

SURVEY ARTICLE

THE CITY OF ROME: FROM REPUBLIC TO EMPIRE*

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This survey article — the first in a new series to be published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* — is an attempt to review developments in the study of the city of Rome since 1980: a decade which can reasonably be seen as one of the most exciting in this field for a century, in terms not only of the archaeological discoveries and other related research taking place in Rome itself,¹ but also of the increasing integration of the topographical and monumental history of the city of Rome into what might be termed 'mainstream' Roman history.

A visible sign of the upsurge in archaeological activity in Rome over the last decade has been the shrouding of many of the city's most impressive monuments in scaffolding and green netting, now largely removed. This was an initiative taken by the Superintendent of Antiquities at Rome, La Regina, arising out of increasing concern over damage to the (predominantly marble) monuments of imperial Rome, which were gradually being eaten away by atmospheric pollution; matters were brought to a head by a survey undertaken after a small earthquake in 1979, which revealed very serious deterioration in the condition of the monuments. Meanwhile, a special law, passed by the Italian government as no. 92 of 23 March 1981, provided the finance for a programme of conservation, study and publication of these monuments, and a series of major excavations in the centre of the city, as well as more general provisions for the *valorizzazione* of Rome's archaeological heritage.²

Close scrutiny of the familiar monuments of the imperial city such as the Column of Trajan, the Arch of Septimius Severus, and the Temple of Saturn has provided many remarkable new insights. Trajan's Column (and many other monuments) are now known to have been painted in antiquity with a *scialbatura*, a mysterious liquid containing calcium oxalate as its active ingredient, perhaps based on a mixture of milk and chalk, which preserved the surface of the marble;³ the Arch of Severus is now known to have been transformed in the mediaeval period into a fortress, complete with turrets;⁴ the Temple of Saturn as we now see it, dating from a restoration between A.D. 360 and 380, is shown to be built almost entirely from re-used columns, bases and cornices, taken not only from Munatius Plancus' temple, built in the first century B.C., but also from an assortment of other monuments of Hadrianic and Severan date.⁵ More generally, close examination of the monuments has revealed details of the working methods used by the Roman craftsmen (as on the Temple of Hadrian, now built into Rome's Borsa or stock-exchange)⁶ and allowed chemical analyses to be made of the marbles in the monuments, thus enabling archaeologists to identify the areas which provided the stone.⁷

In addition to the study of the standing monuments, new excavations have been taking place in many areas of the city, most notably in the central archaeological area bounded by the Forum, the Palatine, the Imperial Fora and the Colosseum. Many of these have been collaborative efforts, involving

* The following abbreviations are used:

Città e architettura: Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale, ARID supplementum x (1983).

Archeologia e progetto: Roma: archeologia e progetto (catalogue of exhibition held in the Markets of Trajan, 23 May–30 June 1983).

Roma Capitale: Roma Capitale 1870–1911: l'archeologia in Roma tra sterro e scavo (catalogue of exhibition held in the Auditorium of Maecenas, November 1983–January 1984).

Coarelli, *Foro romano* I: F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano I: periodo arcaico* (1983).

Coarelli, *Foro romano* II: F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano II: periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (1985).

Archeologia nel centro: Roma: archeologia nel centro (2 vols, 1985).

L'Urbs: L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire, Collection de l'École Française de Rome xcVIII (1987).

Zanker, *Power of Images*: P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988).

Kaiser Augustus: Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik (1988).

Ricerche e discussioni: Topografia antica: ricerche e discussioni, Quaderni di Topografia Antica dell'Università di Roma x (1988).

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the figures; and to Angela Heap for improving the final text. Errors which remain are, of course, my own responsibility. Without the library facilities provided by the British School at Rome, it could hardly have been written at all.

¹ T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 76 (1986), 308.

² For the provisions of the law, see N. Pagliardi, 'I programmi d'attuazione della legge n. 92', in *Archeologia e progetto*, 1–3. Discussion of the measures taken and their implications: D. Whitehouse, 'The future of ancient Rome', *Antiquity* 57 (1983), 38–44; J. Packer, 'Politics, urbanism and archaeology in Roma capitale: a troubled past and a controversial future', *AJA* 93 (1989), 137–41.

³ A. M. Vaccaro, 'Studi e scoperte in relazione ai restauri dei grandi monumenti romani', *Arch. Laz.* 8 (1987), 88–95.

⁴ A. Claridge and L. Cozza, 'Arco di Settimio Severo', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 34–9; R. Nardi, 'Arco di Settimio Severo: analisi archeologica e conservativa', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 41–55; R. Nardi, 'Intervento archeologico all'arco di Settimio Severo', in *Archeologia e progetto*, 52–6.

⁵ P. Pensabene, *Tempio di Saturno: architettura e decorazione* (1984).

⁶ A. Claridge, 'Methods of fluting Corinthian columns and pilasters', in *Città e architettura*, 119–28; and eadem in L. Cozza (ed.), *Tempio di Adriano* (1982), 27–30.

⁷ e.g. L. Lazzarini *et al.*, 'Determination of the provenance of marbles used in some ancient monuments in Rome', in N. Herz and M. Waelkens, *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade* (1988), 399–409.

the foreign schools at Rome as well as the archaeological authorities of the Italian State and the city administration of Rome,⁸ and the results have been published with admirable promptness, both in the form of interim reports and (in many cases) in the new series of monographs (*Lavori e studi di archeologia*) set up by the Soprintendenza Archeologica specifically in the context of this project. A variety of methodologies have been used by the researchers: some work has been primarily architectural, seeking to reconstruct the plans and elevations of standing monuments;⁹ on other sites, the techniques of urban excavation developed in the cities of northern Europe have been employed on the complex sequence of deposits in Rome. One project which has been especially self-conscious in methodological terms is Manacorda's excavation of the Crypta Balbi (and Theatre of Balbus) in the Campus Martius. Here the Roman levels lie below an early mediaeval church, a renaissance college and derelict nineteenth-century housing, all of which have been examined in detail.¹⁰

One characteristic feature of recent archaeological work in the city has been an increased consciousness of the problems involved in dealing with earlier excavation work. This has been a particularly acute problem in the Forum, where the excavations carried out by Boni and others are now being re-interpreted; in effect the excavators are having to re-excavate the nineteenth-century trenches to understand (and re-evaluate) the work of their predecessors,¹¹ and also take account of the changes brought about in the visible monuments as a result of earlier restoration work, which has in some cases caused serious confusion. An example of this is the area around the Temple of Divus Julius and the Arch of Augustus, discussion of which has been bedevilled by Boni's placing in a crucial area of a completely extraneous marble block from a mediaeval workshop.¹²

Similar problems (and challenges) arise out of the work carried out by the archaeologists of the 1930s. Their priority was the clearance (*sterro*) of large public monuments of the imperial period; one area particularly affected was that of the Imperial Fora, which were revealed when the sector of the mediaeval city north of the Forum Romanum was demolished to make way for the new Via dell'Impero (now Via dei Fori Imperiali), designed to connect the northern and south-eastern parts of the city. Such a project had been under consideration since the 1880s,¹³ but was finally brought to fruition in 1932; it allowed military processions to march from Mussolini's headquarters at Palazzo Venezia to the Colosseum.¹⁴ (Fortunately a related project, to build a 'Palazzo del Littorio' near the Via Cavour, was never put into effect here: instead, it was constructed near the Foro Italico to the north of the city, and is now the seat of the Italian foreign ministry.) A priority of recent work in this area, in anticipation of a full programme of excavation, has been to reconstruct the results of these (and earlier) excavations, and study the architectural fragments surviving on the site and in storerooms, with a view to reconstructing the monuments in both plan and elevation.¹⁵ Similarly, the inscriptions and remains which came to light when the Via Imperiale (Via delle Terme di Caracalla) was constructed have been studied by Avetta.¹⁶ Perhaps the most striking example, though, of this sort of 'excavation in the *deposito*' is the reconstruction by La Rocca of the fifth-century sculpture used on the pediment of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (thought to have originated on the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria) which had been excavated in the 1930s but then dispersed to storerooms all over the city.¹⁷

Together with this re-evaluation of the excavations of earlier periods has developed an increasing interest in the ideologies influencing archaeological work in the city, whether in the Napoleonic period,

⁸ For example: the involvement of the British School at Rome in the excavation of the S. Maria Antiqua site in the Forum; the Finnish Institute at the Lacus Juturnae; the Institutes of Denmark, Norway and Sweden at the Temple of Castor and Pollux; the American Academy at the Regia; the École Française at the Vigna Barberini, and the Swiss Institute at the Domus Tiberiana. It is striking, however, that most recent work on the city of Rome by British scholars has been primarily historical in character.

⁹ e.g. C. F. Giuliani and P. Verduchi, *L'area centrale del foro romano* (1987) with T. P. Wiseman, 'The central area of the Roman forum', *JRA* 3 (1990), 245-6. On methodological issues, see F. Coarelli, 'Topographie antique et idéologie moderne: le Forum romain revisité', *Annales ESC* 37 (1982), 724-40; T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 75 (1985), 229; N. Purcell, 'Rediscovering the Roman Forum', *JRA* 2 (1989), 156-66.

¹⁰ D. Manacorda, *Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi* (1982); D. Manacorda, 'Scavi alla Crypta Balbi: problemi di topografia antica', in *L'Urbs*, 597-610; D. Manacorda and E. Zanini, 'The first millennium AD in Rome', in K. Randsborg, *The Birth of Europe: Archaeology and Social Development in the First Millennium AD*, ARID Supplementum XII (1989), 25-32; D. Manacorda, 'Excavations in the Crypta Balbi, Rome: a survey', *Accordia Papers* 1 (1990), 73-81. See further below, p. 196.

¹¹ At the Lacus Juturnae, for example: E. M. Steinby, *Lacus Juturnae* 1 (1989), 176-316. For reassessment of the documentation of Boni's work: see, e.g., D. Palombi, 'Contributo alla topografia della Via Sacra, dagli appunti inediti di Giacomo Boni', in *Ricerche e discussioni*, 77-97; D. Palombi, 'Gli horrea della Via Sacra: dagli appunti di G. Boni ad una ipotesi su Nerone', *DdA* II. 8 (1990), 53-72; E. Carnabuci, 'L'angolo sud-orientale del Foro Romano nel manoscritto inedito di Giacomo Boni', *Mem. Linc.* IX. 1. 4 (1991), 251-365.

¹² C. F. Giuliani, 'Lettura del centro monumentale: problemi di metodo', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 9-16; Giuliani and Verduchi, op. cit. (n. 9), 11-18.

¹³ L. Barroero, A. Conti, A. M. Racheli and M. Serio, *Via dei Fori Imperiali. La zona archeologica di Roma: urbanistica, beni artistici, e politica culturale* (1983), 101 ff.

¹⁴ See A. Cederna, *Mussolini Urbanista* (1981); R. Nicolini, 'La questione di Via dei Fori Imperiali', in *Roma: continuità dell'antico: i Fori Imperiali nel progetto della città* (1981), 26-8.

¹⁵ See below, p. 209.

¹⁶ L. Avetta, *Roma: Via Imperiale: scavi e scoperte (1937-50) nella costruzione di Via delle Terme di Caracalla e Via Cristoforo Colombo* (1985).

¹⁷ E. La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia: le sculture frontali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano* (1985).

the late nineteenth century, or the Fascist era.¹⁸ Similarly, an important feature of recent studies of the topography of the city has been an increasing exploitation of non-archaeological sources for the city of Rome in the mediaeval, renaissance and later periods, including documents, maps, prints and photographs.¹⁹ The Soprintendenza Archeologica has been building up an archive of such materials,²⁰ which have cast light in particular on the fate of the monuments after the end of the Roman Empire, and the way in which they were exploited by the town planners of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²¹ In the same way, a systematic programme of study of the cellars under Rome's historic centre has been set in motion,²² in the context of a broader project to revise Lanciani's classic map of the antiquities of the city, the *Forma Urbis Romae*.²³ Many remarkable finds have been made, especially in the Campus Martius, where in many cases mediaeval buildings were constructed directly on top of Roman structures. Thus substantial remains of the Baths of Nero (later rebuilt as the *Thermae Alexandrinae*) have been discovered under the Palazzo Madama and nearby buildings, generally confirming the impression of the complex provided by a drawing of Palladio.²⁴

During the past decade, the Soprintendenza has sought both to reduce the damage to the monuments of Rome from exhaust fumes, and to allow scholars and visitors properly to appreciate the archaeological zone, by eliminating roads which cross or border upon it and restricting access by vehicles. In the early 1980s two such roads were closed, the Via del Foro Romano, which connected the Via della Conciliazione and the Curia, and the road to the west of the Colosseum, which had previously isolated the monument as a glorified roundabout in a mass of traffic.²⁵ Excavation in these areas has revealed an important series of stratified deposits between the Capitol and the Forum,²⁶ and the foundations of the Colossus of Nero and the Meta Sudans, both of which had survived from antiquity but were demolished in 1933 and 1936 respectively.²⁷ A more ambitious plan, and one which has caused considerable debate among archaeologists and the general public alike, has been that of the closure of the Via dei Fori Imperiali itself to traffic.²⁸ The attraction of the plan in archaeological terms is that it would allow a proper examination of the areas of contact between the different Imperial Fora and the Forum Romanum, which up to now have been known only hypothetically, and the creation of a massive archaeological park, stretching from the Capitol to the Colosseum; on the other hand, the practical difficulties of closing one of the main traffic arteries in Rome would be considerable. Ironically, the contemporary archaeologists are encountering the same difficulties as their predecessors a century before: 'The Minister . . . wants to create in the very centre of the modern town an archaeological group quite unique in the Roman world. Such a scheme cannot be carried into execution without constant fighting and exertion. . . . In a town numbering 300,000 souls it is impossible to cut important thoroughfares without substituting other channels for the traffic. . . .' ²⁹ Since the unveiling of the project in 1981, architects have proposed models for the new urban infrastructure necessary to make such a plan work,³⁰ while the excavation which has so far taken place, behind the Curia and Basilica Aemilia, has provided a taste of the enormous potential interest of the results of the larger project.³¹ Often, archaeological issues and issues of urban planning have gone hand-in-hand, as for example in discussions

¹⁸ Napoleonic: R. T. Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade* (1992); nineteenth century: *Roma Capitale*; Fascism: D. Manacorda and R. Tamassia, *Il piccone del regime* (1985). See Packer, op. cit. (n. 2).

¹⁹ For photographs of nineteenth-century excavations see G. M. De Rossi, *La riscoperta di Roma antica* (1983).

²⁰ E. Gatti, 'Ricerche bibliografiche ed archivistiche', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 334-5.

²¹ e.g. P. Refice and M. Pignatti Morano, 'Ara Pacis Augustae: le fasi della ricomposizione nei documenti dell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 404-20, on the Ara Pacis.

²² L. Cozza, 'I resti archeologici visibili nel sottosuolo: necessità di conoscerli e registrarli', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 308-12.

²³ F. Castagnoli, 'Per un aggiornamento della Forma Urbis del Lanciani', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 313-19; also E. Tortorici, 'Alcune osservazioni sulla tavola 8 della forma urbis del Lanciani', in *Ricerche e discussioni*, 7-15; F. De Caprariis, 'Le pendici settentrionali del Viminale ed il settore ovest del Quirinale', in *Ricerche e discussioni*, 17-44.

²⁴ G. Ghini, 'Terme Neroniane-Alessandrine', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 395-9.

²⁵ A. La Regina, 'Roma: continuità dall'antico', in *Roma: continuità dall'antico: i Fori Imperiali nel progetto della città* (1981), 11-18; Whitehouse, op. cit. (n. 2), 40-2.

²⁶ U. Valle, 'Lavori nell'area nord occidentale del Foro Romano', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 19-23; G. Maetcke,

'Area nord-occidentale del Foro Romano', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 372-80. G. Maetcke, 'La struttura stratigrafica dell'area nord-occidentale del Foro Romano come appare dai recenti interventi di scavo', *Arch. Med.* 18 (1991), 43-200.

²⁷ The Colossus: C. Lega, 'Il Colosso di Nerone', *Bull. Comm.* 93 (1989-90), 339-78; Meta Sudans: E. Leone, 'Domus Aurea e Meta Sudans', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 113-21; C. Panella, 'La valle del Colosseo nell'antichità', *Bollettino di Archeologia* 1-2 (1990), 35-88.

²⁸ *Roma: continuità dall'antico: i Fori Imperiali nel progetto della città* (1981), 103 provides a list of articles about the project published in the Italian and foreign press. See also Whitehouse, op. cit. (n. 2), Packer, op. cit. (n. 2).

²⁹ R. Lanciani in *Athenaeum* 2920 (13 Oct. 1883), reprinted in *Notes from Rome* (ed. A. L. Cubberley, 1988), 146-7.

³⁰ e.g. L. Benevolo, *Roma: l'area archeologica centrale e la città moderna* (1988).

³¹ The project: F. Castagnoli, E. Tortorici and C. Morselli, 'Progetto per lo scavo di un settore dei Fori di Cesare e di Nerva', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 245-71; the excavations: C. Morselli and E. Tortorici, 'Area retrostante la Curia e la Basilica Emilia', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 380-8; the results: C. Morselli and E. Tortorici, *Curia, Forum Iulium, Forum Transitorium* (1989); E. Tortorici, *Argiletum: commercio speculazione edilizia e lotta politica dall'analisi topografica di un quartiere di Roma di età repubblicana* (1991).

on the Oppian hill. Plans have been presented which would both allow for the *valorizzazione* of the archaeological remains of this area, and enable the area to be preserved as a much-needed public park for the people of Rome.³²

Besides the wide variety of new archaeological work, the decade has also seen a series of important publications on the city of Rome and its monuments, many resulting from conferences and exhibitions held in the city. *Roma: archeologia nel centro* (1985) published the papers delivered at a conference held on the Capitol between 23 and 28 May 1983, which provided a first assessment of the results of the projects set in motion by La Regina's initiatives and the law of 1981. Similarly, the wealth of historical and archaeological argument in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire* originated in a colloquium held at the École Française de Rome in 1985. Important exhibitions have included *Roma: archeologia e progetto* (1983), held to coincide with the meeting on the Capitol; while the (approximate) centenary of the period between 1870–1911, when Rome was acquiring its new identity as the national capital of Italy, was celebrated with the *Roma Capitale* exhibition. This focused primarily on the Esquiline, the area most affected by the large-scale building of residential quarters in the city during those years. *Kaiser Augustus*, a catalogue of an exhibition held in Berlin in 1988, also contains much important material.

Among the many publications on specific monuments or buildings, the series of volumes on the topography of the city by Coarelli (arising from a sequence of seminars known as the 'Lectiones Planetariae') stand out; so far these have dealt with the Forum Romanum and Forum Boarium, and further volumes are promised on the Campus Martius and (perhaps) the Palatine.³³

One of the most interesting features of work on Roman history in the English-speaking world over the last decade has been the increasing emphasis on the potential contribution of archaeology to our understanding of the ancient world, and in particular a growing awareness of the physical and visual aspects of the city of Rome: historians have been learning to 'read not only the authors, but the city itself'.³⁴ The appearance of Stambaugh's *The Ancient Roman City* has provided an accessible introduction to the city of Rome and its monuments, and has allowed the City of Rome to form an increasingly important element in university syllabuses;³⁵ and the publication of Zanker's *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* and other works has led to a transformation in ways of thinking about the principate of Augustus.³⁶ Similarly, several important recent studies of Augustan poetry have integrated literary and archaeological evidence.³⁷

The decade has also been notable for the number of basic tools for the would-be topographer which have become readily available. Castagnoli's classic *Topografia di Roma antica* appeared in book form in 1980; Coarelli's invaluable *Guida archeologia Laterza* for the city was published in the following year;³⁸ also worthy of particular mention are the reassessment of the Severan Marble Plan published by Rodriguez Almeida;³⁹ the publication of a lively eye-witness account of the rediscovery of ancient Rome in the nineteenth century in the form of Rodolfo Lanciani's reports to a London journal, the *Athenaeum*;⁴⁰ a reprinted version of Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*;⁴¹ the photographs of Ashby and Parker, taken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries;⁴² and a valuable handbook of monuments appearing on coin-types.⁴³ Especially welcome is the news that a replacement for Platner and Ashby's essential (but increasingly out-of-date) *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, the *Lexicon Urbis Romae*, is currently in preparation. The subject catalogue of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome has recently been published in CD-ROM form as 'DYABOLA', while the catalogue of the complete photographic archive of the same Institute is now available on microfiche. (DYABOLA is currently available in the Library of the Institute of Classical Studies, London, along with the microfiche; the latter is also held at the Ashmolean Library, Oxford.)

³² P. Baldi and G. Martines, 'Domus Aurea, Terme di Traiano. Proposte per la conservazione', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 478–86.

³³ *Foro romano* I and II; *Il Foro Boario* (1988).

³⁴ T. P. Wiseman, 'Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo: the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the late Republic and early Empire', in *L'Urbs*, 393–413, at 412.

³⁵ J. E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (1988): for important syntheses on the city in general in Italian and French, see P. Gros and M. Torelli, *Storia dell'urbanistica: il mondo romano* (1988), 61–126; P. Néraudou and L. Duret, *Urbanisme et métamorphoses de la Rome antique* (1983).

³⁶ P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (1987), translated as *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988), with A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Rome's cultural revolution', *JRS* 79 (1989), 157–64. Note the importance of the visual dimension in recent work honouring R. Syme, and in particular the comments by H. Galsterer in 'A man, a book and a method: Sir Ronald Syme's Roman Revolution after fifty years', in K. A.

Raaflaub and M. Toher (eds), *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (1990), 1–20, esp. 15; also F. Millar and E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (1983).

³⁷ e.g. P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (1986); E. Lefèvre, *Das Bild-Programm des Apollo-Tempels auf dem Palatin* (1989), reviewed by P. Hardie, *CR* 40 (1990), 520; D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (1991).

³⁸ F. Castagnoli, *Topografia di Roma antica* (1980); F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica Laterza: Roma* (1981).

³⁹ E. Rodriguez-Almeida, *Forma urbis marmorea: aggiornamento generale* (1980).

⁴⁰ R. Lanciani (ed. A. L. Cubberley), *Notes from Rome* (1988). See also T. P. Wiseman, *Talking to Virgil* (1992), 111–48 on the excavations of the period.

⁴¹ *Forma Urbis Romae*, ed. R. Lanciani (1990).

⁴² *Archeologia a Roma nelle fotografie di Thomas Ashby (1891–1930)* (1989); *Un inglese a Rome: la raccolta Parker nell'archivio fotografico comunale* (1989).

⁴³ P. Hill, *The Monuments of Rome as Coin Types* (1989).

For all these reasons, a review of recent work at the beginning of the 1990s represents a worthwhile exercise.⁴⁴ The aim is to summarize the most recent work in (and on) the City of Rome and set it in the context of some of the recent central debates on Roman history, focusing in particular on recent archaeological research and on the change from Republic to Empire. To keep the work within reasonable bounds, however, I have had to confine the treatment to the city within the Aurelian Walls,⁴⁵ limit the discussion of some central issues, notably religion, the administration of the city,⁴⁶ and building materials⁴⁷ (all of which have a substantial literature of their own), and make some exclusions, in particular work on archaic and early republican Rome,⁴⁸ and on the late imperial and early Christian city.⁴⁹ Likewise, I have excluded work of a primarily architectural or art-historical nature (while being conscious of the artificiality of such distinctions).⁵⁰ What follows is a personal selection of recent work; it should be stressed that exclusion implies no adverse judgement.

I. POLITICS AND THE CITY: THE FORUM (Fig. 1)

Polybius observed that it was impossible to tell whether the Roman constitution was aristocratic, monarchical, or democratic,⁵¹ and a major preoccupation of recent scholarship on the Roman Republic has been to re-examine the respective roles played by popular assemblies and the Senate within the Roman state.⁵² The recent studies of the topography of the Forum by Coarelli⁵³ and others have a significant bearing on this debate.⁵⁴

Both Coarelli and Bonnefond have stressed the integrated nature of the monuments of the Comitium area, which clearly reflect the linkage between popular voting assemblies, Senate and judicial activity. Not only do the Comitium and Curia form part of the same complex (as subsequently at Cosa and Paestum), but so do the rostra, tribunal of the praetors, and the places of execution and civic punishment such as the Carcer and Lautumiae which were situated nearby,⁵⁵ below the Tarpeian Rock (which is now convincingly identified as the summit of the Arx overlooking the Forum).⁵⁶

One of the most interesting elements in Coarelli's treatment of the Forum is his discussion of the vexed question of the movement of popular assemblies from the Comitium into the central part of the

⁴⁴ For other recent surveys, see the special number of *Archeo*, 48 (Feb. 1989), entitled *Roma: il futuro nel passato* and B. Ginge, 'Ancient Rome: a decade of discovery', *Archaeology* 44 (Jan./Feb. 1991), 28–35. Recent archaeological work in the city is discussed in *Bull. Comm.* (which also contains very useful bibliographic summaries), the new journal *Bollettino di Archeologia*, and the publication of the annual 'Archeologia Laziale' conferences.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately this means largely excluding the problems of burial at Rome, for which see recently K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (1983), 201–56, and H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker, *Römische Gräberstrassen* (1987), and the whole problem of the relation of the periphery or *suburbium* of Rome and the city itself, on which see, e.g., E. Champlin, 'The *suburbium* of Rome', *AJAH* 7 (1982), 97–117; A. Carandini, *Schiavi in Italia* (1988), 339–57; N. Purcell, 'Tomb and suburb', in von Hesberg and Zanker, *op. cit.*, 25–41.

⁴⁶ On which see now A. Frascchetti, *Roma e il principe* (1990), 204–73, and the survey by O. F. Robinson, *Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration* (1992).

⁴⁷ Wood: see R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (1982); marble: H. Dodge, 'Ancient Roman marble studies: recent research', *JRA* 4 (1991), 28–50; bricks: E. M. Steinby, 'I senatori e l'industria laterizia urbana', in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (1982, 2 vols) i, 227–37; E. M. Steinby, 'L'edilizia come industria pubblica e privata', in *Città e architettura*, 219–21; J. C. Anderson, *Roman Brick Stamps: the Thomas Ashby Collection in the American Academy at Rome* (1991). On building in general, see S. Martin, *The Roman Jurists and the Organisation of Private Building in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, Collection Latomus CCIV (1989).

⁴⁸ For which see the annual publications of the *Archeologia Laziale* conferences, and the occasional summaries in *Archaeological Reports* (most recently T. J. Cornell, 'Rome and Latium Vetus', *Archaeological Reports*

(1985–6), 123–33, at 125–6). A survey of work carried out in the late 1980s is currently in preparation by the same author.

⁴⁹ Summaries of recent work on Christian Rome occasionally appear in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*.

⁵⁰ For recent surveys of the public art of imperial Rome, see N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (1988); N. H. Ramage and A. Ramage, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Roman Art* (1991).

⁵¹ Polybius vi. 11.

⁵² Recent contributions to the debate include: F. G. B. Millar, 'The political character of the classical Roman Republic', *JRS* 74 (1984), 1–19; idem, 'Politics, persuasion and the people before the Social War', *JRS* 76 (1986), 1–11; P. A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Other Essays* (1988), 382–442; J. A. North, 'Democratic politics in Republican Rome', *Past and Present* 126 (1990), 3–21, esp. 13–15.

⁵³ Coarelli, *Foro romano* I and II.

⁵⁴ See F. G. B. Millar, 'Political power in mid-Republican Rome: curia or comitia?', *JRS* 79 (1989), 138–50.

⁵⁵ M. Bonnefond, 'Espace, temps et idéologie: le sénat dans la cité romaine républicaine', *DdA* III. 1 (1983), 37–44. On punishment in the Forum, see F. Hinard, 'Spectacle des exécutions et espace urbain', in *L'Urbs* 111–25, esp. 116–19. See also J.-M. David, 'Du Comitium à la roche Tarpéienne. Sur quelques rituels d'exécution capitale sous la République, les règnes d'Auguste et de Tibère', in *Du châtement dans la cité: supplices corporels et peine de mort dans la monde antique*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome LXXIX (1984), 131–76. For executions in the amphitheatre, see now K. M. Coleman, 'Fatal charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments', *JRS* 80 (1990), 44–73.

⁵⁶ T. P. Wiseman, 'Flavians on the Capitol', *AJAH* 3 (1978), 163–75, at 169; idem, 'Topography and rhetoric — the trial of Manlius', *Historia* 28 (1979), 32–50, esp. 42–5.

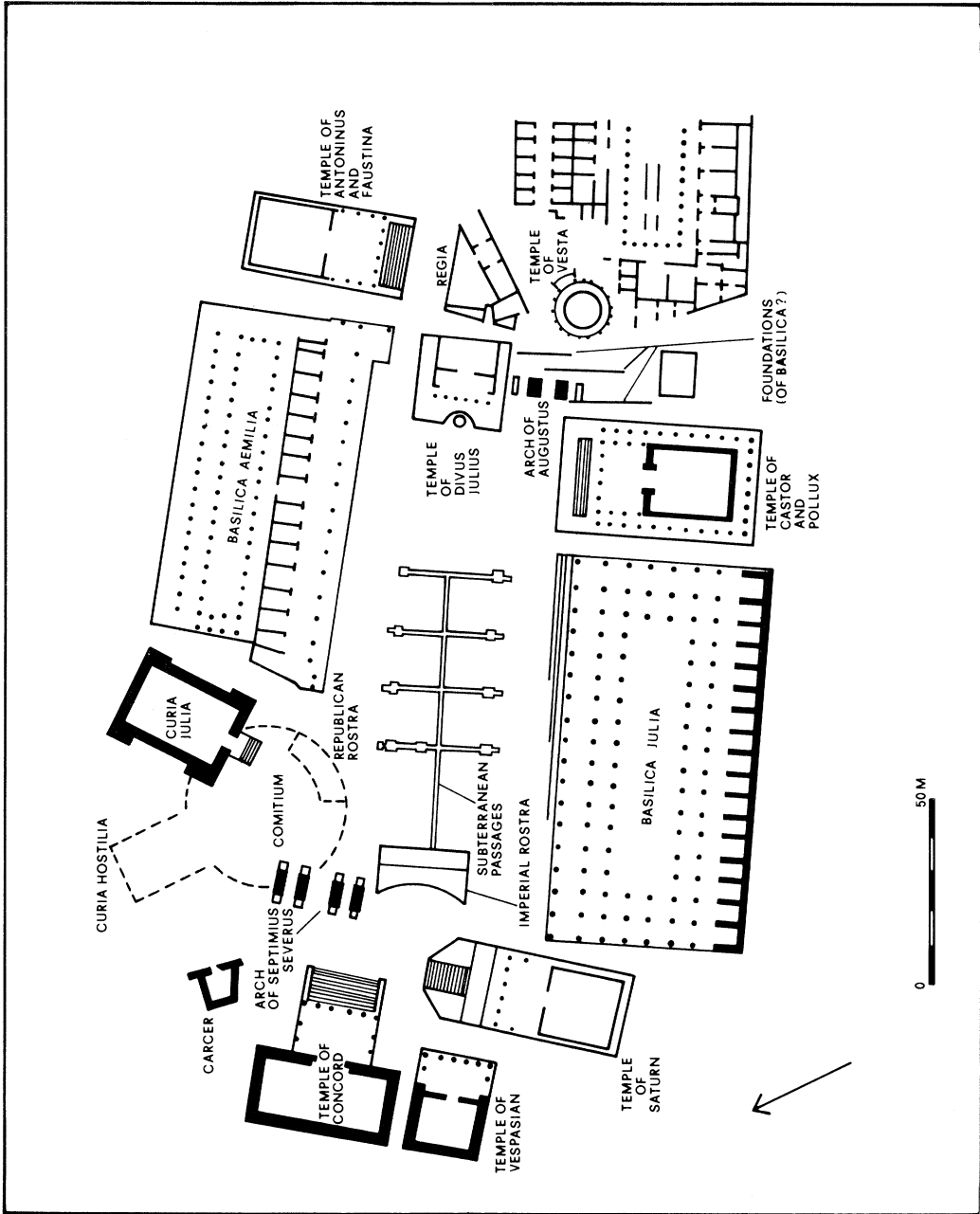


FIG. 1. THE FORUM ROMANUM

Forum. Confusingly, two separate traditions about this departure from traditional practice survive: Cicero and Varro ascribe the initiative to C. Licinius Crassus, tribune of the plebs in 145 B.C.,⁵⁷ whereas Plutarch thinks Gaius Gracchus was responsible.⁵⁸

Coarelli's solution of the problem is to suggest that both traditions are correct. Emending the text of Varro,⁵⁹ he suggests that Crassus moved the meetings of the *comitia tributa* out of the Comitium and into the 'saepa iugera forensia', whereas Gaius Gracchus did the same for *contiones*, thereby upsetting traditionalists by turning his back on the Senate while speaking.⁶⁰ The transformation of the greater area of the Forum into a formal political space explains the rows of *pozzetti* (small pits) in the paving,⁶¹ which Coarelli explains as being intended for posts which marked out the *templum*, the space designated by the augurs in which the popular assembly, like the Senate, was obliged to meet.⁶²

The opening out of the central area of the Forum led to the creation of an additional integrated complex of monuments mirroring those around the Curia and Comitium: the restored Temple of Castor and Pollux became a regular place of meeting for the Senate,⁶³ speakers could address meetings of the people at the east end of the Forum area from a podium in front of the temple,⁶⁴ and a new praetorian tribunal for the administration of justice was established next to the Puteal Scribonianum (near the site of the later Temple of Divus Julius), probably in 149 B.C.⁶⁵

Just as the places of popular participation changed to reflect the political realities of the growing city of Rome and the increasingly active role of the tribunes, so changes in the membership and status of the Senate were reflected in the buildings of the Forum. Sulla's extension of the Curia (to accommodate the 600 members of the reformed Senate) eliminated a large part of the circular Comitium area,⁶⁶ and symbolically diminished the authority of the people, which had also been reduced in reality by his restrictions on the powers of the tribunes. His judicial reforms were also reflected in the creation by C. Aurelius Cotta of the Gradus Aurelii, an auditorium designed to accommodate those following trials at the praetors' new tribunal.⁶⁷

As part of a wider study of the activities of the Senate under the Republic, Bonnefond-Coudry has examined the places in which it was accustomed to meet, discussing possible explanations for the choice of meeting-places: the Curia in the Forum was only one of sixteen locations attested (for 134 meetings).⁶⁸ The Senate was obliged to meet in a *templum*,⁶⁹ but practical and symbolic considerations as well as legal restrictions might determine the choice of a particular meeting-place. Thus meetings which demanded the presence of a serving promagistrate had to take place outside the *pomerium* (typically in the Temples of Apollo or Bellona);⁷⁰ by contrast, the Temple of Concord was chosen for several important senatorial debates with security implications, such as the meetings on 3 and 5 December 63 B.C. to discuss the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators, or that on 18 October A.D. 31 to debate that of Sejanus. Whereas the Temple of Concord seems to have been chosen in the latter case because of its closeness to the Carcer, where Sejanus was executed, and the Gemonian steps, where his body was subsequently exposed,⁷¹ Bonnefond-Coudry argues that the debates on the Catilinarians were held there largely for reasons of intimidation, rather than for any wider symbolic reason connected with Concordia and its association with Opimius, suppressor of Gaius Gracchus and his supporters. Although placing greater emphasis on practical considerations, she does, nevertheless, accept that those participating in senatorial debates in temples might exploit the historical associations of the venue in their orations. Thus the choice of the Temple of Jupiter Stator for the meeting of the Senate which exposed Catiline's plans was due largely to fears for the security of the meeting (it could effectively be guarded) but this also enabled Cicero to invoke Jupiter, the stayer of flight, in his *First Catilinarian*.⁷² The exploitation of the monuments of the Forum in oratory is also a theme taken up by Millar, who notes how the use of landmarks as 'visual aids' in speeches to the People is recommended in Cicero's *De Oratore*.⁷³

Providing a setting for less formal political interaction were the basilicas around the Forum. Gaggiotti has explained the origin of the basilica form in Rome (as well as solving a problematic passage in Plautus) by linking the term 'basilica' to the Atrium Regium which we know to have been in the Forum; he argues that following a fire in 210 B.C., the Atrium was rebuilt and became known as the *Aule Basilike*, and that this equivalency was further exploited by the Aemilius family, who wanted to stress their royal ancestry and the mythical links of their family with king Numa Pompilius through the figure

⁵⁷ Cicero, *De Amicitia* 96; Varro, *De Re Rustica* 1. 2. 10.

⁵⁸ Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* 5.

⁵⁹ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 130.

⁶⁰ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 157–8.

⁶¹ For the *pozzetti*, see G. Lugli, *Roma antica* (1946), 81–2.

⁶² Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 125–31.

⁶³ Bonnefond, op. cit. (n. 55), 38.

⁶⁴ C. Gronne, 'Ultime indagini al tempio dei Castori', *Arch. Laz.* 8 (1987), 83–7.

⁶⁵ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 166–89.

⁶⁶ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 56.

⁶⁷ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 196–9. Remains found

under the Temple of Divus Julius were identified by Gamberini Mongenet with those of the Gradus Aurelii, but scepticism on this identification has been expressed by Carnabuci, op. cit. (n. 11), at 290–6.

⁶⁸ M. Bonnefond-Coudry, *Le sénat de la république romaine* (1989), 25–197, at 27.

⁶⁹ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* xiv. 7.

⁷⁰ Bonnefond-Coudry, op. cit. (n. 68), 137–60.

⁷¹ Bonnefond-Coudry, op. cit. (n. 68), 100–1.

⁷² Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1. 33; Bonnefond-Coudry, op. cit. (n. 68), 124.

⁷³ Cicero, *De Oratore* II. 266–7; Millar, op. cit. (1986, n. 52), 1–2.

of Aimylos, one of his sons. This first basilica, which thus combined Greek and regal associations, lay along the north side of the Forum.⁷⁴ Interestingly, the excavations of Morselli and Tortorici suggest building activity on the site of the Basilica Aemilia both shortly after the fire in 210 B.C. and then around 179 B.C., when Livy tells us this basilica was built, which tends to confirm Gaggiotti's picture.⁷⁵

The Basilica Aemilia has been one of the most hotly disputed monuments over the last few years. The traditional assumption has been that the basilica running along the northern side of the Forum was the Basilica Aemilia, but a recent study of the east end of the Forum undertaken by Steinby in connection with her excavations at the site of the Lacus Juturnae has cast doubt on this. Her re-examination of the excavations conducted in the 1950s (but never properly published) by Gamberini Mongenet revealed three substantial parallel foundations which she interpreted as a hitherto unsuspected public building extending northwards from the Temple of Castor and Pollux, beneath the Temple of Divus Julius. She then re-examined the literary tradition for the basilicas of the Forum and suggested that this new building was in fact the Basilica Aemilia, which was situated on a north-south alignment, rather than in its traditional position on an east-west alignment along the north side of the Forum. The basilica traditionally thought of as the Basilica Aemilia would therefore be the Basilica Fulvia of 179 B.C., subsequently rebuilt as the Basilica Paulli in the 50s B.C.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Steinby suggested that the 'new' Basilica Aemilia was built by L. Aemilius Paullus, victor over the Macedonians at the battle of Pydna, together with a monument at the Lacus Juturnae.⁷⁷

If Steinby is right, the implications are very important. Firstly, the Forum would acquire a monumental east end in the second century B.C., rather than with Augustus' creation of the Temple of Divus Julius and the adjacent arch as traditionally assumed. Secondly, it would seem that at approximately the same time that Julius Caesar was beginning his new Forum, members of the Aemilian gens were engaged in a project on a similar scale at the opposite end of the Forum Romanum; L. Aemilius Paullus was rebuilding two basilicas.⁷⁸ Normally Caesar's building projects in the 50s B.C. are seen as the seeds of his autocratic activities as dictator: the new analysis shows that the Aemilii too were able and willing to compete on this scale in the historical centre of Rome.⁷⁹

Doubts have however been cast on Steinby's reconstruction from several quarters. Tortorici makes the point that a passage of Varro referring to the building of a sundial in the 'Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia' (which on Steinby's analysis would be two buildings) is easier to understand if only one building is being referred to.⁸⁰ Besides, a recent study of the east end of the Forum by Carnabuci, using the excavation journal of Boni's 1904 excavation, has cast doubt on the very existence of Steinby's new basilica. Carnabuci points out that not only are the three foundations very fragmentary, but that they are at irregular distances from each other, making it implausible that they formed part of a single colonnaded building unless an additional foundation to the west is hypothesized. This would then have to extend beneath the podium of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, dating to 117 B.C. In any case, it seems odd that the destruction of an important monument like the Basilica could have escaped notice in the well-attested period following Julius Caesar's assassination. Carnabuci suggests that the foundations may instead have been linked with a ramp which ran from the Palatine down to the Forum.⁸¹ The 'new' Basilica Aemilia may therefore have to be abandoned; but the Aemilii still emerge as active in a substantial way in the Forum.

Coarelli's study of the Forum in the Caesarian and Augustan period provides some important new ideas on the organization of space in the Forum at this crucial time. It is clear that Caesar's new Senate House, the Curia Julia, was not only attached both physically and symbolically to one of the wings of Caesar's new Forum, eventually completed under Augustus,⁸² but that it also removed almost entirely the traditional monuments of the Comitium, completing the work Sulla had begun.⁸³ Dio tells us that when Sulla's Curia was demolished in 44 B.C., a temple to Felicitas was erected by Lepidus to mark its site, and fragments of this temple have now been identified in foundations discovered in the 1930s under the Via del Tulliano.⁸⁴

A new speakers' platform was placed axially in the centre of the Forum, looking towards the central area in which the people would now have assembled for *contiones*; interestingly, it still maintained the curved shape of the original rostra, which had been determined by its position on the edge of the curved

⁷⁴ M. Gaggiotti, 'Atrium Regium-Basilica (Aemilia): una insospettata continuità storica e una chiave ideologica per la soluzione del problema dell'origine della basilica', *ARID* 14 (1985), 53-80; M. Gaggiotti, 'Plauto, Livio, la più antica "basilica" del foro romano e la politica edilizia degli Aemilii', in *Archeologia nel Centro*, 56-65.

⁷⁵ Tortorici, op. cit. (n. 31).

⁷⁶ E. M. Steinby, 'Il lato orientale del Foro', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 32-6, and 'Il lato orientale del Foro Romano', *Arctos* 21 (1987), 139-84, usefully summarized and discussed for the English reader by J. J. Paterson in 'One of our basilicas is missing', *CA News* 1 (1989), 12-14. For further discussion of the Aemilii and their activities in the Forum, see also T. P. Wiseman, 'Rome and the resplendent

Aemilii', in *Tria Lustra: Essays Presented to the Editor of LCM* (1992), 181-92.

⁷⁷ E. M. Steinby (ed.), 'Lacus Juturnae 1982-3', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 73-91.

⁷⁸ Cicero, *Ad Att.* iv. 16. 8. See also Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 76), 181-2, who argues that the two basilicas were those along the north and south (Basilica Julia) sides of the Forum.

⁷⁹ Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 76), 186-7.

⁸⁰ Varro, *De L.L.* vi. 64; Tortorici, op. cit. (n. 31), 64-6.

⁸¹ Carnabuci, op. cit. (n. 11), 280-7.

⁸² Morselli and Tortorici, op. cit. (1989, n. 31), 229.

⁸³ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 233-7.

⁸⁴ Dio XLIV. 5; Tortorici, op. cit. (note 31).

Comitium. Subsequently the rostra built by Caesar was increased in size, with an extension placed on the front of the platform: Coarelli argues convincingly that this was an Augustan innovation, designed to obliterate the memory of the triumphal persecutions when the severed heads of the proscribed — including, for example, Cicero — were displayed on the rostra.⁸⁵

In general, after the erection of the Temple of Divus Julius on the site of Caesar's cremation in 29 B.C., and the new rostra in front of it,⁸⁶ the interventions of Augustus in the Forum Romanum seem to have been limited. After his original display of *pietas* towards the memory of Caesar, he was (unlike his predecessor) probably concerned to avoid undue disturbance of the most ancient political and religious monuments in Rome, and he was able to make his mark more effectively by creating a new forum of his own. One problem here, however, is the role of Augustus' arch(es) in the Forum, which have always presented difficulties. Gamberini Mongenet, who excavated here in the 1950s, suggested that there were two arches to the south of the Temple of Divus Julius: the single-span Actian arch, which collapsed soon after it was built, to be replaced by the triple Parthian arch. Coarelli, however, argued that there were three arches, one erected after the battle of Naulochos in 36 B.C., one after the battle of Actium, and a third following Augustus' diplomatic victory over the Parthians and the recovery of the standards lost by Crassus in 53 B.C. The Naulochos arch was, according to Coarelli, located to the south of the Temple of Divus Julius, but then demolished and replaced with the Actian arch; subsequently the Parthian arch was placed to the north of the Temple of Julius.⁸⁷ However, it has now been convincingly shown by Nedergaard, who conducted an excavation in the area to the south of the Temple of Divus Julius, that in fact there was only one arch here: a triple arch, datable between 29 B.C. and A.D. 6, which she identifies with the Parthian arch.⁸⁸ Dio tells us only that the Actian arch was 'in the Roman agora', so presumably it was somewhere else in the Forum if it was ever built.⁸⁹

The overall effect of the Forum under Augustus, then, was that the western end was essentially given over to the Senate and People — with the Curia becoming the standard place for meetings of the Senate, especially after the principate of Nero⁹⁰ — while the eastern end, with the Temple of Divus Julius, the new rostra in front of it, the Augustan arch and the Portico of Gaius and Lucius, emphasized the role of the emperor.⁹¹

The history of the Forum, then, is in microcosm the history of the Late Republic: the traditional symbolic unity of Senate and People as expressed in the relationship between Curia, Comitium, and the related monuments; the populist reforms of the second half of the second century B.C., leading to a greater importance for the whole Forum area; the Sullan reaction, and the pre-eminence he gave to the Senate; the aristocratic competition of the final years of the Republic; Caesar's dictatorship, Octavian's victory in civil war and Augustus' settlement which divided power between himself and the Senate: all are reflected in the monuments of the Forum.

II. ARISTOCRATIC COMPETITION IN THE CITY: THE CAMPUS MARTIUS (Fig. 2)

The Campus Martius was the setting for two of the key self-defining activities of the Roman aristocracy, electoral rivalry and military ambition. The most crucial elections, for the consulship or censorship, had always taken place here, in the *ovile* or *saepta*: the *comitia centuriata* (which elected these magistrates) had by law to meet outside the *pomerium*, since in theory it represented the Roman people arrayed for war, and Roman armies were allowed to cross the formal boundary of the city only in the most exceptional circumstances. From the mid second century (perhaps not long after 145 B.C.), the *comitia tributa* held electoral meetings here too.⁹² The Campus Martius was similarly important as a setting for the triumph.⁹³ Before the triumph, the victorious army would assemble in the Campus Martius (usually either around the Villa Publica or in the Circus Flaminius), and then follow a traditional processional route, through the Circus Flaminius and Forum Boarium, before passing along the Circus Maximus, skirting the Palatine, and proceeding across the Forum and up the Capitol, where a sacrifice would take place to Jupiter.⁹⁴

⁸⁵ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 237–57.

⁸⁶ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 308–24.

⁸⁷ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 258–308.

⁸⁸ E. Nedergaard, 'Zur Problematik der Augustusbögen auf dem Forum Romanum', in *Kaiser Augustus*, 224–39. E. Nedergaard, 'Nuove indagini sull'arco di Augusto nel Foro Romano', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 37–43. See also F. S. Kleiner, 'The study of Roman triumphal and honorary arches 50 years after Kähler', *JRA* 2 (1989), 195–206. For arches as manifestations of a new language of power in the intensely competitive context of the late Republic and early Empire, see A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Roman arches and

Greek honours: the language of power at Rome', *PCPS* n.s. 36 (1990), 143–81, esp. 144–50.

⁸⁹ Dio LI. 19. E. Carnabuci, who generally takes a similar view to Nedergaard, points out, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 324, that Dio only says that the arch was decreed.

⁹⁰ R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984), 113–21.

⁹¹ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 320–2.

⁹² Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 165.

⁹³ For the ritual, see E. Künzl, *Der römische Triumph. Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom* (1988), 30–44.

⁹⁴ F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario* (1988), 365.

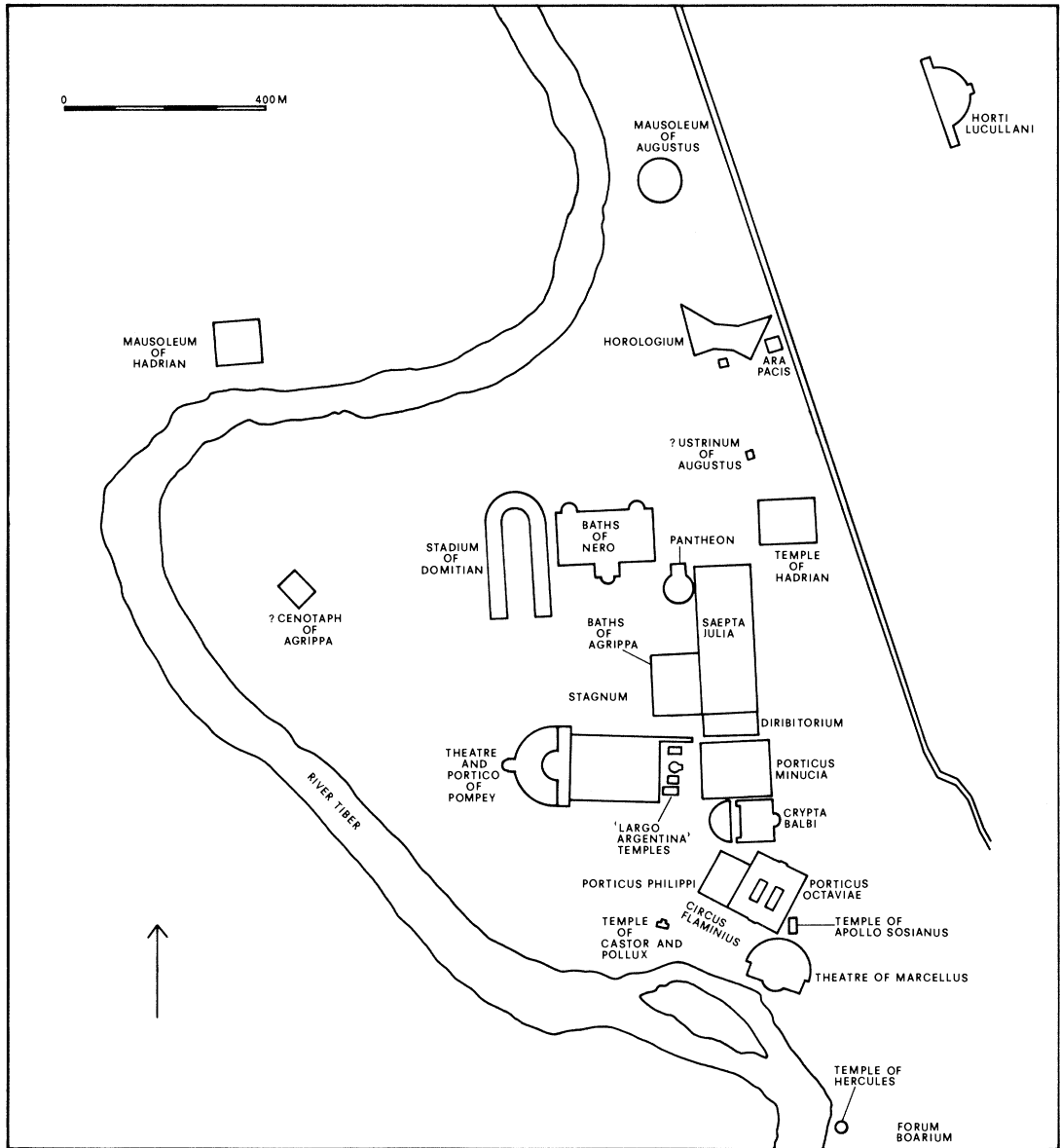


FIG. 2. THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

The monuments of the Campus Martius (and adjacent areas) have therefore to be examined in the context of the political and military associations of the area. By contrast to the imposing and permanent monuments associated with popular participation in the Comitium and Roman Forum, the direct impact on the urban landscape of the voting assemblies in the Campus Martius was extremely limited until Julius Caesar began to monumentalize the Saepta in 54 B.C., as Deniaux has stressed.⁹⁵ No sign has yet been found of the headquarters of the tribes and the *divisores* or bribery agents located around the Campus, which formed an indication of the continuing necessity for the aristocracy to pursue popular support, even at considerable expense to their fortunes.⁹⁶ The Saepta was completed in 26 B.C. by Agrippa, but its role as a monument to popular participation was to be short-lived; the *comitia* declined in importance, and Augustus' personal designation of candidates accelerated the process.⁹⁷ Tiberius transferred voting for senatorial office to the senators themselves, and the Saepta became primarily a place of entertainment and exhibition, although it seems that the assemblies continued to meet here for the formal election of the designated candidates at least until the third century.⁹⁸

Much more imposing in monumental terms than the formal meeting-place of the voting assemblies were the numerous temples and other public buildings which grew up in the surrounding area, and came to dominate the places where the assemblies met. Information on the temples dedicated in Rome during the period between the First and Third Punic Wars has been usefully collected by Pietilä-Castren, who points out that eighteen out of a total of thirty were erected on the route of the triumphal procession, and others very close to it, such as those in the 'Largo Argentina' complex on the Campus Martius.⁹⁹ Although Pietilä-Castren seeks to differentiate these, it seems that both groups of temples would have had a double symbolic function: to remind those participating in triumphal processions of the achievements of their ancestors, and to remind voters of the achievements either of candidates for election themselves (in the second century temples were increasingly dedicated by praetors as well as consuls), or of their families. Cicero stresses the value of military success to an electoral campaign¹⁰⁰ and it seems likely that many temples erected with the spoils of war were visible from the Villa Publica, the official centre of electoral activity in the Campus. In Varro's *De Re Rustica* III,¹⁰¹ which has a dramatic setting at an election in 54 B.C.,¹⁰² a comparison is drawn between Varro's aviary and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, the 'aedes Catuli', in the nearby Largo Argentina group. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these temples were so positioned as to impress the voters thronging the Campus at election time.

Since the core of mediaeval and renaissance Rome occupies the site of the ancient Campus, the scope for new excavation there has been limited, although there have been a few notable exceptions, such as the Crypta Balbi project,¹⁰³ and projects in the western part of the Campus undertaken by Quilici, La Rocca, and others,¹⁰⁴ as well as the programme of research in the cellars of the area.¹⁰⁵ Consequently much recent topographical work has been concerned with providing a secure identification for the monuments already known from the area. The publication of a volume on the temples in the Largo Argentina showed how detailed study of the existing remains and finds from the site, together with what remained of the documentation from the 1930s, could provide valuable information: Coarelli has securely identified two of the four temples on this site as being, respectively, that dedicated to the Lares Permarini (vowed by L. Aemilius Regillus in 190 B.C. during a battle against the fleet of Antiochus and then dedicated by M. Aemilius Lepidus in 179 B.C.) and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (vowed by Quintus Lutatius Catulus at the battle of Vercellae with the Cimbri and Teutones in 101 B.C.).¹⁰⁶ He is slightly less confident about his identification of the other two temples (which he identifies with those of Juturna (vowed by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 242 B.C.) and Feronia (vowed by M. Curius Dentatus in 290 B.C.). A new identification of these temples has been made by Ziolkowski, who reverses the order and sees them as dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus (in 242 B.C.) and L. Aemilius Papus (following the battle of Telamon in 225 B.C.) respectively.¹⁰⁷ One of the attractions of Ziolkowski's solution to the

⁹⁵ E. Deniaux, 'De l'ambitio à l'ambitus: les lieux de la propagande et de la corruption électorale à la fin de la république', in *L'Urbs*, 279–304. See also S. Demougin, 'Quo descendat in campo petitor: élections et électeurs à la fin de la République et au début de l'Empire', in *L'Urbs*, 305–17, at 305–8.

⁹⁶ A. Lintott, 'Electoral bribery in the Roman Republic', *JRS* 80 (1990), 1–16.

⁹⁷ Demougin, op. cit. (n. 95), 314.

⁹⁸ Dio LVIII. 20; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 302.

⁹⁹ L. Pietilä-Castren, *Magnificentia Publica: the Victory Monuments of the Roman Generals in the Era of the Punic Wars*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum LXXXIV (1987), 154–8. An important new monograph on manubial temples is soon to be published by A. Ziolkowski.

¹⁰⁰ Cicero, *Pro Murena* 24.

¹⁰¹ Varro, *De Re Rustica* III. 5. 12.

¹⁰² J. S. Richardson, 'The triumph of Metellus Scipio and the dramatic date of Varro's *RR* III', *CQ* 33 (1983), 456–63; J. Linderski, however, in 'The dramatic date of Varro, *De Re Rustica* III and the elections in 54', *Historia* 34 (1985), 248–54, argues for 50 B.C.

¹⁰³ See note 10.

¹⁰⁴ e.g. L. Quilici, 'Il Campo Marzio occidentale', in *Città e architettura*, 59–86; E. La Rocca, *La riva a mezzaluna* (1984).

¹⁰⁵ See note 22.

¹⁰⁶ F. Coarelli et al., *L'area sacra di Largo Argentina* (1981), 37–46.

¹⁰⁷ A. Ziolkowski, 'Les temples A et C du Largo Argentina: quelques considérations', *MEFRA* 98 (1986), 623–41.

problem is that it enables the Largo Argentina group to be seen as testimony to a very specific example of aristocratic competition, between the Aemilii and the Lutatii Catuli: on Ziolkowski's reading, the two temples of the Lutatii Catuli are in the middle of the complex, surrounded by those of the Aemilii. A similar debate has developed over the identification of the (still extant) round temple in marble overlooking the Tiber opposite the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Coarelli has identified it with the Temple of Hercules Olivarius, and presents the argument in his new book on the Forum Boarium.¹⁰⁸ Problems have been identified with this analysis,¹⁰⁹ and Ziolkowski has suggested that the temple should instead be linked with an inscription (*CIL* I² 626) found on the Caelian and commemorating the building of a temple to Hercules Victor by C. Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth in 146 B.C.; again, Ziolkowski is keen to stress the rivalry of specific aristocrats in his new interpretation, in particular between Mummius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, who built Rome's first marble temple, dedicated to Jupiter Stator, and Scipio Aemilianus, who built another round temple dedicated to Hercules, which stood just to the north of the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin but was demolished in the late fifteenth century.¹¹⁰

A remarkable discovery has increased our knowledge of one particular temple in the Circus Flaminius, that of Castor and Pollux. During excavations for a new car-park under the police station in Via Anicia (in Trastevere), a fragment of a marble plan was discovered showing the plan of the temple, which seems to have been situated on the southern side of the Circus Flaminius, between it and the Tiber; there seems to be a link between this temple and the discovery of colossal statues of the Dioscuri (now erected on the Capitol) in Piazzetta dei Cenci.¹¹¹ Investigations under the Church of S. Tommaso ai Cenci have now revealed walls dating to the third or second century B.C. which presumably must be part of the temple,¹¹² and suggest an early date within the period 173–46 B.C.¹¹³ Another temple which has recently been identified is that of Vulcan, variously referred to as being 'in Campo' or 'in Circo'; Manacorda has suggested that it lay to the south of the Largo Argentina complex, to the west of the Theatre of Balbus.¹¹⁴

The transformation of aristocratic competition into the rivalry of the great dynasts in the first century B.C. was reflected on the Campus Martius, as we might expect, given the military achievements of both Pompey and Caesar. Whereas Sulla's building activities were centred on the Forum Romanum and the adjacent Capitol, Pompey used the wealth obtained from his eastern campaigns to construct a massive new complex on the Campus Martius, which incorporated gardens, a portico, a senate-house, and, most notably, Rome's first permanent stone theatre.¹¹⁵ The creation on the Campus Martius of a group of buildings designed with the pleasures and entertainment of the plebs as a whole in mind was a new departure. Traditionally the Roman authorities had regarded places of entertainment as inherently suspect, but the Campus had always been a place in which voters were impressed by monumental buildings and (if necessary) bribed, so in some ways we can see parallels with earlier practice;¹¹⁶ and Pompey was careful to provide religious sanction for the complex in the form of a shrine to Venus Victrix at the top of the banks of seating. Jolivet sees it as an alternative centre of public life for the city to the forum itself.¹¹⁷ Although the Saepta was originally a rather different sort of building, its monumentalization by Caesar and then Agrippa can be seen as a response to Pompey's complex.¹¹⁸

It was, however, the complex of monuments built by Agrippa between 29 and 25 B.C. on the Campus which most effectively exploited Pompey's lead. Agrippa had acquired from Antony the large estates in the Campus which had formerly been owned by Pompey¹¹⁹ and created a complex of monuments which combined the religious (the Pantheon, recently dated by Coarelli to the earliest years of Augustus' rule at Rome and therefore linked with the Mausoleum and Temple of Apollo as part of his 'Hellenistic' phase)¹²⁰ with places of entertainment such as the Baths of Agrippa, the Stagnum, and,

¹⁰⁸ Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 180–204.

¹⁰⁹ T. P. Wiseman, *Gnomon* 62 (1990), 730–4.

¹¹⁰ A. Ziolkowski, 'Mummius' temple of Hercules Victor and the round temple on the Tiber', *Phoenix* 42 (1988), 309–33, esp. 328. The rivalry of Aemilianus and Mummius: see A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (1967), 120–1. For another view of this group of temples, see R. E. A. Palmer, 'Cults of Hercules, Apollo Caelispex and Apollo Fortuna in and around the Roman cattle market', *JRA* 3 (1990), 234–44.

¹¹¹ M. Conticello de' Spagnolis, *Il Tempio dei Dioscuri nel Circo Flaminio* (1984), 33–43.

¹¹² M. Conticello de' Spagnolis, 'Nuove osservazioni sull'area del Tempio dei Dioscuri in Circo Flaminio', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 91–6.

¹¹³ Conticello de' Spagnolis, *op. cit.* (n. 111), 59ff.; see also F. Castagnoli, 'Un nuovo documento per la topografia di Roma antica', *Studi Romani* 33 (1985), 205–11; E. Rodriguez-Almeida, 'Un frammento di una nuova pianta marmorea di Roma', *JRA* 1 (1988), 120–31.

¹¹⁴ D. Manacorda, 'Il tempio di Vulcano in Campo Martio', *DdA* III. 8 (1990), 35–51.

¹¹⁵ K. L. Gleason, 'The garden portico of Pompey the Great', *Expedition* 32. 2 (1990), 4–13.

¹¹⁶ See T. P. Wiseman in I. M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Public Buildings* (1989), 151–4 on the parallels between politics and theatre at Rome.

¹¹⁷ V. Jolivet, 'Les jardins de Pompée: nouvelles hypothèses', *MEFRA* 95 (1983), 115–38. For an interpretation of the groups of statuary within Pompey's complex, see G. Sauron, 'Le complexe pompéien du Champ de Mars', in *L'Urbs* 457–73; cf. P. Gros and G. Sauron in *Kaiser Augustus*, 51–4.

¹¹⁸ For the Saepta, see F. Castagnoli, 'Influenze alessandrine nell'urbanistica della Roma augustea', *Riv. Fil.* 109 (1981), 415–23.

¹¹⁹ J. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome CCLIII (1984), 238–41.

¹²⁰ F. Coarelli, 'Il Pantheon, l'apoteosi di Augusto e l'apoteosi di Romolo', in *Città e architettura*, 41–6.

perhaps, the Trigarium (a paddock for horses).¹²¹ After his death, Agrippa may have been honoured in the Campus Martius, as was appropriate for a figure who had done so much to transform this sector of the city, although his remains were buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus; La Rocca has argued that a monument excavated under Piazza Sforza Cesarini, near the Chiesa Nuova, and previously thought to have been the Ustrinum of Hadrian,¹²² was Agrippa's cenotaph.¹²³ As the popular assemblies decreased in importance, so the meeting of Princesps and people at the games and in the theatre became more important, and the character of the Campus changed correspondingly. Not only Agrippa's buildings, but also those of Statilius Taurus, who built an amphitheatre in 29 B.C., and Balbus' theatre, combined the characteristics of traditional manubial building with the creation of locations where emperor and people could meet together — divided, however, according to their rank and status.¹²⁴ The hierarchy of the *comitia* had given way to the hierarchies of the circus and theatre; in time the *stabula factionum*, the bases of the teams of chariot racers,¹²⁵ replaced the *divisiones*.

The Princesps did not forget the traditional temples of the Campus, though; La Rocca has shown how the *principes viri* of the early part of Augustus' reign restored many of the temples of the Circus Flaminius.¹²⁶ Perhaps the most notable is the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, which, although built by a former partisan of Antony, the consul of 32 B.C., incorporated sculptural decoration commemorating Augustus' triple triumph and a pediment depicting the struggle between Greeks and Amazons.¹²⁷ Also dating to the same period is the Porticus Philippi, which has now been identified on the ground by Gianfrotta.¹²⁸ When combined with the new monuments built by Augustus and his family, such as the Theatre of Marcellus,¹²⁹ the Porticus of Octavia, and (subsequently) the arch dedicated to Germanicus now known from the Tabula Siarensis,¹³⁰ the effect was to create a new complex focused on the figure of the Princesps which helped to mask the impact of the republican *triumphatores* on this part of the city.

If anything, the impact of Augustus was even more dramatic on the northern part of the Campus. Activity here was initiated with the building of Augustus' Mausoleum in 29 B.C., which was followed by the Ara Pacis (vowed in 13 B.C., dedicated in 9 B.C.), and the Horologium Augusti of 10 B.C.

The Mausoleum has traditionally presented problems. On the one hand, it seems to fit into the tradition that heroes of the Republic (like Sulla and Caesar before Octavian) should be buried on the Campus Martius, and comparisons can be made with the large republican family tombs on the roads leading out of Rome, such as the Tomb of the Scipios; on the other hand, the massive scale of the monument (300 ft in diameter), its commanding position, and the fact that it became known as the Mausoleum (evoking the tomb of Mausolus, Hellenistic dynast and perhaps the object of hero-cult¹³¹) make it hard to perceive it as a purely 'republican' monument.¹³² Zanker, drawing on Kraft's work, suggests that we should see the Mausoleum as a programmatic statement by Octavian, proclaiming his loyalty to Rome rather than to Alexandria like his rival Antony;¹³³ the Mausoleum, like the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the Temple of Divus Julius in the Forum, is a statement of Octavian's own authority in Rome.

The nearby Ara Pacis, however, presents a very different image of Augustus: the emperor and the imperial family are depicted at a sacrificial ceremony, together with members of the Senate. The altar

¹²¹ Roddaz, *op. cit.* (n. 119), 252–98; La Rocca, *op. cit.* (n. 104), 57–69. La Rocca, following F. Coarelli, 'Il Campo Martio occidentale: storia e topografia', *MEFRA* 89 (1977), 807–46 at 839, believes the Trigarium was an extensive racecourse, but the recent work by Quilici ('Il Campo Marzio occidentale', in *Città e architettura*, 59–86), who has identified several roads running across the supposed line of the Trigarium, has induced doubts. It must have been much smaller in extent. See the review by T. P. Wiseman in *Gnomon* 59 (1987), 471–4, and R. E. A. Palmer, *Studies of the Northern Campus Martius in Ancient Rome*, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc. 80.2 (1990), 28–33.

¹²² For scepticism about the traditional identification, see B. Fischer, 'Monumenta et ara honoris virtutisque causa: evidence of memorials for Roman civic heroes', *Bull. Comm.* 88 (1982–3), 51–86, esp. 73–6; M. T. Boatwright, 'The "Ara Ditis-Ustrinum of Hadrian" in the Western Campus Martius and other problematic Roman ustrina', *AJA* 89 (1985), 485–97; M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (1987), 218–30.

¹²³ La Rocca, *op. cit.* (n. 104), 87–100; Wiseman, *op. cit.* (n. 119), is sceptical: he suggests the monument may belong to Julius Caesar.

¹²⁴ P. Gros, 'La fonction symbolique des édifices théâtraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome augustéenne', in *L'Urbs*, 319–46; P. Zanker, *Power of Images*, 144; For imperial legislation on the theatre, see E. Rawson, 'Discrimina ordinum: the Lex Iulia Theatralis', *PBSR* 55 (1987), 83–114.

¹²⁵ Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 121), at 840.

¹²⁶ E. La Rocca, 'L'adesione senatoriale al "consensus": i modi della propaganda augustea e tiberiana nei monumenti "in Circo Flaminiio"', in *L'Urbs*, 347–72.

¹²⁷ E. La Rocca, 'Sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano: notizia preliminare', *Bull. Comm.* 87 (1980–1, pub. 1982), 57–73; *idem*, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 83ff.; E. La Rocca and A. Viscogliosi in *Kaiser Augustus*, 121–48.

¹²⁸ P. A. Gianfrotta, 'Indagini nell'area del Porticus Philippi', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 377–84; see also F. Castagnoli, 'Porticus Philippi', in *Città e architettura*, 99–104.

¹²⁹ For new work on the Theatre of Marcellus, see T. Cianfa *et al.*, 'Area archeologica del Teatro di Marcello e del Portico d'Ottavia', in *Archeologia e progetto*, 110–12; 'Area archeologica del teatro di Marcello e del Portico d'Ottavia', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 533–45; P. C. Rossetto, 'Le maschere del teatro di Marcello', *Bull. Comm.* 88 (1982/3, pub. 1984), 7–50; L. Labianca and M. Petrecca, 'Teatro di Marcello', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 389–94.

¹³⁰ F. Castagnoli, 'L'arco di Germanico', *Arch. Class.* 36 (1984), 329–32.

¹³¹ S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (1982), 223–73, esp. 253–61.

¹³² F. Millar, 'State and subject: the impact of monarchy', in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (1983), 37–60, at 57–8.

¹³³ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 72–7. See also H. von Hesberg in *Kaiser Augustus*, 245–51.

was erected at a site one mile from the *pomerium*, where generals returning from war exchanged their military garb for the civilian toga,¹³⁴ in fulfilment of a vow made by the Senate following Augustus' safe return to the city from Spain and Gaul. The monument has recently been the subject of much discussion, focusing in particular on the problem of how far Augustan monuments can be thought to present a single unambiguous message, and how such a message was received by the viewer.¹³⁵

One of the most exciting discoveries in the city of Rome in recent years has been that of the Sundial or Horologium of Augustus. Although the monument was known from Pliny's *Natural History*, it was only as a result of excavations undertaken by Buchner and Rakob since 1979 in the area of the Campus Martius around San Lorenzo in Lucina, and under the church itself, that the striking topographical implications of Pliny's text were fully appreciated. The excavations revealed a travertine pavement with bronze strips inlaid within it, together with bronze inscriptions recording astrological features. A particular surprise was that the level at which the pavement was found was Domitianic in date; Pliny observed that in his time Augustus' sundial was no longer accurate, so it must have been restored subsequently.¹³⁶ Later, probably under Hadrian, the whole area became a park, and the sundial was abandoned.¹³⁷

The implications of the discovery of the sundial are striking both in terms of the topography of Rome and of the image of Augustus himself. The whole of the northern part of the Campus Martius can be seen to have been transformed during the reign of Augustus, when the area occupied by the sundial is combined with the gardens which surrounded the Mausoleum; but even more remarkable is the way in which the sundial combines an overtly traditional concept — the dedication to the gods, in this case the Sun, of an object captured from a foreign enemy — in a monumental complex which by implication puts Augustus at the very centre of the cosmos.¹³⁸ Nicolet has shown how Augustus followed Caesar in developing a new geography of the world, with his regime at the centre; the sundial demonstrates that the whole universe now formed part of the new Augustan system.¹³⁹

Jolivet has shown that the buildings of the Horti Lucullani were situated on a line between the top of the Pincio and the Mausoleum of Augustus, implying that Augustus' Mausoleum had become a point of reference for the topography of the whole of this part of Rome.¹⁴⁰ A further significant element in the complex of monuments focused on the Mausoleum came into being after Augustus' death in A.D. 14, in the form of the Ustrinum. Lanciani believed this was located between the Mausoleum and the Via Flaminia, on the basis of a paved area and some *cippi* bearing the names of members of the imperial family which had been discovered in the Largo dei Lombardi. Recently, however, scepticism has been expressed about both the location and the reconstruction of this monument offered by Lanciani. Tortorici notes that second-century buildings were subsequently found on the site of Lanciani's Ustrinum, and argues plausibly that so prestigious a monument would not have been covered with other buildings only a century or so after Augustus' death; he suggests that the Ustrinum must have been situated further to the south.¹⁴¹ Jolivet's solution to the problem is even more radical: he argues that the Ustrinum, which Strabo says was 'in the middle of the Campus' (ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ) was in fact north of the monuments in the Montecitorio area conventionally identified as the Ustrina of Marcus Aurelius and other emperors, and was oriented along the same line as the Mausoleum and the Obelisk which formed the Gnomon of the sundial. It should therefore be seen as a memorial marking the place where Augustus was cremated (like the altar which marked the place of Julius Caesar's cremation in the Forum Romanum), not a place regularly used for subsequent cremations.¹⁴² The attraction of this theory is not only that it fits the otherwise obscure Ustrinum into the Augustan programme for the northern Campus Martius, but also explains why the *cippi* found in the Largo dei Lombardi commemorate members of the imperial family who were (we assume) subsequently buried in the Mausoleum; they mark the locations where the various cremations took place.

After Augustus, the Campus became an increasingly important location for imperial monuments: in particular, the lead given by Agrippa was followed up by Augustus' successors, and the Baths of Nero, the Stadium of Domitian and other monuments contributed to making it an area of the city which

¹³⁴ *Res Gestae* 12; M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982), 29.

¹³⁵ See S. Settis, 'Die Ara Pacis', in *Kaiser Augustus*, 400–26; J. Elsner, 'Cult and sculpture: sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae', *JRS* 81 (1991), 50–61. On the problem in general: A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Rome's cultural revolution', *JRS* 79 (1989), 157–69, esp. 162–3.

¹³⁶ *NH* xxxvi. 72–3. Excavations of the sundial: see E. Buchner, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus* (1982); A. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece* (1987), 27–34.

¹³⁷ F. Rakob, 'Die Urbanisierung des nördlichen Marsfeldes: neues Forschungen im Areal des Horologium Augusti', in *L'Urbs*, 687–712; M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (1987), 71.

¹³⁸ See A. Wallace-Hadrill, *JRS* 75 (1985), 246–7; A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Time for Augustus: Ovid, Augustus and the Fasti', in M. Whitby, P. Hardie

and M. Whitby (eds), *Homo Viator* (1987), 221–30; Hardie, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 368–9. For more on the astrological aspects of Augustus' programme, with reference to the Temple of Concord in the Forum, see B. A. Kellum, 'The city adorned: programmatic display at the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*', in Raafaub and Toher (eds), *op. cit.* (n. 36), 276–307.

¹³⁹ C. Nicolet, *L'inventaire du monde* (1988), esp. 28–30, with reviews by F. Millar, *JRA* 1 (1988), 137–41, and N. Purcell, *JRS* 80 (1990), 178–82.

¹⁴⁰ V. Jolivet, 'Les cendres d'Auguste: note sur la topographie monumentale du Champ de Mars septentrional', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 89–96, at 90.

¹⁴¹ Tortorici, *op. cit.* (n. 23).

¹⁴² Jolivet, *op. cit.* (n. 140). See also C. Buzzetti, 'Ustrini imperiali a Montecitorio', *Bull. Comm.* 89 (1984), 27–8.

combined entertainment facilities with important religious buildings set up by the imperial house. Its transformation from an area characterized primarily by republican political competition became complete.¹⁴³

III. ARISTOCRATIC HOUSING (Fig. 3)

Two major themes of recent scholarship on the late Roman Republic have been the nature of aristocratic competition and the role of patronage within Roman political relations,¹⁴⁴ and both of these issues are illuminated by the study of aristocratic housing in the City of Rome, since much formal and informal political activity tended to take place in private houses. Clients were received in the atrium, and the design and location of a house could impress potential voters and lead to political success. Thus the increasing level of political competition in the first century B.C. was reflected in the building of increasingly lavish houses: Pliny observes that the house of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the finest in Rome in 78 B.C., was only thirty five years later not even in the first hundred.¹⁴⁵ These themes have been taken up by several scholars recently, who have stressed the political implications of both the interior and exterior design of the Roman aristocratic house. Wiseman stresses the outside appearance of the houses of the aristocrats, decorated with spoils recalling the achievements of their present (or previous) owners;¹⁴⁶ Wallace-Hadrill draws on Vitruvius' *De Architectura* to analyse its internal organization in terms of the 'axes of differentiation', public/private and grand/humble.¹⁴⁷ The exploitation of themes and elements derived from religious architecture in the houses of the late Republic are examined by Coarelli, who compares the design of the Villa of Lucullus on the Pincio (just above the modern Spanish Steps) with that of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, a sanctuary with which the Luculli had traditional connections.¹⁴⁸ Doubt has been cast on the precise chronology of the linkage between the temple and the villa by recent excavations which have shown that the hemicycle which Coarelli links with the temple is of Augustan date,¹⁴⁹ but the general trend is clear: as the level of aristocratic competition increased in the last century of the Republic, so the architectural idiom of religious monuments was exploited to exalt the aristocrats whose houses contributed significantly to their political identity.

Perhaps the most striking contribution to our understanding of the Roman aristocratic house and its importance in political rivalries has come as a result of the excavations between the Forum Romanum and the Arch of Titus which have taken place since 1985 under the direction of A. Carandini. As well as producing results of major importance for our understanding of archaic Rome,¹⁵⁰ this project has also identified the remains of a major aristocratic *domus* of the first century B.C.¹⁵¹ This part of the city was destroyed in the great fire of A.D. 64, and subsequently became part of Nero's Domus Aurea complex before in the Flavian period becoming an area of warehousing and shops apparently associated with the Colosseum.¹⁵² Only the basement of the late republican level has therefore survived, containing in one area a suite of small underground rooms, which have traditionally been thought of as the cells of a *lupanar*,¹⁵³ but which have now been identified as the slave-quarters of an important *domus*, together with a bath-house and other service-rooms. More specifically, the excavators have related the site to a passage in Asconius, which has enabled them to identify the house as that of M. Aemilius Scaurus, aedile in 58 B.C., 'in that part of the Palatine which is located where you descend the Sacred Way and take the first turning on the left side'.¹⁵⁴ Scaurus' house was famous in antiquity (and condemned by Pliny) for the lavishness of its decoration.¹⁵⁵ Coarelli, meanwhile, by combining the heights of the columns mentioned by Pliny with the appropriate proportions for an atrium suggested by Vitruvius¹⁵⁶ has reconstructed the dimensions of Scaurus' atrium reaching a figure which fits well with the size of the basement revealed by the excavations.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴³ On the later history of the Campus, see Boatwright, *op. cit.* (n. 137), 37–40.

¹⁴⁴ Aristocratic competition: see, e.g., W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 B.C.* (1979), 17–34; T. P. Wiseman, 'Competition and co-operation', in T. P. Wiseman (ed.), *Roman Political Life: 90 BC–AD 69* (1985), 3–20. Patronage in the Late Republic: see, e.g., Brunt, *op. cit.* (n. 52); A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Patronage in Roman society: from Republic to Empire', in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (1989), 63–87.

¹⁴⁵ Pliny, *NH* xxxvi. 110.

¹⁴⁶ Wiseman, *op. cit.* (n. 34), esp. 393–6.

¹⁴⁷ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* vi. 5; A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The social structure of the Roman house', *PBSR* 56 (1988), 43–97.

¹⁴⁸ F. Coarelli, 'Architettura sacra e architettura privata nella tarda Repubblica', in *Architettura et société*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome LXVI (1983), 191–217.

¹⁴⁹ H. Broise and V. Jolivet, 'Recherches sur les jardins de Lucullus', in *L'Urbs*, 747–61, at 758.

¹⁵⁰ For which see A. Carandini in M. Cristofani (ed.), *La Grande Roma dei Tarquinii* (1990), 96–9.

¹⁵¹ See A. Carandini, 'Domus e horrea in Palatio', in *Schiavi in Italia* (1988), 359–87, a revised version of 'Domus et insulae sulla pendice settentrionale del Palatio', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 263–78.

¹⁵² Carandini, *op. cit.* (n. 151), 378–9.

¹⁵³ F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica Laterza: Roma* (1981), 91.

¹⁵⁴ Asconius, *In Scaurianam* 27C.

¹⁵⁵ Pliny, *NH* xxxvi. 5–7.

¹⁵⁶ Vitruvius, *De Architectura* vi. 3. 3.

¹⁵⁷ F. Coarelli, 'La casa dell'aristocrazia romana secondo Vitruvio', in H. Geertman and J. J. De Jong, *Munus non ingratum: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture* (1989), 178–87.

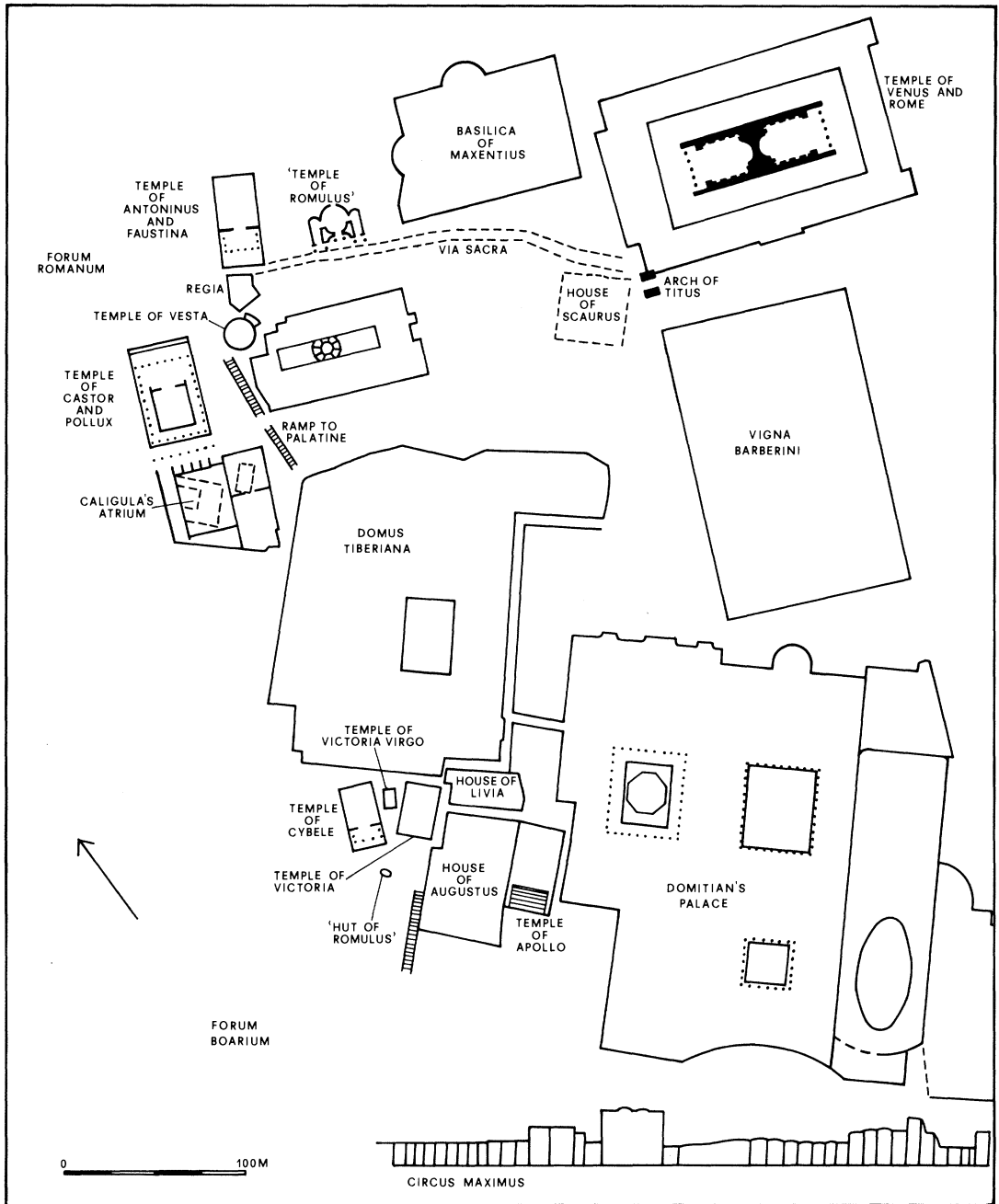


FIG. 3. THE PALATINE

The identification of this building as the house of Scaurus has enabled Carandini, building on Coarelli's demonstration that the area around the Arch of Titus was considered in antiquity to be part of the Palatine,¹⁵⁸ to locate in this area a group of houses which we know from the literary sources of the first century B.C. (and particularly Cicero in his *De Domo*) to have been adjacent to each other: in particular the houses of P. Clodius Pulcher (who in 53 acquired the adjacent house of Scaurus), Cicero himself (which we know to have been situated between the house of Clodius and the Domus Publica), and that of his brother Quintus, which was, like Cicero's own house, demolished by Clodius in 58 B.C.¹⁵⁹ The identification of these houses on the slope leading down to the Forum has meant that earlier reconstructions of the area, for example that of Tamm,¹⁶⁰ have had to be abandoned. More and more houses of the late Republic are coming to light; in addition to those identified by Tamm on top of the Palatine under the Domus Tiberiana, others have been found overlooking the Circus Maximus¹⁶¹ and under Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome.¹⁶² The latter has been identified by Carandini as the house of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.¹⁶³

It has to be said that much of Carandini's argument for the specific identification of the house excavated (and the neighbouring properties) depends on the road leading down to the Forum from the Arch of Titus being identified with the Via Sacra, an identification which has been the subject of considerable debate in recent years.¹⁶⁴ Traditionally it was accepted that the Via Sacra led from the supposed site of the Temple of Jupiter Stator (by the Arch of Titus) down to the Regia, but Coarelli, in a re-examination of the evidence for the road, argued that the Temple of Jupiter Stator was to be identified with the so-called 'Temple of Romulus' between the Basilica of Maxentius and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. The Via Sacra was, therefore, to be identified between it and the Regia.¹⁶⁵ Several scholars have subsequently argued for the traditional picture: Castagnoli, who believed that the 'Temple of Romulus' was part of the Flavian Temple of Peace, pointed out that Coarelli's reconstruction makes the Via Sacra only some 70 metres long, and that the rise in level between the Regia and the 'Temple of Romulus' is only some 1.5 metres; so 'summa sacra via' seems an odd way to describe its position.¹⁶⁶ Ziolkowski takes a similar line, arguing in addition that the foundation near the Arch of Titus should once again be identified as the Temple of Jupiter Stator;¹⁶⁷ however, recent excavations of this monument suggest that it post-dates the Neronian great fire and so is unlikely to be related to a republican Temple of Jupiter, whether Jupiter Stator or Jupiter Propugnator (as Torelli has recently suggested).¹⁶⁸ As Santangeli Valenzani and Volpe note, the problem can only be solved by the acquisition of new archeological data. They demonstrate from excavations behind Carandini's houses that the republican Via Nova must have met the Via Sacra not far from the Arch of Titus; 'summa sacra via' must therefore have been here.¹⁶⁹ The position of the Temple of Jupiter Stator still presents a problem; but the identification does tend to confirm Carandini's identification of these houses.

Pensabene, who has been excavating the area around the Temple of Cybele on the SW corner of the Palatine, has recently suggested that the complex of houses adjacent to that of Cicero must have been situated there, rather than on the slope leading down to the Forum as in Carandini's reconstruction; he notes the proximity of the Portico of Catulus to the house of Cicero,¹⁷⁰ and that of Catulus' house to that of Hortensius, which we know to have been incorporated into the palace of Augustus.¹⁷¹ However, Cicero emphasizes that the portico was built as a *monumentum manubiarum* on the site of the house of Catulus' brother's father-in-law, M. Fulvius Flaccus, not implying necessarily that the house of Catulus and the portico were adjacent.¹⁷² Further excavation in this area will undoubtedly allow interesting comparisons with the complex of houses on the opposite side of the Palatine.¹⁷³

Whether or not Carandini is correct in his identification of these houses — and I would argue that he is — the impact of these discoveries is clear: they have led to a much more graphic picture of the relationship between competitive politics and the houses of the aristocracy, whose rivalry must have been significantly aggravated by their physical proximity; and in particular they have illustrated the scale

¹⁵⁸ *Foro Romano* 1, 24–6.

¹⁵⁹ Carandini, op. cit. (n. 151), 360–73. Similar conclusions were reached by M. Royo in 'Le quartier républicain du Palatin, nouvelles hypothèses de localisation', *REL* 65 (1987), 89–114.

¹⁶⁰ B. Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium* (1963), 28–43.

¹⁶¹ See below.

¹⁶² S. Panella, 'Scavo nella platea del tempio di Venere e Roma', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 106–112; M. L. Morricone, 'Edificio sotto il tempio di Venere e Roma', in *Studi per Laura Breglia*, Bollettino di Numismatica supplement iv (3 vols), iii (1987), 69–83.

¹⁶³ Carandini, op. cit. (n. 151), 359; D. Palombi, 'Gli horrea della Via Sacra: dagli appunti di G. Boni ad una ipotesi su Nerone', *DdA* III. 8 (1990), 53–72, at 67.

¹⁶⁴ For Carandini's own position, see op. cit. (n. 151), 371.

¹⁶⁵ *Foro romano* 1, 11–33.

¹⁶⁶ F. Castagnoli, 'Ibam forte Via Sacra', in *Ricerche e discussioni*, 99–114.

¹⁶⁷ A. Ziolkowski, 'The Sacra Via and the temple of Jupiter Stator', *Op. Rom.* 17 (1989), 225–39.

¹⁶⁸ J. Arce, R. Mar and F.-J. Sanchez-Palencia, 'Monumento presso l'arco di Tito nel Foro Romano: campagna 1989', *Arch. Laz.* 10 (1990), 43–51; for the Temple of Jupiter Propugnator, see M. Torelli, 'Culto imperiale e spazi urbani in età flavia', in *L'Urbs* 563–82, at 573–4.

¹⁶⁹ R. Santangeli Valenzani and R. Volpe, 'Nova Via', *Bull. Comm.* 93 (1989–90), 23–31.

¹⁷⁰ Cicero, *De Domo* 102; *Ad Att.* IV. 3.

¹⁷¹ Suetonius, *De Gramm.* 17; *Aug.* 72.

¹⁷² Cicero, *De Domo* 114.

¹⁷³ P. Pensabene, 'Scavi nell'area del Tempio della Vittoria e del Santuario della Magna Mater sul Palatino', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 54–67, esp. 64–7.

of the slave-households owned by the aristocracy of the late Republic. Perhaps most exciting is the evidence of continuity of occupation in this area of the city from the archaic period until the Great Fire, most strikingly shown in the case of the house identified by Carandini as that of Clodius, which may well have been built on the ancestral home of the Claudii.¹⁷⁴

The house of Scaurus eventually became, like that of Vedius Pollio on the Esquiline, a victim of Augustus' concern to stamp out scandalous examples of aristocratic *luxuria*: the onyx columns which were the pride of Scaurus' house were removed on Augustus' orders and used in the building of the Theatre of Marcellus.¹⁷⁵ Despite the rigours of the Augustan moral programme and the decline in the political power of the traditional aristocracy, however, it is clear that competition in the sphere of housing continued under the early Empire. Tacitus comments that, at least until Nero, 'the more handsome a man's fortune, *domus*, and establishment, the more imposing his reputation and his *clientelae*'.¹⁷⁶ Rooms to entertain clients, often apsidal, continued to be important under the Empire, even after the decline in the importance of popular participation in politics.¹⁷⁷

One major problem, to which a clear answer is not yet forthcoming, concerns the location of senatorial households under the Empire. Since the second century B.C., private housing had given way to public monuments in the area around the Forum: for example, the house of Scipio Africanus gave way to the Basilica Sempronia.¹⁷⁸ As the monumentalization of the central public spaces of the city continued, and the emperors took over not only the Palatine but also parts of the Oppian for their palace, suitable locations for aristocratic housing must have become harder and harder to find. This problem must have been aggravated by the confiscation of properties by the emperors,¹⁷⁹ and the increasing numbers of houses that came into imperial hands by gift and marriage, for example around the Lateran¹⁸⁰ and on the Aventine.¹⁸¹

However, our picture of élite housing under the Empire has been built up gradually over the past few years. The presence of senators in the city has been confirmed by Eck's analysis of the lead water-pipes they used to tap into the public water supply,¹⁸² Rodriguez-Almeida has plausibly identified a house shown on the Esquiline by the Marble Plan as that of Pliny the Younger,¹⁸³ and some *domus* can be seen to have survived even in the very centre of the city. One on the Velia, which dates from the first century A.D. and was rebuilt in the third, is discussed by Pisani Sartorio; it was demolished to make way for the Basilica of Maxentius.¹⁸⁴

Other wealthy houses have come to light in different parts of the city, largely as a result of investigation in cellars or the digging of trenches for pipes and cables. Perhaps the most impressive is the *domus* on the Via Eleniana (just inside the Porta Maggiore), which preserves fine wall-paintings of the late second century A.D., but may date back to the late Republic.¹⁸⁵ Others have been found on the Quirinal: one under the Palazzo Rospigliosi,¹⁸⁶ one under the Fire Station¹⁸⁷ and close to another house identified as the Domus Flavia,¹⁸⁸ another on the Viminal, under the Ministry of the Interior,¹⁸⁹ and two more on the Aventine hill, one of which is identified as the ancestral house of Trajan,¹⁹⁰ while the ancestral house of Hadrian has been identified with a building near Santa Balbina.¹⁹¹ Excavations of the great bath complexes of the third and fourth centuries A.D. have also provided useful evidence of *domus*

¹⁷⁴ Carandini, op. cit. (n. 150), 97-9; A. Carandini, 'Campagne di scavo delle pendici settentrionali (1985-88)', *Boll. Arch.* 1-2 (1990), 159-65.

¹⁷⁵ Asconius, *In Scaur.* 27C; see Zanker, *Power of Images*, 137. Vedius Pollio's house: see C. Pannella, 'L'organizzazione degli spazi sulle pendici settentrionali del Colle Oppio tra Augusto e i Severi', in *L'Urbs* 611-51; P. Zanker, 'Drei Stadtbilder aus dem augusteischen Rom', in *L'Urbs*, 475-89, esp. 477-83.

¹⁷⁶ Tacitus, *Annals* III. 55.

¹⁷⁷ F. Guidobaldi, 'L'edilizia abitativa unifamiliare nella Roma tardoantica', in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico* (4 vols, 1986), II, 165-237, at 207; S. P. Ellis, 'The end of the Roman house', *AJA* 92 (1988), 565-76; Wallace-Hadrill, op. cit. (n. 147), 68, 90.

¹⁷⁸ Livy XLIV. 16. See Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 154-5.

¹⁷⁹ F. Millar, *The Emperor and the Roman World* (1977), 168, however, suggests that the traffic was not all one-way: houses in imperial possession could be sold or given away as gifts.

¹⁸⁰ See P. Liverani, 'Le proprietà private nell'area Lateranense', *MEFRA* 100 (1988), 891-915.

¹⁸¹ F. Coarelli, *Roma sepolta* (1984), 157-65; L. La Follette, 'Le terme Deciane sull'Aventino', *Arch. Laz.* 7 (1985), 139-44.

¹⁸² W. Eck, 'Die fistulae aquariae der Stadt Rom. Zum Einfluss des sozialen Status auf administratives Handeln', in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (2 vols, 1982) I, 197-225.

¹⁸³ E. Rodriguez-Almeida, 'Le Esquiliae Patrizie e il Lacus Orphei', in *L'Urbs*, 415-28, esp. 421-3.

¹⁸⁴ G. Pisani Sartorio, 'Una domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia', in *Città e architettura*, 147-68.

¹⁸⁵ M. de' Spagnolis, 'Una domus in Via Eleniana', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 337-44; M. de' Spagnolis Conticello and M. Bertinetti, 'Via Eleniana', *Bull. Comm.* 93 (1989/90), 79-95.

¹⁸⁶ S. Vilucchi, 'Terme di Costantino', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 357-9; E. Gatti and F. Scoppola, 'Centro storico: interventi', *Bull. Comm.* 90 (1985), 75-80, at 78; S. Vilucchi, 'Le Terme di Costantino sul Quirinale e gli edifici privati di età precedente', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 350-5.

¹⁸⁷ F. De Caprariis, 'Le pendici settentrionali del Viminale ed il settore sud ovest del Quirinale', in *Ricerche e discussioni*, 17-44.

¹⁸⁸ F. Coarelli, *Roma sepolta* (1984), 147-55; see also E. Rodriguez-Almeida, 'Alcune note topografiche sul Quirinale', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 49-60.

¹⁸⁹ F. De Caprariis, 'Topografia archeologica dell'area del Palazzo del Viminale', *Bull. Comm.* 92 (1987-8), 109-26.

¹⁹⁰ See n. 181; R. Luciani (ed.), *Roma Sotterranea* (1984), 85-9.

¹⁹¹ R. Quinto and P. di Manzano, 'Area di S. Balbina', *Bull. Comm.* 89 (1984), 68-81, at 80-1.

which previously existed on their sites but were demolished to make way for them (and so have a correspondingly fixed *terminus ante quem*), for example under the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian;¹⁹² while excavations on the site of the Military Hospital on the Caelian have brought to light the impressive remains of a late Roman *domus*.¹⁹³ Interestingly, the excavations seem to suggest that in the Republic the Caelian was comparatively little occupied; by the Julio-Claudian period the hill was one of the *celeberrimi colles*, according to Frontinus.¹⁹⁴

The impermanence of the houses of the Roman poor, and the numerous fires which ravaged the city in antiquity, have made it hard to identify much in the way of popular housing;¹⁹⁵ however, the late first and second centuries A.D. saw the development of new areas of non-élite housing in the capital, many of which have been identified recently. One interesting example is the complex of insula blocks discovered in the excavations in Piazza Celimontana below the Temple of Claudius on the Caelian hill, created after the Great Fire.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, there seems to have been a major expansion of housing on the western slopes of the Quirinal and along the Via Lata in the second century A.D., as exemplified by discoveries in Via dei Maroniti,¹⁹⁷ in Piazza della Pilotta,¹⁹⁸ and under the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, where an apartment-block seems to have been built on top of the Domitianic sundial.¹⁹⁹ The Severan marble plan suggests that in some cases traditional-style *domus* had been transformed into insulae by the early third century A.D., perhaps housing several family groups in the subdivided atrium.²⁰⁰

Coarelli draws attention to the importance of a particular group of villas built between the third and sixth milestones during the first half of the second century A.D., such as the villa of the Quintilii on the Via Appia and the Sette Bassi and Santo Stefano villas off the Via Latina.²⁰¹ These, he argues, can be linked to the initiative of Trajan in encouraging Roman senators of provincial origin to acquire estates in Italy, rather than using Italy as an 'inn or boarding-house'.²⁰² By building villas in the *suburbium*, provincial senators such as Herodes Atticus from Greece, and the Servilii Pudentes from Africa, both complied with Trajan's request, and created for themselves lavish palaces which would at the same time combine the functions of rural villas and urban *domus*. This they did all too successfully: by the end of the second century nearly all of them had become imperial properties, presumably as a result of confiscation by jealous emperors.

IV. THE EMPEROR AT HOME: THE PALATINE (Fig. 3)

When Octavian in 36 B.C. acquired the house of the orator Hortensius on the Palatine, the choice was not accidental: the location of the site combined a variety of legendary and historical associations which made it an appropriate choice for the home of Rome's new ruler. Central themes of recent work on the Palatine have been to elucidate some of these associations and to examine the way in which the name of the hill became synonymous with the Palace of the emperor at Rome.

Since the late 1970s, excavations under the direction of Pensabene have investigated the south-west corner of the Palatine around the Temple of Cybele, initiated in 204 B.C. at the instruction of the Sibylline books and completed in 191 B.C.²⁰³ This complex stands above the site of the Lupercal, the cave in which Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf (a statue of which was dedicated by the brothers C. and Q. Ogulnius in 296 B.C.); it also includes the remains of another major temple, which has been identified by Wiseman with that of Victoria (dedicated in 294 B.C. by the consul L. Postumius

¹⁹² D. Candilio, 'Terme di Diocleziano — Museo Nazionale Romano. Scavo nella platea nord-occidentale', *Archeologia nel centro*, 525–32; I. Iacopi, 'Esempi di stratificazione pittorica della domus sotto le Terme di Caracalla', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 605–23. For remains found under the Baths of Constantine, see n. 186.

¹⁹³ C. Pavolini, 'Indagini archeologiche a Piazza Celimontana (1984–7)', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 97–104; A. Carignani *et al.*, 'Nuovi dati sulla topografia del Celio: le ricerche nell'area dell'ospedale militare', *Arch. Laz.* 10 (1990), 72–80; A. Carignani *et al.*, 'Gli dei della porta accanto', *Archeo* 48 (Feb. 1989), 99–103; C. Pavolini, 'Celio, Ospedale Militare: La Basilica Hilariana', *Boll. Arch.* 1–2 (1990), 171–6.

¹⁹⁴ *De Aqu.* 87; see also H. B. Evans, 'Nero's *Arcus Caelimontani*', *AJA* 87 (1983), 392–9.

¹⁹⁵ Pannella, *op. cit.* (n. 175), at 616–17; Guidobaldi, *op. cit.* (n. 177), 218–19. For wide-ranging accounts of the housing conditions of the poor, see A. Scobie, 'Slums, sanitation and mortality in the Roman world', *Klio* 68 (1986), 399–433; C. R. Whittaker, 'Il povero', in A. Gardina (ed.), *L'uomo romano* (1989), 301–33.

¹⁹⁶ C. Pavolini, 'Lo scavo di Piazza Celimontana. Un'indagine nel *Caput Africae*', in *L'Urbs*, 653–85.

¹⁹⁷ E. L. Caronna, 'Un complesso edilizio tra Via in Arcione, Via dei Maroniti e Vicolo dei Maroniti', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 360–5.

¹⁹⁸ S. Ferdinandi, 'Ambienti romani presso Piazza della Pilotta', *Arch. Laz.* 10 (1990), 88–94; S. Ferdinandi, 'Quirinale: Piazza della Pilotta. Ambienti sotto il chiostro dei Gesuiti', *Boll. Arch.* 1–2 (1990), 180ff.

¹⁹⁹ Rakob, *op. cit.* (n. 137), 688–712, esp. 690–707.

²⁰⁰ See E. Rodriguez-Almeida, *Forma Urbis Marmorea: aggiornamento generale 1980* (1981), 86; Stambaugh, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 168.

²⁰¹ F. Coarelli, 'L'urbs e il suburbio', in Gardina, *op. cit.* (n. 177), ii, 1–58.

²⁰² Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 19.

²⁰³ For the excavations around the Temple of Magna Mater, see the annual reports on the project by P. Pensabene in *Arch. Laz.* 1 (1978), 67–71; 2 (1979), 67–74; 3 (1980), 65–89; 4 (1981), 101–18; 5 (1983), 65–75; 6 (1984), 149–58; 7 (1985), 149–55; 9 (1988), 54–67. His 'Area sud-occidentale del Palatino', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 179–212, is perhaps the clearest overview of the project.

Megellus),²⁰⁴ and a smaller shrine now thought to have been that of Victoria Virgo.²⁰⁵ Wiseman has convincingly shown the importance of these associations to Octavian: we are told by Suetonius and Dio that he considered taking the name Romulus in 27 B.C.,²⁰⁶ and thus associating himself with the legendary founder of the city, but his acquisition of a house near to the Lupercal and the site of the hut thought by contemporaries to have been that of Romulus proclaimed the same message in a more subtle way.²⁰⁷ Similarly, the existence of a temple dedicated to Victoria acquired a greater importance after Octavian's victory at the Battle of Actium; while even Cybele, traditionally thought of as a suspiciously foreign and ecstatic goddess, was brought into the Augustan programme as a deity linked with Aeneas and Troy.²⁰⁸ Both the Temples of Victoria and of Cybele were restored during Augustus' reign.²⁰⁹

The excavations of Carettoni have gradually over the past three decades been revealing the site of Augustus' house itself, with important results not only for the history of the imperial palace in general, but also for our understanding of wall decoration.²¹⁰ Although Suetonius commented that the former home of Hortensius was a 'modest dwelling',²¹¹ Zanker has stressed the overall visual impact of the complex of buildings which centred on Augustus' house on the Palatine, which soon included the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, together with a portico and libraries, comparing it with the sanctuaries at Palestrina and Tivoli.²¹² We should perhaps see in this another element in the 'Hellenistic' phase of Augustus' building activities at Rome: Suetonius was reflecting the official ideology of the later Augustan period, stressing the supposed frugality of the imperial house. Wiseman has argued that as Augustus' reign progressed the main route of access to the palace became not the Clivus Victoriae leading up from the Forum Boarium past the hut of Romulus and the Temple of Cybele, but the Clivus Palatinus, leading from the Forum Romanum past the houses of the traditional Roman aristocracy and up to Augustus' house: the 'Hellenistic monarch' had become the Princeps, *primus inter pares* among the aristocracy of Rome.²¹³

Despite this, the gradual concentration of functions in the house of the Princeps was significant: in 12 B.C. Augustus became Pontifex Maximus, and built a new altar to Vesta on the Palatine, thereby symbolically moving the common hearth of the state into his palace;²¹⁴ and the Temple of Apollo became a meeting place for the Senate on occasions in the latter years of the Principate when Augustus was too infirm to attend meetings in the Curia Julia. This, as Thompson notes, must also have acted as a symbolic subjection of the Senate to Augustus' authority.²¹⁵

Since 1980 the Swiss Institute at Rome has been conducting excavations in the area on the NW corner of the Palatine known as the Domus Tiberiana. These have revealed that this part of the palace, rather than being a new initiative of Caligula, as was previously thought, comprised four major stages of building. A group of republican houses was subsequently amalgamated into the palace in the Julio-Claudian period; a new Neronian palace, part of the Domus Aurea project, was followed by a Flavian phase, related to the development of the western side of the Palatine in this period; and a Hadrianic phase on the northern side overlooked the Forum Romanum.²¹⁶ This view of the Domus Tiberiana is supported by Wiseman's analysis of Josephus' account of the assassination of Caligula, and his re-examination of the network of passages which led between the complex around the house of Augustus and the republican houses, which seem to have retained separate identities even at the time of Caligula's death.²¹⁷

²⁰⁴ T. P. Wiseman, 'The Temple of Victory on the Palatine', *Antiq. Journ.* 61 (1981), 35–52 = *Roman Studies* (1987), 187–204, with addenda/corrigenda at 380–1; see also his 'Democracy and myth: the life and death of Remus', *LCM* 16. 8 (1991), 115–24, and P. Rehak, 'The Ionic temple relief in the Capitoline: the temple of Victory on the Palatine?', *JRA* 3 (1990), 172–86.

²⁰⁵ Pensabene in Cristofani, op. cit. (n. 150), 87.

²⁰⁶ Suet., *Aug.* 7; Dio LIII. 16.

²⁰⁷ For the hut of Romulus, see A. Baland, 'La casa Romuli au Palatin et au Capitole', *REL* 62 (1984, pub. 1986), 57–80, who also discusses the literary references to a hut of Romulus on the Capitol, occurring particularly during the decade between 30 and 20 B.C. Baland argues that greater emphasis is given to the Romulan associations of the Capitol in this period because Augustus' other initiatives in the city appeared to diminish the prestige of Jupiter Capitolinus: the importance attached to the Capitoline hut of Romulus can thus be seen as making up for its diminished prestige in other respects.

²⁰⁸ T. P. Wiseman, 'Cybele, Virgil and Augustus', in T. Woodman and D. West (eds), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (1984), 117–28.

²⁰⁹ Pensabene, op. cit. (n. 173).

²¹⁰ G. Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (1983), a translation of 'La decorazione pittorica

della casa di Augusto sul Palatino', *Röm. Mitt.* 90 (1983), 373–419, which, as the title suggests, deals primarily with wall-painting. For a recent discussion of the paintings in English, see R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (1991), 37ff.

²¹¹ *Augustus* 72.

²¹² P. Zanker, 'Der Apollotempel auf dem Palatin: Ausstattung und politische Sinnbezüge nach der Schlacht von Actium', in *Città e architettura*, 21–40; *Power of Images*, 67–8. See also M. J. Strazzulla, 'Il principato di Apollo', *Studia Archeologica* 57 (1990), 111–25.

²¹³ Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 34), esp. 403–6.

²¹⁴ A. Fraschetti, *Roma e il principe* (1990), 342–57; Feeney, op. cit. (n. 37), 215–17.

²¹⁵ D. L. Thompson, 'The meetings of the Roman senate on the Palatine', *AJA* 85 (1981), 335–9.

²¹⁶ C. Krause, *Domus Tiberiana: nuove ricerche, studi di restauro* (1985); idem, 'La Domus Tiberiana e il suo contesto urbano', in *L'Urbs*, 781–98. Also C. Krause, 'Domus Tiberiana: progetto di studio e di restauro', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 158–69; E. Monaco, 'Domus Tiberiana. Il versante nord occidentale', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 170–5; M. A. Tomei et al., 'Domus Tiberiana', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 438–70.

²¹⁷ T. P. Wiseman, *Death of an Emperor* (1991), 105–10.

Suetonius' comment that Caligula 'made the Temple of Castor and Pollux his vestibule'²¹⁸ is interesting in this context. Hurst's excavations in the Domitianic buildings later occupied by the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua have revealed a massive atrium datable by pottery deposits not earlier than A.D. 25–30,²¹⁹ which is interpreted as forming part of Caligula's palace. The mid-point of this atrium seems to be tied into the central axis of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, which may suggest a link between the two structures, and help to explain the accounts of Suetonius and Dio, who comments that Caligula 'cut a passage between the images of the gods'.²²⁰ Carandini has suggested that the atrium may have been that of the *domus* of Caligula's family.²²¹

During the Julio-Claudian period, the emperors gradually extended their urban residences beyond the Palatine, and came to acquire more and more of the *horti* of the Roman aristocracy. *Horti* had originated as vegetable gardens on the periphery of the city, but in the first century B.C. the term came to be applied to a particular type of luxurious residence. Usually beyond the Servian walls and the *pomerium*, the *horti* provided their owners with ease of access to the city and a luxurious lifestyle which would have aroused envy and disapproval if pursued within the city itself.²²² Lucullus, who had acquired an immense fortune in the East, led the way with his gardens on the Pincio, but his initiative was followed by others like Sallust, and Maecenas' transformation of the cemeteries on the Esquiline into gardens around 35 B.C. opened up this area of the city too to the creation of *horti*.²²³ Eventually the city was ringed by a sequence of gardens of this type.²²⁴

A considerable amount of research has been done on the gardens in recent years. Many of them were on the Esquiline, an area especially affected by the vast building projects of the 1870s and 1880s designed to provide accommodation for the increasing population of the city of Rome, now capital of a united Italy.²²⁵

The 'Auditorium of Maecenas', discovered in the area of the Horti Maecenatis in 1873, was at first thought to have been an auditorium in which Horace, Virgil, and other famous literary personalities in Maecenas' circle would have declaimed poetry: an epigram of Callimachus was even found inscribed on one of the walls. Recent studies have however suggested that the building would have served as a triclinium and/or nymphaeum: water-pipes were found which would have supplied a cascade of water to provide a cool and attractive setting for a meal. One attraction of the Esquiline for the creation of gardens of this kind was the plentiful supply of water from the aqueducts.²²⁶

As the *horti* of the Roman aristocracy increasingly came under the control of the emperors, these too became favoured places of residence. A famous episode in Philo describes how a Jewish delegation from Alexandria was received in the Horti Lamiani, situated near Maecenas' gardens on the Esquiline.²²⁷ A catalogue of an exhibition held in 1984 reconstructs the buildings, decoration, and sculpture found in these gardens, which included many famous pieces of statuary such as a bust of Commodus as Hercules, and the 'Esquiline Venus'.²²⁸ It was Nero, however, who in the ambitious Domus Transitoria and Domus Aurea projects sought to combine the Horti on the Esquiline with the Palace and incorporate rural and urban elements in an integrated complex of exceptional luxury and artificiality.²²⁹

The central nucleus of the Domus Aurea survives on the Oppian hill, preserved by the foundations of the Baths of Trajan, although the deterioration of the structure and its wall paintings due to the damp permeating through the earth is giving cause for concern.²³⁰ Recent excavations under the Meta Sudans, a monumental fountain beside the Colosseum, have revealed remains of one of the main elements in the complex of buildings around Nero's artificial lake. It seems that the building was demolished to make way for the Meta, which was Domitianic in date²³¹ and not an element of the Neronian complex as had recently been argued,²³² the Flavians used the site of Nero's lake for the Amphitheatre, completed the

²¹⁸ Suet., *Cal.* 22.

²¹⁹ H. Hurst, 'Nuovi scavi nell'area di Santa Maria Antiqua', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 13–17. For a reconstruction based on Hurst's analysis, see *Architecture and Archaeology: the Work of Sheila Gibson* (1991), 26–7.

²²⁰ Dio LIX. 28. Wiseman, however, thinks that the reference here may be to the ramp leading up to the palace from the Temple of Vesta, op. cit. (n. 34), 407, and in *JACT Review* n.s. 1 (1987), 5. For a discussion of the whole problem, see A. A. Barrett, *Caligula: the Corruption of Power* (1989), 203ff.

²²¹ Carandini, op. cit. (n. 151), 386.

²²² M. Cima and E. La Rocca, *Le tranquille dimore degli Dei* (1986), 3–35; R. C. Häuber, 'Zur topographie der Horti Maecenatis und der Horti Lamiani auf dem Esquilin in Rom', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 23 (1990), 11–107.

²²³ Horace, *Satires* 1. 8; D. Mancioli, 'Gli "horti" dell'antica Roma', in *Roma Capitale*, 187–90. M. Albertoni, 'La necropoli esquilina arcaica e repubblicana', in *Roma Capitale*, 140–55, casts doubt on the conventional identification of the 'reeking pits' excavated

by Lanciani in the nineteenth century with the *puticuli* of the ancient sources.

²²⁴ S. Rizzo and D. Mancioli, 'Gli "horti" dell'Esquilino', in *Roma Capitale*, 195–203.

²²⁵ *Roma Capitale*, 13–98.

²²⁶ M. De Vos, 'Funzione e decorazione dell'Auditorium di Mecenate', in *Roma Capitale*, 231–48.

²²⁷ Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 351–2.

²²⁸ Cima and La Rocca, op. cit. (n. 222), reviewed by N. Purcell, *JRA* 1 (1988), 132.

²²⁹ N. Purcell, 'Town in country and country in town', in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (1987), 185–203; L. Fabbri, 'Domus Aurea: una nuova lettura planimetrica del palazzo sul Colle Oppio', in *Città e architettura*, 169–84; M. T. Griffin, *Nero: the End of a Dynasty* (1984), 133–42; J.-L. Voisin, "'Ex oriente sole'" (Suetone, *Nér.* 6.). D'Alexandrie à la Domus Aurea', in *L'Urbs*, 509–43 stresses the Alexandrian models for the Golden House.

²³⁰ Baldi and Martines, op. cit. (n. 32).

²³¹ Panella, op. cit. (n. 27), 75–7.

²³² Leone, op. cit. (n. 27).

Temple of Claudius, and then constructed the Baths of Titus (and perhaps began the Baths of Trajan too).²³³ The colossal statue of Nero survived (transformed into a statue of the sun) in its position overlooking the Amphitheatre until Hadrian moved it, using a team of twenty four elephants,²³⁴ in order to build his Temple of Venus and Rome on the site.²³⁵

The palace of the Flavians was again concentrated on the Palatine. Its remains have until recently been surprisingly little studied: though a study of the so-called Domus Flavia and Domus Augustana has shown the close inter-relationship between these two supposedly separate entities,²³⁶ and Wiseman has similarly expressed scepticism about the standard terminology used to refer to the different sectors of the palace.²³⁷ Meanwhile, studies of the 'Severan' complex at the west end of the Palatine hill have suggested the involvement of Commodus in building activities,²³⁸ and excavations at the site of the Septizodium have largely confirmed the picture given by the marble plan of this vast nymphaeum, designed by Septimius Severus to welcome travellers from his native Africa to Rome, but entirely demolished in 1588.²³⁹

Scholars from the *École Française* are now investigating a hitherto neglected sector of the Palatine, the Vigna Barberini, which lies between Domitian's palace and Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome.²⁴⁰ This has recently been identified by Grenier and Coarelli as the site of the tomb of Antinous, as a result of a new reading of the hieroglyphic inscription on an obelisk which marked the monument, suggesting that it was in 'the garden of the domain of the Prince in Rome'.²⁴¹ Other scholars, however, believe that the tomb was elsewhere in Rome (the inscription might refer to another imperial property in the city), at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli,²⁴² or in Egypt.²⁴³ Cozza has cast doubt on the hypothesis of Rodriguez-Almeida (followed by Coarelli) that after Hadrian this was the site of the Adonea known from the Severan Marble Plan;²⁴⁴ subsequently it seems that the site was occupied by the Temple of Elagabalus.²⁴⁵ This area is one which still raises many questions; we can expect that the excavations will help to provide some of the answers.

V. THE EMPEROR AND THE CITY: THE IMPERIAL FORA (Fig. 4)

The organization under the Republic of the area of the city subsequently occupied by the Imperial Fora is particularly obscure, as the original excavations were concerned primarily to expose the imperial monuments. Between 1985 and 1986, however, excavation was carried out to the north of the Curia Julia, as the first element in the 'Via dei Fori Imperiali Project', and this has allowed a greater understanding of developments in this crucial area.²⁴⁶ Remains of the Macellum, a market building constructed after a fire in the Forum in 210 B.C.,²⁴⁷ were identified, along with deposits of lamps and other goods which were presumably from the shops which occupied the market. The chief surprise, however, was the discovery that the Macellum was still operational in the Flavian period, when it seems to have been restructured as part of the project to build Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*.²⁴⁸ Tortorici's analysis has altered our view of this area in other ways too: the 'Argiletum' is seen to have been not just a street, but an identifiable district of the city, which, like the Forum in an earlier period, was characterized not only by commerce but also by the presence of residential property. We know that Cicero and his brother Quintus owned property for rent in this area of the city,²⁴⁹ and Cicero is even found buying up property here for Julius Caesar, prior to the realization of his new Forum.²⁵⁰ Tortorici suggests that Cicero may have been defrauding Caesar by buying his own property at extortionate expense, though it is

²³³ J. C. Anderson, 'The date of the *Thermae Traiani* and the topography of the Oppius Mons', *AJA* 89 (1985), 499-509.

²³⁴ *Historia Augusta*, *Hadrian* 19.

²³⁵ Lega, op. cit. (n. 27).

²³⁶ L. D'Elia and S. Le Pera Buranelli, 'Rilievo del peristilio inferiore della Domus Augustana', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 176-8.

²³⁷ Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 34), 404.

²³⁸ I. Iacopi and M. A. Tomei, 'Indagini al complesso Severiano sul Palatino', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 69-76; see also I. Iacopi, M. A. Tomei and P. Meogrossi, 'Complesso Severiano', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 486-98.

²³⁹ G. Pisani Sartorio, P. Chini and D. Manciole, 'Indagini archeologiche nell'area dell' *Settizio* Severiano', *Arch. Laz.* 8 (1987), 57-69; I. Iacopi et al., 'Il *Settizio*', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 498-502.

²⁴⁰ Preliminary work by M. Royo: 'Topographie ancienne et fouilles sur la Vigna Barberini (XIXe siècle — début XXe siècle)', *MEFRA* 98 (1986), 707-66; interim reports in *MEFRA* 99 (1987), 481-98; 100 (1988), 505-25; 101 (1989), 489-513; 102 (1990), 443-71.

Overview of the project in M. Lenoir et al. 'Vigna Barberini', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 507-14.

²⁴¹ J. C. Grenier and F. Coarelli, 'La tombe d'Antinous à Rome', *MEFRA* 98 (1986), 217-53.

²⁴² N. Hannestad, 'Über das Grabmal des Antinoos: Topographische und thematische Studien im Canopus-Gebiet der Villa Adriana', *ARID* 11 (1982), 69-108.

²⁴³ M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (1987), 239-60.

²⁴⁴ *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 152, contra Rodriguez-Almeida, op. cit. (n. 39), 48-53.

²⁴⁵ F. Coarelli, 'La situazione edilizia di Roma sotto Severo Alessandro', in *L'Urbs*, 429-56, at 435-9.

²⁴⁶ See above, n. 31.

²⁴⁷ *Livy* xxvi. 27; xxvii. 11. The Macellum: see J. C. Anderson, *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*, Collection Latomus clxxxii (1984), 26-34; C. De Ruyt, *Macellum* (1983), 236-52.

²⁴⁸ Tortorici, op. cit. (n. 31), 44 contra, e.g., Anderson, op. cit. (n. 247), 33.

²⁴⁹ *Ad Att.* i. 14; Tortorici, op. cit. (n. 31), 66-7.

²⁵⁰ *Ad Att.* iv. 16; Tortorici, op. cit. (n. 31), 104.

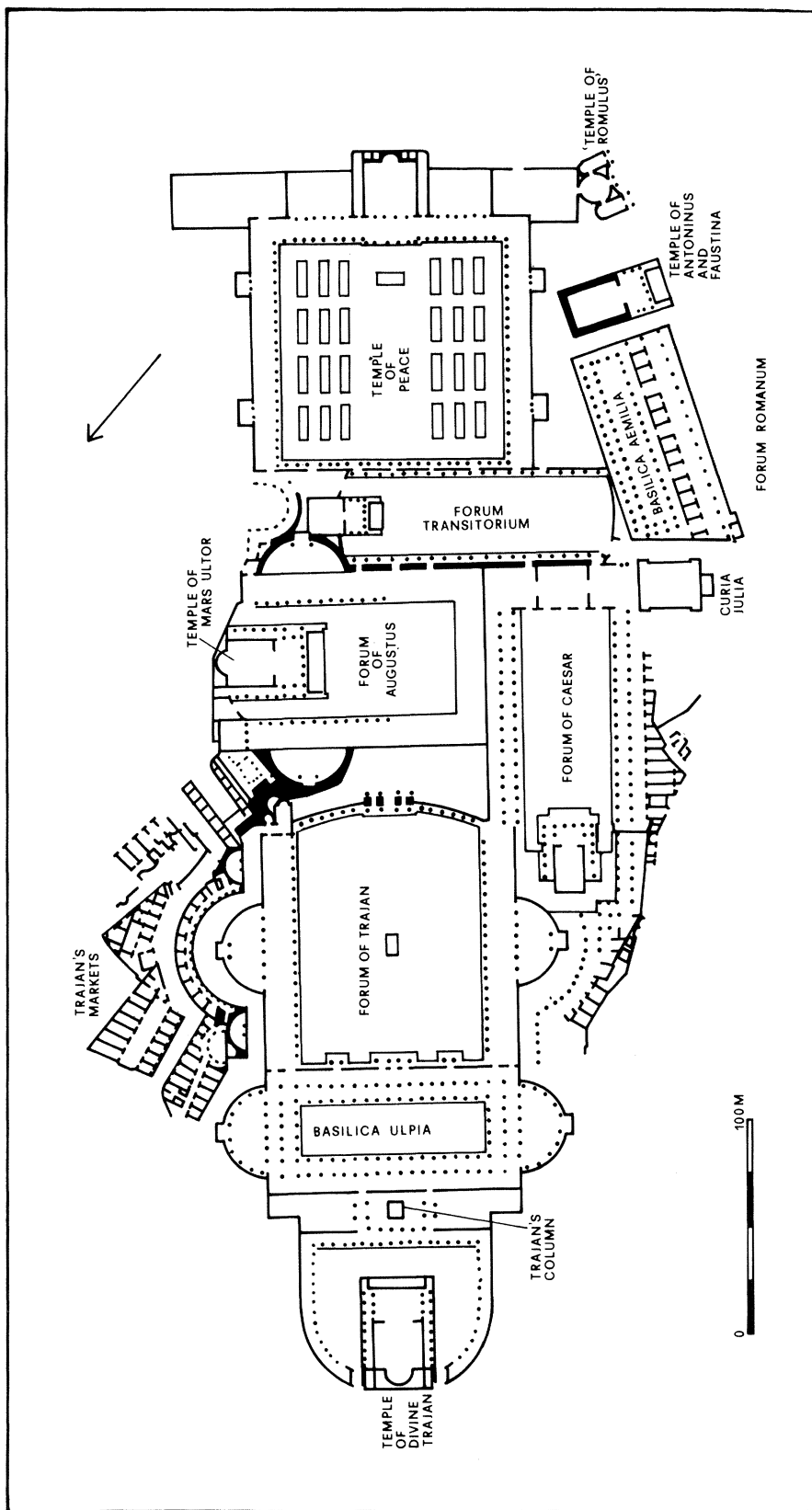


FIG. 4. THE IMPERIAL FORA

hard to see why Caesar should have engaged Cicero for this task if it was well known that he owned property in the area. A *domus* from the late Republic, identified as that of Sextus Pompeius, consul in A.D. 14, survived the building of the Forum of Augustus and is preserved behind it in the foundations of the mediaeval 'House of the Knights of Rhodes'.²⁵¹

As the central monument of the Augustan Principate, the Forum of Augustus has been the subject of several major studies. Analysis of the Forum and its sculptural programme is at the centre of Zanker's work, drawing on his earlier study of the complex;²⁵² others have studied the statues and *elogia* of the Forum,²⁵³ while scholars including Bonnefond and Anderson have examined the activities which took place in the Forum and assess its role within the civic space of the city.²⁵⁴ Bonnefond stresses that many of the rituals which took place in the Forum of Augustus tended to complement those which had traditionally taken place in other locations, rather than replacing them altogether. Examples include the sacrifices undertaken by generals about to set off on campaign, which from the time of Augustus onwards took place at the Temple of Mars Ultor as well as at the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as had been the traditional practice. The Forum of Augustus also provided a space where other rituals might take place involving Senate, Equites and People, in a setting defined by Augustus' own achievements.²⁵⁵

Much of the work on this and the other Imperial Fora has been architectural in character, documenting for example the remains of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the great tufa wall which surrounds Augustus' Forum. This has revealed that the kink in the rear of the Forum, sometimes thought to be symptomatic of Augustus' concern to purchase the land on which the Forum was to be built rather than confiscating it,²⁵⁶ was instead determined by the route of a road behind the Forum and the related sewer.²⁵⁷ Augustan respect for the road network is also shown by the fact that the entrances to the Forum stand opposite major road-junctions within the Subura: though the existence of steps up to these would have prevented wheeled traffic from using Augustus' Forum as a short cut.

The Flavian period also saw substantial changes in this area, with the building of the Temple of Peace by Vespasian to commemorate his victory in Judaea, where spoils of war (and the treasures of the Domus Aurea) were displayed;²⁵⁸ and it seems that Domitian rebuilt the Forum of Caesar as well as his own Forum, the Forum Transitorium.²⁵⁹

Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that when the emperor Constantius II entered Rome for the first time in A.D. 357, the monument which most impressed him was the Forum of Trajan. This has been the focus of much important recent work, which has laid stress both on its architectural design and its programmatic message.²⁶⁰ Sculptures of Dacian prisoners,²⁶¹ *imagines clipeatae*, and inscriptions commemorating the achievements of individual legions combined to present the emperor as a *triumphator* in republican style.²⁶² At the centre of the complex was Trajan's Column, decorated with scenes from his campaigns, which was eventually to form the emperor's burial-place. A systematic project of recording has enabled a new publication of the reliefs on Trajan's Column to take place, and Settis' new discussion of the Column sets it in the context of the surrounding buildings, relating the burial of Trajan's ashes at the base of the Column, between two libraries, to the burial of Celsus in his library at Ephesus.²⁶³

²⁵¹ Tortorici, op. cit. (n. 31), 68ff.

²⁵² Zanker, *Power of images*, 192–215.

²⁵³ S. Rinaldi Tufi, 'Frammenti delle statue dei summi viri nel foro di Augusto', *DdA* 11.3 (1981), 69–84; T. J. Luce, 'Livy, Augustus and the Forum Augustum', in Raaflaub and Toher, op. cit. (n. 36), 123–38.

²⁵⁴ Anderson, op. cit. (n. 247), 88–97; M. Bonnefond, 'Transferts de fonctions et mutation idéologique: le Capitole et le Forum d'Auguste', in *L'Urbs*, 251–78.

²⁵⁵ Bonnefond, op. cit. (n. 254), 262–70.

²⁵⁶ Suet., *Aug.* 56.

²⁵⁷ A. Vodret, 'Foro di Augusto e Porticus Absidata: il progetto di consolidamento e restauro', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 224–8; H. Bauer, 'Ricerche sul muro perimetrale e sul portico del Foro di Augusto', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 229–40. See also H. Bauer, 'Nuove ricerche sul Foro di Augusto', in *L'Urbs*, 763–70; V. Kockel, 'Beobachtungen zum Tempel des Mars Ultor und zum Forum des Augustus', *Röm. Mitt.* 90 (1983), 421–48; J. Ganzert, 'Der Mars-Ultor-Tempel auf dem Augustusforum in Rom. Vorläufiger Arbeitsbericht', *Röm. Mitt.* 92 (1985), 201–19; J. Ganzert and V. Kockel in *Kaiser Augustus*, 149–99.

²⁵⁸ M. Nota, 'Il foro della pace: recenti rinvenimenti', in *Archeologia nel centro storico: apporti antichi e moderni di arte e cultura dal Foro della Pace* (1986), 63–75. For the gardens of the Templum Pacis, see R. B. Lloyd, 'Three monumental gardens on the marble plan', *AJA* 86 (1982), 91–100.

²⁵⁹ J. C. Anderson, 'Domitian's building-program: Forum Julium and Markets of Trajan', *Archaeological News* 10 (1981), 41–8; Anderson, op. cit. (n. 247), 55–60;

C. M. Amici, *Il foro di Cesare* (1991), 74.

²⁶⁰ C. M. Amici, *Basilica Ulpia e biblioteche* (1982), reviewed by J. Packer, *AJA* 87 (1983), 569–72; Anderson, op. cit. (n. 247), 141–77; A. La Regina in S. Settis (ed.), *La colonna Traiana* (1988), 5–44; P. Pensabene *et al.*, 'Foro Traiano: contributi per una ricostruzione storica e architettonica', *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989), 27–292, esp. the historical synthesis by M. Milella and P. Pensabene (33–54); and the review article by J. Packer 'Trajan's Forum in 1989', *AJA* 96 (1992), 151–62. Packer's *The Forum of Trajan: a Study of the Monuments* is forthcoming. On Trajan's Markets: L. Ungaro, 'I mercati di Traiano: l'immagine del monumento', in *Archeologia e progetto*, 80–92.

²⁶¹ M. Waelkens, 'From a Phrygian quarry: the provenance of the statues of the Dacian prisoners in Trajan's Forum at Rome', *AJA* 89 (1985), 641–53, discusses an almost completed statue of a Dacian in pavonazzetto, presumably intended for Trajan's Forum, discovered in Turkey.

²⁶² Aulus Gellius XIII. 25 tells us that under the statues of horses and representations of standards in Trajan's Forum were inscribed the words 'ex manubiis'.

²⁶³ Settis, op. cit. (n. 260). In the same year, another re-examination of the reliefs on the Column was published (F. Lepper and S. S. Frere, *Trajan's Column* (1988)); this, however, uses the Cichorius plates, originally published in 1896 from casts made in the 1860s. See reviews by A. Claridge, *Antiquity* 63 (1989), 627–8 and J. Coulston, *JRA* 3 (1990), 290–309 for comparative discussion of the two books.

Meanwhile, a small-scale excavation has revealed pits for trees in the Forum,²⁶⁴ and further excavations have been proposed as part of the Via dei Fori Imperiali project.²⁶⁵

A particularly difficult problem concerns the temple at the west end of Trajan's Forum (unfortunately known only from very fragmentary evidence). Comparison of the Forum of Trajan with the other Imperial Fora might suggest that a temple should have been an integral part of the complex from the beginning; but it seems suspiciously contrary to precedent for a 'good' emperor like Trajan to have himself deified during his lifetime. Various solutions to the problem have been offered: Settis thinks the temple must have been dedicated not to the emperor Trajan, but to Trajan's father M. Ulpius Traianus, whom we know to have been deified in his son's lifetime.²⁶⁶ Perhaps more convincing is the solution of Boatwright, who notes that the temple would have been invisible to the viewer in the central part of the Forum behind the Basilica of Trajan, and sees the temple as one of several acts of homage by Hadrian to his imperial predecessor, being constructed after the main phase of the Forum. On this analysis, in the original phase of the project Trajan's Column would have been clearly visible from the Via Flaminia as travellers entered the city from the north.²⁶⁷ Wiseman similarly suggests that Trajan's Forum may originally have had a north-south alignment, with the Basilica Ulpia being in the same relationship to it as the Basilica Julia to the Forum Romanum.²⁶⁸

Recent work on the Imperial Fora has led to a new interest in their role within the urban framework of the city.²⁶⁹ The creation of the *Templum Pacis* seems to have resulted in a reorganization of the road-network in the area;²⁷⁰ the transformation of the main street of the Argiletum, colonnaded by Vespasian in eastern style, into the Forum Transitorium would have substantially restricted free passage between the Forum Romanum and the popular housing area of the Subura,²⁷¹ as indeed did the massive tufa wall at the rear of the Forum of Augustus, at least for wheeled traffic. The Forum of Trajan was skirted both to the north and south by roads which allowed communication to take place between the Forum Romanum and the Campus Martius but apparently without letting traffic pass through the new Forum,²⁷² while Trajan's Markets were physically separated from the Forum by another massive wall. These increasing restrictions on communication in the centre of the city must be seen in the context of an increasing specialization in the use of urban space from the early Republic onwards. The mid-republican Forum Romanum had been characterized by a variety of activities, political, commercial, and residential; during the last two centuries of the Republic, housing and commerce were progressively removed from it, as houses gave way to basilicas, and shops were replaced by a purpose-built *Macellum* to the north of the Forum. In the imperial period, these tendencies were taken even further: the *Macellum*, next to the site used by Vespasian for his Temple of Peace, was restructured and eventually disappeared altogether with the building of the Forum Transitorium. A new facility had been created by Nero below the Caelian,²⁷³ and the Markets of Trajan may have also partly replaced it, even if architecturally they do not follow the classical form of the *Macellum*.²⁷⁴ The result of this tendency is a deliberate separation of the Fora from the residential and commercial districts nearby, which became even more pronounced from the Flavian period onwards; the centre of the city became increasingly dominated by the ceremonial space of the Imperial Fora.

VI. THE EMPEROR AND THE PEOPLE (Fig. 5)

Although after Augustus meaningful popular participation in politics was just a memory, the emperors were keen to seek the support and approval of the plebs.²⁷⁵ The means they used varied from occasional acts of direct generosity such as scattering coins from the roof of the Basilica Julia²⁷⁶ to longer term measures such as the effective maintenance of the food supply. In some ways, however, the most effective acts of generosity — and those with most effect on the archaeological record — were those concerned with the entertainment of the plebs: in particular, amphitheatres, circuses, and

²⁶⁴ J. Packer, 'A new excavation in Trajan's Forum', *AJA* 87 (1983), 165–72.

²⁶⁵ A. Carandini, M. Medri and R. Volpe, 'Progetto per uno scavo nel Foro di Traiano', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 272–99.

²⁶⁶ Settis, *op. cit.* (n. 260).

²⁶⁷ Boatwright, *op. cit.* (n. 137), 75–95.

²⁶⁸ T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 75 (1985), 231.

²⁶⁹ See Wiseman, *op. cit.* (n. 268), 231 on this. The project presented by Carandini, Medri and Volpe for the Forum of Trajan envisages investigating the communications between the Imperial Fora, *op. cit.* (n. 265), 282–8.

²⁷⁰ M. Piranomonte and A. Capodiferno, 'Indagini intorno al Vicus ad Carinas', *Arch. Laz.* 9 (1988), 82–9.

²⁷¹ J. C. Anderson, 'Domitian, the Argiletum and the Temple of Peace', *AJA* 86 (1982), 102–10; *op. cit.* (n. 247), 126–31. For the restructuring of this area in the Flavian period, see now Morselli and Tortorici, *op. cit.*

(1989, n. 31), 237–41.

²⁷² Pensabene, *op. cit.* (n. 260), 88.

²⁷³ For a possible identification of Nero's *Macellum Magnum*, see A. Carignani *et al.*, 'Nuovi dati sulla topografia del Celio: le ricerche nell'area dell'ospedale militare', *Arch. Laz.* 10 (1990), 72–80.

²⁷⁴ De Ruyt, *op. cit.* (n. 247), 336–7. For the changing pattern of commercial space, see J.-P. Morel, 'La topographie de l'artisanat et du commerce dans la Rome antique', in *L'Urbs*, 127–55; see also A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Elites and trade in the Roman town', in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (1991), 241–72, at 262–3.

²⁷⁵ See F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 368–75; P. Veyne, *Bread and Circuses* (1990), a translation and abridgement of *Le pain et le cirque* (1976).

²⁷⁶ Suet., *Cal.* 37.

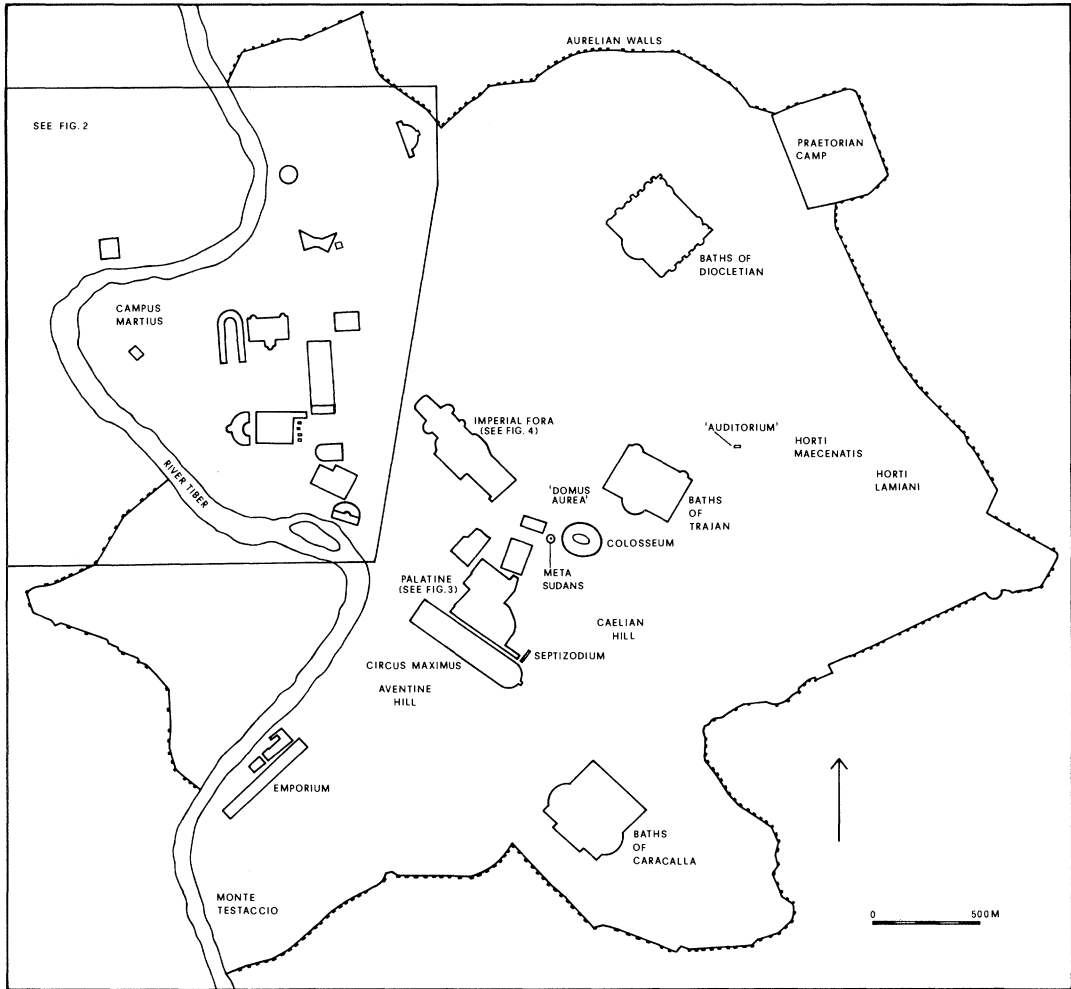


FIG. 5. IMPERIAL ROME

baths. Fronto observes that 'the emperor did not neglect actors and the other performers of the stage, the circus, or the amphitheatre, knowing as he did that the Roman people is held fast by two things above all, the corn-dole and the shows . . . food largess is a weaker incentive than shows; by largesses of food only the proletariat on the corn-register are conciliated singly and individually, whereas by the shows the whole populace is kept in good humour'.²⁷⁷

Gladiatorial shows (which are first attested at Rome in 264 B.C.) were originally funerary in character, but eventually became an element in the *ludi* staged annually by the aediles.²⁷⁸ Under the Republic, the standard location for combats became the Forum. Permanent balconies for viewing the spectacles, the Maeniana, were built in 318 B.C.,²⁷⁹ and temporary stands were also erected by magistrates in which seating was rented to spectators. In the late Republic, probably in the 70s B.C., underground passageways were constructed under the Forum, which enabled gladiators to make dramatic appearances;²⁸⁰ and Caesar seems to have planned a massive theatre on the Capitol, which would have overlooked the Forum.²⁸¹ Only in the time of Augustus, when the underground chambers were blocked up by a new pavement, were the shows moved away from the Forum²⁸² — another symptom of the increasing specialization of space within the city.

Augustus mounted eight gladiatorial shows, involving 10,000 gladiators,²⁸³ but at the same time enacted measures restricting private *munera*; he handed over control of games to the praetors, and forbade them to hold gladiatorial games more than twice in the year, or with more than sixty pairs.²⁸⁴ The desire to distinguish private from imperial *munera* may also have been behind his reluctance to use the new amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, which had been constructed on the Campus Martius in 29 B.C. Augustus seems to have preferred the Saeptra for games of this type, presumably because it had been completed by Agrippa after being initiated by Julius Caesar. The same venue was used by Caligula and Claudius, although Caligula also built a wooden amphitheatre on the Campus, in the process damaging the Aqua Virgo, which Claudius afterwards restored. Nero, too, created a temporary amphitheatre on the Campus; but for a full-scale, permanent, amphitheatre, Rome had to wait for the construction of the Colosseum by Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.²⁸⁵

The creation of the Colosseum can be seen to fit very clearly into the populist initiatives of the Flavians, who were evidently seeking to distance themselves from the extravagances of the later Julio-Claudians. The arena itself was built on the lake of Nero's Golden House, and thus an area taken over by the emperor had been returned to the people. There were also practical benefits: a purpose-built amphitheatre allowed more people to see the games in a setting which both improved the facilities for the spectators and provided an infrastructure which allowed more lavish and spectacular games and performances.²⁸⁶

Although the Colosseum is one of the most massive and impressive monuments of ancient Rome, there has been very little detailed work on it until very recently. A new volume, however, contains some interesting studies: of the marble fragments, of illustrations of the monument on coins, and of the drains of the arena which produced the bones of wild animals such as bears, lions and panthers, as well as those of cattle and pigs, and the seeds of fruits and vegetables, which were presumably the remains of spectators' meals.²⁸⁷

A gradual improvement in facilities can likewise be detected at the Circus Maximus, which has been the subject of an exhaustive study by Humphrey.²⁸⁸ Although of very ancient origin, the Circus was given its canonical shape by Caesar, perhaps as a response to Pompey's theatre on the Campus Martius,²⁸⁹ and was then completed by Augustus; but it was badly affected by a series of fires (the Great Fire of A.D. 64 began in the *tabernae* along the Circus)²⁹⁰ and Trajan initiated a rebuilding in brick-faced concrete. Excavations at the rounded end of the Circus in recent years have identified the area where the *sellae curules* of the magistrates were located;²⁹¹ but most exciting has been Humphrey's reconstruction of the Imperial Box, a monumental structure with a colonnaded facade, on the basis of the Marble Plan and an illustration on a mosaic at Luni.²⁹² Interestingly, it seems that Domitian, having extended the

²⁷⁷ Fronto, *Principia Historiae* 17.

²⁷⁸ See G. Ville, *La gladiature en occident* (1981); K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (1983), 1–30.

²⁷⁹ Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 143.

²⁸⁰ Giuliani and Verduchi, op. cit. (n. 9), 52–66, with Wiseman, op. cit. (1990: n. 9), contra Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 222–30.

²⁸¹ Suet., *Div. Jul.* 44. 1. See Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 116), 152; op. cit. (n. 76), 188.

²⁸² Giuliani and Verduchi, op. cit. (n. 9), 58; Coarelli, *Foro romano* II, 224.

²⁸³ *Res Gestae* 22.

²⁸⁴ Dio LIV. 2.

²⁸⁵ J.-C. Golvin, *L'amphitheatre romain* (2 vols, 1988), I, 52–5, and K. Welch, 'Roman amphitheatres revived', *JRA* 4 (1991), 272–81.

²⁸⁶ Golvin, op. cit. (n. 285), 414; A. Scobie, 'Spectator security and comfort at gladiatorial games', *Nikephoros* 1

(1988), 191–243.

²⁸⁷ G. Ghini, 'Prime indagini archeologiche', in A. M. Reggiani (ed.), *Anfiteatro Flavio: immagini, testimonianze, spettacoli* (1988), 100–5, esp. 104. See also R. Rea, 'Anfiteatro Flavio', *Bull. Comm.* 92 (1987–8), 323–8.

²⁸⁸ J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (1986), 56–294, reviewed by R. J. A. Wilson, *JRS* 77 (1987), 206–10.

²⁸⁹ Humphrey, op. cit. (n. 288), 73; P. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Circo Massimo', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 213–23; P. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Circo Massimo: il circo cesariano e l'arco di Tito', *Arch. Laz.* 8 (1987), 39–46; P. Ciancio Rossetto, 'Circo Massimo', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 542–8.

²⁹⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 38.

²⁹¹ Humphrey, op. cit. (n. 288), 110.

²⁹² Humphrey, op. cit. (n. 288), 74–83.

imperial palace to overlook the Circus Maximus, preferred to watch the games from a viewpoint in the palace itself. By restoring the Imperial Box in the Circus itself and then using it, Trajan was able to enhance his reputation for accessibility: attendance at the circus or at the games provided many of the occasions on which the emperor met a substantial proportion of the people of Rome gathered together.²⁹³

Recent research on Roman baths, including archaeological work in the city of Rome, has recently been critically reviewed by DeLaine,²⁹⁴ so only a few additional comments are necessary here, in particular to draw attention to a new monograph on the subject by Nielsen. The first of the imperial bath-complexes was the Baths of Agrippa, followed by Nero's Baths;²⁹⁵ however, the plan of the Baths of Agrippa is known only from a Severan rebuilding and a (Flavian?) fragment of the Marble Plan, while the Baths of Nero were extensively rebuilt by Severus Alexander and renamed the *Thermae Alexandrinae*,²⁹⁶ so it is difficult to tell how far the facilities of later baths were available at these earlier buildings. It seems likely that later complexes (such as the Baths of Trajan and Caracalla) may have been intended to recreate the atmosphere and facilities of the Campus Martius — intellectual, social, and athletic — in other areas of the city.²⁹⁷ Certainly the *thermae* were seen as examples of imperial generosity: Suetonius observes that Titus made a point of bathing in the baths he gave to the people on the Oppian hill,²⁹⁸ and these may originally have formed part of Nero's *Domus Aurea* complex, since they seem to have been close to the Colosseum.²⁹⁹ The *thermae* provided libraries, places for athletic training, pleasant gardens and much more, besides the facilities for everyday bathing and washing, which must presumably have been done in smaller neighbourhood *balnea*. How wide a clientele the baths would have had remains an open issue: the entrance fee charged would presumably have deterred the poorest members of the urban population from entry, but the emperors were in any case arguably more keen to solicit the approval of the *pars populi integra* than that of the *plebs sordida*.³⁰⁰

Closely related to the provision of bathing facilities was the provision of water to the city by means of aqueducts: often, as in the case of the Aqua Virgo and the Baths of Agrippa, aqueducts and baths were constructed together.³⁰¹ Several recent studies have examined the role of the aqueducts in Rome both from the administrative³⁰² and technical points of view.³⁰³

Even if it was perceived as less important than the games (by some emperors at least), the necessity of maintaining a regular supply of corn for the city of Rome can be seen as a key element in maintaining good relations between emperor and plebs. Rome's corn supply has been the focus of much important recent work, concentrated on the twin problems of the mechanisms by which corn was brought to Rome, and then the political implications of the way in which it was distributed.³⁰⁴ Recent archaeological research has cast light on both these facets of the supply mechanism.

Excavations in the area of the Emporium have revealed the way in which the Tiber wharves were extended and developed in the time of Trajan,³⁰⁵ after they fell into the hands of the emperors during the first century A.D.³⁰⁶ Together with the building of Trajan's new harbour at Ostia, and the Markets attached to his Forum,³⁰⁷ the new wharves demonstrated the emperor's care for the people of Rome, along with his activities in rebuilding the Circus Maximus and creating new *Thermae* on the Oppian hill. More generally, the study by Rodriguez-Almeida of Monte Testaccio, a hill 36 metres high composed almost entirely of the smashed remains of Spanish oil-amphorae, has made the wealth of data it provides for the Roman economy accessible to the historian.³⁰⁸

²⁹³ Humphrey, *op. cit.* (n. 288), 126, estimates the capacity of the Circus as 150,000; that of the Colosseum is estimated at around 50,000 by Golvin, *op. cit.* (n. 285), 287.

²⁹⁴ J. DeLaine, 'Recent research on Roman baths', *JRA* 1 (1988), 11–32, esp. 19–22 on the imperial *thermae*.

²⁹⁵ I. Nielsen, *Thermae et balnea* (1991, 2 vols) i, 43–4.

²⁹⁶ Baths of Agrippa: Coarelli, *Foro romano* 1, 252; *Thermae Alexandrinae*: Ghini, *op. cit.* (n. 24).

²⁹⁷ Nielsen, *op. cit.* (n. 295), i, 58; DeLaine, *op. cit.* (n. 294), 27–9.

²⁹⁸ Suet., *Titus* 8.

²⁹⁹ Nielsen, *op. cit.* (n. 295), i, 46.

³⁰⁰ Tacitus' distinction: *Hist.* 1, 4.

³⁰¹ See H. B. Evans, 'Agrippa's water plan', *AJA* 86 (1982), 401–11.

³⁰² Especially C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome*, *Commentationes humanarum litterarum* XCIII (1991), which provides a survey of recent work on the aqueducts of Rome in the first chapter. See also C. Bruun, 'Statio aquarum', in E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lacus Furtuae* (1989), 127–47.

³⁰³ e.g. A. T. Hodge, 'Aqueducts', in I. M. Barton (ed.), *Roman Public Buildings* (1989), 127–49. A monograph on aqueducts by the same author is forthcoming. Other recent work: *Trionfo dell'acqua: acque e acquedotti*

a Roma (1986); *Wasserversorgung im antiken Rom* (1983), an edition of Frontinus with useful introductory material.

³⁰⁴ G. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* (1980); C. Virlouvet, *Famines et émeutes à Rome des origines de la République à la mort de Néron* (1985); P. Herz, *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung: die Lebensmittelversorgung*, *Historia Einzelschriften* LV (1988); P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food-Supply in the Greco-Roman World* (1988); H. Galsterer, 'Plebiscum pascere: Die Versorgung Roms in der Kaiserzeit', *Critica storica* 27 (1990), 21–40.

³⁰⁵ R. Meneghini, 'Scavo di Lungotevere Testaccio', in *Archeologia nel centro*, 433–41; C. Mocchegiani Carpano and R. Meneghini, 'Lungotevere Testaccio', *Bull. Comm.* 90 (1985), 864–95; M. Incitti, R. Meneghini and C. Mocchegiani Carpano, 'Lungotevere Testaccio', *Bull. Comm.* 91 (1986), 560–95.

³⁰⁶ R. Étienne, 'Extra Portam Trigeminam: espace politique et espace économique à l'Emporium de Rome', in *L'Urbs*, 235–49.

³⁰⁷ La Regina in Settis, *op. cit.* (n. 260), 29–36.

³⁰⁸ E. Rodriguez-Almeida, *Il Monte Testaccio* (1984); cf. D. J. Mattingly, 'Oil for export? A comparison of Libyan, Spanish and Tunisian olive-oil products in the Roman empire', *JRA* 1 (1988), 33–56, at 54–5.

One problematic issue about the corn-distributions concerns the location (or locations) where these occurred. For the imperial period, at least after the Flavian period, the picture seems reasonably secure: the distributions took place in the Porticus Minucia 'Frumentaria'. Where exactly this was is more problematic. The Porticus Minucia 'Vetus', built by M. Minicius Rufus after a victory over the Scordisci in 106 B.C., is identified as the portico which surrounds the Largo Argentina temples on the Campus Martius, and most scholars have identified the Porticus Minucia 'Frumentaria' as either being the same portico or an enlargement of it.³⁰⁹ Rickman, however, has expressed doubts, arguing that the Porticus Minucia on the Campus seems oddly distant from the quays on the river to which the grain would have been brought, and that the design of the Porticus (as shown on the Marble Plan) seems too elegant and insufficiently utilitarian for a complex in which on average six tons of grain daily would have to be stored or distributed.³¹⁰ However, some light has been cast on the problem by the recent excavations of the Crypta Balbi complex. On its north side, the Crypta abuts directly onto the Porticus, which seems from the excavations to be Domitianic in date, and incorporates a series of interconnecting small brick rooms. Perhaps these are the storerooms which would have been necessary in a building designed for administering the corn-distributions; if so, Rickman's objections to the identification of the Porticus Minucia are partly answered.³¹¹ The Domitianic date requires a re-thinking of earlier views of the Portico, though; it has traditionally been thought to have been constructed in the Julio-Claudian period.³¹²

The location of the corn-distributions in the republican period is an even more vexed question. Rickman suggested that the distribution of grain may have taken place at a variety of locations throughout the city simultaneously,³¹³ but Virlovet has recently suggested that the Saepta or the Circus Flaminius might have been used. The attractions of this hypothesis are that the use of these public spaces would remove the corn-distributions from the structures of aristocratic patronage and relate them (in the case of the Saepta) to the electoral assemblies or (in both cases) to the assembly of the Roman people in *contiones*; the use of the nearby Porticus Minucia in the imperial period would thus represent a continuity from Republic to Empire.³¹⁴

VII. CONCLUSIONS

One of the chief attractions of Roman topography as a subject is the way in which the monuments of the city directly and indirectly reflect broader historical developments. The aristocratic competition which ultimately brought down the Republic is manifested in the aristocratic houses of the Palatine, the basilicas of the Forum, and the temples of the Campus Martius, all of which served to impress the Roman people, on whose votes the aristocrats ultimately depended for political success; the language of this competition was increasingly that of the Greek territories Rome had recently conquered. With the advent of the Empire, aristocrats still competed in private luxury; but as triumphs were restricted to the imperial house, as the traditional monuments of the great families were rebuilt by the emperors in their own image, and the people were no longer called upon to judge between aristocratic rivals, the scope for competitive building was seriously diminished. Even gladiatorial games were now restricted; the emperor became, in this as in so many other aspects of Roman life, the single patron and benefactor on whom the whole imperial edifice relied.

At the same time, the structural differentiation characteristic of a developing society³¹⁵ began to be reflected in the layout and organization of the city. In the early years of the Republic, commerce, housing, politics and religion all characterized the Forum Romanum; first, the shops were pushed out of the Forum proper into the Macellum; they were followed by aristocratic housing, as the sides of the Forum were monumentalized in the second century B.C.; the Comitia Tributa moved to the Saepta on the Campus Martius for electoral meetings, while under Augustus the Senate often met either on the Palatine, in the emperor's Palace, or in the Curia, which was now an appendage to Julius Caesar's Forum. Even the gladiatorial combats which traditionally took place in the Forum were moved to the Saepta under Augustus; *mos maiorum*, however, demanded that the Forum continue to play an important role in the religious life of the city.

During the first and second centuries, the increasing imperial presence in the centre of the city, with the growth of the palace and the Imperial Fora, aggravated these developments; the Macellum gave way

³⁰⁹ G. Rickman, 'Porticus Minucia', in *Città e architettura*, 105-8, at 105.

³¹⁰ Rickman, *op. cit.* (n. 304), 250-2; *op. cit.* (n. 309).

³¹¹ Manacorda, *op. cit.* (1987, n. 10), 607-9; Manacorda and Zanini, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 27.

³¹² Rickman, *op. cit.* (n. 304), 192; Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 106), 35.

³¹³ Rickman, *op. cit.* (n. 304), 185-6.

³¹⁴ C. Virlovet, 'La topographie des distributions frumentaires avant la création de la Porticus Minucia', in *L'Urbs*, 175-89. For the public corn distributions of the late second century B.C. as an alternative to aristocratic patronage, see Garnsey, *op. cit.* (n. 304), 197, 208-11.

³¹⁵ K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), 74-96.

to the Forum Transitorium, and the houses of the aristocracy were increasingly pushed out of the traditional heart of the city. But the increasing emphasis on the public and ceremonial buildings in the centre of Rome was closely tied to the developing role of the city as imperial capital and capital of the civilized world: it acquired a complex of monuments which increasingly combined the Greek and the Roman, using materials from around the Mediterranean and beyond. When Constantine began to build his city at Constantinople, its key elements included a hippodrome and adjacent palace, an imperial Forum complete with Column, a Mausoleum, and housing stretching beyond.³¹⁶ The new imperial capital paid tribute to the old. 'If one has beheld the city itself and the boundaries of the city, one can no longer be amazed that the entire civilized world is ruled by one so great.'³¹⁷

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³¹⁶ R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (1983), 41–67.

³¹⁷ Aelius Aristides, *Ad Romam* 9 (trans. J. Oliver).