

**University of Alberta**

The Development of Public Baths in Campania

by

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## Abstract

This study traces the development of public baths in Campania from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Previous studies contextualize these baths within either the Hellenizing process of Southern Italy linking them to developments in Greece or precipitately linking them to new modes of monumental Roman architecture, viewing them as an active agent in visually, culturally, and socially asserting Roman hegemony over subjugated Italic peoples. Neither of these methods address the active participation of indigenous peoples in selecting which social and cultural institutions and material culture they choose to use nor do they address how this cultural interaction can lead to ingenious new architectural forms.

The form and function of the public baths in Campania are placed within this context of dynamic cultural interaction. I argue that the synthesis of features, such as heated communal immersion pools, the variation of bathing methods available to users, and space for moderate exercise is an indigenous contribution to the standard Greek Hellenistic public bath structure. Both the social customs of the Campanians and domestic bath architecture predating the first public baths in the area are analysed to demonstrate how these affected the form and the function of public baths in Campania. The physical evidence is then examined

in three chronological periods: 200 BC to 89 BC; 88 BC to 27 BC; and finally, 26 BC to the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79. The architectural development of the baths is then placed within the broader framework of the socio-political events occurring in the area during the developmental period of the baths.



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## Introduction

At length they gradually deviated into a taste for those luxuries which stimulate to vice; porticos, and baths, and the elegancies of the table; and this, from their inexperience, they termed politeness, whilst, in reality, it constituted a part of their slavery.

Tacitus, *Agricola* 21

Translated by Anthony R. Birley *Oxford World Classics*

Tacitus, writing shortly after the death of Domitian, in AD 96 provides an interesting glimpse into the Roman perception of the process often referred to as Romanization.<sup>1</sup> This particular passage describes how his father-in-law Agricola, as governor of Britain, subdued the rebellious nature of the local inhabitants in Britain. The public baths are listed as one of the central features of this process. Indeed, physical remains of public baths have been found wherever the Romans set up permanent urban centres and even along the borders of the Roman Empire at military fortifications.<sup>2</sup> The presence of public baths at these far outposts and their abundance in urban centres throughout the Roman Empire has often been interpreted as an essential component in the process of acculturation of non-Roman cultures into the Roman hegemony.

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<sup>1</sup> The complexities in defining this process and the scholarly debate surrounding it will be addressed in more detail below see pages 20-25.

<sup>2</sup> From the 1st century AD till the end of the Roman Empire public baths are well attested in the archaeological record from Britain in the west to Palestine in the east. The Vindolanda baths in Chesterholm, Britain dated from AD 160-200 and the Dura-Europos baths in Mesopotamia dated from the mid-1st century AD are two examples of this phenomenon. In Nielsen's catalogue, see Inge Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, Volume. 2, Catalogue and Plates, 2nd ed. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993), 2:11-26 there are 13 baths listed for Britain, a total of 137 in the Western and Northern Frontier Provinces with only 7 of these dated from the 1st century BC. In North Africa and the Eastern Provinces there is a total of 180 baths listed in Nielsen's catalogue with only 5 dated from the 1st century BC, see *Ibid*, 2:26-47.

The date of Tacitus' passage, AD 98, is crucial in contextualizing it in the broader context of this process. At the time of Tacitus' writing the Romans had already had centuries of practice in imposing a unifying imperial culture on peoples through overt Roman expansionistic policies. This is not limited to the Imperial period, but began much earlier in the Republican period when Rome first began establishing colonies as a means of controlling territories acquired through expansion, beginning with the defeat of the Latins at the battle of Lake Regillus in 499 BC. It is first evident in Roman policies dealing with the Latins, originating with the Cassian Treaty of 493 BC with further ratification in 338 BC following the Latin War and subsequently applied to the various Italic tribes in peninsular Italy.<sup>3</sup> Recent investigations, however, stress the political rather than the cultural nature of this process.<sup>4</sup>

Tacitus, though writing after the chronological focus of this study, is nonetheless important as a starting point. He provides information on the importance of public baths in this process, particularly a contemporary Roman elite perspective on how newly acquired and troublesome territories were controlled. This statement, in many ways, is indicative of the focus of many studies on public baths in the Roman world, which tend to focus on the

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<sup>3</sup> See E.T. Salmon, "Roman Expansion and Roman Colonization in Italy," *Phoenix* 9.2 (1955): 63. Salmon argues that Roman expansionism began properly in 338 BC after the dissolution of the Latin League.

<sup>4</sup> There is no conclusive evidence that Rome actively pursued a program of cultural integration. The academic inquiry into this particular topic is vast. It is not the intent to enter into this debate, but rather to demonstrate how public baths in Campania engage with this complex process. For more on this see R. Roth and J. Keller, eds., *Roman by Integration: Dimensions of Group Identity in Material Culture and Text*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 66 (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2007); Henrik Mouritsen, *Italian Unification: A Study in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement* 70 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1998); D. J. Mattingly, ed., *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and Discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 23 (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997).

importance of public baths in the acculturation process of non-Romans in the Roman Empire but do not address the importance of acculturation in the development of the form and function of public baths identified as Roman.

That the baths were an integral part of the acculturation of non-Romans by the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD is well established in the scholarship on baths.<sup>5</sup> But how did they become so? This study attempts to answer this question by tracing the development of public baths in Campania with a particular emphasis on the importance of acculturation in determining the form and function of public baths. It is in Campania where the earliest physical evidence of public baths of the type normally called Roman are located. This development occurs in the Hellenistic period when there were ideological and cultural changes due to political changes in Italy.<sup>6</sup> This is an important period in the development of Rome as an imperial power; the empire has not yet been established, but the imperial ambitions of Rome develop within this period. Although this study looks at the baths in Campania and focuses on the regional development of the form, the region was not isolated and was part of this process. This study examines how architectural changes were a part of this complex process. The evidence is first placed within the established metanarrative and then examined in a local

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<sup>5</sup> Nielsen (1993), 1.60.

<sup>6</sup> Emma Dench, "Beyond Greeks and Barbarians: Italy and Sicily in the Hellenistic Age," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. A. Erskine (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 295.

context to arrive at an understanding of how local developments relate to the metanarrative.<sup>7</sup>

Two lines of enquiry are explored within this study. The first focuses on the function of public baths and argues that this developed out of the particular social institutions of the cultures that resided in this area. The second focuses on the development of the form of the public baths and traces this development from domestic architecture to the construction of distinct architectural structures for public bathing from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

The form and the function of the baths, as well as the social phenomenon of communal bathing at the time of which Tacitus wrote are taken for granted. Yet, the baths are not a Roman construct. In the Republican period Cato is said to have been aghast at the idea of bathing in the presence of his son.<sup>8</sup> Varro, when referring to the public baths, states that they were introduced to Rome and were

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<sup>7</sup> Use of the term metanarrative within this study refers to the concept, first introduced by Jean François-Lyotard in *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. G. Bennington and B. Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), xxiii-xxiv. A metanarrative is a theoretical approach, which attempts to legitimize power, authority and social conditions through the use of grand narratives. Processes such as Hellenization and Romanization can be classified as metanarratives. For more on the early development of metanarratives in the study of Romanization see P.W.M. Freeman, "Mommsen to Haverfield: the origins of studies of Romanization in late 19th-c. Britain," *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, no. 23, ed. D. J. Mattingly (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997), 27-50. See also idem, *The Best Training-Ground for Archaeologists. Francis Haverfield and the Invention of Romano-British Archaeology* (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> Plut. *Cato Maior* 20.5.

not originally a Roman custom.<sup>9</sup> This is further substantiated by the current archaeological evidence - the earliest physical evidence of public baths in Rome date from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The Via Sistina Baths, the earliest extant public bath in Rome, date from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>10</sup> The only other physical evidence is the Baths of Agrippa named for the builder, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, a prominent soldier and engineer and close friend of Gaius Julius Caesar. With Agrippa's election to *aedile* in 33 BC Agrippa began a program of rebuilding Rome under Octavian's directive. According to Cassius Dio a *laconicum* was constructed in 25 BC<sup>11</sup> and it was only after the expansion of the *Aqua Virgo* in 19 BC that the complex was enlarged and became known as the Baths of Agrippa.<sup>12</sup> Upon his death the complex was gifted to the Roman people.<sup>13</sup>

The two structures mentioned above, the Via Sistina Baths and the Baths of Agrippa, are the only two extant public baths in Rome dated before the Augustan period. The Baths of Agrippa date from the early Augustan period and

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<sup>9</sup> See Varro, *Ling.* 9.68 in which Varro describes the form of baths, when first introduced to Rome, as having separate sections for men and women. The importance of this reference is that Varro states that the baths were introduced to Rome, not an indigenous development. Seneca writes about the old Roman habit of bathing when only the limbs were bathed daily and the whole body only once a week, see *Sen. Ep.* 86.12. For other references to early Republican bathing habits see *Cic. Off.* 1.35.129 and *Clu.* 141; *Plut. Vit. Cat. Mai.* 20.4-5 and *Quaest. Rom.* 40; *Val. Max.* 2.1.17. These references do not suggest that daily bathing habits, indicative of the social institution of bathing in the Roman Empire, were evident in the early Republican period. For more on this argument see G.G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 47 and Fikret Yegül, *Bathing in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 66-69.

<sup>10</sup> C. Fiorini, "Edificio di età repubblicana in Via Sistina," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di topografia antica della Università di Roma X* (1988), 45-57. See below pages 234-236 number and Figure 7.6.

<sup>11</sup> Cassius Dio 53.27.1

<sup>12</sup> The plan of these baths has been reconstructed based on the *Forma Urbis Romae* and on Renaissance drawings, by C. Hülsen, *Die Thermen des Agrippa in Rom: Ein Beitrag zur Topographie des Marsfelds in Rom*, (Rome: Loescher, 1910), Pl. III.

<sup>13</sup> *Liv.* 29.4; *Sid. Apoll. Carm.* 23.496: *balnea . . . quae Agrippa dedit.*

as such are transitional in nature as they are part of the initial phase of re-modelling the public appearance of Rome to create the ideal Augustan city. The standard explanation for the scarcity of physical evidence is that with the continual habitation of Rome it is not possible to locate earlier public baths.<sup>14</sup> Yet an argument *ex silentio* is not valid in this case and a more academically sustainable date for their introduction must be sought elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

Various approaches have been applied to the physical evidence to locate the origins of Roman public baths. The majority of these studies examine the evidence from one of two perspectives. The first seeks the origins in the Hellenizing process of Southern Italy and hence attributes the development to the strong Greek influence in Magna Graecia in pre-Roman times.<sup>16</sup> The second views it from a Romano-centric view, which although it recognizes the influence of the Greek public baths, views the architectural form of the public baths of the early Imperial period as a Roman construct. Both of these perspectives ignore the role of local Italic populations in the development of public baths and bathing specifically as it develops in this region. They relegate the indigenous cultures to the periphery and focus on the two dominant cultures in the area.

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<sup>14</sup> For more on the state of urban archaeology in Rome see G. Ricci and N. Terrenato, "Ideological Biases in the Urban Archaeology of Rome: a quantitative approach," in *TRAC 98*, 163-171. Excavations in Rome have been conducted since the Renaissance concentrated in particular in the centre of the city where all the public monuments are located. With the attention that this part of the city has received over the centuries and the fact that to date no public baths dating from before the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC have come to light it is not feasible to argue that they did exist but have not yet been discovered due to the continual habitation of the city.

<sup>15</sup> Fagan's comprehensive analysis of the epigraphic record, literary sources and archaeological record also suggests that the evidence for Rome in the mid- to late-Republic is sparse. *Idem* (1999), Appendix 1, 351-353. Note that the Via Sistina Baths are not included.

<sup>16</sup> See for example Nielsen (1993), I.1 who views the presence or absence of baths in Italy as indicative of regional attitudes to the process of Hellenization.



Throughout this study the early public baths in Campania are referred to as Campanian rather than Roman public baths. The social phenomenon of public bathing is an integral part of Roman Imperial social history; however, as pointed out above, the baths are not a Roman invention. The physical evidence from Campania, in particular Pompeii, is earlier than the evidence from Rome by almost two hundred years. The concept of Roman public baths, as implied by our modern use of the terminology, does not occur until the mid- to late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC approximately one hundred years after this type of public bath first enters the material record.<sup>17</sup> To apply this term, with its inherent preconceptions to the Campanian evidence suggests that from their inception these public baths functioned the same as public baths in this later period, and that the social implications of these public baths were the same in their fully developed form. This assumption is not applied to the early evidence of public baths within this study.

## **Defining Private and Public**

The focus of this study is public baths although private domestic examples are referred to and discussed throughout the study. Use of the terms public and private is laden with present connotations of these terms and cannot be assumed to have had the same meaning in the past. Within this study these terms refer to the architectural structure enclosing rooms with a balneic

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<sup>17</sup> Although the precise date when the social phenomenon of bathing became widespread is debated, it can be safely placed in the end of the Republic to early Augustan period. See Nielsen (1993), 1.43; Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: MIT, 1992), 30 and 48; and Fagan (1999), 40.

function. Use of these terms neither implies nor assumes public or private ownership as baths in both domestic and public settings could be either.<sup>18</sup>

The term domestic baths is preferred to private baths as it more adequately describes the contextual setting of the bath - that is in a domestic context either within the domestic setting or ancillary to it. Inhabitants of the house, their invited guests, possibly their slaves and conceivably even paying customers could have accessed these baths. Use of the label domestic bath does not presuppose that these baths were solely for the use of the inhabitants and may have been accessible to the public generating income for the proprietor.<sup>19</sup>

The term public, in regard to baths, refers to separate distinct architectural units that are not an ancillary feature of another architectural complex, such as *gymnasia* or private residences although public baths can have auxiliary structures within the complex as long as the primary function of the building is bathing. The term public does not infer that these baths were publicly owned. Public baths could either be privately or publicly built, owned, and operated.

The clientele of both domestic and public baths is not assumed and use of the term public does not presuppose restrictions on who patronized the public baths. This means that a structure classified as public, in the context of this study,

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<sup>18</sup> For a more detailed discussion on ownership of baths see Nielsen (1993), 1.119-22. See also Fagan (1999), 104-127 for Rome and 128-175 for Italy and the provinces. Fagan analyses the archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence to gain a better understanding of who built, maintained and owned public baths in Rome, Italy and the provinces.

<sup>19</sup> The *Praedia* of Julia Felix is an example of what constitutes a private bath in the context of this study. The bath rooms are only one part of a much larger complex that was originally a domestic structure and only modified at a later date.

could have had a private function and been restricted to a certain clientele based either on citizen status, socio-economic standing, gender or membership in a specific club. On the other hand, a domestic bath could have had a public function and been open to the public; thus the terms domestic and private baths do not imply that the baths were closed to the public.

## Regional Classification of Public Baths

Examining public baths within a regional context necessitates a re-examination of the typological terminology normally applied to the physical evidence. Most studies label public baths as either Greek or Roman based upon certain defining characteristics or location. There is currently no standard definition of Campanian public baths although the literature does refer to a Pompeian/Campanian type.<sup>20</sup>

Greek public baths,<sup>21</sup> separate from washing facilities in *gymnasia*, are normally characterized by a circular room generally termed a *tholos* (θόλος) chamber.<sup>22</sup> The *tholos* chamber is a round room with individual bath tubs (*πυέλοι*) constructed in stone, terracotta or rubble and mortar around the circumference.<sup>23</sup> These types of bathtubs are referred to as sitz-baths or hip-baths.<sup>24</sup> The hip-bath is comprised of a seat at the back with a semicircular

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<sup>20</sup> See Yegül (2010), 58-65 and (1992), 66.

<sup>21</sup> This includes public baths located in sanctuaries and Panhellenic centres but not baths in *gymnasia*.

<sup>22</sup> Yegül (1992), 24 and A.A. Gill, "Balaneia: A Sourcebook for the Greek Bath from the Archaic through the Hellenistic Periods" (PhD dissertation, The University of Memphis, 2004), 10. The hip-baths can also be located in rectangular rooms such as at Colophon dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC see Renè Ginouvés, *Balaneutikè: Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité Grecque* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1962), 186, note 7. Also Olympia, see E. Kunze and H. Schleif, *IV. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1944), 33-39.

<sup>23</sup> Yegül (1992), 24; Nielsen (1993), I.7; and Gill (2004), 10.

<sup>24</sup> Within the present study the term hip bath is used to describe this type of bath.

hollow at the base to collect water.<sup>25</sup> Bathers would sit in the tub and have attendants pour water over their head.<sup>26</sup>

Other elements of Greek public baths include individual immersion tubs,<sup>27</sup> in which individual bathers sat in their own tub,<sup>28</sup> sweat rooms (*πυριατήριον*),<sup>29</sup> and cold water bathing facilities. The cold water facilities were either fountains, basins on raised pedestals (*λουτήρ*) or small cold-water pools (*μάκτρα*).<sup>30</sup> While there can be more than one type of bathing method present in the Greek public baths, they are characterized by the hip-baths.<sup>31</sup> The specific elements will be discussed further in Chapter 4 where Greek public baths are analysed in more detail.

The term Greek public baths within the context of this study will not be limited to geographical location as public baths with hip-baths are encountered outside of Greece.<sup>32</sup> The term is applied to all public baths characterized by hip-

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<sup>25</sup> Nielsen (1993), 1.7.

<sup>26</sup> Plato *Resp.* 1.344; Theophr. *Char.* 9.8.

<sup>27</sup> For example Gortys, Oiniadai and the late Hellenistic Bath at Olympia. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion on these particular sites.

<sup>28</sup> Archaeological evidence suggests that immersion tubs in Greece precede the hip baths. The earliest examples of Greek bath tubs, dating back to the Middle Minoan period, are immersion tubs.

<sup>29</sup> For example Dilesi, Eretria, Gortys, Oiniadai, Olympia, Pella and Thessaloniki. For bibliographic references see the chart in Monika Trümper, "Complex Public Bath Buildings of the Hellenistic Period a Case Study in Regional Differences," *Le Bain Collectif en Égypte* eds. M-F. Boussac, T. Fournet and B. Redon (Cairo: Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale, 2009), 166, Table 4.

<sup>30</sup> Nielsen (1993), 8. Cold water facilities are more commonly found in athletic and religious contexts.

<sup>31</sup> For more on the types of bathing methods in Greek public baths see Trümper (2009), 139-163. Trümper prefers to refer to the public baths as either 'Greek-style' or 'Roman-style' to minimize geographical connotations associated with Greek and Roman public baths.

<sup>32</sup> In Italy for example the public baths at Velia and in Sicily at Megara Hyblaea, Gela, and Syracuse. Greek public baths located outside of Greece and Italy, for example in Egypt, are not addressed within this study as their development is likely associated with the historical, cultural, and social developments of their regional location.

baths regardless of location. Further, the Greek public baths are also characterized by collective versus a communal methods of bathing.

The term collective bathing, within the context of this study, refers to individuals bathing contemporaneously in the same defined space. Bathers may share a source of flowing water, such as a tap, or a collective basin for ablutions, such as a *lustral* basin or a *labrum*; they will not, however, immerse themselves in the same source of water simultaneously with any other bather. This type of bathing is indicative of Greek public baths from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC until the eventual appearance of communal bathing practices in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>33</sup>

The term communal bathing refers to methods of bathing in which individuals bathe by immersing themselves simultaneously in the same source of water, both heated and cold water baths but excludes swimming pools - which have a primary function of physical activity, not cleansing the body.<sup>34</sup> This type of bathing is indicative of the early baths in Italy and in particular the Campanian public baths. Use of these terms does not imply any distinction of bathers by gender or social class.

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<sup>33</sup> For the introduction of communal bathing in Greece see Andrew Farrington, "The introduction and spread of Roman bathing in Greece," *Roman Baths and Bathing Part 1: Bathing and Society*, eds. J. DeLaine and D.E. Johnston, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* no. 37 (Portsmouth, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 1999), 57-66. Farrington argues that communal bathing does not become widespread outside of areas with an established Roman presence until the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. He further states that the type of communal bath which becomes evident in the archaeological record is the Campanian public baths see in particular page 65.

<sup>34</sup> This also excludes communal pools whose function was primarily religious such as the *gymnasium-piscina* in Paestum. See page 52 below.

Roman public baths<sup>35</sup> are characterized by two features: a sequence of rooms differentiated by gradated temperatures of heat and communal heated pools.<sup>36</sup> The gradated temperatures are achieved by means of a developed hypocaust system with *suspensurae*<sup>37</sup> and tubulation.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the very presence of these features normally elicits the label of a Roman bath.<sup>39</sup> The main bath rooms are called *frigidaria* (cold rooms), *tepidaria* (warm rooms), and *caldaria* (hot rooms) all Latin terms that refer to the temperature of the room.

The invention of the hypocaust system has been the focal point of a number of arguments on the origins of Roman public baths.<sup>40</sup> With the 1962 publication of Renè Ginouvès *Balaneutikè* baths have been believed to be

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<sup>35</sup> The Roman terms used to label baths were *balneae* and *thermae*. There is no consensus on the difference in meaning of these terms to the Romans. The terms were used interchangeably by the Romans to refer to the same establishment. These terms will not be used within this study. For more on these terms see Yegül (2010), 48; and Nielsen (1993), 1.3.

<sup>36</sup> DeLaine (1989), 111; G. G. Fagan, "The Genesis of the Roman Public Bath: Recent Approaches and Future Directions," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 150.3 (2001), 403-4; and Trümper (2009) 141.

<sup>37</sup> The floor of the bath is suspended, *suspensurae*, over brick pillars, *pilae*. Heat is piped into the area under the floor from a furnace, *prae-furnium*. This term hypocaust is used to refer to this heating arrangement. Explanations of earlier types of underfloor heating systems are provided in the footnotes whenever the technical aspects of a particular public bath is important in furthering the argument presented here, otherwise where to find further information is included in the footnotes.

<sup>38</sup> There are two methods for heating the walls of the various rooms. The walls are made hollow using either nipple tiles, *tegulae mammatae*, or box tiles, *tubuli*. Heat can then flow through the wall and raise the temperature of the room even higher than with just the hypocaust. This method of heating the walls is referred to as tubulation in this study.

<sup>39</sup> DeLaine (1989), 111 and G. G. Fagan, "The Genesis of the Roman Public Bath: Recent Approaches and Future Directions," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 150.3 (2001), 403-4.

<sup>40</sup> See Nielsen (1985), 81-112 and (1993), I.14-25-28; Fagan (2001), 404-408 and De Laine (1989), 112-113; and Trümper (2009). 141.

directly influenced by Greek models.<sup>41</sup> Before Ginouvès influential publication, Greek public baths were not identifiable in the archaeological record and there was no evidence for any heating system beyond the use of braziers to heat the water or room. Rather than focus on the invention of the developed hypocaust system as characteristic of Roman public baths, as heating systems have been found that pre-date the hypocaust system of Roman public baths outside of Italy, focus is shifted to the form and the function of public baths in Campania.<sup>42</sup>

There is no current definition of early Italic public baths. Within the context of this study, early public baths located in Italy and chronologically dated from before the end of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC that do not have hip-baths are referred to as Italic public baths. The reason for this distinction is that the term Roman public baths carries with it preconceived ideas about the ritual of bathing associated with Roman public baths during their climax in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>43</sup> It is not until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC that the first extant public baths are located in Rome itself<sup>44</sup> and to refer to the evidence that pre-dates these examples as Roman does not

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<sup>41</sup> J. DeLaine (1989), 111 and Yegül (1992), 48. This debate focuses on the physical evidence from Gortys in Arcadia, where an early form of a hypocaust system is dated from the mid- 3rd century BC. DeLaine also examines the evidence from Megara Hyblaea, Syracuse and Gela. In discussing the architecture she notes that at Syracuse, a long, narrow space heated by a hypocaust most likely was not a separate room but a heated pool. However, she does not further explore the significance of this in comparison to the individual hip-baths characteristic of Greek baths at this time. A similar pool and hypocaust system have been located in the baths at Velia, contemporary to those of Syracuse. A question that emerges from DeLaine's observations is why the introduction of a heated pool? What is the reason for this modification from the Greek model? Syracuse at this time was greatly influenced by Greek culture, having been a Greek colony. Is there some kind of local bathing habit that has resulted in this change? This is the crucial question in identifying the difference between Greek and Roman bathing customs. It is not the Greek hip-baths that become popular in the Roman world but the communal immersion pools that are indicative of Roman baths.

<sup>42</sup> The earliest floor heating system in the Mediterranean is in the palace at Vouni in Cyprus dated from around 470 BC. The evidence is, however, speculative as no heating system was found *in situ* and is instead postulated. See Yegül (1992), 380 and Ginouvès (1962), 209.

<sup>43</sup> Fagan (1999), 40 discusses how Roman baths were most prominent in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

<sup>44</sup> The Via Sistina Baths and the Baths of Agrippa previously mentioned, see pages 5-6 above.

further our understanding of the complex situation of the development of public baths in Italy.

This leads finally to a working definition of Campanian baths. Fikret Yegül describes the Pompeian/Campanian public bath as occupying “complete city blocks and were bordered by rows of shops on one or more sides. Their plans show a clear separation of functions into two distinct zones: a *palaestra* with accompanying rooms and exedrae, and a bath block of vaulted, parallel, rectangular rooms.”<sup>45</sup> This definition, with one addition - the geographical location within Campania, defines Campanian baths within the context of the present study. The definition is re-examined after all of the Campanian public baths have been examined in Chapter 8 to determine whether this definition is indicative of all Campanian public baths or just those located within Pompeii.<sup>46</sup>

The definition as used by Yegül is typological rather than geographical. Roman public baths - both in Italy and the provinces - are linked to the Pompeian/Campanian type to account for typological similarities.<sup>47</sup> Focusing on the spatial arrangement of the bath rooms Yegül compares the access routes through the bath rooms in the Pompeian/Campanian public baths with later Roman public baths. The Pompeian/Campanian public baths are characterized by a “single-axis row type” in which the bather progressed through each bath room along a single straight axis.<sup>48</sup> Yegül’s definition nonetheless provides a starting

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<sup>45</sup> Yegül (1992), 57.

<sup>46</sup> See pages 274-5 below.

<sup>47</sup> Yegül (1992), 66-74.

<sup>48</sup> Yegül (1992), 61. Note that although Yegül describes the access route as a ‘single-axis row type’ on page 61 later on when discussing variations of the Pompeian/Campanian public bath type in the European provinces he describes the same type but considers it to be a various type on page 74.



point and introduces the concept of regional variation in public baths.

## Summary of Chapters

The analysis begins with an overview of the scholarship on acculturation in ancient Italy, specifically within the Roman hegemony and addresses how and why this process is relevant to a study of public baths. This includes current approaches to the construct of ethnicity in the ancient world, particularly since Campania was inhabited by numerous different cultures, such as the Greeks, Etruscans, Samnites, Campanians, and eventually the Romans.

Second, the social institutions that influence the development of the particular type of public baths in Campania are examined. The form of the public baths in Campania differs from both the Greek Hellenistic public baths and the early Italic public baths. The primary method of bathing focuses on heated communal pools and noticeably absent is the hip-baths. This method of bathing first occurs in the Western Mediterranean.<sup>49</sup> The Campanian public baths also include a *palaestra* area, which is not seen in the early Italic public baths. The combination of the heated communal pools with the *palaestra* in Campania is intimately linked with the social customs of the peoples inhabiting the region and is addressed in detail in the second chapter.

The third chapter consists of an analysis of both Greek and South Italian domestic architecture and examines how indigenous domestic bathing rituals influenced the form and function of the public baths in Campania. Examples of

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<sup>49</sup> Trümper (2009), 142.

domestic bathing facilities in structures that predate the first public baths in Campania are examined in detail.

The fourth chapter looks at the physical evidence of Greek public baths in the Classical and Hellenistic periods to establish the differences between them and the Campanian public baths. The fifth chapter further develops this narrative by examining the early Italic public baths.

The final three chapters examine the public baths in three chronological periods; 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to 89 BC, 88 BC – 27 BC, and 26 BC - AD 79. The changes in the architectural form and the function of the baths are traced through these three periods until the baths can more accurately be defined as Roman baths. Within each of these chronological periods the evidence is contextualized in the broader historical, social, and cultural processes of peninsular Italy as well as regional and local contexts.

# Chapter 1 Constructing Ethnicity

## Introduction

Studies on public baths in Italy place the baths into pre-existing metanarratives of Hellenization or Romanization.<sup>1</sup> These terms have commonly been used to explain developments in the archaeological record. They are, however, generalizations and do not take into consideration the context of the physical evidence.<sup>2</sup> They are also terms that are laden with imperialistic meaning. The terms imply a one-way transmission of ideas and do not consider the role of indigenous populations in the processes of acculturation. There is an assumption in using these terms that the evidence pertains to mutually exclusive identities.<sup>3</sup> Use of these terms also implies a bounded concept of ethnicity, rather than a heterogeneous and continually evolving ethnic identity.

The appearance of public baths in the Roman provinces is generally viewed as an indicator of the success of Romanization and a key element in the changing self-identification of indigenous peoples as Roman citizens.<sup>4</sup> The chronological focus of these studies is much later than the periods covered in this study, but nonetheless are important because the early development of public baths is often considered to contribute to this metanarrative.<sup>5</sup> Questions of cultural identity and ethnic constructs are still central to the development of

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<sup>1</sup> Nielsen (1993), I.1.

<sup>2</sup> See Emmanuele Curti, Emma Dench, and John R. Patterson, "The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches," *Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996): 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>4</sup> See above "Introduction" note 5 and note 16 for a discussion on how the presence of public baths in urban contexts in Hellenistic Italy has been interpreted to imply the level of Hellenization of the inhabitants.

<sup>5</sup> See for example Peter Salway, *A History of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 367.

public baths in Campania. Numerous different cultural groups lived in Campania and it is salient to be able to recognize their contribution to the unique form of public baths that develops in the area.

Central to the study presented here is the construct of ethnicity. The form and function of the public baths in Campania developed as a result of the diverse factors and influences affecting the acculturation of the various peoples inhabiting the region. The development of the unique architectural structure of the public baths can be considered as part of a 'middle ground', which serves to interpret the mutual needs of all cultures in the area and does not relegate any culture to the periphery.<sup>6</sup>

What follows is a brief introduction to the scholarship on Hellenization, Romanization, ethnic constructs and social identities in the ancient world, as well as how these terms will be applied within this study. The various ethnic groups in the geographical focus of this study will then be briefly introduced with an argument why their material culture can be examined as one within this particular study.

## **Hellenization**

Hellenization is a cultural concept that refers to the material culture, particularly images, styles, and mythology. It is a cultural *koinè*.<sup>7</sup> The importance in defining and discussing this process is that some studies on the origins and development

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of a 'middle ground' was first introduced by R. White in: R. White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 50-3. See also T. Hodos, "Local and Global Perspectives in the Study of Social and Cultural Identities," in *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* ed. S. Hales and T. Hodos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 21.

<sup>7</sup> Curti, *et al.* (1996), 182.

of public baths in Italy place them within the context of this process.<sup>8</sup> There are a number of problems with the process of Hellenization in Italy. First, many of the Italic elites contributed to the cultural koinè and in the process made use of and contributed to the ideological language of the koinè borrowing the mythological, artistic, and architectural form but changing the intent to express Italic culture.<sup>9</sup> Second, the process is difficult to trace because of the immediate arrival of the Romans in the area, themselves familiar with the Hellenistic koinè.<sup>10</sup> How does one identify when one starts and the other stops? Is this even important when C. Gallini's article is taken into consideration, that Hellenization was itself a Roman process and actively used by the Romans to gain control in an already Hellenized Southern Italy?<sup>11</sup> Gallini also stresses that the appropriation of cultural elements such as technology, material culture, and architecture does not necessarily mean that an ethnic group stops identifying as itself.<sup>12</sup>

Exacerbating the complexities of the issue further is the tendency of some scholars to perpetuate previous academic inquiries, which emphasized the primacy of the Greek colonial settlements over the Italic hinterland. This is aptly

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<sup>8</sup> See for example Nielsen (1993), 1:25-26 and Inge Nielsen, "Considerazioni sulle prime fasi dell'evoluzione dell'edifico termale romano," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 14 (1985), 81-112, who bases her argument on Eschebach's interpretation of the phases of the Stabian Baths with the earliest phases being Greek Hellenistic style baths. See also Hans Eschebach, *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji* (Berlin: Verlag Walter De Gruyter, 1979), 64-73.

<sup>9</sup> F-H, Massa-Pairault, *Le Mythe Grec Dans L'Italie Antique: Fonction et Image: Actes du colloque international organisé par l'école française de Rome*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 253 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Curti, *et al.* (1996), 182-183.

<sup>11</sup> C. Gallini, "Che cosa intendere per ellenizzazione. Problemi di metodo," *Dialoghi di archeologia* 7 (1973): 175.

<sup>12</sup> Gallini constructs a comparative analysis on the one hand examining Japanese fascination with North American material culture and on the other conservative cultural elements to demonstrate that innovation does not necessarily mean the end of traditional culture. Gallini (1973), 180-182.

exemplified by the academic discourse surrounding Apulian red-figure vases.<sup>13</sup> The production centre for the red-figure vases has traditionally been identified as Taras. J. M. Thorn traces the historiography of this tradition and in the process analyzes the subjective biases of the scholars.<sup>14</sup> He also notes the lack of archaeological evidence to support the predominance of Taras as the main production centre.<sup>15</sup> Recent neutron-activation analysis of 52 Apulian red-figure vases demonstrates that there was more than one locus of production.<sup>16</sup> This accentuates one of the problems inherent in applying Hellenizing contexts to the material culture. The Greek colonies are given primacy over the local Italic peoples even when the archaeological evidence is circumspect.

## **Romanization**

Romanization can be defined as the idea that the Romans, as the dominant culture, influenced less advanced cultures that came under the authority of Rome.<sup>17</sup> This transmission of culture was viewed as acting only one way. The Romans were seen as the superior socio-political influence and as the bringer of culture to a less enlightened society. The problem with this view is that recent studies have shown that the transmission of culture actually flows both ways. The so-called dominant culture, in this case the Romans, is not unaffected.

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<sup>13</sup> For more on this see J. M. Thorn, "The invention of 'Tarentine' red-figure," *Antiquity* 83 (2009), 174-183 and J. M. Thorn and M. Glascock, "New Evidence for Apulian Red-Figure Production Centres," *Archaeometry* 52.5: 777-95.

<sup>14</sup> See Thorn (2009), 174-177.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-1.

<sup>16</sup> See Thorn and Glascock (2010) for the statistical results.

<sup>17</sup> See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9-14 for more on the historical development and current understanding of this complex phenomenon.

There has been a recent trend to move away from the use of the term Romanization and many studies instead refer to Roman Imperial culture. Romanization is linked to the traditional view of acculturation, the spread of what is Roman at the expense of a perceived inferior culture. It can be compared to terms such as “Westernization” or “modernization” which suggest a cleansing of those traits of a society that are seen as opposing progress.<sup>18</sup> Within Classical literature there is a rhetoric that the creation of the Roman empire was divinely sanctioned with a mission of civilizing the barbarians.<sup>19</sup>

A shift in thinking occurred as early as the 1970s when scholarship began to focus on the exploitation of local cultures by Rome and began to focus on the effects of this process on the local inhabitants, particularly the elites.<sup>20</sup> These studies applied acculturation theory to examine the self-Romanization of the elite to maintain their social position and power. These were based on analogies with modern colonialism. Edward W. Said’s 1978 *Orientalism* initiated a change in the discipline.<sup>21</sup> Suddenly academics began to look at class, ethnicity, gender, and other divisions among both colonizer and colonized.<sup>22</sup> The fact remains, however, that even though studies on these various divisions only began during this period that class, ethnicity, and gender have always existed. Their existence was not a new discovery; what was novel was the academic acknowledgement of the importance of class, ethnicity, and gender in the ancient world. True, the terms

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<sup>18</sup> Greg Woolf, “Beyond Romans and Natives” *World Archaeology* 28.3 (1997), 339.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>21</sup> See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>22</sup> Peter Van Dommelen, “Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean,” *World Archaeology* 28.3 (1997): 308-9.

that we apply to these concepts may not have existed in the past but simply because the terminology we apply to these constructs did not exist does not imply that the constructs did not exist.

With this newly initiated change came the use of such terms as hybridization and creolization. These, however, are just novel terms replacing Romanization in the narrative, but not necessarily progressively moving the argument forward. The terms imply that the material is viewed from a different perspective, but what they have in common with the more traditional terminology is that they all use terminology that carries inherent modern preconceptions. The use of these different terms does not *prima facie* imply that there are no biases.<sup>23</sup>

While both hybridization and creolization can serve as synonyms for Romanization the relation between hybridity and nature are explored by C. Antonaccio. Antonaccio provides a definition of hybridity - a cross of two distinct cultures to produce something that combines both. She argues that the use of terminology to refer to processes that occur in nature is applicable to cultures as they are evolving constructs and are often explained by appropriating the same terminology used to define nature, such as birth, maturity, and decline.<sup>24</sup> The term was first used to critically address the relationship between the colonized and colonizer in postcolonial studies. It refers to an intermediate state where communication between the two cultures occurs. It is more productive than the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 309.

<sup>24</sup> Carla Antonaccio, "Excavating Colonization," in *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference*, ed. H. Hurst and S. Owen (London: Duckworth, 2005), 100.



unidirectional approach implied by the terms “Hellenization” or “Romanization”.<sup>25</sup> Hybridity sees both cultures as distinct at first and then a process of blending and mixing occurs which can be traced in the material culture.<sup>26</sup> It describes the process by which subcultures are formed.

Creolization, on the other hand, initially referred to the acculturation of European colonists in the Americas who acquired indigenous habits. In the process these colonists were deemed culturally inferior by Europeans in Europe and those who did not adapt. The concept can be viewed as the reverse of Romanization as the perceived superior culture acquires characteristics of a presumed inferior culture. All these terms imply the loss of culture than than view acculturation as an enriching experience.

The concept behind all the various terms, such as Hellenization, Romanization, hybridization, and creolization is relevant to the study of the development of public baths if the baths in Pompeii are seen as being adapted by the Campanians to foster social gatherings. They took a Hellenistic concept - public bathing, but adapted it to suit their own social needs creating a subcultural element through the process of acculturation. This continued even when Pompeii entered the Roman hegemony and was indeed a way for the social elite to reinforce their unique culture and identity.

The conceptualization of the cultural terms Hellenization and Romanization need to be re-examined. The challenge to scholars - as identified by Curti, Dench, and Patterson - is to identify specific local situations and place

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 107.

these within the broader historical framework.<sup>27</sup> The general assumptions, supported in previous studies, were that Greek and Roman society had a higher status than other cultures and was the active factor in the transmission of culture and that there were mutually exclusive identities; that is the more Hellenized or Romanized a society, the less it retained its genuine identity.<sup>28</sup>

There are two general conclusions that are normally drawn when discussing Romanization or Hellenization. First, that Greek or Roman society is considered to be of higher status than the indigenous cultures they encounter through trade, colonization, and conquest. The higher culture is perceived as being more active and the indigenous culture as passive and accepting of the social, political, and economic advantages that come with contact with Greeks and Romans. Secondly, there is the assumption of dealing with two mutually exclusive identities.<sup>29</sup>

In order to have a better understanding of these processes these terms, Romanization and Hellenization, need to be defined as they will be applied to this study. Romanization will refer to the concept that after their conquests the Romans subdued the conquered populace by bringing their cultural conventions and architectural forms with them. Examples are the creation of *fora* as administrative areas, amphitheatres for mass entertainment, and public baths for social recreation. As the public baths are the focus of this study and this study focuses on the conquest of Campania and Southern Italy, it deals with the

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<sup>27</sup> Curti *et al.* (1996), 172.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-182. Also S. Settis, *The Future of the 'Classical'* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).

<sup>29</sup> Curti, *et al.* (1996), 181.

process before it resembled the form to which the term usually refers. This does not, however, negate the process as there have been numerous studies that have examined the process in its early stages and how it applied to the conquest of the Italian peninsula.<sup>30</sup> More specifically how the Romans went about Romanizing the Italic tribes, who were seen as being different from, yet somewhat similar to, the Romans. This is often viewed as the formative period in the process as the Romans first learnt how to subjugate the Italic populace and then, once territorial ambitions expanded outside Italy into Gallia Cisalpina, they applied the subjugation methods they had used locally and improved them as experience dictated. Hellenization, within this study, will refer to the spread of Greek culture, such as architectural forms, material culture, and social institutions.

## **Post-Colonial Theory**

The material evidence, recently, has also been viewed from a post-colonial construct. This theoretical construct seeks to address the perceived wrongs of recent colonial enterprises. Cultures subsumed by colonial powers are re-examined and viewed as active players in the complex changes that occur. N. Terrenato argues against applying such theory to Rome, particularly because pre-modern empires have little in common with industrial empires.<sup>31</sup> Rome is always central to such studies because of its perceived importance as the foundation for Western civilization. These are viewed as attempts to place current theoretical

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<sup>30</sup> These studies, however, focus on the regional variations of the process and acknowledge that ethnic and cultural identities are not assimilated in the process. See the various articles in G. Bradley, E. Isayev and C. Riva, eds., *Ancient Italy: Regions without Boundaries* (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2007).

<sup>31</sup> Nicola Terrenato, "The Deceptive Archetype: Roman Colonialism in Italy and Postcolonial Thought," in *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference*, ed. H. Hurst and S. Owen (London: Duckworth, 2005), 60.

trends back on the past and to provide a traditional historical view of these concepts.<sup>32</sup> He argues that our modern construct of Rome is passive. We project on the past what we see in the present in order to justify it. In order to move away from this we need to develop a 'middle range' discourse which combines the global framework with an acute sensitivity to specific contexts and to avoid a stale dichotomy between comparativism and contextualism. The idea of Rome as passive is indicative of the importance that is placed on Rome as the foundation for modern western culture. There is an inherent inability to draw attention to any concept or quality that would place Rome in an unfavourable light in case it reflects badly on current trends within Western society.<sup>33</sup>

These types of studies fail to take into consideration that all empires are in a continual state of flux. They are not static entities but change over time in response to changing factors. As a result of this it is not possible to make assumptions of one based on the other. Post-colonial approaches focus on concepts such as creolization, hidden resistance, and colonial anxiety but still do not challenge the superiority of Rome. Essentially, these are just other terms picking up where "Romanization" left off. They do not carry with them the historiographical argument that Romanization, as a term does, but are similar in meaning.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 60-61.

<sup>33</sup> See Terrenato (2005), 62-64 for a brief account of the historical development of this narrative. See also: Settis (2006), 1-8; and idem. "Nostalgia dell'arte greca," *La forza del bello: l'arte greca conquista l'Italia*, eds. M.L.Caton and S. Settis (Milano: Skira, 2008), 235-241.

## **“-ization” trend**

The current trend using labels such as Hellenization, Romanization, Etruscanization, Lucanization, and Samnitization to explain the process of acculturation assumes a one-way process. The term is generally applied when the culture having the “ization” suffix added is considered to be the dominant culture at the time, though not necessarily always considered the most sophisticated culture – for example the Lucanization of Poesidonia, which the Greeks considered a debasement of Hellenic culture. These terms imply that the peoples who had previously inhabited these areas, whatever their cultural identity, easily ceded their own cultural traditions or that an organized program was in place to promote the adoption of one culture over the other— either by a system of rewards and punishments or through legal action. Recent work in post-colonial studies has moved away from these terms but has replaced them instead with terms such as hybridization and creolization.

Again, the “ization” trend remains today but the implied message is that there was a mixing of cultures. These terms are closer to a non-biased interpretation of the process of acculturation but still retain negative connotations implying cultural loss through cultural blending. Throughout this study the term acculturation will be used to refer to the appropriation of cultural motifs. The use of this term implies that this appropriation was variable and not a homogeneous process. Cultural motifs could be adapted to signify something completely different from the original significance of the object, structure or ritual. For example, the elite houses in Fregellae of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC were

later inhabited by the Samnites and by 180 BC used as *fullonicae*.<sup>34</sup> The architecture was still in use and from the outside may have appeared to be elite domestic structures but the function was altered, yet still detectable in the archaeological record.

In many ways they are all part of the same argument simply discussing the same concept with different terminology. Is Romanization not colonization? Is post-colonialism not a critique of colonialism? – an attempt to rationalize the cultural damage of the past. In order to advance the narrative the discipline needs to stop projecting our current views onto the past. Rather than attempt to atone for current perceived wrongs by re-writing the Roman past it is perhaps best to simply accept that the Romans implemented expansionist policies. In the process they instituted building programs, which attempted to create a unifying cityscape. Whether this was intended to create a unified culture or not is debated.

## **Ethnicity**

What is the state of current knowledge on ethnicity in the ancient world? The paucity of literary sources for the cultures investigated within the chronological parameters of this study means that theoretical models, such as that outlined by J. M. Hall, which stress the importance of the literary texts over the material

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<sup>34</sup>F. Coarelli, "I Sanniti a Fregellae," *La Romanisation du Samnium aux IIe and et Ier Siècles av.J.-C.*, Bibliothèque de L'institut Français de Naples, Deuxième Série vol. IX (Naples: Publications du centre Jean Bérard, 1991b), 181-182. Coarelli argues that the Samnites were more disposed to use their domestic residences for mercantile pursuits, hence assigning space within a domestic context to industry is not indicative of an economic downturn but rather of different ethnic attitudes to the social function of domestic space. As further evidence for this development he cites the reverse of this development that occurred in Pompeii after 80 BC when elite houses begin to appropriate space formerly assigned to mercantile endeavours.

culture in identifying ancient ethnicity cannot be applied.<sup>35</sup> Hall contends that since ethnicity is a subjective construct it cannot be based on indicators such as material culture, biology, religion, and language. Instead, the only way to arrive at a meaningful understanding of ethnicity in the ancient world is to study the textual sources.<sup>36</sup>

Ethnicity does not appear to be a fixed concept in ancient Mediterranean cultures. K. Lomas argues that ethnic mobility among the Italic elite was prevalent. Roman citizenship was not as restrictive as citizenship in Greece.<sup>37</sup> Citizenship could be acquired by a senatorial grant and was a legal status not confined to birth and descent, although these did factor into the designation. Roman citizenship was available to people who lived outside Rome and various legal descriptions of citizenship types exist to distinguish between Romans.<sup>38</sup> This confirms that Roman citizenship could be conferred on people outside of Rome. By 90/89 BC all Italians were granted Roman citizenship. Lomas argues that this created an intense period of engagement among Italian elite regarding the nature of their identity.<sup>39</sup>

The material culture is crucial in identifying ethnicity, but the parameters of how it is being used must be clearly delineated, as the presence of material culture does not always signify conquest or even a new group of settlers in the

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<sup>35</sup> See J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and idem, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005). For an alternate theoretical model challenging Hall's theoretical construct see P. Ruby, "Peoples, Fictions? Ethnicité, Identité Ethnique et Sociétés Anciennes," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 108.1(2006), 25-60.

<sup>36</sup> Hall (1997), 19-26.

<sup>37</sup> Kathryn Lomas, "Introduction," in *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*, Accordia Specialist Studies in Italy 6, eds. T. Cornell and K. Lomas (London: Accordia Research Institute, 1997), 4.

<sup>38</sup> A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

<sup>39</sup> Lomas (1997), 4.

area. Cornell draws attention to the presence of Etruscan influenced objects in Latium used to signify Etruscan conquest rather than trade and exchange. This could merely be evidence for cultural exchange and social contact amongst the elite.<sup>40</sup> The attention, however, is always on the elite. The elite may have had contact through ritualized social occasions but most likely did not have daily contact with lower classes from an identifiable other.

How does one define ethnicity? Is this simply a construct that is imposed upon the past? How can ethnicity be identified in the literary and material culture? There are numerous problems that arise when attempting to define ethnicity. The construct of ethnicity in the past is difficult to locate, particularly in Southern Italy. Few to no indigenous sources survive. What does exist is an etic rather than an emic concept of ethnicity; that is, an external in lieu of a self applied construct of ethnicity. The problem is how to distinguish between what is an accurate account compared to what is an external, biased application of ethnicity.

## **Ethnic Groups in Campania**

Before approaching the evidence it is necessary to outline how the various cultures are perceived in this study. Southern Italy, Campania in particular, was inhabited by a number of different cultures (Figure 1.1). The Greeks established urban centres as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. There was an Etruscan presence from c.650-450 BC. The Samnites conquered the area in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and Rome itself had ties with the area through treaties and alliances from the 4<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.



century BC until its eventual conquest of the whole area in the late Republican period. Additionally there were indigenous peoples who had continuously resided in the area throughout all these political changes such as the Samnites, Campanians, and Lucanians. This creates a number of problems in interpreting both the material and literary evidence of this area within the chronological framework of this study.



Figure 1.1 Map, Southern Italy  
 from <http://www.roangelo.net/valente/samnum.html> accessed May 17, 2010.

## Samnites

The Samnites are first attested to in Campania in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>41</sup> The ancient sources as well as the material culture support this date for the Samnite conquest of the Greek coastal cities.<sup>42</sup> The Samnites originally occupied the interior mountainous region of south-central Italy between the Sagrus (Sangro) river in the north-west to the Aufidus (Ofanto) river in the south-east.<sup>43</sup> This is just an approximation of their territory as boundaries in antiquity were more fluid than our current conception of them, which is problematic in geographically defining the ancient areas of Campania, Lucania, and Samnium. Before the creation of political boundaries in the Augustan period the concept of fixed geographical locales in Italy was not akin to our own.<sup>44</sup>

The origins of the Samnites were disputed by the ancient sources. Strabo relates that the Samnites originated from a *ver sacrum* of the Sabines during a war with the Ombrioi.<sup>45</sup> The *ver sacrum* is invoked numerous times by ancient authors to explain the origins of the various peoples of the Central Apennines.<sup>46</sup> It may have been a way for the ancient authors to account for the origins of the Samnites and at the same time link them to Rome but preserve their identity as the antagonist in the Samnite Wars.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Martin W. Frederiksen, *Campania* (London: British School at Rome), 134.

<sup>42</sup> Capua in 423 BC, Cumae in 421/420 BC, and Paestum at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>43</sup> T.J. Cornell, "The conquest of Italy," in *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), VII.2; 351.

<sup>44</sup> Elena Isayev, *Inside Ancient Lucania*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies 90 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2007), 3.

<sup>45</sup> Strabo 5.4.12.

<sup>46</sup> Emma Dench, "Sacred Springs to the Social War: myths of origins and questions of identity in the Central Apennines" in *Gender and Ethnicity*, Accordia Specialist Studies in Italy 6, eds. T. Cornell and K. Lomas (London: Accordia Research Institute, 1997), 43-51.

<sup>47</sup> The sources on the Samnites are predominantly Roman writing in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and discuss the Samnites in reference to the Samnite Wars with Rome.

## Campanians

Campania is bound to the north by the Mons Massicus, the Sorrentine peninsula to the south and to the east the low lying ranges of the Appennines.<sup>48</sup> The plains around Mount Vesuvius provided, as they still do to this day, fertile agricultural land. The Greeks who established some of their first western colonies here in the 7th century BC along the coast first exploited the advantageous geographic and topographic attributes of the area. There is also evidence of a strong Etruscan presence in the area, most notably in the material culture. Some of the earliest evidence comes from burials dated from around 640 BC in Cales and Capua.<sup>49</sup> Graffiti found on pottery further substantiates an Etruscan presence in the area.<sup>50</sup> This makes it difficult to differentiate between the various ethnicities in the area based solely on the material culture. The situation is further complicated by the arrival of the Samnites in the area, who after their conquest of the area are referred to as Campanians.

The Campanians, we are told by Diodorus Siculus, were formed from the Samnites who invaded Campania in 438/7 BC.<sup>51</sup> Other sources, however, still refer to Samnites in the area. Livy, for example relates the capture of Capua in 423 BC by Samnites.<sup>52</sup> How do we rectify this? Frederiksen maintains that Diodorus' reference may allude to an earlier political alliance between the Etruscans, who at that time were in control of Capua, and Samnite settlers who

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<sup>48</sup> For a detailed account of the geography of Campania see Frederiksen (1984), 1-30.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>51</sup> Diodorus Siculus xii.31.1.

<sup>52</sup> Livy 4.37.1.

settled in the area before the actual conquest.<sup>53</sup> The subsequent change in how the Samnite conquerors in this area are then referred to by the sources is hinted at in Livy, who provides an etymology of the change in name from Voltturnum, the Etruscan city captured by the Samnites, to Capua named after the Samnite leader, Capys or from the site of the city.<sup>54</sup> Although there is confusion in the sources about how and when the Samnites in the area acquired the designation of Campanians, both Livy and Diodorus Siculus consider the Campanians as originating from the Samnites.

### **Lucanians**

Lucania was bound to the north by the river Sele, to the north-east the Bradano river, and to the south the river Laos.<sup>55</sup> There were a number of Greek settlements in the coastal area, most notably Elea/Velia and Poseidonia/Paestum. Indigenous people, whose origins are not quite clear, inhabited the interior. The term Lucanian first appears in Greek texts in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in Isocrates *De Pace*.<sup>56</sup> Within the Roman texts it first appears in the writings of Livy, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus with reference to Lucanian activity in Italy as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. One of the problems with the Roman sources, however, is that they date much later than the periods they refer to and cannot be considered *prima facie*.

None of the sources clarifies how the Lucanians came into existence as an ethnic group. In fact the sources themselves are ambiguous on this particular

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<sup>53</sup> Frederiksen (1984), 138.

<sup>54</sup> Livy 4.37.1.

<sup>55</sup> For more on the geographical features of Lucania see Isayev (2007), 3-7.

<sup>56</sup> Isocrates, *De Pace*, 49-59.

topic. Authors before the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC write of the Oenotrians, Ausonians, Chones, and Opici in the geographical regions but are silent on the Lucanians, Campanians, and Samnites. There are generally three ways to reconcile this. First, a new people must have replaced the earlier inhabitants such as the Oenotrians. But if so, how? Next, the difference can be attributed to a change in terminology used.<sup>57</sup> This process would be similar to the current trend towards using politically correct terminology such as “aboriginal” compared to “native” or “Indian” which were common in mid 20<sup>th</sup> century terminology but are no longer commonly used in narratives on the indigenous peoples of North America. Finally, Strabo offers a solution stating that people of Samnite stock replaced the original indigenous population.<sup>58</sup> The underlying assumption in all three of these possible solutions is that a name represents a concrete ethnic identity, which is then attached to the material culture.<sup>59</sup>

A solution to this problem is not to assume that a name, such as “Lucanian”, equals a concrete ethnic identity. As E. Isayev points out, the confusion in the ancient writers may be the result of more permeable ethnic identities.<sup>60</sup> Rather than assuming that a label such as “Samnite” used by an ancient writer refers to a distinct ethnic grouping it would be more constructive to develop a more fluid understanding of what “Samnite” means. What are the characteristics that the peoples identified as Samnite share? Are these similarities also present amongst the Campanians and Lucanians?

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<sup>57</sup> Isayev (2007), 12-13.

<sup>58</sup> Strabo, 6.1.2-3, 253-54.

<sup>59</sup> Isayev (2007), 14.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 14.

The Samnites, Campanians, and Lucanians occupied different territories geographically, but is this the only difference between them? Can the material culture from all be categorized together? The difficulty in answering this question can be traced back to our earliest sources on these people. Identifying ethnicity and delimiting ethnic boundaries between peoples living in close proximity to one another is problematic. Ethnicity is a difficult concept to locate in both the material culture and the literary sources.



Figure 1.2 Map, Linguistic regions of Italy  
 from <http://www.evolpub.com/LCA/VTLmap.html> accessed January 15, 2010.

### **Samnites, Campanians, and Lucanians as one Ethnos**

The literary sources do not provide much insight into determining emic self-perception of the cultures in the region. The sources are biased in that they are etic perspectives. There are no surviving literary accounts of how the various indigenous peoples perceived themselves. What is left is the few references to them from outside perspectives, few and fragmentary inscriptions and the material culture. How can the evidence be interpreted to provide a better understanding of their self-perception?

Identity and culture are difficult to discern for past cultures, particularly those that did not leave behind their own literary accounts of their history, such as the Samnites, Campanians, and Lucanians. The literary evidence that remains of these cultures is entrenched in a Graeco-Roman world-view and may not reflect the self-identification of these people. Indeed, it is possible to assume that it most certainly did not provide an accurate portrayal of these people, but one inherently tied up with the writers own biases towards these people as outsiders. What further complicates the identification of ethnicity in the past is determining what is an emic versus an etic representation of ethnicity. Too often it is only the etic representations that survive and we do not have any idea of how these people defined themselves. Often the writers whose works survive are themselves outsiders.<sup>61</sup> What makes this problematic is that there are few surviving instances that allude to self-conscious identity of these people. There are no surviving written texts, but Oscan inscriptions have survived.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Lomas (1997), 2-3.

<sup>62</sup> These range both in provenance and chronology.

What is notable in the literary sources is a general confusion about the various different groups in Southern Italy. The main problem that has resulted from this ancient confusion is the contemporary efforts to identify distinct ethnicities that correspond to the ancient accounts. But a closer examination of the sources can reveal the ancient misconceptions and allow a fuller understanding of the complexity of the problem. For example, *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 95 contains a reference to a cult place, which from the description could refer to the Sybil's cave at Cumae. This reference, however, discusses the cult place of the Lucanians and Cumae is known to have been inhabited by the Campanians by 421 BC. One of the questions which this raises is, are there enough similarities between the Campanians and the Lucanians to consider them ethnically related? This does not presuppose that they themselves may not have self-identified as one or the other nor that they would have any type of affinity towards each other. But emic self-identity, although eagerly sought in the material evidence, may not be possible within the methodologies and theories currently available. Rather than enter into and continue a debate, which until further evidence comes to light or new theories and methodologies are developed can not be adequately answered, it is more advantageous to look at the material evidence and note any similarities or differences in the material culture. Do these allow the application of a general assumption of similar cultural motifs? As archaeologists, we sometimes like to assume that all questions can be answered by examining the material evidence – yet this is not completely possible and we must still work with general assumptions at times to increase



our awareness of a particular subject. These assumptions may be proven wrong by later generations of scholars, but in the very least the discipline takes a step forward, even if it is later proven to be in the wrong direction.

The material culture is the alternative to the literary sources, but even the material culture has limitations. There are also problems with using material remains to identify ethnicity. This approach was first made popular by culture-historical archaeology practiced by V. Gordon Childe and Gustaf Kossinna in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>63</sup> It equated material culture with ethnicity and believed that ethnicity could be found within the composition of artefact assemblages. This approach is no longer widely held within the discipline and material culture is no longer equated with ethnic identity. The myriad different ways in which artefact assemblages are formed are now viewed more holistically and there is awareness that similar objects may have different functions within different ethnic groups.

## **Conclusions**

For the purpose of this study the indigenous Italian tribes in Southern Italy are examined as a whole. This does not mean that regional differences between the various Sabelline peoples did not exist, there were indeed differences. There is a common language of culture that is shared by all of the peoples in this area, which is evident in their landscape, architecture, cults, material culture, and social institutions. The differences can be attributed to their own unique development. The people themselves may or may not have self-identified as separate ethnicities.

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<sup>63</sup> See V. Gordon Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization*, new edition (London: Keegan Paul, 2003).

While Roman public baths have received a lot of attention, the focus has been on their role in the acculturation of indigenous peoples conquered by the Romans. Within this context cultural exchange is not viewed as a two way process. Many of the theories outlined above have not, to date, been applied to the development of public baths. There have been excellent regional surveys that have examined how provincial public baths deviate from the standard public baths in Roman Italy, but studies on how this specific form came into existence in Italy do not adequately address how indigenous cultures could have affected change in the form and function of public baths in Italy itself.<sup>64</sup> Early studies concentrated on typologies,<sup>65</sup> the decoration, the development of the hypocaust system, but no detailed study of the development of the specific form within a regional context.<sup>66</sup> What the following study attempts to do is place the development of public baths in Campania within the discourse on how material culture, in this case architecture, is negotiated through the acculturation processes of different cultures living side by side.

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<sup>64</sup> For regional studies on provincial baths see Andrew Farrington, *The Roman Baths of Lycia: An architectural Study*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monographs 20 (London: British Institute of Archaeology, 1995); Yves Théber, *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord et leur contexte méditerranéen: études d'histoire et d'archéologie* (Rome: l'École française de Rome, 2003) and A. Bouet, *Les thermes privés et publics en Gaule Narbonnaise*, 2 vol., Collection de l'École française de Rome 320 (Rome: l'École française de Rome, 2003)

<sup>65</sup> D. Krencker, *Die trierer Kaiserthermen*, Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen, 1:2 (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1929).

<sup>66</sup> For an overview of subsequent scholarship see Janet DeLaine, "Recent Research on Roman Baths," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 1 (1988), 11-32.

## Chapter 2 Functional Influences on Public Baths

### Introduction

Architecture is much more than just the composite parts of a built structure, although with ancient architecture this is usually all that remains. It is a lived experience and a richer understanding of how and why different forms of the same architectural concept develop needs to address the relationship between the built structure, the activities that occurred within the structure and the culture that encompasses all of these.<sup>1</sup> Architecture is the physical structure that encloses and confines activities, yet the activities themselves are not passive but active agents in determining the form of the architecture. The function of the architecture in enclosing the activities is susceptible to changes to better accommodate how a particular societal group uses the architecture to contain various activities and institutions.<sup>2</sup> Environment-behaviour studies, as these types of studies are called, are significant to the development of Campanian public baths because they provide a framework to discuss the development of various forms of baths in the chronological periods of this study by focusing on societal influences as an agent for architectural change. This is especially meaningful for a study on the development of Campanian public baths because the form, which the earliest extant baths in this region acquire, is noticeably different from contemporary Greek Hellenistic public baths.

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the relationship between architecture and activities see Amos Rapoport, "Systems of activities and systems of settings," in *Domestic Architecture and the use of Space: An interdisciplinary cross-cultural study*, ed. S. Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9-20.

<sup>2</sup> Rapoport (1990), 11.

Formal variation in architectural forms can be articulated in a variety of ways; the agency for change can be active, contested, negotiated, residual or unconscious. In Campania, the influences that affected architectural change in the public baths can be classified as negotiated change. It is not a simple process whereby the indigenous population become familiar with a novel architectural structure, public baths, and accept it unaltered into their culture; rather it is negotiated in the sense that the public baths are appreciated as a value-added component to society but changes in the function of the public baths, and hence the form, occur in order to reflect both societal norms and pre-existing architectural styles associated with public baths from the domestic sphere. There are two possible approaches that will be explored. This chapter focuses on the functional changes of public baths in Campania by examining indigenous social customs, which necessitated a change in form from the Greek Hellenistic public baths. The influence of domestic architecture will be addressed in detail in the following chapter.

While it may be quite reasonable to conclude that the function of a public bath building is to bathe this does not fully address the issue. Cleansing the body is something that has occurred since the beginning of time. The rituals that are associated with bathing vary from culture to culture: where bathing occurs – in private or in public; how frequently; the method of bathing – hot water or cold, with steam or by using a strigil; the rituals before and after bathing – exercise, consumption of food and drink or socializing; why bathe – as part of a hygienic program or a physical regime or for medical treatments; who bathes and with

whom – is bathing segregated by social class, gender or demographics, are certain rituals associated with bathing limited to elite members of a society or the servile class.

Any of the factors listed above could affect the architectural form of public bath buildings and are susceptible to variations from culture to culture, even if the cultures share a number of similarities in the bathing ritual. One seemingly insignificant difference could result in substantial changes to the architectural form to accommodate the different function of the bathing ritual.

As an example, assume that both society A and society B have the same rituals of where and how the process occurs and the same activities before and after bathing. It would be reasonable to conclude that the architectural structures built by both societies to facilitate bathing should be similar if not identical. If in society A, however, it is only acceptable for elite adult male members to bathe but in society B all members of society, including females and the servile class are permitted to bathe a number of differences will be evident in the architectural form that bath buildings take in each society. Society A may have fewer and smaller bathing establishments while society B may have more and significantly larger buildings, more entrances, separate bathing quarters, and other regional or local differences.

Another possible causal factor is that society B may have more specialized chambers for bathing if some of the rituals, but not all, require segregation by class, gender or age. How society B decides to address this issue will be dependent upon a number of different factors, such as is bathing restricted to a

specific time during the day limiting the possibility of separate times for men, women, and different social classes to bathe. Alternatively, there may be issues with available manpower or materials to construct the bathing facilities and societal norms may change to reflect these.

The purpose of this example is to highlight how there are various social as well as economic factors that can influence the function and form that an architectural structure takes. While it may not be possible to arrive at a definitive answer as to what influenced the form and function of the public baths in Campania, a number of reasonable possibilities will be explored in detail below.

## **Function of Greek Public Baths**

In order to better understand the functional changes of Campanian public baths it is first necessary to examine what is known about the function of Greek public baths. The Greeks were the first ancient society to construct public bath buildings and the Campanians, as well as other Italic tribes, were feasibly introduced to this phenomenon through their contact with the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. The concept of architectural structures for collective bathing in the Mediterranean region first occurs in Greece, with the public baths at Olympia, dated from 450 BC, being the first physical evidence.<sup>3</sup>

The majority of the material evidence from the Archaic and Classical periods is from pictorial representations of bathing scenes on vases and some sculptural figures.<sup>4</sup> A late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC Attic red-figure *lekythos* from Berlin

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<sup>3</sup> Ginouvés (1962), 184.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 112-113.

(Figure 2.1) depicts a female bathing in the open air. She is depicted nude and has attendants with her, but they are not bathing with her – only attending to her needs. The vegetal elements and the deer prancing in the foreground set the scene in the open air.



Figure 2.1 Photograph, 5<sup>th</sup> century BC Attic red-figure Berlin *Lekythos* F 2707 from R. Ginouvès (1962) *Balaneutike*. Figure 80.

This image is important for a number of reasons. First, it provides evidence that bathing was still occurring in natural settings, a practice that was

common in Greece and first attested to in the Homeric epic cycle.<sup>5</sup> The archaeological evidence also supports this, as there is no physical evidence of public bath buildings before the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>6</sup> The majority of the physical remains date from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and based on these it can be argued that it is in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC when public baths are first introduced and not until the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC that they become more entrenched in Greek daily life.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, the image is of a woman and the first facilities for collective bathing, the *gymnasium*, was for male citizens only. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC women did not have access to the same facilities for bathing as men did and would still have had to use older methods of bathing to cleanse themselves. And the fact that it was depicted on a vase type used by females indicates that it was an integral part of the 'female world' or ritual.

As previously mentioned, the *gymnasium* was the first architectural structure in which men bathed in public together. The Homeric examples provide evidence of males bathing together, but these examples are limited to known companions and take place in the open air when there are no known outside

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<sup>5</sup> Nausicaa and her companions bathing in the river in *Odyssey* 6.96; Odysseus and Diomedes bathing in the sea in *Iliad* 10.572-3.

<sup>6</sup> See Ginouvés (1962), 184; Yegül (1992), 24; Nielsen (1993), 6. The earliest extant Greek public bath is located at Olympia. Another 5<sup>th</sup> century public bath has been identified outside the Dipylon Gate in Athens. These are the two earliest examples of public baths in Greece.

<sup>7</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> century there is a total of 9 public baths: Vouni, Athens (Dipylon), Olympia, Corinth (Centaur Bath), Athens (Baths of Isthmonikos), Isthmia (Sanctuary of Palaimon), Gortys (rectangular pool), Athens (bath of Diochares) and Piraeus (hip-baths). In the 4<sup>th</sup> century there are 13 public baths: Gortys (hip-baths), Corinth (Fountain of the Lamps) and (Asklepieion bath), Isthmia (Rachi) and (immersion pool), Oropos, Nemea, Delphi (*gymnasium*), Eretria (*tholos* bath near harbour) and (*lenos*-type basins in *palaestra*), Aegina, Oeniadae and Delphi. For specific dates on these baths see the catalogue in Gill (2004), 33-114.



observers.<sup>8</sup> What necessitated the change from bathing in private to bathing in public? It is the rise of ephebic education during the Classical period and the popularity of *gymnasia*, which created a change in bathing habits.<sup>9</sup> The *gymnasia* were built environments where physical activity and military training took place. They were also important institutional structures that governed elite male behaviour within the *polis*. A consequence of the intense physical activity was the need to bathe after. The popularity of *gymnasia* also created a unique situation in which men could possibly be bathing with strangers. Bathing facilities, however, were not always present in the earliest *gymnasia*. Many of the earliest *gymnasia* were located outside the urban centres and next to sources of water.<sup>10</sup> It is only later that specialized features are added to the *gymnasia* for collective bathing.<sup>11</sup>

The bathing facilities in the *gymnasium* were more practical than luxurious. The *loutron* was presumably first placed in the open air and consisted of basins or showers for cold-water baths.<sup>12</sup> One late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC black-figure Athenian *hydria* from the Rijksmuseum in Leiden depicts six athletes showering. The two central figures are scrubbing themselves with water pouring forth from

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<sup>8</sup> See above note 5. There are also mythological taboos on observing gods bathing, in particular goddesses. Athena blinds Teiresias for spying her naked while bathing. See Callimachus *The Bath of Pallas* 57-84. Artemis transforms Actaeon into a stag who is devoured by his own hunting dogs for his misfortune of viewing her bathing. See idem, 107-116. Aeschylus' lost play, *Toxotides*, of which only fragments survive explored the myth in more detail. Euripides also refers to the incident in the *Bacchae*, 335-340 although in his version Actaeon's punishment is the result of his *hubris* in boasting he was a better hunter than Artemis.

<sup>9</sup> Ginouvés (1962), 125-6.

<sup>10</sup> Iasos and Cos are two examples. For more see Jean Delorme, *Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris: Éditions E. De Boccard, 1960), 447, n. 1. See also Yegül (1992), 9.

<sup>11</sup> See Delorme, 304-311. For the Archaic period there are a number of images of men showering and the scenes appear to be set in the *gymnasium*; however, there is very little physical evidence for this period. Currently the earliest physical evidence for Greek public baths dates from the Classical period.

<sup>12</sup> Yegül (1992), 17.

panther-headed spouts. The other four athletes are off to either side applying oil to their bodies. The monumental architecture of the setting in this image could signify a *gymnasium*.<sup>13</sup> The *gymnasia*, however, were restricted to male citizens only and women and other non-citizens had no access to the bathing facilities associated with *gymnasia*. Apart from the material remains of the Greek *gymnasia* there is also Vitruvius' account of the *palaestra* and the various rooms that it contained.<sup>14</sup> Vitruvius, writing at the end of the first century BC, is not a completely reliable authority on Greek *palaestra*. It is important to point out, however, that he specifically mentions that the *palaestra* is not an Italic convention.<sup>15</sup> The importance of this statement will be explored in more detail below.



Figure 2.2 Photograph, 6th century BC black-figure Athenian *hydria* from the Rijksmuseum in Leiden  
from F. Yegül (1992) *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. Figure 20, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Yegül notes the similarity of this image with early *gymnasia*. See *ibid.*, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 5.11.

<sup>15</sup> Vit. *De Arch.* 5.10.1.

In Greece, public bathing was first associated with male athletics and eventually the habit permeated other sectors of society and specialized form of architecture, the *balaneion*, developed to accommodate the practice. The earliest extant *balaneion* is located at Olympia and dates from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and its association with sports is still prominent.<sup>16</sup> By the 4<sup>th</sup> century there are more *balaneia* and the practice appears to be more popular. For the Greeks, bathing in public was similar to how they bathed in private. In the Homeric epic cycle there are numerous allusions to baths being provided for guests.<sup>17</sup> The baths are always taken alone, although sometimes the bather may be attended to by servants or by the woman of the house. These references are distinct from the open-air examples in Homer mentioned above. It seems that male collective bathing in the open-air was acceptable but that bathing inside was solitary for both women and men as well as the only form of bathing acceptable for women.

When collective bathing in public baths becomes common practice in Greece, it follows the form that it takes in the domestic sphere. The bathers use individual bathtubs, the novelty of collective bathing for the Greeks is that they are bathing in a heated room with other people. They still have their individual tubs and do not necessarily share water. The practices from the domestic sphere are maintained in the public. The way in which they bathe does not necessarily change. The novelty of the public baths is that the chambers are heated, which adds an element of luxury to the equation.

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<sup>16</sup> Ginouvés (1962), 184.

<sup>17</sup> *Od.* 10.350-371 when Odysseus is bathed by Circe; *Od.* 19.335-509 when Eurycleia bathes Odysseus feet and recognizes him by a scar.

## Function of Public Baths in Southern Italy

Within the Greek *gymnasia* the bathing facilities developed as a result of Greek social customs and ideas about bathing. The Greek *gymnasia* were a social institution specific to Greece. It can be argued that the *gymnasia*, first introduced to Italic populations from cultural contact with the Greeks in Magna Graecia, is responsible for the development of public baths in Campania; however, the form of these baths develops differently from the bathing facilities in Greek *gymnasia* and one way to account for these differences is in a change in the function of the bath, i.e. the activities that were carried out within the baths. The social institutions of the Samnites, as discussed below, were not the same as the Greek institution of the *gymnasium*, and hence it did not have the same popularity in Campania as it did in Greece. This is significant to note because, whereas in Greece, public bathing first developed out of the *gymnasium*, in Campania it developed to fit into the pre-existing social institutions. When the Samnites are introduced to public baths via the Greek communities in Southern Italy, they retain their own bathing rituals.

The evidence for this is not as straightforward as for the Greeks: there are no surviving literary references that provide information on what their specific bathing rituals were prior to the establishment of public baths. The only evidence of indigenous bathing customs in Southern Italy is from domestic architecture that pre-dates the earliest extant public bath. The form of the baths in the domestic sphere and how the indigenous people bathed is mimicked in the first public baths that appear in the region. These changes are, no doubt, based on

differences between the two cultures. It is these differences that will be explored in detail below, while the influence from domestic architectural bathing facilities will be addressed in the following chapter. This topic is addressed along two different avenues. The first examines the architectural evidence, specifically *gymnasia* in Southern Italy. The second looks at Samnite social institutions, such as the *vereiia* and *Campani equites* and how these relate to similar Greek institutions and explores how these could affect a change in the function of the baths.

### ***Gymnasia* in Southern Italy**

The *gymnasium* was not as popular in Southern Italy as it was in Greece. There is surprisingly little physical evidence even in the Greek settlements<sup>18</sup> and minor literary references to *gymnasia* at Rhegium<sup>19</sup> and Neapolis.<sup>20</sup> The scant evidence that does exist is examined below.

#### **Tarentum**

Tarentum had many *gymnasia*, perhaps as early as the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>21</sup> Plutarch's life of Pyrrhus describes how Pyrrhus had to close the *gymnasia* in 281 BC in order to get the citizens to focus on military activities.<sup>22</sup> This passage is revealing as it demonstrates that by this period the *gymnasia* were not just linked to physical activity but were used more for social activities and leisure,

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<sup>18</sup> See Nielsen (1993), 9, note 38 and Delorme (1960), 140-142 and 221-230.

<sup>19</sup> Pliny *NH* 12.7.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo 6.278.

<sup>21</sup> Delorme (1960), 141.

<sup>22</sup> Plut. *Pyrrh.*, 16.2.

which suggests a change in the function of the *gymnasia*. It acquires a functional similarity to the *vereiia*.<sup>23</sup>

There is no physical evidence of these *gymnasia* to corroborate Plutarch's statement. The importance of this passage is that it reveals a clear cultural difference in the function of the *gymnasia* between Greeks on the mainland and those in Tarentum, which by this time would have had contact with the indigenous peoples of the area and in the span of years since its foundation as a Greek colony would have developed its own cultural traditions. The *gymnasia* by this time were no longer used to educate men, train their bodies and prepare for war. Instead, the evidence suggests that Greek terminology is used to refer to a similar but different institution in Tarentum.

### **Paestum**

There is no proper *gymnasium* in Paestum, but rather an intriguing complex with a central *piscina*. Based on stratigraphic enquiry the structure dates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>24</sup> It has recently been proposed that the *piscina* was part of a cult of Venus Verticordia – which called for the ritual bathing of the cult statue and immersion of worshippers.<sup>25</sup> There is no feasible explanation for the curious amalgamation of limestone pillars at the west side of the *piscina*, although one suggestion is that it symbolizes temple layout.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See below pages 54-56.

<sup>24</sup> John Griffiths Pedley, *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 122; Ernesto de Carolis, *Paestum*, (Pozzuoli: T&M, 2002), 42-43.

<sup>25</sup> Pedley (1990), 122.

<sup>26</sup> de Carolis (2002), 43.

## Capua

Capua had a *palaestra* prior to its destruction in 211 BC. It was located north of the street, which later became the Roman *decumanus*. There has been some doubt as to whether or not the structure should be identified as a bath complex or as a *gymnasium*.<sup>27</sup> J. Delorme, however, argues that it is indeed a *gymnasium* based on the number of windows and its size, five times larger, with the Stabian Baths in Pompeii.<sup>28</sup> No specific date is provided for the complex but it can be dated from before the destruction of 211 BC.

## Pompeii

In Pompeii there is the Samnite Palaestra, adjacent to the Triangular Forum, which based on the similarity of its colonnades to the Triangular Forum is dated from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>29</sup> Its proximity to the Hellenistic institutions of the city, such as the theatre and the Doric temple rather than the Forum suggests that it was more closely associated with the Hellenistic traditions of the city than with the later Roman ones. The original shape of the structure was a trapezoid; 37.5 m long on the north side, 35.7 m long on the south side with a width of 18.4 m. The irregular shape is unusual, but not unknown.<sup>30</sup> It consists of a Doric peristyle, 10 columns on the long side and 5 columns on the short side. The four rooms on the western side of the structure are of irregular form. There is no existing evidence of any type of bathing facilities, either a *loutron* or any

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<sup>27</sup> See K.J. Beloch, *Campanien: Geschichte und Topographie des antiken Neapel und seiner Umgebung*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Breslau, 1890), 348-9 and J. Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine* (Paris, 1942), 126.

<sup>28</sup> Delorme (1960), 141-142.

<sup>29</sup> L. Richardson, jr, *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1988), 73.

<sup>30</sup> Miletus, Sikyon, and Delos all have irregular plans.

plumbing.<sup>31</sup> An inscription found in the east wall of the courtyard states that Vibius Aadrans bequeathed funds to the *vereiia* (see below) to construct the building.<sup>32</sup>

The physical evidence suggests that the *gymnasium* was not as popular in Southern Italy. Could this be because of the difference in the social customs of the different cultures? What are the differences in the social institutions that used the *palaestra*?

## Vereiia

The *vereiia*, a Samnite youth organization, is first attested to by epigraphical evidence in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>33</sup> The function of the *vereiia* in Campania and the Samnite speaking world exhibits some similarity to the earlier *ephebia* of the Greeks and the later *juventus* of the Augustan period in Rome but the differences are more telling. G. Tagliamonte's analysis of the inscriptions of the *vereiia* suggests that it had a specific military function, which the *ephebia* and the *juventus* did not. Surviving inscriptions of *ephebia* are limited to stele, while the *juventus* had inscriptions on various material remains but none on military arms. The inscriptions mentioning the *vereiia* are predominantly found on

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<sup>31</sup> Richardson (1988), 74.

<sup>32</sup> Emil Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1953), no. 11. See also P. Poccetti, "Il testamento di Vibio Adirano," *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 57 (1982), 327-345.

<sup>33</sup> Vetter 192, for the argument in support of this date see Gianluca Tagliamonte, "Alcune considerazioni sull'istituto italico della vereiia," *La Parola del Passato* 44 (1989), 364. See also E. Campanile and C. Letta, *Studi sulle magistrature indigene e municipali in area italica* (Pisa:Giardini, 1979), 29-32; A. La Regina, "Appunti su entità etniche e strutture istituzionali nel Sannio antico," *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* 3 (1981), 134-137.



military arms.<sup>34</sup> In Greece, there was a much clearer distinction between military training and athletics.<sup>35</sup>

In Lucania military culture was a part of the aristocratic ideal. The glorification of warriors in the imagery that has survived is abundant.<sup>36</sup> In many ways the cultural language appears to be the same as the general Mediterranean imagery, but the Italian elite chose to use it in different ways.<sup>37</sup>

Images of youths in military training do occur on vases (see Figure 2.3) from this period and provide further evidence of the existence of some kind of youth organization for military purposes.<sup>38</sup> None of these images, however, depict the youth in the full Samnite panoply, which further suggests that they represent some type of training and are not yet members of the military aristocracy.<sup>39</sup>

The *vereiia* in Pompeii is believed to have been located north-west of the theatre in the Samnite Palaestra. The location of the Samnite Palaestra to the Republican Baths is significant.<sup>40</sup> The Samnite Palaestra is located on the via del Tempio d'Iside, which intersects with the via dei Teatri and to the west of this

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<sup>34</sup> Tagliamonte (1989), 364.

<sup>35</sup> Fabio Colivicchi, "Warriors and Citizens. Models of self-representation in native Basilicata," in *Verso la città. Forme insediative in Lucania e nel mondo italico tra IV e III sec.a.C.*, Atti delle Giornate di Studio, Venosa, 13-14 maggio 2006, ed. M. Osanna (Venosa: Osanna Edizioni, 2009), 72. See also N. Lubtchansky, *Le cavalier tyrrhénien: représentations équestres dans l'Italie archaïque*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 320 (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2005).

<sup>36</sup> See G. Schneider-Herrmann, *The Samnites of the fourth century BC as depicted on Campanian vases and in other sources*; *Accordia specialist studies on Italy*. v. 2 and *Bulletin supplement Institute of Classical Studies* no. 61, ed. E. Herring (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London and Accordia Research Centre, 1996) and A. Pontrandolfo and A. Rouvert, *Le Tombe Dipinte di Paestum* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1992).

<sup>37</sup> Isayev (2007), 134-135.

<sup>38</sup> See Schneider-Herrmann (1996), 77-79.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>40</sup> See pages 211-215 below.

becomes the vicolo delle Pareti Rosse - the two streets which demarcate the Republican Baths.



Figure 2.3 Photograph, Bloomington *Skyphos* I.U.A.M. 100.10.5.81 B Ixion Group from G. Schneider-Herrmann(1996) Samnites of the Fourth Century BC as depicted on Campanian Vases and in other sources. Plate 56a.

The ideological differences between the Greek *ephebia* and the Samnite *vereiia* centre on the important military aspect of the *vereiia*. This led to substantial changes in how the ritual of bathing was carried out by each society. Collective bathing for the Greeks was first associated with physical activity in the *gymnasia*. There is no proper *gymnasium* in Pompeii - only *palaestra* dating from the 2nd century BC. There is no further evidence to suggest that *gymnasia* were used to train men. This may be due to the fact that by the time the Samnites became acquainted with the idea, they were also already familiar with hot bathing facilities and instead joined the two structures into the unique architectural form fully developed first in the Stabian Baths dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. This form combines both exercise and bathing in heated rooms in the same structure. It also allows the structure to be used by more than just one section of the population.

## Campanian Cavalry

Related to the *vereiia* are the Campanian mercenaries first attested to in the literary sources in 414 BC to aid Athens in their Sicilian campaigns.<sup>41</sup> Frederiksen argues that these mercenaries were the *equites Campani* and the early date of their appearance is important, as not long after their conquest of Capua and Cumae they have already secured a reputation as a notable cavalry force.<sup>42</sup> In a short period of time the *equites Campani* had already established a reputation as fierce fighters. In order to create such a strong fighting force there must have been adequate training, which suggests that they were already familiar with training schools for young warriors. However, there is no evidence of any special architectural structures constructed or space delineated for the practice any other way, which suggests that there was no need for it. The training most likely took place in outlying areas and it was not deemed important to have space specially demarcated for the training. Also, training with horses naturally necessitates the need for ample open space and not a built structure. This creates a situation wherein there may not be any physical evidence to determine where the training actually took place. The silence of the literary sources on the topic creates further problems in identifying the location of the training grounds.

Based on the equestrian training of the *equites Campani* a built structure was not feasible to confine their activity and that the training took place in open areas. Further, since the training of elite male members of Campanian society

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<sup>41</sup> See M. Frederiksen, "Campanian Cavalry: A Question of Origins," *Dialoghi di Archeologia*, Anno 2 (1968), 12 and 14.

<sup>42</sup> Frederiksen (1968), 14.

already had its own social institution, the *equites Campani*, the Greek *ephebia* and hence the *gymnasium* was never as popular in Campania as it was in Greece. Rather what develops, as will be further outlined in chapter 6, is the development of a new architectural structure, the Campanian public baths. This new architectural form was the result of the acculturation of the inhabitants of the area and draws upon influences from the Greeks and Campanians in the area. The function of the new architectural type develops to suit the needs of both cultures and what develops is a new type of building created in the context of a 'middling ground'.

### **Iconographic Representation of Samnites**

The architectural evidence for the social institutions briefly outlined above is admittedly quite sparse for the region, however, the iconographic images on vases and tombs can provide further insight into the self-representation of the Samnite male elite and further elucidate the differences between the Greek and Samnite social institutions on training and educating elite males.

There is a change in the iconographic representation of elite status in Paestan burial culture from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC items of war, such as weapons, were included in elite graves. By the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC these are replaced with strigils implying that participation in athletics were more representative of elite status in the Paestan community.<sup>43</sup> Colivicchi's analysis of the material culture in elite male burials, however, suggests strigils were only supplementary to the arms and is indicative of

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<sup>43</sup> Pedley (1990), 96.

indigenous attitudes to athletics.<sup>44</sup> The argument is substantiated by images on red-figure vases depicting the transition from youth to manhood, which for the Greeks was achieved through participation in athletic activities in the *gymnasium* but on vases likely intended for purchase by indigenous consumers in Southern Italy depicts warriors.<sup>45</sup> Cuozzo's interpretation of the funerary evidence in Campania from the Early Iron Age to the Orientalizing period complements Colivicchi's study.<sup>46</sup> In the Sarno Valley elite male burials maintain traditional forms of self-representation. Greek pottery only appears in female and infant burials but is noticeably absent from the male burials.<sup>47</sup>

This change, as demonstrated in the material culture of burials, does not appear to be physically present in the architectural complexes of Paestum. Apart from the Campus there is no identifiable *gymnasium* complex. Is it still athletics as represented by the institution of the *gymnasium*, which the strigil is one of the iconographic representations of, when there are no identifiable *gymnasia* complexes in the existing archaeological record? Also, because public baths in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC were still primarily located outside of the urban area and had not yet become part of the urban landscape until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>48</sup> it is possible that no examples have survived, being built over by urban expansion in the Hellenistic period and replaced with newer models?

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<sup>44</sup> Colivicchi (2006), 73.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>46</sup> Mariassunta Cuozzo, "Ancient Campania: Cultural Interaction, Political Borders and Geographical Boundaries," *Ancient Italy: Regions without Boundaries*, eds. G. Bradley, E. Isayev and C. Riva (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), 224-267. Cuozzo explores the process of identity building of indigenous people in Campania through an analysis of burial goods.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 253.

<sup>48</sup> Gill (2004), 15.

## Conclusions

The architectural form of the Greek *ephebia* was the *gymnasium*. This form suited the function of the institution for the Greeks. In Campania, the extant physical evidence of *gymnasia* is scarce, which suggests that it was never as integral a part of social life for the Samnites as it was for the Greeks. The Samnites, presumably used open areas for military training. There are a few examples of architectural structures to accommodate training of both youth and the *Campani equites*, the Samnite Palaestra being the best example, but the lack of any architectural structures for this purpose suggests that these activities most likely occurred in outlying open spaces away from the urban centre. There is no evidence of bathing facilities attached to the Samnite Palaestra, but its proximity to the Republican Baths suggests that the baths may have also served the *vereiia*. By the time that the *vereiia* and *equites Campani* become an integral part of the social order public bathing more commonly occurs in the public baths, rather than the *gymnasia*.

The Samnites appropriate the concept of training youth, but the way in which they did so differed from the Greeks and as a result the development of the public baths in Campania took on a different form, based on their difference in function from the Greek *gymnasia*.

As suggested above, it can be argued that the function of public baths in Campania was a direct result of the various social conventions of the Samnites. Although they had similar institutions as the Greeks for training young men, they did not adopt the *gymnasium* complex as widely as the Greeks did. The earliest

literary references to the *vereiia* and the *equites Campani* date from the 4<sup>th</sup> century and by this time public baths had become more common than *gymnasia*. This is evident in the earliest examples of Campanian public baths, which combine elements of both the *gymnasium* and public baths together into one architectural complex. The proximity of the Samnite Palaestra to the Stabian Baths in Pompeii suggests that although distinct spaces may be allocated for the *vereiia*, they still did not have or need elaborate bathing facilities attached to them.

## Chapter 3 Formal Influences on Public Baths

### Introduction

The previous chapter presented an analysis of the evidence to establish how differences in the social customs of the Samnites resulted in a change in the function of the public baths as compared with the Greeks. For the moment, the focus shifts to the formal development of domestic baths in Campania. Form and function are separate components of structural design, hence they are first addressed separately. Both the function and the form are considered together in the following chapters. How are the particular components of the form approached? The form of the public bath as it develops in Campania is unique and different from the Greek public baths. What factors can be identified as influencing this development? A new architectural form does not just occur. It develops over time to meet the specific needs of the people using the structure. In many ways architectural form is intimately linked to the function of the building.

The Samnites in the area had a number of different types of structures, which could have influenced the form of their public baths. They were familiar with the Greek public baths through contact with Greek settlements in the area such as Cumae. Greek style monumental public buildings for collective activities such as the *palaestra* were also familiar as a result of their contact with the Greek cities in Magna Graecia. The form of the Campanian public baths, however, incorporates elements of both of these structures but does not faithfully reproduce either of their plans but rather combines the two.



Besides these Greek architectural forms and styles there were also indigenous bathing chambers in the domestic sphere. The indigenous domestic examples that chronologically precede the Campanian public baths are examined in detail below. What is the form and spatial layout of these domestic baths? What unique and defining features do they possess? What is different about them from Greek domestic baths? What do we know about the socio-economic standing of the inhabitants of these houses? Are there any architectural features that are specific to the indigenous cultures of the area? These are some of the questions that will be addressed in this chapter.

The evidence is approached from two perspectives. First, how bathing in indigenous domestic contexts influenced the form of public baths is analysed using the literary and material evidence. Second, the diversity between the Campanian and Greek Hellenistic domestic baths are noted and an explanation offered for these disparities. Why is it important to consider domestic bathing habits first? The premise on which this study is based, is that local customs influenced the function and form of the public baths.<sup>1</sup> The basic idea may have been borrowed from the Greeks, but the unique way in which it was realized in Southern Italy can only be explained by examining both indigenous cultural influences and architectural traditions. As already demonstrated in the previous chapter, bathing is inherent in every culture but how a culture bathes is based on their own rituals and ideas about cleanliness. In order to have a better understanding of how bathing in Greece and Italy differed, this chapter explores

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<sup>1</sup> The introduction of Chapter 2 outlines this in more detail.

the rituals of bathing associated with each culture. The literary and material evidence from Greece is analysed first. Then, the evidence from Southern Italy is addressed. Finally, the similarities and differences between the two are considered. While the focus is on the architectural form of the domestic baths in both regions, first the social rituals from literary sources are addressed.

The indigenous social rituals associated with bathing in the private sector are crucial for understanding how bathing in public develops, particularly why distinct architectural forms are adopted respectively in Greece and Campania. It is possible that separate rituals, untraceable in the archaeological record and unrecorded in the literary evidence, may have developed from the private to the public sphere.<sup>2</sup> It is also reasonable to assume that the basic way in which people bathed in both is relatively similar, enough so to apply the private bathing rituals to the public and vice-versa in this period when both the literary and material evidence is limited.

Searching the domestic realm for parallel developments with public baths in Italy is, admittedly, not a new approach and previous studies have taken this line of inquiry.<sup>3</sup> The focus of these studies, however, has been on identifying the

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<sup>2</sup> Coarelli has examined how architectural forms in Greece evolved for the public sphere. When these same forms are introduced and used by the Romans they are integrated into the private sphere rather than the public sphere. See F. Coarelli, "Architettura sacra e architettura privata nella tarda repubblica," *Architecture et société: de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine: actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome, Rome 2-4 décembre 1980*, Collection de l'École française de Rome. 66 (Paris: Le Centre, 1983), 191-217. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC the Oscan city of Pompeii underwent a similar process affecting sacred, private, public, and civic restructuring. See Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 129-137.

<sup>3</sup> Most notably Di Capua and Fabricotti. See Francesco Di Capua, "Appunti sull'origine e sviluppo delle terme romane," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia di archaeologia e lettere e belle arti* 20 (1940), 83-155 and Emanuela Fabricotti, "I bagni nelle prime ville romane," *Cronache Pompeiane* 2 (1976), 29-11. Di Capua's analysis is dated going back to 1940 and Fabricotti's dates to 1976. More recently X. Lafon has examined domestic baths of the 2nd century B.C. see Xavier Lafon, "Les bains privés dans l'Italie Romaine au II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-c.," in *Les Thermes Romains: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), 97-114.

origins of Roman baths and include domestic examples that are contemporary with, and even post-date the Stabian Baths.<sup>4</sup> This is problematic because these studies assume that the Stabian Baths are a Roman construct; however, the Stabian Baths predate the foundation of the Roman colony and must be placed within the context of the Oscan city of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Further, it is not possible to construct a valid argument on cause and effect when the cause, in this case the domestic baths, is contemporary with the effect, the form and function of public baths.<sup>5</sup>

Di Capua believed that the origins of Roman public baths could be traced back to folk medicine traditions in central Italy. He argued that climatic factors caused seasonal ailments such as the common cold and rheumatic pains. Sweating was considered to be beneficial in alleviating these conditions and Di Capua located a room, in domestic contexts in Campania and Latium, for this purpose. He argued that in order to prevent a shock to the system upon exiting the room that in time this room was joined with another room moderately heated and later physically linked with the *lavatrina*, a room for cold-water washing. The addition of the moderately heated room and the *lavatrina* to the sweat room were equated by Di Capua to the typical *caldarium*, *tepidarium* and *frigidarium* arrangement of Roman public baths.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The date of the Stabian Baths in this study follows Mau's original date of the 2nd century B.C., not Eschebach's, which places the first phase of the Stabian Baths in the 5th century B.C. See A. Mau, *Pompeii: its life and art*, transl. F.W. Kelsey (New York: MacMillan & Co., 1902), 189 and Eschebach (1979).

<sup>5</sup> See Fagan (2001), 417, note 55.

<sup>6</sup> Di Capua (1940), 84-87.

The main problem with Di Capua's argument is the chronology of his evidence. The villas included in his study, such as the villa at Civita Guiliana, are either contemporary with the Stabian Baths or post-date it.<sup>7</sup> If the formal arrangement of rooms along gradient heating is already present in the material record for public baths then Di Capua's argument is specious. It is not, however, without merit to consider the domestic evidence, which will be elaborated in more detail below.

Another problem with the previous approaches, despite their focus on the origins of Roman public baths, is that they only consider the domestic evidence and do not include all the available evidence, such as *palaestra*.<sup>8</sup> It is problematic to seek the answers to all the questions in only one set of data. Sometimes the most well argued theories come from examining the material evidence from a number of different sources. The concept of public baths did originate in Greece; this is not disputed. But the form and the function in the Campanian examples, as will be demonstrated below, did differ.<sup>9</sup> While scholars can accept that there must be some influence from Italic traditions in the domestic sphere the answer to the development is still sought outside of Italy. Yegül states that, "other, more sophisticated, and predominantly non-Italian sources must be considered if the full structure and meaning of Roman public baths and bathing are to be properly elucidated."<sup>10</sup> This is a clear example of

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 89-90.

<sup>8</sup> Fabricotti only addresses the domestic evidence and does not consider how other structures may have influenced the form and function. Di Capua does include other elements, such as the *palaestra* that may have influenced the form of Roman public baths but nothing substantial has been written on the early domestic baths since.

<sup>9</sup> This argument is explored in Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>10</sup> Yegül (1992), 54.

purposely seeking the answers outside of Italy and not giving the local customs due attention.

The study here addresses these issues in two ways. First, the chronological framework is re-examined. Rather than continue the fallacy in the tradition of previous scholarship and continue to use the same chronological framework, only domestic architecture that pre-dates the Stabian Baths is examined. Admittedly, this will limit the Italic evidence that is available for analysis. It is still possible, however, to construct a valid argument using a limited data base that is chronologically secure compared to a wider data base with chronologically suspect data.<sup>11</sup>

Second, the evidence, here, will be examined in an indigenous Southern Italian context as it is not the origins of Roman public baths, but the development of Campanian public baths that are sought in this study. The material evidence will be evaluated on its own merit and not in an attempt to place it within a much later Roman Imperial context. This begins by first examining domestic bathing customs and material remains from Greece. One of the main arguments for the origins of public baths in Italy, specifically Roman public baths, in previous studies is that they developed out of the Greek public baths.<sup>12</sup> In comparing and contrasting baths in the domestic sphere it is possible to discern differences in the domestic bathing cultures in Greece and Southern Italy.

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<sup>11</sup> For some of the problems with interpreting the evidence of the 2nd century BC in Italy see Neville Morley, "Urbanisation and Development in Italy in the Late Republic" in *People, Land, and Politics* edited by L. De Ligt and S. J. Northwood (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 121-137.

<sup>12</sup> See Nielsen (1993), vol. 1 and (1985); and Yegül (1992), 55-57.

## Greek Domestic Baths

First, the Greek evidence will be analysed in order to establish the differences between domestic rituals of bathing between Greece and the Southern Italic peoples as well as how domestic bath architecture influenced the form of public baths. There is more evidence for domestic bathing in Greece for the Bronze Age, Archaic and Classical periods than there is for Italy – both source and material evidence. The material evidence dates back to habitations in the Minoan and Mycenaean periods and there are numerous literary accounts as early as Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>13</sup>

### Literary Evidence

From the Homeric epics there are numerous references to washing before meals; at Odysseus' house,<sup>14</sup> the house of Menelaus,<sup>15</sup> at Alcinous' house<sup>16</sup> and even when Odysseus and his companions eat on a deserted beach.<sup>17</sup> This is a simple type of washing consisting of pouring water over one's hands before a meal.

There is a stock phrase used in many of the examples. Compare the following:

χέρνιβα δ' ἄμφίπολος προχόω ἐπέχευε φέρουσα  
καλῆ χρυσεῖη ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,  
νίψασθαι.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> There are numerous debates on using the Homeric epics for historical information and while this is not the place to enter into that debate, it still must be remembered that these views exist. For the purposes of this analysis the Homeric evidence is taken to reflect societal customs and norms of the period in which the epics were written, around 700 BC and not the Late Bronze Age.

<sup>14</sup> *Od.* 1.136; 1.146; 17.91.

<sup>15</sup> *Od.* 4.52 and 15.135-7.

<sup>16</sup> *Od.* 7.172

<sup>17</sup> *Od.* 10.182.

<sup>18</sup> *Od.* 4.52

χέρνιβα δ' ἄμφίπολος προχόω ἐπέχευε φέρουσα  
καλῆ χρυσεΐη, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λέβητος,  
νίψασθαι.<sup>19</sup>

The two passages, although from different parts of the *Odyssey*, are identical in their composition detailing the ritual of washing before a meal. A golden vessel pours water over hands, which are placed above a silver basin to catch the water. It has also been suggested that there may be ritual significance associated with this type of washing.<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to note that there is no mention of whether hands were washed after the meal and all the references pertain to washing before the meal. As Ginouvés has pointed out, in the Homeric writings it appears as if the heroes wash their hands more often than they take a complete bath.<sup>21</sup> One possible explanation for this is that bathing was not an integral part of daily life for Greeks in this period.

The practice of washing one's hands before dining continues in Greece and is still prevalent in the writings of Aristophanes.<sup>22</sup> It appears as if this is not only a Homeric ritual but one that was a part of daily life in Greece from the 7th century BC to the Classical period. The importance of these literary references of washing hands before partaking in a meal is that this type of bathing would not be identifiable in the archaeological record if literary descriptions or pictorial representations did not survive. There is nothing in particular in the material evidence to suggest that the washing of hands before a meal would be as prevalent as it appears from the literary sources. In fact, without the literary

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<sup>19</sup> *Od.* 1.136.

<sup>20</sup> Ginouvés (1962), 152-5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>22</sup> Arist. *Wasps* 1216 and *Birds* 463-4.

accounts of this practice it may very well be an unknown Greek social custom, which demonstrates the significance of the literary texts in providing information not visible in the archaeological record. This is critical when examining the Italic evidence for which there is considerably less literary as well as material evidence.

It is still possible, however, to discern the differences in bathing habits through close examination of the material evidence. While it may not be possible to determine with absolute certainty what the bathing rituals were in Southern Italy in the earliest period of their appearance, nevertheless it is possible to draw attention to the differences in the type of bathing as well as the form of the architectural structures for bathing between the Greeks and peoples of the Southern Italy.

By the Classical period the sources suggest that bathing the feet becomes associated with hand washing before a meal.<sup>23</sup> There is an allusion to this habit in Herodotus who relates a prophecy that the Milesian women would wash the feet of long-haired men - the Lydians who conquered the area around 600 BC.<sup>24</sup> A further reference in Plato's *Symposium* has Aristodemus being bathed by an attendant before he takes his place on the reclining couch to partake in the meal.<sup>25</sup> More commonly, the washing of feet is associated with travellers and guests and is considered relaxing after a long voyage.<sup>26</sup> This custom is seen in the Homeric epics and continues into the Classical period.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ginouvés (1962), 155.

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus, *Histories* 6.19.

<sup>25</sup> Plato, *Symposium* 175.

<sup>26</sup> Ginouvés (1962), 156.

<sup>27</sup> *Od.* 19.319 and Aristophanes, *Wasps* 608.



A number of passages also discuss bathing the whole body in the Homeric epics. Odysseus, in the guise of an old man, first has his feet and hands washed as a traveller and is offered a full bath the next morning.<sup>28</sup> Bathtubs are also referenced: for example when Odysseus and Diomedes first wash themselves off in the sea and then take a bath in “smooth-polished” bathtubs.<sup>29</sup> In this particular passage even after they have bathed their whole bodies their hands are still washed before they dine. This is also seen in the *Odyssey* when Odysseus is greeted by Circe, bathed and then offered a meal.<sup>30</sup> These passages are interesting as they suggest that the washing of hands before dining was not necessarily done for hygienic reasons and adds further validation to Ginouvés theory that the ritual had some religious significance.<sup>31</sup>

Bathing before a meal continues into the Classical period and is alluded to in the writings of Plato, Aristophanes and Xenophon.<sup>32</sup> There is still the bathing of hands and sometimes feet immediately preceding the banquet and some of the sources also suggest that a full bath is not always taken at home but also at the *gymnasium*.<sup>33</sup> Ginouvés suggests that this practice is not simply for hygienic reasons but that it would also have lent to a more enjoyable experience of the

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<sup>28</sup> *Od.* 19.320.

<sup>29</sup> *Il.* 10.576.

<sup>30</sup> *Od.* 10. 361.

<sup>31</sup> See above Chapter 3 note 20.

<sup>32</sup> Plato, *Symp.* 174a; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1066-68; Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.7.

<sup>33</sup> Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.7. Note that there is no physical evidence of bathing facilities in the Greek *gymnasia* that could accommodate bathing the whole body.

*symposium* and hence limited to the elite.<sup>34</sup> There are also references to taking full baths in the morning<sup>35</sup> as well as the bathing of soldiers.<sup>36</sup>

The Greek word for a bathtub is ἀσάμνθος. A close reading of the sources suggests that it was something that one was put into but not whether they stood, crouched or sat.<sup>37</sup> The word is first used in Homer but its meaning is controversial. In a recent article S. Reece states that the word, as used in Homer, refers to a bathtub, particularly one in which the bather entered and not merely a washbasin or tripod and secondly, that the word is not a native Greek word, but one that is introduced to Greece, perhaps from Anatolia or the Near East.<sup>38</sup>

The literary sources also provide limited insight into the location of baths in domestic settings. There is the passage in the *Odyssey* where Penelope ascends to her rooms after taking a bath.<sup>39</sup> A much later passage in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* mentions the organization of the house, including the baths, but does not specify where baths would be located. He does, however, mention organizing bathing items and carrying all things to their proper place.<sup>40</sup> This suggests that the baths were located in one specific area of the house and may not have been easily moved from room to room.

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<sup>34</sup> Ginouvés (1962), 157.

<sup>35</sup> *Od.* 19.320

<sup>36</sup> *Il.* 22.444 and Plutarch, *Alex.* 20.

<sup>37</sup> J.M. Cook, "Bath-tubs in Ancient Greece," *Greece and Rome* 2nd series, 6.1 (1959), 31.

<sup>38</sup> S. Reece, "The Homeric Ἀσάμνθος: Stirring the Waters of the Mycenaean Bath," *Mnemosyne* 4th series 55.6 (2002), 703. J.M. Cook previously has also suggested that Ἀσάμνθος is not a Greek word based on the work of Kretschmer, see Cook (1959), 32. See also Robert Renehan, "The Greeks and the Bath," *The Classical Review* 18.2 (1968), 133-4.

<sup>39</sup> *Od.* 4.750

<sup>40</sup> *Xen. Oec.* 9.2-11

What do these sources tell us about the Greek ritual of a full bath? A bath consists of entering a bathtub, the dimensions of which are not provided in the literary sources. The bather is attended to by women, servants or young daughters pouring water over the head and shoulders; suggesting that the bathtubs would not have been large enough for full immersion and only the lower part of the body would be fully immersed. Following the cleansing experience of the bath, the bather could be anointed with oil and don fresh clothes. While a few of the Classical sources mention women and children, males figure more prominently in the sources. Also, the sources, from the Homeric to the Classical period, are quite similar in their description of how and why full baths occurs.

### **Archaeological Evidence**

Having examined the Greek literary evidence, attention now turns to the material evidence. An overview of the material culture is presented, primarily to familiarize the reader with the physical evidence in order to facilitate a comparison with the evidence in Southern Italy: it is not an exhaustive overview and does not presuppose to be so. As previously stated the physical evidence for baths goes back to the Bronze Age with examples in Knossos.

### **Bronze Age**

There are two important features in the Minoan period, the lustral basin and bathtubs. Both of these will be briefly addressed below. The importance of the Minoan evidence is to establish that as early as the Bronze Age there was a customary method of how the Greeks bathed and that this method did not undergo radical change from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period.

## Lustral Basins

The lustral basin is an architectural feature that occurs mainly in palatial complexes but is also evident in domestic contexts and in some sanctuaries. The term was first applied by Arthur Evans to describe a sunken room with stairs leading down to a basin-like area normally set off by a columned balustrade.<sup>41</sup> The basins are generally lined with gypsum.<sup>42</sup> Their exact function is debated and they have been associated with ritual initiation,<sup>43</sup> purification,<sup>44</sup> and bathing.<sup>45</sup>

There is some discussion that the lustral basins were used for bathing but L. Hitchcock contends that it would not have been necessary due to the existence of proper bathtubs.<sup>46</sup> There is no clear evidence of drains for any of these structures and suggestions such as water-pourers pouring water over the bathers in the basin from above<sup>47</sup> also tend to be rather spurious and unsupported by the physical evidence. The width of the parapets above the basin, 0.4-0.5 m, is too wide to accommodate such activity.<sup>48</sup> An alternate suggestion that bathtubs were placed in the lustral basins and privacy accorded by installing curtains to screen

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<sup>41</sup> Arthur Evans, "Knossos: Summary Report of the Excavations in 1900," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 6 (1899-1900), 38.

<sup>42</sup> The use of gypsum has been debated. Some see it as being detrimental to identifying the room as a bathroom citing the solubility of gypsum in running water while others see it as a type of primitive tile similar to what modern bathrooms contain today. For more on this see J. Walter Graham, *The Palaces of Crete*, revised ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 104.

<sup>43</sup> Nanno Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens: D&A Mathioulakis, 1984), 14 and 61-70; Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image, and Symbol* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 77-87; Nanno Marinatos and Robin Hägg, "On the Ceremonial Function of the Minoan Plythyron," *Opuscula Atheniensia* XVI.6 (1986), 59-68.

<sup>44</sup> Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos Volume I: The Neolithic and Early Middle Minoan Ages* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1921), 5.

<sup>45</sup> Graham (1987), 99-108.

<sup>46</sup> Louise Hitchcock, *Minoan Architecture: A Contextual Analysis* (Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag, 2000), 160-1.

<sup>47</sup> Graham (1987), 265.

<sup>48</sup> Hitchcock (2000), 160.

the bathers from the public location of the lustral basins<sup>49</sup> is also not supported by the evidence as neither bathtubs nor any apparatus suggesting the hanging of curtains have been found in close proximity of any of the lustral basins.<sup>50</sup>

At Knossos there are three lustral basins. There is one located to the west of the North-West Hall and Portico, which dates from the Middle Minoan III period and was built over towards the end of the period.<sup>51</sup> This one is larger and deeper than the others, being 2 m deep and 2.5 m<sup>2</sup> and has steps on three sides.<sup>52</sup> It is built of dressed limestone masonry and the walls and floor are lined with gypsum. There is another lustral basin just opposite the throne in the Throne Room (see Figure 3.1). The third is in the Queen's Megaron and will be discussed in more detail in the section on bathtubs, as fragments of a bathtub were found in association with the room.

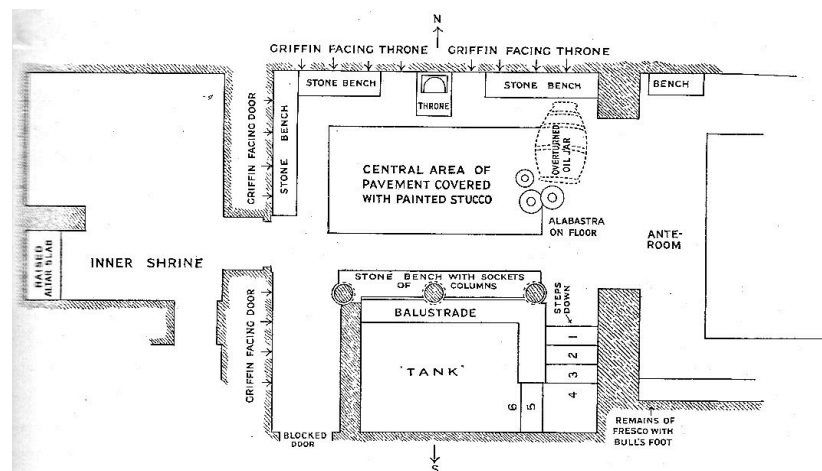


Figure 3.1 Plan, Throne Room, Knossos  
from A. Evans (1921) *The Palace of Minos* vol. 1. Figure 1, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> G. Cadogan, *The Palaces of Minoan Crete* (London: Barrie Jenkins Ltd., 1976), 58.

<sup>50</sup> Hitchcock (2000), 160.

<sup>51</sup> Evans (1921), 217.

<sup>52</sup> Evans (1921), 406. See also Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos Volume 3: The Great Transitional Age in the Northern and Eastern Sections of the Palace* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1930), 8-12.

This architectural form, whether for ritual purification/initiation or for bathing is evident at other sites as well. There are four lustral basins in the palatial complex at Phaistos;<sup>53</sup> two at Zakros;<sup>54</sup> another at Kato Zakro in the Hall of Ceremonies and the East Wing;<sup>55</sup> Tylissos House A;<sup>56</sup> Hagia Triada; “Villa” A;<sup>57</sup> Mallia, residential quarter, quartier III;<sup>58</sup> and even on Akrotiri in the Aegean in Xeste 3.<sup>59</sup> One of the more interesting examples comes from Akrotiri. The frescoes are fairly well preserved at this site and their interpretation by N. Marinatos suggests that the room had a religious function. The pictorial program of the frescoes in Room 3 includes a goddess and an altar, and the other images suggest that the rites associated with this particular room probably involved the initiation of young girls into womanhood (see Figure 3.2).<sup>60</sup>

The association of lustral basins as well as bathtubs to entranceways in Minoan architecture is prominent.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Hitchcock (2000), 170-173.

<sup>54</sup> N. Platon, Zakros *The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 127-132 for a detailed description of the lustral basin associated with the Central Shrine; see 180-183 for a detailed description of what is called the bathroom associated with the Royal Living Quarters, although it has the same form as the lustral basin.

<sup>55</sup> See Hitchcock (2000), 175-176 and 179.

<sup>56</sup> J. Hazzidakis, *Tylissos: Villas Minoennes, Études crétoises* 3 (Paris, 1934).

<sup>57</sup> F. Halbherr, E. Stefani and L. Banti, “Haghia Triada nel periodo tardo palaziale,” *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni In Oriente* 55 (1977), 14-296.

<sup>58</sup> Hitchcock (2000), 169-170.

<sup>59</sup> Marinatos, (1984), 14 and 61-70.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-70.

<sup>61</sup> See Hitchcock (2000), 109-112.

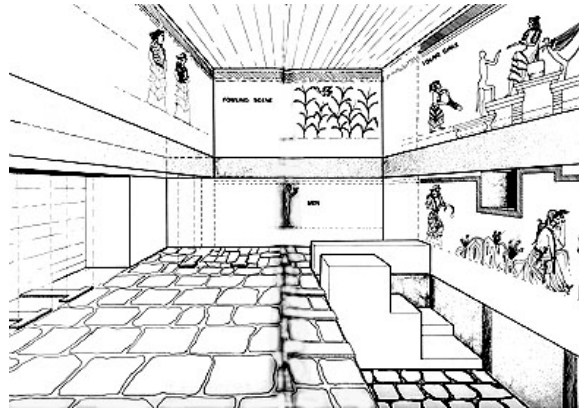


Figure 3.2 Drawing, Room 3, Xestes 3, Akrotiri  
 from <http://www.ou.edu/finearts/art/ahi4913/aegeanhtml/cyakr6.html> accessed  
 January 17, 2010.

### **Bathtubs and Bathrooms**

There is evidence of bathtubs dating from the Bronze Age. The first example, located at Knossos on Crete, dates from around 1600 BC. It is longer than the later example in the Queen's Megaron and has reeds and grasses painted in brown on the sides. There are carrying handles on the sides and at the end. It is higher at the head-end than at the foot.<sup>62</sup> The second example from Knossos is located off the Queen's Megaron at Knossos.<sup>63</sup> The bathtub of the Queen's Megaron is 1.32 m long. It is decorated with papyrus drawings on its sides and dates from approximately 1400 BC. J. M. Cook suggests that based on the date of the bathtub it may have been used by Mycenaean who took over the site in the years before the destruction of the palace.<sup>64</sup> It is interesting to note that the remains of the bathtub off the Queen's Megaron at Knossos were not found where Evans eventually placed the reconstructed bathtub (Figure 3.3). Evans himself notes that the pieces were found by the entrance and in the adjoining

<sup>62</sup> Cook, 34.

<sup>63</sup> Evans, *Knossos III*, 381-386.

<sup>64</sup> Cook (1959), 33.

section of the Megaron. There is no evidence of a drain in either of the bathtubs from Knossos and the placement of the tubs down a flight of steps is not practical. The water needs to be brought in and out of the tub and with no evidence of drains, particularly in the lustral basins, it is not feasible that this is where they were originally located.



Figure 3.3 Reconstruction Drawing, Bath Room in Queen's Megaron, Knossos from A. Evans (1930) *The Palace of Minos* vol. III. Figure 255, p. 384.

Two rooms have been identified as bathrooms on the Greek mainland from the Bronze Age. The so-called Red Bath at Mycenae is identified as such based on the existence of a drain on the north and east sides. It is called the Red Bath because of the red stucco that covers the floor.<sup>65</sup> The evidence used to identify this as a bath, the presence of a drain, is rather slim. There is one other Mycenaean example; fragments of a terra-cotta bath were found off the Throne

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<sup>65</sup> A.J.B. Wace, *Mycenae An Archaeological History and Guide* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1964), 79.



Room at Tiryns.<sup>66</sup> The floor of this room is a large limestone slab, estimated to weigh 25 tons, which declines towards one side where a funnel shaped conduit is carved into the limestone to carry water to the drain.<sup>67</sup>

There is also a terracotta bathtub at Pylos dated from around 1200 BC. Room 43, where the bathtub is located, is 6.34 m long and 2.56 m wide.<sup>68</sup> The floor of the room is slanted to the north-east to allow for drainage. The clay container surrounding the tub is 1.78 m long with a height of 0.43 to 0.45 m coated in white plaster. Inside this clay container is the bathtub (Figure 3.4). There is a step on the floor of the room to the north-west of the clay base, also coated in stucco to allow easier access to the tub.<sup>69</sup> There are handles on the ends of the bathtub, and one in the middle on the outer side and possibly one on the other side, although this is only conjectured because of the placement of the bathtub in the clay container. There is evidence of paint in the interior and exterior, which suggests that originally it was not meant to be covered.<sup>70</sup> The size of the bath suggests that it is a hip-bath, in which the bather sat while water was poured over the head and shoulders.<sup>71</sup> Two large storage jars were found in the south-west corner of the room, C. Blegen, the excavator hypothesized that these would have held water or maybe wine.<sup>72</sup> Other items found in the room include

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<sup>66</sup> Cook (1959), 34.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>68</sup> Carl. W. Blegen and M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia Volume I: The Buildings and Their Contents* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 186.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 187.

<sup>70</sup> Carl W. Blegen, "Nestor's Pylos," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 101.4 (1957), 382.

<sup>71</sup> Blegen (1966), 188.

<sup>72</sup> Blegen (1957), 382.

a plain-stemmed drinking cup in the bottom of the bathtub, seven *kylixes* in one of the two large storage jars and nine broken *kylixes* in the other.



Figure 3.4 Photograph, bathtub, Pylos  
from [http://farm3.static.flickr.com/2152/2621736330\\_4150ee0840.jpg](http://farm3.static.flickr.com/2152/2621736330_4150ee0840.jpg) accessed January 17, 2010.

For the Mycenaean evidence there is only one site with solid identification of an actual bathtub. The other two rooms that have been identified as bathrooms, based on floor inclinations and the presence of drains, are not solid identifications. The use of bathtubs and the form of the bathtubs is important in showing continuity. The lustral basins are enigmatic and further investigation into their function is necessary before any conclusions can be reached regarding this unique architectural feature. The location of the lustral basins near major entrance ways and across from thrones does suggest some ritual importance but just because the rooms are sunken and lined with gypsum

does not necessarily mean that these were associated with bathing; however, to exclude the evidence in this discussion would be to ignore an important part of the evidence for this time period.

### **Smyrna**

There is a gap in the evidence after the Bronze Age and no evidence, either physical or literary, until around 700 BC when once again there is physical evidence of bathtubs in Greece. The site of Smyrna in Ionia has evidence of terracotta bathtubs.<sup>73</sup> One was completely reconstructed and dates from before the Lydian destruction of the city around 600 BC. It has a greater depth and width than the earlier example at Knossos with a higher rim on the end where the head would be. It is lower at the foot end of the tub, which may have made it easier for people with reduced mobility to step in and out of the tub. The bathtub is too heavy to be moved and presumably was set up in one room and remained *in situ*; unfortunately this room has not been identified. The back of the tub was unfinished suggesting that this end would have been against a wall. There were two plugholes to facilitate the draining of water from the tub.

Besides the literary accounts and the images on vases the physical evidence is sparse for the Archaic and Classical periods. It is only towards the end of the Classical period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period that more evidence appears. Before examining the evidence a brief excursus on the form of Greek houses of the 5<sup>th</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC is necessary. The scholarship on

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<sup>73</sup> Cook (1959), 36.

Greek domestic houses has recently received its due attention.<sup>74</sup> The Greek house of the Classical period can be divided into standard typologies. It is generally organized around an open courtyard, which normally has a portico along at least one side.<sup>75</sup> It can be further typified by the type of court; the *prostas*, typical of Priene, consisted of a narrow porch which projects in front of the main range of rooms; the *pastas*, typical of Olynthus, had a rather long portico in front of the main range of rooms and was integrated into the architecture of the house as a whole; the peristyle, common at Delos, and occasionally at Olynthus was a colonnaded porch which surrounded 3-4 sides of the court.<sup>76</sup>

The Hellenistic period saw no major alterations to these typologies. The size of the houses increased to reflect the wealth and/or status of the owner and the materials used to construct the houses become more elaborate. It is in the Hellenistic period that many fine mosaics are first evident, although there are a number of mosaics at the late Classical site of Olynthus.

### **Olynthus**

The site of Olynthus is located on the Chalcidic peninsula. The city was built on two hills looking over the plain below. Philip II of Macedon destroyed the city in 348 BC.<sup>77</sup> The site was excavated under the direction of David M. Robinson

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<sup>74</sup> See in particular Lisa Nevett, *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Nicholas Cahill, *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Prior to this the most comprehensive publication was B.C. Rider, *Ancient Greek Houses: Their History and Development from the Neolithic Period to the Hellenistic Age* (Chicago: Argonaut, Inc., Publishers, 1964).

<sup>75</sup> Vituv. *De Arch.* 7.1-7

<sup>76</sup> Nevett (1999), 21 For a more detailed description of the types of Greek houses of the Classical and Hellenistic period.

<sup>77</sup> Diod. Sic. 16.53; Dem. 19.267 and 19.196.

between 1928-1938 and contains some of the best examples of late Classical houses. The history of the occupation of the site is well known, particularly the North Hill which was laid out and occupied in 432 BC.<sup>78</sup>

The site of Olynthus has a number of domestic baths. These are typically located in what G.E. Mylonas has termed the *oikos* unit (see Figure 3.5), which consists of a three-room block with a small bath room, a flue and a living space.<sup>79</sup> Other scholars have applied more functional terminology to refer to this unit,<sup>80</sup> Cahill refers to it as the “Kitchen-Complex.”<sup>81</sup> This combination of rooms is something that is specific to Olynthus and is not widespread in other examples of late Classical-early Hellenistic Greek domestic architecture.

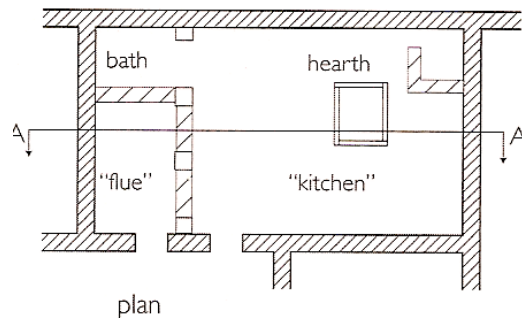


Figure 3.5 Plan, Olynthian Kitchen-Complex  
N. Cahill (2002) *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. Figure 14, p. 81.

<sup>78</sup> Thuc. 1.58 and Diod. Sic. 12.34.2.

<sup>79</sup> Nevett (1999), 66.

<sup>80</sup> David M. Robinson and J. Walter Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part 8. The Hellenic House. A Study of the Houses Found at Olynthus with a Detailed Account of Those Excavated in 1931 and 1934*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology 25 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938), 185-204; G.E. Mylonas, "Excursus on the Oecus Unit," *Excavations of Olynthus, Part 12. Domestic and Public Architecture*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology 36, edited by D.M. Robinson (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946), 369-97; J. Walter Graham, "Olynthiaka," *Hesperia* 23 (1954), 328-346; Vanna Svoronos-Jadjimichalis, "L'évacuation de la fumée dans la maisons grecques des Ve and IVE siècles," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 80 (1956), 483-506.

<sup>81</sup> See Cahill (2002), 80-1.

A total of 44 houses have been excavated at Olynthus<sup>82</sup> Cahill examines 13 houses from Olynthus, particularly their artefact assemblage, and provides excellent diagrams of the layout of the houses with the material remains overlaid on the layout. Only those houses which contained evidence of bathtubs will be addressed below.

The House of Many Colours (Figure 3.6) contained small fragments of a bathtub in room g, which is part of the kitchen-complex of rooms k, g, and h. There was an earthen floor and other finds include a set of grindstones, an *olpe*, a *pelike*, and a lamp.<sup>83</sup> This room is the smallest of rooms which make up the kitchen-complex. The finds suggest that it was multi-functional and the bath may not have been used here but merely stored when not required.<sup>84</sup>

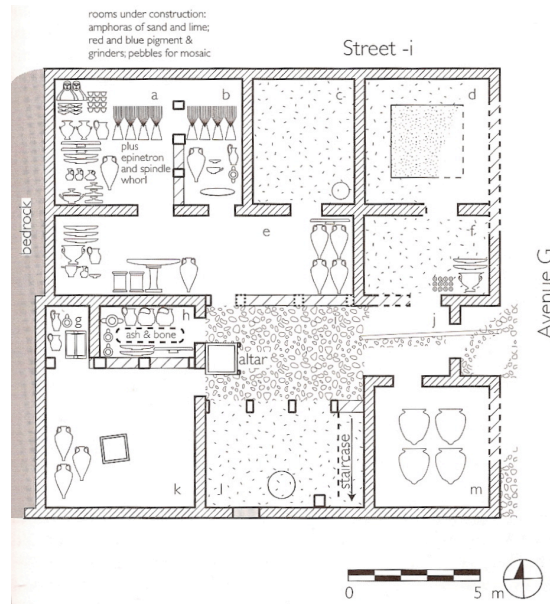


Figure 3.6 Plan, House of Many Colours, Olynthus  
from N. Cahill (2002) *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. Figure 17, p. 87.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 89-90.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 90.

The Villa of the Bronzes (Figure 3.7) contained a bathtub *in situ* in room k. The floor was cement-paved. Next to the bathtub was a terracotta basin full of ashes, which may have functioned as a makeshift brazier to heat the bath water.<sup>85</sup> The flue and the bath room were separated from the main room of the kitchen-complex by pillars and the bath room of this house is much more open than the other examples.

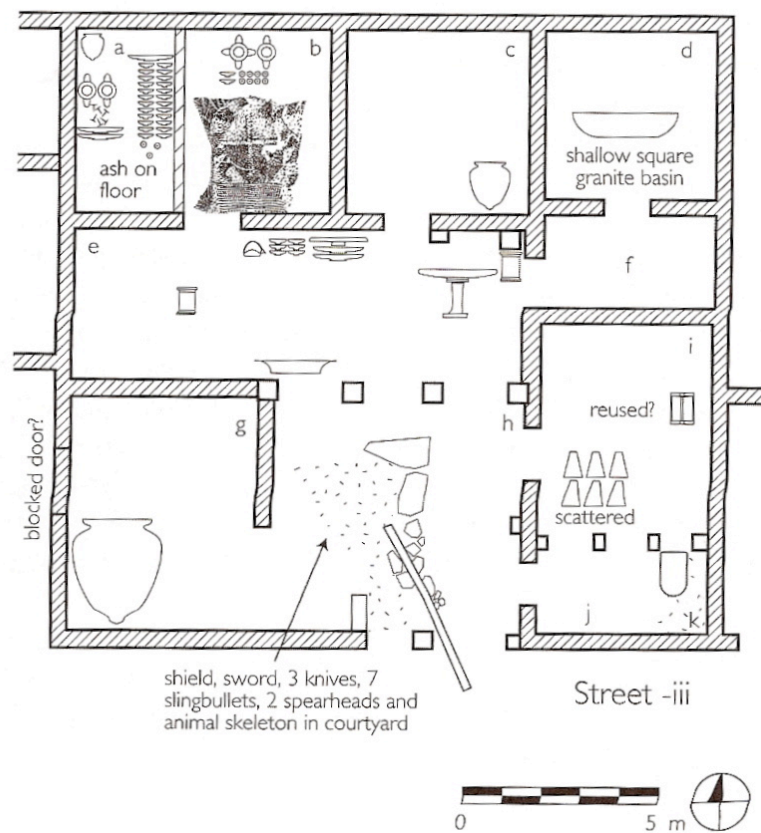


Figure 3.7 Plan, Villa of the Bronzes, Olynthus  
 from N. Cahill (2002) *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. Figure 20, p. 98.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 102.

House A vii 4 (Figure 3.8) contained evidence of a bathtub robbed out of room c. There was a gap left in the cement pavement. Other finds include two red-figured *lekythoi* that may have been for oil or perfumes used in bathing.<sup>86</sup>

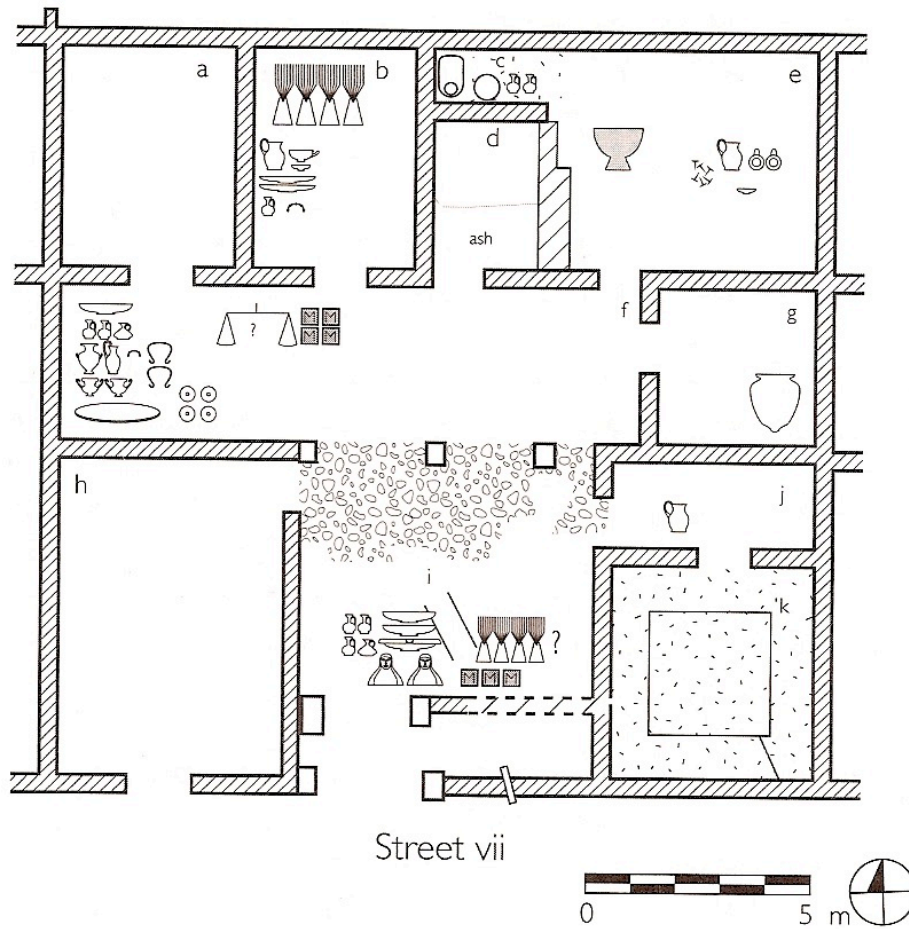


Figure 3.8 Plan, House A vii 4, Olynthus  
from N. Cahill (2002) *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. Figure 22, p. 104.

House A v 10 (Figure 3.9) contained fragments of a bathtub in the unlabelled room north of room c. The flue, room c, did not contain any evidence of cooking but rather jewellery and other objects associated with women; fibula,

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 106.



finger rings, beads of bone and glass, and a bronze object associated with weaving.<sup>87</sup>

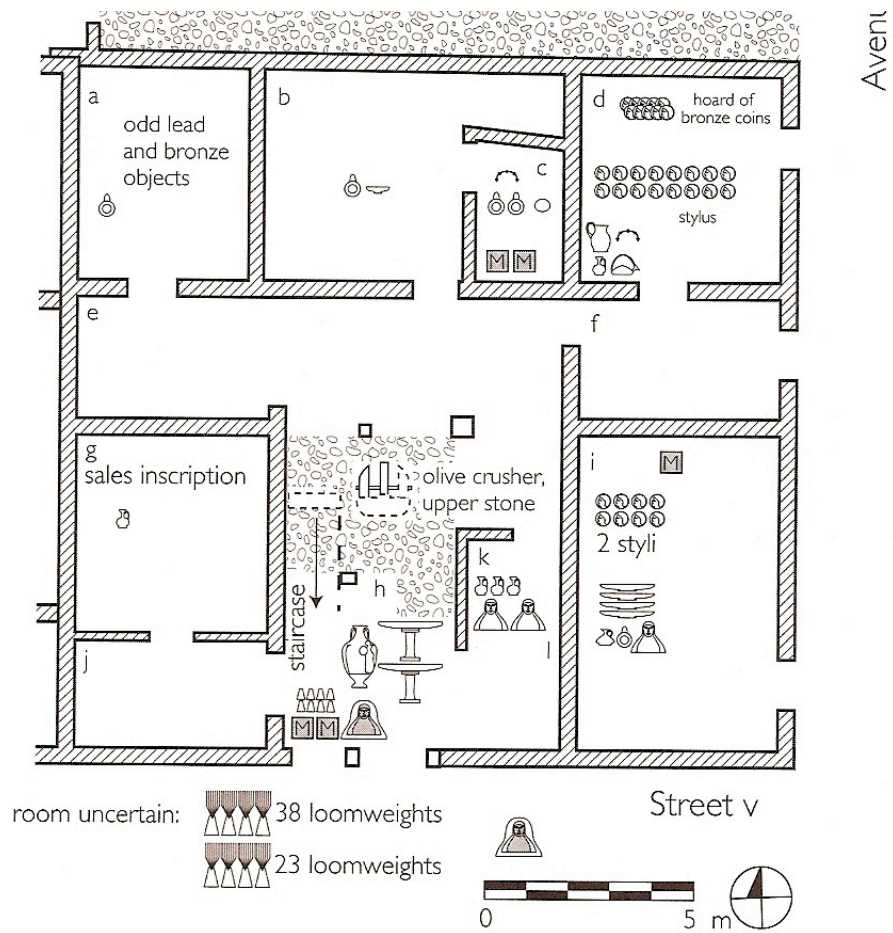


Figure 3.9 Plan, House A v 10, Olynthus  
 from N. Cahill (2002) *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. Figure 25, p. 114.

House A 8 (Figure 3.10) does not contain a readily identifiable kitchen-complex but a fragment of a bathtub rim was found in room a.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 115-6.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 126-127.

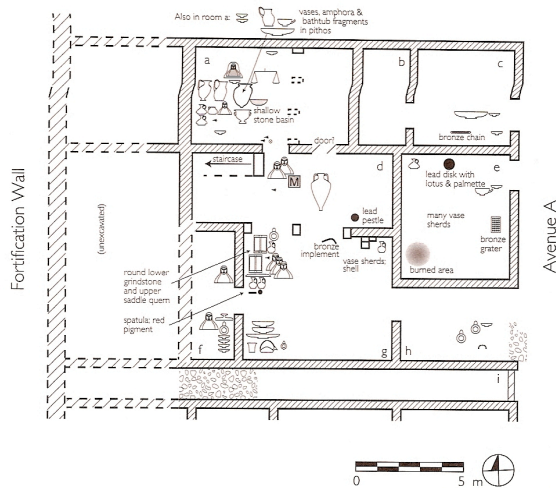


Figure 3.10 Plan, House A 8, Olynthus  
 from N. Cahill (2002) *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. Figure 27, p. 125.

The House of the Comedian (Figure 3.11) had a kitchen-complex (rooms c, d and e). The bath room, room c, had a pebbled floor with an *in situ* bathtub and a drain running through the door into a basin in the corner of the kitchen. There were no other finds in this room.<sup>89</sup>

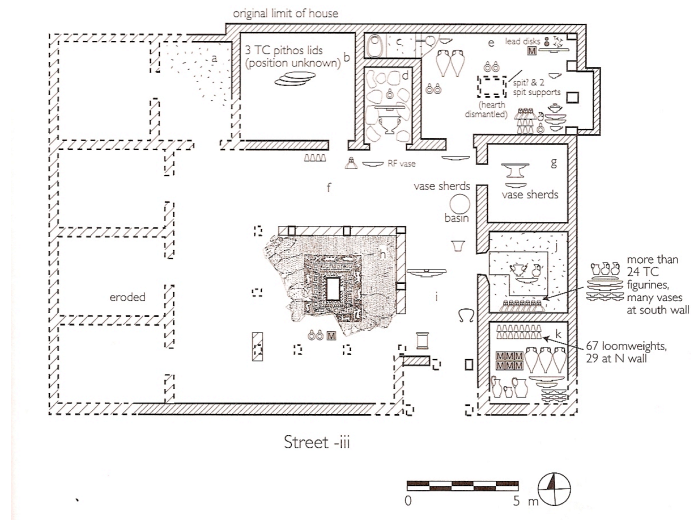


Figure 3.11 Plan, House of the Comedian, Olynthus  
 from N. Cahill (2002) *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. Figure 30, p. 137.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 138-140.

The evidence from Olynthus suggests that bathtubs were commonly used for bathing. These were predominantly located in the kitchen-complex and were located out of view of the central courtyard area of each house. The location of these rooms will be discussed further in relation to bath rooms in Southern Italian domestic contexts. What is evident, however, is that for the most part there are only fragments of bathtubs and only two bathtubs, in the House of the Comedian and the Villa of the Bronzes, were found complete. These bathtubs were for single use and were not communal bathtubs. The evidence also suggests that private bath rooms were not necessarily always associated with the grander houses. The Villa of Good Fortune, which is one of the more opulent houses at Olynthus lacks a bath room.<sup>90</sup>

Since the Bronze Age the Greeks preferred to bath in bathtubs that accommodated one person. Bathtubs were not found in all of the houses. This suggests that they either did not survive in the archaeological record or that there were other methods of bathing that are neither discernible in the material culture, nor mentioned in the literary sources. There does appear to be a different form for public and private baths in Greece, which is largely attributed to the difference in function of the two types. In Greece, for males at least, collective bathing occurred in a public context, the *gymnasium*. The method of bathing associated with *gymnasia* was collective in nature, with cold-water fountains and washbasins provided for cleansing the body.<sup>91</sup> The bathing was

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<sup>90</sup> Nevett (1991), 77.

<sup>91</sup> It is not until the Hellenistic period that heated sources of water are provided for patrons of the *gymnasia*. See Yegül (1992), 23 who states that the transition is widespread by the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC but difficult to trace in the archaeological record.

collective, in that males bathed in the same room as others but did not sit in bathtubs together. The function of bathing associated with the *gymnasia* was primarily to rid the body of the accumulation of sweat and dirt acquired from the activities in the *gymnasium* in comparison to domestic bathing, which is associated more with relaxation.

## **Domestic Baths in Southern Italy**

Currently there is not as much evidence, neither literary nor physical, to construct a reasonable account of Italic domestic bathing rituals before the appearance of Italic public baths. No literary sources survive detailing the domestic bathing rituals of the Samnites. A few passing references to early Roman practices survive and the physical evidence before the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC is sparse.<sup>92</sup> The archaeological evidence is presented below.

The bulk of the evidence examined is from Southern Italy, but is not limited to Campania. As previously stated in Chapter 1, the Samnites, Campanians, and Lucanians are considered to be ethnically similar enough to examine the material evidence from each respective ethnicity as one culture.<sup>93</sup> This does not presuppose that they may not have self-identified as separate people but that they shared enough cultural similarities to consider their material culture together. The evidence considered is from sites in Southern Italy and those of questionable chronology are omitted, meaning that many of the examples used in previous studies of domestic baths in Italy, such as di Capua's,

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<sup>92</sup> See Fagan (1999), 45-55 for a comprehensive review of the written evidence for Roman bathing.

<sup>93</sup> See above pages 37-39.

are excluded as they are contemporary with the earliest examples of public baths. For purposes of elucidating the unique characteristics of some of the features reference is made to domestic examples from other parts of Italy.

The material evidence is presented chronologically to provide a sense of the changes and developments in house form and how, if at all, this affects domestic baths. Reference to political, social, and cultural changes as they affect domestic architecture are included.

### **Literary Sources**

As previously mentioned there are no literary sources on Samnite domestic bathing rituals. The Roman evidence for the early and middle Republic is quite sparse. The earliest reference comes from Plautus' *Mostellaria*. Philematium and Scapha discuss Philematium's bath and from this reference we learn that Philematium has taken a cold-water bath.<sup>94</sup> There is nothing in the text to suggest either the method of bathing or where the bath occurred. X. Lafon points out that the exact nature of baths in Plautus is unknown to us, for example how many rooms, the nature of the equipment used, etc.<sup>95</sup> Garrett Fagan argues that the importance of the reference is to note that by the time that Plautus is writing bathing had become a part of Roman social custom.<sup>96</sup> All of Plautus' plays that contain references to bathing, however, are set in Greece or North Africa and do not contain descriptions of the method of bathing. It is probable that his

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<sup>94</sup> Plautus, *Most.* 1.3. There are numerous other references to bathing in Plautus. *Asin.* 2.2.90; *Pers.* 1.3.11; *Rud.* 2.3.53-4; *Trin.* 2.4.5; *Poen.* 3.3.85-90; and *Truc.* 2.3.1-9.

<sup>95</sup> Lafon (1991), 99.

<sup>96</sup> Fagan (1999), 45.

references to bathing refer to the social institution as it developed in Greece and is not indicative of the popularity of public bathing in Rome at this time.

There is one further reference in the play when Tranio and Simo are discussing Simo's house and Tranio's master's wish to have a copy of the plan. Tranio's master wants to enlarge his house with a women's quarter, baths, *ambulacrum*, and a portico.<sup>97</sup> This suggests that these elements of a house are considered a luxury as Tranio's master's house does not already possess these specialized rooms, but he wants to expand and include them. It also suggests that Simo's house already has these features so that by the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the concept of specialized chambers for baths were known in Italy. Fagan argues that Plautus would likely have assumed that his audience was familiar with public bathing or else the comedic references to baths would be lost on the audience.<sup>98</sup>

One other important literary source is Seneca's description of the baths of Scipio Africanus in Liternum.<sup>99</sup> There are problems with this, however, as the villa was owned by numerous people subsequent to Scipio and any number of changes could have been made by them.<sup>100</sup> The passage serves to demonstrate that the baths were rather simple in their structure and were not comparable to the luxurious private baths common in the Imperial period.

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<sup>97</sup> Plautus, *Most.* 3.2

<sup>98</sup> Fagan (1999), 45-6.

<sup>99</sup> Seneca, *Letters to Lucillius* 86.

<sup>100</sup> This was even acknowledged in antiquity, see Pliny *NH* 14.49

## **Archaeological Evidence**

The houses examined here date from the 4th century to early 2nd century BC.

First the domestic architecture in general is examined and then specific examples that contain evidence of private baths are examined in greater detail. A brief account of the socio-political climate in the area at this time is presented first to contextualize the evidence.

## **5th and 4th Century BC**

The 4<sup>th</sup> century BC was influenced by numerous changes that occurred in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and a brief outline of those events will help clarify the events of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC many Greek coastal settlements in Italy were pressured by Oscan speaking groups from the interior. This is the period when Oscan speaking peoples inhabit Paestum and Pompeii. Domestic structures of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC do exhibit signs of destruction and abandonment, for example Altamura.<sup>101</sup>

A number of examples of indigenous houses date from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. These are examined briefly, first to provide an understanding of the development of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC material. Unfortunately, no domestic baths are evident in the archaeological material for this period. This does not imply that people did not bathe, merely that there is no archaeological evidence to suggest how they bathed. As previously stated, bathing is a common feature in all societies but does not necessarily require elaborate structures or equipment that are immediately recognizable in the archaeological record. A simple container of

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<sup>101</sup> Alfonsia Russo Tagliente, *Edilizia domestica in Apulia e Lucania. Ellenizzazione e società nella tipologia abitativa indegna tra VII e III secolo a.C.* Quaderni di archeologia e storia antica 4 (Galatina: Congedo Editore 1992), 95.

water poured over the body can suffice and will not be archaeologically detectable unless there are images of the practice or literary accounts detailing the practice, as exemplified by the ritual of washing hands before meals in Greece from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The houses of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC can be divided into six distinct types: circular huts, square structures, rectangular structures with one or two small rooms, large rectangular structures, large apsidal structures and large complexes with ceremonial and residential areas.<sup>102</sup> There is only one of the latter types of structures at Lavello. The rest of the examples are quite modest in comparison although it is in this period where a differentiation in wealth and/or class can be detected in domestic architecture not only in the size but also in the decoration. The layout of these early houses is quite different from contemporary Greek houses.<sup>103</sup> They are much simpler and the majority of the houses in this early period are composed of only a few rooms; the exception being Lavello, which has two monumental houses. What is unique about these houses is that the living quarters are separate from the monumental rooms and do not open up off the large central room, as rooms in Greek houses do. This suggests that there may have been a vernacular architectural tradition for domestic dwellings and that cultural contact with the Greek colonists in the area had not, at this point in time, prompted the indigenous population to abandon their own domestic architectural traditions.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>103</sup> For example the Dema house in Attica.



The historical events of this period affect the interpretation of the material culture. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC many of the Greek colonies were threatened by, or over-run by various Samnite tribes.<sup>104</sup> The material record eventually reflects this. Earlier studies, employing a colonial perspective to the material culture, viewed the indigenous peoples as barbaric and hence, likely to adopt Greek culture. This process considered the indigenous people as passive and did not consider them to be either selective or innovative in the elements of Greek culture that they adopted or adapted to suit their own needs. After a Greek colony fell into indigenous hands and the administrative elite was replaced by indigenes, besides necessary repairs to any structures that were damaged in the conquest, there is little to no material evidence of the change.<sup>105</sup> Previously, this has been explained using the above-mentioned theoretical framework, by hypothesizing that the indigenes were so enamoured of Greek culture that they whole-heartedly embraced it.

Ancient society is not comparable to our own where mass production of material culture makes it possible for new trends to be easily identifiable within months of their inception. Rather, changes occurred on a much slower time and in order to establish whether an historical, political, or social event has either negatively or positively affected vernacular architecture it is not the

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<sup>104</sup> Cumae in 421 BC see Livy 4.44 and Diod. Sic. 12.76. Paestum in 420 BC see Strabo 7.1.1 and 5.4.13. Other urban centres were also affected, such as Capua in 424 BC see Livy 4.37.

<sup>105</sup> The Lucanians in Paestum, for example, continued to use the political and administrative structures of the Greek city such as the *ekklesiasterion*. See M. Cipriani, *et al. The Lucanians in Paestum*, transl. Federico Poole (Paestum: Fondazione Paestum, 1996), 55. While there is no archaeological evidence for building activity after the Lucanian conquest there is epigraphical evidence documenting Lucanian use of Greek public and sacred architecture. A limestone stele discovered in the *ekklesiasterion* is inscribed in Oscan using the Greek alphabet. *idem*, 60-61.

contemporary architecture that must be examined, but that which post-dates the event. In antiquity the process of building was a time consuming and costly affair and there probably was not the same North American attitude to tear down and build again as soon as the trends changed, as is evident in the various remodelling and re-use of sites in antiquity.

The building campaign in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century has parallels throughout the rest of the Mediterranean world. It coincides with the creation of the Hellenistic world-view. Domestic architecture also responds to the changing developments in warfare tactics. During the reign of Philip II of Macedon numerous changes can be documented. Previously soldiers were called upon to fight during specific seasons. These battles took place mainly when farmers were not working in the fields. There was no professional army at this time. It is during this period that military doctrine changes and the use of mercenaries becomes standard. There are also technological advances with the introduction of innovative siege engines changing the nature of battle. Now battles occurred year round and were focused on specific urban centres rather than in open fields. Fortification of domestic sites increases during this period, for example Moltone di Tolve and Montegiordano.

Growth, expansion, and intense building characterizes the period between Alexander the Molossian and Pyrrhus in Southern Italy. The archaeological evidence suggests that communities were flourishing although the ancient texts only provide short descriptions and allusions to this growth.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Isayev (2007), 147.

Public bath buildings in Italy, however, do not develop during this period.

Although there is evidence of Lucania political importance in this period with the reference to a Lucanian ambassador being present to congratulate Alexander the Great on his Asiatic campaign in 323 BC.<sup>107</sup>

### **Houses in the Historical Context of the 3rd Century BC**

There is a perceptible gap in the literary and archaeological evidence. The 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC is in many respects a “Dark Age” for Southern Italy, primarily because there are no surviving historical narratives for this period. Livy’s narrative for this time period focuses on Rome’s activities outside of Italy. As a result, what transpires in Southern Italy during this period is obscure. This problem is augmented by the material evidence, which also appears to be sparse for this time period. Isayev, however, presents an argument for why this may be so. If archaeologists rely on the literary sources to provide the framework within which to place the material evidence, then there is a lacuna for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Recent re-examinations of pottery and new chronologies for dating the pottery have started to close this gap. Recent analyses have identified pottery types for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, which challenges the previously unquestioned concept of a deserted Southern Italy after the Hannibalic Wars. Instead there is evidence for a continuation of habitation, although changes in the types of habitation are noticeable. More work needs to be done in re-examining the material evidence from sites that used the older pottery chronologies to get a better sense of events and developments in the region during this crucial time period.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* 8.15.4.

<sup>108</sup> Isayev (2007), 156-159.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC is an especially crucial time period because it is during this period that the region enters into the Roman hegemony. In order to gain a better understanding of this process and understand its importance in the grander scheme of acculturation the material evidence needs to be understood. The sources remain silent on how the process occurred, and even if there were references in the sources these would have been from a Roman point of view and the biases contained in the sources would need to be identified and properly accounted for in reading the material evidence.

### **Moltone di Tolve**

Located approximately 7 km north of the fortified centre at Civita di Tricarico is the farmstead of Moltone di Tolve. The size of the house suggests that the inhabitants belonged to the upper strata of society. There are three distinct phases of occupation of the site. The first phase dates from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC and lasted for a few decades before the structure was enlarged towards the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. It is the bath complex in the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase (Figure 3.12 and 3.13), dated from around 280 BC that is pertinent to this study.

The bathing complex of the house is composed of four rooms, all covered in *signinum* plaster. In the north-west corner of room 21 there is a well and a bathing seat set in mortared cement with intonaco.<sup>109</sup> Room 20 is a hallway leading to the complex of rooms. Also associated with the thermal complex is the small space behind room 21 and the two small tubs south of room 22. To the east pipes are connected to the structure, which carried away the water.

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<sup>109</sup> G. Tocco, *Testimonianze Archeologiche nel territorio di Tolve*, (Matera: BMG, 1982), xiv.

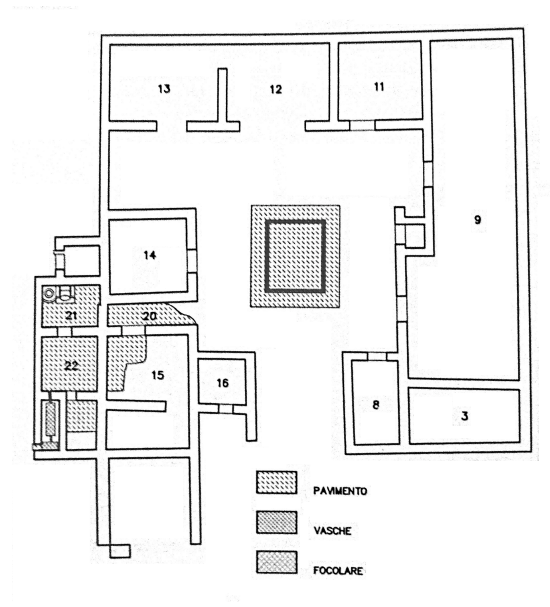


Figure 3.12 Plan, Moltone di Tolve, Phase II  
 from M. Torelli and L. de Lachenal (1993) *Da Leukania a Lucania*. Figure 65, p. 40.



Figure 3.13 Photograph, Moltone di Tolve, Room 21  
 M. Torelli and L. de Lachenal (1993) *Da Leukania a Lucania*. Figure. 67, p. 41.

There are some similarities in the bathing structure at Moltone di Tolve to the Greek domestic baths. First, the type of bath is an individual hip-bath. However, the construction differs. The bathtub is set more solidly in place than

any of the Greek examples, particularly the Olynthian examples, which are not as firmly set in place as at Moltone di Tolve. Also the location of the room, while still off the central courtyard, does not appear to be part of a kitchen-complex.

### **Roccagloriosa**

Excavations on the Central Plateau uncovered habitations dated from the 4th century BC and contemporary with the fortification of the site.<sup>110</sup> Complex A (Figure 3.14) underwent a number of phases beginning in the 5th century BC, however, it is the third phase, dated from the first half of the 3rd century BC, examined here.<sup>111</sup> In Room A1 (Figure 3.15), which measures 3 x 2 m<sup>112</sup> and opens to the south of the central courtyard, is a tub and a north-south drain.

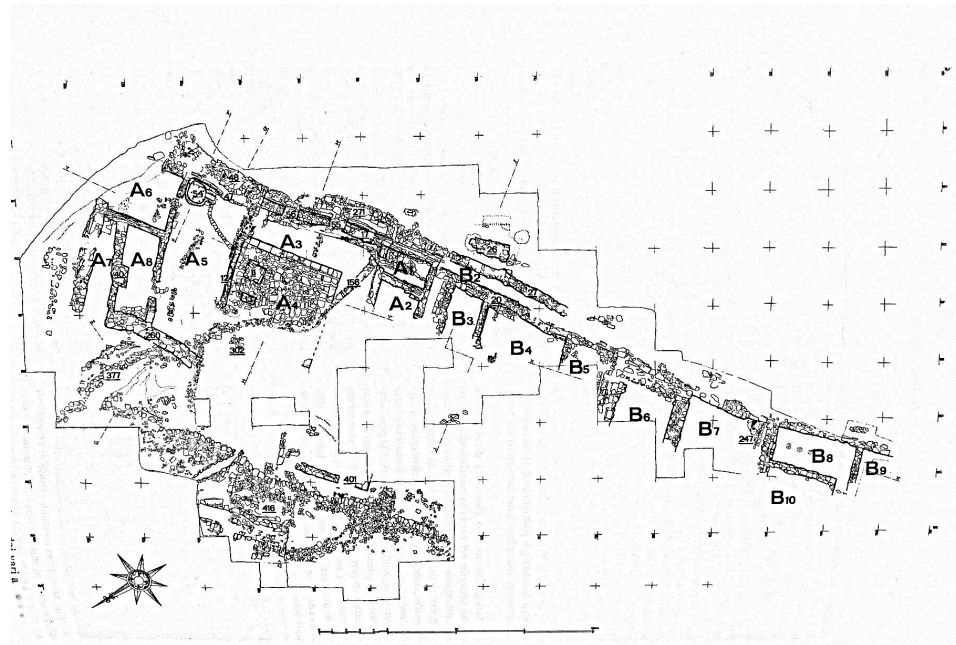


Figure 3.14 Plan, Complex A and B, Roccagloriosa  
from M. Gualtier and H. Fracchia (1990) *Roccagloriosa I*. Figure 67, p. 66.

<sup>110</sup> Maurizio Gualtieri and Helena Fracchia, *Roccagloriosa I: L'abitato: Scavo e ricognizione Topografica (1976-1986)* (Naples: Centre Jean Bédard, 1990), 45.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-63.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.



Figure 3.15 Photograph, Room A1, Roccagloriosa  
from M. Gualtier and H. Fracchia (1990) *Roccagloriosa I*. Figure 69, p. 68.

There is also evidence that suggests a bathtub may have been in Complex B, in the north-east corner of room B4.<sup>113</sup> Once again, similar to the structure in Complex A it appears that only the built structure remains and that there is no evidence of the actual tub. The excavators suggest that this may be a rudimentary type, which precedes the development of the hip-bath with terracotta casing (Figure 3.16).<sup>114</sup> Rather than seeing this particular bath as similar to the Greek type baths I suggest that there are some similarities to what will later develop in the Campanian public baths. The size of the tub is slightly larger than the Greek examples and the way in which the structure supporting the tub is built appears to foreshadow the communal pools. The evidence from Roccagloriosa is still individual bathtubs but some changes from the Greek examples are apparent, notably in the size of the tub as it appears there is a move towards larger bathtubs.

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<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.



Figure 3.16 Photograph, Detail of bathtub in Room A1, Roccagloriosa from M. Gualtier and H. Fracchia (1990) *Roccagloriosa I*. Figure 71, p. 69.

Fortified sites have domestic structures with public functions, for example Roccagloriosa and Civita di Tricarico. These presumably would have belonged to the elite. Isayev, however, states that, “the way this status was expressed was not through the display of visible wealth that can be recognized in the archaeological record.”<sup>115</sup> Is the construction of a house of significant size with ritual function not a visible display of wealth? Wealth does not always have to be in terms of precious items, but the size and position of a house can also demonstrate wealth. Even in contemporary society sometimes one’s address can reveal more about economic standing in a community more than the clothes a person wears.

### **2nd Century BC**

During the 2nd century BC Rome is engaged in affairs outside of peninsular Italy and there is relative stability in Southern Italy compared with the preceding 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>116</sup> There is one notable example of a domestic bath from this

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<sup>115</sup> Isayev (2007), 136.

<sup>116</sup> In 201 BC Attalus, the king of Pergamum appealed to Rome for help against the Macedonians, which marks Rome’s involvement in the eastern Mediterranean.



period in the Villa Prato at Sperlonga (Figure 3.17). It dates from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century BC to 60-40 BC. The baths are located in rooms A7 (2.35 x 3.43 m) and A8 (2.75 x 3.43 m).<sup>117</sup> There is a narrow door separating the two rooms and the narrowness of the door has been interpreted as a measure to confine the heat in A7.

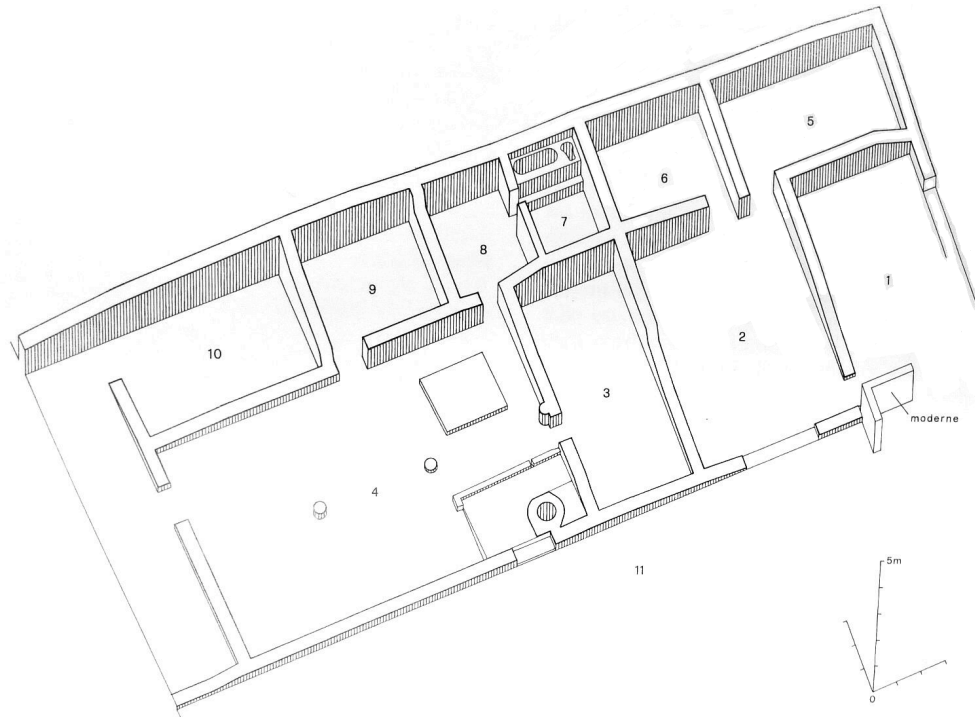


Figure 3.17 Plan, Villa Prato, Sperlonga  
from H. Broise and V. Lafon (2001) *La Villa Prato de Sperlonga*. Figure 2, p. 9.

To the right of the entrance to Room A8 there is a bath measuring 0.70 x 0.96 m, with a height of 0.70 m in the south corner of the room, which is not well preserved (Figure 3.18). The bath is faced with rectangular tesserae in a basket weave pattern.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Lafon (1991), 102.

<sup>118</sup> For example the baths at Olympia and Gortys , see Ginouvés (1962), 212 note 1.

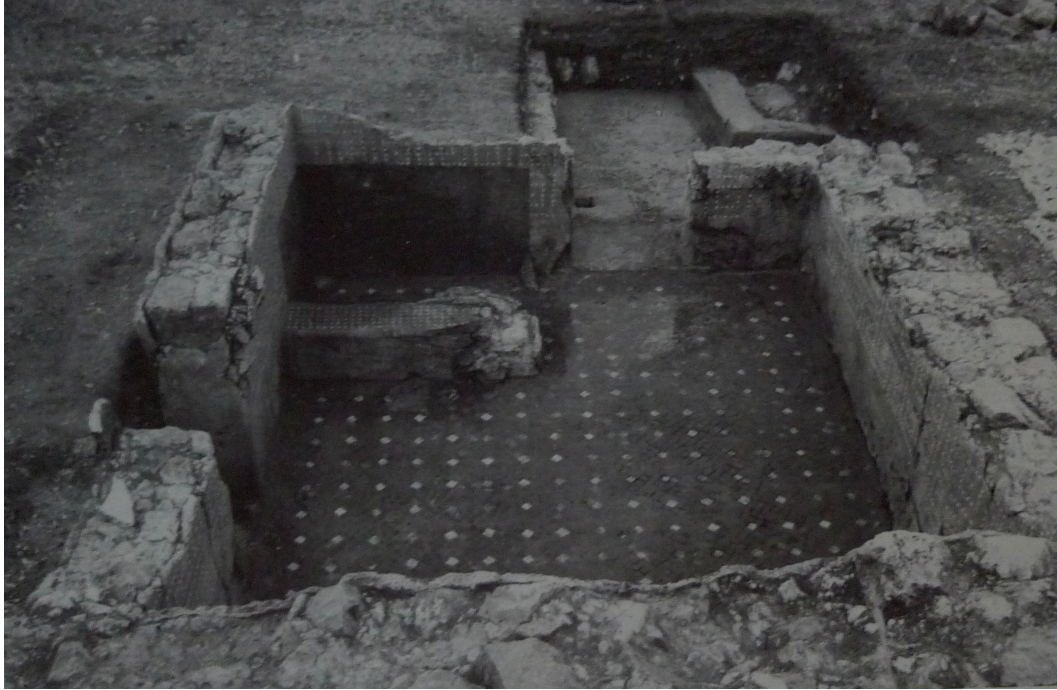


Figure 3.18 Photograph, Room A8, Villa Prato, Sperlonga  
from X. Lafon (1991) "Les bains privés dans l'italie romaine." Figure 2, p. 102.

The water flowed by a slight slant of the floor to guide the water to the drain in the east corner, which had a thick layer of calcium to attest to its prolonged use.<sup>119</sup> The volume of water for the space is estimated at 0.5 m<sup>3</sup> and does not suggest that it was a bath for relaxation as there is no place to extend the legs. In the north corner of A8 there are traces of where a labrum would have been set up evident by a discolouration on the floor (Figure 3.19).<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Lafon (1991), 105.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.



Figure 3.19 Photograph, Discolouration on mosaic in Room A8, Villa Prato, Sperlonga from X. Lafon (1991) "Les bains privés dans l'italie romaine." Figure 8, p. 105.

Room A7 contains two baths side by side (Figure 3.20). It has a lime mortar floor mixed with broken pottery and tiles inset with irregular tesserae in a simple geometric design.<sup>121</sup> The baths are built of stone and faced with a waterproof lime mortar mix. A step leads up to the baths.<sup>122</sup> The north tub tapers down and is 1.55 m long at the top and 1.35 m long at the base. The top width is 0.52 m and the bottom width is 0.48 m.<sup>123</sup> The south tub is smaller with a wider curved back 0.44 m and a narrower front 0.22 m. There was also a drain that drained the water from the baths onto the floor.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 109.

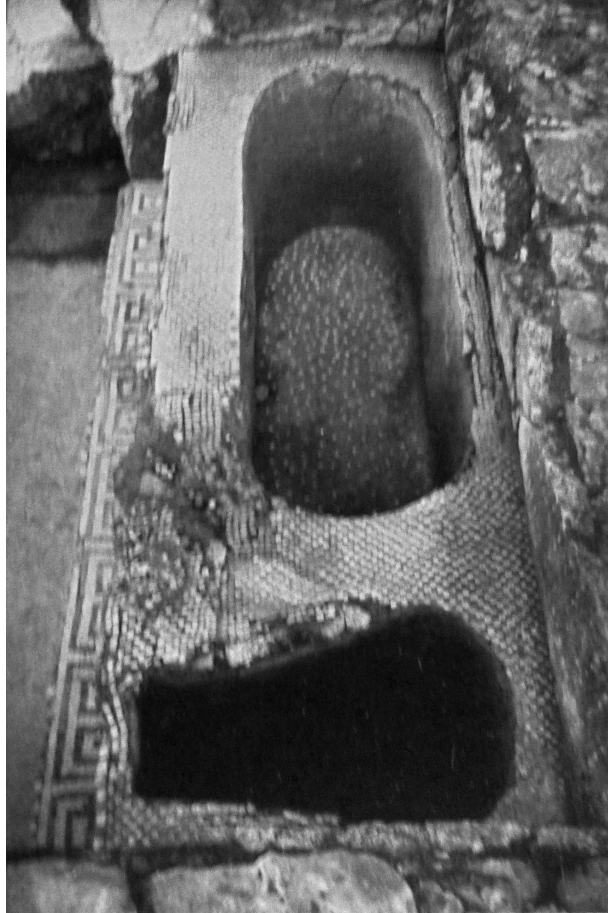


Figure 3.20 Photograph, Baths in Room A7, Villa Prato, Sperlonga  
from X. Lafon (1991) "Les bains privés dans l'italie romaine." Figure 5, p. 104.

These baths are intriguing as there are two rooms both containing baths in them. The two bathtubs, side by side, but of different dimensions built into the same casing are rather curious and unique in the extant archaeological record. My interpretation is that there is a move towards communal bathing, although not yet in the same bathtub by this period. Compared to the hip-bath, where water is poured over the bather, these bathtubs are clearly meant for immersion and provide a relaxing bathing experience.<sup>125</sup> There must have been a functional

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<sup>125</sup> At Delos in the Theatre Quarter, House N in Insula III contains two sets of three bathtubs. Three hip-baths along the north wall of room e and three immersion tubs along the south wall. These also date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.



reason to place so many bathtubs in such proximity in a domestic context. Broise and Jolivet state that what is not known is if the two rooms are representative of different use by gender or social class.<sup>126</sup>

## Conclusions

The evidence suggests that the earliest domestic Italic baths maintain some similarities to the domestic Greek baths. There are differences in the form of the houses, which suggests that the indigenous population maintained their vernacular domestic tradition. The noticeable difference between Complex A at Roccagloriosa and Moltone di Tolve is in the style of the bathtub. At Moltone di Tolve the bathtub is more similar to what is found in Greece, while at Roccagloriosa the structure is cruder and may suggest that some kind of variation on an original Italic type of bathtub with some Greek influence is in use. It appears that the structure that would have held a terracotta tub is in place but the tub itself does not survive, unless the circular structure itself is interpreted as the tub. One possible explanation for the difference in these domestic baths is that Moltone di Tolve, being further inland, no doubt did not have as much contact with Hellenistic culture and could be indicative of the owner attempting to imitate Hellenic culture to demonstrate his attainment of success. On the other hand, at Roccagloriosa, which is closer to the coastline and likely had more contact with the Italic communities in the area there may not have been as great a need to mimic Hellenistic culture and instead the material evidence suggests that there was an attempt to modify a known Hellenistic type of bath

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<sup>126</sup> Henri Broise and Xavier Lafon, *La Villa Prato de Sperlonga* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2001), 85.

with an indigenous type of bath demonstrating acculturation in the form of a new type of bath.

The archaeological evidence also suggests that there is a move towards communal bathing in the Italic evidence, both in the size of the bathtub at Roccagloriosa and the later example in the Villa Prato at Sperlonga, which has two bathtubs placed side by side.

## Chapter 4 Greek Public Baths

### Introduction

A brief descriptive overview of the physical evidence of Greek public baths<sup>1</sup> is presented to establish how they differ from early Italic and Campanian public baths, which are analysed in Chapters 5 and 6.<sup>2</sup> The physical evidence is presented in locational and chronological order and includes public baths in religious contexts, such as sanctuaries.<sup>3</sup> An analysis of the evidence follows each section with concluding remarks contextualizing the material. The Archaic and Classical periods are examined first, followed with the Hellenistic period.

The focus is on Greek public baths in Greece and Italy, although Greek public baths are found outside of these areas.<sup>4</sup> As previously stated, however, the development of these should be placed within their own geographical, political, social, and cultural context and not be seen as part of the development of public baths in Greece.

### Archaic and Classical Greek Public Baths

There is no architectural evidence for public baths in Greece in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. There are, however, images of individuals, both male and female, bathing in public contexts on vases beginning in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction for a more detailed definition of Greek public baths.

<sup>2</sup> References are provided, in the footnotes, on where to find additional information.

<sup>3</sup> Locational in this context refers to the physical location of public baths in relation to sanctuaries and urban centres and not geographical location such as north to south or east to west.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek baths in Sanctuary of Apollo, Cyrene dated from the early Hellenistic period are one example. See Ginouvès (1962), 191-3.

<sup>5</sup> See for example Figure 2.2. For a more detailed discussion see Ginouvès (1962), 113-122 and Gill (2004), 158-163.

These representational images provide basic information about the methods of bathing in this period.

Greek public baths, *balaneia*, were separate from the bathing facilities available in the *palaestra* of Greek *gymnasia*. In the Archaic and Classical periods *palaestra* baths had a more utilitarian function of cleansing the body after physical activity and were used only by men. The earliest bathing facilities associated with *palaestra* in the Greek world were cold baths.<sup>6</sup> It is not until the Hellenistic period that hot-water facilities become associated with the *palaestra*.<sup>7</sup> Greek public baths were associated more with luxury and leisure and the earliest examples of public baths, dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, differ in their architectural form from the *palaestra* and in the method of bathing.<sup>8</sup> The washing facilities, *loutra*, in *palaestra* were simple spouts or *lenos* wash-basins - basins connected to each other and supplied with water from above. Unlike the Greek public baths there were no individual hip-baths or immersion tubs.

The Greek public baths developed in association with both urban centres for cleansing and sanctuaries for ritual purposes around the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>9</sup> The earliest extant Greek public bath dates from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC and is located

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<sup>6</sup> See for example Olympia, pages 111-114 and Delphi, page 128 below.

<sup>7</sup> See Yegül (1992), 21-24. The Lake Palaestra in Delos is one example, although this may be due to the presence of Italic peoples in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. One earlier example is the *gymnaisum* on Chios, dated from 239-236 BC. An inscription relates that Attalos I donated funds to convert the bathing facilities of the *gymnasium* to hot water facilities. See B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, reprint (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964), 2.72, no. 62.

<sup>8</sup> Nielsen (1993), 7 suggests that originally *balaneia* were frequented more by women than men as the men had access to washing facilities in the *gymnasia*.

<sup>9</sup> For the dates of public baths in Greece see the catalogue in Gill (2004), 32. The most recent study of public baths in Greece containing material evidence since Ginouvès publication. This does not include baths only known from inscriptional evidence.



outside the Dipylon gate in Athens.<sup>10</sup> Early Greek public baths not associated with *gymnasia* or sanctuaries were located outside the city walls in the Classical period.<sup>11</sup> Athenaeus, writing in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, relates that the location of public baths outside city walls was due to legislation prohibiting public baths within city limits.<sup>12</sup> Athenaeus, however, does not provide what sources this information is based on, although if such legislation existed it presumably was overturned by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC as extant public baths begin to appear inside urban contexts in this period.<sup>13</sup>

### **Olympia - Phase 1-3**

The public bath complex at Olympia underwent numerous renovations and additions. Four phases have been identified with the earliest dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>14</sup> The complex is located south of the *gymnasium* area in the Sanctuary of Zeus (Figure 4.1 with number 25 being the pool, 23 the sweat room and 26 a bath house with hip-baths). The location of the bathing facilities in close proximity to the training facilities for athletes suggests that these facilities were primarily intended for use by the athletes, although their clientele cannot be determined with any certainty.

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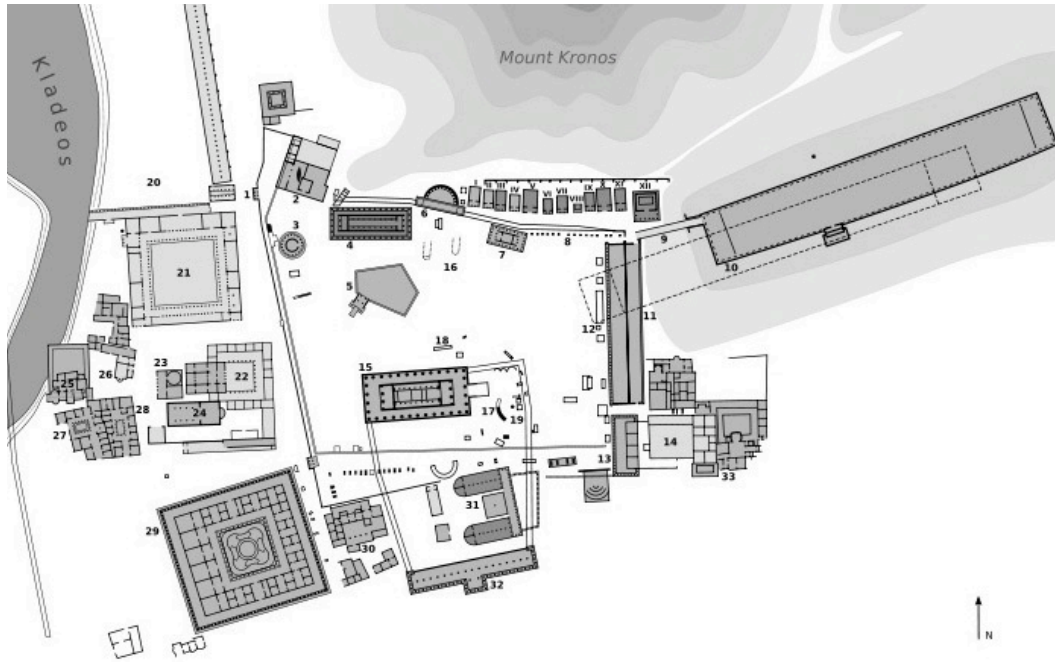
<sup>10</sup> For a detailed summary of the Dipylon Bath see Gill (2004), 36-39. See also Elizabeth Pierce Blegen, "News Items from Athens," *American Journal of Archaeology* 40 (1936), 547-9; Kurt Gebauer and Heniz Johannes, "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 51 (1937), 208-12; "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, vol. 53 (1938), 610 and 614; "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, vol. 55 (1940), 318-33; and Ursula Knigge, *Der Kerameikos von Athen: Führung durch Ausgrabungen und Geschichte* (Athens: Krene, 1988), 156-60.

<sup>11</sup> Gill (2004), 15.

<sup>12</sup> Ath. *Deipn.* 1.18. And lately baths too have been introduced; things which formerly men would not have permitted to exist inside a city. Translated by C.D.Yonge (1854). Athenaeus relates this statement to Antiphanes', the Athenian comic poet who lived from 408-334 BC, assault against the hot bathing practices. There are no extant Greek public baths located within city limits before the Hellenistic period.

<sup>13</sup> The Athens Agora baths and at Delos in the Agora of the Italians.

<sup>14</sup> Gill (2004), 40-45.



1. North-East propylon-2:Prytaneion-3:Philippeion-4:Temple of Hera-5: Pelopion...7:Metroon...9:Crypt (arched way to the stadium) -10:Stadium-11:Echo Stoa...13:Hestia Stoa -15: Temple of Zeus-16: Altar of Zeus...19: Nike of Paionios..... TREASURIES: I:Sicyon-II:Syracuse- III: Epidamnus?- IV:Byzantium? -V.Sybaris

Figure 4.1 Plan of Olympia

from [http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/Images/ARTH209images/Sculpture/classical/Olympia/olympia\\_plan2a.jpg](http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/Images/ARTH209images/Sculpture/classical/Olympia/olympia_plan2a.jpg) accessed January 19, 2010

In the first phase, dated from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, there is only a long rectangular building, 20.3 x 4.3 m, with a simple basin on the south side. This first phase precedes the appearance of public baths at the other three Panhellenic sites by approximately 135 years, with bath facilities first evident at Isthmia in ca. 365 BC, Nemea by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and at Delphi ca. 325-300 BC.<sup>15</sup>

In the second phase the building was extended to include a room with eleven hip-baths arranged in an I-shape with an apse on the south end (Figure 4.2).<sup>16</sup> The hip-baths were ca. 0.60 x 1.20 m with no outlet for drainage. The

<sup>15</sup> See below Nemea pages 123-124; and Delphi page 128.

<sup>16</sup> Kunze and Schleif (1944), 33-36.

baths were filled from a well located in the long rectangular hall and there was a reservoir located in the south-west corner of the room that could hold ca. 700 litres of water.<sup>17</sup> This room was originally unheated, although Yegül proposes that by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC an outdoor furnace supplied the hip-baths with hot water.<sup>18</sup>

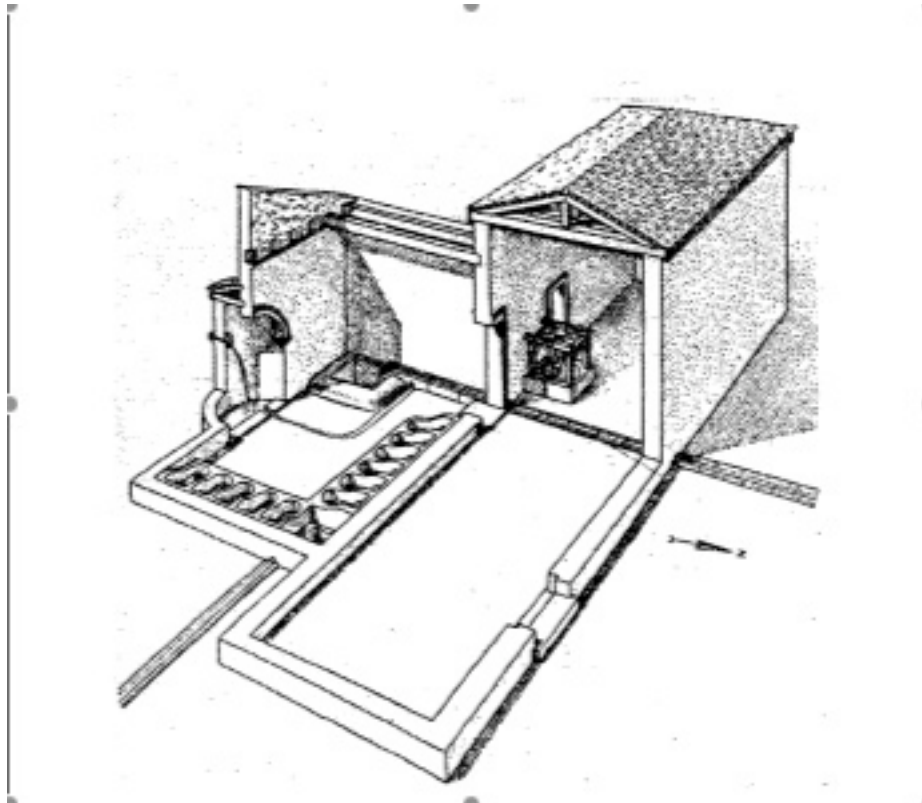


Figure 4.2 Plan, Public Baths, Olympia, Phase 2  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 10, p. 234.

Also dated from the second phase is a rectangular swimming pool, ca. 16.40 x 24.60 x 1.64 m.<sup>19</sup> There are five steps to descend into the pool.<sup>20</sup> The

<sup>17</sup> Gill (2004), 41.

<sup>18</sup> Yegül (1992), 377.

<sup>19</sup> There is only one rectangular pool in the 5th century located outside of an athletic context. South-west of the bath complex and north of the small temple at the sanctuary of Asklepios in Gortys is a pool that measures 5.50 x 1.80 x 1.40 m. All other extant rectangular pools are located at sites associated with athletic contests such as the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games.

<sup>20</sup> Alfred Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1972), 270.

swimming pool is separate from the above-mentioned structure and there is no evidence that the structures were connected at any point in the developmental history of the bathing facilities at Olympia. This is the earliest extant swimming pool and the second largest in Greece.<sup>21</sup>

The third phase of the public baths at Olympia date from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC to approximately 350 BC. The original rectangular building of the first phase was divided into smaller rooms with adjoining doors (Figure 4.3). The room with hip-baths was extended to include twenty hip-baths, 0.55 x 1.07 m. A furnace was also installed to heat the room and connected to a bronze boiler embedded in the wall to supply the baths with hot water.<sup>22</sup> This is the earliest extant heating system in Greece.<sup>23</sup>

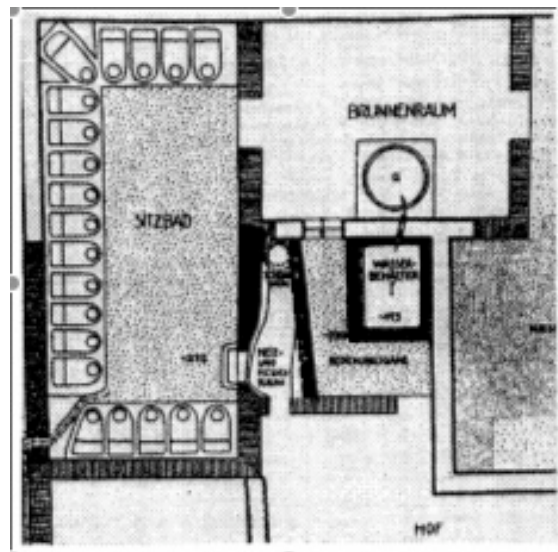


Figure 4.3 Plan, Public Baths, Olympia, Phase 3  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 9, p. 233.

<sup>21</sup> The Panhellenic site of Isthmia contains a larger swimming pool, measuring 30 m on each side.

<sup>22</sup> Yegül (1992), 377.

<sup>23</sup> An earlier heating system has been found in the palace at Vouni in Cyprus dated from around 470 BC. The evidence is however speculative as no heating system was found *in situ* and is instead postulated. See Yegül (1992), 380 and Ginouvès (1962), 209.

## Corinth – Fountain of the Lamps

In Corinth (Figures 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6) an underground room carved out of bedrock ca. 6 x 2.847 m with six preserved wash basins dates from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>24</sup> Four *lenos* type basins align the east wall with two on the south wall.<sup>25</sup> Water for the basins was supplied from channels in the chamber walls and narrow channels connected the basins and drained through a lead pipe that emptied into a sunken basin in the courtyard.<sup>26</sup> The underground bath chamber is only part of the bathing complex, with the pool and fountain house dating from the Roman Imperial period.<sup>27</sup>



Figure 4.4 Plan, Corinth  
from J. Wiseman (1972) "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth." Figure 1.

<sup>24</sup> James Wiseman, "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth, 1969-1970," *Hesperia* 41 (1972), 9-16, Pls. 3-7.

<sup>25</sup> Wiseman does not provide a typological description for the basins although his descriptions suggests that these were *lenos* type basins more common in *palaestra*.

<sup>26</sup> Wiseman (1972), 11.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

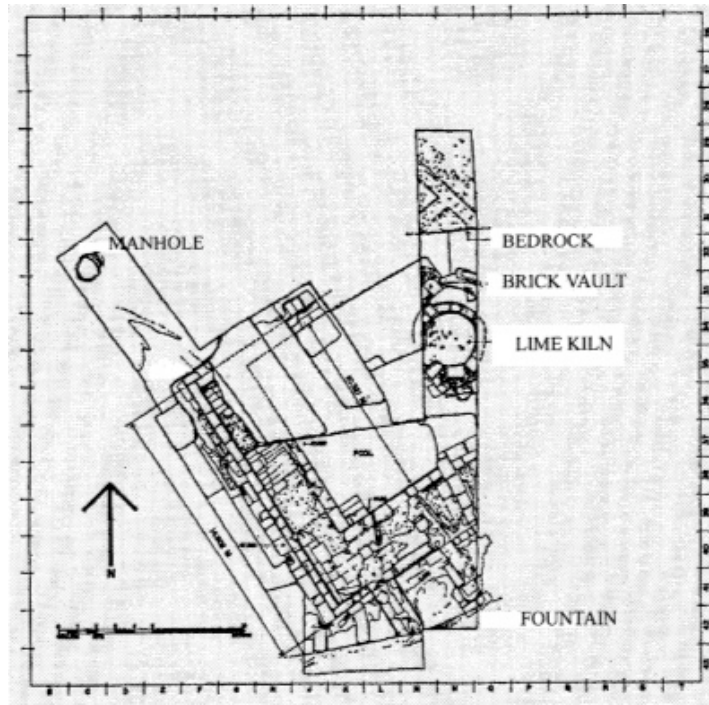


Figure 4.5 Plan, The Fountain of the Lamps, Corinth from J. Wiseman (1972) "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth." Figure 4, p. 10.



Figure 4.6 Photograph, Basins, the Fountain of the Lamps, Corinth from J. Wiseman (1972) "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth." Plate 3b.

## Isthmia - Sanctuary of Palaimon and Immersion Pool

The Baths at Isthmia are located just west of the *temenos* of the Sanctuary of Poseidon (Figures 4.7 and 4.8).<sup>28</sup> They consist of an underground reservoir with a series of water basins. There are two stairways descending to the bath from the north-west and north-east corners. Located in the floor of the reservoir is a smaller tank, ca. 0.90 x 0.56 x 1.45 m.<sup>29</sup> O. Broneer proposes that the reservoir had a ritual function.<sup>30</sup>

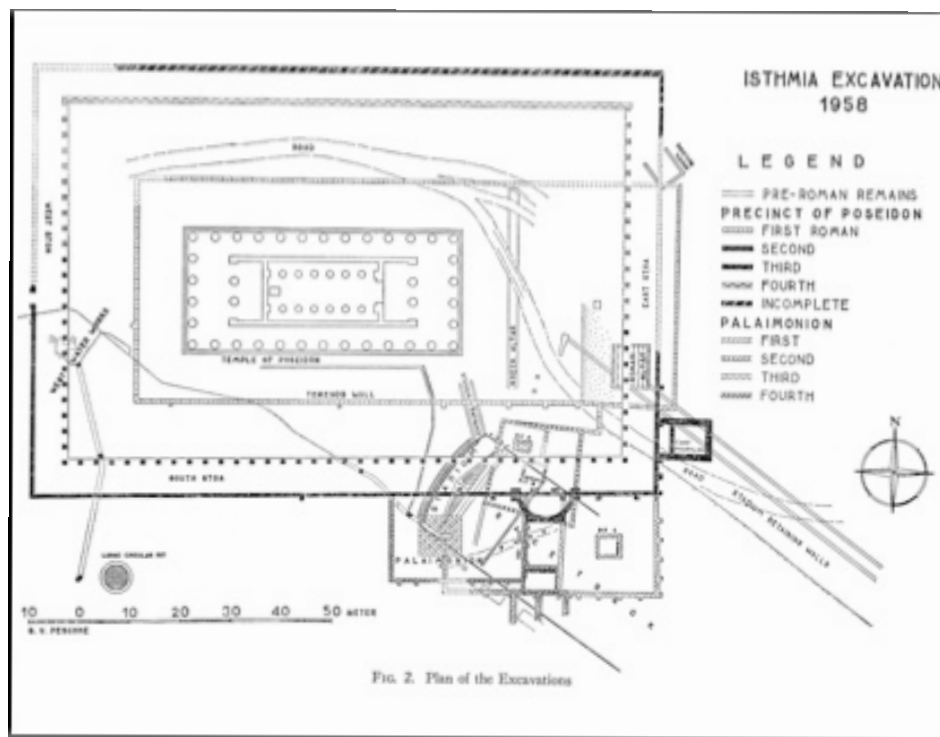


Figure 4.7 Plan, Temple of Poseidon, Isthmia  
from T.E. Gregory (1995) "The Roman Bath at Isthmia." Figure 1, p. 280.

<sup>28</sup> Oscar Broneer, "Excavations at Isthmia 1954," *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 110-141; "Excavations at Isthmia: Fourth Campaign, 1957-1958," *Hesperia* 28 (1959), 298-343; Ginouvès (1962), 340.

<sup>29</sup> Gill (2004), 51.

<sup>30</sup> Broneer (1954), 122.



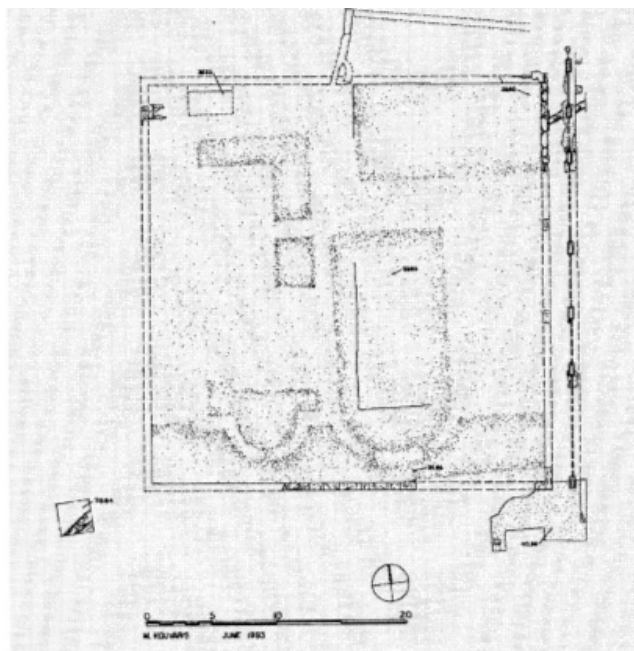


Figure 4.8 Plan, Public Bath, Isthmia  
from T.E. Gregory (1995) "The Roman Bath at Isthmia." Figure 11, p. 304.

North-east of the Temple of Poseidon, dated from ca. 365 BC, is a pool at Isthmia (Figure 4.9). The pool measures 30.04 x 30.31 x 1.2 m.<sup>31</sup>



Figure 4.9 Photograph, Pool, Isthmia north-east Corner from the west  
from T.E. Gregory (1995) "The Roman Bath at Isthmia." Plate 59b.

<sup>31</sup> Timothy E. Gregory, "The Roman Bath at Isthmia: Preliminary Report 1972-1992," *Hesperia* 64 (1995), 305.



## Dipylon Bath, Athens

The Dipylon bath (Figure 4.10) dates from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and is located outside the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos. Ginouvès suggests four construction phases the first three in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the final construction phases extending into the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>32</sup> It consists of a simple *tholos* chamber with cut limestone block walls. The diameter of the bath is given as 8.20 m and 5.40 m.<sup>33</sup> The discrepancy in diameter is attributed to the various phases of the building's history with the lesser diameter pertaining to the last two phases when the building was decreased due to enlargement of the side road from Piraeus.<sup>34</sup> No basins were found *in situ*. Ginouvès, however, reconstructs the bath with nine interior basins based on the diameter of 5.40 m.<sup>35</sup> There is no evidence of sophisticated heating and water was likely heated over braziers to fill the individual tubs.<sup>36</sup>

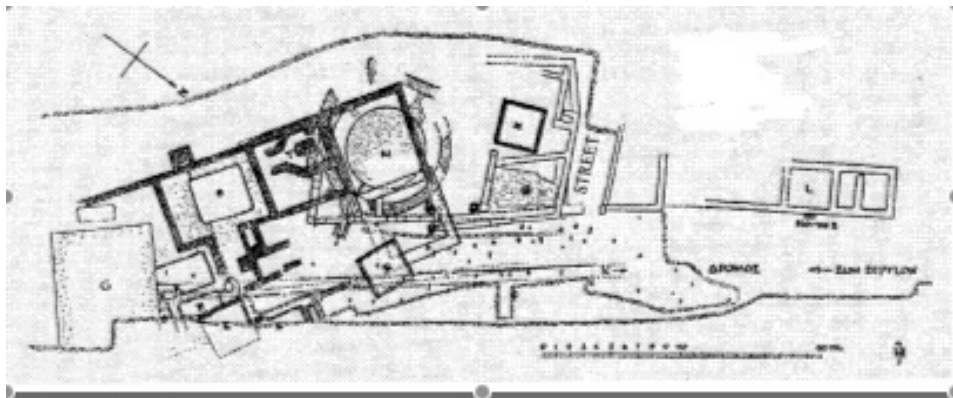


Figure 4.10 Plan, Dipylon Bath, Athens  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 4, p. 229.

<sup>32</sup> Ginouvès (1962), 184, n.7.

<sup>33</sup> Ionnes Travols, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 180 and *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>34</sup> Gill (2004), 37-8. For a discussion on the enlargement of the side road see Blegen (1936), 547.

<sup>35</sup> Ginouvès (1962), 195.

<sup>36</sup> Gill (2004), 39.

### Serangeion, Piraeus

A rock-cut Greek public bath dated from 415/410 BC is located in the Serangeion, a limestone cliff punctuated with cavities, on the coast of Piraeus (Figure 4.11).<sup>37</sup>

The complex contains two *tholoi* with a rectangular hall, 3.50 x 2.90 m, connecting the two. The diameter of the east *tholos* is 6.60 m and could hold thirty hip-baths. There are niches above the hip-baths for the bathers to store their personal items similar to the niches in the hip-baths in the Hellenistic public baths at Gortys in the Sanctuary of Asklepios.<sup>38</sup>

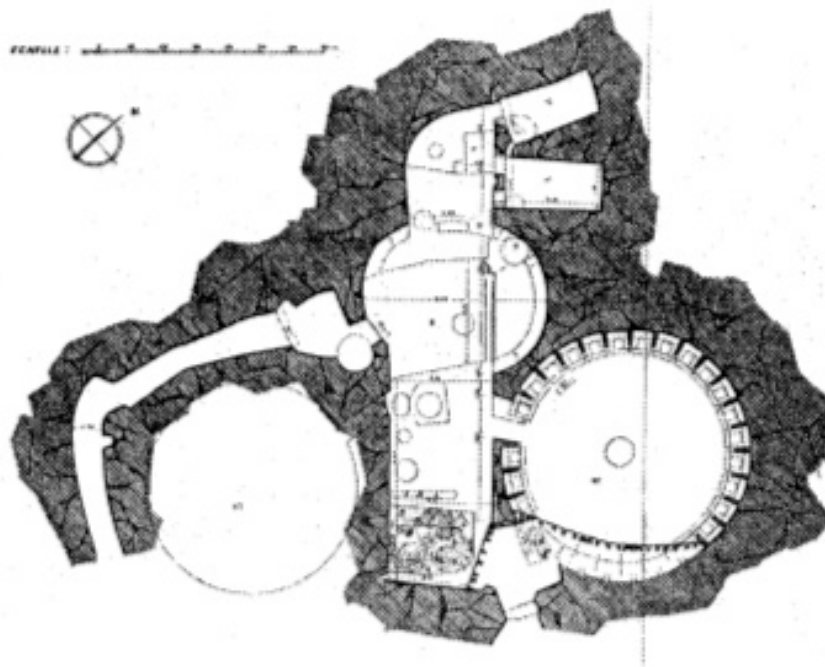


Figure 4.11 Plan, Public Baths, Piraeus  
from A. Gill (2004), *Balaneia*. Figure 33, p. 251.

### Characteristics of Archaic and Classical Public Baths

In the Classical period the majority of Greek public baths are associated with sanctuaries. Three of the five examples presented here are either located within

<sup>37</sup> Ginouvès (1962), 195-6 and Gill (2004), 57-8.

<sup>38</sup> See Gill (2004), Cat. No. 10: Fig. 41. See also below pages 126-128.

the *temenos* (Olympia) or just outside (Corinth and Isthmia). On the other hand, Greek public baths associated with urban centres are located outside the city walls such as the Dipylon and Piraeus baths. Only these public baths have hip-baths in their first phase. The public baths at Olympia are not equipped with hip-baths until the second phase and neither Corinth nor Isthmia have evidence of hip-baths in the Classical period. The hip-baths at Olympia are fit into the pre-existing structure, and arranged in an I-shape in a rectangular room. The hip-baths at both Athens and Piraeus, however, are in the characteristic *tholoi* with the Piraeus public baths having two separate *tholoi*.

The first phase of the public baths at Olympia are reminiscent of washing facilities associated with *palaestra* suggesting that in their earliest phase they had a primary function of cleansing athletes competing in the games. Isthmia, one of the four Panhellenic sites associated with athletic festivals like Olympia, and the Fountain of the Lamps bath at Corinth also have washing facilities more similar to *gymnasia* than public baths. The washing facilities are, however, not part of a *gymnaisum* but are located in separate structures.

The type of washing facilities available in the sanctuary sites is utilitarian and only allows for ablutions not immersion in the water source and is indicative of ritual cleansing.<sup>39</sup> The type of bathing can be classified as collective - with bathers bathing at the same time in close proximity to one another but not immersed in the same source of water. Only in the third phase of the Olympian baths is there any evidence for heating both the room and water of the bath. This

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<sup>39</sup> See Ginouvès (1962), 299-318.

does not, however, imply that simple methods of heating both rooms and water, such as portable braziers, were not used. The type of bathing is indicative of what is known about bathing in athletic and ritual contexts where bathing was not for relaxation but served a utilitarian function of cleansing the body either after physical activity or before participating in religious rites.<sup>40</sup>

The public baths located outside of the urban centres of Athens and Piraeus can also be classified as collective, bathers bathing simultaneously but not in the same source of water, rather than communal, bathers bathing simultaneously in the same source of water. The water for these baths could be heated over portable heating devices such as braziers to provide a more relaxing bath, although there are no immersion tubs indicating that bathing was still more functional than recreational and focused on cleansing the body during this period. The location of these public baths outside of the urban centres suggests that they were not considered part of the urban fabric in the Classical period. The tantalizing reference in Athenaeus suggests that this was deliberate, although as previously stated above he does not elaborate on why.

## **Hellenistic Greek Public Baths**

Greek public baths become more predominant, based on the number of extant structures, in the Hellenistic period. Bathing methods become more complex and the structures acquire monumental characteristics. The majority of the public baths are still associated with sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period. The context of urban Greek public baths, however, changes from the Classical period. Public

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<sup>40</sup> For more on bathing in religious contexts in the Greek world see Ginouvès (1962), 298-428.

baths are now located within the urban context of the city no longer relegated to peripheral areas outside of city walls indicating increased accessibility and popularity.

### **Nemea**

A bath building is located on the south-western corner of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea (Figures 4.12 and 4.13). This structure dates from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The building is divided into two sections. The East Room contains four interior column bases which functioned as supports for the gable-ended roof of the building and measures 18.10 x 18 m.<sup>41</sup> The West Room measures 15.45 x 18 m and the interior space is divided into thirds by two east-west colonnades.

The West Room is divided into three bathing areas. A sunken bathing area, 5.65 x 15.85 x 1 m, along the south wall is accessed by a stone stairway from the north. This room contains a plunge pool, 8.20 x 3.90 x 1 m. This pool was flanked on either side by rooms labelled the East Tub room and the West Tub room. The East Tub Room, 5.65 x 3.55 m, has four limestone *lenos* basins along the east wall of the room each measuring approximately 1.46 x 0.60 m.<sup>42</sup> The West Tub Room, 3.45 x 5.65 m, was accessed by stairs in the north-east corner of the room and is identical to the East Tub Room, containing four *lenos* basins

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<sup>41</sup> Darice Birge, Lynn Kraynak and Stephen Miller, *Excavations at Nemea I. Topographical and Architectural Studies: The Sacred Square, the Xenon and the Bath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 194, 232.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 210-11.

along the west wall.<sup>43</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that the water was heated.<sup>44</sup>

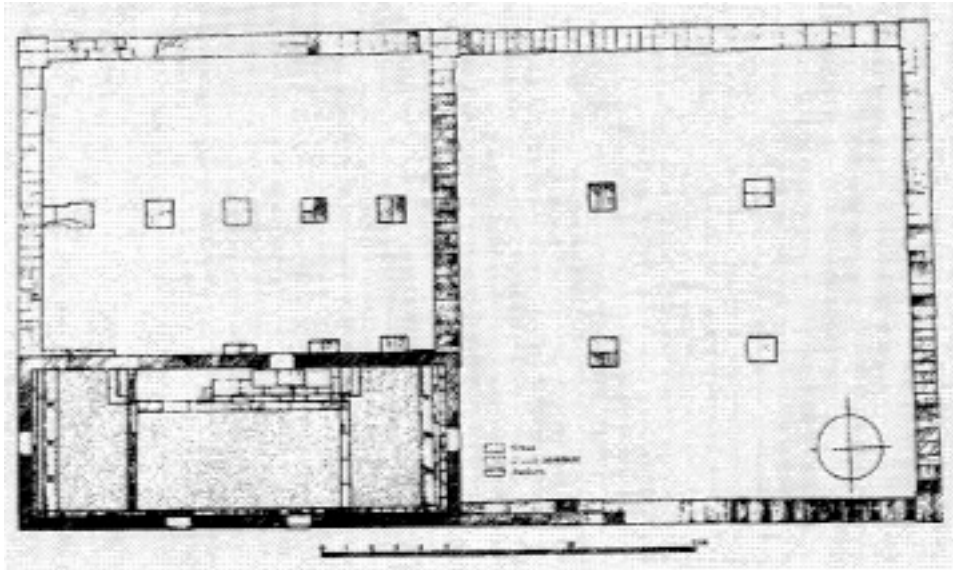


Figure 4.12 Plan, Public Bath, Nemea  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 64, p. 273.

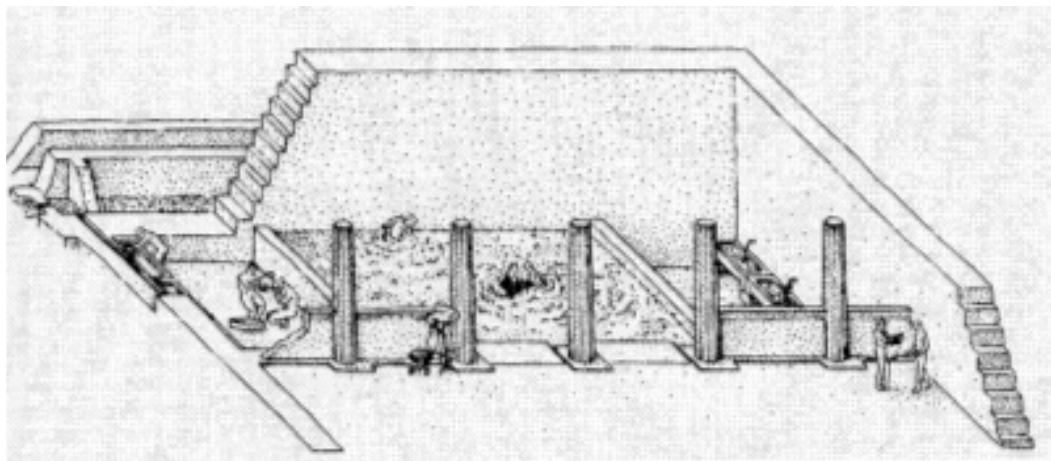


Figure 4.13 Reconstruction Drawing, Public Bath, Nemea  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 68, p. 275.

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 213-16.

<sup>44</sup> Birge, Karynak and Miller argue that the basins are *lenos* basins based on comparanda with an early Hellenistic *palaestra* at Delphi and a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC *palaestra* at Priene. *Ibid.*, 244-50. The lack of comparanda in assigning a secure label to this structure is discussed in further detail by the excavators. The *lenos* basins suggest that it associated with an athletic context but it is not part of *gymnasium* and the absence of hip-baths prevents labelling it a bath. The excavators choose to refer to it as a bath.

## Aegina

South-east of the *temenos* of the sanctuary of Aphaia are two rooms with three tubs in one room and a tub in the other (Figure 4.14). The temple dates from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC but the tubs in room V2, based on their construction, date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>45</sup> The tubs are not homogenous in size. The first basin measures 1.99 x 0.515 m, the second 1.12 x 0.505 m and the third 1.03 x 0.68 m. The bottom of each tub is flat without a seat but one has a little stool ca. 0.42 x 0.20 m sculpted from a block of poros stone. This stool probably allowed the tub to function as a hip-bath. In the north-west of room V1 is a small tub, ca. 0.90 x 0.60 m coated with waterproof cement that would have served as either a small bathtub or a reservoir.<sup>46</sup>

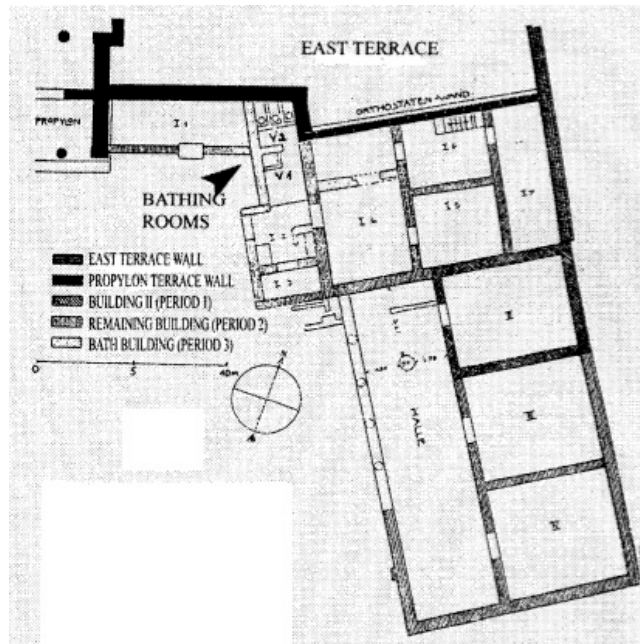


Figure 4.14 Plan, Public Baths, Aegina  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 90, p. 288.

<sup>45</sup> Ginouvès (1962), 43, n.10; 385, n.10; 385-6.

<sup>46</sup> Gill (2004), 87-88.



## Gortys

In Gortys at the sanctuary of Asklepios there is a Greek public bath located just east of the underground reservoir and south of the large temple dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Figure 4.15).<sup>47</sup>

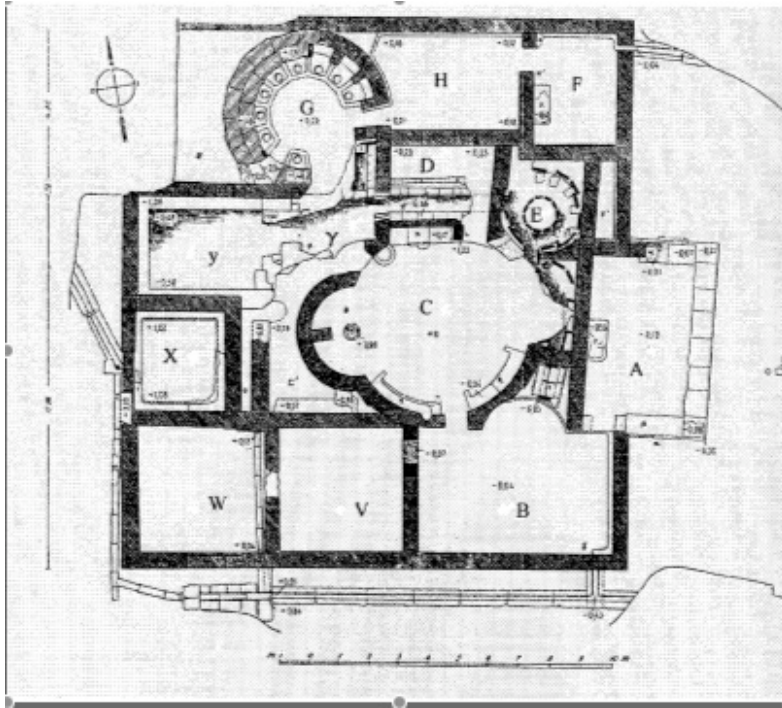


Figure 4.15 Plan, Public Bath, Gortys, Sanctuary of Asklepios from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 36, p. 254.

The public bath complex at Gortys, dated from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC,<sup>48</sup> includes a *tholos* chamber with hip-baths (room G), a sweat room with basins and a primitive hypocaust system (room E), and a elongated circular room, with

<sup>47</sup> P. Courbin, "Chronique des fouilles de Gortys d'Arcadie," *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 76 (1952), 246; R. Ginouvès, "Gortys d'Arcadie," *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 19 (1955), 331-334; *Études Péloponnésiennes*, vol. 2. *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1959); Ginouvès (1962), 207-8.

<sup>48</sup> The dating of these baths is disputed. See Trümper (2009), p. 147 notes 24 and 25 who prefers to date these baths to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.



apses on the east and west, containing benches and individual immersion tubs (room C).<sup>49</sup>

To the north-east of room C is a sweat-room. The diameter of this room is ca 2.3 m. This room was heated by a primitive hypocaust system, which likely only heated the room to a low temperature.<sup>50</sup> Located north-west of the central *tholos* is a second *tholos* chamber with hip-baths (room G), which was in use until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>51</sup>

These baths, like the baths at Oenaidai,<sup>52</sup> have been used as evidence to argue that the sequence of public baths in Italy first developed in Greece. Ginouvès proposes that bathers entered through the portico (room A), then into the changing room (room B) and then to the central room (room C). From this central room they could wash at the fountains, use the sweat-room (room E) or the hip-baths (room G).<sup>53</sup> Upon closer examination of the layout of the public baths at Gortys, however, it is evident that the bathing sequence is not similar to the sequence in the early Italic public baths.<sup>54</sup> There is no clear progression from room to room and access from the central chamber (room C) to the hip-baths (room G) is through an intermediary room (room Y).<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Gill (2004), 59.

<sup>50</sup> The heating system is comprised of an underground duct connected to a furnace. See Nielsen (1993), I.8; DeLaine (1989), 112-4; R. Ginouvès, "Gortys d'Arcadie:L'établissement thermal," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 79 (1955), 331-334; and idem (1962), 207-8.

<sup>51</sup> Gill (2004), 60.

<sup>52</sup> See below pages 131-135.

<sup>53</sup> Ginouvès (1959), 46-8.

<sup>54</sup> The Roman public baths progressed through heated rooms, which is not the case at Gortys.

<sup>55</sup> Trümper refers to this type of space as a distributive space providing access to the different types of bathing available in the structure - cleansing and relaxing. See Trümper (2009), 146 and 155.

The identification of this particular bath complex with the cult of Asklepios and its proximity to the temple suggests that the complex had a ritual function related to the healing cult of Asklepios. The ancillary rooms would have had some functional association with the rituals associated with the cult and the form and function of this particular bath structure can not be compared to Italic public baths in a public context.

### **Delphi**

At Delphi, dated from ca. 325-300 BC, there is a circular plunge bath located in the central court of the *gymnasium*, to the north-west of the *palaestra* (Figure 4.16). There were originally four courses of steps descending into the pool, which also could have provided seats for bathers. The diameter of the pool is 9.70 m with a depth of 1.90 m.<sup>56</sup> In the *gymnasium* there are ten marble basins of the *lenos* type . Water was supplied from lion-headed spouts above each basin.<sup>57</sup>

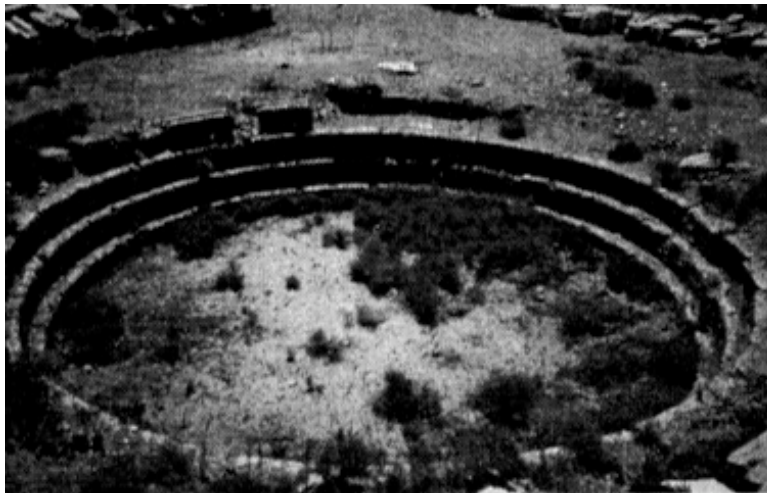


Figure 4.16 Photograph, Circular Pool, Delphi  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 70, p. 276.

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<sup>56</sup> Gill (2004), 78.

<sup>57</sup> Jean Jannoray, *Fouilles de Delphes, vol. 2, Le Gymnase* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1953), 60.

## Eleusis

At Eleusis, just east of the sanctuary and located outside the *temenos*, is a double circular bath (Figure 4.17). These public baths are similar to those at Eretria.<sup>58</sup>

The baths are equal in size and although no basins are preserved there are cement depressions indicating where these would originally have been placed within the complex.<sup>59</sup> The basins are quite shallow and may have been used as foot baths. The interior space of R1 is large enough to have included a brazier on which water could have been heated for the baths to create a “steam bath”.<sup>60</sup>

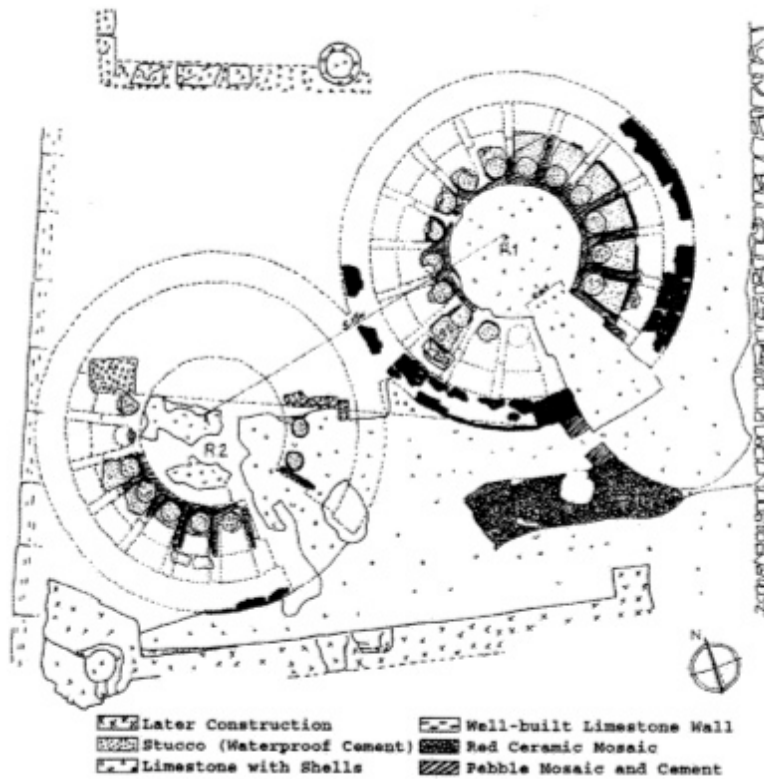


Figure 4.17 Plan, Public Baths, Eleusis  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 102, p. 295.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Gill (2004), 96.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

The number of basins in R2 is unknown, but the cement depressions in R2 are somewhat smaller than those in R1, ca. 1.07 m in length. There are limestone separations between the basins, coated with waterproof cement, which suggest that there might have been partitions providing some degree of privacy for the bathers.<sup>61</sup>

#### **Olympia - Phase 4**

The fourth and final phase of the Greek public baths at Olympia dates from 100 BC and consists of an extension on the south-east corner of the phase 3 baths. The extension measures 6 x 8 m with an apse along the south wall. Significant is the presence of a Roman-style hypocaust system, with 90 *suspensura*. The room was paved with a mosaic, although the apse area remained unpaved. The furnace to heat the baths was a vaulted chamber with brick sides, 1.60 wide and 1.03 m high, with heat carried to the hollow floor by means of a brick arch.<sup>62</sup>

#### **Eretria – Double circular baths**

The double circular baths (Figure 4.18), located near the harbour at Eretria, date from ca. 325-300 BC. At least two stages of construction are associated with the complex. In the first phase, dated from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, terra-cotta basins serviced the bathers. These were later replaced with stone and brick basins, which initially prompted the excavators to label these baths as Roman public baths.<sup>63</sup> The *tholoi*, constructed of limestone blocks, are equal in size with a diameter of 5.70 m. There are no *in situ* basins, but based on six depressions in

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Yegül (1992), 377-9.

<sup>63</sup> For more on this see Gill (2004), 81, n. 105.

the course stone tesserae pavement the *tholoi* each reasonably contained 21 hip-bath basins.

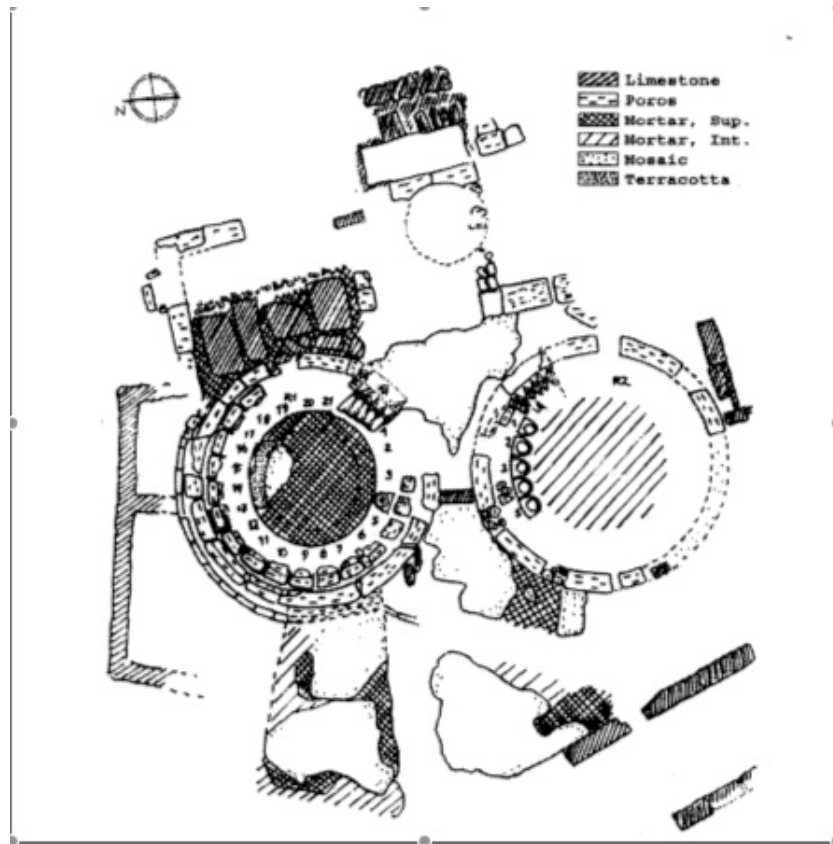


Figure 4.18 Plan, Double Circular Baths, Eretria  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 78, p. 281.

Ginouvès suggests that the north *tholos* was designated for men and the south for women. A section of the mosaic floor in the doorway of the north *tholos* contains a section of mosaic with a design Ginouvès interprets as the letter 'A' signifying 'ἄνδρεῖος.'<sup>64</sup>

### Oeniadai

The baths, when first excavated in 1900, were initially labelled Roman public baths based on their arrangement being more reminiscent of Roman public bath

<sup>64</sup> Ginouvès (1962), 198 and 212.

layouts than Greek public baths.<sup>65</sup> Some interpretations of these baths place them as a transitional forerunner of the Roman public baths.<sup>66</sup> The Oeniadai baths (Figure 4.19), however, still retain the Greek characteristic *tholoi* and hip-baths.

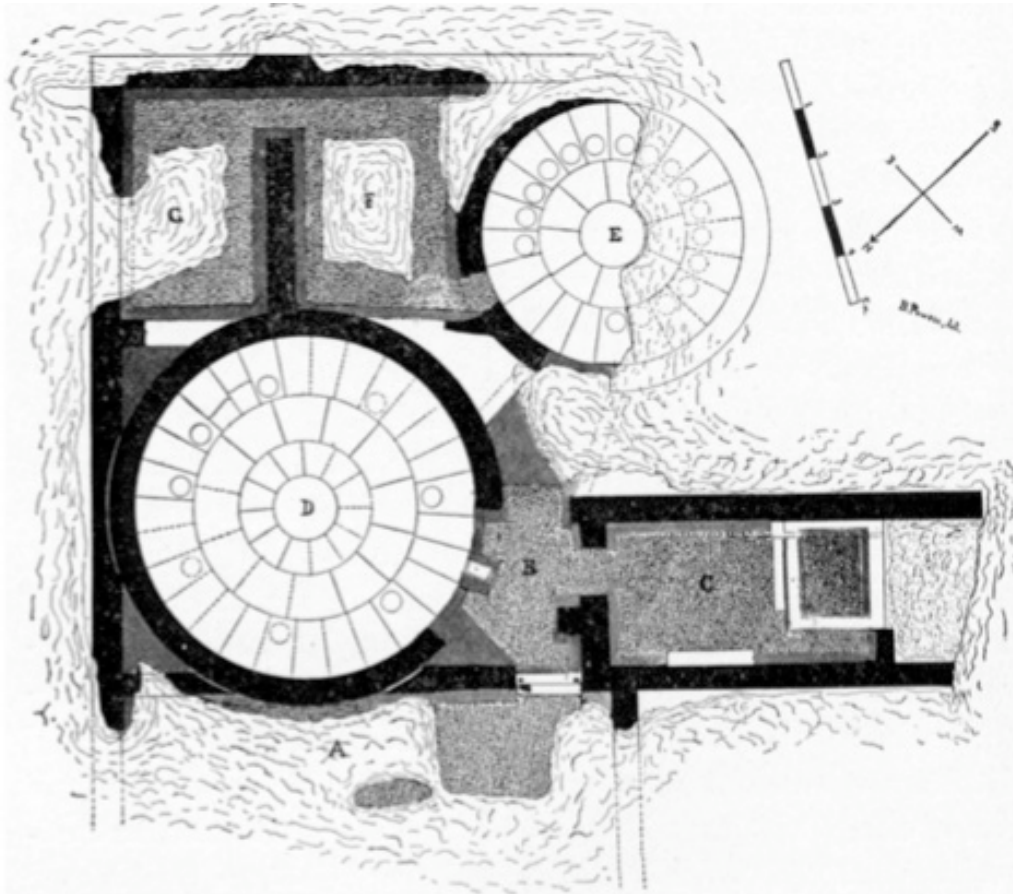


Figure 4.19 Plan, Public Baths, Oeniadai  
from J.M. Sears (1904) "Oeniadae: V. A Greek Bath." Figure 42, p. 217.

Entrance to the complex was through room A, located on the west side of the complex. This room has been labelled an *apodyterium*<sup>67</sup> and is 0.57 m below

<sup>65</sup> J.M. Sears, "Oeniadae: V. A Greek Bath," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1904), 216-26.

<sup>66</sup> See Gill (2004), 89 no. 127 for more on this debate.

<sup>67</sup> Use of these terms does not imply that this structure was a Roman public bath but are used because the terminology was applied to the baths by the excavators.

the hallway (B on Figure 4.19).<sup>68</sup> The hallway provided access to three rooms. To the right, room C, originally identified as a *frigidarium*, is ca. 5.35 x 2.85 m. Located at the far end of the room is a large tub or reservoir constructed with four low walls resting directly on the white limestone mosaic floor.<sup>69</sup> The tub is ca. 0.70 m deep and tapers down with a top measurement of 1.40 x 1.97 m and a base of 1.13 x 1.61 m. There are two outlets in the tub; one ca. 0.50 m above floor level to fill the tub located in the south-west corner and another in the north end to empty the tub. The tub gently sloped toward the north to facilitate drainage.<sup>70</sup>

Two steps or seats are located along the east side of the tub, 0.22 m and 0.28 m high both 1.75 m long, coated with waterproof cement. Sears interprets this anomalous arrangement as a cold plunge bath.<sup>71</sup> Ginouvès, however, does not concur and notes the size of the tub to hold only two bathers has no comparanda and instead interprets it as a reservoir.<sup>72</sup>

Sears identifies room D as a *tepidarium*. The diameter of the *tholos* is 6.80 m and is paved with wedge-shaped slabs of white limestone in three concentric bands around a central circular slab.<sup>73</sup> Sears bases his reconstruction of this room on a passage in Plutarch stating that a brazier would have rested in the centre of the room with a large kettle to heat the water.<sup>74</sup> Surrounding the central slab are

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<sup>68</sup> Sears (1904), 218.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 218-219.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 220. Yegül agrees with this interpretation, see Yegül (1992), 25.

<sup>72</sup> Ginouvès (1962), 190.

<sup>73</sup> Sears (1904), 220-1.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 220-1; Plu. *Demetr.* 24.3.

eight basins cut into the pavement, 0.37 m in diameter, 0.21 m deep and ca. 0.80 m from the wall. These basins are for individual baths and not sizeable enough to accommodate more than one bather. The walls of this room are constructed of soft limestone, as are those in the second *tholos* chamber, unlike the hard limestone used throughout the rest of the structure. Gill hypothesizes that the use of soft limestone was to retain heat in the chamber.<sup>75</sup>

The other *tholos* chamber, room E, is also accessed off the central hallway, room B. It is smaller than the other *tholos* chamber with a diameter of 5.23 m.<sup>76</sup> The pavement is similar to room D, with only two rows of concentric slabs around the central circular slab. There are 17 basins, which are smaller than those in room D, 0.34 m in diameter and 0.14 m deep. Sears identifies this room as a *caldarium*.<sup>77</sup>

Interpretations of the physical remains of the smaller *tholos* chamber, E, suggest that it was later converted into a sweat room.<sup>78</sup> The catch basins for the hip-baths were filled in and covered with tile set flush with the floor.<sup>79</sup>

Access to rooms G and F is through a narrow door from room E. Sears identifies these rooms as anointing rooms based on Vitruvius' description of a Roman public bath in which anointing rooms are adjunct to the bath.<sup>80</sup> Gill notes that in the passage cited by Sears, Vitruvius was describing the arrangement of bathing facilities in a *palaestra* and suggests that this interpretation is

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<sup>75</sup> Gill (2004), 93.

<sup>76</sup> Yegül (1992), 25.

<sup>77</sup> Sears (1904), 223-4.

<sup>78</sup> Trümper (2009), 148-9. Trümper suggest a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC date for the remodelling of Room E.

<sup>79</sup> Sears (1904), 222-3.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 124; see also Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 5.11.2.



problematic as the public bath complex at Oeniadai is neither a *palaestra* nor a Roman public bath. Gill instead proposes that these rooms may have functioned as change rooms.<sup>81</sup> The mosaic floors of rooms G and F incline towards the north and the cement border is slightly depressed, which Sears conjectures functioned as a catch basin for oil and dirt.<sup>82</sup>

There are some notable similarities in the spatial layout of the Oeniadai baths with the later public baths in Campania.<sup>83</sup> The structure, however, as stated above, still contains the characteristic *tholoi* chambers and the individual hip-baths. Sears interpretation of the various rooms in the complex as *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium* does have some merit, although there are also obvious similarities with the Piraeus double *tholoi* public baths, such as the double *tholoi* accessed off of a shared hallway. There is also a double *tholoi* public bath complex at Eretria.<sup>84</sup>

### **Agora Baths, Athens**

The circular baths in the Athenian Agora (Figure 4.20) are one of the first Greek public baths located within city walls and date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. No tubs were found *in situ*, but one marble tub was found in the vicinity of the Agora in 1939 and is typologically associated with this structure.<sup>85</sup> A small circular building measuring 7.20 m in diameter composed of conglomerate blocks laid at angles lies in the northern part of the area. The excavators hypothesize that

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<sup>81</sup> See Gill (2004), 94, n. 147.

<sup>82</sup> Sears (1904), 224.

<sup>83</sup> The Stabian and Forum Baths at Pompeii for example dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and ca. 80 BC respectively.

<sup>84</sup> See above pages 130-131.

<sup>85</sup> T. Leslie Shear, Jr. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1968" *Hesperia*, 38, No. 3 (1969), 397.

approximately 20 marble bathtubs of the type found in the vicinity in 1939 could fan the radius of the *tholos* chamber.<sup>86</sup>

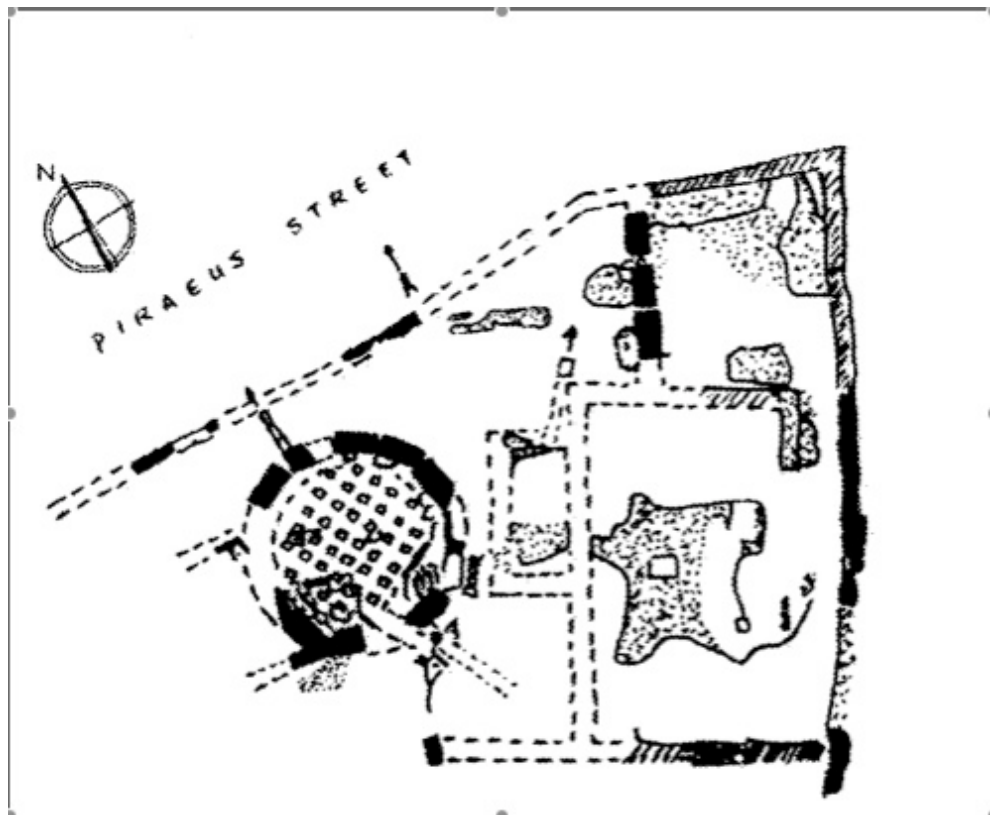


Figure 4.20 Plan, Agora Baths, Athens  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 127, p. 311.

As only the *tholos* of the early structure has been excavated and later phases of the complex currently prevent further investigation of the earliest phases there is still much to be answered about the complex as a whole. This does not, however, prevent preliminary observations on the structure based on what is known.

The location of the complex within the Athenian Agora is informative. Public baths in Greece in the Classical period are not located within the urban

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<sup>86</sup> Shear, Jr. (1969), 397.

context of a city but rather located outside city walls. The location of these baths within the city implies that there has been a significant change in the reception of public bathing from the Classical to the Hellenistic periods. They are no longer outside the limits of the city, but are now an integral part of the urban fabric, as is demonstrated by the location of this complex in the Agora - the commercial and political centre of Athens. It is not known, however, if use of these baths was restricted to city officials and hence their location within the political centre of Athens.

The Athenian Agora baths are crucial for the development of the argument presented here. First, the complex provides evidence for the form of public bath common in Greece in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the date of the earliest public baths in Campania. There are only two other extant 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Greek public baths in Greece, both part of larger complexes in Delos, one in the Agora of the Italians the other at Lake Palaestra. Only the bath in the Agora of the Italians fits the definition of a Greek public bath within the context of this study. The baths in the Lake Palaestra are associated with a *palaestra* and serve a different function. Delos, however, is problematic as there was already a large presence of Italians in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

### **Delos, Agora of the Italians**

The form of these baths does not differ much from Greek public baths in the Classical period (Figure 4.21 and 4.22). The bathing facilities are located in the north-west corner and likely were frequented by *negotiatores*, Italian merchants

predominantly from Campania and Rome, in Delos. The structure dates from 110-88 BC predating the Mithridatic destruction of Delos in 88 BC.<sup>87</sup>

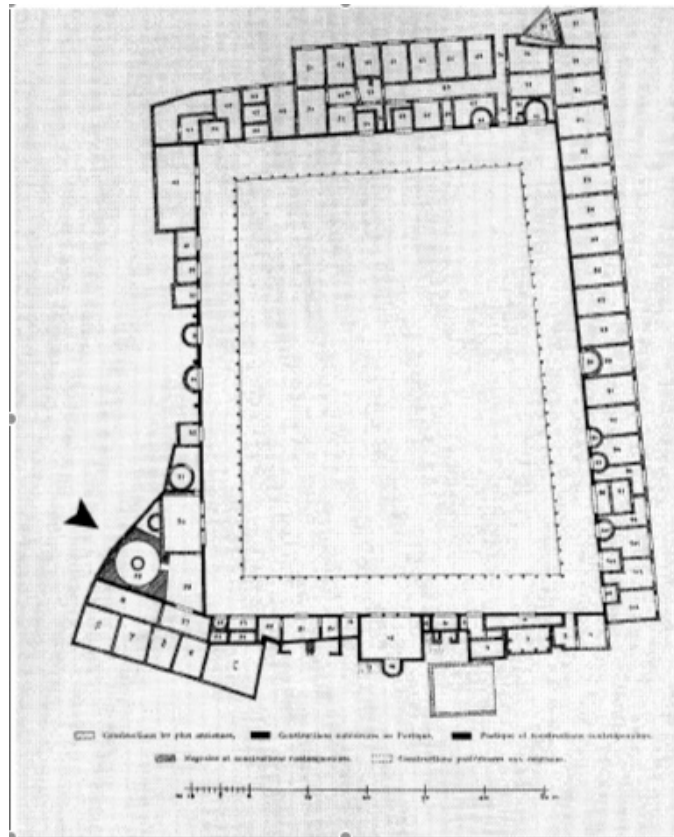


Figure 4.21 Plan, Agora of the Italians, Delos  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 138, p. 318.

The bathing area of the Agora is composed of two *tholoi*, F and H, separated by a entrance room A. The larger of the two *tholoi*, F has a diameter of 7.93 m with a round wash basin in the centre of the room with a terra-cotta drainpipe. The walls are covered in stucco. This room is identified as a *sudatorium*, steam bath.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Ginouvès (1962), 186, n.4.

<sup>88</sup> Gill (2004), 112.

The second *tholos* chamber, room G, has a diameter of 3.60 m and is paved with terracotta slabs. In the centre of the chamber is a raised circular brick platform with a diameter of 0.73 m.<sup>89</sup> An inscription on the exterior of the building refers to this room as a *laconicum* dated from ca. 100 BC.<sup>90</sup>

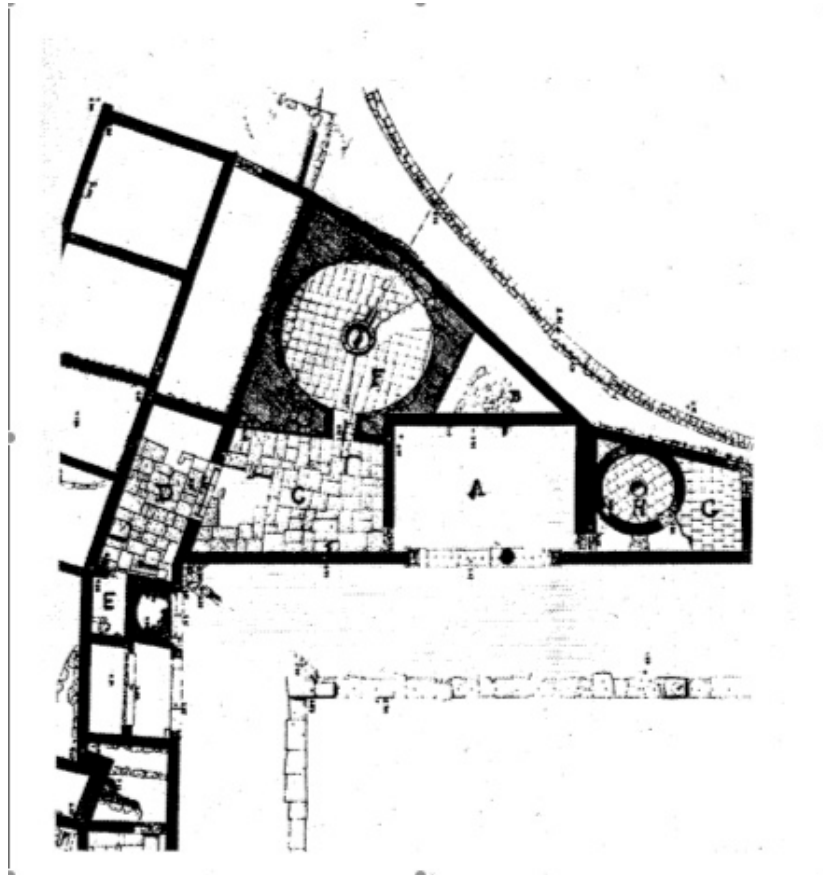


Figure 4.22 Plan, Detail of Agora of the Italians Baths  
from A. Gill (2004) *Balaneia*. Figure 139, p. 319.

## Hellenistic Greek Public Baths in Sicily and Italy

Hellenistic public baths in Greece have been examined in previous studies and specific features of the public baths in Campania identified as developing first in

<sup>89</sup> Yegül suggests that this may be a hearth; Yegül (1992), 384.

<sup>90</sup> Etienne Lapalus, *L'agora des Italiens*, vol. 19, Exploration archéologique de Délos (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1939), 82.

the Sicilian Greek public baths.<sup>91</sup> A brief summary of the evidence is presented below. The baths in Sicily and one in Italy, Velia, are considered Greek-style public baths because of the inclusion of individual hip-baths. They also contain evidence for heated communal immersion pools.

### **Megara Hyblaea**

The public baths at Megara Hyblaea date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>92</sup> There are two entrances to the complex indicated by “\*” on the plan (Figure 4.23), one on the north side which faced the agora and a second on the east. Room C, with benches along the north-east and south-west corners, may have functioned as a change room.

There is one *tholos* chamber, room T, with 15 hip-baths.<sup>93</sup> To the north of this room, H, is an early heating system with an opening towards the *tholos* suggesting that its primary function was to heat water.<sup>94</sup> To the west of room T are two rooms, L and M, with benches presumably for attendants or those waiting their turn to use the baths.

To the east of room D are methods of bathing for relaxation. In room B along the south wall is a stucco base which likely supported a *labrum*. Along the north wall is a bench.<sup>95</sup> Room I opens from the north-east corner of room B and

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<sup>91</sup> See DeLaine (1989).

<sup>92</sup> The baths have not been fully excavated and published but information. References and descriptions to the architectural features of these baths can be found in G. Vallet, F. Villard and P. Auberson, *Megara Hyblaea 3: Guide des fouilles*, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. Suppléments 1 (Paris: E. Boccard, 1983), 49-60; DeLaine (1989), 116; and H. Broise, “La pratique du bain chaud par immersion en Sicile et dans la péninsule italique à l'époque hellénistique,” *Xenia Antiqua* 3 (1994), 17-21.

<sup>93</sup> Broise says 15 and Trümper says 20. Broise (1994), 19 and Trümper (2009), 155.

<sup>94</sup> The heating system at Megara Hyblaea is not as well preserved as the one in Syracuse although similar enough to believe that the heating system functioned the same in both.

<sup>95</sup> Broise (1994), 19.

H. Broise identifies this as a footbath for cleaning feet before entering the immersion tub, A, along the east wall of room B. The threshold to room I consists of a raised swelling of waterproof lime mortar and suggests that the type of bathing that occurred in this area necessitated washing of the feet.<sup>96</sup>

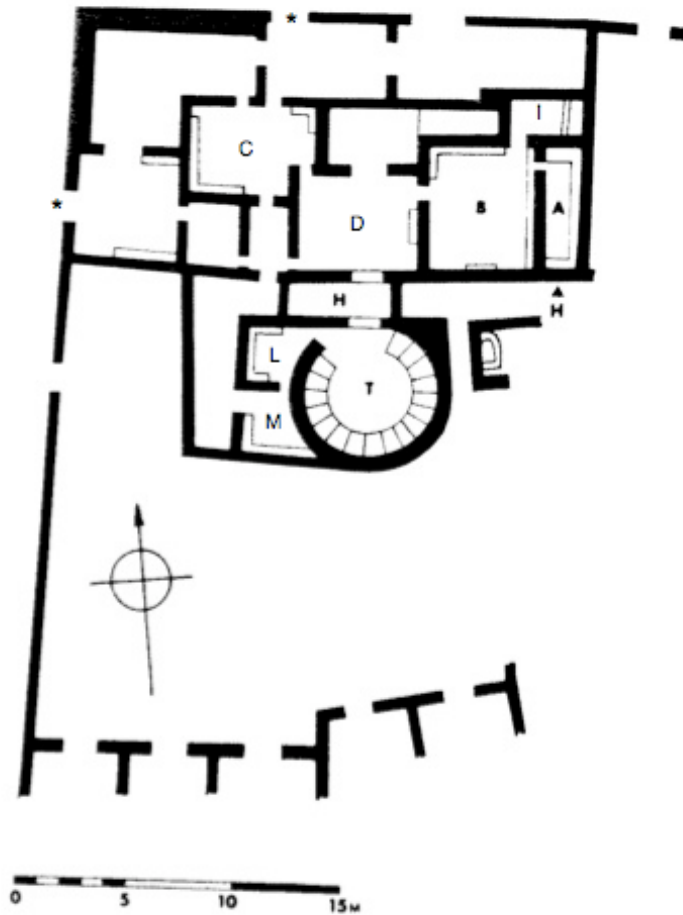


Figure 4.23 Plan, Public Baths, Megara Hyblaea  
 from J. DeLaine (1989) "Some Observations on the Transition from Greek to Roman  
 Baths in Hellenistic Italy." Illustration 5(a), p. 116.

<sup>96</sup> Note that Broise's interpretation of both the small tub in this room as a foot-bath and the raised threshold to also function as a foot-bath is rather dubious. First the location of the foot-bath to the side of the heated communal pool in its own separate chamber does not make practical sense. Why would bathers leave the large central room to wash their feet and then re-enter this same room after washing their feet to then use the communal heated pool? Clearly this room must have had another function, although the raised threshold does have parallels, particularly with the public baths at Musarna although here it is located at the entrance to the room with the heated communal bath.

There is no evidence of a doorway to B and A although the plan, indicates one along the north side of the north-south wall dividing the two rooms. This room, A, is a type of communal tub that is connected to the heating system H to the south. Trümper postulates that the pool could hold around 7-8 people.<sup>97</sup>

### Syracuse

The Greek public baths at Syracuse also date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>98</sup> The baths share a number of similar features to the public baths at Megara Hyblaea.

Room D provides access to the bathing rooms. To the west room H is an early heating system for heating the floor. It is composed of a central canal with small lateral openings to heat the room.<sup>99</sup>

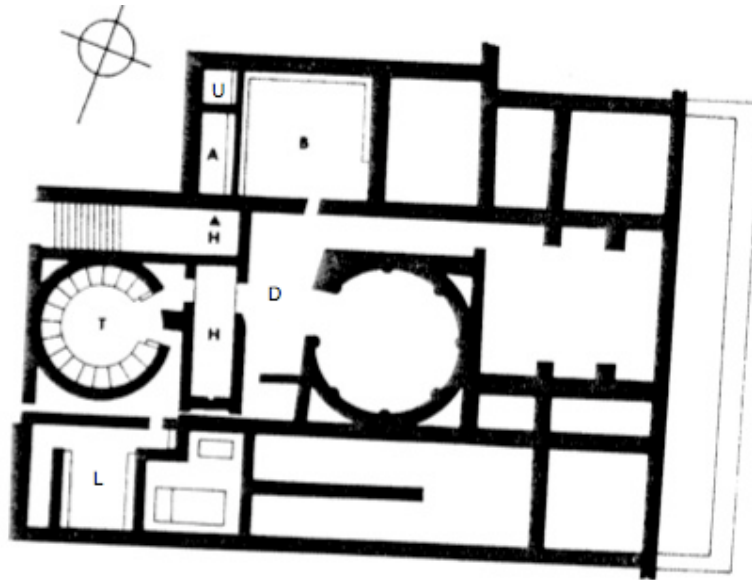


Figure 4.24 Plan, Public Baths, Syracuse  
from J. DeLaine (1989) "Some Observations on the Transition from Greek to Roman  
Baths in Hellenistic Italy." Illustration 5(b), p. 116.

<sup>97</sup> Trümper (2009), 155.

<sup>98</sup> These are also only partially excavated. G. Cultrera, "Siracusa. Rovine di un antico stabilimento idraulico in contrada Zappalà," *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 14 (1938), 21-301; DeLaine (1989), 116-7; Broise (1994) 21-23.

<sup>99</sup> Broise does not believe that it was to heat water, but rather to heat the room. Broise (1994), 22.



To the west of the heating system is a *tholos* chamber, Room T, with individual hip-baths. To the south of this is a room, L, lined with benches on the east and west walls.

To the north of room D is a large room with benches along the north and east walls of the room, room B. The west wall has two pools, A and U separated by a brick wall.<sup>100</sup> Broise identifies the smaller pool U as a foot-bath and the larger, A as a communal heated pool.<sup>101</sup>

### **Morgantina and Gela**

The physical remains of the public baths at Morgantina (Figure 4.25) and Gela (Figure 4.26) are not as well preserved and are only briefly examined below.

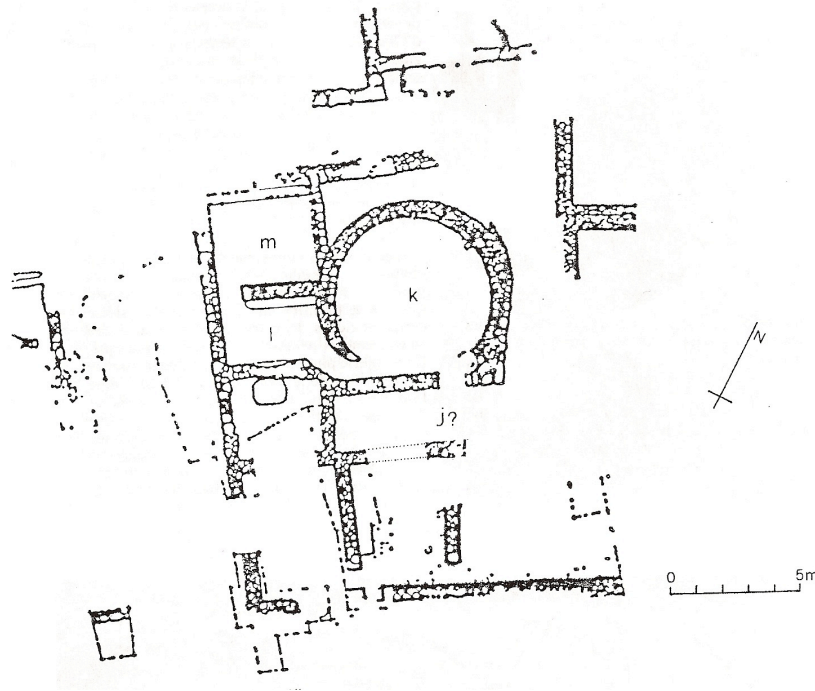


Figure 4.25 Plan, Public Baths, Morgantina  
from H. Broise (1994) "La pratique de bain chaud par immersion en Sicile." Figure 12, p.  
25.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

The public baths at Morgantina date from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>102</sup> There is a *A tholos* chamber, k, with similar dimensions to those at Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse. The hip-baths do not survive but fragments of terra-cotta hip-baths were found in the room. In the walls above the space for the hip-baths are niches for placing bathing instrumenta.<sup>103</sup> None of the other public baths in Sicily have this feature, although none of the walls stand to a height to reconstruct this arrangement. To the east, rooms l and m, may have functioned as waiting areas for bathers similar to room l and m at Megara Hyblaea (see Figure 4.23).

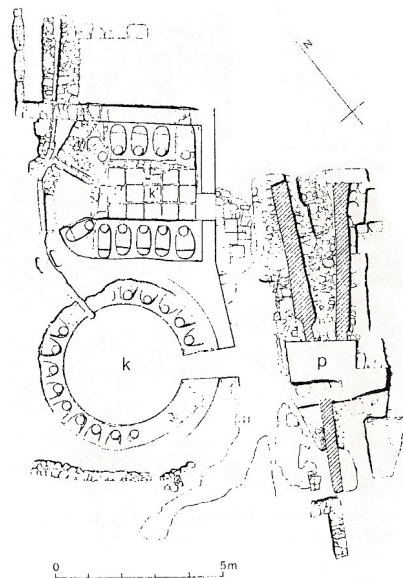


Figure 4.26 Plan, Public Baths, Gela  
from H. Broise (1994) "La pratique de bain chaud par immersion en Sicile." Figure 10, p. 24.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 24.

The public baths at Gela are the least preserved of the Greek public baths in Sicily. The baths were built around 310 BC and were in use until 282 BC when Phintias of Agrigento destroyed the city. There are two rooms with hip-baths, the *tholos* and another rectangular room. Only one other room is preserved enough and is probably a service area.<sup>104</sup>

## **Velia**

In the valley where the principal stream of the site flowed, the spring of Hyele, part of a Greek public bath complex was discovered on the south-east bank.<sup>105</sup>

The baths date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>106</sup> The western part of the complex was destroyed by erosion due to agricultural use of the land but in the central part of the complex four rooms were found and south, across from the hill a structure pertaining to the service areas of the bath complex (Figure 4.27). The structure is constructed in part of reused sandstone blocks and in part of brick, which was used for heating and insulating the floor.<sup>107</sup>

The function of rooms A and D is unknown due to the state of conservation. Room A contains a partially preserved floor consisting of hexagonal tiles of terracotta. Rooms B and D are adjacent to the heating system, Room E.<sup>108</sup> The heating system is constructed in brick (Figure 4.28). It is comprised of of

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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>105</sup> W. Johannowsky (1982), 243. For more on the site of Velia see G. Tocco Sciarelli, "Storia degli scavi e nuove prospettive di ricerca," *Velia: studi e ricerche*, eds. G. Greco and F. Krinzing (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1994), 13-54.

<sup>106</sup> Johannowsky (1982), 246.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

pillars jutting out the side and is surmounted by a tub and fistula of lead that passed in the same room E fed perhaps by the fountain in that of D.<sup>109</sup>

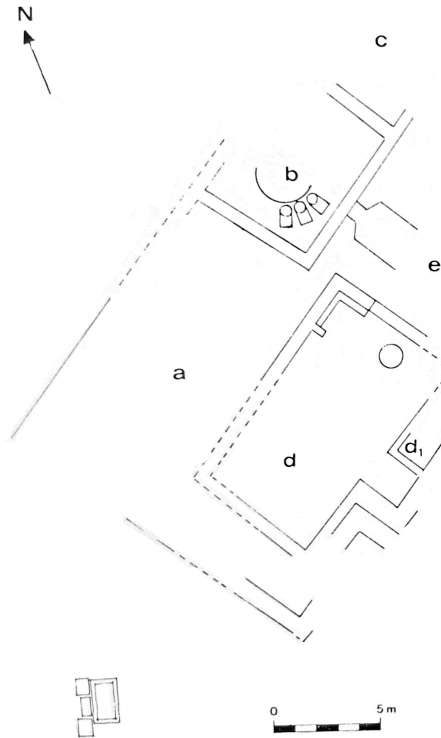


Figure 4.27 Plan, Public Baths, Velia  
from W. Johannowsky (1982) "Considerazioni sullo sviluppo urbano e la cultura materiale di Velia." Figure 3, p. 244.

Room D, measuring 8 x 5.40 m, has a waterproof lime mortar floor with partial mosaic and an area with a band of waves interrupted by vegetal motifs in angles that circle the other two lesser mosaic zones and a square emblem inserted obliquely one in the other with a central rosette.<sup>110</sup> There is a communal tub in the north-east corner labelled D1 on the plan. The function of this room, as proposed by W. Johannowsky, would be similar to the hot room in early public

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 243.

baths in Italy.<sup>111</sup> In the north-east corner of the room is a bench and to the east of this a *labrum*.<sup>112</sup>

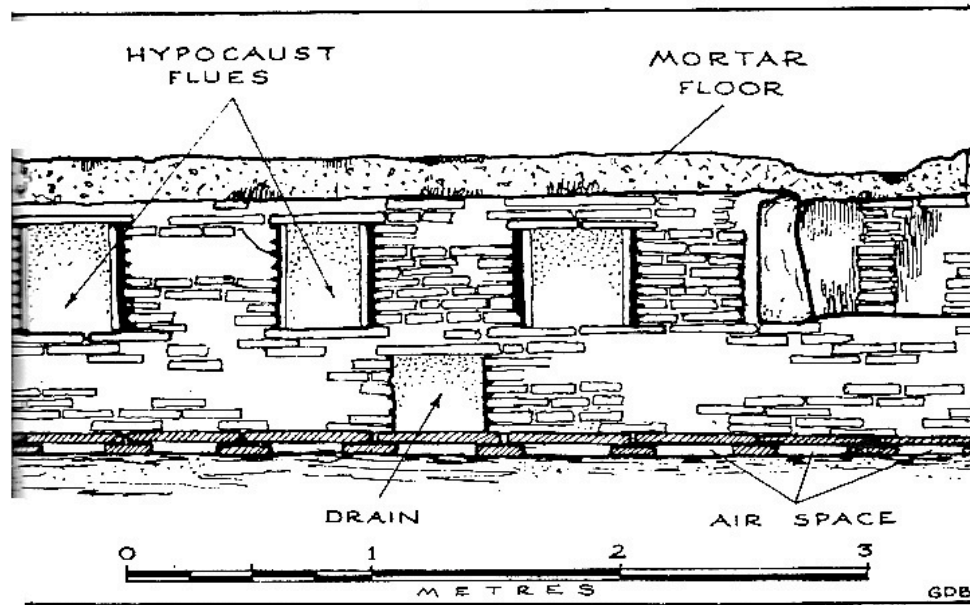


Figure 4.28 Reconstruction Drawing, Early Hypocaust System, Velia from F. Yegül (1992) *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. Figure 449, p. 361.

Room B is a square room and in the south-east corner terracotta hip-baths are arranged in a semicircle. The hip-baths have an upright back and the foot area of the tubs are covered in lead.<sup>113</sup> The inclusion of these place these baths within the provenance of Greek public baths.

### Characteristics of Hellenistic Public Baths In Greece

There is a noticeable increase in the number of public baths in the Hellenistic period compared to the Classical period in Greece. It is not until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC that the first Greek public baths are evident in the physical

<sup>111</sup> The use of these terms does not imply that these baths were Roman baths but rather uses the same terminology to describe these baths as in the existing literature.

<sup>112</sup> Johannowsky (1982), 243.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.

evidence in Sicily and Italy. The majority of the public baths in Greece are still located in close proximity to sanctuaries. Eretria, Oeniadai, Athens, and Delos are the only sites in Greece where public baths are not associated with sanctuaries. Of these only Athens and Delos have baths located in the urban framework of the city with the Eretria and Oeniadai public baths located near the ports. Delos, however, only has evidence for sweat room - both dry and wet steam rooms. The Greek public baths in Sicily and Italy, on the other hand, are not associated with sanctuaries and are located within the urban framework of the city.

There is also a noticeable change in the bathing methods available. M. Trümper's examination of the Greek Hellenistic public baths identifies various relaxing bathing methods and then further categorizes these into simple and complex bathing types based on the types of bathing available in each structure. Each of the complex types of structures are geographically disperse.<sup>114</sup>

The third complex type, which is located in the Western Mediterranean is largely based upon the physical evidence in Sicily, where the most physical evidence exists for the type of bathing particular to the region.<sup>115</sup> The presence of four public baths with at least three, Megara Hyblaea, Morgantina, and Syracuse having clear evidence of heated communal pools, suggests that this communal method of bathing was socially acceptable in the areas that it

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<sup>114</sup> Trümper (2009), 141-152. Simple baths are those with only hip-baths. The first complex type has hip-baths and sweat rooms and is encountered in Greece. The second complex type has hip-baths and individual immersion tubs and is located primarily in Egypt. The third complex type has hip-baths and heated communal tubs and is located in the Western Mediterranean.

<sup>115</sup> In Trümper's analysis Velia, the first phase of a public bath complex at Fregellae, and a bath complex in Marseille dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC are also included in the third complex type.

developed. A similar arrangement is also seen at Velia in Southern Italy in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

The presence of this method of bathing in conjunction with the traditional Greek hip-baths establishes a physical record of changes in bathing rituals of the citizens of these areas. Sicily was not a part of peninsular Italy and developed independently. The indigenous inhabitants of Sicily did not share the same socio-political systems as the Campanians and the relationship between the Greek settlers in Sicily with the indigenous population developed differently as a result of this.<sup>116</sup>

Regional studies on bath architecture and custom demonstrate that regional variations existed.<sup>117</sup> Architectural elements of baths developed to meet the needs of various cultures. Trümper effectively demonstrates this with her categorical division of complex Greek bathing structures of the Hellenistic period that also exhibit clear geographical distinctions. Obviously the communal heated pool had its genesis in the Western Mediterranean and in particular Sicily. There is still, however, an emphasis on the Greek hip-baths which implies that this method of bathing was still in use. The Sicilian public baths are not similar enough to the later Campanian public baths to be a transitional architectural complex between the Greek and Campanian public baths.

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<sup>116</sup> For more on this see John Serrati, "The coming of the Romans: Sicily from the fourth to the first century BC," Sicily from *Aeneas to Augustus: new approaches in archaeology and history*, New Perspectives on the Ancient World 1, eds. C. Smith and J. Serrati (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2000), 109-114; and Richard J.A. Talbert, *Timoleon and the revival of Greek Sicily; 344-317 BC*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

<sup>117</sup> See Henri Broise et Vincent Jolivet, "Le Bain en Étrurie à l'époque Hellénistique," *Les Thermes Romains, Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 142 (Rome: l'École française de Rome, 1991);, *opus cit.* Farrington (1995); García Entero, V. *Las balnea de las villae hispanorromanas: Provincia Tarraconense*, Monografías de arquitectura romana 5, Serie temas 1 (Madrid: Calendas, 2001); *opus cit.* Thébert (2003); *opus cit.* Bouet (2003).

The public bath complexes at Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse demonstrate that communal bathing in hot water is one of the features that characterizes public baths in Sicily in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>118</sup> They are also significant in demonstrating that regional variations in public baths do develop. In Sicily this included the Greek hip-baths in *tholos* chambers. Only the public baths at Gela have hip-baths in a rectangular room in addition to the *tholos* chamber. It is also the only structure that does not have any evidence for communal heated pools although this could be due to the state of preservation. There is only one Hellenistic Greek public bath in peninsular Italy at Velia where there is no *tholos* chamber and instead the hip-baths are arranged in a semicircle in a rectangular room.

## Conclusions

The Greek public baths are characterized by a collective type of bathing occurring in hip-baths. The majority of the evidence from the Classical and Hellenistic period is located in close proximity to sanctuaries with only two examples in Greece itself located within the urban framework. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC Greek public baths outside of Greece are found within urban centres but it is not until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC that there is any extant physical evidence for the same development in Greece.

The methods of bathing associated with the public baths both in and near sanctuaries is reminiscent of bathing in athletic contexts. Cold-water facilities with water sources for ablutions rather than immersion tend to be more

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<sup>118</sup> Broise (1994), 24.



common. When immersion pools are found they are large cold-water pools for swimming, such as at Olympia, Isthmia, Delphi and Nemea - all sanctuary sites associated with Panhellenic athletic games.

There is a noticeable division between bathing methods, cleansing versus relaxation from the Classical to the Hellenistic periods. It is not till the Hellenistic period that relaxing methods of bathing are noticeable in the archaeological record. There is also a clear geographical distinction in what types of relaxing bathing methods are adopted. In Greek public bath complexes the hip-bath is still a central feature and the relaxing bathing methods do not supplant the cleansing bathing methods.

The public bath structures in Greece in both the Classical and Hellenistic periods also demonstrate an association with sanctuaries and athletics, which as discussed in Chapter 2, is linked to Greek social institutions. The literary testimony, going back to Homer, reveals a focus on ritual aspects of bathing and the number of extant public bath structures associated with sanctuaries outnumber those in urban contexts, whether outside the city walls or within. The Panhellenic sites of Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea contain physical evidence more similar to baths in *gymnasia* and only at Olympia are hip-baths present.

Returning to the argument presented in Chapter 3, which focused on the influence of domestic baths, there is a clear indication in both the literary and physical evidence that bathing in Greece was not a communal activity, in that only one individual bathed in a source of water - two or more individuals did not

share the same source of water contemporaneously. There does not, however, appear to be any social taboos associated with viewing males while bathing although the mythology retains taboos of viewing goddesses while bathing.

## Chapter 5 Early Italic Public Baths

### Introduction

As previously stated in the introduction, there is no standard definition of early Italic public baths.<sup>1</sup> Some studies distinguish them from Roman public baths by referring to them as Hellenistic public baths.<sup>2</sup> This does not clarify the situation, however, as use of the term inherently implies that these structures were part of the metanarrative of Hellenization in which the Italic elite appropriated Hellenistic cultural motifs to extrinsically establish their knowledge of and ability to acquire Hellenistic material culture. Placing the early Italic public baths within this narrative disregards the agency of local inhabitants to choose which elements of Hellenistic culture they acquired and how they adapted these elements to accord with their own culture. It also misrepresents the early Italic public baths by precipitately linking them to the social institution of Roman public bathing, which develops much later in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>3</sup>

The early Italic public baths do not include the characteristic individual hip-baths of the Greek public baths. This clearly distinguishes them from the Greek public baths, yet they cannot be designated Roman public baths because, as is argued below, the form and the function are not yet similar to Roman public baths. There is no comparanda for this form in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in Rome

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<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction for the working definition of Italic public baths.

<sup>2</sup> For example Henri Broise and Vincent Jolivet, *Musarna 2: Les Bains Hellénistiques*, Collection de l'école française de Rome 344 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> See W. Heinz, *Römische Thermen: Badewesen und Badeluxus im Römischen Reich* (München: Hirmer, 1983), 10; Yegül (1992), 30 and 48; Nielsen (1993), 1.43; and Fagan (1999), 40.

itself and only one example has a fully developed hypocaust system which is not located in the room containing the communal heated pool and *labrum* as it is in the Campanian public baths but rather in a room identified as a sweat room.

The early Italic public baths are examined below first to identify how they differ from the Greek public baths. Then, when the evidence from Campania is introduced to determine how the Campanian public baths differ from the early Italic public baths. The early Italic public baths are presented topographically, from north to south, and all date from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

The structures presented here are not considered to be Roman public baths and accordingly I do not use Latin terminology to describe the rooms although the excavation reports of these buildings apply terms, such as *apodyterium* and *caldarium* to the various rooms. Neutral, non-Roman terms, such as change room and hot room are used throughout. The rooms are also referred to by either the number or letter on the supplied floor plans. Using non-Latin terminology to describe the rooms in the early Italic and Campanian public baths disassociates them from the cultural and social contexts of the later Roman public baths.

There is currently no other adequate terminology in the discipline to define the function of these rooms. The application of these labels does not, however, presuppose that all rooms with these labels had the same function. Also, for the evidence presented in this and the following chapter there is no surviving literature to inform us what the separate rooms were called by the users. This is particularly important for the Campanian evidence as Oscan was

still the language of administration in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>4</sup> It is not until after the foundation of the Roman *colonia* in Pompeii in 80 BC that Roman terminology is found on inscriptions naming various rooms of the public baths.<sup>5</sup>

Only two Oscan inscriptions are located in balneic contexts. The first is on the base of a *labrum* in the Central Baths at Cumae dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>6</sup> The second is a sun dial donated by Maras Atinius and does not have any terminology relating to the function of the rooms.<sup>7</sup>

## **Musarna**

The public baths at Musarna are located within the urban context of the town in a central position on insula C (see Figure 5.1). The baths, however, do not face the main street, but are located to the east of it.<sup>8</sup> The baths are located amidst a production area of bricks and tiles, on the periphery of the urban area close to the north gate.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Alison E. Cooley and M.G.L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2004), 5.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* 10.829.

<sup>6</sup> See below Figure 6.3.

<sup>7</sup> The only Oscan inscription in the Stabian Baths refers to gift of a sun dial by Maras Atinius. Vetter, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 12.

<sup>9</sup> Broise and Jolivet (1991) construct an argument that the bath complex incorporates aspects of Etruscan domestic bathing rituals. They examine baths in domestic contexts at Cosa dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; the villa of Monna Felice near Civitavecchia dating from the period of Sulla; and the House of the Cryptoporticus at Vulci dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

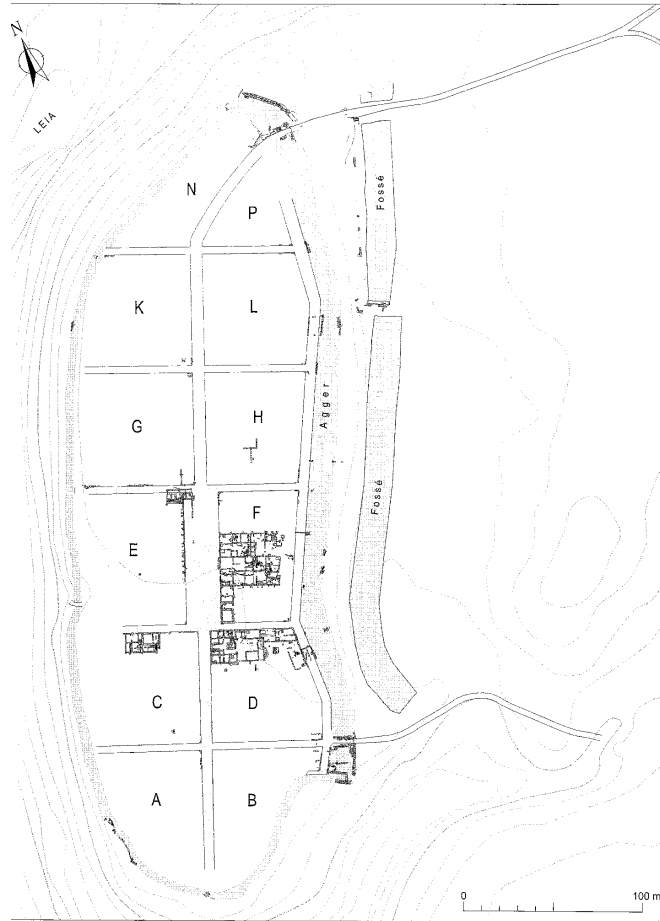


Figure 5.1 Plan, Musarna  
 from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 12, p. 13.

Excavation of the public bath complex revealed at least four phases prior to the construction of the baths.<sup>10</sup> The third phase is examined because elements of it were re-used in the construction of the public baths. In the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC a temple was constructed. It was rectangular, 7.08 x 10.20 m, and faced north. The temple contained two rooms, a *cella* and *pronaos* (Figure 5.2)<sup>11</sup>. The change in function of the site from a temple to a public bath is intriguing, but

<sup>10</sup> For phase 1 see Broise and Jolivet (2004), 16-17; for phases 2 and 3 17-23 and for phase 4, the temple see 23-36.

<sup>11</sup> For more on the temple complex see Broise and Jolivet (2004), 23-36.

not without parallels.<sup>12</sup> The excavators hypothesize that the temple was dedicated to Dionysus and that the conversion of the temple to a public bath was the result of the 186 BC senate decree prohibiting *bacchanalia* worship.<sup>13</sup> This implies a construction date after 186 BC, making the public baths at Musarna contemporary with the second phase of the public baths at Fregellae discussed below.<sup>14</sup>

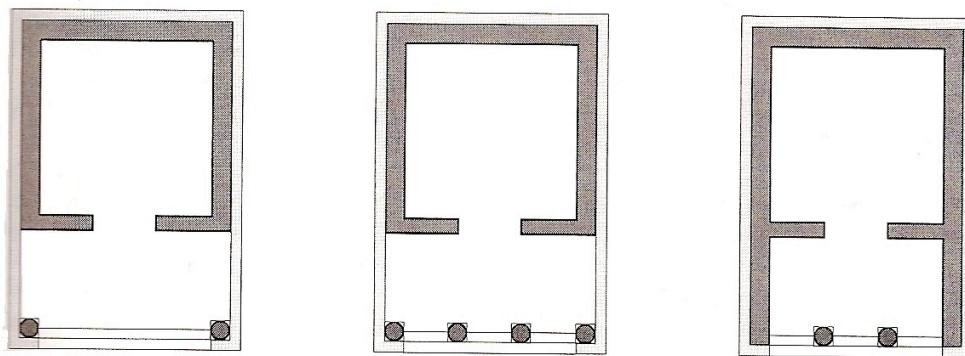


Figure 5.2 Reconstructed Plan, Temple, Musarna  
from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 26, p. 33.

The entrance to the baths is located on the north façade, directly on the road. The complex is divided into two sections, the bath rooms and the service section. The bath area is composed of three rooms labelled room 1, change room; room 2, sweat room; and room 3, hot room by the excavators based on

<sup>12</sup> A passage in Festus refers to the construction of a private bath by Gn. Domitius Calvinus in the Augustan period. The *sacellum* Mitini Titni, an ancient cult site, was destroyed for the private bath. See Festus 142L.

<sup>13</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 35. They cite iconographic representations of Dionysus on the ceramics in the necropolis of Musarna to further their argument and a terracotta model of a temple from Vulci with Dionysus and Ariadne sculpted on the pediment, though this is dated from the 1st century BC. See Livy 39.14.8 on the decree banning participation in Bacchanalia.

<sup>14</sup> The public baths at Musarna are not considered Roman public baths but Broise and Jolivet's hypothesis for the change in function of the temple due to *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC demonstrates the influence of Roman juridical decrees. This particular decree, however, was not enforced throughout Italy. In the private realm Dionysiac imagery is still employed in decorative ensembles, particularly in the House of the Faun, see Zanker (1998), 37. Also, the Temple of Bacchus at Sant' Abbondio approximately 1 km southeast of the Porta di Nocera is dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, see Richardson (1988), 105-6.

their supposed similarity in function to these rooms in later Roman public baths.<sup>15</sup>

The rooms 1, 2 and 3 are arranged in succession according to a retrograde route, in which the bathers proceed through each room and then retrace their steps returning to the start. (Figure 5.3 and 5.4) Note, however, that the rooms are not aligned along a straight axis but rather that the room 3 is located behind the rooms 1 and 2. This arrangement is also present in the first phase of the public baths at Fregellae (see Figure 5.8) where the room containing the heated communal pool is located behind the other two rooms with a bathing function.

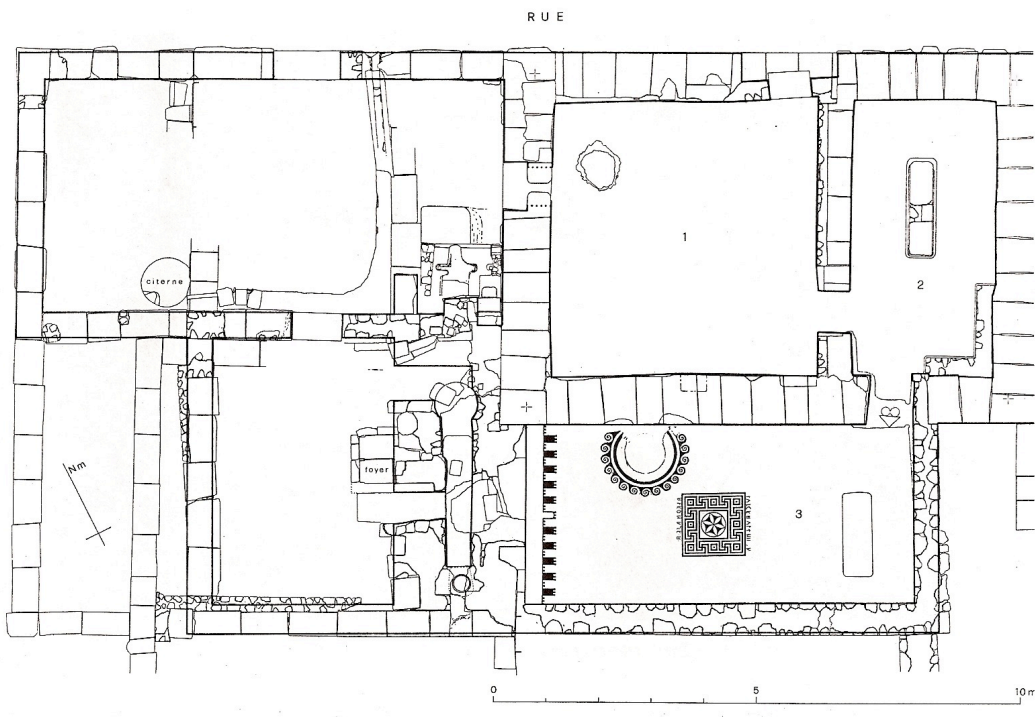


Figure 5.3 Plan, Public Baths, Musarna  
from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (1991) "Le Bain en Étrurie à L'époque Hellénistique." Figure  
14, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 36.



The walls of the bath complex have a cement core, faced with friable gray pozzolana and tufa blocks of variable size. The walls of the service area are constructed in the same technique providing a unified façade to the structure.<sup>16</sup>

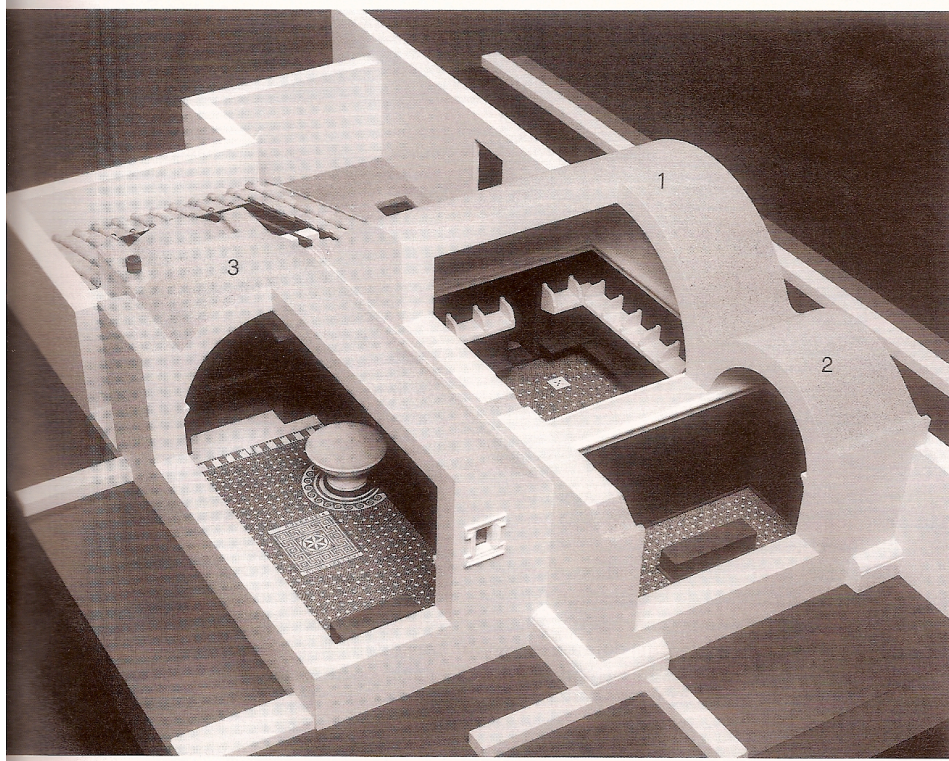


Figure 5.4 Reconstruction, Public Baths, Musarna  
from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 44, p. 41.

Room 1 is 26m<sup>2</sup> and occupies the area that was previously the *cella* in the earlier temple.<sup>17</sup> It is accessible from the service quarters by a door on the west wall and provides access to room 2 on the east through a door with a width of 0.78 m.<sup>18</sup> The pavement is lime mortar with tesserae laid in a basket weave

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

pattern. The excavators reconstruct the room with benches and niches above the benches as in the warm room of the Forum Baths at Herculaneum.<sup>19</sup>

Room 2 occupies the area of the *pronaos* of the previous phase. The size of the room is 14 m<sup>2</sup> and the decoration is identical to room 1 with two benches, one central and the other at a right angle in the south-east.<sup>20</sup> Broise and Jolivet contend that the room functioned as a sweat room, but Trümper argues that it functioned as a warm room citing no comparanda for sweat rooms of this shape and size.<sup>21</sup>

Room 3 is 30m<sup>2</sup> and three new rubble-work walls were constructed to build the room. The floor is paved in lime mortar with tesserae in a basket weave pattern with panel mosaics (Figure 5.5). The door has a rounded threshold with a 0.10 m height, designed to wipe feet before and after bathing.<sup>22</sup>

The apparatus for supplying heat to the communal pool is located in the service room, C4, north west of the hot room.<sup>23</sup> There were two furnaces; one to heat the boiler and the other to heat a conduit below where the communal pool would have been located and a chimney to allow the excess heat and gases to escape. A series of canals, no longer *in situ*, connected the boiler to the communal pool.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., and Trümper, 144 note 20. Broise and Jolivet's identification is based on the size of the room, which could have been heated to high temperatures. No evidence of how the room was heated has been found to date.

<sup>22</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 46. Broise also elaborates on this feature in the Greek public baths in Sicily. See above Chapter 6, note 96.

<sup>23</sup> See Broise and Jolivet (2004) 57-61 for a more detailed explanation on the system of heating the communal pool.

<sup>24</sup> The excavation report provides further information on modifications made to the heating system. See Broise and Jolivet (2004), 57-61; and 64-76 on the service rooms.

There are three panel mosaics in room 3. One is purely decorative and commemorative, located in the centre of the room and in Etruscan has the name of the two men who made the building.<sup>25</sup> The two other mosaics have a specific function. One demarcated the base of a *labrum*, no longer *in situ*, and consists of a black swirls on a white background in a semicircle with a 0.75 m diameter.<sup>26</sup> The final mosaic panel outlines the heated communal immersion pool in the east part of room 3. It is decorated with alternating crenulations in black and white.<sup>27</sup> The bath likely held more than one person based on the size of the impression from the bath on the floor.<sup>28</sup>

The walls only survive to a maximum height of 0.33 m but show that the decoration was uniform. The lower parts of the walls are decorated in a red paint applied with a coat of waterproof lime mortar mixed with crushed pieces of terracotta. This type of paint was also found on the benches of room 2.

There are two Etruscan inscriptions, one on either side of the central panel mosaic.<sup>29</sup> The inscription viewed first when entering room 3 records the name of Luvce Hulchnie the son of Avle. Luvce is from a Tarquinian family known from 4<sup>th</sup> century BC inscriptions in the tomb of Orco I and the tomb of the Boucliers.<sup>30</sup> In the Roman period the family *nomen* is changed to Fulcinus.<sup>31</sup> A

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 52-54.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 87. The form of the two inscriptions is different with the inscription on the right hand side placing the *praenomen* before the *nomen* in the genitive with an abbreviated cognomen. In the second inscription the *nomen* in the genitive precedes the *praenomen* and the abbreviated cognomen

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 87, note 92.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 88.

Marcus Fulcinius is mentioned in Cicero's *Pro Caecina*.<sup>32</sup> The individual named in the second inscription Vel Alethna, son of Avle is descended from a family with political and religious roles in Musarna from the the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC based on inscriptional evidence from two tombs in Musarna.<sup>33</sup>

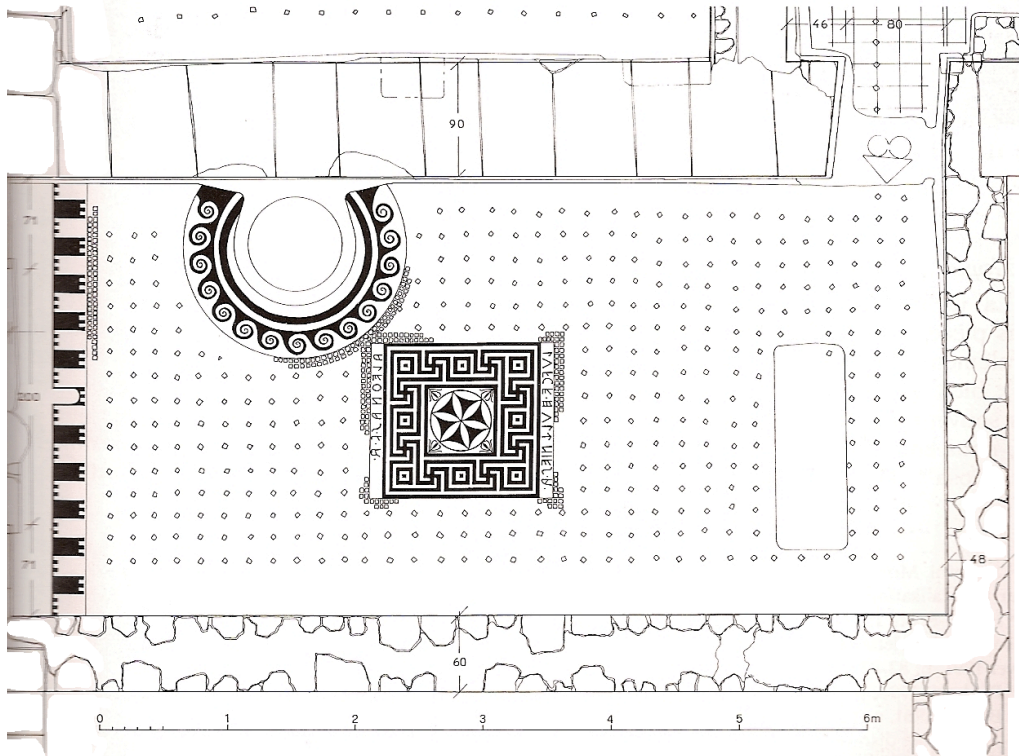


Figure 5.5 Drawing, Mosaic in room 3, public baths, Musarna from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 111, p. 81.

Luvce and Vel presumably had an important role in the realization of the public bath complex in Musarna, either as local magistrates responsible for its construction or donating funds as private individuals. That their family names are attested to in the inscriptional record is evidence of their elite status in the community. The use of Etruscan for the inscription indicates that although

<sup>32</sup> Cic. *Pro Caecina* 4.10.

<sup>33</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 88, note 95.

elements of Hellenistic culture, such as public baths, were adopted by Luvce and Vel they still chose to be identified as Etruscan.<sup>34</sup>

N. Terrenato identifies a similar development occurring in Volterra where the persistence of Etruscan elite funerary rituals such as cremation and deposition of funerary urns in rock-cut underground chambers until the early Empire establishes a heterogeneous narrative of Romanization in Italy. Even though the city of Volterra exhibits outward signs of Roman urban culture, such as Latin funerary inscriptions and the construction of a theatre, it is limited to public urban contexts and the countryside still exhibits conservatism in settlement patterns.<sup>35</sup> The construction of a public bath building in Musarna does not *prima facie* imply that the local elite ceased to identify themselves as Etruscan but rather that they are creating a new urban landscape with new architectural forms.

## Norba

Norba is located in Latium and was a member of the Latin League of 499 BC. In 492 BC it became a Latin *colonia*.<sup>36</sup> The public baths of Norba (Figure 5.6) are not as well preserved. They are located near a large reservoir which likely provided water for the baths and in close proximity to the forum. The public baths are

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<sup>34</sup> Inscriptions in Etruscan continue until the Augustan period see P. Brunn, "Conclusion: The Roman census and Romanization under Augustus," *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria*, eds. P. Bruun, et al. (Rome: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 5, 1975), 435-505; and more recently E. Benelli, "The Romanization of Italy through the Epigraphic Record," *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, eds. S. Keay and N. Terrenato (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 7-16.

<sup>35</sup> N. Terrenato, "Tam Firmum Municipium: The Romanization of Volaterrae and Its Cultural Implications," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 88 (1998), 105. Field survey and excavation at a small scale farm at San Mario in the territory surrounding Volterra indicates that settlement patterns and vernacular architectural forms persisted from pre-Roman times to approximately the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

<sup>36</sup> Livy 2.34.6.

dated from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC based on the construction technique of rubble-work walls with a cement core and the absence of a developed system for heating the walls of the rooms.<sup>37</sup>

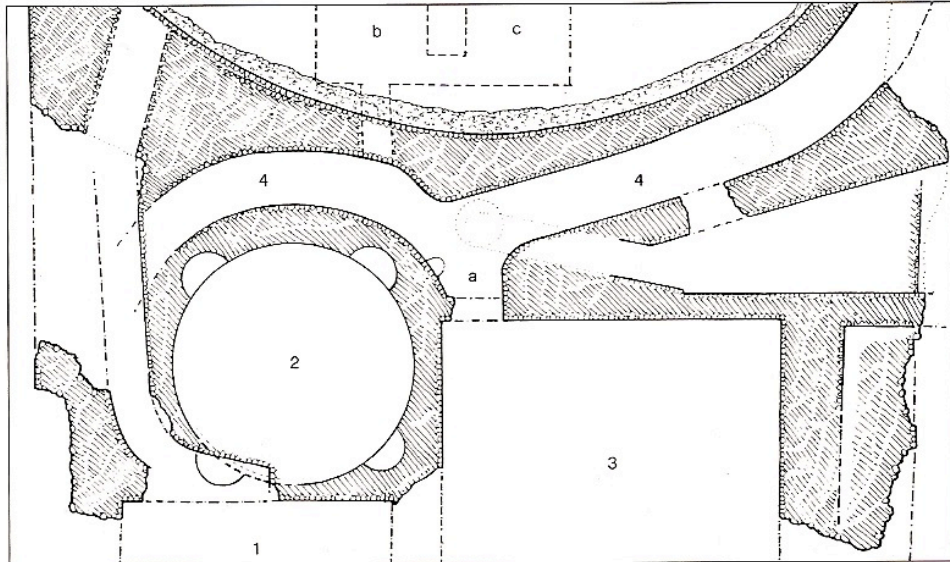


Figure 5.6 Public Bath, Norba  
from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 136, p. 99.

Three rooms can be reconstructed based on the surviving physical remains. The hypothetical function of room 1, of which only the north wall remains, is a warm room.<sup>38</sup> Room 2 is identified as a sweat room. It is a circular room with four apses.<sup>39</sup> The hot room, 3, is vaulted. A long service corridor, 4, meanders behind the bath rooms. Broise and Jolivet hypothesize that a communal heated pool, not found, would have occupied the space where the

<sup>37</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 98.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Broise and Jolivet interpret this room as a sweat room although it has also been identified as a cold room. See Broise and Jolivet (2004), 98, note 114. The form of the room is similar to the cold room in the Stabian Baths and Forum Baths at Pompeii, both of which are also identified as both sweat rooms and cold rooms. Broise and Jolivet base their identification on the fact that cold rooms are not present in Hellenistic baths and the presence of a furnace in the north west corner of the room.

service corridor joins the room.<sup>40</sup> Fragmentary evidence consisting of two circular pits, located in the vicinity of “a” on the supplied plan, provides a possible location for the furnace.<sup>41</sup>

## **Fregellae**

Fregellae is located on the left bank of the river Liri and was originally a Opician settlement. The Opici spoke a dialect of Oscan. The Volsci later occupied the settlement and fragments of bucchero dated from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC establishes an Etruscan presence.<sup>42</sup> In 354 BC a treaty between the Romans and the Samnites respectively limited their spheres of influence and the river Liri geographically demarcated this. The Romans were limited to the right side of the river Liri and the Samnites to the left.<sup>43</sup> The First Samnite War commenced not long after this treaty, 343-340 BC, but was concluded quickly with the outbreak of the Latin War from 340-338 BC.

The Romans founded a colony at Fregellae in 328 BC, which was one of the factors that led to the Second Punic War.<sup>44</sup> Livy’s phrasing of the passage, however, suggests that the Roman colony of Fregellae is not the same Fregellae of the Volsci that the Samnites had previously destroyed, but rather a new establishment with the same name.<sup>45</sup> What Livy makes clear, however, is that the Roman colony was set up in Samnite territory. Rome had already set up a number

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<sup>40</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 100.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> F. Coarelli, *Fregellae La storia e gli scavi*, (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1981), 12. For a more detailed account of pre-Roman Fregellae see Giovanni Colasanti, *Fregellae Storia e Topografia*, Presentazione di Filippo Coarelli (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1983), 109-110.

<sup>43</sup> Liv. 7.10.4.

<sup>44</sup> Liv. 8.22.1 and 8.23.6.

<sup>45</sup> See Liv. 8.23.6 and Coarelli (1981), 17 for further discussion.



of colonies in the territory before and after the establishment of Fregellae: Caes in 334 BC, Suessa Aurunca in 313 BC, Interamna Lirenas in 312 BC and Sora in 303 BC. The establishment of a Roman colony, however, is a legal status and is not indicative of the ethnicity of the inhabitants. A large percentage of the population was likely Roman but they were not necessarily the majority residents.<sup>46</sup>

In the course of the Second Samnite War after the battle of Caudine Forks in 320 BC the Samnites re-conquered Fregellae and massacred the colonists.<sup>47</sup> The Romans must have re-populated the colony for Livy records that in 313 BC the Samnites again occupied the citadel and the dictator, Gaius Poetelius, upon hearing this rode to Fregellae and installed a garrison.<sup>48</sup>

Fregellae is referred to in the sources twice in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC; in the context of the Pyrrhic War and then in the Second Punic War.<sup>49</sup> The significance of these passages is their geographical description of the colony placing the colony on the left side of the river, which in the 354 BC treaty was Samnite territory.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Livy writes that 4000 families of Samnites and Pelignians were re-located to Fregellae.<sup>50</sup> The settlement was destroyed and

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<sup>46</sup> T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)*, (London: Routledge, 1995), 301-2.

<sup>47</sup> Liv. 9.12.5-8.

<sup>48</sup> Liv. 9.23.3

<sup>49</sup> Flor. 1.13.24 and Liv. 26.9.3 and 11. Pyrrhus sacked Fregellae in 280 BC on his march to Rome and during the Second Punic War Fregellae did not side with Hannibal but impeded his progress towards Rome.

<sup>50</sup> Liv. 41.8.8. For more on this see Coarelli (1991b), 179-180. Also above Chapter 1, note 34.



abandoned in 125 BC when the inhabitants rebelled against Rome's rejection of M. Fulvius Flaccus' proposal for the extension of Roman citizenship in 125 BC.

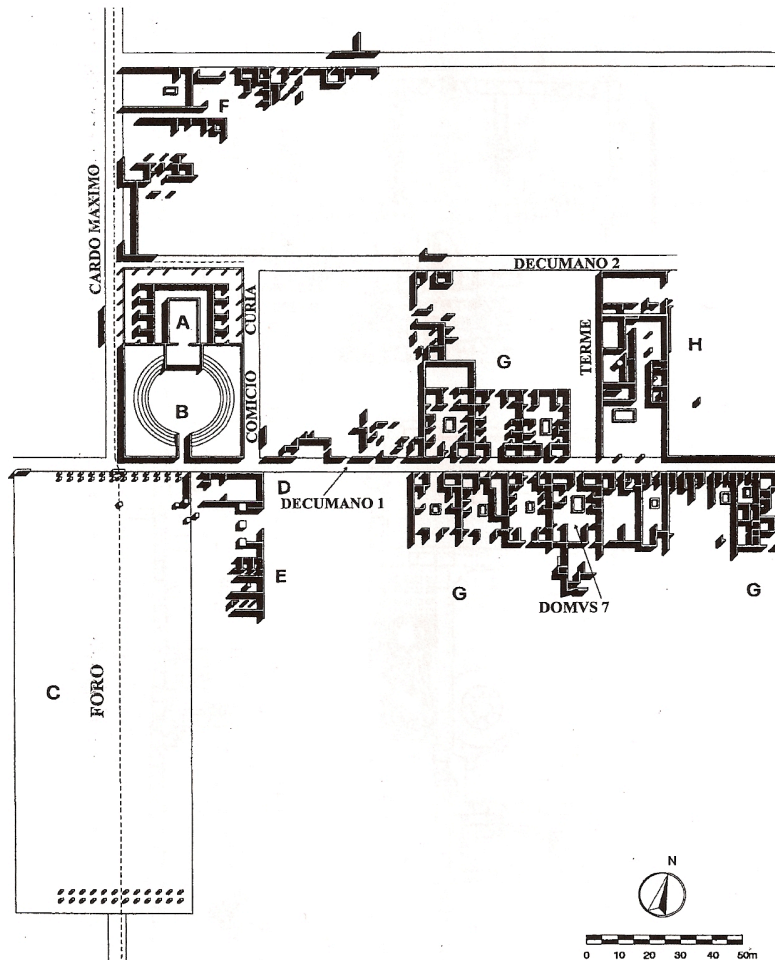


Figure 5.7 Plan, Fregellae  
from V. Tsiolis (2006) "Fregellae." Figure. 1, p. 244.

The thermal complex at Fregellae was excavated between 1996 and 2002 under the direction of Prof. Filippo Coarelli. The complex is located within the urban fabric of the city in the heart of a residential area (Figure 5.7) and occupies an area of ca. 48 x 22 m<sup>3</sup>.<sup>51</sup> There are two building phases.

<sup>51</sup> V. Tsiolis, "Fregellae: il complesso termale e le origini degli edifici balneari urbani nel mondo romano," *Sicilia Ellenistica, Consuetudo Italic alle origini dell'architettura ellenistica d'occidente.*, eds. M. Osanna and M. Torelli (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006), 243.

The first phase (Figure 5.8), which relatively little is known about, dates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>52</sup> Although this is after the foundation of the Roman colony the first phase of the public baths within the context of this study are categorized as early Italic public baths and not Roman public baths. The historical narrative for Fregellae presents a complex relationship with the surrounding Samnite tribes with several - though not successful in the long-term - conquests. The location of Fregellae on the permeable border between Latium and Samnite territory creates a number of problems in interpreting the material evidence as Roman or Samnite. In addition to the contentious geographical and political circumstances in designating these public baths as Roman, when no other comparanda exists in Rome itself, the form of the baths in their first phase does not resemble the standard Roman public bath.

In the first phase there is a total of eight rooms.<sup>53</sup> The western side, rooms 1-5 contain the bath rooms. Room 1 was probably a portico opening onto the street, *decumanus* 1.<sup>54</sup> A *labrum* was found in room 3 its probable location indicated by a circular impression in the pavement.<sup>55</sup> To the north of room 3

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<sup>52</sup> F. Coarelli, "Le terme di Fregellae," *Lazio & Sabina 2: Atti de Convegno Secondo Incontro di Studi sul Lazio e la Sabina*, ed. G. Ghini (Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2004), 73. For the mosaics associated with the first phase see V. Vincenti, "Pavimenti dalla prima fase delle terme di *Fregellae* (FR). cenni preliminari," *Atti del XIII colloquio dell'associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, ed. C. Angelelli (Roma: Scripta Manent, 2008), 407-418.

<sup>53</sup> Tsiolis argues that the number of rooms in the first phase indicates that the public baths in their first phase had two bathing sections although no evidence positively identifying these rooms has been found to date. See Tsiolis (2006), 250. Gellius writes that in 123 BC Teanum Sidicinum had public baths with separate bathing chambers. Gell. *NA* 10.3.3

<sup>54</sup> Tsiolis (2006), 250.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

access is granted to room 4 where the western side of the room is occupied by a heated communal pool.<sup>56</sup>

Beneath the communal pool are traces of the heating system consisting primarily of a large air duct running north-south. The furnace has not been located but is believed to have been situated on the north side of the communal pool with the end of the air duct associated with the round tapering appearance of the duct at the other end. The air duct continues under the wall dividing rooms 2 and 5 where the chimney to release the hot vapours is located.<sup>57</sup>

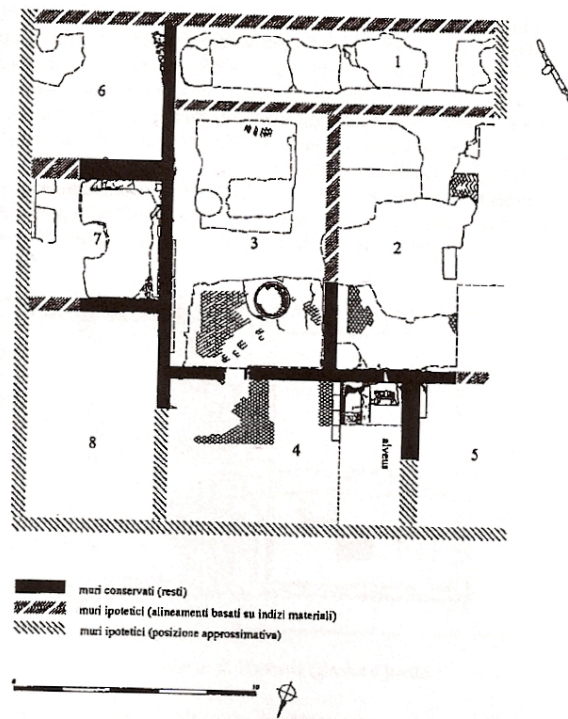


Figure 5.8 Plan, Public Baths, Fregellae, Phase 1  
from V. Tsiolis (2006) "Fregellae." Figure 11, p. 252.

<sup>56</sup> *Alveus* is the Latin term commonly applied to describe communal heated pools and is the terminology applied within the excavation report and analysis of the public baths at Fregellae. See Nielsen (1993), 1.157 for a detailed analysis of the term.

<sup>57</sup> Tsiolis (2006), 251.

Room 4 is identified as a hot room, room 3 as a warm room and room 2 as a change room.<sup>58</sup> Noticeably absent in the first phase of the public baths at Fregellae is the individual hip-tubs characteristic of Greek public baths.

The second phase dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC when Livy relates that 4000 Samnites and Pelignians settled in Fregellae. This creates a 'middle ground' in which the various ethnic groups living in the area were likely asserting their identity through both visible and non-visible means. This is evident by the restructuring of wealthy houses in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC as production areas for wool-working.<sup>59</sup> The public baths of the second phase are also viewed as early Italic. Despite their proximity to Campania and their physical location near a fluid border they are not categorized as Campanian, although they do exhibit a number of similarities with the early Campanian public baths which feasibly is the result of an influx of Samnites during this period.

The second phase, dates from ca. 185-150 BC (Figure 5.9).<sup>60</sup> The complex is divided into two sections. The front section, facing south onto *decumanus* 1, measuring 22 x 19 m, is the entrance to the complex. The south side of the complex contains a portico. In the centre of room 7 there is a peristyle constructed with large limestone blocks.<sup>61</sup> The northern part of the complex, 22 x 19 m, contains the bath rooms and is divided into an eastern and a western side,

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<sup>58</sup> Tsiolis (2006), 251-2.

<sup>59</sup> F. Coarelli, "I culti sannitici nel Lazio meridionale," *Comunità indigene e problemi della romanizzazione nell'Italia centro-meridionale (IV-III sec. av. C.)*, Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 50<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'Academia Belgica, Rome 1990, *Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Anciennes* (BHPAH 29), eds. J. Mertens and R. Lambrechts, (Begijnhof: Brepols Publishers, 1991), 177-92; and "I Sanniti a Fregellae," *La romanisation du Samnium aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C.* (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1991) 177-85.

<sup>60</sup> Tsiolis (2006), 250.

<sup>61</sup> Coarelli (2004), 73.

with the western side larger than the eastern. Each side contains two rooms (14 and 16 on the western side and 10 and 11 on the eastern side) placed along a north-south axis. Rooms 10 and 14, referred to as warm rooms by the excavators, contain seating areas and rooms 11 and 16, referred to as hot rooms, each have a *labrum* and a heated communal pool.<sup>62</sup> The east bath rooms presumably were for women and the west for men.<sup>63</sup> The heating system is centrally located between the two rooms although the only evidence that survives is two cavities, one likely for a bronze cauldron to heat the water.<sup>64</sup>

To the south of room 17 a small square room, 15, contains a developed hypocaust system and tubulation.<sup>65</sup> This has been identified as a sweat room. Room 18 provided passage to the furnace and room 19 was likely to store the wood for the furnace.<sup>66</sup> Room 13 may have been a *palaestra* area.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The Latin term *alveus* is usually applied to describe communal heated pools. It first appears in Vitruvius' *De Architectura* 5.10.4. *Alvei* were heated by a *testudo*, a semi-cylindrical metal container, set above the *praefurnium* and in the *alveus*. It was open at one end and closed at the other. It transferred heat from the *praefurnium* to the water by constantly circulating the water. See Yegül (1992), 374.

<sup>63</sup> Coarelli (2004), 73.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-35. The system for heating room 15 is quite clear, however, the system for heating the communal pools is not as clear as the space beneath the pool has not been excavated to date. Tsiolis reasons that it is similar to the system in phase 1. See Tsiolis (2006), 243 note 5.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 75. For more on the technical aspects of heating public baths see Yegül (1992), 356-395. The hypocaust system heated a room from below. The floor was raised up on small pillars called *pilae* and the hot air piped from a central furnace. To heat the walls either *tegulae mammatae*, nipple tiles, which are square tiles with raised corners to create an empty space or *tubuli*, hollow box tiles were fitted into the walls to allow the hot vapours to rise through the walls and heat the room.

<sup>66</sup> Coarelli (2004), 75-6.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

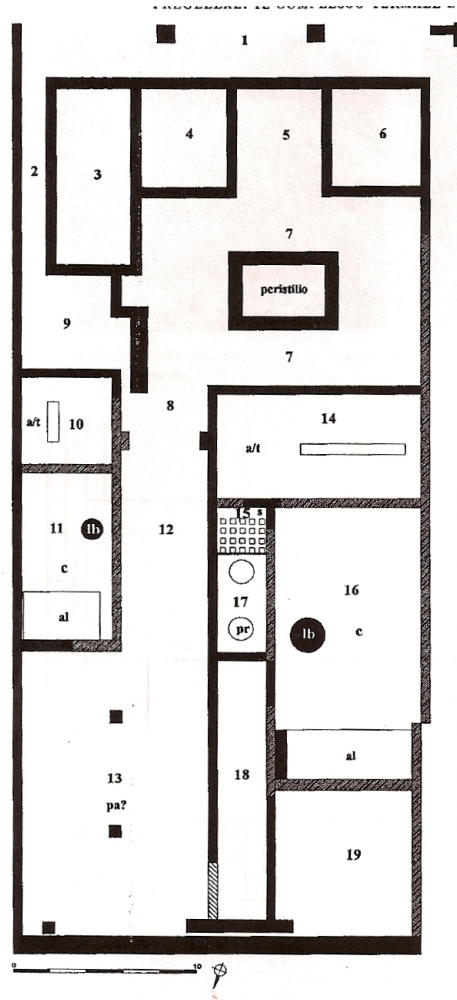


Figure 5.9 Plan, Public Baths, Fregellae, Phase 2  
from V. Tsiolis (2006) "Fregellae." Figure. 3, p. 247.

## Croton

There is an early Italic public bath in Croton (Figure 5.10)<sup>68</sup> dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC after the foundation of the Roman colony in 194 BC to the beginning

<sup>68</sup> For more on the site see P. Orsi, "Croton: Prima campagna di scavo al santuario di Hera Lacinia," *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 5.8 (1911), 77-124. This is the only publication detailing the excavation of the site. Following Orsi's excavation, which was limited to full excavation of the hot room only with limited exploration of the rooms, the site was reburied and has not been re-examined to date.

of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>69</sup> The dating of the structure is based on an inscription found in the pavement of the hot room naming the *duumviri quinquennales* Lucilius Macer and Annaeus Thrasos (Figure 5.11) and the rubble-work walls.<sup>70</sup> It is located inside the *temenos* of the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia.<sup>71</sup>

The entrance is located on the west side with six steps leading into the change room (room 1). Broise and Jolivet label room 2 a sweat room based on its similarity to room 2 at Musarna (see Figure 5.3).<sup>72</sup> They also suggest that the swelling of the threshold to room 3, the hot room, signifies a foot-bath.<sup>73</sup> In room 2 there are benches along the south and east walls with another bench in the middle of the room.

Room 3 has a bench in the eastern part of the room a *labrum* along the north and a communal pool (G) occupying the western part of the room capable of holding three bathers at a time. The pavement is waterproof lime mortar inset with rectangular tesserae in a basket weave pattern. The base of the *labrum* is constructed in brick.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Croton, originally loyal to Rome in the Second Punic War, sided with Hannibal after the Battle of Cannae. Livy 22.61.11-12. Livy's narrative of the Second Punic War contains an informative passage on the Crotonian perspective of ethnic mixing. In 215 BC the Crotonians refuse to form an alliance with the Bruttians, even when faced with imminent attack by the Locrians, because the terms of the alliance would eventually lead to ethnic mixing. Instead the Crotonians leave the city and settle with the Locrians. Livy 24.2-3.16 and 23.30.6-8. On establishing a Roman colony at Croton see Livy 34.45.1-5.

<sup>70</sup> *CIL* 1.2542.

<sup>71</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 93.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 94. Note that the designation of this room as a sweat room is based on its similarity to room 2 at Musarna, which also has a central bench and no other discernible bathing facilities such as *labra* or basins for washing. The identification of room 2 in the public baths at Musarna has been questioned. See above Chapter 5 note 21. No evidence for heating the sweat room has been found at Musarna nor Croton.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

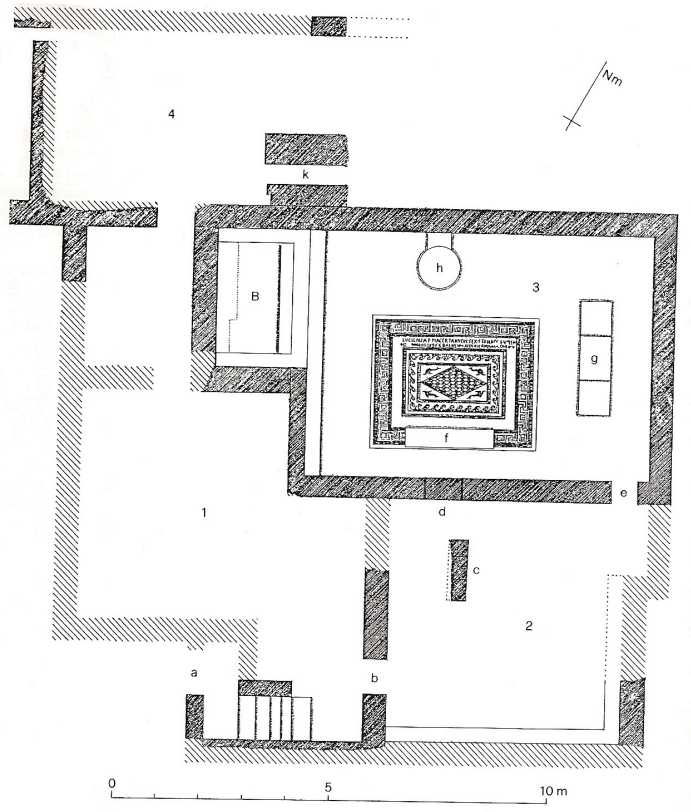


Figure 5.10 Public Bath, Croton  
 from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 125, p. 92.

The service rooms are located in the north west corner of the building. North of the communal pool is a structure constructed of bricks and fragments of tiles (k), which has been identified as the heating duct to heat the communal pool. The boiler, however, has not been located.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.



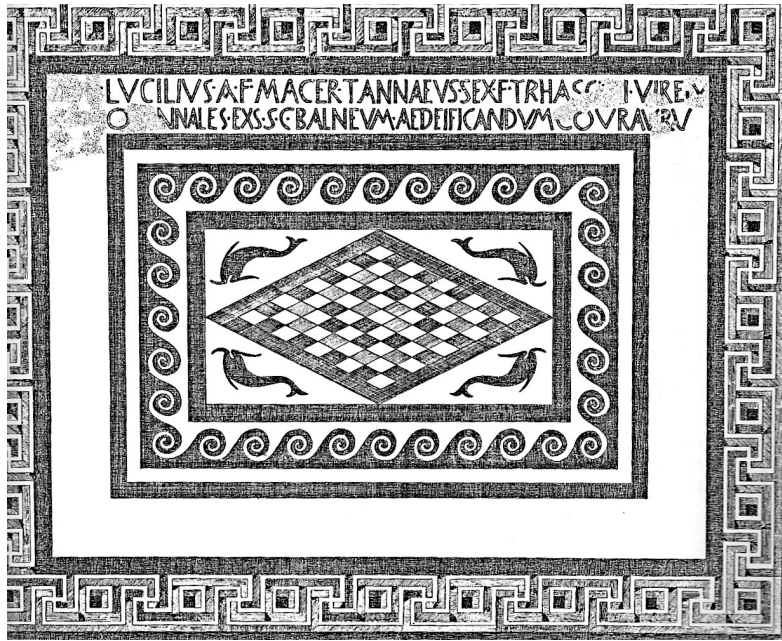


Figure 5.11 Drawing, Mosaic in room 3, Public Bath, Croton  
from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 126, p. 93.

The black and white panel mosaic in room 3 contains a Latin inscription identifying the *duumviri quinquennales* responsible for erecting the complex.<sup>76</sup> Unlike the individuals named in the panel mosaic at Musarna the family history of these individuals can not be identified in the extant epigraphic record. Their position as *duumviri* identifies them as public servants and the language of the inscription, Latin, does place this particular structure within a Roman context although the structure is more similar in form to the public baths at Musarna than to the later Roman public baths and there is no extant contemporary evidence in Rome.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> ].LVCILIVS.A.F.MACER.TANNAEVS.SEX.F.  
TRHASO[.I]I.VIREI  
[QVIN]Q[VE]NNALES.EXS.S.C.BALNEVM.  
AEDIFICANDVM[.]COVRAVERV(NT)

<sup>77</sup> See below pages 263-270 for more on Roman baths.

## Conclusions

The public baths at Musarna, Norba, Fregellae, and Croton are clearly not Greek public baths as they do not have the characteristic hip-baths nor can they be labelled Roman public baths as they have a different spatial layout than Roman public baths, and there is no contemporary comparanda from Rome.

Two features distinguish the early Italic public baths from the Greek public baths. First, the communal heated pool are the primary method of bathing. Second, a three room arrangement of change room, warm room/sweat room and hot room with communal heated pool is apparent in all the extant examples. Compared to the Hellenistic Greek public baths, which begin to incorporate relaxing methods with cleansing methods, and in the process develop complex public bath structures the Italic public baths have a simple plan.<sup>78</sup> The Italic public baths provide relaxing rather than cleansing bathing methods and no longer require distinctive spaces to separate them.

The second phase of the public baths at Fregellae begin to display more complexity with the two bathing blocks, although each of these blocks still retain the form of the early Italic public baths. The presence of a hypocaust and wall tubulation is further evidence of this complexity. The new technology is experimented with but restricted to a small space and the function of the room is not the same as the rooms that have the same technology in the Campanian public baths. There is also a similarity to Italic domestic architecture in the southern part of the bath complex with the grouping of rooms around a central

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<sup>78</sup> On complex public bath structures see above Chapter 4, note 114. Examples of this are Oenaidai, Gortys, Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Morgantina, and Gela.

space suggesting that the Fregelleans were experimenting with architectural forms in creating more complex public baths.<sup>79</sup>

The inscriptions in the public baths at Musarna and Croton reveal important information about euergetism and public baths in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. At Musarna the language of the inscription is Etruscan and the public baths are funded by two elite members of Etruscan society. Use of Etruscan indicates that Musarna was not yet a Roman *colonia* but that pre-Roman urban expansion was initiated by the elite as a means to promote both themselves and their city.<sup>80</sup> The inscription at Croton uses Latin and the public baths are built under the direction of the *duumviri quinquennales*. Croton is a Roman *colonia* when the public baths are constructed and can be contextualized within urban development employing new building types directed from Rome and overseen by local magistrates.<sup>81</sup>

These two examples present a heterogeneous realization of public bath architecture in Italy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Generalizations as to how the process occurred in Italy during this period does not further our understanding of the important role that public baths had in urban development and renewal in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

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<sup>79</sup> The excavators first believed that the structure was a house and not a public bath. See Coarelli (2004), 73.

<sup>80</sup> K. Lomas, "Public Building, Urban Renewal and Euergetism in Early Imperial Italy," *'Bread and Circuses': Euergetism and municipal patronage in Roman Italy*, eds. K. Lomas and T. Cornell (London: Routledge, 2003), 41.

<sup>81</sup> M. Torelli, "Public Building in Central Italy between the Social War and the Augustan Age: Ideology and Social Class," *Studies in the Romanization of Italy*, eds. and trans. H. Fracchia and M. Gualtieri (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1995), 194.

## Chapter 6 Public Baths in Campania

### Introduction

The unique preservation of the site of Pompeii and Herculaneum allows for both a regional and local study of the public baths separate from the early Italic public baths examined in Chapter 5. Not enough comparanda exist in any other specific area to conduct a regional study of the early Italic public baths discussed in the previous chapter. The situation in Campania, however, provides ample evidence from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to construct both a regional and a local study.

First, a brief historical background to Campania and in particular Cumae and Pompeii, which have the earliest public baths, is presented to contextualize the evidence and explain why the early public baths in Campania are not Roman public baths.<sup>1</sup> Second, the physical evidence is described accentuating the differences between the Campanian public baths from both Greek and Italic public baths. The chronological focus is on the structures dated from before Pompeii becomes a Roman *colonia* in 80 BC. The physical evidence is presented topographically from north to south, concluding with Pompeii, which has the greatest number of public baths in this period. The Pompeian evidence allows for a fuller appreciation of the urban context of public baths in pre-Roman Campania

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<sup>1</sup> As previously discussed, see above pages 4-7 and 153-4, the label Roman public baths is not applied to bath structures in Italy until there is contemporary comparanda in Rome itself, which is not until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

before the dialectic relationship between Roman and non Roman is negated by the conferment of Roman citizenship to all Italic people following the Social War.<sup>2</sup>

## **Historical Context of Campania**

The historical situation of Campania in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC is not well documented in the literary sources, which are largely based on Livy. During this period Rome was engaged in military and political affairs in the Eastern Mediterranean and Livy's historical account - centred on Rome - turns away from Italy. The last Samnite War concluded at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and not long after the First Punic War began, marking Rome's first conflict outside of peninsular Italy.

Although Rome's victory in the last Samnite War in 290 BC is often regarded as effectively subjugating all of the peoples of peninsular Italy the situation is more complex. Campania had never had a simple relationship with Rome. Rome's first alliance with Campania came at the request of the Campanians and was one of the factors instigating the First Samnite War. The Samnites had attacked the Sidicini and the Campanians offered their assistance to the Sidicini. When it became apparent that the Samnites were winning the Campanians appealed to Rome for help.<sup>3</sup> The Romans obliged and established an agreement with the Campanians. Shortly after the conclusion of the war the Campanians sided with the Latins and Volscians in the Latin War of 341 BC effectively turning on Rome.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 81.

<sup>3</sup> Livy 7.29.4-7.

<sup>4</sup> Livy 8.3.2

After the Latin Wars in 338 BC the Romans established a system of settlement differentiated by various degrees of formal juridical rights and obligations.<sup>5</sup> These were still in effect after the last Samnite War. Indeed this pattern continued for all intents and purposes until the end of the Social War when all municipalities in Italy were granted citizenship; although even under the Roman hegemony some municipalities retained local non-Roman forms of municipal government.<sup>6</sup> Pompeii, for example, maintained its internal political autonomy until 80 BC when it formally became a Roman *colonia*.

Rome had become the most powerful political and military force in Italy effectively dissuading any further attempt at war by the peoples of Italy but this does not mean that some degree of local autonomy did not exist. The Roman hegemony so often referred to was political - not cultural. A. Wallace-Hadrill argues that monumental buildings during this period do not substantiate claims that there was a planned Roman strategy of imposing identity before the Empire but rather that monumental building reveals more about how locals chose to express their identity experimenting in using Hellenistic models. Instead the only means by which Rome actively constructed a Roman Italy was through colonisation, land-division, and road-building - not through language and monumental building before the Augustan period.<sup>7</sup> The Via Appia constructed

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<sup>5</sup> Cornell (1995), 348-352.

<sup>6</sup> In Naples the epigraphy documents the continuation of Greek magistracies until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. See K. Lomas "Urban elites and cultural definition: Romanization in Southern Italy," *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, eds. T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas (London: UCL Press, 1995), 111.

<sup>7</sup> Wallace - Hadrill (2008), 103-4; see also Mouritsen (1998), 60. Socioeconomic factors are also a significant factor, see Torelli (1995), 191-210. For more on the Augustan creation of a unified Roman visual and architectural identity see P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

under Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 BC during the Second Samnite War to link Rome to Capua and to facilitate movement of the army is an example of this.<sup>8</sup>

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Rome was focused on external affairs and the archaeological and epigraphical evidence reveals a variegated response to euergetism.<sup>9</sup> Building initiatives were undertaken by the local elite, magistrates of Roman *colonia* and funding was either private or public. The types of buildings constructed and repaired also varies in this period. The process of urban development and renewal in Italy is not homogenous until the Augustan period, and even then it can be argued that there was variation in the process. Sites such as Pompeii, however, which visually preserve the culmination of this process in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD create a situation in which it is difficult to delineate the process over time.<sup>10</sup>

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC there is marked diversity in the political relationship of Campanian municipalities with Rome. Cales was established as a Latin colony in 334 BC.<sup>11</sup> Capua first became a *municipium sine suffragio* in 338 BC but during the course of the Second Punic War sided with Hannibal and subsequently was severely punished by having all of its land and buildings become public property

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<sup>8</sup> Livy 9.29 and Front. *Aq.* 1.4.

<sup>9</sup> M. Pobjoy, "Building inscriptions in Republican Italy: euergetism, responsibility and civic virtue," *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. Cooley (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2000), 77-92.

<sup>10</sup> The state of preservation at Pompeii and Herculaneum has added to the concept of city frozen in time. In actuality a number of different formation processes acted upon the site since it was buried by the volcanic eruption in AD 79. Pompeii was not a frozen city but developed over the course of its occupational history and the state of preservation of the AD 79 townscape has sometimes created problems in discovering pertinent information about the earlier townscapes. See L.R. Binford, "Behavioral Archaeology and the 'Pompeii Premise,'" *Journal of Anthropological Research* 37 (1981), 195-208; M.B. Schiffer, "Is there a 'Pompeii Premise' in Archaeology," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41 (1985), 18-41.

<sup>11</sup> W. Johannowsky, "Relazione preliminare sugli scavi di Cales," *Bollettino D'Arte* 44.3 (1961), note 12.

of Rome.<sup>12</sup> Cumae also became a *municipium sine suffragio* in 338 BC but remained loyal to Rome in the Second Punic War. Pompeii, on the other hand, was an independent *socius*. This diversity created a situation in which urban centres were unencumbered by the same traditional restraints Rome itself faced with maintaining traditional architectural forms to establish a visual representations of *pietas*.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the colonial foundations consisted of movements of populations in areas that already had a large Italic population. In Paestum for example it is estimated that between 2500 and 6000 Roman freedmen were settled in the new *colonia* in 273 BC.<sup>14</sup> Approximately 4000 Samnites and Pelignians were re-located to Fregealle in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>15</sup> The impact of these settlements on the urban fabric varied. In Paestum Roman public buildings were centred around the forum which was physically separated from the Greek *agora* but despite the creation of a Roman political and commercial centre the urban fabric remained relatively stable.

The Roman hegemony in Campania in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC established peace and prosperity in the region, which fostered innovative building projects. How this developed in each individual municipality depended on their own unique relationship with Rome. Only three public baths are built in Campania during the chronological focus of this chapter: the Central Baths at Cumae and

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<sup>12</sup> Livy 26.16.

<sup>13</sup> *Pietas* is one of the traditional Roman virtues. Cicero defined *pietas* as the sense of duty towards Rome and one's family. See Cic. *De Inv.* 2.22.66. In maintaining traditional Roman architectural forms the citizens of Rome were seen as exemplars of *pietas*.

<sup>14</sup> De Carolis (2002), 33.

<sup>15</sup> Liv. 41.8.8.



the Stabian and Republican Baths at Pompeii. The situation of each with Rome in this period is examined before the physical evidence is presented, respectively. This includes what is known of their political relationship with Rome, the state of preservation of the site as a whole, and the public baths.

## Historical Context of Cumae

Cumae was one of the first Greek settlements founded in Italy around 750 BC by Megasthenes of Chalcis and Hippocles of Kyme.<sup>16</sup> It was a prosperous city and participated in other colonial pursuits in Southern Italy.<sup>17</sup> In 524 BC its primacy was weakened by the political and cultural program of Aristodemus and had to rely upon aid from Hieron of Syracuse in defeating the Etruscans in the Battle of Cumae.<sup>18</sup> This effectively ended the Etruscan hegemony of Campania.

In 421 BC Cumae was besieged by Samnite invaders.<sup>19</sup> Strabo's account of the conquest implies that a strong Greek presence persisted in Cumae throughout the Oscan period.<sup>20</sup> A.G. McKay's analysis of the physical evidence portrays the Samnites as actively engaging with the pre-existing Hellenistic *koinè* all the while retaining elements of their own ethnic identity.<sup>21</sup>

In 338 BC Cumae entered the Roman hegemony obtaining the status of *civitas sine suffragio* but maintained a considerable amount of local

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<sup>16</sup> Livy 8.22 and Strabo 5.4.

<sup>17</sup> Zancle and Triteia see Thuc. 6.4 and Paus. 7.22.6, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.51.1-2

<sup>19</sup> Livy 4.44.12; Diod. Sic. 12.76.4; Dion. Hal. 15.6.4; and Strabo 5.4.4. Many Cumaeans took refuge in Neapolis (Naples) see Dion. Hal. 15.6.4.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo 5.4.

<sup>21</sup> A. G. McKay, "Samnites at Cumae," *Samnium: Settlement and Cultural Change*, *Archaeologica Transatlantica* 22 (Providence: Brown University, 2004), 85-101.

independence.<sup>22</sup> Oscan was still the public language and a number of inscriptions refer to Oscan political and social institutions.<sup>23</sup> During the Second Punic War Cumae remained loyal to Rome when various other municipalities in Southern Italy sided with Hannibal.<sup>24</sup> Their loyalty to Rome did not, however, prevent them from sheltering three hundred Capuan equites on active service in Sicily from Roman retribution for Capua's role in aiding Hannibal.<sup>25</sup>

In the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Cumae presumably had a beneficial relationship with Rome, which fostered commerce and trade. In 180 BC a delegate was sent to Rome to petition for the right to use Latin as the official public language.<sup>26</sup> In the course of the Social Wars there is no record of Cumae joining the insurgents.

The Cumaeans may have been content in their relationship with Rome but there is no evidence that Rome imposed any cultural restrictions on the Cumaeans nor that there were any settlements of Roman citizens in Cumae. The material culture and architectural structures from this period cannot be viewed strictly as Roman. They belong, rather, to the process of acculturation occurring

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<sup>22</sup> Livy 8.14. See McKay (2004), 94.

<sup>23</sup> An Oscan inscription on a travertine block associated with the Temple of Apollo and dated from about 210-200 BC:

[dedicator]

(son of) meddix of the vereia and  
meddix X (or ten meddices) this [unspecified item]

...to Jupiter Flagius in the name of the  
vereia a gift donated...

- translated by A. G. Mackay (2004), 97.

See also Vetter 108.

<sup>24</sup> Livy 23.35-37 and 23.73.

<sup>25</sup> McKay (2004), 97.

<sup>26</sup> Livy 40.43.1. Use of the term public language in this context refers to the language used to communicate in public settings such as commerce and politics. It does not imply that it was the *lingua franca* within private settings nor that all citizens were fluent in the public language, whether it was Greek, Oscan, or Roman. For more on language as an indication of identity see Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 82-96.

in Campania during this period when the local elite were experimenting with Hellenistic architectural forms. Cumae in particular with its Greek origins and eventual Samnite conquest and later absorption of Capuan equites had a multi-cultural society.

## **Central Baths, Cumae**

The Central Baths at Cumae date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. They have not been completely excavated but a recent preliminary report on the architectural features analyses the construction techniques.<sup>27</sup>

The structure is located on the slopes of Mount Grillo and the rooms to the east vary in height at the beginning of the crest of Mount Grillo (Figure 6.1). This variation in height of the rooms would have aided in supplying the baths with water.<sup>28</sup> A central complex with seven rooms and an independent structure is located around 5.5 m south of the complex, which based on similarities of construction technique is associated with the public bath complex.<sup>29</sup>

The whole complex has not been excavated and only parts of it have been uncovered, therefore, a complete analysis of the baths and the function of their rooms is not possible. Only one room has positively been assigned a function, room A as a change room/warm room (Figure 6.2). The baths are constructed with cut tufa block walls with a foundation of rough undressed stones in cement.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Daria Volpicella, "Cuma: le terme centrali un preliminare inquadramento cronologico delle fasi edilizie," *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 13/14 (2006-7), 197-220.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

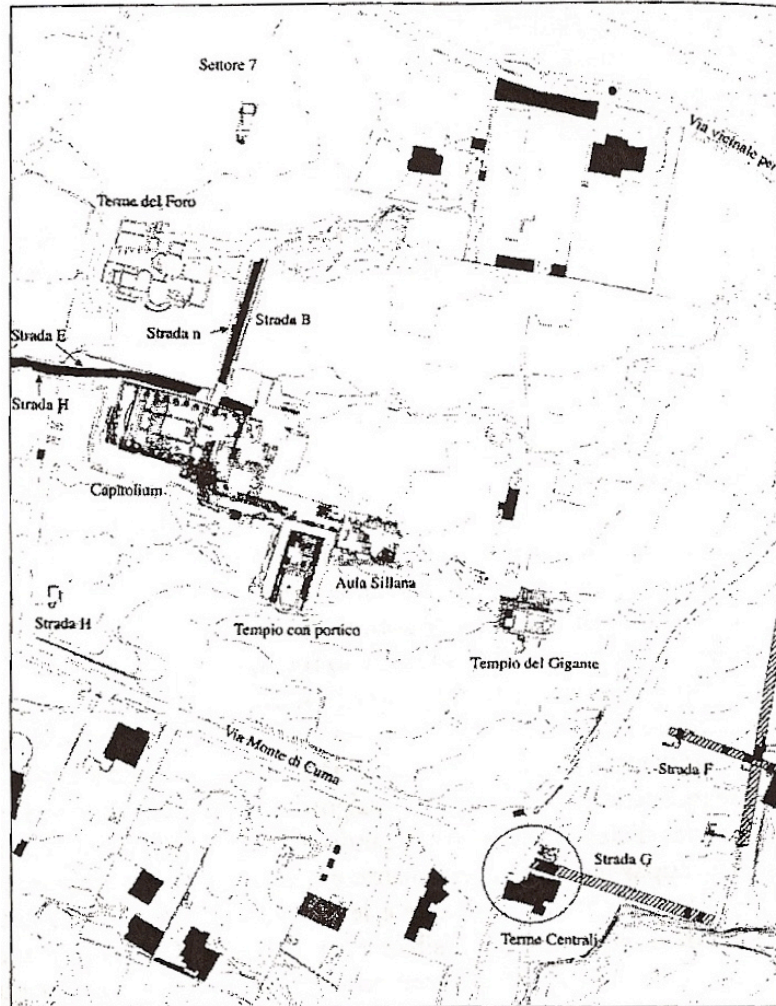


Figure 6.1 Plan, Cumae  
 from D. Volpicella (2006/7) "Cuma: le terme centrali." Figure 1, p. 198.

Room A is the largest room located east of the street. 14 x 7 m.<sup>31</sup> Due to the sloping terrain the floor level of this room is approximately 2 m below street level and below the other rooms.<sup>32</sup> There are three openings in the north wall. The first, around 3 m in very bad state of preservation leads to room B; the second, much smaller and partially blocked with tufa blocks leads to room C; and

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 200.

the third in the shape a rectangle, close to the end of the wall, around 1.30 m opens to room D.<sup>33</sup>

The east wall of room A has characteristics suggesting a tub was located here at one point, 2.10 m long, in a niche in the middle of the wall.<sup>34</sup> Room A in the first phase had a plan similar to what is observable today excluding the west side of the room, which is not preserved. The room was likely entered from the west and had a function as the change room/warm room. Rectangular niches line the walls, eight along the south wall, six on the east, and four on the north, which served to hold the personal items of the bathers.<sup>35</sup>

Room A was barrel vaulted with tufa blocks and mortar and had a semicircular arch formed from rubble-work of small irregular stones. Light was provided to the room through a skylight, 1.60 x 1.50 m in the keystone of the east wall, and a circular opening in the east wall of the vault with a 0.70 m diameter.<sup>36</sup>

Not much is currently known about room B. The south wall, with a length of 5.90 m, and the east wall with a length of approximately 4.70 m are preserved. Most of this room is still unexcavated on the west and north because of the modern street. D. Volpicella's analysis of the visible remains, however, reconstruct it as barrel-vaulted and coeval with Room A.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 205.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 200. She bases this on the visible south-east wall constructed in cut stone.

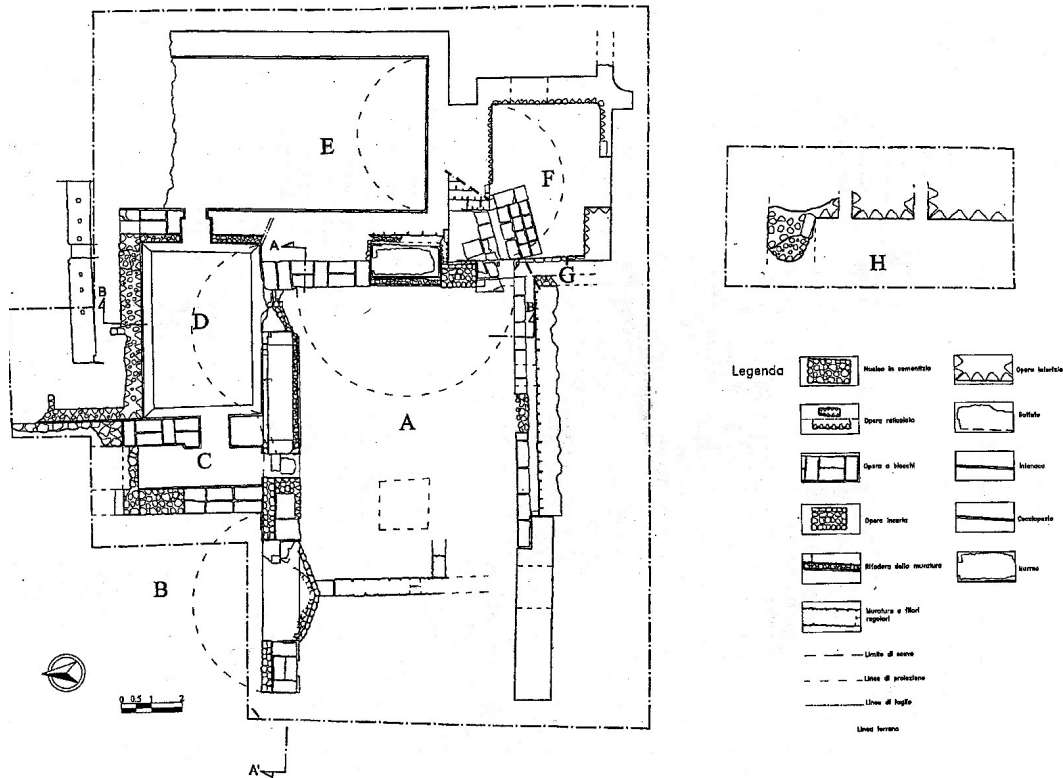


Figure 6.2 Plan, Central Baths, Cumae  
 from D. Volpicella (2006/7) "Cuma: le terme centrali." Figure 4, p. 200-1.

Rooms C, D, and E are located to the north of room A with room E forming a perpendicular angle with room A.<sup>38</sup> Room C is also reconstructed as a barrel-vaulted room. Volpicella interprets its function as a service room based on its small size. Room C is adjacent to room B, which is only partially preserved, with part of the room covered by a modern road. It is a small rectangular corridor, 4 x 1.2 m. There is an opening in the east wall providing access to room A.<sup>39</sup>

A *labrum* with an Oscan inscription (Figure 6.3) discovered during rescue work on the complex in 1975 dates the public baths to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>40</sup> G. Tocco, "Saggi di scavo nella città e nella necropoli di Cuma," *Atti Taranto XV* (1975), 485-96.

Rooms associated with the public bath complex to the east and south-east were found in a trench, 1.50 m long. The inscription read Ma(mercus) Eio, son of Decio, meddix of the *vereia* and the *meddix X* (or the *meddices X*) bought this *labrum*.<sup>41</sup> Two rooms were identified, one with marble slabs for flooring the second, underground, with walls constructed of a concrete core with reticulate facing.

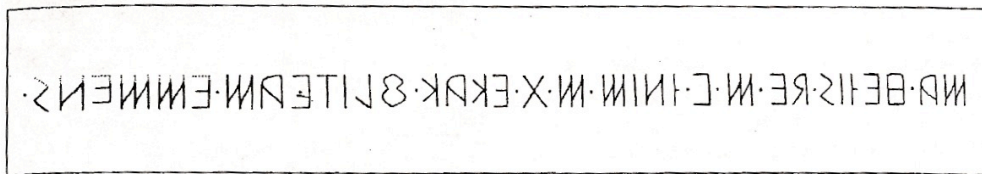


Figure 6.3 Drawing, Oscan inscription on *labrum*, Cumae  
from D. Volpicella (2006/7) "Cuma: le terme central." Figure 16, p. 213.

The choice of Oscan for the inscription provides a *terminus ante quem*. In 180 BC a delegate from Cumae petitioned Rome for the right to use Latin as the public language.<sup>42</sup> Since the conquest of Cumae in 421 BC the public language had been Oscan.<sup>43</sup> The *labrum* is donated by an elite member of Cumaean society who expresses his identity in a number of ways. First, as already mentioned, the choice of Oscan to commemorate his euergetism. Second, the use of an Oscan magisterial title, *meddix*. And finally, that Mamercus Eio's civic responsibilities was to oversee an elite Samnite social institution, the *vereia*. The

<sup>41</sup> I. Sgobbo, "Il maggior tempio del foro di Cuma e la munificenza degli Heii cumani in epoca sannitica," *Rendiconti di Napoli*, 52 (1977) 231-264; Volpicella (2006/7), 213. English translation based on Volpicella's translation from Oscan to Italian by the author.

<sup>42</sup> Livy 40.43.1.

<sup>43</sup> Volpicella contends, however, that when the *labrum* was donated it is possible that not all of the bath clientele were familiar with Latin, the merchants and elite may have been familiar with Latin and the 180 BC petition may have had economic advantages in conducting trade. See Volpicella (2006/7), 214.

inscription provides evidence of local elite participation in the urban renewal of Cumae. It also establishes a connection between Samnite social institutions and public bath architecture.<sup>44</sup>

## Historical Context of Pompeii

There are five main historical phases in the physical development of Pompeii.<sup>45</sup>

The first settlement dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. By the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC a circuit of walls roughly coinciding with the walls of the later Roman period were built using *pappamonte*, a local sandstone, to enclose the settlement.<sup>46</sup> This period saw the expansion of the village into a city and the foundations of the Doric temple and the cult of Apollo.<sup>47</sup> This period comes to an end around 470 BC at approximately the same time that the Etruscan hegemony in Campania ends with the Etruscan defeat by the Cumaean tyrant Aristodemus and Hieron of Syracuse in 474 BC.<sup>48</sup> The wall was rebuilt along the same lines shortly after but little is known about the history of Pompeii for the next hundred years.<sup>49</sup>

The end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC marks the beginning of the Samnite period.

Based on comparative analysis with other Campanian and Lucanian centres

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<sup>44</sup> This is explored further below with the Republican Baths at Pompeii, which also have an association, although more tenuous, with the *vereia* and other elite Samnite social institutions.

<sup>45</sup> Jean-Paul Descœudres, "History and Historical Sources," *The World of Pompeii*, eds. J.J. Dobbins and P.W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 12. See also H. Geertman, "The Urban Development of the Pre-Roman City," *The World of Pompeii*, eds. J.J. Dobbins and P.W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 82-97.

<sup>46</sup> The dating of the circuit wall is contentious. See C. Chiamonte, "The Walls and Gates," in *The World of Pompeii*, eds. J.J. Dobbins and P.W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 140-149 for a concise narrative summarizing various interpretations of the physical evidence.

<sup>47</sup> P. Zanker, *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*, transl. D. Lucas Schneider (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 31.

<sup>48</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.51.1-2

<sup>49</sup> Descœudres (2007), 15.



conquered by the Samnites it is conjectured that there was no wide-spread destruction involved in the conquest.<sup>50</sup> There is no date for the Samnite conquest of Pompeii but Capua fell in 424 BC, Cuame in 421 BC, and Pompeii must have fallen shortly after.<sup>51</sup>

The first historical mention of Pompeii is in the context of the Second Samnite War when a Roman fleet under the command of P. Cornelius docked at Pompeii and then proceeded to devastate the countryside around Nuceria. Upon returning to their ships the Romans were attacked, many were killed and the rest fled to their ships leaving behind their loot.<sup>52</sup> Livy's narrative implies that Pompeii was not significant enough of a settlement to have resisted the Romans when they first landed, relying on aid from the surrounding countryside for defence, and that Pompeii may have been a dependent of Nuceria.<sup>53</sup>

The urban expansion of Pompeii occurs in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC when the citizens expressed their culture through Hellenistic motifs but adapted and appropriated these to create their own idea of Hellenistic luxury.<sup>54</sup> This is discernible in the domestic architecture that still retains the *atrium* and not a Greek *pastas* or *prostas*.<sup>55</sup> The elite houses in Pompeii were more elaborate than

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<sup>50</sup> Neither Paestum nor Cumae exhibit evidence of destruction. Many of the public buildings continue to function, whether in the same capacity or not is not known.

<sup>51</sup> Livy 4.37.1 for Capua and 4.44.12 for Cumae; Diod. 12.76.4.

<sup>52</sup> Livy, 9.38.2-3.

<sup>53</sup> Richardson (1988), 7.

<sup>54</sup> Zanker (1998), 37.

<sup>55</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 190.

houses in Rome and demonstrate the freedom that the citizens had to express their wealth unconstrained by Roman convention.<sup>56</sup>

The House of the Faun is a classic example of the adoption of Hellenistic motifs in a domestic context. It incorporates two peristyles into the plan. The peristyles do not, however, borrow their form from Greek Hellenistic houses, but rather from the public sphere emulating the Greek *gymnasium*.<sup>57</sup> The owners of the House of the Faun were a distinguished Oscan family, the Satrii or Sadirii, but the decoration of the house borrows from Greek cultural motifs. A parallel development occurs with public bath architecture. Elements of Hellenistic architecture are adopted into the form of the public baths in Campania although there is still a decidedly Italic appearance to the structures.

During the Social War Pompeii joined the insurgents<sup>58</sup> and in 89 BC was besieged by Sulla. When Sulla returned from his campaign against Mithridates he spent the winter of 83-82 BC in Campania. Finally, in 80 BC a colony of Roman veterans were settled in Pompeii under the leadership of Sulla's nephew, Publius Sulla.<sup>59</sup>

What makes Pompeii such a good study for the development of public baths in Campania is that the town is representative of the area as a whole. It allows the examination of the evidence on a local level and then the comparison of this with other contemporary public baths, most notably from Herculaneum.

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<sup>56</sup> F. Pesando, *Domus: edilizia privata e società pompeiana fra III e I secolo a.C* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1997a) 268-71.

<sup>57</sup> See Wallace-Hadrill "The Development of the Campanian House," *The World of Pompeii*, eds. J.J. Dobbins and P.W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 287; Pesando (1997a), 80-120.

<sup>58</sup> Appian *Bell. Civ.* 1.39.

<sup>59</sup> Cic. *pro Sulla* 62.

Before examining the physical evidence of Pompeii a brief account of the historical development of the architecture based on building materials and construction techniques is necessary as many of the structures have been dated by these techniques.<sup>60</sup>

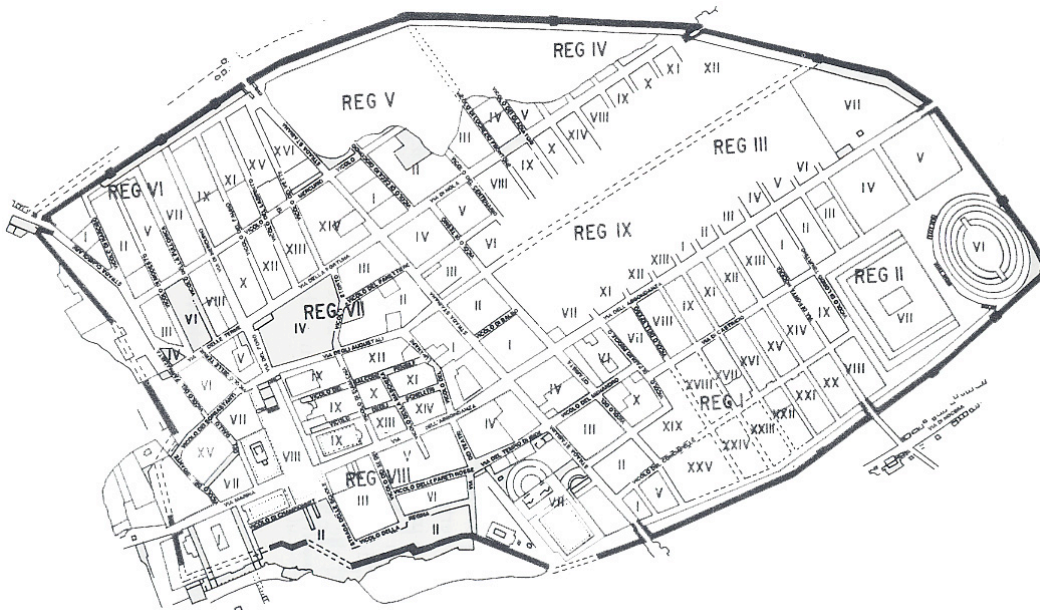


Figure 6.4 Plan, Pompeii  
from <http://www.skidmore.edu/classics/courses/2004spring/cl311/pompeii-city-plan.jpg>

The first phase is generally referred to as the “Limestone period” dated from around 425-200 BC which used a local travertine for ashlar masonry. The second phase dates from 200 BC to the beginning of the Roman period in 80 BC and is called the “Tufa period”. It is characterized by Nocera tufa. Sarno limestone cannot be cut into fine mouldings and during the urban expansion when Hellenistic architectural forms were prominent a new building material, tufa, was

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<sup>60</sup> For more on this see Jean-Pierre Adam, “Building Materials, Construction Techniques and Chronologies,” in *The World of Pompeii*, eds. J.J. Dobbins and P. W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 98-116. See also Richardson (1988), 376-381.

used as facing to create these elements with a rubble interior.<sup>61</sup> Stone facing in *opus reticulatum* is dated from the foundation of the Roman colony in 80 BC.<sup>62</sup> Other methods such as *opus vittatum* and *opus mixtum* also date from after the Roman colony.<sup>63</sup> Note that as in the previous chapter the use of Latin terms for these building techniques does not imply that the structures are Roman. Many building techniques identified as Roman are first attested to in the archaeological record in Campania.<sup>64</sup> The building techniques are not referred to by their Latin names but are translated into English descriptions of the building techniques.<sup>65</sup>

## Stabian Baths

The Stabian Baths were built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and belong to the Tufa period.<sup>66</sup> The shape of the complex is irregular, but it follows the curve of the streets that bind it, Via Stabia on the east, Via Abbondanza on the south, and Vicolo del Lupanare on the west. Shops open onto two of the streets, the Via Abbondanza and the Vicolo del Lupanare.

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<sup>61</sup> Adam (2007), 99.

<sup>62</sup> J. P. Adams, *Roman Building: materials and techniques* (London: Routledge, 1994), 80.

<sup>63</sup> Adam (2007), 106-112.

<sup>64</sup> *Opus incertum*, cement core faced with small irregular stones - also known as rubble-work, is first attested to in Campania, Pompeii specifically from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The earliest extant example of it in Rome dates from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC - The Temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine. See Adams (1994), 79-80.

<sup>65</sup> See the glossary of building terminology in Appendix A.

<sup>66</sup> Mau (1902), 189. Eschebach's reconstruction of the development of the Stabian Baths outlines seven distinct phases dating back to the fifth century BC with the first three phases as Greek in form. His findings have been questioned, particularly since his analysis of the earliest phases of the structure is stronger than for the later phases. In Eschebach's first phase he reconstructs the city walls as binding the west side of the *palaestra*. Subsequent analyses of the city walls confirm that they date from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Eschebach also postulated that the end of the first phase is due to the eruption of Mount Vesuvius - for which there is no other evidence in the area of Campania for an eruption dated from this period. Eschebach (1979), 48-51. See also Nielsen (1993) 1.26 notes 7, 8 and 9; and Fagan (2001), 408-9, n. 35 and 36 for more detailed discussion on this issue. Dating of the phases for the Stabian Baths within this study follows Mau's original analysis. Eschebach's publication on the Stabian Baths is used for the measurements of the rooms and other elements of construction.

Mau identifies three phases in the Stabian Baths, the original construction dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, remodelling in the early days of the Roman colony and later extensive repairs, dated from after the AD 62 earthquake.<sup>67</sup> Only the first phase is described here with the second and third phase in Chapters 7 and 8, respectively.

The complex is divided into two sections, a public bath complex and a *palaestra* (Figure 6.5). The Stabian Baths are considered public baths because the *palaestra*, while being an integral part of the complex is an ancillary structure with the bath rooms comprising the greater part of the structure.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the Stabian Baths have three bathing sections, the men's baths rooms 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25; the women's baths rooms 16, 17, 18, and 19; and an area of individual bathing cells in the north-west just north of 13 on Figure 6.5.<sup>68</sup>

There are two entrances to the men's baths. From the west access is provided from the *palaestra* through a doorway in room 24. Access is also granted from Via Stabia on the east side through room 26. The anteroom, room 24 measuring 4.05 x 6.47 m, is situated before the change room, room 25, and room 22, the cold room, opens up off of the anteroom, not the change room. The

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<sup>67</sup> Mau (1902), 189. Mau's analysis of the public baths at Pompeii is still the most comprehensive description of their features. His work will be used except for those structures which have since been re-examined.

<sup>68</sup> For the individual bathing section see Mau (1902), 189-9; Eschebach (1979), 64-65; and Richardson (1988), 102. I tend to agree with Fagan's analysis of these rooms. He states that the lack of comparanda for this form of bath chamber, the unusual form and orientation of the bath tubs and that no hot-water baths are associated with *palaestra* in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Eschebach's dating of these baths) suggests that these were not for bathing. Fagan (2001), 409-411 and especially 411, note 41.

anteroom is constructed in concrete walls with rough undressed stones and has a marble slab floor.<sup>69</sup>

A small room off to the south-east of the anteroom is believed to have been a waiting room for slaves. It has a small bench, similar to the benches found in the change room. The change room precedes room 23, the warm room, which in turn provides access to room 21, the hot room.<sup>70</sup>

The cold room is entered through a door in the north wall of the anteroom. It has a diameter of 6.52 m, plastered walls with a central circular basin faced with waterproof lime mortar. Four semicircular niches occupy the corners and it is roofed with a rubble-work dome. No physical evidence of a hypocaust or tubulation is evident in the room.<sup>71</sup>

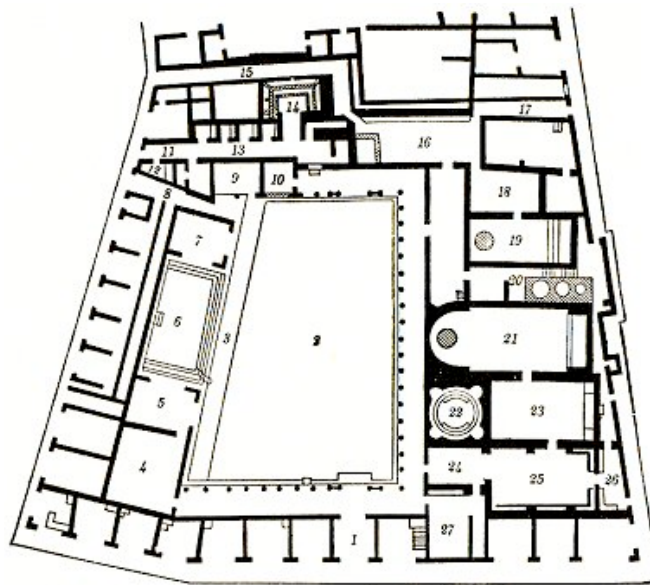


Figure 6.5 Plan, Stabian Baths, Pompeii  
from <http://www.forumromanum.org/life/johnston242.jpg>

<sup>69</sup> Eschebach (1979), 8.

<sup>70</sup> Mau (1902), 191.

<sup>71</sup> Eschebach (1979), 11.

The change room, a barrel-vaulted room, is constructed with concrete and rough undressed stones and measures 7.20 x 12.00 m. The floor consists of white and grey marble slabs.<sup>72</sup> The change room has three doors, one in the west wall from the small anteroom, and another in the east wall providing an alternate means of access from the Via Stabia, and a third in the north wall leading into the warm room.

The warm room, a barrel-vaulted room measuring 6.80 x 12.50 m, has walls in both concrete with rough undressed stones and rubble-work.<sup>73</sup> A large bath basin occupies the east end of the room. Mau believes that this was a later addition to the room but does not state which phase he places the addition in.<sup>74</sup>

The warm room and hot room were heated by a hypocaust system.<sup>75</sup> In the hot room a heated communal pool is situated along the east wall and at the opposite end the support for a *labrum*, in the niched part of the room. The *labrum* is not present either being removed during renovations after the earthquake or no longer used. The heated communal pool in the men's hot room could hold approximately ten men.

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<sup>72</sup> Eschebach (1979), 8-9.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 10. The north, west and south walls are cement with rough undressed pieces of lava stone. The east wall uses rubble-work facing.

<sup>74</sup> Mau (1902), 192.

<sup>75</sup> It is debated whether the hypocaust system dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC or is part of the renovations to the structure after the foundation of the Roman colony. Mau (1902), 196 does not reconstruct the Stabian Baths in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC with hypocaust and tubulation. Eschebach (1979), 40-47 places the installation of the hypocaust and tubulation in his period V dated from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Nielsen (1993), 30 places it in her period V also dated from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. See also DeLaine (1988), 19-20; and Fagan (2001), 404. The basis for this argument was that until recently Sergius Orata's status as inventor of the hypocaust system was not challenged. Early public baths in Italy, including the Campanian public baths, that had hypocaust systems and tubulation were dated based on this assumption. When construction techniques indicated an earlier construction date the hypocaust and tubulation systems were seen as a later addition to the structure.

The furnace for heating the communal pools as well as the hypocaust system is located in room 20 centrally located between the hot room of both the men's and women's baths. The three bronze boilers for heating the water to various temperatures do not survive; however, the masonry still retains the impression of where they would have been located.<sup>76</sup>

The women's baths are to the north of the men's bath and are entered through a long antechamber, not marked on Figure 6.5 but just south of 16. Access is also provided by two long corridors one entered from Via Stabiana and the other from Vicolo del Lupanare.

The women's change room is the best preserved room and Mau considered it to be one of the most ancient of the structure. The room measures 5.02/5.37 x 14.37 m with plastered walls. Niches line the north, south, and east walls.<sup>77</sup> The vaulted ceiling is still intact. The women's baths do not have a cold room. A large basin in the west end of the room probably supplied cold-water provisioning the women's section with cold-water washing facilities.<sup>78</sup>

The warm room is accessed from the south-east corner of the change room. It measures 5.00 x 8.20 m and is equipped with a hypocaust system to heat the room.<sup>79</sup>

The women's hot room, measures 4.95-5.00 m x 12.15-12.20 m with concrete and rough undressed stone walls.<sup>80</sup> The *labrum* in the women's hot

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<sup>76</sup> Mau (1902), 194-5.

<sup>77</sup> Eschebach (1979), 16.

<sup>78</sup> Richardson (1988), 102. Richardson contends that the current change room was a later addition and that an earlier one without a basin for cold-water bathing was located to the east of the current change room.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.



room is intact and indeed the women's hot room and warm room are better preserved than the men's. The bath basin in the women's hot room retains its white marble veneer and overflow pipe of bronze. The communal heated pool in the women's hot room could accommodate approximately eight bathers.<sup>81</sup> Remains of bronze bathtubs, as well as bronze benches were found in the hot room of the women's baths.<sup>82</sup>

One inscription, on the base of a sundial, is dated from this period.<sup>83</sup> The language of the inscription is Oscan and the sundial was set up by Maras Atinius with funds raised from fines by decree of the council. Unlike the inscription associated with the Central Baths at Cumae the magisterial title is no longer Oscan but instead uses the Roman title of *quaestor* translated into Oscan. Nor is the sundial a benefaction by a private individual. Maras Atinius is acting on a decree and public funds are used to finance the endowment. The impetus behind the euergetism and urban beautification comes from a public context implying that the public baths were overseen by the local Samnite council. The Oscan language confirms that Pompeii is still governed by Samnites but the appropriation of formulaic Roman benefactory style, albeit in Oscan, is indicative of Samnite knowledge and emulation of certain Roman customs.

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<sup>81</sup> Maiuri (1920), 193.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>83</sup> Vetter, 12.

Maras Atinius, son of Maras, quaestor, with the money raised from fines, by decess of the assembly, saw to this being set up. - Translation from A.E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2004), 10.

## Republican Baths, Pompeii

The Republican Baths date from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to just before Pompeii becomes a Roman colony.<sup>84</sup> They are small public baths and do not occupy a whole *insula* (Figure 6.6). The complex contains two separate bathing sections, presumably for gender specific bathing. There is a rotunda that functions as a cold room (F), warm rooms (II and V) with no hypocaust and in the hot rooms (III and VI) an early heating system.<sup>85</sup> The building was demolished before Augustan times and a private house built upon it. The men's section is preserved better than the women's.<sup>86</sup>

The site occupies a quadrilateral slightly trapezoidal space of 620 m<sup>2</sup> equal to approximately one quarter of the contemporary Stabian Baths and the later Forum Baths.<sup>87</sup> The east and south is defined by the perimeter walls of the *insula* while the north and west have a clearly distinguishable course of walls terminating with the walls of the houses of the last phase of Pompeii. The north-east side is superimposed with a later shop, 35 on the plan and along the western side with various rooms of the Casa della Parete Rossa. Fortunately this

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<sup>84</sup> The date of the Republic Baths is based on F. Pesando's re-interpretation of the physical evidence. See F. Pesando, "Le 'Terme Repubblicane' di Pompei: Cronologia e Funzione," *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 9/10 (2002-3), 239. This places them within the same urban development of the Theatre Quarter in the Samnite Period. Pesando questions A. Maiuri's method of dating the structure. Amedeo Maiuri, "Pompei. Scoperta di un edificio termale nella Regio VIII, *Insula* 5, no. 36," *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 4 (1950), 119. Maiuri based this on coins ranging in date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC found on the eastern side of the structure and on the heating system (see Maiuri, 127 note 1), which when Maiuri published the findings from the excavation the hypocaust system was believed to have been a 1<sup>st</sup> century BC invention. This was based on Pliny *NH* 9.169 attributing the invention to Sergius Orata.

<sup>85</sup> The hypocaust system is composed of short courses of walls running north-south creating channels to direct the flow of the hot gases. See Maiuri (1950), 129.

<sup>86</sup> Pesando (2002-3), 226.

<sup>87</sup> Maiuri (1950), 117-8.

superimposition of the buildings did not completely destroy the baths so that it is still possible to reconstruct a plan of the complex.<sup>88</sup>

The walls of the baths have a maximum thickness of 0.60 m and are preserved to a maximum height of 1.10 m and made of concrete and rough undressed stones of lava and Sarno rock and cement with pieces of white plaster and square blocks in Sarno stone in the door-posts.<sup>89</sup>

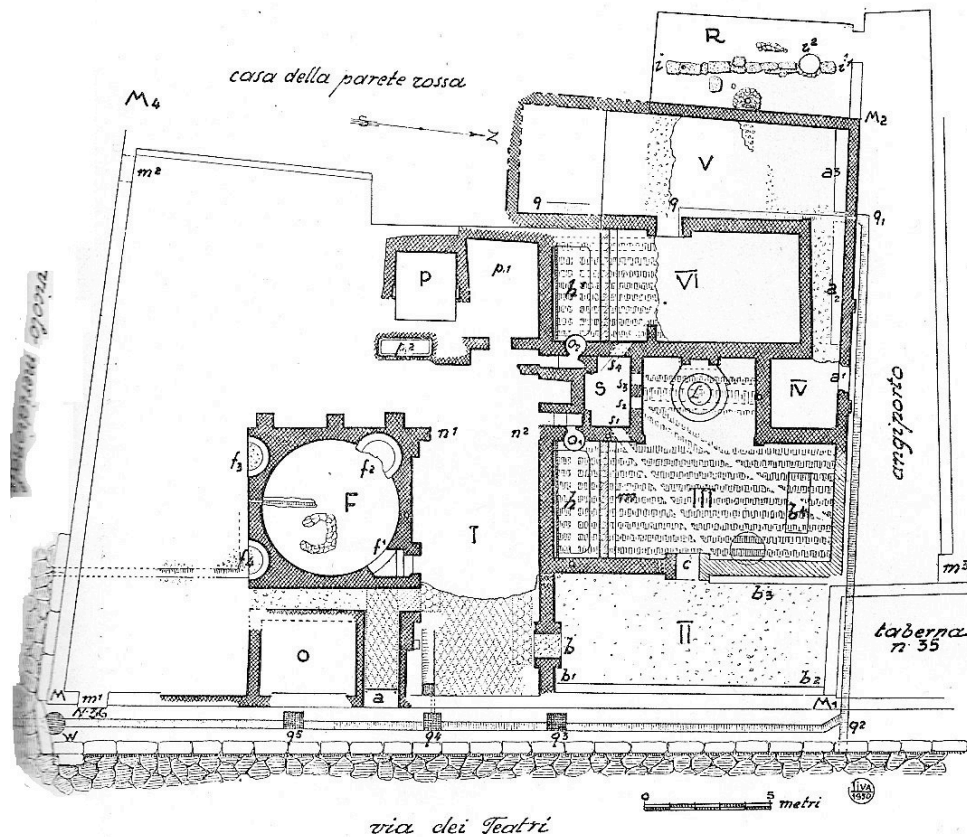


Figure 6.6 Plan, Republican Baths, Pompeii  
 from A. Maiuri (1950) "Pompei - Scoperta di un edificio termale nella Regio VII, Insula 5."  
 Figure 1, p. 117.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 119.

The main entrance is located on the Via dei Teatri, the street binding the east side of the complex. This entrance, a, leads to small hallway which provides access to a large central room, I, the change room. South of the change room is the cold room,<sup>90</sup> F, and to the north the warm room, II. West of the warm room is the hot room, III.

The change room (I) is accessed from the north of the entrance hall (a). The cold room (F) is located south of the change room and is similar to the cold room in the men's section of the Stabian Baths and the later Forum Baths. There are four niches, two interior on the north side and two exterior on the south. One of the interior niches serves as an entrance and the other functioned as an alternate entrance but was later blocked up. The two exterior niches facing the small courtyard area provided an area for socializing. No surviving traces of a circular cold water pool are discernible and the only evidence for water supply to the room is terracotta pipes.<sup>91</sup>

The warm room, room II, measures 10.5 x 4.70 m. The entrance is located in the north-east wall of the change room. Only the west and south walls survive with a low podium running along the wall presumably used as seating. The pavement is lime mortar floor inset with large irregular polychrome marble. The warm room was likely heated by braziers as it has no hypocaust system.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Pesando believes that this room functioned as a sweat room. He cites the lack of comparanda for this form as a cold room in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC agreeing with Eschebach and Nielsen's interpretation of the Stabian Baths. Pesando (2002-3), 226-7 and 232-234. Instead he states that the sweat rooms were transformed into cold room in the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

<sup>91</sup> Maiuri (1950), 120.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 121.

The entrance to the hot room is located in the middle of the west wall of the warm room. In the hot room (III) there is a communal heated pool, 4.00 x 1.80 m, on the south side separated from the rest of the room by a low dividing wall.<sup>93</sup> A *labrum* is located in the west wall creating the typical arrangement of a recessed space containing the *labrum*.<sup>94</sup> An early hypocaust system is located under the floor with three hypocaust channels under the *labrum*. The floor is paved in waterproof lime mortar inset with large irregular travertine tesserae and polychrome and Bardiglio marble.<sup>95</sup>

The heated communal pool has a step on either side at the north end, which Maiuri conjectures was primarily for sitting not only to facilitate access. The back wall is also curved to provide a comfortable position for relaxing.<sup>96</sup> The heating system for the communal pool contains a curious feature, not evident in other communal heated pools. The south wall has nipple tiles providing an extra source of heat. None of the other walls in the hot room exhibits evidence of heating apparatus.<sup>97</sup> The water boiler, no longer extant, was located in the west wall and was heated by a separate furnace (o1), not the furnace centrally located between the men and women's hot rooms.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 122 and 124.

<sup>94</sup> Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 10.4 refers to the arrangement as a *schola labrum*. A niche in the cold room that should ideally have a window to provide light. See also *Rhet. Her.* 4.10.14, which contains a reference as to why this arrangement may have developed. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* dates from 90 BC and the passage describes how a young man first washed himself before entering into the bath. The Latin term *alveus* is used to refer to the bath he enters implying that was customary to cleanse before entering the communal heated pools.

<sup>95</sup> Maiuri (1950), 122.

<sup>96</sup> Maiuri labels the communal heated pool a *solium* rather than an *alveus*. A *solium* is distinguished from an *alveus* by a curved back wall to facilitate relaxing. Nielsen (1992), 1.157, however, interprets it as an *alveus*.

<sup>97</sup> Maiuri (1950), 124.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 128.

The women's section is accessed from a second entrance on the north side, a1, by means of a covered walkway, which leads into room IV. Maiuri posits that this room was reserved for a porter because of its small size. From room IV on the west side a hallway leads to room V. It is superimposed by the later construction of the adjacent house, Casa della Parete Rossa, and not much survives of this room except a bench along the north wall. It probably functioned as a warm room.<sup>99</sup>

The hot room (IV) is accessed from an entrance in the middle of the east wall of room V. There is no evidence of a *labrum* in the hot room nor does it contain a spatial arrangement with recessed niche for the *labrum* as in the men's hot room. Benches line the north wall in both the long hallway and the warm room. The size of the heated communal pool is smaller than the men's, measuring 3.50 x 1.50 m. Remains of the hypocaust are visible as well as the same system of a separate furnace to heat the water of the pool as in the men's heated communal pool.<sup>100</sup>

The furnace is located in room S. Two other circular furnaces are located outside room S to the east and west, O1 and O2, each connected to the heated communal pools, h1 and h2, in the hot rooms, which supplied heated water.

## **Analysis of early Campanian Public Baths**

The Campanian public baths from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to 80 BC are characterized by communal heated pools, not hip-baths, which clearly distinguishes them from

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 126.

the Greek public baths. The heated communal pools marks them as similar to the early Italic public baths, not unexpected since they are contemporary with the early Italic public baths. The Campanian public baths, however, are differentiated from the early Italic public baths by two principal elements.

First, the earliest extant cold rooms<sup>101</sup> are located in Pompeii.<sup>102</sup> The identification of cold rooms in early public baths is disputed and valid arguments for both sides have been presented.<sup>103</sup> The rooms labelled cold rooms in the Stabian and Republican Baths in Pompeii have also been identified as sweat rooms.<sup>104</sup> Both cold rooms and sweat rooms assume the same form, a circular room with niches.<sup>105</sup> In the Stabian and Republican Baths these rooms are

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<sup>101</sup> In Vitruvius' description on the public baths (5.10) he does not mention a room for cold-water bathing. The Latin word *frigidarium* appears, note:

aenea supra hypocaustum tria sunt componenda, unum caldarium, alterum tepidarium, tertium frigidarium, et ita conlocanda uti ex tepidario in caldarium quantum aquae calidae exierit, influat de frigidario in tepidarium ad eundem modum, testudinesque alveolorum ex communi hypocausti calefaciantur.

The word in this context is used to describe the water in the boiler and the various tanks for different temperatures.

The word is used again by Vitruvius in his description of *palaestra* (5.11.2). He draws a distinction between Greek-style cold water rooms and cold rooms in the terminology..

a conisterio in versura porticus frigida lavatio, quam Graeci λουτρον vocitant. ad sinistram ephebei elaeothesium, proxime autem elaeothesium <tepidarium>, ab eoque iter in propnigeum in versura porticus. proxima autem introrsus e regione frigidarii conlocetur concamarata sudatio longitudine duplex quam latitudo, quae habeat in versuris ex una parte laconicum ad eundem modum quam supra scriptum est, compositum, ex adverso laconici calidam lavationem. in palaestra peristyla, quemadmodum supra scriptum est, ita debent esse distributa.

*Frigida lavatio* is used to refer to cold water bathing and *frigidarii* to cold-rooms for bathing. Vitruvius is referring to Roman public baths and not Campanian public baths but his description provides information on the components of Roman public baths and the rooms that were commonly found in them in the Augustan period.

<sup>102</sup> In the Greek public baths no room has positively been assigned a cold-water washing facility. The Greek public baths are for hot-water bathing in individual hip-baths. Hot and cold water bathing is kept separate - cold water washing is in *gymnasia* and ritual contexts.

<sup>103</sup> See note 106 below.

<sup>104</sup> This confusion continues in the next chronological period with the Forum Baths at Pompeii and the Central Baths at Cales. It is not until the third chronological period that there is any consensus on positively identifying cold rooms and sweat rooms. See Pesando (2002-3), 226-7

<sup>105</sup> The sweat rooms in the Suburban Baths at Pompeii and Herculaneum for example. The cold rooms in the Stabian and Forum Baths at Pompeii as they appear in their final form.

believed to have first been sweat rooms and only converted to cold rooms in the course of later remodelling.<sup>106</sup>

In Eschebach's analysis of the phases of the Stabian Baths he considers the circular room with niches located off of the antechamber before the change room, to be a later addition and not a part of the original structure. He dates this restructuring of the baths to just after Pompeii becomes a Roman colony based on an inscription.<sup>107</sup>

His analysis of the construction technique for this room, however, contradicts his proposal. Eschebach states that the dome of the room is constructed of concrete and rough undressed stones and further that the west wall of the warm room, adjacent to the circular room, is also constructed with rough undressed stones and concrete.<sup>108</sup> If his reconstruction of the building phases is accurate, then by his own accounts the west wall of the warm room would not be an original wall as it was torn down to construct the circular room (see Figure 7.4 below). Based on comparative evidence with other buildings constructed shortly after Pompeii becomes a Roman colony the walls should be a concrete core with quasi-reticulate facing, which is seen in the Forum Baths at Pompeii.<sup>109</sup> There is no plausible explanation for the walls to be constructed

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<sup>106</sup> For the Stabian Baths see Eschebach (1979), 59 and 65-68; Nielsen (1993), 31 and 33; Yegül (1992), 61. For the Republican Baths see Maiuri (1950), 120-121; Pesando (2002-3), 232-234.

<sup>107</sup> See Chapter 7, note 40.

<sup>108</sup> See Eschebach (1979), 10-11.

<sup>109</sup> See above note 60 for references on building techniques and dating. Dating a structure solely on masonry techniques is not the most secure method of dating a structure, however, when more than one method is used in the same complex it is possible to reconstruct the phasing of the structure based on masonry technique. The premise behind this assumption is that newer structures will be built using newer masonry methods not older methods.



using out-dated construction techniques, especially since they would be covered in plaster and the construction technique not visible.

An alternate means for distinguishing the function of early circular rooms with apses, when the archaeological evidence is not conclusive, is presented below. A close examination of the plans of later public baths with secure identifications of cold rooms and warm rooms reveals an interesting spatial arrangement, which is also related to the function of cold rooms leading to the second unique element of the Campanian baths.<sup>110</sup>

All solid identifications of cold rooms in Campanian public baths, whether they are circular with niches or rectangular, are located off of the change room and are easily accessible from the *palaestra* area.<sup>111</sup> The sweat rooms, on the other hand, are all accessed from the warm room and are integrated into the bathing block.<sup>112</sup> If the spatial arrangement of cold rooms and sweat rooms from the later examples is applied to the earlier contentious circular rooms it becomes clear that all originally functioned as cold rooms. None of these circular rooms are accessed off of the warm room and all are easily accessible from the *palaestra* or court area.

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<sup>110</sup> The argument presented here draws upon evidence not yet fully presented, although the argument is presented here as it is more relevant to the early than to the later Campanian public baths. All of the structures mentioned are examined in greater detail within their respective chronological periods.

<sup>111</sup> Suburban and Central Baths in Pompeii - both of which are rectangular room. The Forum and Suburban Baths in Herculaneum. The cold room in the Forum Baths is located on the opposite of the change room from the warm room and hot room. In the Suburban Baths the cold room is a square room.

<sup>112</sup> In the Central Baths at Caes the sweat room is accessed off the warm room and has both hypocaust and tubulation for heating. In the Suburban and Central Baths in Pompeii access to the sweat room is from the warm room. In both of these the sweat room is a circular room. The Suburban Baths are equipped with a hypocaust and tubulation and the Central Baths, still in the process of construction at the time of the eruption, were in the process of being fitted with a hypocaust system. The Suburban Baths at Herculaneum have a circular sweat room heated by its own separate furnace accessed from the hot water pool which is located off of the warm room.

The primary function of the cold room is cold-water bathing. The early Italic public baths do not contain a special room for cold-water bathing presumably because cold-water bathing had no functional purpose within these public baths. Assuming that the early Italic public baths represent opulence and indulgence their primary focus would be on heated baths. Anyone, regardless of gender or socio-economic status, can wash themselves with cold water - it does not require a special architectural structure, new technology, or sources of fuel and manpower, which may not easily be incorporated in domestic contexts.<sup>113</sup>

In the Greek public baths the primary method of bathing, individual hip-baths, allowed individuals to regulate the temperature of the water and choose whether it was hot, tepid or cold. In the Italic public baths the methods of bathing centred on providing heated communal pools.<sup>114</sup> In the Greek tradition of bathing there was one institution that was only associated with cold water bathing until the Hellenistic period - the *gymnaisum* where cold-water washing facilities were located in the *palaestra*.

In chapter 2 the functional influences on public baths were explored. The focus was on constructing an argument as to why *gymnaisa* were not as popular outside of Greek settlements in Southern Italy and centred on two institutions particular to the Campanians, the *campani equites* and the *vereiia*. Both of these

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<sup>113</sup> The immersion pools at Villa Prato at Sperlonga in room 7, dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, do not have any evidence of heating apparatus. The physical evidence from the public baths, based on the extant physical evidence, is conclusive in demonstrating that hypocaust systems of heating and boilers for heating the water are known and in use in the public baths by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC yet still not present in domestic contexts until the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The House of the Cryptoporticus is the earliest example. See Fagan (2001), 418.

<sup>114</sup> Fregellae, Musarna, and Croton all had heated communal pools and a second room identified as either a sweat room or a warm room.

institutions were centred on elite military training and in particular equestrian training. This type of training cannot be constrained by built structures and requires open space. There was no need, therefore, to construct *gymnasia*. The structure had no function and hence no purpose for the Campanians.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC during the urban expansion of Pompeii when public and private architecture acquired Hellenistic elements the *palaestra* became associated with the public baths. This second element that sets the Campanian public baths apart is related to the first, the cold rooms, and further demonstrates the innovation of the period. Linking the *palaestra* to the public baths effected a functional change, which is reflected by the inclusion of a room for cold-water bathing. Rather than provide the usual Greek collective cold-water bathing methods a method of communal cold water bathing was introduced.

The Pompeians in keeping with their already established behaviour of borrowing from Hellenistic cultural motifs chose a form for these pools that already existed in the Greek world - the plunge pools from the Panhellenic sites.<sup>115</sup> The site of Delphi has a circular cold water plunge pool dated from 325-300 BC. The circular plunge pools in the cold rooms are separate from swimming pools first by their shape and size and second, by their function. They

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<sup>115</sup> All four of the Panhellenic sites associated with major athletic contests had cold plunge pools. See above Olympia pages 111-114; Isthmia pages 117-118; Nemea pages 123-124; and Delphi page 128.

are not large enough to swim in so they serve no recreational purpose. Instead their function was to cool off after physical exercise.<sup>116</sup>

In the Stabian Baths the cold room is not completely integrated into the plan of the main bathing rooms. Access is off of the anteroom before the change room and to use the room clientele would have to exit the change room through the same door they entered. Instead access to the room is more readily provided from the *palaestra* area.

In the Republican Baths the cold room is not associated with the main bathing rooms. It is spatially segregated and not incorporated into the plan, but rather associated with the court area. From the first phase of these baths a hypocaust system of channels to conduct heated air is present. In the contemporary public baths at Fregellae, which also has an early hypocaust system, there is a clearly defined sweat room and the hypocaust system is used exclusively to heat this room. If the circular room in the Republican Baths had originally been a sweat room traces of a hypocaust system should be identifiable but there is no evidence for a hypocaust. Furthermore, there are no cold rooms associated with the women's bathing blocks in either the Stabian or Republican Baths in Pompeii in this period.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> In early public bath complexes with two bathing blocks there is only one cold room. This is generally believed to be the men's bathing rooms and the women's bathing rooms in the early public baths are characterized by the absence of a separate room for cold water bathing, although some examples include basins for cold water in the change room and the later Imperial baths (largely outside the chronological focus of this study) adhere to the principle of symmetry so that both bathing blocks are mirror images of each other. The women's baths in the Stabian Baths, Republican Baths and Forum Baths at Pompeii and the Forum Baths at Herculaneum do not have a cold room. All other public baths examined have only one bathing block. The imperial public baths in Rome, such as the Baths of Nero (Figure 8.8) and the Baths of Titus (Figure 8.9) are symmetrical in their design.

<sup>117</sup> See above note 78 for Richardson's view on the location of the original change room in the women's section of the Stabian Baths.

## Urban Context

In Pompeii there are two extant public baths, the Stabian and Republican Baths, that date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The Stabian Baths are located in a residential area and at the crossroad of the two major roads; Via dell' Abbondanza, which connects the Porta Marina to the Porta di Sarno and Via Stabiana, which connects the Porta del Vesuvio to the Porta di Stabia. The Republican Baths are physically linked to the cultural centre of the city, the Theatre Quarter.<sup>118</sup> They are located on the opposite corner of the Via dei Teatri from the monumental entrance to the Triangular Forum, the theatre, the odeon, and Samnite Palaestra.<sup>119</sup>

Zanker states that the grander houses, built with tufa blocks and with impressive facades were located north of the forum, mainly in Regio 7, while the lower classes resided to the east of the forum (Figure 6.7).<sup>120</sup> The Stabian Baths, despite their location at the axis of an important junction, are located in this area. According to Zanker it was the affluent inhabitants of Pompeii who imitated Hellenistic cultural motifs, yet no public Hellenistic structures are located in this area.<sup>121</sup> The public buildings with Hellenistic forms are relegated to the peripheral area of the Theatre Quarter and are not integrated into the central fabric of the city indicating first, that these were not originally Samnite cultural

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<sup>118</sup> Zanker (1998), 44.

<sup>119</sup> The Samnite Palaestra had no facilities for bathing associated with it. *Palaestra* begin to appear in the archaeological record in Pompeii in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The Samnite Palaestra and the *gymnaesium* also referred to as the Ludus Gladiatorius, which also has no bath rooms associated with it. See Richardson (1988), 73-75 and 83-87; Zanker (1998), 46-49.

<sup>120</sup> Zanker (1998), 33-43.

<sup>121</sup> Zanker (1998), 47-8 also comments on their proximity to the Theatre Quarter. The Republican Baths are located closer to the Theatre Quarter than the Stabian Baths.

buildings and second, that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC these elements may not have been widely accepted.

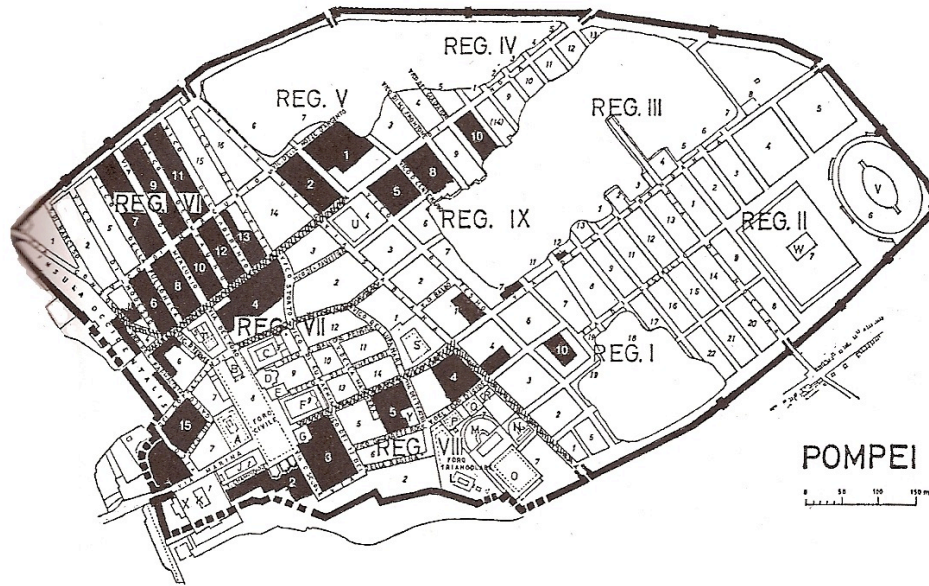


Figure 6.7 Distribution of 2nd century BC elite residences, Pompeii  
P. Zanker (1998) *Pompeii: Public and Private Life*. Figure 2, p. 33.



Figure 6.8 Distribution of Public Baths, Pompeii  
adapted by author from <http://www.skidmore.edu/classics/courses/2004spring/cl311/pompeii-city-plan.jpg>.

The location of the Republican Baths, on the other hand, together with the other monumental public buildings in the Theatre Quarter present a more complete picture of urban development of the late Samnite city (Figure 6.9). They are located in the ancient sacred area of the sanctuary of Minerva.<sup>122</sup> Their proximity to the *propylon* of the Triangular Forum, the *domus publica*<sup>123</sup> - a building believed to be the location of meetings for the elite citizen militia located at VIII.6.5,<sup>124</sup> and the Samnite Palestra believed to be the seat of the *vereiia*<sup>125</sup> links the Republican Baths to important cultural institutions in the Oscan city more so than the Stabian Baths.

The inscription naming the *domus publica* is one of a number of so-called *eituns* inscriptions painted in red on external walls near street corners. One interpretation of these inscriptions is that they provided information for soldiers during the Social War on how to reach their perspective posts when many streets were barricaded.<sup>126</sup> The location of the *domus publica* is not known but Pesando

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<sup>122</sup> For more on the development of the sanctuary of Minerva, also known as the Doric Temple and the Athenaion see S. Ce Caro, "The First Sanctuaries," in *The World of Pompeii*, eds. J.J. Dobbins and P.W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 73-81.

<sup>123</sup> See Vetter 27 for more on this Oscan inscription.

Eksuk.Aamvianud/eituns.amp(er)\_t.tribudtuv(tikad).amp(er)t.mener(vas)

Ex hoc vico evocati (hac) ad domum publicam, illa ad (aedem) Menerv(ae)

From this location go to the public building, that (near) the temple of Minerva. - translated by author.

<sup>124</sup> F. Pesando, "Il fregio fittile con scene di battaglia da Pompei: ipotesi di localizzazione," *Ostraka* 6.1. (1997b), 51-62

<sup>125</sup> J. De Waele, *Il Tempio Dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompeii*, Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 2 (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001), 325-7. See above pages 49-52 for more on the *vereiia*. Richardson (1988), 75 believes that the copy of Polykleitus' Doryphorus indicates that this structure functioned as a temple of Hercules instead of a *palaestra*. The form of the Samnite Palestra, however, seems to fit more with the plan of Greek *palaestra* which are kept separate from public baths. In Greece the two, public baths and *palaestra*, were not associated together until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. See Delorme (1960), 227-229; Ginouvés (1962), 109-149; Yegül (1992), 21-4; and Fagan (2001), 411.

<sup>126</sup> See C.D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (Boston: Ginn & Company, Publishers, 1904), 242; and Pesando (1997b), 51.

proposes that it is located at VIII.6.5 based on the discovery of fragments of wall paintings depicting battles in the vicinity.

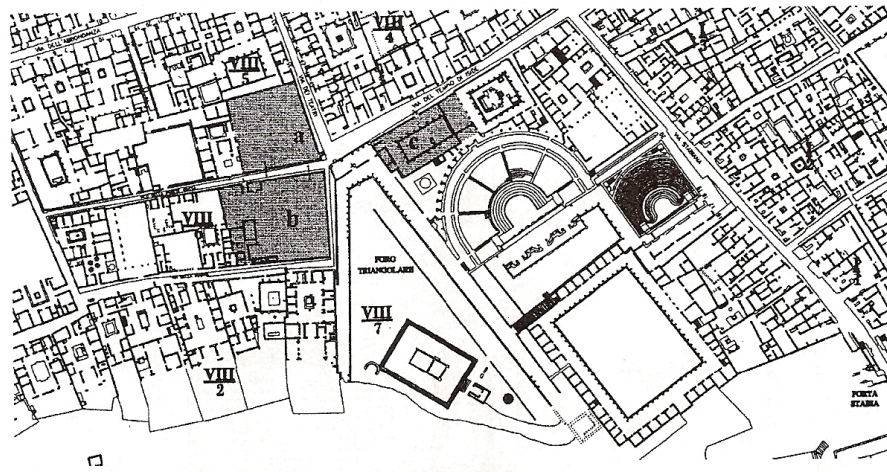


Figure 6.9 Plan, Triangular Forum and Theatre Quarter, Pompeii  
(a) Republican Baths; (b) House/Public Villa; (c) Samnite Palaestra  
from F. Pesando (2002-3) "Le 'Terme Repubblicane' di Pompei." Figure 1, p. 223.

Pesando proposes that the association of the Republican Baths with an area for elite athletics and intellectual pursuits indicates that the structure was used by a specific clientele.<sup>127</sup> There are no references to the *campani equites* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and it is plausible that after relative peace had been established in Southern Italy by the Roman hegemony that functional aspect of the institution was no longer necessary. Those areas that had formal alliances and juridical obligations to Rome to supply men for the army would now be required to fight using Roman battle formations. Epigraphic evidence, however, attests to the continuation of the *vereiia* to train elite young men.<sup>128</sup> How they were trained is not known but the epigraphic evidence for both the *vereiia* and

<sup>127</sup> Pesando (2002-3), 240.

<sup>128</sup> Tagliamonte (1989).



the *domus publica* indicate that at least in Pompeii, which an independent *socius*, some vestige of these institutions continued.

The inscription on the *labrum* in the Central Baths at Cumae also mention the *vereiia*.<sup>129</sup> Two out of the three public baths have a connection to the *vereiia*. The inclusion of a *palaestra* area and cold room in the Campanian baths suggests that in the process of appropriating various Hellenistic architectural forms that the Campanians adapted them to suit their own cultural institutions and linked two different architectural structures to the same institution.

## Conclusions

Returning to the definition of a Campanian public bath, the earliest extant Campanian public baths have cold rooms and *palaestrae* two features not seen in the early Italic public baths. Just as the domestic architecture of Pompeii appropriated elements of Hellenistic culture, such as peristyles but still retain specific markers of Italic culture, such as the atrium the public baths follow the same development. The concept of public baths is Greek but the function has changed.

The Republican Baths at Pompeii and the Central Baths at Cumae appear to retain elements of the early Italic public baths and suggest that there was no standard plan. Methods of bathing were not yet formalized and have more in common with the early Italic public baths than the Greek public baths.

The scant inscriptional evidence indicates that the Samnite elite contributed to the beautification of public baths as private individuals and

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<sup>129</sup> See above page 189.

through civic initiative. Both private and public funds were used to furnish the baths. The primary importance of these inscriptions is their choice of language, Oscan, indicating that public bathing was an integral part of Samnite culture by at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

Taken together with the inscriptions in the Italic public baths discussed in Chapter 5 only one of four balneic inscriptions in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC uses the Latin language. These public baths cannot be considered Roman public baths for a number of reasons. First, there are no physical remains of public baths in Rome in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Second, the use of Oscan for the inscriptions associated with the public baths in Campania indicates that neither Cumae nor Pompeii were fully entrenched in the Roman hegemony and that the elite still self-identified as Samnites.

## Chapter 7 Social Wars to End of the Republic

### Introduction

The next chronological period examined is from 80 BC to the end of the Republic. The division of the physical evidence into these chronological periods is not arbitrary. The formal and functional changes in the Campanian public baths are contextualized within broader socio-political changes in Campania. “The Social War destroyed the basis of the dialectic, between Roman and non-Roman, that had characterised Italy for at least two centuries, a dialectic which presupposed, and thereby promoted, a separation of identities.”<sup>1</sup> It is precisely because of this that public bath complexes after 80 BC are examined separately from the early Italic examples examined in the previous chapter. The loss of this dialectic relationship, which had been crucial in creating a ‘middling ground’ context, minimizes the significance of a ‘middling ground’ context after the Social War. The effect, if any, this process had on the Campanian public baths is examined below.

Parts of Campania may have entered the Roman hegemony in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC but the political consequences of the settlement of 338 BC allowed Capua and Cumae internal autonomy.<sup>2</sup> Livy’s account of this period is more complete than other sources, but still contains lacunae. Campania’s participation in the Social Wars implies that many inhabitants were not satisfied with their current political status and were prepared to engage in war to achieve their

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<sup>1</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 81.

<sup>2</sup> Frederickson (1984), 221.

political aims. Not all of the Campanian cities were Roman colonies prior to the Social War; Pompeii, for example, did not become a Roman colony until 80 BC.

Examining the extant physical evidence after the Social War to the end of the Republic allows for any changes in the form and function of the public baths that may be due to the changed political climate after the Social Wars to be identified in public bath architecture. The creation of the Roman *municipium* at Pompeii in 80 BC brought an influx of Roman citizens to the city changing the ethnic structure of the city and creating a new 'middling ground'. The transition from independent *socius* to Roman *municipium* and redistribution of property to the Roman colonists likely created tension.<sup>3</sup> Cicero's *Pro Sulla* contains a reference to unrest between the colonists and the Pompeians and Publius Sulla's diplomatic handling of the situation.<sup>4</sup> The physical evidence is examined within this context.

The public baths in Campania are considered first. This review includes new structures and an analysis of changes to pre-existing structures. A brief comparison of the Campanian evidence with other Italic public baths within the chronological framework is then presented to ascertain whether the developments within Campania are localized or part of broader developments in public bath architecture.

The physical evidence in Campania is presented topographically with the public baths in Pompeii presented last. Comparative evidence from Grumentum

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<sup>3</sup> Zanker (1998), 61-62.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Pro Sulla* 60-62.

in Lucania and the Villa Sestina Baths in Rome is also provided to demonstrate the unique features of the Campanian public baths.

## Central Baths, Cales

Cales is located at the foot of the mountains that define the northern boundary of the Campanian plan. The Central Baths at Cales (Figure 7.1) date from 90-70 BC.<sup>5</sup> The public baths are located 32 m from the *Cardo Maximus* within the urban centre of the site, hence their name.<sup>6</sup>

The walls are primarily a concrete core with quasi-reticulate facing using blocks of tufa and brick. Brick was used to construct the curved walls, engaged columns and piers of the walls and niches. The columns and the other architectural elements are in a local grey tufa and the thresholds and lintels in white marble.<sup>7</sup> The western façade of the structure is decorated with engaged columns with Attic bases and Ionic capitals.<sup>8</sup>

The only entrance to room B, the change room, is from a long narrow corridor which is not well preserved.<sup>9</sup> Room B measures 8.80 x 18.95 m and the walls are decorated with engaged columns with Attic bases and Ionic capitals like the exterior. The northern most engaged columns are visually linked to the colonnade marking the north entrance to room B. The pavement has a black centre with a black and white border with meanders.<sup>10</sup> At a later date the change

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<sup>5</sup> Johannowsky (1961), 263.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> For more on the decorative fragments found in the *apodyterium* see Johannowsky (1961), 261-2.

room was transformed into a cold room with the addition of a cold water pool along the west wall.<sup>11</sup>

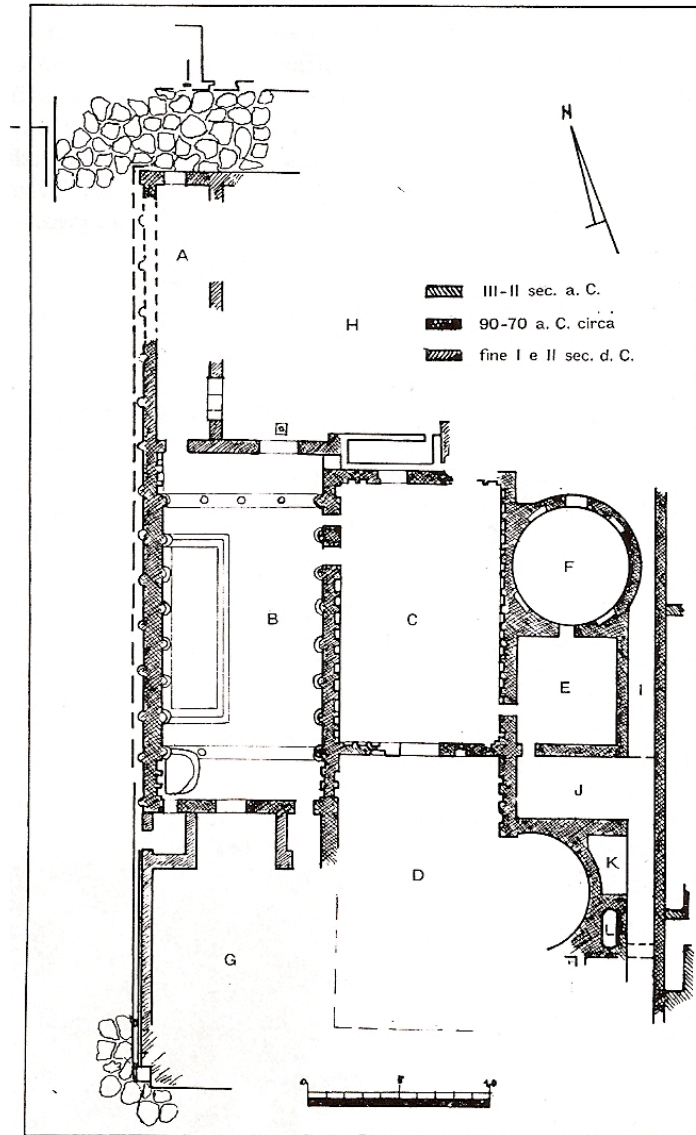


Figure 7.1 Plan, Central Baths Cales  
from W. Johannowsky (1961) "Relazione preliminare sugli scavi di Cales." Figure 3, p. 259.

Room C, the warm room, room D, the hot room, have rectangular niches at regular intervals punctuating the walls. In room D there is a recessed

<sup>11</sup> No date is given for when this transformation may have occurred. See Johannowsky (1961), 260-261.

hemispherical niche for the *labrum*, in an apsidal recess with a diameter of 6.50 m located in the middle of the long east wall.<sup>12</sup>

Room E is accessed from room C. The north wall preserves traces of barrel vaulting. This room is labelled a *destrictarium*.<sup>13</sup> The *destrictarium* is normally a room associated with *palaestra* and its primary function was to scrape off oil applied to the body before exercise and the dust that accumulated during exercise. Before bathing oil and dust would be scraped off with a strigil. There is only one solid identification of a *destrictarium*, and this identification is based upon an inscription detailing renovations to the Stabian Baths.<sup>14</sup> Which room in the Stabian Baths was the *destrictarium*, however, is debated, although Eschebach designates one of the oblong rooms off of the *palaestra* as the *destrictarium* (Figure 7.4).<sup>15</sup>

The designation of room E as a *destrictarium* is not in accordance with its known function, which is related to sports and exercise. At Cales, it is located off of the warm room with an alternate access from room J, which there is no description of in the published reports. There is no direct access to the *destrictarium* from the *palaestra*. Indeed a *palaestra* has not positively been identified in association with the Central Baths at Cales, unless room H is

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<sup>12</sup> Johannowsky (1961), 262. There is a similar arrangement in the Republican Baths at Pompeii in which the the *labrum* is set in a square recess in the centre of one of the long walls. No *labrum* was found *in situ* and Johannowsky's identification of this space to accommodate a *labrum* is based on comparative evidence. The recessed space for the *labra* in the Stabian, Baths, Republican Baths, and Forum Baths at Pompeii are all approximately 5 m wide as in the hemispherical niche in the Central Baths at Cales

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>14</sup> *CIL* X 829.

<sup>15</sup> Eschebach, (1973), 235-242.

interpreted as a small *palaestra* area. The function of this room is not known and there is currently no comparanda for such a spatial arrangement

Room F, a circular room with four rectangular niches and a diameter of 6.50 m, is identified as a sweat room. Traces of a hypocaust system and tubulation in the lower part of the wall survive but date from a later period. Given the location of room F Johannowsky believes it is a sweat room without a hypocaust system and not a cold room.<sup>16</sup> Vitruvius does not refer to a *frigidarium* in his description of public baths but does locate the *laconicum* off of the *tepidarium* and describes it as a circular room.<sup>17</sup> The circular structure in the early public baths at Pompeii and Herculaneum are interpreted as *frigidaria*.<sup>18</sup>

Room G belongs to a later phase of the baths and is a second hot room with a heated communal pool in the north wall.<sup>19</sup> The service areas of the baths are corridor (I), the furnace (K), and a well (L).

## Forum Baths, Pompeii

The Forum Baths are smaller than the earlier Stabian Baths and have a simpler arrangement than the Stabian Baths. They are located one block north of the Forum and are the only utilitarian structure associated with the early years of the

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<sup>16</sup> Johannowsky (1961), 262, no. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Vitr. *De Arch.* 10.5.

<sup>18</sup> The later Central Baths at Pompeii and the Suburban Baths at Pompeii and Herculaneum all have a sweat room located off of the warm room or as in the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum off of the hot water pool room. These, however, date from the 1st century BC.

<sup>19</sup> Johannowsky (1961), 262.



colony.<sup>20</sup> These were the first public baths excavated at Pompeii by G. Fiorelli between 26 July 1822 and 5 November 1824.<sup>21</sup>

The Forum Baths (Figure 7.2) are not immediately recognizable from the street and a detailed analysis of the plan shows that the men's baths are carefully organized in the middle of the block and do not interfere with the space allocated to the shops fronting the complex. The women's baths on the other hand use valuable street frontage and are of an irregular plan, note the change room and cold room contained in one room (1), which suggests that it was annexed at a later time. The masonry and the standpipe built into the west wall suggest that it is no earlier than the early Augustan period.<sup>22</sup> Further study of the plan suggests that the space currently occupied by the women's baths would have been commercial space.<sup>23</sup>

There is a *palaestra* colonnaded on three sides and two separate bathing blocks, one for men and one for women. These public baths date from shortly after 80 BC and are characterized by walls with a concrete core with quasi-reticulate facing, similar to the facing used in the construction of the Small

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<sup>20</sup> Richardson (1988), 147. Other public structures dated from this period are the Amphitheatre, the Temple of Jupiter in the Forum, the small Theatre (Odeon) and the Comitium.

<sup>21</sup> See *PAH* 2.57-118.

<sup>22</sup> The Forum Baths were renovated although the dating for the renovations is not firmly established. Nielsen places the renovations in her period V, VI and VII of the development of Roman public baths and admits that only a few years would have separated V and VI. Nielsen (1993), 1.31. The main problem with Nielsen's chronology is that it is based upon accepting Sergius Orata as the inventor of the hypocaust system so that her Period V in which the hypocaust system is introduced is dated from 90-80 BC. Subsequent to the publication of her analysis of Roman public baths evidence for earlier hypocaust systems with tubulation have been discovered, most notably Fregellae with a *terminus ante quem* of 125 BC. This does not change the original construction date associated with the Forum Baths, however, which is based on *CIL* X 819 naming the magistrates responsible for overseeing their construction.

L. Eschebach re-examination of the Forum Baths follows H. Eschebach's reconstruction of the Stabian Baths and dates the Forum Baths from the Samnite period. This ignores the evidence of the inscription and the construction technique in dating the structure. L. Eschebach, "Die Forumsthermen in Pompeji, Regio VII, Insula 5," *Antike Welt* 22 (1991), 257-87.

<sup>23</sup> Richardson (1988), 151-2.

Theatre and the Amphitheatre.<sup>24</sup> The names of the builders are known from an inscription. The contract for the building was contracted out and the work approved by the *duumvir*, Lucius Caesius, and the two aediles, Occius and Niraemius. The funds for the building came from the public treasury.<sup>25</sup>

The use of Latin for the inscription and Roman instead of Oscan magistrate titles clearly marks this structure as part of the building program of the newly founded Roman colony. Can the Forum Baths be labelled a Roman public bath? There is now a strong Roman presence at Pompeii and with the extension of citizenship to all peoples within peninsular Italy juridical distinctions no longer define and limit Roman citizenship. There is still no evidence, however, of Rome actively creating Roman identity through cultural initiatives. Therefore the Forum Baths are still considered to be Campanian public baths.

There are six entrances to the complex. The east entrance is situated to obstruct the interior from the street and leads to the *palaestra* from which the men's baths can be accessed by means of a long narrow corridor (a). Two

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<sup>24</sup> Mau (1902), 202. Eschebach believes that here too there must have been a *palaestra* near by. See H. Eschebach, "La documentazione delle Terme del Foro a Pompei," *La Regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio: Studi e prospettive atti del convegno internazionale, 11-15 novembre 1979* (Napoli: Università di studi di Napoli, 1982), 313-19. This is based on Eschebach's belief in the existence of an ancient *pomerium* around the *Altstadt* of Pompeii. There has been no archaeological evidence to support the existence of this nor any of a *palaestra* in this region. By at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC when Pompeii experience a period of urban renewal the area surrounding the Forum Baths to the north, east and west was composed of residential blocks and to the south is the Forum.

<sup>25</sup> *CIL* X 819.

L. Caesius C.f., d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo)

C. Occius M.f.

L. Niraemius A.f.

Ilv(iri)

d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) ex peq(unia) publ(ica)

fac(iundum) curar(unt) prob(arunt)que

L. Caesius, son of Gaius, *duovir* for administering the law, and C. Occius, son of Marcus, and L. Niraemius, son of Aulus, *duoviri*, saw to the construction (of the baths) from public money in accordance with a decree of the decurions; they also approved the work. - Translation from Fagan (1999), 251.

entrances are situated on the west side. On the southern limit of the west wall is an entrance to the *palaestra* with a small room (c) located to north of the entrance. Located in a central position along the west boundary wall is an entrance with access to the service rooms.

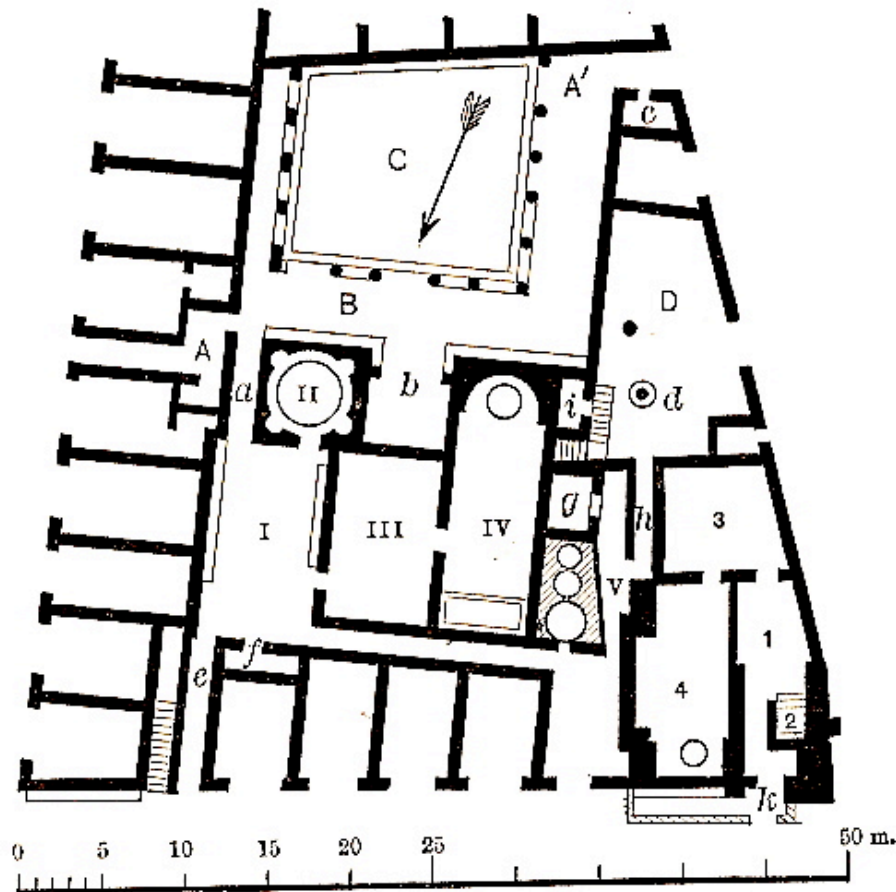


Figure 7.2 Plan, Forum Baths  
from A. Mau (1902) *Pompeii: its life and art*. Figure 91, p. 202.

Three additional entrances are located on the north side. In the north-east corner a long corridor (e) leads directly to the men's change room. There is another entrance to the service quarters, which also connects to the change room by means of a long narrow corridor. This probably functioned as a service

corridor providing a route concealing the movement of service personnel. The final entrance on the north side is to the women's baths in the north-west corner of the structure.

Despite the small size of room C it is a *palaestra*. Mau, however, did not consider room C to be a *palaestra* proper as it is too small and there is no swimming pool with adjacent change rooms like in the Stabian Baths.<sup>26</sup> Instead, he believed that the *palaestra* in the Forum Baths functioned as a garden. Nielsen, on the other hand, believes that it was originally larger and that the apse in the men's hot room and cold room are later additions.<sup>27</sup>

The colonnade on the east side has low arched pillars instead of a colonnade. The north side of the *palaestra* was lined with benches and a central exedra (b). On the north side of the colonnade there is a waist high masonry screen broken only by a few passageways between the columns.<sup>28</sup> At the centre of the west side is a small fountain basin and there is a short corridor on the south-west side leading to a back entrance onto the Vicolo delle Terme, off of which lies a latrine.<sup>29</sup>

From the *palaestra*, corridor (a) leads to the men's change room (I). The change room is barrel-vaulted and lined with benches on the east and west side. Unlike the change room in the Stabian Baths it has no wall niches. A window in the south wall provides a source of natural light. Tritons, surrounded by dolphins,

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<sup>26</sup> Mau (1902), 203.

<sup>27</sup> Nielsen (1993), 1.31.

<sup>28</sup> Richardson (1988), 150.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

with vases on their shoulders frame the window. Below the window is a lamp niche and a decorative mask of Oceanus.<sup>30</sup>

The cold room (II) is well preserved and similar in form to the cold room in the Stabian Baths. It was not a part of the original structure but a later addition.<sup>31</sup> It is accessed through an entrance in the south-west of the change room. It consists of a circular cold-water plunge pool and has four interior niches.

The warm room (III), barrel-vaulted like the change room, contained the remains of a large bronze brazier and benches on either side of the brazier. The brazier is inscribed and was donated by P. Nigidius Vaccula.<sup>32</sup> There is no hypocaust or tubulation present in the warm room. Heat was provided by the bronze brazier found *in situ*.

Above the benches are wall niches, although some of these are filled in implying either that they were no longer functional or that the work on repairing the baths after the AD 62 earthquake was not completed yet. The partitions of the niches have sculpted Atlantes holding the cornice on their uplifted hands. There is a window with a lamp niche above the brazier. The ceiling decoration is only partially preserved. The lower edge consists of geometric patterns interwoven with a scroll pattern. Above this are different sized panels with raised white ornaments and figures on a white, blue, or violet background. The images are varied and contain Cupid leaning on his bow, Apollo riding on a griffin, Ganymede with an eagle, and Cupids on sea horses.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Mau (1902), 204.

<sup>31</sup> As previously stated the dating of the later phases is not well established.

<sup>32</sup> *CIL* 10.818.

<sup>33</sup> Mau (1902), 205.

The hot room (IV) is well preserved and only part of the ceiling has been destroyed. It is barrel-vaulted like the change room and warm room. The hot room has both hypocaust and tubulation. The north side has a heated communal pool, lined with white marble with a sloping back and two steps leading up to the basin with another interior step. There is no evidence for the more sophisticated method of heating the water of the communal pool with a bronze *testudo* enticing Mau to conjecture that the communal pool must have been installed before this new technology became fashionable.<sup>34</sup> There is a drain, which suggests that the water was changed frequently.

The south side has an apsidal niche with a *labrum*. The *labrum* bears an inscription with the names of the *duumvirs* who donated it, Gnaeus Melissaes Aper and Marcus Staius Rufus, both *duumvirs* in AD 3-4, as well as the cost of the *labrum*, 5250 sesterces.<sup>35</sup> There are three windows in the southern end of the barrel vault and a circular window in the half-dome.<sup>36</sup> The floor is white mosaic with a simple black border.

The women's baths are small and of irregular shape in the north-west corner of the complex. Both the warm room and hot room had hypocaust flooring and heated walls. The hot room, however, was badly damaged, likely in the AD 62 earthquake and not repaired by the time Vesuvius erupted in AD 79.

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<sup>34</sup> Mau (1920), 206. See above Chapter 5, note 62 for a description of how the *testudo* functioned. The bronze for many *testudi* were salvaged for reuse but depressions in communal heated pools are evidence that this type of heating method was used. The absence of such depressions, as in the men's hot room in the Forum Baths in Pompeii, indicates that the water was heated by other methods.

<sup>35</sup> *CIL* 10.817

Cn. Melissaes Cn. f. Apro M. Staius M. f. Rufus Ilvir(i) iter(um) i(ure) d(icundo) labrum ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) ex p(ecunia) p(ublica) f(aciendum) c(urarunt) constat HS (5,250).

<sup>36</sup> Richardson (1988), 149.

The floors are badly damaged and there is no bath basin, only the large niche that held it at one time and only the base of the *labrum* remains.<sup>37</sup> The small court, D, to the south of the women's baths was not connected to the women's baths and the only entrance to the women's baths was from the north street (k).

The women's baths are part of the complex but at the same time quite independent from it as there is no access from the *palaestra* to the women's baths. It was entered from the Via di Nola by a small door, VII v 8. From the entrance lobby there was a short corridor to the change room. The cold bathing facilities were provided by means of a small square basin in an alcove with a vaulted ceiling in the change room. Both the warm room and hot room had hypocausts and tubulation. The northern niche of the hot room contains a small *labrum*, and the eastern one is clearly intended for a bath basin although there is none present. It may have been constructed of bronze and salvaged by survivors.<sup>38</sup>

The furnace is centrally located between the men's and women's baths in a courtyard accessible only from the men's bath and the exterior. The space for heating the tanks of water is raised approximately a meter above the surrounding floor level. Water for the baths was presumably supplied from a triple-chambered reservoir across the street from the baths in block VII vi that was built after the well, as it would be logical to place them together if they were built at the same time. This reservoir was presumably used to supply water to the baths and the well may have been a crucial factor in determining the location of the

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<sup>37</sup> Mau (1902), 206.

<sup>38</sup> Richardson (1988), 151.

Forum Baths. The masonry and the engineering of the reservoir appear contemporary with the baths.<sup>39</sup>

## Stabian Baths, Pompeii

Extensive remodelling to the Stabian Baths in the early part of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC is documented by an inscription. Gaius Ulius and Publius Aninius through city legislation built a *laconicum* and *dstrictarium* and the colonnade and *palaestra* were repaired.<sup>40</sup> The form of the letters and the spelling date this inscription to the time of Sulla.<sup>41</sup>

There are two proposals for the location of the *dstrictarium*, the room for removing dirt and oil with a strigil after exercise. Mau originally identified room 4 (Figure 7.3) as the *dstrictarium*.<sup>42</sup> Eschebach provides an alternate location based on his examination and analysis of the development of the baths.<sup>43</sup> Eschebach locates the *dstrictarium* within the bathing block occupying

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>40</sup> *CIL* 10.829.

C. Vvilius C.f. P. Aninius C.f. Ilv(iri) i(ure) d(icundo)  
laconicum et dstrictarium  
faciund(um) et porticus et palaestr(am)  
reficiunda locarunt ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) ex  
ea pequnia quod eos e lege  
in ludos aut in monumento  
consumere oportuit faciun(da)  
coerarunt eidemque probaru(nt)

C. Vvilius, son of Gaius, and P. Aninius, son of Gaius, *duoviri* for administering the law, by decree of the decurions, let contracts for the construction of a *laconicum* and a *dstrictarium*, and for the restoration of the porticoes and the *palaestra*, from that money that, according to the law, they ought to have spent on games or in building. They saw to the work and also approved. - Translation from Fagan (1999), 250.

<sup>41</sup> Mau (1902), 195.

<sup>42</sup> Mau (1902), 195.

<sup>43</sup> Although Eschebach's reconstruction of the early phases of the Stabian Baths dated from the 5th century BC is questionable his analysis of the later phases is included as comparanda.



the apsidal area of the hot room and providing access to the *laconicum*, also part of the remodelling, to the south of the *districtarium* (Figure 7.4).<sup>44</sup>

In Mau's analysis of the Stabian Baths he cannot positively identify any of the rooms as a *laconicum*.<sup>45</sup> Eschebach places the *laconicum* in the cold room and suggests that it was only converted into a cold room in the remodelling phase.<sup>46</sup>

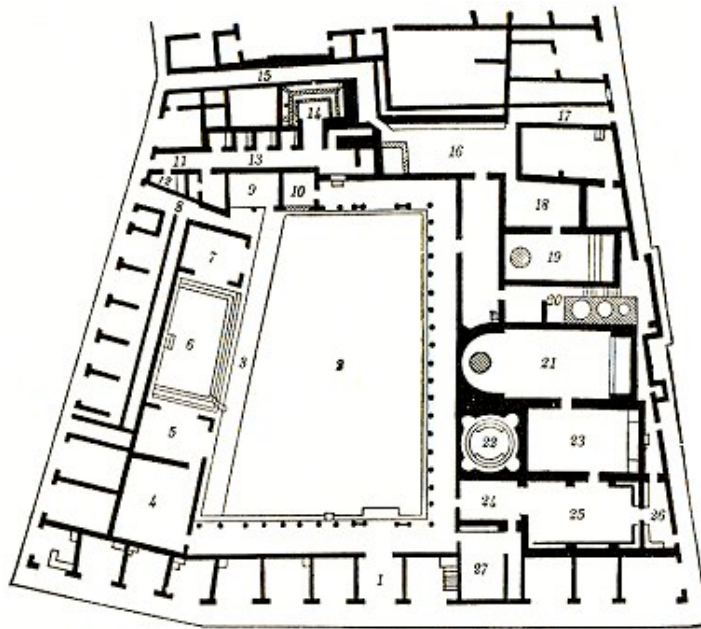


Figure 7.3 Plan, Stabian Baths, Pompeii  
from <http://www.forumromanum.org/life/johnston242.jpg>.

Mau infers that the instalment of the new heating system, the hypocaust system, is what is meant by the term *laconicum* in the inscription. This analysis was based on the assumption that Sergius Orata was the inventor of the system.

Until recently fully developed hypocaust systems were not attested to in the

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<sup>44</sup> Hans Eschebach, "...Laconicum et districtarium faciund...locarunt...," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 80 (1973), 238; idem (1979), 235-242.

<sup>45</sup> Mau (1902), 196.

<sup>46</sup> Eschebach (1973), 238; idem (1979), 59. Eschebach found traces of the original arrangement approximately 0.45 m under the present floor and 0.30 m under the bottom of the pool there is a depression for a fireplace.

archaeological record before the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>47</sup> Mau cites a reference from Dio Cassius on the Baths of Agrippa as evidence for his claim.<sup>48</sup> Dio Cassius writes that Agrippa built a *laconicum* but what he seems to mean is that he built a bathing establishment. Dio uses the term *laconicum* to apply to the whole baths, not just the sweat room.<sup>49</sup>

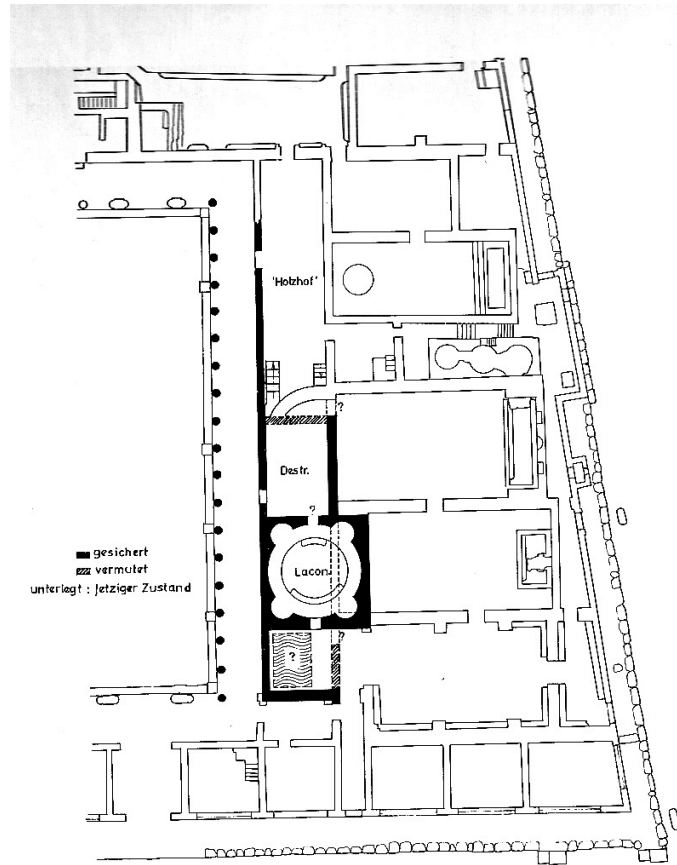


Figure 7.4 Plan, Detail *destrictarium*, Stabian Baths, Pompeii from I. Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnae* vol 2. Figure 36, p. 73

The swimming pool was added in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. It is separated from the court by a barrier of masonry approximately 0.60 m high, which extended in

<sup>47</sup> Mau (1902), 196.

<sup>48</sup> Dio Cass. LIII.xvii.i

<sup>49</sup> Mau (1902), 196.

front of the rooms, 5 and 7, at either end. Both of these rooms opened onto the pool as well as the court. The walls are veneered with marble to a height of ca. 2.0 m and are painted above with plants, birds, statues, and nymphs.<sup>50</sup>

## **Italic Public Baths**

### **Republican Baths, Grumentum**

The presence of a late Republican public bath at Grumentum (Figure 7.5) has been known from an inscription for some time.<sup>51</sup> A preliminary analysis of the remains provides more information on the structure.<sup>52</sup> The baths are constructed in concrete core walls with reticulate facing and have a change room, cold room, warm room, and hot room, 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. The hot room has hypocaust floors and wall tubulation and at some point in time was divided into two separate chambers. The east room has with a white mosaic floor and the west with a polychrome mosaic.<sup>53</sup> The warm room has only been partially excavated to date and not much is known about it. The cold room is paved with tiles in a herringbone pattern.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>51</sup> *CIL* X 221. There is only a preliminary report on the plan, but it includes a plan of the structure. See A. Capano, "Le 'Terme Repubblicane' di Grumentum e la loro evoluzione nel contesto cittadino. Rapporto preliminare," *Grumentum Romana*, ed. A. Mastrocinque (Moliterno: Valentina Porfidio Editore, 2009), 78-112.

<sup>52</sup> These baths date from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and as such belong to the period after citizenship has been extended to all free peoples within peninsular Italy. They continued to function until the Severan period. See Capano (2009), 81.

<sup>53</sup> A. Capano, "Le 'Terme Repubblicane' di Grumentum e la loro evoluzione nel contesto cittadino. Rapporto preliminare," *Grumentum Romana*, ed. A. Mastrocinque (Moliterno: Valentina Porfidio Editore, 2009), 80.

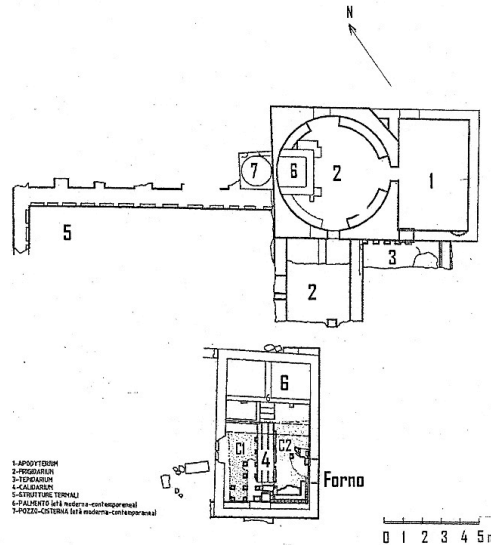


Figure 7.5 Plan, Republican Baths, Grumentum  
 from A. Capano (2009) "Le 'Terme Repubblicane' di Grumentum." Figure 6, p. 109.

### Rome, Via Sistina Baths

A public bath complex dating from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC in Rome exhibits some characteristics of the early Campanian public baths ( Figure 7.6).<sup>54</sup>

The baths are built in concrete core walls faced with rubble-work and consist of an change room (1), sweat room (2), and hot room (3).<sup>55</sup> The decoration of the hot room is similar to Villa Prato.<sup>56</sup> The walls are in red waterproof lime mortar dotted with small white lozenges. The floor in the hot room is a white mosaic with a central polychrome panel insert. Two black circular borders in the north and south apses demarcate space for *labra*.

<sup>54</sup> Fiorini identifies these as private baths, but does not distinguish if the adjective infers ownership or location within a domestic complex. See Fiorini (1988), 56. Broise's interpretation of the baths, based on their size and location on a principal axis of circulation in ancient times (via di Porta Pinciana), is as a public bath complex. See Broise (1994), 28-29.

<sup>55</sup> Broise (1994), 28-29 and Broise and Jolivet (2004), 100-101 provide an explanation for the function of the rooms based on a comparative analysis with contemporary public baths.

<sup>56</sup> The decoration is preserved to a maximum height of 1.28 m in the Via Sistina Baths. See above pages 102-107 for the Villa Prato.

The pool is only partially preserved and is set between two engaged columns.<sup>57</sup> The mosaic bordering the pool has a central palmette flanked by dolphins. The steps leading up to the pool are decorated in black and white crenellations. On the first step there is only one visible crenellation over the drain and on the second step there are eight crenellations and like the crenellations at Musarna a central door in the middle crenellation.<sup>58</sup>

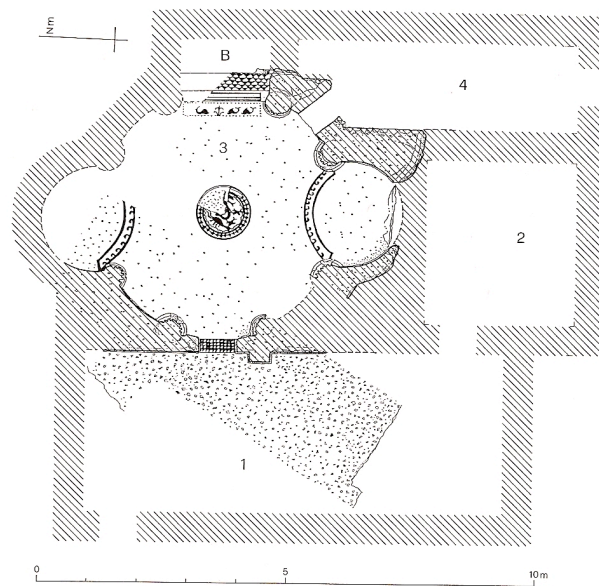


Figure 7.6 Plan, Via Sistina Baths, Rome  
from H. Broise and V. Jolivet (2004) *Musarna 2*. Figure 137, p. 102.

This partially preserved complex contains some noticeable similarities to as well as differences from the early Campanian and Italic examples. Like the public bath complex at Musarna the sweat room is accessed from the change room. It also contains only three rooms with a specific bath function, the change room, sweat room, and hot room. The hot room takes a different form than other

<sup>57</sup> There is no evidence of how the pool would have been heated, although Broise suggests that it would have been the same as at Megara Hyblaea. See Broise (1994), 29.

<sup>58</sup> Broise and Jolivet (2004), 101.

hot rooms prior to and contemporaneous with the Via Sistina Baths. It is round with double apses and is accessed directly from the change room unlike the rectangular hot rooms at Fregellae, Musarna, the Stabian Baths, Republican Baths, and Forum Baths at Pompeii, and the Central Baths at Cales.

The three room arrangement in the Via Sistina Baths is similar to the arrangement at Musarna and the first phase of the public baths at Fregellae, although in the first phase at Fregellae there is no sweat room. In the early Italic public baths there appears to be a focus on three rooms. This is also evident in the domestic example at Villa Prato.

The second phase at Fregellae and the first phase of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii exhibit a more complex arrangement with the gender division and the addition of a sweat room at Fregellae and the cold room in the Stabian Baths. There is also the central benches in the change room at Fregellae, while the benches at Musarna and the Stabian Baths are arranged along the wall.

## **Formal Development**

Only two new public baths are located in Campania in this period. The Central Baths at Cales are more similar to the early Italic public baths at Fregellae in their first phase and to Musarna. They do not have a clear linear progression through varying degrees of heated rooms and the hot room is located to the south of the warm room. This type of arrangement is also evident in the Via Sistina Baths in Rome, which maintain the Italic public bath distribution of change room, sweat room, and hot room.

The engaged columns in the public baths at Caesarea exemplify a continuation of experimentation in public bath architecture. There are no coeval comparanda for this. This monumentality of the public baths visually drawing attention to them through the use of Greek architectural orders and the mixing of the orders, Attic bases with Ionic capitals, demonstrates this experimentation.

The Forum Baths in Pompeii are modelled after the Stabian Baths. They occupy a whole *insula*, are fronted on two sides by shops and have a *palaestra* area that provides limited space for physical activity and socializing. The Forum Baths in Pompeii also have gendered bathing blocks and, like the Stabian and Republican Baths, do not have separate cold rooms. No new innovative features are found in the public baths in this period. The urban context, however, provides important information in the development of public baths.

## **Urban Context**

The urban context of the Pompeian public baths (Figure 7.7) is clearer than the Central Baths in Caesarea and the Via Sistina Baths in Rome due to the unique circumstances of their preservation. All public baths in this period, however, are located within the urban context of the city.

The Stabian Baths and the Republican Baths are still operational during this period. The Forum Baths are a new addition and are nearer to the forum. The construction of these public baths, dated from 80 BC when the city became a Roman colony, *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum*, and their location next to the forum has been interpreted to mean that they were built to provide public baths to the newly arrived Roman citizens.



Figure 7.7 Distribution of Public Baths, Pompeii  
 adapted by author from <http://www.skidmore.edu/classics/courses/2004spring/cl311/pompeii-city-plan.jpg>.

The construction of the Odeon at roughly the same time that Pompeii becomes a Roman colony and F. Zevi's interpretation of the structure to provide a meeting place for the Roman colonists and its location so close to the area of cultural importance to the Oscan population as a visual reminder of the political and cultural change in the community.<sup>59</sup> This could explain the abandonment of the Republican Baths in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. There appears to be a lack of interest in this area during the Sullan and Augustan period with more of a focus on the forum including the construction of a new bath complex.<sup>60</sup>

Pesando further argues that this fits with the change in bathing culture in Pompeii after it becomes a Roman colony. In particular this is the period in which

<sup>59</sup> See F. Zevi, "Personaggi della Pompei sillana," in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1995), 1-24.

<sup>60</sup> Pesando (2002-3), 242.



domestic baths become more prevalent in elite houses signifying a functional end to the Republican Baths, which Pesando believes were reserved for elite use only.<sup>61</sup> This period also witnesses the turning of exercise area into green space for pleasure rather than exercise and the proliferation of domestic baths. The Romans did not have elite military organizations like the Pompeians but rather the formal institution of *salutatio*. The locus for this was in the private sphere and a shift in focus from the public to the private sphere marks this period.<sup>62</sup>

## Conclusions

Peninsular Italy was socially and politically altered after the Social War. The importance of viewing the changes in public baths during this period is to see if there are any changes that resulted from the outcome of the Social War. Did the form and function of the public baths in Campania change in this period? In what areas were the new public baths located? What do we know about the social standing of these people? Who would have benefited from using these public baths?

The changes in the form of the public baths in this period are minimal. The plans follow the precedent of the Stabian Baths and all Campanian public baths in this period retain the bath complex with *palaestra* as a value-added feature. The one partially excavated public bath dated from this chronological period from Rome has some similarities but also differences. It is more similar to the early Italic public baths in the previous chronological period, such as Musarna

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<sup>61</sup> F. Pesando, "Edifici pubblici <antichi> nella Pompei augustea: il caso della Palestra Sannitica," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 107 (2000) 172-173.

<sup>62</sup> Pesando (2002-3), 242-3.

and the first phase of the public baths at Fregellae. Although basing an argument on comparanda of one has its faults, the currently available evidence suggests that the public baths in Rome during this period still retained elements of earlier public baths and that the innovations occurring in Campania had not yet reached Rome.

Greater change is observable in the inscriptions in the public baths during this period. Whereas before local languages, such as Oscan, were the public language there is a shift towards Latin inscriptions. Oscan is the language most closely associated with the Social War. The coinage issued by the insurgents used the symbol of the Italian bull trampling the Roman wolf and *viteliu* to signify Italy. Wallace-Hadrill argues that the spread of the Latin language in Italy did not signify a loss of local identity but rather that it demonstrates 'bilingualism'. Local communities were fluent in their native language, be it Oscan, Umbrian or Etruscan, but were cognizant of Latin and how to apply it in appropriate contexts; for example in military service and trade and commerce.<sup>63</sup>

The situation changes after the Social War and the inscriptional evidence from the Campanian public baths provide proof of this. In the earliest public baths, the Stabian Baths and the Central Baths at Cumae, inscriptions in balneic contexts are in Oscan. The first Latin inscription is in the Forum Baths at Pompeii, the first extant public bath structure constructed after the Social Wars. Whereas before individuals chose to use Oscan as a way of asserting their ethnic identity

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<sup>63</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 89-96.

and communicating with other citizens in the language of the public the situation changes after the Social War.

“But monumental building requires such a concerted attempt on the part of a community, is such a commitment of resource, and leaves behind so conspicuous a public symbol, that it is hard not to read it as a significant statement of identity.”<sup>64</sup> In the Republican period Wallace-Hadrill argues that it is not possible to determine if the adoption of an artefactual styles is voluntary or imposed, conscious or unconscious, significant of identity or not.<sup>65</sup> Only under the Empire when public buildings are erected through imperial patronage is it possible to argue that public buildings represent an expression of communal identity.<sup>66</sup>

Wallace-Hadrill points out that it is significant that all the sites that had major building projects in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC were independent *socii*. These were not areas that were under direct Roman rule but rather had the autonomy to make their own decisions regarding what architectural complexes to include within their urban framework.<sup>67</sup>

In Campania, after the Social War, the form of public baths was still being decided. The essential components had been worked out but there is still no influence emanating from Rome, rather the Roman colonists physically link a bath complex to the Forum and in the process the older Republican Baths, linked

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 103-4.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 128.

to the cultural area of the Triangular Forum and so integral a part of the Oscan cityscape, are abandoned not long after.

## Chapter 8 Augustan Period to AD 79

### Introduction

The third chronological period comprises the public baths in Campania from the Augustan period to the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79. The previous chapter identified architectural changes effected by the dissolution of complex dialectical relationships between Rome and local Italic tribes. After the Social War a unified Roman cultural image was explored. The political turmoil within Rome during this period, however, saw the expression of this cultural image develop outside of Rome. It is not until the Augustan period, when peace is secured in Rome that new architectural forms are found in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

It is only in the Augustan period that Latin terminology can appropriately be applied to the various rooms within the public baths. Despite the numerous inscriptions in balneic contexts and references to public baths in the literary sources no rooms are referred to by the labels commonly applied to the rooms in the modern literature. Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, written before 14 BC, contains the first literary usage of the terms *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium*.<sup>2</sup> Varro's *De Lingua Latina* slightly earlier than Vitruvius' treatise does not include these words and only provides an explanation why *balnea* is declined as it is.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> There are other bath complexes constructed during this period in Pompeii such as the baths in the *Praedia* of Julia Felix and the Sarno Baths. These baths do not fit the definition of public baths within the context of this study and will not be examined.

<sup>2</sup> Vitruv. *De Arch.* 5.10.1-4. See also 8.2.4 for a description of condensation in hot rooms.

<sup>3</sup> Var. *De Ling.* 8.48 and 9.68.

## Forum Baths, Herculaneum

The Forum Baths, measuring 42 x 43 m, were the first public baths discovered at Herculaneum (Figure 8.1) and date from the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>4</sup> The façade along *cardo IV* and the *decumanus* is constructed in concrete core walls with reticulate facing and the other perimeter walls in rubble-work.<sup>5</sup> The Forum Baths were first excavated from 1873 to 1875 and re-excavated by A. Maiuri in 1931.<sup>6</sup> They are smaller than the Forum Baths in Pompeii but have the same gender specific bathing blocks.<sup>7</sup> The complex is located in the middle of *insula 6* within a residential area of the city and in close proximity to the forum, hence their name.<sup>8</sup> The complex does not occupy a whole *insula* but is bound by streets on the north, south and west. The western façade of the complex is comprised of shops.<sup>9</sup>

Entrance (1) to the men's baths and the central *palaestra* is from the north street, *cardo III*, through a corridor. A latrine (a and a') is accessible from the street. A door located on the east side of the corridor leads into the *apodyterium* (A). The *palaestra*, measuring 15.75 x 22.15 m, is colonnaded on three sides with brick columns and pilasters faced with stucco.<sup>10</sup> There are ten

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<sup>4</sup> A. Maiuri, *Ercolano. I nuovi scavi* (1927-1958), I (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1958), 94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 93 and Arnold and Mariette De Vos, *Guide archeologiche Laterza: Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia* (Roma: G. Laterza, 1982), 296.

<sup>6</sup> Maiuri (1958), 91-92.

<sup>7</sup> Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, "The city baths of Pompeii and Herculaneum," *The World of Pompeii*, eds. J.J. Dobbins and P.W. Foss (London: Routledge, 2007), 243.

<sup>8</sup> Maiuri (1958), 91-92.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 100; Koloski-Ostrow (2007), 244.

columns on the long side and eight on the short.<sup>11</sup> There is an alternate entrance to the *palaestra* from the south side of the complex (7).

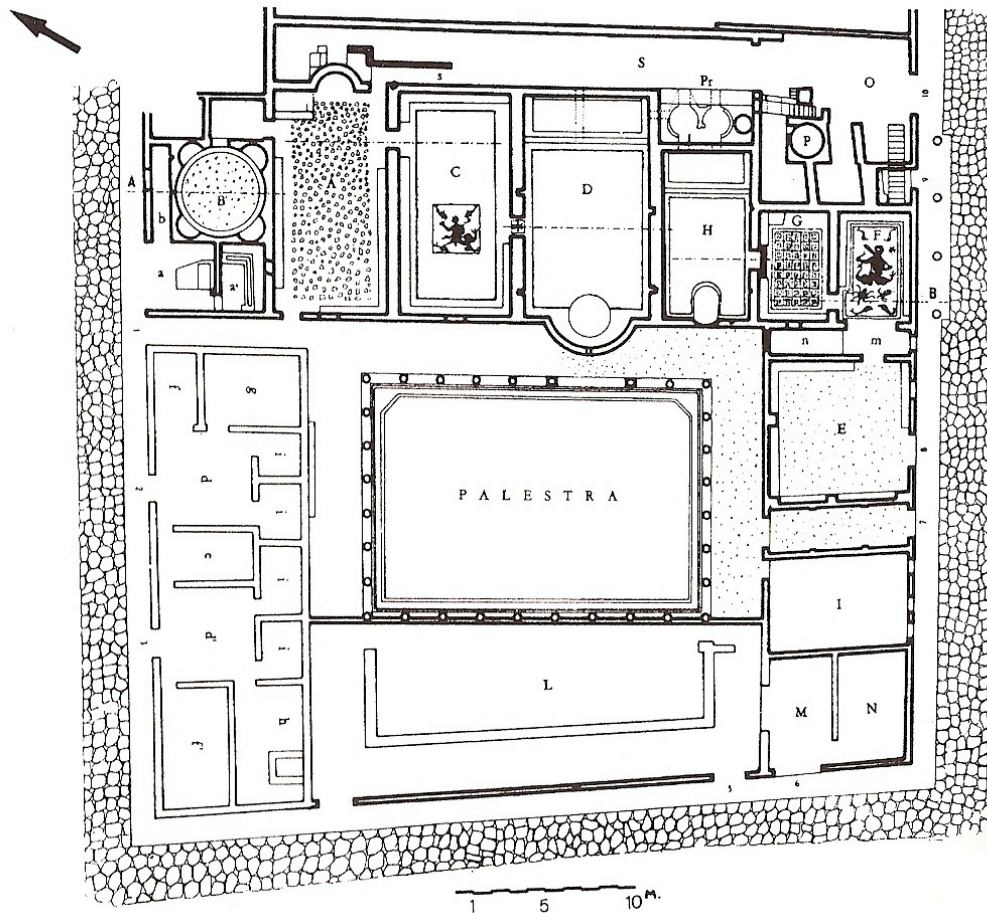


Figure 8.1 Plan, Forum Baths, Herculaneum  
from A. Koloski-Ostrow (2007) "The city baths of Pompeii and Herculaneum." Figure  
15.12, p. 244.

The *apodyterium* (A), measuring 6 x 11.9 m, has concrete benches along the north, south, and west wall with niches above for the bathers' personal belongings.<sup>12</sup> In the apse at the west end of the room is a *cippolino* marble *labrum*.<sup>13</sup> The decoration of the room is simple with white walls with a red dado,

<sup>11</sup> Mairui (1958), 100.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>13</sup> Koloski-Ostrow (2007), 243.

pavement in black, white, and gray marble chips and a strigilated stucco vault.<sup>14</sup>

On the north side of the *apodyterium* a small antechamber leads to the *frigidarium* (B).

The *frigidarium* (B) is circular with four niches. The pool is painted blue and the walls red. The dome was pierced with a skylight and the painted ceiling contains a scene of a fishpond.<sup>15</sup>

Accessed through a door in the south wall of the *apodyterium* is the *tepidarium* (C). Like the *apodyterium* benches surround it with shelves above. There is a black and white figure mosaic floor with a large Triton, a basket of fruit and four dolphins. The floor in the *tepidarium* is not well preserved and has sunk into the space of the hypocaust below.<sup>16</sup>

The *caldarium* (D) has a *schola labri* at the south-west end and a communal immersion tub at the north-east.

The women's bathing block is accessed from the south street (8), off *cardo* IV. It is smaller in comparison to the men's bathing block and does not have a *frigidarium*. Maiuri speculates that the women's baths could accommodate 30-40 bathers.<sup>17</sup> The entrance led to a large, square room (E) with benches lining the walls where clients waited their turn to use the facilities.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 243

<sup>15</sup> A. Maiuri, *Herculaneum*, 6th English ed., trans. V. Priestley (Rome: Instituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, Libreria Dello Stato, 1970), 37; A. and M. De Vos (1982), 296.

<sup>16</sup> Koloski-Ostrow (2007), 244.

<sup>17</sup> Maiuri (1958), 102. De Vos and De Vos, however, estimate 40-50 people. See De Vos and De Vos (1982), 296.

<sup>18</sup> Maiuri (1970), 39.



A small antechamber (m) leads to the *apodyterium* (F). To the north of this antechamber is a small room (n) for the supply of bath linens. The *apodyterium*, measuring 5.75 x 3.85 m, has a black and white figure mosaic similar to the Triton mosaic in the men's *tepidarium* (Figure 8.1).<sup>19</sup> Benches line the walls with recesses above to hold personal belongings.<sup>20</sup>



Figure 8.2 Photograph, Black and White Figure Mosaic, Forum Baths, Herculaneum  
photograph by author

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<sup>19</sup> Maiuri (1958), 103.

<sup>20</sup> Koloski-Ostrow (2007), 244.

The *tepidarium* (G) has a geometrical meander motif for flooring. There is no evidence of a hypocaust or of tubulation and braziers presumably provided heat.<sup>21</sup> Along the walls are benches with extra niches for storing belongings. The *caldarium* has a large marble communal immersion pool at the east end and a podium for a *labrum* no longer *in situ*.<sup>22</sup> The *labrum* was connected to the communal immersion pool by a channel. The Bourbon excavators found a bronze *fistula* for controlling the flow of water from the channel to the *labrum*.<sup>23</sup> The *praefurnium* (P) is located behind the communal pool conveniently placed to heat both the men's and women's *caldaria*.<sup>24</sup>

Maiuri labels (L) a *sphaeristerium*, a room for ball games.<sup>25</sup> There is no direct access from the *sphaeristerium* to the *palaestra*. Access is from the street fronting the room through entrances 4 and 6 on the plan (Figure 8.1).

## Suburban Baths, Herculaneum

The Suburban Baths in Herculaneum, based on the construction technique of concrete core walls with reticulate facing, date from the late Augustan or Julio-Claudian periods, although the painted decoration in the Fourth Pompeian style suggest reconstruction in the Flavian period.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> De Vos and De Vos (1982), 297.

<sup>22</sup> Koloski-Ostrow (2007), 244-5.

<sup>23</sup> De Vos and De Vos (1982), 297.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 297.

<sup>25</sup> Maiuri (1958), 109. For more on ancient descriptions of the *sphaeristerium* see Pliny *Ep.* 5.6.25 and 2.17.11.

<sup>26</sup> Umberto Pappalardo and Ivan Varriale, "The Suburban Baths of Herculaneum," *Cura Aquarum in Ephesus* vol. 2, ed. G. Wiplinger (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 423 and Umberto Pappalardo, "The Suburban Baths of Herculaneum," *Roman Baths and Bathing Part 2: Design and Context*, eds. J. DeLaine and D.E. Johnston, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* no. 37 (Portsmouth, Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 231.

The building measures 19.7 x 27.6 m and is located close to the ancient beach. The complex spreads out over three levels, the *palaestra* terrace, the bathing rooms and the heating and water systems located below the bathing rooms.<sup>27</sup>

The main entrance to the complex is from the north going up the stairs and leading to the open terrace (Figure 8.3). Located in the centre of this terrace was the statue and cenotaph of Marcus Nonius Balbus, proconsul of Crete and Cyrene.<sup>28</sup> U. Pappalardo argues that Marcus Nonius Balbus gifted the Suburban Baths to the town and that the baths were once part of the House of the Relief of Telephus.<sup>29</sup>

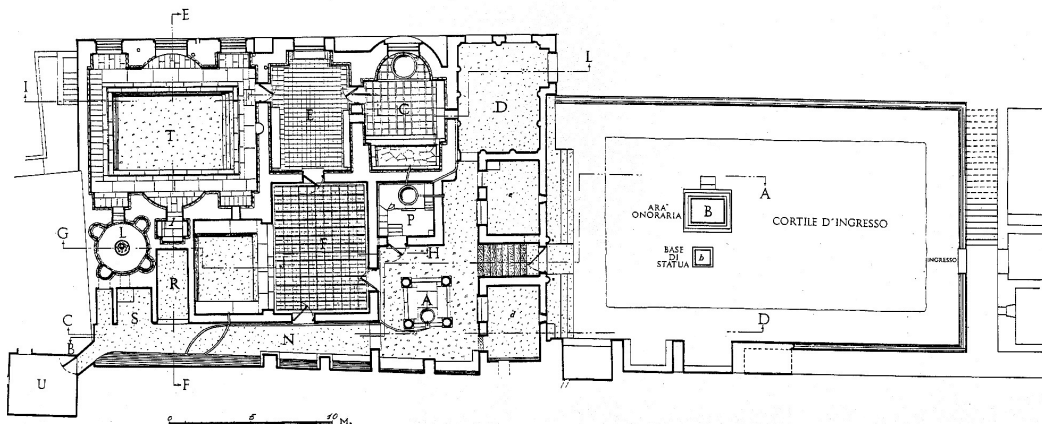


Figure 8.3 Plan, Suburban Baths, Herculaneum  
from U. Pappalardo (1999) "The Suburban Baths of Herculaneum." Figure 2, p. 230.

<sup>27</sup> The basement of the public bath complex has not been completely excavated. See Pappalardo (1999), 229, no. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Mario Pagano, "Iscrizione della statua di Marco Nonio Balbo posta davanti alle Terme Suburbane," *Rivista Di Studi Pompeiani* 2 (1988), 238-9.

<sup>29</sup> Umberto Pappalardo, "Ercolano," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale* suppl. II, s.v. (1985), 484-89; idem and G. Grévin, "Nouve testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo ad Ercolano con un'appendice antropologica," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 104 (1997), 417-433.

From the terrace a wooden staircase descended down to a small tetrastyle atrium providing access to the bathing block. In the centre of this atrium is a *labrum* with an elaborate fountain herm of Apollo with a laurel crown. There is a stopcock located on the floor just before the point where the pipe enters the pilaster supporting the herm to stop the flow of water when necessary although nothing is known of the main water supply.<sup>30</sup>

In the north-east corner of the *palaestra* there are two shops. The west room was a *cella ostiaria* and the shop to the east was a *taberna* but was not in use at the time of the eruption. It contained *tubuli* to repair the heating system, probably damaged in the AD 62 earthquake.<sup>31</sup> The graffiti in this room suggests that the clientele were sailors, dockers and fishermen, and that respectable females appropriately did not use the establishment, but instead frequented the Forum Baths.<sup>32</sup> The plan of the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum has only one bathing block, which further supports this interpretation.<sup>33</sup>

The atrium served as a central hub providing access to bathers and slaves alike. Slaves had access to the service corridor (N) from the north-east corner and the *praefurnium* (P) in the south-east corner.<sup>34</sup> There is no separate *apodyterium* but space was provided (e) for bathers to leave their personal items and

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<sup>30</sup> Pappalardo and Varriale (2006), 425.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 424.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 424. *Apelles Mus cum fratre Dextro amabiliter futuimus bis binas*. 'Apelles the Mouse with brother Dexter; lovingly we twice fucked a pair of women'. See R. B. Ward, "Women in Roman baths," *Harvard Theological Review* 85.2 (1992) 138 with n. 51.

<sup>33</sup> The Suburban Baths and Central Baths at Pompeii also do not have gender specific bathing blocks.

<sup>34</sup> Pappalardo (1999), 234-5.

purchase bathing necessities such as towels and oil.<sup>35</sup> The latrine (d) was also accessed off of the atrium.

To the south of the *atrium* is a room with large arched windows facing south, which may also have been heated.<sup>36</sup> Pappalardo and Varriale refer to this room as a *diaeta*<sup>37</sup> but do not cite on what evidence this designation is made.<sup>38</sup>

To the east of the *atrium* is the *frigidarium* (F) with a rectangular square plunge pool recessed in the east wall. This was set off architecturally from the rest of the room by a raised step leading to the pool and an arched façade. The floor of the *frigidarium* was paved with large white marble slabs with a black bord. The white pavement was likely chosen as a heat repellent.<sup>39</sup> Access to the *frigidarium* was also provided from the servants' corridor (N) in the north wall, however, this door is currently still blocked by volcanic flow.<sup>40</sup> No provisions for storing personal items is found in the *frigidarium* and the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum are unique in comparison to the other Campanian public baths as the only structure without a distinct *apodyterium*.

The *tepidarium* (E) is entered through a wood door from the south of the *frigidarium*. The pavement in this room is black bordered in white, the black retaining the heat, while the white repels the heat.<sup>41</sup> Benches lined the northern

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 235.

<sup>36</sup> Pappalardo and Varriale (2006), 426, no. 27. The floor of this room is sunken, which may have been caused by the collapse of a hypocaust. See H. Sigurdsson et al., "The eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79," *National Geographic Research* 1 (1985), 357-69.

<sup>37</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 2.17 and 6.5; Seut. *Claud.* 10.

<sup>38</sup> Pappalardo (1999), 238 and Pappalardo and Varriale (2006), 427-8.

<sup>39</sup> Pappalardo and Varriale (2006), 425.

<sup>40</sup> Pappalardo (1999), 235.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 235, no. 16.

part of the east and west walls.<sup>42</sup> The walls were stuccoed with seven warriors or heroes in a classical style, conceivably intended to represent the ‘Seven against Thebes’.<sup>43</sup> The *tepidarium* provided access to the *piscina calida* (T) to the east and the *caldarium* (C) to the west.

The *piscina calida* (T), 7.30 x 4.80 x 1.30 m, occupied the majority of the floor space in the room. The water was heated by a system called a ‘samovar’. A metal container 2.1 m in diameter and 0.4 m deep was placed in the centre of the pool and heated from a service corridor under the pool. There likely was some kind of barrier around the ‘samovar’ to prevent bathers from burning themselves on it.<sup>44</sup> In the north-east corner of the *piscina calida* is the *laconicum* (L).<sup>45</sup>

The *caldarium* (C), west of the *tepidarium*, contains a *schola labri* in the south and an *alveus* in the north. There was a double glazed opening above the *labrum* and many fragments of the small glass square are still *in situ*.<sup>46</sup>

## Suburban Baths, Pompeii

The Suburban Baths were excavated from 1985-1987. The baths are located in the south west area of the city outside the Porta Marina (Figure 8.4).<sup>47</sup> The south side of the complex follows the line of the street and the city wall limits the east.

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<sup>42</sup> Pappalardo and Varriale (2006), 425.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 426.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 426.

<sup>45</sup> Pappalardo (1999), 237.

<sup>46</sup> Pappalardo and Varriale (2006), 426.

<sup>47</sup> Luciana Jacobelli, “Le Terme Suburbane di Pompei: architettura e distribuzione degli ambienti,” *Roman Baths and Bathing Part 2: Design and Context*, eds. J. DeLaine and D.E. Johnston, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series no. 37* (Portsmouth, Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 221.

A long wall constructed with concrete core walls with reticulate facing binds the north-west side of the complex.<sup>48</sup>

The complex was arranged over two levels, the lower consisting of the main bath rooms and the upper with panoramic views. The two parts are joined together with stairs. The upper level is also accessible from an entrance at the top of the street.<sup>49</sup>

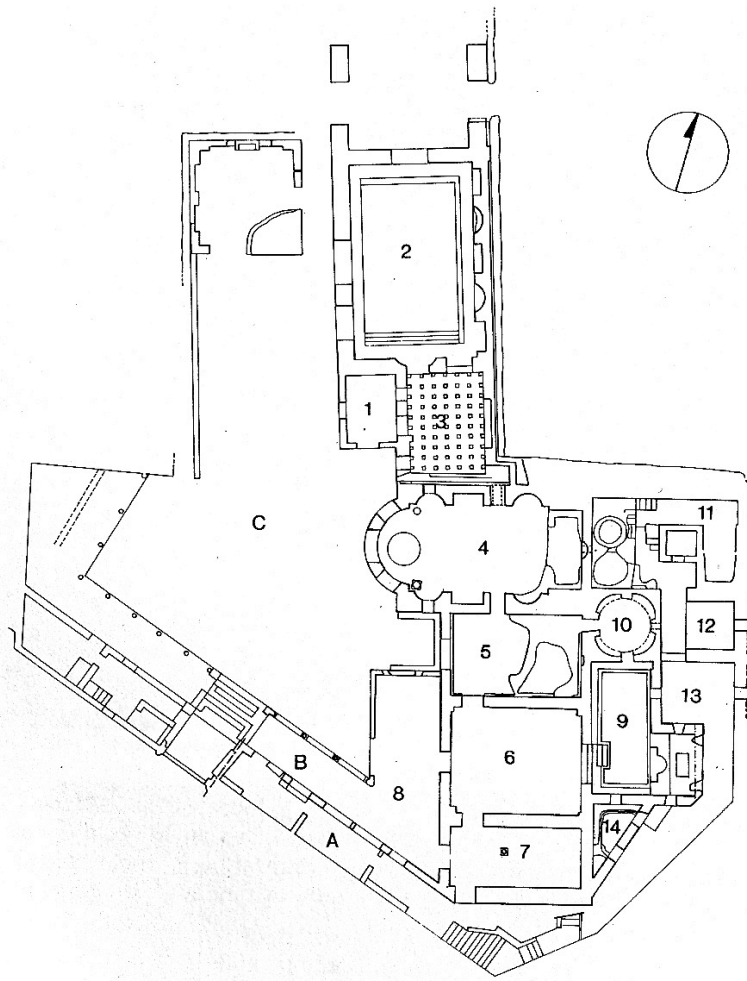


Figure 8.4 Plan, Suburban Baths, Pompeii  
from L. Jacobelli (1999) "Le Terme Suburbane di Pompei." Figure 4, p. 224.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

The main entrance to the complex opens off of Via Marina. To the right and left of this are two stairs, that to the left lead to a sloped walkway and that on the right to a *via tecta* (covered walkway) parallel to the Via Marina, particularly useful in case of rain.<sup>50</sup>

The small staircase led to a courtyard in front of the baths, paved with rectangular pieces of lava and colonnaded on the south and west side.<sup>51</sup> This is quite different from the *palaestra*/courtyard areas of the other public bath complexes in Pompeii, which were colonnaded on three sides. Also, the shape of the courtyard is quite different and the type of paving in the courtyard also suggests that this space was not used for physical activity but instead must have served another function although it adapted elements of the *palaestra*. This space was an area for patrons to gather and meet before enjoying the baths. The space is also more suited to ball games, which were quite popular by this period.<sup>52</sup>

Two stones in grey tufa bearing the inscription L.P.P, *locus publicus Pompeianorum* or *locurm publicorum persequendorum* are located in the *palaestra*/courtyard area. One positioned in the centre of the courtyard and the other in the south-west hall.<sup>53</sup> The stones probably relate to the development of the city by the tribune Suedio Clemente. An inscription bearing his name was found in 1986 when the stairs accessing the *palaestra*/courtyard collapsed. The inscription is comparable with three others found at Porta Ercolano, Porta

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 223.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> See Pliny, *Ep.* 2.17.11 and 5.6.27; Mart. 7.32.

<sup>53</sup> Jacobelli (1999), 223.



Vesuvio, and Porta Nocera recording the *restituto limitum* executed by messenger of the emperor Vespasian to restore to the city the public places appropriated by private citizens.<sup>54</sup>

The bath rooms are composed of ten rooms along the north-south axis of the whole complex. The rooms are located in an area receiving maximum sunlight from a south and east exposure. Access to the bath rooms is through a hallway (B), with windows on the south side to let in light and the north partially opened by the continuation of the south colonnade of the courtyard. Another hallway (A) running parallel to this one, likely contained food and wine shops.<sup>55</sup>

There are two identifiable building phases. The first, dated from the first decades of the first century AD, and the second, dated from after the AD 62 earthquake, enlarged the complex with the addition of three rooms to the north and of a hallway in the west (1,2,3, and 8).<sup>56</sup> In the years prior to the AD 79 eruption of Vesuvius the decorative ensemble of the complex was undergoing modernization.<sup>57</sup>

The first phase consisted of the rooms 7, 6, 5, and 10. The *apodyterium*, *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *laconicum*. Rooms 9 and 4 were the cold pool and the *caldarium*. Although these were part of the original first phase of the building these rooms underwent much modification in the second phase. There is an axial

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 224.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

progression through the *apodyterium*, *frigidarium*, and *tepidarium*. Doorways along the same axis allowed access to the various rooms.<sup>58</sup>

The *apodyterium* has a white mosaic floor. The walls of the *apodyterium* are painted with erotic scenes, numbered one to eight. Traces of iron below these suggest that the scenes were a way for the clientele to remember where they had deposited their belongings.<sup>59</sup>

Next is the *frigidarium* which is a room quite innovative with respect to the Pompeian *frigidaria*. The earlier public baths, such as the Stabian Baths and the Forum Baths in Pompeii and in Herculaneum, had circular *frigidaria*, while the *frigidarium* in the Suburban Baths at Pompeii, as well as the Central Baths and the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum had square/rectangular *frigidaria*. It is paved in marble, most of it robbed away in antiquity, and the walls are also of marble with stucco.<sup>60</sup> Originally the west wall was closed and had three niches. The two side niches were closed and the central one used to create another entrance off of the extended hallway (8).

On the east side of the room is the entrance to the cold swimming pool (9). This room is not roofed and provided illumination for the whole building, not only for the bath room but also for the upper level. On the east side of the pool is a mosaic *nymphaeum* with a waterfall cascading over seven grades before flowing into the pool. The *nymphaeum* was connected to three cisterns on the upper level, probably connected to the aqueduct.<sup>61</sup> Panels of Nereids, various fish and a Nile

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 225.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

scene all on a blue background decorate the walls creating an opulent and unified decorative ensemble.<sup>62</sup>

To the north of the *frigidarium* is the *tepidarium*, off of which the *laconicum* is accessed. The *laconicum* is a circular room with four niches in the wall. There is no *oculus* in the cupola but there is a rectangular window decorated in stucco on the south wall. The room is lacking decoration except for the white mosaic floor with a dolphin and a trident. The room is fitted with both hypocaust and tubulation.<sup>63</sup>

To the north of the *tepidarium* is the *caldarium*, with an apsidal window on the western side. The outside of the apse is decorated in polychrome panels. Space was allocated for a *labrum* but only traces of the base remain. On the opposite side from the *labrum* was a rectangular immersion pool. Each of the long walls have three niches inserted with tubs.<sup>64</sup>

The *caldarium* has both a hypocaust and tubulation. Two marble bases are found in the apsidal wall supporting two columns. Their function is not structural but rather to frame the panoramic window. The present arrangement of the *caldarium* appears to belong to the second phase. Modifications are visible above the apsidal area.<sup>65</sup> A greater understanding of the form of this room in its first phase is currently not possible.

Rooms 1, 2, 3 and 8 belong to the second phase. They use a different construction technique, both concrete walls with a mixture of facing and

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 226-7.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

concrete walls faced with course bricks.<sup>66</sup> Rooms 1, 2 and 3 offer an alternative route for the bathers. Room 1 is accessed from the central court and in the north wall there is a tap to supply water to a small *labrum*. This room probably functioned as a waiting room before the bathers entered the *piscina calda*, room 2.<sup>67</sup> The east wall of the *piscina calda* contains alternating rectangular and semicircular niches. Room 3 has hypocaust heating and was a multifunctional room administering to the needs of the bathers before they entered the *piscina calda*.<sup>68</sup> The final modification to the complex in the second phase is the addition of room 8, a hall adjacent to hall B and opening onto both the *apodyterium* and *frigidarium*.<sup>69</sup>

## Central Baths, Pompeii

The Central Baths are the largest public bath complex in Pompeii. They are located at *insula IV* in *regio IX* and occupy the whole *insula* on the corner of Via Stabiana and Via Nola. Dating from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD the Central Baths were still under construction when Mount Vesuvius erupted in AD 79. Decorative elements, infrastructure for heating the baths, and the system for supplying water to the baths were still not in place.<sup>70</sup> The Central Baths, however, do represent an end to the development of the Pompeian public baths and

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 228.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 228.

<sup>70</sup> Paola Bargellini, "Le Terme Centrali di Pompei," *Les Thermes Romains, Actes de la table ronde organisées par l'École française de Rome*, Collection de l'école française de Rome 142 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), 115.

provide a clear progression in style from pre-Roman, late Republic Roman colony, and the early Empire public baths in Campania.

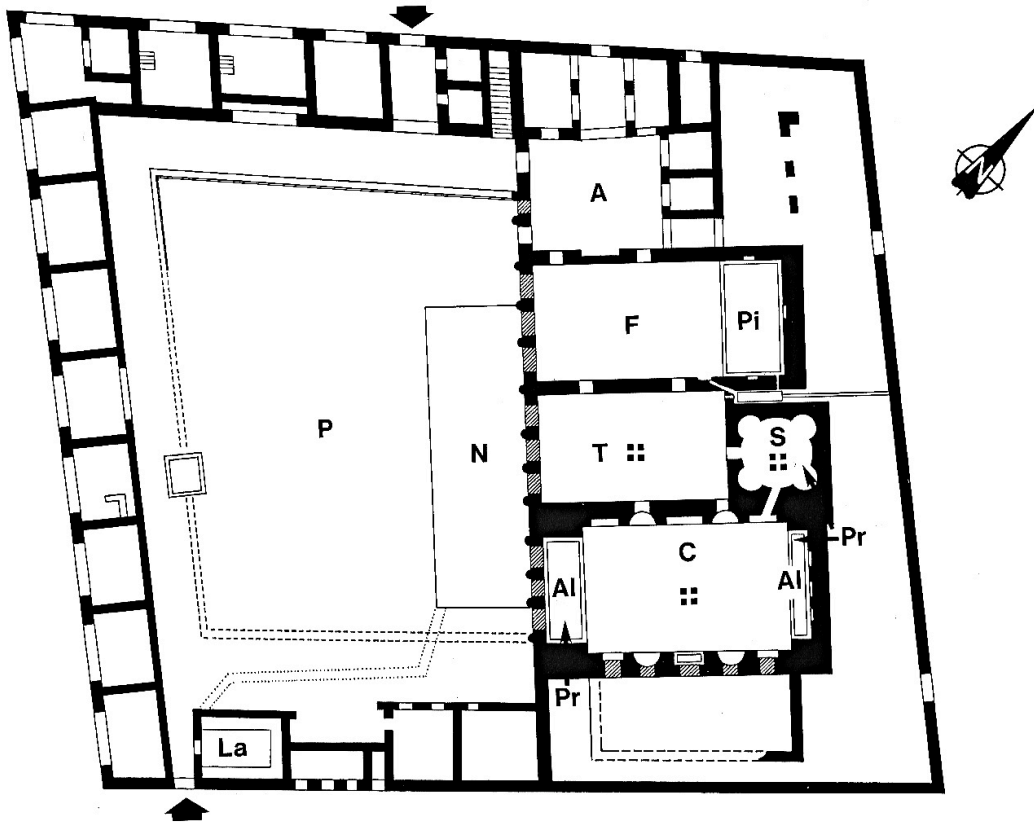


Figure 8.5 Plan, Central Baths, Pompeii  
from I. Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnae* vol 2. Figure 79, p. 100.

The Central Baths, following local tradition in public bath architecture, are organized in two distinct blocks, the *palaestra* and the bathing block (Figure 8.5). Shops also occupy the façade along the two principal streets, Via Stabiana and Via Nola, another common feature of public bath complexes in Pompeii and Campania.<sup>71</sup> The shops are constructed in rubble-faced concrete with blocks of tufa intersected with brick bands unlike the bath rooms, which are either rubble-work or faced with reticulation. Richardson suggests that the difference in

<sup>71</sup> Nielsen (1985), 81-112.

building materials between the rooms associated with the baths and the shops fronting the street may be indicative of different building campaigns and proposes that the shops are older although the absence of plaster suggests that they were not in use by the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79.<sup>72</sup> The Central Baths do not have distinct gender specific bathing blocks, like the Suburban Baths in Pompeii and Herculaneum.

There are three entrances to the *palaestra*, one along Via Stabiana, and another from Via Nola with a third from the alley on the south-east side of the building. The *palaestra* would have been surrounded with porticoes, however, only the travertine stylobate on the north side was in place at the time of the eruption.<sup>73</sup> The north-east side is composed of the wall of the bathing block interspersed with engaged columns and the large windows of the bath rooms. On the north side of the *palaestra* space is set aside for a pool (N).

The bathing rooms were accessed from the *palaestra* by two entrances on the north-east side, one north of the colonnade and one in the open area of the *palaestra*.<sup>74</sup> Room A on the plan has been labelled both an *apodyterium* and as an area of shops to provide bathers with necessary *instrumentum*.<sup>75</sup> No space allocated for the storage of either personal effects or benches provided for socializing in this room.

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<sup>72</sup> Richardson (1988), 286.

<sup>73</sup> Bargellini (1991), 116.

<sup>74</sup> Richardson (1988), 287.

<sup>75</sup> Mau (1902), 209 identifies this as an area for stores, with each of the smaller perimeteral room a separate shops. Nielsen (1990), 2.100 Fig. 79 interprets this room as the change room on her plan of the baths. Bargellini (1991), 117 refers to this room as a vestibule. Richardson (1988), 287-8 interprets these rooms as an area for scraping dirt off of and massaging athletes after their exercise in the *palaestra*.

Mau's interpretation of the rooms does not include a separate *frigidarium* and instead considers room F to be an *apodyterium*.<sup>76</sup> More recent analyses of the plan view this room as an *apodyterium/frigidarium* an arrangement more common in women's bathing blocks, for example the Forum Baths in Pompeii.<sup>77</sup> Along the east wall of the room is a communal immersion pool.

From the *apodyterium/frigidarium* access to the *tepidarium* (T) is provided through two entrances, a new development not discernible in the earlier Campanian public baths. This arrangement would provide easier access to and from the various bath chambers and is exists in all the bathing chambers of the Central Baths.<sup>78</sup>

There is neither a communal immersion tub in the *tepidarium* nor any evidence suggesting that a *labrum* would have been placed within the room. The *laconicum* (S) is accessed from the *tepidarium* along the north wall. It is circular with four niches.

The *apodyterium/frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium* all had three windows facing onto the *palaestra*. The *caldarium* also had five windows along the east wall providing the room with more natural light than the other rooms.<sup>79</sup> Two communal immersion pools are located along the short sides of the walls with space for a third smaller pool in the centre of the east wall. The room would have been able to accommodate twenty-six to twenty-eight bathers at one time. There is no *labrum* in the *caldarium* as in the earlier Campanian public baths.

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<sup>76</sup> Mau (1902), 209.

<sup>77</sup> Richardson (1988), 288 and Bargellini (1991), 117.

<sup>78</sup> Bargellini (1991), 117.

<sup>79</sup> Mau (1902), 210.

Both the *tepidarium* and *caldarium* have a hypocaust and the *laconicum* was in the process of being fitted. The size and number of windows in the complex provided a natural alternative to heat the rooms, although the hypocaust system would have provided the majority of heat to the rooms. The walls were hollow and fitted with *tubuli*. The *praefurnia* were not installed at the time of the eruption.<sup>80</sup>

Richardson's interpretation of the Central Baths is that they were primarily utilitarian and incorporated the latest advances in thermal engineering, the south-west windows to add solar heat to the system of hypocaust and tubulation. The absence of women's baths suggests to Richardson that these baths were intended for young men, further supported by the lack of amenities and annexes for relaxing.<sup>81</sup>

## **Renovations to Public Baths in Pompeii**

### **Stabian Baths**

Some of the earlier public bath structures were renovated to provide the clientele with newer features of the public baths. In the Stabian Baths the large *natatio* along the west side of the *palaestra* was added.<sup>82</sup> The major change to the older structures was the addition of newer heating systems, primarily tubulation in the heated rooms.<sup>83</sup>

The decoration of the men's *apodyterium* is similar to the style in use just before the destruction of the city (4<sup>th</sup> Pompeian wall style). The flooring is gray

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<sup>80</sup> Bargellini (1991), 118.

<sup>81</sup> Richardson (1988), 289.

<sup>82</sup> Nielsen (1993), 1.33.

<sup>83</sup> In the Stabian and Forum Baths at Pompeii. The Republican Baths were no longer in use at this time.



marble, with blocks of basalt next to the walls. The wall painting is white with a red dado and the ceiling is elaborately decorated with stucco relief. Similar remnants of decoration are found in the *tepidarium*. The stucco relief on the ceiling has octagonal, hexagonal, and quadrangular panels of rosettes, Cupids, trophies, and bacchic figures.<sup>84</sup>

The decoration in the *frigidarium* is more elaborate. There is a small *oculus* in the dome illuminating the room. The bath is circular and the edge of the floor surrounding the pool is lined in marble, which extends to the four semicircular niches. The wall and the niches are painted in a garden style with a blue sky above. The blue dome is decorated with stars and the overall feeling of the room is of bathing in the open air.<sup>85</sup>

## **Other Italic Public Baths of the 1st century AD**

This section provides comparanda of Roman public baths. Studies of public baths often compare the Pompeian evidence with other public baths by analysing similar features with a focus on using the material evidence as proof for how 'Romanized' the provinces had become by this period. The public baths, as previously stated in the introduction, are seen as one of the main identifiers in the process of Romanization.<sup>86</sup> While this study is not necessarily concerned with how the formal differences in public bath architecture developed in the Roman provinces, although this is a noteworthy area of study, a brief examination of the physical evidence within Italy itself serves to demonstrate the uniqueness of the

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<sup>84</sup> Mau (1902), 190-191.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>86</sup> See pages 1-4.

Campanian public bath architecture. A brief analysis of public baths in Rome and Italy is presented below.

There is a total of nine public baths in Italy, excluding the Campanian public baths, dated from this period in various states of preservation with some only known from Renaissance drawings.<sup>87</sup> In Rome itself, the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Via Sistina Baths have already been introduced. The Baths of Agrippa are the second extant public bath structure in Rome (Figure 8.6), the Baths of Nero (Figure 8.7) date from AD 62, and the Baths of Titus<sup>88</sup> (Figure 8.8) inaugurated in AD 80 also belong to this period. All are early examples of Imperial *thermae* and are known from Palladio's Renaissance drawings.<sup>89</sup>

The Baths of Agrippa are the first large scale public baths built in Rome. The Via Sistina Baths discussed in Chapter 7 are smaller and exhibit many features of early Italic public baths. The plan of the Baths of Agrippa is known from fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome and from part of the structure that still survives as the L'arco della Ciambella.<sup>90</sup> It is these public baths that are believed to influence the development of public baths in the provinces.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> The following baths will not be examined: Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone) - date from the first half of the 1st century AD with later phases, phase II around AD 200 and minor rebuilding in the 3rd-4th century AD. Built in *opus testaceum* and *opus vittatum*. Ferentum (Ferento) Double Baths - date from the Flavian or Augustan period and constructed of *opus testaceum* and *opus mixtum*. Florentia (Firenze) Capitol Baths 1st century AD and constructed in *opus vittatum*. Massaciuccoli Bagni di Nerone - date from the mid-1st century and constructed in *opus testaceum*. San Gaetano di Vada Baths - date from the 1st half of the 1st century AD and rebuilt in the 4th -5th century AD.

<sup>88</sup> For more on the Baths of Titus see G. Caruso and A. Ceccherelli, "Terme di Tito," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 92 (1987-88), 317-23; G. Caruso, A. Ceccherelli and P. Giusberti, "Scavi alle terme di Tito," *Archeologia Laziale*, 10. Decimo incontro distudio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale (Roma: Quaderni di Archeologia Etrusco-Italica 19, 1990) 58-67.

<sup>89</sup> See above Chapter 1 note 35 on the definition and usage of *thermae*.

<sup>90</sup> Only a brief description is provided here. For more on the Baths of Agrippa see Yegül (1992), 133-7 with excellent notes on the Renaissance drawings and excavations in the area in the late 1800s.

<sup>91</sup> Nielsen (1993), 1.43.

Based on the little surviving evidence, the *Forma Urbis Romae* and Renaissance drawings some information can be gleaned about the form.<sup>92</sup> The rotunda, of which part survives in the L'arco della Ciambella, is too large to have been the *laconicum* referred to by Cassius Dio. Nielsen interprets it as a *frigidarium*.<sup>93</sup> The *caldarium* has three pools and is flanked by two apsidal chambers that were likely *tepidaria*. The complex also included a *palaestra* and a large garden area. It is uncertain from the plan if there were gender specific bathing blocks.<sup>94</sup>

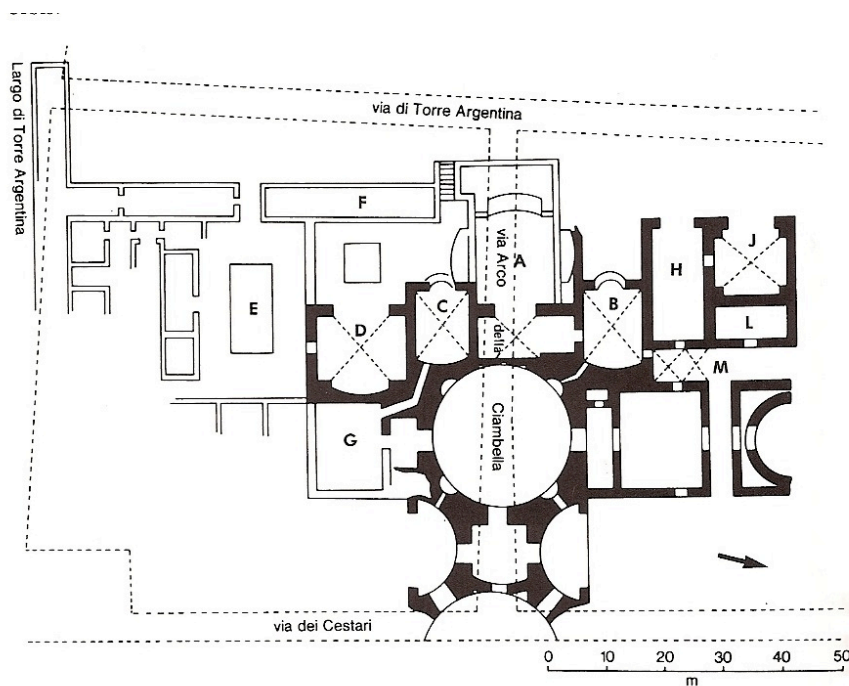


Figure 8.6 Plan, Baths of Agrippa, Rome  
from F. Yegül (1992), *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*. Figure 145, p. 134.

<sup>92</sup> Cass. Dio. 53.27.1.

<sup>93</sup> Nielsen (1993), 1.44 and see note 55 for other interpretations. The diameter of the rotunda is around 25 m compared to 6.52 m in the Stabian Baths.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-45.

The Baths of Nero and the Baths of Titus are much larger than Campanian public baths and have a symmetrical arrangement of the gendered division of bathing blocks, which is not seen in the Campanian public baths. The women's baths in the Campanian public baths still lack a separate *frigidarium* and there is even a move away from gender division in the public baths. Whether this implies that structures lacking two distinct bathing blocks, such as the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum and the Suburban and Central Baths at Pompeii were constructed for a male clientele or that there was a change in bathing habits, which no longer necessitated the need for gender separation is not known. Distinct bathing blocks for gender division is still evident, however, in the Italic public baths.

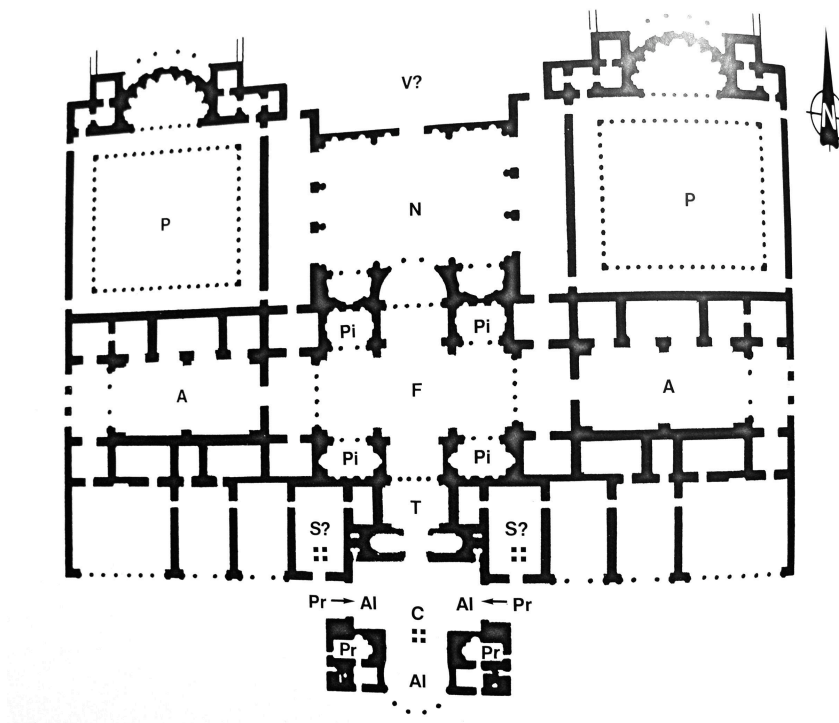


Figure 8.7 Reconstruction of Plan, Baths of Nero, Rome from I. Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnae* vol 2. Figure 51, p. 84.

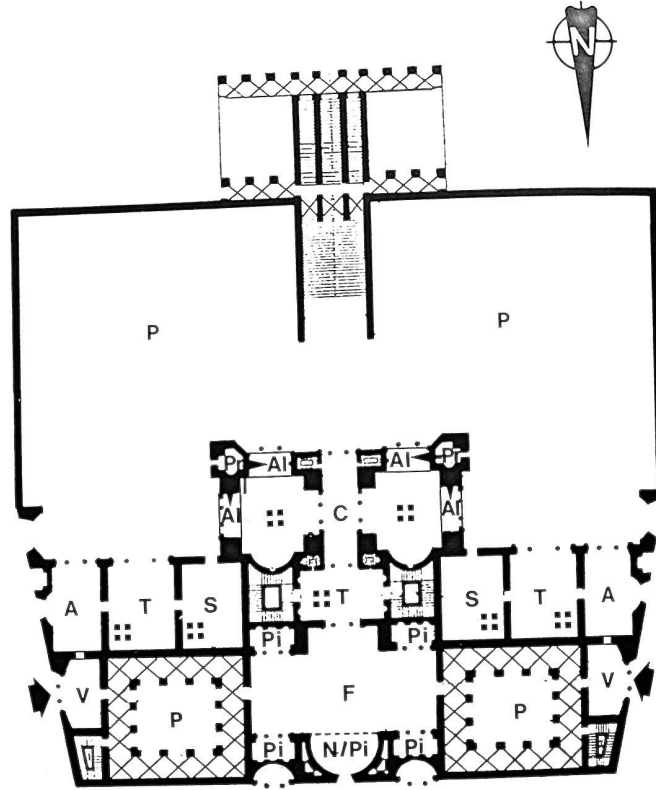


Figure 8.8 Reconstruction of Plan, Baths of Titus  
from I. Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnae* vol 2. Figure 52, p. 4.

The Teate Marrucinatorum Baths in Chieti (Figure 8.9) and Faesulae Baths in Fiesole (Figure 8.10) provide examples of public baths that are not associated with Imperial constructions projects, such as the Baths of Nero and the Baths of Titus. The Teate Marrucinatorum Baths, constructed in rubble-work, date from the Augustan period. They are rebuilt during Hadrian's reign.<sup>95</sup> The public baths maintain the same row type progression through the bath chambers but the *laconicum* (S) is placed within the sequence before the *caldarium* (C) and not off to the side as in the Central Baths at Pompeii and the Suburban Baths at

<sup>95</sup> F. Bellini Delle Stelle, A. Mannari and R. Sabelli, *Le terme romane di Fiesole* (Fiesole, 1984); R. Sabelli, "Le Terme," *L'area archeologica di Fiesole. Rilievi e ricerche per la conservazione*, eds. L. Marino and C. Nenci (Firenze: Restauro Archeologico 3, 1995), 63-66, 109-12.

Herculaneum. There is also more innovation in the design with the pools in the *frigidarium* placed in niches in the corners of the room. The plan has no *palaestra* area for sports nor is the complex fronted by shops.

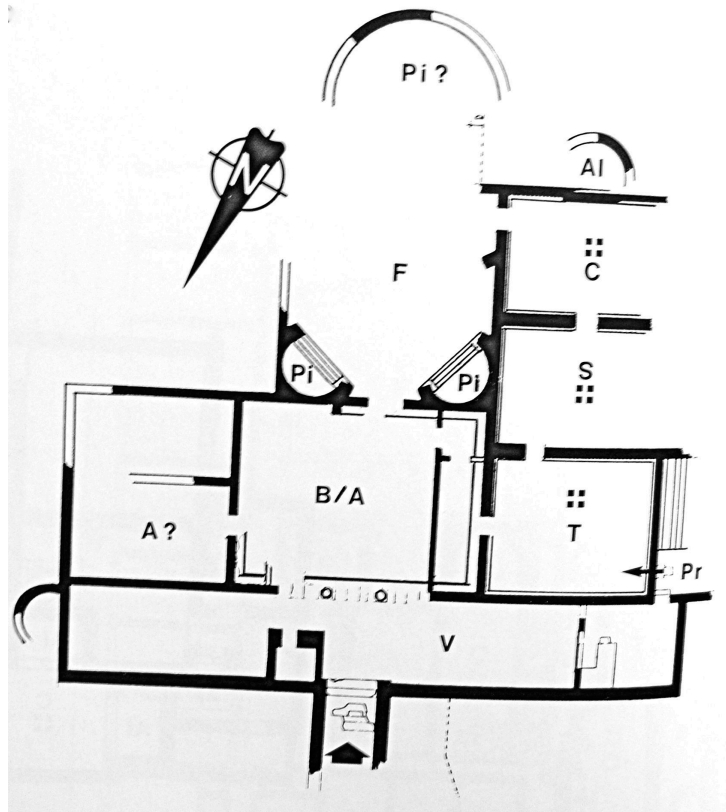


Figure 8.9 Plan, Teate Marrucorum Baths, Chieti  
from I. Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnae* vol. 2. Figure 82, p. 102.

The Faesulae Baths in Fiesole date from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD and are constructed in concrete core walls faced with course bricks.<sup>96</sup> The row type progression through the bath rooms is maintained in the plan and there is a *palaestra* area with a large *natatio* occupying the centre. The complex is not

<sup>96</sup> For more on the Teate Marrucorum Baths see S. Agostini and A. Campanelli, "La rete infrastrutturale di Chieti romana: nuovi dati sull'urbanistica di Teate Marrucorum," *Bollettino di archeologia subacquea* 2-3 (1995-96), 209-17; S. Agostini, M. Mariottini J. Romano et al., "Polychrome stones from the Roman baths in Chieti (Abruzzo, Italy)," *ASMOSIA, 6. Interdisciplinary studies on ancient stone. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity. Venice, June 15-18 2000* (Venezia, 2002) 73-78

fronted by streets and the *palaestra* is accessed by steps. No rooms are arranged around the *palaestra*, which suggests that the focus is not on the athletic activities but on the bath complex.

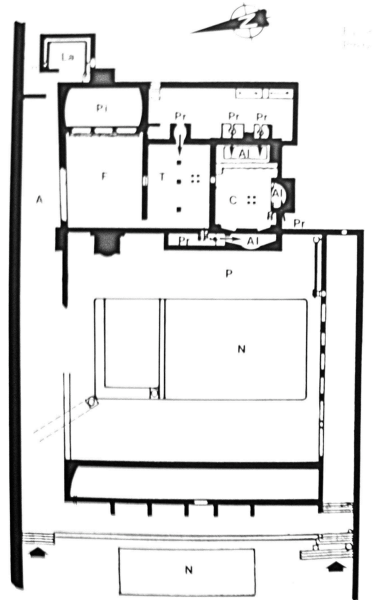


Figure 8.10 Plan, Faesulae Baths, Fiesole  
from I. Nielsen (1993) *Thermae et Balnae* vol. 2. Figure 86, p. 104.

The public baths introduced above, particularly those in Rome, are all examples which are normally referred to as *thermae*. The earliest extant public baths in Rome, excluding the Via Sistina Baths of the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, are all imperial *thermae*. The Baths of Agrippa are the first in this tradition and part of Augustus program of creating a new visual expression of the *imperium* of Rome.<sup>97</sup> The importance of this program is acknowledged by Augustus in the *Res Gestae*, where Augustus lists all of his euergetism. It is also stressed in Suetonius'

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<sup>97</sup> P. Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius*, ed. J. G. Younger (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 3.

biography of Augustus when he states that Augustus could boast that he found Rome built of brick and left it in marble.<sup>98</sup>

It is only after large scale public baths are constructed in Rome itself that public bathing as a social phenomenon becomes more widespread. No other public baths have been located, to date, within Rome itself. It is also this period that Vitruvius' treatise on architecture discusses Roman public baths and the terms *frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium* first enter into the historical record. None of the surviving balneic inscriptions contain these terms and the only inscription that names a specific room is the inscription in the Stabian Baths detailing the renovations to the structure shortly after Pompeii becomes a Roman colony in 80 BC.<sup>99</sup> The two rooms listed are the *laconicum* and the *districtarium*, both rooms normally associated with *palaestra*. This is also the only known use of the word *districtarium* in a balneic context.<sup>100</sup>

While it may at first appear to be counter-productive to compare public baths in a small provincial town, such as Pompeii and Herculaneum, with large scale imperial *thermae* this is the only physical evidence that exists for this time period.

## Formal Development

The public bath complexes within this chronological period reveal a number of changes from the preceding chronological periods. The Central Baths, in the

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<sup>98</sup> Seut. *Aug.* 18.3.

<sup>99</sup> The first use of these terms in association with specific rooms in a public bath is in Vitruvius' *De architectura*.

<sup>100</sup> See Nielsen (1993), 1.165.



process of being built but not yet completed, provide the best example of these changes.

New building techniques are incorporated into the plan of this structure, particularly the inclusions of large windows. This is not limited to this structure, however, and the same development is evident in the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum.

Another notable difference is that it is during this chronological period that the first public baths are located in suburban contexts. This is quite different from the development in Greece where the earliest public baths are located on the periphery of urban centres and then are gradually incorporated inside urban contexts. The early Italic and Campanian public baths are predominantly located within urban contexts, at least from the surviving examples. It is only in the Empire that public baths appear in suburban contexts.

## **Urban Context**

The Suburban Baths located by the Porta Marina are the only suburban public baths in Pompeii currently excavated. Inscriptional evidence, however, suggests that other suburban public baths did exist. An inscription found near the Porta Ercolano refers to a suburban bath owned by Marcus Crassus Frugi.<sup>101</sup> The owner of these baths has frequently been cited as M. Crassus Frugi, consul in AD 64 based on a passage in Livy.<sup>102</sup> The location of these baths is unknown and likely

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<sup>101</sup> Mau (1902), 408. THERMAE M CRASSI FRVGI AQVA MARINA ET BALN AQVA DVLCI IANVARIVVS L "Bathing establishment of Marcus Crassus Frugi. Warm sea baths and freshwater baths. (Superintendent) the freedman Januarius."

<sup>102</sup> Livy, *NH* 31.5. See Fagan (1999), 62-3 for a discussion on the ownership of these baths and the dual modes of bathing referred to in the inscription.

not the extant suburban baths by the Porta Marina.<sup>103</sup> Estimates on the date of these baths ranges from the reign of Tiberius to Nero.<sup>104</sup>

A second inscription refers to another bath building dated from the early Empire. A *graffito* found outside the Porta Nocera reads *balneus Agrippae*.<sup>105</sup> Fagan provides an alternate reading of this *graffito* suggesting that *balneus* could also refer to staff members associated with a bath building.<sup>106</sup> This *graffito* along with the baths of M. Crassus Frugi and the Suburban Baths by the Porta Marina provide evidence of a change in the urban context of public baths.

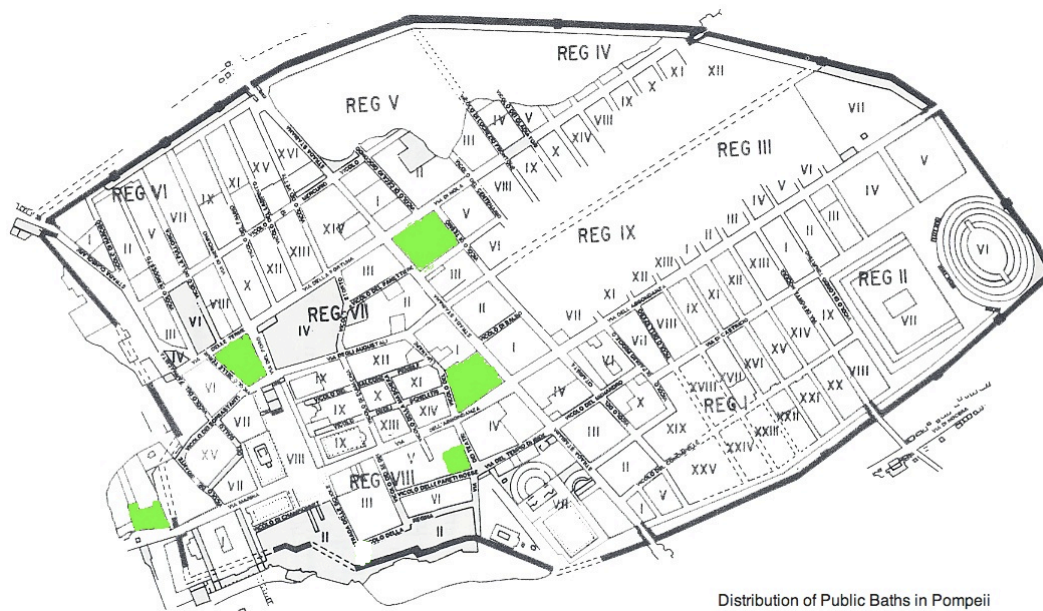


Figure 8.11 Distribution of Public Baths, Pompeii  
adapted by author from <http://www.skidmore.edu/classics/courses/2004spring/cl311/pompeii-city-plan.jpg>.

<sup>103</sup> For more on the proposed locations for these baths see Fagan (1999), 63, no. 76.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 62, no. 74.

<sup>105</sup> *CIL* IV, 3878.

<sup>106</sup> Fagan (1999), 63.

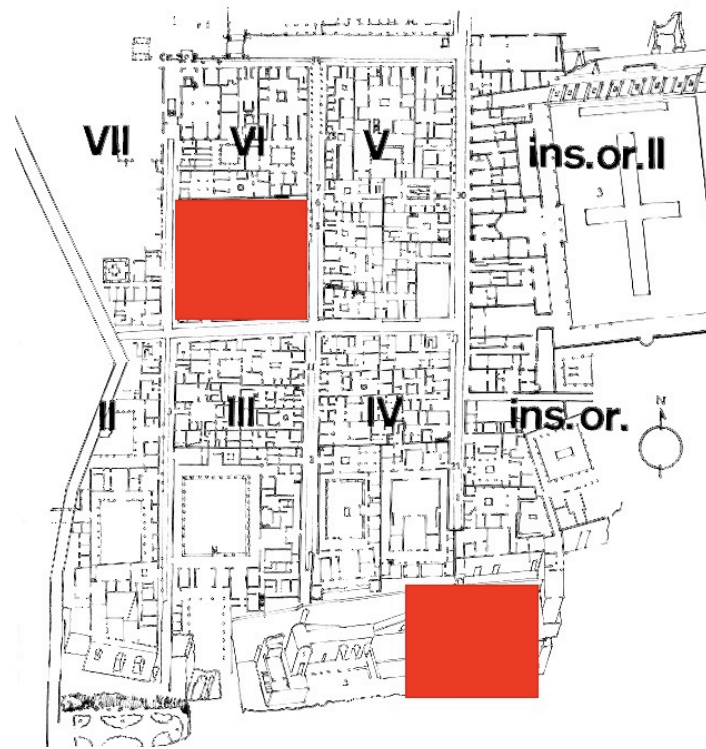


Figure 8.12 Distribution of Public Baths, Herculaneum  
 adapted by author from <http://academic.reed.edu/humanities/110Tech/RomanAfrica2/map2.jpg>

## Conclusions

The discovery of the Suburban Baths is important in arriving at a fuller understanding of the Campanian public baths, particularly the development from the early Stabian Baths to the post-earthquake construction of the Central Baths, not completed by the time of the destruction of the city in AD 79. They fill a lacuna of knowledge on the response and the realization of new thermal architecture.

The location of public baths changes in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods with two known suburban public baths and inscriptional evidence suggesting the existence of at least two other structures. The suburban public

baths at Pompeii and Herculaneum are located close to the shore and both have only one bathing block, a development also seen in the Central Baths. Either the social practice of public bathing in Campania was no longer segregating clientele based on gender or were built for a specific clientele. The public baths at Chieti and Fiesole also have only one bathing block but this is not a widespread development as the reconstructed plan of the the Baths of Nero and the Baths of Titus still have gender specific bathing blocks. More likely these public baths were constructed to serve a particular clientele and the graffiti in the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum provide evidence of this.

Influence is now from Rome - this is part of the Augustan revival of the city. All of Italy is unified and the architecture can now be referred to as Roman. The public baths in Campania in this chronological period can now be referred to as Roman baths and the application of the term place these baths within the social institution of public bathing in the Roman world.

Returning to the working definition of the Pompeian/Campanian public bath type referred to in the Introduction the definition does not apply to all public baths in Campania. Rather, the definition as first defined by Yegül - a bath complex occupying a complete city block bordered on one or more sides with shops and a clear definition between the bath rooms and *palaestra*<sup>107</sup> - only applies to three of the five public baths in Pompeii: The Stabian, Forum, and Central Baths. None of the other Campanian public baths - the Central Baths at Cumae, the Republican and Suburban Baths at Pompeii, the Forum and Suburban

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<sup>107</sup> Yegül (1992), 57. See also page 14 above.

Baths at Herculaneum, and the Central Baths at Cales - can be classified as Yegül's Pompeian/Campanian public bath type as they either lack the frontage of shops or do not have a *palaestra* area associated with them.<sup>108</sup>

A characteristic shared by most, though not all, of the Campanian public baths is the inclusion of a cold room. Only two public baths, the Central Baths at Cumae and Cales both of which are only partially excavated, do not have a cold room. While the Italic public baths are characterized by heated communal pools and only three rooms with balneic function, the Campanian public baths add a cold room to this basic function.

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<sup>108</sup> The Central Baths at Cumae are only partially excavated but do not have a frontage of shops nor a *palaestra* area. The Republican and Suburban Baths at Pompeii do not have a frontage of shops. The Forum Baths at Herculaneum do not have a frontage of shops. The Suburban Baths at Herculaneum do not have a frontage of shops nor a *palaestra*, although they do have a central courtyard. The Central Baths at Cales are only partially excavated but do not have any evidence suggesting that they were fronted by shops and only an area presumed to be a *palaestra* but not definitely designated as such.

## Conclusions

The introduction opened with a passage from Tacitus' *Agricola* providing a Roman elite perspective on the process of integrating subjected peoples in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. By the time that Tacitus is writing, AD 98, there is a Roman imperial culture and his statement can be applied to the physical evidence. The development of public baths in Italy is not a part of this process but rather a process that began much earlier in Italy itself.

The physical evidence of early public baths in Campania in comparison with both Greek Hellenistic and early Italic public baths contains noticeable differences. Examining the evidence within the chronological framework used within this study reveals how socio-political events can effect discernible variations in the realization of public architectural forms. The Social War and the concomitant juridical redefinition of Roman citizenship effected a change in the location of public baths in Pompeii. The Republican Baths, linked to elite Samnite social institutions in the Theatre Quarter, are abandoned shortly after and a new public bath building linked to the political and commercial centre of Roman city-scapes, the Forum Baths, is built. Placing the physical evidence within a 'middling' context allows the evidence to be examined outside of broad generalizing contexts such as Hellenization and Romanization.

The Campanian public baths allow for an analysis of the actualization of ethnic identities in an architectural complex from their early development in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the early Imperial period. In the first phase indigenous influences are evident in both the form and the function of the public baths. The

Campanians link the public baths to elite social institutions such as the *vereiia*. The architectural form used is based on the early Italic public baths but in Campania the clear progression through rooms of gradient heat is more pronounced and the cold room is added to the plan.

The Campanians borrow from the Hellenistic and Italic koiné but adapt certain features. The form of the main bathing blocks is similar to the Italic public baths with an emphasis on the heated rooms. When a cold-water bath room is first introduced it is not integrated into this bathing block as is evident in the Stabian Baths and the Republican Baths at Pompeii. The inclusion of a *palaestra* area is also an expression of identity. Elite military training through institutions such as the *campani equites* and the *vereiia* were an integral part of establishing elite identity. The inscriptional evidence from the Central Baths at Cumae and the proximity of the Republican Baths at Pompeii to the Samnite Palaestra establish a link between the two.

It is not until the second chronological period, 80-27 BC, that the material evidence can be termed Roman, although studies of Pompeii have considered and presented the physical evidence as Roman from a much earlier date. Even Mau did not consider Pompeii to have been completely under Roman hegemony before this time and he states “the complete subjugation and Romanizing of Campanian, however, did not come till the time of the Social War.” This statement, dating back to the first edition of Mau’s seminal publication on Pompeii in 1899 is indicative of the importance of the Social War in the urban transformation of Pompeii.

Pompeii was not initially a Roman town and interpreting public structures dated from before the creation of the Roman colony as Roman structures does not further our understanding of its complex history. The state of preservation of the city-scape currently visible tends to suggest otherwise and the problems inherent in interpreting a city with a long period of occupation under different ethnic groups, such as the Oscans, Etruscans, Samnites, and Romans not to mention the cultural influence coming from the Greeks in the area needs to be addressed.

In the second period, after the Social War, there is an increase in the number of public bath complexes but the form established from the first period still remains in use. Instead the changed socio-political climate is evident in the inscriptions. The language is now Latin and not Oscan. In Pompeii there is also a change in the urban context. The Republican Baths, which Pesando argues are intimately linked to the Oscan cultural centre of the city, are abandoned sometime after the foundation of the Roman colony. A new public bath is built from public funds and is located by the Forum shifting focus to the Roman political centre. The Forum Baths are more similar to the Stabian Baths than the Republican Baths. The Republican Baths, although considered public baths by the definition provided in the Introduction, were likely reserved for the elite and were smaller than the Stabian Baths.<sup>1</sup>

The final chronological period, the early Empire, is firmly entrenched in a Roman world view, yet the physical evidence is clearly still related to the earlier

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<sup>1</sup> See above Chapter 6 note 125.



development of public baths. It is within this period that architectural styles from Rome have more of an impact upon former Italian colonies and the provinces. As previously stated, however, even with the advent of a unified Imperial culture how this culture was adapted by various ethnic groups, even outside of Italy, is informative of how different ethnicities acculturated themselves.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See for example Woolf (1997).

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## Appendix A: Glossary of Architectural Terms<sup>1</sup>

*Opus caementicium* - concrete wall with rough undressed stones

*Opus figlinum* - pavement of rectangular tesserae in a basket weave pattern

*Opus incertum* - concrete core wall faced with small irregular stones. Referred to as rubble-work.

*Opus latericium* - concrete core wall faced with courses of brick, sometimes also referred to as *opus testaceum*

*Opus mixtum* - concrete core wall faced with more than one style

*Opus quadratum* - cut stone wall with cement core

*Opus quasi-reticulatum* - concrete core wall faced with irregular stones in a net-like pattern

*Opus reticulatum* - concrete core wall faced with diamond shaped bricks in a net-like pattern

*Opus sectile* - pavement with larger irregular stone, marble or tile slabs

*Opus signinum* - waterproof lime mortar pavement inset with inset stone or tile

*Opus spicatum* - pavement of stone blocks or tile in a herringbone pattern

*Opus testaceum* - concrete core wall faced with courses of brick, also referred to as *opus latericium*

*Opus vittatum* - concrete core wall with tuffa blocks intersected with brick bands

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<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Adam (1994).