

**THREE STUDIES IN ROMAN PUBLIC BATHING**

**THREE STUDIES IN ROMAN PUBLIC BATHING:  
ORIGINS, GROWTH, AND SOCIAL ASPECTS**

By

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## ABSTRACT

For ancient Romans, a trip to the public baths was one of the central events of daily life. The copious physical remains of these buildings have been studied in detail by archaeologists and art historians, but many facets of their history and functioning remain unclear or disputed. This dissertation attempts to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of this core institution in Roman community life. Three aspects are selected for close study: the origins of the baths; the growth of their popularity; and some social aspects of their daily operation. To date these questions have been respectively not satisfactorily addressed, glossed over, or treated only in the most general terms.

The approach taken in the first section, unlike previous studies, is to emphasize the human side of the baths' origins: what drove the Romans (or, more precisely, the Campanians) to create their distinctive bathing facilities? Previous theories, mostly based on archaeological evidence, are examined in detail and found to be unsatisfactory. The admittedly sparse literary and epigraphic evidence is subjected to close critical scrutiny. All three types of primary source are then combined to form a new hypothesis which better fits all the evidence than the often fanciful proposals which still carry currency among Roman balneologists.

Section two is concerned with tracing and explaining the growth in the baths' popularity in the 1st centuries BC and AD. Again, archaeological and written evidence is combined to determine the main periods of growth. In searching for an explanation for the phenomenon, it is suggested that the medical teachings of the famous doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia may have played an important, if not precisely quantifiable, role in the spread of the bathing habit in the city.

The main basis for section three is the tabulated epigraphic evidence, a largely untapped source for the study of the baths. Using these data (as well as material drawn from other sources) an investigation is conducted into the identities, motives, and social statuses of bath-builders and maintainers. In addition, an attempt is made to reconstruct from available evidence the social environment to be found at the baths. In the course of the inquiry, some consequences for broader topics in Roman social history are highlighted.

## PREFACE

The production of this dissertation has been a truly international effort. It was begun and finished at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. However, most of the research and much of the initial writing was done during a study leave to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1989-90), and a Graduate Exchange in Eberhard-Karls Universität, Tübingen, Germany (1990-91). I would like to thank all three institutions for the various forms of financial support (Scholarships, Teaching Assistantships and an Instructorship) which enabled me to complete the work.

Naturally, the number of individuals who offered me help in some form or other during these travels is substantial; I shall try to name as many as space permits, but those not named are no less worthy of my gratitude. First and foremost, my thanks go to my Supervisor, R.J.A. Talbert (UNC, Chapel Hill) for constant and untiring support. The same goes for the other members of my supervisory committee: D.J. Geagan and G.M. Paul (McMaster University). In Chapel Hill, I would like to thank T.R.S Broughton, J. Linderski and G.W. Houston for help and pointers with the substantial *corpus* of both inscriptions. W.J. McCoy is due special gratitude for offering several helpful Hellenic insights on various matters, and for enabling me to view personally many of the sites in Greece by inviting me to be the Teaching Assistant for his 1991 Study Programme in Greece. In Tübingen, I thank F. Kolb for helping me on some matters of German epigraphic terminology. Special thanks go to Janet DeLaine for a most stimulating correspondence, as well as for two offprints. I am indebted also to C. Bruun (Oxford), N. Rauh (Purdue University) and E. Black (Colchester, England) for offprints of their published or forthcoming work. A host of individuals earned my gratitude for bibliographic references, comments and general assistance: K.M.D. Dunbabin, W. Slater (McMaster); R.J.A. Wilson (Trinity College, Dublin); Claude Eilers (Brasenose College,

Oxford); D. Candilio (Museo Nazionale, Rome); Karen Ros (University of Toronto); I. Nielsen, P. Allen, A. Bosman and many other delegates at the First International Conference on Roman Baths, Bath, England, 30 March - 4 April, 1992. Matthew "Tank" Trundle endured the proof-reading.

None of the above should be held accountable for any errors that remain: they are solely my responsibility.

Finally, I would like to thank numerous friends for their encouragement (Andies Bone, Gregory and Holman, Will "Zeke" Wilson, Mike McShane, Bill Newbigging, Bob Parker and Tony "Gob" Saint, to name but a few). Special gratitude is due to my parents -- to whom this work is dedicated -- for their enduring support, both moral and material. Last but by no means least, thanks are due to Katherine for so patiently putting up with me and the baths for so long.

I should point out that just as the dissertation was completed F. Yegül's large book on the baths appeared, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992). A perusal of the work revealed that its focus is yet again archaeological, which goes to highlight all the more the need for a historically oriented study such as this.

Hamilton, Ontario

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for ancient authors used throughout this dissertation are those found in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Those for journals and periodicals are as in *L'Année Philologique*. Other abbreviations, except those for articles in journals which can be readily traced in the main bibliography, are listed below.

ABBOTT & JOHNSON, <i>Municipal Admin.</i>	F.F. ABBOTT & A.E. JOHNSON, <i>Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926)
<sup>J</sup> BALSDON, <i>Romans</i>	J.P.V.D. BALSDON, <i>Romans and Aliens</i> (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1979)
BOETHIUS, <i>Etruscan</i>	A. BOETHIUS, <i>Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture</i> (London: Penguin, 1978, 2nd ed.)
BRUUN, <i>Water</i>	C. BRUUN, <i>The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration</i> (Helsinki: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 93, 1991)
CASTRÉN, <i>Ordo</i>	P. CASTRÉN, <i>Ordo Populusque Pompeianus. Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii</i> (Rome: Bardi, 1975)
CURCHIN, <i>Magistrates</i>	L.A. CURCHIN, <i>The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain</i> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990)
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i>
D'ARMS, <i>Romans</i>	J.H. D'ARMS, <i>Romans on the Bay of Naples. A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and Their Owners from 150 BC to AD 400</i> (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970)
DELORME, <i>Gymn.</i>	J. DELORME, <i>Gymnasion. Études sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce</i> (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome no. 198, 1960)
DUNCAN-JONES, <i>Econ.</i>	R. DUNCAN-JONES, <i>The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies</i> (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1982, 2nd ed.)
DUNCAN-JONES, <i>Structure</i>	R. DUNCAN-JONES, <i>Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy</i> (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1990)
· DYSON, <i>Communitiy</i>	S.L. DYSON, <i>Community and Society in Roman Italy</i> (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992)
EDELSTEIN, <i>Asclepius</i>	E.J. & L. EDELSTEIN, <i>Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies</i> , 2 vols. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1945)

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- JMA *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
- JOUFFROY, *Construction* H. JOUFFROY, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (Strasbourg: AECR, 1986)
- JRA *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno* A.O. KOLOSKI OSTROW, *The Sarno Bath Complex* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1990)
- KRUG, *Heilkunst* A. KRUG, *Heilkunst und Heilkult. Medizin in der Antike* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985)
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## CHARTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Baths stood at the heart of Roman community life. By the High Empire, they were to be found in every type of settlement, from cities to forts, from villas to hamlets. They came in a great variety of shapes and sizes, and serviced every sector of society. They have been studied extensively by archaeologists, architects, and historians of technology and art, but the social, human side of their functioning has been remarkably neglected.<sup>1</sup> A study of the baths from this perspective can throw new light on old questions, as well as reveal much about how Roman society operated on a day-to-day basis by examining how the classes interrelated in an informal context. Consideration of who built baths and why illuminates the mechanics of municipal life, the phenomenon of private euergetism and the nature and extent of imperial beneficence. This is the nature of the issues addressed in this dissertation, because thus far they have either been neglected, or have received only perfunctory consideration. The focus of this study is more on people than on buildings.

The dissertation consists of three distinct, but interconnected, sections. In the first, the difficult question of the origins of Roman baths is addressed. The evidence is fully reviewed, and previous theories (often fanciful) are discussed in detail. The material presented here is largely archaeological, and there is a necessary reconsideration of a key issue that has troubled previous students of the subject, namely: Were the baths an Italian development, or the result of external, mainly Greek, influence? Analysis of the archaeological evidence, as well as close study of the often glossed-over literary and epigraphic testimony, allows a revised solution to this problem.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. DeLAINE, "Recent Research on Roman Baths," *JRA* 1 (1988), 11-34, esp. 27-29.

All this may seem to stray from the main "people-not-buildings" theme. However, central to the debate on origins is a simple question, for the most part not asked in prior studies: *why* did the Romans develop their peculiar style of bath building? In other words, what motivated them to develop the new technologies found in these establishments? Whereas previous studies have implicitly assumed that bathers adapted their practices in response to technological developments, it is, I believe, better to proceed from the supposition that the baths developed to suit the practices of bathers. Such an approach proves instructive.

In the second section, an important yet scarcely investigated issue is examined: the growth in bath popularity. First, the evidence is reviewed to help pinpoint the period of growth to the 1st centuries BC and AD. The vital question is again one of people, not structures: why did the Romans take to bathing in this period? It is all very well, for instance, to point out that improved construction techniques in the 1st century BC facilitated building more elaborate baths, but why apply that technology specifically to baths? Can any reasons be discerned which explain why the Romans bathed? Are there any that can be assigned to the period of growth in particular?

The third and final section is concerned with certain social aspects of the baths, chiefly who built them and why, and what sort of social environment can be reconstructed there. The first of these topics can throw light on the functioning and extent of imperial beneficence, and on the phenomenon of municipal euergetism. The second is concerned less with the traditional discussions of how the Romans bathed -- the uses of the various rooms, for example, or the bathers' progression through them -- and more with attempting to discern what sort of people used the baths, how they interrelated, and what they did there apart from bathing. Written and epigraphic material will be key, but archaeology can also offer information, albeit limited.

\*

Before proceeding, it will be necessary to outline the limits of the study, to discuss briefly the problem of bath terminology, and to sketch the nature of the evidence and the difficulties of using it.

### *Limits of the study*

The volume of primary material for the study of baths is extensive, with useful material found in just about every corner of the empire, from almost every time period. As a result, limitations must be imposed upon the material to be considered.

The subject matter of the first two sections, concerned primarily with developments in Rome and Italy from the 3rd century BC to the end of the 1st AD, imposes automatic restrictions of time and place. However, establishing firm *termini* for the last section proves difficult. In general, the focus of attention is on the evidence from the Western Empire (and so from Latin sources), although material from the East will not be ignored. Chronologically, a similar problem exists. The bathing habit was so widespread and long-lasting that Late Imperial, Christian, and even Byzantine sources can provide evidence. Where possible, I have tried to limit consideration to the High Empire, but some written material from the Late Imperial period is included, because its omission would have been unnecessarily restrictive.

Within these broad geographic and chronological limits, attention is confined to a particular type of bathing establishment: the urban public bath. "Public" here and throughout the dissertation denotes what the Germans call "öffentlich zugängliche Bäder," baths accessible to the public. Confusion with the ancient meaning of *balneum* or *thermae publicae/um*, usually

denoting publicly owned establishments, is therefore to be avoided. The term "public," then, applies here not only to publicly owned facilities (by their very nature open to the public), but also to those establishments in private ownership run as businesses -- the so-called *balnea meritoria*.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, private baths, i.e. those found in villas and town houses, and so restricted to use by the owners and their guests, are largely excluded, although they too could be places for socializing.<sup>3</sup>

However, even among public buildings as just defined, further restrictions apply. As Heinz and Manderscheid have recently pointed out, there were many different sorts of bath open to the ancient populace.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the urban public baths which interest us, there were military, sanctuary and thermal establishments, for the most part typologically indistinguishable from "normal" baths. However, they would have attracted particular categories of customers, and so are largely excluded from consideration. A good example is military bathhouses. Certain evidence strongly suggests that establishments found in or near some forts were open to the inhabitants of the nearby *vici* or *canabae*, as well as to the soldiers.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, *mansio*-baths attached to government road stations may have been used by civilian travellers as well as imperial officials.<sup>6</sup> Such facilities are "public" by our definition, but some uncertainty

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<sup>2</sup> On *balnea meritoria*, cf. Pliny *Ep.*, 2.17.26; H. MEUSEL, *Die Verwaltung und Finanzierung der öffentlichen Bäder zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Köln: n.p., 1960), pp. 23-27; W. HEINZ, *Römische Thermen. Badewesen und Badeluxus im römischen Reich* (Munich: Hirmer, 1983), pp. 23-26; E. MERTEN, *Bäder und Badegesplogenheiten in der Darstellung der Historia Augusta* (Bonn: Habelt, 1983), pp. 2-6, 11, 43; I. NIELSEN, *Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (Århus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), I.119-120, 123-125.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the vigorous postprandial bathing scene at Trimalchio's villa, Petron. *Satyr.*, 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 23-26; H. MANDERSCHIED, "Römische Thermen. Aspekte vom Architektur, Technik und Ausstattung" in *Geschichte der Wasserversorgung. Band 3: Die Wasserversorgung antiker Städte* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1988), pp. 101-125, esp. pp. 104-105.

<sup>5</sup> So, the children's teeth found in the legionary baths at Caerleon, Wales, cf. J.D. ZIENKIENWICZ, *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon II: The Finds* (Cardiff: Welsh Historic Monuments, 1986), p. 244. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.77 states unequivocally that *castellum*-baths which lay outside the fort could be used by civilian populations, and includes such structures in her catalogue of public facilities.

<sup>6</sup> A good example is the *mansio* and bathhouse at Chelmsford (cf. N. WICKENDEN, *Caesaromagus. A History and Description of Roman Chelmsford* (Chelmsford: Chelmsford Museums Service Publications, 1991), pp. 10-13. A more detailed discussion of this bathhouse by P. ALLEN can be expected in the forthcoming publication of the proceedings of the *First International Conference on Roman Baths, Bath, March 30 - April 4, 1992* (to appear as a supplementary volume to *JRA*). In conversation, Mr. Allen told me that the

surrounds the clientele of these buildings -- were all military or *mansio*-baths open to civilians? If so, is there any way to determine what proportion were? More work needs to be done on who used such buildings, but it is reasonable to suggest that an unrepresentative social environment was to be found at these establishments. Given these points, it seems safer to omit them from the present study.

Sanctuary baths were also undoubtedly for public use, but here the majority of the clientele probably comprised pilgrims attending a religious festival or some special event, or simply honouring a deity. As these baths may well have served primarily a religious function, for purposes of purification etc., they too are omitted, although they could probably be used in the "ordinary" manner. In addition, there were the thermal establishments, fed by natural hot water, which attracted people hoping for cures for ailments, or reinforcements of good health. As with military and sanctuary establishments, they could be used in the ordinary manner, but their specific function prompts their exclusion from this study.

A final type excluded is Greek gymnasia of Roman date and the hybrid bath-gymnasia found in the Eastern provinces.<sup>7</sup> The relationship between Greek gymnasia and Roman baths needs further investigation, but it is at least clear that the gymnasium played a specific role in

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bathing establishment was accessible both directly from the *mansio* and from outside, indicating perhaps that it was open for use by bathers from both inside and outside the official building. A similar "road-stop" bathhouse can be found at Valesio in Italy cf. J. BOERSMA, "Le terme tardoromane di Valesio (Salento)" in *Les Thermes Romains. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome* (Rome: Collection de l'École française de Rome 142, 1991), pp. 161-173; cf. also the example from Ad Quintum in Macedonia catalogued by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.43 (C.352). E.W. BLACK is currently composing a book on Britain's *mansiones* and their users, entitled *Cursus Publicus: The Infrastructure of Government in Roman Britain*; he kindly sent me copies of a synopsis of the whole, and offprints of the first two chapters, from which it is apparent that baths were a regular feature of *mansio* facilities (at least in Britain). Indeed, it has recently been suggested that *mansiones* may have formed the core of many small-towns in Britain, in which case their baths would have provided a stimulus to community life, cf. B.C. BURNHAM & J. WACHER, *The "Small Towns" of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford, 1990), pp. 4-5, 12-14 (several examples of *mansiones* with bathhouses can be traced in the Index, *ibid.*, pp. 383-384, s.v. "*mansiones*").

<sup>7</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.104-111; A. FARRINGTON, "Imperial bath buildings in South-West Asia Minor" in THOMPSON, F.H. (ed.), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1987), pp. 50-59. F. YEGÜL's recent book (*Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992]) can be expected to investigate more fully the relationship between Roman baths and Greek gymnasia; at time of submission, I have not seen it.

Greek tradition.<sup>8</sup> How far this traditional role was continued into the Roman period, as manifested in bath-gymnasia, is not clear, but preliminary investigations suggest that it did not disappear.<sup>9</sup> As a result, it is entirely possible that gymnasia and bath-gymnasia served a social function quite different to that of the public baths which interest us, even if there were significant overlaps. Given this, they are best omitted from consideration here. I should add, however, that where evidence pertaining to one or more of the excluded classes of building appears relevant to conditions in urban public facilities, it will be mentioned, with a notation to that effect.

In short, this study will focus on baths found in cities and towns, whether publicly or privately owned, which were open to the public. Most attention will be paid to Western sources, though some Eastern material will be adduced. The Early and High Empires are taken as the central chronological points of reference for the third section, though later evidence will be included where applicable.

### *Terminology*

Among the greatest problems facing the student of the baths is the complicated ancient terminology associated with them. A bewildering variety of terms referring to baths or parts of baths is found in the written evidence, and a full-scale philological study would be required to make sense of it all.<sup>10</sup> There is not the space for such a study here, but some initial observations can be made.

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<sup>8</sup> On which, cf. J. DELORME, *Gymnasion. Études sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 198, 1960).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. FARRINGTON, loc. cit. above in n. 7. A paper by the same author on the peculiarities of Roman baths in the Greek world was delivered at *First International Conference on Roman Baths, Bath, March 30 - April 4, 1992*. It will appear in the publication of the conference proceedings.

<sup>10</sup> A collection of bath-terms from the epigraphic corpus assembled at the end of the thesis is to be found in Appendix 5. For a recent article making sense of some of these terms, cf. R. REBUFFAT, "Vocabulaire thermal: documents sur le bain romain," in *Thermes*, pp. 1-34.

In the first place, very few surviving remains feature inscriptions that can be securely assigned to them. Conversely, very few inscriptions can be associated with known remains.<sup>11</sup> This is even more the case with literary references. As a result, bath elements named in written sources usually cannot be directly compared to known ruins. The wide range of bath types, displaying great variations in size, number of rooms and their relative arrangement makes applying unattached texts to known buildings hazardous. Even when a text clearly refers to a particular building, there are still problems. Aside from the functional elements, with pools and/or heating systems etc., many rooms offer no distinguishing architectural characteristics. So although informed guesses can be made, it remains difficult to identify *basilicae thermarum*, *sphaeristeria*, *cellae balnearum* etc. securely.<sup>12</sup>

But the terminological difficulties run even deeper than this. Making sense of the very terms the Romans used for "bath" presents problems. Two words stand out, *balneum* (and variants) and *thermae*. Both are derived from Greek, βαλανεῖον (bath) and θερμαί (hot). This may or may not be significant;<sup>13</sup> in the case of *thermae*, I have been unable to uncover any pre-Roman Greek usage denoting a bath building. It seems therefore to have been a Greek term adapted by the Romans.<sup>14</sup> This need not surprise: a Greek-sounding name to a type of building developed by the Romans is known in other cases (e.g. basilica, amphitheatre), and may have been considered to lend an air of sophistication to the structure, at least initially.

Determining the distinctions between *balneum*, its variants and *thermae* presents greater difficulties. What, for example, distinguished a *balneum* from *balnea*, or *balneae* from *thermae*?

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<sup>11</sup> Only a handful of texts from our corpus can be assigned to investigated remains; such cases are indicated in the notes to the entries.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.162 (*basilica*), and 165 (*sphaeristeria*).

<sup>13</sup> For Greek baths, cf. below, pp. 43–47.

<sup>14</sup> As was, for instance, "hypocaust," the earliest uses of which appear in Roman sources: Pliny *Ep.*, 2.17.23, *Stat. Silv.*, 1.15.59; cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑπόκαυστον.

Previous students have found this problem intractable.<sup>15</sup> Varro offers an explanation for the differences between the uses of *balneum*, *balnea* and *balneae*.<sup>16</sup> He says that *balneum* referred to private bathrooms. Public baths were called *balneae*, not *balnea*. This was because the first public baths in the city were "double buildings," with sections for men and women, each called *balneum*. Thus, people called their private (single) bath suites a *balneum*. Since public baths were called *balneae*, and private ones *balneum*, as Varro says, the form *balnea* was ambiguous. Was it a female singular of *balneae*, or neuter plural of *balneum*? As a result, language purists shunned it.<sup>17</sup> However, the language of purists was not the language of all, and *balnea* appears frequently in the written evidence (especially the literary sources).<sup>18</sup> Likewise, *balneum*, technically designating a private bath suite, is often found denoting a public facility.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, despite the grammatical injunctions of Varro, the uses of these words displayed little or no order in everyday life, and any could be used to denote a public bath.

The difference between *balneum* (and variants) and *thermae* leads to even more treacherous territory. It is clear from the sources that the ancients drew some sort of distinction between them, although it was *not* the presence of heated elements, as the root meaning of

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 27-29 who despairs of making sense of the ancient evidence; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, l.3 who dismisses it as unworkable. Cf. REBUFFAT, *Thermes*, pp. 23-28 for a recent (if not particularly helpful) assessment.

<sup>16</sup> *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68: *item reprehendunt analogias, quod dicantur multitudinis nomine publicae balneae, non balnea, contra quod privati dicant unum balneum, quom plura balnea non dicant. . . . Primum balneum (nomen est Graecum), cum introiit in urbem, publice ibi consedit, ubi bina essent coniuncta aedificia lavandi causa, unum ubi viri, alterum ubi mulieres lavarentur; ab eadem ratione domi suae quisque ubi lavatur balneum dixerunt et, quod non erat duo, balnea dicere non consuerunt, cum hoc antiqui non balneum, sed lavatrinam appellare consuessent.* Varro's main point, of course, was to clear up matter of grammatical uncertainty, and (as shown above) the average man in the street is not likely to have bothered with such terminological rigidity.

<sup>17</sup> It is never used, for instance, by Cicero.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. e.g. Martial, 1.23, 1.59, 2.14, 3.51, 6.93, 9.19, 10.70, 11.22, 11.52, 12.50, 14.60; and nos. 137 (Table 5); 199(?), 201 (Table 6). In accordance with Varro's grammatical observations, inscriptions often use *balneae* to denote public facilities, cf. nos. 47, 66 (Table 3); 121, 167, 171 (Table 5); 194 (Table 6).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. nos. 1, 2 (Table 1) [cf. no. 218 (Table 7)], 5, 6, 9, 11(?), 12 (Table 1); 21, 25, 41 (Table 2); 45, 50, 52, 55, 58, 62, 63, 71 (Table 3); 73, 75, 76, 77, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 99, 105, 107, 110, 112 (Table 4); 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127, 140, 142, 153, 155, 174, 175 (Table 5); 181 (Table 6); 226, 247, 251, 259, 260, 261, 266 (Table 7).

*thermae* may suggest: *balneum* was habitually characterized as a hot bath.<sup>20</sup> In fact, the nature of the distinction remains a puzzle. Thus, the Baths of Sura at Rome are called *thermae* in the *Notitia*, but labelled *Bal(nea?)* on the *Forma Urbis*.<sup>21</sup> The luxurious baths of Claudius Etruscus are called *balneum* by Statius, and *thermulae* by Martial.<sup>22</sup> And so on. It seems impossible to make any sense of the primary material in this regard. Nielsen, in fact, has dismissed the ancient evidence altogether, and proposed modern definitions based on typological features of surviving remains.<sup>23</sup>

However, certain features of the ancient evidence appear clear enough. Many factors need to be taken into account, most notably the possibility of regional variations in usage and shifts in the application of terms over time. The former would require close study and analysis beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the latter can be traced from the available material, at least in outline. As will be shown below, Republican sources exclusively use the term *balneum* and variants to denote baths (though the Latin designations *lavatum* and *lavarrina* are found, albeit rarely). *Thermae* appears only in the second quarter of the 1st century AD, initially in reference to private establishments.<sup>24</sup> Throughout the High Empire, *balneum* and *thermae* are used about evenly, while in the Later Empire *thermae* becomes more prominent.<sup>25</sup>

This observation, however, does not illuminate the distinction between *balneum* and *thermae*. The fluid ancient application of these terms precludes strict definitions, but suggests

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<sup>20</sup> So, for instance, the *Notitia Urbis Regionum* lists *thermae* and *balnea* separately (*FTUR*, 1.5), nos. 49 (Table 3) and 246 (Table 7) (*balneae* and *thermae* at Lanuvium and Comum respectively). Cf. also Martial, 2.14.11-12, 2.48, 3.20.15-16, 3.25, 9.75, 12.82. For hot *balnea*, cf. e.g. Petron. *Satyr.*, 41; Sen. *Ep.*, 86.10; Pliny *NH*, 23.54, 31.40, 31.102; Pliny *Ep.*, 3.14; Plut. *Mar.*, 12.3.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *FTUR*, 1.5; G. CARETTONI et al, *La Pianta marmorea di Roma antica: Forma Urbis Romae* (Rome: n.p., 1955), fr. 21.

<sup>22</sup> Stat. *Sily.*, 1.5; Martial, 6.42.

<sup>23</sup> NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.3, cited below, p. 62. It may be dangerous to apply modern meanings to ill-understood ancient terms: the possibilities for confusion double.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. below, pp. 69-70.

<sup>25</sup> This can be appreciated by glancing down the "Work Done" columns of Tables 1-6, paying attention to the chronological divisions indicated by broken lines.

that *thermae* were larger and grander structures, more luxuriously decorated and offering a wider variety of facilities than the *balneum*. So, for instance, the *thermae* at Lanuvium which replaced the *balneae*, is expressly said to be "bigger in area, with more rooms" (*ampliatis locis et cellis*).<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Statius calls the Baths of Etruscus a *balneum* perhaps due to their small size, but the exceptional richness of their decoration may be what prompts Martial to call them "little *thermae*" (*thermulae*).<sup>27</sup> Naturally, the large and luxurious imperial baths were called *thermae*.<sup>28</sup> Because the application of the terms by the ancients appears to have been a matter of opinion, it is hardly surprising to find confusion in the sources, with the different terms sometimes applied to the same structure.

Two more terminological observations need to be mentioned. First, the term *lavacrum*. It appears to have denoted a part of a bathhouse, though it could also be applied to the whole facility.<sup>29</sup> By the Late Empire, however, the latter meaning dominated, and it appears frequently in the *Historia Augusta* as the designation for baths of various kinds, even imperial buildings.<sup>30</sup> Second, Greek terminology is no clearer than the Latin. The Greek terms applied to Roman baths are: βαλανεῖον, λουτρόν and γυμνάσιον. These had their own particular meanings in the pre-Roman Greek context,<sup>31</sup> and they seem to have been applied indiscriminately to Roman buildings.<sup>32</sup> The confusion surrounding the Greek terminology is, if anything, more

<sup>26</sup> Cf. no. 49 (Table 3).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. above, n. 22. Cf. also Martial, 9.75 where the *thermae* of Tuca are so much more luxuriously appointed than the wooden *balneum* built by the same man that Martial suggests that he burn the latter as fuel for the former.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. e.g. *FTUR* 1.5; *ILS* 5713; Martial, *Spect.*, 2.5-7, *Ep.*, 2.48, 3.25, 3.36.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. nos. 240, 262 (Table 7) where it denotes a part of the bathhouse (the heated part, as no. 262 may suggest?). It first appears in the 2nd century AD (Aul. Gell., *AN*, 1.2.2; Apul. *Met.*, 1.7). Apuleius (*Met.*, 2.19.5, 3.12.5) uses it to denote whole structures. Cf. *TLL*. s.v. "Lavacrum."

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *HA*, *Hadr.*, 19.10; *Pius*, 8.3; *M. Aur.*, 23.8; *Comm.*, 17.5; *Hel.*, 17.8-9; *Sev. Alex.*, 53.2.

<sup>31</sup> Γυμνάσιον meant a particular place where exercise and education took place; λουτρόν was a bathing element in a γυμνάσιον; and βαλανεῖον was a public bath not connected with either of the previous two. Cf. R. GINOUVES, *Balaneutikè: Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 198, 1962), pp. 109-150, esp. 129-130 (γυμνάσιον and λουτρόν) and 183-224 (βαλανεῖον).

<sup>32</sup> A fine example of the confusion is the variety of Dio's names for the Baths of Agrippa, cf. below, Ch. 5, n. 2. Γυμνάσιον, when it can be shown to denote a Roman-style bath building, usually refers to a

pronounced for this reason: without corresponding archaeological evidence, it is often impossible to tell whether a text mentioning a γυμνάσιον refers to a purely Hellenistic-style building, a purely Roman-style *thermae* or a hybrid bath-gymnasium. Βαλανείον, on the other hand, can usually be safely taken to refer to a public bath of some sort.<sup>33</sup> Λουτρόν falls between the two and, where a gymnasial context is not proven or mentioned, usually denotes a public bath.

This brief discussion of the terminological difficulties associated with the baths has pointed to the need for a close and careful philological study of the subject. It would greatly benefit Roman balneology if someone were to clear up at least some of the outstanding problems raised above. It is doubtful whether absolutely clear-cut definitions based on the ancient sources could be offered, because the ancients' application of the various bath-terms in everyday life appears to have been carefree, but some cataloguing of the evidence and clarification of usage (perhaps by region) would be helpful. Given the current confusion, it should be clear why I have for the most part avoided using terms like *balneum* and *thermae* in the text in favour of the more neutral English "bath," "bathhouse" etc. As this dissertation is not much concerned with archaeological and architectural typology, the problem is not a pressing one, although it is relevant.

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structure of some magnificence (i.e. *thermae* cf. Dio 68.15.3(2) [the Baths of Sura]), but not invariably: the *thermae* of Titus (Dio 66.25.1) and of Cleander/Commodus (Dio 72.12.5) are both designated βαλανεία.

<sup>33</sup> It is for this reason that I have excluded from the epigraphic corpus Greek texts referring to gymnasia, while retaining those that mention βαλανείον.

### *The evidence*<sup>34</sup>

Here, the general characteristics of the evidence for public bathing, and the problems they present to the historian studying the baths, will be outlined. Difficulties encountered while investigating specific questions will be covered in the introductions to the relevant sections.

There are four broad, interconnected problems associated with the evidence for baths: quantity; quality and focus; distribution; and typicality. Each is treated in turn.

### Quantity

It is perhaps the balneologist's privilege to complain of too great a volume of evidence: for the most part in ancient history, precisely the opposite circumstance obtains. The baths present the historian with dizzying quantities of both types of primary evidence, archaeological and written. In the archaeological sphere alone, Nielsen's recent catalogue of public facilities runs to 387 entries, and it is not comprehensive. It can be further supplemented by over 200 sites listed in Manderscheid's *Bibliographie*, and the number grows every year.<sup>35</sup> Restricting attention only to the public facilities treated in this study, a fair estimate of their number throughout the empire would approach one thousand.

Inscriptions and literary references are also abundant. The Tables of inscriptions below comprise 267 entries, and they include only those texts from the most important collections, the readings of which are sufficiently full and well-preserved to allow identification of the building

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<sup>34</sup> An earlier version of this section formed part of a paper delivered by the author at the *First International Conference on Roman Baths, Bath, England, 30 March - 4 April, 1992*. (The Proceedings are to be published as a supplement to *JRA*).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Appendix 3. The number of published sites continues to grow: cf. e.g. Chelmsford's *mansio*-bath and the similar structure at Valesio in Italy (cf. above, n. 6); J.P. OLESON, "Humeima Hydraulic Survey, 1989," *EMC* 9.2 (1990), 145-163, esp. 152-162 (cf. *AJA* 95 (1991), 270-271); B. de VRIES "Archaeology in Jordan," *AJA* 95 (1991), 274 (S.T. PARKER on military baths at Limes Arabicus).

and its builder.<sup>36</sup> There are hundreds more fragmentary inscriptions not meeting these criteria; such texts are useful in that they reveal the presence of baths in places where they may otherwise be unattested. In the literary sphere, virtually every type of author provides pertinent testimony. Altogether, the volume of material is immense.

All this represents a plethora of evidence for the historian to master and marshal, a situation which generates problems even at the level of assemblage. Whether one individual can know it all remains to be seen.

### Quality and focus

The quality and focus of the material presents the second main problem. Archaeologically, a wide spectrum of bath types survives in varying degrees of preservation: from the almost perfectly preserved small city baths at Pompeii and Herculaneum, to the impressive but more ruined Imperial remains in Rome, bath-sites present a far from uniform aspect to their students.

Accessible inscriptions are for the most part formulaic records of construction history, which alone can tell us much about bath builders and, in some cases, their professed motives. The quality varies greatly from highly informative, almost complete building histories,<sup>37</sup> to the tersest of one-liners: "Into the baths!"<sup>38</sup> The obvious means of access to bath inscriptions is via the indices of modern collections. This route, however, invariably leads to texts containing the words *balnea* or *thermae* etc., which tend for the most part to be texts commemorating construction work. This is certainly useful, but will not uncover texts found in baths that do not

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the general notes to the Tables, below, pp. 307-308.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. nos. 49 (Table 3), and 88, 92 (Table 4) and notes.

<sup>38</sup> *CIL* 4.2140 (graffito on tavern no. 4 down the Via Stabiana from the Stabian baths): im balneum.

contain bath-related words. Tracking such texts relies largely on chance. No doubt many lie hidden in the pages of *AE*, *CIL*, *ILS* and the myriad local collections, but short of someone reading every page of every volume, they are likely to remain so. The great pity is, these are often the most revealing.<sup>39</sup>

The variety in quality of the literary testimony is also considerable, ranging from Lucian's *Hippias* to disembodied fragments. For the most part, literary bath-mentions are anecdotal, or used to illustrate or provide a setting for the author's main point. It is necessary to read between the lines to discern the norm (if it can be discerned at all) -- a process fraught with danger as it depends so much on subjective interpretation. This is especially true for anecdotes, which, according to a recent view, may be particularly unreliable for specific details, but quite instructive for people's attitudes and ideologies.<sup>40</sup> Any given bath anecdote, therefore, does not necessarily reflect what *actually* happened in a bath building (though it may do), but it does reveal, at the very least, what people *thought* could happen there. This approach will prove useful throughout the thesis.

The situation demands close assessment of each reference, which to date has often not been made frequently enough for the literary evidence. A good example is provided by the crucial literary testimony for the origin and early development of baths in Rome and Italy in late 3rd/early-2nd centuries BC. The testimony of Plautus and Livy is not above suspicion, yet it has often been adduced without critical comment.<sup>41</sup> This study seeks to repair the oversight, at least partially. Even if solutions to specific interpretative problems cannot always be advanced, at least the shortcomings of the written record will have been highlighted in the hope of

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<sup>39</sup> E.g. *CIL* 6.29848b (graffito from the Baths of Titus, Rome; unsure date): duodecim deos iit Deanam et Iovem | optimum maxinu(m) habeat iratos | quisquis hic mixerit aut cacarit.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. R. SALLER, "Anecdotes as historical evidence for the Principate" *Greece & Rome* S.S. 27 (1980), 69-83. Although SALLER's focus is on anecdotes as evidence for imperial administration and the like, his findings can easily be transferred to bath anecdotes.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. most recently NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.29.

generating future discussion. The "indirect" nature of the material plays a role here as well. For instance, what general situation stands behind the statement attributed to Cato the Elder that he did not bathe daily in his boyhood?<sup>42</sup> Another good example is Pliny's report about Agrippa's bath benefactions of 33 BC, which has been almost universally taken to show that there were 170 or more *balnea* in Rome at that date, when in fact it does not.<sup>43</sup> Critical assessment of the written material is therefore essential.

Questions of quality aside, the focuses of the different classes of evidence vary, so that they rarely interlock: as has been seen, despite the volume of archaeological material, secure identification of various non-functional rooms mentioned in the written evidence remains elusive. Making use of the different types of evidence in concert is therefore no easy matter, though not impossible.

### Distribution

Much of the evidence derives from very different geographic and chronological contexts. It starts for the literary material in the late 3rd century BC, and for archaeology and epigraphy in the mid-2nd century BC. All three types then run parallel into the 5th, 6th and even 7th centuries AD. Further, public baths are found in virtually every part of the empire, from the capital city to the frontiers (e.g. Dura-Europus in the East, or Xanten in the North). A similarly wide distribution applies for inscriptions and literary references. In addition, the uneven excavation, investigation and publication of remains throughout the modern countries which make up the empire means that some areas are under-represented relative to others.<sup>44</sup> This

<sup>42</sup> Nonius p. 108M (155L), s.v. "ephippium." Cf. below, pp. 81-82 for discussion.

<sup>43</sup> Pliny *NH*, 36.121; cf. below, pp. 102-103 for discussion.

<sup>44</sup> This is easily appreciated by glancing at the fly-maps in NIELSEN, *Therm*. It is clear that the remarkably small numbers for baths in Spain, or the eastern Northern Border provinces (esp. Pannonia, Dacia, Thrace), are not fully representative of ancient conditions; Spain in particular was a peaceful and prosperous province and should provide a greater volume of material. On the other hand, intense investigation of the Holy Land and Britain has uncovered dozens of sites in relative backwaters of the empire.

situation needs remedying before a more complete impression of the ancient distribution of baths can be formed. Despite this, the geographical and chronological ubiquity of baths stands as remarkable testimony to the Romans' successful introduction of their bathing habit to every corner of their empire; it also attests to the lasting popularity of Roman-style bathing among the provincials, comprising people often of widely varying cultural backgrounds and outlooks (at least initially).<sup>45</sup>

### Typicality

The main problem thrown up by all these features of the evidence is that of typicality. Since it is unsafe to assume that the social role and functioning of baths was constant in all parts of the Empire, and remained so at all times between the 2nd century BC and 6th century AD, how can we be sure that one piece of evidence from a specific time and place illustrates a general norm rather than a regional variation? This problem has been encountered by scholars working on other ill-illuminated aspects of Roman life, and no fully satisfactory answer has been found to overcome it.<sup>46</sup> To a large degree, then, discerning typicality depends again on subjective interpretation. Perhaps the clearest way forward is to look for the cumulative effect of several corresponding pieces of evidence, especially from different places and times. Widespread customs should, after all, leave some traces. In the case of the baths, however, there must be a timeless quality about certain aspects of life there: e.g. Seneca's complaints about the noisiness of the baths he lodged over at Baiae would surely be applicable to almost any public bath in the

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<sup>45</sup> A good example is provided by the exchange in the Babylonian Talmud between two Rabbis (*Sabbath*, 33b; trans. in N. LEWIS & M. REINHOLD, *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings*, [New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, 3rd ed.], II.333-334): one praises the Romans for their bridges, markets and baths; the other contests that such buildings are primarily for the pleasure and benefit of the Romans, not the Jews. For Jewish attitudes to the use of gentile baths in Palestine, cf. M. GOODMAN, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, AD 132-212* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), pp. 83-84.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the comments of R. MacMULLEN, *Roman Social Relations, 50 BC to AD 284*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. viii, 41; or K. HOPKINS, *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History II*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 203 concerning the difficulties of using the evidence for social relations and attitudes towards death respectively.

empire at any time.<sup>47</sup> From this perspective, the baths reinforce the impression of how little life in the ancient world changed over centuries. But, as will be seen, when we turn to specifics, the water becomes muddier. As a result, the limitations and difficulties of the evidence as outlined here should be kept in mind at all times.

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Now that the main parameters of the study, the problems of terminology and the difficulties of the evidence have been reviewed, we can proceed. No better starting place offers than the complex and difficult question of the origins of Roman public baths, one that has troubled scholars for some time and generated considerable, if often inconclusive, discussion.

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Sen. *Ep.*, 56.12.

**SECTION ONE:**  
**ORIGINS**

## INTRODUCTION

In the middle of the first century AD, the Roman moralist and tutor to the Emperor Nero, L. Annaeus Seneca, visited the villa of the Republican hero P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus in Campania.<sup>1</sup> It is evident from the text that Seneca admired greatly the man who defeated Hannibal, and he dwells at length on Scipio's qualities, especially that of moderation.<sup>2</sup> The simplicity of Scipio's private bath reflected this moderation, and Seneca devotes much space to describing it, and contrasting it to what he considered the excessive luxury of bathing in his day.<sup>3</sup> In the course of this passage he says that the ancient Romans bathed fully only once every eight days, but washed their arms and legs on a daily basis, a claim corroborated by the personal recollections of Cato the Elder.<sup>4</sup> Roman bathing practices evidently had rather humble beginnings, or at least the later Romans thought so.

The bath at Scipio's villa was a private one, but its simplicity may reflect similar conditions in whatever type of public establishments were current at this time.<sup>5</sup> Many questions, however, remain. Where did the Roman practice of public bathing come from? Was it an import from some foreign culture, or was it a uniquely Roman development? If the former, by which cultures were the Romans influenced, if the latter what conditions led to the appearance of the familiar series of heated rooms and communal pools that characterize the

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NOTE: This section was largely written before the appearance of NIELSEN, *Therm.* which covers much the same ground in I.6-36. Nielsen and I, it will be seen, come to the same general conclusion, but disagree on some major points and details. Chapter 2 includes a close assessment of Nielsen's position.

<sup>1</sup> Sen. *Ep.*, 86.4-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 4-13. Cf. below, pp. 110-111 for more on Seneca's bath diatribes.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, § 12: *nam, ut aiunt, qui priscos mores urbis tradiderunt, brachia et crura cotidie abluebant . . . ceterum toti nudinis lavabantur.* Cato the Elder claimed that in his boyhood, daily bathing was unknown to him, cf. Cato cited in Non., p. 108M (155L), s.v. *ephippium: mihi puero modica tunica et toga, sine fasceis calciamenta, ecus sine ephippio, balneum non cotidianum, alveus rarus.*

<sup>5</sup> That is to say, they were simple in comparison to what Seneca knew as public baths in his day, i.e. the early-mid 1st century AD. That there were public baths in Rome in Scipio's and Cato's day is clear enough from the early literary evidence for the city, cf. below, pp. 75-82.

fully developed Roman baths? When and where did the first Roman-style public bath appear? In short, what are the origins of Roman public bathing? These questions have already been asked by several scholars, but the answers they offer vary greatly.

The following two chapters of this dissertation are inseparably linked and should be seen as part of the same inquiry. The problem of the origins of Roman public baths is examined in detail, tracing developments down to the dictatorship of Sulla by which time the baths appear to have assumed their familiar shape. The arguments of previous scholars working on this difficult topic are presented and their strengths and limitations assessed. What ancient evidence there is is carefully scrutinized and a new hypothesis for the origins of Roman baths advanced more in keeping with it.

It must be stressed that the meagre literary and epigraphic record is extended disappointingly little by archaeology.<sup>6</sup> Just two surviving sets of baths predate the 1st century BC: the Central Baths at Cumae and the Stabian Baths at Pompeii, dated to c.180 BC and 140 BC respectively. Of these, only the Stabian Baths have been fully investigated and published. Only six other examples are known from before the 1st century AD.<sup>7</sup> The literary and epigraphic evidence is hardly more prolific. A handful of Republican writers mention baths, and the same can be said for surviving inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> That is all there is to work from. As a result, some informed speculation is inevitable in attempting to address the problem of origins. Nonetheless, the different types of evidence can be marshalled to produce a coherent and convincing picture.

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<sup>6</sup> For what follows, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.39.

<sup>7</sup> These are, citing NIELSEN's Catalogue numbers in parentheses (cf. Appendix 3): the Republican and Forum Baths at Pompeii (C.41, C.42); the Central Baths at Cales (C.35); the Baths of Agrippa at Rome (C.1); the earliest phase of the Vignale Baths at Velia (C.52); and the small baths at Musarna (C.62).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. below, pp. 72-89 where the literary and epigraphic evidence is treated in detail.

When and where did the first Roman-style baths appear and what culture(s) could have influenced Roman bathing habits? The earliest archaeological evidence comes from 2nd-century BC Campania. The only culture possessing a demonstrable public bathing habit with which Rome had had any close contact before this time was that of Greece. Neither Carthaginian nor Etruscan society gave prominence to public baths.<sup>9</sup> While it is true that Etruscan cists are occasionally decorated with bathing scenes, they are clearly influenced by, if not directly derived from Greek models.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the bathers in the scenes are all women. I would suggest, therefore, that these cists, themselves part of the bathing apparatus, were primarily used in women's (private?) baths, and cannot be seen as reflective of public bathing.<sup>11</sup> In addition, no Etruscan site has yielded evidence of a public bathing establishment.<sup>12</sup> Whatever sort of bathing the Carthaginians and Etruscans practised, it was not in recognizable public establishments.

Given this circumstance, previous scholarly opinion has been able to offer only two broad alternatives: either the Romans developed their baths themselves, or they adopted them

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<sup>9</sup> Public baths have not been found among the remains of Punic Carthage, cf. S.E. TLATLI, *La Carthage punique. Étude urbaine* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1978), pp. 31-109, esp. 83-109. See also W. HUSS, *Die Karthager* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1990), pp. 357-361 for a brief study of Punic society which does not feature public bathing. It seems, in fact, as if public baths came to Carthage with the Romans, cf. D. SOREN et al, *Carthage: Uncovering the Magnificence and Splendors of Ancient Tunisia* (Toronto: Simon & Schuster, 1990), p. 181 for the first mention of baths in the book. Note, however, that Valerius Maximus (9.S.ext. 4; cited in Ch. 7, n. 60) refers to the Carthaginian rulers' habit of bathing apart from the people, which seems to imply a public bathing habit (in which the rulers did not take part). However, Valerius's source for this comment is not known, and as its context is a discussion of *insolentia*, it may be an invention designed to illustrate Punic failures, but coined in terms Romans would immediately recognize (i.e. the mingling of classes in public baths, for which cf. below, pp. 274-285).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. G.B. BATTAGLIA, *Le Ciste Prenestine* (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1979), 1.22 (pp. 95-97; tav. CXIII-CVII), 24 (pp. 101-104; tav. CXXI-CXXIV), 38 (pp. 132-133; tav. CLXI-CLXIV), 50-51 (pp.158-162; tav. CCXVI-CCXXV) which all depict women in bathing scenes comparable to those shown on Greek pots, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, figs. 50, 52-56, 58; R.F. SUTTON, "Female Bathers on Attic Pottery," *AJA* 95 (1991), 318. All the scenes feature lionhead fountains, also an element in the Greek bathing scenes.

<sup>11</sup> Cists are clearly visible in two bathing scenes on these cists: BATTAGLIA, *Ciste*, nos. 22 (esp. tav. CXIV.22b and CXVI.22e) and 38 (esp. tav. CLXII.38d and CLXIV.38h). Most interesting is the cist in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (I.\*10 [ibid., pp. 66-68; tav. LXXIV-LXXVII]) which still had its contents intact: a sponge, an *unguentarium*, a comb and *spatulae*. The type of bath shown in these scenes is the λΟΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ, a basin raised on one foot for body-washing (cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 77-99).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. in this connection, L. BANTI, *Etruscan Cities and their Culture* (London: Batsford, 1973; Italian original, 1968), pp. 37-178; and note the absence of public baths among the building types discussed by A. BOETHIUS, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (London: Penguin, 1978), pp. 32-113.

from Greece.<sup>13</sup> The most recent exposition, that of I. Nielsen, essentially combines the two theories and acknowledges the Greek debt while highlighting the Roman contribution, which she considers to have been the underfloor heating system called the hypocaust.<sup>14</sup> These theories all share a common perspective in that they consider the invention of the hypocaust to be the determining factor in the emergence of Roman public baths. This is certainly a defensible proposition. Without the hypocaust, Roman-style baths -- the two essential characteristics of which are communal bathing pools and a clear sequence of variously heated rooms -- could not have existed.<sup>15</sup> In consequence, all three theories assume that it was the hypocaust which came first, the baths second. However, this apparently sound assumption may need modification. For the moment, though, the centrality of the hypocaust to Roman establishments demands special attention.

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. DeLAINE, *JRA* 1 (1988), 11-32, esp. 14-17.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.20-22, 25-36. The technical details of the hypocaust are thoroughly covered in *ibid.*, I.14-20.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 9-18, 29-34, 37-38; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.3-4, 153-161.

# CHAPTER I

## SERGIUS ORATA AND GREEK BATHS

### *Introduction*

This chapter focuses primarily on the Greek evidence, while the following is concerned primarily with the Italian. This separation, however, is not hard and fast. In the first section of the current chapter ancient literary evidence indicating that the inventor of the hypocaust was a Roman, C. Sergius Orata, is examined. The second section documents the challenge made to this picture by the so-called "Greek theory", championed by R. Ginouvès in the 1960s and generally accepted subsequently.<sup>1</sup> It focuses particularly on two structures, the bath at Gortys, Arcadia and phase IV of the Greek baths at Olympia, both of which are examined in detail. A consideration of Greek public baths and bathing habits in general closes this chapter, and any features that clearly anticipate Roman practice are highlighted.

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<sup>1</sup> GINOUVES makes his case in two publications: *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie* (Paris: École Française d'Athènes: Études Péloponnésienne, 1959), esp. pp. 7-88 and the monumental *Balaneutikè*. For acceptance of GINOUVES's thesis, cf. e.g. E. BRÖDNER, *Die römischen Thermen und das antike Badewesen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Betrachtung, 1983), pp. 8-12; or more forcefully, HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 36-51, esp. 41-51.

(i) *C. Sergius Orata, inventor of the hypocaust?*

The main source is Pliny the Elder:

Sergius Orata was the first man to invent oyster ponds, on the Gulf of Baiae in the time of the orator L. Crassus, before the Marsian war; his motive was not gluttony but greed, and he earned a great income from his cleverness -- as he was the first inventor of *pensiles balineae* -- by selling villas, the appearance of which he had improved with this device.<sup>2</sup>

The passage is clear on a number of points. It places Orata's activities in Campania in the first decade of the 1st century BC (Crassus was consul in 95 BC and the Marsian War was part of the Social War, 91-88 BC). It says he was a fishfarmer who invented *pensiles balineae*. The passage infers a link between Orata's fishfarming and his invention of *pensiles balineae*, though the exact nature of the link is not made plain (beyond Orata's avarice and ingenuity standing behind both). Valerius Maximus makes the link stronger: "C. Sergius Orata was the first man to arrange the building of *pensilia balinea*. This expense, having started out small, went almost as far as raised seas of hot water."<sup>3</sup> As with Pliny, the general context here is fishfarming, so Maximus clearly imagines Orata as using his *pensilia balinea* in this connection, most probably as large heated pools for his fish. This suggestion may be supported by Cicero, who says in a fragment of the *Hortensius* cited in Nonius Marcellus: "he was the first to raise little baths; he confined fish."<sup>4</sup> Although no name is provided here, the reference is almost certainly to Orata. Finally, Columella presents Orata primarily as a fishfarmer, and claims he derived his *cognomen* from that trade.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *NH*, 9.168: *ostrearum vivaria primus omnium Sergius Orata invenit in Baiano aetate L. Crassi oratoris, ante Marsicum bellum, nec gulae causa sed avaritiae, magna vectigalia tali ex ingenio suo percipiens, ut qui primus pensiles invenerit balineas, ita mangonicatas villas subinde vendendo*. (All translations are my own unless otherwise stated).

<sup>3</sup> Val. Max., 9.1.1: *C. Sergius Orata primus pensilia balinea facere instituit. quae inpensa levibus intiis coepta ad suspensae caldae aquae tantum non aequora penetravit*. This tradition is later repeated in Macrobius, *Sat.*, 3.15.1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Non. 194M (285L), s.v. *balineae*: *primus balneola suspendit, inclusit pisces*.

<sup>5</sup> Columella, 8.16.5: *Sergius Orata et Licinius Murena captorum piscium laetabantur vocabulis*. Macrobius, loc. cit in n. 3 above, also claims that Orata derived his name from his goldfish (*aurata*). Festus (182M) presents an alternative tradition: Orata derived his cognomen from two large gold rings he wore. Oysters were a particular delicacy among the Romans; that Orata could have made a lot of money from raising them (as Pliny implies) is certainly possible, cf. A.C. ANDREWS, "Oysters as a Food in Greece and Rome," *CJ* 43 (1947/8), 299-303, esp. 300.

Orata's fishfarming activities as outlined in Pliny are therefore well attested in other sources. His real-estate business, which constitutes the second part of Pliny's notice, also finds corroboration in two references in Cicero, where we see Orata buying and selling properties amid accusations of unfair play.<sup>6</sup> It is not specified whether Orata had fitted out these properties with *pensiles balineae* in the way Pliny mentions.

The crucial point is what *pensiles balineae* means. The term translates literally as "hanging baths," which has led some scholars to imagine suspended bathtubs or shower-like devices.<sup>7</sup> However, most scholars interpret *pensiles balineae* to mean "raised baths" in the sense of a hypocaust.<sup>8</sup> Vitruvius calls the hypocaust a *suspensura* ("a hanging thing") which is reminiscent of Cicero's wording for Orata's invention, *balneola suspendit*.<sup>9</sup> In general, *pensilis* means "hanging" and could easily have been applied to pools seen to "hang" between the roof and the ground by being part of a raised underfloor heating system.<sup>10</sup> The suggestion that *pensiles balineae* denotes a hypocaust is therefore a reasonable and plausible one.

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<sup>6</sup> Cic. *de Or.*, 1.178 and *de Off.*, 3.67. Note also *de Fin.*, 2.70 where Cicero regards Orata as a person who lived most comfortably (*iucundissime vixerat*).

<sup>7</sup> The fullest treatment of the problem is that of J. BENEDUM, "Die *Balnea Pensilia* des Asklepiades von Prusa," *Gesnerus* 24 (1967), 93-107, esp. 96-102. Some of these ideas are not dead -- the Loeb edition (H. RACKHAM, 1940) translates *pensiles balineae* as showers. Showers were certainly known in Greek baths, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 21-28, but none have been demonstrated in Roman structures.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. e.g. E.F. FABRICOTT, "I bagni nelle prime ville romane," *Cronache Pompeiane* 2 (1976), 29-111, esp. 39-41; also the works referred to in DeLAINE, *JRA* 1 (1988), 14-15. The notion commands widespread support: J. HILTON TURNER, "Sergius Orata, Pioneer of Radiant Heating," *CJ* 43 (1947/8), 486-487; BENEDUM, *Gesnerus* 24 (1967), 99-101; BRÖDNER, *Röm. Therm.* (1983), pp. 22-23; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.20-22 and esp. 161 where *pensiles balineae* are presented as the earliest designation for the hypocaust.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Vitruv., 5.10.2. Vitruvius also uses the term *hypocaustis* in connection with this system (5.10.1), but it seems to be in relation to the furnaces rather than the raised floor itself. Note also the inscription (no. 174 [Table 5]) which mentions a benefactor who *balneum suspendit*, which may mean that he installed a hypocaust, although it could also mean that he vaulted the roofs, cf. *OLD* s.v. "suspendo (3b)."

<sup>10</sup> More directly, the *OLD* (s.v. *pensilis* 3) records the word as meaning "that [which] is raised above the ground"; cf. BENEDUM, *Gesnerus* 24 (1967), pp. 99-100 where the strongest case for identifying the *pensiles balineae* with the hypocaust is made.

But there are some distinct problems. The majority of the sources implicitly connect the device primarily with Orata's fishfarming business, not with baths for human use; the passage on Orata in Pliny appears in the context of a digression on men who invented fishponds.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the terms *suspensura* or *hypocaustum*, used elsewhere to denote the underfloor heating system in baths,<sup>12</sup> are not used in connection with Orata's invention, even in later sources (such as Pliny or Macrobius), which were written when such terms had been current for some time. Conversely, *pensiles balineae* never appears in other sources (notably Vitruvius) in connection with the heating system for baths. There is also an ancient picture of waterfront structures that bears an inscription identifying the various buildings portrayed, among them *Bal(neae) Faustines* and *aquae pensiles*.<sup>13</sup> The point to note is that the "hanging waters" are not part of the bathhouse, but a separate structure. Of course, *aquae pensiles* may be quite different from *pensiles balineae*.

Despite these anomalies in the sources, the question remains: if *pensiles balineae* does not refer to the hypocaust system, then what were they? The sources allow only one other possible alternative: Orata's *pensiles balineae* were heated pools for raising and keeping fish, and had nothing to do with human bathing at all. If this hypothesis is correct, it would remove Orata from the history of baths altogether.

The sources for Orata's fishfarming have been listed above, and the implicit connection between this activity and the *pensiles balineae* noted. The source chronologically closest to

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<sup>11</sup> The section (*NH*, 9.168-173) is introduced with the sentence: *quae mentio piscinarum admonet ut paulo plura dicamus hac de re priusquam digrediamur ab aquatibus* (9.167). Both Valerius Maximus (9.1.1) and Macrobius (*Sat.*, 3.15.1-3) also mention Orata in the context of fish-keeping.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. Vitruv., 5.10.2 (*suspensura*) and Pliny *Ep.*, 2.17.23 (*hypocaustum*).

<sup>13</sup> *CIL* 6.29830: *Bal(neae) Faustines, | horrea, | Fo(rum?) Boar(ium), | aquae pensiles, || For(um). Olitor(ium), | portex Neptuni, | T(emplum) Apollonis*. The closest parallels for such a representation are provided by the pictures of shore-line buildings at Baiae and Puteoli found on some cut-glass vessels, cf. C. PICARD, "Pozzoles et le paysage portuaire," *Latomus* 18 (1959), 23-51; K.S. PAINTER, "Roman Flasks with Scenes of Baiae and Puteoli," *JGS* 17 (1975), 54-67.

Orata, a fragment of Cicero's *Hortensius*, uses the term *balneolum* to describe what Orata invented, and immediately appends the comment that he raised fish.<sup>14</sup> This would seem to imply that something other than regular baths were meant, otherwise Cicero, ever mindful of using the correct word, would surely have employed *balineum* or the like. Granted, *balneolum* is used later to denote bathhouses or bathrooms, but Cicero's unusual choice of word here remains curious.<sup>15</sup> It is known that men like Lucullus or Hortensius liked to keep fish in their villas. In fact, Cicero dubbed such wealthy Romans *piscinarii*, "fish-fanciers."<sup>16</sup> In light of this, Pliny's portrayal of Orata fitting out villas with *pensiles balineae* and then selling them could refer to his equipping the properties with heated fishponds.<sup>17</sup> This activity, in addition to his fishfarming business, might also explain why he derived his *cognomen* from goldfish.

This fishpond hypothesis is not without its problems. The general confusion surrounding bath terminology makes Cicero's use of *balneolum* difficult to assess.<sup>18</sup> Further, all the sources use some form of the word *balneum* to describe Orata's invention. Although *balneum* can denote tubs or tanks as well as bath-buildings and the act of bathing,<sup>19</sup> if fish-tanks were envisaged, why not use *piscina*, *vivaria*, or *stagnum* (the habitual terms for fishponds) or some variant thereon? But the chief objection to the fish-tank hypothesis is provided by the activities of the contemporary doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia who, it is reported, was the first to

<sup>14</sup> Cf. above, n. 4

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Sen. *Ep.*, 86.4: *balneolum angustum, tenebricosum* (Scipio's private villa bath); Stat. *Silv.*, 1 pr., *Claudi Etrusci testimonium est, quo balneolum a me suum intra moram cenae recepit*; Juv., 7.4-5: *cum iam celebres notique poetae balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos temptarent*. See also *Anth.*, 36.2.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Att.*, 1.19.6: *hos piscinarios dico amicos tuos*; *Att.*, 1.20.3: *mihi vero ut inuideant piscinarii nostri aut scribam ad te alias aut in congressum nostrum reservabo*. Cf. also Macr. *Sat.* 3.15.6. Lucullus's fish are said to have fetched HS4,000,000 when sold on his death, Pliny *NH*, 9.170, Macr. loc. cit. For fishponds in Campanian villas, cf. Pliny and Macrob., locc. citt.; Varro, *Res Rust.*, 3.3.9-10 and especially 3.17.5; Hor. *Od.*, 2.15.2-4.

<sup>17</sup> That such activity was not unknown is indicated by Varro *Res Rust.*, 3.17.5: *Q. Hortensius, familiaris noster, cum piscinas haberet magna pecunia aedificatas ad Baulos, ita saepe cum eo ad villam fui, ut illum sciam semper in cenam piscis Puteolos mittere emptum solitum*. This is not to suggest that Orata was the contractor here, but Varro's notice does suggest the existence of a market for the fishpond construction industry at about this time.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. above, pp. 6-11.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *OLD*, s.v.

use *pensiles balineae* for remedial purposes.<sup>20</sup> Did Asclepiades put his patients into heated fishponds? It would seem unlikely. Rather, the context would appear to demand that the term here denotes heated tanks or pools in general, not specifically intended for fish. Perhaps Asclepiades adapted Orata's piscine invention for his own purposes but, whatever the case, his treatments provide a bridge between Orata's *pensiles balineae* and human bathing.

Given the available evidence, it is unfortunately not possible to resolve the issue of the nature of Orata's *pensiles balineae* with certainty. The sources give no clear indication what the device was like, and archaeology has so far turned up nothing that can be identified as "hanging baths" except for the hypocaust in bathing establishments. In light of this, it should be accepted (albeit tentatively) that the written sources, despite some terminological anomalies, picture Orata as the inventor of the hypocaust heating system (or a version of it) later used in public baths throughout the Roman world. However, it is possible that Orata used the device solely for fishponds,<sup>21</sup> and that it was Asclepiades of Bithynia who first used Orata's invention for human bathing. Orata and Asclepiades shared an association with L. Crassus, so they may have known each other.<sup>22</sup> Given the prominence of baths in Asclepiades's treatments, he may have adapted Orata's invention for his own purposes.

Straight acceptance of Orata as inventor of the hypocaust would make the question of the origins of Roman baths simple indeed, the argument running as follows: because the hypocaust was essential for the creation of Roman-style baths, they could not have existed as such before

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<sup>20</sup> Pliny *NH*, 26.16. Asclepiades is said in the sources to have used baths (*balnea*) in his treatments (e.g. Celsus 2.17.3). Cf. Chapter 4 for a fuller assessment of Asclepiades' role in the development of the popularity of baths, and of his use of hot baths in his treatments.

<sup>21</sup> But if so, I am not aware of any heated fishponds; cf. *RE* 20.1783-1785, s.v. "Piscina (1)" [Schneider], where the main difference between types of fishpond is the use fresh- or sea-water.

<sup>22</sup> Cic. *de Orat.*, 1.62 (Asclepiades); Cic. *de Off.*, 1.78, *de Offic.*, 3.67 and Val. Max., 9.1.1 (Orata). On Crassus, cf. BROUGHTON, *MRR*, II.11, 579, no. 55. Cf. E. RAWSON, "The Life and Death of Asclepiades of Bithynia," *CQ* 32 (1982), 361 on the connection between Orata and Asclepiades.

Orata. Therefore, Roman baths only came into being in the years following Orata in the 1st century BC.<sup>23</sup>

But Orata's position as inventor of the hypocaust has met with a severe, and apparently successful, challenge from Greece.

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*(ii) Rome's debt to Greece? Gortys, Olympia and Greek baths*

Two bathing establishments on the Greek mainland, one at Gortys, Arcadia, the other at Olympia, have been cited as proof that the Greeks not only invented the hypocaust long before Orata's day, but that they developed it to its final form. R. Ginouvès relies heavily on both sites to claim that the Romans adopted the hypocaust, their baths, and even their bathing habits directly from the Greeks.<sup>24</sup> In this section, the structures at Gortys and Olympia will be examined in turn and their relevant features described. In order to place these two important sites in their proper perspective, and to assess the validity of Ginouvès's position, a brief consideration of the general characteristics of Greek baths and bathing practices will be necessary.

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<sup>23</sup> This is basically I. NIELSEN's position as discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

<sup>24</sup> GINOUVES, *Balan.*, p. 228: "Mais ces thermes romains, précisément, dérivent directement des établissements de bains grecs, et par leur conception d'ensemble, et par bien des détails de leur organisation matérielle."

*The thermal establishment at Gortys, Arcadia*

The bathing establishment at Gortys in Arcadia is situated in a sanctuary of Asclepius, on a hillside above the banks of the Gortynios river (fig. 1).<sup>25</sup> It forms a rectangle, 17.7m x 16.54m, within whose walls the rooms are far from rectilinear. The public rooms, which are paved in mosaics of grey, white and blue pebbles, make up the eastern half of the structure.<sup>26</sup> There is an entrance hallway (A) containing a statue base. This leads into a vestibule (B) which has an apse on its north side. Underneath this apse is a hypocaust, of which more below.

The vestibule in turn leads into the big rotunda (C), the heart of the establishment. There are many features worth noting here. The room has two apses, on its east and west walls respectively. The former has a hypocaust under it. It has two fountains. One ( $\theta$ ) in the west apse, was a cold fountain fed from a reservoir (X) behind it. The other ( $\lambda$ ) was a hot fountain, housed in a bigger basin standing closer to the ground than  $\theta$  and fed from a hot-water unit which Ginouvès reconstructs from various small finds in the area behind  $\lambda$ , between rooms C and G. There is also a bench ( $\zeta$ ) and a shelf ( $\eta$ ) flanking the entrance to C from B. An open channel starts under the bench  $\zeta$  and runs through the south wall of C into B. Then it follows the eastern half of B's north apse, along the entire east wall and runs out into a canal that stands outside the south wall of the building.

C is very much the centre-piece of the structure and gives access to its other public rooms (E, D, F and, indirectly, G). Ginouvès interprets E as a sweat bath; it features a hypocaust underneath the entire floor area of the rotunda. West of E stands D, a sort of annex to

<sup>25</sup> For what follows, cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 7-88.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 7-44, where the individual rooms are clearly treated under separate headings.

C on a higher level, which contains three bathing tubs for full immersion. Directly under the tubs in D runs the hypocaust, so these tubs were used as hot-water baths.

The north exit of C leads into F, a room for waiting and relaxing which had a cold fountain ( $\xi$ ), very like  $\theta$  in C. There is also a bench and shelf arrangement ( $\mu$ ) at the south end of this room. The small rotunda G contains 9 hip-baths, which are the hallmark of Greek baths in general.<sup>27</sup> Here the bathers would sit in the individual tubs and have hot water poured over them by the establishment's personnel. The heated water, Ginouvès says, came from an open vat located in the hotwater unit between rooms C and G. The hypocaust runs under this unit, and so would heat the water tanks. Rooms H and I have no discernible function, but their paving indicates they were public rooms. Two features are worth noting. First, a channel, like the one that leads through B from C, emerges from the east doorway of G, and runs along the west and north walls of H, the north wall of I and empties into a canal outside the east wall of the establishment. Second, room I contains, against its west wall, a statue base very like the one in A. (The small enclosure J, not accessible from any part of the structure, has no discernible function).

The service rooms are housed in the west half of the building and can be treated very briefly.<sup>28</sup> They are all unpaved, having instead beaten earth floors. Room V is accessible from B and may have been a cloakroom, although Ginouvès cautions that this interpretation may be retrojecting later Roman practice to the Greek.<sup>29</sup> The timber for the furnace appears to have been housed in W, and the cinders and ash from the fire may have been disposed of through this room. Underneath the floor here was found a terracotta pipeline which ran from F to the canal outside the south wall of the building. X is the reservoir for the building, being almost a metre

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. below, pp. 43-47.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 48-58.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, p. 51, cf. p. 46, n. 5.

above the ground level; it fed the fountains ξ in F and θ in C directly. Room Y was the furnace room for the hypocaust, while Z is in so fragmentary and battered a state that Ginouvès is not sure what function it served, save noting that it offers communication between the service and public areas.

The date of this structure is firmly fixed by numismatic and ceramic evidence.<sup>30</sup> The first structure was erected around the time of the establishment of the Arcadian League in c. 370 BC. This was destroyed in the second half of that century, and a new building put up in the late 4th/early 3rd century. In about the middle of the 3rd century, the hypocaust was put in. There were some alterations at the end of the 2nd century and then the site was abandoned in the 1st century AD. A brief Roman reoccupation in the 4th century saw the erection of some houses on the site.<sup>31</sup>

The heating system, dated by pottery evidence to the mid-3rd century BC, is perhaps the most remarkable element in the building, and a very important one for those scholars who see here a forerunner to developed Roman baths.<sup>32</sup> The underground heating system is comprised of a channel which runs east from the fire in Y, under D to E, with an appendage jutting north towards G to heat the water in the tanks of the hot-water unit reconstructed as standing between C and G. Under E it enters a series of what Ginouvès terms *couronnes chauffantes* ("heating crowns") which are found under E, the east apse of C, and the north apse of B. These "crowns" are made of stone or brick supports in two concentric circles upon which trapezoidal terracotta plaques were placed, many found *in situ*. These in turn formed the basis for the pebble-mosaic flooring. What is more, in the areas behind the thin brick walls of E and the

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<sup>30</sup> This is very clearly laid out in GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 135-145. Apart from three major coin hoards of the later Roman period, 127 Greek coins and countless pottery fragments were unearthed at various points of the site, allowing precise dating of the different stages of its development.

<sup>31</sup> GINOUVES, *Gortys*, p. 155 provides a summary of the building's history; see also, *ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>32</sup> The system is described in GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 58-77.

apses of C and B, Ginouvès reconstructs what he calls "vertical heating chambers" which served two functions. First, they helped add to the heat of the areas abutting them, i.e. the thin brick walls of E, the north apse of B, and the east apse of C. Second, they cooled down some of the hot air and gases, and so increased the circulation in the subterranean channels. Only the chamber behind the north apse of B was open to the sky, and so acted as the chimney for the whole system.

The water system is much simpler than that for heating.<sup>33</sup> A channel from a source further up the slopes ran directly into the reservoir X which fed the whole building. A drainage canal was located outside the building along the south wall, and another extended from the east wall. These canals were fed by the open channels which run through B, and H and I, as well as by the terracotta pipeline under W. The system is fairly rudimentary, although it utilizes and negotiates the changes of level at the site skillfully. It is noteworthy that Ginouvès offers no explanation of how the hot-water unit he reconstructs behind  $\lambda$  and between C and G was supplied. It is most natural to suppose that it was fed by hand from the fountain  $\xi$  in F, although this appears remarkably inefficient, as well as inconvenient for the bathers moving from C to F or G.

Looking at the building as a whole, Ginouvès reconstructs the path of the bather through its rooms.<sup>34</sup> Entering through the portico A, he proceeded into room B to undress, perhaps leaving his clothes with an attendant in room V. On entering room C, he faced a series of possibilities. He could sit on bench  $\zeta$  and wait until a favoured facility came free; the shelf  $\eta$  was provided for belongings and accoutrements. There was the cold fountain  $\theta$  and the hot one  $\lambda$  for cleaning. A visit to the sweat room E, or immersion in one of the hot tubs in D were also possibilities, although the latter, upon analogy with other cultures, would only come after

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 78-88.

<sup>34</sup> For what follows, cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 46-48.

cleansing. G provided the means for this, with its hip-baths for washing proper. The bather could loiter in F on the way to G, if it were full, or to take a rest. The functions of H and I, as mentioned above, are not clear, and Ginouvès simply omits them from the main series of rooms. The bather then left by the same route, in reverse. These baths are thus "linear"- or "row"-type baths, in which one had to go back through the system to get out, as opposed to "circle" ones, whereby one could avoid this inconvenience.

Such then is a description of the thermal establishment at Gortys. Several elements are seen as foreshadowing developed Roman baths. Foremost among them are the heating and water systems.<sup>35</sup> Although primitive by comparison to Roman examples, Ginouvès sees the rudiments of Roman practice present at Gortys, with raised floors and heated walls, canals bringing water from afar and channels allowing drainage. A further argument in favour of Gortys's importance as a forerunner to Roman baths is that it shows an elementary sequence of rooms.<sup>36</sup> This is seen as a clear precursor to that in Roman baths. Indeed Heinz argues that it is precisely this feature which makes Roman baths distinctive.<sup>37</sup> So, for him, the appearance of a recognizable series of rooms at Gortys shows that the Greeks had fully developed all the elements of Roman baths, which the Romans merely systematized.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 166-167.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, p. 209. Even so, the case is weak: room A is supposed to be the cold room, D and E the hot rooms, and B and C the moderately hot rooms. This is not convincing. As GINOUVES himself admits, the progression through these rooms is not well-ordered. Furthermore, the so-called cold room is little more than an entrance vestibule. Room D is hardly a separate room at all, but an adjunct to room C; it is also comprised entirely of immersion tubs. And rooms B and C would hardly have been like *tepidaria* in that they were only partially heated. Despite these faults, GINOUVES's suggestion meets with full acceptance in HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 47-50.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 51. HEINZ also draws on elements found at Olympia and elsewhere, which will be looked at below. GINOUVES, looking at Gortys alone, develops a similar opinion: "Le rôle des Romains fut de concentrer les dispositifs, en poussant plus loin l'analyse des fonctions, et de harmoniser à leurs goûts moins <<sportifs>>" (*Gortys*, p. 167).

However, there are some profound differences between this site and Roman public baths. Some of these Ginouvès himself points out.<sup>39</sup> For instance, there is no recognizable *frigidarium*, all the bathrooms instead being at least partially heated. It is equally difficult to identify specifically a *caldarium* or *tepidarium*, as even Heinz has to admit.<sup>40</sup> The supposedly clear series of rooms is therefore not convincing, especially when one considers that from room C the bather had at least 5 possibilities available. There is simply no clear-cut room sequence. Nor is there a pool for communal immersion in either hot or cold water.<sup>41</sup> As already seen, these are the essential elements in Roman baths. Even the hypocaust has come under suspicion. It has recently been pointed out that the heating system at Gortys, as at other Greek sites, is of a type quite different from the developed Roman *suspensura*.<sup>42</sup> In the latter, the entire floor area of a room was raised and heated, while in the former only sections of rooms were heated by means of a subterranean corridor (though at Gortys, the whole floor of room E is heated). The two systems are really only alike in that they share the same basic principle of underfloor heating.

Certain general considerations also cast doubt on a direct link between the establishment at Gortys and developed Roman baths. In the first place, it is in Arcadia, very much a backwater of Greece and of the ancient world in general. It is difficult to see such a place as contributing a major new form to leisure architecture, especially in the context of the instability of mid-3rd century central Greece.<sup>43</sup> It may be argued that the bath at Gortys must have had sister buildings elsewhere. This suggestion finds support in the indications that the architect had

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 48.

<sup>41</sup> But note that room Y was once such a pool, before it was converted into the furnace of the hypocaust in the mid-3rd century BC, cf. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 56-57. Furthermore, although room D contains hot immersion pools, they are individual ones. Nothing like the Roman *piscina* or *alveus* is found here.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. J. DeLAINE, "Some Suggestions on the Transition from Greek to Roman Baths in Hellenistic Italy," *JMA* 2 (1989), 111-125, esp. 111-114; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.20-21.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. DeLAINE, *JRA* 1 (1988), 15.

had experience with the technology involved in the hypocaust.<sup>44</sup> Certainly, whoever designed and built Gortys appears to have had previous experience with at least elements of such a building.

Nonetheless, no other building like that at Gortys occurs in the archaeological record to date. It is, to the best of our knowledge, unique, although its constituent elements are found separately in other Greek baths.<sup>45</sup> This is not to assert that Gortys was the only such building in Greek antiquity, but presumably it was not a very common type or others like it would surely have been found. It is possible that the establishment at Gortys was unusual, even to those who used it. Perhaps its immediate context offers an explanation. Gortys is not, like the Roman public baths which are the focus of this study, found in an urban or civic context, but rather in a religious one. It is the centre-piece of a sanctuary of Asclepius, whose healing cult involved rites of purification and bathing.<sup>46</sup> What is more, sanctuaries of this god elsewhere feature baths among their buildings, and tend to be situated in well-watered places.<sup>47</sup> Ginouvès himself assesses the role of the Gortys establishment in the cult and concludes that it shows a transition in the cult's practices from purely religious bathing to "physical or hygienic" bathing. Its

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<sup>44</sup> Especially in the "vertical heating chambers" to heat the abutting rooms and quicken the subterranean circulation. HEINZ, in fact, detects "die planende Hand eines geschulten Architekten" in the building's subtleties, cf. *Röm. Therm.*, p. 47.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the survey of related sites in GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 156-165. Such elements are the hip-baths, sweat room, hypocaust and immersion baths.

<sup>46</sup> Bathing featured in the preparatory rituals before sacrifice and often in the cures "prescribed" by the god, cf. Aelius Aristides, *The Sacred Tales*, passim; E.J. & L. EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1945), I.407, 408a, 421.656-658, 423.37, 432, II.148-149, 186-187; GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 349-361. A concise summary of this cult is provided by R. JACKSON, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), pp. 138-169, esp. 140-155; note in particular the place of bathing in the cult, p. 145. On the Asklepiian cult in general, cf. C. KERÉNYI, *Asklepios* (NYC: Pantheon, 1959). In fact, baths played a significant role in Greek religious life in general, as GINOUVES's *Balan.*, makes clear: over 50% of the text is concerned with "la propreté et la vie religieuse" (pp. 234-428).

<sup>47</sup> Such as Epidauros, where there were one or two bath-complexes of Greek date, cf. A. BURFORD, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 51, 65, 76, 79 and 110 who says there were two, but R. TOMLINSON, *Epidauros* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), p. 84 identifies only one. Other Asklepieia include Kos, Pergamon and Athens. For the latter, cf. S. ALESHIRE, *The Athenian Asklepieion* (Amsterdam; Gieben, 1989) and ead., *Asklepios at Athens* (Amsterdam; Gieben, 1991). The others are described in sequence by JACKSON, *Doctors.*, pp. 148-155. For the well-watered nature of Asklepiian sanctuaries, cf. BURFORD, *Temple Builders*, pp. 45-47.

function, he argues, is primarily that of a thermal establishment, although under the patronage of a god.<sup>48</sup>

But Ginouvès's division of function may be false. The establishment is found in the context of a sanctuary dedicated to the principal Greek healing god. Its function was therefore surely religious first and foremost, in that its patrons would have been frequenting it not merely to get clean and socialize, but to fulfil religious requirements of purification, or to respond to the god's commands aimed at healing.<sup>49</sup> There are indications on the site itself that this was so. The two statue bases, in A and I, could have been for images of the god or his associates (such as Hygieia). The rooms H and I, with no discernible function in the bathing process, may well have had some religious function, carried out during bathing or afterward. In the reservoir X a piece of pottery in the form of a foot was found, with a votive inscription. This is a familiar feature of the cult attested at other Asklepieia, where model bodyparts were regularly used to call the god's attention to a particular ailment. They could be displayed, nailed to boards hung up in the sanctuary's temple, as testimonies to the effectiveness of divine healing. Other inscriptions of a religious or votive nature were found reused in the Roman walls on the site, although these could not be definitely connected with the thermal establishment.<sup>50</sup>

In short, while the establishment at Gortys shows beyond doubt that the Greeks developed certain rudimentary forms of technology later essential to Roman baths, it is difficult to see it as a direct forerunner to those baths. It is so far a unique and rather sophisticated

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Gortys*, pp. 47, 156.

<sup>49</sup> GINOUVES practically admits this when he concedes that the immersion baths in D in particular, and the whole building in general, would have been visited mainly by sick people: " C'est que le bain par immersion, à l'époque hellénistique qui est celle du bâtiment, est relativement rare, et généralement réservé aux <<délicats>> ou aux malades; et certes l'établissement de Gortys, dans le sanctuaire d'un dieu guérisseur, devait en recevoir beaucoup." (*Gortys*, p. 48)

<sup>50</sup> For all of this see, GINOUVES, *Gortys*, pp. 7-19 (room A), 44-46 (rooms H and I), 139 (foot); and 143 (inscriptions). GINOUVES attempts to play down the religious nature of the place, in an attempt to highlight the role of Gortys in the development of later Roman baths. Asklepieia all over the Greco-Roman world have yielded vast quantities of votive bodyparts of the sort found at Gortys, e.g. Epidauros, Corinth and Kos.

structure standing in a cultural backwater of Greece, lacking certain bathing elements basic to Roman baths, and, above all, operating in the religious context of a sanctuary of Asclepius. Whatever else may be claimed about the building, this last point is surely decisive, as it sets the function of the Gortys establishment firmly apart from that of the developed civic baths of the Roman era.

### *The "Greek hypocaust bath" at Olympia*

The pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Olympia provides what some scholars see as proof that the Greeks developed the hypocaust to its final form.<sup>51</sup> The building in question was numbered by the excavators as phase IV of an older structure, and labelled *das griechische Hypokaustenbad*, "the Greek hypocaust bath" (figs. 2-4).<sup>52</sup> The area around this bath had seen considerable construction spanning three-and-a-half centuries, in the form of alterations and replacements of previous bath buildings.<sup>53</sup> The visitor today would be hard-pressed to make sense of the different structures built atop each other, and weeds and decay make the task all the more difficult. The excavators' report therefore remains the most reliable guide.

The early baths on the site can be treated briefly. The first, building I, was put up in the first half of the 5th century BC and was a simple rectangular hall with a fountain.<sup>54</sup> Towards the middle of that century it was extended to include a new building (II) containing eleven hip-baths and two water tanks, one apparently for standing baths. In a building to the south-east of

<sup>51</sup> E.g. GINOUVES, *Gortys*, p. 167; *ibid. Balan.*, pp. 204-209; H. ESCHEBACH, *Die Stabianer Thermen in Pompeji* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1979), p. 65; BRÖDNER, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 8-9, 16-23; HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 41-47, esp. 44-46.

<sup>52</sup> The building is described in E. KUNZE & H. SCHLEIF, *IV. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1944), pp. 51-56. A more recent summary, deviating little from the more detailed report of KUNZE & SCHLEIF can be found in A. MALLWITZ, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1972), pp. 270-273.

<sup>53</sup> For these buildings see, KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, pp. 32- 51 (descriptions), 70-80, 96 (dates). See also HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 41-47.

<sup>54</sup> I have not provided detailed plans of the three early periods, but they can be roughly located by number (I-III) in building A in fig. 2.

this complex (building B in fig. 2), stood a round room, possibly a sweat bath, the so-called "Heroon." Assuming it was a sweat bath, it had its own changing room (the western half of the building), an oven room (in the south-east section) and a rotunda where the patrons sweated. There is no evidence of water supply or drainage in this building; recent research suggests it may have been a temple.<sup>55</sup>

The hip-bath complex II was altered in the early 4th century to accommodate a hot water vessel. Reckoned to be contemporaneous with or slightly earlier than these alterations is the construction of a huge open air swimming-pool to the west of the main building (C in fig. 2). It measured 100 x 75 Olympic feet (24.4m x 16.4m), was 5 Olympic feet (1.22m) deep, and had 5 steps around the interior wall leading down to the paved bottom. The hip-bath complex was radically altered c. 300 BC, or soon after, to form phase III. This saw the construction of a larger hip-bath room, with twenty tubs and a hot water tank housed in a new room to the west of the old building II. The latter was transformed and enlarged, possibly to form a cold bath, although this is unsure. This complex was altered in the course of the 3rd century BC, and heating elements added to the former "cold bath." This room may now have become a sweat bath. It seems that throughout the existence of this building (III) the swimming-pool and the putative sweat bath in the "Heroon" continued in use.

The next phase (IV) is, for us, the most important (figs. 3-4). The hip-bath complex had been abandoned in the early 2nd century BC, and now an entirely new and revolutionary structure was erected to replace it. This is "the Greek hypocaust bath."<sup>56</sup> It is a rectangular structure, 7.93m x 9.51m, with an apse at one end. The long, north-south walls are thicker than

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<sup>55</sup> Note the very similar structure (date: c. 490 BC) found in the sanctuary at Santa Venera near Paestum, which is interpreted by the excavator as a temple, cf. J.G. PEDLEY, *Paestum* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990), pp. 136-143.

<sup>56</sup> The hypocaust bath is covered in KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, pp. 51-56 (description) and 79-80 (date).

the short, east-west ones, and this suggested a barrel-vaulted roof to the excavators. The apse was roofed with a semi-dome. The floor of the building was raised up on 90 pillars made of brick and other materials, which stood 80-85cm high. This did not extend under the apse (fig. 4). In the north and south corners of the east wall were two holes in the main room's flooring, interpreted by the excavators as small chimneys for the hypocaust. Heating was provided from the north end of the building, so that what had been building II now served as a furnace room. Other small rooms were built against the main room's east side and north-east corner.

In the north-west corner stood a bath, separated from the rest of the main room by a short wall, 60cm high. This was heated by means of a device later called a *testudo alvei* (literally "tortoise of the pool"), whereby water in a hot container was heated by a fire underneath and circulated into the pool, thus maintaining a supply of hot water for the entire pool.<sup>57</sup> This "tortoise" was placed above the entrance to the hypocaust, and so the same fire could heat the pool and the room. Starting outside the west end of the pool and running along the length of the west wall of the main room was a drainage channel, which emptied through an opening adjacent to the apse. In the flooring of the apse itself were found the outlines of a pillar and a wall that connected it to the apex of the apse. The latter is interpreted as having supported and supplied what the Romans called a *labrum*, i.e. a raised basin for dousing, which is now lost. Outside the north-west corner, the main supply tank for building III was renovated to supply the hydraulic needs of building IV.

While there can be no doubt that this building contains many technological and architectural refinements, it is more difficult to see it as a Greek development that clearly foreshadows Roman bathing practices. Its architectural form is that of a *caldarium* of a Republican Roman bath almost straight from the pages of Vitruvius, but it is disembodied and

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.16.

stands in isolation. There is no identifiable *tepidarium* or *frigidarium* associated with it. What is more, as Schleif himself notes, it marks a striking departure from the individual hip-bath complexes of the previous buildings on the site, and must reflect a radical change in the bathing practices themselves.<sup>58</sup> Such a change in bathing habits from individual to communal immersion is not attested at other Greek bath sites, and is very much the exception to the rule. Although there is a swimming-pool at Olympia, immersion was in cold water -- hip-baths were provided for hot-water bathing -- and pools like it were a rarity in Greek baths in any case. Furthermore, as at Olympia, such pools are found predominantly at or near sanctuaries, which may indicate that they had a primarily religious function.<sup>59</sup> However, in building IV the communal immersion is in hot water, with no alternative hip-bathing facilities available. This is indeed "a basic change in bathing habits."

What brought about such a change? That it was of local origin is not supported by the evidence. There is no sign at Olympia of gradual development. Rather, the change is from hip-bath to heated communal pool -- with a much smaller capacity than the hip-bath complex III -- without any visible transition. This would suggest the work of an external influence on bathing habits, and clues exist as to its identity. Given the form of the building, a Roman *caldarium*, and its date, c.100 BC, phase IV at Olympia is probably the product of Roman influence at the site.<sup>60</sup> After all, by this date the Romans had been involved in Greek affairs for nearly a century

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<sup>58</sup> KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, p. 51: "Mit der Aufgabe des jüngeren Sitzbades ohne Ersatz durch eine entsprechende weiterentwickelte Neuanlage zeigt sich eine grundsätzliche Veränderung der Badegewohnheiten an, die in dem nachfolgenden großen Neubau IV folgerichtig ihre bauliche Gestaltung findet."

<sup>59</sup> Other communal pools are found in the gymnasia at Delphi or Delos (where they are round) or in the bath at Nemea (rectangular), cf KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, pp. 40-46, esp. 42; GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 133-134; S.G MILLER (ed.), *Nemea. A guide to the Site and Museum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 110-117. These are the exceptions rather than the rule. Note also that they are all in religious contexts, and so may have served some ceremonial or ritual purpose.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, pp. 79-80 where the building is dated by pottery evidence. I. NIELSEN, "Considerazioni sulle prime fasi dell'evoluzione dell'edificio termale romano," *ARID* 14 (1985), 81-112. esp. 101-104 reconsiders the evidence and sets a date no earlier than 100 BC and perhaps sometime later; see also ead., *Therm.*, I.22.

and some had even emigrated to live there.<sup>61</sup> In particular, we know that the architect Cossutius, identified by Vitruvius as a Roman citizen, was active in Greece during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 BC).<sup>62</sup> This is not to suggest that Cossutius designed bath IV at Olympia, but it is nonetheless interesting to hear of a Roman architect active in Greece at so early a date. Conceivably others followed in his footsteps. Unfortunately, lack of evidence makes it impossible to establish how typical Cossutius was.

Some of the concerns expressed above about the Gortys establishment apply to Olympia as well. The bath is in the religious context of a sanctuary, not a civic one. Its main patrons would have been those who visited the sanctuary (pilgrims and athletes), but not everyday passers-by. Like Gortys, it is also a unique structure with no surviving parallels among Greek baths. All these arguments taken together make it difficult to see building IV at Olympia as a direct Greek model for Roman baths.

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Thus both Gortys and building IV at Olympia, the two cornerstones of the "Greek theory" for the origin of Roman baths, now seem unsatisfactory for this purpose. It is appropriate to turn next to other, more typical Greek bathing structures to see if these can offer any features that seem to anticipate Roman baths.

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. A.J.N. WILSON, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (NY: Manchester University Press, 1966), pp. 94-98.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Vitruv., 7.15-17. J.M.C. TOYNBEE, "Some Notes on Artists in the Roman world," *Latomus* 8 (1949), 310 suggests he was of Campano-Greek stock. E. RAWSON, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 189-203 (originally *PBSR* 43 (1975), 36-47), esp. 190-193 confirms Cossutius's Campanian origins and identifies other members of the family (pp. 193-195) as active in Athens and the Aegean region (including Delos) at this time, though their activities cannot be determined. See further, H.A. THOMPSON, "The Impact of Roman Architects and Architecture on Athens: 170 BC-AD 170" in F.H. THOMPSON (ed.), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1987), pp. 1-17.

*The characteristics of Greek baths*

There were two main types of public bath in the Greek world: one was found in the gymnasium and the other was an independent entity.<sup>63</sup> We can treat both fairly briefly.<sup>64</sup> Here we are concerned only with the gymnasium's bathing facilities; the palaestra and its related rooms, which had a definite influence on Roman baths, are considered elsewhere.<sup>65</sup> However, we should note that the presence of a palaestra in Roman baths from an early date is in itself a clear sign of Greek gymnasia influence on those baths.<sup>66</sup>

The baths associated with the gymnasium, usually called λουτρῶν or λουτρόν, had some definite characteristics which only acquired architectural form along with the institution itself in the late 5th century BC and on into the Hellenistic period.<sup>67</sup> Gymnasia baths could be open to the sky (as at Delphi) or a part of the palaestra building (as at Eretria, Pergamum or Priene). Such establishments featured only cold water baths, normally in the form of simple basins against a wall (e.g. Delphi, Nemea, Priene, Pergamum, and Epidauros).<sup>68</sup> There could be a swimming pool, but this was a rarity.<sup>69</sup> Such pools, when they existed, were also supplied with cold water. Heated elements in gymnasia baths were restricted mainly to round sweat

<sup>63</sup> Cf. DELORME, *Gymn.*, pp. 245-246 for the distinction between gymnasia and public baths. More recently, cf. D.G. KYLE, *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), pp. 56-101, esp. 64-71.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. DELORME, *Gymn.*, pp. 304-305 or the fuller account in GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 124-147. See also NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.9-13. For more information on the sites of both gymnasia and public baths mentioned in the following brief survey, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 431-440. See also the additional sites mentioned (with bibliography) by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.6, n. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Gymnasia generally included a palaestra-like element, though palaestrae could also exist independently, cf. the works cited above, n. 63.

<sup>66</sup> Note that Vitruvius (5.11.1), when describing a building he calls a *palaestra* says that he considers *palaestrae* not to be a part of Italian, but Greek culture (*nunc mihi videtur, tametsi non sint Italicae consuetudinis palastrarum aedificationes, traditae tamen, explicare et quemadmodum apud Graecos constituentur, monstrare*). But note that he clearly presents the palaestra as a separate building and not part of the baths which he has just described (5.10). As NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.34 points out, no examples of such a structure have been found.

<sup>67</sup> On the terminology and problems associated with it, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, p. 129, n. 7. Archaic and early Classical gymnasia appear to have been extremely simple affairs, little more than open-air spaces with basins for washing.

<sup>68</sup> GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 130-135 and figs. 90-93.

<sup>69</sup> See above, n. 59.

baths (as at Delos, possibly the "Heroon" at Olympia or the palaestra at Eretria) until the Hellenistic period, after which their nature becomes debatable.<sup>70</sup> Such were the physical characteristics of gymnasia baths. Aside from the palaestra, there are three features here that were to find parallels, if not descendants, in Roman baths -- cold-water basins, the round sweat bath and the swimming-pool, although the latter was a rarity in Greek establishments, and the Romans could have developed it independently. What is more, the cold-water basin (*labrum*) and the sweat-room (*laconicum*) were respectively minor and optional features of Roman baths.

Greek public baths, called βαλανείον (pl. βαλανεία), were a different type of building altogether.<sup>71</sup> Athenaeus says the Sybarites were using them in the 6th century BC, but he may be mistaken.<sup>72</sup> Βαλανεία were certainly in existence in Athens when Aristophanes wrote at the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th century BC.<sup>73</sup> Vase paintings of this period depict bath scenes, but it is often unclear if they are private or public in setting.<sup>74</sup> An exception is a red-figure vase of the 5th century BC portraying young men around a basin inscribed with the word δημοσία. What does the word mean here? "Public place" or "publicly owned"?<sup>75</sup> If

<sup>70</sup> GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 135-140. Much of the evidence GINOUVES cites in these pages is of Roman date, and so not strictly applicable to unadulterated Greek practice. Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, p.11.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 183-224; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.6-9. Note also the celebrated comment of Poseidonius (cited in Athen., 5.210e-f and 12.527e-f) that the people of Syria were using the γυμνασία as βαλανεία.

<sup>72</sup> Ath., 12.518c. Elsewhere Athenaeus (1.18b-c), citing the 4th-century BC comic poet Antiphanes, says that public baths had only been recently introduced (προσφάτως δὲ καὶ τὰ βαλανεία παρήκται).

<sup>73</sup> Specifically public baths, however, are often difficult to discern in Aristophanes' comments, but they seem to stand behind the following references: *Knights*, 1060-1063 (424 BC); *Clouds*, 835-837, 991, 1045, 1050-1054 (423/1 BC); *Frogs*, 1279-1280 (405 BC); *Plutus*, 535-536, 952-953 (388 BC). We may also note those places where a βαλανεύς, a keeper of public baths, is mentioned: *Knights*, 1403; *Birds*, 490-492 (414 BC); *Frogs*, 711; *Plutus*, 955-956. Baths of unclear type -- private or public? -- are found at: *Knights*, 50; *Lysistrata*, 1066-1068 (411 BC); *Plutus*, 615-616. Note also that Aristophanes seems to use both βαλανείον and λουτρόν to refer to public baths, compare *Clouds*, 991 with 1045 and 1051, clearly in reference to the same sort of establishment. Whether the Old Oligarch means "bathhouses" (as opposed to baths in an athletic setting) by λουτρῶνας in 2.10 is not clear, but they are clearly the work of the demos.

<sup>74</sup> GINOUVES, *Balan.*, p. 127 makes this point. Cf. Ch. 2, n. 138 for a discussion of the eponymous painting in the Tomb of the Diver.

<sup>75</sup> The vase was in the Hamilton collection and is depicted in DAREMBERG & SAGLIO, I.651, fig. 748. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, p. 127 interprets the word as meaning "public place" but a recent study of the

the latter, it may indicate that the place had a restricted clientele (e.g. ambassadors, members of the prytany or public guests).

Many examples of Greek public baths have been found, the majority dating from the Hellenistic period or later. As a result, their main features can be confidently determined.

The chief characteristic of the βαλανεῖον was the hip-bath (πύελος). This type of tub had a distinctive shape.<sup>76</sup> There was a seat, often of stone, at the high end, with a small basin at the low, foot end. The walls of the tub itself, often made from terracotta, sloped down from about chest to knee height on a seated bather. The bathers sat in the tub and had water poured over them by an attendant. Such hip-baths would be arranged side-by-side around the walls of an open room, normally a rotunda (θόλος).<sup>77</sup> Where the walls of these hip-bath chambers have been preserved to a sufficient height, there are often niches over the hip-baths for the bather to store belongings or washing gear.<sup>78</sup> There could also be individual immersion tubs, quite similar to the bath-tub of modern times in form and function.<sup>79</sup> Occasionally sweat-baths and hypocaust systems connected with them are also found in such baths.<sup>80</sup> Cold-water washing is

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development of public property and the application of the term δημοσία in Greek cities would suggest it means "publicly owned," cf. D. LEWIS, "Public Property in the City," in O. MURRAY (ed.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 245-263

<sup>76</sup> For which cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 29-49, esp. 47-49, and his figs. 10-26, 98-116, 119-124, 149-152, 156-160.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. *Rotunda*: room G at Gortys (fig. 1), Harbour Baths at Eretria (fig. 5), Eleusis, Piraeus, Agora and Dipylon baths at Athens, Oeniadae, Syracuse, Gela, Megara Hyblaea; cf. Athen., 11.501e (comment of the grammarian Timarchos or Timachidas (late 2nd/early 1st cent. BC; cf. *RE* 2.6a.1052-60, s.v. "Timachidas," [Ziegler]) that baths in Athens were round); *Other*: buildings II and III at Olympia (rectangular), room A at Gela and the "Sacred Baths" at Cyrene (both U-shaped, though there are rotundas at both sites as well).

<sup>78</sup> E.g. room G at Gortys (fig. 1), rotunda R1 at the Piraeus, the "Sacred Baths" at Cyrene.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. room D at Gortys (fig. 1), but also at the "Sacred Baths" at Cyrene.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. *sweat baths*: room E at Gortys, and possibly rotunda E at Syracuse; *hypocausts*: Gortys (the most sophisticated and extensive of the known examples), Gela, Syracuse, Megara Hyblea and Velia. We shall discuss these western examples shortly (cf. below, p. 61). GINOUVES's hypocaust at Eretria (area F in fig. 5) does not look particularly convincing and may be little more than a boiler heater like that in building II at Olympia from about 400 BC, cf. KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, pp. 36 (description) and 70-71 (date).

not a proven feature of Greek baths, the only solid examples coming from Gortys, which is an unusual site.<sup>81</sup>

Apart from these features, βαλανεία had little else to distinguish them. Their other rooms are mostly anonymous and have no immediately discernible function. Some of them may have been latrines or changing rooms but the evidence precludes certainty.<sup>82</sup> What is more, there is no clear order to the room arrangement. The only element of the Greek βαλανεῖον that prefigures Roman baths would appear to be the hypocaust, and it has been suggested that the Greek "annular" system, employing an underfloor heating corridor to heat parts of rooms, was in reality quite different from the Roman *suspensura*, which heated the entire floorspace.<sup>83</sup>

These two types represent the main forms of public baths in pre-Roman Greece. While there would appear to be little doubt that certain elements of these establishments came to be incorporated into Roman baths (e.g. swimming pools, sweat-baths, cold-water basins in the form of *labra*, and the hypocaust), it is clear that these types of bath are not sufficient in themselves, either individually or in combination, to explain the form of Roman baths. What distinguished λούτρα was cold-water washing in basins and the presence of sweat-baths, both of which were either minor or optional operations in Roman baths (in the form of *labra* or *laconica*). The distinctive hip-baths of the βαλανεῖον can nowhere be securely identified in Roman structures. Conversely, the Roman sequence of heated rooms and communal immersion in hot water are entirely absent in Greek establishments.<sup>84</sup> These overall differences in form between Greek and Roman baths reflect a more profound difference in bathing habits, whereby the Greeks bathed for the most part individually at basins or in hip-baths or single immersion

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<sup>81</sup> It is not at all certain that the term μάκτρα means cold immersion pool, as NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.8 asserts. It could also denote hot immersion baths, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp.188-189.

<sup>82</sup> GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 210-212.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. n. 42.

<sup>84</sup> Although the Western Greeks may have been moving toward hot-water communal immersion in the 2nd century BC, see below, p. 61.

tubs, whereas the Romans bathed together in communal pools. Indeed, this very observation leads Ginouvès to assert that the Greeks bathed primarily for cleanliness, the Romans primarily for pleasure.<sup>85</sup>

The form of the Greek λουτρά and βαλανεία, then, does not support the contention that Roman baths and bathing habits developed directly from Greek models. On inspection, neither does their function in society. The gymnasia of the Greek world remained largely the preserve of the upper classes, while Greek public baths were frequented by all sorts of people, from kings (on occasion) and politicians to commoners.<sup>86</sup> However, if the βαλανεία were in this respect analogous to Roman baths, it can be said with confidence that they never attained the same degree of popularity as their Roman counterparts and, for that reason, that they did not play the same central role in daily life. Relatively few secular βαλανεία are known from Greek sites (Egypt is an exception).<sup>87</sup> In addition, those that have been identified are universally smaller than would be the case if they were designed with large numbers of bathers in mind.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> *Balan.*, pp. 101-102, 135, 219, 229.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Polyb., 26.1.12-14 (Antiochos IV Epiphanes bathes among the people ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις βαλανείοις) and *ibid.*, 30.29.3-5 (the politicians Kallikrates and Andronidas bathe with people, although this occurs during a religious festival); Athen., 2.244c (two Delphic Sophists were so malodorous they clear out the βαλανεία when they enter). For the clientele at these institutions see also GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 216-220 and for gymnasia in particular DELORME, *Gymn.*, pp. 426-432, 456-457 and the comments of P. GREEN, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 319.

<sup>87</sup> We should note here that, Olympia and Gortys apart, several other Greek "public" baths appear in religious contexts, notably the baths just outside the sanctuary at Eleusis, and those at Morgantina, which lie in close proximity to a sanctuary of Persephone (cf. H.L. ALLEN, "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1970-1972: Preliminary Report XI," *AJA* 78 (1974), 361-383, esp. 381-382 where ALLEN suggests that the baths' position indicates a religious function for the structure). Although these buildings have the same general form as civic baths like Eretria's Harbour Baths or those at Gela, their function may have been quite different. The Romans too were to equip sanctuaries with baths identical in form to their civic establishments, witness the Roman baths at Olympia, Epidauros, Eleusis and Delphi among others.

<sup>88</sup> For the number of sites, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 184-186 and the supplement in NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.6, n. 7. The expected number of bathers can be roughly estimated by counting the number of hip-baths, and the figures are always small: Gortys had only 9 (fig. 1); Eleusis had 30 in two rotundas; Gela had 26 surviving examples with room for a further 7 at most (cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, fig. 4); rotunda R1 at the Piraeus had 26 examples (GINOUVES, *Balan.*, p. 193, fig. 157); Oeniadae's R2 had 17 with an indeterminate number in R1 (*ibid.*, pp. 193-194, fig. 156); Eretria 42 in two rotundas (fig. 5); and Cyrene had 28 originally, with two hip-baths replaced by 1 immersion bath at a later date (*ibid.*, fig. 103).

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All in all, the "Greek theory" is not very solid. There are major problems with the two chief sites cited by its proponents (Gortys and Olympia), and while a review of "typical" Greek baths can isolate elements that can be found later in Roman establishments, Greek and Roman baths are essentially different in architectural form, method of use and social function. But some positive points have emerged. Chief among these is that the Greeks used public baths in the first place. In this respect Greek culture is unique among those with which Rome came into contact prior to the 2nd century BC. Also, elements of Greek baths are indeed found in Roman structures. Foremost among these is the hypocaust, but there are also the sweat-baths and cold-water basins which, however, were not central to Roman practice. All this strengthens the notion that some degree of transfer occurred between Greek and Roman practice. The questions are, when, how and where? And in what degree?

Other questions remain. How do we explain those elements of Roman baths that are not found in Greek examples (i.e. the series of rooms and communal immersion)? Where did they come from? And where does the elusive Sergius Orata fit into the whole scheme, if at all? To answer these questions a consideration of the earliest physical remains of Roman baths, the Stabian Baths at Pompeii, <sup>is</sup> ~~will be~~ necessary. Clues from literary and epigraphic sources can be sought. When taken in combination, this material can be added to our conclusions here, and a clearer picture may be seen to emerge.

## CHAPTER II

### THE STABIAN BATHS AND THE WRITTEN EVIDENCE

#### *Introduction*

The evidence from Italy clearly points to Campania as the place where Roman public baths first made their appearance. We have already seen that the earliest remains of Roman baths come from this region and that Sergius Orata is said to have invented his *pensiles balineae* (whatever they were) there.<sup>1</sup> To this we can add further testimony. Livy claims that there were public baths (*balneae*) in Capua in 216 BC, and a story told by C. Gracchus attests the presence of baths in Teanum Sidicinum, Caes and Ferentinum at the end of the 2nd century BC.<sup>2</sup> Campania is therefore the place where the earliest Roman evidence converges.

There are other considerations to be taken into account in Campania's favour.<sup>3</sup> In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC it was a prosperous region that took a lead in developing architectural forms and building techniques later to be commonplace in Roman cities.<sup>4</sup> What is more, Campania had had extensive contact with Greek culture. The region had its share of Greek settlements, stretching back to the foundation of Pithecusae followed by Cumae, Puteoli and,

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<sup>1</sup> These points have been discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, 23.7.3, 23.18.12, although this evidence may not be accurate; C. Gracchus cited in Aulus Gellius, 10.3.3. See below, pp. 72-88 for a fuller treatment of these notices, as well as the other literary and epigraphic evidence.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.25-26.

<sup>4</sup> In particular, Campanians pioneered the use of concrete and tile in construction and developed architectural forms such as the basilica and the amphitheatre. Cf. F. RAKOB, "Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Bautypen und Bautechnik," *HIM* (1974), pp. 366-386; J.B. WARD-PERKINS, "Taste, Tradition and Technology. Some Aspects of the Architecture of late Republican and early Imperial Italy," in G. KOPCKE & M.B. MOORE, *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology* (NY: Augustin, 1979), pp. 197-207, esp. 198-200. On Campania in general in this period, cf. M. FREDERIKSEN (ed. N. PURCELL), *Campania* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1984), pp. 221-284.

most powerful of all, Neapolis.<sup>5</sup> Flourishing Greek settlements were not far to the south at Paestum, Rhegium and in Sicily. Campania therefore provides a suitable context for the exertion of influence from Greek to Roman baths. In addition, a particular natural feature of Campania may help in the search for the origins of communal bathing in hot water. This is the volcanic activity which generates an abundance of spas and thermal springs in the Campi Flegrei, the region roughly between Cumae and Naples.<sup>6</sup> These thermal pools show evidence of human activity from an early date.<sup>7</sup> All in all, Campania is admirably suited to provide the backdrop for the appearance of Roman-style baths: its population enjoyed the prosperity, natural resources, ingenuity and necessary cultural influences for such a development.

The earliest known Roman baths in Campania are the Central Baths at Cumae, dated to about 180 BC or earlier. Unfortunately, they have not been fully investigated and published, nor are they fully preserved. They seem to have undergone a series of restorations and extensions in antiquity, but the outline accounts provided in cursory reports indicate that the earliest structure displayed the familiar linear arrangement of three barrel-vaulted rooms.<sup>8</sup> There are also niches in the walls. That is about all that can be said until further work is carried out on this structure.

Resort must therefore be had to the Stabian Baths at Pompeii, the earliest set of fully preserved Roman baths. These have been clearly published and much discussed.<sup>9</sup> Remarkably, it has been claimed that they show a direct link between Greek and Roman bathing practice, in that the first bath on the site has been reconstructed by some scholars as a Greek bath, which

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. FREDERIKSEN, *Campania*, pp. 54-116.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. FREDERIKSEN, *Campania*, pp. 1-30.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Livy, 41.16 (bathing at Aquae Cumanae in 176 BC). See also NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.21; G.W. HOUSTON, "The *Other Spas of Ancient Campania*" (forthcoming). Some useful information will undoubtedly emerge from R. JACKSON, "Waters and Spas in the Classical World," in R.S. PORTER & W.F. BYNUM (edd.), *The Medical History of Spas and Waters (Medical History supplement, forthcoming)*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.28-29 (where there is reference to earlier bibliography).

<sup>9</sup> The main publication is ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.* Other discussions will be cited as they arise.

was later supplanted by a Roman one. It is therefore an important, if not crucial site, which merits detailed investigation here. As will emerge, however, the difficulties of interpreting this building are such that it cannot be used as convincing proof that the first Roman public baths were originally Greek in form.

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*(i) The Stabian Baths at Pompeii: from Greek to Roman?*

H. Eschebach's scheme for the Stabian Baths' construction history is presented first. This has recently been adopted in slightly modified form by I. Nielsen, and used as the basis for her development scheme for Roman baths as a whole. Her views, therefore, receive separate and extensive treatment in the subsequent section.

*H. Eschebach's Stabian Baths scheme*

The Stabian Baths occupy the south half of Insula 1, Regio VII at Pompeii.<sup>10</sup> The main body of the building as it stands today is dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC (fig. 6).<sup>11</sup> However, H. Eschebach and his mentor and predecessor H. Sulze claim to have identified far older underlying structures which push the origins of the bath building back to the 5th century BC.<sup>12</sup> In fact, they see the 2nd century baths as phase IV of a building that is judged to have had a total of seven construction periods. Phase V is dated by an inscription found on the site, which records the work of the duumvirs C. Vilius and P. Aninius who constructed a

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<sup>10</sup> They are at VII.i.8/48/50, cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 5-7. The position of the Stabian Baths in the city plan is indicated in fig. 18.1-3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 8-25 for a thorough building description.

<sup>12</sup> The work of Sulze is concisely summarised in ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. vii-ix.

*laconicum* and *dstrictarium* and renovated parts of the *porticus* and *palaestra*.<sup>13</sup> The inscription dates to the early years of the Sullan colony, c. 80 BC. Unfortunately the earlier phases are not so easily dated. Since the baths required some restoration and extension in 80 BC, the main body (Phase IV) is reckoned to belong to c. 140-120 BC. This latter date is supported by construction techniques and materials. Otherwise, it is difficult to assign precise dates for the various phases.<sup>14</sup> This situation, however, does not deter Eschebach from identifying the main periods of development and providing rough dates for each.

Eschebach's Phase I consists of a small bath, located under the curious arrangement in the north-west corner of the site, featuring a series of hip-baths distributed among five bathing cells, a large immersion pool and a deep well (fig. 7.1). The whole was built in connection with a *palaestra* that occupied the rest of the site.<sup>15</sup> This, then, was essentially a type of gymnasium, and the bath an athletes' bath. What is unusual is the combination of *palaestra* and hot-water baths, not found in Greek gymnasia until Hellenistic times, and the presence of an immersion pool which was a rarity in Greek bathing establishments of any kind.<sup>16</sup> This building thus shared characteristics with both types of Greek public baths -- cold-water bathing and a *palaestra* taken from gymnasia, and the hip-baths taken from βαλανεία. Eschebach dates this phase to the 5th century BC, apparently by comparison with the hip-baths at Olympia. It was destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius in the latter part of that century.

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<sup>13</sup> The inscription (*ILLRP* 648 = *CIL* 10.1635) reads: C. Uulius C. f., P. Aninius C. f. II V(iri) i(ure) d(icundo) | laconicum et dstrictarium | faciund(a) et | porticus et palaestr(am) | reficiunda locarunt ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) ex || ea pecunia quod eos e lege | in ludos aut in monumento | consumere oportuit. faciund(a) | coerant eidemque probaru(nt).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, p. viii: "[Die einzelnen Bauperioden] gehen vielfach ineinander über, da absolut schlüssige Beweise für die zeitliche Abgrenzung der verschiedenen Phasen des Baugeschehens nicht zu erbringen sind."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 51-53, 64.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. above, pp. 43-44 for gymnasial baths. Cf. also NIELSEN's position on this combination, below, n. 138.

In the next phase (II), Eschebach sees the hip-baths replaced by five individual immersion tubs in the bathing cells (fig. 7.2). The immersion pool is extended and the well given a mechanical water-lifting device. The north wing of the palaestra gets some functional rooms, including a cistern. The functions of the other rooms are not clear.<sup>17</sup> This is seen as the first public bath on the site, and the house built to the north of the well-room was perhaps intended to accommodate the personnel who worked there. It is assigned a date in the 4th or 3rd century BC.

Phase III sees the construction of a *domus*-type house in the south-west section of the insula, and the baths extended to the east (fig. 7.3).<sup>18</sup> Here a new room (II), which later became the women's *apodyterium*, was added between the old well-room (I) and easternmost room on the north wing of the palaestra (III). These three rooms were interconnected by diagonal entranceways, testimony to the makeshift nature of the arrangement. Rooms I and II had floors with elaborate rhomboid designs, as also perhaps did III. The bathing cells continued in use to the west of room II. A *terminus post quem* for these alterations was provided by a lekythos sherd, dated to the 4th century BC or earlier, found under the mortar base for room II. These alterations are therefore probably to be dated to some time following this deposit, in the 4th or 3rd centuries BC.

If Eschebach's scheme is accepted, this phase would be most important, as the first signs of an ordered room sequence appears in the arrangement of rooms I-III. Eschebach is not sure what function these rooms served, but suggests that they may have been heated by braziers of the sort found in the *tepidarium* of the Forum Baths at Herculaneum, or the one found in

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 54-55, 64.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 56-57, 64-65.

room Q at the Stabian Baths (cf. fig. 6).<sup>19</sup> At this stage in Pompeii's history, the site was in Samnite hands, but it is most unlikely that the inspiration for a progression of rooms came from the Samnites.<sup>20</sup> In addition, by comparison with the clear sequence of rooms in the next phase of the building's history, the arrangement here is rather loose.

In Phase IV, Eschebach presents the first recognizable set of Roman baths fitted with hypocausts of the Roman type (fig. 7.4).<sup>21</sup> Here, in the south-east wing of the insula, there is a set of two *caldaria* grouped around a single furnace room, two *tepidaria* and two *apodyteria*, presumably one set each for males and females. This suggestion is reinforced by the smaller, northernmost set of rooms being closed off from the palaestra, which remained the preserve of men. All of these rooms are barrel-vaulted. No *frigidaria* are attested for this period, but the women's *apodyterium* may have had a cold pool in it, as it did later. That we are dealing with a double set of baths here suggests that, although these are the earliest complete set of Roman public baths to survive, they were by no means the first built. The sophistication of the hypocaust,<sup>22</sup> the placing of the twin *caldaria* flanking a single heat source, and the overall smoothness of design surely indicate an architect familiar with the technology and requirements of such a building.

The palaestra was encroached upon to provide room for these structures, and the portico on its north side was extended to the east and south (the west side of the palaestra still abutted the *domus*-type house). The east wing of the portico was fitted out with a sundial bearing an

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<sup>19</sup> This was not the intended location of the tray; it had been moved there by workers engaged in repairing the building after the earthquake of AD 62/3. It was inscribed with the name of P. Nigidius Vaccula. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, p. 25, s.v. "Q" gives full reference to publications of this object.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. E.T. SALMON, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 50-186, esp. pp. 50-64 where public bathing is not an attested part of Samnite life.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 65-68.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 40-47.

Oscan inscription.<sup>23</sup> The north wing had a new cistern added on a second storey above the bathing cells, and the latter apparently continued in use, providing apparent evidence for a remarkable coexistence of old (Greek) and new (Roman) practice. As mentioned above, this phase is assigned a date of 140-120 BC.

Phase V was marked by the alterations of Vulius and Aninius, when the palaestra and portico were renovated and a *laconicum* and *dstrictarium* added (fig. 7.5).<sup>24</sup> By a close comparison of its form with Vitruvius's prescriptions for a *laconicum*, Eschebach identified the round *frigidarium* of the later building as the old sweat-bath.<sup>25</sup> He placed the *dstrictarium* adjacent to it, in the area now occupied by the apse of the *caldarium*. South of the *laconicum* he put a putative cold pool for the men's baths. Also, the timber-yard was built (VIII in fig. 6). These alterations in the east wing marked a further encroachment into the palaestra.

The final stages of the building's history (Phases VI, VII and following alterations) saw the absorption of the *domus*-style house and the construction of the west wing, the final closing of the old bath in the north wing and the alterations to the east wing to create the building which greets the visitor today (fig. 7.6).<sup>26</sup> The dates of these various activities stretch from the Augustan period into the 1st century AD.

Eschebach's scheme for the building history of the Stabian Baths thus presents a complicated palimpsest of building phases stretching from the 5th century BC to the 1st century AD. He, following Sulze before him, was of the opinion that the "Roman" set of rooms in the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 17, B, Taf. 23d and Abb. 5, 7. The find spot is indicated by "x" on fig. 6.

<sup>24</sup> For the inscription, cf. above, n. 13; ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 58-60, 68-69.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Vitruv., 5.10.5; ; cf. H. ESCHEBACH, "Laconicum et dstrictarium faciund. . .locarunt," *Römische Mitteilungen* 80 (1973), 235-242. His arguments for the identification of the *frigidarium* of today's remains with the *laconicum* of Vulus and Aninius find enthusiastic support in HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 34. Cf. also BRÖDNER, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 15-16; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.31.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 61-63, 69-72.

east wing, phase IV, was the product of the influence of Greek culture and medical thinking on the Romans,<sup>27</sup> though this can hardly account for the presence of distinctly Greek-style baths on the site beforehand. We would have to accept that the Greeks elsewhere had developed the "Roman" type bath, and, from our investigation of Greek bathing above, this appears unlikely. If anything, the development of the sequence of rooms -- clear in Phase IV, though also possible in Phase III -- appears as a departure from the Greek practices he sees as already operative on the site.

Eschebach's whole scheme has recently been challenged by L. Richardson, Jr.<sup>28</sup> Richardson advances both general arguments concerning Pompeii's early development and more specific ones aimed at the Stabian Baths which, if accepted, would require the abandonment of Eschebach's first three building periods, i.e. the Greek bath/palaestra. Looking at the history of Pompeii as a whole, and drawing his conclusions from close study of the site and an analysis of its overall architectural history, he comes to the following conclusions. Pompeii before the First Punic War was "obviously a very inconsiderable place."<sup>29</sup> There was little magnificence to it, and no urban core can be demonstrated before the 3rd century BC. The growth of Roman sea-power in the wars with Carthage, and the acquisition of empire in the 2nd century BC, are reflected in Pompeii's "golden age" of construction which saw the erection of many important buildings, including the basilica, the Temple of Apollo, the main theatre and the Triangular Forum, as well as several of the city's most magnificent private houses.<sup>30</sup> The Stabian Baths are to be placed among the buildings of this so-called "Tufa" period.

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. viii, 65.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. L. RICHARDSON, Jr., *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1988).

<sup>29</sup> RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 7; cf. xv-xxiii, and 3-27, for the city's history. As he points out in these pages, investigation of the city's early levels had been restricted to key-hole glimpses through occasional and scattered soundings until 1980-1982, when the need for an electric cable for the modern administrative buildings led to the digging of a trench across the forum. The excavator, P. ARTHUR, reports in "Problems of the Urbanization of Pompeii," *AntJ* 66 (1986), 29-44 that little or no sign of monumentality was found here, where we would most expect it, before the 3rd century BC, and truly impressive buildings were all confined to the following century.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 67-127.

Turning to the baths themselves, Richardson contends that the whole structure, except for the west wing, went up all at once in the 2nd century BC.<sup>31</sup> There was no Greek bath on the site at all. Because, for him, there was no city as such to go with it until the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC, this is no surprise. To support his contention, Richardson points to the organic nature of the bath unit as a whole, the consistent use of tufa framing for each of the baths' five entrances (which points to a single construction operation), and the illogical nature of Eschebach's building history.<sup>32</sup> If the north wing were an older part of the building, it was completely rebuilt along the same lines as before when the east wing went up, which seems unnecessary. In any case, why retain it, a relic of an outdated bathing practice, at a time when the "new" baths in the east wing were available? Richardson instead sees the north wing as erected contemporaneously with the east wing and serving a special purpose there, perhaps providing water temperatures not available in the rest of the building.<sup>33</sup>

Upon close inspection, there are some further difficulties of detail with Eschebach's proposed Greek bath which should also be addressed. First, as Eschebach himself admits, no other Greek bath is known which features hip-baths in individual bathing cells; rather they are usually arranged around the walls of an open room.<sup>34</sup> Second, as we have seen, early Greek baths do not feature palaestrae in conjunction with hot baths. To find such a revolutionary

<sup>31</sup> For what follows, cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 100-105.

<sup>32</sup> ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 33a presents his reconstruction of the growth in the number of entrances to the building, from Phases I (with one certain and 3 possible entrances) to VI (with the present-day 5). Note also *ibid.*, Taf. 3, from which the homogeneous nature of the Tufa entrances is clear.

<sup>33</sup> RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 102. However, in discussion Prof. Richardson suggested to me that the cubicles may have been for medicinal bathing. This must be considered unlikely as other evidence (cf. below, pp. 253-255) makes it clear that it was usual for the sick and healthy to bathe together. Of course, this may not have been the case at Pompeii, so the cubicles may reflect this or some other quirk in local bathing habits. In this connection, the cubicle arrangement in the Sarno Bath complex, which were still under construction in AD 79 (cf. below, pp. 136-137), should be borne in mind.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 51-52. The example of the hip-bath in a room at Gioia, which ESCHEBACH adduces in partial support of his hip-bath cells, is not applicable. In the first place it is in a bathroom in a private house and, secondly, it occupies only one corner of a far larger room, rather than fitting snugly into cells, as in the Stabian Baths; cf. B.M. SCARFI, "Gioia del Colle," *NSc* 7.14 (1962), 1-283, esp. 142-144.

combination at Pompeii during a period (the 5th century BC) when both gymnasia and βαλανεῖα were still in their architectural infancy in mainland Greece is startling to say the least.<sup>35</sup> Finally, Eschebach's reconstruction of the 5th-century hip-bath looks very strange and hardly resembles the normal shape of Greek examples at this, or indeed any other date (fig. 8).<sup>36</sup> Given these points, it is clear that the proposed Greek stage of the Stabian Baths' building history presents us with a structure displaying several unusual features unparalleled in other Greek baths even of a later period.

In short, then, there are several problems with Eschebach's building history for the Stabian Baths. If Richardson's scheme for early Pompeii is accepted, Eschebach's Greek bath would have been an urban structure without an urban context. Even if Richardson's general arguments concerning Pompeii's early history are largely rejected, the Greek bath remains a unique, if not revolutionary, structure in several of its particulars. With regard to the main building itself, Richardson presents arguments which indicate that it was constructed in one operation in the 2nd century BC. While Richardson's larger synthesis may not command widespread acceptance, his observations concerning this building are cogent and raise serious problems for Eschebach's scheme.<sup>37</sup> The only way to resolve these difficulties definitively

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<sup>35</sup> NIELSEN, *ARID* 14 (1985), 82-84 recognizes the revolutionary nature of this development, but does not see it as a cause for suspicion regarding ESCHEBACH's scheme. Rather, she considers it a part of the Italian contribution to the development of Roman baths. In asserting this she is certainly mistaken in claiming that βαλανεῖα and gymnasia had reached "una forma architettonica definitiva" (*ibid.*, 83) by this date, when the only other examples of 5th-century BC βαλανεῖα we have (building I at Olympia and the earliest levels of the Dipylon Bath in Athens) were exceedingly simple structures, and gymnasia were, until the Hellenistic period, hardly more developed; cf. above, pp. 43-47.

<sup>36</sup> In fig. 8 I present ESCHEBACH's reconstructed hip bath (8.1) for comparison with two roughly contemporary examples from the Agora at Athens taken from GINOUVES (8.2). It will be seen that ESCHEBACH's example has two benches whereas the Greek has only one; and the foot-end (with cupola) of his hip-bath is a curious arrangement that slopes sharply away from the bather, whereas in the Athenian examples it either slopes toward the bather or remains level. Also, the cupola itself is framed in a strange U-shaped arrangement, that would surely have made its use difficult. See also GINOUVES's other hip-bath illustrations as listed in Ch. 1, n. 76 (they are mostly later examples). Compared even to these, ESCHEBACH's hip-bath remains an oddity.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. e.g. the review by R. LING in *JRA* 4 (1991), 248-256. Although he questions RICHARDSON's "instant urbanization" of the site in the 3rd century (pp. 253-254), he does not cast doubt on his arguments concerning the Stabian Baths.

would be to excavate systematically the lower levels of the baths to see what was there, if anything. As this is extremely unlikely to happen, the early phases of the baths (if indeed there were any) are not likely to be clarified. All we can say for sure is that by c. 140 BC the baths were in place and functioning.

However, the nature of the structure as it then existed is itself disputed. Eschebach sees it (his Phase IV) as a fully Roman-style bathhouse with hypocaust and a double series of rooms. Nielsen argues that it was in fact a largely Greek-style bath, with hip-baths arranged around the walls of the rooms. As Nielsen's reconstruction of the Stabian Baths in this period is part of her overall scheme for the early development of Roman baths in general, it should be presented in its proper context, and her position examined closely.

### *I. Nielsen's bath-development scheme*

Essentially, there are three interrelated parts to Nielsen's scheme for the origins and early development of Roman baths.<sup>38</sup> First, she examines the Greek forerunners and rejects the importance of local forerunners.<sup>39</sup> The former have already been examined above, and the latter she characterizes as simple *lavatrinae* near kitchens in private houses, or swimming in the sea or Tiber. As will emerge, however, these local forerunners, especially in Campania, should not be so hastily overlooked. Second, she reinstates Sergius Orata as the inventor of the hypocaust. Third, she looks at the earliest baths in Campania, focusing perforce on the Stabian Baths, and reconstructs her periods of development from there. As the characteristics of Greek baths have already been surveyed, and Nielsen has little new to add in this connection, we shall concentrate on the second and third parts of her scheme.

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<sup>38</sup> She has laid out her detailed arguments in *ARID* 14 (1985), 81-112 and recapped them and given them a general context in her *Therm.*, I.20-22, 25-36. As NIELSEN refers to her *ARID* article at relevant points in her exposition in *Therm.*, I shall refer to the latter.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.6-13 (Greek) and 13 (local).

First, Orata. For Nielsen, the Roman literary tradition about Sergius Orata is correct.<sup>40</sup> She accepts that his *pensiles balineae* were a type of hypocaust found in later baths,<sup>41</sup> and she offers an explanation of the source of his inspiration: the fumaroles and thermal springs of the Campi Flegrei in the area surrounding Baiae where he is said to have worked. She argues that "natural" hypocausts are known to have been used in this area which employed the naturally occurring steam to heat rooms directly or indirectly. Orata simply took the step of recreating these conditions artificially. Nielsen's position, therefore, cannot allow the existence of truly Roman-style baths before Orata.

Putting aside the difficulties of determining what precisely Orata invented, the chief problem with this position is that Greek baths fitted with hypocausts, albeit of a different type, existed long before Orata. Nielsen's response is simple. She argues that Orata's inspiration lay in the Campi Flegrei, and she questions any direct connection between the "annular" hypocaust found in Greek baths and the Roman pillar *suspensura*: "there is . . . nothing to suggest that this [Greek] system was in itself developed into the system with pillar hypocaust."<sup>42</sup> While this observation carries some validity, it is surely asking too much to accept that there was virtually no connection between the rudimentary Greek hypocaust and the developed Roman system, even though both appear in bath buildings in the same general area (South Italy and Sicily) and both share the same basic principle of underfloor heating. Her denial of a connection is all the more difficult to credit when we recall Nielsen's belief that the Greek βαλανείον is the true forerunner of the Roman public bath. There is another problem. No evidence indicates that the

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<sup>40</sup> For what follows, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.20-22. See also above, pp. 24-29, for a discussion of the general problems surrounding Orata's role in bath development.

<sup>41</sup> NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.161, s.v. "Hypocaustum, Suspensura etc" states that the term *balineae pensiles* "is already known in Cicero and is the earliest known designation for the system with hollow floors." In fact, the term does not appear in Cicero, and its connection with heated flooring is at the very best tentative, cf. above, pp. 24-29.

<sup>42</sup> NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.21. The extent of Greek influence, in NIELSEN's opinion, appears to have been little more than the basic notion of underfloor heating, *ibid.*, I.20-21.

"natural" hypocausts of the Campi Flegrei predated the "artificial" version. The earliest archaeological evidence is Augustan (the Baths of Venus at Baiae) and the first literary reference appears in the *Quaestiones Naturales* of Seneca, written in the early 60s AD.<sup>43</sup> From available evidence, then, it would be possible that the "artificial" hypocaust generated the "natural" version and not vice versa. These points make Nielsen's picture of Orata's role difficult, if not impossible, to accept.

J. DeLaine has recently presented a far more convincing hypothesis, backed by archaeological evidence, whereby the Greeks of Magna Graecia produced a system intermediate between the mainland Greek "annular" hypocaust and the developed Roman pillar *suspensura*.<sup>44</sup> This intermediate system employed a series of channels to heat the entire floorspace of a room. Orata's role is reduced to that of a salesman of a refined version of this system, in that he is seen to have reduced and regularized the underfloor support elements, and produced an easy-to-install, almost prefabricated system utilizing tile pillars.<sup>45</sup> Regardless of Orata's role (to which we shall return later), DeLaine's arguments establish the very connection between the Greek and Roman hypocausts questioned by Nielsen.

Nielsen's bath development scheme presents us with not one but two parallel and interwoven schemes of development for Roman baths.<sup>46</sup> This is because she divides all Roman public baths into two groups, *thermae* and *balnea*. These ill-understood ancient terms are

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Sen. *Quaest. Nat.*, 3.24.3; for the date of this work, cf. P. OLTRAMARE's comments in the introduction to the Budé edition (1961), pp. vi-viii.

<sup>44</sup> J. DeLAINE, *JMA* (1989), 111-125. DeLAINE sees examples of this intermediate form used at Velia, Gela, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea (116-117) which she sees echoed in the Republican Baths at Pompeii (120). She argues convincingly for it being an exclusively Western Greek development (120-122).

<sup>45</sup> In support of this contention, it must be pointed out that the pillar hypocaust only becomes prevalent in the archaeological record in the course of the 1st century BC, that is after Orata (the original pillar hypocaust of the Stabian Baths, of the mid-2nd century BC, may have used stone pillars, cf. DeLAINE, *JMA* 2 (1989), 123, esp. n. 63). Cf. H. BROISE & V. JOLIVET, "Le bain en Étrurie à l'époque hellénistique" in *Thermes*, pp. 79-95 where the hypocaust is not attested in baths there (public and private) before the mid-1st century AD, although evidence for baths in the region stretches back to the 5th century (at Marzabotto, for example).

<sup>46</sup> For what follows, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.25-36.

adopted by Nielsen,<sup>47</sup> and given modern definitions based on building typology. She then presents seven stages of development for the former, and three for the latter. Because this division between *thermae* and *balnea* is fundamental to her scheme, her definitions of what these terms denote merit full quotation:

. . . *Thermae* designates a public institution which has a *palaestra* and thus consists of a bathing block and a sports area. A building may also be assigned to this group if it is sufficiently large, on a symmetrical plan and monumental, for instance if it contains a large hall, a *basilica thermarum*, even if a palaestra has not been demonstrated. . . The term *balnea* here signifies a public bath without a sports area. This bath can be large or small, but is often smaller than *thermae* and not so monumental. It normally occupies only part of an insula. The bathing facilities are usually not symmetrically arranged.<sup>48</sup>

These are vague and nebulous criteria for assigning buildings to one group or the other. No single element is exclusive to either type of building,<sup>49</sup> and some criteria, especially those for *balnea*, are so vague as to be virtually impossible to apply realistically.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, she dismisses the ancient testimony about the use of these terms as "copious and often obtuse." This approach causes her a variety of problems when she comes to present her two parallel lines of development.

Nielsen starts with *thermae*, the early history of which she divides into seven periods.<sup>51</sup> These periods follow closely Eschebach's scheme for the Stabian Baths, with some modifications. As a result, the objections just raised against Eschebach apply here too.<sup>52</sup> A further point can be added. Nielsen's first four periods rely exclusively on the Stabian Baths, but are presented to the reader as representing a pattern applicable to all early baths (or at least

<sup>47</sup> For a discussion of these terms, cf. above, pp. 8-10.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.3.

<sup>49</sup> NIELSEN admits on the same page (I.3) that the ancient sources can denote buildings with palaestrae as *balnea*.

<sup>50</sup> Thus, "large or small," "not so monumental," "usually not symmetrically arranged."

<sup>51</sup> These can be found at NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.26-28 (periods I-IV), 30-31 (period V), 31-34 (periods VI and VII).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. above pp. 55-59. Surprisingly, NIELSEN appears unaware of RICHARDSON's book and the challenge it represents for her scheme.

those that she considers *thermae*).<sup>53</sup> To an extent this is not her fault; the archaeological evidence for the early stages of the development of Roman baths is severely limited. That said, caution must be exercised in determining how much can be securely extrapolated from this one building and considered representative of developments in other (as yet undiscovered) contemporary structures. In any case, as seen above, there are major problems with the notion of an early Greek bath on the site. These problems in turn cast grave doubt on the validity of Nielsen's first three periods which deal with the alleged pre-2nd century structures and which, for the sake of brevity, will be left aside. Her remaining periods are straightforward. Her period IV (which is the same as Eschebach's Phase IV) is a Greek-type βαλανείον with hip-baths, of which more below. Period V sees the installation of the hypocaust and is dated to c. 90-80 BC to accord with her belief that Orata invented the hypocaust. As a result, it has no counterpart in Eschebach's scheme. Her last two periods correspond to Eschebach's Phases V and VI, already treated above.<sup>54</sup>

Aside from the problematic Greek bath of the first three phases, the most debatable elements of Nielsen's scheme are IV and V. Period IV -- the same for both Nielsen and Eschebach -- is the 2nd-century "Tufa" building. But the two differ in their conception of how the establishment functioned at this time. Eschebach, as we have seen, reconstructs it as a Roman-style bath with a sequence of rooms and hypocaust.<sup>55</sup> Because Nielsen considers Orata to be the inventor of the Roman *suspensura*, this position is untenable, and so she presents an entirely different picture.<sup>56</sup> Observing the presence of double rows of niches in the walls in the female *apodyterium* and traces of the same in the other bathing rooms of the east wing, she

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.26.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. above, p. 55.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. above, p. 54.

<sup>56</sup> For what follows cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.27-28 (where she assigns hip-baths to the female *apodyterium* in her period III and extends them to the bathrooms of the east wing which were added in period IV).

argues that these rooms were originally fitted with Greek-style hip-baths.<sup>57</sup> This is because Greek hip-bath chambers, where they are preserved to a sufficient height, feature rows of niches located above the hip-baths. They were intended to accommodate the bathers' personal belongings and/or bathing gear.<sup>58</sup> The niches in the walls in the Stabian Baths, according to Nielsen, served the same purpose and so represent the main evidence for her hip-bath theory.<sup>59</sup>

There are difficulties. First, although as many as 100 hip-baths or more may once have graced the bathrooms of the Stabian Baths, not a trace of a single one remains.<sup>60</sup> Nielsen finds this hardly surprising, since the rooms were later fitted out variously with benches or hypocausts and tubulation.<sup>61</sup> This argument, however, creates a second problem. That the hypocaust could be installed secondarily is not in itself impossible and finds some support in ancient evidence, but the difficulties lie in the mechanics of this operation and their implications for the presence of hip-baths.<sup>62</sup> If the rooms received their hypocausts sometime after the hip-baths had been in place, there are only two possibilities for the new heating system's installation. Either the original floor level was raised by building the hypocaust on top of it, or it

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<sup>57</sup> This suggestion is also made independently by DeLAINE, *JMA* (1989), 117-119. Note also that the Cumae baths also were fitted with niches, cf. above, p. 50.

<sup>58</sup> Such examples are rare but can nonetheless be found in the Greek baths at Gortys, Cyrene and the Piraeus, as well as several Egyptian sites, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 192-193 and his figs. 105 (Cyrene), 119 and 120-121 (Gortys) and especially 157-158 (Piraeus). Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.7, n. 23.

<sup>59</sup> DeLAINE *JMA* (1989), 117 adds a further point: the addition of a water-wheel in Phase III implies an increased use of water which, she contends, would be impossible to imagine at this time without the presence of hip-baths. Two counter-arguments can be adduced: first, the very existence of the 3rd-century Phase III requires acceptance of ESCHEBACH's development scheme, which is most unsure; and second, even if we accept ESCHEBACH's scheme, the increased water supply may imply an increase in the number of regular bathers, and does not necessarily demand the presence of hip-baths.

<sup>60</sup> DeLAINE, *JMA* (1989), 118 suggests as many as 35 hip-baths stood in the later women's *apodyterium* alone. As NIELSEN reconstructs 4 or 5 hip-bath chambers in period IV (*Therm.*, I.27), a total as high as 150 or more is possible for the whole complex.

<sup>61</sup> So, for instance, the later women's *apodyterium* was fitted with benches and a cold pool, while the later women and men's *caldaria* and men's *tepidarium* received hypocausts and tubulation (this work was not all done at once, but carried out piecemeal during NIELSEN's periods IV, V and VII, cf. *id.*, *Therm.*, I.28, 30, 33). She also suggests (*ARID* 14 (1985), 86) that the hip-baths were made of terracotta and may have been movable. Comparison with Greek examples in public baths makes this unlikely and, anyway, terracotta hip-baths can still leave some trace of their presence, e.g. the Harbour Baths at Eretria (fig. 5).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. e.g. *ILS* 5711 which mentions a benefactor who *balneum suspendit*, which may reflect the installation of a hypocaust into an existing structure, although it could also mean he provided vaulted ceilings for the structure.

was maintained by digging down the metre or so required by the *suspensura*'s *cavea*, and then building the hypocaust back up to the original level. Two observations point to the latter possibility as being more likely. First, if the level below the hypocaust was the original floor level of the hip-bath chamber, the upper niches would have been too high off the ground (as much as 2.6m) for the bathers to use comfortably, all the more so when we consider that Romans were small people by modern standards (see fig. 9). Second, if the floor level had been raised by the hypocaust, the niches would have been brought closer to the floor than they originally were. This does not seem to have been the case, at least for the *tepidarium* and *caldarium* niche arrangement as Nielsen presents them, where the niches are about one metre off the ground, a height comparable to Greek examples (fig. 9).<sup>63</sup>

Apparently, the hypocaust would have to have been installed in these rooms by digging below the original floor level, a practice DeLaine has rightly called into question as it would have involved weakening the foundations. The only other possibility is that the foundations had originally been laid with the eventual installation of the hypocaust in mind, which is incompatible with Nielsen's argument for Orata as the hypocaust's inventor: according to her view, when these rooms were built, his discovery still lay some 50 years in the future.<sup>64</sup> It is far more likely that the niches were installed contemporaneously with the hypocaust, in line with Eschebach's picture of the building at this time, which sees the east-wing rooms and the hypocaust as being built in one move. What practical function the niches served, if any, is unclear but they could have been for the bathers' *instrumenta balnei*, or served as shelves for

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<sup>63</sup> According to the reconstruction NIELSEN provides (reproduced in fig. 9), the lower lip of the lower niches would be 1m off the current hypocaust floor and 1.9m off the floor level on which the hypocaust stands. The first figure corresponds roughly to the figures for niche height from floor level at Gortys (1.24m) and the Piraeus (0.84m), cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, p. 192 (Gortys) and fig. 158 (Piraeus). Cf. also ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 9-10 (men's *tepidarium*) and 12 (men's *caldarium*), 16-18 (women's *tepidarium*) and 19-20 (women's *caldarium*). According to these drawings, the evidence for niches in the latter is slim.

<sup>64</sup> DeLAINE, *JRA* (1988), 15. DeLAINE, who also accepts the presence of hip-baths in the Stabian Baths (cf. n. 59 above), seems to think the hypocaust and hip-baths were utilized contemporaneously (*JMA* [1989], 119-120). This is highly unlikely. Not only do we have no other examples of hypocaust-heated hip-bath chambers, but the heat generated by the hypocaust would have made the seats in the hip-baths virtually unusable.

lamps or water jugs and the like.<sup>65</sup> Alternatively, they may have been a purely decorative feature.

The third difficulty is with the niches themselves. In surviving Greek examples they are in either single or double rows directly superimposed over the hip-baths. Nielsen points to the double niches in the heated rooms and the women's *apodyterium* in particular in support of her hip-bath hypothesis. However, the upper and lower rows of niches in the Stabian Baths are separated by an area varying from between 0.35m and 0.55m. Such a gap between the niche rows is not a feature of Greek examples.<sup>66</sup> In addition, the lower lip of the lower niches in the heated rooms is one metre off the current floor level.<sup>67</sup> However, in the women's *apodyterium*, which never had a hypocaust installed, the lower niches, of which only two survive, are closer to the floor (0.6m off the floor level). This difference in niche level is possibly to be explained by arguing for the use of a different type of hip-bath in the women's *apodyterium* as opposed to the heated rooms. But because not a trace of any hip-baths survives, this would be special pleading. On the other hand, only two examples of the lower niches survive in the wall of the *apodyterium* and they are in the side wall of the cold pool, so they may have served some function connected with the pool rather than with any putative hip-baths. Finally, later baths elsewhere can feature both hypocausts and niches in their hot rooms without there being any suggestion of the presence of hip-baths.<sup>68</sup> Niches or shelves were a regular feature of *apodyteria* in later baths.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Note that the excavation of the Forum Baths in Pompeii yielded some 1,500 lamps, some in niches in the walls of the *tepidaria* cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.136 (where these niches are called "channels"). For the niches in the Forum Baths, cf. below n. 68.

<sup>66</sup> The figures (measured from the ESCHEBACH illustration given in parentheses) are: women's *apodyterium*: 0.55m (Taf. 15); men's *tepidarium*: 0.4m (Taf. 9); men's *caldarium*: 0.35 (Taf. 12). By contrast, the lower niches in the Piraeus are more or less directly below the upper ones, cf. GINOUVES, *Balan.*, fig. 158.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. above, n. 63.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. the niches in the Central Baths at Caes (built c. 90-70 BC according to NIELSEN's catalogue, C.35) which NIELSEN rather weakly claims were "presumably merely decoration adopted from the earlier establishments at Cumae and Pompeii" (*Therm.*, I.32, n. 59). Other examples of niches in hypocaust-heated rooms are found in Spain at Baetulo (C.100; 1st century BC), Los Bañales (C.113; mid-1st century AD), and possibly elsewhere, cf. id., *Therm.*, I.67 and II.74, fig. 38. There are also niches on three sides of the walls in the men's *tepidarium* (without hypocaust) and on two sides of those in the women's *tepidarium* (with hypocaust)

In summary, we must conclude that the presence of hip-baths in the Stabian Baths or any other Roman establishment is largely conjectural, and certainly not proven. Aside from the specific arguments adduced above, it remains strange that not the slightest trace of any examples has been found in the east wing of the Stabian Baths. This is all the more curious given examples of βαλανεῖα elsewhere which underwent transformation into Roman baths by means more drastic than those proposed by Nielsen for the Stabian Baths, yet which still leave clear traces of their former Greek appearance.<sup>70</sup> Also, why should the building display a clear room sequence at this stage in its history, if all the rooms offered the same facilities, i.e. bathing in hip-baths? Nielsen argues that this ordered room arrangement is simply a manifestation of the Italic, as opposed to the Hellenistic influence upon the building,<sup>71</sup> but it is more easily understandable if viewed as a sign that the sequence of variously heated rooms was already in place. It seems more likely that the east wing, along with its hypocaust and niches, were all built in a single operation.<sup>72</sup> The niches in the heated rooms were later filled in either when the tubulation system was installed, or because they had become unfashionable for such rooms. They were retained in the women's *apodyterium*, and later built into the men's *apodyterium*, as shelves for bathers' belongings.

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in the Forum Baths at Pompeii, a feature which NIELSEN omits to report in her description of them, cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 149 (men's *tepidarium*) and 151 (women's *tepidarium*). Note also the shelf in the *caldarium* of the private baths in the House of Menander, where there is no possibility of hip-baths. This suggests some sort of functional purpose for the shelving, and so perhaps also for niches, cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 52-53 and esp. Abb. 57.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.153, s.v. *apodyterium*. Note also that the *apodyterium* attached to the palaestra in the Stabian Baths (room E in fig. 6), built in the early Augustan period or shortly thereafter, had wooden shelves in it, cf. *ibid.* I.33.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the examples cited by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.101 (from Athens, Egypt and Pergamon); cf. *id.*, *Therm.*, II.55, fig. 7 for an illustration of the example from Tell el Fara'in in Egypt where the hip-baths of the βαλανεῖον are clearly visible below the Roman structure. DeLAINE implies, but does not expressly suggest, that the hip-baths may have been made of bronze (*JMA* [1989], 120). This would lend to the Stabian Baths, with over 100 bronze hip-baths, an unparalleled degree of luxury for this period (2nd century BC). Also, bronze tubs would have become uncomfortably hot if used in conjunction with a hypocaust, as DeLAINE seems to believe they were, cf. above, n. 64.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *Therm.*, I.27, 28.

<sup>72</sup> NIELSEN's arguments against ESCHEBACH's identification of the hypocaust as coeval with erection of the east wing (*Therm.*, I.28) are, as DeLAINE has pointed out (*JRA* 1 [1988], 15), not conclusive. They may just as easily reflect a later refurbishment of the hypocaust.

Nielsen's scheme for the development of *thermae* is thus riddled with problems. From the questionable argument in favour of Orata as the inventor of the hypocaust, to straight acceptance of Eschebach's problematic and curious early Greek bath under the Stabian Baths, through to the highly debatable suggestion that the Stabian Baths were at one stage a Greek-style βαλανείον with hip-baths, there is almost no facet of her position free of uncertainty.

Her three-stage *balnea* development scheme is no less problematic. Above all, it is characterized by its chronic lack of evidence.<sup>73</sup> For the first *balnea* period she can only cite the unpublished Central Baths at Cumae as archaeological evidence. She admits that this building bears a resemblance to the bathing section of the Stabian Baths (which she has already classified as *thermae* due to the presence of a palaestra), and goes on to say that there may have been a palaestra associated with it. If so, in terms of Nielsen's own classification criteria, the Cumae baths may well have been *thermae* and not *balnea* at all.<sup>74</sup> Her only other evidence for the first period of *balnea* development is the literary sources. Aside from Varro's comment that Rome's first public bath (*balneae*) was a double building designed for separate use by men and women, these sources give no hint at all of what these structures looked like, and as a result are useless for the task Nielsen expects of them, i.e. identifying a particular type of bathing establishment.<sup>75</sup> All she can say is that they use the term *balneum* and variants to describe bath buildings. As will be seen shortly, when the uses of the terms *thermae* and *balnea* in Republican sources are considered, this is hardly surprising.

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<sup>73</sup> The *balnea* scheme can be traced in NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.28-30 (period I), 31 (period II) and 34-35 (period III).

<sup>74</sup> It is clear from Nielsen's catalogue of bath sites that she considers the presence or absence of a palaestra decisive for identifying a building as a *thermae* or *balnea* establishment: of 172 securely catalogued *thermae*, 125 (73%) are so classified due solely to the presence of a palaestra; conversely, 150 (88%) of 171 *balnea* are identified solely by its absence, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.1-47 (these figures omit buildings of uncertain classification, and those classified by means of non-palaestra criteria, even when a palaestra is cited as well).

<sup>75</sup> For consideration of Varro's comment (*Ling. Lat.*, 9.68) and the other literary evidence, cf. below, pp. 72-88.

The situation does not improve for her two subsequent *balnea* periods. As there is no evidence at all to illustrate her second period, Nielsen points to the bathing sections of the Stabian and Forum Baths, buildings she has already classified as *thermae*. A bath in Musarna in Etruria which does not conform to the developments she assigns to this period is uninformative and so relegated to treatment in a footnote.<sup>76</sup> For her third period Nielsen can only cite Vitruvius, whose picture, while useful, probably represents a theoretical or ideal bathhouse and is restricted in any case to the heated elements alone.<sup>77</sup> Her archaeological evidence for this period is again largely drawn from ambiguous buildings, structures which according to her criteria could be either *thermae* or *balnea*.<sup>78</sup> The early stages of the bath at Alba Fucens, which she uses here, are not well preserved and can only allow the most general of observations.<sup>79</sup>

In short, then, Nielsen's reconstruction for the development of *balnea* is weak and marked by a severe lack of supporting evidence. I believe that her dismissal of the ancient evidence for the uses of *balnea* / *thermae* terminology exacerbates her problems. As seen above, and as Nielsen observes, ancient bath terminology is indeed confusing and would need a full-scale philological analysis for clarification, but it is clear enough that the ancients, at least of a later date, distinguished between what was a *thermae* establishment and what was a *balnea*.<sup>80</sup> One point emerges clearly from a survey of the evidence. Not a single Republican source, literary or epigraphic, applies the term *thermae* to a bathing establishment. Even where we should expect to find use of the term (such as in Varro, Cicero, Catullus, or inscriptions), there is either silence or exclusive use of *balneum* and its variants *balneae* and *balnea*. This surely

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<sup>76</sup> NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.31, n. 45.

<sup>77</sup> Vitruv., 5.11.

<sup>78</sup> I.e. the Central Baths at Cales, which are considered most likely *thermae* on I.32, but possibly *balnea* on I.34. The other building cited here are the Cumae baths which, as we have seen (above, p. 68) are of unsure classification.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.35 where they are dated to the mid-1st century BC and therefore are too late to be effectively deployed as evidence for the early period.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. above, pp. 8-9.

indicates that for Republican Romans, all baths were called *balnea*. *Thermae*, in fact, does not appear until the 1st century AD, or perhaps in a Spanish inscription of possibly Augustan date.<sup>81</sup>

Thus even a superficial glance at the sources would indicate that as far as the Romans were concerned, structures they considered *thermae* appeared after those they termed *balnea* and did not develop parallel to them. The *thermae* can then be seen in all probability as a development of the *balnea*. This means that the Stabian and other baths in Pompeii described by Nielsen as *thermae* were very probably called *balnea* by their Republican users.<sup>82</sup> However, it could be argued that Nielsen's employment of these terms is based upon her modern definitions, and not on ancient usage, thus making the current point irrelevant. But that is not so. Nielsen employs the Republican literary testimony mentioning *balnea* to support her first *balnea* period. As should now be clear, those sources can offer her position no support.

Nielsen's division of the earliest Roman baths into *thermae* and *balnea* therefore runs contrary to the ancient evidence and creates more problems than it solves. These difficulties evaporate if, following the lead given by the ancient literary and epigraphic testimony, all the buildings covered by Nielsen are considered as a roughly homogeneous group of early baths, called *balnea*. There is then no need to point, as Nielsen does, to buildings she classifies as *thermae* to illustrate developments in her *balnea*; in reality, they were all the same sort of building and seen as such by the Romans.

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<sup>81</sup> *CIL* 2.3542. (dated by letterform). The earliest literary reference to *thermae* I have located is in Sen. *Contr.*, 9.4.18 in reference to *thermae* built by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus during his consulship of AD 32, apparently as part of his house, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C.127. This accords with Sen. *Dial.*, 9.9.7 and *Ep.*, 122.8, which refer to private *thermae*. Here the term seems to mean literally "hot-baths" as opposed to a particular type of public bathing establishment. The use of both terms (*thermae* and *balneum*) by the Tiberian/Claudian grammarian Q. Remmius Palaemon (*Ars*, 546) may be roughly contemporary with the notice in Seneca.

<sup>82</sup> The dedicatory inscription for the Forum Baths, of c. 82-80 BC, unfortunately does not name the building, cf. Ch. 3, n. 80 for text. *ILS* 5144 may describe the Forum Baths as "[therm]ae," but the text dates to the mid-1st century AD and so is not reflective of Republican practice. NIELSEN. *Therm.*, I.3 concedes that the ancient sources can apply the term *balnea* to buildings with palaestrae, which, in my opinion, greatly weakens the validity of her chief criterion for distinguishing *thermae* from *balnea*, cf. above, n. 74.

Nielsen's entire scheme is thus highly debatable at every stage. Her division of Roman baths into *thermae* and *balnea* right from the outset causes her to divide the already slim body of evidence between the two sorts of buildings, leaving one half (her *balnea*) severely undernourished for material. The specific problems encountered with her position on several issues -- the origin of the hypocaust, the early phases of the Stabian Baths, the suggested 2nd-century BC hip-bath complex in the Stabian Baths, as well as the uses of the Pompeian evidence as a whole -- have been presented. All this taken together forces the rejection of her scheme in many of its particulars. However, it should not be thrown out entirely. The scheme correctly identifies the centrality of Campania to the early history of Roman public baths and highlights the Greek influence, albeit erroneously and in too great a degree.

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Returning again to the Stabian Baths, we must unfortunately conclude -- after all we have seen -- that this building cannot offer any secure evidence concerning the transition from Greek to Roman baths. The evidence of the site is ambiguous and debatable, and short of total excavation of the lower strata the picture is not likely to be clarified. It seems likely, however, that these baths had acquired a "Roman" appearance by the second half of the 2nd century BC, with a series of rooms and hypocausts and, in consequence, heated communal pools (Nielsen's suggested hip-baths for this date are unlikely). There are indications in the confident hand of the architect that these features had as yet unidentified predecessors of uncertain location and date, but perhaps reaching back into the early years of that century. A detailed examination at some future date of the Central Baths at Cumae may answer some of the questions which remain open with regard to the early appearance of the Stabian Baths, but for now only uncertainty prevails.

The archaeological evidence for the earliest Roman public baths has now been examined. There is much that is ambiguous, disputed and uncertain. Only the broadest picture can be painted. It suggests that by c. 140 BC, when the Stabian Baths were erected, Roman-style baths had evidently acquired their familiar form, at Pompeii at least. These baths probably had predecessors and sister buildings elsewhere, but so far none has been found. It is therefore time to look to the much-neglected early literary and epigraphic sources to see what they can contribute.

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*(ii) The literary and epigraphic evidence*

Two preliminary points need to be underlined. The literary and epigraphic material is not very abundant for this early period, and its references are for the most part casual and give little or no indication of what these early baths looked like. Therefore, this body of evidence is not particularly helpful in determining the physical nature of early Roman public baths. What it does suggest strongly, however, is that the baths were a part of the Roman urban scene by the time of Plautus.

We can divide the literary evidence into two groups: that which pertains to Rome and that to other parts of Italy. In the latter category, the earliest mention of baths is found in Livy where he reports the dastardly actions of rebel Capuans in the wake of Hannibal's victory at Cannae in 216 BC, when that city defected to the Carthaginian cause. Here, when the decision had been made to go over to Hannibal, the Capuans seized the prefects of the allies and other Roman citizens resident in the city and shut them up in the town's baths. They suffocated there in the

extreme heat of the place.<sup>83</sup> Dio tells a similar story, setting it in Nuceria. Here it is the senators of the town who are the victims, while Hannibal himself is the culprit.<sup>84</sup> It is conceivable that Dio's story is simply the same as Livy's, with some alterations to details made by the later historian.

The main problem is whether this story can be accepted at face value. Livy's source cannot be identified with certainty.<sup>85</sup> Further, that the anecdote portrays the rebel Capuans as murderers may be cause for suspicion -- the story could be Livy's invention, or that of a predecessor, used to illustrate the evil character of those who defected to the Carthaginian side. If this is indeed the case, the story may reflect conditions much later than 216 BC, and so be useless as evidence for early baths in Capua. Unfortunately, there is no way of determining Livy's accuracy on this point. If the story is accepted as genuine, it is indeed instructive. It shows that by the late ~~the~~ 3rd century BC there were public baths in Capua at least, and perhaps elsewhere in Campania if not farther afield.<sup>86</sup> It also reveals that the baths were contained in a building sufficiently large to hold the Roman captives, although we have no way of knowing the numbers involved.<sup>87</sup> This anecdote, if accepted as accurate, is enlightening in some respects, but many details about the baths in question cannot be recovered.

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<sup>83</sup> Cf. Livy., 23.7.3: *nam praefectos socium civisque Romanos alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos, partim privatis negotiis implicitos, plebs repente omnis comprehensos velut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum ad modum exspirarent.*

<sup>84</sup> Dio, 15.57.3 (quoted in Zonaras, 9.3). The similarities in the stories may indicate a *Wandermotiv*. Cf. above, p. 14 for the pitfalls involved in using such anecdotal evidence.

<sup>85</sup> Livy's main sources for the third decade were Polybius and L. Coelius Antipater. These in turn drew from Q. Fabius Pictor and Silenus of Kaleakte (who accompanied Hannibal), both of whom are contemporary sources, cf. E. BURCK, "The Third Decade," in T. DOREY (ed.), *Livy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 26-28. Although Livy's use of his sources seems to have been such that fabrication on his part was rare, we have no guarantee that his sources were accurate, cf. T.J. LUCE, *Livy. The Composition of his History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 139-184, esp. 156-157. The basic point is, however, that the Capua story cannot be securely traced back to Pictor or Silenus. Uncertainty remains.

<sup>86</sup> Livy goes on to mention (23.18.12) that Hannibal's men were ruined by making frequent use of the luxuries at Capua, baths among them. This report is certainly suspect, as the motif appears as a commonplace in Roman literature: cf. below, n. 88. For Republican Capua, cf. FREDERIKSEN, *Campania*, pp. 285-318.

<sup>87</sup> The prefects of the allies may have numbered 6 or more, but the number of "other citizens, some on military duty, some involved in private business" to whom Livy refers is impossible to gauge. What *praefecti sociorum* were doing in Capua at this time is not sure.

When Plutarch reports that Marcellus gave himself and his men over to luxurious living in Campania in 209 BC, including the use of hot baths (θερμὰ λουτρά),<sup>88</sup> he may be referring to hot springs. Alternatively, this could be a hint of more widespread public bathing in the region at this time, but certainty is not possible.<sup>89</sup>

More secure reference to public baths in the Campanian area is found in a story told by C. Gracchus cited in Aulus Gellius, almost a century after the setting for Plutarch's anecdote about Marcellus. It tells of the arrogance of a consul's wife who, having cleared the men's baths at Teanum Sidicinum of customers, complained of the slowness of the locals in evacuating the premises and of the dirtiness of the baths themselves. As a result, the local quaestor M. Marius was whipped with rods in the forum.<sup>90</sup> Gracchus goes on to say that a Roman praetor acted likewise at Ferentinum, while the people of Cales issued an edict barring anyone from the baths when a Roman magistrate was in town.<sup>91</sup>

These are informative incidents. Gracchus specifies that the events were recent (*nuper*), so they may be placed sometime c. 130-122 BC. The stories indicate that public baths were to be found in at least some Campanian towns by Gracchus's day, as the three towns mentioned are all in that vicinity. It would seem, then, that the roughly contemporaneous Stabian Baths at Pompeii were not alone at this time. However, there is no way of knowing from the passage

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<sup>88</sup> Plut. *Marc.*, 27.2. There allegation is put into the mouth of P. Bibulus who is trying to have Marcellus stripped of command after the indecisive battle with Hannibal at Canusium. This motif of armies ruined by warm baths recurs in e.g., Plut., *Alex.*, 40.1, *Luc.*, 7.5; Dio 27.94.2, 62.6.4; HA *Av. Cass.*, 5.5, *Pesc. Nig.*, 3.10. In light of this, the notice should be accepted only with caution.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Livy 41.16 for bathing in springs in 178 BC.

<sup>90</sup> Aul. Gell., 10.3.3: *Nuper Teanum Sidicinum consul venit. uxor eius dixit se in balneis virilibus lavari velle. quaestori Sidicino M. Mario datum est negotium, uti balneis exigerentur qui lavabantur. uxor renuntiat viro parum cito sibi balneas traditas esse et parum lautas fuisse. idcirco palus destitutus in foro eoque adductus suae civitatis nobilissimus homo M. Marius. vestimenta detracta sunt, virgis caesus est.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*: *Caleni, ubi id audierant, edixerunt ne quis in balneis lavisse vellet, cum magistratus Romanus ibi esset. Ferentini ob eandem causam praetor noster quaestores arripi iussit; alter se de muro deiecit, alter prensus et virgis caesus est.* For a consideration of the social implications of this notice, which says a lot about who was expected to use a community's bathhouse, cf. below, p. 283.

how common public baths were in Italy outside this region. Since the consul's wife at Teanum wished to bathe *in balneis virilibus*, it is safe to suggest that there were also women's baths available. Judging by the Stabian Baths, it seems likely we are dealing with a double building, where the women's section was presumably less splendid than the men's (as in the Stabian Baths, and as the story implies). Certainly Varro says the earliest baths in Rome were similar structures with separate sections for men and women, and the bath Vitruvius describes is clearly a double building.<sup>92</sup> All this presents an interesting (and rare) convergence of literary and archaeological evidence. Finally, it is notable that travelling Roman grandees would even want to bathe in such modest places, suggesting that the bathing habit was firmly established among them by the mid-late 2nd century BC.

Altogether, the Campanian literary evidence suggests that public bathing was a feature of life in the region possibly from the late 3rd century BC; by the end of the 2nd century it was apparently quite widespread.

For Rome itself there is no archaeological evidence with which to correlate the testimony of our literary sources. The earliest references to public baths are to be found in the comedies of Plautus which -- composed and staged in the late 3rd/ early 2nd century BC -- represent just about the earliest body of Latin literature we have. These plays mention, for instance, slaves waiting for their masters to return from the baths,<sup>93</sup> the danger of having one's clothes stolen at the baths,<sup>94</sup> renegade slaves squandering their master's money on wine, food and baths,<sup>95</sup> and

<sup>92</sup> Cf. below, n. 112.

<sup>93</sup> Plaut. *As.*, 356-357: *ego me dixi erum adducturum et me domi praesto fore; / ille in balineis iturust, inde huc veniet postea*; cf. *Persa* 90: *lautum credo e balineis iam hic adfuturum*.

<sup>94</sup> Id. *Rud.*, 385-388: *etiam qui it lavatum / in balineis, cum ibi sedulo sua vestimenta servat, / tamen surripiuntur, quippe qui quem illorum / observet falsust; / fur facile qui observat videt: custos qui fur sit / nescit*. See also *Poen.*, 976-977: *sed quae illaec avis est, quae huc cum tunicis advenit? / nummam in balineis circumductust pallio?*

<sup>95</sup> Id. *Trin.*, 405-408: *Lesb.: Quid factumst eo? / Stas.: Comessum, expotum; exussum: elotum in balineis . . .*

the existence of men known as *balneatores*, or "bathmen," the precise meaning of which is unclear.<sup>96</sup>

Some of these references ought to be examined in more detail, to see what can be learnt from them. The comments of the slave Trachalio in "The Rope" (*Rudens*) concerning the presence of clothes-thieves at the baths are particularly enlightening, for here we get a glimpse of conditions inside one of these early establishments.<sup>97</sup> The most notable inference is that the baths are full of people, for the bather does not know who to watch as a possible thief, while the thief can easily spot the man who is watching. The clothes-thief can hide in the crowd and strike when the bather is distracted. A fine comic situation, and one perhaps rooted in the audience's experience for it to be effective. This in turn suggests that by Plautus's time, baths were sufficiently populous establishments to allow such a situation to arise.

The squandering of money by Stasimus, the slave in the "The Threepenny Day" (*Trinummus*) is also informative, for part of the money is spent on baths.<sup>98</sup> Thus baths evidently charged for their services, an established fact in the case of later baths, and for this period supported by some other references to baths used as investments by senators, considered below.

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<sup>96</sup> Id. *Rud.*, 257, *Truc.*, 322-325. This term appears to be a direct translation of the Greek term βαλανείτης, itself a variant of βαλανεύς, which is known from Aristophanes (eg. *Knights*, 1403, *Frogs*, 710). It is not clear if it refers to men who run baths (as it later did) or to slaves/personnel found therein. For a recent discussion of balneatores, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.127-128.

<sup>97</sup> *Rud.*, 385-388, (text cited above in n. 94). The problem of thievery at the baths was perennial and continued on into later times, cf. below, pp. 279-289. We should also note that this passage does not show, as NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.27, n. 13 claims, that the scene takes place in a hip-bath complex because the bather brings his clothes with him into the bathing room. In the first place, it is not specified that the man watches his clothes while he is engaged in the act of bathing (as NIELSEN claims) nor is it clear where in the bathhouse the scene is set, but we should probably imagine an *apodyterium* or some such area of the building. If the bather had put his clothes in the niches above his hip-bath (which, after all, is one of the functions assigned to such niches), he would surely not be worried about a thief, who would have to lean over him to get at the clothes. If, on the other hand, the bather left his clothes in a fixed place (such as an *apodyterium* or wall niches in an open heated room) and then went elsewhere or moved about to carry out his ablutions, he had every reason to be concerned for his belongings. This interpretation, I believe, allows us to understand the setting of the scene more clearly.

<sup>98</sup> *Trin.*, 405-408. For text, cf. above, n. 95.

Finally, there are the complaints of Dinarchius about the length of time women stay in the bath. "Even fish, I believe," he moans, "who bathe as long as they live, don't bathe as long as this Phronesium [a courtesan] here. If women could be loved for as long as they bathed, all lovers would be bathmen."<sup>99</sup> It is not clear from the context if the baths here referred to are public or private. However, the reference not only attests to the existence of bathmen and implies a familiarity with them among the audience, it also reflects the existence of the bathing habit.

Plautus, then, portrays the public bath as a place familiar to Romans of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, where bathers encounter *balneatores* and spend money, but risk having their clothes stolen. The impression left by these passages is that public bathing was very much part of life at the time the plays were staged, and references to them are used as an easily recognizable element of day-to-day life. The problem is: are they accurate? If not, the inferences just drawn from them are invalid. Few scholars have asked this fundamental question before, preferring to cite the notices without comment.

The chief difficulty here lies in the fact that Plautus based his plays on the earlier works of Greek New Comedy. It is possible that these references are misleading therefore, and better reflect conditions in the Greek rather than in the Roman world. What is more, Plautus's use of the Greek derivative *balineum* (or *balneum*) to denote baths, rather than the more Roman *lavatrina*, could be seen to support this. It could be argued that he found the Greek word in his models and simply transcribed it. In short, is Plautus dependent on his Greek models for his bath references, and so unreflective of contemporary Roman practice?

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<sup>99</sup> *Truc.*, 322-325: *piscis, ego credo, qui usque dum vivont lavant, minus diu lavare quam haec lavat Phronesium. si proinde amentur, mulieres diu quam lavant, omnes amantes balneatores sient.*

The problem is difficult to resolve satisfactorily. Some counter-arguments offer themselves. First, Plautus, while deriving much material from his Greek models, was no mere translator, but an adapter who gave his comedies a distinctly Roman character, not only in form and language, but also in content by drawing on situations from specifically Roman daily life.<sup>100</sup> Lacking as we do all but one New Comedy play in full, the depth of Plautus's debt to or deviance from the Greek originals is quite impossible to gauge.

Second, it would make little sense for Plautus to portray situations or institutions with which his audience could not identify.<sup>101</sup> This point is especially cogent, because Plautus is a playwright who shows a strong propensity for exploiting the comedic element in any set of circumstances.<sup>102</sup> The scope for humour in a situation that the audience could not recognize would be severely limited. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that the audience could at least recognize what Plautus meant by the terms *balnea* and *balneator*, and the circumstances surrounding the spending of money at the baths or the presence of clothes-thieves there. However, it is also true that Plautus makes occasional mention of *gymnasia* and *palaestrae*,

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<sup>100</sup> Cf. G. NORWOOD, *Plautus and Terence* (NY: Cooper, 1963), pp. 15-28, 54-99; M. DELCOURT, *Plaute et l'impartialité comique* (Brussels: La Renaissance du livre, 1964), pp. 29-81; J. TATUM, *Plautus: The Darker Plays* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1983), p. 2. A recent example of the use of Plautus as a reliable source for social conditions in the Roman world of his day is K.R. BRADLEY, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World, 140 BC - 70 BC* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 27-30.

<sup>101</sup> While it is possible for audiences to identify with elements of foreign cultures with which they do not have first-hand experience -- for instance, Japanese customs as portrayed in films or plays -- many, if not most, facets of that foreign culture will remain nonetheless unclear to the uninformed. I cannot imagine Roman audiences of c. 200 BC were particularly well-educated, cf. Plut. *Cato Maj.*, 20; Quint. 1.2. S.F. BONNER, *Education in Ancient Rome from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) pp. 3-19 portrays the education of the period as firmly rooted in the family. His focus, of course, is restricted to noble families; the lower classes, who made up the majority of Plautus's audience, must have received a very limited education. Plautus mentions the baths in so casual a manner that an assumed familiarity with them among his audience seems to stand behind the references. Also, that many Romans had served in S. Italy and Sicily by 200 BC does not really contribute much to the argument -- we do not know enough about the constituents of Plautus's audience to make any solid judgements as to who had been where. Cf. the comment by O.F. ROBINSON, "Baths: An Aspect of Roman Local Government Law" in *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino 3* (Naples: Jovene, 1984), p. 1065: ". . . There are references in Plautus which, although they may stem from his Greek sources, suggest that Roman audiences would not find public baths unfamiliar."

<sup>102</sup> Cf. E. SEGAL, *Roman Laughter: The Comedy of Plautus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, 2 ed.), pp. 1-14.

neither of which were a feature of Roman urban topography at this time.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot say for sure how much more closely Plautus's audience could identify with a reference to a *balneum*, rather than to a gymnasium. But a comparison of the *balneum* with the gymnasium/palaestra references may provide a clue. Whereas the characters in the plays interact directly with the baths (visiting them, spending money at them etc.), they do not do so with the gymnasium or palaestra. The latter find mention only very fleetingly, or metaphorically, e.g., as an element of a city a character describes travelling through, or as a metaphor for a brothel.<sup>104</sup> The impression is that the baths were a more familiar institution to contemporary Romans than were gymnasia or palaestrae. An exception occurs in *Bacchides* when Plautus describes the activities that took place in a gymnasium, most of which are Greek.<sup>105</sup> In this case, however, first-hand familiarity with a gymnasium is not necessarily inferred. The passage appears to be an attack on the new, Greek-influenced education, centred on the gymnasium.<sup>106</sup> It would be fair to suggest that the sorts of activities described in this passage would have been familiar to Romans of the day, even if only through hearsay, due to the topicality of the subject. Altogether, Plautus's bath situations, such as thievery and money-spending, leave a stronger impression of first-hand familiarity with the baths on the part of his audience than do the more fleeting mentions of gymnasia and *palaestrae*.

Finally in this connection, the question of bath terminology is a difficult one, and does not allow simple conclusions based on Plautus's use of the Greek derivative *balineum*.<sup>107</sup> It

<sup>103</sup> Elements of these buildings are identifiable in early bath remains (e.g. the *palaestra* in the Stabian Baths) and in later buildings (notably, the extensive facilities of imperial *thermae*), but no purely Greek gymnasia or *palaestrae* are known from Rome or other Italian towns; in fact, the *palaestra* as a structure independent of the gymnasium has proven impossible to identify in the archaeological record, cf. e.g. KYLE, *Athletics*, pp. 66-70 who cannot adduce a single surviving example.

<sup>104</sup> E.g. *Amph.*, 1011: *omnis plateas perpetavi, gymnasia et myropolia . . . in palaestras . . .*; *Epid.*, 197-198: *per omnem urbem quem sum defessus quaerere / per medicinas, per tonstrinas in gymnasio atque in foro*. See also the metaphoric uses in *As.*, 297: *gymnasium flagri, salveto*; or *Aul.*, 410: *ita me iste habuit senex gymnasium*; or *Bacch.*, 66-67: *adulscens homo penetrem me huius modi in palaestram, ubi damnus desudascitur*.

<sup>105</sup> *Bacch.*, 419-434.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. J. BARSBY, *Plautus, Bacchides* (Oak Park: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1986), pp. 133-137.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. above, pp. 6-11.

would be facile to deduce a Greek origin for Roman baths simply because the Latin word for them has a Greek root.<sup>108</sup> Varro, in his study of the Latin language, comments vaguely that the "ancients used to call this [the bath] not a *balneum*, but a *lavatrina*."<sup>109</sup> Exactly when "the ancients" lived, and when the transition to the Greek derivative occurred, remains open to question.

In sum, Plautus's evidence is certainly problematic and open to dispute, but it does leave the distinct impression that public baths were a part of life at Rome when the playwright lived and wrote in the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC. It is not possible to be more precise than this.

The evidence of Rome's other early playwright, Terence, is vitiated by the nature of his work as a more-or-less straight translation of Menander.<sup>110</sup> When mentioning baths, Terence prefers to use the Supine *lavatum* (in the sense of "bathing") instead of *balneum*, which he uses only once.<sup>111</sup> In addition, it is generally not clear from the context of the references to bathing whether private or public establishments are being indicated.

Varro, on the other hand, is explicit when he says that the first public bath at Rome was a double structure with separate sections for men and women.<sup>112</sup> Varro gives no indication when this bath was built. He implies, however, that the bath was the product of external influence on Rome (*cum introiit in urbem*), and did not emerge from within the city. It is

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<sup>108</sup> This is nonetheless what NIELSEN does, cf. *Therm.*, I.30. Cf. the comments of DeLAINE, *JRA* (1988), 16 on this sort of approach. In general it is difficult to determine what motivated the Romans to use Greek or Latin terms for buildings.

<sup>109</sup> Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68: *cum hoc antiqui non balneum, sed lavatrinam appellare*. It should be borne in mind here that Varro's interest is that of a grammarian, and may not reflect actual everyday usage.

<sup>110</sup> This is admitted in the prologues to the plays themselves.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Ter. *Phorm.*, 339 (*balneum*), *Hau.*, 655, *Eun.*, 592, 596, 600 (*lavatum*).

<sup>112</sup> *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68: *primum balneum (nomen est Graecum), cum introiit in urbem, publice ibi consedit, ubi bina essent coniuncta aedificia lavandi causa, unum ubi viri, alterum ubi mulieres lavarentur*. Clearly Varro imagines here a single structure with two separate sections, as he goes on to explain how *balneum* came to be applied to single (private) structures. Note also that Vitruvius's description of a bath assumes it is a double building (5.10.1).

possible, of course, that Varro is mistaken, or has fabricated this point as part of his attempt to explain the different forms of *balnea* (which is the context of the notice), but there is no way of checking. However, as already noted, his comment also agrees with the only archaeological evidence we have from the 2nd century BC: the Stabian Baths, which was a double building.<sup>113</sup> Given this, we should tentatively consider Varro's testimony as sound.

A statement in Nonius which has been attributed to Cato the Elder has also been used to shed light on early bathing conditions at Rome. But there are problems. In the first place, Nonius is not here citing Cato, but Varro's *Catus de liberis educandis*, a work in which Cato was apparently used as an *exemplum* of a proper Roman upbringing.<sup>114</sup> Nonetheless, the fact remains that the disembodied statement cannot be securely ascribed either to Cato, Catus or Varro. Even if it is Cato speaking (as is possible), it is to be remembered that he grew up in Tusculum, so he may describe here the situation in that town and not in Rome. Uncertainty even surrounds the interpretation of the claim itself. It could mean that daily bathing was generally uncommon in the boyhood of the speaker,<sup>115</sup> or it could be taken to apply only to the speaker ("*I did not bathe daily*"), thus implying that the habit was common among others whom he knew. A final point: it is unclear if the author here refers to private or public bathing.<sup>116</sup> These numerous uncertainties render the passage useless as evidence for this early period.

Three more authors provide evidence pertinent to the situation in Rome in the 2nd century BC. The poet Caecilius Statius (who died c. 168 BC) makes a passing and uninformative reference to baths.<sup>117</sup> The most that can be said is that the word appears in a 2nd-

<sup>113</sup> This is not a disputed feature of the 2nd-century Stabian Baths.

<sup>114</sup> Nonius p. 108M (155L), s.v. "ephippium": *mihi puero . . . balneum non cotidianum* (the full text is cited above in the Introduction to Section 1, n. 4). For the attribution to Cato, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.29. For Catus (whose dates are uncertain), cf. *RE* S6.1172-1277, s.v. "Terentius" (no. 84) [Dahlmann], esp. 1264.

<sup>115</sup> Thus, NIELSEN, *Therm.*, loc. cit. in previous note.

<sup>116</sup> *Balneum* can mean *lavatio*, or "washing" (cf. Apicius, 9.8.5; *OLD*, s.v., no. 3).

<sup>117</sup> Fragment 98 (R) cited in Non., 194M (285L). s.v. *balneae*. His work was derived from Greek originals, cf. Aul. Gell., 2.23; cf. *OCD*, s.v., "Caecilius" (no. 1) [Williams]. Note also Front. *Strat.*, 4.26

century context. Next, the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus, as epitomised by Justin in the 3rd century AD, comments that the Romans introduced hot-water bathing to Spain after the Second Punic War (218-202 BC).<sup>118</sup> This would imply that the habit was common among the Romans by that time. Unfortunately, as with Livy's Capuan anecdote, Trogus's source for this notice cannot be traced, so it could conceivably be a retrojection of later practise.

The most informative of the three is Cicero. In two places, in the *de Oratore* and the *pro Cluentio*, Cicero tells a story involving the orator L. Licinius Crassus (whom we have already met as an acquaintance of Asclepiades of Bithynia and Sergius Orata) and his judicial opponent M. Junius Brutus.<sup>119</sup> Cicero in both instances uses the story to illustrate the wit of Crassus. In the *de Oratore*, Cicero relates how Crassus humiliated Brutus in court by making quips concerning baths which his opponent had recently sold.<sup>120</sup> It is plain from this passage that Brutus had inherited the baths from his father, as Crassus makes lewd allusions to father and son bathing together in these baths, a practice the Romans considered improper,<sup>121</sup> and tells us that the estates (*fundi*) of Brutus's father, apparently including the baths, were registered in the public records. The *pro Cluentio* version of the story is no different: the allusions to Brutus sharing baths with his father, and the registration of the baths in public accounts are repeated.<sup>122</sup>

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where a punishment in the army of 133 BC included being denied baths and banquets (*L. Piso C. Titium . . . iussit . . . conviviis et balneo abstinere*). The context would imply that the culprit was to be denied pleasure leave (officers' mess in 133 BC can hardly have been a banquet) so these baths would seem to have been civilian rather than military ones, but we should be cautious how much we extrapolate from this. In any case the campaign was in Sicily, and so the baths referred to were probably those in the Greek communities there.

<sup>118</sup> Justin, *Epit.*, 44.6.2: *aqua calida lavari post secundum Punicum bellum a Romanis didicere*. For Trogus, cf. *RE* 21.2300-2313, s.v. "Pompeius" (no. 142) [Klotz]; for Justin, cf. *RE* 10.956-957, s.v. "Junianus" (no. 4) [Kroll].

<sup>119</sup> For Crassus, cf. above Ch. 1, n. 22; for Brutus, BROUGHTON, *MRR*, II.41, 576, no. 51.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Cic. *de Or.*, 2.223-224: *quam multa de balneis, quas nuper ille [sc Brutus] vendiderat, quam multa de amisso patrimonio [sc. Crassus] dixit! Atque illa brevia, cum ille diceret se sine causa sudare, "minime mirum," inquit, "modo enim existi de balneis." . . . "ubi sunt hi fundi, Brute, quos tibi pater publicis commentariis consignatos reliquit? quod nisi puberem te," inquit [sc. Crassus], "iam haberet, quantum librum composuisset et se in balneis lotum cum filio scriptum reliquisset."*

<sup>121</sup> See also *de Off.*, 129; Plut. *Cato maj.*, 20.5; HA, *Gord.*, 6.4.

<sup>122</sup> Cic., *pro Clu.*, 141: *quod si potuisset honeste scribere se in balneis cum id aetatis filio fuisse, non praeterisset; eas se tamen ab eo balneas non ex libris patris sed ex tabulis et ex censu quaerere.*

That these are public baths is indicated by a nicety of Ciceronian Latinity. Cicero is absolutely consistent in his use of the feminine plural form *balneae* to denote public baths, and the neuter singular *balneum* to indicate private.<sup>123</sup> In this story the baths are always referred to in the plural, and once in the feminine plural form, making it plain that Cicero means a public establishment.

The situation behind the story can be reconstructed as follows. In about the middle of the 2nd century BC, Brutus's father had invested in a set of public baths, registered them in the public records, and passed them on by inheritance to his son. The younger Brutus, Crassus's opponent, subsequently resold them, giving rise to the orator's quips concerning "lost family funds," registration of the baths, and his vulgar insinuation of impropriety in bathing practice (which seems to have been a jocular metaphor for the younger Brutus having a hand in running the establishment with his father). A senator inheriting a set of public baths and then selling them, one presumes for profit, surely indicates that by that date at least public bathing had become sufficiently widespread and popular for such a building to be an attractive economic asset. Note also that Cicero does not comment (as he might have) that Brutus's ownership of baths was unusual or out of character for members of the senatorial class.<sup>124</sup> It would perhaps be dangerous to attempt to draw too much from this observation, but it is worth making nonetheless.

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<sup>123</sup> So, for instance, he refers to private baths in villas using *balneum* (cf. *Att.*, 2.3.4 [S-B, 23]; 13.52.1 [S-B, 353]; 14.13a.1 [S-B, 417]; *Fam.*, 14.20.1 [S-B, 173]; 9.16.9 [S-B, 190]), while for public establishments he uses *balneae* (cf. *pro Cael.*, 61-62; *pro Rosc.*, 18). This, indeed, became a rule of Latin grammar, but one evidently often ignored, cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68: *item reprehendunt analogias, quod dicantur multitudinis nomine publicae balneae non balnea, contra quod privati dicant unum balneum*. Cf. especially above, p. 7-8.

<sup>124</sup> Although officially frowned upon as unseemly, it is clear that members of the senatorial class did indulge in speculative business ventures, property ownership among them, cf. P. GARNSEY, "Urban Property Investment" in M.I. FINLEY, *Studies in Roman Property* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 123-136. Crassus, for instance, who was held up as a paragon of greed, earned his vast fortune from real-estate, mining, skilled slaves (for rent), agriculture and inheritances, cf. A.M. WARD, *M. Crassus and the Late Republic* (London: University of Missouri Press, 1977), pp. 68-78, esp. 70-77. Even the virtuous Cicero had real estate interests in Rome, cf. *Att.*, 14.9.1, 11.2.

Plutarch's comment that "hot waters" featured among the several business investments of Cato the Elder is also instructive. So safe and sure were these investments, declared Cato, that not even Jupiter could ruin him.<sup>125</sup> What ὕδατα θερμά means here is debatable, but there are really only two possibilities. Either it denotes "hot baths," or it means "hot springs." The Loeb edition inconsistently translates the phrase here as "hot springs" but elsewhere in Plutarch as "warm baths."<sup>126</sup> There is some support for the interpretation of the term as referring to springs or spas.<sup>127</sup> However, it is surprising that the Romans, even in later times, did not greatly exploit hot water springs in the area of Campania.<sup>128</sup> To this extent, we would not immediately think of them as a safe and profitable business venture. It is better to conclude that the precise meaning of the term ὕδατα θερμά remains uncertain, but in the face of such unexpectedly little evidence for extensive Roman exploitation of natural spring sites in Campania at least, favour must lean towards the "bathhouse" translation. If so, Plutarch's story can be added to Cicero's allusions to Brutus's bath investments as testimony for the popularity of baths in the 2nd century BC.

The combined evidence of Cicero and Plutarch suggests that in the 2nd century BC Roman senators were investing in public baths as economic assets.<sup>129</sup> For this to be so, the

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<sup>125</sup> Plut. *Cato Maj.*, 21.5: Ἀπτόμενος δὲ συντονώτερον πορισμοῦ τὴν μὲν γεωργίαν μᾶλλον ἤγειτο διαγωγὴν ἢ πρόσσodon, εἰς δ' ἀσφαλῆ πράγματα καὶ βέβαια κατατιθέμενος τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκτάτο λίμνας, ὕδατα θερμά, . . . ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ πολλὰ χρήματα προσήει πολλὰ μὴδ' ὑπὸ Δίος, ὡς φησιν αὐτὸς, βλαβῆναι δυναμένων.

<sup>126</sup> Plut. *Sulla*, 31.5, here we read of men who lost their lives in the Sullan proscriptions because they owned fancy houses, gardens or ὕδατα θερμά. The recent translation of the *Life of Cato* by D. SANSONE (Warminster; Aris and Phillips, 1989) uses "hot baths," but offers no discussion in the accompanying commentary.

<sup>127</sup> Dr. G.M. Paul made the entirely valid point to me that all of Cato's other investments listed here are natural rather than constructed. The Scaptopara petition to Gordian III (AD 239-244) uses the phrase to mean "hot springs," cf. *CIL* 3.12336, lines 14-15.

<sup>128</sup> This is the conclusion of G.W. HOUSTON, "The *Other Spas of Ancient Campania*" (forthcoming) (I am indebted to Prof. Houston for providing me with a manuscript of this article). Elsewhere in the empire, many hot- or mineral-springs were developed extensively, cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 157-174.

<sup>129</sup> Any profit probably derived more from renting the establishment to a *conductor* than from takings at the door, cf. ROBINSON, *Sodalitas* 3 (1984), 1070-1071. The investment by senators in urban property is

practice of public bathing must obviously have reached a certain degree of popularity and prevalence. Unfortunately, given the dearth of evidence, we cannot even start to estimate this trend in quantitative terms. Nor can we say with any degree of certainty how many senators invested in baths, and thus how representative the actions of Brutus's father and Cato the Elder may have been.

Plutarch's account of the bloody events surrounding the death of C. Gracchus (121 BC) includes the detail that Gracchus's chief supporter, Fulvius Flaccus, attempted to hide in a "disused bathhouse" but was found and killed along with his elder son.<sup>130</sup> Unfortunately, it is not explicitly stated in the story if this bath was public or private. Were it the former, speculation might be invited as to how many such discarded structures the city contained. But as it stands, the passing reference cannot be pressed further.

The next piece of evidence comes at the very end of the period under consideration here, in a speech delivered by Cicero in 80 BC in defence of Sextius Roscius, who stood accused of parricide. Cicero makes reference to the *balneae Pallacinae*, "the Pallacine baths," near which Roscius's father was murdered.<sup>131</sup> Although nothing is known of this building, it was clearly well enough known for Cicero to use it as the landmark by which the jury could place the location of Roscius's murder. The baths seem to have been named after the street upon which they stood, the *Pallacinae Vicus*.<sup>132</sup> In the *pro Caelio*, delivered 24 years later, Cicero makes reference to the *balneae Seniae*, "the Senian baths," which are similarly unidentifiable today.<sup>133</sup>

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well-known, though little investigated, cf. P. GARNSEY, "Urban Property Investment" in M.I. FINLEY (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 123-136.

<sup>130</sup> Plut. *Gracch.*, 16.4: γενόμενης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ὁ μὲν Φούλβιος εἷς τι βαλανεῖον ἡμελημένον καταφύγων καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀνευρεθεὶς κατεσφάγη μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παιδός. . .

<sup>131</sup> Cic. *pro Rosc.*, 18: *occiditur ad balneas Pallacinas rediens a cena Sex. Roscius.*

<sup>132</sup> Cf. *RE* 18.2.156-157, s.v. "Pallacinae vicus" [Welin].

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Cic. *pro Cael.*, 61-62. It is not clear how these baths got their name.

The size and nature of these buildings is not known, but that they have names familiar to the jury suggests that public baths were common at Rome in the first half of the 1st century BC.

Finally, a brief examination of the epigraphic evidence down to Sulla's dictatorship is called for. This will be mostly of Italian provenance (as it is here that Roman baths developed) and so in Latin. The examination will perforce be brief, as the material is so slight. There are only eight Republican inscriptions datable to the Sullan period or earlier which mention bathhouses or parts thereof. Further, one of these is dubious, as it possibly does not refer to baths at all.<sup>134</sup> They mostly record the erection or restoration of baths or parts of baths, and many are not precisely datable. Of those that are, the earliest stone dates to the late 2nd century BC and comes from Aletrium in Latium.<sup>135</sup> It records that L. Betilienus Vaarus (*sic*) saw to the construction of a whole series of public buildings and conveniences, and earned two local censorships in return. Among them was a *lacus balnearius*.<sup>136</sup> This means that our earliest bath inscription is roughly contemporaneous with the Stabian Baths in Pompeii. As a result, the epigraphic material will throw no light on the earliest stages of bath development.

What does the term *lacus balnearius* mean? *Lacus* denotes any type of pool or pond, natural or artificial, and is frequently used to mean public troughs, cisterns or reservoirs.<sup>137</sup> The adjective *balnearius* makes it clear that the structure was either part of the bathhouse at Aletrium, or it served a bathhouse-related function. It may denote a pool in the bath building, like the later *piscina* or *natatio*. Alternatively, it could mean an open-air pool, unrelated to a

<sup>134</sup> These are *ILLRP* 521 (Acurantia; post-Social War), 528 (Aletrium; 130-120 BC), 542 (Lacedonia; post-Social War), 606 (Grumentum; Sullan?), 615 (Tibur; Sullan?), 617 (Interamnia; post-Sullan), 648 (Pompeii; Sullan), *ILS* 6356 (Pompeii; Sullan). The debatable one is 615 (*lacus* built at Tibur; post-81 BC). In addition, there are three not securely datable, but nonetheless Republican, inscriptions: *ILLRP* 600 (Frigentum; ?), 755 (Delos; 1st century BC?), 1275 (Carpi, Tunisia; 1st century BC?). The first of the latter three may not refer to a bathhouse, as it mentions only the construction of a *solarium*, cf. *ILLRP* 116 and 766 for mention of *solaria* (note the sundial found in the Stabian Baths, above, pp. 54-55, and below n. 139).

<sup>135</sup> NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40, n. 25 dates it to 130-120 BC.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. *ILLRP* 528 (= *ILS* 5348): L. Betilienus L. f. Vaarus | haec quae infera scripta | sont de senatu sententia | facienda coiravit || . . . horologium . . . [|]lacum balnearium, lacum ad [p]ortam . . .

<sup>137</sup> Cf. *OLD*, s.v.

bathhouse, which was used for bathing purposes. This seems unlikely, as there is no known example of such a facility from this or any other period.<sup>138</sup> A third possibility is presented by a phrase occurring later in the text where a "*lacus* beside the gate" is mentioned, which probably indicates a trough. Could the *lacus balnearius* have been a trough or a reservoir in the bathhouse or its vicinity? It does seem, at least, that we are dealing with elements in a bathhouse. Among the list of Vaarus's various constructions is a *horologium*, or sundial. While sundials are not necessarily part of a bath building, they have been found in that context, notably the example from the east *porticus* of the *palaestra* of the Stabian Baths, dated to about the same time as this inscription.<sup>139</sup> It could be ventured that the *horologium* and the *lacus balnearius*, the construction of which was Vaarus's responsibility, were new additions to Aletrium's bathhouse, the main body of which would already have been built at an undetermined date.

The other inscriptions, most of them probably of the Sullan era or slightly earlier, yield little information but should not be ignored, as they attest to an interest in bathing at the various places of provenance. One text of the 2nd/1st century BC from Grumentum in Lucania records the construction of baths by *duoviri* from public money.<sup>140</sup> This text, as well as the Aletrium inscription above, is striking for its commemoration of a local authority undertaking the task of

<sup>138</sup> The famed depiction in the Tomb of the Diver of the 5th century BC has a natural setting, although the diver is leaping off some sort of man-made construction, indicating at least partial development of the environment. It has been suggested that the representation is symbolic, representing the deceased diving off life into the unknown, cf. PEDLEY, *Paestum*, pp. 89-94 for a recent discussion and illustrations. Note, however, Dio's report (55.7.6) that Maecenas built a heated swimming-pool (κολύμβηθρα θερμοῦ ὕδατος) in Rome in 8 BC. The nature of this structure is no clearer than that being presently discussed, but it is possibly to be identified with the *calida piscina*, known from later baths, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.156, s.v.

<sup>139</sup> Its findspot is marked "x" on fig. 6. Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, p. 17 and Abb. 5, 7. An undated Republican inscription from Carpi in Africa records the donation of a *destrictarium* (scraping-off room) and *solarium* (sundial) there, cf. *ILLRP* 1275. The presence of baths here is indicated by the *destrictarium* (compare the Vilius and Aninius inscription from the Stabian Baths in Pompeii, cf. above, n. 13). The word could, however, indicate a gymnasium, although no examples are known from Africa, cf. H. JOUFFROY, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (Strasbourg: AECR, 1986), pp. 175-315.

<sup>140</sup> *ILLRP* 606: Q. Pettius Q. f. Tro(mentina) Curva | C. Maecius C. f. Ouf(entina) pr(aefectores) | duivir(i) balneum ex | d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) de peq(unia) pob(lica) fac(iundum) cur(averunt) || Q. Pettius Q. f. probavit.

building the baths for the local citizens. There is also a 1st century BC inscription from Acurantia recording the work of *duoviri* in restoring a *piscina*.<sup>141</sup>

A *laconicum* is mentioned in a text from Delos, and a *destrictarium* from an inscription from Carpi in North Africa.<sup>142</sup> Although Delos was hardly a typical urban community, mention of bath-related rooms here and across the Mediterranean in Africa may be taken to imply more widespread public bathing in the Roman world of the early 1st century BC than the literary evidence alone happens to indicate.

Relevant literary and epigraphic evidence for the period up to Sulla is thus slim, as one would expect, but cumulatively suggestive nonetheless. It is certainly sufficient to put to rest the claim that "before the baths of Agrippa we know of no public baths at Rome," if the term "public" here means "open to the public" and not "publicly owned."<sup>143</sup> Such a claim is patently untrue. In fact, the literary evidence allows us to trace public baths at Rome back to the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC, but no earlier, while for all their scarcity the epigraphic references to baths or parts of baths leave the impression that they were a fairly common feature of Roman towns by the end of Sulla's dictatorship.

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<sup>141</sup> *ILLRP* 521.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. *ILLRP* 755 for the Delos inscription, which probably has more relevance to Greek than to Roman baths, although we should note the involvement of Italians in this benefaction; on the so-called Agora of the Italians, cf. N. RAUH, "Was the Agora of the Italians an *Etablissement du sport*?" *BCH* 1992 (forthcoming) (I am particularly indebted to Dr. Rauh for providing an off-print of his article before it was published, and discussing it with me in person). The Carpi text is *ILLRP* 1275 and is discussed in n. 139 above.

<sup>143</sup> The comment was made by P. CASTRÉN, in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), p. 359. F. Rakob, commenting on Castrén's presentation, raises doubts about this claim, evidently taking CASTRÉN to mean "publicly accessible baths," cf. *HIM* (1974), p. 362.

## CONCLUSION

Roman public baths first made their appearance in Campania sometime in the 3rd century BC, perhaps in the early-to-mid part of that century. By 216 BC Capua may have had a set, and by the end of the century they were already a feature of the urban landscape of Rome, as the testimony of Plautus suggests. We have no archaeological evidence of what these early baths looked like, and the literary sources give few clues. However, Varro does make two notable points. First, Rome's first baths were introduced to the city from elsewhere. Second, they had separate sections for men and women. This corresponds with the early evidence from Campania, e.g. the story told by C. Gracchus set in Teanum Sidicinum and its environs, and the earliest fully preserved set to survive, the Stabian Baths at Pompeii (probably built in one operation in c. 140-120 BC). Altogether, therefore, the likelihood is that the first baths in Rome were the result of Campanian influence on the city. Because double buildings with sections for men and women presuppose a familiarity with the technology involved in heating them, they can be seen as a later development than single ones. Given this, we may suggest that the original Campanian baths were initially single-sectioned structures and had been in existence some time before double baths were introduced to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

None of this, however, sheds any light on the actual appearance of these early baths.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested by some scholars that they more closely resembled Greek-style βαλανεία

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<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that the Central Baths in Cumae (c. 180 BC) appear to have had only a single section, but this building needs fuller investigation before its evidence can really be called upon. Also the wording of Varro *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68 (*ubi bina essent coniuncta aedificia lavandi causa*) seems to reflect a second stage of development: initially the "two joined buildings" (for men and women) may have been separate structures.

<sup>2</sup> Because Greek baths could also have sections for men and women, Varro's testimony does not provide evidence as to what type of baths he was referring to, Greek or Roman/Campanian. For men and women's sections in Greek baths, cf. the Harbour Baths at Eretria (fig. 5 where the letter AN (probably for ANΔΠΕΙΟΣ or ANΔΡΩΝ) are clearly visible at the entrance of R1) and GINOUVES, *Balan.*, pp. 197-198.

than Roman-style baths, and while this is certainly possible, we have seen that severe problems arise when the proposition is examined closely. No clear evidence for typical Greek baths with hip-baths and rotundas is known from any Campanian sites, and Rome provides no physical remains before the Baths of Agrippa, built in 26-19 BC.<sup>3</sup> The proposed Greek stages of the Stabian Baths, be they Eschebach's 5th or 4th-century BC bath/palaestra, or DeLaine and Nielsen's 2nd-century BC hip-bath complex, are severely problematic. Despite this, there are definite hints of a Greek influence on at least certain elements of Roman baths. What was its nature? And where did the form of Roman baths, already developed by the time the Stabian Baths were built, originate? These are the next logical questions.

The Greeks were the only public bathers with whom Rome came into contact in the period before baths are mentioned in a late 3rd-century BC context in Plautus and Livy. Baths were a part of gymnasia, and Greek towns could also feature βαλανεία, public establishments. Elements of both these institutions are to be found in Roman baths, notably the palaestra, cold-water basins, round sweat-baths, as well as the rarer cold-water pool of the gymnasia, and a developed version of the hypocaust underfloor heating system of the βαλανεία.

However, in both form and function neither βαλανεία nor gymnasia, even in combination, can be seen as the direct ancestors of Roman baths. Both lack several defining features of Roman establishments -- communal immersion in hot water, a clear room-sequence, and a developed hypocaust. Βαλανεία are characterized in particular by hip-baths, which are not found at all in Roman baths. These differences in form reflect an underlying difference in bathing practices. Whereas the Greeks bathed individually in tubs or at basins, the Romans did so communally in large heated pools. Furthermore, in terms of function, βαλανεία are often,

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<sup>3</sup> The Hellenistic baths at Velia, south of Campania proper and dating to about 300 BC, should be associated more with the other Greek baths from Magna Graecia than with the early periods in Campania, cf. W. JOHANNOWSKY, "Considerazioni sullo sviluppo urbano e la cultura materiale di Velia," *PP* 37 (1982), 225-246, esp. 243-246.

but not always, found in religious contexts, and the gymnasia remained primarily centres of athletic exercise and intellectual education for a select clientele. Roman public baths, by contrast, were primarily secular, urban institutions open to all comers. Finally, βαλανεία are not found in Greek towns with anything like the frequency with which baths feature in Roman ones. At the very least, this indicates that public bathing among the Greeks never attained the same degree of popularity as it did among the Romans. Given all this, R. Ginouvès's claim that the Romans drew their baths and bathing habits directly from the Greeks seems extreme.

I would suggest, however, that the Romans, or at least the Campanians, were probably given the basic idea of building public baths by examples they could have seen in the Greek communities of South Italy and Sicily. Certain elements of Greek baths and gymnasia also formed a part of this transfer of ideas but, as with so much else in Rome's borrowings from Greece, it was a process not of straight adoption, but of adaptation. And it is in this connection, I believe, that the natural conditions in the Campi Flegrei come into play.

It is plausible to suggest that Campanians had long been used to bathing together in the hot pools that abound in the Campi Flegrei. When the idea of building public baths occurred to them, therefore, they developed a form that allowed the artificial recreation of their existing bathing habits. The rudiments of a suitable technology were at hand in the form of the Greek "annular" hypocaust. However, the system had to be altered to allow for the heating of larger pools.<sup>4</sup> This done, its extension for the heating of an entire room was not a major step. On this hypothesis, it should be stressed that the hypocaust did not shape bathing habits, as previous

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<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the Greeks of Magna Graecia may have gone some way toward this development, in that they may have been heating immersion pools in part of their bathing establishments, cf. DeLAINE, *JMA* (1989), 116-117 where it is argued that hypocaust-heated rooms in the baths at Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse, previously thought to be sweat baths, were in fact pools. These examples date to the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC, and it is not clear if they had predecessors. It is also not clear if all Western Greek baths had this facility. Therefore, whether these developments directly influenced the Campanians, or whether it was even vice versa, is not clear but, all in all, I feel the natural spas in the region provide a more likely impulse for the adaptation of the hypocaust to heat pools in Campania.

scholars have often assumed, but rather that bathing habits shaped the hypocaust. This proposition is more in accord with the way the ancients used technology in general, in that it was nearly always adopted or improved to meet an immediate need.<sup>5</sup> Progress for its own sake (on the modern model) was not sought, and should not be assumed in the case of ancient cultures.<sup>6</sup>

On this view, Italian baths had some form of hypocaust from the outset, as the system was adopted to fit an already defined bathing practice -- communal bathing in hot water. The mechanics of development from these beginnings to the fully evolved pillar *suspensura* found in the Stabian and later baths are very unsure and obscured by a lack of evidence, particularly physical remains. It is probable, however, that the hypocaust was used initially only to heat pools, and later extended to heating the entire floor space.<sup>7</sup> Clear evidence is lacking for this suggestion, as it is for all reconstructions pertaining to the appearance of early Roman baths; unfortunately the Stabian Baths' development history is so troublesome and disputed that it offers no clarification. For the present, then, this proposition must await the test of future discoveries in the early levels of Campanian bath sites.

The problem of the origin of the room sequence remains outstanding. As some of the rooms could be heated with braziers (examples have been found in the Forum and Stabian Baths in Pompeii), the hypocaust cannot be seen as a requisite for such a sequence, though it most certainly facilitated it. The sequence is probably to be seen as a part of Campanian bathing practices, the origins of which are not clear. Greek influence may have played a part, as

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. K.D. WHITE, *Greek and Roman Technology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), where this is manifestly the case, cf. esp. p. 21 and 27-45. Cf. also M.I. FINLEY, "Technical Innovation and Economic Progress in the Ancient World," *Econ. Hist. Rev.* N.S. 18 (1965), 29-45, esp. 31-35.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E.R. DODDS, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), esp. pp. 1-25 where it is convincingly demonstrated that the very notion of progress, although not entirely unknown, was largely alien to the vast majority of thinkers in the ancient world.

<sup>7</sup> This is the sort of system seen in the 3rd/2nd century Greek baths in Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea as DeLaine reconstructs them, cf. n. 4 above. It may also explain how later baths could be secondarily raised on hypocausts (cf. *ILS* 5711?), presumably meaning the extension of the hypocaust to the rooms as well as the pool.

gymnasia had sweat-rooms combined with cold-water baths. It could be suggested that the Campanians, for whatever reason, simply inserted into this simple sequence an extra room, which was heated to an intermediate temperature to produce the the *laconicum-caldarium-tepidarium* progression. Again, it is a case of adaptation of a Greek model, not straight adoption, but precisely why the Campanians should have invented the *tepidarium* remains unclear.

Providing a time-frame for all this is speculative, but there are several indicators at our disposal. The possible presence of *balineae* at Capua in 216 BC is the earliest and clearest landmark. From this date, Campanian encounters with Greek baths might fairly be guessed in the 3rd century BC at the latest. Βαλανεῖα did not really become a familiar feature of Greek communities until the Hellenistic period, which increases the attraction of a 3rd-century encounter. In addition, the studied hand of the architect of the Stabian Baths gives the impression that their form had been in existence for some time before the mid- 2nd century BC, when the building was erected. In short, I would propose an early-to-mid 3rd century date for the first Campanian developments outlined above, with the baths being introduced to Rome by the end of that century. By the mid-2nd century BC the baths had acquired the essentials of their form, as the Stabian Baths make clear.

To conclude, it can be said that any theory as to the origins of Roman public baths will inevitably be hampered by a lack of clear evidence. At least the reconstruction offered above has several strengths lacking in others. It removes the need for attempts to prove the existence of hip-baths in Roman establishments, while retaining a degree of Greek influence without over-emphasizing it. It also provides a plausible origin for the Campanian habit of bathing communally in hot-water, and explains why the hypocaust was adopted from Greek models but significantly altered, a phenomenon that previous theories have left unaddressed by assuming

the hypocaust gave rise to the bathing habits and not vice versa. As a result, this proposed scheme for the origins of Roman baths matches better the overall process of Roman adaptation from Greek models, as amply attested in architecture and technology. With baths, as with so much else, the Campanians first, and then the Romans, took what they needed from the Greeks and moulded it to suit their needs.

We can answer the questions posed above, then, by saying that the Greeks had a definite influence on the early development of Roman baths, but that it was neither as direct nor as great as previous studies have proposed. From the outset, Greek models were adapted to local tastes and practices producing a form of bath quite different from the Greek original.

This early bath form was relatively homogeneous; there can be no question of separating the buildings into *thermae* and *balnea*, as Nielsen does. Republican Romans called all baths *balnea*; *thermae* did not appear until later. These *balnea* had the sequence of rooms, were usually barrel-vaulted, and often featured two sections, one for men and one for women.<sup>8</sup> They were small compared to what was to come in the 1st century AD, and not well lit. They could also feature niches arranged along the walls either for decoration or to serve as shelves for bathers' equipment or, considering their gloominess, possibly lamps.<sup>9</sup> They often had a palaestra associated with them.

Finally, we come full circle and return to Sergius Orata. What was his role in the scheme of development, if any? He certainly did not invent the hypocaust *per se*: examples predating him are known from Greece (e.g. Gortys) and Italy (e.g. the Stabian Baths). It is

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<sup>8</sup> In addition to the Stabian, Republican and Forum Baths in Pompeii, we can add the Central Baths at Cales (possibly). Other 1st century BC baths are not especially useful, cf. Introduction to Section 1, n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> This is a real possibility, as in some of the rooms in the Forum Baths it must have been difficult to see anyone; over 1,500 lamps were found there (NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.136) which might suggest bathing at night (as NIELSEN believes), but may also reinforce the impression of daytime gloominess.

entirely possible that Orata's invention was used exclusively for fishfarming, and that it was Asclepiades of Bithynia who adapted Orata's fishponds for human bathing. If so, these actions of the doctor fit into a broader picture of the man as a promoter of bathing which is examined in detail presently.<sup>10</sup>

Alternatively, if we tentatively accept that Orata's *pensiles balineae* were a form of hypocaust employed in bath buildings, the most convincing reconstruction of his role is that postulated by DeLaine, whereby he was a refiner and a salesman of an already existing system. Whatever the case, tradition remembered Orata as the inventor. He does indeed emerge from the sources as a shrewd businessman, and he may have encouraged the belief that he had invented the entire system in order to heighten his commercial profile. It seems that Orata's refinement was at least initially used in connection with his fishfarming and only secondarily applied to baths when he installed it among the bathing facilities in private villas (if that is, in fact, what he did). However, from there it was but a short step to the public establishments that, by Orata's day, had already been a part of the Campanian scene for well over a century.

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<sup>10</sup> See Chapter 4.

**SECTION TWO:**  
**GROWTH**

## INTRODUCTION

Now that the origins and early development of Roman baths have been examined, it is appropriate to investigate the questions of when and why they became popular among the Romans in the 1st centuries BC and AD. These important topics have so far been largely glossed over or ignored by balneologists.

W. Heinz, when discussing the growth of public bathing at Rome, states that there was a marked and sudden increase in the practice in the second quarter of the 1st century BC. As evidence for this he points to the frequency of bath references in the writings of Cicero.<sup>1</sup> Although Heinz has recognized a phenomenon, I hope to show in the first chapter of this section that the date he favours is too early, and 25 years too limited a timespan for the process of growth. A close examination of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the period between Cicero and Martial will offer an alternative reconstruction.

The question of why the baths became popular among the Romans during the period under consideration is more difficult to answer. Many factors may be seen to contribute, but few explain why specifically baths were built. Written sources are largely silent on this topic. In the second chapter of this section (chapter 4) the relevant evidence is examined, and an intriguing possibility proposed -- that the growth in medical knowledge, especially the ideas of the doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia, exerted considerable influence on Roman behaviour.

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<sup>1</sup> HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 10. Cicero's bath references are dealt with below, pp. 104-107.

## CHAPTER III

### THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC BATHING, c. 80 BC - AD 100

#### *Introduction*

The most striking feature of the late Republican/early Imperial written evidence for bathing activity is its very scarcity. No surviving ancient author, of this or of any other period, wrote an account of the development of baths. But several authors do mention them in an "indirect" manner, i.e. in passing or casually. Resort must be made to inference in order to reconstruct the assumptions which appear to stand behind individual statements, a dangerous process dependent to a large extent on subjective interpretation. Nonetheless, an impression of growth can be discerned, and the occurrence of casual references to baths in ancient authors of this period may in itself be taken to indicate a high degree of familiarity with them among both the writers and their audiences.

Another feature of the evidence, and one by no means applicable to baths alone, is its Italic focus. Writers tend to reflect the situation in Rome and Italy, and little is available concerning contemporaneous developments in the provinces.<sup>1</sup> To some extent, this imbalance is redressed by the archaeological record, though much work needs to be done in collecting and correlating extra-Italic evidence. In this respect at least, a preliminary overview can be gleaned

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<sup>1</sup> Something, of course, does emerge. Pliny the Younger provides vivid testimony of bath building in Bithynia-Pontus at the turn of the 1st/2nd century AD (*Ep.*, 10.23-24, 70.1, 3, 71 [Prusa] and 10.39.5-6, 40.3 [Claudiopolis]), while Tacitus implies that baths followed hard on the heels of the invading Romans in Britain (*Agr.*, 21), a situation confirmed by the remains of the 1st century baths at Silchester (of Neronian date; C.138) or the Early City Baths at Wroxeter (c. 90 AD; C.147), cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.74, 81-83. Inscriptions also help fill out the provincial picture.

from the figures provided by Nielsen's catalogue of bath sites, which reflect a general growth in the number of provincial baths from the 1st centuries BC to AD, although the absolute totals are remarkably small.<sup>2</sup> The whole topic of growth in the provinces requires a separate and more detailed study than can be provided here.<sup>3</sup> We shall therefore be forced to concentrate on Italy, only occasionally drawing on the provincial evidence.

However, even within Italy the archaeological record for our period is far from complete. Nielsen catalogues some 67 Italian bath sites. Of these, seven are to be excluded because they are private.<sup>4</sup> The figures for the remainder are instructive and correspond with those for the provinces: there are six or possibly seven 1st-century BC baths and 16 or 17 1st-century AD examples.<sup>5</sup> Ideally, we should have a series of sites from different parts of Italy, all

<sup>2</sup> There are many reasons for these low figures. First, it must be borne in mind that NIELSEN's catalogue is not comprehensive and includes only the best-preserved remains. This alone will tend to preclude earlier sites which may not survive sufficiently well for inclusion. Second, most of the provincial baths will be understandably of 2nd century AD date (cf. Ch. 6, n. 30). This was the period of greatest peace and prosperity in the empire, and so represents the golden age of urban life in general, and of bath building in particular. What is more, the baths only became widespread in Italy in the period discussed in this chapter, subsequently spreading to the provinces. Finally, many of NIELSEN's early baths are military, private, gymnasial or religious and so are excluded from the figures below.

The figures, arranged into NIELSEN's four province-groups excluding Italy, are as follows (dates have been assigned according to the catalogue entries in NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.1-47):

<i>Province-group</i>	<i>1st cent. BC</i>	<i>1st cent. AD</i>
Western	6	19
Northern Border	1	10
North African	-	1
Eastern	-	9

REFERENCES AND NOTES: When NIELSEN assigns an uncertain date, the entry is nonetheless included in the relevant period. *Western*: BC: C.98-99, C.100, C.110, C.112, C.135; AD: C.75-77, C.82-85, C.87, C.90, C.105, C.109, C.111, C.113-114, C.116, C.124-128, C.130 (these figures exclude two Augustan baths [C.101, C.115] which maybe either 1st century BC or AD). *Northern Border*: BC: C.189; AD: C.138, C.147, C.154, C.156, C.158, C.164, C.185, C.197, C.198, C.200 (the low totals here are mainly due to the large number of military baths in these provinces). *N. African*: AD: C.212 (most baths in the this area were built in 2nd century AD during the period of greatest prosperity). *Eastern*: AD: C.254, C.276, C.282, C.285, C.296, C.304-305, C.327, C.360 (the Augustan baths at Pergamum [C.307] are excluded).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. D. Jennings is currently investigating baths in Roman Gaul at St. John's College, Oxford.

<sup>4</sup> These are baths in Imperial villas or palaces (C.12, C.32, C.35, C.54, C.55, C.56) and the *balneum* of the Arval Brethren (C.9).

<sup>5</sup> These are: *1st century BC*: C.1, C.35, C.41, C.42, C.52, C.62. The possible 7th example is the Forum Baths at Herculaneum (C.38) which NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.39 considers to be of 1st-century AD date, while in the catalogue she prefers an early Augustan date (i.e. 1st-century BC). *1st century AD*: C.2, C.3,

sufficiently well preserved and investigated to allow the documentation of bath development at each from the Republic into the Empire. These sites could then be compared with one another to gain as complete a picture as possible, taking into account regional variations and the particular circumstances at each place. The reality falls far short.<sup>6</sup> Only one site, Pompeii, allows analysis of the growth of bathing for the period.<sup>7</sup> When this site is examined, it will be seen that its testimony is unusual and indirect. As this town is unique in preserving a number of Republican bath structures side-by-side with early Imperial ones, comprehensive comparison with similar sites elsewhere is not possible.

There are difficulties also with the epigraphic record. As shown in the last chapter, remarkably few bath inscriptions of the Republican period survive. In contrast, there are hundreds from the Imperial.<sup>8</sup> However, because the entire corpus of Imperial inscriptions far outweighs its Republican counterpart (due in part to the spread of public patronage in the Imperial period), the numerical disparity displayed by bath-related texts may not be taken alone as an accurate indication of growth in bathing in the Imperial period relative to the Republican. Inscriptions may be used to illustrate some facets of growth, but arguments based purely on quantitative analysis, at least those covering the late Republican/ early Imperial period, are vitiated by this consideration.

There are, then, some major difficulties with the evidence as it stands. What will emerge, however, is that the combined literary, archaeological and epigraphic evidence leaves an *impression* of a fairly rapid growth in public bathing, with a consequent heightening of its

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C.15, C.28, C.39, C.43, C.44, C.45, C.46, C.47, C.53, C.57, C.59, C.60, C.61, C.63. The 17th example is the bathhouse at Faesulae (C.58) of possibly Augustan date.

<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that 25 of NIELSEN's 67 Italian baths come from Pompeii or Ostia alone, while a further 13 come from Rome. The latter is a small number in relation both to the size of the city and the number of baths there in antiquity, cf. ead. *Therm.*, I.38 and below, Ch. 5.

<sup>7</sup> All the surviving baths from Ostia are of the 1st century AD date or later.

<sup>8</sup> For Republican inscriptions down to Sulla, cf. above, pp. 86-88; cf. below, pp. 112-113 for a consideration of the remaining Republican, as well as the Early Imperial evidence.

profile in Roman daily life, over the period from Cicero to Martial. Rarely are we on solid ground with precise figures. But, altogether, the cumulative effect of the surviving evidence is suggestive.

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*(i) The literary and epigraphic evidence*

The literary evidence can be divided by content into direct and indirect types, which are presented and discussed in turn.

*Direct literary testimony*

In general, clear statements revealing the number of baths in a city at any one time are lacking. Aelius Aristides' comment that 2nd-century AD Smyrna had "so many baths that you would be at a loss to know where to bathe" is representative of the vagueness that prevails in the sources.<sup>9</sup> Rome is no exception: only one direct statement as to the number of baths in the city survives. This is the entry in the *Notitia Urbis Regionum* that numbers *thermae* at 11, and *balnea* at 856 (an exact figure not above suspicion).<sup>10</sup> As this document is of Constantinian

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<sup>9</sup> Ael. Aristid., 15.232 (trans. BEHR): λουτρὰ μὲν γε τοσαῦτα ὥστε ἀπορήσεις ἂν οὐ λούσαιο. . . The rhetorical context of the statement (a speech to a visiting governor) may justifiably raise doubts as to its reliability. Note also the colourful apocryphal story that when the Arabs conquered Alexandria they used the books of the library to keep the city's 4,000 baths heated for six months, cf. A.J. BUTLER, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, 2nd ed.), pp. 401-405.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Notitia Urbis Regionum* XIV (= FTUR 1.5 (1.98)). The *thermae* are named: *Traianae*. *Titianae*. *Commodianae*. *Antoninianae*. *Decianae*. *Sures*. *Agrippianae*. *Alexandrianae*. *Diocletianae*. *Constantinianae*. *Severianae*. All but the baths of Severus and Commodus have been identified. (The Baths of Nero were renamed *Alexandrianae* after a restoration by Severus Alexander, cf. HA, *Sev. Alex.*, 25.3-7). As C. BRUUN has recently pointed out, 856 is just over twice the number of *vici* in the city (423) and half the number of *lacus* (1,352), so the figure may reflect a scheme of two *balnea* and four *lacus* per *vicus*, cf. id., *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration* (Helsinki: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 93, 1991), p. 74, n. 48. However, the overall point of the evidence – that the city had hundreds of bathhouses – cannot really be doubted (cf. the plethora of baths at Pompeii, Ostia, Timgad etc).

date, it can shed no light on the growth of the public bathing habit in the 1st centuries BC and AD.

Pliny the Elder, writing around the mid-1st century AD, makes a statement which, at first glance, appears to record the number of baths at Rome in 33 BC, or at least provide a minimum figure for them. He reports:

He himself [sc. Agrippa] adds in the memoir of his aedileship that he gave games for fifty-nine days and offered 170 free baths, a number which has since grown at Rome without limit.<sup>11</sup>

Dio corroborates Pliny's statement, but without the numerical precision:

Furthermore, he [sc. Agrippa] distributed oil and salt to everyone, and provided free baths throughout the year, for the use of both men and women.<sup>12</sup>

Pliny's statement in particular has generally been taken to show that in 33 BC, the year of Agrippa's aedileship, the city contained at least 170 *balinea*.<sup>13</sup>

However, the passage does not support this conclusion. Pliny says only that Agrippa offered 170 free baths to the public, but does not indicate how the benefaction was administered; the offers were not necessarily provided in 170 separate buildings. In fact, the phrase *gratuitum balneum* is a synonym for *gratuita lavatio*, or "free bathing," a benefaction which might be

<sup>11</sup> *NH*, 36.121: *adicit [sc. Agrippa] ipse aedilitatis suae commemoratione et ludos diebus undesexaginta factos et gratuita praebita balinea CLXX, quae nunc Romae ad infinitum auxere numerum*. Pliny's *magnum opus* was complete by AD 77 (*NH*, praef. 3), but was evidently many years in composition, cf. *RE* 21.271-439, s.v. "Plinius" (no. 5) [Kroll], esp. 299-300. The notice does not show, as NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.35 and n. 79 claims, that Agrippa increased the number of Rome's *balnea*.

<sup>12</sup> 49.43.2: καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ἄλας πᾶσι διέδωκε, τὰ τε βαλανεία προῖκα δι' ἔτους καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναῖσι λουσθαι παρέσχε.

<sup>13</sup> Thus the LCL edition (trans. D.E. EICHHOLZ, 1962): "the bathing establishments were thrown open to the public free of charge, all 170 of them, . . ."; the Budé edition (trans. R. BLOCH, 1981): "ouvrit cent soixante-dix établissements de bains gratuits." Cf. also HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 24: ". . . ihre Zahl [i.e. der Bäder] wird für 33 v. Chr. mindestens 170 biziffert . . ."; MERTEN, *Bäder*, p. 31: "Schon zur Zeit Agrippas betrug nämlich ihre Zahl mindestens 170"; DUNBABIN, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 8, n. 12: "Even in the time of Agrippa, there were already 170 *balinea* in Rome . . ."; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, p. 35: "Pliny the Elder, in particular, states that in Agrippa's time there were 170 public baths in Rome . . .", cf. *ibid.*, I.133 (where NIELSEN seems to believe that Pliny and Dio's statements refer to separate benefactions); BRUUN, *Water*, p. 73: "According to Pliny, during Agrippa's aedileship in 33 BC there were 170 *balinea* in Rome . . ."; Tusculum Edition (trans. R. KÖNIG, 1992): "170 unentgeltliche Bäder eingerichtet."

restricted to a single bathhouse.<sup>14</sup> From this perspective, Agrippa's statement shows only his generosity, but offers no concrete numbers for baths at Rome. Pliny's comment on the subsequent growth of the numbers of free baths in the city (and perhaps also of games, if the closing relative clause refers also to the *ludi facti*) is understandable, given the existence of the huge Baths of Agrippa and Nero, both of which served the public *gratis*.<sup>15</sup>

Although Pliny's evidence cannot provide definite numbers, it does leave a strong impression that the bathing habit increased markedly in popularity between Agrippa's aedileship and Pliny's day. It is reasonable to suggest that this increase was reflected in a rise in the number of the city's baths, but Pliny does not say this, and there is no explicit evidence that such was the case. Nevertheless, Pliny's statement would seem to reflect a growth in the public bathing habit in the Julio-Claudian period.

Such is the "direct" literary evidence. The majority of testimony is even vaguer than Pliny's statement; it reflects the prevalence of public baths and bathing but gives no direct indication of their number or frequency. Due to the nature of this evidence, it is not possible to go through it comprehensively in chronological order, as it cannot be related to secure quantities.<sup>16</sup> Rather, it will be examined thematically, in terms of what sort of testimony these references provide for the growth of public bathing from the late Republic to the early Empire. The only chronological division made is the broad one between evidence for the late Republic, and that for the early Empire.

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<sup>14</sup> For *balneum* meaning the "act of bathing, a bath" cf., *OLD*, s.v. (no. 3). Cf. no. 218 (Table 7) where free bathing (*lavatio*) is provided in a specific bathhouse. In inscriptions, *gratuita lavatio* is the more common phrase, cf. the "Work Done" column of Table 7A; but note especially nos. 216 (free bathing decreed by decurions at Nemausus (in all the town's baths?) for a discharged soldier), 217 and 222 (*balneum* as "bathing"), 221 (*gratuitum balneum* for a community); 267 (*gratuito balineo dato; . . . balinea . . . gratuita praestit*).

<sup>15</sup> The imperial baths appear to have been free, cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 6 and 11; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.133-134. This was certainly the case with the Baths of Agrippa: Dio reports (54.29.4) that Agrippa bequeathed his baths to the people, so that they could be used thereafter free of charge. This statement agrees with that in Fronto *Ep. Gr.*, 5 that publicly owned baths were free, while privately owned ones charged for entrance.

<sup>16</sup> The sources for the following section are, however, listed chronologically in Appendix 1.

*Indirect literary testimony: the late Republic*

The Republican evidence down to Sulla has already been presented, but its main feature should be borne in mind here: baths and bathing were a familiar backdrop for casual asides in authors from Plautus to Cicero. The present inquiry focuses on the evidence from Sulla to Augustus's rise to power, c. 31 BC. This period, however, is notably lacking in extant authors, the main evidence coming from Cicero. Given the subject matter of the surviving works of authors such as Caesar, Sallust or Lucretius, this situation is understandable. The result, however, is a considerable restriction on the scope of inquiry. Nonetheless, as with the pre-Sullan authors, it is the off-hand nature of the language in these passages that is so revealing. Baths and bathing are taken very much for granted.

We have already seen how in 80 BC Cicero can use a public bath, the *Balneae Pallacinae*, as a landmark against which jurors can place the scene of a murder.<sup>17</sup> Later, when defending M. Caelius in April, 56 BC, Cicero again had cause to refer to a public bath, this time in greater detail.<sup>18</sup>

It seems the prosecution had charged Cicero's client with plotting to poison Clodia, sister of Cicero's arch-enemy P. Clodius. The prosecutor, L. Herennius Balbus, had alleged that a friend of Caelius, P. Licinius, was to give the poison to certain slaves of Clodia in the *Balneae Seniae*, public baths whose location in Rome is unknown. When the plot was revealed to Clodia by her slaves, she arranged for matters to proceed with a view to apprehending Licinius red-handed.<sup>19</sup> It is instructive that Clodia favours the baths as a rendez-vous for the

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<sup>17</sup> Cic. *pro Rosc.*, 18 and above, p. 85.

<sup>18</sup> Cic. *pro Cael.*, 61-62.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

plotters, as there her slaves could publicly seize the poison, and Licinius with it.<sup>20</sup> For this scheme to be effective, the baths must have been crowded (which corresponds to Plautus's earlier testimony about clothes-thieves there). We thus have an indirect indication of the popularity at least of the *Balneae Seniae* at this time.

This indication is clearer when Cicero sets about making a farce out of the prosecution's allegations. He portrays the scene in the baths, with the *amici* of Clodia skulking in ambush. Especially revealing are Cicero's objections to the plausibility of the plot:

Why did she particularly decide on public baths, in which I can see no possible hiding place for fully dressed men? For if they were in the *vestibulum* of the baths, they would not be hidden. But if they wanted to pack away inside, it would not be sufficiently easy for men in shoes and clothes to do so, and they would perhaps not be admitted.<sup>21</sup>

Cicero makes it clear that the conspirators would find it difficult to hide in the ante-room (*vestibulum*) of the baths. Why? Possibly the vestibule would be too open. But in the surviving remains of Republican baths, the ante-room, when there is one, is a closed room.<sup>22</sup> An alternative, more plausible explanation for the conspirators' difficulties of concealment is simply that the vestibule would be too crowded, as the ante-room was the place where people met and waited for friends to arrive.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, Cicero continues, if Clodia's friends went beyond the vestibule into the interior section of the baths, they would stand out unless they were naked -- a clear

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 62: *sed ut venenum, cum a Licinio traderetur, manifesto comprehendi posset, constitui locum iussit balneas Senias . . .* Cicero has indicated, however, that the Senian baths had already been chosen as the rendez-vous place by the plotters, cf. *ibid.*, 61.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 62: *cur enim potissimum balneas publicas constituerat? in quibus non invenio quae latebra togatis hominibus esse posset. nam si in vestibulo balnearum, non laterent; sin se in intimum conicere vellent, nec satis commode calceati et vestiti id facere possent et fortasse non reciperentur . . .*

<sup>22</sup> So with the Stabian Baths (room I in fig. 6) at Pompeii.

<sup>23</sup> This and other social aspects of the baths are more fully examined in Chapter 7.

indication that Romans of the time habitually bathed naked in public. It was the norm: shoes and clothing would make the plotters conspicuous, and might even prevent their admission.<sup>24</sup>

This section of the *pro Caelio* presents the baths of the mid-1st century BC as popular, crowded places. There is nothing to suggest that they were "certainly not places of much social respectability."<sup>25</sup> Had this been the case, Cicero would surely not have failed to exploit the comic possibilities presented by well-bred friends of Clodia hiding in a place of ill-repute waiting in ambush for the equally well-bred P. Licinius. Rather, his overall tone with respect to the baths is neutral; they appear as a common and entirely unremarkable setting for a comedy of errors. One final point: does the passage imply that Cicero himself was familiar with conditions inside public baths? Presumably he was, and it was not something regarded as worth remarking upon.

In Cicero's day, then, it can be inferred that public baths were an accepted and familiar part of everyday life. Attitudes that would provide fertile ground for such a situation are reflected in comments found in letters of Cicero to his family and friends, although they are clearly in reference to private baths. Writing to his wife, he includes bathing among the "necessities for life and health."<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere, Cicero makes another revealing comment, albeit again in reference to a private bath. In a letter to Atticus dated December, 60 BC he looks forward to the latter's arrival on a visit. He ends the letter, "I shall have the bath heated."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Cic. *Fam.*, 9.22.4 (189 S-B). Nakedness was generally the rule in later baths, cf. e.g. Sen. *Ep.*, 122.6; Martial, 1.23, 3.51, 3.68.11-14, 3.87, 12.83; Juvenal, 11.156-157; Petronius, *Saty.*, 30, 73, 92. Nakedness in baths is also assumed in such stories as Suet. *Aug.*, 94.4.

<sup>25</sup> J. CARTER in I.M. BARTON (ed.), *Roman Public Buildings* (Exeter: Exeter University Press; 1989), p. 47.

<sup>26</sup> Cic. *Fam.*, 14.20.1 (173 S-B): *labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit; item cetera quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria.*

<sup>27</sup> Cic. *Att.*, 2.3.4 (23 S-B): *balineum califieri iubebo.*

This is reminiscent of a later letter to Paetus (47 BC), where Cicero asks the same to be prepared for his own arrival at Paetus's house.<sup>28</sup>

The casual nature of these references is revealing. Offering a bath to an arriving guest was apparently normal, if not expected, behaviour. Baths are even necessary for life and health. Although these latter passages refer to private baths, there is no reason to suppose similar attitudes were not extended to public facilities.<sup>29</sup>

The only other contemporary evidence comes from Catullus when he likens the rapacity of Vibennius to that of "the cleverest clothes-thief at the baths."<sup>30</sup> The reference not only jibes with Plautus's comments written c. 150 years earlier, but also assumes a familiarity with the phenomenon among Catullus's audience.

We have three other informative, though not contemporary, literary testimonies as to the prevalence of public baths in Rome in the late Republic. In such cases, of course, it is not absolutely clear whether the stories reflect actual Republican conditions, or those prevalent when the author wrote or when the story became current (which would be at some stage between the dramatic date and the author's day). Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to document the notices. First, Plutarch tells how Jugurtha, upon being placed in the Tullianum, commented: "Goodness! How cold your bath is!"<sup>31</sup> The historicity of the remark is impossible to establish, but if it is true, it reflects the bathing culture of the age. Second, Dio relates how Faustus Sulla, son of the dictator, (among other benefactions) furnished free baths and oil to the people in 60 BC in

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<sup>28</sup> Cic. *Fam.*, 9.16.9 (190 S-B): *ego tibi unum sumptum adferam, quod balneum calfacias oportebit; cetera more nostro*. Note that Cicero expressly says the baths were expensive to heat ("one expense I shall put you to"). Note also that Paetus does not seem to have offered this comfort to Cicero on every visit, "Everything else as usual."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. below, pp. 151-158 (baths and medicine) and Chapter 7 (their central role in daily life).

<sup>30</sup> *Carm.*, 33.1-2: *O furum optime balneariorum. / Vibenni pater et cinaede fili.*

<sup>31</sup> *Mar.*, 12.3: Ἡράκλεις, ὡς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον.

memory of his father.<sup>32</sup> This comment receives some support from similar reports about Augustus and Agrippa, entirely in keeping with expected imperial liberality.<sup>33</sup> Note, however, that for Faustus Sulla's generosity to be described as "brilliant" (λαμπρῶς), the baths of the city were presumably numerous, although it is conceivable that the greatness of Sulla's generosity lay in opening fewer baths to greater numbers of people. On the whole, though, the former interpretation is more natural. Sulla's benefaction is paralleled in inscriptions recording the granting of free baths to Italian towns by civic-minded benefactors.<sup>34</sup>

The third reference comes from Suetonius. He records that Atia, the mother of Augustus, while she was bearing the future emperor in 64-63 BC, received a sign from Apollo in the form of a serpent-shaped marking on her body. As a result, she avoided public baths for the rest of her life.<sup>35</sup> Again, baths appear as an unremarkable backdrop for the anecdote, but in this case there is particular cause for suspicion. The biographer claims he got this story from the book of *Theologumena* by Asclepiades of Mendes, a grammarian possibly of Tiberian date.<sup>36</sup> Such an omen story as this was, in any case, most likely to become current when Augustus had achieved greatness, and so is probably more reflective of the time in which the story arose than that in which it is set. Even so, it can provide evidence for the currency of baths in early Imperial Rome, and also appears to imply that for an upper-class lady of child-bearing age to avoid public baths for the rest of her life was a notable act of self-denial.

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<sup>32</sup> Dio, 37.51.4: κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἀγῶνα τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε, τὰ τε λουτρὰ καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον προῖκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.

<sup>33</sup> Dio, 49.43.2, Pliny, *NH.*, 36.121 (Agrippa gives free baths throughout the year 33 BC), and Dio, 54.25.4 (Augustus gives free baths for one day in 13 BC). Nero provided free oil to senators and *equites* on the dedication of his baths (Suet. *Nero.*, 12.3). The giving of free baths is well-attested in Italian epigraphic sources, some of Republican date, cf. next note.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Table 7, Section A, esp. the early examples at nos. 213 and 214.

<sup>35</sup> Suet. *Aug.*, 94.4: *et statim in corpore eius exstitisse maculam velut picti draconis nec potuisse unquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinerit.*

<sup>36</sup> For Asclepiades, cf. *RE* 2.1627, s.v. "Asklepiades (no. 26)" [Schwarz]. Here Asclepiades is seen as a possible contemporary of Seleukos, an astrologer and grammarian known to Tiberius, cf. *RE* 2, A1.1248, s.v. "Seleukos (no. 28)" [Stählin].

The "indirect" evidence for the late Republic, scarce though it is, would indicate that by the mid-1st century BC public baths were a common feature of life at Rome. When examined cumulatively this evidence does allow a perception of the process of growth, albeit a vague one. Despite the overall paucity of late Republican evidence, baths appear in marginally higher profile in these sources than they do in earlier ones. The period from Sulla to Agrippa's aedileship would seem to have been characterized by gradual growth. This process, as will be seen, is corroborated by the archaeological evidence from Pompeii.

*Indirect literary testimony: the Augustan period and the early Empire*

The early Imperial period provides more "indirect" evidence. As before, we have to look behind the individual statements of authors to discern the general situation they reflect.

Horace portrays baths as regularly-encountered facilities, and as characteristic of urban rather than rural life.<sup>37</sup> He also mentions a "one-penny bathhouse," meaning a public establishment that charged an entrance fee, and includes bathing (in a public establishment?) as one of the regular elements of his daily existence.<sup>38</sup> It is instructive to compare the frequency of bath references in Horace and in Martial. Both authors wrote works describing, and poking fun at, contemporary society; the *opera* of both survive in comparable quantity.<sup>39</sup> Yet Horace mentions baths and bathing seven times, Martial 49, a disparity which may reflect the greater prominence of baths in the daily life of Martial's Rome than in Horace's. That said, caution is

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<sup>37</sup> Horace, *Epist.*, 1.11.11-14: *Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit imbre lutoque / Aspersus volet in caupona vivere; nec qui / Frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat, / Ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam;* 1.14.14-15: *Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas, / Nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas.*

<sup>38</sup> *Sat.*, 1.3.137-139: *ne longum faciam: dum tu quadrante lavatum / rex ibis neque te quisquam stipator ineptum / praeter Crispinum sectabitur, . . .*; *Sat.*, 1.6.125-126: *Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum / admonuit fugio Campum lusumque trigonem*

<sup>39</sup> The Teubner editions of the texts of these authors run to 311 pages for Horace, and 343 pages for Martial.

advised -- there are any number of reasons why one author may choose to refer to a bath, and another not. Despite this, the disparity is nonetheless noteworthy.

Ovid, writing at the turn of the eras, refers to the "many baths" of Rome as rendez-vous points for young lovers.<sup>40</sup> Vitruvius, whose architectural treatise dates in all likelihood to the 30s or 20s BC, devotes a chapter to the construction of baths.<sup>41</sup> This passage gives a strong impression that Vitruvius, and others like him, had inherited considerable accumulated knowledge on how to erect baths. The medical treatise of the Tiberian author Celsus should also be noted here. Baths feature prominently in his treatments, although it is not specified if they are public or private.<sup>42</sup> But this is a minor point. As most Romans did not possess their own baths, and Celsus's recommendations may be considered to refer to the act of bathing rather than to specific types of structure, for most people who heeded his precepts the only option would have been a public establishment.<sup>43</sup>

The moralistic diatribes of Seneca, written in the Claudian/Neronian period, provide evidence for the growth in the popularity of public baths at this time. In several passages he deplores the baths and the luxury and vanity he sees them as representing and promoting.<sup>44</sup> The passage comparing the bath in Scipio Africanus's villa with the baths of Seneca's day is particularly illuminating. In the course of it he says expressly that there were formerly (*olim*) only a few, modestly appointed baths in the city, the implication being that precisely the opposite was the case in Seneca's Rome.<sup>45</sup> The philosopher provides neither firm figures nor dates, but

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<sup>40</sup> *Ars Am.*, 3.638-640: [*quid faciat custos . . .*] *cum custode foris tunicas servante puellae / celent furtivos balnea multa iocos?*

<sup>41</sup> Vitruv., 5.10. The date of Vitruvius's work is disputed, but he claims to have been known to Caesar the Dictator (1 praef. 2), which might place the work in the 30s or early 20s, cf. for a recent discussion, B. BALDWIN, "The Date, Identity, and Career of Vitruvius," *Latomus* 49 (1990), 425-434 which unfortunately does not come to any definite conclusions.

<sup>42</sup> For more on Celsus and baths in medicine, cf. pp. 152-157.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. below, pp. 128-129 for the general dearth of baths in private houses.

<sup>44</sup> The lengthiest is *Ep.*, 86.4-12, but see also *Dial.*, 7.73, *Ep.*, 90.25, 122.6, 8.

<sup>45</sup> *Ep.*, 86.9: *at olim et pauca erant balnea nec ullo cultu exornata.*

the context would imply that he is referring to the Republic. Of course, Seneca's evidence is somewhat weakened by its overall moralizing tone: the author had an axe to grind and may well colour or exaggerate facts for effect. But Seneca's implied growth in the number of baths agrees with Pliny's more-or-less contemporaneous observation of a growth in the bathing habit, and so deserves serious consideration. Whether or not Seneca's claims that he shunned the bath throughout his life, or that he bathed only in cold water until ill-health forced him to use sun-warmed water, can be taken seriously is not really germane to the current discussion.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, Seneca's propensity for taking firm positions on any number of practices or topics makes distinguishing his personal views from his authorial virtually impossible. But from his writings it seems evident that public baths had become sufficiently common and popular to earn Seneca's staunch opposition.

The Neronian novelist Petronius presents baths as a regular element of everyday life.<sup>47</sup> Baths, particularly public ones, appear frequently in the *Satyricon* in a notably casual manner. Characters meet at the baths, lose clothes and slaves there, sing poetry to the annoyance of the other bathers, and complain of over-enthusiastic masseurs.<sup>48</sup> A similar attitude towards baths is also clear from the writings of Juvenal and his contemporary Martial in the late 1st/early 2nd century AD. They refer to baths frequently in many different connections (which will be

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<sup>46</sup> *Ep.*, 108.16, 123.4 (shuns baths), 83.5 (cold baths). Frugal or simple baths were ascribed to upstanding or decent men, such as Homer (*Ael. Arist.*, 51.423), Cato the Elder (cf. above, Introduction to Section 1, n. 4), or Augustus (*Suet. Aug.*, 76.2). That some men did indeed bathe frugally by choice is clear from Pliny the Younger's description of his uncle's simple bath, presumably drawn from personal observation, cf. *Pliny, Ep.*, 3.5.8. Seneca's claim of bath simplicity is perhaps to be doubted, given his apparent first-hand knowledge of conditions within the more luxurious establishments. Note that *Tac. Ann.*, 15.64 reports that the aged philosopher finally found death by asphyxiation in a steam bath (presumably in his own bath-suite). M.T. GRIFFIN, *Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 41-42 accepts his avoidance of baths, linking it with his medical beliefs.

<sup>47</sup> The Petronian authorship and Neronian date of this work have been most cogently argued for by K.F.C. ROSE, *The Date and Author of the Satyricon* (Leiden: J.J. Brill, 1971).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Satyr.*, 26-28 (meeting dinner party), 30 (clothes lost), 41 (massage), 72-73 (a private bath at end of a party), 91 and 92 (poetry), 97 (slave lost), 130 (a private bath?); cf. also 53 and fr. 2.

examined below), but the situation that lies behind these references is what should be noted here: visiting the baths is portrayed as a common, frequent and popular pastime.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, we should look at a particularly informative comment by Pliny the Younger. When describing his Laurentine villa in a letter to Gallus, he reports that in the *vicus* near the villa there were no less than three public baths which he was not averse to using if his private suite were not available.<sup>50</sup> The point to note is the presence of at least three bathhouses in a place as small as a *vicus*. They were presumably sufficiently well appointed for a man of Pliny's fastidious tastes to use.<sup>51</sup> However, if we try to go further and argue from Pliny's comment that this is an indication of just how popular and widespread public baths were at this time -- insofar as an unimportant *vicus* can have three or more public facilities -- scarcity of evidence intervenes. It is impossible, given the current state of knowledge, to relate the figures for this *vicus* to any others.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the proximity of the village to Rome may have generated a greater number of bathhouses than was normal for a place of its size.

### *The epigraphic evidence*

The absolute number of bath inscriptions spanning the late Republican, Augustan and early Imperial periods is pitifully small. For the Republic, only three stones securely dated to

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<sup>49</sup> So, for instance, Juvenal, 7.1-5, 232-233 or Martial, *Ep.*, 1.59; 2.48; 3.20.15-16, 25, 30.4; 5.70; 7.32.7-12; 9.33; 14.60.

<sup>50</sup> *Ep.*, 2.17.26: *suggerunt adfatim ligna proximae silvae; ceteras copias Ostiensis colonia ministrat. frugi quidem homini sufficit etiam vicus, quem una villa discernit. in hoc balinea meritoria tria, magna commoditas, si forte balineum domi vel subitus adventus vel brevior mora calefacere dissuadet.* The text may imply that the *vicus* contained more bathing establishments, but Pliny would only use three of them; if so, this *vicus* was especially well-endowed with baths. A.N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Letters of Pliny, A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 199 reports that the site, *vicus Augustanorum* (CIL 14.2045), has been excavated and "has the buildings of a little town"; cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>51</sup> What Pliny expected of a bath is clear from his descriptions of the personal bath suites at his Laurentine (*Ep.*, 2.17.11) and Tuscan (*Ep.*, 5.6.25-27) villas.

<sup>52</sup> However, we should note the 2nd-century evidence of Apuleius where we find baths in a *castellum*, a country village in Greece, cf. *Met.*, 8.29; note also inscriptions recording baths in *castella* or *vici*: nos. 50, 52 (Table 3); 198 and note (Table 6). Cf. also *AE* 1966.356.

the post-Sullan era definitely record bath-related activities. When added to the eight inscriptions of roughly Sullan date or earlier cited above, the total for the entire Republican period is only 11.<sup>53</sup> Augustan and early Imperial inscriptions, with a total of 38, are more prolific.<sup>54</sup> As argued above, too much store cannot be placed on this slight numerical disparity, as the total number of imperial inscriptions far exceeds that of Republican ones.

Beyond that, little can be said. The greater geographical distribution of the Imperial material is instructive. All but two of the Republican texts are of Italian origin, whereas the Augustan and 1st-century AD stones come from a far greater variety of sources, stretching from Spain, Gaul and North Africa in the West, to Thrace, Asia and Lycia in the East. This suggests a marked spread in the Roman bathing habit outside Italy in the early Imperial period. Within Italy, of course, the inscriptions attest continued activity with respect to baths. The most suggestive evidence in this regard comes from the inscription from Pisa stipulating the procedure for public mourning of C. Caesar's death in AD 4. Among the regulations (presumably copied from Rome) is that the temples, public baths and taverns shall remain closed for the period between the announcement of his death and the interment of his bones.<sup>55</sup> Clearly, Pisa had several sets of *balnea* at this time though, typically, firm figures cannot be adduced.

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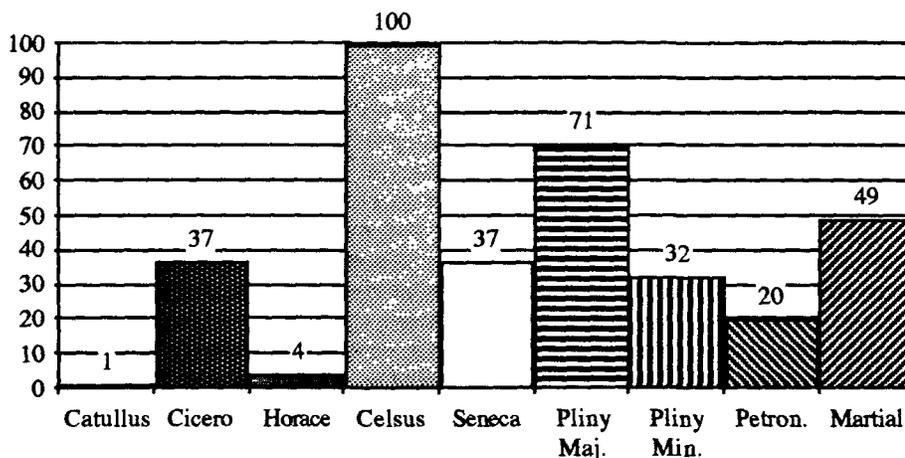
<sup>53</sup> Cf. Chap. 2, n. 134 for the pre-Sullan texts. The three texts are: *ILLRP* 575 (Croton; *AE* 1912.245 dates it to "fin de la République"), 659 (Praeneste; post-Sullan), and *AE* 1967.96 (Herdonia; Caesarian?). These figures exclude two post-Sullan texts recording benefactions of *solaria*, which may or may not refer to bathhouses, cf. *ILLRP* 116 and 766.

<sup>54</sup> These are (not counting multiple entries for single stones): nos. 1-4 (Table 1); 44, 57-59 (Table 3); 84-89 (Table 4); 120-122, 139-143 (Table 5); 186-187 (Table 6); and 213 (?), 214 (?), 215 (?), 216, 217, 244 (?), 245, 246 (Table 7). Add also: *CIL* 11.3010 (Ager Viterbiensis, *balneum* mentioned; dated by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40, n. 25 to 1st cent. AD); 14.4711 (Ostia, *balneum* mentioned; dated by NIELSEN, loc. cit. to early Augustan period); *ILS* 140, 21-24 (Pisa; AD 4); 5677 (*balneum Clodianum* bought by local authorities; dated to the Julio-Claudian period by NIELSEN, loc. cit.); 5770 (Capena; bath mentioned in c 90 - 120 AD inscription); possibly also *CIL* 2.3342 (Murcia; *balneum* built) which can tentatively be dated to the Augustan period.

<sup>55</sup> *ILS* 140.21-24: . . . ex ea die | qu[am] eius deces(s)us nuntiatus esset usqu[e] ad eam diem qua ossa relata atque | co[nd]ita iustaque eius Manibus perfecta essent, cunctos veste mutata, templis|qu[e] d]eorum immortalibus balneisque publicis et tabernis omnibus clausis . . .

The Republican literary evidence, when viewed cumulatively, would suggest a steady growth in the number of baths in Rome from Cicero's day to that of Augustus. The statement of Pliny the Elder, on the other hand, suggests a marked growth in the bathing habit (with a concurrent growth in the number of baths?) at Rome between 33 BC and the mid-1st century AD. This situation is reflected in other sources. No one of these "indirect" authors in isolation provides decisive testimony. Rather, it is the impression left by their combined evidence that is instructive. Seneca's vague assertion that "once baths at Rome were few and modestly appointed," implying that in his own day they were not, finds support in the frequent bath references of writers like Petronius, Martial, and Pliny the Younger. All reflect growth, though in a manner that precludes numerical precision. Their references are casual, assuming a familiarity with baths as regular elements of the urban scene.

As a crude illustration of growth, I present here a chart showing the number of matches located by the IBYCUS computer for the roots *baln-*, *balin-* and *therm-* (excluding adjectival uses of *therm-* or references to people and places) in nine of the authors examined above, whose works span the period under discussion: Catullus, Cicero, Horace, Celsus, Seneca, Pliny the Elder and Younger, Petronius and Martial. I have not here differentiated between private and public baths.



**CHART 1: The appearance of *baln-*, *balin-*, and *therm-* roots in the works of nine authors, c. 80 BC - AD 100**

Caution is advised in using these figures for various reasons: the volume of the individual authors' writings differs greatly; silence does not necessarily imply an absence of baths; and some appearances may be grouped together in reference to a single building. In addition, the appearance of only two authors for the late Republic distorts the picture for this period relative to the early Empire. The high total for Celsus is due to the medical nature of his surviving work -- baths were a panacea in Roman medicine, so they will naturally appear very often.<sup>56</sup> Much the same can be said for Pliny the Elder, many of whose bath references are medical in nature.

Despite all this, two features of the chart are noteworthy. First, the low overall total of Cicero's bath references, despite the volume and variety of his writings (compare his total with those of Seneca and Martial, whose surviving *opera* are much smaller). Second, the chart illustrates the consistency with which baths feature in the major early Imperial authors. From this perspective, the data presented in the chart lend further weight to the impression that baths were more prominent in the 1st century AD than in the 1st century BC.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. below, pp. 151-158.

The epigraphic testimony is less informative, and relatively scarce. Its geographic distribution, however, does seem to indicate more widespread bathing activity during the early Empire than during the Republic.

The cumulative impression is that the already growing popularity of baths in the 1st century BC received a strong impetus under the newly established Principate. This would fit well within the framework of a general increase in Roman architectural endeavour under the early emperors.<sup>57</sup> In particular, Rome received its first truly major set of baths under Augustus (the *Thermae Agrippae*), which was later joined by another, more magnificent set built by Nero.<sup>58</sup> This building activity by the emperors further strengthens the impression left by the written sources of a period of rapid growth under their authority. An examination of the archaeological evidence is called for, to see what contribution it can make to the discussion.

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*(ii) The archaeological record*

The inadequacies of the archaeological record have already been noted.<sup>59</sup> Despite this, there is sufficient material, at least from Italy, to test the picture of growth reflected in the literary and epigraphic evidence.

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<sup>57</sup> This is clearly laid out in the early chapters of J.B. WARD-PERKINS, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (London: Hammondswoth, 1981) or W.L. McDONALD, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). Cf. T.W. POTTER, *Roman Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 56-57.

<sup>58</sup> For a discussion of these buildings (with bibliography), cf. below. pp. 185-186 (*Agrippa*), 190 (*Nero*). The early baths of Rome appear to have been more modest structures, of the sort found at Pompeii or Caes; the type seems to have continued to exist into the Imperial period, cf. below, pp. 248-249.

<sup>59</sup> See above, pp. 98-100.

No Republican baths at all are known at Rome, and at Ostia the earliest remains are Julio-Claudian, although an inscription attests at least one late Republican or early Augustan establishment.<sup>60</sup> Elsewhere, the situation appears equally bleak; the principal urban sites in Italy -- Rome, Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia -- continue largely to monopolize scholarly attention, while others still need careful excavation, with correlation of results, before anything like a full picture can begin to emerge.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless, it seems that several communities received their first public bathhouse during this period.<sup>62</sup>

Remains of an early 1st century BC bathhouse have been found at Cales in northern Campania.<sup>63</sup> These are not fully preserved, but certain features are clear enough. There is an *apodyterium* with a pool (so the room doubled as a *frigidarium*), a *tepidarium*, and two *caldaria*, one of which was added later.<sup>64</sup> This would suggest that the original capacity of the baths came to be viewed as insufficient, and so an extra hot room was added. In addition, there is a rotunda with an adjoining room, most likely a *laconicum* (sweat bath) and a *destrictarium* (scraping-off room).<sup>65</sup> The establishment was of moderate size and was pleasantly, but not lavishly, appointed.<sup>66</sup> However, it stands rather in isolation: only one other bathing facility is known at

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<sup>60</sup> *CIL* 14.4711 (fragmentary inscription, now in the Horrea Epagathiana): [. . .]em | [Car]tilius | [. . .] ba]lneum | [Cartiliu]s C.f Pobl[icola]; cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, p. 406. Since 1973, no new Republican baths seem to have come to light, at least none are mentioned by MANDERSCHEID, *Bib.* or NIELSEN, *Therm.*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. POTTER, *Rom. Italy*, pp. 63, 77-78.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the figures for the archaeological record cited above, p. 100, and Appendix 2, Map 1.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. MANDERSCHEID, *Bib.*, p. 90, s.v. "Cales, Terme Centrali." NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.32, 34 (cf. C.35); HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 58-60. It is dated to c. 90-70 BC (on the infirm basis of construction techniques and decoration styles).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. W. JOHANNOWSKY, "Relazione preliminare sugli Scavi di Cales," *BA* 46 (1961), 258-268, esp. 260-263. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.51, n. 107 dates the addition of the extra *caldarium* to c. AD 100.

<sup>65</sup> *Id.*, *BA* 46 (1961), 262; Heinz, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 58.

<sup>66</sup> JOHANNOWSKY, *BA* 46 (1961), 261-262 (statuary) and 263 (wall-painting).

Cales.<sup>67</sup> As a result, it is difficult to plot here (as elsewhere) any clear growth in the number of bath buildings.<sup>68</sup>

The exception is Pompeii, which will be examined shortly. Before doing so, however, remarkable evidence from Velsen in Holland should be mentioned.<sup>69</sup> This unpublished site was a fort used by a cohort engaged in the German campaigns of AD 16-25. Near a stream outside the fort there appears to have been a wooden bathhouse, as indicated by finds of strigils, *sculponea* (wooden sandals used to protect feet from hot floors) and postholes for a possible clay-coated wooden hypocaust.<sup>70</sup> If all this is correct -- and the evidence is very suggestive -- it attests how deeply ingrained the bathing habit had become among Romans by the early 1st century AD, insofar as soldiers on campaign in the north would rather build a temporary wooden bathhouse than do without.<sup>71</sup>

*The public baths of Pompeii, c. 80 BC - AD 79*

As with so many other aspects of Roman town life, Pompeii offers a unique window on the past; the development of baths can be traced here from the late Republic to the town's destruction in AD 79. This is the very period of growth reflected in the written sources, and so

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<sup>67</sup> This is the Terme Settentrionali, apparently of Imperial date, cf. *ibid.*, 259; MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 90, s.v.

<sup>68</sup> So, for instance, at Alba Fucens where only one set of public baths has been identified, dated to the mid-1st century BC, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I. 35. Even here the construction history is complicated by later rebuildings and alterations, cf. J. MERTENS, *Alba Fucens*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Centre belge de recherches archéologique, 1969-1982), I.69-72.

<sup>69</sup> I am indebted to A.V.A.J. BOSMAN for the following information, gleaned from conversations with him at the *First International Conference on Roman Baths, Bath, March 30 - April 4, 1992*. An article on his discoveries at Velsen will hopefully feature in the forthcoming publication of the conference proceedings.

<sup>70</sup> The strigils were found near the bathhouse, but the *sculponea* were found some distance away in a dumpsite in the harbour. Their presence strongly suggests the presence of a bathhouse in or near the fort (they have no other function), and as yet BOSMAN's site is the only possible location for it.

<sup>71</sup> By way of comparison, Mr. BOSMAN, an ex-UN soldier, told me how the Finns on duty in Lebanon continued to take saunas, no matter how hot it was outside.

Pompeii can be used as an archaeological testing ground for the evidence of the written sources. A close examination will be necessary.

The earliest known establishment at Pompeii is the Stabian Baths. Their development down to c. 80 BC has already been traced and discussed.<sup>72</sup> By that date the baths had evolved into a fairly large complex occupying half an insula, with two suites of bathrooms, one for men and one for women,<sup>73</sup> and, after the work of the *duoviri* Vulius and Aninius, a *laconicum* and *destrictarium*. For the following period -- between 80 BC and AD 62 when an earthquake damaged the building -- assignation of precise dates to the various building phases becomes difficult. The overall characteristic of this period, however, is the steady growth and elaboration of the establishment (fig. 7.6). Alterations were carried out in both sets of bathrooms in the east wing, resulting in their enhancement and extension.<sup>74</sup>

However, the most important changes took place in the west wing. Here a private house was absorbed and its eastern section incorporated into the baths to provide an open-air swimming-pool (*natatio*) with flanking pools or loggias,<sup>75</sup> and a changing room (which, incidentally, featured wooden shelves). These alterations are probably Augustan in date or shortly thereafter, as it was under Augustus that Pompeii received its first aqueduct (an extension of the Serino aqueduct which also fed Nola and Misenum),<sup>76</sup> thus providing a

<sup>72</sup> Cf. above, pp. 51-72. Cf. fig. 6 for a plan of this building.

<sup>73</sup> As was the case with the baths at Teanum Sidicinum (Aul Gell., 10.3.3) and the earliest baths in Rome (Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68).

<sup>74</sup> For this and what follows, cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 61-63, 69 (west wing) and pp. 58-60, 69-70 (east wing). A full bibliography is provided in MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p.175 s.v. "Pompeii, Terme Stabiane" to which can now be added: RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 100-105; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.32-33.

<sup>75</sup> These are rooms F and G in fig. 6. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 61, 62 and NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.33 see them as shallow pools; RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 104 as open loggias.

<sup>76</sup> The precise date of the aqueduct is uncertain, but construction techniques indicate an Augustan date. H. ESCHEBACH tentatively suggests that Agrippa, who had a villa in the area (Dio 54.28) and was responsible for several hydraulic projects at Rome, may have initiated its construction, cf. id., "Die innerstädtische Gebrauchswasserversorgung dargestellt am Beispiel Pompejis," in J.P. BOUCHER (ed.) *Journées d'études sur les aqueducs romains* (Paris; Les belles Lettres, 1983), pp. 86-88.

sufficient water supply for the maintenance of a *natatio*.<sup>77</sup> In addition, a paved "dromos" stretched along the front of this wing which, due to the discovery of some stone balls on it, has been interpreted as a ball-playing court, or *sphaeristerium*.<sup>78</sup> Sometime during this long period the unusual north wing of the building, with its curious bathing cells, was closed down, except for the latrine. Along this side of the *palaestra* three rooms were now opened, one of which (Q in fig. 6) was an exedra, providing a place for rest and conversation.

By the time an earthquake devastated Pompeii in AD 62, the Stabian Baths had grown into a large and impressive structure serving the centre of the city. It had two sets of bathrooms, a latrine, a large porticoed palaestra, an exedra, an open-air pool with two flanking pools or loggias, and a ball-playing court along the front of the west wing. The decoration was in stucco, fresco and some marble work, the latter in particular for the bath tubs themselves.<sup>79</sup> The decor was skilful and attractive but not excessive, and displayed a moderation like that found in the Central Baths at Caes. The main point to note for the moment, though, is the steady expansion of the building's facilities in the late Republic, followed by a significant extension in the Augustan period. To be sure, this may have been partly due to the purely practical stimulus provided by the city's increased water supply following the construction of the Serino aqueduct, but other factors may also have played a role. The most likely is the existence of baths

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<sup>77</sup> Cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 51-63, esp. 54-55 and 104. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.32 supports this notion independently. The establishment's hydraulic needs had previously been met by the well in the north-west corner of the building. Aqueducts were not a prerequisite for the existence of baths (cf. below, pp. 140-141) but there must have come a point in a building's expansion when its size or range of facilities demanded one. This topic is in need of further investigation, as is the whole subject of the uses to which aqueduct water was put, cf. the preliminary investigation by H.B. EVANS, "Water Distribution: *quorsum et cui bono?*" in A.T. HODGE (ed.), *Future Currents in Aqueduct Studies* (Leeds: Cairns, 1991), pp. 21-28.

<sup>78</sup> This "Tuffsteindromos" measures 33.90m x 2.48m. The pavement and one of the stone balls is shown in ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 55a, cf. pp. 17, 61 and 70. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.165, s.v. "sphaeristerium" examines the literary evidence and concludes that the term denotes both halls and open areas connected with the palaestra, which supports the identification of this "Tuffsteindromos" as a *sphaeristerium* (although NIELSEN does not mention the Stabian Baths in her short entry). The use to which this area would be put is made clear in the *Gloss. Lat.*, III.651.10: *rape nobis pilam, ludamus in sphaeristerio*.

<sup>79</sup> For the decoration of these baths see the articles by H. MIELSCH on stucco, and A. & M. de VOS on wall-painting in ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 74-80 and 81-95 respectively. Note the absence of mosaics and statuary, in contrast to establishments of a later date.

elsewhere which acted as a stimulus for imitation, and motivated the Pompeian authorities to use some of their new water to extend the baths. The people may have come to expect more from the baths, having been exposed to, or heard about, more luxurious establishments elsewhere. As will be seen, among such model baths may well have been the Baths of Agrippa at Rome.

The Stabian Baths were not alone in serving the people of Pompeii. The Forum Baths (fig. 10) were built around the time the community was granted the status of *colonia* in 80 BC, perhaps as a reflection of this new status.<sup>80</sup> Richardson contends that they originally comprised only a single set of rooms, as the second, smaller suite (presumably for women) appears crammed skilfully but rather haphazardly into the north-west corner. Further, the construction technique for the latter is different than for the rest of the building, and suggests an Augustan date for this addition.<sup>81</sup> Another argument in favour of this view can be adduced: the men's *tepidarium* never received a hypocaust, while that in the women's section did. This is more easily explicable if the women's section were built after the men's section, at a time when *tepidaria* habitually had hypocausts.<sup>82</sup> Nielsen makes no intimation that she holds this opinion, though she records a major rebuilding of the Augustan period under her catalogue entry for the structure.<sup>83</sup> For the moment, it should be accepted that the Forum Baths were extended by the addition of the women's section in the Augustan period.

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<sup>80</sup> These baths are located at VII.v.2/8/24. Cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 173, s.v. "Pompeii, Terme del Foro" and RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 147-153; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.30-31, 31-32, 33-34. An inscription (*ILS* 6356), of Sullan date, probably from the Forum Baths (DESSAU comments: "Pompeii, in thermis, ut videtur"; but cf. CASTRÉN, *Ordo*, p. 88 where the text is confidently assigned to this establishment) records that *duoviri* saw to a construction from public money (meaning the Forum Baths were built by the state). The text reads: 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(avit) q(uaestor?).

<sup>81</sup> RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>82</sup> NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.155-156, s.v. "Tepidarium," esp. 155: the *suspensura* was introduced to *tepidaria* later, the rooms initially being heated with a brazier. This, however, is not a rigid rule, as the *tepidaria* in the Stabian Baths show.

<sup>83</sup> NIELSEN, *Therm.*, loc. cit. above in n. 80 and II.7-8 (C.42, F).

The details of this building are not important to the present inquiry, except to note that it is smaller than the Stabian Baths, being about half the size; that it occupies an entire block (excluding the shops along the north-east and south-east fronts), rather than half of one; and that it was decorated with typical Republican moderation. Like the Stabian Baths, this building was also extended in the Augustan period.

At about the same time as the Forum Baths were being built, or perhaps a little before, yet another set were under construction on the Via dei Teatri, the so-called Republican Baths (fig. 11).<sup>84</sup> This was a double-building, smaller than both the Stabian or the Forum Baths, and occupied only a section of a large insula. It appears to have had a small palaestra and was modestly decorated. The date is disputed. Maiuri, working from construction and decoration techniques, puts it to about 100-80 BC, while Nielsen opts for a slightly later date, c. 90-80 BC.<sup>85</sup> The earliest date proposed for the building is that suggested by DeLaine. She argues that the structure may date to the middle of the 2nd century BC, due primarily to the primitive form of the hypocaust, whereby the floor is supported on continuous walls broken by diagonal openings, rather than on pillars.<sup>86</sup> This proposition, however, must be seen against the backdrop of her overall scheme for the development of the hypocaust in South Italy, outlined above.<sup>87</sup> Until more attention is paid to this site, the excavator's date is to be preferred.

The circumstances surrounding the construction and later abandonment of the Republican Baths are particularly noteworthy. They stand very close to the Stabian Baths, and

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<sup>84</sup> The main publication of these baths remains the excavation report of A. MAIURI, "Scoperta di un edificio termale nella Regio VIII, Insula 5, Nr. 36," *NSc* 8.4 (1950), pp. 116-136, but cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 174, s.v. "Pompeii, Terme Republicanae" and NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.32. The brevity of both the latter scholars' treatment reflects the scant attention these baths have received since MAIURI's excavation. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 52 mentions them in connection with the presence of a well on the premises, but not again.

<sup>85</sup> MAIURI, *NSc* (1950), p. 130: "una terma . . . databile o agli ultimi tempi del comune italico di Pompei o alla prima età della colonia"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.7 (C.41, F).

<sup>86</sup> DeLAINE, *JMA* 2 (1989), 120.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. above, p. 61.

appear to have been built roughly contemporaneously with the Forum Baths, perhaps a little before. Why? They appear unnecessary, given that the Stabian Baths were functioning when they were built, and the Forum Baths perhaps so. Maiuri explains the relationship by suggesting that, unlike the other two, this bath was the work of a private investor, the owner of the neighbouring "Casa della Calce," who for some reason saw an opportunity for a new bathhouse open to the public.<sup>88</sup> Perhaps the Stabian Baths had proven insufficient for the needs of the central area of the city, or the investor perceived a growth in the practise of public bathing. This new, privately owned set functioned until it was demolished, annexed by the neighbouring "Casa della Calce," and used as a peristyle / *triclinium* complex. Maiuri, reasoning from the construction techniques of the building that replaced the baths, dates their abandonment to the first decade of the Augustan period.<sup>89</sup> Why this happened is unclear, but Maiuri proposes that the construction of the Augustan aqueduct put this privately run establishment out of business: for some reason it could not adapt. Perhaps the refurbishment and extension of the Stabian Baths also played a role. The addition of the west wing with its *natatio* and flanking rooms, may have made the renovated older establishment more appealing than its smaller, proximate rival. In other words, the Republican Baths may simply have gone out of fashion.<sup>90</sup>

A brief recap at this point will be helpful. By the early Augustan period, Pompeians had at least three public baths available to them (fig. 18.1). The largest was also the oldest, the Stabian Baths, which had undergone renovation with the addition of the west wing. The Forum Baths, perhaps initially comprising one set of rooms only, was located west of the Stabian baths, directly north of the forum. Both of these baths were publicly owned. A third, privately

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<sup>88</sup> That the Stabian and Forum Baths were publicly owned is suggested by inscriptions from both buildings recording the work of duumvirs there: *ILS* 5706 (Stabian Baths), and *ILS* 5726, 6356 (Forum Baths). No inscriptions from the Republican Baths survive, if even there were any in the first place. Cf. above, pp. 82-85 where we have seen Roman senators investing in bathhouses as businesses.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. MAIURI, *NSc* (1950), 130.

<sup>90</sup> Note Seneca's bitter observation that once-fashionable baths at Rome were immediately considered antiquated as soon as "luxury has invented something new" in another establishment, cf. *Ep.*, 86.8.

owned set was opened to the public about the same time as the Forum Baths. This was the Republican Baths, situated one block south of the Stabian Baths. These three establishments served the city until the early Augustan period, when the Republican Baths were demolished and their ground annexed to the neighbouring private house.

No new baths appear to have been built in the heart of Pompeii until after the earthquake of AD 62.<sup>91</sup> However, outside the city adjacent to the Porta Marina a large and well-appointed establishment was erected in the Julio-Claudian period -- the Suburban Baths (fig. 12).<sup>92</sup> The building was ideally placed to attract visitors and travellers as they passed through the nearby city gate.<sup>93</sup> This is an impressive set of baths, with one series of rooms. There is also a *calida piscina*, and the bathing rooms have windows facing west. A hint of the new luxury that so irritated Seneca can be seen in a nymphaeum with mosaic decoration adjacent to the *natatio* in the *frigidarium*.<sup>94</sup> It seems that boats could dock against the north-west wall, suggesting that the sea, or at least a canal, abutted the structure at this point.<sup>95</sup> The building is dated by construction methods to the early years of the 1st century AD, possibly Tiberian.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> It is possible that some public baths may lie as yet undetected in the unexcavated parts of the city, but this suggestion must await the test of further excavation at the site.

<sup>92</sup> These have been recently excavated, cf. L. JACOBELLI, "Lo scavo delle Terme Suburbane. Notizie preliminari," *RSP* 1 (1987), 151-154 and ead., "Terme Suburbane: stato attuale delle conoscenze," *RSP* 2 (1988), 202-208.

<sup>93</sup> It seems that gateways, either inside or outside, were popular locations for baths, as the remains at places such as Ostia or Timgad show: *Ostia*: the Porta Marina (C.25; Trajanic/Hadrianic) and Sullan Wall Baths (C.19; Hadrianic) at the Porta Marina; the Pharos (C.26; Trajanic) and Forum Baths (C.27; Antoninus Pius) at the Porta Laurentina; and the Drivers (C.23; Hadrianic) and Neptune Baths (C.24; Hadrianic) at the Porta Romana (cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, p. 418, fig. 30; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II, 4-6, C.15-31); *Timgad*: all four gates have baths in their immediate vicinity: the Large (C.242; 2nd century AD) and Small North Baths (C.244; uncertain date) at the North Gate; the Large East Baths (C.238; 1st half 2nd century AD) at the East Gate; the Large South Baths (C.239; 1st half 2nd century AD) at the South Gate; and the "Sertius Market" Baths (C.247; uncertain date) at the West Gate (cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II, 75, fig. 39). It is noteworthy that all the "gate baths" at Timgad are among the earliest at the site, suggesting that the gates were regarded as prime locations for such buildings.

<sup>94</sup> JACOBELLI, *RSP* 2 (1988), 203-204 and fig. 57. On the plan (fig. 12), the *frigidarium* is room 6, and the pool and nymphaeum are in the annex, room 9.

<sup>95</sup> *Id.*, *RSP* 1 (1987), 154, and 2 (1988), 202.

<sup>96</sup> *Id.*, *RSP* 1 (1987), 154, and 2 (1988), 207-208. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II, 8, C.43 dates it as Julio-Claudian.

It has recently been suggested by A. Koloski Ostrow that the Sarno Bath complex, on the slopes south of the city and accessible from the Via delle Scuole and Via della Regina, was built and functioning in the Julio-Claudian period before the earthquake in AD 62.<sup>97</sup> Further, because the complex was at this time open to the adjacent Palaestra Baths, it has been proposed that the latter was also operational.<sup>98</sup> If these propositions are correct, the Sarno and Palaestra baths can be added to the number of Julio-Claudian baths serving Pompeii. There are, however, problems. The fact that the Palaestra and Sarno complexes were mutually accessible at this time does not prove the latter were functioning as baths, and is a somewhat tenuous reason for deducing their operation at this time. Until more work is done on the Palaestra complex, their respective periods of operation remain uncertain. Moreover, certain features of the Sarno Baths, as Koloski Ostrow describes them, are curious. For instance, despite being built in the early Imperial period, they featured no hypocausts, rather being heated with braziers.<sup>99</sup> This would make the baths wholly outmoded, considering that other (older) baths in the city had hypocausts from the beginning.<sup>100</sup> This notion is all the harder to credit because Koloski Ostrow envisages the Sarno Baths as being frequented by wealthy patrons and owners of the spacious apartments located in other parts of the complex.<sup>101</sup> Would such people have preferred (and presumably paid more for) such antiquated baths, when more modern amenities were available in the town's other public establishments? It seems more likely that these rooms in the Sarno complex originally had no bath-related function, but only later (in the post-earthquake period) underwent conversion into a bathing suite. That the Sarno/Palaestra Bath complex was operational in the pre-earthquake period is therefore unlikely.

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<sup>97</sup> A. KOLOSKI OSTROW, *The Sarno Bath Complex* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1990), pp. 47-49. Without excavation precise dating is impossible, as KOLOSKI OSTROW admits (p. 46), but architectural analysis of alterations to the building and construction materials allows her to determine 4 phases of development, of which the current one is the second. For a fuller consideration of the Sarno Baths, cf. below pp. 135-136.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48. For the Palaestra Baths, cf. below, pp. 134-135.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-42, esp. 39; cf. p. 48.

<sup>100</sup> E.g. the Stabian, Forum and Republican Baths.

<sup>101</sup> KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 57-58.

However, a set of extramural baths is attested in an inscription. The text, an advertisement for the baths found outside the Porta di Ercolano, reads: "The *Thermae* of M. Crassus Frugi with sea water, and the *Balneae* with fresh water."<sup>102</sup> No building has yet been securely identified with this inscription though, as will be seen, one has recently been proposed. It is clear that the baths were built and/or owned by a M. Crassus Frugi, but the precise date of construction remains unclear.<sup>103</sup> In the absence of corroborative archaeological evidence, the nature of the building itself is also unclear. Pliny the Elder's statement that a Crassus Frugi (the same man?) owned hot springs in the Bay of Baiae that came from the sea itself, makes it possible that at least part of this complex was a thermal establishment, assuming that Pliny's comment refers to the *thermae aqua marina* of the inscription.<sup>104</sup> Alternatively, the *aqua marina* may have been normal, non-thermal sea water.<sup>105</sup> But a feature of the inscription not previously highlighted is the clear distinction drawn between the *thermae aqua marina* and the *baln[ae] aqua dulci*. Whether the restored word is *balneae*, *balnea*, or *balneum*, only two possibilities offer. Either there were two separate buildings (the *thermae*, and the *balneae* or *balnea*), presumably near each other, or there was a single structure with two distinct sections (*thermae* with sea-water, *balneum* -- meaning "bathing" -- with fresh water). Unfortunately, the evidence makes it impossible to determine with certainty which possibility reflects reality.

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<sup>102</sup> ILS 5724: *thermae | M. Crassi Frūgi | aqua marina et baln[ae?] | aqua dulci. Ianuarius I[ibertus]*. An alternative reading would be to take *baln.* as *baln[aeum]* which would mean "bathing with fresh water." The freedman Januarius was presumably the *conductor* or *balneator* of the establishment.

<sup>103</sup> Three M. Crassi Frugi were prominent in the early empire as consuls in AD 14, 27 and 64 respectively (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L. 189, 190 and 191). Most commentators opt for the last as the inscription's subject, though *PIR* suggests that perhaps he inherited the baths from his father. If so, the baths would be of Tiberian date or thereabouts.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Pliny, *NH.*, 31.5: *Huius Licinii Crassi aquae calidae in sinu Baiano in mari ipso vaporantes*. This notice comes in a section on the healing qualities of water, cf. Pliny, *NH.*, 31.1-66. The *thermae marinae* at Pompeii are considered "Heilbäder" by both BRÖDNER, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 61 and RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 305, apparently by identification with the springs mentioned by Pliny, though no evidence suggests Pliny's notice and the Pompeii inscription refer to the same structure, cf. D'ARMS, *Romans*, p. 215. Crassus Frugi's baths find no mention in either MANDERSCHIED's or NIELSEN's catalogues of the public baths of Pompeii, though the latter is aware of their existence (cf. below, n. 107). On the medical uses of *aqua calida marina*, cf. Celsus, 3.27.D-G.

<sup>105</sup> Such a combination is attested in the private bath of Pollius Felix at Surrentum, cf. *Stat. Silv.*, 2.2.17-19: *gratia prima loci, gemina testudine fumant/ balnea, et in terras occurrit dulcis amaro/ nympha mari;* and Suetonius's statement that Nero had baths supplied with sea- and sulphurous water (*Nero*, 31.2: *balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis*).

Nonetheless, on either possibility, the inscription reveals one or two sets of public baths serving Pompeii at this time. If the sea baths were thermal and part of a larger complex, parallels for such a coupling of spa-baths with a "conventional" set can be found at Bath in England or Badenweiler in Germany, for example.<sup>106</sup> In this case, the *Balneae Crassi Aqua Dulci* should be regarded as a set of public baths of early Imperial date serving the community at Pompeii. If, on the other hand, the *Thermae Aqua Marina* used non-thermal sea water, the whole complex (whether a single structure or two separate buildings) should be included among Pompeii's public baths for this period.

Recently, both Jacobelli and Nielsen have suggested that this text may in fact refer to the Suburban Baths.<sup>107</sup> Although the chronology corresponds, the identification is not entirely convincing. The Suburban Baths have only one set of bathrooms housed in a single complex. There is no indication either of a separation between fresh- and sea-water sections, or of another building standing nearby, though this latter possibility cannot be completely ruled out and deserves further investigation. That the inscription was found outside the Porta di Ercolano, i.e. at the other end of Pompeii, does not contribute to the discussion, as this was not its original location (it was reused in a shrine). In all likelihood, the *thermae* and *baln[ae?]* of Crassus Frugi should be placed somewhere on the littoral of Pompeii, i.e. to the south and west of the city, unless they were on the shore some distance away.<sup>108</sup> For the moment, the nature of this building must remain debated, but the above discussion should establish that the *thermae et baln[ae?] Crassi Frugi*, at least in part, ought to be numbered among Pompeii's public baths

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. B. CUNLIFFE, *Roman Bath Discovered* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982) which is a distillation and update of his more scholarly *Roman Bath* (London: Reports of the Research Comm. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London, 1969), pp. 89-147, esp. 128-131. See also HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 157-175, esp. 165-167 (Bath) and 169-175 (Badenweiler). This is also how *CIL* 13.1376/7 (cf. no. 150 (Table 5)) should be interpreted, which refers to the "fontes Nerii et thermae p[ublicae]" at Aquae Neri in Aquitania, apparently distinct parts of the same spa complex.

<sup>107</sup> JACOBELLI, *RSP* 1 (1987), 154 and NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.8, C.43 G says "thermae M. Crassi Frugi may be this building."

<sup>108</sup> Thus, D'ARMS, *Romans*, p. 215; KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, p. 58.

serving the city in the Julio-Claudian period, though they cannot be securely identified with the Suburban Baths.

Another extramural inscription from the area of the Nucrine gate may refer to an as yet undiscovered bathhouse somewhere in the vicinity. The text simply reads *balneus Agrippae*.<sup>109</sup> The form *balneus* for *balneum* is not unknown, although rare.<sup>110</sup> A possible alternative is that the word here is a transliteration of the Greek βαλανεύς ("the bathman of Agrippa"), more usually Latinized as *balneator*. As Agrippa Postumus had a villa in the region (at Boscotrecase in the outskirts of Pompeii), it is inviting to see here a reference to a private *balneator* attached to the household, although the form *balneus* has no parallels in this connection.<sup>111</sup>

The foregoing shows that for the Julio-Claudian period the city of Pompeii apparently had only two public bathhouses in its centre, with a third directly outside the Porta Marina, and a fourth, the facility or facilities of Crassus Frugi, in the vicinity of the town. The *balneus Agrippae* adds a possible fifth. This hardly represents a superfluity of baths. It could be argued that because the private houses of Pompeii were more frequently fitted-out with bath suites than appears to have been the case elsewhere, as for instance at Ostia,<sup>112</sup> the city needed fewer public facilities. This would be misleading. It is not clear how the ratio of public-to-private baths at Pompeii compares to that at other urban sites, aside from Ostia which was not typical, or how a

<sup>109</sup> *CIL* 4.3878. It is part of a longer graffito that was scribbled on a tomb outside the Nucrine gate, but the rest is illegible. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40, n. 25 includes it in her list of 1st century BC testimonia for baths, albeit tentatively.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *ILS* 5720: in [h]is praedis Aurelliae Faustinianae | balineus, lavat(ur) mo[r]e urbico, et omnis || humanitas praestatur; cf. Petron. *Satyr.*, 41.

<sup>111</sup> Private, slave *balneatores* are known from several texts, most notably the grave inscriptions of the household of the Statilii Tauri at Rome (e.g. *CIL* 6.6243), or those of the Junii Silani (e.g. *CIL* 6.7601). For other *balneatores* attached to the imperial or other households, cf. *CIL* 6.8742, 9102 c.13, 9216, 9217, 9395/6. All use the form *balneator*.

<sup>112</sup> Some houses with private baths are (with page references to RICHARDSON, *Pompeii* in brackets): Casa del Fauno (pp. 124-126, 168-170, 394); Casa del Menandro (pp. 159-161); Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (pp. 155-159); Casa del Criptoportico (pp. 167-168); and Casa del Centenario (pp. 126-127). A map of the city with the public and private baths marked can be found in PASQUINUCCI, *Terme*, pp. 70-71, fig. 56; in all some 21 houses have baths. In comparison, Ostia only has one private house with a bath suite, the House of the Dioscuri, cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, pp. 259-260 (including plan at fig. 20); see also, *ibid.*, p. 420.

preponderance of one affected the other, if at all. In fact, given Campania's prosperity at this time (as a resort for wealthy Romans) it may be expected that more people here could afford a private bath suite in their townhouses than would have been the case elsewhere. In any case, it would be a mistake to assume that because a wealthy person had private baths at home, he would shun public facilities. Pliny the Younger was willing to use public establishments, and Trimalchio is first encountered in the *Satyricon* while attending a public bath; both had their own suites at home.<sup>113</sup> Finally, examination of the insulae at Ostia, Pompeii and Herculaneum has shown that the living quarters of the lower and middle classes of these cities lacked many amenities found in the bigger houses of the rich (e.g. kitchens, latrines and baths). For these people, the majority of the population, public baths provided the only means for getting clean.<sup>114</sup>

Why Pompeii does not display heightened bath-building in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, the very time when the literary sources suggest a growth in bath popularity at Rome, can only be guessed at. The "trickle-down effect," whereby it would take some time for fashions current in the capital to reach lesser towns, offers a partial explanation. Perhaps as well there were difficulties of siting, or acquisition of land for baths in the city centre. There may be several indications of this. The Suburban Baths were built outside the gates. The Stabian Baths had to acquire a neighbouring house to provide space for their expansion. The same can be said for the women's section of the Forum Baths where shops would have been bought to allow for the construction of the new section.<sup>115</sup> Finally, as will be seen, the destruction wrought by the earthquake in AD 62 made land available, of which Pompeian bath-builders were to take full

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<sup>113</sup> Pliny *Ep.*, 2.17.261 and above, p. 112; Petr. *Satyr.*, 26-27 and 72. This in itself tells us something of the attitude of the rich to using public baths, cf. below, pp. 258-263.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. J.E. PACKER, *The Insulae of Imperial Ostia* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 31, 1971), esp. pp. 72-74; id. "Middle and Lower Class Housing in Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Preliminary Survey," in B. ANDREAE & H. KYRIELIS, *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (Essen: A. Bongers, 1975), pp. 133-146.

<sup>115</sup> There is later written evidence for this sort of activity, cf. *ILS* 8996; Pliny *Ep.*, 10.70.1; MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 11-15.

advantage. There are, however, purely practical reasons that can be used to explain, at least in part, all but the last of these circumstances. Gateways were evidently desirable places to build baths, so the siting of the Suburban Baths outside the Porta Marina may have been voluntary rather than enforced.<sup>116</sup> As *natationes* and loggias were adjuncts to the palaestra, the expansion of the Stabian Baths was perforce to the west, as there was no other suitable space to the north, south, or east.<sup>117</sup> Finally, as it was desirable to heat the women's *caldarium* with the same *prae-furnium* as heated the men's,<sup>118</sup> the location of the new section of the Forum Baths was in part undoubtedly determined by practical considerations. These points do not completely demolish the land-acquisition theory, but they do limit its application. All that can be said is that difficulties of siting and/or acquisition of land possibly played some role in restricting the number of baths in the centre of Pompeii at this time.

Most suggestive, however, is the burst of bath-building activity in the wake of the earthquake, the next period to be considered. It provides dramatic evidence for the increased prominence baths had gained in Roman daily life by the late Julio-Claudian period, although in an unusual and indirect manner.

The damage caused by the earthquake in AD 62, provided an opportunity for new construction projects. Baths featured prominently. Between AD 62 and 79 no less than four, possibly five, public baths had either been built or were under construction. In addition, the damaged Stabian Baths were being repaired, improved and redecorated with a view to their

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<sup>116</sup> As is clear from Timgad, cf. above, n. 93.

<sup>117</sup> To the south lay the street, to the north part of the women's section (notably the *apodyterium*) and to the east the main bathing wing.

<sup>118</sup> Thus Vitruv., 5.10.1: *et item est animadvertendum, uti caldaria muliebria et virilia coniuncta et in isdem regionibus sint conlocata; sic enim efficietur, ut in vasaria et hypocaustis communis sit eorum utrisque.*

complete renovation.<sup>119</sup> The men's section of the Forum Baths was also quickly put back into service.<sup>120</sup>

But the Pompeians had more in mind than the repair of their two existing public facilities. About one block north of the Stabian Baths on the Via Stabiana the town was building a whole new set, the Central Baths, when work was permanently interrupted in AD 79 (fig. 13).<sup>121</sup> These were to be the largest, most luxurious baths the city had yet seen. They were a single-building type (no men/women sections), and occupied an entire insula. They had all the requisite bathrooms, a *laconicum*, an open-air *natatio*, and a large palaestra with exedrae for relaxing and conversation. There was also a large latrine in the south-west corner. At the time of the eruption they were still unfinished, and so undecorated; given the increased luxury in bath decoration at this time, the adornment would probably have been magnificent. In terms of construction, they used the latest techniques in brick-faced concrete and bath design, featuring large windows along the west wall of the bath suite to maximize the sun's role in heating the rooms. Richardson proposes -- considering the large size of the palaestra, the absence of a discernible women's section, and the relative rarity of areas for relaxation and idling -- that these baths were intended for the active young men of Pompeii.<sup>122</sup> This is questionable, as the baths were unfinished when the volcano buried them, and what other amenities might have been added can only be guessed at. Further, exedrae for relaxation are present off the palaestra, as are other rooms of unsure function which may have been for loitering and socializing. Had the Central Baths ever been finished, Pompeii could have boasted a large and thoroughly up-to-date facility.

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<sup>119</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, pp. 70-72. It seems the women's baths were in use, at least partially, but the male section not so, cf. A. MAIURI, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani 20, 1942), pp. 70-72.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. MAIURI, *L'ultima fase*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>121</sup> The Central Baths are at IX.iv.5/18. Cf. MAIURI, *L'ultima fase*, pp. 74-77; MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp. 172-173, s.v. "Pompei, Terme Centrali"; RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 286-289; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.47-48; cf. also P. BARGELLINI, "Le terme centrali di Pompei" in *Thermes*, pp. 115-128.

<sup>122</sup> RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 289.

So, after the earthquake the Pompeian authorities set about not only repairing the existing publicly owned baths, but adding a third, larger and more modern set. This is instructive. Obviously the people of Pompeii felt that the two, antiquated, though renovated public establishments -- by AD 60 the Stabian Baths were about 200 years old, the Forum Baths 140 -- were no longer sufficient for their needs, even less, perhaps, for the dignity of their city. In this connection, inter-city rivalry of the sort that generated the violence between the Pompeians and their neighbours from Nuceria in AD 59 should not be discounted.<sup>123</sup> At Herculaneum, for instance, large and impressive baths were built roughly contemporaneously with, or a little before the Central Baths at Pompeii -- the Forum and Suburban Baths.<sup>124</sup> These were spacious and luxurious establishments. The Suburban Baths in particular had large windows overlooking the ancient shoreline and a heated swimming pool (*calida piscina*) (CPI in fig. 14).<sup>125</sup> With their neighbours building baths of this sort, the Pompeians were not about to be left behind.

The building activities of private individuals further strengthen the proposition that the Pompeians were reacting to external stimuli. In the eastern end of the city, in a sparsely populated area mostly given over to small businesses, stand the Praedia Iuliae Felicis (fig. 15).<sup>126</sup> It features a series of rooms and services, among them a bathhouse, labelled by an inscription the *Balneum Venerium et Nongentum*.<sup>127</sup> The precise significance of the epithets is

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<sup>123</sup> Cf. Tac. *Ann.*, 14.17; on the role of inter-city rivalry as a motivation for bath-building, cf. below pp. 237-238.

<sup>124</sup> For these, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.47-48. The Forum Baths date either to the Augustan period, or the Claudio-Neronian era (cf. *ibid.*, II.7, C.38 where NIELSEN opts for the Augustan date), while the Suburban Baths are Julio-Claudian, about coeval with the Central Baths (*ibid.*, loc. cit., C.39).

<sup>125</sup> These features are reminiscent of Seneca's complaints about new-fangled facets of luxury in baths, and the desire that the bathers have increased light and impressive views from the bathing rooms, cf. *Ep.*, 86. 8. For *calidae piscinae*, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.156, s.v.

<sup>126</sup> This occupies the whole insula II.iv, with the baths at II.iv.4-7. Cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp.173-174, s.v. "Pompei, Terme Praedia Iuliae Felicis"; RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 292-298; C.C. PARSLOW, *The Praedia Iuliae Felicis in Pompeii* (Durham, NC: Dissertation, Duke University, 1989).

<sup>127</sup> *ILS 5723*: in praedis Iuliae Sp. f. Felicis | locantur | balneum Venerium et nongentum, tabernae, pergulae, | cenacula ex idibus Aug. primis in idus Aug. sextas annos continuos quinque. | S(i) q(uinquennium) d(ecurrerit) l(ocatio) e(rit) n(udo) c(onsensu).

unclear, but they appear primarily to advertise the luxury and distinction of the establishment.<sup>128</sup> The baths themselves were moderate in size and had all the usual amenities, with a *laconicum* added later.<sup>129</sup> Noteworthy is the absence of a palaestra. Instead there is a small peristyle just inside the entrance with recesses for relaxation. This may indicate that at this establishment patrons tended more towards luxury and socializing than to strenuous and sweaty exercising. This impression is heightened by the large open-air pool in the eastern part of the *balneum* and the luxury of the surviving decoration.<sup>130</sup> When the other facilities of the Praedia are considered in combination with the baths -- i.e. its taverns, dining and reception rooms, garden and nymphaeum -- the whole reveals itself as a sort of social centre open to the public, offering dining/bathing facilities, but with the baths as the focal point.<sup>131</sup> From this perspective, the Praedia Juliae Felicis may have been attempting to provide on a smaller scale many of the

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<sup>128</sup> Several attempts have been made to explain these terms. R. ÉTIENNE, *La vie quotidienne à Pompei* (Paris: Hachette, 1977, 2nd ed.), p. 366 believes that *Venerium* indicates the name of a group of youths who used the baths, while *nongentum* means "gentlemanly"; this implies that the whole bath was used by a club of well-to-do young men. This position has recently been supported by P. GINESTET, *Les organisations de la jeunesse dans l'Occident Romain* (Brussels; Collection Latomus 213, 1991), p. 99 and 225, no. 42 who argues for a *collegium iuvenum Veneriorum* at Pompeii; but for him *nongentus* is the number (900) of members of the Pompeian *iuventus*. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 293 concedes that *Venerium* may indicate the people who frequented the baths, but he does not think they were a club, as there is no mention of a *collegium* in the text. DUNBABIN, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 16 includes the *balneum Venerium et Nongentum* among baths named after deities, and suggests that statues of the pertinent divinities (in this case Venus) probably stood in prominent positions in such establishments. More recently A. VARONE, "Voices of the Ancients: A Stroll Through Public and Private Pompeii" in *Rediscovering Pompeii* (Exhibition Catalogue, Rome: Bretschneider, 1990), p. 31 translates the term as "the baths of the Venerii and the judges" but offers no explanation as to what this may mean. KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, p. 58, n. 93 believes the name indicates the exclusiveness of the clientele: *Venerium* meaning "elegant," *nongentum*, "the best people." Surprisingly, PARSLOW, *Praed.*, does not address the problem of the bath's name directly. It is perhaps worth noting that Venus was the patron goddess of Pompeii but, that said, note that a *balneum Veneris* existed at Litternum (*ILS* 5693 = no. 41 [Table 2]) and a *cistern(am) Veneri(s)* at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 314, cf. 315a). Venus had associations with luxury and comfort, so the reference may be to the elegance of the establishment, while simultaneously evoking the patronage of the city's chief goddess. *Nongentum* is more difficult. Pliny *NH*, 33.31 reports that *nongenti* were *equites* who supervised ballot boxes at elections. As there were elections in progress in Pompeii when the inscription was painted, *nongentum* may well have had some connection with that event; its use here may have been topical (note that the text was painted, not carved onto the wall). There may have been a *collegium* of *nongenti* who frequented these baths, though there is no corroborative evidence for the existence of such a *collegium* at Pompeii. Alternatively, the term may mean something like "a bath fit for the use of *nongenti*," i.e. important and high-ranking officials at election time. Whatever the case, there can be little doubt that both epithets ultimately aimed at advertizing the pleasantness of the baths; cf. above, n. 110 for another advertizement for baths in *praedia* which extol the establishment's comfort and facilities.

<sup>129</sup> They are described in great detail under room-name rubrics in PARSLOW, *Praed.*, pp. 84-166.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, loc. cit. discusses the decoration as each room is described.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 431-436.

amenities available in the large Imperial baths at Rome, at that time numbering two: the *Thermae Agrippae* and *Neronianae*.<sup>132</sup>

At the other end of Pompeii one or more private individuals, who remain anonymous, were erecting a large complex similar to the Praedia Juliae Felicis when disaster struck.<sup>133</sup> The Palaestra Baths/Sarno Baths complex is a large, complicated and unfinished series of rooms, featuring dining-rooms, taverns, reception rooms and two sets of baths on two levels (figs. 16, 17).<sup>134</sup> The relationship between the buildings is unclear and requires further study.<sup>135</sup> For the moment, they are treated separately.

The Palaestra Baths were accessible directly from the street, the Via delle Scuole, through a narrow *fauces* (fig. 16).<sup>136</sup> This led into the palaestra, the smallness of which would imply it was not for exercise proper, but possibly only for limited physical activity and/or ball-games, in which case it was a *sphaeristerium*. There were three exedral rooms off this area, of unclear function. A set of bathrooms occupy the south flank and south-eastern corner of the building. A noteworthy feature here is the presence of a balcony, beyond the bathrooms and accessible from them, presenting the visitor with a scenic view of the valley south of the city. As with the *Balneum Venerium et Nongentum*, there is a distinct impression here of a facility

<sup>132</sup> Although it must be stressed that the imperial *thermae* did not feature dining rooms or anything comparable, cf. below, p. 294.

<sup>133</sup> KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 55-57 proposes that a woman mentioned in a *libellus* (CIL 4.1.409-411) found in one of the exedrae of the Palaestra Baths, Dicia Margarit, was the owner of that complex; if so, the owner of the Sarno complex remains anonymous.

<sup>134</sup> This is located at VIII.ii.17-24. Cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 174, s.v. "Pompei, Terme del Sarno e Palestra" and RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 298-307, esp. 299-301 (Palaestra Baths) and 303-305 (Terme del Sarno); NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.45 (Sarno); there is no extensive treatment of the Palaestra Baths in NIELSEN's book. The Sarno element has recently been published fully by KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*.

<sup>135</sup> RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 298, 301 sees the whole as conceived as a unit for which it was planned that the Palaestra area communicate with the neighbouring Sarno complex, but the doors had not yet been knocked through when the volcano erupted. KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 27, 48, 55-58 takes the opposite view: the blocking came after a period during which the two complexes communicated and reflect a shift in the pattern of ownership in the area. Of the two positions, the latter is the more tightly argued.

<sup>136</sup> This is at VIII.ii.23. For a description, cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 299-301.

designed more for the idler than the athlete. This establishment was functioning when the eruption occurred.

Adjacent to the Palaestra Baths is an area, much of it in disarray, with a series of rooms apparently intended to be apartments, reception halls and dining areas (fig. 17.1).<sup>137</sup> This is level 1 of the Sarno Bath complex. Below lies an unfinished labyrinth of rooms and corridors, arranged in four levels on three terraces against the natural gradient of the ground. The fourth level contained a set of baths, the Sarno Baths (fig. 17.2).<sup>138</sup> These are quite small and were still under construction in AD 79. They contain the usual set of rooms, featuring windows overlooking the valley to allow sunlight to assist in heating the complex. The most remarkable feature of this establishment is the row of seven vaulted rooms opening onto a corridor running east from the main suite of bathing rooms. The function of these rooms is unclear, but Richardson suggests that they are individual cubicles for thermal/mineral water treatment, and indeed a series of such rooms is found at some spa-resorts like Baiae or Badenweiler.<sup>139</sup> However, no hot or mineral springs have been located in or near the Sarno Baths, and these rooms retain no trace of any plumbing. The Baths of Faustina at Miletus, constructed about a century after the Sarno Baths, also feature a long corridor with cubicles off them.<sup>140</sup> Here they are considered to be changing rooms or lecture and conversation rooms, the latter derived from

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<sup>137</sup> The main entrances to this area are VIII.ii.18-21. Cf. KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 15-46 for a detailed description; RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 301-303.

<sup>138</sup> These were accessible from the street via the long corridor that leads from VIII.ii.17 (indicated in broken lines in the upper portion of fig. 17.1). For a description of these baths, cf. KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 37-42. Cf. also above, p. 125.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 305. For the row-of-rooms forms at the sites mentioned, cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 162 (the so-called "Sosandra Baths" at Baiae, cf. Abb. 163, 166 no. 2), p. 171 (*Badenweiler*).

<sup>140</sup> Cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp. 149-150, s.v. "Miletos, Thermen der Faustina"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.38, C.306.

the Greek stoa.<sup>141</sup> In all likelihood, the rooms served some functional or social purpose associated with the baths, but for which no archaeological evidence is likely to remain.<sup>142</sup>

The whole Palaestra/Sarno Bath complex offered, whether in conjunction or in competition, the same sort of facilities to the western end of the city as those provided in the east end by the "Premises of Julia Felix." There were dining rooms and reception halls, balconies and taverns, and two sets of baths. In both cases, the complexes were social centres probably attempting to reproduce the facilities of the larger imperial *thermae* at Rome, at least in part.

Finally, we turn to the small baths in the Casa di Giuseppe II, several doorways down the Via delle Scuole.<sup>143</sup> Here a large private house had been converted into an apartment/shop complex. On a lower level, overlooking the valley to the south of the city, there was a set of baths with the usual rooms, but no *laconicum*. Due to the elaborate nature of the facilities, and the evidence for a bread-making outlet adjacent to the *prae-furnium* of the baths, Richardson contends that these may be considered at least "semi-public" baths, although this term seems like fudging.<sup>144</sup> It is possible that they were a rather exclusive set of baths, with access perhaps restricted to tenants in the apartment complex of which they were a part and their guests.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 104. Of course, this does not mean the Sarno Bath cubicles are necessarily to be so interpreted. NIELSEN, *Therm.* throws no light on such cubicles.

<sup>142</sup> This is the position of KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 94-95 who offers two possibilities: the cubicles were for massage and/or sex, or they were for changing and storing belongings of more affluent patrons. For sex at the baths, cf. below, pp. 296-299.

<sup>143</sup> These are at VIII.ii.39, cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 234-240, esp. 239-240. NIELSEN, *Therm.* does not mention them.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>145</sup> However, baths as integrated parts of apartment blocks are a rarity, even at such well preserved sites as Ostia, cf. PACKER, *Insulae of Ostia*, pp. 5-42 (where Ostian *insulae* are surveyed; none have built-in baths) and pp. 72-74 (where baths are one of the services the Ostian must seek in public facilities, as there were none at home). In fact, as PACKER, points out (*ibid.*, p. 74), "At no point in the city, was the Ostian more than five minutes walk from a bathing establishment." This fact vitiates somewhat KOLOSKI OSTROW's talk of *insula/balnea* complexes (she points to the proximity of certain *insulae* at Ostia to the Baths of Buticosus and the Seven Sages, *Sarno*, p. 92): since Ostia was so small in area, and had so many apartment blocks and baths, it is hardly surprising that occasionally baths will be found in proximity to residential *insulae*. Rather, it is more striking that baths and apartments were not more regularly integrated into single units. The Baths of the Philosopher, integrated fully into insula V.ii at Ostia, were most likely open to the public, though it may have been operated (and predominantly used by?) an Ostian guild, cf. J. BOERSMA, *Amoenissima Civitas. Block*

There are hints of the existence of baths like this at Rome, though not necessarily as part of an apartment building.<sup>146</sup> If so, they would be better regarded as private, in that they were not open to all comers.

The Suburban Baths were undergoing renovations in the post-earthquake period, though they do not seem to have been functioning. It is not clear whether the baths of Crassus Frugi outside the walls were operative when the volcano struck.

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To sum up, Pompeii offers a picture of growth in the prominence of public bathing facilities over the period from Sulla to the city's destruction in AD 79.<sup>147</sup> In about 80 BC, Pompeii had three public establishments; when the volcano erupted in AD 79 it had at least seven, possibly ten. More precise periodization of this growth falls roughly into three phases: late Republican, Augustan to pre-earthquake, and post-earthquake.

The Sullan colonists added another bath to the cityscape in about 80 BC, matching the already functioning Stabian Baths. This may suggest that at this time baths and bathing had achieved a greater importance among the incoming Roman elements, in the form of the colonists, than among the native Pompeians already in the city. This would indeed be an irony, as it seems likely that the roots of Roman bathing habits lay originally in Campania. Around the same time a third set, the Republican Baths, was erected, possibly by a private individual, close to the Stabian. These three facilities then served the city until the Augustan period (fig. 18.1).

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*V.ii at Ostia: Description and Analysis of its Visible Remains* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985), pp. 35-47, 120-137, 196-198.

<sup>146</sup> Such as the Baths of Etruscus, which appear to have catered to an upper-crust clientele, cf. Martial, 6.42.; Stat. *Silv.*, 1.5. Cf. below, p. 278 for baths with a "regular" set of customers.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. fig. 18.1, 2, 3 where the city's baths are illustrated in three periods, stretching from the late Republic to its destruction in AD 79.

Early in the Principate, perhaps in the 20s BC, the Republican baths closed down. No new set was opened in the city centre to replace them. Why this was the case is unclear, and any answers are speculative. However, given the increased bath-building of the post-earthquake period and the several ancillary points discussed above, it was possibly the result of difficulties in acquiring suitable sites. The building of the Suburban Baths slightly outside the city, as well as the *Thermae et Baln[eae?] Crassi Frugi*, was evidently considered sufficient (fig. 18.2).

After the earthquake of AD 62, a considerable number of public establishments was built or planned. The Stabian and Forum Baths were being repaired, and a whole new and larger set were under construction when the disaster struck. In addition, at least four, possibly five, smaller, privately-run facilities were being provided for the city (fig. 18.3).<sup>148</sup> This whole post-earthquake period provides archaeological corroboration for the literary testimony we have seen above, though in an indirect way. The picture is not one of a steadily growing number of baths at Pompeii, neatly and evenly divided into specific periods. Rather, there is a period of relative quiet (Augustus to the earthquake), followed by one of markedly heightened bath-building (post-earthquake). This suggests that in building so many public bathing facilities the Pompeians were responding to external trends. In thus taking advantage of the constructional possibilities the earthquake had provided, they appear to have been attempting to bring their city into step with the latest tastes; public baths evidently featured conspicuously.<sup>149</sup> The

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<sup>148</sup> That is, if we include the so-called "semi-public" baths of the *Casa di Giuseppe II*. I do not include the baths of *Crassus Frugi*, which may or may not have been operative after the earthquake.

<sup>149</sup> It is not sufficient to argue that the new public facilities were simply put up to replace the private ones lost or damaged in the earthquake. We have already seen the difficulties with this general argument (see above, pp. 128-129). Further, it seems that many of the owners of the bigger houses moved out of town after AD 62, and their houses were transformed into apartment or shop complexes, as with the *Casa di Giuseppe II*. Also, baths like those in the *Premises of Julia Felix*, were clearly luxury complexes and not stand-in replacements. Finally, the building opportunities presented by the earthquake were exploited to create many public baths, and not simply to repair private ones. Looking especially at the *Premises of Julia Felix* and the *Palaestra Baths/Terme del Sarno* complex, it seems that a new attitude to bathing was being introduced to the urban life of the Pompeians.

implication is therefore that public bathing had come to enjoy a heightened profile in Roman life generally in the preceding period, and the Pompeians were responding to that development.

Elsewhere, the remains of baths from the late Republic to the early Empire are scarce, or clustered at certain sites or in certain periods. At Ostia, for instance, most of the baths are of 2nd-century date or later, and all three major baths -- the Forum Baths, the Baths of Neptune, and the Maritime Baths -- span the period from Trajan to Antoninus Pius.<sup>150</sup> As seen above, the earliest surviving set are of Julio-Claudian date.<sup>151</sup> The city is therefore not very useful for tracing the growth of bathing in our period. However, Ostia provides good evidence for the 2nd century and beyond, because by the Late Empire it had no less than 17 identifiable public establishments, covering every district of the city.<sup>152</sup> The situation at Ostia is corroborated elsewhere, especially North Africa, where many 2nd-century foundations feature baths prominently.<sup>153</sup> A good example is Timgad, a city with 13 public baths in or around the urban core.<sup>154</sup>

Finally, a quick glance at Rome itself.<sup>155</sup> No examples of the numerous small public baths survive here, but it seems likely that they far outnumbered their larger Imperial counterparts.<sup>156</sup> Of the more massive Imperial sets some remains still stand as gaunt witness to

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<sup>150</sup> For full bibliographies, cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 160, s.v. "Ostia, Terme del Foro"; p. 161, s.v. "Ostia, Terme Maritime"; p. 162-163, s.v. "Ostia, Terme di Nettuno": MEIGGS, *Ostia*, pp. 407-416 treats each set in turn.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. above, p. 119.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, pp. 471-479, and fig. 30 (plan of Ostia showing bath distribution). As the relative chronology of the baths of Ostia remains problematic, determining a clear line of progression here is not yet possible.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. H. LÉZINE, *Architecture romaine d'Afrique* (Tunis: Publications de l'Université de Tunis, 1961), pp. 9-35.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. the plan of Timgad, NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.75, fig. 39 where some 13 baths, ranging in date from the first half of the 2nd century AD to the Byzantine period are numbered, cf. *ibid.*, II. 30-31, C.238-250.

<sup>155</sup> The baths of Rome are covered in more detail below, Chapter 5.

<sup>156</sup> Note the figures in the *Notitia Urbis Regionum*: 11 *thermae*, and 856 *balnea*. Although the exact ratio may have differed, the general situation reflected by these numbers probably pertained in earlier periods as well. For the smaller baths of Rome, cf. below, p. 199-203. Of these establishments, some 31 (not all from the period under consideration here) can be assigned names from literary and epigraphic sources, cf. E. De

their former splendour. The first large imperial-type baths were built in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods: the very period, as shown in the preceding pages, that the written and archaeological records suggest a marked growth in the bathing habit. The *Thermae Agrippae* were erected in the Campus Martius between 25 and 19 BC.<sup>157</sup> The example so given was followed over half a century later by Nero, whose baths were built about AD 62.<sup>158</sup> Successive emperors, as is well known, built ever increasingly huge and elaborate public establishments for the people of Rome.<sup>159</sup> Between them, these Imperial baths, along with their smaller satellite *balnea*, serviced nearly every quarter of the city.

Before leaving Rome, however, an important issue needs to be addressed. It has been argued above that the 1st century BC saw a growth in public bathing, which would logically imply a rise in the number of the city's baths. Although no explicit evidence for such a numerical increase exists, it can reasonably be expected. If this is accepted, how do we explain that no aqueducts were built to serve the city between the Aqua Tepula (in service c. 125 BC) and the Aqua Julia (operative in 33 BC)?<sup>160</sup> Surely baths need water? While the answer to the latter question is an emphatic affirmative, it must be stressed that water for baths need not necessarily have come from aqueducts. The whole question of water supply for baths is a complex one and in need of further investigation, but it is clear that smaller baths could function without a conduit.<sup>161</sup> Instructive evidence comes from Pompeii. Here, the absence of an

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RUGGIERO, *Dizionario epigrafico di Antichità romane* (Rome: 1898), p. 970, s.v. "Balneum"; Appendix 2, Map 2, s.v. "Rome." See also Appendix 4.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. below, pp. 185-186. A full bibliography is supplied by MANDERSCHEID, *Bib.*, p.179-180, s.v. "Roma, Terme di Agrippa."

<sup>158</sup> Tac. *Ann.*, 14.20-21, 47, 15.29.2; Suet. *Nero*, 12.3, 31.2.

<sup>159</sup> For bibliographies of these buildings, cf. MANDERSCHEID, *Bib.*, pp. 180-187, where they are listed in alphabetical order. Missing from these bibliographies, but useful for plotting the growth in the size, design and grandeur of the Imperial baths is the survey of HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 52-141, esp. 60-67 (Agrippa's Baths), 68-71 (Nero), 75-77 (Titus), 89-90 (Trajan), 112-117 (Diocletian), 122 (Constantine), and 124-141 (Caracalla).

<sup>160</sup> Cf. T. ASHBY, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935), esp. pp. 159-160 (Tepula), 162-66 (Julia); more recently, A.T. HODGE, "Aqueducts" in I.M. BARTON (ed.), *Roman Public Buildings* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1989), pp. 128-149.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. the examples cited by BRUUN, *Water*, p. 73, n. 43. Cf. also B.D. SHAW, "The Noblest Monuments and the Smallest Things: Wells, Walls and Aqueducts in the Making of Roman Africa" in A.T.

aqueduct did not prevent the erection of three bathhouses (Stabian, Forum and Republican) fed by wells or cisterns.<sup>162</sup> There is no reason to presume that the situation was different at Rome, supplied with aqueducts from the late 4th century BC and containing small, modest Republican baths on the Pompeian model.<sup>163</sup> In all likelihood, such baths lacked large *natationes* and constantly running water. Establishments on the scale of those of Agrippa were not possible; indeed that facility (with its many pools and *stagnum*) required an aqueduct to supply it. Furthermore, as will be seen, the evidence suggests that the city's Republican baths were all privately owned and operated, and so they could conceivably have been fed from wells or cisterns on private property, or perhaps from private water conduits (although instances of the latter appear to have been rare).<sup>164</sup> Owners of such public facilities would presumably have preferred to tap their own sources, as they would have had to pay for aqueduct water. In short, while the presence of aqueducts made the construction of baths easier, it was not a prerequisite: modest baths could function without aqueduct-supplied water.

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The evidence reviewed in this chapter indicates that there was a growth in the practice of public bathing in the 1st centuries BC and AD. Comparison of the maps of Italy in Appendix 2 shows this clearly enough. From the 2nd to the 1st centuries BC the number of attested baths in Italy rises considerably. The trend continues into the 1st century AD, as does the increasing

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HODGE (ed.), *Future Currents in Aqueduct Studies* (Leeds: Cairns, 1991), pp. 63-91, esp. pp. 63-73 where it is argued that aqueducts often came late in a city's development, and even largescale bath buildings could function without them (as at Thurburbo Maius).

<sup>162</sup> On Pompeii's water supply, cf. H. ESCHEBACH, "Die innerstädtische Gebrauchswasserversorgung dargestellt am Beispiel Pompejis," in J.P. BOUCHER (ed.) *Journées d'études sur les aqueducs romains* (Paris: Les belles Lettres, 1983), pp. 81-132, esp. pp. 81-86 (on the city's wells); RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 51-63; note especially *ibid.*, fig. 3 (p. 52) where the city's numerous deep wells are indicated on a map.

<sup>163</sup> Wells and cisterns are known from Rome, cf. BRUUN, *Water*, p. 97 (esp. n. 2).

<sup>164</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 63-76. His discussion of whether privately owned baths can be shown to have been fed by private conduits (*ibid.*, pp. 72-76) is inconclusive due to lack of clear evidence. On the ownership of Rome's non-imperial baths, cf. below, pp. 202-203 and Appendix 4.

spread of baths throughout the peninsula. More and more communities were equipping themselves with public baths, sometimes two or more.

This growth, as it can be discerned from the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, would seem to fall into two phases. Although the evidence is scarce, the first phase, covering the 1st century BC down to Augustus, can be characterized by a growth in the baths' role in daily life; a consequent rise in the number of Rome's bathhouses is likely, despite no increase of aqueduct-supplied water. Public baths feature more prominently in literary and epigraphic records, and archaeology shows many communities building their first public establishment at this time. Growth in the second phase, stretching roughly from Augustus's rise to power to the end of the 1st century AD, is more rapid, and coincides with the establishment of the Principate. More writers give reference to baths and bathing; more inscriptions attest their existence; and more communities extend, elaborate or build them. It is now time to seek explanations for this phenomenon.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EARLY GROWTH OF BATH POPULARITY: GENERAL EXPLANATIONS AND THE ROLE OF ASCLEPIADES OF BITHYNIA

#### *Introduction*

The question of why Romans of the 1st centuries BC and AD became increasingly attached to baths has been largely and inexplicably ignored by modern scholars. This chapter attempts to redress the omission, but confines itself for the most part to the first phase of the process, that covering the 1st century BC. The question of the Imperial authorities' impact on bathing is treated in the following chapter.

There are difficulties with the source material. The present inquiry must rely on written evidence. Archaeology is largely mute as to why people went to the baths, though some clues offer. This said, it must be admitted that even the written sources are largely silent as to reasons for bathing. So, Pliny the Elder can point to the growth in the bathing habit at Rome, but says nothing by way of explanation.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, Seneca can rail at the popularity and luxury of public baths in Julio-Claudian Rome, but remains uninformative with regard to reasons for this popularity. If anything, he would imply that people went to the baths simply out of a degenerate love of luxury, a moralizing Stoic *topos* that ought not to be accepted at face value.<sup>2</sup> The silence

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<sup>1</sup> *NH.*, 36.121 (cf. above, pp. 102-103).

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.*, 86.6-13, cf. *Dial.*, 10.12.7. Compare the opposition in 1761 of the Protestant ministers of Philadelphia to a proposed public bath in the city on the grounds that it would only promote the people's "Immoderate and Growing Fondness for Pleasure, Luxury, Gaming, Dissipation, and their concomittant Vices," cited in M.T. WILLIAMS, *Washing "The Great Unwashed": Public Baths in Urban America, 1840-1920* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), p. 10.

of the sources is perhaps explicable, insofar as the baths became so integral a part of everyday life: offering explanations for their popularity would have been to state the obvious. But for the 1st century BC, lack of source material can also help to explain this silence.

The nature of the sources, then, precludes a straightforward explanation of the growth of bath popularity, clearly traceable and well documented. Rather, it forces an evaluation based on an analysis of trends and processes current in late Republican Rome. As is seen, however, a case can be made for one remarkable man wielding a particular influence on the process of growth, but before examining him in detail, attention must be paid to the generalities; it is against this backdrop that the activities of the doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia must be assessed.

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*(i) General contributing factors*

Several observable trends in the late Republic combined to produce a fertile environment for the promotion of baths and bathing among all classes at Rome.<sup>3</sup>

*Technological, social and economic factors*

There was an improvement in building technology.<sup>4</sup> Concrete (*opus caementicium*) increasingly came to be used to create ever larger structures.<sup>5</sup> The improvement in vaulting

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<sup>3</sup> Sketches of late Republican society can be found in E.S. GRUEN, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); M. BEARD & M.H. CRAWFORD, *Rome in the Late Republic* (London: Duckworth, 1985), and E. RAWSON, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London: Duckworth, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. BOETHIUS, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (London: Penguin, 1978, 2nd ed.), pp. 137-140.

<sup>5</sup> A good example is the vast sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, completed in c. 80 BC, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 169-174; for improvements in concrete construction, cf. M.E. BLAKE, *Ancient Roman Construction*

techniques, itself aided by increasing confidence with the medium of cement, allowed larger interior spaces to be roofed. These constructional developments were essential to the process of growth as they gave Roman architects the means to erect larger and more elaborate baths, though before the Baths of Agrippa, there is no evidence to suggest the existence of a really magnificent establishment at Rome (or anywhere else, for that matter). At the very least, though, improvements in building technology made the construction of baths easier.

Another general trend was the increase in wealth and public ostentation. The 1st century BC was the age of rich dynasts such as M. Licinius Crassus, C. Julius Caesar and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, whose wealth far exceeded anything that had come before.<sup>6</sup> These men, and others like them, owned numerous estates and properties in Italy and abroad. The increase in the number, luxury and extent of the private dwellings of the rich further illustrates this point.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the number of villas owned by wealthy Romans in Campania increased markedly in the period from Marius to Cicero.<sup>8</sup> Another indication of this trend is the increase in table luxury and consumption of exotic foods and wine, which, although it seems to have risen sharply in the Augustan period,<sup>9</sup> was clearly underway in the late Republic.<sup>10</sup>

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*in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute Publications, 1947), pp. 324-352, and also the sections on concrete facings, pp. 227-275 (*opus incertum* to *opus reticulatum*), and 281-307 (brick and tile); W. L. MacDONALD, *The Architecture of Imperial Rome I* (New Haven, Yale University Press), pp. 1-19.

<sup>6</sup> The wealth of Crassus in particular was proverbial (e.g. Cic. *Fin.*, 3.75, *Tusc.*, 1.12; Sall. *Cat.*, 48.5; Pliny, *NH*, 33.134; Plut. *Crass.*, 11.1, *Pomp.*, 22.1), but the fortunes of Caesar and Pompeius came to rival it, cf. E. BADIAN, *Roman Imperialism on the Late Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971, 2nd ed.), 81-83, 89-90.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. BOETHIUS, *Etruscan*, pp. 183-195. It was especially at this time that the Palatine hill became the most exclusive residential area in Rome, with houses owned by Cicero, Crassus, Hortensius and Catullus, among others, cf. G. LUGLI, *The Roman Forum and Palatine* (Rome: Bardi, 1956), p. 84; T.P. WISEMAN, *Catullus and his World: A Reappraisal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 25-26.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. D'ARMS, *Romans*, pp. 18-72. In Catalogue 1 (pp. 171-201) D'ARMS identifies some 44 owners of villas or houses on the Bay of Naples for the period 75-31 BC, compared to a handful from the 2nd century BC (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 1-17).

<sup>9</sup> Tac. *Ann.*, 3.55: *luxusque mensae a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma quis Servius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus exerciti, paulatim exolevere.*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964 (repr. of 1924 Leipzig 10th edition)), II.285-315. On wine consumption, cf. N. PURCELL, "Wine and Wealth in Ancient Italy," *JRS* 75 (1985), 1-19, esp. 6-9 and 13-15.

This taste for the lavish was not confined to the private sphere. Through increased public patronage, displays of wealth in the form of games, buildings or spectacles were not uncommon. Pompeius sponsored some of the most extravagant gladiatorial combats Rome had yet seen, and built the first stone theatre in the city, surrounded by gardens and a portico decorated with famous Greek statuary and paintings.<sup>11</sup> Caesar is reported to have had an extensive building plan for the city.<sup>12</sup> In the previous century, marble had been introduced as a building material for public structures in Rome, but it was in the 1st century BC that its use became widespread.<sup>13</sup> Pliny the Elder in several places offers the opinion that the extravagance of the late Republic exceeded that even of his generation.<sup>14</sup>

The period, then, is marked by increasing luxury in both the public and private spheres. Such an atmosphere, where society is becoming more accustomed to the presence of luxury, provides a suitable backdrop for the growth of a public bathing habit. In particular, extravagant public building was on the rise, as was the willingness of ever richer leaders to spend money providing such.<sup>15</sup> However, a word of caution is required in this connection. There is no evidence that any of the powerful dynasts of the 1st century BC directly promoted bathing by building baths for public use, in the manner that the emperors would in the next century.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. BOETHIUS, *Etruscan*, pp. 205-206; P. GREENHALGH, *Pompey: The Republican Prince* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981), pp. 52-57 (theatre), 58-61 (spectacles).

<sup>12</sup> Suet. *Caes.*, 44.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. BOETHIUS, *Etruscan*, pp. 137-138. The marble quarries at Luna were only exploited in the Augustan Age (Pliny *NH*, 36.14).

<sup>14</sup> *NH*, 36.8 (luxury of L. Crassus's dwelling [95 BC] rare in Pliny's day) and 36.113 (the temporary Theatre of M. Scaurus outdoes even the extravagance of Gaius or Nero). But note also *ibid.*, 36.110 (M. Lepidus house, reckoned the finest in Rome in 78 BC, did not even make the top 100 35 years later).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. P. VEYNE, *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1976), pp. 469-537. Note, however, that Crassus, the richest of the lot, is hardly representative: he is reported to have said that men given to building need no enemies -- they'll ruin themselves (Plut. *Crass.*, 2.6). Not surprisingly, no public buildings at Rome are attributed to Crassus.

<sup>16</sup> Note the partial exception of Faustus Sulla's benefaction of free bathing to the *populus* in 60 BC, cf. Dio 37.51.4 (cf. above, pp. 107-108). L. Licinius Lucullus is reported to have erected "new-fangled buildings" in his retirement, among them baths (Plut. *Luc.*, 39.2, *Mor.*, 785F). Unfortunately, it is unsure if these baths were open to the public: the context can be interpreted either way (Plutarch includes them among collections of art, banquets and ambulatories (περὶ πιάτου), all of which can be either public or private).

Rather, baths seem to have been built by individuals as businesses or investments. Evidence surveyed above suggests that senators may have participated in this activity as well as humbler private persons,<sup>17</sup> but it is noteworthy that neither Sulla, Crassus, Pompeius nor Caesar (the four most wealthy and powerful men of the first half of the century) are clearly attested in any source as bath builders.<sup>18</sup> Of course, neither Sulla nor Crassus were major builders in the first place, which is readily understandable at least in the case of Sulla, who displayed little interest in pandering to the masses.

A further contributing factor was the rise of the city's population. Naturally, the more people there were, the greater would have been the demand for public amenities, including baths. Unfortunately, the sources do not allow an assessment of precise quantities. That the population of the city did rise in the 2nd-1st century BC, however, seems clear enough.<sup>19</sup> Given the living conditions of most of the city's population at this time, it is also likely that they would have sought refuge from domestic squalor in public places.<sup>20</sup> These two circumstances in conjunction are probably to be seen as contributing in some measure to the growth in the popularity of baths.

The role of Asclepiades of Bithynia, soon to be considered, requires mention of one final general factor: the increased Hellenization of Roman society in the 1st century BC. This

<sup>17</sup> E.g. the baths as investments of M. Brutus, cf. above, pp. 82-83.

<sup>18</sup> But note the existence of a *Balneum Caesaris* in the *Notitia*; however, the name may be due to its dedication to Caesar or a later emperor, or to some decorative feature on the premises, cf. appendix 4, s.v.

<sup>19</sup> Dio, 38.1.2-3; Cic. *Att.*, 2.3.4. Cf. P.A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 376-388, esp. 383-384; GRUEN, *Last Generation*, pp. 358-365; J.P.V.D. BALSDON, *Romans and Aliens* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1979), pp. 12-13; O.F. ROBINSON, *Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 8-9 estimates a population of 750,000 in the late Republic. Overcrowding, promoted by overpopulation, clearly stands behind the living conditions of the plebs described by Z. YAVETZ, "Living Conditions of the Urban Plebs in Republican Rome," *Latomus* 17 (1958), 500-517 (= R. Seager, *The Crisis of the Roman Republic* [Cambridge: Heffer, 1969], pp. 162-179). Note Frontinus's comment (*Aqu.*, 1.7) that the Marcian aqueduct was built in 143 BC "since the growth of the city seemed to demand a greater water supply" (*quoniam incrementum urbis exigere videbatur amplio rem modum aquae*); Agrippa was responsible for two more aqueducts in 33 and 19 BC (*Front. Aqu.*, 1.9, 10).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. YAVETZ, *op. cit.* in previous note. Cf. P.A. BRUNT "The Roman Mob," in M.I. FINLEY (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 74-101, esp. 84-95.

provides the immediate backdrop for Asclepiades' career. The process of Hellenization is a large topic, but it need here only be noted that by the 1st century BC the Roman elite had been exposed to and influenced by Greek culture for some two centuries.<sup>21</sup> Greek language, philosophies, and customs had penetrated deeply, though not without opposition.<sup>22</sup> By the 1st century BC, Greek intellectuals had long been associated with Roman aristocrats, as tutors, companions and slaves, and could even exercise a limited influence over them, though this latter point should not be overestimated.<sup>23</sup> Greek culture was fashionable. Romans of the period, in fact, had an ambivalent attitude towards the Greeks, feeling obliged to denigrate them publicly as a conquered people, while being familiar with, and harbouring admiration for, Greek cultural achievements.<sup>24</sup>

A more vexed question is how deeply this Hellenization had penetrated to the lower classes, if at all. Modern scholars naturally confine their discussions to the acquaintance with Greek culture among the governing class, as it is to this group that the majority of our evidence relates. The impression is therefore strong that Hellenic culture touched only that governing

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<sup>21</sup> BEARD & CRAWFORD, *Rome in Late Republic*, pp. 20-24 characterize the 1st century BC as a "cultural explosion" of Hellenism at Rome, the culmination of a long process of infiltration stretching back into the 3rd century BC.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. E. S. GRUEN, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 250-272 covers the process from beginnings to the late 2nd century BC. See also J.L. FERRARY, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme. Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 271, 1988), pp. 495-615 for cultural and political philhellenism in 2nd century BC Rome. On Roman knowledge of the Greek language, cf. N. PETROCHILOS, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens: S. Saripolo's Library 25, 1974), pp. 23-33.

<sup>23</sup> Note in particular the association of men such as Polybius and Panaitios with the Scipionic circle. BALSDON, *Romans*, pp. 54-58 lists 49 identifiable Greek intellectuals attached to 25 Roman noble houses in the 3rd-1st centuries BC. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 30-54 for interaction between Greeks and Romans in this period. Cf. also M. CRAWFORD, "Greek Intellectuals and the Roman Aristocracy in the First Century BC," in P. GARNSEY & C.R. WHITTAKER (edd.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); H.D. JOCELYN, "The Ruling Class of the Roman Republic and Greek philosophers," *BRL* 59 (1977), 323-366.

<sup>24</sup> Cicero's writings provide ample evidence. The relevant passages are cited and discussed by H. GUIE, "Cicero's attitude to the Greeks," *Greece & Rome* 31 (S.S. 9) (1962), 142-159. See also PETROCHILOS, *Roman Attitudes*, *passim*; A.E. ASTIN, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 157-181.

class.<sup>25</sup> While this undoubtedly holds true for certain aspects of the Hellenization of Rome (especially for theories of philosophy and rhetoric, and for literature), it need not apply across the board: humbler Romans would have constantly come into contact with facets of Greek culture, either as represented by Greek members of the urban lower classes, or as manifested in the behaviour of their social superiors.<sup>26</sup> The tendency of the less privileged to ape the rich and powerful can only have aided this process; and when it is combined with the influx of humbler Greeks such as craftsmen, teachers and artisans into Rome in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, it may well have ensured at least a superficial acquaintance with some aspects of Greek language and culture among society's lower echelons.<sup>27</sup>

At the very least, Greek works of art had been displayed to the masses in triumphs from the 3rd century BC on, and could be seen gracing public buildings, such as the Theatre and Portico of Pompeius.<sup>28</sup> Comedies based on Greek originals had been staged at Rome by

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<sup>25</sup> BEARD & CRAWFORD, *Rome in Late Republic*, p. 20 claim that only the elite were Hellenized: "The vast majority of Romans were excluded [from participation in this cultural explosion] (except as onlookers); they could neither read nor write, nor afford to decorate their homes. This restriction must be constantly borne in mind."

<sup>26</sup> Many ex-slaves (and perhaps more slaves) were of Eastern origin, often captured in the course of war (e.g. the Mithridatic Wars), cf. S. TREGGIARI, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 1-11, cf. pp. 246-249.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Cl. NICOLET, *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen* (Paris: PUF, 1977), pp. 207-227. The plebs are presented as a multiracial multitude in the sources, cf. [Q. Cic.] *Comm. Petit.*, 54; App., *Bell. Civ.*, 2.120; GRUEN, *Last Generation*, pp. 359-361; BALSDON, *Romans*, pp. 12-16. The influx of foreigners is reflected in their sporadic expulsion (often of Greeks in particular) from Rome starting with Macedonians in 171 BC, which affected large numbers (Pol., 27.6; Livy, 42.48.3; App. *Bell. Civ.*, 11.9), and was followed by subsequent expulsions of *peregrini* such as that stipulated by the *lex Papia* in 65 BC (Dio 37.9.5; Cic. *Arch.*, 10, *Balb.*, 52. *Att.*, 4.18.4, *Off.*, 3.47) and another (possibly the *lex Papia*) mentioned by Pliny, *NH*, 29.16; on expulsions cf. BALSDON, *Romans*, pp. 98-102. On a more positive note, Caesar enfranchised doctors and teachers at Rome, most of whom were probably Greek (Suet. *Caes.*, 42.1). The presence of Greeks in the Republican city is attested by inscriptions featuring Greek names, cf. e.g. *ILLRP* 828, 877, 880, 925, 928, 931, 935, 963, 965 and the numerous Greek names in the index (*ibid.*, II.434-452); the Jews of Rome apparently spoke Greek, cf. H.J. LEON, *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960), pp. 75-92. On cultural exchange among the lower-classes, note RAWSON's comments (*Intellectual Life*, p. 53) that "Greek (of a kind) might be picked up, in Rome and some other towns at least, from Greek-speaking residents or slaves. . . . And if it is true, as many historians hold, that there was much underemployment, urban as well as rural, in the Roman economy, many poor men would have leisure for listening to argument." See also BALSDON, *Romans*, pp. 116-145 on multilingualism in the Roman world.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. e.g. Florus, 1.13.27 (Tarentum triumph, c. 270 BC) and Livy 25.40.1-3, 26.21.6-8, Plut. *Marc.*, 21.1-3, Cic. *Verr.*, 2.1.55 (Syracuse triumph, 211 BC). The 2nd century saw several triumphs earned in the East which featured dazzling displays of Greek art, cf. GRUEN, *Hellenistic World*, pp. 259, 290. Cicero

Plautus and Terence. Further, certain Greek intellectuals gave public lectures at Rome. The most celebrated was Carneades and his colleagues, whom Cato the Elder, fearing the effects of their philosophical presentations on the attitudes of the youth, had expelled from the city in 155 BC.<sup>29</sup> Was Carneades' audience composed entirely of members of the elite? The sources give no hint either way. Of course, since Carneades spoke in Greek, his lectures may have been largely unintelligible to any commoner who may have been present, unless interpreters were used.<sup>30</sup> In short, determining how well acquainted the lower classes at Rome were with Greek culture and language remains difficult, but that there was *some* familiarity, however vague, with the culture which was so infecting their social superiors is a reasonable supposition.

All these trends are to be seen as running concurrently. A simple linear causality is not discernible, but rather they should be viewed as parallel and interconnected processes which influenced one another in ways that are not often clear. They provide the context for the growth in bath popularity, and contributed to it, but they do not in themselves explain why baths became popular. For instance, it is reasonable to note that improved building technology made construction of baths easier, but that does not explain why the technology was used on baths. Likewise, increased ostentation may have heightened the people's expectations of the appearance of public structures, but it offers little insight into why specifically baths were built.

Where did the demand for baths come from in the first place? A possible answer, one that seems almost too obvious, is that the Romans simply enjoyed bathing. Once introduced to baths, they took to them; the resulting increase in popularity would itself have generated a

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remarks (*Verr.*, 2.4.126) on the plethora of monuments at Rome decorated with Greek works of art. For Pompeius's theatre, cf. above, p. 146.

<sup>29</sup> Plut. *Cato*, 22.4-5; Pliny, *NH*, 7.122; Quint., 12.1.35.

<sup>30</sup> Carneades had addressed the Senate in Greek, with an interpreter C. Acilius, at hand, cf. Plut. *Cat.*, 3; Quint. 12.1.35. However, this was in keeping with the provision that state business be conducted exclusively in Latin. There is no evidence for widespread use of interpreters in public lectures, though they do appear sporadically in official contexts (during treaty or peace negotiations and the like), cf. Lib. *Or.*, 1.156; BALSDON, *Romans*, pp. 137-145. On the unclear nature of public lectures, cf. RAWSON, *Intellectual Life*, pp. 51-52.

demand for more establishments. This process, however, is impossible to document and quantify, and in general the role of popular demand in motivating public construction is difficult to establish.<sup>31</sup> Further, the evidence reviewed in the previous chapters suggests that baths came to Rome relatively early (by the late 3rd century BC), but did not become markedly popular until the last century of the Republic. Why the rise in popularity in this period specifically? The increase in Rome's population and the deplorable living conditions of the plebs may account in part for the phenomenon, but the evidence reviewed in the previous chapter suggests that not only the number of baths, but also their prominence in daily life increased over the 1st century BC. Why?

#### *Baths and medicine*

An answer is at hand. It seems that, in later sources at least, baths and medicine enjoyed a close association. The sources break their general silence regarding reasons for bathing when they recommend the baths as preservers or restorers of health (or both). People went to the baths because they felt it was good for them, because it was healthy. This surely represents a very direct and understandable explanation for bath popularity.<sup>32</sup>

There are four types of evidence for the persistent connection between baths and medicine, some deriving from the 1st century BC: the recommending of bathing by medical writers; references to bathing as a healthy activity in non-technical authors; the prevalence of health-associated deities in bath decoration; and the possibility that doctors worked at the baths.

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. below, p. 235.

<sup>32</sup> Compare, for instance, the situation in 19th-century America. Here, the popularity of hydropathy in the 1840s and 1850s provided a tremendous stimulus for the regular bathing habit, cf. WILLIAMS, *Washing*, pp. 12-13.

Medical writers constantly recommend taking or avoiding baths, either hot or cold, not only as remedies for all sorts of ailments but also -- more interestingly -- for the maintenance of health. The vast corpus of Galen's writings is peppered with references to baths and bathing for medical purposes.<sup>33</sup> Galen was, of course, writing in the 2nd century AD when baths were already well established in Roman society, but 1st-century AD authors such as Cornelius Celsus, Scribonius Largus and Pliny the Elder, anticipate him in recommending baths for medical reasons. So, for instance, Celsus, writing during the reign of Tiberius, refers to baths 56 times in a remedial connection, 11 times in a preventive one. The range of ailments for which baths are prescribed is impressive: fevers, inflamed intestines, liver complaints, small pustules, eye complaints and, rather distressingly, diarrhoea, to take but a cross-section.<sup>34</sup> Antonius Musa, a follower of Asclepiadean practices, used cold bath treatments on members of the Imperial house with varying success.<sup>35</sup> It is reported that Hadrian reserved certain hours at the public baths at Rome for the ill, which reflects the popular perception of their therapeutic value.<sup>36</sup>

Whatever the remedial benefits of baths, their perceived preventive value is of more interest. Celsus sketches the Roman gentleman's health regimen, or at least that which a doctor might prescribe. If for some reason a man has become fatigued, to maintain health he should

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<sup>33</sup> No collection of such references exists, but they feature particularly heavily in the *De sanitate tuenda* (6.1-452 Kühn). Note also that Libanius had baths prescribed for him by his doctors, cf. *Or.*, 1.200.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Celsus, 2.17.2-10, 3.6.13-14, 3.12.3-4 (fevers); 1.7.1 (inflamed intestine); 4.15.4 (liver complaints); 5.28.15d (small pustules); 6.6.17, 27d, 34b, 38 (eye patients); 4.27.2 (diarrhoea). The unpleasant picture all this paints for the hygienic conditions in at least some public baths is graphically presented by A. SCOBIE, "Slums, Sanitation and Mortality in the Roman World," *Klio* 68 (1986), 399-433, esp. 425-427. For a discussion of the physical conditions at the baths, cf. below, pp. 245-256. For Celsus' date, cf. *RE* 4.1273-1276, s.v. "Cornelius" (no. 82) [Wellmann].

<sup>35</sup> He cured Augustus in 23 BC (Pliny *NH*, 25.77; Dio 53.30.3, Hor. *Epist.*, 1.15), but was less successful with Marcellus a few years later (Dio 53.30.4).

<sup>36</sup> HA, *Hadr.*, 22.7: *ante octavam horam in publico neminem nisi aegrum lavari passus est*. It is not clear to how many or to what sort of baths this regulation applied, cf. below, pp. 252-254 for a fuller discussion of the sick and healthy at the baths. It might be argued that the regulation aimed at protecting the healthy, but if so, such an attitude has no basis in surviving literature: no writer, medical or non-medical, suggests separate bathing for the sick. The real point to note is that the restriction shows sick people were attending the public baths in such numbers to justify the regulation. There is no reason to doubt the HA's trustworthiness in reporting this, cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 51, 71-72 where she questions its veracity.

rest a while, then take a bath or, in its absence, instead warm himself either by a fire or in the sun.<sup>37</sup> Bathing, in fact, was part of the dietetics of the classical world which also included recommendations for diet and exercise. It had a heritage stretching back to Hippocrates, although the role of bathing only became prominent in the Roman period.<sup>38</sup>

That medical ideas such as these filtered into the lay population is provable at least for the upper classes. Even someone as ostensibly inimical to baths on moral grounds as Seneca can acknowledge their medicinal value.<sup>39</sup> Many other authors also express the belief that bathing was conducive to health, most notably for our immediate purposes Cicero.<sup>40</sup> What is more, Pliny the Younger, when describing the daily routine at his Tuscan villa as well as the regimen of his model, Spurinna, follows more or less exactly the prescriptions set down by Celsus outlined above.<sup>41</sup> These references in lay authors to the health-promoting qualities of bathing constitute the second type of evidence for a connection between baths and medicine.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Celsus, 1.2 and 1.3.4-5, cf. 1.3.9-10, 32. Also note Apul. *Met.*, 1.6 where a character takes a bath precisely to relieve fatigue, cf. *ibid.* 1.23; 5.15; 8.7.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. L. EDELSTEIN, "The Dietetics of Antiquity," in O. & C.L. TEMKIN, *Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 303-316. A comprehensive study of baths and bathing in ancient medicine is lacking, but for introductory surveys, cf. M.T. FONTANILLE, "Les bains dans la médecine greco-romaine" in A. PELLETIER (ed.), *La Médecine en Gaule: villes d'eaux, sanctuaires des eaux* (Paris: Picard, 1985), pp. 15-22; R. GROS, "Les thermes dans la Rome antique," *Histoire des Sciences Medicales* 21 (1987), 45-50; as well as the outlines found in the general works by J. SCARBOROUGH, *Roman Medicine* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), pp. 76-93; R. JACKSON, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London: B.M. Publications, 1988), pp. 48-50.

<sup>39</sup> *Ep.*, 95.22: *antiqui medici . . . nesciebant sanguinem mittere et diutinam aegrotationem balneo sudoribusque laxare . . .*; cf. 22.1: *non potest medicus per epistulas cibi aut balinei tempus eligere; vena tangenda est*; 68.7: *ii, quorum pedes dolor repetit, aut vino aut balineo abstinent.*

<sup>40</sup> *Fam.*, 14.20.1: *labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit; item cetera quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria* (to his wife Terentia, 1 Oct., 47 BC). There are many other passing references in other authors to the value to health of hot water, sweating and heat (all of which were obtained at the baths), for instance: Suet., *Aug.*, 82.2; Pliny *Ep.*, 2.8.2, 7.26.2; Plut., *Mor.*, 42B, 122B-137E *passim*, 956F; Athen., 2.45d; HA, *Tyr. Trig.*, 12.7. Note also that in books 20 to 35 of Pliny the Elder's *NH* there are 38 references to baths in medicine.

<sup>41</sup> *Ep.*, 9.36.3 (Pliny) and 3.1.7-8 (Spurinna); compare Celsus 1.2, 1.3.4-5, 9-10.

<sup>42</sup> Of course, immoderate bathing, or bathing in certain circumstances, was considered dangerous to health: e.g. Celsus 1.3.6-7; Pliny *NH*, 7.183 (eating after a bath); Sen. *Dial.*, 6.22.6, 7.7.3; Pliny *NH*, 29.26; Plut. *Mor.*, 20A, 69B, *Lyc.*, 10.1-2; HA *Comm.*, 11.5 (immoderate bathing injurious to health and promotes weakness). The alleged effeminacy and enervation induced by warm bathing was a moralistic *topos* stretching back to Classical Greece (cf. e.g. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1044-6), cf. KYLE, *Athletics*, pp. 70-71; Romans, familiar with their Greek predecessors, perpetuated it: e.g. Livy, 23.18.12; Plut. *Mor.*, 785F *Lyc.*, 10.1-2; Dio 27.94.2, 62.6.4; HA *Av. Cass.*, 5.5, *Pesc. Nig.*, 3.10, *Sev. Alex.*, 53.2.

The third is provided by their decoration. In Manderscheid's 1981 catalogue of surviving sculpture from baths, statues of Asclepius and Hygieia, often found in conjunction, come third in frequency after Aphrodite and Herakles.<sup>43</sup> More recently, he seems to have changed this opinion, stating that the most common gods found in baths were Asclepius and Hygieia, followed by Bacchus and Venus.<sup>44</sup> Whatever the case with regard to exact numbers, it seems clear enough that for at least those parts of the empire which have yielded a significant quantity of bath statuary the healing deities Asclepius and Hygieia feature prominently. Because sculpture did not become common in baths until the 1st century AD, and most dates to the following century, this Asclepian sculpture from baths should be dated for the most part to the 2nd century AD.<sup>45</sup> Of all the statues so far known to have once stood in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, by far the largest was a gilded colossus of Asclepius, of which only the head remains, and which was probably accompanied by an equivalent statue of Hygieia, now lost.<sup>46</sup> Lucian's description of a bath names specifically only these two deities as part of the decoration expected there.<sup>47</sup> In addition, these deities, and others associated with health-promoting properties, feature in late Imperial bath mosaic decoration and epigrams.<sup>48</sup> Finally in this connection,

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<sup>43</sup> H. MANDERSCHIED, *Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1981), the table between pp. 34 and 35: Herakles, 71 examples; Aphrodite et al, 54 examples; Asclepius and Hygieia, 43 examples. Note that the list comprises for the most part baths not found in Asclepian sanctuaries; bathing played a major role in the cult's ritual (cf. Ch. 1, n. 46). His catalogue is not definitive, deriving its data from North Africa, Asia Minor and Italy, as these places have yielded the most numerous examples of bath sculpture. It is therefore uncertain to what extent his findings can be applied to the whole empire. Despite this, his figures are noteworthy. Hygieia, a mythical daughter of Asclepius, was long associated with her father, though she enjoyed her own worship as well, cf. H. SOBEL, *Hygieia. Die Göttin der Gesundheit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), esp. pp. 9-12.

<sup>44</sup> H. MANDERSCHIED, "Römische Thermen. Aspekte von Architektur, Technik und Ausstattung" in *Geschichte der Wasserversorgung, Band 3: Die Wasserversorgung antiker Städte* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1988), pp. 101-125, esp. p. 120.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Skulpturen.*, pp. 80-89 and table between pp. 10 and 11. He says (p. 9) that 70% of all known bath sculpture dates to the 2nd century AD. Because he provides no dates for individual catalogue entries, it is not possible to determine whether Asclepius and Hygieia were popular in baths from the outset or became so at some later date, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 66-131.

<sup>46</sup> M. MARVIN, "Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla," *AJA* 87 (1983), 347-384, esp. 363-364. The head is 49cm high, and the original statue estimated at 4m.

<sup>47</sup> *Hippias*, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. DUNBABIN, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 6-46, esp. 12-33. Most of the material reviewed here is late Imperial.

inscriptions record the setting up of statues of Asclepius and Hygieia in bathhouses, or their part in ensuring that water healed thankful dedicators; one tells of the restoration of a bath to fulfil an oath to the healing god.<sup>49</sup> It is clear that the baths were strongly associated with these two deities, and so with health and healing.

The final, most direct indication of a connection between baths and ancient medicine is the possibility that doctors practised at the baths. It is known that medical masseurs (*iatrioptae*) could be found there, as could other staff,<sup>50</sup> but there are no direct references to physicians actually working at the baths in the literary or epigraphic sources.<sup>51</sup> The evidence for their presence comes rather from archaeology. In a small room at Xanten's main bathhouse, five medical instruments, including two scalpels, were found in a deposit dated to the late 3rd century AD.<sup>52</sup> This has been taken to indicate that not only was a doctor present, but that he performed complex operations. Other instruments of a possibly medical function have been found in the Barbarathermen in Trier, and at Weissberg in Bavaria, but many could have been for cosmetic rather than medical use. This cannot be said in the case of a *collyrium*, an oculist's unguent and instrument box, found at the Barbarathermen and inscribed with the name of its owner, C. Attius Victorinus.<sup>53</sup> Such *collyria* are also known from several thermal sites in Gaul,

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<sup>49</sup> E.g. *ILS* 9259a : Aesculapiu[m] | L. Acilius | Granianus | L. Iulio Ianu[ri]o socero suo at exor[n]atione[m] | balinei | dono dedit. *ILS* 9259b has precisely the same wording except that it begins "Hygiam." Both texts are undated. That the statues are given "as a present" to a relative for the adornment of baths would imply that we are here dealing with a private establishment. Cf. *ILS* 3846, 5461, *IRT* 396, *IGBulg.* 3.2.1664; and note *IGLS* 4.1685 where Ὑγία is present even in a Christian inscription; see also *BE* 1961, no. 805. *IRT* 263 (=AE 1925.105), from Lepcis Magna, where we read of cur(atores) refectio[n]is th[er]marum ter[ ] | deo Aesculapio v[er]o t[em]p[or]e s[er]u[er]unt.

<sup>50</sup> *LSJ* (s.v.) defines a ἰατροαλείπτης as a "surgeon who practises by anointing, friction and the like." Pliny *NH*, 29.5 reports that such treatment was first devised by Prodicus, a disciple of Hippocrates. L. ROBERT (*BE* 1976.661) connects the practice with gymnasia in 4th-century BC Greece, so its transference to the related environment of the Roman bath would seem natural enough. See further, M. WISSEMANN, "Das Personal des antiken römischen Bad," *Glotta* 62 (1984), 80-89, esp. 88; cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 126-129; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.128-131.

<sup>51</sup> Indeed their absence from people found at the baths mentioned in Seneca's celebrated description (*Ep.*, 56.1-2) may be noted.

<sup>52</sup> E. KÜNZL, "Operationsräume in römischen Thermen," *Bonner Jahrb.* 186 (1986), 491-509.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 495-498.

indicating that eye doctors at least could be found at such places.<sup>54</sup> Finally, some teeth from the baths at Caerleon in Wales may have been the result of dental surgery, but this remains open to question.<sup>55</sup>

The proposition that doctors worked at the baths thus has some support in archaeology, though it is rather thin and, so far, confined to frontier or military establishments. Furthermore, determining a common, empire-wide practice on the basis of five instruments in a small room in a set of baths in Germany, and some possibly medically related implements elsewhere, would be hasty to say the least. Since it is unclear how the instruments came to be deposited in the room at the Xanten baths, claims that this was an operating theatre lack certainty. There is only the possibility. As no medical finds have turned up at the major bath sites in Rome or Italy (notably the Campanian towns buried by Vesuvius), it remains uncertain how widespread the practice of doctors working at the baths may have been.<sup>56</sup>

Despite these problems with the evidence, the proposition that they did so is given added weight by some general considerations. In the absence of hospitals on the modern model, the question of where ancient doctors saw their patients and performed complex operations has proven a vexing one. That they operated on patients at home is unlikely, as most people lived in small, cramped and crowded apartments, lacking running water and abounding with possible distractions for the doctor (in any case, such people may not have been able to afford a

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. C. SALLES, "Les cachets d'oculististes" in PELLETIER, *Méd. en Gaule*, pp. 89-102, cf. also C. BOURGEOIS & E. SIKORA, "Médecine des yeux dans la sanctuaire de l'eau de Pouillé (Loir-et-Cher)" in *ibid.*, pp. 103-110.

<sup>55</sup> Three of the teeth were from children (i.e. the first "milk" dentition), while two were from adults; they were found in deposits in the drain of the *frigidarium* covering 3 periods, from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD. According to the dentist who examined them, all may have been lost naturally, and none show signs of having been subjected to instruments, cf. J.D. ZIENKIENWICZ, *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon II: The Finds* (Cardiff; Welsh Historic Monuments, 1986), p. 223.

<sup>56</sup> While baths could be found in Asclepieia, there is no evidence that physicians practised there, or that they took part in temple healings at all (cf. EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius*, II.158). For temple medicine at Asclepieia, cf. *ibid.*, II.138-180.

"professional" doctor in the first place).<sup>57</sup> Treatment at the doctor's house is another possibility, but unproven: nothing in the ground-plan of proposed doctors' houses (e.g the Houses of the Surgeon, Apollo, Centaur, or Doctor at Pompeii) suggests treatment rooms; rather, the houses have the same lay-out as any other domestic dwelling. The identification instead relies on finds of medical instruments on the premises.<sup>58</sup> Because, as will be seen below, medical knowledge was a standard (if not expected) element of a Roman gentleman's education, these finds of medical instruments in apparently normal dwellings may be little more than Roman first-aid kits, and so not indicative of the presence of a "professional" doctor at all.<sup>59</sup> However, that treatment in a doctor's house was not unknown is indicated by a reference in Plautus,<sup>60</sup> but that it was a regular and widespread feature of Roman medical treatment requires more proof. Finally, the *tabernae medicinae* or *iatreia* which doctors used as workplaces appear from surviving testimony to have been little more than consultation rooms, and not places for performing complicated operations.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. KÜNZL, *Bonner Jahrb.*, 186 (1986), 491; it must be said that the dimensions of the proposed operating theatre at the Xanten baths hardly compensate in terms of size for operating on a patient at home, and the baths would hardly be a quieter or less distracting environment in which a doctor could work. KÜNZL (495) says that the Hadrianic decree setting aside certain hours at the baths for the sick would clear the place of distractions: at these times doctors could work in quiet. This sounds like special pleading, as it is not clear if the regulation was empire-wide (cf. above, n. 36; below, pp. 253-254). For the absence of hospitals in the Roman world, cf. R. HARIG, "Zum Problem 'Krankenhaus' in der Antike," *Klio* 53 (1971), 179-195. Doctors could, however, make house calls, as Mart. 5.9 clearly shows, though no serious surgery was required in this case (cf. below, n. 104).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. H. ESCHEBACH, *Die Arzthäuser in Pompeji (Antike Welt, Sonderheit 15, 1984)*. All the houses he lists as *Arzthäuser* are identified by finds of medical, or possibly medical, instruments, cf. the catalogue pp. 6-66. The examples cited above are covered on pp. 6-10 (Surgeon), 10-14 (Apollo), 26-38 (Centaur), 38-41 (Doctor). He does propose the existence of "Kliniken" at Pompeii on the basis of certain medical finds in the House of the New Doctor I (pp. 45-47) and the House of Acceptus and Euhodia (p. 50). That patients were treated at doctors' houses, indeed the very identification of such houses, is doubted with some justification by HARIG, *Klio* 53 (1971) pp. 186-187. Even ESCHEBACH admits these difficulties, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 3, 6.

<sup>59</sup> When I made this point in conversation with R. Jackson, he pointed out that many of the instruments were designed for use in serious surgery, and so less likely to be the property of the average household owner. Of course, this position assumes that performing complex surgery was restricted to a "professional" class of doctors, which may not have been the case at all in the ancient world, cf. below, pp. 172-174.

<sup>60</sup> *Men.*, 946-950: *Sen: obsecro hercle, medice, propere, quidquid facturum's face. I non vides hominem insanire? / Med: scin quid facias optimum est? ad me face uti deferatur. / Sen: itane censes? / Med: quippini? ibi meo potero curare hominem.*

<sup>61</sup> Cf. HARIG, *Klio* 53 (1971) 182-186.

In the absence of definite centres of medical treatment, then, the baths certainly offer themselves as a natural alternative. Not only was running water available there, but their prominence in Roman medical thinking, as noted above, would make them likely theatres for medical activity.<sup>62</sup>

In short, it is certainly possible that doctors practised at the baths. A little archaeological evidence, backed by some general considerations, make this possibility somewhat stronger, but whether it was a regular and widespread practice remains to be established. Given the nature of the evidence -- finds of medical instruments in baths -- we cannot really hope for decisive proof in this regard.

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Such are the general factors that can be seen as contributing to the growth of the popularity of baths in the 1st century BC. Social, economic and technological developments in the period created an environment that facilitated and contributed to an increase in public bathing, but do not in themselves explain why specifically baths were built. The association of baths and medicine offers a clue: if people thought it was healthy to frequent the baths, it would be natural to find them in demand. However, the evidence so far adduced derives largely from the Imperial period. To uncover the origins of the medicinal bath precept among the Romans, we have to look back into the late Republic, to the growth of "professional" medicine in Roman society, and in particular to the career and doctrines of one physician who gained great fame in the city in the late 2nd/early 1st century BC, Asclepiades of Bithynia. In so doing, the reader will do well to keep the later connection between baths and medicine in mind.

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<sup>62</sup> Thus JACKSON, *Doctors*, p. 48 (but cf. pp. 65-67 where he omits the baths from his description of places of treatment); cf. his recent comments in "Roman Doctors and their Instruments: Recent Research into Ancient Practice," *JRA* 3 (1990), 5-27, esp. 11 where baths are considered natural workplaces for ancient doctors.

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*(ii) Asclepiades of Bithynia and the growth of bath popularity*

Pliny the Elder, in his scathing indictment of Greek medicine at Rome, asserts that the Roman people had lived for 600 years without physicians until Greek-style medicine started to wreak its exorbitant havoc among them.<sup>63</sup> This traditional Roman medicine, as discernible in the further writings of Pliny as well as in Cato, Columella and Varro, was marked by a self-help approach within the household, where the *paterfamilias*, alongside his other requisite skills, had to have knowledge of medicine for curing the herds and members of his *familia*.<sup>64</sup> The main method of treatment was herbal, accompanied by magical and mystical elements designed to placate the supernatural forces seen as the cause of illness.<sup>65</sup>

As contact with the Greek world increased in the 3rd century BC, Romans came into contact with a medical system that had developed along entirely different lines to their own. Here they encountered not only the developed healing cult of Asclepius, but also the Hippocratic approach to healing. The latter was based on rational analysis founded in theory incorporating observation, diagnosis and treatment. Roman reaction to Greek culture is too broad a topic to be tackled in detail here, but we may note how it was the mystical aspect of Greek medicine that

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<sup>63</sup> Pliny *NH*, 29.1-28, esp. 11: *ceu vero non milia gentium sine medicis degant nec tamen sine medicine, sicuti p. R. ultra sexcentiesimum annum . . . Cf. ibid., 29.28.*

<sup>64</sup> For what follows on early Roman medicine cf. SCARBOROUGH, *Rom. Med.*, pp. 15-25; JACKSON, *Doctors*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>65</sup> It seems that the large collection of herbal remedies collected by Pliny *NH*, books 20-27, reflects in no small measure aspects of this traditional Roman medical system. Pliny claims much of it derived from Cato the Censor's *commentarium* of recipes which he used to treat his son (*NH*, 29.15). For Cato's antagonistic view of Greek medicine, see below, n. 68. This may also be the case with some of Scribonius Largus's pharmaceutical handbook, *Compositiones*, composed in AD 44-48, but the influence here of Greek pharmaceuticals is not to be ignored. For the date of the *Compositiones*, cf. S. SCONOCCHIA's introduction to the 1983 Teubner edition, pp. v-viii.

first gained acceptance at Rome, in the form of a temple of Asclepius on the island in the Tiber (292 BC).<sup>66</sup>

After the introduction of the Asclepian cult, the Hippocratic system had to wait 73 years before being represented at Rome: in 219 BC the Senate invited Archagathos the Peloponnesian to live in the city, and provided him with a practice and a salary. Despite getting off to a good start, Archagathos's brutal methods and fondness for the knife and cautery earned him the nickname "The Executioner" (*carnifex*) and he left Rome in disgrace, or so Pliny reports. After this experience, Pliny continues, all physicians at Rome "became objects of loathing."<sup>67</sup> Although Pliny is most probably exaggerating the disrepute incurred by doctors due to Archagathos's failure -- immediately after this statement, he launches into a diatribe against Greek doctors in general, citing it with an uncompromising quote from Cato the Censor<sup>68</sup> -- it must be said that there is no evidence for the presence of Greek doctors at Rome for most of the 2nd century BC.<sup>69</sup> This does not of course mean they were entirely absent, but it would imply that they maintained a low profile, or at least that none among them earned any great fame.

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<sup>66</sup> SCARBOROUGH, *Rom. Med.*, pp. 24-25. For the background of Greek medicine, *ibid.* pp. 26-37 and the survey of E.D. PHILLIPS, *Greek Medicine* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973); more recently, JACKSON, *Doctors*, pp. 12-31 provides a concise overview with reference to ancient and modern works.

<sup>67</sup> *NH*, 29.12-13 (the career of Archagathos). The extremity of Pliny's views of Greek medicine at Rome are examined and partially countered by V. NUTTON, "The Perils of Patriotism: Pliny and Roman Medicine," in R. FRENCH & F. GREENAWAY (edd.), *Science in the Early Roman Empire: Pliny the Elder, His Sources and Influence* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 30-58; note esp. pp. 38-39 where Nutton convincingly moderates the story of Archagathos. See also J.H. PHILLIPS, "The Emergence of the Greek Medical Profession in the Roman Republic," *Trans. & Studies of Coll. of Physicians of Philadelphia* N.S. 3 (1980), 267-275, esp. 269, although she takes a somewhat Plinian view of Archagathos's brief Roman career.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *NH*, 29.14: *quandoque ista gens [i.e. Graeci] suas litteras dabit, omnia conrumpet, tum etiam magis, si medicos suos hoc mittet. iurarunt inter se barbaros necare omnes medicina, et hoc ipsum mercede faciunt ut fides is sit et facile disperdant. nos quoque dicitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios opicon appellatione foedant. interdixi tibi de medicis.* Cf. the translation and discussion in A.E. ASTIN, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 170-171.

<sup>69</sup> PHILLIPS, *Trans. & Studies Coll. Ph. Phil.*, N.S. 3 (1980), 269, 271.

With Asclepiades of Bithynia the darkness brightens somewhat.<sup>70</sup> Not much is known about his life, but the date of his death is firmly fixed by a reference in Cicero, where L. Crassus, with whose circle Asclepiades was associated, is made to speak of him in the past tense in a passage whose dramatic date is 91 BC.<sup>71</sup> There can be no doubt that Cicero's testimony is to be preferred above Pliny's vague statement that Asclepiades lived "in the time of Pompey the Great," which would place him maybe thirty years later and which probably results from a confusion with Asclepiades the grammarian.<sup>72</sup> The earlier date also fits with the story that Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus invited Asclepiades to be his court physician, but was refused.<sup>73</sup> This is more likely to have taken place before Mithridates' relations with Rome became irretrievably embittered about 90 BC and led to the First Mithridatic War (89-83 BC). Asclepiades' city of origin was probably Prusias-on-the-sea in Bithynia.<sup>74</sup>

The question of Asclepiades' education is pertinent. Pliny's inimical account of his life claims he was initially a teacher of rhetoric who suddenly turned to medicine out of a desire for

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<sup>70</sup> A comprehensive study of the life and works of Asclepiades, with a collection of his fragments, is so far lacking, though the forthcoming article on Asclepiades in *ANRW* II.37.i by J.T. VALLANCE will undoubtedly fill this lacuna; the same author is preparing a complete collection of fragments, cf. J.T. VALLANCE, *The Lost Theory of Asclepiades of Bithynia* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), p. 1, n. 2. In the absence of these publications, we must make do with what is at hand. The main ancient source is again Pliny *NH*, 26.12-20 and some passing references elsewhere. Modern treatments, aside from accounts of his life and work in the general books on Roman medicine noted above, are: *RE* 1.1632-1633, s.v. "Asklepiades" (no. 39) [Wellmann]; M. WELLMANN, "Asklepiades aus Bithynien von einem herrschenden Vorurteil befreit," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 21 (1908), 684-703; and RAWSON, *CQ* 32 (1982), 358-370.

<sup>71</sup> *de Orat.*, 1.62: *neque vero Asclepiades, is quo nos medico amicoque usi sumus tum cum eloquentia vincebat ceteros medicos, in eo ipso, quod ornate dicebat, medicinae facultate utebatur, non eloquentiae.* Cf. RAWSON, *CQ* 32 (1982), 360-361. This observation had been made as long ago as the 18th century by A. COCCHI, cf. the translation of his "Life of Asclepiades," R.M. GREEN, *Asclepiades. His Life and Writings* (New Haven: E. Licht, 1955), pp. 8-12. See also, WELLMANN, *N. Jahrb.* 21 (1908), 691.

<sup>72</sup> *NH*, 26.12: *aetate Magni Pompei.* For Asclepiades the grammarian, cf. *RE* 2.1.1256-1257, s.v. "Asklepiades" (no. 28) [Wentzel].

<sup>73</sup> Pliny *NH*, 7.124. B. McGING, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus* (Leiden; E.J. Brill, 1986), pp. 89-108 studies Mithridates' propaganda in the 90s BC and sets the invitation against this background. In particular, he sees it as part of Mithridates's attempt to project an image of himself as a patron of the arts and sciences, cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>74</sup> WELLMANN, *N. Jahrb.* 21 (1908), 691 and *RE* 1.1632 places him at Prusa, but RAWSON, *CQ* 32 (1982), 359-360 argues convincingly for Prusias-on-the-sea.

profit, although he had absolutely no training whatsoever in medical matters.<sup>75</sup> At the other extreme is the view held by Wellmann that he came from a medical family, and had extensive training, gained in part by travels and study in Athens and Parion.<sup>76</sup> The truth may lie somewhere in between. The nature of medical education in the ancient world, as will be seen, was radically different from that common today, as it was more closely linked with what passed for science in antiquity, i.e. physical philosophy. Asclepiades' teachings display derivation from atomistic ideas, indicating some general training in that sphere, and his eloquence, commented on acidly by Pliny but with appreciation by Cicero, bespeaks a rhetorical aspect to his education.<sup>77</sup> That he had some medical training is really not to be doubted, but how broad and deep this was is impossible to say.

Unfortunately, the precise details of Asclepiades' career at Rome remain uncertain. We know for sure neither when he arrived nor how long he stayed, what brought him there, nor how he came to be associated with L. Crassus. All these details would be revealing. It is, however, possible to make an informed guess as to the duration of his stay. Pliny records that he died from a fall down stairs "in extreme old age" which, in Roman conditions, would mean (say) his 70s.<sup>78</sup> If he came to Rome as a youth, he may well have been there for the 50 years envisaged by Cocchi,<sup>79</sup> but his travels to Parion and Athens would surely have occupied him for some time. If he came to Rome even relatively late in life, in his 40s or early 50s, he can still be

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<sup>75</sup> *NH*, 26.12. This account may in part be due to Pliny confusing Asclepiades the grammarian with Asclepiades the doctor, cf. above, n. 71.

<sup>76</sup> WELLMANN, *N. Jahrb.* 21 (1908) 689-691. Cf. the reservations of RAWSON, *CQ* 32 (1982), 365.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. WELLMANN, *N. Jahrb.* 21 (1908), 684-687 (the philosophical background to Asclepiades' theories) and 693-702 (Asclepiades theories); cf. more recently VALLANCE, *Theory*. On his eloquence, cf. Pliny *NH*, 26.12-13 and Cic. *de Orat.*, 1.62 where he is included among other eloquent exponents of technical matters, and is said to have "overcome other doctors with his eloquence" (*eloquentia vincebat ceteros medicos*). On the later connection between rhetoric and medicine, cf. G. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 67-68.

<sup>78</sup> Pliny *NH*, 7.124: *suprema in senecta lapsu scalarum examinatus*.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. GREEN, *Asclepiades*, p. 27.

reckoned to have spent about 20 years or more in the city. As his death occurred shortly before 91 BC he may reasonably be placed in Rome for the period c. 110 - c. 91 BC, if not earlier.

A most important fact about Asclepiades' career for the current investigation is that he achieved great fame at Rome in his lifetime. Pliny makes several allusions to this, as do some other writers. Pliny goes so far as to claim that it was Asclepiades who was responsible for the subversion of traditional Roman medicine, a view followed by many modern scholars. He goes further: "Asclepiades brought around to his view almost all the human race, just as if he had been sent as an apostle from heaven."<sup>80</sup> Strong testimony indeed. Even allowing for exaggeration, there can be no doubt that Pliny perceived Asclepiades' fame as towering. Celsus, Scribonius Largus and others all make mention of his fame and prominence among doctors at Rome, and the very fact that his ideas were still being vilified centuries after his death is testimony to his lasting posthumous influence.<sup>81</sup> This situation was helped in no small measure by the prominence of Asclepiades' pupils and disciples after his death, notably Themison of Laodicea, who extended and radicalized his teacher's ideas to found the Methodist system of medicine, and Antonius Musa, who achieved fame by curing Augustus of a near-fatal illness in 23 BC.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> *NH*, 26.13 (Loeb trans.): *universum prope humanum genus circumegit in se non alio modo quam si caelo demissus advenisset*. Cf. *NH*, 7.124 where Asclepiades is the most famous doctor known to Pliny, indicating that his fame was no short-lived phenomenon. See also Celsus, *proem.* 11 where Asclepiades is responsible for changing Roman minds with regard to medicine. For modern views, cf. e.g. SCARBOROUGH, *Rom. Med.*, pp. 38-42; PHILLIPS, *Trans. & Studies Coll. Ph. Phil.*, N.S. 3 (1980), 271, 273; and H.M. KOEBLING, "Le médecin dans la cité grecque," *Gesnerus* 46 (1989), 29-43, esp. 31.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Celsus 4.4.3, 4.9.2; Scribonius Largus, *proem.*, 3; Apul. *Florida*, 19 (where Asclepiades is said only to be superseded by Hippocrates himself); and Asclepiades' contemporary, Antiochos of Askalon in Sext. Empir., *adv. log.*, 1.201: ἐν ἰατρικῇ οὐδενὸς δεύτερος. Cf. RAWSON, *CQ* 32 (1982), 358.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Cael. Aurel. *Morb. Chron.*, 1.142, *Morb. Acut.*, 2.37 (Themison a pupil of Asclepiades); Hor. *Epist.*, 1.15.3; Suet. *Aug.*, 59; Dio 53.30; Pliny *NH*, 25.77 (Musa; note that the doctor used hydrotherapy to effect the cure of the *princeps*). Cf. A. KRUG, *Heilkunst und Heilkult. Medizin in der Antike* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985), pp. 208-209 for a brief biography of Musa, and RAWSON, *Intellectual Life*, pp. 176-177 for Asclepiades' successors, esp. Themison.

So far it has been seen that Asclepiades of Bithynia worked at Rome, probably in the late 2nd/early 1st century BC; that he had powerful and influential associates/ patrons (e.g. L. Crassus); that he was responsible for successfully introducing Greek-style medicine to Rome; and that, most importantly, he gained huge fame at Rome in his lifetime. All this provides the essential background for what is the most instructive point about Asclepiades for the present inquiry: he emphasized and advocated bathing as both a preventive and remedial measure against illness.

Asclepiades' system of treatment was largely generated by his theory of physiology, which we can treat briefly here, as fuller accounts have already been written.<sup>83</sup> Basically, Asclepiades held a corpuscular notion of the human body and its ailments. He saw the body as comprised of units called ὄγκοι (corpuscles) which were separated by spaces or ducts called πόροι (pores). The free movement of these units was what kept a person healthy, but hindrance of their movement by over-widening or blocking of the pores caused illness. In such a system as this, the effects of hot and cold, dry and wet -- fundamental elements long held by philosophers and doctors as having an effect on matter -- are obvious. Should the pores be too wide, cold water would help close them; should they be too narrow, sweating and hot water would help open them. The baths provided the perfect environment for procuring the desired climate: hot or cold, dry or wet.<sup>84</sup>

The plainest and most direct expression of Asclepiades' emphasis on baths in his treatments occurs in Celsus. After commenting on the usefulness of baths for treating fevers,

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<sup>83</sup> The most complete is VALLANCE, *Theory*. For earlier accounts, cf. WELLMANN, *N. Jahrb.* 21 (1908), 693-702; G. HARIG, "Die philosophische Grundlagen des medizinischen Systems des Asklepiades von Bithynien," *Philologus* 43 (1983), 43-60; RAWSON, *Intellectual Life*, pp. 172-174. Note also that among Asclepiades' writings was a work entitled *Salutaria Praecepta* (Cael. Aurel., *Morb. Acut.*, 1.112). Like all of his writings, this is now lost. It would be interesting to know what Asclepiades had to say here with regard to the preventive qualities of bathing.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. FONTANILLE, in PELLETIER, *Med. en Gaule*, pp. 15-17.

Celsus adds: "The ancients used it [i.e. the bath] more timidly, Asclepiades more boldly."<sup>85</sup> Pliny elucidates, albeit with strong negative overtones. He tells us that one of the reasons for Asclepiades' success at Rome was the pleasant nature of his therapies, among which featured "a system of hydropathy, which appeals to people's greedy love of baths, and many other things pleasant and delightful to speak of . . ." <sup>86</sup> This hydropathy included cold-water treatment -- indeed Varro, quoted by Pliny, says Asclepiades liked to be called "Dr. Coldwater-Giver."<sup>87</sup> Asclepiades is also reported to have used *pensilia balnea*, which Pliny labels "a treatment of infinite attractiveness."<sup>88</sup> Other aspects of his treatments included wine-drinking, swinging beds, diet control, carriage rides and exercise.

Asclepiades' use of the baths deserves closer scrutiny. The problem of what the term "hanging baths" means has already been discussed in connection with the activities of C. Sergius Orata, where it was (tentatively) decided that it denotes heated tanks of some sort.<sup>89</sup> This would fit with what we know of Asclepiades' therapies, which involved hydropathy, sweating, and hot water, all elements of *balnea*.<sup>90</sup> J. Benedum explains why Asclepiades is known in the sources as a cold-water doctor, but not explicitly as a hot-water one.<sup>91</sup> He argues that we do not hear of Asclepiades' hot-water treatments in other medical writers precisely because they were generally accepted and in widespread use. Ancient medical authors, like their counterparts in other fields, were given to sharp polemic against both predecessors and

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<sup>85</sup> Celsus, 2.17.3: *antiqui timidius [sc. balneo] utebantur, Asclepiades audacius*. That Celsus is here talking about hot baths is clear from *ibid.*, 2.17.1-2.

<sup>86</sup> *NH*, 26.14: *iam balneas avidissima hominum cupidine instituendo et alia multa dictu grata atque iucunda . . .* Note here in passing that mankind is considered naturally inclined to baths.

<sup>87</sup> *NH*, 26.14: *ipse cognomina se frigida danda praeferens, ut auctor est M. Varro*.

<sup>88</sup> *NH*, 26.16: *tum primum pensili balnearum usu ad infinitum blandiente*.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. above, pp. 24-29. As mentioned above (p. 28), Orata and Asclepiades were both associated with L. Crassus, so some connection between them with regard to the *pensilia balnea* is plausible, if not likely, although it is impossible to be precise about it: cf. RAWSON, *CQ* 32 (1982), 361.

<sup>90</sup> Celsus, 2.17.1-3, where it is expressly said (2.17.3, cited above, n. 85) that Asclepiades emphasized baths in his treatments. Asclepiadean remedial methods are reflected in some of Celsus's therapies, e.g. 1.3.9-10 (hot and cold bathing, wine drinking, sweating and eating). BENEDUM, *Gesnerus* 24 (1967), 93-107, arguing that *pensilia balnea* are hypocausts, comes to the same conclusion.

<sup>91</sup> BENEDUM, *Gesnerus* 24 (1967), 102-106.

contemporaries. If an author mentioned another doctor it was usually to criticize him and, conversely, any remedies prescribed were presented in such a way that they appeared to be the author's own; there was no acknowledgement of contributions made by others to the field. Benedum uses Caelius Aurelianus (*fl.* c. AD 450) as an example. This writer frequently prescribes Asclepiadean remedies (including hot baths), but never mentions their source -- the impression is that they are Caelius's own therapies. His polemics against Asclepiades are instead aimed at other treatments, i.e. treatments Caelius himself would not use.<sup>92</sup> Benedum concludes that, despite the predominant silence of the sources, Asclepiades' remedies often included as much hot as cold hydrotherapy.

Although he employs an *argumentum e silentio*, I believe Benedum is correct. To his negative evidence can be added the positive reference in Celsus that shows Asclepiades to have employed baths (*balnea*, which usually denotes hot baths) "more boldly" than his predecessors. Caelius Aurelianus himself says at one point that Asclepiades was known as a heating and cooling doctor and that his pupil, Themison, whom Caelius criticizes harshly, was not rid of his master's precepts, among which was bathing.<sup>93</sup> Pliny the Elder's comments about Asclepiades' use of "hanging baths" in a context that implies hot baths, would add further confirmation that the Bithynian used such baths extensively in his treatment system, and was remembered for doing so. The problem of the meaning of *pensiles balineae* plays a role here, but in the case of Asclepiades' use of them, the only convincing interpretation is that they were heated baths of some sort, possibly only tanks. In fact, as has been suggested above, it is possible that it was Asclepiades, and not Sergius Orata, who first applied them to human bathing.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 103-104 which cites the pertinent passages of Caelius. For Caelius's date etc., cf. *RE* 3.1.1256-1258, s.v. "Caelius" (no. 18) [Wellmann].

<sup>93</sup> *Cael. Aur., Morb. Acut.*, 2.231, 237; cf. *Morb. Chron.*, 1.142, 179.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. above, p. 28.

To sum up. Asclepiades of Bithynia advocated a type of medical treatment, both remedial and preventive, that placed great emphasis on hot and cold water treatments and sweating, in short, on use of the baths as they already existed at Rome. When this is added to what is known about Asclepiades' career -- his presence in Rome for maybe two decades, and the great fame he acquired there -- a possibility begins to emerge. Did Asclepiades' medical precepts emphasizing bathing induce the Romans to bathe more frequently, and do so in such a way as to give added impetus to the growth of bath popularity? Even if it did, how broad a diffusion could his message have attained among the Roman population, and how great could his influence have been?

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*(iii) The role of Asclepiades?*

One of the major problems in putting Asclepiades into perspective is the lack of a clearly defined cause-and-effect relationship between his actions and the growth of bath popularity. Did Asclepiades initiate the process, or did he adapt his medical precepts to a trend he saw already in progress around him? Did he act alone in advocating baths, or were others in his profession doing likewise? Straight, documented answers to these questions cannot be offered. That said, what slim evidence there is -- and is not -- allows a convincing answer to at least the first question, and would seem to indicate that Asclepiades was a contributor to, rather than the initiator of, the growth of bath popularity.

In the first place, had baths become truly popular only in the wake of Asclepiades' career, some notice to this effect could reasonably be expected in the sources, e.g. the anti-bath diatribes of Seneca, or the anti-Asclepiadean passages in Pliny. This is not the case. Although

this is an argument from silence, it is a telling one. Furthermore, Pliny provides some positive testimony. When mentioning Asclepiades' use of baths, he says that such treatment "appealed to people's greedy love of baths."<sup>95</sup> The implication is that bathing was already popular among the Romans, but Asclepiades' prescriptions offered a convenient rationalization for the practice, and may have encouraged it. This fits with our previous findings, demonstrating a place for baths in Roman daily life from the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC. It has also been seen that baths were not a particularly common feature of Greek urban life, nor of Greek medicine, though they were known to both. This suggests that Asclepiades' emphasis on bathing in his precepts for health, while of course stemming in a large measure from the corpuscular nature of his physiological theory, may be seen at least in part as a response to conditions he encountered at Rome. There may even have been an element of cunning: advising the Romans to do more of what he saw they enjoyed doing in the first place would have helped ensure his wide popularity.

A further positive point can be added. The growth in bath popularity in the 1st century BC, so far as it can be discerned from a frustratingly small evidential base, seems to have been gradual rather than sudden, and certain general conditions of the age can be seen to have contributed to the process.<sup>96</sup> In view of this, Asclepiades' influence cannot have been dramatically decisive. The question is rather one of degree. As E. Rawson has stated, "There is a case for arguing that the most influential Greek thinker at work in Rome in the first century BC was the doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia."<sup>97</sup> While this may be true for the elite, it cannot unfortunately be proven for Asclepiades' role in assisting the baths' entry into popular culture. But given what we have seen of Asclepiades' career and medical doctrines, his influence should not be discounted entirely. In attempting to demonstrate that influence, it is necessary to sketch the nature of ancient medicine. It will be seen that the "profession" as it existed in Roman

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<sup>95</sup> *NH*, 26.14 (cf. above, n. 86 for text).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. above, Chapter 3 (growth) and pp. 144-158 (general factors).

<sup>97</sup> *Intellectual Life*, p. viii

times, combined with the pre-industrial conditions of the ancient world's largest city, make it entirely possible that Asclepiades' ideas reached the lower classes of the city.

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There is no doubt that, in general, medical thinking could influence social behaviour in the ancient world as well as the modern. With reference to bathing practices in particular, Pliny tells how the doctor Charmis of Massilia (who was a contemporary of Seneca) advocated taking only cold baths so that even in the depths of winter "We used to see old men, ex-consuls, actually frozen stiff in order to show off . . ." <sup>98</sup> This refers to upper-class behaviour. Could the lower classes too have been influenced by medical precepts current among their social superiors? Four interconnected characteristics of ancient medicine in particular make this a distinct possibility: public presentations by doctors; the unspecialized nature of ancient medical education; the lack of controls on physicians; and the dissemination of medical knowledge.

It was common among Hellenistic doctors to give public presentations in the form of lectures, demonstrations or discussions. This was because most of the profession's representatives were wandering practitioners, as had been the case in Classical Greece, and open lectures were one method of attracting attention, and so patients, in a new city. <sup>99</sup> This tradition

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<sup>98</sup> *NH*, 29.10: *videbamus senes consulares usque in ostentationem rigentes* . . . People bathing moderately for medical reasons are also attested in the sources: Suet. *Aug.*, 82.2; Pliny *Ep.*, 3.5.8; Petron. *Satyr.*, 130; HA *Sev. Alex.*, 30.4-5. See also above, p. 153 where the penetration of medical precepts concerning baths into upper class culture has been noted. Pliny complains (*NH*, 29.26) that doctors have persuaded "us" (meaning, presumably, the Romans) to anoint themselves when healthy and take "boiling baths" (*balineae ardentis*). For Charmis, cf. *RE* 3.2175, s.v. "Charmis" [Wellmann]. Here he is said to be a contemporary of Nero.

<sup>99</sup> The best evidence comes from the inscription discussed in *BE* 1958, no. 336 where an Istrian doctor, Diokles son of Artemidoros, on the strength of his public lectures at Cyzicus, is appointed public doctor there in the 2nd century BC. On lectures, presentations and the like, cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.*, 33.6; Plut. *Mor.*, 71A; *Lib. Or.* 1.55; H.M. KOEBLING, *Arzt und Patient in der Antike* (Munich: Artemis, 1977), pp. 132-133, 136-138; and SCARBOROUGH, *Rom. Med.*, 27-28. Doctors were not alone in giving open or public lectures: philosophers, historians and other knowledgeable persons had long done so in Greek cities, cf. the references in *BE* loc. cit. for lectures by grammarians, philosophers and architect; cf. also Athen., *Deipn.*, 3.98c. The public lectures of Carneades in Rome in 155 BC have already been mentioned (above, p. 150). On the itinerant nature of the

continued into the Roman period. In particular, it is clear that Asclepiades gave lectures at Rome.<sup>100</sup> But vital questions remain unanswered: where were these lectures held? who attended them? for how long during his stay in Rome did Asclepiades deliver them? If, as seems likely, these presentations followed the Hellenistic model, or were similar to those delivered later by Galen at Rome, they would have been very much open affairs delivered in some public place.<sup>101</sup> If the general populace could and did attend such lectures, they would represent a very direct way for medical ideas to filter into the populace. However, that the plebs did attend, or would have understood what was being said even if they had, remains unsure. For the moment, though, it seems fair to suggest that these public lectures, even if only attended by representatives of the elite, would have allowed Asclepiades' medical precepts to reach a broader public than if he had merely treated patients.

The next characteristic of ancient medicine that deserves attention is the laxity of educational standards that pertained for medical practitioners.<sup>102</sup> Despite the existence of recognized centres of medical learning, such as Kos, Knidos, Smyrna or Alexandria, there was no compulsion or requirement that practitioners undergo "professional" training there or anywhere else: institutions for dispensing proofs of competence (such as degrees) were unknown.<sup>103</sup> Training (where it existed at all) by practical apprenticeship with less emphasis on

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ancient doctor, cf. PHILLIPS, *Greek Med.*, 182-196 or more recently, KOEBLING, *Gesnerus*, 46 (1989), 173-176. This seems to have been a feature of the profession right from the start: cf. Herodotus, 3.125, 129-38 for the story of Demokedes, the 6th/5th century doctor who moved from Croton to Aegina to Samos to the Persian court and back to Croton in the course of his career, the earliest recorded.

<sup>100</sup> Cic. *de Orat.*, 1.62 and Pliny *NH*, 26.12 refers to his eloquence displayed in lectures, so RAWSON, *CQ* 32 (1982), 364; *ibid. Intellectual Life*, pp. 51-53.

<sup>101</sup> Note that the Istrian doctor's lectures at Cyzicus were given in the gymnasium there (which would presumably mean to the gentry), cf. above, n. 99. For Galen's lectures at Rome, cf. Galen *de Libr. Prop.*, 2 (19.16-35 Kühn).

<sup>102</sup> For ancient medical education, cf. J. KOLLESCH, "Ärztliche Ausbildung in der Antike," *Klio* 61 (1979), 507-513; KRUG, *Heilkunst*, pp. 190-193; SCARBOROUGH, *Rom. Med.*, pp. 122-133; JACKSON, *Doctors*, pp. 58-60.

<sup>103</sup> For the fame of these places, cf. *IGR* 3.534, 4.1087 and below, n. 105. Galen, who spent twelve years training, and in the process visited Smyrna, Corinth and Alexandria, appears to have been the exception to the rule: cf. G. SARTON, *Galen of Pergamon* (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1954), pp. 15-24, esp. 17-19. Here Sarton insists upon using the misleading terms "undergraduate" and "graduate" (pp. 18, 30 and 40), although such words carry connotations of specialization and academic training entirely absent from ancient

philosophical theory was more common.<sup>104</sup> As a result, a doctor's success depended more on his reputation for effectiveness than on his educational pedigree though, of course, a physician coming from one of the famed medical centres might enjoy something of an edge over competitors.<sup>105</sup> Medical education was thus not specialized, and the scope, depth and comprehensiveness of a doctor's education depended entirely on himself, as is clearly shown by the assertion of Thessalos of Tralles, living in Nero's day, that six months was sufficient education for a doctor.<sup>106</sup>

This leads to a third point: there were no controls on who practised healing in the ancient world. Pliny can complain, with some justification, that "the medical profession is the only one in which anybody professing to be a physician is at once trusted, although nowhere else is an untruth more dangerous."<sup>107</sup> Note that the term "physician" here includes self-professed practitioners. V. Nutton has shown that the only requirement for being a doctor was that one participated in healing; anybody who claimed to be a healer, employing whatever means, was entitled to style himself "doctor."<sup>108</sup> One result of this situation was an abundance of quacks,

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medical education. KRUG, *Heilkunst*, p. 192 is very much in the minority in asserting Galen's training to be reflective of the norm, cf. J. KOLLESCH, "Galen und die Zweite Sophistik" in V. NUTTON (ed.), *Galen: Problems and Prospects* (London: Wellcome Institute, 1981), pp.1-11, esp. 2-3.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. the nice tale of Martial's doctor Symmachus who visited the poet with a retinue of 100 icy-palmed apprentices: Mart., 5.9: *languēbam: sed tu comitatus protinus ad me / venisti centum, Symmache, discipulis. / centum me tetigere manus Aquilone gelatae: / non habui febrem, Symmache, nunc habeo.* Apprenticeship had been a feature of Greek medical training, and was enshrined in the opening lines of the Hippocratic Oath, cf. PHILLIPS, *Greek Med.*, pp. 185-186. For the oath and a discussion of its evidence for the daily life of the practitioner cf. KRUG, *Heilkunst*, pp. 188-190.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. the famous case, recorded in an inscription (*ICret.*, 4.168) where the Gortynians on Crete sent to Kos for a doctor. They got one Hermias who practised among them for five years with great success. Conversely, note the story told by Galen of the young Alexandria-trained doctor who, because of one failure in Pergamon faced a ruined career, cf. Galen *Comm. in Epid.*, in *CMG* 5.10.1.401-402. Note also the inscriptions from Kos, set up by foreign cities, praising Koan physicians, cf. J. BENEDUM, "Griechische Arztinschriften aus Kos," *ZPE* 25 (1977), 265-276; L. ROBERT, "Décret pour un médecin de Cos," *Rev. Phil.*, (1978), 242-251 (= *OMS* 6.438-447).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Galen, *Meth. Mend.*, 1 (10.4-5 Kühn). Thessalos's date is fixed by Pliny *NH*, 29.9; cf. *RE* 6A.1.167-182, s.v. "Thessalos" (no. 6) [Diller].

<sup>107</sup> *NH*, 29.17 (Loeb trans): *in hac artium sola evenit ut cuicumque medicum se professo statim credatur, cum sit periculum in nullo mendacio maius.* Note also the comment of Scribonius Largus, *proem.* 10: *sic ut quisque volet, faciet medicinam.* (Trans. and commentary, J.S. HAMILTON, *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 60 [1986], 209-216).

<sup>108</sup> NUTTON in R.S. PORTER (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 23-53, esp. pp. 26-38. Note particularly the

charlatans and tricksters who earned the undying contempt of trained physicians.<sup>109</sup> The success of such "doctors" rested, of course, on the twin pillars of the effectiveness of their cures and the gullibility of their patients; and there was apparently no shortage of the credulous in the ancient world.<sup>110</sup>

The final characteristic, one that pertains directly to the question of whether the precepts of "professional" doctors reached the masses, is the dissemination of medical information throughout Roman society. It has already been noted how medical knowledge was common among the upper-classes who could read and study the medical treatises written by the experts, and so incorporate it into their general education.<sup>111</sup> But did the average people in the street

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passage in the *Digest* (50.13.1) where guidelines are provided for a magistrate to determine the eligibility of doctors for tax-immunity; all types of specialists are allowed, but the line is drawn at chanters, prayers and exorcists (*non tamen si incantavit, si inprecatus est, si, ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar, exorcizavit*). The authorities are entirely unconcerned with a healer's competence, but only with classification for tax purposes. Cf. *P. Oxyr.*, 40.

<sup>109</sup> Note the comments of Pliny on the Magi, *NH*, 26.18-20 and the study of "mountebank" doctors in ancient Rome by F. KUDLIEN, "Schaustellerei und Heilmittelvertrieb in der Antike," *Gesnerus* 40 (1983), 91-98. The latter deals mostly with at least partly educated herb sellers and the like whose trade can be seen as almost legitimate. As yet the out-and-out charlatans have escaped modern scholars' notice. Cf., however, the methods of trickery documented in Arab sources cited by G. KARMI, "State Control of the Physicians of the Middle Ages: an Islamic Model" in A.W. RUSSELL, *The Town and State Physician in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (Wolfenbüttel: Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 17, 1981), pp. 64-65. Some limits were imposed, as illustrated by the three *senatus consulta* passed against poisoning, the first being the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis* of 81 BC (cf. *Dig.*, 48.1.1, 8.1; Cic. *pro Rosc.*, 64-65), followed by two undated imperial *consulta* specifying punishments for sellers of poisonous herbs and fatal fertility drugs, cf. R.J.A. TALBERT, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 455, nos. 191 and 192. On the use of drugs, cf. also J.M. RIDDLE, "Oral Contraception and Early-term Abortifacients during Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Past & Present* 132 (1991), 3-32; id. *Quid Pro Quo: Studies in the History of Drugs* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1992).

<sup>110</sup> Effectiveness, or lack of it, was (and is) a problem faced by all practitioners engaged in healing activities, cf. above, n. 105 for Galen's story of the young doctor ruined at Pergamon because his treatment failed. Presumably, these charlatans were at least able to convince people they had been cured, a phenomenon not unheard of today (e.g. the controversies over faith healers, medicine men and "psychic surgeons" whose patients all swear to the efficacy of their cures). The credulity of the population at large stands clearly behind Lucian's *Alexander of Abonoteichus*, but note especially the comment (*Alex.*, 6) that Alexander and his accomplice, Cocconas, "used to travel about 'fleecing the fat' -- for this, in the traditional terminology of magicians, is what they called the masses" (περιήεσαν . . . τοὺς παχεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων -- οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῇ πατρίῳ τῶν μάγων φωνῇ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν -- ἀποκείροντες); cf. also the disparaging comments about the stupidity of the public at *ibid.*, 9, 15, 17, 20, 42 and 50 (though note that even a well educated consular, P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (cos. suff. AD 146; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M.711), can be victim to superstition, *ibid.*, 30-31). Cf. also the comment in Luc. *Peregr.*, 13 that Christians were especially easily duped by tricksters.

<sup>111</sup> For medicine in upper-class culture, cf. KOEBLING, *Gesnerus* 46 (1989), 34-35; NUTTON in PORTER, *Pat. and Pract.*, pp. 31-32 who asserts: "Medicine was part of upper-class culture" (p. 32). Cf. The

have medical knowledge? V. Nutton is firmly of the opinion that they did, in some form or other. He points to some general considerations -- the general availability of medical knowledge, and the absence of a specialist medical vocabulary -- as facilitating this situation, and cites some specific examples from the ancient sources where blacksmiths, cobblers, barbers and even barmaids are shown to turn their hands to medicine if required.<sup>112</sup> H. Eschebach, in his survey of the "Arzthäuser" of Pompeii, includes barber shops (*tonstrinae*) as places of medical treatment.<sup>113</sup>

Using this sort of evidence, however, raises the problem of typicality. Did all barbers, or even a majority of them, actually practice a bit of medicine? If so, how often and how effectively? Would the average ailing Roman go first to the local barber/blacksmith, or to a "professional" physician? Questions such as these are not readily answerable, given the nature of our evidence. So while Nutton's portrayal of widespread medical knowledge among the lower classes is plausible, and fits what little evidence we have from the ancient world, the specificity of that evidence does not allow concrete conclusions for the situation in general. It can be suggested, however, that the perilous living conditions of the Roman world, where death could come suddenly and unexpectedly from any number of sources, would have generated an

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medical topics frequently raised throughout Pliny's *NH* and Plutarch's *Moralia*. Note especially Aul. Gell., *AN*, 18.10 where medical knowledge is expected of the educated man. The 2nd century AD doctor Rufus even wrote a book entitled *Medicine for the Layman* (Πρὸς Ἰδίωτας) which survives only in Arabic fragments, cf. M. ULLMANN, *Die Medizin im Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 74, n. 10. Celsus himself is an example of this sort of medically aware cultured Roman. It is generally agreed that he was not a practising doctor, but that he had used medicine for practical purposes himself, cf. the *loci* collected by W.G. SPENCER in the Loeb edition of Celsus, I.xi-xii. Celsus's 6 books on medicine form the only extant portion of a larger encyclopedic work covering agriculture, warfare, philosophy, rhetoric and jurisprudence, cf. *RE* 4.1273-1276, s.v. "Cornelius" (no. 82) [Wellmann]. That only the medical section survived is perhaps noteworthy.

<sup>112</sup> NUTTON, in PORTER, *Pat. and Pract.*, pp. 30-37, esp. p. 33: "This great variety of evidence for the participation in medicine by men (and women) of all classes throughout the ancient world proves beyond all doubt that medical knowledge was by no means confined to those who called themselves doctors." He goes on to conclude that what separated the "professional" doctor from the layman was not a knowledge of medicine, but of rhetoric. Given the state of our evidence, this distinction may be too rigid.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. ESCHEBACH, *Arzthäuser*, p. 3 and Abb. 2, pp. 4-5 where the *tonstrinae* are located at: VII.viii.14, VII. xi.1, VI.4.1 and one known by an inscription at the Grand Palaestra. Unfortunately, he omits these *tonstrinae* from his descriptive catalogue. We may also note that the first two barber shops are in the vicinity of baths: down the street from the Forum Baths in the case of VII.viii.14 and opposite the entrance to the Stabian Baths in the case of VII.xi.1.

interest among all classes in ways of maintaining and restoring health.<sup>114</sup> These conditions would have made it likely that medical knowledge among the upper classes spread, at least partially, into the population at large: whereas the plebs had no inherent interest in learning about philosophy or rhetoric, they did when it came to medicine; and knowledge of complex philosophy or rhetoric was not a prerequisite for adhering to medical precepts.<sup>115</sup> A vested general interest in medicine may also partly explain the incorporation of medical knowledge into elite culture.

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So, could Asclepiades of Bithynia really have exerted a significant influence on bathing behaviour among the Romans? Although certainty is impossible, I believe enough evidence has been presented to make this a strong possibility. Several interconnected characteristics of ancient medicine need to be considered: its extraordinarily open nature meant that anyone who felt like trying could become a doctor; unspecialized medical education lacked a set or even requisite curriculum; the absence of controls for monitoring competence left the door open for many forms of "popular" medicine, sometimes administered by tricksters; and, finally, the wide dissemination of medical knowledge, certainly among the upper classes and probably among the less privileged, reflects a general interest in medical matters that is understandable given the

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<sup>114</sup> Life-expectancy among the Romans has been calculated at at between 20 and 30 years, probably slightly less in urban environments, cf. R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 93-104; these findings are largely in accord with those of K. HOPKINS, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 69-99 (esp. 69-74), 146-149; more recently, cf. the comments by S.L. DYSON, *Community and Society in Roman Italy* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 180-182. Note also the horrendous urban hygienic conditions sketched by SCOBIE, *Klio* 68 (1986), 399-433. An interesting argument supporting the notion of widespread medical knowledge among humbler Romans is presented by EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius*, II.164-167. He argues that the medical detail of many dreams experienced by suppliants at Asclepieia is explicable precisely because medical knowledge was so well disseminated among the people: "The main features of these visions are clear reflections of the patients' every-day experiences" (II.165).

<sup>115</sup> An instructive parallel is provided by the survivals of classical Arabic medicine among illiterate peasants in present-day villages in Syria and Jordan, see G. KARMI, "The Colonisation of Traditional Arabic Medicine," in PORTER, *Pat. and Pract.*, pp. 315-339.

perilous conditions of the age. When what is known about the career of Asclepiades is set against this background -- that his teachings and treatments emphasized hot and cold baths, that he gave lectures at Rome, that he achieved extraordinary fame in his lifetime, and that his ideas persisted after his death -- it seems entirely possible, if not likely, that his bathing precepts could have quickly disseminated into the population at large and affected Roman bathing habits. Other contemporaneous doctors, of whatever quality, may have been advocating the benefits of bathing but, if so, Asclepiades is the only one of whom we hear. This, of course, does not necessarily mean he was alone: he may have been the most eminent (and controversial) representative of a broader trend. All these considerations are to be placed against the density of the urban population at Rome.<sup>116</sup> In such an environment swift oral transmission of information -- especially of a medical nature in which all had an interest -- would have been relatively swift and easy.

Rome in the 2nd-1st century BC was a city undergoing transformation. It was experiencing rapid change not only in economics, politics and social life, but also in intellectual activity. The city's population was growing, Greek culture was becoming increasingly fashionable among the elite, and Greeks and other nationalities were to be found among the plebs in greater numbers than before. Wealth, luxury and ostentation were on the rise, both in the private and public sphere. New construction technologies (especially ever more confident use of concrete) were being developed and would soon find expression in the building programmes of Caesar, Augustus and the emperors. Into this environment stepped the Bithynian doctor Asclepiades. His career and the context in which it is to be placed make it

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<sup>116</sup> Cf. K. HOPKINS, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 96-98; G. HERMANSEN, "The Population of Imperial Rome," *Historia* 27 (1978), 129-168. Of course, precise numerical estimates are very uncertain, but the density of Rome's population in Cicero's day is clear enough, cf. Z. YAVETZ, *Latomus* 17 (1958), 500-517 (= SEAGER, *Crisis*, pp. 166-179) esp. 500-501; SCOBIE, *Klio* 68 (1986), 399-433. Note also R. MacMULLEN, *Roman Social Relations* (London: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 62-63 who points out that Rome, with an estimated 200 people per acre, was far more densely populated than would be regarded as acceptable today. Cf. R. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, rev. ed.), 276-277.

possible that his bath-related teachings, while perhaps initially gaining exposure only among the upper-classes, filtered down to the less well-off. His ideas about the remedial and preventive uses of baths may even have been part of a wider trend in medical thinking at Rome. But if so, nothing is known of it. In the life-threatening conditions of the ancient city, everyone, high or low, would have had an interest in means for the maintenance of health. Asclepiades' simple message that baths, already available to the Romans at large, were not only pleasurable but healthy, would surely have had a contributing effect on the growth of their popularity in the 1st century BC. Even if the degree of that contribution cannot now be gauged precisely, it would seem rash to deny it altogether.

## CONCLUSION

The literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources converge in suggesting that the practice of public bathing among the Romans grew in popularity in the period roughly between Cicero and Martial. Although the evidence is for the most part lacking in quantifiable data, and much work still needs to be done in drawing together and correlating archaeological information from different sources, enough exists to leave a strong impression of growth. From the statement of Pliny the Elder suggesting growth in the bathing habit in the Julio-Claudian period, and the later numerical testimony of the *Notitia Urbis Regionum*, it seems probable that the number of baths at Rome increased in the early years of the Principate and continued to grow in the following centuries. The "indirect" evidence of others -- especially, Cicero, Pliny, Seneca, Petronius and Martial -- supports this picture, whereby baths are everyday backdrops to anecdotes and quips, or the targets of moralistic diatribes.

This literary testimony is especially well matched by the archaeological evidence of Pompeii, where a rise in the number of public baths over the period is clear, but not in a steady and even pattern. A period of growth in the late Republic is followed by a lull until after the earthquake of AD 62; then there was a flurry of bath-building and repair. By the time of its destruction in August, AD 79 Pompeii could boast at least seven, and possibly more, public facilities either operative or under construction. This post-earthquake burst of activity would suggest that the popularity of bathing had grown considerably in the period before the earthquake, and that when the volcano erupted the Pompeians were attempting to make their city conform to the most modern tastes by increasing the number and variety of their public facilities. Until more comprehensive work is done on Republican/early Imperial baths at other Italian sites, the typicality of this activity will remain untested. However, at some neighbouring sites (e.g.

Herculaneum) bath-building can be demonstrated at or prior to this time, and several Italian communities built their first baths more or less contemporaneously.<sup>1</sup> Despite this, no other site illuminates so well as Pompeii the growth of popularity of baths over this period. Sites such as Ostia and Timgad illustrate the continued growth of public baths into the 2nd century, the real golden age of bath building.<sup>2</sup>

Explanations for this phenomenon are difficult to pinpoint, as the sources are largely silent as to why people went to the baths. But the general conditions in Rome in the 1st century BC, with its increased population, wealth, public and private luxury and ostentation, and improved building technology provided fertile ground for a growth in bath popularity. These circumstances, though, do not fully explain the phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> The prominence of baths in Roman medical thinking provides the clearest surviving indication as to why people bathed. Careful consideration of the nature of medical practise at Rome in general, and the career of Asclepiades of Bithynia in particular, raises the possibility that it was initially for medical reasons that Romans went more frequently to the baths in the 1st century BC. Of the early doctors known to us, Asclepiades laid the greatest emphasis on the therapeutic value of baths. The assimilation of medicinal baths not only into Roman medical philosophy (e.g. Celsus, writing under Tiberius), but also into non-technical upper-class culture (e.g. Cicero's comment that baths are "necessary for life and health") can be demonstrated.

The main question is, could this essentially elite body of knowledge have reached the general populace and affected their actions? I believe the answer is affirmative. Medical knowledge was not as specialized as it is today, but was more widely disseminated throughout society. High mortality and susceptibility to disease gave everybody, rich or poor, an inherent

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Appendix 2, Map 2. For the baths at Herculaneum, cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 72-75, cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 121, s.v. "Herculaneum, Terme del Foro & Terme Suburbane."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ch. 6 n. 30.

<sup>3</sup> The question of who built baths is considered in the next section.

interest in medical developments and ideas, especially for the maintenance of health, which was always preferable to falling sick in the first place.<sup>4</sup> A variety of types of doctor operated among the masses; official controls were lacking; medical education, where it existed at all, was unfocused and, further, not compulsory. In such a climate as this, the simple message of Asclepiades, a doctor who achieved great fame in the city, that bathing was healthy and beneficial could well have penetrated into the general public. Baths were already a standard feature of Rome's urban topography, so Asclepiades must be seen more as contributing to their popularity rather than initiating it. Indeed, people may beforehand have recognised the general health-promoting qualities of cleanliness, but Asclepiades provided it with a "scientific" (and fashionable?) justification and respectability. In addition, we cannot tell if contemporary doctors echoed Asclepiades' message. On the other hand, his pupil, Themison, did stay on in Rome, and a disciple, Antonius Musa, enjoyed a high profile later.<sup>5</sup>

Altogether, in the light of these arguments, it seems reasonable to suggest that the medical precepts of Asclepiades, whether he was a lone pioneer or a representative of a broader movement favouring baths, contributed in some measure to the growth of bath popularity in 1st-century BC Rome. A simple linear causality cannot be established between Asclepiades' activities and the rise to prominence of baths in Roman daily life, but the general circumstances of the age, the clear connection between baths and medicine in later Roman sources, and the particulars of Asclepiades' career make it likely that his role was formative.

The first phase of the growth in bath popularity (that of the 1st century BC) has now been examined. The second phase, from Augustus to c. AD 100, coincides with the establishment of the Principate and leads to the broader question of the Imperial authorities'

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. JACKSON, *Doctors*, p. 22: "In an age with so little control over disease once it had struck, considerable endeavour was channelled into preventive medicine based on the concept of positive health."

<sup>5</sup> Note also the "reactionary" doctrines of Charmis who advocated only cold-water bathing in the Julio-Claudian period, cf. above, p. 169.

involvement in promoting baths, which in turn leads to other social questions. These topics should therefore be treated separately next.

**SECTION THREE:**  
**SOCIAL ASPECTS**

## INTRODUCTION

It has often been said that baths were social centres of Roman daily life.<sup>1</sup> This claim is more fully investigated here through an examination of bath builders and maintainers (chapters 5 and 6), and of the baths as social centres (chapter 7). The main evidence is provided by written sources and, especially for builders and maintainers, inscriptions. The latter represent a voluminous yet largely untapped body of evidence for bath history.<sup>2</sup> Many hundreds of texts recording the erection, repair, extension or adornment of baths survive from all parts of the empire. As contemporary documents, they represent an invaluable source for throwing light on the sorts of people (or authorities) who undertook the task, and, in some cases, on their motives. Tables of such texts have been assembled at the end of this section, and are referred to frequently.<sup>3</sup>

A word on the texts in the Tables. The sample has been assembled from *thermae lbalnea* and βαλανείον / λουτρόν (and variants) index entries in several collections of inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> The sample does not therefore pretend to be comprehensive, but enough inscriptions have been assembled to be representative. Included are only those inscriptions which are sufficiently full

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<sup>1</sup> This point has been made by several authors. To refer to just some examples: MARQUARDT, *Privatleben*, pp. 269-297, esp. 297; CARCOPINO, *Daily Life*, pp. 277-286, esp. 285-286; DAREMBERG & SAGLIO, *DAGR*, s.v. "Thermae" pp.214-219, esp. 216, [BENOIT]; BALSDON, *Life and Leisure*, pp. 26-32, esp. 27; HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 142-146, esp. 142; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.1, 135; E.J. OWENS, *The City in the Greek and Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 155; A. ROOK, *Roman Baths in Britain* (Princes Risborough: Shire Archaeology, 1992), pp. 18, 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> Modern scholars have not ignored the epigraphic evidence completely, but they have tended to use it sparingly, or at best unimaginatively, cf. e.g. HEINZ, *Röm Therm.*, where a handful of texts is used throughout, or NIELSEN, *Therm.*, where masses of inscriptions are assembled in monumental footnotes (e.g. I.40-41, nn. 25 and 26) as basic illustrations of information distribution for construction, repair work etc.

<sup>3</sup> Guidelines for the use of the Tables are listed on pp. 307-308.

<sup>4</sup> They are: *AE*, *BE*, *CIL*, *IGLS*, *IGR*, *II*, *IK*, *ILAlg*, *ILTun*, *ILS*, *IRT*, *OGIS*, *SEG*, *SIG* and several individual site-particular collections.

in content or, if fragmentary, preserve enough information to allow reasonably certain identification of the agent and work done.<sup>5</sup>

In examining the bath building activities of the central authorities, a distinction must be drawn between Rome and the rest of the Empire. It was natural for the *princeps* to benefit the capital with public monuments, as that was part of what he did and what he was expected to do.<sup>6</sup> In this respect, the emperor treated Rome very much as a rich benefactor was expected to treat his native city.<sup>7</sup> If emperors built baths at Rome, this should not cause much surprise. The same cannot be said for Italy and the provinces. Here, despite sporadic visits, the emperor and his agents appear for the most part to have been distant entities in the daily lives of the people, an essentially reactive authority whose interest in specific localities was often only stimulated by embassies from, or extraordinary disturbances in, those localities.<sup>8</sup> If the central authorities are seen to promote public bathing by direct benefaction in Italy and the provinces, this is indeed notable. In consequence, the situation in Rome is treated separately from that in Italy and the provinces.

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<sup>5</sup> Individual cases where this criterion has been applied are discussed in the notes to the Tables. A great many inscriptions have been omitted due to uncertainty as to their content, or because they were too fragmentary to be coherent. Such texts are nonetheless useful, in that they attest the existence of baths at the places where they were found. For examples, drawn only from *AE* for convenience, cf 1981.783 (local individual honoured in inscription found in baths); 1979.156 (= *CIL* 10.617\*: very fragmentary (and previously considered a forgery) with the word *thermas* preserved but leaving obscure what was done); 1979.323 (*thermae aestivae* restored and water supply improved by some agent or other); 1978.864 (fragmentary inscription commemorating a bath restoration found over entry to Forum Baths at Belalis Maior in Africa with agent unclear); 1973.470 (verse inscription recording building of a *piscina*; not clear if it derived from a private or public bath); 1934.133 (apparently a *curator rei publicae* and decurions working together, but too fragmentary to be sure).

<sup>6</sup> This is the implication of sources like the *Res Gestae*, Suetonius or the *HA*, which habitually list the emperors' building activities (usually in the capital, Ostia or Latium) without offering explanations. Cf. the seminal work of VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 469-537; cf. also F. MILLAR, *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours* (London: Duckworth, 1981 2nd ed), pp. 15-21; id., *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Duckworth: London, 1977), pp. 133-201, 368-375.

<sup>7</sup> This tradition had arisen in the Hellenistic period, cf. VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 209-271, 298-327. More recently, cf. P. GAUTHIER, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (Paris: BCH Suppl. 12, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. MILLAR, *Emperor*, passim.; cf. also MILLAR's comments on the central government in "The World of the *Golden Ass*," *JRS* 71 (1981), pp. 63-75, esp. 66-69; id. *Neighbours*, pp. 52-80, esp. 52: "The Roman Empire had no Government" (!). The distance of the central government is also reflected in R. MacMULLEN, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), esp. pp. 1-27; see also JACQUES, *Liberté*, pp. 668-757; P. GARNSEY & R. SALLER, *The Roman Empire. Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley; University of California Press, 1987), pp. 20-40.

As to the baths as social centres, certain relevant aspects of this topic have been fully investigated in previous studies, such as male/female mixed bathing, bath personnel, hours of operation, entrance fees, management etc: it is not my intention to traverse again this already well-trodden territory.<sup>9</sup> Instead, an attempt will be made to elucidate the place of the public baths in the general social environment.

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<sup>9</sup> Discussions (of varying scope and quality) of most of these topics can be found in the works cited above (n. 1), but note in addition: MEUSEL, *Verwaltung*, passim (for admission fees, management etc); MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 59-78 (opening hours), 79-100 (mixed bathing), 114-131 (various "Badegepflogenheiten," such as eating and drinking, number of daily baths, personnel etc); M. WISSEMANN, "Das Personal des antiken römischen Bades" *Glotta* 62 (1984), 80-89 (an investigation not only of the types of personnel, but also of their social status).

## CHAPTER V

### BUILDERS AND MAINTAINERS OF PUBLIC BATHS I: ROME

#### *Introduction*

At the conclusion of the last section, an explanation for the rise in the number of baths at Rome in the Julio-Claudian period remained outstanding. It is partly in response to this problem that the present inquiry has been undertaken. However, the issues addressed here force a consideration of broader social questions about bath builders and maintainers during the Principate and Later Empire. Because the growth of the bathing habit at Rome (and in Italy) coincided with the establishment of the new regime, it is pertinent to examine first the role of the emperors and others in bath construction at Rome, and then to turn to their activities elsewhere.

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#### (i) *Emperors*

The dedication on 9 June, 19 BC of the Baths of Agrippa represents a landmark in the history of baths at Rome.<sup>1</sup> The *Thermae Agrippae* stand as the first in the long series of large, lavishly

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<sup>1</sup> The dedication date is provided by Frontin. *Aqu.*, 1.10. On this structure, cf. F.W. SHIPLEY, "Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus," *MAAR* 9 (1931), 7-60, esp. 50, 51; id., *Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome* (St. Louis: Washington University Studies N.S. 4, 1933), pp. 47-55; HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 60-67; MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp. 179-180. s.v. "Thermae Agrippae"; E. NASH, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2. vols. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968, rev. ed.), II.429-433, s.v. "Thermae Agrippae"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.43-45, II.2 (C.1).

appointed imperial bath buildings of the capital.<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that Agrippa in this instance, as in others, undertook the construction with Augustus's full approval,<sup>1</sup> if not at his instigation.<sup>3</sup>

They can therefore be seen as the first public baths at Rome built under the aegis of the central authorities.<sup>4</sup>

This point draws attention to the remarkable fact that, throughout the entire period of the Republic, no bath is known to have been built by the city's authorities, either senate or magistrates. Although public baths did not become especially popular at Rome until the 1st century BC, they had been a familiar feature of the urban landscape for at least a century before

<sup>2</sup> They are generally agreed to have laid the architectural foundations for the later "Imperial"-type baths (especially in their size and decoration), although they lacked some features basic to that sort of building (most notably symmetry), cf. HEINZ and MANDERSCHIED, locc. cit. in previous note. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.45 prefers to see the Baths of Nero as the first truly "Imperial"-type establishment. What name the building originally bore is not clear. Dio calls it variously τὸ πυριατήριον τὸ λακωνικόν (53.27.1), τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου (53, table of contents, s.v. ι) and γυμνάσιον (53.27.1). The earliest references to it in literature occur as late as Pliny the Elder, who consistently uses *Thermae Agrippae* (*NH*, 34.62; 35.26 and 36.189); Martial also calls the building by this name (3.20.15, 3.36.6). The marble map of Rome (G. CARRETONI et al, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Rome: n.p., 1960), frg. 40; cf. *CIL* 6.36662) labels it [Th]ermae [Agrip]pae. The HA describes it as *Lavacrum Agrippae* (*Had.*, 19.10) while describing other imperial bath complexes as *Thermae* (cf. *Sev.*, 19.5, *Sev. Alex.*, 25.3, *Prob.*, 2.1). A restoration inscription (*CIL* 6.1165) of AD 344-345 describes the building only as *thermae*. This confusion illustrates well the apparent chaos that reigns in ancient bath terminology. Given the current state of the evidence, it is doubtful whether the building's original name is recoverable.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Aug.*, 29.4-5 states clearly that Augustus urged other leading men to undertake public building in Rome, M. Agrippa among them: *sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est, ut pro facultate quisque monumentis vel novis vel relictis et excultis urbem adornarent . . . multaque a multis tunc extracta sunt, sicut . . . a vero Agrippa complura et egregia*. The seriousness with which Augustus took his own building activities in the city, a list of which occupies 6 chapters of his *Res Gestae* (§§19-24), reflects this fully.

<sup>4</sup> NIELSEN's belief, made explicit on several occasions (*Therm.*, I.45, 46, and 47, n. 78), that the baths were originally not open to the public but were for private use, must be rejected. She does not explain her reasoning, but it appears to be based on a misinterpretation of a statement in Dio (54.29.4) that in his will Agrippa bequeathed his baths to the people, so that they could use the facilities free of cost: καὶ τότε γοῦν κήπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπίωνμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὥστε προῖκα αὐτοὺς λουθῶσαι, χωρία τινα ἔς τοῦτο τῷ Ἀγροῦστῳ δούς. The passage says only that Agrippa passed the baths over to public ownership; they had previously been his private property, which does not necessarily mean they were for private use (as NIELSEN seems to believe; cf. pp. 3-4 for the meanings of the term "public"). That Agrippa left estates so that the people could use the baths free of charge implies that the people had previously used the baths for a price. A general consideration makes NIELSEN's position all the more difficult to credit: is it likely that a *princeps* such as Augustus, who placed great emphasis on ostensible moderation in the behaviour of the ruling class, would have allowed his right-hand man to construct such a vast and luxurious bath for his personal use?

that, and their total absence from the annals of publicly funded construction is noteworthy.<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence that even the military dynasts, who showed an interest in public building (witness the Theatre of Pompey, the Forum Julium or Basilica Julia), and made steps in other areas towards becoming public patrons, planned, let alone constructed, a public bath for the city.<sup>6</sup>

Information about who did build the baths of Republican Rome is meagre: two casual comments made by Cicero, one of which refers to a bath named after the street on which it stood, the other to a building probably named after its unidentifiable builder (and owner?).<sup>7</sup> In all probability, until the *Thermae Agrippae* the construction of baths was left to wealthy individuals, senators no doubt among them, probably as business investments.<sup>8</sup> Plutarch's report that Lucullus, towards the end of his life, spent his time erecting costly edifices, including baths, perhaps reflects this situation.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, it is not clear if these facilities were public or private. This lack of bath-building by the authorities at Rome is all the more unusual since it is known from archaeology and epigraphy that communities in Italy were erecting baths at public expense at least from the late-2nd century BC onwards.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the list of public buildings constructed at Rome between 200 and 78 BC compiled by F. COARELLI, "Public Building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla," *PBSR* 45 (1977), 1-23, esp. 20-22. In contrast to the absence of baths, listed here are 43 instances of the erection, extension, adornment or restoration of temples, or the taking of a vow for such activity. The senate had long taken an interest in funding public building, it being among the duties of the censors and aediles, cf. D.E. STRONG, "The Administration of Public Building in Rome during the Late Republic and Early Empire," *BICS* 15 (1968), 97-109.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Suet. *Caes.*, 44 for Caesar's planned building activities in Rome and elsewhere: baths are absent; cf. also E. RAWSON, *Intellectual Life*, pp. 100-114; VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 469-537; above, pp. 146-147. Note, however, the *Balneum Caesaris* mentioned on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (cf. Appendix 4, s.v.). However, the name may derive from the building's dedication to Caesar or a later emperor, or perhaps a statue of Caesar or some other member of the imperial family that stood in the building.

<sup>7</sup> These are respectively the *Balneae Pallacinae* (*pro Rosc.*, 18; cf. above, p. 85) and the *Balneae Seniae* (*pro Cael.*, 61-62; cf. Appendix 4, s.v.). For other named baths at Rome (though not necessarily of Republican date), cf. Appendix 2, Map 2 (no. 2), and Appendix 4.

<sup>8</sup> For Republican senators as bath-owners, cf. above, pp. 82-85. Note that the Baths of Agrippa may have charged an entrance fee until 12 BC, cf. above n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Luc.*, 39.2.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. The Stabian (c. 140 BC) and Forum Baths at Pompeii (Sullan) have not left us any inscriptions commemorating their initial construction, but that they were at least publicly owned is indicated by the activities of *duumviri* in extending and adorning them (cf. *ILLRP* 648 (Stabian), *ILS* 5726 and 6356 (Forum)). Other inscriptions from elsewhere in Italy explicitly state that baths were erected or restored "with public money," or by representatives of the local authorities: *ILLRP* 521 (*piscina* restored at Acurantia; post-Social War); 528 (*lacus*

Why did the city's authorities not build baths at Rome during the Republic, when those in other Italian communities did? Certainty is impossible, but some possibilities offer which, when viewed in combination, may explain the situation. Perhaps it was felt improper for the conservative senators to be seen to encourage officially such vehicles of luxurious living as baths.<sup>11</sup> Conservatism in architectural taste and tradition may also apply.<sup>12</sup> The baths, which employed new architectural techniques and technologies, may have been considered too "new-fangled" for the attention of the central authorities, whose traditional building activities focused for the most part on truly monumental public edifices (temples, basilicas, places of assembly etc.), as well as the more functional ones (aqueducts, bridges, roads, and walls); each of the two categories of building had its own traditional architectural aesthetics, and the baths fitted neither neatly.<sup>13</sup>

Another possibility is that the activity of the private bath benefactors was considered sufficient for the city's needs. Rome, the capital of an empire, would have been home to a greater proportion of wealthy men than smaller Italian communities. As long as such men voluntarily built baths as business investments, there was simply no need for the authorities to

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*balnearius* built at Alatrum; late 2nd century BC); 575 (*balneum* built at Croton; no precise date); 606 (*balneum* built at Grumentum; no precise date); 659 (*balneae* restored at Praeneste; post-Sullan).

<sup>11</sup> Note Cic. *de Off.*, 2.60 where Cicero follows Greek predecessors in regarding only utilitarian buildings (walls, docks, aqueducts etc.) as worthy of patronage, while porticoes, theatres and the like are not: *atque etiam illae impensae meliores, muri navalia, portus, aquarum ductus omniaque, quae ad usum rei publicae pertinent . . . theatra, porticus, nova templa . . . sed doctissimi non probant.* The absence of baths in Cicero's lists of buildings may be due to his following Greek sources. Luxurious and easy living were associated especially with Eastern/Greek failings, cf. E. RAWSON, "Roman Tradition and the Greek world," *CAH* 8 (1989, 2nd ed.), pp. 422-476. Hot baths were most likely viewed with suspicion by conservative Romans, as they certainly were at a later date (e.g. by Seneca; cf. above, pp. 110-111), and probably earlier as well (note Cato the Elder's comment that he did not bathe daily as a boy, cf. above, p. 81).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J.B. WARD-PERKINS, "Taste, Tradition and Technology. Some Aspects of the Architecture of late Republican and early Imperial Central Italy," in G. KOPCKE & M.B. MOORE, *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (New York: Augustin, 1979), pp. 197-204.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 202: "There was then, in late Republican and early Imperial Rome . . . two distinct canons of aesthetic values and proprieties, one of them felt to be applicable to the traditional categories of representative public architecture, the other to the more utilitarian and commercial types of building, both public and private." Ironically, according to WARD-PERKINS (*ibid.*, pp. 203-204), the baths later assisted in breaking down this aesthetic prejudice, though it was only with the Baths of Agrippa that a real turning point was reached.

do so. It may also have been felt that supplying publicly built baths was an inappropriate use of the city's public water. Such (privately owned) baths as were already in use did not enjoy a public water supply. Frontinus reports that "among the ancients," by which the context would imply the period of the Republic, all water entering the city via aqueducts was designated for public use only (in fountains, troughs and sewers etc); baths and fulleries were granted special dispensation to use run-off water from public troughs, and only then for a price.<sup>14</sup>

While all these possibilities are suggestive, it has to be admitted that the actual reasons for the Republican government's inactivity remain elusive. Whatever the case, when viewed against the background outlined above, the *Thermae Agrippae* really mark a new departure in the history of public baths, at Rome and elsewhere. Their size and the lavishness of their decoration (they are the first known to have featured statuary) were to stand as models for subsequent bath builders, while their construction by a man so close to the *princeps* brought responsibility for building public baths at Rome within the ruler's ambit. It is possible that the relative lateness of their construction -- at a time when Italian communities had already been erecting baths at public expense for over a century -- may be a further indication that public baths were originally an import to Rome, but it is not decisive. If Rome had thus far lagged behind the Italian towns in bath building, the Baths of Agrippa mark the moment at which the capital seized the initiative and became the model to be followed elsewhere. <sup>e</sup>

After the *Thermae Agrippae*, there was a hiatus in imperially sponsored bath building at Rome. Not until Nero did an emperor again benefit the city with a bathing establishment. The

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<sup>14</sup> *Aqu.*, 2.94: *et haec [sc. caduca] ipsa non in alium usum quam in balnearum aut fulloniarum dabatur* . . . Immediately after this passage, Frontinus goes on to describe aediles and censors implementing water laws (2.95-98), thus providing a Republican context for the whole section. It is clear from the coupling of baths with fulleries in this passage that the law aimed at governing the use of public water for private commerce. The inference is that these baths were privately owned and run as businesses (like the fulleries), further supporting the impression gained above that Rome's Republican baths were primarily private enterprises rather than publicly provided services. By way of an aside, note what the use of run-off water in baths implies for the quality of water in Republican establishments at Rome.

hiatus is not difficult to explain. Tiberius was no prolific builder;<sup>15</sup> Gaius Caligula's reign was too short for any of his building plans to reach fruition (though he planned to construct two new aqueducts for the city);<sup>16</sup> Claudius's conservative nature would have militated against his constructing something as innovative as a major new bath complex, and he was not a particularly prolific builder at any rate.<sup>17</sup>

With Nero all this changed. The architectural exuberance of the age, and the provocative and popular bent of the reign, provided the perfect backdrop for Rome's first truly "Imperial"-style set of baths.<sup>18</sup> On so lavish a scale and so richly ornamented were they, that Martial could pose his famous question, "What is worse than Nero? What better than Nero's Baths?"<sup>19</sup>

They seem to have acted as a stimulus for his successors. The *Notitia Urbis Regionum* mentions a *Balneum Torquati et Vespasiani* in Region I of the city.<sup>20</sup> Nothing else is known of this structure, in fact it is not clear if this was one building or two, and Vespasian's part in erecting it (if he had one at all) remains unclear. Given Vespasian's financial difficulties, and his

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<sup>15</sup> Suet. *Tib.*, 47.1: *princeps neque opera ulla magnifica fecit*; cf. F.C. BOURNE, *The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians* (Princeton: n.p., 1946), pp. 31-37; B. LEVICK, *Tiberius the Politician* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), p. 123.

<sup>16</sup> Front. *Aqu.*, 1.14. Suet. *Cal.*, 21 only makes mention of one aqueduct. Cf. BOURNE, *Public Works*, pp. 38-41; A.A. BARRETT, *Caligula* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 192-212.

<sup>17</sup> Suet. *Claud.*, 20 where his public works are considered "more great and useful than many" (*opera magna potius et necessaria quam multa*), referring to the harbour at Ostia and the drainage of the Fucine Lake (on the labour involved in the latter, cf. M.K. & R.L. THORNTON, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1989), pp. 57-76). On Claudius's building programmes in general, cf. BOURNE, *Public Works*, pp. 42-74; B. LEVICK, *Claudius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 108-111. For a recent assessment of imperial building programmes from Augustus through Claudius, cf. THORNTON, *ibid.*, pp. 41-55.

<sup>18</sup> They were dedicated in AD 62, cf. Tac. *Ann.*, 14.20-21, 14.47, 15.29.2; Suet. *Nero*, 12.3, 31.2. For this building, cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 68-71; MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 185, s.v. "Terme di Nerone"; NASH, *Dict.*, II.460-464, s.v. "Thermae Neronianae"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.45-46, II.2 (C.2). Their dimensions are given by HEINZ (op. cit., p. 68) as 190m x 120m. Some confusion has arisen over Suetonius's comment (*Nero*, 12.3) that he built a set of *thermae* and a *gymnasium*. Suetonius seems to have confused the Neronian name for the building (*gymnasium*) with its later, Flavian name (*thermae*) to produce the statement that Nero erected both *thermae* and a *gymnasium*, i.e. separate buildings (*dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio senatui et equi oleum praebuit*); cf. B. TAMM, *Neros Gymnasium in Rom* (Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology VII, 1970), pp. 11-13.

<sup>19</sup> *Ep.*, 7.34.4-5: *quid Nerone peius? quid thermis melius Neronianis?*

<sup>20</sup> Cf. FTUR, 8.3. For a full discussion of the possibilities of this building, cf. below, p. 201-202.

need to restore damage done after the civil wars of AD 68-9, it is perhaps unlikely that he would have embarked on a major bath-building project.

But his son, Titus, did. He not only restored the *Thermae Agrippae* after they burned in AD 80, but he erected a large-scale bathing establishment near the Flavian Amphitheatre.<sup>21</sup> Two points are worth noting in connection with these baths. Martial and Suetonius report that they were built in haste.<sup>22</sup> Why so? Titus may have wanted to draw attention away from the Baths of Nero, as well as to destroy parts of the *Domus Aurea*, over part of which they were built. The second point is that their dedication, contemporaneous with the opening of the Flavian Amphitheatre, was accompanied by lavish gladiatorial games. This is the first recorded instance of such activities marking a bath dedication at Rome, and seems again to indicate that Titus wanted to draw attention to his work.<sup>23</sup>

Trajan added a fourth set, the biggest yet, in AD 104-109, in the process discreetly covering the last remnants of Nero's *Domus Aurea*.<sup>24</sup> With this building, Rome had acquired

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<sup>21</sup> Dio, 66.24.2 (Agrippa restoration); 66.25.1 and Suet. *Titus*, 7.3 (Titus's baths). Cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp. 185-186, s.v. "Terme di Tito"; HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 75-77; NASH, *Dict.*, II.469-471, s.v. "Thermae Titi"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.46-47, II.2 (C.3). HEINZ provides no dimensions for the Baths of Titus, though their area, including the palaestra, is given as 10,500 sq. m. by NIELSEN, loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Suet. *Titus*, 7.3: *thermis . . . celeriter exstructis*; Martial *Spect.*, 2.5.7: *hic ubi miramur, velocia munera, thermas*.

<sup>23</sup> The giving of games or other benefactions to mark the dedication or opening of baths is known from inscriptions, some of which predate or may be contemporary with Titus, e.g. the games given by Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius at Pompeii, probably on the re-opening of the Forum Baths after the earthquake of AD 62 (*ILS* 5144); cf. *CIL* 2.5489 (meal and *sportulae* at Murgi, Baetica, Flavian); *ILS* 5512 (meal and spectacles given, at Cartima, Baetica; Flavian?); *AE* 1979.352 (circus given at Tagilium, Baetica, late 1st/early 2nd century); *AE* 1979.156 (circus games and theatrical games given at Teanum Sidicinum, AD 151); *CIL* 2.5354 (circus at Burgvillos, Baetica, mid-2nd century); *CIL* 9.1665 (gladiatorial games at Beneventum, reign of Commodus); *CIL* 8.897 (games at Villa Magna, Africa, late 2nd/early 3rd century); *ILS* 5695 (meal given at dedication, Narona; AD 280); *ILS* 5713 (theatrical games and meal at Turca, Africa, 3rd century); *CIL* 12.4388 (*sportulae* at Narbo, no date); *AE* 1969/70.178 (meal given at San Nicola al Torone; no date).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Dio 69.4.1; *Fasti Ostienses*, AD 109 (= E.M. SMALLWOOD, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), no. 22 (p. 31) = *FTUR*, 10.461). HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 89-90; MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp. 186-187, s.v. "Terme di Traiano"; NASH, *Dict.*, II.472-477, s.v. "Thermae Trajanae"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.50-51, II.2-3 (C.4). These baths measured 330m x 315m. Their date of dedication is recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses*, cf. loc. cit. above. See also *AE* 1940.40, an inscription from a pipe from the baths recording the work of imperial freedmen in the laying of the pipes.

three new and progressively larger sets of baths in just over 50 years. Various sources also make mention of a bath called the *Balneum* or *Thermae Surae*.<sup>25</sup> This would appear to be the work of Trajan's favourite L. Licinius Sura, although Aurelius Victor says Trajan himself built the establishment to honour Sura.<sup>26</sup> Either way, it can be included here as an example of a person close to the emperor, if not the emperor himself, building a public bath.

After the Baths of Trajan, no new "Imperial" sets are known at Rome until those of Caracalla, built between AD 211/212 and 216 in the southern section of the city, near the Via Appia. However, some ancillary bath construction by emperors and their associates is attested in non-archaeological sources. Hadrian repaired the *Thermae Agrippae*.<sup>27</sup> Cleander, the rich chamberlain of Commodus, put up baths in about AD 186 either in his own name or in that of the emperor, but no trace of the building survives.<sup>28</sup> The *Historia Augusta* also makes mention of *Thermae Severianae* and *Thermae Septimianae*, both the works of Septimius Severus, but little is known of the former structure, and the latter is reported to have collapsed shortly after completion.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Forma Urbis Romae*, fr. 21 depicts a colonnaded courtyard with the inscription bal[ . . . ] Surae; cf. the restoration of the structure by a Gordian attested in an inscription, *NSc* (1920), 142. Various other sources, including the *Notitia*, term these baths *Thermae Suranae*, cf. *FTUR*, 1.177 (*Notitia*; called *Thermae Sures*), 1.5 (*Curiosum*; called *Thermae Syranae*), 1.6 (*Pol. Silv.*, called *Thermae Suranae*). Cf. NASH, *Dict.*, II.467-468, s.v. "Thermae Suranae"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.38-39, II.3 (C.5).

<sup>26</sup> Aur. Victor, *Caes.*, 13.6, cf. Dio, 68.15.3<sup>2</sup> (where the baths are called a "gymnasium"). For Sura, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 253. Cf. also *RE* 13.473-483 s.v. "Licinius" (no. 167) [GROAG] where it is suggested (481-482) these baths later became known as the *Thermae Decianae* after a restoration in the 3rd century. However, the name *Thermae Suranae* (and variants) appear in 4th century sources (such as the *Notitia*) alongside the *Thermae Decianae*, which strongly suggests separate structures. See also MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>27</sup> *HA Hadr.*, 19.10.

<sup>28</sup> Dio 72(73).12.5; *HA Comm.*, 17.5, 20.3; cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 20-23 where it is shown that Cleander's baths are possibly to be identified with the *Thermae Commodianae* known from other sources, cf. *FTUR*, 8.151-164, esp. nos. 154-159.

<sup>29</sup> *Sev.*, 19.5 cf. the other sources cited by MERTEN, *Bäder*, p. 24 and *FTUR*, 19.413, 414 (*Hieron. Chron.* and *Cassiod. Chron.* respectively).

The Baths of Caracalla, being the most completely preserved set at Rome, have understandably attracted exceptional attention from modern scholars.<sup>30</sup> Their work need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the building followed the same general format as its predecessors, only on a still larger scale.

Almost a century after Caracalla, the next major public baths were built under Diocletian, between AD 298 and 305/306.<sup>31</sup> They were larger than any that had come before, and today remain the largest Roman bathing establishment known. Their ruins, along with those of the Baths of Caracalla, stand as stark and impressive testimony to the seriousness with which certain emperors took bath building in the capital.

Miscellaneous information on bath projects undertaken by intervening emperors between Caracalla and Diocletian survives. Most derives from the *Historia Augusta*, and so is at best of dubious quality. Severus Alexander is reported not only to have built *thermae* adjacent to the Baths of Nero, but to have added *balnea* to any region of the city lacking them.<sup>32</sup> It is unclear from the passage if Severus Alexander's *thermae* was an entirely new building or an addition or extension of the Baths of Nero, nor even if the alleged construction of *balnea* denotes only the construction of buildings from foundations or includes restorations (though the use of the verb *addere* seems to support the former). Indeed Merten, looking at the movement of imperial building away from Rome to Constantinople in the years following Constantine, and the continuance of private and church benefactions in Rome thereafter, argues that this report about

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<sup>30</sup> HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, devotes an entire chapter to them, pp. 124-141; cf. the length of the article for them in MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp.180-182, s.v. "Terme di Caracalla"; NASH, *Dict.*, II.434-441, s.v. "Thermae Antoninianae (Caracallae)"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.53-54, II.3 (C.8). Their dimensions alone are impressive: the central building is 220m x 140m while the outside wall stretches for 337m x 328m.

<sup>31</sup> Their dedication between 1 May, 305 and 25 July, 306 is recorded in an inscription *ILS* 646; cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 112-117; MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp. 183-184, s.v. "Terme di Diocleziano"; NASH, *Dict.*, II. 448-453, s.v. "Thermae Diocletianae"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.55-56, II.3-4 (C.11). The dimensions of the central building were 250m x 180m and the outside circuit runs for 380m x 370m. Cf. *FTUR*, 14.377.57 (Chronogr. A. 354).

<sup>32</sup> *Sev. Alex.*, 25.3-4: *thermas nominis sui iuxta eas quae Neronianae fuerunt*; and *ibid.*, 39.3-4: *balnea omnibus regionibus addidit, quae forte non habebant*.

Severus Alexander's *balnea* is "to be seen at the very least as a tendentiously coloured exaggeration" which nostalgically evokes "the good old days" of imperial munificence.<sup>33</sup> The *Thermae Decianae* are presumably to be dated to the mid-3rd century, but little is known of them.<sup>34</sup>

The *Historia Augusta* also reports that Gordian III restored the Baths of Trajan and built some *balneae*, which were meant for private persons and fitted out accordingly.<sup>35</sup> A curious statement, characteristic of the sort of obscurity that pervades this source, it seems to imply that Gordian built baths to be used by certain people, implying that they were not open to the general public. If so, why were they built, and who were the "private" people? Merten argues that this passage reflects a restoration of the *Balneum Surae* carried out by Gordian as attested in an inscription, but this does not fit with the *Historia Augusta's* wording.<sup>36</sup> Altogether, this notice remains a mystery, a strange statement typical of this source; it should perhaps not be taken seriously. The same source adds that Gordian planned a complex of *thermae aestivales et hiemales*, which never came to fruition.<sup>37</sup> Finally, it claims that Aurelian built *thermae hiemales* in the Transtibertine region, and that the emperor Tacitus destroyed some of his own buildings to erect public baths.<sup>38</sup> None of this can be checked against any other source.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 31-34, esp. p. 34: "Zumindest die erste [Nachricht der vita Severus Alexander] muß als tendenziös gefärbte Übertreibung angesehen werden."

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *FTUR*, 1.5 (*Curiosum*).

<sup>35</sup> *Max. et Balb.*, 1.4 (Trajan); *Gord.*, 32.5: *sed balneae privatis hominibus fuerunt et ab eo in usum privatum exornatae sunt . . .*

<sup>36</sup> MERTEN, *Bäder*, p. 23 (esp. n. 41). The inscription is *AE* 1921.73, but it may commemorate a decoration (according to the editors of *AE's* restoration).

<sup>37</sup> *HA Gord.*, 32.7; cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 34-48 on "summer and winter baths" in general, and *ibid.*, pp. 34-38 on Gordian's plans in particular.

<sup>38</sup> *HA Aur.*, 45.2, cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 41-42 (Aurelian); *Tac.*, 10.4; cf. MERTEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-15 (Tacitus).

<sup>39</sup> Though note the mention of the *balneum ex disciplina d. n. Aureliani* in no. 201 (Table 6).

The last Imperial set of baths erected at Rome were those of Constantine, built c. AD 315, and executed on a much more modest scale than those of Diocletian or Caracalla.<sup>40</sup> Maxentius constructed *thermae* "on the Palatine," but they were undoubtedly part of the Palace and not open to the public.<sup>41</sup> An inscription reports that Constantine's wife, Helena, restored a set of baths that had been part of a palace of Heliogabalus; it is not clear, however, whether the baths were then open to the public.<sup>42</sup>

It is clear that the emperors and their families displayed considerable munificence with regard to bath building at Rome, but, as in so many other areas of imperial activity, no systematic "bath policy" is detectable. Rather, their constructions were sporadic, with long intervening periods when emperors did not build baths in the capital at all. In the absence of ancient testimony, what motivated individual emperors to construct individual bathing establishments, or for that matter *not* to construct them, remains largely a matter for conjecture, if hardly for puzzlement as most of the time emperors tended to act *ad hoc*.<sup>43</sup> Heinz suggests, for example, that Caracalla built his baths near a poor part of town in an attempt "to win the lower classes for himself."<sup>44</sup> While plausible enough, such a claim is at best speculative. It could just as easily be argued that these baths, being adjacent to the Via Appia, were built for the benefit of travellers, or to impress newcomers to the city.

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<sup>40</sup> Aur. Vict., 40.27. Cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 122; MANDERSCEHID, *Bib.*, pp.182-183, s.v. "Terme di Constantino"; NASH, *Dict.*, II.442-447, s.v. "Thermae Constantinae"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.56, II.4 (C.13).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. FTUR, 19.444 (Chronogr. A 354); NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.56, II.4 (C.12) where the poorly preserved baths are considered part of the Imperial Palace.

<sup>42</sup> CIL 6.1136 (= 6.31244); cf. NASH, *Dict.*, II.454-457, s.v. "Thermae Helenae"; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.54-55 considers them to have been private.

<sup>43</sup> An apparent exception is the comment in the HA (*Aur.*, 45.2) that Aurelian planned to build winter baths in the Transtibertine region "because there was a lack of cold water there" (*quod aquae frigidioris copia illic deesset*). The precise meaning of the clause is a matter for dispute (cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 38-42), but its main point is surely to explain why Aurelian planned to build specifically winter baths, and not baths *per se*. On summer/winter baths, cf. MERTEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-48; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.138-140.

<sup>44</sup> HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p.124: "Durch dieses aufwendige Bad am Rande der Stadt wollte Caracalla die unteren Bevölkerungsschichten für sich gewinnen."

Resort must therefore be had to general explanations. Public building was simply part of what the emperor did and was expected to do.<sup>45</sup> But why baths in particular? Were they built in response to popular demand? This is a possibility, though in general it is hard to prove that emperors undertook any building projects primarily to please the people.<sup>46</sup> It may even have been the case that emperors' building activities helped generate demand for baths; once lavish baths existed, people would surely require little spur to use them. On the other hand, why should emperors undertake to build such vast, essentially functional structures unless it was anticipated that they would be used? Perhaps it was a mixture of the two: popular demand encouraged imperial bath building, which in turn encouraged public demand. But all this is speculation; other, interconnected factors need to be considered.

One such factor is what we may term "dynastic rivalry." A discernible pattern in imperial building is that of certain emperors attempting to outdo their predecessors. The construction of a building by one emperor might be viewed by a successor as a challenge to do better. The process is reflected in the succession of imperial fora, and in the emperors' palaces and villas.<sup>47</sup> But the baths illustrate this phenomenon most clearly. From the Baths of Agrippa to Diocletian, each new set was bigger and more luxuriously appointed than its predecessor.

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. the comment in Dio's Speech of Maecenas, that Augustus (by which Dio means any good emperor) should adorn Rome as a matter of course, Dio 52.30.1. The *RG* (§§ 19-21) and Imperial biographers (e.g. Suet. *Jul.*, 44, *Aug.*, 28.3-30, *Cal.*, 21, *Claud.*, 19, *Vesp.*, 8.5-9.1) list the various *opera publica* of rulers without comment: it was expected imperial behaviour, part of what VEYNE terms "le style monarchique" (*Pain*, pp. 542-543, 622, 639).

<sup>46</sup> That there was a demand for baths is clear from the evidence reviewed in the previous chapters. In most cases, building works of emperors are listed without comment (as in the relevant sections of Suetonius's *Lives*, or the *Res Gestae*, 19-24); as just noted, building was simply part of what the emperor did. An exception is Suetonius's comment (*Aug.*, 29) that Augustus's forum was built due to a need for more market space. It is not clear, however, whether that need was brought to the emperor's attention by popular demand, and whether the construction of the forum was in response to that demand.

<sup>47</sup> For the forum buildings, cf. WARD-PERKINS, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 28-33 (Forum Augustum), 66-67 (Templum Pacis), 77 (Forum Transitorium), 86-95 (Forum/Markets of Trajan); note ill. 6 (p. 30) for an overview of the fora. The imperial palaces and villas are too numerous to document in detail here, but note, for instance, how the palatial plans of Caligula were outstripped (twice) at Rome by Nero and then by Domitian. On palaces and villas, cf. A.G. MCKAY, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975).

Imperial propaganda, itself a disputed notion, may also have played a role.<sup>48</sup> Whether imperial construction projects were propaganda, in that they attempted to generate a certain perception of the state in people's minds, or whether they were merely an expression of an already existing perception, is not germane to the present inquiry. On either view, construction by the emperor at the very least symbolized the benevolence of his rule, the permanence and power of the state (as embodied by the emperor) and the ruler's concern for the welfare of his subjects (whether or not it was genuinely felt).<sup>49</sup> From this perspective, the baths provided an especially apt manifestation of these combined concepts. Surely, when compared to other public buildings erected by emperors such as temples, basilicas or arches, the baths had a particularly direct message. An arch may beautify the city, a temple may express the emperor's piety (which was certainly important for the state's welfare), but a bath was a primarily functional structure, allowing the citizens to get clean and relax in often magnificent surroundings. Although the emperors did provide other public utilities -- markets, aqueducts, roads etc. -- the baths were arguably one of the most direct architectural expressions of imperial concern for the welfare of the masses. Like other utilitarian imperial structures, people would have used them regularly, but unlike other structures baths interacted more directly with their visitors, and so would have enjoyed a higher profile in the users' perceptions. This point makes the progressively larger

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<sup>48</sup> Cf. M.P. CHARLESWORTH, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: the Creation of Belief," *PBA* (1937), pp. 105-133 who argued that propaganda, or the creation of goodwill towards the ruler, was essential to the empire's survival; buildings are included as a vehicle of such propaganda (pp. 109-110), but the chief medium was coinage. This view has been called into question by VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 661-665 who, without direct reference to CHARLESWORTH, denies the existence of propaganda at all: there was no desire to create a belief in the majesty of the state, only one to express it, cf. also A. WALLACE-HADRILL, "The Emperor and his Virtues," *Historia* 30 (1981), 289-323. The most recent defence of an "imperial propaganda" is N. HANNESTADT, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Århus: Aarhus University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 9-15. In my view, however, it is difficult not to see propaganda purposes behind the construction boasts of the *Res Gestae*: Augustus is clearly highlighting his benevolence and generosity as manifested in his building activity.

<sup>49</sup> For these functions of imperial euergetism, cf. VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 621-660 and esp. 675-701. It is noteworthy, however, that despite a considerable volume of evidence baths never feature as coin types, although a wide variety of utilitarian imperial buildings -- such as aqueducts, castella, roads, fountains, and bridges -- were commemorated (and advertised?) in this way, cf. P.V. HILL, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types* (London: Seaby, 1989). It is not clear why the baths should be omitted. Die-casters could undertake representations of such complex structures as the Domus Flaviorum (*ibid.*, no. 198 [pp. 102-104]), so it seems unlikely that the buildings were too difficult to render; in any event, symbolic representations were always possible, as for the Via Traiana (*ibid.*, no. 186 [p.96]), and legends could easily be used to identify specific structures.

dimensions of the imperial baths more understandable: the increase in size reflected each successive bath-building emperor's greater concern for the public good (while simultaneously overshadowing the efforts of predecessors).

These two points lead to another possibility that has not been previously pointed out. Looking at the overall pattern of imperial bath building in the capital, it is noticeable that most of the large-scale *thermae* were put up by emperors or their associates close to the start of a new dynasty, on the occasion of a shift in the nature of the succession, or at the end of a civil war.<sup>50</sup> Is this coincidence, or were these emperors trying to symbolize the stability of the new age, and the concern of the new rulers for their people, by erecting the very structure which best symbolized peace, prosperity and imperial benevolence?

The claim that the Romans built baths out of a "concern for the general welfare of the public at large" appears exaggerated.<sup>51</sup> While the perceived therapeutic value of baths is not really to be doubted, the claim gives the impression that baths were part of a Roman "health

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<sup>50</sup> So Agrippa for Augustus; Titus for the Flavians; Trajan and Licinius Sura for the Antonines; Commodus and Cleander for the transition from adoptive to blood dynasty; Septimius Severus and Caracalla for the Severans; Diocletian for the restoration of order after the chaos of the third century; and Constantine after the civil war with Maxentius. The exception to this scheme is the Baths of Nero, the construction of which may well have been due to that emperor's desire to be popular among the masses, cf. M.T. GRIFFIN, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 104-105, esp. 104: "Nero had always found it congenial to strive for popularity with the Roman plebs . . ." Note, by way of comparison, it was just such occasions as those listed above that prompted the Athenians to set up statues of emperors or members of the Imperial family, cf. D.J. GEAGAN, "Imperial Visits to Athens: The Epigraphic Evidence" in Πρακτικά του Η' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής και Λατινικής Επιγραφικής, Αθήνα, 3-9 Οκτωβρίου 1982 (Athens: Ανατυπο Α Τομου, 1984), pp. 70-78, esp. 71-72.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. e.g. SCARBOROUGH, *Rom. Med.*, pp. 78-79; similar sentiments are expressed in *ibid.*, pp. 94 and 134. A.R. HANDS, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 144 compares the construction of Roman baths with that in 19th century London. For this, and the rise of the public bath in American cities in 1840-1890, cf. WILLIAMS, *Washing*, pp. 5-40; in both cases, the authorities, at both the national and local levels, took the lead. Such notions persist for the ancient period, albeit in a diluted form. O.F. ROBINSON, *Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 111-129 talks of the Roman authorities' "promotion of public health" (p. 111), despite a disclaimer that the Romans lacked even the concept of public hygiene (pp. 111-112). She makes statements such as, "Public baths were a very suitable way for promoting public health" (p. 116), which leaves a strong impression of conscious intent on the part of the Roman authorities in building them.

plan" (which did not exist); in general, to credit that the central authorities undertook bath construction solely out of an altruistic concern for public welfare is to take too narrow a focus.

One final point. The imperial baths of Rome reflected the emperors' special relationship with the citizens of the city; Veyne has called the capital the emperor's court, where the plebs were effectively his *clientes*.<sup>52</sup> An emperor would feel more motivated to provide for the Romans than for citizens of other Italian or provincial cities. The *annona* is a good example: it was provided at imperial expense only for the Romans, not for any other city in the empire. The emperor's behaviour at Rome cannot be expected to be repeated in the provinces, and, as shall be seen shortly, the baths illustrate this point admirably.

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*(ii) Imperial officials and others*

Because the capital was primarily the emperor's preserve,<sup>53</sup> it would be surprising to find there evidence for extensive public construction by imperial officials. During the Republic, *triumphatores* traditionally earned the right to build *opera publica* with the spoils of their victories (*manubiae*), but after Augustus there were no *triumphatores* other than emperors. The last case of "private," non-imperial public building attested in the sources is the restoration and adornment of the Basilica of Paullus by M. Lepidus in AD 22.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> *Pain*, pp. 689-701.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 685-689.

<sup>54</sup> *Tac. Ann.*, 3.72. Tacitus's comments on this incident: "at that time, public munificence was still customary" (*erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia*). The implication is that such was not the case in Tacitus's Rome.

In the case of baths, however, some buildings are known, the names of which suggest they were owned, and possibly built, by high-ranking imperial officials; others are known which seem to have been built by otherwise unattested private citizens, evidently of some means (such cases are listed in Appendix 4).<sup>55</sup> The main problem is that the buildings tend to take their name from the *cognomina* of their builders/owners, so often several identifications offer themselves.<sup>56</sup> It is entirely possible that none of the men listed as builders or owners had anything to do with the baths that shared their names, although in some cases (e.g. the *Balneum Tigellini* or *Claudii Etrusci*) the connection appears secure.

Additional problems of interpretation arise. For example, a *Balneum Bolani et Mamertini* and a *Balneum Abascanti et Antiochiani* are listed in the *Notitia* in Region I of the city.<sup>57</sup> Do the names denote two buildings or four? If the former, the doubling up of names for each structure may be a consequence of repairs or extensions bearing a later builder's name. Lugli, however, favours the separate structure interpretation, and lists a separate *balneum* for each of the four names.<sup>58</sup> Despite the unusual mode of expression used in the *Notitia* (we should expect *Balnea Bolani et Mamertini* etc.),<sup>59</sup> he is supported in this view by the parallel entry in the *Curiosum* where only a *Balneum Abascantis et Mamertini* is mentioned, with no sign of *Bolani* or *Antiochiani*. As the names are here crossed, it seems likely that the *Curiosum* made two omissions, or that the *Balneum Bolani* had ceased to function (or exist) in the intervening period. If this is accepted, the names probably denote separate buildings.

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<sup>55</sup> It must be stressed that the identifications offered there are tentative. Very few names are known from the ancient world, especially from the lower ranks of society. However, because building a bathhouse required substantial financial resources, it can reasonably be assumed that bath builders would not usually herald from the anonymous lower social echelons. Given this, it remains possible that the senatorial identifications listed in Appendix 4 are at least plausible, if not secure. As for the others, they remain mostly obscure.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Appendix 4.

<sup>57</sup> *FTUR* 8.3.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.147-148 (*Abascanti*); 8.149 (*Antiochiani*); 8.150 (*Bolani*) and 8.165-166 (*Mamertini*). Cf. also De RUGGIERO, *Diz. Epigr.*, 1.970, s.v. "Balneum" where the buildings are listed separately.

<sup>59</sup> Compare the *balinea Sergium et Putinium* at Altinum (no. 87 (Table 4)).

A further point in favour of this interpretation is the possible identities of the builders/owners. First chronologically is M. Vettius Bolanus, suffect consul in AD 66.<sup>60</sup> After him, in chronological order, come: T. Flavius Abascantus, a freedman of Domitian;<sup>61</sup> M. Petronius Mamertinus, Praetorian Prefect in AD 139-43;<sup>62</sup> and Flavius Antiochianus, consul in AD 270, and Prefect of the City in AD 269-270 and 272.<sup>63</sup> If these men were indeed responsible for the *balnea* mentioned in the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* (which is, however, far from certain), their chronological distribution would suggest separate structures.

Another such difficulty is presented by the *Balneum Torquati et Vespasiani* (listed only as *Balneum Torquati* in the *Curiosum*).<sup>64</sup> If the arguments presented in the preceding paragraphs are accepted, these would be separate structures: a *Balneum Torquati* and a *Balneum Vespasiani*.<sup>65</sup> A possible builder for the former is D. Junius Silanus Torquatus who was consul in AD 53.<sup>66</sup> The *Balneum Vespasiani* (mentioned only in the *Notitia*) is more interesting. As the *cognomen* is not attested for any other individual, it seems that the emperor of that name is the strongest candidate for owner/builder.<sup>67</sup> However, a bath built by him is not mentioned in any other source, which is not necessarily conclusive, but noteworthy.<sup>68</sup> Its listing as a

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. *RE* 2.8A,2.1857-1858, s.v. "Vettius" (no. 25) [Stattmann]. Another possibility here is the son and namesake of this Bolanus (cf. *ibid.*, s.v. "Vettius" (no. 26)) who was ordinary consul in AD 111. The baths are mentioned in neither article.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 194, where these baths are attributed to him. However, recent research has cast doubt upon this particular identification. The name was a particularly common one -- a total of 221 Abascanti are known from Rome, many of them (125) of uncertain social status, and so possibly builders or owners of *balnea*; cf. H. SOLIN, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, 3 vols., (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982), II.844-847, s.v. "Abascantus."

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *RE* 19.1217-1219, s.v. "Petronius" (no. 44) [Hoffman]. Although the baths are not mentioned in this article, it is worth noting that he was a colleague of M. Gavius Maximus, who built baths at Ostia, cf. no. 22 (Table 2). Another possibility is M. Valerius Mamertinus, rival of Herodes Atticus in the mid-2nd century (cf. *RE* 14.951, s.v. "Mamertinus" (no. 1) [Stein]).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 203. The baths are not mentioned in this article.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. above, n. 20.

<sup>65</sup> They are so listed in *FTUR* 8.178-179 (*Torquati*) and 8.180 (*Vespasiani*).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 837. The baths are not mentioned in this article.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *RE* 2.8A,2.1711, s.v. "Vespasianus."

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Suet. *Vesp.*, 8 does not mention such a building in his account of the emperor's constructional activities; cf. L. HOMO, *Vespasien, l'empereur du bon sens* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1949), pp. 365-378; *RE* 6.2623-2695, s.v. "Flavius" (no. 206) [Weynand], esp. 2688-2690 for his buildings.

*balneum* suggests a fairly modest structure in comparison with the two larger imperial *thermae* in the city (i.e. those of Agrippa and Nero). Is it possible it was built before Vespasian's elevation, when he was still a private citizen?<sup>69</sup> Or afterwards, as a foil to the extravagant Nero's huge *thermae*? This latter possibility is perhaps weakened by the continuing popularity of the Baths of Nero; for Vespasian to have deliberately opened a smaller set might have risked disfavour with the masses (among whom he appears to have suffered a miserly reputation).<sup>70</sup> There are other possibilities: the bath was dedicated to the emperor, or named after a statue that stood inside, and so in no way reflects construction by Vespasian. Certainty proves elusive.

The majority of the *balnea* discussed above were without doubt privately owned establishments, run as business investments. Many may have been built or run (or both) by people of relatively low social standing.<sup>71</sup> But if so, such builders/owners must have been of sufficient substance to construct or buy an urban bathhouse, which would have been well beyond the means of the average shopkeeper or craftsman. Such men, then, are likely to have been at least economically prominent in their area of the city.

If even some of the various identifications with known senators, *equites* and imperial freedmen and officials proposed above are correct, these baths represent a continuance of the Republican tradition whereby wealthy citizens were responsible for providing the city with its

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<sup>69</sup> He was suffect consul in AD 51 (Suet. *Vesp.*, 4.2) and had been in the imperial service for some time, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 398. Cf. J. NICOLS, *Vespasian and the Partes Flavianae* (Wiesbaden: Historia Einzelshriften 28, 1978), pp. 1-12 for a summary of Vespasian's pre-Imperial career. The bath finds no mention here. His family was of moderate means (Suet. *Vesp.*, 1.2-4), and he himself was not outstandingly rich as a private citizen (*ibid.*, 4.3). On the other hand, he must have been of some means to follow a senatorial career. As a result, whether or not he could have afforded to build a bathhouse, even a *balneum* run for profit (which would certainly be in accordance with his rumoured avarice, *ibid.*, 16, 19.2), before becoming emperor remains a moot point. Another possibility is that his brother, T. Flavius Sabinus, who was *praefectus urbi* for 12 years (Tac. *Hist.*, 3.75) and apparently more generous with his money (*ibid.*, 3.65) built the bath and named it after Vespasian, but this is speculation.

<sup>70</sup> Suet. *Vesp.*, 16, 19.2.

<sup>71</sup> Such is the case, in all likelihood, with the *balnea Abascanti, Fortunati, Polyclitii, Stephani*, and *Ampelidis* listed in Appendix 4. Many of these names appear to have had servile origins, e.g. of the 221 examples of "Abascantus," 78 denote slaves or freedmen (SOLIN, *Namenbuch*, II.913), similarly of 236 attested "Stephani," 87 are of servile origin (*ibid.*, III.1186).

baths. It might seem to the modern reader that such places could not hope to compete with the luxury available free-of-charge in the Imperial baths, but certain evidence suggests that these more modest establishments could on occasion offer splendour (albeit on a lesser scale) to rival the Imperial best.<sup>72</sup> In addition, many people are more likely to have lived nearer a local *balneum* than an Imperial *thermae*, the convenience of which would have attracted custom. Perhaps, as well, the smaller (less salubrious) facilities attracted a regular set of patrons.<sup>73</sup> The pubs of the British Isles offer a comparison: regular customers will willingly pass up more comfortable surroundings in favour of their "local."<sup>74</sup> Whatever the case, the figures in the *Notitia* -- 856 *balnea* to 11 imperial *thermae* -- attest to the enduring popularity of these Imperial descendants of Republican Rome's modest public establishments.

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. below, pp. 245-246; note esp. the *Balneum* or *Thermulae Claudii Etrusci*, cf. Stat. *Silv.*, 1.5, Mart. 6.42. For free admittance to imperial *thermae*, cf. Fronto *Ep. Grec.*, 5.1 (ed. Van Den HOUT [Teubner, 1988], p. 244); HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 23-24; MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 6-11; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I. 133-134. Note also that *Gloss. Lat.*, III.651.10 includes the (unanswered) question, *ad thermas aut in privato?* If the *privato* is taken to mean a privately owned facility open to the public, the question may indicate that the *thermae* were free (which presumably would be the chief distinction between the *thermae* and *privati*). Alternatively, *privato* may denote a private bathing suite at home, but this is unlikely: the party is clearly about to go out to bathe. When the scene shifts to the bathhouse, an entrance fee is paid and change received -- *da balnitori nummos, accipe reliquum* (ibid., 652.10) -- but it is not clear if the place is *thermae* or (*balneum*) *privatum*.

<sup>73</sup> For the more unpleasant baths available to the ancient public, cf. below, pp. 247-249.

<sup>74</sup> For "regulars" at Roman baths, cf. Ch. 7, n. 145.

## CHAPTER VI

### BUILDERS AND MAINTAINERS OF PUBLIC BATHS II: ITALY AND THE PROVINCES

#### *Introduction*

Although emperors cannot be expected to have built baths in Italy and the provinces as a matter of course, their doing so is not unheard of. Such cases are treated first, along with those credited to imperial officials. However, the main questions addressed in this section are: Who built and maintained the majority of the baths of the empire's towns and municipalities? From what social strata did bath builders originate? What motivated their actions? The epigraphic testimony assembled in the Tables proves pivotal, though other sources are employed where applicable.

The epigraphic sample comprises 267 entries (including the addendum). This is not a particularly high total, given the area and the timespan covered, so results are to be treated with reserve. Nonetheless, something can still be learned from an analysis.

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#### *(i) The central authorities*

The limited role of the central authorities in bath construction and maintenance illustrates the distant nature of the imperial authorities' role in provincial life.

*Emperors*<sup>1</sup>

Only five inscriptions from Italy and the provinces unequivocally record an emperor erecting public baths for a local community.<sup>2</sup> The earliest is a bath "given" by Augustus to Bononia, which probably means "built": as the baths were restored by a later emperor (Gaius or Nero) the implication is clearly that Augustus erected the original structure.<sup>3</sup> Baths were built by Vespasian for two Lycian communities, Cadyanda and Patara.<sup>4</sup> At Ostia, Antoninus Pius completed an establishment promised by Hadrian, the latter perhaps acting in the capacity of honorary *duovir*.<sup>5</sup> This building is also a special case, because Ostia's proximity and importance to Rome probably ensured a greater degree of Imperial attention here than elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> Finally, an inscription records that Constantine built baths at Reims.<sup>7</sup>

These five inscriptions may be supplemented by other texts. One of the empresses, Faustina, is credited with baths at Miletus, but such acts of munificence by members of the imperial house other than the emperor can be regarded as private benefactions.<sup>8</sup> There is an inscription from Volubilis recording the restoration of a *domus cum balineo* by Gordian III.<sup>9</sup> It

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<sup>1</sup> Number references in this section are to Table 1, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 1, 3, 4, 8 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. nos. 1 and 2 and notes.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 3 and 4 and notes.

<sup>5</sup> No. 8. These are probably the Baths of Neptune, cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, p. 409; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.5 (C.24). On Hadrian's possible duovirate at Ostia, cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, p. 88, n. 4; MEIGGS, *Ostia*, pp. 175 and 409 offers little support. Emperors, members of the Imperial family, or other magnates could be so honoured by municipalities; when they were, their duties were discharged by a locally appointed *praefectus Caesaris*, cf. L.A. CURCHIN, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. nos. 17, 18 (Table 1); 20, 22, 28 (Table 2). It is noteworthy that the cost of this bath at Ostia, at HS2,000,000, outstrips by far the other known bath-costs in Italy or Africa, cf., R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, 2nd ed.), nos. 29-31 (p. 91) (Africa) and 439, 443, 444, 445, 447, 450 (p. 157) (Italy). Cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, pp. 51-78.

<sup>7</sup> No. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 100 (Table 4) (Faustina); cf. 199 (Table 6) (Vibia Gallia).

<sup>9</sup> AE 1922.57: Imp. Caesar M. Antonius | Gordianus Pius Felix, Invictus | Augustus domum cum balineo | vetustate conlapsam || a solo restituit curante | M. Ulpio Victore v.e., porc. (*sic*) | pro. legato

is far from clear what type of structure is being referred to here; it may be a private house or palace with a bath, or it may be an unidentifiable public building which had a bath attached to it such as a *mansio*.<sup>10</sup>

Several baths in Italy and the provinces were named after emperors.<sup>11</sup> It might be conjectured, in light of the custom of naming baths after their builders, that the relevant emperors were responsible for their construction. While this may be true in some cases, caution is advised. Naming a bath after an emperor was one way of displaying loyalty to the regime, as well as perhaps being fashionable -- if Rome can have *Thermae Antoninianae*, so can Nicomedia. The dedicatory inscription of the *Balineum Hadrianum* at Apamea, which would have stood over or near the entrance to the building, expressly says that the bath was built by the local government from public money and dedicated to Hadrian, his wife, the imperial house and the Senate and People of Rome.<sup>12</sup> Finally, it is possible that emperors may lie hidden among bath constructions whose builders remain anonymous due to the fragmentary nature of the surviving texts.<sup>13</sup> All that can be said for sure is that our corpus, covering the entire empire for

<sup>10</sup> Baths are a habitual feature of *mansiones*, cf. above, Introduction, n. 6 (pp. 4-5).

<sup>11</sup> For instance :

- *Balineum Hadrianum*: ILS 314 (Apamea) = no. 45 (Table 3)
- *Thermae Commodianae*: ILS 5511 (Beneventum) = no. 205 (Table 6)
- *Thermae Severianae*: ILS 5478 (Laternum) = no. 39 (Table 3)
- *Thermae Antoninianae*: ILS 613 (Nicomedia) = no. 13 (Table 1)
- *Thermae Gallienianae*: AE 1913.180 (Thibursicum Bure) = no. 51 (Table 3)
- *Balneum Aurelianum*: ILS 5687 (Caesena) = no. 127 (Table 5)
- Διοκλητιανὸν βαλάνιον(*sic*): AE 1932.79 (Palmyra).
- *Thermae Liciniana*: ILS 1500 (Dougga) = no. 164 (Table 5)
- *Thermae Constantianae*: ILS 5704 (Ephesos) = no. 29 (Table 2); CIL 10.4599 (Trebula) = no.

170 (Table 5)

- *Thermae Gratianae*: ILS 5701 (Segusio) = no. 69 (Table 3)
- τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ/τῶν Σεβαστοῦ/ῶν: IGR 4.1519 (Sardis), SEG 27 (1977), 746

(Ephesos).

<sup>12</sup> No. 45 (Table 3) and note. See also IK 4.16 (dedication of a bath to Julia, probably the daughter of Augustus, at Assos in Asia); AE 1909.136 (dedication of baths to Claudius at Miletus); AE 1934.80 (dedication of baths to Commodus at Siga, Africa); IGR 1.854 (dedication of a bath to Severus and Caracalla at Olbia, Sarmatia).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. CIL 8.12274, 8.23293, 11.1433.

a period spanning several centuries, reveals only five public baths that were definitely built or directly funded by emperors. Of these, two are in Italy, two in Asia, and one in Gaul.

What of other bath-related construction? Did the emperors help directly in the adornment, restoration or extension of baths? The evidence here is fuller than for bath building, but not especially impressive on its own terms. Only 13 restorations are known to be the work of emperors, all but three from Italy.<sup>14</sup> Marcia Aurelia, the concubine of Commodus, restored baths at Anagnia.<sup>15</sup> Three texts record the extension of baths by emperors, all late, and all in conjunction with restorations; such extensions coupled with restorations can be regarded as a single act of beneficence.<sup>16</sup> Seven inscriptions record the adornment of baths by an emperor, all but one in conjunction with other work.<sup>17</sup> Another from Thamgudi dated to Caracalla's reign may record a decoration by the emperor.<sup>18</sup>

In total, the corpus provides only 19 separate instances of constructional bath benefactions by emperors in Italy and the provinces. This is remarkably few, and a likely sign that, whatever their bath-building activities in the city of Rome, the emperors did not regularly personally extend this benefaction to the empire at large. When they did, Italy was the main beneficiary. Such a situation is fully in keeping with the "distant and reactive" model of the emperor's place in provincial life. It is also likely that behind many of these bath constructions, restorations, and extensions lie embassies from local communities asking for an imperial benefaction, though the texts are not likely to reflect this expressly.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19.

<sup>15</sup> *ILS* 406, for Marcia, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 261. It seems that she came from Anagnia (her father appears to have been the imperial freedman Aurelius Sabinianus Euhodius, cf. no. 148 (Table 5)).

<sup>16</sup> Nos. 13, 18, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Nos. 4, 7, 8, 14, 18, 19 (decoration in conjunction with other work) and no. 11 (decoration alone).

<sup>18</sup> *CIL* 8.2370 (cf. p. 951).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. MILLAR, *Emperor*, pp. 363-463, esp. 420-434 where it is shown that the embassy/imperial audience was a main mode of communication between emperor and subject community. See also JACQUES, *Liberté*, pp. 322-324.

*Imperial officials*<sup>20</sup>

Before examining this category of benefactors, two classificatory distinctions employed in Table 2 must be highlighted. First, included here are only those cases of imperial officials who appear to have acted in an "official capacity" when making the benefaction, i.e. men who benefited a community in the area under their jurisdiction, as opposed to their native communities (in which case their actions are classified as those of a private, local benefactor). This may be a somewhat misleading distinction, as it is not clear whether Roman bathers would have drawn it. But for the purposes of the present inquiry, which distinguishes separate classes of benefactor, there is a difference. It was not expected of imperial officials to build or restore baths (or other public buildings) for communities under their jurisdiction, and when they are found to do so, it is pertinent to ask why.

But caution is advised. Vigilance is required to distinguish the "official" from the "local" benefactions. This last point is illustrated by the massive benefactions conferred on the Spanish city of Castulo by Q. Torius Culleo, procurator of Hispania Baetica, among which featured the giving of ground for the construction of a public bath.<sup>21</sup> This would appear to be a straightforward case of an imperial official benefiting a city with a bath. However, Castulo lay in Hispania Tarraconensis, not in Culleo's province of Baetica, and the lavish scale of the combined benefactions, estimated at between HS10-20 million, would indicate that Culleo was a native of Castulo benefiting his hometown. In other words, Culleo, although an imperial official, was acting as a private benefactor favouring his native city in much the same way as Pliny the Younger favoured his hometown, Comum.<sup>22</sup> Such acts ought to be distinguished

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<sup>20</sup> All references to Table entries in this section are to Table 2, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>21</sup> *ILS* 5513 (= no. 260 [Table 7] and note).

<sup>22</sup> For Pliny the Younger's benefactions to Comum and elsewhere, cf. *ILS* 2972 and esp. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, pp. 27-32.

from benefactions conferred by imperial officials on communities under their authority, which was only temporary in any case.

The second point concerns *curatores rei publicae*. They are normally considered external officials, appointed by the emperor to oversee the finances of one or more communities.<sup>23</sup> While this may be largely true for the Principate, by the late Empire the nature of the office had changed to that of a local magistracy: curators were drawn from local stock, and were chosen by the local authorities, although still ultimately appointed by the emperor.<sup>24</sup> In light of this development, curators of the Principate are classified as imperial officials, and so considered in this section, while those of the Tetrarchic period or later are classified as local magistrates, and are treated as such below.<sup>25</sup>

Only one inscription clearly identifies an imperial official as the builder of baths, and that is a *curator r. p.* at Verona, while three others most probably reflect the building of baths by a *praefectus fabrum*, a praetorian prefect, and a *rector Samniticus* respectively.<sup>26</sup> (An inscription from Catania in Sicily records a proconsul doing something to the baths there, but the crucial

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<sup>23</sup> Thus, for instance, R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 170; cf. R. DUTHOY, "Curatores rei publicae en Occident durant le Principat," *AncSoc* 10 (1979), 171-239; ; W. ECK, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1979), pp. 190-246, esp. 198-205; F. JACQUES, *Les curateurs des cités dans l'occident romain* (Paris: Études prosopographiques 5, 1983); id., *Liberté*, pp. 282-300.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. G.P. BURTON, "The Curator Rei Publicae: Towards a Reappraisal," *Chiron* 9 (1979), 465-488, esp. 477-479, though the shift had been noted before, cf. *RE* 4.1806-1811, s.v. "curatores" (no. 10) [Kornemann]. Some curators of local stock are known as far back as the early 2nd century AD, continuing into the 3rd. (cf. JACQUES, *Curateurs*, pp. 249-393) though the majority had taken part in the imperial service (usually the military) before being appointed. BURTON's point is that by the 4th century, the office had become wholly local. There may have been exceptions. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, p. 166 (no. 298), cf. pp. 35-36 cites C. Aufidius Vegetus at Burgvillos as a 2nd-century locally appointed *curator r.p.* (he had been *duovir* twice; cf. no. 63 [Table 3]). However, the text does not specify what Aufidius's *cura* was: he is not expressly said to have been a *curator r.p.*

<sup>25</sup> It is clear from the titlature of the men involved that this distinction is valid, and offers further support for Burton's position. Compare, for instance, the imperial careers of nos. 23 and 24 with the local ones of 68 (Table 3), 162 (Table 5).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. nos. 21 (*praefectus fabrum*), 22 (*praefectus praetorio*), 23 (*curator*), and 40 (*rector*) and notes.

word explaining his activity is missing.)<sup>27</sup> Four is not a high total, and in the case of the *curator r. p.* at Verona, money was given for the completion of a project already begun. Note also that three of the four constructions belong to the Principate, with only one falling in the late Empire. All but one were carried out in Italy. It seems safe to conclude that imperial officials, like emperors, did not frequently build baths in Italy and the provinces. As noted above, since construction for communities in their provinces did not normally feature among imperial officials' duties, this is not surprising. All the less so, when the expense and length of time required to build baths are taken into account. Despite this, the variety of officials attested here is noteworthy, from the modest position of *praefectus fabrum*, to the more lofty consular *curator*, and a praetorian prefect.

The situation for restorations, extensions and adornments is not much different, although, as with the emperors, there is slightly more evidence. Thirteen inscriptions clearly record the restoration of baths or parts thereof by imperial officials.<sup>28</sup> Another may record the restoration of baths by a *legatus pro praetore* in Dalmatia in the third century, but the name is too fragmentary to be absolutely sure.<sup>29</sup> Of the 13 texts, all but three are of Italian provenance, and all but one are late. As many communities would initially have built baths during the prosperous days of the 2nd century, and since the upheavals of the 3rd century would have left many public amenities neglected, this is to be expected.<sup>30</sup> That most of the restorers were officials with

<sup>27</sup> *CIL* 10.7018: Q. Lusius | Labertus | proconsul | thermas || [--]. The inscription is from the architrave blocks of 4 Corinthian columns, a fifth apparently bearing the missing *fecit* or *dedit* or *refecit* or whatever.

<sup>28</sup> Nos. 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42. Possibly also the undated *CIL* 5.8807 from Acelum where baths that burned down are restored *curante P. Acilio P. f. Domo Ro[ma] curatore rei publicae*. However, the fragmentary text does not make clear whether the work was paid for by the local authorities (with Acilius supervising), or whether he paid for it himself, so it is excluded. Full text: [--] [b]alineum vi ignis conla[psum] | curan[te] | P. Acilio P. fil. Domo Ro[mano?] | curatore rei publicae

<sup>29</sup> *CIL* 3.10054. The name as it survives is L. Do[ . . . ] | Gal[ . . . ] and the suggested restoration is L. Domitius Gallicanus, *leg. pr. pr.* in the 3rd century (he lived during the reigns of Gordian I and Philip the Arab, cf. *CIL* 2.4115 and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 148).

<sup>30</sup> In this regard, cf. H. JOUFFROY, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (Strasbourg: AECR, 1986), pp. 125-129 where "le siècle des Antonins" sees more bath constructions in Italy than any other period. Note also that of the 387 baths catalogued by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.1-47, some 152 (40%) are dated to the 2nd century AD; of the 67 Italian examples, 28 (41%) are of 2nd-century date.

localized powers (*correctores, rectores, consulares*) reflects the conditions in the late Empire, with its fragmentation of the Principate's larger administrative units.<sup>31</sup> Building activity by governors (*praesides*), however, is not unknown.<sup>32</sup>

Only two inscriptions clearly record the extension of baths by imperial officials: the addition respectively of an *atrium* and aqueduct.<sup>33</sup> Both are late and extra-Italic. Six commemorate the adornment of baths by imperial officials, one of which was coupled with another benefaction (an extension).<sup>34</sup> All are late (with one undated), and all but one are of Italian provenance. A fragmentary inscription from Africa may record the adornment of baths by a proconsul and *curator r. p.*<sup>35</sup> An African text throws light on how a *curator r. p.* could operate. It tells how the council of Thibursicum Bure imported four marble statues from "a lonely and rocky place already overhanging" to the *apodyterium* of their baths, and did so "with the urgent foresight of Aurelius Honoratus Quietanus, *curator rei publicae*."<sup>36</sup> Here, the *curator r. p.* apparently suggested the movement of the statues, while the local government carried out the actual task.

The total for constructional bath benefactions by imperial officials is 24. Like the emperors, imperial officials did not build or maintain baths in any great numbers; also like the emperors, they tended to benefit Italy more than the provinces (18 Italian benefactions to 6 provincial). Although the more localized officials predominate, governors, procurators and even

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), pp. 366-410.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. nos. 27, 35, 38; note also the *procurator* (no. 25) and proconsul (no. 29).

<sup>33</sup> Nos 29 (*atrium*) and 38 (aqueduct).

<sup>34</sup> Nos. 20, 26, 30, 39, 43 (adornments only) and 29 (extension and adornment).

<sup>35</sup> *CIL* 8.25845; The text is too fragmentary to be sure what work was carried out (although at least an adornment is clear enough). The proconsul Hilarianus Hesperius, whose name is in the nominative, had some hand in the activity, but his role (and that of the curator) is not entirely clear. As a result, the text is excluded from the Tables. For Hesperius, cf. *PLRE* 1 Hesperius 2 (pp. 427-428). The text reads: [Valente Gr]atiano et Valentin[iano | Augu]stis thermis aestivis [--] | orna[t]us constitue[r]u[nt] | [--] Hil]rianus Hesperius v. c. proco[s] || [cu]rator r. p. et Minucio Mu[--].

<sup>36</sup> No. 115 (Table 5) and note.

a praetorian prefect are attested. However, imperial officials could show an interest in public bathing other than constructional: they appear to have frequented the public baths in their provinces, even held court there.<sup>37</sup> A text from Villa Magna in Africa commemorates a benefactor who finished off and dedicated a pool (among other parts?) *sub administratione proconsulis p(rovinciae) A(fricae)*.<sup>38</sup> This may mean simply "during the administration of the proconsul," but the absence of a name for the proconsul in question makes this unlikely. More likely it means "under the management/direction of the proconsul," in which case it suggests that the governor ordered the completion of an unfinished bath, the sight of which must have been uncomplimentary to the community, and the work was then carried out by Stulinus, the benefactor named in the inscription. Such a duty was not unusual for a governor.<sup>39</sup> Pliny the Younger -- effectively doubling as governor and *curator r. p.* -- reported that the baths at Prusa in Bithynia were "old and filthy" and in need of repair; the locals were to be responsible for carrying out and paying for the restoration.<sup>40</sup>

Why did these imperial officials benefit cities and communities in their provinces at all? These, after all, were communities to which the benefactor owed no loyalties or obligations.<sup>41</sup> From this perspective, the distinction between imperial officials acting in an "official capacity" (i.e. while on duty in a particular area), and those acting as private, local benefactors (i.e. benefiting a hometown before or after a stint in the imperial service) is clear. Many of the

<sup>37</sup> Cf. below, pp. 260. Cf. D. FEISSEL & J. GASCOU, "Documents d'archives romains inédits au Moyen Euphrate (IIIe Siècle après J.-C.)," *CRAI* 1989, 535-561, esp. 545-557 where the governor Julius Priscus hears a petition "in the Baths of Hadrian" (ἐν ταῖς Ἀδριαναῖς θερμαῖς; compare HA *Aur.*, 10.3, 13.1).

<sup>38</sup> No. 196 (Table 6) and note.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Dig.*, 1.16.7.1 (proconsuls and legates should inspect subject communities' public buildings and recommend any repairs); *ibid.*, 1.18.7 (*praesides* to do likewise).

<sup>40</sup> Pliny, *Ep.*, 10.23 and 24. The bath is described as *et sordidum et vetus*. Note also *ILS* 5675 where Trajan orders the locals of Ricina to repair their bath and squares (*platias*) which had been left to the town in the will of a local benefactor. Clearly there was imperial concern for the appearance of municipalities, even if there was a reluctance to intervene directly. On Pliny's position in Bithynia, cf. R.J.A. TALBERT, "Pliny the Younger as Governor of Bithynia-Pontus" in C. DEROUX (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History II* (Brussels: Collection Latomus 168, 1980), pp. 412-435, esp. 423-434.

<sup>41</sup> Note, for instance the considerable benefactions of Fabius Maximus (nos. 31-33 and note) to Samnium, or Cecina Albinus (no. 34 and note) to Numidia.

motives that can be surmised for local authorities and benefactors therefore do not apply here. There is no direct evidence. Possibly they wished to reflect well on themselves to obviate any potential discredit arising from other of their actions, or they may have acted out of a desire for greater prestige, or out of altruism, or a mixture of the two. But all of this is conjecture; beyond such generalities, the matter remains obscure.<sup>42</sup>

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Overall, our corpus provides only 43 instances of construction, restoration, extension or adornment of baths by emperors or imperial officials in Italy and the provinces. This is a remarkably low total, considering the geographical area covered and the timespan involved, and leads to the conclusion that the central authorities did not actively promote bathing in the provinces by direct benefaction. Of the benefactions listed, Italy attracted a greater degree of official attention than did the provinces: 31 (72%) out of 43.

These observations support the "distant" model of imperial administration, namely that to his subjects (especially those living outside Italy), the emperor and his agents were detached entities whose interest in local conditions was largely restricted to matters of imperial security and revenue.<sup>43</sup> It is worth noting that in Pliny's correspondence with Trajan from Bithynia, the emperor's interest in local conditions is minimal, at least for those circumstances that did not bear directly on the smooth administration of the region.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, imperial concern with bath-related matters in the *Digest* is superficial: for the most part, baths appear in cases illustrating broader legal principles, such as transfer of property and ownership, criminality and

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<sup>42</sup> Note the extraordinary outlay of 7 million drachmas (HS28,000,000) of Herodes Atticus and his father for the bath-gymnasium at Alexandria Troas (NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.36 [C.292]) when Herodes was *corrector Asiae* in AD 134/5 (cf. *Phil. Vit. Soph.*, 2.1.3; W. AMELING, *Herodes Atticus* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1983), pp. 54-56). However, Herodes was an extraordinary *euergete* in his own right (*Phil. Vit. Soph.*, 2.1.1), and his behaviour at Alexandria should not be taken as typical for imperial officials. Cf. *Lib. Or.*, 1.82.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. above, p. 183.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. below, pp. 223-224.

personal litigation.<sup>45</sup> There is no concern for dictating who is to be responsible for bath construction, or regulating how they should be built. Evidently, the provision and maintenance of public baths was, in the eyes of the central authorities, not their responsibility. The possibility that they reflect imperial concern for the health and welfare of the general populace therefore becomes more remote.<sup>46</sup>

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*(ii) Local authorities and private benefactors*

The relative infrequency of imperial construction in Italy and the provinces requires that municipal authorities (in the form of local councils, magistrates and officials) and private benefactors account for the majority of public edifices.<sup>47</sup> Baths were no exception.<sup>48</sup> Compared with the 43 benefactions credited to the central authorities, 163 are attested from local sources.<sup>49</sup> The ratio is almost 4:1 in favour of locals. This situation reflects the relative autonomy of the municipalities in running their own affairs. The two main types of agents, local authorities and private benefactors, should not be sharply differentiated: as Duncan-Jones has

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Dig.*, 7.1.13.8, 7.1.15.1 and 12, 8.5.8.7, 9.2.50, 13.6.5.15, 30.41.8, 32.55.3, 32.91.4, 33.7.13.1 and 17.2, 34.2.40.1, 35.2.80.1, (property and ownership); 1.15.3.5, 2.4.20, 3.2.4.2, 47.17, 48.5.10(9).1 (criminal activity); 16.3.1.8, 17.1.16, 19.2.30.1 and 58.2, 20.4.9, 43.21.3.7, 47.10.13.7 (personal litigation). In most of these cases the baths are taken as an example to illustrate a larger principle of law regarding transfer of property in a will, usufruct etc. (I am indebted to Prof. R.J.A. Talbert for these *Digest* references).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. above, p. 198-199.

<sup>47</sup> A comprehensive work devoted to the question of responsibility for public buildings in the Roman Empire has yet to be written, but cf. H. JOUFFROY, "Le financement des constructions publiques en Italie: initiative municipale, initiative impériale, évergétisme privé," *Ktema* 2 (1977), 329-337; her findings here are expanded in the "Les constructeurs" sections of ead., *Construction*, pp. 59-61, 105-108, 137-140, 152-153, 169-171, 197-199, 233-237, 279-283, 311-314. Cf. also R. DUNCAN-JONES, "Who Paid for Public Buildings?" in F. GREW & B. HOBLEY, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire* (CBA Research Report 59, 1985), pp. 28-33 which has largely been repeated in id., *Structure*, pp. 176-184. In all these works, local authorities and benefactors stand out as the chief builders of the empire.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the very brief survey of bath builders in NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.119-122, which mostly deals with related topics such as cost, benefactions of free bathing etc.

<sup>49</sup> Nos. 44-206 (Tables 3-6) inclusive.

pointed out, in the long run the money generally came from the same pockets anyway.<sup>50</sup> Since decurions, municipal magistrates, and private benefactors all stemmed for the most part from among the local wealthy landowners, this proposition gains weight.<sup>51</sup> In this section, the activities of the "public and private sectors," to borrow modern terms, will be considered together under the rubrics of type of construction, though the two types of agent are separated in the Tables for ease of reference. Motives are treated after a survey of non-constructional benefactions and the social status of the benefactors.

### *Baths built*

There are some 29 texts recording baths built by local authorities, either in the form of councils or senates, or of magistrates or other officials (mostly *seviri*).<sup>52</sup> Of these, town councils (usually identified as the *municipium/colonia* or *respublica*) account for 10, and magistrates and officials for 16; 3 were built by men described only as *patroni*.<sup>53</sup> It is noteworthy that only one of the town-council texts derives from Italy.<sup>54</sup> As to chronology, the earliest is Flavian and the latest dates to AD 413, but most fall in the High Empire.

When a local magistrate is credited with building a bath, it is often difficult to decide whether he was acting as an agent of the council, or on personal initiative. The texts can specify that the work was carried out "(entirely) at his own expense," making it clear that the official

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure*, p. 184: "The distinction between public and private financing can be pressed too far. When a municipal building was paid for with public money, a large part probably still came from the pockets of the propertied class through the *summa honoraria*." *Summae honorariae*, however, may not have been universally used for construction: it seems that in Italy they were usually spent on games or *sportulae*, cf. JOUFFROY, *Ktema* 2 (1977), 335. Despite this, DUNCAN-JONES's main point still holds.

<sup>51</sup> For the social status and wealth of local decurions and magistrates in Spain (which is probably representative of the West), cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 71-84 and 103-114.

<sup>52</sup> Nos. 44-72 (Table 3) inclusive.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Table 3, sections A, B and C respectively. For *patroni*, cf. note to Table 3C.

<sup>54</sup> No. 49 (Table 3).

was acting alone, but sometimes they offer no such clarification.<sup>55</sup> As funding public construction was not an official duty of any local magistracy, such work when carried out *sua pecunia* was tantamount to a private, voluntary benefaction.<sup>56</sup> The distinction between local office-holder and private benefactor therefore becomes blurred, but by listing the offices he held, a benefactor was declaring that he had acted as a participant in local affairs, and wanted to be remembered as such. That is enough for our present purposes.

A wide range of local offices is represented, from the highest posts of *duovir* and *quattuorvir iure dicundo*, to a vague position of *mag(ister)* or *mag(istratus)*.<sup>57</sup> There are three *seviri*.<sup>58</sup> That the latter should undertake a bath construction is an interesting testament to the financial power of the individuals concerned, and may reflect the freedperson's eagerness to acquire status in the community.<sup>59</sup> Cost may also explain why none of the baths are said to have been built *ob honorem*, or as a promise of office.<sup>60</sup> Evidently, the cost of a bathhouse was considered far too great a price for local office.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Cf. nos. 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67 (*sua pecunia* or equivalent), 56, 57, 62, 68, 69 (no clarification).

<sup>56</sup> For the duties of magistrates, cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 58-70. Although some municipal charters stipulate that magistrates were expected to make some personal outlay -- such as aediles, who had to fund spectacles, at least partly, cf. the *lex Ursonensis*, 71 (= ILS 6087.71) -- none expressly assigns the cost of public building to holders of local office. Of course, this shows only that it was not a legal requirement of office-holding: it may have been generally expected nonetheless (this is investigated more fully in the "Motivation" section below).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. nos. 55, 60, 62, 63, 66 (*duoviri*); 65 (*quattuorvir i.d.*); 61 (στρατηγός); 58 (quaestor); 57, 64 (γυμνασιάρχου); 67 (λογίσται); 68 (*curator r. p.*); 69 (*magistratus?*).

<sup>58</sup> Nos. 54, 56, 59.

<sup>59</sup> On the social difficulties facing *seviri* (for the most part freedmen, though descendants of freedmen could also hold the position), and their ambitions as reflected in munificence, cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 71-73.

<sup>60</sup> Benefactions *ob honorem* were virtually liturgies, in that they were the expected *munera* of a local magistrate. Promises, *pollicitationes*, were made while campaigning for a local office. Cf. VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 20-29; JACQUES, *Liberté*, pp. 668-757, esp. 699-707, 722-757. The closest we come to hearing of a bath construction *ob honorem* is from Aquae Neri in Aquitania where a father and two sons complete porticoes "which surround the springs and public baths" (porticus, quibus fontes Nerii et thermae p[ublicae] cinguntur . . . ) *ob honorem flamonii*, cf. no. 150 (Table 5).

<sup>61</sup> For bath costs, cf. Aul. Gell., *AN.*, 19.10.1-4 where Cornelius Fronto plans to build a bath (public or private is not specified), and is quoted a price of HS300,000 by one architect, while a friend says a further HS50,000 will be required. According to the figures provided by DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.* the average cost of a bathhouse in Africa (p. 91) and Italy (p. 157) would be HS200,000 and HS234,000 respectively (this latter figure excludes the HS2 million provided at imperial expense for baths at Ostia, cf. no. 8 (Table 1)). This is

Finally in this regard, note that three baths were built by men designated only as *patroni*.<sup>62</sup> These would be eminent individuals (of local origin or residence) coopted by the municipal council, though the position does not seem to have carried with it an expectation of large-scale munificence.<sup>63</sup>

With a total of 42, the constructions of private benefactors are slightly more numerous than those of local authorities.<sup>64</sup> They are mostly men of local origin, but not necessarily: compare the bath benefaction of Pliny the Younger to his native Comum, to the considerable gifts of Opramoas, a citizen of Rhodiapolis, to four Asian communities, Telmessos, Oenoanda, Gagae and Xanthos.<sup>65</sup> An interesting inscription from Corfinium records a private benefaction that seems to have become something of a white elephant for the town, and illustrates how thin was the line between public and private outlay.<sup>66</sup> A local consular benefactor erected and roofed baths for the town on his own ground at his own expense. When he died with the job unfinished the *possessores* of his estate contributed a further HS100,000 to the work,

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considerably higher than the overall median building cost in Africa, which is HS43,500 (*ibid.*, p. 75; no median figure is provided for Italy). Juvenal's figure of HS600,000 for the (private?) baths of a rich man probably represents an exaggeration, cf. *Sat.*, 7.178-179. On this subject, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.121-122.

<sup>62</sup> Nos. 70-72 (Table 3); cf, also note to Table 3C. Another man was a magistrate and *patronus* (no. 66)

<sup>63</sup> For this information I am indebted to C.F. EILERS, of Brasenose College, Oxford, who is researching imperial *patroni*. The topic is too large to go into in detail here, but note the figures for Africa Proconsularis gleaned from G. WESCH-KLEIN, *Liberalitas in Rem Publicam. Private Aufwendung zugunsten von Gemeinden im römischen Afrika bis 284 n. Chr.* (Bonn: Habelt, 1990), pp. 55-280, 362-405: of 342 benefactions (not all constructional), only 21 mention a *patronus*, and only 11 identify the benefactor as a *patronus*.

<sup>64</sup> Nos. 73-114 (Table 4) inclusive.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. nos. 90 (Table 4) (Pliny); 96, 97 (Table 4) (Opramoas). The grand private benefactor of the Principate must be Herodes Atticus, whose building activities stretched from Asia to Italy, cf. AMELING, *Herodes*, pp. 84-94.

<sup>66</sup> No. 92 (Table 4) and note. The size of these baths and the extent of Dolabella's initial outlay are not known, but the establishment must have been either quite large or very luxuriously decorated (or both) to have cost so much. It is also possible that the inscription reflects a sharing of responsibility for the construction of the baths, agreed upon from the outset between Dolabella and the local authorities, cf. *P. Oxy* 43.3088 where a bath is built in c. AD 128 ἐκ τε τῶν ἤδη συνειλεγμένων χρημάτων, ὡς φατε, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἄν . . . which probably went on to mention (and name?) individual contributors, cf. A.K. BOWMAN, "Public Buildings in Roman Egypt," *JRA* 5 (1992), 495-503.

presumably from the estate (it is not clear if each man gave HS100,000, or if the figure represents the sum of their combined donations). This was not enough, because a further HS152,000 was required from public funds. The whole affair seems to have stretched over some time, perhaps a decade.<sup>67</sup>

Many local benefactors have no distinguishing titles; only their names appear.<sup>68</sup> Strictly speaking, such men cannot be definitely identified as private benefactors; their status is unclear. Some caution is required here. The absence of a title does not necessarily mean the benefactor did not have one: he may have been so well known that no titles were needed. For instance, although Opramoas's titles and offices are omitted from certain texts, he is attested elsewhere as a Lyciarch, among other offices.<sup>69</sup> Opramoas is perhaps an exceptional case, a man of outstanding euergetic stature whose fame may have preceded him, and in general it is most unlikely that a benefactor (especially of local origin) would omit mention of a local or imperial office, or an honorary title (e.g. *egregius vir*) from an inscription recording his munificence.<sup>70</sup> Since it is scarcely conceivable that people wealthy enough to build a bath would have no connection with the decurial class (if not higher), we ought to regard these "name-only" benefactors as members of the local aristocracy. In this connection, note also six instances of bath construction by women, most scions of the local gentry.<sup>71</sup> An equal number were built by women jointly with men.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Ser. Cornelius Dolabella, the original benefactor, was consul in AD 113 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1350), and the wording of the inscription would imply that work was begun when he was still alive, although we do not know when he died. Aviola, one of the *possessores*, was consul in AD 122 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 50); Bradua's (the other *possessor*) consulship fell in AD 108 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1302).

<sup>68</sup> Nos. 73, 74, 76, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 95, 99, 102, 103, 104, 111, 112, 113, 114 (Table 4).

<sup>69</sup> E.g. *TAM* 2.905.II.A1 cf. *IGR* 3.736, 738.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Table 3B and nos. 77 (*egregius vir*), 78 (ἀπελεύθερος), 79 (ὑπατική), 85 (*praefectus Aegypti*), 88 (*primipilaris, tribunus*), 90-2 (*coess*), 94 (ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος), 98 (*cos*), 105 (*clarissimae memoriae vir, cos*), 106 (*clarissima et nobilissima femina*) 107 (*vir clarissimus*) (Table 4).

<sup>71</sup> Nos. 75, 79 (a woman of consular family), 89, 101, 106 and 109 (Table 4); no. 100 is a bath built by the empress Faustina.

<sup>72</sup> Nos. 78, 85, 86, 94, 108 (Table 4).

In total, some 71 bath constructions can be assigned to local agents, of which 42 (59%) were the work of private benefactors. However, as noted above, the public/private distinction should not be drawn too sharply. If the "imperial" constructions (i.e. baths built by emperors and imperial officials) are factored in, the local agents are seen to predominate with 71 (89%) of a total of 80 bath constructions.

*Baths restored, extended or adorned*

When we turn to restoration, extension and adornment, the situation is somewhat different. Unlike building, local authorities account for the majority: 62 (67%) out of 92 (including private benefactions).<sup>73</sup> Of these 62 instances, local councils are responsible for 15, magistrates and officials for 44, 3 of which were the work of *patroni*.<sup>74</sup> It seems that local authorities took a slightly more active role in restoration than they did in initial construction. As with construction by magistrates, a wide spread of 21 offices is represented, ranging from *duoviri* and *flamines* to *decuriones* and even a *dictator*.<sup>75</sup> One or two features are worth particular mention. For instance, whereas no baths were built *ob honorem*, two were restored and extended to mark the acquisition of office, and two others *pro honore*.<sup>76</sup> Because the cost of restoration was presumably less than that of initial construction, it was evidently considered an acceptable expenditure for securing an office (*honor*). Also there are seven cases where baths are restored, extended or adorned by men *omnibus honoribus functi*.<sup>77</sup> These acts of

<sup>73</sup> Cf. nos. 115-206 (Tables 5 and 6) inclusive.

<sup>74</sup> Table 5A (councils), 5B (magistrates and officials), 5C (*patroni*).

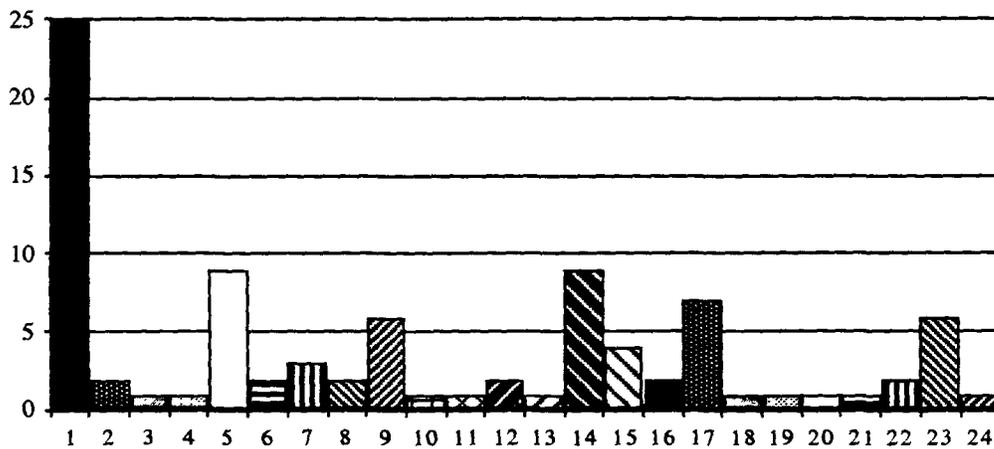
<sup>75</sup> Citing only the highest rank from long careers, the offices are (with reference to entries in Table 5 in brackets): *decurio* (153, 157); *quaestor* (168); *aedilis* (133); *duovir* (130, 131, 147, 158); *quinquennalicus* (142); *quattuorvir* (141, 156); *praefecti* (132, 143); *curator r. p.* (160, 163, 167, 171, 173); *principalis* (165); *decemvir* (148); *magistratus?* (166); *dictator* (137); *flamen* (144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 159, 162, 164); *sacerdos* (134, 140); *omnibus honoribus functi* (135, 154, 155, 161, 169, 170, 172); *sevir* (136); *patroni* (174-176); γραμματεὺς (149); ἄρχων (152); not specified (139). Cf. also below, Chart 3.

<sup>76</sup> Nos. 136, 150 (*ob honorem*); 130, 146 (*pro honore*) (Table 5).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. above, n. 75.

munificence can be seen as the crowning benefaction on careers in local politics that had included all the available magistracies (and priesthoods?).<sup>78</sup>

Taking a broad perspective on the bath-related constructional work of local authorities (whether building, restoration, extension or adornment), a distribution of responsibility for such work among the representatives of local government emerges.



**KEY:** 1= councils      7= quattuorvir      13= dictator      19= logistes  
 2= decurion      8= prefects      14= flamen      20= grammateus  
 3= quaestor      9= curators      15= sevir      21= archon  
 4= aedile      10= principalis      16= sacerdos      22= gymnasiarch  
 5= duovir      11= decemvir      17= omnibus h.f.      23= patronus  
 6= quinquennalis      12= magistratus?      18= strategos      24= not specified

**CHART 2:** The distribution of responsibility for bath construction, restoration, extension and adornment among local authorities

Although most officials are represented with at least one benefaction, the local councils predominate, and there are peaks for *duoviri*, *curatores* (mostly *rei publicae*, with one instance

<sup>78</sup> For the meaning of the title, cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, p. 39.

of *curatores refectiois*), *flamines*, *omnibus honoribus functi* and *patroni*. This is to be expected, as these represent the most prestigious appointments in the local *cursus* (or, as in the case of the *omnibus honoribus functi*, men who had held every position), and so more likely to be marked by an expensive benefaction.<sup>79</sup> The same holds true for *patroni*, who would be eminent men of local or other origin singled out for particular recognition, although outstanding munificence does not seem to have been expected of the honour.<sup>80</sup> It is worth comparing these findings with Curchin's inquiry into municipal magistrates' benefactions in Spain (he does not include priesthoods, *patroni* and *seviri*). He finds that in the constructional sphere, *duoviri* had a hand in 19 out of 25 benefactions, with two aediles, a prefect, an honorary decurion, a *quinquevir*, and *quindecimvir* also represented.<sup>81</sup> Since all of these offices, excepting the aediles and honorary decurion, represent the highest position in their respective communities, Curchin's findings coincide broadly with ours, whereby those who reached the uppermost echelons of local office tended to spend the most money on benefactions.

Private benefactors account for 30 individual benefactions.<sup>82</sup> As with construction texts, the majority are identified by name only, without any distinguishing titles.<sup>83</sup> These figures for restorations etc. by local agents indicate that local authorities took a slightly more active role in maintenance than in initial construction, where private benefactors tended to dominate.

A consideration of the role of women is in order. In all, 26 instances of constructional benefaction involving women are attested (building and restoration etc.), representing 16% of

<sup>79</sup> Cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 21-57.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. above, n. 63.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109, Table 5. Note also *ibid.*, p. 111, Table 6 where *duoviri* and one *quattuorvir* are responsible for 6 of 8 spectacle benefactions (a decurion and honorary decurion furnish the other two).

<sup>82</sup> Nos. 177-206 (Table 6).

<sup>83</sup> Nos. (all in Table 6) 178, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 201, 202, 203, 205. The men with titles are: nos. 188 (*cos*), 193 (ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος), 200 (*ducenarius*). In addition, there are two benefactors whose names are lost: nos. 190, 204.

the 163 total.<sup>84</sup> If we exclude Faustina (the empress) and Vibia Gallia (daughter of the emperor Trebonian) as exceptional, the total for the rest is 24 (15%).<sup>85</sup> Quantitatively, this may not be a significant proportion of the overall total, but given the low profile of women in public life relative to men, it is understandable. Noteworthy, though, is the number of lone women who are credited with bath benefactions: 13 of the 24; the rest are associated with their menfolk.<sup>86</sup> Six of the 13 women involved undertook the expense of building a complete bath, including one construction and adornment, and one *balneum muliebre*; only one held office (*sacerdos perpetua*) and she carried out an adornment.<sup>87</sup> These observations lend support to scholars' conclusions about the participation of aristocratic women in public life as benefactors, and so as prominent and visible members of their communities.<sup>88</sup>

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At this point, a summary of some general conclusions about responsibility for bath construction may prove helpful. Given the detached and reactive nature of imperial administration, it is hardly surprising that the central authorities are not found responsible for much local bath construction and maintenance: 43 instances for emperors and imperial officials, compared with 163 for local sources. Of the latter, private benefactors and local authorities have an almost equal share of responsibility: a total of 91 (56%) for the authorities, 72 (44%) for the benefactors. These figures are not far off Duncan-Jones' findings for public building in North

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<sup>84</sup> These are: nos. 54, 56, 60 (Table 3); 75, 78, 79, 85, 86, 89, 94, 100, 101, 106, 108, 109 (Table 4); 140, 145 (Table 5); 177, 180, 183, 191, 193, 197, 198, 199, 206 (Table 6).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. nos. 100 (Faustina) and note, 199 (Vibia Galla).

<sup>86</sup> The lone women are: nos. 75, 79, 89, 101, 106, 109 (Table 4), 140 (Table 5), 177, 180, 183, 197, 198, 206 (Table 6). Those associated with menfolk are: nos. 54, 56 (*sevirs* & wives), 60 (*duovir* & daughter), 78 (imperial freedman & wife), 85 (*praef. Aegypt.*, his mother & wife), 86 (benefactor & wife), 94 (benefactor & daughter), 108 (benefactor & wife), 145 (*flamen* & wife), 191 (benefactor, wife & daughter), 193 (benefactor & wife).

<sup>87</sup> Construction: nos. 75 (*balneum muliebre*), 79, 89, 101, 106, 109 (Table 4); *sacerdos perpetua*: no. 140 (Table 5).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. R. MacMULLEN, "Woman in Public in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 29 (1980), 208-218, esp. 210-212, 216-217; more recently, cf. M.T. BOATWRIGHT, "Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor," in S.B. POMEROY (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1991), pp. 249-272.

Africa, for which he proposes an approximately equal divide between public and private funding.<sup>89</sup> In any case, the public/private distinction at the municipal level is slight, and should not be over-emphasized.

Much of this is reflected in Pliny's letters to Trajan from Bithynia. The imperial envoy consults the emperor about bath projects planned or underway at Prusa and Claudiopolis.<sup>90</sup> Two points stand out. First, at both Prusa and Claudiopolis it is assumed by Pliny and Trajan that the local authorities will fund and see to the construction. Second, both Pliny and Trajan's interest in matters governing the construction of the baths is minimal, save in the anticipated financial outcome. This is perhaps understandable in the case of Trajan, who was at some distance from the conditions on the ground. When Pliny proposes a site for the Prusan bath, Trajan's response is terse; he is far more concerned that the Prusans do not interfere too greatly with their finances to help fund the construction.<sup>91</sup> This is again understandable: a disastrous or over-ambitious project might cut into the central authorities' revenues from the city.

It is interesting to note the financial resources the cities were proposing to use: at Prusa, the recalling of public debts from private citizens, and the diversion of funds for the provision of oil in the existing (publicly owned?) baths to the new construction.<sup>92</sup> At Claudiopolis, where the locals were erecting a huge bath (*ingens balineum*) on an ill-advised spot, *summae honorariae* (money paid to the public fisc by incoming councillors and magistrates) were to provide the principal funds.<sup>93</sup> Also at Prusa, the local authorities were planning to replace their

<sup>89</sup> Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure*, pp. 183-184.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *Ep.*, 10.23, 24, 70.1.3, 71.1 (Prusa); 10.39.5-6, 40.3 (Claudiopolis).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *Ep.*, 10.70.1.3 (Pliny's proposed site), 10.71.1 (Trajan's perfunctory reply); compare the latter with *Ep.*, 10.24 where Trajan is more explicit about how the Prusans should fund the project.

<sup>92</sup> *Ep.*, 10.23: *erit enim pecunia, ex qua fiat, primum ea, quam revocare a privatis et exigere iam coepi, deinde quam ipsi erogare in oleum soliti parati sunt in opus balinei conferre*. It is not clear whether the fund for oil provided a permanent availability of oil in Prusa's baths, or whether it was employed only on certain days, e.g. festivals or holidays. Cf. Table 7C for oil distributions.

<sup>93</sup> *Ep.*, 10.39.5: *ex ea pecunia, quam buleusae additi beneficio tuo aut iam obtulerunt ob introitum aut nobis exigentibus conferrent*. Only one inscription in our corpus explicitly states that a bath is to be built with *summae honorariae*, cf. no. 49 (Table 3), though the practice probably lies behind two other benefactions: nos.

old and decrepit bath with a new one, a rare piece of direct testimony for the motives for bath building (a topic examined more fully below).<sup>94</sup> The correspondence emphasizes the local responsibility for bath (indeed, all public) construction.

Before examining the difficult question of motives for bath construction by locals in Italy and the provinces, there is a need to consider the social status of bath benefactors, and the range of non-constructional bath benefactions.

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*(iii) Social status of benefactors, and non-constructional bath benefactions*

*Social status*

What class or classes of people carried out bath benefactions? This is best investigated by examining the epigraphic sample to determine, where possible, social status. In doing so, the information of Tables 2-7 is reviewed to give as clear a picture as possible.<sup>95</sup> Because the benefactors themselves are the focus of the present inquiry, double benefactions by single individuals listed in separate Tables are counted as one (this is especially true of many entries in Table 7). Although they may hail from different social classes, lone women, to minimise confusion, are grouped together under the rubric "women"; their individual social statuses are discussed in the appropriate section below. Joint benefactions, where more than one benefactor

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124 (Table 5) and 261 (Table 7). On *summae honorariae*, cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, pp. 82-88, 154 (Table 6). It was not unusual, it seems, to put these sums towards public construction, cf. id. *Structure*, pp. 175-178.

<sup>94</sup> *Ep.*, 10.23 (Pliny's request), 10.24 (Trajan's reply). There is little evidence for SHERWIN-WHITE's suggestion (*Letters of Pliny*, pp. 592-593) that the Prusians were here replacing their old Greek-style bath with a more elaborate Roman-style one. That Pliny uses the same word (*balineum*) for both structures argues against this proposition. However, Greek-style baths are known to have continued in use into the Roman period elsewhere, especially in Egypt, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.101.

<sup>95</sup> Emperors are a class unto themselves, and so are excluded, as are the benefactions of the imperial family members, Faustina and Vibia Gallia.

contribute to a single act, will be presented in a separate chart; by their very nature, the activities of local councils will fall into this category.

In determining the social status of individual benefactors, some problems inherent in the evidential basis should be mentioned. The status of a truly famous person (such as Pliny the Younger), or someone active in the imperial service (such as a governor) is bound to be more easily traceable than that of an obscure private benefactor who never left his *patria*, nor even took part in local politics (though such cases are probably rare). The criteria for assigning this or that individual to a particular class should therefore be discussed.

Senators and *equites* reveal themselves through the imperial offices they held, and/or their titles, e.g. *vir clarissimus*, *eques Romanus*, *vir egregius* etc.<sup>96</sup> *Equites* are divided into two classes according to the criteria laid out by R. Duthoy in his discussion of imperial *patroni*: "functionary" (those whose careers were predominantly in the imperial service), and "honorific" (those who remained in municipal politics, though a brief sojourn in the imperial service might have been undertaken).<sup>97</sup> Identifying the status of members of the local aristocracy is more difficult. Some local magistrates could advance to equestrian positions in the imperial service (usually the military); some could return from such service to hold a local magistracy.<sup>98</sup> Where evidence for such social mobility exists, I have taken it into account and assigned the individual to the equestrian, rather than decurial, class, but where it does not I have been forced to make the assumption that holders of local office are, unless otherwise specified, representative of the

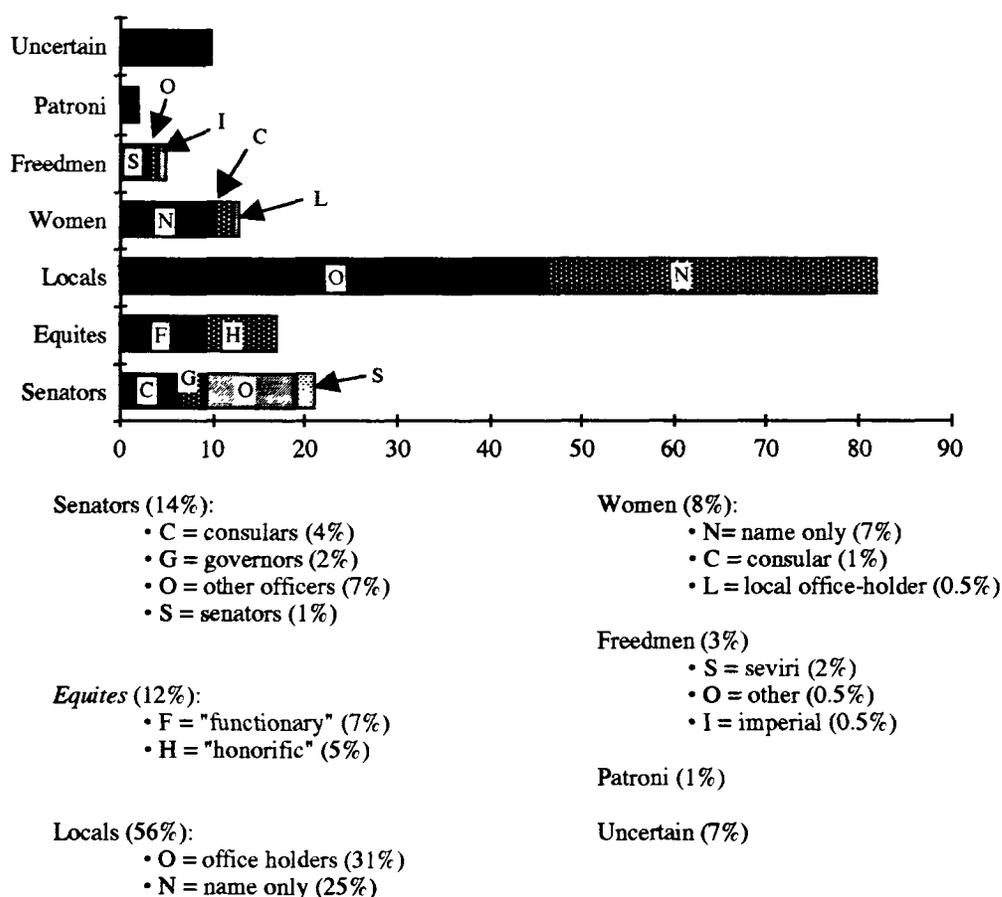
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<sup>96</sup> On such titles and their association with social strata, cf. H.G. PFLAUM, "Titulature et rang social sous le Haut-Empire" in Cl. NICOLET, *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (Paris: Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1970), pp. 159-185.

<sup>97</sup> R. DUTHOY, "Le profil social des patrons municipaux en Italie sous le Haut-Empire," *AncSoc* 15-17 (1984-1986), 121-154, esp. 123-127.

<sup>98</sup> Note, for instance, the quaestor and *quinquennalis* who served two terms as a *tribunus militum* (no. 58 (Table 3)); the local *praefectus* who had an extensive military career (no. 143 (Table 5) and note); and the *quattuorvir* (?) who is specified as an *eques* (no. 156 (Table 5)).

local aristocracy.<sup>99</sup> For private benefactors, we are on even more uncertain territory. As seen above, the majority are not identified by any title or office. As it is likely that persons rich enough to carry out a constructional bath benefaction would in some way be connected with the community's local aristocracy, they should probably be included with the latter, though for the sake of clarity they will be grouped separately.<sup>100</sup> The sample contains 144 individual bath benefactors.



**CHART 3: Social statuses of individual bath benefactors**

<sup>99</sup> Such is the general assumption behind CURCHIN's discussion of local magistrates' social status, cf. *Magistrates*, pp. 71-84, esp. 76-78 where the hereditary nature of local senates and councils ensured families' continued membership of the local aristocracy. The main social divisions among the locals discussed by CURCHIN are between freed and free-born (pp. 71-73) and citizen or non-citizen (pp. 73-75).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. above, p. 218.

The first point to note is that all the privileged strata of Roman society are represented, from consular senators to freedmen. Because most baths were the responsibility of local agents, it comes as no surprise to find the decurial class dominating the overall figures.<sup>101</sup> However, the relatively high percentage for senators, whose numbers were very restricted, is striking; of these senators, the majority (16 out of 21) benefited communities in areas under their official control, the rest other communities (in at least one case, a hometown).<sup>102</sup> "Functionary" and "honorific" *equites* share a roughly equal proportion of benefactions, and local women (again, not surprisingly) dominate their category, though the actions of two consular-ranking women should be noted.<sup>103</sup> The freedmen are also noteworthy, with individual *seviri* acting as benefactors more frequently than "ordinary" freedmen (as is to be expected), while only one imperial freedman is represented (this man held office in the community as a *decurialis*).<sup>104</sup>

The social status of joint benefactors, where two or more individuals contribute to a single act, is presented in the chart below. Local councils, comprising an undetermined number of decurions, have had to be categorized separately.<sup>105</sup> There are 68 joint benefactions in all.

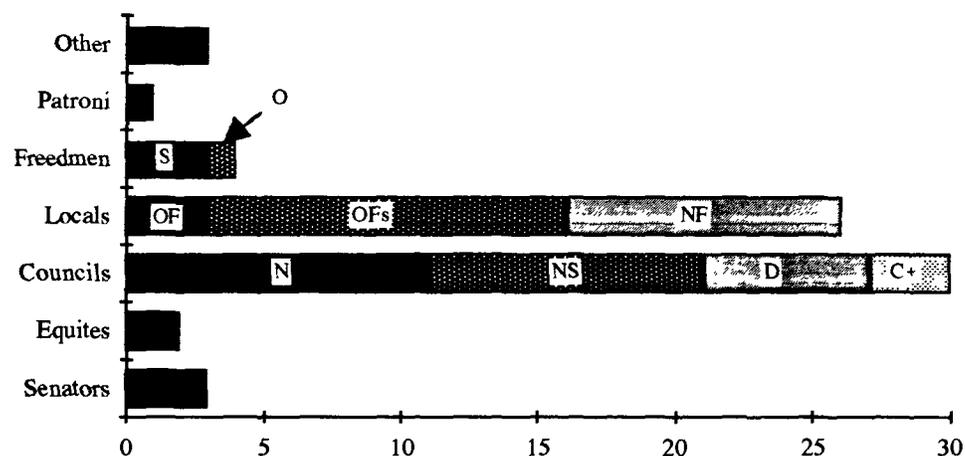
<sup>101</sup> See above, pp. 214-224. As just argued (previous page) the "name only" benefactors are probably to be identified with the decurial class.

<sup>102</sup> E.g. nos. 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40-43 (Table 2) (imperial officials); 70 (Table 3), 90, 92, 107 (Table 4), 176 (Table 5) (private benefactors).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *Equites*: nos. 20, 21, 22, 25, 28 (Table 2), 88 (Table 4), 200 (Table 6), 253, 263 (Table 7) ("functionary"); 77 (Table 4), 142, 143, 144, 156 (Table 5), 209, 217, 258 (Table 7) ("honorific"). *Women*: nos. nos 79, 106 (Table 4) (consular); 140 (Table 5) (local office-holder); 75, 89, 101, 109 (Table 4), 180, 183, 197, 198, 206 (Table 6), 223 (Table 7) (locals).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. 59 (Table 3), 207 (Table 6), 221 and note (Table 7) (*seviri*); 210 (Table 7) ("ordinary"); 148 (Table 5) (imperial & *decurialis*).

<sup>105</sup> For the number of decurions in any council, cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 22-24.



Senators (4%)

Equites (3%)

Councils (44%):

- N = name of community (16%)
- NS = not specified (15%)
- D = decuriones, vicani etc (9%)
- C+ = curator r. p. and council (4%)

Locals (38%)

- OF = official & family member(s) (4%)
- OFs = 2 or more officials (19%)
- NF = name only & family member(s) (15%)

Freedmen (6%)

- S = seviri (4%)
- O = other (2%)

Patroni (1.5%)

Other (4%)

#### CHART 4: Social status of joint bath benefactors

The situation here is comparable to that among individual benefactors, with local agents dominating. All the senators are consular; all the *equites* are "functionary."<sup>106</sup> The councils, variously identified in the texts as *respublica*, *municipium*, *colonia*, *senatus* or *decuriones*, or *vicani*, dominate the joint benefactions, making clear their importance in public building.<sup>107</sup> Local officials could present a benefaction with a member of their family, or in conjunction with other officials, usually a magisterial colleague (who may also be family).<sup>108</sup> The "other"

<sup>106</sup> Senators: nos. 91, 98, 105 (Table 4); *equites*: 58 (Table 3), 85 (Table 4). Nos. 91 and 98 (Table 4) feature a consular and his son, while in no. 105 (Table 4) the work is that of two consulars.

<sup>107</sup> This has been emphasized for Italy by JOUFFROY, *Ktema* 2 (1977), 329-277.

<sup>108</sup> There are various possibilities here, easily located by glancing down the "Builder" columns of Tables 3 and 5: cf. e.g. for family members, nos. 60 (Table 3) (*duovir* & wife), 130 (Table 5) (father & son,

category contains two cases involving chief officers of *collegia*, and one commemorating the addition by *plerique decuriones* of a *musaeum* to a set of baths previously built by the council; the decurions were apparently acting independently of the council.<sup>109</sup> Women have not been indicated on this chart, as they are spread out among the various classes, usually as the mothers, wives or daughters of male benefactors.<sup>110</sup>

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This survey of the social statuses of bath benefactors ~~has revealed~~<sup>s</sup> that the local aristocracy dominates. Because this group was responsible for the majority of benefactions, this should cause no surprise. It is therefore not possible to identify them as a distinct class of bath benefactors *per se*, as in general it was they who provided a community with most of its public buildings and services.<sup>111</sup> That they have here been shown to have done likewise for baths adds another detail to the general picture. What is noteworthy, however, is the wide range of classes who participated in bath building and maintenance, from consular senators to freedmen. This compares with the results of Wesch-Klein's investigations into benefactors in Roman North Africa, where the majority are of local origin, with some representation for senators, *equites* and *liberti*.<sup>112</sup>

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*duoviri?*), 159 (Table 5) (flamen & son). For two or more magistrates, cf. e.g. nos. 131 (*duoviri quinque*), 135 (two brothers, *omnibus hon. funct.*) or 141 (two *quattuorviri*) (all in Table 5).

<sup>109</sup> Officers: nos. 224, 247 (Table 7); *decuriones*: no. 157 (Table 5).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. above, n. 108.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure*, pp. 159-184; BOWMAN, *JRA* 5 (1992), 496-498.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. WESCH-KLEIN, *Liberalitas*, pp. 414-416; see also above, n. 47 for lack of comprehensive study of this topic. By way of further comparison, note the great social diversity of those establishing foundations in Italian during the High Empire, cf. J. ANDREAU, "Fondations privées et rapports sociaux en Italie romaine (I<sup>er</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.C.)," *Ktema* 2 (1977), 157-209, esp. 164-170.

*Non-constructional benefactions*

In addition to construction and maintenance, the functional nature of a bath building allowed for a wide variety of possible benefactions, a feature which may have attracted the potential euergete. Even within the constructional sphere, its separate rooms offered a greater range of individual opportunities for repair, adornment or extension than was the case with other public buildings.<sup>113</sup> Technological elements (e.g. hypocausts, pipes, drains) could be the target of beneficence. The average costs involved in such work are no longer recoverable, but such information as exists indicates that it did not come cheaply.<sup>114</sup>

Aside from constructional activities, the functional nature of the baths, and their popularity, offered a variety of other possible benefactions. Among the most common was the provision of free bathing, either to the entire populace or to specified groups, for a length of time, varying from one day to *in perpetuum*.<sup>115</sup> The mechanics of this benefaction are unclear. Inscriptions normally indicate neither the extent of the outlay, nor to how many baths in a community a particular benefaction applied.<sup>116</sup> Estimating precisely how many bathers per day

<sup>113</sup> The various parts of baths which feature in the epigraphic sample as either built, restored, extended, or adorned by benefactors are listed with references in Appendix 5.

<sup>114</sup> Building or restoring a whole bath was an expensive business, as we have already seen (cf. e.g. above, n. 61). The decoration of a bathhouse, if done lavishly, could also be expensive, cf. no. 188 (Table 6) where Pliny the Younger leaves HS300,000 for the decoration of his baths at Comum, or no. 92 (Table 4) and note where a total of HS252,000 (possibly HS352,000) was needed to complete a bathhouse at Corfinium that had already been built and roofed. Most of this money must have been needed for decoration. (It should be remembered, however, that both these cases involve wealthy consular benefactors). Cf. MARVIN, *AJA* 87 (1983), 347-384, esp. 380-381 where it is proposed that sculpture was the single most expensive element in either the decoration or construction of a bath.

<sup>115</sup> So Augustus gave free baths (and barbers) to the people of Rome for one day on his return from the western provinces in 13 BC (Dio 54.25.4). Agrippa had already offered this benefaction to the people, in the year of his aedileship in 33 BC (Pliny *NH*, 36.121; Dio 49.43.2); on his death his *Thermae* were open *gratis* to the people forever, with certain of his estates especially designated to fund this (Dio 54.29.4). A man at Tibur left a bathhouse to the people, so they could use it for free (*Dig.*, 32.35.3). Inscriptions record this benefaction being made for communities by local benefactors and officers *in perpetuum* (e.g. nos. 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219 (Table 7), as well as for certain periods of time (cf. nos. 207 (four days), 210 (three years), 223 (certain days a year), 267 (when certain *ludi* were being held) (Table 7)). Some inscriptions do not specify a time period (e.g. nos. 208, 215, 217, 220, 221, 222, 224 (Table 7)). Cf. F. CENERINI, "Evergetismo ed epigrafia: *lavationem in perpetuum*," *RSA* 17-18 (1987-1988), 199-220.

<sup>116</sup> In most cases, the benefaction would presumably have applied only to the place where the inscription stood, i.e. in a particular bathhouse, cf., CENERINI, *RSA* 17-18 (1987-1988), 216.

were involved is virtually impossible. How were such benefactions carried out? A recent suggestion, drawn from an analysis of a text from Baetica, is that the benefactor provided sufficient oil and wood for each bather to use the facilities *gratis*.<sup>117</sup> This proposal appears unduly difficult to effect: how could the benefactor calculate accurately the amount of oil and wood necessary? And how would it be distributed to the beneficiaries? The two simplest proposals, rather, are that in such cases the facilities were hired by the benefactor for the duration of the benefaction, and opened to the public for free;<sup>118</sup> or that the benefactor paid the management an agreed sum, regardless of how many bathers were expected.<sup>119</sup> A third possibility (especially when restricted groups were involved) is that admission *tesserae* were purchased and distributed by the benefactor.<sup>120</sup>

An instructive illustration is provided by a Julio-Claudian text that records the establishment of a foundation of HS400,000 to allow the men, and young persons (*impuberes*) of both sexes at Bononia to bathe for free *in perpetuum*.<sup>121</sup> On a hypothetical interest rate of 5%, the capital would yield HS20,000 per annum.<sup>122</sup> As the benefaction was restricted to a particular set of bathers and, moreover, to a single bathhouse (the text specifies the *balneum* which had been built by Augustus for the community, and repaired by Gaius or Nero), the most probable solution is that the money was paid to the town authorities (who would have owned

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<sup>117</sup> The text is *AE* 1989.420 (= no. 267 [Table 7] and note). Cf. P. Le ROUX, "Cité et culture municipale en Bétique sous Trajan," *Ktema* 12 (1987), 271-284, esp. 276. Le ROUX appears to think that this method of providing free bathing was peculiar to this instance: "L'originalité de la formulation -- sans doute due à la teneur du décret lui-même -- semble indiquer que le magistrat avait fait acheter huile et bois de chauffage en quantité suffisante pour que chaque habitant libre du municipes puisse profiter d'une séance gratuite aux thermes publics" (*ibid.*, 275-276). In all likelihood, the benefaction here was administered in one of the ways outlined above: the baths were open free to the populace, and oil was provided therein in the manner described below, pp. 232-233.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. *Dig.*, 19.2.30.1, where a municipal aedile hires a bath to provide free bathing for the people, but it burns down after 3 months (was the *lavatio gratuita* for the year?).

<sup>119</sup> For both these possibilities, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.133.

<sup>120</sup> For *tesserae*, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.134.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. no. 218 (Table 7) and note. This is the only inscription in our sample where a specific sum of money is provided in connection with free-bath benefaction.

<sup>122</sup> I follow here DUNCAN-JONES's suggested interest rate for this benefaction, cf. *Econ.*, no. 1308 (p. 215), cf. *ibid.*, pp. 132-138 on interest rates.

baths built for the community by the *princeps*) to cover the entrance fees of the specified group, although distribution of *tesserae* would have served equally as well. Whatever the case, this benefaction raises problems for the proposition that all publicly owned baths were free.<sup>123</sup> In this case, there are several unknown variables: the numbers of the male bathers and *impuberes* per day; the size of the building (as an imperial donation it was probably of reasonable size, but no trace of the structure survives); the proportion of the visitors that belonged to the groups privileged by the benefaction; and the amount of the abrogated entry charge. All this means that there is no way to determine the actual value of the benefaction, nor how far the hypothetical HS20,000 per year went. However, the benefactor obviously felt that a foundation of HS400,000 would generate sufficient interest to fund free bathing for the groups *in perpetuum*.

In addition to free bathing, a benefactor could see to the water supply, usually by building or repairing an aqueduct.<sup>124</sup> This is essentially a constructional benefaction, but some variations are known, such as the improvement of the water supply to a *solium* (communal bathing pool) at Municipium Tubernum, or to a *piscina* at Calama.<sup>125</sup> At Forum Novum, a *duovir* allowed water from sources located on his land to be used in the public baths.<sup>126</sup>

Oil distributions at the baths were another possibility.<sup>127</sup> This act was originally associated with Greek gymnasia and the duty of an official in Greek cities called a *gymnasiarch*.<sup>128</sup> Certain texts specify how the distribution was carried out: large oil vessels (λουτήρες) were placed in the baths, and individuals filled smaller vessels (δράκτοι) from

<sup>123</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 5 n. 72.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. the majority of water-supply benefactions, nos. 225-240 (Table 7).

<sup>125</sup> Cf. nos. 235 (*piscina*) and 236 (*solium*) (Table 7).

<sup>126</sup> No. 226 (Table 7).

<sup>127</sup> Cf. nos. 241-253, 267 (Table 7).

<sup>128</sup> The duty and the office continued into the Roman period in the east, associated now with baths rather than strictly with gymnasia. However, due to the ambiguity of the term "gymnasium" (cf. above, pp. 10-11), I have included only examples which refer to baths (either by mentioning βαλανεία or λουτρά or, more commonly, by omitting mention of gymnasia in the text), cf. nos. 242, 244, 245, 248, 249 (Table 7) and notes. For *gymnasiarchs*, cf. the note to no. 57 (Table 3).

them.<sup>129</sup> No gymnasiarchs are known from the Latin west, but various euergetes benefit communities in this way. An instructive example comes from Comum. Here a *quattuorvir a.p.* (possibly a relative of Pliny the Younger) bequeathed HS40,000 as a foundation for the provision of oil for the people. A hypothetical interest rate of 6% would yield HS2,400 per annum.<sup>130</sup> Especially noteworthy is the information concerning how the bequest was to operate: the oil was to be distributed during the festival of Neptune "in the campus, the *thermae* and all the *balneae* as are available for the people of Comum." This notice not only makes explicit the distinction between *thermae* and *balneae*, but shows that Comum by this date had several sets of baths.<sup>131</sup> The *quinquennalis* of the burial club at Lanuvium was to "make oil available in the public bath on the birthdays of Diana and Antinoos, before the *collegium* banqueted." He was to do so at his own expense.<sup>132</sup>

The baths offered various other possibilities. Money could be provided either for heating (*calefactio*) or maintenance (*tutela*), or both.<sup>133</sup> An inscription from Altinum shows clearly that these were regarded as quite separate benefactions.<sup>134</sup> The text records that a benefactor, among other bath benefactions, left HS400,000 in his will as a foundation for heating baths (which would yield HS20,000 per annum at 5%), and HS200,000 (yielding HS10,000 per annum at the same rate) for their maintenance. The benefactions applied to two *balnea* in the town, for the restoration of which the benefactor had bequeathed a further HS800,000. It is noteworthy that the *calefactio* amount is twice that for *tutela*, which may indicate the higher costs of the former, though it may also reflect only the manner in which the benefactor decided to divide his bequest. That heating was more expensive, however, seems

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<sup>129</sup> Cf. esp. nos. 243, 248, 249 (Table 7), though the phrase ἐκ λουτήρων probably includes the δράκτοι, e.g. nos. 242, 244, 245 (Table 7).

<sup>130</sup> I follow here DUNCAN-JONES's proposed rate of interest, cf. no. 246 (Table 7) and note.

<sup>131</sup> For terminological difficulties, cf. pp. 6-11.

<sup>132</sup> No. 247 (Table 7).

<sup>133</sup> Cf. nos. 254-258 (*tutela*) and 262-265 (*calefactio*) (Table 7).

<sup>134</sup> Cf. nos. 257, 264 (Table 7) and note. (DUNCAN-JONES's proposed interest rate is again adopted).

likely: facilities would require heat (and so wood) every day they were operational, while *tutela*, probably denoting routine cleaning and maintenance, and checking of equipment (such as the furnaces, water pipes, drains, pool lining etc) would presumably be more occasional.<sup>135</sup>

Another text records that a local official made provisions for the supply of 400 wagon-loads of hardwood for the baths, and another who gave a plot of woodland.<sup>136</sup> In both cases, although the inscriptions do not say so expressly, the wood was undoubtedly destined for the furnaces of the baths.

Finally, ground could be given for baths (without actually building the baths themselves on it) or, in one case, a huge weight of lead was donated, presumably for the provision of pipes and pool lining.<sup>137</sup> Six *seviri Augustales* at Teanum Sidicinum contributed money (*summae honorariae*?) for the purchase of an existing bathhouse by the local authorities.<sup>138</sup>

The baths thus offered a variety of possibilities to the potential benefactor, ranging from large-scale construction, restoration, and adornment to more functional and/or temporary benefits. Whether or not this feature of bath facilities was particularly attractive to benefactors cannot be determined; raising the possibility, however, leads to a discussion of bath benefactors' motives.

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<sup>135</sup> Cf. *Dig.*, 19.2.58.2, where a man furnishes baths in a municipality, and 100 coins (*nummi*) were needed for the repair of furnaces and pipes etc: *quidam in municipio balineum praestandum annuis viginti nummis conduxerat et ad refectionem fornacis fistularum similiumque rerum centum nummi et praestantur ei: conductor centum nummos petebat*. Cf. MEUSEL, *Verwaltung*, pp. 132-133. That heating baths was expensive is suggested by it becoming a burdensome liturgy by the third century AD, cf. O.F. ROBINSON, "Baths: An Aspect of Roman Local Government Law" in *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarno* 3 (Naples: Jovene, 1984), pp. 1065-1082, esp. p. 1077.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. nos. 262 (wagons) and 265 (woodland) (Table 7) and notes.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. nos. 259, 260 (ground) and 266 (lead) (Table 7) and notes.

<sup>138</sup> No. 261 (Table 7) and note. Note also *P. Oxy.* 44.3173, 3176 where the baths of Arrius Apolinarius come into public ownership, cf. BOWMAN, *JRA* 5 (1992), 497, n. 10.

*(iv) Motivation*

The motivation of emperors and imperial officials in building and maintaining baths has already been considered, and the lack of direct evidence noted.<sup>139</sup> The situation for local authorities and benefactors is comparable. But there are some exceptions. A text from Narona reports that baths which had fallen into ruin were replaced by a local benefactor [*rog]a[n]te] populo*, "when the people requested it."<sup>140</sup> Assuming that this heavy restoration is correct, the benefaction was in reaction to popular demand. This is the only such inscription in our sample, so it is impossible to determine what proportion of bath benefactions were offered in response to popular demand, though some texts recording baths built for the people, or repaired after a period of disuse, may indicate a situation similar to that at Narona.<sup>141</sup> In one case, we read of a bath built "with the enthusiasm of people" (*cum amore populi*); had they demanded its initial construction?<sup>142</sup> Because it would be in the interest of the benefactor to portray his work as the result of spontaneous, unsought generosity, it is not too surprising that explicit mention of popular demand should be lacking in inscriptions. As with the emperors' activities at Rome, it is therefore not possible to assert confidently that locals built and maintained baths in response to it, but the possibility must be acknowledged. Some benefactors acted in accordance with a

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<sup>139</sup> Cf. above, pp. 195-199 (emperors) and 212-213 (officials).

<sup>140</sup> No. 200 (Table 6). The inscription goes on to say he gave a meal *civibus suis*, showing he was a native of the town despite being in the imperial service as *ducenarius*. That he also built (*aedificavit*) and handed over (*tradidit*) the baths to the town would imply he built an entirely new structure rather than restored the old ruined one. See also *AE* 1953.21 (= no. 207 [Table 7]) where the councillors of Lucurgentum in Spain are induced to bestow *ornamenta decurionatus* on a local *sevir* "when the people demanded it" (*petente populo*) in view of his benefactions (including free bathing for women). Note also *CIL* 8.26548 where a local carries out a construction "when the whole people demanded" (*postulante universo populo*).

<sup>141</sup> E.g. nos. 49, 69 (Table 3); 77, 85 (Table 4); 135, 169, 171 (Table 5); 189 (Table 6); 221, 240, 250 (Table 7).

<sup>142</sup> No. 165 (Table 5); the phrase may mean "out of love for the people," in reference to the benefactor's motives, but even if so the main point holds: even if they had not demanded it, the benefactor was reacting to what he perceived as their need. Note also no. 148 (Table 5) where a bath is repaired *erga amorem patriae et civium*, "in consideration of his love for his native city and citizens."

religious vow: they had promised the god they would build a bath, and did so.<sup>143</sup> But by and large specific explanations are lacking.

Certain general explanations, however, can be adduced. For local authorities, by the 2nd century AD at least, the construction of a bathhouse was almost a requirement: they were, along with a forum (and market), theatre, temples, and a basilica, one of the *de rigueur* public buildings expected of any self-respecting Roman municipality.<sup>144</sup> The appearance of a city benefited from the presence of baths.<sup>145</sup> Some inscriptions reflect this. When a well-connected woman built baths at Bulla Regia, her work is said to "adorn her native town," and the βαλανείον at Oxyrhynchos is said τὴν πατρίδα κοσμεῖν.<sup>146</sup> Another fragmentary text, if correctly restored, describes a run-down set of summer baths as "once the greatest pride of our colony."<sup>147</sup> A bath restoration at Antium is hailed as being "for the improved appearance of the city," while the removal of statues into the Severan *thermae* at Liternum is "for the fame of the

<sup>143</sup> E.g. nos. 62 (*ex voto suscepto pro salute municipi*) (Table 3); 86 (baths built and consecrated to Numen Domus Augustae), 107 (baths built and consecrated to Fortuna Augusti) (Table 4); 134 (temple and baths restored v.s.l.m. to Dea Tutela (?)), 138 (baths restored *voto suscepto* to Asclepius), 153 (bath restored v.s.l.m. to Fortuna Redux) (Table 5); 187 (labrum added to baths under oath) (Table 6). Note also the distribution of oil at Comum during the Neptunalia (no. 246 [Table 7]), and at Ephesos during the Katagogia (no. 249 [Table 7]).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.*, 40.10, where a city's public buildings (among other things) ensure its dignity in the eyes of strangers and proconsuls. The elements listed above recur again and again in the towns of Italy and the provinces, cf. WARD-PERKINS, *Architecture*, pp. 157-184 (Italy), 213-413 (provinces) passim. Pliny (*Ep.*, 10.23) describes the proposed new baths at Prusa as "a work which the dignity of the city, and the splendour of your reign seems to demand" (Loeb trans) (*quod [sc. opus] alioqui et dignitas civitatis et saeculi tui nitor postulari*). Vitruvius comments (1.praef., 1) that the majesty of the state (*civitas*) was manifested in the public monuments of the Augustan building programme; similar sentiments could surely be applied to any *civitas* in the empire. Note that the petition of Orcistus in Phrygia to Constantine for the granting of city status includes mention of baths (*labacra quoque] publica privata[que]*) as one of the features supporting their claim (*ILS* 6091, cf. *AE* 1981.779). Cf. also W.L. MacDONALD, *Roman Imperial Architecture II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 253-278 where the underlying uniformity of urban elements in the towns and cities of the empire is stressed.

<sup>145</sup> Pride in a city, due to baths in particular, is reflected in such sources as Apul. *Met.*, 2.19 or Ael. *Arist.*, 13.189, 15.232. Cf. S.S. FRERE, "Civic Pride: A Factor in Roman Town Planning," in F. GREW & B. HOBLEY, *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire* (CBA Research Report 59, 1985), pp. 34-36. The potential splendour of a bathhouse would fit this backdrop particularly well. Cf. DUNBABIN, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 8-10, 12-32 where enjoyment of a bath's physical beauty is noted as among the chief pleasures of bathing. Pliny's description of the work being undertaken at Claudiopolis corroborates such eulogies on the splendour of baths, cf. the references above in n. 90.

<sup>146</sup> No. 106 (Table 4); *P. Oxy.* 43.3088. Likewise, the proposed plot for the Prusan bath will "ornament the city in a part which at present is exceedingly deformed" (*ut foedissima facies civitatis ornetur*), cf. Pliny *Ep.*, 10.70.1.

<sup>147</sup> No. 129 (Table 5).

baths."<sup>148</sup> On the negative side, a dilapidated aqueduct which fed the baths at Thignica is described as "a real eyesore," and an [*aquae?*]*ductus therma[rum]* is restored at Satafis "by astonishing construction."<sup>149</sup> Clearly, baths were seen as an important element in a town's appearance, a contribution to its dignity. For local authorities to build and maintain them is therefore quite natural.

A related consideration is inter-city rivalry. Neighbouring communities could compete with each other in the size and splendour of their public buildings, in the honours they received from the central authorities, and (in the East especially) in the grandiloquence of the titles they bore.<sup>150</sup> As a result, a community's council might be encouraged to build the largest and most splendid baths it could, many evidently modelled on the great *thermae* of Rome, in order to outshine a rival.<sup>151</sup> Pliny the Younger's description of the vast bath at Claudiopolis ought to be viewed against this background. Naturally, the size of the baths would depend to a large extent on the size of the town and its resources, so some places could build bigger than others. Note that the Prusans wanted to "upgrade" their old bath with a new (presumably bigger) one, and at Lanuvium the local council was replacing run-down *balneae* with new *thermae*, which were

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<sup>148</sup> Nos. 37 (Antium), 39 (Laternum) (Table 2). Note also no. 26 (Table 2) where a *corrector r. p.* carries out a benefaction at Beneventum "for the splendour of the baths."

<sup>149</sup> Nos. 239 (Thignica), 238 (Satafis) (Table 7).

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.*, 34.47-48; Arist. 23, 27.44; Dio 52.37.9-10; *Dig.* 50.10.3pr. Cf. L. ROBERT, "La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie: la gloire et la haine," *HSPH* 81 (1977), 1-39 (= *OMS*, 6.211-649); R. SYME, "Rival Cities, Notably Tarraco and Barcino," *Ktema* 6 (1981), 271-281; S.R.F. PRICE, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 126-132. Note also the comments of M. CORBIER, "City, Territory and Taxation" in J. RICH & A. WALLACE-HADRILL (edd.), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 211-239, esp. 217-223. Note no. 252 (Table 7) and note where a benefactor at Barcino threatens to transfer to Tarraco certain funds he is bequeathing, should conditions he establishes not be met; cf. no. 114 (Table 4) and note.

<sup>151</sup> To take some outstanding examples, giving references in parenthesis to page numbers in MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.* and NIELSEN's Catalogue, but excluding examples known to have been built by emperors: Alexandria Troas, Turkey (51; C.292); Alexandria, Egypt (51; C.280); Carthage, Tunisia (94-95; C.209); West Baths, Cherchel, Algeria (97-98; C.226); Large South Baths, Cuicul (103; C.229); First Baths, Guelma, Algeria (119); Lambaesis, Algeria (134; C.235); Hadrianic Baths, Lepcis Magna, Libya (136; C.213); Large South-East Baths, Mactaris, Tunisia (143-144; C.216); Large North Baths, Timgad, Algeria (207-208; C.242); West Baths, Thysdrus, Tunisia (213; C.225); Barbarathermen, Trier (215-216; C.79). The predominance of African sites is noteworthy, perhaps the result of the exceptional conditions for preservation that prevail there.

larger, contained more rooms (*ampliatis locis et cellis*), and were probably more lavishly decorated than their predecessors.<sup>152</sup>

Rivalry may also partly account for the actions of local officials.<sup>153</sup> Local offices (*honores*) carried with them an expectation of service to the community from the officials' personal funds (*munera*).<sup>154</sup> However, we have seen that only four bath benefactions (all restorations or extensions) are expressly said to have been given *ob honorem* or *pro honore*, so direct expectation of a *munus* cannot account for the majority of cases.<sup>155</sup> However, rivalry may still have played a major part. The construction or repair of a bath would have added to the prominence and prestige of an official's family in the community, even more so if it was not an expected *munus*.<sup>156</sup> The appearance of an inscription on the building identifying the benefactor, listing the offices he had held, and outlining the nature of his work must have served this purpose admirably; when members of future generations stood for local office (which seems to have been the case), they could point to the building and its commemorative inscription as proof of their family's service to the *patria*.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Pliny *Ep.*, 10.23, 70 (Prusa), no. 49 (Table 3) (Lanuvium). Cf. also above, pp. 8-10 for relative meanings of *thermae* and *balneae*.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Plut. *Mor.*, 821F; R. DUNCAN-JONES, "Wealth and Munificence in Roman Africa," *PBSR* 31 (1963), 159-177, esp. 160-162.

<sup>154</sup> The seminal work of this phenomenon is VEYNE, *Pain*. But cf. also: ABBOTT & JOHNSON, *Municipal Admin.*, pp. 84-116; CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 106-112; DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure*, pp. 159-163; JACQUES, *Liberté*, pp. 668-757.

<sup>155</sup> Nos. 130 (*pro honore Ilviratus*), 136 (*ob honorem sexviratus*), 146 (*pro honore aed.*) and 150 (*ob honorem flamoni*) (Table 5). Note also no. 151 (Table 5) where funds promised for a gladiatorial display *ob honorem quinquennialitatis* are diverted to the restoration and adornment of a *frigidarium*.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Plut. *Mor.*, 821F-822 for overspending by officials to secure local office; DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure*, pp. 170-171 suggests this may have led to regional booms and slumps in building activity, as prominent families overspent in one generation, and so dropped out of sight until they had recovered.

<sup>157</sup> For the hereditary nature of membership of local councils cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 21-22. Due to the scattered and random survival of the evidence for local magistrates (*ibid.*, pp. 12-20), examples of office-holders from a single family in two or more generations at specific sites are difficult to provide. Further, if DUNCAN-JONES's suggestion about overspending by some generations is accepted (above, previous note), a family might not be prominent in every generation, thus making the search more difficult. Despite this, there may be some signs of continuance in the shared *nomina* of magistrates at some Spanish sites, though the adoption of Roman names by provincials often makes proving family relationships difficult (CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 89-99). Note, however, the epigraphically attested prominence of the Sallii family at Amiternum over several generations in the imperial period, DYSON, *Community*, pp. 231-232.

Some joint benefactions appear to support this proposition. At Burguillos in Spain, C. Aufidius Vegetus, twice *duovir*, built a set of baths, and his son C. Aufidius Avitus, *duovir designatus*, "gave" them to the town (presumably meaning he opened them free).<sup>158</sup> A similar situation pertained at Furfo, where L. Caesienus Firmus, a *quinquennalis*, and his son (?) and namesake, also a *quinquennalis*, built a bath from their own funds.<sup>159</sup> Two texts from Interamna Lirenas are revealing. In one, summer baths are restored and extended by M. Sentius Crispinus, *omnibus honoribus functus*, probably in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, but possibly in the 4th.<sup>160</sup> In the early 5th century AD another Sentius, also *omnibus honoribus functus*, restores the building again.<sup>161</sup> Both men appear to be from the same family; it would be interesting to know if a Sentius had been responsible for the original construction. Such was the case at Paestum, where a *duovir* and *patronus coloniae* built a set of baths, and when they were extensively damaged by fire, his son, who is not credited with any offices or titles, restored them.<sup>162</sup> In all these cases, although a direct causality is not discernible, it is reasonable to suggest that the building and maintenance of baths could only have helped the family's successful attainment of the highest *honores* in successive generations. Another text from Turca, Africa, relates how a *flamen perpetuus* and *curator r. p.* added an apodyterium and carried out various restorations and adornments "with his son Magnilius, a most bright and clever young man."<sup>163</sup> As Magnilius was an *adulescens*, he may not have contributed much to the actual work (although the term could apply to quite mature people); his mention is probably intended to advertise his existence, perhaps in anticipation of a future attempt to follow in his father's political footsteps.<sup>164</sup> Such introductions of family members are not always entirely

<sup>158</sup> Cf. nos. 63 (Table 3) and 222 (Table 7) and notes. See also Appendix 6.

<sup>159</sup> No. 58 (Table 3). Cf. also nos. 134 (brothers, *sacerdotes Arensis*; restoration), 135 (two brothers, *omnibus hon. functi*; extension), 150 (a man and two sons, all *flamines Romae et Augusti*; extension and adornment) (Table 5).

<sup>160</sup> No. 154 (Table 5).

<sup>161</sup> No. 172 (Table 5).

<sup>162</sup> Nos. 66 (Table 3) and 194 (Table 6).

<sup>163</sup> No. 159 (Table 5). Cf. also nos. 65 (Table 3) (a *quattuorvir* builds baths in his own name and that of his son), 132 (Table 5) (a *praefectus Pagi*—] adorns baths in his name and that of his son.)

<sup>164</sup> But note nos. 66 (Table 3) and 194 (Table 6) and note. The son may have been a minor.

politically motivated: officials also mention mothers, wives and daughters, none of whom could expect to hold local office (except, perhaps, for priesthoods).<sup>165</sup> In the case of wives, they would probably have been members of other prominent local families, so those texts that mention them could serve to advertise both families, and may even reflect local political alliances. However, when men who held all the available offices in a community (*omnibus honoribus functi*) carried out a bath benefaction, their motive must have been to advertise their families, because no further *munus* could be expected of them, and they themselves had run the complete gamut of *honores*.<sup>166</sup>

In Late Imperial texts, the detailed descriptions of the work carried out or damage repaired show the builder's desire to highlight the immensity of his efforts on the public's behalf during difficult economic times. As a result, some wonderfully grandiose boasts survive. A *flamen perpetuus* and *curator r. p.* at Thurburbo Maius completed summer baths "within seven months, after (they had stood incomplete for) eight whole years; he added and completed every (facility) which the baths needed."<sup>167</sup> The winter baths at Thurburbo Maius were built by a *patronus*, "from the lowest level of the foundations to the uppermost pediment."<sup>168</sup> Another *flamen perpetuus* and *curator r. p.* at Dougga repaired the *atrium* of the Licinian Baths "which had been started by the ancients with the demolition of cisterns at the site; the work was sub-standard and the foundations unsound, (so) Honoratianus completed it with (careful?) construction."<sup>169</sup> At Madauros, a *curator r. p.* restored a *cella balnearum* which "had lain in ruins for quite some time, with its *lavacra* unusable; he also constructed vaulting with *suspensurae*."<sup>170</sup> There are other examples of this sort of wording, some too fragmentary to be coherent, but clear enough in their message: the builder (a local official) had acted with

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<sup>165</sup> Cf. the examples listed above, n. 86.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. nos. 135, 154, 155, 161, 169, 170, 172 (Table 5).

<sup>167</sup> No. 68 (Table 3).

<sup>168</sup> No. 72 (Table 3).

<sup>169</sup> No. 164 (Table 5).

<sup>170</sup> No. 171 (Table 5).

outstanding generosity and civic-mindedness. Thus the two *omnibus honoribus functi* at Oriculum who restored and improved the winter baths "in accordance with their civic disposition."<sup>171</sup>

So, for local authorities a mixture of rivalry among the leading families, rivalry with neighbouring towns, and a desire to provide their community with buildings suitable to its *dignitas* seem to stand behind bath building and maintenance, as for other public buildings. The motives of private benefactors are more difficult to ascertain. There is no explicit evidence from inscriptions, which tend to record only the benefaction and the name of the euergete.<sup>172</sup> Some of the motives suggested above were undoubtedly shared by private benefactors: a desire to beautify their cities, and to add prestige to the family name and so heighten the family's profile in local society (this applies equally to female benefactors, many of whom undoubtedly commanded funds of their own). The construction of baths could take a long time,<sup>173</sup> and no doubt the benefactor's name would have appeared on makeshift signs at the site while construction was underway.<sup>174</sup> A benefactor would therefore not have to wait until the final inscription was put up to begin enjoying kudos.<sup>175</sup> Wesch-Klein proposes that munificence was stimulated by a desire to be remembered after death, and to outstrip predecessors.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> No. 161 (Table 5); cf. also nos. 159, 160, 163, 165, 172. Note also DUNBABIN, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 33-34 for boastful mosaic inscriptions aimed at those who had doubted that the baths could be completed.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. the "Work Done" columns of Tables 4 and 6; no. 200 (Table 6) is an exception.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. the "eight whole years" of unfinished work note in 68 (Table 3).

<sup>174</sup> I am indebted for this point to J. DeLAINE, whose paper "Building the Baths" will appear in the publication of the proceedings of the *First International Conference on Roman Baths, Bath, England, 30 March - 4 April, 1992*.

<sup>175</sup> Of course, this worked both ways. If the project turned out to be a disaster, the benefactor's name would be associated with it, cf. no. 68 (Table 3), 92 (Table 4) and notes for constructions that appear to have gone awry. It is perhaps in this light that the celebration of the opening of baths with games or other benefactions is to be interpreted (cf. the examples cited in Ch. 5, n. 23): the people got their bath, and the benefactor was out of danger.

<sup>176</sup> Note Cic. *Off.*, 2.55 where it is said that games, banquets and distributions of money and food leave little or no memory; the erection of monuments, however, leaves something for posterity (*ibid.*, 2.60); compare Plut. *Mor.*, 821F. Cf. WESCH-KLEIN, *Liberalitas*, pp. 41-42; cf. also VEYNE, *Pain*, pp. 41-42, 272-276; AMELING, *Herodes*, pp. 85-87. Our corpus unfortunately provides no case as explicit as that cited by WESCH-KLEIN (*op. cit.* p. 41; *CIL* 8.5276 = *ILAlg.* 1.95), where a benefactor's gladiatorial games are said to have "completely surpassed all memory of previous (displays)" (*ob magnificentiam gladiatorii muneris . . . quo*

Certainly, baths could bear the name of a benefactor or owner, an excellent way of advertising his generosity to posterity.<sup>177</sup> Hints of rivalry can also be discerned in claims that baths had been improved by the efforts of a benefactor.<sup>178</sup>

In general, the activities of private benefactors, and most local officials, are representative of the phenomenon Veyne called "voluntary euergetism" (as opposed to euergetism *ob honorem*), which derived partly from an ideology of magnificence among the upper classes (the benefactors), and partly from an expectation among the lower classes (the beneficiaries) that the well-off should deploy their means for the public good.<sup>179</sup> This system was virtually a social contract, and if a wealthy family were to refuse completely to benefit their community, it would appear strange and despicable;<sup>180</sup> it is perhaps noteworthy that no such cases are known.<sup>181</sup> Related economic considerations should be mentioned. Due to the poor budgetary arrangements of most cities, with their inefficient and insufficient tax systems, there was simply no other source for funding expensive public building than the pockets of the local wealthy: if they had not come forward to build baths (and other public buildings), few would have existed. From the perspective of the wealthy euergetes, public donations may have been

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*omnes priorum memorias supergressus est*). Note, however, no. 27 (Table 2) which praises a governor who restored baths at Tarraco as "above all other governors."

<sup>177</sup> Cf. Appendix 4 (Rome) and nos. 23 (*Thermae Iuventianae*), 27 (*Thermae Montanae*), 31 (*Thermae Sabinianae*) (Table 2), 83 (*Thermae Noviani*), 87 (*Balinea Sergium et Putinium*), 100 (ΛΟΕΤΡΟΝ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΪΝΗΣ), 102 (τὸ Δομιτεῖον βαλανεῖον), 110 (*Balneum Pacatianum*) (Table 4), 149 (Οὐάριον Βαλανεῖον), 178 (*Balneum Terenti Donati*), 182 (τὸ Ἑρμίπποιον Λοετρόν) (Table 6).

<sup>178</sup> There are no examples from the private benefactor lists in our corpus, but the most explicit is that cited above (n. 169) where a *flamen* and *curator r.p.* denigrates the work "of the ancients" while contrasting the quality of his own.

<sup>179</sup> *Pain*, esp. pp. 20-43; more recently, cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure*, pp. 159-162. See also G. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 26-28. Note Apuleius's remark (*Apol.*, 87), that he was married outside the town to avoid the *cives* who would turn up in expectation of cash-handouts; his wife, indeed, had been obliged to distribute HS50,000 in *sportulae* at the wedding of her eldest son.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Plut. *Mor.*, 822.

<sup>181</sup> Although Aelius Aristides avoided public office, he was not averse to acts of beneficence, Cf. BOWERSOCK, *Sophists*, pp. 36-38.

one of the few outlets for disposing of surplus cash; investment of profits on the modern scale was almost unheard of.<sup>182</sup>

The baths, then, illustrate well the general system of euergetism which generated not only public buildings, but also gladiatorial and theatrical spectacles, cash hand-outs, banquets and other assorted public services in the towns and cities of the empire. Can any features of baths in particular explain why benefactors were attracted to them? Although speculative, I believe a case can be made. The variety of possible benefactions, as documented above, may have been one such feature. The baths provided the builder with an exceptional opportunity to combine the functional with the aesthetic, producing a monument that simultaneously beautified the *patria* and served the *populus*. Another factor, perhaps, was their popularity: an inscription or statue honouring a benefactor that stood in a bath would be encountered by more people more regularly than if it stood in or on one of the more sporadically used public buildings, such as a theatre, temple or circus.<sup>183</sup> It must be admitted that other crowded *opera publica*, such as fora, could serve this purpose as well, but the particularly functional nature of baths meant that a benefaction here may have been seen as more directly euergetistic than a benefaction in a forum or elsewhere. This latter point, and the popularity of the baths, combine to produce a third proposition: a bath benefaction (especially constructional, or *lavatio in perpetuum*) would affect more people, more directly, more regularly than the more ephemeral *epula* (banquets), *sportulae*, or spectacles. How greatly such considerations determined the behaviour of Roman euergetes towards baths is no longer recoverable, but that they did so is surely a possibility.

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<sup>182</sup> Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *PBSR* 31 (1963), 161-162.

<sup>183</sup> This point has been made by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.5, 145.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE BATHS AS SOCIAL CENTRES

#### *Introduction*

This chapter treats an area largely ignored or glossed over by previous students of the baths: the role the baths came to play in society, as illustrated by the social environment to be found there.<sup>1</sup> Some of the implications of this investigation for broader themes in Roman social history are also discussed.

Naturally, the sources are predominantly written. Notices in ancient authors are supplemented by testimony from inscriptions, a largely untapped source of information for the present purpose. Four main areas are treated: the physical environment; who used the baths; social mixing; and the social activities that went on there. As outlined in the introduction, there is no direct ancient testimony for much of this, so care is required in interpreting the largely "indirect" statements which form the majority of the written evidence. Given the wide chronological and geographical distribution of the material, the best that can be hoped for is an impression left by the cumulative effect of disparate pieces of testimony, what Hopkins has called "a collage, . . . an artificial, almost timeless composite, inset with illustrative vignettes."<sup>2</sup> How typical are our findings for life at the baths in all parts of the empire at all times is

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. NIELSEN, *Therm.* includes a chapter entitled "The Bathing Institution: the Role of the Baths in the Towns" (I.119-148), but most of the topics discussed there are technical/architectural (e.g. summer/winter baths) or semi-technical (admission fees, personnel, bathing gear etc). Likewise, HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 142-157 discusses "Benutzung und Organisation der Bäder," but again covers much the same ground. More perfunctory treatments can be found in the general handbooks on Roman daily life, e.g. MARQUARDT, *Privatleben*, pp. 269-297; BLÜMNER, *Privataltertümer*, pp. 420-441; J. CARCOPINO, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (London: Penguin, 1956), pp. 277-286; J.P.V.D. BALSDON, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London: Bodley Head, 1974), pp. 26-32. DeLAINE, *JRA* 1 (1988), 27-29 comments on the lack of research into this area of Roman balneology.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. HOPKINS, *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 203

impossible to gauge, but at least some salient features of life there will have been brought to light.

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*(i) The physical environment: splendour and squalor*

There can be no doubt that Roman public baths could be places of overpowering impressiveness and luxury. Modern scholars have tended to focus almost exclusively on this aspect of the baths, and have largely overlooked some testimony which implies that in many respects they could have harboured a physical environment that was far from magnificent. This may even have been the case for the Imperial showpieces at Rome.

The massive remains of Imperial-style establishments themselves attest to their once great architectural splendour. The chief literary witnesses for the pleasant aspects of the physical environment at the baths are Lucian, Martial, Statius and others whose descriptions leave a strong impression that baths were generally havens of beauty, cleanliness and hygiene. The Baths of Hippias, testifies Lucian, were a paradigm of comfort, brightly lit throughout, adorned with marbles from Phrygia and Numidia, and inscribed with citations from Pindar.<sup>3</sup> The Thermulae (or Balneum) of Etruscus at Rome were so magnificent, that Martial tells his addressee, Oppianus, "unless you bathe [there], you will die unwashed."<sup>4</sup> Statius provides an even more glowing description of this establishment, with emphasis on the sumptuous decoration, including various marbles of foreign origin, bronze and silver fittings, and fine mosaics.<sup>5</sup> Pliny's descriptions of the fine baths at his Laurentine and Tuscan villas, although

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<sup>3</sup> *Hipp.*, 4-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Mart.*, 6.42: *Etrusci nisi thermulis lavaris, / inlotus morieris, Oppiane*. Note also *Mart.*, 9.75 where the fine marble decoration of a set of *thermae* is described.

<sup>5</sup> *Stat. Silv.*, 1.5.

private establishments, further reinforce this impression of general grandness, and perhaps reflect what an upper-class Roman expected of a bathing establishment.<sup>6</sup> Late Imperial epigrams often praise the physical beauty and luxury of the baths, and indeed appreciation of such beauty appears to have been one of the principal joys of bathing at its best.<sup>7</sup>

These explicit descriptions find confirmation in other sources, such as the moralizing tracts of Seneca or Pliny the Elder deploring the luxury which they claim contemporary bathers expected of their baths.<sup>8</sup> Literary sources also describe the bathing excesses of certain emperors, usually those characterized as "bad," which, whether historically accurate or not, also contribute to the overall impression of bath luxury.<sup>9</sup>

Epigraphic testimony often refers to the adornment of baths with marbles and other decorations, or to baths and parts of baths built or restored *omni cultu*, "with every refinement."<sup>10</sup> Some inscriptions advertise the fine facilities and comfort of certain bathhouses, such as the well-known *Balneum Venerium et Nongentum* of Julia Felix at Pompeii. The claim, *lavatur more urbico*, is typical: "you can bathe here in comfort like that in Rome, and every convenience is available."<sup>11</sup> There are also inscriptions which expressly say that baths serve the

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *Ep.*, 2.17.11 (Laurentine Villa) and 5.6.25-27 (Tuscan villa).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. DUNBABIN, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 8-10, 12-32.

<sup>8</sup> Sen. *Ep.*, 86.8-12, 90.25; Pliny *NH*, 36.189. Particularly noteworthy is Seneca's comment (*Ep.*, 86.8) that a bathhouse which had drawn crowds at its opening because of its finery, would be abandoned as antiquated by some new-fangled feature in a newer facility. It seems from this comment that luxury in itself would attract customers.

<sup>9</sup> To take just some examples: Caligula is said to have perfumed his bathwater (Suet. *Cal.*, 37.1), a practice said by Pliny the Elder (*NH*, 13.22) to have been imitated by people of private station. Poppaea Sabina, the wife of Nero, is reported to have bathed in ass's milk (Pliny *NH*, 11.238). The bathing excesses of Heliogabalus are a frequent feature of his *Historia Augusta* biography, e.g. *Hel.*, 8.6; 19.8; 21.6; 23.7; 25.6; 30.5, 7; 31.7; cf. the reservations of MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 114-131, esp. 117-120 about the veracity of these and other *HA* imperial bath-excess stories.

<sup>10</sup> For instance, nos. 39 (Table 2) and 115 (Table 5) (statues moved into baths); 159 (Table 5) (statues, pictures, columns and seats); 132 (Table 5) (marble adornment); 139 (Table 5) (columns given to baths); 143 (Table 5) (portico adorned with marble); 163 (Table 5) (marbles of diverse colours, foreign artifacts and splendid mosaics); 177 (Table 6) (coloured stone, bronze *labrum* and seats); 180 (Table 6) (marble adornment). Cf. also *ILS* 646 (*thermas . . . omni cultu perfectas*), and 5732 (mosaics, statues).

<sup>11</sup> *ILS* 5723 (Julia Felix), and Ch. 3, n. 128 for a discussion of the possible meanings of *Venerium et Nongentum*. Cf. nos. 74 (Table 4) and note: harum t]herma]rum more urba]n(o) lavat(ur); *ILS* 5720: lavat(ur)

public good or comfort.<sup>12</sup> There is mention of museums at baths, where works of art would be displayed, and perhaps discussion and lectures would take place.<sup>13</sup> Finally, archaeological evidence has shown that many bathhouses, especially the Imperial establishments, were lavish not only in scale but also in decoration.<sup>14</sup>

So, baths could be splendid. While this may have been true of the Imperial-type baths, and certain privately run smaller establishments (such as the *Thermulae Etrusci*), there are hints in the sources that all might not have been as these references suggest.

Martial, as noted elsewhere, makes occasional reference to some of the less salubrious bathing establishments at Rome. Silius will put up with the gloom of the Baths of Gryllus, the draughtiness of the Baths of Lupus, and the unspecified unpleasantness of those of Faustus in his quest for dinner invitations.<sup>15</sup> The establishments of Gryllus and Faustus must have been close to proverbial in their grubbiness, at least among Martial's audience, for when the poet complains elsewhere of the expense of eating at Baiae while nonetheless having fine bathing establishments available to him, he laments "Give me back the gloomy baths of Lupus and Gryllus; when I dine so badly, why, Flaccus, should I bathe so well?."<sup>16</sup>

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more urbico et omnis || humanitas praestatur; and 5721: more urbico lavat(ur) | [et] omnia commoda praestantur; AE 1933.49: balneu[m et] omnis humani||tas urbico more praebetur. Note also CIL 8.20579 where a Balneum Cy[-] | more prep[-] is mentioned; the last phrase probably advertised the comfort of the facilities. A bath at Patavium was called *Thermae Urbanian[ae]*, though it may be derived from a proper name, cf. CIL 5.2886. The adjective *urbicus* refers specifically to the city, i.e. Rome, cf. OLD, s.v. (*Urbanus*, on the other hand, means "city-like," not necessarily in reference to Rome, *ibid.*, s.v.).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. nos. 52 (Table 3), 85 (Table), 226 (Table 7); this is also implied in texts such as 37 (Table 2), 69 (Table 3), 163 (Table 5), 200 (Table 6).

<sup>13</sup> Nos. 157 and 158 (Table 5). Cf. RE 16.797-821, s.v. "Museion" [Müller-Graupa].

<sup>14</sup> Cf. DUNBABIN, *loc. cit.* above, n. 7 for the ideal of the pleasurable bath and its manifestation in bath decoration. Sculpture was a particularly luxurious (and expensive) element of bath decoration, cf. H. MANDERSCHIED, *Skulpturen*, and MARVIN, *AJA* 87 (1983), 347-384.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Mart., 2.14.11-13 and below, pp. 290-292.

<sup>16</sup> Mart., 1.59: *redde Lupi nobis tenebrosaque balnea Grylli: / tam male cum cenem, cur bene, Flacce, laver?*

It would seem natural that among the many bathhouses of Rome, some would be less splendid than others. Unfortunately, the dearth of archaeological evidence from the city prevents a detailed reconstruction of the appearance of such establishments, and so how their details compared with the better-equipped facilities is no longer ascertainable. But some clues are available. A small bath, which was in use between the early-3rd and mid-5th centuries AD, has been found near the *Scalae Caci* on the Palatine.<sup>17</sup> Although its facilities expanded during the period it was in use, they lent the modest structure few airs of grandeur.

The small corner-bath depicted on a fragment of the *Forma Urbis* near the *Horrea Lolliana* may well have been one of the city's less-vaunted establishments.<sup>18</sup> Hemmed in on all sides by streets, a laneway and shops, its rooms are many but small. It has an odd-shaped exercise ground with a cramped-looking peristyle tucked away at one end. Additional details can be surmised by comparing the older and newer baths at Pompeii and Herculaneum. One feature of 1st-century AD bath architecture was an increase in window and room size; good lighting and spaciousness later featured among the praiseworthy elements of an establishment.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, the baths of Republican date at Pompeii are ill-lit, with low roofs, small rooms, and small windows set high in the walls (if at all).<sup>20</sup> Likewise at Herculaneum, the older Forum Baths are gloomy when compared with the Suburban Baths, which feature large windows along the southern frontage.<sup>21</sup> These comparisons would suggest that the gloomy baths of Gryllus and Lupus mentioned by Martial were representative of an older model than the newer

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. A. CASSATELLA & I. IACOPI, "Il balneum presso le Scalae Caci sul Palatino" in *Thermes*, pp. 129-138.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Forma Urbis Romae*, fr. 25 (= fig. 19). For the identification of this complex as a bathhouse, cf. R.A. STACCIOLI, "Terme minori e balnea nella Forma Urbis Romae," *ArchClass* 13 (1961), 92-102. The utilitarian nature of the surrounding buildings may suggest that this facility would have served mainly workers.

<sup>19</sup> So, Lucian in several places praises the Baths of Hippias for being well-lit and spacious (*Hipp.*, 4-8); Statius comments specifically on this aspect of the *Thermulae Etrusci* (*Silv.*, 1.5.45-46). Pompeii's Central Baths, the largest set on the site, featured large windows; cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.47-48; H. BROISE, "Vitrages et volets des fenêtres thermales à l'époque impériale" in *Thermes*, pp. 61-78.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. above, pp. 51-72, 119-121 (Stabian), 121-122 (Forum), 122-123 (Republican).

<sup>21</sup> Compare the plans NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.98 (fig. 74; Forum) and II.99 (fig. 76; Suburban), where the relative absence of fenestration in the Forum Baths compared to the Suburban is clear.

establishments (such as the *Thermulae Etrusci*); their initial construction may even have been Republican in date. Although the Sarno Baths were ultimately intended to be part of an apparently luxurious leisure centre that was unfinished at the time of the eruption, it is worth noting that they were approached directly from the street by a long, dark, narrow, low-roofed corridor. The bathrooms themselves are rather small and cramped, although they had large south-facing windows. The Palaestra Baths are somewhat larger and were in use when disaster struck, but they are also smaller than the main baths of the town, though about the same size as those of Julia Felix. They were modestly decorated, with a wooden colonnade on a stone stylobate, hardly a showcase of magnificence.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps still less inviting are the baths in the Casa di Giuseppe II, a former *atrium*-house converted into an apartment/shop complex after the earthquake of AD 62.<sup>23</sup> These are also approached by a narrow corridor, and are adjacent to a kitchen area. The suite has only three rooms: a *tepidarium*/ *apodyterium*, a *frigidarium* and a *caldarium*. All are small. As the apartments in the building are large and spacious, it is quite possible that the use of these baths was restricted to the residents and their guests, so they may not have been open to the general public.

If there were less inviting baths in Roman towns, could not the discerning bather simply avoid them and bathe amidst the splendour of more finely appointed establishments? It is in this connection that the sources present hints of conditions at baths, apparently fairly common, that the modern bather would find unacceptably unpleasant but which the Romans appear to have tolerated without extensive comment. This circumstance alone ensures that the evidence is somewhat scant and indirect. But the hints are there, nonetheless.

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<sup>22</sup> For descriptions of these and the other public baths of Pompeii, cf. above, pp. 118-138.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. above, pp. 136-137.

Some inscriptions record that baths were repaired after they had fallen into a state of decay.<sup>24</sup> When the council at Lanuvium built a set of *thermae* to replace the older *balneae*, they did so because the latter "through old age had become unusable."<sup>25</sup> Baths at Antium had fallen into such a hazardous condition that the people were afraid to use them.<sup>26</sup> It seems that in these cases it required either danger or straightforward impossibility of function to deter bathers and stimulate repair. However, most inscriptions do not mention the virtual abandonment of the baths, but simply record the varying conditions of decrepitude that preceded restoration.<sup>27</sup> This leads to the predictable conclusion that bath maintenance was not always the best. A further, and reasonable, inference to draw from these texts is that the baths in question continued to be frequented right up to the moment of restoration.<sup>28</sup> Several examples even say explicitly that the baths had been in bad condition for some time (and were still in use?) before the repair work was done.<sup>29</sup> Evidently, in these cases at least, the baths would have presented an appearance far short of dazzling beauty.

The general quality of the water may also have left something to be desired. While Seneca may claim that bathers of his day were very fussy about water purity, Frontinus reports that in the Republican period the baths of Rome were only entitled to use run-off water from public troughs, and that at a price.<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere Frontinus says that until the reign of Nerva the

<sup>24</sup> Cf. above, pp. 219-220.

<sup>25</sup> No. 49 (Table 3).

<sup>26</sup> No. 37 (Table 2). For other cases where baths or certain facilities in them had become unusable, cf. nos. 35 (Table 2); 125, 136, 165, 169, 171 (Table 5); 240 (Table 7).

<sup>27</sup> There are many such inscriptions employing various phrases to describe the delapidated condition of the baths, e.g. *vetustate conlapsae / corruptae* (and variants) being the most frequent: e.g. nos. 9, 12 (Table 1); 33 (Table 2); 119, 126, 129, 134, 148, 154, 160, 163, 164, 165, 170, 172, 174 (Table 5), 200, 203 (Table 6).

<sup>28</sup> This would seem especially true of those which mention baths restored to "to their original appearance," (*ad pristinam faciem* and variants), a phrase which could suggest that visitors had grown accustomed to the building's run-down appearance, cf. nos. 12, 17 (Table 1), 25, 36 (?), 41 (Table 2), 168 (Table 5), 180 (Table 6). Presumably, baths damaged or destroyed by fire (nos. 7, 16 [Table 1], 142, 147 [Table 5], 194 [Table 6]), earthquake (nos. 13, 19 [Table 1], 32 [Table 2], 175 [Table 5]), flooding (nos. 10 (?) (Table 1), 176 [Table 6]) or other forms of violence were not in use when they were repaired; cf. also nos. 6 [Table 1] and 204 (Table 6) (war); 155 [Table 5] (bad foundations); 179 [Table 6] (overgrown with thorn bushes); 197 [Table 6] (structural instability).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. nos. 14, 17 (Table 1); 41 (Table 2); 129, 148, 170 (Table 5); 201 (Table 6).

<sup>30</sup> Sen. *Ep.*, 86.9; Front. *Aqu.*, 2.94.

city would have to endure muddy water after heavy rains, and that when he became *curator aquarum* in AD 97 he found many "watermen" (*aquarii*) were mixing the waters of the various aqueducts into the city, producing a sub-standard quality for all (though this probably affected drinking water more than that for bathing).<sup>31</sup> Celsus comments that one of the worst things to do for a fresh wound is go to the baths, "for this renders the wound both wet and dirty, which normally results in gangrene."<sup>32</sup> A fragmentary inscription from Africa apparently records the improvement of the water supply to the *solium* of a set of summer baths, by drawing it from a pure source; the implication is that previously the water had not been entirely clean.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps most off-putting are the inferences to be drawn from a graffito from the Baths of Titus, which reads "may the wrath of the twelve gods and Diana and Joye fall upon the person who pisses or shits here."<sup>34</sup> The precise location of the text in the complex is not known, but it would seem to refer to conditions in a pool. If it is not just a joke, the water quality at baths may not have always been the best, perhaps even in the major bathhouses.

This deficiency would only be compounded by the custom of communal bathing, one of the hallmarks of Roman-style bathing.<sup>35</sup> In the absence of chemicals of the sort used to keep water fresh in modern swimming pools, there would have been a need for regular changes of water.<sup>36</sup> A crucial point about which we are ignorant is how often this was done in Roman baths. Among the duties of the aediles at Rome and elsewhere was the task of entering public

<sup>31</sup> Front. *Aqu.*, 2.89 (muddy water) and 2.91 (*aquarii*).

<sup>32</sup> Celsus, 5.26.28D: *balneum quoque, dum parum vulnus purum est, inter res infestissimas est: nam id et umidum et sordidum reddit, ex quibus cancrum transitus esse consuevit.*

<sup>33</sup> No. 236 (Table 7). Other texts note poor water supply, cf. nos. 231, 235, 240 (Table 7).

<sup>34</sup> *CIL* 6.29848b: *duodecim deos iit (sic) Deanam et Iovem | optimum maximu(m). habeat iratos | quisquis hic mixerit aut cacarit.*

<sup>35</sup> As is clear from references such as Plut. *Mor.*, 1109B where the difficulty in people finding agreement with one another is illustrated by the example of a group immersed in the same bath, some finding it too hot and calling for cold water, others the opposite.

<sup>36</sup> Disinfection is regarded today as a vital element of the maintenance of public swimming pools, especially given the variety and virulence of micro-organisms that thrive in untreated bodies of still water, cf. F.W. KROEBER, *Public Swimming Pools. A Manual of Operation* (New York: Barnes, 1976), pp. 82-118 (disinfection), 153-180 (viruses and bacteria).

establishments and ordering, if necessary, that they be cleaned.<sup>37</sup> For such measures to have become necessary, experience must have shown that cleanliness was not always automatically maintained. It is a matter of uncertainty whether the aediles were concerned only with publicly owned establishments (the maintenance of which would fall naturally to local authorities), or all publicly accessible facilities.<sup>38</sup>

The sources blandly accept what is perhaps the most unpleasant of all the water-quality conditions that apparently prevailed in Roman baths: the bathing together of the ill and healthy.<sup>39</sup> This practise could only have further contributed to poor water quality in communal pools. We have seen above the major role baths played in Roman preventive and remedial medicine.<sup>40</sup> When a medical writer like Celsus recommends a bath in treating an illness (as he does frequently) where was the patient taken?<sup>41</sup> For the majority of ailing Romans, the only possibility would be the nearest public baths. To be sure, the wealthier patient might enjoy the luxury of treatment in his own bath suite but in the absence of hospitals as such, or any indication that separate bathing establishments were built for the sick, we must assume that public baths would have been the resort of the majority.

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<sup>37</sup> Sen. *Ep.*, 86.10: *nam hoc quoque nobilissimi aediles fungebantur officio intrandi ea loca, quae populum receptabant, exigendique munditias*. Seneca portrays this as the job of "the most noble aediles" of the past -- the context mentions Cato, Fabius Maximus and the Cornelii -- but there is no reason to suppose that the duty did not continue into the Principate. Indeed some inscriptions from the provinces show that aediles in local municipalities were still in charge of conditions at the baths in the Flavian period, e.g. the *lex Irnitana* (*AE* 1987.333.XIX, cf. *JRS* 76 (1986), 147-243) while Plutarch suggests its continuance into the 2nd century (see below, n. 51). Cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, pp. 61-63. Note also that the actual work of cleaning baths appears to have been carried out by criminals, who would be used as public servants, cf. Pliny *Ep.*, 10.32.

<sup>38</sup> The wording of Seneca (*loc. cit.* above in n. 37) would imply that all baths were involved, but this may only have applied to Rome.

<sup>39</sup> This aspect of the baths is especially emphasized by SCOBIE, *Klio* 68 (1986), 399-433, esp. 425-427.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. above, pp. 151-158.

<sup>41</sup> For Celsus's bath recommendations, cf. the examples cited in Ch. 4, n. 34.

There is some positive evidence to this effect. Martial describes Laetinus complaining of his fever which, the poet says, accompanies him everywhere, including to the baths.<sup>42</sup>

Elsewhere, Martial tells of Fabianus, who used to make fun of people afflicted with hernias, until he discovered at the Baths of Nero that he himself suffered from the same condition.<sup>43</sup>

Both quips imply that the sight of ill people at the baths was not uncommon. The *Historia Augusta* adds that Heliogabalus searched Rome for ruptured people with whom he would then bathe.<sup>44</sup>

Hadrian is reported to have restricted use of the public baths to the sick for certain hours of each day.<sup>45</sup> Before, it seems, the sick and healthy had bathed together at the same time. It is not clear how far-reaching this measure was, and if it was applied in the provinces, we find no sign of it. Examples of inscriptions (one of Hadrianic date) reserving baths for men and women at different times survive, but no texts mention a similar segregation of sick and healthy.<sup>46</sup> Even if the regulation was restricted to Rome, it is unclear whether it applied equally to all the baths in the capital, which would have presented considerable difficulties of enforcement. It is most likely that only the Imperial-type *thermae* were affected, as they were the emperor's concern to administer. There is also no way of knowing what motivated Hadrian to take this measure. It may not necessarily have been hygienic considerations. No Roman medical writer, either before or after Hadrian, expressly warns against bathing with the ill.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps he was simply

<sup>42</sup> Mart., 12.17.1-3: *quare tam multis a te, Laetine, diebus / non abeat febris quaeris et usque gemis. / gestatur tecum pariter tecumque lavatur.*

<sup>43</sup> Mart., 12.83: *derisor Fabianus hirnearum, / omnes quem modo colei timebant / dicentem tumidas in hydrocelas / quantum nec duo dicerent Catulli, / in thermis subito Neronianis / vidit se miser et tacere coepit.*

<sup>44</sup> *Hel.*, 25.6. The story may not be true, perhaps even derived from the epigram of Martial cited in the previous note, but it nonetheless reflects a lack of compunction about bathing with the sick and ill.

<sup>45</sup> *Hadr.*, 22.7: *ante octavam horam in publico neminem nisi aegrum lavari passus est.*

<sup>46</sup> E.g. the *lex Metallum Vipascensis* (ILS 6891.20-21) of Hadrianic date and SEG 26 (1976), no. 1043/4 of uncertain date, but 1st century AD at the earliest. The former is the most telling, as the mines were imperial property administered directly by an imperial procurator. Had Hadrian's reservation of baths for the sick been an empire-wide measure, mention of it could reasonably be expected here.

<sup>47</sup> Contrast, for instance, the injunctions of medieval writers to avoid public baths for fear of contracting the plague. e.g. G. Bunel (1513): "Steam-baths and bath-houses, I beg you, flee them or you will die" (cited in G. VIGARELLO, *Concepts of Cleanliness. Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], p. 8). It is possible that the Romans, unaware of the existence

motivated by a desire to keep people with no doubt often unsightly illnesses out of the public eye, or to prevent them from sullyng the pure image of the (Imperial) baths. Alternatively, he may have wished to close the baths to the able-bodied but lazy, who should have been at work until the 7th or 8th hour (about midday).<sup>48</sup> Finally, we do not know how effective the measure was. Did the sick and healthy really not bathe together in post-Hadrianic Rome?

Most unpleasant are the implications of a passage in Scribonius Largus, illustrating the sort of situation that could arise when the ill visited the baths. When recommending a certain type of plaster, he writes:

A plaster of indistinct colour is useful for all moderate wounds, animal bites, contusions and cuts on joints, as when teeth are punched in. Likewise it is remarkably helpful for boils and swellings of the lymphatic glands, completely dissipating hardness as long as it is used for some time. It also draws fluids off long-term ulcer scars and is generally wonderfully good for all sorts of light tasks in daily usage: it doesn't allow tumours or pus to develop; it sticks, so that bandages are unnecessary; and it will not fall off in the bath.<sup>49</sup>

What is noteworthy in this passage is the remarkably casual manner in which Largus comments on the plaster's ability to stay on in a bath, which for most Romans would have meant a public establishment. Presumably other plasters *did* fall off at the bath; when combined with the graffito from the Baths of Titus, the picture this paints of life in a communal *solium* becomes revolting to modern taste.<sup>50</sup>

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of germs, conceived of the hygienic dangers of bathing in divine terms, as demons and the like cf. DUNBABIN, *PBSR* 57 (1989), 33-46, esp. 35-37. However, it still remains the case that no source expressly makes a connection between public bathing and falling ill (except where people abuse the baths, by drinking in them, or eating too much before bathing etc, cf. e.g. Pliny *NH*, 7.183; Plut. *Mor.*, 124C).

<sup>48</sup> For Roman working hours, cf. below, n. 189.

<sup>49</sup> Scrib. Larg., 214: *emplastrum coloris incerti facit ad omnia mediocra vulnera, quadrupedum morsis, contusa vel incisa articulamenta, ut fit, cum ad dentem pervenit pugnus. eadem ad furunculos mire facit et strumas omnemque duritiem discutit, si quis perseveranter eam imponat. eadem cicatricem ducit diutini ulceris et in totum ad omnia levia in quotidianos usus mirifica est: tumorem non paritur fieri neque pus; haeret, ut fascia non sit opus; in balineo non excidet.*

<sup>50</sup> For the graffito, cf. above, n. 34.

Another apparently common unpleasantness has not been previously noticed. It seems that it was possible for gases and odours from the furnace fires to reach and, on occasion, inconvenience the bathers. Plutarch tells that conscientious aediles would not allow people who ran baths to put darnel into the furnaces, "since the fumes of this plant give the bathers headaches and induce vertigo."<sup>51</sup> Pliny the Elder confirms this, reporting that he has heard it said that *balneatores* in Greece and Asia would put darnel seed onto hot coals to clear out unwanted crowds.<sup>52</sup> Fronto, writing to M. Aurelius in AD 143, says how he prefers the natural grottos of Baiae to the furnaces of other baths, which are lit "with expense and smoke."<sup>53</sup> The implication is that smoke from the furnaces was familiar to the bather. The *Historia Augusta* provides an instructive anecdote, the veracity of which is not as important as the assumptions that lie behind it. Commodus, dissatisfied with the heat of his bath, ordered the *balneator* to be thrown into the furnace. The slave ordered to carry out the deed threw a sheep-skin on the fire instead, thus fooling the emperor by the resulting smell into believing he had carried out the task.<sup>54</sup>

There is no way of knowing how common it was for gases from the heating system to reach the bathers, but if fumes and odours from the like of darnel or sheep-skins could reach them, as the evidence above makes clear, there is no reason why fumes or even smoke from regular furnace fuel could not. Considering the huge amount of fuel burnt to maintain the heat in large baths, its general occurrence seems likely. Such conditions may even have been so

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<sup>51</sup> Plut. *Mor.*, 658E: οἱ Χαρίεντες ἀγορανόμοι τοὺς ἐργολαβοῦντας οὐκ ἔωσιν . . . αἴρας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν ὑπόκαυσιν, αἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀναθυμιάσεις καρηβαρίας καὶ σκοτώματα τοῖς λουομένοις ἐμποιοῦσιν.

<sup>52</sup> Pliny *NH*, 18.156: *aiuntque in Asia et Graecia balneatores, cum velint turbam pellere, carbonibus id [i.e. aera] semen inicere*. A direct connection between hypocaust and bathroom has been proven archaeologically only in the case of Bath IV at Olympia and the men's *caldarium* in the Stabian baths, cf. KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, p. 53 and NIELSEN, *Thermae*, I.20.

<sup>53</sup> *M. Aur. Caes.* 1.3.4: *Baiarum ego calidos specus malo quam istas fornaculas balnearum, in quibus ignis cum sumptu atque fumo accenditur brevique exinguitur.*

<sup>54</sup> *Comm.*, 1.9.

accepted and unremarkable a feature of a visit to the baths, that only the occasional indirect reference (of the sort just surveyed) survives.

Finally in this regard, it can be noted that Pliny the Elder comments that baths were favourite breeding grounds for cockroaches, and Petronius's heroes at one stage are required to leave a bath in haste, and do so via "a dark and dirty exit."<sup>55</sup>

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The evidence assembled indicates that whereas some baths were paradigms of splendour, others were not. It even seems that certain sanitary conditions at baths (even the finer ones?) may have left a lot to be desired. That said, it is nonetheless true that the Romans generally associated a visit to the baths with hygiene, getting clean (or at least cleaner) and having a good time, rather than with wallowing in filth and having a repulsive experience. But the Roman concept of hygiene probably differed greatly from the modern; hygienic expectations must have been well below ours. Thus, despite the evidence for luxurious decoration and other splendours, the physical conditions at Roman baths should not be unduly idealized. It seems that certain conditions -- such as the simultaneous bathing of sick and healthy, the possibility of dirty, or at least low-quality water, and the presence in some rooms of smells or even smoke from the furnaces -- may have been far more common features of Roman baths than many like to admit. That the ancient sources do not continuously complain about such conditions is revealing in itself.

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<sup>55</sup> Pliny *NH*, 11.99: *tenebrarum alumna blattis vita lucemque fugiunt, in balineis maxime umido vapore prognatae* (cf. Sen. *Ep.*, 86.8); Petr. *Satyr.*, 91: *per tenebrosum et sordidum egressum extraho Gitona* . . .

*(ii) The social environment I: who used the public baths?*

Who frequented the baths? What social strata were represented there? These are important questions for establishing the nature of the baths' role in daily life, and their place in Roman social relations. There is evidence that all social classes used public baths. It will be instructive first to survey this evidence, and then to consider the important question of how freely the classes mingled in the baths. Naturally, the volume of evidence ~~will be~~ weighted more in favour of the literate upper classes, who provide us with the majority of primary data, but some testimony pertains to the less-vaunted lower social strata as well.

*Emperors*

The habitual bathing of the emperor with his people cannot be securely established. Suetonius reports that the emperor Titus sometimes used to bathe at Rome with the people in the baths that bore his name.<sup>56</sup> Three points are worth noting. First, it is unclear how often was "sometimes." The choice of word, however, implies that it was not a common habit for the *princeps*. Second, Titus's action is expressly said to have been aimed at gaining popularity (*ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret*), so it may have been purely opportunistic; Titus may even have hated these visits, but to assert this would be pushing the evidence too far. Third, the emperor is said to have bathed "in the presence of the plebs," which could just mean "with the plebs admitted" (*admissa plebe*). This may imply that Titus or other emperors had bathed here at other times with the *plebs* excluded, or before the baths were opened to the general public.

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<sup>56</sup> *Titus*, 8.2: *nonnumquam in thermis suis admissa plebe lavit.*

The *Historia Augusta* asserts that both Hadrian and Severus Alexander bathed with the people as a matter of course, but the reports may be falsifications deriving from Suetonius's story about Titus.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, as anecdotes they are instructive -- especially the story about Hadrian which places him in a public bath with a poverty-stricken veteran (the man did not own a slave), and some greedy old men<sup>58</sup> -- insofar as they appear to take as natural the presence at public baths of persons of elevated station alongside the more lowly. As regards the emperor himself, though, it cannot be said that it was common practice for him to bathe with the people in public, though he may have done so occasionally to foster a popular image. Most of his bathing was probably done in private in the palace.<sup>59</sup>

#### *Senators, equites and the upper classes*

It has been seen that the upper classes, whether individually or in groups (e.g. a town council), were responsible for building the empire's public baths. It would be odd for them to do so if they did not expect to use the facilities themselves, and various pieces of evidence combine to place members of the Roman world's leading classes in public baths. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to the evidence for emperors, none of the witnesses imply, let alone explicitly comment, that it was in any way unusual to find members of the privileged classes at the baths; rather their presence appears not only to have been unremarkable, but expected: it was

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<sup>57</sup> HA *Hadr.*, 17.5: *publice frequenter et cum omnibus lavit*; *Sev. Alex.*, 42.1: *thermis et suis et veterum frequenter cum populo usus est et aestate maxime*. Cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 130-131 remains uncertain as to the veracity of these reports, but inclines towards skepticism.

<sup>58</sup> *Hadr.*, 17.6-7.

<sup>59</sup> There were private baths on the Palatine, in Imperial villas (e.g. the Villa of Hadrian at Tibur, or those at Capri, Spolegium, and Piazza Armerina [if the latter was indeed imperial property], cf. above, Ch. 3, n. 4). Literary sources show the emperor and imperial family bathing in what were most likely private baths in the palace, though this is often not made explicit, cf. e.g. *Suet. Aug.*, 76.2, 82.2, 85.2, *Cal.*, 37.1-2, *Nero*, 20.2, 27.2, 31.2. In some cases, private baths appear more certain: *Suet. Galba*, 10.5, *Vesp.*, 21; *Fronto M. Aur. Caes.*, 2.12, 4.6.2, *M. Aur. Imp.*, 1.5.4; *Plut. Mor.*, 124C; note especially the case of Tuscus, procurator of Egypt, who was banished for using baths built for Nero (*Suet. Nero*, 35.5). Note also the texts recording men concerned with seeing to the emperor's bath, e.g. a *praepositus balneariorum domus Aug(ustae)* (*CIL* 6.8642), and *mag(ister) a balneis Aug(usti)* (*CIL* 6.8512). Such men were undoubtedly part of the emperor's private staff, comparable, for instance, to the *praepositus vestis albae triumphalis* (*ILS* 1763) and others concerned with the imperial wardrobe, cf. *ILS* 1755-1766.

*insolentia* to the Roman tastes of Valerius Maximus that the rulers of Carthage bathed separately from the populace.<sup>60</sup>

Pliny the Younger, a senator of consular rank, reports that whenever he returned to his Laurentine villa unexpectedly or without enough time to heat his own set of baths, he would use one of three *balinea meritoria* (public facilities, often in private ownership, that charged an entrance fee) in a nearby *vicus*.<sup>61</sup> When describing the death of Larcus Macedo, a slave's son who rose to the praetorship and was murdered by his domestic slaves in the private baths at his house, Pliny recalls an incident at one of the public baths in Rome that seemed to him to be an omen of Macedo's eventual bath-related demise. The ex-praetor was making his way through the crowds aided by a slave when an *eques*, offended that Macedo's slave had touched him, lashed out at the slave but hit Macedo instead.<sup>62</sup> This vignette places a praetorian senator and an *eques* (as well as a slave) together at the public baths.<sup>63</sup>

A reference in the *Digest* throws more light on the wealthy at the baths. It legally defines a man's *domicilium* as that place where he conducts business (*negotia*), frequents the forum, baths and theatre, and celebrates festivals, rather than where he cultivates farmland.<sup>64</sup> As the person concerned has a choice of living in a *municipium* or a *colonia*, and conducts *negotia* in

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<sup>60</sup> Val. Max., 9.5.ext. 4: *insolentiae vero inter Karthaginensem et Campanum senatum quasi aemulatio fuit: ille enim separato e plebe balineo lavabatur, hic enim diverso foro utebatur. quem morem Capuae aliquamdiu retentum Gai quoque Gracchi oratione in Plautium scripta patet.* (The last clause apparently refers only to the use of a separate forum by the *senatus* at Capua).

<sup>61</sup> *Ep.*, 2.17.26: *in hoc [sc. vico] balinea meritoria tria, magna commoditas, si forte balineum domi vel subitus adventus vel brevior mora calefacere dissuadet;* this passage is discussed also above, on p. 112. On *balnea meritoria*, cf. above, p. 4.

<sup>62</sup> *Ep.*, 3.14.7-8: *cum in publico Romae lavarentur . . . eques Romanus a servo eius, ut transitum daret, manu leviter admonitus convertit se nec servum, a quo erat tactus, sed ipsum Macedonem tam graviter palma percussit, ut paene concideret.* For violence at the baths, see also, *Sen. Dial.*, 4.32.2 (Cato the Elder receives a blow at a public bath), *Lib. Or.*, 1.21 (a friend of Libanius assaulted entering a bath).

<sup>63</sup> Compare Petron. *Satyr.*, 92 where an *eques*, a slave, a youth and the amateur poet Eumolpus are placed if not in the bathhouse, then in its immediate vicinity (the young man is naked, implying perhaps that he was still at least within the bathing complex).

<sup>64</sup> *Dig.*, 50.1.27.1: *si quis negotia sua non in colonia, sed in municipio semper agit, in illo vendit, emit, contrahit, in eo foro, balineo, spectaculis utitur, ibi festos dies celebrat, omnibus denique municipii commodis, nullis coloniarum fruatur, ibi magis habere domicilium, quam ubi colendi causa deversatur.*

one place while cultivating (and owning?) land in another, someone of at least modest wealth can be inferred. The logic behind the ruling is clear: wherever a man participates in a community's public activities, there lies his *domicilium*, even if he owns farmland -- presumably his main estate -- elsewhere. That visiting the baths is included as a definitive communal activity is revealing, and suggests that it was not only normal but expected behaviour for people of wealth to be found using a community's bathhouse.<sup>65</sup>

The character Ulpian in Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae* is most probably Ulpian of Tyre the famous jurist, and he is portrayed as regularly visiting public baths.<sup>66</sup> Governors appear to have used public baths in the provinces. The *Historia Augusta*, in a no-doubt spurious letter from Valerian to an otherwise unknown and probably fictitious procurator of Syria, says that if the governor's personal firewood is lacking, he should use the public baths.<sup>67</sup> Despite the dubious context of this story, and its possibly sarcastic tone, it receives support from a passage in the *Digest* which implies that it was not unusual for a governor or other magistrates to bathe publicly. In describing the conditions under which a magistrate can sanction a manumission, Gaius says: "slaves are very commonly manumitted when [the magistrate is] moving about, when [for instance] the praetor or proconsul or legate of Caesar has come out to bathe, or drive or attend the games."<sup>68</sup> The point is clearly that the magistrate can be called upon to witness a manumission when in public other than when he appears formally while sitting on the tribunal, and one of those instances, indeed the first one cited, is when he is on his way to the baths.

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<sup>65</sup> That *balineo . . . utitur* refers to public bathing is clear from the context: all the other activities listed -- conducting business, going to the forum and theatre, celebrating festivals -- are public and communal, and form the premise of the ruling as outlined above.

<sup>66</sup> *Deipn.*, 1.1d-e.

<sup>67</sup> HA *Claud.*, 14.12-13. Note also the governor holding court at the baths (Ch. 6, n. 37), though in this case he evidently is not present to bathe.

<sup>68</sup> *Dig.*, 40.2.7 (trans P.A. BRUNT): *plerumque in transitu servi manumitti solent, cum aut lavandi aut gestandi aut ludorum gratia prodierit praetor aut proconsul legatusve Caesaris.*

Cicero provides more pertinent testimony. When describing and ridiculing the plot to poison Clodia alleged against his client M. Caelius, he implies that well-bred Romans could apparently be an unremarkable feature of the *Balneae Seniae* at least.<sup>69</sup> For Clodia is said to have gotten wind of the plot and arranged for certain of her *amici* to ambush Licinius at the baths. While Cicero lampoons the allegation sufficiently to make it likely that no such plot ever existed, the point to note is that its particulars were plausible enough to require Cicero to spend some time dismissing them in detail. He describes Licinius as *pudens adulescens et bonus*. The ambushers are *amici* of Clodia, a woman of patrician status. For them to be so designated, it is reasonable to suggest that they too were all members of Rome's privileged classes. Cicero nowhere remarks on their presence in the baths; in itself, it was evidently not considered out of the ordinary.

Lucian's description of the baths of Hippias includes reference to "a hall suitable for the reception of the rich."<sup>70</sup> The wording implies the presence of the rich and the not-rich at the baths. Isolating specific examples of such halls in the physical remains has proven virtually impossible, though the *atrium* or *basilica thermarum* mentioned in inscriptions and literary sources may have served such a role.<sup>71</sup>

Juvenal and Martial, while not the most affluent individuals, were nonetheless representative of the privileged classes, and were familiar with public baths; Martial, in fact, had a preference for the facilities built by Titus.<sup>72</sup> The 4th-century AD nobility of Rome, according

<sup>69</sup> For what follows, cf. Cic. *pro Cael.*, 61-62.

<sup>70</sup> *Hipp.*, 5.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Appendix 5 for parts of baths mentioned in inscriptions; cf. NIELSEN *Therm.*, 1.162-163, s.v. "basilica thermarum," "Vestibulum, atrium."

<sup>72</sup> Mart., 3.36.6. The poet also implies that he used other facilities in the city, cf. 1.59, 2.14.11-13 (the more squalid baths of Gryllus and Lupus?), 6.42 (Thermulae of Etruscus), 11.52.1-4 (Baths of Stephanus). Juvenal similarly makes it clear he frequented public baths, cf. e.g. *Sat.*, 6.374-376, 7.232-233, 11.3-5, 11.203-206. Both men appear to have been of local municipal stock, though Martial rose to the *tribunatus semestris* (Mart., 3.95.9), and both were moderately affluent, cf. Juvenal's house in Rome (*Sat.*, 11.171,190), and perhaps one at Tibur (*Sat.*, 11.65).

to Ammianus Marcellinus, attended the baths as a matter of course; in fact, it was regarded as polite to inquire of a stranger what *thermae* he used (which itself suggests certain baths were considered fashionable).<sup>73</sup> Men who attended the baths with substantial retinues of slaves must be counted among the upper classes.<sup>74</sup>

Few inscriptions attest the upper classes at the baths, but one intriguing example from Rome may do just that.<sup>75</sup> The text concerns one Ursus who describes himself as a player of "glass ball" in the Baths of Agrippa, Nero, Titus and Trajan. He enjoins his supporters to rejoice in his achievements, and admits at the end that he had been defeated "by the patron Verus, three times consul, not once but many times." The text may appear little more than a quaint commemoration of a quainter old man, but an ingenious interpretation by E. Champlin makes this unlikely.<sup>76</sup> Pointing out the inherent unlikelihood of a game played with a glass ball (for which there is no other ancient testimony), and some odd features of the text, such as the injunction to honour Ursus who is "alive and willing" in a fashion suitable for one who is dead (e.g. pouring of libations, wreaths of flowers), Champlin proposes that the whole text is a comic allegory. Verus is M. Annii Verus (cos. AD 98, 121, 126 and *praefectus urbi*, 121-126) surely one of the most powerful men in Hadrianic Rome.<sup>77</sup> Ursus, proposes Champlin, is L. Julius Ursus Servianus (cos. AD 91, 102 but never cos. III), who must have been a political rival of Verus.<sup>78</sup> The glass ball is therefore an allegory of court politics: a difficult endeavour

<sup>73</sup> Amm. Marc., 28.4.8-9, 4.24 (bathing a regular activity); 28.4.10 (asking after *thermae*). Cf. Lib. *Or.*, 1.141 (Libanius habitually used the "great baths" of Antioch).

<sup>74</sup> For slave retinues, cf. below, pp. 267-268.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *ILS* 5173: Ursus, togatus vitrea qui primus pila | lusi decenter cum meis lusoribus, | laudante populo maximis clamoribus, | Thermis Traiani, thermis Agrippae et Titi, || multum et Neronis, si tamen mihi creditis, | ego sum. ovantes convenite, pilicrepi, | statuamque amici, floribus, violis, rosis, | folioque multo adque unguento marcido | onerate amantes, et merum profundite || nigrum Falernum aut Setinum aut Caucubum, | vivo ac volenti de apotheca dominica, | Ursumque canite voce concordi senem hilarem, | iocosum, pilicrepum, scholasticum, | qui vicit omnes antecessores suos || sensu, decore adque arte suptilissima | nunc vera versu verba dicamus senes: | sum victus ipse, fateor, a ter consule | Vero patrono, nec semel sed saepius, | cuius libenter dicor exodiarius.

<sup>76</sup> E. CHAMPLIN, "The Glass Ball Game," *ZPE* 60 (1985) 159-163.

<sup>77</sup> In addition, his son-in-law was Antoninus Pius and his grandson, and adoptive son, was M. Aurelius, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 695.

<sup>78</sup> He was Hadrian's brother-in-law, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 631.

where success is fragile and hard to grasp. Champlin suggests the inscription was commissioned by Ursus and sent to his rival Verus when he achieved his third consulship, effectively killing Ursus's political career (hence the libations etc.). For our purposes, however, note that for the allegory to be successful, and the joke to be funny, the portrayal of a senator playing ball in the public baths must have reflected reality, or at least must have been plausible.<sup>79</sup>

*Plebs, commoners and others of low station*

The evidence for these groups is mostly indirect, gleaned from implications drawn from the literary sources, though some more explicit epigraphic testimony is available. By far the most direct of this is the graffiti found in the well preserved bathhouses in the towns buried by Vesuvius. The Forum and Sarno Baths at Pompeii, and the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum have yielded the scribblings of visitors, usually little more than their names.<sup>80</sup> But most such graffiti-writers were, then as now, most likely of common station. There are also two epitaphs of apparently humble Romans which mention their frequent use of baths.<sup>81</sup> An inscription from Claudiopolis in Bithynia records the sudden death (by heart attack?) of the dancer Chrysopolis of Nikaia "while bathing in the hot baths."<sup>82</sup> In addition, there are the *instrumenta balnei*

<sup>79</sup> Ball-playing is most clearly attested at baths by the existence of specific rooms (*sphaeristeria*) to accommodate it, cf. Pliny *Ep.*, 2.17.11, 5.6.25, and Appendix 5, s.v. Note especially a *paganicum*, apparently a place for playing the ball game *pila paganica* (Mart., 7.32.7) at the baths at Abuzza in Africa (CIL 8.16368), cf. R. REBUFFAT, "Le paganicum," in *Thermes*, pp. 33-34. See also. BLÜMNER, *Privataltümer*, pp. 439-441 on different types of ball-games.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. CIL 4.1462-1469 (Forum), 4.10674-10683 (Suburban); KOLOSKI-OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 54-59 (Sarno).

<sup>81</sup> ILS 8157: v.a. LII | D.M. | Ti. Claudius Secundus, | hic secum habet omnia. || balnea, vina, Venus | corrumpunt corpora | nostra. | sed vitam faciunt | b. v. V.; CIL 14.914: D. M. | C. Domiti Primi | hoc ego su(m) | in tumulo Primus notissim|us ille. vixi Lucrinis; potabi saepe Fal|ernum; balnia, vina, Venus mecum | senuere | per annos hec ego si potu|isit mihi terra lebisset tamen ad Ma|nes. The absence of any distinguishing titles (*Primus notissimus* is more of an affectation than an official title) suggests these men were of lowly station.

<sup>82</sup> SEG 36 (1986), 1139: ἔθανον προ|πετῶς θερμοῖσι λυθεῖσα (*sic*).

(strigils, *paterae* etc) inscribed with their owners' names.<sup>83</sup> Presumably, however, these were people of at least some means, as they could afford metal accoutrements.

It seems that families would go to the baths together. Two texts, one from Lugdunum, the other from Ostia, commemorate deceased wives who used to bathe with their husbands.<sup>84</sup> In the Lugdunum text the grieving husband, Pompeius Catussa, describes himself as a "Sequanian citizen, a plasterer." The bereaved Ostian husband was a Roman citizen, but gives no hint as to his profession or status; he was probably of inconsequential social station. If husbands and wives visited the baths together, they appear to have brought their children along. In an inscription from Rome, two freedpeople mourn the loss of their 8-year old son who drowned in the *piscina* of the Baths of Mars.<sup>85</sup> A drawing of stick-men on the wall of the ramp leading to the Sarno Baths may have been executed by a child.<sup>86</sup> Of the five teeth found in the baths at Caerleon, three were from children.<sup>87</sup> Surviving schoolbooks for children, most of 3rd century AD date and later, describe how to use the baths and acquaint the pupils with the requisite vocabulary and rules of etiquette.<sup>88</sup>

Besides the actual writings and belongings of the bathers themselves, there are also the texts which record bath benefactions aimed at certain groups. So, an undated inscription from Nemausus records that a benefactor "provided baths for the use of the *plebs* earlier (than

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *CIL* 15.7084-7095.

<sup>84</sup> *ILS* 8158 (Lugdunum): Pompeius | Catussa cives Sequanus tector coniugi incomparabili | et sibi benignissime . . . tu qui legis, vade in Apolinis (*sic*) lavari, quod ego cum coniulge feci; vellem si aduc (*sic*) possem; *AE* 1987.179 (Ostia): Q. Minucius Q. f. Pal(atina tribu) Marcellus | coniugi carissimae, pientissim(ae), castissim(ae) || coniugali, quae numquam sine me in publicum aut in balineum aut ubicumq(ue) ire volet.

<sup>85</sup> *ILS* 8518: Daphnus et | Chryseis | Laconis liberti | Fortunato suo v(ixit) a(annorum) VIII, || balneo Martis piscina | perit. The *Balneum Martis* is otherwise unknown. Cf. a similar text from Teate Marrucinarum, *CIL* 9.6318: ipse pa[ter infelicissimus] | sculpsi puero | qui miser in piscina p[er]iit | vixit annis III mens VI. Here, however, it is not made explicit that the *piscina* was part of a bathhouse.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. KOLOSKI-OSTROW, *Sarno*, p. 59.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 4, n. 55.

<sup>88</sup> A.C. DIONISOTTI, "From Ausonius' Schooldays? A Schoolbook and its Relatives," *JRS* 72 (1982), 81-125, esp. §§55-64 (pp. 102-103); note in particular the lists of words in §§ 57-58, and the injunction at the end, *gratias ago balneatori* ("I thank the balneator [on the way out]"); compare *Gloss. Lat.*, III.644-654 (*Colloquium Monacensia*) and III.654-659 (*Colloquium Montepessulanum*).

expected).<sup>89</sup> Here it is not clear whether these baths were exclusively for the use of the *plebs*, but even if it was not, their presence cannot be disputed. Other texts record work carried out for the benefit of, and with the support of, the *populus*, perhaps even in response to its demands.<sup>90</sup>

Among the clearest testimony of this type are the texts which record the provision of free bathing. Sometimes the categories of beneficiaries are listed.<sup>91</sup> Bathing can be given simply "to the people," a word that probably is intended to denote all the classes of the community, even if strictly speaking the term excludes decurions and Augustales.<sup>92</sup> Other texts list the specific categories of people who were to benefit. Free bathing could be stipulated for *municipes* and *coloni* (i.e. citizens of the *municipium* and/or colony), *incolae* (i.e. residents of the territory accruing to the community), *hospites* (i.e. guests of the community), *adventores* (i.e. visitors to the community, probably from neighbouring villages and towns), and *peregrini* (i.e. foreigners, either resident aliens, or a rough equivalent to *adventores*).<sup>93</sup> More restricted examples are known: in one, bathing is offered only to the female members of the community's ruling order, and in another only to men, and youths (*impuberes*) of both sexes.<sup>94</sup> Again, in these cases it is far from certain that use of the baths was restricted to the groups named; rather the texts only mention those who are to benefit, and it must be assumed that other classes of people could attend, but had to pay.

<sup>89</sup> No. 77 (Table 4).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. above, p. 235. For benefactions expressly aimed at the *populus*, cf. nos. 13, (Table 1), 20, 37 (Table 2), 86 (Table 4), and below, n. 92.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Table 7, s.v. section A., "Free Bathing."

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Nos. 210 (*populus*), 215 (ὁ δῆμος), 221 (*pagani*), 224 (οἱ κατοίκου) (Table 7); note also oil distributions, which are often given *populo*, cf. nos. 243 (πολὺς πᾶς), 244 (ὁ δῆμος), 246, 251, 252 (*populus*) (Table 7). Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, pp. 141-143; S. MROZEK, *Les distributions d'argent et de nourriture dans les villes italiennes du Haut-Empire romain* (Brussels; Collection Latomus 198, 1987), pp. 94-102.

<sup>93</sup> A glance down the "Work done" column of the "Free Bathing" section of Table 7 will provide several examples of this.

<sup>94</sup> Nos. 218 (men and youths) and 223 (women) (Table 7).

Literary sources allude to the presence of commoners at the baths. The establishment at Rome through which Larcus Macedo was making his way with the aid of a slave was obviously crowded, and it would be unrealistic to imagine that everyone else present was a senator, *eques*, or member of the upper classes. The presence of the *plebs* is thus to be inferred. That members of the lower classes were habitually to be found at the baths in Rome is implied by an epigram of Martial. Addressing himself (*tecum mihi, care Martialis*), the poet wonders what life would be like if he did not move among the high social circles of the imperial capital. He answers himself:

We should not know the halls or mansions of men of power, nor worrying lawsuits and the anxious forum, not lordly ancestral busts; but the promenade, the lounges, the bookshops, the plain, the colonnade, the garden's shade, the Virgin water, the *thermae* - these should be our haunts always, these our tasks.<sup>95</sup>

Although the text is overtly romanticized, the basic point that commoners frequented the baths is clear. This need not surprise; living conditions for the less well-off in the city must have been atrocious, tempting them to spend time in the more opulent surroundings of the city's public spaces.<sup>96</sup> Of these, the baths must have been among the most attractive, being functional in nature and, in the case of bigger establishments at least, offering luxurious and comfortable surroundings to the visitor.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Cf. Mart., 5.20 (Loeb trans.): *nec nos atria nec domos potentum/ nec litis tetricas forumque triste/ nossemus nec imagines superbas; / sed gestatio, fabulae, libelli./ campus, porticus, umbra, Virgo, thermae, / haec essent loca semper, hi labores.*

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Tac. *Hist.*, 1.4 which speaks of the *plebs sordida et circo ac theatri sueta*. See also MacMULLEN, *Social Relations*, p. 63. For the living conditions of the mob, cf. YAVETZ, "Living Conditions" in SEAGER, *Crisis*, pp. 162-179 and SCOBIE, *Klio* 68 (1986), 399-433. It is not clear whether or not the magnificence of public buildings helped the *plebs* put up with their domestic squalor, as MacMULLEN and others (e.g. MARVIN, *AJA* 87 (1983), 347 with specific reference to baths) assert. SCOBIE denies the proposition on Marxist grounds: public opulence only made the poor more aware of their personal poverty (ibid., 431-432). Altogether, it seems more likely the *plebs* would have enjoyed a trip to the baths, and a brief brush with luxury.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. above, pp. 245-247.

*Slaves as attendants and customers*

There can be little doubt that slaves were to be found at the baths. Some evidence already reviewed reveals the presence of slaves in an "official" capacity, i.e. as attendants, members of retinue or staff attached to the building.<sup>98</sup> Mosaics depict slaves carrying buckets and other bath-related instruments, and one from the private baths at Piazza Armerina names them in the vocative ("Tite," "Cassi") as if they were being summoned.<sup>99</sup> In the surviving *colloquia* (schoolbooks), the bathing scenes are often expressed as orders given to silent slaves.<sup>100</sup> When Trimalchio first appears in the *Satyricon*, he is at the baths with three no doubt slave masseurs drinking wine.<sup>101</sup> They were probably members of Trimalchio's retinue, as bringing slave attendants to the baths was not unusual for those who could afford it. Juvenal makes great sport of the woman who bathes at night, and has all her bath equipment transported there (presumably by slaves) and is accompanied by a masseur (*aliptes*).<sup>102</sup> The satirist also pokes fun at one Tongilius who "frequents the baths with a huge oil-flask of rhinoceros horn and disturbs the bathers with a mob of dirty retainers."<sup>103</sup> That this is not pure fantasy is

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<sup>98</sup> So, for instance, the slave who attended Larcus Macedo (above, p. 259). Cf. below, n. 168 for a graffito illustrating the sort of treatment to which such slaves could be subjected.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.76-77, figs. 40-42 (fig. 40 is the Piazza Armerina mosaic). Note also Amm. Marc., 28.4.16 where a slave receives 300 lashes for not bringing hot water quickly enough, presumably in the baths.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. DIONISOTTI, *JRS* 72 (1982), 83-125: e.g. §55 (*deferte res ad balneum mutatoria*) or §61 (*da strigilem, destringe me*); cf. also *Gloss. Lat.*, III.651-652.10 and III.657.14.

<sup>101</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 28. On the mostly servile status of bath personnel cf. M. WISSEMAN, "Das Personal des antiken römischen Bad," *Glotta* 62 (1984), 80-89; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.125-131. Note also H.C. YOUTIE, "Records of a Roman Bath in Upper Egypt," *AJA* 53 (1949), 268-270 (= id., *Scriptiunculae II* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973), pp. 990-993 where the names on the 1st or 2nd century ostraca records of a military bathhouse at Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu) show the staff to be slaves. Cf. also *CIL* 5.2886 where a *familia thermensis Thermarum Urbana[rum]*, i.e. the servile workers at the baths, make a dedication to the emperors or masters (*domini*). On *iatraliptae* in particular, cf. *ibid.*, p. 88 where WISSEMAN concludes that they were mostly freedmen, but says they could also be part of an upper-class Roman's household (cf. Pliny *Ep.*, 10.5, 6), i.e. slaves. That appears to be the case with Trimalchio, as there is no hint in the *Satyricon* passage that the masseurs were attached to the bathhouse as regular staff, as WISSEMAN suggests.

<sup>102</sup> *Sat.*, 6.419-426. On the opening hours of baths, cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 59-78; HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, 145-146; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.135-138. There appears to have been no strict regulation of opening hours.

<sup>103</sup> *Sat.*, 7.130-131 (Loeb trans.): *magno cum rhinocerote lavari/ qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba . . .* Cf. Sen. *Dial.*, 10.12.7 where the pampered bather is lifted out of the bath into his litter, presumably by his retinue.

indicated by Ammianus Marcellinus who describes a retinue of up to 50 servants accompanying late Imperial aristocrats to the baths, and Plutarch, who counts it among the virtues of the χρηστός that he does not have an immoderate number of servants at the baths.<sup>104</sup> But the size of the retinue need not have been especially large; a retinue of one or two was also possible.<sup>105</sup> It seems probable that one of the functions of the benches found outside the Forum Baths or those of Julia Felix at Pompeii was to accommodate slaves waiting for their masters (and/or bathers waiting to get in when the establishments were full); Lucian mentions a room in the Baths of Hippias specifically for servants and attendants.<sup>106</sup> Slave staff could also guard clothes or serve baser functions.<sup>107</sup>

However, a more interesting question is: Did slaves use the baths as customers? The evidence for the presence of slaves as bathers is rarely direct, and often ambiguous. An example is a graffito from the vestibule of the Suburban Baths in Herculaneum which reads: [F]usci Cilix.<sup>108</sup> Unfortunately, it is not clear if Cilix was a *libertus* or a slave, or, if the latter, whether he was at the baths as Fuscus's attendant or as a customer. The terse text thus proves tantalizing

<sup>104</sup> Amm. Marc., 28.4.8-9: *tales ubi comitantibus singulos quinquaginta ministris, tholos introierunt balnearum, "ubi, ubi sunt nostri" minaciter clamant.*; Plut. *Mor.*, 823B: οὐδαμῆ δὲ λυπηρὸς οὐδ' ἐνοχλῶν οἰκετῶν πλήθει περὶ λουτρὸν . . .

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Mart. 11.75, cf. Juv. 6.374-376 (woman and eunuch attendant?); Mart. 12.70 (poor man has slave to carry towel and one to watch his clothes); Petron. *Sat.*, 91, cf. 97 (single slave attendant); Pliny *Ep.*, 3.14.7-8 (slave to make way for Larcus Macedo, though the ex-praetor may have had more unmentioned slaves in his retinue); Anon. *Life of Aesop*, 32 [DALY, p. 47] (handsome slave attends mistress at (a private?) bath), 38 [DALY, pp. 50-51] and 66 [DALY, p. 63] (Aesop, the only slave in his master's townhouse, attends his master at the public baths). The latter is an anonymous 1st-century AD Egyptian composition. On its nature and date, cf. L.W. DALY, *Aesop Without Morals* (New York: Yoseldorf, 1961), pp. 19-23 and B.E. PERRY's introduction to the Loeb edition of *Babrius and Phaedrus* (1965), esp. pp. xxxv-xlvi. Although set at the time of Croesus of Lydia, when tradition said Aesop lived, much in the work evidently reflects 1st century AD conditions and so is a useful source for the social functioning of baths.

<sup>106</sup> Luc. *Hipp.*, 5: κοινὸς οἶκος, ἱκανὴν ἔχων ὑπηρέταις καὶ ἀκολούθοις διατριβῆν; cf. below, p. 286 where the passage is cited in full.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. below, pp. 288-289 (thieves at the baths) and pp. 299-300 (sex and prostitution).

<sup>108</sup> *CIL* 4.10681. Another text from the same room reads (*CIL* 4.10676): Hermeros Primigeniae dominae: | veni Puteolos in vico Tim(i)niano et quaere | a Messio num(m)ulario Hermerotem Phoebi. On the surface, the graffito appears to be clear evidence for the presence at the baths of Hermeros, a slave of Primigenia. However, it seems that this Primigenia was a much-admired local beauty from Nuceria who is the subject of several wall-graffitos in the region (*CIL* 4.3976, 5358, 8175, 8301 and especially 10241). Hermeros calling her his *domina* therefore takes on a different meaning.

but ultimately frustrating. More informative is another text from the same room recording the presence of Apelles, a *cubicularius Caesar(is)*.<sup>109</sup> Apelles was probably of slave status (though high in the hierarchy due to his proximity to the emperor), and as he lunches and copulates at the baths, he was undoubtedly there as a customer.<sup>110</sup>

Before reviewing the other material, a word of caution. For certain slaves, limitation of freedom of movement was one of the chief drawbacks of their station, and one that would have interfered directly with their ability to visit public baths. This problem is diminished if the distinction between slaves as attendants and slaves as customers is not drawn too strictly. It is possible that slaves who went with their owners to the baths "on duty" also bathed while there. If this were the case, it still means that slaves could visit the baths to bathe, presumably simultaneously with their owners (which would be remarkable in itself). However, not all attendants would have been given the opportunity: some (e.g. those who guarded clothing, or carried litters) would surely not have been given a chance to bathe while carrying out their duties, whereas others (e.g. masseurs, washing attendants) might. Altogether, the possibility that at least some slaves could work and bathe at the same time should be borne in mind when reviewing the evidence.

In two benefactions of free bathing, the offer is expressly extended *hospitib(us)* *servisque eorum*, "to guests and their slaves" and *uxorib(us)*, *serveis ancilleisque eor(um)*, "to their wives [i.e. of the various groups previously listed], slaves, and maids."<sup>111</sup> Now it is just

<sup>109</sup> CIL 4.10677; cf. below, n. 204 for full text.

<sup>110</sup> Imperial *cubicularii* were usually slaves, who could be manumitted after years of service, cf. ILS 1734-1742; RE 4.1734-1737, s.v. "a cubiculo, cubicularius" [Rostowzew], esp. 1734; G. BOULVERT, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Naples; Jovene, 1970), pp. 241-247. There are two chief indications that Apelles was a slave and not a *libertus*: 1) he only uses one *nomen* (though, admittedly, the text is a graffito); and 2) the possessive "Caesaris" is generally used by slaves, freedmen preferring "Augusti," cf. P.R.C. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 48-54.

<sup>111</sup> Nos. 209 (*ancillae*) and 214 (*servi*) (Table 7). These texts are taken at face value by CENERINI, RSA 17-18 (1987-1988), 212; MROZEK, *Distributions*, p. 101, n. 48.

arguable that these slaves are members of a retinue of attendants, small or large. But even if so, the slaves are expressly granted *lavatio gratuita*, "free bathing," and so the right to use the facilities as customers, whether "on duty" or not. On a broader perspective, is it reasonable to expect that a bather bringing slave attendants would be expected to pay an entrance fee for those attendants? Would they not number among his *instrumenta balnei* (like towels or strigils), and be automatically exempt? A passage in the *Digest* may support this contention. Here it is stated that in legacies involving bathhouses (slave) *balneatores* and *fornacatores* (furnace attendants) were to be included with the property as *instrumenta balnei*.<sup>112</sup> Given this, it would be no benefaction at all to extend an offer of free bathing to slaves unless they were to be included among the other groups of bathers listed.

If these arguments are accepted, these two inscriptions provide positive evidence that slaves could use the baths as customers (at least at the places where the texts were found). A negative inference in support of this proposition can also be drawn. The mention of slaves in these particular texts, and their absence from the majority, implies that they usually would not be beneficiaries of *lavatio gratuita*.<sup>113</sup> The wording, in fact, does not show that slaves were excluded from the baths *per se*, but rather implies that they usually could use the baths, but had to pay.

The *lex Metalli Vipascensis* adds weight to the argument. The 2nd-century inscription, regulating the administration of an imperial mine and the territory accruing to it, stipulates that such slaves and freedmen as were in the employ of the procurator or enjoy privileges could use

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<sup>112</sup> *Dig.*, 33.7.13.1 (*balneator*), 33.7.17.2 (*fornacator*). The ruling is justified on the basis that these staff-members were essential to the running of the facility. It is therefore arguable that perhaps only essential staff were considered *instrumenta balnei*. However, this is probably too legalistic an approach, and may not have applied to everyday life; *Vell. Pat.*, 2.114.2 implies the term applied to whatever was necessary for bathing, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I. 142-144.

<sup>113</sup> Such is the conclusion of MROZEK, *Distributions*, pp. 100-102 who proposes the habitual exclusion of slaves from money and food distributions in Italian towns. This is despite *Sen. Vit. Beata*, 24.2 where it is claimed that slaves can, in principle, be beneficiaries of liberality. Cf. also CENERINI, *RSA* 17-18 (1987-1988), 212.

the baths free of charge.<sup>114</sup> As above, the wording implies that other slaves, not in the employ of the imperial service, would be charged, i.e. that slaves of any kind had access to this bath as customers. Pertinent here is an inscription, also from imperial estates (in Coela, Thrace), that records the building of baths for "the people and the *familia* of Caesar," i.e. those imperial slaves who served the estates.<sup>115</sup> It would seem from these texts that imperial servants could use baths on certain imperial properties. That they come from opposite ends of the empire, and are separated chronologically by almost a century might indicate that the practice was widespread, if not common; however, two inscriptions do not establish a common regulation, and neither text proves that imperial slaves could use public facilities elsewhere.

The rules of the Lanuvian burial club (AD 136) are also instructive. It seems clear that the *collegium* had slave members, who appear to have been treated on an equal footing with others.<sup>116</sup> In which case, when free oil is prescribed for the *collegium* at the public baths prior to their annual banquets, the slave members presumably benefitted as well (certainly, they are not explicitly excluded).<sup>117</sup> The text therefore indicates that the *collegium* members, of varying social statuses including slaves, bathed together on these occasions.

Literary sources provide relevant testimony. In the *Satyricon*, the heroes meet a slave who is about to be punished for losing the clothes of a *dispensator* while at the baths.<sup>118</sup> A *dispensator* resembled an accountant in charge of the financial matters of a household. He was

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<sup>114</sup> Cf. *ILS* 6891, lines 23-24 : excipiuntur liberti et servi [Caes. qui proc.] in offi[c]is erunt vel | commoda percipient, . . .

<sup>115</sup> Cf. No. 86 (Table 4).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. *ILS* 7212.II.3-10, where the burial rights of the slave and freed members are outlined. Cf. also MROZEK, *Distributions*, p. 102 for slave members in *collegia*.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. no. 247 (Table 7). Note also *AE* 1971.88.II.3-4 where the slave corpse-removers at Puteoli may not use the baths before the 1st hour of night, the time restriction probably imposed for religious reasons.

<sup>118</sup> Petron. *Satyr.*, 30. For the status and duties of a *dispensator*, cf. *RE* 5.1189-1198, s.v. [Liebenam].

usually a slave (but could be a freedman), high up in the servile hierarchy.<sup>119</sup> If Trimalchio's *dispensator* is a slave, he is seen here using the baths as a customer, with another less-elevated slave as a robe guard, who is then to be punished for losing his clothes. Juvenal comments that one of his two simple serving slaves is "no noisy frequenter of the baths, presenting his armpits to be cleared of hair, and with only an oil-flask to conceal his timid nudity."<sup>120</sup> Were other slaves "noisy frequenters of the baths"? The attendance by depilators shows Juvenal's slave was there to bathe, not to serve. Pliny the Elder complains of gold-adorned *paedagogi*, also household slaves, who have transformed the appearance of the baths.<sup>121</sup> In this case, however, it is not clear if the slaves are part of a retinue or visiting the baths as customers.

It must be stressed that all we have seen so far applies to public baths located in an urban context. In the countryside, conditions may have dictated separate bathing for master and slave. It would be unrealistic to expect that a villa's private bath suite would be available for use by farmhands, though in some early villas in South-East England the sharing of baths by workers and owners appears to have been practised.<sup>122</sup> At Ashstead in Surrey, a villa has been excavated which has a small bath-suite built into it, and a larger, detached bath building some 50 metres down the road approaching the house.<sup>123</sup> The most logical explanation of this arrangement is that the detached bathhouse was for the use of the lowly workers, the villa's bath suite for the owners of the estate. Most villas, though, do not feature such detached bath buildings, so presumably the workers had to fend for themselves in this regard; perhaps they

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<sup>119</sup> Imperial *dispensatores* were normally slaves of the highest servile rank, but could be manumitted at age c. 40; note that, among the emperor's *familia*, they are the group most frequently attested as slaves who owned slaves (*servi vicarii*), cf. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris*, pp. 205-206, pp. 200-206.

<sup>120</sup> *Sat.*, 11.156-158 (Loeb. trans.): *nec pupillares defert in balnea raucus / testiculos, nec vellandas iam praebuit alas / crassa nec opposito pavidus tegit inguina guto.*

<sup>121</sup> Pliny *NH*, 33.40. Cf. *Juv. Sat.*, 6.374-376 where the poet's description of a eunuch conspicuously entering the baths leaves it ambiguous as to whether he was present alone as a customer or in attendance on his mistress.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. E.W. BLACK, *The Roman Villas of South-East England* (Oxford: BAR British Series 171, 1987), p. 53: some early villas had single, detached bathhouses, while in the course of the 2nd century AD, separate bathsuites attached to the villas (for exclusive use of the owners?) become more common.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-116. Similar arrangements are found at e.g. Angmering, Sussex (*ibid.*, pp. 87-89) and Darenth, Kent (*ibid.*, p. 52). On detached baths in villas, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 51-54.

facilities in nearby *vici* or *pagi*. On the other hand, Columella recommends allowing farm slaves to bathe only on festival days, meaning that they could enjoy a full Roman-style bath only on these special occasions; otherwise they would have to improvise.<sup>124</sup> But was Columella's attitude typical? Was his recommendation widely applied? Altogether, public bathing in the countryside is a topic in need of further investigation.

The evidence so far reviewed, when taken together, makes strong the possibility that slaves were allowed to use urban public baths as customers. However, it is probable that the practice varied from district to district, even from bath to bath within a town or region. If this were the case, it could be expected that some evidence would survive, no matter how indirect, of the reservation of a bathhouse for the use of slaves alone, or for their exclusion from others. None does. Of course, the sort of lowly establishment likely to be frequented by slaves would not be the type to sport grandiose inscriptions. Nonetheless, the complete absence of *any* evidence (even graffiti, or asides in literary authors) that slaves were not welcome in some public facilities is noteworthy. If we assume, as I believe we must, that slaves had to get clean just as much as anyone else, their presence as customers at public facilities would seem logical enough. It is possible, however, that only high-ranking slaves -- such as imperial *servi*, household *dispensatores* or personal attendants and favourites -- enjoyed the freedom of movement (and permission?) to visit public baths on anything like a regular basis.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Cf. Columella, 1.6.19-20.

<sup>125</sup> In the *Life of Aesop*, for instance, Aesop is never depicted as going to the baths except as an attendant upon his master. However, Aesop is clearly an all-purpose chattel, and perhaps lacked the status to use public baths.

There is therefore a substantial body of evidence placing Romans of all social classes, from at least one emperor to slaves, in the baths. The next questions are: were they to be found together in the same bathhouses? If so, how freely did the classes mingle there?

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*(iii) The social environment II: social mixing*

No evidence exists to suggest that formal social segregation was implemented at the baths.<sup>126</sup> (It would certainly not have been impossible to organize, as shown, for instance, by the separation of men and women.)<sup>127</sup> In fact, the evidence would imply quite the opposite. When Pliny the Younger comments that he would visit the public baths in a village near his Laurentine villa when his private suite was not operative, he shows no social compunction about using these establishments, nor gives any indication that they were reserved for certain social classes.<sup>128</sup> Likewise, in Cicero's refutation of the poisoning allegations against Caelius, slaves and men of high birth appear to mingle freely at the baths. Caelius's motive in choosing the baths as the most suitable place for the transmission of the poison to Clodia's slaves would appear to have been that a well-born young man could be seen there in close contact with slaves

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<sup>126</sup> An exception is the room "suitable for the reception of the rich," an apparently exclusive area (for changing?) of the Baths of Hippias. But, aside from that, the rich would have mingled with the rest in the remaining areas of the building. No other evidence exists for the reservation of certain buildings or areas thereof for social groups. The baths of the tribes of Antioch (*Lib. Or.*, 11.245), and others for the use of *collegia* etc., are more akin to private establishments than public ones.

<sup>127</sup> Women could have their own bath-buildings (*balneum muliebre*; cf. nos. 75 (Table 4), 219 (Table 7)), separate sections within a building (as the Stabian or Forum Baths at Pompeii, cf. above, n. 20 for page references), or be restricted to certain hours at the baths (*ILS* 6891, lines 20-21; *SEG* 26 (1976), 1043/4). There is no reason why, if they had wanted to, the Romans could not have established such segregation for social classes, even on a broad basis, e.g. between members of *ordines* and *plebs*, or between freeborn and freed/slaves. Compare, for instance, the 14th-century rulings at Digne, Dijon and Rouen stipulating alternate days at public baths for the use of men, women, Jews and actors (cf. VIGARELLO, *Concepts*, p. 29).

<sup>128</sup> Cf. above, pp. 112, 259.

without raising suspicion.<sup>129</sup> However, it is not clear from the text if the slaves were to masquerade as customers, or a retinue; but if it were the latter, whose retinue? Altogether, the story appears to assume that it was unremarkable for well-born and slave to be in the same bathhouse. If it were not, it is surprising that Cicero passed up another opportunity to ridicule the prosecution's allegations by commenting acidly on such inappropriate social intercourse. Apuleius populates his baths with various classes of people, from a beggar-like down-and-out to rich women.<sup>130</sup>

In the inscriptions conferring benefactions on named groups, it must be assumed that those groups could be found simultaneously at the baths together: there is certainly no indication otherwise. In fact, the terminology involved allows a clear illustration of how social mixing was an accepted feature of the baths. As seen above, some texts record the provision of free bathing for *municipes* (and/or *coloni*), *incolae*, *hospites*, *adventores*, *peregrini* and *servi* (and *ancillae*) in various combinations.<sup>131</sup> It just happens that almost identical wording is employed in the so-called *lex Ursonensis* from Spain, which stipulates separate seating at spectacles for *coloni*, *incolae*, *hospites* and *adventores*. The main point of the text is to separate these groups from the decurions of the colony, but the sense demands that each category was assigned separate seating.<sup>132</sup> So it seems that specific groups segregated according to rank at shows were not so

<sup>129</sup> Cicero's consideration of the places within the building where Clodia's *amici* would best conceal themselves to apprehend Licinius and the slaves makes it clear that the transaction was to take place *inside* the building and not on the street outside (*pro Cael.*, 62).

<sup>130</sup> *Met.*, 1.7 (beggar) 9.17 (rich woman). Lucius, the main character, also visits the baths several times, adding to the social melange (*Met.*, 1.6, 1.24, 2.11, 3.12, 8.29). Cf. Clemens of Alexandria, *Paid.*, 3.5 where it is reported that one could meet women of the upper classes naked at the baths.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. nos. 208, 209, 212-214 (Table 7); above, p. 265.

<sup>132</sup> *ILS* 6087, §126: colonos coloniae incolasque hospites<que> adventoresque ita sessum ducito, ita locum dato distribuito atsignato, uti d(e) e(a) r(e) <de eo loco dando atsignato> decuriones, cum non min(us) L decuriones, cum e(a) r(es) c(onsuletur) in decurionibus adfuerint, decreverint statuerint s(ine) d(olo) m(alo). Each group probably had a block of seats, in the way J. KOLENDO, "La répartition des places aux spectacles et la stratification sociale dans l'empire romaine," *Ktema* 6 (1981), 305-314 traces for other groups during the 2nd century and later. This situation most probably stands behind the train of events in AD 59 described by Tac. *Ann.*, 14.17 (and represented in a Pompeian wall-painting now in the Naples Museum) where rivalry between Pompeians and visiting Nuceriaans at a spectacle at Pompeii led first to insults, then to fisticuffs, stone throwing and an all-out riot resulting in many deaths. If the Nuceriaans were seated in a block or series of blocks (as *adventores*), rather than distributed randomly among the Pompeians, these events become understandable

segregated at the baths. Although social segregation at *spectacula* is understandable -- on such occasions the community formally assembled for a public occasion, which would not have been the case at the baths -- the contrast nicely illustrates social mixing at the baths.

A similar illustration is provided by the Arval Brethren. Under the year AD 80 of their *Acta* it is recorded that the college had seats assigned to it at the newly built Flavian amphitheatre.<sup>133</sup> Interestingly, the seats were not contiguous, but divided among three grades: the first, the second, and the wooden seats at the back (i.e. the worst seats in the house). As the measurements for each block of seats are provided, Kolendo can plausibly suggest that the first grade of seats were for the 12 Brothers and their families, the second for the officials of the college (*scribae, ministri, calatores*, etc), and the wooden seats for the college's slaves.<sup>134</sup> In other words, although the college as a whole received seats in the Colosseum, they were so distributed as to maintain social distinctions (as is to be expected).<sup>135</sup>

It just so happens that at the college's sanctuary at Magliana, 7 km south of Rome, the Brethren's bath has been discovered.<sup>136</sup> The building dates to the Severan period (the latest brickstamps are AD 214) and the maximum capacity of the pools of the *caldaria* is reckoned at

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(compare, for instance, the notoriously adversarial behaviour of English soccer fans which can lead to violence, with individuals emboldened by being surrounded by colleagues in a segregated section of the crowd). It is also likely that *collegia* (presumably assigned block seating) were involved here. The segregation of people at shows was made an empire-wide regulation under Augustus (Suet. *Aug.*, 44), but the evidence of the Caesarian *Lex Ursonensis* cited above suggests that it was not unknown, at least in colonies, beforehand, cf. the texts collected by KOLENDO, *op. cit.*, 305-314. It seems probable, therefore, that such rules would have applied also to the towns from which the free bathing texts originate.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. M. MCRUM & A.G. WOODHEAD, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of the Flavian Emperors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 9 (= *CIL* 6.2059.25-34 = G. HENZEN, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin: Reimer, 1874), pp. 106-107).

<sup>134</sup> The measurements as presented by KOLENDO, *Ktema* 6 (1981), 304 are:  
 - 1st *moenianum* on 8 steps, 42.5ft (= 12.32m);  
 - 2nd *moenianum* on 4 steps, 22.5ft (= 6.53m);  
 - wooden seats, 64ft (= 18.55m).

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 304-305.

<sup>136</sup> H. BROISE & I. SCHEID, *Recherches archéologiques à la Magliana: le balneum des frères Arvales* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1987).

24.<sup>137</sup> As DeLaine points out, this building provides an unusual opportunity to study a bath built for a restricted number of visitors, the pool capacity being just sufficient for the 12 *fratres* and each of their *calatores*, one for each Brother. (That the *calatores* bathed with the Brothers is a plausible suggestion, because we know that the bath was used on formal occasions, and so use by the Arvals' family members seems unlikely.)<sup>138</sup> The evidence of the Arval College, like that of the *lex Ursonensis* and free bathing texts, highlights social mixing at the baths, by suggesting that groups who were separated in the theatre according to rank bathed together, in this case also on formal occasions. The latter point makes it conceivable that some religious or ceremonial reason stood behind this proposed joint bathing of Arvals and *calatores*, but if so, we hear nothing of it.

Archaeology provides some support. At Rome, some of the imperial *thermae* appear to have been situated in order to serve certain sectors of the city, but social considerations do not seem to have played a part. The Baths of Caracalla, for instance, were accessible not only from the opulent area of the Aventine, but had a large entrance facing the Via Appia, apparently inviting all sorts of travellers.<sup>139</sup> The location of many communities' main bathhouse in or near the forum,<sup>140</sup> or at places clearly aimed at attracting as many people as possible, such as

<sup>137</sup> Cf. the comments of J. DeLAINE, "The *Balneum* of the Arval Brethren," *JRA* 3 (1990), 321-324, esp. 323.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. the entries for AD 218 (*CIL* 6.2104.10 = HENZEN, *Acta*, p. 203): *item post meridiem a balneo cathedris considerunt*; and AD 241 (= *CIL* 6.2114.14-18 [p. 581, s.v. "a. 241"] = HENZEN, *Acta*, p.225): *[item post mer]die <m> mag(ister) lo[t]us cenatorio albo ac pue[ri praetextati patri]mi et matr[is]mi senatorum filii Bo [ . . . ] conseder(unt) et epulati sunt*. Unfortunately, these laconic notices are our only two witnesses to the Arval Brethren at the baths. The text only specifies that the Brothers bathed, and gives no indication if anyone else from the college joined them.

<sup>139</sup> On the situation of the Baths of Caracalla, cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, p. 124, where it is argued that the baths were aimed at winning the lower classes for Caracalla by being built for their use (the implication being that those who lived around the baths were of the less-privileged levels of society). The proximity of the building to the Aventine and the Via Appia makes this unlikely, cf. DeLAINE, *JRA* 1 (1988), 29.

<sup>140</sup> The following places, according to NIELSEN's geographical index (*Therm.*, I.184-191), have "Agora," "Forum" or "Central Baths" (in alphabetical order with catalogue numbers in parantheses where applicable): Augusta Raurica (C.157), Cales (C.35), Cumae, Ephesus (C.299), Forum Trajani (C.131), Herculaneum (C.38), Lugdunum Convenarum (C.75), Lutetia (C.92), Ostia (C.27), Paestum, Pompeii (C.42, 47), Side (C.373), Thubursicum Numidarum (C.251), Tingad (C.241), Turris Libysonis (C.135). Additions from MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, (cf. Appendix 3, section B): Avenicum (M.126), Cherchel (Iol Caesarea; M.169), Gigthis (M.152), Lucus Feroniae (M.24), Nuceria (M.30), Nora (M.102), Sabratha (M.156), Saepinum (M.37), Vasio Vocontiorum (M. 83), Volubilis (M.101). This list, of course, is far from complete. The names

gates,<sup>141</sup> suggests that these baths would be frequented by the various social strata.<sup>142</sup>

However, more fieldwork is required on this topic before its full implications can be drawn.

It would seem from the foregoing discussion, as well as from the evidence adduced in the preceding section, that public baths were frequented by all classes of people in the Roman world, and that those classes appear to have mixed in the baths freely. But how freely? The smaller establishments at Rome and elsewhere may well have served a more localized clientele, but there is no evidence to suggest they were socially exclusive, at least not formally.<sup>143</sup> It is certainly possible that some opulent baths, e.g. the *Thermulae Etrusci*, may have screened out "undesirables" by charging higher entrance fees, offering more expensive services or denying entry to rough-looking customers; but this is conjecture.<sup>144</sup> As proposed above, the social environment of pubs in the British Isles may provide an approximate counterpart for conditions in Roman baths: officially, anyone can go to any pub, but may be deterred from some (e.g. by higher prices and/or dress codes), and just about everywhere "regulars" are encountered.<sup>145</sup> The question remains, however: how free was the social mingling in the baths?

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"Forum" and "Central Baths" are modern assignments, so other buildings may be located near the forum or city-centre which are not so named (e.g. the Baths of Seius Strabo at Volsinii, which are near the forum there, cf. no. 85 (Table 4) and note).

<sup>141</sup> For the distribution of the Ostian baths, cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, p. 418, fig. 30 where the clustering of baths near the forum, or on main thoroughfares is clear. For baths situated at or near gates at Ostia and Timgad, cf. above, Ch. 3, n. 93.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. DeLAINE, *JRA* 1 (1988), 29. Note the comment in an inscription from Comum that a benefactor provided oil "for the people (*populo*) in the campus, the *thermae* and all the *balneae* as are at Comum" (no. 246 [Table 7]). Clearly here, the "people" used both the *thermae* and the *balneae*, and there is no hint of social segregation.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. F.K. YEGÜL, "The Small City Bath in Classical Antiquity and a Reconstruction Study of Lucian's Baths of Hippias," *ArchClass* 31 (1979), 108-131. He is correct in pointing out (110, n. 5) that some *balnea* could be exclusive to a group or club (e.g. the baths of the tribes at Antioch, cf. above, n. 126), but these should be considered more private than public baths.

<sup>144</sup> In any case, entrance fees, even at privately run public establishments, appear to have been generally small, though this may have varied over time from place to place, cf. HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, pp. 149-150; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.131-135. The maximum price for a bath stipulated in Diocletian's Price Edict is 2 *denarii* (*CIL* 3, p. 1936.7.75-76). In modern Turkish baths the cost of entrance is often a fraction of the cumulative costs of the various services on offer. Note that in 1849-1850, the commercially run public baths in Philadelphia and Boston were too expensive for the poor, cf. WILLIAMS, *Washing*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. above, p. 203. For "regulars" at Roman baths, cf. Hor., *Epist.*, 1.1.91-93 (the poor man is forced regularly to change apartments, barbers and baths, implying others were not); Mart., 3.25 (rhetorician Sabineus a regular at Baths of Nero?), 3.36.1-6, cf. 12.83 (Fabianus a regular at the Baths of Agrippa, while Martial prefers those of Titus), 11.52.1-4, cf. 14.60 (Martial usually takes dinner guests to the Baths of

Roman society was highly stratified, with the upper classes jealously guarding their privileges.<sup>146</sup> Divisions between members of the wealthy upper classes (from the 2nd century AD broadly designated *honestiores*) and the less well-off lower strata (*humiliores, tenuiores*) were visible and enshrined in the laws.<sup>147</sup> The privileged were organized into three officially regulated *ordines* (senators, *equites* and decurions) each with its own admission requirements, status symbols, legal distinctions and other manifestations of rank.<sup>148</sup> The status symbols were essential for maintaining and displaying the *dignitas* of the upper classes when they went out among the masses in public. The laws against the usurpation of such symbols, such as broad- and narrow-striped tunics, rings, special seats at spectacles etc., are a clear sign of how seriously status (and public appearances) was regarded and officially regulated.<sup>149</sup> Other broad divisions between freeborn and freed, and citizen and non-citizen (until AD 212), complicated the hierarchy still further. Even within the privileged *ordines*, there were divisions based upon birth, proximity to the imperial house, and successful careers in the central administration.<sup>150</sup>

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Stephanus near his house); Amm. Marc., 28.4.10 (polite to ask which *thermae* a person used); Appendix 4, s.v. "Baln(eum) Scriboniolum." Is this the meaning of the graffito in the vestibule of the Forum Baths at Pompeii (CIL 4.1465): "(I), Speratus, live (here)" (*Speratus habito*)?

<sup>146</sup> Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, pp. 1-13, esp. p. 12: "A prime feature of Roman society was extreme differentiation between social classes and groups"; M. REINHOLD, "Usurpation of Status and Status Symbols in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 20 (1971), 275: "Roman society evolved into one of the most hierarchic and status-conscious social orders in mankind's history"; G.E.M. de Ste. CROIX, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), pp. 327-408, cf. p. 425: "The Graeco-Roman world was obsessively concerned with wealth and status." See further, MacMULLEN, *Social Relations*, pp. 88-120; id. *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 60-84; GARNSEY & SALLER, *Roman Empire*, pp. 107-125. The picture is further reinforced by such studies as J. GAGÉ, *Les classes sociales dans l'empire romaine* (Paris: Payot, 1964) where each class is studied separately within itself with little or no attention paid to inter-class relations. An excellent overview is provided by G. ALFÖLDY, *The Social History of Rome* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988, 2nd. ed.), pp. 94-156, esp. 106-115.

<sup>147</sup> Most palpably in the different punishments meted out to the different groups: for *honestiores*, fines, loss of property and exile, for *humiliores*, flogging, torture condemnation to the arena and crucifixion. On this cf. P. GARNSEY, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), esp. pp. 103-152 (punishments), 222-223, 260-281 (*honestior/humilior* division). Cf. also GARNSEY & SALLER, *Roman Empire*, pp. 111, 115-116, 118.

<sup>148</sup> For a fuller discussion of status symbols (especially of the *equites*) and their importance in Roman society, cf. F. KOLB, "Zur Statussymbolik im antiken Rom," *Chiron* 7 (1979), 239-259.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. M. REINHOLD, *Historia* 20 (1971), 275-302. The very persistence of the act of status usurpation is in itself a sign of how highly prized status was among the Romans.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. ALFÖLDY, *Social History*, pp. 115-133.

A clear manifestation of the social stratification is the division of classes at theatrical and other spectacles, already alluded to.<sup>151</sup> In surviving theatres and amphitheatres, such as at Verona, the division of the *cavea* into sections by means of walls or balustrades is common, as is a row of separate seats at the very front reserved for local notables and distinguished visitors. Upper-class sensibilities were profoundly shocked when these regulations were transgressed.<sup>152</sup> Pliny the Younger summarizes the whole situation (as well as the attitudes of the privileged) succinctly when he advises a fellow senator in the provincial service to preserve the distinction of the orders in legal hearings because "nothing is more unequal than equality itself."<sup>153</sup>

Relations between the classes was formalized in the client/patron relationship, the aspect of Roman social relations most closely studied by modern scholars.<sup>154</sup> On a less formal plane, the attitudes of the privileged to their social inferiors is characterized in many sources above all by contempt and snobbishness.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Cf. above, pp. 275-277. The strictness of the divisions as applied to the arenas in Rome (Suet. *Aug.*, 44) is remarkable. Separate seating was provided for senators. Legates of free and allied states were prohibited from sitting in the orchestra as it had been discovered that some were freedmen. There were seats for married men *e plebe*, boys under age and their *paedagogi*. Women, apart from Vestal Virgins, were to sit at the back, separate from the men, and were banned completely from watching athletic competitions.

<sup>152</sup> E.g. Cic. *Phil.*, 2.44; Pliny *NH*, 33.32; Suet. *Aug.*, 40, *Cal.*, 26, *Dom.*, 8; Mart., 5.8, 14, 23, 35, 38. The *lex Ursonensis* (ILS 6087, §§ 125 and 126) stipulates fines of HS5,000 for transgressions of the seating regulations, a sum well out of the range of the average *humilior* and so probably aimed more at the impertinent *eques* or decurion.

<sup>153</sup> *Ep.*, 9.5, a letter addressed to Calestrius Tiro: *quod eum modum tenes, ut discrimina ordinum dignitatumque custodias; quae si confusa, turbata, permixta sunt, nihil est ipsa aequitate inaequalius.*

<sup>154</sup> E.g., cf. (with references to modern works) GARNSEY & SALLER, *Roman Empire*, pp. 148-159, esp. p. 151-152 and the comments of de St. CROIX, *Class Struggle*, pp. 341-343, 364-367. Some recent work on personal patronage (as opposed to the state or political variety) includes R.P. SALLER, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) and, more recently, the collection of essays, A. WALLACE-HADRILL (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London: Routledge, 1989), esp. pp. 205-218 (by D. Cloud).

<sup>155</sup> Cf. the occasional remark of such a thorough snob as Cicero on the lower orders (e.g. *Att.*, 1.15.1, 1.19.4) and Pliny's pointing out of Larcus Macedo's servile origin (*Ep.*, 3.14; cf. also 2.6). Cicero, however, was by no means alone, cf. MacMULLEN's "Lexicon of Snobbery" in *Social Relations*, pp. 138-141, cf. *ibid.* pp. 109-112. Cf. further, Z. YAVETZ, "Plebs Sordida," *Athenaeum* n.s. 43 (1965), 295-311; "The Living Conditions of the Urban Plebs in Republican Rome," in R. SEAGER, *The Crisis of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 162-79; *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 3-5, 7-8 and 141-142.

When viewed against this background, the mingling of the classes at the baths appears anomalous. But this is probably an illusion. The different classes would have mixed freely in other public contexts, such as the fora, streets, and markets, where the symbols of privilege distinguished their bearers from the masses. Although one might speculate that the intimacy of the bathing environment with its universal nakedness and communal bathing pools would have had a levelling effect -- negating or at least diminishing social distinctions<sup>156</sup> -- this need not have been the case. In the first place, given the attitude of the upper classes to their position,<sup>157</sup> if visits to the public baths were thought to compromise their *dignitas*, we can safely assume that they would not have gone. In fact, clear signs of rank followed the privileged past the *balneator* and into the baths. Chief among these would be the size (and cut) of the slave retinue; Larcius Macedo, for example, was preceded by a slave who cleared a path for him through the crowd, and late Imperial aristocrats could have up to 50 slave attendants.<sup>158</sup> Other means of signalling rank were also available, in the form of strigils and *paterae* made of precious metals, fine and expensive unguents, and woollen rather than linen towels.<sup>159</sup> Jewellery could also be worn to indicate rank.<sup>160</sup>

The upper classes, then, could maintain their status inside the baths by means of their retinues and the finery of their bath accessories. It can reasonably be argued that they went to the baths as much to swan and display as when they paraded in litters through the streets, fora

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<sup>156</sup> Cf. DYSON, *Community*, p. 174: "Given the nature of the bathing process, social distinctions and hierarchies were bound to break down."

<sup>157</sup> Cf. e.g. MacMULLEN, *Social Relations*, p. 109: "The broader distinction between plebeian and everyone else above it was fiercely defended - needless to say, by the upper class."

<sup>158</sup> Cf. above, pp. 267-268. Cf. Anon, *Life of Aesop*, 32 (DALY, p. 47) where Aesop accuses Xanthus's wife of purchasing a handsome slave to show off at the baths -- and to titillate her afterwards.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. *Dig.*, 34.3.40.1 (a man has two sets of silver bath ware (*argentum balneare*), one for use only on festival days, the other presumably for ordinary days); *CIL* 13.5708.II.23-25 (a man orders various of his favourite personal belongings, including his bathing gear (*balnearia*) to be cremated with him); *Juv. Sat.*, 7.129-131 (unguents and retinue); *Petron. Sat.*, 28 (unguents and towels); *Amm. Marc.*, 28.4.19 (fine linens, multiple changes of clothes and jewellery).

<sup>160</sup> *Mart.*, 11.59: *senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit / nec nocte ponit anulos / nec cum lavatur. causa quae sit quaeritis? / dactylithecam non habet.* Cf. *Pliny NH*, 33.40.

and other public places.<sup>161</sup> Since bath accessories were not among the officially regulated symbols of status, others were free to imitate them with impunity. This is surely how Martial's Aper is to be understood. Though poor, he would insist upon bringing defective slaves to carry his towels, guard his equally defective clothing and anoint him with a drop of oil.<sup>162</sup> Likewise, Juvenal's Tongilius threatens himself with bankruptcy through going to the baths with a huge flask of oil and droves of retainers.<sup>163</sup> Both men were evidently attempting to maintain a front (Aper more pathetically) by aping the behaviour of the truly wealthy.

If this reconstruction of the social environment is accepted, it would seem that although the various classes attended the baths together, and were not formally segregated there, mingling among them was not particularly free. Slave attendants could keep curious *plebs* at bay, and clear paths through crowds. Occasions when high-ranking bathers were hit (as were Cato the Elder and Macedo)<sup>164</sup> or jostled by the masses must have been rare. The finery of bath accessories announced rank to onlookers and, presumably, the accent, vocabulary and demeanour of the privileged bather would have helped to discourage direct, uninvited contact. This must have been how it was when, for instance, a governor entered the baths in the provinces, or the consular Pliny dropped in on one of the three *balnea* in the *vicus* near his Laurentine villa. To what lengths such restricted mixing was carried is not at all clear. Would loitering *plebs* be cleared out of a pool or a room to make way for their social betters?

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<sup>161</sup> In this connection, DeLAINE (*JRA* 1 (1988), 29) is surely correct in proposing that in the imperial *thermae* "the principal characters must have always been the rich, who went to be seen, and the rest, who went to gape as much as to bathe."

<sup>162</sup> Mart., 12.70: *lintea ferret Apro vatius cum vernula nuper / et supra togulam lusca sederet anus / atque olei stillam daret enterocelicus unctor . . .*

<sup>163</sup> Cf. above, p. 267.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. above, n. 62. In Cato the Elder's day conditions were bound to have been more primitive than in Macedo's, and in any case the rank of his assailant is not made clear. Incidentally, SHERWIN-WHITE, *Letters of Pliny*, p. 247 comments on the Macedo incident that it illustrates "a remarkably 'democratic' facet of Roman social life."

Only one anecdote in the literary sources gives a hint of such aggressive snobbery at the baths. C. Gracchus's story of how a consul's wife cleared *balneae viriles* at Teanum Sidicinum for her personal use implicitly reflects the snobbery of the Roman nobility.<sup>165</sup> When the locals did not clear out fast enough, and the interior did not meet the consular woman's standards of cleanliness, she had the local quaestor flogged in the forum. Although the woman may have been motivated primarily out of a desire to use the men's undoubtedly larger facilities, the same cannot be said for a praetor (and so a male), whom Gracchus says behaved similarly at Ferentinum "for the same reason," having one local quaestor flogged, while another threw himself off the walls to avoid capture.<sup>166</sup> That the "same reason" here refers to clearance of locals from the baths is clear from the preceding sentence: "When they heard this [i.e. the Teanum Sidicinum incident], the people of Cales ruled that no-one was to use the baths when a Roman magistrate was in town."<sup>167</sup> Because such behaviour evidently generated outrage and drew comment, it must be assumed that it was extreme and not representative of what was acceptable. In fact, the incidents allow a negative inference to be drawn. The story would seem to assume that travelling Roman grandees did not normally expect to have the baths cleared for their personal use, and that locals would not shrink from bathing at the same time.

Taking these incidents as the extreme, how arrogantly the upper classes were accustomed to behave at the baths, or how greatly they interfered with others to ensure their own comfort, is a moot point. A graffito from the Suburban Baths in Herculaneum tells how two *sodales* threw a servant (attached to the establishment?) out onto the street because he was not doing a good job.<sup>168</sup> The servant in question, however, was undoubtedly a slave, and there is

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<sup>165</sup> Cf. above, pp. 74-75.

<sup>166</sup> Aul. Gell., *Att. Noct.*, 10.3.3: *Ferentini ob eandem causam praetor noster quaestores arripi iussit; alter se de muro deiecit, alter prensus et virgis caesus est.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*: *Caleni, ubi id audierunt, edixerunt ne quis in balneis lavisse vellet, cum magistratus Romanus ibi esset.*

<sup>168</sup> *CIL* 4.10675: *Duo sodales hic fuerunt et, cum diu malum | ministrum in omnia haberent | nomine Epaphroditum, vix tarde | eum foras exigerunt. | consumpserunt persuavissime cum futuere HS CVS.* The latter part of the text is discussed below, pp. 298-299.

no reason to suspect that the *sodales* would have treated fellow customers in such a manner. In general, if such arrogance was a frequent occurrence, we hear little of it.<sup>169</sup> In the larger establishments, with their vast halls, pools and multiplicity of facilities, this problem could only have arisen rarely. Even in the smaller baths, *honestiores* would probably everywhere have enjoyed the automatic deference demanded by the *dignitas* of their rank.

Nonetheless, public baths provided the whole community with an environment where they could mix and mingle informally at unusually close quarters (not every town had a huge imperial-style establishment). From this perspective, they were prime promoters of community spirit, where the rich went to be seen and others (such as Martial's Aper) to ape them, or simply to watch and envy. Although the upper classes employed various means to advertise their rank and maintain a respectable distance from their social inferiors, they would surely have been exposed to them more intimately at the baths than anywhere else. That they did so leads to the instructive inference that they felt safe enough naked in proximity to their inferiors to use public facilities.

It would be fascinating to know how much business was done in the informal context of the baths: how often were petitions quietly heard, agreements reached, alliances forged, favours requested or granted? Or were the baths seen as inappropriate places for such activity, usually carried out in more formal contexts (such as at the theatre, forum or basilica)?<sup>170</sup> The sources give no clue either way, but given the "personal" manner in which so much got done in the

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<sup>169</sup> Besides the incidents reported by C. Gracchus, there is not a single instance where a writer expresses a desire to use this or that bath because the clientele elsewhere are of a lower social standing than himself. Rather, the stress is on the degree of comfort, and the quality of the facilities available rather than the social status of the bathers to be found there. Such is the case, for instance, with the descriptions of baths in Lucian, *Hippias*; Mart. 6.42; Stat. *Silv.*, 1.4.35-63. Even the anti-bath railings of Seneca lay more stress on the aspect of bath luxury than the lower social status of some bathers. Of course, as suggested above (p. 278), such salubrious establishments may have attracted a higher class of customer, or restricted entry through higher admission fees.

<sup>170</sup> Note Suetonius' comment (*Vesp.*, 21) that Vespasian was most indulgent to petitioners from his household after his bath, as it relaxed and mollified him. Would he have been as indulgent if approached during his bath?

Roman world, it is easy to imagine quite a lot of business being conducted informally amidst the noise and bustle of a community's bathhouse.<sup>171</sup>

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The arguments presented above will, I hope, show that the apparent intimacy of the baths, where nakedness was the rule, did not necessarily act as a social leveller. Symbols of rank and affluence accompanied the privileged into the baths as into the forum, and unwanted direct contact with the *plebs* could be avoided in most situations. Nakedness and the performance of bodily functions was regarded somewhat differently by the Romans than by people today (in the West, at least). The Romans were less inhibited. No better illustration of this can be offered than Roman public latrines, where defecation, regarded today as one of the most private of tasks, would take place in full view of perhaps 20 others, apparently without any loss of face.<sup>172</sup>

Now that the broad social environment at the baths has been outlined, and the social identity of bathers established, our final task will be to investigate how it operated on a day-to-day basis. Aside from bathing, what did the Romans do at the baths?

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<sup>171</sup> Cf. the governor's hearing of petitions while sitting in the Baths of Hadrian at Antioch (cf. Ch. 6, n. 37) took place during an official meeting of his tribunal, rather than an informal request made as he bathed. For the exercise of power through connections and personal contact, cf. MacMULLEN, *Corruption*, pp. 96-104.

<sup>172</sup> On latrines, cf. SCOBIE, *Klio* 68 (1986), 407-418. An article on public latrines by J.W. HUMPHREY is forthcoming in *ANRW*. As an example of the Romans' relaxed attitudes to bodily functions, note Xanthus, Aesop's master, who shows no compunction about urinating in front of his slave (*Life of Aesop*, 28 [DALY, p. 44]), or having Aesop attend him with a towel and water as he defecates (ibid., 67 [DALY, p. 63]); the two even hold a conversation about the process!

*(iv) The social environment III: social activities**General*

The very first rooms the visitor encountered upon entering the baths served social functions, as Lucian makes clear:

On entering, one is received into a public hall of good size, with ample accommodation for servants and attendants. On the left are the lounging-rooms, also of just the right sort for a bath, attractive, brightly lighted retreats. Then, beside them, a hall, larger than need be for the purposes of a bath, but necessary for the reception of the rich.<sup>173</sup>

Such rooms, however, are virtually impossible to identify securely in the surviving remains, as they will generally lack those distinctive physical features that characterise the more functional *cellae*, e.g. hypocausts, tubulation (for heating the walls and/or roofs), pools etc. But there are some possibilities. The first room of the men's section of Forum Baths at Pompeii, for instance, is equipped on three sides with benches, examples of which are also found flanking the entrance to these baths.<sup>174</sup> While this room undoubtedly served as a changing room (*apodyterium*), as the wall-niches for clothes indicate, the internal and external benches were probably provided for slaves and attendants to wait on their masters (in the manner indicated by Lucian), although they could also have served as areas where new customers might wait at times

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<sup>173</sup> *Hipp.*, 5 (Loeb trans): εἰσιόντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδέχεται κοινὸς οἶκος εὐμεγέθης, ἱκανὴν ἔχων ὑπηρέταις καὶ ἀκολουθοῖς διατριβήν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὰ ἐς τρυφὴν παρεσκευασμένα οἰκήματα, βαλανεῖω δ' οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρεπωδέστατα, χαρίεσσαι καὶ φωτὶ πολλῷ καταλαμπόμεναι ὑποχωρήσεις. εἴτ' ἔχόμενος αὐτῶν οἶκος, περιττὸς μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, ἀναγκαῖος δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῶν εὐδαιμονεστέρων ὑποδοχὴν. It is not really important for our purposes whether or not Lucian's Baths of Hippias actually existed. Even if they were a figment of the author's imagination, they represent what was expected of an excellent bathhouse, and so are still of use to us.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 148-150. Such benches are also found outside the *Balneum Venerium et Nongentum* in the *Praedia Juliae Felicis*, cf. PARSLOW, *Praedia*, pp. 87-88. Note also mention of baths equipped with *cathedrae* at Turca, Africa (no. 159 (Table 5), and the provision of seating for 1600 in the Baths of Caracalla, 3000 in those of Diocletian (*FTUR*, 13.403) (the term used here is καθέδραι).

when the baths were full. The Forum Baths, being of modest dimensions and relatively early date (Sullan), seem to have conflated the tasks of reception and changing rooms.

In later buildings, the vestibule or *atrium*, usually located in the vicinity of the entrance and the *apodyterium*, could have served as the meeting place, while the *basilica thermarum*, although hard to identify with certainty, may have been a bigger version.<sup>175</sup> Other "social rooms" undoubtedly lie hidden among the often vast rooms of indeterminate function in the Imperial baths.<sup>176</sup> Their identification, however, can only be speculative.

The regular assembling of Romans of various classes at the baths can be expected to have generated a vibrant social atmosphere. The most explicit surviving testimony is a famous letter on quiet and study by Seneca the Younger, where he describes what it was like to live over (or near?) a bathhouse at Baiae.<sup>177</sup> His description of the grunts of those exercising, the slap of the masseur's hands on flesh, the singing of the bather, the rumpus accompanying the arrest of a pickpocket, and the yells of the various food vendors and others selling services all bring the baths to life. The overall impression is one of noisy social intercourse.

This impression gains support from other sources. Horace portrays the ascetic poet as shunning the baths out of a desire to avoid people, implying the baths were habitually crowded.<sup>178</sup> Juvenal's termagant "loves all the bustle and sweat of the bath," and he includes

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<sup>175</sup> A sense of the (proposed) habitual location of these rooms in bath plans can be gleaned from the groundplans in NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.83-212, s.v. "V" (vestibule) and "B" (basilica). But since it is not possible to identify these rooms with absolute certainty, NIELSEN's locations for them are speculative.

<sup>176</sup> For instance the rooms immediately adjacent to entrances, or the similarly large rooms that cluster around the *frigidarium* of most baths of the imperial type. In smaller buildings, there was probably a tendency to double up on functions, as in the Forum Baths.

<sup>177</sup> Sen. *Ep.*, 56.1-2. Seneca writes that he lived *supra ipsum balneum*, which would seem to mean, as it is translated in the Loeb edition, "right over a bathing establishment." Another possibility, however, is that the phrase means "right up the road from a bathhouse," in which case the din he goes on to describe must have been considerable in order to disturb his musings.

<sup>178</sup> *Epist.*, 2.3.296-298 (= *Ars*, 296-298): *credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas / Democritus, bona pars non unguis ponere curat, / non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat*. The Latin clearly implies that

the baths among the public places where people gossip about a well-known glutton at Rome.<sup>179</sup> Larcus Macedo required a slave to make way for his master through the crowd, implying a crowded, if not teeming, bathhouse.<sup>180</sup> In the *Life of Aesop*, Aesop's master Xanthus tells him to go and see if the bath is crowded, and, when Aesop arrives, he finds it full.<sup>181</sup> That Aesop is sent to check on the crowd at the baths is in itself revealing. Martial refers to baths featuring "crowds of women."<sup>182</sup> Finally, Aelius Aristides mentions in passing women and boys chanting slanderous phrases borrowed from comedic productions at the baths, among other public places.<sup>183</sup> The picture gleaned from all these sources is of crowds and noise and plenty of activity.

Further support is offered by the apparently endemic phenomenon of thievery at the baths. This situation alone implies that they were among the most populous public places in a community. That they were enclosed would also have been to the thief's advantage. Several literary sources, from Plautus through the *Digest* of Justinian, refer to this problem.<sup>184</sup> It seems that where there were baths there were thieves. A sign of the extent of the problem is the institution of the *capsarius*, a member of the bath personnel whose specific duty was to guard clothing (the thief's favourite target).<sup>185</sup> Alternatively, the bather who could afford to might

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avoidance of the baths is part of the poet's search for "hidden-away places" and not just a facet of his lack of personal hygiene.

<sup>179</sup> *Sat.*, 6.420: *magno gaudet sudare tumultu* (Loeb trans); and 11.3-5: *omnis convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum de Rutilo*; . . .

<sup>180</sup> *Ep.*, 3.14.7-8. Cf. above, p. 259.

<sup>181</sup> Anon. *Life of Aesop*, 65-66 [DALY, pp. 62-63]. Xanthus, Aesop's master, was hoping to get to bathe without being crowded.

<sup>182</sup> *Mart.* 11.47.1-2: *omnia femineis quare dilecta catervis / balnea devitat Lattara?*

<sup>183</sup> *Ael. Arist.*, 40.511: ὅταν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις . . . γυναῖα, παιδάρια, πᾶς τις ἐφέξεις τοιαῦτα ἐπιμελωδῆ;

<sup>184</sup> *Plaut. Rud.*, 385-388 (text cited above, Ch. 2, n. 94); *Catullus*, 33.1; *Sen. Ep.*, 56.2; *Petron. Satyr.*, 30.8; *Apul. Met.*, 4.8, 8.21; *Athen. Deipn.*, 3.97e; *Dig.*, 47.17. Note that an entire section of the *Digest* is devoted to the issue of "Thieves who lurk about baths," a clear sign of its persistence and ubiquity. It is interesting to note that the law placed bath thieves and burglars in the same category (47.17.1).

<sup>185</sup> *Dig.*, 1.15.3.5, where the question of crooked *capsarii* is addressed, cf. also 3.2.4.2 (slavegirls for hire at baths to guard clothing, but actually practising prostitution, cf. below pp. 298-299; and 16.3.1.8 (a *balneator* can assume the duties of a *capsarius*). Note further the Price Edict of Diocletian where the maximum charge for a *capsarius* is set at 2 *denarii*, cf. above, n. 145. Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I. 129-130.

bring along one or more of his own slaves to act as clothes-guards.<sup>186</sup> Curse tablets found in the Sacred Spring at Bath bring to life the personal, human side of the problem, expressing in the most colourful language the anger of a victim towards the unknown thief: "Solinus to the goddess Sulis Minerva. I give to your divinity and majesty (my) bathing tunic and cloak. Do not allow sleep or health to him who has done me wrong, whether man or woman, whether slave or free, unless he reveals himself and brings those goods to your temple . . ." <sup>187</sup>

Noisy, vibrant, and crowded with people of various social station, vendors shouting, bathers singing and thieves on the prowl, to visit the baths was to touch a social nerve centre of Roman daily life. The general social atmosphere seems clear enough, and it is probably best to imagine the everyday, timeless activities characteristic of social centres taking place there: meeting friends, observing people, gossiping, catching up on news, negotiating business informally and the like.<sup>188</sup> But can any specific social activities, though not necessarily distinctive to the baths alone, be identified as taking place there? The sources, which took the world of the baths for granted, give only a few indications in this regard.

<sup>186</sup> So Petron. *Satyr.*, 30.8; Martial, 12.70; Anon. *Life of Aesop*, 38-39 [DALY, p.51]. Niches and benches in *apodyteria* probably served to accommodate bathers' clothes and their guardians respectively, cf. the orders to the slave in *Gloss. Lat.*, III.651.10: *componere vestimenta, cooperi, serva me, ne addormias propter fures*.

<sup>187</sup> *Tab. Sulis* 32 (trans. TOMLIN): *deae Suli Minerv(a)e Soli|nus dono numini tuo majestati paxsa(m) ba(ln)earum et [pal]leum [nec p]ermitta[s so]mnum || nec san[ita]tem<.>ei qui mihi fr(a)u|dem [f]ecit si vir si femi[na] si servus | s[i] l[ib]er nissi [-<s>]e retegens istas | s[p]ecies ad [te]mplum tuum detulerit . . .* {the rest of the text is fragmentary, apparently calling ill down upon the thief's family and children}. The "bathing tunic" appears to have been a garment worn on the way home from the baths (like a modern bathrobe), cf. *HA Sev. Alex.*, 42.1. By giving the stolen goods to the goddess, the victim was calling upon her to reclaim them. Some 130 such tablets have been recovered from the Sacred Spring, many fragmentary; most deal with acts of theft. Not all the stolen goods, however, can definitely be said to have been pilfered from the baths (notably a ploughshare in *Tab. Sulis* 31, and a theft from a house in *Tab. Sulis*, 99), but this seems the most likely circumstance surrounding disappearances of articles of clothing (cf. *TAM* 5.1.159, where a cloak is stolen from the bathhouse and the thief cursed) and perhaps the sums of money and jewellery, cf. R.S.O. TOMLIN's comments, *Tab. Sulis*, pp. 80-81. For other such thefts, cf. *Tab. Sulis*, 8 34, 54, 98 (money); 5, 6, 20, 43, 49, 55, 61-65 (clothing and blankets); 15, 97 (jewellery). See also the comments of D.R. JORDAN, "Curses from the Waters of Sulis," *JRA* 3 (1990), 437-441, esp. 437-438.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. *Life of Aesop*, 38 [DALY, p. 51]; compare the extensive social functions of saunas in Finland, cf. P. KAIHLA, "The Hotbed of Sauna," *Globe and Mail*, 25 April 1992, pp. 1-2 (F).

*Dinner parties and invitations*

Because it was customary to bathe in the afternoon before the evening meal,<sup>189</sup> the baths naturally became places where people met before dinner parties. When the heroes of Petronius's *Satyricon* hear of the invitation to Trimalchio's dinner, they meet the party at the public baths.<sup>190</sup> Plutarch portrays the embarrassment of the "shadow," a person invited secondarily to a dinner party by one of the other guests, who cannot go directly to the meal without his sponsor but who also has no desire to play attendant on his host as he finishes his bath.<sup>191</sup> The *quinquennalis* of the burial club at Lanuvium was to see to it that there was oil available at the baths for the members of the *collegium* when they met there before having their meal to celebrate the birthdays of Diana and Antinoos.<sup>192</sup>

This custom gave rise to another phenomenon: the person who went to the baths specifically to procure a dinner invitation. Martial in particular enjoys satirizing this social situation. Selius, he tells us, would hunt around the baths of Rome in search of an invitation, covering the large *thermae* and the more modest establishments alike; he would not omit even gloomy and draughty establishments in his quest.<sup>193</sup> Another man, Sabellus, composes poems

<sup>189</sup> There is ample ancient testimony for this, though a meal before a bath was not unknown: Apul. *Met.*, 5.2,3, 8.7, 8.29, 10.13; Athen. *Deipn.*, 1.5e; Juv. *Sat.*, 6.419-426; Mart., 3.44.10-15, 11.52.1-4, 12.19; Petr. *Satyr.*, 130; Pliny *NH*, 14.139; Pliny *Ep.*, 3.1.7-8, 3.5.8; Anon. *Life of Aesop*, 2 [DALY, p. 31], 3 [DALY, p.32], 38-39 [DALY, p. 51], 67 [DALY, p. 63]; Lib. *Or.*, 1.85, 108, 174, 182 (before); Hor. *Epist.*, 1.6.61; Petr. *Satyr.*, 72-73; Persius 3.95; Pliny *NH*, 7.183 (after). The origin of the custom may lie in the fact that most people finished work at about midday, and *cena* was not served until the early evening. The baths were a good way to fill in the intervening period, and, anyway, bathing conditions were best in the early-mid afternoon, cf. Vitruv. 5.10.1, NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.135-136. On the work-baths-dinner routine, cf. Cic. *Deiot.*, 17, *Vat.*, 31; Mart., 11.52.4. For the working day, cf. BALSDON, *Life and Leisure*, pp. 17-26.

<sup>190</sup> *Satyr.*, 26-27.

<sup>191</sup> Plut. *Mor.*, 707E: καὶ πάλιν τὸ παρέπεσθαι καὶ παραφυλάττειν ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν ἑτέρου καὶ ὥραν βραδύνοντος ἢ ταχύνοντος

<sup>192</sup> *ILS* 7212: et die[bus natalibus] | Dianae et Antinoi oleum collegio in balinio po[nat] [sc. quinquennalis] antequam] epulentur. Cf. also the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* for the years AD 218 and 241 where the college members bathe before a meal (the text is cited above, n. 138).

<sup>193</sup> Mart., 2.14.11-13: [sc. Selius] *nec Fortunati spernit nec balnea Faustus / nec Grylli tenebras Aeoliamque Lupi: / nam thermis iterum ternis iterumque lavatur.* Some of these places probably charged an entrance fee, but presumably it was not substantial (especially if the physical environment was unpleasant).

in praise of the (private?) Baths of Ponticus to ensure a steady supply of dinners, presumably from the owner.<sup>194</sup> But perhaps the most amusing is Martial's description of the antics of one Menogenes:

It is impossible to escape Menogenes at the *thermae* or around the *balnea*, try what you will. He will catch the warm *trigon*-ball, in order often to score for you those balls he catches. He will pick up and hand to you the punch-ball from the dust, even if he has already bathed and is already in his sandals. If you take towels along, he will say they are whiter than snow, be they as filthy as a baby's bib. As you arrange your thinning hairs with a comb, he will say you are combing the locks of Achilles. He himself will bring you the dregs from the smoky flagon, and he will wipe your brow. He will praise everything, he will marvel at everything until, exhausted by a thousand tediums, you say, "Come and dine!"<sup>195</sup>

Naturally, this situation worked both ways. The host who could not find dinner guests, for whatever reason, would try the baths. Martial refers to Cotta who only chose his guests at the baths, the implication being he was a homosexual and determined the composition of his dinner party by their physical attributes.<sup>196</sup> Martial himself complains at the behaviour of Dento, a former regular at his table who now refuses his dinner invitations, and avoids him at the baths because a more wealthy host has become available.<sup>197</sup> Martial also arranges to meet his dinner guests at the baths at the 8th hour (i.e. midday to early afternoon), inviting a seventh guest to make up the numbers.<sup>198</sup> In the *Life of Aesop*, Aesop's master, Xanthus, goes to

<sup>194</sup> Mart., 9.19: *laudat balnea versibus trecentis / cenantis bene Pontici, Sabelle. / vis cenare, Sabelle, non lavari.*

<sup>195</sup> Mart., 12.82: *effugere in thermis et circa balnea non est / Menogenen, omni tu licet arte velis. / captabit tepidum dextra laevaue trigonem, / inputet exceptas ut tibi saepe pilas. / colligit et referet laxum de pulvere follem, / et si iam lotus, iam soleatus erit. / lintea si sumes, nive candidiora loquetur, sint licet infantis sordidiora sinu. / exiguos secto comentem dente capillos, dicet Achilleas disposuisse comas. / fumosae feret ipse tropin de faece lagonae, / frontis et umorem colligit ille tuae. / omnia laudabit, mirabitur omnia, donec / perpressus dicas taedia mille "Veni!"*

<sup>196</sup> Mart., 1.23: *invitas nullum nisi cum quo, Cotta, lavararis / et dant convivam balnea sola tibi. / mirabar quare numquam me, Cotta, vocasses: / iam scio me nudum displicuisse.*

<sup>197</sup> Mart., 5.44: *quid factum est, rogo, quid repente factum, / ad cenam mihi, Dento, quod vocanti / (quis credat?) quater ausus es negare? / sed nec respicis et fugis sequentem, / quem thermis modo quaerere et theatris / et conclavibus omnibus solebas / sic est, captus unctiore mensa / et maior rapuit canem culina.*

<sup>198</sup> Mart., 10.48.1-6: *nuntiat octavam Phariae sua turba iuvencae, / et pilata redit iamque subitque cohors. / temperat haec thermas, nimios prior hora vapores / halat, et inmodico sexta Nerone calet. / Stella, Nepos, Cani, Cerialis, Flacce, venitis? / septem sigma accepit, sex sumus, adde Lupum, cf. also Mart., 11.52.1-4, where Martial arranges a meal with one of the guests mentioned in the preceding citation (Julius Cerealis),*

the public baths, meets some friends, and decides spontaneously to invite them back to his house for a meal.<sup>199</sup> This vignette in particular illustrates the phenomenon of people meeting at the baths before a meal, as well as the baths' general role as social centres.

### *Eating and drinking*

Drinking and eating at the baths appear to have been common practices. Seneca's description of the noises emanating from a set of baths in Baiae referred to above, includes the yells of cake- and sausage-sellers, confectioners and "all the vendors of food hawking their wares, each with his own distinctive intonation."<sup>200</sup> Suetonius, citing imperial correspondence, shows that Augustus used to eat a few mouthfuls of bread in the bath which, incidentally, he says he took at night.<sup>201</sup> Was Augustus's behaviour typical, even for emperors? Several *Historia Augusta* references describe imperial eating and drinking parties in connection with baths, but leave it uncertain as to whether or not the eating took place in the baths themselves.<sup>202</sup> Even if it did, these passages refer to the behaviour of emperors, and so may not be taken as typical for bathers of private station (and, at any rate, emperors would have predominantly bathed privately).<sup>203</sup>

For humbler people, there is clear evidence from graffiti from the vestibule of the Suburban Baths in Herculaneum. In one place Apelles, an imperial *cubicularius*, announces that

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adding: "You know how close the Baths of Stephanus are to my house" (*scis quam sint Stephani Balnea iuncta mihi*). It seems Martial was going to meet Cerealis at this establishment.

<sup>199</sup> *Life of Aesop*, 38-39 [DALY, p. 51]. Note also *Gloss. Lat.*, III.657.15 where the speaker (presumably the schoolboy) meets a friend at the baths: *Iuli, have; saluto te*.

<sup>200</sup> *Ep.*, 56.2: *iam libari varias exclamationes et botularium et crustularium et omnes popinarum institores mercem sua quadam et insignita modulatione vendentis*.

<sup>201</sup> *Aug.*, 76.2

<sup>202</sup> *Comm.*, 5.4; *Hel.*, 21.6; *Gall.*, 17.8; cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 120-122. Cf. also Suet. *Nero*, 27.2.

<sup>203</sup> For emperors' baths, cf. above, pp. 257-258.

he has eaten lunch at the baths in the company of Dexter.<sup>204</sup> In another spot in the same room, there is a price list for drinks, bread, meat and sausages painted onto the wall.<sup>205</sup> It would be interesting to know if these foods were customarily eaten only in the vestibule, or if they could be taken into the main bathing rooms.<sup>206</sup> If the latter, the possibility arises that food morsels could be found in the water, thus adding a further unpleasantness to the physical environment. Thus, when Martial says that Aemilius used to eat (*sumere*) eggs, lettuce and lizard-fish in the *thermae* and declare that he was not eating at home that day, where in the complex did Aemilius do the actual eating?<sup>207</sup>

The literary sources generally provide ambiguous testimony. Martial complains of the expense of living at Baiae, and asks "when I dine so badly, why, Flaccus, should I bathe so well?"<sup>208</sup> There is only an implication here that the poet ate in the glorious surroundings of Baiae's baths; it could just as easily be that the activities of eating and bathing were not simultaneous.<sup>209</sup> When Trimalchio proposes taking a bath to end his dinner party, it is clear that the guests move to a different area of his house, but not clear if they bring food and drink with them for consumption there; if anything, the passage would imply that they did not (in this instance, probably because they were already sated).<sup>210</sup>

<sup>204</sup> *CIL* 4.10677: Apelles cubicularius | Caesar(is) | cum Dextro | pranderunt hic iucundissime et | futuere simul. The implications of the latter part of the text are discussed below, pp. 298-299.

<sup>205</sup> *CIL* 4.10674: Nuc(es) biber(ia) XIII | singa II | panem III | orrellas III XII | thymatla III VIII | LI. The double figures probably indicate portions and price (in asses) in that order, and the final "51" may be a total for all the items and some unspecified service(s).

<sup>206</sup> Note that in the *Colloquium Monacensia*, snacks are purchased only *after* the bathing process has been completed, cf. *Gloss. Lat.*, III.652.10: *emite nobis a balneo minutalia et lupinos <et> fabas acetatas.*

<sup>207</sup> Mart., 12.19: *in thermis sumit lactucas, ova, lacertum, / et cenare domi se negat Aemilius.* Coincidentally, note an inscription from Forum Baths at Herculaneum, painted onto a signinum podium 0.55m high in the access from no. 8 entrance off Cardo IV (*CIL* 4.10603): Nicanor | ovas. It is apparently an egg-seller's stand. Were eggs and sausages particularly popular foods at baths?

<sup>208</sup> Mart., 1.59: *tam male cum cenem, cur bene, Flacce, laver?*

<sup>209</sup> Cf. P. HOWELL, *A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial* (London: Athlone Press, 1980), pp. 245-249. Given what was seen in the previous section on dinner invitations, Martial could be referring to poor meals taken after splendid baths.

<sup>210</sup> Petr. *Satyr.*, 72 (the guests move from the dining room looking for the baths) and 73 (they revel in the baths, but there is no mention of food or drink being taken here).

Seneca and the graffiti from the baths at Herculaneum make it clear that snack-vendors were to be found in the baths, but it is noteworthy that among the many amenities provided at Imperial bathhouses, permanent food or drink shops do not feature.<sup>211</sup> If eating was a habitual feature of life at the baths, this omission appears curious, considering that the Imperial *thermae* met (indeed, set) the highest standards of bath comfort and convenience. On the other hand, perhaps the activities of the booth owners was considered sufficient, thus obviating the need for permanent food-vending facilities (such vendors served other public meeting places, such as theatres and circuses). Some evidence from Pompeii is instructive. The Palaestra Baths, for instance, have a *caupona* adjacent to the entrance which communicates with the bath complex via a (serving?) window onto the palaestra itself.<sup>212</sup> The same is also true of the Premises of Julia Felix, which feature a *popina*, *caupona* and a dining-room along the façade of the Via dell'Abbondanza adjacent to the entrance to the baths.<sup>213</sup> The *popina* has a door communicating with the peristyle of the baths.

However, these cases are perhaps exceptional. The baths here belong to a bigger leisure complex, designed to provide eating, drinking and bathing facilities to patrons. What is more, the *popinae* or *cauponae* in question have their main frontage on the street, and not on the baths, indicating from which direction the owner expected to get the most business. Finally, none of the main bathhouses at Pompeii -- the Stabian, Forum and unfinished Central -- feature a food or drink shop that has an opening onto the bathing area. But many such shops are to be found in

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<sup>211</sup> Such would be easily recognizable from their cooking facilities and/or counters, cf. the discussion of Ostian taverns in G. HERMANSEN, *Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981), pp. 125-183. Compare 19th-century public baths in England, which often included kitchens, cf. WILLIAMS, *Washing*, p. 8.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, pp. 299-301. The *caupona* is located at VIII.ii.24 adjacent to the entrance *fauces* of the Palaestra Baths at VIII.ii.23. The first level of the Sarno Bath complex featured a dining room, cf. KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, pp. 16-28.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. PARSLow, *Praedia*, pp. 171-182. The entrances are situated at II.iv.1 (*caupona* /dining-room) and 5 (*popina*). The meaning of the word *cenacula* in the inscription advertising the premises (*ILS 5723*) is unclear: it may mean dining rooms (so NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.165, s.v. "Tabernae, Popinae"), or it could be an advertisement for upper-story apartments (so RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, p. 292).

close proximity to these baths.<sup>214</sup> A similar situation pertains at Ostia, where many taverns are located within the vicinity of baths.<sup>215</sup> Written evidence is scarce on this point, but note how Martial reports that Syriacus spent a huge inheritance -- an undoubtedly much exaggerated sum of HS10,000,000 -- in the "*popinae* in the vicinity of the Four Baths."<sup>216</sup> Some inscriptions connect baths and *tabernae*, at least implicitly.<sup>217</sup> All this evidence taken together makes clear the association of baths and eating (as seen above). The Roman bather appears to have had the option of eating substantially in *cauponae* and *popinae* before or after the bathing process, while snack foods were available from vendors at the baths themselves.

It is clear from several sources that drinking, often to excess, went on at the baths. When Trimalchio first appears in the *Satyricon*, he is at the public baths while "three masseurs were drinking Falernian wine under his eyes."<sup>218</sup> Martial pokes fun at the once-poor bather who used to scorn people who drank in the baths, "but after 300,000 sesterces came to him from an old uncle, he doesn't know how to go home from the *thermae* sober."<sup>219</sup> Seneca and Pliny the Elder deplore the excessive drinking that characterized the behaviour of some bathers in their day.<sup>220</sup> The epitaph of C. Domitius Primus mentions that he often drank Falernian wine (apparently a favourite among bathers, as the Petronius and Martial references above would

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<sup>214</sup> One of Pompeii's largest cook and wine shops is located at VI.vii.7-10 directly across the road from the entrance to the men's section of the Forum Baths, while others are found along the Strada Stabiana and the Via dell'Abbondanza facing the Stabian Baths at IX.1.3, 6, 8, 13 (S. Stabiana) and VII.2.15 (V. dell'Abbondanza). The Central Baths, not yet finished when the eruption destroyed the town, have no such shops directly opposite the main entrances, but two food/drink shops are found nearby at V.i.4/5 (near the bath entrance at IX.iv.18) and VII.ii.15 (near the entrance at IX.iv.5).

<sup>215</sup> Cf. HERMANSEN, *Ostia*, tavern numbers (with names of the nearby bathhouses in brackets): 6, 38 (Forum); 7, 8 (Mithras); 9, 10 (Drivers); 15, 16 (Neptune); 22 (Seven Sages); 26, 27, 28 (Pharus); 30, 31 (Seven Columns); 38 (Invidiosus).

<sup>216</sup> Mart., 5.70: *infusum sibi nuper a patrono / plenum, Maxime, centiens Syriacus / in sellariolis vagus popinis / circa balnea quattuor peregit.*

<sup>217</sup> Cf. CIL 9.1667 (Beneventum; no date), 10.3161 (Puteoli; no date); cf. no. 150 (Table 5). In these cases, though, the *tabernae* are not necessarily part of the baths; they could be adjacent structures. Note also the graffito found in the wall of a tavern near the Stabian Baths: "Into the baths!" (*im balneum*; CIL 4.2410).

<sup>218</sup> Petr. *Satyr.*, 28: *tres iatraliptae in conspectu eius Falernum potabant . . .*

<sup>219</sup> Mart., 12.70 (Loeb trans): *a sene sed postquam patruo venere trecenta, / sobrius a thermis nescit abire domum.*

<sup>220</sup> Sen. *Ep.*, 122.6 and Pliny *NH*, 14.139.

imply) and grew old in the company of baths, women and wine. He laments: "these things, allowed to me on earth, I would have taken with me to Hades had I been able."<sup>221</sup> There is an implication here, in the light of the other evidence just adduced, that Primus was not averse to a tippie while bathing. Drinking at the baths was to some extent understandable, as sweating and exercising were as sure to raise a thirst then as now, and this fact is commented upon by some sources.<sup>222</sup>

Many aspects of the availability of food and drink at the baths remain obscure. It seems that both could be purchased there,<sup>223</sup> but who controlled the vending? Was it the bath owner,<sup>224</sup> or did vendors come in from outside, perhaps in return for rent (rather like the modern concession stands at cinemas and sports grounds)? Since entrance fees were so low, could it be that vending and other non-bathing services were the most lucrative parts of a bath owner's business? There is no evidence to throw light on these important questions.

### *Sex*

This topic inevitably requires a brief consideration of a broader problem of the social life at the baths that has already been debated by several scholars: male/female mixed bathing. Modern opinion varies on this topic, and the ancient evidence is contradictory. On the one hand there is evidence for separate baths (or sections thereof), or different bathing hours for men and women;<sup>225</sup> on the other, we have written sources that appear to accept mixed bathing as the

<sup>221</sup> For the full text, cf. above, n. 81.

<sup>222</sup> E.g. Ael. Arist., 25.311; Pliny *NH*, 14.140; Celsus, 1.3.6-7; Anon. *Life of Aesop*, 39 [DALY, p. 51].

<sup>223</sup> Cf. above, n. 205 for the price list from the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum. Incidentally, eating and drinking at the baths holds further implications for the physical environment: empty glasses, cups etc. may have been a familiar, and untidy, sight at the baths.

<sup>224</sup> Note that the records of the baths at Apollinopolis Magna in Egypt provide evidence for bathing services made available by the management, but do not mention food or drink vending, cf. YOUTIE *AJA* 53 (1949), 268-270 (= id., *Scriptiunculae* II.990-993).

<sup>225</sup> So the separate women's sections of the Forum and Stabian Baths in Pompeii (cf. page references above in n. 20) or mention of *balnea muliebria* in literary sources and inscriptions, cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68;

norm.<sup>226</sup> How can the contradictions be resolved? Various solutions have been offered: only the less respectable establishments allowed it;<sup>227</sup> the practice varied from place to place, with the imperial *thermae* reserved for men only, and in any case respectable women would not bathe with men;<sup>228</sup> the transition from separate to mixed bathing occurred over time -- disallowed in the Republic, acceptable in the early Empire, but disallowed again after Hadrian's ruling.<sup>229</sup> For each of these propositions, the diverse evidence offers contradictions: women could bathe in the Baths of Trajan, not just at the disreputable facilities in the city;<sup>230</sup> Clement of Alexandria comments that one could meet noble ladies naked in the baths;<sup>231</sup> and strict chronological boundaries between the acceptability or not of mixed bathing are hard to establish.<sup>232</sup>

An alternative model is possible, which avoids sweeping solutions and accounts for the contradictions in the sources. Perhaps acceptance of mixed bathing varied and shifted over time from place to place, whether from region to region, or from establishment to establishment. A parallel might be nude sunbathing in Europe today, where some countries allow it and others do not; even within countries that tolerate it, certain beaches can be reserved for nude or semi-nude bathing, or for men or women. So it may have been with mixed bathing in the Roman world.

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Vitruv., 5.10.1; nos. 75 (Table 4), 137 (Table 5), 219, 258 (Table 7); see also *CIL* 9.1667 (Beneventum; no date). Note, in addition, the texts stipulating separate bathing times for men and women, above, n. 46.

<sup>226</sup> None of the Imperial *thermae* have separate sections for men and women, and the same is true of the Central Baths at Pompeii. Did men and women bathe at different times at such places? There is no evidence to suggest that this was a universal rule. References in written sources, such as Martial (3.51, 3.68.1-4, 3.87, 6.93.7-10, 11.47, 11.75), would imply that mixed bathing was fairly common, at least at Rome in his day, and we have seen inscriptions that imply husbands and wives bathed together (above, n. 84). This is supported by Hadrian's prohibition of the practice (HA, *Hadr.*, 18.10), followed later by M. Aurelius (HA, *M. Aur.*, 23.8) and Severus Alexander (HA, *Sev. Alex.*, 24.2). The Church Fathers similarly denounce this practice, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.47-48.

<sup>227</sup> E.g. BALSDON, *Life and Leisure*, p. 28.

<sup>228</sup> E.g. BLÜMNER, *Privateleben*, pp. 427-428; CARCOPINO, *Daily Life*, pp. 281-282.

<sup>229</sup> E.g. DAREMBERG & SAGLIO, *DARG*, 652, s.v. "Balneum"; MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 79-100

<sup>230</sup> *FTUR*, 10.463 (Chron., A. 354): *Hoc [sc. Trajano] imperante mulieres in thermis Trajanis laverunt*. Cf. also the female names of petitioners who had lost goods at the famous baths at Aquae Sulis, where there is no evidence of segregated bathing: *Tab. Sulis*, 61 (Lovernisca) and 97 (Basilica); cf. possibly 67 (Cantissena) though this may be a man's name.

<sup>231</sup> *Paid.*, 3.5.

<sup>232</sup> So, Ovid comments that *balnea* were good rendez-vous places for young lovers (*Ars. Am.*, 638-640). Does this reflect Republican practice? Cf. perhaps, Cic. *Cacl.*, 62 where it is inferred that Clodia visited baths run by *balneatores*, i.e. public facilities (the Senian Baths?).

However, that several emperors undertook to prohibit it, and Church Fathers to condemn it, attests its continuance and prevalence in general. Plutarch makes a revealing comment in his *Cato the Elder*. He says that Cato never bathed with his son, a custom that has been alluded to above.<sup>233</sup> Plutarch then comments that when the Romans had learned to bathe naked from the Greeks, they in turn taught the Greeks to bathe with women.<sup>234</sup> Evidently, Plutarch, writing from a Greek perspective, considered mixed bathing to be characteristic of Roman practice.

If it is accepted that men and women bathed together frequently, even if the precise fluctuations in the prevalence of the custom can no longer be reconstructed, then the use of baths as venues for sex seems inevitable. There is some direct testimony. Ovid comments that the many baths of Augustan Rome were favourite meeting places for young lovers, while Ulpian includes baths as one place where adultery could take place.<sup>235</sup> The wording of epitaphs celebrating *balnea, vina, Venus* may imply that all three were to be found at the first named. Graffiti from the Suburban Baths in Herculaneum are more explicit in their references to sex: two vigorous bathers boast of copulating twice with two women each!<sup>236</sup>

Prostitution at the baths is well attested. Ulpian describes the behaviour of *balneatores* who keep slaves under the guise of clothes guards, who are actually prostitutes.<sup>237</sup> A text from Ephesus refers to a παιδισκοέλιον (brothel) in the Varius Baths, and two *sodales* at

<sup>233</sup> Cf. above, Ch. 2, n. 121.

<sup>234</sup> Cato Maj., 20.8: εἶτα μέντοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι μαθόντες, αὐτοὶ πάλιν τοῦ καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν τοῦτο πράσσειν ἀναπεπλήκασιν τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

<sup>235</sup> For Ovid, cf. above, n. 232. Ulpian: *Dig.*, 48.5.10(9).1.

<sup>236</sup> *CIL* 4.10678: Apelles Mus cum fratre Dextro | amabiliter futuere bis bina(s). Cf. also above, n. 204 (apparently the same Apelles and Dexter).

<sup>237</sup> *Dig.*, 3.2.4.2. The practice is said to be found in certain provinces and finds direct, if partial, corroboration in the records of the baths at Apollinopolis Magna in Egypt: one of servants listed there has a female name, ΣΕΝΠΡΕΜΑΚΙΣ (cf. YOUTIE, *AJA* 53 (1949), 269 (= id., *Scriptiunculae* II.991)). (That Ulpian expressly says that the practice was found in certain provinces supports the notion of regional variations in bathing practices, proposed above for slaves [p. 273] and mixed bathing [pp. 297]). Medieval Germany offers a parallel whereby *Badmädchen* (bath maids) served the ostensible purpose of washing, massaging and generally catering to customers' bathing needs, but often doubled as prostitutes, cf. M.E. WIESNER, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986), pp. 95-97.

Herculaneum claim to have spent HS105<sup>1/2</sup> while making love, evidently on prostitutes.<sup>238</sup> Ammianus tells how the late Roman nobility attended the baths expecting to meet their regular courtesans; if a new one appeared, they flocked for her favours.<sup>239</sup> The Jewish Midrash recommends avoiding baths as they are places of prostitution.<sup>240</sup> It is possible that the cubicles in the Sarno Baths (and those at the Baths of Faustina at Miletus?) served this purpose.<sup>241</sup> The Stabian and Central Baths in Pompeii are both within short walking distance of the Lupinarium.<sup>242</sup> Altogether, given the Romans' lack of inhibition in sexual matters, the occurrence of sex at the baths should cause little surprise.

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What non-bathing activities went on at the baths is often difficult to specify, but the sources reveal some particulars: they were meeting places before dinner parties, regular haunts for clothes thieves and other pickpockets and, for some at least, places to submit to the temptations of Dionysus and Venus. The claims of scholars that the baths were an integral part of Roman daily life appear fully borne out.

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<sup>238</sup> Cf. no. 191 (Table 6) and note (Ephesos), above, n. 168 (*sodales*). In the latter case, the charges for services appear excessive.

<sup>239</sup> Amm. Marc., 28.4.9.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. A.J. WERTHEIMER (ed.), *Batei Midrashot* (Jerusalem, 1954<sup>2</sup>), II.143 (I am indebted to E. DVORJETSKI of The Hebrew University in Jerusalem for this reference).

<sup>241</sup> Cf. above, pp. 135-136.

<sup>242</sup> It is at VII.xii.18-20 less than one block north of the Stabian Baths and two south-west of the Central.

## CONCLUSION

One of our reasons for undertaking a study of the builders and maintainers of public baths was to attempt to explain why the second phase of the growth in bath popularity coincided with the transition from the Republic to the Principate. From what has been seen above, it cannot be said that it was because the emperors or their agents promoted public bathing by direct benefaction. Due to his special relationship with Rome, the emperor habitually benefitted the city, but he only occasionally extended his generosity beyond. His agents, possessing temporary authority over specific regions, also rarely acted as benefactors, at least in their "official" capacity. Thus the influence of the central authorities on the growth of public bathing appears to have been indirect, in that the great baths built at Rome during this period (those of Agrippa and Nero), set new standards that became the model for others to follow.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, with the establishment of peace and stability, more communities were provided with the prosperous conditions and financial means to build baths, which were an expensive proposition, both during and after construction. Local authorities and private magnates benefitted their communities in a manner analogous to the emperor's behaviour at Rome (though usually not on so lavish a scale). In this respect, the baths of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD could be used in future studies as one means of indexing regional prosperity.

A wide spectrum of social classes is represented among bath benefactors, from senators to freedmen. Motives for building baths varied. In addition to aping the appearance of Rome, there was inter-city rivalry on the regional level, and inter-family rivalry on the community level. The general phenomenon of private, "voluntary" euergetism plays an important role as well. It

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the "Imperial" imitations in the provinces listed in Ch. 6, n. 151.

is just possible that the functional nature of the building, which offered a great variety of possible benefactions, was attractive to the potential euergete. The role of popular demand in all this is virtually impossible to document, but it is reasonable to suggest that the widespread construction of baths in the first two centuries AD reflects, if not responds to, a popular passion for bathing. This is perhaps especially true of those cases where baths became a problem, e.g. the ill-conceived *ingens balineum* planned by the Claudiopolitans, or the project at Corfinium that seems to have become a "white elephant."<sup>2</sup> In these cases, communities and individuals appear to have been led to embark on projects beyond their means. That they did so in response to a perceived popular demand for baths seems distinctly possible.

Many of the constructional inscriptions are of Late Imperial date (especially restorations). Jouffroy has recently shown that during the 3rd-5th centuries AD in Italy and Africa (from where much of our epigraphic evidence derives), baths received by far the most attention among utilitarian buildings.<sup>3</sup> In the context of public building in general, they rise from being the sixth (of eight) most frequently attested structures in Republican Italy to the second (of eight) in the 4th/5th centuries AD; the corresponding figures for Africa are: eighth (of eight) in the period from the conquest to the end of the 1st century AD, and second (of eight) for the 4th/5th centuries AD.<sup>4</sup> Communities therefore appear to have felt that the upkeep of their baths was more important than that of many other public structures; all the more so when it is remembered that baths, constantly in use and arguably the most complicated buildings erected by the Romans, would naturally require particularly frequent (and costly) maintenance. This latter point makes the Late Imperial maintenance of baths all the more telling: although they were demanding and expensive buildings, communities felt it was a top priority to keep them operative. This in turn leads to another question: if baths were so costly a proposition, why

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, pp. 217-218 (Corfinium) and 223-224 (Claudiopolis).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Construction*, pp. 326 (fig. 1bis) (Italy); 402 (fig. 4) (Africa).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 332 (Italy); 407-408 (Africa).

were they often run as business investments? It is possible that the "concessions" and other non-bathing services, about which we are not particularly well informed, provided the most profit, but this remains open to question.

The baths have been shown to be fulcra of Roman social activity. They were visited by all the classes (even, on occasion, by the emperor), even if it would be incorrect to think of them as vehicles of social levelling. The rich and wealthy brought the signs of their rank to the baths as well as to other public places, adding to the colour of the social pageant. The fantastically rich bathed side-by-side with the destitute, a remarkable circumstance that illustrates certain features of Roman society. Despite a tall and steep social pyramid, much got done on a personal level. The baths would have provided an ideal forum for informal, inter-class contact on the terms of the privileged, who had the means available to limit the degree of their communication with the lower orders, if they so wished. But in general, Roman aristocrats do not appear to have harboured any *noblesse-oblige* feelings about going to the baths; indeed, it seems to have been part of their routine. Rather than being social levellers, the baths may even have helped to reinforce the social hierarchy: the rich man would parade with his slaves and fine accoutrements, the poor man would look on and worry about having his clothes stolen. In the Imperial baths, above everyone stood the emperor who had built the building in the first place. From this perspective, the social environment of the baths can be seen as a reproduction of Roman society as a whole. The baths truly stood at the centre of daily life in a Roman community.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

As each section carries its own conclusions, my purpose here is to pull together the threads of the three studies by examining their broader implications for Roman history. Unlike previous studies, the approach taken throughout the dissertation has been more historical than archaeological. Although the archaeological evidence has to be taken into account and assessed in detail at several points, I have combined it with close analysis of the written record to offer a broader perspective on the issues addressed. In particular, the large body of inscriptions collected and tabulated in the following pages offers a fresh database for the study of public bathing among the Romans. Overall, the focus has been on the bather rather than the baths.

The first section argued that Roman-style baths were above all an Italian (Campanian) creation, although influenced to some degree by Greek predecessors. More work needs to be done on the ground -- especially in correlating data from different sites and investigating more fully important early baths (such as the Central Baths at Caes) -- before more precise conclusions concerning the mechanics of early development can be reached. But, as I have argued, rejection of the unwarranted assumption that the Romans developed the hypocaust for no apparent reason, and subsequently adapted their bathing habits to this invention, is surely more appropriate to Roman conditions, given the general context of ancient technological development. The bathing habits came first; the buildings adapted to accommodate them.

With the reduction of direct Greek influence on the Roman adoption of public baths, the claim that the origin, development and spread of early baths reflect the Hellenization of Italy is somewhat vitiated;<sup>1</sup> in any case, the popularity of public bathing in Italy is not well attested until

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.1.

the 1st centuries BC and AD. Rather, the findings of our study support Dyson's recent observation concerning the growth of community life in the 2nd century BC.<sup>2</sup> Along with theatres, amphitheatres, monumental fora and the like, the construction of baths (from public funds in the few cases which are attested epigraphically) surely reflects an enhancement of public life in the peninsula relative to what had come before. Further study of early baths can only fill out this picture more fully.

The main point of the second section (taken as a whole) is the remarkable degree to which ancient medical thinking appears to have influenced social behaviour. Although it must be reiterated that Asclepiades cannot be seen as the initiator of bath popularity (baths preceded him at Rome, and several general factors need to be taken into account), his role seems to have been important. Future studies could focus on this theme: how deeply did the ideas of other doctors reach into and affect society, if at all? Was Asclepiades unique in this respect?

The findings of section three touch on several aspects of Roman social history. In the first place, the limited extent of direct imperial beneficence outside Rome and Italy has been highlighted. This extends to public building in general.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the overall importance of local responsibility (whether public or private) in constructing and maintaining public baths has been illustrated. Again, the situation with regard to baths is in keeping with that for other public buildings.<sup>4</sup> Our study of bath builders and maintainers thus illustrates well the mechanics and motivation of municipal euergetism.

As regards daily social function of the baths, a wide range of activities can be shown to have taken place there. The sources attest the presence of all members of society at the baths

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<sup>2</sup> DYSON, *Community*, pp. 23-55, esp. pp. 44-46.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the "les constructeurs" sections of JOUFFROY, *Construction*, especially for Africa (pp. 197, 233-234, 279, 311-312).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 106-108, 138-140, 152-153, 171 (Italy); 197-199, 234-237, 281-283, 313-314 (Africa).

(from emperors to slaves), but two points need to be borne in mind in this connection. First, not all baths would have been frequented by all classes; there were undoubtedly many smaller facilities serving a localized clientele, probably of relatively homogeneous social status (somewhat like pubs in the British Isles today). But the main civic baths of a town, which were not necessarily on a monumental scale (e.g. the Stabian Baths at Pompeii, or the Forum Baths at Herculaneum), appear to have been open to all comers, regardless of rank. Second, the problem of typicality affects consideration of the evidence. For example, it is virtually impossible to offer a clearly documented, universally applicable response to the simple question, did slaves habitually enjoy access to any public bath in a given community? The sources show this to have been the case in certain establishments at particular times and places, but the general conditions elude us. Perhaps the best approach is to recognize the likelihood that many facets of Roman bathing culture varied regionally and over time. Conversely, it is most unlikely that all baths functioned in the same manner all over the empire for nearly seven centuries. Appreciation of this point may assist future understanding of other aspects of the baths' functioning for which the ancient evidence is often contradictory and confusing, e.g. male/female mixed bathing, entrance fees, opening hours etc.

We have seen that even in the intimate and informal context of the public bath, the rich attempted to maintain social distinctions by various means. This is a striking illustration of just how deeply ingrained were the concepts of hierarchy and status in Roman society. At the same time, the baths would have reinforced a sense of community by bringing members of the upper and lower classes into closer contact than (say) in the forum or on the street. On a broad view, the baths appear therefore to have served a double social function: on the one hand to reproduce the social hierarchy, and on the other to emphasize the essential unity of the community; people of different social statuses may have moved in different worlds, but they could still contribute jointly to the social environment of their town's bathing facility.

# **TABLES**

## GENERAL NOTES

There are 7 Tables, throughout which the individual entries are numbered consecutively, 1-267, for ease of reference.

When an individual entry is cited, the entry number is followed by the Table number in parentheses, e.g. no. 5 (Table 1).

When a series of entries from the same Table are cited consecutively, the Table number follows the last entry number in that series, e.g. nos. 2, 5, 6 (Table 1), 24, 34 (Table 2) etc.

Entries marked with an asterisk (\*) in the "Builder" or "Agent" column indicate the involvement of a woman or women.

Notes (assembled at the end of each table) are indicated by a cross (†) adjacent to an entry's number.

Within a table, entries are organized chronologically within agent categories, e.g. in Table 4 local authority activities are listed chronologically first, then those of the magistrates.

Undated inscriptions are grouped at the beginning of each agent category.

A dotted line (.....) between entries indicates separate date categories, e.g. undated from dated, Principate from Dominate.

In citations of texts, {} brackets indicate words or phrases I have inserted, mostly from elsewhere in the text itself, to give sense to the citation. Round () and square [] brackets are used in the conventional manner to indicate respectively completion of an abbreviation and a restoration of the text itself. Missing text is indicated with two dashes in square brackets [--].

Three periods ( . . . ) does not indicate missing letters, according to the usual convention, but rather that intervening text is not being cited. Individual missing letters are indicated by periods enclosed in square [] brackets. For instance, no. 69 (Table 3): ". . . {*previous text not cited*} thermas Gratianas dudum coeptas et emissas mag. aput [ . . . . . ] {*six letters missing*} Alp. Cott. extruxit, ornavit et usui Segusinae reddidit civit(atis)".

Names of officials and benefactors are not cited exactly from the text, but the essential elements are provided. For instance: no. 209 (Table 7) where the text reads "L. Octavius L. f. Cam. Rufus", the simpler "L. Octavius Rufus" is rendered. Fragmentary or restored names are indicated by the usual conventions, though still employing abridged versions, e.g. no. 91 (Table 4): "L. Min[icius L. fil. Gal. Na]talis" is rendered "L. Min[icius Na]talis".

Offices held by imperial officials and local magistrates are usually not cited in full, some careers running to several lines; their full careers are easily traceable in the relevant prosopographical reference in the notes (to *PIR*, *RE* or *PLRE*) Rather, the highest post held in the *cursus honorum*, usually the first cited in the text, is provided. In cases where a position is held at the time of the benefaction, it is also given. In addition,

where a *curator rei publicae* appears, even if it is not the highest position held by the individual, this will be indicated.

Roman and Greek systems of writing numbers (for a list of which cf, *ILS* vol 5.798-799) are translated into Arabic numerals for ease of comprehension, e.g. in no. 8 (Table 1) HS  $\overline{\text{XX}}$  is rendered HS (2,000,000).

**TABLE 1: Inscriptions recording baths built, restored, extended or adorned in Italy or the provinces by emperors**

No.	Emperor	Place	Work done	Reference
1†	Augustus	Bononia	divus Aug(ustus) parens {balneum} dedit	<i>ILS</i> 5674
2†	Gaius (Caligula)	Bononia	[C. Caesar] Augustus Germanicus [p.p] refecit	<i>ILS</i> 5674
3†	Vespasian	Cadyanda, Lycia	᾿ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ . . . Οὐεσπασιανὸς . . . κατεσκεύασεν τὸ βαλανεῖον	<i>IGR</i> 3.507 (= <i>McCRUM &amp; WOODHEAD</i> , no. 437)
4†	Vespasian	Patara, Lycia	᾿ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ . . . Οὐεσπασιανὸς . . . τὸ βαλανεῖον κατεσκεύασεν [ἐκ] θεμελίων σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ ταῖς κολυμβήθραις	<i>IGR</i> 3.659
5†	Trajan	Ricina	divos Traianus . . . rei publ. Ricinens. balneum . . . rep(arari) mandavit	<i>ILS</i> 5675
6†	Hadrian	Cyrene	Imp. . . Hadrianus Aug . . . balineum cum porticibus et sphaeristeris ceterisque adjacentibus quae tumultu Iudaico diruta et exusta erant civitati Cyrensi restitui iussit	<i>AE</i> 1928.2
7	Antoninus Pius	Narbo	Imp. . . [Antoninus] Aug. Pius . . . ther[mas incendio] consumptas cum por[ticibus et [--] et basilicis et omni [apparatu impensa] sua re[stituit]	<i>ILS</i> 5685

8†	Antoninus Pius	Ostia	Imp. . . Antoninus Aug. Pius . . . thermas in quarum exstructionem divus pater suus HS (2,000,000) polli[citus erat] adiecta pecunia, quantum amplius desiderabatur, item marmoribus ad omnem o[rnatum perfecit]	<i>ILS</i> 334, cf. <i>CIL</i> 14.376; <i>HA, Pius</i> , 8.3.
9	Antoninus Pius	Tarquinius	Imp. . . . Antoninus Aug. Pius . . . bal[ineum] vetus[tate collapsum] sua pecunia [restituit]	<i>CIL</i> 11.3363
10	M. Aurelius & L. Verus	Forum Claudii	[Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius cet. . . . . et] Imp. Caes. Luc[ius] Aurelius Verus Aug. . . . balin[eas pec.] sua restit[uer.]	<i>ILS</i> 5868
11†	Commodus	Beneventum	[baline]um sua pec[(unia) omni]que cultu exor[navit] Comm[odus] Pius Fel[ix]	<i>CIL</i> 9.1665
12	Caracalla	Pinna	[M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug. . . . ] balneum vetus[tate] corrupt(um) ad pristin(am) faciem r[estituit]	<i>AE</i> 1968.157
13	Diocletian	Nicomedia	Imp. . . . Diocletiano . . . cuius providentia etiam lavacrum thermarum Antoninianarum funditus eversum sua pecunia amplificatum populo suo exhiberi iussit.	<i>ILS</i> 613
14	Constantine & Licinius	Lavinium	[dd nn . . . Consta]ntinus . . . et . . . Licinius . . . [thermas long]i temporis deformatas Laurentibus suis addito cultu restituerunt	<i>AE</i> 1984.151
15	Constantine	Remi	Imp. . . . Constantinus . . . thermas fisci sui sumptu a fundamentis coeptas ac peractas civitati suae Remorum pro solita liberalitate largitus est	<i>CIL</i> 13.3255

16	Constantius & Julian	Spoletium	dd nn . . . Constantius . . . et Iulianus . . . thermas Spoletinis in praeteritum igne consumptas sua largitate restituerunt	<i>ILS</i> 739
17	Constans & Constantius	Ostia	[Cons]tantius et Const[ans therm]as incuria longi temporis destituta[s] ad pristinum statum reforman[das Ostiensibus? sui]s red[d]iderunt	<i>CIL</i> 14.135
18†	Valens, Gratian & Valentinian	Ostia	thermas maritimas intresecus refectione cellarum foris soli adiectione ddd. nnn. Valens, Gratianus et Valentinianus . . . Proculo Gregorio, v.c. praefecto annon. urbis Romae curante decorarunt	<i>ILS</i> 5694
19†	Valens, Gratian & Valentinian	Rhegium	Valentinianus . . . Valens . . . Gratianus . . . Reginis suis [t]hermas vetustate et terrae motu conlabsas in meliorem cultum formamque auspiciis felicioribus reddiderunt; reddita basilica marmorum, quae [n]umquam habuerat pulcritudine(m), decorata nova etiam porticu adiecta	<i>AE</i> 1913.227

## NOTES

- 1 & 2. The erased name is possibly that of Gaius, who was the only Julio-Claudian to call himself Germanicus and *pater patriae* (assuming that this is indeed the missing title). CENERINI, *RSA* 17-18 (1987-1988), 217 argues for an identification with Nero, as he is reported to have given a speech in the Senate on behalf of the Bononians in AD 53 when the city was devastated by fire (*Tac. Ann.*, 12.58.2; *Suet. Nero*, 7). If so, however, it is difficult to square Nero's nomenclature with that on the stone, even that common after Claudius's death. Whatever the case, two separate benefactions (a construction and restoration) are recorded on the same stone.
3. The last phrase of the inscription reports that Vespasian used funds which were under imperial control to erect these baths: *κατεσκεύασεν τὸ βαλανεῖον ἐκ τῶν ἀνασοθέντων χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ | τῆ πόλει*. CAGNAT, *JGR*, comments on the unusual form ἀνασοθέντων: "Ita lapis". The baths have been partially excavated, cf. E. FRÉZOULS, M.-J. MORANT, D. & LONGPIERRE, "Urbanisme et principaux monuments de Kadyanda", *KTEMA* 11 (1986), 225-238, esp. 236.
4. The text credits Vespasian with the work, but goes on to say that the money came from communal funds and donations from the people of Patara: *[ἐ]κ [τ]ῶν συν[τ]η[ρ]ηθέντων χρημάτων κ[οι]νῶν τ[ο]ῦ ἔθνους δηναρίων . . . καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παταρέων πόλεως |*

συντελειώσαντος καὶ ἀφιερώσαντος τὰ ἔργα. If Vespasian did not fund the venture, how can he be credited with erecting the baths? A possible answer is provided by a close reading of no. 3, the Cadyanda inscription. As has been seen, Vespasian there built a bath for the city "from the money over which he has control for the city" (ἐκ τῶν ἀνασοθέντων χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ | τῆ πόλει). Perhaps a similar arrangement existed in Patara, not referred to in this text, and the donations from the locals were extra. Whatever the case, the inscription clearly states that Vespasian built the baths.

5. The full text reads: divos Traianus | Augustus | concessa Tuscili | Nominati heredit. || rei publ. Ricinens. | balneum et platias | rep(arari) mandavit . Thus Trajan ordered the *balneum* and *platiae*, which had been given to the town in the will of Tusculus Nominatus (for whom, cf. Plin. *NH.*, 5.13), to be repaired for the town, presumably at imperial expense.
6. Although the text does not expressly say that Hadrian himself bore the cost of the restoration, the sense would suggest that he was responsible for the work. I translate the phrase *civitati Cyrensi* as meaning "for the community of the Cyrenians" rather than "by the community of the Cyrenians". Similar use of the dative to indicate a favoured community is found in nos. 5, 14-17 and 19.
8. Cf. no. 147 (Table 5) where a restoration of these baths under M. Aurelius refers to them as *thermas quas divus Pius aediffi]caverat*. They are probably to be identified with the Baths of Neptune, cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, p. 409.
11. Despite the fragmentary nature of the inscription, the sense is clear enough. Mommsen restored the first word in the citation as the *[portic]um* of the *Thermae Commodianae* elsewhere attested at Beneventum, cf. no. 204 (Table 6) (and perhaps also no. 26 (Table 2)). Whatever the case, the work is clearly in reference to a bath building and is carried out by Commodus.
18. Proculus Gregorius was prefect of the grain supply in AD 377, cf. *PLRE* 1 Gregorius 9 (p. 404).
19. The editors of *AE* note that the earthquake may have been that of AD 365 (Amm. Marc., 26.10.5). If so, because the restored building was not dedicated until AD 374 (present inscription, line 11: *domino nostro Gratiano Augusto tertio et Flavio Equitio consulibus*), the building may have been unusable for up to nine years. However, as it is not known how long the repair work lasted, the period of actual ruin may have been shorter.

**TABLE 2: Inscriptions recording baths or parts of baths built, restored, extended or adorned in Italy or the provinces by imperial officials**

No.	Official	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
20	incertus, annonae praefec(tus)	Ostia	[a]bebatur ut lava[tu?]m [omni splen]dore excultam ad usum pop[uli] annonae praefec.	none	<i>CIL</i> 14.5387
21†	C. Sennius Sabinus, praef(ectus) fabr(um)	Vicus Albinnensis, Gallia Narbonensis	balineum, campum, porticus, aquas iusque earum aquarum tubo ducendarum, ita ut recte perfluere possint vicaris Albinnensibus d(e) s(uo) d(edit)	Hadrian / Pius	<i>ILS</i> 5768
22†	M. Gavius Maximus, praef. praetorio	Ostia	[ther]mis Gav(i) Maximi	Antoninus Pius	<i>AE</i> 1984.150, cf. 1955.287
23†	M. Nonius Arrius Mucianus, cos., curator et patronus r. p.	Verona	M. Nonio . . . Arrio Muciano. . . ob largitionem [eius] quod at ther[mas] Iuventia[nas] perficiend. H[S . . . ] rei public. d(ederit) ordo [--]	201-211	<i>ILS</i> 1148
24†	Q. Petronius (Melior), v. cos., curator r. p.	Tarquinius	Q. Petronio . . . quod . . . thermas restituerit	c. 230	<i>ILS</i> 1180
25†	Aur(elius) Verecundus, v.e., pro(curator) Argentariarum	Domavia, Dalmatia	balneum ad pristinam faciem reformare curavit	274	<i>CIL</i> 3.12736
26†	Sattius Crescens, v.c., corrector r.p.	Beneventum	ex locis abditis usui adque splendori thermarum dedit	late 3rd/early 4th cent.	<i>ILS</i> 5480

27†	M. [Aur(elius)] Vincentius, v.[p.], p(raeses) [p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae)] Tarraconensis	Tarraco	M. Aur. Vincento . . . sup(er) omnes reliquos praesides, iustissimo restitutori thermarum Montanarum	late 3rd/early 4th cent.	<i>CIL</i> 2.4112
28†	Flavius Octavius Victor (?), praef. annonae	Ostia	λουτρὸν ἀλεξίπων [-]ιξεν Βίκτωρ ἀρχὸς ἐὼν κόδιμος Αὔσονίης	328 +	<i>AE</i> 1984. 150, cf. <i>SEG</i> 33 (1983), 773
29†	L. Caelius Montius, v.c., procos. Asiae	Ephesos	d. n. Constanti . . L. Cae. Montius . . . atrio thermarum Constantianarum fabricato excultoque constituit	340/350	<i>ILS</i> 5704 (= <i>IK</i> 14. 1314/5)
30†	Furius Maecius Gracchus, v.c., corr. Flaminiae et Piceni	Tibur	Gracchus . . . ornatui thermarum dedicavit	before c. 350	<i>II</i> 4.1.151
31†	Fabius Maximus, v.c., rector prov.	Telesia	thermas Sabinianas restituit	352-357	<i>ILS</i> 5690, cf. <i>AE</i> 1972.150
32†	Fabius Maximus, v.c., rector prov.	Allifae	thermas Herculis vi terrae motus eversas restituit a fundamentis	352-357	<i>ILS</i> 5691
33†	Fabius Maximus, v.c., re[c]tor prov.	Saepinum	thermas Silvani vestutat(e) conlabsas restituit . . . sum(p)tu proprio	352-357	<i>CIL</i> 9.2447
34†	P. Ceionius Cecina Albinus, v.c., cons. Numidiae	Kenchela, Numidia	thermarum aestivalium fabulam factam depellens faciemque restituens . . . Ceionius restituit, perfecit dedicavit	364-367	<i>AE</i> 1911. 217

35†	Flavius Vivius Benedictus, v.p., praeses prov. Trip.	Sabratha, Tripolitania	quod post ruinam et abnegatum thermarum populo exercitium citra ullius dispendium ornamentis patriae revocavit	378	<i>IRT</i> 103
36†	[Avianius] Vindicianus, v.c. cons. Camp.	Tarracina	[t]hermas vi [ignis consumptas restituit]	c. 378	<i>CIL</i> 10.6312
37†	Anicius Auchenius Bassus, v.c., pro consule Campaniae	Antium	thermarum speciem ruinae deformitatem sordentem et peric- ulosus ponderibus imminentem, quae labantem populum metu sollicitudinis deterrebat . . . r[e]paravi(t) in meliorem civitatis effigiem	379-383	<i>ILS</i> 5702
38†	[F]l(avius) Felix Gentilis, v.p., pr(a)es(es prov(inciae), patr)onus	Satafis, Mauretania	[aquae?] ductum therma[rum] . . . [constr]uctum instituit, perfecit dedicavitque	379-383	<i>CIL</i> 8.20266
39†	Audentius Aemilianus, v.c., cons. Camp.	Liternum	signa translata ex abditis locis ad celebritatem thermarum Severianarum Audentius . . . constituit dedicarique precepit	383 or earlier	<i>ILS</i> 5478
40†	[ -- ] Quintilianus, [rector S]amniticus, pa[tronus optim]us	Venafrum	Quintiliano . . . statuam [in loco publi]co positam ob [at]que therm[as]	mid-late 4th cent.	<i>CIL</i> 10.4865
41†	Domitius Severianus, v.c., cons. Campaniae	Liternum	balneum Veneris lon[gi tempo]ris vetustate corruptum Domitius . . . ad pristinam faciem [aedifi]cavit	4th/5th cent.	<i>ILS</i> 5693

42†	Septimius Rusticus, v.c., cons. Camp.	Neapolis	Septimio Rustico, provisorio ordinis restauratori thermarum	4th/5th cent.	ILS 5692
43†	Rullus Festus, v.c., corr. Luc. et Brit.	Grumentum	ad ornatum thermarum collocavit	4th/5th cent.	CIL 10.212

## NOTES

21. The date is determined by Sennius, who was an Italian (he belonged to the voting tribe "Voltinia") and lived during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (*Dig.*, 48.18.1,5; cf. *RE* 2.2A.1467-1468, s.v. "Sennius" (no. 1) [Riba]). This *dedit* most probably means "built" (the presence of the *d(e) s(uo)* strongly suggests this; cf. Appendix 6). Here a *praefectus fabrum*, an official attached to the governor's staff, builds an entire bath complex, and supplies it with piped water for an even flow. For *praefecti fabrum*, cf. *RE* 6.1920-1924, s.v. "Fabri" [Kornemann]. Cf. no. 231 (Table 7).
22. The text cited is a fragment found in the Forum Baths in Ostia. Another fragment from the baths (part of an architrave) cited in the *AE* 1984 article, reads: Maximus has olim therm[as - -] divinae mentis ductu cum o[- -]. The two together make it very likely that the Praetorian Prefect M. Gavius Maximus, who served under Antoninus Pius, was responsible for building these baths, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 104. For baths named after their builders, cf. Ch. 6, n. 177 and Appendix 4.
23. M. Nonius Arrius Mucianus was cos. in AD 201 (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 114). See also JACQUES, *Liberté*, p. 9 no. 39 where the dates of his curatorship are given as c. 193-210 (cf. id. *Curateurs*, no. 39, pp. 100-103). He seems to have been a native of Brixia, as his tribal name, Pob(lilia), is attested there. Here Nonius contributes money for the completion of a set of baths begun by an unnamed agent.
24. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 dates the text precisely to AD 240 for no stated reason. *CIL* 6.1984 mentions that a Q. Petronius Melior was coopted into the *sodales Claudii* in AD 230, cf. *RE* 19.1219-1220, s.v. "Petronius" (no. 47) [Groag]. The present inscription reveals that he was or had been the curator of no less than 4 communities (Tarquinii, Gravisicum, Pyrgi and Ceretanum). He was of senatorial rank, cf. R. DUTHOY, "Le profil social des patrons municipaux en Italie sous le Haut-Empire", *AncSoc.*, 15-17 (1984-1987), 121-154, p. 147 no. 288.
25. For Verecundus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Verecundus 3 (p. 950); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1629. Domavia was an important mining community in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. Its baths have been excavated and are "the most elaborate in the province", cf. *PECS*, s.v. "Domavia" pp. 280-281 [Werner] (these baths, however, do not appear in either NIELSEN, *Therm.* or MANDERSHCEID, *Bib.*). Argentaria was an area of Dalmatia near the border with Moesia, administered by a procurator, cf. *RE* 2.705, s.v. "Argentaria" [Tomaschek].
26. For Crescens, cf. *PLRE* 1 Crescens 4 (p. 230). The wording, especially the phrases *splendori thermarum* (which makes it clear an adornment of the baths was involved) and *ex locis abditis* ("from hidden/secret places") recalls that of nos. 39 (Table 2) and 115 (Table 5), both of which report the transference of statues from lonely spots to baths, resulting in their enhancement.
27. This inscription is dated in *PLRE* 1 Vincentius 7 (p. 966) to the late 3rd/early 4th century AD, because all other *praeses* inscriptions from Tarraco are so dated.
28. A Greek verse inscription in three fragments found in the Forum Baths. It records a restoration of the baths by a Victor, probably the *praefectus annonae* c. AD 328+, according to the article in *AE*; *RE* S15.293-294, s.v. "Octavius" (no. 90a) [Eck] prefers a date in the second half of the 4th century.
29. For this man, cf. *PLRE* 1 Montius (p. 608).
30. The side of the stone bears an inscription dated to AD 172, which is apparently considerably older than the text cited, which can be dated to the mid-4th cent. AD; cf. *PLRE* 1 Gracchus 3 (p. 400).
- 31-33. *PLRE* 1 Maximus 35 (p. 587) lists 15 inscriptions recording benefactions of this man in the area of Samnium. These three record his bath benefactions.
34. *PLRE* 1 Albinus 8 (pp. 34-35) lists 18 inscriptions recording the building activities of this man in the province. The full text (which is difficult to understand) reads: aureis ubique temporis dd nn Valentiniani et Valen[tis] perpetuorum [Au]gg statum desperata recipiunt am]issa renovantur ruinarum deformitatem

- decor novitatis excludit iam dudum igitur thermarum aestivalium fabulam factam depellens faciemque restituens | Publius Ceionius Albinus, v.c., consularis, | ad splendorem tam patriae quam provinciae restituit | perfecit dedicavit [--] omninis [--]antis | Aemilio Flaviano Fabio praetextato lav[--] || Innocentio Mario Secundino [--]xcv[--]antio | tll bb pp.
35. For Flavius Benedictus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Benedictus 4 (p. 161). The editors of *IRT* comment that the baths were probably ruined after the incursion of the Austuriani in AD 363-365 (*Amm. Marc.*, 28.6), in which case the baths were left in ruinous condition for over a decade.
  36. For Vindicianus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Vindicianus 4 (p. 968). Another inscription dates him to AD 378 under Gratian, cf. *CIL* 10.1683. Although much of the text is restored the clear "vi" makes a restoration of the baths, even if not destroyed by fire, virtually certain; compare the wording of e.g. no. 194 (Table 6).
  37. For Bassus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Bassus 11 (pp. 152-154). The text says the baths were in ruinous and dangerous state, being about to collapse, so that the bathing public would not use them: *et periculosis ponderibus imminentem, quae labantem | populum metu sollicitudinis deterrebat.*
  38. This text is in three fragments. For Felix, cf. *PLRE* 1 Flavius Felix Gentilis (p. 391). The likely restoration is [*aquae | ductum therma[rum]*] rather than [*aquae | ductum therma[sque]*] because the rest of the text refers to putrid wooden structures replaced by the benefactor: *thermae* are not likely to have been made of wood (though *balnea* could be, cf. *Mart.*, 9.75; p. 118 for the putative wooden baths at Velsen, Holland). Because the aqueduct is specifically said to be a part of the baths, I include it here. There is mention of the *curator rei publicae* at the end, but the text is too fragmentary to clarify his involvement. For other aqueduct benefactions, cf. Table 7, section B, "Water Supply".
  39. For Aemilianus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Aemilianus 4 (p. 22). This recalls the wording of nos. 26 (Table 2) and 115 (Table 5). Aemilianus was patron of Puteoli.
  40. The stone is a statue base. It is not exactly clear from the text what it was Quintilianus did with regard to the baths. However, a simple reading of the odd-sounding phrase *ob atque therm[as]* would suggest he built them. It is possible that the baths were built after the statue was erected: the phrase appears virtually tacked on as an afterthought.
  41. For this man, cf. *PLRE* 1 Severianus 8 (p. 829).
  42. For Rusticus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Rusticus 3 (p. 787). For the unusual title *provisor ordinis*, cf. *ILS* 1276.
  43. For Festus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Festus 13 (p. 337). Here the official gives an unspecified sum of money for the adornment of the baths.

**TABLE 3: Inscriptions recording baths built by local councils, magistrates and officials, or *patroni civitatis***

NOTE: Only inscriptions recording the construction of a complete set of baths are included here. Items commemorating the building of parts of baths are taken to reflect extensions of existing structures and are included in Table 5.

**A. LOCAL AUTHORITIES & COUNCILS**

No.	Builder	Place	Work Done	Date	Reference
44	ἸΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤῶΝ ΚΑΙ ΤῶΝ ΣΥΝΠΟΛΙΤ- ΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ ἢ ΒΟΥΛῆ ΚΑΙ Ὁ Δῆμος	Aperlae, Lycia	τὸ βαλανεῖον καὶ τὸ πρόστοον κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ θεμελίων	80-81	<i>IGR</i> 3.690
45†	col(onia) Iul(ia) Conc(ordia) Apamea	Apamea	balineum Hadrianum ex p(ecunia) public(a) dedicavit	129	<i>ILS</i> 314
46	respublica [C]uicu[litan- (orum)]	Cuicul	the]rmas a solo fecit	183-184	<i>AE</i> 1935. 45, cf. 1920.16
47	municipium Aelii Chobae	Choba, Mauretania	balneae municipum municipii Aelii Chobae p(ecunia) p(ublica) factae	196	<i>ILS</i> 6876
48†	ἡ Ὀλβιοπολι- τειτῶν πόλις	Olbia, Sarmatia	τὸ βα[λανεῖον? ἀνέστη]σεν σὺν καὶ σκουτλώσει ἐκ τῶν δημο[σίων --]	198-211	<i>IGR</i> 1.854

49†	senat(us) populusq(ue) Lanivinus	Lanuvium	in locum balnearum, quae per vetustatem in usu esse desierant, thermas ex quantitatibus, quae . . . . honoriarum summarum sacerdotiorum adquisitae sunt, . . . ampliatis locis et cellis, a fundamentis exstruxit	198-211	<i>ILS</i> 5686
50†	not specified	Castellum Mastaris, Numidia	genio balineo Cast(elli) Mas(taris) o. m. a solo	228-230	<i>AE</i> 1908. 244/5
51†	[municipium S]eptimium Aurelium Severianum Antoninianum Frugiferum Concordium Liberum Thibursicium Bure	Thibursicum Bure	thermas Gal[lienianas [--] re]formatas et excultas pecunia publica perfecit et dedicavit	260/262	<i>AE</i> 1913.180 (= <i>IL Afr.</i> 506)
52†	vicani Petrenses	Vicus Petra, Moesia	vicani Petrenses qui contul[er]unt causa salutis corporis sui balineu(m) faciendu(m)	3rd/4th cent.	<i>AE</i> 1977.758, cf. <i>AE</i> 1939. 100 and 1935. 172
53†	not specified	Mitylene	ἐκτίσθη τὸ βαλανίον	413	<i>AE</i> 1971. 454

## B. MAGISTRATES &amp; OFFICIALS†

No.	Builder	Place	Work Done	Date	Reference
54†	*Cn. Terentius Primus, IIIIIvir et Terentia coniunx	Brebia	Terentio . . . et Terentiae . . . qui vican(is) f(ecerunt) habitantib(us) lavationem	none	<i>CIL</i> 5.5504A

55†	P. Lucanius Quadratus, IIvir, augur, q. II	Venafrum	balneum solo, peq(unia) sua dedit	none	<i>ILS</i> 5664
56†	*[--] Chrysanthus [IVir Aug.] et Clodia Agatha uxor	Narbo	[balineum . . . ] et marmoribus exstructum et ductu(s) [aquae . . . feceru]nt	none	<i>CIL</i> 12.4388
57†	Λ. Οὐάκκιος λαβέων, γυμνασίαρχος	Kyme	{λαβέωνα} . . . ὄνθέντα δὲ καὶ τὸ βαλανῆον τοῖς νέοισι	2 BC - AD 14	<i>IK</i> 5.19, cf. <i>IGR</i> 4.1302
58†	L. Caesienus Firm[us?], quaest. praef. i(ure) d(icundo), q(uinquennalis), L. Caesienus Firm[us?] [--], quaest., quinq., trib. milit. II	Furfo	[bal]neum d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fec(erunt)	Julio- Claudian (?)	<i>CIL</i> 9.3522
59†	L. Aemilius Daphnus, sevir	Murgi	thermas sua omni impensa municipibus Murg(itanis) dedit	Flavian (?)	<i>CIL</i> 2.5489
60†	*C. Sempronius Sempronianus, IIvir, pontufex ( <i>sic</i> ) perpet(uus), Sempronia Fusca Fibia Anicilla filia	Aurgi	thermas . . . pecunia impensaque sua omni d(ono) d(ederunt)	Trajan (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5688
61	Κένδεος, στρατηγός	Iotapa, Cilicia	ἐ[πι]δοὺς καὶ εἰς [τὸ κοινὸν βαλανεῖον κατα- σκευα[ζ]όμενον οἴκ]οθεν δηνάρια ,ακε' ( <i>I025</i> )	176 or later	<i>IGR</i> 3.833
62†	Ti. Gavillius Claud(ius) Lambicus, aed., IIvir	Albona, Dalmatia	ex voto suscepto pro salute municip(i) balineo effect(o) . . . posuit	193 (?)	<i>CIL</i> 3.3047

63†	C. Auf(idius) Vegetus, IIvir II, curat(or)	Burgvillos	balineu(m) aedificavit	2nd cent. (?)	<i>CIL</i> 2.5354
64†	[Γ. Λικίννιος Φλαουιανός) ἰάσων], γυμνασίαρχος	Xanthos	δεδωκότα . . . ἰς βαλανείου κατα[σ]κευ[ῆν] (δραχμᾶς) πεντακισχειλίας	2nd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1981.834
65†	C. Torasius Severus, IIIvir i.d., augur	Spoletium	suo et . . . fili sui nomine loco et pecunia sua {thermas} fecit	2nd cent. (?)	<i>CIL</i> 11.4815
66†	M. Tullius Cicero Venneianus, IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis), p(atronus) c(oloniae)	Paestum	balneas Nobas a solo sua pecunia extruxit et dedecavit ( <i>sic</i> )	late 2nd/ early 3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1935.28 (= <i>ILPaest.</i> 101)
67†	Γλύκων [καὶ . . . ]κος, οἱ Παμφί[λου?] [ ] [λ]ογιστεύσ- αντες	Ephesos	ἔδωκαν παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξωθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βαλανίου ἀργυρίου (δηνάρια) σν' (250)	206/207	<i>IK</i> 17.1. 3249
68†	Ann[i]us Namptonius, flamen p(er)p(etuus), cur(ator) reip(ublicae)	Thuburbo Maius	[t]hermas [ae]stivales post ann[os solidos] octo [in]tra septimum mensem a[d]iectis omnibus perfectis[ue] cunct[is] qu[ibus] lavacra ind[i]gebant Annius . . . cum Thub[ur]bi[t]anae [u]rbis ordine amplissim[o] [c]unct[a]que eius plebe perfecit, excoluit, dedicavit	365	<i>AE</i> 1916. 87/8

69†	incertus, mag(ister) or mag(istratus)	Segusio, Alpes Cottiae	. . . thermas Gratianas dudum coeptas et omissas mag. aput [ . . . . . ] Alp. Cott. extruxit, ornavit et usui Segusinae reddidit civit(atis) . . . ne quid vel utilitati vel us[ibus deesset]	375-378	ILS 5701
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## C. PATRONI CIVITATIS†

No.	Builder	Place	Work Done	Date	Reference
70†	[Hero]des, [patro]nus?, c.v.	Aquileia	[ex testamento Hero]dis [patro?]ni c.v., [thermae factae] lavant(ibus)	none	CIL 5.880
71†	incertus, patronus municipi	Pitinum Pisaurense	[b]alineum fecit	none	ILS 5711
72	[Gab?]inius Salvianus, p(atronus) a(lmae) K(arthaginis)	Thurbo Maius	Salviano . . . quod etiam thermarum hiemalium ex ima fundamentorum origine usque [ad] fastigia culmen erexit . . . [su]mtu proprio	395-408	AE 1914.57

## NOTES

## A. LOCAL AUTHORITIES &amp; COUNCILS

45. That the baths were built by the local authorities is certain due to their dedication to Hadrian by the colony from public money; had a party other than the colony been responsible for constructing the baths, mention of it could be expected to appear in the text (unless it was on another, now lost, inscription). It is safer to assume that the baths were built, maybe sometime beforehand, by the state. The dedication was to Hadrian and the imperial household; full text is: numini domus Augusto[rum] | et | imp. Caesari divi Trajani Parthic[i filio.] | divi Nervae nepoti, Trajano Hadriano Aug[.] || pont. max., trib pot., XIII, cos. III, p.p., Sabinae Aug. | senatui populoq. Rom. col. Iul. Conc. Apamea | Balineum Hadrianum ex p. public. dedicavit.
48. Although the word βαλανεῖον is mostly restored, mention of the chequered decoration, σκουτλώσις, makes its presence very likely; the phrase is reminiscent of *cum omni ornatu* or the like found in other bath construction texts, cf. e.g. nos. 7, 8, 11 (Table 1), 80, 85, 90 (Table 4)

49. This is the only inscription in our corpus that expressly states that *summae honorariae* were used to build baths, although Pliny the Younger reports the cost of the huge baths at Claudiopolis in Bithynia was to come from this source, cf. Pliny *Ep.*, 10.39.5. For the use of *summae honorariae* in local building activities, cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, pp. 86, 149-150; id. in F. GREW & B. HOBLEY (edd.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire* (CBA Research Report 59, 1985), 28-33; and more recently, id. *Structure*, pp. 174-184, esp. 182-183.
50. The text is dated by the phrase *Modesto et Probo cos* in the opening line. Although there is no verb here, a passive *aedificatum* or *factum* must be assumed (especially in view of the phrase *a solo*). In cases such as this, where the erection of baths is recorded in the passive with no agent indicated, a construction by the local authority ought to be assumed, cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, no. 30, p. 91 and below no. 53.
51. The inscription is dated by the phrase *proconsule L. Naevio Aquilino*, which places it in the years AD 260-268 (cf. *PLRE* 1 Aquilinus 8 [pp. 91-2]). Here the baths are completed by the local authority apparently on a different plan to that originally envisaged (*reformatas*). (Who started the work is not specified in the text.) It is not a question here of restoration, as the baths are finished off in the reign of Gallienus, after whom they get their name: it is unlikely that baths built in the reign of Gallienus would require restoration so soon after their construction. A group of the local decurions contributed money to the cost of a Musaeum to these baths, cf. below no. 157 (Table 5).
52. It is not clear how many villagers contributed to the erection of the baths. Had there been a limited number we might expect a list of names or the like, but this may have put the cost of the inscription beyond the means of such a small place as Vicus Petra. Whatever the case, it is clear from official involvement in the work, in the form of one of the *quaestores vici* as a *curator operis*, that the local authorities were responsible for the construction: *quod opus effectu(m) | magisterio anni Nymphidi Maximi et Aeli Gem[un]i, qu(a)estor[um]bus vici Ulpio Romano et Cassio Primitivo, curantibus operi(s) N[ymp]hido | Maximo s(upra) s(cripto) et Aelio Julio*.
53. The text is dated by the phrase ἐπὶ ὑπατίας | Φλ(αβίου) Λουκίου, || δεσποτεύοντος | Εὐλωγίου τοῦ Λα|λαγριωνίου[υ], ἐπιτροπεύοντος [ Ἀ]υξεντίου.

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## B. MAGISTRATES & OFFICIALS

NOTE: Although they were not magistrates, *seviri* and *seviri Augustales* are included in this category, insofar as they participated in public life, and building activity featured among the expectations of office, cf. *RE* 1.2349-2360, s.v. "Augustales" [Neumann]; CASTRÉN, *Ordo*, pp. 73-75; R. DUTHOY, "Les Augustales", *ANRW* 2.16.2.1254-1309, esp. 1265-1277; S.E. OSTROW, "The Augustales in the Augustan Scheme" in K.A. RAAFLAUB & M. TOHER (edd.) *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 364-379.

54. There are two versions of the text in *CIL*. Version B implies that the benefaction was free bathing (*lavationem | balneo [ . . ] | optatiss(imo)*). However, that the construction of a bath is the sense of version A is suggested by the use of *facere* rather than *dare* which is the verb that usually accompanies the giving of free baths to the people (cf. Table 7, Section A, "Free Bathing"). In this case, *lavatio* means "bathhouse" or "bathing facilities", a rare use of the word (for a parallel, cf. Cic. *Fam.*, 9.5.3).
55. Cf. Appendix 6 for *balneum dare* inscriptions. Here *dedit* most probably means "built" as the baths are "given" at "his own expense", and either "on his own ground" or "from foundations" depending on whether an *a* or a *suo* is to be restored before the *solo*. In either case, a bath construction is the most likely benefaction.
56. Cf. no. 225 (Table 7).
57. ENGELMANN (the editor of *IK* 5) states that these are the baths near the Gymnasium of the Neoi at Kyme. The text implies they were reserved for the use of the Neoi only. For the work of gymnasiarchs in giving money for baths, cf. ROBERT, *OMS*, I.446-448; id., *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris: de Boccard, 1937; repr. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1970), pp. 315-318; A.H.M. JONES, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), pp. 221-222.
58. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40, n. 25 dates this text to the Julio-Claudian period, but gives no indication why. The two benefactors appear to be father and son, the father having stayed at the municipal level, the son,

- an *equus*, receiving a posting as a military tribune before returning to his *patria* for the quinquennial quaestorship, cf. DUTHOY, *AncSoc.*, 15-17 (1984-1986), 123-127.
59. The date is deduced from letterform, and so is not secure. For a discussion of *balneum dare* inscriptions, cf. Appendix 6. It is clear enough that in this case we are dealing with a bath construction: the baths were given "completely at his own expense" (*sua omni impensa*), and were then dedicated. For the rest of this benefaction, cf. no. 254 (Table 7).
60. Dated by letterform. Cf. comments in previous note. For the rest of the benefaction, cf. nos. 229 and 265 (Table 7).
62. Dated by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.97, n. 12 to AD 193 without explanation.
63. The date is by letterform, and so not secure (though NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.65, n. 9 cites it without qualification); cf. CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, no. 298 (p. 166). Cf. no. 222 (Table 7).
64. A double statue base. Jason's name is missing here but can be reconstructed from comparison with other texts (cf. *AE* 1981.835, *TAM* 2.1.381). Here Jason as gymnasiarch gives 5,000 drachmas towards the construction of the baths, and elsewhere his father, holding the archonship, gives an equal amount for public use. The editors of *AE* suggest that the figures may be *summae honorariae*; whatever the case, it would not be enough to build an entire bathhouse. For bath costs, cf. above, Ch. 6, n. 61.
65. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40, n. 25 dates this inscription to the 2nd century (though it is not clear why). This is a dedicatory text found in the baths, so the word *thermas* was omitted. Cassiodorus *Var.*, 4.24 mentions *thermae Turasii* at Spolegium, and they are probably the subject of the repair work carried out by Constantius and Julian as recorded in another text, cf. no. 16 (Table 1).
66. The date is that provided by DUTHOY, *AncSoc.*, (1984-1987), 151 no. 366 (NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40, n. 25 offers only the early 3rd-century date). The father built the baths, and his son, who at least by that time had not held any posts, restored them. Cf. no. 194 (Table 6) and DUTHOY, *op. cit.*, 151 no. 367.
67. These men are clearly of local origin. The term *λογίστης* is normally used to denote a *curator rei publicae* (cf. *IGR* 3.39), but these are evidently local magistrates.
68. Here a set of baths, already begun but left unfinished after 8 years of work, are completed within 7 months by the magistrate mentioned. However, the text here is a little ambiguous. It seems to say that Annius completed the job himself, but did so in conjunction with the city's decurions and the entire plebs, which suggests it was a joint effort on the part of Annius and the local community. There are parallel examples of this sort of expression, where the main verbs are usually in the singular, cf. e.g. nos. 160, 163 (Table 5). In such cases, I take it that the *curator rei publicae* was primarily responsible for the work.
69. Cf. no. 166 (Table 5) and 237 (Table 7).

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### C. PATRONI CIVITATIS

NOTE: Because *patroni* were neither local magistrates nor officials (in that they performed no specific function), nor purely private benefactors (insofar as they enjoyed some public recognition in a community, having been chosen by official cooptation), I include them here in a separate category from the aforementioned groups. The relationship between *patrocinium* and euergetism is unclear; here listed are only those persons whose sole title is *patronus*. So, for instance, M. Nonius Arrius Mucianus, *curator et patronus r. p.* at Verona (no. 23 [Table 2]), is considered primarily a *curator* and so classed among imperial officials; likewise M. Tullius Venneianus, *Ilvir qq. p(atronus) c(coloniae)* at Paestum (no. 66 above), is counted among the local magistrates. (I am indebted to C.F. Eilers, currently completing his D.Phil. dissertation on Imperial *patroni* at Brasenose College, Oxford, for some helpful pointers on this topic).

70. Though the words *thermae factae* are restored, the presence of *lavant(ibus)* gives a clear sign that baths were involved: the most obvious benefaction to bathers is to build baths. Alternatively, *lavant.* could be an abbreviation of *lavantes* meaning "baths" (as in no. 200 (Table 6)). In either case, a bath construction seems the most likely benefaction.
71. The name of the *patronus municipi* is lost. The rest of the text, though fragmentary, reveals that he also did a lot of maintenance and repair work on these, or another set of baths, cf. no. 174 (Table 5).

TABLE 4: Inscriptions recording baths built by private benefactors

No.	Builder	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
73†	Terentius Donatus	Djemila	balneum Terenti Donati	none	<i>AE</i> 1920.33
74†	Papius I[--], Pa[pius --]anus filius eius	Mididi	[-- i]n privato solo suo suis sumtibus, [su]is Mididit[anis -- a]edificavit . . . patriae suae [ --] therma[rum --]n lavat.	none	<i>CIL</i> 8.11775 (cf. 8.609)
75†	*Alfia Quart[a]	Marruvium Marsorum	[balneum] muliebre a solo [fecit]	none	<i>ILS</i> 5684
76†	[--] Grati pat(er) et f(i)lius)	San Nicola al Torone (ancient name not known)	balneum sua pecunia fecerunt	none	<i>AE</i> 1969/70 .178
77†	Q. Solon Fabius Severinus, e(gregius) v(ir)	Nemausus	ob merita(m) eius praeterita(m) et praesentem liberalitatem quo maturius balneum usibus plebis exhiberetur	none	<i>ILS</i> 5680
78†	*ΤΙ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ἸΑΛΥΣ, Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος κ[αὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ]	Beujuk Tepekeui (ancient name not known), Asia	τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ [βαλανεῖα] . . . ἐκ θεμελίων κατασκευάσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων]	none	<i>IGR</i> 4.228

79†	*[Κουρ]τία Ἰουλία [Οὐαλ]- έντιλλα, ὑπα[τικ]ή	Tabila, Asia	[ἐ]νχειρίσασαν [τ]ῆν ἐπιμέλειαν [τῆς] κατα- σκευῆς [τοῦ] βαλανείου καὶ [τῶν] περὶ τὸν τόπο[ν] οἰκοδομημάτων	none	<i>IGR</i> 4.1378
80†	[Πρ]όκλ[ος]	Smyrna	Ἀπόλλων[ος] καὶ Σε[ράπιδος] Σεβαστῶν εἰ[ργ]ά[σατο] τὸ [βαλ]ανεῖον [σὺν] παντὶ [τῷ] κ[όσμ]ῳ	none	<i>IGR</i> 4.1440
81†	[-- ος Κλαύδιος Μ]ενέλαος	Labraunda, Caria	τὸ βαλανῆον [καὶ ἄλλα ? ἐκ τῶν ιδίωv ἀνέθηκε]ν	none	<i>BE</i> 1965. 368, nos. 4 and 9
82†	L. Cluuienus Anicilo	Bergomum	balneum et aquas dedit	none	<i>CIL</i> 5.5136
83	Novianus	Casinum	therm(a)e Noviani	none	<i>CIL</i> 10.5200
84†	L. Turcilius Rufus	Murcia	[ther]mas [f]ec(it)	Augustan (?)	<i>CIL</i> 2.3542
85†	*[L. Seius Strabo?] praefectus Aegypt[i] et] Terentia mater eiu[s et] Cosconia . . . Gallitta uxor eius	Volsinii	ae[dificiis] emptis et ad solum de[fectis] balneum cum omn[i] ornatu Volusin- iens]ibus ded[erunt] ob publica c[ommoda]	early 1st cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 8996, cf. <i>AE</i> 1983.398
86†	*Ti. Claudius Faustus Regi[n.] et Claudia Nais Fausti	Coela, Thrace	numini domus Augustae . . . balneum populo et familiae Caesaris n(ostri) [s(ua)] p(ecunia) f(ecerunt)	55	<i>ILS</i> 5682 , cf. <i>I.K.</i> 13.29
87†	Sergius and Putin[ius?]	Altinum	balinea Sergium et Puti[nium]	1st cent. or earlier	<i>NSc</i> (1928), 283

88†	L. Rufellius Severus, p(rimi)p(ilaris), tr(ibunus)	Fanum	balneum a L. Rufellio . . . factum	1st cent. or earlier (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5679
89†	*Voconia Avita	Tagilis, Baetica	thermas reipublicae suae Tagilitanae s(olo) s(uo) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)	late 1st/early 2nd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1979.352
90†	C. Plinius Caecilius [Secundus, cos.]	Comum	ther[mas ex HS --] . . . adiectis in ornatum HS (300,000) . . . . [et eo amp]lius in tutela[m] HS (200,000) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)	c. 100-109	<i>ILS</i> 2927
91†	L. Min[icius Na]talis, cos. . . . et L. Minicius [Natalis Quadro]-nius Verus, augur, trib. plebis desig.	Barcino	balineum c[um port]icibus solo suo et du[ctum aquae] fecerunt	c. 120	<i>ILS</i> 1029
92†	Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Metilianus, cos.	Corfinium	balineum solo suo s(ua) p(ecunia) aedificavit et contextit	c. 129/150	<i>ILS</i> 5676
93†	incertus	Tarraco	[balneas aedificasti]	Hadrianic/ 2nd cent.	<i>CIL</i> 2.6102
94†	*Ἰάσων, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος, . . . μετὰ καὶ τῆς θ[υ]γατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λυκίας	Cyana, Lycia	εἷς τε κατασκευῆ[ν] στοᾶς πρὸ τοῦ κατασκευασμένου βαλανείου [πρὸς τῇ [π]λ[α]τείᾳ δηνάρια μύρια [ἔδοσαν]	146	<i>IGR</i> 3.704. IIa.10-13
95	Τι. Φλαύιος (sic) Κλειτοσθένης Κλαυδιανὸς	Thera	ἃ μὲν βαλανείων κατασκευαῖς τὰ ἐπίνεια τῆς πόλεως κοσμήσας	149/150	<i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 852, n.13

96†	[Ὀπραμόας]	Xanthos	(ἔδωκεν) εἰς γυναικείον βαλανεῖον μύρια	152 or after	<i>SEG</i> 30 (1980), 1535.7-10
97†	Ὀπραμόας	Telmessos, Oenoanda & Gagae	List of contributions of money for works in different cities (see note for texts)	mid-2nd cent.	<i>TAM</i> 2.905. XIX B-D
98†	P. Tullius [Varro], cos., et [L. Dasumius Tullius, filius]	Tarquinii	[th]ermas . . . quas P. Tullius pater eius cos . . . s]estertio ter. et tr. testamento f[ieri iussit] adiecta pecunia ampliatioqu[e ope]re perfecit	mid-2nd cent.	<i>CIL</i> 11.3366 (cf. 11.3365)
99†	Arruntius Granianus (?)	Tifernum Tiberinum	{testamento suo} reliquit ad balinei fabrica(m) rei p. Tif. Tib. HS (150,000) n.	c. 170	<i>ILS</i> 5678
100†	*Φαυστεΐνη	Miletus	τὸ . . . λοετρὸν . . . Φαυστεΐνης	176 or shortly before (?)	<i>AE</i> 1906. 177/8
101†	*Θομάλλαχis	Palmyra	φειλοτειμησ- αμένην δηνάρια δισχέιλια πεντακόσια εἰς οἰκοδομὴν βαλανεῖου Ἄγιλβῶλου καὶ Μαλαχιβήλου θεῶν	182	<i>Berytus</i> 3 (1936), no. 11 (pp. 109- 112)
102†	? Δομίτιος	Prusias-ad- Hypium	τὸ Δομιτεῖον βαλανεῖον	before late 2nd cent.	<i>IK</i> 27.20 (= <i>IGR</i> 3.66)
103†	Πόπλιος Κυιντίλιος Ουάριος	Ephesos	ὑπὸ τὸ βαλαν[εῖον]	2nd cent.	<i>SEG</i> 28 (1978), 862, cf. <i>I.K.</i> 12.500

104†	Τι. Ἰούλιος Ἰούστος Ἰουνιανός	Ancyra	{Ἰούστον) ἐπιμεληθέντα δὲ κὲ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ βαλανείου, φυλῆ Διὸς Τραπεζῶν ἐτίμησεν	Caracalla	SEG 27 (1977), 842, (cf. SEG 6.61, AE 1981.782)
105†	M. Valerius Bradua Mauricus, c.m.v., cos., Q. Vi[r]ius Egnatius Sulpicius Priscus, consularis	Albinoanum	balneum quod {Valerius} vivos inchoaverat . . . Vibius . . . perfectum Albi[n]ga[u]n- ensibus a[t]signavit	late 2nd/early 3rd cent.	ILS 1128
106†	*[Iul]ia Me[m]mia [Pris?]ca Ruf[a] Aemil[iana] Fidia[na], claris[sima et nobilissima f]emina	Bulla Regia	[praeci]puam operis sui thermarum [magnifi]centiam qua te (sic) patriam [suam e]xornavit	late 2nd/early 3rd cent.	AE 1921.45
107†	P. Aelius Gemelus, vir clarissimus	Apulum, Dacia	Fortunae Aug. . . . perfecto a solo balneo consecravit	late 2nd/early 3rd cent.	CIL 3.1006
108†	*Τρύφων . . . μετὰ τῆς γυναίκος Ἄμμης . . .	Tacina, Asia	ἐκτελέσ(ας) τὸ βαλανεῖον παρέδωκεν	202/203	IGR 4.881
109†	*[Av]itta	Avitta Bibba	thermas s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)	204	CIL 8.12274 (cf. 803)
110†	C. Arrius Pacatus	Cirta	balineum Pacatianum sibi mensib(us) XIV	early 3rd cent.	ILAlg. 2. 615, cf. CIL 8.7031
111†	[ . . . οἱ ἀπὸ μητρο]κωμίας Zorauonhōn	Zorava, Syria	ἔκτισαν τὸ βαλανεῖον ἰ[δίαις δαπάναις]	Severus Alexander	IGR 3.1155
112	Valentius B[ae]bianus Junior	Asola	balneum a solo fecit	336	AE 1972.202
113†	Εὐστόλιος	Kourion	λουτρὰ χαρισσάμενος	late 4th cent.	SEG 26 (1976), 1474

114†	Ἰουλιανὸς Δόμνι σὺν ἀλόχῳι	Sergilla, Syria	ἔτευξεν [τὸ λουτρὸν]	470	IGLS 4.1490
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## NOTES

73. The identity of this man is not known. Cf. no. 178 (Table 6).
74. That the construction of a set of baths was the main benefaction seems clear, despite the lacuna in the text where the word *thermas* should be. The end of the inscription, if correctly restored by Mommsen, would read: "... for his homeland; by a regulation of these baths, people bathed in the urban manner" (*patriae suae* | [*lege harum*] *therma[rum more urba]n(o) lavat(ur)*). The wording is odd, to say the least.
75. The text goes on to say Alfia adorned these baths, cf. no. 177 (Table 6).
76. The article in *AE* suggests that both men stemmed from the local nobility as they both share the same last name. There is no sign of offices and/or titles after their names.
77. The sense of the inscription is that Solon had hastened the completion of the baths. The work may have been a restoration, but in that case we might expect a verb like *reddere* rather than *exhibere*. The text can be read as meaning Fabius opened the baths to the plebs, there previously being some (unnamed) restrictions on entry. This is unlikely for two reasons: 1). The phrase *ob praesentem liberalitatem quo maturius balneum usibus plebis exhiberetur* ("on account of his present generosity by which the bath might be made available to the plebs more quickly") which implies some sort of expenditure that allowed the plebs to use the baths sooner than expected; completion of the structure makes the most sense. 2). Explicit social restrictions at the baths are not attested anywhere else (cf. pp. 274-285).
78. Note that the benefactors are imperial freedpeople. Although the word βαλανεία is missing, its presence seems likely due not only to τὰ immediately preceding the lacuna, but as the dedication is to Ἄρτεμιδι Σεβαστῇ Βαιανῇ, a goddess with healing powers associated with baths (cf. the *mater dea Baiana*, *ILS* 4175). As there is mention of a temple built along with the baths, this establishment may possibly have been religious in function, but because this is not certain, the item is included here.
79. This woman was of consular family, daughter of Julius Curtius Crispus, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1622. The appearance of the word ἐπιμέλειαν may indicate that she was somehow commissioned to carry out the work, i.e. that she acted in some (unclear) official capacity. Alternatively, it may simply be grandiloquence meaning something like, "she took in hand the pursuit of building the bath . . .".
80. A strange inscription; much of it remains uncertain in reading. Especially odd is the coupling of Apollo and Serapis. It is not clear if these baths were dedicated to Apollo and the other deity (possibly Serapis) and so were sacred and religious in function, or if they merely bore the sacred name. For baths named after gods, cf. nos. 32, 33, 41 (Table 2), 101 (Table 4); cf. also NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.146-147, n.9.
81. Two texts relating Menelaos's benefactions to Labraunda. No. 4 is cited; no. 9 reads: ὁ δῆμος [--]ον Κλαύδιον . . . Μενέ[λαον] . . . [ἐκ τῶν ἰδίῳν καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον.
82. Here *dedit* most probably means "built", cf. Appendix 6. Cf. no. 227 (Table 7). The identity and status of the benefactor is not known.
84. The status of the benefactor is unclear. The dating is also uncertain. Mommsen dated it to the Augustan period. If so, this is the earliest use of the word *thermae* of which I am aware (cf. pp. 69-70).
85. Because the male benefactor here is reported to have been a *praefectus Aegypti*, it has been proposed that the man in question is L. Seius Strabo, the father of L. Aelius Sejanus, the infamous praetorian prefect under Tiberius who was a native of Volsinii (Tac. *Ann.*, 4.1), cf. *AE* 1983.398. Strabo is acting as a benefactor to his native town. The "dederunt" here clearly means "built" as it is stated that the buildings which stood on the site were bought up and demolished to make room for the baths (a not uncommon practice, cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 11-15). The baths have been excavated and are located near the forum of the town, cf. P. GROS, *Bolsena. Guide des Fouilles* (Paris: École française de Rome, 1981), p. 43; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.49, n. 90.
86. The text is dated by the phrase [*Nerone*] *Caesare Aug. et Antistio Vetere cos.* Here the baths are said to have been built "for the people and the familia of Caesar". Cf. pp. 267-273 for a discussion of slaves at the baths.

87. These baths are named in a text recording the huge testamentary bath benefactions (totalling HS1,400,000) of a benefactor named Fabius at Altinum dated by DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, no. 468 (and note) to post-AD 100 on the basis of the criteria he lays out on pp. 362-363, while NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.122 opts for a post-160 date for the Fabian benefactions (though she does not indicate on what grounds she assigns it). In either case, one of Fabius's acts was to restore the baths, so the buildings' construction must predate that act. They may even be Republican. Two separate buildings were involved, as the wording *balinea Sergium et Puti[nium]* makes clear, i.e. a *balineum Sergium* and a separate *balineum Puti[nium]*. The identity of the builders is not known. The full text is: [--] d(ecurionum) d(ecreto). | [h]ic rei p(ublicae) Altinatium HS (1,600,000) [n(ummum) ded(it) | i]ta ut balinea Sergium et Puti[nium] | HS (800,000) n(ummum) refecta in usu mu[nicip(um) or municip(ii)] || essent et alia HS (400,000) n(ummum), ut ex [eorum] | reditu cale[fier]ent, et HS (200,000) n(ummum) [in perp(etuum)] | tutelam eo[ru]mdem (sic). item HS [(200,000) n(ummum)] | ut ex usuris eorum VII idus [ . . . ] | natali ipsius et VII idus eas[dem] || natali Petroniae Magnae ma[tris] | suae, XVII kal(endas) Ian(uarias) natali L. Fabii St[ellat(ina)] | Amminiani patris sui decurio[n]es | Au]g(ustales) et seviri sportulas acci[perent]. Cf. nos. 189 (Table 6), 257 and 264 (Table 7).
88. A very instructive inscription that provides a concise history of the building. The baths were initially built by the chief centurion Rufellius. Some time later the local authority completely rebuilt them. This new building was then badly damaged by fire and restored on a bigger scale by Rufinus Marcellinus, a local magistrate, cf. nos. 122 and 142 (Table 5). NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 dates the main benefaction (the restoration after fire) to the 1st cent. AD, so previous activity must fall in that century or earlier. The full text is: T. Varius T. f. Pol. Rufinus | Geganius Facundus Vibius Marcellinus | equo publ., quinquennalic., nomine suo et | T. Vari Longi filii sui || balineum a L. Rufellio Severo p(rimo)p(ilari), tr(ibuno), factum, | quod res publica a novo refecerat, incendio ex maxima parte | consumptum operibus ampliatis pec. sua restituit.
89. Cf. no. 255 (Table 7).
90. The benefactor is Pliny the Younger. Although the inscription is fragmentary, it is clear enough that Pliny had the baths built for his native Comum, and added money for decoration and maintenance, cf. nos. 188 (Table 6) and 256 (Table 7).
91. The two benefactors are father and son who, as the inscription says, had served under Trajan and Hadrian. The father had reached the suffect consulship in AD 106 and the proconsulate of Africa (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 619), while the son's highest post was *tribunus plebis designatus* (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 620). Clearly they are acting here as private benefactors. Cf. 229 (Table 7).
92. The full text is: Ser. Cornelius Ser. f. Dolabella Metilianus cos. | balineum solo suo s. p. aedificavit et contextit. | M. Atilius Bradua cos. et M. Acilius Aviola cos., bonor. possessor. | Dolabellae Metialiani, in hoc opus dederunt HS centena mil. n.; || res p. et populus Corfiniensis datis HS CLII n. consummavit, curam agente | [C. Alfio] T. f. Ser. Maximo. Although the local council got involved in completion of the baths, Dolabella is clearly accredited with the main part of the work in the first line, building and roofing them, cf. above, pp. 217-218.
93. Very fragmentary inscription recording a *eulogium* of an unnamed benefactor. Fine letter quality implies a date of high prosperity, possibly Hadrianic but probably in the 2nd century. That baths were involved is implied by the presence, in the following clause, of the phrase *insti[tuisti nymphas calidas]*, which were parts of a bathhouse, cf. no. 190 (Table 6).
94. This is part of a lengthy inscription honouring Jason, son of Nicostratos who was Lyciarch in AD 143-144. The column in question is a decree of Myrea dated to 13 October, AD 146 honouring Jason for his "magnificent gifts made to the city" (δωρεάς τε μεγαλοπρεπεῖς πεποιήται). It is clear enough that the stoa in question was part of the baths, like the πρόστοον of the baths at Aperlas (cf. no. 44 (Table 3)), and, from the presence of the perfect participle κατασκευάσμενον, that Jason had previously built the baths themselves. It is not clear if his daughter had contributed to the bath construction or not. The phrase ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος is a Greek one for a benefactor, with no Roman equivalent (it is absent from H.J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto: American Studies in Papyrology 13, 1974)). Compare no. 191 (Table 6).
96. The editors of *SEG* comment: "Though Opramoas is not mentioned, it is virtually certain that he is the benefactor." He was a citizen of Rhodiapolis, Lyciarch and an outstanding euergete who died c. AD 152, cf. *RE* 18.1.748-749, s.v. "Opramoas" [Miller]. Cf. next entry and no. 192 (Table 6)
97. A huge inscription carved on the walls of Opramoas's mausoleum at Rhodiapolis. The texts are a collection of letters and rescripts from emperors, imperial officials and individual communities honouring the great

benefactor. The section in question is a list of his good deeds for various communities. The pertinent sections read:

- Telmessos: XIX B.7-9: τῆ δὲ Τελμησσέων πόλει εἰς κατασκευὴν βαλανείου καὶ ἐξέδρας (denarii) τρισμύρια καὶ δηναρία πεντάκις χεῖλια (35,000)

- Oenoanda: XIX B.13-14: τῆ Οἰνανα[δέ]ων εἰς κατασκευὴν βαλανείου (denarii) μύρια (10,000)

- Gagae: XIX D.2-5: [τῆ Γαγ]ατῶν εἰς κατασκευὴν βαλανείου καὶ τοῦ κολύμβου καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἥ[δη (denarii) μύρια] ὠκτάκις χεῖλια (8,000) ὑποσχόμενος π[ληρώσειν].

In all 31 cities are listed with a total outlay of some 350,000 denarii, i.e. HS1.4 million. For a translation and discussion of this text, cf. F.W. DANKER, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Greco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis, Missouri: Clayton, 1982), no. 19 (pp. 104-151). For other bath benefactions by Opramoas, cf. previous entry, and no. 192 (Table 6).

98. The father is P. Tullius Varro, cos. AD 127 (*RE* 2.7A.1326-1329, s.v. "Tullius" (no. 57) [Groag]). Here a father's will bequeathed HS330,000 for the building of a bath, which was then completed by his natural son (who is not named in the surviving text). L. Dasumius Tullius Tuscus, cos. AD 152, was adopted by Varro's friend L. Dasumius Tuscus (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 16 [son] and D 13 [friend]). Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, no. 445 and note. This is one of 5 honorary inscriptions found in the same room at these baths, apparently to accompany statues of the magnates, cf. *CIL* 11.3364-3368.
99. An acephalous inscription recording the provisions of the will of a benefactor whose name is lost but who was probably called Arruntius Granianus (*her(edes) Arrunti Graniani* are mentioned in the text). The benefactor bequeathed HS150,000 in his will for the construction of a bath. The will had been contested and a decision reached by Aemilius Fronto and Arrius Antoninus, officials under M. Aurelius, probably as DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, no. 447 and note suggest, successive *iuridici* for this region of Italy (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A3 49 and A 1088). The full text reads: [--] sibi et fil. suo Nell[p]o[t]i ex HS (60,000) n. poni iussit | et ob dedicatione(m) earum | dec. (denarios) V, Vvir (denarios) III, pleb. (denarios) II || dari iussit; item reliquit | ad balinei fabrica(m) rei p. | Tif. Tib. HS (150,000) n., quae ex sententia Aemili Frontonis || cl. vir., postea deinde Arri | Antonini cl. vir. rei p. Tif. Tib. | ab Cipellis Profuturo et Pijcentino her. et ab. Arruntia | Ampiana her. Arrunti Graniani numerata sunt. her. posuer. || L. d. d.
100. Two verse inscriptions from the baths of Faustina at Miletus. One records the erection of the baths by Faustina, the other, their restoration by a local magnate, Makarios (cf. no. 202 (Table 6)). Which of the two Faustinas carried out the work is not clear: one was the wife of M. Aurelius (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 716), the other the wife of Antoninus Pius (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 715). As the latter died while in Asia in 176, she is the more likely candidate. Her actions appear to be a break with the immediate past, when Imperial women made no known financial outlays for public purposes, cf. M.T. BOATWRIGHT, "The Imperial Women of the Early 2nd Century AC", *AJP* 112 (1991), 513-540, esp. 519-525. Compare no. 199 (Table 6) and note.
101. The date is provided in the text as the Palmyrene year 493 (= AD 182). This woman was a member of an important local family. Here she contributes 2,500 denarii (= HS10,000) towards the erection of the baths, but this is not enough to cover the entire cost of the construction. INGHOLT (*Berytus* 3 (1936), 109-111) maintains that the baths were public, but belonged to the temple of the two gods mentioned, as is the case with other public buildings at Palmyra. Cf. above n. 80 for baths named after gods.
102. This named bath appears in an inscription recording their restoration by a Severan magistrate, so they must be earlier than the late 2nd century. Who this Domitius was is unknown. A local family with the *nomen* Domitius is known from this city (cf. *IK* 27.19 for one Domitius Julianos), so we are probably dealing with a local, private benefactor.
103. The inscription is very fragmentary and was found in the Varius or Scholastikia Baths at Ephesos. That Varius built the baths is confirmed not only by the inscription's find spot, but also by the testimony of a different inscription honouring his daughter Quintilla Varia, also found in these baths, which describes her as θυγατέρα Πο. Κυντιλίου Ο[ύ]άλεντο[ς] Ούαρίου τοῦ [τὰ] ἔργα [τ]αὐ[τ]α κα[τ]ασκευα[σαμ]ένου ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δ]ίων | τῆ ἑαυ[τοῦ] πα[τ]ρί[δ]ι (*IK* 13.986).
104. This inscription honours Ti. Julius Justus Junianus, "thrice archiereus and founder of his city " (γ' ἀρχιερέα, κτίστην | τῆς μετροπόλεως). The phrase in question simply says that he "took

- charge of the construction of the baths". That this means Justus constructed the baths himself seems likely due to a previous phrase in the text where he is said to have "equipped his home city with the most beautiful buildings" (τὴν πατρίδα ἔργοις | τε περικαλλεστάτοις κο|σμήσαντα). The baths are most probably to be seen as among those buildings. The *AE* article (1981.782) reports that the baths have been located and are dated by coin finds to the reign of Caracalla.
105. Valerius was consul in AD 191 (*RE* 2.7A.2347, s.v. "Valerius" (no. 113) [Hanslik]), Vibius, or Virius, in some indeterminate time (*RE* 2.9A1.235-236, s.v. "Virius" (no. 4) [Hanslik]). Both men were active in the imperial service. Not only were they both consuls, but they were also *pontifices* and held the post of *curator aquarum sacrae urbis et Miniciae*. Valerius was in addition a *sodalis Hadrianalis, curator operum publicorum, censitor provinciae Aquetanicae* and *procos. provinciae Africae*. Virius, in addition to the posts he had in common with Valerius, was a *flamen divi Severi* and a *praefectus alimentorum*. Why Virius should finish the work begun by Valerius is not sure, the most likely explanation being that they were friends: Valerius Bradua and Q. Virius Larcius Sulpicius Pr(iscus?) (the present Virius's father?) had cooperated in the erection of a monument in Rome (*CIL* 6.1541).
  106. This woman was the daughter of C. Memmius Fidius Julius Albius, cos. AD 191 or 192 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 462, cf. M 467 for Julia Memmia). The baths have been excavated, and are a large and impressive establishment (as is only to be expected of a consular benefaction) but in a poor state of preservation, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II. 26-27 (C.207).
  107. For Aelius Gemelus, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 180. This stone was found in the baths and is dedicated to Fortuna Augusta. Gemelus had consecrated the offering after completing the baths.
  108. The text is dated by mention of the proconsul of Asia Tarius Titianus, who served there in 202-203 (cf. *RE* 2.4A.2323, s.v. "Tarius" (no. 4) [Fluss]).
  109. The text is dated by imperial titles in the opening phrases. This is an unusual inscription. The name of the town was Avitta Bibba, and at first sight the text seems to record the local authority building the baths. But two points argue against this: 1). only half the the full name of the town is present, and there are no titles at all associated with it (compare, for instance the almost ridiculously long name of Thibursicum Bure, no. 51 (Table 3)); and 2). the baths are built *s(ua) p(ecunia)*, not *p(ecunia) p(ublica)*. This last point in particular makes it clear that a benefactor was involved, and probably a female one at that (due not only to the feminine gender of the name, but to there being only one *nomen*).
  110. For Pacatus, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1102 and stemma on p. 170 where he is a grandson of C. Arrius Antoninus, cos. AD 170. Note the short time in which the baths are built. GSELL says the remains of the baths are known, cf. MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, p. 101, s.v. "Constantine" where they are listed as unpublished.
  111. The wording of this text, if the restoration of οἱ ἀπὸ μητροκωμίας is correct, might imply that the bath was the work of the local authority, except that the closing phrase, again if correctly restored, says that the money came from private pockets. This would mean a group of unnamed private benefactors who came from the μητροκωμια carried out the work.
  113. This is a mosaic verse inscription from the 4th-century baths at Kourion, making it clear Eustolios was responsible for the building. Eustolios was evidently a local figure and seems to have been away (on imperial service? If so, in what capacity and where?), cf. the comments of T.B. MITFORD, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1971), no. 206.
  - 114 A mosaic inscription found in the baths at this site. The inscription goes on to say how Julianos's work glorified the town and asks that the honour of the baths be kept safe from envy, a possible indication of inter-city rivalry. Julianos was a local magnate, son of Thalassios.

**TABLE 5: Inscriptions recording baths or parts of baths restored, extended or adorned by local councils, magistrates and officials, or *patroni civitatis***

A. LOCAL AUTHORITIES & COUNCILS

No.	Builder	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
115†	resp(ublica) col(oniae) Thib(ursici) Bure	Thibursicum Bure	ex avio loco et rupe iam minanti statuas n. IIII marmoreas at cultum et splendorem apodyteri thermarum res p. col. Thib. Bure transtulit	none	<i>ILS 5712</i>
116	not specified	Aesernia	{IIIIviri} . . . d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) balneum ref(iciundum) cur(averunt)	none	<i>CIL 9.2660</i>
117	partes Peltuinatium	Peltuinum	balneum refectum dec. decr. pecun. public. partis Peltuinatium	none	<i>ILS 5668/9</i>
118	not specified	Aquilonia	balneum . . . ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) restitutum	none	<i>CIL 9.6261</i>
119	v[ik(ani)] Tasg[aet(ii)]	Tasgaetium, Germ. Sup.	balneum vetustat[e] consumt(um) a solo resti[t]uer[unt]	none	<i>CIL 13.5257</i>
120†	not specified	Pompeii	IIvir(i) . . . labrum ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) ex p(ecunia) p(ublica) f(aciundum) c(urarunt)	3-4	<i>ILS 5726</i>

121†	not specified	Interamnia Praetutti- orum	{octoviri} . . . balneas refic(iendas) d(e) c(onscriptorum) s(ententia) c(urarunt)	1st cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5666
122†	res publica	Fanum	balneum . . . quod res publica a novo refecerat	1st cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5679
123†	[C]oloni[a] Augusta Hippo Regius	Hippo Regius	{thermas} restituit	198	<i>AE</i> 1958. 141-142
124†	not specified	Cures Sabini	decreto centumvir[um b]alneum refectum cu[ra] . . . Valeri Cerialis IIIvir., pe[c. pu]blica et ex HS ternis milli[bus q]uae contulerunt sevrales ii quo[rum no]mina infra scripta sunt . . .	2nd cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5670
125†	not specified	Thagora	cella unctuararia, quae per seriem annorum in usu non fuisset restituta . . . est	290-294	<i>ILS</i> 5714 (= <i>ILAlg.</i> 1.1032)
126†	respub(ica)	Canosa	balneum publicum . . . . vetustate quassatum respub(ica), decur. decr. atplicito omni cultu restituit	3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1987.307
127	res [p(ublica)]	Caesena	balneum Aurelianum . . . res [p.] refecit	3rd cent.	<i>ILS</i> 5687 (cf. <i>AE</i> 1981.381)
128†	not specified	Madauros	[thermae] [ca]meris omnibus et soliis e[t --] melioribus ornam[entis --] . . . sumtu publico . . . [instantia? . . . Ma]rciani . . . cur. re[i] p. perfectae sunt	355-363	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2100

129†	not specified	Madauros	therm]as aestivas, olim splen[did- (issimae) or (issimum)] coloni[ae nostrae? orn]a[men- tum? sed? tot re]tro annis ruinarum labe deformes pa[riet- ibusque omni?]um soliorum ita corruptis ut gravibus damnis adficerent, {nun?}c omni idonitate constructas et cultu splendido decoratas, sed et patinas ampliatio aeris pondere omni idonitate firmissas . . . Pontilius Paulinus, ff(lamen) pp, p(atronus c(oloniae), pecunia publica perfecit	364	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2101
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## B. MAGISTRATES &amp; OFFICIALS

No.	Builder	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
130†	[P.] Cornelius Gramme[--]lipax et P. Cornelius Long[ . . . . ], pater et f(ilius)	Centuripae, Sicily	pro honore Iivira[tus s]phaeristerium fecerunt	none	<i>ILS</i> 5663
131†	[--] Sermus, Turpilius Vetidius, Iiviri quinqu(enn- ales)	Philippi	[per] Oppium Frontonem patrem [thermas? refec.] adiecta cella natatori[a --]	none	<i>ILS</i> 5710
132	P. Annius V[ol --], praef. Pa[gi --]	Pa[gus --], (modern Le Pègue)	suo et P. Anni [-- fil. n]omine marm- [oribus? ex]cultum ba[lneum]	none	<i>CIL</i> 12.1708
133	Ti. Claudius Maternus, aedilis	Aventicum	sphaeristerium d(e) s(ua) d(edit)	none	<i>AE</i> 1946.239

134	M. Pompeius, C. Pomp(eius) Sancti, sacerdot(es) Arensis, Quir(inius) Libo, sacerdos	Vesunna Petrucoriorum	templum deae Tutelae et therma[s] public(as) utraq(ue) ol[im] vetustate collab[sa] sua pecunia rest(ituerunt) v. s. l. m.	none	<i>ILS 4638</i>
135†	L. Patricius Martialis et L. Partric(ius) Marcus Ling(ones) fratr(es) omnib(us) offic(iis) civilib(us) in civitate sua functi	Vertillum, Germ. Sup.	cellam vestibulam e regione columnae cum suis omnib(us) commod(is) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) Vikan(is) Vertillensib(us) largiti sunt	none	<i>CIL 13.5661</i>
136†	[ . . . . . ] oratus et [ . . . . . ] Pr[imi]genius, ob [honore]m sexvir[a]tus	Lanuvium	apodyterium [ope]re tectorio, quod vetustate def[icie]bat, refecerunt, [it]em piscinam ab no[v]o fecerunt, labrum [ae]num cum salientibus [r]ostris navalibus tr[ibu]s posuerunt	none	<i>ILS 5707</i>
137†	M. Valerius, aed(ilis), dict(ator)	Lanuvium	fistulas reposuit, balnea virilia utraque et muliebre de sua pecunia refecit	none	<i>ILS 5683</i>
138†	P. Cornelius Attax Marcianus, L. Appius Amicus Rufinianus, cur(atores) refectionis	Lepcis Magna	cur(atores) refectionis thermarum ter[---] deo Aesculapio v(otum) s(olvent)	none	<i>IRT 263 (=AE 1925. 105)</i>

139†	[- -] Νίγερ	Birbeh, Egypt	ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐεργῶς κ[ατα- σκευασμένων?] ἐν μησὶ β' λουτήρ- ων [. λιθίνων?] καὶ τοῦ περιλειπ- ομέ[νου χρόνου] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ῶν ἄλλων [δεήσει] στύλ(ων) β' ἀνὰ πόδες λ' καὶ . . . . .	Flavian	<i>IGR</i> 1.1162
140†	*Junia Rustica, sacerdos perpetua, et prima in municipio Cartimitan[o]	Cartima, Baetica	porticus ad balineum solo suo cum piscina et signo Cupidinis . . . p(ecunia) s(ua) d(edit)	Flavian (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5512
141†	P. Paquius Priamus, Q. Annius Pom[.].n[- -] IIIvir(i)	Copia Thurii	inscription on labrum	1st cent.	<i>AE</i> 1976.175
142†	T. Varius Rufinus Geganius Facundus Vibius Marcellinus, equo publ., quinquennialic.	Fanum	balneum . . . incendio ex maxima parte consumptum operibus ampliatis pec. sua restituit	1st cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5679
143†	C. Sappius Flavius, praefect. Iuliensium, tribun. militum	Vasio	testamento reliquit idem HS (50,000) ad porticum ante thermas marmoribus ornandum legavit	late 1st/early 2nd cent.	<i>CIL</i> 12.1357
144†	L. Annaeus Hermes, flam(en) et trib(unus)	Abuzza	paganicu(m) et portic(um) et caldar(ium) et c(o)horte(m) cum omnibus ornamentis a solo s(ua) p(ecunia) fec(it)	Antoninus Pius	<i>CIL</i> 8.16368

145†	*C. Valerius Claudius Pansa, flamen divorum Vespasiani, Traiani Hadrian(i), proc. Aug. provinc. Britanniae et Albucia Candida, uxor	Novaria	[balneum quod vi] consumptum fuerat ampliatis solo [et operibus intra bie]nnum pecunia sua restituit et dedicavit, [in quod opus legata] quoque rei p. testamento Albuciae Candidae [uxoris suae HS (200, 000)]	Antoninus Pius (?)	<i>CIL</i> 5.6513
146†	[ . . ] Dastidius Celer, C. Dastidius Apollonaris pater	Lanuvium	Celer, pro honore ae[d.] . . . Apollon- aris, pro honor[e] flamoni HS XV in refectionem balinei intulerunt	Antonine (?)	<i>ILS</i> 6198
147†	P. Lucilius Gamala, aed., decurio, Ilvir	Ostia	thermas quas divus Pius aedif(i)caverat vi ignis consumptas refecit porticum reparavit	M. Aurelius	<i>CIL</i> 14.376
148†	M. Aurelius Sabinianus Euhodius, Augg. lib., patronus civitatis, decurialis decuriae lictoriae popularis denuntiat- orum, decemviralis	Anagnia	{Euhodi} . . . erga amorem patriae et civium, quod thermas longa incuria neglectas sua pecunia restituerit	late 2nd cent.	<i>ILS</i> 1909
149	Τι. Φ(άουλος) Δαμιανός, γραμματεὺς	Ephesos	καὶ ἔργον ὑποσχόμενον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ οἶκον ἐν τῷ οὐαρίῳ βαλανείῳ μ[ε]τὰ οἰκοδομῆς καὶ παντὸς κόσμου . . .	2nd cent.	<i>IK</i> 13.672 (= 17,1.3080)

150†	L. Ju[lius] Equester, Ilvir, flam. Rom. et Aug., et Lucii Julii Equestris filii Cimber et Equester, flamin[es Rom. et Aug.	Aquae Neri, Aquitania	[diribitoria, t]abernas, porticus, quibus fontes Nerii et thermae p[ublicae? cinguntur, cu]m omnibus suis ornamentis ob hono[r(em)] flam[o]ni c[onsummaverunt]	2nd cent. (?)	<i>CIL</i> 13. 1376/7
151†	[--] Rusonianus, fl[amen], augur, Ilvir qq	Lepcis Magna	cellam f[rigi]darii et [ . . . c]ry[ptam?] . . . [e]x pollicitatione m[un]eris gladiato[r]ii o]b honorem [quinquennialita]tis . . . a fundamentis . . . marmoribus et co[l]umnis exornavit stat[u]am Aesculapii novam [. . . res]tituit ceter[as] refe[cit]	198/199 or 202 +	<i>IRT</i> 396
152†	M. Ἰούλιος Γαουείνιος, ἄρχων, ἀγοράνομος	Prusias-ad- Hypium	δόντα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἰδίας ἀγορα- νομίας ἀργύριον εἰς ἀναλήψιν τοῦ δομιτείου βαλανείου	198-211	<i>IK</i> 27.20 (= <i>IGR</i> 3.66)
153†	M. Sattonius Iu[cun]dus, dec(urio) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(rajanae)	Coriovallum, Germ. Inf.	bali[neo] restitut(o) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	c. 200 (?)	<i>AE</i> 1959.9
154†	M. Sentius Crispinus, decurialib(us) omnibus honer(ibus) functus	Interamna Lirenas	opera thermarum estivalium vetustate corrupta s(ua) p(ecunia) restituit exornavitque, porticos etiam circumcingentes colimbum a solo constituit	2nd/3rd cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5698

155†	T. Sennius Sollemnis, IIvir, [o]mnib(us) honorib(us) [et] munerib(us) [functus]	Viducasses, Gallia Lugd.	[baln]eum quod . . . . . . u[s]ibus colonia[e suae] pr[ofut]urum s[ . . . . ?put]ribus funda[me]ntis in{stauratis reli]querat	c.220+	<i>CIL</i> 13.3162 I.10-12
156†	Tib. Cl. Marcellinus, e(ques) R(omanus), dec(uriarum) IIII(vir?)	Viminacium, Moesia Sup.	baln(eum) refecit et paravit	244-249	<i>CIL</i> 3.8113
157†	pleriq(ue) decuriones	Thubursicum Bure	ad cuius operis Musaeum pleriq. decuriones HS (41,200) conl[atis --]	260/262	<i>AE</i> 1913.180 (= <i>IL Afr.</i> 506)
158†	Plautius Lupus, IIvir	Lepcis Magna	cellam thermar(um) marmorib(us) Numidicis et opere musaeo exornavit	3rd cent.	<i>IRT</i> 601
159†	Q. Vetulenus Urbanus Herennianus, fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), curator r. p. . . . cum Magnilio filio suo, florentissimo adq(ue) prudentissimo adulescenti)	Turca, Africa	apodyterium novum . . . a solo constructum et scalas [n]ova[s], cetera restaurata adq(ue) stautis marmoribus, tabulis pictis, columnis [al]v[ib]us cellarum cathe-drebus ornata sumptu proprio . . . perfecit	late 3rd cent., or probably later	<i>ILS</i> 5713
160†	C. Aurelius Stat[ianus], cur. r(ei) p(ublicae), una cum omn[ibus] decurionibus]	[--]sinsensium (modern Henchir Haouli), near Furnos Maius	cum porticus [ . . ] turpia foedabantur ad statum i[--pisc]inalis ad restaurationem d[ - ]s, colitumque nitent, soliare[m] cellam --]oleum a fundamentis perc[--]proneum aquiducti a fu[ndamentis --, ]ium solium vero inst[auravit?] . . . perfecit et [dedicavit]	340/350	<i>ILTun.</i> 622, cf. <i>AE</i> 1934.133

161†	Sex. Cluvius Martinus et M. Caesolius Saturninus, omnibus honoribus functi	Oriculum	volumptatem ( <i>sic</i> ) thermarum hiemalium . . . de sua pecunia ordini seu civibus Oriculum ad meliorem pulcritudinem pro civica adfectione cum augmento operi novi exercentes ( <i>or</i> excientes) adsi[g]naverunt et dedicaverunt	341	<i>ILS</i> 5696 cf. <i>ILS</i> 5697
162†	Q. Basilius Flaccianus, fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), augur et cur. [rei pub.]	Calama	piscinam . . . [restituit] et excepto[rio -- exst]ructo	364	<i>ILS</i> 5730
163†	incertus, cur. rei publicae cum ordine splendido et universo popul[o]	Madauros	piscinalem istam [--] et soliare cellam, lacunis densis ita foed[atas ut ima pavi]menti monstrarent, atque ita retentione[m caloris prohi]berent . . . . exquisitis divers- orum co[lorum marmoribus], artificibus quoque peregrinis adductis et [adhibitis? splen]- dentes novoque omnino opere tes(s)ellatas . . . [ -- ] cur. rei publicae . . . cum ordine splendido et universo popul[o restituit et dedicavit]	366-367	<i>ILAlg.</i> 1.2102

164†	[ -- ]dius Honorati(a)nus, fl(amen) p(erpetuus), cur. r(ei) p(ublicae)	Dougga	atrium thermanarum Licinianarum ab antiquis coeptum, exceptoriis in eodem loco subiectis, quod inperfecto opere adque rudibus foedatum [erat] . . . correctu (sic) opere perfectit itemque dedicavit	367-383	<i>ILTun.</i> 1500, cf. <i>AE</i> 1925.31
165†	Flavianus Leontius, principalis, curator r. p.	Abbir Maius, Africa	oceanum a fundamentis coeptum et soliam ruina conlapsum, ad perfectionem cultumque perductos ingressus novos signis adpositis, decoravit . . . ordinis splendidissimi conlatione, cum amore populi incoavit, perfectit dedicavit	368-370	<i>AE</i> 1975.873
166†	incertus, mag(ister) or mag(istratus)	Segusio, Alpes Cottiae	Thermae Gratianae dudum coeptas et omissas . . . extruxit ornavit et usui Segusinae reddidit civitatis	375-378	<i>ILS</i> 5701
167†	incertus, cur. r(ei) p(ublicae)	Hr. Bu Auga (ancient name not known)	balneae quae i[ ] redintegratae sunt . . . cur r. p. opus et sollicitudine et sumtibus adiuvit [ ]	375-378	<i>CIL</i> 8.16400
168†	C. Volusius Victor, quaestor r. p.	Ocriculum	thermas hymenialis ad pristinam dignitatem restauravit	late 4th cent. (?)	<i>CIL</i> 11.4094

169†	C. Paccius Felix, omnib(us) honorib(us) et honoribus pe[r]functus, patron(us) Coloniae Casin., cur. r(rei) p(ublicae)	Casinum	{C. Pacci Felici} cuius . . . inpendisque . . propriis post seriem annorum therm(a)e Noviani nobis in usu sunt restituae	4th cent. (?)	<i>CIL</i> 10.5200
170†	L. Alfius Fannius So[ . . . . ], quaest., curator frumento, d(u)umvir omnib. honorib. et honorib. functus, curator [rei publicae?]	Trebula	thermas aetiam Constantianas [l]on[g]a vetustate corrupta ex virib(us) suo . . . re(stituit)	4th cent. or later (?)	<i>CIL</i> 10.4559
171	Cl. S[isen]a Germanianus, cur. r. p.	Madauros	cel[la]m balnearum, lon[g]a serie temporum ruina desolatam usib(usque) lavacrorum den(e)gatam sumptu prop[ri]o {restituit} et camoeram cum suspensuris constructam . . . ded[icavit]	407-408	<i>ILAlg</i> 1.2108
172†	M. Sentius Redemptus, v. l., omnibus honoribus et honoribus curiae suae perfunctus, ex origine patronatus veniens	Interamna Lirenas	thermas extivas in sordentibus ac ruina conlapsas ex prop[ri]o ad summam manum revocavit	408	<i>CIL</i> 10.5349
173†	M. Aurelius Restitutus, cur. r(ei) p(ublicae), cum splendido ordine suo	Membressa	statuas et ornatum piscinales conlocavit	412-414	<i>ILS</i> 5731

## C. PATRONI CIVITATIS†

No.	Builder	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
174†	incertus, patronus municipi	Pitinum Pisaurensis	pavimentum tepidari s. p. refecit; . . . idem balneum suspendit, tubu[los] . . . [la]cus piscinamque fecit [-- ]m vetustate corrup[tum . . . ] sua pecunia refecit	none	<i>ILS</i> 5711
175†	incertus, patronus	Ligures Baebiani	patrono qui [con]lapsum terr[ae] mo[tu] balineum ref[ici] curavit ac sua [pe]cunia fecit.	post-62 (?)	<i>CIL</i> 9.1466
176†	L. Octavius Aur[elianus?] Didasius, c(larissimus) v(ir), pa[tr]onus	Vreu, Africa	thermas [et aquam <i>or</i> formam corrup]tam post diluviem [--] . . . propria liberalitate [ex]o[rnavit], excoluit, perfecit, dedi[c]avit	mid-late 3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1975.880

## NOTES

## A. LOCAL AUTHORITIES &amp; COUNCILS

115. For similar benefactions, cf. nos. 26 and 39 (Table 2). The full text is: ex avio loco et rupe | iam minanti  
staltuas n. IIII marmoreas | at cultum et splendo]rem apodyteri ther]marum res. p. | Thib. Bure transtulit,  
| provisione instanti]a Aureli Honorat. || Quietani eq. R., cur. rei p.
120. Dated by the *duoviri* Cn. Melissaesus Aper and M. Staius Rufus, who held office in AD3/4, cf. CASTRÉN,  
*Ordo*, pp. 190, no. 246.7 (Melissaeus) and 224, no. 388.4 (Staius). From the lip of the *labrum* in the  
men's *caldarium* in Pompeii's Forum Baths. Because the the work was carried out at public expense, it  
was clearly the responsibility of the local council, seen to by the *duoviri* (compare, for instance, above,  
no. 116 where the state carries out a restoration with *quattuorviri* overseeing the work). For similar  
*labrum* dedications, cf. below, nos. 141 and 187 (Table 6).
121. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 dates this to the 1st cent. AD ("presumably 1st cent. AD") without  
elaboration. Although the *octoviri* (named as L. Agussius Mussus and C. Arrenus) see to the work, it is  
the state which carries it out, following a decree of the *conscripti*. For *octoviri*, cf. H. RUDOLPH,  
*Stadt und Staat im Römischen Italien* (Berlin: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), pp. 66-87; E.  
MANNI, *Per la storia dei municipii fino alla guerra sociale* (Rome: A. Signorelli, 1947), pp. 141-148.
122. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 includes this among the 1st-century AD material with no comment. Cf.  
nos. 88 (Table 4) and 142 (Table 5).

123. A text found in the baths in Hippon Regius, so the absence of the word *thermae* is not surprising. The editors of *AE* link the two entries which provides a date for the restoration of 198 (there is a dedication to Septimius Severus and mention in 1958.142 of the proconsul L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus, cos. AD 184, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 10).
124. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 dates this to the 2nd century (without explanation). Here a local council undertakes a bath restoration at public expense and is assisted by contributions from the *seviri* of the town. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, p. 152 (cf. no. 478, p. 161) suggests this may be a *summa honoraria*, because each *sevir* gives HS3,000.
125. The text is dated by mention of the proconsul Ti. Claudius Aurelius Aristobulus (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 806).
126. The date is that assigned by the editors of *AE*. These baths had been repaired previously by one Caesidius Proculus (cf. no. 195 [Table 6]) and then, weakened by old age, were repaired again by the state. The term *vetustate quassatum* is an interesting variation on the standard *vetustate corruptum/conlapsum/delapsum*.
128. Dated by mention of Julian in the opening lines. A fragmentary inscription in 4 parts from the large baths at Madauros recording what seems to be their adornment and restoration (as suggested by their now having "better decoration", *melioribus ornamentis*). The key phrase is *sumtu publico*, which reveals that the work was that of the local authorities. The precise role of the *curator rei publicae* in the work remains uncertain; he may have approved the work.
129. Dated by mention of P. Ampelius as procos (cf. *PLRE* 1 Ampelius 3 [p. 56]). Here, although a local official is said to carry out the work, it was funded *pecunia publica*, and so the responsibility of the local authorities. The official is probably given prominence to highlight the last three lines of the text (mostly lost) which may have recorded additional work he had carried out at his own expense; they read: porticum quo[que] ingredientibus ab atrio, sed et pronauum || eidem coh(a)erentem commeanibus per viam trabibus . . . . . ceterisque | [-- Pont]ilius Pauli[us --] ordine. In the text cited in the table, note the detail with which the work is described, cf. below, n. 159.

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## B. MAGISTRATES & OFFICIALS

130. DESSAU comments that the opening line of the text may have contained an emperor's name, no longer recoverable. These men are said to carry out the work "in return for the honour of the duovirate", cf. below no. 146. This is an *ob honorem* benefaction.
131. It is not clear what the role of Oppius Fronto is here, though the phrase translates "[through] Oppius Fronto, their father, [the baths were rebuilt] with a *natio*-room added". The question is, what does "through their father" mean? Did Fronto put up the money for the work? As the last part of the text is missing, we may never know. However, mention of a *cella natatoria* clearly signifies a bath benefaction; the *adiecta* records at least an extension, probably carried out in association with a restoration.
135. Although the *omnibus honoribus functus* title does not appear before AD 120 in Spain (CURCHIN, *Magistrates*, p. 39) the situation in Germany is not so clear. In any case, assignation of a more precise date after AD 120 is not possible.
136. The nature of the work here is interesting: the old stucco-work in the *apodyterium* (*opus tectorium*) is repaired, a *piscina* added and a bronze *labrum* (usually located in the *caldarium*, cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.158, s.v. "labrum") supplied with water from three spouts in the shape of ships' beaks.
137. Cf. note to no. 266 (Table 7).
138. The *ter[-]* most probably refers to "the third set of baths", as the editors of *IRT* suggest, rather than to the *curatores refectiois* or the number of restorations. To my knowledge, *curator refectiois* has no parallel among local magistracies, although *CIL* 2.4160 mentions a *curator Balnei Novi*. On curators in general, cf. *RE* 4.1774-1813, s.v. [Kornemann].
139. The date is provided by fragmentary mention of Vespasian or Titus in the opening line. It is clear that, although Niger's offices are missing from the text, he was a local magistrate: there is mention of work completed within a certain number of months "of the same year" (ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ), i.e. the year he held office (compare below, no. 149). Niger's benefactions included setting up stone (?) bathtubs and two pillars 50ft in height.
140. This woman also benefited the city in other ways: she restored the public porticoes, gave ground for baths and gave them free (*vectigalia publica vindicavit*), gave a meal and spectacles and, as a final touch, paid

- for the statues of herself, her son and husband voted by the local council. Evidently a woman in possession of considerable financial power who was not afraid to wield it in the public good, a phenomenon found in the Roman Empire, cf. R. MacMULLEN, "Woman in Public in the Roman Empire", *Historia* 29 (1980), 208-218.
141. An inscription on the rim of a *labrum* (cf. nos. 120 (Table 5) and 187 (Table 6)). The text is fragmentary and records only the names of the magistrates so it is not clear if the work was carried out by the *quattuorviri* themselves or by the local council with the magistrates acting as agents (as is the case with no. 120 above).
142. Cf. nos. 88 (Table 4) and 122 (Table 5).
143. This man had a predominantly military career, though as *praefect(us) Iuliensium* (the place called itself *Respublica Iuliensium*) he had also held local office. His military postings, as listed in the text were: *tribun(us) | militum Leg. XXI Rapacis, praefectus) | alae Thracum Herculanae, praefectus) | ripae fluminis Euphratis*. The date here is established by mention of Sappius's posting to Legio XXI Rapax which was probably destroyed fighting the Sarmatians in AD 92, or perhaps a little later (cf. *RE* 12.1781-1791, s.v. "Legio (XXI Rapax)" [Ritterling]).
144. An interesting text if for no other reason than it gives the names of various parts of the baths (cf. Appendix 5 for a list of bath-parts mentioned in inscriptions). A *paganicum* would appear to be an area or room for playing the ball-game *pila paganica*, which involved a down-stuffed ball (cf. Martial 7.32.7; *CIL* 8.16367; REBUFFAT in *Thermes*, pp. 33-34). *Porticus* and *caldarium* require no elucidation. A *cohors* was an enclosed area, like a palaestra. What specific function such an area would have, and how it differed from a palaestra if at all, is not clear.
145. An instructive text. Valerius Pansa may have been procurator of Britain under Antoninus Pius (cf. S. FRERE, *Britannia* [London; Routledge & Paul, 1987, 3rd ed.], p. 187). He is here clearly acting as a local benefactor, his career being in the imperial rather than the municipal service. He rebuilds a bath destroyed by fire (?). His wife then leaves money (HS200,000) to the state as a contribution towards the costs of the work. However the text attributes the restoration and dedication to Valerius, so what was Albuca's money for? The most probable explanation is that it was for decoration or finishing touches (cf. nos. 92 [Table 4] and note where a benefactor builds and roofs a set of baths but a further HS252,000 is needed to complete the work; 181 [Table 6] where HS30,000 is left *ad marmorandum balineum*; and 188 [Table 6] where HS300,000 is left for the decoration of a set of baths at Comum). Cf. DUTHOY, *AncSoc.*, (1984-1987), p. 151 no. 379.
146. The date is that assigned by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26. Here a father and son, in return for the honour of the the flamine and aedileship respectively, give HS 15,000 for the restoration of the baths, cf. above, n. 130.
147. The Lucillii Gamalae played a leading role in Ostia's public life for six generations; all bear the *praenomen* "Publius", cf. MEIGGS, *Ostia*, pp. 493-502. The Baths of Neptune (in all likelihood the baths in question) feature repair work to the main rooms and the portico dated by brickstamps to the reign of M. Aurelius, cf. *ibid.*, p. 409.
148. This man was an imperial freedman who had been manumitted by emperors with the name "Aurelius", and one in particular with the *praenomen* "Marcus". This probably indicates M. Aurelius and L. Verus (a date also adopted by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 who dates it to "Late Antonine"); cf. also DUTHOY, *AncSoc.*, (1984-1987), p. 139 no. 61, (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 129-130, no. 30). Another statue-base inscription from Anagnina (*ILS* 406) records that Marcia Aurelia, concubine of Commodus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 261) gave *sportulae* to the decurions, *seviri* and people (as well as a meal) at the dedication of the restored baths. In this text the verb is in the plural (*restauraverunt*), which leads DESSAU (*ILS* 406) to suggest that Sabinianus's and Marcia's statues stood side-by-side, and that they both restored the baths. However, in the main text cited above, Sabinianus alone is credited with the restoration. There may have been a mistake by the inscriber, or, if not, perhaps Marcia was included in the restoration in her inscription to flatter the Imperial house.
150. The date is by letterform and so not secure. This is a conflation of two texts of the inscription. *Aquae Neri*, as the name suggests, had springs sacred to the god Nerius. However, the wording clearly differentiates the springs from the public baths, if that is how *thermae pf . . .* is to be restored. It would seem, however, that as the springs and baths were surrounded by the same porticoes, as the sense of the inscription would seem to demand, these were separate parts of a single complex, a phenomenon known from some thermal sites (cf. above, pp. 126-128).
151. This was found in the *frigidarium* of the Hadrianic Baths and is dated by the name and titles of Severus, Julia Domna and Caracalla in lines 1-2. Note that Rusonianus had promised games for the quinquennialate, but diverted the funds into the bath restoration instead. This is reported done [*ex*]

- permissu sacratiss[imi pri]ncipis divi M. Antonin[us] f.*], i.e. Commodus. In that case, the work was promised and cleared with the central administration some two years, maybe six years, before it was begun. For a recent discussion of this text and its relationship to the physical remains, cf. G. di VITA-ÉVRARD, "Lepcis Magna: contribution à la terminologie des thermes" in *Thermes*, pp. 35-42.
152. Cf. no. 102 (Table 4).
  153. Dated by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.75, n. 7 to c. AD 200. Note here that a decurion of the nearby Colonia Ulpia Trajana (Xanten) restores the baths at Coriovallum (Heerlen), suggesting that he had property in the region of Coriovallum.
  154. This inscription should be read in conjunction with item no. 172 below. The latter is a dated restoration of the summer baths at this town by another member of the Sentii family. The present inscription, with its terse and laconic wording, and spelling of *thermae* with a "h" rather than without one (as in no. 172), is evidently earlier; I date it tentatively to the High Empire, though NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 opts for a possible 4th-century date. Note that the Sentii remained responsible for these baths. Perhaps an earlier Sentius had built them in the first place. A *colimbum* appears to be another word for *piscina* (from the Greek ΚΟΛΥΜΒΙΣ), or swimming pool (cf. note to no. 97 [Table 4], s.v. "Gagae"), though the etymology might demand the former was specifically intended for diving. Whether there was any physical difference between a *colimbum* and a *piscina* (was the former deeper?) is not sure; NIELSEN, op. cit., p. 155, s.v. "Kolymbetra" comments that word is "synonymous with piscina".
  155. Sollemnis is said to be a *cliens* of Ti. Claudius Paulinus, *leg. Aug. pr. praet.* (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 955). The text is derived from a fragmentary inscription in three parts, supplemented by several copies from antiquarians. Here the baths were intended for the use of the people and were left to them by Sollemnis after he had repaired rotten foundations. Apparently, the baths were Sollemnis's property which he repaired and left to the local community.
  156. Dated by mention of Marcia Octacilia Severa, wife of Philip the Arab (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 266). What *paravit* denotes here is unclear: perhaps Marcellinus had the baths heated or supplied with water in readiness for use; alternatively, it he may have decorated the structure.
  157. Cf. no. 51 (Table 3) for the earlier part of this inscription where the local authorities build the bath. The addition of the Musaeum is here recorded as the work of several decurions, whose names probably followed in the lost part of the text. There is no indication that this was a payment made *ob honorem* or as a *summa honoraria*; in fact the odd total (HS41,200) would argue against this being the case.
  158. The text was on a statue-base for Plautius and records his many benefactions and services for the city. The benefaction in question is said to be in addition to games he gave *promoverit in Ilviratus quoq. honorem*, and they appear to be a willing addition to these games: *nec contentus his liberalitatibus* (i.e. the games), *cellan. thermar.* etc.
  159. WILMANN (CIL 8.828) attributes a 3rd century date to this text, but it is probably later. Two features indicate this: 1) the detail with which the work is described, reminiscent of other Late Imperial texts (e.g. nos 19 [Table 1], 72 [Table 3], 129, 156, 159-161, 163-165 [Table 5]); and 2) the two benefactors appear to stem from the local aristocracy, as they bear no senatorial or equestrian titles, and the father participated in local public life as a *flamen perpetuus*. This latter point is telling, as Vetulenus Urbanus Herennianus is recorded as a *curator rei publicae*: if he was a *curator r.p.* of the High Empire, he should have been a senator. Therefore, the text should probably be dated to the Later Empire when *curatores reipublicae* were local magistrates and no longer appointed to cities by emperors, cf. G.P. BURTON, "The Curator Rei Publicae: Towards a Reappraisal", *Chiron* 9 (1979), 465-488. (Herennianus finds no mention in *RE* or *PLRE*).
  160. The text is dated by mention of Flavius Dardanius as proconsul (cf. *PLRE* 1 Dardanius [p. 242]). Although the text is very fragmentary, enough survives to make it clear that Aurelius Stavianus and the local decurions carried out restorations on and extensions to this bath: the portico seems to have been returned to its previous condition; some restoration was carried out in the *piscina* area; the *solaris cella* was built from foundations (?), as was the *[-]proneum* of the aqueduct; and the *solium* in one of the rooms was restored. This is another text that says the work was carried out by *curator rei publicae una cum omn[ibus] decurionibus*, i.e. in conjunction with the decurions, as the last lines of the text implies. As with other such cases, I take the *curator* to be the main agent of the work Cf. below, nos. 163, 173, and above, note to no. 68 (Table 3).
  161. Dated by the phrase: *Marcelli[us] et Probi[us] consuli[us]*. *ILS* 5697 reveals the two men were brothers.
  162. Dated by mention of P. Ampelius as proconsul of Africa (cf. *PLRE* 2 P Ampelius [p. 56]). It is not made explicit that this *piscina* was part of a bathhouse, but that is its most likely context. The water supply, as well as the *piscina*, was improved, cf. also no. 235 (Table 7).

163. Dated by mention of the legate Fabius Fabianus (*PLRE* 1 Fabianus 3 [p. 322]) and the proconsul Julius Festus (Hymetius) (*PLRE* 1 Hymetius [p. 447]). Although the text is fragmentary, the work is clearly a restoration.
164. From the baths at Dougga. The text says the *atrium* had been started sometime previously "by the ancients" (*atrium . . . ab antiquis coeptum*), but had been shabbily built (*quod imperfecto opere corruptum adque rudibus foedatum [erat]*). MERLIN says he cannot make sense of *cccratu*. It may possibly be a corruption of *acc(u)rato* or some such expression evidently aimed at contrasting the high quality of Honoratianus's work with the *imperfectum opus* of the *antiqui*. For *exceptorium*, cf. no. 235 (Table 7) and note.
165. Mention of Petronius Claudius as proconsul dates this inscription, cf. *PLRE* 1 Claudius 10 (p. 208). Here the benefactor builds anew an *oceanum* (in all likelihood a piscina decorated with marine scenes, as the editors of *AE* suggest), restores a *cella soliaris*, builds new entrances and decorates them with statuary. Leontius was apparently from Carthage itself (rather than from Abbir Maius) as he stemmed from an especially privileged class of decurions (the *principales*). The editors of *AE* propose that he may have owned land in the *territorium* of Abbir Maius, thus explaining why he was curator there.
166. Cf. no. 69 (Table 3) and 237 (Table 7). The benefaction is partly a construction of the baths (or at least a completion of them) and partly a decoration.
167. Although the main task of restoration is expressed in the passive, implying the local authorities were the main agents (cf. nos. 50, 52 [Table 3]), the line between *balneae quae* and *redintegratae sunt*, may have contained the identity of the agent; as it is missing, certainty is not possible. Because the *curator rei publicae* is said to have assisted the work with his money as well as his concern, I include the item here.
168. The date assigned is that given by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26, though it is not clear on what basis she assigns it. The inscription was found in the baths in 1782 and decrees a statue in honour of Volusius.
169. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 tentatively assigns a 4th-century date to this text.
170. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 dates it to 2nd half of 4th century, though why is not clear.
172. Dated by the phrase *Basso et Filippo vvcc cons*; cf. above, no. 154.
173. Dated by mention of the proconsul Q. Sentius Fabricius Julianus (cf. *PLRE* 2 Julianus 28 [pp. 641-642]). This is another text which links the activities of the *curator r. p.* and the *ordo* of the community, cf. above, note to no. 68 (Table 3).

\* \* \*

### C. PATRONI CIVITATIS

NOTE: See note to Table 3, Section C.

174. This patron had also built baths for the community (cf. no. 71 [Table 3]). Here he carries out extensive restorations and extensions, either on this or another bath. The text is too fragmentary to be sure whether or not two buildings are intended.
175. This is tentatively dated by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40-41, n. 26 to after the earthquake of AD 62.
176. Though the text is fragmentary, it is clear that Didasius carried out extensive restoration work on the baths. The inscription ends: *benemerito civi et pa[tr]ono [splen]didissimus ord[o et] populus [mun]icipii [V]ruensium statuam [posueru]nt.*

**TABLE 6: Inscriptions recording baths or parts of baths restored, extended or adorned in Italy or the provinces by private benefactors**

No.	Builder	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
177†	*Alfia Quart[a]	Marruvium Marsorum	eadem lapide va[ri ex]ornavit, labrum aen[um cum] foculo, sedes pos[uit p(ecunia) s(ua)	none	<i>ILS</i> 5684
178†	Frumentius Longianus	Lambaesis	balneum Terenti Donati resitutu(m) [p]er i<n>stantia(m) Frumenti Longiani	none	<i>AE</i> 1920.33
179	Frumentius	Tigava, Mauretania	respicis et reparas dumis conlecta lavacra	none	<i>ILS</i> 5705
180	*Satellia Anus[ . . . . . ]	Capua	apodyterium ad novitatem re[stituit . . ] epistylis ceterisque marmoribus o[rnavit]	none	<i>ILS</i> 5708
181†	Flavius Catullus	Epamanduo- dorum, Germ. Sup.	Catullus ad marmorandum balineum testamento legavit r(ei) p(ublicae) (denarios) (75,000)	none	<i>CIL</i> 13. 5416/7
182†	[Κρής?]	Ephesos	[Κρής] ὑπατος γενόμεν [οἰκοδ]όμων, καὶ τοῖο [τάδ' Ἑρμ]ίπ(π)οιο λοετροῦ, [ἔρκεϊ' ἀ]σκήσας κείοσι [λ]αινέοις, [ὡς δά]πεδον λέπτῃσι [καὶ ἰθ]εῖησι λίθοισι	none	<i>SEG</i> 34 (1984), 1115

183†	*Πώλλα λαμπία	Isthmos, Cos	βαλανείω . . . τὴν Ἀφροδείτην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε	none	BE 1967.439
184	Διόδοτος κτλ	Meiros, Phrygia	ὅσοι ἐπανγε[ιλάμενοι ἐπέ]δωκαν ἰς τ[ὸ ἐν τῷ βα]λανείω ἀποδ[υτήριον]	none	BE 1972.461
185	[--] Pacati f(ilius)	Andemantunnum, Germ. Sup.	cali[datum cum s]uis ornam[entis --] s(ua) p(ecunia) p(erfecit)	none	CIL 13.5687
186†	M. Nigidius Vaccula	Pompeii	{foculum} p(ecunia) s(ua) {fecit}	mid-1st cent., before 54	CIL 10.818
187†	Iu] . . . ]hn [?]giaduris f[il]ius	Sabratha	v(oto) s(uscepto) {labrum} f(ecit)	late 1st/early 2nd century	AE 1980.900
188†	C. Plinius Caecilius [Secundus, cos.]	Comum	adiecta pecunia in ornatum HS (300,000)	100-109	ILS 2927
189†	Fabius	Altinum	HS (1,600,000) [n(ummum) ded(it) i]ta ut balinea . . . HS (800,000) n(ummum) refecta in usu mu[nicip(um)] or mu[nicip(ii)] essent	post-100	NSc (1928), 283
190†	incertus	Tarraco	[insti]tuisti nymphas calidas	Hadrianic / 2nd cent.	CIL 2.6102
191†	* [Πόπλιος Κυιντίλλιος Οὐάριος (?) σὺν . . . γυναικὶ καὶ Οὐαρίλλη θυγατρὶ	Ephesos	[ἐκ θε]μελίω τὸν θᾶκον σὺ[ν τοῖς κ]ατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπικειμένοις παιδισκήοις καὶ κοσμήσας πα[ντὶ κόσμῳ] . . . ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν]	Hadrian	IK 12.455

192†	Ὀπραμόας	Patara, Lycia	ὁ [πα]ρέσχεν . . . [ἀργυ]ρίου θηναρίου μυριάδα[s . . . . .] εἰς . . . ἐξέδρας [τρεις] ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ	136	<i>IGR</i> 3.679
193†	*Ἰάσων, πολείτης ἡμῶ[ν], ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος, . . . μετὰ καὶ τῆς θ[υ]γατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λυ[κί]ας	Cyana, Lycia	εἷς τε κατασκευῆ[ν] στοᾶς πρὸ τοῦ κατασκευα- σμένου βαλανείου [πρ]ὸς τῆ [π]λ[α]τεία θηναρία μύρια {ἔδοσαν}	146	<i>IGR</i> 3.704. IIA.10-13
194†	M. Tullius Cicero Venneianus	Paestum	balneas easdem vi ignis multifaria corruptas sua pecunia restituit	late 2nd/early 3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1935.28 (= <i>ILPaest.</i> 101)
195†	Caesidius Proculus	Canosa	balneum publicum a Caesidio Proculo refectum republ. . . . restituit	2nd/3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1987.307
196†	[--] Stulinus, generosa familia progenitus	Villa Magna	[perfecto dedicati- que] . . . solio uno i<n>fimo . . . per- fecit, excoluit	2nd/3rd cent.	<i>CIL</i> 8.897
197†	*Σχολαστικία	Ephesos	κλιθέντος ἐνθαδί- τινος μέρους χρυσοῦ παρέσχε πλήθος ἐς καινουργίαν	2nd cent. or later	<i>IK</i> 12.453

198†	*Αὐρηλία Αἰλ(ία) Φοίβη	Julia Gordos, Asia	κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ κβ>άθ(ρ)ων τὸ περίστωφον τοῦ βαλανείου σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων σὺν καὶ τοῖς τροφεύσιν αὐτῆς	230-231	AE 1974.618 (cf. BE 1971.601)
199†	*Vibia Galla	Alba Fucens	baln[ea] de sua pecunia ref. cur[avit]	mid-3rd cent.	AE 1962.30 (cf. 1952.19)
200†	M. Aur(elius) Valerius, v.p., ducen[ari]us, ex protectorrib(us) lateri[s] divini	Narona	thermas rei p(ublica)e h[i]em- a[les rog]a[nte] populo in ruinam [de]lap[sas] M. Aur. . . . [aedif- i]cavit et lavantes rei p. tradidit	280	ILS 5695
201†	Q. Aemilius Victo[r] Saxonianus	Grumentum	balnea ex disciplin[a] d. n.   L. Domiti Aur[eliani in]victi Aug. po[st longam] seriem ann[orum] resti]tuit	late 3rd cent.	ILS 586
202†	Μακαρίος	Miletus	Μακαρίος τὸ λουτρὸν ἐς ἄρχαιον θέτο καλλὸς Φαυστείνης	3rd cent.	AE 1906.177
203†	Nonius Marcell[us] Herculius	Thubursicum Numidarum	[ther]mas et ce[tera rui]na dilap[sa aedificia] {restituit}	324	ILS 2943
204†	incertus	Beneventum	repar[atori] thermarum Commodianarum	4th/5th century, or later	ILS 5511

205†	Διογένης	Megara	ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΤὸΝ ἑτέροῦς (χρυσίνοῦς) δισχιλίους τε καὶ διακοσίους πόδας μαρμάρου εἰς τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τοῦ λουτροῦ (ἔδωκεν)	5th cent	SIG <sup>3</sup> 909
206†	*Maria Anthusa	Cures Sabini	baptisterium et cella[m . . . ] de sua pecunia ma[rmoribus exornavit?]	Late Imperial	ILS 5709

## NOTES

177. This woman had also built the baths (cf. no. 75 (Table 4)).
- 178/179. Are these Frumentii the same person? It is possible, as the name is rare one in Africa, cf. *CIL* 8.10483.1, 122644.109, 22655.2 (all inscribed objects), 23770, 26687 (tombstones) and 26620 (possibly the name of a mason). However, no dates are available for the stones, and Tigava and Lambaesis are some distance apart and in different provinces.
181. This text is a conflation of two inscriptions commemorating the same benefaction. Here 75,000 *denarii* (HS300,000) are left to the local community for decorating the baths with marble, with the work overseen by Catullus's son and heir, C. F[lavius G]allus; cf. above, note to no. 145 (Table 5)
182. An unusual inscription on a statue base. Who Kres was (or even if Kres was in fact his name) is not known, but he seems to have been a chief builder, i.e. one of the foremen in charge of construction work. This is suggested by some features of the text. The opening line is [τί]ς πόθεν εἰμ' ὦ ξεῖνε, |[ εἰ εἴρεαι, οὐκ ἐπικεύσω· |[ῆλθ]ον ἀπ' Ἰταλίας, "If you were to ask, O stranger, who I am, where I came from, I would not hide (it): I came from Italy". The sentence, if it is to be interpreted as more than mere epigrammatic cleverness, may show that Kres wished to hide his Italian origin, or it may emphasize that he was not a Cretan (Κρής). He may have been a Greek of Italian origin. The end of the text contains the line [ἔσχον] καὶ τόδ' ἄγαλμα(α), "I had this statue" a statement of great pride understandable if Kres were not of the ruling classes, in which case a statue would be a signal honour.
183. The base of a statue of Aphrodite. Here a woman sets up the statue in the baths and dedicates it to the people of Isthmos.
186. From the braziers found in the Forum Baths and Stabian Baths in Pompeii. Vaccula appears to have died about AD 54, cf. *CIL* 4.175; little is known about this member of the influential local family, cf. CASTRÉN, *Ordo*, p. 195, no. 266.3.
187. Inscribed *labrum* (cf. nos. 120 and 141 (both in Table 5)). It is clear from the form of the names that the benefactor was of local African origin.
188. Cf. nos. 90 (Table 4) and 256 (Table 7).
189. Part of the huge benefaction of Fabius to Altinum (cf. note to no. 87 (Table 4) for the full text). Here, HS800,000 is given for the restoration of two baths previously built by men called Sergius and Puti[nius]. For Fabius's other bath benefactions, cf. nos. 257 and 264 (Table 7).
190. It is not clear what *nymphae calidae* were, but they appear to have been part of a bathhouse, cf. no. 93 (Table 4).
191. An inscription from the Varius Baths; the benefactor is probably Varius himself (compare text of *IK* 12.429). Dated by a dedication to Hadrian. Α θᾶκος was a latrine and a παιδισκεῖον a brothel.

The *IK* commentary denies this latter possibility, but offers no alternative explanation for the word's appearance. I see no real reason to doubt the existence of a brothel in a bath, especially given the definition of a brothel-keeper in the *Digest* (3.2.4.2) includes any *balneator* who hires slaves to guard clothing but also to practice prostitution. This is an informal form of the practice, and I do not see why more official brothels cannot be seen as part of some bathing establishments, cf. pp. 297-299 on sex at the baths.

192. For Opramoas's other bath benefactions, cf. nos. 96 and 97 (Table 4).
193. Here Jason adds a stoa (portico) to the baths he had previously built, cf. no. 94 (Table 4).
194. This is the son of the man who built the baths, cf. no. 66 (Table 3). Although his father had been a *duovir quinquennalis* and *patronus coloniae*, there is no indication that his son held any posts or titles; as there is mention of the work being seen to by two men described as *contutores eius*, it seems that Tullius Cicero Venneianus was a minor.
195. This bath was repaired in the 3rd century by the local authorities at Canosa when it had been "weakened by old age" (the unusual variation *vetustate quassatum*; cf. note to no. 126 [Table 5]), so this earlier restoration must be beforehand, perhaps the 2nd century.
196. The text is fragmentary and the precise nature and extent of all of Stulinus's work is not recoverable. It is clear enough, however, that he was responsible at least for the completion of one of the *solia* (the communal bathing pools), and perhaps for a completion and decoration of some other part of the structure (or of the whole of it). Full text: [tempore (or iussu) fortissimorum] piissimor[um]q. princip. sub administratione proconsulis p(rovinciae) A(fricae) perfecto dedicatoque | [-] institutis nunc solio uno i<n>fimo | [-] congestioni et [-] parieti in | [-] Stulinus generosa familia progenitus perfecti, excoluit
197. This is from the Varius Baths, also called the Scholastikia Baths due to this inscription. It clearly commemorates a restoration: "When something leaned inside, she provided a mass of gold for restoration".
198. This text comes from a small town called Ἰσσηνῶν κατοικία about 15 km North-East of Julia Gordos, and belonging to the *territorium* of the city. The woman benefactor was of a high-ranking local family: her father was ἑκατόνταρχος and her mother a μάτρωνα στολάτη.
199. The editors of *AE* suggest that this is the daughter of the emperor Trebonian (AD 251-253/4), cf. *RE* 2.8A2.1999, s.v. "Vibia" (no. 71) [Hanslik]. Compare the empress Faustina's bath benefaction at Miletos, cf. no. 100 (Table 4).
200. Valerius was a native of this town in Dalmatia, and so is here acting as a local benefactor, cf. *PLRE* 1 Valerius 8 (p. 941); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1625.
201. What precisely is meant by *balnea ex disciplina d(omini) n(o)stri Aureliani* is not clear. Mommsen (*CIL* 10.222) suggested that it referred to a more severe mode of bathing introduced to the capital by the emperor, on the basis of *HA Aur.*, 45.2 (where Aurelian has *thermae hiemales* built in the Transtiberina "because there was a lack of cold water there", *quod aquae frigidioris copia illic deesset*). However, as the meaning of *thermae hiemales* is not clear (what does the term actually denote?), Mommsen's proposition is unproven. For a discussion of this *HA* passage and the question of *thermae hiemales laestivales* in general, cf. MERTEN, *Bäder*, pp. 34-48, esp. pp. 39-42; cf. also NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.138-140.
202. The editors of *AE* report that the baths were restored by Eucharria, Makarios's wife, but the text is quite clear that Makarios himself was responsible for the work.
203. This is the same Nonius Marcellus who wrote the dictionary. Apparently he stemmed from a noted Thubursicum family, cf. *RE* 17.1.882-897, s.v. "Nonius (no. 38)" [Strzelecki]; *PLRE* 1 Marcellus 11 (p. 552). Although the word *restituit* or its synonym is missing, the surviving text makes it clear we are dealing with a restoration.
204. Dated by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 to the 4th or 5th century. A long acephalous inscription recording the deeds of a benefactor who is listed as *restitutor* or *reparator* of a host of buildings: the forum, basilica, porticoes, roads, collegia portico of Diana, basilica of Longinus, indeed *totius prope civitatis [post h]ostile incendium*, "indeed {restorer} of nearly the entire city after the enemy burnt it". This statement might be hoped to place a firmer date on the text, but there is little solid information on burnings of Beneventum in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, cf. *PECS*, s.v. "Beneventum", p. 149 [Salmon]; *RE* 3.273-275, s.v. "Beneventum" (no. 2) [Hülse] and S1.248, s.v. [id.]. The city certainly suffered devastation in the Gothic Wars of Justinian, between AD 536 and 547 (Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, 7.15.11), but the current reference is probably to an earlier, otherwise unrecorded sack of the place (for a 6th-century benefactor at Beneventum to be restoring so many public buildings at a time when those at Rome were in sharp decline would be remarkable to say the least).

205. The gift here is 2,150 gold pieces and two hundred feet of marble (how wide?). Nothing is known of Diogenes.
206. Both Maria and Anthusa are Late Imperial Roman names, though they are known in Greek sources earlier. The *cella* involved is possibly the *cella frigida*, where *baptisteria* (pools) were to be found (cf. Pliny, *Ep.*, 5.6.25, 2.17.11; NIELSEN, *Therm.*, 1.155, s.v. "baptisterium"). The restoration of the last line is my own, but seems the most likely given what survives; compare, for instance, above, nos. 180 and 187.

**TABLE 7: Inscriptions recording non-constructional bath benefactions but including water-supply benefactions.**

**A. FREE BATHING**

No.	Agent	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
207†	M. Helvius Anthus, Lucurg(entinus), IIIIIVir Aug.	Lucurg- entum, near Seville	per quadriduum . . . mulieribus balineum gratis {dedit}	none	<i>AE</i> 1953.21
208	decuriones	Buie, near Histria (ancient name not known)	colonis, incolis, peregrinis, lavandis gratis de pecunia publica dederunt	none	<i>II</i> 10.3.71 (= <i>CIL</i> 5.376)
209†	L. Octavius Rufus, trib. mil., . . . duomvir quinq., publ. patronus	Suasa	lavationem gratuitam municipib(us), incoleis, hospitib(us) et adventorib(us) uxsorb(us), serveis, ancilleisque eor(um) in perpetuom dedit	none	<i>ILS</i> 5673
210†	L. Urvineius Philomusus, L(uci) l(ibertus), mag(ister) conl. libert.	Praeneste	is testamento suo lavationem populo gratis per triennium . . . . fieri iussit	none	<i>ILS</i> 6256
211†	*[Terentia Postu]mina	Novaria	[lavationem] gratuitam in [perpetuum] dedit	none	<i>CIL</i> 5.6522
212†	incertus	Vercellae	[lavationem gratuitam] in perpetuu]m municip[ibus, incolis, hospitibus, a]dventorib[us dedit]	none	<i>CIL</i> 5.6668

213†	Q., C. Poppaei, patron(i) municipi et coloniai	Interamna Praetuttiorum	municipibus, coloneis, incoleis, hospitibus, adventoribus, lavationem in perpetuom de sua pecunia dant	Augustan or earlier (?)	<i>ILLRP</i> 617
214†	C. Aurunceiu[s] Cotta	Praeneste	colonis, incolis, hospit[ibus], adventoribus, servisqu[e] eorum lavationem ex sua pecunia gratuitam in perpetuom dedit	Augustan or earlier (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5672
215†	[ΜΕ]νέλα[ος], στεφανη- φό[ρ]ος, γραμμ- ατεύς, γυμνασ- ίαρχος	Ankyra	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος . . . ἐτίμησ[εν] ΜΕ]νέλα[ον] . . . τὸν δῆμον . . . λούσαντα ἐκ ιδίων	Augustan (?)	<i>IGR</i> 4.555
216†	decuriones	Nemausus	Festus . . . decreto decurion(um) accepit . . . balneum et sui (sic) gratuitum in perp(etuum)	c. 14	<i>ILS</i> 2267 (= <i>CIL</i> 12.3179)
217†	M. Helvius Rufus Civica, prim. pil.	Vallis Digentiae (near Tibur)	balneum municipibus et incolis dedit	after 20	<i>ILS</i> 2637
218†	T. Aviasius Servandus	Bononia	in huius balinei lavation(em) HS (400,000) . . . Servandus pater testament(o) legavit, ut ex reditu eius summ(ae) in perpetuum viri et impueres utriusq(ue) sexsus gratis laventur	38-41	<i>ILS</i> 5674

219†	incertus	Urbs Salvia	[balneum muli]ebre [ . . . ite]mque lava[tionem . . . gratuitam in per]petuum [de sua pecunia ? dedit]	mid 1st - early 2nd cent.	AE 1979.202
220†	Τι. Φλαούιος Κλειτοσθένης Κλαυδιανός	Thera	πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν πολιτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων διαφυλάσσω	149/150	SIG <sup>3</sup> 852, note 13
221†	not specified	Pagus Lucretius, in the Ager Arelatensis	balineo gratuito quod ablatum erat paganis [Pagi Lucreti], quod usi fuerant amplius annis XXXX	Antonine	ILS 6988
222†	C. Auf(idius) Avitus, IIvir desig(natus)	Burgvillos	d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) {balin(eum)} dedit et circens(ibus) [ded(icavit)]	2nd cent. (?)	CIL 2.5354
223†	*Caesia Sabina	Veii	matribus c(larissimorum) vir(or)um et sororib(us) et filiab(us), et omnis ordinis mulieribus municipib(us) epulum dedit diebusq(ue) ludorum et epuli viri sui balneum cum oleo gratuito dedit	3rd cent. (?)	ILS 6583
224†	{οἱ ἐπιμελῆται τῶν συστημάτων τῶν ἐριοπ[ώλ]ων τε καὶ λιγύφων}	Hypaipa, Lydia	τὸ βαλανεῖον λούειν μελέτω τοῖς ἐπιμελη[ταῖς . . . ] τοὺς κατοίκους	301	SEG 30 (1980), 1382.14-15

## B. WATER SUPPLY

No.	Agent	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
225†	*[--] Chrysanthus [V]vir Aug. . . {et} Clodia Agatha uxor	Narbo	[balineum . . . ] et marmoribus exstructum et ductu(m) [aquae . . . feceru]nt	none	<i>CIL</i> 12.4388
226†	P. Faianius P[le]beius, I]vir	Forum Novum	aquam suam in id balneum ne carerent commodo municipes . . . dedit	none	<i>ILS</i> 5767
227†	L. Cluuienus Anicilo	Bergomum	balneum et aquas dedit	none	<i>CIL</i> 5.5136
228†	*Ti. Claudius Faustus Regi[n.] et Claudia Nais Fausti	Coela, Thrace	idemque aquam in eius balinei usus perdixerunt et consacrarunt	55	<i>ILS</i> 5682 , cf. <i>IK</i> 13.29
229†	*C. Sempronius Sempronianus, I]vir, pontufex ( <i>sic</i> ) perpet(uus), Sempronia Fusca Fibia Anicilla filia	Aurgi	thermas aqua perducta . . . pecunia impensaque sua omni	Trajan (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5688
230†	L. Min[icius Na]talis, cos. . . . et L. Minicius [Natalis Quadro]- nius Verus, augur trib. plebis desig.	Barcino	balineum . . . et du[ctum aquae] fecerunt	c. 120	<i>ILS</i> 1029
231†	C. Sennius Sabinus, praef(ectus) fabr(um)	Vicus Albinnensis, Gallia Narbonensis	balineum, campum, porticus aquas iusque earum aquarum tubo ducendarum, ita ut recte perfluere possint vicaris Albinnensibus d(e) s(uo) d(edit)	Hadrian / Pius	<i>ILS</i> 5768
232†	incertus	Carthage	[aquam magno u]sui futuram thermis [perduxit?]	Antoninus Pius	<i>ILS</i> 345

233†	L. Octavius Aur[elianus?] Didasius, c(larissimus) v(ir), patronus	Vreu, Africa	thermas [et aquam <i>or</i> formam corrup]tam post diluviem . . . propria liberalitate [ex]or[navit], excoluit, perfecit dedi[c]avit	mid-late 3rd cent.	AE 1975.880
234†	incertus	Argos	βαλανεία τρία . . . τὸ [ἄνωθ?]ε ὑδωρ καταγά- γοντα	3rd cent. (?)	SEG 28 (1978), 396
235†	Q. Basilius Flaccianus, fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), augur et cur. [rei pub.]	Calama	piscinam quae antea tenuis aquae pi[g]ra fluenta capiebat, nunc ve[ro] . . . . . unda]rum intonantium motibus redundantem . . . [restituit] et excepto[rio exs]tructo adq(ue) perfecto	364	ILS 5730
236†	incertus	Municipium Tubernum	solium estibalium therm(arum) [--]is ut puro fonte pulcrior redderetur	364-375	CIL 8.948
237†	incertus, mag(ister) <i>or</i> mag(istratus)	Segusio, Alpes Cottiae	fistulas dedit, aquam deduxit ne quid vel utilitati vel us[ibus deesset]	375-378	ILS 5701
238†	[F]lavius Felix Gentilis, v.p., pr(a)es[es prov(inciae), patr]onus	Satafis, Mauretania	[aquae?]ductum therma[rum nup]er lignis putrib(us) constitutum at [nunc] mirabili opere agpera[ <i>(sic)</i> -- constru]uctum instituit, perfecit dedicavitque	379-383	CIL 8.20266

239†	local authorities (and Gemino?)	Thignica	[aquae]ductos taetra ac deformi caligine mersos et nullo felici aspect[u] gaudentes -- ]. . . et Fl. P.(?) Gemino provisionis [--] beneficio quae usui [privato ero]gabatur lavacris praestitit sumtu public[o restituit]	393	<i>CIL</i> 8.1412 (cf. 8.15204)
240†	Furius Cl(audius) Togius Quintil[us]	Tarentum	Pentascinensibus thermis, quae longo temporis trac[tu] intercepto aquae meatu lavacris fre[que]ntari desierant, undis largioribus afluen[tem ny]mphalem aquam in meliores usus sua [impensa] . . . induxit	4th cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5700

## C. OIL DISTRIBUTIONS†

No.	Agent	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
241†	*Caesia Sabina	Veii	balneum cum oleo gratuito dedit	none	<i>ILS</i> 6583
242†	Σέξτος Ἰούλιος Φίλων, γυμνασ- ίαρχος	Ilion	{Ἰούλιον) πρῶτον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος καὶ μέχρι νῦν μόνον ἐλαιομετρήσ- αντα τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς καὶ πολείτας πάντα καὶ ἀλ[εῖ]ψαντα ἐκ λουτήρων [παν]δημεί	none	<i>IK</i> 3.121, cf. 3.123

243†	Κοίντος Πομπώνιος [Φλάκκος], στράτηγος, ἀγορανόμος	Laodicea	ἀλείψαντα τε ἐν ταῖς ἐπισημοῖς ἡμέραις παρ' ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ μῆνα καὶ . . . ἀλείψαντα πόλιν πάλιν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα δράκτοις ἐγ λουτήρων	none	IGR 4.860
244†	[Με]νέλα[ος], στεφανη- φό[ρ]ος, γραμμ- ατεύς, γυμνασ- ίαρχος	Ankyra	ἀλίψοντα τὸν δῆμον ἐκ λουτήρω[ν]	Augustan (?)	IGR 4.555
245†	Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σακέρδως, ἱερεὺς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, γυμνασίαρχος	Pergamum	(Σακέρδωτα) ἀλείφοντα ἐγ λουτήρων δί' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐκ τῶν ιδίων	post-26	IGR 4.454
246†	L. Caecilius Cilo, IIIvir a(edilicia) p(otestate)	Comum	testamento suo HS n(ummos) (40,000) municipibus Comensibus legavit, ex quorum reditu quot annis per Neptunalia oleum in campo et in thermis et balineis omnibus quae sunt Comi populo praeberetur t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)	pre-100	ILS 6728
247†	quinquennalis of the collegium Dianae et Antinoi	Lanuvium	et die[bus natalibus] Dianae et Antinoi oleum collegio in balinio (sic) publico po[nat antequam] epulentur	136	ILS 7212.II. 30-31

248†	Ἴ�σκληπιάδης, ἐπιστάτης, γυμνασίαρχος	Dorylaeum, Asia	γυμνασίαρχος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων ἀπὸ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἕως ικτὸς δρακτοῖς ἐκ λουτήρων	Hadrianic (?)	<i>IGR</i> 4.522
249†	Διονύσιος, γραμματεὺς	Ephesos	τῇ τῶν καταγωγίων ἡμέρᾳ ἀγοραίας ἀγομένης ἔλαιον θέντα δρακτῶ ἐν τε τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις τοῖς οὔσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πάσιν	c. 140-150	<i>IK</i> 13.661
250†	C. Aufidius Verus, pont. q., Ilvir qq	Pisaurum	plebs urbana ob merit. eius; ex aere conlato cuius dicatione dedit decurionibus singul. HS (nummum) (40) . . . adiecto pane et vino et oleum in balineis	early-mid 2nd cent.	<i>CIL</i> 11.6360
251†	incertus	Apulum	[i]n balne[o] populo publice oleum posuit	Antonine (?)	<i>ILS</i> 7145
252†	L. Caecilius Optatus, c(enturio) . . . missus honesta missione, atlectus inter immunes, Ilvir III	Barcino	do, lego, darique volo . . . eadem die ex (denariis) (200) oleum in thermas public(as) populo praeberi	161-9	<i>ILS</i> 6957
253†	[P. Alfius Max]imus Numerius Av[itus], sevi]r eq(uitum) R(omanorum), allectus in[ter tribunicios praetori]	Rome	[divisionem] oleariam pecun[ia sua] instituere enisus s(it)	Severan	<i>CIL</i> 6.1474

## D. FUNDS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF BATHS

No.	Agent	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
254†	L. Aemilius Daphnus, sevir	Murgi	in [tute]lam earundem thermarum quam diu ipse vixisset annuos (denarios) (150) pollicitus est	Flavian (?)	<i>CIL</i> 2.5489
255†	*Voconia Avita	Tagilis, Baetica	at quot opus tuendum usumq(ue) perpetuum [t]hermarum praebandum (sic) r(ei) p(ublicae) Tagilitanae d(enariorum) duo milia q(uingentos) ded(it)	late 1st/ early 2nd cent.	<i>AE</i> 1979.352
256†	C. Plinius Caecilius [Secundus, cos.]	Comum	ther[mas ex HS [ -- ] . . . adiectis in ornatum HS (300,000) . . . [et amp]lius in tutela[m] HS (200,000) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)	c.100-109	<i>ILS</i> 2927
257†	Fabius	Altinum	HS (200,000) n(ummum) [in perp(etuam)] tutelam eo[ru]mdem	post-100	<i>NSc</i> (1928), 283
258†	Q. Avelius Serg(ius) Priscus Severius Severus Annavus Rufus, flamen divi Aug., IIIvir quinq., patronus municipi	Corfinium	reip(ublicae) Corfiniens(ium) balineum Avelianum muliebre cum HS (30) m(ilia) n(ummorum) donavit.	180 or later	<i>AE</i> 1961.109

## E. MISCELLANEOUS

No.	Agent	Place	Work done	Date	Reference
<i>E.1 Ground given for baths</i>					
259†	*Junia Rustica, sacerdos perpetua, et prima in municipio Cartimitan[o]	Cartima, Baetica	solum balinei dedit	Flavian (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5512
260†	Q. Torius Culleo, proc(urator) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Baet(icae)	Castulo	solum ad balineum aedificandum dedit	1st/2nd cent.	<i>CIL</i> 2.3270
<i>E.2 Baths bought (and made public property)</i>					
261†	six Augustales	Teanum Sidicinum	s. c. Balneum Clodianum emptum cum suis aedificis ex pecunia Augustal. HS (60,000), (six names)	1st cent. (?)	<i>ILS</i> 5677
<i>E.3 Baths heated</i>					
262†	T. Fl(avius?) Avitus Forensis, IIvir iter. q(uin)q(ennalis) omnib(us) munerib(us) functus	Misenum	hic idem ad lavacrum balear(um) publicar(um) ligni duri vehes n. (400) enthaecae nomine in perpetuum obtulit, ita tamen ut magistratuus quodannis successorib(us) suis tradant	none	<i>ILS</i> 5689

263†	Κοίντος Πομπώνιος [Φλάκκος], στρατήγος, ἀγορανόμος	Laodicea, Asia	ἀγορανομήσαντά τε πολυτελῶς καὶ ἑκατέρους τοὺς θερμοὺς περιπάτους καύσαν[τα]	none	IGR 4.860
264†	Fabius	Altinum	HS (400,000) n(ummum), ut ex [eorum] reditu cale[fi]er[en]t	post-100	NSc (1928), 283
265†	*C. Sempronius Sempronianus, II Vir, pontufex (sic) perpet(uus), Sempronia Fusca Fibia Anicilla filia	Aurgi	thermas aqua perducta cum silvis agnuar. trecentarum pecunia impensa que sua omni d(ono) d(edit)	Trajan (?)	ILS 5688
<i>E.4 Lead to baths</i>					
266†	incertus	Nemus Dianae	ad balneum vetus in quattuor plumb(i) pondo (8,662) et labella IV idem donus (sic) pro se et suis	none	ILS 5727
ADDENDUM					
267†	M. Valerius Proculus, II vir	Municipium Liberum Singiliense	item populum universum in municipio habitantem et incolas oleo et balineo gratuito dato pervocavit item quo die ludos iu(v)enum in theatro dedit gymnasium et balinea viris et mulieribus gratuita praestit	109	AE 1989.420

## NOTES

## A. FREE BATHING

207. The full text reads: M. Helvius Anthus Lucurg., | IIIIIvir Aug., edito spec|taculo per quadridu|jum ludorum scaeni|corum et dato gym|nasio per eosdem | dies, item mulie|ribus balineum gra|tis (dedit). huic ordo splen|didissimus Lucurgenti|orum petente populo orna|menta decurionatus decrevit. Helvius Anthus ob honorem | statum tanti patris cum basi s(ua) p(ecunia) d(ono) d(edit). | p(opulos)q(ue) f(ecit). Compare with no. 267 below.
209. This may be of late Republican or Augustan date (note the spelling of *perpetuom* and compare with nos. 213 and 214 below). However, the benefactor served as a tribune in Legio III Scythica, which was raised under Augustus, so it is not likely to be much earlier than that (especially since his local magistracies most probably came after his return from military service). Unfortunately, Rufus cannot be dated precisely, and as Legio III Scythica continued to exist into the 3rd and 4th centuries, no date can be securely assigned to the text. For the legion's history, cf. *RE* 12.1556-1564, s.v. [Ritterling] (note that Octavius Rufus is listed as a tribune of the legion, *ibid.* 1563, but no date can be provided for him).
210. Here a freedman, the magister of the *collegium* of the freedpeople, gives free baths to the people for three years.
211. The text reports that Terentia also "gave the bath on (her) private ground" (*[balneum] solo privato . . . dedit*), for a discussion of which, cf. Appendix 6, s.v., B.2.
212. Despite the fragmentary nature of the text, that it records a free bath benefaction seems clear enough from the mention of different classes of people, compare the wording of nos. 207-209, 213, 214, 217 and 223 below.
213. If these two Poppaei are to be identified with the brothers C. Poppaeus Sabinus and Q. Poppaeus Secundus who were consuls in AD 9 (*pace* T.P. WISEMAN, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 BC - AD 14* [Oxford: Oxford University Press 1971], p. 254, nos. 340, 341; cf. CENERINI, *RSA* 17-18 [1987-1988], 206), then an Augustan date for the benefaction is to be preferred. The absence of any mention of their consulships in the text would indicate a date before AD 9, but it is not clear how long beforehand. If the identification is incorrect, then the text may date to the late Republic (note the archaic spelling of *perpetuom*; DEGRASSI included it in his *ILLRP*).
214. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.132-133 dates this text to the early Imperial period, as does CENERINI, *RSA* 17-18 (1987-1988), 210-212 (she does not provide an exact date, but considers it under the rubric of early imperial material, cf. *ibid.*, 200). However, it may be of Republican date: note the spelling of *perpetuom* (cf. no. 213); A.R. HANDS, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 207, D.75 dates it to the "late first century BC".
215. Possible mention of  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}[\omicron\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\beta\omega\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota?]$  in the last line is probably a reference to Augustus and Livia as LAFAYE suggests. Menelaos, a local magistrate, here provides bathing out of his own pocket. He also gives oil to the people (cf. no. 244).
216. DESSAU reports that he cannot make sense of the *balneum et sui* phrase; it may be *et balnei usum*. The beneficiary (Festus) could be a soldier discharged without dishonour after the mutinies of the Rhine and Danube armies in AD 14, as he is described in the opening lines as *Ti. Caesaris | divi Aug. f. Augusti | miles missicius*. The decurions had voted him several honours: 50 *modii* of wheat (per year?), free baths forever, and a plot of land.
217. This appears to be the Helvius Rufus who won the *corona civica* in N. Africa against Tacfarinas in AD 20 (*Tac. Ann.*, 3.21). If so, he seems to have adopted the title "Civica" as his *signum*, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 75. For a discussion of the meaning of *balneum dare* here, cf. Appendix 6, s.v. B.4.
218. Dated by mention of Augustus Germanicus (Gaius or Nero) as reigning emperor, who had repaired the bath previously built by Augustus for the Bononians, cf. nos. 1 and 2 (Table 1). Here a fund of HS400,000 is set up, the interest from which is to pay for the free entry into these baths of the town's men and *impueres* of both sexes. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, nos. 647 and 1308 calculates the interest at HS20,000 per annum at a rate of 5% (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 132-138 [cf. pp. 116-117, n. 258] for interest rates).
219. Although the text is very fragmentary, enough survives to show that the unnamed benefactor did something for the women's baths (built? restored?), and then provided free baths *in perpetuum*. Cf. nos. 207 and 223 where free baths are provided for women only (though not specifically in a *balneum muliebre*).
220. Although the word for "free" is missing here, it seems clear enough that Kleitosthenes was preserving the right of citizens of Thera and resident foreigners to free bathing.

221. This is an interesting inscription. It records the efforts of one Q. Cor(nelius) Zosimus, a freedman of Marcellus, who was *sevir Augustalis* at the nearby colony of Arelate, on behalf of the people of Pagus Lucretius, a town in the *territorium* of the colony. It seems that Zosimus had petitioned the emperor in Rome and pestered the governors of the province (all at his own expense) to ensure that the *pagani* once again enjoyed the privilege of free bathing, a privilege which had been cut off after standing for over 40 years. Several questions remain. Who had bestowed the benefaction in the first place? The involvement of the imperial officials and petitions to the emperor may suggest a member of the central administration, but this is far from certain. Where was the bathhouse? Was it in the Pagus Lucretius or at Arelate? The full text reads: [p]agani Pagi Lucreti, qui sunt fini[bus Arelatensium loco Gragario, Q. Cor. | Marcelli lib. Zosimo, IIIIIvir Aug. Col. Iul. | Paterna Arelate, ob honorem eius, qui notum (sic) fecit || iniuriam nostram omnium saec[ulor]um sacra[tissimo] principi T. Aelio Antonino [Pio, . . .]r Romae | misit per multos annos ad praesides pr[ovinciae] perse[cutus] est iniuriam nostram suis in[pendiis]; e[st] ob hoc | donavit nobis inpendia quae fecit, ut omnium saecu[llorum] sacratissimi principis Imp. Caes. Antonini Aug. Pii | beneficia durarent permanerentque quibus frueremur | [ . . . ] et balineo gratuito quod ablatum erat paganis | [Pagi Lucreti], quod usi fuerant amplius annis XXXX. Zosimus appears to foreshadow the activities of the late Imperial *defensor civitatis*, officially established by Valentinian, whose main duty was to protect the lower classes from oppression and maltreatment by the rich, cf. A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), pp. 144-145, 279-280, 403, 500, 726-727.
222. The inscription records that Avitus's father had already built the baths for the town (cf. no. 63 [Table 3]), so *dedit* cannot here mean "built"; cf. Appendix 6, s.v. B.5 for a discussion.
223. The date is that assigned without explanation by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.133. An instructive text. Here a leading woman of the community gives a meal to all women of the *municipium*, and free baths and oil on the days of games and a feast put on by her husband. It is not exactly clear if Caesia restricted the free baths and oil to the same group as the meal had been (i.e. women of the town), but the sense would seem to suggest that this was the case, especially since the dedication was made by Caesia's *sorores piissimae* (presumably the beneficiaries).
224. This is part of a long inscription outlining the rules for an association of woollers and linenweavers as laid down by an unnamed founder. The title as it appears in the "Agent" column is my reconstruction, as drawn from the surviving text and the suggestions of Th. DREW-BEAR, "An Act of Foundation at Hypaipa", *Chiron* 10 (1980), 509-536. The preceding lines all dealt with the management of property given for the association's use. The editors of *SEG* translate the phrase cited in the table as: "Provide for the functioning without charge of the public baths for the inhabitants". (Presumably the baths were located either in Hypaipa or on the property mentioned in the text). However, this translation omits mention of the men charged with seeing to the baths, the managers (ἐπιμελήται). The term λούειν τὸ βαλανεῖον means "to provide free baths", cf. DREW-BEAR, op. cit., p. 523 (esp. n. 70).

\* \* \*

## B. WATER SUPPLY

225. Cf. no. 56 (Table 3).
226. It seems Faianius had been concerned first and foremost with supplying the town with *lacus* (public troughs) and providing water to the *piscina* located in the Campus. Then, because the person who sold the ground for the town's baths had made no provision for their water supply, Faianius gave water to the baths as well, a situation that provides an instructive glimpse of the sort of sharp practice that could accompany a bath transaction. The full text reads: P. Faianius P[le]beius IIvir. iter. | aquam ex ag[ro] suo in municipium | Forum Novum [pe]cunia sua adduxit | et lacus om[ne]s [f]ecit et in piscinam || quae in Campo est saliendam | curavit idemque probavit; | et cum venditor soli, in quo balneum est, | parum cavisset emptori de aqua | ut posset in balneo fluere, || aquam suam in id balneum ne carerent | commodo municipes | P. Faianius Plebeius dedit.
227. Cf. no. 82 (Table 4).
228. These two benefactors had built this *balneum*, cf. no. 86 (Table 4), so the provision of a water supply, essential for the functioning of the facility, can be viewed as part of that benefaction. This is the case with many water-supply benefactions.

229. Here water is supplied for the baths, probably by constructing an aqueduct. Cf. nos. 60 (Table 3) and below 265 for the other part of this benefaction.
230. Cf. no. 91 (Table 4).
231. Cf. no. 21 (Table 2).
232. Dated by titles of Antoninus Pius and M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar. DESSAU (*ILS* 4.279, 280) is unsure if the text dates to Antoninus's lifetime or is posthumous. As M. Aurelius is not called "Imperator", it would seem clear that the text is not posthumous. The inscription probably recorded the construction of an aqueduct.
233. Cf. no. 176 (Table 5). Uncertain restoration of the text makes it possible that it may not refer to a water supply restoration. Didasius was a local patron.
234. The editors of *SEG* suggest a 3rd-century date for this text (it seems associated with a 3rd-century dedication, *SEG* 28 (1978), 397). It is not exactly clear if the water was for the baths, but that is the implication. The inscription is acephalous so the identity of the benefactor is not known.
235. Cf. no. 162 (Table 5). Here the water supply to the *piscina*, previously reduced to a trickle, is improved until the pool is overflowing. An *exceptorium* was a type of tank or cistern (cf. no. 164 (Table 5), *ILS* 3063; and *OLD*, s.v.) sufficient to feed quite a large set of baths, cf. B.D. SHAW in A.T. HODGE (ed.), *Future Currents in Aqueduct Studies* (Leeds: Cairns, 1991), pp. 66-67.
236. Dated by mention of [*dd. nn. Valente et Valen*]tiano Augg.. Here the water supply to the *solium* of the summer baths was improved by tapping a better source.
237. Cf. nos. 69 (Table 3), 166 (Table 5). The local magistrate who completed and adorned the *Thermae Gratianae*, also improved its water supply.
238. Here the governor restores the aqueducts, previously made out of wood which was rotting, with "marvellous work". *Agpera*[-] appears to be *ac pera*[-]. perhaps to be restored *ac pera*[cte]. Cf. no. 38 (Table 2).
239. Dated by mention of Aemilius Florus Paternus as proconsul (*PLRE* 2 Paternus [p. 837]). The text is fragmentary and determining the agent is difficult. It reads: [aequae]ductos taetra ac deformat caligine mersos et nullo felici aspect[u] gaudentes | [-- proconsulatu Ae]mili Flori Paterni v. c. et inlustris et Eri Fani Geminiani v. c. leg. c. vib [--] | [--] valet in sple[ndidissimo municipio? [--]m et F]. P.(?) Geminio provisionis [--] beneficio quae usui [privato ero]gabatur lavacris praestitit quae hac viduata on[eribus illis? iussit f]ieri civibus | //n [-- k]andido f.f. l.l. p.p.p. d.d. [--] sumtu public[o restituit] //et dedicavit. The phrase *sumtu publico* at the end clearly indicates that the main work (restoration of an aqueduct) was the responsibility of the local authorities. The word "gemino" is more problematic. If the letters preceding it are correctly restored (which is far from certain), it may refer to a man, in which case he may have been an official commissioned to oversee the operations, or he could have been a private benefactor who allowed his water (?) to be used for the public baths: "[The water?] which used to be put to private use he gave over to the baths as a benefaction" (*[aquam?] beneficio quae usui [privato ero]gabatur lavacris praestitit*). Alternatively, *gemino* may go with *beneficio* which follows, in reference to the double nature of the benefaction. The text was found in 15 fragments, so difficulties of reading are hardly surprising.
240. The date is that assigned by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.41, n. 26 (which seems correct: the detailed description of the building's problems corresponds to Late Imperial epigraphic practice, cf. note to no. 159 (Table 5)). Here a local, *Furius Togi*us, restores the water supply to the *Thermae Pentascinenses* which had been so damaged by an earthquake that the *lavacra* (in this case evidently a part of the *thermae*; cf. above, p. 10) could no longer be used. The baths have been excavated and are poorly preserved; they may date originally to the Augustan period, *ibid.* I.45, n. 64 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 49, n. 91).

\* \* \*

### C. OIL DISTRIBUTIONS

NOTE: I do not include here 22 African inscriptions and three (from Spain and Germany) that record the exhibition of *gymnasia* to the people, sometimes in the baths. I am inclined to follow the *OLD*, s.v. "gymnasium" (2), which interprets the term to mean athletic display rather than DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, p. 81 where it is taken to denote oil-distribution, if for no other reason than none of the *gymnasia* (save one) are mentioned in connection with baths. Rather, they are associated with *sportulae* or *epula* or both. They are usually associated with the dedication of a monument or the acquisition of local office (or both). The references are (all in *CIL* 8; the bath-related *gymnasium* indicated in brackets): 754, 769, 858, 860, 895, 1323, 1353, 1361, 1414, 1449, 1501, 1574, 1577, 1587, 1858 (baths), 1859, 12381,

14365, 14378, 14783 (= *ILS* 5075), 26121, 26259. In addition, cf. *AE* 1989.420 (no. 267 below) from Baetica where a gymnasium is given to the people; *AE* 1953.21 (no. 207 below) from Spain where a *gymnasium* is given to the people on the days of a festival at Lucurgentum; and *CIL* 13.5042 (cf. *AE* 1939.206) where money is given for a *gymnasium* for three days at Minnodunum in Germania Superior. These are the only examples of such a benefaction I know of outside Africa. WESCH-KLEIN (*Liberalitas*, pp. 27-30) makes a good case for the oil-distribution interpretation, but why use the word *gymnasium* and not one of the oil-distribution formulae found in other texts? Even if an oil distribution were part of the *gymnasium* benefaction, there may have been other elements involved, no longer identifiable (e.g. provision of strigils, or other equipment for sport). This suggestion gains weight from no. 267 below, where the giving of oil and of a *gymnasium* appear to be clearly differentiated (unless *gymnasium* is here used a synonym for *oleum gratuitum* in the previous sentence, or indicates oil destined for a special purpose, cf. Le ROUX, *Ktema* 12 (1987), 276, n. 43). Given the general uncertainty surrounding the term, it seems best to omit it from the main body of the Table, while noting its possibilities here.

241. Cf. above, no. 223.
242. The term ἐκ λουτήρων means from large jars placed in the baths. It is often not clear from these inscriptions recording oil distributions in the east whether we are dealing with gymnasia baths or strictly Roman-style baths which, in this part of the empire, may have served identical purposes anyway (cf. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.105-114).
243. Here the local magistrate provides oil at his own expense on certain days every month, and on a later occasion provides it (to all classes?) in individual *unguentaria* (δράκτοι), filled from the larger λούτηρες.
244. Cf. above, no. 215.
245. The text is dated by Sacerdos's holding the priesthood of Tiberius which was not instituted at Pergamum until AD 26 (cf. Tac. *Ann.*, 4.55-56). Here oil is provided for the whole day.
246. Here the benefaction is the setting up of a foundation from HS40,000, the interest from which is to be spent on oil distributions in all the baths of Comum throughout the festival of Neptunalia. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, nos. 676 and 1088 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 132-136) reckons the yield to be HS2,400 per year if the interest rate were 6%. I also adopt the date assigned to this text according to the criteria laid out at *ibid.*, pp. 362-363. It is possible, as *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 30 suggests, that this man was a parental relative of Pliny the Younger. If so, the 1st century date is confirmed.
247. From the rules of the Lanuvian Burial Club. Dated by the phrase [*L. Ceionio*] *Commodo Sex. Vettuleno Civica Pompeiano cos.* in the opening line.
248. The word ἀλείψας is understood here. Notice how Asklepiades provides slaves and freedmen for the distribution of the oil, again in little oil flasks drawn from the larger λούτηρες (cf. above, no. 243). Fragmentary imperial titles at the start of the inscription suggest a possible Hadrianic date for the text.
249. Dionysios is also recorded in the same text as having placed oil in various gymnasia for various lengths of time. It is only in the cited clause, however, that βαλανεία are mentioned.
250. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.40, n. 25 dates this to the Julio-Claudian period. However, the stemma attached to *CIL* 11.6335 cites this Aufidius as the father of C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. AD 183 (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1393), in which case the benefactor of this text would date to early-mid 2nd century AD.
251. Dated by letterform. A fragmentary inscription which does not preserve the identity of the benefactor. The side of the stone bears the inscription . . . *rarissim[os] | Sex. Sentinas Maxi|mus anno primo | [f]acti municipi | posuit*. This may be the benefactor of the main text; alternatively, there may be no connection at all between the two texts.
252. Dated by mention of the emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus, who discharged Optatus (*missus honesta | missione ab imp. M. | Aur. Antonino et Aur. | Vero Aug.*) A lengthy inscription recording the part of the will of this honorably discharged centurion and local magistrate outlining his benefactions to the people of Barcino. He orders 7,500 denarii (= HS30,000) to be given for the holding of games on 10 June every year, and on that day the people are to get free oil in the baths from the 200 denarii (= HS800) mentioned. The pertinent lines read: *do lego | darique volo (denariorum) (7,500), ex || quorum usuris semissibus | edi volo quodannis spectac(ulum) | pugilum die III iduum Iuni(arum) | usque at (denarios) (250), et eadem die | ex (denariis) (200) oleum in thermas public(as) || populo praeberi et [i]necta praes[er]tari ea condicione volo, ut | liberti mei, item libertorum meorum | libertarumque liberti, quos honor. seviratus contiger[un]t, ab omnibus mulneribus seviratus ex||cusati sint. Quot si quis | eorum at*

- munera | vocitus fuerit, | tum ea (denarios) (7,500) at | rem pub(licam) Tarrac(onensem) || transferri iubeo, | sub eadem forma | spectaculorum, quot | s(upra) s(criptum) est, edendorum | Tarracone.
253. From a Christian cemetery on the Esquiline hill. This Numerius lived in the Severan period, serving under Severus Alexander, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 202. He is also recorded as having carried out extensive restoration work on the baths. Notice that he struggles to establish an oil distribution from his own money.

\* \* \*

#### D. FUNDS FOR MAINTENANCE OF BATHS

254. Dated by letterform. Daphnus had built these baths for the town, cf. no. 59 (Table 3), and here provides 150 denarii (= HS600) for their upkeep, not a particularly lavish sum by comparison to others known, cf. below, no. 257. *Tutela* means "upkeep" in the sense of cleaning etc.
255. This woman had built the *thermae* for the town (cf. no. 89 [Table 4]). Here 2,500 denarii (= HS10,000) is given to the town as a foundation for the perpetual maintenance of the structure. This would yield HS500 per annum if the rate was 5%, HS600 if it was 6% (these are the two most common rates proposed by DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, pp. 132-138, esp. 133-136).
256. Cf. nos. 90 (Table 4) and 188 (Table 6).
257. Part of the huge bequest of Fabius to Altinum, almost all of which went on bath benefactions, cf. no. 87 (Table 4) for the full text, and nos. 189 (Table 6) and 264 below for the other parts of the benefaction. Here HS200,000 is provided for *tutela*.
258. Here an apparently existing structure is given to Corfinium along with HS30,000 evidently for its upkeep, although the text does not say so explicitly, cf. Appendix 6, s.v. B.6. Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, no. 1308a where the yield of the foundation is calculated at HS1,800 per year if the interest rate was 6%.

\* \* \*

#### E. MISCELLANEOUS

##### E.1 Ground given for baths

259. Cf. no. 140 (Table 5) for the rest of this benefaction. Here ground is given for the bath, but the text does not say Junia built the actual facility (as do, for instance, nos. 89, 91, and 92).
260. This is part of the massive benefaction of Culleo to what was to his hometown of Castulo. Cf. R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, "The Procurator as Civic Benefactor", *JRS* 64 (1974), 79-85 where this inscription is discussed in detail. The date is uncertain, but reckoned by DUNCAN-JONES (84) to lie within the broad limits AD 20-160.

##### E.2 Baths bought (and made public property)

261. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I. 40, n. 25 includes this in her 1st-century AD material, but gives no indication why. It seems that a private bath was bought by the town authority and made a public facility. It is likely that the HS60,000 mentioned in the text as the cost of the *balneum* was divided equally among the six Augustales named. It may even have been a *summa honoraria*.

##### E.3 Baths heated

262. An interesting benefaction. The ex-magistrate sets up a foundation of 400 wagon-loads of hardwood as fuel for the *lavacrum* of the baths, and passes the administration of the benefaction onto his successors in office.
263. Cf. above, no. 243 for the rest of this man's bath benefaction. Here he heats two ambulatories, which are probably part of a bath building, although this is not explicitly stated.
264. This figure would yield HS20,000 per annum if the rate was 5%, cf. DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, nos. 647 and 1307 (pp. 173 and 215). This inscription makes explicit the difference between the benefaction of providing for the upkeep (*tutela*) of the baths and that of heating them (*calefactio*), cf. above nos. 87 (Table 4), 189 (Table 6) and 257 above.

265. Cited as securely Trajanic by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.123, n. 5, presumably following *CIL* 2.3361 where the date is by letterform. Therefore, I retain a questionmark. Here water is given to the baths (cf. above, no. 230) and an area of 300 agnuars of woodland given for the baths. An agnuar was 120 ft<sup>2</sup>, (cf. Varro *R.R.*, 1.102; Columella, 5.1.5). The woodland was to provide fuel for the baths, a practice known from other sources, cf. R. MEIGGS, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 237-238, 321, 513 (n. 12).

#### E.4 Lead to baths

266. Here an anonymous benefactor gives a remarkable 8662 pounds of lead to the baths. The lead would be used perhaps for the four *labella* (bowls or basins of uncertain function, cf. *OLD* s.v. "labellum") mentioned at the end of the citation (the lead is given *in quattuor*), or possibly for pipes and/or pool-lining (the King's Bath at Bath was lined with lead). Lead was evidently a much-needed commodity for the baths. Other texts tell of the donation of pipes for the baths (e.g. nos. 21 (Table 2), 174 (Table 5) and 237 (Table 7); note also that no. 137 (Table 5) contains the words *fistulas reposuit*, though the pipes in question may not have been part of the baths). Note also the inscription found on the pipe from the Baths of Agrippa at Rome, *CIL* 15.7247: in lavacro Aggrippinae (sic) | Imp. Caes. Traj. Hadriani Aug. sub cur(a) Trebelli Marini Martialis serv. fecit. Here a slave on the staff of a *procurator aquarum* make the pipe that goes into the bath (cf. *RE* 2.6A.2265, s.v. "Trebellius" (no. 12) [Stein]). It can be surmised that the laying of pipes was a major benefaction in itself.

#### ADDENDUM

267. Compare with no. 207 and note above. The text is closely analyzed by Le ROUX, *Ktema* 12 (1987), 271-284. Full text: M. Valerio M.f., | M.n., G. pron., Quir. | Proculino, Iivir(o) m(unicipum) m(unicipii) | Liberi Singiliensis || cives et incolae ex aere conlato | hic in Iiviratu publicos ludos et | totidem dierum privatos dedit | item | populum universum in municipio || habitantem et incolas oleo et balineo | gratuito dato pervocavit | item quo die ludos iu(v)enum in teatro | dedit gymnasium et balinea viris et | mulieribus gratuita praestit || huic cives et incolae pr(idie) k(alendas) Ianuarias | abeunti e Iiviratu ob rem publicam | bene atministratam (sic) consensu omnium | in foro publice gratias egerunt | et hostias quas inmolaret item || permisit | Iivir(atu) A(ulo) Cornelio Palma Frontiano (sic) II | P(ublio) Calvisio Tullo cos. Note that Valerius calls "the whole of the people and inhabitants (of the municipium's *territorium*) to assembly after giving oil and free bathing". He probably wanted to boast to the masses in person. Le ROUX's suggestion (ibid., 276) that the phrase means that Valerius summoned the *universus populus* by means of criers to enjoy his benefaction seems a little stretched: the ablative absolute *balineo gratuito dato* would imply that Valerius summoned the people *after* he had offered them the benefaction. However, on the same page Le ROUX plausibly suggests that the second free bathing benefaction was aimed primarily at the parents of the *iuvenes*, so that they could relax and socialize while the youth enjoyed the *ludi* put on in the theatre for their benefit by Valerius.

# **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX 1

### THE LITERARY SOURCES FOR GROWTH LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY, c. 80 BC - AD 90

Date	Information	Reference
80 BC	<i>Balneae Pallacinae</i> at Rome	Cic. <i>pro Rosc.</i> , 18
64/3 BC	Atia, Augustus's mother avoids public baths	Suet. <i>Aug.</i> , 94.4
60 BC	Faustus Sulla gives free baths and oil to people at Rome	Dio 37.51.4
	Cicero will heat his (private) bath for Atticus's arrival	Cic. <i>Att.</i> , 2.3.4 (23 S-B)
56 BC	Cicero's description of the <i>Balneae Seniae</i> at Rome used as unremarkable backdrop for refutation of Clodia poison plot	Cic. <i>pro Cael.</i> , 61-62
60s or early 50s BC	Catullus refers to thieves at the baths	Cat. 33.1-2
47 BC	Cicero includes baths among the "necessities of life and health" in letter to Terentia	Cic. <i>Fam.</i> , 14.20.1 (173 S-B)
	Cicero asks his friend Paetus to have his (private) bath ready for his arrival	Cic. <i>Fam.</i> , 9.16.9 (190 S-B)
c.35/4 BC	Horace refers to a "one-penny bathhouse"	Hor. <i>Sat.</i> , 1.3.137
	Baths among Horace's daily routine	Hor. <i>Sat.</i> , 1.6.125-126
33 BC	170 offers of free bathing given by Agrippa at Rome	Pliny <i>NH</i> , 36.121
26-19 BC	Agrippa builds his baths at Rome	Dio, 53.27.1, 54.29.4.
30s or early 20s BC	Vitruvius includes a description of how to build baths in his <i>De Architectura</i>	Vitruv., 5.10
c. 20 BC	Horace describes a poor fellow forever changing bathhouses and apartments	Hor. <i>Epist.</i> , 1.1.91-93
	Horace includes baths as characteristic of a city	Hor. <i>Epist.</i> , 1.14.14-15
13 BC	Augustus gives free baths to people at Rome for one day	Dio 54.25.4

	Poets avoid crowded bathhouses	Hor. <i>Epist.</i> , 2.3. 296-8 (= <i>Ars</i> , 296-298)
2-1 BC	Ovid refers to the "many <i>balnea</i> " of Rome	Ovid <i>Ars Am.</i> , 3.638-640
Tiberian	Celsus makes frequent reference to baths	<i>de Med.</i>
Tiberian - Claudian period	Q. Remmius Palaemon mentions both <i>balneum</i> and <i>thermae</i>	<i>Ars</i> , 568
Mid-1st cent. AD	Baths feature frequently in writings of Pliny the Elder	<i>NH</i>
AD 62	Nero builds his baths in Rome	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> , 14.20-21, 47, 15.29.2; Suet. <i>Nero</i> , 12.3, 31.2
AD 62-64	Seneca rails against the luxury of contemporary baths	Sen. <i>Ep.</i> , 86.4-12. See also <i>Dial.</i> , 7.73, <i>Ep.</i> , 90.25, 122.6, 8
Neronian period	Baths feature in Petronius's <i>Satyricon</i> as a regular part of daily life	Petron., <i>Satyr.</i> , 26-28, 30, 41, 53, 72 - 73 (a private bath), 91, 92, 97, 130 (a private bath?), fr. 2.
80s and 90s AD	Baths feature prominently in Martial's quips on Roman society	Mart. <i>Spec.</i> and <i>Ep.</i>

## APPENDIX 2

### MAPS ILLUSTRATING THE SPREAD OF PUBLIC BATHING IN THE ITALIAN PENINSULA UP TO c. AD 100

#### NOTES

Only "Roman-style" baths are indicated.

The sites on the maps are numbered according to the entries in the tables below.

Specific information about each site is to be found in the appropriate table entry.

Naturally, the baths listed here are only those for which a definite geographical location can be provided.

Entries reflect the first appearance of baths at each site, i.e. their construction dates (when physical remains are present), or their earliest mention in an author or inscription (which, of course does not necessarily correspond to construction dates); baths which continued in use throughout the periods covered by both maps are not shown twice. Thus establishments such as those of Republican date at Pompeii, Caes or Cumae, only appear on Map 1.

Entries are listed chronologically.

Multiple entries for single sites are indicated by bullets (•).

\* \* \*

#### MAP 1: The public baths of the Italian peninsula, (from earliest times to Agrippa's aedileship, 33 BC)

<i>Site no.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Comments and references</i>
1	Capua	216 BC. One bath mentioned. Livy 23.7.3 (cf. above, pp. 72-73 for discussion).

- 2 Rome
- Late 3rd/early 2nd cent. BC. Plays of Plautus (cf. above, pp. 75-79 for discussion); early baths mentioned in Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, 9.68; Cato the Elder, *Non.* p. 108M (155L), s.v. *ephippium*.
  - 2nd cent. BC. Caec. Staius, *Non.*, 194M (285L), s.v. *balneae*.
  - 1st cent. BC. *Balneae* mentioned by Cat., 33.1; Hor. *Sat.*, 1.3.137, 6.125-126; those named by Cic. *pro Rosc.* 18 (*Balneae Pallicinae*), *pro Cael.*, 61-62 (*Balneae Seniae*); the benefaction of Faustus Sulla in 60 BC, Dio 37.51.4.
- 3 Cumae c. 180 BC. Central Baths built.
- 4 Pompeii
- c. 140-120 BC. Stabian Baths built (C.40).
  - c. 100-90 BC. Republican Baths built (C.41).
  - c. 80 BC. Forum Baths built (C.42).
- 5 Teanum Sidicinum c. 130-121 BC. One bath, probably a double building, mentioned, Aul. Gell., 10.3.3 (cf. above, pp. 74-75 for discussion).
- 6 Cales
- c. 130-121 BC. Indeterminate number; Aul. Gell., 10.3.3.
  - c. 90-70 BC. Central Baths built (C.35).
- 7 Ferentinum c. 130-121 BC. Indeterminate number, Aul. Gell., 10.3.3.
- 8 Aletrium c. 130-120 BC. *Lacus balnearius*; *ILLRP* 528.
- 9 Musarna Late 2nd/early 1st cent. BC. Baths built (C.62).
- 10 Aceruntia Post-Social War. *Piscina* repaired, *ILLRP* 521.
- 11 Lacedonia Post-Social War. *Piscina* cleaned and re-lined, *ILLRP* 542.
- 12 Grumentum Sullan? *Balneum* built, *ILRRP* 606.
- 13 Interamna Praetuttiorum 1st cent. BC (?). Free bathing to all comers, *ILRRP* 617.
- 14 Praeneste 1st cent. BC (?). Free bathing, *ILS* 5672.
- 15 Alba Fucens Mid-1st cent. BC. Baths built (NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I. 35).
- 16 Herdonia Caesarian? Baths built, *AE* 1967.96.
- 17 Croton End of Republic. *Balneum* built, *ILLRP* 575.

### ADDENDA

(from JOUFFROY, *Construction*, pp. 51-53)

- 18 Cosa 2nd cent. BC. *PECS*, s.v. "Cosa", p. 245 [Brown].

19	Fondi	1st cent. BC. E. LISSI-CARONNA, <i>BA</i> 55 (1965), 108.
20	Massarosa	1st cent. BC. <i>NSc</i> 1935, 211.
21	Cetumcellae	1st cent. BC. S. BASTIANELLI, <i>NSc</i> 1942, 235.
22	Mevaniola	c. 50 BC. <i>FA</i> 15 (1960), no. 4445.

\* \* \*

## MAP 2: The public baths of Italy, 33 BC - AD 100

<i>Site no.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Comments and references</i>
1	Rome	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 33 BC. 170 <i>gratuita balinea</i> offered in city (Pliny, <i>NH</i>, 36.121).</li> <li>• 25-19 BC. Baths of Agrippa built (C.1).</li> <li>• c.20 BC. Horace mentions baths in Rome (<i>Epist.</i>, 1.1.91-93).</li> <li>• c. 2-1BC. "Many baths" mentioned in Ovid (<i>Ars Am.</i>, 3.638-640).</li> <li>• Mid-1st cent. AD. Baths feature in the writings of Celsus, the Elder and Younger Seneca, the Elder and Younger Pliny, Petronius.</li> <li>• AD 62. Baths of Nero built (C.2).</li> <li>• AD 79-80. Baths of Titus built (C.3).</li> <li>• Late 1st cent. AD. Baths feature heavily in writings of Martial and (to a lesser extent) in Persius, many named (cf. Appendix 4); note also an area of the city apparently called "Four Baths" (Mart., 5.70).</li> </ul>
2	Velia	Late 1st century BC. Baths built (C.52).
3	Pisa	AD 4. All baths (an indeterminate number) closed in Pisa to mark mourning of C. Caesar, <i>ILS</i> 140.21-24.
4	Ostia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Augustan. <i>Balneum</i> mentioned, <i>CIL</i> 14.4711.</li> <li>• Mid-1st cent. AD. Baths of Invidiosus built (C.28).</li> <li>• AD 80-90. Baths of the Swimmer built (C.15).</li> </ul>
5	Faesulae	Augustan? Baths built (C.58).
6	Herculaneum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Augustan. Forum Baths built (C.38).</li> <li>• Julio-Claudian. Suburban Baths built (C.39).</li> </ul>

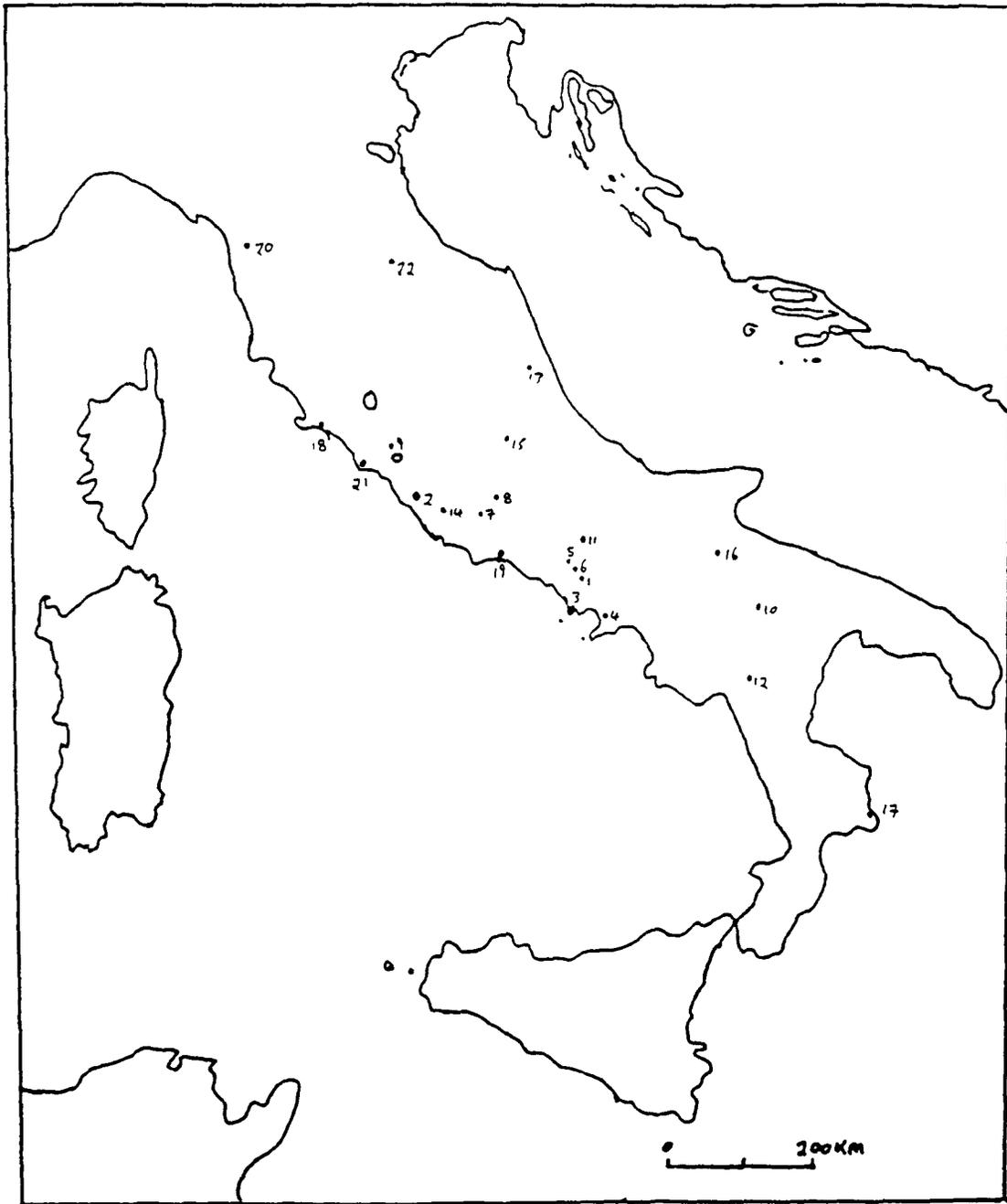
- |    |                                     |   |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 7  | Pompeii                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Augustan? <i>Balneus Agrippae</i> mentioned (may not be a bathhouse), <i>CIL</i> 4.3878.</li> <li>• Tiberian? Suburban Baths built (C.43).</li> <li>• Tiberian? <i>Thermae et baln(eae?) Crassi Frugi</i>, <i>ILS</i> 5724.</li> <li>• AD 62-79. Central Baths built (C.47).</li> <li>• AD 62-79. <i>Balneum Venerium et Nongentum</i> (C.46), <i>ILS</i> 5723.</li> <li>• AD 62-79. Sarno/Palaestra Baths Complex (C.44-45).</li> </ul> |
| 8  | Bononia                             | Augustan. Bath built by Augustus, restored by Gaius or Nero, <i>ILS</i> 5674.   |
| 9  | Volsinii                            | Post-AD 17/18. <i>Balneum</i> built by L. Sejus Strabo, <i>ILS</i> 8996.  |
| 10 | Vallis<br>Digentiae<br>(near Tibur) | Tiberian (post -AD 20). <i>Balneum</i> "given", <i>ILS</i> 2637.  |
| 11 | Comum                               | Early 1st cent. AD. Multiple <i>balneae</i> and <i>thermae</i> in the town, <i>ILS</i> 6728.  |
| 12 | Forum<br>Sempronii                  | First half of 1st cent. AD. Double baths built (C.57).  |
| 13 | Teate<br>Marruc-<br>inorum          | Mid-1st cent. AD. Baths built (C.53).   |
| 14 | Massac-<br>iuccoli                  | Mid-1st cent. AD. "Baths of Nero" built (C.61).   |
| 15 | Furfo                               | Julio-Claudian. Bath built, <i>CIL</i> 9.3522.  |
| 16 | Teanum<br>Sidicinum                 | Julio-Claudian. <i>Balneum Clodianum</i> bought by local authority (presumably to be made public), <i>ILS</i> 5677  |
| 17 | Ligures<br>Baebiani                 | Post-AD 62 (?). <i>Balneum</i> restored after earthquake (of AD 62?), <i>CIL</i> 9.1466   |
| 18 | Ferentum                            | Flavian? Double baths built (C.59).   |
| 19 | San Gaetano<br>di Vada              | Second half of 1st cent. AD. Baths built (C.63).  |
| 20 | Urbs Salvia                         | Second half of 1st cent. AD/early 2nd cent. AD. <i>Balneum muliebre</i> (?) mentioned, <i>AE</i> 1979.202.  |
| 21 | Capena                              | c. AD 90-120. <i>Balneum</i> given as foundation for upkeep of son's tomb, <i>ILS</i> 5770.   |
| 22 | Copia Thurii                        | 1st cent. AD. Edge of <i>labrum</i> inscribed by <i>duoviri</i> , <i>AE</i> 1976.175.   |

- 23 Florentia 1st cent. AD. Capitol Baths built (C.60).
- 24 Ager 1st cent. AD. *Balneum* mentioned (built? extended? adorned?).  
Viterbiensis *CIL* 11.3010.
- 25 Fanum 1st cent. AD. *Balneum* restored after fire, *ILS* 5679.
- 26 Alinum 1st cent. AD. Two baths restored, *NSc*, (1928), 283.

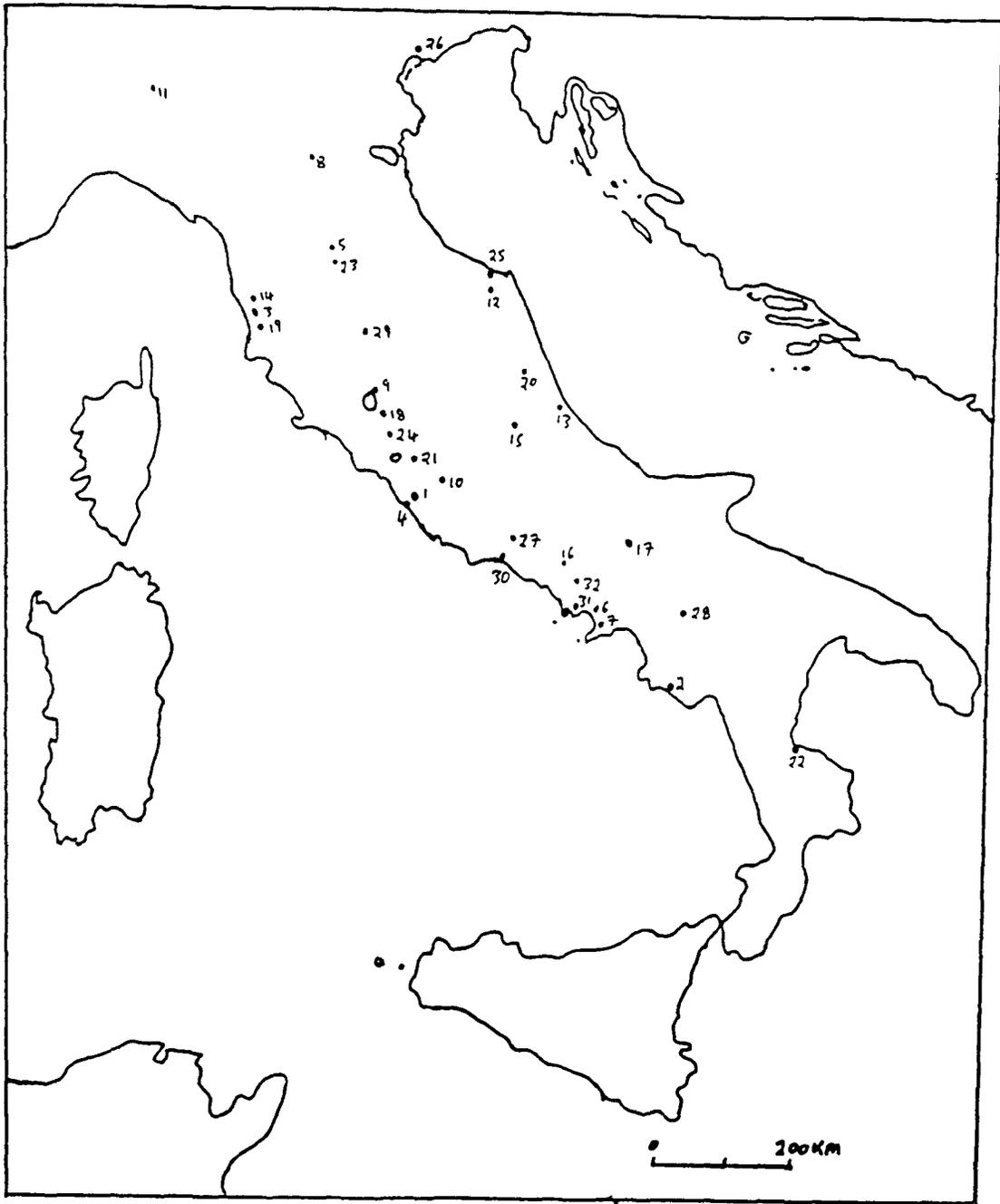
### ADDENDA

(from JOUFFROY, *Construction*, pp. 93-96)

- 27 Aquinum Augustan. Remains of apsidal structure, perhaps baths. M. CAGIANO de AZEVEDO, *Aquinum* (1949), p. 43.
- 28 Aeclanum Augustan? Remains of baths. *PECS*, s.v. "Aeclanum", p. 11 [Ward-Perkins].
- 29 Arretium Augustan? Remains near the theatre. *EAA* 1, s.v. Arezzo, p. 617 [Maetzke]
- 30 Terracina • Augustan. Baths of Neptune built. S. AURIGEMMA et al, *Circeo, Terracina, Fondi* (1960), p. 33  
• Flavian. Baths of the Arenas. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
- 31 Naples Julio-Claudian. Baths near the theatre. Suet. *Nero*, 20.2; M. NAPOLI, *Napoli greco-romana* (1959), p. 197
- 32 Capua 1st cent. AD. North-East baths. A. de FRANCISCIS, *RAAN* 48 (1973), 95-104.



**MAP 1: The public baths of the Italian peninsula (up to 33 BC)**



**MAP 2: The public baths of the Italian peninsula (33 BC - AD 100)**

## APPENDIX 3

### LIST OF PUBLIC BATH-SITES

This list of bath-sites is compiled from the catalogues in NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.1-47 and MANDERSCHIED, *Bib.*, pp. 43-231. NIELSEN's number-system has been retained for ease of reference, and those baths found in MANDERSCHIED but not in NIELSEN, assembled in section B, are assigned a number (MANDERSCHIED's original entries are unnumbered) preceded by the letter "M" to indicate the source.

The list is confined to bath- or site-names only; more information can be gleaned by referring to the original NIELSEN or MANDERSCHIED entry.

In all cases, private, military, thermal and religious baths have been excluded where they could be identified, as have gymnasia and bath-gymnasia. Likewise, baths in Egypt and the East which post-date the 5th century AD are omitted.

Both sections of the list are arranged according to the province groups used by NIELSEN in her catalogue.

\* \* \*

#### A. NIELSEN

##### ITALY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| C.1 Baths of Agrippa, Rome                  | C.24 Baths of Neptune, Ostia   |
| C.2 Baths of Nero, Rome                     | C.25 Baths of the Porta Marina, Ostia                                  |
| C.3 Baths of Titus, Rome                    | C.26 Baths of Faros, Ostia   |
| C.4 Baths of Trajan, Rome                   | C.27 Forum Baths, Ostia  |
| C.5 Baths of Sura, Rome                     | C.28 Baths of Invidiosus, Ostia  |
| C.6 Baths on <i>FUR</i> fr. 33, Rome        | C.29 Baths of the Philosopher, Ostia                                   |
| C.7 Baptisterium Baths, Rome                | C.30 Baths on the Via della Foce, Ostia                                |
| C.8 Baths of Caracalla, Rome                | C.31 Baths on the Via del Tempio<br>Rotundo, Ostia                     |
| C.10 Lateran Baths, Rome                    | C.33 Severan Baths, Vicus Augustanus<br>Laurentium                     |
| C.11 Baths of Diocletian, Rome              | C.35 Central Baths, Cales  |
| C.13 Baths of Constantine, Rome             | C.37 Via Terracina Baths, Fuorigotta<br>(between Neapolis and Puteoli) |
| C.14 Baths on Isola Sacra, Rome             | C.38 Forum Baths, Herculaneum  |
| C.15 Baths of the Swimmer, Ostia            | C.39 Suburban Baths, Herculaneum                                       |
| C.16 Baths of Buticosus, Ostia              | C.40 Stabian Baths, Pompeii  |
| C.17 Baths of the Christian Basilica, Ostia | C.41 Republican Baths, Pompeii   |
| C.18 Baths of the Six Columns, Ostia        | C.42 Forum Baths, Pompeii  |
| C.19 Baths by the Sullan Wall, Ostia        | C.43 Suburban Baths, Pompeii   |
| C.20 Baths of Trinacria, Ostia              | C.44 Sarno Baths, Pompeii  |
| C.21 Baths of Mithras, Ostia                | C.45 Palaestra Baths, Pompeii  |
| C.22 Baths of the Seven Sages, Ostia        |  |
| C.23 Baths of Drivers, Ostia                |  |

- C.46 Balneum Venerium et Nongentum,  
Pompeii  
C.47 Central Baths, Pompeii  
C.49 Baths, Venusia  
C.50 Large Baths, Paestum  
C.51 Large Baths by Porta Marina Sud,  
Velia  
C.52 Vignale Baths, Velia  
C.53 Baths, Teate Marrucinatorum  
C.57 Double Baths, Forum Sempronii  
C.58 Baths, Faesulae  
C.59 Double Baths, Ferentum  
C.60 Capitol Baths, Florentia  
C.61 "Baths of Nero", Massaciuccoli  
C.62 Baths, Musarna  
C.63 Baths, San Gaetano di Vada  
C.64 Baths, Volaterrae

## SICILY

- C.66 "Daphne" Baths, Syracuse  
C.67 Baths in Region IV, Tyndaris

## THE WESTERN PROVINCES

## ALPES MARITIMAE

- C.68 East Baths, Cemenelum  
C.69 North Baths, Cemenelum  
C.70 West Baths, Cemenelum

## CORSICA

- C.71 Santa Laurina Baths, Aleria

## GALLIA AQUITANIA

- C.72 Large Baths, Derventum  
C.73 Small Baths, Derventum  
C.74 Baths, Divona  
C.75 Forum Baths, Lugdunum  
Convenarum  
C.76 North Baths, Lugdunum  
Convenarum  
C.77 Baths, Segodunum

## GALLIA BELGICA

- C.78 Baths below the Agnetenkaserne,  
Augusta Treverorum  
C.79 Barbara Baths, Augusta Treverorum  
C.80 "Green" Baths, Augusta Treverorum

- C.81 "Imperial" Baths, Augusta  
Treverorum  
C.84 Baths, Juliobona  
C.85 Vicus Baths, Mambra

## GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS

- C.90 Baths, Isarnodurum  
C.91 Cluny Baths, Lutetia Parisiorum  
C.92 Forum Baths in Rue Gay-Lussac,  
Lutetia Parisiorum  
C.94 City Baths, Noviodunum  
C.95 Baths, Verdes  
C.96 Baths, Vertillum

## GALLIA NARBONENSIS

- C.97 North Baths, Arelate  
C.98 Arsenal Baths, Forum Julii  
C.99 Platform Baths, Forum Julii  
C.100 Baths, Glanum  
C.101 North Baths, Vasio Vocontiorum  
C.102 Large Baths, Vienna

## GALLIA CISAPLINA

- C.103 Baths, Forum Julii  
C.104 Double Baths, Nesactium  
C.105 Baths, Veleia

## HISPANIA BAETICA

- C.106 Late Baths, Baelo  
C.107 East Baths, Italica  
C.108 West Baths, Italica  
C.109 Baths, Munigua

## HISPANIA TARRACONENSIS

- C.110 Baths, Arcobriga  
C.111 Baths, Baetulo  
C.112 Baths, Belligio  
C.113 Baths, Los Bañales  
C.114 Baths, Segobriga

## LUSITANIA

- C.115 Augustan Baths, Conimbriga  
C.116 Flavian Baths, Conimbriga  
C.117 Hospedaria Baths, Conimbriga  
C.118 Baths outside the City Wall,  
Conimbriga

C.119 Double Baths, Mirobriga

#### MAURETANIA TINGITANA

C.120 Fresco Baths, Banasa  
 C.121 North Baths, Banasa  
 C.122 Large West Baths, Banasa  
 C.123 Small West Baths, Banasa  
 C.124 Baths, Dchar Jdid  
 C.125 Christian Baths (Bath J), Lixus  
 C.126 Theatre Baths, Lixus  
 C.127 Double Baths, Thamusida  
 C.128 Early Baths, Volubilis  
 C.129 Gallienic Baths, Volubilis  
 C.130 North Baths, Volubilis

#### SARDINIA

C.131 Forum Baths, Forum Trajani  
 C.132 Sea Baths, Nora  
 C.133 Small Baths, Nora  
 C.134 Baths (Terme di "Convento Vecchio"), Tharros  
 C.135 Central Baths, Turrus Libysonis

#### THE NORTHER FRONTIER PROVINCES

##### BRITANNIA

C.138 City Baths, Calleva Atrebatum  
 C.147 Early City Baths, Viroconium Cornoviorum  
 C.148 City Baths (Insula 5), Viroconium Cornoviorum

##### DACIA

C.151 City Baths, Sarmizegetusa

##### GERMANIA INFERIOR

C.153 City Baths, Colonia Ulpia Trajana  
 C.154 City Baths, Coriovallum

##### GERMANIA SUPERIOR

C.155 City Baths (Bath 3), Arae Flaviae  
 C.156 Women's Baths, Augusta Raurica  
 C.157 Central Baths, Augusta Raurica

C.158 City Baths, Aventicum  
 C.160 City Baths, Castellum Mattiacorum  
 C.162 City Baths (?), Grinario  
 C.164 Vicus Baths, Iuliomagus  
 C.170 West City Baths, Nida  
 C.171 East City Baths, Nida

#### NORICUM

C.185 City Baths II, Aguntum  
 C.186 City Baths I, Lauriacum  
 C.187 City Baths III, Lauriacum  
 C.189 City Baths, Virunum I (?)

#### PANNONIA

C.190 Decumanus City Baths, Aquincum  
 C.191 Double City Baths, Aquincum  
 C.192 Large City Baths, Aquincum  
 C.194 Insula IV Baths, Carnuntum  
 C.195 City Baths, Carnuntum

#### RAETIA

C.197 The Bath-house, Cambodunum  
 C.198 Large City Baths I, Cambodunum  
 C.199 Large City Baths II, Cambodunum  
 C.200 Small City Baths, Cambodunum  
 C.205 City Baths, Turicum

#### THRACIA (WEST)

C.206 City Baths, Serdica

#### THE NORTH AFRICAN PROVINCES

C.207 Julia Memmia Baths, Bulla Regia  
 C.208 Northeast Baths, Bulla Regia  
 C.209 Antonine Baths, Carthago  
 C.210 West Baths, Gigthis  
 C.211 Baths, Kerkouane  
 C.212 Early Baths, Leptis Magna  
 C.213 Hadrianic Baths, Leptis Magna  
 C.214 Hunting Baths, Leptis Magna  
 C.215 Unfinished Baths, Leptis Magna  
 C.216 Large East Baths, Mactaris  
 C.217 Region VII Baths, Sabratha  
 C.218 Winter and Summer (?) Baths, Sufetula  
 C.220 Large Baths, Thaenae  
 C.221 Baths of the Months, Thaenae

- C.222 Summer Baths, Thuburbo Maius
- C.223 Winter Baths, Thuburbo Maius
- C.224 Licinian Baths, Thugga
- C.225 West Baths, Thysdrus

#### MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS

- C.226 Large West Baths, Colonia Claudia Caesarea
- C.227 Baths of Pompeianus, Oud Athmenia
- C.228 Southeast Baths, Rusguniae

#### NUMIDIA

- C.229 Large South Baths, Cuicul
- C.231 South Baths, Hippo Regius
- C.232 North Baths, Hippo Regius
- C.234 Hunters' Baths, Lambaesis
- C.235 Large Baths ("Palais du Legat"), Lambaesis
- C.236 Large Summer Baths, Madauros
- C.237 Small Winter (?) Baths, Madauros
- C.238 Large East Baths, Thumugadi
- C.239 Large South Baths, Thamugadi
- C.240 Small East Baths, Thamugadi
- C.241 Small Central Baths, Thamugadi
- C.242 Large North Baths, Thamugadi
- C.243 Philadelphes Baths, Thamugadi
- C.244 Small North Baths, Thamugadi
- C.245 Small South Baths, Thamugadi
- C.246 West Baths, Thamugadi
- C.247 "Sertius Market" Baths, Thamugadi
- C.248 Small Northeast Baths, Thamugadi
- C.249 Northwest Baths, Thamugadi
- C.250 "Capitol" Baths, Thamugadi
- C.251 Forum Novum Baths, Thubursicum Numidarum

#### THE EASTERN PROVINCES

##### ACHAEA

- C.252 Large Baths, Argos
- C.253 Baths, Asine
- C.254 Southwest Baths, Athens
- C.255 Olympieion Baths, Athens
- C.256 Bath C, Athens
- C.257 East Baths (Bath W), Athens
- C.258 Bath U, Athens
- C.259 West Baths (Bath X), Athens

- C.261 Large Baths on the Lechaion Road, Corinth
- C.262 South Stoa Baths, Corinth
- C.263 Baths in the Delian Agora, Delos
- C.264 Monastery Baths, Delos
- C.269 Baths, Marathon
- C.270 Baths, Nicopolis
- C.276 Baths, Palaiopolis on Kerkyra
- C.277 Baths, Same on Kephallinia
- C.278 Baths, Zevgolatio

#### AEGYPTUS

- C.279 Double Baths, Abu Mena
- C.280 Kôm al-Dikka Baths, Alexandria
- C.281 Baths, Cheikh Zouede
- C.282 Baths, Karanis
- C.283 Double Baths, Kôm al-Ahmar
- C.285 Baths, Kôm Trougah

#### ARABIA

- C.286 South Baths, Bostra
- C.289 Building V Baths, Mampis

#### ASIA

- C.291 Meydan Kiran Baths
- C.294 Baths, Didyma
- C.296 Varius Baths, Ephesos
- C.299 Agora Baths, Ephesos
- C.304 Capito Baths, Miletus
- C.305 Hümeitepe Baths, Miletus
- C.306 Faustina Baths, Miletus
- C.307 Augustan Baths, Pergamum
- C.309 Small Baths, Pergamum

#### CILICIA

- C.316 Bath III 2B, Anemurium
- C.317 Bath II 11b, Anemurium
- C.318 Bath II 7A, Anemurium
- C.319 Bath III 15, Anemurium
- C.320 Bath I 12A, Antiochia ad Cragum
- C.321 Bath 5B, Iotape
- C.322 Bath II 1A, Syedra

#### CYRENAICA

- C.325 Large Baths, Apollonia
- C.326 Small Baths, Apollonia
- C.327 Myrthusa Baths, Cyrenae
- C.330 Double Baths, Ptolemais

## DALMATIA

- C.332 Baths, Clambetae
- C.333 Baths, Doclea
- C.334 Large Baths, Salona
- C.335 South Baths, Salona

## JUDAEA/PALAESTINA

- C.337 Lower Slope Baths, Cyprus
- C.338 Baths, Emmaus
- C.340 West Baths, Gerasa
- C.341 Baths of Placcus, Gerasa
- C.347 Baths, Philoteria
- C.348 Baths, Rama

## LYCIA

- C.349 Bath MK 1, Oenoanda
- C.350 Bath B, Tlos
- C.351 Bath A, Tlos

## MACEDONIA

- C.353 Baths, Buthrotum
- C.354 Baths, Nesi Alexandrias
- C.355 Baths, Philippi
- C.357 Baths connected with Basilica A,  
Thebae Phthiotis
- C.358 Baths near Basilica A, Thebae  
Phthiotis

## MESOPOTAMIA

- C.360 Bath F3, Dura-Europos

- C.361 Bath C3, Dura-Europos
- C.362 Bath E3, Dura-Europos

## MOESIA INFERIOR

- C.366 Bath I, Istrus
- C.367 Bath II, Istrus

## PAMPHYLIA

- C.369 Large Baths, Aspendos
- C.370 South Baths, Perge
- C.371 Harbour Baths, Side
- C.372 Large Baths, Side
- C.373 Agora Baths, Side

## SYRIA

- C.374 Bath C, Antiochia on the Orontes
- C.375 Bath E, Antiochia on the Orontes
- C.376 Bath B, Antiochia on the Orontes
- C.377, Bath A, Antiochia on the Orontes
- C.379 Public Baths, Athis/Neocaesarea
- C.380 Double Baths, Babisqa
- C.381 Baths, Barade
- C.382 Baths of Diocletian, Palmyra
- C.383 Baths, Philippopolis
- C.384 Baths, Sha'arah
- C.385 Baths, Sergilla
- C.386 Baths, Torpak-en-Narlidja

## THRACIA (EAST)

- C.387 Kalenderhane Baths,  
Konstantinopolis

\* \* \*

## B. MANDERSCHIED

Whereas NIELSEN's catalogue lists individual bath buildings, MANDERSCHIED's is organized according to the sites where they are found, with buildings itemized thereafter. As a result, I have here not listed specific buildings, but indicated multiple baths at one site by a bracketed number after the entry.

Unless otherwise specified by MANDERSCHIED (e.g. "Thermalbad" indicating a bath fed by thermal springs), I have taken all entries in his catalogue to be public baths of the type investigated in this dissertation.

Entries are arranged alphabetically.

### ITALY

- M.1 Abano Terme
- M.2 Acelum
- M.3 Aeclanum
- M.4 Albintimilium
- M.5 Ancona
- M.6 Aosta
- M.7 Aquileia
- M.8 Beneventum
- M.9 Caralis
- M.10 Cales (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.11 Canusium (2)
- M.12 Capua
- M.13 Carsulae
- M.14 Centumcellae
- M.15 Comiso
- M.16 Cosa
- M.17 Cures Sabinae
- M.18 Florentia (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.19 Gnathia
- M.20 Herdonia
- M.21 Interamnia Praetutiorum
- M.22 Julium Carnicum
- M.23 Lavinium
- M.24 Lucus Feroniae (2)
- M.25 Mevania
- M.26 Mevaniola
- M.27 Mediolanum
- M.28 Minturnae
- M.29 Neapolis (2)
- M.30 Nuceria Alfaterna
- M.31 Oriculum
- M.32 Ostia (M. lists 2 not in N.)
- M.33 Ostra
- M.34 Paestum (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.35 Portus Romae
- M.36 Puteoli
- M.37 Saepinum (2)
- M.38 Sentinum

- M.39 Septempeda
- M.40 Seripola
- M.41 Tarentum
- M.42 Terracina
- M.43 Trebula Suffenas
- M.44 Tuscana
- M.45 Veleia (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.46 Verona
- M.47 Vibo Valentia
- M.48 Vicerallo
- M.59 Volsinii

### SICILIA

- M.50 Catana (2)
- M.51 Soluntum
- M.52 Tauromenium

### THE WESTERN PROVINCES

#### ALPES POENINAE

- M.53 Tarnaiae
- M.54 Forum Claudii Vallensium (3)

#### GALLIA AQUITANIA

- M.55 Antigny
- M.56 Argentomagus
- M.57 Augustoritum Lemovicum
- M.58 Canac
- M.59 Cassinomagus
- M.60 Limonum Pictonum
- M.61 Quéaux
- M.62 Lugdunum Converarum (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.63 Mediolanum Santonum

## GALLIA BELGICA

- M.64 Divodurum Mediomatricorum (3)
- M.65 Fontaine-Valmont
- M.66 Juliobona (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.67 Mamer
- M.68 Samarobriva

## GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS

- M.69 Aragenua, France Lugdun.
- M.70 Augustodorum
- M.71 Isarnodurum
- M.72 Joigny
- M.73 Lugdunum
- M.74 Lutetia Parisiorum (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.75 Noviomagus Lexoviorum
- M.76 Scoliva
- M.77 Subdinum
- M.78 Triguères

## GALLIA NARBONENSIS

- M.79 Arelate (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.80 Seyssel
- M.81 Tavel
- M.82 Tolosa (2)
- M.83 Vasio Vocontiorum (M. lists 2 not in N.)
- M.84 Vienne (M. lists one not in N.)

## HISPANIA BAETICA

- M.85 Castulo
- M.86 Corduba
- M.87 Las Bóvedas

## HISPANIA TARRACONENSIS

- M.88 Aguilas
- M.89 Ampurias
- M.90 Aurgi
- M.91 Baetulo (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.92 Barcino
- M.93 Bilbilis
- M.94 Lancia
- M.95 Lucentum (2)
- M.96 Segobriga (M. lists one not in N.)

## LUSITANIA

- M.97 Augusta Emerita

- M.98 Caetobriga
- M.99 Olisippo

## MAURETANIA TINGITANA

- M.100 Aïn el-Hammam
- M.101 Volubilis (M. lists one not in N.)

## SARDINIA

- M.102 Nora (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.103 Turrus Libisonis (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.104 Tharros (M. lists one not in N.)

## THE NORTHERN BORDER PROVINCES

## BRITANNIA

- M.105 Braughing
- M.106 Caerwent
- M.107 Calleva Atrebatum (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.108 Durovernum Cantiacorum
- M.109 Noviomagus Regensium
- M.110 Durnovaria
- M.111 Durovigutum
- M.112 Londinium (2)
- M.113 Venta Icenorum
- M.114 Verulamium

## DACIA

- M.115 Aquae
- M.116 Romula

## GERMANIA INFERIOR

- M.117 Colonia Claudia Iulia Ara Agrippina
- M.118 Colonia Ulpia Trajana (M. lists one not in N.)
- M.119 Grobbendonk
- M.120 Geminiacum
- M.121 Novaesium
- M.122 Tolbiacum
- M.123 Traiectum Superius
- M.124 Vervoz

## GERMANIA SUPERIOR

- M.125 Arae Flaviae (M. lists one not in N.)

M.126 Aventicum (M. lists 3 not in N.)  
 M.127 Bern-Engelhalbinel  
 M.128 Brocomagus  
 M.129 Eburodunum  
 M.130 Hochscheid  
 M.131 Lopodunum  
 M.132 Lousonna  
 M.133 Mirebeau  
 M.134 Sumelocena (2)  
 M.135 Tasgaetium

#### MOESIA

M.136 Histria (2)  
 M.137 Nicopolis ad Istrum  
 M.138 Singidunum

#### NORICUM

M.139 Carnuntum (M. lists one not in N.)  
 M.140 Teurnia

#### PANNONIA

M.141 Andautonia  
 M.142 Emona (2)  
 M.143 Sirmium  
 M.144 Sopianae

#### RAETIA

M.145 Augusta Raurica (M. lists one not in N.)  
 M.146 Heidenheim

#### THE NORTH AFRICAN PROVINCES

##### AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

M.147 Acholla (2)  
 M.148 Ammaedra  
 M.149 Belalis Major  
 M.150 Bulla Regia (M. lists 4 not in N.)  
 M.151 Cincari  
 M.152 Gighthis (M. lists one not in N.)  
 M.153 Mactar (M. lists one not in N.)  
 M.154 Naraggara  
 M.155 Ruspae,  
 M.156 Sabratha (M. lists 3 not in N.)  
 M.157 Sicca Veneria  
 M.158 Simitthus  
 M.159 Thelepte

M.160 Themetra  
 M.161 Thuburbo Maius (M. lists one not in N.)  
 M.162 Thurnica  
 M.163 Thugga (3)  
 M.164 Uthina.  
 M.165 Utica

##### MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS

M.166 Choba  
 M.167 Cuicul (M. lists 3 not in N.)  
 M.168 Igilgili  
 M.169 Iol Caesarea (3)  
 M.170 Khalfoun  
 M.171 Saldae (2)  
 M.172 Tiaret  
 M.173 Tipasa (2)

##### NUMIDIA

M.174 Cirta  
 M.175 Calama (2)  
 M.176 Morsott  
 M.177 Tebessa  
 M.178 Tingad (M. lists one not in N.)  
 M.179 Thubursicum Numidarum (M. lists one not in N.)

#### THE EASTERN PROVINCES

##### ACHAEA

M.180 Eleusis  
 M.181 Corcyra  
 M.182 Thera

##### AEGYPTUS

M.183 Antinoupolis

##### ARABIA

M.184 Petra

##### ARMENIA

M.185 Pityus (Georgia)

##### ASIA

M.186 Alabanda  
 M.187 Aphrodisias (M. lists one not in N.)

M.188 Colophon  
 M.189 Heraclea ad Latmum  
 M.190 Hierapolis (M. lists one not in N.)  
 M.191 Iasos  
 M.192 Kaunos  
 M.193 Labraunda (2)  
 M.194 Nysa  
 M.195 Sardis (M. lists one not in N.)

#### BITHYNIA ET PONTUS

M.196 Byzantium (M. lists one not in N.)

#### CILICIA

M.197 Anazarbus  
 M.198 Augusta Ciliciae  
 M.199 Hierapolis ad Pyramum

#### DALMATIA

M.200 Cvijina Gradina  
 M.201 Krupa

#### JUDAEA

M.202 Amathe  
 M.203 Nicopolis

#### LYCIA

M.204 Arycanda, Lycia  
 M.205 Cadyanda  
 M.206 Idebissus  
 M.207 Limyra  
 M.208 Myra  
 M.209 Patara  
 M.210 Pinara

#### MACEDONIA

M.211 Dion

#### PAMPHYLIA

M.212 Perge (M. lists one not in N.)

#### PHOENICIA

M.213 Berytus (2)  
 M.214 Tyrus

#### SYRIA

M.215 Apamea

## APPENDIX 4\*

THE NON-IMPERIAL BATHS OF ROME AND THEIR  
POSSIBLE BUILDERS/OWNERS

Bath	Date	Builder / owner	Reference
Bal(neum) Verul(ani)	none	otherwise unattested	<i>ILS</i> 3720
Thermae Falerianae <sup>1</sup>	none	1). an M. Falerius was a senator in the late 2nd/early 1st cent. BC ( <i>RE</i> 6.1971, s.v. "Falerius" (no. 1) [Münzer]); 2). "Falerius" was a <i>signum</i> of Gallienus, cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> 3.117, s.v. "Falerius".	<i>CIL</i> 6.29806
Balineum Juliorum Akariorum	none	otherwise unattested	<i>CIL</i> 6.29764
Balnea Seniae	c.56 BC	otherwise unattested	<i>Cic. pro Cael.</i> , 61-62
Balneum Polycleti	Augustan	otherwise unattested; the name "Polyclitus" occurs only 10 times in Rome, cf. <i>SOLIN, Namenbuch</i> , I.138, s.v.	<i>Schol. ad Horat. Sat.</i> , 5.32
Balneum Bolani	Neronian or later	1). M. Vettius Bolanus, cos. AD 66 ( <i>RE</i> 2.8A,2.1857-8, s.v. "Vettius" (no. 25) [Stattmann]); 2). M. Vettius Bolanus, son of above, cos. AD 111 (cf. <i>ibid.</i> , s.v. "Vettius" (no. 26) [Stattmann]).	<i>FTUR</i> , 8.3, cf. 8.150
Balneum Torquati <sup>2</sup>	mid-1st cent. AD (?)	1). D. Junius Silanus Torquatus, cos. AD 53 ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 837); 2). L. Junius Silanus Torquatus, Julio-Claudian senator, ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> I 828).	<i>FTUR</i> , 8.178-179
Balneum Vespasiani	Flavian	Vespasian (?), perhaps before elevation; possibly named after statue of emperor on premises	<i>FTUR</i> , 8.180
Balneum Abascanti	Domitianic	1). T. Flavius Abascantus, freedman of Domitian ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 194); very tentative identification, cf. Ch. 5, n. 61.	<i>FTUR</i> , 8.3, cf. 8.149

Balneum Charini	1st cent. AD	Stein comments that "Charinus" is a common name used by Martial for perverts, so it may be a joke: "The Pervert's Bath" (cf. <i>RE</i> 3.2143, s.v. "Charinus" [Stein]); that the name is attested only three times in Rome would tend to support this suggestion, cf. SOLIN, <i>Namenbuch</i> , II.1298, s.v.	Mart., 7.34
Balneum/thermulae Claudi Etrusci	1st cent. AD	1). Claudius Etruscus, Domitianic <i>eques</i> ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> C 860)	Mart., 6.42; Stat. <i>Silv.</i> , 1.5
Balneum Fausti <sup>3</sup>	1st cent. AD	1). Faustus, poet ( <i>RE</i> 6.2091, s.v. "Faustus" (no. 4) [Stein]); 2). Faustus, undated senator ( <i>ibid.</i> , 2091 (no. 5) [Goldfinger]); 3). Glabrio Venantius Faustus, undated <i>praefectus urbi</i> , ( <i>ibid.</i> , 2092 (no. 15) [Seeck])	Mart., 2.14
Balneum Fortunati <sup>4</sup>	1st cent. AD	Fortunatus, freedman of L. Antistius Vetus, cos. AD 55 ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 480)	Mart., 2.14
Balneum Grylli	1st cent. AD	otherwise unattested	Mart., 2.14
Balneum Lupi <sup>5</sup>	1st cent. AD	1). Lupus, friend of Martial ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> L 421); 2). Lupus who had place reserved for him at the Colosseum ( <i>RE</i> 13851, s.v. "Lupus" (no. 9) [Seeck])	Mart., 2.14
Balneum Stephani	1st cent. AD	otherwise unattested; the name "Stephanus" is very common in Rome, with 236 occurrences, cf. SOLIN, <i>Namenbuch</i> , III.1182-6, s.v.	Mart., 11.52
Balneum Tigillini	1st cent. AD	the strongest possibility is the Neronian praetorian prefect, cf. <i>RE</i> 17.2056-2061, s.v. "Ofonius Tigellinus" [Stein] (here the baths are associated with him)	Mart., 3.20; <i>Gloss. Lat.</i> , III.657.14
Balneum et Thermae Tuccae	1st cent. AD	possibly a rival epigrammist of Martial, cf. <i>RE</i> 2.7A.765, s.v. "Tucca" (no. 4) [Frank]	Mart., 9.75
Balneum Crispini	1st cent. AD	This bath may not have existed, the verse possibly deriving from Hor. <i>Sat.</i> , 1.3.137-139 (cited in Ch. 3, n. 38) cf. R.A. HARVEY, <i>A Commentary on Persius</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), p. 126.	Pers., 5.126

Baln(eum) Scriboniolum <sup>6</sup>	1st cent. AD (?)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1). L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 1st cent. BC (<i>RE</i> 2.2A.881, s.v. "Scribonius (Libo)" (no. 19) [Münzer]);</li> <li>2). L. Scribonius Libo, Augustan senator (ibid., 881-885 (no. 20) [Münzer]);</li> <li>3). L. Scribonius Libo, cos. AD 16 (ibid., 885 (no. 21) [Fluss]);</li> <li>4). L. Scribonius Libo, son of no. 3 (ibid., 885 (no. 22) [Fluss]);</li> <li>5). L. Scribonius Libo Drusus, Augustan/Tiberian senator (ibid., 885-887 (no. 23) [Fluss]);</li> <li>6). (L. Scribonius?) Libo Frugi, cos. AD 96/8 (ibid., 887-888 (no. 24) [Groag]).</li> </ol>	<i>CIL</i> 15.7188
Balneum Mamertini	mid-2nd cent. AD	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1). M. Petronius Mamertinus, <i>praefectus praetorio</i> (<i>RE</i> 19.1217-9, s.v. "Petronius" (no. 44) [Hoffman]);</li> <li>2). M. Valerius Mamertinus, opponent of Herodes Atticus (<i>RE</i> 14.951, s.v. "Mamertinus" (no. 1) [Stein]).</li> </ol>	<i>FTUR</i> , 8.3, cf. 8.165-166
Balneum Claudianum <sup>7</sup>	Severan (?) or later	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1). Asellius Claudianus, Severan senator (<i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> A 1212);</li> <li>2). (T.?) Carminius Claudianus, 2nd/3rd cent. senator (<i>RE</i> 3.1596, s.v. "Carminius" (no. 3) [Groag]);</li> <li>3). T. Fl(avius?) Claudianus, mid-3rd cent. cos., (<i>PIR</i><sup>2</sup> F 231);</li> <li>4). Several Late Imperial Claudiani, cf. <i>RE</i> 3.2651-2661, s.v. "Claudianus")</li> </ol>	<i>CIL</i> 6.29767
Lavacrum Plauti<a>ni	Severan or earlier	if "Plautini", otherwise unattested; if "Plautiani", possibly the Severan praetorian prefect C. Fulvius Plautianus ( <i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup> F 554), cf. the Teubner edition of <i>vita Elagabali</i> (ed. E. HOHL, 1971)	<i>HA Hel.</i> , 8.6
[B]alneum Ampe[l]id[is]	Severan or earlier	otherwise unattested; 20 occurrences of this female name are known from Rome, cf. SOLIN, <i>Namenbuch</i> , II.1074, s.v. "Ampelis".	<i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> , fr. 47 (= <i>CIL</i> 6. 29844.30)
[Ba]lneum [Ca]esaris	Severan or earlier	unlikely to have been the work of Caesar the Dictator or a later emperor; perhaps named after a statue of Divus Julius, or a later ruler	<i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> , fr. 43
Balne(um) Cotini	Severan or earlier	otherwise unattested	<i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> , fr. 43 (= <i>CIL</i> 6. 29884.33)

not specified	Severus and Caracalla	text on statue base: L. Ceius L. F. Privatus, quod cum examplaretur balneum sub princeps voverat princeps castr. perigrinorum v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). Privatus is otherwise unattested	CIL 6.354
not clear	Severan	unnamed bath restored by P. Alfius Maximus Numerius Avitus, sevir eq. R. (cf. no. 253, [Table 7] and note)	CIL 6.1474
Balneum Antiochiani	c. 270	Flavius Antiochianus, <i>praefectus urbi</i> (PIR <sup>2</sup> F 203).	FTUR, 8.3, cf. 8.149
Balneum Dafnidis	Constantinian or earlier	otherwise unattested	FTUR, 11.1-2
not specified <sup>8</sup>	c. 360	Naeratius Cerealis, v.c. cons. ord., described on statue base as <i>conditor balnearum</i>	ILS 5718
not specified <sup>9</sup>	367-375	text: Fl. Antigonus, v.p., p(rae)p(ositus) colymbum, nemus vetustate lapsum testacio picturis ac status cum omni cultu ador[navit]	ILS 5732
Balneu(m) Augustae <sup>10</sup>	possibly Christian	otherwise unattested	CIL 6.33765

## NOTES

\* It must be stressed once again that the identifications offered in this Appendix are very tentative. I would like to thank in particular Dr. Christer Bruun of Oxford University for several comments and pointers.

<sup>1</sup> The main problem with the first identification is that the term *thermae* is not applied to a bathhouse in any Republican source (cf. above, pp. 68-69). It is possible that the term was later applied to a building erected in the Republic, though this sounds like special pleading. More likely, the builder was an otherwise unattested "Falerius" or "Falerianus".

<sup>2</sup> Note that Martial reports that a Torquatus built *thermae* at Rome (*Ep.*, 10.79.2-3).

<sup>3</sup> Note that Stein (*RE* 6.2091, s.v. "Faustus" (no. 3)) lists a Faustus as owner of the baths, but offers no identifications.

<sup>4</sup> Stein notes the baths of Fortunatus, but offers no identifications, cf. *RE* 7.55, s.v. "Fortunatus" (no. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Note that Stein (*RE* 13.1851, s.v. "Lupus" (no. 5)) mentions a *balneum Lupi* but offers no identification (as does *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 420). Seeck (*RE* loc. cit. in table) comments that the Lupus attested in the Colosseum could be identified with any of the previous entries. Of course, *lupus* could simply mean "wolf", in reference perhaps to some prominent decorative feature.

<sup>6</sup> A slave collar. The text reads: Hilarionis so (*sic*). tene me et revoca me quia fugi de r(egione) XII a baln(eum) Scriboniolum (*sic*) Rom(a)e. The bath lay in the Regio XII and is otherwise unknown. Note that the slave belongs to a Hilario, who is either the owner of the bathhouse, or a regular at the *Balneum Scriboniolum*. The *CIL* entry suggests that the bathhouse was a private one and owned by the Scribonii Libones.

<sup>7</sup> This may be a private bathhouse. Concerning identification no. 1 here, note that this Asellius Claudianus has recently been identified with (A.?) Sellius Clodianus known from an inscription from Rome (*AE* 1974.11). If so, he is unlikely to have been the founder of the *Balneum Claudianum*, cf. C. BRUUN, "Die Historia Augusta, die Proskriptionen des Severus und die *curatores operum publicorum*", *Arctos* 24 (1990), 5-14, esp. 6-9.

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<sup>8</sup> For Naeretus Cerealis, cf. *PLRE* 1 Cerealis 2 (pp. 197-199).

<sup>9</sup> For Flavius Antigonus, cf. *PLRE* 1 Antigonus (pp. 50-51).

<sup>10</sup> An otherwise unknown bathhouse at Rome. Cf. *CIL* 6.39087. The editor of *CIL* suggests it was an inscription pertaining to a Christian woman.

## APPENDIX 5

### PARTS OF BATHS MENTIONED IN THE EPIGRAPHIC SAMPLE AS HAVING BEEN BUILT, RESTORED, EXTENDED OR ADORNED

<i>Name</i>	<i>Reference and work done</i>
<i>apodyterium</i>	nos. 115 (adorned); 136 (restored and adorned), 159 (built) (Table 5); 180 (restored and adorned), 184 (built or restored) (Table 6);
<i>aequeductum (?) thermarum</i>	no. 38 (built) (Table 2); 56 (built?) (Table 3);
<i>atrium thermarum</i>	nos. 29 (built and adorned) (Table 2); 164 (built) (Table 5);
<i>baptisterium</i>	no. 206 (adorned) (Table 6);
<i>basilica</i>	nos. 7 (restored), 19 (restored and adorned) (Table 1);
<i>caldarium</i>	nos. 144 (built and adorned) (Table 5); 185 (built and adorned) (Table 6);
<i>camerae</i>	nos. 128 (restored? and adorned); 171 (built) (Table 5);
<i>cella balnearum</i>	no. 171 (restored) (Table 5);
<i>cella frigidari</i>	no. 151 (built and adorned) (Table 5);
<i>cella natatoria</i>	no. 131 (built) (Table 5);
<i>(cella?) piscinalis</i>	nos. 160 (restored), 163 (restored and adorned), 173 (adorned) (Table 5);
<i>cella soliaris</i>	nos. 160 (restored?), 163 (restored and adorned), 165 (restored) (Table 5);
<i>cella thermarum</i>	no. 158 (adorned) (Table 5);
<i>cella unctuaria</i>	no. 125 (restored) (Table 5);
<i>cella vestibula</i>	no. 135 (built and adorned) (Table 5);
<i>cohors</i>	no. 144 (built and adorned) (Table 5);
<i>colimbum</i>	no. 154 (extended by addition of <i>porticus</i> ) (Table 5);
<i>crypta (?)</i>	no. 151 (built and adorned) (Table 5);

<i>exceptorium</i>	nos. 162 (built) (Table 5); 164 (demolished) (Table 5);
<i>exedrae</i>	no. 192 (built) (Table 6);
<i>foculus</i>	nos. 177 (built or added), 186 (built and added) (Table 6);
<i>labrum</i>	nos. 120 (built), 136 (built), 141 (built) (Table 5); 177 (built), 187 (built) (Table 6);
<i>lacus</i>	no. 174 (built?) (Table 5);
<i>lavacrum (thermarum or balnearum)</i>	nos. 13 (restored) (Table 1); 68 (built) (Table 3); 171 (restored) (Table 5); 240 (restored water supply), 262 (heated) (Table 7);
<i>musaeum</i>	no. 157 (built) (Table 5); [note also no. 158 (Table 5) for <i>opus musaeum</i> , apparently a decorative technique]
<i>nymphae calidae</i>	no. 190 (built) (Table 6);
<i>oceanum</i>	no. 165 (built) (Table 5);
<i>paganicum</i>	no. 144 (built and adorned) (Table 5);
παιδισκῆον	no. 191 (built and adorned) (Table 6);
<i>patinas</i>	no. 129 (restored) (Table 5);
περίστωον	no. 198 (built and adorned) (Table 6);
<i>piscina</i>	nos. 136 (built), 140 (built), 162 (built), 174 (built) (Table 5);
<i>porticus</i>	nos. 6 (restored), 7 (restored), 19 (built) (Table 1); 21 (built) (Table 2); 140 (built), 143 (adorned), 144 (built and adorned), 147 (restored), 150 (built and adorned), 154 (built), 160 (restored) (Table 5);
<i>proneum</i>	no. 160 (restored) (Table 5);
πρόστωον	no. 44 (built) (Table 3);
<i>scalae</i>	no. 159 (built) (Table 5);
<i>sedes</i>	no. 177 (built) (Table 6) [cf. no. 159 (Table 5) for mention of <i>cathedrae</i> ]
<i>solia</i>	nos. 128 (built), 129 (repaired), 160 (built) (Table 5); 196 (built) (Table 6); 236 (improved) (Table 7);
<i>sphaeristerium</i>	nos. 6 (restored) (Table 1); 130 (built), 133 (built) (Table 5);
στόα	no. 193 (built) (Table 6);

<i>suspensurae</i>	no. 171 (built) (Table 5) [apparently here denoting tubulation in vaults];
<i>tepidarium</i>	no. 174 (restored) (Table 5);
θάκον	no. 191 (built and adorned) (Table 6);
unnamed rooms	nos. 18 (restored) (Table 1); 49 (built) (Table 3); 142 (built), 145 (built) 149 (built and adorned), 151 (restored), 159 (adorned), 160 (restored?), 161 (built) (Table 5); 197 (restored), 206 (adorned) (Table 6).

## APPENDIX 6

### BALNEUM DARE INSCRIPTIONS

THE TEXTS (listed chronologically, according to meaning)

#### A. Built

1. *CIL* 10.4884 (= *ILS* 5664)

P. Lucanius L. f. Ter. Quadratus Ilvir, augur, q. II, balneum solo peq. sua dedit.  
Cassia P. f. uxor et Lucania P. f. Procula.

NOTES: From Venafrum. No date.

2. *CIL* 12.2493/4 (= *ILS* 5768)

C. Sennius C. f. Vol. Sabinus, praef. fabr. | balineum, campum, porticus, aquas iusque  
| earum aquarum tubo ducendarum, ita ut recte | perfluere possint, vicanis Albinnensibus,  
d(e) s(uo) d(edit)

NOTES: From Vicus Albinnensis in Sapaudia, Gallia Narbonensis. No date. Cf. *CIL* 12.2495 where this same benefaction is recorded in three versions of an inscription.

3. *CIL* 12.3304

divi Augu[sti -- ] | sphaeristeria d[edit?]

NOTES: From Nemausus, Gallia Narbonensis. No date. Note that the noun is in the plural, implying the ball-courts were part of a bathing establishment of considerable size.

4. *AE* 1946.239

Ti. Claudius Ti. fil. | Maternus, aedilis, | sphaeristerium d(e) s(ua) d(edit).

NOTES: From Aventicum. No date. Cf. no. 133 (Table 5).

5. *CIL* 11.720 (= *ILS* 5674)

divus Aug. parens | dedit; | ////////// Augustus | Germanicus /// | refecit. | in huius balinei  
lavation. HS CCCC | nomin. C. Aviasi T. f. Senecae f. sui T. Aviasius Servandus |  
pater testament. legavit, ut ex reditu eius summ. | in perpetuum viri et impuberes utriusq.  
sexsus | gratis laventur.

NOTES: From Bononia. Early Julio-Claudian. Cf. nos. 1-2 (Table 1), 218 (Table 7).

6. *CIL* 11.7285 (= *ILS* 8996)

..... | praefectus Aegypt[i, et] | Terentia A. f. mater eiu[s, et] | Cosconia Lentulii

(sic) Malug[inensis f.] | Gallitta uxor eius, ae[dificiis] | emptis et ad solum de[iectis] | balneum cum omn[i ornatu] | Volusiniens]ibus ded[erunt] | ob publ]ica co[m]moda].

NOTES: From Volsinii. Tiberian. Cf. no. 85 (Table 4).

### 7. *CIL* 2.5489

L. Aemilius Daphnus sevir thermas | sua omni impensa municipibus Murg(itanis) | dedit et quo die eas dedicavit X (denarios) sin[|g]ulos civibus et incolis epulum dedit; | [q]uamdiu vixisset eodem die daturum | se X (denarios) singulos eisdem promisit et in | [tute]lam earundem thermarum quam | diu ipse vixisset annuos X (denarios) CL | pollicitus est

NOTES: From Murgi, Baetica. Dated to the Flavian period (letterform). Cf. no. 254 (Table 7).

### 8. *CIL* 2.3361 (= *ILS* 5688)

C. Sempronius C. f. Gal. Sempronianus IIvir bis, | pontufex perpet(uus), Sempronia Fusca Vibia Anicilla | filia, thermas aqua perducta cum silvis agnuar. | trecentarum pecunia impensaque sua omni d(ono) d(ederunt) (?)

NOTES: From Aurgi, Tarraconensis. Dated to Trajan (letterform). Presumably, the area of woodland (300 agnuars, 1 agnuar = 120 square feet of land - Varro R.R., 1.10.2; Columella 5.1.5) was to be used to supply the fuel for the baths, cf. no. 265 (Table 7).

## B. Unclear

### 1. *CIL* 5.5136

L. Cluuienus L. f. Ani[cilo] | balneum et | aquas dedit

NOTES: From Bergomum. No date. Cf. no. 82 (Table 4).

### 2. *CIL* 5.6522

[Terentia Q. f. Postu]mina suo et | [C. Veturi L. f. Lucum]onis viri sui et | [C. Veturi C. f. Postum]ini f. sui nomine | [balineum s]olo privato et | [lavationem] gratuitam in | [perpetuum] dedit

NOTES: From Novaria. No date. Cf. no. 211 (Table 7).

### 3. *CIL* 13.11353 (= *ILS* 7060a)

[in honore]m domus Augustae | . . . [Celeris f. sac]erd. Rom. et Aug. piscin. et campum | . . . [Med]iomatricis et advenis dedit.

NOTES: From Mediomatrix, Belgica. No date. May not refer to baths at all.

### 4. *CIL* 14.3472 (= *ILS* 2637)

M. Helvius M. f. Cam. Rufus | Civica prim. pil., | balneum | municipibus et incolis | dedit.

NOTES: From Vallis Digentiae (near Tibur). This appears to be the Helvius Rufus who won the

*corona civica* in N. Africa against Tacfarinas in AD 20 (Tac. *Ann.*, 3.21.3). If so, he appears to have adopted the title *civica* as a *signum*. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 75; no. 217 (Table 7).

#### 5. CIL 2.5354

in hon(orem) dom(us) divinae | G. Auf(idius) G. f. Gal(leria) Vegetus | Ilvir II (iterum) curat(or) balineu(m) | aedificavit et G. Auf(idius) G. f. Gal(leria) | Avitus f(ilius) Ilvir desig(natus) | d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edit) | et circens(ibus) [ded(icavit)].

NOTES: From Burgvillos, Baetica. Dated by letterform to before mid-2nd cent. (accepted by NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I.65, n. 9). Nos. 63 (Table 3), 222 (Table 7).

#### 6. AE 1961.109

Q. Avelio Q. f. Serg(ia tribu) Prisco | Severio Severo Annavo Rufo, flamine divi | Augusti, patrono municipii | primo omnium Corfiniensium quaestori reipublicae | IIIvir(o), aedili, IIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo), IIIvir(o) quinqu(ennali), pontif(ici) Laurent(ium) Lavinat(um) | hic ob honorem quinq. munus gladiatorium edidit, et ob | honorem IIIvir(atus) ludos scaenicos dedit. et ob honor(em) aedilitat. ludos deae Vetidinae | fecit, et in subsidium annonae frument. HS L m(ilia) n(ummarum) reip. Corfiniens. et Balineum Avelianum | Muliebre cum HS XXX m(ilia) n(ummarum) donavit frequentesque epulationes et divisiones nummar. | universis civibus ex suo distribuit et onera reip. gratuita pecunia saepius iuivit. | Corfinienses publice ob insignem | eius erga rempublicam adfectum | Avelius Priscus honore usus impens(am) remisit.

NOTES: From Corfinium. 180 +. NIELSEN, *Therm.*, I. 40, n. 25 includes it among baths built. Cf. no. 258 (Table 7).

#### 7. CIL 9. 4196

L. Julius Pompilius | Betulenus Apronianus c. i. | balneas Amiterninis | patriae suae dedit.

NOTES: From Amiternum. The Principate (this man's name appears in *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, but there is no article for him).

\*

### COMMENTS

This group of 15 inscriptions records the "giving" of baths to a community. As can be ascertained at a glance, most come from Italy, with some emanating from Gaul and Spain. Most date to the Principate.

In many cases the phrase *balneum dare* (and variants) simply means "built". The construction of other public buildings is recorded in this way: walls (e.g. *ILS* 104; *CIL* 11.5), temples (e.g. *CIL* 5.2149, 5.8720, *II* 10.4.32), basilicas (*ILRRP* 568), porticoes (e.g. *CIL* 11.3614; *Athenaeum* 54 (1976), 65) and others (e.g. *CIL* 11.1924; *ILS* 1379; *Athenaeum* 44 (1966), 137-44). The phrase may derive from the *faciundum dare* formula found in certain Republican texts (e.g. *AE* 1978.323, where it reflects the letting out of contracts by *duumviri* at Luna), although it is a logical extension of the use of *dare* in the sense of making or forming something (cf. *TLL*, 5.1.1685.58-82). Altogether, however, it is used far less frequently to denote building than the more familiar *facere*, *constituere*, and *construere* formulae.

With regard to the *balneum dare* texts, those that mention outlay (with phrases like *pecunia sua*) can usually be taken to reflect the construction of a bath (cf. Texts, Section A). This seems all but certain for A.1, 2, 4, 7, 8 which all mention the giving of a bath or part thereof from the personal funds of the the benefactor.

The other texts in Section A are:

A.3: fragmentary, referring only to *sphaeristeria*, but on analogy with A.4 it is included here; a *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)* may be lost.

A.5: this text can reasonably be taken to commemorate a bath construction, as the building, "given" by Augustus, is repaired by Gaius or Nero. The later restoration becomes understandable if the original construction was carried out by a predecessor; it may even have been a consequence of Augustus's construction.

A.6: a construction more than likely stands behind this text, as the benefactors are reported to have bought up and demolished buildings that stood on the bath site, and the wording echoes texts commemorating baths built, extended or restored "with every refinement" (cf. e.g. nos. 7, 8, 11, (Table 1), 48 (Table 3), 80 (Table 4), 126, 144 (Table 5)).

However, the presence of a phrase such as *de sua pecunia*, although a strong indicator, does not automatically reflect a bath construction. An inscription from Burguillos in Baetica (cf. Section B, no. 5)) shows this clearly. Here a *duovir* builds a set of baths, and his son, a *duovir designatus*, "gives" them to the town at his own expense. The most likely explanation here (as discussed below, s.v. B.5) is that the son offered free bathing in the building. The main point, though, is that the presence of *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)* does not here indicate a construction.

For the remaining documents (collected above in Section B), determining what benefaction they commemorate is more difficult. Most simply record a bath "given" to a town. Because the word *balneum* can denote the act of bathing as well as the building where it took place, there are really only three possibilities:

- a). The baths were built by the donor.
- b). An existing structure was given over to public ownership (cf. no. 261 (Table 7) for the transfer of a private bath to public ownership).
- c). Free bathing was offered in the building.

It is often difficult to decide which is the most likely case. We shall therefore proceed with a text-by-text analysis.

B.1: Here, either possibility a) or b) appears the most likely. *Aquae* may refer to an aqueduct, or to water sources located on the benefactor's land made available for use by the bathhouse (cf. no. 226 [Table 7]). Because other texts record the construction or restoration of aqueducts and bathhouses together (e.g. nos. 91 [Table 4], 160, 176(?) [Table 5], 230 [Table 7]), possibility a) may be seen to have a slight edge in this case.

B.2: As the text expressly states that the benefactor offered free bathing in the baths *in perpetuum*, possibility c) can be eliminated for the first part of the clause. In which case, *balneum privato solo . . . dedit* means that either the benefactor gave private baths located on her property over to the ownership of the town, or she built the baths on her private ground

and then opened them for free (analogous to the situation in B.5). The presence of a phrase such as *sua pecunia* would favour the latter possibility, but in its absence the ambiguity remains.

B.3: A fragmentary inscription. It is not clear if the *piscina* and the *campus* were part of a bathhouse, but it is certainly possible that they were. Mention of specific groups (residents at Mediomatrix and people who visited the town) makes possibility c) the most likely here, compare the wording of e.g. nos. 207-209, 212-214, 223 (Table 7) and B.4 below. The word *balneum*, possibly abbreviated, may be missing directly before *[Med]iomatrixis*.

B.4: CENERINI, RSA 17-18 (1987-1988), 213 believes that this text refers to the transference of ownership of a building. However, given the naming of specific groups of beneficiaries, possibility c) appears to me the most appropriate interpretation (see previous entry).

B.5: Since the father built the baths, possibility b) might appear the most likely explanation for what the son did. However, if that is the case, it is difficult to see the significance of *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*. It might refer to the circus games Avitus gave to mark the building's dedication, but the positioning of the *d.s.p.* acronym is clearly with the *dedi* rather than *circens(ibus) [ded(icavit)]*. The most reasonable explanation, therefore, is possibility c): that Avitus spent money on giving free baths to the people, for an unspecified length of time (perhaps only on opening day, when the *circenses* were being held).

B.6: Possibilities a) and b) seem the most appropriate here, though b) may have the edge since no expense is incurred as a result of the "giving" of the baths, whereas a specific sum is reported as accompanying the act of "giving." All this is appropriate to the transference of an already existing structure to public ownership, with an accompanying fund for the *tutela* and *calefactio* thereof (i.e. HS30,000, presumably for these purposes; DUNCAN-JONES, *Econ.*, no.1308a, p. 215 who posits an income of HS1,800 per annum if the interest was 6%).

B.7: Any of the possibilities is applicable here.

*Balneum dare* texts, then, offer particular problems of interpretation due to the ambiguous meaning of the word *balneum*, and the various possible benefactions afforded by the baths themselves. Broadly speaking, the presence of a phrase such as *pecunia sua* or *impensa sua* can tentatively be taken to suggest a construction. If particular beneficiaries are listed (e.g. *municipibus, incolis*), even if an "expense" formula is present, then the benefaction of offering free bathing becomes the more likely explanation. The transference of a bath from private to public ownership may lie behind some inscriptions, but identifying such cases securely is extremely difficult. In certain cases, the wording is just too terse to be sure which of the three possibilities carries the most weight. Caution must therefore be exercised in reading such texts, and each should be assessed on its own merits.

# **ILLUSTRATIONS**

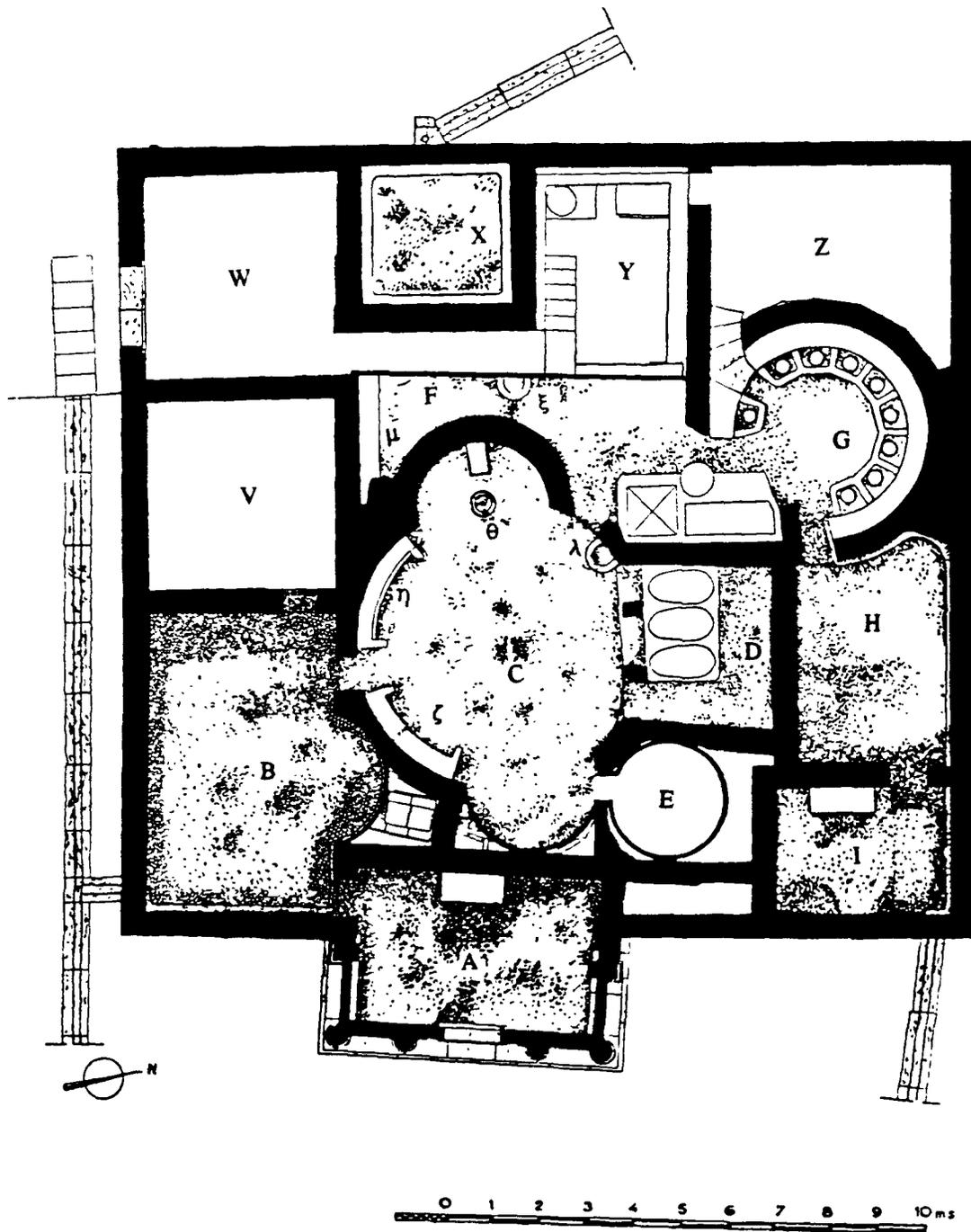


Figure 1: The thermal establishment at Gortys, Arcadia: groundplan (final phase) [after GINOUVES, *Balan.*, fig. 153]

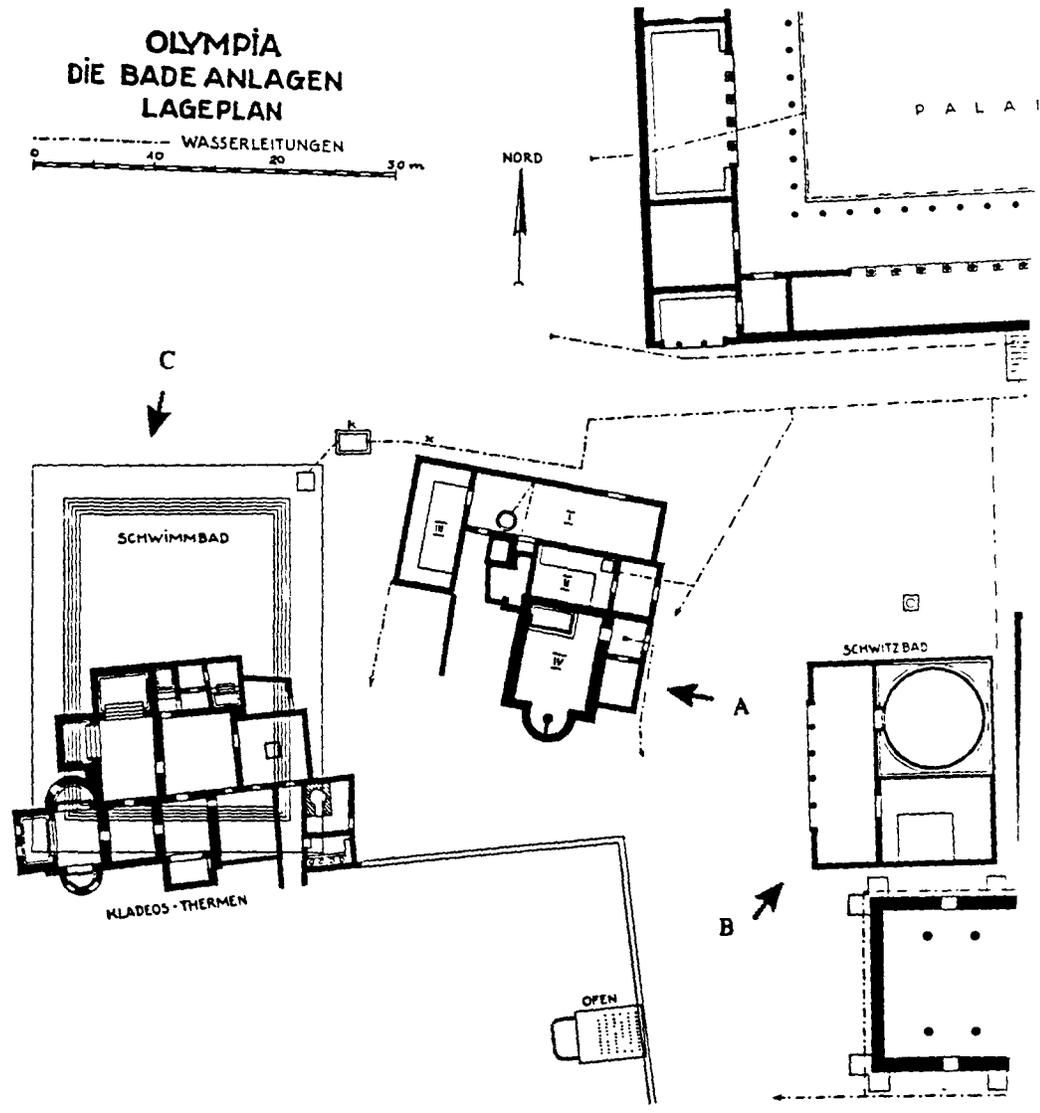


Figure 2: The sanctuary at Olympia with the baths marked A and the "Heroon" marked B [after KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, Taf. 11]

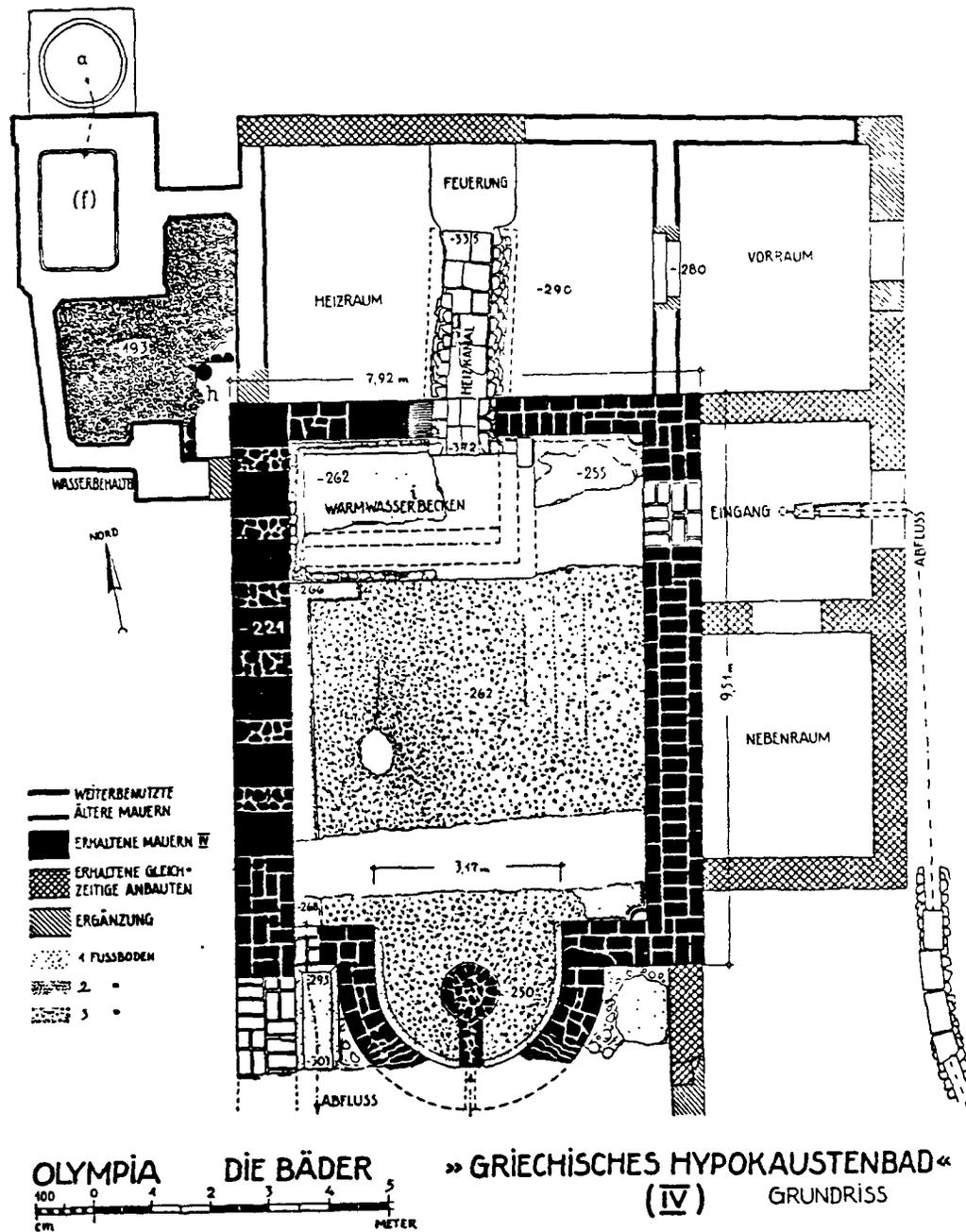


Figure 3: The "Greek hypocaust bath" at Olympia; groundplan [after KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, Taf. 19]

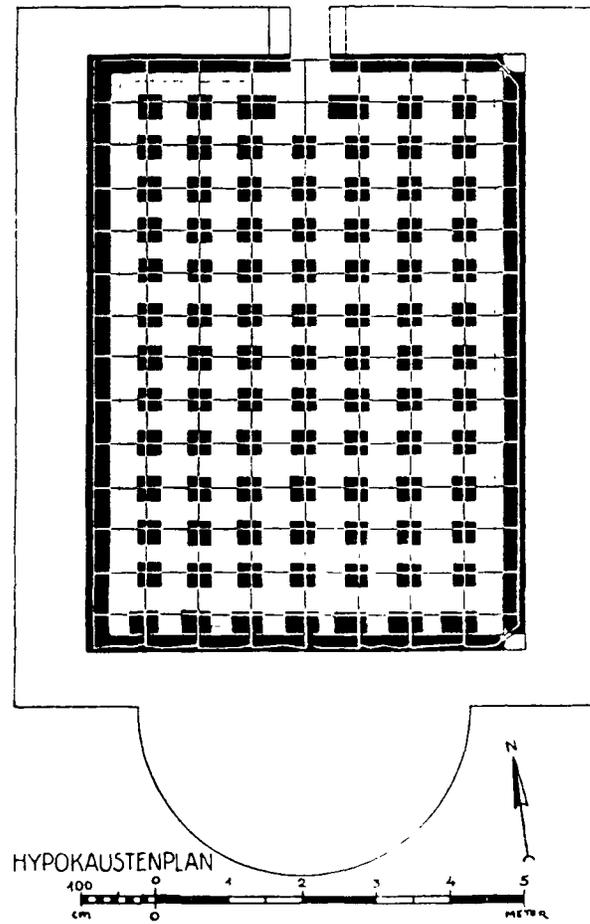


Figure 4: The hypocaust system in building IV at Olympia [after KUNZE & SCHLEIF, *Olympia*, Abb. 25, p. 52]

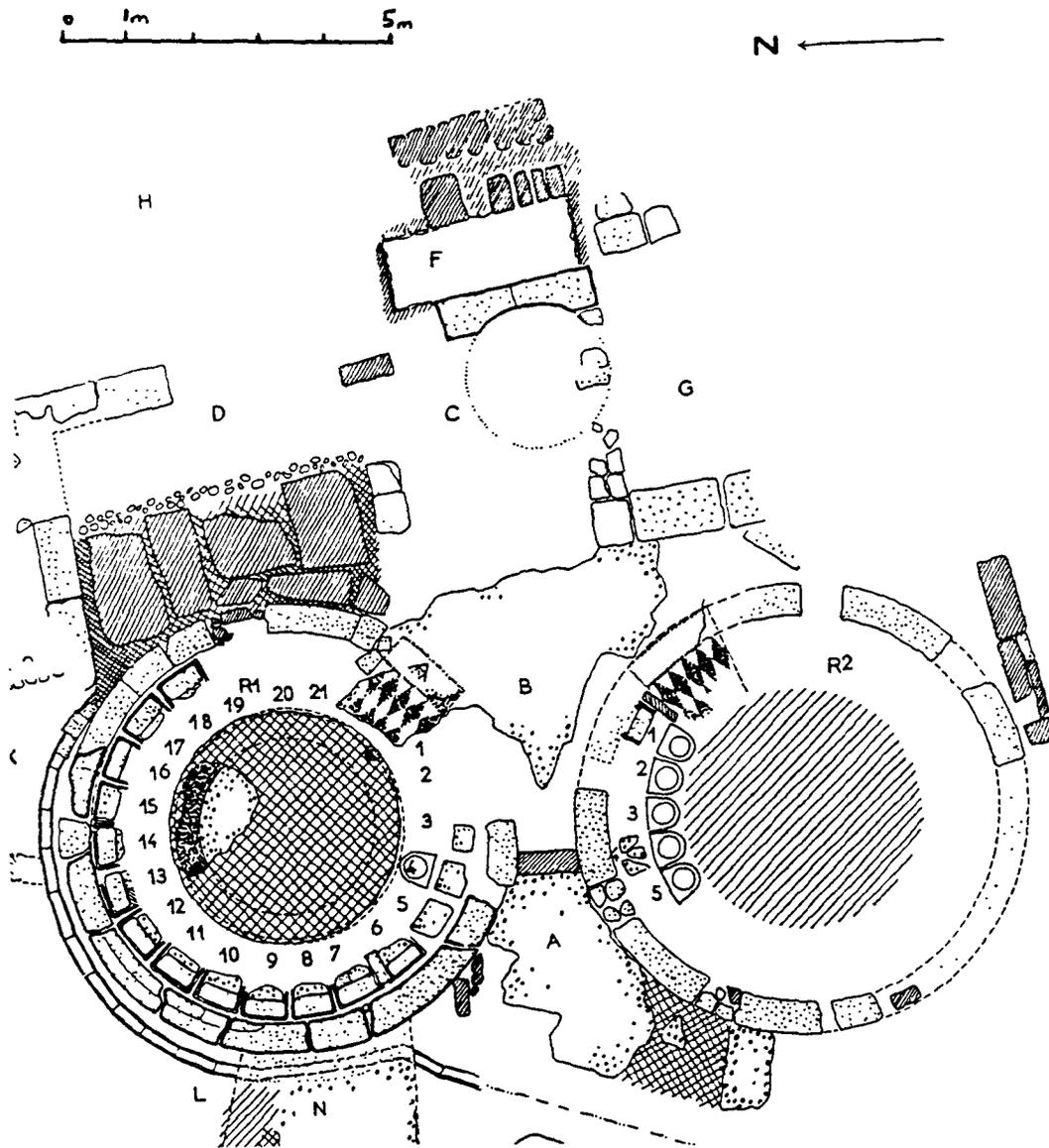
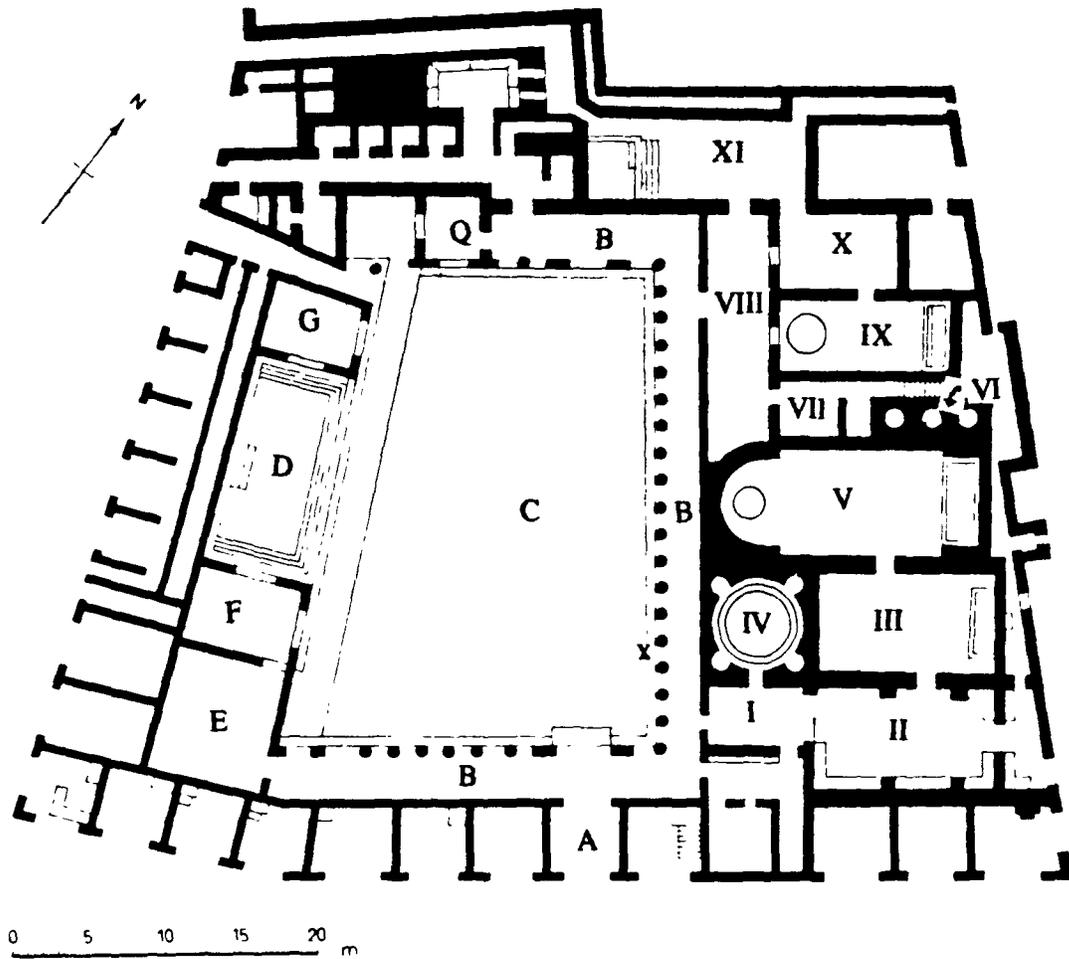
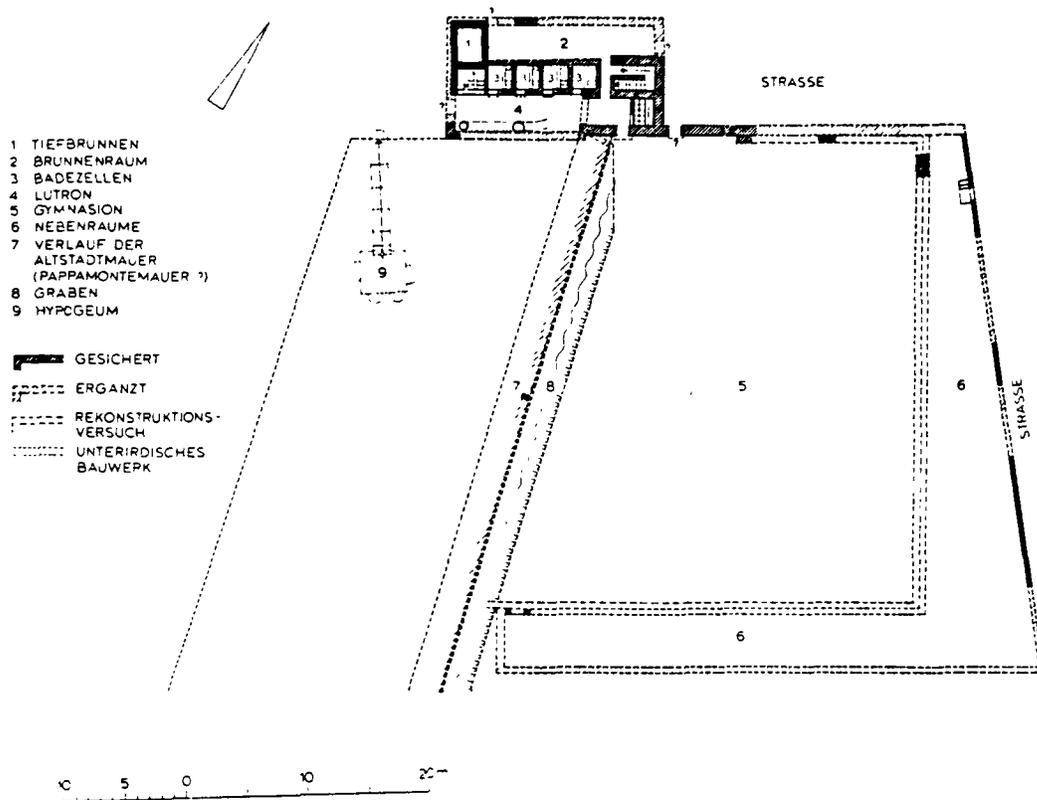


Figure 5: The Greek hip-bath rotundas in the Harbour Baths at Eretria; groundplan [after GINOUVES, *Balan.*, fig. 160]



- |                                    |                                  |   |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| I: vestibule                       | VII: part of <i>prae-furnium</i> | B: <i>porticus</i> ; sundial found at x |
| II: men's <i>apodyterium</i>       | VIII: timber-storage yard (?)    | C: <i>palaestra</i>                     |
| III: men's <i>tepidarium</i>       | IX: women's <i>caldarium</i>     | D: <i>natatio</i>                       |
| IV: men's <i>frigidarium</i>       | X: women's <i>tepidarium</i>     | E: out-door changing room               |
| V: men's <i>caldarium</i>          | XI: women's <i>apodyterium</i>   | F, G: wing rooms of <i>natatio</i>      |
| VI: 3-cauldron <i>prae-furnium</i> | A: main entrance                 | Q: "loggia"; brazier findspot           |

Figure 6: The Stabian Baths, Pompeii; groundplan, (Eschebach's room numbers) [after HEINZ, *Röm. Therm.*, Abb. 45, p. 56]



**Figure 7.1:** The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: Eschebach's Period I (5th cent. BC) [after ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 34a]

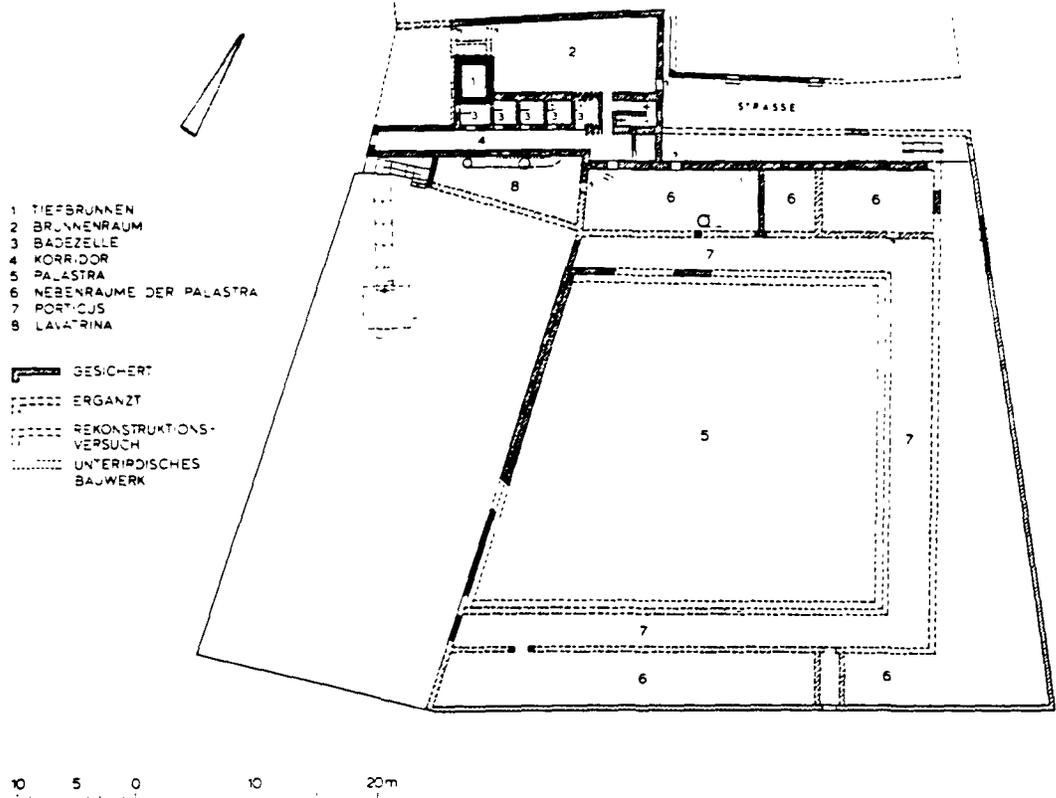


Figure 7.2: The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: Eschebach's Period II (4th/3rd cent. BC) [after ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 34b]

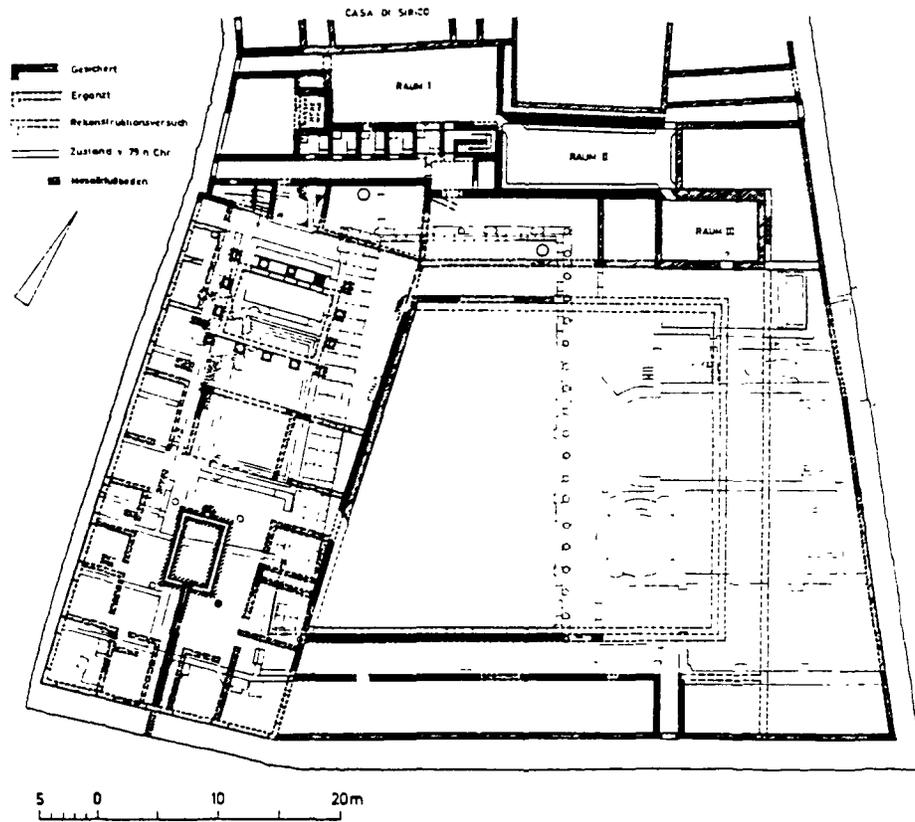


Figure 7.3: The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: Eschebach's Period III (3rd cent. BC) [after ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 36b]

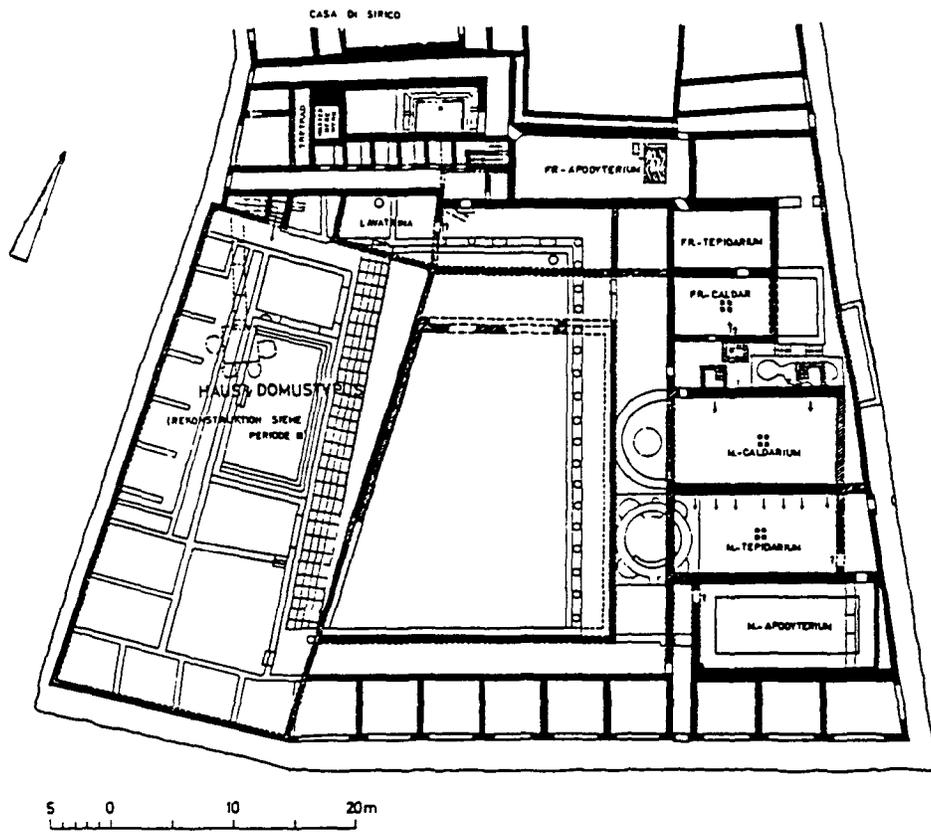
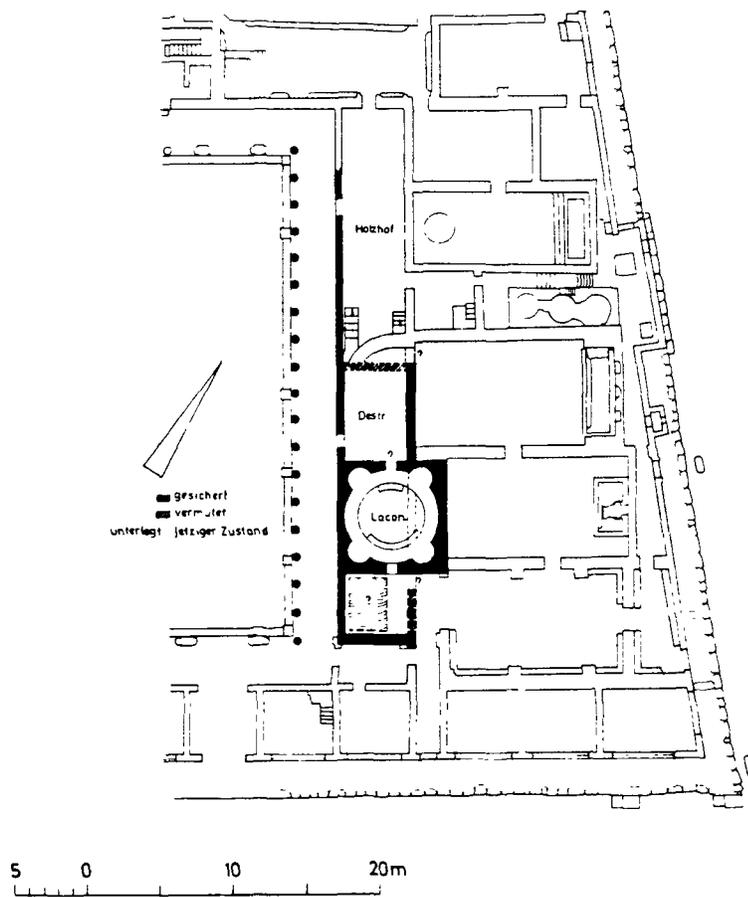


Figure 7.4: The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: Eschebach's Period IV (c. 140-120. BC) [after ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 36a]



**Figure 7.5:** The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: Eschebach's Period V (c. 80 BC) [after ESCHEBACH. *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 37c]

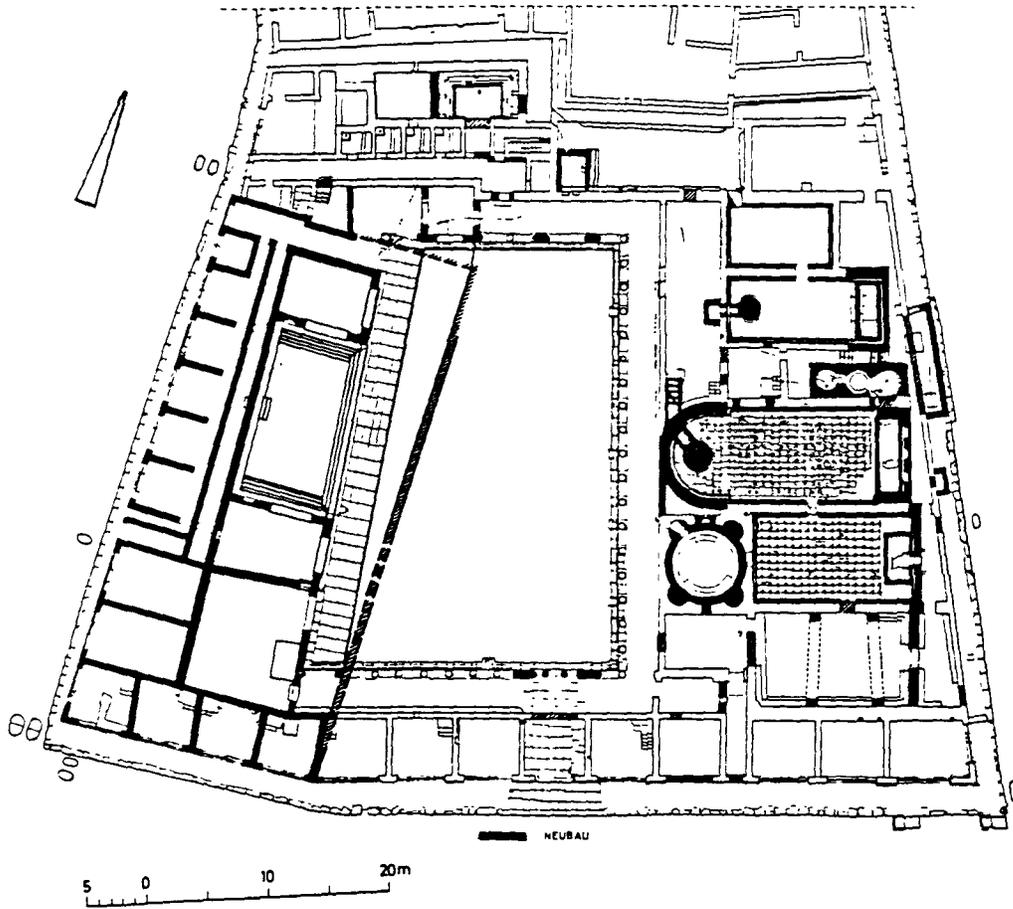


Figure 7.6: The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: Eschebach's Period VIff (1st cent. BC - 1st cent. AD)  
[after ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Taf. 37d]

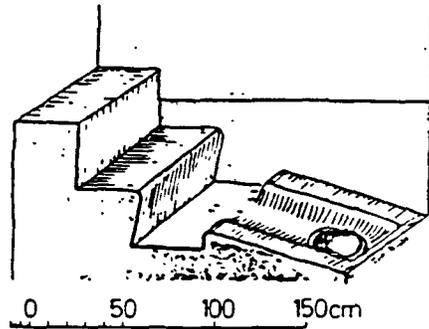


Figure 8.1: The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: Eschebach's 5th-cent. hip-bath from the North Wing [after ESCHEBACH, *Stab. Therm.*, Abb. 16, p. 51]

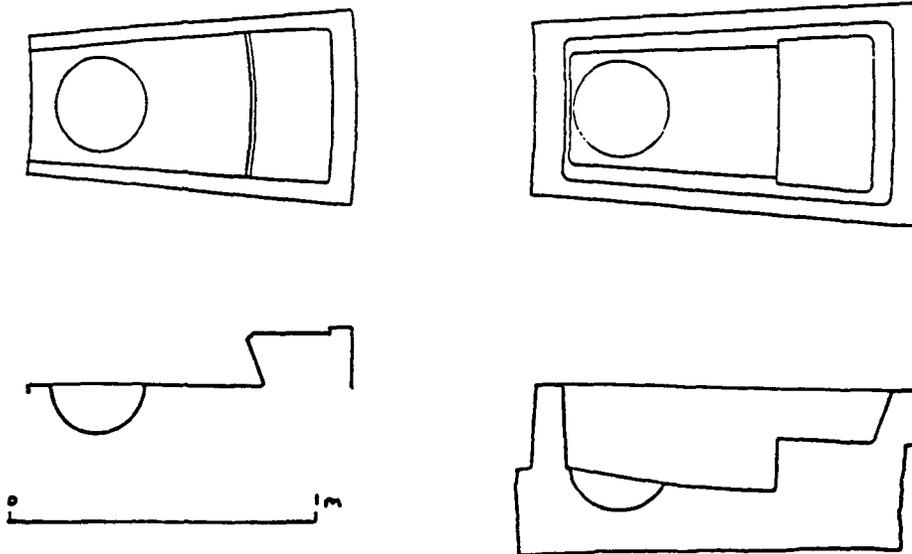
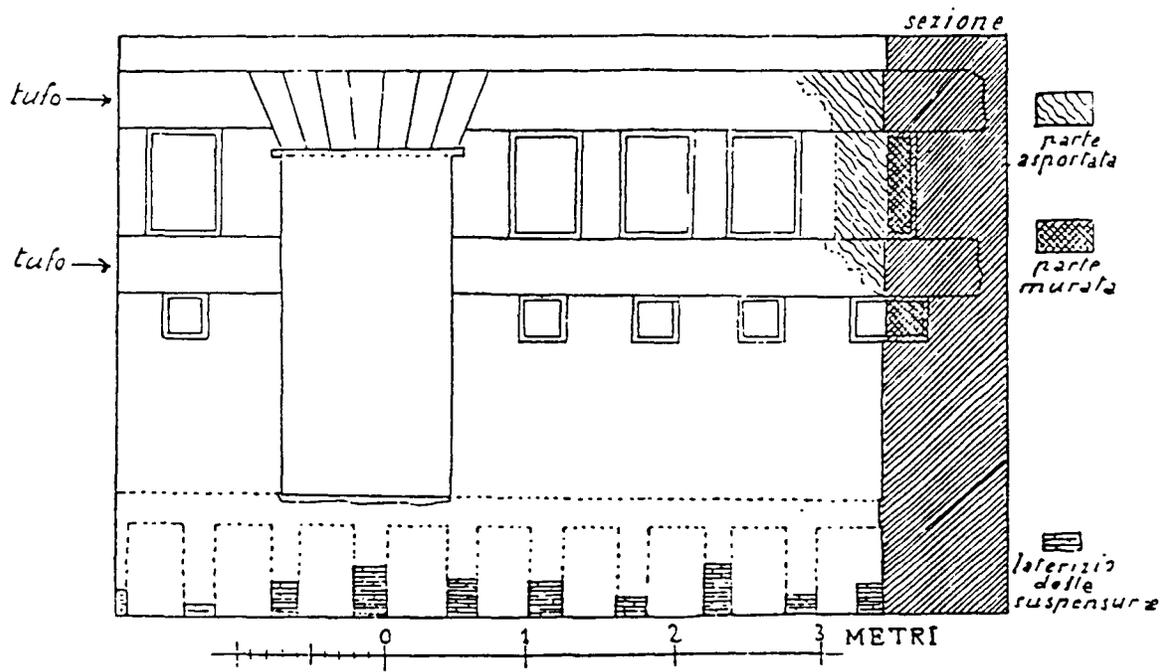
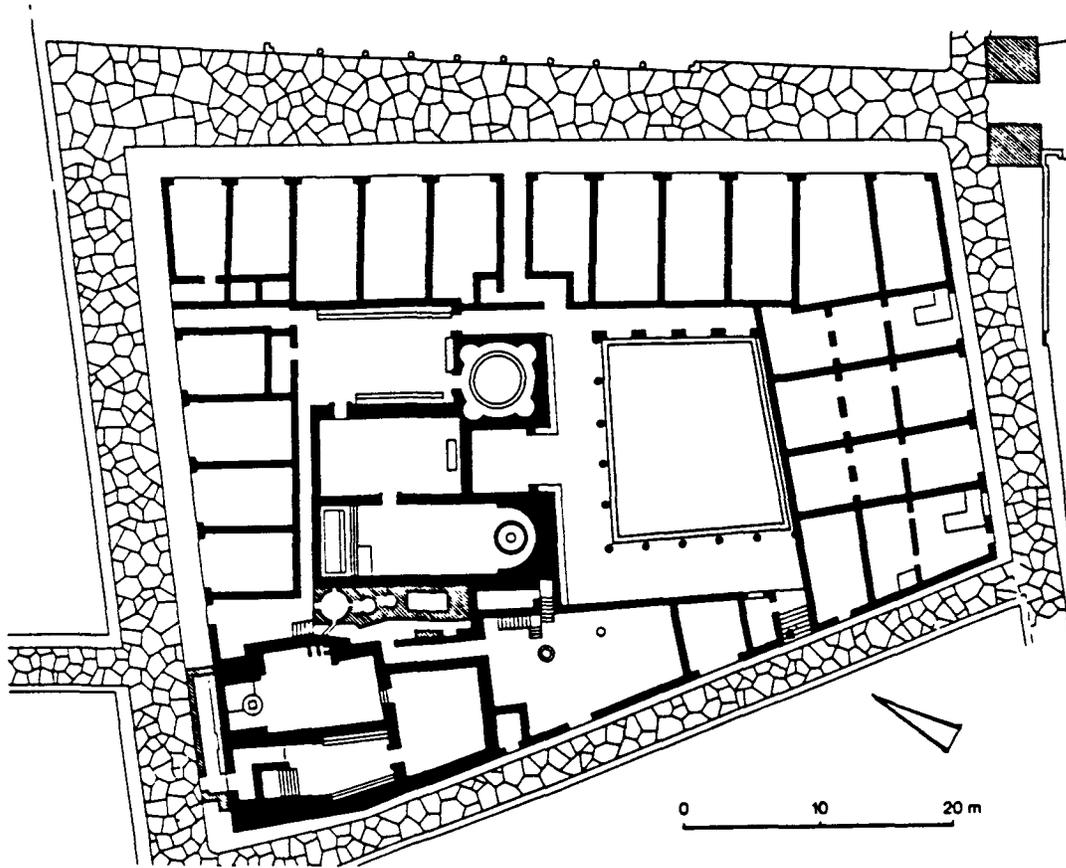


Figure 8.2: Greek hip-baths from the Agora at Athens (5th century BC) [after GINOUVES, *Balan.*, fig., 151]



**Figure 9:** The Stabian Baths, Pompeii: reconstruction of the niche arrangement in the women's *caldarium* and *tepidarium* (rooms IX and X in fig. 6 respectively) [after NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.72, fig. 35]



**Figure 10:** The Forum Baths, Pompeii; groundplan [after RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, fig. 20, p. 149]

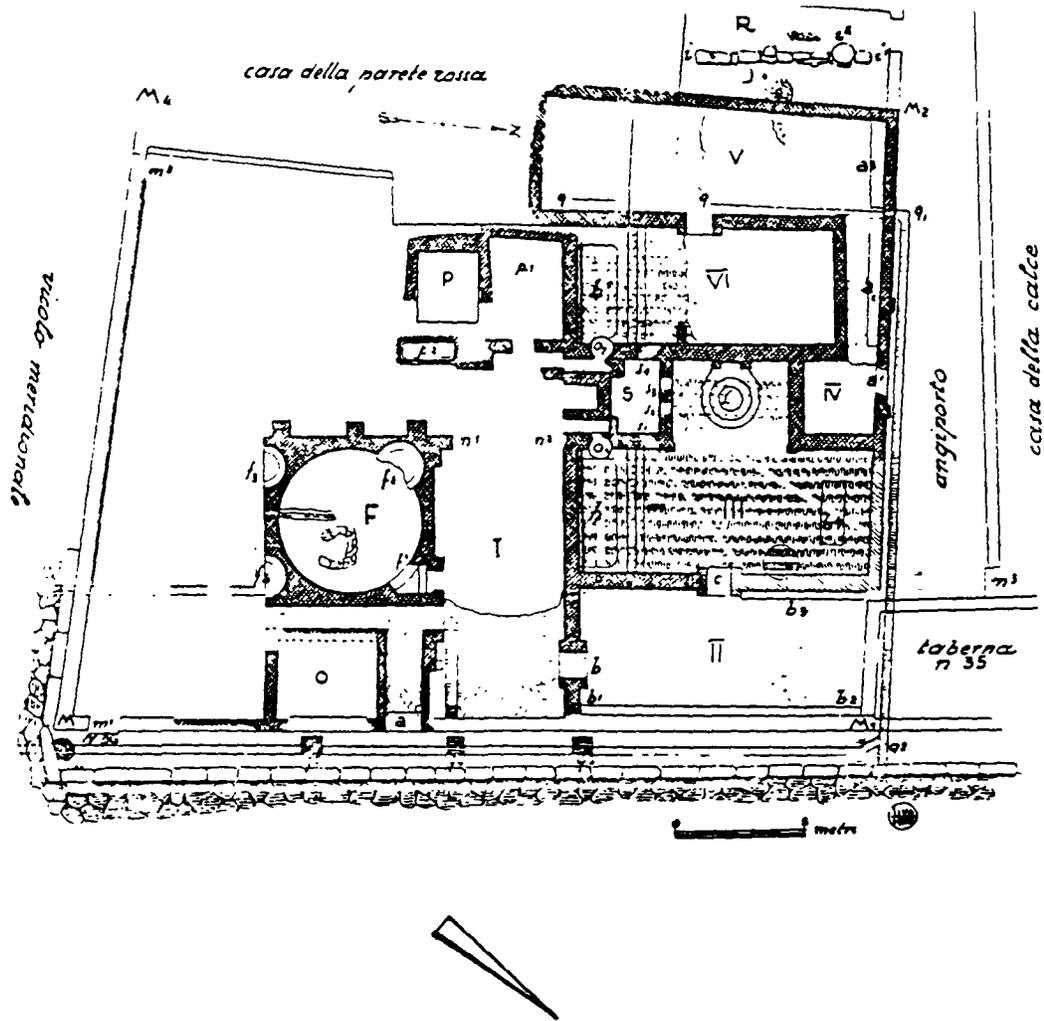
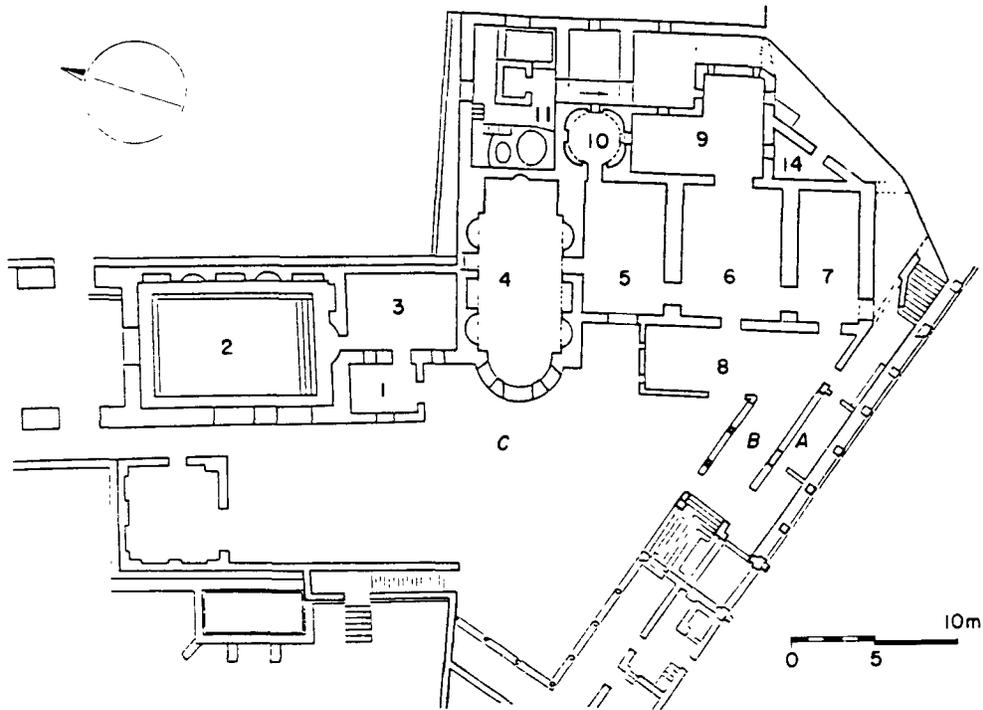


Figure 11: The Republican Baths, Pompeii; groundplan [after MAIURI, NSc (1950), fig. 1, p. 117]



**Figure 12:** The Suburban Baths, Pompeii; groundplan [after JACOBELLI, *RSP* 1988, fig. 51, p. 203]

Fig. 79. *Pompeii* (Pompeii) Central Baths (C. 17). 1:500 (After La Rocca et al. 1976 p. 507.)

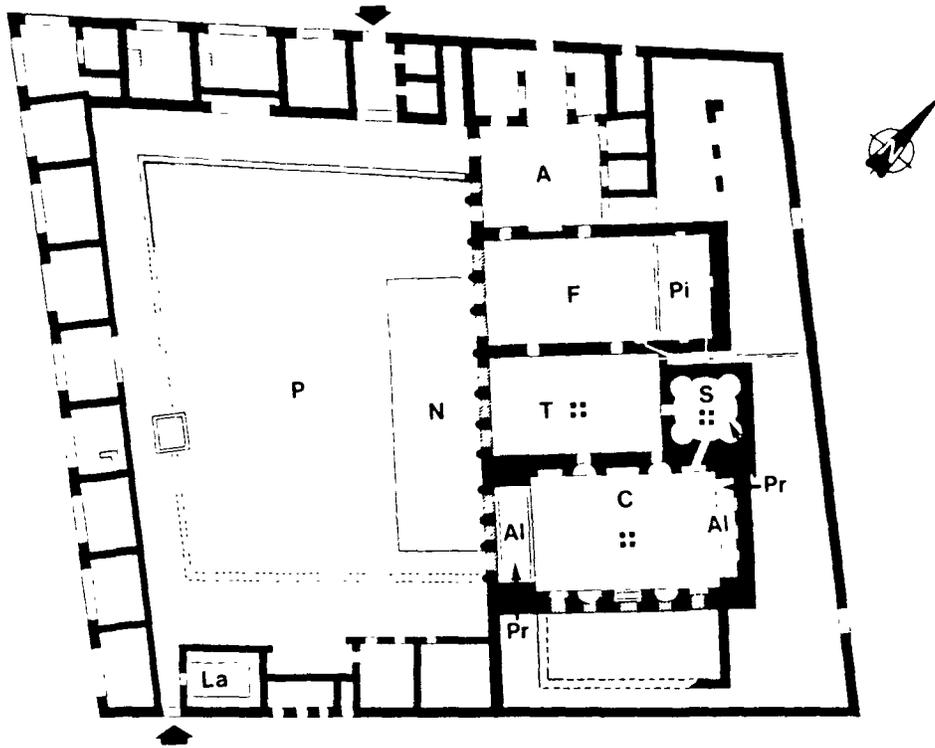


Figure 13: The Central Baths, Pompeii; groundplan [after NIELSEN, *Therm.*, II.100, fig. 79]; scale is provided in Nielsen's caption

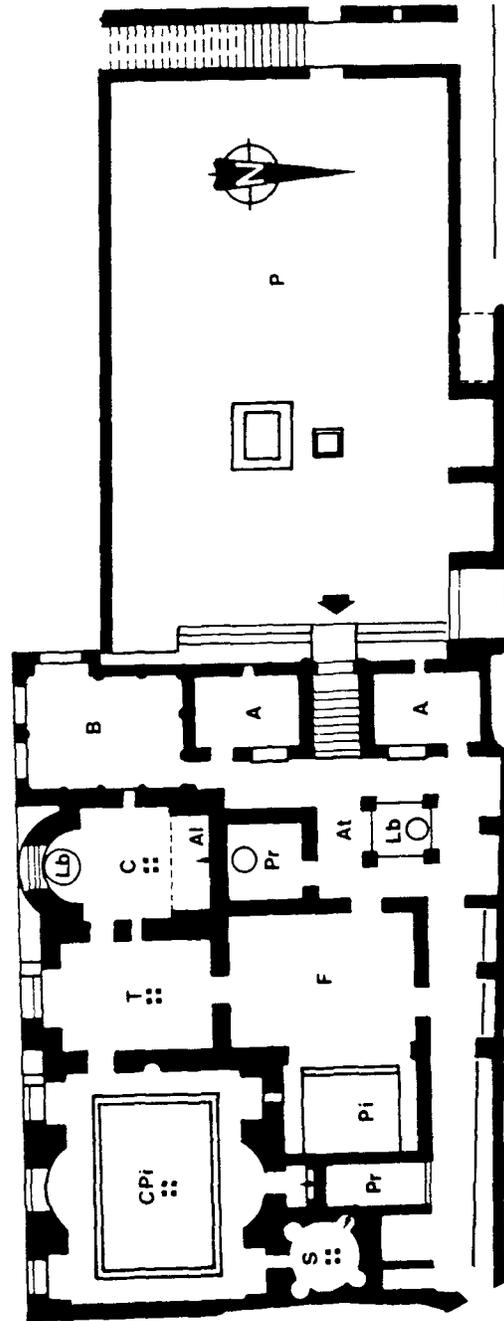


Fig. 76. *Herculaneum* (Ercolano/Resina) Suburban Baths (C. 49) 1:250 (Alter Mann 1958 Abb. 114)

Figure 14: The Suburban Baths, Herculaneum; groundplan [after NIELSEN. *Therm.*, II.99, fig. 76]: scale is provided in Nielsen's caption

Christopher Parslow

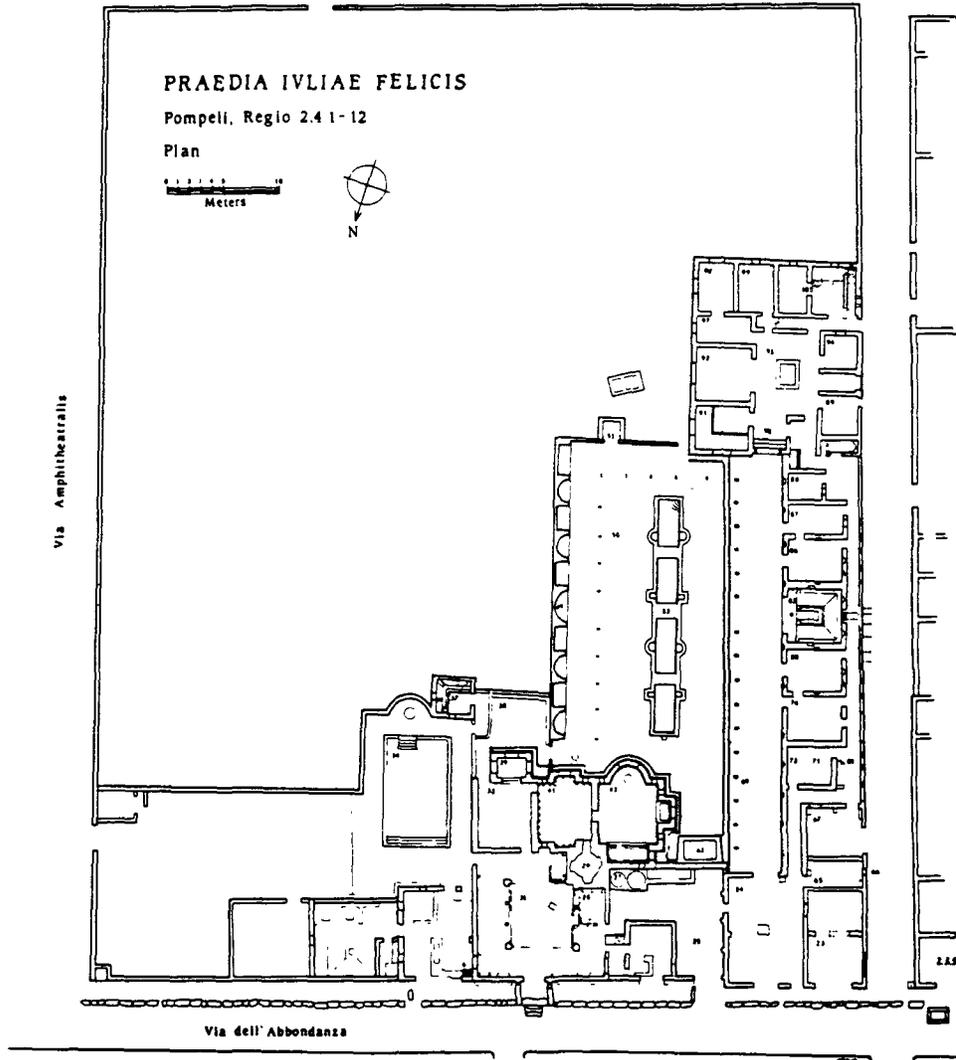


Figure 15: The *Praedia Juliae Felicis*, Pompeii; groundplan [after PARSLOW, *Praedia*, fig. 8]



**Figure 16:** The Palaestra Baths, Pompeii; groundplan [after RICHARDSON, *Pompeii*, fig. 45 p. 299]

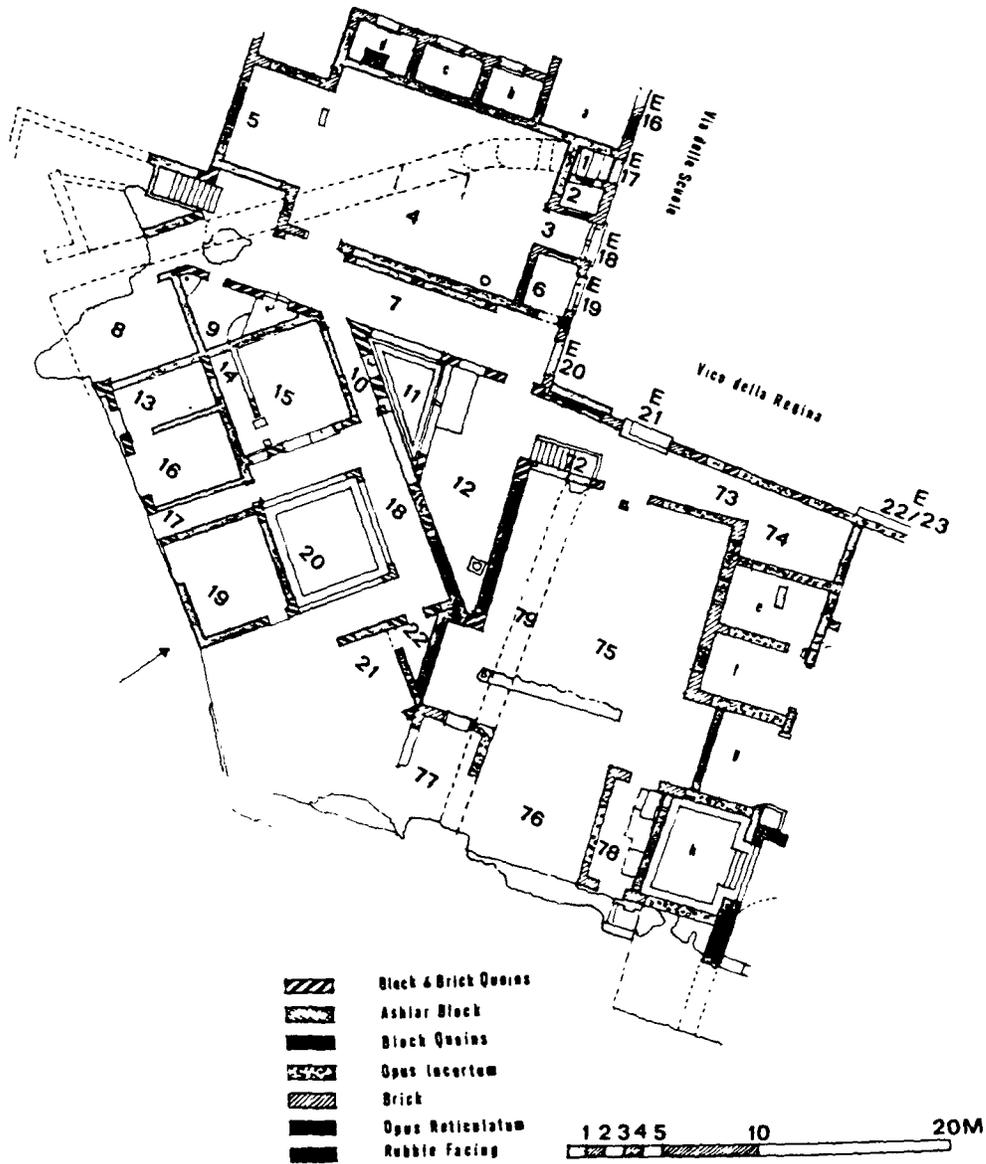


Figure 17.1: The Sarno Baths, Pompeii; groundplan of Level 1 (street level) [after KOŁOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, fig. 1]

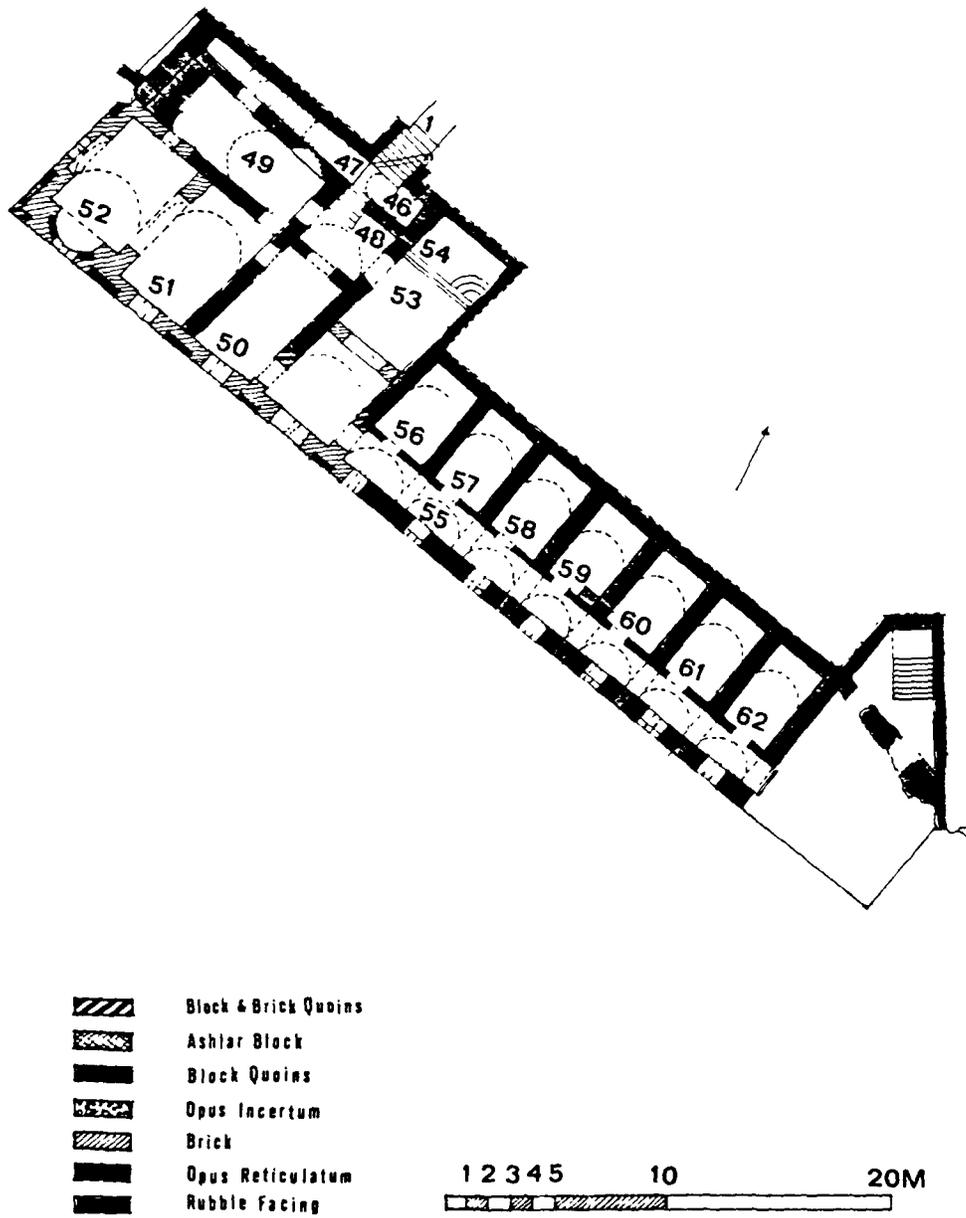
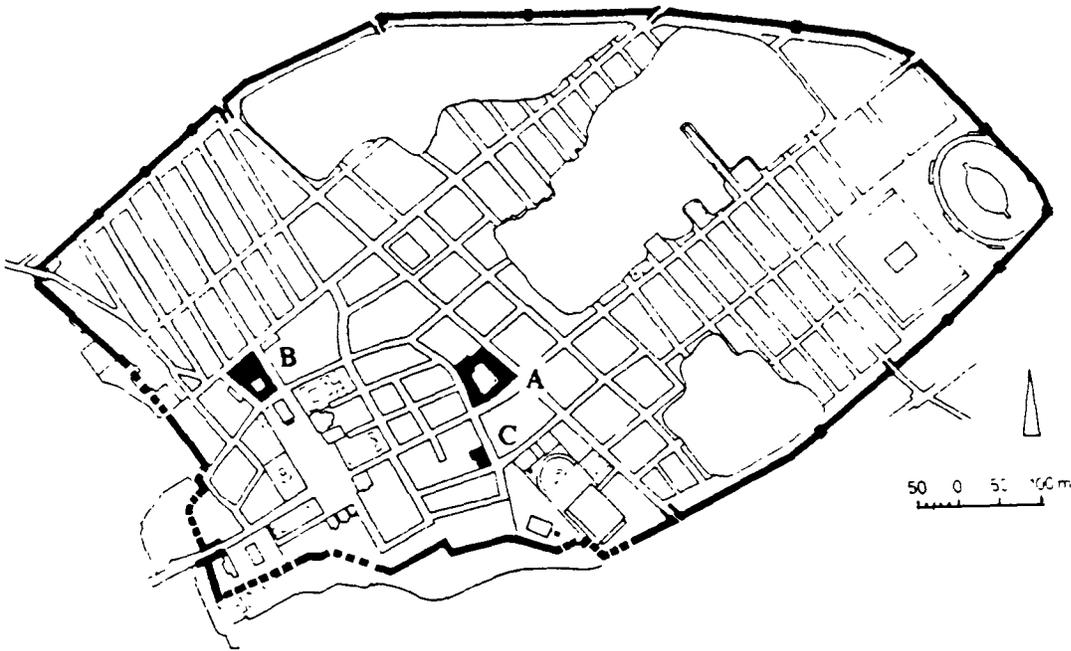


Figure 17.2: The Sarno Baths. Pompeii: groundplan of Level 4 (bath level) [after KOLOSKI OSTROW, *Sarno*, fig. 4]

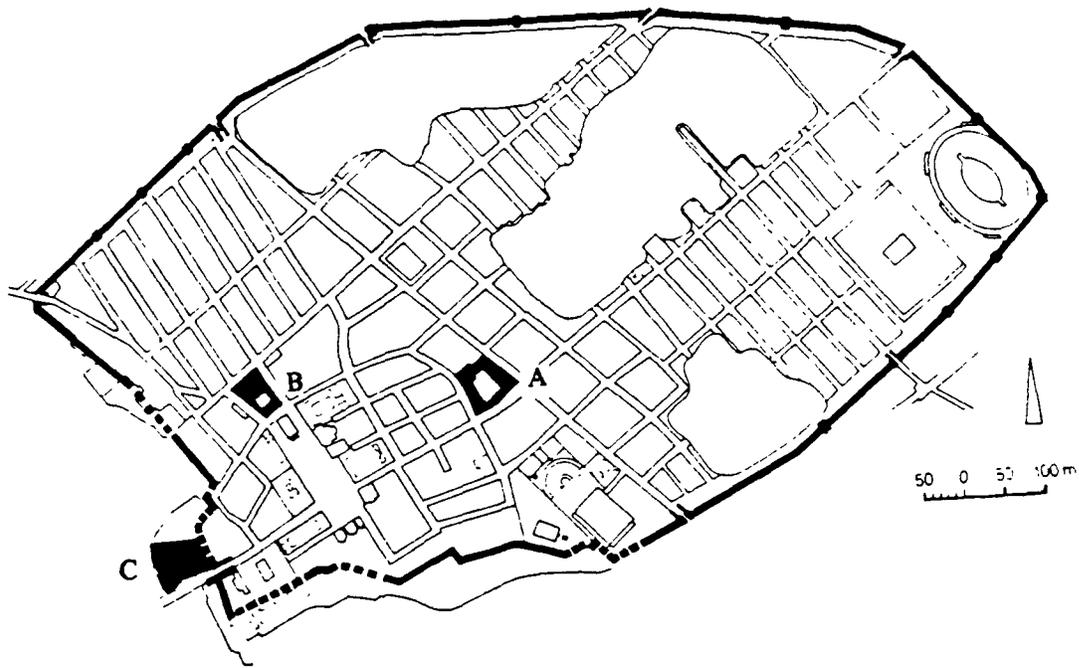


A: Stabian Baths, c. 140 BC

B: Forum Baths, c. 80 BC

C: Republican Baths, c. 100-90 BC

**Figure 18.1: The public baths of Pompeii, c. 60 BC**

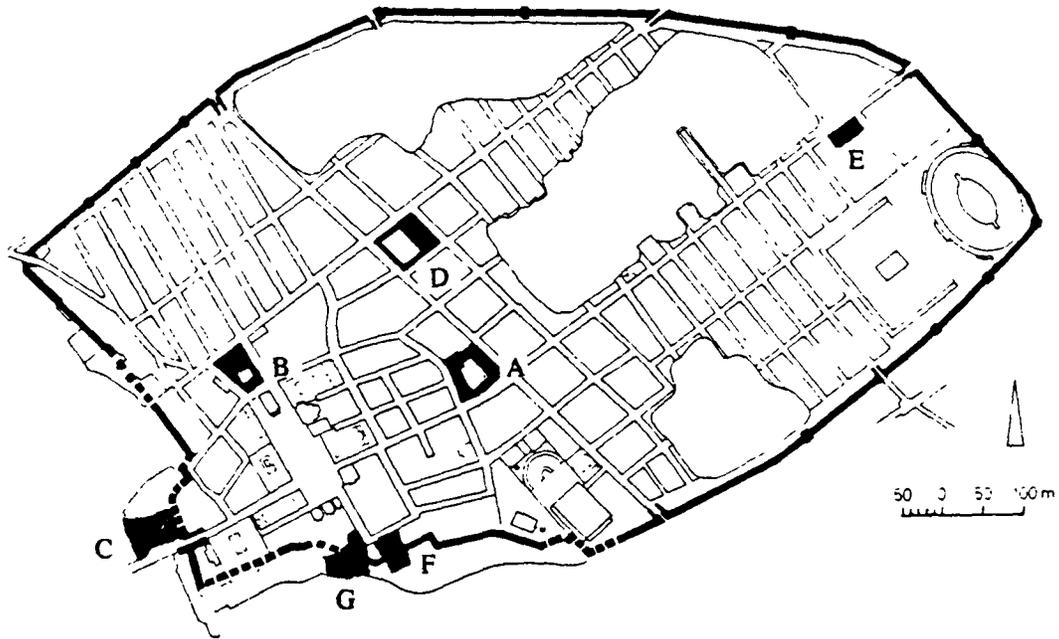


A: Stabian Baths, c. 140 BC

B: Forum Baths, c. 80 BC

C: Suburban Baths, Tiberian (?)

Figure 18.2: The public baths of Pompeii, c. AD 30-40



A: Stabian Baths, c. 140 BC

B: Forum Baths, c. 80 BC

C: Suburban Baths, Tiberian (?)

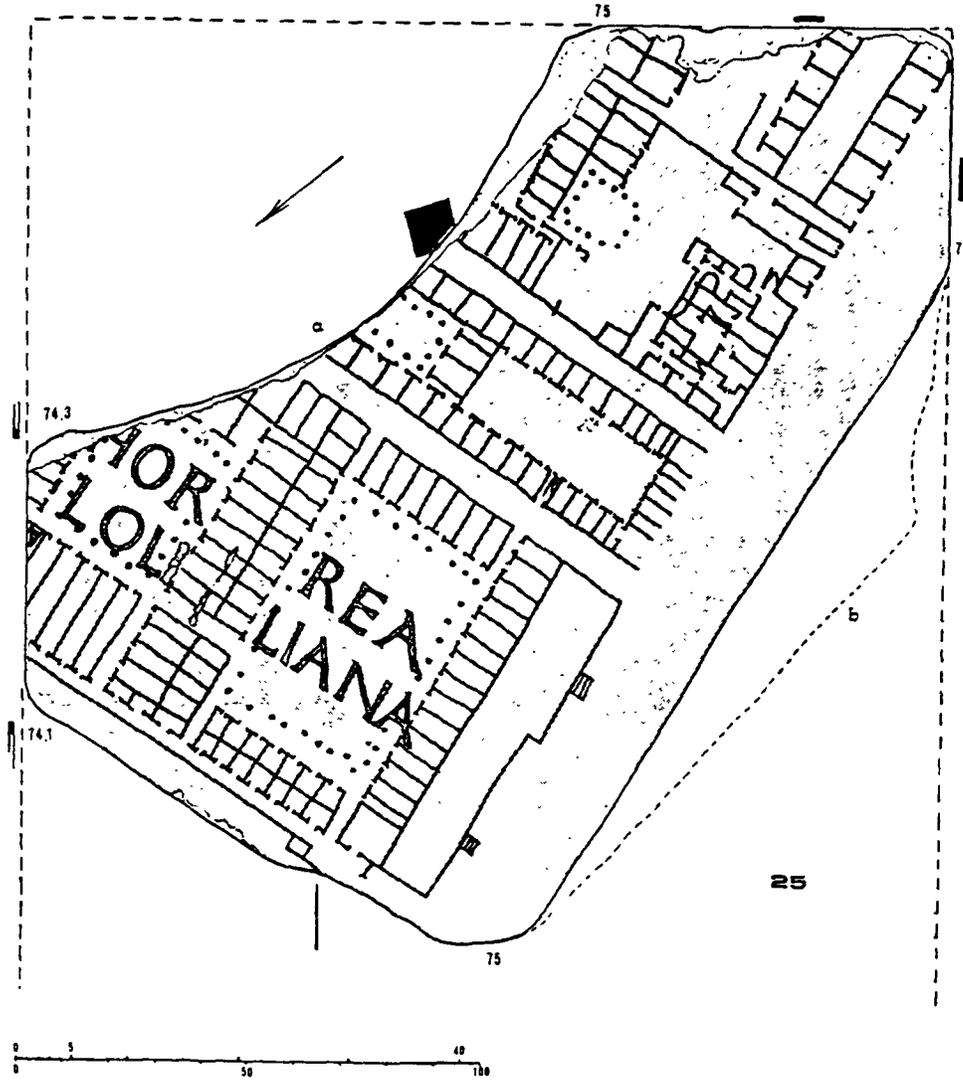
D: Central Baths, AD 62-79

E: *Balneum Venerium et Nongentum*, AD 62-79

F: Palaestra Baths, AD 62-79

G: Sarno Baths, AD 62-79

**Figure 18.3: The public baths of Pompeii, AD 79**



**Figure 19:** The corner-bath near the Horrea Lolliana on fr. 25 of the *Forma Urbis Romae* [after E.R. ALMEIDA, *Forma Urbis Marmorea: Aggiornamento generale*, (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1980), Tav. XVIII]

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