Activity and Rhythms in Roman Fora in the Republican and Early Imperial Periods

by

Matthew C. Naglak

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Classical Art and Archaeology)
in the University of Michigan
2020

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Nicola Terrenato, Chair
Professor Mary T. Boatwright, Duke University
Associate Professor Ian Moyer
Professor Lisa Nevett
Professor Christopher Ratté

Matthew C. Naglak

mnaglak@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0003-0473-3116

To my family, for believing in me no matter where my path led

Acknowledgements

This project came together over many years and through many conversations with friends and colleagues. I would first like to thank my dissertation advisor, Professor Nicola Terrenato, not only for his advice on this work but also for the many scholarly opportunities he has provided me. Similar thanks go to the other members of my committee, Professors Christopher Ratté, Lisa Nevett, Ian Moyer, and Mary Boatwright, for their comments and contributions along the way.

Countless faculty, staff, and students spanning multiple departments at the University of Michigan and elsewhere have influenced my thinking on the ancient world. I would like to give special thanks to my IPCAA cohort, Craig Harvey, Caitlin Clerkin, and Arianna Zapelloni Pavia. There is no other group of people I'd rather have spent the past seven years with. Thanks also to Troy Samuels, Katherine Beydler, James Faulkner, and Sheira Cohen for reading drafts of many of the chapters below as well as other publications over the years. And to Greg Tucker, Tyler Johnson, Paolo Maranzana, and Matteo Milesi, in the hope there will be even more beers at Neo in our future.

Thanks to Victoria Moses, Scott Harlow, and Ashley Hahn for being willing to go sit in piazza spaces with me in Rome and watch the people go by. And to Rebecca Levitan, my oldest archaeology friend. Thanks to Elaine Gazda, Suzanne Davis, Dawn Johnson, and Alex Zwinak, each of whom made my time at Michigan a little easier in their own ways. And thanks to Jason Colman and Jon McGlone for the opportunity to enter the world of digital publishing and to gain skills for the next step of my career.

This project marks the completion of my years in college and graduate school, and so I would like to thank Profs. David Fredrick, Alexandra Pappas, and Philip Stinson for their guidance and friendship over my time at the University of Arkansas and Kansas.

Summers spent excavating at Gabii have been a joy over the past seven years, and I would like to thank all of those who made my time there an unforgettable experience. This is especially true of the many members of the topography team who have come and gone, each leaving their mark. Special thanks goes to Dr. Rachel Opitz for her mentorship and friendship; without her example and trust, I certainly wouldn't be in the position I am today.

I would like to thank Parrish Wright for supporting me and putting up with me through the ups and downs of graduate school. There is no one else I'd rather go through quarantine with on two separate continents. I love you.

Finally, I would l like to thank my family for their support through my way-too-many years of school. Thanks to my grandparents, who saw me begin graduate school but passed away before I finished and were a constant source of love (and delicious food!) throughout my life. Thanks to my sister Elizabeth, who always had to deal with being the younger sibling yet will always be the first Dr. Naglak in the family and has helped me survive in Arkansas, Kansas, Michigan, and now Massachusetts. And last but certainly not least, my parents John and Kathryn Naglak, who trusted me to find my way in this crazy world and have always loved me unconditionally. I love you all.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

Piazzas have long been places of community, interaction, and conflict within urban environments. This was certainly the case in Roman Italy, where the forum was the economic, political, and social center of most towns. Nevertheless, when fora are discussed in current scholarship, the focus is almost always on the political messaging and identity-forming elements within these spaces. This emphasis results in reconstructions nearly void of personal engagement or activity, particularly for anyone not claiming an elite male identity. My dissertation aims to create a new framework for how we examine open public spaces in Roman society (4th century BCE – 1st century CE) and the variety of lived experiences possible within them, an objective accomplished through an interdisciplinary approach combining textual, archaeological, and ethnographic evidence.

After exploring possible reasons why scholars of Roman urbanism have overlooked the subject of piazza spaces in Chapter 1, in Chapter 2 I review a wide variety of qualitative and quantitative theories which have been applied to the open public spaces of the Roman world and discuss how each has affected my own approach. Central to my framework is a mixture of a form of A. Rapoport's architectural-communication approach with H. Lefebvre's concept of *rhythmanalysis*. Lefebvre's consideration of rhythm introduces the notions of cyclical and linear time as important elements for understanding the nature of spatial environments; meanwhile, Rapoport's division of urban features into different types allows a categorical separation based on permanence and spatial influence that lends itself to an archaeological consideration.

Importantly, to Rapoport's division I add the concept of transitory-feature elements, which includes aspects of the urban environment that may appear and disappear within a rhythmic cycle.

Chapter 3 delves into the primary ancient sources discussing activities and interactions in piazza spaces, including military functionality, information gathering, and daily life events involving taverns, banks, auctions, markets, bookshops, gambling, slave auctions, brothels, games, punishments, protest, omens, and general leisure. The collection of these activities provides an initial framework and catalog of concrete actions which may then be combined with what may be understood from the specific built environments of these spaces themselves. These physical environments are the subject of Chapter 4, where I outline different examples of framing-feature, local-feature, and transitory-feature elements from archaeological and textual sources and suggest future avenues for expanded research.

The next two chapters explore how we might use the concept of rhythm to expand how we research and explore piazza spaces and the events which take place within them. These are by necessity experimental, and each takes a different approach to interpreting lived experiences. Chapter 5 explores the possibilities available for further research into a subject well-studied both textually and archaeologically: the Roman triumph. In moving away from a purely elite viewpoint, I address the triumph in terms of its rhythmic qualities over time. This new approach both affects how we view the triumphal event and allows us to shift our consideration to the differential spaces and, most importantly, people who engaged with the procession over the course of their lives. Chapter 6, meanwhile, takes an archaeological approach to considering the rhythms of an open public space at the site of Gabii outside Rome, with a focus on how its rhythms reflect the larger cultural changes taking place in Roman Italy.

Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Vignette: Ann Arbor

Confusion reigned in the early dawn. Rumors of conspiracy had begun to spread the previous day, stories of an attack in the south and a war to come. Filled with uncertainty, local merchants and farmers gathered in the usual place, coming together from the surrounding villages into the town to hear the news from their elected leaders. Hitching their horses to posts in the square, citizens filled the space, overflowing into the nearby streets and shops. These businesses did good work that day, both those selling food and drink to the crowd and the various bankers, barbers, shoemakers and tailors who offered spaces to pass the time until the speeches started, all with the hopes of a profit. The nearby inns were filled as well, with groups crowded into the upper story windows and balconies. Just to the south of the main civic building the speaking platform was situated, with people crowded around in anticipation while enjoying the shade. Over the course of the day, speeches were made, and resolutions were passed unanimously in support of the current government. Within the next twenty-four hours, war would be declared at the capital; within two weeks, the first military units of local men would gather in the town square, greeted with cheers before marching out into the unknown.

Such was the scene in the Courthouse Square in the center of Ann Arbor on April 15, 1861, as the news of the attack on Fort Sumter was announced to a shocked crowd (Figure 1.1). The history of this open public space dates to 1824, when, just weeks after the founding of the community of Annarbour by John Allen and Elisha Rumsey, regional commissioners chose the

Figure 1.1: University of Michigan President Henry Tappan announces the attack on Fort Sumter on the courthouse lawn (image from the Washtenaw County Historical Society).

site as the county seat. A decade later the first courthouse, outside of which the scene described above took place, was constructed and twice expanded over the next century and a half. The square was not, however, just a place for civic life; the proliferation of shops in the area and its place as a locale in which citizenry could gather in times of stress or excitement underscored its economic and social importance. It was a place for processions, like the one which kicked off President Cleveland's second term campaign in 1892 or the annual Memorial Day parade. It was the location of the first public school in Ann Arbor, founded by a Miss Monroe in a log schoolhouse in 1825. It was a place of celebration, such as when the bells were rung and a gigantic bonfire blazed in the square by 4 a.m. to announce the end of World War I, and a place

of resistance, as when the students from the University of Michigan taunted and heckled Presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan so much he was forced to cancel his speech. Always, it was a place for everyday life, where individuals might sit and eat lunch, kick a ball around a war memorial, or simply go for a walk and enjoy the vegetation. It was a place for bands to play and community clubs and events to take place.

In 1955, the courthouse was remodeled for the second time, enlarged, and the remainder of the square was made into a parking lot.[1]

———

> "Moreover, there are several degrees of human relationships. To depart from that universal connection, it is closer for those of the same clan, the same people, the same language, by which things humans are most bound together; it is even more intimate to be of the same city; for there are many things that citizens have in common among themselves – the forum, temples, porticos, streets, laws, courts, judgements, suffrage – in addition to customs and friendships and business relationships with many."[2]
>
> "Therefore, around the open event space let the intercolumniations be spaced out widely, and in the porticos put the shops of the bankers and place balconies above, which both may be useful and bring in some public revenue. Moreover, it is proper for the size to be made proportional to the number of people, so that the forum is not too small a space to be useful nor look empty for a lack of people. Accordingly, its breadth should be limited, so that when its length is divided into three parts, out of these two parts are given to it; thus, it's form will be oblong and its arrangement useful for putting on shows."[3]

———

1.2 Introduction

Open public spaces, often called piazzas, plazas, or squares, are ubiquitous features of urban life in cultures across the globe. In their nascent beginnings, they could

[1] For excellent histories of Ann Arbor, see Marwil 1991 and Cocks 1974. The introductory vignettes for each chapter have been created from a combination of ethnographic research (when possible) and background research.
[2] Cic. *Off*. 1.53. Translations of Latin and Greek are my own unless otherwise indicated.
[3] Vit. 5.1.2.

be small multipurpose areas situated between the more private domestic structures of a nomadic lineage or clan. Later, as the processes of sedentism and then urbanization began to take hold, these spaces grew up alongside the communities which made use of them. The key element, no matter what the scale, is that these are shared environments, places where a variety of individuals of different types come together over the course of a day in order to accomplish a variety of both communal and unique goals, whether it be food preparation and cooking around a communal hearth or the celebration of civic pride as soldiers go off to war.

In the Greek and Roman world, these spaces within an urban environment may take many forms but are often called *fora* (sg. *forum*) in Latin or *agorai* (sg. *agora*) in Greek, depending on the culture under consideration. In central Italy, the area of focus of this project, this kind of space dates back to the early Iron Age when clans and lineages first made the decision to come together on the plateaus and hillsides which would become future cities (see Chapter 6 for a more lengthy discussion). However, they were not yet completely unified, yielding a pattern of multifocal settlements, a phenomenon which is most well-recognized on the hills of Rome where occupation areas are quite distinct.[4] Though in the case of Rome settlement on the hillsides gave an environmental advantage by avoiding the low-lying floodlands of the Tiber, this pattern is repeated at sites such as Tarquinia, Lavinium, Veii and Gabii among others where the landscape does not dictate this form of occupation. This type of settlement pattern encouraged the creation of neutral areas within the larger community, areas where people could come together for political, economic, or social purposes without yielding a "home-court" advantage to a particular group. Again, the Roman forum is the most well-known example of

[4] Guaitoli 1981, Guaitoli 2016, Pacciarelli 1991, Pacciarelli 2001, Rendeli 1993, Pacciarelli 2017.

this, originally a burial ground within the floodplain before being raised up to make it an accessible place for the community.[5]

By the late republican period, a Roman city's forum is symbolic of the heart of the community and the center of Roman life. This is recognized both by the monumental amounts of time and energy put into aggrandizing these piazza spaces as well as by surviving textual sources which discuss their value to the typical Roman. Though Vitruvius, with his list of suggested rules and requirements for the size and location of forum spaces, is a natural starting point, other authors more effectively relate the impact of what the forum truly meant to a citizen of a Roman.[6] Its centrality within a city and its locus as a place of community can be seen by the fact that Cicero lists it first among the traits which those dwelling in a city hold in common, before streets, temples, or laws. They are busy and crowded (sometimes too much so), the center of the economic, social, ritual, and political life. Figure 1.2 offers one reconstruction of the forum as a busy, crowded space; while the martyrdom of Saint Agnes is the main subject in the foreground, it is clear that a variety of other activities are taking place around the rest of the space.[7] Similar depictions survive in ancient material culture, if rarely, such as the "forum frieze" in the House of Julia Felix in Pompeii (Figure 3.9 shows a portion of this frieze).

[5] Hopkins 2016, 34.
[6] Vitr. *De arch.* 5.1-2. See introductory quotes for this citation as well as the following one by Cicero.
[7] Seneca *QNat.* D118 (A93a).

Figure 1.2: The Martyrdom of St. Agnes in the Roman Forum, in the year 303, under Diocletian 1864. Painting by Joseph Désiré Court (1797-1865). Oil on Canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, France.

Yet, while similar urban spaces such as the Greek *agora* and the Roman street have enjoyed a renaissance in recent scholarly research (see Chapter 2), with prime attention given to the cast of characters who engaged with these spaces on a daily basis, the forum has been noticeably left out.[8] This omission may be due to several factors. On the one hand, when discussing ancient piazza spaces primary textual sources almost always focus on their more political characteristics and events, perhaps not surprising considering the male, elite authors of most of these texts. Who dedicated what monument and why? Who gave what speech against whom? These are the typical foci when considering life in the piazza spaces of Rome. This focus, however, leaves these spaces almost static in terms of the regular events of daily life which must have taken place. To get a glimpse of what life was really like, with its vast diversity

[8] E.g. Hartnett 2017, Östenberg, Malmberg and Bjørnebye 2015, Kaiser 2011 for the Roman street; Dickenson 2017, Sielhorst 2015 for the Greek Agora.

of agents and actions, it is necessary to stitch together short mentions and asides by various authors that might have been made while another subject was the main point of focus (see Chapter 3). On the other hand, archaeological exploration of piazza spaces is difficult and time-consuming; to excavate a large, mostly empty, open public space and to carefully document its layers and artifacts is not exactly a grant-writer's dream. Even when undertaken systematically, natural processes and the secondary or tertiary deposition of artifacts can disrupt simple interpretation. These facts have left the surrounding architecture as the primary source of data for understanding piazza spaces, but, again, when combined with our textual sources their functionality has so far been interpreted mainly in the political and religious sphere.[9] The choices made in three-dimensional reconstructions of piazza spaces through their architecture, one of the major ways they are presented to the wider public in modern times, reflects this focus; they are generally shown as pristine, empty zones with a perhaps a few senators walking around (contrast Figure 1.3 with 1.2).

Combined with these complications to the surviving evidence for piazza spaces is what I have designated the "nodal-conflation problem" in current research into piazza-life in urban environments. This problem highlights two difficulties in piazza studies which are intertwined: the impulse to turn open public spaces into monolithic nodes within the larger network of the

[9] The most recent example is perhaps Russell 2016, who focuses on the politics of public space in republican Rome and reevaluates the public/private divide present in the forum. While she beneficially attempts to include the experiences of women, slaves, and non-citizens in these spaces, the focus remains squarely on their impact on politics and political spaces and not their everyday lives as agents with their own lived experiences.

Figure 1.3: Screenshot from the Rome Reborn 3D reconstruction of the Roman forum (from www.romereborn.org, Accessed 4/1/2020).

urban environment and the desire to then conflate these nodes with the "active" streets that intersect them. To begin with the first issue, the concept of a piazza as a nodal entity emerges almost naturally when a network approach is used to consider the urban environment. While streets become the primary avenue of movement through the city, offering easily analyzable paths (2-way or 1-way) for individuals and vehicles to move, piazza spaces are reduced to almost static nodal points within this network, destination spaces where movement stops for an uncertain amount of time before action picks up once more on the roads of the city. This effect is quite pronounced visually in network graphs, where piazza spaces become nodal points with a variety of spokes sticking out, representing the streets which intersect them (Figure 1.4).[10]

[10] Similar issues have been raised with how space syntax analysis reduces a space to a nodal point; see discussion in Chapter 2.5.2.

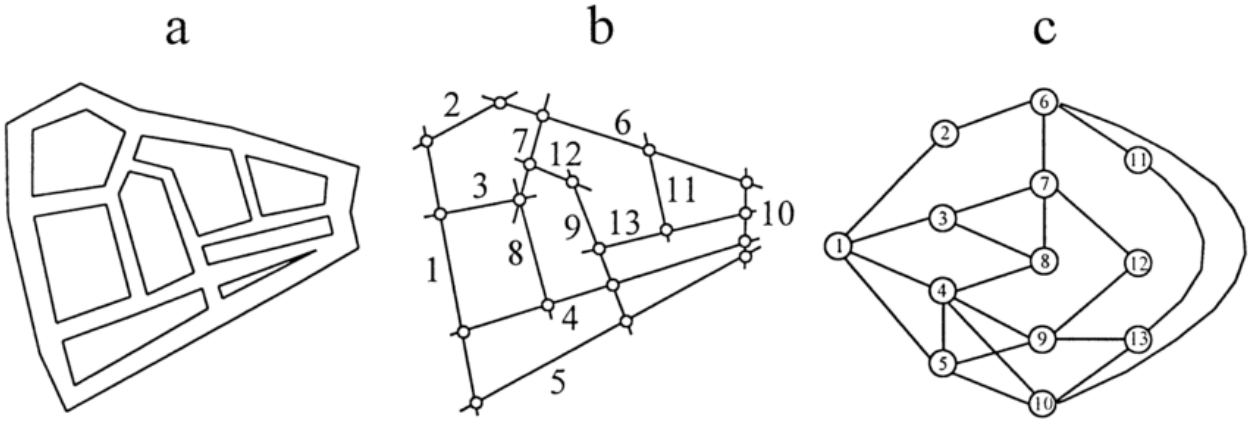

Figure 1.4: Transformation of a hypothetical street grid into a network graph (after Jiang et al. 1999, Fig. 4).

This nodal image has had a negative effect on how piazza spaces are evaluated, creating a monolithic and static entity. When reduced to a singular point, piazzas become singular features rather than multifunctional, active networks in their own right. An example may be illustrative. In a beneficial analysis of the changing use and perception of fora in Rome from the late republican into the early imperial periods, D. Newsome argues that "the distinction between the Forum Romanum and the imperial fora can be neatly summarized as one between movement *through* and movement *to* [emphasis his]."[11] In particular, Newsome is working from the concept of "natural movement," where movement is controlled by the urban form as a whole and not by specific nodal "attractors" within the city.[12] His conclusion is that the Roman forum offers higher potential for through-movement due to a greater amount of accessibility and integration with the larger urban grid, at least in comparison with the "destination" spaces of the imperial fora.

While the comparison between the Roman forum and the later imperial period spaces as a whole may be valid, the dichotomy of *to* vs *through* perfectly encapsulates the nodal portion of the nodal-conflation problem. In each case, the piazza is construed as a nodal point within a

[11] Newsome 2011b, 292.
[12] Hillier 2007, 120.

larger network, one that a person is simply passing *through* on their way somewhere else or venturing *to* for a specific purpose, at which point movement (and therefore activity) ceases. What is missing from the dichotomy is movement *within* the piazza space and a recognition of the varied multifunctionality that these spaces express over the course of a day, a week, a month. From this viewpoint, the nodal piazza point should be seen to explode into a network in its own right, a network inside a network with its own destinations, links, activities, and paths for accessibility and movement. When seen from this viewpoint, then, every engagement with a piazza space breaks this dichotomy. Movement through a piazza is just one of the varied and mixed possibilities of movement within the space, and one that is certainly controlled and influenced by the form of the piazza itself. Movement to a piazza, meanwhile, becomes just the starting point of the larger network of movement interaction taking place, including the eventual exit that marks the culmination of both the through and to dichotomy. Moving beyond a nodal viewpoint to the next layer of possible engagements and interactions undertaken by agents in real-world situations serves to enliven the piazza and make it a space in which active, lived experiences take place, situating the forum as much more than a static destination or a cut-through to be navigated as quickly as possible.

This static nodal image of the piazza gives rise to the second part of the nodal-conflation problem, that of conflation with the active street within scholarship.[13] When the basic building blocks of the city-as-network become fixed nodes and active streets, the active streets almost naturally become the area of focus, with piazza spaces mostly ignored or conflated with their connective neighbors. Qualitatively, this conflation is common in multisensory studies, which blend activities taking place in piazza spaces into evidence for street life. It is difficult to place

[13] See Chapter 3.1 for further information on scholarship dealing with the Roman street.

much blame to this approach, however, as piazza spaces are often natural continuations of the street, particularly when pedestrians are involved. Where does the piazza begin and the street end, particularly when the point of these open spaces is that people easily can flow in, out, and through them? Their overlap in functionality simply shows how integrated these spaces were with one another. Nevertheless, this kind of conflation has served to reinforce the active nature of streets to the detriment of studies focused specifically on piazza environments.

This conflation can occur in quantitative studies as well. Take A. Kaiser's in many ways excellent monograph *Roman Urban Street Networks*.[14] Here, he applies a quantitative analysis to a variety of street networks across the Roman empire, measuring the statistical relevance of a variety of structure function classifications based on their location in the city. Forum spaces, however, are treated as single wholistic entities, implicitly suggesting that people engaged with them in a nodal manner. His results, therefore, are lacking, with a single paragraph generally given over to discussing the role of the piazzas in the larger network of the town. When the piazza is perceived of as the endpoint of a street, this kind of interpretation is not surprising.

In this project, I aim to create a new framework for how we might consider open public spaces in Roman society and the variety of lived experiences possible within them, an objective accomplished through an interdisciplinary approach combining textual, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence, and when beneficial, a consideration of modern urban theory and ethnographic study. Individuals of all social classes, genders, and occupations visited and moved through the open public spaces of Roman cities daily, concerned with all manner of activities. While issues of elite messaging and activity remain important aspects of how we understand urban spaces in the Roman world, my research highlights the variety of possible experiences,

[14] Kaiser 2011.

from the travelling doctor peddling his miracle cures to the slave who cut through the forum because he was late picking up goods for his master.[15]

1.3 Structure of This Dissertation

Central to this approach is moving the study of motion in the Roman built environment into the larger world of anthropological studies of movement and activity across time and space. Due to the false divide between Classical Archaeology and the rest of its archaeological and anthropological kin, the field has a tendency to isolate itself when considering or applying different types of theory to its datasets (much less wider cross-cultural comparisons).[16] In **Chapter 2**, I review a wide variety of qualitative and quantitative theories which have been applied to the open public spaces of the Roman world over the last decades, including such mainstays as reception theories, multisensory/phenomenological studies, and space syntax. Though the pros and cons of each are discussed, each approach is valuable in its own way to give a larger view of the physical experience of being in piazza spaces, and each influences my approach in its own way. The core of my framework, however, is the use of H. Lefebvre's anthropological concept of *rhythm*.[17] Rhythms are the repetitive, but not necessarily identical, practices which shape our lives. From an archaeological viewpoint, they are the actions which not only create the material record but shape and are shaped by the environment (physical and social) in which they take place. This framework has been applied widely in the archaeological

[15] Cic. Clu. 14.40 and Phaed. Fables 3.19, respectively.
[16] See, for example, Naglak and Terrenato 2019 for a discussion of this phenomenon with respect to state formation and kinship studies in central Italy, where the Greek *genos* is consistently used as an erroneous comparandum for the Roman *gens*.
[17] Lefebvre 2013.

and ethnographic world outside of the Mediterranean but has yet to make its mark on the Classical world.

But what kind of actions might we imagine take place in these spaces? This topic is the subject of **Chapter 3**, centered on the textual and epigraphic evidence for movement and activity in piazzas in Roman Italy. Although the majority of our sources do not specifically focus on daily life, through a close analysis of the references to fora in a wide variety of Latin and Greek histories, myths, asides, and random mentions, it is possible to get an idea of the multitude of varied experiences possible within these spaces so integral to urban life. In this I unabashedly blend sources from across time, space, and genre, not with the intention of suggesting that every event mentioned "really" took place the way it is depicted or that the activities taking place in piazzas remained the same across the centuries, but rather to show that the active, integrative nature of piazza spaces was commonplace throughout the history of the Roman world. Though certainly not an exhaustive catalogue of citations, I believe it is a representative sample of moments taken from outside of the world of political messaging, touching on subjects as varied as commerce (regulated and otherwise), leisure, war, punishment, information dispersal, festivals, omens, and general gossip. Importantly, figures of all types can be found in this space, rich and poor, old and young, men and women of all statuses, revealing a space which is a far cry from the elite, male political arena so often depicted (and perhaps wished for) by Roman elite authors.

With this textual framework in mind, I begin to consider the physical nature of the piazza spaces themselves in **Chapter 4**. In this approach, architecture, as our primary source of material evidence, must obviously play an important role. In tying Lefebvre's high-level theoretical approach to the lived reality of these spaces, I combine the concept of rhythm with a version of

A. Rapoport's methodology of dividing urban features into different types (fixed, semifixed, and nonfixed) based on their permanence within the built environment. In a slight adjustment to his approach, I refocus his division by considering the spatial influences of different feature types as they affect movement and activity around an area. His fixed-feature elements are my framing-features, elements which shape a space and the users' experiences within them (entrances, pavements, porticos, etc.). His term semifixed-feature elements, meanwhile, are my local-feature elements, controlling activity in only a portion of a piazza (statues, water features, inscriptions, etc.). Finally, in lieu of nonfixed-feature elements, his nod to the human impact on a space, I introduce the wider concept of transitory-feature elements. These are the features of an urban environment which are quite temporary, possibly event-based but which may occur naturally over the course of the day. They are legion, but basic examples may include trash and other waste, temporary structures or barriers, shade, and, of course, crowds of people in a variety of contexts.

In this chapter, I move through examples of each of these feature types and consider their effect on the spatial experience of the built environment. In general, I aim to avoid the sites of Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii in order to focus on sites underutilized in Anglophone scholarship. Though not as famous as these cites, locations such as Norba, Minturnae, and Terracina among many others have much to offer studies of the Roman piazza (and urbanization in general) in the late republican period, and a framework for better understanding daily life in open public spaces should be built with these kinds of sites in mind.

The next two chapters explore how we might use the concept of rhythm to expand how we research and explore piazza spaces and the events which take place within them. These are by necessity experimental, and each takes a different approach to interpreting the lived experiences

in these spaces. **Chapter 5** explores the possibilities available for further research into a subject well-studied both textually and archaeologically: the Roman triumph. While much ink has been spilled on the topic, with debates ranging from the course of the parade to the intricate details of the triumphant general's dress, scholarship has remained intensely focused on the elite nature of the proceedings (as did the Romans themselves in their monumental depictions of the event). In moving away from a purely elite viewpoint, I address the triumph in terms of its rhythmic qualities over the course of the republican and early imperial periods. This new approach both impacts how we view the triumphal event (and its change over time) and allows us to shift our consideration to the differential spaces and, most importantly, people who engaged with the procession over the course of their lives. The spatial and social experience of a triumph was drastically different for a commoner on the street in comparison to an aristocrat in the theater or forum, yet these different viewing experiences have, for the most part, gone unconsidered. Meanwhile, while the Circus Maximus may offer a middle ground, an open public space of its own type where people of all statuses may have come together to celebrate a victorious Rome, there is no reason not to believe that both social and emotional differences remained even in this most "Roman" of viewing places.

Chapter 6 takes a different approach, moving outside of Rome to think about the rhythms of an open public space in the context of a specific city over an extended period. Influenced by Lefebvre's own initial consideration of rhythms as seen from his Paris window in *Éléments de rythmanalyse: Introduction à la connaissance des rythmes*, this section imagines the changing rhythms of a piazza situated at a major intersection of the city of Gabii outside Rome as understood primarily through archaeological evidence. This space evolved architecturally and socially over the centuries of Gabii's establishment, rise, decline, and abandonment, all within

the larger context of the Roman world. It was a site of community, of commerce, of industry, of civic pride, of domesticity, and of ritual. Breaking the mold of the idealized forum of Vitruvius, the piazza of Gabii encourages us to expand our concept of what a piazza space in the Roman world can be like and shows how the spatial experience can reflect larger cultural change over time.

Finally, **Chapter 7** concludes this work and looks towards the future of piazza studies in the Roman world.

Chapter 2 : Recent Applications of Urban Theory to the Roman City

2.1 Vignette: Siena

The Piazza del Campo bakes in the afternoon sun. Now one of the most famous medieval squares in Europe, *il Campo* is situated where three hilltop towns sloped together, a neutral meeting place where individuals from each settlement might come together to trade and to celebrate the common good. Its sloped, shell-like shape is indicative of order: nine sections supposedly representing the nine *Noveschi* who ruled Siena during its period of greatest stability. While its boundary was initially framed by the unified rooflines of the city's noble mercantile families (and now is marked by the similarly mercantile restaurants and shops), two major nodes control movement and activity within the piazza itself. The 15th century CE Fonte Gaia sits in the central slice of the piazza, marking the location where a series of channels still bring water to the city center. Ultimately, over 25 kilometers of aqueducts were constructed, bringing water not only to the town but to the agricultural farms and fields nearby. Today, the monumental fountain, bounded by reliefs on three sides, attracts tourists for photos and (at certain moments of the year) is a place where water bottles can still be refilled from a single carved spout.

Opposite from the fountain, down the slope of the shell lies the Palazzo Pubblico, the palace that served as the seat of government for the Republic of Siena. While the monumental façade, stone and brick matching the piazza itself, holds sway as the focal point of the entire piazza, its campanile, the Torre del Mangia, has a surprising impact on activity within the space. Built to rival Giotto's Campanile in Florence (at 102 meters in height versus the 84.7 meters of

Siena's rival), the tower is a work of art (and contains numerous works of art) in its own right; its shadow, however, might be its most impactful trait. Facing roughly northwest, the shadow of the tower moves from left to right across the piazza over the course of the day (Figure 2.1). This repetitive, rhythmic movement, evolving over the course of the year, affects movement within the piazza itself in a noticeable way, most particularly during the summer months. Thanks to the sun's heat, movement is unceasing across the piazza over the course of the day, except in one place; the shadow of the tower, slowly making its way across the space, offers the only comfortable place for tourists and locals to freely sit and enjoy the experience of being in *il Campo*.

Figure 2.1: The shadow of the Torre del Mangia slowly moves across the Piazza del Campo over the course of a sunny August day (photo by author).

Twice a year, the space is transformed. A layer of sandy clay is laid down, creating an earthen path around the shell-shaped piazza. The normally open piazza is fenced off with numbered posts on either side of the track, creating entrances and exits where none previously existed (Figure 2.2). Processions circle the space for weeks, and on July 2 and August 16 people

Figure 2.2: Looking southwest across the Piazza del Campo as it is set up for the palio (photo by Rebecca Levitan, July 1, 2018).

crowd into the central piazza, ignoring the sun for a day-long ceremony (the *Corteo Storico*) celebrating the *contrade* of the city (Figure 2.3). These are the days the *palio* is run. Near sunset, horses and riders, representing ten of the seventeen neighborhoods of the city chosen by lot, line up at the starting post. An explosive charge marks the beginning of the race, and assuming no disqualifying starts, the entire event lasts no more than ninety seconds. Three laps around the Piazza del Campo and a victor is crowned; the winning neighborhood receives the *palio*, a banner of painted silk, and it and its allies begin a celebration which can last until the next year's races. Then, almost as quickly, the piazza reverts to its normal state, ready for tourists once more.

Figure 2.3: Aerial view of the center of the Piazza del Campo on the day of the palio (photo from Getty Images).

"Research and discovery follow a path full of obstacles and pitfalls. For example, it may be that analysis finds itself faced with blindingly obvious facts – that is to say, faced with the causes of or reasons for certain observable effects, causes or reasons that have nothing occult about them, even though they need to be discovered. This is how things proceed in the study of language, where everyone uses forms and structures without necessarily having a knowledge of them as such. Likewise, with the study of everyday life and the urban, where what is most familiar is also the least known and the most difficult to make out."[18]

"From the window opening onto rue R. facing the famous P. Centre, there is no need to lean much to see into the distance...On this side, people walking back and forth, numerous and in silence, tourist and those from the outskirts, a mix of young and old, alone and in couples, but no cars alongside culture. After the red light, all of a sudden it's the bellowing charge of wild cats, big or small, monstrous lorries turning towards the Bastille, the majority of small vehicles hurtling towards the *Hotel de Ville*. The noise grows in intensity and strength, at its peak becomes unbearable, though quite well borne by the stench of fumes. Then stop. Let's do it again, with more pedestrians. Two minute intervals."[19]

---

[18] Lefebvre 1991, 133.

[19] Lefebvre 2013, 28-29.

2.2 Introduction

An almost innumerable range of spatial theories and methodologies have been applied to the streets and open spaces of the Roman world. One goal, however, ties most of these approaches together: the desire to perceive a more complete picture of life on the ground in the ancient city. This is true whether one comes to the subject from an archaeological, philological, or historical perspective. In recent years, more nuanced studies have shown that combining different methodologies able to make use of varying types of evidence often proves beneficial for a more detailed consideration of the built environment. The diversity of findings available through such multi-method attempts can build upon one another in a way that is often impossible when dealing with a single approach alone. The benefits of multi-method attempts can be seen both within and between the disciplines mentioned above. The results of purely textual studies on ancient space, for example, can be prejudiced based on the views and inclinations of the ancient authors themselves. An elite, male author writing for other elite males does not often consider how others may be engaging with the world around them, making it difficult to piece together alternative views on public spaces. That is not to say, however, that such attempts are not useful; while they offer treatment of a limited range of activities, the textual sources provide a way to reconstruct an emic perspective of piazza spaces, and in the following chapter textual sources detailing movement and activity in open public spaces will be reviewed with wide-ranging results.

A purely archaeological undertaking, however, is not any easier or more accurate. Archaeological remains, whether in and around public spaces or not, are often able to be interpreted in a variety of ways depending on the context, method of excavation, and theoretical

approach applied. It is here that the benefits of multi-method studies shine forth. To give an example that will be discussed in more detail below, scholars have criticized the application of space syntax theory to archaeological spaces for overly abstracting the environments which it attempts to analyze, turning real physical space into detached numerical constructs. An approach which combines this type of quantitative result with a more qualitative analysis of a three-dimensional built environment that comes to similar conclusions is a stronger one. In the same way, phenomenological or post-processual studies, sometimes disparaged for resulting in overly subjective interpretations, can be supported through the use of textual sources and more quantitative or empirical techniques to ground them better in the physicality of the real world. Bringing together different ways of thinking about space can only prove beneficial as archaeology moves into a more digital era, with projects gathering more and more data of both the qualitative and quantitative varieties and with online databases and three-dimensional models of excavation trenches and even sites as a whole replacing notebooks and sketches.

In thinking about the everyday and open public spaces in the Roman city, the need to apply multiple methodologies is almost a given due to the nature of the investigation. As Lefebvre discusses in the opening quotation to this chapter, everyday events, despite their commonness, are notoriously difficult to recognize archaeologically. The everyday, the common, the standard, how individuals actually lived and moved through the spaces around them, is difficult to discern through evidence that is naturally inclined towards a less finely detailed resolution. This problem becomes even more difficult when the subject of the everyday focuses around open piazza spaces like Roman fora. These spaces, as discussed in the first chapter, are "open," made for movement and a multitude of activities and interactions and often lacking permanent architectural remains except around their perimeter. In order to deal with this lack of

easily interpretable archaeological material, researchers must utilize multiple approaches, where many types of information can be gathered together to allow for more accurate interpretations and hypothesis-formation. This includes information gathered from textual and epigraphical sources as well as both qualitative and quantitative archaeological approaches. Each source of information can bring us a little closer to understanding how individuals actually engaged with these spaces on an everyday level.

In this chapter, I review several urban theories and methodologies that play an important role in my approach to piazza spaces in the Roman city. I begin by reviewing the concept of "Mertonian middle-range theory" and the division of theory into different levels in terms of their engagement with archaeological materials on the ground. This starting point offers a framework for how I consider and apply theory within my larger study. Delving into the archaeological theory itself, I focus first on the high-level concept that plays a vital role in my consideration of Roman piazza spaces, namely Lefebvre's notion of *rhythmanalysis*, a concept that is just beginning to have an impact on studies of ancient urban space but is more prevalent in examinations of modern everyday life and, perhaps surprisingly, studies of the Neolithic period. The concept of the rhythm of the everyday, ways of moving and engaging with the world that are repetitive yet not identical, flow through the remainder of my study. Moving on from this higher-level discussion, I delve into several of the different middle-range type theories that have been applied in studies of Roman urban space. The goal of such theories is to aid in bridging the gap between specific archaeological details on the ground and more abstract higher-level theory such as Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis*. These theories may be primarily qualitative, such as the phenomenological and multisensory studies currently proliferating in archaeological journals, or quantitative, like the space syntax and visual applications which originated in the 1980s but have

been increasing in popularity with the rise in digital technologies. Others lie somewhere in between qualitative and quantitative, or even between high- and middle-level theory, such as Rapoport's concepts of levels of meaning and feature types. In any case, these approaches and others must come into play in a consideration of open piazza spaces, with each offering their own piece of the puzzle that is everyday life in the Roman world.

2.3 Mertonian Middle-Range Theory

Archaeological theory, in general, is a framework through which physical remains can be interpreted within a larger context. Different theories, however, focus on different types of evidence to answer different types of research questions, and so it is unreasonable to expect every theory or method to be able to engage with each individual piece of archaeological data. The various spatial theories discussed in detail below, for example, may have little to say if the research question is focused around the issues of women and gender as portrayed on Greek sympotic vessels. Even within the same area of interest, such as the built environment, different data sources may be more or less applicable for different theories. Because of this fact, some scholars have argued that it is possible to divide theory into multiple levels depending on the range of data with which it is able to engage and the ultimate goal of the theory's application.[20] On one end is what has been designated "high-level" social theory. Examples are plentiful, including such concepts as Bourdieu's *habitus,* Giddens' theory of structuration, feminist and other post-processual approaches, and Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space.[21] These

[20] The suggestion that theory may be divided into multiple levels has been argued against by various scholars, including Hodder 1999, 60. See Smith 2011 for a larger discussion on the debate surrounding levels of theory.
[21] See below for a discussion of Lefebvre. For *habitus*, see Bourdieu 1979. Giddens' theory of structuration can be found in Giddens 1984, while a discussion of third-wave feminism in archaeology as an example of a post-processual approach can be found in Meskell 1999.

theories are often general and abstract, focused more on how social systems and ideas function across time and space in different cultures and situations than looking at specific case studies involving particular archaeological details on the ground.[22] As seen even in the short list of high-level theories mentioned here, the topics are wide-ranging, able to integrate concepts of space, gender, agency, and structure, and can touch upon practically every aspect of social life. That is not to say, of course, that these models are not useful for archaeologists to engage with. As has been shown by their popularity in scholarly research, these concepts are important specifically in that they are focused on larger scale concepts. They allow researchers, often specialized with respect to particular sites or cultures, to bring together disparate sources of data to talk about wider research questions than can be considered at a site-level resolution. When properly utilized, they are able to offer a firm theoretical foundation, which high resolution studies can then build on to offer a more specific picture in a certain time and place. In other situations, high-level theory is mentioned in the introduction to a publication before disappearing in the analysis itself. This disconnect is primarily due to the fact that high-level social theories are often not designed to handle specific material remains (or that scholars feel the need to at least comment on higher-level theory lest they be criticized by their peers).[23]

The details of the archaeological record are part of what may be called the descriptive side of archaeology. This can include everything from ceramic and artifact counts to floral and faunal remains to architectural measurements and the qualitative description of soil deposits. In a sense, these are the nuts and bolts of archaeology, identified and documented in the field over the course of a survey or excavation project. While describing or illustrating any type of

[22] Indeed, archaeology has a long history of borrowing theory from other disciplines such as sociology and applying it haphazardly to datasets, an act I am hopefully not guilty of here.

[23] See Fisher 2009 for a larger discussion on this topic.

archaeological data unquestionably involves a certain agreed-upon methodology or theory of description itself, purely empirical discussions of urban space (and of other areas of archaeology) have often been criticized for their non-theoretical leanings.[24] This kind of "cataloging" of archaeological data, while making it easier for future analysis to be undertaken, often lacks an overall argument or research question. On its own, this lack of larger theory may hamper attempts to answer larger social or cultural questions, as well as create a disconnect between the site or group of sites in question and those falling outside of the research group.

To bridge this disconnect, a third type of theory is useful. This range of theory, bringing together higher-level social theory and on-the-ground empirical details, has been designated "Mertonian middle-range theory," named after American sociologist Robert K. Merton. In Merton's words:

> Middle-range theory is principally used in sociology to guide empirical inquiry. It is intermediate to general theories of social systems which are too remote from particular classes of social behavior, organization and chance to account for what is observed and to those detailed orderly descriptions of particulars that are not generalized at all. Middle-range theory involves abstractions, of course, but they are close enough to observed data to be incorporated in propositions that permit empirical testing. Middle-range theories deal with delimited aspects of social phenomena.[25]

This final observation, that middle-range theories focus on specific, bounded aspects of social life, is what distinguishes them from high-level theory. The high-level concept of *habitus* is wide-ranging, dealing with the myriad ways individuals and groups both influence and reflect the social structure which they engage with across time and space. The middle-range approach of multisensory studies, on the other hand, considers the comparatively smaller role that the senses play in how an individual engages with specific spaces or events within a specific culture during

[24] Hodder 1989 discusses issues with the descriptive archaeological language often utilized in site reports. For a brief look at the history and development of archaeological drawing, see Dobie and Evans 2010.
[25] Merton 1968, 39-40.

a specific time period. In this sense, as a first step it is easier to connect, say, a specific lamp found in a certain Roman republican temple to the multisensory experience an individual may have had in the space rather than to the higher level concept of *habitus*. Once an overall picture of the space and its importance in the life of a community is understood though multisensory techniques and other middle-range theories, it becomes much simpler to see how it may fit in with the larger concept of *habitus* as a whole. Middle-range theories, therefore, suggest a path between broader social theory and archaeological details on the ground.[26]

When applied to the archaeological study of ancient cities, M. Smith has coined the term "empirical urban theory" to describe middle-range theories which bridge the gap between high-level social theory and extant archaeological remains.[27] These techniques themselves cover a broad range of archaeological analyses and data types, ranging from the qualitative approaches of space syntax and visibility analysis to the qualitative phenomenological studies, with a range of other options in between. Following the lead of Merton and Smith, here I reflect on how several such theories have been applied to the streets and open spaces of Roman cities in recent scholarship, as well as how aspects of these methods influence my own consideration of piazza spaces. It is through the application of a variety of these middle-range approaches, each with their own benefits and drawbacks, that the connections between *rhythmanalysis* and the archaeological remains on the ground will become clearer. First, however, a consideration of this high-level concept, one less familiar to archaeologists than Lefebvre's other contributions to the field, will prove beneficial.

---

[26] It is important to note that this is different from Binford's concept of middle-range theory, which deals with formation processes acting upon the archaeological record, though these processes certainly took place in the piazza spaces of the Roman world (see Binford 1977).

[27] Smith 2011.

2.4 Rhythmanalysis

If one were to identify the high-level social theories that Classical scholars have applied most to studies of the urban environment, H. Lefebvre's concept of space would be near the top of the list. Published first in 1974 and translated into English in 1991, *The Production of Space*, with its triple differentiation between spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces, has been widely utilized by archaeologists across a variety of periods and cultures.[28] In short, Lefebvre distinguishes between the physical perceived space on the ground (spatial practice), the conceptual conceived space of the designers (representations of space), and the symbolically lived space of the inhabitants (representational spaces).[29] Less well recognized in the majority of studies is the author's emphasis on the importance of the temporal dimension in truly understanding space and spatial practices. Lefebvre argues that a separate triad of concepts – those of space, time, and energy – are and must be linked together within our physical reality. For him, "Space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction; likewise energy and time."[30] Central to the addition of the temporal dimension to the consideration of space is the concept of rhythms.[31] Although certainly not the major theme of *The Production of Space*, it seems clear that the notion of rhythms was continually present in the author's mind as he penned the volume.[32] As described more fully in his later works, Lefebvre's ultimate goal with the integration of these concepts was the foundation of a new scientific field of knowledge and study, the analysis of rhythms, which he designated *rythmanalyse*, or rhythmanalysis.[33]

---

[28] It is an unscientific measurement, but GoogleScholar currently has more than 34,000 citations for *The Production of Space* in its database.
[29] See Lefebvre 1991, 38-39 for an overview of these three conceptions of space.
[30] Lefebvre 1991, 12.
[31] Lefebvre 1991, 205-207, 405.
[32] Lefebvre 1991, 87, 117, 148, 150, 159, 209, 216, 224, 225, 227, 286, 332, 356, 373, 384, 385, 388, 395, 408.
[33] Lefebvre 2013, 13.

Basic to Lefebvre's concept of rhythm is the body. The body is the construct from which all of (social) space is understood, with the different aspects of the body, its passive senses and its active efforts, coming together in the spaces with which a body engages on a daily basis. For Lefebvre, it is the analysis of rhythms which bring these active and passive facets back together into a single concept.[34] For living species, rhythms may be seen as centered around different levels of need. Some rhythms are easily recognizable on a physical level: heartbeats, blinking, breathing the necessity for food, water and sleep. Biologically, this rhythmic patterning over the course of a day extends even into our physiology and biochemistry.[35] When these rhythms are disrupted, negative consequences ensue, as anyone who has suffered from jetlag can attest. Other rhythms are more difficult to immediately perceive, though they may be seen as no less important to the functioning of the human species, including social life, sexuality, and thought.[36] It is a combination of such complex rhythms, of both physical and social bodies, co-occurring and superimposing upon one another, which shape everyday life.

For Lefebvre, the field of rhythmanalysis would focus on the discovery and analysis of these rhythms, both internal and external, and how they are utilized or even appropriated by a society. Just as each society produces its own social and spatial practices, so too does it produce its own rhythms which are bound up within such practices. Returning to the triumvirate above, when an interaction takes place between a place (space), a time, and an action (energy), there is rhythm. These rhythms can then be analyzed in terms of any of these three elements, often in intertwined ways. For example, one may consider the rhythms of an individual's day, such as that of a non-elite farmer in the Roman countryside, and how it might evolve over the course of a

[34] Lefebvre 1991, 405.

[35] See Foster and Kreizman 2004 for an extended qualitative examination of the biological rhythms of the human body, or Glass and Mackey 1988 for a more mathematical discussion.

[36] Lefebvre 1991, 205.

year. Spaces too, such as the intersection in Paris described by Lefebvre in the opening quotation, have their own rhythms which are combinations of the other two actors. Finally, actions may have their own rhythms, as can be seen in, for example, Roman bathing with the pattern of movement and interactions as one moves through the different rooms of the complex. In this way, actions, spaces, and time can come together to allow for the consideration of rhythms in a myriad of interesting and unconsidered ways.

On a more analytical level, Lefebvre offers three vital characteristics which create a framework for the consideration of particular rhythms: repetition, the interference of linear and cyclical processes, and the lifespan (birth, growth, peak, decline end), as it were, of a rhythm.[37] A person on the street would likely be quick to identify the first characteristic, repetition, as a vital aspect of any rhythm. The term itself can cover a wide range of concepts within its bounds, including movements, activities, situations, and interactions. Social practices would not be called practices if they were not repeated constantly over time. Individuals are consistently socialized starting at a young age with respect to appropriate practices (proper dress for daily life and specific moments in time, burying the dead in a particular place, how to dispose of waste, etc.) until they are properly ingrained.[38] Even such actions as how one walks may be culturally defined and maintained.[39] Indeed, it may not be too much to say that these rhythms as a whole are what define and distinguish one group of people from another, tied up in concepts of culture and collectivity.

For archaeologists, repetition is the lifeblood of the field, making a consideration of the concept of rhythm particularly enticing. Repetitive practices, events which occur time and again

[37] Lefebvre 2013, 25.

[38] See Lefebvre 2013, 48-49 for Lefebvre's discussion of le *dressage*, the training which humans accept in order to fit into the society in which they live.

[39] See Corbeill 2002 and O'Sullivan 2011 for further discussion on this topic.

and shape a certain location in the landscape, create the archaeological record. At the same time, it is important to remember that, in terms of the repetition of social practices and rhythms, no repetition is truly identical. Take a basic example from modern life. I live approximately 1.5 miles from my office, and each day I stop for coffee on the way. Here, I am performing a repetitive action: I leave my house, walk to the coffee shop, pick up a coffee, and walk to my office. Nevertheless, I am not performing an identical action. I do not necessarily take the same path, smell the same smells, or interact with the same individuals. The weather may differ, forcing me to interact with the space around me in a different way. Thus, while certainly performing a repetitive action, the action need not be identical each time (nor, in reality, can it be).

Looking to the Roman world, the Roman Triumph works well as an example of a repetitive action, an event that I return to in Chapter 5.[40] Although an irregular happening, according to the *Fasti Triumphales* it took place more than 200 times from the foundation of the city to 19 BCE, including becoming nearly an annual event during certain moments in Rome's history.[41] Having been repeated so often, it is clear that certain expectations would be present in the mind of the viewer. Nevertheless, triumphs were not identical, with basic differences including the identities of the general and his soldiers, the size of the crowds, the types of booty on display, and even the weather.[42] The fact that differences emerge across time, far from being disqualifying for rhythmic studies to take place, often become areas of study in their own right.

[40] Any event, by nature, should be viewed as polyrhythmic, meaning that is composed of a variety of entangled rhythms of various kinds (spatial, social, corporeal).
[41] For example, twelve triumphs took place between 260 and 251 BCE and eleven between 300 and 312 BCE.
[42] Popkin 2016, 86.

Why individuals make specific decisions altering an event continues to be of constant interest in, for example, studies of identity and resistance.[43]

The distinction between repetitive and identical processes leads to the second aspect of rhythms: the interference of linear and cyclical processes.[44] In the example of walking to the office described above, the linear processes of a movement to and from my house to the office blend into the inherently cyclical nature of such movement and come together with the cyclical process of the rotation of the earth in a repeated daily event. This is the interaction of the linear (the spatial, the social) and the cyclical (time, the cosmic) which are intertwined in creating a rhythm.[45] Additionally, for Lefebvre it is the cyclical nature of the temporal dimension that allows for quantitative measurement to take place. In this way, rhythm becomes a place where both quantitative (temporal) and qualitative (corporeal) elements can come together in the understanding of a social system. In addition to Lefebvre's distinction between the temporal and the corporeal, I would argue that the spatial elements of rhythmic patterning may also lend themselves to a quantitative analysis. Since the time of Lefebvre's writing, numerous methods for looking quantitatively at spatial systems have been utilized by scholars in both urban design studies and archaeology, including techniques such as space syntax and viewshed analysis (see below). Lefebvre's conclusion, however, should remind us that qualitative and quantitative methodologies work better when brought together than either do on their own. Purely quantitative techniques are not able to take into account the personal, corporeal experiences which individuals can bring to the table based on their age, sex, gender, status or ability. At the

[43] See, for example, Revell 2009 for a look at how public architecture can be seen to cut across numerous traditional issues with the concept of Romanization, including the establishment of Roman culture and resistance to Roman rule.
[44] Lefebvre 2013, 18.
[45] For a recent overview of the role of cyclical and linear time in archaeology, see Lucas 2004.

same time, purely qualitative analyses, when taken too far, can lead the scholar into the realm of utter relativism. A mixture of the two offers a good balance for any large-scale analysis of the ancient world, particularly when dealing with issues of the spatial experience.

Finally, social rhythms are not eternal. They begin, evolve, and end, with the ending of one rhythm possibly marking the beginning of a new one. In this sense, they are similar to the built environment of an ancient or modern city, which changes over time as it shapes and is shaped by the spatial practices of its inhabitants. The effects of one instance of a rhythm, or a rhythmic event, upon the physical or social landscape will almost certainly be present in the future when it occurs once more, and it itself is impacted by earlier iterations of the rhythm. This concept of the evolution of rhythms coincides well with the fact that rhythms are repetitive but not exact replications. To return to the example of the Roman triumph, it is clear that the event evolved through time. An increase in ostentation, for example, can be clearly identified at the end of the republican period, when military leaders attempt to outdo one another in splendor. They might even be said to continue to the modern day, with triumphal generals replaced with victorious sports teams paraded through their home city to an adoring crowd (Figure 5.9).[46]

Along with social influences, rhythmic events can have effects on the physical landscape upon which they take place, effects which may influence both future iterations of the event itself as well as the normal rhythms of daily life.[47] In many cases, these influences are entirely intentional. Returning again to our example of the Roman triumph, after the beginning of the First Punic War the triumphal route through the city of Rome became a place for individuals to celebrate their victories with the construction of manubial temples and victory monuments.[48]

[46] Or, remaining in Italy, Mussolini's creation of the Via dell'Impero (now the Via dei Fori Imperiali).
[47] See Chapter 5 for a larger discussion.
[48] See Popkin 2016, 54-57 for a list of manubial temples and monuments built during the Punic wars along the triumphal route.

Such constructions were primarily situated around major nodes on the route, such as the Capitoline or the Forum Boarium. These structures, although nominally dedicated to the gods, were places where the glory of a triumph could remain long after the event itself was over. Their physical presence affected both how individuals engaged with a space on a daily level as well as during any recurring celebrations of a triumph. In the area of the forum boarium, for example, round temples to Hercules were dedicated by Scipio Aemilianus and L. Mummius, both likely in the 140s BCE, along with a *columna rostrata* by C. Duilius vowed in 260 BCE.[49] Situated along the course of the triumphal route during the republican and imperial periods, these structures would have enhanced any future triumph through the memory of past achievement.[50] At the same time, the structures would play a part in daily activity and interaction within the piazza space, which was a central location for both commerce and ritual from an early date in Rome's history.[51] Indeed, F. Coarelli has hypothesized that the temple mentioned by Servius and Macrobius was actually dedicated to a *Hercules Olivarius* based on an inscription found on a marble base nearby the temple.[52] Such an inscription would link the structure to the olive oil trade, with examples from Delos suggesting that Hercules was the patron of Italian *olearii* on the island.[53] Whether or not the Temple of Hercules Victor was indeed associated with the olive trade in some way or was a purely triumphal structure, the association of the god with commerce

[49] Popkin 2016, 58. See Servius, *ad Aen*. 8.363 and Macrobius, *Sat*. 3.6.10 for literary references to these temples, as well as references in the *Fasti Antiates Maiores* (*InsIt* 13.2.16) and the *Fasti Allifani* (*InsIt* 13.2.181). It is debated whether the well-preserved Temple of Hercules Victor was constructed by L. Mummius or earlier by the merchant M. Octavius Herrenus. See Ziolkowski 1988 for a summary of the debate.

[50] Popkin 2016, 85. Here she refers to the "reciprocal process" between the structures, the processions, and the memories of processes which both shaped how people remembered past triumphs and how they continued to be carried out. I argue that this reciprocal process can be viewed as part of the rhythm of the event in Chapter 5.

[51] Recent coring in the area of the Forum Boarium shows that occupation in the area dates to the late second millennium BCE (Brock and Terrenato 2016, Brock 2016).

[52] Coarelli 1988.

[53] Bruneau 1970, 585-620.

would make it an appropriate structure to sit in one of the large commerce and storage areas of the city. In daily life, it would prove a constant reminder of the strength of Rome both economically and militarily as the city stretched its power across the Mediterranean.

With these three aspects – repetition, the interference of linear and cyclical processes, and the evolution of rhythms – Lefebvre began his theory of rhythmanalysis. Despite some time discussing the implications of the concept on the study of everyday life, however, his only major application of the model came in an analysis of contemporary Mediterranean cities.[54] Rather than focusing on specific events or places (as he does from his window overlooking an intersection in Paris in "The Rhythmanalytical Project" and in the opening quote from this chapter), when considering cities as a whole Lefebvre uses rhythms as a way to tease out some of the general trends common to these communities, particularly focusing on the relationships between the spatial and the state.[55] To Lefebvre, the physical environment of the Mediterranean, with towns connected through trade by the sea but with only limited hinterlands for procuring resources, creates heterogeneous rhythms that come together in polyrhythmic, weak states. This is due to a lack of consensus, and therefore strength, among those within the town, for trade lends itself to external connections and alliances among competing intra-city groups. The historical vacillation of Mediterranean cities between democracy and tyranny, he argues, is the result of this situation, as well as the current day persistence of clans (e.g. mafias) and provincialism within the state. Ultimately, the result is a struggle between the "rhythms of the self" and the "rhythms of the other," where the "other" may even be the larger state, a concept which persists from the days of Herodotus to the present.[56]

---

[54] Lefebvre and Régulier 1985; Lefebvre and Régulier 1986.

[55] Lefebvre 2013, 37-46.

[56] Lefebvre 2013, 102. For an overview of "the other" in Greek antiquity, see Browning 2002. This "us versus them" mentality can be seen in modern Italy, for example, in many ways and at many scales, whether in the concept

Although common in studies of modern urban environments and ethnography and despite Lefebvre's spatial interest in the Mediterranean, the concept of rhythm has rarely been applied to studies dealing with the Classical world.[57] This is probably due to his slowly evolving ideas on the topic in comparison with his more well-known ideas on space. Although found in the third volume of his *Critique of Everyday Life* as well as *The Production of Space*, rhythm was not a major subject in either publication. It was not until the mid-1980s that two short essays, "The Rhythmanalytical Project" and "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities," were written, and his first (and only) full-length publication on rhythmanalysis, *Éléments de rythmanalyse: Introduction à la connaissance des rythmes*, was published posthumously in 1992 by his colleague René Lourau. These works, focused specifically on the interconnection of time, space, and energy through rhythms, were not available to Anglophone audiences until 2004, more than a decade after the translation of *The Production of Space* was published. Nevertheless, similar ideas have slowly entered into the archaeological mindset through other avenues. In his analysis of the temporal patterns of Roman Pompeii, R. Laurence, for example, uses textual sources to look at the availability of activities for Roman elites over the course of the day.[58] From this information, he reconstructs examples of a possible temporal sequence that individuals might be accustomed to following, with certain spaces more likely to be visited at certain times (e.g. for elite males, the house in the morning for the *salutation* before venturing to the forum and the baths later in the day). On the other hand, some archaeologists have begun to look at the

---

of *Campanilismo* (attachment to one's bell tower), the competition between the *contrade* of Siena, or in the continual presence of racism in politics and sport. For more on this concept of the "weak state" in Iron Age Italy see Terrenato 2011.

[57] See, for example, Ballinger 2012, 399-402 for a look at how rhythmanalysis may tie into concepts of displacement and emplacement among Italian migrants after the loss of Italian territories following World War II, or Degen 2008 for the rhythms of everyday life in the urban environments of modern Manchester and Barcelona. For a rare Classical example, see Spencer 2011 for her look at literary movement in Varro's *De Lingua Latina* as well as a brief mention by Newsome in the introduction to that volume (Newsome 2011a, 6).

[58] Laurence 2007, 154-166.

connections between the built environment and the natural movements of celestial bodies, able to be studied for the first time thanks to the advent of digital technologies in archaeology. Through computer-based modeling of ancient architecture and knowledge of the position of the sun on particular days of the year, it has become possible to recognize how certain structures may have been built to align with the movement of the sun.[59] Further analysis of such hypotheses may suggest that the designers of monuments had the larger movements of the natural world in mind when planning their structures.[60] Although these publications do not use Lefebvre's concept of rhythm overtly, the essence of the concept can be found and expanded upon into a larger theoretical framework. A more specific consideration of the concept of rhythm in studies of the ancient built environment, as I attempt in Chapter 5 for open piazza spaces, shows how individuals engaged with the urban spaces around them on a day-to-day level.

2.5 Middle-Range Theory in Studies of the Urban Environment

While the high-level concept of rhythms will flow in the background of my consideration of activity and movement in the piazza spaces of Roman cities, other types of theory play the middleman in moving between the specific archaeological details on the ground and their application in larger social considerations. These "middle-range" theories, as described above, are numerous and wide-ranging. A full overview of every way the built environment has been considered in the ancient world would prove a book (or more) unto itself and is not feasible here. Instead, I have chosen a range of ways of thinking about space which have influenced my

[59] Buchner, for example, hypothesized in the 1970s that the Horologium Augusti and the Ara Pacis were constructed in the Campus Martius so that they would be in solar alignment on Augustus' birthday (Buchner 1976). For an analysis of this hypothesis as well as other related questions using the 3D reconstructions within the Unity gaming engine, see Frischer et al 2013.

[60] As discussed by many scholars before Lefebvre. See, for example, Rykwert 1988 for a Roman example.

thoughts about open public spaces and play a role in the analysis to follow. After a brief overview of Rapoport's ideas on architectural communication and the types of features which may transmit meaning in the built environment, the quantitative methods of space syntax and visibility analysis and the qualitative approach of multisensory studies are considered. The chapter closes with a look at reception studies, arguably founded by the sociologist K. Lynch, whose work on how people conceive of the world around them has continued to impact studies of the ancient world nearly sixty years after its initial publication.

2.5.1 Architecture and Behavior in the Built Environment

A concept which engages with a variety of middle-range theories is the notion, made explicit by A. Rapoport in 1988, that features of the built environment can communicate multiple levels of meaning at the same time to various individuals engaging with the space.[61] Specifically, he divides this type of nonverbal communication into three levels: "high-level," "middle-level" and "lower-level" meaning.[62] High-level meaning is centered around the symbolic value a space may hold in terms of cosmologies or sacred and cultural systems. Although cosmological studies of open spaces are much more prevalent in, for example, Mesoamerican archaeology, the importance of fora to the Roman cultural system has been well analyzed in terms of the highly debated concept of "Romanization" and its impact on surrounding cultures during the Roman expansion.[63] Middle-level meanings focus more on the social system at a particular moment in time, communicating ideas such as identity, status, wealth, and power. In terms of Roman piazza

[61] Rapoport 1988.

[62] Not to be confused with the three levels of theory described above.

[63] Mesoamerican examples of cosmological plans are plentiful. For a recent overview, see Šprajc 2018. For a detailed analysis of the ritual connections of Roman urban forms, see Rykwert 1988. For an example focusing on the concept of Romanization and capitolium structures in Roman fora, see Quinn and Wilson 2013.

spaces, this type of meaning has been the primary focus of scholarly studies in the anglophone world since P. Zanker's key work on the forum of Augustus thirty years ago.[64] Indeed, it is now difficult to find an edited volume dealing with urban space in the Greek or Roman world that does not have chapters focusing on the communication of (mostly elite) identity and status, a testament to the influence of Zanker's analysis on the field of archaeology.

Although important works in their own right, the abundance of studies focused on high- and middle-level meanings have left open public spaces lacking in terms of Rapoport's third and final level of meaning. In contrast to the general social messaging of the middle-level, low-level meanings are focused on everyday function and use within a society. This type of messaging considers issues such as movement, access, and activity on a day-to-day level, enabling "users to behave and act appropriately and predictably."[65] Such action naturally depends on the cultural knowledge and experience of the user to analyze and engage with the space in an expected way. Different users, then, may have different responses to the same cues, depending on the familiarity of the individual with the environment around them and their own social upbringing within or outside a particular space.

Interpreting the reactions of individuals to elements of the built environment through archaeological evidence alone can be a difficult (though not entirely impossible) task. That is, in the words of Rapoport, to know "*who does what, where, when, including/excluding whom*."[66] For the average user of a particular space, whether it be a street intersection, a market, or any number of other urban environments, these are questions of great importance on a daily basis, perhaps far more than the knowledge of how "Roman" the space is or which elite male is using

[64] Zanker 1990.
[65] Rapoport 1988, 325.
[66] Rapoport 1988, 325.

the space to express his power and status. Getting at these issues in antiquity, however, is not an easy task, and requires a focused look at all types of available evidence. In the discussion to come, I focus specifically on Rapoport's concept of low-level meaning and the influence that the features of the built environment have on daily life.

In *The Meaning of the Built Environment*, Rapoport expands upon his discussion of levels of meaning in order to look at how nonverbal cues suggest particular reactions or behaviors from individuals who can decipher them.[67] Taking a concept from E. Hall's discussion of different cultures' perceptions of personal and social space, he divides the built environment into three types of elements: fixed-feature, semifixed-feature, and non-fixed feature elements.[68] Fixed-feature elements are, naturally, features of the built environment that change slowly over time. For Rapoport, it is clear that "the ways in which these [fixed] elements are organized (their spatial organization), their size, location, sequence, arrangement, and so on, do communicate meaning".[69] In the discussion below (Chapter 4), I have renamed this feature type as "framework-feature elements" for, in essence, these are elements that create the framework of a space and are features which other, more temporary elements engage with as they attempt to create their own meanings or influences. In the case of piazza spaces, such features consist of the structures which create boundaries, which may include buildings but also other architectural features such as porticos which surround a space. It may also include the entrances and exits puncturing this boundary, which may be created either by streets entering into the space, doorways into specific structures, or even the spacing of columns in a portico. Other features which I would argue have had a lack of consideration include the "top and bottom" of spaces, the

[67] Rapoport 1982, 87-122. See also Rapoport 1988, 323-324.
[68] See Hall 1963, 1003, Hall 1966.
[69] Rapoport 1982, 88.

flooring (paved or unpaved) and any permanent roofing. This may also include changes in elevation, and any other natural elements which consistently influence how individuals engage with an open space. These kinds of features are vital in expressing control over a space and create general rules for movement and activity that must be obeyed by the actor within a larger realm of personal choices. It is worthwhile to note that for Rapoport the term fixed-feature does not mean that these features do not change or evolve, for of course they do. It is a relative term, simply indicating that change over time for these elements is, in general, slower and takes much more energy (human or natural) to impose in comparison to the other types of feature categories considered.

Rapoport's semifixed-features, on the other hand, are elements which may be more temporary than fixed-features but are still part of what most people would consider the built environment of a space. Because they can and do change with varying amounts of effort, in comparison to fixed-features they are more able to offer information about a particular space at a specific point in its history. Rapoport suggests that this is due to the larger amount of control certain individuals or groups may have over semifixed-features in comparison to fixed ones.[70] In focusing more on the influence of such features on movement and activity, I rename this feature type as local-feature elements, and those present in piazza spaces may include statues, inscriptions, water features, seating, and perhaps other, more easily removable natural features (e.g. vegetation). Statues offer an easily understandable example. A statue may be set up in honor of a specific Roman, only to be quickly removed or altered once they die or fall out of power.[71] These types of elements tend to influence movement on a more localized scale within a

[70] Rapoport 1982, 89.

[71] The practice of *damnatio memoriae* is an obvious example.

piazza space rather than shape the boundaries of the area itself, although when combined with others of the same type they may have a very large impact on the possible activities which may have taken place.

Rapoport's final feature class, nonfixed-feature elements, bring the human component back into the equation. In his words, "nonfixed-feature elements are related to the human occupants or inhabitants of settings, their shifting spatial relations (proxemics), their body positions and postures (kinesics), hand and arm gestures, facial expressions, hand and neck relaxation, head nodding, eye contact, speech rate, volume and pauses, and many other nonverbal behaviors…"[72] The human element within a space certainly impacts how individuals engage with the environment around them, although the impact may quickly fluctuate depending on who is or is not present in a space at a given time as well as how they are acting. Archaeologically, these ephemeral behaviors are difficult to recognize, but repeated actions may certainly impact features of the built environment. Wheel ruts, for example, created from the repeated ephemeral movement of carts across stone paving, have been heavily studied at sites like Pompeii.[73] Our understanding of how individuals may have acted within piazza spaces then come primarily from textual sources or from ethnographic analysis, both of which play a role in the coming analysis. The collection of these activities found in Chapter 3 provide an initial framework and catalog of concrete actions (when/why/which people may be present in open piazza spaces). This information can then be combined with what may be understood from the elements of the other feature classes which may be found archaeologically in specific built environments.[74]

[72] Rapoport 1982, 96.
[73] Poehler 2017.
[74] See Chapter 4.

In lieu of Rapport's nonfixed-feature elements, I suggest a new group which both includes temporary human influences and expands from it: transitory-feature elements.[75] Unlike fixed-feature elements or semifixed-feature elements, these are ephemeral features appearing within piazza spaces, often present due to specific events or for a limited period of time. Examples are numerous, including features such as daily or weekly market stalls, temporary structures such as gladiatorial arenas, temporary barriers like ropes, or even the trash leftover after a triumph or some other event. Similarly to nonfixed-feature elements, these features can be difficult to recognize in the archaeological record, although some evidence does exist.[76] Nevertheless, it is again possible to take evidence from the textual and ethnographic record about certain events and, when this information is combined with physical evidence from the built environment as well as a bit of common sense, begin to make hypotheses about certain aspects of movement and activity. This kind of evidence also allows us to elaborate upon another important point: all the feature types described above should not be viewed as communicating fixed messages but must be considered in terms of the individuals who would have been engaging with their surroundings on a daily basis. These individuals would have been male and female, of various social statuses, and have varying amounts of knowledge concerning the space with which they were engaging. Beyond this, they would have had varying life experiences which would influence how they interpreted various nonverbal messages within a piazza space.[77] These aspects are important to remember as we delve into specifics of the archaeological analysis of piazzas. Although people experienced space in their own ways, certain physical aspects of the

[75] Thanks to Caitlin Clerkin for suggesting the name of this term.

[76] Postholes, for example, may indicate the presence of temporary structures within a larger piazza space.

[77] Modern theories of viewership and intersectionality studies have had some success in better nuancing our understanding of the ancient world. See, for example, Surtees and Dyer 2020, the first book in a brand-new series focused on marginalized identities in the Greek and Roman world.

built environment remain the same no matter who engages with them. This creates a starting point from which we may stretch outward in an attempt to hypothesize how different individuals may have experienced various types of spaces, including fora.

2.5.2 Space Syntax and Visibility Analysis

While Rapoport focused on how architectural features may communicate with the individuals who engage with them in various ways, a second type of middle-range theory creates abstractions of such architectural spaces in order to make them quantifiable and therefore, theoretically, comparable. Space syntax analysis, first introduced by B. Hillier and J. Hanson in 1984 as an instrument for the analysis of modern urban environments and spatial planning, has come into vogue over the past decades in studies of ancient urban spaces.[78] Their ultimate goal was to discover how the organization of space, both urban and domestic, influences and reflects the cultural context in which it appears, especially with regard to motion and social interaction. Unlike previous considerations of spatial characteristics, which generally focused not on organization but rather on construction technique and decoration, Hillier and Hanson desired a "space-first" approach uninfluenced by any outside biases pertaining to the culture under analysis and thus theoretically applicable across time and space. Such an approach was built upon the concept that space is both intrinsic to all human activity and configurational of human relations.[79] How access and control of space is regulated through architecture, therefore, tells the scholar something about the culture which constructed the space. This can be studied both at the

[78] Hillier and Hanson, 1984. For Hillier's recent thoughts on how space syntax and visibility analysis can help us understand the growth of modern cities and movement within them, see Hillier 2014.
[79] Hillier 2014, 20.

settlement scale using evidence from the street grid (alpha analysis) and within individual structures (gamma analysis).

Closely tied to space syntax is the concept of visibility graph analysis (VGA) and isovists, or viewsheds. Rather than a focus on access, the major interest in these studies is the analysis of visibility, what can be seen from where within and across spaces, although in a quantitative sense rather than a phenomenological one. The basic concept is that if a space is more visible, it is also more likely to be more accessible or at least more able to be engaged with on some level.[80] Studies can be divided into two groups: isovist analysis and visibility graph analysis. Isovist analysis focuses on what can be seen of the larger environment from a particular point in space.[81] VGA, meanwhile, looks at the visibility of spaces as a whole, mapping relative visibilities to create a reflection of the space's visual connectivity. This analysis can easily be performed using a program called DepthmapX, a piece software released in 2011 by University College in London.[82] The basic concept is simple, if mathematically intensive. Rather than a "room" or a street as the area of focus, predefined areas of space are filled with points at an equal distance from one another. These points are then analyzed not according to whether or not they are physically in contact, as with a standard access graph, but by whether or not they are intervisible. The more visible a specific node is in the surrounding environment, the higher the relative visibility of the space. This allows the viewer to quickly interpret an environment in terms of its basic visibility as well as calculate other quantitative characteristics.

Thanks to the focus on architectural organization and issues of visibility, access and control, it is unsurprising that these techniques have caught hold within the field of archaeology,

[80] Fisher 2009.
[81] For an overview of the history of isovist analysis in the realm of GIS, not focused on here, see Lake 2003.
[82] Turner 2004

both in the new and ancient worlds. Space syntax has been applied at sites as varied in time and space as the Arroyo Hondo Pueblo in New Mexico to Mycenaean Pylos to the Syro-Anatolian palaces of the Iron Age.[83] Thanks to certain well-preserved urban environments, the theory has been especially prevalent in the Roman world. This can be seen on both the alpha and the gamma scales, although slightly more focus has been given to street grids over internal spaces. By far the majority of studies have been situated around the port-town of Ostia and the site of Pompeii in the Bay of Naples due to the large amount of excavation having taken place at these sites (and their high level of preservation).[84] Similarly, both VGA and isovist analysis have been applied productively in modern urban analysis and in archaeological studies, often in combination with each other and with space syntax.[85] Despite such widespread usage, the application of both viewshed and space syntax analysis has come under fire on a variety of fronts. They have been called techniques rather than true theories, a point which Hillier has recently attempted to push back against.[86] Further, their applicability is tied to the ability to excavate and phase a large amount of archaeological space, much of which may not survive intact.

---

[83] See Shapiro 2005, Letesson 2014, and Osborne 2012 respectively.

[84] For applications of the theory at Ostia, see, for example, Stöger 2011a. Here, among other arguments, she looks at how one insula of the city (IV.ii) is organized both within the block (gamma analysis) and within the city structure as a whole (alpha analysis). Elsewhere, she has performed a similar analysis with respect to the scholae of the city, determining they had an outward facing focus in order to promote contact and communication with the street grid and thus encourage interaction with potential customers (Stöger 2011b). More recently, (Stöger 2015) she has again focused on insula IV.ii but this time considers how the space syntax characteristics impact the social organization of the block within the city by comparing it with the spatial organization of IV.iv. On the Pompeii side, see Grahame's excellent study of 144 Pompeian houses in terms of their spatial characteristics, calculating the control values, relative asymmetry and real relative asymmetry for each room (Grahame 2000). Similarly engaging is Laurence's look at the characteristics of *Regio* 7 and *Regio* 6 (Laurence 2007). Bridging these site-specific studies are works such as Kaiser 2011, who uses space syntax to compare the street systems of Ostia, Pompeii, Silchester in England, and Empúries, Spain.

[85] For recent examples in the modern world, see Lu et al 2017 and Sato et al 2017. For examples in the ancient world, see Osborne and Summers 2014 as well as other cited above.

[86] See Hillier 2014.

On a more basic level, some post-processualists have claimed that the entire concept is biased both in favor of the visual over other senses and in favor of Western culture in general, with the idea of "mapping" space at all being a culturally-specific fallacy.[87] In general, such complaints come down to the fact that these methods involve creating an abstracted version of a space that is able to be analyzed in a quantifiable way. Different techniques involve different levels of abstraction, but in every example some data is being lost.[88] This is only an issue, however, if one actually expects a theory to represent the full gamut of the human experience in a space, something that those employing the techniques certainly do not claim. Rather, it should be utilized in the same way as other middle-range theories, as one way to begin to pull information from the archaeological record, and one that works best when applied with other more qualitative methodologies which can utilize other sources of data. Studies like that of Osborne in his look at the Syro-Anatolian palaces of the Iron Age do this particularly well, combining space syntax and visibility graph data with surviving evidence from the built environment to make an argument for how space reflected the legitimacy and power of the king at a certain moment in time.[89] More studies like this one will go far in continuing to improve how quantitative methodologies may be productively applied to archaeological space.

A brief look at the literature dealing with quantitative methodologies can quickly overwhelm with the sheer variety of numbers. In the discussion of piazza spaces in Chapter 4, I

[87] For a "feminist" look at spatial technologies as a Western, sexualized way of thinking at space see Thomas 2001. For the privileging of the visual, see Skeates 2010 with reference to visibility analysis and Ingold 2000 for the reification of sight in general. See Wheatley 2014 for a greater overview of these issues as well as a response.
[88] For an extended time, the major complaint was that techniques such as visibility analysis created a 2D abstraction of a 3D space. New methods, however, have begun to include the third dimension. See Papadopoulos and Earl 2014 for one example focusing archaeological spaces in Minoan Create as well as Lu et al 2017 for a modern example.
[89] Osborne 2011. See Tucker and Naglak 2019 for a similar method using space syntax and visibility analysis to examine how the location of port depictions in wall paintings in the Bay of Naples reflect changing ideas of associating oneself with trade over time.

will introduce terms and quantifications as necessary. I should say at the outset, however, that my main goal is not a comprehensive quantitative study of piazza spaces in Roman towns (although this would be a beneficial future project). Rather, I see the use of such measurements as one way to create a baseline measurement for what the spatial experience may have been like that is comparable to other spaces, best then combined with other middle-range theories to gain as much data as possible about the specific space in question. Measurements which may prove beneficial are simple calculations like depth from a city gate, the number of entrances and their locations within a space, and the number and distance between the openings of structures on each side of a piazza, calculations that in particular coincide with framing-feature elements. Obviously, these are much simpler calculations than those such as integration or centrality commonly used in urban studies but nevertheless can begin to give a sense of the organization of spaces. Such measurements have been done at the level of the street but rarely for fora spaces.[90] Through the use of this kind of technique, fora emerge as spaces that constitute multifunctional, multinodal areas in their own right, rather than only a nodal point within a street network.

2.5.3 Phenomenology and Sensory Studies of Urban Environments

While Rapoport's work focused on the various ways in which the viewer engages with the architectural environment and quantitative methodologies create abstractions of space in order to better understand how it is perceived, another group of scholars has made it their goal to examine how individuals may have experienced the sensory aspects of the world around them. Over the past few decades, the application of these types of studies in archaeology has grown exponentially. Often called "multisensory phenomenological approaches," these methods can be

[90] Weilguni 2011, for example, analyzes the major avenues of Pompeii using space syntax. Her work is discussed further in Chapter 4.

traced to C. Tilley's influential book *A Phenomenology of Landscape* published in 1994.[91] Expanding from the works of post-Enlightenment thinkers such as M. Heidegger and M. Merleau-Ponty, Tilley defines the phenomenological approach in archaeology as trying to recreate "the manner in which people experience and understand the world" through personal experience of the spaces and places ancient people engaged with.[92] In this way, he is arguing against the objectification and abstraction of the landscape, arguing that this represents the effects of a capitalist society where the landscape is quantifiable and can be measured and purchased.[93] The landscape is not a blank slate on which human activity takes place, and certain ways of representing space (like that of space syntax, for example) remove elements of memory and personal experience from the landscape.[94] Maps and other two-dimensional representations, a standard way archaeological sites are represented and published, have no place in historical analysis because ancient people did not view space in that way. Instead, Tilley argues for a larger, more personalized engagement with a three-dimensional space as mediated through the body.[95] It is only through an archaeologist's personal interaction with the landscape, as with Tilley's personal encounters with the prehistoric topographies in Wales and southern England, that he believes it is possible to gain insight into how past people understood these spaces through the shared experiences of the human body.

---

[91] Tilley 1994. For his continued thought and applications of the theory, see Tilley 1996 and Tilley 2010. Thomas 1993 should also be credited with developing the phenomenological approach within archaeological scholarship, although his work has been less well recognized. For a more extended overview of phenomenological studies, see Thomas 2006.

[92] Tilley 1994, 11; Heidegger 1927; Merleau-Ponty 1945.

[93] Tilley 1994, 20-26.

[94] For examples of this argument, see Harley 1988, Thomas 1993 or Bender 1998.

[95] Tilley 2004, 2-19. This could be seen as a connection to Lefebvre's concept of bodily rhythms are necessary for understanding physical/social spaces.

While there has been a large amount of pushback on Tilley's approach to understanding the ancient world (see below), these ideas have sparked a resurgence of focus on the sensory experience in what has been designated a "sensory turn" or "sensory revolution" in both archaeology and cultural studies in general.[96] Edited volumes such as D. Howe's *Empire of the Senses* attempt to consider the role the senses across time and space and how sensory understanding mediates cultural experience.[97] In archaeology, multisensory studies have led to a focus on concepts of "embodiment" and "archaeologies of the senses" in a move away from a purely visual focus towards a recognition that the other senses play an equal role in the lives of ancient peoples.[98] This has resulted in a proliferation of studies which consider concepts such as soundscapes, smellscapes, and the roles of other senses in the larger sensory landscapes of the ancient world. Looking specifically at the ancient world, volumes such as J. Toner's *A Cultural History of the Senses in Antiquity* and E. Betts' *Senses of the Empire* have brought together scholars interested in what can be gained from archaeological evidence beyond the visual, creating a fuller picture of daily life in the Roman world and elsewhere.[99] While these studies are, for the most part, qualitative, recently attempts have been made to quantify some of these measurements, sound in particular, hopefully making future cross-site and cross-cultural comparisons easier to perform.[100]

Multisensory studies are often closely tied to the literary evidence supplied by ancient authors. These texts are mined for information to give a fuller sense of what the experience of a

[96] See Thomas 2006 for a more detailed overview.
[97] Howes 2005.
[98] For embodiment, see Robb and Harris 2013, 17. For archaeologies of the senses, see Hamilakis 2011 and McMahon 2013. For more detailed overviews of multisensory studies in archaeology, see Betts 2017 or Day 2013.
[99] See Toner 2014 or Betts 2017 for overviews of these important volumes.
[100] For a solitary quantitative example, Veitch 2017 with its analysis of architectural acoustics on the *cardo maximus* of Ostia.

space or event, usually in Rome, Ostia or Pompeii, would have been like. In some cases, this information is combined with the surviving archaeological evidence in order to better recreate the experience as a whole. In turning to piazza spaces in particular, it is perhaps surprising that little work has been done in recreating the sensory experiences in this area of the city.[101] Despite the literary evidence available for fora, the majority of multisensory urban studies have been centered around the Roman street. Examples are plentiful, including specific research based around nuisances in the Roman street, street life in ancient Rome, and elite and processual movement on city streets.[102] Often, the research will culminate in a specific desire to tell stories of street experience based on archaeological and textual evidence.[103] Examples include D. Favro's study of paths through the city of Rome and J. Hartnett's recent publication on the dynamic nature of activity on Roman streets.[104] While these types of analyses certainly have been useful in reinvigorating thought about street life and movement in the Roman world, as discussed in the introduction, they generally elide or conflate open public spaces with the "active" street. This missing piece of the city offers an obvious avenue for further multisensory research, even of this most basic type.

Multisensory studies, and phenomenological studies in particular, have not been without criticism, starting from Tilley's initial work and claims.[105] As Tilley uses the body and the

[101] See Betts 2011 where she looks at soundscapes in the forum Romanum and perhaps Newsome 2011b (discussed in detail in the previous chapter). Dickenson 2017, 292-299 does consider the acoustic situation in the Athenian agora of the Roman period in his look at the Athenian *bema*, or speaking platform. Elsewhere, open public spaces may enter tangentially into other studies but rarely appear as a primary focus.

[102] See numerous articles in Laurence and Newsome 2011 and Östenberg, Malmberg and Bjørnebye 2015, two of the most recent edited volumes dealing with movement through Roman cities. See Chapter 3.1 for further discussion.

[103] See Chapter 5 for my own short versions of such stories, as well as the vignettes which open chapters.

[104] Favro 1998 and Hartnett 2017.

[105] See Brück 2005 for an excellent overview and bibliography on phenomenological approaches and their issues, focused in particular on applications in British prehistory.

scholar's physical experience of space as the starting point for connecting with the past, this naturally opens up concerns pertaining to the subjectivity of experience and how much current and past experiences of a landscape truly map onto one another.[106] On a topographical level, modern archaeologists or scholars engage in landscapes that are very different from what people lived in thousands of years ago, both naturally and symbolically.[107] Natural processes have ensured that landscapes do not remain static due to erosion, colluvium, and changes in vegetation. Beyond this, different places appear dissimilar at different times of day and in different seasons, beyond the dissimilar reactions individuals may have to a place and the fact that it is nearly impossible for us to completely understand what symbolic meanings may have been held for many places. On a corporeal level, other criticisms of the method focus on the human body and how an individual's conception of their own body is a result of cultural and social influence rather than a universal truth.[108] This concern is well-recognized in archaeology and the social sciences at large, as Bourdieu notes this clearly in his discussion of how bodily practices differ in different societies and among different types of people in the same societies.[109] Engagement of a human body with a space, even on the basic level of how an individual might walk, varies from culture to culture and from time period to time period.[110] Thus the assumption that how one bodily feels when interacting with a landscape is the same as anyone else, past or present, might quickly prove problematic.

In sum, the problems surrounding many, though not all, phenomenological approaches are the normative assumptions they sometimes employ, both on the level of the individual and

---

[106] See Barrett 2004 and Tarlow 2000.
[107] Brück 2005, 55.
[108] See Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002, for example.
[109] Bourdieu 1997 [1972], 93-94.
[110] For the proper way for Roman elites to move through the city, see Corbeill 2002, O'Sullivan 2011, and Hellström 2015. For a modern look at the different ways of walking, see Ingold and Vergunst 2016.

with respect to the physical and symbolic environment. These issues have obviously not been resolved. Smith goes so far as to not include certain versions of this phenomenological approach, including that of Tilley himself, in his discussion of urban theory because it cannot be considered empirical. He notes that "phenomenology is notoriously anti-scientific in both its philosophical orientation...and its archaeological expression."[111] In one way, then, Betts and Smith can be seen to agree. Betts also argues that "sensory archaeologies…are not a theoretical approach...but a way of broadening our perspective of the past."[112] Nevertheless, when applied properly, multisensory approaches fit well into the group of theories which Smith terms "reception theory," focused on how different people experience the world around them on a daily level.[113] Studies which engage with actual archaeological and textual evidence, rather than the feelings and biases of the scholars' themselves, are viable areas for research. Fortunately, for the most part, studies of the urban experience in the Roman world have utilized these sources of evidence, allowing them to add to our understanding of life during this period, approaching the city from multiple perspectives while avoiding normative assumptions and declarations as much as possible. Multisensory studies, when properly applied, remind us that there is more to the world than meets the eye and nicely balances out more quantitative approaches like that of space syntax and VGA studies.

2.5.4 Reader-Response Studies and Mental Mapping

The group of methodologies which can, in general, be termed reader-response studies (or sometimes reception studies) include far more than just sensory approaches but encompass the

[111] Smith 2011, 178 fn. 5.
[112] Betts 2017, 2-3.
[113] Smith 2011, 178. Smith does note this division between empirical and non-empirical applications.

many ways individuals comprehend and engage with the environment around them. As we have already seen, how one engages with urban space is an issue not only for archaeologists considering ancient urban environments but for modern urban designers as well. It is thus less of a surprise that ideas and studies from modern urban theory have influenced the way we look at past environments. A pioneer of these types of studies was the urban planner K. Lynch. His influential study, *The Image of the City*, was one of the first to analyze in what ways people understand the modern towns in which they live and move daily. Through interviews with citizens in three modern American cities, Lynch identified five features that people use to create a mental image of an urban environment: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.[114] Paths are the potential routes through the environment along which people move, while edges are the more or less impermeable boundaries or barriers between parts of a space. Districts are sections of the city having some common, identifying characteristic, while nodes are specific, strategically designed spaces in a city which a viewer can enter into and which "are the intensive foci to and from which he is travelling."[115] These may be large or small, and often take place at the junctures of paths. Finally, landmarks are specialized structures in a city intended to catch and hold the attention of the viewer which may sometimes be situated within nodes. While the use of expensive materials and monumentality can enhance a landmark's image, the most important characteristic is its location in the built environment. The creation of a landmark demands consideration of how the viewer visualizes the structure, making it particularly useful for commemoration on modern or ancient coinage.[116]

[114] See Lynch 1960: 46-90 for a more detailed discussion of these traits.
[115] Lynch 1960, 47.
[116] Triumphal arches, for example, were a popular landmark to depict on Roman coinage. See Elkins 2015 for a larger discussion of the depictions of architecture on Roman coinage.

It is easy to see how these categories might be mapped onto the ancient city. Paths are the streets and roads that people and carts move along, while edges are walls and other visible or invisible structures.[117] Districts are more difficult to recognize, though "neighborhoods" have been identified through features such as wells and street altars at sites like Pompeii, and voting districts could be an example of this in Rome.[118] Nodes could include a variety of open, public spaces, including fora, as well as smaller piazzas centered on intersections of roads, at gates, or situated around other monumental structures. These structures would then be landmarks, with innumerable examples ranging from the temples to amphitheaters and theaters to triumphal arches, just to name a few.

Engaging with Lynch's ideas and reacting against both the notion that Roman urban development was a mindless repetition of Hippodamian planning as well as early, classificatory studies like those of J. B. Ward-Perkins, W. MacDonald coined the term "urban armature" to describe the network of main streets, piazzas, and important public buildings linked across cities by means of arches, fountains, and other special features.[119] Streets and squares, bound together to create the armature across the city, he designated "connective architecture." Landmarks (arches, fountains, "other secondary structures") situated at the junctures of the connective architecture and guiding people from one area to another through a city were called passage architecture. Finally, the author examined the public buildings to which people were traveling in terms of their functionality, visibility, and distribution. Using this terminology, MacDonald considered how western colonies during the imperial period developed, and how urban armatures

[117] The pomerium is an excellent example of a permeable, invisible edge that still plays an important role as a boundary.
[118] See Laurence 2007, 39-61, Taylor 1960.
[119] MacDonald 1986. See for instance Owens 1991 and Ward-Perkins 1974 for early views of Roman city development and its relationship to Hippodamian planning.

influenced the movement of pedestrians across various cities in the empire. From here it was a short step to the paths through Augustan Rome as presented by Favro, and MacDonald's focus on movement rather than architectural style was a major impetus towards the spatial turn of the late 1980s that ultimately resulted in the proliferation of many of the other middle-range theories described above.

Two final concepts tie together the ideas of Lynch, MacDonald, and Rapoport and return us to the notion of the body as conceived of by scholars focusing on multisensory studies. The first is the theory of cognitive mapping, which focuses on how people individually and uniquely perceive the spaces around them based on their own personal experiences.[120] This includes both the physical/architectural and the social environments with which they engage. The seeds of this type of study can already be seen in Lynch with his look at how people mentally organize the space around them, and the specific cultural messaging present in urban spaces as discussed by Rapoport plays a major role in shaping how people perceive their environment. What results is the realization that a mental topography exists that complements the physical landscape, and this mental topography influences how different individuals map space based on characteristics such as age, sex, gender, ability and social status.[121] The resulting perceptions, then, shape how people engage (or do not engage) with certain spaces. While scholars such as T. Ingold have pushed back against the idea of a "cognitive map," preferring instead the concept of "wayfinding" where one continually experiences and adjusts to the surrounding environment as he or she moves through a space, these two ways of thinking about movement should not be seen as significantly different.[122] The idea that individuals have preconceived notions about spaces (cognitive maps)

[120] Gould and White 1986 is the standard introduction to this topic in modern urban theory. See also Rykwert 1988.
[121] For example, den Besten 2010 looks at the "geographies of emotion" of children in Paris and Berlin, while Jung 2014 looks at the mental maps of migrant women moving to rural South Korea.
[122] Ingold 2000, 219-242.

which they are continually reacting to as they move through space (wayfinding) makes sense. Overall, the concept of wayfinding recalls the discussion of rhythm above, where practices are repeated but never in the exact same way.

Relatively recently, it has been suggested that the model of cognitive mapping or wayfinding may be useful in the field of archaeology in order to understand how viewers acquired, coded, stored, recalled, and decoded the space around them.[123] The concept itself dates back to at least the fourth century BCE, and was famously employed by Cicero, who used cognitive maps as a kind of mental writing tool for the storage of arguments relative to oratory. In this way, a speech could be visualized, mapped, and memorized not with letters but with spatially related images.[124] B. Bergmann has applied the theory in the domestic sphere, but this consideration of spatial representations of the outside world within the "inner eye" of the mind, often marked by directional cues and landmarks (or even non-visual stimuli), may aid in understanding how pedestrians moved around Roman urban spaces.[125] Naturally, the majority of data which would allow such a reconstruction, particularly of non-material influences, must come from textual sources. Although texts are primarily biased towards the goings-on of elite males, the growing interest in studies dealing with how both women and children may have engaged with architecture and with public space offer a model that, when expanded, may prove fruitful in gaining a larger understanding of how different types of individuals engaged in public spaces in the Roman world.[126]

---

[123] Whittaker 2002, for example, discusses Roman mental maps in terms of inter-city movement.
[124] See Cicero, *de Oratore* 2.86.
[125] Bergmann 1994.
[126] See Laurence 2017 for children within the urban environment of Pompeii. Boatwright 2011 looks at women and gender in fora in Rome over the course of the early and middle imperial periods. This topic will be expanded upon in the following chapter.

A last area of study is one that does indeed tie all humans together, despite the differences in personal experience and knowledge discussed above. The concept of "proxemics" as originally discussed by the anthropologist E. Hall, focuses on how a person "unconsciously structures microspace – the distance between men in the conduct of daily transactions, the organization of space in the houses and buildings, and ultimately the layout of towns."[127] Through quantifiable, ego-centric "bubbles" of various sizes, Hall hypothesized that there were particular social norms associated with each zone of contact.[128] Naturally, these zones differ in different cultures and so must be recognized through ethnographic, or in the case of the ancient world, textual or epigraphic sources. Due to this conclusion, little work has been done with the idea as a whole, with researchers preferring the more qualitative, phenomenological approaches discussed above. Recently, however, Wheatley has proposed a combination of the two methods, as it were. He argues that "spatial scale largely controls which senses are implicated in different kinds of social interactions."[129] Although on one level astoundingly obvious, these kinds of specific considerations have generally been ignored in favor of purely descriptive or generalized discussions, with ill-defined terms such as "macro-" and "micro-environments" being utilized.[130] The biological abilities for humans to see, hear, taste, smell, and touch have not evolved much in the past few thousand years, allowing for a basic biological connection between individuals in the present and the past. This fact has been recognized for many years in modern urban theory but has yet to really make its mark in the archaeological world.

---

[127] Hall 1963, 1003; Hall 1966.

[128] These zones are "intimate," "personal," "social" and "public," each with their own distance from the human body.

[129] Wheatley 2014, 150-153.

[130] See Derrick 2017, for example.

This issue can be seen most clearly through studies of visibility and interaction in the built environment, where the majority of research has so far taken place. In his analysis of the senses in the modern built environment, J. Gehl notes the different distances that define the limitation of sight.[131] He defines the "social field of vision" as the range at which individuals can be recognized as people (100 m). At 70-100m, it is possible to recognize age, sex, and possibly what the person is doing. At 30 meters, one can see facial features and hairstyle, while around 20 meters is necessary to recognize facial features and moods. The closer one gets, the more information is available, especially when other senses such as hearing and smell come into play. While Gehl is interested in social interactions, similar interactions take place with the built environment. Take the example of a statue situated in the middle of a piazza space, an example of a semi-fixed feature. From a great distance, it may be possible to recognize that there is a statue (similar to recognizing a person). Depending on its size, as one moves closer it will be possible to recognize the pose or posture that the person is in, especially if it is a "standard" type like that used for honorific statues. One must get much closer to recognize the specific facial or body characteristics necessary to identify the individual. In some cases, even this type of recognition might be impossible, forcing one to read the inscription (assuming the individual is literate, which was generally not the case in the ancient world). This type of information processing and spatial interaction has yet to play a significant role in studies of piazza spaces in the Roman empire or in the built environment in general, with preference given to more elite-focused studies of messaging that the dedicators of these statues might be trying to send to other elites. With literacy rates debated but possibly as low at 5-15% of the population, this leaves a

[131] Gehl 1987, 65-74.

wide swath of people who do not engage with the built environment in the same way as elites.[132] How would they have interacted with statuary and the many other inscriptions which archaeologists and epigraphers have discovered in the open public spaces of Roman towns? The biological constraints of the human body and how it interacts with the particular spaces it engages with may be a good place to start considering this question and many others when considering daily activity and movement in piazza spaces.[133]

2.6 Conclusion

The above discussion has only scratched the surface of the numerous ways in which scholars have attempted to understand urban spaces in both the present and the past. What clearly emerges is the multiplicity of strategies employed in the attempt to better understand these important environments. On one level, the presence of so many different ways of looking at the problem should not be surprising due to the complexity of the topic. As noted by Lefebvre in the quote introducing this chapter, "the study of everyday life and the urban, where what is most familiar is also the least known and the most difficult to make out." The everyday is full of blindingly obvious facts (individuals enter fora spaces through entrances, people drink water at fountains, the Italian peninsula is often hot) that affect how individuals navigate the world around them. Nevertheless, such facets of the everyday are sometimes difficult to reconstruct in the archaeological record and are therefore overlooked when analysis takes place. The theories discussed above each offer different approaches that allow us to perceive these bits of life, particularly when more specific evidence is not available.

---

[132] Harris 1989; see McDonald 2015, 46-48 for a recent overview.

[133] These questions have recently begun to be explored in studies of disability in the ancient world. See, for example, Laes 2018.

In the following chapters, each theory plays a role and reminds us of what they offer as well as what they lack. In the background lies the high-level concept of rhythm and how it impacts practice in everyday life. These rhythms, linear and cyclical processes that come together in the study of how space, time and energy interact, should be seen as repetitions but not identical, evolving over the course of their existence within a culture. Accessing this concept through surviving archaeological, textual, and epigraphic remains directly can often seem difficult, as is the case when connecting any empirical data to higher social theory. To ease this transition, I will employ a range of empirical urban theories. The research of Lynch and MacDonald, focusing on how different architectural aspects of the city work together to form a larger whole both in the urban environment and in the minds of those who engage with it, offer a starting point for studies of movement and activity in urban space. Rapoport's ideas of architectural communication narrow in on the most abundant type of evidence surviving in the archaeological record, the architecture, while leaving room to consider more ephemeral types of evidence through nonfixed and transitory elements. Basic space syntax methods, abstracting space to make it more easily understandable and comparable across exempla, allow us to consider the spatial location of fora within the larger city as well as a breakdown of possible landmarks and nodes within a piazza space itself. Multisensory methods work well when combined with such quantitative, rather abstract techniques, reminding us of the importance of all of the senses in experiencing a space and grounding studies in the real-world. Finally, the concepts of proxemics and mental topographies remind us that, while there are certain biological truths that bind the human race together and influence how people engaged with these spaces, individuals and groups have their own unique mental topographies which, combined with their physical capabilities, can influence how they engage with the world around them. Throughout it

all, the concept of time and the rhythm of the city pervade. Life, both currently and thousands of years ago, is rhythmical, if only due to the rising and the setting of the sun. To gain a fuller picture of daily life in Roman fora spaces, we must attempt to access these rhythms, using whatever evidence is available. To the first type of evidence, textual evidence surviving from Latin and Greek authors which give a glimpse into actions and interactions in fora spaces I now turn.

Chapter 3 : Textual Evidence for Activity in Roman Fora

3.1 Vignette: Campo de' Fiori

In the pre-dawn silence, the piazza belongs only to the rats and pigeons. As the first light of the sun appears, so do the carts full of foodstuffs and other goods. Each makes its way to its preordained spot in the square, a location that has been passed down from generation to generation within the family. As the sun rises above the surrounding buildings, set up is finished and the market begins in earnest. Cries ring out from the merchants, battling over potential buyers of hats, cheese, fruit, and trinkets. The running fountain at one end of the space is co-opted by a florist, who continually gathers water to keep his plants looking fresh. In the early afternoon the crowd disperses even more quickly than it arrived, with products packed up and driven away; piles of trash are all that is left behind. Yet that too is disposed of, if not as quickly, by streetsweepers (human and mechanical) slowly clearing paths through the debris. By early evening, the piazza is transformed, ready for a different kind of commerce. The restaurants circling the square open up, first for drinks and then for dinner. As the sun sets, a younger population emerges into the campo, purchasing drinks from the nearby bars or bringing their own. A statue situated in the center of the space and a nearby fountain become the perfect places to sit and talk with friends. As the night lengthens, the noise increases with growing intoxication, and buskers and entrepreneurs appear with their music and slingshot spinners, hoping to make a quick buck. It continues long into the night, until the bars close and people stagger home to their beds. And the piazza belongs to the rats and the pigeons once more.

The roughly rectangular Campo dei Fiori, the "field of flowers," situated in the heart of the modern Campus Martius between the Tibur and the Theater of Pompeii, is emblematic of the multifunctional piazza space, serving different purposes over the course of the day (Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2). As described above, commerce in all its forms may seem to dominate the space, as it contains one of the longest-running markets in the city, and the streets nearby are all named for different kinds of trade. Yet it is also known as a focus for street life and culture, recognizable not only by the crowds which gather there nightly but by the lack of architectural formality around its borders. In this way, it is not a planned space, but one that grew organically with the surrounding community. It is a place for early afternoon football games or to go to the cinema (the Cinema Farnese is one of the oldest cinemas in Rome and was a center for the Sessantotto movement in the late 1960s). Its past, however, is darker, and for centuries the Catholic church executed heretics in the Campo as a warning to others. The statue of Giordano Bruno, situated in the center of the square, marks his death there in 1600; now he stands defiantly facing the Vatican as a symbol of the right to free speech. Each year he is celebrated by the Italian Association of Freethinking, an event that the mayor of Rome is invited to but rarely attends. Since the new millennium, the environment around the piazza has gone through a recognizable change, with older shops giving way to newer bars frequented by tourists and undergraduates. This has given rise to an increased number of buskers and sellers of knock-off goods, whom the police halfheartedly chase away. Late at night, it is also a well-known place for pickpockets to frequent, and for drunken fights to break out, especially during football season. In 2015, for example, the piazza became a battle ground between Dutch supporters of Feyenoord and the Rome police on the eve of a Europa Cup match. Still, it remains a symbol of "real Rome," a contrast to the nearby grandiose Piazza Navona.

Figure 3.1: Campo dei Fiori in the morning, one of the most famous markets in Rome (photo from Wikipedia Commons).

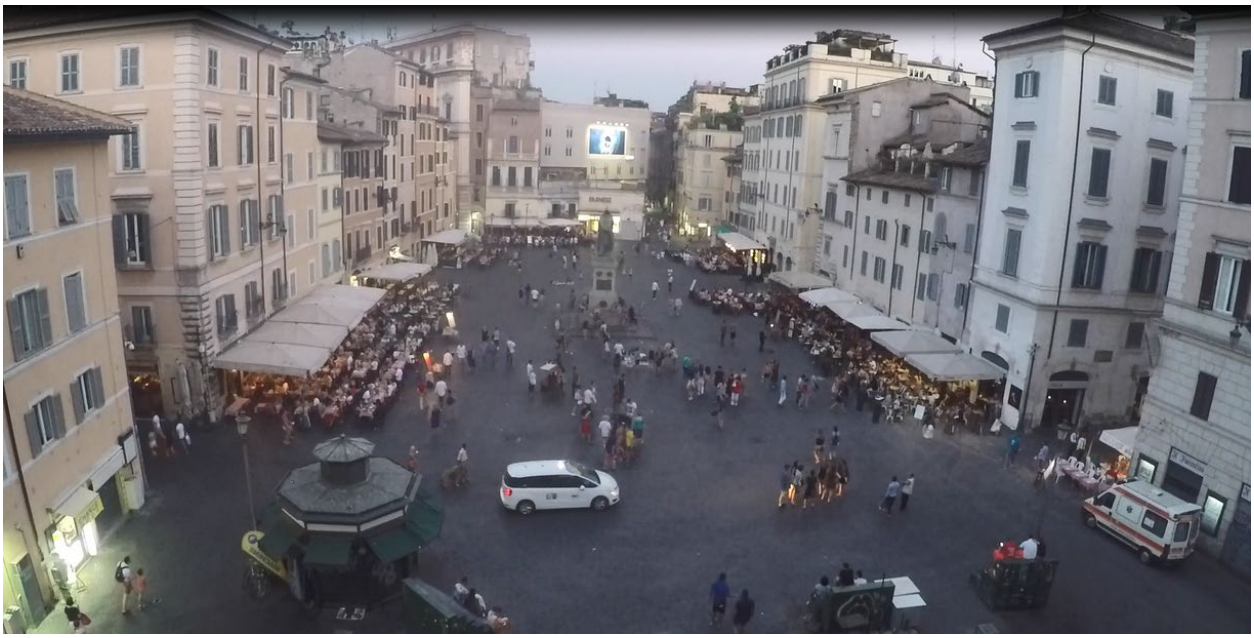

Figure 3.2: Campo dei Fiori in the evening, one of the most famous dining and drinking locations in Rome (photo by author).

> "…but until he comes forth / I'll point out in what place you might easily find each kind of person, / so that no one works too hard if they wish to find someone, / someone immoral or someone virtuous, honorable or base. / Whoever desires to

> meet a man who lies under oath, go to the comitium; / a deceitful boaster? Check near the temple of Venus Cloacina; / those who earnestly seek rich yet wasteful married folk, they'll be in the basilica. / There too will be the mature prostitutes and those who are accustomed to demand personal pledges, / those contributors to shared feasts are in the fish market. / In the lowest portion of the forum good and wealthy people walk about, / the real pretentious ones are in the middle near the drain; / Shameless, prattling, spiteful folk are above the Lake, / those who boldly utter insults at one another for no reason, / while they have enough in themselves about which it is possible to say truthfully. / Under the Old Shops, there are those who give and who receive with interest. / Behind the Temple of Castor are those whom it is not good for you to trust quickly. / In the Tuscan neighborhood are those people who sell themselves, / in the Velabrum the miller, the butcher, the soothsayer, / those who turn, those who are turned by others, they all hold forth there. / [Rich yet wasteful married folk are at the house of Leucadia Oppia]. / But in the meantime the doors have cracked: I must hold my tongue..."[134]
>
> "For you see what crowds of men of all classes, of all pursuits, of many kinds, fill the forum."[135]

———

3.2 Introduction: Encounters in the Forum

In an amusing aside by the *choragus* in Plautus' *Curculio*, we are introduced to a variety of figures and activities situated in and around the forum in the center of Rome. This kind of address, generally a monologue directed towards the audience of a Roman comedy, has a long history in the genre and is meant to be humorous while at the same time commenting on real stereotypes and situations taking place at the time of the performance.[136] The tongue-in-cheek description offers a glimpse into a space populated with an intriguing number of different kinds of individuals; untrustworthy folk skulk behind the Temple of Castor, while, in not so veiled irony, perjurers spend their time at the assembly.[137] While Plautus is to some degree presenting

[134] Plaut. *Curc.* 466-487.
[135] Cic. *Cael.* 21.
[136] This type of engagement with the wider social system of the audience through humor is not original to Plautus but dates to Greek Old Comedy and authors like Aristophanes. For more information about this type of aside and what kinds of humor and social criticism were permitted in Roman comedies, see Manuwald 2011, 293-300.
[137] Notably, he does not spend much time considering men without vice, despite his claim to know where they can be found. They are perhaps not as entertaining.

an imagined landscape, his words offer a glimpse into what daily life in piazza spaces might actually have been like in Roman Italy. Fora were full of individuals of all occupations, genders, and statuses, ranging from the indolent rich to the hardworking merchant and the newly sold slave. The goal of this chapter is to move beyond the standard focus on the forum as an elite, political space, with perhaps some commerce and ritual on the side. Instead, through a closer analysis of Latin, and in some cases Greek, texts mentioning activity in piazza spaces, fora are revealed as multifunctional localities where a wide variety of activities may take place.

Despite the colorful cast of characters found in just this single passage of Plautus, studies attempting to repopulate piazzas in Rome and elsewhere have been severely lacking, leaving the space (like its digital reconstruction mentioned in Chapter 1) quite bare. This dearth of scholarly consideration is particularly striking when compared to the prevalence of research focused around the piazza's urban associate, the city street, as well as the Greek agora. Textual and archaeological studies of the Roman street have multiplied since the "spatial turn" of the 1980s encouraged scholars to move beyond considering the city grid plan as a monolithic entity. It has only been in the past decade, however, that everyday aspects of the street have been truly given their due. As discussed in Chapter 2, this movement corresponds with the growth of multisensory and phenomenological studies in the field, for the textual sources discussing a particular type of space or event can often provide additional detail to what survives in the archaeological record.[138] The results have been quite beneficial, with discussions based on various aspects of street life in Rome, Pompeii, and Ostia appearing in numerous monographs and edited volumes.[139] Two publications are of particular note for their influence on this chapter: firstly, C.

[138] See previous chapter for more on these types of studies.
[139] See numerous examples in Laurence and Newsome (eds.) 2011, Östenberg *et al* (eds.) 2015, and Betts (ed.) 2017a.

Holleran's look at street life in ancient Rome descends into the mud and muck of the everyday, focusing on what we can learn about the not-so-elite aspects of economic life in the often narrow, rubbish-filled byways of the city.[140] Her research shows that it is possible, with some effort, to recover a sense of daily life from the surviving textual evidence, particularly when combined with some basic archaeological considerations about street size and the difficulties of movement.[141] Moreover, J. Hartnett's recent book on the streets of Pompeii takes this analysis and expands it further, considering not only the street as an economic space but as a social and ritual one as well. Here the street becomes a place, on the one hand, for congregation and community building and, on the other, for performance and posturing. Locations near shops serving food and drink became places where loitering might occur, particularly when benches are situated on the shady side of the street.[142] Elsewhere, the remains of street-side altars, some even with the surviving remains of offerings, suggest the presence of daily neighborhood veneration alongside more annual events like the *Compitalia*.[143] This expanded conception of what makes up life on the Roman street offers an approach for broadening our perception of activities taking place in piazza spaces during this same period in history.

In terms of urban space in the Greek world, scholarly focus has turned once more to the agora in recent years.[144] This movement may be traced to P. Millet's "Encounters in the Agora," an early attempt "to supply a part of the missing human dimension" of the city center.[145] Using a combination of surviving speeches from Athenian oratory along with the identification of architectural foci like the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Hephaisteion, Millet examines

[140] Holleran 2011.
[141] For more on this topic, see Hartnett 2011.
[142] Hartnett 2017, 54.
[143] Hartnett 2017, 67. See the recent Flower 2017 for a full discussion of religion on the Roman street.
[144] This can be recognized in German scholarship in particular. See Sielhorst 2015 and Trümper 2008.
[145] Millet 1998, 212. The title of this section is a nod to his work.

everyday life in fifth- and fourth-century Athens through a consideration of both private and public activities. For example, in the Stoa Poikile alone he identifies a mixture of individuals ranging from beggars to philosophers and activities stretching from executions to honeymoon escapes.[146] From this single architectural entity he expands his analysis to the Agora as a whole, where activities dealing with administration, religion, commerce, information-gathering, athletics, gambling, dancing, and even grooming reveal a space that cannot be defined only in terms of politics.[147] In the discussion below, I am indebted to his work of enlivening a space which, like the fora of Italy, is too often presented as one- or two-dimensional.

More recently, Dickenson's publication *On the Agora* brings together textual and archaeological sources on agorai in order to better understand their use and development in the Hellenistic period and beyond.[148] His use of a wide-variety of literary texts is similarly applicable to a consideration of piazza spaces in Roman Italy. Dickenson argues that it is "where the agora is mentioned only in passing by an ancient author that we can catch our most unguarded – and thereby most useful – glimpses of what the agora meant."[149] For Dickenson's Hellenistic and Roman period agorai, the literary evidence is broad, if shallow. While there is not much textual evidence applicable to a single site, except perhaps Athens, the combined evidence for agorai across the Greek world adds up to a substantial amount. This is particularly true if one broadens the net to consider authors from a variety of genres who may have some small bit of information to be gleaned about a particular activity taking place.

[146] Millet 1998, 215.
[147] Ibid 215-16, footnote 25.
[148] Dickenson 2017. See the Introduction for a more detailed look at other recent publications focused on the Greek agora.
[149] Ibid 39.

This same caveat is true for studies of Roman fora. The textual references discussed here come from a wide variety of sources, ranging from histories to comedies to the *Digest* of the late Roman period. This necessarily broad assortment of evidence is a direct result of nature of the available texts; other than Vitruvius' architectural discussion in Book 5 of *De architectura*, there are very few Latin authors who focus in on the details of piazza spaces in the Roman world and even fewer who mention events taking place outside of Rome itself.[150] Instead, details of various types of activity must be gathered from the assorted asides and incidental remarks which the authors might happen to make while focused on other issues.[151] Even the extended quotation appearing at the beginning of this chapter comes as a digression within the larger narrative of the play and is not a subject returned to within the work. As most of our surviving textual sources focus on the Roman forum, applying them to a larger range of urban spaces across Italy asks one to accept the idea that these spaces may be different in scale but not in kind. I believe this is a reasonable assumption for many of the activities which took place in open public spaces; if anything, one would expect activity in smaller settlements to be even more concentrated in the city center given the dearth of other types of public space available. Rome might be able to construct specific spaces or structures for the sale of fish or bulls or wine or luxury goods, or even buildings like a *macellum* dedicated solely to commerce, but in smaller towns these activities would necessarily congregate to the often singular large central open space. Studies of the Roman street have dealt with this same bias, with a variety of sources from different time periods appearing as evidence for a particular activity and with by far the majority of texts

[150] Vitr. *De arch.* 5 is discussed in more detail in the introduction to Chapter 1.
[151] This includes Greek authors focusing on events in Italy. Greek authors use the term "agora" to refer to open public spaces in a variety of different places and cultures, including when referring to the Roman forum itself (see Dickenson 2017, 38-39).

focusing on streets in Rome in particular.[152] Nevertheless, it is only through this kind of wide-ranging investigation that the full breadth of possible activity within these spaces is able to shine through.

This is, of course, not to suggest that the activities taking place in the piazzas or the streets of the 300s CE are necessarily the same as those of the 300s BCE. Nor is every author's discussion of a particular event expected to be the absolute truth with respect to what happened in a specific open space at a particular moment in time.[153] Nor am I claiming an exclusivity of these activities for piazza spaces; many of these activities could and did take place at sites outside the forum as well. There were specifically dedicated auction-halls where auctions might occur.[154] School might take place on the street itself or in other localities, or, as mentioned above, a macellum could be constructed to provide a town with a more permanent market structure.[155] Instead, the goal here is to discuss *in general* what primary sources can tell us about the different types of activities that may be taking place and who might be participating in them. Too much time has been spent focused on the politics of fora, leaving its many other functional purposes underanalyzed. While not every piazza is the same, either architecturally or socially, by looking at a multitude of sources we are able to recognize the dynamic nature of these environments which are vital not only to the political and economic lives of a prosperous city but to its social life as well. It is a place where a wide range of individuals participate daily, engaging with one another and with the wider built environment. Once these diverse and multifunctional spaces are better understood at a general level, archaeologists and historians can then delve into

[152] In this case, when discussing street crime in Rome. See Holleran 2011, 257, fn. 73.
[153] This is obviously true with respect to discussions from sources such as plays which mention events taking place in the forum and from the stories dealing with the earliest moments in Rome's historical tradition.
[154] Cic. *Quinct*. 12; Livy 39.44. Cassius Dio puts the piazza and the auction-hall on equal footing as places where the event could take place (74.11.3).
[155] Dio Chrys 20.9-10, Mart. 9.8; Holleran 2012, 160-181.

the built environments of specific sites, considering the details which make it a unique place for individuals to live and work.

The discussion below is based on an analysis of more than 650 citations generated from a review of surviving Latin and Greek literature, a compilation of textual examples which brings out the diversity of individuals and activities taking place in piazzas primarily, but not always, on the Italian peninsula.[156] The activities under discussion in this chapter vary greatly and include, but are not limited to, information-gathering, commerce, punishment, omen recognition, sport, funerals, warfare, and, perhaps most overlooked, loitering, busking, and begging. Through considering these often-intertwined subjects, it becomes clear that individuals of different social classes, sexes, and ages participate in a variety of activities within these spaces, putting to rest the idea that fora were places populated by elite men alone. Absent, however, from my discussion is a consideration of the elite law-courts and assemblies taking place in the city center, except when tangentially associated with other activities. This is intentional, as the politics of the forum have been and will doubtlessly continue to be well-researched.[157] Similarly, specifics of processional events like the Roman triumph are only touched upon, as it in particular will receive a detailed treatment in a later chapter. Nevertheless, this analysis is certainly not exhaustive but is rather a starting place, a framework which repopulates piazzas and opens them up to a new type of analysis and consideration. Each category discussed below could be the subject of its own article or monograph centered on that activity, and therefore the brief discussions here are meant to be exemplary rather than a full analysis of every citation. This chapter is thus viewed as a first step into what is hopefully a larger discussion and a refocusing upon piazza spaces as centers of engagement in the urban environment, featuring much of its range and versatility.

[156] Italians obviously did not have a monopoly on the use of piazza spaces in the Mediterranean.
[157] Russell 2015; Mouritsen 2001. Also, the classic Miller 1998 and Taylor 1966.

3.3 Commerce

Looking beyond politics and lawmaking, the world of commerce is probably the next most recognized function of piazzas in the Roman world.[158] Indeed, the term forum itself seems to have initially referred to areas for markets rather than for governing. Varro mentions several of these spaces found at Rome, each defined by the types of goods which are sold there.[159] There is the cattle market in the forum boarium (marked by a giant bronze statue of a bull), the vegetable market in the forum holitorium, and the fish market in the forum piscarium along the Tiber.[160] "Luxury goods" are sold in the forum cuppedinis, while other well-known localities are the pork market in the forum suarium and the forum vinarium for wine situated in modern Testaccio.[161] There is even a forum gallorum et rusticorum for purchasing chickens and fowl and a forum pistorum for flour mentioned in Latin texts.[162] Although these spaces were assigned particular names in accordance with their merchandise, this does not mean that only this type of commerce was available there. Olive (also, or mainly, oil) dealers, to give just a single example, seem to have been highly successful in the area of the forum boarium, so much so that they participated in shaping the space by dedicating a temple to Hercules Olivarius there.[163] The same should be recognized for the other named spaces, which (as we shall see) might function for a variety of activities within and beyond the world of commerce.

---

[158] Several useful monographs about commerce in the Roman city have been written over the years. See Ellis 2018, Holleran 2012, and Frayn 1993.
[159] Varro, *Ling.* 5.146. See Holleran 2012, 93-97 for more details on these individual markets.
[160] Ov. *Fast.* 6.477-8 for the bull; Livy 34.53 for the vegetable market; Collumella *Rust.* 8.15 for a fish-market reference.
[161] This market could perhaps sell more expensive luxury versions of items, like fish, that could also be found in the other markets. It was apparently well-known for its high prices and nicknamed the *forum cupidinis* (of Greed) in Varro. See Apul. *Met.* 1.24-25 for one story of being cheated by a fishmonger in such a space.
[162] See Holleran 2016 for an overview of depictions of food hawkers in ancient Rome.
[163] Holleran 2012, 55. Though the exact name of this temple has been long debated (see Chapter 2.4).

The standard architectural form marking the presence of more permanent commerce is known as a *taberna*, identified as "a rectilinear room, situated on the ground floor, with a wide entrance in direct communication with the street."[164] Archaeologically, this structure can be found at sites across Italy, including lining the forum of Aquileia, Paestum, Cosa, Liternum, Luna, and Minturnae, just to name a few.[165] Textually, money gathered from selling public land was known to have been specifically used to construct shops around other fora as well, such as in the towns of Calatia and Auximum.[166] These spaces often have a grooved threshold at their entrance, used to align the wooden shutters that could then be locked, protecting one's goods for the night.[167] This worry was not unfounded; Varro, citing a fragment of Lucilius, reports that it was not unknown for thieves to steal items from the shops in the forum.[168] In the *Satyricon*, this thievery comes full circle, with stolen items from tabernae appearing back up for sale in the market, only to be stolen and sold again by the story's main characters.[169] Signs could be set up out front, either to distinguish what was on sale in a particular shop or just to make it more easily identifiable.[170] These were certainly beneficial, for tabernae could serve a wide variety of functions, from retail and production to the service industry to administration and even housing if necessary.[171] They could stand in a series in a forum or on a street or be singly attached to a

[164] Ibid 100.
[165] For plans of these fora, see the excellent catalogue in Lackner 2008. *Tabernae*, of course, are also found on many city streets.
[166] Livy 41.27.
[167] For a detailed look at the structure and shape of tabernae, see Ellis 2018, 29-84. A similar technique is employed in modern Italian shops, with a large metal shade drawn down and locked in place at the end of the night.
[168] Varro, *Ling*. 7.94 (Lucil. 1169). Much later, Saint Augustine himself was accused as a young man of being a thief when hanging about the forum of Carthage practicing a speech (August. *Conf*. 6.9).
[169] Petron. *Sat*. 12.
[170] Quint. *Inst*. 6.3.38.
[171] For a detailed look at the function of tabernae, see Holeran 2012, 118-157.

larger domicile where it could serve as a means of income for those owning the house (via actual commercial profit or simply by renting out the space to someone else).[172]

The Roman forum itself was not immune to this commercialization. Livy suggests that established shops and porticos in the city center date all the way back to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.[173] Various events which took place in these shops pop up from time to time over the course of Roman history. A butcher shop was reportedly the source of a knife which Verginius used to kill his daughter,[174] while an unnamed shop was the location of Sempronius Asellio's death at the hands of a stirred-up mob.[175] The shops around the forum were supposedly closed up after the defeat at the battle of the Caudine Forks in the Second Samnite war, with all business suspended.[176] A certain Gaius Servilius Pansa died at seven o'clock in the morning while standing at a shop in the forum, at least according to Pliny the Elder.[177] Just to the west of the Curia, Cato purchased four *tabernae* of unknown function in 184 BCE when he bought up property to build the Basilica Porcia.[178] A fire which broke out in 210 BCE burned down the shops along the northern side of the forum. From this point onward, the shops on the south side, which had escaped the fire, were called the *Tabernae Veteres* (the "Old Shops") in contrast to the newly rebuilt *Tabernae Novae* to the north.[179] At different points in time it seems like there were five or seven shops in a series situated here along with certain banking establishments.[180]

---

[172] A graffito from the House of the Olii (VI.6.1) at Pompeii, for example, suggests that anyone wishing to rent the shops, *domus,* or upper stories of the city block should contact Primus, the slave of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius.
[173] Livy 1.35.10; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.67. It seems that initially classes may have been held in these spaces as well (Livy 3.44).
[174] Livy 3.48.
[175] App. *BC* 1.54. V. Max. 9.7.4.
[176] Livy 9.7. Golden 2013 has an extensive bibliography on crises management in the Roman Republic.
[177] Plin. *HN. 7.182.*
[178] Livy 39.44.7.
[179] Varro, *Ling.* 6.59.
[180] Livy 26.27, 27.11, 40.51. The shops were apparently not rebuilt until 194 BCE (35.23).

Banking played a particularly important role in the Roman forum as the city's empire grew over the course of the republican and imperial periods. It is the one vital area of commerce Vitruvius mentions when discussing the proper organization of the space.[181] Martial reports that the forum constantly sounded with the clink of money, in stark contrast to his performances where patrons appeared to be lacking.[182] Plautus has a character head to the forum to hang out with the banker Archibulus just to kill some time,[183] while Marius was accused by his detractors of selling Roman citizenship to freedmen and foreigners on a money-table in the piazza, a dubious charge at best.[184] Hannibal mockingly "sold" the bankers shops situated in the city center, possibly those mentioned above in the *Tabernae Novae*, at auction in a rejoinder for Rome selling the land he was currently camping on without lowering the price.[185] Back in the regal period, Servius Tullius set up money tables in the forum where he paid off the debts of all the citizens in the city, certainly a popular notion during any time period.[186]

A variety of other goods and services seem to have been prevalent in the city center, with Martial suggesting that his books could be purchased at shops in the Temple of Peace and the forum Transitorium, as well as on the Argiletum, a street which began from the Roman forum near the temple of Janus.[187] The epilogue to Horace's first book of *Epistles* has been used to suggest that his books might have been on sale in front of the temple of Janus itself within the piazza.[188] One of these shops may have been the one under the stairs of which Clodius hid when

[181] Vitr. *De arch*. 5.1.
[182] Mart. 1.76.
[183] Plaut. *Asin*. 105, 125.
[184] Plut. *Sull*. 8.
[185] Livy 26.11.
[186] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant. 4.10*. See also Sen. *Ep*. 81, Plaut. *Per*. 433, Plaut. *Mos*. 333-335, Petron. *Sat*. 58, Livy 6.39, 7.21, Cic. *Leg. Man*. 19 for other mentions of banking in the forum.
[187] Mart. 1.2, 1.3, and 1.117. See Livy 1.19 for the location of the road.
[188] Hor. *Epist*. 1.20. This was suggested by the scholiasts Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro (Peck 1913).

being chased by Antony.[189] Cooks and flute-girls could be rented to go along with your recently purchased provisions[190] or, as Juvenal reports, the possibility of buying slave boys, silver plate, vases or even houses from vendors existed in these spaces.[191] Elsewhere, cobblers were said to be situated near the Temple of Castor and Pollux[192] and epigraphic evidence suggests that luxury items of all kinds were available along the via Sacra and in the area of the forum Romanum.[193] Even the remains of a possible barber shop have been discovered built into the podium of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, suggesting that a wide variety of goods and services were available beyond our ability to recognize from the textual or archaeological record.[194]

Commerce was, of course, not confined to permanent shops alone. This was certainly true for the periodic markets, known as *nundinae*, which would generally take place every eight days (inclusively) and would be an opportunity for rural farmers to come into the city and sell their produce.[195] While they may have initially been set up in rural areas or on private estates, there is evidence that by the late Republic it was not uncommon to see them in cities, including Rome. From surviving lists of market sites and times, called the *indices nundinarii* by modern scholars though this is not their ancient name, it appears that these markets were coordinated so that farmers could attend more than one over the course of a cycle to sell or purchase goods.[196] Numerous examples of calendars marking the *nundinae* have been discovered both for Rome and wider Italy (Figure 3.3).[197] It seems very likely that these would take place in the large, integrated piazza spaces of a city, both due to concerns of space and to amplify the sales which

[189] Cic. *Phil.* 2.21
[190] Pl. *Aul.* 280-282.
[191] Juv. 7.130.
[192] Plin. *HN.* 10.60.121
[193] Holleran 2012, 56, ft. 200.
[194] Nilson et al. 2008, 56.
[195] De Ligt 1993, 106-117; Holleran 2012, 189.
[196] Storchi Marino 2000, 93-106.
[197] Hannah 2013 for more details. Also see Chapter 3.7 below.

would take place on a standard day of commerce.[198] Other commercial events, such as property or slave auctions, could be coordinated to take place at this moment of increased activity, hopefully increasing the number of interested parties.[199] The ephemeral nature of these events, with the temporary structures such as wooden stalls or carts that would have accompanied them, however, means that little information about them is known from the archaeological record.

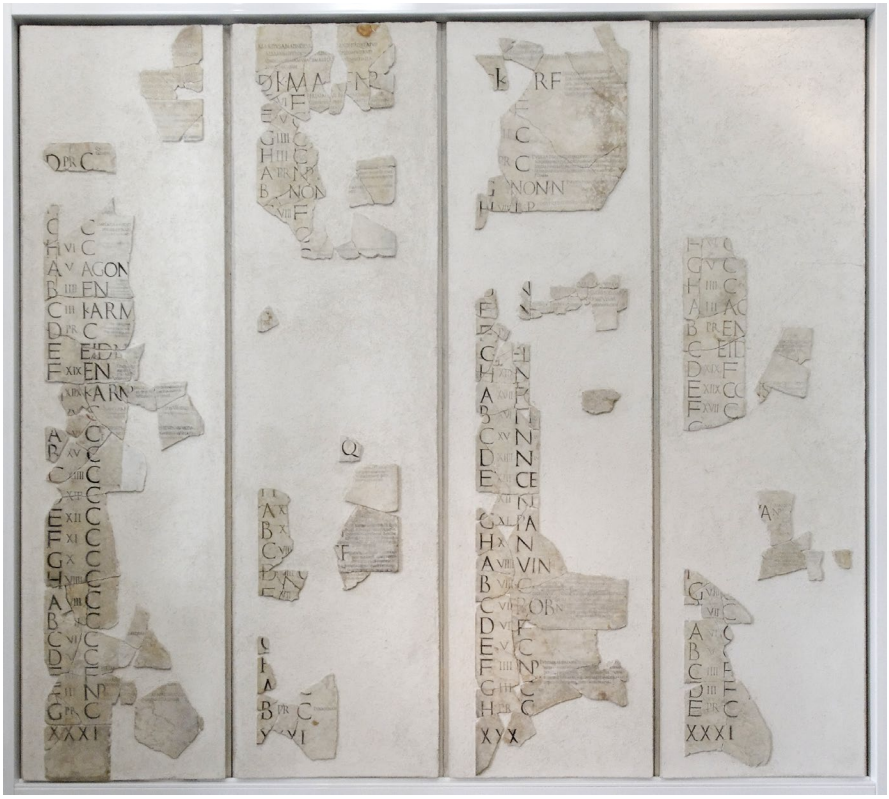

Figure 3.3: Full remains of the Fasti Praenestini, showing its nundinal letters on the left side (image from Wikipedia Commons).

Beyond these more established commercial enterprises, mobile hawkers were a common sight on the busier streets and piazzas of the Roman city. These more ambulatory entrepreneurs did not have a permanent location but could set up shop in a different space daily (*circulatores*) or even remain permanently on the move (*circitores* and *ambulatores*) in order to be situated

[198] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the integration of piazzas into the Roman city.
[199] Fentress 2005; Garcia Morcillo 2005, 173-84.

Figure 3.4: Fresco from the House of Julia Felix depicting a market in the forum of Pompeii (image from Wikipedia Commons).

where opportunity best presented itself.[200] Pliny the Younger finds these individuals quite irksome, or at least he disapproves of their oratorical style as they shout out their wares.[201] Quintilian concurs.[202] While these individuals do not leave much of a trace in the textual tradition, it is possible to recognize them through material evidence. A fresco from the Praedia of Julia Felix shows this type of vendor set up in what appears to be one of the porticos in the forum of Pompeii (Figure 3.4).[203] Items of cloth and metal are laid out on the ground or on small, portable tables. Meanwhile, vendors discuss prices with potential purchasers, in one case a parent with their child. Close by to Pompeii's actual forum, epigraphic evidence along the sanctuary walls of the Temple of Venus suggest a clustering and claiming of space by vendors hoping to take advantage of those visiting the temple.[204] Other surviving reliefs from Rome and Ostia indicate that these vendors did indeed play an important role in the commerce of the city, with numerous images showing a special affinity towards food and fabrics.[205]

[200] Holleran 2011, 254.
[201] Plin. *Ep.* 4.7.6. Martial too complains of the noise they advertise their wares (Mart. 12.57).
[202] Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.8.
[203] Hartnett 2017, 64.
[204] CIL IV.1768, 1769. Holleran 2012, 58.
[205] See Holleran 2012, 209 for more information. These examples of temporary structures and their impact on movement within open public spaces will be returned to in the following chapter.

A more irregular commercial event which tended to take place in piazza spaces in the Roman world was the auction.[206] The announcement of a public auction was made by planting a spear in the market, a sign which seems to have derived from the sale of booty taken in war.[207] It would, at the same time, generally be advertised well ahead of time in order to assure a good turnout and, like other commercial dealings, could be delayed or postponed in times of war.[208] Early in Rome's history, Aulus Postumius as dictator sold the booty he obtained from war with the Volscians at public auction, an event which occurred frequently during the Roman expansion.[209] This is particularly true as goods from cities in Greece and elsewhere came into vogue as symbols of elite status in the domestic sphere. Most infamous perhaps was the sacking of Corinth in 146 BCE, at which point all of the art and treasure within the city was plundered.[210] Pliny the Elder relates that bronze sculptures from Corinth were a prize for collectors as well as Corinthian vases, which could be reused as dishes, lamps or even wash basins.[211] Elsewhere, Varro reports that purchasing land titles at auction from war-booty was one of the six ways one might acquire it legitimately.[212] In any case, such a practice could quickly enrich a successful military leader and lead to the dedication of various temples or games from the obtained wealth, further shaping the spaces in which these auctions might take place.[213]

[206] Cicero is constantly mentioning them in his Letters to Atticus, for example. E.g. *Att.* XIL.3, XIII.12, IV.12 among many others. Tertullian refers to them taking place both at the Capitol and the vegetable market (Tert. *Apol.* 13).
[207] Cic. *Phil.* 2.103.
[208] E.g. Cic. *Att.* 340 (XIII.37a); Cic. *Planc.* 33.
[209] Livy 4.24, 34, 53 in Book Four of Livy alone.
[210] Plin. *HN* 35.24; Vell. Pat. 1.13.4.
[211] Plin. *HN* 34.5-7.
[212] Var. *Rust.* 2.10.
[213] Indeed, leaders often vowed such temples before decisive battles, asking a god or goddess to watch over them in return for the erection of the monument. An obvious example is the Temple of Venus Genetrix vowed by Caesar before the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE, but these structures can be found across Italy and the Mediterranean.

Auctions, however, were not limited to the spoils of war; it seems to have been a common practice for those who were in debt to auction off personal property, perhaps due to a failed business practice, or for getting rid of undesired items after a will was divided up.[214] A variety of items could be sold, varying from books,[215] tapestries,[216] and statues[217] to entire estates,[218] and (more skeptically) provinces and kingdoms.[219] It seems that if a price was not reached for a particular item, the owner could withdraw it from the block, as is accomplished at a modern auction with the "reserve" price.[220] Cicero complains that certain individuals were known to unscrupulously use the auction to obtain the property of those who had been exiled at a cheaper rate, referring specifically to events which took place under the dictatorships of Sulla and Caesar.[221] He accuses Sulla of making the selling off of the wealth of Roman citizens who had been proscribed or exiled a standard practice, as he claimed that the goods were his spoils and so he could do with them as he wished.[222]

Auctions were not spur-of-the-moment events but would need to be planned and organized in advance. Several people beyond the person putting up the goods for sale would necessarily be involved in an auction in order for it to go smoothly, especially a practiced auctioneer to run the proceedings. Martial, perhaps ironically, suggests becoming an auctioneer was a common enough career to live off of, at least if one were of too dull a disposition to do

[214] Cic. *Phil.* 11.13; Cic. *Att.* 126 (VII.3).9. Here Cicero wants to buy a property in Puteoli which the heir to Hortensius apparently did not want to keep.
[215] As seen in Lucian's work, *The Ignorant Book-Collector* 4, 20.
[216] Cic. *Phil.* 2.73.
[217] Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 23.
[218] Plut. *Comp. Lys. Sull.* 476.
[219] Cic. *Phil.* 5.11.
[220] Cic. *QFr.* 6(II.2).
[221] Cic. *Off.* 2.23.83; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.21. See also Plut. *Comp. Lys. Sull.* 476. Caesar reportedly acquired some estates for his lover Servilia at a low price in this manner (Suet. *Jul.* 50).
[222] Cic. *Off.* 2.8.27.

something interesting.[223] They clearly were paid by whomever was throwing the auction, as the hanger-on Gelasimus threatens to be his own auctioneer, paying himself to sell himself rather than getting someone else to do it.[224] Advertising in advance was a common practice, and, as mentioned above, some auctions would be scheduled to coincide with market days to increase attendance. This could be accomplished by hiring a crier to announce the proceedings around the city, though this duty might be performed by the auctioneer as well.[225] Some sort of quaestor may have been responsible for recording the purchases and ensuring the money was indeed paid out, at least for larger sales in Rome that the state had an interest in.[226] Depending on how many articles were up for sale, the event could last all day and into the evening, certainly impacting the spatial experience over an extended period.[227]

One account of an extraordinary auction is related by Zonaras and thought to have originated in Dio's work. Marcus Aurelius, unwilling to tax his subjects further, instead took imperial heirlooms to the city center and sold them to pay for his military expeditions.[228] This may have included golden goblets, silken robes, jewels, statues, and paintings, so many that the auction continued for two months![229] More comically, in a play of Plautus the hanger-on Gelasimus, claiming to be starving, says he will set up an auction in order to make some money. In lieu of actual goods, he offers to sell jokes to the audience for the price of a lunch or dinner, as well as Greek ointments, cures for hangovers, perjuries, a worn-out flask, and a rusty oil

[223] Mart. 5.56.
[224] Plaut. *Stich*. 195.
[225] Hor. *Ars. P.* 419.
[226] Tert. *Apol*. 13
[227] Sen. *Controv*. 1.1.19.
[228] Cass. Dio 72 frag. Augustus is reported to have held a similar auction of his ancestral property to pay the money to the citizens of Rome that Caesar left in his will, endearing himself to the people (Plut. *Mor.* 207.1).
[229] SHA *Marc* 17. This source reports that the sale took place in the forum of Trajan rather than the Roman forum.

scraper.[230] He also suggests that malevolent "auction hunters" exist, who, as soon as they hear someone is having a sale, approach them and try to take advantage of their situation.[231] In a more direct vein, Caligula would simply force individuals to run up the bids so high at his auctions that they committed suicide after being stripped of their own possessions in recompense,[232] while the despicable Verres would simply bid more than anyone else, take the property, and refuse to pay for it.[233]

Auctions, whether of war-booty or other property, were not limited to material goods; the slave auction was a common sight in fora over much of Rome's history. Slaves would be led into a piazza and put on display for purchase, often put up on a stand or block to make them more visible. These stands might be temporary wooden structures (*catastae*) set up for a particular market day or more permanent *chalcidica*, raised platforms generally beneath portico structures that may have been used for a variety of functions.[234] These individuals were often spoils of war or revolts against Rome: men, women, and children who had been captured rather than killed in the fighting.[235] Auctioning these sorts of captives was so common that it was designated one of the "laws of war," dating back to the earliest times in Roman historical imagination.[236] After defeating an army from Veii, Romulus reportedly led his captives in triumph through the forum to auction. In memory of this, even up to Plutarch's time an old man would be led through the

[230] Plaut. *Stich*. 222-234. Auctions were apparently a recurring theme in comedies (or at least in Plautus). See Plaut. *Men*. 1150ff and *Poen*. 1364.
[231] Ibid 199ff, 385. *perquisitores auctionum.*
[232] Suet. *Calig*. 38.
[233] Cic. *Ver*. 2.2.19.
[234] Fentress 2005 focuses on these types of stands in her study on the difficulties in recognizing slave auctions in the archaeological record. The *chalcidium* of the Eumachia building in the forum of Pompeii is the best recognized example (CIL X, 810-811), though references to *chalcidia* at Puteoli represent the only textually known legal transaction outside of Rome (TPSulp. 6, 34-39, 85).
[235] Though it also appears possible to sell oneself into slavery for a predefined period of time in order to pay off a debt. See Silver 2014.
[236] For the selling of captives as a "law of war" see, Livy 8.37; Val. Max. 9.10.1. Though, as it in case cited here, it was possibly for a conquering city to be lenient if they so wished.

forum during a sacrifice for victory, while a herald shouted out "Sardians for sale!"[237] In a more historical period, during the Second Punic War over 5000 captives were sold at auction from just three towns in Lucania which had revolted and gone over to the Carthaginians.[238]

These auctions took place in the Roman forum itself, at least in some cases. Apuleius reports that Cato purchased two slaves off of a stand in the forum to add to those in his retinue before he set off for Spain,[239] while Seneca suggests that slaves were commonly sold near the Temple of Castor and Pollux within the city center.[240] These imported slaves would have a sign around their neck reporting from what land they were from, or be forced to jump up and down with their feet chalked in order to show that they were healthy.[241] In a slight bit of kindness, Seneca the Elder implies that two siblings could not be divided when they were sold into slavery, though the reality of this is unclear.[242] The slave trade continued long into the Christian period, with Pope Gregory the Great reportedly visiting the forum in Rome and seeing young boys of great beauty set out for sale.[243] It must have been a common sight, a testament to the violence inflicted by the Roman state.

Commerce was clearly a vital function of piazza spaces in Rome from the earliest periods of its history. It would remain so into its later existence, leading up to the sack of the city during the Gothic Wars of the 6th century CE. During the famine taking place in this time, Romans brought all their household goods to the forum, hoping to sell them for food. When there was no food left, they turned to the vegetation, eating nettles in order to survive another day.[244] Here the

[237] Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 25. Veii, along with the other cities of the Tuscans, was thought to be settled by colonists from Sardis.
[238] Livy 23.37.
[239] Apul. *Apol.* 17.
[240] Sen. *Constant.* 13.4.
[241] Prop. 4.5.
[242] Sen. *Controv.* 9.3.
[243] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* 2.1.
[244] Procop. *Goth.* 7.17.

Roman forum, once the mighty center of the Roman Empire, has returned to its roots, a place where basic trade might take place and cattle could graze.[245] It would remain this way into the Renaissance and beyond, when it became a popular landscape for painters to depict and was known as Campo Vaccino because of the grazing of cows into the 1700s (Figure 3.5). While the subject of commerce will reappear time and again in considering other facets of piazza spaces, for now let us turn to another topic, one not often considered when thinking about daily life in these important spaces: the role of elite and non-elite leisure, busking, and begging in open public space.

Figure 3.5: View of the Roman Forum, 1735, by Giovanni Paolo Panini. Oil on Canvas. (from the Detroit Institute of Arts).

3.4 Paving the Forum with Shellfish: Elite and Non-elite Leisure, Busking and Begging

The forum was certainly not all about business, whether it be political or economic. Even as the daily affairs of the law courts and the assemblies were taking place, and as merchants were

[245] Procop. *Goth*. 8.21.

setting up their shops, there were certainly other individuals who had little or nothing to do with this type of activity, either by choice or on account of status. In terms of the elite lifestyle, while scholars often focus on the political activities of high-status Romans, the forum was also a place of leisure for those with the time to be able to while the day away in various enjoyable pursuits without repercussions, other than perhaps the disdain of other members of the elite. On the other hand, these open piazzas became a place for the less fortunate to occupy with the hope of either obtaining a job or of receiving a bit of largess from those passing by. This type of lower-class individual, though commonly discussed on the streets of the Roman city, has until now not played much of a role in reconstructions of urban centers. Nevertheless, they are vital in recreating an accurate depiction of piazza life in ancient Rome.

In terms of elite wastrels, Cicero and his friends, perhaps unsurprisingly, have a particular disdain for those who lounge about with nothing better to do with their time. In a letter to Cicero from Caelius Rufus, the orator and politician refers to a series of rumors spreading about Rome's premier open space, ranging from the idea that Caesar is currently besieged by the Bellovaci in Gaul to the story that Cicero himself had been killed by Quintus Pompeius Rufus (the grandson of Sulla).[246] Caelius refers to the rumormongers passing on such gossip as *subrostrani*, literally those situated near the rostra. This term, a *hapax legomenon*, apparently refers to the place where these individuals would position themselves over the course of the day. This prominent location would make them appear important to anyone passing by who might assume that they were present for a specific reason rather than simply hanging out. The structure itself might also have provided a bit of shade against the hot Italian sun, an issue that was known to cause distress

[246] Cic. *Fam.* 8.1.4

during some moments of the year.[247] The porticos around the forum could offer a similar freedom from the heat. In a play by Plautus, the smell of fishmongers come to set up shop drives layabouts from their reprieve.[248] In any case, these kinds of individuals would have been situated in a place useful for quickly gathering the news of the day, as well as perhaps spreading some of their own gossip.[249]

If desiring to keep up a bit of proper appearance, these idlers could take their lounging to the law courts, another place where this kind of layabout was apparently prevalent. Gaius Titinius is reported as one such "lounger about the forum," making money solely by participating in the law courts but not actually contributing much to the larger political or social landscape.[250] This term *ἀγοραῖος,* meaning "of the agora" (or forum in this case), seems to have the same negative connotations as Cicero's *subrostrani*, indicative of someone who is always around (and always talking) but never adding to the actual operation of the city. Cicero naturally despises these people, arguing that he would prefer silent wisdom to ignorant verbosity.[251] Cato reportedly compared them to the quack doctors who roamed from forum to forum across the Italian peninsula, stating how one might be forced to hear them if they are situated nearby, but no one should listen to what they say.[252] In the view of these illustrious Romans, to spend one's time around the forum for no larger purpose, either personal or for the betterment of the Roman state as a whole, was a waste of time and energy.

---

[247] Marcellus the son-in-law of Augustus, for example, set up awnings for shade across the forum during one particularly hot summer (Cass. Dio 53.31). See Chapter 4 for a greater discussion of shade in piazza spaces.
[248] Plaut. *Capt.* 813-817, 491.
[249] See the above section on information-gathering. Catullus also mentions idling in the forum, wasting time until one of his friends shows up to offer some entertainment (Catull. 10).
[250] Cass. Dio 31.100. *Ἀνὴρ ἀγοραῖος*.
[251] Cic. *De orat.* 3.142.
[252] Gell. *NA.* 1.15.

Other activities were available in and around the forum for those who wanted to kill some time. Gambling was a very popular pastime, popular enough that multiple laws were passed attempting to regulate it.[253] The majority of these stipulations were focused on the issues of what was and was not allowed to be gambled upon, with games of chance strictly forbidden at different moments in Rome's history. Dice were a particularly popular vice which fell into this category.[254] Ovid discusses the details of several types of dice games in his *Tristia*, mentioning that playing them was "no trifling crime."[255] The term *aleator* seems to have been infused with negative connotations, with those partaking of such vice considered saddled with *infamia* whether or not they were officially condemned in court.[256] Nevertheless, true policing was difficult to manage, with gambling even reaching into the space of the Roman forum. Cicero criticizes Marcus Antonius for, among many other things, being associated with an individual who gambled in the forum and was charged under the gambling laws.[257] The prevalence of game boards discovered by archaeologists in fora seems to confirm that this was an activity that actually existed, even in the Basilica Julia itself (Figure 3.6).[258]

[253] See *Dig*. 11.5.3 for several of these laws, although the moment each was enacted is not agreed upon.
[254] Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.
[255] *Non leve crimen*. Ov. *Tr.* 2.471.
[256] Cic. *Phil*. 3.14. The term dates to some of the earliest surviving literary works (for example, see Plaut. *Rud.* 359).
[257] Cic. *Phil*. 2.56.
[258] This one appears along with the inscription *vincis gaudes perdis ploras; lava manus et recede* (Jordan 1877, 279, no. 41). See next chapter for further discussion of these archaeological discoveries.

Figure 3.6: Roman game board inscribed into the steps of the Basilica Julia (from Wikipedia Commons).

Drinking often goes hand and hand with gaming, and the forum was no exception. Despite the obvious harm to one's reputation, it was apparently not too unusual to see a Roman of elite status present in the city center having overly imbibed. In criticizing the excesses of the past, Macrobius quotes a fragment of a speech by Gaius Titius dating to the 2nd century BCE in support of sumptuary laws. Here Titius describes drunken wastrels serving as judges, more concerned with dice than justice and barely able to keep their eyes open to read the accounts of the case.[259] In his speeches against Verres, Cicero repeatedly criticizes his carousing within the city center of Aetna, drinking and dining in the city's square while his enemies are punished

[259] Macrob. *Sat*. 3.16.15-16.

before him.[260] Much later in Sabratha, Apuleius questions the evidence of a witness brought against him, arguing that the young man is a well-known drunk who hangs out in the middle of the forum.[261] Even the elite of the elite were not immune to this sort of vice. Antonius famously vomited in the forum after a night of drinking, an act which certainly did not endear himself to Cicero or his peers.[262] To the chagrin of Augustus, his daughter Julia was a well-known participant in the revels and drinking parties taking place at night around the Rostra.[263] In some cases, these parties might even have involved singing and dancing, actions which Cicero finds equally morally questionable and definitely embarrassing.[264]

Although some of these might simply be accusations levelled against a political opponent, the placement of various types of tabernae, some likely selling food and drink, near to fora contributes to the plausibility of these claims. The Argiletum district situated just to the northeast of the forum Romanum (and partially subsumed with the construction of the imperial fora) was apparently a fairly disreputable area containing brothels and possibly bars by the time of Martial's writing.[265] Near the end of the Social War, the praetor Asellio attempted to hide in what may have been a food and drink establishment not far from the Temple of Castor and Pollux, ducking inside after he was attacked during a sacrifice.[266] He was unsuccessful and his throat was cut.[267] Although neither of these citations reveal a definite source for drinking in the Roman forum itself (though as described above, the specific purpose of many of these structures

[260] See, for example, Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.61. Piazza spaces as places of punishment are discussed more thoroughly in a following section.
[261] Apul. *Apol*. 59.
[262] Plut. *Ant*. 9.
[263] Dio. Cass. 55.10.
[264] Cic. *De off*. 3.93, 1.145.
[265] Mart. 2.17.
[266] App. *B Civ.* 1.5.
[267] The story of Minucius, who was murdered in a shop in or around the forum after holing up in the comitia, offers a similar example (App. *B Civ*. 4.17).

is unknown), a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus suggests it was not unheard of for these establishments to be situated beneath the stoas in the public areas of a town. In a contract signed in the middle of the 3rd century CE, Aurelius Horio son of Colluthus agreed to pay eight drachmas a month in rent in order to set up a *taberna* below the East Colonnade of the city's Capitolium.[268] Again, though the exact location of this structure is unknown, its placement near the Roman temple suggests a prominent location within the city (and one likely to attract customers). The evidence for shops set up in stoas and porticos across the empire would seem to indicate that this is not an isolated case.[269]

Many members of the elite did not appreciate these types of gamblers and drunkards wandering around the city center. Cato the Elder famously came up with at least one solution to get rid of layabouts of this kind; he desired to pave the forum with *murex* stones in order to discourage those with no important business from hanging about.[270] This type of stone, literally translated as "a prickly shellfish," was famously sharp and could be dangerous for ships when situated along the seashore.[271] To pave a piazza with such a stone, rather than, say, the travertine pavement of the Augustan period, would certainly impact how individuals spent their time in the area. It might have kept out Horace's famous "Bore," for example, who accosted the poet on the via Sacra not far from the Temple of Vesta and followed him through the forum, apparently waiting around until a proper mark might arrive.[272] This kind of individual, one who haunts the public spaces of the city looking for a patron or, in the case of political ambitions, a vote was not uncommon. Plautus has the antagonist in his *Asinaria* visit the forum in order to beg any

[268] Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2,109 (=*Select Papyri* 356), 261 CE.
[269] E.g. Livy 41.27 for shops around the forums of Calatia and Auximum. See discussion of commerce in the previous section.
[270] Plin. *HN*. 19.24. This might be seen as analogous to the rise of "hostile architecture" in major urban cities like New York and London, meant to dissuade loitering and especially homeless inhabitation (Petty 2016).
[271] Isid. *Et*. 16.3.3.
[272] Hor. *Sat*. 1.9.3.

acquaintance he might see to borrow some money in order to reserve his favorite prostitute.[273] In a less salacious example, Plutarch suggests hanging out in the forum and soliciting votes from those passing by was an expected custom for those who stood for office, though Cicero might find it disgusting when it becomes too prevalent.[274] There was even a traditional dress for these individuals, a toga with no tunic beneath it, as it was thought that this would better display one's humility.[275]

Horace's journey through the city brings up another possibility for spending one's leisure time in and around a piazza: simply going on walks. Before running into his antagonist, Horace mentions that walking along the via Sacra and through the forum is a standard custom of his, a route he likes to take while thinking on the trifles of life.[276] In the sadness of his exile, Ovid again recalls the joy of strolls through the forum.[277] He is not alone; as far forward as Augustine's time the forum was a common location for individuals to wander, meditate and practice their arguments to themselves.[278] While there are many studies on elite walking as performance, particularly with respect to the *deductio in forum*, as it has been called, only recently has actual walking *within* open spaces themselves been considered.[279] This is despite the fact that walking was a popular elite leisure activity in Rome by at least the middle of the second

[273] Plaut. *Asin*. 245; On a more serious note, a certain Claudius was said to have begged those in the forum for mercy for his nephew the decemvir's insolence (Livy 3.58). The son of Metellus similarly went around the space begging people one by one for his father's return from exile (Diod. Sic. 36.16), as did the elder Gracchus, introducing his son to those there as his enemies were closing in (App. *B Civ*. 1.2.14).
[274] Plut. *Cor*. 14, Val. Max. 4.5, Livy 3.35; Cic. *Dom.* 49. This also appears in the *Commentariolum petitonis* by Q. Cicero.
[275] Or bravery, if one had wounds from war. Plutarch suggests it is certainly not to avoid the suspicion of bribery through the carrying of hidden money, though this may be a sarcastic aside. Elsewhere, Livy describes candidates as identifiable by their white robes (4.6).
[276] Hor. Sat. 1.9.1 (*sicut meus est mos*). At 1.111 he also mentions his enjoyment of strolling around the forum.
[277] Ovid *Pont*. 1.8.65-66.
[278] August. *Conf*. 6.9.
[279] See O'Sullivan 2011, 54ff, for example. This lack of notice goes hand-in-hand with the simplification of piazzas to destination nodes within the city. The question of what happens to this grand menagerie of individuals of all professions and statuses once they have reached the forum, insomuch as perhaps it lacks an answer, has never been asked in the first place.

century BCE.[280] While E. Macaulay-Lewis is probably correct in her determination that it was more pleasant to walk through the monumental porticos complexes like the *templum pacis* in Rome than through the forum Romanum, this option was not available in smaller communities where a variety of open spaces did not exist.[281] In ancient Norba, for example, the forum may have been one of the few open areas within the city walls convenient for such an ambulation (Figure 3.7).[282] Walking in the Roman forum itself, however, was certainly possible and should not be dismissed; individuals or groups simply walking around enjoying their environment is a common site in modern piazzas across the Italian peninsula, particularly in smaller communities where the central square may be the only available gathering point.

Figure 3.7: Map of the town of Norba, a member of the Latin League in 499 BCE, a Roman colony in 492 BCE, destroyed by Sulla in 82 BCE (map from Lackner 2008, 362).

[280] Macaulay-Lewis 2011, 272.
[281] Ibid 279ff, although it has yet to be proven that these areas were any less populated by layabouts (or the beggars and buskers discussed in the following section) than fora.
[282] Lackner 2008, 362. If one wants to avoid the streets of the city, that is.

Along with being a nice location for his peaceful walks, Ovid also recognizes that public spaces, and the porticos that line them in particular, are places to find love. He suggests that it was beneficial for both women and men seeking such a liaison to visit certain locations in the city, including the forum of Caesar.[283] While Ovid may simply be poking fun at Augustus and his moral legislation, there is no reason to think that these locations were not popular sites for romantic dalliances. Prostitutes were also an option available within the piazzas and porticos of the city for those with available coin. Plautus mentions the presence of these individuals in the opening passage of this chapter, suggesting they can be found situated beneath the "colonnaded hall." Though the specific structure he refers to is unknown, one of the porticos of the Roman forum seems likely.[284] A line of unknown accuracy mentions the "house of Leucadia Oppia," which seems to indicate a brothel run by a freedwoman in or nearby the forum. More specifically near the Comitium itself, the statue of Marsyas was a well-known place for the courtesans of the city to hang about.[285] Thus the forum might be a place to find love, either long-lasting or just for a night.

While the above discussion refers for the most part to elites hanging out in a forum for personal enjoyment or political means, there is textual evidence that fora could also be a desirable place for the less fortunate, which we only know about because of the dismay of the upper-class. The Roman forum was not exempt but rather seems to have been a prime spot for businesspersons to hang out and hail potential customers. Macrobius relates a story about how Augustus, descending into the forum from the Palatine hill would often run into a Greek man

[283] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.67-176.
[284] Quint. 385, in which a pimp brings prosecution against a man who supposedly gave a prostitute a love potion, may suggest that prostitutes might be hawked in the Roman forum itself, though this was clearly frowned upon. Elsewhere Porous Latro in Seneca's *Controversiae* declaims that prostitutes and pimps should be kept out of the forum, lest they mix with the chaste priestesses present there (Sen. *Controv.* 1.2).
[285] Sen. *Ben.* 6.32; Plin. *Nat.* 21.8-9.

offering him epigrams in his honor.[286] While apparently a learned man, the Greek is described as having a "wretched purse," indicating that he had hit upon hard times.[287] It seems as if this was a common place for the Greek to situate himself, as he had apparently tried many times to attract the patronage of the *princeps*. This was apparently his lucky day, for after praising an epigram hastily written by Augustus, the man was rewarded with a substantial amount of coin.

This entrepreneur was certainly not alone in his attempt to take advantage of this space and those making their way through it. The constant movement of people in and out of the area would have offered a regular supply of potential patrons or generous souls for all sorts of individuals. Cicero refers to "travelling quacks" who would go from forum to forum selling their services to those perhaps too poor to obtain real medical advice.[288] These roaming doctors apparently did not have a great reputation or history of successful remedies. In a comparison with the overly loquacious layabouts mentioned above, Cato states that "a quack's words are heard, but no one trusts himself to him when he is sick."[289] While this may have been the view of Cato, such people were clearly successful enough to be well-known to the Roman elite. Much later, lawyers and advocates can be seen using similar tactics. During the time of Valens, Ammianus Marcellinus describes lawyers and orators as "flitting from one forum to another" looking to stir up lawsuits and complaints.[290] In contrast to the great speakers of the past, Cicero included, these orators do not care about the quality of their defense; their only goal is to line their pockets through the deception of judges and clients alike. Elsewhere, Horace mentions the presence of fortune-tellers in and around the Circus Maximus and the forum, selling their visions

[286] Macrob. *Sat*. 2.31.
[287] *fundam pauperem.*
[288] *pharmacopolam circumforaneum.* See Cic. *Clu*. 14.40.
[289] Gell. *NA*. 1.15.
[290] *per fora omnia volitantium;* See Amm. Marc. 30.4 for his full description of the three classes of greedy orators.

of the future to those passing by and making small-scale sacrifices.[291] These types of individuals, along with the hawkers discussed in the commerce section above, each played a role in the social and commercial life of the city.

Buskers, or individuals performing music, song, or other entertainments, also have a long history in the streets and piazzas in Italy and the wider Mediterranean.[292] Dioscourides of Samos' famous mosaic is the best known artistic depiction of buskers performing, in this case probably taking part in a pantomimic production of Menander's *Theophorumene* (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Roman mosaic from Villa de Cicero (Villa of Cicero) in Pompeii on display in the National Archaeological Museum (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli) in Naples, depicting street musicians playing instruments often connected with the cult of Cybele (image from Wikipedia Commons).

[291] Hor. *Sat*. 1.6.113; Livy 39.16.
[292] See Cohen and Greenwood 1981 for an extended look at the history of busking in town life from Roman times to the twentieth century.

Not all songs, however, were permissible; in what may be one of the earliest mentions of a state's attempt to control busking and other art, the Twelve Tables established the death penalty for anyone singing or composing *libelli famosi* (libelous songs or pamphlets) in public.[293] It nevertheless appears to have remained a popular past time, for Plautus in his *Mercator* indicates that the possibility of scandal would draw singers to one's house, ready to broadcast any events of note to the wider public.[294] This type of "oral graffiti" may have been as effective as the written type which often would have accompanied it, with the famous verses mocking Caesar's Gallic senators a prime example.[295] Such prosecution does not appear to have been often carried out, however, for Tacitus indicates that it was not until this type of work upset Augustus and Tiberius that the law began to be regularly applied.[296] In an interesting reversal, this type of song could be part of the unofficial public custom of bringing infamy upon wrongdoers within the Roman popular justice system.[297] Singing and stating the disgraceful deeds loudly across the town, naming the individual in question, and perhaps burning down his house, was meant to represent the casting out of the criminal from proper society.[298] In the later Republic, this kind of punishment was harnessed for political gain, with well-drilled mobs organized to sing and chant particular lines at particular moments in time.[299]

---

[293] Cic. *Rep.* 4.10. For a quoted example, see *SHA. Opellius Macrinus* 11. These might also be burned in the middle of a public piazza (Tac. *Agr.* 2). The public burning of documents and books in other contexts might be viewed as positive, as with the burning of court charges or debt records by new leaders (Suet. *Calig.* 15, SHA *Hadr.* 1.7.5-8, Cass. Dio 69.8.1, 72.32). This strategy was used far into the later Roman period (Auson. *Grat. act.* 16).
[294] Plaut. *Merc.* 406-412.
[295] Suet. *Iul.* 80. See Cohen and Greenwood 1981, 15 for the term "oral graffiti."
[296] Tac. *Ann.* 1.72. Otherwise Catullus surely would have been in big trouble.
[297] Usener 1913, iv.356ff.
[298] See Lintott 1999, 8ff for further discussion. In Plaut. *Pseud.* 1145, for example, Simo is said to be often mocked and accused loudly in the forum for not paying his debts. This act actually takes place in public in *Most.* 587ff, where the Banker begins to cry out Philolaches' debts and name, chanting them over and over (587 *iam hercle ego illunc nominabo*; 603-605 *cedo faenus, redde faenus, faenus reddite. / daturine estis faenus actutum mihi? / datur faenus mi?*)
[299] Cloudius, for example, used this method to disrupt Pompey during the trial of Milo in 56 BCE. See Cass. Dio. 39.19, Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 48.

In a more entrepreneurial vein, Horace relates how poets recited their writings in the middle of the piazza, perhaps attempting to find someone to purchase their works or sponsor further writings.[300] While these may be individuals who are too poor to obtain space within the porticos where book stands often appeared, the public presentation of poems or songs for the entertainment of those passing by could be a money-making technique in its own right. Elsewhere, Horace comments on other buskers of this type in the opening to one of his satires, noting that the "female flautists, the quacks, the beggars, mimes, jesters, and all this kind" are mourning the death of the singer Tigellius.[301] Though it is difficult to identify the presence of each of these types of individuals in the Roman forum, Plautus does write that it was possible to hire flute girls from this space,[302] and music from the "corporation of flute players" was apparently a common sound there during both public and private events.[303] It is not unreasonable to suggest that the others may also have made an appearance in open piazza spaces when it was commercially viable.

Not all individuals were as entrepreneurial; some would simply come to the forum and loiter about waiting for a job opportunity to arise. As a spot for information-gathering and dispersal, it would be a natural location for those looking to hire someone and those looking to be hired to congregate. [304] A character in Plautus' *Trinummus* heads to the forum in order to find a messenger to deliver some letters of dubious nature.[305] Although speaking of his travels in Thessaly, Apuleius has the character Thelyphron relate how, when in desperate need of money,

---

[300] Though, naturally, such an action is not for him. See *Sat*. 1.70-80. Martial and Ovid also comment on the reading of their works in the forum, possibly as a form of advertisement or performance (Mart. 7.97, Ov. *Pont*. 1.7.27-30).
[301] Hor. *Sat*. 1.2. *Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae, mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne maestum ac sollicitum est cantorismorte Tigelli.*
[302] Plaut. *Aul*. 280.
[303] Val Max. 2.5.
[304] See following section focused on this function of piazza spaces.
[305] Plaut. *Trin*. 815.

he wandered all through the town of Larissa.[306] Upon arriving in the center of town, he spied an old man standing upon a rock proclaiming that he wanted to hire someone to guard a corpse for the hefty sum of one thousand sesterces (which causes a whole other series of problems). Other individuals would skip the job hunt entirely, either unwilling to work or unable. Simple begging was a common activity in these piazzas for the same reason that busking was, a heavy flow of potential donors. A former honored commander of Roman troops begging in the forum was supposedly an impetus towards the elimination of debt-bondage for soldiers in 495 BCE.[307] In other cases such "veterans" may have been frauds, as Martial complains of a begging sailor feigning amputation in order to increase his take.[308] Appian blames the increased presence of lazy beggars and vagrants in the forum on the food dole, first regularly established by Gaius Gracchus and then expanded over the course of the first century BCE.[309] Sallust too blames this allotment of free food for the increase in layabouts, arguing that many youths of the countryside had moved to Rome preferring city leisure to hard work in the fields.[310] Nevertheless, these are clearly elite perspectives on the issue, and it seems to have been a source of pride, at least in some cases, that the forum was open to all no matter their status.[311]

[306] Apul. *Met*. 2.21.
[307] Livy 2.23-24. Poor people complaining about debt-bondage in the forum is a repeated trope in the history of the Republic (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 5.64).
[308] Mart. 12.57.
[309] App. *B Civ*. 2.17. A scarcity of grain, in any case, could lead to a mob of angry people in the forum (Suet. *Claud.* 18).
[310] Sall. *Cat.* 37.7. Such individuals clearly predate the dole, as the same complaint appears in a fragment of Naevius from the 3rd century BCE (Naevius *Unassigned Fragments* 21).
[311] Pliny the Younger, at least, praises this aspect of the forum of Trajan (Plin. *Pan*. 47). Elsewhere, Cicero may be referring to the possibility of individuals even sleeping in the Roman forum (Cic. *Dom.* 80). The public executioner, however, may have been banned from the forum and even the city itself except when performing his duty (Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 15). This was not an uncommon stipulation in the premodern world (see Harrington 2013). Most interesting, when references to individuals being kept from the forum do appear, they are almost always elites being kept away (exiled and/or threatened) for political purposes, though this may simply have to do with the nature of our sources (Cic. *Vat*. 22, *Dom.* 67).

Though often an overlooked function, the forum played the role of a place of leisure through many hours of the day for many different kinds of individuals. It was not only a place of business and politics, but the place where one might take a leisurely walk or play a game of chance to pass the time. For the non-elite it might similarly be a place to loiter, perhaps looking for a job or simply hanging by the wayside looking for handouts. This type of individual, though certainly prevalent in the Roman city, is the one most often overlooked. With the military reforms of Marius in 107 BCE, another route to sustainability was opened to the urban poor, that of a military career. This brings us to another function of piazza spaces not often examined: their role in urban warfare and military life.

3.5 Urban Warfare and Military Functionality

Moving far from the concept of leisurely walks in the forum is the role that piazzas played in the military life of a city, both when engaged in active battle and during peacetime. Research on military topics has focused for the most part on the evolution of Roman military organization and strategy during "set-piece" open-field battles, particularly when they can be contrasted with Carthaginian or Greek tactics.[312] This is perhaps due to the relative ease of understanding the blow-by-blow events which take place during a pitched struggle in the field rather than the free-for-all which can be the result of structure-by-structure urban combat. When open public spaces are mentioned alongside military matters, they are places for the display of prizes or for monuments dedicated by the victors.[313] While this is certainly one role that the

[312] It is, for example, entirely lacking from the relatively recent *Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (Sabin *et al*. 2007). This same contrast with respect to Greek urban warfare is noted by J. Lee in his excellent work on the subject. See Lee 2010.

[313] Most famously perhaps, the construction of the *rostra* from the beaks of the defeated ships of the Antiates in 338 BCE (Livy 8.14). Beaks were a popular spoil of war, also used to construct the *columna rostrata C. Duilii* in the Roman forum after the defeat of the Carthaginian fleet at Mylae in 260 BCE (Quint. *Inst*. 1.7.12, Cic. *Orat*. 153).

space may perform, fora played a much greater part in military life both in times of war and times of peace. During periods of urban strife, the city center became a last-ditch location for defensive troops to reorganize themselves while at the same time was a goal of enemy invaders. In times of relative peace, these open areas became places for the training of troops as well as a spot where a variety of other military ceremonies and events took place.

In the ancient world, urban warfare against an external threat usually came about in one of two ways: either the walls were taken after an extended siege, forcing defenders back into the city itself, or the invading force was able to move into a town unnoticed through betrayal or subterfuge. This second method was utilized by the Sabines in one of the earliest events in Rome's historical imagination. After the betrayal of the Capitoline by Tarpeia, Livy relates how the Romans, having organized themselves in what would eventually become the Roman forum, attempted to dislodge their enemy, who had taken control of the high *arx*.[314] This literally uphill battle did not go well for Romulus and his men, and they were driven back down the slopes. Pressing their attack, the Sabines followed them downward, but the flatter, open ground allowed the Romans to regroup and fight to a draw with their enemy until the famous intervention by the Sabine women. This pitched battle, perhaps Rome's earliest, suggests two useful traits of open piazzas which both Romans and their enemies would later put to good use. On the one hand, these flat spots in the middle of a city are natural places for defending troops to marshal themselves when under attack. When a similar event occurred in 460 BCE, with Appius Herdonius seizing the Capitol with his army of exiles and slaves, the forum again became the space where Publius Valerius marshalled his troops in order to attack the citadel.[315] On the other hand, fora can be seen as a useful fallback space for beleaguered defenders to regroup if the fight

[314] Livy 1.11-12. See also Flor. *Epit*. 1.1.
[315] Livy 3.18.

on the walls goes poorly. Generally confined, with only a few entrance points to defend, they offered a chance for the defending force to hold out against a larger enemy, as well as to protect the most important structures and individuals in the city. A surviving fragment of Ennius seems to relate how Marcius Philippus armed the *proletarii* at public expense and set them to guarding not only the walls of Rome but also the area of the forum.[316] Thanks to this practice, the Romans had a place to fall back to if the walls were breached in their war with Pyrrhus of Epirus.

Nevertheless, a battle in one's own forum is not a particularly desirable outcome, as it means that the initial defenses of the city, its walls and its gates, have already been overcome. In most cases, such fighting is more of a "last stand" when victory is a lost cause. The accounts of the Roman historians are full of such attempts, primarily with Rome as the victorious invading force, of course. The defense of Avaricum during the Gallic Wars is a standard example. Having abandoned the walls of the town, Caesar relates how the enemy troops attempted to draw the larger Roman forces into the city's central marketplace, with the hope that the smaller quarters would benefit their own troops.[317] When they realized the Romans were not going to fall for the gambit, they attempted to flee the city. Mago too attempted this stratagem during Scipio's invasion of New Carthage, drawing up approximately ten thousand soldiers in the city center in a final effort after the fortifications were lost. This defense was ultimately fruitless as well.[318] Back on the Italian peninsula, the defenders of Cominium realized this same fact during the Third Samnite War, attempting to retreat in what was ultimately an ineffectual defense.[319] In these cases, the tactic did nothing more than delay the inevitable, but by drawing enemy troops to the city center, they could perhaps buy some time for others in the community to escape.

---

[316] Gell. *NA* 16.10.1–5. Cassius Hemina, F 24 *FRHist*.
[317] Caes. *BGall*. 7.28.
[318] App. *Hisp*. 6.4.20-22.
[319] Ibid 10.43.

In a similar vein, as a final resort these gathering spaces could became a place for the defenders and their families to commit suicide rather than fall into enemy hands. This event is related again and again in the narrative of Roman expansion, making it a trope of sorts for representing the barbarism of non-Romans.[320] Livy describes this occurrence at Astapa during the Second Punic War. Having despaired of defeating the Romans in battle or holding the walls, the men of the city gathered together their wealth and families into the marketplace of the city.[321] When an all-out attack by the defenders attempting to push back the enemy was defeated, the remaining soldiers set fire to the pile of goods and slaughtered their kin before taking their own lives. Livy claims that this despicable action was taken due to the recognition of the severity of their crimes, though the precedent set by Scipio's slaughter of the entire community at Illiturgis likely played a role.[322] Nearly identical events are said to have taken place after Hannibal's siege of the Saguntines and during Phillip's attack on the city of Abydos in 200 BCE.[323] In a small twist, Caesar relates how the inhabitants of Parada died in this way as well, though not willingly, when horsemen of Metellus Scipio took the city following their defeat to Caesar's troops at Thapsus.[324]

On the opposite end of the spectrum, in terms of attacking and taking an enemy city, seizing control of the forum as soon as possible was an important strategic advantage. Beyond denying the defenders a location to regroup and reorganize themselves for a retaliatory strike, it provided the same benefits to the attackers formerly described for the defending forces: a generally open, unencumbered space for the organization and safety of the troops. With only a

[320] Despite the fact that this type of gesture has a long history in Rome's own mythology, dating back to the slaughter of Verginia by her father in the forum in order to keep her out of the hands of Appius Claudius (Cic. *Rep*. 2.17.37, Livy 3.44).
[321] Livy 28.22-23.
[322] Ibid 28.20.
[323] Ibid 21.14 and 31.17, respectively. Phillip's attack is also related by Polybius (16.31).
[324] Caes. *BAfr*. 87.

few entrances to guard, more of the troops were able to recover from the initial invasion and prepare for the continuation of the battle. The Gauls made the Roman forum their central base of operation during their sack of the city in 390 BCE. Having surprisingly reached the city center without a fight, the Gallic forces reorganized themselves there before heading out through the city to loot and pillage.[325] In a less violent encounter, it is recorded that one of Varro's two legions, having abandoned the general, entered the forum of Hispalis and camped in its porticoes.[326] Occupation of this space by the invading force also provided a space to collect the acquired booty for transport or disbursement once the battle was finished, certainly a hoped for moment for a soldier looking to make his way in the world.[327]

When possible, it was obviously advisable for the invaders to take the forum by stealth, quickly seizing the city center without giving defenders a chance to organize and hold it. This stealth was usually accomplished through the treachery of a subset of the local inhabitants. Hannibal headed directly to the city center after gaining access to the city of Tarentum by treachery in 212 BCE.[328] It was from here that he organized his troops, taking advantage of the fact that he was able to secure the area before anyone in the city knew the Carthaginians had arrived. Three years later, the Romans repaid the favor, entering the same city through trickery, lining up in the central piazza, and preparing for a counterattack, which soon arrived.[329] Again, the Romans performed this feat when they took Agrigentum during the Second Punic War, entering the city through betrayal and immediately marching in a column to the city center.[330]

---

[325] Livy 5.41, 43.
[326] Caes. *B Civ*. 2.20.
[327] Livy 31.23.
[328] Ibid 25.9
[329] Ibid 27.15-16.
[330] Ibid 26.40. See also the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, where troops and officers proceeded directly to the forum once the gate had been taken (26.47), as well as at Orongis, where cavalry were sent to seize the space *citato equo* (28.3).

Quick action to seize this central space with its social and administrative functions might even forestall any true resistance from emerging at all, giving the invaders complete victory without a fight.

The benefits of stealthy occupation contrast vividly with its alternative: street-by-street and house-by-house urban warfare. This type of situation can ultimately prove costly for both sides. Appian relates how in 146 BCE Scipio Aemilianus invaded the town of Byrsa during the Third Punic War.[331] While his troops were able to take the harbor district and its central piazza after an initial assault, the invasion of the rest of the city the next day demonstrates the difficulties inherent in a struggle over this kind of terrain. Fighting within the streets and structures of a city offers multiple benefits to the defender who is willing to engage in guerrilla tactics. Defenders generally know the urban layout much better than the invading forces, allowing them to slip more easily from one portion of the city to the next when the battle turns against them as well as organize ambush points along the generally narrow streets. Importantly, guerrilla warfare also turns a two-dimensional battle between opposing forces and places it within a three-dimensional environment. Multi-story structures offer a myriad of prime locations and hidden spots from which defending troops can surprise enemies moving along the roads below. During such moments of strife, even private citizens might fortify their houses and prepare to defend their homes from the roof.[332] Scipio's troops quickly became familiar with this disadvantage, as attackers rained missiles down upon the Roman troops as they attempted to move up the main streets toward the city center. Eventually, they were forced to go house-by-house to clear out enemy combatants, going so far as to construct temporary bridges to move

[331] App. *Pun*. 8.19.127-128.
[332] App. *B Civ.* 2.17.118.

along the rooftops in order to protect other troops advancing on the streets below.[333] This kind of battle can be slow and deadly, particularly when families might keep weapons within their own homes, as described by Lucan during Caesar's invasion of Ariminum.[334] Such tactics turn the entire populace into enemy combatants who might defend their homes against the invading troops while also opening the door to violence against non-combatants.

The taking or defending of the forum by military troops as quickly as possible did not apply to the defense or attack of outside enemies alone; fears of sedition or civil strife within the city could also prompt a quick intervention from a general's troops. This is seen explicitly during the late Republic, when the forum is repeatedly occupied by the military forces of various generals either to squash or ward off rebellions and riots.[335] After Sulla defeated Marius and set out to wage war against Mithridates, the troops of the two consuls Octavius and Cinna fought a battle in the Roman forum, each attempting to take control of the city center for their particular party. When Octavius, and thus Sulla by proxy, was victorious, Cinna fled the city, supposedly having lost ten thousand men.[336] In a smaller, though still violent, affair, when a riot broke out in the forum over a lack of food due to Sextus Pompey's blockade of the city during the war with the murderers of Caesar, Marcus Antonius quickly sent in troops to retake the piazza and protect Octavian.[337] Earlier, after the death of Clodius at hands of Milo's slaves, Pompey Magnus posted troops in the forum to ward off any rioting or attempts at revenge, though even this is not enough to keep Cicero from fearing for his life.[338] In each case, the forum is seen as a place of social and

[333] Again, during the battle of Xanthus in 42 BCE the troops of Brutus were attacked by arrows and other missiles from the rooftops as they passed along the narrow city streets. In this case, even reaching the city center was not enough to turn the tide, and the troops were forced to hide in the Temple of Sarpedon (App. *B Civ*. 4.10.78).
[334] Luc. *Pharsalia* 1.236ff.
[335] Though the technique was certainly used before this period. Tarquinius Superbus himself was said to have claimed the forum with armed men in the regal period (Livy 1.47).
[336] Plut. *Sert*. 4.
[337] App. *B Civ*. 5.8.68.
[338] Cic. *Mil*. 1.1-2.

political power, a fact recognized by both the rebellious non-elites and the consuls battling for control. Control of the forum can thus legitimize one's actions, even if it takes troops and civilian casualties to accomplish it.

Even when not the site of a battle itself, the ties between piazza spaces and military affairs are recognizable in other facets of daily life. The Senate could decree that men appear in military garb in the forum during times of war as a reminder of the current conflict, although individuals of consular rank could be exempt.[339] Elsewhere, it is related that the forum was the place where military oaths were first taken, as in the case of the debtors who enlisted during the Volscian war.[340] Later, this may have moved to the forum of Augustus when taking place in Rome.[341] Individuals in charge of different units might receive orders from their commander in the forum, as took place when Scipio spoke with his troops in the town of Lilybaeum in Sicily before venturing to the African coast.[342] It may also be the place where soldiers or mercenaries were paid following their time of service.[343] Military treaties might be agreed upon and signed within the space of the forum, as the center for all civic business. Josephus relates how Claudius confirmed the rule of Julius Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great and the last king in that dynasty, in the center of the Roman forum.[344] Cavalry commanders appear to have celebrated a festival in the forum of Augustus each year.[345] Victory monuments, large and small, were commonly found in these busy areas, especially along the triumphal route.[346]

---

[339] Cic. *Phil*. 8.32, *Letter Fragments* 16.
[340] Livy 2.24. Other ceremonies, like a dictator's naming of his "master-of-the-horse," might also take place in the forum (3.27).
[341] Cass. Dio 55.10.
[342] Ibid 29.25.
[343] Plaut. *Mil*. 73-74, though in a Greek context.
[344] Joseph. *AJ* 19.274ff. Apparently the making of such treaties in the forum was an ancient practice, accompanied by a sacrifice of a pig and the reciting of ancient words (Suet. *Claud*. 25). In any case, it was common to receive great leaders, kings, and envoys in the city center (Suet. *Ner*. 13, Sall. *Cat*. 6, Cass. Dio 62.2-3).
[345] Cass. Dio 55.10.
[346] Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant*. 3.23 for the military monument to the Horatii in the Roman forum, as an example.

On a less happy note, fora were an appropriate place for military punishments to be carried out, taking advantage of the opportunity to deter future wrongdoing through public spectacle. During the Pyrrhic war, the people of Rhegium requested Roman support for the protection of their city. Instead, the Roman garrison massacred the citizens of the city and took their property for themselves. When Rome finally took back the city ten years later, the surviving soldiers were led into the Roman forum, whipped and decapitated.[347] This practice was continued down into the later imperial period. The Antonine general Avidius Cassius is reported to have used stern measures on his own troops, actions which even frightened the barbarians whom he fought against. He was known to beat unruly soldiers in the forum, and, when deemed necessary, behead them or cut off their hands in line with the *vetus disciplina*.[348]

Ultimately, the forum also was the place where military service might end for a Roman knight, marking the completion of the oaths initially taken there in one's youth.[349] During his account of Pompey's life, Plutarch relates how it was customary for a Roman knight to lead his horse into the forum before the two censors and give an account of his service in the field before being discharged from the military.[350] It was at this point in time that both honors and penalties incurred during one's service might be distributed. Pompey was seen as emblematic of the successful general, when he humbly led his horse with his own hand while the citizens shouted for joy at his successes after his second triumph and the disbandment of his army. While he was certainly a special case, there is no reason to think that this kind of celebration of a soldier's life

[347] Livy relates that 4000 men were beheaded in the Roman forum at this time (28.28). Polybius puts the count at a much more reasonable 300 or so individuals (1.7). Also mentioned in App. *Sam.* 3.9.3. This is one of the earliest and most common forms of capital punishment performed by the Romans (see following section as well as Mommsen *Strafr.* 916-918)
[348] SHA. *Avid. Cass.* 5.
[349] These oaths parallel others in Roman custom, such as the oaths one took on the rostra in the forum at the beginning and the end of a consulship (Plin. *Pan.* 65).
[350] Plut. *Pomp.* 22. App. *B Civ.* 9.19.1 for such reports as the custom of generals. The fact that there often times no censors available suggests this may have only taken place at appointed times.

did not take place in city centers across the Italian peninsula, particularly for local heroes at the end of their time of service.

The place of piazza spaces in both urban warfare and general military life is an often-overlooked topic, particularly when the Roman triumph is excluded from the conversation. Nevertheless, a review of the textual evidence reveals the centrality of these spaces in the life of a soldier from his initial oaths and perhaps to his final discharge. In terms of urban warfare, piazza spaces are seen as a prize for defenders to protect and invaders to take as quickly as possible, often by any means necessary. This same importance can be seen during moments of civil strife and rebellion, where control of the forum is a boon to a politician's or general's legitimacy. Nevertheless, the forum is also a place of warning, where those who step outside the prescribed limits of military service might be publicly executed. This same purpose, public punishment to avoid future trespasses, leads us to our next section, where discipline and execution in piazza spaces are not limited to the military sphere but equally applicable to others who might step outside the bounds of proper action.

3.6 Punishment and Execution

As a deterrent to future crime, there was no better place to demonstrate the fate of wrongdoers than the city's main piazza.[351] The Romans considered execution in the forum for crimes against the state to be one of the most traditional forms of punishment, dating back to the earliest period in the city's history.[352] Suetonius reports the custom vividly in his *Life of Nero*,

[351] The role of that visibility plays in modern views on punishment has a long history in scholarship and philosophy. See, for example, Foucault 1975 and Foucault 2008 on panopticism and the role of visibility in the modern prison system.

[352] Livy 1.26 tells how the soldier Horatius was charged with treason against the state and threatened with this punishment, though he was ultimately acquitted. Cassius Dio suggests that Tarquinius Superbus originally invented the punishment and that it is representative of his tyrannical nature (Cass. Dio. 2.11), though if this is the case it is perhaps ironic that it was the punishment doled out to prominent members of the Tarquinii after their failed attempt

describing how the guilty party is stripped, bound, fastened to a stake or tree by the head using forked boards, and then beaten to death with rods.[353] This was the fate of the sons of the founder of the Republic, Lucius Junius Brutus, who were accused of attempting to restore the monarchy and were beaten and then beheaded for good measure.[354] The knowledge of such a public execution drives Nero to suicide rather than to face this fate, one which seems to have been considered cruel by the time of Claudius.[355] Indeed, near the end of the Republic Cicero is said to have attempted to banish the punishment from the forum. He argued that it was a savage custom, more appropriate to (and likely coming from) the period of kings prior to the establishment of the Republic.[356]

A second traditional Roman punishment is similarly connected to the Roman forum and was probably visible to those gathered there. The Tarpeian Rock, situated somewhere above the forum on the Capitoline, was where some criminals convicted of treason were thrown to their deaths.[357] Dionysius of Halicarnassus indicates that the precipice overlooked the forum where it was in view of a number of citizens when describing the execution of Spurius Cassius, a general accused of attempting to become a tyrant in the early Republic.[358] Supposedly this punishment dates back to the Twelve Tables, which sentenced certain types of thieves and those convicted of giving false testimony in court to be flung from the heights.[359] Freedmen who caused disturbances in Rome after the assassination of Caesar were thrown from the cliff, as were

to recapture the throne (Livy 7.19). He even scourged his own son in the forum as a ploy to trick the Gabines into accepting him into their ranks, in order that he might double cross them soon after (Dion. Hal. *Ant Rom.* 4.55)
[353] Suet. *Ner.* 49.
[354] Flor. 1.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.8;
[355] Suet. *Claud.* 34.1. See also *Dom.* 11.2-3.
[356] Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 3.10.
[357] Richardson 1992, *Tarpeia Rupes,* 377-78.
[358] Dion. Hal. 8.78.5. Dion. Hal. 7.35.4 also refers to the rock being on the hill that overlooks the forum.
[359] Gell. *NA.* 11.18.8, 20.1.53.

certain individuals accused of sexual misconduct.[360] Though the exact location of the rock is unclear, it was most likely visible from the forum in order to offer an easy location for citizens to gather and to witness the event.[361]

The threat of this kind of public execution was likely a good deterrent for those who might think to fight or rebel against Rome, and, when the situation arose, the Romans were not hesitant to fulfill it. In 353 BCE, the Romans executed more than 350 nobles from Tarquinia in the middle of the forum, beating them and decapitating their corpses.[362] This graphic act was supposedly a recompense for a comparable action undertaken by the Tarquinii five years before, when 307 Roman soldiers were similarly sacrificed in the center of Tarquinia.[363] The public demonstration apparently had the intended effect on the Samnites, who quickly begged for peace rather than risk continuing battle. The amity did not last long, however, and when the Romans retook Fregellae from the Samnites during the Second Samnite War, the dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus took prisoner more than two hundred men, brought them back to the forum, and executed them in the same manner.[364] The same fate befell the senators of Capua in the forum of Teanum Sicidinum after they rebelled against Rome by joining Hannibal, though not all were in agreement about this punishment.[365]

---

[360] Cic. *Att.* 14.15.1, 14.16.2 for unrest after the murder of Caesar. Tacitus reports that a man who committed incest with his daughter was thrown from the rock (*Ann.* 6.19), while the case of a priestess thrown from the rock for unchaste behavior and surviving is discussed in Quint. *Controversae* 7.8.

[361] The location remains debated, with topographers in the 16th and 17th centuries placing the rock on the opposite side from the forum. See Steinby 237 for an overview of the debate.

[362] Livy 7.19. Diod. Sic. gives the number as 260 individuals (16.45). A similar punishment was put upon the Volscians who had broken a treaty with Rome, with three hundred hostages scourged and beheaded (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.30).

[363] Livy 7.15.

[364] Diod. Sic. 19.101. Livy states that it was C. Poetilius who captured Fregellae rather than Quintus Fabius (9.28.1-6).

[365] Livy 26.15. As demanded by the Twelve Tables (*Digest* XLVIII. iv. 3). So too with the inhabitants of Fidenae, who joined the Samnites in one of their revolts against Rome. Here only the ringleaders were put to death in the forum of the city, with the rest chastised for not being more grateful towards the Roman mercy (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.43). The same was the case with Sora, where only the 225 most guilty were beheaded in the forum (Livy 9.24).

Not all punishments were for crimes against the Roman state as a whole; powerful individuals could utilize the high visibility of fora spaces to show displeasure with those who might disrupt their ambitions or disobey their commands. Sulla went so far as to kill Q. Lucretius Ofella, the hero who had besieged and captured Praeneste and Marius along with it, in the middle of the forum for disobeying his command not to run for consul.[366] Quintus Apronius, one of Gaius Verres' associates in the governance of Sicily, was lambasted for this sort of behavior by Cicero in his *Verrine Orations*. According to Cicero, Apronius hung a farmer named Nymphodorus from a tree in the city center of Aetna for daring to complain that his property had been stolen by the chief decumani.[367] This was not an isolated case, for the Roman equestrian Gaius Matrinius was similarly held in the forum of Leontini for two days without food or shelter until he was willing to agree to certain terms with Apronius, although this instance apparently did not end with the death of the prisoner. This same punishment was instituted upon the equestrian Quintus Lollius, and in this case Apronius even organized a dinner in the space so that he could revel while the man suffered.[368] Such actions were clearly effective, as Cicero notes that everyone had heard of this action (*nemo hoc nescit*).[369] Later, Domitius Ahenobarbus (the father of Nero) had the eye of a Roman knight gouged out for being too critical of his actions,[370] and Alexander Severus ordered Verconius Turinus to be suffocated (and perhaps eventually burned?) at the stake in the forum transitorium for the accepting of bribes.[371] Execution at the stake in

[366] App. *B Civ*. 1.11.101.
[367] Cic. *Verr*. 2.3.57.
[368] Ibid 2.3.24-25. This idea of dining lavishly in the forum while others are working is heavily criticized by Seneca's character Capito in *Controversiae* 9.2.9.
[369] The *Verrine Orations* are full of stories of this sort. Verres is also accused, for example, of having Sopater, a man of high ranking, stripped naked and bound to a bronze statue of Gaius Marcellus until he obtained the statue of Mercury which he desired (*Verr.* 2.4.40)
[370] Suet. *Ner*. 5.
[371] SHA *Alex. Sev*. 36.

public squares eventually became a favorite over the next millennia in Rome under the Church, with the execution of those accused of impiety continuing to take place.[372]

The punishment of slaves in fora was a common sight, though their ultimate execution via crucifixion would take place outside of the urban environments to indicate their expulsion from the community as a whole.[373] When in 22 BCE Fannius Caepio conspired against Augustus (and failed), Caepio's father led a slave who had abandoned the young man through the forum carrying an inscription announcing his disloyalty.[374] Claudius sent one of his slaves to the forum to be flogged for insulting an important citizen.[375] Examination by means of torture might have accompanied such punishment, as was the case for those accused of arson when a fire broke out in several places around the forum, resulting in a large amount of destruction.[376] The slaves of the accused arsonists were tortured for information and, having confessed, were summarily punished along with their masters. That is not to say that such informers were always trusted; by the time of the emperor Titus, there were so many false slave informers (and their instigating masters) that the emperor began beating them in the city center and exiling their masters far from Rome.[377] Indeed, an overabundance of public punishment could be quite troubling and disruptive to others attempting to go about their own business. One such scourging happened to coincide with a procession to Jupiter, upsetting many of the participants, who were dismayed at the pain

[372] As described in the opening vignette to this chapter, the Campo de' Fiori situated near the Theater of Pompey became a popular spot for such executions to take place, with the philosopher Giordano Bruno burnt alive there on February 17, 1600, for heresy against the Catholic Church.
[373] Cook 2014 provides an extensive history (including catalog of references) for crucifixion in the Mediterranean. In Rome, crucifixion seems to have taken place in the Campus Martius (Livy, *De urbe cond.* 22.33.1-2, for example). In other cities, it seems to have taken place on the major roads leading in and out of the community.
[374] Cass. Dio 54.3. The slave was afterwards crucified.
[375] Cass. Dio 60.12.
[376] Livy 26.27.
[377] Suet. *Tit.* 8.

of the slave.[378] This resulted in verbal complaints about the master's decision to punish the slave in such a way, but no one interfered in the punishment itself.

Even when the act of punishment itself did not take place in the forum, the preliminary motions or the results of such an act could be displayed to great effect as a deterrent to others. In some cases it seems that corpses of those executed elsewhere may have lain in the forum for some period of time before being removed and thrown into the Tiber.[379] Indeed, the common practice was to drag those executed in the prison to the forum on a large hook as a public display of their guilt and punishment. This was the fate of, for example, Baebius and Numitorius as enemies of Marius when he retook the city.[380] In a similar vein, though buried alive as punishment, an unchaste Vestal was first placed in a litter and silently carried through the forum.[381] This is best exemplified by the use of the rostra to display the heads of the proscribed during the late republican period.[382] In some cases it was apparently necessary to bring the heads to the forum in order to prove the murder and to obtain one's reward.[383] Though these are obviously extreme cases, the public display (or postings) of more minor punishments in the forum spaces of Roman Italy served as a warning to any others who might draw the ire of the powerful or of the law, a public warning that would swiftly spread among the citizens of the city and region. The function of piazza spaces in spreading this information, that is as a focal point for news and gossip, is the subject of the next section.

---

[378] Plut. *Vit. Cor.* 24.
[379] This was the fate of the those whose properties drew the eye of Tiberius and Sejanus (Cass. Dio 58.15). The throwing of the bodies of the disgraced into the Tiber is a well-recognized event (Cass. Dio 61.35), perhaps most famously seen in the shouting of "To the Tiber with Tiberius" by the citizens of Rome at the time of his death (Suet. *Tib.* 74-76).
[380] Flor. 2.9.
[381] Plut. *Vit. Num.* 10.
[382] Most famously, perhaps, the head and hands of Cicero were left upon the rostra for an extended period after his death was ordered by Marcus Antonius. Domitian (Cass. Dio 67.11) also reportedly used this tactic.
[383] App. *B Civ.* 4.3.15.

3.7 News, Gossip, Omens, and Funerals

As centers of political, social, and economic life, piazzas were an important spot for information gathering in the Roman world, both through oral and (more or less permanent) written means. With a constant flow of individuals, whether locals or visitors, word concerning both nearby and more distant events would quickly make its way to piazza spaces. The effectiveness of this trait was well recognized; the reason for the placement of decrees in piazza spaces can be found in the famous *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, which states that such information should be situated where it can be "most easily read."[384] Similarly, copies of a dedication to Claudius' freedman Pallas were situated in a *locus celeberrimus* in order to ensure that that they were seen by the public.[385] Though certainly not an exclusive environ, piazzas fulfilled these needs. This same centrality, however, made it a prime location for fake news to make its way into the general population, whether through accidental misinterpretation or malicious intent. The familiarity of the piazza also made it a prime location for omens to be recorded; its visibility and centrality as places where anyone may go made the miraculous which might take place there all the more powerful. In the most extreme of cases, such omens might require human sacrifice and burial within piazza spaces in order to ward off future evils.[386] While funeral processions themselves were a common happening in fora, to actually be buried there was a rare event reserved for the greatest or most ominous of individuals, all the more so as burials were banned from the city center of towns in Latium from an early date.

[384] Allen 1879, no 82: *ubi facilumed gnoscier potisit atque.*
[385] Plin. *Ep*. 8.6.14.
[386] See Schultz 2010 for a full treatment of the controversial practice of human sacrifice.

The oral transfer of information was the norm in the ancient world, since most of the populace was unable to read or write. During times of uncertainty or unrest, the forum was a place where people could gather together in hopes of staying up to date on the latest information.[387] Cicero makes this clear with his vivid description of the events surrounding the Catilinarian conspiracy, when he says that the forum and all the avenues and temples nearby were packed with people worried about the events currently taking place and desiring to perish together rather than alone.[388] This was the case after the sack of the Gauls early in Rome's history, when the citizens came together in the forum to decide whether or not to abandon the site, ultimately choosing to stay.[389] Again during the Second Punic War, when tidings of the disastrous defeat at Lake Trasimene reached Rome everyone gathered in the forum in order to hear the latest information.[390] Later in the war, we read that people of all ages and classes rushed to the forum in order to hear about and celebrate a victory.[391] This information would often come in the form of letters which would be read out loud both in the political assembly and to the crowd in the piazza space, perhaps by an official herald who might perform other duties such as announcing meetings of the senate and large community events such as important funerals or auctions.[392] In other cases, political leaders could use these kinds of announcements to get their own message out and stir up the crowd against a rival; T. Gracchus, for example, used this tactic well, having his proposed agrarian redistribution laws read out to the multitude to stir up popular support.[393]

---

[387] Appian specifically suggests that crowds would occupy the space throughout the night if there was an impending calamity (App. *B Civ.* 1.3.25).
[388] Cic. *Cat.* 4.14ff.
[389] Livy 5.30.
[390] Livy 22.7. This happens again after the Battle of Cannae (22.56).
[391] Ibid 27.51.
[392] Supposedly dating all the way back to the time of the kings (Dio. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.38, 4.76; Livy 3.38).
[393] App. *B Civ.* 1.1.12.

Information transfer orally from person to person, however, was not the only possible method. Textual dedications situated on public buildings, altars, and statue bases, among other features of the built environment, could provide the viewer specific information about the specific feature in question, like its dedicator and dedicatee. While the information provided by these types of inscriptions is often important for reconstructing the social and political history of a town, and indeed these are the most commonly studied types of epigraphic evidence, what this type of writing actually says in many cases is less influential to the daily user of piazza spaces than the physicality of the built feature itself upon which it appears. Instead of the texts of inscriptions, other types of written information may be more pertinent to the everyday users of public spaces. These might include the posting of public documents like laws or calendars for festivals or markets, but other, less permanent writing such as graffiti certainly plays a role in how we understand piazzas on a daily level.[394]

Public documents, generally inscribed in wood or bronze, were a common occurrence in the piazza spaces of Roman Italy, often situated on the rostra or the Temple of Saturn in the case of republican Rome.[395] These might include new laws, treaties, and alliances, among other texts. In the forum, the Twelve Tables were famously put on view, inscribed on wooden tables to ensure their preservation as was common with other types of important records at that time.[396] These boards may have been painted white to enhance their readability over time, perhaps with the heading painted red.[397] During the imperial period, the edicts of the emperor could be

[394] Corbier 2013 (originally the first chapter of Corbier 2006) provides an excellent overview of many of the different types and purposes of writing in the public spaces of Rome.
[395] Corbier 2013, 25-26.
[396] Zonaras 7.18.3 (citing Cass. Dio). Even earlier, the laws of King Tullius were supposedly displayed in the forum but destroyed by Tarquinius after he took power (Dio. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.43). Mark Antony similarly destroyed tablets containing the laws of Dolabella when he tried to enact his laws on debt and rents (Cass. Dio. *Ant. Rom.* 42.32). For more on the display of laws, see Rotondi 1912 (1966), 167-173.
[397] Corbier 2013, 15. For red headings, see Fol 1877.

published in this way, such as was the case with the Emperor Marcus Aurelius' famous decision to ban the persecution of the new Christian sect.[398] Other legal inscriptions could be published in this way as well, like those defining the salaries for teachers during the time of Augustine.[399] While appearing for some amount of time, these documents would eventually be replaced with others and put into storage, as was the case with the more than three thousands bronze tables destroyed in a fire in 69 CE.[400]

Published lists of names or dates were a common source of information for the urban dweller and were generally found in the piazza spaces of a town. Calendars, both the *Fasti Anni* marking the days of the year (cyclical time) and the *Fasti Consulares* listing the annual magistrates (linear time), are prime examples of such monumental list-making.[401] These calendars were generally made of stone or painted on the walls as a fresco in contrast to the bronze on which laws were generally published.[402] While not exclusively found in public piazza spaces, the association is quite common.[403] The *Fasti Praenestini*, for example, were dedicated in the upper portion of the forum of Praenestae by M. Verrius Flaccus, the freedman teacher of Augustus' grandsons Gaius and Lucius, sometime between 6 and 9 CE and survive now in numerous fragments (Figure 3.3 above).[404] The civic calendar was first posted in the Roman forum, apparently illicitly, by Cn. Flavius in order that everyone might know on which days they

[398] This edict was published in Trajan's forum, and a copy of it was found at the end of Justin's second *Apology*. See Fronto 1920, 301-302. Whether Marcus Aurelius was a persecutor of Christians or not has been the topic of some debate among late Roman historians. See Keresztes 1968 for an overview
[399] August. *Conf.* 1.26.
[400] Suet. *Vesp.* 8.9.
[401] Often appearing with the *Fasti Triumphales*, which, on the contrary, does not mark regular periods of time. Hannah 2013 delves into more detail on the concept of time in written spaces.
[402] Only four painted versions of laws survive, though there are more than twenty-four examples in total in various states from around Italy and Gaul (Hannah 2013, 84).
[403] The *Fasti Antiates Maiores* and the *Fasti* porticus may be examples of such "private" *fasti*. See Degrassi 1963, 1 and Reynolds 1976, respectively.
[404] Suet. *Gram. et rhet.* 17.

were allowed to bring an action to the law courts.[405] The days designated for religious festivals and feasts were also posted, as well as information for scheduled markets.[406] Surviving fragments of texts listings the dates and places where commercial events took place have been found in several places in Latium and Campania, in some cases with the same town featured in multiple fragments.[407] Like other instances of surviving calendars, market day calendars have been found in both ephemeral forms, like a graffito scratched onto plaster in Pompeii, and in more long-lasting forms, like the *Pausilipum parapegma* carved in marble.[408]

Two other time-based, informational features were placed in and around the piazza spaces of Roman Italy: sundials and water clocks. Each has a long history in the Mediterranean, and were widely known by the late republican period in Italy.[409] Vitruvius discusses each in his *De architectura*, describing how they are created and naming the inventors of various types, including portable dials.[410] Usefully, each type could be adjusted to account for the lengthening or shortening of the day over the course of the year. Marcus Varro recorded that the first public sundial in Rome was set up on a column by the Rostra during the First Punic War by the consul M. Valerius Messala.[411] Plautus, however, complains that sundials can be found everywhere, so much so that people have become slaves to them in organizing their days.[412] Archaeologically, while the most obvious example of a fixed sundial is the giant *horologium* set up by Augustus in

[405] Livy 9.46; Val. Max. 2.5.
[406] Ov. *Fast.* 2.529. These postings are not unique to Rome. Dio. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.76 discusses the publishing of religious rites.
[407] Degrassi 1963, 300-306; Lehoux 2007, 198-200.
[408] Hannah 2013, 89. See *CIL* 4.8863 for the Pompeian graffito, Degrassi 1963, 304 for the marble calendar.
[409] See Hannah 2009 for an overview of time-telling technology from the sixth century BCE Greece to the third century CE Roman Empire.
[410] Vitr. *De arch.* 9.7-8.
[411] Though the first sundial in the city apparently dated 30 years earlier and was set up by Lucius Papiriuc Cursor at the Temple of Quirinus (Plin. *HN.* 7.214). Messala's sundial did not function very well, apparently, but it was still used for a century.
[412] Gell. *NA 3.3.*

an open area of the Campus Martius, multiple other examples have been discovered around the piazza spaces of Pompeii, including in the "Foro Triangolare" and in front of the Temple of Apollo off the main piazza space.[413] Dedications found with these sundials suggest that they were examples of the munificence of the elites of the city.

Though few remains of water clocks, particularly useful in the winter months when less sunlight was available, have been discovered, textual sources make clear that they certainly existed. The same passage of Pliny mentioned above states that Scipio Nasica established the first water-clock in Rome in 158 BCE, though the exact location is uncertain. Meanwhile Trimalchio has his own small *horologium* in his dining room, which must have been a water clock to be situated indoors.[414] This type of small timepiece was also commonly used to time speeches in court cases.[415] In any case, the ability to quickly know what time it was when hanging around the piazza spaces of the city would obviously prove beneficial for scheduling and enacting different kinds of commercial, political and social activities, even if not everyone (like Plautus) particularly enjoyed making use of them.[416]

Other less permanent, though still official, writing must also have been visible. This might include the announcements of shows or games, auction sales, or other daily political or commercial notifications. Praetors, for example, were required to post in the forum a record of the daily apportionments which had been agreed upon for different matters of business as well as post the jurors for each case undertaken.[417] There is even evidence that notice of elite marriages might be posted somewhere in the forum, similar to what takes place still today in the New York

---

[413] Hannah 2013, 94.
[414] Petron. *Sat.* 26.9. The Temple of the Winds situated next to the Roman Agora in Athens is perhaps the most famous water clock in antiquity; see Webb 2017 for a full discussion of its history through the millennia.
[415] Martial 6.35, Plin. *Ep.* 2.11.14, for example.
[416] Seneca complains about the accuracy of the devices when he argues that it is easier to find agreements between philosophers than between sundials (*Apocol.* 2).
[417] Warmington 1940, 342-343, 358-359.

Figure 3.9: Part of the "Forum Frieze" the House of Julia Felix in Pompeii, depicting people reading a banner across the front of the equestrian statues (Naples Archaeological Museum. Inventory number 9068).

Times wedding section.[418] Marriages themselves, while they may occur in public squares, were thought to be more auspicious if undertaken in the fertile countryside.[419] A fresco in the *Praedia Iuliae Felicis* in Pompeii suggests what these kinds of more temporary postings might have looked like (Figure 3.9). Here a longer banner with writing, perhaps something to do with an upcoming event or official announcement of some sort, is stretched across the bases of three

[418] Plut. *Vit. Cat. Mai.* 24.
[419] At least according to Apuleius (*Apol.* 88).

separate equestrian statues, apparently situated under a portico. Several individuals stand in front of the banner, taking the time to read it in detail. A few literary sources similarly suggest that posting on columns or statue bases was a common occurrence, as when Propertius instructs a boy to post a reward for his stolen writing tablets.[420] The proscription lists are a more ominous example, well known by the late republican period. Indeed, one unlucky soul found out he was on the list by reading his own name after it had been posted in the forum.[421] Even more ephemeral might be the placard carried by a person as part of a religious, triumphal, funeral, or penal procession, informing those passing by of the event taking place.[422] Though not surviving archaeologically, this type of placard is visible in a few surviving examples on other forms of media, such as the triumph over the Jewish people shown on the Arch of Titus in the Roman forum (Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.10: Relief depiction the triumphal return of the Romans from the Arch of Titus (Image from Wikipedia Commons).

[420] Prop. 3.23.
[421] Diod. Sic. frag. 38/39.19. See also Cass. Dio 33.21 and 47.3 for the posting of proscriptions.
[422] Veyne 1983; Corbier 2013, 16.

A less official, but still informative, source of information is the graffiti commonly found on the walls and architectural features of the open piazzas of Roman Italy.[423] The subject matter of these images and texts can vary widely, ranging from politics and commerce to sports and sexuality and everything in between.[424] Although repeatedly banned within Roman legal texts and designated an act of *laesa maiestas* if undertaken upon certain imperial statuary,[425] it became a common way for those with less agency in an urban environ to make their opinions known to the powers that be.[426] It might be as ephemeral as chalk or charcoal quickly drawn onto a wall, or as time-consuming as the creation of a tablet or banner nailed up in a public space, mimicking the materials of more official announcements. Plutarch was particularly fond of preserving the details of political graffiti for posterity. He discusses how in 133 BCE the *demos* called upon the tribune to continue his attempts at land redistribution through writing appearing on porticos, walls, and monuments, while the newly constructed Temple of Concordia in the forum became the location of a verse criticizing the slaughter of Roman citizens in 121.[427] The tribunal seat of Brutus situated in the forum, along with the statue of his tyrant-banishing ancestor, became hotspots for some graffitists to mark their desire for the overthrow of Caesar.[428] Naturally, not all graffiti need be so tactical. In describing how one might become a gossip and busybody in the first place, concerned with trifling and unimportant matters, Plutarch notes that much of the graffiti within the city was banal at best.[429] Statements in the style of *Caesar amat Claudiam*

[423] See Newsome 2013 for graffiti as a "spatial tactic" in the appropriation of official locations in public space. He rightly recognizes the importance of temporal rhythms in the creation of these non-official texts, in that they were most likely created at night yet meant to be seen by those passing by during the day.
[424] Keegan 2014 offers an extensive overview on the functionality of ancient graffiti across the ancient Mediterranean.
[425] *Dig.* 48.4. At least the kind considered defaming was banned, as were the libellus songs discussed above.
[426] For a more detailed look at political graffiti in the late Republic (including these examples), see Hillard 2013.
[427] Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8.7 and Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.6, respectively.
[428] Plut. *Brut.* 9.5.
[429] Plut. *De curiositate* 11(520).

were apparently ubiquitous, and, at least to Plutarch, served only to drive gossips to continual frenzy.[430] Nevertheless this type of graffito is an important marker of presence within public spaces. As Newsome notes, they give us a glimpse into spatial practices within the city center during the evening and nighttime hours, a period not often considered by archaeologists.[431] Extending our thinking of daily life beyond the half of the day containing sunlight is an interesting concept that will be expanded upon in a following chapter.

"Oral graffiti" in the form of gossip was even more prevalent than its written form. Piazzas were a natural place to get caught up on the gossip of the town along with any official announcements. Plutarch comments on the annoying nature of such busybodies in the same passage mentioned above, apparently a common sight. Frequenting the forum and other open spaces, the busybody constantly seeks new tidbits to spread around, growing irritated if someone claims nothing exciting has happened recently.[432] Sometimes rumor was spread on the wings of actual fact, such as the exaggeration of Caesar's difficulties at the beginning of his conflict with the troops of Afranius in Spain, which made it sound like the civil war was basically over.[433] As mentioned previously, gossipers in the forum were spreading around that Cicero himself had been killed, an event that was related to the orator in a letter from one of his friends.[434] This was certainly not true at the time, and when it did come about everyone in the forum was certainly quite aware. Apuleius relates how his accuser ran about the city forum spreading the rumor that he was a magician in the hope of more easily obtaining his judgement.[435] In Terence's *Andria*,

[430] Or perhaps the most famous phrase, *Romani ite domum.*
[431] Newsome 2013, 72-74. See Chapter 4 for further consideration.
[432] Plut. *De curiositate* 8(519).
[433] Caes. *B Civ.* 1.53.
[434] Cic. *Fam.* See below for more discussion of this interesting source.
[435] Apul. *Apol*. 82.

the main character learns of his own wedding to a woman he does not love in the forum, as does another suitor for the same woman.[436]

One particularly gossip-inducing event often associated with piazza spaces is the unearthly omen.[437] Again, the centrality of the space makes it a common place for people to claim a supernatural event has occurred. An omen discovered there is something that "everyone" might see and recognize, making it more legitimate than a private event taking place out of the public eye. These portents often involved spaces or architectural features encountered daily by locals, making it even more astounding when something miraculous takes place. The most famous such omens are likely those preceding the death of Caesar, later enhanced by Shakespeare through the mouth of Calpurnia for his own dramatic purposes.[438] Plutarch relates a series of fantastical signs and apparitions, including lights in the heavens and birds of ill omen flying about the forum.[439] Comets in the sky and a thunderbolt starting a fire in the forum of Sirmium was thought to indicate the downfall of powerful men in the time of Valentinian.[440] Lights in the sky and the presence of unusual animals were common (though not the only) indicators of troublesome events throughout Roman history. Dio relates how a wolf ran into the Roman forum along the sacred way and killed multiple people, while nearby ants swarmed together in an odd manner.[441] This caused the populace to fear for Augustus, who had left the city the day before. Two centuries later two wolves again entered the city, with one slain in the forum while another was killed later outside the pomerium. In this case the omen was said to

[436] Ter. *An*. 251ff, 302.
[437] For a full text recording all the omens described by Livy, see Julius Obsequens *Liber de prodigiis*.
[438] *JC* II.2.988ff.
[439] *Caes*. 63.
[440] Amm. Marc. 30.5.16. A comet was also seen in the sky during the time of Commodus, along with the footprints of the gods apparently leading out of the forum (SHA. *Comm.* 16).
[441] Cass. Dio 54.19.

refer to the deaths of the brothers Geta and, eventually, Caracalla.[442] Not all omens needed to be so foreboding; an eagle that supposedly landed on the shoulder of Claudius as he entered the forum as consul predicted his future rise to emperor.[443]

Other omens and supernatural occurrences had a permanent effect on the built environment. Livy relates how in 362 BCE a large chasm opened up in the middle of the forum, so deep that it could not be filled back up through human effort.[444] When the soothsayers were consulted, they declared that a sacrifice must be given which reflected the greatest strength of the Roman people, else the Republic itself fail. Hearing this, a young soldier named Marcus Curtius proclaimed that nothing was more Roman than arms and courage, at which point he rode a fully adorned warhorse straight into the chasm while the crowd cheered. It must have been quite the spectacle. The offering was apparently accepted, and the chasm, filling with water, became the Curtian Lake mentioned by Plautus in the opening quotation.[445] Later in 183 BCE, soothsayers decreed that tents would be set up the forum, stoking fears of an enemy invasion into the city center.[446] This prophecy, however, was harmlessly fulfilled through the funeral games of P. Licinius Crassus, when tents were set up for banqueting due to high winds.

Omens were not confined to the Roman forum, for open spaces across the city seemed to be breeding grounds for rumors of foreboding events before crucial moments in history. During the inauspicious start of the Second Punic War, portents sprang up left and right across the city. In the forum holitorium a six-month-old shouted "Triumph!" and the Temple of Hope was struck by lightning. Nearby in the forum boarium an ox climbed up a three-story structure before

[442] Cass. Dio 78.1.
[443] Suet. *Claud.* 7.
[444] Livy 7.6. See also Plin. *HN* 35.20, Stat. *Silv.* 1.66ff, Val. Max. 5.6, and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.11.
[445] This is only one of several origin stories for this mysterious pool. Varro relates three different versions, including a variation on Livy's, in *Ling.* 5.150.
[446] Livy 39.46.

leaping to its death.[447] In 102 BCE, during the consulships of Gaius Marius and Quintus Lutatius, a swarm of bees was said to settle in a shrine in the forum boarium and refused to be evicted.[448] This same omen had been recognized a century earlier as part of the series of prodigies having taken place during the Second Punic War, although this time reportedly in the Roman forum itself.[449] Features in the built environment itself were sometimes involved; for example, during the Second Samnite war a statue of Venus descended from its stone statue base onto the ground below, facing in the direction from which the Samnites' Gallic allies were approaching the city. Fortunately for the Romans, this was interpreted as a good omen by a certain Etruscan Manius, who said it meant that Victory had stepped ahead of them to ensure a favorable outcome in the battle.[450]

The concepts of omens, prophecy, punishment, and burial in piazza spaces are all combined in a famous event at the end of the First Punic War, when the Gauls once again began to make trouble for the Romans. The Sibylline books declared that these barbarians would once again occupy the city, perhaps along with the Greeks. In order to fulfill this destiny without actual invasion, the Romans buried two Greeks and two Gauls, a male and a female of each, in the *forum boarium*, hoping that this would fulfill the spirit of the oracle.[451] The area itself was walled with stone, marking the boundary of the portion of the city which the individuals so "possessed."[452] An unclear number of other victims may have been buried along with them.[453]

---

[447] Livy 21.62.
[448] Julius Obsequens, *Liber de prodigiis* 35.
[449] Livy 24.10
[450] Cass. Dio 8 (Zonaras 8.1).
[451] Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 3. Cass. Dio (Zonaras 8.19-20) reports that it was actually in the Roman forum itself. The same solution was said to be used twelve years later to ward off the evils brought about by a series of corrupted Vestal Virgins. In this version it is unclear why two Greeks and two Gauls were the proper choices for burial and there is likely some conflation taking place (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 83, Livy 22.57). See Schultz 2010.
[452] Livy 22.57.
[453] Plin. *HN* 35.3.

While Livy claims that this sacrifice was alien to the Roman spirit, being buried alive was the standard punishment for Vestals who had been convicted of unchaste behavior.[454] In any case, the act apparently appeased the divine powers, and the Romans continued to be victorious on the battlefield.

Burial of any type within the walls of a Roman city was quite unusual. Intramural burial appears to have been banned both in Rome and in other cities in central Italy at a very early moment in the process of urbanization, by perhaps the 9th century BCE (if not earlier).[455] Nevertheless, there were a few specific situations when burial in the city center was a sanctioned action, beyond the specific, more gruesome circumstance described above.[456] Funeral processions themselves, of course, were a common event in the Roman city, so much so that Horace complains about the issues which multiple processions can cause when they attempt to navigate a piazza at the same time, colliding with one another and the standard commercial traffic.[457] If you were a particularly distinguished leader, you might also be eulogized with your body on display, a speech called the *laudatio funebris*.[458] These events were moments when a great variety of individuals might come together, particularly for the more extravagant undertakings. This is abundantly clear in Cassius Dio's description of the funeral of Pertinax, in which the senators and their wives, choruses of boys and men, commercial guild members, government officials and heralds, and cavalry and infantry among others were part of a

[454] Livy 22.57, though this did not take place in the forum itself.
[455] See Chapter 6 for further discussion.
[456] See Naglak and Terrenato 2019 for a consideration of this early decision and how it relates to societal change during the period of urbanization.
[457] Hor. *Sat.* 1.40; Apul. *Met.* 2.27; Plaut. *Mos.* 1000. Even the body of Antony was carried through the forum before being sent off to Egypt (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 58).
[458] As described in Polyb. 6.53. The bodies of Sulla (App. *B Civ.* 1.12.106), Lucullus (Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 43), Britannicus (Cass. Dio 61.7.4), and even the wife of Pompey (Cass. Dio 39.64) were displayed in the forum before being carried elsewhere.

procession that was almost more triumph than funeral.[459] Public banqueting might also take place, as with the public distribution of food at the funeral of Publius Licinius Crassus, as well as gladiatorial games.[460]

To be buried in the forum, however, was rare. In Rome's early history, Hostilius, the supposed colleague of Romulus and father of the future third king of the city, was said to have received this honor (along with a monument and an inscription) after aiding the Romans in many wars with the Sabines.[461] Caesar too received this distinction after the crowd demanded it (or was at least cremated there),[462] and it seems to have been a right granted to certain other men of achievement as well as their descendants, though these would only be symbolically buried there.[463] Quintilian relays a few other ways someone might be buried in the forum in his *Declamationes*: if someone killed a tyrant, they were permitted to be buried in the forum as thanks for their deed; if the tyrant kills himself, the subject is up for debate.[464] He describes an apparently common practice that if a person is struck by lightning and killed, they are to be buried at the spot where they were struck, even if it is in the forum itself.[465] This is due to the religious nature of the death, for clearly it was ordained by the gods for the individual to die on that very spot. The debate for Quintilian is not on the validity of the law itself but on whether it should be applied in the case of a tyrant who is struck within the space. At the end of the declamation, the "pro-burial" side makes an interesting point: what better place to bury a tyrant than in the forum? Let it serve as a warning sign to anyone who might try to make themselves a

[459] Cass. Dio 55.4ff.
[460] Livy 39.46. A funeral feast in the forum also took place for Clodius (Cass. Dio 40.49). See the below section more more information on gladiatorial games in piazza spaces.
[461] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.1.
[462] For Caesar, see App. *B Civ.* 1.4, 2.20.143ff, Suet. *Vit. Iul.* 84ff.
[463] Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 79.
[464] Quint. *Declamationes Minores* 329,
[465] Quint. *Declamationes Minores* 274.

tyrant, for the gods themselves will strike them down. The visible nature of the tomb in the forum will provide a constant reminder to all who visit the crowded space of the downside of such an action. This idea of public punishment to deter future undesirable activity is a common one in Roman history, and, as was discussed previously, an activity that occurred in open public spaces in the Roman world. While most individuals would never have the opportunity to have a tomb or a monument in the city center, the elite might put on another event which could occupy the space for at least a few days in honor of their passing: gladiatorial games.

3.8 Gladiatorial Games, Rituals, and Other Events on the Roman Calendar

As Ausonius states, "that gladiators once fought out funerary battles in the forum is well known."[466] They are thought to have first taken place in 264 BCE in the forum boarium at the funerary ceremonies of M. Junius Brutus, put on in order to honor their father's ashes.[467] Initially it seems to have been one-on-one battles but was eventually expanded to include multiple gladiators at the same time on a larger scale and over multiple days.[468] The funeral games of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus are representative, whose sons showed twenty-two pairs of gladiators in the forum.[469] After that they seem to have taken place rather regularly, ultimately being moved from forum spaces to the amphitheater or the circus (at least in towns which were able to afford such structures). That is not to say that fora were entirely abandoned; Commodus is said to have given gladiatorial games in the Roman forum well after the construction of the

[466] Aus. *Ecl.* 23. Vitruvius too mentions it in his brief discussion on the functional organization of fora spaces (5.1, 10.3).
[467] V. Max. 2.4.
[468] Cass. Dio 43; The sons of Marcus Valerius Laevinus put on funeral games over a four-day period, including twenty-five pairs of gladiators (Livy 31.50). When the pontifex maximus Publius Licinius Crassus died around 183 BCE, 120 gladiators fought over the course of three days (Livy 39.46). By the time of Augustus, games were frequent, varied, and magnificent (Suet. *Aug.* 43).
[469] Livy 23.30.

Colosseum.[470] Portraiture of the gladiators and their matches was also in vogue for some amount of time, so much so that these images might be put on display in the public sphere.[471] This type of popularity eventually encouraged games to be put on not just for funerary purposes but also for the public entertainment of the masses.

Figure 3.11: Depiction of the riot in 59 CE between Nuceria and Pompeii from a fresco in the House of Actius Anicetus (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inventory. Number. 112222).

[470] *SHA Clod.* 6. Augustus and Tiberius too gave games in the forum as well as in other venues (Suet. *Aug.* 43, *Tib.* 7).
[471] Plin. *HN.* 35.33.

It is clear that these events would draw large crowds from nearby cities and the surrounding countryside (Figure 3.11).[472] Gladiatorial shows were a moment in time when individuals of different statuses might engage with one another on a social level, and one of the few opportunities which non-elites as a collective might pass judgement on their leaders. This criticism or praise is well-recognized in environments like the Colosseum with its stratified seating arrangement, but it certainly took place earlier as well, if on a smaller scale.[473] Scipio once organized a gladiatorial show in honor of Quintus Metellus, which was attended by great crowds of all sorts of individuals.[474] When Publius Sestius entered, the shouts of applause rained down from everywhere. This was the largest crowd that had as of yet attended such an event, at least according to Cicero. Such large crowds also provided an opportunity for more dubious acts, with assassination being high on the list. The attempted assassination of Pompey by Vettius and his slaves is one famous example, which took place during a certain Gabinius' show in the Roman forum.[475]

While the image of Christians being thrown to the lions in the Colosseum is a well-recognized trope, the punishment and execution of the condemned were a common part of these spectacles from a much earlier period. Strabo relates a particularly elaborate execution which took place in the forum during a set of gladiatorial games.[476] A raider, Selurus, was placed on a tall scaffold, as if on Mount Aetna from which he had based his raids. At a designated moment,

[472] See the famous fresco from the house of Actius Anicetus in Pompeii depicting the riots which took place in the city between the locals and the nearby Nucerians in 59 CE.
[473] Seating around the forum seems to have been similarly stratified. During one event, certain magistrates constructed seats around the forum in order to sell them for a profit. The younger Gracchus ordered them removed so that the poor might be able to see the show (Plut. *Vit. C. Gracch.* 12). It also seems as if it may have been possible to look down into the forum from some of the nearby hills, at least until it was too built up to have any proper view.
[474] Cic. *Sest.* 124.
[475] Cic. *Att.* 44(II.24).2.
[476] Strab. 6.6.

the scaffolding to was made to fold in on itself and collapse, much like Selurus' fortune, dropping the condemned down into cages of wild beasts which had been set out beneath the scaffolding for this purpose. This type of event, along with the hunting of wild beasts, would provide entertainment between gladiatorial bouts and allow the proceedings to continue over the course of a day.[477] Augustus, for example, bragged that he put on twenty-six separate beast hunts in which 3500 beasts were killed, some of which took place in the forum itself.[478] These types of events could provide entertainment to the idle masses, increasing the popularity of the magistrate who sponsored them in future elections.

Beyond gladiatorial games and beast hunts, piazza spaces naturally played a role in the numerous festivals and rituals which might take place over the course of year. Often these events would be closely tied to a certain feature of the built environment. Some of these moments stand out as unique in Roman history, such as the crowning of Caesar on the rostra during the festival of the Lupercalia, while others, like the taking of auspices or the inspection of animal sacrifices, would occur regularly.[479] Though there are far too many Roman events and rituals to discuss in detail here, a few examples taken from the month of January will be exemplary, though indeed any period of the year could be chosen and would offer up interesting subjects for discussion.[480] Starting as early as 153 BCE, when consuls entered the office on January 1st, it seems that their dual processions may have met in the forum before together climbing up the Capitoline hill.[481] On the 11th of the month, the cult of Juturna was celebrated, the water-nymph who watched over a spring in the southwest corner of the forum. This area was eventually known as the *Lacus*

[477] In the forum of Augustus, for example, the *ludi martiales* were held when the Circus flooded, which included a horse race and the slaying of wild animals (Cass. Dio 56.27).
[478] Aug. *RG* 1.22.
[479] Cic. *Phil.* 2.85; *Att.* 75(IV.3).4, *Leg. agr.* 2.34.93.
[480] See Scullard 1981 for an extended consideration of the various festivals and ceremonies of the Roman Republic through each month of the year.
[481] Scullard 1981, 53.

Iuturnae with a ceremonial pool and shrine and may have been a very early cult. Though this specific day was given over to her worship (and she also had a temple in the Campus Martius), water from this pool was used throughout the year in various sacrifices which took place in the forum. This must have made the procession from the pool to the site of the sacrifices a ritualized, if regular, event, which had its own recognized importance, even if this does not survive in the textual or archaeological record.

The pool was also closely connected with Castor and Pollux, who were said to have appeared at the pool to report the good news of the city's great victory over the final attempt by Tarquin to reclaim Rome with an army of Latins. This led to the construction of the Temple of Castor and Pollux next to the pool, as well as a fountain which bears their name.[482] This temple was dedicated on January 27th according to the *Fasti Praenestini* as well as Ovid, and was accompanied by a traditional *Ludi Castores* celebrated at Ostia (and likely with some sort of event in the forum). Later in the year, the *Equitum Romanorum probatio* took place to celebrate the same event, though in this case with a great parade of Roman equestrians travelling through several parts of the city as well as past the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the forum.[483] The special role the podium of this temple could play can be recognized here. Rising high above the pavement of the Roman forum and with only lateral staircases until the time of Augustus, the podium presented a monumental appearance that could serve as a second speaking platform looking out over the piazza space.[484] During the procession of the *equites*, censors present upon the raised platform could review the centuries of Roman equestrians, and it may have served as a place where magistrates could speak to the people. This can be seen in the Late Republic, when

[482] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.
[483] It seems that this event took place annually on July 15 but at some point fell out of favor before being rejuvenated by Augustus; Scullard 1981, 164-165. Cass. Dio 55.31.
[484] Scullard 1981, 66-68.

Cato attempted to block Metellus Nepos from reading a law out to the people from the podium in 62 BCE or, a few years later, when Caesar is speaking from the podium, Bibulus sought to gain an even higher elevation for his own rebuttal.[485] Finally, at a different scale, the *Ludi Compitales*, held at variable dates between the Saturnalia and the 5th of January, turned the crossroads of city streets (*compita*) into piazza spaces focused on the celebration of the end of the agricultural year. This might include the sacrifice of fattened pigs and the contribution of honey-cakes from each family within the *vici*.[486] This example reminds us again that piazza spaces come in all shapes and sizes and should not be predefined to indicate fora alone. Streets might become piazzas, and piazzas might become streets, all depending on the events of the day.

3.9 Slaves

Gladiators were only one type of slave that appeared in the open public spaces of Roman Italy. Although not often mentioned when piazzas are discussed in the literature, a variety of slaves must have been a common sight in fora. This lack of focus again likely has to do with the emphasis on elite engagement with these areas, a topic that has also excluded the majority of slave agency in other areas of the city as well.[487] A slave cannot run for office or dedicate a statue, so what possible role can they play in a forum? Nevertheless, surviving textual sources reveal slaves as an omnipresent feature in the city center, both with their masters and on their own. Their activity goes far beyond a simple presence as a commodity in the slave auction as described above; instead, they are involved in all manner of pursuits, both as private slaves for

[485] Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.* 27-28; Cass. Dio 38.6.2.
[486] Scullard 1981, 58-60.
[487] In domestic spaces, for example, how a slave might experience the space in their own right (and not simply in terms of "resistance" to their elite masters) is a subject which has yet to truly emerge. How might a slave interpret/perceive/engage with the elaborate mythological wall paintings in elite triclinia, for example, as they themselves learn the stories and morals which are on display?

their masters and as *servi publici*, where they might be owned by the state and work for the Roman people as a whole.

The privately-owned slave is what most think about when considering Roman slavery. As described above, they might be purchased at a slave-auction, perhaps a prisoner of war or someone who has gone into too much debt.[488] Once under the ownership of their new master, certain slaves would often return to the forum for one reason or another. The slave fulfilling an errand of his or her master is a common trope in Latin plays; they might be sent on their own to the forum to obtain a certain item at the market or perhaps to fetch the master himself, there performing some sort of business, for an important matter taking place at home.[489] Others might accompany their master as he went about the day; increasing one's entourage with the inclusion of slaves along with freedmen was a well-recognized strategy for looking important.[490] Beyond this symbolic function, slaves might act as bodyguards to protect the elite from danger in public spaces or as "name-slaves" to follow him about.[491] These name slaves could be particularly useful for any prospective politician or businessman, reminding elites of the names of those whom they might run into.[492] Augustine relates that it may have been common for child servants to follow their masters to the forum when on business, ready to act as a messenger or perform some other function at a moment's notice. Indeed, it is just such a child that gets Alypius of Thagaste out of trouble when he is accused of thieving in the city center of Carthage.[493] More comically, the slave Zeno reportedly used his cloak to give his master privacy as he publicly

[488] There is evidence for individuals selling themselves into slavery for a predetermined period in order to pay for some amount of debt. See Silver 2014 for more information.
[489] Plaut. *Asin.* 367. In Plautus' *Epidicus*, a slave is told to meet his master in the forum (303).
[490] For a recommendation to have as large an entourage as possible, see Cicero, *Comment. Pet.* 36-38. See also Cic. *Mur.* 44, 69ff, *Att.* 18(1.18).1 for examples of groups accompanying elites to the forum.
[491] Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 43.
[492] Apul. *Apol.* 59; Macrob. *Sat.* 2.15. This same role is often played by an aide in modern political life.
[493] August. *Conf.* 6.9.

bedded his soon-to-be wife in a portico.[494] Elsewhere, slaves must have also been a common, if usually unremarked upon, presence during the majority of public events taking place above. They might carry the body of the deceased in a funeral;[495] they would certainly be a part of any triumphal procession which took place.[496] They were certainly a common enough sight for Caelius and Milo to disguise themselves as slaves to escape from the forum during the riots after the funeral of Clodius without drawing any suspicion.[497]

Like their elite masters or less elite brethren discussed above, slaves were not immune from idling in fora spaces. The "tricky slave" of Plautus is well-versed in lounging about, looking like he is working while actively avoiding that enterprise.[498] In contrast, we see a hard-working slave cutting through a forum on the way home, trying to save some time after his search for fire to light his lamp too took long.[499] Slaves were often part of the mobs which beset the city of Rome during the late Republic, or at least elites would accuse their enemies of arming them for this purpose.[500] Such behavior often led to punishment. As discussed above, slaves could be flogged in the forum or led through it on their way to the cross, though their actual crucifixion was required to happen outside the city.[501] Sometimes other slaves would be put in charge of punishing their brethren in this way, an action that could doubly serve as a warning to them.[502] On the other hand, piazzas could also be the place where freedom was eventually

[494] Apul. *Flor.* 14.
[495] Cass. Dio 4.76.
[496] Like the three-day event described in detail in Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 32ff.
[497] App. *B Civ.* 2.3.22.
[498] Plaut. *Asin.* 251; *Asin.* 430.
[499] Phaed. 3.19.
[500] See, for example, Cic. *Dom.* 80, *Att.* 44(II.24).2, *Phil.* 1.5.
[501] Cass. Dio 54.3, 60.12.
[502] Plut. *Vit. Cor.* 24.

obtained. The ceremony of manumission, with its ceremonial kisses on each cheek, took place for some slaves in the fora of Rome, at least in the later Roman period.[503]

In contrast to these privately owned slaves, an entire class of individuals, each designated a *servus publicus populi Romani*, were owned by the Roman state itself.[504] Although not much is known about this type of slave from textual sources, a few words can be said about their roles.[505] Their main duties focused on the public affairs of the city, making their presence in the city center a natural event. They could be employed as messengers for all manner of magistrates or as workers in the temples of the city. They could be revenue collectors, work in libraries, serve in the administration of justice, help put out fires, or the ensure water supply (basically any public works).[506] It seems likely that this type of slave would have been put in charge of cleaning up the public spaces of the city, such as the forum, particularly after markets or large events.[507] After a fire during the reign of Augustus, it is reported that a large number of slaves who had previously been under the aediles to put out fires were transferred to the "street commissioners."[508] These slaves were meant to better maintain public spaces, hopefully preventing future fires from being so devastating. Ovid suggests something similar might exist for the Roman forum, though he may simply be referring to the slaves who worked for the magistrates and temples within the

[503] Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 2.544-545. Some sort of similar event may have taken place for gladiators as well. Lentulus brought Caesar's gladiators-in-training into the forum of Capua and encouraged them to fight for the city in return for their freedom, an action that was roundly criticized (Caes. *B Civ.* 1.14).
[504] Buckland 1908, 318-323.
[505] *CIL* VI.2336-2337 for general *opera publica*; Frontin. *Aq.* 99, 116 mentions public slaves maintaining water systems for the city. Surprisingly little work has been done on this topic, although a recent undertaking by Dr. Franco Luciani called "The '*Servi Publici*': Everybody's Slaves' (SPES) Project" may change this. Unfortunately, as of my most recent search they had not published any of the results, though their online database (still in progress) was kindly made available to me.
[506] Buckland 1908, 320, ft. 12; For more information and further citations, see Mommsen *Staatsrecht* 1888, 1.325ff; Halkin 1897, 40-106.
[507] There was an aedile in charge of keeping alleys clean (Cass. Dio 59.12) so something similar must have existed for piazza spaces.
[508] Cass. Dio 55.8.

space.[509] Either way, it is certain they would have played the role of custodians, among other tasks, for their own little portions of the forum. The public executioner would also fall into this category, present in piazza spaces for the purpose of punishment, if not permitted otherwise.[510] Livy reports that the skilled workers captured in New Carthage would be made into public slaves, exerting themselves to provide the needed equipment of war.[511] It may, however, only have been a designation only given to male slaves, as noted by Mommsen.[512] They wore a certain dress to distinguish themselves, though the details of this outfit are not known.[513] On the other hand, public slaves were able to earn money for themselves, offering the hope of eventual freedom.[514] Over time, however, this type of slave fell out of use, particularly with respect to economic dealings. By the time of Diocletian, public slaves who focused on taxes or contracts seem to have been mostly replaced by "more trustworthy" freedmen. The concept of a municipal slave continued to exist into the time of Justinian, but they are very rarely mentioned in surviving sources, and the term *servus publicus* itself seems to have gone out of use by this time.[515]

The presences of slaves in open public spaces must have been constant. The lack of discussion of the topic in current literature has more to do with a lack of surviving textual evidence on the subject rather than a lack of importance. The following section focuses on another group of individuals who were out and about in the piazza spaces of the Roman world: women and children, both elite and non-elite. Again, though rarely mentioned in the male-dominated textual sources, the combination of primary sources, material evidence, and common

[509] Ov. *Am.* 57.
[510] Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 15.
[511] Livy 26.47.
[512] Mommsen 1.367. One would wonder about the slaves designated for the Temple of Vesta, however.
[513] Momson *loc. cit.*
[514] There is surviving epigraphic evidence suggesting the erection of monuments by public slaves (*CIL* 6.2338.9) and for a public slave (*CIL* 6.883).
[515] Buckland 1908, 322.

sense reveals that they too must have been a common sight in these areas of the city, taking part in most, if not all, the events and activities discussed above, perhaps despite the desires of some of their elite husbands and fathers.

3.10 Women and Children

The role of women in the urban environment outside of the family and domestic sphere is a subject that is slowly gaining steam in modern scholarship.[516] While the importance and participation of women in the ritual life of the city and its piazzas has long been acknowledged, a consideration of women and their involvement in other civic, social, and economic activities outside the domestic sphere is relatively new.[517] These works have, for the most part, focused on the civic and economic roles women might play within cities, roles which would naturally bring them into the city center and into the forum in particular. Even beyond these two domains, however, a review of the textual sources reveals women were a constant presence in the piazza spaces of Rome and indeed the Roman forum, participating in most of the activities so far discussed in this chapter, including what may have irked elite males the most, civic life. While the elite Roman male may have pined for a space free from women, ultimately the multifunctional nature of fora spaces would have made this improbable if not impossible.

Elite Roman male discomfort with the presence of women in the forum is perhaps best epitomized by the speech of Cato in support of the Oppian sumptuary laws in 215 BCE, where he decries the influence of women on politics. He calls their behavior outrageous, while he himself feels shame that he had to force his way to the tribunal through a band of women. He

[516] Boatwright 2011 provides an excellent overview of the textual sources, particularly to the evolution of the role of women in civic life from the republican period to the middle imperial.
[517] For recent publications focusing on the gendering of civic and economic life, see Alcock, Harrison and van Wees (eds.) 2013, Hemelrijk 2015. These volumes proved very valuable for the following discussion.

declares that the Roman ancestors would never have allowed such a thing to happen, that women be out and about, in the forum itself, without being under the control of a man. This type of surviving literary evidence, combined with the lack of female representation known from material culture from the republican period, has been used to demonstrate the attempted "ideological" removal of women from the civic life of the Roman forum.[518] Nevertheless, the reality of the presence of women in the city center, impacting the civic realm of men, can be identified in various cases in the literary record, even if they are not the main focus of the authors (and are condemned when they occur). Indeed, as Lucius Valerius states in his rebuttal to Cato's speech, and using Cato's own *Origins* against him, women have been present in the forum since the earliest periods of Rome's historical imagination, when the Sabine women interrupted the battle between Romulus and their kinsmen.[519] Again, women were part of the group supporting Verginius and Verginia in the forum during the time of the decemvirs.[520] In more historical times, there are numerous examples of women participating in acts of protest and resistance against various individuals or policies within the forum. Women were part of the group of Italian citizens protesting land redistribution to soldiers in the 1st century BCE.[521] They, along with their families, pled for the lives of their sons, brothers, and kinsmen during the Second Punic War.[522] Nevertheless, women need not be joined by their husbands or fathers to protest. The example above concerning the revolt against the Oppian Law has already been mentioned, and when it

[518] Boatwright 2011 correctly recognizes that into the middle imperial period textual sources tend to represent female intrusion into the forum as a disruptive and unusual act. She also notes that these comments seem to apply primarily to elite women, for there must have been many women of various professions in the space over the course of the day. This "ideological" removal, as Boatwright terms it, from the forum may be able to be seen as an attempted (and sometimes illusionary?) separation of politics from the female sphere rather than a barrier to the forum space itself, particularly for its more "mundane" purposes.. The *Digest* states it directly with "women are apart from civic and public duties" (*Dig.* 50.17.2).
[519] Livy 34.5.7-10.
[520] Livy 3.47-48.
[521] App. *B Civ.* 5.2.12.
[522] Livy 22.60.

was eventually repealed women again invaded the forum and held processions through the streets.[523] Later, when the triumvirs attempted to force elite women to furnish funds for the army from their own property, a group of women forced their way to the tribunal in the forum to protest the matter.[524] The mother of Marcus Antonius even came alone to denounce him for proscribing his own uncle, her brother, whom she was giving shelter to in her house![525] Though the law courts are not discussed in this chapter, women could be present and take part in cases, questioned by the magistrates when necessary.[526] There are even examples of women acting as their own advocates, though in at least one instance this upset the Senate so much that they sent to an oracle to question what it might portend.[527] Nevertheless, it was not a unique occurrence, for Valerius Maximus lists at least three incidents in his work.[528]

While these examples suggest that it is impossible to separate women entirely from the civic arena, even during the late republican period, it is nevertheless true that the public role of women becomes more clear at the end of the first millennium BCE and into the first centuries CE. It is during this period that the emergence of women as public benefactors within the built environment becomes clear.[529] While the Eumachia building in the forum of Pompeii is the best known example of this kind, the basilica of Mineia at Paestum and the largess of Terentia at Ostia show that she was not unique in her act of euergetism.[530] As mentioned above, however, what is apparent from a very early date, however, is the role of women in the religious and ritual life of a town and its forum. Indeed, the place of women in the ritual events of a town is one of

[523] Cass. Dio 18 (Zonaras 9.17).
[524] App. *B Civ.* 4.32.
[525] App. *B Civ.* 4.6.37.
[526] Livy 4.9, 8.18.
[527] Plut. *Vit. Comp. Lyc. Num.* 3.
[528] Val. Max. 8.3.
[529] Possibly due to the more public emergence of female power within the Julio-Claudian dynasty. See Cooley 2013, 28-31. For further studies of the role of women in urban largess, see Hemelrijk 2013 and 2015.
[530] Cooley 2013, 36-40.

the few places where their presence has been well-recognized and studied.[531] Beyond the Vestal Virgins, whose role is well-established in the Roman forum, women often participated in other sorts of religious moments throughout the republican and imperial periods. Animal sacrifices, once thought to have been the domain of men alone, are now understood as events which women might enact and preside over.[532] Though there is scanty evidence as a whole, evidence from funerary monuments show priestesses of Diana and Ceres conducting the public sacrifice of a pig.[533] Elsewhere, Plutarch suggests that the wife or mother of a magistrate would be put in charge of the sacrifices for the festival of Bona Dea (though Cicero seems to disagree).[534] Macrobius writes of the role of the *regina sacrorum* in sacrifices within the Regia, while, in a more general sense, Livy complains that women moved away from the traditional customs and sacrifices in the forum as the war with Hannibal dragged on.[535] This participation can also be recognized in processional events; during the Second Punic War, for example, twenty-seven virgins were part a procession travelling through the city and the forum in order to ward off evil omens.[536] Much later, Augustine criticized the festival of Liber, where a matron customarily placed a crown upon a model of a phallus in the forum of Lavinium in order to ensure the success of the city's crops.[537] In each case, the role and importance of women in this sphere is quite clear.

Beyond the civic and religious, the contribution of women in the commercial sphere is slowly being recognized, again despite the lack of discussion in textual sources.[538] On the

[531] Boatwright 2011, 111; Raepsaet-Charlier 2005.
[532] See Schultz 2006, 130-137, Flemming 2007, and Rives 2013.
[533] Hemelrijk 2009, 261.
[534] Plut. *Cic.* 19.5 vs Cic. *Har. resp.* 37.
[535] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.15.19; Livy 25.1.
[536] Livy 27.37.
[537] August. *De civ. D.* 7.21.
[538] See Groen-Vallinga 2013 and Holleran 2013 for more detailed analyses of this topic.

consumer side of things, Apuleius describes a woman walking with a large domestic staff through a market space in order to purchase items for the day.[539] Women are clearly visible in the market scene of the forum of Pompeii in the House of Julia Felix, one giving a coin to an old beggar. Tibullus describes an older man who had for a long time refused the embraces of Venus stop the maidservant of his new love in the middle of the forum, where she had presumably been going about her daily business of obtaining items for the household.[540] On the producer side, epigraphic evidence, especially from burial markers, has shown that women may hold a number of wide-ranging occupations, including hairdressers, gold-leaf producers, and wool-workers, each of which might have their own shops or work in conjunction with their husbands.[541] Some are known to work entirely independently, as in the case of the freeborn *medica* Vibia Primilla or the innkeeper Philema.[542] Thus while the male elite's ideal may be a woman who stays at home and acts as a housewife and does not work (and certainly does not appear in the forum spaces of the city), the commercial reality is clearly much more complicated. After all, it would make little sense for women to be unable to help organize and run a business simply because it was situated within the space of a forum.

While the above topics have been the most focused on in recent scholarship, it is possible to find evidence for the participation of women in nearly all the activities discussed earlier in the chapter. Women, like men, dealt with death and its aftermath. Women could both attend and take part in funeral processions as they made their way through the city.[543] In special cases, women

---

[539] Apul. *Met.* 2.2.
[540] Tib. 1.2.93-94.
[541] Groen-Vallinga 2013, 306-7; Joshel 1992, 69 chart out these occupational epitaphs, with manufacturing accounting for a bit more than 23 per cent. *CIL* 6, 6939 and *CIL* 6, 9211 for gold leaf producers. The epitaph of Mecia Dynata indicates she was involved with three separate shops, likely selling wool. The job of hairdresser (*ornatrix*) seems to be the mostly common one for women from the epigraphic evidence, though this could naturally take place either in the domestic or commercial spheres.
[542] *CIL* 6, 9824; *CIL* 6, 7581.
[543] Cass. Dio 55.4ff; Apul. *Met.* 2.27; Suet. *Iul.* 84ff; in apotheosis ceremonies as well (Hdn. 4.2).

might even be eulogized in the city center, as was the case with Lucretia at the moment of the overthrow of the monarchy or, in more historical times, Julia, the wife of Pompey and daughter of Caesar, who died in childbirth.[544] In less special cases, the bodies of women as well as men might be displayed in the forum after being executed in prison or hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.[545] They might even be buried alive when the Sibylline Books demanded it.[546] When Philiscus consoles Cicero over the matter of his exile in Book 38 of Dio's *Roman History*, he suggests that the sight of both men and women insulting the heads of the proscribed set up in the forum is quite common, not seeming to indicate that it was extraordinary for women to be present near the Rostra.[547] The presence of women in the law-courts might not only be for business purposes; as discussed above, these spaces could be a fine place for both women and men looking for love to rendezvous.[548] When this kind of relationship fails, Ovid declares that the cries of women tricked by false lovers could be heard to echo across the whole forum (though this is perhaps poetic license).[549] Special events provide a similar opportunity for courtship, as when the gladiatorial shows would take place in the forum.[550] After a successful courtship, a marriage ceremony might also take place there, and in some cases a wedding procession showing off the dowry might make its way through a city forum.[551] Cicero's wife certainly met him in the forum of Brundisium with no apparent consequences.[552] They might drink and revel in the forum in the evening, as Augustus' daughter Julia was accused of.[553]

---

[544] Livy 1.59 and Cass. Dio 39.64, respectively.
[545] Cass. Dio 58.15.
[546] Livy 22.57; Plin. *HN* 35.3.
[547] Cass. Dio 38.29.
[548] Ov. *Ars. am.* 222-224.
[549] Ov. *Ars. am.* 1.79-88, 3.449-450. In a more mythological vein, the woman Larentia, having been impregnated by Hercules, was told by the god to go to the forum early in the morning to find a husband (Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 5).
[550] Ov. *Ars. am.* 1.163-164; Prop. 4.8.75-76.
[551] Cass. Dio 77.1.
[552] Cic. *Att.* 125(VII.2).2.
[553] Cass. Dio 55.10.

Although the rumor should be taken with a grain of salt, the statue of Marsyas situated near the Comitium was said to be one of her favorite locations and was a well-known local for the courtesans of the city to hang about. These women could certainly offer an alternative to the search for true love or marriage for any who desired it.[554]

This is, again, a very brief discussion of the role of women in fora spaces, but they were omnipresent, participating in commerce, ritual, protests, games and processions, love and revelry, punishment and execution, among other events. While not the focus of elite male authors, they had an important role to play in order to maintain the functionality of a city, even more so in the piazza spaces of smaller cities outside of Rome. Similarly, children and adolescents must have been a constant. Research considering the lives of children in the Roman world has increased greatly since the late 1980s, initially focused on subjects oriented around the Roman family but more recently expanding with the recognition that they too had a part to play in the wider cultural and social landscape.[555]

Children could participate in one way or another in many of the activities discussed above, though their place is often difficult to recognize in the textual or archaeological record. When protesting Italian land distribution after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, children joined in with their mothers and fathers in invading the forum to secure the rights to family properties.[556] They could attend and enjoy public events, such as triumphs,[557] or perhaps even participate in them, as was the case with a choir of children from elite families who sang hymns

[554] Sen. *Ben.* 6.32; Plin. *Nat.* 21.8-9.
[555] For recent studies focused on children as agents in their own right within the urban environment, see the collected volume of Laes and Vuolanto (eds.) 2017 as well as the monographs of Laes 2011 and MacDonald 2014. In contrast, the majority of work in the relatively recent *Oxford Handbook of Children and Education in the Classical World* (Grubbs and Parkin (eds.) 2013) tends to focus more on children as passive recipients of the culture around them.
[556] App. *B Civ.* 5.2.12.
[557] For children at Caesar's triumphal return from Gaul, see Caes. *BGall.* 8.51.

at the apotheosis ceremony of Septimius Severus.[558] The triumphal arch at Benevento, for example, shows children being carried to see the procession of Trajan, while in contrast the Ara Pacis shows them as part of the procession, though obviously these are in a very elite context.[559]There is epigraphic evidence from Pompeii that children might have roles to play in politics or the military from an early age, with several youths associated with the military from the age of six onward, and it is clear that elite parents in any case were expected to introduce their sons into the social life of the forum, law courts, and baths.[560] They might be pages to lawyers in the courts.[561] The ceremonial entering into the forum when a boy first donned a toga would, of course, be a memorable one for any youth.[562] Adoption ceremonies might take place there, though this could take place at any age.[563] Small slave boys might attend their masters as they went about their daily rounds and indeed were expected to work from a very young age;[564] freeborn children might do the same with their parents, learning their trades or accompanying them as they moved around the city, as was seen in the depiction of a market in Pompeii's forum from the atrium of the Praedia Julia Felix discussed above. Not all slavery or servitude was so kind, however; a slave boy who had been beaten and mangled by his master, a money-lender, incited a mass protest against debt bondage.[565] The education of young pupils might take place in and around the grounds of the forum, often in the overhangs of the porticos. Livy suggests that having the schools near the forum was an old custom; it was the place where Appius Claudius

[558] Hdn. 4.2.
[559] Currie 1996 for the arch at Benevento. The debate over the identification of the children on the friezes of the Ara Pacis is longstanding.
[560] Laurence 2017, 29-30; Vuolanto 2013.
[561] Pet. *Sat.* 5.
[562] Sen. *Ep.* 4.2; Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 14.
[563] App. *B Civ.* 3.2.14 for the adoption of Octavian by Caesar and the tradition that this event take place in front of the praetors with witnesses present.
[564] August. *Conf.* 6.15; see Sigismund-Nielsen 2013 for a larger consideration of slave and lower-class children.
[565] Livy 8.28.

first noticed and then attempted to seize the maiden Verginia, said to be on her way to school.[566] Philosophy was, at least at one point, taught in the forum, and much later Augustine complains of the practice during his time, arguing that the continued teaching of ancient texts and mythology like that of Homer, at public expense even, was leading children into sin.[567] In leisure, children might have played as gladiators or gambled with their friends, suggesting they were well aware of these events taking place in the city center.[568] Indeed, there is no reason to think the many game boards found in the streets and fora of the Roman Empire could not as easily been utilized by children as adults.

Recently, scholarly work looking at graffiti made by children has established their presence epigraphically in the public spaces of the city. For the most part, graffiti made by children are identified through their location closer to the ground as well as its subject matter and design.[569] The alphabet written at a low level, for example, may indicate the learning or practice of writing in public spaces (a premise that would correlate well with the schooling taking place in the public spaces of a city described above).[570] In Pompeii, these alphabets have been found on walls and columns from buildings ranging from the Eumachia building and Macellum in the forum to the palaestra near the amphitheater and everywhere in between (102 alphabets have been recorded and published thus far). While the majority are found in the Great Palaestra (a multifunctional open public space in its own right), the discovery of several graffiti in the buildings and streets in and around the forum of Pompeii is another source of evidence to

[566] Livy 3.4; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.28
[567] Quint. *Inst.* 12.2.8; August. *Conf.* 1.26. At one point it apparently banned from the forum and only allowed to be practiced in specific schools (August. *De civ. D.* 6).
[568] Tonor 2017 for an excellent discussion of child leisure in the urban environment. The Sarcophagus of Lucius Aemilius Daphnus depicts children beneath a portico, likely in a forum, reenacting many of the common activities undertaken by their elders, including gaming and declaiming.
[569] Huntley 2017 suggests that 161 out of the 545 pictorial graffiti recorded at Pompeii, Herculaneum and the villas of San Marco and Arianna should be seen as produced by children rather than adults.
[570] Huntley 2011, Garraffoni and Laurence 2013.

confirm the presence (and perhaps the teaching and leisure) of children in these spaces.[571] In the same vein, Laurence suggests that the low height of children would have made the inscriptions on statue bases situated in these public spaces more tactile and impactful as they were learning how to read this kind of lettering, even if they never learned how to read other types of script.[572]

3.11 Conclusion

The above is broad overview of the many activities which must have taken place in the piazza spaces of Roman Italy as seen through the surviving textual sources. Though it is certainly not exhaustive,[573] the hope is that it has given an overall feel of the multifunctionality of these public areas so vital to the urban environment. They are not only elite civic spaces, areas for political messaging and wrangling, for lawsuits and oratory; they are truly spaces for the occupants of the city. They are spaces where a rural farmer might set up shop for the almost-weekly market, or a young elite (and eventually non-elite) might swear his military oaths, dedicating the next umpteen number of years to the defense of his city. They are spaces in which a private slave might go to pick up an item for his master, while a public one, cleaning up from the procession of the day before, sweeps the steps to the city's major temple. They are spaces in which a graffitist might paint disparaging words in the darkness of the night, or a magistrate post the laws to be voted on in the light of the day. Children might go to school in the same porticos which lovers haunt in the evening. All the while the daily business of the city goes on.

---

[571] The same may be true of the forum of Herculaneum, where a graffito has been found in the so-called "forum baths" of the city near the basilica (Huntley 2011, 85), but the lack of excavation of the city center makes such a statement difficult to prove.

[572] Laurence 2017, 33-34. He also proposes that the low height of neighborhood altars, fountains, and bars, almost always situated at intersections within the city grid, were also designed for children of a certain age to be able to utilize and enjoy. This would seem to continue to suggest the ubiquity of children in all sorts of public areas around the city.

[573] Though one reading it may feel exhausted at this point.

While this chapter focused on our textual sources, the next delves into the archaeology of these spaces, considering how various features of the built environment come together to shape daily life within piazza spaces. Influenced by A. Rapoport's concepts of feature permanency, these are divided into several groups based on their impact on movement, activity, and the rhythms of life: features such as buildings and porticos which frame a piazza, those such as statues and fountains which may influence activity in a certain portion of the area, and, most transitory of all, overlooked features like trash, vegetation, and shade which might impact a space during certain moments of the day or certain times of the year. When thinking about these features from an everyday, experiential mindset rather than an elite, political lens, we can draw closer to what it would have been like to utilize these spaces in the Roman world.

Chapter 4 : Architectural Feature Types and Spatial Influence in Roman Fora

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 focused on textual descriptions of activities which took place in fora across Italy, sometimes combined with evidence from epigraphic or material sources. This chapter instead focuses mainly on architecture. With a different type of evidence, a different type of approach is required. Rather than the thematic organization of fora spaces based on functionality as utilized above, in this chapter I approach the archaeological evidence from my version of Rapoport's division of architectural features based on spatial permanence (see Chapter 2.5.1). Instead of focusing on the spatial permanence of a feature, however, my new division focuses on the spatio-temporal impact of features on the activity and movement taking place within a piazza space. What emerges here is also a tripartite division of features and characteristics, though these lines are naturally malleable.

First is a consideration of features which shape the boundaries of piazza space, which I have designated framework-feature elements. This naturally includes a consideration of how the street grid and piazza spaces interact with one another, how and where streets enter into an open, public space and what this means for how it may be utilized. Unsurprisingly, these entrances are often monumentalized over time and become markers in the urban landscape for those who may be unfamiliar with the environment. It also includes the various structures and buildings which traditionally ring these spaces, whether temples, shops, or porticoes. In exploding the nodal piazza, these structures become nodes in their own way, creating an internal network within the

piazza itself in terms of activity and movement. These space-shaping features also include a generally under-discussed component of piazza spaces that nevertheless has the largest footprint of any feature present: the pavement or surface upon which individuals and traffic tread on daily. The variety of ways a space may be divided up according to its pavement, and the subtext of the material used, certainly has a role to play in this discussion.

Second in my division are the features which might fall into Rapoport's semifixed-feature elements: those which are somewhat less permanent than the structures shaping the space. Here, I designate them "local-feature elements" and view them as physical features internal to a piazza space which impact portions of the area in terms of movement and activity. In this category are statues and their bases, water features, benches and more permanent vegetation like gardens and trees. These become points of interaction and engagement, even if they do not sit on the boundaries of the space the way that shops or administrative buildings often do. While a statue, for example, may represent a certain individual or certain moment in a city's history, reflecting a portion of the civic or social identity of a group of individuals, it is also a physical object with its own social biography that can play many other roles over the course of a day, ranging from an obstacle to movement to an agreed-upon meeting place to a place to shade oneself from the Italian heat. While the boundary-forming features may reflect social choices over a longer period (with the slow enclosure of fora spaces over the centuries of the republican and imperial periods as the most notable) these semi-fixed features represent choices made over a shorter period. Where to place public benches may not be a thrilling decision in comparison to where to erect the next great civic temple, but it would have directly affected the lives of more individuals on a daily level.

Finally, I will address the subjects which I have designated transitory features. These are generally overlooked features of the built environment due to the difficulty of recognizing them archaeologically, though their presence is more often discussed in literary descriptions (both ancient ones such as the satires of Horace and Juvenal and modern multisensory studies). This group includes features which may change over the course of a single day or in conjunction with particular events, such as the presence or absence of trash, shade, weather, traffic or requirements for special events. Questions such as "What may a piazza be like *after* a procession has gone through the area" or "How may activity in one of these spaces be altered by, say, a thunderstorm in comparison to a hot day" are rarely considered, even when textual evidence is available.[574] While these questions are of course difficult to answer, some hypotheses based on a combination of archaeological, textual, and ethnographic evidence may, at the least, provoke some interesting avenues for further thought and discussion as well as a greater focus on these areas in future excavations.

The following sections focus primarily on the first and third feature types described above, the framing-feature elements and the transitory-feature elements, while preliminary thoughts are given for local-feature elements.[575] This chapter is somewhat of an experiment, combining different types of evidence from a variety of sources with the goal of shedding light on some of the less considered features of open public spaces. The goal is to provide a framework for future, more intricate studies of individual sites. While most cities do not have the

[574] These questions also arise in the following chapter on the Roman triumph.

[575] I have chosen to exclude the second feature type, regional-feature elements, in this work for two reasons, one practical and one personal. Practically, these regional-feature elements are the architectural features most likely to no longer survive *in situ*, making understanding their influence on a real-world level more difficult (although I believe there is still much that could be done theoretically). On a personal level, the evidence available comes primarily from Italian site reports, which have been difficult to access over the past several months with the Covid-19 pandemic spreading across the world. I do, however, offer some preliminary thoughts in the section dedicated to these features.

surviving textual records of Rome, most do have entrances, streets, and a variety of buildings surrounding their piazza spaces. While most do not have the surviving architectural remains of Pompeii or Ostia, they may have scattered evidence for architecture or paving stones upon which carts drove and pedestrians walked. And while they may not have a detailed stratigraphic narrative, we can be sure they dealt with issues of waste, heat, flooding, and all the other ups and downs of everyday life in the Roman world. First, however, we turn to the boundaries of these spaces and the features which create them.

4.2 Shaping the Piazza: Framework-feature Elements

4.2.1 Piazzas, Integration, and the Street Grid

In his work on urban armatures, MacDonald defines piazzas as a type of "connective architecture" along with thoroughfares and stairs.[576] Beginning with this relationship between streets and piazza spaces, MacDonald defines two separate types of piazzas based on how these two urban facets engage with one another. He separates "those lying across thoroughfares without blocking them, and those standing beside thoroughfares and connected with them by large, clearly marked entranceways or through open colonnades," noting that ancient fora usually fall into the second category.[577] E.-M. Lackner, on the other hand, divides republican-period fora in her catalogue into nine separate categories based on a combination of where exactly streets intersect with a piazza (*tangential, geschnitten, peripher*) and which axis is intersected (*querachse, längsachse, längs- und querachse*) (Figure 4.1).[578]

[576] MacDonald 1986, 32-66.
[577] MacDonald 1986, 51.
[578] Lackner 2016, 281.

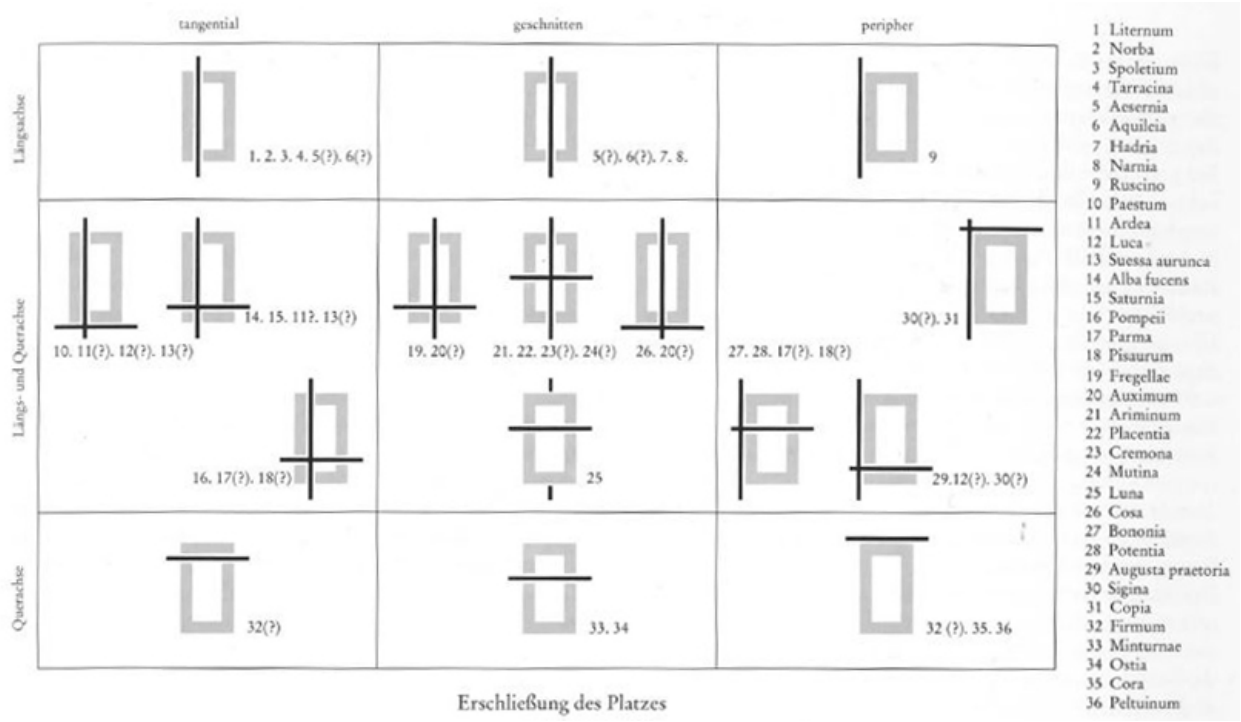

Figure 4.1: Breakdown of republican-period fora based on intersections with the street grid (from Lackner 2008, 281).

Each one of these different relationships with the streets of the city naturally creates a space which differs as one moves into and out of it. Take the example of Liternum, founded, according to Livy, in 194 BCE by a group of 300 Roman colonists.[579] Though the larger city grid is not well known for this small settlement, the area of the forum has been excavated, if not thoroughly published (Figure 4.2).[580] What emerges is a well-organized space able to meet the needs of a variety of people. The main road through the city, which eventually became a relatively important path with the establishment of the via Domitiana at the end of the 1st century CE, passes almost directly through the center of the piazza space.[581] This, in essence, divided the

[579] Livy 34.45.

[580] See Lackner 2016, 106 for full bibliography.

[581] Gargiulo 2002, 205 suggests that the main street of the city actually runs *behind* the capitolium. While theoretically possible, this type of organization (particularly without a separate main cross street running through the piazza) would be a bit strange, though it could predate the encroachment of the public buildings into the space. In any case, the road that does survive would have been the primary entry and exit points either way during its later phases.

space into three parts, a western portion, an eastern portion, and the road itself, which appears to have been distinguished from the two sides by a sort of curb. On either side, at some point in the early imperial period the space was paved with tufo slabs, extensive portions of which are still visible today.[582] The western half of the space seems to have primarily been given over to political matters, with an odeion (and speaker's platform), a capitolium, and a basilica encroaching upon the open public space. The eastern half, in contrast, remained surprisingly open, with little evidence for construction inside of the encircling portico with its tavernae on the

Figure 4.2: Map of Liternum (from Lackner 2008, 354).

[582] De Caro 1981, 90.

northern end, except for a small monument situated across from the odeion.

Though there may have been small entrances situated elsewhere, the two entrances from this street were clearly the main controllers for movement in and out of the space. While it has been suggested that at some point the forum was closed to "through-traffic," at least for carts, this is difficult to prove.[583] In any case, the clear distinguishing of the western and eastern portions of the space from the central street may mirror the sidewalk analogy described above. One entering the piazza space, even for the first time, would be able to distinguish where to go based on their purpose for being there. A merchant would set up on the eastern portion, a politician would head west, and neither would likely dally on the central promenade meant for movement through the space (see below for further discussion on paving in piazza spaces).

Space syntax studies have done the most to consider the centrality of fora spaces within the larger context of the Roman city, although again mostly focusing on sites like Ostia and Pompeii.[584] A useful, and simple, calculation which has been applied in cases like these is *depth*, or the number of streets one must take to move from one place to another.[585] In space syntax studies, the depth is usually calculated from the city gate to the place in question, with the idea that the higher the depth number, the more difficult a place is to access, and so more private it is. In general, fora spaces have a low depth number, indicating a high amount of accessibility. This makes sense with respect to urban planning: you want visitors to your city, particularly those focused on trade, to be able to easily find the economic and social center of the urban environment. While a number of studies have looked at the depth of fora and other locations in popular sites like Pompeii and Ostia, little has been done on a wider range of cities known from

[583] Johannowsky 1976, 405.
[584] Kaiser 2011 also includes Silchester in England and Empúries in Spain in his analysis of extensively excavated sites.
[585] See Bafna 2003 for an excellent article on introductory space syntax terms.

the republican period, despite the fact that the urban grid plan is well known for some of them.[586] Pompeii is the most popular choice for space syntactical studies of all types in the Roman world, despite the result that the area around the forum of Pompeii is much less integrated within the city grid (Figure 4.3).

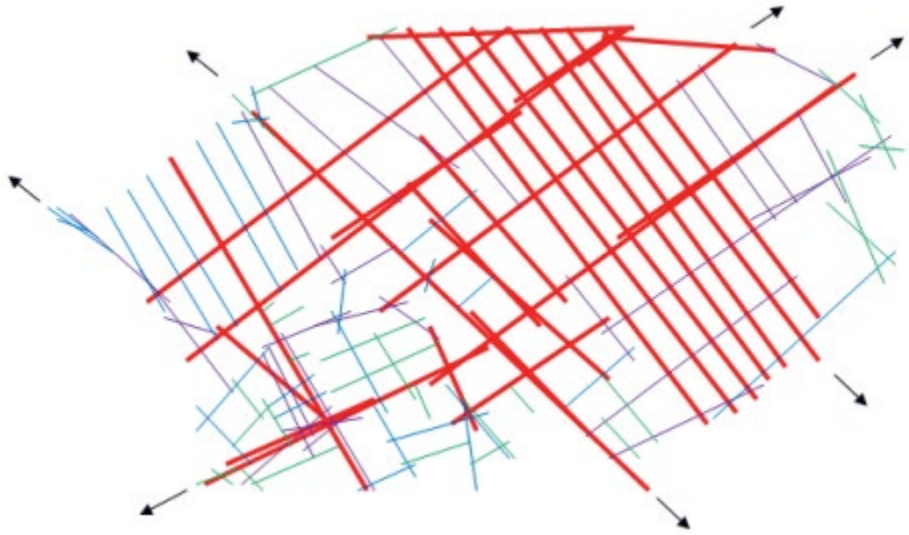

Figure 4.3: Axial map of Pompeii, with red lines showing the most integrated streets and blue lines the least integrated (from Weilguni 2011, Fig. 16).

In looking at the majority of cities containing republican-period fora, numbers such as depth and integration appear fairly straightforward. In nearly every case catalogued by Lackner in her 2008 publication, the forum lies directly on a major street leading from a city gate.[587] What may be more interesting in future studies is the depth *from* the forum to various localities in the city; a smaller depth generally indicates a more integrated city as a whole. In general, a smaller depth would indicate that it is easier to get to any place in the city from any other place, while a greater depth would mean that some zones are "more private" than others.

[586] Pompeii (Laurence 2007); Ostia (Stöger 2011a); Kaiser 2011 does this for both cities.
[587] Lackner 2008, 384-387 for summary of maps.

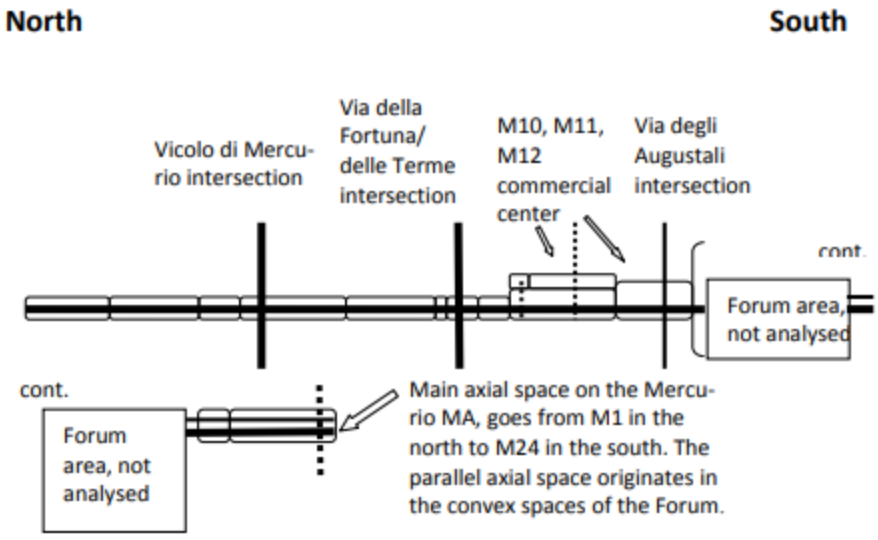

Figure 4.4: Breakdown of the via di Mercurio into a series of axial spaces. Note how the forum space is excluded (from Weilguni 2011, Fig. 22).

A perhaps useful way forward would be to focus on a form of different type of space syntactical study, access-graph analysis. As mentioned in Chapter 2.5.2, access graphs involve the breaking up of interconnected spaces into a network of nodes representing bounded spaces. From this graph of interconnected nodes, various calculations are possible which may indicate characteristics like permeability or integration.[588] While the majority of such studies have focused on interior spaces, as these are able to be broken up into distinct nodes based on rooms, there may be a useful applicability to piazza spaces as well.[589] I believe Weilguni's 2011 work offers a useful model for how this might be accomplished. In her analysis of the major axes of movement in Pompeii, she broke down the sides of the most axial streets of the city into convex space based on how they changed over their length (i.e. area around an intersection vs. commercial area vs domestic area (Figure 4.4). Using these convex spaces, she then calculated measurements such as permeability based on the number of doorways within each convex space,

[588] Grahame 2000 is a classic and useful example focused on an insula in Pompeii.
[589] See Tucker and Naglak 2019 for an example of breaking up rooms into nodes.

with the overall hypothesis that "the simultaneous existence of a high permeability and highly integrated axial spaces that cross a convex space would thus make for a space where there was a strong presence of both inhabitants and strangers and thereby the chance of many different types of interactions between people."[590]

Rather than treating the forum as a "different" kind of space and ignoring it, a similar process could work for the wide number of well-excavated fora spaces in central Italy, breaking up the "nodal" forum into a series of interconnected and permeable convex spaces with varying functionality (just like streets!). Take, for example, the forum of Minturnae, which is mostly excavated (Figure 4.5). By performing a similar analysis for each of these spaces, we may be able to begin to model more clearly how individuals are engaging with and moving around different sections of the space. For spaces where the development over time is reasonably well understood (like Cosa, for example) we may also be able to identify diachronic developments in foci over time and compare one moment in a forum's history to another, the same way the development of internal spaces is often compared.[591] Further, while the results may in some cases return "obvious" results, the quantification of these results will allow the measurements to be compared across sites, time periods, and perhaps cultures.

[590] Others (like Laurence 2007 and Kaiser 2011) have performed similar calculations for the streets of Pompeii, if in a less integrated manner. Weilguni 2011, 80. See pages 75-81 for a fuller description of her methodology.
[591] Performing calculations such as these on a wide number of republican fora is a future research goal.

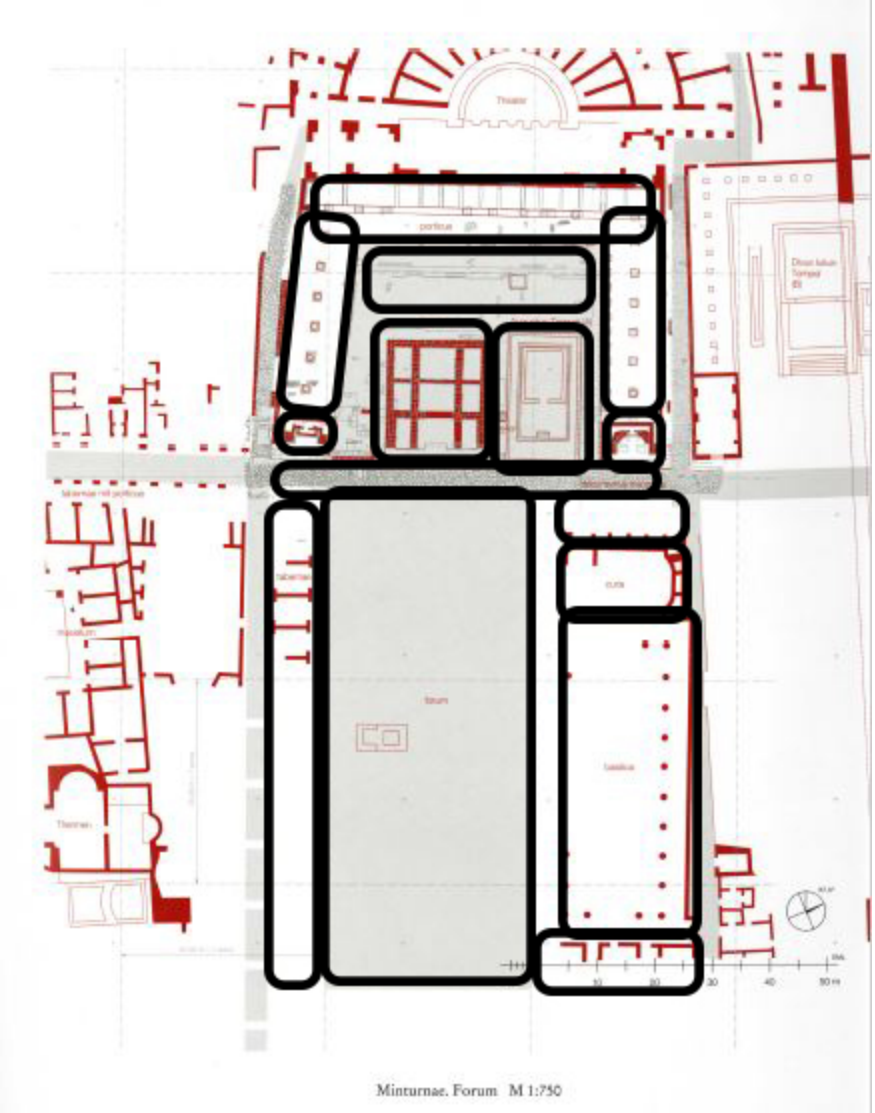

Figure 4.5: Hypothetical breakdown of the forum of Minturnae into convex spaces (background map from Lackner 2008, 359, breakdown by author).

4.2.2 Pavement

While the above focuses on the boundaries of a space, the surface a person or vehicle travels upon is an often-overlooked facet of the ancient built environment. Yet this surface greatly impacts the experience of moving through or within a space.[592] Cato the Elder clearly recognized this fact in his desire to pave the Roman forum with *murex* stones in order to make it

[592] It does not appear, for example, as a role-playing feature in MacDonald's "urban armature" despite its arguable functionality as a connecting feature.

less inviting for leisurely engagements. In the modern world, one immediately recognizes the difference between, for example, driving down a freshly paved road in comparison to one covered with potholes. Similarly, as a pedestrian the material gives you an innate expectation of the purpose of the space; to walk on a sidewalk made of asphalt would, I think, be a strange experience, for many.

Changing the type or material of pavement in an open area, or removing it entirely, is a common tactic in urban environments for controlling movement within a space (Figure 4.6, Figure 4.7). Consider the large public areas often found on college campuses, sometimes called "quads" or "diags." These spaces are generally a mixture of sidewalks and green space, with each type of "paving" coded for particular types of activity. Sidewalks are encoded in our minds at an almost subconscious level as places for movement; green space, on the other hand, is meant for other, often more leisurely, activities, like having a picnic, reclining in a hammock, or throwing a frisbee with friends. When this code is violated, a tear in the social fabric may occur. When leisurely pursuits like kicking a soccer ball encroach upon sidewalks (or, more dangerously, streets), the clashing of activities may cause tempers to rise or be dangerous in general. Similarly, stopping suddenly on a sidewalk, or holding an extended group conversation in the middle of a path, can quickly irritate those needing to move around you to continue on their way. In other cases, this type of disruption is intentional. The blocking of streets and motorways by protesting pedestrians, for example, is a standard misuse of a space meant to have an impact on movement in the built environment and gain recognition for a cause. Beggars and buskers engage in a similar practice, camping out in areas of heavy transit and demanding to be noticed in order to increase their chances for charity.

Figure 4.6: Central campus of the University of Michigan, with designated walking spaces (photo by MLive)

Figure 4.7: Piazza Grande in Montepulciano, Italy. Pedestrian-only spaces are indicated by the red brick while cars are expected to remain on the boundaries of the space, where the material matches the other roads. On market days, stalls are only allowed within the bounded area (photo by Scott Harlow).

In a more subconscious manner, the majority of individuals will walk on a designated sidewalk space rather than through the grass when travelling from one place to another, even when it might be slightly more efficient to cut through a patch of vegetation. Yet when the difference is obscured, for example by a snowfall, the tracks left behind suggest that such "shortcuts" are much more likely to be taken advantage of. If used regularly enough, these shortcuts may become paths in their own right as a consequence of the erosion caused by foot traffic. These paths, generally called "desire paths" or "desire lines" in the context of modern urban design, are most often dirt trails usually connecting two designated walking areas which cut off a few seconds of travel for a pedestrian.[593] Some urban designers have noted this trend and have integrated the phenomenon into their plans by allowing pedestrians to move freely in a space for a period of time and then paving in the walkways which are naturally created.[594] Efficiency, however, may not be the only reason they might emerge. Superstition, where a certain area of space is intentionally avoided for one reason or another, may actually add travel time on a journey.[595] In other cases, less efficient paths may be taken because they are simply not accessible to certain kinds of people or vehicles, perhaps due to stairs or narrow passageways.

Beyond the physicality of the material itself, there may be a culturally constructed symbolism embedded in pavements. Consider the connotation of "dirt roads" in American

---

[593] They need not only be through vegetation, however. The short-lived crosswalk in front of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology is an interesting example, as it was initially a "desire path" for crossing the street, was sanctioned into a crosswalk during a period of construction, and then reverted into a desire path once more with continued use after the removal of the crosswalk (see Ann Arbor's service request page https://seeclickfix.com/issues/5436946-crosswalks for a rowdy debate on the subject). A similar situation took place near the Michigan Law School just a few blocks away, with the cross eventually turned into an official crosswalk (https://www.michigandaily.com/section/ann-arbor/law-students-councilmembers-raise-concerns-over-dangerous-crosswalk-campus).

[594] In other cases, desire paths are systematically converted into paved walkways, such as has taken place on the Drillfield at Virginia Tech. An entire reddit community (r/DesirePath) with nearly 150,000 members is dedicated to this phenomenon for those who desire more information.

[595] It is a common practice to avoid walking across the Michigan "M" found in the Diag, for example, with the superstition that one will not graduate if you perform this action (or that you will fail your first blue book exam).

society, paths that appear often in rural or country areas of the United States but much more rarely in urban or metropolitan spaces. Among a certain segment of the society, these sorts of paths for vehicular and pedestrian traffic represent a world that is more authentic, traditional, and even moral in comparison with the asphalt jungle of elitist coastal cities. They become a symbol of an earlier, "better" time in American history where efficiency and money were not the end goal of every human transaction.[596] On the other hand, cities too can use surfaces to connect with their history. Towns across the United States have chosen to preserve traditional street surfaces in some parts of their city centers instead of covering over them with asphalt or concrete, turning them into a functional monument to the history of the community. Boston, for example, is known for its traditional cobblestone streets, particularly Acorn Street in the Beacon Hill area (sometimes called the most photographed street in the United States), while Philadelphia has preserved cobblestone streets (and their buildings) in Elfreth's Alley, the country's oldest continually used residential neighborhood.[597] Modern Italian towns are not exempt from this memorializing either; Terracina to this day maintains the ancient stone paving of the via Appia as it runs through the middle of the modern city center (Figure 4.8).

What do these ideas have to say about the paving of fora in the Roman world, and how it might influence how certain parts of a space is understood? Predicting and modeling the parameters which influence pedestrian movement and activity is a complicated enterprise in the modern world of urban design, much less the ancient one where all influences may not survive in the textual or archaeological record.[598] That does not mean, however, that some basic theorizing cannot take place.

---

[596] The number of country songs which mention dirt roads are legion.

[597] #66000130 and #66000681, respectively, in the United State's National Register of Historic Places.

[598] See Scovanner and Tappen 2009 for an overview of the various types of pedestrian modeling in modern urban design.

Figure 4.8: Central piazza of Terracina on the spot of the ancient forum. The ancient stone paving of the via Appia still runs through it (photo by author).

Naturally, the best understood development of the surface of a forum space is that of the forum Romanum in Rome (Figure 4.9). The section drawing of a trench by the *equus Domitiani* created by Boni and the materials taken from the excavated stratigraphic layers remain the primary sources for our knowledge of the earliest layers and repeated paving of this space.[599] Though the exact dates are disputed, prior to the mid-7th century BCE the low-lying valley which would eventually become the Roman forum was used primarily as a necropolis for the settlements situated on the surrounding hills. During this time, due to the hydrology of the

[599] Boni 1900, Filippi 2005.

landscape the valley would be flooded for certain parts of the year, making permanent occupation both undesirable and unlikely.[600] It is now generally agreed that, beginning sometime

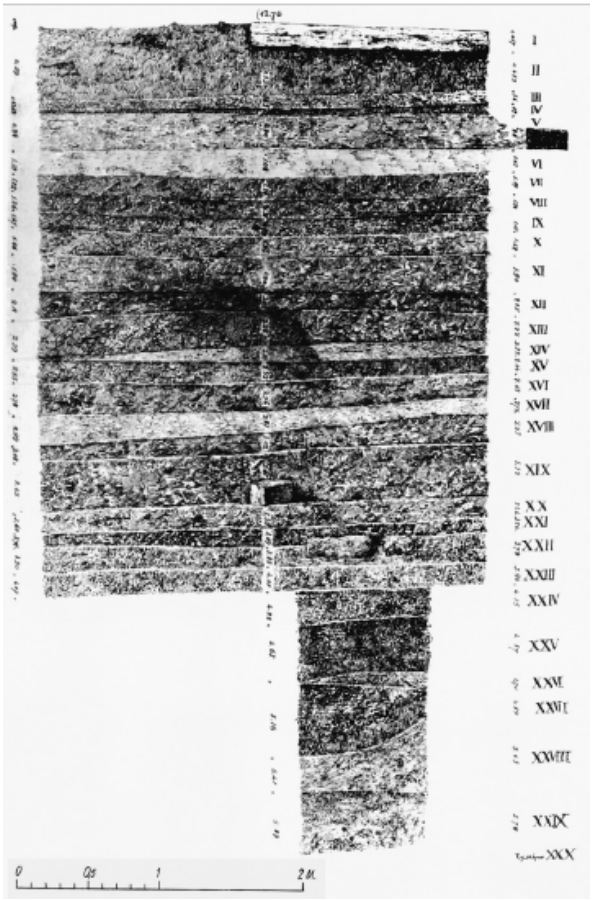

Figure 4.9: Stratigraphic sequence of a sounding in the Roman forum (from Ammerman 2016, Fig. 2).

around 650 BCE, the expanding communities which would eventually become Rome undertook a large reclamation project to raise the level of the space with refuse as well as the fill excavated from the nearby Velabrum (Levels 23-28 in Boni's section).[601] This fill was ultimately covered with a thick layer of gravel (Level 22A), raising the first true "paving" of the Forum to approximately nine meters above sea level. What resulted was, in J. Hopkins' words "an

[600] Gjerstad's evidence for wattle-and-daub huts and other human activity prior to this period has been, for the most part, dismissed (See Ammerman 1990, 632, Gjerstad *ER* I, 48).

[601] As originally proposed by Ammerman 1990, 2011. Colonna 1988, 472 dates the level to the middle of the 7th century, which is generally agreed upon.

artificial, paved, flat expanse stretching in front, with a freshwater stream running through it."[602] A variety of other pavements made of mixtures of pozzolana earth, gravel, and terracotta fragments followed after smaller levels of fill, likely indicating moments of repaving after particularly wet seasons or for general maintenance.[603] This repetition of fill and paving continued periodically into later periods (Levels 21A, 20A, 18, 16, 13, 9, 6, and 3 are all possible paving layers) with the travertine slabs of Augustus sitting on the top.[604] If we assume the initial paving date to fall at roughly 625 BCE and the slabs of Augustus at the end of the 1st century BCE, this means the space was repaved once every 75 years or so. In reality, it makes much more sense that different portions of the space were repaired at different moments in time based on wear and need, and that this particular section may not fully represent the biography of other sections of the city center, but it can still serve as a general guide.

This delay in a more permanent stone paving is not unique to Rome.[605] Alba Fucens contains one of the few fora paved with slabs in the republican period, with surviving portions of several different phases attested across the area (what appears to have been an early polygonal stone surface replaced more rectilinear slabs at some point).[606] Elsewhere, it was common to have the porticoed portion of the forum paved and situated at a slightly higher level (often with a gutter for drainage), while the central space remained more like that of the earlier period Roman

[602] Hopkins 2010, 27-33; Hopkins 2016, 29ff for further elaboration. Carandini 2012 16-17 suggests that Level 24, dated to the second half of the 8th century, should represent the first "paving" of the forum possibly related to some sort of funerary context (see also Filippi 2005, Gusberti 2005). This level, however, would still have been beneath the flood level in the Roman period, making permanent occupation impossible. Ammerman 1990, 643 suggests it may be a localized feature or simply a trial run for the later Level 22A paving.

[603] Hopkins 2016, 34.

[604] Gjerstad *ER* I, 29-43 for descriptions of each layer and a concordance with Boni.

[605] Although, as is noted by Lackner 2008, 273-274 the topic of paving is not often focused on by excavators either during the excavation process or in final reports. She gives a summary of what is known here.

[606] See details in Mertens 1969, 96ff and Plan III.

forum.[607] Eventually, paving your city's forum became a great example of euergetism, such as was the case at the end of the republican period at Brundisium.[608] Prior to this point, these central areas would likely take advantage of local gravel or rock mixed with beaten earth in order to withstand the constant usage and weathering that must have taken place. As with the Roman forum, while the initial construction of the central area may have been a momentous undertaking by the community, the continual repair and refurbishment it must have required would have been smaller scale endeavors done piecemeal.

Thus, at an initial glance there are several different spaces recognizable within a forum organized based upon the material used for the paving. There is the central space (paved with stones or not), the surrounding portico space (generally paved), and the street paving which may or may not go through the entire space. Each type of paving represents a different type of space in the minds of the users and the boundaries between the material types should be recognized as liminal in their own way, with each including an expectation for change.

4.2.3 Looking Forward

Exploring new ways of conceiving piazza spaces within the urban grid opens the door to new research on the city centers of Roman towns within and outside of Italy. Up to the present, the techniques prevalent in considering how individuals interact with the built environment and with each other within the street network have yet to be adapted for open public spaces, yet many of the same interactions which took place on streets are also occurring within piazzas (the very reason why they are often conflated). On the one hand, I believe an adapted version of the space

[607] Or in the so-called "battuto" style, such as at Paestum (Greco and Theodorescu 1987, 18, 77, 81) and Fregellae (Coarelli and Monti 1998, 56).
[608] Merlin 1959, 69.

syntactical methods which have been applied to streets would be a useful step in the right direction for modeling interactions around the boundaries of these spaces. Marking places of more or less permeability and more or less activity will help us to break up piazza spaces into their own networks of sociability and engagement. On the other hand, an increased qualitative, multisensory focus on the implications of varying integration of the street grid with piazzas could offer interesting results, particularly if combined with studies employing viewshed analysis to better understand what could be seen at different moments during one's approach. This could be combined with an increased focus on particular structures and their role in the built environment, like the work on porticoes undertaken by J. Frakes.[609] A bonus to these methodologies is that they do not depend entirely on textual sources to undertake, which do not exist for almost all of the excavated sites, and offer a way to compare sites more fruitfully over space and time.

4.3 Brief Remarks on Local-feature Elements

The second set of features in my tripartite division could be seen as a version of Rapoport's semifixed-feature elements. While for Rapoport these semifixed-feature elements represented parts of the built environment that were less spatially permanent than his fixed-features, and therefore more susceptible to reflecting current ideals and moods of a governing body, my local-feature elements focus on the impact a feature might have within a region of a piazza space. Naturally, there is some overlap; features internal to a space are often (though not always) smaller and more easily changeable in comparison to those that frame a space (which are of course changeable in their own right). Yet these feature types, such as statues, water features,

[609] Frakes 2009.

and vegetation, play an important role in controlling movement and activity through and within piazzas beyond their political or cultural messaging.

In the previous section, the framework of a piazza was split up into convex spaces, offering a different perspective on interpreting open public spaces. Smaller features, however, can be their own attractive nodes within the network of a piazza and may be situated either within a piazza space or along its boundary. The inclusion of these features offers another way to conceive of these spaces and the interactions of their various parts yet have often been left out of scholarly considerations of how public spaces are integrated with the wider urban grid and to forum spaces in general.

These types of features fall somewhat into what W. MacDonald called "way stations," one form of "passage architecture" in his framework.[610] He designated these spaces, which included public fountains, exedras, and porticoed courtyards, as social spaces which lay alongside major avenues for movement, contrasting them with arches which lay on them. Yet his focus is only on their relationship with streets, not when they are integrated within piazza spaces (one of his forms of connective architecture between streets). These features should be recognized as playing their own role in these spaces, attractors for locals and visitors alike, nodes within the network of a piazza space. In this section, I focus on just one of these nodes that is often overlooked in piazza studies, vegetation. Despite a constant presence in both the past and present, its role in the ancient urban environment has yet to truly come to the forefront, despite its importance to modern urban planners.[611]

[610] MacDonald 1986, 99.

[611] An interesting new project (Fox 2018) is focusing on the role of vegetation in the ancient world, beginning with a large database detailing all known mentions of trees in Latin texts (https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/roman_trees/).

4.3.1 Evidence for Vegetation

Returning to our original contrast between paintings and digital reconstructions in the introduction to this work, the subject of vegetation in piazza spaces has been, for the most part, overlooked, particularly by scholars who are urbanists but not archaeobotanists. While non-specialists may not be able to discuss the ins and outs and what type of tree grew where, the compelling fact that vegetation must have existed within many piazza spaces cannot be overlooked. In Rome, the early connection between trees and spaces within the city is reflected in the naming of city regions. Pliny the Elder reports that different portions of Rome were named for the trees that grew there during the early period of the city's history. There was the Precinct of Jupiter of the Beech Tree (*Fagutalis Iovis*) where beeches once grew, the Oak-Forest Gate (*Porta Querquetulana*), and the Chestnut Hill (*Aesculatum*) among other localities.[612] Though these trees were likely cut down and used for construction or built over, their names remained for posterity.

More specifically to the Roman forum, Pliny the Elder's interest in natural history is also helpful. In his discussion of plants in book 15 of his work, the author mentions a famous fig-tree growing in the Roman forum itself. This tree is worshiped as sacred and is the location for the burial of things having been struck by lightning.[613] It was also supposedly maintained as a remembrance of the fig-tree under which the famous *lupa* nursed the infant Romulus and Remus, with a bronze statue commemorating the event situated nearby, *and* was meant to signify an upcoming ill-omen if it died (after which another tree was, of course, replanted by the appropriate priests). Pliny reports a second fig-tree in front of the temple of Saturn (though this

[612] Plin. *HN* 16.15.37.

[613] Plin. *HN* 15.20. Though perhaps not people (see discussion in the previous chapter on how people struck by lightning should be buried where they stood).

one was removed because it threatened to knock over a statue of Silvanus), and a third right in the middle of the forum, situated where Curtius had filled up the yawning portal with his sacrifice. In a more miraculous manner, palm trees supposedly sprang up in the forum and around the temple to Magna Mater on the Palatine in 38 BCE, signifying the return of the favor of the goddess after a series of portentous events had taken place.[614] Elsewhere, an ancient nettle tree situated in the precincts of Vulcan was supposedly planted by Romulus himself and therefore dated to the earliest period in the city's history. Its roots allegedly reached to the forum of Caesar. Nearby was apparently a cypress of equal age, which fell down during the age of Nero.[615]

Not all vegetation needs to be so miraculous. During the rioting after the assassination of Caesar, the general's body was carried to the forum and burned on funeral pyre made of pieces of wood collected nearby. While some of this wood came from features (like benches) in the area, there is no reason not to think that easily-accessible vegetation in the forum itself was harvested to add fuel to the fire.[616] Though there are fewer literary references to vegetation outside of Rome, reflecting the fewer references in general to piazza spaces outside of the capital of the empire, they must have existed. Verres, to give a single morbid example, apparently used a wild olive-tree that grew in the forum of Aetna to hang Nymphodorus when the man had the gall to ask for his property to be restored.[617] In some cases, vegetation would play a role in special events or be planted to show off Rome's power. Pliny relates that trees taken from a conquered land might be part of the triumphal procession through the city, though it is unclear exactly how

---

[614] Cass. Dio 48.43.
[615] Plin. *HN* 16.86.
[616] App. *B Civ.* 2.148; the term used here is ξύλον, which may indicate cut wood sitting around for construction purposes, but the term can mean tree wood or trees (e.g. Xen. Anab. 6.4.5). In any case, it seems as if they were using anything wooden they might find in the general area, perhaps chopping down trees.
[617] Cic. *Verr.* 2.57.

many times this took place in Roman history.[618] He also reports that Vespasian and Titus made a point to plant the balsam tree in Rome to the benefit of the Roman people, a plant only before seen in Judea.[619] Pompey's association with vegetation seems to have been particularly well-documented; not only was he said to be the first to carry a tree (the ebony) through Rome in triumph, he also dedicated a portico to Venus Victrix which included a garden as a main feature.[620] Supposedly, this focus on plants and gardens dates back to the earliest kings of Rome, who cared for plants with their own hands. [621] In this way, plants could be seen as a form of power, to abscond with a people's plants was to enslave them as much as the individuals of that region.[622] In any case, the aesthetic desirability of at least some bit of vegetation within these spaces is likely, if only for a moment's shade from the summer sun.[623]

There is also archaeological evidence for plant remains appearing within fora spaces beginning from an early date, associated primarily with food processing and trading activities. This is most notable in the case in the Roman forum itself, which has had some archaeobotanical study of its earlier layers (in contrast to many excavations of piazza spaces). Excavations of the archaic levels of the forum and the palatine from the late 1980s produced almost 8000 ecoartifacts of charred plant remains.[624] These included a number of glume wheats, free-threshing wheats, barley, legumes, fruits (including olive, grape, and fig remains), as well as a range of other wild plants. These results suggest that a wide range of foodstuffs was cultivated, transported, and consumed during this period when urban environments were just beginning to

[618] Plin. *HN* 12.111-113.
[619] See Totelin 2012 for an extended discussion of the balsam and other plants as biographical objects in the ancient world.
[620] Plin. *HN* 37.12-14; Kuttner 1999.
[621] Plin. *HN* 19.169.
[622] Totelin 2012.
[623] See below for a discussion on temporary shading structures.
[624] Costantini and Giorgi 2001.

grow together and collaborate (see Chapter 6) and that open public spaces were centers of production and trade in this regard (even if the crops were only grown in a larger regional context). In any case, more extensive archaeobotanical studies in piazza spaces are sure to offer more evidence for activities such as food production and feasting in all periods.

Finally, the natural life cycle of vegetation, whether intentionally grown in a garden or growing wildly wherever it might spring up, is closely integrated with the rhythms of the year. Indeed, it is one area where the concept of rhythmanalysis has had an impact. In a consideration of the rhythmic qualities of garden cultivation in Neolithic Greece and the Balkans, Mlekuž connects the tasks of gardening to both the rhythmic nature of the year and to other aspects of social life: "people who work and associate in gardens have patterns of rhythmic movement and association with other people, animals and other places, and these constitute other aspects of their identities."[625] Ultimately, the flow of activities creates connections (material and intangible) between the garden, the inhabitants of a settlement, and physical occupation space itself, which, when combined with daily and annual rhythms of the people/place, creates a "biography" or accumulated history for the garden space which may be able to be traced archaeologically. Although yet to make its mark in classical archaeology, expanded thinking on the biographies of plant life both rurally and within urban gardens could add a new dimension to understanding certain aspects of daily life in Roman world.[626]

4.4 Transitory-feature Elements

The third and final group of elements in my framework are "transitory-feature elements," those that appear and disappear in conjunction with certain finite rhythms or unique events. This

[625] Mlekuž 2010, 198.
[626] See also Wilson 2016 and Jashemski et al. 2017.

is a group of features which Rapoport, in general, chose not to include within his larger framework, focusing instead on the more permanent structures which create the built environment. His one nod to the ever-evolving user experience within these spaces is an acknowledgement of the human element and how the presence or absence of certain people and the activities which they undertake can impact a space.[627] While this is a useful consideration, we must also consider the myriad non-human aspects of the physical environment, both emerging from specific activities and naturally occurring, which are present over the course of cyclical periods of time or in certain moments.

There are the aspects of the world which make each day familiar yet unique. Importantly, these include both natural/non-human and man-made elements of the spatial experience. In the natural world, this includes the presence of animals in fora, mentioned in Chapter 3 with regard to omens but they were undoubtedly constantly present in these open spaces. Also often neglected in three-dimensional scholarly reconstructions of Roman piazza spaces is the role that vegetation might play within and around open space, offering not only aesthetic value but vital places for shade in the hot Italian sun.[628] Vegetation, discussed above, might blur the line between Rapoport's semi-fixed-feature elements and my transitory-feature elements, generally static in their placement within a piazza space but evolving through the natural environmental rhythms of the year.

The falling of the leaves upon the ground brings up other transitory-feature elements. What of trash and the human and animal waste that must have constantly been present on the streets and pavements of the city, particularly during and after special events or weekly markets?

---

[627] Rapoport 1977, 1982.

[628] Though they are prevalent in the gaming world, which does its best to immerse the user in a reconstructed space. See, for example, *Assassin's Creed: Odyssey* for a take on the Greek world.

What of the temporary structures and other types of decorations necessary for these events to take place, whether weekly markets or gladiatorial games?[629] These kinds of events also raise questions of accessibility; while the streets and entrances considered above in Chapter 4.3 define the baseline for accessibility to a public space, temporary barriers and other kinds of hindrances (social or physical) could be used to control an area for certain amounts of time. While there is certainly more to be discussed about the great variety of transitory-feature elements, the section below offers a first consideration of the evidence in Roman piazza spaces and the impact they would have had on daily life.

4.4.1 Temporary Barriers, Shade, and Other Structures

Chapter 4.3 considered issues of access with respect to the fora spaces of Roman Italy, with a focus on how streets intersect with piazzas at designated entrances and how these openings define a basic level of movement into and out of a space. Yet there are a variety of temporary features that could be set up in and around piazza spaces that might impact movement, directly or indirectly. Though no longer surviving physically, in some cases these features leave archaeological traces or are mentioned in textual evidence. Though it has been argued that there is an increase in these types of barriers and "controlled spaces" beginning in the imperial period (see Newsome's *through* vs *to* dichotomy in Chapter 1.2), an increase in the desire to control access to open spaces is already present in the republican period (see extended discussion in Chapter 6.4). It could, then, be seen as a difference in scale and not in kind.

Small pits of unknown function have been discovered in various fora spaces in Italy, including at Cosa and in Rome. While initially thought to have indicated locations where trees

[629] Or, as discussed in Chapter 5, triumphal processions.

may have been planted, it is now generally accepted that they indicate locations where temporary structures or barriers may have been put up. At Cosa specifically, some have interpreted them as related to voting.[630] Those in the Roman forum have been interpreted as anchoring points for ropes which would help secure the temporary structures used in gladiatorial games.[631] The remaining pits then could be seen as similar to postholes; the posts are gone, the pits survive. Coarelli, on the other hand, has consistently argued that they are part of a ritual topography within the urban landscape, though I would agree with Mouritsen who argues that they should be seen as multifunctional.[632] In a similar vein, Newsome suggests that these pits marked locations where *cancelli* or temporary barriers used for crowd control may have been set up, perhaps similar to the barriers set up for the Palio in Siena (Figure 2.2) or modern parades (Figure 5.9).[633] With the paving of the Roman forum in the Augustan period with travertine slabs, these pits seem to have been covered over and not renewed. This suggests that whatever purpose they served in the republican period, it was no longer needed. Although only a hypothesis, the creation of permanent entertainment structures in the late republican period may have made the temporary structures of which these pits were a part unnecessary.

While barriers such as what Newsome suggests may have been present for particular events or for crowd control, there is the general notion that the forum was meant to be an open space that all were welcome in. We see this notion in the reactions of Romans when access is somehow limited, such as when Marcus Antonius was said to have situated armed men around all the entrances to the forum and then barricaded them off in order to ensure that his desired

630 Newsome 2011b, was an invaluable resource for this discussion; Brown 1980, fig. 37 for Cosa.
631 Welch 2007, 36-8. Vitruvius describes the need for mechanical devices in Book 10.3.
632 Coarelli 2005 *contra* Mouritsen 2004.
633 Newsome 2011b, 301.

legislation would pass.[634] This is a repeated performative political tactic on both sides in the late Republic, with evidence that the crowd erected barriers to keep Dolabella from passing laws on debt in 47 BCE.[635] These barriers could be even more temporary than wooden structures, for example textual evidence suggests ropes could be used to control access and movement, either for confrontational or more mundane purposes.[636] Metal gates, permanent or more temporary, were also known. Coins from the mid-1st century BCE show a gated Sacrum Cloacinae (Figure 4.10), while the Mausoleum of Augustus also supposedly had a metal fence around it (much like today!).[637]

Figure 4.10: Shrine of Venus Cloacina. Denarius minted in Rome, 42 BCE (RRC 494/42a) (image from the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online).

634 Cic. *Phil.* 5.4. This act is usefully compared to the defense of the forum in wartime. See Chapter 3.5.
635 Cass. Dio 42.32.3.
636 Contrast App. *B Civ.* 3.30 with Dion. Hal. *Ant Rom.* 7.59.1.
637 Strabo 5.3.8.

Other temporary structures had nothing to do specifically with access to a space but are still tied to demonstrating control over the environment. One type of temporary structure in particular shows the control over not only the built environment but also the natural world: temporary shade structures. These structures were built repeatedly in Rome over the course of its history, supplementing the porticoes which also provided temporary shade. Cassius Dio states it clearly when talking about a moment during the reign of Caligula: "and in the meantime they suffered under the burning heat, which became so severe that covers were spread over the entire forum."[638] This heat was not a once in a lifetime event: just a few years earlier Marcellus the nephew of Augustus had shaded the entire forum for an entire summer at his own expense.[639] It is even possible that in some cases such shading could extend far beyond the forum itself. Plutarch suggests it may have been a common occurrence when games were given in the Circus Maximus that the entire street from the forum to the Circus would be covered over.[640] Similar to the moving shade of the tower of Siena across the Piazza del Campo (Figure 2.1), these shade structures would open up more of the open space to extended activities, encouraging pedestrians to remain rather than to quickly finish their activities and return indoors.[641]

Finally, certain temporary features in the built environment might have to do with an event on a particular day or for a particular period of time. Temporary decorations meant to display the wealth and glory of Rome and its people sometimes would appear in the Roman forum, and it would not be surprising if similar practices took place elsewhere. Cicero mentions

---

[638] Cass. Dio 59.23.9: *κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ καυμάτων ἐταλαιπώρησαν: τοσαύτη γὰρ ὑπερβολὴ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπερταθῆναι.*

[639] Cass. Dio 53.31.

[640] Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 5.

[641] Cass. Dio 59.12 also reports that the Rostra could be covered by awnings on hot summer days. Livy reports that the practice of covering the forum dated back to the period of the kings of Rome (1.35). Other structures, like theaters and amphitheaters, might also be covered by temporary shades when desirable (as in Figure 3.11).

these decorations quite a bit in his discourse against Verres, the former governor of Sicily. In normal times, aediles were in charge of organizing and maintaining certain types of temporary decorations in the forum. These decorations included statues and other works of art in particular, which might be loaned from an elite's private collection.[642] The forum also might be decorated for specific festivals or processions, such as the Roman Games or a triumph.[643] In criticizing Verres, Cicero accuses him of displaying the spoils plundered from Sicily in the forum, saying that it was against custom to flaunt booty taken from Rome's own people.[644]

Paintings and other images were another common type of temporary decoration. Images of victory in war, such as those displayed on placards during the Roman triumph (Figure 3.10) might afterwards be set up in the forum for some period of time, such as one with a Gaul sticking out his tongue in a very unbecoming fashion.[645] Augustus and Tiberius seem to have continued this practice in the Forum of Augustus.[646] Other images may have been more permanent attractions or even advertisements. A painting of a Gaul on a Cimbric shield seemed to have indicated the location of a certain shop within the forum, though it is unclear if the image itself was related to the business.[647] Along with other, perhaps less authorized, graffiti (see Chapter 3.7), it is clear that the walls of the forum and its surrounding buildings were not necessarily the whitewashed, clean structures shown in digital reconstructions. Indeed, the presence of temporary features, structures, and images suggests a more frequently changing space, not only for special events but in everyday life.

---

[642] Cic. *Verr.* 4.3.6-7. These types of temporary decorations could be much grander, like the real marble columns Scaurus brought to use in his temporary theater (Plin. *HN* 36.5, 50, 189).
[643] Cic. *Verr.* 1.54.141.
[644] Cic. *Verr.* 4.57.126.
[645] Plin. *HN* 35.7-8
[646] Plin. *HN* 35.10, 93-94.
[647] Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.38.

4.4.2 Animals

The subject of animals in open public spaces generally focuses either on the topic of *spectaculum* and the variety of wild beast hunts that could take place in the temporary structures which were built in the piazza spaces of the Roman world (before permanent structures) or on their role in the marketplace and as a part of Roman diet. But their presence goes far beyond these two areas alone. While there would certainly be animals for slaughter, on the hoof and already butchered (pig, chicken, cattle, goat, sheep, probably in that order with the occasional others like duck or fish), there could also be dogs, cats, horses and other pack animals, wild birds like pigeons, rodents, and amphibians or other lizards depending on the environment (not to mention the variety of insects common to Italy). Wild animals like deer or wolves might be present, if rarely enough that their appearance could be seen as an omen (see Chapter 3.7). In general, then, there would be both economic animals (food, transit, bone industry) and "commensals" (pets and pests) that were attracted to human activities but not directly introduced by them.

The economic role of animals in piazza spaces was well recognized by the Romans themselves, with localities such as the forum boarium (cattle market) named after the primary animal available there (see Chapter 3.3 for other examples). Studies of the Roman diet have provided the majority of information on this topic. A study of over thirty thousand specimens from fifty-two archaeological contexts in Rome and neighboring areas suggests that while sheep, goats, and cattle remained important consumption items, pork grew in importance as part of the diet of Rome's inhabitants (in contrast with other nearby towns) over the course of the

republican and early imperial periods.[648] In a well in what would become the Forum of Caesar in the city center with contexts dated to the 6th-5th centuries BCE, for example, of the 107 bones found, more than 60% were pig remains.[649] A taberna nearby from the 1st century BCE had nearly 100% pig remains, though with many fewer bones in total.[650] This increase in pork in the Roman diet seems to be somewhat confirmed by textual evidence, with Suetonius reporting that Romans received it for free during games at the Colosseum.[651] In any case, the consumption of pig, sheep, goats, and cattle as staples of the Roman diet would ensure their constant presence in and around the open public spaces of urban environments. It is, after all, easier to have the future meals walk themselves to the market to then be slaughtered rather than slaughtering them elsewhere and having to transport the meat.[652]

Other faunal remains offer hints for other animal types in and around piazza spaces. This includes a variety of exotic animals which would have been a part of various Roman games (and possibly consumed afterwards).[653] There is evidence for lions, leopards, ostriches, bears, camels, and other animals in the textual and archaeological record. Beyond this, images from material culture may aid in helping to understand what animals were in and around the public spaces of a city. The concept of "pets" or at least the training of animals for a specific purpose was well-recognized in antiquity in both Greece and Rome.[654] Dogs were the most common, which were

[648] See De Grossi Mazzorin and Minniti 2017 for an overview of these excavations and an extended bibliography.
[649] De Grossi Mazzorin 2014.
[650] Minniti 2012. Another cistern dated to this period in the area had 65.8% pig remains, in comparison to 34% sheep-goat and cattle (Minniti 2014). Excavations in the Forum of Nerva produced similar results, with 77% pig bones.
[651] Suet. *Dom.* 4.12, 7.1.
[652] Other animals also seem to have been for sale to eat, if less frequently. Chicken, for example, was apparently a known quantity but not common (De Grossi Mazzorin 2005).
[653] De Grossi Mazzorin and Minniti 2017
[654] Bodson 2000.

known to be bred for certain traits by the Romans for specific purposes.[655] Columella divided dogs into four types, each with an agricultural role: hunting dogs, farm dogs, guard dogs, and sheepdogs.[656] But urban dogs also appear in our textual sources and material culture. Lucretius comments on the presence of urban guard dogs as well as the common practice of owning small pet dogs.[657] Various domesticated equids could also serve a dual productive-companion status, there is extensive evidence for the intentional burial of horses and dogs.[658] Plutarch mentions the value of cats for killing mice and other small animals (which could be useful in an urban environment filled with waste), and pet birds are a common trope in poetry of all kinds.[659] Pigeon cages in particular apparently could be found on the rooftops of some cities.[660] Finally, snakes and other reptiles are mentioned in our textual sources, if infrequently.[661]

While these animals may have been in some cases confined to domestic spaces, it is likely that many roamed freely around urban environments, including in the piazza spaces of the city. Indeed, urban environments of the medieval period may be useful comparanda, since at that time there were similar issues with domestic and wild animals. In one well from 15th-century London, for example, the bones of more than 64 individual animals were discovered, including mice, voles, shrews, weasels, and hedgehogs.[662] Moving forward, a fuller examination of both

[655] MacKinnon 2014 provides an excellent overview of the textual and material evidence for animals in Greek and Roman culture.
[656] *Rust*. 7.12.2. There is also evidence that dogs were sometimes used in ritual sacrifices (Moses 2020).
[657] Lucr. 5.1063-72 and 4.997. Petronius (*Sat*. 64, 71-2) and Martial (1.83, 1.109, 7.20) also mention pet dogs.
[658] E.g. Day 1984 and Reese 1995.
[659] Plut. *Mor*. 959. Plin. *HN* 10.120.
[660] Varro *Rust*. 3.7.
[661] Martial 8.87.7; Sen. *De Ira* 2.31.5.
[662] Pluskowski 2017 as well as other contributions in Choyke and Jaritz 2017.

textual sources and other types of material culture could prove fruitful in filling out the picture of what kinds of animals may have been present in open spaces.[663]

4.4.3 Trash and Other Waste

The refuse of urban living does not often appear in our reconstructions of open public spaces, but it must have been omnipresent, despite Rome's propensity towards sanitation.[664] A single temporary market, one event among many, can produce piles of trash and waste that must be taken care of before other activities can happen in that space. Animal waste too must be considered, particularly in public spaces. Above, I discussed the large number of animals that must have been in and around the piazza spaces of urban environments, and each of these animals would have produced its own waste. A person entering into the forum boarium at certain moments of its history, then, must have had quite an olfactory experience to accompany the other senses. The same would have been true for any market which included a variety of animals for sale or for consumption. Yet the waste does not end here; though not as prevalent as in modern times, pigeons would have been a constant wherever humans and trash gathered, making the glories of Rome, immortalized in statues and monuments across the Roman forum, their own private nesting grounds. Not to mention the general amount of dust and dirt that must have covered the streets and pavements (see discussion of pavement above).

The Romans had a variety of methods for dealing with waste within the city, which were more or less successful in combination. The Cloaca Maxima, built early in Rome's history to aid

---

[663] See, for example, the catalogues of Jashemski and Meyer 2002, which would be a good reference to start this process from.

[664] Immortalized in Monty Python's *Life of Brian*, of course. The subject of refuse of various kinds is a growing subject of scholarship (e.g. Havlicek and Morcinek 2016, Hughes 2014, 163-182), and Rome is commonly used as an example in modern textbooks on the subject of waste management (Pichtel 2005, 22-23; Kelly 1973).

with the draining of the swampy forum area, is perhaps the most famous example. Although originally open to the air (creating a further olfactory impact on the space), it was later enclosed with tunnels up to four meters in height, allowing for inspections via boat to take place.[665] Some waste was simply thrown into the Tiber, which eventually needed to be dredged to ensure it did not build up.[666] Other household waste might be collected in large pits or taken outside and dumped. It was apparently common for waste to simply be thrown out a window, particularly at night, and left to lie on the street until the rain could wash it away.[667] Laws had to be implemented to discourage such actions. In terms of private houses, owners were supposed to keep the areas directly in front of their residences clean, though it is unclear how effectively this was punished.[668]

What about public spaces? While not specifically mentioned in textual sources, there must have been a regular refuse collection, probably under the control of the aediles and later the *Ivviri virarum curandarum,* a group of civil servants put in charge of cleaning the streets.[669] These would most likely have had public slaves working beneath them to ensure an efficient job was done (see Chapter 3.9). The *Tabula Heracleensis* suggests that carts could be used for this work, similar to modern day garbage trucks (*CIL* I 593). These materials, often organic in nature and including a variety of pot sherds it seems, would be taken outside the walls of the city and dumped. From here, those needing fertilizer for soil in rural areas or sherds for various secondary functions might collect it and put it to good use once again.[670]

---

[665] Hopkins 2007, 1-2.
[666] Suet. *Aug*. 30.1.
[667] Juv. 3.268ff; *Dig*. 9.3.
[668] *Dig*. 43.10; Plut. *Mor*. 811b.
[669] Weeber 2006.
[670] Dicus 2014 for this impact on archaeological assemblages, with a focus on Pompeii.

4.4.4 Conclusion

Enhancing scholarly focus on the subject of transitory-feature elements will go far in fleshing out our understanding of rhythms in piazza spaces, both those elements which are common to everyday life and those involved in specific events at specific moments in time. The few examined above, based primarily around temporary features dealing with accessibility, shade, and human and animal waste are just the tip of the iceberg of possible directions studies might go. Through a deeper consideration of each type of feature, whether they be permanent or more temporary, architectural or natural, a greater understanding of life movement and activity in piazza spaces is possible. While the textual and archaeological evidence of the previous two chapters attempts to lay out a framework that more specific studies can build upon, the following two chapters attempt to take a rhythmic approach to considering two particular case studies. The first, focusing on the Roman triumph, takes a reasonably well-known event and considers it from a rhythmic perspective both textually and archaeologically. The second focused on a piazza space and intersection at Gabii, takes a more archaeological approach by using the rhythms of an open public space as a microcosm of the larger changes taking place in an urban context over the course of Gabii's lifetime.

Chapter 5 : The Rhythm of the Triumph

5.1 Vignette : Piazza di Santa Maria in Trastevere

The Piazza di Santa Maria in Trastevere is a focal point within the largely touristic neighborhood of Trastevere. Situated in front of the church of the same name, it almost seems like an idealized space: spacious in nature, bounded on two sides by restaurants and shops and on a third by one of the oldest churches in Rome. Crossed by a major pedestrian thoroughfare with even more restaurants and bars, it is a mainstay for tour groups during the summer months. A fountain, sometimes said to be the oldest fountain in the city, sits in the center of the space and offers steps to sit upon. Buskers of all kinds frequent the square, hoping to sell their wares or make some money from magic tricks or fire eating (Figure 5.1).

Yet, when the tourists leave, the piazza's lack of integration into the wider social network is revealed. The central fountain, surrounded on all sides by trashcans, now seems like an abstract piece of art within a vast, empty open space, a space too big for what it contains. In contrast with other piazzas in the area, when the tour groups are gone, the locals are still nowhere to be seen. In its emptiness, its true character is revealed: it is a space designed for constant movement, a place to come, spend a few too many euros, look at a church, and then quickly leave. The steps of the fountain a static mirage of social engagement, lacking meaning to the wider community

There is one constant: a jeep with a pair of Carabinieri idles in the southwest corner of the piazza, instituted years ago to make sure the homeless don't try to take up residence in the area.

Figure 5.1: Piazza di Santa Maria in Trastevere, on a day with no tourists (photo by Penny Sadler).

> "Noise. Noises. Murmurs. When lives are lived and hence mixed together, they distinguish themselves badly from one another. Noise, chaotic, has no rhythm. However, the attentive ear begins to separate out, to distinguish the sources, to bring them back together by perceiving interactions."[671]
>
> "Roofs could be seen sagging under the crowds they bore, not a vacant inch of ground was visible except under a foot poised to step, streets were packed on both sides leaving only a narrow passage for you, on every side the excited populace, cheers and rejoicing everywhere. All felt the same joy at your coming…"[672]

---

[671] Lefebvre 2013, 26.

[672] Plin. *Pan*. 22.4-5 (translation Popkin 2016, 119).

5.2 Introduction

The study of rhythms, particularly in ancient environments where direct ethnographic studies are impossible, is an area ripe for exploration and experimentation. While the previous two chapters discussed various textual and archaeological frameworks for movement and activity in the piazza spaces of the Roman Italy, the following two chapters attempt to apply the concept of rhythm to case studies focused on specific environments and with specific goals. The two case studies discussed are different in style but offer different approaches for considering how the concept of rhythm might be utilized in the future. This first chapter focuses on a specific event well documented in Roman textual sources and reasonably well-understood archaeologically: the victory procession through the city known as the Roman triumph. Recognizing that the triumph is a rhythmic event in its own right gives us another avenue to explore outside of longstanding debates and to expand our conception of the event by considering its impact on life before, during, and after the procession. At the same time, analyzing the different types of open spaces with which the triumph engages avoids a purely elite-focused viewpoint and may serve to encourage further study of the variety of possible experiences available along the route.

The second case study, found in the next chapter, focuses on a space much less well understood archaeologically and is almost completely absent textually: an intersection and its accompanying piazza space in the center of the Latin city of Gabii just outside of Rome. Rather than attempting to understand the rhythms of this space at a specific moment in time or during a specific event like the Roman triumph, the goal here is to see how the development of the piazza and intersection reflect and impact the larger rhythms of life taking place in the area over the course of its history. Beginning with the kinship groups identified by Iron Age huts and progressing through the "rise" and "fall" of the city, we can recognize the goals, values, and

ultimately rhythms of the individuals living at Gabii through continuities and changes in the physical makeup of the city center. Though this is by necessity a generalizing approach, I argue that this lens can help scholars to move beyond value judgements of a successful or unsuccessful occupation area and to move beyond the Rome, Ostia, Pompeii triad when trying to understand the variety of experiences possible on the Italian peninsula. But first to the triumph.

5.3 The Rhythm of the Triumph

Figure 5.2: Carle Vernet, The Triumph of Aemilius Paulus (1798). Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Roman Triumph is one of the most well-known and intensively studied recurring events in Roman history (Figure 5.2). There have been myriad articles, edited volumes, and monographs on the subject, reflecting the many debates on topics as varied as the origins of the triumph, the spectacle of the triumph, the accuracy of the triumphal lists, the requirements to be awarded a triumph, the triumphal chariot and dress, the role of women in the triumph, in-depth studies of particular triumphs, and, most recently, the continuing memory of the triumph as displayed on the various and sundry monuments dedicated by those who have triumphed.[673] As

[673] For an excellent overview and bibliography of the many debates surrounding the Roman triumph, see Beard 2007. Origins: e.g. Bastien 2007, 121-49 *contra* Rupke 2006; Spectacle of the triumph: Ostenberg 2009, Favro 2014; Accuracy of the triumphal lists: Oakley 1997, 38-72, 100-4 *contra* Forsythe 2005, 59-77; the triumphal chariot: e.g. for the debate over bells, whips and a phallos see Champlin 2003, 214 *contra* Reid 1916, 181, also Schäfer 2008; triumphal dress: Baudou 1997; women in the triumph: Flory 1998; requirements to be awarded a

such, the goal of this section is not to provide new evidence about the events of the triumph from the literary or the archaeological sphere; it is, rather, to encourage us to consider the event, the spaces with which it engages as it moves through the city, and the lived experiences of those both participating in and viewing the event in a different light. A theory of rhythm allows us to undertake this task, giving the event space to change and evolve over time while still remaining a recognizable, and staunchly Roman, event. It also permits us to move beyond an elite-centered view of the proceedings to try to better understand the varied lived experiences of the spectators of the triumph, individuals who are often elided in the intense debates over specific details of the event and who are almost always missing from ancient depictions on monuments (in comparison to more recent representations, contrast Figure 5.3 with Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.7).[674] The triumph not only impacted the daily life of Romans during the time the parade was underway but must have affected it in specific ways both before and afterwards beyond its well-studied presence in the collective memory of the Romans.

triumph: Auliard 2001, 133-167. Individual triumphs, e.g. Beard 2003 for Vespasian and Titus, Sumi 2002 for Sulla; architecture and memory: Popkin 2016, Favro 2014.

[674] Indeed, it is quite difficult to find depictions of a triumphal crowd. The closest I have found are from the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna (though the procession depicted does not take place in Rome and depicts only elites) and a lost sarcophagus showing a procession through the Circus Maximus which may not be a triumph but at least shows a great crowd on hand (Beard 2007, figure 35). It is not until the Renaissance that the crowd becomes an important aspect of triumphal reimagining (much like with the depictions crowds in piazzas in general).

Figure 5.3: Reconstructed relief panel from the Arch of Titus depiction the triumphal procession (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, L.A.).

The Roman triumph was briefly mentioned in the Chapter 2 discussion of Lefebvre's concept of rhythm, where I argue that it fits the mold of a rhythmic event. An expanded consideration of the rhythmic nature of the procession is valuable here. It is certainly repetitive but not identical. Though an irregular event, according to the *Fasti Triumphales* it took place more than 200 times from the foundation of the city in 509 BCE to 19 BCE, and during certain moments in Rome's history became nearly an annual undertaking (Figure 5.4).[675] Because of this repetition, an attendee would have certain expectations, certain beats that they would expect the procession to hit upon as "a Roman triumph." This is true both in terms of the open public spaces it engaged with as well as the designed moments within these spaces. The public spaces where parts of the triumph happened are the "nodes" of D. Favro's Triumphal Street, locations

[675] See Rich 2014, table 2 for a record of approximate triumphs by year for different periods in Roman history. The mundane nature of the triumph even became a joke in a play of Plautus, who had his victorious general refuse the honor because it was too commonplace (*Bacch*. 1070-3).

Table 2. Triumphs 509-19 BC

	Listed triumphs	Estimated additional triumphs	Listed triumphs per year	Estimated triumphs per year
509-449	22		0.36	
448-390	11		0.19	
389-344	15		0.36	
343-301	26		0.67	
300-265	35	1-3	0.97	1.00-1.06
264-241	19		0.79	
240-219	13	1-3	0.59	0.64-0.73
218-201	6		0.39	
200-166	41		1.17	
165-130	11	6-8	0.31	0.47-0.53
129-91	26		0.67	
90-50	21	1-2	0.51	0.54-0.56
49-19	37		1.19	
Total 509-19	283	9-16	0.59	0.60-0.62
Total 343-19	235	9-16	0.73	0.76-0.78
Total 343-50	198	9-16	0.68	0.71-0.74

Figure 5.4: Frequency of the Roman triumph over various time periods of the Roman republican period (from Rich 2014, Table 2).

such as the Circus Flaminius, the Forum Boarium, the Circus Maximus, and the Roman Forum (Figure 5.5).[676] These spaces were clearly meaningful, and therefore continually integrated into the event despite changes in the buildings and monuments in the spaces themselves over the centuries. Meanwhile, while it may be impossible to reconstruct many of the circumstances of specific triumphs, actions like the removal to prison and/or execution of captives in the Roman forum before the climbing of the Capitoline hill generally occurred at precise moments.[677]

Considering the route between these beats, however, shows how the triumph is iterative without being identical. While the triumphal path has been under almost continuous debate since the Renaissance, the generally proposed route has the procession beginning in the Campus Martius, entering the city through the Porta Triumphalis, crossing the Forum Boarium and the Circus Maximus, and skirting the Palatine before passing through the Roman forum and

[676] Favro 1994.

[677] Beard 2007, 128-132 for a collection of textual references.

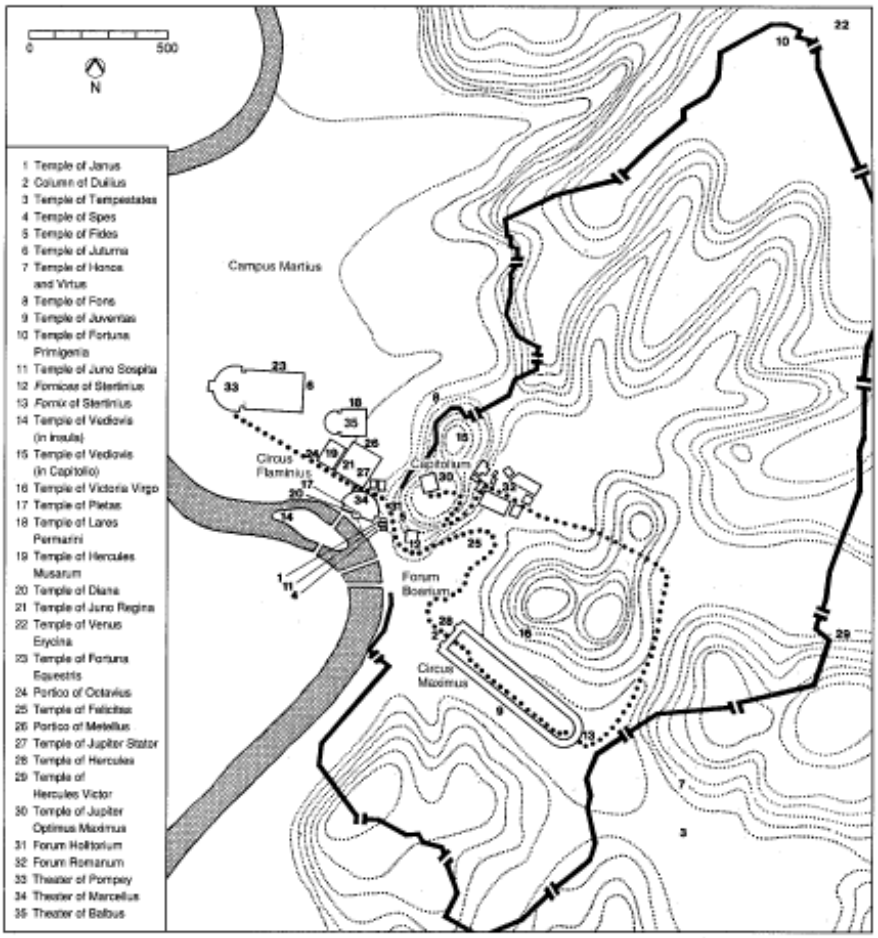

Figure 5.5: Nodal "beats" of the Triumphal route (from Favro 1994, Figure 1).

mounting the Capitoline hill.[678] Yet when scholars then try to correlate the textual and archaeological evidence with this idea of a "fixed" route which every single triumph was required to follow, a variety of contradictions immediately become apparent, ranging from the location of the *Porta Triumphalis* to the question of why Caesar was riding his chariot through the Velabrum.[679]

Viewing the triumph as a rhythmic event removes the need for intense debates over specific routes or attempts to correlate the disparate textual sources; there was no "one"

[678] See Popkin 2016, 24-45 for an extended discussion on the debates surrounding the triumphal route. Coarelli (1968 and 1988, 363-414) has been most influential in defining this concept of a fixed processional pathway.
[679] See Beard 2007, 96-106 for a larger discussion of these particular debates.

triumphal route. Instead, I argue that the exact path did not matter as long as certain recognizable beats in the triumphal rhythm were sounded. In fact, the route must have evolved over time, either by necessity (e.g. flooding during the winter months), through urban growth (e.g. the construction of the Theater of Marcellus), or by the conscious choice of a particular general, who may have wanted the procession to pass by certain features of the built environment that recalled his family's own history while avoiding those of his rivals. Other obvious differences that made each triumph unique included the identities of the general and his soldiers, the size of the crowds, the types of booty and prisoners on display, and eventually the number of days over which the triumph took place.

This last distinction brings us to the interference of linear and cyclical processes and the wider unexplored world of the temporal nature of the triumphal event. In the most basic of terms, the triumph is a physically linear event, a procession through the city, which took place over the course of what must have been a very scheduled cyclical day, and eventually more than one cyclical day. How this temporal dimension of the event actually impacted the triumphal experience, however, has yet to be truly explored. Here I suggest two areas where further research and exploration could prove useful: the place of the triumph within the annual cycle of the calendar year and the physical experience of the triumph over the length of a single day, each of which can be seen to disrupt the standard rhythms of everyday life.

With the primary focus on the elite nature of the Roman triumph, it is easy to forget that the triumph was an event that impacted the rhythms of life for many inside and outside of Rome. This can be recognized quite clearly when the farmer-soldier becomes the focus, the men who before the establishment of a permanent army were the driving force of Rome's military in the summer months before returning to their farms for fall planting. The need to be present in Rome

to participate in a triumph for some extended period of time after the fighting was over would naturally have made farming more difficult. There is evidence, however, that this difficulty was

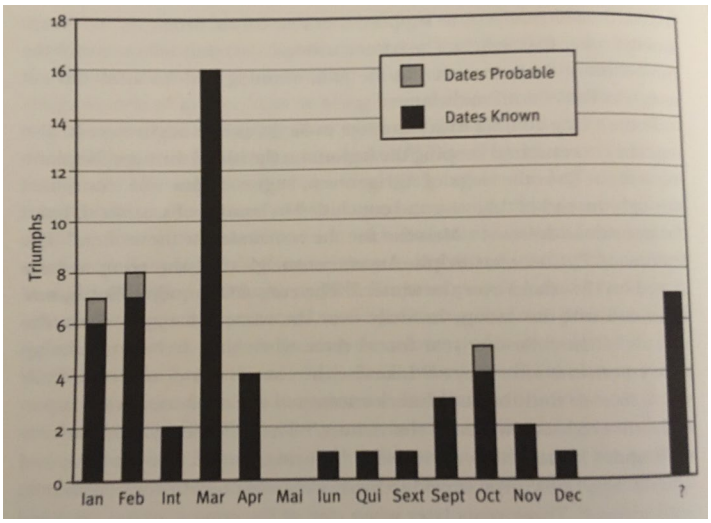

Figure 5.6: Frequency of the triumphal procession by month, 298 – 222 BCE (from Rosenstein 2004, Figure 1).

recognized. Despite the uncertainty in the accuracy of the republican calendar in the 3rd century, N. Rosenstein has argued that between 298-222 BCE nearly half of triumphs took place in February or March (24 out of 52) with the number rising to 66% when one includes the range from January to April (Figure 5.6).[680] Whether intentional or not (and these numbers are likely skewed by the fact that March 1st was a popular day as the supposed day of the first republican-period triumph of Publius Valerius Publicola over Tarquinius Superbus) this period makes sense for both practical and temporal reasons. Practically, the winter was a slower time for the farmers, who could finish planting their crops in the fall before traveling to Rome. Temporally, anyone who has taken a trip to Rome in high summer knows that going on a long march through the city is not an enjoyable time, much less doing it in military armor. Further, the rainy season in the fall (October, November, December are generally the rainiest three months of the year in Rome)

[680] See Rosenstein 2004, 26-62 (esp. 32-38) for a larger discussion of the relationship between agriculture and Roman warfare.

would make events taking place outdoors quite uncomfortable, not to mention open the door to the possibility that the Tiber might flood at an inopportune moment.

Nevertheless, we do see that triumphs could and did take place at any point during the year. This brings us to a second temporal consideration: what was the lived experience of participating in the triumph actually like in the Roman city over the course of a day? Though explored in more detail below, an initial temporal consideration is useful here. Of greatest importance is the recognition that the triumph is a long, slow event. It has been argued that a triumph would have taken at the minimum five or six hours to move through the city, and that is without the variety of stops which would have taken place for specific designed events to occur.[681] This lengthy timeline seems to be backed up by our textual sources. Suetonius claims that Vespasian regretted his desire for a triumph, growing tired of the length and tediousness of the procession partway through the event.[682] Propertius mentions that the horses during one of Caesar's triumphs would frequently pause while the crowd applauded, certainly lengthening the trip through the city.[683] Then there was always the possibility of the unexpected taking place and delaying the entire show indefinitely, whether it was the breaking of an axle or the inability of elephants to fit through an archway.[684]

This temporal dimension brings up a variety of unexplored questions with respect to the lived experiences of the soldiers marching through the city or the spectator watching from the side of the street. How might the summer heat affect the triumphal experience? Or a rainy fall day? How might the changing hours of daylight and darkness impact planning or start time? In

[681] Favro 2014, 154
[682] Suet. *Vesp*. 12.
[683] Prop. 3.4.
[684] Plut. *Vit. Caes*. 37.2 and *Vit. Pomp*. 14.4, respectively.

another vein, we are used to reading the concise elite account, like that of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus put forth by Josephus, who describes the procession and its spoils in a few paragraphs.[685] But a parade taking an entire day raises questions for basic sustenance and the viewer experience. Are food and water carried along by the members of the procession or passed out during certain moments of stoppage? What about the crowd? Vendors must have been a consistent presence; does this mean that there were indeed some shops open? What about bathroom breaks and larger issues of crowd control? There must have been a variety of sights, sounds, smells, and tastes that have yet to be explored or considered using a multisensory approach. While we may never have definitive answers to these kinds of questions, including them in our model of the triumph offers a fuller picture of the event and moves us away from an elite perspective.

Finally, rhythms like the triumph are not eternal. They begin, evolve, and end, with the ending of one rhythm possibly marking the beginning of a new one. Here the triumph can easily be seen to connect with the evolution of the built environment of an ancient or modern city, which changes over time as it shapes and is shaped by the spatial practices of its inhabitants. As discussed in Chapter 2, the effects of one instance of a rhythm, or a rhythmic event, upon the physical or social landscape will almost certainly be present in the future when it occurs once more, and it itself is impacted by earlier iterations of the rhythm. For the triumph, it is clear that the event evolved through time, at least in the Roman historical imagination. In a moralizing episode from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the author critiques how the triumph has become a way for elites to one-up one another through showy displays of wealth, in contrast to the

[685] Joseph. *BJ* 7.24.3-6

Figure 5.7: Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, The Triumph of Pompey, 1765. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

simplicity and honor of the first triumph of Romulus.[686] Whatever the first triumphs were like, an increase in ostentation is quite apparent at the end of the republican period as Rome continues to expand, when military leaders again and again attempt to outdo one another in the amount of booty on display. Pompey, for example, attempts (and fails) to have his chariot drawn by four elephants procured from his exploits in Africa, animals which previously had been part of a triumphal event but never yoked in such a way (Figure 5.7).[687] Nevertheless, his attempt allegedly influenced future emperors, who are said to have succeeded and made elephants a more common feature of the triumphal event.[688] Over time, such oddities become the new norm, and other, new aspects may be added to the rhythm as it continues to evolve.[689]

---

[686] D.H. *Ant*. 2.34.3.

[687] See Plutarch, *Pomp*. 14.4 for this failure. Elsewhere it is recorded that elephants first appeared in the Roman triumph in 275 BCE and 250 BCE in the triumphs of Manius Curius Dentatus (Eutropius 2.14) and Lucius Caecilius Metellus (Pliny, *Nat*. 7.139), respectively.

[688] See *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Gordians* 27.9, *Severus Alexander* 57.4.

[689] Such as the presence of trees brought back to be paraded in the triumph, though evidence that this particular practice was widely utilized is lacking (see Plin. *HN* 12.9).

Meanwhile rhythmic events have effects on the physical landscape where they take place, effects which may impact both future iterations of the event itself as well as the normal rhythms of daily life. This general idea, though not specifically utilizing the concept of rhythm, has been used to better understand the variety of victory monuments that shape and reflect the collective memory of a triumph.[690] In general, these monuments were intentionally situated along the triumphal route, clustering around nodal points (Figure 5.8). Looking forward, this practice helped to monumentalize the triumphal route over the years and gave the prestige of history to future iterations of the event. Looking backwards, however, these structures allowed the dedicator to shape (or even completely re-imagine) the collective memory of these events in order to express a certain message about his own triumphal moment.[691] When taken together, then, the evolution of these monuments mirrors the evolution of the event itself over time.

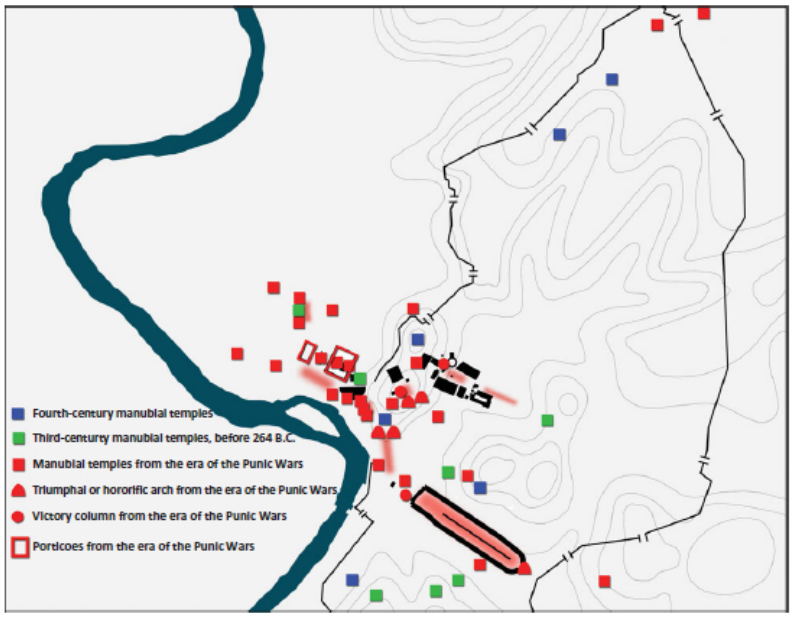

Figure 5.8: Manubial temples and triumphal monuments in Rome, 4th-2nd centuries BCE. (from Popkin 2016, Plate 4).

690 Extensively discussed by Popkin 2016.

691 For example, how Septimius Severus may have used triumphal monuments to shape the memories of a triumph which in reality did not take place. See Popkin 2016, 135-181.

These monuments, however, depict an elite representation of the event, one that I argue is focused primarily towards shaping the memories of other elites rather than the common person. Indeed, the non-elite crowd, the tens or even hundreds of thousands of people who would have come into Rome for such an event, are nowhere to be seen on these monumental depictions, which generally prefer to show only the triumphator, his booty (human and otherwise), and perhaps some idealized soldiers in the act of marching past some vague architecture. Scholarship has followed this trend, preferring to focus in on the details of the triumph itself, or, more recently, other members of the procession.[692] What has been left out is the larger impact of the triumph on the daily rhythms of the regular inhabitant (or visitor) to Rome, which would have affected life not only during the parade itself but for days or weeks before and after it took place. For the remainder of the section it is this perspective that I want to explore, an initial attempt to consider the triumph from the viewpoint of an "average" person. While the triumph is often imagined as our textual and material sources present it, a moment of unity and patriotism, the nature of the procession, particularly during the years where it was almost an annual event, may even have driven certain portions of the Roman people apart rather than bringing them together. Nuancing the varying viewpoints and dispositions of those who experienced the triumph, though difficult, avoids privileging elite male viewpoints as the only way Romans might feel about the event and the war which it represents

5.4 Before, After, During

While in more recent scholarship on the triumph the non-elite experience is generally nodded to, it is rarely a focus for more than a page or two. M. Beard, for example, notes:

[692] Like soldiers (Beard 2007, 241-249), prisoners (Beard 2007, 107-142), or women (Flory 1998).

> "the impact of the triumph was not confined to the realm of imperialist geopolitics or military history...there must have been a wide range of different experiences of the triumph and all kinds of different personal narratives prompted by it. What, for example, of those who flogged refreshments to the crowds, who put up the seating or cleared up the mess at the end of the day?"[693]

Popkin, meanwhile, while noting that disparate opinions might exist, tends to homogenize the experience, or at least the experiential feeling, in general:

> "It is triumphs that embody the glory of all Romans, not just of the triumphing general. Triumphs marked Romans as a group and redounded gloriously on them. The triumph was a formative ritual, in the words of Jan Assmann, one that answered the question, 'Who are we?'"[694]

In each case, the goal of understanding a non-elite experience tends to revert to the textual descriptions of the event provided by our surviving elite authors, with Beard pointing to Ovid's description of triumphs as a place to pick up women in the *Ars Amatoria* and Popkin preferring the Pliny the Younger's description of Trajan's triumphal entry, quoted in the introduction to this chapter and again here for effect:

> "Roofs could be seen sagging under the crowds they bore, not a vacant inch of ground was visible except under a foot poised to step, streets were packed on both sides leaving only a narrow passage for you, on every side the excited populace, cheers and rejoicing everywhere. All felt the same joy at your coming…"[695]

While I do not deny that passages like these are useful for reconstructing certain features of the event, uncritical use of such texts can drown out the reality of the event on the ground. Whether or not we should take Pliny's obvious flattery of Trajan at face value should be up for debate, but we certainly cannot assume that "Not the elite, not the poor, the whole of Rome...could have their individual experience subsumed into the communal experience, *as Romans* [emphasis

---

693 Beard 2007, 46.

694 Popkin 2016, 22.

695 Plin. *Pan.* 22.4-5 (translation Popkin's). Ov. *Ars am.* 1.217-22 is the section quoted by Beard.

hers]."[696] What is lacking here is that the triumph could certainly elicit a variety of emotions and reactions based on the lived experiences of those individuals experiencing (or, perhaps more interestingly, choosing not to experience) the event.[697] Further, what about the larger impact on daily life both before and after the parade took place?

While much has been written about the moment itself, the triumph was more than just the procession through the city: setting up the event through its spaces took days of time, energy, and planning and would certainly disrupt the normal rhythms of those living in Rome. Although the pre-triumph "mustering" of troops in the Campus Martius is perhaps the most debated organizational aspect prior to the procession itself, the preparations would have had a much wider impact. For example, the triumphal path (which, as noted above, could have varied to a degree each time) must have been announced well in advance; as Favro notes, it was necessary in order "to allow other ritual parades, private processions, deliveries by heavy transport, daily traffic, construction projects, and other activities to be diverted or rescheduled."[698] The days leading up to this deadline, therefore, likely saw a great increase in social, ritual, and economic traffic among the major routes of the city in preparation for this division of the inner city from its surrounding environs. Beyond this, it would take time to construct temporary seating structures along Rome's streets and in its open public spaces, especially prior to the establishment of permanent entertainment structures in the city. This construction would further disrupt traffic and block off standard areas of movement and activity. The famous floats would need to be constructed or repaired, and other logistics of the parade organized. In the days and weeks

[696] Popkin 2016, 119.
[697] Favro 2008 has done the most to consider different physical viewpoint of the triumph. Interestingly, she focuses mostly on the viewpoints of different participants in the event (walking in comparison to riding in floats), although some discussion of viewer viewpoints is considered (e.g. seating situated higher up vs close to the ground) as well as sensory elements.
[698] Favro 2014, 96.

leading up to a triumph, the population of the city would swell with Italians and foreigners arriving both to see and participate in the festivities (and perhaps be hired on as temporary laborers?). Shops would want to ensure they had enough merchandise; restaurants enough food. With frequent triumphs we should expect the event to have an impact on Rome's economy, similar to how large sporting events are able to boost a city's income in modern times.[699] The day of the event, roads would need to be blocked off, crowd control in place, and soldiers ready to go (not to mention the problems of securing treasure, soldiers, and in some cases wild animals). We must imagine people everywhere in the city, trying to find a good spot to see the festivities, with vendors selling food and drink wherever possible. Perhaps the event was a boon for the buskers and beggars of the city as well (and for less savory pickpockets). There are a

Figure 5.9: Piles of trash remaining after the Chicago Cubs 2016 MLB championship parade (photo by Ariel Chung).

[699] The *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, for example, reported that the city's economy made between five and ten times its initial investment on the 2019 Super Bowl, not to mention the lingering effects of positive exposure. (https://www.ajc.com/business/wes-moss-gdp-atlanta-super-bowl/aB0rzEOHJ7cHFt2s3ay3aK/, accessed February 24, 2020).

multitude of multisensory aspects yet to be modeled or studied, all of which make up the initial beats of the triumph's rhythm.

Skipping over the triumph itself for now to look at the end of the parade, the finish at the top of the Capitoline hill should not be seen as the end of its immediate impact. This was followed by feasts, games, and other events which could continue to fill the open spaces of the city for days to come, disrupting normal features of daily life. Caesar, to give a grandiose example, was said to have hosted a great public banquet following his triumph in 47 BCE, requiring twenty thousand dining couches to be set up in the open spaces across the city. This was only one part of a variety of other events which took place in conjunction with the procession, such as a mock naval battle in the Campus Martius.[700] Beyond these planned affairs, the basic burden on the city's infrastructure to clean up after such a grand event must have been immense (Figure 5.9). It certainly would have taken the efforts of public slaves and perhaps would have required the hiring of further workers. Whatever was built up must be taken down before the normalcy of daily life could return. This would have included breaking down all the temporary structures and storing whatever parade implements were necessary to keep around for the next time, particularly during periods where frequent triumphs were taking place.

Looking farther forward in time, the tradition of building manubial monuments and temples along the triumphal route (not coincidentally some of the busiest arteries of the city) would not only have impacted the collective memory of the citizens of Rome, but also would have impacted the daily lives of those living in the city. From a positive viewpoint, they would have provided consistent employment for an extended period to a great variety of individuals in

[700] See Cass. Dio 43.14-22 for a full description.

the construction and artistic industries. On the other hand, construction of these monuments could take years, with construction equipment and materials constantly needing to be transported through the city to the necessary location. This could clog up or close down previously accessible throughways, even if the majority of materials were brought in at night. They also took up space that may have been formerly utilized for commerce or any of the many functions that open piazza spaces in Rome fulfilled, making those areas still available even more constricted.[701] These monuments were likely a constant nuisance, at least initially, blocking traffic and creating a great amount of noise, dust, and bother.[702]

Finally, it must be recognized that the rhythms of the triumph itself would have been experienced differently by different individuals, both physically and emotionally. Though it is obviously difficult to recreate any specific individual experiences of the event (beyond perhaps that of the elite male so often portrayed in our textual sources) a more nuanced consideration of the wide variety of individuals who would have experienced the rhythms of the triumph and the places in which they would have experienced it could prove fruitful for fleshing out the triumphal experience as a whole.

5.5 The Non-Elite Experience

To begin from this second point, there are a wide variety of places for different sorts of individuals to experience the spectacle, each of which would have offered a different type of engagement. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these different experiences were almost certainly linked to one's social class. The basic, non-elite experience may indeed have been similar to the one

[701] The slow constriction of open space in the Roman forum, for example, is a widely recognized phenomenon. See below for further description.
[702] See Favro 2011 for an excellent analysis of the construction traffic due to the creation of the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome.

described by Pliny the Younger above: individuals crowded onto sidewalks and climbing up roofs and any other piece of the built environment they might be able to use to gain a height advantage. While Pliny emphasizes the positives, however, this kind of experience is clearly not optimal. These individuals would be the most susceptible to inclement weather conditions, whether the scorching Italian sun or the pouring rain. Many rows of people pressed together would have made it difficult for those farther back in the crowd (or shorter people!) to see what was actually happening, as well as probably introduced a whole variety of possibly unpleasant smells and sounds (Figure 5.10 offers a modern comparison for such an event). There would also not be the opportunity for much movement once one has arrived; it seems unlikely that, having left your spot you would be able to regain it (as at the palio in Siena in Figure 2.3). And while, as Favro notes, individuals may have rushed forward or back along the parade route to obtain certain views, the logistics and timing of how this might have worked is difficult to imagine, as one would have needed to fight for any view along with all the other inhabitants and visitors to the city.[703]

[703] Favro 2014, 90

Figure 5.10: The non-elite experience of the Boston Patriot's 2019 NFL championship parade (photo by Billie Weiss/Getty Images).

5.6 Interregnum I

It was raining on the first day of Pompeius Magnus' third triumph in 61 BCE. Ten-year-old Felix had traveled to the city with his mother to see the procession in person, one in which his father would be marching after having returned to Italy seven full months earlier from the east. They were two of thousands who had come, crammed into every nook and cranny of the city, with even private individuals selling places on the floors of their homes to make some extra money.

Being unfamiliar with the city, he and his mother had gotten up early to stand by the side of the triumphal route hours before the event was supposed to start. They were hoping to get a good spot to see Felix's father march past, as he had mustered with the rest of his legion some days earlier outside the city. Unfortunately, everyone else had the same idea, meaning the two

were several rows back from the front. He had tried to sneak his way forward, but a series of curses drove him back. As the event began, he tried to peer through the rows of legs in front of him, but all the marching soldiers looked pretty much the same. At one point he attempted to climb up a nearby statue but was immediately chastised by a nearby civic slave dedicated to keeping people from doing just that. Yet at first Felix was awestruck; although he could not read the inscriptions of all the places Pompey had conquered, the floats and images were bright and colorful. Pompey himself, high on chariot studded with gems and wearing a strange eastern cloak, looked like a god in human form. Yet soon after the great general passed by, the rain put a damper on the whole experience. As the hours passed, Felix grew bored, and the parade grew monotonous, sometimes with long periods of no movement while other events took place elsewhere along the route. Ultimately, he was not even sure if his father had already passed by, perhaps on the other side of the wide thoroughfare. At some point, both he and his mother had had enough, abandoning their post and seeking better food than the overpriced slop being sold by vendors pushing their way through the crowds.

They skipped the second day entirely, preferring to get a head start out of the city before the rest of the crowd.

5.7 The Elite Experience

For elites, in contrast, there was the more privileged experience of locating oneself in places specifically designed for an optimal viewing experience. The elite of the elite, most likely, would be situated in the Roman forum itself, where Vitruvius suggests there were balconies situated on the upper floors of structures in order to give good views for special events, for a

price of course.[704] In any case, there would certainly be other temporary structures built for seating in the city center. This experience, then, would have contrasted with the general non-elite one described above in a variety of ways. Having a reserved seat, of course, is the most obvious, removing the need to stand for hours or compete for a good spot. It must have also been a simple matter to have food or drink made accessible. The raised nature of the stands would make it easier to see over the heads of those in front of you, ensuring a good view. These spots with established seating were also the most likely positions for grand events to take place, situated under the eyes of the elite. The forum is the most obvious, though not only, place for these designed moments to occur. The removal of captives to prison or (less commonly) execution as the triumphant general pauses before making the final climb up the Capitoline must have been a prized experience to witness for the political supporters of a particular victor.

Though not present in the early days of the Roman triumph, some of these temporary wooden structures created and dismantled for special events eventually became permanent entertainment buildings in the late republic and early imperial periods. One in particular which shows us how the triumphal beats could evolve over time with a changing built environment is the Theater of Marcellus, completed by Augustus on the edge of the Circus Flaminius. This structure, situated exactly along the path of the triumphal route, intentionally forced an alteration on the "traditional" route by making the previous pathway too narrow to use; instead, the parade now by necessity passed through the theater itself.[705] This new setting not only provided an additional elite seating area (and a prime venue for designed moments) but allowed Augustus to

[704] Vitr. *De arch.* 5.1.1-2.
[705] Favro 1996, 157-158, Popkin 2016, 127-128.

make his own permanent mark on the triumph in a manner never before attempted, "a victory monument of Augustus's new regime."[706]

5.8 Interregnum II

It was raining on the day of Pompeius Magnus' third triumph in 61 BCE. This was not what was bothering Cato, however, as he had taken his customary position in the forum, reserved for the most important of senators and obviously sheltered from the elements. What bothered him was the whole event, and the general in charge in particular. Not only had Pompey tried to run for the consulship while outside the city, as if this third triumph awarded to him was not already enough, Pompey had then tried to bribe him by offering to marry his niece! Like he would open up his family to such reproach!

Since that morning, the event had ranged from slightly irritating to ridiculous. The Butcher had clearly tried to stuff too many events, too much pageantry into the procession, even one already split over two days. First had come a list of inscriptions of all the places Pompey had conquered, including a list of a thousand "strongholds" and nine hundred "cities." If such exaggeration was not enough, he insisted on having his chariot adorned with gems from the east. And claimed he was wearing the cloak of Alexander the Great! Romulus wept! At least he did not try that fool trick with the elephants again. He might claim to have the whole world captive with his three triumphs, but Cato decided he would no longer be a prisoner. After Pompey had ascended the Capitoline, instead of following to experience the sacrifices at the temple for the millionth time, Cato slipped away with his entourage.

[706] Popkin 2016, 128. Modern examples are numerous, including the balconies in the Piazza del Campo during the palio and the corporate suites at the Big House in Ann Arbor.

He skipped the second day entirely, sending instead his sincerest apologies for being "indisposed."

5.9 The Circus Maximus: A Combined Experience?

The largest structure along the triumphal route is also the one where the greatest number of people would have come together to witness the event: the Circus Maximus. The Circus Maximus is thought to be one of the oldest areas of the city, dating back to the regal period, although for centuries it remained for the most part a simple low-lying area lacking much architecture, except for perhaps some wooden seating. For the most part, spectators would have just reclined on the surrounding slopes.[707] It was not until Julius Caesar that the first permanent structures surrounding the space were built, defining the perimeter and opening the door to further monumentalization, particularly by Trajan. Ultimately, the structure could have held something like a quarter of a million people.[708]

The Circus Maximus is an excellent structure to consider alongside the Roman forum as a different type of piazza space and one that could evolve depending on the events (or lack thereof) which took place each day. While it is best known for hosting a variety of chariot races, gladiatorial games, and wild beast fights, when these other large events were not taking place, it seems like it could be used for a variety of other purposes.[709] It was certainly a place of commerce, with shops situated in and around the boundaries of the space.[710] Just like the forum, it could be a place for a leisurely stroll, though one might have to watch out for fortune tellers

[707] Popkin 2016, 108-115 for the development of the Circus Maximus up to the Trajanic period. The history of the structure is covered more thoroughly by Humphrey 1986, 56-294.
[708] Plin. *HN* 36.102.
[709] Wiseman 1980, 12-13.
[710] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.68.2-4; Cic. *Mur.* 73.

and others looking to make a quick buck.[711] Indeed, buskers and beggars of all types were probably present most days, as it was certainly an easily accessible, highly visible location in the built environment.[712]

Returning to the Roman triumph, the Circus Maximus can be contrasted with the previous two localities under consideration in several ways. On the one hand, it turns the entire experience up several notches, with an incredibly large group of people creating an incredibly large amount of noise and emotion (perhaps similar to a modern European soccer match). On the other hand, the Circus Maximus represents a space where both elite and non-elite might come together to experience an event, even if the particular seating arrangement might still have been organized according to status. As such, it has been used as an example of how "the heightened crowd dynamics...could reinforce a feeling of unity among those gathered in the seats and amplify people's sentiments of belonging together to a group."[713] From this viewpoint, for one moment, the differences that might exist between the inhabitants of Rome and really the empire as a whole could be forgotten and forgiven, with everyone cheering together for the victor that is Rome.

Yet this idea of the event bringing "all Romans" together, whether in the Circus Maximus or elsewhere, brings up a final point of focus: there is no reason to think that the event itself was enjoyed by everyone who experienced it. Just as the physical experience of the event would differ from person to person, varying emotional experiences should be recognized beyond the propagandistic "pride" and "joy" portrayed by elite authors. For the merchant, it could be an opportunity to make money more than "to be Roman." For the slaves of an elite, it could be a

[711] Hor. *Sat*. 1.111; Juv. 6.588-591.
[712] Suet. *Aug*. 74
[713] Popkin 2016, 122. 116-125 for the

reminder of their own servitude, perhaps having been conquered just a few years before and forced into a similar parade before being sold on the block to their current master. For the sister of someone killed in battle, it could be a bittersweet moment, one focused on familial memories rather than on national pride (or even active dislike of the war which cost them their brother). A farmer-soldier required to come to support his leader could be thinking how much he would rather be back home with his family; a veteran might flashback to his own time in the field, the good and the bad. A foreign visitor to the city could see it as a threat, perhaps their own homeland would be next. Those who might dislike a particular triumphant general for political or personal reasons might indicate their dissatisfaction with their feet, choosing to avoid the processional route on the appointed day or even to leave Rome entirely with their family or clients. Even a proud, patriotic Roman during the 3rd century BCE, accustomed to see a triumph once a year on average, might (gasp) grow bored of fighting for space on the sidewalk and choose to do something else with his or her day. Propertius, for example, chose to lie in his girlfriend's lap rather than actively participate in the triumphal experience (Figure 5.10).

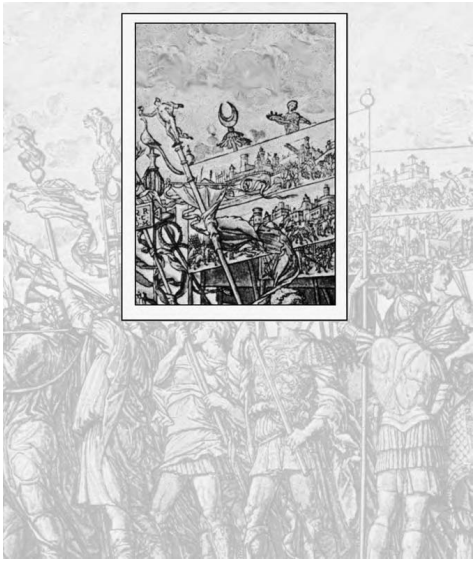

Figure 5.11: Reconstructed view of the portion of the triumphal parade seen by Propertius through his window. Similar reconstructions could prove fruitful for reconstruction different spatial experiences of the triumph in ancient Rome (Image from Favro 2008, Figure 2.4).

While, for the most part, conflicting reactions to the triumph have gone unconsidered in scholarly discussions (or are nodded to and dismissed), Beard does note that the gaze of the audience is not a homogenous one, despite what the Roman propaganda machine might have desired.[714] Textual sources mention times that the sight of the prisoners, especially children, brought those watching the triumph to tears, and the nobility of the prisoners forced to walk in front of the triumphal chariot is a common trope.[715] Though again difficult to identify directly in our textual records, it is important to remember that the triumph, while a quintessential "Roman" event, was not necessarily a community-building event for everyone. These voices, absent from our elite textual records for the most part, each play their own parts in understanding the full range of triumphal rhythms.

5.10 Conclusion

The primary goal of this chapter was to take an event that has been thoroughly studied with both textual and archaeological evidence and to reconsider it through the framework of rhythm. Having shown that the Roman triumph could itself be considered a rhythmic event, this approach then lets us touch upon moments, places, and people which have almost always been ignored in studies of the procession. Temporally, the impact of such a momentous event on daily life both before and after the relatively short procession have yet to be fully explored; spatially, the variety of possible viewing experiences of the triumph itself have yet to be fully considered; and from the point of view of the lived experiences of people in the city of Rome, the wide range of emotions and reactions an individual might have to the parade have yet to be given their full

[714] Beard 2006, 107-142.
[715] Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 33.4.

voice. It is important to remember that the Circus Maximus was a place for the people to express their opinions to those in power, positive and negative, and this too was part of being Roman.

Chapter 6 : The Evolving Rhythms of a Gabine Piazza

6.1 Vignette: Piazza di San Calisto

It is a few short meters from Piazza di Santa Maria in Trastevere to Piazza di San Calisto, but it might as well be a different world (Figure 6.1). The transition itself is jarring: a narrow roadway, just wide enough for one large recycling truck, extends from the southeast corner of Santa Maria. Just twenty meters away it opens up again, but nothing of either space is visible from the other.

A small, roughly triangular piazza surrounded for the most part by bars and restaurants, in truth, Piazza di San Calisto should be recognized as a liminal space, a mix of the touristization which has taken place in Santa Maria and the traditional *romanità* of Piazza di San Cosimato nearby (which has Italian community-oriented events and children's playground). It is, in fact, most famous for the small Bar San Calisto situated at its northeastern corner. Run by the same family for decades and refusing to modernize, it is one of the few places where old Italian men play dominoes and cards daily while American undergraduates drink the next table over, seemingly without concern for one another. Customers often extend out into the piazza itself, where vehicles and pedestrians fight for space each evening, particularly the taxis carrying those trying to reach Santa Maria. Worthy of its own monograph, Bar San Calisto has entered into something of the cultural zeitgeist, appearing in the Academy Award winning film *La Grande Bellezza*, newspaper comic strips, and, most recently, t-shirts and mugs. In a sense, the bar is Trastevere: local yet foreign, evolving yet consistent, rebellious yet controlled.

Yet San Calisto, like Santa Maria, has not escaped the governmental crackdown on undesirable activity over the last decade. At ten o'clock each night, a squad of police cars enter the piazza to ensure that nothing is being consumed from a glass container. Visiting tourists, often unaware of this law, often pay a 250 euro fine if they are not warned by the locals. Bars and restaurants risk fines as well. In June 2018, Bar San Calisto was closed for three days on police order for disturbing the peace and accused of being a meeting place for clientele with criminal records. The neighborhood reaction was instantaneous; its door was covered with impassioned pleas for its reopening and describing its role in the community in several languages (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.1: The triangular Piazza di San Calisto, looking west (photo from Wikipedia Commons).

Figure 6.2: (a) the façade of Bar San Calisto; (b) impassioned pleas from the local community posted on the closed storefront in June 2018.

> There was a city of the Latins, founded by the Albans, one hundred stades from Rome and standing on the road to Praeneste: it was called Gabii. Now all of it is not still occupied, except that portion being furnished with inns along the road, but once it was as big and populous as any other city. One can estimate its greatness and dignity from looking at the ruins of buildings in many places and the circle of its walls...[716]

6.2 Introduction: Seen from the Window[717]

The subject of the Circus Maximus at the end of the previous chapter moves us to a second case study, this time focused around an intersection and its accompanying piazza space at the Latin city of Gabii and how it evolves in the larger context of what are usually defined as pre- and post-urban rhythms. As discussed above in brief for the largest circus in Rome, fora

---

[716] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.53.1: *πόλις ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων γένους Ἀλβανῶν ἀπόκτισις ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς Πραίνεστον φερούσης ὁδοῦ κειμένη: Γαβίους αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν: νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα, πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν δίοδον, τότε δὲ πολυάνθρωπος εἰ καί τις ἄλλη καὶ μεγάλη. τεκμήραιτο δ' ἄν τις αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐρείπια θεασάμενος οἰκιῶν πολλαχῇ καὶ τείχους κύκλον...*

[717] No! this title belongs to Lefebvre - I write: 'Seen from my auguraculum, overlooking a junction in Gabii, therefore overlooking the road.' (adapted from Lefebvre 2013, 26).

should not be seen as the only type of open public space in an ancient city. Indeed, the street intersections can often play this role, creating what could be seen as small piazzas which groups and individuals can utilize and which serve to enhance local identities. While the goal of the Chapter 4 was to explode the "passive" nodal piazza space into an active network of features of its own, this chapter suggests that intersections themselves can break down the concept of an active edge of a street network with the creation of a series of spaces where a variety of activities and functions may take place. Intersections represent a new type of space as the pedestrian moves through the city, encouraging an active consideration (especially one who may be unfamiliar with the city), as now a choice must be made on which way to go before continuing forward, just as entering into a piazza space opens up a new world of decision-making for the user.

Figure 6.3: Intersection of the strada Stabiana and the via di Nola/via della Fortuna, with an open space opening up to the right (image from Google Earth).

An example may be fruitful. Thanks to its extensive excavation, this phenomenon can easily be recognized at Pompeii, which offers a great variety of street intersections to choose from in its (mostly) orthogonal street plan. Consider the intersection of the strada Stabiana and

the via di Nola, two of the major arteries of Pompeii which originate at city gates (Figure 6.3). Coming in from the northern porta Vesuvio or the eastern porta Nola, respectively, the intersection in question would have been the first major crossroads encountered, the first place where a traveler might need to make an active choice on which way to continue forward. It was a busy location, especially with the Central Baths situated on the southeast corner. Catty-corner from the baths, however, a notch was taken out of the southeastern corner of *insula* VI.14, widening the intersection slightly and creating what is in essence a small piazza space. Although little remains, there is evidence that a portico once fronted the shops at this location and that a water tower, a local shrine, and a fountain were present.[718] Stepping stones, which aided in crossing the busy intersection, were placed to encourage pedestrians to access the space. On certain days, it may have functioned as a poultry market.[719] In any case, this space disrupted a linear flow of traffic along the major thoroughfares, offering an alternative to pedestrians. Further, the placement of both water features and street shrines, almost always located at intersections in Pompeii, provided a space for locals to gather and have been used to suggest the orientations of neighborhoods within the city.[720] Ultimately, it created a space attached to yet separate from the street, a place accessible for conversation, leisure, and loitering; a place where the rhythms of everyday life could play out.

[718] Westfall 2007, 132.
[719] Della Corte 1954, 103.
[720] Laurence 2007, 39-51. For an excellent recent overview of street shrines in Pompeii, see Flower 2017.

Figure 6.4: Imagery showing the intersection of the via Gabina and the via Praenestina at the center of Gabii (image from Google Earth).

In contrast to the discussion of the Roman triumph with its heavy mix of textual sources and well-known archaeological locations, here I want to consider a location which is far less understood: the intersection of the via Gabina and the via Praenestina (designated Area J) and its nearby piazza space (designated Area H) at the site of Gabii outside of Rome (Figures 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6). This example is useful for three primary reasons: firstly, as noted above, it allows us to break away from the conception that only formalized fora, rectangular and regular, deserve recognition as open public spaces within a city. Piazzas can come in all shapes, sizes and locations, as can be seen at Pompeii and is certainly the case in modern Italy. It also allows us to focus primarily on the archaeological evidence, since by far the majority of excavated sites have little to no textual evidence to support a greater understanding of its inhabitants' lived experiences. Finally, the excavations of the area in and around this intersection allows us to reflect on the changing rhythms of the city throughout its lifespan, from the initial occupation of the area in the Iron Age through its rise and decline to its eventual abandonment long after the end of the Roman empire. The evolving situation of this intersection becomes an image of the

evolving rhythms of the site as a whole, changing as the city itself changes yet maintaining a centrality as strong as a forum in any Roman colony.

This mention of a keyword brings up an important question: "What about the forum of Gabii?" As Rome's closest neighbor, surely it had this most quintessential of Roman urban features. But like the exact route of the triumph discussed above, perhaps this is the wrong question to be asking. Why does Gabii, a city that, at least initially, was independent of Roman control, even need a space designated the forum? The desire to define a space called the forum at Gabii dates back to the earliest excavations on the site. The first explorations of the city were

Figure 6.5: Diagram of the Gabii Project excavation as of 2018 with labeled areas of excavation (map by author).

Figure 6.6: Combined aerial imagery from the Gabii Project excavation, 2009-2018 (image by author and Rachel Opitz).

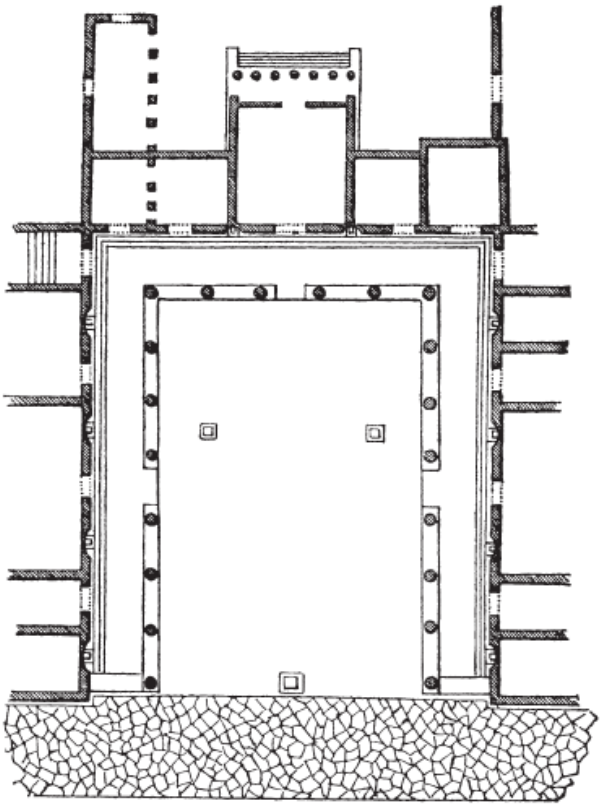

Figure 6.7: Hamilton's "forum" at Gabii (from Becker et al. 2009, Figure 3).

Undertaken by Gavin Hamilton in the late 1700s, which revealed a large, rectangular space opening up onto a road that is believed to be the via Praenestina (Figure 6.7).[721] Surrounded on the other three sides by porticoes with attached structures of uncertain function, Hamilton's excavation area seems to hit upon many of the features an ideal forum might contain. Yet there are reasons to question this identification. On the one hand, poor documentation and subsequent backfill has made the location of Hamilton's forum difficult to find.[722] Moreover, over 200 statue fragments and inscriptions were supposedly discovered in association with this structure, including fantastic depictions of Marcus Agrippa, Claudius, Nero, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Geta and Septimius Severus (now in the Louvre), which suggest the structure endured well into the 3rd century CE.[723] While some of these inscriptions point to statues set up for local elites as well as Hadrianic building efforts, the large amount of portraiture focused on the imperial family suggests an imperial cult site or possibly an elite villa-like structure (like that recently uncovered in Area I of the Gabii Project Excavations).[724] The mosaics found in the area, on the other hand, appear to date to the late first century CE (with construction techniques supposedly pushing the original construction of the structure back to the late republican period).[725] This kind of elite expenditure in the civic realm would seem strange in this later period, when Gabii is portrayed in our textual sources as shrunken (a characteristic supported by archaeological evidence, as discussed below). Propertius calls it a city that is almost nothing now, though it used to be

[721] Visconti 1797; Pinza 1903, 328. See Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009 for a full overview of fieldwork at Gabii up to that date.
[722] Preliminary excavations made by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma south of the Temple of Juno claim to have uncovered this structure, but the full publication of their findings is still outstanding. See Angelelli and Musco 2012.
[723] See Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 76-85 for a full catalogue of reported finds along with various excavation notes recorded in letters.
[724] Samuels et al. forthcoming (JFA).
[725] Angelelli and Musco 2012

greatly crowded, while Horace uses it as comparanda for another deserted town.[726] While these authors may certainly be exaggerating to some degree, it does suggest that Gabii was no longer a bustling city by the late republican period, making it a strange moment for the construction of a new forum.

While this structure may perhaps be a later imperial period forum, if one wishes to call it that, the desire to discover "the forum" (and indeed, to somehow discover it on the first try!) points to a larger fixation on the idealized forum as the *only* type of open functional public space in a city. Due to the Roman expansion across the Italian peninsula and eventually the Mediterranean, the standard "ideal" for urban open space has become a single, central, flat generally rectangular piazza area. While this is certainly a form repeated time and again in Roman colonies, it is easy to forget that this is not a fixed requirement. Rome itself had numerous piazza spaces of all shapes, sizes, and functions scattered across the city, including the forum boarium, the forum suarium, and the forum vinarium, among other unidentifiable other open areas. Cities established outside of Roman control should be expected to have their own types of public space that do not conform exactly to the Roman standard.[727] The Gabine piazza described here is one example, as is the split-level piazza of nearby Palestrina. Thus, to spend one's time looking for a standardized "forum" at this type of site, or perhaps *only* a standard forum, may not be the best way forward.[728]

From the outset, it is important to note that the final stratigraphic study of the Area J intersection and Area H piazza space at Gabii is far from being completed, and this brief look is

---

[726] Prop. 4.1.34: *et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi*; Hor. *Epist. 1.11: Gabiis desertior*.

[727] Gabii was certainly not a Roman colony, though a recent argument suggests that a "ritual unfounding" in the form of a *devotio* may have taken place in the early fifth century prior to the establishment of the street grid. See Johnston and Mogetta 2020.

[728] Moreover, the desire to define the Latin term "forum" has contributed to isolating studies of Roman open public spaces from the rest of the world's cultures that also utilize these kinds of space.

not meant to be an attempt to provide a definitive analysis of the many outstanding details and questions. Rather, it should be seen as a general overview, a story of the evolving rhythms of Gabii and how they may have played out in a certain location in the landscape. To this end, I have divided up the history of the intersection into four general parts which traverse the lifespan of the city and reflect its evolving rhythms. These are the rhythms of kinship (9th – 6th centuries BCE), the rhythms of the city (5th – 1st centuries BCE), the rhythms of industry (1st century BCE – 4th century CE) and the rhythms of reuse (5th – 11th centuries CE). Obviously these rhythms mix together and continue to play roles both before and after the time periods defined above; what I have attempted to do here is "to separate out, to distinguish the sources, to bring them back together by perceiving interactions" as Lefebvre did long ago from his window in Paris.[729] This, then, is the view from a window, overlooking that intersection across the centuries.

6.3 The Rhythms of Kinship (9th – 6th centuries BCE)

The site that would become Gabii is situated on the slope of a volcanic crater around eighteen kilometers east of Rome. Growing up alongside Rome, its initial occupation follows a pattern seen time and again in Latium and southern Etruria, with nodal occupation clusters spread across the site beginning in the Iron Age (Figure 6.8).[730] These clusters represent kinship groups, lineages and those attached to them who made the choice to come together in an entirely new way to form a type of community not seen before in central Italy.[731] The rhythms of kinship

[729] See the introductory quote from this chapter.

[730] Guaitoli 1981; Guaitoli 2016. For information on the excavation data for two of these nodes not far from the intersection in question, see Becker and Nowlin 2011, Evans et al. 2019, and Banducci and Gallone forthcoming.

[731] Elsewhere, I have argued extensively that these groups should be seen as a form of a Lévi-Straussian House Society and that the anthropological House Society model in general is a useful heuristic tool for scholars to use to better understand this period (Lévi-Strauss 1975, 47 for this model). For its application in central Italy, see Naglak and Terrenato 2020, Naglak and Terrenato 2019, and Naglak forthcoming. As with the use of rhythmanalysis here, I

relations, both by blood and affinity, are then central to this pre-urban moment, when the wheels of urbanization and state formation are just beginning to turn. It is reasonable to argue that groups are still very much inward-facing in that decisions are focused firstly on benefiting the kinship group and then on the larger settlement area.[732] Yet in order to successfully reproduce itself over the generations, a kinship group needs to maintain internal cohesion while reaching out to create new bonds with other groups (both near and far) through trade, marriage, and other strategies.

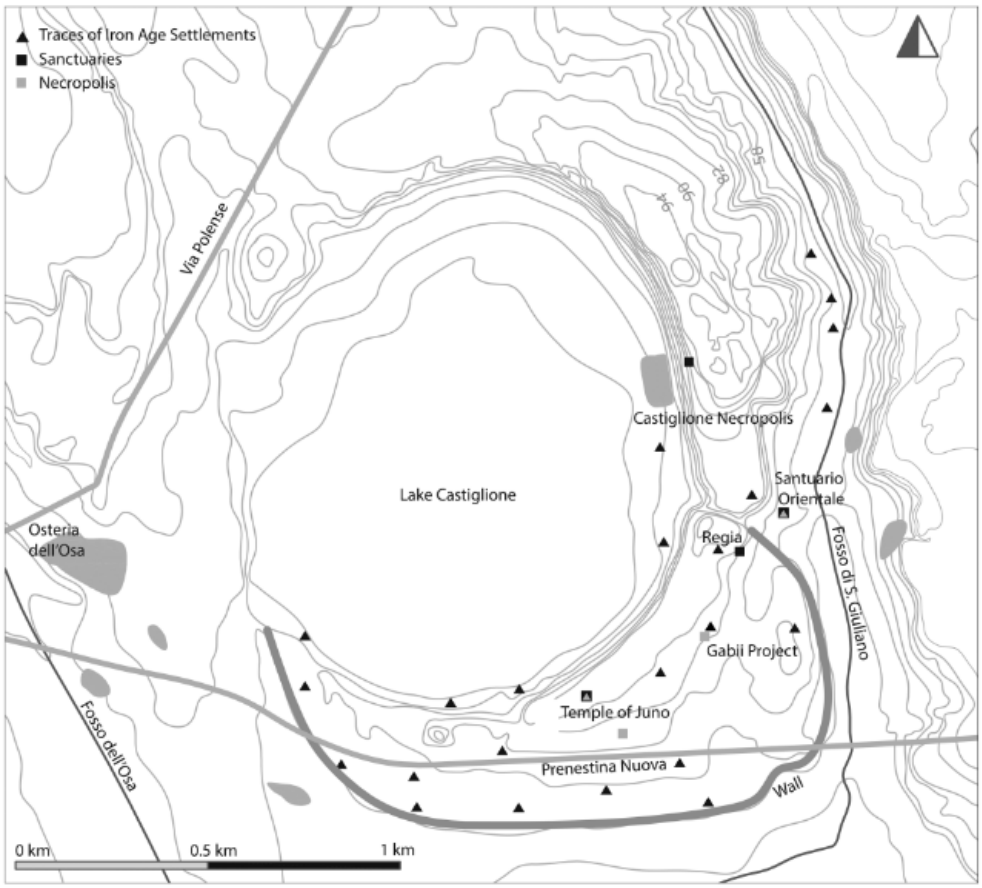

Figure 6.8: Composite plan of Gabii indicating the locations of Iron Age evidence from architectural survey (from Mogetta 2020, Figure 1.3).

believe these kinds of approaches are vital in order for Classical Archaeology (and Classics more generally) to emerge from its self-imposed isolation from the rest of the cultures of the world.

[732] See Terrenato 2019, 43-63, Terrenato 2011 for a discussion of this kind of "weak-state" organization.

While intra-group rhythms, how kinship groups maintain strong ties internally within ever-evolving hierarchical and heterarchical structures, are of great interest in their own right, the origin of piazza spaces lies in the emerging relationships between the groups occupying their walled off habitation clusters. The decision to move to the site of Gabii was a choice made by each group, and with that choice came consequences and requirements. The expulsion of adult burials from the communal area must have been one of the first decisions made.[733] Yet this was not for health reasons, for there was not yet a concept of germs or infectious disease emanating from the deceased. Instead, I argue that it was due to the fact that the bones of the dead provide a strong physical and ritual claim to a landscape, a recurring feature in kinship groups generally designated House Societies.[734] With adults banned, infant burials played this role, with inhumations in and around occupation clusters a common occurrence in central Italy during the Iron Age and Archaic periods.[735]

With the walled-in occupation clusters designated areas of power for specific groups, there was need for neutral communal ground in these nascent communities, places for the leaders of disparate kinship groups to come together to discuss the collaborations, conflicts, and complaints that would necessarily arise. The story of intersections and piazza spaces, therefore, begins here, with physical movement creating the first pathways within and between occupation nodes and communal meeting places, traversed repeatedly over the days, weeks, and years as the rhythms of daily life played out. In the case of early Rome, this site was this Roman forum, the location raised above the floodplains by the labor of the hilltop communities after burials were

[733] See Naglak and Terrenato 2020 for further discussion on this practice and others later codified in the Twelve Tables. This boundary was also likely an agreed upon line of defense for these early settlement groups.
[734] See Beck 2007, 7-8 for extensive bibliography.
[735] D'Acri and Mogetta 2020 contains a substantial number of comparanda. For more on the role of infant burials at Gabii, see Cohen and Naglak 2020.

banned (see Chapter 1). As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, for the site of Gabii, the location, and even this word "forum" is not so straightforward. Although the specific site or sites where these original inhabitants of Gabii might have come together is unknown, it was likely in a place similar to the location under consideration here: an open, flat area near the center of the larger protected inhabitation area.[736] Unclaimed by the occupation structures or burials of any one group, it was open for all to utilize, likely not only for the governing of the community but for other more mundane purposes as well.

6.4 The Rhythms of the City (5th – 1st centuries BCE)

While Hamilton's so-called forum has been the main focus of research into public space at Gabii, the intersection and accompanying piazza area designated Areas J and H at Gabii must have played a large role in the life of the city beginning in the republican period.[737] While piazza spaces may have been areas of kinship negotiation and compromise in the Iron Age, it is in the 5th century BCE when they begin to be shaped and codified into larger city plans, and the rhythms of kinship, though never disappearing, become increasingly entangled and eclipsed by the rhythms of the urban and its defined, controlled environments.

The laying of the quasi-orthogonal city grid at Gabii can be dated to the fifth century, and the piazza situated in the city center, delimited by the via Gabina to the north and respecting the grid plan, was almost certainly created at this moment (see the grid in Figure 6.5). The initial period of construction is marked by a negative feature cut into the bedrock (a *tagliata*) before

[736] See Helas 2016 and Helas 2018 for more on the development of fortification walls of Gabii both at the level of the hut cluster and the larger settlement.

[737] This lack of focus is somewhat surprising, as the piazza space was also initially excavated in the early 1900s. Perhaps the lack of interest has more to do with the lack of elite sculpture discovered in a location where habitation had been ongoing into the second millennium. See Majerini and Musco 2001.

two glareate road levels were laid in the fourth century and finally the first basalt-paved roadway in the mid-third century (to be followed by another basalt level later in the imperial period).[738] The strangely off-kilter section of the via Praeneste is also thought to date to the third or second century, but further analysis of this road is needed; there may have been a more "orthogonal" street which had previously existed which is no longer visible.[739]

As appears to be the situation for much of the urban area, the fourth-century piazza alongside the via Gabina is marked by a general absence of significant building activity; the infill of the city-blocks appears to have taken some time after the implantation of the new grid.[740] It is in the middle of the third century, coinciding with the basalt-paved street, that the space begins to be filled in, with monumental ashlar construction defining a variety of rooms around the boundaries of the space.[741] This monumentalization coincides with an overall revamping of the via Gabina and its surrounding area, including the creation of the monumental, and currently unparalleled, Area F building on the northern side of the road (Figure 6.9).[742] This complex was built up on three separate terraces and seems to have been a public building designed for bathing, feasting, and other ritualized activities, including possibly containing an open-air auguraculum on the highest level. On the lowest terrace, at the level of the via Gabina, a monumental portico fronted the street in front of the building and appears to have wrapped around to the east and

[738] For detailed discussion of the stratigraphy of the via Gabina as well as the side roads so-far uncovered, see Johnston and Mogetta 2020 as well as Mogetta et al. 2019. For Gabii's grid plan in general, see Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009 and Mogetta 2014. The 100 meter long section the road in question was originally uncovered by the Italian archaeological service in the late 1990s (Majerini and Musco 2001, 490-493).

[739] LTURS IV 2007, s.v. 'Praenestina, Via' (Z. Mari): 249.

[740] A similar phenomenon can be seen at Pompeii and elsewhere (Geertman 2007).

[741] The piazza area, as with the intersection of the via Gabina and the via Praenestina, were originally excavated by the Italian archaeological service (Majerini and Musco 2001).

[742] Johnston et al. 2018 for a full overview of the Republican phases of this structure.

south, creating a monumentalized city center which included a paved entrance way into the piazza directly from the street.

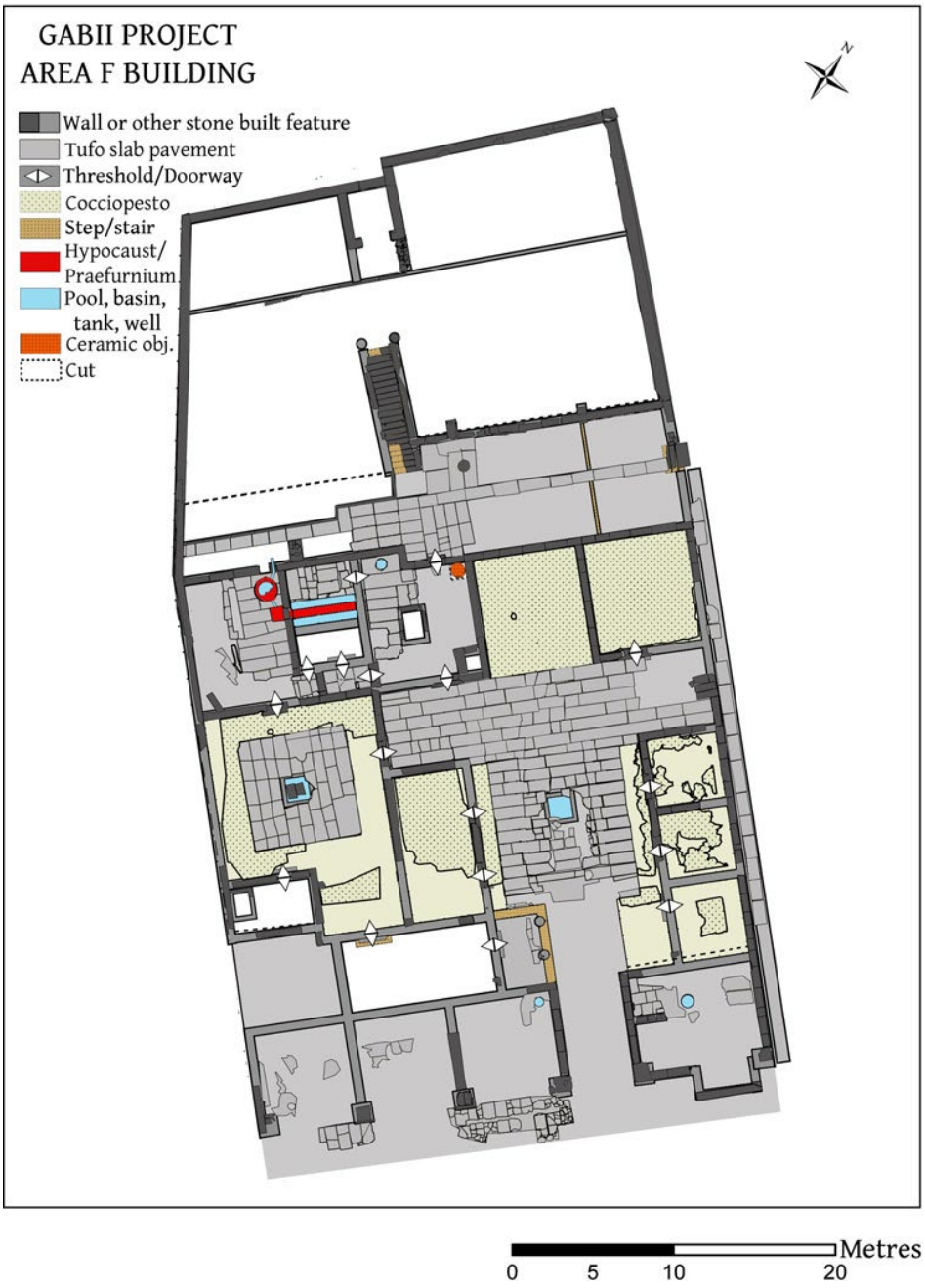

Figure 6.9: Reconstruction of Area F building containing a portico and shops facing onto the via Gabii (from Johnston et al. 2018, Figure 4).

This establishment and then monumentalization of the Area H piazza and the Area J intersection in general are representative of the evolving rhythms of life at Gabii and the move

from a locality organized around kinship groups to one focused on larger city and/or state processes. This development is most often recognized by the simple fact that it takes larger community buy-in simply to have the time, energy, and workforce necessary to complete such large scale projects, whether it is the raising of the forum level in Rome or the building of large ashlar walls around the boundaries of a city. Gone is the possibility of retreating to one's own nodal occupation point in the landscape, fortified by a wall built by one's own family and associates; now everyone succeeds or fails together. When such displays turn towards conspicuous monumentalization outside of defensive necessities, such as with the public Area F building and the expansive portico of the intersection, the impact faces outward as well as inward. It is not a coincidence that the triple-terraced complex is situated exactly at this main intersection point between Rome and Praeneste; it would have been highly visible in the landscape as one entered into the city, especially for those travelling into the city along the via Praenestina, and along with the fortification wall would have indicated the wealth of the city as a whole (possibly gained through its strong association with Rome). It could also have been created in competition with nearby Praeneste, which was a wealthy community and had monumental features of its own visible from far away across the landscape in this period.

A second, less well studied phenomenon of these processes in the ancient world is the restraining of choice which the establishment of the street grid and subsequent development of the city has over this period. On a basic level, the establishment of any grid plan (or really architecture in general) immediately creates "permissible" and "impermissible" spaces for movement. The first paths between the hut clusters established at Gabii must have been "desire paths' in the truest sense of the words, paths created from nothing to get to a desired location in

the landscape that slowly became codified over time.[743] Unlike this situation, within the construct of the "city" it is no longer feasible to create your own pathways from place to place, for they have been defined for you. Gabii's orthogonal grid curves around the volcanic slope, creating elongated blocks in a radial pattern.[744] What is unclear is how far exactly these blocks stretched in each direction around the trunk road; as of yet, no cross roads running parallel to the via Gabina have been discovered despite magnetometry exploration and excavation extending nearly ninety meters up the side roads in some locations. A small cut through may have been identified in the northern portion of Area C situated approximately 60 meters up from the main trunk road.[745] This path does seem to align with the northern end of the Area F building, suggesting that there may have been some way to move across the city at this elevation, though further excavation is necessary, and the path may have simply eroded away. If this is indeed a pathway, it suggests that the blocks may be something like 120 meters in length, which is quite long but not unheard of in the Roman world.

With the defining of streets and, theoretically, housing plots at this time (though there is evidence that, like at Pompeii, this infill was slow to take place), a new experience of moving around the city emerged. It was now necessary for anyone wanting to move across the city to travel first to the trunk road and to use it to circle around the crater to reach a new side road. This obviously gives a designed primacy to the via Gabina, one that it would maintain for the duration of Gabii's lifespan. Its continual maintenance marks this importance, as well as its role in ensuring a mostly level pathway across the city for cart traffic between Rome, Praenestina, and Tibur. With the grid came intersections, places for individuals and groups to gather and interact,

[743] See Chapter 4 for more on desire paths.
[744] Mogetta 2014; Becker, Mogetta, and Terrenato 2009.
[745] Mogetta and Opitz (eds.) in preparation.

and with the development of the via Praenestina came the monumentalization of the Area J intersection and the Area H piazza spaces.

Figure 6.10: Diagram indicating the enclosing of the northwestern portion of the Area H piazza space during the republican period (image by Andrew Johnston with Google Earth basemap).

This slow restraining of choice and enhancing of control is recognizable in the development and enclosure of the Area H piazza space. In terms of comparison with more recognizable spaces, the slow infilling of both the Athenian agora and the Roman forum over the course of the last centuries BCE and first centuries CE has been the subject of some discussion. With the agora, the debate has centered on how the previously open space gives way to large specialized structures during the Roman period, with the remainder of the square undergoing a form of "museumification" in order to recall the city's glorious past in contrast to its current conquered status.[746] S. Alcock has pushed back against this concept of a static, filled in urban

[746] This argument for the loss of importance of the agora during the Roman imperial period, primarily starting under Augustus, can be found in Shear 1981, 360. The placement of the Odeion of Agrippa within the public space in particular has been noted as a turning point wherein public assemblies in this space as well as other civic events no longer have room to take place (Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 15; Burden 1999, 80). The "museumification" of the

center, although she has conceded that much of the commerce and public gatherings which took place there were likely transferred to the Roman agora.[747] C. Dickenson, in contrast, considers this concept of infilling as a gross exaggeration and argues that the whole idea of the agora being used as a political arena prior to the Roman period is erroneous. He argues that it was not until the Romans took over that politics in public spaces, a Roman idea, began to occur with the construction of the Athenian *bema* speaking platform.[748] Nonetheless, there is no denying that over the course of Athens' history the central public space was slowly bounded and controlled through buildings and other architectural features, even if there is no direct association between the Roman conquest and further envelopment of the space.[749]

Similar discussions have centered on the development of the Roman forum over time, including its museumification and transformation into a "celebratory backdrop" in the Imperial period.[750] Back in Chapter 1, I discussed D. Newsome's *through-to* dichotomy and how it could be enhanced by a discussion about movement and experience *within* a piazza space. What cannot be denied, however, is that there is an increase in the desire for *controlled* movement in the Roman forum during the late Republic which were then made permanent under Augustus, an argument that Newsome makes quite well (see chapter 4 for examples of transitory-feature elements which may control movement).[751] A prime example is the *Aedes Divi Iuli*, a temple which delineated the eastern edge of the forum and eventually made inaccessible a place which

---

space, which should be tied to the previous argument, has also been forcefully argued for by Sheer 1981, 362 and Spawforth 2012, 70.

[747] Alcock 2002, 53-55.

[748] Dickenson 2017, 292-299. Dickenson further notes that he has discovered no other older Greek agora which experience a massive level of development and infilling under the Romans, suggesting that this was not a top-down imposition by Augustus to "museumify" such spaces and break up public meetings (265).

[749] Compare the Athenian agora c. 300 BC (Dickenson 2017, 71) with the Athenian agora c. 200 CE (Dickenson 2017, 278).

[750] Coarelli 2007, 47; Favro 1988.

[751] Newsome 2011b, 299-305.

was previously one of the busiest in the piazza.[752] While Newsome sees this transition from permeable materials to travertine as symbolic of the transition from the republic to the imperial periods, in terms of accessibility and movement the use of architecture to control space dates back long before this moment and is apparent from the earliest moments of architectural construction within piazza spaces, including at Gabii.

Figure 6.11: Entranceway into the Area H piazza from the north (photo from Gabii Project online database).

While the piazza at Gabii is obviously on a much smaller scale than the Roman forum or the Athena agora, similar processes are taking place over the course of the republican period. What begins as a large open space is slowly bounded on all sides, initially by the orthogonal street grid and then by the shops and porticos which line its sides (Figure 6.10).[753] As was seen in the previous chapter, intertwined with the concept of enclosure is the need for access. While early in its life, this piazza space may have been largely open and accessible from all sides, as it

[752] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.1129, 2.5.186

[753] See Samuels et al. forthcoming for a detailed overview of the known development of the piazza to date, with particular focus on the northeast corner of the structure.

was slowly enclosed on all sides and integrated into a monumentalized city center, accessibility became controlled and, indeed, performative. While the entire area of the piazza is yet to be understood, what must have been a primary entrance has been found off the via Gabina to the north (Figure 6.11). The basalt-paved road of the republican period has been identified in two places around the piazza space, each of which correspond to the level of this entranceway situated approximately in the middle of the northern end of the piazza. Small rooms lie on either side, funneling both pedestrian and cart traffic through this defined pathway before widening back into a large, open, monumentalized area. We have, therefore, a series of prepared and controlled experiences for the visitor to the center of Gabii: an approach along one of the main roads with a large, terraced, public building rising above everything else in the distance; monumentalized porticos with massive tufo pillars along the sides of the road as the center is reached; finally, a prepared turn, a constricting of movement as one exits the road only to open back up again within a piazza space prepared for both business and social opportunities.

The evolution of the Area J intersection and the piazza space in the 5th century and continuing down into the early imperial period should then be seen as reflecting the city's evolving rhythms as a whole, focused on control and the success of the city over that of one's own kin alone. Movement is slowly defined and constricted; time and energy are put into city-wide projects meant to impress and overwhelm as well as to be utilized on a daily basis. These should be seen as two sides of the same coin, with the view now looking outward to the wider world of Italy and the Mediterranean rather than inward towards one's own kin or nearby settlements alone. Access needs to be possible in that these public areas should be easy to find (and this space at Gabii at the main crossroads of the city certainly fits this requirement) but also closely monitored due to the large number of individuals and groups who have access; it is no

longer possible to "know everyone" or to have controlled interactions only with known outsiders. The ability to immediately impress strangers upon arrival, therefore, becomes a valuable commodity and encourages a wider world of alliances and interactions. The development of the city center at Gabii, then, is closely entwined with the processes of urbanization and state formation, with a movement away from kinship rhythms and towards city- and state-level interactions.

6.5 The Rhythms of Industry (1st century BCE - 5th century CE)

What, then, about the late republican and early imperial authors so dismissive of Gabii's place in central Italy? Beyond the possibility that this is a preconceived mindset towards the city after its *devotio* by the Romans, substantial changes to the city appear to have taken place by the Augustan period.[754] Many of the domestic structures of republican times lay abandoned or repurposed (Areas A, B, and C in Figure 6.3), suggesting a decline in population (perhaps with individuals drawn to nearby Rome for greater opportunity). The upper two levels of the Area F building also seem to have gone out of use, with just the lowest level nearest the road continuing to be utilized.[755] The raising of the road level of the via Gabina also interrupted the way the Area H piazza space was engaged with, making the former entrance from the north impassible for vehicular traffic. Preliminary analysis suggests its ultimate privatization, possibly being turned into a combined domestic/production area one point, similar to that discovered in Area I.[756]

This evolution of the area is a marked change from the grand face the city had put forth during the republican period. Daily life is no longer centered on the public sphere, as seen

[754] For a discussion of the possible *devotio*, see Johnston and Mogetta 2020.
[755] Johnston et al. 2018, 11.
[756] Samuels et al. forthcoming (JFA).

through the reuse of these large previously public spaces. Instead, the city has both physically shrunk, though with a focus remaining along the via Gabina and around this intersection and shrunk in the minds of the Romans living nearby. Dionysius of Halicarnassus sums it up nicely in Book 4 of his *Antiquitates Romanae*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The city is no longer concerned with its place in central Italy; in fact, it may no longer be appropriate to call it a "city" at all. Instead, daily life has turned towards industry and private commercial enterprise. In this sense, the continued focus on the area directly around the via Gabina makes sense; this is where the traffic is, and as studies of more fully excavated cities have shown us, where traffic is, shops and inns follow.[757] This would explain the continued maintenance of the rooms of the lower terrace of Area F as well as of the large portico, the facade presented to those moving along the road. It could also explain the impressive mosaics discovered in some of these rooms, likely meant to impress travelers visiting the shops, baths, and inns on their way elsewhere.[758] The nearby bath complex west of the Area F building could also then serve those wanting to rest on their way to and from Rome.[759]

The abandonment and transformation of domestic space around this intersection further emphasizes this move towards industry over city. What may have been a rather traditional domestic structure in Area I in the republican period is expanded for the use of agricultural production.[760] Noticeably, this structure was also situated along the via Gabina to the east and so maintained a large presence in the landscape. Just north, the Area C house also seems to go through some sort of industrial transition during the last century BCE, though a full

[757] Kaiser 2011 does an excellent job analyzing the statistical significance of the location of commercial structures (among other types) with respect to its street's depth from a city gate (e.g. page 80 for an analysis of Pompeii).
[758] Majerini and Musco 2001; Angelelli and Musco 2012.
[759] D'Agostini and Musco 2015.
[760] Samuels et al. forthcoming.

understanding of this space is difficult due to post-depositional processes down the side of the crater and later agricultural impact.[761] The so-called "Hamilton's forum" also probably belongs in this category, situated along the via Gabina and more likely a part of an elite domestic/cult space than a public square. What can be seen here is a move away from "traditional" domestic spaces and rhythms toward an industry focused lifestyle, both in larger domestic-industrial structures and in the complete abandonment of domestic space for a preferred industrial use.

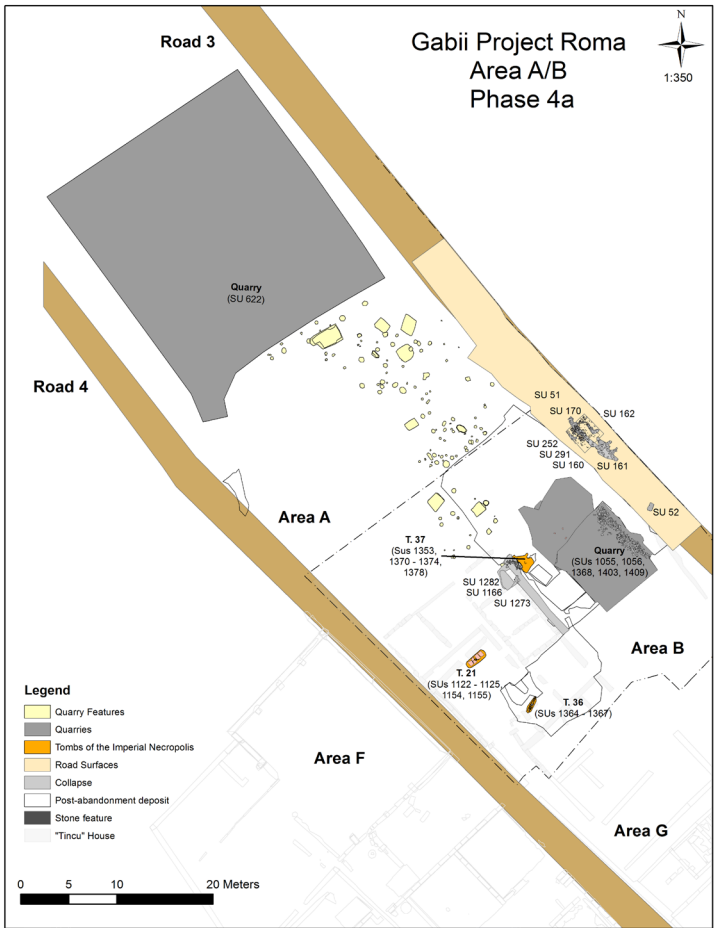

Figure 6.12: Evidence for quarrying just northwest of the Area J intersection during the imperial period (map by author, Banducci and Gallone forthcoming).

To the north, the house initially in Area A is a useful example of this phenomenon. Settled since the period of the hut clusters in the Iron Age, it was abandoned and the space turned

[761] Mogetta and Opitz (eds.) in preparation.

into a quarry which continued to function long into the imperial period (Figure 6.12).[762] The status of the roads leading up from the monumentalized section of the via Gabina to the quarry are indicative of the continued importance of industry to those remaining in the area, particularly when contrasted with the fates of other streets off of the trunk road.[763] To the east, the street designated Road 1 seems to have been impassable by the middle of the first century BCE, spoliated and covered with debris in conjunction with the abandonment of the nearby houses. To the west, Road 2 was made impossible to use with the expansion of the Area I structure mentioned above (Figure 6.3). Of the four side roads so far excavated, therefore, only Roads 3 and 4, stretching from the monumentalized city center up to the quarry, remained in use during this period. And not only did they remain in use, but they were actively maintained even after the abandonment of the republican period structures. Road 3 was resurfaced during the 1st or 2nd century CE with a major glareate phase, with the southern portion closer to the via Gabina having around five more surfaces placed up through the 5th century CE. Road 4, meanwhile, on the western side of the Area A quarry was remodeled more thoroughly for use with the quarry, although it was eventually blocked off by an expansion of the businesses along the road itself.

The rhythms of movement and activity, therefore, once again changed in this period. Functional space was constricted, not so much in terms of accessibility like before but in terms of the areas around the city center which were maintained and utilized. The focus shifted away a collective sense of self towards the individual success, whether in quarrying every bit of rock from a hillside or expanding an elite residence for agricultural purposes. Only the areas of the city that might be fruitfully applied to this purpose were maintained, whether because they could

[762] See Banducci and Gallone forthcoming for the final publication of this area; see Farr 2014 for a look at the many quarries in and around Gabii.

[763] Johnston et al. 2019 for a full stratigraphic analysis of these streets.

supply raw materials or a steady stream of potential customers. The maintenance of infrastructure, like the facade of our intersection and the road to the Area A quarry, reflects this desire, while the fact that other roads were entirely built over reflects the individualized nature of the system that existed within the walls at this point in time. In general, it could be said that public works had given way to private lavishness, while local traffic had given way to industrial carts and passing travelers.

6.6 Conclusion: The Rhythms of Reuse (5th century CE - Present)

What is an intersection when it is no longer an intersection? Or a piazza no longer a piazza? The later history of this space and its surrounding area, previously so central to the city, is intriguing if still mysterious. Two features in particular indicate a radical reimagining of the area and its functions. On the one hand are two large, linear negative features which cut through a large chunk of the city center, creating a right angle at exactly the intersection in question. Preliminary dates suggest a post-6th century CE construction, and C14 testing suggests that it may have been refilled in the 11th century.[764] On the other are a series of small walls of dry stone masonry created from stones and spolia of earlier structures, which have been designated *muretti* in Italian literature.[765] These walls were found throughout the area, but importantly, also on top of the already filled in cuts, indicating their later date. Likely connected to these features is the construction of San Primitivo, an early fifth century CE church tied to the establishment of a bishopric at Gabii and built in the southern portion of the piazza space along the via Praenestina. Features associated with the church and then later a monastery stretch out across the

[764] Maranzana et al. forthcoming.
[765] Majerini and Musco 2001, Samuels et al. forthcoming.

piazza and the nearby street, including a series of necropoli. These burials in a sense take our concept of the city center in full circle: originally banned from shared common spaces, burials have returned to the city center as it is reused again in a new way.

While the functionality of the large cuts and muretti is unknown, it has been suggested that they have something to do with water control and maintenance.[766] The large channels may have been canals meant to drain water from some unspecified water source to the area of the church. The small walls, meanwhile, may have been used to create small gardening patches on top of the Roman remains to provide food for a monastery in the 12th century CE. While these are just guesses for now, what can be recognized is the large impact of these features on the Area J intersection and Area H piazza. The large negative feature runs through nearly the entire Gabii excavation area (evidence in Areas C, D, E, G, and I), including cutting through most of the Area J intersection itself. It does not, however, cut all the way through but jumps across the last portion of the via Gabina before seeming to continue through the ruins across the street. While this cut, then, would have disrupted traffic continuing east along the via Gabina (towards ancient Tibur), it leaves space for movement south towards the church, suggesting that the path was still in use at this time. By the later time of the small walls, however, both streets appear to have completely gone out of use. Not only do these walls appear to completely cover the eastern portion of the via Gabina, they extend across the entire intersection, including the portion remaining after the cut was made. This fact, combined with the extension of structures associated with the monastery across the via Praenestina, suggests that by this point in time the road was no longer used.

[766] Majerini and Musco 2001, Samuels et al. forthcoming.

The destruction and spoliation of the ancient city of Gabii are indicative of the rhythms of reuse, though it should of course be said that these rhythms are already present in earlier periods. Even the *muretti* make use of still-standing walls of all periods throughout Areas G and H. The shopfronts of the area urbana of the imperial period are standing in the bones of the great mid-republican structure; the constructs in the piazza sit on centuries of history and life from earlier moments. This spoliation and reuse of the piazza area brings us to the end of the this space's life as a piazza at Gabii, and it is an end shared by many open public spaces in the Italian world. Open and empty, they are slowly retaken by nature and become a prime location for agriculture or animal husbandry to take place, both of which took place in the piazzas of Gabii and Rome (as seen in Figure 3.5). Evidence for agricultural and pastoral activity at Gabii, as the once urban environment became empty fields on the outskirts of the city of Rome, can be seen even today when flocks of sheep come wandering through the city's walls and uncovered structures bear the sign of plowing (Figure 6.13). With the slow evolution of Gabii into an archaeological park, the future might see more man-made structures again being built in the fields. This movement, combined with the ever-spreading urban environment of modern Rome, suggests that one day not too far in the future, at least parts of Gabii might be urban once again.

Figure 6.13: Evidence for plowing in Area I (photo from Gabii Project online database).

The previous two chapters have attempted an overview of two case studies enhanced through a consideration of rhythm and rhythmic processes. The first, the Roman triumph, focused on a particular rhythmic event and its effects on the physical and social landscape of Rome. Disruptive of normal rhythms, the triumph created its own rhythm over the days and weeks both before and after the event took place. Most importantly, a rhythmic approach can allow us to refocus on the people and places which do not always appear in our textual sources. What was it like to be an average person experiencing this monumental event? How did this experience change as the venue in which it was experienced, often open public spaces of various kinds, change? This section, I believe, just begins to outline the possible approaches that can expand our understanding of this important Roman event.

The second case study is narrower in breadth if wider in temporal scope, with the focus on main intersection and piazza of Gabii and its change over the centuries. The goal here was to tell a more general story, the story of a particular location in a particular city based on the available archaeological evidence. What emerges is that the rhythms of the wider built

environment are reflected in its open public spaces, and vice versa. As a community looks inward or outward, the resulting rhythms are reflected in the public spaces with which locals and foreigners engage, with ever evolving issues of access and control at the forefront. Yet cycles can still be seen in the long eras of history. Despite what modern society might think, urban environments and their accompanying piazza spaces are not eternal; like rhythms, they grow, evolve, and eventual end, with the ending of one rhythm possibly becoming the beginning of another. Rome itself expanded and contracted again and again over the course of its history, and perhaps soon its rhythms will become Gabii's once again.

6.7 A Refrain[767]

A window overlooking an intersection,
Nascent, emerging, leopard spots on the landscape,
Footfalls treading desired paths into the natural soil.
Compromise and conflict, and with it uncertainty,
Inward focus yielding to external exploration,
Rosy uncertainty emanating from each new dawn.

A window overlooking an intersection.
A cart. A cart. A pedestrian. A cart with a pedestrian walking alongside.
Wearing ruts deeper into the paved street.
Food and goods brought to the marketplace.
Food and goods leaving the marketplace.

[767] Inspired by Lefebvre 2013 and Perec 1975, each of whom perceived Paris in their own way.

Back and forth and back and forth.

Ordered, tall, and proud,

Restrictive, fixed, and certain,

Architecture as the background of reality.

A window overlooking an intersection.

Chisels and hammers sounding in the air.

Inns and shops along a road to Rome,

Serving anyone who might pass by,

Heads down, hands up.

A window overlooking an intersection.

A window that was, an intersection that was.

A sheep. A sheep. A sheepdog. A sheep.

A plow. A van full of archaeologists.

Chapter 7 : Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion: Liberty Piazza, Ann Arbor

Since 1955, Ann Arbor has been without a traditional piazza, with the University of Michigan's Diag taking over many of the larger functions this kind of open space might perform (Figure 4.6). While a favorite spot for students to relax under a tree or feed the squirrels between classes, the Diag is not truly a "communal" location, situated as it is on property owned by the University of Michigan and catered towards an academic population. The smaller urban piazza spaces which have survived, such as Liberty Plaza near campus, have become a point of contention within the city. Situated just a few blocks from the university on one of the major commercial avenues, Liberty Plaza is a .26-acre concrete open area with two levels of benches and planters for vegetation. Yet over the years it has been plagued by issues, including drug activity, overdoses, fights, assaults, disorderly conduct, larceny, malicious destruction of property, open intoxicants, panhandling, noise complaints, urinating in public, littering and vagrancy. Police are a constant presence, often idling in their car nearby. There is a strong economic and racial divide between who tends to use the space, one slanted towards the poor and minority groups.

The example of Liberty Plaza is a minor example of the issues surrounding urban piazza spaces in general in the modern world. In order to create a successful space which is embraced by the community at large, a combination of proper design and inclusive public programming is necessary. Up until recently, Liberty Plaza had failed on both counts: a sunken plan ensured both the accumulation of trash and other waste and discouraged the casual pedestrian from accessing

the space, while a lack of accessible community engagement encouraged locals to distance themselves socially from the park. Over the past few years, attempts have been made to better integrate the plaza into the social community of Ann Arbor, such as with a "Sonic Lunch" concert series in the summer, but results have been slow to emerge.

Figure 7.1: Liberty Plaza, Ann Arbor. Police presence visible on the street.

The Romans dealt with similar issues two thousand years ago, as piazzas were one of the few places in which a variety of people of different ages, genders, cultures, occupations and statuses would come together and interact. There were complaints at that time as well, ones that simply paving the forum with sharp rocks could not solve. Yet the key then is the same as the key now: the functional and aesthetic integration of these kinds of spaces into the urban environment, into the rhythm of everyday life in a city. In this way, locations are created where people naturally congregate, pass through, and engage with thanks to their design as well as the different types of available amenities and community programming taking place within them.

For the Romans, this included events like daily markets, victory parades, and the wide variety of ritual and social events seen in our textual and archaeological evidence.

I view the above framework as a useful first step in better understanding the role of piazza spaces in the everyday lives of individuals in Roman Italy. Through the integration of textual and archaeological evidence and the consideration of all elements of the urban environment, no matter their permanence, we can more fully reconstruct the rhythms of life. Most usefully, this framework allows for different approaches based on different feature types, recognizing that no single method can effectively engage with all the materials at hand. With this framework laid out, it is then possible to delve into specific archaeological sites and specific events and moments in time, as I have attempted in the previous two chapters with the site of Gabii and the Roman triumph. Recent studies of ancient streets have shown useful ways forward; it is up to us to walk down them into the piazza-life of Roman Italy.

Back in Ann Arbor, a vote was put to residents in November 2018 centered on the creation of a new downtown central park, designated the "Center of the City" project. Those in favor promoted the space as a new town square, a new focus for the community, "a new arbor for the 21st century."[768] Those opposed pointed out economic concerns and looked to the example of Liberty Plaza, wondering how a similar project would produce different results. The vote ended up being the most divisive proposal on a ballet that included the legalization of marijuana in the state of Michigan, with 53% voting for the park and 47% against. The goal now is to have the new park finished and ready to open by 2024, the 200th anniversary of the founding of the city. Only time will tell if, after nearly 70 years, Ann Arbor will have a town square once more.

[768] Many articles leading up to the vote focused on the pros and cons of the proposal. See, for example, Stanton 2018 (https://www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/2018/10/fight_for_ann_arbors_center_of.html).

7.2 Postscript

The last pages of this dissertation were completed in March and April of 2020 while quarantined in the American Academy in Rome and then just outside New York City, a period when the coronavirus was sweeping the world and impacting every aspect of daily life. With social distancing and protective self-quarantines denying the regular piazza spaces of counties across the globe to locals and visitor alike, it was heartening to see people come up with innovative ways to recreate the sense of community that public spaces can provide. In Italy in particular, balconies became theaters through organized events where groups and individuals sang or played instruments for their neighbors' entertainment. Moments were planned where the whole nation could gather at their windows and doorsteps to applaud the doctors and other healthcare workers working at the front lines of the pandemic. And every day at six o'clock the Italian national anthem would sound from every radio across the city, a reminder that, although socially separate, we were all in this together.

Bibliography

Alcock, S. 2002. *Archaeologies of the Greek Past, Landscape, Monuments and Memory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, F. 1879. *Remnants of Early Latin*. Boston: J.S. Cushing.

Ammerman, A. 1990. "On the Origins of the Forum Romanum." *AJA* 94.4. 627-645.

----. 2011. "Relocating the Center: A Comparative Study." In N. Terrenato and D. Haggis (eds.), *State Formation in Italy and Greece: Questioning the Neoevolutionist Paradigm*. Oxford: Oxbow. 256-272.

----, 2016. "On Giacomo Boni, the origins of the Forum, and where we stand today." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29. 293-311.

Angelelli, C. and S. Musco. 2012. "Mosaici inediti da Gabii." In C. Angelelli (ed.), *Atti del XVIII Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), Cremona, 14-17 marzo 2012*. Tivoli: Scripta Manent. 727-738.

Auliard, C. 2001. *Victoires et triomphes à Rome: droit et réalités sous la République*. Besançon.

Bafna, S. 2003. "Space Syntax: an introduction to its logic and analytical techniques." *Environment and Behaviour* 35: 17-35.

Ballinger, P. 2012. "Borders and the Rhythms of Displacement, Emplacement and Mobility." In T. Wilson and H. Donnan (eds.), *A Companion to Border Studies*: 389-404. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Banducci, L. and A. Gallone (eds.). forthcoming. *A Graveyard and a Quarry from Imperial Gabii*. Gabii Project Reports 2. University of Michigan Press.

Barrett, J. 2004. "Comment on Tilley." *Cambridge archaeological journal* 14. 199.

Bastien, J.-L. 2007. *Le triomphe romain et son utilisation politique à Rome aux trois derniers siècles de la république*. Rome: École française de Rome.

Baudou, A. 1997. "Note sur Papirus Maso, le triomphe, le laurier et le myrte." *EchCl* 41: 293-304.

Beard, M. 2003. "The triumph of Flavius Josephus." In A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik (eds.), *Flavian Rome: culture, image, text*. Boston: Brill. 543-558.

----, 2007. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Beck Jr., R., 2007. "The Durable House: Material, Metaphor, and Structure." In R. Beck Jr. (ed.), *The durable house: house society models in archaeology*. Carbondale, Il: Southern Illinois University Press. 3-24.

Becker, J.A., Mogetta, M., and N. Terrenato. 2009. "A new plan for an ancient Italian City: Gabii revealed." *AJA* 113: 629-642.

Becker, J.A. and J. Nowlin. 2011. "Orientalizing Infant Burials from Gabii, Italy." *BABesch* 86: 27–39.

Bender, B. 1998. *Stonehenge. Making Space*. Oxford.

Bergmann, B. 1994. "The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii." *The Art Bulletin* 76.2: 225-256.

Betts, E. 2011. "Towards a Multisensory Experience of Movement in the City of Rome." In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome Ostia Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford. 118-132.

---- (ed.), 2017a. *Senses of the Empire: Multisensory Approaches to Roman Culture*. New York: Routledge.

----, 2017b. "Introduction: Senses of empire." In. E. Betts (ed.), *Senses of the Empire: Multisensory Approaches to Roman Culture.* New York: Routledge. 1-12.

Bignamini, I. and C. Hornsby. 2010. *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Volume 2.* The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

Binford, L. 1977. "Introduction." In L. Binford (ed.), *For theory building in archaeology*. New York: Academic. 1-10.

Boatwright, M. T. 2011. "Women and Gender in the Forum Romanum." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 141.1: 105-141.

Bodson, L. 2000. "Motivations for Pet–Keeping in Ancient Greece and Rome: A Preliminary Survey." In A.L. Podberscek, E.S. Paul, and J. A. Serpell (eds), *Companion Animals and Us: Exploring the Relationships Between People and Pets*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 27–41.

Boni, G. 1900. "Esplorazioni nel Comizio." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita* 6.9: 295-340.

Bourdieu, P., 1977 (1972). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Translated by R. Nice. Cambridge.

----, 1979. *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement.* Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.

Brock, A. 2016. “Envisioning Rome’s prehistoric river harbor: an interim report from the Forum Boarium.” *Etruscan Studies* 19.1: 1-22.

Brock, A. and N. Terrenato. 2016. “Rome in the Bronze Age: late second-millennium BC radiocarbon dates from the Forum Boarium.” *Antiquity* 90.351: 654-664.

Brown, F. 1980. *Cosa: The Making of a Roman Town*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Browning, R. 2002. “Greeks and Others: From Antiquity to the Renaissance.” In T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*. New York: Routledge.

Brück, J. 2005. “Experiencing the past? The development of a phenomenological archaeology in British prehistory.” *Archaeological Dialogues* 12.1: 45-72.

Bruneau, P. 1970. *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l’époque hellénistique et à l’époque impériale*. BEFAR 217. Paris.

Buchner, E. 1976. "Solarium Augusti und Ara Pacis." *Römische Mitteilungen* 83: 319-365.

Buckland, W. 1908. *The Roman law of slavery: the condition of the slave in private law from Augustus to Justinian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burden, J.C. 1999. *Athens Remade in the Age of Augustus: A Study of the Architects and Craftsmen at Work*. University of California: Unpublished PhD thesis.

Carandini, A. 2012. “Urban landscapes and ethnic identity of early Rome.” In G. Cifani and S. Stoddart (eds.), *Landscape, Ethnicity and Identity in the Archaic Mediterranean Area*. Oxford: Oxbow. 5-23.

Champlin, E. 2003. *Nero*. Cambridge.

Choyke, A. and G. Jaritz (eds.). 2017. *Animaltown: Beasts in Medieval Urban Space*. BAR International Series 2858. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Coarelli, F. 1968. “La Porta Trionfale e la via dei trionfi.” *DialArch* 2: 55–103.

----, 1988. *Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*. Quasar.

----, 2005. “Pits and fora: a reply to Henrik Mouritsen.” *PBSR* 73: 23-30.

----, 2007. *Rome and Environs—An Archaeological Guide*. Translated by J.J. Claus and D.P. Harmon. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coarelli, F. and P. Monti (eds.). 1998. *Fregellae 1: Le fonti, la storia, il territorio*. Roma.

Cocks, J. 1974. *Pictorial history of Ann Arbor, 1824-1974.* Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Historical Collections.

Cohen, D. and B. Greenwood. 1981. *The Buskers: A History of Street Entertainment.* London. David and Charles Press.

Cohen, S. and M. Naglak. 2020. "Infant burials as mediators of House identity at Iron Age Gabii." In M. Mogetta (ed.), *Élite burial practices and processes of urbanization at Gabii: the non-adult tombs from Area D of the Gabii Project excavations*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 108. Portsmouth, R.I. 141-156.

Colonna, G. 1988. "I Latini e gli altri popoli del Lazio." In A.M. Chieco Bianchi (ed.), *Italia omnium terrarum alumna: La civiltà dei Veneti, Reti, Liguri, Celti, Piceni, Umbri, Latini, Campai e Iapigi.* Milan. 411-528.

Cooley, A. 2013. "Women beyond Rome: Trend-Setters or Dedicated Followers of Fashion. In S. Alcock, T. Harrison, and H. van Wees (eds.). *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West.* Mnemosyne Supplements 360. Boston: Brill. 23-46.

Corbeill, A. 2002. "Political Movement: Walking and Ideology in republican Rome." In. D. Fredrick (ed), *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Corbier, M. 2013. "Writing in Roman Public Space. In G. Sears, P. Keegan, and R. Laurence (eds.), *Written Space in the Latin West, 200 BC to AD 300.* London: Bloomsbury. 13-48.

----, 2006. *Donner à voir, donner à lire: mémoire et communication dans la Rome ancienne.* Paris.

Costantini, L. and J. Giorgi. 2001. "Charred plant remains of the Archaic period from the Forum and Palatine." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14: 239-248.

Currie, S. 1996. "The Empire of Adults: The Representation of Children on Trajan's Arch at Beneventum." In J. Elsner (ed.), *Art and Text in Roman Culture.* Cambridge. 153-181.

D'Acri, M. and M. Mogetta. 2020. "The regional setting: Nonadult burials from contemporary settlements in Latium Vetus." In M. Mogetta (ed.), *Élite burial practices and processes of urbanization at Gabii: the non-adult tombs from Area D of the Gabii Project excavations*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 108. Portsmouth, R.I. 125-140.

D'Agostini, C. and S. Musco. 2015. "Gabii. Mosaici dalle terme pubbliche." *Atti Aiscom XXI*: 335-347.

Day, J. 2013. "Introduction: making senses of the past." In J. Day (ed.), *Making Senses of the Past: Toward a Sensory Archaeology*. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper No. 40. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press. 1-31.

Day, L.P. 1984. 'Dog Burials in the Greek World.' *American Journal of Archaeology* 88: 21–32.

De Caro, S. 1981. "Literno." *Guide archeologiche Laterza: Campania* 10. Laterza.

De Grossi Mazzorin, J. 2005. "Introduzione e diffusione del pollame in Italia ed evoluzione delle sue forme di allevamento fino al Medioevo." In I. Fiore, G. Malerba, and S. Chilardi (eds), *Atti del 3° convegno nazionale di archeozoologia.* Studi di Paletnologia II. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato. 351–64.

----, 2014. "Analisi faunistica dei resti osteologici provenienti dal pozzo B." In A. Delfino (ed.), *Forum Iulium: l'Area del Foro di Cesare alla luce delle campagne di scavo 2005–2008.* BAR International Series 2607. Oxford: Archaeopress. 83–7.

De Grossi Mazzorin, J. and C. Minniti. 2017. "Changes in lifestyle in ancient Rome (Italy) across the Iron Age/Roman transition: the evidence from animal remains." In U. Albarella, M. Rizzetto, H. Russ, K. Vickers, and S. Viner-Daniels (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Zooarchaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

De Ligt, L. 1993. *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire; Economic and Social Aspects.* Amsterdam.

Degen, M. 2008. *Sensing Cities: Regenerating Public Life in Barcelona and Manchester.* New York: Routledge.

Degrassi, A. 1963. *Inscriptiones Italiae, XIII. 2.* Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.

Della Corte, M. 1954. *Case ed Abitanti di Pompei*. Rome.

Den Besten, O. 2010. "Local belonging and 'geographies of emotions': Immigrant children's experience of their neighbourhoods in Paris and Berlin." *Childhood* 17.2: 181-195.

Derrick, T. 2017. "Sensory archaeologies: A Vindolanda smellscape." In. E. Betts (ed.), *Senses of the Empire: Multisensory Approaches to Roman Culture.* New York: Routledge. 71-85.

Dickenson, C. 2017. *On the Agora: The Evolution of Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (c. 323 BC - 267 AD)*. Leiden: Brill.

Dicus, K. 2014. "Resurrecting refuse at Pompeii: The use-value of urban refuse and its implications for interpreting archaeological assemblages". *TRAC 2013: Proceedings of the Twenty Third Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*. Oxford: Oxbow. 56-69.

Dobie, J. and C. Evans. 2010. *Archaeology and Illustrators: A History of the Ancient Monuments Drawing Office*. Research Department Report Series 33. Portsmouth: English Heritage.

Elkins, N. 2015. *Monuments in miniature: architecture on Roman coinage*. New York: The American Numismatics Society.

Ellis, S. 2018. *The Roman Retail Revolution: The Socio-Economic World of the Taberna.* Oxford.

Evans, M., Samuel, T., Motta, L., Naglak, M., and M. D'Acri. 2019. "An Iron Age Settlement at Gabii: Interim Report of the Gabii Project Excavations in Area D, 2012-2015." *Journal of Etruscan Studies* 70.4: 1-33.

Farr, J. 2014. *Lapis Gabinus: Tufo and the Economy of Urban Construction in Ancient Rome*. University of Michigan: Unpublished PhD thesis.

Favro, D. 1988. "The Roman Forum and Roman Memory." *Places* 5.1: 17-24.

----, 1996. "The Street Triumphant: The Urban Impact of Roman Triumphal Parades." In Z. Çelik, D. Favro, and R. Ingersoll (eds.), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 151–64.

----, 1998. *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

----, 2008. "The festive experience: Roman processions in the urban context." In S. Bonnemaison and C. Macy (eds.), *Festival Architecture*. London: Routledge. 10-42.

----, 2011. "Construction Traffic in Imperial Rome: Building the Arch of Septimius Severus." In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 332-360.

----, 2014. "Moving Events: Curating the Memory of the Roman Triumph," in K. Galinsky (ed.), *Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. S85–101.

Fentress, E. 2005. "On the Block: *Catastae, chalcidia* and *cryptae* in Early Imperial Italy." *JRA* 18. 220-234.

Filippi, D. 2005. "La Domus Regia (aggiornamenti)." *Workshop di Archeologia Classica* 2: 199–206.

Fisher, K. 2009. "Placing social interaction: An integrative approach to analyzing past built environments. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 28: 439-457.

Flemming, R. 2007. 'Festus and the role of women in Roman religion', in F. Glinister, and C. Woods (eds.), *Verrius, Festus and Paul: Lexicography, Scholarship, and Society*. London, 87–108.

Flory, M. 1998. “The integration of women into the Roman triumph.” *Historia* 47: 489-494.

Flower, H. 2017. *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner.* Princeton.

Fol, W. 1877. “Color.” In C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des Antiquites, I, 2.* Paris: Hachette. 1325-1331.

Forsythe, G. 2005. *A critical history of early Rome: from prehistory to the First Punic War.* Berkeley.

Foster, R. and L. Kreizman. 2004. *Rhythms of Life: The Biological Clocks that Control the Daily Lives of Every Living Thing.* London: Profile Books.

Foucault, M. 1975. *Surveiller et punir : Naissance de la prison*. Paris: Gallimard.

----, 2008. “Panopticism from ‘Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison’.” *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 2.1: 1-12.

Fox, A. 2018. *Living Trophies: Trees, triumphs, and the subjugation of nature in early Imperial Rome*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of Nottingham.

Frakes, J. 2009. *Framing public life: the portico in Roman Gaul*. Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Frayn, J. 1993. *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Frischer, B. and J. Fillwalk. 2013. "A computer simulation to test the Buchner thesis: The relationship of the Ara Pacis and the meridian in the Campus Martius, Rome." *2013 Digital Heritage International Congress (DigitalHeritage)*: 341-345.

Fronto. 1920. *Correspondence, Volume II.* Trans. by C. R. Haines. Loeb Classical Library 113. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Garcia Morcillo, M. 2005. *Las ventas por subasta en el mundo romano: le esfera privada.* Barcelona.

Gargiulo, P. 2002. “Il territorio di Liternum.” In G. Francioi (ed.), *Ager Campanus: Atti del convegno internazionale: La storia dell’Ager Campanus, i problimi della limitatio e sua lettura attuale, real sito di S. Leucio 8-9 giugno 2001*. Napoli. 203-208.

Garraffoni, R.S. and R. Laurence. 2013. “Writing in Public Space from Child to Adult: The Meaning of Graffiti.” In G. Sears, P. Keegan, and R. Laurence (eds.), *Written Space in the Latin West, 200 BC to AD 300.* London: Bloomsbury. 123-134.

Geertman, H. 2007. “The Urban Development of the pre-Roman City.” In J. Dobbins and P. Foss (eds.), *The World of Pompeii.* New York: Routledge. 82-97.

Gehl, J. 1987 (1980), *Life Between Buildings*. Translated by J. Koch. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Giddens, A. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gjerstad E. 1953–73. *Early Rome*, I–VI. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup.

Glass, L. and M. Mackey. 1988. *From Clocks to Chaos: The Rhythms of Life.* Princeton.

Golden, G. 2013. *Crisis Management during the Roman Republic: the Role of Political Institutions in Emergencies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grahame, M. 2000. *Reading Space: Social Interaction and Identity in the Houses of Roman Pompeii*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greco, E. and D. Theodorescu. 1987. *Poseidonia-Paestum III: Forum Nord*. Rome: Ecola francaise.

Groen-Vallinga, M. 2013. "Desperate Housewives? The Adaptive Family Economy and Female Participation in the Roman Urban Labour Market." In S. Alcock, T. Harrison, and H. van Wees (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*. Mnemosyne Supplements 360. Boston: Brill. 295-312.

Grubbs, E. and T. Parkin (eds.). 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guaitoli, M. 1981. "Gabii: Osservazioni sulle fasi di sviluppo dell'abitato." *Ricognizione archeologica: Nuove ricerche nel Lazio*. QITA 9. Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 23–57.

----, 2016. "Veio. Osservazioni preliminari sulla topografia della città." *Atlante tematico di topografia antica* 26: 177-214.

Gusberti, E. 2005. "Il deposito votivo capitolino." *Workshop di Archeologia Classica* 2. 151–55.

Halkin, L. 1897. *Les Esclaves Publics Chez les Romains*. Bruxelles.

Hall, E. 1963. "A system for the notation of proxemic behavior." *American Anthropologist* 65: 1003-26.

----, 1966. *The Hidden Dimension*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Hamilakis, Y. 2011. "Archaeologies of the senses." In T. Insoll (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*. Oxford. 208-225.

Hamilakis, Y., Pluciennik, M., and S. Tarlow. 2002. "Introduction. Thinking through the body." In Y. Hamilakis, M. Pluciennik and S. Tarlow (eds.), *Thinking through the body. Archaeologies of Corporeality*. New York: Springer. 1-21.

Hannah, R. 2009. *Time in Antiquity*. New York: Routledge.

----, 2013. "Time in Written Spaces." In G. Sears, P. Keegan, and R. Laurence (eds.), *Written Space in the Latin West, 200 BC to AD 300*. London: Bloomsbury. 83-102.

Harley, J. 1988. "Maps, knowledge and power." In D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.), *The iconography of landscape. Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge. 277-312.

Harrington, J. 2013. *The faithful executioner: life and death, honor and shame in the turbulent sixteenth century*. London: The Bodley Head.

Harris, W. 1989. *Ancient Literacy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hartnett, J. 2017. *The Roman Street: Urban Life and Society in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome*. Cambridge.

----, 2011. "The Power of Nuisances on the Roman Street." In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford. 135-159.

Havlicek, F. and M. Morcinek. 2016. "Waste and Pollution in the Ancient Roman Empire." *Journal of Landscape Ecology* 9.3: 33-49.

Heidegger, M. 1927. *Sein und Zeit*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Helas, S. 2016. "Nuove ricerche sulle fortificazioni di *Gabii*. Le indagini sul versante orientale dell'acropoli e sul lato meridionale della città." In P. Fontaine and S. Helas (eds.), *Le fortificazioni arcaiche del* Latium vetus *e dell'Etruria meridionale (IX - VI sec. a.C.). Stratigrafia, cronologia e urbanizzazione*. Brussels. 91-107.

----, 2018. "The Iron Age Fortifications of Gabii/Latium (Italy). In A. Ballmer, M. Fernández-Götz and D. P. Mielke (eds.), *Understanding Ancient Fortifications: Between Regionality and Connectivity*. Oxford: Oxbow. 123-134.

Hellström, M. 2015. "Fast Movement through the City: Ideals, Stereotypes and City Planning." In I. Östenberg, S. Malmberg and J. Bjørnebye (eds.), *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome*. New York: Bloomsbury. 47-58.

Hemelrijk, E. 2009. 'Women and sacrifice in the Roman Empire', in O. Hekster, S. Schmidt-Hofner, and C. Witschel (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire*. Leiden. 253–267.

----, 2013. “Female Munificence in the Cities of the Latin West.” In E. Hemelrijk and G. Woolf (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West.* Mnemosyne Supplements 360. Boston: Brill. 65-84.

----, 2015. *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: Women and Civic Life in the Roman West.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hillard, T. 2013. “Graffiti’s Engagement. The Political Graffiti of the Late Roman Republic.” In G. Sears, P. Keegan, and R. Laurence (eds.), *Written Space in the Latin West, 200 BC to AD 300.* London: Bloomsbury. 105-122.

Hillier, B. 2007. *Space is the Machine: A Configurational Theory of Architecture.* London: Space Syntax.

----, 2014. “Spatial analysis and cultural information: the need for theory as well as method in space syntax analysis.” *Spatial analysis and social spaces. Interdisciplinary approaches to the interpretation of prehistoric and historic built environments.* Boston: De Gruyter. 19-48.

Hillier, B. and J. Hanson. 1984. *The Social Logic of Space.* Cambridge.

Hodder, I. 1989. “Writing archaeology: site reports in context.” *Antiquity* 63: 268-274.

----, 1999. *The archaeological process: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Holleran, C. 2011. “The Street Life of Ancient Rome.” In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford. 245-261.

----, 2012. *Shopping in Ancient Rome: the Retail Trade in the Late Republic and the Principate.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----, 2013. “Women and Retail in Roman Italy.” In S. Alcock, T. Harrison, and H. van Wees (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West.* Mnemosyne Supplements 360. Boston: Brill. 313-330.

----, 2016. “Representations of food hawkers in Ancient Rome.” In M. Calaresu and D. van den Heuvel (eds.), *Food Hawkers: Selling in the Street from Antiquity to the Present*. London: Routledge: 19-42.

Hopkins, J. 2010. “The Topographical Transformation of Archaic Rome: A New Interpretation of Architecture and Geography in the Early City.” PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin.

----, 2016. *The Genesis of Roman Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Howes, D. (ed.). 2005. *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg.

Hughes, J. D. 2014. E*nvironmental Problems of the Greeks and Romans: 2nd edition. Ecology in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Humphrey, J. 1986. *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*. London: B.T. Batsford.

Huntley, K. 2011. "Identifying children's graffiti in Roman Campania: a developmental psychological approach." In J.A. Baird and C. Taylor (eds.), *Ancient Graffiti in Context*. London: Routledge. 69-89.

----, 2017. "The Writing on the Wall: Age, agency, and material culture in Roman Campania." In C. Laes and V. Vuolanto (eds.), *Children and Everyday Life in the Roman and Late Antique World*. New York: Routledge. 137-154.

Ingold, T. 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London.

Ingold, T. and J.L. Vergunst (eds.). 2016. *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. New York: Routledge.

InsIt = Degrassi, A. (ed.), 1937. *Inscriptiones Italiae XIII: Fasti et Elogia*. Rome.

Jashemski, W. and F. Meyer (eds.). 2002. *The Natural History of Pompeii*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jashemski, W., K. Gleason, K. Hartswick, and A. Malek. *Gardens of the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jiang, B., C. Claramunt, and M. Batty. 1999. "Geometric Accessibility and Geographic Information: extending desktop GIS to space syntax." *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems* 23: 127-146.

Johnston, A. and M. Mogetta. 2020. "Debating Early republican Urbanism in Latium Vetus: The Town Planning of Gabii, between Archaeology and History." *Journal of Roman Studies*.

Johnston, A., Mogetta, M., Banducci, L., Optiz, R., Gallone, A., Farr, J., Casagrande Cicci, E. and N. Terrenato. 2018. "A Monumental Mid-republican Building Complex at Gabii." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 86: 1-35.

Jordan, H. 1877. "Sylloge inscriptionum fori Romani." *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 3. 237-310.

Joshel, S.R. 1992. *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome: a Study of the Occupational Inscriptions.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jung, H. 2014. "Let Their Voices Be Seen: Exploring Mental Mapping as a Feminist Visual Methodology for the Study of Migrant Women." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38.3: 985-1002.

Kaiser, A. 2011. *Roman Urban Street Networks*. New York: Routledge.

Keegan, P. 2014. *Graffiti in Antiquity*. London. Routledge.

Kelly, K. 1973. *Garbage: the history and future of Garbage in America*. Dutton.

Keresztes, P. 1968. "Marcus Aurelius a Persecutor?" *Harvard Theological Review* 61.3. 321-341.

Kolb, F. 1981. *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung.* Berlin: Mann.

Kuttner, A.L.1999. "Culture and History at Pompey's Museum." *TAPA* 129: 343–373.

Lackner, E.-M. 2008. *Republikanische Fora*. Munich: Biering and Brinkmann.

Laes, C. 2011. *Children in the Roman Empire. Outsiders within*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

----, 2018. *Disabilities and the disabled in the Roman world - a social and cultural history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laes, C. and V. Vuolanto (eds.), 2017. *Children and everyday life in the Roman and late antique World.* New York: Routledge.

Lake, M. 2003. "Visibility studies in archaeology: a review and case study." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 30. 689-707.

Laurence, R. 2007. *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*. New York: Routledge.

----, 2017. "Children in the urban environment: agency in Pompeii." In C. Laes and V. Vuolanto (eds.), *Children and Everyday Life in the Roman and Late Antique World*. New York: Routledge. 27-42.

Laurence, R. and D. Newsome (eds.). 2011. *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space.* Oxford.

Lee, J. 2010. "Urban Warfare in the Classical Greek World." In V. Hanson (ed.), *Makers of Anceint Strategy: From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome*. Princeton. 138-162.

Lefebvre, H., 1991. *The Critique of Everyday Life Vol. III* (trans. G. Elliott). New York: Verso.

----, 1991. *The Production of Space*. Trans. by D. Nicholson-Smith). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

----, 1992. *Éléments de rythmanalyse: Introduction à la connaissance des rythmes*. Paris: Éditions Syllepse.

----, 2013. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life* (trans. S. Elden and G. Moore). New York: Bloomsbury.

Lefebvre, H. and C. Régulier. 1985. "Le projet rythmanalytique." *Communications* 41: 191-199.

----, 1986. "Essai de rythmanalyse des villes méditerranéennes." *Peuples Méditerranéenes*: 37.

Lehoux, D. 2007. *Astronomy, Weather, and Calendars in the Ancient World: Parapegmata and Related Texts in Classical and Near-Eastern Societies.* Cambridge.

Letesson, Q. 2014. "From building to architecture: the rise of configurational thinking in Bronze Age Crete." In E. Paliou, U. Lieberwirth, and S. Polla (eds.), *Spatial analysis and social spaces. Interdisciplinary approaches to the interpretation of prehistoric and historic built environments.* Boston: De Gruyter. 49-90.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1975. *La voie des masques*. Paris: Skira.

Lintott, A. 1999. *Violence in republican Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lu, Y., Gou, Z., Ye Y., and Q. Sheng. 2017. "Three-dimensional visibility graph analysis and its application." *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science* 46.5. 948-962.

Lucas, G. 2004. *The archaeology of time.* New York: Routledge.

Lynch, K. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Macaulay-Lewis, E. 2011. "The City in Motion: Walking for Transport and Leisure in the City of Rome." In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford. 262-289.

MacDonald, M. 2014. *The Power of Children: The Construction of Christian Families in the Greco-Roman World.* Waco: Baylor University Press.

MacKinnon, M. 2014. "Pets." In G. L. Campbell (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Majerini, V. and S. Musco. 2001. "Gabii: Indagini archeologiche: area urbana, area della chiesa di San Primitivo e area del Santuario extraurbano orientale. *Archeologia e Giubileo: Gli*

interventi a Roma e nel Lazio nel piano per il Grande Giubileo del 2000. Naples. 490-499.

Manuwald, G. 2011. *Roman republican Theater*. Cambridge.

Maranzana, P.,Cavalazzi, M. and F. Zoni. forthcoming. "Il santuario di S. Primitivo a Gabii, evoluzione architettonica del complesso ecclesiastico tra Tarda Antichita e Medioevo." *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana.*

Marlin, A. 1959. "Publications relatives a l'antiquité Romaine." *L'Année épigraphique*. 61-90.

Martin, R. 1951. *Recherches sur l'agora Grecque—études d'histoire et d'architecture urbaines.* Paris: De Boccard.

Marwil, J. 1991. *A history of Ann Arbor*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

McDonald, K. 2015. *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily: Evaluating Language Contact in a Fragmentary Corpus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McMahon, A. 2013. "Space, Sound, and Light: Towards a Sensory Experience of Ancient Monumental Architecture." *AJA* 117.2: 163-179.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1945. *Phénoménologie de la perception.* Paris: Gallimard.

Mertens, J. 1969. *Alba Fucens I: Rapports et Études.* Bruxelles: Rue Ravenstein.

Merton, R. 1968. *Social theory and social structure* (3rd ed.). New York: Free Press.

Meskell, L. 1999. *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Miller, F., 1998. *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Millet, P. 1998. "Encounters in the Agora." In *Kosmos: Essays in order, conflict and community in Classical Athens*. Cambridge. 203-228.

Minniti, C. 2012. "I resti ossei animali." In A. Delfino, I. de Luca, C. Minniti, M. Munzi, and S. Zampini (eds.), "Lo scavo di una fornace metallurgica nella taberna XI del Foro di Cesare (con appendice di Andrea Pernella, Ulderico Santamaria, Fabio Morresi)." In M. Ceci, (ed.), *Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali.* BAR International Series 2455.Oxford: Archaeopress. 118–21.

----, 2014. "I resti ossei dalla cisterna a tholos: i resti ossei animali dai livelli augustei della taberna XI." In A. Delfino (ed.), *Forum Iulium. L'area del Foro di Cesare alla luce delle*

campagne di scavo 2005–2008. Le fasi arcaica, repubblicana e cesariano-augustea. BAR International Series 2607. Oxford: Archaeopress. 207-210.

Mlekuž, Dimitrij. 2010. "Bodies, houses and gardens: rhythm analysis of Neolithic life-ways." *Documenta Praehistorica* 37: 193-204.

Mogetta, M. 2014. "From Latin planned urbanism to Roman colonial layouts: the town-planning of Gabii and its cultural implications." In E. Robinson (ed.), *Papers on Italian Urbanism in the First Millennium B.C.* JRA Supplementary Series 47. 145-174.

----, 2020. "Introduction." In M. Mogetta (ed.), *Élite burial practices and processes of urbanization at Gabii: the non-adult tombs from Area D of the Gabii Project excavations*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 108. Portsmouth, R.I. 9-26.

Mogetta, M., Johnston, A., Naglak, M., and M. D'Acri. 2019. "The Street System of Gabii: New Evidence on the republican Phases." *Fasti Online Documents and Research Italy Series* 438: 1-33.

Mogetta, M. and R. Opitz (eds.), in preparation. *A Domestic to Industrial Transition at Gabii*. Gabii Volume Reports 3. University of Michigan Press.

Mommsen, T. 1899. *Römisches Strafrecht.* Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot.

Moses, V. 2020. "Powerful Pups: A Case Study for Dog Sacrifice in Archaic Rome from the Area Sacra di Sant'Omobono." In B. Bethke and A. Burtt (eds.), *Dogs: Archaeology Beyond Domestication*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Mouritsen, H. 2001. *Plebs and Politics in Late republican Rom*e. Cambridge.

----, 2004. "Pits and politics: interpreting colonial fora in republican Italy." *PBSR* 72: 37-67.

Naglak, M., forthcoming. "House, Rhythm and Ritual at Gabii: An Anthropological Approach." *Handbook of Religion and Urbanity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Naglak, M. and N. Terrenato. 2019. "A House Society in Iron Age Latium? Kinship and state formation in the context of new discoveries at Gabii." In M. Di Fazio and S. Paltineri (eds.), *La società gentilizia nell'Italia antica tra realtà e mito storiografico*. Biblioteca di Athenaeum 61. Edipuglia. 99-119.

----, 2020. "Central Italian Elite Groups as Aristocratic Houses in the Ninth to Sixth Centuries B.C.E." In S. Bell and P. du Plessis (eds.), *Roman Law before the Twelve Tables: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press. 25-40.

Newsome, D. 2011a. "Making Movement Meaningful." In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space.* Oxford. 1-56.

----, 2011b. “Movement and Fora in Rome (the Late Republic to the First Century CE).” In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space.* Oxford. 290-311.

----, 2013. “Movement, Rhythms, and the (Re)production of Written Space.” In G. Sears, P. Keegan, and R. Laurence (eds.), *Written Space in the Latin West, 200 BC to AD 300.* London: Bloomsbury. 65-81.

Nilson, K. A., Claes, B., Persson, C.B., and J. Zahle. 2008. “The Foundation and the Core of the Podium and of the Tribunal.” In K. A. Nilson, C.B. Persson, S. Sande, and J. Zahle (eds.), *The Temple of Castor and Pollux*, iii. *The Augustan Temple*. Rome. 21-73.

Oakley, S. 1997. *A commentary on Livy Books VI-X. Vol. 1.* Oxford.

Osborne, J. 2012. “Communicating Power in the Bīt-Ḫilāni Palace.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 368: 29-66.

Osborne, J. and G. Summers, 2014. “Visibility Graph Analysis and Monumentality in the Iron Age City at Kerkenes in Central Turkey.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 39.3: 292-309.

Östenberg, I. 2009. *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Östenberg, I., Malmberg, S., and J. Bjørnebye (eds.). 2015. *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome*. New York: Bloomsbury.

O'Sullivan, T. 2011. *Walking in Roman Culture.* Cambridge.

Owens, E. 1991. *The City in the Greek and Roman World.* London: Routledge.

Pacciarelli, M. 1991. “Territorio, insediamento, comunità in Etruria meridionale agli esordi del processo di urbanizzazione.” *Scienze dell'Antichità* 5: 163-208.

----, 2001. *Dal villaggio alla città: la svolta protourbana del 1000 a.C. nell'Italia tirrenica.* Firenze: All'insegna del giglio.

----, 2017. "Society, 10th cent.-730 BCE," in *Etruscology*, edited by A. Naso, 759-78. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Papadopoulos, C. and G. Earl. 2014. “Formal three-dimensional computational analyses of archaeological spaces.” *Spatial analysis and social spaces. Interdisciplinary approaches to the interpretation of prehistoric and historic built environments.* Boston: De Gruyter. 135-166.

Peck, T. 1913. “The Argiletum and the Roman Book-Trade.” *Classical Philology* 9.1: 77-78.

Perec, G. 1975. *Tentative d'épuisement d'un lieu parisien*. Paris: Christian Bourgois.

Petty, J. 2016. "The London Spikes Controversy: Homelessness, Urban Securisation and the Question of 'Hostile Architecture.'" *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 5.1: 67-81.

Pichtel, J. 2005. *Waste management practices: municipal, hazardous, and industrial.* CRC Press.

Pinza, G. 1903. "Gabii ed i suoi monumenti." *BullCom* 31: 321–50.

Plautus, 2011. *Casina. The Casket Comedy. Curculio. Epidicus. The Two Menaechmuses.* Edited and translated by Wolfgang de Melo. Loeb Classical Library 61. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pluskowski, A. 2017. "Urban jungle? Wild mammals in medieval towns." In A. Choyke and G. Jaritz (eds.), *Animaltown: Beasts in Medieval Urban Space*. BAR International Series 2858. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Poehler, E. 2017. *The Traffic Systems of Pompeii.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Popkin, M. 2016. *The architecture of the Roman triumph: monuments, memory, and identity.* Cambridge.

Quinn, J.C. and A. Wilson. 2013. "Capitolia." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 103: 117-173.

Raepsaet-Charlier, M.-T. 2005. "Les Activités publiques des femmes sénatoriales et équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain." In W. Eck and M. Heil (eds.), *Senatores populi Romani: Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht. Kolloquium der Prosopographia Imperii Romani vom 11.-13. Juni 2004*. Stuttgart: Steiner. 169–212.

Rapoport, A. 1977. *Human aspects of urban form*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

----, 1982. *The Meaning of the Built Environment.* London: Sage Publications.

----, 1988. "Levels of Meaning in the Built Environment." In F. Poyatos (ed.), *Cross-cultural perspectives in nonverbal communication.* Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe. 317-336.

Rawson, B. 2005. *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. Oxford.

Reese, D.S. 1995. "Equid Sacrifices in Greece and Cyprus: An Addendum." *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 9: 35–42.

Reid, J. 1916. "Roman ideas of deity." *JRS* 6: 170-184.

Rendeli, M. 1993. *Città aperte: Ambiente e paesaggio rurale organizzato nell'Etruria meridionale costiera durante l'età orientalizzante e arcaica*. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.

Revell, L. 2009. *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reynolds, J. 1976. "Review of F. Magi, *Il Calendario Dipinto sotto S. Maria Maggiore*." *JRS* 66: 247-248.

Rich, J. 2014. "The Triumph in the Roman Republic: Frequency, Fluctuation, and Policy." In C. H. Lange and F. Vervaet (eds.), *The Roman republican Triumph Beyond the Spectacle.* Edizioni Quasar. 197-258.

Richardson Jr., L. 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rives, J. 2013. "Women and Animal Sacrifice in Public Life." In S. Alcock, T. Harrison, and H. van Wees (eds.). *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*. Mnemosyne Supplements 360. Boston: Brill. 129-146.

Robb, J. and O.J.T. Harris. 2013. *The Body in History: Europe from the Palaeolithic to the Future*. Cambridge.

Rotondi, G. 1912, repr. 1966. *Leges Publicae Populi Romani.* Hildesheim: G. Olms.

Rüpke, J. 2006. "Triumphator and Ancestor Rituals: Between Symbolic Anthropology and Magic." *Numen* 53: 251–89.

Russell, A. 2015. *The Politics of Public Space in republican Rome*. Cambridge.

Rykwert, J. 1988. *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Sabin, P., van Wees, H., and M. Whitby (eds.). 2007. *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*. Cambridge.

Samuels, J., Naglak, M., Opitz, R., Wright, P., Creola, A., Prosser, J., Evans, M., Zapelloni-Pavia, A., Johnston, A., D'Acri, M. and M. Harder. forthcoming. "Archaeological Research at Gabii, Italy: The Gabii Project Excavations, 2012–2018." Submitted to *Journal of Field Archaeology*. April 2020.

Sato, T., Kishimoto, T., and T. Yamada. 2017. "Relationship between visitors' movement path, staying activity and spatial structure in the library as a "third place": Focusing on Yamanashi prefectural library." *11th International Space Syntax Symposium, SSS 2017*.

Instituto Superior Tecnico, Departamento de Engenharia Civil, Arquitetura e Georrecursos. 26.1-26.16

Schäfer, T. 2008. "Ein frühkaiserzeitliches Relief mit pompa triumphalis." In H. Krasser, D. Pausch, and I. Petrovic (eds.), *Triplici Invectus Triumpho: Der römische Triumph in augusteischer Zeit*. Stuttgart: Steiner. 137–54.

Schultz, C. 2006. *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic*. Chapel Hill.

----, 2010. "The Romans and Ritual Murder." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 78.2. 516-541.

Scovanner, P. and M. Tappen. 2009. "Learning pedestrian dynamics from the real world." *ICCV*: 381-388.

Scullard, H. 1981. *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Shapiro, J. 2005. *A Space Syntax Analysis of Arroyo Hondo Pueblo, New Mexico*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Shear, T.L.J. 1981. "Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town." *Hesperia* 50: 356–377.

Sielhorst, B. 2015. *Hellenistische Agorai--Gestaltung, Rezeption und Semantik eines urbanem Raumes, Urban Spaces*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Sigismund-Nielsen, H. 2013. "Slave and Lower-Class Roman Children." In J. Grubbs and T. Parkin, with R. Bell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford. 286-301.

Silver, M. 2014. "Places for Self-Selling in Ulpian, Plautus and Horace: The Role of Vertumnus." *Mnemosyne* 67. 577-587.

Skeates, R. 2010. *An Archaeology of the Senses: Prehistoric Malta*. Oxford.

Smith, M. 2011. "Empirical Urban Theory for Archaeologists." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 18: 167-192.

Spawforth, A. 2012. *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution, Greek Culture in the Roman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Spencer, D. 2011. "Movement and the Linguistic Turn: Reading Varro's *De Lingua Latina*." In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome Ostia Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford. 57-80.

Šprajc, I. 2018. "Astronomy, Architecture, and Landscape in Prehispanic Mesoamerica." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 26.2: 197-251.

Stanton, R. 2018. "Fight for Ann Arbor's 'Center of the City' is about 'a love economy,' proponents say." *MLive*. Posted October 28, 2018. Updated January 29, 2019. https://www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/2018/10/fight_for_ann_arbors_center_of.html.

Staveley, E.S. 1969. "The Role of the First Voter in Roman Legislative Assemblies." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 18.5: 518-520.

Steinby, E. M. 1999. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 4. Roma: Edizioni Quasar.

Stephanidou-Tiveriou, T. 2008. "Tradition and Romanization in the Monumental Landscape of Athens." In S. Vlizos (ed.), *Η Αθήνα κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή, μουσειο μπενακη 4ο Παράρτημα:99–114, 2008/Athens During the Roman Period—Recent Discoveries, New Evidence, Mouseio Benaki, 4th Supplement*. Athens: Benaki Museum. 11–40.

Stöger J. 2011a. *Rethinking Ostia: A Spatial Enquiry into the Urban Society of Rome's Imperial Port-Town*. *Archaeological Studies Leiden University* 24. Leiden: Leiden University Press.

----, 2011b. "The Spatial Organisation of the Movement Economy: The Analysis of Ostia's Scholae." In R. Laurence and D. Newsome (eds.), *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 215-242.

----, 2015. "Roman neighbourhoods by the numbers: A space syntax view on ancient city quarters and their social life." *The Journal of Space Syntax* 6.1: 61-80.

Storchi Marino, A. 2000. "Reti interregionali integrate e circuiti di mercato periodico negli *indices nundinarii* del Lazio e della Campagna." In E. Lo Cascio (ed.), *Mercati permanenti e mercati periodici nel mondo romano*. Bari. 93-130.

Sumi, G. 2002. "Spectacles and Sulla's public image." *Historia* 51. 414-32.

Surtees, A. and J. Dyer (eds.). 2020. *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*. Intersectionality in Classical Antiquity. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Tarlow, S. 2000. "Emotion in archaeology." *Current anthropology* 41. 713-746.

Taylor, L.R. 1960. *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic. The Thirty-five Urban and Rural Tribes*. The American Academy in Rome.

----, 1966. *Roman Voting Assemblies: From the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Terrenato, N. 2011. "The Versatile Clans. The Nature of Power in Early Rome." In N. Terrenato and D. Haggis (eds.), *State Formation in Italy and Greece: Questioning the Neoevolutionist Paradigm*. Oxford: Oxbow. 231-244.

----, 2019. *The Early Roman Expansion into Italy: Elite Negotiation and Family Agendas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, J. 1993. "The politics of vision and archaeologies of landscape." In B. Bender (ed.), *Landscape. Politics and perspectives*. Oxford. 19-48.

----, 2001. "Archaeologies of Place and Landscape." In. I. Hodder (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge. 165-186.

----, 2006. "Phenomenology and material culture." In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage Publications. 43-59.

Tilley, C. 1994. *The Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg.

----, 2004. "Round barrows and dykes as landscape metaphors." *Cambridge archaeological journal* 14: 185-203.

----, 2010. *Interpreting Landscapes: Geologies, Topographies, Identities*. *Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology* 3. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Toner, J. 2014. "Introduction: sensing the ancient past." In J. Toner (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in Antiquity*. London: Bloomsbury. 1-21.

----, 2017. "Child leisure in the Roman empire." In C. Laes and V. Vuolanto (eds.), *Children and Everyday Life in the Roman and Late Antique World*. New York: Routledge. 99-115.

Totelin, L. 2012. "Botanizing Rulers and their Herbal Subjects: Plants and Political Power in Greek and Roman Literature." *Pheonix* 66.1-2: 122-144.

Trümper, M. 2008. *Die 'Agora des Italiens' in Delos: Baugeschichte, Architektur, Ausstattung und Funktion einer späthellenistischen Porticus-Anlage.* Rahden/Westf: Verlag Marie Leidorf.

Tucker, G. and M. Naglak. 2019. "Pinguntur enim portus: The Spatio-Temporal Context of Maritime Landscape Painting at Villa A." In J. R. Clarke and N. K. Muntasser (eds.), *Oplontis: Villa A ("Of Poppaea") at Torre Annunziata, Italy. Volume 2, Decorative Ensembles: Painting, Stucco, Pavements, Sculptures.* Humanities E-Book Series of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Turner, A. 2004. *Depthmap 4: A Researcher's Handbook*. London: UCL Bartlett School of Graduate Studies.

Usener, H. 1913. *Kleine Schrifen. Vierter Band. Arbeiten zur Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B.G. Teubner Leipzig.

Veitch, J. 2017. "Soundscape of the street: Architectural acoustics in Ostia." In. E. Betts (ed.), *Senses of the Empire: Multisensory Approaches to Roman Culture.* New York: Routledge. 54-70.

Veyne, P. 1983. "Titulus praelatus: offrande, solennisation et publicité dans les ex-voto gréco-romains." *RA*: 281-300.

Visconti, E.Q. 1797. *Monumenti Gabini della Villa Pinciana*. Rome: Presso A. Fulgoni.

Vuolanto, V. 2013. "Elite Children, Socialization and Agency in the Late Roman world." In J. Grubbs and T. Parkin, with R. Bell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford. 580-599.

Ward-Perkins, J. 1974. *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity.* New York: George Braziller.

Warmington, E. H. (trans.). 1940. *Remains of Old Latin, Volume IV: Archaic Inscriptions*. Loeb Classical Library 359. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Webb, P. 2017. *The Tower of the Winds in Athens: Greeks, Romans, Christians, and Muslims: Two Millennia of Continual Use.* Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 270. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Weeber, K. W. 2006. "Refuse." In H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly. Antiquity*. Brill Online, 2015.

Weilguni, M. 2011. *Streets, Spaces and Places. Three Pompeiian Movement Axes Analysed. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 33. Uppsala.

Welch, E. 2007. *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Westfall, C. 2007. "Urban planning, roads, streets, and neighborhoods." In J. Dobbins and P. Foss (eds.), *The World of Pompeii*. New York: Routledge. 129-139.

Wheatley, D. 2014. "Connecting landscapes with built environments: visibility analysis, scale and the senses." *Spatial analysis and social spaces. Interdisciplinary approaches to the interpretation of prehistoric and historic built environments.* Boston: De Gruyter. 115-134.

Whittaker, C.R. 2002. “Mental Maps: Seeing like a Roman.” In P. McKechnie (ed.), *Thinking Like a Lawyer: Essays on Legal History and General History for John Crook on his Eightieth Birthday*. Boston: Brill. 81-112.

Wilson, A. 2016. “Water, nymphs, and a palm grove: monumental water display at Aphrodisias.” In R. R. R. Smith, J. Lenaghan, A. Sokolicek, and K. Welch (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006-2012*. JRA Supplementary Series 103. 100-135.

Wiseman, T.P. 1980. “Looking for Camerius: The Topography of Catullus 55.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48. 6-16.

Zanker, P. 1990. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Ziolkowski, A. 1988. “Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor and the Round Temple on the Tiber.” *Phoenix* 42.4. 309-333.