

Space and Governance: Towards a New Topography of Roman Administration

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Jessica Bartz (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *A measure of economy? The organisation of public games in the city of Rome and the transformation of the urban design*

On the one hand festival events in the city of Rome took place with a certain regularity (e.g. cult festivals), on the other hand they were organised on irregular occasions (e.g. triumphal and funeral celebrations). For all of those events during the Late Republican period flexible structures, which temporarily occupied important public spaces, were required. Their appearance ranged from simple wooden benches, over grandstands to large complexes such as theatres, amphitheatres and stadiums. For the construction of particularly precious entertainment structures enormous financial investments were involved, above all those events were not staged simply on religious responsibility or served only as entertainment for the masses, but were also a catalysator of political interaction and an important basis for social, political and religious communication.

The paper will focus on the transformation of the organisation of games in the city of Rome during the Late Republican and the Early Imperial period. This epoch is characterised by a shift from the construction of monumental temporary buildings and architectures towards permanent complexes. Reducing this development to a measure of economy, as Tacitus points out (cf. Tac. ann. 14, 21, 2), seems a bit too short-sighted. Instead of several magistrates and benefactors impressing the Roman people by the staging of precious public games, under the reign of Augustus the games were reorganized, focused on the Imperial family and therefore gradually adapted to the new political system.

Marco Brunetti (Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max Planck Institute): *Scholae and collegia: the non-official administration in Roman Italy from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD*

The main spaces of the official administration of the Forum in the Roman *municipia* and *coloniae* has well been investigated by scholars. On the other hand, the the *schola* and *collegia*, as architectural structure, are not so well studied, although they were quite common in the urban system and frequently mentioned by the epigraphical sources.

In Roman society, crafts and religious administrators were get used to having common spaces where discussed issues concerning their business, but also for enjoying the moments of the associative life (banquets, ceremonies, etc.). Although many decisions and policies decided within the *scholae/collegia* had not an officially approval by the local administrators, such associations autonomy managed all the issues that were not debated in the public space of the Forum (such as



the trade and the price of a specific product, the rituals and celebrations of religious cults). The aim of my talk will be to investigate some specific cases of *scholae* and *collegia* in Italy from the 1st century AD to the 2nd century BC. Through the analysis of their positions in the urban system and the architectural shapes, it will be clear how these buildings tried to reclaim the official recognition which they never had.

Owing to the inscriptions collected by B. Bollmann, I will start with a brief overview concerning the problem of the name (*schola* and *collegia* are two words for the same concept or not?). Then, I will analyze some specific cases of civic *collegia* (Velia: *collegium* of doctors; Eumachia's building at Pompei: *collegium* of wool merchants and artisans; Ostia: *collegium* of *fabri navales*). On the other hand, I will take into account the religious *collegia* of *Augustales* at Ostia and Roselle. Through these last cases, I will show how the religious *collegia* have common architectural and urban features with the civic *collegia*, despite the latter was not officially recognized by the public law.

Juan Manuel Cortés Copete (Pablo de Olavide University): *New Buildings for an oecumenical government: the Hadrianic Stoas*

In the second century CE the relationship between the emperor and the people and citizens changed, and this was especially notable in the public spaces. In Rome, the Forum and the political institutions around it stopped being the heart of the city, a place which was taken over by other buildings such as the Pantheon, the Thermae and the Imperial Palace. This model was also exported to cities across the Roman Empire, leaving clear archaeological traces of it. Hadrian built everywhere a new kind of Stoa traditionally interpreted as a cultural facility, i.e. the Library of Hadrian in Athens. A petition to Hadrian published in Lydia reveals, though, that the New Stoa was the place to post up the imperial *rescripta*. The oecumenical government for the Empire required new public spaces in the cities of the provinces.

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Ashton J. Fancy (Princeton University): *Manipulating Rome's Topographical and Political Landscapes through the Republican Pomerium*

In addition to commanding authority through infamous performances of violence, the Roman dictator L. Cornelius Sulla was also skilled in initiating architectural projects to convey his political motives. This paper will consider one such act of "architectural performance"—the expansion of the *pomerium*, or the boundary that marked a change in military and religious privileges within the city. While attested to by ancient authors, no physical remains of Sulla's *pomerium* have been identified, meaning that the border was likely invisible and therefore largely unknowable to the uninitiated passerby. Over the course of his political career, Sulla would take advantage of the *pomerium*'s sacred and legal import by violating its ordinances on two occasions and subsequently re-establishing its bounds through an expansion of the border, effectively destabilizing the concept of the *pomerium* as a legal entity to both the Roman people and the Senate and asserting the dictator's control over space and government.

This paper aims to examine how architecture can communicate power in the absence of a physical structure, highlighting how the *pomerium*'s invisibility in the republic functioned as a malleable political tool for the state to exert control over its population, as well as for Sulla to particularly manipulate the Senate. How the Romans related to the built environment and border spaces is of critical importance to this discussion, as the city and its architecture—visible or otherwise—conveyed important messages about political dynamics, past and present. As the city streets may



have conjured memories of Sullan-spilt blood and its accompanying fear, so too may fragmentary knowledge of the *pomerium* have elicited a similar response, resulting in submission to the state's authority.

Lina Girdvainyte (Université Bordeaux Montaigne): *An imperial estate in Augustan Thessaly: The emergence of imperial financial administration in the public province of Achaia*

This paper is focused on a single inscription from Larisa, dating to 4-14 CE, which records an administrative transfer of an agricultural estate in Thessaly to Augustus and his heirs (Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus) by one Caius Iulius Apollophanes, an imperial freedman, seemingly, responsible for formally accepting inheritances left to Augustus and his family in the region. This is the earliest and, as luck would have it, the most explicit piece of evidence for the existence of imperial estates in Achaia. As such, the document is crucial for our understanding of the nature of imperial estates in the region under Augustus and, more importantly, the emergence of imperial financial administration in this newly organised public province.

First, I will discuss the somewhat obscure (and thus debated) provenance of this estate given to Augustus, as well as its topography. Then, I will examine the equally puzzling nature of Apollophanes' appointment, identified on the inscription as ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κληρονομιῶν and φροντιστής: the latter term normally used in Greek epigraphy to convey the Latin curator or tutor, as opposed to procurator, whose regular Greek equivalent was ἐπίτροπος. Based on a few contemporary parallels from elsewhere in the Greek East, I will argue that the apparent irregularity of Apollophanes' appointment should be understood in the context of the emerging administrative apparatus, responsible for managing the first emperor's financial and proprietary interests in the provinces.

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Elena Isayev (University of Exeter): *Who needs places of publicness in Ancient Italy?*

The forum as an urban component only proliferated across the peninsula as part of Roman colonisation, from the 3rd century BC. The absence of such spaces at other Italic sites is not due to the scarcity of land, nor is it due to lack of wealth or imagination. Plenty of other evidence, whether epigraphy, pottery, house forms, architectural décor or weaponry and armour, show that these communities had resources and were well connected with Mediterranean-wide networks. It is just that they chose to invest elsewhere. If it was not in such spaces, than can we recognise the public sphere in other features of these sites, and if so, what was its nature? How do these co-exist with what appear to be forms of 'gated communities'? In constructing a framework for understanding what kind of public sphere may have existed in the Apennine regions, sites in Lucania for example will be used as a laboratory to experiment with Habermas's *Public Sphere of the Bourgeoisie*. In it he describes the transformations in 18th century Europe which culminated in alternative arenas for discourse, beyond those of the representational and controlled public spaces. Although this is a controversial work, rooted in a much later historical context, the societal changes it highlights help to illuminate linkages between a number of developments in ancient Italy. In so doing it provides insight into a public sphere beyond the forum and the agora. These are evident from the material remains in Lucania, and the better known context of Roman elite behaviour in the period of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.



Bradley Jordan (Universität zu Köln): *Civic archives and Roman rule: Spatial aspects of Roman hegemony in Asia Minor from Republic to Empire*

Recent literature, informed by the ‘spatial turn’, has emphasised the importance of spatial practices to both the social organisation of the *res publica*’s politics (e.g. Russell 2016) and ways in which the Roman elite constructed and conceived of their ‘empire’ (e.g. Gargola 2017). However, as yet, little attention has been paid to how antecedent local spatial dynamics were affected by the establishment of Roman hegemony. This paper addresses this problem by focusing on how the organisation of civic administrative documents evolved in Asia Minor during the Late Republic and Early Principate. It aims to analyse the ways in which Roman gubernatorial practice shaped local archival spaces, both closed (physical archives) and public (displayed documents). The paper will begin by surveying the epigraphic evidence for archival practice in pre-Roman Asia. It will then evaluate the qualitative impact of Roman governance on the spatial orientation of civic archives and institutions, drawing on material including Cicero’s letters during his Cilician governorship, as well as epigraphic evidence for Roman instructions over the display and storage of official documents (e.g. *Roman Statutes* 12; *I.Priene* 13). I argue that Roman rule had a profound impact on local dynamics through reshaping and re-spatialising archival practices. It will explore the implications of this impact for our understanding of how civic communities were integrated within a Roman administrative geography. Finally, the paper will analyse Q. Veranius’ regulation of local archives at Myra in 43 CE, arguing that this represents an assertion of Roman hegemony over civic archival spaces. In sum, this paper seeks to shed light on how local spatial practices interacted with Roman provincial government in the transition from Republic to Principate.

Paolo Liverani (Università degli Studi di Firenze): *The administration of the imperial property under Constantine and the Liber Pontificalis*

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In the study of the urban development of late antique Rome, the discussion on the Christian basilicas built by Constantine has always played a significant role. In this regard we have a very important source, the *Liber Pontificalis*, consisting in a series of papal biographies in chronological order. The Life of Pope Sylvester preserves the list of ecclesiastical foundations promoted by the emperor with their donations: it is the so-called Constantinian *Libellus*. The analysis of the list allows interesting results since this document was prepared by the imperial chancellery and the 6th century ecclesiastical compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* inserted only a few clearly recognizable interpolations. The structure of the list is extremely regular and helps us to understand some administrative practices and how the emperor adapted the traditional framework to the new situations and to his ecclesiastical policy. On one side the emperor involved the bishops and their churches in the project and building of the basilicas, on the other side the basic schemes and concepts he employed were probably derived from the Roman administrative tradition concerning the foundations of pagan temples.

Antonio Lopez Garcia (University of Helsinki): *How was the headquarters of Praefectura Urbis during the empire? A review of written sources and archaeology*

The *Praefectura Urbis* was an essential body of the Roman administrative system from the High Empire to the Late Antiquity. The purpose of this paper is a review of written documentation and archaeological remains related to the magistracy of the prefect of the city. I will take a tour through all the sources that mention the functioning of this body of government, the spatial needs of the office, the functioning of the courts of justice and the management of urban policies. In recent years, several proposals about the location of the headquarters of this institution inside the urban



fabric of Rome have been made. In this talk, I will discuss the different problems involved in the location of several physical spaces related to the *Praefectura Urbis* through the archaeological sources. Spatial reconstruction of various buildings that have been associated with high magistracy is necessary to understand the historical importance of this institution, which in some of its features can be compared to the functioning of the current municipalities.

Andrei Y. Markelov (Moscow City Pedagogical University): *The Curia Iulia and Augustan Ideology*

Caesar Augustus paid much attention to the Senate's house – the *Curia Iulia*. This building has attracted the attention of scholars. Nevertheless is no consensus among classicists on the nature of the visual program of the Senate's house. Moreover, archaeologists and historians disagree on the exterior of the Curia of the Augustan era.

The paper considers the exterior and interior of the Curia, in order to answer the question, what ideological message had visual program of the Senate's house in the beginning of Augustan reign? In our opinion there are three types of architectural and decorative elements. The features of the first type allude exclusively to the victory in the battle of Actium. The elements of the second type relate to the victory in 31 BC as well as have other ideological meaning. The features of the third type do not connect with the victory. They have completely another message. The Senate's house visual program had several ideological messages. Nevertheless glorification of the victories over Egypt and in the battle of Actium played essential role among them. Not only elements of the exterior of the building but of the interior referred to the victory thanks to which Octavian became ruler of Rome. This features established Octavian's image as of the victor.

Anthony Álvarez Melero (University of Seville): *Between private and public: women's presence in procuratorial praetoria*

As is widely known, during Roman times, women were barred from holding public officia. However, they could freely move within the private sphere. Nevertheless, when their male relatives had to travel due to a procuratorial appointment in cities far away from their domicilium, were they allowed to follow them? If so, where did they stay? My paper will focus on the women related to Roman procurators and it will, on the one hand, examine the legal texts so as to show from which moment could they accompany their fathers or husbands. Then, on the other hand, I will scrutinize the epigraphic texts alluding to the female kinship of procurators in order describe their public and private activities in their temporary homes.

Marlee Miller (New York University): *School Masters: Imperial Administration of the Ludus Gladiatorius*

When Augustus established the principate, he also brought about changes to the organization and sponsorship of *ludi* and *munera*. Rather than *aediles*, the *praetors* were given control of the games, whose spending was subject to approval of the senate and emperor. However, another position emerged as a key figure in the administration of gladiatorial games, the equestrian *procurator* of the *ludus gladiatorius*, gladiatorial training school. In the Empire, only imperial *ludi* were permitted in the capital, Rome, since safety was of paramount concern as was potential competition from private schools and gladiator families. The *procurator* was particularly important in that he oversaw the financial workings of the school, spending as little as possible while getting the best performers to put on the best shows. This paper situates the equestrian *procurator* of the *ludi* within



the larger network of administration, known from funerary inscriptions to have worked in Rome and within the provinces. The evidence shows how the locus of gladiatorial training, the *ludus*, was also a node in imperial administration and a stepping stone for those who wished to gain the favor of the emperor for potential promotions within his ranks. Additionally, looking at the *ludus* and its *procuratores* offers a chance to compare this official position with that of the *lanista* or manager of the gladiatorial families, who was not only forbidden to hold any official governmental position but because he held the label *infamis* was also ostracized from proper Roman society, along with his gladiators.

Riccardo Montalbano: *Managing the urban street network of ancient Rome from Early Republic to Late Antique*

In the vast literature on the administrative history of Rome, it is possible to find a generalized disinterest in issues relating to the management of the urban street network. This indifference is made even more evident by the profound asymmetry - both in quantitative and qualitative terms - with respect to the flourishing tradition of studies concerning the suburban roads, which has always enjoined extraordinary attention by the scholars.

The difficulty of a global approach to the subject stems from two main factors: on the one hand, from the elusive nature of the available dossier, which presents a lack of homogeneity both in terms of epigraphic and literary documentation; on the other hand, from the exclusion of this branch of the administration - in the aftermath of the Augustan reforms - in the new urban curatorships, with which Augustus reshaped the management structures of the rising Principate.

The speech aims at framing in a historical perspective the evolution of the competences of the magistrates and officials in charge, their sphere of influence, the interferences and overlaps between different actors, trying to reconstruct the organization charts, the procedures and the financial aspects.

The final objective, in short, is to outline a vital section of the administrative structure of the *Urbs*, through an in-depth analysis of a theme not yet well researched, but that has a role of primary interest in the history of the city.

Samuli Simelius (University of Helsinki): *Moving magistrates in the Roman city space*

Probably the easiest place to meet a Roman magistrate was the forum. However, it was not the only option. Magistrates worked home and additionally the moved in the city space as other citizens. There are some literary sources demonstrating that a part of the work relating to administration could have been done even when moving from a place to another. (E.g. Suet. Vesp. 23.2, Plut. Vit. Caes. 17.3-4, 63.4, Plin. Ep. 3.5, 9.10, 9.29, Cic. Q. Fr. 1.2.8, 2.5.5, Gai. Inst. 1.7.20.) Consequently, we cannot dismiss the importance of the roads and streets for the Roman administrative work. This paper is aiming to clarify the urban socioeconomic environment, which surrounded the magistrates, when they moved in the Roman city space. The paper focuses on the city of Pompeii.

Pompeii offers several advantages for the analysis. The road network and the urban structure of the city is almost entirely known. There is a possibility to identify a core administrative area in the city: the forum and the basilica. In addition, we can compare the neighbourhoods between each other. This will help to identify, where different socioeconomic groups lived, and even connect some of



the houses with the people working on the administration. All this provides possibilities that are rarely available in the study of the Roman urban space, and Pompeii can be later used as a model to compare with other Roman cities.

The paper is testing how different quantitative methods such as Space Syntax Analysis and Depth Value could be utilized as tool for studying, calculating and mapping, the movement of the magistrates in Pompeii. Additionally, the aim is to create socioeconomic context for this movement, to locate these magistrates among the larger population of the city.

Timothy Smith (University of Oxford): *The Topography of the Aedileship in the Fourth and Third Centuries BC*

The aedileship was intimately acquainted with the topography of Rome, perhaps more so than any other annual magistracy. The process by which it developed from a position ‘so etwas wie Priester’ (Becker 2017: 59) to a fully-fledged urban magistrate remains controversial. What is certain, however, is that aediles had developed a consistent strategy for embellishing Rome’s public infrastructure by the late fourth century. This paper will examine the spaces within and without the city with which the aediles consistently associated themselves in the fourth and third centuries. Some recent studies have shown the great extent to which tribunes of plebs were linked to the forum (Thommen 1995; Kondratieff 2003). The location of aediles, who would quickly emerge out of the shadow the tribunes, steadily became less confined: they could leave the city freely even during their term of office and could pursue building projects with relative freedom, conventionally deriving their funds from fines.

Yet a spatial analysis of the locations associated with aediles reveals important trends. Beginning with their controversial early association with the temple of Ceres, which some have identified as their early ‘headquarters’, aediles routinely and – I would argue – deliberately located their benefactions in prominent areas of the city on specific processional and economic routes. Funded by prominent trials *in iudicium publicum* in the forum, aediles’ building projects occupied a patterned area, following and comprising major arterial routes. Their constructions and embellishments of religious buildings bounded important processional routes, a trend that may have begun in the late fourth century (Liv. 9.40.16), while their paving of major roads reinforced their prominence in market affairs. The aedileship therefore occupied a continual, visual presence in the city, a physical reminder not only of the individuals who gave the *munus* to the people, but the very institution of the aedileship.

Kaius Tuori (University of Helsinki): *Roman administrative space: Questioning established models and preconceptions*

The purpose of this article is to explore the transformation of the spatial dimension of Roman late republican and early imperial administration in the city of Rome, the spaces where administrative activities took place and their implications in the understanding of the workings of administration. What it seeks to demonstrate is that behind the issue of the spaces of administration there are important questions about the role of public administration in the Roman society and thus the public and private dichotomy. It argues for a new structure for the understanding of Roman administrative space, where public venues were complemented by the private *domus*, by analysing the different administrative activities that took place in the public and in the private sphere and the agency of the magistrates and their staff.



Ben White (University of Nottingham): *Aediles, porticus, and the organisation of mid-Republican Rome: the case of the Porta Trigemina*

In recent years, there has been a pronounced surge in critical engagement with mid-Republican Rome that has led to an augmented conceptualisation of the city's monumentality (Steinby 2012, Kontokosta 2013, Davies 2017, Bernard 2018, among others). Scholars have rightly placed more emphasis on this period as a formative one, paving the way for the later imperial project. With this context as a framework, this paper will explore the development of an understudied architectural type, the *porticus*, and its use by the aediles of the 190s BCE in the restructuring of the city's port infrastructure around the Porta Trigemina. Some of the primary administrative roles of the aediles included supervising the distribution of grain and maintaining the city's public spaces. By the early second century BCE, Rome had become dependent on grain imports from Spain and Sicily. A series of inundations occurring in the late third and early second centuries, alongside numerous conflagrations, inflicted serious infrastructural damage in the port district, leading to a necessary revamp of the city's facilities. A key component in this was the erection of a series of *porticus*, linking together to generate an architecturally defined zone of commercial activity. Although explicit evidence is indeed restricted for these structures, limited to a few lines in Livy, this paper will demonstrate that a great deal more can be gleaned about their organisational impact in the city by considering further evidence such as Terence's *Adelphoe*, as well as relevant theoretical approaches including modern economic clustering models (cf. Bernard 2018 (esp. 185) and Goodman 2016).

The ultimate aim of this paper is to address two questions: How did the aediles of the 190s BCE use the *porticus* to organise urban space? Can this inform our understanding of the development of the architectural type as something less derivative than merely an adoption of 'eastern' styles? Moving forward, this paper will conceptualise the impact of administrative demands on urban topography as a direct influence on architectural practice and, in turn, patterns of movement and activity in the city of Rome.

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Anna-Maria Wilskman (University of Helsinki): *There and back again: The Mobility of Roman Magistrates*

Roman Republic relied on its institutions and magistracies. Together with the Senate, the annually elected officials were responsible for smooth running of the everyday life. The urban environment was full with honorific statues and inscriptions commemorating the magistrates, and epitaphs recorded their careers. The competition for higher offices was fierce, and laws were created to prevent the young – and perhaps politically dangerous – nobles from rising to senatorial offices too quickly. Nevertheless, it was typical – and in many cases compulsory – to hold minor civil offices before the higher senatorial ones: Cassius Dio reports that holding an office in the Vigintivirate became a legal recruitment for entering the Senate during Augustus' time (Cassius Dio 54, 26, 5). The office-holders of this collegium were in their early twenties and served in different branches of administration.

This paper aims to illustrate the movement and visibility of Roman magistrates in epigraphic sources from Augustus to the 3rd century CE. By concentrating on the individuals who appear as having served as *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, officers of the vigintivirate serving in jurisdiction, the paper addresses the questions about the significance of the early steps to the geography of the later career. Furthermore, it explores the regional and chronological changes in representing the magistrates in different regions and contexts.

