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Gymnasium, Palaestra, Campus and Bathing in Late Hellenistic Pompeii: A Reassessment of the Urban Context of the Republican Baths (VIII 5, 36)

Summary

The Foro Triangolare area is commonly identified as the site of an athletic-military complex of Late Hellenistic Samnite Pompeii. While the denomination (gymnasium, campus, palaestra of the vereiia) and extension of this complex are debated, the Republican Baths are unanimously interpreted as an integral conceptual and functional part of it. This paper critically reassesses this assumption, based on recent research in the Republican Baths (Topoi C-6-8 project, 2015–2017). It is argued that the highly fashionable Republican Baths with their separate sections for men and women were not conceived at public initiative for exclusive use by Samnite male and female youths, but instead were built in the 2nd century BC by a private person as a profitable business investment for a broad paying clientele.

Keywords: Pompeii; Foro Triangolare; gymnasium; campus; Samnite Palaestra; Republican Baths

Das Foro Triangolare wird gewöhnlich als Ort eines athletisch-militärischen Komplexes im späthellenistischen Samnitischen Pompeji identifiziert. Benennung (gymnasium, campus, palaestra der vereiia) und Ausdehnung sind zwar umstritten, aber die Republikanischen Thermen werden einmütig als integraler konzeptioneller und funktioneller Bestandteil dieses Komplexes gedeutet. Dieser Beitrag untersucht kritisch diese These, basierend auf neuen Forschungen (Topoi C-6-8 Projekt, 2015–2017). Es wird gezeigt, dass die Republikanischen Thermen

mit separaten Trakten für Männer und Frauen nicht auf öffentliche Initiative für exklusive Nutzung durch die samnitische Jugend konzipiert, sondern im 2. Jh. v. Chr. von privater Hand als profitables Investment für eine breite, zahlende Klientel errichtet wurden.

Keywords: Pompeji; Foro Triangolare; Gymnasium; Campus; Samnitische Palaestra; Republikanische Thermen

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The area of the Foro Triangolare in Pompeii in the Pre-Roman period, thus before 80 BC, is often identified as a complex of complementary buildings that were closely connected with athletic and military activities. Therefore, the complex would have served as a predecessor of the Great Palaestra in Pompeii, built in the Augustan period. Samnite youths, assembled in the *vereiia*, would have trained in the Foro Triangolare complex, whereas the Roman equivalent, the *iuventus*, later would have frequented the Great Palaestra. While not all scholars agree upon the extension of the athletic-military compound, a maximum list of buildings that have been assigned to it includes: the Foro Triangolare with a three-sided covered race-track (*porticus*) and a single open-air race-track in the east; the *Quadriporticus* behind the Great Theater, serving as a gymnasium for older youths; the Palaestra Sannitica used as training site for young boys or the *vereiia* in general; a building adjacent to the Foro Triangolare, either the lot VIII 6,5 or the Casa di Giuseppe II (VIII 2, 38–39), identified as the *Domus Publica* where military census and levy actions, especially of equestrians, took place and a selected group of soldiers stayed; and the Republican Baths (VIII 5, 36), a typical public Roman-style bath building with separate sections for men and women (Pl. 1).¹

The whole complex or some of its individual elements have variously been referred to as palaestra, gymnasium, and campus, and comparisons have been drawn with palaestrae and gymnasia in the Greek Hellenistic world as well as with *campi* in the western Mediterranean (Italy and Roman provinces).

All of these structures of the Pompeian complex have, at some point, been dated to the 2nd century BC, even if the construction date of crucial features is not unanimously agreed upon. The contemporaneity or the exact chronological sequence of these structures cannot be determined, however. While the buildings

do not form a coherent architectural ensemble and are even separated by streets and located at different levels, functional coherence is still assumed, suggesting some kind of urban master plan that transformed a formerly sparsely built area into a densely built athletic-military complex.² The complex would have developed at the margins of the walled city, but in close vicinity of an important Archaic cult site, notably the sanctuary of Minerva (and possibly Hercules).³

Even if the precise identity and importance of the main users of this complex, the Pompeian *vereiia*, remain debated, most recently it has been defined as a public institution with military vocation that was headed by a magistrate and that was equivalent to the Attic *ephebeia* and the Latin *iuventus*.⁴ In the Samnite period, members of the *vereiia* would have been granted sole use of at least three of the buildings, namely the *Domus Publica*, the Palaestra Sannitica, and the Republican Baths.⁵ It is commonly not discussed, however, how access to and circulation in the other spaces of the complex could be controlled, whether any of them could have been closed off, at least temporarily, for exclusive use by training athletes.⁶

The question of users arises particularly for the Republican Baths that include two separate sections, one of them commonly assigned to women, which seems to be at odds with the concept of a male-dominated urban area. Noticing this alleged contradiction, F. Pesando has argued that the Samnites provided athletic training and subsequent bathing for both aristocratic boys and girls. While nothing is concretely known about the cultural practices and habits of the population in Late Hellenistic Pompeii, the Samnites in general would have had a particular cultural affinity to Spartans, sharing with them certain progressive concepts of social behavior and of the role of women.⁷ This is quite critical though with

1 The discussion was most recently summarized by De Waele 2001, 328–332; Borlenghi 2011, 217–219; and Avagliano 2013 with full bibliography; for military use of the complex see especially Pesando 1997; Pesando 2000; Pesando 2002–2003, 239–243; Pesando, Tosti, and Zanella 2010, 149–154, esp. 151; Coarelli 2001, 102; Carafa 2011, 98 n. 36; Avagliano 2013, 84 n. 87.

2 This central question is only explicitly discussed by Pesando 2002–2003, 240 n. 47, who assumes public initiative at least for the buildings with military connotation. The only buildings predating the 2nd century BC are the Doric Temple, dated to 6th century BC, and possibly the Great Theater, whose origins are sometimes dated to the Samnite era, although it would have been completely rebuilt in the 2nd century BC.

3 Avagliano 2016; Avagliano 2017 strongly argued against a veneration of

Hercules in the Foro Triangolare.

4 Avagliano 2013, 94–101, esp. 101 with detailed discussion; slightly different e.g. Coarelli 2002, 81: politisch-militärische Adelsorganisation (equites Campani).

5 Most emphatically argued by Pesando 2000; Pesando 2002–2003; but followed e.g. by Avagliano 2013, 82.

6 The propylon of the Foro Triangolare could be closed with two doors, but the area was also accessible from the east, via the Great Theater and the *Quadriporticus*; De Waele 2001, 318 fig. 413.

7 This is only discussed in Pesando 2002–2003, 241–242; it is not mentioned any further by Borlenghi 2011, 217–219, and Avagliano 2007; Avagliano 2013.

view to the supposed military character of the whole complex, and one wonders why spatial segregation only would have been implemented in the baths, but not in any other facility ascribed to the complex.

The Republican Baths are particularly critical to the theory of an athletic-military complex. While attribution of some of its elements has recently been challenged, the central trio of *Domus Publica*, *Palaestra Sannitica*, and *Republican Baths* is firmly maintained as conclusive evidence of the existence of a socially exclusive *vereiia* in Late Hellenistic Samnite Pompeii. It is the aim of this paper to reassess the urban context and significance of the Republican Baths, as well as the theory of a coherent athletic-military complex or of the *gymnasium-campus*. The argument is based upon recent research of this little known bath building that investigates the history, development, function, and urban context of the lot VIII 5, 36. In the following, each of the structures assigned to the athletic-military complex is briefly discussed, providing an assessment of recent research and remaining problems and questions.⁸ Focus is on the Pre-Roman, Late Hellenistic period when the complex was presumably designed, whereas the development in later periods is only mentioned when relevant for the argumentation. Furthermore, buildings, which are located in this quarter, but have no immediate connection to or function with the athletic-military complex must be omitted.⁹ The conclusion will show that the Republican Baths cannot substantiate the theory of an athletic-military complex and should be taken from the list of safe proofs.

1 Foro Triangolare

The use of the three-sided porticus as a covered race-track – either only of its eastern branch or of all three sides, turning twice somewhat awkwardly around the corner – cannot not be proven nor refuted. The most conclusive evidence seems to be a low north-south ori-

ented wall that runs parallel to the eastern porticus and delineates an open-air corridor of about 7 m width (Fig. 1).

While this wall has been identified as a *temenos* boundary,¹⁰ there are no corresponding walls on the other three sides of the open square around the Doric temple, which would efficiently close off the entire sacred area. The wall comes very close to the temple, especially its south-east corner, and the open race-track would have impeded accessibility to the temple from the east, but it includes at least one opening right next to the south-east corner of the temple.¹¹ With view to the location and orientation of the temple, the wall and adjacent eastern portico seem like a compromise, severely limiting the temple and structures in front of it (*tholos*, altars), while clearly regulating any kind of movement that occurred in the area around the temple.

The potential use of the *Foro Triangolare* for athletic training crucially depends upon the dating of its various structures. Based on the material, typology, and style of the Doric tufa colonnade and on the notion of a monumentalizing program for the entire quarter, the porticoes traditionally have been dated to the 2nd century BC. Excavations in the eastern portico and the northwestern corner of the portico yielded findings that provoked the reconstruction of a significantly different scenario. From about 130 BC to AD 62, the area would only have been bordered by the low wall in the east and by a series of small rooms (*tabernae*) in the north that opened to the *temenos* in the south.¹² The porticoes and Ionic propylon would only have been erected after AD 62 when the area was definitely no longer used for any athletic purposes. A compromise between the two different dates – 2nd century BC versus post AD 62 – was briefly discussed, dating the *tabernae* to about 130–100 BC and a first portico, of which no trace survives except for its later reused architectural elements, to about 100 BC. This was, however, obviously quickly abandoned in favor of the late date of the portico.¹³

8 This is not the place for detailed descriptions and arguments, which can easily be derived from literature cited in the following notes; the most recent synthetic assessment of the state of research on this complex is provided by Avagliano 2013.

9 These include the Doric temple, the Great Theater, the Odeum, and the sanctuaries of Isis and Aesculapius.

10 Reference in De Waele 2001, 315 n. 649; similarly Carafa 2011, 96.

11 The plan De Waele 2001, 8 pl. 3 shows only this one opening, of almost 4 m width. The wall includes several spolia, among them the tufa base of

an Ionic or Corinthian column.

12 While the reconstructed phase plan in Carandini, Carafa, and D'Alessio 2001, 126 fig. 1, and Carafa 2005, 24 fig. 7, shows a narrow entrance between the *tabernae* that allowed for access from the northern square and street to the *temenos*, the plan in Carafa 2011, 96 fig. 6, shows an uninterrupted series of *tabernae*; the only entrance to the *temenos* would have been the staircase from the theater area in the east.

13 Carafa 2005, 25 n. 9 mentions this compromise reached in a discussion with F. Coarelli, but does not discuss it any further in this article, and in

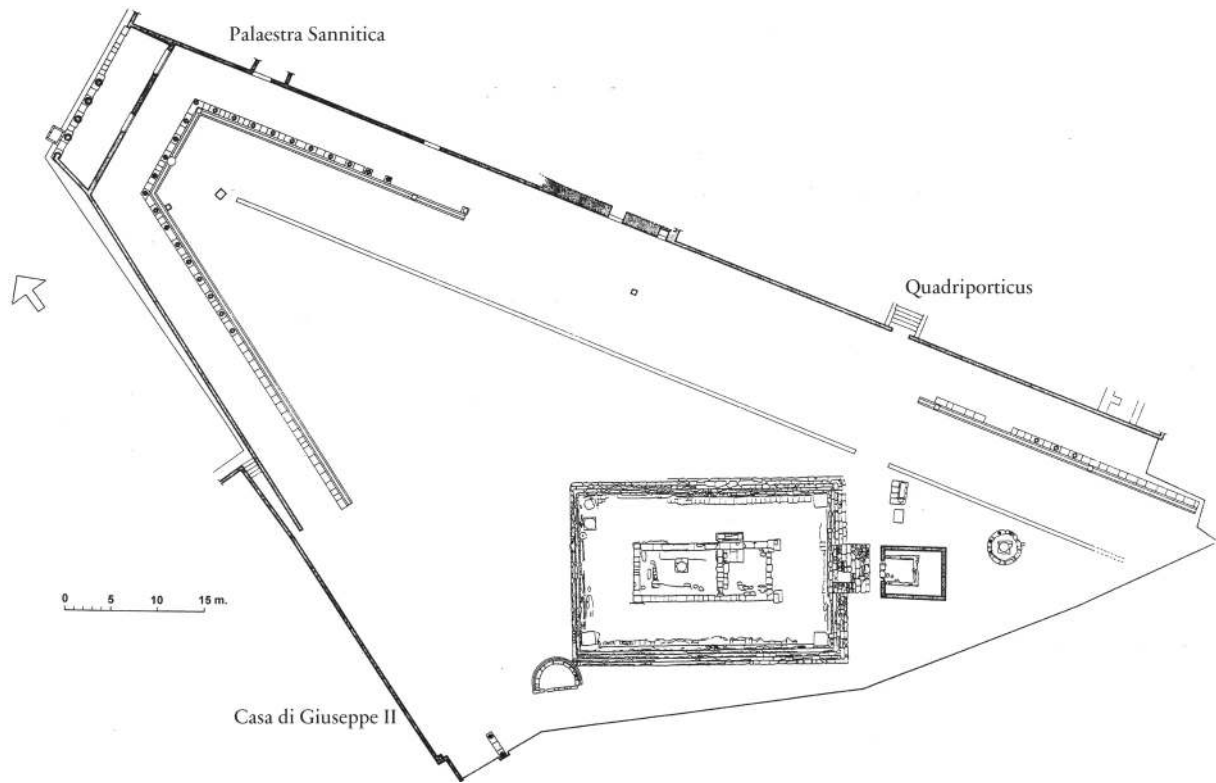


Fig. 1 Pompeii, Foro Triangolare, state plan.

Since the soundings have never been fully published, including all of the conclusive data, no informed decision can be made at this point.¹⁴

In general, the traditional dating of the porticoes in the (late) 2nd century BC seems more reasonable; even if not necessarily contemporaneous, Palaestra and porticoes seem to belong to the same concept because otherwise the orientation of the west wall of the Palaestra would be hard to explain: it is not parallel with or per-

pendicular to the other external walls of the Palaestra and of the adjacent Iseum, but instead follows the orientation of the east portico of the Foro Triangolare.¹⁵ If an Oscan inscription that records the dedication of a porticus (or pastas?) by the meddix publicus V. Popidius V. (f.) referred to the three-sided portico or entrance portico of the Foro Triangolare, as tentatively proposed by Pesando, this would confirm construction of these structures before 80 BC. The inscribed limestone block

Carafa 2011, 95–100 determinedly refers only to the late date of the porticoes. For literature on the debate, see Pesando 2002–2003, 240 n. 46; Avagliano 2007, 150 n. 59–60; Avagliano 2013, 81 n. 72.

14 Avagliano 2013, 80–81 evades taking any clear position, although she argues that the tabernae coexisted with the Palaestra Sannitica while firmly maintaining the general notion of an athletic-military training complex in the Foro Triangolare area. While the various plans and sections published in Carafa 2005, 26–27 figs. 9–10; 32 fig. 21; 34 fig. 22, do not show the relationship between the walls of the tabernae and the west wall of the Palaestra Sannitica, the photo Carafa 2005, 23 fig. 6 demonstrates that one of the deep trenches immediately to the west of the Palaestra wall cut the tabernae; since the phases, enumerated in Carafa 2005, 31 and 33 are not correlated with the US numbers shown on the section drawings, 26–27 figs. 10–12, the argumentation is hard to follow. The easternmost taberna is reconstructed right at the location of the southwestern entrance of the Palaestra Sannitica, which seems strange, at best, suggesting that the Palaestra and tabernae never coexisted. While the doorjamb

of this entrance were heavily restored after the Second World War, the entrance is commonly assigned to the original building; see Tricarico 2013, 55 n. 8. Ongoing excavations by the Soprintendenza under direction of Massimo Osanna, which among others concern the western porticus of the Foro Triangolare, may clarify the debate on the chronology of the Foro and its porticoes.

15 In the sections of the walls of the Palaestra, Tricarico 2013, pls. III, IV, IX, X, several colors are differentiated and linked with US numbers, but a legend explaining the meaning of these colors is missing; while all four walls include red at the bottom of the visible wall, no chronological conclusions can be drawn from this: the currently visible east wall certainly goes back to a later remodeling. That at least the west wall was completely rebuilt down to the foundation, as argued based on recent excavations in Carafa 2005, can also not be deduced from Tricarico 2013; see, however, Hoffmann 1993, 83–87, who, based on an assessment of the standing walls, argued for a major remodeling of the north, west, and south walls of the Palaestra Sannitica in the Augustan or Tiberian period.

was found out of context, however, and its shape does not allow for safely reconstructing its placement in either portico.¹⁶ In sum, construction of the porticoes of the Foro Triangolare in the Imperial period, which must still be comprehensively substantiated, would seriously challenge the notion of a large athletic-military complex in this quarter. A Late Hellenistic date of the porticoes would make it possible, but by no means prove that the Samnite youths trained here.

2 Palaestra Sannitica (VIII 7, 29)

While there is some debate regarding the function of the Palaestra Sannitica, most scholars agree that this building was used for military-athletic training by the Samnite youths, the *vereiia* (Fig. 2).

Construction of the building is generally dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC, and recently stratigraphic and epigraphic evidence has been cited to substantiate and further refine this date.¹⁷ As argued above, the design of the external walls of this building suggests that it was conceived and possibly built in close connection with the porticoes of the Foro Triangolare.

Three major reasons have been cited to support the identification of the building as a palaestra:

The first reason is the sculptural decoration, which included, in the last phase of use, at least three statues:

- A marble statue of the Doryphoros whose original location cannot be safely reconstructed and whose date is debated in scholarship, ranging from the 2nd century BC to the early Imperial period. With view to the material, marble from Luni, and style, A. Avagliano has recently favored a date in the Tiberian period.¹⁸

- A stone statue that was set up on a well-preserved base, which was combined with a staircase and an altar. This statue, which obviously received special ceremonies and honors (crowning, sacrifice), is not preserved. While the ensemble is made of tufa, it is not original to the building because the staircase is set on top of a drainage channel.

- An honorary statue of Marcus Lucretius Decidianus Rufus, of which only the base was found. While this person lived in the early 1st century AD and seems to have financed major urban remodeling processes and been honored for this, the statue in the Palaestra Sannitica was set up again (*reposit*), probably after damages in AD 62.¹⁹

In sum, none of the known statues can safely be assigned to the original building and serve to determine the (original) function of the building. A Doryphoros statue set up in a later (Tiberian?) period could only be cited as evidence for an athletic use of the original building, assuming that the function of the building did not change, e.g. after 80 BC or in the Augustan period.

The second reason is a famous Oscan dedicatory building inscription that was found in the building in 1797. This inscription is written on a limestone slab (0.41 × 0.76 × 0.035 m) and documents that

Vibius Adiranus, son of Vibius, gave in his will money to the Pompeian *vereiia*; with this money, Vibius Vinicius, son of Maras, Pompeian quaestor, dedicated the construction of this building (presumably the Palaestra Sannitica, note of author) by decision of the senate,

16 Pesando 2002–2003, 239 n. 43; Vetter 1953, 50–51 no. 13; Rix 2002, 104 Po 5; Crawford 2011b, 631–632 Pompei 9. This is a slab framed with *cyma reversa* moldings on all four sides, 0.59 m long, 0.245 m high, 0.065 m thick, which does not fit well into the architrave or frieze of a portico.

17 Carafa 2005, 25, 31, argues that the Palaestra Sannitica was built before the above-mentioned *tabernae*, which, in turn, were built between 130 and ca. 100 BC; Carafa 2011, 95–98, assigns the Palaestra to the phase of 130–100 BC. A trench excavated in the north portico of the Palaestra Sannitica showed that the northern external wall was built on a *battuto* that is dated between the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC; Di Maio, Giugliano, and Rispoli 2008. Crawford 2011b, 657, and McDonald 2012, 12, argue that the famous *vereiia* inscription (see below) was orig-

inal to the building and carved only after 123 BC because the formula would reflect Roman legislation of the period of C. Gracchus and later; thus, 123 BC would be a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Palaestra.

18 Avagliano 2013, 72.

19 CIL X, 851; Pesando 2000, 171. For the statues in detail Avagliano 2013, who convincingly argues that the copy of the Doryphoros could not have been set up on the preserved ensemble of base, staircase, and altar. Cf. also R. Henzel and M. Trümper in this volume. Pesando 2000, 168, suggests that two herms dedicated by Decidianus Rufus may have been set up in the Palaestra Sannitica in the Augustan period. Since these were not found in this building, but in the adjacent Temple of Isis, they will not be taken into account here.

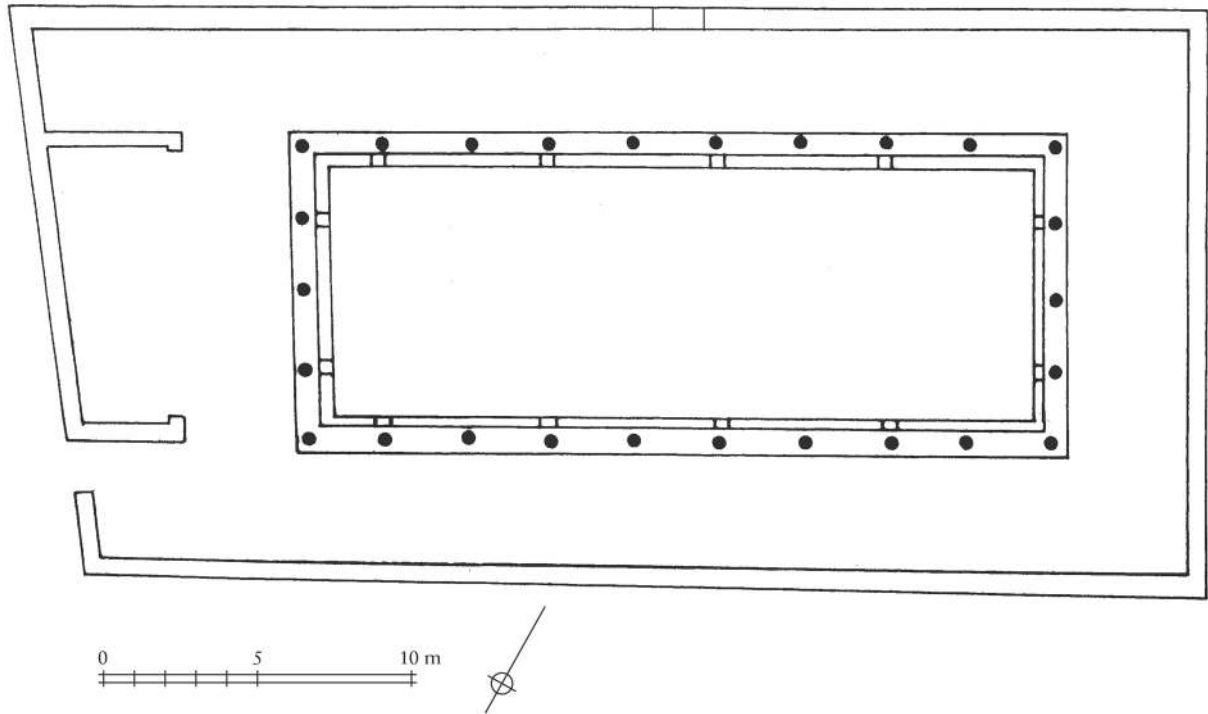


Fig. 2 Pompeii, Palaestra Sannitica, reconstruction of the original plan.

and the same man approved it.²⁰

The precise find spot of this inscription, which was either found inserted into a wall or just placed at the foot of or close to a wall, can no longer safely be determined. Thus, it is debated whether this inscription really belonged to this building, was included in this building in a visible and meaningful way, or whether it was simply stored or reused as convenient building material here. There is also no agreement when this inscription was carved. While the text and dedication as such are always attributed to the 2nd century BC, some argue that the preserved slab is a later copy of the lost Samnite origi-

nal, whereas others identify it as a genuine inscription of the late 2nd century BC.²¹ Ironically, those who favor an early date, challenge the common belief that the inscription refers to the dedication of its very find spot, the Palaestra Sannitica.²² While an early date of the inscription seems to be compatible with the material as well as epigraphic and linguistic criteria, and is, indeed, much more attractive from a cultural and historical point of view, the secondary random reuse of this inscription in this building is an unlikely *lectio difficilior*.²³ The convex rounded moldings at the top edge of the inscribed slab, which M. H. Crawford identified as remains of two

20 *v(ibis) aadirans v(ibis) etiuuam paam / vereiiaf púmpaiianaf tristaa- / mentud deded eísak eítiuuad / v(ibis) vífnikiís m(a)r(aheís) kvaísstur púmp- / aiians tríbúm ekak kúmben- / niefs tanginud úpsannam / deded ísídum prúfatted*. Text according to Crawford 2011b, 656–658 Pompei 24; translation McDonald 2012, 3; see also Vetter 1953, 49 no. 11 who lists travertine as material; Rix 2002, 104 Po 3; Avagliano 2013, 74 n. 29.

21 The argument is summarized in McDonald 2012, and Avagliano 2013, 74.

22 Crawford 2011b, 657; McDonald 2012.

23 Expertise and interest of epigraphers versus archaeologists seem to clash here. That the inscription did not necessarily belong to this building and was only reused here as a mere convenient building block or at best as a meaningless decorative feature, as suggested by McDonald 2012, 5–6, seems somewhat far-fetched. This argumentation is based on the assess-

ment of this building in rather general Anglophone literature (Richardson 1988; Laurence 1994; Beard 2008); none of the many recent Italian publications that deal specifically with this building and quarter is referred to.

Avagliano 2007, 154–155 n. 73–74, argues that the material of this inscription, travertine, would be unusual for a 2nd century BC date. Crawford 2011b, 656 lists limestone for this inscription as well as for several other Oscan inscriptions that are safely dated to the 2nd century BC (and whose material Vetter 1953 commonly identifies as travertine); see, e.g., Crawford 2011b, 628–629 Pompei 8; 631 Pompei 9; 634 Pompei 11; 635 Pompei 12; 637 Pompei 13; 644 Pompei 17; 645 Pompei 18; 647 Pompei 19; 648 Pompei 20; there is even a sundial of marble with an Oscan inscription, found in the Stabian Baths and commonly dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC; Crawford 2011b, 650 Pompei 21.

lions' paws, may indicate that the inscription was originally set up in some spectacular, unusual way and with some additional decorative elements above it (such as a lion carved in relief?), but the shallow thickness of the slab (3.5 cm) suggests that it was always attached to a wall or a base.²⁴ Even if the upper decorative part got lost during one of the remodeling phases of the Palaestra, the inscription could still have been prominently displayed in one of the remodeled walls. The east wall of the peristyle courtyard, which definitely goes back completely to a later remodeling, seems a likely location and has been favored by some scholars.²⁵

In sum, it seems most likely that the inscription in its currently preserved form was, from the beginning, carved for and displayed in the Palaestra Sannitica and stayed there in some prominent and visible, albeit if modified setting until AD 79. Thus, it may serve to date the construction of the building and testify to continuous, if again probably modified use and importance of the building from the late 2nd century BC to AD 79. The only reference to a possible function of the building is the mentioning of the *vereiia*, however, that obviously ceased to be important after 80 BC.

The third reason for identifying this building as a palaestra is the plan, which, most recently, was reconstructed with a rectangular peristyle courtyard and just three rooms on its western side: a central exedra with a length corresponding to that of the western colonnade, flanked by two small rooms, whose north-south extension correlates with that of the northern and southern porticoes. Since one of the side rooms presumably served as a secondary entrance, this would have left two rooms of ca. 14 and 28 m² for activities performed in the building.²⁶

In order to support the palaestra-theory, Avagliano recently compared the plan of the Palaestra Sannitica with that of other palaestrae in the eastern Mediter-

anean, notably the so-called Hellenistic Gymnasium in Miletus (2nd century BC), the Palaestra of the Lake in Delos (3rd century BC), and the so-called Gymnasium of the Academy in Athens (probably late Antique period).²⁷ Apart from the fact that all of these buildings are much larger and, above all, have more rooms than the Palaestra Sannitica, the reconstruction and function of the examples in Miletus and Athens have recently been challenged. Arguments cited to deconstruct the palaestra-theory are the long rectangular plans of the peristyle courtyards, the shape and (reduced) number of rooms, and particularly the lack of bathing facilities.²⁸

If the Republican Baths served as a substitute for the lacking bathing facilities, as unanimously argued, both buildings must have been conceived and built together or the Republican Baths must have been older. Both scenarios cannot be proven, as will be shown below. Even if the Republican Baths may, at some point, have been used by those who frequented the Palaestra Sannitica, nothing suggests any exclusive connection between the two buildings. That athletes would have had to cross a major thoroughfare, moving from the Palaestra to the baths, seems like a makeshift solution, at best. Furthermore, the baths probably provided a small colonnaded courtyard for light training, suggesting that they functioned independently and (also) served a clientele that had not trained in the Palaestra Sannitica. Finally, and most crucially, the combination of an independent athletic facility for training youths with a public bath that provided heated relaxing bathing forms is without comparison in the Mediterranean world of 2nd and early 1st century BC. The combination of military-athletic exercise and bathing in warm water was considered taboo and decadent for a long time in the Greek world, because it would have rendered young men effeminate, and it did not become popular before the late 1st century BC or even only 1st century AD.²⁹ This notion and

24 Crawford 2011b, 656–657.

25 Vetter 1953, 49 no. 11; recent assessment of the exterior walls of the Palaestra shows that the east wall was much more heavily restored in modern times than the other three walls and might have housed the inscription when the Palaestra was excavated; Tricarico 2013, pls. III–XI. For the remodeling of the Palaestra, see below.

26 De Waele 2001, 316–317 pls. 40–41; Tricarico 2013, 220–221, fig. XIII, provides only an axonometric reconstruction, but no reconstructed plan. Peristyle courtyard: 17.55 × 32.35 m; northwestern room: 3.16 × 4.74 m; central exedra: 8.95 × 3.16 m. Old plans, e.g. Coarelli 2001, 103 fig. 10 (after Mazois), show a staircase with two flights in the northwestern corner room, but no trace of this survives today, and the most recent state

plan, Tricarico 2013, 213 pl. II, does not show any remains of a staircase.

27 Avagliano 2013, 78 fig. 7.

28 For Miletus, Emme 2013, 59–63; with critical remarks, however, in Trümper 2015, 196–203. For the gymnasium of the Academy, Caruso in this volume; the Palaestra of the Lake in Delos is now even identified as the Gymnasium known from inscriptions of the 3rd century BC (Bruneau et al. 2005, 242 n. 76) but its reconstructed original plan is provided with a *loutron* and at least five rooms on three sides of the peristyle courtyard; Delorme 1960, pl. XV fig. 28.

29 Trümper 2015. The fluted support of a *labrum*, made of Pentelic marble and decorated with an Oscan dedicatory inscription of a *meddix* of the *vereiia*, was found in or close to the Central Baths in Cumae that

strict separation is confirmed by research on *campi* in the western Mediterranean, especially Italy: *campi* mentioned in inscriptions and identified (more or less safely) in the archaeological record were never combined with a Roman-type bath and warm bathing facilities, but only with cold water *piscinae*.³⁰ Therefore, it would be very strange, if the *Palaestra Sannitica*, as a *Palaestra*, and the Republican Baths had ever been linked intentionally and conceptually. At least, such a concept could not be traced back to the influence of Greek-Hellenistic gymnasia or of Roman *campi*, but it would have to be identified as an idiosyncrasy of Samnite Pompeii.

Alternatively, one could hypothesize that the *Palaestra Sannitica* in its original phase included simple washing facilities, such as a *labrum* set up in the courtyard that could be filled with water from a nearby well or cistern, e.g. in the *Foro Triangolare*. A *labrum* was apparently found next to the main entrance when the *Palaestra Sannitica* was excavated.³¹

In sum, the *Palaestra Sannitica* did not conform to standards of safely identified Greek *palaestrae* in the eastern and western Mediterranean, because of its size and plan, but above all because of the possible lack of bathing facilities. Its use as a meeting place of the Samnite *vereiia* and perhaps rather simple and spatially restricted exercise facility still seems most probable, as substantiated by the Oscan dedicatory inscription that was most likely displayed in this building from the very beginning. Accessibility to and thus use of the building could be fully controlled and restricted. The location of entrances clearly suggests, however, that the building was meant to be used in connection with the – more or less contemporaneously built – porticoes of the *Foro Triangolare*.³² While the integration of the *Foro Triangolare* may have compromised the concept of exclusive

controlled use, and the members of the *vereiia* may have had to mix with a larger crowd, it may have provided additional benefits, namely more space for exercise (or strolling), water supply, and cultic facilities.

3 Quadriporticus (VIII 7, 16)

In AD 79, this building included a large peristyle courtyard with rooms on all four sides and was accessible via a staircase from the *Foro Triangolare* and a long corridor and Ionic entrance colonnade from the *Via Stabiana* in the east. Its construction is commonly dated to the 2nd century BC (Pl. 2).

Until recently, the original building was reconstructed as a simple quadriporticus without any rooms, except for an *exedra* in the south, and identified either as a *porticus post scaenam* for use in relation with the Great Theater or as a gymnasium for use in connection with the *Foro Triangolare* and *Palaestra Sannitica* complex. After the earthquake of AD 62 the building would have been substantially remodeled, adding rooms on all sides for use as gladiatorial barracks.³³

Recent research challenges the common reconstruction of the first building and, with this, the identification of its original function.³⁴ While five building phases have been identified between the period of about 130 BC to AD 79 and the complex was substantially rebuilt in the last three phases (ca. AD 10–79), remains of the first phase walls clearly suggest that the building included rooms on at least three sides from the very beginning: stretches of the back walls of the original complex were identified on all four sides. Even if the width of the porticoes may have been changed over the some 200 years of use,³⁵ the position of the stylobate seems to have been

were probably constructed in the Late Republican period; this support was not found in situ, in its original position, however, and thus its precise use in the baths cannot be safely determined; Volpicella 2006–2007, 213–214 fig. 15; Crawford 2011a, 493–494 *Cumae* 3; cf. Avagliano – Montalbano in this volume. Crawford dates the inscription to presumably before 180 BC and assumes that the *labrum* had been “placed in a gymnasium, when it was first built at the end of the third century BC, and re-deployed in the reconstruction of the first century AD (see Volpicella), perhaps without the inscription attracting attention.” Volpicella 2006–2007 does not mention a gymnasium, however, and none has so far been identified in *Cumae*. He argues, instead, that Oscan could have been used long after 180 BC when addressing the general public that was not fully Latinized and may have frequented the baths; he does not make any specific connection between the *vereiia* and the baths.

30 Borlenghi 2011, passim: e.g. *Corfinum*; *Forum Vibii Caburum*; *Hercula-*

neum, *Palaestra* (?); *Pompeii*, *Great Palaestra*; *Saepinum*; *Trea*; *Verona?* etc. *Piscinae* that can safely be linked with a *campus* are only attested from the Augustan period onwards.

31 Avagliano 2013, 72: the *labrum* and its base were transported to the Museo Borbonico and obviously can no longer be safely identified (and dated).

32 Otherwise, the builders would hardly have sacrificed one of only three rooms for an entrance.

33 Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006, 63–64; summary of literature Avagliano 2013, 79–80 n. 68–70.

34 Poehler and Ellis 2011; Poehler and Ellis 2012; Poehler and Ellis 2013; Poehler and Ellis 2014.

35 This seems to be the case particularly on the west side; Poehler and Ellis 2011.

maintained in all phases. The distance between the stylobate and the original back walls requires either two-aisled porticoes with an internal row of columns (of which no traces survived anywhere) or porticoes with back rooms. While E. Poehler and S. Ellis reconstructed a double-aisled colonnade in the north, whose northern aisle would have been substituted by a series of rooms in the fifth phase after AD 62, it remains unclear whether this configuration belongs to the original phase of the building or, for example, to a remodeling after 80 BC, when the Odeum was built.³⁶ At least the course of the eastern back wall of the complex is highly irregular, however, and this wall did not run parallel to the stylobate, which rules out the solution of a two-aisled portico.

The original rooms may have been small and low,³⁷ but they still require explanation. Any higher number of such rooms on several sides is not typical of a palaestra/gymnasium or a porticus post scaenam.³⁸ The original entrance situation of the complex, particularly before the construction of the Odeum after 80 BC, cannot be reconstructed and it must remain open whether access could ever be fully controlled, which would be required for a gymnasium.³⁹ The building included a latrine in its two final phases, but no bathing facilities have been identified for any of the phases.

In sum, recent research confirmed that the building belongs to the large urban development program of this quarter after 130 BC. While the final publication of recent research that also includes a hypothetical reconstruction of the original plan⁴⁰ must be awaited for a comprehensive assessment, some preliminary conclusions can be drawn. Use of the original complex as a palaestra seems highly unlikely because of the plan, possibly rather open accessibility, and lacking bathing facilities. Even if this complex may have been used as an ambulatory by visitors of the theater,⁴¹ the presence of

series of rooms suggests additional purposes and functions, for example use for storage, production, and sale of goods, or for dining and accommodation. As a monumental multifunctional complex, located between sanctuaries and entertainment facilities, the Quadriporticus may have drawn crowds all through the day and year for multiple reasons and activities.

4 Domus Publica

The existence of a domus publica in Pompeii is commonly deduced from an Oscan inscription (Vetter 27), which was painted on a pilaster between the houses VIII, 5, 19 and 20 at the Via dell'Abbondanza and whose interpretation is debated. It belongs to the group of *éituns* inscriptions that were found throughout the city and related to the siege by the troops of Cornelius Sulla around 91–89 BC. The inscription Vetter 27 stands out for its formula and mention of a public building (*domus publica*).⁴² Currently, three different interpretations of this inscription and its relevance for an assessment of the archaeological record can be distinguished that are central to the argument of this paper.

1. F. Pesando: The domus publica is identified as a location where military census and levy actions, especially of equestrians, took place and a selected group of soldiers stayed; the (completely preserved) inscription would have served as a signpost, pointing to this building, which would have been located in the lot VIII 6, 5 (Pl. 1). The building of this lot would have been decorated with a unique terracotta frieze, dated to the 3rd century BC and showing an equestrian battle. After the foundation of the Roman colony in 80 BC, the domus publica, whose hypothetical plan is not discussed, would

36 Poehler and Ellis 2012, 11 fig. 19; this double-aisled porticus would have connected the Ionic entrance colonnade in the east and the staircase to the Foro Triangolare in the west. The reconstructed plan, fig. 19, shows series of rooms on all other sides.

37 Poehler and Ellis 2011, 5.

38 For the porticus post scaenam, see Ramallo Asensio 2000.

39 The various thresholds of the eastern entrance corridor from the Via Stabiana to the Quadriporticus and the steps of the Ionic propylon show cuttings for doors or grilles, but it currently cannot be safely determined whether these go back to the first phase or one of the remodeling phases of the building. Since the staircase between the Quadriporticus and the Foro Triangolare has been substantially restored, the question of doors at the foot or top of the staircase can also not be determined.

40 So far, only phase plans, marking the remains assigned to different

phases, have been published, e.g. Poehler and Ellis 2013, 11 fig. 16.

41 As a porticus post scaenam, it would be the earliest currently known example of this building type; Ramallo Asensio 2000, 90–92.

42 Vetter 1953, 56 no. 27; Rix 2002, 106 Po 38; Crawford 2011b, 624–625 Pompei 6. The *éituns* inscriptions commonly include the formula *anter ... íní* (between ... and), and mention the name of a commander at the end. In contrast, Vetter 27 includes words interpreted as *ampt ... ampt* (by ... by), and the name of the commander was either never mentioned (Pesando, Tosti, and Zanella 2010, 150) or is not preserved (Avagliano 2013, 94). Text and translation according to Crawford 2011b, 624–625: *eksuk amvíannud / éituns amp(er)t tribud / túv(tíkad) amp(er)t menerv[a]s*. The *éituns* from this quarter, by the domus publica, by (the Temple) of Minerva.

have been systematically destroyed and dismantled as an unwelcome symbol of the former Samnite city and its public institutions. The terrain would have been transformed into a garden, which public authorities used as a dump site after the earthquake of AD 62.⁴³ In this reading, the *domus publica* constituted a central part of the Samnite military-athletic complex that was visually, conceptually and spatially intimately connected with the Republican Baths and the *Palaestra Sannitica*.⁴⁴

2. A. Avagliano: The *εἰτῦν*s of this and other inscriptions would point to a subdivision of the city into architectural units or quarters shortly before the Sullan occupation and to a subdivision of the Samnite army into units. The *εἰτῦν*s inscriptions would not have served as signposts for armed troops that strayed vagrantly in the city, looking for instructions where to go for the defense of the city, but would have indicated the limits of the urban area to be defended; they would have signaled the militants who were well familiar with the layout of the city to which stretch of the walls they had to go and which commander they were assigned to.⁴⁵ The specific inscription Vetter 27, where reference to the commander would not have been preserved, would not have pointed to a clearly defined area, but to a specific building that must have played a significant role in the defense of the city. Since this public building must have been located next to the Temple of Minerva, this could only have been the Casa di Giuseppe II (VIII 2, 38–39) that was built in the 2nd century BC and occupied a prominent spot for the protection of the southern side of the city (Pl. 1). But the precise design of the house in this period as well as the function of the public building (*domus publica*) are not specified.⁴⁶ According to this interpretation, the *Palaestra Sannitica* and the Republican Baths still functioned as a conceptual unit, used by the *vereiia* (a public institution of military vocation, similar to the *Attic ephebeia*), whereas the *domus publica* is identified as a separate building for a different group and function.

3. P. Carafa: The inscription is also interpreted as a

reference to an urban area where a military unit was enlisted or that was defended by a single unit, but the sanctuary of Minerva and the *domus/villa publica* are identified as the limits of the area to be defended that therefore could not have been situated close to one another. It is not discussed in more detail, where the *domus publica* would have been located, whether it could be identified at all, and what its precise function would have been.⁴⁷ This reading does not require any connection between the *Palaestra Sannitica*, the Republican Baths, and the *domus publica*.

Focusing on the identification and significance of the *domus publica*, all three interpretations entail problems. The last reading seems least problematic, but the difference in the formula between the inscription Vetter 27 and the other *εἰτῦν*s inscriptions is simply ignored.⁴⁸

Recent research challenges the second reading, because the Casa di Giuseppe II was built over a square building from around 300 BC, supposedly with an impressive Tuscan atrium and with all of its three stories at the end of the 2nd century BC.⁴⁹ This design of a luxurious three-story house is hard to reconcile with the idea of a *domus publica* shortly before 89 BC and the defense of a city wall, which must already have been overbuilt at this point. Avagliano also does not discuss when, why, and how the Casa di Giuseppe II would have been transformed into a private house.

The first and most intriguing and holistic interpretation depends crucially upon the identification of lot VIII 6, 5, which has already been convincingly refuted by Avagliano. She argues that the lot was most likely occupied by two houses from the 2nd century BC to 62 AD when the terrain was transformed into a garden after irreparable earthquake damage.⁵⁰ There is no conclusive evidence that the terracotta frieze with the equestrian battle scene was ever found and displayed in the lot VIII 6, 5,⁵¹ and according to R. Känel, its date must be significantly lowered from the 3rd century BC⁵² to

43 Pesando 1997; Pesando 2000; Pesando 2002–2003, 239–243; Pesando, Tosti, and Zanella 2010, 149–154, esp. 151.

44 Some scholars even identified the *vereiia pompeiana* as Samnite cavalry or *equites campani*; consequently, the same group would have frequented the *Palaestra Sannitica* and the *domus publica*; Avagliano 2013, 94, n. 129.

45 Avagliano 2013, 82–94, esp. 91, based on previous interpretations by A. Prosdocimi and R. Antonini.

46 Avagliano 2013, 94.

47 Carafa 2011, 98.

48 While this is a philological discourse, which cannot be discussed in detail here, recent special publications commonly take the difference in formulas as meaningful; e.g. Crawford 2011b, 624–625 Pompei 6; also Avagliano 2013, 84.

49 Carafa 2005, 19.

50 Avagliano 2013, 85–88, who critically assesses the results of recent excavations in this lot, published by Pesando, Tosti, and Zanella 2010.

51 Avagliano 2013, 87 n. 103.

52 Date proposed by D'Agostino 1982, and followed by Pesando 1997.

ca. 100 BC.⁵³ Since one fragment was found in recent excavations under a pavement in the atrium of the Casa di Giuseppe II⁵⁴ and other fragments were found to the south of this house, the frieze may originally have decorated this house, maybe the walls of its Tuscan atrium. Since friezes with similar topics have been found in other private houses,⁵⁵ this may have been a fitting decoration for an ambitious private house with layout on three terraced stories, even if the frieze currently has no exact parallels in Pompeii.

In sum, there is currently no conclusive evidence for safely reconstructing the location, layout, and function of the public building mentioned in the *éituns* inscription Vetter 27. Even if it seems most likely that the *éituns* inscriptions referred to a clearly defined urban area and military unit, it has yet to be determined what the *éituns* of Vetter 27 would have done by a public building by the Temple of Minerva. The archaeological evidence of VIII 6, 5 and the Casa di Giuseppe II yields no convincing proof for an identification as *domus publica*. Finally, and most importantly here, the notion of a conceptual and spatial connection between the Palaestra Sannitica, the Republican Baths, and the *domus publica* rests on highly tenuous grounds and should be viewed with great caution, if not best be abandoned.

5 Republican Baths (VIII 5, 36)

The Republican Baths play a key role in the minimalist as well as maximalist readings of the Foro Triangolare complex (Pl. 3).

While the building was correctly identified by its excavator A. Maiuri as a Roman-style bath building with separate sections for men and women, he vaguely dated construction to 100 to 70 BC. Maiuri recognized that the baths were deliberately razed and that the lot was transformed into a peristyle garden for the adjacent Casa della

Calce (VIII 5, 28). He dated this transformation to the Augustan period and argued that the baths must have been built and managed by the very owners of the Casa della Calce who had conceived them as a profitable investment in a period of urban need.⁵⁶

Pesando argued for a construction date in the 2nd century BC, which would make a clear connection of the baths with other Samnite buildings in the Foro Triangolare complex possible. He also proposed the most rigorous reading, assigning exclusive use of the baths to the Samnite male and female youths, and voting for public initiative and ownership; after 80 BC no more investments would have been made in this political-social symbol of Samnite identity, until the baths were finally abandoned in the late 1st century BC. A hoard including 90 coins that was found in a settling basin of the drain in the sidewalk just to the east of the men's apodyterium (Pl. 3 room 2, basin q4) would confirm rapid decline of the baths after 80 BC. This hoard contained Ebusan, Pseudo-Ebusan, and Pseudo-Massaliot, Roman Republican, and Greek coins that were circulating in Pompeii in the early 80s BC.⁵⁷ Following Pesando's intriguing interpretation, the baths were unanimously identified as a substitute for missing bathing facilities in the Palaestra Sannitica, by both minimalists and maximalists.⁵⁸

The above-mentioned new research project (Topoi C-6-8) aims at comprehensively reassessing the development, function, and urban significance and context of this building.⁵⁹ Construction of the baths in the 2nd century BC could be confirmed by stratigraphic finds, but a more precise date in the 2nd century that would allow for assessing the potential role of this building in the urban development of the Foro Triangolare complex currently cannot be provided. While stratigraphy did not yet yield a precise date for the structural and functional transformation of this lot, an abandonment of the baths in the second half of the 1st century BC seems most likely.⁶⁰ Pesando's ideas regarding development, func-

53 Oral reference; R. Känel proposes a highly intriguing interpretation: the frieze could have been related to the campaigns of Marius, and would have been deliberately destroyed and spread by the Sullan fraction. I am very much indebted to R. Känel for discussion of this frieze and generous sharing of his expertise and ideas.

54 Pesando 1997, 59 n. 38; Avagliano 2013, 87 n. 103.

55 Esp. in Fregellae: Coarelli 1994; Känel 2010, 267.

56 Maiuri 1950, esp. 130.

57 Most importantly Pesando 2002–2003, but see also Pesando 1997; Pesando 2000; Pesando, Tosti, and Zanella 2010.

58 He was not the first, however, to link the baths to the Foro Triangolare

complex; see a summary of earlier research in De Waele 2001, 331–332.

59 See remarks before n. 1. Final evaluation of this project is under way and will be published in a monograph. This is not the place to discuss results in due detail, outlining all of the evidence and arguments.

60 After preliminary reading of the pottery, finds made under the pavements of the house structures can only be vaguely dated to the 1st century BC or at best to the second half of the 1st century BC; the strongest indicator for a more precise date is the stucco decoration of a room that the owner of the Casa della Calce installed in his newly enlarged house, over the former vicolo between the house and the baths (Fig. 5, to the



Fig. 3 Pompeii, Republican Baths, prae-furnium with evidence of remodeling.

tion, and ownership must be revised, however.

Development: During its period of use, key features of the building were significantly remodeled, among them certainly the heating technology and water management and possibly also the bathing program. While stratigraphy does not allow for safely dating these changes to before or after 80 BC, they nonetheless testify to continuous maintenance and improvements. Identifiable remodeling measures include the following:

- The laconicum of the men’s section (Pl. 3 room 6) was probably built or at least significantly remodeled in a later period. This may have entailed secondary construction or remodeling of a small (colonnaded?) courtyard to the south of the laconicum (Pl. 3 room 16) that was accessible from the men’s bathing section and may have served for relaxing sojourns or light exercise. In a final phase, dated by stratigraphy to around 50 BC, the laconicum was fortified with buttresses along its eastern side. The laconicum was a highly fashionable bathing form in the 2nd/1st century BC in the entire Mediterranean, commonly conceived for use by men. Such a Greek-connoted sweat bath was added in the Stabian Baths in a second phase, at the initiative of two duoviri

of the young Roman colony shortly after 80 BC.⁶¹ Consequently, the bathing program of the Republican Baths was trendy, either already in the original design⁶² or as a result of a modernizing renovation (before or after 80 BC).

- The heating system, which was highly innovative, if experimental in the original design, was changed and improved several times. Among others, the original number of six fires under six arched openings was reduced and the firing chambers were rendered more efficient (Fig. 3).
- The water management was at least once significantly remodeled and improved. The baths incorporated a preexisting deep well that was made of large Sarno limestone blocks and used as an open well from which water was drawn by hand (Pl. 3 room 14; Figs. 4–5). When the well was first used in the baths, some changes were made, using opus incertum walls with lava. While the design and functioning of the well in this phase can no longer be reconstructed, it was most likely connected with a reservoir over the vaulted room to its north (Pl. 3 room 13a/b).⁶³ In a later phase during the period of

northwest of room 9); while little remains of this stucco today, it is commonly assigned to the Second Style.

⁶¹ CIL X 829.

⁶² In this case, the Republican Baths could even have served as a model for

the remodeling of the Stabian Baths after 80 BC.

⁶³ Water was most likely already lifted with some sophisticated mechanism such as a tread wheel/bucket chain system, but no traces of this survive.

the baths, the well was significantly modified: enlarged in the east and vaulted in its 'old' western part (Figs. 4–5). This served to install a more sophisticated water-lifting device, with a bucket chain in the new open eastern part and some lifting mechanism on top of the vaulted part. Presumably, the reservoir over room 13 was also changed. While the north and south walls of the 'old' western part of the well are heavily encrusted with thick layers of calcareous concretions (Figs. 4–5), the new eastern part lacks any traces of similar concretions. Maiuri concluded from this phenomenon that the well was remodeled only shortly before the abandonment of the baths and never used in its refined form.⁶⁴ Such a costly late renovation would clearly challenge Pesando's notion of a decline after 80 BC, but the development and chronology of the water supply system is not yet fully known and awaits final assessment.

- Several features were redecorated or repaired: for example, the supports of the labra in both caldaria were fortified and redecorated; the opus signinum revetment in the men's immersion pool was renewed at least once; the stucco decoration of the women's tepidarium was embellished, using a yellow socle with polychrome dots imitating marble – this decoration is now commonly assigned to the (late) First Style (Fig. 6).
- The walls of the domestic peristyle garden were set onto the quasi-cleaned pavements of the bathing rooms. This suggests that the baths had not been abandoned for a longer period and used as a dump, but that the transformation between baths and house occurred swiftly and immediately after the abandonment of baths (Fig. 7).

- The coin hoard cannot safely determine the end of the use period of the baths: the settling basin, in which it was found, was obviously deep enough so that the hoard did not get flushed away; the hoard may have somewhat hindered the settling process, but it did not necessarily block the entire drain.⁶⁵
- While the reasons for the abandonment of the baths cannot be safely determined, the archaeological record and urban context provide some clues. The baths were certainly never connected to the public aqueduct which became standard for all publicly accessible baths in the early Imperial period.⁶⁶ The heating technology and water management of the Republican Baths may have been innovative at the time of construction, but were most likely less advanced and sophisticated than those in the original Stabian Baths, built at the end of the 2nd century BC. In the late 1st century BC, the technology of the Republican Baths was surely outdated and comprehensive modernization in order to meet contemporary standards would certainly have been very costly. Therefore, dwindling profitability of the Republican Baths may have caused their abandonment. In contrast, a kind of political-social stigmatization of the baths after 80 BC, as suggested by Pesando, is difficult to accept: the Palaestra Sannitica, which was presumably much more strongly imbued with Samnite political-military ideology than a standard bathing facility such as the Republican Baths, was significantly remodeled and embellished in the Augustan period, when the Samnite vereia certainly had no longer any function and social significance.

Function: As argued above, exclusive use of the baths by specific groups cannot be derived from the archaeological record, namely from criteria such as design,

⁶⁴ Maiuri 1950, 128–129. – The water management of the Republican Baths is currently being investigated by Thomas Heide.

⁶⁵ Maiuri 1950, 126, does not describe the drainage system in detail, but his field director A. D'Avino provides more detailed information in his unpublished excavation report, 1950, 173: measures of the settling basin: 0.65 × 0.65 m, 0.9 m deep; the settling basin was found in a depth of 0.1–0.15 m below the walking level and was entirely reveted with opus signinum; the drain (0.3 m wide, 0.3 m high) was covered with Sarno limestone slabs; both the drain and the settling basin were partially filled with sediments, which would testify to long use of the drainage system, but did not obstruct it; the coins were found in the sediment layer of the settling basin. Today, the sidewalk is covered with modern cement so

that the drain and settling basins can no longer be studied.

⁶⁶ Baths built in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC, such as the Stabian Baths and the Forum Baths, were later connected to the aqueduct; baths newly built from the early Imperial period onwards were supplied by the aqueduct from the beginning, among them the Suburban Baths, the Sarno Baths, the Palaestra Baths, the Baths in the Praedia of Julia Felix, and the Central Baths. For the abandonment of the baths and the reuse of lot VIII 5, 36, see now: Monika Trümper. "Baths to House: Transformation of the Republican Baths in Pompeii?" In *Umgebaut. Umbau-, Umnutzungs- und Umwertungsprozesse in der antiken Architektur*. Ed. by K. Piesker. Diskussionen zur Archäologischen Bauforschung 13. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2018. Forthcoming.

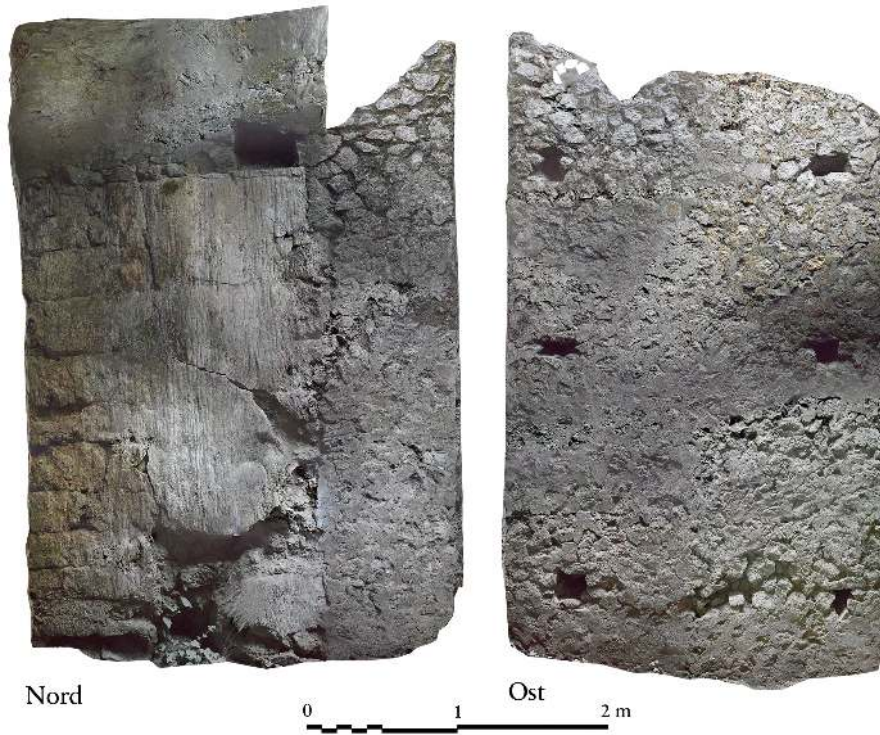


Fig. 4 Pompeii, Republican Baths, deep well.

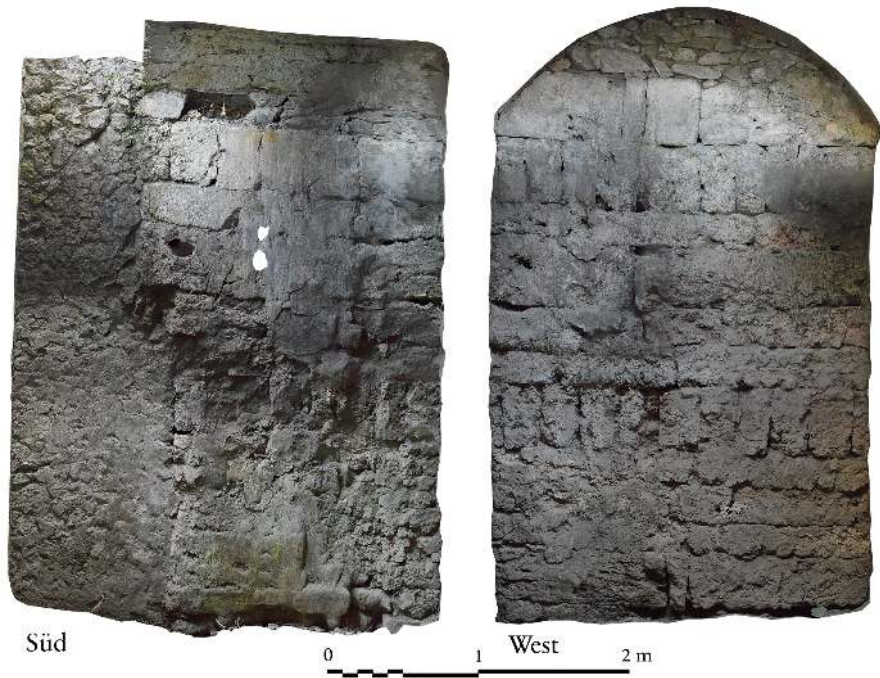


Fig. 5 Pompeii, Republican Baths, deep well.



Fig. 6 Pompeii, Republican Baths, women's tepidarium, renewed stucco decoration.



Fig. 7 Pompeii, Republican Baths, men's tepidarium, walls of house set on clean pavements of baths.

accessibility and urban-spatial context. The design and bathing program of the baths can be identified as standard for publicly accessible baths of the late Republican period in the entire western Mediterranean, and the baths are not at all typical of bathing facilities in any safely identified contemporary athletic complexes in the eastern and western Mediterranean. The location of the Republican Baths was certainly carefully chosen with view to maximum profit. Situated at a major crossing of a quarter that was significantly developed in the second half of the 2nd century BC, the Republican Baths were

visible, conveniently accessible, and thus would easily have attracted clients.

If the coin hoard mentioned above can be identified as a purse that a customer of the baths accidentally dropped when changing in the men's apodyterium it may suggest that visitors had to pay for entry to the baths.⁶⁷ This is a common practice in publicly accessible baths, but seems somewhat unnecessary and strange for supposed exclusive use of the facility by a privileged group such as the Samnite youths.

⁶⁷ Admittedly, this scenario, proposed by Maiuri 1950, 127, and Stannard 2005, 122, is somewhat strange: the drain in the apodyterium that evacuates into the settling basin where the hoard was found is a wide, very shallow open channel, like a slight depression in the pavement; this chan-

nel was certainly not flushed continuously, but only temporarily, when the immersion pool in the men's caldarium was emptied or bathers splashed lots of water out of the labrum.

Ownership: Without conclusive inscriptions, it is difficult to safely determine the ownership of baths. In general, the 2nd and 1st centuries BC were a period of transition, when baths built by public initiative and managed by public authorities became more common. Before this period, publicly accessible baths were usually built and managed by private persons as business investments.⁶⁸ The continuous existence of privately owned and publicly accessible baths in the Roman Imperial period is well attested for Pompeii and beyond.⁶⁹

The Republican Baths provide few clues for determining their ownership. While the deep well may have been built at public initiative and expense some time before the 2nd century BC,⁷⁰ the surrounding structures that predate the baths do not speak for any coherent building program or public use. These include several hydraulic installations, spread over the entire lot,⁷¹ and features that suggest industrial use. A similar situation was recently identified in the nearby lot I 1, 1–2 on the eastern side of the Via Stabiana: a large well, made of Sarno limestone blocks, dated to the 2nd century BC and interpreted as a public well was surrounded by or even incorporated into structures used for industrial activity.⁷²

The central question is whether and when the wells identified as public enterprises could be incorporated and continuously used in private buildings, or, to put it more bluntly, whether the ‘public well’ of the Republican Baths necessarily provides safe evidence for pub-

lic ownership of the baths. The well in lot I 1, 1–2 was presumably continuously accessible as a public well immediately next to private workshops and was only privatized and included into retail space in the early 1st century AD.⁷³ The deep well in IX 2, 1–29 seems to have been used as a publicly accessible well at least until AD 62, and was even embellished with an arched superstructure.⁷⁴ The deep well of the Stabian Baths was only built together with and specifically for the baths in the late 2nd century BC.⁷⁵ One of the largest deep wells with a sophisticated water-lifting device was incorporated into the Casa della Regina d’Inghilterra (VII 14, 5), but it is unclear when exactly this happened, whether the well was ever used within the context of the house and for how long. The massive walls of this well were never dismantled, razed, or modified, as in the case of many other public deep wells, but instead left standing at a significant height above the floor level of surrounding rooms; this suggests that the well was used, at least for some time, for the purpose of the house and its various industrial facilities.⁷⁶ Generally, the integration of large rectangular deep wells in buildings of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (before the aqueduct was built) seems to point to public initiative, but the topic certainly deserves closer investigation which cannot be provided here.

The transformation of private into public space is well attested in Pompeii in various periods: for example, houses and tabernae under the eastern side of the Forum were replaced by public buildings in the Augustan

68 This is at least suggested by the few available textual sources (literary texts and papyri); Fagan 1999; Trümper 2013.

69 In Pompeii: Baths in the Praedia of Julia Felix (rented out as *balneum venerium et nongentum*, CIL IV, 1136), Baths of Crassus Frugi (CIL X, 1063) and most likely also the Sarno Baths and the Palaestra Baths. For the phenomenon in general, see Fagan 1999.

70 Schmölder-Veit 2009, 117 fig. 12, differentiates between private and public deep wells: the public examples were larger (ca. 2 × 2 m) and mostly rectangular, whereas the private ones were always round and smaller, with diameters of one meter or less.

The date of the deep well in the Republican Baths cannot be securely determined archaeologically. This holds true for most deep wells in Pompeii, see Schmölder-Veit 2009, 116 n. 22; for recent lists of deep wells in public and private contexts (both incomplete though) see Schmölder-Veit 2009, 118–119; Dessales 2013, 217. Recently excavated deep wells include: a) IX 2.1.29, 1.98 × 1.98 m, which was made of Sarno limestone blocks, but could not be safely dated; Pender 2008; b) I.1.1–10, 1.54 × 1.08 m, which was also made of Sarno limestone blocks (with grooves from ropes on the upper face) and dated to the 2nd century BC; Ellis et al. 2011, 3–4. I owe these references to Domenico Esposito.

71 A channel in rooms 26, 27, 28 (Fig. 5), running from west to east; a basin in the laconicum that was cut by a well (Fig. 5 room 30); a small bell-shaped cistern and adjacent well under the pavement of the men’s apody-

terium (Fig. 5 room 25).

72 Ellis et al. 2011, 3–5.

73 Ellis et al. 2011, 5.

74 Pender 2008.

75 The Stabian Baths were also reinvestigated within the frame of the Topoi C-6-8 project, and their construction date could be significantly revised: they were not built in the 5th century BC and did not include an Archaic deep well, as proposed in the influential monograph by Eschbach 1979, but were only built together with the well in the late 2nd c century BC; for preliminary results, see Trümper 2017.

Size, location, development, and above all two inscriptions suggest that the Stabian Baths were built at public initiative in the late 2nd century BC and remained public property until AD 79: 1) Oscan dedicatory inscription by the quaestor Mr. Atinius on a sundial that was found in the Stabian Baths and is commonly dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC; Vetter 1953, 50 no. 12; Rix 2002, 104 Po 4; Crawford 2011b, 650–651 Pompei 21; 2) Latin dedicatory inscription by two *duoviri* of the Roman colony who initiated construction of a *laconicum* and *districtarium* as well as repair of the *palaestra* and *porticus*, commonly dated to shortly after 80 BC; CIL X, 829.

76 Schmölder-Veit 2009, 118–119 no. 15; other wells, such as no. 19, obviously went out of use when they were included in private *tabernae*.

period at the latest; a house next to the (publicly owned) Stabian Baths was razed and its terrain was included in the baths sometime between AD 41 and 79;⁷⁷ the (most likely publicly owned) Central Baths were built over demolished houses after AD 62. In contrast, transformation of public buildings into private space is more difficult to imagine, particularly during a heyday of urban development, as is commonly reconstructed for the Augustan period. This is again a phenomenon, which requires more comprehensive assessment, particularly for the Augustan period.

The Republican Baths were, probably from the beginning, closely interlocked with the western adjacent Casa delle Pareti Rosse (VIII 5, 37). While the original western limit of the Republican Baths currently cannot be securely reconstructed, it possibly did not run straight, but deviated twice, serving at least partially as a partition wall between the house and the baths. This phenomenon can also be observed for the original Stabian Baths, whose layout had to respect a more or less contemporaneously built rectangular house in the southwest corner of the lot; in this case, however, the baths and the house were subdivided by a double wall that clearly marked private vs. public property (Pl. 4).

No evidence of a similar duplication of boundary walls was found in the Republican Baths.

After outlining the available criteria, it must remain open which one is really conclusive for determining public vs. private ownership, the inclusion of a presumably public deep well in the 2nd century BC (public ownership?), the transformation into a private house in the late 1st century BC (private ownership?), or the lack of a clear double boundary wall (private ownership?). Even if publicly owned, however, nothing indicates exclusive use and function, and the existence of a separate section for women most strongly speaks for use by a broad, paying clientele.

In sum, the Republican Baths were built with innovative features and technology in the 2nd century BC, then remodeled and partially modernized before they

were abandoned in the second half of the 1st century BC, presumably when they were no longer fashionable or profitable. While the location of the Republican Baths at a major crossing and in a quarter that saw significant urban development in 2nd century BC was certainly chosen carefully with view to attracting visitors,⁷⁸ no intimate conceptual and spatial connection with any other buildings in the area can safely be identified. In contrast to the Republican Baths, two other publicly accessible baths that were most likely publicly owned and certainly built before the Augustan period, were both continuously used and modernized at public expense until AD 79.⁷⁹ Therefore, the integration of a presumably public well notwithstanding, the Republican Baths are best understood as a private initiative and business investment.

6 Conclusion

The socio-political structure of Late Hellenistic Samnite Pompeii is largely unknown, and it must remain open who would have embraced either the Greek gymnasium or the Roman campus as an institution and building type, and why. While the Greek gymnasium and palaestra as building types were developed in the 4th century BC, the campus is mentioned in Late Republican inscriptions from Latin colonies in Italy, whereas a clearly recognizable building type with porticoes and piscina seems to have developed only from the Augustan period onwards.⁸⁰

It must be emphasized that, despite rich epigraphic evidence, Pompeii's inscriptions do not include any reference to a gymnasium or campus and related offices, institutions, and groups (such as the gymnasiarchy, *epebeia*). The term *iuvenis* was used in Pompeian election notices to refer to a young man, but a *collegium iuventutis* is not mentioned in any inscription and the interpretation of a graffito by Geganius Romulus, *aedilis iuvenalium* is debated.⁸¹ A palaestra and porticus were

77 Trümper 2017.

78 The existence of a deep well that could serve as major water supply of the baths was certainly an added bonus.

79 The Stabian Baths, Trümper 2017; and the barely studied Forum Baths, which were certainly constructed after 80 BC by two *duoviri* of the early colony, as recorded by two identical inscriptions; see CIL X, 819 and Fagan 1999, 250–251 no. 62; another inscription on the labrum in the

men's caldarium records that two *duoviri* let this labrum made with public money, in the year AD 3 or 4; CIL X, 817; Fagan 1999, 252 no. 68.

80 Delorme 1960; Borlenghi 2011.

81 A. E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley 2004, 114, with reference to CIL IV, 3741; Borlenghi 2011, 225; that the graffito CIL IV, 8521, refers to *ludi iuvenalis*, Geganius Romulus acting as a *curator lusus iuvenum*, is not unanimously accepted.

repaired in the Stabian Baths shortly after 80 BC, as mentioned in a Latin dedicatory inscription of two *duoviri*, suggesting that these elements belonged to the original Samnite building of the late 2nd century BC (Pl. 4).⁸² It is unclear though whether *palaestra* referred only to the open courtyard, whereas *porticus* designated the colonnades surrounding the courtyard in the south, east, and most likely also north; or whether *palaestra* referred to the courtyard with surrounding porticoes, as is common for Greek gymnasia, while *porticus* designated some other unknown feature. In the first case, the comprehensive meaning of the word *palaestra* may not have been sufficiently known to the Roman *duoviri*. Since the *duoviri* also dedicated a *laconicum* and *destricarium*, which in terminology and function were clear allusions to Greek culture, the term *palaestra* may have served the same purpose, its exact shape and function notwithstanding. There is no indication, however, that the ‘*palaestra*’ of the Stabian Baths was ever used for athletic-military training by specific groups, before or after 80 BC.

Analysis of the archaeological record does not yield a clearer picture. The number of safely identified, sufficiently known purpose-built gymnasia (*palaestrae*) and *campi* in the Hellenistic west, which could be referred to for comparison, is very low. Examples include the Gymnasium (or rather *palaestra*) in Solunto (2nd century BC, located in the center of the city)⁸³ and *Campi* in Alba Fucens, Corfinium, Herdonia, and Pompeii (Great *Palaestra*) that were built in the early Imperial period, however, and located variously inside or outside the city. The complex of the Foro Triangolare in its minimum or maximum reading differs significantly from any of these. If the individual elements assigned to this complex are evaluated with view to their potential use for athletic-military training and related activities, using a scale of 1 (no) to 4 (yes), the following picture emerges (Pl. 1):⁸⁴

1: Quadriporticus, Republican Baths, lot VIII 6, 5 and Casa di Giuseppe II as *domus publica*

2: Foro Triangolare with portico(es) and open-air

race-track, if built in the 2nd century BC

3: *Palaestra Sannitica*, particularly (or solely?) if connected with porticoes/race-track of the Foro Triangolare

According to this scheme, only the Great *Palaestra* would be rated 4, securely (if not solely) used as a sports facility in the Roman colony, but not before the Augustan period.

Construction of the Great Theater, Quadriporticus, *Palaestra Sannitica*, Republican Baths and possibly also the porticoes of Foro Triangolare in the second half of the 2nd century clearly testifies to the existence of some urban development program and the importance of this area. An embellishing remodeling occurred in the Augustan period, including again the Great Theater, the Quadriporticus, the *Palaestra Sannitica*, and the Foro Triangolare that was decorated with honorary monuments and furniture, but – and this is crucial – excluding the Republican Baths that were even destroyed. While it is commonly assumed, that the athletic-military function of the Foro Triangolare complex declined or ceased in the Augustan period one wonders why it would have been renovated and what it would have been used for in this period.

This regards, first and foremost, the *Palaestra Sannitica*, which would not only have lost its bathing facility, but also gained serious competition from the newly built Great *Palaestra*. While the building was newly decorated with statues (herms, Doryphoros?), it also lost a substantial part of its peristyle courtyard to the adjacent Iseum at some point during its history.⁸⁵ Pesando argued that a certain Marcus Lucretius Decidianus Rufus, the second most important man in Augustan Pompeii, would have initiated a comprehensive renovation program in the Foro Triangolare area that included setting up a series of herms found in various locations⁸⁶ and the dedication of something by decree of the *decurions*, which could possibly be recognized as renovation of the *Palaestra Sannitica*.⁸⁷ In recognition of his generosity, M. Lucretius Decidianus Rufus would have received an honorary statue in the *Palaestra Sannitica*, which would have

82 CIL X, 829.

83 For gymnasia in Sicily, see Trümper in this volume.

84 1 = not likely at all to have served for athletic-military training and related activities; 2 = possibly served for athletic-military training and related activities; 3 = likely served for athletic-military training and related activities; 4 = certainly served for athletic-military and related activities.

85 The development of the Sanctuary of Isis is debated, which cannot be

discussed in detail here; see the recent overview in Gasparini 2011 with earlier bibliography.

86 Pesando 2000, 164 fig. 5: Foro Triangolare, Odeum, cemetery of Porta Stabia, and two in the sacrarium of the Iseum, which had most likely originally been set up in the *Palaestra Sannitica* and were reused after AD 62 in the Iseum.

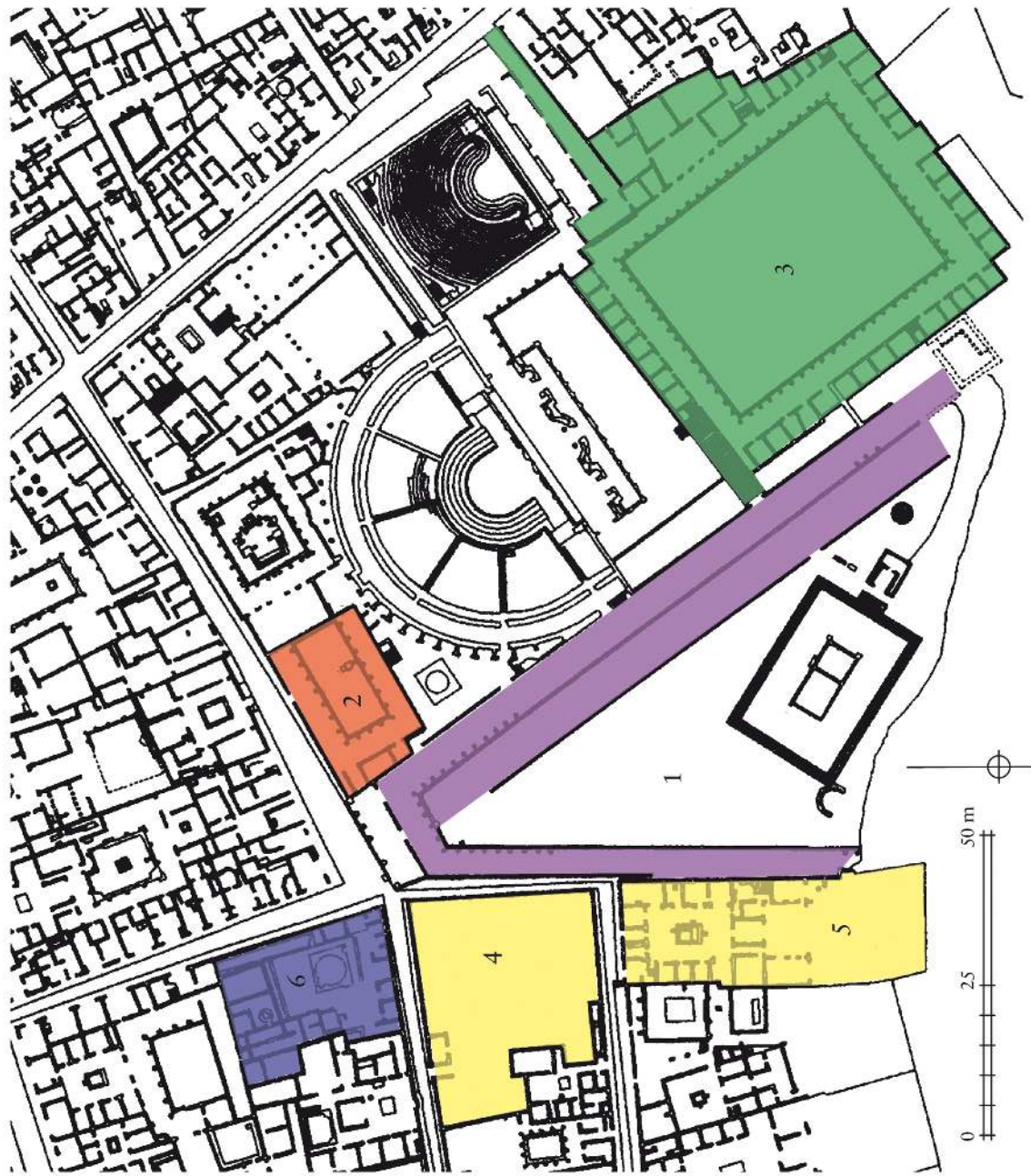
87 CIL X, 952.

been set up again (reposit) in this building by a relative after the earthquake in AD 62.⁸⁸ According to this intriguing narrative, the Palaestra Sannitica would have served as a kind of memorial of the good old Samnite days (and institutions such as the *vereiia*) that was nostalgically kept in the Augustan period, when Pompeii otherwise was comprehensively modernized after the model of Augustan Rome, and even after AD 62, when Samnite days were long past. Athletic-military training can hardly have played any role here anymore, however, and it remains completely open who would have frequented this building for which purposes and activities.

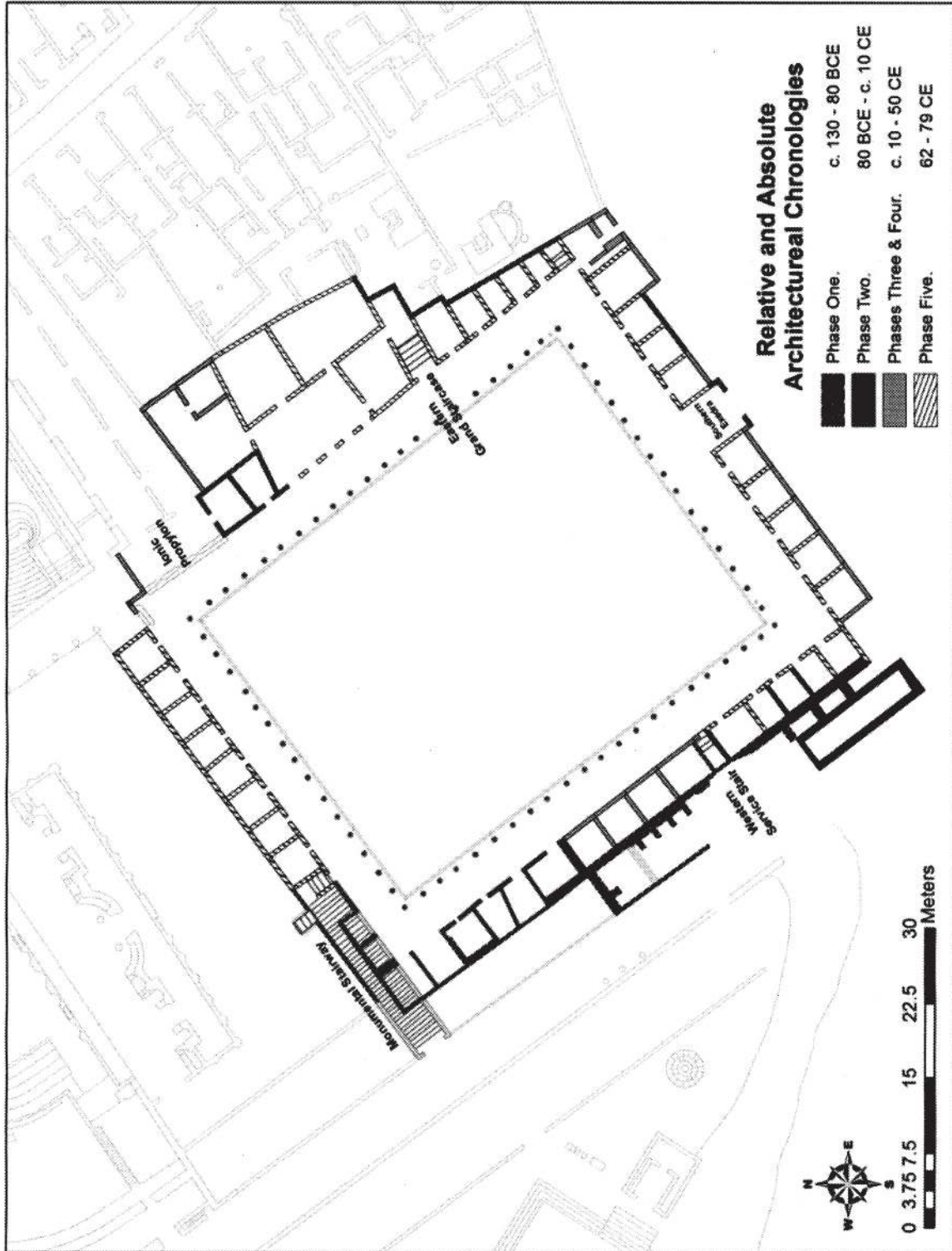
The inhabitants of Late Hellenistic Samnite Pompeii adopted many building types known in the western Mediterranean at this time, among them the theater (Great Theater), the temple with porticoes (Temple of Apollo. Temple of Venus), the multifunctional porticus-complex (Quadriporticus), the basilica, the publicly accessible bath (Stabian Baths, Republican Baths), the

atrium house, and the atrium peristyle house. However, a clearly recognizable standard Greek palaestra or gymnasium or a Roman campus were not among them. The Palaestra Sannitica as a sports facility, used with or without the Foro Triangolare, was a modest substandard solution in comparison to Greek palaestrae and Roman campi; because of lacking parallels, it cannot be identified as a typical Samnite concept, however. In contrast, the Republican Baths were, like the nearby Stabian Baths, a highly fashionable, fully functioning publicly accessible bath complex that is hard to see in a conceptual unit with the Palaestra Sannitica. If the size of the original Palaestra Sannitica is compared with that of the contemporary Quadriporticus and the palaestra of the original Stabian Baths, let alone with that of the later Great Palaestra (Pl. 5), it is obvious that the activities of the Samnite *vereiia*, from a spatial point of view, did not play such a significant role in Late Hellenistic Pompeii.

88 CIL X, 851; the original Augustan dedication is not known.



Pl. 1 1 Pompeii, Area of the Foro Triangolare; buildings identified as part of the athletic-military complex. 1 Foro Triangolare (porticoes, race-track); 2 Palaestra Sannitica; 3 Quadrirporticus; 4 Lot VIII 6, 5 (domus publica?); 6 Republican Baths.



Pl. 2 Pompeii, Quadriforticus, phase plan.



Pl. 3 Pompeii, Republican Baths, reconstructed plan.



Pl. 5 Pompeii, Palaestra Sannitica, Stabian Baths, Great Palaestra: scale to scale comparison.

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ILLUSTRATIONS: 1 M. Trümper after De Waele 2001, 8 pl. 3. 2 M. Trümper after De Waele 2001, 317 pl. 41 and Tricarico 2013, 213 pl. II. 3 C. Rummel. 4–5 C. Brünenberg. 6 D. Esposito. 7 M. Trümper. **PLATES:** 1 M. Trümper after

Pesando 2000, 164 fig. 5. 2 Poehler and Ellis 2013, 11 fig. 16. 3 C. Brünenberg. 4 C. Brünenberg. 5 M. Trümper after Fig. 3, Pl. 4, and Jashemski 1993, 91 plan 29.

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