diss., Hamburg.
- Papi, E. (1998), 'Domus est quae nulli villarum mearum cedit' (Cic. Fam. 6,18,5). Osservazione sulle residenze del Palatino alla metà del I secolo a.C.' in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti Romani* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider), 45-70.
- (1999), 'Tabernae Argentariae', in *LTUR*, 5:10-12.
- (2002), 'La turba inopia: artigiani e commercianti del Foro Romano e dintorni (I sec. a.C - 64 d.C.)', *JRA* 15: 45-62.
- Parker, H. N. (1999), 'The observed of all observers: spectacle, applause and cultural poetics in the Roman theater audience', in B. A. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (eds), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art) [= *Studies in the History of Art* 56], 162-79.
- (2005), 'Why were the Vestals virgins? Or the chastity of women and the safety of the Roman state', *AJPh* 124: 563-601.

- Parkins, H. (1997), 'The 'consumer city' domesticated? The Roman city in élite economic strategies', in H. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism. Beyond the Consumer City* (London: Routledge), 83-111.
- Pateman, C. (1983), 'Feminist critiques of the public/private dichotomy', in Benn and Gaus (eds), *Public and Private in Social Life* (London: Croom Helm).
- (1989), *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Patterson, J. R. (1992), 'The city of Rome: from Republic to Empire', *JRS* 82: 186-215.
- Penner, B., Borden, I. and Rendell, J. (eds) (2000), *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge).
- Pietilä-Castrén, L. (1982), 'New Men and the Greek war booty in the second century BC', *Arctos* 16: 121-43.
- (1987), *Magnificentia publica: The Victory Monuments of the Roman Generals in the Era of the Punic Wars* (Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters) [= Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 84].
- Pina Polo, F. (1996), *Contra arma verbis: der Redner vor dem Volk in der späten römischen Republik* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner) [= Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 22].
- Pirson, F. (1997), 'Rented accommodation at Pompeii: the evidence of the *Insula Arriana Polliana* VI.6', in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= JRA Suppl. 22], 165-81.
- Pisani Sartorio, G. (1995), 'Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes', in *LTUR*, 2:281-85.
- Platner, S. B. and Ashby, T. (1929), *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press).
- Pollitt, J. J. (1978), 'The impact of Greek art on Rome', *TAPhA* 108: 155-74.
- Purcell, N. (1987), 'Town in country and country in town', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (Washington D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks) [= Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 10], 185-203.
- (1989), 'Rediscovering the Roman forum', *JRA* 2: 156-66.
- (1993), 'Atrium Libertatis', *PBSR* 61: 125-55.
- (1995), 'Forum Romanum (the Republican period)', in *LTUR*, 2:325-36.
- (2007), 'Urban spaces and central places: the Roman world', in S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds), *Classical Archaeology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell), 182-202.
- Puwar, N. (2004), *Space invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies out of Place* (Oxford: Berg).
- Rapoport, A. (1990), *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press).
- (1994), 'A critical look at the concept 'place'', *National Geographic Journal of India* 40: 4-19.
- Rawson, B. and Weaver, P. (eds) (1997), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press).
- Rawson, E. (1975), 'Caesar's heritage: Hellenistic kings and their Roman equals', *JRS* 65: 148-59.
- Rendell, J. (2002), *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (London: Athlone Press).
- Ribbeck, O. (ed.) (1897-98), *Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta* (Leipzig: Teubner). 3rd edn.

- Richardson, L. (1977), 'Hercules Musarum and the Portics Philippi in Rome', *AJA* 81: 355-61.
- (1978), 'Honos et Virtus and the Sacra Via', *AJA* 82: 240-46.
- (1987), 'A note on the architecture of the Theatrum Pompei', *AJA* 91: 123-26.
- (1992), *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Rickman, G. (1980), *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Ridgway, B. S. (1990), *Hellenistic Sculpture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Rieger, A.-K. (2004), *Heiligtümer in Ostia* (Munich: Dr. Friedrich Pfeil).
- Riggsby, A. M. (1997), 'Public' and 'private' in Roman culture', *JRA* 10: 36-56.
- (1999), 'Integrating public and private', *JRA* 12: 555-59.
- Rilinger, R. (1997), 'Domus und Res Publica. Die politisch-soziale Bedeutung des aristokratischen 'Hauses' in der späten römischen Republik', in A. Winterling (ed.), *Zwischen "Haus" und "Stadt": Antike Höfe im Vergleich* (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag), 73-90.
- Rizzo, S. (2001), 'Indagini nei Fori Imperiali', *MDAI(R)* 108: 215-44.
- Robert, R. (1995), 'Immensa potentia artis: prestige et statut des oeuvres d'art à Rome à la fin de la république et au début de l'empire', *RA* 2: 291-305.
- (2007), 'Ambiguité du collectionisme de Verrès', in J. Dubouloz and S. Pittia (eds), *La Sicile de Cicéron: Lectures des Verrines: actes du colloque de Paris, 19-20 mai 2006* (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté), 15-34.
- Roller, M. B. (2010), 'Demolished houses, monumentality and memory in Roman culture', *ClAnt* 29: 117-80.
- Roma: archeologia nel centro* (1985), (Rome: De Luca) [= *Lavori e studi di archeologia* 6].
- Romanelli, P. (1984), 'Ricerche intorno ai monumenti del 'Niger Lapis' al Foro Romano (1955)', *Monumenti Antichi* s. misc. 3 (1): 1-37.
- Romano, E. (1994), 'Dal *de Officiis* a Vitruvio, da Vitruvio a Orazio: il dibattito sull'uso edilizio', in *Le projet de Vitruve. Objet, destinataires et réception du de Architectura. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome, l'Institut de recherche sur l'architecture antique du CNRS et la Scuola normale superiore di Pise (Rome, 26-27 mars 1993)* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= *Collection de l'École française de Rome* 192].
- Ruebel, J. S. (1979), 'The trial of Milo in 52 B.C.: a chronological study', *TAPhA* 109: 231-49.
- Rüpke, J. (2006), 'Ennius's *Fasti* in Fulvius's temple: Greek rationality and Roman tradition', *Arethusa* 39: 489-512.
- Rykwert, J. (1976), *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Saliou, C. (1999), 'Les trottoirs de Pompéi: une première approche', *BABesch* 74: 161-218.
- Sauron, G. (1987), 'Le complexe pompéien du champ de Mars: nouveauté urbanistique à finalité idéologique', in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*. *Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= *Collection de l'École française de Rome* 98], 457-73.

- (1994), *Quis deum?: l'expression plastique des idéologies politiques et religieuses à Rome à la fin de la République et au début du principat* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 285].
- Scammuzzi, U. (1963), 'Aedes Tempestatum', *RivStudClass* 11: 98-100.
- Schofield, M. (1995), 'Cicero's definition of the Res Publica', in J. G. F. Powell (ed.), *Cicero the Philosopher* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 63-83.
- Schoonhoven, A. (2006), *Metrology and Meaning in Pompeii: The Urban Arrangement of Regio VI* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider).
- Scott, R. T. (ed.) (2009), *Excavations in the Area Sacra of Vesta* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Seamon, D. (2000), 'A way of seeing people and place: phenomenology in environment-behaviour research', in S. Wapner, J. Demick, T. Yamamoto and H. Minami (eds), *Theoretical Perspectives in Environment-Behaviour Research* (New York: Plenum), 157-78.
- Sear, F. (1982), *Roman Architecture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- (1993), 'The scaenae frons of the theatre of Pompey', *AJA* 97: 687-701.
- (2006), *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Sewell, J. (2009), *The Formation of Roman Urbanism, 338-200 BC: Between Contemporary Foreign Influence and Roman Tradition* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology) [= JRA Suppl. 79].
- Shatzman, I. (1972), 'The Roman general's authority over booty', *Historia* 21: 177-205.
- Sherwin-White, A. N. (1982), 'The *lex repetundarum* and the political ideas of Gaius Gracchus', *JRS* 72: 18-31.
- Skutsch, O. (1968), *Studia Enniana* (London: Athlone).
- Smith, C. J. (1996), *Early Rome and Latium: Economy and Society c.1000 to 500 BC* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press).
- Smith, P. L. (1965), "'Lentus in Umbra": a symbolic pattern in Vergil's "Eclogues"', *Phoenix* 19 (4): 298-304.
- Soja, E. W. (1989), *Postmodern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso).
- Spencer, D. (2010), *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) [= Greece and Rome New Surveys in the Classics No. 39].
- Stark, R. (1967), 'Res publica', in H. Opperman (ed.), *Römische Wortbegriffe* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 42-110.
- Steinby, E. M. (1987), 'Il lato orientale del Foro Romano', *Arctos* 21: 139-84.
- (1988), 'Il lato orientale del Foro', *ArchLaz* 9: 32-36.
- (2003), 'Basilica Aemilia', in *LTUR*, 1:167-8.
- Stewart, P. (2003), *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Stöger, H. (2008), 'Roman Ostia: Space syntax and the domestication of space', in A. Posluschny, K. Lambers and I. Herzog (eds), *Layers of Perception: Proceedings of the 35th International Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology (CAA), Berlin, Germany, April 2-6, 2007* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt), 322-27.
- Strong, D. E. (1968), 'The administration of public building in Rome during the late Republic and early empire', *BICS* 15 (1): 97-109.
- (1973), 'Roman Museums', in D. E. Strong (ed.), *Archaeological Theory and Practice* (London; New York: Seminar), 247-64.

- Tagliamonte, G. (1995), 'Forum Romanum (fino alla prima età repubblicana)', in *LTUR*, 3:313-25.
- Tanner, J. (2000), 'Portraits, power and patronage in the late Roman Republic', *JRS* 90: 18-50.
- Tarpin, M. (2000), 'Le butin sonnante et rébuchant dans la Rome républicaine', in J. Andreau, P. Briant and R. Descat (eds), *Economie antique. La guerre dans les économies antiques* (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Musée archéologique départemental) [= Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire 5], 365-76.
- Temelini, M. A. (2006), 'Pompey's politics and the presentation of his theatre-temple complex, 61-52 BCE', *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 7: 1-14.
- Thèbert, Y. (1987), 'Private life and domestic architecture in Roman Africa', in Veyne (ed.), *A History of Private Life I: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 312-409.
- Theodorakopoulos, E. (1997), 'Closure: the book of Virgil', in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 155-65.
- Torelli, M. (1995), *Studies in the Romanization of Italy* (Alberta: University of Alberta Press).
- (2006), 'The topography and archaeology of Republican Rome', in N. S. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx (eds), *A Companion to the Roman Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell), 81-101.
- Tortorici, E. (1993), 'Atria Licinia', in *LTUR*, 1:132.
- Treggiari, S. (2002), *Roman Social History* (London: Routledge).
- Tuan, Y.-f. (1977), *Space and place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Tucci, P. L. (2005), "'Where high Moneta leads her steps sublime". The "Tabularium" and the Temple of Iuno Moneta', *JRA* 18: 6-33.
- Vaathera, J. (1993), 'On the religious nature of the place of assembly', in U. Paananen (ed.), *Senatus Populusque Romanus: Studies in Roman Republican Legislation* (Helsinki: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae) [= Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, v. 13], 97-116.
- Vahlen, J. (ed.) (1967), *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* (Leipzig: Teubner). 2nd edn.
- Vasaly, A. (1993), *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Vernant, J.-P. (1969), *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris: Maspero).
- Virlouvet, C. (1987), 'La topographie des distributions frumentaires avant la création de la *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*', in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 98], 175-89.
- Viscogliosi, A. (1996a), 'Hercules Musarum, aedes', in *LTUR*, 3:17-19.
- (1996b), 'Iuppiter Stator, aedes ad Circum', in *LTUR*, 3:157-59.
- (1999a), 'Porticus Metelli', in *LTUR*, 4:130-32.
- (1999b), 'Porticus Octaviae', in *LTUR*, 4:141-45.
- von Stackelberg, K. T. (2009a), 'Performative space and garden transgressions in Tacitus' death of Messalina', *AJPh* 130: 595-624.
- (2009b), *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Walkowitz, J. R. (1992), *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago).
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1988), 'The social structure of the Roman house', *PBSR* 56: 43-97.

- (1994a), *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- (1994b), 'Public honour and private shame: the urban texture of Pompeii', in T. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London/New York: University College London Press), 39-62.
- (1996), 'Engendering the Roman house', in D. E. E. Kleiner and S. B. Matherson (eds), *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery), 104-15.
- (1998), 'Horti and Hellenization', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti Romani. Atti del convegno internazionale Roma, 4-6 maggio 1995* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider) [= BCAR Suppl. 6], 1-12.
- (2008), *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Ward-Perkins, J. B. (1981), *Roman Imperial Architecture* (New York: Penguin).
- Warf, B. and Arias, S. (2009), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London; New York: Routledge).
- Waurick, G. (1975), 'Kunstraub der Römer. Untersuchungen zu den Anfängen anhand der Inschriften', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 22: 1-46.
- Welch, K. E. (2003), 'A new view of the origins of the Basilica: the Atrium Regium, Graecostasis and Roman diplomacy', *JRA* 16: 5-34.
- (2006a), 'Art and architecture in the Roman Republic', in N. S. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx (eds), *A Companion to the Roman Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell), 496-542.
- (2006b), 'Domi Militariaeque: Roman domestic aesthetics and war booty in the Republic', in S. Dillon and K. Welch (eds), *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 91-161.
- (2007), *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Welin, E. (1953), *Studien zu Topographie des Forum Romanum* (Lund: Gleerup) [= Skrifter Utgivna Av Svenska Institutet i Rom. 80; 6].
- Wilson, E. (1991), *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (London; Berkeley: Virago; University of California Press).
- Wilson, R. J. A. (2005), 'On the origins of the Roman civic basilica: the Egyptian connection', in S. T. A. M. Mols and E. M. Moorman (eds), *Omni pede stare: saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoria di Jos de Waele* (Naples: Electa) [= Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 9], 129-39.
- Wiseman, T. P. (1979), 'Topography and rhetoric: the trial of Manlius', *Historia* 28: 32-50.
- (1987), 'Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo: the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the late Republic and early Empire', in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 98], 394-413.
- Yavetz, Z. (1958), 'The living conditions of the urban plebs in Republican Rome', *Latomus* 17: 500-17.
- Zaccaria Ruggiu, A. (1990), 'L'intervento pubblico nella regolamentazione dello spazio privato. Problemi giuridici', *Rivista di Archeologia*: 77-94.
- (1995), *Spazio privato e spazio pubblico nella città romana* (Rome: École française de Rome) [= Collection de l'École française de Rome 210].

- Zanker, P. (1979), 'Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit', in H. Flashar (ed.), *Le Classicisme à Rome aux Iers siècles avant et après J.-C.* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt) [= Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 25], 283-314.
- (1988), *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- (1998), *Pompeii: Public and Private Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- (2008), 'L'arte greca a Roma', in *La forza del bello. L'arte greca conquista l'Italia* (Milan: Skira).
- Zevi, B. (1991), 'L'Atrium Regium', *ArchClass* 43: 475-87.
- Zimmermann, M. (ed.) (2009), *Extreme Formen von Gewalt in Bild und Text des Altertums* (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag).
- Ziolkowski, A. (1992), *The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider).