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A New Location for Legal Activity within Roman Pompeii

Along the north portico of the large peristyle in the House of the Faun (vi.12.2) at Pompeii one finds the exterior wall recessed to create a small rectangular area. The floor of the area is raised almost three feet above the floor level of the portico and the opening to the alcove is divided by columns. In this paper I propose that this space served as a location for legal activity. I will support this position by arguing that this space shares many architectural features with raised alcoves connected to some basilicas excavated in Roman communities in southern Italy.

While Vitruvius states that the houses of public figures must be designed to accommodate legal activity (*De. Arch.* 6.1.2), scholars have struggled to place such activity in any specific locations within Roman houses. The “platform” tucked into the wall of the portico in the House of the Faun may be one such location. Jashemski (1979) tentatively identified the area as a stage used for private performances or musical programs. The space however is almost identical in shape to the raised recesses located off the naves of the basilicas in both Saepinum and Herdoniae, Roman communities that flourished in the centuries which saw the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire. The strong connection between basilicae and legal activity in Roman public architecture suggests that these recesses also served a legal function. It would be natural for a space built within a private house to accommodate legal activity to mirror an architectural form already utilized in the community’s public buildings.

This interpretation provides us with a new location for legal activity within the Roman house and suggests some architectural criteria which may help in locating legal activity in the archaeological record within Roman houses.

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Private and social life in middle class dwellings during the Roman Empire

When we try to reconstruct the original living conditions of the Romans in their urban environment, we are usually inclined to picture in our mind a chaotic, crowded, and noisy metropolis in which the rich and the poor are not only immediately visually recognizable, as it is evident in the Roman visual arts, by their personal appearance, but they are also topographically set apart one from the other in relation to their domestic setting. The rich are envisioned in luxurious domus which fulfil both the private and social needs of their owners, while the poor are imagined to dwell in dreadful lodgings, and, in between, a middle class is almost non-existent.

Among the most quoted literary materials used to support the idea of a metropolitan anti-utopia for the lower classes there are the vivid descriptions by Martial and Juvenal, which ostensibly gives us a feeling of witnessing moments of real Roman life where less affluent denizens are compelled to seek for outdoor spaces in order to socialize and find comfort from their grim life. Nevertheless, these poetical accounts have been long since recognized as moral personal judgments typical of the satire scenario and a critical reassessment of our data on social and private life conditions of middle class residents in Roman Imperial cities is essential.

Bringing together a re-evaluation of literary sources and a thorough analysis of archaeological evidence, legal and epigraphic documentation, the paper aims to broaden our knowledge on the quality and the way of life of middle class denizens in their houses during the Roman Empire. It will analyze where this portion of population lived, what kind of comforts, amenities, and social life they could rely on in their dwellings.

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The salutatio, a social ritual within the Roman house. Approach to the public/private distinction in the domus in the light of E. Goffman's ritual notion

"[...] we must treat the house as a coherent structural whole, as a stage deliberately designed for the performance of social rituals, and not as a museum of artefacts." (Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 96)

The publications of Wallace-Hadrill on the domus seriously challenged the distinction between public and private in the Roman house. Following his footsteps, we intend to continue this challenge with a case study. On the basis of his seminal article (Wallace-Hadrill 1988) and of the very recent book of Goldbeck (Goldbeck 2010), we would like to question the public/private opposition within the domus in light of a particular social event: the salutatio in the Late Republic and the Early Principate. In several regards, this morning ceremony can be analysed as a 'social ritual'. From a spatial point of view, the organisation of the Roman house conveyed a relative structure to the salutatio. Different physical markers (e.g., decor, rooms' arrangement) as well as humans (e.g., janitor, nomenclator) were landmarks, or even obstacles, for salutatores in their access to the visited person. From a methodological point of view, we intend to favour an interdisciplinary approach. Whereas Wallace-Hadrill hardly referred to works of sociologists (mentioning for instance Veblen and Bourdieu only in footnotes), we would like to shed light on the public-private distinction at work within the salutatio thanks to the sociological works of Goffman (Goffman 1967, 1971). His analysis of social interaction is relevant because it was particularly based on the ritual metaphor. Many of his concepts developed within the frame of his fieldwork (especially the avoidance rituals / territories of the Self and the presentational rituals / supportive interchanges) could find a rich and fertile scope in the salutatio-case. Although the first section of Goldbeck's book precisely deals with salutatio resorting to Interaktion concept, hardly mentioning Goffman in a footnote and focusing on other social scholars' works, my interdisciplinary approach based on Goffman's sociology will lead to have an original and new look at public-private spectrum inside the domus.

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To overcome Vitruvius – literary guidebook verses archaeological context

Roman domestic architecture is far from being understood by using the Vitruvian text and terminology. In a close reading of the famous chapter 5 of book 6 firstly the inner logic of his argument will be investigated. Instead of taking his recommendations as a guidebook it will turn out that they are indeed very fragmentary and do not offer us a tool to systematically analyze Roman houses. To relate them to archaeological contexts the readers' perspective has to be changed.

Any thorough differentiation between 'public' and 'private' should - instead of looking at these areas for themselves - ask for the character of dividing lines that may have separated these different zones. Roman houses must undoubtedly have provided items of this kind. It is therefore surprising that the Vitruvian text does hardly mention these although they must have been very important for any kind of reception of non-residents. In such circumstances it has repeatedly been helpful to use anthropological approaches. On the basis of E. Leachs theories in a second step it will become clear that strong and decisive signs of spatial differentiation inside the Roman house did not leave many traces in the archaeological record.

As a consequence the architecture and archaeology of Roman houses must be looked at more closely. In a case study the examination of the Casa del Menandro will finally demonstrate a strong relation between the level of accessibility and the invisibility of these dividing items. Boundaries inside the house became less visible as the single reception grew more important. Being challenged by the idea of the entirely public 'private house' the Roman owner in these circumstances had to minimize his own prerogatives - but only temporarily.

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Use of space in Roman Houses from III to I B.C.: new data from Pompeii

The research project "Regio IX, insula 7 of Pompeii" allowed, from 2004 to 2012, to investigate a very important sector of the urban system of Pompeii, proceeding not only to the filing of the existing masonry structures, but also, through stratigraphic excavations, to clarify the chronological sequence. The excavation has allowed us to bring to light many evidences that allow us to define the system of occupation of space in the III and II century BC, including the evolution of the housing system in this chronological period. The presence of buildings of limited size in the third century and the structure of the house around a clear space of representation, occupying the entire ground floor of the building, require thinking about the placement of private spaces in other areas of the building, such example the second floors.

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Cooking Class: Defining Domestic Hierarchies Through Household Objects and Daily Practice



This humble scene of a woman curled over a stove, who is caught in the process of cooking a meal while seated diners converse behind her, is found on a silver scyphus that was discovered on the underground level of the Casa del Menandro in Pompeii (Painter 2001; Borriello 1996; Pirizio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, Mauri 1933). Offering a rare window into the cultural and social assumptions that Romans held about various practices associated with caring for the body's nutritional needs, the image on this cup exposes how the material world of Roman homes participated in managing and maintaining domestic hierarchies through non-verbal codes that accompanied daily routines. In this paper, I rely on evidence gathered from human remains of Vesuvius' victims, archaeological sites, and artifacts in order to illuminate the physical interaction between the human body and fixtures or objects in Roman houses. Employing Bruno Latour's actor-network-theory (Latour 2007), I argue that the tasks, tools, and fixtures particular to food preparation helped perpetuate strictly defined household hierarchies in spaces that regularly lacked clearly articulated separations between elite and non-elite locations (Nevett 2010; Allison 2004; 1997; Berry 1997). I contend that posture and (sometimes) visible physical strain demanded by these spaces, fixtures, and tools helped signify one's position within the home. In fact, spaces, tools, and visual representations of food preparation correspondingly marked lower status on the body through various degrees of concaved poses that simultaneously implied movement and mutability.

Elite status is contrasted to these lowlier positions by relying on representations of erect and static postures. Additionally, it seems Romans accounted for a type of 'audience' to observe these activities, thereby confirming that Romans were aware that these physical exchanges had the power to articulate and sustain social hierarchies.

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Inner Space: the integration of domestic spaces in Volubilis, Morocco.

The terms 'public' and 'private', parallel to Vitruvius' *communia* and *propria* (6.5.1), have been used to define the functions of spaces within the Roman home. However, in places where detailed written sources do not survive, it is difficult to know whether they are applicable or not. Dissatisfied with the terms, scholars have looked for other models for understanding how spaces worked, studying decorative schemas and archaeology. Space syntax analysis can contribute to an understanding of how domestic spaces functioned by taking the house as a whole and providing an insight into how and where the movement and interactions of inhabitants were likely to take place. In this paper it will be applied to the houses of Volubilis, Morocco, to demonstrate that the terms 'public' and 'private' are insufficient to describe the use of domestic space in any of the houses studied across Volubilis' socio-economic spectrum.

Space syntax analysis creates a numerical value for the integration of spaces. By comparing the relative integration of domestic spaces it is possible to infer which of those spaces may have played the most important roles for inhabitants. Carrying out such a study reveals that the same tendency towards integration can be seen in the large, wealthy houses of the North East quarter, right down to the small, pre-Roman houses of the South quarter. This suggests that, in the range of houses studied, there wasn't a strongly defined hierarchy of spaces, such as would merit the use of the terms 'public' and 'private'.

The integrative approach to domestic space taken by this paper will enable a comparison of spatial experiences which emphasises differences of form rather than function in houses of different sizes, and in each case calls for the use of new, relevant terminology.

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Domus Villaque: Stabiae, the Villa San Marco and an Adjacent Domus

Stabiae is the best representation in our archaeological record of what the great villas of Baiae, Misenum and Cumae must have looked like: a series of enormous villas, up to 22,000 sq. m., side by side on a sea-cliff, with no true city nearby. Recent excavations (2007-09) have strongly suggested that one of the villas, the Villa San Marco at Stabiae, the first villa outside the town site, may have been part of the same property as a panoramic *domus* built on the other side of the street within the small Stabiae settlement (a “*pagus*”). The *domus* was built over the recently out-of-use town wall which faced the sea, and is of much the same form as the “*domus*-like villas” of Herculaneum, also built over the recently out-of-use city wall facing the sea. The villa and *domus* seem to have been connected by a bridge over the city gate, a parallel being the house built over the Porta Fontinalis in Rome, owned by Gn. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 7 B.C.) who was condemned in A.D. 20 and his properties broken up.

The *domus* and the villa at Stabiae, have very different characters. The *domus* may have been a luxurious panoramic town-house, but the villa was an enormous entertainment machine with almost no habitation *cubicula*, and with baths at the level of a public establishment (e.g. the Suburban baths at Herculaneum which were connected with the *domus* of M. Nonius Balbus, also built on the out-of-use walls above). This raises the question of whether the villa San Marco may have been an appendage of the *domus*, serving elite political needs of a senator or Campanian *decurion/municipalis*, and when empty, perhaps put in the service of earning some other kind of income, such as semi-public elite rental property for entertainment. The houses of the senatorial or municipal elite were never very private, but this raises another issue, in that this municipal/senatorial elite was very unlikely to forgo the opportunity to raise income from their properties, and may have created a combination of townhouse mansion and representational/rental villa, rather than leave their great villas completely empty most of the year.

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Peristylum, Peristylum: Space and its Identity

The terminological usage of peristylum/peristylum in historical texts is few. It has been observed by recent scholarship, that the Romans preferred to use other terms such as *ambulatio*, *porticus*, *xystus* and *palaestra*, and that the term *peristyle* was spread by scholars without detailed analysis of the archaeological material. This view has become common among archaeologists as well as historians, and we seldom encounter the Latin words *peristylum*/*peristylum* in recent publications. However, few have questioned 'why the terminological application of *peristylum*/*peristylum* is scarce in number'.

This paper considers the reason of the scarce terminological usage in the historical texts and asks how the Romans named the colonnaded structure seen in the Pompeian domestic architecture. The enquiry will be based mostly on textual evidence in Greek and Latin. From the classical and Hellenistic Greek texts written by Herodotus, Euripides, Hecataeus of Abdera, Kallixeinus and Polybius to epigraphic evidence, this paper will explore whether 'peristylos' was perceived as a public structure or a private one in the Greek world. Likewise, based on the examples of Latin authors such as Cicero, Varro, Vitruvius, Pliny and Suetonius, it will attempt to show how they depicted *peristylum*/*peristylum* in the texts. And through the specific observation of Cic. Dom. 116 where Cicero criticises Clodius for having *ambulatio*, *porticus* and *peristylum* in his house on the Palatine, it will seek to find the difference among the terminologies and to consider the political meaning of the *peristylum*/*peristylum* structure. An analysis of Latin texts reveals that the terminological application of *peristylum*/*peristylum* by Vitruvius is extreme and peculiar, and other authors are cautious of using the term *peristylum*/*peristylum*. Based on these observations, this paper will consider whether the Roman élite in the city of Rome owned the *peristylum*/*peristylum*, and how *peristylum*/*peristylum* were being considered in the Roman world.

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Housing Locals or Strangers? – Public and private aspects of the so-called *hospitia* in Pompeii

The existence of hostels or inns – *hospitia* – in Roman towns is well established through ancient literature, which abounds with stories of travellers' adventures on their journeys. However, identifying these establishments in the archaeological record is far more complicated. Although research on houses in Roman towns is ongoing, the structures of so-called *hospitia* have been largely overlooked. New studies such as my project *Römische Herbergen*¹ emphasize the difficulties of identifying a '*hospitium*' function through architectural layout alone. New *hospitia* structures have been found potentially in recent years throughout the Roman Empire. Hence this study will incorporate those into more extensive comparison and typological classification. More useful criteria such as road networks, literary evidence and looking at small finds will make a new typology worthwhile and will show presumed public and private multi-functionality of these buildings. In this paper, the so-called *hospitia* of Pompeii are taken to illustrate the social and architectural complexity of these establishments. In fact, only two *hospitia* have been positively identified at Pompeii through inscriptional evidence, while the identification of other structures conventionally dubbed '*hospitia*' relies mainly upon assumptions made by previous researchers such as A. Maiuri and H. Eschebach. Especially curious are the so-called *hospitia* in Region VI, where some of the grand houses are said to have been used as *hospitia* following the earthquake of A.D. 62. Such structures raise questions about why changes were made, and who profited from them. Were they made for strangers, or now-homeless locals who lost their housing after the earthquake, for temporary or long-term housing? How might such changes have affected the housing in this particular area of the city? And can we find indications of how these changes affected the immediate neighbourhood, and the ways that it reacted to assumed collective social housing? Comparisons with other *hospitia* in the Roman Empire may help to answer these questions, and clarify the complex multi-functionality in public and private aspects of Roman *hospitia*.

¹The *Projekt Römische Herbergen* is conducted at the RGZM (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) and based on my doctoral thesis on Roman taverns in Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia (University of Hamburg, 2010).

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Houses of Ostia and the changing culture of privacy

The development model describing the housing and houses of Ostia states, that in the early empire, the individual houses of the atrium-type were the standard, but after the Trajanic and Hadrianic rebuilding of the town, the prominent form of housing became the housing block, insula, and that the individual, domus-house fell into disuse. The situation was reversed during the third century, and even some new individual houses were constructed, now in the common style of late Roman peristyle house. The move from the atrium house to the apartments in insula had significant implications on the public/private-relationship of a familia. Whereas the old atrium house was open to the public gaze, the insula apartment was very much separated from the public spaces; in this scheme, the peristyle house seems like a return to the old values, as visual openness and apparent axiality around the entrance becomes once again the norm. Is this apparent traditionality an expression of surviving values of openness and visibility or are appearances deceiving? Based on Ostian evidence, I shall argue, that the “end of Roman house” with the houses closing themselves to the public gaze began already at this time and that the late houses are visually open only apparently, and that this is also manifest in the architectural remains: whereas in the old atrium-houses the openness also implied a certain level of accessibility, the late houses visually preclude any such activity. Some implications are drawn concerning the public/private-dichotomy and the changing value of privacy in the Roman culture.

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From communal life to domestic life: the changing nature of houses and social structure in Crete from the pre-Roman to the Roman period

The houses of Crete have much to reveal about the changing nature of social life on the island from the pre-Roman to the Roman period. Cretan cities possessed three types of domiciles during the Classical and Hellenistic periods: linear, non-linear, and courtyard houses. In other parts of Greece, courtyard houses predominated; however, on Crete the linear-type house was the most popular. These distinctive domiciles were composed of a couple of rooms with central hearths and were characterized by linear circulation patterns and single entrances, suggesting that there was not much concern for privacy. It has been argued that the simplicity of these domiciles reflected the distinctive nature of Cretan society which placed an emphasis on military activities, communal ownership of land, and communal dining in public spaces known as *andreia*. As a result, the excavated houses from the pre-Roman period on Crete reveal distinct patterns of social relations both within the household and between the household and the community.

The conquest of Crete in 67 BC by Q. Caecilius Metellus brought an end to the island's archaic social system and necessitated a change in attitudes toward private ownership and the possession of individual wealth. The focus of entertainment and decision-making shifted from the communal to the domestic sphere, bringing with it a need to own opulent houses that would impress visitors and clients. Household remains excavated in several cities on Crete and dated to the Roman period suggest that older notions about individual affluence had been abandoned and by the second century AD, the island's upper classes were competing with other provincials of similar status by incorporating architectural and decorative elements that were prevalent in other elite houses across the empire.

This paper brings together evidence from a variety of sources – historical, archaeological, philological, and architectural – in order to further our understanding of the changing nature of houses and social structure in Crete.

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Crossing the threshold: patterns of movement in Roman houses

Of the many binary oppositions that were fundamental in the construction and regulation of socio-cultural categories in the Roman world (e.g. male/female, life/death, native/foreign), few were as important as right versus left. The right-hand side was associated with good luck and happiness, while the left was generally connected with ill omens, evil, and misfortune. These values are represented time and again in Roman art, literature, philosophy, and religion. Recent work in archaeological contexts has shown that these beliefs also extended beyond the symbolic realm to the physical world, affecting the ways in which people moved through public environments. In private space, however, this dichotomy has rarely been the subject of academic inquiry. Though many recent analyses of Roman dwellings have attempted to reconstruct circulation patterns in the home, they have generally failed to consider how right/left-sided preferences may have impacted movement and controlled access to certain spaces. One source of evidence, door thresholds, can provide particularly important insights into these issues. Through the analysis of wear marks and holes cut for door hardware and locking mechanisms, it is often possible to reconstruct the manner in which individuals normally entered and exited various rooms. And because threshold stones were used for many years, examining their diagnostic features presents the opportunity to adopt a *longue durée* approach to the study of movement in the home. Employing the results of a wide-ranging survey of thresholds from numerous sites, this paper will explore access patterns in a variety of domestic environments in attempt to determine how the right/left divide influenced circulation in Roman houses.

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Strategies of being seen

Past scientific research has proclaimed a clear distinction not only between the house as a private space and the city as its public surrounding, but also between so-called “public“ and so-called “private” areas inside of Roman houses. Particularly in Pompeii as the richest example of Roman daily life, attempts have been made to identify and differentiate the functions of certain rooms as well as the ongoing activities of the inhabitants (dominus, domina, children, slaves) as occupiers of those specific areas of the house. As small finds are movable objects and were often lost or have not been documented, especially during earlier excavations in Pompeii, their significance regarding socio-historical interpretations is limited. This is one reason for the increasing interest in inscriptions, especially graffiti, of which thousands have been found in Pompeii in situ. Those graffiti show a variety of topics and are evidence of numerous personalities, that can be approached by the medium graffiti.

In contrary to modern/contemporary graffiti, which are often illegal and in opposition to governmental authorities, the presence of graffiti has been tolerated or even accepted in Pompeii. This interpretation is underpinned by the fact that up to 50 graffiti have been found in one Pompeian house.

And yet their distribution does not always follow the assumed structures of the public and private. In particular, analyses of graffiti location imply commonalities and differences in the perception of so-called public and private spheres. These may be enlightened e.g. by the following questions: Which places are chosen for namedropping and which “eyecatchers” are used for this purpose? Did the writers place a graffiti with respect to the decorations of facades and indoor rooms? Is there a difference in the topics that are discussed inside and outside the houses? The aim of the proposed talk is to unravel those patterns of leaving messages within the city area and Pompeian houses.

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The Gardens of Livia, Ad Gallinas Albas – Narrators of Love, Myth and Political Posture

*see the garden as mediating space, as self-representation, as a declaration of ideology—
a stubborn refusal to give up and die—Katharine T. von Stackelberg*

On the northern edge of Rome, buried in layers of the Tiber's sediment live ancient gardens conceived with love, desire, and utopian visions of empire. The gardens at Villa Livia, Ad Gallinas Albas narrated stories of love, myth and political power. As political, domestic, and mythic mediators, these gardens transcribed Greek Apollonian myth grounded in notions of metamorphosis and procreation while transcending conventional notions of Livia's role as a woman in the domestic and political realms. The imaginary interior garden grotto is well documented in scholarship. The exterior terraced gardens have not been completely excavated but it is clear that they also adopted and made manifest notions of perpetual metamorphosis, propagation, and bloom.

I would argue that Livia's historical presence was assertive and transcended conventional female boundaries: she asserted herself as a Roman citizen, the Emperor's wife, and as a domestic and public gardener. Livia inherited the villa from her family prior to her betrothal to Augustus. It is apparent that Livia had a worldly awareness of horticultural practices, owned and administered vast amounts of property in Italy and Egypt. There are also meaningful connections between Livia and Porticus Liviae, the temple of Divus Augustus, and the Ara Pacis, all significant political gestures in Augustus's building program.

In this paper, I will synthesize scholarship regarding Livia and her villa's domestic and public persona, archeological evidence that describes the gardens at Villa Livia, and literary references that describe Livia and her gardens to explore Livia's role as a political, domestic, and mythic figure who used her gardens and knowledge of horticulture as transformative mediums of influence in Imperial Rome.

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Campaigning with Houses in Pompeii: Analysis of Electoral *programmata* and their Locations

Local elections and campaigns of the candidates were a very visible part of the streetscape of ancient Pompeii. Electoral *programmata* painted on many façades have been found and recorded since the beginning of the excavations, but most of them have since disappeared. The contents of the notices have been studied frequently and several books have been written about the political life in Pompeii. The topographical distribution and contexts of the electoral notices have, however, received much less attention until quite recently. The aim of this paper is to analyze the find locations of some 1100 texts in three areas of Pompeii (*Regiones* I, VI and VII). The electoral notices were usually painted on the façades on the streets with most activity to reach a maximal audience. Analysis of the housing units with inscriptions reveals that the notices were most commonly painted close to the entrances of the large private houses. Bar and shop fronts were also used, but not as frequently. Public buildings feature only a few electoral notices. The house façade is a liminal space between the private interior of the house and the public streetscape, but still controlled by the house owner –the proprietors could probably decide who painted electoral notices on their façades. Sponsorship of the house owners could play a major part in the success of the candidates. The house was used to enhance its owner's political and social status, and the *programmata* turned the house into an explicit vehicle of political promotion of its owner and his associates. The electoral *programmata* for public elections were displayed on private property making the dwelling an important part of the process.

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Slaves and Freed Slaves of the Julio-Claudians: The Gendered Household?

The slaves and freed slaves of the Julio-Claudian emperors and their family members have left extensive records of their names, occupations, and relationships in their funerary inscriptions. In order to understand the epigraphic habits and household organization of the early Imperial household, I have conducted a thorough statistical analysis of over 1,300 inscriptions naming slaves and freed slaves of the Julio-Claudians, with approximately 1,800 individuals represented within my sample.

When these slaves and freed slaves are divided according to the gender of their masters and patrons, a clear pattern emerges. There are distinct differences between households belonging to Julio-Claudian men and women, particularly with regard to the sex ratio and occupations of their staff. Households headed by women tended to have considerably more female slaves and freed slaves than did those headed by men. Additionally, the types of occupations that appeared in a particular household seem to depend largely on the gender of the household's owner. In some cases, these differences were clearly related to differences in public duties and the resulting staffing needs: male-owned households were more likely to contain bodyguards or military personnel, while female-owned households were more likely to include staff dealing with clothing and appearance. However, the differences were not always so obvious: why would male-owned households contain more generic household staff while female-owned households included more medical workers? The explanation must lie in the co-residence of multiple households under a single roof: even spouses did not merge their slaves and freed slaves into a single household, but instead retained separate property throughout their marriage. A broad trend according to which men tended to have certain types of necessary staff while women had others would be a highly pragmatic solution, simplifying the integration and administration of joint households, while avoiding redundancy and the duplication of labour.

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Power, Place and Performance: Reviewing the Role of the Villa

Previous studies have accepted the portrayal of the Roman villa in ancient literature as the antithesis of the *domus* (Ackerman, 1990; Zanker, 1998; Mattusch, 2009), of secondary importance as a private retreat where conduct unbecoming to good Romans occurred out of public sight (Hales, 2003). This has narrowed the assessment of villas and their important social and cultural roles. I argue that, just as the *domus* has recently been re-examined with reference to its public role, so too might we examine the Roman villa as a place to display power and standing to contemporaries.

Viewing 'power' as the ability of an individual to construct another's field of action (i.e. to control behaviour in a certain space, (Wolf, 1990)) I argue that Rome's elite employed their villas to order social hierarchy and to parade status to contemporaries, demonstrating publically their power and superiority. By combining this with theories on the presence of theatricality within life beyond the theatrical realm (Davis, 2004), I explore how the domestic space of the villa presents opportunities for the patron to perform and display rituals of social and cultural standing to his visitors. Display and hierarchy were undoubtedly important during the Republic as individuals strove to surpass one another's political and financial achievements. I argue that under the Principate, the location and role of the villa as a place for displaying wealth and standing became progressively more important, since the opportunity to display ambitions and political successes within the civic domain became increasingly restricted. I will demonstrate that far from the 'private' space previously ascribed to these residences, the careful ordering and organisation of architecture and landscape highlights the crucial role villas held as an arena for publicly expressing and parading an individual's status.

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The Origin of the Christian Cult of the Saints Derived from Roman Domestic Religion as Evidenced in Antioch

Traditional Roman religion had two components: the official state religion, practiced in public, and the private rituals that took place within the home. Worship of the major gods formed the core of the state religion, whereas lesser gods, protective spirits of the home and countryside, were an integral part of daily life.

Essentially, the state cult operated like the domestic cult, but on a larger scale. Both involved the invocation of deities to protect the land. Such a correlation between the rites of the state and the family reveals the elevated position of the household gods in Roman society, even though impact of domestic cult can sometimes be overlooked, especially in later Roman history.

The household gods of the Romans were good spirits who ensured the household's resources would be multiplied. Interaction with the household gods through prayer and bloodless sacrifice was frequent. Although Romans may have included other deities, such as those who played more important functions in the state cult, the relationship with the gods worshiped within the home seemed the most personal. There is no difference between pagans' leaving an offering before a *lararium* and Christians' placing flowers in front of icons or statues of saints in their homes. It is that need for a personal relationship with the divine invoked on a regular basis that the institution of the veneration of saints would absorb from Roman domestic religion.

This paper is an inquiry into the philosophical and artistic connections between Roman household cult and its transformation into the Christian veneration of icons. If it can be pinpointed the place of origin for the transition between the statuettes and painted images of the household gods to images of the saints was Antioch-on-the-Orontes in the ancient province of Syria (now in modern Turkey).

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Political, religious, social and cultural functions of private houses in Ephesos

The dwelling units in Terrace House 2 were built in the early 1st century AD and destroyed and abandoned in the later 3rd century AD. According to their architecture and superb décor, these peristyle houses were inhabited by the gentry of Ephesos. This is confirmed by various graffiti and inscriptions from several units which name their possessors. As these persons also occur in inscriptions exhibited publicly in Ephesos, we are in the excellent position to distinguish between the appearance of these people in the private and in the public realm. Since one of the owners – C. Fl. Furius Aptus – held the offices of an alytarch, which is a high office within the Emperor cult, and that of a priest of Dionysos, I will explore whether these public and religious functions influenced the architecture and décor of the house. Which parts of the dwelling units in Terrace House 2 were used by the owners for political, religious and other meetings? Can we easily distinguish between private space and representative, quasipublic rooms in the unit? Furthermore, I would like to focus on the different kinds of religious cults in Terrace House 2, which include the worship of local and Greek-Hellenistic gods and goddesses, but also the cult of the Roman Emperors. Whereas the latter is an empire-wide cultural phenomenon, the admiration of the deities stands in the Greek-Hellenistic tradition of the Eastern Mediterranean culture. Concerning the cults performed in the dwelling units, the question arises whether any of them were open to a wider range of people than those living in the houses.

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The domestic and civic basilica between public and private space

Ancient sources use similar terminology to refer to spaces in both 'public' and 'private' contexts. Vitruvius mentions *basilicae* among the 'public' areas of an elite house (6.5.2), drawing explicit parallels with non-residential architecture. The overlap highlights the lack of a strict distinction between public and private in domestic space, but consideration of the relationship between the civic forms and its domestic equivalent demonstrates even closer links between public and private space. Using literary and archaeological evidence for Republican Rome, this paper investigates the domestic and civic basilica to show one way in which residential and civic spaces worked together in the evolution of concepts of public and private.

Romans looking to signify public grandeur and political importance within their houses adapted the basilica, while the patrons of civic basilicas drew ideas and symbolism from domestic space. The elite houses and enigmatic 'atria' which originally stood around the Forum occupied a position between domestic and civic, public and private, and their example helped the patrons of the first basilicas to create civic buildings which continued to participate in a dialogue between civic activity and private power. Consider, for example, the younger Cato's successful intervention in restoration works on his ancestor's basilica (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 5), or the decision of an Aemilius to decorate both his own house and the Basilica Aemilia with captured shields (Pliny *NH* 35.15). In these cases private and public basilicas have much in common.

Domestic and civic architectural typologies at Rome developed in tandem, with relationships of influence working in both directions. A fuller investigation of the influences flowing in both directions can help us understand better the operation of the private/public divide and spatial experience both within and beyond the house.

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Domestic cults in the Roman Empire: Is worshipping the gods private?

The paper deals with domestic rituals in different regions of the Roman Empire thus it focuses on social and spatial behaviour in Roman houses consisting of activities which exemplify the private-public-problem. Cults and cult sites in the Roman house are considered both as 'public' and as 'private' according to their location (atrium, peristyle, kitchen, cubicula) and its décor. Recently the attribution of privacy or publicity to religious activities in the domestic realm has been further challenged by excavations at Pompeii and by epigraphic studies hinting for the activities of *collegia* within the houses. Basically it is to question if a sharp private-public-dichotomy should be maintained, at least the relationship between private and public concerning cults should be regarded as dynamic.

Because sociologists and anthropologists generally agree that 'core' or 'essential' characteristics of privacy are difficult to determine thus a pragmatic approach is chosen to tackle the problem and a more gradual sequence of traits will be established to qualify the spaces where domestic rituals were performed. Adopting methods of current architectural theory the setting of house cults will be analysed in regard of room size and décor, the setting of these spaces within the house, their accessibility and their relation to other spaces of the house.

Using the placement of household shrines at Pompeii as a starting point and basis of comparison I will study houses and cult installations in Northern Italy, Northern Africa and the Iberian Peninsula looking both for Roman and local traditions which could shape religious activities within the domestic sphere. Thus the study will detect distinctions in the localisation and design of house cults in various regions of the empire hinting for differences in spatial and social behaviour and different attitudes towards inclusion/exclusion, formality and attendance in religious contexts.

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The peristyle gardens a cultural stage in the Pompeian house

The Roman house symbolized the owner's knowledge of culture as well as his social status and wealth. The decoration of the house was an indicator of cultural taste and education of the owner. Culture and education were neutral fields to operate after the politics were dominated by the emperor, and active role on arenas of culture could have led to a political office as Zanker theorized.¹ My intention is not to concentrate how the decoration reflected house owner's cultural preferences, but I am going to examine, how the private house was used as a place of cultural or educational activity. I will concentrate on the Pompeian private houses and their peristyle gardens.

The large peristyle of the *Casa del Fauno* and the peristyle of the *Casa degli Amorini Dorati* have a stage like space, which has been speculated to be used for art performances. The peristyle of the *Casa degli Amorini Dorati* also had vast decoration referring to the theater. The decoration related to theater is not rare in the Pompeian peristyles, and also other cultural themes, like music and philosophy, are present. The first aim of this paper is to put together the archaeological evidence from the Pompeian peristyles to examine, if the space was utilized for cultural activity. This paper will also concentrate on education and activities related to schooling, which was popular in the public porticoes. The second object is to consider, if the use of public spaces were adopted in the similar spaces in the private context, studying again the archaeological evidence from the peristyles.

¹ See Paul Zanker *Pompeji: Stadtbild und Wohngeschmack* 1995.

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Living and working in a domus

In addition to so-called canonical or standard domus with an atrium at the front and a garden at the back, some houses were equipped with commercial and/or productive fixtures. They were located in these central courtyards and yards, or placed in more secluded parts of the house. The aim of this paper is to examine the roles of these working spaces in different households. Based on a case study of Pompeian city block IX.3, the spatial layout of the living quarters and working units as well as finds attesting to living and working are discussed to understand the dynamics of private and public functions. The results suggest that working units had a prominent, central role in the households and finds related to domestic and leisure activities were found in working areas. Hence, living and working were not divided in space. Consequently, it seems likely that the residents were neither strictly segregated. If there were some aims to separate functions and residents, they must have been temporal.

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Public and private in domestic spaces beyond Vitruvius. The House of the Geometrical mosaics in Pompeii as a case study

Is it possible to read a distinction between the public and private sphere in a first century domestic space, by investigating its plan's reflection of the Vitruvian nomenclature? The analysis of a group of houses located along the south-western edges of the town of Pompeii allows us to address, at least in part, this very question.

The Casa dei mosaici geometrici, spread over some three thousand square metres, started its life as a group of individual domus, converted to one building during the later phases of the colony. Its architecture takes advantage of the sloping terrain by developing from a number of successive terraces which opened onto the views of the Bay of Naples. While its dimensions and form are similar to those of the vast majority of the buildings of Pompeii, another aspect deserves more careful examination: the routes which connect the domus with the public spaces of the town. In fact, in addition to two other access routes opening onto the street, this building is the only one in Pompeii to possess independent and direct access to the forum, passing through two buildings which have been recognised to be devoted to the town's public administration. This domus, which was being built at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, was therefore destined for a unique role among the elite residences of Pompeii.

Through an analysis of its construction work and of its architectural make-up, we would like to advance a semantic reading of this building. The relationship between the built features and the topography of this route to the forum can inform us on specular displays taking place between the spaces of the private and public sphere. In so doing, it will, in some ways, revitalize a domestic space still fixed on rigid interpretative frameworks.