

Liberty and Lucius in Republican City Planning:
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***Liberalitas* and *Lucrum* in Republican City Planning: Plautus (*Curc.* 466-83) and L. Betilienus Vaarus¹**

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The Roman small city, as we know it, is a product of the last century BCE: before the end of the second century, the average colony, *municipium*, or allied city had three types of public building—temples, *tabernae* (shops), and public *atria*; in the following century, the number of potential building types expanded to include porticos, basilicas, *macella*, baths, theaters, amphitheatres, et al.² During the Empire, these new types came to represent the essential “furniture” of the Roman provincial town and, on a much larger scale, some of the most dramatic structures in the capital.

In the smaller cities of Republican Italy this development appears to have been revolutionary. Apart from a few examples dated or attributed to the middle of the second century, the bulk of the evidence, both archaeological and epigraphic, is from the period ca. 100 BCE or after the Social War.³ The municipal elite were critical players in this process but their motives for building and building innovation are largely unknown. Surviving inscriptions note briefly and without comment their use of personal

¹ This is an altered version of a paper delivered in May 2004, at the Working Group on Roman Values at the Technische Universität Dresden. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. F.-H. Mutschler for his invitation to participate and his comments on an earlier version of the manuscript, and to the other participants for comments, questions, and references. All errors and misconceptions are mine.

² For the phenomenon: JOUFFROY 15-61, VIRLOUVET 231 n. 8; PANCIERA 252-254, CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990a and 1990b, POBJOY 77-84, and LOMAS 2003, 28-45. If there was a physical and architectural difference between colonies, *municipia*, and allied cities in the late Republic, there is not enough surviving evidence to reconstruct it. Excavations at Pietrabbondante have shown that even non-urban groups followed this pattern of building at federal sanctuary sites (LOMAS 1998, 65-67). Since there is no neutral term for small city in Latin—*urbs* is often used to indicate Rome, *oppidum* a village—I will use the English term *municipality* to distinguish the small city from Rome—irrespective of its size or its relationship to the Metropolis.

³ The earliest civic improvement of scale may be the basilica of Cosa, dated by coins and associated pottery to the third quarter of the second century BC at the latest: F. BROWN, E. H. RICHARDSON, L. RICHARDSON JR., *Cosa III: The Buildings of the Forum*, University Park PA 1993 (= MAAR 37, 1993), 226-227. After the Social War, Rome's use of the *municipia* as its primary instrument of administration gave impetus to the phenomenon: GABBA, 80-87, 106-112 and C. R. WHITTAKER, *The politics of power: the cities of Italy*, in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Diocétien: Actes du colloque internationale de l'École Française de Rome*, 25-28 March 1992, Rome 1994, 134-135, with subsequent bibliography.

funds (*sua pecunia*) and/or their oversight of a project as magistrates or as independent parties. In the absence of an explicitly stated rationale, therefore, these inscriptions have been interpreted in the light of imperial inscriptions. These affix a virtue to the building record that praises the dedicant's generosity (e.g. *liberalitas*, *magnificentia*), administrative integrity (*fides*, *diligentia*, *integritas*, etc.), or personal character (*probitas*). Thus, E. FORBIS (31-33) characterizes the terse messages of the Republican inscriptions as "praise by way of description", with the same goal as the later ones of encouraging others to emulate the dedicants' behavior (3-4, 30-43) and P. WITZMANN (84-86) attributes the inscriptions' failure to specify the benefactor's virtues to the fact that their possession by an elite citizen was to be assumed by the inscription's audience. For other scholars, the impulse for an inscription came from the benefactor himself: according to M. POBJOY (90-92), inscriptions affirmed the fulfillment of a magistral obligation and/or provided the politically aspiring with a means of advertising their virtues. Although speaking primarily of gifts exchanged between *amici*, K. VERBOVEN (101) notes that by making substantial gifts, one upheld one's *dignitas* and confirmed one's status in society.⁴ Thus, although actual references to civic virtue do not appear in the inscriptions until the late Republic and Augustan age (FORBIS 101), the earlier Republican inscriptions and the benefactors they name are viewed as operating within the context of the Roman value discourse.

On the other hand, when this material is examined within a contemporary context, the motives for building and commemoration seem more complex. The evidence with the closest relationship to the inscriptions are the construction projects they describe—projects that, for the first time in Italian building, include much that is geared toward business and leisure. Since neither business nor leisure were new phenomena in late Republican Italy—although, as phenomena, they may have been differently constructed—it has seemed useful to me to examine the need for architecture in the contemporary city and the elites' use of it for the city's and their own advantage.⁵ Textual evidence for this is rare to non-existent, so my paper

⁴ Similarly, on the desire "to fix an individual's place within history, society, and the cosmos": G. WOOLF, *Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the early Empire*, *JRS* 86, 1996, 25-29.

⁵ This paper will not enter into the increasingly philosophical debates over the nature of the Roman city or the character of the Roman economy. In the last decade, as interest in those broad problems has cooled, attention has shifted to smaller, more concrete issues surrounding the study of trade in Roman history and culture—the economic profiles of different regions and periods, the roles played by different groups of market participants, and the evidentiary value of artifacts and sources: W. SCHEIDEL, S. VON REDEN (eds.),

has two parts: first, the topography of business in the pre-industrial city—an overview and reconstruction—and second, a new look at two old pieces of evidence: Plautus' description of the Roman Forum in *Curculio* 466-83 and the inscription of L. Betilienus Vaarus from the Hernican city of Aletrium, modern Alatri, on the Via Latina. These texts illustrate the physical infrastructure of commerce as it emerged in the late Republic, offer insights into the motives of the building patrons, and observations on the early development of the Roman value discourse.

Commerce and the City

To understand the impact of commerce on the ancient city, one must understand both the necessity of commerce and the problems it posed for a city administration. Traffic is fundamental to commercial success. As Dio Chrysostom (Or. 35.15-16) said of the crowds drawn by a governor's assizes to Celaenae (Asia Minor):

...litigants, jurors, rhetors, nobles, retainers, slaves, pimps, drovers, peddlers, prostitutes, and craftsmen. In this way people with things to sell get the best price, and nothing stands idle in the city—not draft animals nor lodgings nor women—which makes for prosperity in no small degree; for wherever the greatest throngs gather, there of necessity is the most wealth and the place naturally thrives (trans. MACMULLEN 338).⁶

The attention given to ensuring a well-attended market—the establishment of official weights and measures, the fixing of operational rules and regulations, the election of market officials—such as *aediles* or *agoranomoi*—is intended, in every period of history, to ensure that the buying public has

The Ancient Economy, New York 2002, esp. the Introduction, pp. 1-10, and J. ANDREAU, *Twenty Years after Moses I. Finley's The Ancient Economy*, *ibid.* 33-52.

⁶ DE LIGT (225-229) argues, with regard to this passage, that ancient cities were less interested in the economic benefits of fairs than in the prestige they brought to the city, but, as ANDREAU (2002, 128-129) observes, economic factors in antiquity were often intermingled with social ones. In Cato agr. 3.2, for example, the traditional Roman value discourse is applied to the rather mundane decision to invest in extra storage space, which would allow a villa owner to profit from price increases and result in wealth, self-respect, and reputation (*et rei et virtuti et gloriae erit*). W. V. HARRIS (*War and imperialism in Republican Rome*, Oxford 1979, 18) suggests that Cato's choice of vocabulary may have been intended to twit the patrician aristocracy, but, if Cato's formulation was intended to be outrageous, it accomplished this by combining ideas that referred to separate spheres of patrician concern.

confidence in that market.⁷ Without traffic, a market languishes and, when buyers and sellers begin to frequent other venues, it ultimately disappears. Nevertheless, commerce carries with it three predictable problems: dirt, “market creep”, and the need to consider the economic interests of different constituent groups.

The dirt and disorder created by the produce markets is widely documented, if not by ancient sources, then by other pre-industrial ones. A famous 19th-century print of the sheep market in Wide Bargate, Boston (England, ca. 1840, fig. 1) illustrates what was for many market towns a regular event—sheep standing body-to-body across the street set aside for the animal market. It is easy to see that this market left an unpleasant mess and, although produce sellers might seem more attractive, rotting garbage is not. The citizens of a market town could protest the filth but to no avail—the markets were essential to the city’s economy. To cite one anecdote contemporary (1833) with the Boston print: a citizen of Chester (England), Mr. Foliott of Northgate Street, became tired of the “pigs snoozing in their litter underneath [his] parlour windows” and put a fence in front of his house. He was forced to remove the fence, however, when the pig and cattle drovers protested. The cattle market was not removed from the front of his house until sixteen years later and the provision markets stayed in Eastgate Street for thirty.⁸

By “market creep”, I mean the tendencies that markets have to move beyond the spaces allotted to them.⁹ Because the livestock and produce markets were dirty, they were normally given their own, separate spaces within the town. In larger cities, however, those spaces were generally too small for the number of farm people who wanted to sell, and some sellers set up in other places. According to an official document from 1678 Paris, a

⁷ On order in ancient markets: E. M. HARRIS, *Workshop, Marketplace, Household: The nature of technical specialization in classical Athens and its influence on economy and society*, in CARTLEDGE et al. (eds.), 72-73; FRAYN 117-132.

⁸ Mass Observation, *Brown’s and Chester: Portrait of a Shop 1780-1946*, 1947, pp. 57-58, quoted by GIROUARD 13. The movement of carts and animals through the street was both unpleasant and dangerous: see the characterization of market day by SCHMIECHEN and CARLS 11-16.

⁹ This is a different phenomenon from market “encroachment” or “infill”, in which temporary market stalls are gradually replaced with more substantial structures (GIROUARD 14-15). Encroachment was common in late antiquity when private structures were built in, on, or around monuments and spaces that were originally public: S. ELLIS, *The End of the Roman House*, *AJA* 92, 1988, 565-576. I know of no example, however, from the late Republic. “Market creep” is a problem in every period: cf. CALABI 27-28 (Venice), 38 (London) and *passim*. In the contemporary city the hucksters and the kinds of products hawked have changed, but the phenomenon is the same: cf. P. STOLLER, *Money has no Smell: The Africanization of New York City, Chicago 2002*, esp. chap. 7.

produce market had “unlawfully set itself up near and in front of the Quinze-Vingts butchers in the rue Saint Honoré”—the most fashionable street in Paris in the 17th and 18th centuries (B.N. Ms. Fr., 21633, 43: 19 September 1678, quoted by BRAUDEL 31-32). According to these records, “on market days several women and stallholders, from the fields as well as the city, spread out their produce right on the street and prevent free passage which should always be unhindered as [this is] one of the most frequented and considerable streets in Paris.” Such common, low-level infringements of market rules were difficult if not impossible to police and the authorities seldom tried. In 1714, 36 years later, another complaint was made about the mackerel-sellers at the—still illegal—market of the Quinze-Vingts. According to the complainant, these sellers “throw away the heads of their mackerel, which is most unpleasant by the infection it spreads in the market. It would be a good thing if these women were told to put the fish heads in baskets, which could then be emptied into a cart, as the pea-shellers have to” (B.N. Ms. Fr. 21633, 44: 28 June 1714, after BRAUDEL 32). One of the city’s responsibilities, therefore, was to create traffic in its markets; another was to clean up the mess.¹⁰

Although we know less about Rome and the Roman small city, the problems of dirt and market creep were certainly the same. In 218 BCE an ox fell from the third story of a house in the Forum Boarium (Liv. 21.62) and in 191 two cows went up the stairs of another house in the Carinae (Liv. 36.37). Incidents like these were probably common, but we hear of them only when the political situation was bad enough for them to be received as omens. It was also common for Roman craftsmen and shopkeepers, like later ones, to use the walks in front of their shops to display their merchandise or expertise, forcing passers-by into the street: according to Martial (7.61.1-2), “the impudent huckster had [until recently] taken over the entire city, so that within its limit[s] there was no limit”—*abstulerat totam temerarius institor urbem / inque suo nullum limine limen erat*. He praises

¹⁰ Solutions to the mess remain the same over time, space, and culture: in ancient Rome, 17th-century Paris and 18th-century Boston (New England), carts were used to remove rubbish from the streets: O. F. ROBINSON, *Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration*, London 1992, 122-124; J. QUINCY, *A Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston, during Two Centuries*, Boston 1852, 69-73. Butchers produced disgusting waste and used the streets, sewers, or abandoned areas as dumping grounds; cf. A. SCOBIE, *Slums, sanitation, and morality in the Roman world*, *Klio* 68, 1986, 420-421. As a result, many ancient cities, like Athens and Rome, located their food and animal markets on the river so that garbage, dung, and offal could be disposed of directly. In early modern cities, butchers and provision shops were often built on bridges (e.g. Florence’s Ponte Vecchio), allowing rubbish to be disposed of in the stream (CALABI 323).

(ll. 9-10) a recent law forcing "... the barber, the innkeeper, the cook, and the butcher to respect their thresholds: what was, before, a huge *taberna* is now—Rome" (... *tonsor, copo, cocus, lanius sua limina servant. / nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit*). The evidence for Roman commercial patterns is thus sparse and anecdotal but, when taken together with the early modern evidence, it helps to bring the problems of ancient city planning into clearer perspective.

The third problem faced by ancient city planners was the need to balance the commercial needs of different citizen groups. As a result, buying and selling in the pre-industrial world had both a temporal and a topographical dimension (FRAYN 1-11). The oldest form of commerce was probably the periodic market, either market day, known to the Romans as *nundinae*, or the annual festivals and fairs (*feriae, mercatus*) that marked the *dies natales* of temples or other religious occasions. According to Festus (ed. LINDSAY 176, s.v. *nundinas*), *nundinae* provided country people with an opportunity to come together to buy and sell. Trade (*commercium*) was considered one of the fundamental rights of ancient citizenship and in Rome it was *nefas*—unlucky and illegal—to conduct public business on market day.¹¹ But *nundinae* was as important for urban sellers as it was for farmers: CIL 9.2689, an epitaph for an innkeeper, includes a snippet of exchange with a farmer who came to Aesernia to sell his produce. According to the inscription, the farmer was charged one *as* for wine and bread, 2 *asses* for gruel, eight for a girl, and two to fodder his mule (MACMULLEN 338-39, fig. 1; LAURENCE 78). This suggests only a modest gain for the innkeeper but, multiplied by half-dozen or more customers per market, it seems to have supported him and at least four different kinds of producers.

Nundinae also gave city dwellers a chance to buy fresh produce or other goods at competitive prices and, in this respect, it was competing with shops (FRAYN 34). The evidence for shops is also old: Livy (1.35.10) says that Tarquinius Priscus divided up sites around the Roman Forum for individuals to build on and that he created porticos and *tabernae*. His early date is now confirmed by archaeology: at Rome, excavations on the north slope of the Palatine have uncovered 6th-century BCE houses with shops on the facade; a commercial portico of the same period has been reported at

¹¹ Festus: *nundinas feriatum diem esse voluerunt antiqui, ut rustici convenirent mercandi, vendendique causa, eumque nefastum, ne si liceret cum populo agi, interpellarentur nundinatores* (FRAYN 3-4, 17-23, 117-118). Thus, the benefit to commerce of a clearly defined time and place for commercial exchange was recognized at an early date—when the population of Rome was still largely rural, her economy was almost exclusively agrarian, and the facilities provided for marketing consisted essentially of an open space.

Etruscan Poggio Civitate.¹² The name *nundinae*, or “ninth day”, suggests that market day in Rome was a distinct occasion and that street selling was not allowed on other days. If so, it was consistent with the restrictions placed on market days in early modern Europe where the location of the market was determined by a marker and its period of operation was fixed by signals like sunup to sundown, or the ringing of a bell, or later by the town clock (LE GOFF 35, 43-52).¹³ The strict regulation of market day was intended to keep unscrupulous buyers from cornering the market on essential commodities and probably also to protect shopkeepers and shop owners.¹⁴ Shopkeepers could sell food and other necessities to consumers between market days by bringing goods directly from the country. Their prices, however, were almost certainly higher than one would expect to pay for the same goods at market. Since most of the shops were owned and let by the elites or the city, this restriction protected their property interests and the livelihoods of their urban clients, slaves, and freedmen.¹⁵

¹² Rome: M. CRISTOFANI (ed.), *La Grande Roma dei Tarquini*, Rome 1990, 97-99. Poggio Civitate: S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Civilization*, Los Angeles 2000, 115-116 and fig. 95.

¹³ According to Pliny (nat. 7.214), at the time of the Twelve Tables, sunrise and sunset were officially announced (*nominantur*) from the senate house, presumably to mark the beginning and end of the business/market day. A few years later (*post aliquot annos*), noon was also announced, when the consuls' *apparitor* saw the sun between the *rostra* and the *graecostasis*.

¹⁴ Legislation that is clearly protective of local commerce is rare in antiquity, but one example may be ID 509 (= SIG³ 975), a third-century BCE law regulating the import and pricing of wood to Delos. The law has been variously interpreted: J. A. O. LARSEN (Roman Greece, in T. FRANK [ed.], *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV*, Baltimore 1938, 352-354) thinks that its purpose was protectionist, a view that G. REGER (*Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos, 314-167 BC*, Berkeley 1994, 173-176) considers anachronistic. Nevertheless, Reger's own view, that the state was losing money on wood undervalued at declaration and passed a law that would guarantee full collection of the tax, does not demand that the state be unconcerned about the price of wood for the consumer. The odd rigidity of the regulation suggests that the price of wood was actually volatile, perhaps because the price of wood imported from different sources was unpredictable. Because the law forced suppliers to adhere to their declared price in the Delian market, local tax revenues were protected, local providers were protected from dumping and cornering of the market, and local consumers were able to take advantage of the price spread. In the Roman world, patronage may have operated in place of legislation to keep prices down. For patronage as a social, as opposed to a relational, system, see T. JOHNSON, C. DANDEKER, *Patronage: relation and system*, in A. WALLACE-HADRILL (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, London/New York 1990, 219-238.

¹⁵ Elites and their profit from urban trade: A. WALLACE-HADRILL, *Élites and trade in the Roman town*, in J. RICH, A. WALLACE-HADRILL (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, London 1991, 243-269; PIRSON 168-171. Roman temples, unlike Greek

Fairs are periodic markets of longer duration than *nundinae*—a four-to-fifteen day duration is typical for a fair. Fairs were usually attached to religious occasions and were therefore held at longer intervals. They drew attendance from a wider area than market day—probably because of their duration, the promise of sacrificial meat, and, in the historical period, the spectacles that accompanied them. A number of regional fairs, usually attached to sanctuaries, are attributed by ancient authors to the Regal or early Republican period—for example, the *Feriae Latinae*, held annually on the Mons Albanus, and the sanctuary of *Feronia* at *Lucus Feroniae*, which is said to have had a market in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius* (FRAYN 135-37).¹⁶ From a commercial standpoint, the timing of fairs frequently coincided with important periods in the agricultural calendar so that contracts could be made for goods requiring long term projections—things like livestock, textiles, raw materials, or, in the late Republic, slaves. The scale of these transactions might require other kinds of services, like notarizing, deposit, money changing, or money lending—services that involved or benefited members of the community with surplus capital for speculation.

Although market day, shops, and the fair are theoretically separate venues, the impact of population growth and a heightened pace of exchange in the century following the Hannibalic War meant that, by the late Republic, it must have been a challenge for Rome and some other cities to accommodate all of these commercial activities within the original market area.¹⁷ *Nundinae* must have been a nightmare at Rome where the festival activities of contracts and investment had become part of everyday exchange. In the municipalities, *nundinae* probably included types of exchange that were once reserved for fairs (ANDREAU, 2002, 117-19).

The size of these markets created particular problems for businessmen of scale, for whom immediate information about pricing, demand, and availability were—and continue to be—essential for profit. Contacts with markets, ports, and other merchants provided information, but serious traders

temples, did not make loans, and this also protected the interests of the elite (BODEI GIGLIONI 58).

¹⁶ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 3.32.1 (trans. FRAYN 135): “There went into this temple [of *Feronia*] from the neighboring cities at the appointed feasts many who offered prayers and sacrifices to the goddess, and many merchants, craftsmen, and also farmers making money out of the festival, and the markets there became the most famous in the whole of Italy.”

¹⁷ Roman commercial facilities were enlarged during the second century with the creation of an emporium below the Aventine and new porticos and pavements in the area south of the *circus Flaminius* (GROS 389-391); the physical extent of the *Forum Boarium* seems also to have been increased through banking of earth and leveling (A. AMMERMAN, *Coring Ancient Rome*, *Archaeology* 53.6, Nov/Dec 2000, 78-83).

had no desire to wander around the marketplace, looking for professional counterparts among the leek- and potato-sellers.¹⁸ In the early modern period, the need for appropriate centers to facilitate this level of trade was widely recognized and cities used both zoning and architecture to create different spheres for different kinds of commerce. The medieval market had been located in a broad, main street or square and the center of the market was indicated by a Market Cross, often illustrated in drawings and engravings (fig. 2). By the mid-17th century, however, new architectural types, like the Wool or Butter Cross or the Town House / Town Hall (fig. 3), had become common. These roofed crosses protected perishable commodities from the sun and market crowd, or gave wholesale traders their own place to meet apart from the produce markets.¹⁹ The townhouse housed the market administration and sheltered businessmen beneath its arcades.²⁰

¹⁸ In the late medieval period, merchants made notes in private notebooks on, e.g., the weights and measures or currency in use in particular places, custom duties, the dates of fairs, how to distinguish different qualities in commodities (SPUFFORD 52-53). Dedicated facilities (exchanges) eventually allowed merchant subscribers to collect information more systematically. In 19th-century Boston (New England), before the benefits of telegraph, subscribers to the local exchange kept a boat manned and ready to row out, 24 hours a day, to get news from ships before they came into port. (SHAW: Appendix).

¹⁹ GIROUARD 15-30; TITTLER 254-269; R. J. BROWN, *English Village Architecture*, London 2004, 183-189. There may be ancient parallels for the creation of a dedicated space for the commodity and/or financial markets: ca. 100-50 BCE, a forum with shops and a basilica was created at the entrance to the temple precinct at Lucus Feroniae: A. M. SGUBINI MORETTI, in *EAA Secondo Suppl.* III, 1995, 473-474; M. P. MUZZIOLI, *Capena e Lucus Feroniae*, in *Misurare la terra: centuriazione e coloni nel mondo romano. Città, agricoltura, commercio. Materiali da Roma e dal Suburbio*, Modena 1985, 53-58. This construction is usually associated with the deduction of a veteran colony, but other Italic sanctuaries were rebuilt or reorganized in the same period without the deduction of a colony (COARELLI 217-240, esp. 217-218), sometimes with indications of a change in clientele: at Nemi, for example, the rustic anatomical ex-votos typical of mid-Republican Italy disappeared when the sanctuary of Diana was rebuilt in the late 2nd-early 1st c. BCE: T. F. C. BLAGG, *Cult Practice and Social Context in the Religious Sanctuaries of Latium and Southern Etruria: the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi*, in C. MALONE, S. STODDART (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV.4: Classical and Medieval Archaeology*, Oxford 1985, 44-45. On the basis of present evidence, therefore, it is possible that the forum at Lucus Feroniae was built before the deduction of the Roman colony.

²⁰ The uses of a townhouse are described by R. KEAYNE, who, upon his death in 1656, left funds for the construction of one to the city of Boston (New England). Details from his will are excerpted by W. M. WHITEHILL, *Boston: A Topographical History*, 2nd ed. Cambridge MA 1968, 13-15, along with a description of the Boston town house from 1663. The exchanges built in 17-19th-century Europe and America represent the same phenomenon on a larger scale: L. SEVERINI, *The Architecture of Finance: Early Wall Street*, Ann Arbor MI 1983, 9-11; SPUFFORD 50-52, BRAUDEL 97-100, CALABI 13.

Thus, in every period and culture, as R. ALSTON (185, 198) has observed for Roman Egypt, market architecture represents the control of the city [or another collective] over trade.²¹

Plautus and the Business Topography of Republican Rome

In Rome, public architecture was used to facilitate and control commerce from at least the second century BCE: the Republican basilica, which G. FUCHS recognized to be the ancient equivalent of the exchange, is said by Vitruvius (5.1.4-5) to have sheltered businessmen from inclement weather; the *macellum* provided a secure space for perishables and other specialty items, and at Rome the forum shops were set aside for money-changers, bankers, and auctioneers.²² Viewed in isolation from the commercial process, as in most modern accounts of Roman architecture and city planning, these building types tell us little about a city's organization of commerce, but Plautus provides an unusually detailed picture of Rome's business topography in the *Curculio* (466-483), staged ca. 193-192 BC (fig. 4).²³

²¹ In exceptional cases, like Capua, which had been stripped of its administrative institutions in 211 BCE as punishment for defecting to Hannibal (Liv. 31.29.11), the *magistri* of individual temples or sanctuaries outfitted the sanctuaries as commercial centers by financing the dedication of standard weights and measures, walls, wells, porticos, pavements, and in one case a stone theater. These building programs may have been intended to compensate for a lack of oversight and investment in commerce at the civic level. For the Capuan *magistri*, see M. POPJOY, The decree of the pagus Herculaneus and the Romanisation of 'Oscan Capua', *Arctos* 32, 1998, 175-195 with previous bibliography.

²² Basilica: G. FUCHS, Die Funktion der frühen römischen Marktbasilika, *BJ* 161, 1961, 39-46; NÜNNERICH-ASMUS 22-23. Macellum: DE RUYT 233-235. DE RUYT (234) thinks that the *macellum* was an "everyday" produce market that provided food to the city population between *nundinae*, FRAYN (159) and G. PISANI SARTORIO (LTUR II, 1996, 202) that it was a specialty market with unusual or expensive goods that required special handling or protection. Banker's Shops: Vit. 5.1.2; G. MASELLI, *Argentaria. Banchi e banchieri nella Roma repubblicana*, 1986, 13-36; C. BARATTO, *Le tabernae nei fora delle città romane tra l'età repubblicana e il periodo imperiale*, *RdA* 27, 2003, 67-92.

²³ For discussion of this passage and its comic allusions: WRIGHT 71-74, MOORE 343-362, ZWIERLEIN 261-265, D. WILES, *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, Cambridge 2002, 100-103, WELCH 16-19. Although the action of the play is set in Epidaurus, the institutions are Roman and the economic theme is characteristic of Plautus in this period: DE RUYT 237-238; J.-M. ANDRÉ, *L'argent chez Plaute: Autour du Curculio*, *Vichiana* 12, 1983, 15-35; MOORE 345-347; ZWIERLEIN 261. For commercial life in the Roman Forum, see N. PURCELL, *LTUR II*, 1995, 333-334 s.v. Forum Romanum; ANDREAU 1987.

*Commonstrabo quo in quemque hominem facile inveniatis loco,
 ne nimio opere sumat operam si quem conventum velit,
 vel vitiosum vel sine vitio, vel probum vel improbum.
 Qui peiurum convenire volt hominem ito in comitium;
 qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum,
 ditis damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito.
 Ibidem erunt scorta exoleta quique stipulari solent.
 Symbolarum collatores apud forum piscarium.
 In foro infimo boni homines atques dites ambulant,
 in medio propter canalem, ibi ostentatores meri;
 confidentes garrulique et malevoli supera lacum,
 qui alteri de nihilo audacter dicunt contumeliam
 et qui ipsi sat habent quod in se possit vere dicier.
 Sub veteribus, ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt faenore.
 Pone aedem Castoris, ibi sunt subito quibus credas male.
 In Tusco vico, ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant;
 In velabro vel pistorem vel lanium vel haruspicem²⁴
 vel qui ipsi vorsant vel qui aliis ubi vorsentur praebeant.
 Sed interim fores crepuere; linguae moderandum est mihi.*

I will make clear for you where you can easily find any kind of man, / so that no one who wants an acquaintanceship/deal puts work into the task [of finding it]— / [whether it be with] someone depraved or [someone] moral, [with] someone upstanding or [someone] disreputable. / If you want to find a liar/perjurer, go to the Comitium; / If you want a tall-tale teller (*mendacem et gloriosum*), [go] to the Shrine of the Sewer (*Cloacinae sacrum*);²⁵ / For wealthy, wasteful husbands (*dites damnosi mariti*), inquire around the basilica— / there [you will find] mature strumpets (*scorta exoleta*) and men (according to WRIGHT 73, pimps) who are used to haggling (*quique stipulari solent*).²⁶ / The collectors/inspectors of

²⁴ Some question the originality of this line. For discussion, see MOORE 354-356, ZWIERLEIN 263-264.

²⁵ Topographically the line refers to the shrine of Venus Cloacina, located close to the later basilica Aemilia (cf. MOORE 347-348, ZWIERLEIN 261), but the allusion seems to be to the worthless content of the stories told by the *gloriosi*, who, in the English vernacular, would be considered “full of shit”. For a similar metaphor in Seneca (contr. 3, praef. 16), see GOWERS 32.

²⁶ For the relationship between extramarital sex and the loss of money (*dites damnosi mariti*): C. EDWARDS, *The Politics of immorality in ancient Rome*, Cambridge 1993, 188-89; for the play on prostitutes, pimps, and bankers in the passage, see MOORE 350. The “world of the body” is a frequent metaphor for the “world of the market” in later European culture: T. W. LAQUEUR, *Sexual Desire and the Market Economy During the Industrial Revolution*, in D. C. STANTON (ed.), *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to AIDS*, Ann Arbor 1992, 185-215, esp. 185-187 and A. J. ADAMS, *Money and the Regulation of Desire. The Prostitute and the Marketplace in Seventeenth-Century*

contributions to the eating clubs (*symbolarum collatores*) are in the fish market (*forum piscarium*).²⁷ / In the lower forum (*in foro infimo*), decent citizens of means (*boni homines atque dites*) stroll about; / those in the middle forum, near the canal (*medio propter canalem*), are worthy [only to be called] pretenders (*ostentores meri*);²⁸ / Above the Lacus [Curtius] are bold, fast-talking, ill-intentioned fellows / who boldly give offence to someone for no reason, / and who have enough that could be said about themselves more justly.²⁹ / Below the Old Shops (*sub veteribus*) are those who lend and borrow at interest (*qui dant quique accipiunt faenore*). / Behind the temple of Castor (*pone aedem Castoris*) suddenly appear those [dishonest lenders?] whom you would trust to your misfortune.³⁰ / In the Tuscan quarter (*in Tusco vico*) are men who sell themselves / hire themselves out (*qui ipsi sese vendidant*).³¹ / In the Velabrum [you can find] a

Holland, in P. FUMERTON, S. HUNT (eds.), *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, Philadelphia 1999, 239.

²⁷ *Symbolarum collatores* is usually translated "members of the eating clubs" (WRIGHT 73, MOORE 350) but the allusion is probably to those who "collect" the club-members' contributions (i.e. the fish sellers) or to those businessmen who are there to see what is being successfully sold.

²⁸ Plautus' contrast between men of real wealth and pretenders is timeless: An article published in BALLOU's *Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, April 21, 1855, p. 248 ("New York in 1855 and 1660"), juxtaposes an 1855 engraving of Wall Street with a text describing the different Wall Street "types" shown in the engraving: ...the "bulls and bears," the curb stone brokers, the needy "shinners," all who blow bubbles and buy bubbles, who disperse wealth and pursue wealth, congregated about the choicest abodes of Plutus, the haunts of mammon, in the great imperial city. You see men there who live in palaces, and dispense a regal hospitality away up town—you behold flashy adventurers whose whole wealth is on their backs—many a wealthy old Israelite who could draw a check for two hundred thousand dollars at a moment's notice, and yet who dresses as shabbily as an "o' clo" man, while young Judea exhibits his degeneracy in varnished boots, oiled mustachios, finger-rings, chains and a diamond breastpin. (After D. UPTON, *Inventing the Metropolis: Civilization and Urbanity in Antebellum New York*, in C. H. VOORSANGER, J. K. HOWAT [eds.], *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861*, New Haven/London 2000, 29-30 and fig. 26.) The emphasis placed on the pretenders' position near the canal may categorize them as a nuisance (cf. GOWERS 29-30).

²⁹ According to MOORE (351-353), these are litigants in the court of the *praetor peregrinus*.

³⁰ According to MOORE (353), money-changers.

³¹ MOORE (354) identifies the men who "sell themselves" as male prostitutes but his point of reference is the social types typical of Plautine comedy, not those typical of a commercial space—which might well be expected to contain a market for day laborers. The ambiguity is certainly intentional. Since the underlying theme of the passage is that everyone who hangs around the forum is a social deviant or cheat, its humor must have resided in the particular identity attributed to each activity or group.

baker (*pistorem*) or a butcher (*lanium*) or a soothsayer (*haruspicem*) / [both] those who either themselves cheat or who rent to others places where they can cheat (*vel qui ipsi vortant vel qui aliis ubi vorsentur praebeant*).³² / ... but its time for me to stop talking.

Plautus' goal was to caricature an array of figures familiar to his audience, so their activities are criminalized, sexualized, or made ridiculous by his choice of vocabulary.³³ Nevertheless, it is clear from his account that different structures and areas of the forum acted as nodes for specific commercial functions: businessmen (*negotiatores*) or contractors (*publicani*) met in the basilica on the north side of the forum—a building later replaced by the *basilica Aemilia* (179 BCE) and supplemented (169 BCE) on the south by the *basilica Sempronia*; there, they put together partnerships that enabled them to compete for public contracts or to engage in private ventures.³⁴ Auctioneers and bankers (*coactores argentarii*) were available to the *negotiatores* in shops adjacent to the basilicas, the *tabernae argentariae novae* and *tabernae veteres*. They took money on deposit, made payments, and mediated the sale of property, especially by auction. Local elites rather than professional bankers supplied investment capital. Unlike the *argentarii* they did not have an architecturally defined location; they met with would-be borrowers or their intermediaries in their houses or in the lower forum—at the *Ianus medius* or *puteal Libonis*.³⁵

Although normally excluded from scholarly discussion of the forum plan, the retail markets above and below it were an integral part of its

³² M. C. J. PUTNAM (The Shrine of Vortumnus, *AJA* 71, 1967, 177-179) interprets the recurring *vor-* verbs as allusions to the statue of Vortumnus that stood at the top of the Vicus Tuscus. If he is correct, Vortumnus presided over the rampant cheating described by Plautus like a patron saint.

³³ ANDREAU (1987, 158) observes that, although the professional groups associated with the Forum worked in close proximity, their locations were never confused by the ancient sources. They were thus part of a fixed landscape that Plautus' audience would have known.

³⁴ The construction of the basilica mentioned by Plautus is not recorded in the historical sources; for the problem, see WELCH 13-19. *Negotiatores* supplied the city with food and other necessities or with *desiderata*. There may have been some overlap with the *publicani*, who carried out what the modern state considers public services—tax collection, upkeep on infrastructure, and army supply (cf. Polyb. 6.17). On *negotiatores* and *publicani*, see G. CLEMENTE, *L'economia imperiale romana*, in SCHIAVONE (ed.) 370-75, 378-381.

³⁵ For financial services in the Forum: ANDREAU 1987, 157-174, esp. 171. *Puteal Libonis*: ANDREAU *ibid.* 162-163. *Ianus medius*: ANDREAU *ibid.* 171-173, VERBOVEN 165-166, R. TAYLOR, *Watching the Skies: Janus, Auspication, and the Shrine in the Roman Forum*, *MAAR* 45, 2000, 16 (on Ov. *fast.* 1.189-190, Janus as the augur of new ventures).

operation. Plautus' *forum piscarium*, located north of the Basilica Aemilia, was probably one of a group of specialty markets that made up the *macellum*, with the *atria Licinia* or auction halls located near its entrance.³⁶ South of the Basilica Sempronia and between the *vici Iugarius* and *Tuscus*, the *Velabrum* was filled with shops and perhaps a place for day laborers seeking work. Modern scholarship considers the forum, the *macellum*, and the *Velabrum* separate units and the basilicas as *delimiting* or *screening elements* that separated them from each other.³⁷ Nevertheless, Plautus' description of the area suggests that, instead of closing off the forum, these basilicas acted as *focal points* for the commercial activities around them. The concentrations they created gave businessmen everything they needed to put a deal together—information about pricing and demand from the markets, facilities for currency exchange, transfer and deposit, and access to capital.³⁸ Thus, the basilicas encouraged entrepreneurship and acted as magnets for commercial interests, leaving the western end of the forum free in theory for the work of the *comitium* and courts.³⁹

Roman Commerce and the Small City: L. Betilienus Vaarus and Aletrium

The development of Rome's commercial topography was a response to her population growth and to the growth of her economy. It was managed by the censors and financed with booty from the eastern wars.⁴⁰ Few Italian cities or towns had financial districts as large as Rome's but the principles

³⁶ Macellum: DE RUYT 236-252, G. PISANI SARTORIO, *LTUR* III, 1996, 201-203; Forum Piscatorium / Piscarium: P. MORSELLI, G. PISANI SARTORIO, *LTUR* II, 1995, 312-313; Forum Cuppedinis: C. MORSELLI, *LTUR* II 298, TORTORICI 90-92; Atria Licinia: E. TORTORICI, *LTUR* I, 1993, 132. For the topography of the area in general: E. TORTORICI, *Argiletum. Commercio speculazione edilizia e lotta politica dall'analisi topografica di un quartiere di Roma di età repubblicana*, Rome 1991, esp. 32-54.

³⁷ See, e.g. J. RUSSELL, *The Origin and Development of Republican Forums*, *Phoenix* 22, 1968, 321-322; P. GROS, *L'architecture romaine: 1. Les monuments publics*, Paris 1996, 235-240; WELCH 7; NÜNNERICH-ASMUS 17-18.

³⁸ Modern exchanges, like the nineteenth-century Merchants' Exchange in Boston (New England) were specifically designed to provide information and services to exchange members (SHAW: Appendix).

³⁹ On the comitium-curia-prison grouping as an organized unit at the western end of the forum, see P. GROS, *L'organizzazione dello spazio pubblico e privato*, in SCHIAVONE (ed.) 138-140. The tension between the need to aid commercial activities by providing a space for them and the need to keep their expansion in check is part of urbanism in every age; for Rome, see J.-P. MOREL, *La Topographie de l'artisanat et du commerce dans la Rome antique*, in *L'Urbs* 154-155.

⁴⁰ GROS 387-395; A. E. ASTIN, in *CAH*² VIII, Cambridge 1989, 187.

of putting business functions together and separating them from administrative and judicial ones were widely adopted in late Republican city planning.⁴¹ Excavation has shown that, in the municipalities, a basilica often stands next to a temple, as at Pompeii (temples of Apollo and Venus, NÜNNERICH-ASMUS fig. 6) Ardea (EAD. fig. 87), Ortona (EAD. fig. 103), Praeneste (EAD. fig. 107), Alba Fucens (EAD. fig. 83-84), Liternum (AA 1932, 495; 1934, 460; 1936, 503), and perhaps Falerii Novi⁴². At Fiesole, a porticus, which probably fulfilled the role of the basilica for many cities, shared a temple's podium (EAA III, 660-61).⁴³ This pairing of temple and basilica was almost certainly deliberate: temples were used as banks (*aeraria*) and for auction, which was probably the most important mode of exchange in the Roman world.⁴⁴ The fact that temples played such an im-

⁴¹ Since Rome and the average Roman city developed around a single official forum space, my discussion has focused on the way later historical cities adapted a central square to evolving business needs. There are other models. Aristotle (pol. 7.12) recommended that a city have two agoras—one free from trade, presumably for administration and finance, and the other for buying and selling. This model is readily attested, in both the eastern Mediterranean (e.g. Athens, Miletus) and, in Campania (Capua: FRAYN 42-44; Neapolis: E. GRECO, *Forum Duplex. Appunti per lo studio delle agorai di Neapolis in Campania*, AION(archeol) 7, 1985, 125-135). The additive organization of the Roman fora may owe something to this model, although the division of a city's public space into areas representing different functions seems to me more likely to be the result of its size and that of its economy than a "style" of city planning in the formal sense.

⁴² S. KEAY et al., *New approaches to Roman urbanism in the Tiber valley*, in PATTERSON [ed.] 230-31 fig. 3.

⁴³ Although the desire to accommodate both commercial and administrative activities in the forum is unlikely to have changed with the end of the Republic, the simple paratactic arrangement that characterized these early commercial centers became less common under the Empire. Later city planners, especially those dealing with an unbuilt site, as in the provinces, often placed temple and basilica at opposite ends of the forum space. On the aesthetics of early imperial planning, see H. von HESBERG, *Die Monumentalisierung der Städte in den nordwestlichen Provinzen zu Beginn der Kaiserzeit*, in W. ECK, H. GALSTERER (eds.), *Die Stadt in Oberitalien und in den nordwestlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches*, Mainz 1991, 179-199; LOMAS 2003, 35; NÜNNERICH-ASMUS 74-130, esp. 74-109.

⁴⁴ At Rome, three of the temples in the Forum—those of the Castores, Concordia, and Vesta—accepted deposits (BODEI GIGLIONI 58) and at least one—the temple of Jupiter Stator (Cic. Phil. 2.26.64)—was used for auctions; the auctioneer and his staff stood, presumably, on the podium or temple steps. Temples as *aeraria*: BODEI GIGLIONI 54-58; J. E. STAMBAUGH, *The Functions of Roman Temples*, ANRW 16.1 (1978), 585-586; B. BROMBERG, *Temple Banking in Rome*, *The Economic History Review* 10.2 (Nov. 1940), 128-131. Roman auctions: DE LIGT 114-115; H. J. LOANE, *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B.C. – 200 A.D.)*, Philadelphia 1938, 151-153; N. K. RAUH, *Auctioneers and the Roman Economy*, *Historia* 38, 1989, 451-471.

portant role in commerce may account for the large numbers of them built in smaller cities during the last century of the Republic.⁴⁵ In other respects, however, the planning and building process was different in the municipalities than it was in Rome: no Italian city had Rome's resources and loss of population was a larger problem for most of them than population gain. As a result, municipal building involved a wider range of magistracies, drew upon a smaller number of families, and magistrates paid for the work with personal funds or with funds collected from the local *ordo* (CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990b, 201-204).⁴⁶

The surge of municipal building that characterized the late second and first centuries is normally considered a sign of prosperity, like that of Rome a half-century earlier.⁴⁷ Epigraphic evidence shows that central Italian businessmen were active in the East and their benefactions are viewed as a product of their financial success.⁴⁸ On the other hand, large gifts produced risk, whether of bankruptcy or of reducing family fortunes to a point where social and political standing could not be maintained (VIRLOUVET 244-45). Even in the best of times, therefore, generosity was not to be indulged lightly and, apart from the building itself, there is little reason to project an economic boom at this time—at least in the municipalities. Continuous conflict in Spain and sporadic engagement elsewhere depleted manpower and treasuries.⁴⁹ Slave revolts, piracy, and political unrest at Rome created uncertainty for investors and, in 126 BCE, passage of the Junian law barred non-citizens from participation in the Roman markets (Cic. off. 3.47). In the first century, the Social, Mithridatic, and Civil wars destroyed persons,

⁴⁵ Late Republican temples: JOUFFROY 26-39, CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990b, 198-99. E. GABBA (CAH² VIII, 1989, 220-221) views the phenomenon as a symptom of Hellenization and of the desire of the upper classes to discourage experimentation in alien cults.

⁴⁶ Since the size of most municipal *ordines* was small, only the wealthiest families are likely to have been asked to undertake large improvements to the infrastructure. For the average size of the municipal *ordo*: J. NICHOLS, On the standard size of the *ordo decurionum*, ZRG 105, 1988, 712-719 and H. MOURITSEN, The Album from Canusium and the town councils of Roman Italy, Chiron 28, 1998, 1-26.

⁴⁷ Cf. e.g. F. COARELLI, Public Building in Rome between the Punic War and Sulla, PBSR 45, 1977, 1-23, esp. 18-19; GABBA, in SCHIAVONE (ed.) 272; LAFFI 299.

⁴⁸ On the relationship between business success and building in central Italy see, e.g., ZEVI 1976, 88; BODEI GIGLIONI 72-76; CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990a, 712-713, 721-722 and COARELLI 217-219.

⁴⁹ Loss of population to Rome and other commercial cities like Puteoli made it difficult for allied cities to fulfill their obligation to furnish troops to the Roman army and to pay the annual *tributum*: GABBA, in SCHIAVONE (ed.) 272 and ID., in CAH² VIII, 1989, 217-219; LAFFI 295-298.

property, and social networks of long standing.⁵⁰ Given the fractiousness associated with urban expenditure—even in times of prosperity—it is remarkable that anything was built at all.

Most of the municipal inscriptions are too fragmentary or brief to shed light on this problem, but one example, the famous Betilienus inscription from ancient Aletrium / Alatrium / modern Alatri (CIL 10, 5807 = CIL 1.2, 1529 = ILS 5348 = ILLRP 528), ca. 120-90, suggests that the politics of contemporary building were more complicated and less collegial than modern scholarship has assumed.⁵¹ The Alatri inscription (figs. 5-6) praises L. Betilienus Vaarus for a large building campaign undertaken as censor: the paving of all the roads in the settlement, the construction of a *porticus* leading to the *arx*, the purchase or donation of a space for performance or spectacles (*campus ubei ludunt*), a town clock (*horologium*), a market house for the sale of special commodities (*macelum*), the replastering of the basilica, a public seat or bench (*seedes*), a pool for bathing (*lacus balnearius*), a pool at the city gate (*lacus ad portam*), and an aqueduct that reached a height of 340 feet, with supporting arches and sturdy pipes. The inscription does not say that Vaarus paid for the work but the emphasis given to *fecit* in line 12—*fecit, fistulas soledas fecit*—suggests that he did so.⁵² In response to his contribution, the Senate of Alatri exempted Vaarus' son from military service and the People of Alatri dedicated a statue of Vaarus himself as Censorinus.

L. Betilienus L.f. Vaarus / *haec quae infera scripta / sont de senatu
sententia / facienda coiravit: semitas / in oppido omnis, porticum qua / in
arcem eitur, campum ubei / ludunt, horologium, macelum, / basilicam
caledandam, seedes / [l]acum balnearium, lacum ad / [p]ortam, aquam in
opidum adou(centem) / arduom pedes CCCXL fornicesq(ue) / fecit,*

⁵⁰ A hint of the disruptions that characterized the period ca. 150-75 BCE may be provided by the numbers of coin hoards that date to this period: cf. M. H. CRAWFORD, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic*, London 1985, 192-194.

⁵¹ For the inscription, see GASPERINI 16-19 (no. 1), ZEVI 1976, CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990b, 199-200 and *passim*.

⁵² I will not address the question of what constitutes euergetism in the Roman municipality (cf. PANCIERA 249-250) because most scholars think that Betilienus paid for this construction *sua pecunia*: CORBIER 1984, 250; PANCIERA 265 n. 61. VIRLOUVET (235) considers *facere* too vague a term to indicate financial sponsorship of a building without additional evidence, but she (234-239) and others (CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990a, 700-701; LOMAS 2003, 38-39; R. P. DUNCAN-JONES, *Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities?* in GREW, HOBLEY [eds.] 28-33) agree that, since cities were supported by elite contributions, it is difficult to draw a firm line between personal generosity and magistral obligation in evaluating their benefactions.

fistulas soledas fecit. / Ob hasce res censorem fecere bis, / senatus filio stipendia mereta / ese iousit populusque statuam / donavit Censorino.

Apart from some remains of the portico (ZEVI 1976, 87), nothing of this building program survives. Nevertheless, the inscription is often cited because similar projects are attested by inscription or excavation at other sites. In rough numbers these include:⁵³ four porticos—at Pompeii, Frigento, Clusium, and Cosa (JOUFFROY 42-43; CÉBEILLAC-GERVASIONI 1990a, 713; EAD. 1990b, 195-96), 16-17 basilicas (JOUFFROY 48-50), ten *macella* (EAD. 44-46), three public clocks—at Nola, Pompeii, and Frigento (EAD. 41-42; POCETTI 77), five fair- or parade-grounds (JOUFFROY 58, n. 66), 26 built structures for performance – theaters or amphitheaters (EAD. 53-58),⁵⁴ six baths and two *piscinae* /pools for bathing (EAD. 52-53; CÉBEILLAC-GERVASIONI 1990b, 197; CORBIER 240 n. 18, 248), 14 water programs—either aqueducts (*aquae*) or cisterns (JOUFFROY 41-43 *passim*), and 18 paving projects—either the main public roads (i.e. those in the area of the forum, emporium, or gates) or a public area like the forum (EAD. 41-43 *passim*).⁵⁵ Thus, although Vaarus' building program is the largest known from this period, it is representative of the kinds of civic improvements undertaken by other cities at the time.⁵⁶

The functions of basilica and macellum have been discussed at length in modern scholarship and again above, but the other projects named in the inscription have received less attention and are often dismissed as minor (cf. e.g. LOMAS 2003, 37). Nevertheless, one can get a better sense of Vaarus' goals if the program is considered as a whole. The project described in greatest detail is the enlargement of the water supply, an innovation that,

⁵³ My numbers are based on JOUFFROY's lists, with references to other authors appended or included as notes.

⁵⁴ Gifts of land for construction: CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990a, 709-710; EAD. 1990b, 197-198; places for spectacles: EAD. 1990a, 713-714.

⁵⁵ Water and paving projects, see also: LING 208; CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990a, 710-711; EAD., 1990b, 191-195; for Vaarus' project, see especially EAD. 1990b, 193-194. At Rome the paving of the streets seems to have been accomplished in stages but with a particularly large project initiated by the censors of 174 BCE (R. LAURENCE, *The economic exploitation of geological resources in the Tiber Valley: Road Building*, in PATTERSON [ed.] 287).

⁵⁶ Since this inscription does not refer to a wall circuit or temple, I omit them from discussion, although both kinds of project were common in this period: cf. JOUFFROY 16-39; CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990b, 190-191 and 205; LOMAS 2003, 31 Table 2.1; P. POCETTI, *Riflessi di strutture di fortificazioni nell'epigrafica Italica tra il II ed il I secolo A.C.*, *Athenaeum* 66, 1988, 303-328. At Aletrium, CIL 10, 5806 indicates that later members of the Betilienus family undertook to improve the walls; GASPERINI (21-22 no. 3) dates this intervention to the period of the Social War.

together with the paving of the city streets, promised immediate help for the problem of market filth. Paving eliminated mud and, with sufficient rainfall, it allowed market- and other debris to be flushed out the city gates.⁵⁷ The *lacus ad [p]ortam*, presumably a basin located outside the city gate, may have been the focus of a new market area—one placed outside the gate to reduce dirt and congestion in the city, one located to take advantage of commercial traffic on the road, and/or one intended to regulate a market that had formed illegally outside the walls.⁵⁸ Finally, a larger, more predictable water supply would have supported workshops that required large amounts of water, like those used in cloth production, leather goods, et al. In the 2nd-1st centuries BCE, the Roman *suburbium* became a supplier of specialty goods to the Roman market (MORLEY esp. 83-107, 159-83) and the destruction of Fregellae in 125 BCE brought artisans skilled in wool

⁵⁷ MAU (229) gives a vivid description of rainwater rushing through the streets of Pompeii and overflow from the water system may have helped to keep the streets clean when rainfall was low. At Pompeii, water from the baths emptied into sewers, flushing waste from the latrines; the streets received the overflow from the public basins (L. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii: an Architectural History*, Baltimore 1988, 59-61). The impact of paving on commercial traffic is suggested by the wording of a *pavage* patent of 1343, referring to medieval Atherstone (England) as “a market town which lies low and in winter time and in wet weather is dirty, whereby merchants and others with goods and wares come only in small numbers at such times” (quoted by R. H. HILTON, *Medieval Market Towns and Simple Commodity Production*, P&P 109, 1985, 12). The relationship between street traffic and water system are the subject of a dissertation by E. E. POEHLER of the University of Virginia: *Interaction of the Water System and Traffic System at Pompeii*, Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Francisco 2004. I am grateful to Eric Poehler for discussing his project with me.

⁵⁸ References to medieval and early modern attempts to regularize *ad hoc* markets are common; cf. CALABI 28 (Paris in 1137) and 29 (London in 1598). Ancient cities had markets outside the walls but their status is less clear: According to L. CIOFFI (*Caro: Il mercato della carne nell' occidente romano*, Rome 1999, 128-129) there were animal markets outside the *Portae Capena* and *Esquilina* and CIL 14.2793 (from *Gabii*) says that, in addition to the *decuriones* and *augustales*, A. Plutius gave gifts of money to the *tabernariis intra muram negotiantibus*, a wording that implies the existence of traders operating outside the walls (FRAYN 26). There are parallels for this at Ostia, where permanent shops were built outside the east gate, on the road to Rome, and at Minturnae, where a temple complex with shops was built between the castellum and port: A. BOETHIUS, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1978, figs. 123, 113. For the development of markets at the city gate or along commercial routes: C. F. GIULIANI, *Tivoli. Il santuario di Ercole vincitore*, Tivoli 2004, 19-21; CALABI, chap. 3. The evidence for market taxes is primarily from the first century CE: Pompeii levied market taxes in this period and so did Rome: J. ANDREAU, *Les affaires de Monsieur Jucundus*, Rome 1974, 56, 60-61 and 68 with n. 4; R. E. A. PALMER, *Customs on Market Goods Imported into the City of Rome*, in J. H. D'ARMS, E. C. KOPF (eds.), *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History*, Rome 1980 (= MAAR 36) 217-234.

processing and merchants who had done business in the Fregellan market into other centers in the Liris valley (fig. 7).⁵⁹ Rather than simple amenities, therefore, these features may have been part of a larger strategy to enhance the local economy.

When one considers the impact of paving and enhanced water supply on the character and prospects of a small city, it is not surprising to see that projects like these, although costly, were also common. The other projects initiated by Vaarus were less expensive, but seem to have been conceived largely for local elites and distinguished visitors. R. LAURENCE (126-29, with VEYNE 46-47) has shown that the luxury of a day made up of different activities was an attribute of the elite. Each daily ritual—the morning *salutatio*, the entry into the forum, an extended visit to the baths, and the return home to dinner—involved the collective movement of the wealthy and influential through the city and beneath the gaze of the working classes. On festival days this included attendance at theater and other spectacles as well.⁶⁰ Non-elites like farmers or shopkeepers, by contrast with the elite, worked at their jobs from sunup to sundown and were confined to the markets or to a specific job site. This suggests that the *macellum*, the public bench (*seedes*), the [*]acus balinearius* or plunge pool, the place for public spectacles, and the *horologium* were all attributes of elite consumption or of ostentatious leisure.⁶¹

Since the element of time is important to all of the elite amenities sponsored by Vaarus, the *horologium* offers a way to put the social goals of his

⁵⁹ F. COARELLI (Fregellae, Arpinum, Aquinum: lana e fullonicae nel Lazio meridionale, in M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASIONI [ed.] 1996, 199-215) suggests that some Fregellan artisans relocated to Arpinum and Aquinum, but the commercial impact of this destruction was probably more widespread. For a survey of work carried out in the Liris Valley, see E. CURTI et al., *The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches*, JRS 86, 1996, 170-189.

⁶⁰ C. HOLLERAN, in LOMAS, CORNELL (eds.) 2003, 50 and 56; T. J. MOORE, *Seats and Social Status in the Plautine Theater*, CJ 90, 1994, 114-123.

⁶¹ I know of no references to *sedes* or *sedilia* in Rome but Varro's description (rust. 3.2.2) of an extended conversation that took place in the Villa Publica probably illustrates their function: He and Q. Axius, having cast their ballots for aedile in the Saeptra, decided to wait in the Villa Publica for the votes to be counted and found Appius Claudius the augur, sitting on a bench to be on hand, should the need for consultation arise—*Appium Claudium augurem sedentem invenimus in subselliis, ut consuli, siquid usus poposcisset, esset praesto*. The epigraphical evidence for *sedilia* at Venafrum (JOUFFROY 42) and the apsidal bench (*schola*) dedicated by Augustan *duumviri* in the Triangular Forum, Pompeii (MAU 136) are later than Vaarus', but those seats were probably also intended for elite users. The tomb-benches voted to public benefactors by the town council (cf. e.g. MAU 409-410 on the tombs of Veius and Mamia) may allude to the elite associations of those public seats. Contra: CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI (1990b, 195) thinks that *seedes* refers to seats in the curia.

program into broader historical perspective. Few public clocks are known from ancient inscriptions and the only ones with secure find spots are comparatively late.⁶² Nevertheless, anecdotal evidence suggests that clocks had social and economic significance at Rome from at least the third century BCE. Varro (ap. Gell. 3.3.5) quotes a speech by a Latin playwright, probably Plautus, in which a parasite complains about the number of sundials in the city and, indirectly, on their regimentation of everyday activities.⁶³

*Ut illum di perdant, primus qui horas repperit,
 Quique adeo primus statuit hic solarium,
 Qui mihi comminuit misero articulatum diem.
 Nam unum me puero venter erat solarium
 Multo omnium istorum optimum et verissimum;
 Ubivis monebat esse, nisi quom nil erat.
 Nunc etiam quod est non estur, nisi soli libet;
 Itaque adeo iam oppletum oppidum est solariis,
 Maior pars populi iam aridi reptant fame.*

May the gods damn the man who first figured out [how to divide] the hours
 and him too who first set up a sundial here,
 cutting up the day for wretched me into little pieces.
 For, when I was a boy, my belly was [my] sundial
 [and] the best and truest by far of all of them.
 It used to put me on notice anywhere [that it was time to eat] unless there
 was nothing [to eat];
 now, even what's there [to be eaten] can't be eaten unless the sun allows.
 And the town's so full of sundials
 that most of the population creep around, shriveled by hunger.

Although the emphasis placed by the passage on precise time telling seems to have been sufficiently new in the period ca. 200 BCE to be an object of satire, the first sundials were introduced into Rome in the half-century before. In 264 BCE, consul Manius Valerius Messala brought the first public sundial from Catania and put it on a column by the Rostra, but

⁶² In Pompeii, clocks were located in the Stabian baths (2nd c. BCE: POCETTI 77, MAU 200), on the bench in the Triangular Forum, and in the Apollo precinct adjacent to the central forum (Augustan: MAU 86-87, 136; CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990a, 709; EAD. 1990b, 195). The comparatively small number of Republican clocks attested by inscription or archaeology may be due to the difficulty of calibrating them. Vitruvius (9.8) indicates that, by his time, there were many varieties of sundial and water clock but, instead of describing them himself, he refers his reader to more specialized accounts. This suggests that their design was still the province of experts.

⁶³ I owe this reference to Renee GONDEK, who is writing a Senior Honors Paper at the University of Pittsburgh on the Sundial of Augustus.

without adjusting it to the difference in latitude (Varro ap. Plin. nat. 7.214); in 164, censor Quintus Marcius Philippus placed a correctly regulated dial next to it (Plin. nat. 7.214), and in 159, later censor P. Cornelius Nasica installed a water clock in the Basilica Aemilia, allowing the businessmen who frequented the basilica and those in adjacent areas to know the exact time, day or night, and even on cloudy days (Plin. nat. 7.215; Varro, ling. 6.4; Censorinus 23.7).

Much has been made of the fact that Messala's *solarium* kept incorrect time (cf. e.g. J.-P. MOREL, in CAH² VII 484). Rather than indicating the Romans' lack of sophistication, however, their appropriation of the Sicilian dial shows their early appreciation of time as social attribute and managerial tool. As a rule, the division of the day into hours has meaning only for those with leisure time and, as late as the mid-twentieth century, the exact division depended to a large extent upon local custom. Before farmers had to meet a railroad schedule, for example, they had no need for "clock time": when the sun was overhead, it was noon (CROSSEN).⁶⁴ It probably did not matter to contemporary Romans, therefore, if Messala's dial was "correct" or not. It allowed the Roman elite to ritualize their activities and non-elites knew from their movements when to appear for work or in the forum (LAURENCE 125-27). By the middle of the second century, however, there seems to have been a broader need for time telling and a new need for precise, dependable indications of the hour. This suggests an increase in the number of meetings, auctions, court proceedings, and social activities that began at precise or publicized times. By the time of Cicero, the division of the day had become quite formal (LAURENCE 123-30).

In urban societies with large workshop or service economies, time is also a tool for regularizing and maximizing work—and this may be the basis for the parasite's complaint in the passage quoted above. In 1335, for example, Philip VI of France allowed the mayor and aldermen of Amiens to issue an ordinance,

concerning the time when the workers of the said city and its suburbs should go each morning to work, when they should eat and when return to

⁶⁴ Before 1883, for example, when the railroad industry standardized American time, the state of Wisconsin had 38 time zones and, even after 1883, many communities continued to set the town clocks to local time. After the Second World War, when the states were allowed to choose if and when to observe daylight savings time, local practice again resulted in irregularities: before the passage of the Uniform Time Act of 1966, a traveler had to pass through seven time zones in a single 35-mile strip between West Virginia and Ohio: CROSSEN; M. O'MALLEY, *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time*, New York 1990, esp. chaps. 2-3. It may be an indication of Pliny's urban mentality that, according to him (nat. 18.133; 18.252), one could tell time in the country, even on cloudy days, by following the diurnal movement of the lupine and heliotrope.

work after eating; and also, in the evening, when they should quit work for the day; and that by the issuance of said ordinance, they might ring a bell which has been installed in the Belfry of the said city, which differs from the other bells (after LE GOFF 45-46).

The French authorities' desire to regulate the workday was due to the importance of Amiens' textile production, but the practice is known in other cities and is associated with the manufacture of other commodities (LE GOFF 43-52). We know less about the organization of work in Republican Rome but, by the end of the second century, the position of *institor*—a manager or organizer—had become clearly defined in Roman law, indicating the widespread adoption of mechanisms for controlling work and maximizing production. The proliferation of dials in this century may therefore also reflect the increasing numbers of city residents who were employed in production or in other kinds of commercial work.⁶⁵ By the time evidence for clocks appears outside Rome, in the later second century BCE (POCETTI 77-78), the divided day and other amenities provided by Vaarus' benefaction had become an integral part of Rome's social and economic landscape. It is doubtful that *oppida* like Aletrium really needed clocks like Rome's, but the fact that the Aletrian Senate wanted one suggests that they relished the aura of organization and sophistication (*dignitas*) that it would create around the town and around the activities of its elite.⁶⁶

The ultimate goal of Vaarus' building program was almost certainly the creation or maintenance of traffic in the city markets, both a healthy local commerce and the highly lucrative exchange associated with the metropolitan market system. Municipal elites had a strong interest in the Roman market (TERRENATO 105-12): their estates or pasturelands produced the bulk of the goods sent to the Metropolis (MORLEY 176-78); their urban

⁶⁵ *Institores*: J.-P. MOREL, La produzione artigianale e il commercio transmarino, in SCHIAVONE 410; VERBOVEN 23-30; J.-J. AUBERT, Workshop managers, in W. V. HARRIS (ed.), *The Inscribed Economy*, Ann Arbor MI 1993, 171-181, esp. 171-175 and ID., *Business managers in ancient Rome* (200 B.C.-A.D. 250), Leiden 1994, 5-8, 276-302. Tighter controls over the work process may have resulted from the introduction of a slave economy during the Second Punic War (MOREL, *ibid.* 402-404).

⁶⁶ As an *oppidum*, Aletrium was not the most important city in the Hernican region. Anagnia and Ferentinum have more elaborate remains (F. COARELLI 219-221; ID. *Lazio, Rome/Bari* 1982, 179-193) and were probably viewed by the Aletrians as both competitors and models. Nevertheless, the ultimate inspiration for these projects, like the use of Latin as a *lingua franca*, the adoption of Roman weights and measures and the adoption / adaptation of Roman administrative institutions to local use, was certainly Rome. See POCETTI 78-79; E. Campanile, *L'assimilazione culturale del mondo italico*, in SCHIAVONE (ed.) 307; and E. GABBA, in *CAH*² VIII, Cambridge 1989, 228-229.

properties garnered rents or storage fees; and, with the liquid capital produced by these instruments, they were able to make investments and loans.⁶⁷ Passage of the Junian legislation in 126 BCE may therefore have been a catalyst to the efforts made by allied cities to reposition themselves as commercial centers.⁶⁸ By drawing Roman investors and Latin businessmen into the local market, municipal elites like Vaarus preserved access to opportunity for their clients, their colleagues, and themselves.⁶⁹

Although gratitude seems an appropriate motive for the honors voted to Vaarus, the Alatri inscription reads differently. Its text states that Vaarus' benefaction was negotiated with the local senate and its wording suggests that one of the primary reasons for publishing the inscription was to document their agreement: *haec quae infera scripta / sont de senatu sententia / facienda coiravit*—"the things listed below were undertaken with the consent of the senate" ... and *ob hasce res censorem fecere bis, / senatus filio stipendia mereta / ese iousit populusque / statuam donavit Censorino*—"on account of these things, accomplished in two terms as censor, the senate exempted [Vaarus'] son from military service and the People gave [Vaarus]

⁶⁷ PIRSON 165-182; J. CASEY, *The Roman housing market*, in GREW, HOBLEY 1985, 43-48. For elite speculation, see generally VEYNE 227.

⁶⁸ Commentators on the Junian and on the later Papian laws have emphasized their political implications (for bibliography, see A. R. DYCK, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis*, Ann Arbor 1996, 552-553), but their primary intent and/or impact may have been to protect or enhance the economic interests of Roman citizens by excluding allied and other foreign traders. LAFFI (in SCHIAVONE [ed.] 301-302) emphasizes the mechanisms available to non-citizens to get around the constitutional limitations of their ability to do business at Rome and these mechanisms probably did allow the allies to maintain existing relationships and arrangements. But the pursuit of new business depends upon access to information and on the spontaneity of chance encounters in the marketplace; exclusion from Rome put allied businessmen at a serious disadvantage.

⁶⁹ The wooing of Roman investors was a good idea in other respects as well. Roman investment often resulted in improvements to the city's infrastructure: the classic example is censor M. Aemilius Lepidus' construction of a breakwater at Terracina in 179 BCE (Liv. 40.51.2), a project that created a scandal. Nevertheless, privately funded improvements to local infrastructures were probably common. For later examples, see CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONE, 1998, 205-208 and two viaducts, at Bivio di Formello in the *ager Veientinus* (1st c. BCE-CE) and Coyne (Valle d'Aosta, 3 BCE): T. POTTER, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria*, New York 1979, 108 and G. CAVALIERI MANASSE, G. MASSARI, M. P. ROSSIGNANI, *Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Liguria, Lombardia*, Rome/Bari n.d., 119-121. Roman investors may also have acted as protectors (FRAYN 118-119), although the most dramatic examples come from the middle of the first century BCE. According to Cicero (Att. 16.16a-f) Caesar fined the city of Buthrotum for its support of Pompey in the civil war and, when the community was unable to pay, threatened to confiscate part of its territory to settle veterans. Atticus, who may have had estates at Buthrotum (VERBOVEN 343-351), paid the fine personally but, after Caesar's death, settlers were sent anyway.

a statue of himself as Censorinus". By entering these points in the public record, the inscription ensured that the city's *gratia* would not be neglected when Vaarus' *beneficium* had been rendered.

The city's acknowledgement of Vaarus' benefaction—a statue, an inscription, and exemption from the military for his son—seems small to have elicited such precise documentation, but these things may have given the Betilienii a social and economic advantage that was unwelcome to other members of the *ordo*. Portrait statues may have raised the largest hackles: according to J. TANNER⁷⁰, the giving of a statue in return for *beneficia* was “tantamount to entering into a relationship of *clientela* with the recipient as patron”—and this may explain why this more expensive portion of a city's acknowledgement was typically offered by the *populus* instead of by the senate or another group of elites.⁷¹ Any kind of honorific monument, however, whether statue or inscription, identified citizens with liquid capital and the size of their benefaction provided a sense of their overall worth. Like architecture, these monuments became a permanent presence in the city, with influence that endured long after the benefaction had become “old hat” and after the death of the donor. The goal of both architecture and dedication, therefore, may have been to make the city “readable” for the visitor—in both its physical and its social dimension. The problem for a stranger seeking a loan or an investment partner in a strange city is hinted at by Plautus in *Curculio* 467—“I will show you where you can find whatever kind of man you seek”—and that problem was akin to the one posed by R. LING for travelers forced to navigate a strange city without street signs. The wide streets from the gates took the traveler to the forum or to other city “destinations”—baths, theaters, amphitheaters. Large buildings with standardized plans allowed the traveler to locate social or commercial activities. If, however, he needed to find a private house or another sort of establishment, it was necessary to make inquiries. Strangers looking for loans and investment opportunities must have formulated an initial list of prospects by studying the names and portraits of citizens displayed in the marketplace or in other public areas, seeking additional information from acquaintances and eliciting help from intermediaries to make a formal introduction. Considered in this way, one can understand why a benefactor would want to determine the location for his statue or why some benefactors were willing to pay for it themselves (MACKIE 185-187; FORBIS 183 no. 296): the investment benefited the benefactor and probably his children as well.

⁷⁰ Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic, *JRS* 90, 2000, 31-35.

⁷¹ The adoption of the Roman censorship, with its responsibility for social review along with the census, may have created friction as well. For the censorship in allied cities, see GABBA, in SCHIAVONE (ed.) 270.

It is easy to see, therefore, that benefactions were potentially divisive and required negotiation. The *gratia* demanded by donors and magistrates put other elites at a disadvantage—socially, politically, and economically. Large gifts could create resentment and put the donor at risk of embarrassment or other forms of detraction. One graphic example of this exists, in an early imperial epitaph from northern Italy (CIL 5.5049) that relates the story of a benefactor who was driven out of town in a protest stirred up by jealous rivals.⁷² In this case the instigators appear to have been elites but oversight of a large building project could create difficulties between a benefactor and his own clients as well: as censor, for example, Vaarus may have been obligated to spread contracts for the work around, angering clients who had expected to receive a larger share of the work than other citizens or to profit more from the work they were allotted: Cicero's legates had, similarly, expected more from their service to him in Cilicia than they eventually received (sources: VERBOVEN 94-95).

Thus, it is possible that Vaarus' request, that his son be exempted from military service, was prompted by fear of reprisal. At Rome, military service and the display of *virtus* were essential steps toward a public career, although in most cases, *virtus* seems to have been achieved by displaying skill in riding and spear throwing and by demonstrating one's ability to endure hardship (Cic. off. 2.45). Roman elites who wished to avoid the dangers of war could plead illness or simply hang back.⁷³ Allied troops lacked the protection from corporal punishment that Roman law guaranteed to citizens and allied elites were presumably less able to opt out of a military engagement. This left Betilienus *filius* open to the machinations of rivals and detractors and at risk of injury, death, or an incident that could ruin his future and his family's reputation.⁷⁴ Negotiation was essential, therefore, for both the *ordo* and the benefactor.⁷⁵

⁷² F. MARTIN, The importance of honorific statues: a case-study, BICS 41, 1996, 53-70.

⁷³ See generally, E. GABBA, in CAH² VIII, 239-240. The best-known example of a non-participant may be Octavian, later Augustus, who was indisposed at Munda and Philippi, ineffective at Naulochus, and unopposed at Actium. See generally, A. H. M. JONES, Augustus, New York 1970, pp. 10, 25, 31-32, 40.

⁷⁴ I do not ignore the possibility that young Betilienus was disliked as a person but the evidence seldom stretches that far. While historical models and other comparanda can offer new insights into the social situation, the human situation is rarely retrievable.

⁷⁵ For other examples of negotiated *beneficia* see MACKIE 188-190 (Spain), LOMAS 2003, 39 (Caere), and G. M. ROGERS, Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism, JRS 81, 1991, 91-100 (Asia Minor).

Conclusions

Studies of ancient city planning have traditionally focused on the city plan—the organization of the streets, the sizes, shapes, and decoration of the buildings—and on the identities of the planners or builders. Modern city planning, however—at least as it figures in newspapers and official reports—is more concerned with the social, political, and economic issues that informed the planning process. The physical plan that results is a product of debates and compromises occasioned by other, contextual factors. Although it may seem that there is not enough evidence from antiquity to discuss the problem of planning on this level, a comparison of late Republican urbanism and the patterns of commercial development known from later, better-documented periods elicits new questions and new possibilities for interpreting the ancient material:

First, when Vaarus' program is viewed against the backdrop of elite competition for honor, wealth, and regard, its perceived importance for the Aletrians becomes clear—but the rosy picture that has been painted of the central Italian economy in the late second and first centuries becomes less convincing. In the modern and post-modern world, urban development is often undertaken in the belief that it will improve a bad economy or that it is necessary if a city is to compete for population, visibility, and jobs. The data collected by historians of the early modern period indicate that, while social and political situations vary, this phenomenon is not exclusively modern, but recurs over time. Archival evidence shows, for example, that it was such an important mark of stature for 17th-century English cities to have a town house that cities in poor financial health were prepared to borrow heavily to build one, and the representational and economic importance of building has been noted again for, e.g., 18th- and 19th-century England, late 16th-century Augsburg, and late 19th-century Santa Fe.⁷⁶ All things considered, it was probably a comparable fear of economic stagnation—not roaring prosperity—that prompted municipal elites of the late

⁷⁶ TITTLER 1998, 256: Geographically, therefore, the town hall tended to spread in "clumps": when one city built one, neighboring cities did so soon after. The classic statement of the problem of the relationship between material culture and the economy is R. S. LOPEZ, *Hard Times and Investment in Culture*, in *The Renaissance: Six Essays*, New York 1962 [reprint of *The Renaissance: A Symposium*, 1953], 29-54, taken up again by J. H. MUNRO, *Economic Depression and the Arts in the Fifteen-Century Low Countries*, *Renaissance and Reform* 7, 1983, 235-250. For strategic building in 18th- and 19th-century England, see: P. BORSAY, *The English Urban Renaissance*, Oxford 1989, 20-21, 101-113, 253-255, 311-313; C. CUNNINGHAM, *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*, London 1981, 37 and 56-69; in late 16th-century Augsburg: CALABI 52-53, with other examples, *passim*; and in late 19th-century Santa Fe: C. WILSON, *The Myth of Santa Fe*, Albuquerque NM 1997, chaps. 2-3.

Republic to invest in their urban fabric. When one city built, hoping to increase its economic draw, others followed to avoid being at a disadvantage.⁷⁷ This is suggested by the suddenness and intensity of the construction phenomenon (CÉBEILLAC GERVASIONI 1990b, 202), by the fact that it is most pronounced in Central Italy, the most active commercial area in the peninsula, by the emphasis it placed on specific kinds of projects (LOMAS 2003, 30-35), and by the friction it created among the city elite. Their distaste for the donor's prominence had to be weighed against the possibility that his program would improve both the city's prospects and their own.

Second, magistrates and other donors were familiar with Hellenistic architecture and city planning. Their familiarity is obvious from their use of Hellenistic ornament and forms. Nevertheless, the building activity of the late Republican period was an Italian phenomenon. The patterns of building that emerged were predicated on business needs that were local and business behaviors that were to some extent metropolitan. In a general sense, this must have meant the adoption of specific building types (basilicas, *macella*) to enhance and control business, a process of absorption that is paralleled by other aspects of contemporary Romanization, like the use of Latin, the adoption of Roman weights and measures, and the adoption of Roman titles for local magistrates.

More subtle changes in the local business culture are difficult to identify but they must have existed and one example may be found in Cicero's reference (Sull. 61.8) to a conflict between native *Pompeiani* and Roman colonists over an *ambulatio*. The domestic architecture of pre-Sullan Pompeii was more developed than that of the city center, which consisted primarily of open spaces and *tabernae*. The first attempt to create a formal infrastructure for investment and exchange followed the establishment of the Sullan colony, ca. 80 BCE, and this included, if J. DOBBINS and L. F. BALL are correct, the entire south end of the forum, with the basilica, the so-called *comitium*, and the portico of Vibius Popidius—perhaps the *ambulatio* to which Cicero referred.⁷⁸ This suggests that, in the second century, local elites dominated the business life of Pompeii from their homes and that the colonial innovations—a formal trading area and new ameni-

⁷⁷ The relationship between architectural appointment and urban status has been noted in general terms by LAURENCE (20, on Paus. 10.4) and LOMAS (1998, 67-70 and 2003, 40-42).

⁷⁸ The problem of Pompeii's Republican development is beyond the scope of this discussion but see generally ZEVİ 1996, 125-138 and J. DOBBINS, L.F. BALL, 'Pompeii Forum Project', a paper presented at the conference, *Nuove ricerche sull'area Vesuviana*, sponsored by the British School at Rome et al., 28 Nov. 2002. The conference report is in press. I am grateful to John Dobbins for sharing this article with me.

ties—may have been intended in part to make the business process accessible to a broader range of participants. If the creation of a formal center for exchange circumvented the traditional control exercised over business by local families, it is easy to see why the construction of an *ambulatio* would have created such dissension.⁷⁹

At the same time, however, municipal efforts to ensure traffic may have included the adoption of architectural forms that were not found in the Metropolis—theaters, amphitheaters, and market sanctuaries—but these innovations represent, in my view, a marketing strategy and not a desire to imitate Hellenistic forms *per se*. The staging of formal spectacles and the creation of an architecture to house them may have been particularly important in regions like Campania that had cities in close geographical proximity. Although the survival of market calendars (*indices nundinarii*) from Campania, Latium, and Samnium indicates that, by the first century CE, cities in this region had established a mechanism for avoiding *direct* competition for market attendance, the number of markets within a comparatively small area may have forced them into *indirect* competition on the basis of things like product variety, spectacles, and other amenities (DE LIGHT 113-17).⁸⁰

Finally, the goal of all improvements was to enhance the *dignitas* of the city although that term may not have been used in relation to architecture or planning until the middle of the first century BCE.⁸¹ The process by which the Roman value discourse was extended to city-planning—to both the appearance of the city and the character of its magistrates and donors—cannot be reconstructed in detail but FORBIS' research suggests that it was indeed a product of the first century, of Romanization, and perhaps of the expectations created by one or more generations of Republican building

⁷⁹ For other attempts to explain the word *ambulatio*, see D. H. BERRY, Cicero. Pro P. Sulla Oratio, Cambridge 1996, 254-256, with bibliography. The native Pompeiani are often assumed to have been at a disadvantage in relation to the Roman colonists, but those whose property had not been confiscated were probably able to maintain their social networks. The colonists, on the other hand, even the wealthy ones like C. Quinctius Valgus and M. Porcius, had to build theirs from scratch. For a more balanced view of the relationship, see ZEVI 1996, 131-134.

⁸⁰ The social makeup of a town, its proximity to Rome or to other commercial networks, and its fate or those of its neighbors in the political vicissitudes of the later Republic are all factors to be evaluated when writing the history of a city, its built structures, or its benefactors (cf. TERRENATO, esp. 112-114).

⁸¹ Varro (ap. Non. p. 853 L) uses the term to refer to the removal of the butchers from the forum Romanum in 312 BCE but this may not reflect fourth-century BCE usage. Cicero uses the term frequently; cf. off. 1.39; ad. Q. fr. 3.1.1; de orat. 3.46.180, and R. MORLINO, Cicerone e l'edilizia pubblica: *De Officiis* II.60, Athenaeum 62, 1984, 631 and n. 46.

activity. Republican inscriptions do not couch building in terms of values and the motives behind the earliest ones seem, at least in the case of the Alatri stone, less congratulatory than pragmatic. In the first century CE, moreover, when inscriptions began to characterize building activities in terms of civic virtue, the virtues celebrated (*liberalitas, magnificentia, et al.*) were rarely those treated by writers of moral *exempla* (*virtus, pietas, sapientia, etc.*: FORBIS 92-93). The language of civic virtue—at least as it is known from imperial inscriptions—appears to have developed apart from the literary discourse and as an enhancement of the traditional honors voted to civic benefactors. Far from flattery, however, it was part of a process of negotiation that was intended to ensure continuity in municipal development—a phenomenon that emerged much earlier, in the decades before the Social War.

Appendix

Charles SHAW, *A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, Boston 1817*, 234-36:

[The] Merchants' Hall, Is situated at the corner of Congress and Water-street; it is a large plain building of brick, four stories in height. On the lower floor is the Post Office, a large Auction Room, Insurance Office and a News Room, which for its utility deserves a particular description.

This establishment is supported by subscribers, consisting chiefly of the first Merchants in the place. The annual subscription is \$10, with the right of introducing a friend, from any place, not within 6 miles of the town. The room is furnished with all the principal papers in the United States, as well as foreign papers, prices current, &c: —Also seven books—[sic] the 1st is for the general record of news, on which is recorded daily, all information of a general nature, and such as is particularly interesting to the Merchants of the place, as may be received from correspondents, by land or water, and by arrivals at the port; the 2nd is for the record of all arrivals from foreign ports, or places, with the cargoes particularly specified to each consignee; the 3rd for the record of all arrivals from other ports in the United States similarly noted as the 2nd; the 4th for the record of all vessels cleared for foreign ports, time of sailing, &c. the 5th for the record of all vessels cleared for other ports in the United States the 6th for the record of all

arrivals and clearances, from or for foreign ports, in all ports of the United States, except Boston; and the 7th for the record of the names of all Gentleman introduced by the subscribers, the places whence they came and the name of the subscriber introducing them. In the room are also several of the most important maps, necessary or useful to the ship owner or Merchant; and, a good clock. Attached to this establishment is a boat with two men ready at all times, for the Superintendent, who generally boards all vessels arriving in the port, and all such information as he may obtain from them is recorded on the several books above mentioned, as soon as possible for the benefit of the subscribers and all those who have the privilege of frequenting the room.—Connected with the establishment is a signal staff, on Fort Independence, attended by a person, at the expence [sic] of the institution, who is constantly on the look-out, and a signal displayed on the moment a vessel is discovered bound into the port. An Agent is also employed at the Vineyard, during the winter months, to collect and forward by mail and other conveyance, a list of the numerous vessels, which generally make a harbor there, bound to the northward and eastward, together with such information as they may be able to furnish. This branch of the establishment is very important, and the Merchants generally have appreciated it as such by the patronage they have manifested, in support of the establishment.

Abbreviations

- R. Alston, Trade and the city in Roman Egypt, in H. Parkins, C. Smith (eds.), *Trade, Traders, and the Ancient City*, London/New York 1998, 168-202.
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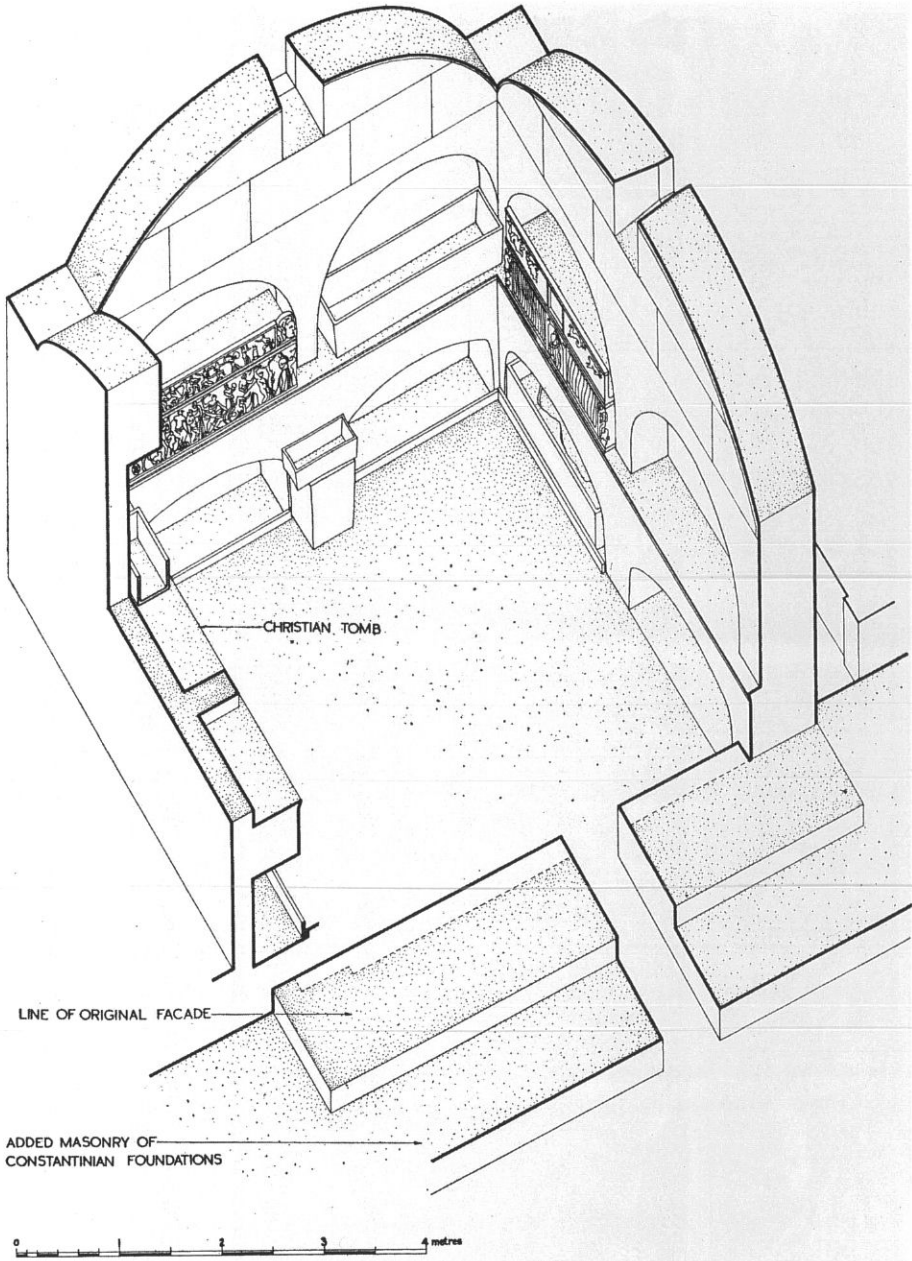


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Abb. 2: Römisch-kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophag: Dionysos und Ariadne,
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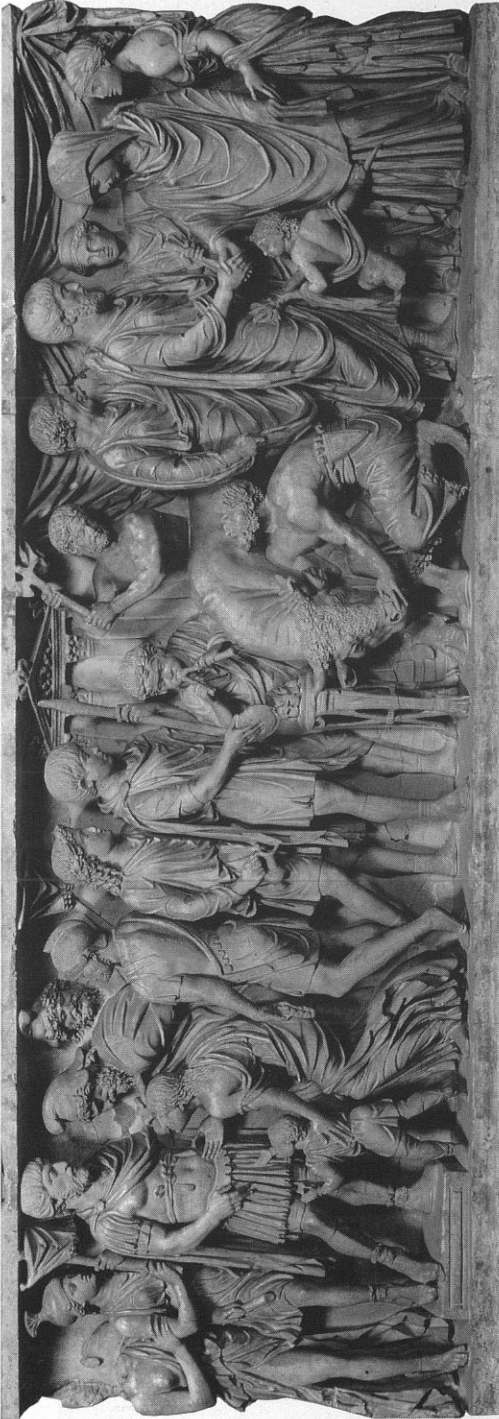


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Abb. 3: Feldherrn-Sarkophag,
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Abb. 7: Mythologischer Sarkophag: Raub der Persephone,
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Abb. 11: Mythologischer Sarkophag: Meleager und Atalante,
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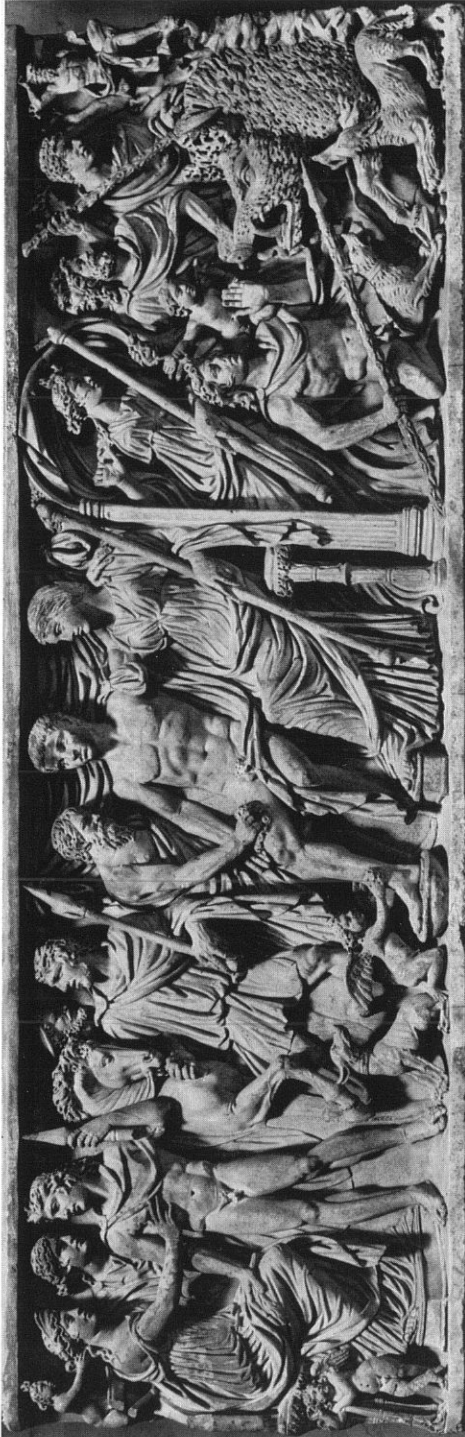


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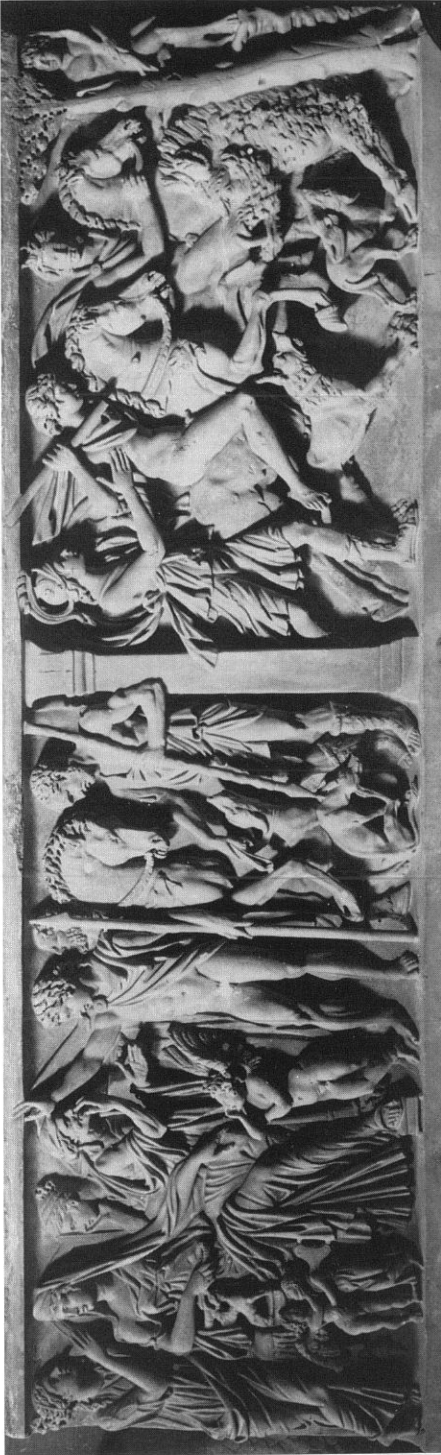


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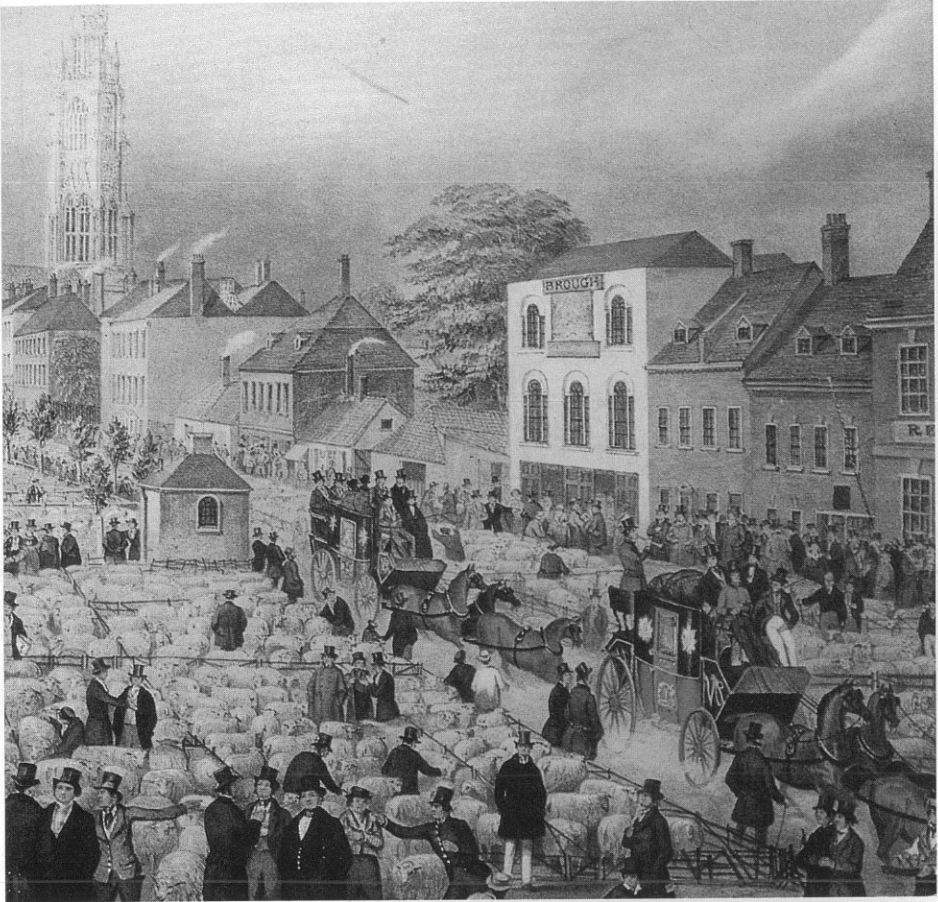


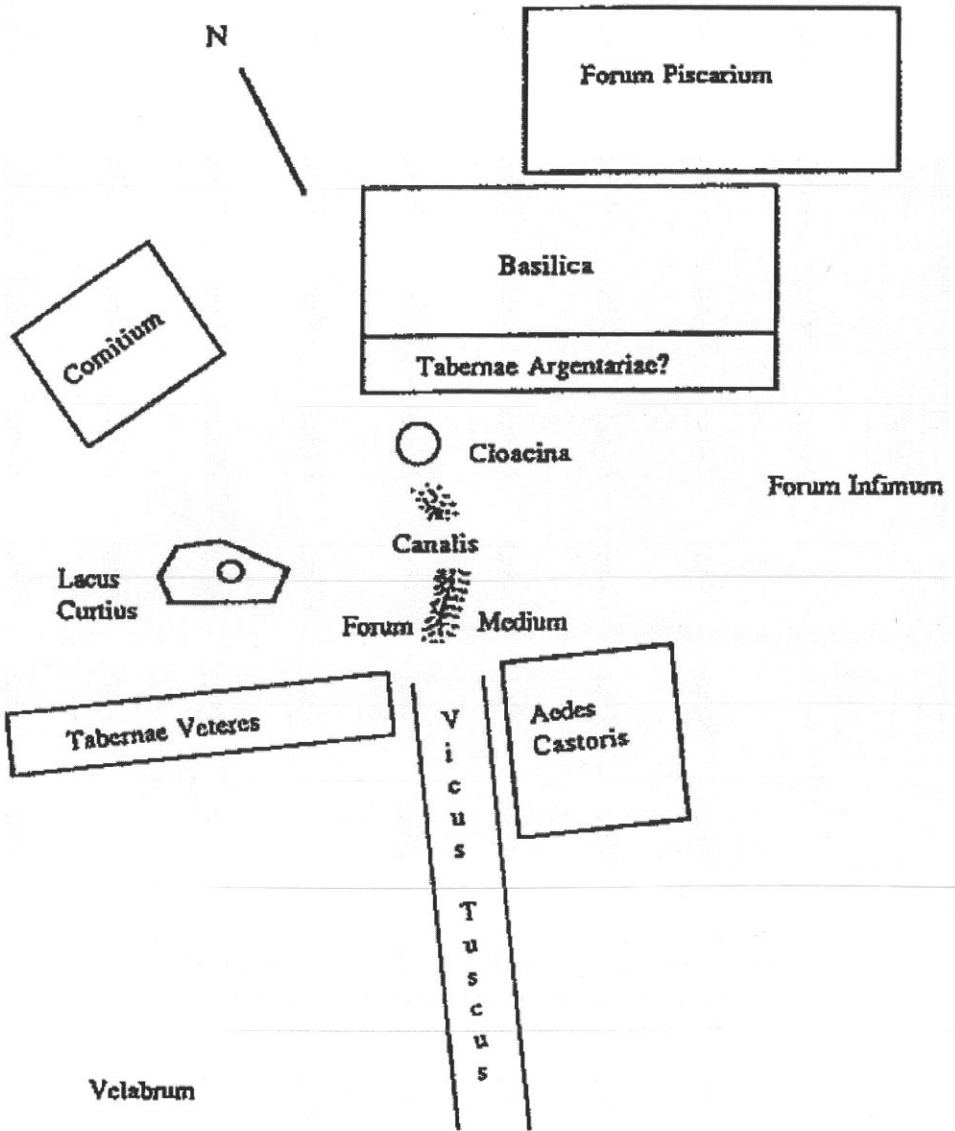
Fig. 1: Detail, Sheepmarket in Wide Bargate Street, Boston (England), ca. 1840.



Fig. 2: Illustration from Hugh Alley's *Caveat – The Markets of London* in 1598, ed. I. Archer, C. Barron, V. Harding (1988)



Fig. 3: Drawing of market place, Witney (England).
The Butter Cross is the gabled pavilion on the right;
the 18th-century town house is on the left.



Plautus' Forum. Map by Timothy Moore and Brian M. Reinhardt.

Fig. 4: Plan of the Roman Forum, tracing the route of Plautus' choregus

L × BETILIENVS × L × F × VAARVS
 HAEC × QVAE × INFERA × SCRIPTA
 SONT × DE × SENATV × SENTENTIA
 FACIENDA × COIRAVIT × SEMITAS
 5 IN × OPPIDO × OMNIS × PORTICVM × QVA
 IN × ARCEM × EITVR × CAMPVM × VBEI
 LVDVNT × HOROLOGIVM × MACELVM
 BASILICAM × CALECANDAM × SEEDES
 IACVM × BALINEARIVM × LACVM × AD
 10 pORTAM × AQVAM × IN × OPIDVM × ADOV sic
 ARDVOM × PEDES × CCCXII × FORNICESQ
 FECIT × FISTVLAS × SOLEDAS × FECIT
 OB × HASCE × RES × CENSOREM × FECERE *BIS*
 SENATVS × FILIO × STIPENDIA × MERETA
 15 ESE × IOVSIT × POPVLVSQVE × STATVAM
 DONAVIT × CENSORINO

Fig. 5: Inscription



Fig. 6: Inscription

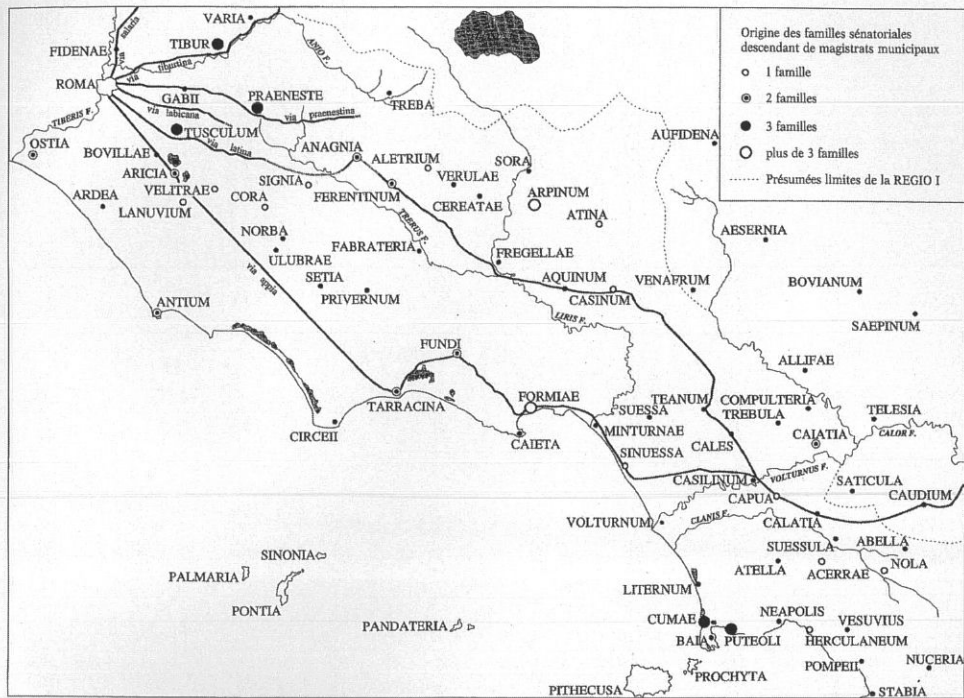


Fig. 7: Map of Southern Latium and Northern Campania