### **Distribution Agreement**

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

Signature:

Joanna Mundy

Date

Domūs and Insulae in the City of Rome: Living Spaces, Design, and Development

By

Joanna C. Mundy Doctor of Philosophy

Art History

Dr. Eric R. Varner Advisor

Dr. Judith Evans Grubbs Committee Member

Dr. Bonna D. Wescoat Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D. Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

Domūs and Insulae in the City of Rome: Living Spaces, Design, and Development

By

Joanna C. Mundy

M.Phil., University of Cambridge, 2006

Advisor: Dr. Eric R. Varner

An abstract of A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History 2018

#### Abstract

### *Domūs* and *Insulae* in the City of Rome: Living Spaces, Design, and Development By Joanna C. Mundy

Excavations throughout the city of Rome over the last century now allow us to gather a much more complete image of urban ancient Roman housing. This study uses the decorations and organization of architecturally organized domestic spaces, which have been archaeologically recovered within the limits of the Aurelian walls between the first and fifth centuries CE, to elucidate how domestic spaces played a role in Roman life and society in this period. It examines how residences contributed to the social interactions and political status of households both on an interior scale, examining the individual spaces within Roman houses as settings for social interaction, and on an exterior scale, seeing how the placement of a household within the urban city plan and within the social networks in the city influenced the public development of Rome. First on the interior scale of domestic space, it examines the individual rooms of Roman houses through an architectural analysis of lines-of-sight, decoration, and architectural arrangement of rooms. Then on an exterior scale, using network analysis and GIS mapping, it examines how the placement of a household within the topography of the city was influenced by its position within social networks.

The dataset consists of ninety-one *domūs* or possible *domūs* and twenty-eight *insulae* with possible multi-family residences and provides a foundation for the examination of three key questions. First, Romans consciously chose the decoration and design of their spaces. How do their choices of decorative program, lines-of-sight, and organization reveal the relative degree of accessibility that would have been expected in different types of domestic spaces? Second, it examines the decorative program of particular spaces to uncover decorative themes found in common in specific types of spaces, such as open-air courtyards or interior large decorative rooms. These themes indicate possible expectations for the use of these spaces. Finally, using network analysis and GIS, it asks if social networks among households in the fourth century, specifically relationships based on political standing, cultic participation, or familial ties, influenced the development of the topographical neighborhoods of the city.

This study concludes that Romans consciously created spaces for flexible use to accommodate a maximum variety of social functions, both public and private, in the compact footprints available in the urban center of the city. Romans used key decorative themes to maximize the appearance of their status, wealth, and education, and tailored these themes to different types of rooms. While their social ties did not have a clear impact on the locations of domestic buildings in the city, their social status and wealth impacted the development of the urban plan and changed the shapes of the hills as they were expanded and built into by wealthy patrons.

Domūs and Insulae in the City of Rome: Living Spaces, Design, and Development

By

Joanna C. Mundy

M.Phil., University of Cambridge, 2006

Advisor: Dr. Eric R. Varner

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History 2018

#### Acknowledgements

For their support of my dissertation research and training in network analysis, I want to thank the Emory Center for Digital Scholarship and the Beck Foundation. For their support with a Library Research Grant to access Einar Gjerstad's original documentation I want to thank the Getty Research Institute. I am grateful to the Lemmermann Foundation for their support of onsite research in Rome. For supporting travel related to my research and writing of my network analysis, I am grateful to the Walter Read Hovey Memorial Fund of The Pittsburgh Foundation. I want to thank the British School at Rome for their help in accessing digital images of prints I-XII of the wall paintings from the Villa Negroni for my 3D model.

My thanks go to Monica Ceci, Sovraintendenza di Roma Capitale, U.O. Monumenti di Roma, for her guidance in my research. I also want to thank my advisor and committee members, Dr. Eric R. Varner, Dr. Bonna D. Wescoat, and Dr. Judith Evans Grubbs for all of their support and advice throughout this project. I also want to thank the Emory Art History Department for its support of my research and ideas.

Among my friends and colleagues who have supported me with advice, encouragement, and help, I want to thank: Dr. Sarah McPhee, Dr. Sandra Blakely, Dr. Kira Jones, Cecily Boles, Cody Houseman, my colleagues in the Emory Center for Digital Scholarship, and my family. Index: Domūs and Insulae in the City of Rome: Living Spaces, Design, and Development

Chapter 1 – Introduction and Historiography of the Domus	
Introduction to Historiography:	1
Ancient Sources:	5
Early Modern Scholarship:	
The Nineteenth Century and Unification:	
Theories in the Twentieth Century:	
The Influence of Early Rome:	
Spatial Theories after World War II:	
The Study of Roman Housing in the Later Twentieth Century:	
Network Analysis and Technology:	
Introduction to the Following Chapters and Analysis:	
Chapter 2 – Space in Roman Houses - Open Access Spaces	
Introduction:	
Review of visual analysis methodologies:	
Entry Spaces: Fauces, Vestibulum:	
Covered or Partially Covered Courtyards: <i>Atrium</i> :	
Open-sided or open-fronted rooms: <i>Ala, Tablinum</i> :	
Peristyles and porticoed courtyards:	
Other courtyards:	
Conclusions – Openly Accessible Spaces:	
Chapter 3 – Controlled Space in Roman Houses	
Introduction:	
Small closed rooms: Cubicula, Storage, Culina, Latrines:	
Cellae and service spaces:	
Cubicula and small decorative rooms:	
Small multifunctional <i>cellae</i> or <i>coenacula</i> :	
Dining or presentation rooms:	
The triclinium	

The <i>oecus</i> and <i>exedra</i> :	
Large central rooms with paired side rooms:	
Large decorative rooms not in sets:	
Unaligned decorative rooms:	
Conclusions:	
Halls, <i>Aulae</i> :	
Poly-lobed rooms:	
Large one-apsed halls:	
Uniquely apsed rooms:	
Conclusions:	
Baths:	
Possibly partially or completely public:	
Late Antique domestic bath:	
Heated rooms:	
Nymphaea and Grottos:	
Courtyard fountains and <i>nymphaea</i> :	
Underground examples of <i>nymphaea</i> :	
Nymphaea placed in apses:	
Water sources:	
Decoration:	
Conclusions:	
Conclusions – Controlled Access Spaces:	
Chapter 3 Part 2 – Inconclusive Access Spaces:	
Sacred spaces:	
Stairways:	
·	
Upper floors:	
Conclusions:	
Subterranean spaces:	
Conclusions:	
Chapter 4 – A Comparative Social Network Analysis of the Househ	olds of Rome in the Early
and Late Fourth Century CE	•
Introduction:	
Historiography of the Method:	257
Methods of my Analysis:	
Software: Force-Directed Layouts:	

Modularity:	265
Degree:	266
Eigenvector centrality:	266
Betweenness Centrality:	267
My Data:	267
Types of Connections/Edges:	268
Early fourth Century Data Set:	270
Late fourth Century Data Set:	276
Analysis early fourth century:	285
Modularity:	285
Degree:	290
Eigenvector centrality:	297
Betweenness:	
Conclusions for 300-330 CE:	300
Analysis late fourth century:	303
Modularity:	303
Degree:	306
Eigenvector centrality:	308
Betweenness:	309
Conclusions:	310
Chapter 5 – Conclusions	313
Appendix – 3D Model of the Domus Azara	326
Objectives:	326
History and Sources:	326
Goals:	327
Results and Conclusions:	328
Figure A.1: A direct line-of-sight from the courtyard to the exterior window	329
Figure A.3: The view from room F across the courtyard with its blue tub to room D	330
Figure A.4: The decoration of room B, showing the corner pilaster and cross vault, as as the exterior window.	
List of sources:	332
Works Cited:	
Catalog:	
Figures:	/ 4ð

Chapter 1 – Figures:	748
Chapter 2 – Figures:	757
Chapter 3 – Figures:	
Chapter 4 – Figures:	
Chapter 5 – Figures:	819
Catalog – Figures:	

## List of Figures:

## Chapter 1:

1.1 – Reconstruction of a Roman Pompeian *domus* by August Mau.

Source: Mau, A., and F.W. Kelsey. 1899. *Pompeii, its life and art*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 247.

1.2 – *Grottesche* from the Alexander vault of the *Domus Aurea*.

Source: Rea, R., M.A. Tomei. 2011. Nerone. Milano: Electa.

1.3 – The Chapel of San Girolamo in Santa Maria del Popolo.

Source: Photographed by author.

1.4 - Stadio Palatino by Pirro Ligorio

Source: Iacopi, I. 1997. Gli scavi sul colle Palatino: testimonianze e documenti. 11.

1.5 – Drawing by Pirro Ligorio, made into an etching by Onofrio Panvinio called "Circi Maximi et antiqui imperatorum romanorum palatii ichnographia."

Source: *Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis, De Ludis Circensibus, Libri II. De Triumphis Liber Unus*. <u>https://archive.org/details/gri\_33125008736320/page/n37</u> (Accessed 9/28/2018) Public Domain.

1.6 – Pirro Ligorio's 1561 Anteiquae Urbis Imago.

Source: Pirro Ligorio (Italian, ca. 1510-1583), 1561 Engraving 2007.35.1F&G Joint purchase through the generosity of David Parsons, the Patrons of Paper of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, and the Emory Libraries. Carlos Museum website: <u>http://carlos.emory.edu/collections/new-acquisitions/antiquae-urbis-imago-image-ancient-city</u> (Accessed 9/27/2018).

1.7 – Detail of Pirro Ligorio's 1561 Anteiquae Urbis Imago with the Domus Philippi and Domus Palbini Aug.

Source: Emory University, Views of Rome. https://viewsofrome.digitalscholarship.emory.edu/

1.8 – Detail of Pirro Ligorio's 1561 Anteiquae Urbis Imago with the mausoleum Augus.

Source: Emory University, Views of Rome. https://viewsofrome.digitalscholarship.emory.edu/

## 1.9 – Ichnographia from Il Campo Marzio di antica Roma in 1762 by Piranesi

Source: Five Colleges and Historic Deerfield Museum Consortium Collections Database: http://museums.fivecolleges.edu/browser.php?m=objects&kv=2004839&i=3289557

1.10 – Photography of ruins of a private house discovered under the baths of Caracalla by G. B. Guidi.

Source: Lanciani, R.A. 1897. *The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome; a companion book for students and travelers*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company. 101, fig. 39.

1.11 – Drawing by Le Corbusier of the House of Sallust, Pompeii.

Source: Berritto, A.M. 2011. *Pompei 1911 Le Corbusier e l'origine della casa*. (Texte imprimé), Quadri. Napoli: Clean ed., 50-51.

1.12 – Gjerstad reconstruction from Early Rome IV.

Source: Gjerstad, Einar, and Svenska institutet i Rom. 1966. *Early Rome*. Vol. IV, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom.* 4°, Lund. 415, fig. 114.

# Chapter 2:

2.1 – *Domus* at Ss. Sergio e Baccho: in this Andrews overlays the plan of the basement of Ss. Sergio e Baccho over the westernmost atrium-house plan from *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment 11e. Source: Andrews 2014, 11.

2.2 – *Domus Valeriorum*: these images include two in situ views of the corridor walls and decorations, and a reconstruction of the windows. Source: Palladino and Bottiglieri 2015, figs. 7, 8, and 14.

2.3 – *Domus* INPS: This shows an axonometric reconstruction of the corridor. Source: McFadden 2013, Fig. 1.

2.4 – *Domus Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina*: This plan shows the area in detail. Source: Henzen and Lanciani 1874, tav. V-VI.

2.5 – In this reconstruction you can see the placement of the rear columns. Reconstruction by author. Source: model by J. Mundy.

2.6 – Imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli: This shows the four-stage evolution of the grand aula and courtyard of the domus. Source: Colini 1966, fig. 62.

2.7 – Parker 1864-1866, "Excavations, 1867, private house of the Emperor Hadrian, c. A.D. 120, near the Thermae of Antoninus Caracalla, in the Vigna Guidi, (Catalogue of the Regionaries, Regio XII)." Source: British School at Rome Digital Collection. Photograph 0725.

2.8 - Domus Symmachorum: Triton mosaic. Source: Carignani, figs. 5 and 6.

2.9 – This drawing of terracing in the area was originally by Sante Bartoli and was redrawn by Lanciani. Source: Coarelli 1998, fig. 7.

2.10 – From Pisani Sartorio, 17, drawn by Italo Gismondi – This section shows the profile of the cryptoporticus windows and the placement of the wall painting. Source: Pisani Sartorio 1983, 155.

2.11 – *Domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli with a plan of the *cryptoporticus*. Source: Colini and Matthiae 1966, 42.

# Chapter 3:

3.1 – Paris, Rita. "Il Vestibolo E5 e l'atrio E4." The entrance to the *domus* from the street with the interior stairway to above to the left, the entrance to the *atrium* at center, the "guardiola" or porter's lodge to the right and the external stairway to the upper floor to the far right. Source: Barbera and Paris 1996, 73, 1.

3.2 – "La Residenza del Settore Centrale". This shows the central apsed *oecus*, with its original external apse on the left and its closed apse and corridor in the later period on the right. Source: Carignani 1993. Figs. 18-19.

3.3 – Plan of the *domus* under the Piazza Cinquecento and surrounding *insulae*. Source: Barbera and Paris 1996. See V.12.

3.4 – Picture of the balcony. Source: Baldassari 2012, fig. 1.

3.5 – Casa Bellezza's plan in 3D. Source: <u>http://aventino.romearcheomedia.it/luoghi/casabellezza/index.php?loc=en</u> (Accessed September 14, 2018).

3.6 – The plan of the *domus Symmachorum*, two periods from the second to the fifth centuries. Source: Carignani 1993, figs. 16-17. See II.05.

3.7 - The plan of the *domus Gaudentius*. Source: Spinola 1992, fig. 2. See II.02.

3.8 – The plan of the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla. Source: Carpano 1972, fig. 1. See XII.01.

3.9 – The ceiling of room H in the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla. Source: Jacopi 1972, fig.2.

3.10 – The line of site from the courtyard to the exterior window, *domus* Azara. Source: created by author in 3D Studio Max. Wall painting prints licensed by the British School at Rome.

3.11 – The plan of the Republican *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli. Source: Colini 1966, tav. IV. See V.21a.

3.12 - Plan of the *domus* under SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Source: Brenk 1995, fig. 3, based on

Colini 1944. See II.01.

3.13 - Plan of the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi. Source: Insalaco 2005, 13. See VII.01.

3.14 – The decoration of E19 in the *domus* under the Piazza Cinquecento. Source: Barbera and Paris 1996, fig. 8.

3.15 – The plans of the *domus* dei Ritratti and *domus* della Fontana. Source: Borgia et al. 2008, fig. 45. See catalog entries V.18 and V.19.

3.16 – Plan of the western portion of the *balnea* in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini. Source: Baldassarri 2009, fig.s 22-23.

3.17 – The later period plan of the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho. Source: Andrews 2014, 14. See V.06.

3.18 – Print from Graevius, *Thesavrvs antiqvitatvm Romanarvm, in quo continentur, lectissimi quique scriptores, qui superiori aut nostro seculo Romanae reipublicae rationem, disciplinam, leges, instituta, sacra, artesque togatas ac sagatas explicarunt & illustrarunt, Volume 3.* Associated with page 1799-1800.

3.19 – The *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla. Source: Parker Photograph 611, British School at Rome.

# Chapter 4:

4.1 – Map of all 105 *domus*, *insulae*, and *horti*, showing only the latest phase for each building, which I created in QGIS mapping software with a background layer from OpenStreetMap. Key: red – *domus*, blue – *insula*, orange – public building, green – Christian building, yellow – *mithraeum*, pink – temple, light blue – bath building.

- 4.2 Gephi. Source: https://gephi.org/
- 4.3 Cytoscape: Source: http://www.cytoscape.org/

4.4 - Sociogram. Source: Moreno and Jennings 1934, Map III.

4.5 - Small World Network. Source: Stocker and Bossomaier 2014, fig. 2.6

4.6 – Modularity – Gephi – The colors in the following graphs indicate clusters of interaction as determined by Gephi, but are not labelled as particular groups. No key is needed. Colored by cluster (module) and sized by degree.

- a. 300-330 All nodes and edges
- b. 300-330 GoogleEarth Map
- c. 300-330 Map detail.
- d. 300-312 Force Atlas 2
- e. 300-312 GoogleEarth Map

- f. 300-312 Map, detail.
- g. 324-330 Force Atlas 2
- h. 324-330 GoogleEarth Map
- i. 324-330 CE Map, detail.

4.7 – Buildings colored by building type. Key: red – *domus*, blue – *insula*, orange – public building, green – *horti*, yellow – Christian building, turquoise – *mithraeum*.

- a. Map 300-330 CE, buildings colored by building type.
- b. Fruchterman Reingold graph with buildings colored by type.
- 4.8 Color Scale and Edge Type Key for following graphs.
- 4.9 Degree
  - a. 300-330 Force Altas 2
  - b. 300-330 Fruchterman Reingold
  - c. 300-312 Force Atlas 2
  - d. 300-312 Fruchterman Reingold
  - e. 324-330 Force Atlas2
  - f. 324-330 Fruchterman Reingold
  - g. *Domus Nummii Albini* Combined plan. Source: J. Mundy, combined from 3 excavation plans: Capannari 1885, 1886, Lanciani 1901.
  - h. Domus Nummii Albini mithraeum. Source: Capannari 1886, Tav. IV.
  - i. *Domus Valeriorum* excavation plan. Source: Barbera, Palladino, and Paterna 2008, fig. 2.
  - j. Domus Valeriorum Family Line. Source: Hillner 2003, 142.
  - k. The domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius. Source: Lanciani 1884, pl. IV.
  - 1. The *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* plan part 2. Source: Gatti 1920, fig. 1
  - m. Barberini mithraeum. Source: Gatti and Annibaldi 1943-1945, fig.1 detail.
  - n. Positions of the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* and the *Domus Nummii Albini*. Source: Google Earth Map by J. Mundy.

## 4.10 - Eigenvector

- a. 300-330 Force Atlas 2
- b. 300-330 Fruchterman Reingold
- c. 300-312 Force Atlas 2
- d. 300-312 Fruchterman Reingold
- e. 324-330 Force Atlas 2
- f. 324-330 Fruchterman Reingold
- 4.11 Betweenness
  - a. 300-330 Force Atlas 2
  - b. 300-330 Fruchterman Reingold
  - c. 300-312 Force Atlas 2
  - d. 300-312 Fruchterman Reingold
  - e. 324-330 Force Atlas 2

f. 324-330 Fruchterman Reingold

4.12 – Modularity – Gephi – The colors in the following graphs indicate clusters of interaction as determined by Gephi, but are not labelled as particular groups. Thus there is no color key. Colored by cluster (module) and sized by degree.

- a. 360-390
- b. 360-390 GoogleEarth map
- c. 360-390 GoogleEarth map, detail
- d. 360-376
- e. 360-376 GoogleEarth map
- f. 360-376 GoogleEarth map detail
- g. 383-390
- h. 383-390 GoogeEarth map
- i. 383-390 GoogleEarth map detail
- 4.13 Degree
  - a. Color Scale and Edge Type Key for following graphs:
  - b. 360-390 Force Atlas 2
  - c. 360-390 Fruchterman Reingold
  - d. 360-376 Force Atlas 2
  - e. 360-376 Fruchterman Reingold
  - f. 383-390 Force Atlas 2
  - g. 383-390 Fruchterman Reingold
- 4.14 Eigenvector
  - a. 360-390 Force Atlas 2
  - b. 360-390 Fruchterman Reingold
  - c. 360-376 Force Atlas 2
  - d. 360-376 Fruchterman Reingold
  - e. 383-390 Force Atlas 2
  - f. 383-390 Fruchterman Reingold
- 4.15 Betweenness
  - a. 360-390 Force Atlas 2
  - b. 360-390 Fruchterman Reingold
  - c. 360-376 Force Atlas 2
  - d. 360-376 Fruchterman Reingold
  - e. 383-390 Force Atlas 2
  - f. 383-390 Fruchterman Reingold

## **Catalog Figures:**

I.01: The plan of the *domus* degli Aradii.

Source: Candilio, Daniela, and Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. 2005. L'arredo scultoreo e decorativo della Domus degli Aradii, Monumenti antichi. Serie Miscellanea, Roma. Tav. XIX.

I.02: Plan of the *domus* under San Cesareo de Appia

Source: Insalaco, Antonio. 1984. "S. Cesareo de Appia e le terme Commodiane." *Bollettino della Unione Storia ed Arte,* no. 27.1984:82-90. fig. 2.

I.03: Plan of the *insula* a *cisterne*.

Source: Ferruci, F. 2013. "L'Insula del Saggio I, Settore Sud-Est Inquadramento Generale," in Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. *Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000.* Roma: Quasar. 299-310. from page 300, fig. 2.

I.04: Plan of the *domus Gregoriana*.

Source: Palazzo, Paola. 2003. "Le metamorfosi di un'insula. Il complesso della "Biblioteca di Agapito" sul Clivo di Scauro." In Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri, edited by Alia Englen and Franco Astolfi, 68-75. Roma: "Erma" di Bretschneider. fig. 1.

II.01: Plan of the different phases of houses under SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

Source: Brenk, Beat. 1995. "Microstoria sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata," Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte 18, 169-205. fig. 3.

II.02: Plan of the *domus Gaudentius*.

Source: Spinola, Giandomenico. 1992. "Il Dominus Gaudentius e l'Antinoo Casali : alcuni aspetti della fine del paganesimo da una piccola domus sul Celio ?," Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite, 953-979. fig. 2.

II.03: Plan of the *domus Valeriorum*.

Source: Palladino, Sergio, and L. Bottiglieri. 2015. "Ricostruzione e restituzione tridimensionale del corridoio e del viridarium della domus dei Valerii sul Celio, dagli scavi nell'Ospedale dell'Addolorata." FOLD&R Archaeological Conservation 1: 1-21. fig. 2.

II.04: Plan of the area including the remains of the *domus Annorum* in the area of G.

Source: Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite, 709-746. from page 712.

II.04: Detail of the thermal remains associated with the domus Annorum.

Source: Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie.

Tav. XVI.

II.05: Plan of some remains associated with the domus Symmachorum.

Source: Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. 2013. "Le trincee sui lati del Padiglione 18 (scavo 1998)." in Gli Dei Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana nel contesto dello scavo dell'Ospedale Militare Celio (1987-2000). Edizione Quasar: 325-369. figs. 1-2.

II.05: Plan of the *domus Symmachorum*.

Source: Pavolini, Carlo, et al. "La Topografia Antica Della Sommità Del Celio : Gli Scavi Nell'ospedale Militare (1987 - 1992)." Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung. (1993): 443-505. figs. 16-17.

II.06: Remains associated with the domus Laterani.

Source: Liverani, Paolo. 1988. "Le proprieta private nell'area lateranense fino all'eta di Costantino," Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite, 891-915. fig. 1

II.07: The plan of the domus M. Maximii.

Source: Pavolini, Carlo. 1994. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia del Celio da rinvenimenti casuali di scavo," Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma, 71-94. fig. 8.

II.08: Plan of the *domus* under the INPS.

Source: Sapelli, M. 2005. "Domus romane sotto la sede I.N.P.S. sul Laterano (Roma)." In Domus romane: dallo scavo alla valorizzazione, edited by Francesca Morandini and Filli Rossi, 257-267. Milano. fig. 1, from Liverani 1999.

II.08: Plan of the *domus* under the INPS.

Source: Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1997b. "Dalla residenza dei Laterani alla domus di Fausta," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (6), 4-9. from page 6.

II.08: The plan of the *domus* under the INPS.

Source: McFadden, Susanna. 2013. "A Constantinian Image Program in Rome Rediscovered: The Late Antique Megalographia from the So-Called Domus Faustae". MAAR 58. 83-114. from page 84, fig. 1.

II.09: The plan includes the archaeological remains in the area of the Ospedale di S. Giovanni, and at number 6 are the remains identified as the *domus* Anniorum.

Source: Martini, Cinzia. 2014. *Progetto Area Museale: Complesso Ospedaliero San Giovanni Addolorata di Roma* Roma: Viterbo Università degli studi della Tuscia. fig. 44, number 6.

II.10: The plan of the remains of the *domus* L. Vagelli.

Source: Pavolini, Carlo. 2013. "Il Quartiere: I Nuovi Dati Archeologici." In Gli Dèi Propizi : La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000, edited by Paola Palazzo and Carlo Pavolini, 493-504. Roma: Quasar. from page 459, fig. 4.

II.11: The plan of the *domus* under SS. Quattro Coronati.

Source: Barelli, Lia. 2006. La fontana del chiostro dei Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma: storia e restauri. 1. edizione. ed, I libri di Viella. Arte. from page 151, figs. 1-2.

II.12: Aerial image of the *domus* of Amba Aradam station.

Source: Boccacci, Paolo. 2018. "Roma, scavi metro Amba Aradam: scoperta la domus del centurione. Forse era caserma servizi segreti imperatore." Repubblica. Roma. http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/02/news/roma\_nuovi\_mosaici\_tornano\_alla\_lu ce\_durante\_gli\_scavi\_della\_stazione\_metro\_di\_amba\_aradam-190173749/#gallery-slider=190176029 (Accessed March 8, 2018). fig. 23.

III.01: Plan of the area including the *domus* under San Clemente.

Source: Guidobaldi, Federico, C. Lalli, M. Paganelli, and Claudia Angelelli. 2004. "S. Clemente. Gli scavi piu recenti (1992-2000)." In Roma dall'antichita al medioevo. II, Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by Lidia Paroli, L. Vendittelli and Italy. Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma., 390-415. Milano. fig. 2.

III.02: Plan of the Via Giovanni Lanza domus.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum." Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma no. Anno XII - Serie Seconda:48-49, n. 781, tav. V.

III.02: Plan of the *domus* at via Giovanni Lanza.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. (http://mappingrome.com/formaurbis/)

III.03: Plan of the *domus* sopra le Sette Sale.

Source: Cozza, L. 1974-1975. I recenti scavi delle Sette Sale. Rendiconti. Atti Pontificia Accad. Romana Arch. 47, 79–101. fig. 15.

IV.01: Plan of the upper floor of the *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi.

Source: Pisani Sartorio, Giuseppina. 1983. Un domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia. Odense: Odense University Press. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supp. 10. fig. 12. IV.01: Plan of the lower floor of the *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi.

Source: Pisani Sartorio, Giuseppina. 1983. Un domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia. Odense : Odense University Press. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supp. 10. fig. 13.

IV.02: The plan of the *domus* under the Forum of Nerva

Source: Nocera, Daira, and Adele Rinaldi. 2013. "Gli Interri delle Strutture Repubblicane del Foro di Nerva. Considerazioni sugli Ambienti 1, 2, e 3." In Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali, BAR international series, edited by Monica Ceci, 87-91. figs. 1, 2.

V.01: The plan of the *domus* Azara.

Source: Mundy, Joanna adapted from Buti, C., and et al. 1777. "Manifesto," and Unknown artist, 1777. Working Drawing of the Excavations. Roma. British Museum.

V.02: Plan of the *domus* under the Piazza Cinquecento and surrounding blocks.

Source: Barbera, Mariarosaria, and Rita Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, Milano. "Pianta Generale."

V.03: Remains of the *domus* of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina, marked HORTI?.

Source: Henzen, G., and Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani. 1874. "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquino." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma no. II (2):33-88, tav. V, VII.

V.04: Excavated remains of the *domus* under Santa Maria Maggiore.

Source: Liverani, Paolo. 2010. "Osservazioni sulla domus sotto S. Maria Maggiore a Roma e sulla sua relazione con la basilica," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 116, 459-468. fig. 1.

V.05: Plan of the domus of Lucius Octavius Felix.

Source: Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2008. "La domus di Lucius Octavius Felix e il contesto topografico." In Archeologia a Roma Termini : le mura serviane e l'area della stazione : scoperte, distruzioni e restauri., edited by Marina Magnani Cianetti and Mariarosaria Barbera, 48-61. Milano: Electa. fig. 1.

### V.05: Detail of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix

Source: Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2008. "La domus di Lucius Octavius Felix e il contesto topografico." In Archeologia a Roma Termini: le mura serviane e l'area della stazione : scoperte, distruzioni e restauri., edited by Marina Magnani Cianetti and Mariarosaria Barbera, 48-61. Milano: Electa. fig. 2. V.06: Plan of the first phase of the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho.

Source: Andrews, Margaret M. 2014. "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity," American Journal of Archaeology 118 (1), 61-90. fig. 12.

V.06: Plan of the late antique phase of the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho.

Source: Andrews, Margaret M. 2014. "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity," American Journal of Archaeology 118 (1), 61-90. fig. 14.

V.07: Position of the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (left) and a reconstruction of the plan by Serlorenzi (right).

Source: Barry, Fabio. 2003. "The Late Antique 'Domus' on the Clivus Suburanus, the Early History of Santa Lucia in Selci, and the Cerroni Altarpiece in Grenoble," Papers of the British School at Rome 71, 111-139. fig. 1 (left), and Serlorenzi, Mirella. 2004. "Santa Lucia in Selcis. Lettura del palinsesto murario di un edificio a continuità di vita." In Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II. Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by L. Paroli and L. Vendittelli, 350-379. Rome. fig. 22 (right).

V.07: Plan of the remains of the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci.

Source: Serlorenzi, Mirella. 2004. "Santa Lucia in Selcis. Lettura del palinsesto murario di un edificio a continuità di vita." In Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II. Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by L. Paroli and L. Vendittelli, 350-379. Rome. fig. 2.

V.08: Plan of the *domus* of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla.

Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18-41. fig. 24.

V.09: Plan of the Casa via Graziosa

Source: Matranga, P. 1852. La città di Lamo stabilita in Terracina secondo la descrizione di Omero e due degli antichi dipinti già ritrovati sull'Esquilino Roma. Tav. VIII.

V.10: Photograph of fragment 11e of the Forma Urbis Romae with three atrium houses.

Source: Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project: http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?slab=45&record=5.

V.11: Remains of the *insula* under Santa Prassede

Source: Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno M. 1961. Santa Prassede. Roma: Marietti. fig. 6.

V.11: Remains of the insula under Santa Prassede

Source: Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno M. 1961. Santa Prassede. Roma: Marietti. fig. 8.

V.12: Remains of the insulae A, B, and C-D under Piazza Cinquecento, and surrounding area.

Source: Barbera, M., and R. Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997. "Pianta Generale."

V.13: Plan of the remains of the sotterranei of San Martino ai Monti.

Source: Accorsi, Maria Letizia. "Il Complesso Dei Ss. Silvestro E Martino Ai Monti Dal III Al Ix Secolo : Appunti Di Studio.". Ecclesiae urbis LIX (2002): 533-63. fig.1.

V.14: Domus related remains associated with the Basilica of Junius Bassus.

Source: Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "DOMUS: IUNIUS BASSUS." in Steinby, Eva Margareta. Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. 6 vols Roma: Quasar, 1993-2000. 69-70. fig. 28 from Lugli.

V.15: Plan of the area including the remains of the *domus* of the ACEA.

Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18-41. fig. 24.

V.15: Remains of the domus of the ACEA.

Source: Photograph by J. Mundy of Poster exhibited on site at the excavation.

V.16: Plan of the remains of the *domus* P. Numicii Picae.

Source: Lanciani, R. A. 1901. Forma Urbis Romae XVII.

V.17: Plan of the remains of the *domus* Orfiti, also called the *domus* Crescentiani.

Source: Lanciani, R. A. 1901. Forma Urbis Romae XVII.

V.18: The plan of the Domus dei Ritratti, outline in red by Mundy.

Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18-41. fig. 45.

V.19: The plan of the Domus della Fontana, outline in red by Mundy.

Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18-41. fig. 45. V.20: Plan of the remains of the insula Sant'Anastasia

Source: Whitehead, Philip Barrows. 1927. "The Church of Anastasia in Rome." American Journal of Archaeology no. 31:405-420. Plate XI.

V.21a: Plan of the Republican domūs under San Pietro in Vincoli.

Source: Colini, Antonio Maria, and Guglielmo Matthiae. 1966. Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli : I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III, Roma. Tav. IV.

V.21b: Plan of the remains of the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli. Detail (left) and overview (right).

Source: Colini, Antonio Maria, and Guglielmo Matthiae. 1966. Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli : I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III, Roma. fig. 62 (left) and Guidobaldi, Federico. 2001. "Distribuzione topografica, architettura e arredo delle domus tardoantiche." Aurea Roma: 134-136. fig. 1.2 (right).

VI.01: Plan of the *domus* of Spurius Maximus

Source: Gatti, G., and G. Annibaldi. 1943-1945. "Il mitreo Barberini I: Topografia e monumenti del luogo; II: Il sanctuario mitriaco," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 71, 97-108. from page 99, fig. 1.

VI.02: Plan of major remains from the *domus* of the Nummii Albini.

Source: Capannari, A. 1886. "Di un mitreo pertinente alla casa dei Nummi scoperto nella Via Firenze," BULLETTINO DELLA COMMISSIONE ARCHEOLOGICA COMUNALE DI ROMA, 17-26. Tav. 4.

VI.03: Plan of the domus M. Laeli Fulvi Maximi.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Plate X.

VI.04: Plan of the Ad Duas Domos.

Source: Bonanni, Alessandro. 2003."Scavi E Ricerche in S. Susanna a Roma." In Atti Del VII Congresso Nazionale Di Archeologia Cristiana, 359-76. Monte Cassino. fig. 1.

VI.05: Plan of the *domus* at Via Venezia.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Plate XVI.

VI.06: Plan and reconstruction drawing of the domus of the Via De' Ciancaleoni nn. 45-46.

Source: Martini, Annarita. 2008. "I complessi di via Cimarra-Ciancaleoni: resti di domus tardo repubblicane sulle pendici sud-orientali del Viminale.," FOLD&R (121), 1-16. figs.

3-4.

VI.07: Plan of the excavation of the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius.

Source: Gatti, E. 1920. "Nuove scoperte di antichita in Roma e nel suburbio," Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita Anno 1920 (Fascicolo 10, 11 e 12), 276-292. fig. 1, part 2.

VI.07: Plan of excavations of the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI: del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: II. Di magistrati.," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma XII, 40-45, Tav. IV.

VI.08: Plan of the nymphaeum of the domus under the Baths of Constantine.

Source: Vespigiani, V. 1877. "Degli avanzi di un nifeo di casa privata," BULLETTINO DELLA COMMISSIONE ARCHEOLOGICA COMUNALE DI ROMA, 59-65. Tav. I.

VI.09: Plan including domūs I and II under Santa Pudenziana.

Source: Angelelli, Claudia. 2010. La basilica titolare di S. Pudenziana: nuove ricerche, Monumenti di antichita cristiana, Citta del Vaticano. Tav. XVIII.

VI.10: Plan of the remains from the *domus* dei Flavi.

Source: Coarelli, Filippo. 2008. Roma. 2a. ed, Guide archeologiche Laterza. Roma: Laterza. from page 310.

VII.01: Plan of the remains of the insula and domus at the Fontana di Trevi.

Source: Insalaco, Antonio. 2005. La citta dell'acqua : archeologia sotterranea a Fontana di Trevi. Rist. ed, Milano: Electa. from page 13.

VII.02: Plan of the insulae at the Galleria Alberto Sordi.

Source: Gatti, G. "Caratteristiche edilizie di un quartiere abitativo del II secolo d. Cr." in Topografia ed edilizia di Roma antica: ristampa anastatica di tutti gli articoli di Guglielmo Gatti, pubblicati dal 1934 al 1979, Rome 1989. 283-300. Tav. II, fig. 5.

VII.03: Plan of the insula at the Piazza Venezia.

Source: Serlorenzi, Mirella, and Lucia Sagui. 2008. "Roma, piazza Venezia. L'indagine archeologica per la realizzazione della metropolitana. Le fasi medievali e moderne," Archeologia medievale. XXXV, 175-198. fig. 5.

VII.04: Plan of remains from the *insula* north of the street that lies under via delle Tre Cannelle.

Source: Pasqui, A. 1909. "Nuove scoperte nella citta e nel suburbio," Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita VI (Fasc. 4), 109-115. fig. 1.

VII.05: Plan of the remains of the area of the *insulae* ai Marioniti.

Source: Romano, Gabriele, and Roberto Lucignani. "Il Complesso Dei Maroniti." Roma una Citta', un Impero 1, no. 3 Aprile (2010): 4-17. from page 7.

VII.06: Plan of the *domus* via del Babuino, also called the *domus* T. Sextius Africanus.

Source: Lanciani, R. A. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae. (mappingrome.org).

VII.07: Aerial view of the *domus* and region under La Rinascente.

Source: Custodero, Roberto. September 16, 2017. "Sotto la Rinascente scorreva l'Aqua Virgo. Eccezionale ritrovamento in via del Tritone," Roma Repubblica. https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/09/16/news/sotto\_la\_rinascente\_scorreva\_l\_aqua \_virgo\_eccezionale\_ritrovamento\_sotto\_via\_del\_tritone-175628773/#gallery-slider=175597023 (Accessed 9/23/18).

VII.07: Plan of the *domus* under La Rinascente and the urban region. (Elaboration N. Saviane.)

Source: Baumgartner, Marta. 2017. *Roma rinascente : la citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte.* Page 45, fig. 8.

VII.07: Plan of the *domus* under La Rinascente in three phases. (Elaboration N. Saviane.)

Source: Baumgartner, Marta. 2017. *Roma rinascente : la citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte.* Page 108, figs. 1-2, and Page 111, fig. 7.

VIII.01: Plan of the balnea of domus a under the Palazzo Valentini.

Source: Baldassarri, Paola. 2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini: domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro di Traiano," Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. (Serie 3), Rendiconti LXXXI, 343-384. figs. 22, 23.

VIII.01 and VIII.02: Plan of portions of *domus* a (top left) and *domus* b (bottom right) under Palazzo Valentini.

Source: Baldassarri, Paola. 2008. "Indagine archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. La campagna 2005-2007." In Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione, edited by Roberto Del Signore, 29-80. Rome. fig. 2.

VIII.03: Plan of the *domus* under the Palazzo of the Knights of Rhodes.

Source: Colini, Antonio Maria, Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, Carlo Buzzetti, Maresita Nota Santi, and Paola Virgili. 1985. "Notiziario di scavi e scoperte in Roma e Suburbio, 1946-1960. Seconda parte," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 90 (2), 307-440. (left) Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Sex. Pompeius." in Steinby, Eva Margareta. Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. 2, D-G. Roma: Quasar. fig. 48 (right).

VIII.04: Plan of the fourth floor residences in the *insula* at the Ara Coeli.

Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. fig. 34.

VIII.05: Plan of the *insula* della Salita del Grillo.

Source: Tabo, Daniela. 2013. "I Materiali Rinvenuti Nell'insula Della Salita Del Grillo Nell'area Dei Mercati Di Traiano (Con Premessa Di Roberto Meneghini)." In Contesti Ceramici Dai Fori Imperiali, edited by Monica Ceci, v, 173 pages: BAR international series. fig. 1.

VIII.06: Plan of the so-called Casa Cristiana.

Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. Tav. I.

VIII.07: Plan of the Casa dei Mulini.

Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. Tav. I.

IX.01: Plan of the *domus* at the Diribitorium.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. plate XXI.

IX.02: Plan of the Casa romana ai Baullari.

Source: Cimino, M. Gabriella, and Susanna La Pera. 1997a. "La domus tardoantica sotto il Museo Barracco," *Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica* 2 (1), 12-17. from page 14.

IX.03: Plan of the *domus* under San Lorenzo in Lucina (left), and a reconstructed plan of the *insula* (right).

Source: Brandt, Olof. 2012a. San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 4o, 61). Stockholm. fig. 1 (left), Boman, Henrik. 2012. "A third century insula under the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina," in Brandt, Olof, ed. San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 4o, 61). Stokholm. 88-122. fig. 5 (right).

IX.04: Plan of the sotterranea of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria.

Source: Paolucci, Antonio, Francesco Buranelli, Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Massimo Pentiricci, Sergio Fontana, and Pacetti Francesco. 2009. L'antica basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso. indagini archeologiche nel Palazzo della Cancelleria (1988-1993) : Gli Scavi 1 1. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte. fig. 135.

IX.05: Rough plan of the subterranean remains of the *insula* ai Monticelli.

Source: Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to Underground Rome: From Cloaca Massima to

Domus Aurea: The Most Fascinating Underground Sites of the Capital = Guida Di Roma Sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi. from page 363.

IX.06: Plan of the bottom (top left), first (top right), second (bottom left), and third (bottom right) floors of the *insula* at San Paolo alla Regola.

Source: Quilici, Lorenzo. 1986-1987. "Roma. Via di S. Paolo alla Regola. Scavo e recupero di edifici antichi e medioevali." Notizie degli Scavi ser. VIII 40-41: 175ff. figs. 171-174.

IX.07: Plan of the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi.

Source: Sagui, Lucia. 1997. "Importanti scoperte alla Crypta Balbi," Forma urbis : itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (7-8), 10-15. from page 12.

IX.08: Plan of the grand insula near Capitoline.

Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. Tav. 1.

X.01: Plan of the subterranean level of the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus.

Source: Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1995. Domus oppure lupanar? I materiali dello scavo Boni della 'Casa repubblicana' a ovest dell'arco di Tito. MEFRA 107, 549-619. fig. 4.

X.02: Plan of the remains from the *domus* at the Vigna Barberini.

Source: Bottini, Angelo and Michel Gras. 2007. La Vigna Barberini: II Domus, Palais Imperial et Temples Stratigraphie du Secteur Nord-Est du Palatin. Ecole Francaise de Rome: Roma. Tav. III, IV.

X.02: Reconstruction drawing of the courtyard of the *domus* at the Vigna Barberini.

Source: Jashemski, W. F., K. L. Gleason, K. J. Hartswick, and A. A. Malek. 2017. Gardens of the Roman Empire. Cambridge University Press. fig. 1.4.

X.03: Plan of the second century BCE to 64 CE phase of the *domus* on the SE slopes of the Palatine.

Source: Panella, Clementina, and Raffaella De Felice. 2016a. ROMA – VALLE DEL COLOSSEO – PALATINO NORD-ORIENTALE [Accessed September, 2016]. Available from http://archeopalatino.uniroma1.it/it/content/planimetrie.

X.04: Plan of the *domus* with *Carcere*.

Source: George, Michele. 1997. "*Servus* and *domus*: the slave in the Roman house." In Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond, edited by Ray Laurence, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, British Academy, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies and University of Reading Centre for Roman Studies, 15-24. Portsmouth, RI. from page 17, fig. 2.

X.05: Plan of the *domus* of M. Tullius Cicero, also called the *domus* Ciceronis.

Source: Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma. fig. 56.

X.07: Plan of the *domus* Nova Via.

Source: Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma. fig. 46.

X.07: Plan of the excavations of the *domus* Nova Via.

Source: Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1986. "Ambienti tra Via Nova e Clivo Palatino." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma no. 91:411-416. fig. 107.

XI.01: Plan of the *insula* Volusiana.

Source: Mazzei, P. 2016. "Roma: un pavimento in tessellato bicromo a schema geometrico composito dall'Insula Sertoriana nel Foro Boario", Atti del XXII Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), Matera, 16-19 marzo 2016, pp. 589-602. fig. 3.

XII.01: Plan of the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla.

Source: Carpano, Claudio Mocchegiani. 1972. "Osservazioni complementari sulle strutture della casa romana sotto le terme di Caracalla," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 79, 111-121. fig. 1.

XII.02: Plan of the *domus Cilonis*.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Tav. 41.

XII.03: Plan of the *domus Parthorum*.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Tav. XLI.

XIII.01: Plan of the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza.

Source: Fondazione Ugo Bordoni, and Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 2010 Aventino Tra Visibile e Invisibile [cited 2016]. Available from http://aventino.romearcheomedia.it/intro.php?loc=en

XIII.02: Plan of the *domus* of Pactumeia Lucilia.

Source: Cavallo, Daniela. 1983. "Precisazioni Sulla Domus Pactumeiorum Sull'aventino Attraverso Una Pianta Ritrovata All'archivio Centrale Dello Stato Di Roma." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma LXXXVIII (1982-1983): 213-23. fig. 1.

XIII.03: Plan of the so-called *domus* 'of Aquila and Prisca'.

Source: Ferrua, Antonio. 1940. "Il Mitreo Sotto La Chiesa Di S. Prisca." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 68: 153-70. fig. 1.

XIII.04a: Plan of the domus under Santa Sabina.

Source: Darsy, F. 1968. "Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine" in Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie, IX. fig. 4.

XIII.04b: Plan of the insulae under Santa Sabina.

Source: Marrou, Henri-Irénée. 1978. Sur les origines du titre romain de sainte Sabine. fig. 2.

XIII.04c: Plan of the domus ex Lazzaretto.

Source: Darsy, F. 1968. "Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine" in Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie, IX. Plate IV.

XIII.04d: Plan of the *domus degli Aranci*.

Source: Vendittelli, LAURA. 2005. "Il tempio di Diana sull'Aventino. Ipotesi di posizionamento e ricerca archeologica." Italica ars. Studi in onore di Giovanni Colonna per il premio "I Sanniti:235-249. fig. 1.

XIII.04e: Plan of the *domus* over a Sanctuary.

Source: Darsy, F. 1968. "Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine" in Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie, IX. fig. 5.

XIII.05: Plan of the *domus* di Via di San Domenico.

Source: Vendittelli, LAURA. 2005. "Il tempio di Diana sull'Aventino. Ipotesi di posizionamento e ricerca archeologica." Italica ars. Studi in onore di Giovanni Colonna per il premio "I Sanniti:235-249. fig. 1.

XIII.06: Plan of the *domus* in Via Marcella.

Source: Ciccarello, Giulia, Emiliano De Carlo, and la Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 2010 "Aventino Tra Visibile E Invisibile." Fondazione Ugo Bordoni (accessed 2017). http://romearcheomedia.fub.it/aventino/.

XIII.06: Plan of the *domus* in Via Marcella.

Source: Ciccarello, Giulia. 2016. "La Domus Ipogea di Via Marcella all'Aventino." Archaeologia Sotterranea no. 13 (October):14-23. fig. 2.

XIII.07: Plan of the *domus* under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana.

Source: Chini, Paola. 1998. "L'Aventino: la *domus* sotto piazza del tempio di Diana," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 3 (6), 4-11. from page 6.

XIV.01: Plan (left) of the remains and reconstruction (right) of the first century BCE to first century CE *domus* under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.

Source: Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2007a. "L'area archeologica del periodo Classico." In Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, edited by Carlo La Bella, 11-40. Roma.

XIV.02: Plan of the remains of the *domus* under Apse at San Crisogono.

Source: Pietri, Charles. 1978. "Recherches sur les domus ecclesiae. I." Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques no. XXIV (1-2):3-21. fig. 1.

### Chapter 1 – Introduction and Historiography of the Domus

### **Introduction to Historiography:**

Around one million people occupied the ancient city of Rome at its height in the first and second centuries CE; this huge percentage of the empire's overall population resided in urban dwellings within the city. Due to this dense population, in the houses and households of Rome the lives of people of all social levels intersected, making Rome the most significant center for built domestic environments. The spaces and art in the *domūs* and *insulae* of Rome exhibit the choices that ancient Romans made in constructing and decorating their domestic environments; such choices also influenced the future interactions that occurred within the houses. The *domus* is a domestic building comprised of diverse spaces in which people lived and worked, including the utilitarian spaces of the servants, the domestic spaces of the family, and the public spaces in which clients met with elite patrons. The house is the essential locus of human interaction, and thus relationships and choices within the home act as a microcosm for those of the broader world.

In an analytical history of the modern courtyard house Duncan Macintosh said that "Privacy is the key quality of the courtyard house."<sup>1</sup> While this concept of an interior private almost secret garden appeals to modern sensibilities, in first century Rome the author and architect Vitruvius specified the parts of the Roman house or *domus* that qualified as common areas, "those which any of the people have a perfect right to enter, even without an invitation." Within this category he included "*vestibula, cava aedium, peristylia, quaeque eundem habere possunt usum*," which includes all types of entrance courts, central courts, inner gardens, and all other spaces intended for such purposes (Vitr. *De arch* 6.5.1). In contradistinction, Vitruvius

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Macintosh 1973, 1.

defines these spaces not as private, but as unrestricted and accessible.<sup>2</sup> This disparity underlines an issue that scholars have often debated as to how ancient Romans actually lived in their homes and urban environments. Below I will explore the public and private areas of 119 ancient houses, including ninety-one *domūs* or possible *domūs* and twenty-eight *insulae* or possible *insulae*, in the city of Rome to see how they functioned in the domestic and public lives of the inhabitants to form and support relationships between residents and visitors. By investing the relationships among households through a social network analysis of fourth century *domūs*, I explore how the domus acted as a geographical locus of social interactions. Through a close examination of the decoration of different types of domestic spaces and changes to their accessibility through time, I explore how much households controlled access to different types of domestic spaces.

Scholars also struggle to define what is distinctively Roman about the *domus* as a house and why only certain residences were termed *domūs* (pl.) in antiquity. The *domus* has been defined as a specific form of urban elite house, while the *insula* has been contrasted as the apartment block, which often housed the working class. Through a close examination of examples of Roman *domūs* and *insulae* (pl.) my dissertation investigates the meaning of the *domus* and how its functions overlap with those of other forms of urban housing like the *insula*. I will examine particularly how the spaces of the *domus* are used to present a conscious statement relating to social growth and public relationships.

Architectural and environmental spaces are created by the conscious choices of those people constructing them and inhabiting them. People construct residences around their needs, expected interactions, and relationships. My dissertation examines what the organization of spaces in the ancient *domus* indicates about Roman life and Roman social, political, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Likewise Varro in the first c. BCE cites the *cavum aedium* as 'common to all.' *Cavum aedium dictum qui locus tectus intraparietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad com(m)unem omnium usum.* (Varro *de Ling Lat.* XXXIII.161)

economic relationships. Herein I analyze the organization, decoration, and accessibility of rooms and spaces within ancient Roman *domūs* to see how these rooms were constructed and what their decoration and position reveals about their intended use. I also apply a network analysis to a digital map of *domūs* in the city of Rome in the fourth century CE to see how the architectural spaces of the Roman household interact with the topographical spaces of the urban city. I will present my findings on whether the locations of domestic buildings were chosen by residents to reinforce political and social relationships using proximity to other houses and city monuments. These analyses will help us better understand the role of the house as a constructed social environment in the process of building relationships in Rome both within and beyond the home. My analyses build on the body of research that scholars have produced over the last few centuries.

The *domus* in ancient Rome is most familiar to scholars as the elite house, which the ancient author Vitruvius described, but as I will discuss below, it also referred to diverse shapes of domestic properties and was a term for the household including family and associated persons.<sup>3</sup> Vitruvius and Varro introduce the *domus* as a clearly defined specific architectural structure in the first century BCE. Varro describes the *domus* as a term of Greek origin, describing a house with different forms of rooms including types of inner courts. While his description includes multiple types of spaces for entry courts that the owner could choose for a *domus* or other house, the nature of his work is to define terms relating to the house clearly and specifically (Varro *De Ling Lat* XXXIII.160-161). This style of writing specific definitions and defining lists of terms has led scholars to interpret more narrowly what the terms relating to housing mean and what thereby the forms of housing were. As the study of ancient housing has developed over the last century, however, these domestic buildings have proven to be a much

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Corbier 1991, 129; Vitruvius Pollio 6.3

more complex part of Roman society than the narrow definitions derived from Vitruvius and Varro in the past.

Many scholarly theories in ancient Roman domestic studies developed in the nineteenth century based on the housing found at Pompeii. The *domūs* in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia represent the most complete examples of Roman houses to survive, and thus took the focus of early modern domestic studies. For most of the twentieth century, renowned scholars, following August Mau and Amedeo Maiuri, considered the writings of Vitruvius and the domūs of Pompeii to be the chief sources on domestic architecture in ancient Italy.<sup>4</sup> As the study of ancient housing progressed through time, however, extensive excavations and study in Rome revealed examples of approximately 300 domestic buildings in the city dating from the sixth century BCE to the fifth century CE, and located in all fourteen ancient regions, called *regiones*, as established by Augustus in 7 BCE.<sup>5</sup> Ninety-one *domūs* have substantially intact portions today or are preserved in excavation records and archives. The evidence of these *domūs* allows for significant analysis of plans and usage patterns, or contains valuable evidence preserved in individual spaces indicating scale and decorative program. Additionally, evidence is available archaeologically or in archives of twenty-eight *insulae*, which allows for the comparison of plans, usage patterns, and decoration between *insulae* and *domūs* within the same urban center.

Domestic studies expanded in the late twentieth century, and new ideas were introduced. Beginning in the 1980's scholars such as Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and Penelope Allison began to question the precise comparisons between Vitruvius and Pompeian spaces,<sup>6</sup> stressing the variations in individual houses over a set Vitruvian plan.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, scholars worked to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mau and Kelsey 1899, 239; Maiuri 1929, 161-172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Van den Abeele 1989, 157; Steinby 1993-2000, v. 6, 31-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Allison 2007, 269-271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 219-240.

broaden the theoretical approaches to Roman housing, such as Shelley Hales looking at the house as actively shaping Roman social relations.<sup>8</sup> These new approaches can now be compared to the physical evidence in Rome to better understand life in domestic spaces in the urban center of the empire. A review of the scholarship, which has developed over the course of the last centuries, will help ground the direction of my research by providing the framework of what is known and understood about *domūs* currently.

### **Ancient Sources:**

Ancient texts provide the first major source for the study of Roman housing. The use of Ancient texts has been important for the duration of research on the Roman house as a way to see how the ancient Romans themselves speak of their housing. Modern scholars have interpreted ancient texts both literally, as firm statements of objective fact, and more figuratively, as statements of Romans' notions of housing. Ancient texts show Romans interpreting and exploring their spaces and can be reviewed productively as the beginning of Roman housing studies. While there are known to have been other architectural treatises in ancient times, particularly ancient texts such as those by Theodorus, Chersiphron and Metagenes, Pytheos, Ictinus and Carpion, Theodorus the Phocian, Hermogenes, and Satyrus and Pytheos to which Vitruvius referred to specifically as discussing one architectural work, and those by Silenus, Philo, and Arcesius to which Vitruvius referred as discussing one architectural question,<sup>9</sup> only Vitruvius's *De architectura* has survived. With its survival it has become the embodiment of Roman ideas on architecture in the eyes of early modern scholars.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hales 2003, 1-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Vitruvius mentions sources in a list (Vitr. *De arch.* 7.preface.12). Another example of a known but lost source is Metrodorus, who Pliny the Elder cites in his index for book 35 as a source, *Metrodoro qui de architectonice scripsit* (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 1.86).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> McEwen 2003, p.1 note 3. McEwen notes Julian of Ascalon's *opusculum* on domestic construction in urban Palestine from the sixth c. CE as the only other known ancient work on architecture to survive.

Marcus Vitruvius Pollio dedicated his ten volume work *De architectura* to the emperor Augustus in the 20's BCE (Vitr. *De arch* 1.preface.1).<sup>11</sup> Vitruvius (c. 80-15 BCE) remains the most influential ancient author to speak about the *domus*.<sup>12</sup> Vitruvius describes "the theoretical principles and the symmetrical proportions of private houses.<sup>13</sup>" His influence on scholarship developed principally due to his role as a working architect whose treatise was rediscovered in the early modern period, providing unique insight into ancient architectural theories. The archaeological remains of ancient housing known in this period were limited to extremely fragmented buildings and extra-urban villas, which did not clarify the ancient house for modern archaeologists. Architectural theorists thus looked to the work of Vitruvius in the sixteenth and seventeenth century to gain insight into grand ancient domestic architecture.<sup>14</sup> While many early scholars, such as the preeminent August Mau,<sup>15</sup> have treated Vitruvius's work as a clear visual description of a domestic plan closely resembling that of the best examples found at Pompeii (SEE Figure 1.1), many of the terms used by Vitruvius, such as *fauces*, are problematic for modern scholars.<sup>16</sup> Rather than using the work of Vitruvius as an exacting description of the Roman house, Vitruvius's attempt to define the *domus* is better understood as the work of an architectural theorist who was presenting his philosophy of the ideals of domestic architecture. He presents formulas for proportions of different architectural elements and also presents recommendations for optical corrections.<sup>17</sup> Such recommendations can be viewed as his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> McEwen 2003, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ermatinger 2007, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Vitruvius Pollio De arch. 6.Intro.7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The *villa* at *Settefinestre* had been found, along with fragmentary *domus* excavations in Rome, but the *domus* on the *Equiline* (or *Domus Azara*) with more complete plan and the houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum were not found until the eighteenth century. Pellecchia 1992, 377-378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Mau and Kelsey 1899, 247. Mau draws a plan of the 'ideal Pompeian house' using the terms of Vitruvius to define the spaces found within it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Leach has discussed both *vestibulum* and *fauces* and their lack of an ancient architectural definition. Leach 1993, 1998, 53-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Mitrovic 2011, 36-37.

philosophy of what would make the ideal architectural forms to best function in Roman life. Likewise Vitruvius references among his own sources men who wrote about symmetry rather than just art and architecture (Vitr. *De arch 7. preface*.14).

Vitruvius describes the *domus* as a clear and very detailed building, not only with specific rooms but also with specific ideal proportions and proper exposures for these rooms (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.3-6.4). Vitruvius teaches of an ideal structure where the *atrium*, the inner court of the house, leads to the *tablinum*, the principal reception room, through to a *peristyle* that opens to *triclinia*, dining rooms. The *atrium* is often flanked by *alae* preceding the *tablinum*, which held family records (6.3).

Marcus Terentius Varro, (116 BCE-27 BCE) wrote many texts including *de lingua latina*, On the Latin Language, in the mid-40's BCE. Vitruvius mentions another work of Varro, *de novem disciplinis*, which included a chapter on architecture. While this work is lost, the reference provides evidence that Varro had architectural training (Vitr. *De arch.* 7. *preface*.14). In *de lingua latina* Varro defines and describes the meaning of words in twenty-five volumes. Of these volumes Books V to X still exist and include his definition of multiple terms related to the *domus*.<sup>18</sup> Like Vitruvius, Varro's goal is clear definition of meaning, according to his perspective. He defines the *cavum aedium* as the inner court open and common to all, which can come in a covered form, *testudo*, or with an *impluvium* and open roof. This definition leads into a description of the origin of the *atrium* from the Tuscan style *atrium*, *Atriatibus Tuscis*.<sup>19</sup> An explanation of the terms used for other rooms in the *domus* follows. Varro defines a series of rooms, which he names based on function, for example *penariam ubi penus; ubi cubabant* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Kent 1936, vii-xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Varro *de Linga Latina*, 333.161.

*cubiculum*.<sup>20</sup> This definitive system of the naming of rooms based on function that Varro lays out has led scholars to seek the precise functions intended for each room of a *domus*. Despite stating that rooms were named based on the function of the rooms, Varro does not necessarily indicate that the rooms were designed for the purpose from construction, nor that the rooms could not change function and name through time.

Ancient texts provide further insight into the ancient idea of the *domus* beyond these two theorists. There are many references to *domūs* in correspondence discussing other main topics. Though these passing references include less information, they can be extremely helpful for giving a sense of an ancient individual's subconscious concepts of house. These references cover many centuries, from Cicero in the first century BCE to the letters of Gregory the Great in the sixth century CE. In particular the letters of Cicero, Pliny the Younger, Symmachus, and Gregory the Great, can provide the modern reader with insights to housing through the subsequent centuries.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to ancient texts there are ancient topographical sources from the mid and late imperial period, which provide extremely helpful information on certain topographical elements of Roman housing. The *Forma Urbis Romae*, a Severan marble plan of the city of Rome from the early third century CE, is a topographical resource that combines ancient surveys of all the neighborhoods and *regiones* in Rome. The plan was created and placed in the *Templum Pacis* and shows the city between 207 and 213 CE.<sup>22</sup> The greatest shortcoming of the plan is its limited labels, leaving modern viewers to have to guess which plans are *domūs, insulae*, or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Varro, *de Linga Latina*, 333.162. This means 'where food (*penus*) named *penaria*; where they lay down (*cubabant*) named *cubiculum*.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cicero Epistulae ad Atticum; Cicero Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem; Cicero Epistulae ad Brutum; Cicero Epistulae ad Familiares; Pliny the Younger Epistulae; Symmachus Epistulae; Gregory the Great Registrum Epistolarum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The authors dated the plan to 203-211 in their 1960 publication by means of historical and architectural evidence, comparing the known dates of construction of certain monuments with their presence or absence on the plan. Carettoni 1960, 213-218; Meneghini and Valenzani 2006, 78.

*horreae* among public structures. Despite this shortcoming, the plan still gives us a sense of how Romans understood architectural plans and recorded architecture. The plan also can help us better understand urban settlement patterns in the city by using it to view where houses were in relation to other types of buildings. Unfortunately, the plan is heavily damaged and only 10-15 percent survives. Yet the pieces that remain are still helpful to place *domūs* in the city and see how Romans recorded *domūs* in some cases.<sup>23</sup> This fascinating resource first came to light in 1563 and has been studied for centuries; the first major text to attempt to record all known fragments came in 1673 with the first scientific attempt to publish the fragments in 1874.<sup>24</sup> The currently recovered 1,186 pieces have continued to be studied through the twentieth century to today and are still studied through the Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project, where a detailed bibliography can be found.<sup>25</sup>

Another important topographical resource from ancient times can be found in the fourth century CE Regionary Catalogs. The catalogs state that 1790 *domūs* were in the city of Rome at that time, and 46,602 *insulae*, which had led scholars to question what the texts mean by the term *insula*.<sup>26</sup> The catalogs are late antique lists of important buildings organized by *regio*.<sup>27</sup> The Regionary Catalogs from the fourth century CE, called the *Curiosum* and the *Notitia*, provide vital insight in the locations, plans and placement, of *domūs* throughout Rome. The *Curiosum* has been dated the earlier of the two at c. 357 CE.<sup>28</sup> While the catalogs do not provide descriptive information, they do reveal which buildings the Romans who compiled them found important enough to list, as well as providing some concept of which *regiones* had more of certain types of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Particularly of note is fragment 676, which appears to show three *atrium*-house *domūs*, and fragments 95, 132, 197, 331, 350, 415, 449, 484, and 543a. Levoy and Trimble 2014, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/index.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Bellori 1673; Jordan 1874; Levoy and Trimble 2014, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/index.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Levoy and Trimble 2014, <u>http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/index.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Lancon and Nevill 2001, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> These were the fourteen *regiones*, or administrative regions of the city.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Reynolds 1997, 18.

buildings than others or were at least thought to at the time. One way in which these sources have been used to look at ancient architecture is by applying the information in their lists of buildings by region to the creation of density statistics for each area of Rome.<sup>29</sup> One must be careful with the use of this information to consider the possibility that the texts included buildings that are considered important rather than all buildings.

In the late antique period another unexpected resource arrives in the form of preserved Roman laws. The Codex Theodosianus includes laws enacted between 311 and 437 CE and the later Codex Justinianus, from the sixth century. These law codes show interesting changes in marriage legislation from the early imperial Augustan marriage legislation.<sup>30</sup> Legislation from these records provides helpful information on the running of the Roman household. Such legislation can include legal practices relating to Roman marriage, inheritance within the family, slave rights within the household, and other familial disputes. The *domus* was a key setting for the interaction of all members of the household, including the *dominus*, head of the house, wives, children, slaves, and freedmen. The legal terms under which different members of the household interacted provide a source for the position of these people within the *domus*. For instance the abolishment of the Augustan penalties on celibacy and rewards for child-bearing in 320 could potentially have increased the number of unmarried adults in *domūs* around the city. Additionally, laws that restricted marriage between people of widely differing social statuses would have affected the relationships of family members, freedmen, and slaves within the same *domus* and among neighboring households.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Reynolds 1997, 18-20.
<sup>30</sup> Evans Grubbs 1995, 1-2, 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Evans Grubbs 1995, 1-2, 103, 261-266.

Finally, epigraphic evidence, particularly from *fistulae*, lead pipes, and statues, provides a means of ascribing names and histories of prominent Roman families to *domūs*.<sup>32</sup> This final category of historical source is critical for a topographical study of *domūs* particularly because the names, and thereby dates, discovered help to provide some insight into concepts of ownership and kinship. This resource has at times been very heavily used, and the modern *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* uses this source as the primary means of naming *domūs*. While the information in this source is unparalleled, the naming can at times become confusing, being based on literary sources and pipes rather than location or some other more confirmed factor. The names on the *fistulae* associated with the *domūs* provide information on the patrons who built the *domūs*, but not necessarily those living in the *domūs*, and certainly not for its entire existence.<sup>33</sup>

# Early Modern Scholarship:

Early modern scholarship offers an interesting perspective on the Roman *domus*, as it had both more available data from not yet pillaged ancient sites, and much less data on excavations and interpretations of ancient sites and texts. The living patterns of the early modern city also gave the scholars at the time a different perspective on their interpretations of where houses would have been and how they would have been structured.<sup>34</sup>

Interest in ancient Roman architecture was piqued at the end of the fifteenth century as the elaborate decorations of the spaces now identified as the palatial residences of Nero were discovered. Early modern scholarship then grew over the coming centuries to afford glimpses into the domestic lives of ancient Romans. The wall and vault paintings of the *Domus Aurea* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Platner and Ashby 1929, 141-483.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Wallace-Hadrill has problematized this issue. Wallace-Hadrill 2001, 4; Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The placement of buildings in the Pirro Ligorio's *Anteiquae Urbis Imago* shows a settlement pattern that much more strongly reflects that of the medieval and renaissance periods than it does an ancient settlement pattern.

almost immediately had an impact on the current artistic styles in Rome, and the *grottesche* based on those found in his wall paintings began to appear in decorations of chapels in the city (SEE Figures 1.2, and 1.3). The Chapel of San Girolamo in Santa Maria del Popolo shows among the earliest examples of the *grottesche* drawing inspiration from the *Domus Aurea*. The suggested date range for the creation of this decoration, suggested by Malfa as 1478-1479 and commonly proposed by others as 1490, provide a *terminus ante quem* for the discovery and exploration of the *Domus Aurea*. <sup>35</sup> Artists in the early sixteenth century began entering the vaults of the *Domus Aurea* from holes cut into the vaults and lowering ropes from above in order to sketch the wall and ceiling paintings and their *grottesche*. Many left a record of their observation of these paintings by carving their names into the ceilings of the vaults.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout the early modern period excavations took place, both as a part of construction on private property and as conscious campaigns particularly focused around the Palatine hill. From the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, excavations on the Palatine led to reconstruction drawings of the imperial residences.<sup>37</sup> Various architects and antiquarians recorded these excavations through detailed drawings of the architecture beginning in the sixteenth century. For example, the architect Pirro Ligorio's work Stadio Palatino from 1552 records what was then visible of the Palatine stadium portion of the *Domus Augustana* (SEE Figure 1.4). Antiquarians and architects became increasingly aware of the need to document the remains of Roman monuments in this manner, as many monuments became increasingly stripped of their decoration and marble for the sake of new construction projects. Particularly in the early sixteenth century, especially under Julius II, Leo X, and slightly later Paul III, monuments were pillaged for the construction of new *palazzi* and the construction of St. Peter's. Raphael famously

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Malfa 2000, 259-262.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Fejfer, Fischer-Hansen, and Rathje 2003, 346-347.
 <sup>37</sup> Iacopi 1997, 6-28.

wrote to Leo X advocating for him to support the preservation and documentation of the ancient monuments. Paul III also supported a large-scale project, which tore down hundreds of buildings and leveled the Forum by filling it in with rubble, to create a triumphal route for Charles V that lead through the arch of Titus and the arch of Septimius Severus.<sup>38</sup> Prints and drawings continued to record the state of the Forum and specific excavated sections into the later sixteenth century. Another of Ligorio's drawings of archaeological remains was made into a print in 1580 and can be found in the 1600 publication by Onofrio Panvinio, a prominent antiquarian, detailing the circus games and triumphs of Rome.<sup>39</sup> The drawing shows a large section of the Palatine as excavated to that point (SEE Figure 1.5). This latter drawing provides useful information about the areas excavated in the sixteenth century, but must at least in part be supposition or reconstruction, as errors had been noted already by 1883 by the Roman archaeologist R. Lanciani.<sup>40</sup> During the late sixteenth century Ligorio also worked for the household of Cardinal Ippolito D'Este by 1549, creating the gardens of the Villa D'Este and studying the ruins of Hadrian's Villa. Ligorio acted as papal architect under Pope Paul IV and subsequent Pope Pius IV for the Vatican from around 1557-1567.<sup>41</sup> Ligorio and Manuzio describe the remains of a Roman domus discovered by Messer Uberto Ubaldini in November 1558 near the church of S. Andrea al Quirinale. It is said to have been in perfect condition with the family documents still in the tablinum. Unfortunately, modern excavations have not recovered it.<sup>42</sup> The excavations in the Forum dropped off in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the rubble fill placed by Paul III had put most monuments so low that scholars, including Ligorio, could no longer determine the topographical location of the Forum. From 1565 a large granite basin provided water for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Hülsen and Carter 1909, 37-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Panvinio 1600, pag. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Lanciani 1883, 200-201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Varner 2013, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Lanciani 1892, 191-192.

cattle, and two rows of elms led from the Arch of Septimius Severus to that of Titus. The area became known as the Campo Vaccino.<sup>43</sup>

The excavations on the Palatine continued in the seventeenth century and following. In the mid-seventeenth century, excavations on the Palatine for the Monsignor de' Massimi uncovered a great chamber or hall, which the Duke Mattei claimed was decorated with golden tapestries that evaporated once uncovered. Subsequent excavations took place on the Palatine, uncovering another hall said to have been lined with silver plates. Excavations in the seventeenth century in the garden of Signor Cornovaglia opposite S. Gregorio multiple subterranean painted chambers and porticoes were found. Beyond the Palatine excavations on private properties took place around the city with many reports focusing on the sculpture located. Seventeenth Century excavations were often related to individual construction projects in a time of increasing building.<sup>44</sup> In 1720 Bianchini again took note of the Palatine plan printed by Panvinio after excavating in the area. Bianchini stated that he was certain that sixteenth century antiquarians had mistaken the foundations of baths, which were excavated in the early eighteenth century on the Palatine, with those of the temple of Apollo.<sup>45</sup> Such excavations continued to draw information from the archaeological remains through time and become increasingly well recorded as people are more interested in the history tied to the items found rather than just the monetary value. The documentation of the excavations, destructions, and works related to Roman ruins in the early modern period provides information on how Roman buildings that remain were passed down to modern times and what buildings might have been present at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Hülsen discusses the key disputed problems of the Forum and the new evidence from excavations of the Forum through those published in 1908. He provides a history of the exploration of the Forum since the Renaissance. Hülsen and Carter 1909, preface, 36-47. This discussion of the Roman Forum was originally published in German and republished in 1905 in English and Italian with updates, and again in 1909.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The first excavations took place under Innocent X, and the second under Alexander VII. Parker 1883, 29-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Hülsen 1895, German and translation; Iacopi 1997, 10-11, footnote 7.

time that are now absent, as in the case the of the *domus* Azara (V.01) and the domus found in 1558.

In addition to notes and results from excavations, early modern scholarship also helps clarify ideas on the ancient city through scholarly works of the study and reconstruction of antiquity. Pirro Ligorio's works include the 1561 Anteiquae Urbis Imago, the first complete reconstruction of the ancient city, which he based on the data available to him in the midsixteenth century (SEE Figure 1.6). The map was highly influential in its day and multiple versions were subsequently created. The first altered version was already being produced in 1574-75 by Lafreri and reduced versions were also printed in the late sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, the long influence of Ligorio's twelve panel map is seen through the reprinting, which occurred again in the eighteenth century by Carlo Losi, and a final time in the 1820's by Scudellari.<sup>47</sup> Ligorio fashioned the Anteiquae Urbis Imago on years of research and his study of antiquities. For example Ligorio used Trajanic coins to copy the details of the arched entrance to the Forum of Trajan.<sup>48</sup> Likewise the antiquarian Panvinio uses ancient coins as a primary source in his commentary on the Roman triumph, multiple etchings of such coins can be found in his text.<sup>49</sup> Ligorio also took ruins into account, placing the identified ruins in their proper places and attempted to correctly assign the meaning to ruins whose functions were not known. For instance he terms the ruins of the temple of Mars Ultor from the Forum of Augustus as the "Basilica Augusta", since he knew about the ruins but not their function. 50 We can gain insight into early

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> A six panel version in 1602 and a one panel version in 1601-2. Varner 2013, 8-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> This printing is dated roughly to the decade. Getty Research Institute, Anna Laetitia Pecci-Blunt collection of maps of Rome, 1569?-1883.

http://primo.getty.edu/primo\_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=GRI&afterPDS=true&institution=01GRI&doc Id=GETTY\_ALMA21152019500001551

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Varner 2013, 10. See figs. 3 and 4 for Trajanic *aureus* displaying the arch from 112-117 CE and the associated detail of Ligorio's Forum of Trajan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Panvinio 1600, 137-147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Varner 2013, 10-11.

modern interpretations of the ancient city through the Anteiquae Urbis Imago by considering the spatial relationships between the buildings that Ligorio depicts and the sources that he used to place them. For public monuments Ligorio uses coins as a major source for the appearance of buildings, which can be seen by comparing certain coins to specific monuments. Ligorio situates *domūs* throughout the city and labels them by family name (SEE Figure 1.7). While the meaning of these names, which do not come from currently known ancient sources, is not yet determined, the repetition of housing and family names lends a sense to the map of an inhabited city. The crowded spaces and small buildings within larger public squares, such as the buildings that can be seen crowded around the Mausoleum of Augustus and associated obelisk of the Horologium Augusti, conjure the ancient Roman city in terms of the crowded urban spaces of the medieval and early modern period (SEE Figure 1.8). Ligorio clearly worked for antiquarian precision with his map, but the places where he was imaginative are just as telling for better understanding the sixteenth century concept of the city. In the area around the Pantheon Ligorio crowds the open spaces with buildings, yet the Campus Martius in ancient times was the focus of large public squares and monuments with more open spaces.<sup>51</sup> The crowded image of the Campus Martius that Ligorio presents reflects the streets instead in Ligorio's own day. We can also see Ligorio's research in his earlier 1553 map of Rome the so-called *Roma Piccola* published by Michele Tramezzino, which has less detail, but still includes multiple names of *domūs* among its many labelled monuments. Unlike the larger map, however, the names of *domūs*, such as the *Domus* M. Crassi and the Domus Q. Catuli, have more obvious referents.<sup>52</sup> These works of early modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ligorio 1561, pl. V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Archivio Storico Capitolino,

http://www.archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/scheda\_doc.php?IDA=90&IDF=85&PS=11&PR=50&PB=2&SF=&S V=&OB=note&OM=

research combine data available at the time from texts, coins, and archaeological remains, some of which are now gone, with the perspective of the crowded preindustrial city.

Later in the eighteenth century Giambattista Piranesi created his own reconstructions of the map of the ancient city of Rome. He created a large scale, the *Pianta di Roma* from Le Antichità Romane, Vol. 1, in 1756 and the Ichnographia, Tav. V-X from Il Campo Marzio di antica Roma in 1762 (SEE Figure 1.9) in a style completely distinct from the Imago Urbis Antiauae of Pirro Ligorio. Piranesi, rather than attempting to create a modern-style map, created a plan inspired by the third-century *Forma Urbis Romae*, using the type of lines and shapes seen in the fragments that had been rediscovered in 1562 and published in 1673.<sup>53</sup> His first work the *Pianta di Roma* shows a few known major remains on a map of the entire city and the fragments of the Forma Urbis Romae around the edges. By contrast his later work the Ichnographia shows a theoretical reconstruction of a section of the city focused on the Campus Martius, which interestingly was principally blank on his first map. The *Pianta di Roma* provides a view of his cartography skills showing a well measured map of the river and hills of Rome with major monuments in place. The *Ichnographia* takes these skills and applies them to his imaginative concept of how the ruins under the city's core might have looked. Piranesi did not distinctly base this particular map on Roman ruins. His antiquarian research in the text of *Il Campo Marzio di* antica Roma was both researched and footnoted with the archaeological and textual sources of his information. He covered six defined periods of Roman history, the major monuments constructed in each period, when they were built, and by whom. While Piranesi includes six other smaller maps of each period he discussed, the *Ichnographia* identifies no set time and includes buildings that did not exist together. Piranesi's text explains the history of Roman architectural construction, but the Ichnographia shows a different mindset entirely from the rest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 21-22.

of the text.<sup>54</sup> This project of a grand plan allowed him to fill in spaces with his idea of idealized forms. Joseph Connors terms the *Ichnographia* plan of the *Campus Martius* inspirational to architects and archaeologists attempting to reconstruct ancient Rome. Connors describes the plan as a product of advanced archaeological research, though he admits that the plan contains far more buildings than the Campus Martius actually held and its illusory style shows impossible and imaginary buildings.<sup>55</sup> Piranesi's plan of Rome reconstructs the ancient city, but by contrast to Ligorio's image of a medieval inhabited version of ancient Rome, Piranesi's plan focused on the public architecture. He showed no obvious *domūs*, where Ligorio had labelled many, and instead focuses on only the monumental structures in the *Campus Martius*.<sup>56</sup> This suggests a different goal and interpretation of the purpose of the plan and the image of the ancient city. Piranesi was an architect and printmaker in a period of mass construction in modern Rome. This mindset of construction shines through this plan and his grand scheme for ancient Rome with its grand organized architectural spaces. The focus of Piranesi on the Campus Martius, the only part of the city he depicts, also underlines his focus on public buildings. Further, the progression of archaeological thought is also displayed in this work, for, despite its inaccuracies, the depiction of a large scale architectural plan and reconstruction of ruins follows the increasingly modern techniques of the eighteenth century toward scientific archaeology.<sup>57</sup> The Campus Martius was the part of the city most populated by public *piazze* and buildings whereas just to the east of the via Flaminia the streets were crowded with domūs and insulae. While Ligorio created a reconstructed map of the city of ancient Rome in urban pattern of the sixteenth century, Piranesi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Dixon 2005, 116-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Connors 2013, lecture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Connors, Rice, and Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia storia e storia dell'arte in Roma. 2011, 45-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Dixon 2005, 121-122.

created a grand print depicting the center of Rome with a focus on the *Campus Martius* in an imaginary, grand, and idealized form.

Excavations throughout Rome, including expeditions on the Palatine, were continued in the eighteenth century with increasing focus on scientific archaeology. A continued sequence of excavations on the Palatine variously sought to discover ancient art, to discover ancient buildings, and to construct modern foundations. These excavations brought to light many pieces of the Domus Augustana as well as Republican domūs. In 1708 the excavations on the Palatine continued under Francesco Baroli in the area of the gardens belonging to the Collegio Inglese at the time, followed by excavations between the Coliseum and the Farnese Gardens. A major campaign of excavation began in 1720 on the property of the Farnese family and continued from 1722 to 1729 under Francesco Bianchini. Bianchini used the plans drawn by Onofrio Panvinio of the area as a resource. This campaign not only uncovered part of the *Domus Flavia* along the edge of the Palatine, but also uncovered the Aula Isiaca, Casa dei Grifi, and a small portion of the Casa di Livia, providing more Republican era houses and their construction and decoration, including advanced second style wall paintings.<sup>58</sup> Other excavations are reported from 1720 to 1735 by Lanciani for this area, and the discovery of the via Sacra may have taken place in 1742 along with other excavations near S. Teodoro. The Borbone family took over the Farnese Gardens property after this, and the family was not in favor of extensive excavations due to fear of collapse. The lower atrium of the Domus Augustana was also explored in 1774 on the land of the villa Spada by the French Abbot Rancoureil. There they had a plan by the architect Barbieri, assistant to Rancoureil, but scholars suggest it has inaccuracies and theoretical completions.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> One fragment of a wall painting from the *Casa di Livia* was removed for the Farnese family and a fragment of it remains in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Pensabene 1990, 36, note 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Pensabene 1990, 36-38.

The first organized excavations of the Roman Forum since the sixteenth century took place in 1788, which brought in a new period of excavation in central Rome.<sup>60</sup>

The eighteenth century also saw increased excavations around the city of Rome and at other ancient sites in Italy, which began uncovering noticeable examples of ancient houses. Excavations were initiated in Herculaneum in 1738 and shortly thereafter in Pompeii in 1755 under the auspices of the King of Naples, Carlo III of Borbone. Carlo III created an organization to publicize these excavations and the cultural history that they discovered called the *Accademia Ercolanense* which was initiated in 1755 along with the Pompeii excavations.<sup>61</sup> These actions show the movement in the eighteenth century towards a focus on ancient life and its symbolism for modern society. The discoveries found in Pompeii also increased interest in excavations taking place in Rome in the same period. Among the important *domūs* discovered in the eighteenth century was the *domus* Azara, which was excavated on the Villa Negroni property in 1777 by Nicolas de Azara for the property owners.

The excavation at the Villa Negroni is an excellent example of the intersection of Neoclassicism and ancient Roman Art. Neoclassical art and artists were heavily influenced by ancient art being discovered. The Neoclassical artist Anton Mengs was called to the Villa Negroni to help record a set of ancient Roman wall paintings found in the *Domus* Azara. The records of his visits provide valuable insight into the relationship between ancient art and modern sensibilities. In this period the influence of Vitruvius on housing ideals is clear, as the excavator Nicolas de Azara referred to him as 'the good Vitruvius' and compliments the Mengs' noble character and good taste in terms of saying that Mengs could suffer nothing base or plebian in the same way as Vitruvius, Pliny, and the more sound antiquity. Azara notes that nothing caused

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Hülsen and Carter 1909, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Berritto 2011, 18-19.

the venerated Vitruvius greater indignation than the 'depraved taste for the *grotteschi* and *arabeschi*.<sup>62</sup> This description is critical for understanding the way in which houses were studied in the eighteenth century. Vitruvius was for scholars a beacon, and ancient art was given arbitrary and very modern rankings of quality. In the *domus* excavated by de Azara in 1777 the largest decorative rooms opening onto the peristyle was decorated in the arabesque style, unlike the wall painting style of the other rooms that closely resembles the third and fourth Pompeian styles.<sup>63</sup> While the choice for this style for the largest and most visible room should be telling as to the value the style held for the homeowner,<sup>64</sup> this is the only major room for which Mengs did not record the wall paintings.<sup>65</sup> Thus, while recording an unusually great amount of data for this excavation, the personal opinions that the artists and scholars held about the relative quality of ancient art heavily colored the records and interpretations of this house when it was excavated.

# The Nineteenth Century and Unification:

Excavations continued in the center of Rome in the period leading up to Unification in the nineteenth century, which continued to use the records of architects of the day. Both Pope Pius IX and the French sponsored excavations on the Palatine during the nineteenth century.<sup>66</sup> For the first half of the century work in central Rome focused on the Forum, Coliseum, and along the Tiber. After the Farnese Gardens were acquired for Napoleon III, work returned to the Palatine. Napoleon III entrusted the excavations to the architect commissioner P. Rosa, who began in 1861 under Napoleon's auspices and continued for the Italian government when they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Mengs and Azara 1780, LXVIII-LXIX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Massimi 1836, 214; Joyce 1983, 435-436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See study below in chapter three, 164-165, referring to the visibility of this room.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> A collection of the prints that were made from these wall paintings can be seen in the British School at Rome's collection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Tomei 1999, 484-485.

took over the property.<sup>67</sup> In 1870 Rosa was put in charge of the newly organized *Sopraintendenza per gli Scavi di antichita e per la custodia dei monumenti della provincia di Roma*, which led into a new era of building and expansion in Rome.<sup>68</sup> From 1861-1870 the French excavations found large informative parts of the imperial palace buildings. During this excavation campaign, large parts of the *Domus Tiberiana*, part of the Temple of Apollo, more of the so-called *Casa di Livia*, and a majority of the *Domus Flavia* were uncovered.<sup>69</sup> Thus the period leading up to Unification in 1871 brought to light a major portion of the Palatine and interpretations and conceptions of the grand imperial residences drove the idea of the Roman house.

The next major shift in the study of ancient Rome came with the great upheaval in the nineteenth century of unification. The new Italian state stimulated a great increase in the number of excavations, which lead to increased information about the ancient city and advances in methodology. These advances were pared with rushed excavations around large construction projects, however, and the destruction of many archaeological sites. Beginning in 1870 through at least 1875, the architect commissioner Rosa began to discover more buildings in the area between the Temple of Cibele and the so-called *Casa di Livia*, which further increased our knowledge of the imperial palaces. Following this period Rosa lost leadership of the excavations of the Palatine, but A. Giammiti's plan of the area shows continued excavation in the area in the next decade.<sup>70</sup> The increased interest and publishing taking place in archaeology in this period is seen with the multiple interpretations taking place about the building remains being found in this area. The podium of the temple of Vittoria is interpreted in 1878 by J. H. Parker as the temple of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Pensabene 1990, 38-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Palombi 2006, 53-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Pensabene 1990, 38-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Pensabene 1990, 39-40.

*Iuppiter Feretrius* and then by Lanciani in 1892 as the *Casa Romuli*. The first excavation by the important archaeologist Gatti, whose family continues in Rome for generations, was a little before 1896 when he excavated the archaic cistern next to the so-called *Casa di Livia*<sup>71</sup>. Other major building projects in Rome led to the unearthing of structures throughout the city. From 1870 to the late 1880's intense building, requiring hurried excavations, took place. When the *Via Nazionale* transformed sections of the city in 1877, the associated demolition uncovered more remains of the Baths of Constantine, then two private houses, suggested to have been those of *Claudius Claudianus* and then *Avidius Quietus* (SEE Figure 1.10).<sup>72</sup> While we cannot always find detailed excavation records for such houses, the knowledge of these discoveries still provides helpful data for understanding the positioning of different houses around the city and can be used in a network analysis of the *domūs* in Rome.

The increased excavation of unification followed by the focus on archaeology of the fascist government had a long-term effect on the study and approach to archaeology in the city of Rome and Italy. The mass increase of excavation that began with unification in 1871 was a part of a process of zealous urbanization for the new state. The accelerated excavation process of the building period in the 1870's and 1880's, along with the lead excavator Rodolfo Lanciani, have often been blamed for many of the destructive habits perpetuated in the archaeological policy of the cultural capital.<sup>73</sup> This fevered period, however also saw the introduction of archaeology using more of the scientific method and increased organization of how archaeological sites were excavated, recorded, and reported. This period saw the creation of new archaeological journals to report on the discoveries now happening as a part of the economic growth of the city, such as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Pensabene 1990, 40-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Lanciani 1897, 100-101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Lanciani himself states that the Sacra Via, Forum, and Capitoline have been "largely if not completely excavated since 1870" in his 1897 text. Lanciani 1897, ix-x. Palombi 2006, 97.

*Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, added to the *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* in 1876 and published through 1924 and again from 1946 to 1989,<sup>74</sup> and the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, begun in 1872.<sup>75</sup> These journals spread the knowledge of the ancient remains being discovered more readily than previous publications, such as the *Diario Ordinario di Roma*, had been able in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lanciani produced his series *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, which he intended to cover the excavation history of Rome from the eleventh century to 1870, to complement these new publications. He stated that publishing a volume on the excavation history after 1870 would be repetitive because of the journals.<sup>76</sup>

In this period, the study of ancient housing in Rome often took its cue from archaeological research in Pompeii. Mau in 1899 stated, "Our chief sources of information regarding the domestic architecture of ancient Italy are two, - the treatise of Vitruvius, and the remains found at Pompeii." He stated that "in essential particulars there is no disagreement" between the descriptions of Vitruvius and the plans of Pompeii.<sup>77</sup> This statement defined the endeavors of scholars into Roman domestic architecture for much of the next century, who, often basing their research on Mau himself, focused on matching descriptions of the *domus* in Vitruvius to the exemplars at Pompeii. When scholars at the end of the nineteenth century approached houses in Rome, they saw the *domus* as a distinctive type of a palatial house and the *insulae* of Rome as completely separate in function. This is best stated in Lanciani's guide to the ruins of Rome in 1897, in which he states "buildings for the habitation of citizens in ancient

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> http://www.lincei.it/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=57

http://www.sovraintendenzaroma.it/cosa\_facciamo/pubblicazioni/riviste\_e\_collane\_scientifiche/bullettino\_della\_commissione\_archeologica\_comunale\_di\_roma

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> He intended to cover this period in five volumes, but published only four in his lifetime. Lanciani 1902, III. Volumes six and seven covering 1605 to 1878 were published posthumously by the *Commissione Lanciani*. Quasar, <u>http://www.edizioniquasar.it/sku.php?id\_libro=465</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Mau and Kelsey 1899, 239.

Rome were of two kinds, private houses or palaces for the residence of one family, with a more or less copious retinue of servants (domus), and lodging houses or tenement houses many stories high, and adapted to the reception of several families and of single individuals (*insulae*)."<sup>78</sup> In addition to this increased excavation and the addition of new archaeological data, the recording of these ancient structures developed in precision with new techniques.

In the late nineteenth century, the technique of Bauforschung was also introduced as a part of the increasing focus on scientific precision in archaeology; this time from the perspective of architectural history and research. *Bauforschung* is a scientific method for the study of historical architectural that can be applied to any period but is often used in ancient archaeological contexts. The Bauforscher, or architect-archaeologist, must be educated in architectural design and the science of antiquity. The field developed from the combination of the development of the science of antiquity and the birth of the history of architecture in the nineteenth century in Germany.<sup>79</sup> The term was coined by Amim von Gerkan in 1924 to describe the "complicated procedure of structure analysis and its documentation in drawings that must meet the highest scientific standards.<sup>80</sup>" This method had grown in popularity in the late nineteenth century. Otto Puchstein and Robert Koldewey studied the Greek temples of Southern Italy and Sicily in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. While their archaeological and architectural work focuses on Classical Greek architecture, it is a part of the larger introduction of studied architectural drafting in the late nineteenth century that attempted to better record and preserve increasing amounts of ancient architecture. Koldewey inspired a group of scholars in this method and is thus famed for his work in *Bauforschung*.<sup>81</sup> In Rome related techniques were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Lanciani 1897, 561.
<sup>79</sup> De Mattia 2012, 9, 23-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Schmidt 2002, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Schmidt 2002, 27-28.

applied by numerous scholars who were pioneers of new scientific methods in archaeology. The establishment of the technique as a discipline in Italian architectural education occurred with the appointment of Emanuel Löwy to a professorship in Archaeology and History of Classical Art in 1890 in Rome.<sup>82</sup> The archaeological publications following this period included increasing application of this technique to record the ancient remains found.

#### **Theories in the Twentieth Century:**

In the early twentieth century the archaeology of ancient Rome was communicated to a larger audience as travel and publications spread ideas and images through Europe. This period also saw the introduction of a new category of spatial theory that changed the way that architects looked at ancient housing in the context of housing throughout history. In 1911 a great international exposition celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Unification of Italy consciously provided an opportunity for the display of the archaeological progress made in the years since Unification.<sup>83</sup> The exposition was focused on three major cities of the newly unified Italy, Turin, Florence, and Rome. Through these cities the government focused on displaying the developing economic, social, and cultural identity of Italy. In Rome art, history, culture, and archaeology were the focus for the city. The display of the archaeology of Rome was considered a major component displayed at the Baths of Diocletian, the first site of the Museo Nazionale Romano, and was under the charge of the archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani.<sup>84</sup> The exhibition style at this show had a lasting influence in the fascist period on the typology of commemorative museum exhibits in the capital, which can be seen in the Museo dell'Imperio from 1927, Mostra Augustea della Romanità from 1937, and Museo della Civiltà Romana in 1952-1955.85

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> De Mattia 2012, 67-68, 80-81.
<sup>83</sup> Palombi 2006, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Palombi 2006, 179-181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Palombi 2006, 185.

At the same time that the history and archaeology of Rome was on display, Le Corbusier came to Italy on a long trip following the completion of his academic studies in October 1911. In this period in which he was learning from architecture and absorbing information he went to visit Pompeii and draw influence from the architecture for his style and drawings.<sup>86</sup> Le Corbusier, the name adopted by Charles-Edouard Jeanneret in 1920, was one of the most influential architects of the twentieth century. The impact of his study of ancient housing was visible on his architecture, and thereby influenced other architects thereafter.<sup>87</sup> For five days Le Corbusier stayed in Pompeii and spent his hours drawing and photographing the excavations and architecture. From the architectonic knowledge that he gathered, Le Corbusier brought fresh ideas to architecture which have influenced styles for a century.<sup>88</sup> As he viewed the ancient spaces, he recorded them from the perspective of modern architecture. In the early twentieth century architectural theory was increasingly discussing housing as functional and suggesting standardization of form. The approach of standardization in architecture developed through time by Gropius, Muthesius, Tessenow, Garnier, and others. Using a combination of idealism and functionalism, Le Corbusier took this approach further to suggest the house as 'a machine for living in<sup>2</sup>.<sup>89</sup> As he developed his ideas of ideal functional architecture, Le Corbusier sketched the houses of Pompeii. This relationship between the interior and exterior spaces appealed to two main ideas he was exploring in his architecture, the joining of the outside and inside and also ideal functional housing. The Rationalist architecture movement does not go as far to call the house a machine but follows similar lines calling the architecture of the house one that develops from necessities. Le Corbusier states that the people in Pompeii did not pierce their walls, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Berritto 2011, 31-33.
<sup>87</sup> Kruft 1994, 395-398.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Berritto 2011, 31-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Kruft 1994, 398-400.

had a sacred devotion for the walls and a love for the light, and he maintains that functional architecture is composed of light, shade, walls, and space, which are made whole by the architect. His concepts of form and functional architecture were influenced by the houses in Pompeii.<sup>90</sup> Mau, a previous superintendent of Pompeii who had already published on the Pompeian house in 1899, displayed the plans of Pompeian houses very much as a repeated pattern of set rooms, which fit with the ideas of cellular housing Le Corbusier was exploring. Mau even included the plan and reconstruction drawing of a typical Pompeian house.<sup>91</sup>

Le Corbusier took careful note in his studies at Pompeii of the relationship between interior and exterior spaces as evidence of structural typologies that he could reference to create his own architectural forms, which influence architecture through the present day. He carefully recorded examples of ancient housing with particular focus on the *atrium* and associated rooms. This focus can be seen in his drawings of the House of Sallust (SEE Figure 1.11) and the House of the Labyrinth, which show plans, measurements, and decorations in this central housing spaces open to the exterior air.<sup>92</sup> The houses that he saw in Pompeii provided him with a joining of the outside and inside through their atria and peristyle gardens. Le Corbusier took the ancient house format as inspiration for the design of modern houses. He saw the contact between the dwelling and nature as a good way to manage temperatures and climate.<sup>93</sup> This interaction between the archaeological remains in Rome and Pompeii and the modern notions of space and architecture continued into the twentieth century. The influence of the ancient *domus* of Pompeii

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Kruft 1994, 397-398, 405-409; Berritto 2011, 55. "*il pompeiano non fora i suoi muri; ha una sacra devozione per i muri, ha amore per la luce*" (Vers Un Architecture, 150).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Mau and Kelsey 1899, 246-247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Berritto 2011, 31-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Samuel 2007, 79.

on modern apartments and buildings can also be seen in the works of Marcello Canino in 1933, Adalberto Libera in 1950-1954, and Marco Zanuso in 1962-1964.<sup>94</sup>

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the rise of a new group of architectural theorists with the rise of Futurism. Like Le Corbusier's architecture, Futurism was interested in constructing architecture that took account of the interaction of domestic space with its inhabitants. While Futurism in Italian architecture looked toward the power of machinery and attempted to cast aside the past completely, Futurist writings suggest the importance for modern architecture of considering the living habits of people in design, such as the *Messaggio* of Antonio Sant'Elia.<sup>95</sup> This element within Futurist theory reveals how important the interest in spaces was to architecture of the early twentieth century. Spatial theory continued as a thread in architectural theory both within and completely apart from architectural theories that incorporated ancient structures. Architectural theory was greatly influenced in Italy by a new and powerful force that also influenced the study of ancient Rome, the introduction of Fascism. Many architectural theories accommodated the new nationalist and Fascist ideas in the country. Sant'Elia was posthumously described as a pioneer of Futurist-Fascist architecture. In addition to Futurism, under Fascism there was a strong nationalist trend of Neo-Classicism under a group called the Novecentro, founded in 1923, which combined modern simplicity with Classical traditions. The Novecentro was a dominating trend in this period. Additionally, a new trend in architectural theory rose in the 1920's, which directly tied itself to Fascism, the Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale, or Rationalism. This theoretical group wanted to combine history and tradition with modern simplicity that took into account elements such as climate and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Berritto 2011, 88-129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Kruft 1994, 403-404. For early Futurism and the move away from historical archtecture, see The Futurist Manifesto by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, 1909, and Messaggio by Antonio Sant'Elia, 1914.

geography to create a new specifically Italian architecture, under the auspices of Mussolini.<sup>96</sup> This movement shows the continuation in this period architecture taking into account living patterns, including environment considerations, when constructing domestic spaces.

In addition to architecture, Fascism was a controlling influence over the ideas presented in relation to excavations and ancient monuments and ruins from 1922 through World War II. Mussolini rose to power in 1922, when he marched on Rome, and then assumed dictatorial powers in 1925. The Fascist party controlled Italy from 1925-1943, when Mussolini was deposed and the Fascist Regime dissolved. World War II continued until 1945, albeit with the Allies in Italy. Mussolini used the image of ancient Rome and its power in the construction of Fascist Italy throughout his reign. This use included incorporating ancient texts, names, artworks, and symbols into his speeches and public acts, such as the celebration of the two-thousandth anniversary of Augustus's birth with the 1937 Bimillenario Augusteo.97 In order to build a new Rome on the foundations of ancient Rome, Fascism employed archaeological excavation and reconstruction of ancient monuments. This central goal guided excavation and archaeologists in this period. Under Fascism a group of Italian scholars joined under the organization the Istituto di Studi Romani, and when Mussolini turned to archaeologists to guide his vision of a Fascist new Rome, these scholars were sought. In order to excavate and uncover honored ancient remains, excavations around the city cleared crowded neighborhoods of now centuries old houses and buildings to construct grand public spaces centered around ancient monuments, such as the Imperial Fora, the temples of Largo Argentina, and the Mausoleum of Augustus. These excavation projects focused on the grand constructions of the emperors, and particularly of Augustus. Unlike the respect given to monumental structures like the temples at Largo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Kruft 1994, 403-412. Marinetti described Sant'Elia thus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Arthurs 2012, 1, 30-32, 91-92, 151.

Argentina, ancient houses excavated in this time were recorded, and then reburied or destroyed in order to accommodate the creation of grand thoroughfares through the city.<sup>98</sup> These mass excavation projects changed the modern face of Rome, both bringing sites to light and, in many cases, destroying them.

In the first half of the twentieth century topological approaches were the most common way to understand ancient housing. While scholars were working with or under the Fascist government, they still had theoretical approaches for the interpretation of the ancient remains that they were finding. Particularly within the 1930's they created typologies, and they would fit examples of ancient housing into the predetermined form that these typologies suggested. Scholars accomplished this typological approach by applying the new data on houses to the available ancient literature, and then developing typologies to place the ancient ruins within the categories that they had found in the literature. In 1935, as a part of this theoretical approach, the most current academic discussion on the meaning and forms of the Roman house was between Amedeo Maiuri and Axel Boëthius, who were important figures in their field at the time. The discussion revolved around discovering the correct typology into which the houses at Ostia could be placed. They discussed whether these houses could be "considered to be evolved forms of the old Italic house with *atrium* and *tablinum* or structures of entirely different origin."<sup>99</sup> The very question at the heart of this debate underlines the theories being considered in the study of ancient housing in the 1930's. The focus of research was to fit evidence into a typology, rather than to attempt to interpret houses according to how they functioned in life.

One major facet of the academic debate using typological approaches was framed around whether the Roman house was based off of one, the *atrium*, type or multiple other types as well.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Arthurs 2012, 30-32, 60-75. <sup>99</sup> Harsh 1935, 9-10.

Philip Harsh discusses this debate in an article from 1934. He is responding to discussions of the recent studies conducted by Guido Calza in Ostia at the time, which uncovered new information on Roman housing in addition to that previously known at Pompeii.<sup>100</sup> Maiuri responds to Calza's discoveries and argues for *insulae* and houses in Ostia being a type that was transformed from the same as those found at Pompeii, as part of a period of massive transformation. He does not attempt to explain the link, however, rather to propose the idea of continuity.<sup>101</sup> R. C. Carrington, another scholar at the time, argues along the same lines, citing Maiuri himself. Carrington argues that if studied in order of construction, houses in Ostia show a logical direct development along with those at Pompeii of one typology from the fourth century BCE through the second century CE. While he admits that the examples he chooses for each period of development are not "reproduced in all its details by every house" in the same period, he affirms "that each house is typical in a general way of all the houses erected in the same age."<sup>102</sup> This argument is a clear example of the approach of attempting to fit all Roman housing into one typology. Harsh considers these arguments and then moves to argue that scholars must not be so quick to assume that the *atrium*-house was the only type being used in ancient Italy, and that other types may have existed from which the Ostian houses developed independently.<sup>103</sup> He supports the possibility of a simpler and more common house-type than the *atrium* type, called the tabernae tabulatae type, suggested by Guido Calza in 1916. Calza feels the houses of Ostia are from a completely different tradition than the ones at Pompeii, which is vertical and exterior rather than horizontal and interior.<sup>104</sup> Yet, even when Harsh and others problematize the approach in which one typology of houses must suit the examples found, they do not depart from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Harsh 1935, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Maiuri 1929, 161-172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Carrington 1933, 133-136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Harsh 1935, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Calza 1916, 1933, 541-545; Harsh 1935, 10-11.

assuming that another typology would be required. As a part of this debate, Boëthius confirms the *atrium* type as a fixed house-type, but disapproves of limiting the development of Roman housing, from a complex culture based around many urban traditions, to one house-type. Boëthius discussed a house-type as a possible ancestor of the Imperial *insulae*, separate from the *atrium* type, which he sees in functional *tabernae* shop-houses and in vertically focused houses.<sup>105</sup> Harsh also notes the vertical development of houses in Rome, which Boëthius discusses as the predecessor of the *insulae* and as a logical development in urban housing in Rome that may be purely Roman. While this conclusion shows the use of typologies to determine interesting aspects of particular sets of houses, Boëthius still discusses these developments in terms of house-types.<sup>106</sup> This conclusion of the *atrium* as an indicator of a type of house rather than as a functional room or a product of changing interactions taking place within the home is a symptom of the types of theories used in the early twentieth century.

Harsh analyzes examples of houses from Ostia, which do not exactly show a traditional *atrium* plan or show an *atrium* plan adapted to later purposes, in order to identity what new typology of houses can be understood for them. He uses the example of the *Casa a Graticcio*, which has an *atrium* that was remodeled into a variety of smaller rooms, to discuss a hybrid-type of Roman house with both *insula* and *atrium* features. He focuses for much of his analysis on ideal lighting conditions, which were better in the original *atrium* plan than in the later remodeled form.<sup>107</sup> This comment shows his adherence to the ideals presented in Vitruvius, which suggest ideal proportions for house spaces (Vitr. *De arch* 6.3). Harsh suggests other house types from the *atrium* type and attempts to fit examples of houses from Ostia, Rome, and other sources into his types. As such, Harsh claims that the *House of Trimalchio* from Petronius's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Boëthius 1934, 158-164; Harsh 1935, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Boëthius 1934, 162-164; Harsh 1935, 11-12, and note 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Harsh 1935, 11-17.

*Satyricon* fits into his typological analysis. He says it fits into the type that is created after the use of the *atrium* falls out, due to the description lacking the word *atrium*. He also cites another author, Friedrich Marx, who came to the same conclusion about the *House of Trimalchio*.<sup>108</sup> His analysis exemplifies the typological approach of the first part of the twentieth century, which relied heavily on texts to create typologies. The continuation of this typological approach can be seen in the work of Gilbert Bagnani, who presents another hypothetical analysis of the *House of Trimalchio* in 1954.<sup>109</sup> The use of typologies as the focus of the study of Roman housing was most common leading up to and through the years of World War II, and while it was still employed on occasion after the war, it became increasingly less common.

# The Influence of Early Rome:

Throughout the period of Fascism and into the later twentieth century scholars employed the study of early Rome and Roman pre-history as a means to help them understand Roman life and architecture. The evolution of how data about early Rome was applied to housing developed along similar lines to the other shifting theories in archaeology. In the 1930's scholars fit early Roman data into typologies and into theories about the evolution of forms, whereas by the 1970's there is increasing introduction of scientific analysis, although not yet a full break from typologies. The origin of the *domus* was a significant question for those studying early Rome and Roman prehistory and was discussed according to these evolving observations and theories.

Einar Gjerstad began his research in the early twentieth century with a focus on the archaeology of Cyprus. From 1935-1940 Gjerstad's work moved to Rome, as he served as the director of the Swedish Institute for Classical Studies in Rome. After this term he worked at Lund University as Professor of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History and then in 1957 as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Harsh 1935, 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Bagnani 1954, 16-18.

a personal professor. Through his period of on-site work in Rome and during his subsequent professorship, particularly after the completion of World War II, Gjerstad turned his research to early Rome with particular focus on the excavations around the Roman Forum.<sup>110</sup> His excavation of the Sacra Via through the Forum shows a very high level of scientific precision and quality recording of details, which allowed him to seek early dates for his studies. Careful pottery analysis also provided helpful dating for much of his work.<sup>111</sup> Additionally, in his 1953 volume he analyzes the excavation information and architecture of an early building now thought to be the *domus publica*,<sup>112</sup> which he studied as an early example of Republican period Roman housing. He interpreted the building as an Archaic 'Habitation of Developed Architecture', which he contrasted to the hut habitations of the Archaic period (SEE Figure 1.12). The so-called domus publica has been the object of recent through investigation since 1996.<sup>113</sup> Gjerstad was an early proponent of scientific precision and stratigraphic analysis in archaeology for the sake of gaining more data, and he notes in his study of the remains of this domestic structure that unfortunately he cannot do a controlled excavation of this structure as he had with the *Equus* Domitiani because of the overly extensive nature of the previous excavation. This statement underlines the combination of different archaeological techniques coexisting in the early twentieth century as archaeology developed. Gjerstad's study outlines four successive phases of the development of this domestic architecture, and in his later 1966 volume a liberal reconstruction of the final phase. He interprets certain blocks and a wall as an indication of a wooden staircase to an upper floor. Scholars, such as Luigi Crema use this two-story exterior focused reconstructed plan as an indication that already in the early fifth century BCE the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Harrison 2014, <u>http://archives2.getty.edu:8082/xtf/view?docId=ead/900228/900228.xml;query=;brand=default</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Gjerstad 1806-1984., I want to thank the Getty Research Institute for their support with a Library Research Grant to access Einar Gjerstad's original documentation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Carettoni 1980, 325-355.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Detailed plans can be seen in Filippi. Filippi 2007, 617-625.

housing in the center of Rome had a more vertical focus than the villas in the countryside, which other scholars, mentioned above, were noting for later Roman periods.<sup>114</sup> This conclusion shows a possible effect of the urban context of Rome on housing began in the early Republican period, but also underlines the limited evidence on which some conclusions can be built if scholars are not careful. The central location of the *domus publica* could also have been influential on later structures. Gjerstad's Roman research continued from 1935 through 1983, during which time many theories on housing developed in the field.

The influence of early Rome on later domestic architecture continued to be a topic of research in the latter twentieth century. In 1973 Luigi Crema's method of study in his work on early Republican architecture developed further from the typological approach and introduced a more systematic and contextual methodology. Crema observes the influence of the urban topography on Roman construction and concludes that the fabric into which buildings are inserted is so tight that the urban structure itself determines the form of many buildings. He concludes that the buildings had to conform to the urban spaces rather than to an ideal topology. Crema references the work of Gjerstad and continues to refer to types or forms of houses, but also begins to broaden his definitions. When referencing Gjerstad's *Via Sacra* Archaic habitation, he states that urban vertical housing developed separately at the same time as the interior focused house, which he labels the *domus*, that he suggests developed from an 'extra urban' environment and was brought to Rome in a complete form.<sup>115</sup> He describes the *domus* form still in terms of the work of Vitruvius, citing Vitr. *De Arch.* VI, 3, but also connects the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Gjerstad and Svenska institutet i Rom. 1953, v.1, 130-154; Gjerstad and Svenska institutet i Rom. 1966, v. 4, 403-417; Crema 1973, 644-647.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Crema 1973, 644-647.

form to paintings of domiciles in Etruscan tombs.<sup>116</sup> Subsequent works of research, discussed below, responded to the developing ideas in Roman architecture and archaeology to significantly nuance this approach and use more evidence. Carandini's excavations on the northern slope of the Palatine revealed evidence of early forms of *atrium* houses from the sixth century BCE. These excavations have contributed to the ongoing conversation about the process of urbanization and how people lived in early Rome.<sup>117</sup> Later studies have created more variation within scholars' definitions of types or forms of houses, for example this can be seen in the discussion by Wallace-Hadrill of possible variations within the *atrium* house.<sup>118</sup>

Excavations continue to proceed around the city of Rome adding information to scholars' knowledge of the timeline and development of housing in the ancient city. Under the direction of Mirella Serlorenzi for the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, a recent excavation from 2013 to 2015 has uncovered an example of a sixth century BCE residence, which preceded an important large fifth century BCE temple twenty-five meters wide and forty meters long at the via Goito underneath the *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*. The domestic building was constructed of wood and mud walls estimated at 3.5 meters by 10 meters and possibly 3 meters high on a tufa base with square plan including two rooms. The discovery of this early domicile on the Quirinal Hill was unexpected, as this area was previously thought to have been for burials, and thus the discovery significantly influences the concept of where and how housing and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Crema 1973, 644-645. Gjerstad also discusses this idea in some of his later works, using Etruscan chambertombs as the model for many elements of his Via Sacra Archaic Habitation reconstruction. Gjerstad and Svenska institutet i Rom. 1966, 416-417.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Fulminante 2014, 89-94, includes a discussion of these houses in the context of urbanism. Fentress and Rabinowitz 1996, 231, relates these excavations to the development of urban housing in Cosa. For more information on the excavations in this area see: Filippi 2004, 1-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 219-240.

urban population developed in the city of Rome.<sup>119</sup> Excavations will continue to reveal more about how Roman housing and the current form and plan of the city developed from early Rome.

#### **Spatial Theories after World War II:**

Alongside the study of early Rome, after the end of World War II and the scholarly approaches that prospered under Fascism, scholars returned to spatial theory and developed new methods to explore the plans and spaces of ancient housing. Independently of archaeology, spatial theories developed, particularly within geography and movement studies, in the latter twentieth century continuing to the present day.

A review of these theories is helpful for understanding how the developed theories could then be applied to archaeology and ancient spaces. In the late 1960's Yi-Fu Tuan began exploring human perception and the environment. By the mid-1970's Tuan was proposing theories on the human experience of the environment and specifically the concepts of space and place. Tuan asked "in what way do people attach meaning to and organize space and place?" He explores the extent to which culture has control in contrast to elements that cross cultures and indicate the "general human condition." Tuan seeks to understand the experience of a person in space; experience, he claims, is a term which covers the many means that a person uses to construct a reality, which include smell, taste, touch, active visual perception, and symbolization.<sup>120</sup> This concept of the experience of space can help scholars to understand a building not just as architecture but as an environment in which the rooms and spaces are experienced by different people as they interact in the building. Beginning also in the 1970's, the work of Henri Lefebvre continued with the study of space and experience. In his 1974 influential text Lefebvre discussed how people do not just exist in space, but rather create and forge their

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Redazione Roma Online 2015, <u>http://roma.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/15\_settembre\_09/archoelogia-quirinale-scoperta-dimora-arcaica-vi-secolo-ac-d71b15e0-56de-11e5-a580-09e833a7bdab.shtml?refresh\_ce-cp
 <sup>120</sup> Tuan 1977, 1-5, 8-10.
</u>

space. Lefebvre argues that each society creates its own peculiar space. He states as an example that the ancient city is not a "collection of people and things in space" but rather a space that was created through unique spatial practice.<sup>121</sup> This approach of analyzing residents' spatial practice in order to ask how and why spaces were constructed can be applied beneficially in relation to the actions of the Patron and artist in the Roman domus. Theories about the use of space in life continued to be explored in the 1980's with Michel de Certeau, who investigates how people act in everyday social settings and how they appropriate and use culture. He looks at movement through urban space as the practice of using the space, which he explains as a separate process from constructing or viewing the space.<sup>122</sup> Building on these theories beginning in the early 1990's, Tim Cresswell, who studied under Tuan, has continued to explore geography and the idea of place. Cresswell expounds on definitions of place and space that help inform my conception of the creation of a place from a space and different types of places and spaces. While Cresswell approaches primarily modern geographies, such as the question of mobility in modern life, his questions and ideas are still relevant for understanding in what types of spaces and places Romans lived.<sup>123</sup> Authors such as Cresswell continue in current scholarship to use spatial theories. As mentioned briefly above, these theories on movement and space from geography and movement studies provide helpful approaches that have altered the way that ancient places and spaces can be analyzed. Increasingly scholars look at how ancient people created their spaces and inhabited them, which movement studies provide a way of analyzing, rather than looking just at the typological forms of the buildings. For example, the influential work of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> This work was originally published in 1974, translated to English in 1991. Lefebvre 1991, 30-32, 241-246. Lefebvre even argues in a further example that Roman space produces an image of the space of power, which can be seen it how it formed its spaces from its public monuments and roads to its private houses. Whether or not his interpretation of the example of Roman space is correct, the concept of how and why Romans created their spaces as they did is a helpful question and approach.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> de Certeau 2011, xi-xxiv, 91-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Cresswell 2005, 1-26, 82-85. Cresswell has multiple recent publications on mobility.

Hoepfner and Schwandner applies theories about the construction, use, and meaning of architectural space directly to ancient housing. *Haus und Stadt* by Hoepfner and Schwandner influenced domestic studies, particularly on ancient Greek regions. They suggest an analysis of the form and zoning of Greek housing in relation to ideological beliefs of the inhabitants.<sup>124</sup>

These theories on space and movement have led to various new approaches within archaeology. These new approaches began under the auspices of Post-Processual archaeology in the 1980's, which argued for engagement with the theories that were developing in other fields, and new theoretical applications of space and movement theory have been used in an increasing variety of ways.<sup>125</sup> For example, in the fields of anthropology and archaeology the multidisciplinary methods within the approach of Landscape archaeology provide helpful ways of looking at multiple spaces as one landscape, how landscapes were constructed, and the relationship between landscapes and the natural environment. The application of some of these methods can be seen in Adam Smith's The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in *Early Complex Polities*, which seeks to uncover political authority through spatial interpretation of the making and remaking of landscapes, and the work of Colin Renfrew on the cognitive relationship between people and things with Material Engagement Theory.<sup>126</sup> Simon Stoddart's research on the Frontiers of Etruria project also applies methods from landscape archaeology in order to see how the boundaries of Etruscan territory can be employed to better understand the relationships between the Etruscans and other early Italian cultures as well as how these boundaries shaped the formation later of relationships between peoples in these areas.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Hoepfner et al. 1994, 1-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Hodder and Hutson 2003, 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Smith 2003, 1-5; Renfrew et al. 2004, 7-8; Malafouris and Renfrew 2013, 33-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> <u>http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/frontier/foe-home</u> (Accessed 9/5/2014).

As a part of this process of utilizing spatial methods and theories, there has been a movement in Mediterranean housing studies towards the understanding of space as an indicator of meaning. Recent works exhibit this movement; for example Lisa Nevett attempts to contextualize the evidence from Pompeii within Classical traditions of housing throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>128</sup> Elena Walter-Karydi took a critical approach to changes in the form of the Greek peristyle-house, asking how they might indicate changes in ideology.<sup>129</sup> Authors, such as Niholas Cahill at Olynthus, have taken the meaning of space further for particular sites, working to nuance Hoepfner and Schwandner's strict ideas on how the form and zoning of housing reflects the use of space of the inhabitants.<sup>130</sup> Monika Trümper used an analysis determining the status of rooms by means of their public or private nature and varying importance within houses to analyze changes in the house through time at Delos.<sup>131</sup> Stephenson recently applied an analysis of social use of space to Roman villas in Spain.<sup>132</sup> These examples show the movement in archaeological theory toward an attempt to understand the significance of created spaces. In chapters two and three below, I will examine the decoration and placement of spaces in the Roman house to elucidate their significance as spaces created for the use and display of the household.

#### The Study of Roman Housing in the Later Twentieth Century:

While the application of spatial theory was becoming increasingly studied and applied over the last quarter of the twentieth century, studies of Roman housing also continued to progress towards a development of more nuanced and varied approaches to the topic. The study of housing in ancient Rome often took ideas from housing studies that had focused on Pompeii,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Nevett 2010, 89-118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Walter-Karydi 1994, 1-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Cahill 2002, 1-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Trümper 1998, 1-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Stephenson 2006, 1-15.

Herculaneum, and Ostia. In last quarter of the twentieth century, the theories had advanced from the typological approaches of Mau and Maiuri. Scholars, like Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, were no longer trying to understand the *domūs* of Pompeii in terms of the texts of Vitruvius, but rather were questioning different ways in which the *domus* functioned in Roman life by its form and artistic decoration guiding the activities that occurred within it.<sup>133</sup> Wallace-Hadrill began questioning the exacting comparisons between Vitruvius and Pompeian spaces as well as the polarizing way in which the terms public and private were used,<sup>134</sup> stressing the variations within individual houses in recent years over a set Vitruvian plan.<sup>135</sup> Penelope Allison also notes that the descriptions of Roman houses by Vitruvius and Varro, both writing in the first century BCE - first century CE, clearly correspond to the plans of contemporary Campanian housing, but that this resemblance does not necessarily indicate that the terms correctly label the spaces and the activities that occurred therein.<sup>136</sup> She analyzed archaeological evidence of domestic assemblages remaining from rooms in a sample of thirty atrium-style Pompeian domūs in order to determine how the rooms were used in ancient times.<sup>137</sup> These studies moved in an important direction away from fitting houses into rigid typologies and instead sought archaeological evidence for the significance of spaces in individual houses and beyond that in Roman social and political life. Further, a compilation of articles organized by Gazda stresses the importance of close consideration of domestic ensembles, which interprets detailed archaeological and artistic evidence to better understand how residents used art and decoration, including wall painting,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17-18; Allison 2007, 269-271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 219-240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Allison 2007, 269-270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Allison 1992, 1-15.

sculpture, mosaics, and dining spaces, in their houses to guide their interactions. These articles examine what scholars now can learn from this artistic decoration.<sup>138</sup>

In addition to new theories and approaches, scholars began to try to understand houses by broadening their context and including examples beyond one city or archaeological site. John Clarke attempts a more synthetic look at the *domus* than many previous studies, and presents the importance of seeing domestic art within its larger architectural context. He calls on examples from multiple sites, though still maintaining the focus on Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia.<sup>139</sup> Shelley Hales also makes an important contribution to the study of Pompeian housing, by looking at the house as a living part of Roman social roles.<sup>140</sup> Hales explores additional theoretical approaches to the Roman house, looking to the Roman house as a source on the broader issues of Romanization and the role of the individual in society. In this approach she looks to examples beyond Pompeii in the western and Greek provinces in order to see how "Roman" these houses appear and what unique aspects show due to the influence of their locations.<sup>141</sup> Her work helps show how houses can be analyzed as social spaces, where Allison's helps to underline how items can be employed to analyze use of space, and Clarke's text shows the importance of viewing artworks in their architectural context to gain deeper meaning.<sup>142</sup>

Scholars working with these theoretical and methodological movements then began to turn their views to some of the houses in Rome. In Vitruvius's book 6 he specifically remarks that the houses of the Romans vary by region throughout the empire. While Vitruvius is distinguishing between very different regions, his statement still indicates that scholars cannot take for granted that the houses of Pompeii directly reflect those of Rome (Vitr. *De arch*. 6.1.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Gazda and Haeckl 2010, xi-xxxvii, 1-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Clarke 1991, xxiii, 363-371.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Hales 2003, 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Hales 2003, 1-8, 167-244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Clarke 1991, 363-371.

The houses of Rome must be taken on their own terms. Particularly in the last three decades, archaeological scholars have begun to analyze valuable examples of houses excavated in the city of Rome, and from the 119 archaeologically recorded examples of *domūs* and *insulae* from the city I draw conclusions about the form and meaning of the *domus* in Rome. Investigations of the *domus* in Rome have tended to focus on certain periods and topics. Many consider the continued use or lack of use of the *atrium*-house plan.<sup>143</sup> The late antique period also represents an important focus for research on the Roman *domus*.<sup>144</sup> Within that category many late antique studies on the early Christian church include studies on the *domus ecclesia* and *titulus*, the house church.<sup>145</sup> Further, studies on *mithraea* have also produced helpful information on the *domus* in this period, as *mithraea* were often found as household shrines.<sup>146</sup> Research on these topics of study, which represent focuses for scholars who look at *domūs*, provides helpful data on which future research can build to contextualize the topics.

In recent scholarship on the Roman *domus*, there have been some works that are particularly noteworthy for Rome, as they have begun to approach studying the *domus* in more detail and with more comparison than in years past. A number of other works in Rome have attempted instead to gather the disparate data on Roman houses, and only begun cursorily to analyze the forms and functions of these buildings. The most complete study of the Roman *domūs* is Van den Abeele's master's thesis from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1989, which collects 300 examples of *domūs* in the city.<sup>147</sup> Van den Abeele's work provides a useful point on which to build with the information of the last twenty-four years of extensive scientific

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Ellis 1988, 565-576; Pellecchia 1992, 377-416; Dwyer 2010, 25-48.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> See Ellis 1995, 1988; Coates-Stephens 1996; Clair 2002; Ellis 2000; Cooper 2007, 2007; Cooper and Hillner 2007; Bowes 2007, 2008, 2010; Lavan, Özgenel, and Sarantis 2007, Sessa 2007, 2007, 2012, among others.
 <sup>145</sup> Webb 2001, xiii; Balch 2008, xiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> See Visconti 1885; Vermaseren and Essen 1965; Griffith 1993; Griffith 2000, among others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Van den Abeele 1989, 1-157.

excavations and published data of multiple Roman *domūs*, and to add the analysis of room use and display of art. The *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* also allows for innovative insights into the domestic structures of the city through its thorough collection of topographical data, though it does not do a comparative analysis of *domūs* itself.<sup>148</sup> Particularly noteworthy for the city of Rome is Carandini's assessment from 2010, which examines the political role of houses and palaces in the city from the Palatine and Velian hills in the late Republic through the reign of Nero. This text is one of the first to systematically look at the *domus* specifically in the city of Rome beyond individual studies and excavation reports. Carandini looks at the *domūs* of people of power in the late Republic and early Imperial period in order to see what can be learned about these people and constructed of these houses, by means of an analysis of evidence of houses near the Roman Forum on the Velian and Palatine hills.<sup>149</sup>

Other scholars have attempted to look at individual houses in the city of Rome to better understand how these houses functioned in their urban context. Wallace-Hadrill's analysis of the *domus* found under *Stazione Termini* in the *Piazza dei Cinquecento* contextualizes the *domus* plan within the cramped quarters and lack of zoning found in the city of Rome. This topographical context is extremely important for understanding how houses were used in the crowded city with restricted spaces, as opposed to studies of houses in other places.<sup>150</sup> Recent research on the *domūs* found under the Palazzo Valentini bring together a variety of types of evidence, including the topographical context of the adjacent Forum of Trajan, to attempt to understand the spaces in these *domūs* and how they changed through time at the end of the

<sup>149</sup> Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 293-300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Steinby 1993-2000, 6 volumes; Coarelli and Battaglini 2004; Tomei and Liverani 2005; Coarelli and Battaglini 2006; Pavolini 2006; Leone et al. 2007, 5 supplementary volumes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2000, 173-220, 2003, 3-18.

empire.<sup>151</sup> A recent study by Margaret Andrews on a Roman *domus* that she discovered under the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco looks closely at archaeological evidence to better understand the changes made to the house through time, particularly in the context of the densely populated *Suburra* neighborhood.<sup>152</sup> These studies of individual Roman houses apply new theoretical techniques and bring to light important evidence on Roman housing.

Scholarship on the Roman family has regularly sought to better understand the definition of the term *domus* and what this term would have meant to the ancient Roman. The expansion of the definition of *domus* in recent scholarship to include kinship and family studies has been an important theoretical addition to the study of Roman housing. A better understand of the relationship between the architectural *domus* and social structure of the Roman family could provide a helpful perspective for both understanding the Roman meaning of the term and better understanding how the architectural structure functioned in lives. Richard Saller introduced the issue of the various potential meaning that could be attributed to the Latin terms domus and familia, and discussed the domus as symbol in Roman life.<sup>153</sup> Mireille Corbier wrote about the construction of kinship in Roman society and how houses were involved in connections made in Roman relationships.<sup>154</sup> The idea of the role that houses could play in socially constructed relationships adds a new dimension to the field of family studies. The difficulty of tying an individual *domus* to the family of ownership has plagued scholars attempting to see how the domus acted to further the careers of known senators and senatorial families. Werner Eck explained that the sources that discuss senatorial  $dom\bar{u}s$  are relatively common but extremely vague, and that terms used to discuss *domūs* do not include the family name of the residents, like

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Del Signore 2008, XIX-XXIX. This text is one of the most complete publications. Dozens of articles are also found on the subject, and a larger publication is being written.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Andrews 2014, 61-90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Saller 1984, 336-355.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Corbier 1991, 127-146.

the terms used by modern scholars.<sup>155</sup> Julia Hillner has underscored the difficulty of identifying the family residing in a *domus* in her discussion of inheritance. She presented evidence that each *domus* in Rome passed into new families on a regular basis, and each family generation tended to buy a new *domus* rather than inherit.<sup>156</sup> Michele George also approached the *domus* in terms of the household in a new way when she wrote about the slave in the Roman *domus*, which looks to a different type of household member in the Roman who daily affected the interactions of the household but often has been found archaeologically absent.<sup>157</sup> Despite the increase of domestic studies in Roman art history, the *domūs* of the city of Rome have not yet been critically analyzed as an assemblage to better understand how the different forms of *domūs* in the city functioned in the lives of Roman households.

## Network Analysis and Technology:

The introduction of network analysis has provided a new avenue for better understanding the development of a complex social system, such as the urban topography and population of Rome, by means of interpreting relationships between people and places. Social network analysis developed as a coherent methodology in anthropology, sociology, and social psychology in the 1960's and 1970's. It grew out of a number of methods, such as sociometry, which began in the 1930's to analyze small groups.<sup>158</sup> Network analysis provides a new methodology for the approach of statistical data in which the relationships among interconnected people or groups, called actors, in a social system are studied rather than seeking data on individual units in the system. The method of network analysis perceives actors as interdependent rather than independent units. Therefore, instead of a simple statistical analysis of the data about a set of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Eck 1997, 168-175; See Steinby 1995, for the use of terms such as *domus Valeriorum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Hillner 2003, 129-145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> George 1997, 15-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Scott 2000, 7-8.

actors, network analysis seeks patterns and regularities in the ties and relationships among actors in order to understand the development and operation of a social system.<sup>159</sup> Network analyses have been used to analyze the importance of place when a group chooses a site for occupation, by means of an analysis of spatial organization of sites on a regional scale, and also have been used to analyze the dynamic interplay of power relationships in archaeological sites, by analyzing the epigraphic records that indicate relationships between polities in a political system.<sup>160</sup> Technologies, such as Geographic Information Systems, can be used to display and process the information on these networks. Recent digital research projects, such as *Digital Augustan Rome* by David Gilman Romano and the *Waters of Rome* by Katherine Wentworth Rinne, show ways in which these technologies are opening up scholars' abilities to answer complex questions with large data sets.<sup>161</sup> The study of Roman housing and the excavation of many ancient houses, discussed above, have provided a large data set. Network analysis provides one method, which I apply to this data set, in order accomplish my project.

My dissertation adds to previous studies on the Roman house by including a network analysis of the fourth century *domūs* and *insulae* of the city of Rome. This network analysis provides a deeper understanding of the ancient Roman *domus* and how the Romans lived in it by assessing how the *domus* acted as a link among households in the city and whether interhousehold relationships affected the development of neighborhoods in the city. Kinship and family relationships, which have been increasingly studied, act as one of the ties in a network. In the case of Rome such ties can be traced through a network analysis of houses in Rome. Additionally, elements such as artistic styles, religious affiliation, and political ties can be used

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 3-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Knappett 2013, 3-15, 95-150

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> First published as *Mapping Augustan Rome*, this project has been continued as a digital resource. Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002; Romano 2008-2014, http://digitalaugustanrome.org/; Rinne 2010, http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/waters/

to determine the relationships that connected households in *domūs* within the city. The network analysis will contribute an understanding of the *domus* in the larger scale of relationships among households across the city, whereas I will study the smaller scale of the interior of individual *domūs* in the chapters below through an analysis of the positions, accessibility, and decoration of the interior domestic spaces before the network analysis. The *domus* acts as a microcosm of daily life in the larger empire. Romans constructed their domestic spaces, and thus these spaces reflect the social system in which the Romans participated.<sup>162</sup> Through an analysis of the spaces in the Roman *domus*, which spaces were open and accessible and which spaces were restricted with controlled access, my dissertation reveals more information on the social relationships within the Roman house. This information on the interactions within houses reveals insight into connections across the empire.

## **Introduction to the Following Chapters and Analysis:**

In the following chapters I seek to answer a number of key research questions about the *domus* as an architectural structure and about the *domus* as a locus for human interaction. In the first section I look more closely at the arrangement and decoration of the *domus*'s spaces to assess how these spaces were constructed by the patrons for particular types of interactions and guests. In the second section of my dissertation I examine the *domus* as a locus of interaction among families and social groups in the larger urban context.

In the first section of my dissertation, I examine the micro scale of the interior of the *domus* and the individual spaces within the *domus*. In this section I proceed with a close examination of the rooms and spaces within the *domus*. In chapter two, "Space in Roman Houses - Open Access Spaces," I examine the evidence of rooms that are stated by Vitruvius as more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Bourdieu 1973, 104-105; George 1997, 15-16.

openly accessible to visitors and which have fewer architectural restrictions and controls on access. I take all archaeological examples of entry spaces, such as so-called fauces or vestibula, courtyards, such as so-called *atria*, open-fronted or open-sided rooms, such as so called *alae* or tablina, and other peristyles, porticoed courtyards, and other courtyards. I compare the positions and decoration of each type of space to see if there are themes in the decoration and placement indicating expected uses or associations of meaning for these types of rooms. In chapter three, "Controlled Spaces in Rome Houses," I examine the evidence of rooms that have more architectural controls over the spaces, and over which the patrons of the domus may have exercised more control of access by visitors. Such controlled access would have allowed the patrons to use these rooms and their decorations in specific social situations to orchestrate an image of the household. These rooms include small closed rooms, including storage spaces, functional rooms like latrines, so-called *cellae*, and more decorative so-called *cubicula* or other decorative small rooms, dining or presentation rooms, aulae and halls, domestic baths, and *nymphaea* and grottos. These more controlled access spaces vary from the specifically functional to the completely decorative but would have greatly influenced both the functioning of the household and interactions with guests. In the second part of chapter three I examine the rooms that are more inconclusive in their level of accessibility, and I compare their positions and decoration to the more controlled and more open access spaces to see if it reveals their likely levels of accessibility. These rooms include sacred spaces, stairways, upper floors, and subterranean spaces.

In the following chapter, four, I approach the significance of the *domus* as a connecting point among networks in the larger context of the city. I analyze this connecting role of the *domus* by using network analysis on two periods of the fourth century, the early phase of the

impact of Constantine, and the end of the century after Christianity is established. The fourth century is well represented in my evidence both for archaeological examples of houses and for evidence of relationships of those houses to political or religious groups. In this chapter I seek whether people consciously placed domestic buildings to relate to the spaces of the urban city and to other houses. Through a network analysis of *domūs* and *insulae*, I examine if the relationships among households, as recorded through religious, political, military, or other known social connections, influenced the development of regions or neighborhoods of the city through the placement and construction of *domūs* in the city. I will approach this network analysis using the evidence of artistic decoration, religious affiliation, kinship, and political affiliation where possible.

Finally, in the appendix I present detailed evidence of the relationship of spaces of the *domus Azara* (V.01) by means of a 3D model of the spaces that I created, which reconstructs the line-of-sight of the different spaces and their decorations. This close examination of the spaces of the Roman *domus* in the urban center provides more information on how the Romans positioned and decorated their houses to relate to their public lives and the social interactions that took place in their houses. Combined, the network analyses and close architectural studies lead to conclusions about the function and role of the *domus* in the city of Rome and in Roman life on a broader scale.

# Chapter 2 – Space in Roman Houses - Open Access Spaces

## **Introduction:**

In 1930 Antonio Munoz said "pochissimi sono i resti che possono additarsi delle case in cui abitava il popolo di Roma durante l'impero" when beginning to describe the remains of the insula dell'Ara Coeli, also called the Casa di Via Giulio Romano. While it was true that "avremmo ancora un'idea molto imprecisa intorno alle abitazioni romane," excavations that have taken place throughout the city of Rome over the last century now allow us to gather a much more complete image of ancient Roman housing in the city.<sup>163</sup> Herein I examine how residences contributed to the social interactions and political status of households both on an interior scale, examining the individual spaces within Roman houses as settings for social interaction, and on an exterior scale, seeing how the placement of a household within the urban city plan and within the social networks in the city influenced the public development of Rome. In this and the following chapter I present first the interior scale of domestic space, examining the individual rooms of Roman houses through an architectural analysis of lines-of-sight, decoration, and architectural arrangement of rooms. Domestic architectural spaces, or the places of a home, are created and organized around cultural expectations and individual desires. In defining how people create places in the world around them Tim Creswell states that "places are created by cultural practices" on a larger scale within society, but that "most places are more often the product of everyday practices. Places are never finished but produced through the reiteration of practices – the repetition of seemingly mundane activities on a daily basis.<sup>164</sup>, Through this combination of cultural practices and individual daily activities, domestic architectural structures are created. By examining lines-of-sight, the position of individual places within larger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Muñoz 1930, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Cresswell 2005, 82.

residences, and the decorative program of the individual pieces of the domestic architectural places of the city of ancient Rome, I have sought to reconstruct some of the significance of these practices and activities within Roman urban society.

As already noted, in 1973 Duncan Macintosh wrote "Privacy is the key quality of the courtyard house." This modern concept of an interior private space appeals to modern sensibilities, while contrasting with the first century statements of the author and architect Vitruvius. Vitruvius specified in *De Architectura* courts and inner gardens as the parts of the Roman house or *domus* that qualified as common areas.<sup>165</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan defines the courtyard house in terms of "an 'inside' and an 'outside'", stating that the "courtyard house dramatizes the contrast between 'inside' and 'outside'." Tuan notes that in the courtyard house different cultures "use architectural means to demarcate and intensify forms of social life." We can consider this idea of architectural demarcation in the courtyard house when analyzing the interior and exterior or so-called 'public' and 'private' spaces in Roman houses.<sup>166</sup> The Roman courtyard house had areas with varying degrees of privacy that was created through control of access for guests that patrons had over the spaces in social contexts and interactions.

In 1967 Westin defines privacy as "the right of an individual to decide what information about himself should be communicated to others and under what conditions.<sup>167</sup>" This definition helps to frame the concept of private spaces in Roman housing. Rather than the modern colloquial use of the term private, privacy in Roman houses must be viewed as the control of space and of information about the household. In order to best capture this idea, I will use the term 'controlled access spaces' to describe the spaces in Roman houses that had restricted access

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> He calls them "those which any of the people have a perfect right to enter, even without an invitation (Vitr. *De Arch* 6.5.1)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Tuan 1977, 108-110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Canter and Stringer 1975, 140.

from general guests and were used for family or more intimate entertaining and 'open access spaces' to describe the spaces with more direct lines-of-sight to the exterior of the *domūs* and that would have been used for reception of more casual guests. In this section of my study I use the decorative program, construction materials, and organization within the residence, including lines-of-sight and scale, of different forms of architecturally organized spaces in Roman houses to determine more about how Romans interacted on an intimate and social level in their residences.

#### Review of visual analysis methodologies:

As I stated previously, the examination of use of space developed in a variety of fields including sociology and anthropology, in the early twentieth century. As social network analysis developed as a coherent methodology through the work of pioneering researchers in anthropology, sociology, and social psychology in the 1960's and 1970's, other scholars in these fields developed their own methods to examine the use of space within discrete units. The presentation of Edward Hall's theory of Proxemics elaborated in his 1966 The Hidden Dimension broadened the discussion of the use of space and introduced the idea that use of space was patterned by culture rather than just physical need, which has influenced and pushed other scholars to new interpretations and methods. Other scholars later applied and adapted this theory in the 1980's and 1990's. This theory has been applied to ancient spaces, because the theory allows scholars to interpret spaces without requiring residents currently utilizing them. In recent years archaeologists and art historians have continued to develop theories stemming from environmental studies and the psychology of the use of space to better understand the use of space in cultures. David Canter and Cheryl Kenny point out the importance of distinguishing between the amount of space humans need, which is necessary for human actions, and the

amount of space humans actually regularly use.<sup>168</sup> Such distinctions help to clarify an examination of the use of space that, as in our case, must begin from the architecture and work backward. Taking these ideas into consideration, recent ancient studies, such as the work in Pompeii of Penelope Allison and the work in Olynthus of Nicholas Cahill examine the range of variation of houses using close examinations of the architectural and archaeological remains.<sup>169</sup>

The above methodologies provide a foundation for current studies to develop a better understanding of how peoples have lived in domestic spaces over the course of history. Building on these methodologies for this study of Roman residences, I use different approaches to examine how residences contributed to the social interactions and political status of households both on an interior scale and an exterior city-wide scale. In this chapter and chapter 3 I focus on the interior scale and architecture and interactions within the individual residences, and in chapter 4 I move to the exterior scale utilizing network analysis to visualize relationships among households in the larger city as well as GIS to model topographical patterns in housing.

By cataloging 119 examples of Roman houses, including both ninety-one residences termed *domus*, twenty-eight buildings with possible multi-family residences termed *insula*, I have gathered a substantial body of evidence, taking into account the scale of the residence, the decoration included in different spaces, the organization of the spaces, and previous research on the residential structures. Based on this body of evidence I apply a critical analysis to the decorative program, materials used, organization of the rooms, lines-of-sight, and relative degree of restriction over the accessibility of the space in order to interpret and clarify the social functions these rooms played in Roman residential life. Through an analysis of each *domus* and insula, I offer insight into how variations and similarities among the forms of houses and their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Canter and Kenny 1975, 128-132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Allison 1992, 21-22; Cahill 2002, preface; Allison 2007, 270-271.

spaces reflect the elements of a residence that were critical to the domestic and social functioning of a household and the elements that could be dropped from an ideal plan when the price or topography would not allow for them.

As mentioned in the first chapter, much study over the course of the twentieth century into ancient Roman housing has focused on the origins of the *domus* form and the houses of Pompeii. For instance, the eminent Amedeo Maiuri mentions "la Casa Insula" in only two brief pages of his account of Pompeian housing to discuss its different evolution from the "domus ad atrio.<sup>170</sup>" The application of a close critical analysis to a combined sample of both *domūs* and *insulae* in Rome allows me to better examine the desired form and decoration of domestic spaces for residents and visitors in the city. Roman patrons made choices in the design of their residences and the spaces within them to best function for the patron's expected needs and interactions, both with family and with guests. Rather than focusing on a particular form of domus, this chapter examines the forms of individual types of spaces that appear in both domūs and *insulae* of different sizes and scales. By evaluating the choices made in the construction and decorative materials, decorative program, position within the residence, and lines-of-sight to and from the spaces, I draw conclusions as to what Roman patrons expected many of their social interactions within different types of domestic spaces to be. Tuan states that "the built environment clarifies social roles and relations. People know better who they are and how they ought to behave when the arena is humanly designed rather than nature's raw stage.<sup>171</sup>" This and the following chapters will form conclusions as to how the built environment of Roman residences provides cues for social roles through its decoration and the organization of the spaces in which the Roman household functioned.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Maiuri and Ragozzino 2000, 83-84.
 <sup>171</sup> Tuan 1977, 102.

In this chapter I examine the social cues created by the built domestic environment, focusing on the choices made in the decoration and arrangment of the interior domestic spaces that were more open access spaces for visitors, positioned nearer entrances and with open linesof-sight. In the following chapter I analyze the choices made in the decoration and arrangement of domestic spaces with more elements that the household used to control access to them, such as heavy doors or position further within the residence, and the social indications these would have for more intimate gatherings. Finally, in the second section of that chapter, I compare and contrast, to the previously discussed parts of the house, the decoration and position within the residence of the spaces of the Roman house that have less obvious degress of accessibility for guests, including upper and subterranean levels, in order to draw conclusions to the relative openness or restricted access of these spaces and their social functions. In each category of space. I take a set of such rooms found within ancient houses in Rome, and within that set for each example I inspect the decorative program, including wall painting, sculpture, the choices for flooring, and the architectural construction, as well as the position of the room within the larger plan of the residence, in order to conclude for the overall category decorative themes for that type of room that could be connected to the use of the space and to conclude the level of expected accessibility to casual or intimate guests.

I begin with an examination of front halls, entrances and entrance courtyards, often labelled as an *atrium* or *vestibulum*. Then I cover often decorated open-sided rooms and openfronted areas often labeled *ala* or *tablinum*. Next I assess the larger interior circulation spaces of peristyles and larger courtyards, separate from the *atrium*. In these spaces I consider the relationship between the scale of each courtyard and its decorative program and materials used in order to evaluate if scale was an important indicator of the use of these spaces or if the decorative program and materials suggest that the form of the space outweighed its size. Finally, I conclude this open access section by reviewing the relative decoration, positions, and accessibility of exterior spaces and courtyards without ambulatories, comparing textual evidence where available, to determine the level of formal or casual use of these spaces.

After these categories of spaces, I move into the analysis of more controlled access spaces in the next chapter. I assess the decorative program, lines-of-sight, and arrangement of large-medium decorative rooms, typically labeled as a *triclinium*, *oecus*, or *exedra*. Further, for suites of rooms associated with bathing, often labeled as private *balnea*, I evaluate their role within a residence. I follow by interpreting what parts of the home the related highly decorative fountain structures of *nymphaea* would decorate and influence, through their decorations and their placements in the home. Then I cover the smaller often closed rooms, decorated and undecorated, often labeled as a *cubiculum*, but also sometimes called a *cella* or *penaria*, to interpret possible relationships between decoration, organization, and their possible various functions. After this analysis, I review the more functionally driven areas of service spaces and *latrinae* to see how they fit into urban residential plans. I conclude this section by looking at the large apsed halls, or *aulae*, and whether they were more popular in Roman housing in late antiquity. Such halls could be rectangular, have one large apse, a three-lobed apse, or other polylobed apsidal form.

After my analyses of open access and controlled access spaces, I compare the decoration choices and organizational choices of both categories of spaces to provide a foundation to interpret the desired social cues created through decoration and placement of the more obtuse spaces, whose access level is not fully known. Through the decoration and lines-of-sight of spaces more directly tied to the circulation of the household, internal corridors and stairways, I

elucidate their expected accessibility. I cover evidence of the architectural spaces and decoration of subterranean levels of the home, and then the more remote evidence of upper floors. I address the question of whether there are notable organizational and decorative differences between open access and reduced access spaces, and whether this helps us to draw conclusions about the accessibility of other types of spaces. Finally, I reiterate the main conclusions of what decorations and architectural forms are particularly indicative of ancient houses in the city of Rome from the first to fifth century CE.

Throughout these chapters I refer to ancient terms for domestic spaces, including *fauces*, *vestibulum*, *atrium*, among many others. My use of these terms is to familiarize the reader with the spaces which I am examining, rather than to make definitive conclusions as to the meanings of these terms. While many modern studies directly draw relationships between written and material sources as to the labelling of domestic space, I am relying primarily on material sources for my study. I have attempted at all times to clearly define the category of spaces to which I am referring, such as 'the covered or partially covered courtyard near the entrance', rather than just using the ancient term '*atrium*' without qualification.<sup>172</sup>

## Entry Spaces: Fauces, Vestibulum:

In this section I will examine entrances to *domūs*, both through corridors and simple format portals to the street. Those entrances, particularly through narrow corridors, are often referred to as *fauces* based on scholars' interpretation of Vitruvius.<sup>173</sup> In Allison's 1992 study she noted that in the large number of cases in Pompeii these appeared as fairly small entry corridors that occasionally had seating, but rarely furniture in general. In some cases, a variety of small,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> For a discussion of the use of ancient terms in relation to material sources see Allison 2001, 181-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Allison 2007, 270. "Following Vitruvius' specifications that the width of the fauces be proportional to the tablinum, scholars apply the former label to the entranceway."

primarily utilitarian rooms led off of this corridor.<sup>174</sup> The tightly packed nature of the urban structure of Rome makes additional demands on the Roman house, however, and, in many cases, this caused the entry to vary considerably from a traditional *atrium* house plan as Vitruvius would describe.

The entrances of *domūs* in Pompeian *atrium* houses typically consisted of a narrow internal corridor leading directly from the street to a courtyard *atrium*.<sup>175</sup> *Domūs* with an identified *atrium*, however, only account for nineteen of my sample of over 100 buildings.<sup>176</sup> The plan of the *atrium* house, as described by Vitruvius (Vit. *De Arch.* 6), includes the entry through a corridor, or *fauces*. Of the twenty-seven documented entrances to the *domūs* in my sample set, only six, including three represented in full plan on a fragment (11e) of the Forma Urbis Romae (V.10), have a narrow corridor leading into a greeting room or atrium space. In addition to the plans on the Forma Urbis Romae, the other three documented cases include the domus discovered nearby under Ss. Sergio e Baccho (V.06), the reconstruction of the space adjacent to the *atrium* in the early phase of the *domus* under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (XIV.01), and the *domus* on the slopes of the Palatine (X.03). The *dom* $\bar{u}s$  on the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment explicitly show long corridors between *tabernae* for all three *domūs*. The two plans with side rooms off the *atrium* show four *tabernae*, two to each side of the *fauces*, and the plan without side rooms shows three tabernae. Additionally, the entrance across the street to a particularly wide atrium has been suggested to the be the entrance to the casa via Graziosa

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Allison 1992, 41-42. Eight of the thirty studied *atrium*-houses included seating, but only two had other furniture. In six houses from the study a total of nine rooms were found leading off the entry, primarily functional rooms, but without a single purpose.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Allison's sample of 30 *atrium* houses from Pompeii includes 27/8 with such an entrance. Allison 1992, <u>http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/all\_plans.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> My data includes ninety-one *domūs* or possible *domūs*, and twenty-eight *insulae* or possible *insulae*. The remains under Museo Baracco (IX.02) and the remains under S. Lorenzo in Damaso (IX.04) are here counted as *domūs*.

(V.09), of which the famous Odyssey wall paintings from the peristyle were found in 1848.<sup>177</sup> This plan shows two *tabernae* on the right, a corridor/fauces in the center, and then two more openings to the left, a *taberna* and a staircase to a floor above.<sup>178</sup> If this *domus* entrance is that of the *domus* with Odyssey wall paintings, the date for its construction would be suggested as the first century BCE based on the style of the wall paintings. The other three plans on the Forma Urbis Romae fragment can only be dated as having still existed in the early third century and having been constructed before that. The *domus* under Ss. Sergio e Baccho is located near the stretch of the vicus Patricius on which the Forma Urbis Romae fragment with atrium-houses is placed. Its plan is reconstructed as closely similar to those of the fragment (11e) (SEE Figure  $(2.1)^{179}$  with a *fauces* corridor. The construction of the house is dated to the first century BCE based on the plan and construction style.<sup>180</sup> The *domus* on the slopes of the Palatine also has a particularly long narrow entry between tabernae. This phase of construction, which includes bichrome and trichrome floor mosaics, is dated to the first century BCE, as well.<sup>181</sup> Finally, the excavated remains of the Republican period *domus*, late second century BCE, under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere include fragments of an *atrium* including tufa columns with traces of stucco and a tufa wall in grotto oscura. Parmegiani and Pronti reconstruct this atrium with a fauces.<sup>182</sup> These *domūs* all appear to share traits of dates around the first century BCE and facades with *tabernae* opening to the street at the entrance to the residence.

Another five of the twenty-seven entrances are simpler, doors entering directly into the *atrium* or reception space of the house, without a corridor. These include the *domus* under the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Coarelli 1998, 21, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Levoy and Trimble 2014, fragment 11e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Andrews 2014, fig. 11. In this figure Andrews overlays the plan of the basement of Ss. Sergio e Baccho over the westernmost atrium-house plan from Forma Urbis Romae fragment 11e. <sup>180</sup> Andrews 2014, 63-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Zeggio 2013, 46-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Parmegiani and Pronti 2007, 11-13.

Baths of Caracalla (XII.01), the *domus* Azara (V.01), the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02), one of the *domūs* in the *insula*e ai Maroniti (VII.05), and the *domus* Symmachorum (II.05). The domus Symmachorum, dating from the late second century with multiple centuries of renovations, had a simple door into a small triangular room that was embellished as time progressed.<sup>183</sup> In the early third century, a tub made of sheets of travertine was added, and then in the late antique period the room was embellished with opus sectile, a second exit, and a fountain.<sup>184</sup> From this small triangular room, another door passed into a long apsed room, through the apsed side, toward the peristyle beyond. Somewhat similarly, the entrance to the one of the *domūs* in the *insulae* ai Maroniti, dating to the late third century CE, included a travertine threshold and stood in the apse side of the large apsed room, toward the street. This apsed room and that to the south were originally a grand entrance to a residence.<sup>185</sup> While both *domūs* had entrances through grand apsed rooms, the addition of the small triangular reception room in the domus Symmachorum might function more as the corridors or fauces of a traditional *domus* plan, but the embellishment through time might indicate that it also functioned as a primary reception room, as well. The entrance room to the *domus* Azara provides access both to a sequence of two decorative rooms that lead toward the porticoed courtyard, as well as to a room with a stairway that leads to the floor above. Despite the lack of a corridor in the doorway, this small reception space, which included three niches for sculpture, could have functioned both as a reception space and waiting area. The domus under the Baths of Caracalla lacks a corridor but does have a room in the position traditionally ascribed to the *atrium*, as well as a slightly smaller room connecting it to the porticoed courtyard that could have functioned as a *tablinum*. One of the small rooms to the left of the first reception room, or *atrium*, labelled 'D'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Carignani 1993, 726; Pavolini 1993, 486-491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Pavolini 1993, 486-491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Romano and Lucignani 2010, 7-12.

on the plan, is suggested as access to a ramp or stairway to the floor above.<sup>186</sup> This would be in a similar position to the stairway of the *domus* Azara, yet would be less direct a path of access due to the line-of-sight access to the porticoed courtyard in the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla, which is not available in the *domus* Azara. The *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02) was constructed in the Hadrianic period, dated by brick stamps and the mosaic paving style, and redecorated and repainted twice in the later second century.<sup>187</sup> The *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento has a slightly different arrangement. The first small reception room is a semicircle rather than a rectangular room. This room provides access to a small room to the right, likely a service space, then through a wide entrance to the large central *atrium*. Access to a stairway to floors above is on the left directly from the first reception room. This small semicircular space might correlate with a *fauces*, adapted to fit the triangular block that the *domus* inhabits. These three *domūs* all date to the Antonine period by means of Hadrianic brick stamps.<sup>188</sup> Notably none of these *domūs* appear to have *tabernae* directly on either side of the entrances, suggesting that the need for a *fauces* in the form of a corridor may have related to the city plan in which *domūs* had *tabernae* along the façade, as seen in the *domus* under Ss. Sergio e Baccho and that on the slopes of the Palatine. These *domūs* also consistently date later, with dates from the second to third century CE as their dates of construction.

The compact nature of the urban center required that some *domūs* adapt their entrances and forms to existing city streets. This situation often created angled rooms and irregular shapes. For example, the *domus* in the Casa dei Cavaglieri di Rodi (VIII.03) has an *atrium* with pilasters (see below) entered from a corner, placed alongside a long narrow stairway to an *insula* above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Carpano 1972, 112-114. Traces of the upper floor were found, including pieces of in situ mosaic paving.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 61-62; Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Massimi 1836, 213 (CIL X 8043.31); Carpano 1972, 115 (CIL XV 575, 550a, 515a); Barbera and Paris 1996, 60-61.

While this *domus* was constructed in the first century BCE, it was further adapted to the city plan when the Forum of Augustus was constructed alongside.<sup>189</sup> This left the entrance without an obvious *fauces*. The *domus Gaudentius* (II.02) was adapted from two earlier *insulae* into one large *domus*, and the entry corridor was placed into the former alley between them. The combination of these two Flavian *insulae* into a *domus* took place by the late Antonine period and provided the second century CE *domus* that resulted with an unusual but long access corridor.<sup>190</sup> Finally, the *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi (IV.01), whose construction dates to the first century CE, contained two entrances into corridors that lead to either sides of a peristyle. These may be primary or secondary entrances, adapting to the angled street to the south. They provide access corridors like *fauces*, but then open to the peristyle rather than an *atrium*.

Two other *domūs* present examples of secondary entrances. In the extensively excavated areas of the *domus* Nummii Albini (VI.02), which unfortunately still provide an incomplete plan, a stairway from the ground level to the *cryptoporticus*, near the Piazza di San Bernardo, was found on the north-eastern side.<sup>191</sup> The original entrance may have been in the rooms later adapted to the church of S. Caio, now destroyed, but that cannot at this time be confirmed. Also, the *domus* identified as the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus (X.01) includes an entrance directly from street to the underground area. This may suggest that this underground area was entirely distinct from the *domus* with *atrium* on the floor above or may simply be a secondary access for the rooms of that function due to the hill. Carandini has suggested that these rooms functioned as slave cells, making a direct connection to the floor above more necessary, while Lugli has argued that these rooms may have functioned as a *lupanar* or brothel. Tomei argues that the finds from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Eck 1995, 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Spinola 1992, 955; Spinola 1993, 474.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Lanciani 1869, 230-231. Brick stamps were found in the staircase dating it. The staircase is noted as demolished at this time.

the excavations more strongly support the use of this space as a *lupanar*, but the absence of erotic paintings and presence of 500 lamps, supports the variation that this was a fine hotel. In the 1985 excavations Papi again supports the interpretation of these rooms as a part of the *domus* building above, the habitations of slaves attached to a *balneum*.<sup>192</sup> This broad discussion makes it difficult to consider the role of the entrances to this space in relation to the *domus* structures above.

There are nine, a third of the sample of twenty-seven, examples of entrances that are stairways leading up into insulae. These insulae exemplify the nature of Rome as a dense urban environment requiring dense housing structures. These nine examples include the *insula* at the Aracoeli (VIII.04), which has multiple levels of residential spaces on the upper floors above a level of *tabernae*, which would have faced an internal courtyard on three sides. The third floor, above the *tabernae* and their mezzanine level, includes irregular rooms with one decorated with a red star pattern on white plaster walls. This floor may have included one large or multiple smaller apartments. The fourth floor above that clearer exhibits nine small one room apartments leading onto common hallways, each without decoration and provided with a window either to the hallway or larger facing the courtyard. The original stairway up to these apartments is a large brick stairway from the ground level of the *tabernae*.<sup>193</sup> Another example, the *insula* above the domus at the Casa dei Cavaglieri di Rodi (VIII.03) is located not far away and has a long access stairway that leads up multiple stories above the ground floor *domus*. While the positions of the original stories are visible, most of the remains of the *insula* are lost in the modern palazzo. The insula at the Trevi fountain (VII.01) also had an internal courtyard off of which a corridor led to a staircase, leading up to the second floor. A further stairway was added above this to the third

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Lugli 1947, 139-163; Tomei 1995, 549-619; George 1997, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Chini 1999, 7-13.

floor under Marcus Aurelius. While the presence of this stairway from the courtyard may have made it slightly less accessible from the street, it is unlikely the courtyard was blocked off from the street. As we saw in the *insula* at the Aracoeli, *tabernae* could open to such a courtyard, suggesting it was not a private or limited access space. The *insula* at San Lorenzo in Lucina (IX.03), constructed in the early third century CE, like the *insula* at the Trevi found above, also has a staircase leading up to the second floor from an internal courtyard in a corridor that stood between a series of small rooms along a walkway. Likewise, the insula at San Paolo alla Regola (IX.06), constructed during the Severan period over a set of Domitianic horreae, has a stairway leading up from an internal courtyard.<sup>194</sup> The five *insulae* excavated at the Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02) have multiple stairway entrances. The entrances to the north and south *insulae* along the via Lata are not visible, as primarily limited walls and tabernae indicating the general footprint have been recovered. The middle *insula* along the *via Lata* had three entrances among the tabernae at street level that led to the courtyard interior of the insula where service spaces and storage were found. These entrances, as they pass between *tabernae*, resemble long corridors. Additionally, at the period of construction, dated to the Hadrianic period by brick stamps, the insula had a large decorative stairway on the eastern side, which was decorated with a black and white mosaic and two brick entrance columns.<sup>195</sup> This fine stairway was later converted to a latrine, and likely at this time the second large corner staircase was added. The squared spiral staircase in the northeast corner of the *insula* was also large with travertine steps and brick landings.<sup>196</sup> While the upper floors were not remaining, the regularity of the lower plan supports the idea of apartments like those seen in other ancient *insulae*, and the fine stairway access along

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> A brick stamp dating to the age of Caracalla was found in the insula at San Lorenzo in Lucina. Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 5; Brandt 2012, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Gatti 1917, 10 (CIL XV 90b, 226); Cavallero 2011, 178-180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Gobbi 2012, 9-10.

with the central location lends a sense of status to the building. The other two *insulae* behind the aforementioned three, off the *via Lata*, had entrances at the ground level to spaces that were possibly residences, and neither included obvious stairways to the floors above. These insulae will be further discussed below. The Flavian era *insula* excavated in the Piazza Venezia (VII.03) includes a portion excavated together, facing the via Lata, with three tabernae and in between them one stairway to a floor above. While this is only a fragment of an *insula*, it is indicative that a larger *insula* building resembling those already mentioned was placed here. The stairway is narrower than that in the *insula* at the Galleria del Sordi.<sup>197</sup> Three portions of *insulae* discovered under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.12) include similar staircases to that of the insula under Piazza Venezia. In the eastern insula containing both a domus and a bath complex on the ground floor, an external stairway leads up between the two to a higher floor. To the west, both the southern and central *insulae* have external stairways leading up to higher floors. The presence of these stairways supports the multi-functional use of these insulae for shops, the domus, and a bath complex on the ground floor, and smaller apartment residences above. Finally, the *insula* at San Martino ai Monti (V.13) had a primary entrance door alongside off of which stood stairways to the floors, which were visible above during the destruction of the Medieval convent.<sup>198</sup> These staircase entrances to the upper floors of the *insulae*, which lead up to higher floors either from the exterior street or from an internal courtyard, seem to be publicly accessible. In some cases, despite being *insulae*, the staircases also indicate status through quality of construction materials and size, as in the *insulae* on the *via Lata* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi. Entrances to individual residences, such as the small one-room apartments on the fourth floor of the *insula* at the Aracoeli would have required much longer paths up stairways and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Egidi and Serlorenzi 2008, .
<sup>198</sup> Astolfi 1999, 23.

through corridors, providing an increased level of privacy. Residents of such small apartments would have had little need of visitors and primarily acted on social obligations in the larger homes of others. In larger apartments like those seen in the *domus* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi in the *insulae* off the *via Lata*, small receptions rooms or corridors increased the available semi-publicly accessible areas for decoration and more social practices and visitors.

Finally, the complex nature of the urban structure led to some unusual entrances. The insulae at the Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02), as discussed above, included two insulae off the via Lata with entrances at the ground level. The more southerly of the two *insulae* included entrances to *tavernae*, as well as an entrance to the probable *domus* flat. This last entrance was framed with two marble columns and a travertine threshold. The highly decorated entrance led up a few steps into a long narrow room, which subsequently narrowed further and when up a travertine step to the interior.<sup>199</sup> This sequence would provide a *vestibulum* or greeting space that while accessible narrows further to provide a space for more limited access. The unusual arrangement of rooms can still be considered in correlation to the need for a reception space at the entrance to the *domus*. The more northerly of the two *insulae* has less obvious entrances. The domus near San Paolo alla Regola (IX.06) was inserted into an earlier insula in the wet Campus Martius. The stairway from a central courtyard of this earlier phase was discussed above. The ground level was raised in the fourth century, and windows of rooms on the second (American) floor were turned into doors on the ground floor. A staircase was added in the northeastern part of the courtyard. These portals created an unusual arrangement necessary to combat the constant flooding in the area.<sup>200</sup> Additionally, while the entrance to the early imperial domus under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01) is not clear, the late antique domus in the same location

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Cavallero 2011, 181-184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Priester 2002, 175-177.

combines the earlier *domus* and the imperial *insula*, creating an unusual floor plan with some entrances in former *tavernae*.<sup>201</sup> These examples highlight the evolutionary nature of the architecture in the urban center through time.

Due to the dense urban structure of the city of Rome, stairways are often found to be an integral part of the entry of the urban *domus*. From my sample of twenty-seven residence entrances more than half involved stairways, with nine involving stairways leading into *insulae* and six involving *domūs* with stairways near the entrances. This is both due to the large number of *insulae*, and to the multi-story nature of the residences in the city. As we saw above, *insulae* throughout the city had stairways leading to upper floors from the exterior of the *insula* or the interior courtyard, and many of these *insulae* would have had apartments as those seen in the *insula* at the Aracoeli. Additionally, the *domus* Azara, *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, and the *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla had stairways near the entrance leading to a higher floor. This alters the concept of the distinctive *domus* plan described by Vitruvius and outlined by Mau, as the plans of *domūs* in Rome were fit into the sides of hills as well as had to accommodate large numbers in a small space.

The examples of *domūs* entrances with a corridor, so-called *fauces*, fit the entrance between *tabernae* and date to the first century BCE or first century CE, where the *domūs* with a simple entrance and no *fauces*, date to the second century CE or later and do not have *tabernae* placed beside the entrances. This suggests that the *fauces* corridor was in part a period specific piece of social interactions in the *domus* and in part a requirement of the typical city block structure at the time, which placed *tabernae* in the vicinity of the door. Further, the unusual shapes of some entrance spaces, such as the *domus* under Piazza dei Cinquecento, indicate that a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Brenk 1995, 173-175.

regular rectangular plan could be adapted to fit the topography and urban structure of the city and yet accommodate the social events that needed to take place in the *domus*.

#### Covered or Partially Covered Courtyards: Atrium:

The covered or partially covered courtyard near the entrance, the *atrium*, was an important central space. Here I also include the term *vestibulum*, typically translated as entrance courts. Vestibula are referred to vaguely by Vitruvius as grand [magnifica/regalia alta] for high status and wealthy homeowners, and as containing shops for homeowners who do business in produce (Vit. De Arch. VI.5), suggesting an openly accessible room near the domus entrance. From her work on Pompeii, Allison interprets the *atrium* of the *domus* as a forecourt that often contained a variety of domestic items for utilitarian activities and around which the domestic activities of the house revolved. Evidence such as the presence of upright wooden cupboards in a number of *atria* from Pompeii suggests such domestic storage and activity.<sup>202</sup> Where Allison's study specifically focused on the *atrium*-house, the *domūs* selected herein are from a broad construction period of the first to fifth centuries CE, and have a variety of forms, including atrium houses, houses with other covered or partially covered courtyards, and houses with completely different forms. In this section I am specifically examining entrance courts and greeting rooms near the entrance to the *domus*, where identifiable, including both partially roofed with *impluvium*, and fully roofed spaces.

Among the *domūs* with architectural plans that align more closely with *atrium*-houses, there are two *domūs* in Rome that exhibit *atria* lined with pilasters. These specifically include the Casa dei Cavaglieri di Rodi (VIII.03) and the *domus* on the slopes of the Palatine (X.03). These *atria* do not have identical plans but exhibit some related elements. The Casa dei Cavaglieri di

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Allison 1999, 60-61.

Rodi fits into an awkward corner of a block, now behind the forum of Augustus. A particularly clear example of the effect of stages of building of the city, this *domus* was left in position and the Forum of Augustus was built against it, completely changing its relationship to the streets around it. The clear remains primarily consist of the *atrium*, including an open-air central area surrounded by pilasters, with four pilasters on a side, supporting arches between each pilaster, and the corridor spaces around it, as well as traces of the rooms leading off of that space. The domus was constructed in the Republican period, and clearly fits a general description of the *atrium* form yet had to be adapted significantly to fit into the urban street plan. The room was constructed in opus quadratum with pilasters of dry blocks of stone in pietra gabina and red tufa.<sup>203</sup> The *domus* on the slopes of the Palatine had a long narrow entrance beside a row of tabernae into an atrium with pilasters. The side of the atrium toward the street included a stairway up to the higher floor, necessary due to the position in the side of a hill. This *domus* was constructed in the Republican period and stood in this form through the mid first century CE.<sup>204</sup> Both of these *domūs* had relatively traditional plans typical for the late Republican period but adapted to fit the landscape.

Another form of *atrium* is seen in the *domus* of Ss. Sergio e Baccho (V.06), which is particularly close in plan to those delineated on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (V.10), fragment 11e. Whether or not the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae* had *impluvia* in their *atria* is not delineated. Like the *Forma Urbis Romae* plans, however, the *domus* of Ss. Sergio e Baccho presents a narrow entry corridor between *tabernae*, leading to a central *atrium* space with small rooms leading off of the sides. An ossuary in the floor may indicate the former position of a well or cistern, indicating a related *impluvium* nearby, but the presence and location of an *impluvium* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Lambolgia and Musolino 1995, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Zeggio 2013, 45-47.

cannot be confirmed in the domus of Ss. Sergio e Baccho either. The domus of Ss. Sergio e Baccho was originally constructed in the late Republican period and stood with renovations through the fourth century.<sup>205</sup> The *atrium* was decorated with marble revetment, the clamp holes of which are visible on the entire height of the wall, in the latter first century CE, and then along with the Severan renovations the marble revetment was replaced with painted plaster decoration with architectural and figural motifs.<sup>206</sup> The *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae* were standing at the time of its creation in the early third century but could easily date from the same earlier period. The more regular plans according to a Vitruvian model of these four *domūs* over the *domus* on the slopes of the Palatine is likely due to its placement in the side of the hill, which requires adaptations to the form of the *domus*, though adaptations that would have needed to accommodate the uses of the space. Unfortunately, the decorations of the domūs on the Forma Urbis Romae (fragment 11e) are completely unknown to us, however, Coarelli has argued for the Odyssey mosaics and peristyle of the Casa via Graziosa (V.09) as relating to the entrance and large wide *atrium* opposite these three on the *vicus Patricius*.<sup>207</sup> This high quality wall painting supplements the decoration of the *domus* at Ss. Sergio e Baccho supporting the hypothesis that the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment could also have had such decoration.

In addition to these *domūs*, six other *domūs* in Rome can also be associated with the traditional *atrium* format due to the presence of elements such as an *impluvium*. Among these some present four columns rather than pilasters described above. This is seen clearly in the *atrium* of the *domus* at Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01), in a portion of the *domus* A excavated in 1879 to the east of the now accessible portion. It is depicted in plan with a few steps down to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Andrews 2014, 63, 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Andrews 2014, 76-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Coarelli 1998, 32.

rectangular space with a column at each corner.<sup>208</sup> This space is not currently accessible. In the domus at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (XIV.01) dates to the second century BCE, and the atrium remains for this period, but the associated rooms were heavily reconstructed to fit with the later imperial *insula* in this area, leaving much of the plan unclear. Despite the limited remains, Parmegiani and Pronti have been able to reconstruct the atrium on a tetrastyle format like that described in the plan of the domus A at Palazzo Valentini, around an impluvium, with four tufa columns with Tuscan capitals.<sup>209</sup> Additionally, an *impluvium* has been found in the early first century CE domus of L. Vagelli (II.10), destroyed in the fire of 64 CE. While the walls delimiting the *atrium* are not clear, the rectangular *impluvium* was uncovered, paved with *opus* scutulatum, possibly from a Tuscan atrium plan. Fine black and white mosaics were found nearby suggesting decorative rooms opening off of this space.<sup>210</sup> Excavations of the Republican era domus at San Pietro in Vincoli, dating to the early first century BCE, revealed a large corner of a room with an empty center, forming two sides of an L that would have formed a square. Colini describes this as likely representing "an *atrium* or peristyle". The two remaining sides were paved in black and white mosaic with small black crosses on a white ground, and internal and external bands.<sup>211</sup> The *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus (X.01) from the first century BCE is historically known for its grand scale and columns in *luculleo* marble, thirty-eight feet high, reused in Scaurus's *atrium* from a theater.<sup>212</sup> The remains that have been found archaeologically include a series of underground rooms suggested to be slave cells or possibly a *lupanar*. I will discuss this issue further below. On the level above these rooms are found the remnants of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Lanciani 1901, map.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Parmegiani and Pronti 2007, 11-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Carignani 1993, 713, 718; Carignani et al. 1993, 460-461; Pavolini 2013, 460.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 13-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Papi 1995, 26.

marble floor, possibly an *impluvium*, and mosaic floors.<sup>213</sup> The nearby *domus* of the Nova Via (X.07), a first century BCE to first century CE *domus*, is similarly cited as having evidence of an *atrium* with *ala* over barrel vaulted substructures.<sup>214</sup> These *atria* with *impluvia* date to the late Republican period suggesting the *impluvium* form was a part of the entry and greeting room in that period. *Impluvia* were not exclusive to that period, however, as I will discuss below. The presence of fine black and white mosaics in the areas surrounding these *impluvia* support this as a space decorated to display for visitors.

Three Hadrianic *domūs* have been found with different forms of adapted *atrium* spaces. The *domus* under the Piazza Cincequento (V.02), which has an *atrium* and surrounding rooms fit into a triangular block. Despite the unusual architectural plan, it manages to have a rectangular *impluvium* and associated rooms with fine wall paintings and mosaics for presentation. This *domus* can be compared to the topographically nearby *domus* Azara (V.01), which has a small reception or greeting room at the entrance to the *domus*, which like the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento leads both to a stairway to the left, and further into the *domus* to decorative rooms. In the *domus* Azara, however, this room does not proceed to another on axis, nor leads directly into an open-air space, but rather leads the visitor through two decorative spaces on the right before opening to a peristyle surrounded by decorative spaces. This difference of the interior being less directly accessible requires the greeting room to be considered as a *vestibulum* or other reception room, and possibly a more significant part in the reception of guests than the small semi-circular room at the front of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento that leads to the *atrium*. This room in the *domus* Azara had painting on the walls, described as non-figural,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Tomei 1995, 554. Tomei examined records of Boni's excavation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 111.

but also had three niches for sculpture.<sup>215</sup> These sculptures surrounded by architectural wall painting would have had light from the exterior door, and displayed the interior house to visitors quickly upon entry.

The *domus* Azara can also be compared to the *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla on the basis of its plan with rear three-sided porticoed courtyard. In the Hadrianic *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01), the entrance from the street leads through two small rooms, on axis with the entrance, before opening onto the porticoed courtyard. Both domūs have evidence of upper floors and stairways to the left of the entrance. Neither of the rooms contains an obvious *impluvium*, as is lacking for the small room in the *domus* Azara. Both, however, have only a sequence of two relatively small decorative rooms before a larger porticoed courtyard opens the rooms to the air above, however, suggesting that in these places, the open-air element of the atrium was taken over by the courtyard, and another smaller vestibulum maintained the greeting role near the entrance to the *domus*.<sup>216</sup> These three Hadrianic *domūs* suggest that in the urban center a greeting room close to access to a stairway for the upper floors, and an overall plan adapted to the layout of the streets, were necessary elements, where either an *impluvium* in *atrium* or a an interior courtyard space could provide access to light, air, and rain. The *vestibulum* of the *domus* Azara was decorated with statues, known from the niches in the wall. The vestibulum of the domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento is likely to have had a herm, based on the presence of a pilaster seen in a photograph of the excavation, as well as black and white mosaic paving. The wall painting presented panels with architectural motifs around central figures above a row of panels in reddish brown.<sup>217</sup> The pairing of high quality wall painting and sculptures with access to upper floors and the interior of the domus shows the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Unknown artist 1777, drawing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> In the first phase, Carpano calls it an 'atrio' and after modifications an 'impluvio porticato'. Carpano 1972, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 73-74.

practical nature of the *vestibulum-atrium* space in the Hadrianic period as a greeting and reception area both openly accessible, but used to process access to the house for clients and visitors.

More non-traditional *atria* are also found in a final three *domūs* at Rome. In the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), the construction of which dates to the first half of the third century, a unique triangular courtyard with a portico of two columns was uncovered. I will discuss it further below with open-air spaces with ambulatories, *peristyles*, and porticoed courtyards. Another late antique example of an entry space can be found in the *domus* Symmachorum (II.05), which has small triangular entry *vestibulum*, which leads to a long entry room with an apse on the entry side and a door to the large peristyle on the other. These rooms can both be considered forms of vestibulum/atrium, as they are present near the entrance of the domus and provide a sequence of reception space for the home-owner that leads to the generally more openly-accessible peristyle. The domus dates at earliest to the late Antonine period, and the small triangular room was ornamented during the third century, when a triangular tub was added to the triangular entry, likely with a pendent on the other side of the space, made of sheets of travertine on a cocciopesto pavement. While irregularly shaped, this small courtyard entry would have provided light and colored decoration to display the household to visitors. The long apsed entry, at around 7 meters wide and 15 meters long, provided full entry into the house, and in the fourth century the room was embellished with opus sectile paving, a quarter-circle fountain was added on either side of the door, and a large travertine plinth for a statue or fountain was added to the room.<sup>218</sup> These two spaces would have been more openly accessible, and decorated to impress visitors, yet clearly delineated that the visitor was entering the Patron's world. The domus Gaudentius (II.02) was purchased as two insulae by the late Antonine period and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Pavolini 1993, 486-488.

converted into a single *domus*. This building shows the necessary adaptation of spaces from a previous set of two insulae into a domus. The domus contains an irregular entrance adapted from the former alley between the *insulae*. The *domus* has two entrance areas, a proper *vestibulum* in the form of a square room with brick bench seating along one and a half walls on the eastern side of the *domus*. In the adjacent space was a table supported by two decorative table supports, past which one could access the interior porticoed courtyard. These elements lend the spaces towards the reception of guests. Additionally, on the western side of the domus, on the other end of the former alley, was an entrance to a narrow courtyard, which also led to the porticoed courtyard. The room next to this space included the oven, suggesting this may have been more of a service entrance, rather than guest entrance to the *domus*.<sup>219</sup> These third to forth century examples particularly highlight how the form of the entry space changed for a more standard shape, but continued to be decorated and used for the reception of guests and greeting process. Despite changes to the architectural forms of *domūs* over the centuries in Rome, the decoration and form of the *vestibula* and *atria* suggest that social rituals continued in these more openly-accessible spaces.

These nineteen plans from my data set of over one hundred provide examples of clearly identifiable covered or partially covered greeting spaces constructed in houses in Rome between the late Republican period and the fourth century CE. The five examples from the area of the *vicus Patricius* date from the late Republic or early empire and exhibit rectangular plans with corridor, *fauces*, leading to *atria*. The decoration of Ss. Sergio e Baccho and the wall paintings of the Casa via Graziosa support these places as decorative reception spaces. Six further late Republican *domūs* exhibit rectangular *impluvia* and decorative mosaic pavements in the surrounding spaces, suggesting that was an important part of the reception room in this period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Spinola 1992, 961.

By the Hadrianic period, three examples show that reception spaces were important spaces for presenting sculpture and decoration through wall painting and paving, displaying the wealth and history of the household, as well as commonly having stairways to upper floors in the increasingly compact urban center. The exact forms of these spaces varied more, however, with curved walls and indirect plans. The late antique domus Symmachorum and domus Gaudentius continue to show great variation in architectural form, but still have spaces for guests to enter exhibiting decoration, in the case of the *domus Gaudentius* space for waiting, and access to the interior courtyards of the home. These examples suggest that through time, a relatively openlyaccessible space near the main entrance of a *domus* displaying the wealth and status of the household through art continued to be a functional part of the social needs of an urban *domus*. As Roman patrons continued to build adapted forms of *domūs* the rectangular shape of the room and exact alignment of spaces was not as important as having a space that both accessed the interior via further rooms and stairways and yet displayed the status of the household without requiring further entry. For example, the domus Gaudentius has benches and a table near the entrance as well as access to the interior courtyard and the *domus Symmachorum* displays art and fountains along with a nearby stairway and access through to the peristyle.

## **Open-sided** or open-fronted rooms: *Ala*, *Tablinum*:

Next, I will examine rooms with open fronts and open sides, which opened off of other main courtyards and rooms. These rooms have been traditionally referred to as *alae* and *tablina*, and occasionally *exedrae*. Allison describes the rooms akin to *alae* as small, open, side rooms, to which she attributes the functions of domestic storage and lighting, and the *tablinum* as an open space at the end of the front hall with similar but slightly expanded functions. These spaces opening directly from the *atrium* or front hall, appear to have held an overflow of the same

functions of that front hall space in Pompeii.<sup>220</sup> Dickman used *exedra* to refer to rooms opening onto a colonnade with one open side or very wide entrance, but Dickman actually cites this term from Vitruvius's use of the term *exedrae* to refer to spaces off peristyles in the Greek, not Roman, house.<sup>221</sup> The use of ancient terms is always problematic, so I refer to the ancient names primarily for the reader's familiarity with them. Due to the significantly varied nature of the dataset of *domūs* in the city of Rome, I am focusing here on rooms with wide entrances off of greeting rooms, porticoed courtyards, and other similar spaces.

The plans of the three small *atrium* houses in the *Forma Urbis Romae* (V.10) provide a good starting point of comparison, as they show rectangular plans, much like those at Pompeii or described by Vitruvius. Each of the three plans shows a clear directional entry through a narrow fauces between tabernae into a front hall or atrium, as discussed above. The center of the three plans has a large open *atrium*, while that to the left has two side rooms. The plan on the right, however, includes both two side rooms and *alae*, small open side rooms at the rear of the *atrium*. Then all three plans show an open fronted *tablinum* space leading into a *peristyle*, and again all three plans show an open fronted room opposite at the rear of the *peristyle*. The *domus* Nova Via (X.07) at the border of the Palatine hill, excavated in 1986, revealed traces of walls and fragments of first century BCE mosaics that allow Carandini to hypothesize a plan for the ground level of the *domus*, supported by subterranean vaults. The slightly irregular plan has an entrance on the long, rather than short side. The plan includes a central atrium opening beyond a first room from the entrance with an open room opposite the entrance at the rear of the *domus*, identified as possibly a *tablinum*. The spaces to the right of the *atrium* could not be reconstructed, but to the left a small open room, identified as possibly an *ala* leads through to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Allison 2007, 272-273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Vit. De Arch. 6.7.3; Allison 2001, 186-187; Simelius 2015, 121.

porticoed peristyle garden, which gains and internal decorative tub in the Julio-Claudian period, at the left extremity of the *domus*. The decorations of mosaic for these spaces are unfortunately fragmentary.<sup>222</sup> Another relevant plan with a central *atrium* is that of the *domus* under Ss. Sergio e Baccho the plan is reconstructed as possibly having *alae* or having side rooms only. It again unfortunately lacks detail for this space.<sup>223</sup>

In the Hadrianic period two *domūs* provide us with examples for the use of open-sided rooms in the second century. The plan of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02), as discussed above, is oriented around a rectangular central *atrium* in the triangular wedge of a city block and the largest room opening to the *atrium*, described as an *oecus* which I will describe in the next chapter, is decorated with marble sheets on the walls above which was a level of wall painting with figures in an architectural setting and a large high quality black and white mosaic with central peacocks, and has a rear apse that fits into the corner of the block. Two small triangular rooms are placed on either side of this largest decorated room forming the rest of the triangle of the block and making small side rooms. These rooms had small doors opening to the *oecus* and doors directly onto the *atrium*. At a later period, the doors directly to the *oecus* were closed off and painted over to match the marble decoration of the large room. The small rooms were paved in white mosaic with walls painted in simple white with yellow and red lines. It is difficult to tell if these small rooms were always open to the atrium or sometimes closed, but in either case the simple decoration and positions suggest storage and service related to the functions of dining and guests. Additionally, the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento has an apse opposite the entrance open to the eastern portion of the *atrium*. This space combines with the corridor to increase mobility, but otherwise its position on axis with the entrance and form of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 108-111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Andrews 2014, 73.

an appear support use for display rather than service. Finally, a rather small open side room is in the back corridor opposite the small triangular portico. Two small rooms, described as *exedrae*, open onto the portico, and to the south of these a small recess opens as well. Unfortunately, little remains of the open room onto the portico to provide us with function or decoration. The opus spicatum paving continued from the corridor up a couple of steps into this area. The position on a corridor with a portico beside two *exedrae* and the room to the south, which was elegantly decorated may support this recessed area as another practical space for storage and service.<sup>224</sup> Also in the Hadrianic period, the domus under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01) provides a point of contrast, where we see a central rooms between the *atrium* or *vestibulum* and the porticoed courtyard, but the portals on either side have doors, rather than being open. Additionally, there are a number of small side rooms, but they all appear to have doors, rather than the traditional *ala*. These Hadrianic examples show that open spaces could be found for storage or display in second century CE domūs, but that closeable spaces could also be used for this purpose. That indicates a continuity with the aforementioned earlier houses, as the three Forma Urbis Romae *domūs* show different ways of have side spaces off of the *atrium*. The *domus* under the Baths of Carcalla suggests that the function of a reception space like a *tablinum* could be adapted to fit in a space with narrower portals.

Another second century open-fronted room can be found in the *domus* sopra la Cisterna delle Sette Sale (III.03), which contains remains from a second century *domus* incorporated into the heavily remodeled fourth century house. Volpe identifies a room that remains in the fourth century *domus*, as either a *tablinum* or a *triclinium* from the second century that remained a part of the house. The room has one completely open side facing onto a row of four to six columns that formed what is identified as one side of the second century peristyle. The other sides of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 73-85, 108-116.

peristyle were leveled and replaced with a large apsed room and associated curvilinear spaces, leaving no identifiable trace of what would have stood on the far side of the peristyle from this remaining open-fronted room. Two narrow rooms with doors stand one on each side of the central open room, and at its rear there is a narrower opening to the rooms beyond. Unable to identify the rooms on the other side of the former peristyle, nor the rooms on the far side of the open-fronted room, the identification as specifically a *tablinum* or a *triclinium* in the form of an open *exedra* cannot be confirmed. This room, however, shows that such open spaces for presentation were still being constructed in the Trajanic period, and continued to have function in adapted forms through the fourth century.<sup>225</sup>

The Late antique *domus Symmachorum* (II.05) has three open rooms, which open directly onto the large peristyle, punctuated with columns. I will discuss these more in the next chapter. A small space, which could be called an open room, or a widening of the corridor, is set next to the stairway to the upper floor behind a sequence of two heated rooms, next to a room that is likely the *praefurnium*. This small open space includes a well in *peperino*, connected to an underground drain, making it a service space fit conveniently into an unusual plan.<sup>226</sup> Finally, the late antique *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01) exhibits an unusual arrangement of spaces in the large open room created from the former alley. This room connected the former *insula* to the original *domus*, while being open to a *nymphaeum*. The decorative *nymphaeum* has marble and multicolored mosaics with a black and white mosaic floor, and the room the was painted freshly with wall paintings in the last decades of the third to the early fourth century due to the remodeling. This extravagant decoration communicates that this is a room for display, yet the plan of the room and its inclusion of the stairway to the floor above, which was added in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Volpe 2000, 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 487.

same period, also give it a sense of being a corridor. Within the portion of the original Hadrianic *domus* that has been excavated, which continued in use as a part of the larger third to fourth century *domus*, a room faces the corridor with an open side. It stands next to two similarly sized rooms with windows that originally opened onto a courtyard. The foundations of the church above, and inaccessibility and incomplete excavation of this area make it difficult to analyze, but the series of rooms in this area are described by Colini as having white plaster walls with red square painted on them, and vaulted ceilings.<sup>227</sup> These late antique examples show that spaces had to adapt to function as *domūs* were remodeled, but rooms could function both for service and show with unusual forms.

The open rooms in these *domūs* appear to be decorated and fit into plans in similar ways to similarly sized rooms with portals. Small open rooms for service are often fit into corridors or corners of unusually shaped plans, leaving a space that was not as useful for display. Open rooms for display, which may have functioned as *tablina* were not extremely common, but this is greatly affected by the sample set of *domūs* in Rome, which includes a larger number of late antique *aulae* and lower floors, rather than first century ground floors. The earlier examples, which are included in this study, including the *Forma Urbis Romae domūs* plans and the *domus* Via Nova, as well as the earlier phase of the *domus* sopra la Cisterna delle Sette Sale, commonly appear to have open-fronted rooms that fit plans similarly to rooms traditionally called *tablina*. Such rooms are rarer in later third and fourth century plans in Rome. I will discuss *aulae* and decorative large and small rooms with doors, which can be termed *triclinia* and *cubicula* in the next chapter and consider the shift towards *aulae*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Colini and Gismondi 1944, 166; Brenk 1995, 173-176, 188.

## Peristyles and porticoed courtyards:

The open-air space with ambulatories, along either a garden or paved courtyard area was more commonly referred to by the terms *ambulatio* or *porticus* in Latin than by the Greek term *peristyle* applied by Vitruvius (6.5.1-2), and most widely used by scholars today.<sup>228</sup> While many scholars have produced lengthy discussions on the definition of *peristyle*, and the appropriate terms for the porticoed garden spaces in *domus*, that is not my purpose here.<sup>229</sup> For my discussion I am defining this category of organized space much more broadly to include rooms in domestic structures that are open to the air, contain colonnades, though not including examples of the four-columned *atrium*, and that have ambulatories, which may surround a paved area or a garden.<sup>230</sup> I am including this broader set in order to better examine changes in the organization of space over the course of the first to fifth centuries in residences in the city of Rome, as well as to better examine the more varied nature of the evidence in the urban center, rather than limiting myself to rooms that fit a generic terminology.

I have identified twenty-eight examples of such open-air spaces with ambulatories in my data set. These examples range from completely excavated porticoes with adjacent spaces, such as the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01), which was excavated between 1858 and 1869 by G. B. Guidi with additional excavations in 1970, to small portions of a much larger space, such as the single column excavated in situ at the Ad Duas Domos (VI.04), or to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Allison notes that Pliny does not use the term *peristylium*, and that it is dangerous to define function based on an interpretive term. Allison 2001, 186-187. Leach cites Plutarch's reference to Lucullus's extravagant "ambulatories", a typical translation of Plutarch's term *peripatos*. Leach points out "*porticus*" and "*ambulatio*" are the terms used more often by Romans for peristyle. Leach 1998, 59. καὶ κατασκευὰς περιπάτων καὶ λουτρῶν (Plut. Luc. 39.2).
<sup>229</sup> Simelius defines the *peristyle* for his discussion of activities and space in Pompeii as "open space occupied by a garden and surrounded by colonnades." See Simelius 2015, 119; For her dissertation Allison looked at the "Main garden or colonnaded garden (peristyle)", discussing more the form and the term as primarily a point of reference, Allison 1992, iii, 58; See for a discussion of *domus* terms: Leach 1998; Allison 2001; Simelius 2015, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> The columned *atria* in my dataset include the plan of a four-columned *atrium* associated with the *domus* at the Palazzo Valentini, the *atrium* with pilasters from the *domus* at the Casa dei Cavaglieri di Rodi, and the *atrium* of the *domus* under Santa Cecilia.

references to finds from a porticoed space that is otherwise not well recorded, such as the excavation documents referencing sculpture from a courtyard in the *domus* Valeriorum (II.03). The documentation outlines that in 1653, under Pope Innocent X, a small courtyard was discovered with seven beautiful statues, which were sent on to France. The plan of this courtyard is currently unknown but knowledge of the courtyard and the finds from it can still provide us with some information on the decoration of such spaces. In addition to the variety of degrees of preservation, the open-air spaces with ambulatories in Rome vary in scale from the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05) with the short side at roughly 5 meters to the casa via Graziosa (V.09) with a portico suggested up to 152 meters on a side<sup>231</sup>. The variety of sizes and forms of these open-air spaces with ambulatories begs the question of whether or not these spaces functioned primarily along one theme or if they fulfilled many different functions in the domestic life of Romans.

The decoration of these spaces also varies considerably, and the materials of construction vary in quality. For instance, of the twenty-eight such spaces that I identified in my dataset, some have columns identified as made of marble where other *domūs* have columns identified as stucco-covered brick or described as undecorated. A comparison of these materials with their surrounding decoration will help contextualize the role that marble and stone made in the decorative schema of a *domus*. The *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius (VI.07) had gray marble columns on travertine bases, at the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05) fragments of a grey marble column and composite bases were found, the large columns at the rear of the peristyle of the *domus* at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> This length is suggested by Matranga. Coarelli 1998, 31.

the Vigna Barberini (X.02) are identified as marble.<sup>232</sup> By contrast the *domus* via del Babuino (VII.06) had simple stone columns covered in stucco, the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05) had brick columns covered in stucco, and the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01) also had brick covered in stucco, which is visible in photographs. The earlier housing from the site of the *domus* Valeriorum (II.03a) had engaged half-columns made of brick and stucco, and the domus Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina (V.03) had pilasters in the fourth century with reused bases and capitals from earlier periods.<sup>233</sup> I will compare these examples to other  $dom\bar{u}s$  and to the rest of their decoration below.

I begin my analysis of the decoration of these spaces by looking at two unusual examples. The earlier housing from the site of the *domus* Valeriorum along with another set of remains of the domus at the INPS (II.08) make up two unusual examples of ambulatories that are difficult to clearly define in relation to traditional Roman housing spaces. I have included these examples as ambulatories overlooking gardens, but whether they function as did traditional porticos must be examined. The excavated remains of the earlier housing from the site of the *domus* Valeriorum (II.03a) consisted of a corridor overlooking a *viridarium* with a row of windows between engaged-half columns. This unusual arrangement is similar to that found at the *domus* at the INPS (II.08). The *domus* at the INPS exhibits a similar arrangement with rows of windows, rather than columns, overlooking the garden area, though engaged columns are missing.

The corridor overlooking a viridarium that was excavated in 2004-2006 in the domus Valeriorum (II.03) may have functioned much the same way as the courtyard of the *domus* at the INPS, as it exhibits evidence, particularly from its final phase of a row of windows with half columns between overlooking a garden. The limited geographical extent of the excavation means

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Massimi 1836, 213; Morel et al. 1992, 486. The columns in the peristyle of *domus* A under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01a) are also likely to be marble, which I will discuss below. <sup>233</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 164.

that knowledge of the full plan relating the corridor and *viridarum*, garden, to the rest of the *domus* is not known (SEE Figure 2.2).<sup>234</sup> Notably the corridor in the *domus* Valeriorum was leveled at the beginning of the third century and that part of the *domus* heavily modified, leaving it only representative of the style of the second century.<sup>235</sup> The exterior wall of the corridor, toward the garden, was decorated with a half-column between each window. The effect of having an open portico was further strengthened by the wall painting on the lower part of the exterior wall, which exhibited a painted lattice pattern, reminiscent of a low garden fence, with natural vines and plants intertwined with it. This bright lattice on a black ground covering the area under the windows that opened to the relatively darker corridor, would have given off the impression of an open portico separated with a fence.<sup>236</sup>

The INPS *domus* excavation uncovered a long corridor along a garden area with a semicircular *exedra* and south-facing windows (SEE Figure 2.3).<sup>237</sup> The wall opposite the windows had a high plinth of italic marble slabs and porphyry strips and an upper register with fine wall paintings depicting megalographia.<sup>238</sup> McFadden describes this as "a monumental processional corridor" and highlights the high position of the paintings on the wall and the alternating light and shadow from the windows as playing a role in creating an otherworldly atmosphere.<sup>239</sup> Scrinari describes the rich decoration of the corridor and loggia, displaying wall painting, pavonazzetto slabs, and porphyry strips, as only appropriate in the context of an imperial residence, constructed by the emperor for his sister Fausta.<sup>240</sup> McFadden argues that the design and decoration of this corridor makes a statement about the political motivations of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Palladino and Bottiglieri 2015, figs. 7, 8, and 14. These include two in situ views of the corridor walls and decorations, and a reconstruction of the windows. (Figs. Attached).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Barbera, Palladino, and Paterna 2008, 96; Palladino and Bottiglieri 2015, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Barbera, Paterna, and Palladino 2005, 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> McFadden 2013, Fig. 1 This shows an axonometric reconstruction of the corridor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Sapelli 2005, 258-259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> McFadden 2013, 83-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Scrinari 1997, 7-8.

Constantinian period, and social claims to an elite audience.<sup>241</sup> While these sections of corridors provide only a small fraction of the completed *domus*, they provide excellent examples of the decoration of this form of elite domestic space in Rome in the third and fourth centuries.<sup>242</sup>

In the corridors of both *domūs* marble was used in decoration despite an absence of marble columns. In the *domus* Valeriorum, the windows of the corridor were framed in marble slabs, and the adjacent second century stairway was covered in marble.<sup>243</sup> In the *domus* at the INPS the lower portion of the wall below the wall paintings was covered in pavonazzetto marble and porphyry strips. Such marble decoration would allow for an absence of marble columns, while attaining the same desired display of the luxury material. The *domus* Valeriorum's remodeling dates to the beginning of the third century and much of the construction is from the second century CE, which compares to the later date of at earliest a Severan construction and often argued a Constantinian decoration of the *domus* at the INPS. Their difference in age suggests that this form of spatial organization in a *domus* maintained its popularity, and their proximity in southern Rome in *regio* II might suggest an influence of the architecture between the spaces. Both corridors have detailed wall painting that would have been lit by the variable light and shadow of the windows overlooking garden spaces, combining the indoor paintings with the exterior decoration, as well as adding light and air to the *domus*, and connecting spaces.

Another example of an ambulatory overlooking a courtyard or garden that only fits generally into the category is the *domus Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina* (V.03). This area was identified based on the inscriptions on lead pipe fragments (CIL XV 7563). Based

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> McFadden 2013, 83-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> While Sapelli suggests the corridor was built in the Severan period based on construction technique, Scrinari suggests it was decorated in the Constantinian period, and added to a pre-existing house in the early fourth century. Scrinari 1997, 5-6, 8; Sapelli 2005, 258; McFadden 2013, 95. <sup>243</sup> Palladino and Bottiglieri 2015, 6-12.

on its extent it has been suggested as *horti* by multiple scholars.<sup>244</sup> The remains are described as a portico of isolated pilasters and are marked on a plan not clearly indicating corridors.<sup>245</sup> (SEE Figure 2.4).<sup>246</sup> The construction of the portico is dated to the fourth century, added to the other uncovered rooms from the end of the second beginning of the third century. The pilasters from the fourth century reused bases and capitals from earlier periods, and can be seen in the figure at the letter b. The large attached wall is also constructed with thousands of pieces of earlier sculpture at letter c.<sup>247</sup> The extensive reuse of earlier architectural decorative elements fits with the fourth century date. The supply of new larger architectural marble pieces had dropped as access to marble sources around the Mediterranean dropped in the third century CE, with a supply crisis that peaked at the beginning of the fourth century, exhibiting a need for new fine constructions to rely on stockpiles and reused marble sources.<sup>248</sup> Coates-Stephens has also argued that this period of significant reuse has an origin in the destruction caused by the construction of the Aurelian walls, which resulted in a mass quantity of leveled buildings and, therefore, available construction material that was reused in new buildings for many years.<sup>249</sup>

The following ambulatories more closely resemble porticoed courtyards and peristyles than the previous unusual examples. In many cases column types were not found or not well documented, but a comparison of cases with recorded column type to the rest of the decoration can help to elucidate the value of marble as a material, in contrast to stucco, to the patrons of the house. For example, the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius (VI.07) and the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05) both had gray marble columns with those of Kamienus on travertine bases

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Platner and Ashby 1929, "VETTIUS AGORIUS PRAETEXTATUS ET FABIA PAULINA, DOMUS."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Henzen and Lanciani 1874, 58-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Henzen and Lanciani 1874, tav. V-VI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Henzen and Lanciani 1874, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Kinney 2001, 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Coates-Stephens 2001; Dey 2011, 170.

and the *domus Symmachorum* having composite bases. The remains of the large peristyle of the domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius excavated in 1884 uncovered length of about 33 meters, which when paired with the remains on Lanciani's Forma Urbis Romae, indicate one side of a rectangular peristyle at least that wide and likely longer.<sup>250</sup> Inscriptions found in the excavations referring to Kamienus suggest a date in the fourth century (CIL VI 1675). The peristyle of the domus Symmachorum is also large, at 26.65 meters (90 feet) on a side and square.<sup>251</sup> It was uncovered in 1991-1992 and its construction dates to the late Antonine period, and it remained in use through the fifth century.<sup>252</sup> These two examples show great similarity in materials, size, and form, as well as overlapping periods of use. The *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius includes a noteworthy inscription to the owner that indicates the portico was a space of display, which I will discuss below, and two sculptures now in the Capitoline museums from the villa Casali are likely from the *domus Symmachorum*, representing an Orant and a Victory. Additionally, the opus sectile pavements and triton mosaic in the vicinity of the peristyle show its status.<sup>253</sup> By contrast the *domus* via del Babuino (VII.06) was described by Lanciani as having simple decoration with stone columns covered in stucco, yet it covered a large area, with seven complete columns showing on the plan, which can be estimated to a minimum of 20 m on a side, along with a row of pilasters behind, as well as a recorded *cryptoporticus* on a lower level.<sup>254</sup> Also despite the simple decoration, a fine quality cache of sculpture was found stored in the *cryptoporticus*, suggesting wealth and status of the owner.<sup>255</sup> Despite the potential similarity in size the date further contrasts to the *domus* of Alfenius

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Lanciani 1901; Lanciani 1884, 40-45, tav. IV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 488.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Carignani 1993, 726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Lanciani 1884, 43-44; Carignani 1993, 726-729; Pavolini 1993, 486-491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Lanciani 1883, 296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Varner 2004, 70.

Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius and the *domus Symmachorum* from the *domus* via del Babuino. Lanciani dated an inscription in giallo brecciato marble that was found at this location based on letter forms to the first century CE. The inscription mentions the senatorial family Africanus, which Lanciani suggests refers to T. Sextius Africanus.<sup>256</sup> This may suggest that because marble was less accessible in the first century, the patrons of the *domus* via del Babuino chose bronze and other decoration to highlight their status, and the suggestion of the patron as T. Sextius Africanus would explain the presence of imperial portraiture in the remains. Unfortunately, a lack of associated excavation records prevents us from knowing if marble was used in the associated spaces around the peristyle.

Smaller examples with marble columns include the *domus* Azara (V.01) at 13.93 by 6.897 meters. The *domus* Azara's courtyard includes a *porticus* on three sides of an area open to the air and including a tub or fountain. The rear of the space abuts three highly decorated rooms, one of which has a window onto the courtyard in addition to a door leading to the ambulatory, one of which has only a door to the other ambulatory, and the center of which has a wide portal opening directly onto the courtyard punctuated by two larger columns. The rear two columns of the *domus* Azara are identified as granite drawing attention to the rear *triclinium* or *exedra*, the only room in the *domus* with *arabeschi* wall paintings.<sup>257</sup> This room and these columns would be visible from both entrances to the peristyle (SEE Figure 2.5). This *triclinium* or *exedra* at the rear center off the porticoed courtyard at the Domus Azara is reminiscent of the plan of the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21b). The columns of the larger peristyle of the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli, roughly 28 x 32 meters based on the plan, are suggested to be fluted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> CIL 6.31684; Lanciani 1881, 29-30; Richardson 1992, 135; Eck 1995, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Unknown artist 1777, drawing.

marble columns on the basis of fragments found in the excavation.<sup>258</sup> Like the *domus* Azara, the rear of the peristyle in the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli does not have an ambulatory or portico crossing it, but rather has a large room highlighted with two columns, leading Colini to identify these as porticoed courtyards not peristyles (SEE Figure 2.6). Both *domūs* also have small tubs of water in the center of the open-air space. The porticoed courtyard at the *domus* at San Pietro in Vincoli remained in this form from its construction in the late first century CE through the late Antonine period, as indicated by brick stamps found in the construction.<sup>259</sup> The *domus* Azara also contains a brick stamp dating construction to the Hadrianic period.<sup>260</sup> This may suggest a popularity of this form in the second century, slightly adapted from the Hellenistic peristyle.

The *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli continued to be used through the end of the fourth century, and the *aula* or *exedra* was extended into the open-air space.<sup>261</sup> The *aula* was first extended by moving forward the entrance to the center of the open courtyard with a wide opening retaining two columns and providing light into the large room in the age of Caracalla or just after (c. 215-220 CE), and then at a second instance an apse closed that entrance imposing on the open space at the end of late third century or early fourth century CE. At this time side entrances provided access to *aula* past the apse and the courtyard was paved in mosaic formed of tesserae and marble strips.<sup>262</sup> Another example of such an expansion of interior rooms into an open-air courtyard during renovations, can be seen in the *domus* at Sette Sale (III.03). The *domus* in its first phase in the Trajanic period appears to have presented a regular plan, with a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 24-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 55-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Massimi 1836, 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> The *domus* may have been destroyed in the Sack of Alaric. Lansford 2009, 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 55-56, fig. 62, 64-65. While this apse has been suggested as a *domus ecclesia* there is no direct evidence for it.

peristyle opening to *triclinia* and an *exedra* or *tablinum*. Originally this may have been the *domus* of the person responsible for maintaining the Trajanic cisterns, the plan was renovated in two phases, the first of which, dated to the late third or early fourth century by Guidobaldi, saw the construction of a large apsed *aula* in the center of the courtyard. Where the *aula* at the *domus* at San Pietro in Vincoli was constructed on axis with the rest of the space, that at Sette Sale was constructed perpendicular to that axis. The second construction phase, further in the fourth century, saw the addition of another poly-lobed room alongside the apse.<sup>263</sup> This underlines the increasing need for the adaptation of individual architectural plans in the late antique period, as well as the increasing focus on enclosed large *aulae* over open-air spaces. I will discuss *aulae* in the following chapter. The paving of an open-air space in this period may have been increasingly common, as paved courtyards are also seen in the *domus* at the Palazzo Valentini at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century and the third century *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla below.

The *domus* in the Vigna Barberini (X.02) also shows a marble portico, likely open on one side to a view of the Valley that later held the Colosseum, with a central garden and two fish ponds in the center from the first century CE. The construction of this *domus* dates to the late first century BCE and its destruction level, based on coins, dates to between 68 and 70 CE. This date correlates to the first phase of the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli, dating to the mid first century CE, during which the three-sided portico surrounded a garden with large central blue tub.<sup>264</sup> The basin of the *domus* at the Vigna Barbini is also painted blue.<sup>265</sup> The decoration of the *domus* at the Vigna Barberini in this period indicates the extreme wealth and status of the patrons

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Dante 1999, 27; Volpe 2000, 159-160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 55; Villedieu and Ecole française de Rome. 1997, 63, 97-98; Basso and Ghedini 2003, 334-335, 337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Morel et al. 1992, 484-485; Dumser 2008-2017, 223.

with *opus sectile* floors including various marbles (*marmor numidicum, Africano, polombino*).<sup>266</sup> While the ambulatories of the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli were paved in fine but simple *cipollino* in the second century, traces of glass paste mosaic and pumice in the vaults of the *cryptoporticus* indicate fine architectural decoration of the first century phase, which Colini directly compares to the style of the residences on the Palatine in the Claudian-Neronian period. The blue tub was replaced with a marble tub in the era of Antoninus Pius, suggesting increased display of marble in the second century.<sup>267</sup> The similar arrangement and décor of these two porticoed spaces suggests a desired style of framing nature in the *domus* in the first century.

The smaller peristyle at Palazzo Valentini, at 6.50-6.60 on the north by 4.90 meters visible on the east side, though likely longer to the south, is called 'dubiously' a peristyle by Baldassarri. A fragment of a *cipollino* marble column was found in the vicinity and the lower register of the walls of the room are suggested to have been dressed in marble. This supports the use of marble materials in the decoration of this room in addition to the mosaic pavements. The adjacent spaces are not yet fully excavated but will hopefully provide further elucidation of the space in the future. Currently the room appears to have held porticoes on four sides with ambulatories at a width of 1.5-1.7 meters and was paved in black and white mosaic. The mosaics were patched with white marble slabs in the fourth century. The ambulatories would have connected the adjacent rooms, of which currently a decorative room for presentation or dining is known on one side and an external courtyard paved in *basolato* in the earlier period and later repaved in travertine is on the other. The room was originally open to the decorative room to the north by means of large pilasters, but these were later blocked up to form a wall, leaving a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Morvillez 2017, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 55.

door for access.<sup>268</sup> The open-air portion of the room appears to have been paved in mosaic and marble but may have had a central *impluvium*. The mosaics are dated roughly to the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century, as a renovation of an earlier *domus*.

In addition to the paving found in the last phase of the courtyard of the *domus* at San Pietro in Vincoli, the mosaic also recalls the porticoed courtyard of the domus under the Baths of Caracalla. While many open-air spaces surround gardens, some surround paved courtyards. The *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla has a more traditionally symmetrical plan than the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini. It was built in the Hadrianic period, which was roughly the same time period as the original phase of the *domus* under Palazzo Valentini, and then renovated in the latter second century before its destruction in 206 CE.<sup>269</sup> The *domus* under Palazzo Valentini by contrast was renovated and combined with the adjoining domus B under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01b) in the fourth century, and inhabited until it's abandonment in sixth to seventh centuries.<sup>270</sup> The columns of the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla, constructed in brick that was covered in decorative plaster, surround the courtyard on three sides, and were decorated with incised flutes (SEE Figure 2.7)<sup>271</sup>, and the open-air portion of the courtyard is paved in a decorative mosaic with large scale sea creatures in black on a white ground. While the figures are slightly rough is execution, the mosaic contains a high level of detail. The ambulatories are also paved in mosaic with simple bands and a geometric patterned mosaic paved the adjacent room with interlocking hexagons and rectangles. The sea theme of the central mosaic relates the space more tightly to the water theme created by the large fountain basin on the rear wall. The large basin, called an *impluvium* by Carpanno and identified as being with a '*cavadium*' by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Baldassarri and Napoli 2015, 56-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Carpano 1972, 113-115; Baldassarri and Napoli 2015, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> Baldassarri 2009, 377.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Parker 1864-1866, Photograph 0725.

excavators, does not have any lining preserved, so we cannot ascertain exact decoration and form.<sup>272</sup> Along with the mosaic, sculpture fragments were found around this area and are visible in H. Parker's photographs around the courtyard. These sculptures include a bearded male herm, the head of an idealized female, part of a male torso, and an idealized female headless figure, possibly a Venus. This decoration both calls on the space to display art and status of the household and to associate it with water themes, possibly specifically baths.

Further comparison to these examples can be seen in the small irregular porticoed courtyard, called an uncovered *atrium* by the excavators, which forms a part of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), the remains of which date to the first half of the third century CE, and the courtyard of the *domus Gaudentius* (II.02), the remodeling into a *domus* of which dates to the second century CE in the late Antonine period. The *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix is later than the aforementioned two examples, and more irregular in form. This courtyard was paved in large clay tiles and had a marble border.<sup>273</sup> Like the previous two examples this room was on the smaller side. The courtyard can be estimated at 5 by 7.5 m, compared to the 9-10 m by 7.5 m estimated of the *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla, and the 6.50-6.60 m by 4.90 m of the domus at the Palazzo Valentini. The courtyard at the domus Gaudentius can be estimated as similarly sized to that of Lucius Octavius Felix, although rectangular. The courtyard of the domus of Lucius Octavius Felix was fully paved and a source of light and air circulation for the house. While it was paved in terracotta, the border was in marble. The two visible columns were stucco covered brick in a Doric style, a similar construction technique to those seen in the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla. The wall opposite the portico was painted with natural motifs, adding nature to the open-air space that was otherwise paved. Additionally, despite the terracotta

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Parker 1868-1869, JHP[PHP]-1110; Carpano 1972, 119-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Menghi and Pales 2008, 48-49.

paving of the courtyard, the adjacent apsed hall had decorative polychrome *opus sectile* paving.<sup>274</sup>

What can the context of plastered stucco tell us about how this material was viewed? In the cases where *domūs* had stucco covered brick, marble was present in the adjacent spaces. In the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix the terracotta courtyard had a marble border, and the adjacent aula had an opus sectile marble floor. Additionally, the portico led to a room with a black and white geometric mosaic, a marble statue of a faun, and a fountain. The rear wall of the courtyard had natural themed wall paintings and the nearby room wall paintings of high-quality architectural ornament. Likewise, despite plaster covered brick columns, the rear wall of the courtyard in the *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla had a base covered in marble and decorative plaster painted in squares above, which covered decorative niches from the first, Hadrianic, period.<sup>275</sup> The area also contained marble sculpture. While this porticoed space was somewhat smaller at roughly 10m x 7.5m based on the plan, than the domus Symmachorum at 26.65m on a side, excavators believed the remains uncovered of the *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla to be a part of a more extensive imperial private property that extended significantly beyond the excavated boundaries.<sup>276</sup> The small courtyard of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix is also a part of a *domus* with unknown full extents.

The *domus Gaudentius* also had an interior courtyard, entered through a *vestibulum* or *atrium* with seating and then through another reception room with a stone table. This courtyard was paved in *opus tessellatum*, but like the border of marble in the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix, it had marble slabs on one side. A small running fountain was placed in the center, adding water to the air and light provided by the space. The pipe to the fountain can be dated to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Pales and Menghi 1999, 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Carpano 1972, 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Parker 1876, Plate XVII.

period between Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus by an inscription on the pipe feeding it. The courtyard had a small portico with two columns on one side with ionic capitals. In the fourth century the side intercolumniations were closed to form a wide entrance.<sup>277</sup> The Antinous Casali is believed to have been a decoration of the *domus*, specifically the large *triclinium/aula* off the portico, which was also paved with a third century geometric mosaic to which a fourth century inscription was added "GAVDEN/TI/VIV[AS]".<sup>278</sup> Despite the earlier date than the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix, the *domus* Gaudientius can be considered in light of later construction techniques, as it was the result of the combination of two *insulae* in the late Antonine period. While common in the third century, this was rarer in the second century, and would have required a lot of adaptation of existing structures.

While we rely on more minimal description, fine decoration paired with simple columns can also be confirmed in the *domus* via del Babuino, where a cache of bronze sculpture was found including a bronze portrait of Nero.<sup>279</sup> The bronze portraits indicate a connection to the imperial house, and thus a great deal of influence, and the scale of the peristyle suggests a large *domus* or villa. This would have been an impressive space without marble columns. Lanciani has suggested the patron of the house as T. Sextius Africanus (see page 89 above), providing possible social context for the first century domus. The domus Symmachorum and domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius both had grey marble columns in extensive porticoed spaces. The *domus Symmachorum* had highly decorative floors found in adjacent rooms, including a polychrome *opus sectile* floor in the large aula from the fourth century and a black and white Triton mosaic, discovered in 1885, in a different adjacent room. The Triton mosaic

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Spinola 1992, 957-961. The fistula says «[T FL] AVIVS CARINVS FEC (it)».
 <sup>278</sup> Spinola 1993, 478-479.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Varner 2004, 70. The portrait combines type two hair with type three facial features (Palazzo dei Conservatori, [formerly] Sala dei Bronzi, inv.2385[Centrale Montemartini 1.25b).

originally had a polychrome mosaic disc in a center circle in the floor, but it was later damaged and replaced by a *cipollino* marble disc.<sup>280</sup> The *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius contained a large portico and a marble inscription to "ALFENIO CEIONIO IVLIANO/ KAMENIO" from the late fourth century (CIL VI 1675). The decoration of the portico of the domus Azara is not as well recorded, but the adjacent rooms had sculptures, including a fine sculpture of a Venus, a one-meter high statue of Apollo seated and playing the lyre, and highquality wall painting.<sup>281</sup> Four rooms leading directly off the portico had wall-paintings that closely resemble the third and fourth Pompeian styles with mythological themes, and the largest back *triclinium* or *exedra* had *arabeschi*.<sup>282</sup> These paintings were of a quality to incite the admiration of noted neoclassical artists. This space pairs a display of the wealth required to afford granite columns, a showpiece in a smaller space, with unusually high-quality wall painting and other valuable art. Despite a lack of columns, the *domus* at the INPS also pairs the lighting of the ambulatory with high quality megalographia wall paintings and a statue that would have stood on a remaining base, framed in the *exedra* and highlighted by the procession of over lifesized figures.<sup>283</sup>

While the full geographic extents of the *domus* properties are typically not known for these domestic properties, the size of the porticoed space, is known or can be estimated confidently for them. In our sample set of the larger open-air spaces with ambulatories, those greater than 15 m on a side, only one does not have marble columns. The *domus* via del Babuino has stucco covered stone. It is from the first century and would have been at that time far from the center of Rome. The lack of marble in the large first century *domus* via del Babuino may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Carignani 1993, 722-723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Azara describes the sculpture as of a quality 'si perfetta'. Massimi 1836, 213. Joyce 1983, 435-436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Joyce 1983, 435-436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> McFadden 2013, 83-86.

relate to a lower popularity of marble in *domūs* at the beginning of the imperial period. Pliny refers negatively to the extravagance of the extensive marble columns in the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus (*N.H.* 36.2). The corridor overlooking a *viridarium* in the extensive property of the *domus* Valeriorum was constructed with half columns framing windows, made of plaster covered bricks, in the Hadrianic period and then leveled at the beginning of the third century CE. Two other *domūs* with large porticoed spaces from the first century that are more central, the *domus* in the Vigna Barberini and the slightly later *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli, both have marble columns. This suggests that the display of marble was more expected in larger peristyles or porticoes at least in the center of the city, near the location of the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus, even in the first century.

Of the smaller spaces, less than 15 m on a side, the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix and the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla both have fine art but plaster covered brick columns. The *domus* Azara had at least two granite columns, the largest focal point columns at the rear, as well as fine wall paintings. The *domus Gaudentius* had ionic capitals, and fine decorations, though only two columns. The *domus* Azara and *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla are roughly contemporaneous, the *domus Gaudentius* dates slightly after, and the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix is roughly a century later, supporting similar use of marble in smaller open-air domestic courtyards over this period. This suggests that in smaller spaces marble columns may not have been the most critical way to highlight prestige, though marble and artistic decoration were used in open-air spaces.

The *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix, however, does have a large *opus sectile* room adjacent to the courtyard on one side and a room with a mosaic floor adjacent on the other. Likely the porticoed courtyard of the *domus* at Palazzo Valentini was paved in mosaic and

repaired in marble, and by the fourth century the two *domūs* at Palazzo Valentini had become one large *domus* that had both fine mosaics and *opus sectile* in nearby rooms.<sup>284</sup> The combination of these materials was in part the remodeling that combined two earlier *domūs*, showing how styles accommodated the need to expand where possible in the compact city center. Additionally, *domūs* I and II under Santa Pudenziana also had rooms with mosaics and *opus sectile* around rear peristyles. This suggests that the two styles could both be used as means to highlight prestige and luxury through decoration, particularly when accommodating multiperiod remodeling of *domūs* in the urban center.

Open-air spaces with ambulatories were clearly a focus of artistic energy and display in central Rome, providing a well-lit space with visibility from multiple other interior spaces, as people circumambulated the home. While large quantities of marble were one way to display wealth, multiple forms of architectural decoration could highlight these spaces, including wall paintings, sculpture, and other types of flooring including many degrees of mosaic quality. Even in cases where columns of marble were not present or not affordable, this space was a focus of fine quality materials, such as marble sculpture or trim, mosaic floors, or bronze sculpture, and focused artistic decoration, such as high-quality wall paintings, decorative floors of varying kinds, fountains, and other sculptures. Resources were clearly focused on this central openly accessible, visible part of the *domus*, to highlight the status of the patrons of the house to guests and decorate a central space for movement for the household.

One notable theme when looking at the decoration and possibly function of the open-air space with ambulatories is the focus of that decoration on water, both through physical access, such as fountains, and through representation in mosaics and paintings. In addition to providing a space for light and air movement, the decoration of open-air spaces with ambulatories often

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Baldassarri 2009, 353-356.

recalls through decoration and fixtures the themes of water and nature, bath complexes, and Greek gymnasia. In Petronius's Satyricon we see an exaggerated description of the decorations of the portico of a first century Roman *domus* from the Bay area of modern Naples. The narrator Encolpius refers to the use of the portico of this house as a place for runners to practice exercising, calling to mind references to baths and gymnasia.<sup>285</sup> The archaeological evidence of *domūs* in Rome also recalls the imagery of baths in the porticos of *domūs*. Mosaics also could be used to call on certain themes and ideas in the decoration of the space, and the placement of the mosaic in or near the open-air point would provide more light and focus on those images.

A good example of ocean themes in and around the peristyle of a *domus* can be seen in the Triton mosaic of the *domus Symmachorum*. Discovered in September and October of 1885 by Lanciani, the mosaic is black and white with black Tritons and dolphins on a white ground. (SEE Figure 2.8). Carignani places it on the northern side of the peristyle and it was located in the ambulatory, where it would have benefitted from ample light.<sup>286</sup> The location of aquatic themes alongside the gardens and sky, open to rain, of the courtyard would have associated the space with water and the sea.

A further example of similar aquatic imagery can be found in the paving of the *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla. The second phase of this Hadrianic *domus*, after renovations in the midsecond century, saw the paving of the courtyard in a large black and white mosaic with Tritons and sea themes (SEE Figure 2.7). This large mosaic was paired at its rear with a lined basin referred to by Carpano as an *impluvium*. In the previous phase a series of niches had lined the rear wall behind the *impluvium*, but in this phase the mosaic was paired with a rear wall of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> "Notavi etiam in porticu gregem cursorum cum magistro se exercentem. Praeterea grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cuius aediculaerant Lares argentei positi Venerisque signum marmoreum et pyxis aurea non pusilla, in quo barbam ipsius conditam esse dicebant." Petronius *Satyricon* 28-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Carignani 1993, 723-726, figs. 5, 6.

marble and above that plaster painted in panels.<sup>287</sup> The association of the *impluvium* and water with the sea themed mosaic would bring the viewer to the frame of mind of Greek gymnasia and bath houses. Additionally, the peristyle was decorated with mythological sculptures, a type of decoration seen in public bath houses, and another theme common in the open-air spaces of  $dom\bar{u}s$  in Rome, which I will discuss below.

The presence of fountains and heated bath spaces in and adjacent to courtyards is seen commonly in *domūs* in Rome. The courtyard of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix was also completely paved, and even smaller than that of the *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla. The patron of the space, however, used the decoration and art to create an atmosphere that would recall larger grander open-air spaces and the themes common to those spaces. This courtyard is paved in terracotta with a border in marble, and the flat wall opposite the one ambulatory is painted with wall paintings of natural and natural scenes. These paintings would have helped to open up the small courtyard space visually and provide a sense of a garden, a common element in larger courtyards. Additionally, the room leading off the ambulatory contained a fountain, which was fed by means of a pipe that ran under the *atrium*. A broken statue of a faun was found near the fountain in this room.<sup>288</sup> This fountain would further associate the open-air space, a point of access for light and rain into the *domus*, with water. On the opposite side of the courtyard from the ambulatory, a large apsed room stood perpendicular to the courtyard. At the back of its apse was access to another room, with only one door, that was heated through sub-floor heating, and decorated with mosaics and wall paintings of figures and birds.<sup>289</sup> This heated room would further associate the center of the *domus* with bath complexes available elsewhere on a larger scale.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Carpano 1972, 120-121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Pales and Menghi 1999, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Pales and Menghi 1999, 18.

Even the small four-columned peristyle in the small *domus*, or flat, in the *insula* Sordi (VII.02) included a small heated room with hypocaust placed alongside. It also had an adjacent room with marble sheets decorating the walls. These rooms would have associated the small open-air space with the baths on a larger scale.<sup>290</sup> Another possible example can be seen in the *domus* under Santa Maria in Maggiore. A decorative niche in the northeastern part of the portico was originally a heated room, possibly part of a bath removed during renovations. The exact relationship of this room to the early, first century CD, phase of the peristyle is not definitive, however.<sup>291</sup> Finally, the *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi contained a garden with sculptures, which I will discuss below, but also had a *nymphaeum* on a lower level aligned with the peristyle.

In addition to fountains and heated spaces, some open-air courtyards contained other types of pools of water, which would have still associated these spaces with nature and water. The peristyle of the *domus* at the Vigna Barberini, included two long fish-ponds, 2 meters wide and 1.5 meters deep, along the long sides of the porticoes.<sup>292</sup> These ponds were painted blue, which would have drawn more attention to the water feature. From the mid-first century through the age of Antoninus Pius the porticoed courtyard at the *domus* at San Pietro in Vincoli also had a tub that was painted blue. This suggested this was a more popular style in the first century CE, as the *domus* at the Vigna Barberini also stood then. The blue tub in the *domus* at San Pietro in Vincoli was replaced with a marble tub in age of Antoninus Pius.<sup>293</sup> The small and similarly shaped porticoed courtyard in the *domus* Azara also contained a central tub, as depicted in Buti's architectural plan, providing a further example of the association of water with open-air spaces through decoration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Cavallero 2011, 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Mols and Moormann 2010, 499-501.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Morvillez 2017, 17-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 55.

In addition to the association of the open-air spaces with ambulatories with water and bath complexes, the spaces were also a key point in the *domus* to showcase social status, education, and artwork. This element of the courtyard can be found in the use of decoration and art thematically associated with mythology. The smaller ambulatories of Roman houses can be seen to choose styles and forms that reflect ideals for grand Roman *domūs* and *horti*. In Plutarch's description of Lucullus he discusses "his costly edifices, his ambulatories and baths, and still more his paintings and statues."<sup>294</sup> The description foregrounds the expense and luxury of a house and gardens in ambulatories, baths, and art. We have already seen an association of the open-air spaces with ambulatories in *domus* in the city of Rome with water and baths, and now we will look to the art, which was strongly represented in these spaces.

A well-known example of the display of mythology and education in a Roman portico is that of the Odyssey wall paintings in the casa via Graziosa. This series of mythological wall paintings, visible now in the Musei Vaticani, recall the *domus* of Trimalchio and its described first century decoration. When Encolpius asks the porter what pictures are further (*in medio*) in the *domus*, he replies "*Iliada et Odyssian inquit ac Laenatis gladiatorium munus*. (Petronius *Sat*. 29)." Additionally, *domūs* in Pompeii exhibit references to Homer in their decoration. For example, paintings of the Iliad are found in the House of the Tragic poet (VI.3.3), and the conquest of Troy in the House of the Menander (I.10.4).<sup>295</sup> Such themes would have presented the education of the patron to the visitors and the placement of these Odyssey mosaics in the more openly accessible peristyle would make that statement of education more prominent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> εἰς παιδιὰν γὰρ ἔγωγε τίθεμαι καὶ οἰκοδομὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ κατασκευὰς περιπάτων καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γραφὰς καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὴν περὶ ταύτας τὰς τέχνας σπουδήν, ἂς ἐκεῖνος συνῆγε μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασιν, εἰς ταῦτα τῷ πλούτῷ ῥύδην καταχρώμενος, ὃν ἡθροίκει πολὺν καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, ὅπου καὶ νῦν, ἐπίδοσιν τοιαύτην τῆς τρυφῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ Λουκουλλιανοὶ κῆποι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστάτοις ἀριθμοῦνται, (Plut. Luc. 39.2). <a href="https://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0007.tlg036.perseus-eng1:39.2">http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0007.tlg036.perseus-eng1:39.2</a>

Much of the decoration of the *domus* Azara would have been visible from and partially lit by the courtyard. In addition to the central tub, portico with columns, and two large granite columns, five decorated rooms opened directly from the courtyard. The room closest to the entrance was decorated with wall paintings themed around the goddess Venus, and a high-quality sculpture of Venus was also recovered. This room had a window above the door containing a vase, which let more light from the portico into the room.<sup>296</sup> Opposite this room is another containing wall paintings of Venus and Adonis with an infant and Venus and Mars with Cupid, extending the theme across the portico. Next to the first room of Venus is one of the most visible rooms with a wide portal opening to the portico. It contains wall paintings of mythical revelry, including Bacchus and Ariadne, Drunken Hercules supported by a youth, and a Satyr who plays the double flute with Silenus and Bacchantes. These paintings would simultaneously have showed off art and myth, indicating wealth and education, while setting an appropriate mood for banquets and guests. Directly opposite, and visible from the room, was the largest room, described as containing 'arabeschi' wall paintings, unfortunately undocumented. The final room off the porticoed courtyard is in the corner on the far side of the central room with *arabeschi*. This room was visible and accessible from the portico, although primarily visible from the entrance to the portico from the stairwell. The decoration included a wall painting of Minerva and one of female figures next to an altar. The high-quality wall paintings and sculptures of the *domus* Azara would have highlighted to visitors the patron's knowledge of myth, while creating an atmosphere of luxury and revelry.

The megalographia wall paintings in the *domus* at the INPS date to period of renovation of the corridor, added to a standing *domus* in the Severan period, in the era of Maxentius and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Unknown artist 1777, drawing.

Constantine.<sup>297</sup> Scrinari, McFadden, and others have suggested variously that the figures painted along the upper register of the corridor may refer to members of the imperial family with divine attributes, or specific deities or virtues. In either case the corridor would have brought specific reference to education and myth, calling on the viewer to see the power of the deities and the significance of each attribute.<sup>298</sup>

The *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi, placed more centrally near the forum in Rome, contained many sculptures referring to both mythology and to historical memory. These artworks included mythological sculptures and portraits of individuals, combined in a mixture of the themes of mythology and memory, which as we saw in the *domus* at the INPS was a popular combination. I will discuss this set of artworks further as I move into discussing the theme of memory.

A significant theme represented in the artworks found in the open-air porticoed spaces of the *domūs* in Rome is that of memory and the significance of the role of the patrons of the *domus* within the memory and society of Rome. This can be seen in the presences of portraits, statues, inscriptions, and wall paintings of key figures. Again, the decoration of the portico of the *domus* of Trimalchio displays this type of decoration, wherein is described detailed wall paintings of the life of the patron alongside the gods.<sup>299</sup>

The sculptures discovered at the *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi highlight the integration of the theme of myth and that of historical memory, represented through portraits. Mustilli lists among the discovered works an Apollo of the Kassel type, and Apollo of the Cyrene type, a head of Zeus, and an Icarus fastening his wings in the theme of mythology, as well as a bust of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> McFadden 2013, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Scrinari 1997, 8-9; McFadden 2013, 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> "It had a picture of a slave-market on it, with the persons' names. Trimalchio was there with long hair, holding a Mercury's staff. Minerva had him by the hand and was leading him into Rome. Then the painstaking artist had given a faithful picture of his whole career with explanations: how he had learned to keep accounts, and how at last he had been made steward. At the point where the wall-space gave out, Mercury had taken him by the chin, and was whirling him up to his high official throne. Fortune stood by with her flowing horn of plenty, and the three Fates spinning their golden threads." Petronius *Satryicon* 29.

Antinous, various mostly third century portrait heads, a portrait of Septimius Severus, and a beautifully worked base.<sup>300</sup> The combination of images of Apollo and Zeus/Jupiter, both gods who were often associated with the emperors, along with portraits of important second and third century imperial figures and likely family members, underlines how open-air spaces were decorated with the intent of drawing the viewer to think about the memory and importance of both the family who were patrons of the house and of Rome itself.

The *domus* under Santa Maria Maggiore provides another clear example of the combination of artworks that elicit memory and history with ideas of mythology. The peristyle of the *domus* had added to it in the late second century a large wall painting sequence with the Roman calendar and scenes of urban and agricultural life. Each month is represented in a red band about 45 cm wide with white letters for the text. Paired with the descriptive months are associated but separate scenes below. The scene of figures under the month of May is suggested to be interpreted as Persephone being led by Hades into the underworld, associated with the festival of Lemuria, remembrance of the dead. Likewise, a Sagittarius painted along with the month of December indicates the association of the calendar with the zodiac.<sup>301</sup> The calendar would have been able to call to the visitors both important dates in the city's year as well as important dates for their host, while also showing the mythological education of the patron.

The cache of bronze portraits found in the *domus* via del Babuino represent members of the imperial family and highlight the political nature of influence and networked relationships in imperial Rome. The *domus* is also suggested to have been that of T. Sextius Africanus, suffect consul in 59 CE, which supports the status of the household.<sup>302</sup> The cache, which includes a portrait of the emperor Nero, were taken down and stored in a *cryptoporticus*, presumably after

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1983, 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Mols and Moormann 2010, 484-499.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> Richardson 1992, 135.

Nero's fall from popularity. This shows that their presence in the peristyle would make a significant statement, a statement which had to be removed at the appropriate time.

An inscription to Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius was found in the area of the excavation of this *domus*, which primarily consists of the peristyle portion of the house. The remains are identified based on this inscription (CIL VI 1675). This suggests the proximity of this inscription to the peristyle. The presence of a large (112 x 65 x 57 cm) honorary inscription in the more openly accessible area of the porticoes of the *domus* would invite visitors to the house to remember the honored status of the home owner and his family and influence over his clients. The inscription indicates it was set up by a *cornicularius* along with a bronze statue in his *domus*.<sup>303</sup>

In the *domus* at the INPS the corridor overlooking a garden include a line of large megalographia wall paintings. The wall paintings, while appearing mythical in scale, have also been associated as possibly members of the imperial family. The heads of the figures are unfortunately missing, frustrating attempts at identification. Additionally, whether imperial or mythical, the figures are suggested as forming part of a procession leading the visitor to a central sculpture in the *exedra*.<sup>304</sup> The act of following a visual painted procession down a corridor to a standing three-dimensional statue on a base in the center of the *exedra*, would call on the viewer to enact memory. Reminiscent of that *domus* is the *domus* Valeriorum corridor. The windows of this corridor also overlook a garden, framing nature from an interior view. The external decoration of this corridor is better preserved than that at the INPS, and includes an engaged half-column between each pair of windows, and a painted low garden latticework wall on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> Machado 2007, http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/discussion.php?id=1766

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> McFadden 2013, 98-101. This painted sequence includes, from the left, a pair of seahorses held by reins, dolphins, then a male and cloaked female figure, a male in military garb, a female with cloak, patera, and golden rod, and then a togate male with a rod and small statue. Sapelli 2005, 258-259.

exterior of the brick to make it look more open. The internal wall paintings would have been alternately lit and in shadow depending on the angle of the sun, and, like the *domus* at the INPS, they depict human figures. With a lower register painted with red and burgundy bands, the wall includes an upper register with large human figures framed by candelabra and spiral columns, small animals and vines. Above these is a row of smaller human figures.<sup>305</sup>

Sculptures have been found in open-air spaces with ambulatories in excavations in Rome. For instance, Carandini notes that there are positions for Julio-Claudian statues in the peristyle of the *domus* on the via Nova.<sup>306</sup> Such statues could have highlighted the importance of the patrons of the *domus*, as the central position of the *domus* at the edge of the Palatine hill would have. In the *domus* Valeriorum in space distinct from the previously discussed corridor overlooking a *viridarium*, 'a courtyard of not much grandeur' uncovered in 1653 revealed seven sculptures. This is suggested by Baldassarri as possibly the same "*atrium*" found in the 1500's where plaques referring to the Valerii family members were found.<sup>307</sup> This is distinctly a separate space from the *viridarium* and corridor with Augustan mosaic and wall paintings. The occurrence of open-air space that includes inscriptions and statues, whether one or two rooms, indicates an association between honoring the family and historical memory and such open-air, well-lit spaces.

The ambulatories and open-air spaces, whether gardens or paved, were clearly associated with luxury, art, and presentation. Examples from the city show that art was commonly placed in these spaces, and referenced education and myth as well as history and memory. The art and decoration of these spaces also exhibits wealth and luxury through materials, as discussed above, such as marble columns and facings, fine mosaics, and *opus sectile*. Further these spaces were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> Barbera, Paterna, and Palladino 2005, 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Palma Venetucci and Baldassarri 1998, 59; Barbera, Palladino, and Paterna 2008, 81.

associated with water and heated bath spaces, elements of a *domus* which indicated luxury. The ideas of mythology and knowledge were often paired with private portraits and other artworks calling on history and memory to create an impression of power and knowledge for the visitor.

Vitruvius describes the peristyles and porticoed courtyards of the *domus* as places accessible to the public and built in grand style for social obligations. He uses the term alongside atria, leaving it difficult to determine if he sees a significant difference in their functions.<sup>308</sup> Vitruvius places the sizes and grandeur of *atria* and *peristylia* together as equally a part of social obligations, distinguishing primarily on their relationship to the *domus* entrance as different in an urban *domus* from a rural villa. Vitruvius places the *atrium* next to the door in urban situations (Vitruvius, 6.5). The plans of porticoed courtyards, however, vary considerably in Rome, as we have been discussing, and we can see that there were different types of accessibility from the *domus* entrance depending on the individual *domus*.

The plans of three regular *domūs* along the ancient Vicus Patricius on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (Fragment 11e, catalog entry V.10) show versions of what has come to be understood as the traditional *domus* plan with a rear *peristyle* surrounded by rooms for presentation opening onto it and with one entrance from the front, often through a *tablinum* following an *atrium*.<sup>309</sup> The three *domūs* all have an entrance leading to an *atrium*, followed by a *tablinum*, which opens as the main entrance onto a peristyle. The three peristyles all similarly measure, 12x13.2 meters estimated. While there are slight variations in plan, for instance one *domus* shows *alae* off the *atrium*, these *domūs* all exhibit the traditional plan which would create clear patterns of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> item feneratoribus et publicanis commodiora et speciosiora et ab insidiis tuta, forensibus autem et disertis elegantiora et spatiosiora ad conventus excipiundos, nobilibus vero, qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima, silvae ambulationesque laxiores ad decorem maiestatis perfectae (Vitruvius 6.5.2). Herein Vitruvius distinguishes between three different scales of public function. We might call this passage to mind in reference to the small portico of the flat in the Insula of Galleria Sordi, which contains a quality small domicile.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Mau and Kelsey 1899, 245-247.

movement for social visitors to move through the *atrium*, *tablinum*, and peristyle, as a part of various social obligations.

The (XII.01) *domus* under the Baths Caracalla, dating to the Antonine period, follows this plan in a general way. While the porticoed courtyard is not a full four-sided peristyle, it opens off of a central room and is surrounded by rectangular presentation rooms. The central room leads from the entrance through another entry room or *atrium*. The porticoed courtyard was described as an open-air *atrium* in its first phase, but after a remodeling, some doors were closed, and it became an *impluvio porticato*.<sup>310</sup> While it is suggested that this was part of a much larger *domus*, the relationship between the entrance and this courtyard is clear.

The late antique *domūs* in my study in Rome often exhibit larger and more irregular plans. This can be seen in the third phase of the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, which was restructured in the last quarter of the third century to combine an earlier *domus* and an *insula*, and the *domus* of Sette Sale (III.03), in which a large *aula* and then a multi-lobed room were built across the original peristyle leaving a larger unusual plan. The (II.05) *domus Symmachorum*, constructed in the late Antonine period and remodeled through the late fifth century, exhibits clearly such an extensive irregular plan, and yet despite this, still generally follows a traditional pattern of the relationship between the entrance of the *domus* and the peristyle. The peristyle has one primary entrance and large presentation side rooms opening off of it. The entrance to peristyle comes by means of a long apsed room, connected to a small triangular entry room with fountains. This pattern of a passage from the street through an *atrium*-like entry room and a second room to the peristyle would allow for similar patterns of movement to the smaller *domus* on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (V.10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> Carpano 1972, 120-121.

Multiple other examples of *domūs* excavated around the city of Rome show plans that may indicate this same architectural arrangement. The following examples have been theoretically reconstructed as following plans much like those of the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*. One must be careful in reconstructing a *domus* plan from a fragment as it can form a bit of a circular argument. Many *dom\bar{u}s* have been reconstructed as following a traditional plan, but as many of them are already reconstructed based on the Forma Urbis Romae, their presence cannot always be used as strong evidence. However, in the following cases the traditional one entry plan to the peristyle has been reconstructed as most likely.

The domus under SS. Sergio e Baccho is located nearby the domūs on the Forma Urbis *Romae*, around 500 m down the Viminal hill, and has been shown to follow a similar plan to these *domūs*.<sup>311</sup> The rear portion of the *domus* that would include the peristyle, unfortunately, has not yet been uncovered. In addition to the traditional plan of this domus constructed in the first century CE and resembling those of the Forma Urbis Rome in the second century, the domus was remodeled in the Severan period. The remodeling is dated by Severan brickwork and the style of wall paintings added during the same renovation. A small group of bath and thermal rooms was added to one side of the *atrium*, showing the addition of this function the later imperial period. I will discuss bath suites further below.

Another example of a *domus* reconstructed in part based on this type of plan is second century CE phase of the domus of Sette Sale (III.03), which had a large aula constructed across the original peristyle in the mid-third century.<sup>312</sup> Only one side of the second century peristyle was remaining in the fourth century. The rooms on the southern side of the east portion of the fourth century *domus* were originally constructed as part of the Trajanic era *domus*, dated by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> Andrews 2014, 70-71, 76-77. <sup>312</sup> Volpe 2000, 160.

means of brick stamps, the construction style of *opus mixtum*, and traces of second century black and white mosaic. The remains of a *tablinum* or *triclinium*, depending on the orientation of the original plan, is visible opening onto the remaining side of the second century peristyle. The peristyle contains four columns remaining on one side, estimated at 19 meters wide, off a *triclinium* or *tablinum*, but the entire original plan is not visible. This has been suggested as possibly originally the *domus* of the person managing Trajan's baths, but its later function is less clear. An additional peristyle likely opened off of the large apsed hall that was constructed across the second century peristyle, but it is now not remaining.<sup>313</sup>

Coarelli has identified the *domus* at Via Graziosa (V.09) with the large *atrium* visible on the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment 11e across the ancient street from the three *domūs* mentioned above. Coarelli suggests that the large peristyle of the *domus* at Via Graziosa is part of a traditional plan with a large *atrium* near the entrance.<sup>314</sup> This would be a larger example of this plan than the three *domūs* mentioned above (V.10), and Coarelli estimates a façade of c. 33m with an entrance to a large *atrium* of c. 18 x 20 m with two *tabernae* on either side of the opening and a stairway in one to an upper floor. The luxurious wall paintings of the *domus* at Via Graziosa make an interesting point about display in the context of a large traditional *domus*.

The *domus* of the Via De' Ciancaleoni nn. 45-46 (VI.06), includes originally two units. Ramieri reconstructs the southernmost of the two *domūs* as a *domus* with a Hellenistic style plan with *peristyle*, based on the subterranean rooms and *gola di lupo* windows. Like the *domus* at Ss. Sergio e Baccho, this *domus* is nearby the fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (V.10) just southeast instead of southwest. The proximity of the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment to three further partially excavated *domūs* suggests a common architecture in this region of the city.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> Volpe 2000, 160-161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> Coarelli 1998, 31-35.

Carandini reconstructs the *domus* Nova Via (X.07) using the remains of the substructures and fragments of the floor plan to hypothesize a plan with a single entrance through an *atrium* to a peristyle in the northern corner of the house. He presents the peristyle in the Julio-Claudian period with a central garden and pool with statues.<sup>315</sup> The Julio-Claudian date, while slightly earlier, fits generally with the second century and earlier dates of the majority of these *domūs*.

Finally, the *domūs* I and II under Santa Pudenizana (VI.09a) are reconstructed with a reasonably similar plan. These *domūs* included a relatively small peristyle. The first century BCE *domus* I had a four x six column peristyle, estimated at roughly 10.70 x 13 meters. The peristyle of *domus* II is more fragmentary in remains, dating to the end of the first century BCE and beginning of the first century CE, but clearly a similar size to *domus* I. Both include three rooms at rear opening onto the peristyle, and *domus* I has remains of an additional room opening onto the peristyle from the opposite side closer to the entrance.<sup>316</sup> While the remains of the *domus* towards the entrance, including the probable *atria*, are missing, the form of the peristyle and surrounding rooms, along with the first century BCE and CE dates support a plan similar to those seen in the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment.

Other *domūs* that included peristyles and porticoed courtyards had different means to access the spaces from the entrance to the *domus*. This imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21) may have had one or two doors of access to the porticoed courtyard, as that part of the *domus* is unexcavated, but it has a general layout with which we are familiar. A large rear "*oecus*" opens over water onto the courtyard with two columns in the opening. This central room has another smaller room on either side also opening onto the courtyard. The portico runs around the other three sides. This plan is similar to that of the porticoed courtyard in the *domus* Azara.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Angelelli 2010, 280.

The (V.01) *domus* Azara also has a large room at the rear of a porticoed courtyard, in this case highlighted by larger granite columns and unique wall painting. The plans of the two *domūs* can be closely compared, but the front of the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli remains undiscovered. The *domus* Azara has two entrances to the porticoed courtyard, rather than the traditional plan through the *atrium*. One entrance to the porticoed courtyard comes through a *vestibulum* entry room, then two decorative rooms of the *domus* and the other entrance comes through the *vestibulum* and then through the room with stairs to the floors above, which may or may not have been private. This may show ways in which a more traditional plan could be adapted to have continued function in the compact multi-storied city, where a pattern of access to the courtyard for social obligations had to be paired with a need for access to floors above.

Domus A under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01a) also shows a more complicated means of entry to the paved peristyle. One entrance comes in from an exterior courtyard, paved originally in *basolato* and later at the end of the third century, repaved in travertine, and another from rooms that have not yet been excavated under the modern street.<sup>317</sup> A plan from a nineteenth century excavation indicates rooms in this direction, which appear to include a four-columned *atrium*, suggesting a possible entry through an *atrium*, another connecting room, and then the peristyle.<sup>318</sup> This *domus* was built over a series of constructions in the first and second century. The room leading off the peristyle with a highly decorative mosaic was originally open to the peristyle via a series of pilasters, which were shortly after the construction closed to make a wall and doorway. This multi-period construction process, which led to the expansion of this *domus* into new areas in former exterior courtyards, may help explain the multiple entrances leading off those spaces. It is also placed in central Rome, in a compact area of streets, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> La Rocca 2006, http://www.fastionline.org/conservation/site/AIAC\_967

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> Lanciani 1901, XXII.

may have made having multiple entrances desirable for movement of air and people through the *domus*.

Finally, the *domus* in the Villa Rivaldi (IV.01) was first constructed in the first century CE and had a large peristyle. The peristyle had three ambulatories around the sides and rear with the fourth front ambulatory at a slightly lower level with windows onto the garden and a stairway to access to the lower level. At the lower level it had a *cryptoporticus* and *nymphaeum*. The peristyle had two entrances to its northeast and northwest corners through corridors from the street. The adaptation of the lower front ambulatory and stairway to the lower level may have influenced this plan with two entrances. Additionally, there is no visible *atrium*. The topography of the city, and placement of this *domus* on the cusp of a hill, likely created the desire for the more unusual arrangement, but the creation of two entrances would be a choice.<sup>319</sup> The plan allows the peristyle to be more directly accessible from the street and implies that there is not one viewing angle from which the courtyard was expected to be viewed.

A final element that I want to discuss here relating to open-air courtyards with ambulatories, the issue of associated subterranean spaces and *cryptoporticūs* highlights a further important point about these spaces of Rome. In addition to the needs of the patrons for display and social status, the plans of the *domūs* of Rome were dependent on the topography of the city. In Pompeii, some *domūs* included underground series of rooms, seen for example in Penelope Allison's list of thirty houses, where six have some amount of lower floor.<sup>320</sup> These are particularly found in regio VIII *insula* 2, which stood on the slopes of the hill of the city, in addition to a small underground portion, including rooms for storage and a *praefurnium*, of the House of the Menander in regio I *insula* 10. On the other hand, such substructures and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1983, 147-168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Allison 2001-2018, http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/houselist.html

underground or partially submerged rooms were extremely common and necessary in Rome, as large portions of the city lie along slopes of hills. These were especially common in larger *domūs*.

In some cases, underground rooms were constructed primarily as a response to the topography, which required additional support to create flat stable floors and gardens or terraces. The underground rooms of the first century CE *domus* Nova Via (X.07) are unplastered and undecorated, barrel-vaulted, rooms. Carandini suggests their primary function was to support the *domus* above on the Palatine hill.<sup>321</sup> This presents a case were the hill greatly influenced the structural needs for constructing the *domus*.

The *cryptoporticus* of the *domus* of Aquila and Prisca (XIII.03) like the *domus* Nova Via, had rooms that likely were originally substructures for a terraced garden added during an expansion of the house at the beginning of the second century. This provides another example of topography leading the original construction. This *domus*, however, like the *domus Nummii* that I will discuss below, showed a multi-century period of use, and the function of the subterranean barrel-vaulted spaces changed. In the early third century the underground space was remodeled and converted into a *mithraeum*.<sup>322</sup>

The hilly topography of Rome also required adapted forms of *cryptoporticūs* in cases where *domūs* were built directly against one of the extreme slopes of the hills of the city. The need for terraces is found at the casa Via Graziosa (V.09), which was built into the hillside of the Cispius so that the famous Odyssey wall paintings adorn a wall with vaults above that abuts the hill and face a side that is open to a lower tier with a portico. Other *domūs* with similar terracing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 110-111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> Vermaseren and Essen 1965, 105, 108-110.

had been found in the 1684 excavation of the via Graziosa (SEE Figure 2.9).<sup>323</sup> Another possible example of a terrace can be seen in the *domus* at the INPS (II.08), which includes a long corridor that I discussed above, overlooking a garden. Sapelli suggests that this corridor could be on one side a *cryptoporticus* and open on the other as a part of a system of terraces down toward the southwest but notes that Liverani does not support that reconstruction.<sup>324</sup>

Other *domūs* have more complete substructures and *cryptoporticūs* with associated subterranean rooms and other functions. The *cryptoporticus* of the *domus Nummii* (VI.02) follows the line of the peristyle with *gola di lupo* windows to the garden above but extends beyond it to rooms underneath an *aula* of the original *domus*. This *aula* and area of the *domus* was later adapted into the church of San Caio, and the subterranean spaces below it contained a *mithraeum*. Stairs to the upper level from the *cryptoporticus* were found with brick stamps dating to 138 CE.<sup>325</sup> The structures to the southwest contained brick stamps from the fourth century, showing a long use of these underground rooms.<sup>326</sup> Like the *domus* of Aquila and Prisca above, this exhibits a long history that likely included changing uses of the subterranean spaces.

The *cryptoporticus* found at the *domus* at the Vigna Barberini (X.02) also follows the line of the peristyle above.<sup>327</sup> Likewise, that at the *domus* via del Babuino (VII.06) supports the peristyle above. In this space the portraits from the first century CE were found.<sup>328</sup> The specific portrait cache in the *domus* via del Babuino suggests a possible use of the *cryptoporticus* for storage, rather than display, considering the presence of a portrait of Nero.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> Coarelli 1998, fig. 7 drawing by Sante Bartoli, redrawn by Lanciani.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> Sapelli 2005, 258-259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> Lanciani 1869, 230-237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> Guidobaldi Guidobaldi 1995, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> Morel et al. 1992, 484-485; Dumser 2008-2017, 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> Varner 2004, 70.

The rooms discovered of the Casa Belleza (XIII.01) consist of three subterranean highly decorative rooms opening onto a three-sided *cryptoporticus* with *gola di lupo* windows to above. While direct evidence of the garden and peristyle above is not remaining, it is likely based on this arrangement of spaces. These three decorative rooms or *triclinia*, alongside stairs to the ground floor above, suggest a more publicly accessible function for this area.

The *domus* at Villa Rivaldi (IV.01) includes a porticoed courtyard with a center garden, which is supported on three sides by a *cryptoporticus*. The subterranean level includes a *nymphaeum*. Windows allowed light into the *cryptoporticus* from above, with a span of decorative wall painting placed in the lit area of the window shafts, presenting the decorative painting lit by the windows to those in the *cryptoporticus* below (SEE Figure 2.10).<sup>329</sup> This unusual arrangement likely was highly influenced by the topography of the area requiring a partially underground space, but also clearly shows active use of the lower level through decoration of the unusual windows lighting the *cryptoporticus* and through the *nymphaeum*.

The plan of the more complete *domus* of the two *domūs* at via de' Cianceleoni (VI.06) consists of the lower subterranean floor. It is reconstructed with a peristyle above based on the *golla di lupo* windows in the subterranean spaces. Ramieri reconstructs this as a Hellenistic style plan.<sup>330</sup> One subterranean room in the *domus* has evidence of a mosaic pavement and second style wall-painting, which help date the building to the second half of the first century CE. Another room also shows a decorative mosaic pavement, supporting these as active rooms and part of the household.<sup>331</sup> Positioned in a similar part of town to the casa Via Graziosa (V.09), mentioned above, this highlights the adaptation for use of underground spaces that were required by the hilly topography in this part of Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> Pisani Sartorio 1983, 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> Ramieri 1980, 4, 48-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> Martini 2008, 4 - Martini labels these rooms as L and F respectively, as does Ramieri.

The imperial period *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21b) includes a U-shaped *cryptoporticus* with additional subterranean rooms (SEE Figure 2.11).<sup>332</sup> The *cryptoporticus* on the east side is paved in black and white decorative mosaic, and on the west side consists of five intercommunicating rooms. The southern side is not yet excavated. Of the four excavated rooms on the west side, two are decorated, one with a mosaic vault in a square pattern created using shells, and the other with a black and white mosaic floor and frescoed vault with a flower pattern. The shells fit a general grotto motif, but do not have pipes to form a *nymphaeum*. These decorative spaces indicate display and social function of these spaces.<sup>333</sup>

The use and decoration of these subterranean spaces and *cryptoporticūs* show how the *domūs* of Rome were constructed to fit with the topography of the city. In order to create the broad open courtyards for social presentation and air movement, the ground had to be leveled in many parts of the city. Beyond simple adaptation to the topography, many of these *domūs* went further to use these subterranean spaces for display and social function. The beautiful wall paintings and architectural detail of the rooms off the *cryptoporticus* at the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza show that these spaces were more than just substructures. A comparison in the next chapter delineates the difference in the decoration of these spaces and ground level decorative rooms to explore if there are indicators of a difference in accessibility to the public or level of social display.

The peristyles of Rome often had plans that resembled a Hellenistic plan leading a visitor from an entrance, through a *vestibulum* or *atrium*, and back to a peristyle or porticoed courtyard. In particular the more classic "peristyles", as exemplified by the plans of the *atrium* houses on the *Forma Urbis Romae* and the *domus Symmachorum*, more commonly formed a traditional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, figure 42 with a plan of the *cryptoporticus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 34-38; Basso and Ghedini 2003, 127-147, 274-275.

plan with one entrance leading the visitor to that space. The *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla, however, also had such a direct plan despite being a more adapted porticoed courtyard. Variety, however, was a common theme of Roman domestic architecture and the open-air courtyards with ambulatories exhibited many adjustments to fit the topography of the city, to fit the compact available space in the urban center, to accommodate renovations to buildings over centuries, and to allow for differences in style. Other *domūs* that had porticoed courtyards with three-sided ambulatories, such as the *domus* Azara or *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi, more often had these courtyards as a part of an adapted plan with more than one entrance. Additionally, the presence of multiple entrances often appears to be due to changes in architecture through time, a result of the long history of occupation in the city.

The decoration of these open-air courtyards with ambulatories showed strong common themes among the different formats of courtyards and peristyles. These themes suggest commonalities in the expectations and desires of patrons for display and meaning in this type of space despite some differences of form among the selection from our sample. The primary themes represented include exhibiting history through the history of their family or of the empire, representing their education and mythical stories through portrayals of myth, and images and presentations of fixtures associated with water and baths. The use of art along the theme of the history of family and empire compellingly supports that the patrons had a desire to show off to visitors in these open-air spaces with ambulatories. The artworks exhibiting mythical themes that display wealth and education would also fit well with the idea of these spaces presenting the public image of a Roman household as a part of an open access space that would commonly receive visitors. Finally, the theme of water, and particularly its association with baths and *gymnasia*, would have associated these privately-owned domestic spaces with formal public buildings, and would have provided an association with social obligations and visits to the space as a part of the *domus* that is more openly accessible to the public.

### **Other courtyards:**

In addition to open-air spaces with ambulatories, many *domūs* included secondary courtyards or only courtyards not containing ambulatories. In this section I will examine these courtyards and compare their decoration and position in the *domus* to the open-air spaces with ambulatories above. Wallace-Hadrill has presented evidence that many *domūs* had open-air spaces lacking an *impluvium*, which still fulfilled many of the functions of a central *atrium*, providing a space for domestic activity, air and light, and storage. Andrews notes that this could qualify more spaces in Rome as *atria* than traditional roofed definitions in axial plans do.<sup>334</sup>

Many of the domestic courtyards lacking ambulatories are found in the multi-residence *insulae* or *domūs* adapted from former *insulae*. The courtyards in *insulae* had to provide the broadest multiuse residential and business spaces for multiple families. The *domus Gaudentius* (II.02) is a clear example of an interior domestic courtyard adapted from the configuration of an exterior *insula* space, specifically a former alley. The *domus Gaudentius* was adapted into a single large *domus* from two former *insulae*, separated by a small alley, in the late Antonine period.<sup>335</sup> The main entrance of the *domus* leads into a *vestibulum*, which aligns with the former alley that separated the two *insulae*. Opposite this main entrance is a secondary entrance to the *domus*. On this side of the *domus* the wider alley that remained between the *domus* and the next building on the long side was narrowed consciously by two brick intrusions, intended to prevent carts and other loud traffic.<sup>336</sup> This minor construction would increase privacy on this side of the house without actually preventing full access. This room led to a small corridor with a furnace,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 236-240; Andrews 2014, , 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> Spinola 1992, 955; Spinola 1993, 474.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Spinola 1992, 958.

and then into the central courtyard with portico. This space likely qualifies as a back-entrance, rather than second primary entrance.<sup>337</sup> Another example of a domestic courtyard in a *domus* from a former *insula* can be seen at the *domus* in the former *insula* at San Paolo alla Regola (IX.06) where the former shared courtyard was raised roughly three meters at the time the *insula* was reconstructed into a *domus*. The raising of the ground level preserved the building from the flooding of the Tiber, and the second-floor windows were converted to doors. Despite the raising the former courtyard and altering it, it was still used as a courtyard space for the *domus*.<sup>338</sup> A further similar example can be seen in the *domus* at Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01), in the Hadrianic *domus*, a triangular courtyard was overlooked by two rooms with windows, and also provided light to the bath rooms on the lower level. It continued to be used in connection with the other courtyards of the later *domus* in the final period when the *insula* to the south was joined to the earlier *domus*.<sup>339</sup> These examples show the continued need for open-air spaces providing light and air in houses adapted from *insulae*, and do not appear to indicate these were specifically display spaces, as they were more roughly paved and lacking recovered art.

Multi-residence *insulae* with associated courtyards are also found abundantly in Rome, including the *insula* San Lorenzo in Lucina (IX.03), the *insula* at the Ara Coeli (VIII.04), the *insulae* Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02), and the Grand *insula* (IX.08). The remains of the *insula* at San Lorenzo in Lucina include a series of rooms that open onto a courtyard or covered gallery. The state of the excavations of the area around this *insula* leaves the full reconstruction of the building unclear. The extent to which other sides of the *insula* could have extended from this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> Allison 1992, 76. Allison describes 21 examples from her study of Pompeian atrium houses of courtyards that are mostly courtyards that are also rear entrances, but that she generally describes as back entrances and service courts or secondary non-colonnaded gardens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> Priester 2002, 175-177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Colini and Gismondi 1944, 166.

span of rooms to form an internal courtyard is unknown.<sup>340</sup> The remaining portion of the *insula* at the Ara Coeli made up the east side of a three-sided *insula*, built at the beginning of the second century CE, with an internal courtyard open on one side, the south. Three legs of the *insula* buildings surrounded the courtyard on the other three, and it was paved in *basolato*, which replaced earlier opus spicatum. A period of repaving was also seen in the exterior courtyards at the nearby domus Palazzo Valentini. This external paved courtyard at the domus Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01, VIII.02) developed as a section of street that was paved when the area was leveled, forming a terrace on which the surrounding buildings stood. In this courtyard original *basolato* that was used to pave the area when the hill was systematized at the beginning of the second century CE was replaced with travertine paving in slabs. The *basolato* paving was obliterated at the end of the third century CE, and the ground level was raised for the new paving.<sup>341</sup> Pipes found from this period under the courtyard paving may suggest a fountain in this area.<sup>342</sup> The replacement of the *basolato* with travertine may also suggest a move from more public courtyard, as an extension of the terrace and street on which the building stood, to a more private courtyard when *domus* A and *domus* B at Palazzo Valentini were combined.<sup>343</sup> Such periods of repaying support continued use of these spaces requiring reconstruction to combat flooding or changes of use.

The *insula* at the Ara Coeli had different forms of rooms on different floors with apartment style housing on upper floors and *tabernae* on the ground level. Wall painting of red lines on white ground in the ground floor *tabernae* would have provided a small amount of decoration to the courtyard ground level space. The shared use of the building would have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> Brandt 2012, 21-24. Rakob, De Caprariis, and Boman have reconstructed this *insula* in different ways. Boman 2012, 110-111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> La Rocca 2006, http://www.fastionline.org/conservation/site/AIAC\_967.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> Baldassarri 2008, 53-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> Baldassarri and Napoli 2015, 95.

required many different uses of the interior courtyard, and definitely required an openly accessible public space, despite also fulfilling some residential functions for the residents of the upper floors.<sup>344</sup> Notably the addition of a large portico of pilasters changed this space into one with ambulatories that would have protected the entrances from weather, though ambulatories in a public manner. In addition, this change obliterated a different open-air space that had been available for the second floor. A balcony, likely made of wood, had previously rested on still-visible travertine corbels.<sup>345</sup> While likely somewhat visible from the street and courtyard below this would have been a considerably more restricted access exterior space for the nicer second floor residence level.

The three *insulae* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi along the *via Lata* are four-sided *insulae* with internal courtyards for service and storage of the surrounding *tabernae*. The center, and best preserved, of the three *insulae* had single-story smaller constructions in its courtyard, two of which may have been storage buildings for the surrounding shops. These had groin vaults and pillared entrances. The low height would still have allowed light and air circulation for the floors above. Two fountains, one semi-circular and the other rectangular, were found at the external street corner of the northern *domus* off the *via Lata*. These were coated in *opus signinum* and dressed with marble slabs.<sup>346</sup> This water source would have been available to all the surrounding housing, showing an overlap in street space and courtyards in their function in multi-family residential areas. The Grand *insula* (IX.08), dating to the beginning of the second century CE, surrounded its courtyard on three sides. The courtyard was paved in polygonal blocks of the same form as public streets. Reports cannot specifically identify it as a courtyard or small alley. This further supports the overlap in such spaces in multi-use buildings with multi-family

<sup>344</sup> Muñoz 1930, 45-46; Chini 1999, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> Chini 1999, 7-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> Cavallero 2011, 178-182.

residences.<sup>347</sup> These courtyards indicate that exterior paved spaces were an important part of domestic structures, even for those living in small upper level apartments like the one room spaces found in the *insula* at the Ara Coeli, but there was a lot of overlap in the use of small alleys and openly accessible courtyards to fulfill this function. A general lack of discovery of art in these spaces may suggest they were not personalized by the potentially more transient residents.

The northern of the two *domūs* of Via De' Ciancaleoni nn. 45-46 (VI.06), constructed in the latter half of the first century BCE, had a large open exterior space at the rear of the *domus*, opposite the street, onto which three rooms opened through arched entries. The center room was largest with *opus sectile* paving and marble wall decoration. Similar decoration is supported for the smaller and less-preserved room to the south, for which there is evidence of a small fountain.<sup>348</sup> The presence of highly decorated rooms and a small fountain opening onto this exterior space calls to mind both the aforementioned courtyard of the *domus* at Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, which provided light and air circulation to a *domus*, and the porticoed courtyard of the *domus* Lucius Octavius Felix, which had highly decorated rooms around a fairly simple paved courtyard. This suggests that the courtyard form, even without ambulatories, could act as a space for display and social activities.

Two late antique *domūs*, the *domus* dei Ritratti (V.18) and *domus* della Fontana (V.19), in the *Domus Sessoriana* area, also show examples of courtyards. Each *domus* had a sizeable open courtyard paved in a large tiled mosaic, onto which opens a wide *aula* paved in high quality black and white mosaic by means of an entrance marked by marble threshold. The *domus* della Fontana includes a semi-circular fountain within its courtyard. Based on construction techniques

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> Muñoz 1930, 53-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup> Martini 2008, 4.

Iacopi dated these *domūs* to the first decades of the fourth century.<sup>349</sup> These *domūs* again use courtyards without ambulatories, pairing them instead with decorative rooms, to provide light and air for the house and to display the status of the household. The contrasting dates of a late first century BCE example in the Via De' Ciancaleoni and these examples no earlier than the third century CE, suggest that the courtyard form could be adapted to be used for display when necessary, and the ambulatory was not inherently necessary for the space to function in that social manner.

Throughout the imperial period many residences used courtyards without ambulatories as a space for the economy of the household, for air circulation, and for water access. These courtyards regularly could be found in multi-family residences. Single family residences also could contain functional courtyards in addition to decorative spaces. This is clearly seen in the *domus Gaudentius* where the former alley between the two earlier *insulae* was converted to a courtyard space, but an additional porticoed courtyard was used. Examples are also found in Rome, from both the early and late empire, with courtyards lacking ambulatories associated with highly decorated spaces and used in place of a traditional *atrium* or peristyle with ambulatories, as a space for social activities and display.

# **Conclusions – Openly Accessible Spaces:**

The types of spaces covered in this chapter follow common themes of open lines-of-sight to large portions of the residence, of adaptations to fit city plans, and of decoration that highlighted space and was visible in the residence. Due to the dense urban structure of the city of Rome, stairways became an integral part of the entry of the urban *domus*, adapting to the city. *Insulae* throughout the city had stairways leading to upper floors and various *domūs* had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 28-31. The stylistic analysis of the figurative mosaics suggests a Severan date, but the mosaics may have been reused.

stairways near the entrance leading to a higher floor. These stairways near the entrance increase the possible available space for guests or multiple households in the urban center. Further adaptation to the city can be seen in the irregular shapes of entryways and entry courtyards. Rooms with forms resembling the *tablinum* were found primarily in early examples from the first and early second century, including the *Forma Urbis Romae domūs* plans and the *domus* Via Nova, as well as the earlier phase of the *domus* sopra la Cisterna delle Sette Sale. Later rooms with open fronts and sides instead appear to function more similarly to the smaller and larger decorative presentation rooms with doors discussed in the following chapter. The lack of portals in these rooms were more likely part of an adaptation to irregular plans created by the urban street system, as seen in the rear open fronted room in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento.

Certain commonalities are seen among the available samples of open-air spaces with ambulatories and the partially or fully roofed *atria* or *vestibula*. *Domūs* plans often positioned these spaces with open lines-of-sight to the entrance or to large numbers of other rooms, making them more accessible to guests who entered the residence even briefly. The decorations and themes of these spaces suggest they were used for display and social activities. These spaces commonly contained art referencing family or imperial history, or mythological imagery that implied education and status. The *domus* at the Baths of Caracalla had sculpture found in the vicinity of the porticoed courtyard that was also decorated with figural mosaic, and the open-air corridor of the *domus* at the INPS had megalographia wall painting and a free-standing sculpture. They were also organized specifically for the display of art to be visible from the entrance and for guests to be received casually. Positions for art can be seen in the entrance room at the *domus* Azara, which had niches for sculpture and non-figural wall painting, and in the entrance to the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, which had a direct line of sight past a herm, across the *atrium*, to a small apsed space. Planned space to receive guests can be seen in the entrance room of the *domus Gaudentius* that had masonry benches for resting and waiting. These themes in the presentation of artistic decoration suggest that these spaces were expected to be seen by visiting guests and were desired to exhibit the heritage and wealth of the household.

The spaces of the *domūs* and *insulae* in the city indicate the need to accommodate the compact urban structure, as can be seen through angled rooms and unusual entrances. The entrance courtyard to the *domus Symmachorum* for example, is a triangle that adapts the *domus* to the angle of the street frontage. The domus at the Piazza dei Cinquecento also fits into a triangular block, creating an unusual angled entrance room, and apsed *triclinium* off the *atrium*. Yet at times the form of some rooms clearly ranked more highly and the accommodations to the *domus* plan prioritized the internal flow of the *domus*. This can also be seen in the *domus* Symmachorum, which despite its triangular entry has a rectangular peristyle, as well as the *domus* at the Piazza dei Cinquecento, which despite the sharply triangular block, maintains a rectangular atrium. This tendency to maintain a rectangular interior courtyard when entry spaces could fit different shapes supports a prioritization of the formal shape of a courtyard, indicating the formal shape was important for the use of the interior courtyard by the household. This prioritizing of rectangular interior decorative spaces also suggests that the triangular courtyard of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix was nearer to the entrance or secondary, as seen in the small secondary porticoed courtyard in the domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento. However, that can only be hypothesized at this time.

Further adaptations in the architectural form of domestic buildings are repeatedly seen in necessary renovations in order to reuse older architectural structures for new domestic purposes.

Through adapting old buildings Romans constructed functional new *domūs*, though often with some spaces leaving evidence of their former functions. This can be seen in the form of the late antique *domus* at San Paolo alla Regola, which elevated and reused the courtyard of the former *insula*, the *domus Gaudentius*, which adapted the former alley into a courtyard and series of rooms, and the *domus* at Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, which likewise adapted an alley into a decorative open space with *nymphaeum* to connect former rooms of an *insula* to the portions of an earlier *domus*.

*Domūs* entrances in some cases are arranged with a corridor, so-called *fauces*, and in others have a simple entrance to an interior room. Those with a corridor also contain *tabernae* on either side of the entrance as well as date to the first century BCE or first century CE. By contrast those without a corridor date to the second century CE or later and do not have *tabernae*. These contrasts support that the use of the entry corridor was a part of earlier imperial social interactions and that it was in part a reaction to the typical urban *insulae* of the day, which contained *tabernae* along *domus* facades.

In the next chapter I use the decorative program, construction materials, lines-of-sight, and positions within the residence of the potentially more restricted access spaces of the Roman *domus* to critically analyze the social cues created by the choices of the patrons who created them. I compare decorated rooms and undecorated rooms off of courtyards and corridors, often called *triclinia* or *cubicula* in order to see if the materials and imagery reveal decorative themes for certain types of rooms. I examine the highly decorative baths and *nymphaea* areas of the *domus* for how their positions and visibility would influence visitors to the residence. I interpret how changes to the positions, size, and decoration of the larger *aulae* from previous periods that are represented in many Roman *domūs* indicate changes to the social expectations for these

spaces. Finally, I apply the critical analysis to the spaces that have an unknown level of access, including stairways, subterranean spaces, and any evidence of upper floors, in an attempt to see if the decorations of these questionable access spaces may reveal similarities specifically closer to the reduced access spaces or to the somewhat more openly accessible spaces mentioned above.

### **Chapter 3 – Controlled Space in Roman Houses**

### **Introduction:**

In the previous section we discussed the more openly accessible spaces in the Roman house, not blocked as often by heavy doors. The main entrance to the Roman house may have often been left ajar, as has been suggested for houses in Pompeii.<sup>350</sup> This would leave the entry rooms, the *alae* and *tablina*, and the porticoed courtyards beyond, in a plan like that seen on the Forma Urbis Romae (V.10), with a direct path not blocked from visitors by means of heavy doors. Similarly, in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02) the entry room or *vestibulum* is at the main entrance, and a direct line of sight passes through the *atrium* to a rear niche, providing visible access to the center of this domus. A stairway leading off the vestibulum would also provide some access to the upper floor. The visits and activities in these spaces would then be limited by means only of social interactions, such as slaves. The domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento contains a small room to the right of the vestibulum that would have provided space for a slave to observe visitors in a similar fashion to the slave described in Petronius's Satyricon shelling peas at the entrance (Petr. Saty. 28). The open lines-of-sight would also have allowed the patron of the *domus* to observe the household from multiple places. Other rooms within the home, however, were blocked by doors, through which one could only enter with the assistance or invitation of the patron or a member of the household. These rooms opened off entry rooms and various forms of courtyards, as well as off of corridors, by means of portals with closeable doors. In the section below, I will examine the placement and decoration of such controlled access rooms in the city of Rome.

<sup>133</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> Beard 2010, 84.

### Small closed rooms: Cubicula, Storage, Culina, Latrines:

In this section I will examine the smaller closed rooms, decorated and undecorated, often labeled as a *cubiculum*, but also sometimes called a *cella* or *penaria*. This includes small rooms off the *atrium* or entrance room, *atrium cubiculum*, but also includes some small closed rooms unaligned with a courtyard or *peristyle*. I will first examine definitively service spaces, then suggested *cubicula*. In the following section I will examine *triclinia* and compare these to *cubicula* to see any relationship can be suggested. The multi-functional nature of these rooms at different times of the year needs to be considered in our assessment of their function and decoration. While the rooms might function primarily as sleeping quarters in certain seasons, they could be relegated to service or storage in others. A historical comment from Suetonius's Life of the Caesars, Divus Augustus can provide us with a means of insight into how people viewed the nature of the *cubiculum*. Augustus is described as particularly robust for using "the same bed-chamber [cubiculo], both winter and summer" (Suet. Aug. 72). This lets us conclude that smaller often closed rooms, could be used as bedrooms for high status family members in one season, and used for another purpose in the opposite season when the temperature in that part of the house was less favorable for sleep. A south facing room might be appropriate as a bedroom in winter, but too hot in summer. Additionally, the passage notes that for work in private [secreto] he went to a place at the top of the house [in edito singularis], suggesting his cubiculum did not provide such privacy.<sup>351</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> in domo quae Calui oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breues essent Albanarum columnarum et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pauimento conclauia. ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamuis parum salubrem ualitudini suae urbem hieme experiretur assidueque in urbe hiemaret. si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et technyphion uocabat (Suet. Aug. 72).

Studies have discussed the possible varying roles of the *cubiculum*. Riggsby specifically discusses the *cubiculum* in the context of the discussion of 'public' versus 'private' space in the *domus*, and what activities are associated with the *cubiculum* in classical literature. Riggsby examines the activities of rest, sex, adultery, controlled display of art, murder and suicide, and reception, and identifies the *cubiculum* as sometimes seen as a special symbol of the domestic, and a place of increased, what he calls, secrecy. He notes that some public activity is stigmatized in this space, while some private activity is restricted to it, and that most of the evidence is based on larger wealthier homes that had more room to differentiate spaces. The same rule might not apply to smaller, even wealthy, homes.<sup>352</sup> Nissinen argues that the "ordinary cubiculum was rather a private office for working and conducting literary activities than an open (or even a semi-open) place for representative purposes." Though Nissinen also notes that the spaces seem to have changed seasonally, the less wealthy may have had less fixed sleeping spaces, and that the *cubiculum* needs to be reconsidered in comparison with the archaeological materials.<sup>353</sup> A. Zaccaria Ruggiu associates the *triclinium* with the *cubiculum*, a pairing that I will examine in relation to the archaeological evidence in Rome. Ruggiu argues that the pairing of the *triclinium* and *cubiculum* in close proximity in *domūs*, which comes into popularity in the late Republic and lasts through the empire, is a product of greater individualism, privacy, and a diffusion of luxuria.<sup>354</sup>

### Cellae and service spaces:

To begin an examination of the small closed rooms, I will consider less-decorated multifunctional service spaces that would have accommodated slaves, as well as storage. In Petronius the narrator describes a '*cella*' near the entrance, translated by Michael Heseltine as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> Riggsby 1997, 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> Nissinen 2009, 90, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> Ruggiu 2001, 95-98.

"porter's office" [ab ostiarii cella].<sup>355</sup> While this space likely accommodated the sleep of the ostiarius in this case, it would also have contained storage and other nondescript functions, making it architecturally a difficult space to identify. Likewise among the nine examples of rooms leading directly off the entrance of *domūs* in Pompeii, Allison found an array of uses from seating suggesting a space for waiting, shelves indicating storage, and domestic assemblages indicating a similar use to the rooms on the *atrium*.<sup>356</sup> An example of such a nondescript room can be found directly off the entrance to the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02) (SEE Figure 3.1).<sup>357</sup> This small room is drawn as plain brick fitting between the *vestibulum* and the stairway to the upper floor. The position of this room would have allowed a person a view of anyone attempting to enter the *domus*, though no decoration of the room itself is noted. Considering the extensive photographs and notes of the other portions of the *domus*, this suggests a lack of decoration and a primarily service function. Other service spaces near the entrance include the domestic lavanderia of the domus Gaudentius (II.02), and across a corridor from this a suite of two additional small service rooms. In the mid-second century CE the two small service rooms were open to each other, but by the mid-third to fourth century CE they had been partially closed off and each had a door leading to a narrow corridor between them. The closing of these rooms may have allowed them the function of *cubicula*, though the lack of decoration would have restricted their use from being display spaces to primarily spaces of storage and sleep.<sup>358</sup>

Other service spaces were located much further from the entrance. For instance, in the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05) the rear side of the originally second-third century *oecus* was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup>Ad sinistram enim intrantibus non longe ab ostiarii cella canis ingens, catena vinctus, in pariete erat pictus superque quadrata littera scriptum "Cave canem." (Petronius *Sat.* 28). <sup>356</sup>Allison 1992, 41-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Paris 2008, 73, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>358</sup> Spinola 1992, 964; Spinola 1993, 475-478. Spinola (1992) refers to these as cubicula in the later period.

blocked by the addition of an apse in the fourth century, and the gap between the new decorative apse and the former external apse of the *oecus* became a service corridor.<sup>359</sup> (SEE Figure 3.2).<sup>360</sup> A small triangular room at the corner of the original apse wall was originally a service room and became a cistern.<sup>361</sup> The adaptation of a room into a cistern is seen repeated in this period, for example also in the domus at the Fontana di Trevi (VII.01) in a ground floor room. The conversion of the rear of the apse into a corridor behind the apse may have allowed this area to function as small service spaces beside other central dining rooms, like the apsed room in the domus at the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02), which had two small rooms that I will discuss below, on either side. Thus, while a slightly unusual form of service space, the position of the corridor alongside and behind a large apsed room, would have allowed for traditional dining related service and storage. Further space around the corner from *atrium* of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento could have provided service space. Like in the later phase of the *domus* Symmachorum, the Hadrianic domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento had a corridor running behind the display apse, here located on the *atrium* (and discussed in the previous chapter, 78). In the original construction phase of this *domus* the corridor connected the easternmost of the three rooms opening off of the south side of the *atrium* and the corridor on the north side of the *atrium.* During the hosting of guests this would have allowed easy movement of service personnel in the household to serve guests and be less visible. At a second point the connection to the southern room was closed off, reducing the movement to these spaces.<sup>362</sup> The remains of the Casa Bellezza (XIII.01) consist primarily of a subterranean level with three presentation spaces opening onto a *cryptoporticus*. I discuss these spaces below. The remains, however,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 488.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, figs.18-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> See Catalog figure II.05 from Carignani et al. 1993, figs. 16-17. The small triangular room is labelled Room T. Carignani et al. 1993, 491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 78, 102-103. The corridor is E11 on the plan.

include the stairway to the ground floor level and small rooms off the stairwell. These rooms continue off the corridor, one along the line of the corridor for a couple more meters and the other to the right. The walls of the corridor were in white plaster. These were likely service spaces. They are currently blocked by restoration walls.<sup>363</sup>

The *domus* of the ACEA (V.15) has a small, slightly less decorative room, off the socalled *triclinium*. There is no explicit indication of the function in the mosaic, which is black with a white geometric design of interwoven white lines and geometric symbols. The geometric pattern would work for multiple purposes, and look appropriate for multiple angles, making it appropriate, but not necessarily designed for, dining. The more decorative *triclinium* opens off a decorative corridor, and both the corridor and the *triclinium* have wall paintings with figures in white or orange panels framed in gold and red with a red frieze along the bottom. Due to the limited extent of the excavation the relationship of these rooms to the rest of the *domus* is not explicitly clear. The smaller room off the *triclinium* has wall paintings on a white ground with panels outlined in thin yellow and green lines with thin red lines separating the panels, instead of thick frames or decorative painted columns. The door from this smaller room to the *triclinium* is clearly marked by a threshold.<sup>364</sup>

Another somewhat decorated potential service space can be found in the Republican *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21) in which stood a large room with a fine white mosaic with two black bands bordering it. This large room contained a well from which a triangular drain continued under the pavement and opened to a room paved in mosaic called a *cubiculum*. It also opened to other less excavated rooms also paved with mosaics. The *domus* also had service spaces or possibly external paved spaces with simple *opus signinum* floors

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Boldrighini 2003, 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 25-28.

beyond the decorative rooms on the western part of the *domus*. One of these *opus signinum* paved spaces contained a stairway to areas below framed in travertine, but not yet excavated.<sup>365</sup> These service spaces are placed on either side of a small decoratively paved room identified as a probably *cubiculum*, mentioned above and described below, and a larger room with fine *opus signinum* paving with *emblemata*. Despite the lack of a full plan for this *domus*, the intermittent placement of these less decorative spaces among highly decorative spaces indicates the functional needs of the household. These rooms with somewhat decorative paving combined with the small room off the *triclinium* in the *domus* at the ACEA indicate that service spaces within the line-of-sight of the dining space displayed more decoration than those out of sight, such as the small room off the entrance at the *domus* at the Piazza dei Cinquecento.

Hearths are another important functional fixture in a *domus*, yet the examples provided indicate few permanent hearths were present in urban *domūs*. This contrasts greatly with the situation discovered in Pompeii. Allison reported that in her data set of 30 *atrium* houses, only one of the *atrium* houses did not have some form of permanent hearth, and only two others had the hearth placed outside of a room designated for the purpose. One of these was placed in the *atrium*, and the other in a corridor.<sup>366</sup> Salza Prina Ricotti found in a study of Campanian housing that 93% of wealthy houses, 66% of upper-class houses, and only 40% of poor houses had such built in hearths, raising the question of how these simpler houses cooked food. Salza Prina Ricotti suggests portable braziers as an alternative means of cooking for these residences, a theory supported by Spinola.<sup>367</sup> By contrast, despite the size of my data set, including ninety-one *domūs* or possible *domūs*, and twenty-eight *insulae* or possible *insulae*, and despite the wealth of a large portion of my included *domūs*, only one in situ hearth and two service rooms suggested as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 15-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> Allison 1992, 72-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> Salza Prina Ricotti 1978-1980, 239-240; Spinola 1992, 964.

*culinae* were recorded. Among these examples, Colli suggests that both the *domus* della Fontana (V.19) and *domus* dei Ritratti (V.18) had *culinae* with each having a room paved in bipedal bricks that includes a tub coated in *opus signinum* with pipes for drainage.<sup>368</sup>

The *domus Gaudentius* (II.02) is the only example in my data set with a firmly recorded permanent oven. The *domus* had a small oven in the entry corridor converted from the former alley between the two former *insulae*. This more service entrance was irregularly shaped to block winds blowing through the house.<sup>369</sup> Despite being a covered room, this room would have been near open spaces and air movement, as well as had good access to the nearby *triclinium/aula*. The oven was constructed of a small brick base under a concave niche of clay and brick. This simple design in a simply paved space would have served a service area that in turn supported the highly decorative reception space just off the small portico adjoining the room. The paucity of examples of permanent hearths suggests that portable smaller braziers were more common for cooking in urban Rome. Some fine domūs had heated rooms that used tubuli, particularly located around porticoed courtyards or associated with balenae, but even these large homes do not typically show evidence of hearths.<sup>370</sup> The use of braziers for cooking and heating *insulae* has been noted, as the apartments were made of small undifferentiated spaces, but in Rome the lack of hearths extends to *domūs*.<sup>371</sup> This may have also been considered a way of reducing fires in a city where fires were often devastating.

Latrines could sometimes be found on the ground floor of residential *insulae* in the city, and we see cases in which they were added to the ground floor of *domūs* renovated from earlier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 29-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> Spinola 1992, 1993, 482.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> Spinola 1992, 964.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Carlin and Rosenthal cite the *insula* at the Ara Coeli as an example of a multi-story *insula* with no evidence of kitchen space. Carlin and Rosenthal 1998, 28.

insulae. Latrines could also be missing from insulae, and chamber pots called lasana used.<sup>372</sup> Latrines on the bottom floor can be seen in the example of the *insula* at Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02), where the remains of a drain in travertine were found in a latrine that was converted from an original stairway. It was on the bottom floor.<sup>373</sup> This has also been suggested as a possible location for a latrine in the insula at the Ara Coeli (VIII.04), as the bottom level is not fully excavated, though the presence of a latrine cannot be confirmed.<sup>374</sup> This location can also be seen in the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi (VII.01), in which a latrine was added to the lower corridor in the fourth century during the renovation from *insulae* into a *domus*.<sup>375</sup> Another latrine can be found added to a *domus* formed from earlier *insulae* in the *domus Gaudentius* (II.02b). Along with remodeling in the mid-third century, a small latrine was built.<sup>376</sup> In the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01) in a room that has been identified as perhaps originally part of a cubiculum the space was split up into a larger and some smaller portions. One smaller portion of this remodeled space, the larger portion of which is directly off the vestibulum of the domus, was converted to a latrine. The latrine like the one in the *balnea* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento was lit by a *boca del lupo* window.<sup>377</sup> From these examples we see that the conversion of other rooms to latrines was considered an appropriate use of space in the empire.

Another type of latrine can be found in the *insula* C of the *insulae* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.12). A mezzanine of wood, about 5-5.5 meters above the *tabernae* on the ground floor, was reached by a ladder, attached to a stone base. This mezzanine, in the room identified as room 5 on the plan (SEE Figure 3.3), had a hole connected to a drain leading to a sewer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> Chini 1999, 9-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> Cavallero 2011, 178-180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Chini 1999, 9-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Grig and Kelly 2015, 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> Spinola 1992, 957; Spinola 1993, 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> Moccheggiani Carpano 1972, 116.

Another such upper floor latrine is found in the *domus* del Tempio Rotondo at Ostia. In general, however, the upper floors of the *insula* do not appear to have had latrines.<sup>378</sup> Another larger latrine can be found on the ground floor in a room with windows in the bath across the ancient street in room E34 on the plan, in a room near the entrance on the opposite side from the *domus*. After the end of the sixth century CE, burials were placed in the latrine in the bath.<sup>379</sup> The excavated portions of the *domus* A under the Palazzo Valentini contain remains of a hydraulic structure built in *opus latericium* and covered in 2cm of cocciopesto connected to a covered channel that communicated with terracotta pipes which would have disposed of water from either latrines or gutters. A latrine connecting to this drainage system would also have had to be placed on an upper floor.<sup>380</sup> Multiple periods of remodeling this *domus* from two earlier *domus* could have allowed for the construction of the complicated drainage structure. The locations of the latrines, which we see on upper and lower floors as well as close and far from exits, like those of the hearths show a functional prioritization of space based on the needs of individual households.

## Cubicula and small decorative rooms:

The examples of service spaces above support a lack of decoration in such functional areas. By contrast the examples that I will discuss below as possible *cubicula*, many of which are referred to by scholars as possible *cubicula*,<sup>381</sup> include more decorative spaces in addition to some simply decorated spaces. The definition of *cubiculum* is particularly complex.<sup>382</sup>

Cubiculum often first recalls the concept of a small sleeping room placed on the atrium, the so-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> Pettinau 1996, 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> Valenzani and Meneghini 1996, 173-177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Baldassarri 2008, 42-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> For example, the room discussed below in the domus Gaudentius (Spinola 1992, 962) and the decorative room with emblemata from the Republican domus under San Pietro in Vincoli (Colini 1966, 15-20) are discussed in publications using the term *cubiculum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> For recent discussions see Riggsby 1997, 36-56; Leach 1998, 50-73; Ruggiu 2001, 394-409; Nissinen 2008, http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe200804251275; Nissinen 2009, 95-107; Anguissola 2013, 149-167.

called *atrium cubiculum*. Such rooms are referred to by the name *cubiculum* in Cicero and Quintilian, yet archaeological evidence supports an array of functions for these rooms and a variety of placements of sleeping quarters.<sup>383</sup> Penelope Allison uses the term *atrium cubiculum* to associate with the "small closed rooms off a covered forecourt" (i.e. *atrium*), but notes strong evidence that archaeologically many were not for sleeping.<sup>384</sup> The term *cubiculum* appears to have been used broadly among ancient sources<sup>385</sup> and the idea of the *cubiculum* as a room for sleeping comes from Varro (Varro *ling*, 5,162), who is referring to the early Republican period.<sup>386</sup> A small number of rooms shows plans with architectural feature delineating a bed, though as noted by Allison, these cannot be taken to definitely indicate the placement of a bed. Likewise, a small number of rooms had plans explicitly for three couches for the so-called *triclinium*. The term *cubiculum* is used as the most common term for resting space,<sup>387</sup> yet cubiculum and triclinium are listed together in Vitruvius (6.5.1) as private spaces and are not distinguished from each other by function. Already August Mau noted sleeping rooms as both "small, high rooms about the atrium" and "much lower" "about the peristyle" with a broad door. He also notes that only sometimes was the place for the bed indicated.<sup>388</sup> Herein I first review examples of small closeable rooms which have some indication of a space for a bed. After these limited examples I examine a broader range of small rooms near the *atrium* and other positions where such rooms may have been found.

Few examples of small rooms in *domūs* appear archaeologically in Rome that clearly have an architectural arrangement indicating a recess for a bed that might suggest a *cubiculum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> Leach 1998, 69; Cicero to Quintus; Quintilian 11.2.20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Allison 1992, iii, 47-48. Allison states that "while some of these rooms have direct evidence of permanent or semi-permanent sleeping activity during the final occupation phase, a higher proportion of them do not. No direct relationship between evidence of bedding and recesses can be established." Allison 1992, 47-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Allison 2001, 181-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Nissinen 2009, 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Nissinen 2009, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> Mau and Kelsey 1899, 255-256.

The *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02) has multiple decorative rooms off both the *atrium* and a small porticoed courtyard. First is a large central apsed room with two smaller side rooms framing it on either side to the north of the *atrium*, which I will discuss below. Then are a series of three rooms, smaller than that central room, on the south side of the *atrium*, which are highly decorated [E8, 9, and 10]. Finally, there are a further two rooms off the small *porticus* [E 14, 15], described as *exedrae* originally, but possibly functioned as *cubicula* in a later period once their doors were narrowed.<sup>389</sup> These rooms are all decoratively painted and indicate decorative paving.

In particular the first room nearest to the entrance of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento exhibits the clearest indication of an architectural arrangement relating to a *cubiculum*. It has red pilasters marking the separation of the westernmost area in the room further from the door from another squarer area near the door. The red pilasters are the colored accent on the wall paintings, otherwise the isolated animals, birds, and figures are painted in pastels, such as gray and light brown, on a white ground. The floor is high quality mosaic suggesting the room is for presentation of some kind. Moormann and Barbera both suggest that the proximity to the entrance indicates that this ought not be a *cubiculum*, yet Varro's description places the *cubiculum* with other functional rooms around the *cavum aedium* (forecourt) (Varro *ling*. 5,162) and traditionally scholars have interpreted the *cubiculum* as placed near the front of the *domus*.<sup>390</sup> This room, therefore may have been a *cubiculum* at times and a *biclinium*, as suggested by Moormann and Barbera at others. Unfortunately, I do not have any information on possible finds relating to furnishings, which may have been completely absent, for this space.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 73-85, 108-116; Paris 1996, 72; Paris 1996, 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> Barbera 1996, 88; Moormann 1996, 68; Nissinen 2009, 96.

The first room sits alongside two additional rectangular rooms forming one side of the atrium. The central room had more open access with no doors to the atrium and is described as a possible *exedra*. I will discuss it further below.<sup>391</sup> The third room is slightly smaller, and more damaged and thus more difficult to interpret. It was originally more open with an entrance from the *atrium*, one from the center *exedra*, and a third to the corridor to the right, separated from the *atrium*, but was changed in a later period with the closing of this third door and the reduced access to the corridor from the *atrium* to one entrance. The three entrances support a room for guests and movement of the household, and the later closing of the third door allows for a different, possibly more private, function for the room. The room had a cross vault and mosaic floor, though only a fragment remains, and Paris interprets the remains to indicate wooden door jambs. Based on the original excavation descriptions the room had a *bardiglio* marble socle of 30 cm at the base of the walls that was later replaced by a light brown painted band. The rest of the walls in the room were covered in painted plaster in the third style, dating to the end of the second century CE. The paintings included small masks and animals on a white ground within broad red frames against a yellow background. Within the frames on the south wall is a narrow delicate painted iconic colonnade. This room is decorated as a decorative composition and lacks any sense of illusionism, seen in the center room discussed below. Like the room to the far left, in the later period this could have functioned either as a small room for entertaining guests, or as a *cubiculum* at certain times. In the earlier period the third door likely made it difficult to reduce access for sleep, and the similarity of the wall paintings to those in the *vestibulum* and the corridor suggest an original intention of passage and reception through the space.<sup>392</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> Barbera 1996, 86, 88; Paris 1996, 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> Paris 1996, 102-103.

Off the south end of the corridor that originally opened from the *atrium* and the aforementioned small room on the *atrium*, and later opened only from an entrance at the north corner of the *atrium*, two other possible *cubicula* can be found in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, opening off a small porticoed courtyard. These rooms were originally more open with broader entrances, and are described by Paris as *exedrae*, but in a later period the doors were narrowed, and Paris suggests they may have been converted for use as *cubicula*. The courtyard provided light, air, and water runoff in this part of the *domus*. The small colonnade along the courtyard contained two brick columns coated in fluted-plaster, dividing the open-air courtyard from the *opus spicatum* paved corridor and the rooms off of it. The first of the rooms has a black and white decorative mosaic with a pattern of circles and floral vines with lotus flowers, surrounded by pelts. The border of the mosaic has a spiral pattern with a bird in the center. The mosaic in the second of the two rooms is a black and white mosaic with black vines forming a palmette pattern with a rhombus surrounding a star at the center and a band of diamonds at the entrance. The walls were covered in painted plaster, which had been repaired at least once. The wall painting, similar in both rooms, has red pilasters on a white ground and differently sized squares in the lunette at the rear. The ceiling vaults had a plaster white ground coffer pattern with plant motifs inside. These rooms have decoration appropriate for entertaining, but positions alongside a functional opus spicatum floor. The reduced access created by narrowing the entries would allow for increased privacy this far from the entrance despite the position on a corridor.<sup>393</sup>

The newly excavated *domus* at the via Amba Aradem Stazione (II.12) also contains a highly decorative room that opens off the porticoed courtyard, which has a definitive separation of space front to rear. The room opens next to a full-length room also off the porticoed courtyard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> Paris 1996, 72; Paris 1996, 112-114.

that is paved in marble slabs. This room, however, has a front area and a back area. The front area has a geometric black and white mosaic with a black border around the front and two sides and a threshold geometric pattern along the back adjoining the back area. The back area is separated from the front by narrow walls and a door and is paved in a more complex black and white geometric pattern with a central rectangular figural element and surrounding elements of overlapping circles within squares created by a twined vine border. The central element has two figures, one a winged man and the other, damaged, some sort of creature, who are fighting under vines and in between two vases. The door creates a separate rear area with controlled access that is highly decorative. This layout would also work well as a cubiculum, and again exhibits placement directly next to a room that appears to have primarily been designed for dining and other reception. However, no excavation reports have yet been published with information on finds and details, which might shed further light on this area, so firm conclusions cannot yet be made.

The three *atrium* houses on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (V.10) show only two of the three rectangular *atrium* houses had *atria cubicula*. In both cases the room off the *atrium* were wide. The furthest to the left has one room on each side running the full length of the *atrium*, and the one on the right run most of the length, shortened only by the *alae* adjacent. These are thus not exactly in the form seen in Pompeii, for example the rooms 4 and 5 in the *Casa del Fabbro* in Pompeii are suggested to be *atria cubicula*. They had recesses on the eastern side appropriate for a bed, and the finds did not contradict such an interpretation. Together they are two shorter rooms that form one side of the *atrium*, however, where the rooms in the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae* had one long room on each side of the *atrium*.<sup>394</sup> The *domus* under Ss. Sergio e Baccho (V.06) is reconstructed with a similar plan to the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> Allison 2001-2018, accessed 5/29.

Andrews reconstructs it with a larger number of possible small *atria cubicula*, or at least small rooms along the *atrium*, based on the spacing of the pilasters that line the *atrium*, which would then more closely match plans akin to the *Casa del Fabbro*.<sup>395</sup>

Further examples of *cubicula* with an unknown, but possible, relationship with the *atrium* were also uncovered. In the Republican *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21) a small room with a fine mosaic was found, identified as probably a *cubiculum* by Colini. Originally the paved floor was largely covered by an emblemata, unfortunately removed, that was 2.05 meters square, and only the double Greek key border with shading was left remaining. This smaller room was labeled room M and measures 2.2 x 3 meters. It stood next to a larger decorative room on one side and a plainer mosaic room with a well on the other. Two further mosaicked rooms off the plainer room with a well have only a corner remaining.<sup>396</sup> The identification as a *cubiculum* may be based on the smaller size. While the *emblemata* leaves a central focus with plainer borders, it does not exhibit an obvious recess for a bed. This example could again provide a case where a highly decorative small room could have been used as a cubiculum at certain times of the year and could easily have functioned for other entertaining at other times of year.

In the *domus* under Santa Sabina (XIII.04b) another example of small rooms that can be interpreted as possibly functioning as *cubicula* near an *atrium* is worth mentioning, which has been suggested either to be a corridor with *fauces* or architectural fragments of an early church space. The excavated area near the portal of the current church consists of two side spaces interpreted as either side rooms or side aisles on either side of a corridor. The central corridor showed a black and white mosaic paving and a later, but possibly coexisting white marble slab

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> Andrews 2014, 72-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 15-20.

paving, and to either side of this corridor paving were two spaces paved in large square bricks.<sup>397</sup> These side areas have been suggested as two rooms of a *domus* on either side of a corridor by Munoz. However, Marrou argues that it should be interpreted as a portion of a church. Marrou points out that the pavements pass under the walls of the corridor, which have no foundations, and this suggests that they are actually partitions in a larger room rather than walls.<sup>398</sup>

The *domus Gaudentius* also exhibits a possible *cubiculum* off of a porticoed courtyard. This *domus* has a long narrow room that had an entrance to the corridor of the portico and another to the main *triclinium* off the portico, the latter of which was closed in a remodeling of the *domus* probably already in the third century. It has been interpreted as possibly the *cubiculum* of the patron of the house.<sup>399</sup> Its position off the courtyard and long deep shape, allowing for a bed at the rear, would make it an option for a *cubiculum*. This would support the idea of *cubicula* pairing with *triclinia* during the Roman empire, as suggested by Ruggiu.<sup>400</sup> This shape also calls to mind the two side rooms, beside the central *triclinium* (or *exedra*) of the *domus* Azara. These two rooms are long and narrow, measuring between 7.03 and 7.33 m long and 3.04 and 3.77 m wide. The room in the *domus Gaudentius* can be estimated at slightly larger around 4 by 8.5 meters.<sup>401</sup> I will discuss these below.

Other *domus* excavated in the city specifically have had the suggestion that the missing *cubicula* from their floor plans may have been found on upper floors. These include the *domus* dei Ritratti (V.18) and the *domus* della Fontana (V.19) in the area of the *domus* Sessoriana. Despite having relatively complete ground floors, none of the rooms have been clearly identified

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Marrou 1978, 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> Marrou 1978, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> Spinola 1992, 962; Spinola 1993, 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> Ruggiu 2001, 59-101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> The measurements of the domus Azara come my plan adapted from the Massimi plan, and the measurements of the domus Gaudentius room come from Spinola's plan. Massimi 1836, 213-216; Spinola 1992, 956, fig. 2.

as *cubicula*. Due to evidence of beams supporting an upper story, they have been suggested by Borgia as having been on the upper floor. One room from the ground floor, however, is identified as a "study" due to its lacking features that suggest couches for dining, yet the presence of find mosaics.<sup>402</sup> It is worth considering that our expectations of a *cubiculum* are too narrow and such a room might easily have functioned both for work in the day and sleep at night. Additionally, the internal stairways in the *domus* Azara (V.01) just off the entry room, *domus* Gaudentius<sup>403</sup> (II.02) further to the interior, domus under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01) also suggested near the entrance, domus under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01), domus Symmachorum (II.05) in a back corner of the *domus*, and the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02) near the entrance, allow for a strong possibility of associated upstairs rooms. While it is to be expected that many *domūs* had separate apartments on the floors above, these examples show that a considerable number of *domūs* in the urban center had internal stairways supporting rooms above from the same household. In the case of Hellenistic Delos Monika Trümper has examined the suggestion that private family quarters, not found on ground floors, might have existed on upper stories. She found that in 56% of the cases studied the upper stories had stairways accessing them from the street, and in another 29% the internal stairways were near the entrances to the ground floor habitation and near water sources and latrines, suggesting a separate upper floor unit with a shared entrance. Further the debris found to have fallen from upper stories suggests that these were lavishly decorated, not plainer private spaces.<sup>404</sup>

The *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento is particularly helpful as an example to examine the possible relationships between the *domus* and the upper floors. Despite the upper

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> On the south side of the *domus* is a room paved in *opus spicatum* leading up steeply, suggesting strongly it is a ramp to a higher floor, possibly with more *cubicula* than found on the ground floor. Spinola 1992, 962-963. <sup>404</sup> Trümper 2007, 331-332.

floors of this compact *domus-insula* complex, having been missing by the time of excavation, the floor plan is fairly complete and includes more of the block beyond the *domus*. The *domus* has an internal and external stairway in close proximity (SEE Figure 3.1).<sup>405</sup> The stairway accessible from the street implies that some portion of the upper floor was separate from the *domus*, and the stairway internal to the *domus* close to its entrance implies that another portion of the upstairs was a part of this *domus*. The combination suggests that even when upper floors were a part of a *domus* it may have been a small part of the upper floor and not the entire area. Thus, we must consider that the upper floor is not always an acceptable solution to explain the absent evidence of a canonical *cubiculum* with obvious area for a bed, and as discussed above, archaeology in Pompeii suggests such architecturally definitive spaces were not always found associated with bedding.<sup>406</sup>

On the *Forma Urbis Romae* fragment (V.10), the center *domus* has no *cubicula* on the *atrium*, and off the *peristyle* four rooms and a center *exedra*. Despite the clear relationship to a "Vitruvian" *domus* plan and the absence of *cubicula* around the *atrium*, no stairway to an upper floor is represented within the *atrium* houses. While staircases are recorded in the large building next to the houses, which has an arcade in front of a row of *tabernae*, as well as in the buildings across the street, making clear that staircases were regularly represented, no internal staircases allowed access for the members of the household to the upper floors.<sup>407</sup> This suggests that the rooms around the *peristyle* in this *domus* would likely have pulled double duty and acted as *triclinia* and *cubicula* for the household depending on the season and situation.

<sup>405</sup> Paris 1996, 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> Allison 1992, 47-48. Allison states that "while some of these rooms [those with recesses] have direct evidence of permanent or semi-permanent sleeping activity during the final occupation phase, a higher proportion of them do not. No direct relationship between evidence of bedding and recesses can be established."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> Najbjerg and Trimble 2017, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?slab=45&record=5.

In consideration of the decoration of the upper stories an example with archaeological evidence can be found in the *domus* at Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01), of which a large portion of the wide highly decorative staircase and a significant chunk of the second story balcony overlooking the *balnea* remain. Both of these have fine *opus sectile* paving, and the open nature of the balcony to the *frigidarium* suggests that the upper floor would have been accessible for more than just *cubicula* and family members (SEE Figure 3.4).<sup>408</sup> The compact city structure, in combination with the hills forcing buildings across different elevations, often provided housing with multiple stories. This variation in housing led to households that used multiple stories as well as houses with other households living above.

## Small multifunctional *cellae* or *coenacula*:

Not all smaller closable rooms in which sleeping took place were a part of a larger *domus*. Within *insulae* another type of sleeping quarters can be found in the apartments, also called *coenacula*.<sup>409</sup> While these are not identical in name and form to *cubicula* and they contained multi-functional activities, they are relevant for the discussion here of rooms and their decorations that have reduced access to guests.<sup>410</sup>

The most well-known example of such small apartments was in the *insula* at the Ara Coeli (VIII.04). Each apartment on the third floor consists of a small rectangular room with a door leading onto a small internal corridor, and a window opening either onto an interior corridor

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> Baldassarri 2012, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> This term, which refers to dining, is suggested at times for all rooms on upper floors, flowing a statement of Varro "*posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa cenacula dicta*" (Varro *ling latina* 5.162). This is again part of his description of the change of the use of language over time, which here implies the term is no longer specifically related to dining.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> Juvenal states that for the cost of a dark lodging in Rome for a year, a domus could be bought in a smaller town like Sora, Fabrateria, or Frusino (Juv. III.223-225). Thus, such small apartments while meager were expensive in comparison to much of the empire.

or onto the exterior of the building.<sup>411</sup> The rooms were in three rows of three varying between 3.2 and 3.8 meters long x 2.4 and 3.2 meters wide with the exterior facing apartments slightly broader and thus larger than the interior.<sup>412</sup> Unfortunately, these rooms were heavily modified after the early empire through the medieval period and the plaster wall decoration and paving does not remain to indicate the level of display possible in the small quarters. Some of the individual rooms were connected to make small suites of two or three rooms, but this is at an unknown period between the later empire and modern times.<sup>413</sup> The rooms did not at any point contain toilets or cooking paraphernalia, though a toilet could have been available on the bottom floor, which is not fully excavated and is a common location for latrines.<sup>414</sup> The *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01) provides an interesting parallel. The late antique *domus* was constructed from the combination of an earlier *insula* and nearby *domus*. In addition to the upper floors of the *insula*, which likely had apartments on the two upper floors like those of the *insula* at the Aracoeli, the original Hadrianic *domus* was built terraced over a bath and against the hillside and had windows from domestic spaces on the second floor overlooking a triangular courtyard below. Unfortunately, the upper level of the *domus* is little explored, and Krautheimer suggests that the option also exists that it was a terraced apartment building with a bath on the ground floor and apartments above, which would not be unlike the insulae under the Piazza dei Cinquecento.<sup>415</sup> These rooms had similar forms to the apartments, estimated based on the plan at 3.5-4 meters wide by c. 6 meters long, they were vaulted and had simple decoration of white

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> The *insula* consists of a ground floor, a mezzanine, a second floor with a possible apartment of three rooms, the third floor with three sets of three smaller rooms on corridors, and a fragmentary fourth floor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> Priester 2002, 78-85. The interior facing rooms on the first row were about  $3.8 \times 2.4$  meters, where the front rooms were slightly larger at  $3.6 \times 3.2$  meters, on the second row the interior rooms were  $3.2 \times 2.4$  meters, and the exterior was  $3.3 \times 3.2$  meters, and on the third row the interior rooms were  $3.6 \times 2.4$  meters, and the exterior room was  $3.6 \times 3.2$  meters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> Priester 2002, 103-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Chini 1999, 9-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> Krautheimer et al. 1937, 279; Brenk 1995, 170.

plaster with red lines forming squares.<sup>416</sup> This simple level of decoration resembles that found in *insulae* in Rome from the second to third centuries CE. For example, in the *tabernae* of the *insula* at the Ara Coeli, visible in recent decades in *taberna* n. 3, geometric wall-paintings with red lines on white plaster were found, in the so-called "*stile rosso e verde lineare*" common in the second and third centuries CE. On the floor above opening onto the balcony, fragments of a star pattern in red lines on white plaster were found.<sup>417</sup> Another example can be seen in the *insulae* under Santa Pudenziana (VI.09), constructed after the destruction of the earlier *domūs*, where wall-paintings were found with red lines on white plaster, dated by style to the remodeling of the building in the early third century CE.<sup>418</sup>

Finally, two further examples show small, probable sleeping quarters, which have been more often termed *cellae* than *cubicula* by scholars.<sup>419</sup> In the remains identified as the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus (X.01) thirty-four small *cellae* have been uncovered with built in masonry beds, drains, and walls with moderate quality plaster. The rooms are quite small at  $1.8 \times 1.5$  meters and only 2 meters in height, and thus only a quarter to a third the overall size of the average room in the *insula* at the Ara Coeli.<sup>420</sup> The *domus* with Carcere (X.04) has similar small *cellae*, measuring c.  $1.5 \times 2$  meters each, that Carandini identifies as slave cells placed next to storage rooms. Carandini suggests that, including the corridor of rooms uncovered, around sixteen total underground *cellae* would have been present. The floors show three paving levels, a first in travertine slabs and the later two in functional *opus spicatum*. They lack indication for decoration.<sup>421</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> Colini and Gismondi 1944, 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> Chini 1999, 8-10. Chini states this style is also found in the *insula* at salita delle Tre Pile.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> Angelelli 2010, 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>419</sup> George discusses the various interpretations of these rooms. George 1997, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>420</sup> Tomei 1995, 558; George 1997, 17. Thirty-four rooms have been found, and Carandini suggests that sixty-two total can be reconstructed in the plan. Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 104, 336, n. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> George 1997, 17; Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 33-34.

The *domus* under the Forum of Nerva (IV.02) has a third example, found directly nearby in the same part of the city. This *domus* stood in the late Republican period through the early empire before the construction of the Forum of Nerva at the end of the first century CE. Six underground rooms have been excavated that relate in form to those we have discussed above. These rooms have been identified as *ergastula* since one, which has evidence of *lucernai* for lighting, exhibits evidence of space for a bed in the wall and iron rods to lock the doors. Two of the rooms are more decorative, the walls of which are covered in white plaster, and both rooms have mosaic payings while the corridors have the simpler functional opus spiccatum. The first mosaic in one room has a rectilinear geometric motif in black tesserae, and the second mosaic in another shows a male figure swimming by a sea creature.<sup>422</sup> In addition to these two rooms with mosaics four smaller rooms at circa 1.5 x 2.15 meters open off the opposite side of the section of corridor on which the room with the marine mosaic stands. One of the four contains a staircase to the floor above. Only one of the other three has been excavated to the floor that is a paving of beaten travertine flakes alongside a paving at the same depth of white *tesserae*. The walls are also covered in undecorated white plaster, and show small extensions 1 meter high in the walls on two sides forming a platform for the insertion of wooden planks to form a bed.<sup>423</sup> The very fragmentary portions of the ground floor above show evidence of *opus spiccatum* paving.<sup>424</sup> The presence of a bath near the rooms in the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus and rooms with marine theme mosaics near the rooms in the *domus* under the Forum of Nerva suggests the possibility that these spaces were more functional service spaces related to domestic baths and associated domestic entertaining spaces. The common occurrence of flooding in the Forum in pre-modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Rinaldi 2013, 62-63. The size of these small rooms cannot be affirmed definitely due to the later walls' significant disruption, but the remaining portion of the geometric mosaic in one room is 1.28 x 0.40 meters. Rinaldi 2015, 9-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup> Rinaldi 2015, 16-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> Rinaldi 2015, 7.

Rome should also be kept in mind when thinking of keeping people chained in underground spaces. That these were variously used service spaces seems more practical than "*ergastula*" by name.

The distinction between *cellae* for *servi soluti* and *ergastulum* for chained slaves is made by Columella, but the term *ergastulum* is used variously to refer to different types of work spaces and sleeping spaces in which certain slaves are chained, and no examples of underground *ergastula* have been found in villas in Italy.<sup>425</sup> It is also worth noting at this point that these three examples, tightly in the area of the Forum and Palatine, are the only examples of possible slave cells found in the city. This strongly suggests that slave cells in urban *domūs* were not a typical practice, and rather, if these are slave cells, they would be examples of conspicuous consumption, highlighting the authority and wealth of people in the center of the city, where in other *domūs*, slaves slept where they worked.

What do these various small closeable rooms tell us about *cubicula* or where sleeping quarters were located in the house? Varro places them off the *atrium* but is referring to times before his own life and well before the empire.<sup>426</sup> We find among the evidence in Rome that small rooms with closed doors make a small portion of the dataset. We find only two with architectural markers suggesting a bed and only four other examples that clearly suggest this type of space from our set of ninety-one *domūs* or possible *domūs*, and twenty-eight *insulae* or possible *insulae*.<sup>427</sup> Of these examples the room from the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento is located off the *atrium* near the entrance, and the *domus* at the Via Amba Aradem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup> Marzano 2007, 149. Columella De Re Rustica 1.6.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup> Nissinen 2009, 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> I discuss the architectural form of one room each in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento and the *domus* at the Via Amba Aradam above, and also discuss rooms in the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, the Republican domus under San Pietro in Vincoli, the domus Gaudentius, and the odd arrangement of possible rooms in the *insulae* or domus under Santa Sabina (XIII.04b).

is located off a porticoed courtyard. The other rooms appear to be located near open-air *atria* or courtyards but intermixed with large or decorative presentation spaces. Among Roman domestic remains there are a considerable number of examples with the possibility for *cubicula* on a higher floor, more than ten *domūs* indicate internal staircases that allow for upper floors containing spaces for the same household. However, there are also cases where clearly there is no communication to *cubicula* on a higher floor, such as the *atrium* houses on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, suggesting the highly decorated presentation rooms typically referred to as *triclinia* were also functioning for sleep. We can consider in this context the longer narrow rooms on either side of the *exedra* in the *domus* Azara as rooms possibly used for sleep. Next, I examine the highly decorated presentation rooms, and I will return to this issue of which might also be considered in the terms of sleep and not just entertaining.

## **Dining or presentation rooms:**

Among the dataset of *domūs* and *insulae* in this examination, over seventy medium to larger rooms with considerable decoration were found. This is significantly greater than the rooms discussed above in terms of smaller closed rooms or *cubicula*. This includes rooms traditionally termed *triclinium*, *cenatio*, *exedra*, *oecus*, including Corinthian *oecus*, and other highly decorative but not clearly identifiable spaces. I will cover *aulae*, the large presentation halls of particularly the late antique period, in the next section.

# The triclinium

The term *triclinium* is one of the terms most often used in ancient sources, characterized primarily by the activity of dining, and designed in larger home for specific seasons based on directionality and openings. Scholars have attempted to distinguish *triclinia* based on architectural elements indicating couches, either in pavements or permanent fixtures, but the

term may have been used more broadly. The term *cenatio* appears to have been used commonly for larger dining spaces for those of less distinctive arrangements. Pliny (Ep. 2.17.10) describes a particular room as either an ample *cubiculum* or a small *cenatio*, suggesting overlap in the terminology of rooms without a predefined year-round function.<sup>428</sup> Herein I first survey rooms with definite spaces for dining couches, and then assess possible examples that resemble more closely *oeci* and *exedrae*. Then I investigate similarities and differences in the large sample of medium to large rooms for display and presentation as a whole, which might be considered generally cenationes, triclinia, or under other terms.

Despite the greater selection of larger decorative rooms only four *domūs* of our ninetyone *domūs* or possible *domūs* contain paving patterns that are suggestive of the conscious design for the placement of dining couches. We see an early example in the Republican domus 2b that stood through the first century BCE under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21a) in which a large room 4.1 meters wide stands adjacent to the small 'cubiculum' discussed above. The room is paved with high quality red opus signinum composed of white, black, and green large tesserae, and white small *tesserae*. At some point the patrons extended the room to the south. The floor has an internal *emblemata* that was robbed out at some point, but with a Greek key border that remains, creating a floor arrangement that would work well for couches.<sup>429</sup> The rooms in this *domus* do not create an obvious plan, but this room is placed adjacent to the room identified as a cubiculum. On the other side of the room from the cubiculum, the adjacent space to the triclinium

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup> Leach 1998, 67-68. Pliny Ep. 2.17.10: Ex alio latere cubiculum est politissimum; deinde vel cubiculum grande vel modica cenatio, quae plurimo sole, plurimo mari lucet; post hanc cubiculum cum procoetone, altitudine aestivum, munimentis hibernum; est enim subductum omnibus ventis. Huic cubiculo aliud et procoeton communi *pariete iunguntur.* <sup>429</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 15-18.

has been identified as an exterior paved space or a service room, either of which would function to service guests.<sup>430</sup>

The *domus Gaudentius* (II.02b) exhibits a later clear example of a *triclinium* space. This *domus* was combined from two *insulae* by the late Antonine period, and the geometric mosaic decoration of the *triclinium* dates to the third century CE.<sup>431</sup> The large decorative room opens onto the small porticoed courtyard and is arranged next to a long narrow room identified as a possible *cubiculum* and discussed above. The hearth, the only one found in my data set, is also placed nearby this room catty-corner across the courtyard. The *triclinium* paying has marble slabs along the walls and mosaic in the center, suggesting the use of the room for dining and such entertaining of guests, employing the organization of the beds in the space marked by the marble texture. A geometric motif of intersecting pelts decorates the mosaic and includes an inscription added in the fourth century, also in mosaic. The inscription states «GAVDEN / TI / VIV[AS]», which has been interpreted as a dedication to the landlord and used for the identification of the property.<sup>432</sup> The decoration with a marble border and the placement of the room near the courtyard and hearth, strongly support the use of this room for dining and entertainment. The placement next to a likely *cubiculum* further supports the movement of the *cubicula* to positions intermixed with public dining spaces in the imperial period.

Two further *domūs*, the *domus* dei Ritratti (V.18) and *domus* della Fontana (V.19) near the palace of the *domus* Sessioriana, also exhibit clearly paved presentation rooms with spaces for dining couches. These two *domūs* are best discussed together, as they are immediately aligned next to each other and built in the same period. They exhibit similar irregular plans with large presentation rooms opening onto courtyards, a further sequence of a few decorative room,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> Spinola 1993, 476-477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> Spinola 1992, 962.

and a couple of service rooms. The mosaics appear stylistically Severan, but the *domūs* rest against the Aurelian wall, providing a date from the late third to early fourth century.<sup>433</sup> Both *domūs* have three rooms each with geometric mosaics that do not indicate a specifically desired direction for viewing. Two of these in the *domus* dei Ritratti are centrally focused towards mosaic images of busts in the center, but do not explicitly have borders for couches. The remaining room in the *domus* dei Ritratti and all three in the *domus* della Fontana are geometric with overlapping circle patterns and no specific focus. However, both *domūs* have a central rectangular marble slab in the center of a vine patterned mosaic paving in the largest presentation room that opens onto the respective courtyard of each *domus*. The large rectangular slabs surrounded by a vine motif would orient the placement of dining couches well, focusing guests on the central fine marble material. Like the *domus Gaudentius*, the large decorative *triclinia* open onto a courtyard, and the overall plan is otherwise irregular.

These examples exhibit decorative presentation rooms with paving oriented for the arrangement of dining couches. In two cases rooms identified as *cubicula* are placed next to the *triclinium*, supporting the mixing of these types of rooms in imperial *domūs*. Three *triclinia* have been identified as placed near a courtyard or service area, providing light, air, and a preparation space for food and entertainment of guests.

#### The oecus and exedra:

Below I examine the medium to large decorative rooms, often more open than the smaller rooms discussed above as possible *cubicula*, but without explicit paving patterns. Among these presentation rooms, the more open rooms off courtyards and peristyles are sometimes discussed in terms of the so-called *oecus* and *exedra*. Leach identifies *oecus* and *exedra* as terms used to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup> Colli suggests the mosaics may have been in part reused from an earlier structure or appeal to a "retrò" taste in the Constantinian period. Borgia et al. 2008, 31.

designate the architectural structure of a room, and the use of such terms can overlap with terms based on the use or furnishing of the room, such as *triclinium*, *cubiculum* or *bibliotheca*.<sup>434</sup>

The term *oecus* has been used by scholars to identify a square presentation room without the typical planning for couches of a so-called *triclinium*. Leach notes, however, that the term is only used in Vitruvius and Pliny the Elder, and is otherwise not used in Latin, suggesting it was not a common designation for household space. Pliny the Elder mentions it in terms of the *oecus asaroticus*, the popular mosaic pattern with scraps of food, which was therefore associated with dining (Pliny *Nat. hist.* 36.60). Vitruvius discusses the square *oecus*, and the *oecus* in terms of a subset or style of dinging space.<sup>435</sup> He presents the Tetrastyle *oecus*, Egyptian *oecus*, Corinthian *oecus*, and Cyzicene *oecus* (Vitruvius *De Arch* 6.3.8-10).

The definitions of such specific ancient terms for presentation spaces are not within the scope of my study, but it is worth noting that there are two cases of *oeci* that resemble the idea of the Corinthian *oecus*, which is described as an open room with single rows of columns on either side surmounted by an architrave, like that in the Houses of the Labyrinth and Meleager in Pompeii.<sup>436</sup> The two *domūs* that resemble this form include the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza (XIII.01) (SEE Figure 3.5) and the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05) (SEE Figure 3.6).

In the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza three decorative subterranean rooms line a *cryptoporticus*. The central decorative room off the *cryptoporticus* had two parallel rows of columns, one on either side with no third row at the back. The columns were made of tufa, covered in fluted stucco, with stucco ionic capitals. A small colored stucco cornice ran over the architraves above the columns and also at the same height along the rear wall, separating the area of the vault above from the decoratively painted wall below. The room measured 6.75 x 5.90

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> Leach 1998, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> Leach 1998, 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>436</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 22.

meters and had fresco wall paintings with a white ground above a 22-centimeter marble baseboard. The style of the monochromatic white ground wall paintings stems from the fourth style. The wall paintings have a variety of colors forming delicate lines in red, green, blue, and yellow. The walls are divided into framed rectangles by painted pilasters and a painted podium below. The painted pilasters form narrow architectural perspectival scenes between the rectangles. In addition to the pilasters there are painted delicate garlands, small masks or gorgoneia, and smaller painted images placed in the center of the rectangles, generally landscapes, but now mostly faded. The one landscape that is still legible shows a group of buildings with a tower and a few human figures on an island. Behind these buildings is a large tree and behind that in the distance are porticos overlooking the sea. The variety of colors in the delicate wall paintings would add a richness to the scene, and the light tone of the colors would add light and warmth to the underground space.<sup>437</sup> The use of the two rows of columns have caused scholars to term this a Corinthian *oecus*.<sup>438</sup>

In the *domus Symmachorum* the large room on the grand peristyle originally had four columns at the corners and a back that was open to a space with a rear curved wall with niches in it in the second to third century CE. In the fourth to fifth century the back two columns were replaced by a rear wall to the room with an apse.<sup>439</sup> The columns in this *oecus* are positioned along the front and rear open sides, but as there were four this might also be termed closer to a Tetrastyle *oecus*, like that seen in the house of the Silver Wedding in Pompeii or the so-called *domus* of Augustus in Rome.<sup>440</sup> Carignani calls the open space with a niched wall an apsed *exedra*. The original rear wall of the *exedra* space had seven alternating niches, four rectangular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> Boldrighini 2003, 27-38, 73-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Mignone 2016, 130-131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>439</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 490-491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup> Kleiner 2006, 65.

and three semi-circular, which would have held busts or statues. This space was accessible through the main room or two narrow corridors to either side. The later apsed wall blocked off this space as a service space and was constructed in *opus vittatum*. The corridors remained accessing the service space behind. In this later period the room and apse were paved in two patterns of opus sectile in giallo antico, porphyry, and serpentine marble in both and also pavonazzetto in the main room. The main room was in a larger pattern of overlapping circles, and the rear apse was in a second, slightly higher level, pattern of circles formed by lilies inscribed in squares. The rear apse was covered in marble slabs and the apse vault would have been covered in mosaic.<sup>441</sup> The conversion of this space would have changed an open *oecus* with sculpture at the rear to a closed *aula* with more display of materials and marble.

A third room, the largest presentation space on the *atrium* of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, is also termed an *oecus*, using it in the sense of a generic presentation space. Paris interprets the room as an *oecus* that would be adaptable to different types of social functions, as its paving is not designed specifically around couches for dining. The paving of this room, which I will discuss further below, includes a large arabesque design with periodic flowers in between the vines and pairs of birds on either side of basics filled with pomegranates and figs. In the center is a pair of peacocks. The walls were covered in marble slabs above which were figures in architectural scenes.<sup>442</sup> The precise definitions of terms such as *oecus* are out of the scope of my study, but in my examination of the archaeological remains and the decoration, it is worth keeping particularly the rooms in the *domus Symmachorum* and the Casa Bellezza in mind for the potential exotic associations that the use of interior columns, and possible association

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 488-491.
 <sup>442</sup> Paris 1996, 108.

with the Corinthian *oecus* may have had considering the context of the references made by Vitruvius.

The term *exedra* is also often called upon in examinations of large decorative presentation rooms, particularly off porticoed courtyards or *peristyles*. Examples of the use of this term in the archaeology of houses in the city of Rome can be seen in the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05), the *domus* under the INPS (II.08), and the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02). In the *domus Symmachorum*, Pavolini calls the curved back wall that was originally located behind the large open decorative room on the large peristyle, discussed above as a possible Corinthian or Tetrastyle *oecus*, an *exedra*. In the late-Antonine period through the third century, this large curved wall created a large *exedra* space. This large wall delineates an area behind the *oecus* and just to either side, as it was accessible both by means of the *oecus* and by means of the corridors to either side of the *oecus*. The wall contained seven niches that carried sculpture, busts or statues, and the walls and floors were coated in marble. The large curved wall provided the focal point of the space, which was light and open due to the three paths of access.<sup>443</sup>

The *domus* under the INPS (II.08) provides another use of the term *exedra* in the semicircular wider space on the open-air corridor, which Scrinari refers to as an *exedra* onto the *porticus finestrata*. The semi-circular space with windows opening onto a garden area highlighted a large sculpture in its center and megalographic wall painting along its wall opposite the windows. The painting continued along the *porticus finestrata* leading to the *exedra* space. This semi-circular space highlights the interior artworks in an architecturally delineated open area.<sup>444</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>443</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 488-491.

<sup>444</sup> Sapelli 2005, 258-259.

Further, in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02), Paris has suggested two rooms (E14-15) that open off a very small porticoed courtyard to have originally been used as *exedrae*, as they originally had wide open entrances that were later narrowed. These rooms were discussed above as possible *cubicula* once their portals were narrowed providing increased control over access to the spaces. The rooms had decorative black and white mosaic paving with vine patterns and white ground wall painting with red pilasters. The air and light provided by the small portico would have highlighted this decoration in the earlier period when the entrances were broad, allowing for entertaining in theses rooms.<sup>445</sup>

Historically the term *exedra* is used more commonly than *oecus*, and typically to refer to a space in a public building. Vitruvius uses the term in reference to the spacious central recess of a *palaestra* for philosophers and rhetoricians to use for conversation (Vitruvius *De Arch* 5.11.2). Leach states that the Greek *exedra* is an open room with benches associated with philosophers and the porticoes of Greek *gymnasia*.<sup>446</sup> In a domestic context, Vitruvius presents the *exedra* as an open room (7.3.4, 7.5.2) that can hold large wall paintings due to the size, which can be contrasted with other domestic presentation rooms opening onto courtyards that have doors. Cicero in a letter (*ad fam.* 7.23.3) discusses getting small paintings (*tabellis*) to decorate new *exedrae* (*exhedria*) that he constructed in a small colonnade (*porticula*) at his villa in Tusculum. Leach concludes that the term can be accurately used to describe open decorative rooms in many parts of the *domus*, not just the peristyle, and that the room was likely a conscious reference to public architecture.<sup>447</sup> The above described *exedrae* of the *domus Symmachorum* and the *domus* under the INPS definitely highlight the artworks, both containing sculptures, off of well-lit open-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>445</sup> Paris 1996, 1996, 72, 112. These rooms are discussed above as possibly functioning like *cubicula* after the doors were narrowed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>446</sup> Leach 1998, 61-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>447</sup> Leach 1998, 61-62.

air spaces. The original wide doors of the rooms off the small portico in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento would also have highlighted the interior decoration through the air and light provided by the arrangement of space.

The various types of highly decorative presentation rooms, described as *triclinia*, *cenationes*, *exedrae*, and different types of *oeci*, among other terms, are found particularly around the porticoed courtyards of Roman houses. As architecture evolved in the urban center over the course of the empire, however, many decorative rooms by necessity moved off of the porticoed courtyards. For instance, in Rome in the latter part of the empire, many multi-residential buildings were converted to larger single residences, changing the use of space in the *domus*.<sup>448</sup> This can be seen in the *domus* near San Paolo alla Regola (IX.06), the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi (VII.01), and the *domus Gaudentius* (II.02). In addition to such manipulations of earlier buildings, the compact city structure created a necessity for plans terraced on hills, as seen in the Casa Via Graziosa (V.09), and unusual plans requiring corridors and different arrangements, as seen in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02).

## Large central rooms with paired side rooms:

Among the medium to large decorative presentation rooms, I first investigate the largest, broad decorative rooms, some of which are central presentation rooms with rooms paired on either side, facing an open-air courtyard or *atrium*, and others of which are large presentation rooms not in a central position. A clear example of a large central room with paired side rooms can be found in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento. The central room of the three along the south side of the *atrium* was decoratively finished much like the first described above as a possible *cubiculum* or *biclinium*. This central room is roughly the same size as the first at 4.68 x

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>448</sup> Grig and Kelly 2015, 144.

4.07 meters, where the possible *cubiculum* measures 4.60 x 4.10 meters. It is also paved in a decorative black on white mosaic with a black border and looping vine pattern framing birds. The vines and birds orient in different directions toward the various sides, allowing for the centrally focused room to be prepared for dining or other presentation activities. This room is open on the north side to the *atrium*, possibly allowing it function as a *tablinum* or *exedra*. The wall painting in this room creates a sense of illusionistic perspective, unlike the slightly smaller room to its right. The wall painting begins above a 40-centimeter base of marble coating and uses intense colors throughout to create a richness to accentuate its role in entertaining guests. Above this the illusionistic perspectives have spaces delineated by fluted columns standing on a green pavement. Illusionistic columns enclose small elements including a basket with fruit, a fawn, a scale, and different small birds, and above are larger elements including a panther in front of a stairway, a pair of women, and an aediculae with an unrecognizable center scene.<sup>449</sup> An even larger apsed room faces the opposite side of the *atrium*, Paris describes this as an *oecus*, due to its lack of a planned arrangement for couches. The room is paved in a large black and white mosaic with narrow black border. The mosaic is covered in a pattern of interwoven vines surrounding central periodic flowers and pairs of birds on fruit-filled baskets. The walls were covered in marble slabs, possibly in bardiglio marble, which were arranged in large rectangles on the curved wall to a height of 2.10-2.15 meters, above which were figures in architectural scenes. The painting, dating like the rest of the *domus* to the end of the second century CE, was in two tiers. The lower tier had boxes in white and red-brown, and above the figures were painted over a background of painted aediculae delineated by pillars with some figures in the painted aediculae and others painted larger outside the scale of the background. The figures are Bacchic, with Bacchus, maenads, and satyrs identifiable among a cista, club of Herakles, and a mask. To either

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup> Paris 1996, 1996, 103.

side of the large apsed room is a pair of small triangular rooms that finish out this corner of the building, both are accessible through small doors to the large apsed room as well as doors to the *atrium*. In a later period, the small doors to the center room were blocked and wall painting was added to match the surrounding area and cover the former doors. The two small rooms were paved in white mosaic with some black tesserae and had white ground simple wall painting with yellow bands and thin red lines, which we have seen in other service and shop spaces.<sup>450</sup> This simple decoration along with the small size suggests these rooms were used more for service, and once the connecting doors could be closed possibly for use as additional *cubicula* at certain times. The large apsed room and the decorative room, placed opposite, pair decoration that accentuates luxury as well as Bacchic themes relating to entertainment. They pair more marble with bright paintings and mosaics to tie the two spaces across the open-air *atrium*. These artistic themes relate closely to those seen the large central presentation rooms in the *domus* Azara.

The *domus* Azara (V.01) also orients multiple rooms around a central porticoed courtyard in a Hadrianic period décor. On the side towards the entrance is a large (at circa 5 1/2 by 5 meters) room (D on the plan) with decorative wall painting and cross-vaulted ceiling in the center, with a smaller decorative room to the viewer's left (C) that connects to the front entry and a room with a staircase to above on the right (H). Opposite this is a row of three rooms with a large decorative center room (at circa 7 1/3 by 5 1/2 meters) (F) and two long narrow side rooms (3 and 3 3/4 meters wide) (E and G). When entering the porticoed courtyard, the largest room at the rear (F) would have been visible from either entrance, as well as from the presentation room opposite it, through a pair of granite columns. This central room contained niches in its back wall, which could have highlighted sculpture, and displayed wall paintings described by Anton

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> Paris 1996, 108-111.

Mengs as "Arabeschi.<sup>451</sup>" Due to the neoclassical tastes of the artist, this was the one large decorative room not recorded. Though we lack detail in the specifics of the wall paintings, the unique style of the room, the only room in the *domus* painted in *arabeschi*, and the pairing of detailed wall paintings with spaces defined for sculpture, create a clear indication that this room was created to entertain and impress visitors. The front presentation space (D), directly opposite this rear exedra, was decorated in high quality wall paintings, similar to those found in the rest of the domus. These wall paintings closely resemble the Third and Fourth Pompeian Style and can be dated based on comparison to paintings at Ostia.<sup>452</sup> Hales describes the third style as having a focused attention on mythological panels that imitate *pinacothecae*, and the fourth style as more elusive but a combination of architectural structure and floating central elements.<sup>453</sup> The framed central elements of the *domus* Azara wall paintings clearly resemble painted mythological scenes in architectural frames, and the smaller floating elements are found in smaller corners of the walls. In the central presentation room on the atrium, the wall paintings display themes, as above, clearly related to celebration and entertainment. The three mythological scenes contain Bacchus and Ariadne, Drunken Hercules supported by a youth, and a Satyr who plays the double flute with Silenus and Bacchantes.

The long narrow rooms on either side of the large *exedra* contained similar third to fourth style wall paintings with central mythological *pinacothecae* style images as that of the large front presentation space. To the right from the rear of the peristyle one enters the first of the long narrow rooms (E), Massimi describes this room as dedicated to Juno with two paintings on the walls along with a marina scene and other images.<sup>454</sup> This room connects through a small door to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> BUTI, MARON, and MENGS 1778, Manifesto with twelve plates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup> Joyce 1983, 435-436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> Hales 2003, 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>454</sup> Massimi 1836, 214.

the large central exedra, and through that to a similar small door to the opposite long narrow room. In this room (G) Massimi states that there was only one framed painting on the overall painted walls and it was dedicated to Minerva.<sup>455</sup> The print with a painting of Minerva is easily identifiable, however there is another print with a rectangular panel with women at an altar that also fits the plan of this room and is not described in Massimi. Joyce suggests that this print of women at an altar was invented to match the long print from the opposite long narrow room. Joyce also suggests the prints in that room may have been altered or added to fit the plan better.<sup>456</sup> Considering that the prints were made over a couple of years after the excavation, small changes to the compositions should be expected, and it is possible that the artists completed damaged or missing sections of wall paintings in their prints. The plans clearly create a sort of division of space with the front in a cross vault connecting to the porticoed courtyard and central dining room and the back in a long barrel vault with added privacy and a rear high-quality painting. The privacy provided by this long narrow shape and closeable doors would have allowed them to function as cubicula in addition to the options of additional dining space or storage and support of the central entertaining space in different seasons.

The inclusion of Bacchic scenes in the central room of the *domus* Azara would call to mind the same type of celebration seen in the large apsed room of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, and likewise it is paired with a richly painted large presentation space opposite the *atrium*. These examples both show the use of Bacchic imagery and high-quality materials to create an orchestrated space for entertainment including multiple rooms and an open *atrium*.

The imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21b) has a similar arrangement of large central presentation space opening onto a porticoed courtyard as the above discussed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>455</sup> Massimi 1836, 214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>456</sup> Joyce 1983, 430-432.

domus Azara. The large central space was 10.55 meters wide by 16.30 meters long and was flanked by smaller rooms, estimated at 6 meters wide by 10 long based on the floor remnants. I discussed the arrangement of the porticoed courtyard and the similarity of the openings of the central room between this *domus* and the *domus* Azara in the previous chapter. Both center rooms are arranged with two columns at the central opening onto the courtyard through which exit is not expected and both have two smaller entrances from the side rooms that open onto the portico. Evidence of marble thresholds and a thin cipollino marble pavement were found in the grand aula of the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli, supplementing the high-quality materials used in its decoration already seen in the columns. Unfortunately, the wall remains are very fragmentary and cut at a low level, leaving little evidence of the decoration of the room. One of the side rooms, the room to the south, was excavated, and a floor of marble, isosceles, 1-foot triangles, made of cipollino and a yellowish-white marble was uncovered. Fragments of marble indicate at least the lower portion of the walls had marble coating. While the excavation could not find extensive details on the decoration of these spaces, the scale, the open line of sight to the courtyard, and the marble decoration fit with the presentation quality seen in the previous examples. The continuation of marble paving in the small adjacent rooms suggests as well as their size suggests that they could also have been used for entertaining guests.<sup>457</sup>

In the *domus Symmachorum*, on either side of the central *oecus* off the peristyle, discussed above, stood a decorative room with a central column in its portal repeating the pattern of columns found in the *oecus*. These columns along with the intervening walls, supported the cross vaults of the portico passage. Due to the irregular shape of the house, not aligned with the street in front, and thus creating a triangle, the two rooms are not the same depth, with the one on the left, when facing the rooms, ending shorter with an apse, and that on the right a deeper

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 23-31.

rectangle leading to a series of rooms behind, some of them heated. Despite this, the two rooms would have appeared to match from the front, due to the central column and similar width, creating the same impression as the rooms discussed directly above. (SEE Figure 3.6) The apsed room to the left had a semi-circular niche in its back wall, which would have functioned well for presentation of art and display. The longer room to the right was paved in marble slabs, over *suspensurae*, and the walls were lined with *tubuli* and covered with marble, suggesting a heated room. This high-quality decoration and heating would tie to the association of the courtyard with the Roman bath, while also possibly functioning as a room for meeting or an entertainment space.<sup>458</sup> The *domus* dates from the end of the second through the fifth centuries CE.<sup>459</sup> This unusual arrangement would have displayed high quality materials and luxury through art and marbles to visitors in different sized groups on the peristyle.

Another example of a central presentation space with paired side rooms, placed on an unusual courtyard, can be found in one of the two *domūs* of the Via de' Cianceleoni nn. 45-46 (VI.06). These contiguous *domus* stand only blocks from the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, and the first of the structures consists of a subterranean level that suggests a similar *atrium* and peristyle house above like those on the *Forma Urbis Romae*. The second of these *domūs* on the Via de' Cianceleoni has been less thoroughly excavated and exhibits an unusual courtyard, with three arched openings onto a broad area. Only two of the three rooms have been excavated, as the northernmost of the three was inaccessible. Three rooms open east onto an unusual open courtyard with an unknown type of paving, and the southern room connects back toward the probable front of the *domus* through a room with a pipe under the *opus spicatum* floor, a probable tub, and a connection to a further unexcavated room. The arrangement of three rooms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 488-493.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup> Carignani 1993, 726.

facing away from the street onto the courtyard suggests this *domus* was terraced and the rooms are looking out over the downward slope of the hill.<sup>460</sup> Another *domus* in this area, the Casa via Graziosa was terraced similarly. The central room on the courtyard shows evidence of *opus sectile* paving and marble coating on the walls. Martini states that the room to the south of the center likely had similar *opus sectile* and also had a fountain placed in it.<sup>461</sup> This aligns with the type of decoration indicated for the presentation rooms discussed, like the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli and the *domus Symmachorum*. The construction techniques of this *domus* date it to the first century BCE.<sup>462</sup>

A more traditional example of smaller display rooms paired on either side of a larger central room can be seen in *domus* I and *domus* II under Santa Pudenziana (VI.09). In *domus* I a row of three rooms opened onto one side of the peristyle. The central room is not significantly larger than the two rooms on either side, but it is paved in a mosaic with stone inserts like that seen in the *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli, where the rooms on either side are paved in black and white mosaic. The first room to its south is paved in a black and white mosaic with a black border on a white background, datable to the early second half of the first century BCE. The mosaic threshold of the door to the room has a pattern of a rectangle with concave sides, a design more popular in the first century CE. The room on the opposite side of the central presentation room was also paved in black and white mosaic with a white center, tiled at an angle, bordered by two black bands with the threshold in a chessboard of triangles. Less remains of the second adjacent *domus* that exhibits fragmentary remains of mosaic floors and walls suggesting at least two rooms alongside one side of a central peristyle and another on the opposite side in a similar arrangement to the first *domus*. In this *domus* the first room's fragmentary mosaic has a pattern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>460</sup> Ramieri 1980, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>461</sup> Martini 2008, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>462</sup> Ramieri 1980, 35-37.

of hexagons and rhombuses that dates to the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period. The quality and cutting of the tesserae also suggest an August or Tiberian date. The next room in this *domus* is paved with an interpretation of a common square-rectangle pattern from the early first century CE. <sup>463</sup> The quality of the mosaic and unique design in comparison to the side rooms, suggests a focus for entertainment on this space, however, the rooms could have potentially worked together for various social functions. These rooms call to mind the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (V.10) that exhibit plans with three rooms along the rear wall of the peristyle, two rooms on the front side of the peristyle and a straight entry through and open-sided *tablinum* from the street. While the decoration of these *domus* is unknown, their plans can be kept in mind for comparison as they are known to have stood in the city in the late second to early third century CE among these other *domus*.

The *domus* at Sette Sale (III.03) exhibits an unusual Trajanic era plan that was heavily remodeled in the fourth century CE. The south eastern sector of the *domus*, however, shows a remnant of the original Trajanic plan with a central room and small paired room on either side. The *domus* also has two large late antique aulae to the north of this, one large rectangular room with an apse and one multi-lobed room, which I will discuss further below. The rooms in this set have second century CE black and white mosaics.<sup>464</sup> Unfortunately, the walls were mostly destroyed for this area, as well as the entrances, so it is impossible at this point to know if this is an open-sided room, *tablinum*, between two presentation spaces or a rear *exedra* between two other presentation spaces.

The Casa Bellezza (XIII.01) presents a series of three highly decorative subterranean rooms off a *cryptoporticus* under a garden at the ground level above. The center room I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup> Angelelli 2010, 280. The center of room c was paved "in ordito obliquo".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>464</sup> Volpe 2000, 159.

discussed above as a possible Corinthian *oecus*, is the largest at around 6.75 meters long by 5.90 meters wide. It is decorated with high-quality white ground wall painting with colored bands, rectangular landscape paintings in the centers of panels, and a row of columns on both sides. On either side of this room another decorative room stands. The one furthest from the stairway to the ground floor has been excavated and is the same length but slightly narrower at around 6.8 meters long by 4.75 meters wide. Both rooms are paved in colored stones inserted into a background of cocciopesto, though the central larger room also has some broken pieces of marble interspersed with the stones. The threshold of the door has finer paying with marble fragments in the cocciopesto and the door jambs have indications of hinges as well as a slit for a catch providing increase control over the access to the room. The narrower room has wall paintings on a dark yellow ground, and, like the center room, a narrow white stucco cornice with multicolored highlighted decoration separating the walls from the vaulted area. The walls had a marble socle protecting the lowest 30 centimeters using different colors of marble. Two fragments remain in Carrara and dark grey. Above this the wall painting had thin intricate bands in reds, green, and white creating delicate architectural niches with narrow garlands framing panels that include small landscape images. The wall painting style is slightly simpler than the center room, but also stems from the fourth style. The details include masks, candles, and tiny animals among the garlands. The landscape images show complex scenes of colonnaded buildings, many on water, with a few small human figures. The other room on the opposite side of the center room is unfortunately unexcavated but of a similar size.<sup>465</sup> The combination of paneled decorative images with tiny grotteschi elements interwoven into delicate garlands calls to mind the pairing of the two more contrasting styles of the three presentation spaces in the *domus* Azara, with third style wall painting of the side rooms with paneled mythological scenes,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> Boldrighini 2003, 27, 39-46, 84-104.

one of which has a seascape, with a central room with *arabeschi*. This combination of panels and details could pair the presentation of art that guests could associate with public spaces with details like masks that recall celebration and entertainment.

In addition to such sets of display spaces, in three cases there are clear large presentation rooms that open directly and centrally onto a courtyard, but which do not have smaller or simpler rooms on either side. These are found in the *domus Gaudentius* (II.02), the *domus* dei Ritratti (V.19) and the domus della Fontana (V.18). The domus Gaudentius (II.02) has a large decorative room that opens onto the small porticoed courtyard between a service room with a hearth and a long narrow room discussed above as a possible *cubiculum*. The decorative room, however, is centered on the small portico with the narrow room opening onto a corridor, and the space lacks a corresponding corridor on the opposing side (SEE Figure 3.7). Rather than considering this as a completely different arrangement of spaces from those I have just discussed, it is more practical to consider this arrangement in the context of the large *domus*, which as mentioned previously was remodeled from two combined *insulae*. With such constraints on the placements of open-air spaces and support walls, the arrangement of a large central decorative room, opening onto a porticoed courtyard, with a smaller presentation room or cubiculum opening onto the corridor beside the courtyard recalls clearly a central entertaining space off a courtyard with supporting rooms around it. This *domus* highlights how functional spaces were made out of more unusual necessities in the city. This central decorative room was paved and decorated as a triclinium, discussed above.

The large *triclinia* in the *domus* dei Ritratti (V.18) and the *domus* della Fontana (V.19) likewise open onto a courtyard, but in both cases in these similarly planned *domūs* the courtyards are planned more simply. The courtyards are paved in large *tesserae* in a style associated with

the late antique period and the large decorative *triclinia* open directly to the courtyards through broad doors still indicated through door jambs and travertine thresholds that carry the impression of large hinges. I discuss the decoration of the *triclinia* above. Where the *domus Gaudentius* shows an example of converting a traditional combination of rooms into a preexisting space, these two *domūs* show the use of the traditional *triclinium* paired with an open-air space in a late antique house, suggested by Iacopi to date to the first decades of the fourth century, with a compact asymmetrical plan.<sup>466</sup> This compact plan shows the tendency in the later empire to move away from symmetry and to focus on the *triclinium* as a unique *aula* of reception.

The use of rich materials, particularly various marbles, is seen repeated in these larger central presentation spaces. The majority of the above discussed presentation rooms use marble as a luxury material to highlight the quality of the space. Where examples do not use marble, they typically use another quality decorative material, as seen in the Republican *domus* 2b that stood through the first century BCE under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21a) that uses high-quality opus signinum with a central emblemata mosaic for its pavement, and in the slightly simpler exedrae in the domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02) that use decorative black and white mosaic and rich wall painting. Additionally, in the domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza, and the *domus* Azara, which maintain traces of wall paintings, themes of celebration and entertainment are found through the use of masks, brightly painted scenes, and Bacchic imagery and in the domus Azara and the domus under the Casa Bellezza panels resembling framed paintings are found that would call to mind art galleries. The position of these rooms off the open-air courtyards of the *domus* also tie the rooms to themes of water and presentation discussed in the previous chapter. The *domus* Azara, *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli, and the *domus* della Fontana all have water features visible in the courtyards

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>466</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 30-31.

from these rooms. By contrast the *exedrae* of the *domus* under the INPS and the *domus Symmachorum* have sculpture and in the *domus* under the INPS it is highlighted through a monumental processional corridor with megalographic procession of figures. This contrast to more grand impressive imagery that would call to mind public events suggests that these *exedrae* functioned differently than the other central presentation rooms discussed. The positions of the rooms would still potentially associate them with themes of water and presentation found in courtyards.

The organization of these decorative spaces within the architectural plan changed over the course of the empire. The plans with the most rectilinear organization that included central dining spaces opening onto courtyards all date from the first century BCE to the early empire. These include domus I and domus II under Santa Pudenziana, dating from between the first century BCE and the first century CE, the earlier construction phase of the *domus* of Sette Sale, dating from the Trajanic period, the Casa Bellezza that dates from the first century BCE to the first century CE, the ground level plan of which, however, is not precisely know, and the plans of the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, which were constructed before CE 211. While the construction date of the *domūs* on the *Forma Urbis Romae* is not precisely known, they can be dated as constructed before the Forma Urbis Romae in CE 211 and by comparison to both the domus under SS. Sergio e Baccho (V.06), dating to the first century BCE, and the Casa Via Graziosa (V.09), dating to the first century BCE by means of the wall paintings, which are both in the same neighborhood. Roman architectural plans with central decorative presentation rooms began to shift their organization to much larger center rooms and a slight adjustment of the surrounding spaces, beginning in the early to mid-empire, as can be seen in the examples dating slightly later to the second century CE. These include the *domus* Azara, dating to the Hadrianic

period, the *domus Symmachorum*, dating from the late Antonine period, the *domus* under Piazza dei Cinquecento, dating to Hadrianic period, and the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli, dating from the first to second century CE. The presentation spaces opening onto courtyards become significantly more irregular in arrangement at the end of the second and through the third and fourth century. We see this in the *domus* della Fontana, dating from the third to the fourth century CE, the *domus* dei Ritratti, also dating from the third to the fourth century CE, and the *domus Gaudentius*, dating from the late Antonine to the end of the second century.

#### Large decorative rooms not in sets:

In addition to centrally placed presentation rooms, there are more than a dozen examples of large decorative rooms that face a courtyard or porticoed space, but that lack an obvious arrangement around a central room or series of three rooms. These rooms are found in domus "a" under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01), domus of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), the domus Azara (V.01), the Republican domūs under San Pietro in Vincoli, the domus at the Via Amba Aradam Stazione, and the domus under the Baths of Caracalla. The domus under the Baths of Caracalla has one room on either side of the *tablinum* opening onto the porticoed courtyard. The room "H" to the northeast of the tablinum has well recorded evidence of the vault decorations (SEE Figure 3.8), a highly intricate pattern of painted stucco and decorative stucco (SEE Figure 3.9). The decorative program was organized around four framed panels with mythological figures in groups within them. One panel was on each of the flat sides of the ceiling, and a fifth large square panel was in the center that would also likely have had such figures, though the remains were too fragmentary to reconstruct the scene. Among the panels are series of garlands of different florals and vines. Shells cover the corners of the room and on either side of each shell are putti riding chariots drawn by animals. Various other small bowls, birds, and elements fill in

details. The images are too fragmentary to fully reconstruct the scenes; however, one is suggested to be a Bacchic scene with maenads or with a god, a satyr, and a tympanist. A second scene is suggested to be an offering to Bacchus. A third is suggested to be Bacchic dance with Silenus. These images fit well with the themes that we have already recorded in large presentation rooms off porticoes, specifically in the domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento and the *domus* Azara. The ceiling has been dated to CE 130-138.<sup>467</sup> The *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla also dates to the early to mid-second century CE by brick stamps, in a similar period to those two domūs.<sup>468</sup> The decoration of this room was finished off with marble wall coverings to a height of 2.2 meters and wall painting. Three large windows also provided light on the northeastern side of the room. The other room opposite the *tablinum* has evidence of marble wall decorations to a height of 1.7 meters and wall painting in large rectangles. On the southwest wall three windows lit the space, which would have highlighted the decoration, as well as assisted in air movement.<sup>469</sup> It also has two other rooms that have been excavated making up the east side of the porticoed courtyard. Room "L", the first of these, is decorated similarly to the previous rooms with marble wall covering up to 2 meters and large painted rectangles above. The next room "N" opened onto the porticoed courtyard also, through a door with a window over it for light. No rooms opened off the back of the porticoed courtyard and the opposite side has not been excavated. Such windows over doors are also visible in the photographs of the excavation.<sup>470</sup> This type of window over doors to increase light into rooms with vaults is also described for the similarly dated *domus* Azara.<sup>471</sup> This room was paved in black and white mosaic with vines and Greek motifs. The room originally had wall painting with large

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> Jacopi 1972, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> CIL XV 515a, 550a, and 575.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> Carpano 1972, 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> Parker 1864-1866, Photograph 0725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> Unknown artist 1777, drawing.

rectangular elements, and later this was replaced with 1.6-meter-high marble with fresh wall painting above. At the point of that renovation a podium in marble was added that many suggest is a *lararium*. This *domus* exhibits similar decoration in the rooms surrounding the porticoed courtyard as that seen in the *domus* Azara and *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento. The similarities suggest that these were popular themes in the Hadrianic and early Antonine period as well as suggest that the off-position of the rooms in the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla did not significantly change their function from the centrally positioned rooms in the other two.

The two *exedrae* discussed above as later *cubicula* in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento can also be considered in the light of presentation rooms in their earlier phase with more open portals. They were decorated, as discussed above in black and white mosaic with vine motifs. The wall paintings were framed with red pilasters on a white ground and a series of squares in the aedicule at the rear. The ceiling vaults were plastered in white with a coffer pattern and plant motifs inside the coffers. This set of two rooms provides a similar example to the more complexly decorated rooms on the porticoed courtyard of the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla just discussed.

The *domus* "a" under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01) placed a decorative room off the peristyle, whose relationship to the peristyle changed after its construction. The room originally, at the cusp of the first and second century CE, opened onto the peristyle to the south and the exterior to the west through a sequence of pilasters and openings. The exterior was originally paved in travertine until the second century CE when it was repaved in *basolato*. The openings were subsequently filled leaving only a door to the peristyle, which is marked by a Proconnesian marble threshold with indications for door hinges. The function of this earliest phase is unknown but would have created a very open space on an open-air peristyle. Baldassarri has suggested

*cubiculum* and representation room as the tentative interpretations of the space in its late antique restructured phase. The decoration of the room that remains exhibits an impressive multi-colored mosaic dating to this late antique phase in the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century CE. The mosaic has a geometric pattern in the center and a separate geometric border, all in the colors of white, pinkish white, yellow, reddish, ocher, gray, blue and black. The border is formed by two entwined sinusoidal lines in black on a white ground, separated from the center by a thin black band. The center pattern consists of entwined knotted cords that loop to form repeated small circles and irregular octagons all containing geometric patterns, including a polychrome spinning wheel, rosettes, geometric florals, crosses, stars, and pelts. This pattern, socalled "rotae sericae" was used from the third to sixth century CE. The bright colors of the mosaic relate to the popularity for *opus sectile* as well in the late antique period. The high quality of the decoration and the closeable narrow door would have allowed this space in the late antique period to have functioned as a controlled access space for important guests. The traversable nature of the walls in the early second century CE would suggest a more open presentation space, perhaps closer to an *exedra*.<sup>472</sup>

Another unusual courtyard arrangement can be found in the compact *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), which had two decorative rooms adjacent to a porticoed courtyard, all excavated in 1872. The courtyard is roughly triangular in shape and has a small portico on one side. One of the decorative rooms opens off the north end of the small portico, and the other, called an *oecus* by Menghi and Pales, opens off the *aula* that forms the opposite southeastern side of the porticoed courtyard. I will discuss the *oecus* and *aula* both below. The room that opens off of the north end of the portico has a black and white mosaic floor with a geometric

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup> Baldassarri 2009, 349. Baldassarri originally hypothesized that the closing was almost simultaneous with construction, but further examination of the brick pushed the date of closer to decidedly in a second period after the construction. Baldassarri 2008, 55-59; Quattrocchi 2008, 81-89.

pattern of meandering lines. The floor is set a few steps lower than the portico and the other rooms. A few fragmentary traces of wall painting in a design of faux architecture were found associated with this room. The mosaic pavement has a black border of different widths around the room, but it is not wide enough to support couches and more likely was used to visually regularize the room, which does not have rectilinear walls. Two small half-walls separate off roughly the western third of the room. The separation, while perhaps increasing possible privacy in the western portion, is unlikely to indicate the use of the room as a cubiculum, as one wall appears to be associated with the stairway entering from the portico, and the other is at an angle where the wall bends, perhaps requiring a buttress. A sculpture of a faun was found in the room, suggesting artistic display. The room also had a fountain on the eastern side, and a second entrance. This other door opened off the northeast corner, on the opposite wall from the portico door, with two steps leading back up to an unexcavated room.<sup>473</sup> The *domus* dates to the first half of the third century, exhibiting the increasing use of adapted spaces fitting into unusual architectural frameworks as the city continues to build for a large population in the mid to late empire. The use of decorative mosaic paired with architectural wall painting, a fountain, and sculpture would have created a reception space accessible from the courtyard and flexible for different entertaining purposes.

In the *domus* Azara (V.01) two highly decorative rooms connect the porticoed courtyard to the front *vestibulum* (A on the plan) with the *domus* entrance (B and C). The first of the two rooms led off the entrance and *vestibulum* or reception room (B) and the second of the two rooms (C) enters the porticoed courtyard (I) as well as the front dining space (D) through a small side door. These rooms would not function as *cubicula*, as they are needed to access the center of the *domus*, providing a lack of control over access, yet they are not completely open rooms,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup> Pales and Menghi 1999, 16-17.

having narrow connecting doorways. The doorway from the *vestibulum* is circa 0.66 meters wide on the plan. A doorway circa 0.6 m wide on the right side connects the two rooms, though a window is also open between them. The second room has a narrow doorway to the dining room, circa 0.4-0.45 m wide, and a wider doorway 1.4 meters wide to the porticoed courtyard. The high-quality level of decoration in these spaces can put them in the context of presentation and entertaining spaces. The first of the rooms is decorated with wall painting relating to Adonis, with one painting of Adonis going on the hunt and the other of Adonis wounded and dying. The room also has a third recorded side with a niche which Mengs and notes both records a painted image of a sculpture of a divinity.<sup>474</sup> The second of the rooms is decorated with wall paintings relating to the theme of Venus, including a painting of Venus leaning against a tree with putti and another with Venus, nymphs and putti in the water. A sculpture of Venus was found in the excavations, described as high-quality marble, though its position within this room is uncertain.<sup>475</sup> Despite the decoration that puts these rooms in line with the other presentation rooms in this *domus*, another function can be suggested due to the atypical organization of the rooms leading from the entrance to the *domus*. While the narrow doors would provide control over movement into and through these rooms, in the 3D model that I created<sup>476</sup>, it is visible that there was a direct line of sight from the porticoed courtyard, through the Venus room, and through the Adonis room, to the exterior window, due to the placement of the internal window. (SEE Figure 3.10) While the doorways to these rooms did not align directly with the entrance to the *domus*, this direct line of sight providing exterior light and sky through two formally decorated spaces to the porticoed courtyard could allow them to function more closely to an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup> Unknown artist 1777, drawing. The notes in the British Museum state the wall is "*con statua dipinta nella Nichia.*"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> Massimi 1836, 213-214, 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> I created the model from the architectural plan recorded by Buti.

*atrium* and *tablinum* despite the doors and off-set placement from the exterior entrance. Thus, in this case the decorative rooms likely acted for reception in the sense of a *tablinum* more than entertainment, as seen in the other spaces discussed here off porticoed courtyards.

The Republican *domūs* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21a) exhibit two adjacent irregular plans. Above we have discussed the use of luxurious materials in receiving guests in a *triclinium* that was placed next to a *cubiculum* and a paved service area in *domus* 2b (SEE Figure 3.11). In the adjacent *domus* 2a we find a room paved in a black and white mosaic that matches the style and date of a mosaic found in the Casa dei Grifi, dating to the first century BCE. The room opens off an *atrium* or peristyle shaped room, and despite the fragmentary plan, suggests a reception room off an open-air central space.<sup>477</sup>

The newly uncovered *domus* at the via Amba Aradam Stazione (II.12) has a pair of rooms opening off the open-air courtyard, rather than series of three rooms in that position. One of these rooms is mentioned above as a possible *cubiculum*, due to the architectural separation of the back section of the room. The second of the two rooms has no separation of space and is paved in a simple square tiled *opus sectile*. The repeating squares would have visually tied the room to the possible cubiculum or unique reception space next to it, which has a repeating quadrilateral black and white mosaic in the front portion of the room. The luxurious material would have shown well in the light from the courtyard onto which it opened, making it ideal for receiving guests for dining or other purposes. The walls in both rooms have wall paintings in simple panels, outlined by thin lines.<sup>478</sup>

The decorations in these rooms, which open off courtyards without being aligned in a canonical set of three rooms, suggest a strong association with the rooms described above that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>477</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> Boccacci 2018, 03/02/2018.

were arranged in sets of three. The *domus* at the via Amba Aradam Stazione, the *domus* under the baths of Caracalla, and the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento all exhibit sets of two rooms opening off of porticoed courtyards of varying shapes and sizes that are decorated similarly to the *domus* with three decorative rooms. The two *exedrae* in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento were converted in a later period through the narrowing of doors, possibly for use as *cubicula* or more controlled access reception spaces. One of the rooms in the *domus* at via Amba Aradam Stazione also has a form suggesting more controlled access. Further the presentation room off the portico of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix has small walls creating a more secluded portion of the room. The *domus* Azara showed similar flexible architecture in the two decorative rooms connecting the entrance to the portico. The presence of a second doorway in the room with the stairway (H on the plan) would have allowed the two rooms to become controlled access, where if they were open, they could be used more as a *tablinum*, open access space. These options available in the architecture of these rooms may suggest that in situations that warranted an adaptation from the three-room pattern, more flexible use of the rooms was also necessary. Not only was the *domus* more compact, requiring fewer than three rooms one side of a courtyard, the *domus* also required these rooms be readily useful for multiple purposes. These *domūs* date from the second to the third century CE, providing examples where compact spaces were utilized for multi-functional presentation rooms, using high quality mosaic and wall decoration in rooms that adapted to the spaces available.

#### **Unaligned decorative rooms:**

Other *domūs* exhibit rooms of similar dimension and decoration, but which are not aligned with an axial orientation and which are located off of spaces away from the courtyard or without a known context of associated rooms. In this section I will examine the decoration and

architectural orientation of these rooms to see if their irregular positions reflection differences in their potential use as presentation and entertaining spaces or as *cubicula* or if the irregular positions reflect adaptations to unusual topographic and architectural requirements placed on the patrons due to preexisting buildings and lands.

First, the *domus* under SS. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01) had been remodeled by the late third century CE to include two buildings from the north and south sides of a narrow alley, including a *domus* constructed in the Hadrianic period and a former *insula* with shops and apartments that took over the southern portion in the Severan period. The former alley was converted into a courtyard with two *nymphaea* around which the *domus* oriented spaces. The rooms that had previously functioned as *tabernae* on the ground floor of the *insula* were decorated and used in the *domus*, creating an unusual arrangement of domestic spaces. These rooms, labeled o'-o'''' and n'-n''' in the plan (SEE Figure 3.12) form two rows of rooms in five columns that fit into a wedge shape. The first two rooms are larger and distinct, the second and third sets of rooms are smaller and connect north to south by doorways, and the last two sets at some point had walls removed forming into just two rooms instead of four. These former shops were decorated with luxurious wall paintings at the end of the third and first decades of the fourth century CE to function as part of the *domus*. The first two northern rooms opened onto the courtyard with nymphaea, making them fit more closely with the rooms discussed above, including the two exedrae in the domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento and the decorative room in the domus of Lucius Octavius Felx, which show the creation of presentation rooms in architectural spaces that are irregular due to the need to heavily adapt plans to fit the topography of the city into which they were added. This fourth century *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo exhibits a situation like that of the *domus Gaudentius*, where rooms were decorated to accommodate the needs of a

luxurious Roman *domus* in an architectural structure originally intended to accommodate the needs of multi-family commercial and residential use. Thus, despite the irregular preexisting arrangement of a set of two rows of decorative vaulted rooms, rooms were still decorated for presentation opening onto a courtyard with access to moving air, water, and light. In the largest first room the wall painting on the vault has putti collecting grapes on a white ground, and below a band of color large nude figures of the seasons stand among birds and under a garland. The wall painting was placed on top of preexisting marble decoration 2.27 meters high. The harvesting putti can be thematically associated with the contemporaneous wall painting over the *nymphaeum* in the adjacent courtyard, which shows putti in boats around Venus and Bacchus, which is drinking a libation. This theme of myth and wine associates this room with the same theme of celebration and entertainment seen in other domūs. The other rooms were painted in the immediate period after this first room. The next room (o') was covered with white plaster and the barrel vault painted with a faux marble pattern. The next two rooms (o'' and n') were painted in a pattern of faux opus sectile, showing rectangles and a band of opus isodomum. In addition to the faux opus sectile bands in room o", the painting of a faux dome on the vault contains sections with a series of figurative paintings. In the sections of the 'dome' are images of philosophers alternating with sheep and rams, and below these are images depicting the seasons. On the wall below the vault is a band with images in quadrilaterals, including hanging sea animals and a male so-called orant. The imitation marble wall paintings, a style common in the fourth century CE, would elevate the room to a presentation space, and the opening onto the courtyard would make it accessible to invited guests. In the rear room behind this (n") a small bull of the Egyptian Apis is found in the wall painting, suggesting that in the first decade of the fourth century these wall paintings did not yet have Christian symbolism, despite the later

conversion in the latter fourth century CE. The images of philosophers, the bull of Apis, and the unusual orant suggest that the patron of these images, however, was interested in the exploration of philosophies in this fluctuating period of the early fourth century. The furthest rooms from the courtyard were not decorated with the same level of luxury, underlining the importance of access to air, light, and water in the presentation and entertaining spaces for guests.<sup>479</sup>

The *domus* under the Fontana di Trevi (VII.01) also presented a late fourth century *domus*, which was converted from two late first century CE *insulae*. Like the *domus Gaudentius*, also formed from two *insulae*, the alley between the two earlier *insulae* were adapted into a central organizing space for the later *domus*. In this *domus* they added late antique mosaics in the mid-fourth century. A presentation room of the new *domus* had a marble mosaic added, room 1A on the plan (SEE Figure 3.13), which used rough *tesserae* and reused stone, including marble chips and black *tesserae* from a previous *insula* mosaic. The pattern included a border of an acanthus vine in black with the center a chessboard of white, pink, yellow, and grey-blue, using white marble, giallo antico, and grecco scritto.<sup>480</sup> The room is located on the first floor (a floor above the ground floor) of the *domus* through a large door with a marble threshold still providing evidence of hinges for a door.<sup>481</sup> This position requiring access up a flight of stairs and with a closeable door would provide controlled access for guests; however, it still was positioned on a corridor and stairway that formed a central element around which the *domus* was organized.

The compact *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05) had a large decorative *aula* one side wall of which formed the opposite side of the porticoed courtyard from its small portico. This *domus* dates to the first half of the third century CE, a date supported by both the inscription of L. Octavius Felix on a *fistula acquaria* and by the stylistic form of the art and wall structures. A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup> Brenk 1995, 170-188; Brenk 2001, 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> Insalaco 2005, 35-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> Insalaco 2000, 6-9.

room opened off the rear of this *aula*, called an *oecus* by Menghi and Pales.<sup>482</sup> The position at the back of the *aula* would have created a more controlled access situation, and the paving of the *aula* in *opus sectile* of *pavonazzetto*, *africano*, *giallo antico*, *alabastro* and *portasanta* would have enhanced visitors' sensations of being in a high-quality space for special guests. The room had wall paintings with birds and fake architectural backdrops. It was paved with black and white mosaic with a sub-floor hypocaust that would have heated the space.<sup>483</sup> The position at the rear of the *aula* with only one exit could have helped control the temperature of the space. The position of this room at the back of a late antique aula could have created a sense of added importance in addition to requiring invitation, and the feature of heating would have added to the decoration to create a sense of luxury for guests. Despite this distance, the room would still have been accessible from the courtyard without requiring a guest travel too distantly into the house.

Another example of a *domus* like the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix with an irregular plan, fitting into an irregular city block, is the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02). The remains of these two *domus* are both located in the immediate vicinity of each other on the southwestern side of the Termini train station. Their irregular plans suggest this was a particularly compact irregular neighborhood. In addition to the decorative spaces opening off of courtyards that we have discussed above, the *domus* has a series of rooms at the back of a corridor behind the small secondary porticoed courtyard. The first of these rooms (E19 on the plan). (SEE Figure 3.3) led off the corridor along the short porticoed courtyard through a doorway. This room was decorated with marble 1.40 meters high on the walls and painted plaster above the marble. The wall paintings of the west and south walls of this room were recorded in watercolor at the excavation, and the other walls would have coordinated. The walls had yellow

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> Pales and Menghi 1999, 16-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> Menghi and Pales 2001, 226.

curvilinear bands that followed the ceiling arches, and dark purple pilasters at the center of delicate architectural elements with purple and red panels (SEE Figure 3.14). A conscious niche is placed in the wall above the marble cladding, indicating a position for sculpture. Paris suggests that the room could have functioned as a library.<sup>484</sup> A short corridor led from this room to the even more private rooms (E31 on the plan), which had marble cladding originally to 1.4 meters, as well. Below the floor of this room and the next room (E20 on the plan) was a gap that could have been used to heat the rooms, adding further luxury. The remote position from the entrance would provide controlled access for these rooms, but the air and light from the small courtyard nearby could highlight the high-quality decoration of the first room and the decoration paired with heating would add luxury for the family and special guests in the other two.

The *domus* dei Ritratti (V.18) and the *domus* della Fontana (V.19) have compact plans including one room each suggested as a study (*studiolo*) by Borgia. These rooms, q and f on the plan, (SEE Figure 3.15) do not open off the courtyards of the *domūs* like the other decorative spaces. Room q is positioned behind the largest triclinium that opens to the courtyard of the *domus* dei Ritratti. Room q is long and narrow and has a decorative paving of a geometric black and white mosaic in a pattern of overlapping circles. The room opens off of a small service space on one side at the front and connects to the back of the large *triclinium* at the back. Despite the long narrow shape, the connection to the *triclinium* would not have allowed for a convenient position for a bed. The room might be considered better in light of the small room behind the so-called *triclinium* in the *domus* at the ACEA discussed above. Both rooms are narrow, being the length of the associated decorative room but much narrower, and both are paved in generic geometric mosaics. It is possible that both of these spaces, as suggested above, functioned primarily as service and support spaces for the larger associated entertainment spaces. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> Paris 1996, 112-114.

adjacent *domus* della Fontana has a couple of small rooms that are unfortunately more damaged, and thus more difficult to interpret.<sup>485</sup> The smallest room appears to open off the side of the courtyard and connects through a door with a threshold to another small room on the opposite side, which is not completely excavated but has evidence of a decorative black and white mosaic. These rooms combined reach the same length as the adjacent decorative presentation room, which also has a geometric black and white mosaic. The position of the second room beyond the first would have created controlled access, possibly for use as a *cubiculum* or private reception area. The combination of these rooms could have created a suite of service and reception spaces for guests. These compact plans further support multi-functional reception spaces.

The *domus* at the ACEA has decoration dating the construction to the cusp of the second and third century CE with fourth century renovations. The so-called *triclinium* is a highly decorated semi-subterranean room off of a corridor with fine wall painting and marble mosaic floor. The triclinium is paved in a geometric black and white mosaic and the wall painting exhibits figures on a white ground in yellow and dark red panels. The bright colors and fine decoration would clearly make this a presentation space, and the associated small room just mentioned would have supported the functions in that room.<sup>486</sup> The position alongside a corridor is likely due to the subterranean position, also seen in the Casa Bellezza rooms. The presence of figures and masks in the panels of the wall paintings would have associated the room with myth and entertainment as seen in the fine dining spaces of other *domus*, such as the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento.

Other examples of decorative presentation spaces that can be found completely underground can be seen in the *domus* of the via di San Domenico (XIII.05), which has a row of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 28-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 25-27.

three rooms, a room used for entrance to the space, and a room mostly unexcavated, and the domus under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana (XIII.07), which has five small rooms with one unexcavated. The wall paintings are on a white ground in both of these examples, providing additional light in dark spaces. In the *domus* of the via di San Domenico, three of the spaces are very small with two of them undecorated and a third having simple red lines on a white ground, a motif that we have also seen in *insulae* and service spaces. The other two rooms are more decorated with the unexcavated room presenting a small accessible section of brightly decorated second Pompeian style wall painting. The section exhibits faux marble panels framed with red and green bands, one panel with red spots on a cream background, the other a solid red-violet color, imitating porphyry. The lines around the panels create a faux projection of depth. The quality of the wall painting indicates fine workmanship. This small section of wall painting should date to the latter first century BCE. The more well excavated decorative room has wall painting from a later period in the occupation of the house with framed quadrangular panels. The panels are outlined in red and form three distinct sections with a low socle, an empty center section and an upper section filled with red vines and a mask of Oceanus. The lunettes of the top section of the wall and the vault are bordered with a stucco cornice with lotuses and clovers adding an extra level of fineness to the simple decoration. The room is lit by bocca di lupo windows and these and the vault are painted in thin blue and red lines. The thin lines would have increased the use of the room for more festive functions and the light walls would have increased the brightness in a dark room. This room dates to the end of the first century CE, shortly before the area was converted into the sanctuary of Dolichenus.<sup>487</sup>

The remains discovered of the nearby *domus* under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana also consist of a series of underground rooms. Located just one block away from the *domus* of the via

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> Chini 1998, 5-11.

di San Domenico, this *domus* has five rooms the original construction of which dates to the end of the Republican period. From that period the floor of one room is paved in flakes of marble. The other rooms are in later brickwork with white mosaic floors. Two of the rooms with crossvaults are connected through an unblocked wide door. The other two excavated rooms leading off these have marble thresholds and narrower portals. The first room had a marble socle and wall paintings above on a white ground, framed in rows with panels that included idyllic-sacral landscapes and still life arrangements with masks, which represent Minerva and Jupiter through symbolic elements, above a section with long thin candelabras and plant motifs. Thin lines and pilasters frame the pattern of the wall in blue, yellow, gray-brown, and red, creating very simple architectural frameworks. The landscapes, containing figures, columns, and statues, are extremely simple and abstracted. Despite the simple compositions the quality of the works is high. Chini states that the paintings relate to a revival of the third and fourth wall painting style and dates them to the cusp of the first to second century CE. The second and third, connected rooms, were also decorated with red-lined panels including small flowers, flying birds, and vine candelabras. The pattern of geometric painted symbols on the ceiling, rhomboids, octagons, and circles, indicate a slightly later Hadrianic to Antonine date for these rooms. In the fourth and fifth rooms red-framed rectangles contain flying birds with a cricket and a butterfly in their beaks. The style of these rooms dates to the Severan period, before the destruction of the *domus* for the Baths of Decius in CE 250-251. The rooms have bright white ground, increasing the light for entertainment and guests and delicate decoration that recalls nature and myth.<sup>488</sup>

Some decorative rooms, which can still provide examples for the decoration of these types of entertainment spaces, cannot be associated with a plan due to the fragmentary remains found in excavations. One such room, found in a *domus* contains decoration that associates it

<sup>488</sup> Chini 1998, 5-11.

with this category of presentation space, is found in the *domus* under San Lorenzo in Lucina (IX.03a). Remains indicating a *domus* that predate the later *insula* found under San Lorenzo in Lucina consist of a single brick room paved in black and white mosaic with fresco walls. The room dates to the Hadrianic period. The paving consists of a black bordered mosaic with a black on white pattern of overlapping circles inside. The pattern is not directional and could work for the placement of dining couches but was not paved specifically with spaces for couches. A frescoed wall further away but at the same depth was decorated with wall paintings including red and yellow lines on a white ground with small vegetal motifs. These are datable based on comparisons to Ostia to the simpler end of domestic wall paintings. Despite the lack of architectural context, Signani suggests the building as residential based on these decorations. The decorative mosaic and wall paintings, which call to mind those just discussed for the *domus* under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana and the *domus* of the via di San Domenico, suggest simple spaces still prepared for receiving guests.<sup>489</sup>

Another example of a dissociated room, which was decoratively adorned but lacks the arrangement within the larger house, can be found in the *domus* under the Basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14). The remains of the house date to the Augustan period, and at the end of the first century CE a horse-shoe shaped room was placed in one of its eastern chambers. In the period of Maxentius, an inner wall was added as well as a new black and white mosaic in a pattern of goblets and squares with an inscription identifying it as the "DOMVS ARIPPORVM ET VLPIORVM VIBIORVM FELIX." The presence of the inscription indicates the expected visibility at least for special guests of this room in the Maxentian period. Unfortunately, the surrounding rooms are not known, but the inscription can be considered in the light of the fourth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>489</sup> Signani 1997, 7-8.

century inscription in the *domus Gaudentius*, which was placed in the large *triclinium* of the home.<sup>490</sup>

The *domus* of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla (V.08) has been broadly excavated, but the archaeological remains are still too fragmentary to reconstruct the full *domus* plan. Colini's excavation found a mosaic in the northeastern portion of the *domus* with a floral patterned black and white mosaic, indicating a decorative room from the second half of the second century CE. The mosaic has a rectangular block patterned border on one side suggested as a threshold, and interwoven detailed vines and birds across the floor. The detailed mosaic shows evidence of long use, being integrated into the bath spaces in the area, but the original arrangement cannot be determined. The mosaic still shows a fine example of decoration from the Antonine period.<sup>491</sup>

These examples show presentation rooms placed away from courtyards in the case of adaptations from an *insula* or *insulae*, as seen in the *domus* under the Fontana di Trevi and the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, in the more compact third to fourth century *domus* that had less axial plans, as in the *domus* dei Ritratti and the *domus* della Fontana, and in cases with presentation rooms in subterranean spaces, as in the *domus* at the ACEA, the *domus* of the via di San Domenico, and the *domus* under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana. Additionally, we see examples of the decoration of presentation rooms that cannot be exactly placed within their larger *domus* as in the *domus* under San Lorenzo in Lucina, the *domus* of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla, and the *domus* under the Basilica of Junius Bassus. The *domūs* in adapted *insulae* show similar priorities to the above groups of presentation rooms that open off of courtyards. The *domus* under the Fontana di Trevi places a decorative room off of a central connecting corridor, taking the functional place of a courtyard, and the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup> Blake 1940, 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup> Chini and Grandi Carletti 2000, 541-542; Borgia et al. 2008, 23-24.

provides access to light from the *nymphaeum*-courtyard to highlight wall painting and decoration. The rooms found furthest from courtyards in the *domūs* with compact *domus* and in underground spaces show varying degrees of decoration with some rooms, as that in the *domus* at the ACEA supporting its use as a primary presentation space for guests, and other with somewhat simpler decoration, as that in the *domus* of the via di San Domenico supporting use as a presentation space or support space of the *domus* more flexibly.

#### **Conclusions:**

These highly decorative controlled access spaces suggest that flexible use of space was critical in the compact urban center of Rome. The presence of only four *domūs* with pavements that suggest the conscious design of a room for the placement of dining couches out of seventy examples of rooms, suggests that flexibility in design was a coveted element for display spaces in the city. In the smaller spaces use as a *cubiculum* for sleeping, use for support of larger entertaining spaces, or use for the entertainment of small groups are usually all options, due to the lack of limiting decoration indicating the specific design for a bed or other furniture. In the larger highly decorated spaces pavements only indicated spaces for dining couches in limited cases, allowing for different arrangements of furniture for the reception of guests over the lifetime of the *domus*. Even in smaller *domūs* lacking an upper floor, as we can suggest for the *domus* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, the decorative evidence of other similar *domus* in Rome, such as *domus* I and *domus* II under Santa Pudenziana supports the use of rooms around the peristyle for multiple different aspects of Roman domestic life. These flexible spaces also support the theory of the movement of the *cubiculum* near the *triclinium* in Roman *domūs*.

Even in irregular plans, whether constructed from earlier *insulae* or in a more compact way in the late antique period, positions off open-air spaces are still a desirable place for a

presentation room, which remained highly decorative with air and light movement. The use of open-air spaces to connect multiple presentation spaces can also be found throughout the imperial period, especially through the late second century. The *domus* Azara and *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento provide examples where lines-of-sight connected rooms on either side of a courtyard. The *domus* Azara, and even the *domus* Gaudentius, converted from *insulae*, provide examples where rooms were placed adjacent off courtyards to allow for the support of guests in one room by storage or service in another or to allow for the expansion of the party.

# Halls, Aulae:

In the *domus* of Rome, a different type of controlled access decorative space can be distinguished from those above. After the third century the addition of large enclosed rooms for presentation changed the major reception space from smaller presentation rooms open to openair courtyards. This process of the evolving desire to present the household to guests in a delimited organized space rather than an open-air courtyard presentation room can be particularly clearly seen in the *domus* under S. Pietro in Vincoli (V.21), which has an *exedra* style decorative presentation room opening off a courtyard in the first and second century CE that is extended in the age of Caracalla into the courtyard and then closed and converted into an apsed *aula*, discussed below, in the early fourth century.<sup>492</sup> Below, I study three main categories of these apsed *aulae* that are found among the *domūs* of the city of Rome: three-lobed and polylobed apsed rooms, rooms with a single end apse, and unusually shaped rooms with apses to elucidate how their decorations and positions in houses provide clues for their social roles in the household.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 56, 64. Extending the central presentation room into the courtyard is also seen in late antique domus in Ostia. The apsed *aula* has been suggested as a *domus ecclesia* but there is not definitive evidence supporting the hypothesis.

### **Poly-lobed rooms:**

The distinctive decorative three-lobed and multi-lobed halls are found in six *domūs* in my dataset with constructions dating from the third to the fourth century CE. Two three apsed rooms are found in the *domus* at the Diribitorium (IX.01). A fragmentary multi-apsed room has been excavated in the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), another multi-lobed hall is found in the *domus* of the ACEA (V.15), and poly-lobed *nymphaeum* is found in the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02). A particularly unique multi-apsed room is found in the *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03) that has four apses and two rectangular extensions forming a sort of hexagon with four interspaced circular areas, and another single-apsed room is found alongside, which I will discuss below.

The excavations of the *domus* at the Diribitorium (IX.01) for the demolition of the Palazzo Amadei and casa Ferretti for the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele II uncovered two threeapsed rooms in an early to mid-fourth century *domus*.<sup>493</sup> These three-apsed rooms are spaced among other fragments of rooms and apsed walls, including a small-apsed room and a largeapsed room, which I will discuss below. Little is known of the decoration of this building, but the repetitious use of poly-lobed rooms indicates the popularity of the architectural form in the late antique period in the city.

The *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05) orients decorative presentation spaces around a triangular shaped courtyard. A large apsed *aula* makes up one side of the courtyard and a short portico leading to a decorative presentation room, discussed above, forms the opposite side. Additional excavations took place between 1998 and 1999 revealing a multi-apsed fragmentary room and additional fragmentary walls to the north of the area excavated in 1872. The new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>493</sup> The early to mid-fourth century is suggested by Guidobaldi and Lanciani as a beginning date for the late antique domus. Guidobaldi 1986, 177-181.

rooms date to between the first half of the third century to the beginning of the fourth century. Two apses of this multi-apsed room were found, though there was likely a third, and the walls were decorated with plaster and half-columns. The apse walls are in high quality *opus vittatum*. An entrance led into the large, possibly center, apse, and the room was paved in bipedal bricks. That may suggest that this area was a reception space acting as an entrance to the *domus*. Two portraits, half-length busts were found just outside the entrance to the large apse, which are broken and headless. They date to the late second to third century CE. Menghi and Pales suggest they may have been from the interior, tossed outside at the abandonment of the *domus*, or may have been from an exterior garden.<sup>494</sup> They support this part of the *domus* was used for reception of guests, and they would have highlighted the high status of the family.

The *domus* of the ACEA (V.15), which provides good remains of a semi-subterranean corridor with a so-called *triclinium* and adjacent smaller room, also included a multi-lobed hall that was found in the 1954-1955 excavations. It is unfortunately not well recorded. Three water pipes found in the excavation support a water feature or *nymphaeum* in the poly-lobed room. The fragments of walls found in the 1950's excavation suggest the poly-lobed room, constructed in brick, stood in a courtyard with a corridor, constructed in *opus mixtum*, to one side. Fragments of red plaster were found decorating the outside wall of the room, as well as the corridor.<sup>495</sup> This arrangement is reminiscent of the *domus* under S. Pietro in Vincoli (V.21), discussed above, and the *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03), which both had *aulae* constructed within porticoed courtyards. Some of the decorations and constructions in this *domus* is associated with the changes in the area relating to the imperial Palazzo Sessoriana nearby. The specific date of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> Oberdan Menghi 1999, 18-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 27-28, 32.

poly-lobed room is not known, but due to the contrasting construction techniques, it could have been inserted in a courtyard at a later period than the original date of the courtyard.

The Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02) includes multiple apsed spaces and a so-called "library" aula with decoration including stucco tondos inscribed with names, that I will discuss below.<sup>496</sup> A *lararium* aedicule with an entrance to an underground *mithraeum* was excavated across the street in another open-air space. Among the other apsed spaces, one is a poly-lobed *nymphaeum.* Two apses or lobes were excavated of this poly-lobed room, which, like that just discussed in the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix, appears to indicate a tri-lobed plan. The room is paired with the library and two other apsed rooms, one on each side of the library, also discussed below. The building is dated to the Constantinian period or a little before by the excavators.<sup>497</sup> The series of rooms provides another example, like the *domus* at the Diribitorium, of the popularity of combinations of apsed room forms in a domestic space the late antique period. The poly-lobed space contained a central large apse with seven niches in the curve, and one niche each at the corner joining with the side apses. The niches contained a series of small marble statues. The excavators found one of these statues, depicting a nude putto. Water flowed in a canal from bronze panther head mouthpieces in front of the sculptures.<sup>498</sup> The high-quality decoration in a poly-lobed *nymphaeum* supports this as an important presentation space for guests.

The *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03) provides another example of a *domus* with multiple different types of apsed rooms in the same *domus*, with rooms constructed in the fourth century, added to a Trajanic *domus*. A multi-lobed, roughly hexangonal, room is located next to a long one-apsed *aula*, which is in turn beyond a series of rooms that resemble three rooms opening to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>496</sup> Lanciani 1888, 193-196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> Gallo 1979, 249; Pavia 2000, 16-17; Calci 2005, 152-153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup> Lanciani 1884, 48-49.

porticoed courtyard of an earlier form from the original house plan.<sup>499</sup> This paring of multi-lobed and one large apsed hall is also seen at the *domus* at the Diribitorium (IX.01) above, the Via Giovanni Lanza domus below, and the basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14) below. 200,000 fragments of marble were found from the floor and wall opus sectile decoration of the apsed aulae. The apses all have opus sectile decoration. Alternating apses had veined yellow rectangular tiles surrounded by strips of serpentine marble, and then with veined yellow surrounded by strips of pavonazzetto. The two rectangular extensions were paved in an opus sectile pattern of alternating ovals of porphyry and serpentine in porphyry and serpentine rectangles. The floors show a fourth century technique of fitting reused marble together. The roof of the room is believed to have been wooden trusses, as fragments of vaults were not found. The light would have played differently in each space with all the different angles of the hexagonal plan, making the marble shine variously in the spaces.<sup>500</sup> The complex apsed plan paired with shining marble floor and walls and reduced access show the importance in this period of display through materials and spatial design, a shift from the focus on rectangular rooms leading off open-air courtyards often with a greater amount of wall painting in the first and second centuries.

Clearly by the late third to early fourth century CE the poly-lobed apse had become a decorative form of architecture that was tied explicitly to display spaces in central parts of the *domus*. The complex architectural form commonly was paired with marble and fountains visually connecting the rooms with high status materials, both of which required money and status to add to domestic spaces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup> Dante 1999, 27; Volpe 2000, 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup> Cozza 1974-1975, 94-98; Bianchi et al. 1995, 351-352.

## Large one-apsed halls:

Seven *domūs* or possible *domūs* also present examples of large one-apsed halls in the late third to fourth century CE. These include the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci (V.07b), the *domus* under Ss. Quattro Coronati (II.11), the *domus* Gregoriana (I.04), the *domus* under the apse at San Crisogono (XIV.02), the aforementioned *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03) that also has a polylobed room, and finally the Basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14) that also has a bi-apsed *atrium*. Also, a room, briefly mentioned above, that in its original phases was an *exedra* form presentation room off a courtyard in the *domus* under S. Pietro in Vincoli (V.21) was converted in the early fourth century CE to an apsed *aula* with even more controlled access extending into the courtyard. This shift underlines the increased popularity of the apsed *aula* in this late period.

The Basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14) is believed to have been a late antique aula that was part of a large *domus*. It was constructed in the early to mid-third century CE. The basilica had a rear apse that was pared with a bi-apsed *atrium*. The plan of the now destroyed basilica was recorded in the seventeenth century by Giovanni Ciampini showing a 21-meter-long hall with a single nave and rear apse. The *aula* had three windows on the side and front walls. The entrance *atrium* had curved apses at either end.<sup>501</sup> The fine wall decoration in *opus sectile* is renown from this structure, now preserved in pieces in the Museo Nazionale Romano. A large portion was also drawn by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. The *opus sectile* panels depict multiple scenes honoring Junius Bassus including a panel depicting him in consular robes as a charioteer with four horse riders. Early modern drawings show that this panel originally had four figures grabbing coins scattered by Bassus. Other portions replicate a fine textile with an Egyptian motif border. Decorations such as this call to mind the imperial monuments, which like this would

<sup>203</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup> Kalas 2013, 284.

display emperors paired with games they funded.<sup>502</sup> The presentation of these high-quality *opus sectile* decorations in a grand *aula* associates the patron with the idea of authority.

The *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci (V.07b) consists of a large apsed *aula* that was built into a previous *insula* with *tabernae* constructed originally at the end of the second century CE. The *aula* is suggested to be open to a *nymphaeum* then a porticoed courtyard then the entrance to the street, but not directly to the street based on the difference of elevation of that street and the aula. Seriorenzi reconstructs this arrangement based on the position of the insula with tabernae and the preexisting porticoed courtyard on the Forma Urbis Romae. As we have seen nymphaea were common in association with *aulae* and presentation rooms, supporting the hypothesis. The aula has high windows with five arched windows along the street side and additional windows on the apse. The reconstruction of the *tabernae* into a large *aula* took place in the first half of the fourth century, fitting into trends that we have already seen of the conversion of *insulae* into late antique domūs, visible in the domus Gaudentius and the domus at the Trevi Cinema, and the addition of grand *aulae* in the late third and early fourth century into earlier domestic structures, as we have been discussing above.<sup>503</sup> The *aula* of the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci is very similar in size to that just discussed of Junius Bassus with both 12.50 meters wide and S. Lucia in Selci just slightly shorter at 20.75 meters long. Both are late antique *aulae* that were converted to churches at a later date. The *aula* of the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci was also decorated in high quality opus sectile, the remains of which was described in the 1510 by Francesco Albertini as decoration using spolia creating images of animals and birds. Guidobaldi notes that this type of decoration aligns with late antique *domūs* and was not still in production at later dates of church decoration. This decoration aligns with the remains and records we have for the Basilica

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup> Kalas 2013, 285-288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>503</sup> Serlorenzi 2004, 359-362.

of Junius Bassus, suggesting as similar presentation space for a wealthy Roman patron in the fourth century.<sup>504</sup>

Another late antique *domus* with an apsed *aula* can be found in the *domus* under Ss. Quattro Coronati (II.11). The room was 42 meters by 15 meters, which is nearly double the aulae at the Basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14), measured 21 meters by 12.5 meters, and at the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci (V.07b), measured 20.75 meters by 12.5 meters. This grand length supports an important role for the *domus* and a noble status for the family.<sup>505</sup> The discovery of a column in the courtyard to the south of the *aula* supports the reconstruction of the *aula* positioned off a *peristyle*. Additional walls were found to the east of the *aula*, one with *tubuli* indicating a heated space and another with traces of marble coating.<sup>506</sup> These wall fragments suggest the placement of decorative heated environments, perhaps like that associated with the *aula* in the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix, near the *aula* in addition to a nearby courtyard. Like the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci and the Basilica of Junius Bassus, this provides an example of a fine presentation *aula* converted into a later church.

A further example of a late antique *aula* from a high status *domus* can be found in the remains identified as the *domus* Gregoriana (I.04). The remains include a large rectangular *aula* with a rear apse, the so-called "Biblioteca di Agapito," that has internal foundations for a dividing arcade wall between the *aula* and apse, and at right angles two more walls built in the next century. These remains are directly across the street from those of the *insula* and later *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo. The walls are constructed on brick foundations with *opus* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>504</sup> Albertini 1510, 61-62. The page numbers are only printed on verso pages, so this is pages 126-127 of the scanned volume. "Omitto praeterea Marmora & lapides porphiretic. diversorum colorum septaue in statuis pictorum more reducta ut apparet in portico sancti Petri & S. Mariae Transtyberinae & in ecclesia. S. Andreae miro artificio incrustata ut dixi in stationibus Vrbis / & in ecclesia sanctae Luciae in silice / in quibus eclesiis picturae animalium aviumque ac si e musivo & picture essent depictae visuntur spolia templorum et therarum Ro." Guidobaldi 1986, 191; Serlorenzi 2004, 359.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup> Barelli 1994, 19; Serlorenzi 2004, 360; Barelli and McDowall 2009, , 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup> Barelli 1994, 19-20.

*vitattum* above. A channel runs along the inside of the apse. Three large arched windows are preserved in the upper walls recalling the aula format of the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci and the Basilica of Junius Bassus. Though little evidence of decoration is preserved the general architectural form and the presence of a drain for water, support this construction as the aula of a late antique *domus*.<sup>507</sup>

The *domus* under the apse at San Crisogono (XIV.02) also contains a late third to early fourth century *aula*. The remains of the aula are in the form a large rectangular room. Two walls have been found in the remains under the church, a third was razed for the basilica, and the fourth is partly under the facade of the basilica. The construction technique dates to the end of third and the beginning of the fourth century. Both of the remaining walls preserves traces of plaster decoration in faux marble that is white with red and black veining at distant points, supporting the reconstruction of this space as one large decorative room.<sup>508</sup> The room was a large aula at around 500 square meters (29 m x 17.50 m). Astolfi suggests this room due to its position and alignment as the first portion of the *titulus* here, in contrast to previous suggestions by Krautheimer.<sup>509</sup> Cecchelli affirms based on the 1990's investigations that this *aula* was likely a fourth century renovation of a second century *domus*, fragments of which have been found.<sup>510</sup> The use of faux marble and large size align with the decorative style of large display rooms added to preexisting *domūs* in Rome in the fourth century. The presence of a late antique *aula* under a later church may suggest a connection of use of the space, as we have seen a few examples of this already, however, there is no direct archaeological evidence of a connection in this case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> Palazzo 2003, 78-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> Mesnard 1935, 27-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> Astolfi 1999, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>510</sup> Cecchelli 1999, 232-234.

In addition to the poly-lobed hexagonal room, the *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03) contained a large fourth century one-apsed rectangular presentation hall decorated in opus sectile with an adjacent apsed *nymphaeum*. The apsed hall may have opened onto a peristyle, larger than the previously described Trajanic peristyle and off to the east, but this area was not preserved and excavated. This room was constructed inside this earlier Trajanic peristyle in the late third to early fourth centuries.<sup>511</sup> This *aula* is 14.15 meters wide and 17.50 meters deep with a 9.5-meterdeep apse. The walls are too narrow to have supported such a wide vault, indicating that this, like the poly-lobed room, had a wooden truss roof. The floor and walls were decorated in *opus sectile* with a pattern of small serpentine ovals inside rectangles of porphyry alternating with serpentine rectangles around porphyry squares. The marble sheets on the apse wall were interspersed with pilasters. A semi-circular nymphaeum was built to the north of the apse, and a small circular room to the south.<sup>512</sup> The association of a *nymphaeum* with the grand apsed space calls to mind the Via Giovanni Lanza domus with its poly-lobed nymphaeum space. The arrangement of rooms also calls to mind the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix, which I will discuss more below. Both have an apsed room that forms one side of an open courtyard with associated spaces paved in opus sectile and rooms on the opposite side of the courtyard. These domūs provide examples of how the first and second century courtyard form within *domūs* was altered to accommodate the need for more reduced access grander scaled *aulae* for presentation in the third and fourth centuries.

As mentioned above the *domus* under S. Pietro in Vincoli (V.21) expanded an *exedra* style presentation room, which opened off the porticoed courtyard, into an aula over the course of the empire. The presentation room opened directly in line with the courtyard through two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>511</sup> Volpe 2000, 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup> Cozza 1974-1975, 98-101.

marble columns in the first and second century CE, it was extended in the age of Caracalla into the courtyard though still opened into the courtyard through a broad entrance, and then it was closed and converted into an apsed *aula* with the apse in the courtyard in the early fourth century. The entrance was moved to the sides of the room in the courtyard between the apse and the room interior. The aula floor and at least a lower portion of the walls were decorated in cippolino marble, in a simple pattern. Along with the construction of the apse, in this period the courtyard was paved with small marble slabs and mosaic sections.<sup>513</sup> This arrangement of an aula within a courtyard is also seen in the *domus* at the ACEA and the *domus* delle Sette Sale, both dating to the late antique phases of the *domus*. A paved courtyard is also seen in the late antique *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini.

These apsed *aulae* clearly show a trend in third to fourth century *domus* to change the organization of the largest decorative presentation spaces away from the *exedra* style presentation spaces seen in *domūs* like the Hadrianic *domus* Azara and *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento. Third and fourth century *domūs* constructed *aulae*, often over these previous rooms, as seen in the *domus* under S. Pietro in Vincoli and the *domus* delle Sette Sale. These *aulae* were decorated with marble of varying quality from simple pieces to complex *opus sectile* patterns, usually taking advantage of spolia. The structure of these rooms situated the patron as the focus of a grand hall resembling public basilicas thus associating him with the authority more in line with the late empire, where the earlier *exedrae* and *triclinia* of the first and second century associated the patron with public structures like the portico and the public bath, aligning him with senatorial wealth and grandeur rather than imperial style authority.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 52-55.

# Uniquely apsed rooms:

In addition to the single-apsed or poly-lobed *aulae* in the third to fourth century CE, some more unusual apsed halls are also associated with seven *domūs* and *insulae* in my dataset. These *domūs* include the *domus* b under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.02), the *domus* at the Diribitorium (IX.01), the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), and the *domus* at the Via Giovanni Lanza (III.02). The *insulae* include the *insula* at Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02), the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi (IX.07), and the *insula* at the Piazza Venezia (VII.03).

The *domus* b under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.02) was likely in the late antique period a combination of the earlier two *domūs*, combined at the period when the *domūs* were restructured and redecorated in the first half of the fourth century. In addition to the large *balnea* this *domus* includes an unusually shaped *aula* with multiple apses. Fine *opus sectile* decoration was added at this time, covering a previous plaster decoration in the area of the stairway. The apses were also added to the aula in this period, making it a grand space, and the *opus sectile* decorating the *aula* was planned to align with the apses rather than the walls of the room to highlight this popular architectural style. The *opus sectile* is in a popular pattern of squares inscribed in diamonds, made of cipollino, greco scritto, pavonazzetto, portasanta, serpentine, porphyry, and white marbles.<sup>514</sup> The irregular form highlights the need to fit grand *domus* into remodeled spaces, particularly in cases such as this where the location, next to the Forum of Trajan, would have been important for status by itself.

In addition to the two three-apsed rooms mentioned above, the excavated plan of the *domus* at the Diribitorium (IX.01) included one large room with one apse and a small room with a single apse. Guidobaldi and Lanciani suggest that *domus* dates to the early to mid-fourth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> Baldassarri 2008, 55-67.

century as a beginning date. Unfortunately, little is known of the decoration, but this *domus* highlights the combinations of irregular apsed rooms used in late antique *domūs*.<sup>515</sup>

The *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05) had a poly-lobed room, discussed above, in the area to the north of the original 1872 excavation. In the area of the 1872 excavation the *domus* had a decorative room with a small fountain, discussed above, that opens off of the small portico, and a large *aula* with a rear apse is positioned on the opposite long side of the triangular courtyard. The side wall of this *aula* makes up the side of the courtyard, and the entrance is found to the southwest near the unexcavated southwestern corner of the courtyard. Despite the lack of excavation data providing the exact relationship between this entrance and the courtyard, the two are in close proximity without a direct line of sight. The element that makes this apsedaula more unusual is the controlled access room that leads off the rear. The rear has a doorway leading into a marble decorated room with evidence that it was heated by *tubuli*. This room combines the controlled access *aula* form, decorated in marble in a pattern of overlapping circles, with an even more controlled access heated space with a geometric mosaic floor with a pattern of overlapping circles and wall paintings with central figures and birds.<sup>516</sup> The marble and mosaic decoration would have elevated the status of these spaces, and the heated feature of the rear room would have made it a particularly fine room for high status guests.

The Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02) has a so-called "library" that consisted of a large hall with plain walls up to a highly decorative top portion. This decorative portion included pilasters alternating with stucco tondos that originally included stucco portraits and below which were painted names of important figures, including "APOLLONIVS THYAN..." This room is a large decorative late antique space, but only one end was excavated, so the presence of an apse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup> Guidobaldi 1986, 177-181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>516</sup> Oberdan Menghi 1999, 16-17.

cannot be confirmed.<sup>517</sup> I have included it in this section as it is a large hall and is placed between two rooms that each have an apse, but the decoration of which was not reported with the same interest during the excavations. The theme of portraits of learned figures could closely relate to the function of a library. The combination of multiple different forms of apsed rooms along with this aula further supports the theme we have seen of early fourth century *domūs* showing a popularity for apsed display spaces.

Within the *insulae* at Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02) the *domus* off the via Lata is a subset of rooms within the northern *insula* on street back from the via Lata. This *domus* includes a small apsed room with an exterior window. This apsed room is the culmination after a series of three barrel vaulted rooms. The first room led to the second through an opening with two marble pilasters with marble Corinthian capitals supporting a brick arch. The second led to the third room through three portals of different widths with pairs of ionic columns. The apse was to the eastern side of the last room. A long narrow space that parallels the three rooms has been identified as a *nymphaeum* with nine niches and an *opus signinum* floor. A mosaic found associated with the remains of this building dates to the early fourth century allowing for a possible later date for this domestic space.<sup>518</sup> The pairing of a controlled access apsed room, positioned as the culmination of a sequence of decorative spaces, and paired alongside a decorative *nymphaeum* fits with the themes that we have seen in high status late antique *domus*, despite the smaller scale.

The central *insula* on the via Lata within the *insulae* at Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02) also includes a second small apsed room off center at the rear of a *taberna* with an *opus spicatum* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> Lanciani 1888, 193-196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> Cavallero 2011, 177-185.

floor. This room was likely an unusual form of service space and could have dated to a point around the Hadrianic construction or much later in the use of the *insula*.<sup>519</sup>

In the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi (IX.07) a roughly rectangular *aula*, which stood from the first to the second century and was made up of three internal spaces with cross vaults, was converted into a *mithraeum* with an apse at the back in the second half of the second century. The apse was then closed at the end of the second century and converted into four niches. The earliest first to second century phase was paved in *opus spicatum*, and is suggested as service spaces, and the second phase was paved in *cocciopesto* raised above the earlier floor level. It is possible that this apse was created with a mithraic cultic purpose from the beginning, though evidence has not been confirmed for mithraic use of the space until the period of four niches.

The entrance rooms, discussed in the previous chapter, from the *domus* in the *insula* ai Maroniti (VII.05) and the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05) both have apses oriented towards the street through which the entrance doors pass. The *domus Symmachorum* dates from between the late Antonine period and the fifth century and the *domus* in the *insula* ai Maroniti dates from between the second and fourth centuries. These two originally late second century rooms exhibit a different use of the apse form. Rather than acting as a backdrop culminating the experience of the room these apses extends the space outwards and direct the visitor into the room. Another example of an entrance through an apse was seen in the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix where a portal enters the poly-lobed room through the center apse.

# **Conclusions:**

The evidence clearly shows this style, likely adapted from public buildings and the palaces of emperors, increased in popularity and became a common feature of late antique urban

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> Cavallero 2011, 177-185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> Ricci 2004, 160-161.

 $dom\bar{u}s$ . The examples in my dataset date from the third to the fourth century. The second century example at the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi appears to have a different function. Examples like the so-called Library of Hadrian, found in the *insula* at the Piazza Venezia (VII.03) show how grand public halls would have influenced the population of the city of Rome as it grew over the empire. The decorative *aulae* began to be added in different scales highlighting the authority of the patron of the *domus*. Rather than associating the *domus* with public porticoes and bath complexes that had open spaces and large groups, the aula associated the patron with imperial palaces and high cost basilica constructions in which the patron had more sole authority. Reused marble became a critical feature of decoration, though the quality could still vary from fairly simple patterns to extremely complex designs that told stories about the patron, as seen in the Basilica of Junius Bassus and the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci. The decoration increased in the use of colored marble in private *domus*, over the common black and white mosaics seen in earlier periods, despite the difficulty of access to new sources of marble after the third century. The *aulae* are also commonly associated with water features. The construction of fountains and nymphaea both would have increased air flow, comfort, and decoration of these spaces, and would have highlighted the patron's wealth in plumbing the spaces.

# **Baths:**

The bath was used as an important feature of health, education, and entertainment of the public, and subsidizing a bath presented wealth and status of the government or a private patron to the public. Many public baths contained shrines to the Imperial Cult along with lavish and magnificent interiors reflecting the splendor and power of the empire.<sup>521</sup> Thus in replicating these spaces the domestic bath could be used both as a space for display and a service to provide to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>521</sup> Yegül 1995, 2.

guests. Baths were a fixture through the urban topography of the city. Rome had 856 small baths by the end of the fourth century.<sup>522</sup> Here I will discuss only those directly related to my domestic dataset.

## Possibly partially or completely public:

In our sample set we find examples of baths within large *domūs* or associated with *domūs* in the vicinity that can be interpreted as partially or completely publicly accessible *balnea*. These *domūs* may have been part of a private home and highlighted the beneficence of the patrons when they invited and allowed groups of visitors, or they may have been more public and owned by nearby homeowners or other parties open to the people of the neighborhood for a small fee. These include the domus under Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01, VIII.02), the domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02), the associated bath structures with the *domus* Parthenorum (XII.03), the domus of M. Aemilius Scaurus (X.01), the domus under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01), the domus ex Lazzaretto (XIII.04c), and the *domus* under San Cesareo de Appia (I.02).

The domus under Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01, VIII.02) includes a balneum, private bath, found in domus b (VIII.02), the so called Piccole Terme. Excavated originally in 1980, the Terme was only associated with the rest of a late antique domus after the 2005 excavations. In the first half of the fourth century a remodeling of the *domūs* took place. Baldassarri hypothesizes that both the *domūs* were combined at this point, as the expansion of the stairway moved the two excavated portions of *domus* a and *domus* b closer and the remodeling took place at the same period of the early fourth century.<sup>523</sup> The bath was also expanded at this point. The *frigidarium* was enlarged and more decoration added.<sup>524</sup> This relatively large *balneum* had a series of seven rooms constructed in *opus latericium* four with *tubuli* for heating, including a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> Yegül 1995, 4.
<sup>523</sup> Baldassarri 2008, 31, 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> Baldassarri 2009, 356, 377.

*praefurnium*, furnace room, a *caldarium* with a tub, a *tepidarium*, as well as a *frigidarium*, cold room, that included an oval pool with marble decoration and a balcony from the floor above. The rooms are paved with sheets of marble over cocciopesto resting on top of *suspensurae* that allow for the heat to pass from the *praefurnium* (SEE Figure 3.16) (room F on the plan) to the other heated spaces. The large *frigidarium* is paved in rectangular sheets of pavonazzetto and proconnesian marble. The balcony is paved in *opus sectile* made of cipollino, greco scritto, pavonazzetto, portasanta, serpentine, porphyry, and white marbles. The ceiling in that area collapsed and remains indicate that it was painted wood, recalling the wood truss ceilings of the *domus* at the Sette Sale. <sup>525</sup> The association of the style of the decoration of the *aula* in the *domus* at the Sette Sale with this *balneum* indicates trends in display decoration in the fourth century. It also supports the use of this *balneum* as a reception space to invite guests and highlight the status of the owner.

The *insulae* that includes the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02) just to the south includes a bath (SEE Figure 3.3, *insula* E). This bath was constructed simultaneously with the *domus* in the Hadrianic period and the two are attached. The position could allow for the *domus* to connect to the bath at the rear, which was unexcavated, or for the patron of the *domus* to also be the owner of the bath and the *insula*. The precise relationship between the patrons of the two joined properties cannot be confirmed on the basis of archaeological materials, unfortunately. This *balnea*, the term used for public bath other than the large government run *thermae*, has glass paste mosaic ceilings with marble wall and floor decoration, windows, and fine sculpture, advertising the imperial family. The *balnea* was organized with entrances that functioned for the public well, one into the large bi-apsed reception hall and the other to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>525</sup> Baldassarri 2009, 360-373.

south beside a reception room and latrine. Like the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini, the *balnea* had a large rectangular *frigidarium* with an oval pool. The walls, however, in half the room were made curvilinear and broken up into a series of niches. Three bases, which would have originally supported just a few of the many statue decorations, were found at the time of excavation. One example was constructed in the same brick as the walls and covered in polychrome marbles, rosso antico and fior di pesco. The main base supported a statue of Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius, as Concordia, and was created at the time of the Bath's original construction, as indicated by its technique and the mosaic not having been placed beneath it. The other two bases likely supported sculptures of Apollo and Diana. The arrangement also supports an original date for the marble wall-cladding. The small tepidarium also had black and white mosaic, these with figural decoration, one with a Satyr chasing a Maenad and the other with an ocean scene including a Nereid and dolphin. Brick stamps in the caldarium indicate the construction in the late Hadrianic period, renovations in the mid-Antonine, and a great restructuring in the Severan period.<sup>526</sup> This supports the long use and upkeep of the bath, also seen in the renovations of the *balneum* at the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini. Unfortunately, I cannot go into full detail of the decorations of this bath in the limited spaces available here. For a full discussion see Antiche Stanze.<sup>527</sup> The use of marble wall and floor coverings, sculpture highlighting imperial status as well as myth, and continued renovations support the status brought by a privately-owned bath and highlight the relatively small line between the largest domestic baths and the smaller public baths.

The so-called *domus* Parthorum (XII.03) located near the Terme di Caracalla has associated bath structures. These bath structures also cannot be securely tied to the private *domus* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 117-150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 1-232.

and may have been a privately-owned public bath. Taffetani suggests that from the beginning of the third century with its construction through the beginning of the fourth century the building was a public bath and that in the third phase in the end of the fourth century a late antique *domus*, along with an apsidal *aula*, was added into the previous construction. The rooms include a large apsed *nymphaeum* nearly 30 meters long with three orders of niches on either side of a large central niche, a large room with a curved short side, and a small circular room decorated with bands of shells and pumice stones that provides evidence of thermal *tubuli*.<sup>528</sup> This example further expresses the fine line between a public and private bath, as well as the popularity of these forms in late antique *domūs*.

The *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus (X.01) has a subterranean level that includes a large series of much discussed *cellae*. On this level connected to these *cellae* the *domus* also includes a series of bath spaces. This level opens to the outside street, a story below the *atrium* of the *domus*, and contains a *caladarium*, a *praefurnium*, and a large marble pool.<sup>529</sup> From the entrance there is also a room with benches and a number of small spaces. The heated area had two cold baths and walls covered in mosaic.<sup>530</sup> This small bath provides a further example of the pairing of baths with *domūs*. This may have been a domestic bath related to the *atrium*-oriented space on the floor above, or a more complicated multi-use space. In either case it exhibits the necessity for bath buildings hear private residences.

The northern section of the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01), which made up the original Hadrianic *domus*, dated by brick stamps, to the north of the former alley, includes a lower floor. Domestic rooms stood on the floor above the thermal rooms. This separation of the thermal floor from the residential spaces above is likely due to original terracing of the *domus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup> Taffetani 2010, 40-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>529</sup> Tomei 1995, 545, 555. Tomei identifies this as a *caupona* rather than a domus. 617.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup> Carandini, Bruno, and Fraioli 2010, 105-106.

This ground floor has thermal rooms, covered with cross vaults and decorated with white plastered walls with red lines painted on them in squares.<sup>531</sup> This is a fairly simple form of a decoration that we have seen in basic decorative rooms, *tabernae*, and service spaces. Originally, this lower level bath opened to a then accessible street in the second century, before the *domus* and *insula* were combined, and the alley was closed. The presence of a street level bath with domestic spaces above is somewhat reminiscent of plans in the Palatine area, including that of the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus just discussed. The simple decoration in this bath provides an example of the greater range of domestic and privately-owned baths in the city, underlining the luxurious function did not require marble.

The *domus* ex Lazzaretto (XIII.04c) was excavated under the "ex Lazzaretto" adjacent to Santa Sabina in the 1930's. Darsy identifies in the remains a *quadriporticus* with the remains of a private bath from the second half of the second century CE. The remains include a tub in *cocciopesto* with marble lining, found among eight tubs.<sup>532</sup> The bath was remodeled or combined with a *domus* in fourth century. We have seen late antique remodeling in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini, and the combination of a bath with a late antique *domus* in the associated bath structures of the *domus* Parthorum.

The excavated remains of the *domus* under San Cesareo de Appia (I.02) consist primarily of a big *balnea* room. The black and white mosaic dates to the second to third century based on style. The mosaic image centers on Neptune on a chariot drawn by marine horses and led by a putto. Surrounding elements include a putto riding a dolphin, Triton, marine monsters, and nude Nereids.<sup>533</sup> The room can also be dated based on brick construction technique to the Antonine period. It has been suggested a part of a large *domus*, the rest of which is unexcavated, and also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup> Brenk 1995, 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> Darsy 1968, 77; Ermini Pani 1984, 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup> Tomassi 1965, 26.

Insalaco has suggested the possibility that this room was part of the *Thermae Comodiana*, which are listed in this IIn in the Regionary Catalogs.<sup>534</sup> This bath provides another example of a grand bath space with high quality decoration that bridges the gap between large private baths and public baths.

These examples show the importance of the private and large domestic bath in the neighborhoods of the city. Marble was popular beginning at least in the second century CE in these spaces. Private baths allowed for daily luxury and health to enter the lives of inhabitants beyond just the household, while highlighting the social and economic status of the patrons of the bath. The baths were remodeled and used for centuries, and in some cases combined with late antique *domus* in the fourth century.

# Late Antique domestic bath:

In my dataset there are also six examples of late antique domestic baths. These include the *domus* Annorum (II.04), the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02), the *domus* of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla (V.08), the *domus* of Sette Sale (III.03), the *insula* under Santa Cecilia (XIV.01a), and the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05). This selection of late antique domestic baths underlines the importance of the use of this form in the grand late antique *domūs*.

The *domus* Annorum (II.04), suggested to be the third century house of Annius Italicus, consists of a limited number of archaeological remains associated with a domestic bath. In the 1880's Lanciani uncovered the remains of a black and white mosaic of athletes, which he described as arranged in two groups with two athletes at rest and their *lanisti*. The first group has a caption "ALAPONI/VICTVSES" and between the second group and the wall is the inscription "A-MEL/ATTI/CV". This mosaic could be from the *vestibulum* of the *domus*, as suggested by

<sup>219</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup> Insalaco 1984, 86-89.

Lanciani, or from an area associated with the domestic bath.<sup>535</sup> Carignani has proposed these remains to be associated with the remains of a small private *balneum* that was excavated in 1991 in the Ospedale Militare. This *balneum* includes a *caldarium*, two small tubs in the form of small apses, along with *suspensurae* and *tubuli* creating a heated room. The *caldarium* was paved in *opus sectile* with an isodomic pattern in rectangles and strips, not too dissimilar from that seen in the *aula* at the *domus* delle Sette Sale. The tubs were covered in marble slabs and had a step that could act as a seat.<sup>536</sup> These thermal rooms were added to a late second century *domus* in the fourth century and show construction phases through the sixth century.<sup>537</sup> This *balneum* is of a smaller scale, equipped luxuriously just to accommodate a few people at a time. The bath would have highlighted the status of the patron for particularly special guests.

The Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02) remains include rooms from a fourth century bath.<sup>538</sup> One of these rooms included a marble covered semicircular tub with *tubuli* for heating it, which calls to mind the heated tubs found the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini and even the *domus* Annorum just discussed.<sup>539</sup> These decorative bath spaces were paired with a library *aula*, a large open *nymphaeum*, a decorative *lararium*, and an underground *mithraeum*, showing a sequence of impressive spaces highlighting art and decoration for particular guests.

Further remains of a small domestic *balneum* can be associated with those in the *domus* Annorum, as well as the mosaic decoration seen in the *domus* under San Cesareo de Appia and the *domus* under Piazza dei Cinquecento. The *domus* of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla (V.08) includes the remains of a *balneum* from around 300 CE. These remains include a room with tubs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>535</sup> Visconti 1886, 49-50; Carignani 1993, 729-730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 502-503.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> Carignani 1993, 734-735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup> Lanciani 1888, 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> Fiorelli 1884, 189.

in two apses and a *caldarium*. A room northwest of the *caldarium* has a marine mosaic dating to the late third century that fits with the theme of marine imagery in private baths.<sup>540</sup>

The remains of the *domus* of Sette Sale (III.03) date to the Trajanic period with a significant period of remodeling in the fourth century. These remains sit on top of a cistern associated with the Baths of Trajan. The plan is separated by a black mosaic corridor into an east and west section. The east section, discussed above, includes a *nymphaeum* and presentation rooms from both periods of use. The west section is made up of two small rows of rooms, averaging 3.50 x 4.10 meters each, from the original Trajanic building, which possibly formed a public section in the Trajanic period. These were converted into a bath suite for the fourth century period of the *domus*. Cozza identifies the pool of the *caldarium*, the pool of the *frigidarium*, and a small cistern in the remains. The Trajanic mosaic floor was covered and the floor level raised and recovered with marble. Marble is closely tied to the decoration of baths as has been clear in the previous examples. The addition of this *balneum* to a late antique *domus* along with the addition of apsed *aulae*, indicates the increasing importance of these architectural settings for the presentation of social status over that of the portico seen in first and second century *domūs*.<sup>541</sup>

The *insula* under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (XIV.01a) was transformed from a Republican era *domus* to an *insula* in the Trajanic period. In the first half of the fourth century the *insula* was remodeled and at this point a private *balneum* was added. The *balneum* had a *caldarium* and *frigidarium* with five pools between them. *Samovar* was found in one pool, underlining the high status of the bath. The bath was located around three meters higher than an aula with a central pool and a three-arched entrance on one side that was renovated at the same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>540</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 22-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>541</sup> Cozza 1974-1975, 93; Volpe 2000, 159.

time as the addition of the bath. This either indicates the bath was a rare upper floor thermal space, or more likely that the building had to become terraced. The three arched entrance is increasingly popular in the fourth century and is also found in the entrance of the Basilica of Junius Bassus. Different mosaic floors in black and white and colored stone are found in adjacent rooms in the *insula*. This bath follows the trend of adding status and decoration to a preexisting building by adding a *balneum* in the fourth century.<sup>542</sup>

Finally, the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05) provides one more example of a late antique domestic bath. This suite of rooms stands off the large portico behind the large *aula*, which was redecorated with opus sectile in the fourth century. (SEE Figure 3.6) Room H and L have suspensurae, indicating them as heated room, and room G was probably the praefurnium. At the farthest point from the peristyle through a corridor paved in opus spicatum in this suite of rooms, a travertine staircase to a floor above is located (room C). The staircase is at a roughly 45-degree angle to the road, creating two small triangular spaces. The smaller (F) is a peperino well, and the larger is room G, the likely *praefurnium*. The first heated room (L) leads off of a room opening onto the peristyle through a door with a lunese marble threshold, an indication of this room as visible to guests in the peristyle and decoratively appointed. Room L also has a second door with a travertine threshold at the rear, leading into the opus spicatum corridor. This area would have been much more restricted access, requiring invitation through a series of spaces. Room H opens off the corridor with one entrance providing a more private heated room. This *balneum* positioned behind a grand late antique aula highlights the use of heated baths to underline the status of the patrons, while allowing these rooms to remain controlled access.<sup>543</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>542</sup> Parmegiani and Pronti 2007, 27-31; Goodson 2010, 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>543</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 487.

These six late antique domestic baths support the use of the form explicitly in the late antique period, as they were added to preexisting structures, often paired with late antique *aulae*. The relationship between the marble decoration of *aulae* and the marble decoration of these spaces supports their use for display and entertaining of special invited guests. The themes of marine scenes and associated marine myths in mosaics would have set the correct atmosphere along with the shimmering pools, fountains, and marbles.

#### **Heated rooms:**

In six cases heated rooms were found associated with *domus* but not necessarily with other bath spaces. The use of *suspensurae* to create a heated luxurious room could add to the status of a domestic space without specifically needing the associated pools. The *domūs* in which these rooms are found include the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho (V.06), the *insula* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02), the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), the *domus* under Santa Maria Maggiore (V.04), the *domus* under Santi Quattro Coronati (II.11), and the *domus* of Via Amba Aradam Stazione (II.12).

The *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho (V.06) was constructed in the late Republican period with a rectilinear *atrium*-centered plan. The plan was remodeled over the centuries and a heated room was added in the late antique period. (SEE Figure 3.17) Two rooms in the position traditionally designated as *cubicula* that opened off the south side of the *atrium* were remodeled in the third century. *Tubuli* were added to heat the northern of the two as it was shortened and paved in pavonazzetto. The walls over the *tubuli* were covered in painted plaster with a red and purpled lined pattern of panels. The wall painting matches a Severan style, and Andrews suggests that the lined panels would have including individual figures and objects. To the east of this room, and in the same area south of the *atrium*, a niche with a vault was added. The vault

was decorated with mosaic and a podium indicates it would have held statuary. The small room now focused on the new niche was paved in *opus sectile*, oriented with the niche not the original walls, a technique that we also saw in the unusually apsed *aula* in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini. The *opus sectile* creates a pattern in marble of diamonds containing alternately squares and four pointed stars. This pattern is found in late antique *domus* in Ostia, but more rarely in the early third century. The *domus* under Santa Maria Maggiore, however, does have this pattern.<sup>544</sup> This set of rooms, including a heated space and a decorative presentation niche, fit clearly into the late antique trends just beginning in the third century. While this *domus* has to fit the trends into a tight space and on a smaller scale, its remodeling still would have highlighted the modern high status of the patrons by adding the popular marble decoration, sculpture highlighting education and status, and a heated room providing luxury for invited guests. The discovery of other possibly associated small thermal spaces is made difficult by the limitations of the foundations of the modern church.

The northern of the two *insulae* one block east of the via Lata at the Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02) contains a series of domestic rooms including a small porticoed courtyard and an adjacent small heated room for private use. The small porticoed courtyard has four columns, on column bases 20 cm high and 47 cm in diameter.<sup>545</sup> While the entire *insula* was not uncovered, the presence of the heated room just off a small porticoed courtyard indicates the importance of these health-oriented luxuries even in the more middle-class *insula* accommodations.

Among the presentation rooms of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix (V.05), discussed above, a heated room opens through a single entrance off the apse of the apsed *aula*. The highly decorated room is clearly controlled access, requiring an invitation into the *aula* that did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>544</sup> Andrews 2014, 77-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> Cavallero 2011, 182.

directly open to the courtyard and then through into a back decorative space. This rectangular room, creating a small triangular gapped area between it and the apse of the *aula*, is paved in a black and white mosaic with a pattern of interlocking circles. The wall painting of the room, in large panels with figures and birds in the center, recalls the panels in the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho, and like this *domus*, Lanciani dates the room in the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix to the early third century. This room again underlines the use of the heated room as a luxurious presentation space for special guests.

Some spaces in the *domus* under Santa Maria Maggiore (V.04) were constructed over a previous bath complex, in particular a small apsed room with three niches for the display of statuary. This room was built over a room with *suspensurae*. There is no indication of pipes for plumbing the space. This room has a complicated three phase sequence of decorative wall painting and *opus sectile* flooring. The first phase is associated with the period of the earlier thermal structure. The second phase is decorated in a simple red and white wall painting design with yellow sections with a vegetal motif and dolphin above the niches. The third phase white-washes over the earlier decoration. The floor has *opus sectile* paving in an overlapping square and diamond pattern.<sup>546</sup> This complicated display space shows the adaptation and reuse of architectural structures over time.

The *domus* under Santi Quattro Coronati (II.11) includes a late antique *aula*, discussed above, likely positioned next to a porticoed courtyard, as a column was found in situ nearby. *Tubuli* were also found in walls near the aula indicating heated room. The heated walls rest on foundations with traces of marble decoration. Though little remains to be reconstructed of these spaces, they still exhibit the combination of decorative thermal spaces and late antique *aulae* for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>546</sup> De Spirito 1995, 68; Mols and Moormann 2010, 475-477, 499.

display.<sup>547</sup> The *domus* of Via Amba Aradam Stazione (II.12) also included a heated room constructed over *suspensurae*.<sup>548</sup> The *domus*, used between the second and late third century pairs marble decoration with a porticoed courtyard and heated presentation space, exemplifying the transitions in architecture in the late second and early third centuries.

*Domūs* with heated rooms, in which further bath suites have not been found, highlight both the adaptations made to the compact urban structure of Rome as well as the fragmentary nature of our evidence. In cases such as the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho, the *insula* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi, and the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix, the lack of further thermal spaces appears to be due to the desire to have luxurious heated rooms in smaller more compact houses that would not allow for a bath or that did not have easy access to interior plumbing. These examples, however, both have adjacent space to the heated room that could have held more bath rooms if excavations were extended. The *domus* under Santa Maria Maggiore presents a case where the decorative room with subflooring is due to a needed remodeling of a preexisting building. These rooms despite their smaller size, continued to have decorative wall painting, often on a white ground, which would have brightened the warm spaces, and fine marble or mosaic flooring. This decoration would allow these rooms to act as a sign of elevated social status even though they were not grand in size.

# Nymphaea and Grottos:

In addition to thermal complexes, water was incorporated into the *domūs* in Rome as an important feature through *nymphaea* and fountains. Fountains and so-called *nymphaea* in domestic contexts provided an opportunity bring nature inside. They also create moving air and water that can cool and freshen close urban rooms. Archaeologically it is noteworthy that one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>547</sup> Barelli 1994, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>548</sup> Boccacci 2018, 03/02/2018.

cannot always distinguish the remains of *nymphaeum* from a bath due to fragmentary evidence and the overlapping nature of the spaces that tend to appear together. As we have seen in the previous section, bath suites in domestic contexts varied in size from a single heated room to a structure capable of entertaining a group of the public. *Nymphaea* could be found in different parts of the *domus*, and below I will discuss *nymphaea* in the contexts of courtyards, underground spaces, in apsed spaces, and general water sources.

## Courtyard fountains and nymphaea:

Six fountains or *nymphaea* in my dataset are located in courtyards. Courtyards provide an open-air space, which would increase the light playing off the decoration of the *nymphaeum* as well as the air flow created by the moving water. The *domus* with courtyard *nymphaea* include the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni Paolo (II.01), the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02), the *domus* della Fontana (V.19), the *domus* of Via Amba Aradam Stazione (II.12), the domus under the Vigna Barberini (X.02), and the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21).

The *nymphaeum* in the courtyard of the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni Paolo (II.01) was built after the creation of the late antique *domus* from a combination of the earlier *domus* and *insula* that took place around the end of the third century CE.<sup>549</sup> The decorative *nymphaeum* makes up the end wall of the wedge shaped courtyard that was formed from the former alley between the *domus* and *insula* of the previous phase. The *nymphaeum* has a mythological fresco and a red masonry block used as a *mensa*, table or altar. The *mensa* is atypical for a *nymphaeum*. The mural depicts an aquatic scene with putti on boats and a central group with a reclining Venus and another figure, perhaps Bacchus, drinking something. This room would have been visible from multiple decorative surrounding rooms. A small room opens off of this courtyard immediately to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup> Brenk 1995, 175.

the right alongside the *nymphaeum*. It has a barrel-vaulted ceiling, dressed in marble and multicolored mosaics, with a floor in black and white mosaic. The wall in front of this grotto-reminiscent space continues the marine wall painting, which turns the corner from the *nymphaeum*. In that corner a painted serpentine column and vine adorn the stucco. Brenk suggests the entire space was constructed as an artificial *viridarium* in the urban home.<sup>550</sup>

The Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02) has a three-lobed open-air room with a *nymphaeum* decorating the central apse. I discussed the room form above. The largest center apse has seven niches in the curve and one on each corner where the main apse meets the side apses. The niches contained small marble statues, one of which was uncovered in the excavation representing a naked putto. The water in the *nymphaeum* flowed from bronze pantherhead mouthpieces. This open-air fountain with quality sculpture would have called to mind public gardens and brought status to the home.<sup>551</sup>

The *domus* della Fontana (V.19) is named for a fountain located in its large courtyard that is paved in mosaic with large tiles. The fountain was semi-circular and covered in white marble slabs. This courtyard is connected to the main decorative presentation room with a floor pattern that would accommodate dining couches.<sup>552</sup> The *domus* of Via Amba Aradam Stazione (II.12) also contains a fountain in its central courtyard off which two decorative rooms open. The *domus* della Fontana is dated between the Severan and the Constantinian period and the *domus* of the Via Amba Aradem Stazione dates between the late second to late third century. The pairing of this entertainment space with an open courtyard and fountain would have created a multi-sensory environment for guests.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>550</sup> Brenk 1995, 175-176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>551</sup> Lanciani 1884, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>552</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 28-30.

The imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21) and domus under the Vigna Barberini (X.02) each contain a pool of water in the porticoed courtyard. In the domus under San Pietro in Vincoli's first period of construction in the first century CE the pool is blue, in the Antonine period it was replaced with a smaller marble pool, and in the third period in the age of Caracalla the pool is reduced by roughly half when the presentation *aula* is lengthened into the courtyard. It is finally removed when the *aula* is apsed in the early fourth century. This shows the popularity of water features in courtyards throughout the early and mid-imperial period.<sup>553</sup>

### Underground examples of nymphaea:

*Nymphaea* could also be located in underground portions of *domūs*, and three examples from my dataset exhibit such *nymphaea*. These include the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21), the *domus* under San Clemente (III.01), and the *domus* of the Villa Rivaldi (IV.01).

Before the addition of the *mithraeum* in the late second to early third century to the *domus* under San Clemente (III.01) the semi-underground room had contained a *nymphaeum*. The *domus* centers around a courtyard, and on the lower level of the *cryptoporticus* a *nymphaeum* that later became a *mithraeum* opens off of the space. The *nymphaeum* was also possibly associated with a private bath in the first period, and marine decorations were found in nearby spaces.<sup>554</sup> The use of a *nymphaeum* on a semi-subterranean floor would provide a presentation space for guests that utilized the cool air and water to create an atmosphere.

The *domus* of the Villa Rivaldi (IV.01) also centers around a courtyard on an upper floor and a semi-subterranean *nymphaeum* opens from the *cryptoporticus*. The *nymphaeum* has a twostory ceiling. The two-story *nymphaeum* includes an apse with three niches, a format that we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>553</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 52-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>554</sup> Richardson 1992; Guidobaldi et al. 2004, 391.

have seen in the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* among others. The niches were covered in mosaic made of glass paste or enamel *tesserae*, as well as intermittent shells. This material was popular to reflect the light of *nymphaea* and we have also seen it in the vault next to the *nymphaeum* under SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The floor of the tub in front of the niche was covered in marble and was accessed by three marble steps. This provides an example where popular bright decoration has been pared with the use of the steep hillside to create a decorative cool *nymphaeum*.

Another example showing a room with similar decoration, which may indicate similar function, but that lacks moving water can be seen in the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21). This *domus* is oriented around a porticoed courtyard, underneath which runs a *cryptoporticus*. A subterranean room off the *cryptoporticus* contains wall and ceiling mosaic with glass paste tiles and a frame made of shells and pumice. The room is decorated in a grotto style but has no pipes for a fountain. The grotto style of decoration fits with *nymphaea*, as seen in the association of the small vaulted mosaicked room in the *domus* under SS. Giovanni e Paolo alongside the *nymphaeum*. Despite the lack of moving water, the grotto space's location underground would have helped keep it cool, providing a cool decorative presentation space.<sup>555</sup>

These cases exemplify the use of topography to create cool presentation and entertainment spaces for guests. The combination of a *nymphaeum* with cool underground rooms would allow for a patron to present to his guests his status both through the decoration and through his ability to create a festive and comfortable environment. It would also create a comfortable space for the household in general.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>555</sup> Colini and Matthiae 1966, 52-55.

## Nymphaea placed in apses:

As we have seen *nymphaea* are often associated with apses. Some examples include the *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03), the *domus* of the ACEA (V.15), the *domus* of the Villa Rivaldi, just discussed, and the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02). Additionally, as mentioned above, the *nymphaeum* in the courtyard of the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni Paolo has an apse directly next to it and decorated to relate to the *nymphaeum* itself. The increased use of the apse is also found as a part of the process of the addition of *aulae* and their increased popularity in the third and fourth century.

The *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03) has a large apsed *nymphaeum* on the exterior south side of the late antique *aula*. The *aula* was constructed at a right angle in the Trajanic porticoed courtyard. Only the south side of the portico remains in front of a row of Trajanic presentation rooms. The *nymphaeum* was added to the outside of the aula facing south onto the former porticoed courtyard.<sup>556</sup> This *nymphaeum* is a semi-circular tank lined with white marble. Cozza suggests that a series of niches would have been along the back, though missing now.<sup>557</sup> As described above, the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* (III.02) also has a three apsed open-air space with a *nymphaeum* in the central apse, decorated with sculptures in niches and other fine materials. Another apsed structure that shows the pairing of apse with a *nymphaeum* can be found in the *domus* of the ACEA (V.15). While the remains found in the *domus* may have been a *nymphaeum* or had a fountain.<sup>558</sup>

These examples show a popular trend in the decoration of *nymphaea*. Fitting fountains into semi-circular spaces with niches for the display of art drew attention at the side of large

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>556</sup> Volpe 2000, 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>557</sup> Cozza 1974-1975, 99-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>558</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 27-28.

open spaces. The niches could hold sculpture or fine glass paste and shell mosaic decoration that caught the light. Tubs and pools were commonly covered in marble, which would also have shimmered against the water. This combination of high-quality materials and artistic decoration would have added to the status of the already cooling *nymphaea*.

#### Water sources:

In addition to formally decorated *nymphaea*, other architectural structures providing water sources are also found near domestic buildings. Two clear examples of this include fountains outside the *insulae* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02) and a well outside the *domus* L. Vagelli (II.10).

Two public fountains were found attached to the outside of the northern of the two *insulae* one block off the via Lata under the Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02). The fountains were coated in *opus signinum*. One semi-circular fountain was attached to the north wall of the *insula* and the other was rectangular and attached to the western wall of the *insula*, both at the northwestern corner.<sup>559</sup> These fountains provide an example of a less decorative water source for the people in these multi-family residences. The southern of the two *insulae* one block off the via Lata, also includes a more unusual form of long narrow *nymphaeum*. The long narrow space has nine niches 1.65 meters tall along one wall, alternately semi-circular and square. It had water provided by copper piping with the Artemii name on the pipes. While this room is an atypical shape, the series of niches along a wall calls to mind the *nymphaeum* in the *domus* under SS. Giovanni e Paolo. This *nymphaeum*, fit into a *domus* within an *insula*, would also have had to adapt in form to the space restrictions of the tight urban environment.<sup>560</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>559</sup> Cavallero 2011, 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>560</sup> Cavallero 2011, 185.

The *domus* L. Vagelli (II.10) located on a street with *tabernae* had a Republican era well, still in use, on the street outside the *domus*. The well was covered in *tufaelli* and may have had its own water source or may have been connected to a cistern that provided a water supply to the interior of the *domus*.<sup>561</sup> The cistern was originally attached to a decorative fountain and became a water source only after the fountain was lost in a fire.<sup>562</sup> This example shows the need for water sources even when making them more ornamental is not an option.

#### **Decoration:**

Two further examples of *nymphaea* provide key details of decoration choices but are unfortunately divorced from spatial placement within their *domus*. These include a *nymphaeum* from the *domus* of Spurius Maximus (VI.01) and a *nymphaeum* from the *domus* dei Flavii (VI.10).

A room excavated from the *domus* of Spurius Maximus (VI.01) provides another example, like that of the *domus* under San Clemente, where the room is identified as a *nymphaeum* with the possibility that it could also form part of a *balneum* based on the fragmentary evidence. A lead pipe inscribed with the name Spurii Maximi was found in the excavation in 1628, which took place as a part of a renovation of the Palazzo Barberini.<sup>563</sup> A wall painting found there, later lost to fading, was drawn, and the etching reproduced in Graevius.<sup>564</sup> (SEE Figure 3.18) The Graevius image shows a landscape with animals, multiple altars, and flowing water. This detailed image despite its lack of context provides good information on wall paintings paired with decorative water installations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> Carignani et al. 1993, 456-466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>562</sup> Palazzo and Pavolini 2013, 461.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>563</sup> Lanciani 1873, 227; Guidobaldi 1995, 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup> Ashby 1916, 49.

The *nymphaeum* from the *domus* dei Flavii (VI.10) provides another example of a *nymphaeum* without architectural context. The *nymphaeum* has an apse and a side wall both decorated with glass paste wall mosaics dating to the late Neronian to early Flavian period. Pipes nearby identify the water source for the *nymphaeum* (Coarelli, 311). The glass paste mosaics are designed in a fourth style decorative scheme with various architectural scenes including the myths of Hylas and the nymphs.<sup>565</sup> This provides another example of glass mosaic being used to reflect light in a *nymphaeum*, centered on an apse. The theme of Hylas and the nymphs is appropriate for calling out the mythical education of the patron while relating the scene to the water present in the space.

## **Conclusions:**

Some of the decorative themes found in these baths and *nymphaea* are used throughout the imperial period. Mosaics commonly have water associated myths, and glass paste is used from the first century through the fourth century to emphasize the light and movement of the water. As time progresses in the empire, however, we see an increase in the number of baths associated with large private *domūs*. Examples such as the *domus* delle Sette Sale show the pairing of late antique *aulae* with *nymphaea*, both inserted and decorated with marble in periods of remodeling. We can see from the high-quality decoration of these spaces, including marble, *opus sectile*, glass paste mosaic, and fine sculpture, that baths and *nymphaea* were considered important presentation spaces for special visitors. Baths were expensive to construct and displayed the wealth of the patron. The water of baths, nymphaea, and fountains was also an important way to provide water to residents, cool spaces, and add healthy activity. The positions of nymphaea and baths on lower floors and on courtyards provided air movement and cooling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup> Coarelli 2008, 311.

positions for the comfort of residents and guests. The decoration of baths and *nymphaea* focuses on the luxury of the space, through fine materials including marble, bronze, samovar, and glass, and on the association with water. We see the water association both through the choice of myths in wall paintings and mosaics, and through the use of materials that create a shimmer and reflection of water, such as white marble.

#### **Conclusions – Controlled Access Spaces:**

The different rooms reviewed in this chapter used doors, positions within the residence, and cultivated lines-of-sight to control the access and visibility of these spaces so that specific messages could be communicated about the household. The small closed rooms and varying forms of presentation rooms exhibit designs organized around flexible spaces that could be used for multiple domestic or social purposes based on the needs of the patron. A review of the presentation rooms revealed an evolution of the popular form of decorative room over the course of the empire. The decorative presentation rooms as well as the domestic fountains and baths also exhibit motifs associating the spaces with the decorations and social interactions of larger public spaces, which would provide social cues to visitors as to the types of social interactions expected in these smaller versions.

The flexible use of space could be seen throughout the more controlled access rooms in this chapter. The evidence indicates that small rooms with closed doors make a small portion of the dataset in Rome. Only two *domūs* had rooms architectural markers suggesting a room designed specifically for a bed and only four other examples that clearly suggest this type of space from the set. While there are many options for *cubicula* on upper floors, more than ten *domūs* indicate internal staircases that allow for upper floors containing spaces for the same household, many residences clearly lack that option, suggesting that larger decorative rooms

would have functioned for sleeping and domestic activities in addition to hosting and receiving guests. Likewise flexible use is suggested by the designs of the larger decorative rooms. Only four examples suggest paving explicitly providing areas for couches for dining for the so-called *triclinium*. Among the many other larger decorative rooms, geometric pavings and fine wall painting with architectural patterns and mythical references created spaces decorated flexibly enough to function for a variety of different purposes. The various types of highly decorative presentation rooms in this dataset are found particularly around the porticoed courtyards of Roman houses. Over the course of the empire, many decorative rooms moved off of the porticoed courtyards as late antique *domūs* began to be constructed through the remodeling of other earlier buildings with originally different plans. This is evident in the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi, which remodels a room on an upper floor off a corridor into a decorative presentation room in a building that originally functioned as an *insula*.

The configuration within the architectural plan of the decorative presentation spaces, described as *triclinia*, *cenationes*, *exedrae*, *oeci*, and *aulae*, among other terms, changed over the course of the empire. The most rectilinear plans with central dining spaces opening onto courtyards all date from the first century BCE to the early empire. Beginning in the early to midempire, Roman architectural plans with central decorative presentation rooms began to move to much larger center rooms and with a slight adjustment of the surrounding spaces, as can be seen in the examples dating slightly later to the second century CE. Finally, the presentation spaces opening onto courtyards become significantly more irregular in arrangement at the end of the second and through the third and fourth century, and grand *aulae* became popular. The structure of these rooms situated the patron as the focus of a grand hall resembling public basilicas thus associating him with authority. The decoration in this late period also exhibited trends,

particularly increased use of colored marble in private *domūs*, over black and white mosaics seen more in earlier periods, as well as associations with water features.

Private baths allowed for daily luxury and health to enter the lives of inhabitants, as well for the household to invite guests contributing to the atmosphere of the city and the status of the household as the patrons. Marble was popular in these spaces beginning at least in the second century CE. The late antique domestic baths in this dataset support the popularity of the form as a specifically late antique means of designing a *domus* for high status. The decoration of baths and *nymphaea* focuses on the luxury of the space, through fine materials including marble, bronze, samovar, and glass, and on the association with water. *Domūs* were also found with heated rooms, in which further bath suites have not been found, supporting the use in smaller homes of abbreviated forms of luxury to add to the household's status while functioning in more limited means. These spaces were decorated with similar materials and styles as those seen in the larger water related spaces.

#### **Chapter 3 Part 2 – Inconclusive Access Spaces:**

Some architectural spaces in Roman *domus* do not have obvious barriers to visitors, but may have elements that limit their access, such as the distance from the entrance created by the positions of upper and subterranean floors. Some of these spaces may have decorations or functions that suggest guests were present, such as highly decorative subterranean rooms, wide decorated stairways, as that seen in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini, or sacred spaces where sacred rites would have taken place, such as in the *mithraeum* of the *domus* under San Clemente. In this section, I examine the decorative program, construction and ornamental materials, position within the residence, and lines-of-sight of these more questionable spaces to see if their decoration and presentation more resemble the open access spaces, the controlled access spaces, or if some of these spaces appear to have functioned on an even more controlled access level than the decorative spaces described above.

#### Sacred spaces:

Sacred spaces had a variety of rituals involving household members and possibly guests. The traditional shrine to the household gods, typically called a *lararium* in scholarship, is believed to have been the center of household ritual and was highly decorative and typically visible. The exact nature of rituals at these shrines is unknown.<sup>566</sup> The *mithraeum* acted as a center for *mithraic* cult worship. Varying in size and scale domestic *mithraea* would have accommodated different numbers of participants and different ranges of rituals. The *mithraeum* benches were the location of the cult meal, which replicated the feast of Mithras and the Sun god and the site of the cult initiation for initiates.<sup>567</sup> The sacred spaces found in my dataset from

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup> Beard, North, and Price 1998, 102-103. The use of the term *lararium* was not common or standard in ancient texts.
 <sup>567</sup> Beck 2000, 145-147.

Rome show a range of how controlled the access these spaces appears to have been for participants and visitors.

The Via Giovanni Lanza *mithraeum* (III.02) requires descent through a doorway and stairway to an underground room. The entrance to the *mithraeum* is prominently placed next to the *lararium aedicula* of the *domus*. The placement of the *mithraeum* entrance in an open presentation space supports the hypothesis of an expectation for invited guests beyond the immediate household to enter the sacred space. Additionally, the decoration of the *mithraeum*, the remains of which included seven wooden torches and sculptures of the two torchbearers Cautes and Cautopates, suggests a presentation of the fine space for multiple participants, yet the small scale would have limited it to extremely small groups.<sup>568</sup> By contrast the *lararium* is open and at ground level, presenting a collection of fine art to visitors. The *lararium* contained a statue of Isis-Fortuna, and seventeen statues and busts of other household deities.<sup>569</sup> The location of these decorative sculptures in a visible *aedicula* would have allowed more casual guests to see the family gods and the household's devotion to them, where only invited guests would enter the realm of the devotion to Mithras.

Other *mithraea* can be found in my dataset in the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius (VI.07), the *domus* of the Nummii Albini (VI.02), the *domus* under San Clemente (III.01), the *domus* 'of Aquila and Prisca' under Santa Prisca (XIII.03), and the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi (IX.07). The *mithraea* under Santa Prisca, under San Clemente, in the *domus* of the Nummii Albini, and in the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius were all subterranean or semi-subterranean spaces, mimicking the cave symbolism of Mithras. They were decorated with benches and *mithraic* symbols. The combination of a remote, controlled-access, position

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup> Pavia 1996, 17-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup> Fiorelli 1885, 67; Lanciani 1888, 192.

and decoration underline these spaces as controlled access spaces that guests, and likely household members, would have only entered with the patron's invitation. The example in the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi was not subterranean but was positioned up a stairway from the ground level through closeable doors. This distinction makes sense in its position in a multi-family residence and multi-use building.

Examples of *lararia* have particularly significant quantities of fine artistic decoration and commonly were positioned in places to highlight the status of the family and the household, as in the peristyle or atrium. In my dataset archaeological evidence of domestic shrines were found in the domus degli Aradii (I.01), the domus of M. Aemilius Scaurus (X.01), the domus under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01), and the *domus* via del Babuino (VII.06). The remains of the *domus* degli Aradii were excavated in 1937 and 1945 and included a set of two vaulted rooms. The rooms both included fine sculpture and the second room was decorated with a glass paste ceiling mosaic and two periods of wall decoration. The wall decoration included a period of floral wall painting on plaster and another period of marble wall decoration. An inscription found in 1945 identifies the second room as the *lararium* of the Aradii in the third and fourth century. The statues include multiple deities and mythical figures, such as Tyche-Fortuna and Leda and the swan. The adjacent room also had a statue of Isis and statuette of Dionysos.<sup>570</sup> The shrine within the domus of M. Aemilius Scaurus was pared with a series of small cellae and a suite of bath spaces. While these spaces all indicate levels of domestic use, the semi-public nature of the street access to this space and the unknown function of the *cellae* may put this shrine in a closer category to those found in shops. In the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla includes a room near the entrance that was closed later in the life of the *domus*. It has been identified as a *lararium* by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>570</sup> Candilio 2011; Candilio and Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. 2005, 1-42.

Parker and Castagnoli, though as a corridor by Carpanno.<sup>571</sup> Finally, in the *domus* via del Babuino an inscription honoring the family members of the household was found that Fiorelli suggests may have hung in a *lararium*, peristyle or *atrium*.<sup>572</sup> This inscription provides an example of a way in which the domestic shrine highlighted the status of the household. The positions of these shrines in more openly visible parts of the *domus* near the entrance suggest them as more open access as discussed in *atria* and courtyards.

Christian shrines are much more difficult to identify in the domestic spaces of Rome. In the fourth century *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01c) had a small stairway added to a so-called *confessio*, depicting an image of an Orant.<sup>573</sup> The position of the Orant at the top of a stairway suggests that this space would have been controlled access after it was added. The lack of evidence for pre-Constantinian Christian domestic shrines, despite shrines being known in funerary contexts, suggests that domestic Christian spaces were not architectural in the period before Christianity was legalized.

These examples underline that different domestic shrines would have had different degrees of controlled access based on the religion involved and the social situation in the city. The *lararia* were typically in more open parts of the home, such as *atrium*, open courtyards, and positions near the entrance, displaying wealth and status of the *domus* patron and household. The impressively decorated *aedicula* in the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* suggests that the *lararium* was a more open-access space visible to guests entering the courtyards and *atria* of *domūs*. The evidence of *mithraea* by contrast, such as the Via Giovanni Lanza down a stairway, supports these spaces as acting as controlled access rooms and suites of rooms for special invited guests only.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>571</sup> Castagnoli 1949-1950., 168-170; Carpano 1972, 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup> Fiorelli 1880, 466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup> Brenk 1995, 188.

## **Stairways:**

Stairways were necessary elements of circulation and movement in an urban city were buildings grew up to accommodate the population. Regulations throughout the imperial period indicate the need to restrict unrestricted vertical growth for the prevention of fire and collapse. Augustus and Nero reiterated regulation to limit *insulae* to around 70 feet in height maximum, a height reduced to 60 feet by Trajan.<sup>574</sup> The question remains of whether these spaces would have been more openly accessible to visitors, or if they would have been blocked to those without invitation. The examples in my dataset help to contextualize these spaces.

Decorative stairways include that in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01), in the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi (VII.01), in the *insula* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi (VII.02), and in the *domus* at the ACEA (V.15). The *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini was remodeled in the early fourth century, and at this time the stairway was added or greatly expanded and covered in barrel vaults with two ramps leading up to a second story. There are two periods of decoration to the stairway, the first a layer of fresco decoration and the second a layer of *opus sectile* on mortar. The latter decoration in *opus sectile* presents a popular pattern of squares in diamonds, seen in other parts of the *domus* renovated at the same time. The width of this staircase, as well as the presence of a landing on an upper floor that overlooked the frigidarium of the same *domus* suggest that this stairway was intended for use beyond the members of the private household.<sup>575</sup> In the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi the stairway to the upper floors was first used in the *insula* and for the fourth century modification of the *insula* into a *domus* was enriched for the new building with spoliated travertine slabs. The presence of decorative presentation rooms also puts this stairway more in the category of openly accessible, as the *domus* had more than one story

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Canter 1932, 286-287.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>575</sup> Baldassarri 2008, 55, 60-61.

with presentation spaces for guests.<sup>576</sup> In the *insula* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi stairways leading to the lost upper floors are found in multiple places. One in particular was replaced and renovated in the central *insula* on the via Lata. The staircase was removed from its original location and replaced with a latrine and then moved to the northeastern corner of the building. The staircase was broad and made of travertine slabs leading to brick landings in a rectangular spiral. The width and strong materials of this staircase imply quality, and the presence in an insula with multiple family residences on upper floors indicate that this would have been a more heavily trafficked staircase with less reduced access.<sup>577</sup> The excavated remains of the *domus* at the ACEA center around a main corridor that is partially subterranean. A stairway 2.2 meters wide and paved in greco scritto marble led into the corridor. This highly decorated corridor has a marble mosaic floor in yellow and gray-blue marble with wall paintings of human figures over a red frieze. A large decorative so-called *triclinium* opens off this corridor.<sup>578</sup> These decorative stairways are found in *insulae* where they were more open access by necessity for the residents and guests of multiple households of different sizes. They were also found in *domūs* that were constructed later in the empire in the third and fourth centuries when the residences were often remodeling earlier structures building on multiple levels, as seen in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini and the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi, and the residences were fitting into compact urban spaces. This created a situation where decorative broader staircases acted as a more open access *fauces* leading up to more controlled access spaces.

Stairways to floors below are found in a few distinctive situations, particularly when they are accessing sacred spaces and *mithraea*, when they are accessing cantina storage or cisterns, and when they are accessing areas with decorative subterranean presentation spaces. Domus that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup> Insalaco 2005, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup> Cavallero 2011, 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup> Borgia et al. 2008, 25-27.

had stairways to underground *mithraea* include examples such as the *domus* 'of Aquila and Prisca' (XIII.03), the Via Giovanni Lanza domus (III.02), and the domus of the Nummii Albini (VI.02). These stairways are narrow and not decorative. In all three cases the *mithraea* were inserted into earlier underground spaces used primarily for storage. Multiple buildings include stairways of brick or travertine leading down into a cantina or cistern for storage or functional support of the residence. Some examples of these include the *insula* a Cisterne (I.03), the *domus* at the Sette Sale (III.03), and the *domus Gaudentius* (II.02). These staircases are constructed with strong materials but not decorative and typically narrow. Additionally, staircases leading into spaces with decorative presentation rooms are found in my dataset, for example in the Casa Bellezza (XIII.01), the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21b), and the *domus* at the ACEA (V.15), a decorative staircase in grecco scritto that I just discussed above. The staircase in the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza is narrow and runs the length of the presentation rooms that open off the *cryptoporticus* before turning further up. A small, possibly service, area opens off the back of the corridor. This stairway does not imply high traffic by its size but would have been the necessary access point for the fine decorative rooms opening off the *cryptoporticus*. The stairway into the *cryptoporticus* of the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli also provided key access to the decorative grotto room and other mosaicked spaces. Originally smaller, the importance of accessing theses spaces is underlined by its replacement with a larger stairway directly into one of the subterranean rooms in later period in the life of the *domus*.<sup>579</sup> All of these stairways leading into subterranean spaces imply that they were controlled access spaces for different reasons. The service spaces would not have had need to be presented to guests and would have been important for the smooth functioning of the household. The *mithraea* were already a controlled access space based in cultic participation and invitation, and thus the access

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>579</sup> Basso and Ghedini 2003, 127-147.

to the subterranean areas into which they fit would have been restricted. Finally, the underground presentation rooms would have been important display spaces for guests but entered by invitation and not visible by any means from the porticoed courtyards or other more openly accessible areas.

Stairways were both found to be located near the entrance where they would be easily accessible or more remotely placed from the entrance where they would have been difficult for guests or visitors to access. Domūs with staircases that are proximate to the entrance include examples like the *domus* Azara, which has a stairway to the upper floor in the room to the immediate left of the *vestibulum*, and the *domus* at the Piazza dei Cinquecento, which has a stairway to the upper floor leading off the *vestibulum* itself. Domūs with staircases distance from the entrance and from direct access include examples like the *domus Symmachorum*, the *domus* della Fontana, and the *domus* dei Ritratti. The staircase in the *domus Symmachorum* is behind a series of thermal rooms off the main peristyle, which itself is entered after a series of two reception spaces. This sequence of rooms is both circuitous and would have been difficult for a guest to locate and is places behind thermal rooms that would have required invitation for entry. The *domus* della Fontana and *domus* dei Ritratti had upper floors, as is indicated by fragments and wooden beams found in the excavations, but they have no evidence of stairways, making the access to the upper floors challenging to place.

*Insulae* present another case where the accessibility of staircases could vary. In my dataset many examples of stairways were found that were directly accessible from the street, such as those seen in the *insulae* at the Galleria Alberto Sordi and the *insula* at the Ara Coeli. These positions suggest these stairways would have been more open access along the lines of a *fauces* or *vestibulum* rather than a restricted space, allowing for access to multiple distinct units.

Some cases also show a contrast of interior and exterior staircases, as seen in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, which has internal stairs as well as external staircases leading to the upper floors. This suggests that certain areas on the upper floors could be tied directly to a bottom floor residence or *taberna* while other staircases were openly accessible to reach distinct upper floor spaces.

The decoration and placement of staircases suggests that some stairs were given more priority and visibility to visitors and guests than others. Decorative broad staircases, such as that under the Palazzo Valentini, or conveniently located staircases, such as that in the *domus* Azara, provided guests with a high degree of visibility to the upper floor. This would have made it a more openly accessible space. The visibility of a portion of the upper floor from the frigidarium of the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini to a small degree also supports the spaces on that upper floor as having been more accessible. Likewise, the position of stairways opening onto the street in *insulae*, such as the *insula* at the Ara Coeli and the *insulae* under the Galleria Alberto Sordi support the openly accessible nature of these spaces, and the more openly accessible nature of the entrances to the residences and rooms above, which would have then limited access to the interiors at that point. The placement of other stairways in more remote portions of the *domus*, such as that in the *domus Symmachorum*, by contrast support the stairway and by that the entire upper floor as a completely controlled access space. Finally, the uses more common of lower floors, for service spaces not aimed at visitors, for controlled access sacred spaces, and for decorative entertaining spaces that would have required invitation support these staircases as more controlled access portions of the *domus*.

# **Upper floors:**

In the *Life of Augustus* Suetonius notes that for work in private [*secreto*] Augustus went to a place at the top of the house [*in edito singularis*], suggesting his *cubiculum* did not provide such privacy.<sup>580</sup> This rare statement provides a view of completely controlled access spaces that might remain private and quiet even in the hectic urban center of Rome. The remains of upper floors are unfortunately among the most limited archaeologically. Here I will review the types of evidence found of upper floors, their accessibility, and their decoration.

*Domūs* with accessible upper floor and possible terracing include: the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini (VIII.01), the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01), the Casa Via Graziosa (V.09), and the *domūs* of the Via De' Ciancaleoni nn. 45-46 (VI.06). The Casa Via Graziosa and the northern of the two *domūs* of the Via De' Ciancaleoni nn. 45-46 both have lower open-air courtyards that are highly decorative but, due to the topography of the area, an entrance on a floor higher, likely with a rectilinear plan focused on an *atrium*. The Casa Via Graziosa has the famous Odyssey wall paintings on its courtyard, which is set against a retaining wall into the slope of the Esquiline. Based on Coarelli's identification of an associated *atrium* from the *Forma Urbis Romae* with this *domus*, the courtyard had a large *atrium*, circa 18 x 20 meters, with small surrounding rooms on the floor above that opened to the street.<sup>581</sup> The *domus* of the Via De' Ciancaleoni has an open courtyard with three marble decorated rooms opening off of it, but the adjacent *domus* has the floor of a subterranean level at only a little over a meter lower than this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>580</sup> "in domo quae Calui oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breues essent Albanarum columnarum et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pauimento conclauia. ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamuis parum salubrem ualitudini suae urbem hieme experiretur assidueque in urbe hiemaret. si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et technyphion uocabat (Suet. Aug. 72)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>581</sup> Coarelli 1998, 32-35.

*domus*.<sup>582</sup> This suggests a steeply sloping area with the street access at a higher level than courtyard. The *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo on the northern side of the wedge-shaped courtyard had an additional small triangular shaped courtyard, discussed in the previous chapter. Residential rooms overlooked this courtyard while thermal spaces were on a lower floor that likely originally opened onto a street. This is likely due to the *domus*'s original construction as a part of terracing on the hill behind.<sup>583</sup> Such terracing would have required floors that typically were all on the ground floor to be split onto higher and lower floors by staircases. The *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini was also built into the slope of the Quirinal hill, and its broad staircase, discussed above, suggests that rooms decorated for guest access were located on the second floor. The upper floors of these terraced houses were, therefore, decorated in the same level and style as the lower floors and would have been equally accessible for guests.

In addition to terracing causing a split of ground floor rooms onto upper and lower floors, some houses were built into the compact urban center requiring use of the second floor. Examples can be found in the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi (VII.01) and the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla (XII.01). Photographs from the excavations of the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla show the remains of fine mosaics in the rooms above the entry. (SEE Figure 3.19). These mosaics one on either side of the entry room show black and white mosaics on a white ground with black lines in geometric patterns forming frames for vines and floral motifs. Carpano suggests the stairway up to this floor was in a room just off the *vestibulum*.<sup>584</sup> Likewise, the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi, built into a former *insula*, turned one of the ground floor rooms into a cistern, and used a second floor room off the stairway as a decorative presentation space with a fine mosaic pavement exhibiting a border of a black acanthus vine on a white band

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup> Ramieri 1980, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>583</sup> Colini and Gismondi 1944, 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>584</sup> Parker 1864-866, JHP[PHP]-0631.

and a central chessboard pattern in pink, yellow, blue-grey, and white, made of bianco, giallo antico, and greco scritto marbles.<sup>585</sup> The decoration in these examples indicates that in Rome it was necessary to have some presentation rooms above the ground floor, and that these would have been at a similar level of decoration and controlled access to the presentation rooms found on the ground level.

Finally, among the fragmentary evidence of upper floors in Roman residences examples of insulae provide some context for the compact urban blocks of the city under the empire. The insula at the Ara Coeli (VIII.04) provides an unusually complete set of multiples stories of a residential multi-family building with *tabernae* on the ground floor. Above the tabernae and their mezzanine level, the next floor has apartments that consist of multiple irregular rooms and traces of wall plaster indicate they had a simple patter of red stars on a white ground.<sup>586</sup> These apartments would have been more amenable to hosting guests than the one room apartments on the floor above. The insula under the Piazza dei Cinquecento (V.02), as mentioned above, had dual access to the second story. Within the *vestibulum* of the *domus* a stairway led up to rooms that should relate directly to the household, while just outside the entrance to the *domus* a second stairway led up to the upper floors of the *insula* that were positioned over the south part of the *domus* and the bath to its south. This portion of the upper floors likely functioned as separate spaces distinct from the *domus*. This shared use of the upper floor indicates that *insulae* had to adapt to variations in family structures and populations in Rome. Unfortunately, no remains of the decoration of the upper floor remain. A third example can be found in the *domus* under the Palazzo of the Knights of Rhodes (VIII.03), which had an insula stairway just outside the entrance leading up to upper floors of the *insula* attached to and overlapping the *domus*. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>585</sup> Insalaco 2005, 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup> Muñoz 1930, 30.

examples indicate a variety of access levels and decoration levels for upper floors of *insula*e in the city. In a limited number of cases some upper floor space would have related to fine ground floor *domūs*, in other cases small apartments still large enough for a decorated reception space would have been found, and finally in many cases the upper floors would have had more basic accommodation.

#### **Conclusions:**

While some *domūs* with remote and difficult to access staircases likely had primarily private spaces on the upper floors, such as the *domus Symmachorum*, and some *insulae* apartments were very small and not appropriate for guests as seen on the fourth floor of the *insula* at the Ara Coeli, evidence from other *domūs* and *insulae* in Rome indicates that many upper floors, particularly second floors, were used for the display of the household and the entertainment of guests. The topography of the city also required a considerable number of *domus* to have split-level homes with terraced floors that would have been at different ground levels, while also requiring multi-story stairways, like we have seen at the Casa Via Graziosa. The multi-family residences of the *insulae* of Rome also provided examples in which even some upper stories would have had decorative spaces that hosted guests on a small scale.

#### Subterranean spaces:

Many diverse examples of subterranean spaces have come up in my analyses above. Subterranean spaces could vary widely in decoration from completely undecorated rooms that functioned almost entirely as support foundations for floors above, for example found in the *domus* Nova Via (X.07), to highly decorative presentation spaces that were likely primarily spaces for impressing invited guests, as the example of the presentation room resembling a Corinthian *oecus* with columns in the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza (XIII.01) shows. Finally, I discussed *mithraea* above are also found in highly decorative controlled access subterranean spaces for special visitors.

Decorative spaces into which guests might be invited were found in many cases on subterranean levels. On the Aventine hill, underground decorative rooms are found in the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza (XIII.01), the domus di Via San Domenico (XIII.05), the domus in Via Marcella (XIII.06), and the *domus* under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana (XIII.07). The *domus* under the Casa Bellezza had fourth style wall painting dating to the late first century. The rooms were remodeled and used through the mid-second century. The wall paintings in the *domus* in Via Marcella are also fourth style dating to the mid-empire.<sup>587</sup> The *domus* di Via San Domenico has fourth style wall paintings as a first century CE remodeling of a first century BCE domus that originally had second style wall paintings. These rooms also were abandoned in the second century.<sup>588</sup> The *domus* under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana (XIII.07) from the first century CE had wall paintings dating to second to the third century renovations of the *domus* some in a revival of the third to fourth style.<sup>589</sup> These *dom* $\bar{u}s$  seen to indicate a popularity of subterranean entertaining and presentation spaces in the fourth style in the first to early second century in the Aventine, a traditionally high status residential area. Further examples of subterranean decorative rooms are also found in the *domus* of the ACEA (V.15) and the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli (V.21b), discussed above, indicating that this use of subterranean spaces was also used in other parts of Rome.

Subterranean *cellae* for storage, service, and cisterns are also found throughout Rome. An interesting set of small *cellae* are found in the *domus* of M. Aemilius Scaurus (X.01), the *domus* under the Forum of Nerva (IV.02), and the *domus* with Carcere (X.04). These three *domūs* are all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup> Boldrighini 2003, 19, 134-135, 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup> Chini 1998, 7-11.

<sup>589</sup> Chini 1998, 8-11.

located tightly in the area of the Republican Forum and all have sets of small non-descript rooms that have been suggested as functioning for conspicuous housing of slaves. No examples of subterranean sets of *cellae* like these have been found in other parts of the city, suggesting that these are either used for various other functions rather than slave housing, or that a residence in this location would provide the status required to desire to exhibit one's slaves and wealth even more conspicuously than in the rest of the city.

Cistern are found on subterranean levels and on ground levels that were converted as the city grew in multiple parts of the city. These can be found in the *domus* delle Sette Sale (III.03), the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi (VII.01), the *domus* under Santa Sabina the so-call *domus* Intros Muros (XIII.04a), and the *insula* a Cisterne (I.03). Other types of cellars are also found throughout the city, such as in the *domus Gaudentius* (II.02), which has a stairway accessing service spaces under its northern half, and the *domus* di Via San Domenico (XIII.05), mentioned above, which had service spaces with plain white plaster in addition to a decorative space. These spaces were purely functional and not decorated or used for guest access.

Subterranean spaces functioned and were decorated in a range of ways from completely functional to very formal. Throughout this range, however, subterranean spaces appear to have been always controlled access in some way. The most common underground spaces, which visitors entered, were fine presentation spaces and sacred spaces such as *mithraea*. In both of those cases guests would be expected to enter the spaces on invitation, in contrast to the *atrium* and open access spaces. The more functional subterranean spaces would have supported the entertaining of guests and the household's functioning on the ground floor and above without guests actually entering them.

## **Conclusions:**

The forms of domestic rooms that I found to be more questionable as to how controlled access they would have been by the household or patron included sacred spaces, stairways, upper floors, and subterranean spaces. The evidence of sacred spaces, which vary from different forms of lararia to *mithraea* and Christian contexts, suggests that the control of access to these spaces would have varied as well. *Lararia* acted in part to display the family making it align with the open access goals of the *atrium* and peristyle, where *mithraea* put the homeowner in a structured sub-culture that required controlled access for only particular guests.

Stairways often acted in a manner like a *fauces*, openly accessible to people seeking visitors on upper floors of *insulae*. Within *domus* many examples were clearly positioned and decorated with the expectation that visitors would use them to access decorative spaces on the upper floors. Other cases indicate that in some *domus* the upper floors were much more controlled access. The compact urban environment would have had a lot of influence over the difference. The *domus Symmachorum* with a controlled access stairway to an upper floor covers a considerably large area, while the *domus* Azara with a readily accessible stairway is fit tightly into a city block. The compact plans required of many *domūs* likely required also that they use the upper floors for more purposes. Finally, the subterranean levels of *domus* are often highly decorative to act as presentation spaces either for sacred ritual or for dining and entertainment taking advantage of the cool air, but the remote locations from entrances suggest that these would have been controlled access rooms.

# Chapter 4 – A Comparative Social Network Analysis of the Households of Rome in the Early and Late Fourth Century CE

#### **Introduction:**

This dissertation researches the spaces and relationships of ancient Roman housing, specifically looking at 119 Roman *domūs* and *insulae* with multiple building stages from the first to fifth centuries in the urban center of the city of Rome (SEE Figure 4.1). Preceeding this chapter, I examined how ancient Romans constructed and arranged domestic properties, in order to interpret how the construction choices of Romans were carefully made to reinforce the social structure of the household and reaffirm Roman social order. In this chapter, I move to the exterior scale of how residences contributed to the social interactions and political status of households. I examine below how known religious, political, and familial affiliations, which can be discerned for individual houses, provide a foundation to examine the network of relationships among households within the city.

Through a network analysis of these affiliated connections, I interpret the significance of the topographical placement of domestic properties to the social networks of relationships among the households. Through this analysis I am also seeking where clusters of interaction and influential points formed among the domestic properties. I am specifically proposing to see if there is an association between the social network of a household and the placement of that household topographically in Rome, in order to see if social networks created sorts of neighborhoods. I used the modularity method, which I will discuss below, through social network analysis to test this research question. I also propose to seek which types of households were the most well-connected, and thus potentially the most influential, to the social network of

Rome during times of shifting power and changing sacred worship. I used the Degree, Eigenvector, and Betweenness methods, also discussed below, to seek these central households.

The social network in Rome allowed for existing social connections to strengthen the social status of a participant. The letters of Symmachus show him using his prestige to support friends, family, and dependents, following the rules of etiquette through thanks and greetings, and directly petitioning the emperor. Symmachus's use of letters and social connections to develop *amicitia*, friendship relations, and patronage exhibits how assisting others further strengthened his social network.<sup>590</sup> Public appointments were typically chosen based on ties from within social networks, making one's position within such networks critical for political, economic, and social advancement.<sup>591</sup> The study of the networks visible among Roman households will allow for us to theorize the relative positions of people within this system. In this chapter I present an exploratory network analysis of households from the fourth century CE in the city of Rome. A network analysis data set includes nodes, or points of interaction, which can also be called actors, that can be connected to the rest of the network by means of edges, connections between the nodes in a network system.

My study includes two data sets, first households that stood between the years 300 and 330 CE, and second households that stood between 360 and 390 CE, both within the Aurelian walls of the city of Rome. All of the households in both datasets, as with all the ancient houses included throughout this study, have been at least in part uncovered archaeologically in the city, and are not purely referenced historically. I have chosen the first sample set specifically to see if the network of relationships among households in the city of Rome can shed light on changing social relationships in the period during which Maxentius and Constantine struggled for power

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>590</sup> Matthews 2010, 218-220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> Salzman 2002, 115.

over the empire and which led to the introduction of Christianity as the official religion, struggles that played out in the landscape of the city. I chose the second sample set to see the development of trends from the early fourth century, such as the shift to Christianity and the shift of imperial power away from Rome, as they progressed in the late fourth century. For these network analyses I will include as nodes, or points of interaction, a few churches and *mithraea* that are not residential, but which would have been points of interaction for the households making up the other nodes. Additionally, for the network analyses I will include the imperial palaces, which make up essential points for domestic social and political networks. In the following section of my dissertation I analyze the interior spaces of houses to see social interaction on the microscale, and in that section, as well as the following catalog of *domūs*, the palaces will not be included.

In order to form the edges that connect the nodes in this study, I use data on religious, political, and familial affiliations in households, which I obtain from excavation data and historical records of individual houses. I am combining network analysis software, Cytoscape and Gephi (SEE Figures 4.2 and 4.3), with a digital map of Rome that I made using QGIS software to test my hypotheses of the significance of topography to Roman social networks (SEE Figure 4.1). I created the graphs presented here primarily through the Gephi software. Herein I will show you the conclusions that I have drawn from an examination of the network of social connections among senatorial families, imperial households, pagan households, groups practicing the cult of Mithraism, and emerging Christian groups. I have examined this data set to see where there are units that tie multiple groups of influence together, as well as how these groups do or do not relate to the topography of Rome.<sup>592</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> I would like to thank the Walter Read Hovey Memorial Fund of The Pittsburgh Foundation for supporting travel related to my research and writing of this chapter.

# Historiography of the Method:

The introduction of network analysis methodology has provided a new avenue for better understanding the development of a complex social system, such as the urban topography and population of Rome, by means of interpreting relationships between people and places. Social network analysis provides an additional methodology for the approach of statistical data in which the relationships among interconnected people or groups, typically called actors or nodes, in a social system are studied rather than seeking data on individual units in the system. A social network is represented for study by a selected set of nodes, indicating actors, connected by relationships or links, which are represented in network graphs by arcs or lines called edges (See examples in (SEE Figures 4.2 and 4.3).<sup>593</sup> While a traditional statistical analysis takes data sets made up of sampling or modeling that looks at specifically individuals, for example houses or residents, to determine information about behaviors or needs of a group based on individual units in that group, social network analysis focuses on the relationships among social entities and the patterns and implications of these relationships as they affect larger social systems.<sup>594</sup> In my study I define the relationships among households and residents, via houses, in the city of Rome to see how the networks of relationships, not just individual actors, affected the city's urban development.

Thus, this method of social network analysis perceives actors or elements in a system as interdependent rather than independent units. The network of relationships in a larger social system can be examined for various different effects on the system. For one, social network analysis proposes that relationships or links between actors act as channels for the transfer of resources, which can be goods, ideas, or other various things material or non-material. Also,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 9, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 3.

networks can be viewed as providing opportunities or constraints on individuals in the network, such as providing access to higher social status through connections. Through such ideas, social network analysis can be used to interpret lasting patterns of relationships among actors in a social system.<sup>595</sup>

Social network analysis developed as a coherent methodology through the work of pioneering researchers in anthropology, sociology, and social psychology in the 1960's and 1970's. It grew out of a number of earlier methods from these fields, such as sociometry, which began in the 1930's. Scholars Moreno and Jennings first used the visualization of the sociogram, devised as a visualization of how actors and links fit together, for work in sociometry to analyze small groups by making a structural analysis of a community, which was otherwise impossible (SEE Figure 4.4). Sociometry and the sociogram used a visual display of group structure, through which a scholar could analyze the pattern of an entire social structure or examine with focus a smaller portion of a larger network.<sup>596</sup> Sociometry also applied a probabilistic model of structural outcomes. These methods developed into important elements of social psychology and later into key parts of social network analysis. Further, in the 1950's to 1970's scholars in anthropology found traditional methods insufficient for examining the behavior of individuals in complex societies. These scholars began to develop ideas toward network approaches. In this period Barnes is attributed the first use of the term "social network".<sup>597</sup> Scholars developed approaches such as looking at the density or clustering of social networks, ideas to which I will return later. In the same period social psychology looked at the role of the group structures and individuals within them, developing concepts such as actor centrality.<sup>598</sup> Mathematical models

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> Moreno and Jennings 1934, 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> Barnes 1954, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>598</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 11-13; Scott 2000, 7-9.

began to be used early in the development of these theories, for example Moreno's use of graph theory beginning in the 1930's and the use of statistical theory for work on reciprocity by scholars such as Katz and Powell in 1955. Such mathematical approaches became important for interpreting network data.<sup>599</sup> These ideas began to coalesce into social network analysis in the 1960's and 1970's. During the 1980's the use of statistical models and development of new statistical models for social network analysis increased, and there are now a variety of statistical models for different aspects of network data.<sup>600</sup> I will mention a few below in greater detail. A massive increase in the use of the methodology of social network analysis since the mid-1990's is due in part to the increased access to powerful computers and large-scale electronic datasets, which can now be compiled due to computer software programs and access to more resources through the internet.<sup>601</sup> The access to these resources has assisted in pushing forward the theories and methods related to social network analysis. In this period of increasing use of the method of network analysis, the statistical interpretation of connected actors in a network has been adopted across diverse fields from sociology and anthropology, to physics and biology.<sup>602</sup> In turn network analysis has benefitted the various fields from which it developed, so that they can better test statistical data from the perspective that actors influence each other and are not independent.

Using these approaches network analysis has been applied to increasingly more and more varied datasets. In archaeological contexts network analysis can use data on interactions, such as letters or contracts, or artifacts that indicate interactions, such as the discovery of ancient prestige goods requiring trade, to determine networks, as well as shared traits, such as participation in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> Katz and Powell 1954, 621. Katz and Powell examine and enumerate n-node graphs satisfying a set of local restrictions in order to assist with future study of communication networks and the construction of probability distributions for random variables defined over graphs. Wasserman and Faust 1997, 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>600</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 15-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>601</sup> Watts 2004, 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>602</sup> Knappett 2013, 3.

religious rites or political groups.<sup>603</sup> For example, network analyses have been used to analyze the importance of place when a group chooses a site for occupation, by means of an analysis of spatial organization of sites on a regional scale, and also have been used to analyze the dynamic interplay of power relationships in archaeological sites, such as among the Classical Maya, by analyzing the epigraphic records that indicate relationships between polities in a political system.<sup>604</sup> An important introduction of network theory to Classical studies can be found in the work of Irad Malkin, who seeks to interpret the decentralized network of ancient Greek citystates as a 'small-world' network.<sup>605</sup> A small world network is a sparse network in which most nodes are connected primarily to local nodes with high clustering, but also contain a limited number of short-cut connections that significantly reduce the number of connections needed for a link between any two nodes (SEE Figure 4.5).<sup>606</sup> In this context Malkin argues that Greek civilization and culture emerged specifically due to the social network connections among citystates across a great distance, not in spite of that distance. Thus, Malkin states that the spaces of Greek city-states were not containers for a pre-conceived Greek culture, but rather "relative and relational" spaces "formed by connectivity" among the Greek colonies. His use of network analysis in the ancient Greek Mediterranean allows him to see the importance of relationships to the emergence of Greek culture, a conclusion that a traditional statistical analysis of the citystates would not provide.<sup>607</sup> This variety of applications of network theory exemplifies how this method can help us understand societies by asking new questions that apply to communities in different periods and places.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>603</sup> Blake 2013; Yannakakis 2018-, https://www.powerofattorneynative.com/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>604</sup> Knappett 2013, 3-15, 95-150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>605</sup> Malkin 2011, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>606</sup> Scott 2000, 39; Bossomaier and Green 2000, 33; Watts and Strogatz invented this small world theory, which has been influential Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2013, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> Malkin 2011, 5-12.

Social network analysis across various datasets includes key ideas and approaches that are critical to understanding the method. As I mentioned, a network analysis utilizes a dataset that is made up of select nodes and edges. Network analysis can be used on different scales of data sets, as theoretical approaches to network analysis look at different models or types of networks, rather than the size of the network. On a larger scale, Irad Malkin has applied it to the ancient Mediterranean looking at the decentralized networks among ancient Greek communities.<sup>608</sup> Many other studies take a more regional approach, such as Emma Blake's use of social network analysis to discover early exchange networks in pre-Roman Italy, by means of studying the distribution of imports and distinctive objects that indicate trade and contact.<sup>609</sup> Tightening further the scope, network analysis has also been used to look at smaller communities or individual cities, for instance in 1990 James Danowski and Michael Alexander examined the network of late Republican Roman senators through an examination of the letters of Cicero.<sup>610</sup> My research will fall into the scale of the communities within an individual city, by looking at social, political, and sacred networks in the city of Rome in the fourth century CE.

Additionally, technologies, such as Geographic Information Systems, can be used to compare the information on these networks to other data types such as spatial organization. As mentioned above, digital research projects, including *Digital Augustan Rome* by David Gilman Romano and the *Waters of Rome* by Katherine Wentworth Rinne, exemplify the use of GIS with data analysis.<sup>611</sup> The pairing of GIS with Network analysis allows for complex questions about how social networks impacted the spatial realities of societies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>608</sup> Malkin 2011, 3-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>609</sup> Blake 2014, 1-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>610</sup> Alexander and Danowski 1990, 313-335.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>611</sup> First published as *Mapping Augustan Rome*, this project has been continued as a digital resource. Haselberger, Romano, and Dumser 2002; Romano 2008-2014, http://digitalaugustanrome.org/; Rinne 2010, http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/waters/first.html

# Methods of my Analysis:

#### Software:

In this study, as my exploratory method to test the usefulness of applying network analysis to my dataset of ancient Roman housing, I have started by using the network analysis software Gephi (SEE Figure 4.2). Gephi was designed "to visualize and manipulate networks," at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris under the direction of Dana Diminescu beginning in 2008. It was produced by a group of engineers and researchers in computer science, particularly including Mathieu Bastian, and Mathieu Jacomy, Tommaso Venturini, and Sabastien Heymann, to make network analysis methods more accessible to scholars in the social sciences where scholars are not trained in graph theory.<sup>612</sup> It has been maintained and updated primarily by Mathieu Bastian in subsequent years, although many other contributors have added plug-ins that equip the software with additional useful methods.<sup>613</sup> It has been applied to various humanities data sets, such as tracking the communication networks at the ancient Roman site of Vindolanda, and network analysis of the historical figures and interactions in Emma Rothschild's book The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History.<sup>614</sup> The Gephi software has the modularity, degree, betweenness, and eigenvector algorithms built into its program, so that I have been able to enter my dataset and set the boundaries for the use of these algorithms. Gephi also provides the ability to track parallel connections between the same nodes, such as two nodes connected by the imperial network and a religious network.

In addition, as a part of my exploration of network analysis in fourth century Roman households I applied algorithms using the software Cytoscape. Cytoscape (SEE Figure 4.3) is a robust network analysis software, but which was designed particularly for databases of protein-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>612</sup> Jacomy et al. 2014, 1.

<sup>613</sup> https://gephi.org/about/people/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>614</sup> http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~histecon/visualizing/index.html

protein, protein-DNA, and genetic interactions. Cytoscape can be used for any system of nodes interacting, including datasets from the humanities and social sciences. Cytoscape was developed by a large number of researchers from multiple groups seeking to provide a better way of handling biological network data, and has continued to grow with a developer community spreading into other fields.<sup>615</sup> Through the use of the CentiScape plugin, I was able to test the graphs that I present here by running the same types of algorithms in Cytoscape found in the Gephi software in order to process my data. CentiScape was created by a team to compute network centrality parameters so that users can better analyze the centrality elements of networks.<sup>616</sup> Like Gephi, the Cytoscape software also allows for the handling of multiple edges, which occur when two sites are connected for more than one reason, as well as allows for the handling of directed or undirected edges. My graph is an undirected graph, as the connections represent shared relationships, not a transfer of goods or ideas. Additionally, at times the households have multiple edges, as when two households are associated for political and religious reasons. I have run my graphs through Gephi for the algorithms of degree, eigenvector, betweenness centrality, and modularity, and exported from Gephi for community mapping. I tested the graph data in Cytoscape to confirm the graphs that I created in Gephi.

### **Force-Directed Layouts:**

I began processing my data by using a layout algorithm. The primary layout algorithm within Gephi is Force Atlas 2, a force-directed layout, which is a continuous algorithm. The Gephi developers implemented features into the layout based on user feedback, and Force Atlas 2 is a revised version of their first force-directed layout based on this feedback.<sup>617</sup> The algorithm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>615</sup> Shannon et al. 2003, http://educationbook.aacrjournals.org/cgi/content/full/2005/1/12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>616</sup> It was created by Giovanni Scardoni, Gabriele Tosadori, Mohammed Faizaan, Franco Fabbri, Carlo Laudanna, and Fausto Spoto. Scardoni, Petterlini, and Laudanna 2009, 2857.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>617</sup> Jacomy et al. 2014, 1-2.

maps the network structure of a typical network that has 10-10,000 nodes, thereby making it useful for the majority of Gephi networks.<sup>618</sup> Force Atlas 2 aims to integrate techniques already applied in Network studies to allow for the maximum possibilities for the Gephi user.<sup>619</sup> Forcedirected layouts assign specific forces, attraction or repulsion, to the nodes and edges of a graph, so that the nodes will cluster to produce a visualization of the network structure. Using these forces, they produce graphs where visual clustering of nodes in the graph conveys areas of structural density in the network itself.<sup>620</sup> Using Force Atlas the nodes redistribute based on their connections to other nodes, and studies have shown that proximity of nodes expresses communities within the larger network. Force Atlas uses repulsion by degree, so that Force Atlas draws less connected nodes more tightly in to the area of highly connected nodes in order to form clusters of interaction.<sup>621</sup> The unconnected nodes are pushed out of the view using Force Atlas.<sup>622</sup> Other settings can be applied to alter the distance of these unattached nodes. This layout shows the beginning of the network structure, including evidence of clusters of nodes, showing possible smaller communities within Rome. Another useful layout which I include in the Fructerman Reingold layout. The Fruchterman-Reingold Algorithm is a force-directed layout like Force Atlas 2, but does not repeal the nodes as far instead keeping all nodes into a loose circle. While this layout does not make the groups as clear by separating them, it makes the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>618</sup> <u>https://github.com/gephi/gephi/wiki/Force-Atlas-2</u>. The typical network is often scale-free, and a scale-free network is a network whose degree follows a power law, showing that nodes preferentially connect to more connected nodes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>619</sup> Jacomy et al. 2014, 1, 5. These techniques include the Barnes Hut simulation, degree-dependent repulsive force, and local and global adaptive temperatures. Barnes Hut allows for optimization of the graph by approximating the computation of repulsion forces. Global temperatures come from the Fruchterman and Rheingold layout (https://github.com/gephi/gephi/wiki/Fruchterman-Reingold).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>620</sup> Jacomy et al. 2014, 2. When using Force Atlas 2 the nodes repel and the edges attract based on specific settings. <sup>621</sup> Jacomy et al. 2014, 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>622</sup> The attraction-repulsion model affects this feature. In Force Atlas the attract is 1 and the repulsion is -1. The gravity also affects it, which brings all the nodes in closer. At a gravity of 10 the nodes form a distant ring around the center. Stronger gravity can be applied to bring in nodes for the Force Atlas closer.

entire network clearer by keeping detached nodes or small clusters more visible.<sup>623</sup> I have included graphs with this layout for comparison and contrast with Force Atlas2.

## **Modularity:**

After the application of the chosen layout, in order to measure the placements of important nodes within the network structure I next apply statistical analysis to the data, using an algorithm that is available in the Gephi software. I applied the modularity method to seek internal communities. The modularity method uses an algorithm written by a group of mathematicians and implemented into the Gephi program by a computer scientist that extracts "the community structure of a network" and exhibits how the "network decomposes into modular communities."<sup>624</sup> Higher modularity scores from the algorithm indicate sophistication of the internal structure, and the algorithm analyzes the hierarchical community structure of the entire network. Sets of highly interconnected nodes make up sub-communities within a large network, and in social network analysis the detection of communities can be quantified as its modularity, and can be significant in the study of the larger network.<sup>625</sup> When running the modularity algorithm on the dataset in Gephi, you can choose the resolution, which signifies how small a scale of communities you want to see, because the algorithm has determined the entire hierarchical structure, which allows the detection of a larger number of smaller communities (<1) or a smaller number of larger (1) communities.<sup>626</sup> I chose a resolution of 0.5 to detect smaller communities for the data sets 300-330, 300-312, and 324-330 CE. For the data sets 360-376 and 383-390, I chose a resolution of 0.6 to detect smaller communities without too many node pairs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>623</sup> Gephi documentation. https://github.com/gephi/gephi/wiki/Fruchterman-Reingold

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>624</sup> <u>https://github.com/gephi/gephi/wiki/Modularity</u> - The algorithm was written by Vincent D. Blondel, Jean-Loup Guillaume, Renaud Lambiotte, Etienne Lefebvre, and implemented by Patrick McSweeney.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>625</sup> Blondel et al. 2008, 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>626</sup> Blondel et al. 2008, 4.

# **Degree:**

After modularity, I analyzed the graph using other algorithms provided through the statistics tab of the Gephi software. I applied the degree, eigenvector, and betweenness using algorithms available in Gephi, to analyze the structure of the graph and different ways in which certain households could be deemed important, central, or influential within the social network of the city of Rome. The degree metric interprets a number, called the degree, of each node, specifically to state how connected each node is relative to the others in the network. A node's degree represents the number of edges that it has connecting it to adjacent nodes.<sup>627</sup> This metric helps to give an idea of which nodes in a network structure are the most well connected, and thereby might have greater influence within the social network.

## **Eigenvector centrality:**

The third major statistical method that I applied to this data set is the eigenvector method. I included multiple parallel edges between nodes in an undirected graph for the eigenvector analysis in Gephi. Eigenvector centrality refines the Degree metric to look at the position of important nodes based on their relationship to the entire network. The Degree metric looks only at which nodes have the most connections without considering whether or not those connections, or edges, connect to other important, or well-connected, nodes. Eigenvector, however, takes into account how many connections adjacent nodes have as well. In some networks a node with a single connection may have more influence than a node with many due to the importance of that one node to which it is connected. Eigenvector allows the measurement of the potential importance of nodes based on their connectedness to the entire network, not just based on their local connections.<sup>628</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>627</sup> https://github.com/gephi/gephi/wiki/Degree

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>628</sup> Bonacich and Lu 2012, 95.

### **Betweenness Centrality:**

Betweenness centrality, which I applied through the Network Diameter analysis in the Gephi Statistics tab, is given as a number reflecting the centrality of each node compared to the network. Betweenness is calculated by taking pairs of nodes and counting the shortest paths linking the two nodes. The more direct connections a node has, the more critical it is to the network to link more distant nodes. Higher betweenness scores indicate a node is more critical to maintaining the entire network.<sup>629</sup>

## My Data:

I chose to apply a network analysis to two specific sets of data, first from the early fourth century and then from the late fourth century. As mentioned above, I chose these periods in order to see how social networks adjusted among households over the course of the century as the emperors left Rome and the religious community shifted from a pagan to a Christian focus. In order to apply a network analysis to any set of actors and the links between them, the nodes and edges must be very carefully defined. In any data set it can be tempting to discuss influences vaguely or to constantly and randomly expand the data set to include increasingly larger sets of actors through random sampling, but a network analysis requires specific limits and a conscious sampling method to be clearly defined in order for the data to be studied. Typically, the boundaries of a network of nodes are determined in a few ways. First a positional approach that selects actors based on characteristics or formal membership, for instance employees in a company. Second, an event-based approach that selects actors based on participation in some activity or activities, such as visitors to an event or specific place. And third, a relational approach that selects based on social connectedness, for instance selecting everyone who has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>629</sup> Gephi documentation. https://github.com/gephi/gephi/wiki/Betweenness-Centrality

interacted with a starting list of actors.<sup>630</sup> These approaches are some ways in which a set of edges can be determined among a set of nodes. The relationships between nodes must be selected according to a clear system.

Edges in a social network analysis can represent links between two actors, or among a group or network of actors, for different reasons. An edge can represent a link between two actors due to friendship, transfer of goods, such as a business transaction, kinship, or a power relationship between them. Edges can also connect groups due to affiliation, such as membership in a group, known interaction, physical connections and proximity, or similar kinship or power relationships that connect individuals.<sup>631</sup> When defining a network for study, one must define clearly what counts as a connection, and then the edges in the graph are labeled so that the type of relationship can be factored into the studies.

Once a network is defined the data can be queried in a variety of ways. Social network analysis uses graph theory to organize the data, and algorithmic analysis on the graphs to identify important and influential figures in the network. Algorithmic analysis can identify important actors in a network by quantifying and interpreting the ideas of degree, closeness, betweenness, information, centrality, and rank.<sup>632</sup> I have selected the specific methods of modularity, degree, eigenvector, and betweenness to interpret the nodes in my network, and below I will present my results as I analyze each.

### **Types of Connections/Edges:**

I selected nodes, first based on their presence in Rome within the Aurelian walls in a set time period. Then to determine possible connections among this set of nodes, I selected edges among households primarily based on a positional approach through which a household

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>630</sup> Marsden 2005, 9-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>631</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>632</sup> Wasserman and Faust 1997, 169.

belonged to a particularly social group, such as Christian, Mithraic, Pagan, or high status political or senatorial group, determined by the holding of a public office by a known household member. I determined participation in each group by means of domestic art, such as the presence of shrines or sacred art for religious groups, inscriptions, which provide familial and political information, and, where available, known historical data about households.

Secondarily I determined other connections based on a relational approach, through which I determined direct ties between households, such as connections to the imperial household or familial connections between two households. I also used inscriptions and, where available, known historical data about households in order to determine their possession of direction ties to other households. For example, inscriptions from with the *domus Valeriorum* underline a direct connection between that and the domus Aradii, as the family names indicate marriage ties in the fourth century CE.<sup>633</sup>

Participation in a particular circle of the social network of Rome, such as Christian worship, did not preclude connections to households outside of that circle. Salzman cites the mutual favors exchanged between the Christian bishop Ambrose and the strongly pagan Symmachus as a particularly clear example of how the social network ties among the high status or senatorial class continued in spite of the participation of members in different religious networks.<sup>634</sup> This example shows the need to track participation in the various social network groups, as they could exist simultaneously, in order to understand the position of an individual within the entire network of households in Rome.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>633</sup> Hillner 2003, 140-141. CIL VI. 1684-94.
 <sup>634</sup> Salzman 2002, 15.

### **Early fourth Century Data Set:**

In order to analyze the social networks of ancient Rome that were simultaneously active in the fourth century CE, I had to narrow the time range during which my households, *domūs* and *insulae*, were present to within an average human life-span, and so I chose the period from 300-330 CE.<sup>635</sup> In my study I have included *domūs* and buildings that stood at any point between the specified date ranges in order to best accommodate the active social networks of the day, as construction and destruction dates are often vague. At times I have had to estimate beginning an end dates based on terminus ante quem and terminus post quem dates where official end and beginning dates for *domūs* are not archaeologically available. For this network analysis I am including *domūs*, *insulae*, *horti*, and additionally a few churches and *mithraea* that are not residential, but which would have been points of interaction for the households making up the other nodes. Additionally, for the network analysis I include the imperial palaces, which make up essential points of interaction for domestic social and political networks. In the following section of my dissertation I am analyzing the interior spaces of houses to see social interaction on the micro-scale, and in this following section the palaces and additional buildings will not be included.

For the *domūs* and *insulae* that I am using as nodes, I produced a dataset of buildings that archaeology has uncovered, and I have not included households that are only referred to historically. I have then interpreted the connections among these structures, based on sacred art, known political connections, and known familial connections. When determining the connections among different nodes, I have used archaeological evidence in every case possible. I have only included connections based on historical data about families from households where there is evidence that the family was actually present at that property within this time period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>635</sup> Cokayne 2013, 2-3. Lifespan is estimated at 25 years, and if you reach the age of 10, it increases to 47.5 years.

Many houses that are named for a famous family can only be attributed to that family for limited periods, for example the *domus of Lucius Octavius Felix* that was constructed in the early third century during his lifetime cannot officially be associated with his family after the third century though the *domus* lasted into at least the early fourth.<sup>636</sup>

One of the interesting parts about examining data from 300-330 CE is the political and religious change that was going on in Rome at the time. 330 CE makes a convenient end to this study period, as Constantinople was dedicated in 330 CE.<sup>637</sup> In order to best determine what social network structure could be extracted from this dataset, I analyzed it in three separate sections. I first analyzed the full set of nodes, including *domus*, *insulae*, and related buildings, and all the connections that existed among them at some point between the year 300 and the year 330 CE. I then split the data into those nodes and connections deduced to have existed between 300 and 312 CE, and a separate selection of all nodes and connections deduced to have existed at the end of this period between 324 and 330 CE, in order to see the differences in structure before and after the fall of Maxentius. The period 300-312 CE covers the nodes and connections during principate of Maxentius and the war with Constantine, and the period 324-330 covers the nodes after all the major changes of this period have taken place, including new households and churches constructed after the completed rise of Constantine. Herein I delineate the conclusions that I have been able to draw from an examination of the network of social connections among high status political households, imperial households, known pagan households, groups practicing the cult of Mithraism, and emerging Christian groups. I have examined this data set to see where there are nodes that tie multiple groups of influence together, as well as how these groups do or do not relate to the topography of Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>636</sup> Pales and Menghi 1999, 16-17; Hillner 2003, 129-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>637</sup> Humphries 2003, 130.

A portion of the nodes and edges were only present for the beginning or end of the studied period, and I, therefore, processed the data in two sets. I here enumerate the particular nodes that were known to have only been present in the network for part of the period studied. The particular edges which were only present for the first part of the period during roughly 300 to 312 CE include the Equites Singulares (II.06), which was destroyed after the fall of Maxentius, and the *domus* under the Baths of Constantine (VI.08), which was destroyed for the baths in the Constantinian period. These structures' ends were related to the conflict between Maxentius and Constantine. The second set is the period from 324-330, and it includes Ss. Giovanni in Laterano (II.06), founded by Constantine, the *domus* near San Paolo alla Regola (IX.06), which was converted from an *insula* in the period of Constantine, and San Pietro, constructed around 324 CE. Also, in this later period are the domus of Alfenius Ceionius *Iulianus Kamenius* (VI.07) and the mithraic altar mentioning him near the Vatican, both of which date to 325 CE and after, just at the end of our period. They make the important point that Mithraism continued to develop in the early fourth century even after Constantine. In addition to the sites that arose due the rise of Constantine, the *domus* near San Paolo alla Regola is known to have been converted in this period based on architecture, and the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius is dated slightly later based on architecture and the known dates of the life of the patron.<sup>638</sup> Additionally, the imperial households are connected to the Christian network only after the rise of Constantine, and those edges are not present in the earlier data set. In this period the emperor was increasingly distant from imperial palaces in Rome. Maxentius had a strong presence in the city, but Constantine was more often represented in the city by members of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>638</sup> A member of this family was *praefectus urbi* in 333 CE. Platner and Ashby 1929, "ALFENIUS CEIONIUS IULIANUS KAMENIUS, DOMUS." For the archaeological evidence of the Constantinian phase constructions in the *domus* near San Paolo alla Regola see Quilici 1986-1987, 275, 407.

household, such as his mother Helena, who resided by 314 CE in the *Domus Sessoriana* and was intricately connected with the growing Christian church in Rome.<sup>639</sup>

Each *domus, insula*, or site was connected to other sites through either personal connections or participation in groups. I am proposing that membership in or affiliation with these groups opened access for the participants to potential social networks of the other participants in the group. The groups through which the sites may have entered social networks include Christian worship, Mithraic worship, traditional Roman pagan worship, political status, imperial connections, and military connections. Griffith has discussed the possibilities of the use of *mithraea* in *domūs* to fulfill social duties, including *amicitia*, through the invitation of social peers into domestic *mithraea*.<sup>640</sup> Such possible interactions would have strengthened social connections, creating a possible Mithraic network. I list below the participants of each group for the period 300-330 CE. The Christian group includes the Ad Duas Domos (VI.04) which was likely already established as Christian<sup>641</sup>, the *domus* under the apse at San Crisogono (XIV.02),<sup>642</sup> SS. Giovanni in Laterano (II.06) known for the latter part, San Pietro a site of worship before and basilica for the latter part, San Paolo Fuori le Mura, a long standing-shrine, and the *Domus Augustana* Severiana and *Domus Sessoriana* for the latter part.

The Mithraic group includes the Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla, the Mithraeum in the Castro Praetorio, the Mithraeum between the Quirnal and Viminal hills, the Mithraeum at the Circus Maximus, the Mithraeum at Santo Stephano Rotondo, the Mithraeum at Piazza S. Silvestro in Capite, the Mithraeum near the Aracoeli, the Mithraeum at the Dolochenum, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>639</sup> Dietz 2010, 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>640</sup> Griffith 2000, 21-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>641</sup> The building into which the *Titulus Gai* was inserted was constructed at the end of the third to the first years of the fourth century, and the *Titulus Gai* predated the *Titulus S. Susannae*. The exact beginning of this as a Christian meeting space is unknown. Bonanni 1995, 586-587.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>642</sup> I am including this *domus*, which is only possibly already a Christian space. For a discussion of the possibilities of Christians in this space see Pietri 1978, 12-21.

Mithraeic Altar referring to *Kamenius* in Piazza San Pietro for the latter part, the *domus* of the *Nummii Albini* (VI.02), the *domus* 'of Aquila and Prisca' (XIII.03), the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* (VI.07) for the latter part, the domus under San Clemente (III.01), the Via Giovanni Lanza mithraeum (III.02), the *Sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria (IX.04), the Crypta Balbi Mithraeum (IX.07), the *domus Anniorum* (II.09) for the first part, and the *domus* Via Venezia that included a *mithraeum* (VI.05).

The Pagan group overlaps the mithraic group, but as the worship of Mithras was an Oriental mystery cult not all pagans participated. The Pagan group includes the *domus Valeriorum* (II.03)<sup>643</sup>, the *domus* and *Horti* of *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina* (V.03), the *domus* of the *Nummii Albini* (VI.02), the *Equites Singulares* (II.06) for the first part, associated with Maxentius, the Via Giovanni Lanza *domus* and *mithraeum* (III.02), which also contained statues of pagan gods other than Mithras, the *domus degli Aradii* (48), a known pagan family with a discovered *Lararium*, the Dolochenum (XIII.05), a temple to Syrian Ba'al or the associated Jupiter which was discovered near *domūs*, the Sotterranea of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria (IX.04), the *domus* Via Venezia (VI.05), the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* (VI.07) for the latter part, and the *Domus Sessoriana* and *Domus Augustana* for the earlier period.

The political social set was focused on senatorial and high-status households that show evidence of a household member participating in a political position or archaeological evidence of a high-status luxury household. This set includes the *domus* under SS. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01), the *domus Valeriorum* (II.03), the *domus* and *horti* of *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina* (V.03), the *domus* of the *Nummii Albini* (VI.02), the *domus degli Aradii* (I.01), the *domus* under the Basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14), the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>643</sup> See page 287-288 below for a discussion of the likely pagan worship of the Valerii in the early fourth century.

*Kamenius* (VI.07) for the latter part, the city blocks at the Piazza Venezia (VII.03), which were connected to the Athenaeum of Hadrian and likely thus high status, and the *Horti Aciliorum*, potentially called the *Domus Pinciana* by this period.

The set of households involved in the imperial circle includes the properties held by the imperial household and includes families with direct ties to the imperial family. This social circle obviously includes the Domus Augustana Severiana and the Domus Sessoriana, as well as its associated Horti Spei Veteris. The group also includes the imperial owned Horti Lamiani (401), Horti Sallustiani, and Horti Maecenatis, and imperial influenced Equites Singulares first and later SS. Giovanni in Laterano (II.06). A number of *domūs* were directly associated with the Domus Sessoriana, including the domus, Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla (V.08), the domus of the mosaics (V.15), the domus dei Ritratti (V.18), and the domus della Fontana (V.19). The domus Anniorum (II.09) was part of imperial properties in the period following the Antonine emperors. Additionally, I included the *domus Valeriorum* for the first period (II.03), as the imperial house under Maxentius through his fall in 312 was associated with the gens Valeria family line.<sup>644</sup> For the last period the basilicas at San Pietro and San Paolo Fuori le Mura were tied to the imperial household. A few of the properties included in my network were also tied by military connections, specifically the *Equites Singulares* (II.06), the Mithraeum in the *Castro Praetorio*, the Mithraeum at Santo Stephano Rotondo, and the imperial palazzi the Domus Augustana Severiana and Domus Sessoriana. This forms another small socially connected group.

Familial or proximity connections were determined by individual connections based on direct ties between two households. Three of these sets are by proximity, due to properties being

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>644</sup> The association by the emperors with the *gens Valeria* is visible in the construction of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine under Maxentius. Maxentius chose to begin construction of this project over the *Domus* of *P*. *Valerius Publicola*. The placement of his public construction over this *domus* underlines his position as the new head of the ancient *gens Valeria*. Varner 2014, 50-51.

physically associated, such as *domus* A (VIII.01) and *domus* B (VIII.02) under the Palazzo Valentini, which may have been combined into one larger household in the fourth century, the *Dolochenum* (XIII.05) and Mithraeum at the *Dolochenum*, and the Insula at the Crypta Balbi, the Crypta Balbi, and the Crypta Balbi Mithraeum (IX.07). The other four sets are due to other known associations, such as first, the *domus Valeriorum* (II.03) and *domus degli Aradii* (I.01), second, the *domus* and *horti* of *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina* (V.03), two properties but associated and owned by the same family, and third, the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* (VI.07) and a Mithraic altar referring to the same man found near Piazza San Pietro.

#### Late fourth Century Data Set:

Again, I had to narrow the time range to approximately a life-span, and I chose the period from 360-390 CE. I selected this date range to catch the closing stages of many of the pagan sites and *domūs*, the end dates of which are often vague. Again, I have at times had to estimate beginning an end dates based on *terminus ante quem* and *terminus post quem* dates where official end and beginning dates for *domūs* are not archaeologically available. I chose to include any *domus* that appeared active through at least 360 CE, and which was created before 390 CE, with the latest creation dates being paleochristian sites believed to be in use by century 380-381 CE below churches (III.01, XIV.02, IX.04, and VI.09), though of these only the *sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria was a new Christian use of the space. The other three were Christian constructions formalizing spaces already in use by paleochristian communities. This date range provides a sample of households and sites that existed in a time when followers of paganism, both through the traditional state religion and Mithraism, undertook their last attempts at maintaining government influence and authority.

Emperor Julian's rule, from 361-363 CE, bookends the beginning of this period. Julian restored the Altar of Victory to the senate house, which had been removed under Constantius II, during his visit to Rome in 357 CE.<sup>645</sup> At the time of his visit, however, Constantius II had still admired the pagan temples and filled the pagan priesthoods, in order to maintain relations with the pagan senatorial class.<sup>646</sup> This back and forth of Christian authority in late 350's and early 360's underlines the fluctuations of religious authority in this period. I chose 390 CE rather than 400, due to the increasing prohibitions against paganism at the end of the fourth century. In Codex Theodosianus 16.10 legal edicts related to De paganis, sacrificiis et templis are discussed and in 16.10.12, dated to December 17<sup>th</sup> 392, even the humble and private worship of pagan deities in the home is forbidden.<sup>647</sup> Thus, I focused on the period leading up to 390, when Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and other pagan senators were still arguing in support of the past state religion. The well-known pagan proponent Symmachus was a public leader throughout this period and spoke out when the Altar of Victory was again removed from the Senate House in 382 by Gratian, who also confiscated funds formerly directed to support pagan public ceremony, as well as funds for the Vestals. Despite his attempts, Symmachus was not successful in the return of the Altar of Victory.<sup>648</sup> Additionally, I ended my study period at 390 CE, as no domestic buildings were built between 390 and 400 CE, so the date range of 360-390 CE gives a good concept of the network at the end of the fourth century, roughly within one lifetime.

This period contains interesting questions about the influence and power of social networks in the city. The major destruction event of Alaric's sack of Rome in 410 CE had not yet occurred, an event which greatly changed the face of urban Rome. In addition to the fluctuations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>645</sup> Lancon and Nevill 2001, 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>646</sup> Salzman 2002, 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>647</sup> http://ancientrome.ru/ius/library/codex/theod/liber16.htm#10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>648</sup> Salzman 2002, 182-183; Symm. Rel. 3.

of authority between paganism and the rise of Christianity, in this period the Roman emperor had moved out of Rome many years before. After the last visit of Constantine I in 326, only two visits are attested of emperors to the city of Rome, that of Constantius II in 357 and that of Theodosius I in 389, although it is known that Theodosius I's family accompanied him, even coming to Rome ahead in 388.<sup>649</sup> This leads to questions of how the senatorial networks were affected by the physical absence of the emperor, what the influence of the senatorial households would have been, how this political network related to the imperial household, as well as what can be seen of the sacred networks in the city. A number of well-connected households are represented in the late fourth century. Tracking their relationships in contrast with the imperial and Christian networks makes an interesting part of the social network of ancient Rome in the late fourth century. Included among these households are the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius*, the *domus Valeriorum*, and the *domus* of *Symmacchus*.

Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius is known from historical sources, and his *domus* (VI.07) was also found near the Palazzo Barberini and the *via XX Settembre*, identified by means of two inscriptions dedicated to him.<sup>650</sup> Kamenius was *vicarius* of Africa in 381 as well as *consularis Numidiae*, and died in the late fourth century.<sup>651</sup> In addition to his *domus*, a mithraic altar inscribed with his name was discovered near Piazza San Pietro from the *Phrygianum* in that area, showing the common use of the area by Christians and people practicing Mithraism.<sup>652</sup> The inscriptions to Kamenius indicate his worship of mithras and mithraic priesthoods, other pagan priesthoods, and his government positions such as *quaestor* and *praetor*. These priesthoods and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>649</sup> Lancon and Nevill 2001, 36; McEvoy 2010, 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>650</sup> Lanciani 1884, 43-44. The first was already known in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the second found in 1883. Guidobaldi 1995, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>651</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>652</sup> Vermaseren 1956, 515. The *Phrygianum* was a sanctuary to Phrygian Cybele in the Vatican area, which sources indicate had a strong connection to the *taurobolium* and Mithraic rites. Ensoli et al. 2000, 515-516.

positions indicate the pagan, mithraic, and political connections of his household at that time in Rome.<sup>653</sup>

Another central household in the fourth century was the *domus Valeriorum* (II.03). In the early fourth century the Valerii family intermarried with the Aradii, another senatorial family.<sup>654</sup> Family members from the Valerii are still known in the late fourth century. Valerius Severus is known from the inscription on a lamp found in the remains of the house from 382 CE. The inscription indicates that Valerius Severus was a Christian, possibly a recent convert.<sup>655</sup> Valerius Severus was also *praefectus urbi*, underlining the continuation of the political status of the household that is also indicated in earlier inscriptions.<sup>656</sup>

Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, as mentioned above, was an important and well connected political figure in this period, and his evidence of his *domus*, the *domus* of *Symmacchus* (II.05), has also been archaeologically located.<sup>657</sup> The *domus* of *Symmacchus*, to which Q. Aurelius Symmachus referred on the Caelian, has been identified in part by means of an inscription, dedicated by Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus, *praetor* in 401, to his father Q. Aurelius Symmachus s. Eusebius, *praefectus urbi* in 384-385.<sup>658</sup> Symmachus had significant political ties, as he was urban prefect in 384-385 and wrote letters to the emperors on behalf of the pagan aristocracy.<sup>659</sup> These letters also underline his pagan social ties. While Symmachus had strong ties through friendship and politics to participants of mithraic circles, particularly through his association with Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, no epigraphic evidence specifically includes him in mithraic circles. This would suggest that his ties to mithraic participants were likely due to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>653</sup> Vermaseren 1956, 515-516; Matthews 1973, 184-185; Cameron 2010, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>654</sup> Hillner 2003, 140-141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>655</sup> Hillner 2003, 141; Spier 2007, 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>656</sup> Matthews 1973, 185-186; Hillner 2003, 141-142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>657</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 183-184, fig. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>658</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 183-184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>659</sup> Salzman 2002, 352; Symm. Rel. 3

their pagan and senatorial associations, and thus he cannot be included in the mithraic network itself.<sup>660</sup>

Another notable trend in tracking the changing topography of households in late fourth century Rome can be seen through the example of the Crypta Balbi. The Crypta Balbi moved from public to private use, likely some form of *insula* or *domus*, in the second half of the fourth century. This is a part of a larger phenomenon. After Constantine's rise to power, beginning around 330 CE, many pagan temples fell into decay and the Campus Martius somewhat privatized. This can also be seen in the *domus* at the *Diribitorium* (IX.01). I have included the *domus* in the Crypta Balbi (IX.07) as a separate entity from the earlier public building of the Crypta Balbi, as well as separate from the *insula* adjacent to the Crypta Balbi and the associated *mithraeum* (IX.01).<sup>661</sup>

Finally, at the end of the fourth century, the social groups through which households may have entered social networks, according to my conclusions, include Christian worship, Mithraic worship, pagan worship, political status, imperial connections, and military connections. I here list the participants of each group for the period 360-390 CE. The Christian group includes significantly more connections at the end of the fourth century than were present at the beginning of the century. This network includes households as well as Christian sites like *tituli* or other sites of worship. For the latter fourth century dataset I again include *San Paolo Fuori le Mura* and San Pietro. The network includes the *domus* under Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (II.01c), which is believed to have been Christian in the fourth century. The *titulus Panmachii* is mentioned for the first time in 499, but was founded earlier in the fifth century. Brenk states that before the construction of the *titulus* at some point in the fourth century, the upper floor of the *domus* under

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>660</sup> His absence from mithraic worship, however, is not assured. Matthews 1973, 175-195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>661</sup> Manacorda 2001, 42.

Ss. Giovanni e Paolo was converted to a private chapel with Christian relics.<sup>662</sup> While the exact date of the conversion of this *domus* to Christianity cannot be confirmed, I have included it in the late fourth century Christian network based on Brenk's timeline. I have also included the domus Gregoriana (I.04), which theoretically may have been a home of the Anicii, a known Christian family. The building's construction matches a late fourth century date, and if this structure was that passed to Gregory the Great by his family, it would suggest a Christian household.<sup>663</sup> The network also includes Ss. Giovanni in Laterano (II.06), the *titulus* of San Clemente (III.01)<sup>664</sup>, the *titulus* at San Crisogono and the previous *domus* under apse at San Crisogono used by paleochristians, which is attested heavily but not officially recorded (XIV.02).<sup>665</sup> The network also includes the paleochristian meeting space under Santa Pudenziana, which has been referenced as highly probably already being used by Christians by the early part of our period<sup>666</sup> (VI.09) and the *insula* and by this time associated *titulus Anastasiae* (V.20). Additionally, the network includes Ad Duas Domos (VI.04), the domus Valeriorum (II.03b), the Basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14), as the son of Junius Bassus, who constructed the basilica, was Christian<sup>667</sup>, the horti Aciliorum, also called the Domus Pinciana for part of the fourth century, the insula under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, which has also been referenced as likely already Christian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>662</sup> Brenk 1995, 192, 205. While earlier excavations have suggested the repainting of the wall paintings over earlier pagan imagery in white in the earlier fourth century as an indication that the *domus* was already Christian, this cannot be confirmed as the image of *Apis* was not covered at that time and remained along with the bucolic paintings of the period. I have left this *domus* out of the early fourth century Christian network, though it cannot be completely secure as non-Christian in that period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>663</sup> Gregory the Great mentions the passing of a *domus* that he calls "*locus noster*" into a monastery, and he mentions in his *Dialogi* the inheritance of a house from his father, but it is impossible to be certain that this is that house. Hillner 2003, 133. I have chosen to include it in the Christian network, as theoretically representative of the *Anicii* household for the end of the fourth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>664</sup> The basilica was constructed around 390 CE, but the Christian community is likely to have met in the building next to the mithraeum in the *domus* under San Clemente before the construction of the basilica and destruction of the mithraeum. Snyder 2003, 143-144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>665</sup> See note 638 above. The *Titulus Gai* was likely active by the late fourth century, but its beginning date is unknown. It is first recorded in 499 CE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>666</sup> Lansford 2009, 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>667</sup> Lugli 1932, 223.

(XIV.01)<sup>668</sup>, the *insula* under San Lorenzo in Lucina (IX.03)<sup>669</sup>, the *Sotterranei* of San Martino ai Monti (V.13), which was likely already Christian<sup>670</sup>, as well as the imperial palaces the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana*. Furthermore, for the period after 380/383 CE the nodes the *Sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (IX.04) and the *Insula* under Santa Pudenziana (VI.09b) are also a part of this network. Finally, after 376 the *domus degli Aradii* (I.01) can be included in the Christian group, while the *domus* appears to continue to have a pagan *lararium* until around 390 CE, the urban prefect *Aradius Rufinus*, believed to be of this household, converted to Christianity.<sup>671</sup> These nodes indicate that a number of *tituli* were preceded by Christian groups meeting in more public space such as *insulae* or *horreae*, rather than *domūs*.

The mithraic circle by comparison to the Christian circle is still present, but much smaller. It does include some well-known families, as well as unidentified households. The mithraic circle includes the *domus* of the *Nummii Albini* (VI.02), the *domus* 'of Aquila and Prisca' (XIII.03), the *domus* under San Clemente (III.01), the Crypta Balbi *mithraeum* and associated *insula* (IX.07), the *mithraeum* at the Baths of Caracalla, the *mithraeum* at the Circus Maximus, the Altar near St. Peters inscribed with the name of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* that is a part of the Vatican *Phrygianum*, and the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* (VI.07) that is associated with the same man. Built in the third century and used in the fourth century the *Sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (IX.04) was associated with mithraism. I estimate the end

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>668</sup> Goodson 2010, 98-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>669</sup> Recent excavations suggest that the church may have already been constructed in the second half of the fourth century CE. Brandt 2004, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>670</sup> Documentary evidence suggests that a *titulus* was founded in this area in the fourth century which later combined with another to form the current church. Webb 2001, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>671</sup> Salzman 2002, 95; Hillner notes that Aradius Rufinus does not appear to have lived in the Caelian house of the Valerii. Hillner 2003, 141.

date for the mithraic association as at latest 383 CE.<sup>672</sup> The majority of mithraic sites were closed after the ban on pagan worship in 392 CE, which makes these the final period for mithraic sites.

The Pagan group overlaps the mithraic group, but as the worship of Mithras was an Oriental mystery cult not all pagans participated. The pagan group includes the *domus degli* Aradii (I.01). While the last known Aradii, Aradius Rufinus, became Christian by 376 and after 363, other members of the household may have continued to participate in pagan worship. The sculptures found in the *lararium* date to the third century, but the high level of preservation of the sculptures, such as the near perfect preservation of the Isis, suggests that they were always preserved by the family, kept hidden away, rather than intentionally destroyed and broken. Candilio suggests the possibility that this well preserved *lararium* or domestic cultic space continued to be used into the late fourth century and was preserved through the destruction of the house in the early fifth century, even if not used in the final period.<sup>673</sup> Because of this preservation, I have included this household as continuing to participate in the pagan network for this period. The pagan group also includes the *domus* of *Gaudentius* (II.02b), the *domus* and horti of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina (V.03), the domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius (VI.07), the Dolochenum (XIII.05), and the prominent domus Symmachorum (II.05).

The political social group was determined based on senatorial and high-status households that show evidence of a family member participating in a high-status position. It included the *horti Aciliorum* that was owned by Sex. Probus, four times praetorian prefect, the *domus Valeriorum* (II.03b), the Basilica of *Junius Bassus* (V.14) that is associated with Junius Bassus,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>672</sup> The construction of the *titulus Damasi* is placed at 383 CE at the end of the time of Pope Damaso (366-384). This date is being used herein as an estimate for the end date. While this modest mithraeum may have had a shorter life span, Vermasseren states there is no evidence that it was only used briefly. Bjørnebye 2007, 42-43. As it may have been used through much of the fourth century, I am including it here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>673</sup> Candilio 2011, 243-250. Aradius Rufinus is cited in historical sources as pagan in 363 and as Christian in 376.

praetorian prefect, the *domus* and *horti* of *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina* (V.03), the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* (VI.07), the *domus degli Aradii* (I.01), the *domus* of the *Nummii Albini* (VI.02), the city blocks at the Piazza Venezia (VII.03), which were connected to the Athenaeum of Hadrian and likely thus high status, and the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05).

The Imperial set of households includes the imperial properties and families with direct ties to the imperial family. These include the palaces, the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana* and associated *horti Spei Veteris*, as well as the *horti Maecenatis*, the *domus dei Ritratti* (V.18), the *domus della Fontana* (V.19), and the *horti Sallustiani*. It also includes the *domus Anniorum* (II.09), probably still in imperial hands, SS. Giovanni in Laterano (II.06), built by the imperial house, and the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05), as Symmachus made direct appeals to the emperor in this period.

The familial and proximity connects are individual connections based on direct associations between two or three households or buildings. Two of these sets are by proximity, due to properties being physically associated, including *domus* A (VIII.01) and *domus* B (VIII.02) under the Palazzo Valentini and the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi, the *domus* in the former Crypta Balbi, and the Crypta Balbi Mithraeum (see IX.07). The other three sets are due to other known associations, such as first, the *domus Valeriorum* (II.03) and *domus degli Aradii* (I.01), second, the *domus* and *horti* of *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina* (V.03), two properties but associated with and owned by the same family, and third, the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* (VI.07) and a Mithraic altar referring to the same man found near Piazza San Pietro. The final set of direct connections is the set among the group of people known to associate directly with Symmachus, from his letters. This includes the *domus Symmachorum* (II.05), the *domus degli Aradii* (I.01), and the *domus* of *Gaudentius* (II.02b).<sup>674</sup>

These make up the data sets for our implementation of network analysis to the available households from the fourth century city of Rome. I applied the above described methods to these two network datasets from the early and late fourth century that include households, *nodes*, and their connections and group associations, *edges*. Below I will continue with the analysis based on the graphs produced from these data sets.

### Analysis early fourth century:

#### **Modularity:**

Modularity provided a good method for seeking strong clusters of interaction in Rome and comparing those clusters to the topographical layout of the city. These strong clusters of interacting households would indicate possible influential communities within the city. In order to detect possible influential communities in early fourth century Rome, I have applied modularity three times to my data. First, I applied modularity to the whole set of nodes and edges found during the range of 300-330 CE. After running the modularity analysis, I applied the modularity outcomes to the color of the nodes under Force Atlas2 (SEE Figure 4.6a). The resulting graph presents clusters of nodes colored by their potential sub-community. Each color labels a suggested cluster, but not a named group, and thus the colors are not labeled.

Another way to examine the same modularity results, which then allows me to compare the data to the topography of Rome, is by applying the geo-layout instead of Force Atlas2. Gephi provides the geo-layout for sets of data that have coordinates for the nodes, such as the latitude and longitude that I have provided. This allows me to examine whether smaller internal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>674</sup> Symmachus wrote a letter on behalf of the daughters of Aradius Rufinus in 401-402. Jones, Martindale, and Morris 1971, 1238.

communities can be found to be geographically related. Then I exported that layout from Gephi to GoogleEarth, using the ExportToEarth plugin (SEE Figure 4.6b).

The Force Atlas graph shows that the purple cluster closely follows the mithraic circle, with the pink and gray clusters including mithraic households that also had strong ties to other circles, including ties to the pagan circles and ties to the senatorial or political circle. The blue cluster includes households that belonged both to the political status and pagan clusters. The orange and green clusters include a mix of both Christian structures and imperially connected for 300-330 range. This combining makes sense particularly considering that for the latter part of the period the imperial household became Christian and entered that social circle. The domus Anniorum, as a point of intersection between the mithraic and imperial circles is more uniquely dark green. Once applied to the map it becomes apparent that there is considerable mixing of different social circles in all parts of Rome (SEE Figure 4.6c). The purple nodes that are mainly mithraic are spread throughout the city. The senatorial and pagan blue nodes are more focused on the hills of Rome, but not connected to a particular region within the city, still being spread out around the city. Very few domestic buildings are actually present in the lower areas around the *Campus Martius* in this period. The mixed imperial and Christian orange and green sites are also spread out around city. Christian and Mithraic sites are often next to each other, which is visible in the Vatican area, and there are no obvious areas in town where one group is overwhelmingly strongest. The clusters, however, do seem to overlap in awkward ways due to the buildings that appeared and disappeared over the course of 300 to 330 CE. The presence of both the *Equites* Singulares and SS. Giovanni in Laterano, both connected imperially, underlines this awkwardness. Therefore, below I will explore the early portion of data from 300-312 CE, and the latter portion of data from 324-330 CE.

As I mentioned before, an interesting element when studying early fourth century Rome is the significant change taking place politically and socially. This change means that even within this 30 year period there are a few major changes to the nodes in my data set. Therefore, I applied modularity to a smaller portion of the data set that includes only those *domus* and related nodes that were known to be present from 300-312 CE, before the fall of Maxentius, and their interpreted edges (SEE Figure 4.6d). I also put this subset through the geo-layout and exported it to GoogleEarth to see where these smaller communities were placed around the city (SEE Figure 4.6e).

Once the nodes and edges that arose after 312 are removed, the clusters of households interacting shifts slightly. The green cluster closely follows the mithraic circle, with the orange and pink clusters formed from nodes that are at the intersection of the mithraic and the pagan and political/senatorial networks. The blue cluster is formed primarily by high status political households, and the purplish-pink cluster is formed primarily by imperial properties or households in the imperial circle. The Christian circle, however, is at this point separate and dark purple on the map (SEE Figure 4.6e). It is pushed out of the force directed graph. The *domus* Anniorum, which connects the imperial circle to the mithraic circle shows up separately as pinktan, but it not really a part of any of the clusters as a point of intersection. Once applied to the map (SEE Figure 4.6f), the small Christian network is spread throughout the city, although mainly on the fringes, with a site in Trastevere, in the Vatican, in the northern portion of the city, and far south of the city. The mithraic network is spread fairly evenly throughout the city, and the high-status network again appears to cluster on higher land, but not in a particular area. The imperial properties in purplish-pink are more focused on the southeastern part of the city due to the large amount of property owned in that area, but they also have connections in other areas.

Finally, I applied modularity to the later subset of nodes from 324-330 CE (SEE Figure 4.6g). I used the geo-layout and exported the map to GoogleEarth (SEE Figure 4.6h). In the latter period of this dataset the clusters have again shifted. The blue cluster still aligns closely with the mithraic circle, with the orange showing households that connect to both the mithraic circle and other circles, particularly the pagan and high-status political circles. The green cluster includes high status political households with some overlap to the pagan social network. The purplishpink cluster once again contains both the Christian and the imperial social networks. All Christian sites are associated with the imperial circles, though the edges can be distinguished. The pinkish-purple nodes with green edges are in the Christian network and pink edges are imperial. The shift of the imperial house shows the creation of a distinctive Christian-imperial cluster on the opposite end of the social network from the pagan political *domūs*. Once applied to the map (SEE Figure 4.6i), the addition of the Christian sites to the imperial network spreads its influence evenly throughout the city in a widespread pattern. Once again blue mithraic network is spread throughout the city, and the green pagan and high-status network is spread throughout the topographically higher parts of the city.

The application of modularity to these network datasets suggests that a number of smaller communities may have been communicating in early fourth century Rome. These communities primarily are spread throughout the city, rather than fitting tightly into anything we would see as a neighborhood. Pagan, mithraic, and Christian sites can all be found in close proximity. Comparing the beginning and latter part of the 300-330 CE range illustrates that the mithraic network does not year disappear, despite Constantine's shift to Christianity, though the imperial network shifts strongly away from it. The visible Christian network is also still very small even in the latter period. For instance, there is a visible lack of Christian spaces inside of town in this

early fourth century period. Traditionally the concept of the early church has been centered on the domus ecclesia or house-church, but here we should consider that documentary (Liber *pontificalis*) and archaeological evidence does not strongly support this idea. The lack of visible architectural Christian spaces inside of Rome suggests that it is worth considering that the conception of Christian space in this late antique period may have been framed more in the light of funerary spaces in and around Rome and the shrines within these rather than in the light of domestic space. Christian catacombs in Rome are notoriously difficult to date, but as early as the late second and early third century evidence suggests that some Christians were using specifically collective Christian burial. From the fourth to seventh centuries it became increasingly common to inter Christians beneath the floors of churches, particularly outside of the city center.<sup>675</sup> The lack of visible architectural Christian spaces inside of Rome, when a shrine at San Pietro and at San Paolo fuori le Mura were already present, suggests that the idea of the space of a *domus ecclesiae* may not be as central to Christian social networks as the position of Christian burial space in the social networks of fourth century Rome and that further examination of pre-Constantinian Christian spaces would be beneficial for better understanding Roman in this period.

This exploratory study on social networks in ancient Rome uses the data available, but future studies may benefit from increased knowledge about the set of ancient households for which I did not have network data as more research and excavation are performed. For contrast, I have also created a map showing the buildings colored by building type (SEE Figure 4.7a). From this map you can see that there are more *insula*e in the topographically lower areas in northwestern central Rome, and more *domūs* proportionally in the areas of the hills of Rome, but the separation is by no means exclusive. I also provide a Fruchterman Reingold graph with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>675</sup> Yasin 2005, 440; Schloeder 2012, http://www.adoremus.org/0812Schloeder.html; Snyder 2003, 76, 83.

buildings colored by building type (SEE Figure 4.7b), which is another force-directed graph in Gephi that shows the unconnected nodes in association with the connected network. This graph exhibits that in this fourth century period the connections to *insulae* are largely unknown despite there being many *insulae* known. Only three of the *insulae* are connected to the network, where a larger percentage of *domūs*, *horti*, and sacred spaces are connected.

#### **Degree:**

After applying modularity to seek topographical relationships among sub-communities in Rome, I applied the Degree method as a first approach to seek influential points in the social network of fourth century Rome. For the following three analyses I used the same color key for all the graphs (SEE Figure 4.8). I applied the Degree method using the Gephi algorithm in the Gephis Statistics tab in three parts, as I did for Modularity, to the entire set 300-330 CE, to the beginning 300-312 CE, and to the end 324-330 CE. After applying the method to each dataset, I colored the nodes based on the Degree metric in two different force-directed layouts, first the Force Atlas2 layout and then the Fruchterman Reingold layout.

For the whole dataset of households and buildings from 300-330 CE, the application of the Degree statistics shows certain central nodes (SEE Figures 4.9a and b). The largest, and thus most well-connected, nodes in the network are the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius*, closely followed by the *domus Nummii Albini*, the *domus Valeriorum*, and the imperial household in the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana*. Below this small number of senatorial *domūs* and the imperial palaces, the next most connected are the *domus Anniorum*, an imperial property with an active *mithraeum*, and then the *Equites Singulares* and a few *mithraea* that are more connected than average. The well-connected nature of the large imperial properties is not surprising, but they take second place to the most connected senatorial properties for the early fourth century. This strong position of senatorial households is worth keeping in mind as we look to the subsets of the beginning and end of this period.

Next, with the application of the Degree method to the earlier data set from 300-312 CE, I compared to see what changes occurred with the central nodes due to the removal of nodes not yet present in the first decade of the fourth century (SEE Figures 4.9c and d). In this graph, the *domus Nummii Albini* becomes most central, closely followed by the *domus Valeriorum*. Without the connections to the Christian social circle, despite being connected to the pagan social circle, the imperial household in the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana* falls slightly behind in the realm of the most well connected. Again the *domus Anniorum* follows these, and then the *Equites Singulares* and a few well-connected *mithraea* match the imperial properties. The Christian nodes, in turn, are completely separate and peripheral, and are out of range of the graph instead of connected noticeably in the 300-330 CE graph. This suggests that the connection between the imperial and Christian networks was important to strengthening the influence of both.

Finally, when the later data set from 324-330 CE takes the Degree method into account (SEE Figures 4.9e and f), we can compare the influence of the more connected Christian network and the addition of the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* to the senatorial and mithraic networks. The *Equites Singulares* also is replaced by the Christian Ss. Giovanni in Laterano. The *domus Nummii Albini* and maintains a very central position with the *domus Valeriorum* noticeably secondary, but the new *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius Iulianus Kamenius* joins the *domus Nummii Albini* as the most well-connected. Again we see the senatorial *domūs* as the most central in the social network of the early fourth century, and despite the official Christian policy of the emperor, these are still known to have been pagan households in this

period. The most central nodes are followed by the three well-connected *mithraea* and secondarily the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana*, not as large as they were in the 300-330 CE graph in which they accessed the Christian and pagan networks, though through the military sites they connect the Christian and other networks. The *domus Anniorum* moves to a relatively small role, as the *mithraeum* maintained on-site would have been closed by this period. The three well-connected *mithraea* that again make a significant presence indicate that despite the increased scale of the Christian network, the mithraic network has not yet suffered for influence.

From analyzing the graphs depicting the degree of connectedness of the early fourth century, three senatorial houses emerged as having clearly central positions in the early fourth century Roman social network. These included the *domus Nummii Albini* (SEE Figures 4.9g and h), *domus Valeriorum* (SEE Figures 4.9i and j), and the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* (SEE Figures 4.9k, l, and m). The graphs indicate that these senatorial pagan *domūs* were acting potentially as connecting hubs in this network. Below I present archaeological and historical evidence on these *domūs* to help contextualize the ancient households that were acting in this social network.

First, the *domus Nummii Albini* (SEE Figures 4.9g and h) was the most central node for the period from 300-312 CE, and remained a central household in the latter period as well. The remains of the *domus Nummii Albini* were primarily found in a series of three excavations that occurred near the intersection of the *via Venti Settembre* and the *via Firenze*, first in 1869 to 1872 due to work for the construction of a house for *signore ingegnere* Vismara, second with the destruction of the church S. Caio and third with the construction of the *Ministerio della Guerra* in 1885 and 1886. A *mithraeum* was discovered beneath the floors of the baroque church of S. Caio during its destruction in 1885 and 1886 (SEE Figure 4.9h).<sup>676</sup> More remains were then discovered of the spaces related to the *mithraeum* including an underground drain during work for the construction of the Methodist-Episcopal church in 1893-1894.<sup>677</sup> The plan of San Caio indicates that it was constructed into the remains of the *domus Nummi Albini*, as it aligns with the ruins rather than the early modern road system.<sup>678</sup> Early authors cite the church as having been constructed in 1630-1631 over the remains of the house or titulus of Saint Gaio, and Mariano Armellini notes, writing two years after its destruction, that the remains of a third or fourth century noble and grandiose edifice had been visible in the church.<sup>679</sup> Despite the misidentification of the house, it is interesting that the church was built into a house directly over a mithraeum, as seen elsewhere at San Clemente. The house was identified based on an honorary inscription to Nummius Albinus s. Triturrius (PLRE I Albinus 13) by his son Nummius Secundus (PLRE I Secundus 2). Three other inscriptions (CIL VI 31378b, 32024-32036) related to Nummius Tuscus (PLRE I Tuscus 1) were also found. Nummius Tuscus was consul before 295 and urban prefect in 302 CE, and brick stamps from the beginning of the fourth century suggest that he would have been a major patron of building at least part of this large *domus*. Guidobaldi suggests that we should attribute to Nummius Albinus, consul in 345 or to Nummius Secundus, his son, at least a restoration of the entire building or part of it, underlining that the epigraphic evidence strongly suggests continuity for these three generations at this *domus*.<sup>680</sup> Courtyards, mosaic and marble pavements, and wall paintings underline the status of this large

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>676</sup> For the 1869 and 1872 excavations see Lanciani 1869, 225-237, and Lanciani 1872, 66-90. For the 1885 to 1886 work see Capannari 1885, 3-26, and for the *mithraeum* Capannari 1886, 17-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>677</sup> Gatti 1893, 430.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>678</sup> The alignment is visible in the 1748 map of Giambattista Nolli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>679</sup> Nibby 1839, 140; Armellini 1891, 819.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>680</sup> Guidobaldi 1995, 147.

*domus*. Strong political connections in addition to a potential mithraic social network strengthen the position of this *domus* in the social network of Rome.

Then, the *domus Valeriorum* was in the top two to three most connected *domūs* in the full and early datasets, and still moderately well connected in the latter dataset. The *domus* has been discovered and partially excavated under the Ospedale dell'Addolorata (SEE Figure 4.9i). Excavations have taken place over the course of the twentieth century and indicate a multicentury large scale *domus* spread out over a large property with gardens, but unfortunately not enough has yet been discovered to recover a coherent plan, though work continues.<sup>681</sup> The *domus Valeriorum* is another rare example where evidence supports multiple generations of one extended family living in the same house. Hillner provides the rather unorthodox transmission of the house through the generations in detail (SEE Figure 4.9j).<sup>682</sup> The high social status of this family is also underlined by the use by the imperial house of the Valerii name as the chosen dynastic name of the Tetrarchic period. The various Tetrarchic emperors including Maxentius, used the *Valerius* gens name to underscore their relationship to each other and to powerful families of Rome. Constantine also carried this name, but around the end of our period of study (c. 324 with the fall of Licinius) the principle dynastic gentilicium, or gens name, was established as Flavius, rather than Valerius, underlining the status of Constantine's own line over the Tetrarchic line.<sup>683</sup> As mentioned above (see page 269), the location of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine has been suggested by Coarelli as located by Maxentius on the traditional archaic site of the *domus Valerii* in an effort to connect him to the family.<sup>684</sup> The Valerii had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>681</sup> Barbera, Palladino, and Paterna 2008, 87, and fig. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>682</sup> Hillner 2003, 140-143.

<sup>683</sup> Salway 1994, 138-139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>684</sup> Palombi 1997, 95.

political connections, wealth, and a strong familial connection by marriage to the Aradii family, whose house was located further south.

The connection between the Valerii and Aradii families indicated a level of status for both. L. Aradius Valerius Proculus qui et Populonius and O. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus qui et Populonius, known to have held positions between 321 and 352, are represented by honorary inscriptions in the domus Valeriorum. They are considered the sons of Aradius Rufinus from the beginning of the fourth century CE, who was urban prefect both under Maxentius and again under Constantine. He likely married a member of the Valerii, as indicated by the names of his sons.<sup>685</sup> In any case the families were linked by marriage in this period of the early fourth century. The Aradii were well-known supporters of paganism, and in the excavations of the domus Aradii a shrine including a sculpture of Isis and other pagan deities were found.<sup>686</sup> This would connect the household to pagan social circles. The *Valerii* may have been pagan in the early fourth century, rather than Christian, as they married the Aradii, a wellknown pagan family. However, Christians and pagans were known to intermarry in the fourth century.<sup>687</sup> Additionally, a lamp from the late fourth century with an inscription found in the domus Valeriorum, states the Christian status of a member of the Valerii, Valerius Severus, using terminology that suggests recent conversion at the time, which also supports an earlier pagan status.688

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>685</sup> Panciera 1987, 1121; Salzman 2002, 94-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>686</sup> Panciera 1987, 559-563.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>687</sup> Salzman argues that Christian and pagan marriage was uncommon but cites that in her study of known examples about ten percent of marriages were interfaith. Salzman also notes that in these cases it appears uncommon for Christian wives to actually convert their husbands. Salzman 2002, 145. Matthews however notes the difficulty in attributing the faith of figures for whom we do not have an explicit statement. While there may be references in inscriptions to cultic positions, those may have been held as a part of public office rather than indicating private faith. Matthews 1973, 184-186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>688</sup> Spier 2007, 249. "The Lord presents the law to Valerius Severus, Eutropius, may you live!" is provided as translation from "DOMINVS LEGEM DAT VALERIO SEVERO EVTROPR VIVAS."

Finally, the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* was the most prominently connected node only in the latter period from 324-330 CE, as the family cannot be confidently connected to this *domus* before the latter part of the period 300-330 CE. The *domus* was excavated near the Palazzo Barberini in the 1880's and 1920 (SEE Figures 4.9k and 1). An inscription dedicated to Kamenius was discovered in the area during the construction of the villa Barberini (CIL vi. 1675) and another similarly dedicated inscription was found in direct association with the domestic ruins in this area in the 1880's, and given to the Commune of Rome. The *domus* remains consist of a portion of a large plan including a peristyle of grey marble columns on travertine bases, surrounded by small rooms and corridors in third and fourth century masonry.<sup>689</sup> Another portion of the *domus* was found in 1920 during the construction of an addition to the *Comando dello Stato Maggiore* on the northern side of the via Venti Settembre. This portion of the *domus* included a rectangular room with multiple niches on the walls, possible a library.<sup>690</sup> Additionally, in 1936 three subterranean rooms were discovered including a *mithraeum* to the northwest of the other remains (SEE Figure 4.9m).<sup>691</sup> The combination of these spaces would form a large *domus* with at least a subterranean and ground level including large peristyles surrounded by decorative and service rooms. While no areas constituting neighborhoods were discovered with the modularity algorithm, it is worth noting that the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius, which is located on the north side of the via Venti Settembre near the intersection with the Salita di San Nicola Da Tolentino, is constructed in extremely close proximity to the *domus Nummii Albini*, which is located on the other side of the via Venti Settembre at the intersection with the via Firenze (SEE Figure 4.9n). The placement of these two households also locates two *mithraea* in very close proximity. This proximity could be

<sup>689</sup> Lanciani 1884, 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>690</sup> Gatti 1920, 277.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>691</sup> Gatti and Annibaldi 1943-1945, 97-99.

a sign of an association between the families or a further part of the trend of the higher status households remaining on the higher land and hills of Rome. From the review of these three *domūs* I pose that we consider the extent to which other households potentially of similar social status in ancient Rome might have had such central positions as these three, but which are missing to us archaeologically.

### **Eigenvector centrality:**

I then applied the Eigenvector method in order to seek influential points in the social network of fourth century Rome, as it provides a different perspective on connectedness from Degree by counting the connectedness of the nodes to which each node is connected and not just the number of edges for an individual node. I used the same color key for the graphs in Eigenvector (SEE Figure 4.8). Eigenvector was also applied through the Gephi statistic, and I applied it, as before, in three parts to the entire set 300-330 CE, to the beginning 300-312 CE, and to the end 324-330 CE. After applying the method to each dataset, I colored the nodes based on the Eigenvector metric in both force-directed layouts, the Force Atlas2 layout and the Fruchterman Reingold layout.

As with Degree, when Eigenvector is applied to the whole data set of nodes from 300-330 CE, certain central nodes appear, but in Eigenvector the most connected nodes in the graph shift toward a single more connected sub-network or cluster rather than focusing on nodes that connect different clusters (SEE Figures 4.10a and b). For the full period the *domus Nummii Albini*, the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius*, and the *domus Valeriorum* remain in the top three most connected. Also in this second tier are the *Equites Signulares*, the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana*, and a few well connected mithraic nodes. Then, when Eigenvector is then applied to the earlier data sample form 300-312 CE (SEE Figures 4.10c and d), the Christian social set separates from the imperial social circle. The *domus Valeriorum* and three mithraic nodes make up the second tier, specifically the *Sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (IX.04), the via Giovanni Lanza *mithraeum* (III.02), and the *domus* Via Venezia that included a *mithraeum* (VI.05). The slightly less well connected third tier in the Eigenvector graph consist of the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana*, the *Equites Singulares*, the *domus Anniorum*, the *domus* and *horti* of *Vettius Agerius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina*, and the *domus degli Aradii*. This leaves the most connected node the *domus Nummii Albini*.

Finally, when the Eigenvector metric is applied to the later data sample from 324-330 CE (SEE Figures 4.10e and f), the *domus Nummii Albini* and *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* become clearly the top two most connected households. The same three mithraic nodes are second tier, and the mithraic network is third tier of connectedness along with the *domus Valeriorum* and the *domus* and *horti* of *Vettius Agerius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina*. With the addition of the influential Lateran Basilica and the interconnection with the imperial social network, the related Christian nodes are now a cluster in the network but not well connected to the rest of the network.

These graphs exhibit the significantly stronger position of high status political households such as the *domus Nummii Albini* over the imperial households, the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Severiana*. This stronger position has now been visible in both the Degree metric and the Eigenvector metric. These graphs lead to the question of whether the stronger position is an indicator that strongly connected wealthy political families may have had more influence in the later period than the imperial house did because of the largely absent emperor, of if we are missing data that would strengthen the position of the imperial house, such as additional Christian nodes.

#### **Betweenness:**

After analyzing the degree of nodes through the Degree and Eigenvector methods, I applied the Betweenness algorithm through the Gephi statistic to the data in order to find the nodes with the shortest paths via edges to all other nodes in the network. I applied the Betweenness method to the full data set from 300-330 CE, to the earlier set from 300-312 CE, and to the end set from 324-330 CE. For the full dataset from 300-330 CE this network provides a very small number of nodes with high betweenness connectivity (SEE Figures 4.11a and b). The *domus Anniorum* shows the most betweenness by a significant margin, and is primarily connecting the imperial and mithraic network groups. The domus Anniorum was an imperial property believed in this period to have been run by freedmen of the imperial house, who had a mithraeum.<sup>692</sup> The domus Valeriorum has the next greatest betweenness at a connecting position between the imperial, senatorial, and pagan social networks. These two households are followed by the domus Nummii Albini, domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius, and the imperial households in the Domus Augustana and Domus Sessoriana, which show only slightly more betweenness than average. One other node is worth explaining, specifically the Crypta Balbi Mithraeum, which connects other local buildings to the mithraic set.

In the earlier set from 300-312 CE (SEE Figures 4.11c and d) the separation of the Christian social set from the imperial set alters the betweenness rankings. The *domūs Nummii Albini* and *Anniorum* in this graph are the most well-connected households, followed by the aforementioned *domus Valeriorum*. The increase of the *domus Nummii Albini* to match the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>692</sup> Scrinari 1979, 219-224.

*domus Anniorum* likely stems from the lower influence that the imperial social set had without connection to the Christian social network. The participation of the imperial household in the pagan social network does not seem to be as influential as the Christian network that follows. The graph also again underlines the centrality of senatorial households in the early fourth century CE.

In the later data set from 324-300 CE (SEE Figures 4.11e and f) the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana*, along with the *Mithraeum at Santo Stephano Rotondo* and the *Mithraeum* in the *Castro Praetorio* have by far the strongest betweenness. These four nodes connect the imperial-christian network to the pagan-senatorial network. While these did not have the highest degree or eigenvector, betweenness shows a way that shifting to Christianity made the imperial household a strong connecting point between multiple social networks in Rome. Again, previously mentioned influential nodes follow, including the *domus Nummii Albini* and the *domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius*.

## **Conclusions for 300-330 CE:**

To conclude, the graphs reveal the central positions of the *domus Nummii Albini* and *domus Valeriorum* for 300-330 CE, and the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* in the latter period. These households were senatorial and pagan in the early fourth century. The imperial palaces are integral to the social network when considering pagan and Christian influences 300-330 CE, but once separated out by period, 300-312 and 324-300 CE, the palaces show more influence in their connecting function between different social networks after the shift to Christianity. The influence of the *domus Anniorum* among the imperial properties for the period from 300-312 CE, while a *mithraeum* was maintained there, indicates the potential strength of a mithraic social network in the city. Once the potential access to this network was

lost with the closing of the *mithraeum*, the household falls to relative obscurity in the graphs. These elements taken together underline the increasing importance of Christianity over the traditional Roman paganism in this period, while Mithraism maintained its relative strength.

The graphs indicate that the aforementioned pagan senatorial households had a more significant overall central position within the social network of Rome than the imperial household according to their degree of connectedness. During this period the emperor was becoming increasingly disengaged from Rome, and the senatorial families maintained active roles in the city's development. The relative strength of the influence of senatorial houses suggests that the increasingly remote nature of the emperor reduced the centrality of the imperial household within the social network in the city.

These network graphs clarify the available data about the social network of Rome, and another potentially important element for the social network of Rome, which becomes clear is currently missing, is the social network of connections among less powerful households, such as those in *insulae*. The Fruchterman Reingold graph with the nodes colored by the type of building shows the small percentage of *insulae* with known connections (SEE Figure 4.7b). The majority of *insulae* in the early fourth century do not have obvious artworks or inscriptions that tie them to other nodes. From this I pose the question for future work of how we use to determine links among less powerful households and *insulae*. Other types of artworks or archaeological evidence must be sought.

The mithraic network through 330 CE continues to be larger than the visible Christian network among wealthy households, even in the latter part of this period once we separate out the pre-Constantinian buildings that were only present in the earlier period through 312 CE. The comparatively larger size of the mithraic network to the Christian network raises the question of

how well our sample of excavated data represents the ancient communities. Mithraic worship creates an artistic and especially architectural space. However, the lack of Christian symbols in a *domus* does not necessarily equate to evidence that the household is not Christian, as Christian worship has been found to notoriously less definitely mark its ancient spaces. This discrepancy in the visual records of the two religions leads me to ask what data may be missing from our network, particularly the Christian network in the early and pre-Constantinian period. The small number of known Christian households from this period suggests the possibility that Christian sites are not as architecturally recognizable as *mithraea* and that Christian art was not as visible as mithraic altars and pagan paintings and sculptures. The lack of clearly Christian art in homes also suggests that Christian families may have met in temporary or more public spaces, such as warehouses or *insulae*, or other set spaces, that are simply no longer identifiable. Funerary spaces were also important for participants in early Christianity, as it represented by the early knowledge of the shrines for Saints Peter and Paul outside of the city. Such shrines may suggest that a large amount of Christian gathering took place outside of the city, rather than in the traditionally conceived *domus ecclesiae*. These elements of potentially fluid or less artistically marked Christian spaces lead me to pose the question for future studies of where scholars should seek additional data on Christians and Christian households if it is not apparent in the traditionally conceived *domus ecclesiae*.

Finally, in addition to seeking more evidence of loci of Christian gathering and worship, it has also proven to be difficult to gauge how to integrate possibly influential pagan sites of the traditional Roman religion. I have primarily included pagan sites into my network analysis only when they are directly connected to residential structures. The smaller level of influence versus the Christian network's influence as seen in their impact on the relative importance and centrality of the *Domus Augustana* and *Domus Sessoriana*, suggests two options. This smaller influence could be a sign of the shrinking influence of the traditional state religion, or it could suggest that other pagan connections related to the state religion need to be considered and calculated, particularly from 300-312 CE and under Maxentius. Considering the role of other pagan priesthoods in the fourth century might be a good entry point for future work on this. The relative influence of the pagan network to the Christian network does not appear to have directly affected pagan wealthy households in this period despite the emperor changing the official imperial worship to Christian in the middle of this period. The majority of senatorial households remained pagan for much of the century. Even with the change to Christianity of the emperor, he still claimed a connection to the *Valerii* and *Flavii* families, which suggests that the imperial household needed to enter the social network of the city by more means than just religion.

In order to further explore the tensions between the development of Christianity, the continued worship of Mithras, and the relationship between the high status political and senatorial families and the imperial household, I collected and analyzed another dataset of social network data from the end of the fourth century. I analyzed the households and relevant sites from the period 360-390 CE, in order to seek some of the ways that this early fourth century social network community structure continued to evolve based on some of the mechanisms already in place in the early fourth century. In the following section I present that analysis.

#### Analysis late fourth century:

#### **Modularity:**

As with the early fourth century dataset, I began my analysis of the late fourth century dataset by performing the modularity method in Gephi, which determines smaller clusters within the larger network structure that indicate social connectedness among subsets of households.

Again, for clarity I split the dataset into two period, that from 360-376 CE, and that from 383-390 CE the final period of construction in the fourth century. The latter period includes increased Christian connections as the *Sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso transferred to Christianity, the *domus degli Aradii* became additionally Christian, and the *insula* under Santa Pudenziana became Christian. I kept a gap between the two periods to prevent overlap as buildings ended and were constructed. As mentioned above, for the data sets 360-376 CE and 383-390 CE, I chose a resolution of 0.6 modularity to detect smaller communities without too many node pairs. After the application of this method, I applied the modularity graph to the GeoLayout, using latitude and longitude, and then exported the modularity graph to GoogleEarth. I compared the sub-communities determined by the modularity to the topography of the city of Rome to seek if the resulting map exhibited any ties between these communities and regions of the city that might form potential neighborhoods, here defined as groups of households tied both socially and topographically.

The modularity graph of the households and their connections from 360-390 CE exhibits five subsets of households (SEE Figure 4.12a). These groups closely resemble those I will discuss in depth below for the shorter periods 360-376 CE and 383-390 CE. The group with the most spread out connections in this period is the political-senatorial cluster, in which there are connections to the mithraic, Christian, pagan, and imperial networks for different households. This shows the transitioning of the senatorial families that was taking place. Once exported and applied to the map (SEE Figures 4.12b and c), these groups clearly spread throughout the city.

The modularity graph of the households and their connections from 360-376 CE exhibits five subsets of households (SEE Figure 4.12d). These subsets align closely with 1) the mithraic social group in green, 2) the senatorial or political social group in orange, though including the

Dolochenum, a pagan temple, 3) the Christian social network in purplish-pink, 4) the imperially connected properties in blue, and 5) a set of three nodes connected both politically and to the Christian network in pink. These last two households are the *Horti Aciliorum*, a property held by Sextus Petronius Probus and Anicia Faltonia Proba, a Christian, the domus Valeriorum, which shifted to Christian by 376, and the Basilica of Junius Bassus (V.14), as the family was high status and the son of Junius Bassus also named Junius Bassus was a Christian.<sup>693</sup> With small adjustments to the way in which I applied the modularity algorithm, the domus Valeriorium, as another node that is connected both politically and to the Christian network, was at times included in this smallest cluster also and at other times in the larger orange cluster. Once the modularity graph was exported and applied to the map (SEE Figure 4.12e), and a detail (SEE Figure 4.12f). This map exhibits that, while the imperial holdings in blue somewhat lean toward the southeast part of the city with the exception of the *Horti Sallustiani*, the clusters are generally widely spread out. The orange and pink nodes from high status households are found on the different hills, but not in specifically one place. Even the three dark green nodes that are senatorial and Christian (domus Valeriorum, Basilica of Junius Bassus, horti Aciliorum) are widely dispersed. The Christian in purplish-pink and mithraic in green networks are completely interspersed throughout the city.

The modularity graph of the households and their connections from 383-390 CE (SEE Figure 4.12g) also exhibits five subsets of households. Even with the changes to the network structure, these subsets still line up fairly cleanly with 1) the mithraic social group in orange, 2) the senatorial or political social group, which again includes the *Dolochenum* in green, 3) the Christian social network in purplish-pink, 4) the imperially connected properties in blue, and 5) the same set of three dark green nodes connected both politically and to the Christian network.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>693</sup> Guidobaldi and Jolivet 1995, 156-157; Drinkwater and Elton 2002, 112.

Again, the *domus Valeriorum* could enter this group depending on certain small changes to the modularity method. In this period the *domus degli Aradii* (I.01a) and the *Sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (IX.04) both become connected to the Christian social network. The *domus degli Aradii* maintains pagan connections, where the *Sotterranea* of S. Lorenzo in Damaso is believed to have shifted completely from Mithraism to Christianity.<sup>694</sup> Despite the *domus degli Aradii* and *domus Valeriorum* (II.03b) having connections to both the Christian network and Senatorial and political networks after 383 CE, the two households are still considered more closely tied to the high-status political cluster. Once exported to GoogleEarth and applied to a map (SEE Figure 4.12h), and a detail (SEE Figure 4.12i). On the map the mithraic and Christian networks are again clearly interspersed without notable changes from the 360-376 CE map.

# **Degree:**

After modularity, I used the Gephi statistics to apply Degree, Eigenvector, and Betweenness methods to the entire 360-390 CE, the early 360-376 CE, and the later 383-390 CE datasets. For all these following graphs, I used the same color key (SEE Figure 4.13a). I first applied the Degree algorithm to the entire data set 360-390 CE (SEE Figure 4.13b and c). For the entire data set 360-390 CE, this analysis puts the *domus degli Aradii* as the most well connected, due in part to the conversion to Christianity of *Aradius Rufinus*,<sup>695</sup> which added the Christian social network to the preexisting pagan social ties of the *Aradii* household. The *domus degli Aradii* is followed by the *domus Aciliorum*, *domus Valeriorum*, the Basilica of Junius Bassus, and then the *Domus Augustana*, *Domus Sessoriana*, and Ss. Giovanni in Laterano. Below these the *domus Symmachorum* and *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* are more connected than average, but only fractionally more connected than the majority of the Christian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>694</sup> Bjørnebye 2007, 42-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>695</sup> Salzman 2002, 94-96; Barbera, Palladino, and Paterna 2008, 84.

social network. This suggests that in the latter fourth century the consolidating Christian social circle in Rome drew influence to those who were connected to it.

I then applied the degree method to the first portion of the social network that was active in 360-376 CE (SEE Figure 4.13d and e) in order to see the effect of the removal of the last few Christian conversions. This set includes a few changes from the entire period. Particularly, the *domus degli Aradii* drops significantly from the top position and the second tier of the Christian affiliated senatorial nodes become the most connected. These include the *domus Aciliorum*, *domus Valeriorum*, and Basilica of Junius Bassus. Just slightly below these, the imperial houses present a scale of Degree that is relatively equal to that of the *domus Symmachorum*. Below these the *domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* is next most connected. Notably below these are the *domus Nummii Albini* and the Christian social set. This earlier portion of the dataset presents the struggling position of the pagan senatorial households, as the households of *Symmachus* and *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* remain influential, but the Christian associated senatorial nodes are surpassing them.

Finally, when applying the Degree method to the dataset from 383-390 CE (SEE Figure 4.13f and g), the graph presents the end of the fourth century once a few more influential nodes had shifted into the Christian social network. The *domus degli Aradii* becomes the most connected node, as it is connected now to the Christian and pagan social network. In this period *Aradius Rufinus* converted to Christianity, but the pagan *lararium* remained in the household.<sup>696</sup> The next six most influential nodes are the same as the most influential previously, the *Horti Aciliorum*, *domus Valeriorum*, Basilica of Junius Bassus, the *Domus Augustana*, *Domus Sessoriana*, and Ss. Giovanni in Laterano. These nodes are all connected to the Christian social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>696</sup> Candilio 2011, 249. Candilio suggested the *lararium* was consciously preserved at a late date due to the high level of preservation of the art within it.

network, and only the *domus Symmachorum* and *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* still show any significant influence outside of this network, but they are now less connected significantly than the Christian nodes.

## **Eigenvector centrality:**

After the Degree method, I applied the Eigenvector method to seek another perspective on the connectedness of the households in late fourth century Rome. I again applied the method using the Gephi software to the entire dataset 360-390 CE, the earlier dataset 360-376 CE, and the later dataset 383-390 CE. The graph of the entire dataset, 360-390 CE (SEE Figure 4.14a and b), shows the *domus degli Aradii* as most well connected, followed by the same six Christianimperial-senatorial nodes clearly the most well-connected and influential in the network, specifically, *domus Valeriorum*, Basilica of Junius Bassus, the *Horti Aciliorum*, the *Domus Augustana*, *Domus Sessoriana*, and Ss. Giovanni in Laterano. These nodes are well-connected to both the high status political and Christian social circles. The eigenvector graph then puts the rest of the Christian social network, including the imperial palaces, as far more connected and influential than the rest of the graph.

Then applying the eigenvector method to the data from 360-376 CE (SEE Figure 4.14c and d), the graph shows the same six strongest nodes without the leading *domus degli Aradii*, which had not yet entered the Christian social circle. These nodes are followed by the rest of the Christian social circle. The *domus Symmachorum* is slightly more connected than it was in the entire dataset and roughly equal to a member of the Christian circle.

For the graph applying eigenvector to the set from 383-390 CE (SEE Figure 4.14e and f), the *domus degli Aradii* has once again joined the other six as the most influential of these seven nodes. These are followed by the Christian social set. The *domus Symmachorum* has reduced

significantly in influence. The eigenvector method overall emphasizes the centrality of nodes that are connected both to the high status political social circle and the Christian social circle.

#### **Betweenness:**

For my final analysis of the latter fourth century dataset, I applied the Betweenness method using the Gephi Network Diameter statistic in the Gephi software. I applied betweenness to seek which nodes are most closely connected to the entire graph for the entire dataset 360-390 CE, the earlier dataset 360-376 CE, and the later dataset 383-390 CE. For the entire set 360-390 CE (SEE Figure 4.15a and b), the betweenness graph shows the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* as most connected. Following this *domus* are the *domus Symmachorum*, the *domus Nummii Albini*, and then the *domus degli Aradii*. The majority of the rest of the nodes show extremely little betweenness with only the previously largest nodes distinguishing themselves at all. This graph suggests that the pagan and recently Christian senatorial households are central to connecting the various social networks in the graph, and interestingly the imperial palaces are significantly less central.

For the earlier period of the graph from 360-376 CE (SEE Figure 4.15c and d), the *domus degli Aradii* drastically reduces in betweenness. The *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* is most central, followed by the *domus Nummii Albini* and the *domus Symmachorum*, which have increased from the previous graph. The reduction of the number Christian nodes in the Christian network even slightly has increased the betweenness of the pagan senatorial *domūs*.

For the latter period from 383-390 CE (SEE Figure 4.15e and f) the graph now has a few more Christian nodes, and it shows a small increase in the now Christian connected *domus degli Aradii*, which becomes matched with the *domus Symmachorum* for the second most central nodes, after the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* at most central. Slightly less

connected is the *domus Nummii Albini*. The relatively small increase in the centrality of the Christian network suggests that the pagan senatorial households still had considerable influence in Rome by connecting different circles.

## **Conclusions:**

The application of modularity to the latter period shows the Christian, Mithraic, pagan, and senatorial groups widely spread throughout the city. The graphs show that in both early and late fourth century Rome the high status political or senatorial households position themselves along the major hills around Rome, but do not seem to cluster further into tight areas based on additional factors, such as religion. Additionally, the imperial properties are clearly strongly represented in the southeastern part of Rome, but that does not likely constitute a neighborhood. In both the early and late fourth century political, religious, and even familial ties seem not to strongly influence the location of households within the topography of Rome. The strong correlation between high status households and the hills of Rome suggests that economic factors may have outweighed social connections when choosing topographical locations for the construction or purchase of a *domus*.

Additionally, the latter period clearly shows a continuation of the growth of the Christian social network from the graphs of the early fourth century. While the mithraic network remains even at the end of our period, the last period of strong pagan public worship, it has significantly decreased in influence and size. The increased connectedness and size of the Christian social network can be seen in the two types of graphs that represent the degree of connectedness, the Degree and Eigenvector (SEE Figures 4.13 and 14). These graphs indicate that the Christian social network would have provided a potentially strong point of access through which fourth century households could establish social and political connections. The phenomenon of

senatorial families converting to Christianity has already been noted for the late fourth century, particularly during the 380's and 390's.<sup>697</sup> A significant increase in centrality is seen for the *domus degli Aradii* in the Degree, Eigenvector, and Betweenness graphs after it becomes connected to the Christian social circle (SEE Figures 4.13d vs. f, 4.14c vs. e, and 4.15c vs. e). This increase of connectedness for a node joining the Christian circle provides a good example of how converting to Christianity might have affected access to political and social influence in fourth century Rome, and, therefore, an additional benefit to joining the Christian movement.

The visible increase in influence of the Christian circle in the graphs has enhanced the influence of the imperial palaces in the latter fourth century over the early fourth century despite the general absence of the emperor's family in Rome. The senatorial households, however, maintain a competitive level of influence through strong social networks. The domus of Symmacchus (II.05) is well-connected in the latter fourth century and is visibly more connected before 376-383 CE when a small number of shifts to Christianity decrease the influence of this important pagan household. This further underlines the wider movement towards Christianity in the late fourth century. The early and late fourth century graphs also exhibit that from many perspectives the senatorial *domūs* remain the most connected in Rome through the end of the fourth century CE. The early fourth century graphs clearly show a number of central senatorial nodes, particularly the domus Nummii Albini, domus Valeriorum, and the domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius in the latter period. The continued influence of senatorial domūs is particularly visible in the Betweenness graphs from the end of the fourth century, which highlight the domus Nummii Albini, domus Valeriorum, and domus Symmachorum, but is also visible in the other methods of analysis that highlight a number of senatorial nodes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>697</sup> Salzman 2002, 95.

This chapter has explored the use of network analysis on two social network datasets from the early and late fourth century CE in Rome (300-330 CE and 360-390 CE). The graphs emphasize the influence of senatorial *domūs*, and also follow the increase in size and influence of the Christian social network over the course of the fourth century. It is apparent that the shift from the traditional Roman state religion of paganism to Christianity under Constantine did not immediately decrease the authority of Mithraism and paganism in Rome, but did put the imperial house in a position connecting multiple social networks. The shift away from these other forms of pagan worship occurred slowly over the course of the fourth century. In many cases participation in other social networks, such as political, familial, or friendly social networks, formed strong ties among households during the fourth century that would have overridden the sacred social networks. In such cases households that remained pagan would still have had strong influence and interaction with Christian households. The visibility of these trends in the network graphs suggests that with additional data the technique has the potential to reveal more about the interactions of Roman households in ancient times despite gaps in the overall archaeological data.

# **Chapter 5 – Conclusions**

Through this study, I have examined the contribution that residences made to the social interactions and political status of households both on an interior scale, examining the individual spaces within Roman houses as settings for social interaction, and on an exterior scale, seeing how the placement of a household within the urban city plan and within the social networks in the city influenced the public development of Rome. In chapters 2 and 3, on the interior scale of domestic space, I examined the individual rooms of Roman houses through an architectural analysis of lines-of-sight, decoration, and architectural arrangement of rooms. Then in chapter 4, on an exterior scale, I used network analysis and GIS mapping, to examine how the placement of a household within the topography of the city was influenced by its position within social networks. I have examined the topographical positions of *domūs*, the relationship networks among *domūs* in the fourth century, and the decoration and placement of architectural spaces within *domūs* in the urban center of Rome in the first to fifth century CE in order to better understand the function and role of the *domus* in the city of Rome and in Roman life on a broader scale. In this study I applied a critical analysis of the materials used for construction and decoration of residences, of the decorative program of spaces within residences, of the positions and organizations of rooms within houses, and of elements contributing to the relative accessibility of spaces to better understand how patrons designed their residences to function for the household and social occasions.

The materials used in the decoration of domestic spaces provided an avenue for patrons to highlight different rooms and features within them. Throughout the residences materials like glass and marble were used to highlight water features, which were both a sign of status and wealth, as they required plumbing in addition to the decoration. In the first century this can be seen in the *nymphaeum* with glass paste mosaic vault in the *domus* of the Villa Rivaldi, and still in the fourth century in the domus under SS. Giovanni e Paolo a multicolored marble mosaic highlighted the area of the *nymphaeum*. Marble, mosaics, and fine wall painting were used courtyards and their surrounding decorative spaces to emphasize the status of the household and grand nature of the spaces. The combination of mosaic, wall painting, and sculpture decorated the colonnaded courtyard of the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla, creating an impressive space, and opus sectile and other mosaic decorated the spaces around the peristyle of the domus Symmachorum. Certain motifs, such as columns, could be created in expensive materials, such as granite or marble, or in less expensive materials, such as stucco covered brick, and still function similarly in decoration. Columns unified series of rooms surrounding courtyards, as they do in the large peristyle of the *domus Symmachorum*, and highlighted ambulatories, also punctuating the wall decorations of the ambulatories with light and shade, creating a sense of movement, as they did in the *domus* under the INPS. Patrons in the third and fourth century also commonly reused and adapted construction materials as well as decorative marbles to create a sense of luxury and stability in residences even when supplies of new materials were low or reused materials were more accessible.

My examination of the decorative program of different types of residential rooms found that many specific themes were used to prompt certain social interactions in domestic spaces. Celebratory and Bacchic themes decorated multiple large decorative rooms, such as the center presentation rooms in the *domus* Azara and *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, associating the spaces with dining and festivities. Sculptures and portraits that highlighted both family and imperial history were a popular feature of entry and reception spaces, as well as some courtyards, as seen in the portraits found in the *domus Valeriorum*. These decorations would have provided guests with a context for the status of the family that they were visiting in these spaces nearer the entrance with more open lines-of-sight. Decorative wall painting with mythical references, wall paintings with many small detailed images, and rooms with marble and black and white mosaic patterns associated smaller decorative rooms with the education of the household as well as its wealth. These decorations also created flexible use spaces that could be used for more or less intimate gatherings as well as household functions when needed by the residents.

The placement of rooms in different locations within the plans of residences provided insight into certain common practices in the organization of houses in the compact urban plan and hilly topography of the city of Rome. A major element in the organization of the houses of Rome was the adaptation to hills through the use of multiple stories.  $Dom\bar{u}s$ , such as the Casa via Graziosa and the *domus* of the Villa Rivaldi, split decorative spaces between multiple levels terraced into the sides of major hills. Other *domūs*, such as the late antique *domus* near San Paolo all Regola and the domus at the Fontana Trevi, adapted earlier buildings into lavish late antique  $dom\bar{u}s$ , requiring the use of multiple stories based on preexisting plans and changing depths to the topography over the centuries. Such designs reacting to the landscape and the reuse of preexisting structure in Rome would have altered the interactions within residences, bringing visitors onto higher floors and subterranean levels deeper in the house. A second strong theme in the design of urban Roman residences was the design of individual spaces for flexible use within the home. Smaller decorative rooms were placed next to larger decorative rooms off courtyards and corridors, allowing for them to function as *cubicula* for sleeping, as presentation rooms supporting the entertaining of different sized groups of guests, or as functional spaces for storage and other household chores. Open lines-of-sight among these groups of rooms further supported their ability, when doors were open, to be used in concert for the entertaining of guests, while

closing doors would have provided intimacy and privacy. The flexible decoration of these spaces and the placement of various types of rooms off of the same courtyards adapted the Vitruvian Roman plan to necessities of smaller spaces in the compact urban center, so that compact domestic plans could still accommodate the variety of social interactions necessary in Roman life.

In order to control the relative accessability of rooms from guests, patrons used lines-ofsight from the entrance and center points in the residence as well as the position of the room within the residence. In the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento the *atrium* and its surrounding spaces could be viewed from the entrance making them more openly accessible to those managing to cross only the threshold, while the rooms off the rear corridor in the same *domus* would have had controlled access, as they required guests be walked through multiple different spaces before arriving to a more intimate atmosphere, positioned at the rear of the *domus* and with no lines-of-sight to other open parts of the household. Patrons also used the decorative program of rooms to underline the expected type of guests, as reception rooms had decorative programs centering on the status of the household for those casually entering the *domus*, while highly decorative interior spaces had more specific decorative themes relating to myth or celebration for the creation of specific social contexts when entertaining more intimate groups.

Through these methods of examination this study has worked to elucidate how Roman patrons designed and decorated the different types of spaces in their *domūs* to create spaces for the use and display of the household. The display of the status of the household is particularly clear in the covered or partially covered entry and reception spaces, including so-called *vestibula* and *atria*, as well as in some of the porticoed courtyards. The positions of these courtyards and

rooms near the entrance and the open line-of-sight to the entrance made them more openly accessible for visitors. For example, in the domus Azara three niches were placed in the entrance room directly opposite the door, which could have highlighted sculpture for guests as well as people passing the house, when the door was open. Likewise, the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento had a direct line-of-sight from the entrance, past a herm and fine wall painting, to a large apsed niche on the opposite wall of the courtyard-atrium. Decorations in these spaces, showing family history, connections to the imperial house, and mythological artworks indicating the education of the patrons would have highlighted the high-status of the family. For example, the Odyssey wall paintings in the Casa via Graziosa highlight the intellectual quality of the homeowner and the sculptures found in the *domus Valeriorum*, including two busts of Lucius Verus and a sculpture group of Cupid and Psyche, highlight the relationships of the household to power. Additionally, other porticoed courtyards showed decorations associating them with grand public baths, which were buildings of status, meeting spaces, and grandly decorated spaces. This association would have linked the family with the idea of the benefactors of public baths, as well as allowed for grand decoration in a relaxing domestic atmosphere. An example can be found in the *domus* under the baths of Caracalla, which centered around an open courtyard with fountain and aquatic motif, decorated with sculpture, which would have called to mind public baths for visitors. Roman patrons used the decoration of these more openly accessible spaces to underline the status of the household.

More controlled access presentation spaces both small and large, which may have functioned for dining, public entertaining and reception, and also private functions such as sleeping, were decorated in ways to highlight the family under more specific conditions. Many central larger presentation rooms, often opening onto courtyards, such as those in the *domus*  Azara and *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, were decorated with images associating the rooms with Bacchic rights and celebration. These decorations would have highlighted the ability of the patron of the house to host guests and highlighted the wealth of the household. Smaller rooms were often decorated with other scenes of myth, landscape, and architectural ornament, which would have associated these smaller reception spaces with the grandeur of larger public reception spaces. Rooms with high-quality mythical decoration can be seen in the rooms of Adonis (B) and Venus (C) in the *domus* Azara. The use of celebratory and mythical themes in the decorations of many *domūs* indicate the conscious nature with which the patrons chose the decoration of the rooms within *domūs* to make them multi-functional spaces which would function to support social interactions and thus social networks of the inhabitants.

In the late antique period the display of the household moved into more controlled access spaces. In contrast to the focus on the greeting spaces near the entry, like the *atrium*, reception spaces moved into *aulae* with various high-status decoration and apsed forms. These rooms were typically decorated with materials such as *opus sectile* and marble that would have brought associations of imperial authority. The increasingly complex architectural form of the rooms would also have been originally associated with the idea of imperial reception from the palaces of the imperial family. The two apsed *aulae*, one with a poly-lobed form, from the *domus* delle Sette Sale were added in the fourth century with *opus sectile* decoration and fountains to create the new atmosphere desired for the household.

The topography of the city of Rome with dense urban street systems and many steep and sloping hills required the adaptation of traditional Roman architectural plans to fit the needs of the urban household. My study has shown the *domūs* in the urban center of Rome used multifunctional spaces that could be employed for household purposes, such as family routines

or sleeping, or public reception and formal engagement. The compact urban plan required such multifunctional spaces to accommodate all the necessary customs of Roman life in smaller urban footprints. The versatile nature of the rooms in the urban  $dom\bar{u}s$  is underlined by the paucity of examples with set floor patterns indicating dining or sleeping among the many examples of finely decorated rooms opening off porticoed courtyards and corridors. The residences in my study have also shown that the upper and lower floors often carried spaces with primary functions of the household in addition to those rooms on the ground floor. For example, controlled access dining and presentation spaces could be found underground, like the decorative rooms in the *domus* under the Casa Bellezza, and more open access decorative rooms could be found on upper floor as well, such as that seen in the balcony in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini. The splitting of functional rooms off the ground floor was a necessary part of the adaptation to the topography of the city. This modification of the architectural plans to accommodate the hills of the city is also exhibited by the use of *cryptoporticūs*. Many examples of residences exhibit *cryptoporticūs* along the slopes of hills, which could be used functionally to support the floors above as in the *domus* Nova Via or used for residential activities as seen in the mithraeum under the domus of Aquila and Prisca. In many cases the residences were so divided by the rising hills that the *cryptoporticus* also acted as an open-air corridor to a lower ground level, as seen in the Casa via Graziosa. The multifunctional rooms placed on multiple levels of residences exhibit how the architecture of the *domus* acted to fit into urban Roman life.

Through mapping my sample of 119 *domūs* and *insulae*, I was able to produce visualizations that revealed trends in the relative popularity of different zones of the city for the construction of residential property in Rome through the imperial period. At the beginning of the empire in 1-14 CE the *domūs* were focused on the Aventine, the Palatine, and the valley leading

through the Roman Forum and up between the Esquiline and Viminal hills. By the time of the fire in 64 CE they had begun to extend noticeably also onto the Caelian hill. The second half of the first century shows continued development of the Caelian as well as the first push of residences into the southern *Campus Martius*, while the residences on the Palatine were replaced by the imperial palace. The Hadrianic period was a period of significant construction of housing, and by the 138 CE there was a large increase in residences built around the base of the Capitoline as well as on the Esquiline and Viminal hills. Then in second half of the second century the Caelian saw a huge popularity of construction. Through the second half of the second century and the first half of the third steady construction continued in the *Campus Martius* and on top of the Quirinal, Esquiline, and Viminal hills. Finally, in the second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth century the construction of late antique residences, often consolidating surrounding structures, presented a different pattern, spreading more uniformly positioned through the *Campus Martius*, on the top of the Quirinal, Esquiline, and Viminal hills. The antique residences of the campus during hills, and on the Caelian.

These residential patterns indicate a series of three big construction campaigns, and a cluster of construction on the Caelian in the late second century. First, there was a core of residences on the Aventine, Palatine, and in the valley to the northeast through the mid-first century (SEE Figure 5.1). This was followed by a push into the *Campus Martius* and the tops of the Esquiline and Viminal hills of the city in the late first and early second century (SEE Figure 5.2). These areas would have seen large numbers of new constructions in a current style. The clear cluster of construction on the Caelian in the second half of the second century indicates the popularity, and possibly prestige of this neighborhood at the time (SEE Figure 5.3). Finally, the

third construction model developed in the late third century positioning residences more uniformly through the *Campus Martius* and on the top of the hills (SEE Figure 5.4).

These construction campaigns indicate that at the beginning of the empire, a position near the Palatine and Roman Forum was prized. As houses were reconstructed after the fire of 64 and the empire developed in the second century, houses moved north into the area of the *Campus Martius* and the Esquiline and Viminal hills, staying close to the imperial activity but taking advantage new areas as the population grew. The popularity of the Caelian in the late second century may indicate increased prestige for larger *domūs* in an area that had more available property. Finally in the late antique period, residences became less tied to the Palatine and Roman Forum, with the increasing absence of the emperor, and took positions throughout the city on good available land.

The Network analysis of the *domūs* in the fourth century CE of Rome looked at the influence of the social relationships in Rome on the topographical positions of *domūs* within the city. The networks indicated that social connections, such as religious affiliation or intermarriage, do not appear to have influenced the proximity of *domūs* or the choice of where families built or purchased *domūs*. However, the wealth of the household was strongly associated with positions on one of the hills of Rome and more *insulae* were located in lower wetter parts of the city. This suggests that wealth influenced the positions of *domūs* more than social relationships. The network analysis also highlights the increasing influence of the Christian social network on the social relationships and political influence of households in the city. However, other non-Christian social networks, such as the mithraic network continued to have influence through most of the fourth century showing the Christian network's growing influence developed slowly. The network analysis also highlighted critical central nodes in the social

network of the fourth century. The graphs suggest that the most central points in the social network of Rome in this period were a number of high-status senatorial *domūs* rather than the imperial household, exemplified by the *domus Nummii Albini* and the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius*. These households were negotiating changes in state religion and their positions in multiple social networks through the changing century to maintain influence within the city.

The network graphs also highlight some critical gaps in the data, which provide interesting avenues for future research. Particularly, it is difficult to gauge the social influence of the state religion in the early fourth century and the extent to which it was an independent active element in social networks rather than an extension of politics and political positions. Further study on the role of the state religion and its relationship to and independence from politics in the fourth century, when various cults were developing in popularity, could prove fruitful for a deeper understanding of the social network of Rome. Additionally, there is a key absence of evidence of definitive Christian sites inside the city. *Domus ecclesiae* have not been clearly found from before the principate of Constantine despite having been actively sought in many church sponsored excavations. This absence suggests that further study on where Christians were actually worshipping in the city is warranted and will be essential for a better understanding of the role of Christianity in Rome and the development of the history of the church.

This study has investigated the meaning of the *domus* and how its functions overlap with those of other forms of urban housing like the *insula*. Particularly, I asked how the spaces of *insulae* and *domūs* are used to present a conscious statement relating to social growth and public relationships. In my examination of domestic buildings in Rome, *insulae* definitively overlap in function with the *domus* in an urban setting, when you take into account individual flats in these

*insulae*, such as the larger sets of rooms in the two easternmost *insulae* under the Galleria Alberto Sordi. While extra-urban housing may have differed significantly due to the abundant space available, grand *domūs* had to fit into *insulae*, in the sense of city-blocks, just as apartments did. Due to this requirement for fitting into a compact space, seen clearly in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento, many smaller compact *domūs* would have had associated rooms on upper floors placed next to rooms from external properties not owned by the *domus* family. Additionally, many flats within *insulae* would have had finer decoration than traditionally thought of in *insulae* due to families buying increasingly fine households as they worked to increase their social status by replicating the fine and extremely grand larger *domūs*. More research into the decoration of individual flats within *insulae* could add considerable depth to our knowledge of the lower status Roman families who worked to climb the Roman social ladder and, therefore, to our knowledge of a broader span of Roman society.

Through my examination of this dataset, I also asked if any spaces in the *domūs* appeared to have been rooms restricted from women. The central portions of the *domūs* in my study exhibited few obvious separations to prevent access of women within the household. However, multiple rooms appear to have functioned as so-called *cubicula* with more restricted access in general, such as the long room off the small *porticus* in the *domus Gaudentius*, or the pair of narrow rooms on either side of the central *exedra* in the *domus Azara*, or even the first room of the courtyard in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento that could have been a *cubiculum* or *biclinium*. Such rooms could have been used to hold smaller private gatherings for the patron of the house and his select guests for which they could have completely closed off these spaces from the rest of the household. Additionally, while the unusually large *domus Symmachorum* has areas in the western portion that could have been service areas or areas for women, most *domūs* 

do not have less decorative or remote areas that are distinct from the main portion of the house. Curtains or doors would have been necessary to create a separation of the household from the street. Beyond such barriers, it does not appear in most cases that women would have been separated from the core of the household to their own areas. The limited examples of upper floors, such as the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini, do not indicate specifically private and restricted female-oriented spaces.

Further, I examined what evidence was present for the spaces intended for use by slaves in the household. The only evidence for specifically slave spaces is found in the three  $dom\bar{u}s$ with so-called *cellae* in the area immediately around the Roman Forum. These *domūs*, the *domus* of *M. Aemilius Scaurus*, the *domus* with Carcere, and the *domus* under the Forum of Nerva, all contain small rooms suggested to have had beds, which may have acted as rooms for slaves. The presence of these rooms in only this area immediately around the Forum suggests the creation of rooms for slaves within the city was either a display of power and conspicuous consumption or that the rooms had another function more specific to this political and urban area, such as holding cells or lupanars. Other than these limited examples, as noted for women, there are few spaces set aside with less decoration. The *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento has a rare example of a room near the entrance that likely functioned for an *ostiarius* (SEE Figure 3.1). However, the majority of examples showed functional spaces intermittently through the *domus* that could have functioned for the household and were not clearly positioned for slaves. For example, the earlier *atrium* houses on the *Forma Urbis Romae* from the first to early third century show no clear rooms for slaves and the later *domus* dei Ritratti and *domus* della Fontana from the early fourth century also exhibit no spaces separated for slaves. The evidence suggests

that it is likely that slaves lived where they worked, such as storage rooms, porticoes, and other rooms open at night, found throughout the dataset of *domūs* in Rome.

The *domus* in Rome was a locus of family activity and public social interaction that functioned as a microcosm for the interactions found on a larger scale through public buildings in the city. The architecture and decoration of these spaces show how Romans consciously decorated and created their spaces to function for the various social interactions that were necessary to support their households and their social status through changing political times. Residences had to fit into the preexisting topography of the hilly compact city while looking impressive to visitors as planned settings for interaction. Romans constructed multilevel residences with flexible spaces maximizing the available real estate. The most openly accessible spaces could be decorated with art that highlighted family history and education, while more controlled reception spaces could be decorated with images that highlighted wealth and celebration. The network analysis of the *domūs* in the city shows how high-status families negotiated different social networks to maintain the status of their households, while not explicitly locating their *domūs* based on those networks. The network analysis also highlights the necessity to find more information on the lower status households and Christian meeting spaces. The *insulae* in this study suggest that lower status households were, where possible, decorating domestic spaces and acting to improve their social statuses in similar ways to the grand *domūs*, just on a smaller scale. The *domūs* and *insulae* in Rome played a role in the social lives of Romans, acting as a constructed setting for Roman social, domestic, and political interactions, as well as acting as a nexus for the life of the household.

# Appendix – 3D Model of the Domus Azara

### **Objectives:**

My primary objectives in creating a 3D model of the domus Azara were first to allow scholars to experience one of the most complete ancient *domus* ever discovered, which was well recorded in the early modern period, but unfortunately in part reburied and in part destroyed. And second, the project would allow a better examination of the arrangement of space and decoration in this urban Roman *domus* by creating visible line-of-sight information on what wall paintings were visible from what positions. Despite the early modern excavation of the domus Azara in 1777, detailed data was recorded and available to reconstruct the plan and arrangement of the decoration. As scholars cannot visit the *domus* anymore, a 3D model provides more information otherwise unavailable.

# **History and Sources:**

The domus Azara was discovered in 1777 by Cav. D. Jose Nicolas de Azara, the minister to Rome of King Charles III of Spain in the areas of the former grounds of the Palazzo Massimo near the Viminal and Esquiline hills. The wall paintings were drawn by Antonio Mengs and completed by Anton von Maron, and prints were created by Angelo Campanella and Pietro Marco Vitali. Thirteen prints are said to have been made, but only twelve are currently accessible.<sup>698</sup> Some of the wall paintings were detached and taken to Downhill in Northern Ireland for the collection of Frederick Hervey, fourth Earl of Bristol and Lord Bishop of Derry, but were unfortunately lost along with much of its extensive collections in a fire in 1851.<sup>699</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>698</sup> This domus has also been called the domus on the Esquiline by Barbara Van den Abeele. Van den Abeele 1989, . The excavation took place over the summer, and architect Camillo Buti was called to draw the architectural plan, which he published in his *Manifesto*. Buti and al. 1777, manifesto; Barbera and Paris 1996, 29-31. The most complete set of prints can be found in the British School at Rome collections. I want to thank the British School at Rome for their help in providing digital images for my 3D model.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>699</sup> Barbera and Paris 1996, 15-25.

I created this architectural 3D model using Autodesk 3D Studio Max. I lofted the architectural plan and textured the created walls using the prints in place of the original wall paintings. I added some additional details, such as the brick doors based on historical descriptions of the excavations. The overall scale of the architectural plan was published by Camillo Buti along with his plan of the domus in 1777 in *palmi*, which was the standard measurement in Rome at the time.<sup>700</sup> I converted *palmi* using the scale 1 *palmo* equals 0.2234 meters. I scaled the model based on this overall architectural plan scale.

My sources included Buti's architectural plan. Additionally, an architectural sketch from the excavation can be found in the Townley collection of Drawings of Various Antiquities in the British Museum, providing a section of the overall architectural plan with some additional details. Finally, the prints by Mengs, van Maron, Vitali, and Campanella are held in a number of repositories. I accessed the collection in the British School at Rome and obtained a license to use the images in my 3D model.

# Goals:

Establishing the lines of sight between different works of art in different architectural spaces can be a traditional first step in interpreting the relationships among and functions of architectural spaces. In a lost building, such as the domus Azara, a 3D model provides a way to reestablish these relationships with significantly more accuracy than simple examination of the architectural plan. My 3D model allows for the recreation of these lines of sight in order to better embody the spaces which the urban residents inhabited.

When the domus Azara was uncovered in 1777 it drew attention, due to the completeness of the buildings and the unique nature of the architectural discovery. The domus Azara was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>700</sup> It was also republished by Massimo in a history of the Palazzo Massimo. Massimi 1836, 213-216.

excavated at a point when the excavations in Pompeii were just beginning to be publicized and it was unique to Rome.<sup>701</sup> The domus Azara was thus unique at the time in presenting the plan and decoration of an ancient Roman domus. The basis for my project drives from this original idea by continuing to consider how this domus is still unique as a rare example of a complete plan of a small private domus in the city of Rome. This urban domus also preserves a large portion of the original wall decoration, due to the concerted efforts of artists in the late eighteenth century. By reconstructing the remains of the ground floor of this domus, I proposed to preserve this rare example of domestic architecture and decoration for a deeper understanding of ancient Roman housing.

# **Results and Conclusions:**

The model provides spatial context for some of the decoration. In particular it makes much clearer the relationships between some of the rooms around the courtyard. First, it clarifies the relationships between the front two rooms (rooms B and C in the plan) and the courtyard. Additionally, the models provides a sense of the visibility of the central presentation rooms (rooms D and F in the plan) and thereby the prominence of their decoration in the overall decorative schema of the house. The model shows that a clear line of sight was present from the courtyard, through rooms B and C, to the window and niche below it in room B by entrance. This line of sight is based on the shaded detail in the published plan indicating a window in the wall connecting rooms B and C. This line of sight would have allowed these rooms to act for reception more in the sense of a *tablinum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>701</sup> Joyce 1983, 423.

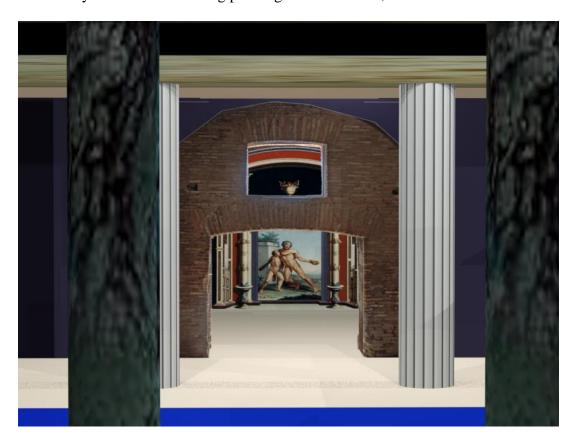


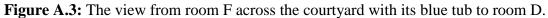
Figure A.1: A direct line-of-sight from the courtyard to the exterior window.



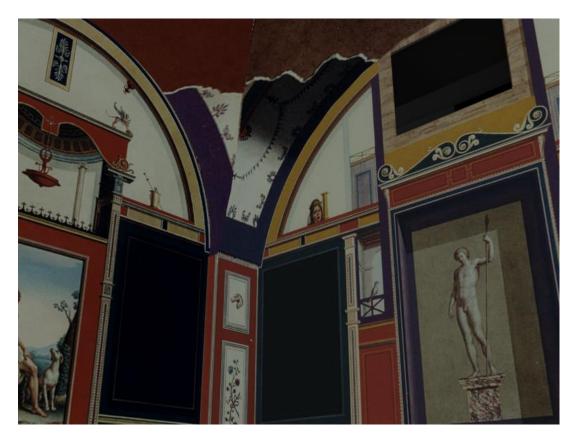
Figure A.2: A view at human height from the courtyard through rooms B and C.

The model also makes clear that room F, which was the only room decorated in *arabeschi*, would have been visible from the entrance in room H that had the stairway, room C that came from the main entrance, and room D that was the opposite large presentation or dining room. While this painting was not preserved by the neoclassical artists due to the unpopularity of the style in the late eighteenth century, the decoration of this room was central in the view from the majority of the core of the home, suggesting its importance to the patrons. Additionally, this room had a direct line-of-sight relationship with room D, associating the room with the celebratory decoration including paintings of celebration, such as Drunken Hercules.





The domus Azara fit highly decorative spaces into a compact urban plan. The forms of these spaces and their arrangement allowed for flexible use of the rooms to fit the needs of Roman life. This is apparent in the highly decorative narrow rooms, E and G, which could have been used for more closed access functions such as sleep due to their long narrow shape, but which could also have been used due to their decoration and position to support central room F for dining and entertaining. The flexible space is also visible in the room set B and C, which could have been closed off at the entrance to room A for extreme controlled access, requiring entry through room H and the stairwell. Alternatively, the room B and C could have been used as the main entrance set and left very open access for guests entering the household.



**Figure A.4:** The decoration of room B, showing the corner pilaster and cross vault, as well as the exterior window.

## List of sources:

- Excavation sketch of the domus (Townley Drawing):
  - Drawing of a portion of the excavation plan with notes in the Townley collection of "Drawings from Various Antiquities" in the British Museum collections, unknown artist (Buti ?).
- Prints of the wall paintings Room B:
  - Adonis lying wounded in the breast of Venus, British School in color, drawing by Mengs, print by Campanella.
  - Adonis going on the hunt, British School in color, drawing by Maron, print by Campanella.
  - A third wall with a statue of Adonis in a niche and a real architectural window above. British School in color, drawing by Maron (?), print by Carattoni.
- Prints of the wall paintings in Room C:
  - Venus leaning against a tree with puttini, British School in color, drawing by Mengs, print by Campanella.
  - Venus, nymphs and puttini in the water, British School in color, drawing by Mengs, print by Campanella.
- Prints of the wall paintings in Room D:
  - o Bacchus and Ariadne, British School in color, drawing by Maron, print by Vitali.
  - Drunken Hercules supported by a youth, British School in color, drawing by Maron, print by Campanella.
  - Satyr who plays the double flute with Silenus and Bacchantes, British School in color, drawing by Maron, print by Carattoni.

- Prints of the wall paintings in Room E:
  - Venus, Adonis and baby with a Marina scene in the small painting above (placed by process of elimination), British School in color, drawing by Maron, print by Vitali.
  - Mars with Venus and Cupid (placed by shape), British School in color, drawing by Maron, print by Carattoni.
- Prints of the wall painting from Room G:
  - Minerva who watches a youth constructing a trophy, British School in color, drawing by Maron, print by Campanella.
  - Female figures next to a cylindrical altar (placed by shape), British School in color, drawing by Maron (?), print by Carattoni.

## Works Cited

- Albertini, Francesco. 1510. *Opusculu d mirabilibus noue [et] veteris urbis Rome*. Roma: Impressum Romae : Per Iacobum Mazochium ...
- Alexander, Michael C., and James A. Danowski. 1990. "Analysis of an ancient network: Personal communication and the study of social structure in a past society." *Social Networks* 12 (4):313-35.
- Allison, Penelope M. 2001. "Using the Material and Written Sources: Turn of the Millennium Approaches to Roman Domestic Space." *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2):181-208.
- Allison, Penelope M. 2001-2018. *On-line Companion to Penelope M. Allison, Pompeian Households*. http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/houselist.html. (accessed April 19, 2018).
- Allison, Penelope M. 2007. "Domestic Spaces and Activities." In *The World of Pompeii*, edited by J.J. Dobbins and P.W. Foss. New York: Routledge.
- Allison, Penelope Mary. 1992. The distribution of Pompeian house contents and its significance. (Volumes I and II). Ph.D., University of Sydney (Australia).
- Allison, Penelope Mary. 1999. The archaeology of household activities. London: Routledge.
- Andrews, Margaret M. 2014. "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity." *American Journal of Archaeology* 118 (1):61-90.
- Angelelli, Claudia. 2010. *La basilica titolare di S. Pudenziana: nuove ricerche*, Monumenti di antichità cristiana 2 ser , 21. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana.
- Anguissola, Anna (ed.). 2013. Privata Luxuria. Towards an Archaeology of Intimacy: Pompeii and Beyond. Munchen: Utz, Herbert.
- Armellini, Mariano. 1891. *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*. 2. ed. Roma: Tipografia Vaticana.
- Arthurs, Joshua. 2012. *Excavating modernity: the Roman past in fascist Italy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ashby, Thomas. 1916. "Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 8 (2):35-54.
- Astolfi, Franco. 1999. "Il complesso di S.Martino ai Monti." Forma vrbis 4 (10):21-6.
- Astolfi, Franco. 1999. "La Chiesa Paleocristiana di S. Crisogono." Forma vrbis 4 (3):14-23.
- Bagnani, Gilbert. 1954. "The House of Trimalchio." *The American Journal of Philology* 75 (1):16-39.
- Balch, David L. 2008. *Roman domestic art and early house churches*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 228. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Baldassarri, Paola. 2008. "Indagine archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. La campagna 2005-2007." In *Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione*, edited by R. Del Signore. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
- Baldassarri, Paola. 2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini: domus di età imperiale ai margini del Foro di Traiano." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. (Serie 3), Rendiconti* LXXXI:343-84.
- Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. Palazzo Valentini (Rome, Italy) Archaeological Investigations and Preservation. Paper read at CMA4CH 2012, Mediterraneum Meeting Use of Multivariate Analysis and Chemometrics in Cultural Heritage and Environment, May 27-30, 2012, at Rome.

- Baldassarri, Paola, and Luisa Napoli. 2015. "Palazzo Valentini: Archaeological discoveries and redevelopment projects." *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 4:91-9.
- Barbera, Mariarosaria. 1996. "La Stanza E 8." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Barbera, Mariarosaria, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "La domus dei Valerii sul Celio alla luce delle recenti scoperte." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 76:75-354.
- Barbera, Mariarosaria, and Rita Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Barbera, Mariarosaria, and Rita Paris. 1996. "I Balnea." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Barbera, Mariarosaria, Claudia Paterna, and Sergio Palladino. 2005. "La domus dei Valerii a Roma." *FOLD&R* 47.
- Barelli, L., and Christopher McDowall. 2009. *The monumental complex of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome*. 1st edition. ed.
- Barelli, Lia. 1994. "Note sulla basilica titolare dei SS. Quattro Coronati in Roma." In Palladio.
- Barnes, J. A. 1954. "Class and committees in a Norwegian Island Parish." *Human Relations* 7:39-58.
- Basso, Patrizia, and Francesca Ghedini. 2003. Subterraneae domus : ambienti residenziali e di servizio nell'edilizia privata romana. Caselle di Sommacampagna (Verona): Cierre.
- Beard, M. 2010. Pompeii: The Life of a Roman Town: Profile.
- Beard, M., J. North, and S. Price. 1998. *Religions of Rome: Volume 2, A Sourcebook*, Religions of Rome: Cambridge University Press.
- Beck, Roger. 2000. "Ritual, Myth, Doctrine, and Initiation in the Mysteries of Mithras: New Evidence from a Cult Vessel." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (ArticleType: researcharticle / Full publication date: 2000 / Copyright © 2000 Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies):145-80.
- Bellori, Giovanni Pietro. 1673. *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae ex lapidibus Farnesianis*. Roma: typis Iosephi Corvi.
- Berritto, Alfonso Mattia. 2011. *Pompei 1911 Le Corbusier e l'origine della casa*. (Texte imprimé), Quadri. Napoli: Clean ed.
- Bianchi, Fulvia, Matthias Bruno, Andrea Coletta, and Marilda de Nuccio. 1995. "Domus delle Sette Sale. L'Opus Sectile Parietale dell'Aula Basilicale: Studi Preliminari." In AISCOM. Roma: Bordighera.
- Bjørnebye, Jonas. 2007. "Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus" : the cult of Mithras in fourth century Rome. Bergen: Faculty of Arts, University of Bergen.
- Blake, E. 2014. *Social Networks and Regional Identity in Bronze Age Italy*: Cambridge University Press.
- Blake, Emma. 2013. "Social networks, path dependence, and the rise of ethnic groups in pre-Roman Italy." In *Network analysis in archaeology: new approaches to regional interaction*, edited by C. Knappett. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, Marion Elizabeth. 1940. "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17:81-130.

- Blondel, Vincent D., Jean-Loup Guillaume, Renaud Lambiotte, and Etienne Lefebvre. 2008. "Fast unfolding of communities in large networks." *J. Stat. Mech.* arXiv:0803.0476v2 [physics.soc-ph].
- Boccacci, Paolo. 2018. Roma, scavi metro Amba Aradam: scoperta la domus del centurione. Forse era caserma servizi segreti imperatore. *Repubblica*, <u>http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/02/news/roma\_nuovi\_mosaici\_tornano\_alla\_lu</u> <u>ce\_durante\_gli\_scavi\_della\_stazione\_metro\_di\_amba\_aradam-190173749/#gallery-</u> slider=6029.
- Boëthius, Axel. 1934. "Remarks on the Development of Domestic Architecture in Rome." *American Journal of Archaeology* xxxviii:158-70.
- Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. *Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino*. Milano: Electa.
- Boman, Henrik. 2012. "A third century insula under the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina." In San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 40, 61), edited by O. Brandt. Stockholm
- Bonacich, P., and P. Lu. 2012. *Introduction to Mathematical Sociology*: Princeton University Press.
- Bonanni, Alessandro. 1995. " La basilica de Susanna a Roma. Indagini topografiche e nuove scoperte archeologiche." In *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22.-28. September 1991*, edited by E. Dassmann and J. Engemann. Munster.
- Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." *FOLD&R* 2008 (125):18-41.
- Bossomaier, T.R.J., and D.G. Green. 2000. Complex Systems: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1973. "The Berber House." In *Rules and meanings : the anthropology of everyday knowledge*, edited by M. Douglas. Mary Douglas : Collected works 4. New York: Routledge.
- Bowes, Kimberly Diane. 2007. ""Christianization" and the Rural Home." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2):143-70.
- Bowes, Kimberly Diane. 2008. Private worship, public values, and religious change in late antiquity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowes, Kimberly Diane. 2010. *Houses and society in the later Roman Empire*, Duckworth debates in archaeology. London: Duckworth.
- Brandt, Olof. 2004. "Scavi e ricerche dell'Istituto Svedese a San Lorenzo in Lucina (Roma)." *FOLD&R* (25).
- Brandt, Olof. 2012. "La chiesa di San Lorenzo in Lucina e il quartiere preesistente: nuove osservazioni." In *Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma*., edited by H. BRANDENBURG and F. GUIDOBALDI. Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana (Roma –13 marzo 2008): Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 24 24. Città del Vaticano.
- Brenk, Beat. 1995. "Microstoria sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata." *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 18:169-205.
- Brenk, Beat. 2001. "Le costruzioni sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo." Aurea Roma: 154-8.

- Buti, C., and et al. 1777. "Manifesto." in (II. ff. 409). 1777-1779.includes:ff. 65, 72, 78, 90, 97, 107, 117, 123, 138, 146, 152, 158, 166, 178, 188, 198, 210, 224, 231, 233, 242, 254, 266, 275, 283, 292 Colonel J- H- Wettstein: Letters to the 2nd Lord Hardwicke: 1777-1779.: Fr. f. 190 Phil. In *Western Manuscripts*. London: British Library.
- BUTI, C., A.R. MARON, and A.R. MENGS. 1778. Picturæ Parietinæ Inter Esquilias Et Viminalem Collem Superiori Anno Detectæ. 12 Coloured Plates by Angelo Campanella, Petrus Vitali and Corratoni After Drawings by A.R. Mengs and A. Maron.
- Cahill, Nicholas. 2002. *Household and city organization at Olynthus*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Calci, Carmelo. 2005. Roma archeologica : le scoperte più recenti della città antica e della sua area suburbana. 2a ed. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
- Calza, Guido. 1916. "La preminenza dell'Insula nella Edilizia Romana." *Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia dei Lincei* xxiii (no. 2):541-608.
- Calza, Guido. 1933. "Ostia in the Light of Recent Discoveries." Antiquity vii:405-9.
- Cameron, A. 2010. The Last Pagans of Rome: Oxford University Press.
- Candilio, Daniela. 2011. "La lunga vita delle sculture della Domus degli Aradii." In *Il primo miglio della Via Appia a Roma*, edited by D. Manacorda and R.S. Valenzani. Roma: edizioni Università degli studi Roma Tre.
- Candilio, Daniela, and Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. 2005. *L'arredo scultoreo e decorativo della Domus degli Aradii*, Monumenti antichi. Serie Miscellanea, X (LXIII della serie generale). Roma: G. Bretschneider.
- Canter, David V., and C. Kenny. 1975. "The Spatial Environment." In *Environmental interaction : psychological approaches to our physical surroundings*, edited by D.V. Canter and P. Stringer. London: Surrey University Press : [Distributed by] International Textbook Co.
- Canter, David V., and Peter Stringer. 1975. *Environmental interaction : psychological approaches to our physical surroundings*. London: Surrey University Press : [Distributed by] International Textbook Co.
- Canter, H. V. 1932. "Conflagrations in Ancient Rome." The Classical Journal 27 (4):270-88.
- Capannari, A. 1885. "Delle scoperte archeologiche avvenute per la costruzione del palazzo del Ministero della Guerra." *BullComm* XIII:3-26, tavv. I-II.
- Capannari, A. 1886. "Di un mitreo pertinente alla casa dei Nummi scoperto nella Via Firenze." *BullComm*:17-26.
- Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere. Roma: Laterza.
- Carettoni, Gianfilippo. 1960. *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica forma urbis Romae*. Edited by G. Carettoni, A.M. Colini, L. Cozza and G. Gatti. Roma: [Comune di Roma].
- Carettoni, Gianfilippo. 1980. "La Domus Virginum Vestalium e la Domus Publica del periodo repubblicano." *Rendiconti / Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia / Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Roma* 51 (52):325-55.
- Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio." *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*:709-46.
- Carignani, Andrea, Carlo Pavolini, Francesco Pacetti, Giandomenico Spinola, and Massimo Vitti. 1993. "La Topografia Antica della sommità del celio: Gli Scavi Nell'Ospedale Militare (1987-1992)." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung* 100:443-505.

- Carlin, M., and J. T. Rosenthal. 1998. FOOD & EATING IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Carpano, Claudio Mocchegiani. 1972. "Osservazioni complementari sulle strutture della casa romana sotto le terme di Caracalla." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.* 79:115.

Carrington, R. C. 1933. "The Ancient Italian Town-house." Antiquity vii (no. 26):133-52.

- Castagnoli, Ferdinando. 1949-1950. "Documenti di scavi in Roma negli anni 1860-1870." BullComm 73:123-87.
- Cavallero, Fabio. 2011. "The Via Lata and Its Housing Districts in the Age of Hadrian." In *La Galleria di Piazza Colonna*. New York: Sorgente Group; Umberto Allemandi & Co.
- Cecchelli, Margherita. 1999. "Dati da scavi recenti di monumenti cristiani. Sintesi relativa a diverse indagini in corso." *Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome* 111 (1):227-51.
- Chini, Paola. 1998. "L'Aventino: la domus sotto piazza del tempio di Diana." *Forma vrbis* 3 (6):4-11.
- Chini, Paola. 1998. "Una domus sotto via di S. Domenico sull'Aventino." *Forma vrbis* 3 (5):4-11.
- Chini, Paola. 1999. "L'insula dell'Aracoeli." Forma vrbis 4 (6):4-13.
- Chini, Paola, and Monica Grandi Carletti. 2000. "Mosaici del Complesso Rinvenuto Presso L'Acquedotto Claudio in Via Eleniana: Una Messa a Punto." In Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico: (Venezia, 20-23 gennaio 1999), edited by F. Guidobaldi, A. Paribeni and A.I.p.I.S.e.I.C.d.M. Colloquio: Edizioni del Girasole.
- Cicero. Epistulae ad Atticum.
- Cicero. Epistulae ad Brutum.
- Cicero. Epistulae ad Familiares.
- Cicero. Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem.
- Clair, Archer St. 2002. "Late Antique Transitions: A Recently Discovered Room on the Palatine in the Context of Late Roman Decoration." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 47:229-58.
- Clarke, John R. 1991. *The houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C. A.D. 250: ritual, space, and decoration.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coarelli, Filippo. 2008. Guide archeologiche Laterza. 2nd ed. Roma: Laterza.
- Coarelli, Filippo, and Giovanna Battaglini. 2004. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. II.1, Gli scavi di Roma, 1878-1921. Roma: Quasar.
- Coarelli, Filippo, and Giovanna Battaglini. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. II.2, Gli scavi di Roma, 1922-1975. Roma: Quasar.
- Coarelli, Fllippo. 1998. "The Odyssey Frescos of the via Graziosa: A Proposed Context." *Papers* of the British School at Rome 66:21-37.
- Coates-Stephens, Robert. 1996. "Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500-1000 ad." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 64:239-59.
- Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2001. "Muri dei bassi secoli in Rome: observations on the re-use of statuary in walls found on the Esquiline and Caelian after 1870." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14:217-38.
- Cokayne, K. 2013. Experiencing Old Age in Ancient Rome: Taylor & Francis.

- Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. *Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichità*, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie 7. [Città del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
- Colini, Antonio Maria, and Guglielmo Matthiae. 1966. *Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli : I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area*, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III 9, 2. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Connors, Joseph. 2013. Piranesi and the Campus Martius: Archaeology and Imagination. Emory University, October 30, 2013.
- Connors, Joseph, Louise Rice, and Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia storia e storia dell'arte in Roma. 2011. *Piranesi and the Campus Martinus : the missing Corso : typography and archaeology in eighteenth-century Rome*, Conferenze / Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia, storia e storia dell'arte in Roma 21.
- Cooper, Kate. 2007. "Closely Watched Households: Visibility, Exposure and Private Power in the Roman Domus." *Past and Present* 167 (November):3-33.
- Cooper, Kate. 2007. The fall of the Roman household. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, Kate, and Julia Hillner. 2007. *Religion, dynasty, and patronage in early Christian Rome,* 300-900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbier, Mireille. 1991. "Constructing Kinship in Rome: Marriage and Divorce, Filiation and Adoption." In *The family in Italy from antiquity to the present*, edited by D.I. Kertzer and R.P. Saller. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Cozza, Lucos. 1974-1975. "I recenti scavi delle Sette Sale." *Rendiconti / Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia / Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Roma* 47:79-101.
- Crema, Luigi. 1973. "L'architettura romana nell'età della repubblica." In Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung, edited by H. Temporini. Milan: Walter de Gruyter.
- Cresswell, Tim. 2005. *Place: a short introduction*, Short introductions to geography. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Dante, Alberto. 1999. "Le Sette Sale." Forma vrbis 4 (2):20-7.
- Darsy, F. 1968. *Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine*. Vol. IX, Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie.
- De Carolis, E. 2001. *Gods and Heroes in Pompeii*, Pompei, guide tematiche: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- de Certeau, M. 2011. The Practice of Everyday Life: University of California Press.
- De Mattia, D. 2012. Architettura antica e progetto. Dalla Bauforschung al progetto architettonico in area archeologica: Gangemi.
- De Spirito, G. 1995. "Domus: Flavius Anicius Auchenius Bassus (?)." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae.* 2, *D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Del Signore, Roberto. 2008. Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione. 1 vols. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
- Dey, H.W. 2011. *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271–855*: Cambridge University Press.
- Dietz, M. 2010. Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A pts. 300-800: Pennsylvania State University Press.

- Dixon, Susan. 2005. "Illustrating Ancient Rome, or the *Ichnographia* as Uchronia and Other Time Warps in Piranesi's *Il Campo Marzio*." In *Envisioning the Past: Archaeology and the Image*, edited by S. Smiles and S. Moser. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Drinkwater, J., and H. Elton. 2002. *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?*: Cambridge University Press.
- Dumser, Elisha Ann. 2008-2017. "Domus Map Articles." *Mapping Augustan Rome* <u>http://digitalaugustanrome.org/</u>.
- Dwyer, Eugene. 2010. "The Pompeian Atrium House in Theory and in Practice." In *Roman art in the private sphere: new perspectives on the architecture and decor of the domus, villa, and insula*, edited by E.K. Gazda and A.E. Haeckl. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Eck. 1997. "Cum dignitate otium: senatorial domus in imperial Rome." *Scripta classica Israelica* 16:162-90.
- Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Africanus." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Sex. Pompeius." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Egidi, Roberto, and Mirella Serlorenzi. 2008. "Piazza Venezia." *Fasti Online: Excavation*:<u>http://www.fastionline.org/excavation/micro\_view.php?fst\_cd=AIAC\_2257&curcol=sea\_cd-AIAC\_759</u>.
- Ellis, Simon. 2000. Roman housing. London: Duckworth.
- Ellis, Simon P. 1988. "The End of the Roman House." *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (4):565-76.
- Ellis, Simon P. 1995. "Classical Reception Rooms in Romano-British Houses." *Britannia* 26:163-78.
- Ensoli, S., E.L. Rocca, Rome . Assessorato alle politiche culturali, and Rome . Sovraintendenza ai beni culturali. 2000. *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Ermatinger, J.W. 2007. Daily Life of Christians in Ancient Rome: Greenwood Press.
- Ermini Pani, L. 1984. "Recenti scoperte nel complesso di S. Sabina sull'Aventino." *Archeologia laziale* 6. Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale:294-9.
- Evans Grubbs, Judith. 1995. Law and family in late antiquity: the Emperor Constantine's marriage legislation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fejfer, J., T. Fischer-Hansen, and A. Rathje. 2003. *The Rediscovery of Antiquity: The Role of the Artist*: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen.
- Fentress, Elizabeth, and Adam Rabinowitz. 1996. "Excavations at Cosa 1995: Atrium Building V and a New Republican Temple." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 41:221-36.
- Filippi, Dunia. 2004. "Ricerche e scavi in corso sulle pendici settentrionali del Palatino." *The Journal of Fasti Online* (2004-20):1-4.
- Filippi, Dunia. 2007. "Dalla domus Regia al Foro: depositi di fondazione e di obliterazione nella prima età regia." In Sepolti tra i vivi /Buried among the living. Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato, Convegno Internazionale (Roma, 26-29 aprile 2006), edited by G. Bartoloni and M.G. Benedettini. Scienze dell'Antichità.
- Fiorelli. 1880. "VII. Roma: Regione VII." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita* Anno 1880 (Maggio):466.

Fiorelli. 1884. "Notizie degli Scavi." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita:153-4, 89.

- Fiorelli. 1885. "Notizie degli Scavi." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita:67-8.
- Fulminante, F. 2014. *The Urbanisation of Rome and Latium Vetus: From the Bronze Age to the Archaic Era*: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallo, Daniela. 1979. "Il Mitreo di via Giovanni Lanza." In Mysteria Mithrae atti del seminario internazionale su "la specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia, Roma e Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = proceedings of the international seminar on the "religio-historical character of Roman Mithraism, with particular reference to Roman and Ostian sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by U. Bianchi. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Gatti, E. 1917. "Scoperte di antichita a Piazza Colonna." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita:9-20.
- Gatti, E. 1920. "Nuove scoperte di antichita in Roma e nel suburbio." *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita* Anno 1920 (Fascicolo 10, 11 e 12):276-92.
- Gatti, G. 1893. "V. Roma. Nuove scoperte nella citta e nel suburbio." *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 1893 (Novembre):430-1.
- Gatti, G., and G. Annibaldi. 1943-1945. "Il mitreo Barberini I: Topografia e monumenti del luogo; II: Il sanctuario mitriaco." *BullComm* 71:97-108.
- Gazda, Elaine K., and Anne E. Haeckl. 2010. *Roman art in the private sphere: new perspectives on the architecture and decor of the domus, villa, and insula*. 2nd ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- George, Michele. 1997. "Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house." In Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond, edited by R. Laurence, A. Wallace-Hadrill, B. Academy, S.f.t.P.o.R. Studies and U.o.R.C.f.R. Studies. Journal of Roman archaeology. Supplementary series no 22. Portsmouth, RI: JRA.
- Gjerstad, Einar. 1806-1984. "Einar Gjerstad research papers, 1806-1984.". Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- Gjerstad, Einar, and Svenska institutet i Rom. 1953. *Early Rome*. Vol. I, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom. 4° 17:1-6. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- Gjerstad, Einar, and Svenska institutet i Rom. 1966. *Early Rome*. Vol. IV, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom. 4° 17:1-6. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- Gobbi, Cecilia. 2012. "Ancora sull'area archeologica sotto la Galleria Colonna." *Forma vrbis* 17 (1):9-12.
- Goodson, C. 2010. The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824: Cambridge University Press.
- Gregory the Great. Registrum Epistolarum.
- Griffith, A. B. 2000. "Mithraism in the private and public lives of 4th-c. senators in Rome." *Electronic Journal of Mithraic Studies* I.
- Griffith, Alison Bond. 1993. The archaeological evidence for Mithraism in Imperial Rome.
- Grig, L., and G. Kelly. 2015. *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*: Oxford University Press.
- Guidobaldi, F. 1986. "L'edilizia abitativa unifamiliare nella Roma tardo-antica." In *Societa romana e impero tardo-antico*, edited by A. Giardina. Roma-Bari.
- Guidobaldi, F. 1995. "Domus: Nummii." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Guidobaldi, F. 1995. "Domus: Q. Aurelius Symmachus s. Eusebius." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.

- Guidobaldi, F., C. Lalli, M. Paganelli, and Claudia Angelelli. 2004. "S. Clemente. Gli scavi piu recenti (1992-2000)." In *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. II, Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali*, edited by L. Paroli, L. Vendittelli and Italy. Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma. Milano: Electa.
- Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus s. Camenius." In *Lexicon* topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Spurius Maximus." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Vettius Agorius Praetextatus." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Guidobaldi, Federico, and Vincent Jolivet. 1995. "Domus: Pinciana." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Hales, Shelley. 2003. *The Roman house and social identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harrison, Ann. 2014. Finding Aid for the Einar Gjerstad research papers, 1806-1984, edited by T.G.R. Institute.
- Harsh, Philip. 1935. "The Origins of the Insulae at Ostia." *The Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XII:9-64.
- Haselberger, Lothar, David Gilman Romano, and Elisha Ann Dumser. 2002. *Mapping Augustan Rome*, Journal of Roman archaeology. Supplementary series no 50. Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- Henzen, G., and Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani. 1874. "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquino." *BullComm* II (2):33-88, tav. V, VII.
- Hillner, Julia. 2003. "Domus, Family, and Inheritance: The Senatorial Family House in Late Antique Rome." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93:129-45.
- Hodder, I., and S. Hutson. 2003. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoepfner, Wolfram, Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner, S. Dakares, and Joachim Boessneck. 1994. Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland. 2., stark überarbeitete Aufl. ed, Wohnen in der klassischen Polis Bd 1. München: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Hülsen, C., and J.B. Carter. 1909. *The Roman Forvm: Its History and Its Monuments*: Loescher & Company (Bretschneider and Regenberg).
- Hülsen, Christian. 1895. Untersuchungen zur Topographie des Palatins. [S.l.].
- Humphries, Mark. 2003. "Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity." Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia 17 (3):27-46.
- Iacopi, Irene. 1997. Gli scavi sul colle Palatino: testimonianze e documenti. Milano: Electa.
- Insalaco, Antonio. 1984. "S. Cesareo de Appia e le terme Commodiane." *Bollettino della Unione storia ed arte* 27.1984:82-90.
- Insalaco, Antonio. 2000. "Il quartiere romano di S.Vincenzo a Trevi." Forma vrbis 5 (3):4-12.
- Insalaco, Antonio. 2005. *La città dell'acqua : archeologia sotterranea a Fontana di Trevi*. Rist. ed. Milano : [S.l.] : Electa: Gruppo Cremonini.

Jacomy, Mathieu, Tommaso Venturini, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Bastian. 2014."ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software." *PLoS ONE* 9 (6).

Jacopi, Irene. 1972. "Soffitto dipinto nella casa romana di 'Vigna Guidi' sotto le Terme di Caracalla con Nota tecnica sul recupero di Elio e Gianna Paparatti." *Mitteilungen des*  Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 79:89-110, Taf. 53-62, Farbtaf. A-B.

- Jones, A.H.M., J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris. 1971. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: A.D. 395-527* pts. 395-527: Cambridge University Press.
- Jordan, Henri. 1874. Forma urbis Romae: regionum XIII. Berolini: apud Weidmannos.
- Joyce, Hetty. 1983. "The Ancient Frescoes from the Villa Negroni and Their Influence in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *The Art Bulletin* 65 (3):423-40.
- Kalas, Gregor. 2013. "Architecture and Elite Identity in Late Antique Rome: Appropriatin gthe Past at Sant'Andrea Catabarbara." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 81:279-302.
- Katz, Leo, and James H. Powell. 1954. "The Number of Locally Restricted Directed Graphs." Proceedings of the American Mathematical Society 5 (4):621-6.
- Kent, Roland G. 1936. On the text of Varro, de lingua latina. n.p.,.
- Kinney, Dale. 2001. "Roman Architectural Spolia." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical* Society 145 (2):138-50, figs. 1-12.
- Kleiner, Fred S. 2006. A history of Roman art. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Knappett, Carl. 2013. "Introduction: why networks?" In *Network analysis in archaeology: new approaches to regional interaction*, edited by C. Knappett. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Knappett, Carl. 2013. *Network analysis in archaeology: new approaches to regional interaction*. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Krautheimer, Richard, Spencer Corbett, Volfango Frankl, Alfred Knox Frazer, and Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana. 1937. *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae: the early Christian basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.).* 5 vols. Vol. 1, Monumenti di antichità cristiana. 2. serie 2. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
- Kruft, Hanno-Walter. 1994. A history of architectural theory : from Vitruvius to the present. New York: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd.
- La Rocca, Eugenio. 2006. Sotterranei di Palazzo Valentini. In *FastiOnline*: Associazione Internazionale Di Archeologia Classica.
- Lambolgia, S., and F. Musolino. 1995. "L'edificio romano della Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi." In *I* luoghi del consenso Imperiale Il Foro di Augusto Il Foro di Traiano. Roma.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo. 1873. "Delle Scoperte Principali Avvenute nei Colli Quirnale e Viminale." BullComm:223-54.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI: del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: II. Di magistrati." *BullComm* XII:40-5, tav. IV.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo. 1888. Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries. London.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1869. "Recenti scoperte in Roma e nelle provincie pontificie." Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica:225-37.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1869. "Scavi, Recenti scoperte, Roma." *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1869 (11):225-37.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1872. "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nei colli Viminale ed Esquilino." *BullComm* 1:66-90.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1881. "Supplementi al volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (continuazione) (Tav. I)." *BullComm* 9:3-47.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1883. "Il tempio di Apolline palatino." BullComm 11:185-205.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1883. "Notes from Rome." *The Athenaeum* No 2888 (March 3):285-6.

- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum." *BullComm* Anno XII - Serie Seconda:48-9, n. 781, tav. V.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1892. Pagan and Christian Rome: Macmillan.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1897. *The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome; a companion book for students and travelers*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae. Roma.
- Lancon, B., and A. Nevill. 2001. Rome in Late Antiquity: Routledge.
- Lansford, Tyler. 2009. *The Latin inscriptions of Rome : a walking guide*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lavan, Luke, Lale Özgenel, and Alexander Constantine Sarantis. 2007. *Housing in late antiquity: from palaces to shops*, Late antique archaeology 3 2. Boston: Brill.
- Leach, Eleanor Winsor. 1993. ""The Entrance Room in the House of Julius Polibius and the Nature of the Roman Vestibulum"." In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress* on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam, 8-12, edited by E.M. Moorman. Leiden: Publications of the Dutch Institute in Rome, Stichtung BABesch.
- Leach, Eleanor Winsor. 1998. "Oecus on Ibycus: Investigating the Vocabulary of the Roman House." In *Space and Sequence in Ancient Pompeii*, edited by R. Jones and S. Bon. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. The production of space. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Leone, Anna, Domenico Palombi, Susan Walker, and Eva Margareta Steinby. 2007. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. IV, Res bene gestae : ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Levoy, Prof. Marc, and Prof. Jennifer Trimble. 2014. *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*. <u>http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/index.html</u>
- Ligorio, Pirro. 1561. Anteiquae Urbis Imago. Rome.
- Lugli, Giuseppe. 1932. "La Basilica di Giunio Basso Sull'Esquilino." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* Anno IX (Numeri 3 e 4):221-56.
- Lugli, Giuseppe. 1947. Monumenti minori del Foro romano. Roma,: G. Bardi.
- Machado, Carlos. 2007. "[untitled]." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 97 (ArticleType: bookreview / Full publication date: 2007 / Copyright © 2007 Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies):343-5.
- Macintosh, Duncan. 1973. *The modern courtyard house: a history*, Architectural Association. Paper no. 9.
- Maiuri, Amedeo. 1929. "Contributi allo Studio dell'Ultima Fase Edilizia Pompeiana." In Atti del lo Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani.
- Maiuri, Amedeo, and Anna Maria Ragozzino. 2000. La casa pompeiana: struttura, ambienti, storia nella magistrale descrizione d'un grande archeologo, Quaderni 3. Napoli: G. Procaccini.
- Malafouris, L., and C. Renfrew. 2013. *How Things Shape the Mind: A Theory of Material Engagement*: MIT Press.
- Malfa, Claudia La. 2000. "The Chapel of San Girolamo in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome. New Evidence for the Discovery of the Domus Aurea." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63:259-70.
- Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou, and K. Panagopoulou. 2013. *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*: Taylor & Francis.

- Malkin, Irad. 2011. A small Greek world: networks in the Ancient Mediterranean, Greeks overseas. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Manacorda, D. 2001. Crypta Balbi: archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano: Electa.
- Marrou, Henri-Irénée. 1978. Sur les origines du titre romain de sainte Sabine.

Marsden, Peter V. 2005. "Recent Developments in Network Measurement." In Models and methods in social network analysis: Structural analysis in the social sciences, edited by P.J. Carrington, J. Scott and S. Wasserman 27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Martini, Annarita. 2008. "I complessi di via Cimarra-Ciancaleoni: resti di domus tardo repubblicane sulle pendici sud-orientali del Viminale." *FOLD&R* (121):1-16.
- Marzano, Annalisa. 2007. Roman Villas in Central Italy: Social and Economic History: Brill.
- Massimi, Camillo. 1836. Notizie Istorices Della Villa Massimo.
- Matthews, J. F. 1973. "Symmachus and the Oriental Cults." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 63:175-95.
- Matthews, John. 2010. Roman perspectives : studies in the social, political and cultural history of the first to fifth centuries. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
- Mau, August, and Francis Willey Kelsey. 1899. *Pompeii, its life and art*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- McEvoy, Meaghan. 2010. "Rome and the transformation of the imperial of CE in the late fourthmid-fifth centuries AD." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 78:151-92.
- McEwen, I.K. 2003. Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture: MIT Press.
- McFadden, Susanna. 2013. "A Constantinian Image Program in Rome Rediscovered: The Late Antique Megalographia from the So-Called Domus Faustae." *MAAR* 58:83-114.
- Meneghini, R., and R.S. Valenzani. 2006. Formae Urbis Romae: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2001. "Via Giolitti. Domus L. Octavii Felicis." In Archeologia e Giubileo. Gli interventi a Roma e nel Lazio nel Piano per il Grande Giubileo del 2000, edited by F. Filippi. Napoli.
- Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2008. "La domus di Lucius Octavius Felix e il contesto topografico." In Archeologia a Roma Termini : le mura serviane e l'area della stazione : scoperte, distruzioni e restauri., edited by M. Magnani Cianetti and M. Barbera. Milano: Electa.
- Mengs, Anton Raphael, and José Nicolas de Azara. 1780. *Opere di Antonio Raffaello Mengs,... pubblicate da D. Giuseppe Nicola d'Azara*. (Texte imprimé). Parma: dalla Stamperia reale.
- Mesnard, Maurice. 1935. *La Basilique de Saint-Chrysogone à Rome*. Roma; Paris: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana ; Les Belles Lettres.
- Mignone, Lisa. 2016. *The Republican Aventine and Rome's Social Order*: University of Michigan Press.
- Mitrovic, Branko. 2011. Philosophy for architects, Architecture briefs.
- Moccheggiani Carpano, M. 1972. "Osservazioni complementari sulle strutture della casa romana sotto le terme di Caracalla." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.* 79:111-21.
- Mols, Stephan T. A. M., and Eric M. Moormann. 2010. "L'edificio romano sotto S. Maria Maggiore a Roma e le sue pitture: Proposta per una nuova lettura." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.* 116:469-506.
- Moormann, Eric M. 1996. "Gli Affreschi di Piazza dei Cinquecento Nell'Ambito della Pittura Romana." In *Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini:*

*Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997*, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.

- Morel, Jean-Paul, Yvon Thébert, Claudia Cecamore, Henri Broise, and Françoise Villedieu. 1992. "Rome : le Palatin (Vigna Barberini)." *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*:465-93.
- Moreno, J. L., and Helen H. Jennings. 1934. *Who shall survive? A new approach to the problem* of human interrelations, Nervous and mental disease monograph series, no 58. Washington, D.C.,: Nervous and mental disease publishing co.
- Morvillez, E. 2017. "The Garden in the Domus." In *Gardens of the Roman Empire*, edited by W.F. Jashemski, K.L. Gleason, K.J. Hartswick and A.A. Malek. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Muñoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio. [Roma]: a cura del Governatorato di Roma.
- Najbjerg, Tina, and Jennifer Trimble. 2017. Atrium houses along the Vicus Patricius (vicus Patricius) between the Viminal and Cispian Hills (collis Viminalis, mons Cispius) In *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project*.
- Nevett, Lisa C. 2010. *Domestic space in classical antiquity*, Key themes in ancient history. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nibby, A. 1839. *Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII [i.e. Milleotto-cento-trentotto]* pt. 3: Tipografia delle Belle Arti.
- Nissinen, Laura. 2008. Cubicula diurna, nocturna : cubiculum-makuutila latinankielisessä kirjallisuudessa. Master's, University of Helsinki.
- Nissinen, Laura. 2009. "Cubicula diurna, nocturna revisiting Roman cubicula and sleeping arrangements." *Arctos* 43:85-107.
- Oberdan Menghi, Manola Pales. 1999. Domus L. Octavii Felicis: la casa ritrovata. *Forma Urbis*, April, 16-21.
- Palazzo, Paola. 2003. "Le metamorfosi di un'insula. Il complesso della "Biblioteca di Agapito" sul Clivo di Scauro." In *Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri*, edited by A. Englen and F. Astolfi 1. Roma: "Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. 2013. *Gli dèi propizi : la Basilica Hilariana nel contesto dello scavo dell'Ospedale militare Celio, 1987-2000.* Roma: Quasar.
- Pales, Manola, and Oberdan Menghi. 1999. "La casa di Lucio Ottavio Felice." *Forma vrbis* 4 (4):16-21.
- Palladino, Sergio, and Laura Bottiglieri. 2015. "Ricostruzione e restituzione tridimensionale del corridoio e del viridarium della domus dei Valerii sul Celio, dagli scavi nell'Ospedale dell'Addolorata." *FOLD&R Archaeological Conservation* 1:1-21.
- Palma Venetucci, Beatrice, and Paola Baldassarri. 1998. *Pirro Ligorio E Le Erme Di Roma*, Studi ligoriani: Quasar.
- Palombi, Domenico. 1997. *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino: Velia, Carinae, Fagutal*, Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte: Supplemento: Ist. Nazionale di Archeologia.
- Palombi, Domenico. 2006. *Rodolfo Lanciani : l'archeologia a Roma tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Problemi e ricerche di storia antica 25. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Panciera, Silvio. 1987. "Ancora sulla famiglia senatoria 'africana' degli Aradii." *L'Africa Romana* 4, 2 (Atti del Convegno di Studio - Sassari 1986) (IV, 13):547-72.
- Panvinio, O. 1600. Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis, De Ludis Circensibus, Libri II. De Triumphis Liber Unus.

- Papi, E. 1995. "Domus: M. Aemelius Scaurus." In *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G*, edited by E.M. Steinby. Roma: Quasar.
- Paris, R. 2008. *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme: Le antiche stanze di Termini : un quartiere di Roma antica* v. 4: Electa.
- Paris, Rita. 1996. "Il Quartiere Orientale." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Paris, Rita. 1996. "Il Salone E1 Oecus." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Paris, Rita. 1996. "Il Vestibolo E5 e L'Atrio E4." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Paris, Rita. 1996. "La Domus." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Paris, Rita. 1996. "La Stanza E9." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Paris, Rita. 1996. "La Stanza E10." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Parker, J. H. 1876. *The Archaeology of Rome: 4: The egyptian obelisks to which is added a supplement to the first three parts which form the first volume*: J. Parker and Company.
- Parker, J.H. 1883. The Via Sacra. Excavations in Rome from 1438 to 1882: J. Parker.
- Parker, John Henry. 1864-866. Excavations, 1867, private house of the Emperor Hadrian (?) or Villa of Asinius Pollio (?), near the Thermae of Caracalla, in the Vigna Guidi. Rome: Parker Collection, British School at Rome.
- Parker, John Henry. 1864-1866. "Excavations, 1867, private house of the Emperor Hadrian, c. A.D. 120, near the Thermae of Antoninus Caracalla, in the Vigna Guidi, (Catalogue of the Regionaries, Regio XII)." British School at Rome Digital Collection.
- Parker, John Henry. 1868-1869. "Excavations, 1867, plan of a house of the time of Hadrian, probably the private house of that Emperor, in the vineyard of Cavalier Guidi, south of the Thermae of Caracalla." BSR Library and Archive Digital Collections.
- Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2007. "L'area archeologica del periodo Classico." In *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*, edited by C. La Bella. Roma: Palombi.
- Pavia, Carlo. 1996. "Il Larario e il Mitreo di via Giovanni Lanza." Forma vrbis 1 (9):15-9.
- Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to underground Rome : from Cloaca Massima to Domus Aurea : the most fascinating underground sites of the capital = Guida di Roma sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi.
- Pavolini, Carlo. 1993. "La topografia antica della sommità del Celio : gli scavi nell'Ospedale Militare (1987 - 1992)." Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung / Deutsches Archäologisches Institut <Berlin>, Abteilung <Roma>.443-505.
- Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini. Roma: Quasar.

Pavolini, Carlo. 2013. "Il quartiere: i nuovi dati archeologici." In *Gli dèi propizi : la Basilica Hilariana nel contesto dello scavo dell'Ospedale militare Celio, 1987-2000*, edited by P. Palazzo and C. Pavolini. Roma: Quasar.

- Pellecchia, Linda. 1992. "Architects Read Vitruvius: Renaissance Interpretations of the Atrium of the Ancient House." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (4):377-416.
- Pensabene, Patrizio. 1990. "Testimonianze di Scavo del XVIII e del XIX Secolo Sul Palatino."
  In *Roma antica: Gli Orti farnesiani sul Palatino*, edited by V. Cazzato and G. Morganti
  2. Rome: Ecole Francaise de Rome; Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.
- Pettinau, Barbara. 1996. "Le Insulae: Aspetti di un Quartiere di Roma Antica." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Pietri, Charles. 1978. "Recherches sur les domus ecclesiae. I." *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques* XXIV (1-2):3-21.
- Pisani Sartorio, Giuseppina. 1983. Un domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia. Vol. suppl. 10, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici.
- Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome: Oxbow.

Pliny the Younger. Epistulae.

- Priester, Sascha. 2002. Ad summas tegulas : Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebäudeblöcken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi 11. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Quattrocchi, Marzia. 2008. "I mosaici della domus A." In *Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione*, edited by R. Del Signore. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
- Quilici, Lorenzo. 1986-1987. "Roma. Via di S. Paolo alla Regola. Scavo e recupero di edifici antichi e medioevali." *Notizie degli Scavi ser. VIII* 40-41:175ff.
- Ramieri, Anna Maria. 1980. "Roma. Regio VI. Via Cimarra. Resti di edifici monumentali de I sec. a.C. sulle pendici del Viminale." *Notizie sugli Scavi di antichità, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*.:25-49.
- Redazione Roma Online. 2015. Archeologia al Quirinale, scoperta dimora arcaica del VI secolo a.C. *Corriere della Sera*, September 9.
- Renfrew, Colin, Chris Gosden, Elizabeth DeMarrais, and McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. 2004. *Substance, memory, display : archaeology and art*, McDonald Institute monographs,. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge.
- Reynolds, David West. 1997. "The Lost Architecture of Ancient Rome." *Expedition* 39 (No. 2):15-24.
- Ricci, Marco. 2004. "Il mitreo della Crypta Balbi Roma Note Preliminari." In *Roman Mithraism: the Evidence of the Small Finds*. Brussels: Institute for the archaeological Heritage.
- Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Riggsby, A. 1997. ""Public" and "private" in Roman culture: the case of the cubiculum." *Journal* of Roman Archaeology 10:36-56.

- Rinaldi, Adele. 2013. "Contesti Ceramici del Foro di Nerva dagli Ambienti 1 e 2. I Vasi Decorati a Matrice in Terra Sigillata Italica e le Anfore." In *Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali, BAR international series*, edited by M. Ceci 2455.
- Rinaldi, Adele. 2015. "Preesistenze Tardo Repubblicane di Carattere Abitativo Sotto la Pavimentazione del Foro di Nerva." In *Scienze dell'Antichità: Il foro di Nerva Nuovi dati dagli scavi recenti*, edited by E. La Rocca, R. Meneghini and C.P. Presicce. Roma: Sapienza Universita di Roma.
- Rinne, Katherine Wentworth. 2010. *The waters of Rome : aqueducts, fountains, and the birth of the Baroque city*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rodríguez Almeida, Emilio. 1981. *Forma urbis marmorea: aggiornamento generale 1980.* Roma: Quasar.
- Romano, David Gilman. 2008-2014. *Digital Augustan Rome*. <u>http://digitalaugustanrome.org/</u>. (accessed Oct. 6, 2014).
- Romano, Gabriele, and Roberto Lucignani. 2010. "Il Complesso dei Maroniti." *Roma una Citta', un Impero* 1 (3 Aprile):4-17.
- Ruggiu, A. Zaccaria. 2001. "Abbinamento triclinium cubiculum: Un'ipotesi interpretativa." In *Abitare in Cisalpina: l'edilizia privata nelle città e nel territorio in età romana*, edited by M. Verzár-Bass. Trieste.
- Saller, Richard P. 1984. ""Familia, Domus", and the Roman Conception of the Family." *Phoenix* 38 (4):336-55.
- Salway, Benet. 1994. "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 84:124-45.
- Salza Prina Ricotti, E. 1978-1980. "Cucine e quartieri servili in epoca romana." *Rendiconti / Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia / Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Roma* 51-52:237-94.
- Salzman, Michele Renee. 2002. *The making of a Christian aristocracy social and religious change in the western Roman Empire*. <u>http://site.ebrary.com/id/10318367</u>
- Samuel, F. 2007. Le Corbusier in Detail: Elsevier/Architectural Press.
- Sapelli, M. 2005. "Domus romane sotto la sede I.N.P.S. sul Laterano (Roma)." In *Domus romane: dallo scavo alla valorizzazione*, edited by F. Morandini and F. Rossi. Milano: Et.
- Scardoni, Giovanni, Michele Petterlini, and Carlo Laudanna. 2009. "Analyzing biological network parameters with CentiScaPe." *Bioinformatics* 25 (21):2857-9.
- Schloeder, Steven J. 2012. "The Myth of the Domus Ecclesiae -- and how this has influenced modern Church architecture." *Adoremus Bulletin* XVIII (No. 5):http://www.adoremus.org/0812Schloeder.html.
- Schmidt, Hartwig. 2002. "Building Research from Past to Present, The Development of Methods in Germany since the 19th Century." In *Preparatory Architectural Investigation in the Restoration of Historical Buildings*, edited by K. de Jonge and K. van Balen: Cornell University Press.
- Scott, John. 2000. Social Network Analysis: A Handbook: SAGE Publications.
- Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1979. "Il Mitreo dell'Ospedale di San Giovanni in Roma." In Mysteria Mithrae atti del seminario internazionale su "la specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia, Roma e Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = proceedings of the international seminar on the "religio-historical character of Roman Mithraism, with particular reference to Roman

and Ostian sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by U. Bianchi. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

- Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1997. "Dalla residenza dei Laterani alla domus di Fausta." *Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica* 2 (6):4-9.
- Serlorenzi, Mirella. 2004. "Santa Lucia in Selcis. Lettura del palinsesto murario di un edificio a continuità di vita." In *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II. Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali*, edited by L. Paroli and L. Vendittelli. Rome.
- Sessa, Kristina. 2007. "Christianity and the Cubiculum: Spiritual Politics and Domestic Space in Late Antique Rome." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2):171-204.
- Sessa, Kristina. 2007. "Holy Households: Domestic Space, Property, and Power." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2):129-30.
- Sessa, Kristina. 2012. *The formation of papal authority in late antique Italy : Roman bishops and the domestic sphere*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shannon, Paul, Andrew Markiel, Owen Ozier, Nitin S. Baliga, Jonathan T. Wang, Daniel Ramage, Nada Amin, Benno Schwikowski, and Trey Ideker. 2003. "Cytoscape: A Software Environment for Integrated Models of Biomolecular Interaction Networks." *Genome Research* 13 (11):2498-504.
- Signani, Laura. 1997. "L'area archeologica di S.Lorenzo in Lucina." Forma vrbis 2 (4):4-9.
- Simelius, Samuli. 2015. "Activities in Pompeii's private peristyles: the place of the peristyle in the public/private dichotomy." In *Public and Private in the Roman House and Society*, edited by K. Tuori and L. Nissin. Journal of Roman Archaeology / Supplementary series 102: Journal of Roman Archaeology, L.L.C.
- Smith, Adam T. 2003. *The political landscape: constellations of authority in early complex polities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Snyder, G.F. 2003. Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine: Mercer University Press.
- Spier, J. 2007. Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art: Yale University Press.
- Spinola, Giandomenico. 1992. "Il Dominus Gaudentius e l'Antinoo Casali : alcuni aspetti della fine del paganesimo da una piccola domus sul Celio ?" *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*:953-79.
- Spinola, Giandomenico. 1993. "La domus di Gaudentius." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung* 100:27 cm.
- Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1993-2000. *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*. 6 vols. Roma: Quasar.
- Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G. Roma: Quasar.
- Stephenson, John W., Jr. 2006. A social history of late roman villas in hispania. Ph.D., Emory University.
- Symmachus. Epistulae.
- Taffetani, C. 2010. "Il complesso della c.d. Domus Parthorum. Nuova interpretazione delle fasi costruttive." In *Il primo miglio della via Appia a Roma: atti della giornata di studio, Roma, Museo nazionale romano, 16 giugno 2009*, edited by D. Manacorda and R. Santangeli Valenzani 3. Roma: Croma Ed.
- Tomassi, Pietro. 1965. San Cesareo in Palatio. Roma.
- Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1995. "Domus Oppure Lupanar? I Materiali dallo Scavo Boni della 'Casa Repubblicana' a Ovest dell'Arco di Tito." *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 107 (2):549-619.

- Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1995. "Domus oppure lupanar? I materiali dallo scavo Boni della casa repubblicana a ovest dell'Arco di Tito." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 107:549-619.
- Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1999. *Scavi francesi sul Palatino: le indagini di Pietro Rosa per Napoleone III (1861-1870)*, Roma antica 5. Roma: Ecole française de Rome: Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma.
- Tomei, Maria Antonietta, and Paolo Liverani. 2005. *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. I.1, Carta archeologica di Roma : primo quadrante*. Roma: Quasar.
- Trümper, Monika. 1998. *Wohnen in Delos: eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Wandel der Wohnkultur in hellenistischer Zeit*, Internationale Archäologie Bd 46. Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf.
- Trümper, Monika. 2007. "Differentiation in the Hellenistic houses of Delos: the question of functional areas." *British School at Athens Studies* 15:323-34.
- Tuan, Yi-fu. 1977. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Unknown artist. 1777. "Working Drawing of the Excavations." Drawing. Roma: British Museum.
- Valenzani, R. Santangeli, and Roberto Meneghini. 1996. "Fasi Tarde di Occupazione dell'Isolato con Domus e Balnea." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris. Milano: G. Mondadori.
- Van den Abeele, Barbara. 1989. De domus of herenwoning in het antieke Rome, KUL. Faculteit letteren en wijsbegeerte.
- Varner, Eric R. 2004. *Mutilation and transformation : damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial portraiture*, Monumenta Graeca et Romana 10. Leiden ; Boston: Brill.
- Varner, Eric R. 2013. "Antichità." In Antichità, teatro, magnificenza: Renaissance & Baroque images of Rome, edited by S.S. McPhee, Margaret Duval. Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum.
- Varner, Eric R. 2014. "Maxentius, Constantine, and Hadrian: Images and the Expropriation of Imperial Identity." In Using Images in Late Antiquity, edited by S. Birk, T.M. Kristensen and B. Poulsen: Oxbow Books.
- Varro, Marcus Terentius. de Lingua Latina.
- Vermaseren, M. J., and Carel Claudius van Essen. 1965. *The excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef. 1956. Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae. 2 vols. Hagae Comitis: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Villedieu, Françoise, and Ecole française de Rome. 1997. *La Vigna Barberini*, Roma antica 3, 6. Rome: Ecole française de Rome : Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma.
- Visconti, C. L. 1885. "Del larario e del mitreo scoperti nell'Esquilino presso la chiesa ai S. Martino ai Monti." *BullComm* (s. 2):27-38.

Visconti, C. L. 1886. "Trovamenti di Oggetti d'Arte e di Antichita Figurata." *BullComm*:49-53. Vitruvius Pollio. *De Architectura*.

Volpe, Rita. 2000. "La domus delle Sette Sale." In *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, edited by S. Ensoli, E.L. Rocca, R.A.a.p. culturali and R.S.a.b. culturali: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

- Volpe, Rita. 2000. "Vivere Come Consoli a Roma e nelle Province. Le Domus Urbane e le Ville Suburane. Arredi Scultorei, Argenti e Marmi Colorati: La domus delle Sette Sale." In *Aurea Roma: dalla citta pagana alla citta cristiana*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 1994. *Houses and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 1997. "Rethinking the Roman atrium house." In *Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond*, edited by R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill. Journal of Roman archaeology. Supplementary series no 22. Portsmouth: JRA.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2000. "Case e abitanti a Roma." In *Roma imperiale : una metropoli antica*, edited by E. Lo Cascio 391. Roma: Carocci.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2003. "Domus and Insulae in Rome: Families and Housefuls." In Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue, edited by D.L. Balch and C. Osiek: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2001. "Rome finds its Pevsner." *Times Literary Supplement* 2001 (May 11):3ff.
- Walter-Karydi, Elena. 1994. Die Nobilitierung des Wohnhauses: Lebensform und Architektur im spätklassischen Griechenland, Xenia Heft 35. Konstanz: UVK, Universitätsverlag Konstanz.
- Wasserman, Stanley, and Katherine Faust. 1997. *Social network analysis: methods and applications*, Structural analysis in the social sciences 8. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, Duncan J. 2004. "The "New" Science of Networks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:243-70.
- Webb, Matilda. 2001. *The churches and catacombs of early Christian Rome: a comprehensive guide*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.
- Yannakakis, Yanna. 2018-. Power of Attorney in Oaxaca, Mexico. (accessed October 17, 2018).
- Yasin, Ann Marie. 2005. "Funerary Monuments and Collective Identity: From Roman Family to Christian Community." *The Art Bulletin* 87 (3):433-57.
- Yegül, Fikret K. 1995. *Baths and bathing in classical antiquity* ix, 501 p. New York, N.Y. : Cambridge, Mass.: Architectural History Foundation ; MIT Press.
- Zeggio, Sabina. 2013. "Il Sistema urbano tra valle e collina: viabilita, santuari, e domus " In *Scavare Nel Centro Di Roma : Storie Uomini Paesaggi*, edited by C. Panella. Roma: Quasar.

## Domūs and Insulae in the City of Rome: Catalog of Domus

In this catalog I have attempted to include all *domūs* from the city of Rome that stood from the year 1 CE through the year 500 CE within the Aurelian walls. I have specifically only included *domūs* for which archaeological remains have been found or attributed, so some *domūs* whose names may be familiar to the reader will not be included, due to a lack of archaeological remains. I have also consciously left the imperial palaces out of this catalog, though their architecture may have been referenced for comparison in the preceding chapters. For the *Domus Name*, I have chosen the name by which each *domus* is most commonly referred in the literature. I have, however, included under *Other Domus Names* all other names by which I found the *domus* referred for clarity.

Throughout this catalog, each site studied get a number (*Catalog Entry Number*), which begins with the ancient Regione (e.g. I, II, etc.) and is followed by a sequence of number indicating its sequence in the catalog within that Regione (e.g. I.01, I.02, etc.). Within each catalog entry different events in the historical periods of the site are described, defined by date ranges. For example, an entry may include a time period for an early construction on the site, a time period for construction of the *domus*, two periods of remodeling of the *domus*, and in some cases a period of what stood on the site after the destruction of the *domus*.

These time periods are given in years, due the need to have specific years for GIS software through which my maps were created. The GIS software requires set year numbers, even where years are estimated. In some cased the estimate "late second century" will thus be described as 175-200 CE. I have endeavored to give the estimated dates in the Time Period Description field when that takes place. Dates from before the Common Era are noted as BCE, where all other dates are given as numbers only. Where the maps are used for analysis, the estimated nature of

these dates has been taken into consideration.

In some cases, a site was used for two completely different structures, both of which have construction phases. In these cases, the *Catalog Entry Number* is given a subset of a, b, etc. For example, in I.01a and I.01b, the first entry is for the *domus* degli Aradii and the second entry is for the *Titulus* of San Giovanni a Porta Latina. The common *Catalog Entry Number* (I.01) indicates that these two buildings are at the same geographic location, while the subset (a, b) indicates that they are separate buildings and do not share residents. The references cited in parentheses always refer to works cited within the individual catalog entry's *Bibliography*.

Map of all *domūs* and *insulae* in the catalog below.



Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	I.01a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus degli Aradii
Time Period 01 Start Year	117
Time Period 01 End Year	138
Time Period 01 Description	Brick stamps indicate a Hadrianic era original construction (Candilio 2005, 37).
Time Period 02 Years	180-192
Time Period 02 Description	Brick stamps also indicate repairs in the Commodan period (Candilio 2005, 37).
Time Period 03 Years	212-217
Time Period 03 Description	Brick stamps indicate remodeling at the end of the Antonine to the Severan period (Candilio 2005, 37).
Time Period 04 Years	230-270
Time Period 04 Description	The chronology of the sculptures inside the rooms and the form of <i>lararium</i> indicate a mid-third century date (Candilio 2005, 27-28).
Time Period 05 Years	301-400
Time Period 05 Description	The inscription dates to the fourth century CE and is to Aradius Proculus and Aradius Rufinus ( <i>praef. urbi</i> in 376). The inscription suggests this was the primary house of L. Aradius Valerius Proculus, who also inherits the <i>domus Valerii</i> on the Caelian as his secondary house at some point before passing it on (see cat. entry II.03). He was <i>praef. urbi</i> in 337-338 and 351-352, and his <i>lares</i> would have been in this house, which he likely then passed to his son Aradius

Field	Data
	Rufinus (Hillner 2003, 141-42, n. 71).
Time Period 06 Years	410
Time Period 06 Description	Alaric and the probable abandonment of the <i>domus</i> in this period as has been found for other major $dom\bar{u}s$ (Candilio 2005, 33).
Time Period 07 Years	411-470
Time Period 07 Description	Evidence indicates the final abandonment of the site in the mid-fifth century, but the irregular quality of the remaining fragment of <i>opus sectile</i> may indicate that in this final stage the <i>domus</i> was no longer being used as housing (Candilio 2005, 33).
Excavation history	In 1944 the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Roma obtained many materials deposited near a villa at via di Porta Latina 11, belonging at the time to Dino Grandi. The high-quality finds from this cash had been found with luck during agricultural work in 1937. The gardener who made the discovery in 1937 said that a structure, a barrel vault of a room below, was found 50 cm below the soil surface (Candilio 2005, 5). The Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Roma officially excavated the site beginning in April of 1945. The assistant Edoardo Cocozza excavated under Soprintendente Salvatore Aurigemma. They found walls in <i>opus mixtum</i> 70 cm below the surface. The walls delimited two rooms, one of which was that explored in 1937 (Candilio 2005, 6-7). Another series of sculptures were found in the second room explored, and both groups were taken to the Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.
Description of Rooms	The room found in 1937 had a barrel vault. The soffit was covered in plaster with geometric patterns and small figures of 'volatili'. Two plaster fresco fragments were recovered from the vault. The room was roughly 3 x 4 m and 4 m tall. It had painted plaster walls and a not particularly refined white mosaic floor with black bands of large 'tasselli'. It was connected to a second room through a door, explored in 1945. Both rooms contained marble sculpture. On the wall of the second room, a small fragment of <i>opus spicatum</i> was found, thought to be from the floor above. Remains from the attachment of a glass paste mosaic were found inside the vault of the second room, and pieces of the mosaic were found near the floor of the room. Two periods of wall facing were noted by the excavators, one in plaster painted with floral motifs and the other with attachments for marble sheets (Candilio 2005, 6). The <i>opus mixtum</i> walls of the two rooms lean on another opus testaceum wall, perhaps related to the space in which the statue of Isis would have been, as it was found somewhat

Field	Data
	out of context from the first room. An inscription found during the 1945 excavation allowed the house to be identified as that of the Aradii in the third and fourth century CE, as well as to identify the space excavated in 1945 as including a <i>lararium</i> (Candilio 2005, 7).
Structural building techniques	The two rooms discovered were made of <i>opus mixtum</i> walls with barrel vaults. <i>Opus spicatum</i> fragments indicate evidence of an upper floor. The <i>opus mixtum</i> walls lean on another opus testaceum wall, belonging to another space. The decoration was done in different periods in plaster fresco or marble facing, as well as a glass paste vault mosaic (Candilio 2005, 5-7).
	A) Marble sculptural finds: From 1937 (Candilio 2005, 5-6):
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Statue of Isis (inv no 125412)</li> <li>Statuette of Dionysus (inv no 125416)</li> <li>Statuette of a headless woman (inv no 125415)</li> <li>Statuette of a naked boy crowning himself (inv no 125414)</li> <li>Statuette of a headless nude boy with crocodile (inv no 125415)</li> <li>Lower part of a draped statue with a wreath of roses laid on a plinth (inv no 125430)</li> <li>Statuette of a putto with a chlamys on a molded base (inv no 359012)</li> <li>Fragment of a ribbed (bac<i>cella</i>ta) tub (inv no 125451)</li> <li>Small column in pavonazzetto (inv no 125457a)</li> <li>Two fragments of similar small columns to the previous (inc no 125457b)</li> <li>Two small corinthian capitals, probably relating to the small columns above (inv no 359008-9)</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Statuette of a headless Tyche-Fortuna (inv no 125417)</li> <li>Statuette of a headless Leda with a swan (inv no 125418)</li> <li>Statuette plinth with the remains of sandaled feet (inv no 125421)</li> <li>Fragment of a cipollino marble column</li> <li>Three column bases, one was not kept (inv no 125431-32)</li> <li>Hand of a male statuette with pan flute (inv no 125420)</li> <li>Statuette of a headless dog (inv no 125422)</li> <li>Opisthographic latin inscription in 5 fragments (inv no 125419-125452) [Deo Merc]urio I [L]arum P[e]natium I [c]omiti adque custodi I Aradii Proculus et I Rufinus vvcc et XV[viri].</li> <li>Additionally: There is a sarcophagus with a portrait of a woman from the third quarter of the third century CE that was found on the via di</li> </ul>

358
]

Field	Data
	Porta Latina. It could be related to this <i>domus</i> (Buccino 2011, 235).
	B) Brick stamps:
	24 Stamped bricks (Candilio 2005, 37). Most were excavated in 1937 and from the Hadrianic period:
	<ul> <li>CIL XV, 551 - Demetrius, officinator di Domitia Domitizani c. 117 CE</li> <li>CIL XV, 563 - M. Vinicius Pantagatus c. 123 CE</li> <li>CIL XV, 595b - M. Vinicius Salvianus 120's CE</li> <li>CIL XV, 360 - from 125 CE</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>CIL XV, 743 – Commodus era</li> <li>CIL XV, 155, 164 variant, and 190a – from 212-217 CE</li> <li>11 more stamped bricks excavated in 1945 (Candilio 2005, 37):</li> <li>CIL XV, 563 - (4 more variants) from 123 CE</li> <li>CIL XV, 549 – (2 examples) from 123 CE</li> <li>CIL XV, 565 – M. Vinicius Pantagatus c. 117-119 CE</li> <li>figlinae Sulpicianae on bessales and semilateres, 1229 – from c. 135 CE</li> <li>5- 1019b – other stamps from mid-second century CE to the Severan/Caracalla era.</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	The Aradii family is connected to the Valerii family by marriage ties (Lancon 2001, 61).
Plan location	See Candilio 2005, Tav. XIX
Bibliography	Buccino, Laura. 2011. "Marmi di età imperiale nelle residenze degli ambasciatori di Canada, Giappone e Norvegia in via di Porta Latina." In <i>Il</i> <i>Primo Miglio della Via Appia a Roma</i> , edited by Daniele Manacorda and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, 231-242. Roma, edizioni Università degli studi Roma Tre.
	Candilio, Daniela, and Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. 2005. <i>L'arredo scultoreo e decorativo della Domus degli Aradii. Monumenti antichi</i> . Serie Mis <i>cella</i> nea, Roma.
	Candilio, Daniela. 2011. "La lunga vita delle sculture della Domus degli Aradii." In <i>Il primo miglio della Via Appia a Roma</i> , edited by Daniele Manacorda and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, 243-250. Roma, edizioni Università degli studi Roma Tre.
	Caprino, Katia. 1946-1948. "Notiziario di scavi, scoperte e studi intorno alle antichità di Roma e Campagna romana. 1941-1945." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 72:183.

Field	Data
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I. Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Aradii." In Lexicon topographicum urbis
	Romae. 2, D-G, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 36-37. Roma: Quasar. Hillner, Julia. 2003. "Domus, Family, and Inheritance: The Senatorial Family House in Late Antique Rome," <i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i> 93, 129-145.
	Lancon, B., and A. Nevill. 2001. <i>Rome in Late Antiquity</i> . Panciera, Silvio. 1987. "Ancora Sulla Famiglia Senatoria 'Africana' Degli Aradii." <i>L'Africa Romana</i> 4, 2 (Atti del Convegno di Studio - Sassari 1986) (IV, 13): 547-72.
	Panciera, Silvio. 1986. "Due Famiglie Senatorie Di Origine Africana E Una Di Origine Italica: Aradii, Calpurnii E Suetrii Alla Luce Di Una Nuova Iscrizione Urbana." <i>L'Africa Romana</i> 3 (Atti del Convegno di Studio - Sassari 1985) (IV, 12): 251-62.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	I.01b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Titulus San Giovanni a Porta Latina
Time Period 01 Start Year	495
Time Period 01 End Year	497
Time Period 01 Description	The nearby church, the <i>titulus</i> of San Giovanni a Porta Latina, was established in 495-497 CE, and the date is known from a roof tile (Webb 2001, 201).
Excavation	See I.01a for nearby <i>domus</i> Aradii.

Field	Data
history	
Description of Rooms	See I.01a for nearby <i>domus</i> Aradii.
Structural building techniques	See I.01a for nearby <i>domus</i> Aradii.
Finds from the site	See I.01a for nearby <i>domus</i> Aradii.
Plan location	See Webb 2001, 202.
Bibliography	Webb, Matilda. 2001. <i>The churches and catacombs of early Christian Rome:</i> <i>a comprehensive guide</i> . Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	I.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under San Cesareo de Appia
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus under San Cesareo in Palatio; Thermae Comodianae
Time Period 01 Start Year	161
Time Period 01 End Year	200
Time Period 01 Description	The mosaic was created in the second-third centuries CE, based on style (Tomassi 1965, 26). The building was located on the ancient via Appia at its first section outside of the Servian walls, which forms the modern via di Porta S. Sebastiano (Insalaco 1984, 82). The style of the mosaic combined with the measurements of the brick laying suggesting a dating in the Antonine period of

Field	Data
	the second century (Insalaco 1984, 86-87).
Time Period 02 Years	201-400
Time Period 02 Description	The mosaic was restored in many parts through different periods in the third and fourth centuries (Tomassi 1965, 26). The walls were restored in <i>opus</i> <i>listatum</i> indicating the use of the building through end of the fourth beginning of the fifth century (Insalaco 1984, 85). The building was outside of the Servian walls, not inside the city walls, until the construction of the Aurelian walls in the early 270's CE.
Time Period 03 Years	700-800
Time Period 03 Description	The early hall with two apses, though to be of the first Christian church here, was constructed in the eighth century (Tomassi 1965, 10). The floor of this building was raised 1.48m above the old floor, the walls were reinforced by eight pilasters, and the passage between the first and second space closed by means of two small apses. This apsed hall has traces of frescoes similar to those found in the early church under San Crisogono (Insalaco 1984, 85).
Excavation history	The church of San Cesareo is first mentioned in 1192 and is most known for its Cosmatesque decoration (Insalaco 1984, 82). The majority of space underneath the church has been excavated, and it represents primarily one large ancient room with two interior areas. The church on site is first mentioned in historical sources in the 12th century, but there was an earlier structure that was likely related and ecclesiastical in the eighth century. In 1936 damage was noticed to the church structure caused by the infiltration of water, and after a break for the war work resumed on restoration to the church as a collaboration between the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti and the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, who undertook excavations that uncovered the Roman thermal spaces by February 1955. The church was finally reopened for worship after restorations in April of 1963, with plans for future control of the humidity (Tomassi 1965, 10-13). Further underground structures were found by the Dominican Father Fanelli in 1658 under his vineyard (Lanciani 1901,pl. XLII).
Description of Rooms	Down a short stairway on the left side of the current church of San Cesareo in Palatio a large room from a Roman building, thought to be the private bath of a large <i>domus</i> , is found. The large room is made up two distinct spaces, and two columns evenly spaced in the center of the larger room (only one remains on the north side) split it into the two distinctive areas. A marble tub was found in the second (western) area with a water source and drain tunnel, and black and

Field	Data
	white mosaic in both (Tomassi 1965, 25-26, tav. XIX). The first space has Nereids around a figure of Neptune in a chariot, and the second space has other figures, but the space is interrupted by the wall constructed around 1600 to support the presbytery, splitting up the mosaic (Insalaco 1984, 84). The theme of a large Neptune in a chariot was common to thermal spaces, and the sea creatures underscore the likelihood that this is part of a larger bath area, possibly part of a large <i>domus</i> , but also possibly a <i>balneum</i> or <i>therma</i> separate from housing. Coarelli suggests it may be a part of the <i>Thermae Comodianae</i> (Coarelli 1981, 433). The structures found by Fanelli have the same orientation as the room under San Cesareo and could be a further part of a larger thermal structure (Lanciani 1901, pl. XLII).
Structural building techniques	The walls of the room are brick and the columns in the center of marble (Tomassi 1965, 25). The bricks are 3 cm thick and have mortar of 1.8 cm thick. The brick module is around 24 cm. This size suggests a late Antonine date to the construction (Insalaco 1984, 86). The first (eastern) space of the room has traces of cipollino marble wall dressing (Tomassi 1965, 25), and evidence found suggests both spaces were dressed with cipollino on the walls (Insalaco 1984, 83). Both rooms have the remains of black and white mosaic pavement with tesserae 7-8 mm on a side. The brick walls are laid with great care and regularity. A fragment of collapsed ceiling suggests the first (eastern) room was covered in a vault. We lack evidence for the second (western) space (Insalaco 1984, 83). The mosaic in the first area was restored in three phases, the first with tesserae of a larger size, c. 1 cm on a side, the second with large fragments of white marble, and the third with pieces of colored marble and brick. The walls were also restored using opus listatum (brick alternating with tufa) (Insalaco 1984, 84-85). The marble bath was covered with cocciopisto, a type of mortar designed to be water resistant (Insalaco 1984, 85).
	Artworks:
Finds from the site	- Black and White Marine Mosaic: The mosaic was created in the second-third centuries CE and restored in different periods in the third and fourth centuries. The image in the center of the first (eastern) area is of Neptune on a chariot drawn by marine horses and led by a putto. The scene also includes a putto riding a dolphin, Triton, and nude Nereids, many of whom interact with marine monsters. The second area includes a different male figure at the center, who is unidentified with more marine fish and creatures (Tomassi 1965, 26). The scene appears to center on a Triton helping a Nereid. Both rooms have the remains of black and white mosaic pavement with tesserae 7-8 mm on a side. The mosaic design is in black, and the background white (Insalaco 1984, 83-4).

Field	Data
Additional notable points	Insalaco suggests that this thermal structure, rather than part of a large <i>domus</i> , could be the <i>Thermae Comodianae</i> listed in the Regionary Catalogs, which would date the structure to between 183-187 CE (Insalaco 1984, 87-88).
Plan location	See Tomassi 1965, plate 19.
Bibliography	Coarelli, Filippo. 1981. <i>Roma</i> . 2a. ed, <i>Guide archeologiche Laterza</i> . Roma: Laterza.
	Insalaco, Antonio. 1984. "S. Cesareo de Appia e le terme Commodiane." Bollettino della Unione storia ed arte 27.1984:82-90.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae. Roma.
	Tomassi, Pietro. 1965. San Cesareo in Palatio. Roma.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	1.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula a cisterne
Other Domus/Insula Names	Insula with cistern, Insula del saggio I, settore sud
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	1
Time Period 01 Description	This area contained a cistern and brick well in its first phase of use before the construction of the <i>insula</i> . The height of the well was extended with a mortar ring in order to keep it in use through the fourth construction phase. The cistern and well likely date back to the end of the Republican period when wells supplied <i>domūs</i> in the area before the Claudian aqueduct (Ferruci 2013, 302-303).

Field	Data
Time Period 02 Years	50-100
Time Period 02 Description	The <i>insula</i> was constructed fully in the latter half of the first century CE, most likely in the Flavian period (Ferruci 2013, 303).
Time Period 03 Years	200-240
Time Period 03 Description	The <i>insula</i> was remodeled in the early third century, dated by ceramics in the floor preparation layer. The remodel was originally dated the late second century. The <i>insula</i> may have then been used for commercial purposes (Spinola 1992, 957; Ferruci 2013, 304-305).
Time Period 04 Years	240-260
Time Period 04 Description	In the mid-third century CE the function of the <i>insula</i> saw radical changes. This was the point at which the underground floor was split into various rectangular rooms. Some of the rooms were pillaged and abandoned, and others were made into workshops (Ferruci 2013, 305-306).
Time Period 05 Years	375-400
Time Period 05 Description	In the late fourth century CE some of the rooms were turned into cisterns (Ferruci 2013, 306).
Time Period 06 Years	400-550
Time Period 06 Description	The phase of burial and abandonment of the building took place in the end of the fourth through the fifth century, and was completed by the sixth century (Ferruci 2013, 308-309).
Excavation history	This area, containing two <i>insulae</i> of which only one was closely investigated, was excavated during the first phase of excavation of the Ospedale Militare in the Lateran region between 1987 and 1992, in the south zone of Saggio I (Ferruci 2013, 299).
Description of Rooms	The <i>insula</i> a cisterne is located between the <i>domus</i> of Gaudentius (cat. Entry II.02) and the public structure of the Basilica Hilariana. It has a trapezoidal plan based on the location of the surrounding streets, and a second <i>insula</i> with

Field	Data
	trapezoidal plan rests to the south on the other side of a narrow alley. On the basis of comparison to other <i>insulae</i> on the Celio Palazzo suggests a plan with <i>tabernae</i> on the ground floor and apartments above, though it could have had a plan more akin to a horreum or market. The spaces excavated in 1987 indicated a large open space punctuated by square pilasters (Ferruci 2013, 229, and n. 6). The subterranean level contained many rectangular rooms of different sizes for different uses. The dividing walls of these rooms were added to the originally open space. These rows of subterranean rooms were originally interpreted as cisterns, connected to the Claudian-Neronian aqueduct. Two of the underground rooms are mutually accessible through an entry that was present throughout their use and show similar contents. One of these rooms has an opening in the floor, covered by a flat arch, believed to be an access to a deeper still room or cell. One of the rooms in the fourth century shows the foundation wall for a wooden stairway (Ferruci 2013, 300-307).
Structural building techniques	A well from the earliest period was originally constructed in brick, and in later periods extended in mortar (Ferruci 2013, 300-302). The perimeter walls, constructed around the Flavian period, had gola di lupo windows to let air into the lower spaces, and below that openings for drains to flush out waste water. Large square pilasters held up the ceiling of the underground rooms, which were formed in cross vaults. The pilasters were constructed in brick, with each brick roughly 4 cm alternating with thin layers of mortar. In the Flavian period the paving of the underground rooms was also in brick. The piers were reinforced, and the ceiling sustained by new supporting arches in the second century, and the floors were repaved in stones (Ferruci 2013, 303-304). The rooms underground developed into separate rectangular spaces through different construction periods. Particularly, in the mid-third century walls were constructed between support pilasters to enclose certain areas. One room in the third century was paved in sesquipedal bricks and contained the repaired Republican well for functional purposes. A flat brick arch supports a space to access an unexplored underground room (Ferruci 2013, 300-302, 306).
Finds from the site	- In the fourth century in a foundation ditch created for the placement of two reinforcing columns a high-quality gold ring was found. The wall nearby supported a wooden stair (Ferruci 2013, 307-308).
Plan location	For a plan of the section of the <i>insula</i> that was excavated here, see Ferruci 2013, 300, fig. 2. The two <i>insulae</i> extend beyond this area but were not further excavated. For a plan of their probable limits, see Palazzo and Pavolini 2013, "Pianta della sommita del Celio."
Bibliography	Bassoli, C. 2013. "L'Insula del Saggio I, Settore Sud-Est. Esame di Alcuni Contesti di Materiali," in Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. <i>Gli Dèi Propizi:</i>

Field	Data
	La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000. Roma: Quasar. 311-323.
	Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> , 709-746.
	Ferruci, F. 2013. "L'Insula del Saggio I, Settore Sud-Est Inquadramento Generale," in Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. <i>Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica</i> <i>Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000.</i> Roma: Quasar. 299-310.
	Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. 2013. <i>Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000.</i> Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	I.04
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Gregoriana
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Biblioteca di Agapito; <i>Domus</i> Anicii Petronii; <i>Domus</i> Aniciorum; <i>Domus</i> of Gregory the Great; <i>Domus</i> Anicii; <i>Domus</i> Anicii Petronii
Time Period 01 Start Year	101
Time Period 01 End Year	193
Time Period 01 Description	A tall structure in <i>opus mixtum</i> , dated to the second century CE, is the oldest construction phase noted, and is embedded in the apse of the Biblioteca of Agapitus (Palazzo 2003, 45).
Time Period 02 Years	193-235

Field	Data
Time Period 02 Description	A brick arch with an opening above it, can be dated to the Severan period, and was also built into the later apse of the Biblioteca of Agapitus. Other fragments of walls in <i>opus latericium</i> and <i>opus mixtum</i> were found parallel to and orthogonal to the Clivo di Scauro from the phase of construction preceding the apsed room. An <i>insula</i> has been suggested by Palazzo based on the wall fragments, including <i>tabernae</i> under the Oratorio di S. Barbara. The <i>insula</i> would have been delimited on the north by the Clivo di Scauro, and on the west by the vicus Trium Ararum (Palazzo 2003, 45).
Time Period 03 Years	301-400
Time Period 03 Description	The construction of the apsed hall, which may be a room of a late antique <i>domus</i> , is dated generally to the fourth century CE. The date of this structure is given by means of analysis of the method of the brickwork. This <i>aula</i> is generally identified with the Biblioteca of Pope Agapitus from 535-536, noted in historical sources. Soil from the first period of use in the fourth century was found in the drain attached to the apse (Guidobaldi, 113; Palazzo 2003, 48-51).
Time Period 04 Years	401-600
Time Period 04 Description	A later construction phase is indicated, when the <i>aula</i> had a wing added south of the south perimeter wall, along with additional architectural elements. In particular a new drainage system was added outside the apse, and inside the <i>aula</i> , two east-west walls were added orthogonal to the north-south dividing wall. A homogenous layer from the fifth to sixth centuries fills the exterior drain, indicating this period of use (Palazzo 2003, 52).
Excavation history	Gregory the Great discusses his donation to the church and conversion into a monastery of a property, which he calls <i>locus noster</i> , and which later sources call <i>domus</i> or <i>doma</i> , in his letter (Hillner 2003, 133). The large apsed room with windows, called the Bibliotheca Agapeti, was discovered on the clivus Scauri, near the church of S. Gregorio sul Celio. The location of this property at the modern church of S. Gregorio sul Celio has led scholars to see archaeological remains in the vicinity as the <i>domus</i> of Gregory the Great (Guidobaldi, 112-113). The remains attributed to the Gregory and Agapitus were excavated and restored in 1999 as a part of the work for the 2000 Jubilee year. Fragments of previously unknown walls were found during work to lay new paving in the area. The excavation work was conducted by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma and coordinated by the architect M. G. Filetici and the archaeologists Dr. C. Pavolini and Dr. R. Santolini. Workers from SAIVA were directed by Dr. P. Palazzo to physically dig the site

Field	Data
	(Palazzo 2003, 45).
Description of Rooms	The archaeological remains in the area include an <i>insula</i> from the beginning of the third century under the oratory of S. Barbara, a wall from the beginning of the second century enclosed in the oratory of S. Andrea, and the Bibliotheca Agapeti, which is the only sizable architecture that remains from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century, the period of Gregory's property. The remains of the Bibliotheca Agapeti, therefore, have been often interpreted as an <i>aula</i> of a late antique <i>domus</i> , and associated with that of Gregory the Great (Guidobaldi 1995, 113). These remains of the Bibliotheca Agapeti, so far excavated, that may be a late antique <i>domus</i> in this area include the foundations and walls of a large rectangular <i>aula</i> with an apse on one side. The upper walls of the apse include three large arched windows, which are partially preserved. Excavated remains include a foundation wall running north-south within the <i>aula</i> , possibly for a septum wall with an arcade, which separates the area of the apse (Palazzo 2003, 48).
Structural building techniques	The oldest visible construct consists of fragmentary mid-imperial walls in <i>opus reticulatum</i> , <i>opus latericium</i> , and <i>opus mixtum</i> (Palazzo 2003, 45). The brickwork of the fourth century <i>aula</i> was created using spoliated bricks in a regular pattern with a 0.32 meter module. The <i>aula</i> includes fragments of earlier constructions in its foundations. The apse was constructed on an <i>opus latericium</i> drum base with elevation in <i>opus vittatum</i> (Palazzo 2003, 49-50).
Finds from the site	
Additional notable points	It is unknown if the house that Gregory the Great turns into a monastery, which he discussed thoroughly in his letters, is the same as the house that he inherited from his father, which he mentioned in his Dialogi (Hillner 2003, 133). Guidobaldi links Gregory the Great to the Anicii Petronii based on references to relatives among other Popes (Guidobaldi 1995, 113). The Biblioteca of Pope Agapitus is believed to have been built as a part of an intended college that he intended to found along with Cassiodorus.
Plan location	For elevation see Filetici 2003, fig. 1 by Antonio Cucinotta. For a plan of the excavated structures, including the <i>aula</i> and the <i>insula</i> , see Pavolini 2003, page 69, fig. 1.
Bibliography	Englen, Alia, and Franco Astolfi. 2003. Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri, Palinsesti romani, Roma.

Field	Data
	Filetici, Maria Grazia. 2003. "L'aula absidata c.d. di Papa Agapito e gli edifici antichi che costeggiano il Clivus Scauri: architettura e restauri." In <i>Caelius I,</i> <i>Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri</i> , edited by Alia Englen and Franco Astolfi, 131-148. Roma: "Erma" di Bretschneider.
	Gregory the Great. Registrum Epistolarum.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Gregorius I (Anicii Petronii?)." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 112-113. Roma: Quasar.
	Hillner, Julia. 2003. "Domus, Family, and Inheritance: The Senatorial Family House in Late Antique Rome," <i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i> 93, 129-145.
	Palazzo, Paola. 2003. "Le metamorfosi di un'insula. Il complesso della "Biblioteca di Agapito" sul Clivo di Scauro." In <i>Caelius I, Santa Maria in</i> <i>Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri</i> , edited by Alia Englen and Franco Astolfi, 68-75. Roma: "Erma" di Bretschneider.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2003. "Indagini e Restauri Lungo il Clivus Scauri." In <i>Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri</i> , edited by Alia Englen and Franco Astolfi, 45-61. Roma: "Erma" di Bretschneider.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.01a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	domus under SS. Giovanni e Paolo
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Case Romane al Celio; <i>domus</i> Celimontana
Time Period 01	120

Field	Data
Start Year	
Time Period 01 End Year	149
Time Period 01 Description	The first phase of the <i>domus</i> began in the Hadrianic period, under the north right nave of the church. It was a luxurious private house (Brenk 1995, 170)
Time Period 02 Years	150-159
Time Period 02 Description	Construction of the domestic terrace building with thermal rooms on the lower floors and domestic spaces on the upper floor took place in the mid-second century (Krautheimer 1937, 279).
Time Period 03 Years	160-275
Time Period 03 Description	The thermal terrace house was extended to the east, and also some rooms to the west (Krautheimer 1937, 279).
Excavation history	In 1887, Father Germano di San Stanislao excavated beneath the church and discovered a complex of ancient rooms. Br. Lamberto della Santissima Vergine directed further excavations in 1913-1915. From 1948 to 1951 much of the church and its medieval structures were restored. (Krautheimer 1937, 273) In 1856 and 1913 further parts of the underground thermal structures were excavated and reburied (Krautheimer 1937, 279).
Description of Rooms	Fragmentary walls from the buildings on either side of the alley (later d-d") north of the Clivus Suburanus exist throughout the remains below the church. One such wall can be seen from the west near the apse. This was originally a multi-storied building (Krautheimer 1937, 278). In the mid-second century a terrace house was added with still extant thermal rooms on a lower level, then accessible to a now buried street to the south, and with domestic spaces on an upper level, some of which has been excavated in the northeastern part of the underground of the church (Krautheimer 1937, 279).
Structural building techniques	This phase is made of <i>opus reticulatum</i> with broad horizontal brick stripes, with five courses each, each strip c. 29.5 cm high (1 Roman foot) (Krautheimer 1937, 278, pl. 36). The second century house with thermal rooms was of typical masonry of that period, showing an average of 9 bricks and 9 mortarbeds for every 50 cm, 6 bricks and 6 mortarbeds form a modulus of 29.5-30.5 cm (1 Roman food). The bricks in this period were 3.4 to 4.0 cm

Field	Data
	thick, with an average of 3.5 cm, and they are deep red or light yellow. The mortarbeds varied from 1.5 to 2.0 cm, with an average of 1.7cm. The extension to the east of the same <i>domus</i> , not long after its construction, has similar masonry with a slightly thicker mortarbed, varying up to 3.1 cm and averaging 2.1 cm, creating a modulus of 28.5 cm from only 5 bricks and 5 mortarbeds (Krautheimer 1937, 279). The buildings of this period are in cross-barrel vaults, with white wall painting framed in red lines (Brenk 1995, 170).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Brick stamps of the 123 CE type found throughout the excavations, likely from the first house phase (Krautheimer 1937, 278).</li> <li>Wall paintings: White wall painting with red framing lines (Brenk 1995, 170)</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Krautheimer fig. XXXVI.
	Astolfi, Franco, and G. De Spirito. 1995. "Domus SS. Iohannis et Pauli." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 117-118, fig. 38. Roma: Quasar.
	Brenk, Beat. 1995. "Microstoria sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata," <i>Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte</i> 18: 169-205.
	Brenk, Beat. 2001. "Le costruzioni sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," <i>Aurea Roma</i> : 154-158.
	Case romane del Celio sottostanti la Basilica dei Ss. Giovanni e Paolo al Celio: guida breve. [Roma]: Spazio Libero soc. coop. soc.
Bibliography	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
	Englen, Alia, and Franco Astolfi. 2003. <i>Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri, Palinsesti romani</i> , Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Englen, Alia. 2014. <i>Caelius II. La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo e le case romane</i> . Edited by Filetici M.g., Pavolini Carlo and R. Santolini, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Krautheimer, Richard, Spencer Corbett, Volfango Frankl, and Institute of Fine Arts New York University. 1937. <i>Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae:</i> <i>Le basiliche cristiane antiche di Roma (sec. IV-IX) = The early Christian</i>

Field	Data
	<i>basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.).</i> 5 vols, <i>Monumenti di antichite cristiana</i> , New York: Institute of Fine Arts.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.
	Priester, Sascha. 2002. Ad summas tegulas: Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebaudeblocken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Ranucci, Cristina. 2006. "I Riquadri Con Figure Simboliche, Fregi Floreali E Finti Sectilia Dell' <i>aula</i> 'Dell'orante' Sotto La Chiesa Dei Santi Giovanni E Paolo." In <i>L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove Immagini 312-468</i> , edited by Maria Andaloro, 224-27. Turnhout: Brepols.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.
	Trinci, Margherita Ceechelli. 1978. "Osservazioni sul complesso della 'domus' Celimontana dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," <i>Atti del IX Congresso internazionale</i> <i>di archeologia cristiana</i> I, 551-562.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	П.01b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	<i>insula</i> under SS. Giovanni e Paolo
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Case Romane al Celio; domus Celimontana
Time Period 01 Start Year	205
Time Period 01	275

Field	Data
End Year	
Time Period 01 Description	The first phase of the adjoining <i>insulae</i> took place in the third century CE. Located under west central nave, the remains consisted of multistory housing with apartments and botteghe; and under east central nave, the remains consisted of a house with botteghe visible on the clivus Scauri (Brenk 1995, 170). The <i>insula</i> may have destroyed part of the original <i>domus</i> to the north, which now has a completely absent south part, to construct this multistory house with shops on the clivus Scauri in the third cenctury CE, but we are unable to affirm that (Brenk 1995, 170).
Time Period 02 Years	250-275
Time Period 02 Description	The portico along the Clivus Suburanus is covered, extending the apartments above, darkening shop interiors and creating row of rooms 1, 1', 1", 1"', and 1"'' (Krautheimer 1937, 282)
Excavation history	In 1887, Father Germano di San Stanislao excavated beneath the church and discovered a complex of ancient rooms. Br. Lamberto della Santissima Vergine directed further excavations in 1913-1915. From 1948 to 1951 much of the church and its medieval structures were restored (Krautheimer 1937, 273).
Description of Rooms	In the third century to the south of the former alley, an <i>insula</i> with botteghe on the bottom floor and two upper floors of apartments was constructed (Brenk 1995, 170). The shops opened onto the Clivus Suburanus, but also had back rooms which opened onto the courtyard of the <i>domus</i> , the former alley, to the north, which suggests a connection between the shops and the <i>domus</i> owner (Brenk 1995, 171).
Structural building techniques	The masonry of the <i>insula</i> remains are brickwork masonry, with 10 bricks and 9 mortarbeds averaging 50 cm. Roughly 6 bricks and 6 mortarbeds make a modulus of 29-30 cm. The bricks range from 2.7 to 4.5 cm, with an average of 3.3 cm, and the mortarbeds from 1.2 to 2.4 cm, with an average of 1.8 cm (Krautheimer 1937, 279). The masonry of the covered portico, rooms 1-1''', differs from that of the shops behind. It averages 9 bricks and 9 mortarbeds in 50 cm, and the bricks are 2.9 to 4.5 cm high with an average of 3.6 cm. The mortarbeds range from 1.7 to 2.7 cm with an average of 2.1 cm thick. 6 bricks and 5 mortarbed form a modulus of 31 cm (Krautheimer 1937, 282).
Finds from the	

Field	Data
site	
Plan location	See Krautheimer 1937, fig. XXXVI.
	Astolfi, Franco, and G. De Spirito. 1995. "Domus SS. Iohannis et Pauli." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 117-118, fig. 38. Roma: Quasar.
	Brenk, Beat. 1995. "Microstoria sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata," <i>Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte</i> 18, 169-205.
	Brenk, Beat. 2001. "Le costruzioni sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," Aurea Roma, 154-158.
Bibliography	Case romane del Celio sottostanti la Basilica dei Ss. Giovanni e Paolo al Celio: guida breve. [Roma]: Spazio Libero soc. coop. soc.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
	Englen, Alia, and Franco Astolfi. 2003. <i>Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri, Palinsesti romani</i> , Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Englen, Alia. 2014. <i>Caelius II. La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo e le case romane</i> . Edited by Filetici M.g., Pavolini Carlo and R. Santolini, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Krautheimer, Richard, Spencer Corbett, Volfango Frankl, and Institute of Fine Arts New York University. 1937. <i>Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae:</i> <i>Le basiliche cristiane antiche di Roma (sec. IV-IX) = The early Christian</i> <i>basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.).</i> 5 vols, <i>Monumenti di antichite cristiana</i> , New York: Institute of Fine Arts.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.
	Priester, Sascha. 2002. Ad summas tegulas: Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebaudeblocken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Field	Data
	Ranucci, Cristina. 2006. "I Riquadri Con Figure Simboliche, Fregi Floreali E Finti Sectilia Dell'aula 'Dell'orante' Sotto La Chiesa Dei Santi Giovanni E Paolo." In <i>L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove Immagini 312-468</i> , edited by Maria Andaloro, 224-27. Turnhout: Brepols.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.
	Trinci, Margherita Ceechelli. 1978. "Osservazioni sul complesso della 'domus' Celimontana dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," <i>Atti del IX Congresso internazionale</i> <i>di archeologia cristiana</i> I, 551-562.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.01c
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	domus under SS. Giovanni e Paolo
Other Domus/Insula Names	Case Romane al Celio; <i>domus</i> Celimontana
Time Period 01 Start Year	276
Time Period 01 End Year	300
Time Period 01 Description	A combined <i>domus</i> took over both structures. The ground floor of the house of "botteghe" was incorporated into the private <i>domus</i> at the end of the third, and the two <i>nymphaea</i> were built not before the end of the third century CE (Brenk 1995, 173-175). Frescos were added to room o and frescos and mosaic decoration to rooms d" and p in the last period of the fourth century. Room o" was partially painted in this period. Stairway q was added in this period leading up to the private house. [Date source phase 3.3 Brenk 1995, 175, 188]
Time Period 02	300-350

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 02 Description	The fresco decoration went up in two phases, first that above in o and d''', and then in other of the former botteghe rooms. In the first years of the fourth century frescos were added to walls of these rooms, including those of former botteghe (rooms o', n', and o''). Room o'' was repainted and more thoroughly painted as the doorway had to be moved and enlarged to make it more visible to the courtyard. Moving the doorway cut the previous wallpaintings requiring the new paint. Room h' remained a service or mercantile function with amphore found there, as the only botteghe room not altered for presentation in this period. By 363 the <i>domus</i> is thought to have been Christian and destroyed under Emperor Julian. The paintings of philosophers, the Orant, and the bue Api, suggest a strong interest in religion by the patrons, but do not definitively state whether the owner was pagan or Christian in this period. [Date source phase 3.3 Brenk 1995, 179-180, 183]
Time Period 03 Years	363
Time Period 03 Description	Tradition states that Ss. Giovanni and Paolo were martyred under Julian the Apostate and buried here in their home (Case Romane).
Time Period 04 Years	390-410
Time Period 04 Description	The construction of the <i>Titulus Pammachii</i> , which is mentioned for the first time in 499, but was constructed earlier. It became the church of Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (Brenk 1995, 205).
Excavation history	In 1887, Father Germano di San Stanislao excavated beneath the church and discovered a complex of ancient rooms. Br. Lamberto della Santissima Vergine directed further excavations in 1913-1915. From 1948 to 1951 much of the church and its medieval structures were restored. (Krautheimer 1937, 273)
Description of Rooms	The fourth century phase has a decorative <i>nymphaeum</i> in courtyard d''', which was the former alley between the <i>domus</i> and <i>insula</i> of the previous phase. The <i>nymphaeum</i> has a mythological fresco and a block used as a mensa (table or altar), which is atypical for a <i>nymphaeum</i> . Room p opens off of d''' and has a barrel-vaulted ceiling, dressed in marble and multicolored mosaics, with a floor in black and white mosaic. This phase of the <i>domus</i> incorporated multiple (still extant) former botteghe into the house (rooms n, n', n''', n'''', o, o', o''', o'''', and stairway m). Room o has frescoed wall paintings with seasonal themes, rooms o', o'' and n' have faux painted marble panels. Room o'' is the so-

377
1

Field	Data
	called room of the Orant with philosophers and seasonal figures around a fake dome above faux marble (Brenk 1995, 175-6).
Structural building techniques	The masonry of stairway q dates from the third phase of construction, and is brickwork. 9 bricks and 81/2 mortarbeds average in 50 cm, with 5 bricks and 5 mortarbeds forming a modulus of 29.5 to 30.5 cm. The bricks average 3.5 cm high and the mortarbeds range from 2.0 to 3.6 cm with an average of 2.4 cm. A few courses of small tufa blocks intersperse the brick masonry (Krautheimer 1937, 284).
	Artworks:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li><i>Nymphaeum</i>: In rooms d'' and p of the fourth century phase of the <i>domus</i>, this <i>nymphaeum</i> is dressed in marble with multicolored mosaics on the walls and ceilings and black and white mosaic floors. It is from the last decades of the third century to the beginning of the fourth century. (Brenk 1995, 176)</li> <li>Fresco above <i>nymphaeum</i>: Mythological fresco of unidentified pagan dieties (Brenk 1995, 176).</li> <li>Mensa block: A block used as an altar or table, 103 cm long and 75.5 cm wide, dressed on the front in marble. It was set against, in a second phase, a 46 cm high step painted in red flowers. In a third phase, it was expanded to 188 cm long, 119 high, and 136 wide, and painted red. On the lower border is a rectangular opening that shows a clay pipe, suggesting the use as a mensa for wine and water (Brenk 1995, 176).</li> <li>Seasons fresco: Fresco wall painting with genii of the seasons and harvest scenes.</li> <li>Frescos of faux marble panels: Room n' painted with faux colored marble panels and a frieze of faux opus isodomum and periodic tondi and above this is a vine on a white background. Room o'' has the same faux marble paneled fresco. This is based on the <i>opus sectile</i> style popular in the fourth century Room o'' is the so-called room of the Orant with philosophers and seasonal figures around a fake dome above faux marble. The Orant is dated to 280-320 based on hairstyle (Brenk 1995, 179-180).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Krautheimer fig. XXXVI.
Bibliography	Brenk, Beat. 1995. "Microstoria sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata," <i>Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte</i> 18, 169-205.
	Brenk, Beat. 2001. "Le costruzioni sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," <i>Aurea Roma</i> , 154-158.

Field	Data
	Case romane del Celio sottostanti la Basilica dei Ss. Giovanni e Paolo al Celio: guida breve. [Roma]: Spazio Libero soc. coop. soc.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. <i>Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie</i> , [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
	Englen, Alia, and Franco Astolfi. 2003. Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri, Palinsesti romani, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Englen, Alia. 2014. <i>Caelius II. La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo e le case romane</i> . Edited by Filetici M.g., Pavolini Carlo and R. Santolini, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Krautheimer, Richard, Spencer Corbett, Volfango Frankl, and Institute of Fine Arts New York University. 1937. <i>Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae:</i> <i>Le basiliche cristiane antiche di Roma (sec. IV-IX) = The early Christian</i> <i>basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.).</i> 5 vols, <i>Monumenti di antichite cristiana</i> , New York: Institute of Fine Arts.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.
	Priester, Sascha. 2002. Ad summas tegulas: Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebaudeblocken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Ranucci, Cristina. 2006. "I Riquadri Con Figure Simboliche, Fregi Floreali E Finti Sectilia Dell'aula 'Dell'orante' Sotto La Chiesa Dei Santi Giovanni E Paolo." In <i>L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove Immagini 312-468</i> , edited by Maria Andaloro, 224-27. Turnhout: Brepols.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.
	Trinci, Margherita Ceechelli. 1978. "Osservazioni sul complesso della 'domus' Celimontana dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana I, 551-562.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.01d
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Titulus Pammachii
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus Ss. Giovanni e Paolo
Time Period 01 Start Year	410
Time Period 01 End Year	550
Time Period 01 Description	The construction of the <i>Titulus Pammachii</i> in roughly 410. (Krautheimer 1937, 270) It is mentioned for the first time in 499, but was constructed earlier. It became the church of Ss. Giovanni e Paolo. (Brenk 1995, 205)
Excavation history	In 1887, Father Germano di San Stanislao excavated beneath the church and discovered a complex of ancient rooms. Br. Lamberto della Santissima Vergine directed further excavations in 1913-1915. From 1948 to 1951 much of the church and its medieval structures were restored. (Krautheimer 1937, 273)
Description of Rooms	
Structural building techniques	
Finds from the site	
Plan location	See Krautheimer 1937, fig. XXXVI.
Bibliography	Brenk, Beat. 1995. "Microstoria sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata," <i>Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte</i> 18, 169-205.
	Krautheimer, Richard, Spencer Corbett, Volfango Frankl, and Institute of Fine

Field	Data
	Arts New York University. 1937. Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae: Le basiliche cristiane antiche di Roma (sec. IV-IX) = The early Christian basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.). 5 vols, Monumenti di antichite cristiana, New York: Institute of Fine Arts.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.02a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Gaudentius
Time Period 01 Start Year	69
Time Period 01 End Year	160
Time Period 01 Description	Originally this structure consisted of two Flavian <i>insulae</i> , which had almost square plans at 80 by 85 feet and a blind alley between. By the late Antonine period they were purchased and combined into a <i>domus</i> . This was very unusual for the second century in Rome, though more common in the fourth century (Spinola 1992, 955; 1993, 474).
Excavation history	See II.02b.
Description of Rooms	The two Flavian <i>insulae</i> were separated by a blind alley, which is somewhat identifiable in its remodeled plan from when it became a single-family residence. The <i>insulae</i> were roughly 80 x 85 feet in plan (Spinola 1992, 955). The blind alley likely was always a private alley and did not fully cross through the two <i>insulae</i> (Spinola 1992, 957). For the <i>domus</i> plan, see catalog entry II.02b.
Structural building techniques	The <i>insulae</i> and <i>domus</i> are in brickwork.
Finds from the	See II.02b.

Field	Data
site	
Plan location	See Spinola 1992, Fig. 2.
	Barbera, Mariarosaria, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "La domus dei Valerii sul Celio alla luce delle recenti scoperte," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 76, 75-354.
	Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole</i> <i>francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> , 709-746.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1993. "La topografia antica della sommità del Celio : gli scavi nell'Ospedale Militare (1987 - 1992)." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> . 443-505.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1994. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia del Celio da rinvenimenti casuali di scavo," <i>Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma</i> , 71-94.
Bibliography	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2013. "Il Quartiere: I Nuovi Dati Archeologici." In <i>Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000</i> , edited by Paola Palazzo and Carlo Pavolini, 493-504. Roma: Quasar.
	Rossi, Domenico de, and Paolo Alessandro Maffei. 1704. Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne data in luce da D. de Rossi. Illustrata colle sposizioni a ciascheduna immagine de P. A. Maffei. L.P.
	Spinola, G. 2000. "La domus di Gaudentius." <i>Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana</i> , edited by S. Ensoli, E. L. Rocca, 152-155. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Spinola, Giandomenico, P. Palazzo, A. Gabucci, and Andrea Carignani. 1990. "Nuovi dati sulla topografia del Celio: le ricerche nell'area dell'Ospedale militare," <i>Archeologia laziale</i> X (pt. 2): 72-80.

Field	Data
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1992. "Il Dominus Gaudentius e l'Antinoo Casali: alcuni aspetti della fine del paganesimo da una piccola domus sul Celio?" <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 953-979.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1993. "La domus di Gaudentius," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> 100: 27 cm.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1995. "Domus: Gaudentius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 109-110, fig. 37. Roma: Quasar.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1996. "Recenti Scavi al Celio," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 1 (2): 6-13.
	Various Reports on Ospedale Militare Excavations:
	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> , 1885 - 66, 248, 316, 341, 422, 472; 1886 - 11, 121, 269, 416, 451; 1888 - 388, 434, 623, 696; 1889 - 32, 65, 337, 398; and 1890 - 79, 113.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.02b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Gaudentius
Time Period 01 Start Year	161
Time Period 01 End Year	193
Time Period 01 Description	By the late Antonine period two <i>insulae</i> had been purchased and combined into a <i>domus</i> . This was very unusual for the second century in Rome, though more common in the fourth century (Spinola 1992, 955; Spinola 1993, 474). The fountain's inscribed fistula dates the construction of the <i>domus</i> to the period between Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus (Spinola 1992, 957-960).

Field	Data
Time Period 02 Years	225-275
Time Period 02 Description	The mosaic in the <i>triclinium</i> had third century geometric decoration (Spinola 1993, 476-7). A series of building events occurred in the mid-third century. Many of the openings to the courtyard were reduced, a small latrine was built, the intercolumniations towards the small portico were closed, and a large brick archway appropriate to third century tastes was constructed on ionic capitals (Spinola 1992, 957; Spinola 1993, 477).
Time Period 03 Years	350-400
Time Period 03 Description	An inscription was inserted into the third century <i>triclinium</i> mosaic stating, "GAVDENTI VIV[AS]," as a part of another remodel, possibly with a change of owner in the fourth century (Spinola 1993, 476-7). The last owner of this <i>domus</i> , indicated by the inscription, is believed to be the same pagan Gaudentius, mentioned in the Letters of Symmachus (Symm., <i>Epist.</i> , IX, 133), who was a senator at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries (Spinola 1992, 966).
Time Period 04 Years	401-440
Time Period 04 Description	Shortly before the mid-fifth century some rooms of the <i>domus</i> were buried, and its primary residential use ended (Spinola 1992, 958).
Time Period 05 Years	475-515
Time Period 05 Description	The final abandonment of the building occurred between the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries (Spinola 1992, 958).
Excavation history	The beginnings of excavation of this <i>domus</i> came with sculptures from the villa Casali (of Antinoo Casali) that are interpreted as originating from this <i>domus</i> . The villa Casali was located at this site over where the remains were found around 1704, at the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century (Spinola 1993, 474). One portion of the casino dei Casali was built directly over the remains of the <i>domus</i> Gaudentius with aligned walls, and Maffei recounts the discovery in detail in one area of the casino filled with lime in a later wall built of statues and busts. Spinola suggests the <i>triclinium</i> , which was under the casino dei Casali, as the original position for the Antinous, and suggests that Gaudentius himself may have placed the statue

Field	Data
	there in the fourth century. The arch over two ionic columns from the courtyard, described below, was discovered in situ during the construction of the Ospedale Militare in 1886, underlining how little of these remains had been disturbed up to that point (Spinola 1993, 479-483; Maffei and de Rossi 1704).
	Further excavations began in February 1987, under the società Pegaso a r.L and the direction of dott. Carlo Pavolini, on behalf of the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma and funded jointly by the Ministero della difesa and the Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali (Spinola 1992, 955). Excavation work in this area continued in 1987-1992 for construction on the Ospedale Militare, and in addition to finding out considerably more about the surrounding neighborhood, the excavators deepened the available understanding of the <i>domus</i> Gaudentius, as well (Pavolini 1993 443-444).
Description of Rooms	The house is oriented around a small central courtyard with two columns, and had <i>tabernae</i> to the north and south sides (Spinola 1993, 475). Due to the <i>domus</i> plan being based on two even <i>insulae</i> , the more decorative rooms were placed in one former <i>insula</i> , the south-eastern half, and the more functionally purposed rooms in the other (Spinola 1992, 957). The entrance to the house leads from the alley into the former space between the previous <i>insulae</i> . This entrance leads into a small room opening onto a courtyard followed by a larger room at the back, which has a hexagonal mosaic in the corridor leading to it, of the same design as other <i>opus sectile</i> in the <i>domus</i> (Spinola 1992, 962). Another entrance led into the house on the opposite side through a vestibulum and into the courtyard (Spinola 1993, 475-476). The central courtyard has porticoes on two sides and rooms opening directly off of it on the other two sides. Other rooms surround the courtyard taking advantage of air and light provided by the courtyard are mosaic floors. The mosaic decoration, with a complex pattern of intersecting shields, presents a section added after the original mosaic construction, but also in mosaic, with the inscription "GAVDEN / TI / VIV [AS]", an auspicious statement dedicated to the landlord, which is a fundamental element for the identification of the property (Spinola 1992, 958-962). On the south side of the <i>domus</i> is a room paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> leading up steeply, suggesting strongly it is a ramp to a higher floor, possibly with more <i>cubicula</i> than found on the ground floor (Spinola 1992, 962-963). The northern wing of the house, to the north of the entrance from the area with the courtyard contains mainly service spaces. It contains a small domestic fullonica. There are rooms connecting to an external taberna that probably served the proprietors of the taberna, as well as stairways leading to the basement with rooms used as cellars and leading to the upper floor. There is also a likely open area in the cent

Field	Data		
Structural building techniques	The <i>insulae</i> and <i>domus</i> are in brickwork. The courtyard was largely paved in opus tessellatum, with sheets of marble on one side near a fountain (Spinola 1992, 960). The courtyard originally had pilasters replaced with an arch over two columns. <i>Opus sectile</i> paved the ramp to the floor above in the southern half of the <i>domus</i> , and the northern half had stairs. The corridor from the side <i>domus</i> entry had <i>opus sectile</i> (Spinola 1992, 957-965).		
	Brick stamps: (Spinola 1992, 957)         - Hadrianic (CIL, XV 583 b; 595 b).         Computer dates to 124 CE (CH - XV 02 b; S - 560; LSO - 120)		
	<ul> <li>Consular dates to 134 CE (CIL, XV 92 b; S., 569; LSO, 129).</li> <li>Antonine to 150 CE (CIL, XV 735; LSO, 631; CIL, XV 863).</li> </ul>		
	Fistula – fountain courtyard (Spinola 1992, 957).		
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscribed "[T FL]AVI VS CARINVS FEC(it)" – a man known and dated to between Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, dating the creation of the <i>domus</i> from the <i>insulae</i>.</li> </ul>		
	Artworks:		
	<ul> <li>The Antinous Casali, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek di Copenhagen (235 cm high) (Spinola 1993, 480-481).</li> <li>Cabled columns with ionic capitals 330 cm tall – found in situ as supports for an arch in 1886 during the construction of the Ospedale militare (Spinola 1993, 480).</li> </ul>		
Additional	The entire neighborhood around this <i>domus</i> builds up during the late second century when the <i>insulae</i> are converted to a <i>domus</i> . In particular the Basilica Hilariana was constructed, the <i>insula</i> with cistern was remodeled (see Cat. entry I.03), and another house was constructed on the north side of the road (see Cat. entry II.09). The <i>domus</i> faced the via Caelemontana to its southeast (Spinola 1992, 955-957).		
Additional notable points	The name " <i>domus Gaudentius</i> " stems from the inscription in a fourth century mosaic. The inscription was inserted into the pre-existing mosaic, suggesting that the named "GAVDENTI" may be a new owner (Spinola 1993, 476-477). The creation of the <i>domus</i> from the <i>insulae</i> by T. Flavius Carinus is suggested by an inscribed fistula found at the fountain (Spinola 1992, 960). The owner for the earlier Flavian <i>insulae</i> cannot be determined, and the <i>domus/insulae</i> complex is commonly named based on the identifiable late antique name.		
Plan location	See Spinola 1992, Fig. 2.		

Field	Data
Bibliography	Barbera, Mariarosaria, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "La domus dei Valerii sul Celio alla luce delle recenti scoperte," <i>Papers of the British</i> <i>School at Rome</i> 76: 75-354.
	Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 709-746.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1993. "La topografia antica della sommità del Celio: gli scavi nell'Ospedale Militare (1987 - 1992)." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> : 443-505.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1994. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia del Celio da rinvenimenti casuali di scavo," <i>Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma</i> : 71-94.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2013. "Il Quartiere: I Nuovi Dati Archeologici." In <i>Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000</i> , edited by Paola Palazzo and Carlo Pavolini, 493-504. Roma: Quasar.
	Rossi, Domenico de, and Paolo Alessandro Maffei. 1704. Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne data in luce da D. de Rossi. Illustrata colle sposizioni a ciascheduna immagine de P. A. Maffei. L.P.
	Spinola, G. 2000. "La domus di Gaudentius." In <i>Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana</i> , edited by S. Ensoli, E. L. Rocca, 152-155. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Spinola, Giandomenico, P. Palazzo, A. Gabucci, and Andrea Carignani. 1990. "Nuovi dati sulla topografia del Celio: le ricerche nell'area dell'Ospedale militare," <i>Archeologia laziale</i> X (pt. 2): 72-80.

Field	Data
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1992. "Il Dominus Gaudentius e l'Antinoo Casali: alcuni aspetti della fine del paganesimo da una piccola domus sul Celio?" <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 953-979.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1993. "La domus di Gaudentius," Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung 100: 27 cm.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1995. "Domus: Gaudentius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 109-110, fig. 37. Roma: Quasar.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1996. "Recenti Scavi al Celio," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 1 (2): 6-13.
	Various Reports on Ospedale Militare Excavations:
	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> , 1885 - 66, 248, 316, 341, 422, 472; 1886 - 11, 121, 269, 416, 451; 1888 - 388, 434, 623, 696; 1889 - 32, 65, 337, 398; and 1890 - 79, 113.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.03a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Valeriorum: earlier housing
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Valerii
Time Period 01 Start Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	31 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	Evidence of construction phases that were built and rebuilt from the Late- Republican settlement phase to the third century was uncovered during a conservation project of the corridor in 2006. The first of the construction

Field	Data	
	phases was in the Late-Republican period. Small amounts of remains from this period of two parallel architectural structures were found, which were cut to their foundations in the Augustan period. Not enough remains to determine function or articulations, but there were at least two parallel walls in a pattern slightly divergent from the later corridor above (Barbera 2008, 90).	
Time Period 02 Years	<sup>2</sup> 31 BCE - 14	
Time Period 02 Description	The second major construction phase found in 2006 was from the Augustan period settlement. The earlier walls were leveled, and the mosaic floor of the rear corridor and its walls were constructed in the Augustan period over the previous foundations. In this phase the corridor may have been an open portico to the north facing a garden or may have been windows onto a <i>viridarium</i> as in later periods (Barbera 2008, 90, 350, Tav. 2; Palladino and Paterna 2006, 1-2).	
Time Period 03 Years	14-99	
Time Period 03 Description	The third major construction phase was in the first century CE. This followed the plan of the corridor of the Augustan period, but completely removed and replaced the walls and covered the flooring with a new paving at a higher level, possibly in marble (Barbera 2008, 90-92; Palladino and Paterna 2006, 1-2).	
Time Period 04 Years	134-138	
Time Period 04 Description	The fourth major construction period was in the late Hadrianic era. This construction period built the corridor in its final form and is dated by a brick stamp. This period removed the filling and raised floor of the first century and reused the Augustan period mosaic flooring. It again followed the same plan overlooking the garden. The door and windows to the south were filled in this period, but the door and windows in the north wall, facing the <i>viridarium</i> , we framed with half columns on square plinths (Barbera 2008, 90-92).	
Excavation history	See II.03b.	
Description of Rooms	Few remains of the late-republican period were found. Two parallel walls in pattern slightly varying from the later structures were found (Barbera 2008, 90). A rear corridor of the <i>domus</i> of late Hadrianic date, after 134 CE, in the area of gardens of the <i>domus</i> has been discovered in a recent excavation from 2005 overlooking a <i>viridarium</i> , pleasure garden (Palladino 2015, 1-3). The	

Field	Data	
	corridor reused a first century CE paving in the same area in <i>opus tessellatum</i> in small black tesserae with two white stripes, and originally a small emblemata in the center of unknown design. The walls were painted plaster, with a white ground and wine-colored base, and above that were framed panels with friezes of plants and pairs of outwardly facing animals. In the larger central panels were human figures framed by bands with items such as candelabra and twisted columns, above these is another tier of white ground framed human figures framed with architectural elements, and above that is a frieze in polychrome stucco with vegetal elements and fantastic figures in relief. The windows in these walls were framed in marble. The collapsed ceiling showed evidence of decoration on a white ground of red frames and decorative elements in blue, including figures, animals, and plants (Barbara 2008, 90-93).	
Structural building techniques	The main structures to the north show at least two phases with the first constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> and the second later phase in <i>opus vittatum</i> (Barbera 2008, 88). The corridor in the gardens is paved in stone tesserae in <i>opus tessellatum</i> in the first century CE, and the second century reconstruction saw the northern wall rebuilt in <i>opus testaceum</i> on the late-republican foundations (Barbera 2008, 90-92). The	
Finds from the site	See II.03b.	
Plan location	See Palladino 2015, fig. 2.	
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Barbera, Mariarosaria, Claudia Paterna, and Sergio Palladino. 2005. "La domus dei Valerii a Roma," <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 47.</li> <li>Barbera, Mariarosaria, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "La domus dei Valerii sul Celio alla luce delle recenti scoperte," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 76: 75-354.</li> <li>Coates-Stephens, Robert. 1996. "Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500-1000 ad," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 64: 239-259.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. <i>Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie</i>, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.</li> <li>Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Valerii." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i>, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 207. Roma: Quasar.</li> </ul>	

Field	Data
	Leone, Anna, Domenico Palombi, Susan Walker, and Eva Margareta Steinby. 2007. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. IV, Res bene gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby, Roma: Quasar.
	Palladino, Sergio, and Claudia Paterna. 2006. "La domus dei Valerii negli scavi dell'ospedale dell'Addolorata: nuove acquisizioni," <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 63.
	Palladino, Sergio, and Claudia Paterna. 2007. "La domus Valeriorum sul (Municipio I)." In <i>Roma: memorie dal sottosuolo: ritrovamenti archeologici 1980/2006</i> , edited by M.A. Tomei. Milano: Electa.
	Palladino, Sergio, and L. Bottiglieri. 2015. "Ricostruzione e restituzione tridimensionale del corridoio e del viridarium della domus dei Valerii sul Celio, dagli scavi nell'Ospedale dell'Addolorata." <i>FOLD&amp;R Archaeological Conservation</i> 1: 1-21.
	Panciera, Silvio. 1987. "Ancora Sulla Famiglia Senatoria 'Africana' Degli Aradii." <i>L'Africa Romana</i> 4, 2 (Atti del Convegno di Studio - Sassari 1986) (IV, 13): 547-72.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1994. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia del Celio da rinvenimenti casuali di scavo," <i>Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma</i> : 71-94.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini. Roma: Quasar.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo, and Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero. 1967. <i>Guide Rionali Di Roma</i> . 22 vols Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori.
	Spier, J. 2007. <i>Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art</i> . Yale University Press.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1996. "Recenti Scavi al Celio," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 1 (2): 6-13.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.03b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Valeriorum
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Valerii
Time Period 01 Start Year	211
Time Period 01 End Year	299
Time Period 01 Description	There was a massive restructuring of a large section of the <i>domus</i> , including the corridor and garden, and based on additional fresco fragments and remains found over the collapsed corridor and the garden area, also other parts of the <i>domus</i> . The ground was leveled, and other structures built above. The structures of the later period in this area of garden were destroyed for the construction of the Ospedale in 1902-4, but likely followed a garden plan (Barbera 2008, 96; Palladino 2015, 3).
Time Period 02 Years	256
Time Period 02 Description	The Inscription of PIR V 121/CIL VI 1531 was found in the Villa Casali dedicated in honor of Consul L. Valerius Publicola Balbinus Maximus (Panciera 1987, 552).
Time Period 03 Years	321
Time Period 03 Description	The six bronze <i>tabulae patronatus</i> were inscribed to Q. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus s. Populonius (PLRE I Proculus 12 - Bizacena – praeses – CIL VI 1684-1689) and found also in the Villa Casali (Panciera 1987, 552).
Time Period 04 Years	340
Time Period 04	Four or five inscribed bases in honor of consul L. Aradius Valerius Proculus s. Populonius were also found (PLRE I Proculus 11/CIL VI 1690-1694) (Panciera

Field	Data	
Description	1987, 552).	
Time Period 05 Years	382	
Time Period 05 Description	The inscription of Valerius Severus was found on a bronze lamp (PLRE I Severus 29/ILCV 1592), who was <i>praefectus urbi</i> (Panciera 1987, 563). Valerius Severus is the owner of the house in the late fourth century, he may or may not be a direct descendent of the previous owners, he could have purchased the house to claim his heritage (Hillner 2003, 141). Valerius Severus converted to Christianity, as is indicated by the Christian forms and inscription format on the lamp (Spier 2007, 249). At the same time Aradius Rufinus (praefectus urbi in 376) converted to Christianity and was 'reduced to misery' and Symacchus has to support his daughters after his death (Barbera 2008, 84, note 9).	
Time Period 06 Years	410	
Time Period 06 Description	Historical sources are all cited as stating that the house of the Valerii was burned in the sack of Rome by Alaric, and the property sold for nothing by Valerius Pinianus iunior and Valeria Melania iunior (Panciera 1987, 563). Hillner does not see archaeological evidence for a devastating fire on this property, however, and concludes this is a different Valerii property than that of Melania. She suggests that shortly after that time the property was turned into the xenodochium Valeriorum or hospital, likely directly passed from the Valerii family (Hillner 2003, 143).	
Excavation history	By the 16th century the discovery of ruins and objects of art were known from historical sources and pontifical excavations in this area (Barbara 2005, 1). Explorations in 1554 in this area 'in horto monachorum s. Stephani prope sacellum divi Erasmi' brought to light a statue and three inscribed plaques indicating this as the property of the Valerii. Further explorations in 1561 discovered more inscriptions and honorary bases as well as the monastery of Sant'Erasmo, which had already been identified as constructed on the remains of the house of Valerius Proculus by Pirro Ligorio. Later in 1653, under Pope Innocent X, a small courtyard was discovered with seven beautiful statues, which were sent on to France. Then under Pope Clement X, 1670-1676, detailed wall paintings and noble busts were discovered, including two busts of Lucius Verus and a Cupid and Psyche group, as well as the Peter and Paul lamp of Valerius Severus (Barbara 2008, 80-82). Excavations took place in 1902-1904 as a part of the construction of the Ospedale dell'Addolorata and finally provided a sense of the architectural structures that were a part of the	

Field	Data		
<i>domus</i> complex (Guidobaldi, 1995). The 1902-1904 excavations were h by Guglielmo Gatti (Barbara 2008, 82). Recent excavations took place i pavilion south east of the Ospedale dell'Addolorata between December 2 and July 2005 (Barbera 2008, 88). The wall and ceiling plasters recovere the 2005 excavation have been detached and restored in a laboratory over following year (Palladino 2015, 1).			
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> included a portico or possibly peristyle, a large rectangular <i>aula</i> paved in <i>opus sectile</i> , and fountains and gardens. The discoveries from the early modern period, including inscribed bases, statues in a small courtyard, and other sculptures indicate a sense of the luxurious decoration of this <i>domus</i> (Guidobaldi 1995, 207). Barbara suggests the marble decorated <i>aula</i> as a part of the <i>domus</i> 's bath complex. Additionally, related to water, was a <i>nymphaeum</i> in brickwork. The three Herms were found 10 meters from each other along the bottom of a wall and colonnade, related to a marble balustrade, in an orientation set in the third century CE (Barbara 2008, 82).		
Structural building techniques	The main structures to the north show at least two phases with the first constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> and the second later phase in <i>opus vittatum</i> (Barbera 2008, 88). The large rectangular room was decorated in <i>opus sectile</i> (Guidobaldi 1995, 207).		
	Inscriptions:		
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscription dated to 256 CE - CIL VI 1531 - found in the Villa Casali and dedicated in honor of Consul L. Valerius Publicola Balbinus Maximus (Panciera 1987, 552).</li> <li>Six bronze <i>tabulae patronatus</i> dated to 321 CE - CIL VI 1684-1689 – inscribed to Q. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus s. Populonius and found in the Villa Casali (Panciera 1987, 552).</li> <li>Four or five inscribed bases dated to c. 340 CE - CIL VI 1690-1694 – in honor of consul L. Aradius Valerius Proculus s. Populonius (Panciera 1987, 552).</li> <li>Lamp with Christian inscription of Valerius Severus from the late fourth century. (Spier 2007, 249)</li> <li>A brick stamp of Hadrianic date, c. 134 CE, was found in the curtain wall of the rear corridor (CIL XV 515a=LSO 457) (Palladino 2015, 3).</li> <li>A cippus dedicated to Silvano by M. Valerius Longinus and an inscribed marble slab citing an ordo Marsorum from the second century CE were found (Barbera 2008, 83).</li> </ul>		
	- Discovered in 1653, seven statues found in an ancient courtyard, were		

Field	Data		
	<ul> <li>sent to France (Barbera 2008, 81).</li> <li>Discovered in 1670-6, noble busts and wall paintings, including 2 busts of Lucius Verus and a sculpture group of Cupid and Psyche, later acquired for the Uffizi by Cardinal Medici (Barbera 2008, 81).</li> <li>Multiple art pieces from this site are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano: these include two Herms, a male thought to be a Flavian poet called Thales (Tálete) and a female in a tunic, possibly a deity, which originally sat with a third now lost on a marble balustrade (Barbera 2008, 82).</li> <li>Wallpaintings of the middle imperial period, in a continuation of the 3rd and 4th style, were discovered in the corridor overlooking the viridarium (Barbera 2008, 93).</li> </ul>		
	For the entire third to fourth century the house was in the ownership of the Valerii/Aradii family, which merged in the mid-imperial period. (Barbera 2008, 83-84).		
Additional notable points	When Aradius (fourth century) married he chose a member of the Valerii, and had sons identified as L. Aradius Valerius Proculus signo Populonius and Q. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus signo Populonius. The two sons, as quindecimviri, made a dedication "To Mercury the companion and custodian of the Lares Penates," in Rome, probably from their Lararium. This indicates their continued participation in the state religion (Salzman 2009, 95-6).		
Plan location	See Palladino 2015, fig. 2.		
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Barbera, Mariarosaria, Claudia Paterna, and Sergio Palladino. 2005. "La domus dei Valerii a Roma," <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 47.</li> <li>Barbera, Mariarosaria, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "La domus dei Valerii sul Celio alla luce delle recenti scoperte," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 76: 75-354.</li> <li>Coates-Stephens, Robert. 1996. "Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500-1000 ad," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 64: 239-259.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. <i>Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie</i>, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.</li> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1891. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.</i></li> <li>Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Valerii." In <i>Lexicon topographicum</i></li> </ul>		

395

Field	Data
	<i>urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 207. Roma: Quasar.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hillner, Julia. 2003. "Domus, Family, and Inheritance: The Senatorial Family House in Late Antique Rome," <i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i> 93: 129-145.
	Leone, Anna, Domenico Palombi, Susan Walker, and Eva Margareta Steinby. 2007. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. IV, Res bene gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby, Roma: Quasar.
	Palladino, Sergio, and Claudia Paterna. 2006. "La domus dei Valerii negli scavi dell'ospedale dell'Addolorata: nuove acquisizioni," <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 63.
	Palladino, Sergio, and Claudia Paterna. 2007. "La domus Valeriorum sul (Municipio I)." In <i>Roma: memorie dal sottosuolo: ritrovamenti archeologici 1980/2006</i> , edited by M.A. Tomei. Milano: Electa.
	Palladino, Sergio, and L. Bottiglieri. 2015. "Ricostruzione e restituzione tridimensionale del corridoio e del viridarium della domus dei Valerii sul Celio, dagli scavi nell'Ospedale dell'Addolorata." <i>FOLD&amp;R Archaeological Conservation</i> 1: 1-21.
	Panciera, Silvio. 1987. "Ancora Sulla Famiglia Senatoria 'Africana' Degli Aradii." <i>L'Africa Romana</i> 4, 2 (Atti del Convegno di Studio - Sassari 1986) (IV, 13): 547-72.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1994. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia del Celio da rinvenimenti casuali di scavo," <i>Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma</i> : 71-94.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo, and Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero. 1967. <i>Guide Rionali Di Roma</i> . 22 vols Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori.
	Salzman, M. R. 2009. The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire: Harvard University Press.

Field	Data
	Spier, J. 2007. <i>Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art</i> , Yale University Press.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1996. "Recenti Scavi al Celio," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 1 (2): 6-13.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.04
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Annorum
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Annii, Piccolo Balneum
Time Period 01 Start Year	161
Time Period 01 End Year	210
Time Period 01 Description	The mosaic with athletic scenes was dated by Lanciani to an 'epoca bassa' and by Visconti to the end of the Antonine period (Carignani 1993, 735). Carignani reports the remains of a building with a porticoed courtyard can be dated to the Antonine to Severan period (Carignani, et al. 1993, 502-503). Based on the description of the nineteenth century excavation most of the sculptures discovered date from the end of the second to beginning of the third century (Carangani 1993, 735). The inscription and pedestal of L. Annius Italicus date to the third century (Carignani 1993, 735). These elements could have continued to be the decoration of the <i>domus</i> in the late antique period.
Time Period 02 Years	201-300
Time Period 02	The thermal rooms were added to the north-eastern part of the courtyard in the

Field	Data
Description	fourth century (Carignani, et al. 1993, 502-503). The calidarium exhibits construction phases through the fifth to sixth centuries, indicating continued use (Carignani 1993, 734-735).
Time Period 03 Years	500-550
Time Period 03 Description	The base from the third century in red stone carved with inscription to L ANNIO L F QVIR ITALICO was reused in a sixth century 'muraccio', indicating the presence of new construction in the sixth century. The general residential character of the Celio through the fifth century is found in this area, including other <i>domūs</i> (see cat. entry II.02). The description of the walls was a 'muraccio' and the difficult coating of lime over the inscription found within suggest an unrelated structure in the sixth century (Carignani 1993, 730, 735; Carignani, et al. 1993, 505; Lanciani 1885, 166).
Excavation history	The Ospedale Militare del Celio was originally constructed between 1885 and 1891 over the former Villa Casali (Carignani 1993, 709). This <i>domus</i> , suggested to be the third century house of Annius Italicus and a separate structure from the nearby <i>domus</i> Anniorum of a different family member, was uncovered by Lanciani in the 1880's. Statue bases with the name L ANNIO L F QVIR ITALICO were uncovered in 1885 and 1886 and more building fragments, under walls of the former Villa Casali were found (Carignani 1993, 730). Part of the calidarium of the bath area of this residence was rediscovered in the Ospedale Militare in 1991 during the 1987-1992 excavations (Spinola 1996, 7; Carignani 1993, 712). References by Visconti and Lanciani to mosaics, such as one of wrestlers, associated with the sculptures and inscriptior of this house, had already suggested a thermal plan somewhere in the <i>domus</i> . This underlines that the portion of a thermal plan excavated in 2007 is the same <i>domus</i> (Carignani 1993, 732). Little of the plan otherwise is known.
Description of Rooms	The excavated remains are limited but include a small <i>caladarium</i> with tubuli and <i>suspensurae</i> from a private <i>balneum</i> paved in <i>opus sectile</i> and containing rich marble facing on two semi-circular tubs and a third only partially discovered rectangular tub. The tubs have two high steps, which could function as seats (Carignani 1993, 734-735; Carignani, et al. 1993, 502). An additional small thermal room, with a black and white mosaic with athletes, was located to the left of the vestibulum. Among other brickwork walls found associated with this building was a wall with a row of niches (Carignani 1993, 730-731). The <i>praefurnium</i> service area stood in an irregular space behind the apsed tubs, connected to the <i>domus</i> by a steep staircase. Based on the placement of roads, and a general rectangular shape, Carignani hypothesizes a size 70-80 m long and about 50, 60 m wide, allowing for 3000, 4000 square meters, excluding

and about 50-60 m wide, allowing for 3000-4000 square meters, excluding

Field	Data
	space for <i>tabernae</i> . Such a size would align with a high status <i>domus</i> that included a <i>balneum</i> (Carignani, et al. 1993, 504-505).
Structural building techniques	A mosaic designed with black and white tesserae decorated one room. Multiple thermal constructions were in the rooms discovered. Walls were found in <i>opus latericium</i> , one of which had three niches (Carignani 1993, 730-731).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Decorations:</li> <li>1- A mosaic in black and white of athletes was reported by Lanciani as found in the vestibulum of the casa degli Annii in 1885-1886. Lanciani describes the mosaic as showing two groups including two athletes at rest and their <i>lanisti</i>, supervisors. The right group contains a boxer with his <i>lanista</i>, and the <i>lanista</i> is waving a <i>ferula</i> and saying to him "ALAPONI/ VICTVSES." The left group includes the second lanista handing the palm of victory to the second athlete. That athlete and both <i>lanisti</i> wear the <i>corona vittata</i>. Between this athlete and the wall is the legend "A-MEL/ATTI/CV" (Carignani 1993, 729-730; Lanciani 1886, 49-50).</li> <li>2- <i>Opus sectile</i> flooring in an isodomic pattern, replicating <i>opus quadratum</i> in plan with strips and rectangles, paved the <i>calidarium</i> (Carignani, et al. 1993, 502-503).</li> <li>3- A piece of a marble pedestal was found with an honorary inscription, reported in 1885. The inscription was dedicated to "L ANNIO L F QVIR ITALICO." Other fragments of this inscription were found with the main fragment, and the primary inscription reads (Carignani 1993, 730):</li> </ul>
	L ANNIO L F QVIR ITALICO TO C V CIVND COS QVAEST K TVRM CEND VIR STLITIBVS IVDICANDIS RISPIN RAEDHISPII
	Sculpture (Carignani 1993, 731):
	<ol> <li>Male colossal head, of a beardless person.</li> <li>Statue of a child</li> <li>Statue of the Genius</li> </ol>

Data
<ul> <li>reminiscent of those used by Plautilla Augusta</li> <li>5- Another very young girl similar to the previous listed</li> <li>6- A portrait head of a woman of a fairly advanced age with a hairstyle that is reminiscent of those of Marciana and Matidia</li> <li>7- A bust of a young girl up to half life-sized</li> <li>8- Trapezoforo, or carved support, in the form of seated chimera</li> </ul>
This is different than the " <i>domus Anniorum</i> " which is nearby but suspected to be of a different generation or family member. Lanciani attributes the house to the Annii, but the reused pedestal is not definitive for attributing the house (Carignani 1993, 735). Carignani concludes that all the elements discovered, including halls, floors, mosaics, inscriptions, numerous busts, portraits and other sculptures, appear to be attributable to a single building provisionally called, the House of the Annii
<ul> <li>(Carignani 1993, 731).</li> <li>For an early publication of the walls with niches, see Colini 1944, tav. XVI;</li> <li>For the general plan of remains found, see Carignani 1993, 712, Legenda</li> <li>Pianta Generale, G.; For a detail of the thermal walls see Carginani, et al. 1993, 503.</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>Carignani, Andrea, Carlo Pavolini, Francesco Pacetti, Giandomenico Spinola, and Massimo Vitti. 1993. "La Topografia Antica della sommità del celio: Gli Scavi Nell'Ospedale Militare (1987-1992)." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> 100:443-505.</li> <li>Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i>: 709-746.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. <i>Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie</i>, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.</li> <li>Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1885. <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>: 95, 104, 166, 175-176.</li> <li>Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1886. <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>: 42, 49-50, 93, 109, 278, 342, 369, 405.</li> <li>Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1886. "Notes from Rome," <i>The Athenaeum: A Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama</i> (No.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1887. Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma: 27, 57.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1888. "Notes from Rome," <i>The Athenaeum</i> (pt. 1): 155.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1888. "Roma. Villa Casali," <i>The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts</i> 4 (no. 1): 106.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1897. <i>The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome; a companion book for students and travelers</i> . New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1996. "Recenti Scavi al Celio," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 1 (2): 6-13.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Symmachorum
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Q. Aurelius Symmachus <i>Domus</i> , la grande residenza del settore centrale
Time Period 01 Start Year	31 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	54
Time Period 01 Description	Fragmentary remains of a Julio-Claudian <i>domus</i> , specifically a small section of peristyle, were uncovered in works on "Padiglione 18" in the Military Hospital (Palazzo and Pavolini 2013, 328).
Time Period 02	181-500

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 02 Description	The remains of the large <i>domus</i> with peristyle from which the Triton mosaic originates date from between the Late Antonine to the very end of the fifth century. A firm end date cannot be given for the <i>domus</i> but is here estimated at the end of the fifth century (Carignani 1993, 726). Many additions to the architecture are visible during the fourth and fifth centuries (Pavolini, et al. 1993, 486-491).
Time Period 03 Years	350-400
Time Period 03 Description	Symmachus lived at the end of the fourth century.
Excavation history	The excavations of two nearby <i>domūs</i> are both discussed in this entry, as both are suggested as the <i>domus Symmachorum</i> . The first of these <i>domūs</i> included fragments of walls and artworks from within and was uncovered in 1885 during work for the construction of the Ospedale Militare. A semi-circular wall, 7m in diameter, 1.2m thick, and 1.5m high, was cited as found, located out from the corner of the foundations that look at S. Tommaso in Formis, and constructed from architectural and sculptural fragments of marble. Many fragments of art and architecture were found in this wall. Carignani suggests this would be located under pavilion 5 of the modern hospital. Lanciani identifies these as coming from the <i>domus Symmachorum</i> after its destruction in the fourth century, but other scholars do not agree (Carignani 1993, 726-729; Lanciani 1885, 423). The other <i>domus</i> discussed in depth below includes architectural remains of a <i>domus</i> with a figurative mosaic of Triton and was found further north during the construction of the Ospedali Militarie in 1885. It has at times been tentatively suggested as the <i>domus Symmachorum</i> . These rooms are connected to a large <i>domus</i> with a peristyle that was further excavated in 1991-1992 (Carignani 1993, 723-726).
Description of Rooms	The inscriptions were found in early modern times. The associated area has had more than one <i>domus</i> discovered, but Guidobaldi is hesitant to definitively say which can be associated with which name (Guidobaldi 1995, 184). The <i>domus</i> uncovered by Lanciani in 1885 had a semi-circular apse, covered in reused marble. It is generally located under pavilion 5 in the ospedale, but has not been re-excavated (Carignani 1993, 278-279). The <i>domus</i> with Triton mosaic is further northeast under pavilion 20. The Triton mosaic is located along the north arm of a large peristyle in a <i>domus</i> which aligns at a roughly 45-degree angle to the ancient road and includes a large apsed room leading onto the peristyle (Carignani 1993, 712, 726). The entrance is a small triangular space

Field	Data
	leading into a long entry room with an apse on the entry side. At the entrance a tub was found, added in the early third century, made with sheets of travertine, placed vertically on a pavement in cocciopesto. In the late antique period this room was embellished with <i>opus sectile</i> , a second exit, and quarter circle fountains at the entrance. A stairway in travertine blocks, which leads from a corridor at a right angle, paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> , accessed the upper floor. The <i>domus</i> is at a roughly 45-degree angle to the street, leaving two triangular rooms along the street. The smaller triangular room has a small well in peperino. The corridor leads into three roughly square rooms heated by praefurnia, probably located in the other triangular room. A large tripartite presentation room led off of the peristyle. The end of the large room had a sequence of niches, with four rectangular niches alternating with three semicircular ones. In the course of the fourth century was paved in marble. The peristyle was surrounded by a portico with columns on undecorated plinths. To the east of the large room is a small triangular room originally for service and later used as a cistern. Two other small apsed rooms back up to that one (Pavolini, et al. 1993, 486-491).
Structural building techniques	The large <i>domus</i> with peristyle shows building techniques beginning in the late Antonine period and particularly enlarged and embellished in the late antique period from the fourth to fifth centuries. The room had various constructions in brick, travertine, and <i>opus vittatum</i> . The heated rooms included <i>suspensurae</i> and would have been heated by a <i>praefurnium</i> . The apse added in the fourth century was <i>opus vittatum</i> (Pavolini, et al. 1993, 487-489).
	From the 1885 excavation:
Finds from the site	<b>Inscription:</b> In 1617 an inscription was found in the garden di Sartorio Teofili, which became the Villa Casali, dedicated by Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus, praetor in 401, to his father Q. Aurelius Symmachus s. Eusebius, praefectus urbi in 384-385 and to Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (Guidobaldi 1995, 183-184).
	<ul> <li>(CIL, VI 1699 e 31903; ILS, 2946) EVSEBII / Q AVR SYMMACHO VC / QVAEST PRAET PONTIFICI / MAIORI CORRECTORI / LVCANIE ET BRITTIORVM / COMITI ORDINIS TERTII / PROCONS AFRICAE PRAEF / VRB COS ORDINARIO / ORATORI DISERTISSIMO / Q FAB MEMM SYMMACHUS / VC PATRI OPTIMO (Spinola 1992, 966).</li> <li>(CIL, VI, 1782; ILS, 2947) VIRIO NICOMACHO FLAVIANO VC /</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	QVAEST PRAET PONTIF MAIORI / CONSVLARI SICILIAE / VICARIO AFRICAE / QVASTORI INTRA PALATIVM / PRAEF PRAET ITERVM COS ORD / HISTORICO DISERTISSIMO / Q FAB MEMMIVS SYMMACHVS VC / PROSOCERO OPTIMO (Spinola 1992, 966).
	Art:
	<ul> <li>A sculpture of a draped headless woman carved in fine gray basalt (Lanciani 1885, 423).</li> <li>Two statues found in the Capitoline museums from the Villa Casali are likely from this excavation, an Orant and a Victory (Carignani 1993, 728-729).</li> </ul>
	From the peristyle <i>domus</i> :
	Art:
	<ul> <li>Triton mosaic along the peristyle (Carignani 1993, 726).</li> <li>Opus sectile in various rooms (Pavolini, et al. 1993, 486-491).</li> </ul>
	From the Basilica Hilariana:
	- A gold class cup with the inscription "SVMMACHVS COS O[rdinarius]" was found in a service room of the Basilica Hilariana, underlining the relationship between the basilica and the Symmachi family (Carignani 1993, 728-729).
	The remains of two <i>domūs</i> discovered in this area have been associated with the famous ancient figure Symmachus, whose <i>Epistulae</i> we have.
Additional notable points	Lanciani interpreted the 1885 excavation with a semi-circular wall and the Orant and Victory sculptures as related to the <i>domus</i> of Symmachus, which we know was found in this region, but Colini does not agree with this interpretation. The art may have actually come from the Basilica Hilariana. The architecture of this <i>domus</i> , excavated in 1885, has not been re-excavated in recent years. The <i>domus</i> with Triton mosaic is another primary suggestion for the physical remains of the <i>domus Symmachorum</i> , and it includes significantly more architectural remains. It was re-excavated in 1991-1992 (Carignani 1993, 728-729).
Plan location	See Carignani 1993, page 712 for a general plan of excavations in the area; See Pavolini, et al. 1993, fig. 16 for the peristyle <i>domus</i> with Triton mosaic.

Field	Data
	Carignani, Andrea, Carlo Pavolini, Francesco Pacetti, Giandomenico Spinola, and Massimo Vitti. 1993. "La Topografia Antica della sommità del celio: Gli Scavi Nell'Ospedale Militare (1987-1992)." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> 100:443-505.
	Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 709-746.
	Ensoli, S. and E.L. Rocca. 2000. <i>Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana</i> . 463-467. L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Giordani, R.S. 1989. Antichità Casali: la collezione di Villa Casali a Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Q. Aurelius Symmachus s. Eusebius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 183-184, fig. 51. Roma: Quasar.
Bibliography	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. pars IV, fasc. II Additamenta.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1885. "IX. Roma." <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> : 422-424.
	Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. 2013. "Le trincee sui lati del Padiglione 18 (scavo 1998)." in <i>Gli Dei Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana nel contesto dello scavo dell'Ospedale Militare Celio (1987-2000)</i> . 325-369. Roma: Edizione Quasar.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1993. "La topografia antica della sommità del Celio: gli scavi nell'Ospedale Militare (1987 - 1992)." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> : 443-505.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2013. "Il Quartiere: I Nuovi Dati Archeologici." In <i>Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000</i> , edited by Paola Palazzo and Carlo Pavolini, 493-504. Roma: Quasar.
	Spinola, Giandomenico, P. Palazzo, A. Gabucci, and Andrea Carignani. 1990.

Field	Data
	"Nuovi dati sulla topografia del Celio: le ricerche nell'area dell'Ospedale militare," <i>Archeologia laziale</i> X (pt. 2): 72-80.
	Spinola, Giandomenico. 1992. "Il Dominus Gaudentius e l'Antinoo Casali: alcuni aspetti della fine del paganesimo da una piccola domus sul Celio?" <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 953-979.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.06
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Laterani
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Laterana; Casa trapezoidale
Time Period 01 Start Year	15
Time Period 01 End Year	122
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domus</i> were constructed at an unknown date but occupied through the early second century CE (Haynes 2016, 311). Traces of decorations from the <i>domus</i> , now not in situ, go back to the Augustan period (Haynes 2014, lecture).
Time Period 02 Years	123-192
Time Period 02 Description	The <i>domūs</i> were remodeled between around 123-141 and continued to be occupied through c. 193 CE (Haynes 2016, 314). One <i>domus</i> exhibits remains of rich decoration from this period including marble slabs and Hadrianic frescos. The other <i>domus</i> was occupied in this period, but only showed frescoes from the late second century near the time of destruction (Haynes et al. 2015,

Field	Data
	127).
Time Period 03 Years	193-312
Time Period 03 Description	The Castra Nova of the Equites Singulares was constructed from around 193 to 196, and then occupied through c. 312 CE (Haynes 2016, 311).
Time Period 04 Years	313-500
Time Period 04 Description	Constantine took this land, destroyed the barracks, and began the Lateran Basilica c. 313 CE (Haynes 2016, 311).
Excavation history	The exploration of this area of the <i>domūs</i> and other structures underlying the Lateran complex began with Enrico Josi's excavation from 1934-38, which has been researched and analyzed by the current archaeological project in 2015-2016 (Haynes 2016, 311). Gismondi recorded the fragments of these <i>domūs</i> in a plan from 1939 (Haynes et al. 2015, fig. 2). Further analysis was undertaken by Colini in 1944. The current Lateran Project analyses the entire ancient area associated with the Lateran, coving 9,000 square meters, and runs under the supervision of Ian Haynes, Paolo Liverani, Giandomenico Spinola, Iwan Peverett, Salvatore Piro, and Alex Turner with the Musei Vaticani, Newcastle University, and the Universita degli Studi di Firenze. This project combines laser scanning, ground-penetrating radar, and physical survey of all excavated remains to get a better understanding of the history of this area (Haynes 2016, 311, 314, 316).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus Laterani</i> has often been identified with the remains of an octagonal room under the Lateran, including mosaics found underneath the baptistery in 1924. The octagonal room traditionally thought as a <i>domus</i> is, however, likely a bath complex or a <i>macellum</i> (Liverani and Haynes 2014, lecture; Haynes et al 2015, 134). Remains of a thermal complex have also been found under the associated baptistery (Haynes et al 2015, 134). Portions of two <i>domūs</i> from the first to second centuries have been uncovered under the Lateran Basilica and earlier the Castra Nova of the Equites Singulares (Liverani and Haynes 2014, lecture). The two <i>domūs</i> were originally large complexes following different orientations: one aligned with the Via Tuscolana, the other aligned roughly north-south like the later Castra Nova. Frescos and marble decoration from the Hadrianic period were found in the <i>domus</i> showed remains of decoration, and

Field	Data
	these were frescos from the late second century (Haynes et al. 2015, 127). Rooms from a lower floor of the north-south <i>domus</i> were preserved underneath the Castra Nova when the upper floors of the same building were destroyed for the Castra Nova's construction. Graffiti were found in these lower rooms, recorded with photographs by Josi (Haynes 2016, 314-315). The graffiti appear to date from the period of Septimius Severus and the abandonment of the house, likely being the work of those constructing the Castra Nova above (Haynes 2013, 361). The graffiti include elaborate pictures that appear to show scenes like those described by the historian Herodian of the Emperor Commodus killing exotic animals during public spectacles (Haynes 2016, 314- 315).
Structural building techniques	Fragments of fresco from the <i>domūs</i> have been dated to the Augustan period, Hadrianic period, and late second century, in which graffiti were found (Haynes 2014, lecture; Haynes et al. 2015, 127). The construction of the Equites Singulares cut the foundations of the earlier <i>domūs</i> , reusing as both foundations and walls some elements of the lower rooms in the eastern <i>domus</i> , with which the Castra Nova was aligned (Haynes et al. 2015, 127).
	Graffiti:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Graffiti from a second century <i>domus</i> was found in photographs from Josi's excavation. The graffiti contain elaborate pictures, including one of hunting dogs and a pair of ostriches with a man with an elaborate tunic (Haynes 2016, 314).</li> <li>Other graffiti found still in situ in the <i>domus</i> walls underneath the Castra Nova appear to directly relate to the abandonment of the house and reuse of walls as foundations during the construction of the Castra Nova. One such graffito refers to "COH III" thought to indicate a Praetorian or Legion II Parthian cohort, possibly aiding in constructing the Castra Nova (Haynes 2013, 362; Haynes et al. 2015, 134). Another such graffito contains a personal name (Haynes et al. 2015, 134).</li> </ul>
	Art:
	<ul> <li>Marble slabs and Hadrianic frescos decorated one <i>domus</i> (Haynes et al. 2015, 127).</li> <li>Late second century frescos were found in the other <i>domus</i> (Haynes et al. 2015, 127).</li> <li>Fragments of Augustan frescos were found out of place associated with the <i>domūs</i> (Liverani 2014, lecture).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Haynes, et al. 2015, figs. 1 and 2.

Field	Data
Bibliography	Haynes, Ian, Paolo Liverani, Giandomenico Spinola, and Salvatore Piro. 2012. "Archaeological Fieldwork Reports: The Lateran Project," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 80: 369-371.
	Haynes, Ian, Paolo Liverani, Iwan Peverett, Giandomenico Spinola, and Alex Turner. 2016. "THE LATERAN PROJECT: INTERIM REPORT FOR THE 2015–16 SEASON (ROME)." <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 84:311- 316.
	Haynes, Ian, Paolo Liverani, Salvatore Piro, and Giandomenico Spinola. 2013. "The Lateran Project: interim report on the July 2012 and January 2013 seasons (Rome)," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 81: 360-363.
	Haynes, Ian, Paolo Liverani, Salvatore Piro, and Giandomenico Spinola. 2015. "Progetto Laterano, primi risultati." <i>Rendiconti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia</i> LXXXVI (ANNO ACCADEMICO 2013 - 2014):125-144.
	Liverani, Paolo, and Ian Haines. 2014. "Casa E Chiesa (Passando Per La Caserma). Il Laterano Dal I a V Secolo D.C." Roma: American Academy in Rome Lecture.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1988. "Le proprieta private nell'area lateranense fino all'eta di Costantino," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 891-915.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1995. "Domus: Laterani." In <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Steinby, Eva Margareta. 127. Roma: Quasar.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1999. "Daile aedes Laterani al Patriarchio Lateranense," Rivista di archeologia cristiana LXXV (1-2): 521-549.
	Richmond, J. I. 1927. "Il Tipo Architettonico Delle Mura E Delle Porte Di Roma Costruite Dall'impereatore Aureliano." <i>Bullettino della Commissione</i> <i>Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 55 (2): 46.
	Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1997. "Dalla residenza dei Laterani alla domus di Fausta," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 2 (6): 4-9.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry	II.07

Field	Data
Number	
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus M. Maximii
Other Domus/Insula Names	L. MARIUS MAXIMUS PERPETUUS AURELIANUS, DOMUS; residenza privata di L. Marius L. f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus
Time Period 01 Start Year	50
Time Period 01 End Year	150
Time Period 01 Description	Colini concluded the presence of two phases of construction, and Pavolini suggests a third in addition. As many as 13 of the 16 brick stamps found in the early 20th century excavations are from the first century CE (Pavolini 1994, 80). The first construction phase is likely seen in the <i>opus reticulatum</i> walls with an <i>opus spicatum</i> floor, 4-5 meters deep, tentatively dated to the mid-first century based on the large sample of brick stamps from that period (Pavolini 1994, 80). Walls 1 and 4 in <i>opus reticulatum</i> seem possibly later than wall 5, which has smaller stones (Pavolini 1994, 81). The likely second construction phase is represented by walls 16 and 19 in brick, at a higher soil level of only about 2 meters deep, tentatively dated to the mid-second century based on the later brick stamps. A final construction phase is suggested for the structures discovered in <i>opus cementizia</i> (Pavolini 1994, 80-81).
Time Period 02 Years	197-223
Time Period 02 Description	During the late second and early third century, this is identified as the house of: L. Marius L. f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, to whom an inscription was dedicated, found in the remains, CIL, VI, 1450-1451 (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).
Excavation history	Early remains of structures associated with this <i>domus</i> began being discovered in early modern period in the area of the Villa Fonseca and later Ospedale Militare (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2014). Works on pavilions 7 and 8 of the Ospedale Militare found walls with an orientation east-west that matches those of both the 1940's discovery and the recent excavations (Pavolini 1994, 81).
	Colini noted that these remains were found in the construction of a new

Field	Data
	pavilion building in the sector of the Ospedale Militare sometime shortly before 1944 (Pavolini 1994, 80; Colini 1944, 263). The possible description of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> in the notes of Nolli from the Vatican MS 9027, suggests that the corridor was possibly intact, rather than properly excavated (Colini 1944, 263; Nolli 1884, 56-57). Further excavation work in this area in 1991 found walls, likely associated with the same overall domestic complex. The work took part on the viale on which pavilion buildings 7 and 8 are located, and which passes the area of the earlier structures (Pavolini 1994, 81). Continued excavation took place in 2007 (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).
	The remains discovered included a <i>cryptoporticus</i> in a horse-shoe shape, with a vault adorned with foliated mosaics ("musaici a fogliami") and skylight windows that faced towards the interior and up to a higher level (Colini 1944, 263). Pavolini says that the <i>cryptoporticus</i> would have been arranged around a vast room with a curved back wall, as was typical of late antique architecture (Pavolini 1994, 80-81). Colini hypothesizes that this <i>cryptoporticus</i> is a part of a larger complex of passages decorated with mosaics and fountains, described in greater detail in Nolli's "Note di ruderi." This confusing passage, describing mosaicked corridors relating to an aqueduct, suggests to Pavolini that the complex of <i>cryptoporticus</i> and associated room may have been a part of a large <i>nymphaeum</i> for a surrounding villa (Colini 1944, 263; Pavolini 1994, 81; Nolli 1884, 56-57).
Description of Rooms	The further remains include extensive remains of three periods of walls oriented primarily east-west, and located north of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> . Walls 11 and 14 were part of a hypogeum room with a vault in two crosses and a thin coating of plaster on the walls (Pavolini 1994, 81-82; Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).
	The majority of the parallel walls in the upper part of the Villa Fonseca property from the early 20th century excavations and the recent excavations appear to belong to 'modest private buildings', possibly <i>insulae</i> . The <i>cryptoporticus</i> , which forms a possible <i>nymphaeum</i> to the SE of these modest private buildings, is suggested to have been the remains of the <i>domus</i> of Marius Maximus, and in this southern region of the Fonseca property is the high end domestic property (Pavolini 1994, 82). The area of the <i>insulae</i> has also been suggested as the Macellum Magnum of Nero, based on a reinterpretation of a description of Pirro Ligorio of remains previously suggested as the statio vigilium (Pavolini 1994, 84; Rainbird, Sear, and Sampson 1971, 43-44).
Structural building techniques	The <i>cryptoporticus</i> appears to have been constructed in brick masonry with mosaic decoration on the vaults (Colini 1944, 263; Pavolini 1994, 81; Nolli 1884, 56-57). The walls uncovered in 1991 ran east-west, with number 5 in <i>opus reticulatum</i> with small cubilia, which numbers 1 and 4 were also <i>opus</i>

Field	Data
	<i>reticulatum</i> , but with larger stones. Further walls were uncovered in brickwork, and also others in opus cementum (Pavolini 1994, 81). The structures uncovered in the 2007 excavation included site 1, which was constructed originally in brickwork in a north-south direction with brick exterior sides and a mortar and tuff core. Site 3, building 1, was a brick construction in an east-west direction with two walls of different widths. The walls only preserved a north-side brick facing and a conglomerate mortar core. On the easternmost portio of this wall a circular brick stamp was uncovered. Site 3, building 2, was further south and made of <i>opus mixtum</i> of tuff and bricks, coated in grey plaster on both sides (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).
Finds from the site	<ol> <li>CIL, VI, 1450-1451: an inscription dedicated to L. Marius L. f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus was found in the area (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).</li> <li>Finds from the 2007 excavation included in Site 2: fragments of amphorae, domestic ceramics, plaster, marble, cubilia, and glazed and modern ceramics (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).</li> <li>Finds from the 2007 excavation included in Site 3: fragments of amphorae, domestic ceramics, bricks of <i>opus spicatum</i>, and medieval and modern glass and ceramics (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).</li> <li>Finds from the 2007 excavation included in Site 4: fragments of amphorae, domestic ceramics, a lamp fragment, a slab of white marble, glass and a nail (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007).</li> </ol>
Additional notable points	L. Marius L. f. Quir. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus was consul twice, in 197 and 223 CE, was governor of provinces and prefect (Palazzo and Barbaresi 2007). This Marius Maximus is suggested to be the biographer Marius Maximus (Birley).
Plan location	See Pavolini 1994, fig. 8.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Birley, Anthony R. 1997. "Marius Maximus: The Consular Biographer." In Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt (Anrw): Geschichte Und Kultur Roms Im Spiegel Der Neueren Forschung. Principat. Sprache Und Literatur. Einzelne Autoren Seit Der Hadrianischen Zeit Und Allgemeines Zur Literatur Des 2. Und 3. Jahrhunderts. Teil 2. Bd. 34, edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase, Walter de Gruyter: 2679-2754.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Gatti, E. 1916. "Roma. Nuove scoperte nell'area dell'antica citta." <i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i> 41.
	Gatti, G. 1901. "Roma. Nuove scoperte nella citta e nel suburbia." <i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i> 26.
	Gatti, G. 1902. "Roma. Nuove scoperte nella citta e nel suburbia." <i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i> 27.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL).</i> vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Nolli, G.B. 1884. Note di ruderi e monumenti antichi per la pianta di Gio. Batt. Nolli conservate nell'Archivio Vaticano: Edite dall'Accademia Storico- giuridica con prefazione del Comm. G. B. de Rossi: Tipografia della pace di Filippo Cuggiani.
	Palazzo, Paola and Ilaria Barbaresi. 2007. "Celio, Villa Fonseca – Policlinico Militare" in <i>Fasti-Online database</i> , (accessed December 4, 2014). http://www.fastionline.org/micro_view.php?fst_cd=AIAC_2074&curcol=sea_c dAIAC_2459
	Pavolini, Carlo. 1994. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia del Celio da rinvenimenti casuali di scavo," <i>Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma</i> : 71-94.
	Pavolini, Carlo. 2006. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, Supplementum. III, Archeologia e topografia della regione II (Celio): un aggiornamento sessant'anni dopo Colini, Roma: Quasar.
	Rainbird, J. S., F. B. Sear, and Jean Sampson. 1971. "A Possible Description of the Macellum Magnum of Nero." <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 39: 40-46.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.08
Domus/Insula	Domus under the INPS

Field	Data
Name	
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus L. Calpurnius Piso; Domus Faustae (suggested); Domus in via Amba Aradam
Time Period 01 Start Year	31 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	68
Time Period 01 Description	The first phase of both buildings is Julio-Claudian (Sapelli 2005, 257). The wall remains and Arentine ware fragments date the <i>domus</i> of Piso to the late Claudian period in the late first century CE (Scrinari 1997b, 9).
Time Period 02 Years	101-200
Time Period 02 Description	Both houses show restorations in the second century CE (Sapelli 2005, 258)
Time Period 03 Years	193-235
Time Period 03 Description	The corridor is a construction of <i>opus latericium</i> , possibly of the Severan period, that reused earlier <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Sapelli 2005, 258).
Time Period 04 Years	275-325
Time Period 04 Description	The two domestic structures were combined into one residential building, of which is preserved for a length of 27 m a <i>porticus finestrata</i> . The dating of the corridor is based on building technique (Sapelli 2005, 258). This dated period matches the discussions of the <i>domus</i> Fausta constructions of the Constantinian period by Scrinari.
Excavation history	The historical Ospedale di S. Giovanni buildings were torn down in the area and across the street a new palazzo for INAM and another for the INPS on the via Amba Aradam were constructed. These construction projects led to an archaeological exploration of the area, in which ancient ruins had already been noted by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma and Colini (1944). The new ospedale opened in 1962, and the new palazzi were constructed in the

Field	Data
	same period. One area was found devoid of artifacts, suggested by Scrinari to support a long use as gardens of the family of Seneca, suggested in historical sources. The other area revealed buildings suggested by Scrinari to be the <i>domus</i> Faustae, the house of the wife of Constantine thought to be a portion of the original Lateran property, mentioned as given to the popes in 313 CE. The frescoes in the loggia area were detached and conserved and are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo) (Scrinari 1997b, 5-6, 8). From 1962-1965, Santa Maria Scrinari excavated this area near the Lateran, to the southeast of the via dell'Amba Aradam, under a part of the property of the INPS due to the construction project of the Direzione Provinciale I.N.P.S. Two monumental complexes were uncovered, and both have been suggested as residential properties datable to the Julio-Claudian period (Sapelli 2005, 257-258).
Description of Rooms	The remains include a large wall in <i>opus reticulatum</i> in tufa from the Neronian period, suggested by Scrinari to be from the Laterani property. Then the remains include the later structures of a courtyard paved in polychrome marble. The courtyard contains a well, linked to groundwater and roof runoff. A roof covered the walls of the courtyard, as indicated by pilasters and the bases of statues. A sculture of Flora was found, damaged, in the garden on its base (Scrinari 1997b, 7). From the later period the porticus finestrata is preserved for a length of 27 m, 5 m wide, and appears as a corridor, closed to the north with tall windows on the south side. This may have been a <i>cryptoporticus</i> on one side and open onto gardens to the south due to terracing of the hillside (Sapelli 2005, 258-259). A corridor connects the portico to a loggia, and the loggia had a large rear wall added in one phase, creating a new layout with a central excedra. The loggia is reconstructed as 7 meters high for a length of 60 meters long, with walls decorated in italico and veined pavonazzetto marble with strips of red porphery and frescoes above that (Scrinari 1997b, 7-8). The other area of excavations, from the earlier phase than the fourth century <i>domus</i> , is attributed to C. Calpurnius Piso based on inscriptions on fistulae found during the twentieth century excavations. Only the foundations of the upper floors have been found, but a small elegant room from the lowest terrace was uncovered. A destruction level is visible (Scrinari 1997b, 9).
Structural building techniques	The corridor of the <i>domus</i> shows three datable construction phases. In its first phase the cooridor is in <i>opus latericium</i> that may be attributed to the Severan period and also reuses a wall of one of the preceding buildings in <i>opus reticulatum</i> . A second phase shows opus listatum with rows of tufa and high mortar beds, this period may date to anywhere between the early Tetrarchic period to late Constantinian. The third phase in <i>opus latericium</i> likely dates to the Constantanian period (Sapelli 2005, 258). The new layout of the loggia was constructed in tufa and brick formed of broken tiles, a construction style typical

Field	Data	
	to the period of Maxentius, during which the residence of Fausta should have been constructed (Scrinari 1997b, 7).	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>A statue on its base was found in the garden, while missing attributes, thought to be Flora. It is greek in pentelic marble, from the first century BCE, restored with iron pins in ancient times (Scrinari 1997b, 7).</li> <li>An oval base dressed in marble similar to the walls was found (Scrinari 1997b, 8). This may be the remains of a fountain (Sapelli 2005, 258-259).</li> <li>Wall paintings were found in fresco above marble panels. The wall paintings begin with maritime figures including sea horses and dolphins, the second panel is fragmentary and suggested to relate to Cripsus and Constantine II, and the third shows a woman moving left. The fourth panel includes a warrior with armor that Scrinari identifies as Constantine and is followed by a panel with a beautiful cloaked woman identified as Teodora. Scrinari identifies the paintings as tied to the palazzo through the presence of the Roman asta and the color purple (Scrinari 1997b, 8).</li> <li>Wallpaintings with Pompeian red, yellow, and a satyr were found in the remains of the room of the Claudian <i>domus</i> "of Piso" (Scrinari 1997b, 9).</li> </ul>	
Additional notable points	Scrinari has suggested the property further south as that of L. Calpurnius Piso, and that further north as the aedes Laterani. Liverani more recently has argued strongly that these attributions cannot be proven, and we can only be certain the aedes Laterani was in this general area (Sapelli 2005, 257-258).	
Plan location	For the plan, see Sapelli 2005, fig. 1, which shows the excavations in the entire region. Also see Scrinari 1997b, page 6 for a detail plan. For an axonometric reconstruction, see McFadden 2013, fig. 1.	
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Borda, Maurizio. 1957. "Scoperte in via Amba Aradam." <i>Fasti Archeologici</i> 12.</li> <li>Calci, Carmelo. 2005. <i>Roma archeologica: le scoperte più recenti della città antica e della sua area suburbana</i>. 2nd ed, Roma: Adnkronos libri.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. <i>Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie</i>, [Citta del Vaticano]: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.</li> <li>Consoli, Francesca. 2006. "Le Megalografie Della Cosiddetta Domus Faustae</li> </ul>	

	41	5

Field	Data
	Nell'area Del Laterano." In <i>L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove Immagini 312-468</i> , edited by Maria Andaloro, 234-39. Turnhout: Brepols.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1995. "Domus: Faustae." In <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Steinby, Eva Margareta. 97-99, fig. 33. Roma: Quasar.
	McFadden, Susanna. 2013. "A Constantinian Image Program in Rome Rediscovered: The Late Antique Megalographia from the So-Called Domus Faustae". <i>MAAR</i> 58: 83-114.
	Sapelli, M. 2005. "Domus romane sotto la sede I.N.P.S. sul Laterano (Roma)." In <i>Domus romane: dallo scavo alla valorizzazione</i> , edited by Francesca Morandini and Filli Rossi, 257-267. Milano: Et.
	Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1997b. "Dalla residenza dei Laterani alla domus di Fausta," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 2 (6): 4-9.
	Scrinari, Valnea Santa Maria. 1991. Il Laterano imperiale. Vol. I, Dalle "aedes Laterani" alla "Domus Faustae", Monumenti di antichità cristiana. 2. serie. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana
	Scrinari, Valnea Santa Maria. 1995. Il Laterano imperiale. Vol. II, Dagli "horti Domitiae" alla Cappella cristiana, Monumenti di antichità cristiana. 2. serie. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
	Scrinari, Valnea Santa Maria. 1997. Il Laterano imperiale. Vol. III, La proprietà di Licinio Sura e il problema degli acquedotti, Monumenti di antichità cristiana. 2. serie. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.09
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Anniorum

Field	Data
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Home of Marcus Aurelius; <i>Domus Annius Verus</i> (Ospedale S. Giovanni, probably); <i>horti</i> di Domizia Lucilla; <i>Horti Domitiae</i> ; <i>domus Vectiliana</i> of Commodus (on the same sight includes <i>horreae</i> and <i>insulae</i> ); <i>Horti Domitiae Lucillae</i> .
Time Period 01 Start Year	50
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	Remains of buildings in <i>opus reticulatum</i> date to the second half of the first century CE (Liverani 1988, 895; Liverani 1995, 33).
Time Period 02 Years	120-140
Time Period 02 Description	Bricks of Domitia Lucilia datable by stamps to 123 and 137 CE were found in the constructions around the Ospedale di S. Giovanni. These stamps indicate one or more building phases in the period of Domitia Lucilia minor, the mother of Marcus Aurelius (Liverani 1988, 893).
Time Period 03 Years	181
Time Period 03 Description	On the death of Marcus Aurelius, the property likely passed into imperial hands (Liverani 1993, 58-59).
Time Period 04 Years	207-310
Time Period 04 Description	The <i>triclinium</i> /cistern structure was reused as a <i>mithraeum</i> by the freedmen of the Severans, who were probably running the property by this time in imperial hands. A lamp of the Constantinian period suggests the closing of this area in that time (Liverani 1993, 59).
Excavation history	Liverani argues that the area excavated by Santa Maria Scrinari cannot be firmly identified as the <i>domus</i> of Annius Verus, but the area of the <i>Horti Domitiae</i> in the area of the Ospedale di S. Giovanni is more secure. The area of the Ospedale di S. Giovanni has been excavated over different periods. The three identifying pipes were found in two separate excavations. The first was found during excavations at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the other two in excavations in the 1980's that also brought to light buildings (Liverani 1988,

Field	Data	
	891-893).	
Description of Rooms	The limits of this horti property are suggested as the following: to the north the street running along the Claudio-neronian acqueduct, to the west a line between the ospedale di S. Giovanni and the ospedale militare, and to the south, more tentatively the ancient via Amba Aradam or another ancient road running parallel to its north. The eastern boundary is even more uncertain (Liverani 1988, 895). The buildings found associated with the pipes were in <i>opus reticulatum</i> with many phases of construction (Liverani 1988, 893). Below the corsia Mazzoni a peristyle and surrounding rooms, including a semicircular space with niches and a space interpreted as an <i>atrium</i> , remain. The <i>atrium</i> contains a basin and underground cistern. The rooms follow the orientation of the via Amba Aradam. Further rooms were found to the northwest, south of the corsia Folchi, including service spaces and a heated apsed room with suspensurae, part of a bath suite. In the center of the peristyle, an oval-shaped tub remains that was filled at a later date with cement. This portion of the domestic building remains has been interpreted as the <i>domus</i> of Annius Verus, see cat entry II.08 the <i>domus</i> under the INPS for details on these rooms (Liverani 1988, 895-897). Additional, poorly published, spaces have been found in the area, including a possible <i>triclinium</i> has been interpreted by Scrinari as a cistern reused as a <i>mithraeum</i> (Liverani 1993, 59). The <i>horti Anniorum</i> is more likely tied to these other vague structures on the basis of the inscribed pipes.	
Structural building techniques	<i>Opus reticulatum</i> masonry and later Antonine period masonry have been found, as well as evidence of use through the late antique and early medieval periods (Liverani 1988, 893-897).	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>Three lead pipes found separately in the Ospedale di S. Giovanni all have the inscription of Domitiae Lucillae (Liverani 1988, 893). The lead pipes indicate that this property (as is referenced in historical sources) is a horti, and extended over the entire area of the ospedale, and on both sides of the ancient via Tuscolana (Liverani 1988, 893).</li> <li>Another fistula inscribed P. Calvisi Tulli wasfound in 1964 under the Lateran Palace in the southwest corner. This is identified as the father of Domizia (Liverani 1988, 893).</li> <li>CIL XV 1057, 454: Stamped bricks of Domitia Lucilia from 137 and of Annius Verus from 123 were in brick walls that showed many renovations over a long period (Liverani 1988, 893; Liverani 1993, 58-59). The stamp, dated to 137 CE, states "[moon]</li> </ul>	

Field	Data
	EX.PR.D.P.F.LVCILLAE.O.DOL.FEC.M.A PR/L.AEL.CAES.II.P.COEL BALBN/[leaf]COS[leaf]". This signifies "Ex pr(aedis) D(omitiae) P.f.Lucillae, o(pus) dol(iare) fec(it) M. A(emilius?) Pr(oculus?); L. Ael(io) Caes(are iterum), P. Coel(io) Balbin(o) co(n)s(ulibius)" (CIL XV, 1057).
Additional notable points	The remains identified here as the <i>horti Anniorum</i> overlap with those identified as the <i>domus Fausta</i> .
Plan location	See Martini 2014, fig. 44, item 6.
	Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole</i> <i>francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 709-746.
	Consoli, Francesca. 2006. "I Servi Dapiferi Da Una Domus Del Celio." In L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove Immagini 312-468, edited by Maria Andaloro, 243-246. Turnhout: Brepols.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.
	Historia Augusta M. Aur. 4.7
	Letzner, Wolfram. 1999. Romische Brunnen und Nymphaea in der westlichen Reichshalfte, Munster: Lit.
Bibliography	Liverani, Paolo. 1988. "Le proprieta private nell'area lateranense fino all'eta di Costantino," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite</i> : 891-915.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1990. "L'Ambiente Nell'Antichita'." In <i>San Giovanni in Laterano</i> , edited by Carlo Pietrangeli, 22-37. Firenze: Nardini.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1993. "Horti Domitiae Lucillae." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae: H-O</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 58-59. Roma: Quasar.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1995. "Domus (M. Annii) Veri." In <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae 2, D-G</i> , edited by Steinby, Eva Margareta. 33. Roma: Quasar.
	Liverani, Paolo. 1999. "Daile aedes Laterani al Patriarchio Lateranense," <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> LXXV (1-2): 521-549.
	Martini, Cinzia. 2014. Progetto Area Museale: Complesso Ospedaliero San Giovanni Addolorata di Roma Roma. Roma: Viterbo Università degli studi della

Field	Data
	Tuscia.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo. 1990. San Giovanni in Laterano, Chiese monumentali d'Italia. Firenze: Nardini.
	Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1979. "Il Mitreo Dell'ospedale Di San Giovanni in Roma." In Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio- Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 213-29. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1997. "Dalla residenza dei Laterani alla domus di Fausta," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 2 (6): 4-9.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.10
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus L. Vagelli
Time Period 01 Start Year	
Time Period 01 End Year	64
Time Period 01 Description	This has been attributed as the house of L. Vagellius, who was consul around 44-47 CE. The house was destroyed in the fire of 64 CE, as much of the area was (Caragnani, 713, 718). A period of reconstruction took place in the <i>domus</i> and surrounding area after the fire of 27 CE, at which time the functions of some of the rooms were changed, such as moving former presentations rooms to more basic decoration and adding second entrances on the east-west road

Field	Data
	(Pavolini 2013, 461).
Time Period 02 Years	64
Time Period 02 Description	A period of rebuilding, including more multi-family residences, took place in this area after the fire. North-east of the former <i>domus</i> L. Vagellius a complex for commercial use was constructed. Two <i>insulae</i> with <i>tabernae</i> on the ground floor, and likely apartments above, were constructed over the <i>domus</i> in this area (Caragnani 1993, 713-714).
Excavation history	The remains of this <i>domus</i> were first excavated in the eighteenth century. Further excavations took place in 1991, through which L. Vagellius was identified as owner, and the destruction was dated to 64 CE. The identification was made by matching a graffito from a cup found in a cistern at the <i>domus</i> to a pipe found in the eighteenth century excavation. The 1991 excavation also identified the evidence of the eighteenth century excavation, where the pipe was removed (Carignani 1993, 718).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> stands on the northern part of the eastern of the two later <i>insulae</i> . In the center of the remains of the <i>domus</i> a rectangular <i>impluvium</i> suggests an <i>atrium</i> . Large sections of <i>opus scutulatum</i> and black and white mosaic floors near this <i>atrium</i> area suggest highly decorated spaces (Pavolini 2013, 460). The remains include a triangular cistern within the perimeter of the <i>domus</i> to which a pipe, inscribed with L. Vagellius, led (Caragnani 1993, 718). This cistern was originally attached to a decorative fountain, which lost its ornamental function after the fire of 27 CE and became a water source. It is located in a small courtyard at the edge of the <i>domus</i> (Pavolini 2013, 461).
Structural building techniques	The structures from the <i>domus</i> and this part of the celio show significant reconstruction work in <i>opus reticulatum</i> and <i>opus latericium</i> from a single period. This is suggested as being repair after the fire of 27 CE. The <i>domus</i> rooms which had previously been for presentation are changed to more basic decoration or even service use at this time with new flooring in <i>opus signinum</i> (Pavolini 2013, 461).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>A lead pipe inscribed with L. Vagelli was found (Caragnani 1993, 718). The inscription found in the villa Casale said "L.VAGELLI" and was drawn by Ficoroni (CIL XV 7555).</li> <li>A cup in sigillata italica with a graffito stating "VAGELI" was found in the remains of a triangular cistern (Pavolini 2013, 461).</li> <li>The artistic decoration includes black and white mosaic and <i>opus</i></li> </ul>

Field	Data
	scutulatum floors near the atrium (Pavolini 2013, 460-461).
Plan location	For a plan of the Augustan <i>domus</i> remains, see Pavolini 2013, figure 4, page 459.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Carignani, Andrea, Carlo Pavolini, Francesco Pacetti, Giandomenico Spinola, and Massimo Vitti. 1993. "La Topografia Antica della sommità del celio: Gli Scavi Nell'Ospedale Militare (1987-1992)." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> 100: 443-505.</li> <li>Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," <i>Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite:</i> 709-746.</li> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1899. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.</i></li> <li>Müller. 1897. <i>Handbuch Der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenshaft in Systematischer Darstellung, Mit Besonderer RüKsicht Auf Geschichte Und Methodik Der Einzelnen Disziplinen.</i> London.</li> <li>Pavolini, Carlo. 2013. "Il Quartiere: I Nuovi Dati Archeologici." In <i>Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000</i>, edited by Paola Palazzo and Carlo Pavolini, 493-504. Roma: Quasar.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.11
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under SS Quattro Coronati
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Santi Quattro Coronati
Time Period 01 Start Year	1

Field	Data
Time Period 01 End Year	200
Time Period 01 Description	Below the courtyard in Ss. Quattro Coronati is a <i>crytoporticus</i> from the first to second century CE (Barelli 2009, 13).
Time Period 02 Years	301-400
Time Period 02 Description	The heated room that was found with tubuli at a higher level than the <i>cryptoporticus</i> likely dates to the fourth century, when this area was popular with high end <i>domūs</i> . Also, from the fourth century is a large apsidal <i>aula</i> typical of high status late antique <i>domus</i> . The construction of this hall put a public road and other buildings out of use (Barelli 2009, 13).
Time Period 03 Years	401-595
Time Period 03 Description	The <i>titulus</i> may have been established as early as the early fifth century, under the name <i>titulus</i> Aemianae, named after its founder, which is recorded in the 499 synod. In 595 "Fortunatus presbyter tituli sanctorum quattuor Coronatorum" is recorded at the synod of Pope Gregory the Great, providing formal evidence of the <i>titulus</i> by this date. The <i>titulus</i> is believed to have been established in a pre-existing <i>domus</i> , and the discovery of the mid-fifth century baptistery in mosaic and marble with a font second in size only to that of the Lateran, supports the early date for the <i>titulus</i> at this site (Barelli 2009, 13-14, 66-67).
Excavation history	Rodolfo Lanciani and Antonio Maria Colini have published on Roman remains found at Ss. Quattro Coronati since the Renaissance. Archival documents from the Archivio della Arciconfraternita degli Orfani di S. Maria in Aquiro which was associated with the monastery of Ss. Quattro Coronati, indicate the sale of ancient marbles, as well as two contracts for excavations. In 1625 and 1766 these contracts indicate the soil of the monastery was excavated to search for ancient materials. Among the materials found, precious marbles and statues are mentioned. The Soprintendenza ai Beni Ambientali e Architettonici di Roma excavated a space around the perimeter wall of the chapel of S. Silvestro in 1989 (Barelli 1994, 19-20). Excavations took place in the cloister of the church in 2002-2004, during which they found the fifth century baptistery (Barelli 2009, 14, 66-67).
Description of	Walls on the same orientation as the basilica have been found, supporting the conclusion suggested by Guidobaldi, that the church was built over a pre-

Field	Data
Rooms	existing late antique <i>aula</i> . The church is built on a large apsed <i>aula</i> room of the late antique period, 42 meters long and 15 meters wide, that is likely to be part of a large <i>domus</i> (Barelli 1994, 19; Barelli 2009, 13). In 1990 a column base was found in situ in the garden near the chapel of S. Barbara, suggesting a large peristyle to the south of the <i>aula</i> (Barelli 1994, 19). Among the Roman walls found in 1989 at the chapel of S. Silvestro were tubuli, indicating a heated room. The walls here rest on ancient walls with traces of marble decoration, indicating a high-status room. The western wall of the <i>aula</i> (Barelli 1994, 19). In the 2002-2004 excavations of the cloister a fourth century wall in the same orientation as those of the <i>domus</i> was uncovered and presented holes that indicate the presence of a balcony level attached. The fifth century baptistery was also found in this cloister (Pugliese 2006, 18).
Structural building techniques	The late antique western wall of the underground burial chambers is constructed in the lower part in <i>opus listatum</i> and the upper part in <i>opus latericium</i> (Barelli 1994, 19).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>The fifth century bapitistery was twelve meters in diameter with a wall of brick, dressed in marble. The original floor around it was paved in polychrome marble slabs (Barelli 2009, 66-67).</li> <li>Fragments of early Christian funerary inscriptions and an ancient marble game-board are in the Antiquarium (Barelli 2009, 63).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	In this region the <i>domus</i> of Lucius Calpurnius Pisus Cesoninus, the father of Calpurnia the wife of Julius Caesar, replaced the Sacellum of Diana on the Coeliolus (Barelli 2009, 13).
Plan location	For a plan of the fourth century walls see Barelli 2006, page 151 figure 2.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Barelli, Lia and Raffaele Pugliese. 1994. "Note sulla basilica titolare dei SS. Quattro Coronati in Roma." <i>Palladio</i>. 13:19-24.</li> <li>Barelli, Lia, and Christopher McDowall. 2009. <i>The monumental complex of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome</i>. 1st edition. ed.</li> <li>Barelli, Lia. 2006. <i>La fontana del chiostro dei Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma: storia e restauri</i>. 1. edizione. ed, I libri di Viella. Arte.</li> <li>Carbonara, Giovanni, L. Barelli, and Raffaele Pugliese. 2012. <i>Dal cantiere dei Ss. Quattro coronati a Roma: note di storia e restauro per Giovanni Carbonara</i>. 1. edizione. ed.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Pugliese, Raffaele. 2006. "Dalle origini all'VIII secolo" in <i>La fontana del chiostro dei Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma: storia e restauri</i> , edited by Barelli, Lia. 17-26.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	II.12
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Amba Aradam station
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus of Military Barracks Commander
Time Period 01 Start Year	117
Time Period 01 End Year	270
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domus</i> seems to have been constructed along with the adjacent military barracks in the Hadrianic Period (Boccacci 2018). The <i>domus</i> was destroyed immediately preceding the construction of the Aurelian walls in 271 CE (Povoledo 2018). The discovery of the skeleton of a dog in the remains of the <i>domus</i> , alongside a charred wooden door-frame, suggests that a sudden fire destroyed the <i>domus</i> , rather than an intentional destruction (Metro C SPA 2018).
Excavation history	The site was excavated as a part of the Metro Line C project, specifically for the new Amba Aradam Ipponio station in 2017 and 2018. The <i>domus</i> was found in the "Shaft Q15" work site at Largo Amba Aradam. The excavation has been led by archaeologist Simona Morretta, the excavation's Scientific Director, under Superintendent Francesco Prosperetti (Metro C SPA 2018). The <i>domus</i> will be removed, restored and replaced in the station for display after the completion of the Metro digging, expected in 2022 (Povoledo 2018).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> covered roughly 300 square meters (Boccacci 2018). It is described by Simona Morretta as a <i>domus</i> around a central courtyard with a fountain and at least fourteen rooms (Povoledo 2018). The corridors were paved in <i>opus</i>

Field	Data
	<i>spicatum</i> and the rooms around in the courtyard paved in mosaic or <i>opus</i> <i>sectile</i> , with white and ardesian tiles. One of the rooms had a floor constructed over <i>suspensurae</i> and would have been heated. A staircase indicates an upper floor. Simpler rooms for service functions were found with brick floors, water basins, and a travertine threshold (Boccacci 2018).
Structural building techniques	The <i>domus</i> floors are paved in black and white mosaic, and the walls constructed in brick and <i>opus mixtum</i> .
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art: <ul> <li>Frescoed wall paintings were found on walls up to 5 feet tall.</li> <li>Black and white mosaics were found on the floors, including a geometric pattern with a small central motif of two figures fighting (Povoledo 2018).</li> </ul> </li> <li>Finds: <ul> <li>Charred wood from construction was found in the <i>domus</i> (Povoledo 2018).</li> </ul> </li> <li>Finds: <ul> <li>Charred wood from construction was found in the <i>domus</i> (Povoledo 2018; Metro C SPA 2018).</li> <li>Gold rings, an ivory knife handle, and other common objects were found (Boccacci 2018).</li> <li>Morretta states that brick stamps found indicate periods of rennovation of the <i>domus</i> (Boccacci 2018).</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Plan location	See the photograph, figure 23 in Boccacci 2018 for a sense of the plan.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Boccacci, Paolo. 2018. "Roma, scavi metro Amba Aradam: scoperta la domus del centurione. Forse era caserma servizi segreti imperatore." <i>Repubblica</i>. Roma. http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/02/news/roma_nuovi_mosaici_torna no_alla_luce_durante_gli_scavi_della_stazione_metro_di_amba_aradam-190173749/#gallery-slider=190176029 (accessed March 8, 2018).</li> <li>Metro C SPA. 2018. "New Archaeological Finds Unearthed in the Largo Amba Aradam Shaft are Presented to the Press." <i>Metro C Society di Progetto</i>. http://metrocspa.it/en/new-archaeological-finds-unearthed-the-largo-amba-aradam-shaft-are-presented-to-the-press/ (accessed March 8, 2018).</li> <li>Povoledo, Elisabetta. 2018. "Rome's Subway Project Keeps Digging Up Archaeological Marvels." <i>New York Times</i>. March 7, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/07/arts/rome-subway-archaeological-marvels.html?emc=edit_mbe_20180309&amp;nl=morning-briefing-</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	europe&nlid=76105066&te=1 (accessed March 8, 2018).

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	III.01
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under San Clemente
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus Clemens
Time Period 01 Start Year	1
Time Period 01 End Year	64
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>horrea</i> antedates the fire of 64 CE (Richardson 1992, 124), constructed slightly before the <i>domus</i> (Guidobaldi 2004, 391).
Time Period 02 Years	65-100
Time Period 02 Description	The <i>domus</i> originally dates from the end of the first century CE (Richardson 1992, 124). Little is known of the late Republican and Augustan constructions in this area, which were destroyed before the construction of the Neronian <i>Domus</i> Aurea. The rich <i>domus</i> , with <i>cryptoporticus</i> and at least two upper floors, belongs to the phase after the large-scale Flavian constructions southeast of the Coloseum (Guidobaldi 2004, 391). Brick stamps found in the <i>domus</i> date to between 90-96 CE (Guidobaldi 1995, 84).
Time Period 03 Years	150-225
Time Period 03 Description	Between the late second and early third century CE in the semi-underground <i>nymphaeum</i> , a <i>mithraeum</i> was inserted with alterations to the associated adjacent rooms (Guidobaldi 2004, 391-392). At the beginning of the third century the floor of the cells of the <i>horrea</i> were raised 80 cm to combat water

Field	Data
	(Guidobaldi 2004, 391-392).
Time Period 04 Years	226-300
Time Period 04 Description	Due to the increasing water over the course of the century, the entire lower floor of the <i>horrea</i> was buried and that floor was used as the foundation for a new construction. The building was a large <i>aula</i> hall of unknown function (Guidobaldi 2004, 391-392).
Time Period 05 Years	350-425
Time Period 05 Description	Toward the end of the fourth century a Christian church was inserted into the <i>aula</i> hall structure over the <i>horrea</i> , dedicated to martyr Pope Clement. At the end of the century, or at the beginning of the fifth century, a large apse was added, which took over a portion of the adjacent <i>domus</i> containing the <i>mithraeum</i> . This obliterated the <i>mithraeum</i> and ended the functional <i>domus</i> , and the church became a <i>titulus</i> of the Roman church (Guidobaldi 2004, 392). Some have suggested the Christian church was inserted into the <i>aula</i> earlier, even from the beginning of its construction (Snyder 2003, 142-144). However, the church was first mentioned in 392. An inscription mentions the church founding under Pope Siricius (384-399) (Webb 2001, 87-88).
Excavation history	The original excavations took place from 1857-1870, bringing to light the paleocristian basilica and parts of the underlying first century buildings, including a room decorated in stucco into which a <i>mithraeum</i> was at one point inserted (Guidobaldi 1995, 84). The <i>mithraeum</i> was uncovered in 1867 (Vermaseren 1956, no. 338). De Rossi published hypotheses in 1863 and 1870 that the <i>domus</i> had been the original of the Pope, transformed into a <i>mithraeum</i> , and then converted back to a Christian church. This complex hypothesis was later simplified by saying the owner of the <i>domus</i> in the third century, Clemens, was Christian and founded the paleochristian sanctuary in his property (Guidobaldi 1995, 84). Further excavation and analysis of the <i>mithraeum</i> was delayed until after 1914, and studies were undertaken by Junyent (Vermaseren 1956, no. 338).

Field	Data
	More recent excavations took place under the direction of Guidobaldi irregularly from 1981-1991, and in regularly interventions from 1992-2000 (Guidobaldi 1985; 2004). The latter excavations took place with the goal of reducing humidity on the ancient Roman walls and were directed in coordination with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, Soprintendenza ai Beni Architettonici e Ambientali di Roma, and with the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro (Guidobaldi 2004, 390).
Description of Rooms	The first <i>domus</i> phases included a large underground room and other associated rooms around a <i>cryptoporticus</i> . The <i>domus</i> above had at least two stories and a central courtyard, and the few remains of these floors are at the level of the paleochristian church above the <i>mithraeum</i> (Guidobaldi 2004, 391). The rooms preceding the <i>mithraeum</i> originally included a <i>nymphaeum</i> and possibly were part of a private bath (Richardson 1992; Guidobaldi 2004, 391). The <i>mithraeum</i> was placed into the <i>nymphaeum</i> space and the surrounding associated rooms were altered slightly to accommodate the new sacred function (Guidobaldi 2004, 391). The <i>horrea</i> located to the southeast of the <i>domus</i> was around 100 Roman feet wide and 300 long with a central courtyard surrounded on all sides by storage rooms. Two stairways were located halfway up the long sides, and the opening to the street was on the short side to the southeast, opposite the <i>domus</i> (Guidobaldi 2004, 391-392). The lower floor of the <i>horrea</i> was buried at the end of the third to the beginning of the fourth century and an <i>aula</i> hall with a central rectangular area surrounded on three sides by aisles was constructed above. This hall was at some point converted to a church and an apse was added on the northwest side, encroaching into the <i>domus</i> and destroying the building (Guidobaldi 2004, 391-396).
Structural building techniques	The <i>horrea</i> to the southeast of the <i>domus</i> was constructed with strong solid perimeter walls in <i>opus quadratum</i> (Guidobaldi 2004, 391). At the construction of the paleocristian basilica the door onto the corridor to the northeast was reduced in size and raised, and an <i>opus sectile</i> floor was laid over the basolato paving of the corridor, which had been in turn laid over the original first century travertine paving in the third century CE. In this period a semi-circular bath with marble decoration and polychrome wall decoration were added (Guidobaldi 2004, 392-393).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>Brick stamps found in the <i>domus</i> date to between 90-96 CE (Guidobaldi 1995, 84).</li> <li>An inscription mentions the church founding under Pope Siricius (384-399) (Webb 2001, 87-88).</li> </ul>

430

Field	Data	
	<ul> <li>An inscription "Cn(aeus) Arrius Claudianus/pater posuit" (Vermaseren 1956, no. 340).</li> <li>A marble cippus with an inscription on the front stating "Caute/sacrum" (MMM II No. 64) (Vermaseren 1956, no. 341).</li> <li>Inscription CIL VI 3725: [Pro salute/T. Aeli Antoni/ni] Aug(usti) e[t M(arci) Aeli / Au]reli Caes(aris) et / [L. Aur(eli) C]ommodi fil(iorum) / [Ael(ius?)] Sabinus c[enturio] leg(ionis)/ [Sol?]I v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). (Vermaseren 1956, no. 347).</li> <li>Inscription fragments from the church pavement CIL VI 31030: (Vermaseren 1956, no. 348).</li> <li>0 1/ so[li] / invicto [Mi]/trhe sal[utari]</li> <li>0 [Iovi] Do[l]ic(heno) aug(usto) / [fe] /cit Pius I V/et L. Cattius C/sacerdos v</li> </ul>	
	<ul> <li>Artworks:</li> <li>The Altar of the <i>mithraeum</i> in Parian marble stands 1.12 m by 0.63m. It was carved with a relief of Mithras slaying the bull on the front, busts of Luna and Sol at the top, Cautopates on the left, Cautes on the right, and a large serpent on the back (Vermaseren 1956, no. 339).</li> <li>The cult-niche at the rear of the <i>mithraeum</i> is arched and was covered in mosaic (Vermaseren 1956, no. 338).</li> <li>Three small terracotta bases, two square and one round, were found on the floor before the cult niche (Vermaseren 1956, no. 338).</li> <li>Two torchbearer fragments (MMM II No. 19d) (Vermaseren 1956, no. 342).</li> <li>Marble bust of Sol with holes for rays to be fixed from the sanctuary near the entrance (Vermaseren 1956, no. 343).</li> <li>A marble statue of Mithras emerging from a stone, wearing a Phrygian cap. The statue is 0.63 m tall with broken forearms (Vermaseren 1956, no. 344).</li> <li>A marble statuette of a bearded person was found in the room opposite the <i>mithraeum</i>, who Vermaseren identifies as S. Peter (Vermaseren 1956, no. 345).</li> </ul>	
Plan location	For the newly excavated areas see Guidobaldi 2004, fig. 1b; for the overall plan see Guidobaldi 2004, fig. 2; for the plan of the hall built over the <i>horrea</i> in the third-fourth centuries see Guidobaldi 2004, fig. 7.	
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Boyle, Leonard E. 1977. San Clemente Miscellany I: The Community of Ss. Sisto E Clemente in Rome, 1677-1977. Romae: Apud S. Clementem.</li> <li>De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. "I Monumenti Scoperti Sotto La Basilica Di S. Clemente Studiati Nella Loro Successione Stratigrafica E Cronologica."</li> </ul>	

Field	Data
	Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana 2nd series, 1 (1870): 129-53.
	De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1863. "Prime origini della basilica di S. Clemente." <i>Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana</i> 1 (No. 4):25-31.
	Gori, F. 1870. "Il Santuario del dio persiano Mitra ultimamente scoperto a S. Clemente in Roma." <i>Il Buonarroti, S.</i> II 5:289-301.
	Guidobaldi, Federico, Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi, and cristiana Pontificio Istituto di archeologia. 1983. <i>Pavimenti Marmorei Di Roma Dal IV al IX</i> <i>Secolo</i> . Città del Vaticano, Roma: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.
	Guidobaldi, Federico, C. Lalli, M. Paganelli, and Claudia Angelelli. 2004. "S. Clemente. Gli scavi piu recenti (1992-2000)." <i>In Roma dall'antichita al medioevo. II, Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by Lidia Paroli, L. Vendittelli and Italy. Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma.</i> 390-415. Milano: Electa.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1985. "Scavi 1981-1982 Nell'area Del Convento Di S. Clemente." In Roma: Archeologia Nel Centro 6, II: La "Città Murata" edited by Progetto Convegno Roma: Archeologia e and Archeologica Soprintendenza. Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia, 345-51. Roma: de Luca.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Clemens." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 84-85. Roma: Quasar.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1997. "Gli scavi del 1993-95 nella basilica di S. Clementa a Roma e la scoperta del battistero paleocristiano. Nota preliminare," <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> 73: 459-491.
	Guidobaldi, Frederico. 1992. San Clemente. Gli Edifici Romani, La Basilica Paleo-Christiana E Le Fasi Altomedievali. San Clemente Miscellany. Vol. IV, 1, Rome: Collegio San Clemente.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. pars IV, fasc. II Additamenta.
	Junyent, E. "Nuove Indagine." <i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana</i> 15 (1938): 147-52.

Field	Data
	Pavia, Carlo. 1996. "Il mitreo di San Clemente," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 1 (3): 6-13.
	Provinciali, Barbara, Anna Maria Marinelli, Domenico Poggi, Donatella Capitani, Noemi Proietti, and Valeria Di Tullio. 2010. "Il Mitreo di San Clemente a Roma. Lo studio dei materiali costitutivi e la valutazione del loro degrado attraverso l'NMR Unilaterale." <i>Bollettino di Archeologia On-Line</i> I (Volume speciale D/D3/6): 61-81.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Snyder, G.F. 2003. Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine: Mercer University Press.
	Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef. 1956. Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae. 2 vols, Hagae Comitis: Martinus Nijhoff.
	Webb, Matilda. 2001. <i>The churches and catacombs of early Christian Rome: a comprehensive guide</i> , Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	III.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Via Giovanni Lanza <i>mithraeum</i>
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Via Giovanni Lanza <i>domus</i>
Time Period 01 Start Year	138
Time Period 01 End Year	192
	The room in which the <i>mithraeum</i> was placed was in an earlier period used as a cellar (Gallo 1979, 249). The underlying structures into which this <i>domus</i> was

Field	Data
Description	built were from the Antonine period (Pavia 1996, 16-17). The early fourth century <i>lararium</i> was converted from what is suggested as a second century shrine to Isis (CIMRM).
Time Period 02 Years	290-320
Time Period 02 Description	The <i>domus</i> is called luxurious and dated to the Constantinian period or a little before, and the <i>mithraeum</i> appears to date to this period (Pavia 1996, 16-17; Calci 2000, 152-153; Gallo 1979, 249). Frederico Guidobaldi has confirmed the "Constantinian" date originally suggested by the excavators, also supporting that the <i>domus</i> was built into an earlier structure of the first century BCE to the second century CE. (Griffith, CIMRM). Lanciani originally selected the date a Constantinian, or slightly earlier such as under Maxentius, on the basis of brick stamps belonging to the officina Claudiana and others belonging to Theodoric (Pavia 1996, 16-17).
Excavation history	In December 1883 at the opening of via S. Giovanni Lanza and via dello Statuto, the <i>domus</i> was discovered with a <i>lararium</i> and <i>mithraeum</i> (Calci 2000, 152-153; Lanciani 1888, 191). In the works to extend the via dello statuo to create the via S. Giovanni Lanza, between 1888-1890, more of the <i>domus</i> was discovered (Pavia 1996, 15). The <i>lararium</i> , called a chapel by Lanciani was demolished, but drawn by L. Ronci, and the <i>mithraeum</i> below was preserved (Lanciani 1888, 192; CMIRM).
Description of Rooms	The remains of a small portion of a <i>domus</i> were found, which included a largely intact above ground <i>lararium</i> and stairs leading down to a largely intact below ground Mithraeum (Calci 2000, 152-153; Lanciani 1888, 192-193). The <i>lararium</i> was a small room with a semicircular vault, paved in palomino and lavagna, found with walls painted in ultramarine and cinnabar. A semicircular niche in the rear wall and two rectangular niches on each side wall displayed art framed with stucco cornices and carved pediments. The sculptures of Fortuna and other deities were arranged in these niches (Fiorelli 1885, 67). The <i>mithraeum</i> includes two rooms that were entered through a door with a travertine architrave, a corridor, and then down a flight of stairs. Statues of Cautes and Cautopates stood in niches to either side. To the left of the entrance in the cellar stood a tauroctony with an ionic capital used as an altar in front of it and remnants of offerings and torches for the god (Gallo 1979, 249-250). Additional rooms were found for the <i>domus</i> , including the northern portion of the <i>atrium</i> , and rooms of a bath (Lanciani 1888, 193). One bath room contained a semicircular tub that was lined with marble and tubuli tiles for heating (Fiorelli 1884, 189). Lanciani identified a large decorated hall as a library, which was uncovered with high quality stuccowork above plain lower walls. The stucco

Field	Data
	included fluted pilasters, spaced five feet apart, surrounding medallions, two feet in diameter. The center decoration of the medallions did not remain, but could be identified from fragments as human faces, including one identified in red paint as "Apollonius Thyan" (Lanciani 1888, 193-196). Among the ground floor rooms, Lanciani notes the squared room identified as a library and an irregular room with a Constantinian period apse and damaged wallpaintings. A three-asped <i>nymphaeum</i> stood near these rooms, with seven niches in the main apse, and water falling into a channel from bronze mouthpieces (Lanciani 1884, 48, tav. V). Around the construction of the <i>nymphaeum</i> ran Carrara marble cornice supported by corbels carved like olive leaves (Fiorelli 1884, 153).
Structural building techniques	The rooms discovered in 1883 consisted of a squared room and an irregular room with an apse. The apse was of Constantinian construction with layers of tiles and tufa blocks and the other walls were in <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Fiorelli 1884, 48). The bath area had marble linings and was heated through small tubuli tiles (Fiorelli 1884, 189). The <i>lararium</i> was paved in <i>opus sectile</i> formed of palomino and lavagna and had a half vault roof (Fiorelli 1885, 67). The construction of the <i>mithraeum</i> was in two phases with the earlier in <i>reticulatum</i> and the later in brick (Pavia 1996, 17).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>Sculpture inside the <i>lararium</i> included a statue of Isis-Fortuna, also identified as Fortuna-Abundance and seventeen statuettes and busts of domestic divinities on the side shelves around her. These included busts and statues of deities, such as Serapis, Hercules, Horus-Harpocrates, Aphrodite, Dionysus, Apollo, Hecate, Cybele, and some statuettes of the <i>lares</i> familiarii (Lanciani 1888, 192; Fiorelli 1885, 67; CIMRM). Fiorelli lists the finds from 1885 as, in addition to Fortuna-Abbundance, Venus, Hercules, sitting Pluto with Cerberus, Bust of Jove Serapis, head of Jove (?), three bacchic herms, other fragments of torsos, a votive tablet of exquisite Egyptian work carved in hard stone, verde panocha, in the style of a cameo (Fiorelli 1885, 67).</li> <li>Sculpture, decoration, and ritual objects were also found in the <i>mithraeum</i>, seemingly in situ as in the <i>lararium</i>. These included remnants of seven wooden torches coated in tar, found in cavities in the walls. The two torchbearers, Cautes and Cautopates, were found at the foot of the entrance stairs. A marble tauroctony was found on a small shelf. An Iconic column capital was placed as an altar in the center of the room (Lanciani 1888, 192-193; CIMRM).</li> <li>Stucco work decoration, including pilasters and medallions with portraits, were found. A single painted name on one medallion read "APOLLONIVS THYAN" (Lanciani 1888, 195). The name is identified by Visconti as "apOLONIVS (leaf) THYANEVS" (Fiorelli</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>1884, 49).</li> <li>Wallpaintings were somewhat preserved in the irregular room with decoration of figures and countryside scenes (Lanciani 1884, 48).</li> <li>In the area of the <i>nymphaeum</i> a nude putto sculpture was found (Lanciani 1884, 49).</li> </ul>
	Stamps and tiles:
	<ul> <li>A brick stamp was found often in the 1883-1884 excavation, with the inscription inside a circle: (leaf) BRVT/M R L V P I/ORFITO ET/PRISCINO/(leaf) COS (leaf) (Fiorelli 1884, 154).</li> <li>Brick stamps were found, belonging to the officina Claudiana and others belonging to Theodoric (Pavia 1996, 16-17).</li> <li>In the room with the tub in the bath, 1200 tubuli tiles were found, 160 mm long and 42 mm wide. In the same room an amphora neck with rectangular stamp, saying "A S Y L/ N A V I" was found (Fiorelli 1884, 189).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan from the excavation period see Lanciani 1884, tav. V. For a section drawing of the <i>mithraeum</i> see Visconti 1885.
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
	<i>CIMRM</i> entry: http://www.roger- pearse.com/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm356
	Cumont, Franz. 1898. Monuments et Mysteres de Mithra. II vols. Vol. II, 199-200, no. 15. Brussels.
	Fiorelli. 1884. "Notizie degli Scavi." <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> : 153-154; 189.
Bibliography	Fiorelli. 1885. "Notizie degli Scavi." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita: 67-68.
	Gallo, Daniela. 1979. "Il Mitreo di via Giovanni Lanza." In Mysteria Mithrae atti del seminario internazionale su "la specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia, Roma e Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = proceedings of the international seminar on the "religio-historical character of Roman Mithraism, with particular reference to Roman and Ostian sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 249-258. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum." <i>Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica</i>

Data
Comunale Di Roma Anno XII - Serie Seconda:48-49, n. 781, tav. V.
Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1888. Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries. London. 191-194.
Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
Pavia, Carlo. 1996. "Il Larario e il Mitreo di via Giovanni Lanza," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 1 (9): 15-19.
Vermaseren, M. J. 1956, 1960. <i>Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae</i> , edited by M. J. Vermaseren. 2 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. no. 356-359, 160-161, figg. 102-104.
Visconti, C. L. 1885. "Del larario e del mitreo scoperti nell'Esquilino presso la chiesa ai S. Martino ai Monti," <i>Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma</i> (s. 2): 27-38.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	III.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus delle Sette Sale
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Domus</i> at the Baths of Trajan; <i>Domus</i> sopra la cisterna delle Sette Sale; <i>Horti</i> <i>Maecenatis</i> ; Gardens of Maecenas
Time Period 01 Start Year	98
Time Period 01 End Year	117
Time Period 01 Description	Brick stamps in the western and southern walls indicate the rooms of these spaces were constructed in the Trajanic period along with the nine large cisterns that fed the baths of Trajan below. The residential section of this complex, already suggested due to plan as residential in this period is suggested by Volpe to be the residence of the person servicing the cisterns, associated with other

Field	Data
	public rooms (Volpe 2000, 159; Sovrintendenza 2013).
Time Period 02 Years	235-315
Time Period 02 Description	At some point after the Severan period and before the construction of the <i>opus vittatum</i> structures, a section of rooms was built over the earlier <i>opus mixtum</i> walls in <i>opus latericium</i> without brick stamps. These rooms include the large <i>aula</i> . Guidobaldi has dated these spaces with the large apse to the late third to early fourth centuries (Volpe 2000, 160).
Time Period 03 Years	301-400
Time Period 03 Description	In the fourth century the many-lobed room and a <i>nymphaeum</i> in <i>opus vittatum</i> were constructed as part of a final large construction phase. The western section of the <i>domus</i> , composed of small rooms, was changed to a private bath suite (Volpe 2000, 159-160).
Excavation history	Work in 1966-67 and in 1975 brought to light the remains of this <i>domus</i> (Volpe 2000, 159). The first excavation took place in 1966-1967, and in 1975 methodological research took place under the X Ripartizione of the Comune di Roma (Dante 1999, 26).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> spaces are separated in two by a corridor that was paved with a black and white mosaic. The western half of the rooms lined the corridor in two rows of small spaces, made of walls of <i>opus mixtum</i> . A group of related rooms from a late antique <i>domus</i> can be found on the eastern side of the corridor. The southern rooms on this side are also constructed of the <i>opus mixtum</i> of the original Trajanic period. The orientation of these southern walls resembles that of a portion of a <i>domus</i> from the second century, including a wide space that may be a <i>triclinium</i> or <i>tablinum</i> opening onto a peristyle to its north and four smaller rooms surrounding this space. The residential eastern rooms are suggested to have had a separate function from the smaller rooms to the west, which may have had a public function related to the cisterns below. A large rectangular apsed room from the third to fourth century, containing a <i>nymphaeum</i> from the later fourth century, is located just north of the earlier domestic rooms. Then, a many-lobed hexagonally formed room is located further north of the larged apsed room and dated to a later fourth century construction phase based on the construction technique. The room has a hexagonal core with apsed and rectangular spaces leading off of it and small circular and triangular rooms in the intervening spaces. The fourth century rooms were decorated luxuriously in <i>opus sectile</i> marble made of porphyry,

Field	Data
	serpentine, giallo antico, and pavonazzetto with geometric floors and marble architectural partitions and floral patterns on the walls (Volpe 2000, 159-160; Dante 1999, 27).
Structural building techniques	The walls uncovered were of two construction types primarily. The first was <i>opus mixtum</i> of <i>reticulatum</i> and <i>latericium</i> , likely Trajanic in date, found in the western and southern rooms. These spaces include brick stamps of Trajanic date and paving in white and black mosaic datable to the second century CE. The second construction type was in <i>opus listatum</i> made of brick and <i>opus vittatum</i> , dated to the fourth century CE. A number of rooms in the northeastern section can be dated to a later phase and contain a large rectangular apsed <i>aula</i> with its opening to the east, where the adjacent spaces are now missing (Sovrintendenza 2013; Volpe 2000, 159-160; Dante 1999, 26).
	Art:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>A small marble male head was found in the 1975 excavation (Volpe 2000, 160).</li> <li>The large apsed hall and mutli-lobed room were both decorated in geometric <i>opus sectile</i> (Sovrintendenza 2013).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Guidobaldi identifies it, with the larged apsed <i>aula</i> , as a late antique plan (Guidobaldi 2000, 134).
Plan location	For the full plan of the remains see Rita Volpe 2000, fig. 1.
	Cozza, L. 1974-1975. "I recenti scavi delle Sette Sale. Rendiconti." <i>Atti</i> <i>Pontificia Accad. Romana Arch.</i> 47: 79–101.
	Danti, Alberto. 1999. "Le Sette Sale." in Forma Urbis, Anno IV (2): 20-27.
Bibliography	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1986. "L'edilizia abitativa unifamiliare nella Roma tardoantica." In <i>Società romana e Impero tardoantico II</i> , edited by A. Giardina, 165–237. Roma-Bari.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 2000. "Vivere Come Consoli a Roma e nelle Province. Le Domus Urbane e le Ville Suburane. Arredi Scultorei, Argenti e Marmi Colorati: Distribuzione topografica, architettura e arredo delle domus tardoantiche." in <i>Aurea Roma: dalla citta pagana alla citta cristiana</i> , 134-136. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Sovrintendenza Capitolina. 2013. "Domus delle Sette Sale." <i>Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali</i> . (accessed July 26, 2017).

Field	Data
	http://www.sovraintendenzaroma.it/
	Volpe, Rita. 2000. "Vivere Come Consoli a Roma e nelle Province. Le Domus Urbane e le Ville Suburane. Arredi Scultorei, Argenti e Marmi Colorati: La domus delle Sette Sale." In <i>Aurea Roma: dalla citta pagana alla citta cristiana</i> , 159-160. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IV.01
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of the Villa Rivaldi
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus del Velia; domus Veliis
Time Period 01 Start Year	50
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	The original primary wall construction dates to the first century with some additions from later in the first century (Sartorio 1983, fig. 13). The <i>nymphaeum</i> decoration should date to this period, as the tub was filled, and the ceiling had partially collapsed before the mid-second century. The first period of wall painting in the <i>cryptoporticus</i> should also date simultaneously to the mid-first century (Sartorio 1983, 162).
Time Period 02 Years	101-200
Time Period 02 Description	Further adaptations to the domestic structure were seen in the walls that date to the second century CE (Sartorio 1983, fig. 13). The stairway into the room with the former <i>nymphaeum</i> was added in this period (Sartorio 1983, 162).
Time Period 03	c. 201-240

Data
The second phase of wall painting in the <i>cryptoporticus</i> seems to most closely match examples from the early third century CE (Sartorio 1983, 162).
308-315
These remains abut the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine and the <i>domus</i> was destroyed for the construction of this building (Sartorio 1983, 155, fig. 13).
This <i>domus</i> was discovered and excavated as a part of the creation via dell'Impero now the via dei Fori Imperiali, behind the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine between 1931 and 1932 (Sartorio 1983, 147).
This <i>domus</i> includes a large section of a peristyle with a portico and central garden, and the underlying <i>cryptoporticus</i> with three rooms leading off of it in addition to the stairway. The upper floor also included three rooms in the same position with at least additional rooms on one of the long sides of the peristyle (Sartorio 1983, fig. 13). The north side of the portico had a double row of windows, with the upper opening to the garden, and the lower in the <i>cryptoporticus</i> opening onto a large semicircular niche, which was probably a <i>nymphaeum</i> , and onto two rectangular rooms dressed in polychrome marble. A small drain under the floor confirms the flow of water in this area. The walls of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> were decorated with fine wall paintings on a white ground to maximize light. Two phases of decoration were found one under the other. These <i>cryptoporticus</i> gained light from 'boca di lupo' windows above, and a channel cut into the tuff and paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> made a bright red wall visible, decorated with great figures of animals chasing in among the bushes of a park full of ponds and fountains. Canals brought light to the boca di lupo windows below, which otherwise would not reach above ground, and wooden walkways were possibly used above, in a manner Sartorio notes as similar to that of the <i>domus</i> under San Pietro in Vincoli (see Cat. entry V.21). Lanciani and the excavators in 1931-32 reported artistic finds which could have populated this above ground peristyle; see below (Sartorio 1983, 156-159). The northern and southern sides of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> were decorated with wall painting on two layers of plaster in successive periods. The two periods contained similar painting styles. The earlier phase had decoration in various large rectangles in rows, including some with large green and red bands on a

Field	Data
	decorated the center of the rectangles. This first phase was chiseled to adhere the second phase. The later phase contained subtle colored figures and images on a white ground with painted niches created with clean red lines delineating the spaces. The niches alternated curved and rectangular on the upper and middle rows and only rectangular on the lower. The later painted niches aligned perfectly with the boca di lupo windows, where the earlier rectangles were offset; suggesting the windows were enlarged at the same time the <i>cryptoporticus</i> was repainted. The wainscoting (zoccolatura) was in marble along the bottom of the wall (Sartorio 1983, 160). A grand niche opened onto the northeastern corridor. A small space also was found southeast of the <i>nymphaeum</i> , between the brick wall and the tuff, which opened to the <i>cryptoporticus</i> . The <i>nymphaeum</i> was decorated with three niches covered in mosaics of enamel or glass paste tesserae, with cockle shells inserted on a redorange background, and a line of shells decorated the vault and corners. The tub in front of the niche was paved in marble, and three steps led into the bath. A stairway was added into this room, after the tub was filled with earth. The stairway masonry is from the mid-second century, and the room had a floor made of bricks in a herringbone pattern (Sartorio 1983, 160-162).
Structural building techniques	Gismondi noted that the <i>cryptoporticus</i> walls were in <i>opus reticulatum</i> with frequent zones of brickwork at the same height in that section of the corridor. Collini noted that the boca di lupo windows had lintels of sesquipedali bricks, and in that section the lower wall was in brick and the upper wall in brick and reticulatum. Collini also noted that the brick walls were formed by perfect triangles made from yellow bessali, divided by red tiles. The walls had a module of 5 bricks and 5 mortar sections, at 28 cm, with bricks 35-38 mm thick and mortar 15-20 mm thick. The vault was made, packed with armature in bessali bricks. The two arms of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> were about 35 m long, 3.80 m wide, and 5.55 m high at the center of the vault. The corridor connecting to the residential building was 3.20 m wide (Sartorio 1983, 159). The <i>nymphaeum</i> niche was carved into the natural rock on the lower level, and above was created with crude cement, leaving a gap of 30-40 cm between this and the tuff bank (Sartorio 1983, 160). A stairway was added into the <i>nymphaeum</i> after it fell into disuse and the masonry of the stair is from the mid-second century, once the room had a floor made of bricks in a herringbone pattern (Sartorio 1983, 162).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Sculpture (Mustilli 1933, 89-109):</li> <li>an Apollo type Kassel</li> <li>a bust of Antinous</li> <li>an Apollo type Cyrene</li> <li>various portrait-busts, mostly of the third century CE.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>These include a third century portrait head in process of reworking likely in the fourth century, and a head for insertion of Menander, also fourth century (Last Statues, Oxford).</li> <li>an Icarus who fastens his wings</li> <li>a portrait of Septimius Severus</li> <li>a head of Zeus</li> <li>a beautiful carved base</li> <li>a base dedicated to Attio Insteio Tertullo, prefect of the city in 307 CE (Sartorio 1983, 166).</li> </ul>
	Wall painting (Sartorio 1983, 160-162):
	- Wall paintings in the <i>cryptoporticus</i> had white ground with small figures and outlined geometric spaces. These walls were repainted in a second period with a less complex but similar pattern (See Sartorio 1983, fig. 21-22 for the second period, and 23-24 for the earlier period). Sartorio notes a comparison between the first period of wall painting and the wall painting style in the <i>cryptoporticus</i> of the <i>Domus</i> Aurea. Sartorio notes the Buon Pastore in the catacombs of Domitilla (200-240), the villa under S. Sebastiano (200-230), and the structure in the courtyard of Aquila at Ostia (third century) as the closest comparisons for the second period wall painting.
	Inscriptions:
	<ul> <li>CIL VI 1696: An inscription dedicated to Attius Insteius Tertullus was found in this area.</li> <li>"[Inlu]stri viro et omnium retro praefecto/[rum i]ndustriam supergresso Attio Insteio Tertullo / [quaestori k(andidato), prae]tori k(andidato), consuli, cor-rectori/[Venetiae et Histriae], praeposito fabri/[cae?, proco(n)s(uli) Africae?, praefecto ur]bis Romae / [ob curam quam egit, ut fortunae eorum] / inopia in[genti affictae sollicitudine eius] / miseriae atque incomparabili [industria, cum in] / apertum periculum proruebant, recrea/tae atque confotae redditis pristinis / viribus convalescerent et aeternum robur / acciperent, atque ( ob) eius aegregia facta et in se / munificentiam singularem corpus magna/riorum gravi metu et discrimine liberatum / ei statuam aere insignem locavit, / curantibus / Flaviis Respecto Pànckario Sabiniano Palass(io ?) / et Florentio v(iris) p(erfectissimis) p(rae)p(ositis) corp(oris) mag(nariorum) digno pat(rono)" (CIL VI 1696).</li> <li>CIL VI 1697: Found with CIL VI 1696, this inscription refers to another Insteia, perhaps a brother (Sartorio 1983, 166-168).</li> <li>"POPVLONII/ATTIO insteio tERTVLiO V.C/QVAEStori cand. PRAETORI/CANd/APV/F" (CIL VI 1697).</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Additional notable points	See Sartorio 1983, fig. 14 for a photograph of this <i>domus</i> during excavation. The find from 1776 in the garden of the Mendicanti of the villa Rivaldi of a base dedicated to Attius Insteius Tertullus, prefect of the city in 307 CE, in the period of Maxentius, provides a suggestion for the last period of ownership. Lanciani supports attributing this <i>domus</i> to the Insteia family, but Sartorio notes that the destruction of part of the <i>domus</i> of Attius Insteius Tertullus, while he was prefectus urbi, is unexpected. He suggests this area was turned into public space in the third century (Sartorio 1983, 166-168).
Plan location	See Sartorio 1983, fig. 12 and 13.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Cifani, Gabriele. 2008. Architettura Romana Arcaica: Edilizia E Società Tra Monarchia E Repubblica, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria. 1983. "Considerazioni su la Velia da Nerone" In Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale Supplementum X, edited by De Fine Licht, Kjeld. Odenses, Denmark: Odense University Press.</li> <li>Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.</li> <li>Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA). 2012. http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk, LSA- 1192, LSA-1193 (J. Lenaghan). (accessed November 19, 2016).</li> <li>Mustilli, D. 1933. "Di alcune sculture trovate tra il Foro della Pace e l'anfiteatro." Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. 61:89-109.</li> <li>Pisani Sartorio, Giuseppina. 1983. Un domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supp. 10. Odense: Odense University Press.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IV.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Forum of Nerva

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Start Year	200 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	31 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The excavations under the paving of the Forum of Nerva have uncovered an arch of tufa blocks and commercial buildings from the period before the Macellum market in this area, which preceeded the Forum of Nerva. These buildings were constructed in opus incertum with pavements in <i>opus spicatum</i> and are datable beginning roughly with the second century BCE. The commercial buildings were destroyed in the late Republican period in a restructuring of the area and raising of the ground level. The market continued in full use through the period of Caesar organized in shops with <i>opus spicatum</i> floors (Morselli, et al. 1996, 18). <i>Domūs</i> were also part of this Argiletum neighborhood before the construction of the Forum of Nerva. The rooms found belonging to a Republican <i>domus</i> have been dated to the second to first centuries BCE based on the building technique and mosaic style (Rinaldi 2013, 61).
Time Period 02 Years	31 BCE - 64
Time Period 02 Description	Then in the earliest imperial period buildings were constructed on a series of large opus caementicium foundations. In this period the market was monumentalized (Morselli, et al. 1996, 18). The Neronian fire of 64 CE would have required some rebuilding in the area.
Time Period 03 Years	64 - 85
Time Period 03 Description	Three four sided pillars in opus caementicium in the <i>domus</i> rooms suggest a period of rebuilding in the Republican <i>domus</i> after the fire of Nero before the construction of the Forum of Nerva (Rinaldi 2013, 61). The second construction phase of the <i>domus</i> rooms covers the mosaics with <i>opus spicatum</i> floors and constructs new <i>opus latericium</i> walls instead of the earlier <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Rinaldi 2013, 63).
Time Period 04 Years	85 – 97
Time Period 04	The <i>domus</i> and street on which it stood were destroyed for Forum of Nerva, also called the Forum Transitorium, begun under Domitian and inaugurated by

Field	Data
Description	Nerva (Morselli, et al. 1996, 19).
Time Period 05 Years	801-900
Time Period 05 Description	Reused structures of opus quadratum were used on the either side of the Argiletum in the Forum of Nerva as post-antique and early medieval housing (Coates-Stephens 1996, 256).
	The via dell'Impero cut through this neighborhood following a decision in the Piano Regolatore of 1931 (Morselli et al. 1996, 27).
Excavation history	Beginning in 1995 through 1997 for the first time extensive stratigraphic excavation of the Forum of Nerva was undertaken by the Sovraintendenza Comunale and the Cattedra di Topografia antica della Universita di Roma. The team excavated both the Forum of Nerva and the levels below the marble paving of the Forum to determine the sequence of the Republican and Julio-Claudian building and introduction of the Forum over these levels (Morselli et al. 1996, 17; Riccardo 2013, 163).
Description of Rooms	The remaining rooms of the Republican era <i>domus</i> include two small hypogean rooms, paved with mosaic floors, which have been identified as ergastula. The first mosaic depicts part of a square and a circular motif in black tesserae. The second mosaic depicts a male figure swimming by a sea creature. The rooms are accessible by an ancient stairway that is still in situ and have a corridor paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> like the shops of the same period. The small rooms are lit by means of lucernai visible in one of the rooms. The theory of ergastula is supported by the discovery of a makeshift bed in a niche in the wall in the room with lucernai and iron rods to lock the doors (Rinaldi 2013, 62-63). Three four-sided pillars stand from an early imperial phase after the fire of Nero (Rinaldi 2013, 61).
Structural building techniques	The Republican era buildings were constructed in opus incertum with pavements in <i>opus spicatum</i> , and then monumentalized in the early imperial period with opus caementicium (Morselli, et al. 1996, 18). The Republican <i>domus</i> was paved in mosaic flooring and constructed in the same manner as the republican shop buildings. The walls were constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> with white plaster coating. They had cross vault ceilings 1.80 m high. The mosaic floors had slabs and thresholds in travertine and black tesserae forming patterns (Rinaldi 2013, 61-63).
	The hypogean rooms were filled with earth and a construction begun using opus caementicium pillars after the fire of Nero (Rinaldi 2013, 61-63). The post-antique period reused structures of opus quadratum (Coates-Stephens

Field	Data
	1996, 256).
Finds from the site	- Ceramics, including italic terra sigillata and amphorae, have been found and studied from the Neronian fill of the hypogean rooms (Rinaldi 2013).
Plan location	For an archaeological plan of the rooms of the Republican <i>domus</i> see Nocera and Rinaldi 2013, fig. 1, and for a reconstructed plan of those rooms see Nocera and Rinaldi 2013, fig. 2.
	Capelli, Claudio. 2013. "Analisi Minero-Petrografiche su Anfora Dressel 21-22 con Tituli Picti dal Foro di Nerva." In <i>Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali, BAR international series</i> , edited by Monica Ceci, 74.
	Ceci, Monica. 2013. Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali. BAR international series. Oxford: Archaeopress.
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 1996. "Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500-1000 ad," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 64: 239-259.
	Dutert, Ferdinand. 1876. Le Forum romain et les forums de Jules César, d'Auguste, de Vaspasien, de Nerva et de Trajan: état actuel des decouvertes et étude restaurée, Paris.
Bibliography	Morselli, Chiara, Silvana Rizzo, Edoardo Tortorici, Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, Francesca Carboni, Elisabetta Carnabucci, Claudia Cecamore, Beatrice Pinna Caboni, and Marcello Spanu. 1996. "Il foro di Nerva," <i>Forma</i> <i>urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 1 (4): 16-27.
	Nocera, Daira, and Adele Rinaldi. 2013. "Gli Interri delle Strutture Repubblicane del Foro di Nerva. Considerazioni sugli Ambienti 1, 2, e 3." In <i>Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali, BAR international series</i> , edited by Monica Ceci, 87-91.
	Nocera, Daira. 2013. "Un Contesto Ceramico Dall'Ambiente 3 del Foro di Nerva." In <i>Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali, BAR international series</i> , edited by Monica Ceci, 75-85.
	Riccardo, Santangeli Valenzani. 1999. "Strade, case e orti nell'alto Medioevo nell'area del foro di Nerva." <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age</i> : 163-169.
	Rinaldi, Adele. 2013. "Contesti Ceramici del Foro di Nerva dagli Ambienti 1 e 2. I Vasi Decorati a Matrice in Terra Sigillata Italica e le Anfore." In <i>Contesti</i>

Field	Data
	<i>ceramici dai Fori Imperiali, BAR international series</i> , edited by Monica Ceci, 61-74.
	Rinaldi, Adele. 2015. "Preesistenze Tardo Repubblicane di Carattere Abitativo Sotto la Pavimentazione del Foro di Nerva." In <i>Scienze dell'Antichità: Il foro</i> <i>di Nerva Nuovi dati dagli scavi recenti</i> , edited by E. La Rocca, R. Meneghini and C. P. Presicce. 3-32. Roma, Sapienza Universita di Roma.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.01
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Azara
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus of the Esquiline
Time Period 01 Start Year	134
Time Period 01 End Year	140
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domus</i> was possibly constructed during the principate of Hadrian, as is suggested by brick stamps found in the excavation, inscribed with "SERVIANO III COS/SALEXPSLCIVVEN" (Massimi 1836, 213). Servianus was consul for the third time under Hadrian in 134 CE (CIL X 8043.31). A late Hadrianic date is also suggested for the construction due to the style of the wall paintings, which closely resembles the Third and Fourth Pompeian Style wall paintings, and can be dated based on comparison to those at Ostia (Joyce 1983, 435-436).
Time Period 02 Years	450
Time Period 02 Description	Probable period of abandonment based on the dates of surrounding <i>domūs</i> .

Field	Data
	This <i>domus</i> , called "le vestigia di una Casa", was excavated by Cav. D. Jose Nicolas de Azara the minister to Rome of King Charles III of Spain in the month of June in 1777 in the lands between the Viminal and Esquline hills in the villa Montalto (Massimi 1836, 213). The ancient house was known at the time to have been disturbed before, and the upper floor destroyed to fill in the lower rooms and level the ground above due to the obvious churned nature of the decorative material from the marble floor, door jamb, and bases (Buti 1777). Nicolas de Azara states that the "casa antica" had various "pitture a fresco", and he immediately charged Mengs to see them. Mengs planned to draw all of them for etchings but died before finishing. The drawings were completed by Anton von Maron. Thirteen prints of Pitture antiche della Villa Negroni were made by Angelo Campanella and Pietro Marco Vitali, but only twelve of them are currently accessible (Buti, Maron, and Mengs 1778). The largest central room was not drawn. Parts of the Frescoes were detached and taken to Downhill House in Ireland, which sadly burned in the 19th century leaving no evidence of them (Barbera and Paris 1996).
Excavation history	Artworks created or found during the excavations give us more information. In the <i>domus</i> excavation D'Azara found a Venus sculpture of high quality (Mengs and Azara 1780, LXXXIII-LXXXIV). Camillo Buti, an architect, created a plan of the site, which he published in a manifesto in 1778, the plan was republished in the Notizie Istorices Della Villa Massimo, and an original sketch is in the Townley collection of "Drawings from Various Antiquities" in the British Museum Greek and Roman collections. English architect Thomas Hardwick and artist Thomas Jones are two examples of artists who visited the site during the excavation and created representations (Joyce 1983, 423). The property passed into the ownership of Cardinal Gio. Francesco Negroni in 1696 for 70,140 scudi, before having been known as the Villa Montalto-Peretti. The 20th of August 1784 the villa was sold to Giuseppe Staderini, who owned it until the 26th of April 1789, when the Principe D. Camillo Massimo purchased it. Massimi wrote the book published in 1836, and Massimi stated that Staderini had spoliated most of the decorations and sold sculptures during his ownership. Finally, the area is now a combination of the Palazzo Massimo, constructed in the late 19th century by the architect Camillo Pistrucci, city blocks, and stazione Termini (Massimi 1836, 261).
Description of Rooms	This <i>domus</i> has been labeled a Peristyle house with a longitudinal axis and rectangular plan (Van den Abeele 1989-1990, 50). The focus of the house is centered on the peristyle, as there is no <i>atrium</i> . The vestibolo entry to the house underlines the lack of <i>atrium</i> and does not lead into the center of the home, but rather to either side. This room is described as without figural decoration, rather painted with architecture, but does include three prominent niches painted inside (Unknown Artist 1777). To the left of the entry is a room primarily filled with a large (c. 1.646m x 5.25m) staircase leading to an upper floor, which was

Field	Data
	not preserved. Buti does not describe this room, and only this room, as decorated, which suggests a primarily functional nature. The plan shows four cross vaults used to support the room and the floor above, and a door leading from it to the peristyle, which is at the center of the <i>domus</i> . It is unknown if the upper floor contained more rooms of this <i>domus</i> , or if it contained a separate <i>domus</i> 'flat'. While the stairway is internal to the house, it is also in a vestibule like room that could have been closed off from the rest of the <i>domus</i> , making it possibly communal to two separate households. Archaeological evidence of stairway access and decoration of upper floors often does not currently support the idea that upper floors of <i>domūs</i> were typically private quarters (Truemper 2007, 331-333).
	To the right of the entry is a small room with an exterior window and a series of wall paintings dedicated to Adonis. Below the window was a niche with a painting of a statue inside. This high window also included a large vase that appears to be stone. Such windows with vases were also found above three doors, those at the entrance to the vestibule and the entrances to peristyle from rooms C and D (Unknown Artist 1777). This room (B) and the entry (A) were the only rooms without direct access to the peristyle. Room B leads into room C by a small door, and room C was described as 'dedicated to Venus' with relevant wall paintings (Massimi 1836, 214). It is unknown if the statue of Venus found in the excavation was from this room. The peristyle is large with eight columns around three sides of an impluvium. Two larger granite columns, known to have had Ionic capitals, stood on the fourth side in the entrance to the largest room (F) (Unknown Artist 1777). This largest central room of the <i>domus</i> was decorated with niches and wall paintings of "Arabeschi" (Massimi 1836, 214). The peristyle is depicted in Buti's plan as having three large niches along the left wall but is otherwise not described as decorated. Between the entry and the peristyle, opening onto the peristyle and into rooms C and the stairway (H) is room D, which has imagery 'dedicated to Bacchus'. The wall painting of a Faun playing the double flute with Silenus and Bacchus would have been centered to see from the peristyle, suggesting the function of this room for drinking wine and dining (Buti et al. 1777; Joyce 1983, 430). To the right from the rear of the peristyle one enters room E, which was decorated with three niches, creating continuity with this decorative format throughout the <i>domus</i> . Room F connects to the large room F, which was decorated with three niches, creating continuity with this decorative format throughout the <i>domus</i> . Room F connects through a similar small door toroom G, which is described as having only one wall painting and de

Data	
(Joyce 1983, 432).	
The plan of the <i>domus</i> provides light from the central peristyle into most rooms, while maintaining privacy in all rooms except D and F by means of small doorways. The view into room D from room F suggests a possible intended connection between them for social events. The view into room F from room D, C, and H (the stairway) indicates it was an important room for important functions of the household.	
Buti's architectural plan appears to show cross vaults in most of the rooms. The construction definitely was of brick, as a brick stamp from the latter part of Hadrian's principate is recorded, inscribed with "SERVIANO III COS/SALEXPSLCIVVEN" (Massimi 1836, 213-214). The cross vault style is confirmed in the painting by Thomas Jones, An Excavation of an Antique Building in a Cava in the Villa Negroni, Rome, dated between 1777 and 1779. Jones visited the excavation and painted it later, clearly showing wall paintings on the walls of rooms with arched roofs (Tate Modern 2007).	
Inscriptions:	
- CIL X 8043.31: "SERVIANO II COS/ SAL EX PR L C IVVEN." This is described to mean "Salaria ex praediis L. C. Iuvenis" by Visconti,	

## Artworks:

Field

Structural

techniques

building

Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Wall painting 1: The largest central room of the <i>domus</i> was decorated with niches and wall paintings of "Arabeschi" (Massimi 1836, 214). D'Azara describes Mengs as of noble character, which in the Neoclassical period meant his taste was not 'plebian', and thus "come Vitruvio, come Plinio" he greatly disliked the ridiculous grotteschi and arabeschi (Mengs and Azara 1780, LXVIII-LXIX). Due to this Neoclassical taste the wall decoration of the large central room was not recorded like the other rooms.</li> <li>Venus sculpture: Described as high-quality marble of a quality "si perfetta" by Azara (Massimi 1836, 213).</li> <li>Excavation sketch of the <i>domus</i>, Townley Drawing: Drawing of the</li> </ul>
	- Excavation sketch of the <i>abundas</i> , rownieg Drawing. Drawing of the

who also references Marini (Visconti 1857, 66).

excavation plan from the Townley collection of "Drawings from Various Antiquities" in the British Museum Greek and Roman collections. This working drawing shows the rooms as longer in comparison to their width than the final published plan. I have gone with the published dimensions for my plan. This work is not yet catalogued. Thank you sincerely to Celeste Farge, Prints and Drawings Cataloguer in the Department of Greece and Rome for her help in

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>locating this drawing and sending me an image.</li> <li>Statue of Apollo: One-meter-high marble statue of Apollo, seated and playing the lyre (Joyce 1983).</li> <li>Wall paintings Room A: Architectural non-figural</li> <li>Wall painting Room B: Adonis going on the hunt</li> <li>Wall painting Room B: Statue of Adonis in a niche, with a real architectural window above</li> <li>Wall paintings in Room C: Venus leaning against a tree with puttini, and another with Venus, Nymphs and puttini in the water</li> <li>Wall paintings in Room D: Bacchus and Ariadne, Drunken Hercules supported by a youth, and a Satyr who plays the double flute with Silenus and Bacchantes.</li> <li>Wall paintings in Room E: Venus, Adonis and baby; in the small painting above a Marina scene (placed by process of elimination)</li> <li>Wall painting from Room G: Minerva who watches a youth constructing a trophy</li> <li>Wall painting from Room G: Female figures next to a cylindrical altar (placed by shape)</li> <li>Other finds include the following:</li> <li>three fauns, two marble putti, a marble relief representing a sleeping woman (Ariadne?), an alabaster bust, a cupid, a metal tripod, a column in verde antico, and other pieces of fluted columns (Joyce 1983, 425).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	This <i>domus</i> was discovered before much of the excavation at Pompeii, making it sensational at the time (Joyce 1983, 423). Sir John Soane designed his home, now museum, in a style directly inspired by the wall paintings and architecture of this <i>domus</i> , which was discovered shortly before his arrival in Rome (Lopez-Fanjul 2007, 125).
Plan location	Redrawn by J. Mundy from the print by Buti (published in Massimi 1836) with additions from British Museum 'working drawing of the excavations'.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Barbera, M., and R. Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997. Milano: G. Mondadori.</li> <li>Buti, C., A.R. Maron, and A.R. Mengs. 1778. Picturae Parietinae Inter Esquilias Et Viminalem Collem Superiori Anno Detectae. 12 Coloured Plates by Angelo Campanella, Petrus Vitali and Corratoni After Drawings by A.R. Mengs and A. Maron.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Buti, C., and et al. 1777. "Manifesto." in ( <i>II. ff. 409</i> ). <i>1777-1779</i> . includes: ff. 65, 72, 78, 90, 97, 107, 117, 123, 138, 146, 152, 158, 166, 178, 188, 198, 210, 224, 231, 233, 242, 254, 266, 275, 283, 292 Colonel J- H- Wettstein: Letters to the 2nd Lord Hardwicke: 1777-1779.: Fr. f. 190 Phil. In <i>Western Manuscripts</i> . London: British Library.
	Elsner, Jas. 2002. "Architecture, Antiquarianism and Archaeology in Sir John Soane's Museum." In <i>Saisir l'antique/Appropriating Antiquity</i> , edited by A. Tsingarida and Donna C. Kurtz, 165-216. Brussels: University of Brussels Press.
	Fuhrer, Therese. 2011. Rom und Mailand in der Spaetantike: Reprasentationen stadtischer Raume in Literatur, Architektur und Kunst, Topoi. Berlin studies of the ancient world, Boston: De Gruyter.
	Gautier de Cofiengo, Edoardo. 2007. "Il Quartiere Di Porta Viminalis. Un Contributo Alla Carta Archeologica Dell'esquilino," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> CVIII, 221-247.
	Joyce, Hetty. 1983. "The Ancient Frescoes from the Villa Negroni and Their Influence in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," <i>The Art Bulletin</i> 65 (3): 423-440.
	Krieger, H. 1919. "Dekorative Wandgemalde aus dem II.Jahrhundert nach Christus." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische</i> <i>Abteilung</i> . XXXIV: 24-52, tav. I-III.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1906. "Le Antichita Del Territorio Laurentino Nella Reale Tenuta di Castelporziano," <i>Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia dei</i> <i>Lincei</i> (v. 16): 241-274.
	Lopez-Fanjul Diez del Corral, Maria. 2007. "Sir John Soane, arquitecto de colecciones, su casa-museo." <i>Revista de la Subdireccion General de Museos Estatales, Ministerio de Cultura</i> : 122-129.
	Maron, Anton von, Camillo Buti, and Angelo Campanella. 1779. <i>Adonis setting out on a hunt</i> . Engraving by A. Campanella after A. Maron, 1779, [Rome].
	Maron, Anton von, Camillo Buti, and Angelo Campanella. 1781. <i>The drunken Hercules</i> . Engraving by A. Campanella after A. von Maron, 1781, [Rome].
	Maron, Anton von, Camillo Buti, and Angelo Campanella. 1786. <i>Minerva with a trophy</i> . Engraving by A. Campanella after A. von Maron, 1781, [Rome].

Field	Data
	Maron, Anton von, Camillo Buti, and Pietro Marco Vitali. 1783. <i>Bacchus and Ariadne</i> . Engraving by P.M. Vitali after A. von Maron, 1783, [Rome].
	Maron, Anton von, Camillo Buti, and Pietro Marco Vitali. 1783. <i>Venus and Adonis</i> . Engraving by P.M. Vitali after A. von Maron, 1783, [Rome].
	Massimi, Camillo. 1836. Notizie Istorices Della Villa Massimo.
	Mengs, Anton Raphael, and Jose Nicolas de Azara. 1780. Opere di Antonio Raffaello Mengs pubblicate da D. Giuseppe Nicola d'Azara, Parma.
	Mengs, Anton Raphael, Camillo Buti, and Angelo Campanella. 1778. <i>Adonis dying in the lap of Venus</i> . Engraving by A. Campanella after A. R. Mengs, 1778, [Rome].
	Mengs, Anton Raphael, Camillo Buti, and Angelo Campanella. 1778. <i>Venus and a maid teaching Cupids to swim</i> . Engraving by A. Campanella after A. R. Mengs, 1778, [Rome].
	Mengs, Anton Raphael, Camillo Buti, and Angelo Campanella. 1778. <i>Venus teaching Cupids to fly</i> . Engraving by A. Campanella after A. R. Mengs, 1778, [Rome].
	Mommsen, Th. 1883. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. X Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae.
	Tate Modern. 1779. An Excavation of an Antique Building in a Cava in the Villa Negroni, Rome ?1777, later dated 1779 by Thomas Jones. Tate Museum, April 2007.
	Trümper, Monika. 2007. "Differentiation in the Hellenistic houses of Delos: the question of functional areas," <i>British School at Athens Studies</i> 15, 323-334.
	Unknown artist. 1777. Working Drawing of the Excavations. Roma: British Museum.
	Unknown. 1777. "In data delli 19. Luglio," <i>Diario Ordinario di Roma</i> (266): 8- 9.
	Unknown. 1777. "In data delli 5. Luglio," Diario Ordinario di Roma (262): 16.
	Van den Abeele, Barbara. 1989-1990. "Comparison of the Roman domus with the domus of Ostia," <i>Acta archaeologica Lovaniensia</i> 28-29, 49-62.

Data
<ul> <li>Venuti, Ridolfino, and Pietro Paolo Montagnani. 1803. Accurata e succinta descrizione topografica delle antichita di Roma. Edizione seconda / ed. Roma.</li> <li>Visconti. 1857. "X." Giornale Arcadico di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. N.s. 146 (1): 66.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Piazza dei Cinquecento
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Antiche Stanze
Time Period 01 Start Year	134
Time Period 01 End Year	160
Time Period 01 Description	The house, along with the attached bath complex, were built simultaneously, as attested by brick stamps of the Hadrianic period (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 12). The mosaic style in many rooms also accords with a late Hadrianic date. The marble wall decoration dates to this phase, along with the first phase of wall-paintings of which almost nothing was found (Barbera and Paris 1996, 62).
Time Period 02 Years	161-179
Time Period 02 Description	A lead fistula with the inscription [IMP C]AES ANTONIN AUG N provides evidence for the first major restoration in c. 161 CE. This restructuring of the building in the Antonine period included the second phase of wall-painting of highest quality, of which small traces were found (Barbera and Paris 1996, 61- 62).

Field	Data
Time Period 03 Years	180-205
Time Period 03 Description	A second fistula points to further restoration in c. 180-205 CE, statingRELIAE SABINAE DIVI MARCI FILIAE, referring to Vibia Aurelia Sabina, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, dated to after his death in 180 CE (Barbera 1996, 62). This fistula, along with the earlier one, suggest that the owners in the third century CE may have been members of the imperial house (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 12). The later stamps from this period and the third phase of wall-painting indicate as well a late second century construction phase. The majority of wall-painting remains found was from this phase, and sometimes seem not as luxurious as the rest of the decoration of the bath and <i>domus</i> complex (Barbera and Paris 1996, 62-63).
Time Period 04 Years	206-275
Time Period 04 Description	In the late third century CE more significant modifications were made that affected the functions of the buildings. Among these were door closures by means of rough masonry walls and the replacement of marble wall decorations with red plaster (Barbera and Paris 1996, 62).
Time Period 05 Years	450-550
Time Period 05 Description	The <i>domus</i> was cut in two around this time with a new wall, likely indicating a second entrance on the south side to provide access to the 'piccola <i>domus</i> ' created from one half. Small additions to the 'piccola <i>domus</i> ' may have included the reuse of rooms upstairs that had previously held water tanks for the bath below. The bath likely fell out of use in this period, as is also attested by the careful removal of the wall decorations that took place before the final burial of the building (Barbera and Paris 1996, 172-173). The <i>domus</i> was abandoned at about the same time as the cessation of use of the bath, and then the 'piccola <i>domus</i> ' portion was reoccupied (Barbera and Paris 1996, 173).
Time Period 06 Years	550-600
Time Period 06 Description	The thermal building continued to be used on a more utilitarian level in the mid-sixth century. During this mid-sixth century period of reuse of the thermal building the drainage for the 'piccola <i>domus</i> ' failed, and it became uninhabitable. After this, burials were placed in the latrine (Barbera and Paris

Field	Data
	1996, 173-174).
Excavation	This <i>domus</i> comprises one unit within an urban city block alongside a bath complex, and opposite in the dense urban neighborhood are <i>insulae</i> and <i>horreae</i> . A portion of the block including part of the bath was first discovered for the original construction of the Termini train station in the 1870's, uncovering impressive sculptures (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 10). The bath can be seen on Lanciani's plan, although not precisely aligned (Lanciani 1901, plate XVII). The rest of the associated blocks, including the <i>domus</i> , were excavated during the work to create the metro station in front of the Termini train station in 1947-1949 (Barbera and Paris 1996, 60). The results of the excavation were exhibited in the Museo delle Terme in 1997 (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 10). The archaeologist Pietrogrande excavated the urban structure (Barbera and Paris 1996, 61-62). Pietrogrande admitted the lack of methodological rigor, as well as the lack of ability to preserve the remains in the situation, stating the excavation could not "avere il rigore metodico richiesto da scavi iniziati e perseguiti con scopi scientifici. E disgraziatamente non fu possibile conservare i ruderi messi in luce: difatti i ritrovamenti si verificarono quando gli sterri preparatori e l'erezione delle nuove costruzioni erano gia portati molto innanzi con dispendio di miliardi, nè, comunque, sarebbe stato possibile spostare altrove le opere progettate per mancanza di spazio edificabile e perche strettamente collegate sia con gli impianti ferroviari in attivita, sia con le gallerie gia da tempo approntate per le linee metropolitan (Barbera and Paris 1996, 60)."
Description of Rooms	This <i>domus</i> fits tightly into an urban city block and attaches on its southern side to a thermal bath structure, which was constructed and renovated in similar times as the <i>domus</i> . The <i>domus</i> forms a roughly triangular shape, and from the street along one side, the entrance leads to the vestibulum (E 5) and beyond that to the <i>atrium</i> (E 4), which lies in the center of the <i>domus</i> . The <i>atrium</i> is circled by rooms, a large apsed room for dining and presentation with arabesque mosaics and marble wall decoration (E 1), three medium square rooms to the south (E 8, E 9, and E 10), and a small apsed room to the east that may have been a place for a statue (E 7). From here a large corridor (E 3) leads into a series of other rooms (E 11-20) with various shapes and functions that follow along the external east wall of the bath to the south. On either side of the large apsed hall (E 1) are two small rooms likely for storage (E 2). Rooms E 14 and E 15 were originally broadly open, but later the doors were reduced in width, so that they were likely used as <i>cubicula</i> . Room E 13 extended off the corridor (E 3) in part open and in part delineated with a portico. This and other surrounding rooms likely had service functions (Barbera and Paris 1996, 72).
Structural building	Brick stamps from the Hadrianic period show its construction at that time (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 12). A large wall constructed in the mid-fifth century

Field	Data
techniques	was made in <i>opus vittatum</i> in a style characteristic of the late antique period (Barbera and Paris, 172).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Brick stamps from the Hadrian period were found, dating to the primary construction phase of the bath and <i>domus</i> (Barbera and Paris 1996, 60-61).</li> <li>A <i>fistula</i> was found in the <i>atrium</i> of the <i>domus</i>, inscribed [IMP C]AES ANTONIN AUG N (h. letters cm 2.5). This would be during the first restoration of the building, c. 161 CE (Barbera and Paris 1996, 61).</li> <li>A second <i>fistula</i> was found a few cm in front of the stairway to the second floor of the <i>domus</i>, inscribedRELIAE SABINAE DIVI MARCI FILIAE. It is dated to slightly after 180 CE (Barbera and Paris, 61).</li> <li>A statue di Faustina Maggiore, wife of the emperor Antoninus Pius, was found on axis in the <i>frigidarium</i> (E 17) dating to around 160 CE (Barbera and Paris 1996, 62).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Barbera and Paris 1996, 'Pianta Generale' in the back of the book.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Balch, D.L., and C. Osiek. 2003. Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.</li> <li>Barbera, Mariarosaria, and Rita Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, Milano: G. Mondadori.</li> <li>Lanciani, Rodolfo Amadeo. 1901. Forma Vrbis Romae.</li> <li>Gautier de Cofiengo, Edoardo. 2007. "Il Quartiere Di Porta Viminalis. Un Contributo Alla Carta Archeologica Dell'esquilino," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma CVIII: 221-247.</li> <li>Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2000. "Case e abitanti a Roma." In Roma imperiale: una metropoli antica, edited by Elio Lo Cascio, 173-220. Roma: Carocci.</li> <li>Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2003. "Domus and Insulae in Rome: Families and Housefuls." In Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue, edited by D.L. Balch and C. Osiek, 3-18. W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.</li> </ul>

Field	Data	T
-------	------	---

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Horti Vettii Agorii Praetextati; Horti Vettii Praetextati; Horti Vettiani;</i> Palace of Praetextatus
Time Period 01 Start Year	53
Time Period 01 End Year	300
Time Period 01 Description	This area contained the <i>Horti Taurani</i> , confiscated in 53 CE by Claudius, and <i>Horti Calyclani</i> . They remained in imperial ownership, and then in the late antique period at least some part of the properties were inherited by Praetextatus, though it is unknown if it was the entire area or one smaller portion (Henzen 1874, 58; von Stackelberg 2009, 79).
Time Period 02 Years	175-225
Time Period 02 Description	A row of rooms from the structures found (see plan Henzen 1874, pl. VI) are from the end of the second beginning of the third century CE. They are dated by a brick stamp. This stamp was found among large bricks that cover a hypocaust (Henzen 1874, 58).
Time Period 03 Years	300-400
Time Period 03 Description	Praetextatus was praef. urbi in 367 A.D (Platner and Ashby 1929, 197). Praetextatus was consul of Achaeia under Julian, Praefectus Urbi in 367-368, praefectus of Illyria in 382, and praefectus of Italia and Africa in 384, the year of his death (Merlin 1906, 357). Lanciani suggests that the structures found from this building, in which the pipe was enclosed, are from the fourth century (Guidobaldi 1995, 164).
Excavation history	Lanciani cites the likely <i>atrium</i> of the possible <i>domus</i> of Praetextatus located between the Via dell'Arco di San Vita and Via Merulana but the architecture has not been recovered here by other archaeologists where the inscriptions

Field	Data
	were found (Guidobaldi 1995, 164).
Description of Rooms	The architectural structures found near the pipe are likely from buildings relating to the <i>horti</i> , rather than <i>domus</i> , between Vie Turati, Rattazzi, Cappellini, and Principe Amedeo, were an undecorated portico of pilasters, a large round bath of 17m, both suggested to be fourth century (Guidbaldi 1995, 164). A row of rooms in these structures show three periods of construction, and the brickwork covers part of thermal rooms with a hypocaust (Henzen 1874, 58).
Structural building techniques	The second to third century walls are in <i>opus infinitum</i> , from which we have a brick stamp. The rooms included a hypocaust structure (Henzen 1874, 58).
	Brick stamps (Henzen 1874, 58-59):
	<ul> <li>DE AVR LIC ^AX OSC – This is a rectangular stamp found around the hypocaust bricks.</li> <li>OP DOL EX PRAEDAVGN FIG [] DOMITIANAS/MINOR – Circular brick stamp found among the ruins.</li> <li>OP DEX PRAVGN FL DOMITI    ANAS MAIORES / (pine cone) – Circular brick stamp found among the ruins.</li> <li>OPVS DOlia RE EX PRAEDIS » DOMINOBVM NO/.STRORVM AVGG •/(Hercules lands a deer by the horns)</li> <li>opuS DOLIAEE EX FIG FV , AN PORT LICINI</li> <li>ANIDIE ATIM</li> </ul>
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions (Guidobaldi 1995, 164):</li> <li>CIL XV 7563 – Two pipe pieces were found on the east side. On one the inscription states on one part "VET PRAETEXTATI /" and on another part "VET PRAETEXTATI /". On the other pipe one part says "ET pAVLINAE /" and on another part "IIIIXXXX ET PAVLINAE /" (CIL XV 7563).</li> <li>CIL VI 1777 – An honorary inscription was found on a base on the west side.</li> <li>CIL VI 2145/CIL VI 1778-1781 – Honorary inscriptions were found on the west side. Some are now in the Museo delle Terme. Found near the arch of Gallienus, one states on the left "VETTII/AGORII" and on the right "SIMPLEX SV/CASTO/ATQUE FA/NVS" (CIL VI 1781).</li> </ul>
	Lead pipes (Henzen 1874, 58):

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>Found near Sant Eusebius (CIL VI 2143) VET PRAETEXTAT (tree pict) other side VET PRAETEXTAT (tree/leaf)</li> <li>FI//AVLINA///(square) other side IIIIXXXX FLAVLINAL (square)</li> </ul>
	Sculptures:
	<ul> <li>Statue/inscription with text dedicated to him, probably by his children "ut etiam statua ipsius <i>domus</i> honoraret insignia" (Merlin 1906, 357).</li> <li>Statues of gods, landscape and decorative reliefs, two large marble craters and three splendid imperial portraits of Hadrian, Sabina and Matidia (Musei Capitolini 2016).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	He is known as champion of Paganism, and had a connection to Coelia Concordia the last great Vestal (Lanciani 1897, 230). Vettius Agorius Praetextatus was married to his wife Fabia Aconia Paulina (Musei Capitolini 2016). See Marcellinus, Ammianus. Res Gestae, and Symmachus. "Epistulae."
Plan location	See Henzen 1874, plate VI.
	Chastagnol, André. 1962. Les Fastes De La Préfecture De Rome Au Bas- Empire. Etudes Prosopographiques. Paris: Nouvelles editions latines.
	Coen, A. 1887. "Vezzio Agorio Pretestato." In <i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i> , edited by C. Rinaudo, Istituto fasciste di coltura di Torino, Giunta centrale per gli studi storici and Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 481-523: Edizioni scientifiche italiane.
Bibliography	Coen, A. 1888. "Vezzio Agorio Pretestato." In <i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i> , edited by C. Rinaudo, Istituto fasciste di coltura di Torino, Giunta centrale per gli studi storici and Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1-37, 209-50: Edizioni scientifiche italiane.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Vettius Agorius Praetextatus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 164. Roma: Quasar.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.

Data
Henzen, G., and Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani. 1874. "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquino." <i>Bullettino della</i> <i>Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> II (2):33-88, tav. V, VII.
Jordan, Henri, and Christian Hülsen. 1907. <i>Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum</i> . vol. I.3. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1897. <i>The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome; a companion book for students and travelers</i> , New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company.

Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Lugli, Giuseppe. 1947. Monumenti minori del Foro romano, Roma: G. Bardi. Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.

Field

Musei Capitolini. "Sale degli Horti Tauriani - Vettiani." *Musei in Comune:* Percorsi per sale: Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori. http://www.museicapitolini.org/collezioni/percorsi\_per\_sale/museo\_del\_palazz o\_dei\_conservatori/sale\_degli\_horti\_tauriani\_vettiani (accessed October 29, 2016).

Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.

Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.

von Stackelberg, K.T. 2009. The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society: Taylor & Francis.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.04a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under Santa Maria Maggiore
Other	Domus Flavius Anicius Auchenius Bassus (?)

Field	Data
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	
Time Period 01 Start Year	14
Time Period 01 End Year	64
Time Period 01 Description	The first <i>domus</i> was constructed on a part of the hill where it had been cut lower and level, and then a second separate <i>domus</i> was constructed shortly after on the higher part of the hill (Liverani 2010, 466). Liverani suggests the Neronian period, while Magi suggested the Augustan period (De Spirito 1995, 68).
Time Period 02 Years	75-125
Time Period 02 Description	On the cusp of the second century, a major restructuring of the <i>domus</i> took place, and remains of the mosaic pavements are found from one of the rooms (De Spirito 1995, 68).
Time Period 03 Years	201-225
Time Period 03 Description	The <i>domus</i> saw a series of alterations and remodeling that shrunk the peristyle, closed a part of the portico, and added of the calendar wall paintings, dated to the first quarter of the third century CE (Liverani 2010, 466).
Time Period 04 Years	350-410
Time Period 04 Description	The fourth century saw a series of minor interventions, likely including the higher second floor level (Liverani 2010, 461, 466). A recent survey noted indications of a time during which the <i>domus</i> underwent ruin and downgrading, and possibly even abandonment. During this general period the southeastern side of peristilium was partially filled. Liverani suggests a possible relationship between this degradation and the sack of Alaric, particularly as similar evidence has been found in other excavations on the Celian hill (Liverani 2010, 459-460).
Time Period 05	432-440

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 05 Description	S. Maria Maggiore was founded following the decree of the Council of Ephesus. The area was filled for the construction of the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore under Pope Celestine I or Sixtus III (Liverani 2010, 459).
Excavation history	The remains of a building were discovered here during excavations under Santa Maria Maggiore between 1966 and 1971 undertaken by excavator Filippo Magi. Magi proposed it to be the <i>macellum Liviae</i> and dated the series of important calendar wall paintings to the fourth century. Mols and Moormann now suggest that the wall paintings were created in 180-200, using the old year beginning in March, and that the <i>domus</i> remained in use until the fourth century (Mols and Moormann 2010, 469). The recent surveys also confirm the building as a high-status residence, rather than the macellum. In the course of 2000 the calendar fresco was conserved, providing more detailed information, and the <i>domus</i> was surveyed (Liverani 2010, 459-460).
Description of Rooms	The series of rooms in this house circle an extremely large peristyle (roughly 37.30 x 30 m), which is now completely buried underneath the modern church. The peristyle at least in its early phase was decorated with marble and high- quality wall painting (Mols and Moormann 2010, 469; De Spirito 1995, 68). In the southern corner of the peristyle was the opening of a cistern with footholds, whose surface was made at a higher quota than the <i>domus</i> . Magi found a fragment of the fresco inside, while partially excavating the cistern, suggesting it was contemporaneous with the destruction of the <i>domus</i> . On the eastern corner of the peristyle was a culvert, not noticed in the earlier excavations, that presupposes a higher level of calpestio and second flooring phase. This second higher flooring phase is attested in another wall and other flooring areas. The southwestern wall of the peristyle was the only ancient wall reused in the foundation of the church (Liverani 2010, 460-461). On the northeastern side of the peristyle is a small apsed room, which was built over an earlier room that had previously been part of a bath complex, and a number of individual spaces along the southeastern side have been found (De Spirito 1995, 68).
Structural building techniques	The southeastern limiting wall of the house was in opus quasi-reticulatum (Liverani 2010, 461).
Finds from the site	Art: - The Calendar fresco from the western wall was found beginning with

Field	Data
	March, and a lower register was found in 2000 with scene of citizen life, parallel to the superior register with agricultural activities (Liverani 2010, 459).
Additional notable points	De Spirito refers to the attribution of this house to Flavius Anicius Auchenius Bassus, based on the history of the possible land transfer to Sixtus III, but most archaeologists conclude the house cannot yet be firmly attributed (De Spirito 1995, 68-69).
Plan location	See Mols and Moorman 2010, Fig. 1; and Liverani 2010, Fig. 1; and Steinby 1995, Fig. 27.
	<ul> <li>De Spirito, G. 1995. "Domus: Flavius Anicius Auchenius Bassus (?)."In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i>, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 68-69. Roma: Quasar.</li> <li>Liverani, Paolo. 2010. "Osservazioni sulla domus sotto S. Maria Maggiore a Roma e sulla sua relazione con la basilica," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 116: 459-468.</li> </ul>
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Luciani, Roberto, and Francesco Maria Amato. 1996. Santa Maria Maggiore e Roma, Roma: F.lli Palombi: Patriarcale Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore.</li> <li>Mols, Stephan T. A. M., and Eric M. Moormann. 2010. "L'edificio romano sotto S. Maria Maggiore a Roma e le sue pitture: Proposta per una nuova lettura," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 116: 469-506.</li> <li>Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.04b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Santa Maria Maggiore
Time Period 01	432

Field	Data
Start Year	
Time Period 01 End Year	440
Time Period 01 Description	S. Maria Maggiore was founded following the decree of the Council of Ephesus. The area was filled for the construction of the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore under Pope Celestine I or Sixtus III (Liverani 2010, 459).
Excavation history	See V.04a.
Description of Rooms	See V.04a.
Structural building techniques	See V.04a.
Finds from the site	See V.04a.
Plan location	See Mols and Moorman 2010, Fig. 1; and Liverani 2010, Fig. 1; and Steinby 1995, Fig. 27.
	De Spirito, G. 1995. "Domus: Flavius Anicius Auchenius Bassus (?)."In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 68-69. Roma: Quasar.
	Liverani, Paolo. 2010. "Osservazioni sulla domus sotto S. Maria Maggiore a Roma e sulla sua relazione con la basilica," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 116: 459-468.
Bibliography	Luciani, Roberto, and Francesco Maria Amato. 1996. <i>Santa Maria Maggiore e Roma</i> , Roma: F.lli Palombi: Patriarcale Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore.
	Mols, Stephan T. A. M., and Eric M. Moormann. 2010. "L'edificio romano sotto S. Maria Maggiore a Roma e le sue pitture: Proposta per una nuova lettura," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische</i> <i>Abteilung</i> . 116: 469-506.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G,

Field	Data
	Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Lucius Octavius Felix
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Lucius Octavius Felicis
Time Period 01 Start Year	190
Time Period 01 End Year	250
Time Period 01 Description	L. Octavius Felix is known as an eques from the Severian period, who was procurator Daciae Apulensis between 198 and 209 CE, and then procurator Dalmatiae. The dates of this historical figure accord well with the architectural structures, which date to the first half of the third century CE (Menghi and Pales 1999, 16).
Time Period 02 Years	251-400
Time Period 02 Description	The typology of the overall complex can be extended to the beginning of the fourth century CE (Menghi and Pales 1999, 16). The precise end date for the <i>domus</i> is unknown, but generally placed vaguely at 400 CE (Carpano, Menghi and Pales 1999).
Excavation history	Excavated originally in 1872 for the construction of the new Viale Principessa Margherita, the current Via Giolitti, a new artery for the New Esquiline Quarter. The <i>domus</i> remains were found at the cross with the Via Daniele Manin, where a <i>fistula aquaria</i> with the inscription L(ucius) OCTAVIUS FELIX C(larissimus) V(ir) was found to attribute the luxurious small late antique <i>domus</i> to his household (Menghi and Pales 1999, 16). New excavations in May 1998 required for the modernization of the sewer in this area came upon a

467

Field	Data
	geometric mosaic previously reported in Lanciani's plan. Further excavations of this <i>domus</i> continued between September 9, 1998 and January 11, 1999 during work on Termini train station. New rooms discovered in the modern excavations align precisely with the spaces of the nineteenth century excavation (Carpano, Menghi and Pales 1999).
Description of Rooms	The excavated portions of this small <i>domus</i> include a number of small rooms. Among the original rooms discovered is a small portico with stuccoed doric columns that led up a short stairway to a larger room paved in a black and white geometric mosaic. A statue of a Faun stood in this room, and a small fountain with basin was located on the eastern wall, as the pipe found attests. The pipe ran under the <i>atrium</i> , which lit the little portico, and was paved in large mosaic tiles with a marble border. The eastern wall of the <i>atrium</i> was painted in natural motifs and had graffiti. On the other side of the <i>atrium</i> stood an apsed hall with a highly decorative paving in polychrome marble <i>opus sectile</i> . This apsed hall was entered by a large entrance on the flat side and continued through a narrow entrance in the apse into another small rectangular room, referred to by Menghi and Pales as an oecus. The lack of secondary entrances suggests this luxuriously decorated room had restricted access for special guests. This room had a geometric mosaic floor, and wall painted in large panels with central figures and birds, as well as subfloor heating (Menghi and Pales 1999, 17). The adjacent spaces to these five rooms were unfortunately not excavated by Lanciani at the time of the early excavation, though the room on the third side of the <i>atrium</i> was preliminarily explored in the 1998 excavation and aligns with the other rectangular rooms (Menghi and Pales 1999, 18). The recent excavations also found another entrance to the large room with a small fountain on the opposite wall, with two worn steps in sesquipedalian bricks leading to a higher level. The new excavations also found walls to additional rooms to the northeast of the 1872 excavation, in particular a multi- apsed room of similar construction. This multi-apsed room was plastered and had half columns as decoration. The room had an entrance into the large apse, and was paved in bipedal bricks, placed directly on soil. Earlier floor levels were found in this area, whe
Structural building techniques	The rooms were constructed in <i>opus vittatum</i> as multi-apsed rooms, typical of late antique <i>domus</i> construction (Carpano, Menghi and Pales 1999). The large rectangular room with a small fountain was constructed in a mix of <i>opus reticulatum</i> and <i>opus vittatum</i> . Fragments of ceramics used to sustain the plaster were found resting on the walls of that room, though little of the outer decorative plaster in the style of fake architecture remains. The apsed hall was

Field	Data
	paved in <i>opus sectile</i> , using pavonazzetto, africano, alabaster, giallo antico, and portasanta. The multi-apsed hall to the northeast was constructed of high-quality <i>opus vittatum</i> , and coated on the interior in plaster coated in lime milk with projecting half columns as decoration (Menghi and Pales 1999, 17-19).
	Inscriptions:
	<ul> <li>CIL XV, 7503: a pipe inscribed "L(ucius)·Octavius Felix c(larissimus)·v(ir)", referring to a man of the senatorial order. Menghi and Pales note that to use this as confirmation of L. Octavius Felix as the owner of this <i>domus</i>, who otherwise fits generally with the time and architecture, he would have had to be 'adlectus' to senatorial rank (Menghi and Pales 1999, 16-21).</li> </ul>
	Art:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Geometric mosaic with meander patterns found in the 1872 and 1998 excavations (Carpano, Menghi and Pales 1999).</li> <li>Other decorative floors including: a large tesserae mosaic with marble border, a geometric mosaic, an <i>opus sectile</i> marble floor (Menghi and Pales 1999, 17).</li> <li>Statue of a Faun: fragments of the head and leg were found (Menghi and Pales 1999, 17).</li> <li>Wall paintings with large rectangles that hold central images of figurines and birds (Menghi and Pales 1999, 17).</li> <li>Two marble half-bust portraits without their heads, which date by style to the mid-second century through the early third century CE (Menghi and Pales 1999, 20).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For the early plan see Lanciani 1873, Tav. VI; for more complete plan see Menghi and Pales 1999, 18.
Bibliography	Carpano, Claudio Mocchegiani, Oberdan Menghi, and Manola Pales. 1999. "Angolo Vie Manin, Giolitti." <i>Fasti Online</i> . http://www.fastionline.org/micro_view.php?fst_cd=AIAC_664&curcol=sea_cd- AIAC_551 Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1873. "Delle Scoperte Principali Avvenute Nei Colli Viminale, Ed Esquilino." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica</i> <i>Comunale di Roma</i> 1(2): 66-90.
	Magnani Cianetti, Marina, and Mariarosaria Barbera. 2008. Archeologia a Roma Termini: Le Mura Serviane E L'area Della Stazione: Scoperte, Distruzioni E Restauri. Milano: Electa.

Field	Data
	Menghi, Oberdan and Manola Pales. 1999. "La casa di Lucio Ottavio Felice: La Domus ritrovata," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 4 (4): 16-21.
	Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2000. "I ritrovamenti archeologici." In <i>Roma Termini</i> , 128-133. Bologna.
	Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2001. "Via Giolitti. Domus L. Octavii Felicis." In Archeologia e Giubileo. Gli interventi a Roma e nel Lazio nel Piano per il Grande Giubileo del 2000, edited by F. Filippi, 226-231. Napoli.
	Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2008. "La domus di Lucius Octavius Felix e il contesto topografico." In Archeologia a Roma Termini: le mura serviane e l'area della stazione: scoperte, distruzioni e restauri, edited by Marina Magnani Cianetti and Mariarosaria Barbera, 48-61. Milano: Electa.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.06
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under SS. Sergio e Baccho
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The house plan likely indicates a construction in the late Republican period. The earliest visible architecture is represented by the 5 m tall Aniene tuff piers that run along both walls of the <i>atrium</i> , have tuff lintel arches above, and wooden lintels below the arches (Andrews 2014, 63, 65).
Time Period 02 Years	50 BCE - 1
Time Period 02 Description	The spaces between the piers were blocked up with <i>opus reticulatum</i> up to the tuff lintels, and were likely covered in painted plaster, which does not remain

Field	Data
	(Andrews 2014, 65).
Time Period 03 Years	50-75
Time Period 03 Description	Clamp holes in the tuff piers indicate that marble revetment was added to cover the walls after the <i>opus reticulatum</i> fills, likely in the late Julio-Claudian, possibly Neronian period (Andrews 2014, 76).
Time Period 04 Years	193-235
Time Period 04 Description	A series of large reconstructions add the series of small rooms to the south that form the probable bath suite. The east and west walls in the <i>atrium</i> were also added and the south wall reconstructed, limiting entrances and exits. At this time the marble revetment was removed and replaced with plaster wall painting in figural and architectural forms. The smaller rooms to the south show the additions of bath fixtures, such as tubuli, and have painted plaster walls and opus Sectile flooring (Andrews 2014, 76-78).
Time Period 05 Years	275-325
Time Period 05 Description	A further renovation replaced the painted plaster in the former <i>atrium</i> with a new series of polychrome marble revetment, topped by a stucco molding, which shows peacocks and grapes on a vine (Andrews 2014, 83).
Time Period 06 Years	325-375
Time Period 06 Description	Continued restorations in the fourth century suggest the continued wealth of the household. These renovations suggest that the Subura in the late antique period continued to be a location with high status residences, as in other parts of the city, although the decorations were somewhat poorer than in earlier periods. The former <i>atrium</i> was repaved in revetment using reused marble fragments in a pattern of isodomo listellato. The plaster in the bath suite was replaced with marble revetment also using reused colored marble and following a similar pattern to the early fourth century revetment in the former <i>atrium</i> , but with a lesser quality (Andrews 2014, 83).
Excavation history	This <i>domus</i> was discovered by Margaret Andrews through her research as a Rome Prize Fellow at the American Academy in Rome in 2012. The <i>domus</i> remains are visible in the crypt under the church of SS. Sergio e Baccho, and

Data
exhibit multiple building phases. Andrews discovered the <i>domus</i> during her research on the Suburra neighborhood of ancient Rome. She gained permission for study and publication from the priests of Santi Sergio e Bacco, from Mirella

	Serlorenzi of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, and from the Sisters Catechists of Saint Anne who manage the convent and hotel next door (Andrews 2014, 61).
Description of Rooms	The crypt centers on the remains of the <i>atrium</i> of the <i>domus</i> and the core of its structure. The second smaller portion of the crypt includes adjacent rooms to the <i>atrium</i> , which were converted into a small private bath in a second period (Andrews 2014, 63). The central room originally had two rows of tuff piers the openings of which were not symmetrical, suggesting a small private <i>atrium</i> in a Republican <i>domus</i> . The openings between the piers were 1.50 x 4.75 m, which is quite tall, but similar to the House of Sallust in Pompeii. These piers were then blocked up. The other walls of the basement in which this <i>atrium</i> is located indicate a series of small rooms to either side and a series of small functional rooms or <i>tabernae</i> facing the street (Andrews 2014, 65-68). The series of rooms added in the Severan period to the south of the <i>atrium</i> included a niche, with preparations visible for mosaics, and a podium suggesting statuary had been placed there. The niche faced the largest room in this area, and the rooms had a polychrome <i>opus sectile</i> pavement. The smaller rooms in this area were created on the western side of the largest room by a wall that aligns with the niche but not the <i>atrium</i> , and which was originally coated in pavonazzetto. The walls had painted plaster on a white ground with red and purple lines added over the tubuli (Andrews 2014, 77-78).
Structural building	The Republican phase of the structure had rows of tuff opus quadratrum piers filled in by <i>opus reticulatum</i> later that century. The piers originally had wooden lintels, and tuff lintel arches above (Andrews 2014, 65). In the Julio-Claudian period the walls were covered in marble revetment, held by clamps.

Field

techniques

purple lines added over the tubuli (Andrews 2014, 77-78).
The Republican phase of the structure had rows of tuff opus quadratrum piers filled in by <i>opus reticulatum</i> later that century. The piers originally had wooden lintels, and tuff lintel arches above (Andrews 2014, 65). In the Julio- Claudian period the walls were covered in marble revetment, held by clamps The renovations in the Severan period had brick faced masonry, covered in painted plaster. The bath suite had a heated room that used tubuli (Andrews 2014, 70-78).

	Architectural elements:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Fragments of terracotta open-crested molding were found, which may have crowned the cornices of the compluvium (Andrews, 68).</li> <li>A fragment of wall painting showing the lower portion of a female figure with sandals between two columns was found from the Severan period (Andrews 2014, 77).</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>Artworks:</li> <li>A female marble statue, under-life-sized, suggested by Gatti to be a female divinity was found in excavations nearby in 1895, and possibly may have belonged to the bath suite niche (Andrews 2014, 77).</li> <li>Fragments of the arm of another female statue, along with an in situ marble statue base were found in 1899 in the rooms to the west of the <i>atrium</i>, suggesting they were also remodeled in the Severan period</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	<ul> <li>(Andrews 2014, 80).</li> <li>It faced the ancient road now the Via dei Serpenti, possibly the Vicus Longus (Andrews 2014, 65). Three similarly planned <i>atrium</i> houses are known to have been nearby from the fragment 11e of the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> (Andrews 2014, 71). The decorations of this house suggest that the residents were high status, suggesting the Subura did have high status residents as early as the Julio-Claudian period. The reorientation of rooms in the imperial renovations suggests the proprietors were focusing the <i>domus</i> towards the Argiletum rather than the Vicus Longus (Andrews 2014, 80-81).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Andrews 2014, figs. 12 and 14.
Bibliography	Andrews, Margaret M. 2014. "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 118 (1): 61-90.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.07a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Vedius Pollio
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	15 BCE
Time Period 01	The <i>domus</i> of Vedius Pollio was on the clivus Suburanus, on which this <i>domus</i> is also located. When Vedius Pollio left the house to Augustus, it is said that it

Field	Data
Description	was torn down, and the porticus Liviae built there to show Augustus's disapproval for excessively fine homes (Platner and Ashby 1929, "VEDIUS POLLIO, DOMUS").
Time Period 02 Years	15-7 BCE
Time Period 02 Description	The porticus Liviae was constructed between 15 and 7 BCE, and is shown in the area of this <i>domus</i> on the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> from the early third century (Barry 2003, 113-114).
Excavation history	Barry explains that due to the presence of the modern convent at S. Lucia in Selci, the buildings associated with the church in the area of these remains are difficult to visit and have not been thoroughly recorded (Barry 2003, 114-115).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> of Vedius Pollio was destroyed for the construction of the Porticus Liviae (Barry 2003, 112-113).
Structural building techniques	
Finds from the site	
Plan location	For the suggested area of this <i>domus</i> see Barry 2003, fig. 1.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Barry, Fabio. 2003. "The Late Antique 'Domus' on the Clivus Suburanus, the Early History of Santa Lucia in Selci, and the Cerroni Altarpiece in Grenoble," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 71: 111-139.</li> <li>Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient</li> </ul>
	<i>Rome</i> . Oxbow.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.07b
Domus/Insula	Domus under S. Lucia in Selci

Field	Data
Name	
Other Domus/Insula Names	Late Antique 'Domus' on the Clivus Suburanus; domus of Vedius Pollio
Time Period 01 Start Year	175
Time Period 01 End Year	325
Time Period 01 Description	The earliest phase consists of arches in travertine and a carved human figure interpreted as Priapus (Barry 2003, 124). Serlorenzi interprets this first period as beginning in the second century before 215 CE. The earliest dates discovered in the wall of S. Lucia in Selcis date from before the third century CE, as they are visible in the Forma Vrbis Romae. I have selected the date of 175 CE to estimate this beginning for the purposes of the catalog. These likely represent <i>tabernae</i> facing the clivus Suburanus, as seen on the FVR (Serlorenzi 2004, 350-1).
Time Period 02 Years	301-400
Time Period 02 Description	The Notitia regionary catalog still mentions the Porticus Liviae in the fourth century (Platner and Ashby 1929, "PORTICUS LIVIAE").
Time Period 03 Years	325-410
Time Period 03 Description	The reconstruction of the <i>tabernae</i> into a large <i>aula</i> took place in the first half of the fourth century, here estimated at 325 CE. The fourth century date is based on construction techniques in brick and <i>opus sectile</i> (Serlorenzi 2004, 362-364). In this period there is a significant rebuilding of the structure, with little other than the pilasters remaining from the earlier building. The pilasters were now capped with arches, and supported a brick wall with five arched windows above. This wall enclosed one side of a large <i>aula</i> , likely from a late antique <i>domus</i> (Serlorenzi 2004, 357-358).
Time Period 04 Years	410-638
Time Period 04	The end of the use of this building as a <i>domus</i> can only be dated by means of

Field	Data
Description	the reconstruction of the building into a church by Pope Honorius I (625-638), however it may have ended from a much earlier even such as the sack of Alaric in 410 CE (Serlorenzi 2004, 362). The gardens of the Porticus fell into disuse the middle of the sixth century with a necropolis placed in the area, suggesting abandonment by that time (Barry 2003, 125).
Time Period 05 Years	625-638
Time Period 05 Description	The building is used as a church after Pope Honorius I (Barry 2003, 125-126; Serlorenzi 2004, 362).
Excavation history	Barry explains that due to the presence of the modern convent at S. Lucia in Selci, the buildings associated with the church are difficult to visit and have not been thoroughly recorded (Barry 2003, 114-115). In order to interpret the long history of this architectural complex, Serlorenzi has used a method of reading the stratigraphic sequences of the visible wall of this building. A photogrammetric study and thorough checking of ground levels provided the resources. Because of the continued monastic situation, it has still not been possible to fully excavate under the church (Serlorenzi 2004, 350).
	In the first period in the second to third century the buildings at this location would have been <i>tabernae</i> , with their portals marked with travertine pilasters, along the edges of the Porticus Liviae. A general sense of the plan of these <i>tabernae</i> can be gleaned from the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> , sheet 11, fragment 608, which shows <i>tabernae</i> in the adjoining block. These <i>tabernae</i> would have a front room open to the street and a back room accessible from the front room by a door (Serlorenzi 2004, 351-355).
Description of Rooms	The fourth century <i>domus</i> is characterized by a large room believed to be an <i>'aula'</i> of a late antique <i>domus</i> into which the church was built, as suggested by Krautheimer and Guidobaldi, but the determination is tentative (Barry 2003, 116-118). The room interpreted as the <i>'aula'</i> includes the tall wall along the via in Selcis, which was constructed over the earlier travertine pillars of the <i>tabernae</i> . Additionally, in a recent study of the building, Serlorenzi noted similar brick suggesting the south wall of the church building was another side of this room. This south wall includes four gola di lupo windows at one height and evidence of cross vaults, indicating a below ground floor and room above for the late antique period. The construction remains visible suggest that unlike the earlier phase of five <i>tabernae</i> , the space contained within the walls of the fourth century structure was likely being used as a single large room. Remains of the eastern wall have not been found, but Serlorenzi supports in recent studies the theory that the eastern wall was an apse for the <i>'aula'</i> (Serlorenzi 2004, 358-359). The previous apse was destroyed in 1895-1896, but can be

Field	Data	
	seen, supporting the hypothesis of the apsed-hall of a <i>domus</i> , in a drawing by Giovannoli, as well as in the 1593 Pianta di Roma of Tempesta. The lower height of the windows, which are visible in that apse, support its late antique data (Giovannoli 1616; Serlorenzi 2004, 359-360; Guidobaldi 1986, 191). Serlorenzi thus reconstructs the fourth century <i>domus</i> with a hypogeum below, and large apsed <i>aula</i> above, decorated in <i>opus sectile</i> and lit by large windows both along the sides and in the apse. Serlorenzi suggests through a comparison to the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> , an entrance to the south through a possible <i>nymphaeum</i> and peristyle (Serlorenzi 2004, 362, figs. 20, 22).	
Structural building techniques	The second century <i>tabernae</i> had five travertine pilasters, formed by regular blocks of travertine, marking their openings. The wide portals to these <i>tabernae</i> may also have been supported by arches above the pilasters, as in the later period, but those do not remain. The fourth century wall was constructed above the travertine pilasters. The wall was added in brick above brick arches spanning the pilasters of the previous period and had a row of five arched windows 2.50 meters wide and 3.75 meters tall, and separated by pilasters 1.30 meters wide. Four gola di lupo windows 1.15 m wide were constructed into similar brickwork as the exterior wall, and set into a framework of cross-vaults, as part of the hypogeum floor of this building. Squared travertine blocks have been discovered, with one measuring 0.50 m tall, from the opus quadratum facing of the wall, though they cannot be dated definitively to the later period. A large floor in <i>opus sectile</i> was noted in Santa Lucia in Selcis in 1510, similar to that of Sant'Andrea in Catabarbara, suggesting a luxurious <i>domus</i> in the late antique period (Serlorenzi 2004, 351-355, 358-359).	
Finds from the site	e Sculpture: - A carved human figure on a travertine block has been interpreted as Priapus (Barry 2003, 124).	
Plan location	For a detailed plan of the current condition of S. Lucia in Selci, see Barry 2003, fig. 4; For a reconstruction of the theoretical <i>domus aula</i> , see Serlorenzi 2004, fig. 20.	
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Barry, Fabio. 2003. "The Late Antique 'Domus' on the Clivus Suburanus, the Early History of Santa Lucia in Selci, and the Cerroni Altarpiece in Grenoble," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 71: 111-139.</li> <li>Giovannoli, Alo. 1616. Vedute degli antichi vestigj di Roma di Alo Giovannoli spanise in due parti la prima contiene mausolei, archi, colonne, e fabbriche pubbliche, la seconda rapprasenta terme, anfiteatri, e tempj. Comprese in rami 106. Parte prima-seconda. Roma.</li> </ul>	

Data
Guidobaldi, Federico. 1986. "L'edilizia Abitativa Unifamiliare Nella Roma
Tardo-Antica." In Societa Romana E Impero Tardo-Antico, edited by Andrea
Giardina, 165-237. Roma-Bari.

Krautheimer, Richard. 1962. Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae 2. 2. Citta del Vaticano.

Field

Merrill, Elmer Truesdell. 1906. "The Date of Notitia and Curiosum." Classical Philology 1 (2):133-144.

Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient *Rome*. Oxbow.

Serlorenzi, Mirella. 2001. "S. Lucia in Selci." In Materiali e tecniche dell'edilizia paleocristiana a Roma, edited by Margherita Cecchelli, 291-292. Rome.

Serlorenzi, Mirella. 2004. "Santa Lucia in Selcis. Lettura del palinsesto murario di un edificio a continuità di vita." In Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II. Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by L. Paroli and L. Vendittelli, 350-379. Rome.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.08
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus, Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus in via Eleniana; Domus dei Mosaici; Domus of the Mosaics
Time Period 01 Start Year	150
Time Period 01 End Year	200
Time Period	The first phase was constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> and <i>opus mixtum</i> . The walls

Field	Data
01 Description	found in 1999 from this phase seem to match the walls excavated by Colini in 1953-57. The floral patterned black and white mosaic discovered in the northeastern room in the Colini excavation is also from this period (Borgia 2008b, 23-24; Eck 1995, 40).
Time Period 02 Years	275-285 CE
Time Period 02 Description	The second phase was constructed in opus listatum and consists of a foundation with a wall face, constructed in rows of tufa and brick. This structure is probably from a period of remodeling of the <i>domus</i> and existed with the earlier walls. In some places these walls touch the Aurelian Walls (Borgia 2008b, 23-24).
Time Period 03 Years	285-315 CE
Time Period 03 Description	The third phase at least partially destroyed the previous phases and contains a large brick foundation and wall. The walls are 1.05 m thick and create sort of 1.75 m tall quadrilateral pilasters. The floor level is marked by bipedals, some of which have stamps, and has been interpreted as the foundation of a monumental portico. The construction technique of this last phase was required to build the wall at a higher quota than the previous calpestio floor. This phase is dated to the period between the late third to early fourth century CE. This rebuilding is likely associated with Constantinian restructuring of the nearby <i>Domus</i> Sessoriana (Borgia 2008b, 23-24). This phase included marble columns (Eck 1995, 40).
Time Period 04 Years	275-315 CE
Time Period 04 Description	A nearby thermal complex, connected to the <i>domus</i> , was constructed in opus testaceum with some simple areas in <i>opus vittatum</i> . It may relate to the function of the entire area of the <i>domus</i> in its final phase during its association with the <i>Domus</i> Sessoriana. However, the thermal complex alternatively may relate to one large restructuring of the <i>domus</i> from the second period based on dating, which is also supported by the iconography of a mosaic in the calidarium of similar theme to late third century marine mosaics (Borgia 2008b, 23-24).
Excavation history	This <i>domus</i> has been excavated at different times in pieces, and thus has been called the <i>domus</i> in via Eleniana, the <i>domus</i> dei mosaici, and the <i>domus</i> of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla in different sources. The differences between the areas of the <i>domus</i> dei mosaici, excavated between 1953 and 1957 and again in 1999, and those of the <i>domus</i> in via Eleniana excavated between 1982 and 1985 seem too great to be interpreted as as a single <i>domus</i> . Thus, the <i>domus</i> of Aufidia

Field	Data
	Cornelia Valentilla is associated with the <i>domus</i> dei mosaici, and the <i>domus</i> in via Eleniana ( <i>Domus</i> of the ACEA – see Cat. Entry V.15) is considered a separate property.
	The so-called <i>domus</i> dei mosaici was brought to light during work by the city of Rome for urbanization between 1953 and 1957. A. M. Colini led the excavation of several <i>domus</i> rooms (Borgia 2008b, 21, 32). Additional excavation work clarified some walls and construction phases in 1999 (Borgia 2008b, 19, 23).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla, excavated as the <i>domus</i> of the mosaics, lies next to the <i>domus</i> all'interno della proprieta ACEA (see Cat entry V.15). Three construction phases were identified in the excavations, supported in the most recent 1999 excavation phase (Borgia 2008b, 23). The plan consists of multiple small and large rooms. The smaller rooms are suggested to have been service rooms. The importance of the larger rooms is emphasized by their large travertine thresholds and mosaic floors. In the southern portion of the remains, rooms relating to a thermal complex have been identified. The rooms have different arrangements, one acting as a <i>calidarium</i> , one including two pools or baths in apses off a roughly square room, and another containing a stairway leading down. To the southeast of the <i>caldarium</i> stood a porticoed space open on the southwestern side, which connects to a large-scale brick wall foundation (Borgia 2008b, 22).
Structural building techniques	The first phase was constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> and <i>opus mixtum</i> . The second phase was constructed in <i>opus listatum</i> and consists of a foundation with a wall face, constructed in rows of tufa and brick. The third phase at least partially destroyed the previous phases and contains a large brick foundation and wall. The walls are 1.05 m thick and create sort of 1.75 m tall quadrilateral pilasters. The floor level is marked by bipedals, some of which have stamps. A nearby thermal complex, connected to the <i>domus</i> , was constructed in opus testaceum with some simple areas in <i>opus vittatum</i> (Borgia 2008b, 23-24).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>- Black and white floral mosaic was found in the second century remains, and marble columns were found in the fourth century remains (Eck 1995, 40).</li> </ul>
	Inscriptions:

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>Fistula aquariae - CIL XV 7398 – dating to the mid-third century CE (Eck 1995, 40). The stamps states "AVFIDIA.CORNELIA.VALENTILLA/" and on the other part "VALERIVS COLONICVS FEC/" (CIL XV 7398).</li> <li>CIL XV 755 – Platner reports this among the references for dating this structure. This inscription dates to the second half of the second century CE (Platner; iDAI.objects).</li> <li>"L.LANIVS.FELICISSIMVS.DEIS/PRAEDIS.DOM.AVG.N", signifying "L. Lanius Felicissmus, deis (=de vel d(oliare) ex?) praedis dom(inicis) Aug(usti) n(ostri)" (CIL XV 755).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	The fistula plumbeia that was uncovered in this area from the middle of the third century CE appears to blong to this <i>domus</i> from the second century, which was rebuilt in the early fourth century. The fistulae are suggested to indicate a private water supply for this property, and thus also the name of the <i>domus</i> owner (Eck 1995, 40).
Plan location	See Borgia 2008b, fig. 24 for the excavation plan of this <i>domus</i> and related structures.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008.</li> <li>"Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte I." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> no. 2008 (124):1-17.</li> <li>Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008b.</li> <li>"Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> no. 2008 (125):18-41.</li> <li>Calci, Carmelo. 2000. <i>Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica</i>. Roma: Adnkronos libri.</li> <li>Chini, Paola and Monica Grandi Carletti. 2000. "Mosaici del Complesso Rinvenuto Presso L'Acquedotto Claudio in VIa Eleniana: Una Messa a Punto." In <i>Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico: (Venezia, 20-23 gennaio 1999)</i>, edited by Guidobaldi, F. and A. Paribeni. 535-548. Edizioni del Girasole.</li> <li>Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza. 1985. <i>Roma: archeologia nel centro 6, II: La "città murata", Lavori e studi di archeologia</i>. Roma: de Luca.</li> <li>De' Spagnolis, Marisa. 1985. "Domus in Via Eleniana." In <i>Roma: Archeologia Nel Centro 6, II: La "Città Murata" Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia</i>, edited by <i>Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologia Soprintendenza</i>, 337-44. Roma: de Luca.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Di Bene, Anna. 1997. "Ipotesi Di Recupero Dell'area Archeologica Da S. Giovanni a Via Eleniana." In <i>La Basilica Di S. Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma:</i> <i>Quando L'antico E' Futuro</i> , edited by Anna Maria Affanni, 115-22. Roma: BetaGamma editrice.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 40. Roma: Quasar.
	<i>iDAI.objects Arachne database</i> . "Ziegelstempel BIB.368 des Gartenstadions - CIL XV 755." https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/4434917 (accessed December 02, 2018).
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , Roma: Quasar.
	van den Hout, Michael Petrus Josephus. 1999. A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.09
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Casa Via Graziosa
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	domus of via Graziosa, the Odyssey frescos, domus Papiria

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Start Year	200 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	101 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The terrace wall along the Cispian hill is constructed. It is at a slight angle to the later house (Coarelli 1998, 31).
Time Period 02 Years	55/50 BCE - 14
Time Period 02 Description	The wallpaintings have been dated to phase II-A of the second style by H. G. Beyen and Coarelli concurs with this dating. This dates them to a period between roughly 55-50 BCE to 45-40 BCE. Although some scholars have moved them to the Augustan period. Excavator Luigi Canina compared the masonry to the reticulate masonry of the Theater of Pompey, supporting the earlier end of this range between the end of the Republic and early empire (Coarelli 1998, 26). Coarelli reinterprets the calendar fragments based on data on pre-Julian calendars not originally available to Mommsen, who first interpreted the fragments. Most subsequent studies have used Mommsen's data, despite the increased sources discovered since then. Coarelli dates the calendar to pre-Julian reform times, and thus before 46 BCE (for a detailed discussion of the fragments, see Coarelli 1998, 27-30). This date supports the earlier dating of the wallpaintings, also supported by Canina's dating of the masonry (Coarelli 1998, 30).
Excavation history	The remains of this <i>domus</i> were excavated in 1848 as part of a construction project for apartment blocks by the Comune di Roma. The excavation was begun by Virginio Vespignani, interrupted by the Roman Republic's events of 1849, and finished by Luigi Canina in 1850 (Coarelli 1998, 21). The wallpaintings were removed, restored, and moved to the Vatican museum, where they remain (Coarelli 1998, 21). Other <i>domūs</i> sitting on similar terraces up the Cispian hill were uncovered in 1684 during the opening of the via Graziosa. This creates a sense of the neighborhood in which this unusually large <i>domus</i> sat (See Lanciani 1897, 159).
Description of Rooms	Two of a series of terraces of the Cispian hill were uncovered in the excavations against which were rooms and walls. The associated <i>domus</i> would have opened onto the <i>vicus Patricius</i> and rested against these terraces. Two large walls meet at right angles behind a thick terrace wall, and the paintings rested on these walls. Above the paintings on the walls on which they rested was a vault, which is reconstructed with a portico supporting the other side that would have

483

Field	Data
	surrounded a large area on three sides. The end wall served as additional buttress behind the terrace wall and contained pilasters "di parallelepipedi" constructed in tufa from which the vaults sprung. A column was found in situ at a higher level from a floor that stood above this peristyle (Coarelli 1998, 31-32).
	Lanciani notes that due to finds along the slopes of the Cispian hill, the <i>domūs</i> of the Creperei, Elii Nevii, Mussidii, and Papirii are believed to have been in this topographical area (Lanciani 1897, 162). An example of an adjacent <i>domus</i> along the Cispian hill can be found in the report published on the 1684 via Graziosa excavation. Lanciani presents a drawing originally by Pietro Sante Bartoli showing the terraced houses uncovered during the 1684 excavation, which clearly shows thick terrace walls against the hill, a peristyle, and <i>domus</i> rooms beyond that, arranged like those of the Casa via Graziosa (See Lanciani 1897, 159). This example helps provide another visualization of this <i>domus</i> that was not well published. For drawings of the walls of the Casa via Graziosa <i>domus</i> , see Coarelli, figs. 1-3, which reproduce the drawings of the original excavator Vespignani.
	It has been suggested based on the reconstruction of the architecture of the space and theme of the paintings that the ten uncovered form a small portion of 35 to 100 paintings in an extremely large space. Matranga suggests the larger reconstruction based on the discovery of a wall in <i>opus reticulatum</i> , constructed most similarly to the walls of the Casa via Graziosa, but further up the street. Based on its location and the theory that it belonged to the same portico, Matranga reconstructed the portico with a total length of 152 m (Coarelli 1998, 25, 31).
Structural building techniques The house was built on terraces on the Cispian hill, and a second century I thick terrace wall (1.8 m thick) built of <i>opus reticulatum</i> incertum stood alongside the terrace. The walls of the portico were built of <i>opus reticulatu</i> had vaults above (Coarelli 1998, 31). The end wall served as additional built behind the terrace wall and contained pilasters "di parallelepipedi" construin tufa from which the vaults sprung. The <i>opus reticulatum</i> construction w tufa pilasters and vaults suggests higher floors stood above, and a column found in situ at a higher level (Coarelli 1998, 31).	
	Art:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>The Odyssey fresco cycle is the notable find of this <i>domus</i>, with seven completely preserved panels (1.67 x 1.32 m) in the Vatican, and another half panel in the Museo delle Terme. An additional two were found in poor condition (Coarelli 1998, 25).</li> <li>Small portions of a painted calendar were found with the wall paintings,</li> </ul>

484

Field	Data
	likely part of the same decoration (Coarelli 1998, 27).
	Inscriptions:
	<ul> <li>Two inscriptions from the Antonine period were found in the Orti Santarelli in 1663, which was situated in this area (Coarelli 1998, 37).</li> <li>CIL VI 309 = IGUR 171: "HERCVLI/DEFENSORI/PAPIRII" is on the front, and the same in Greek is on the reverse "HPAKAEI/AAEZI/KAKWI/ΠΑΠΕΙΡΙ./ΟΙ." (CIL VI 309).</li> <li>CIL VI 310 = IGUR 195: "SILVANO/CUSTODI/PAPIRII" is on the front and "CILBANW/ΦΥΛΑΚΙ/ΠΑΠΕΙΡΙΟΙ" on the reverse (CIL VI 310).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Coarelli contextualizes this <i>domus</i> as positioned nearly across the street, the vicus Patricius, from the three <i>atrium</i> -houses of a more traditional late Republican style found in Fragment 011e (PM1960 543 a) of the Severan marble plan (see Cat. Entry V.10). Coarelli identifies an <i>atrium</i> with <i>tabernae</i> and a stairway as a possible entry area for this <i>domus</i> , the archaeological remains of which lie out of view of the remaining FUR fragments (Coarelli 1998, 32). The paintings draw on sources in addition to Homer (Coarelli 1998, 25). Based on the two inscriptions, Coarelli suggests the gens Papirius as the owners of the house (Coarelli 1998, 36-37).
Plan location	For the plan of the portion of the <i>domus</i> that was excavated, see Coarelli 1998, fig. 1.
	Andreae, B. 1962. "Der Zyklus der Odysseefresken in Vatican." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> 69:106-117.
	Andreae, B. 1988. "Fragment der Odysseefresken." In Kaiser Augustus und die Verlorene Republik 282-284. Mainz-am-Rhein.
	Beyen, H. G. 1938. Die Pompejanische Wanddekoration vom Zweiten bis zum Vierten Stil II, 1 The Hague.
Bibliography	Biering, R. 1996. Die Odysseefresken von Esquilin Munich.
	Braun, E. 1850. "Scene dell'Odissea dipinte a fresco e scoperte all'Esquilino." Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica: 17-21.
	Coarelli, Fllippo. 1998. "The Odyssey Frescos of the via Graziosa: A Proposed Context," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 66: 21-37.
	Engemann, J. 1967. "Archi tekturdarstellungen des frühen zweiten Stils."

Field	Data
	Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung Ergánzungsheft 12:141-6.
	Gallina, A. 1964. <i>Le pitture con paesaggi dell'Odissea dall'Esquilino</i> Vol. 6, <i>Studi miscellanei</i> . Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1897. "Scavi per l'apertura della via Graziosa nel 1684." Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma, serie quinta: 162-3.
	Matranga, P. 1852. La città di Lamo stabilita in Terracina secondo la descrizione di Omero e due degli antichi dipinti già ritrovati sull'Esquilino Roma.
	Nogara, B. 1907. Le nozze Aldobrandine e i paesaggi dell'Odissea. Milan.
	Peters, W. J. T. 1963. Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting. Assen.
	Schefold, Karl. 1956. "Die Vorbilden ròmischer Landschaftmalerei." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archàologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> 71: 211-16.
	von Blankenhagen, P. H. 1963. "The Odyssey Frieze." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> 70:100-146.
	Woermann, Karl. 1876. Die antiken Odyssee-Landschaften vom Esquilinischen Huegel zu Rom: in Farben-Steindruck. Munich.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.10
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Atrium houses on the Forma Urbis Romae
Other	Forma Urbis Romae fragment 11e, Severan Marble Plan fragment PM1960#

Field	Data
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	543a
Time Period 01 Start Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	211
Time Period 01 Description	The houses appear late Republican in style and stood at least until the Severan Marble Plan.
Excavation history	The fragment was found in 1562 in a garden behind Ss. Cosma e Damiano, and then stored for many years in the Palazzo Farnese. After many movements of storage the fragment is now kept with others in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in EUR under the auspices of the Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma (Najbjerg and Trimble). Rodriguez-Almeida placed the fragment in position in the bottom left corner of slab VII-7, identifying its position on the vicus Patricius based on recent excavations and comparisons to other fragments (Najbjerg and Trimble).
Description of Rooms	Three traditional <i>atrium</i> houses are entered from the street through fauces corridors with three or four <i>tabernae</i> split on either side of the entrance for each of the three houses. No stairways to floors above are recorded. All three house then lead into <i>atria</i> , through a <i>tablinum</i> space, and into peristyles behind. Two of the <i>atria</i> have small <i>cubicula</i> leading off, one of them with alae, and the third has no side rooms. All three peristyles are shown with four columns to a side and five rooms leading off the peristyle, with the central rear space open. While simplified these three plans give a sense of slight variations in the houses.
Structural building techniques	See the <i>domus</i> under SS. Sergio e Baccho (Cat. entry V.06) for another <i>atrium</i> house in this area, which may have similar construction techniques.
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>The fragment is numbered 11e by Stanford's <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> Project, as well as by AG 1980, and is numbered 543a by PM 1960. It is on slab VII-7, and adjoins 11fgh.</li> <li>Fragments 11fgh are three small fragments that fit together, and one contains the small rear corner of the leftmost <i>domus</i>.</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	These <i>domūs</i> are identified as being across the street from the Casa via Graziosa (see Cat. entry V.09) (Coarelli 1998, 32). The <i>domus</i> under SS. Sergio e Baccho

Field	Data
	is also identified with a similar plan in this area (see Cat. entry V.06).
Plan location	See the Stanford Digital <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> Project for a detail reproduction: http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?slab=45&record=5
	Coarelli, Fllippo. 1998. "The Odyssey Frescos of the via Graziosa: A Proposed Context," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 66: 21-37.
Bibliography	Najbjerg, Tina, and Jennifer Tremble. "Atrium houses along the Vicus Patricius (vicus Patricius) between the Viminal and Cispian Hills (collis Viminalis, mons Cispius)," <i>Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project</i> , http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?slab=45&record=5 (accessed May 22, 2017).
	Rodríguez Almeida, Emilio. 1981. Forma urbis marmorea: aggiornamento generale 1980. Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.11
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula under Santa Prassede
Other Domus/Insula Names	titulus Praxedis
Time Period 01 Start Year	491
Time Period 01 End Year	499
Time Period 01 Description	The first references to the <i>titulus</i> Praxedis are found, an epitaph in the cemetery of S. Ippolito and a signature on the Roman synod of 499 (Krautheimer 1941, 234).
Time Period 02	375/780/817-824

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 02 Description	The dates given for the transformation of this building into a church vary depending on the source. Krautheimer and Affanni date it to the late eighth century and beginning of the nineth century. Affanni dates it to around 780 CE based on the techniques and the style of decoration, such as the mosaics, datable to shortly before the ninth century (Krautheimer 1941, 257; Affanni, 15, 41). Krautheimer draws in historical sources and dates the church to the work of Paschal I between 817 and 824 CE. Paschal I's biographer states that he rebuilt the original <i>titulus</i> Praxedis on a site nearby the original, but not the same site (Krautheimer 1941, 234, 257-258). Ghetti, however, dates the original conversion to the fourth century rather than the later work of Pascal I, who he interprets as having rebuilt an entirely new building in a new orientation at the same site (Ghetti 1961, 32). The half dome vault found under the <i>atrium</i> is attributed to the fourth century church apse by Ghetti, but to a Roman structure, possibly a thermal room by Krautheimer (Krautheimer 1941, 240).
Excavation history	Between 1914 and 1922 the restoration of this church was promoted by Beneict XIV, and led by Antonio Munoz. The full restoration of the façade took place in 1937 (Affanni 2006, 49). In 1953 Santa Prassede was excavated by Apollonj Ghetti, who discovered a fourth century vaulted building, interpreted as a church, and below it the remains of a roman <i>insula</i> . Further remains of the <i>insula</i> are found in the buildings at the area of the intersection of via di Santa Prassede and via di San Martino ai Monti (Landart 2014, 270). Due to the depth of the pit and the backfill overburden, Ghetti could not excavate the first area of the stairway for long, and he excavated the other parts at a higher level (Ghetti 1961, 14). The roof of the building was restored in 1997 (Affanni 2006, 60-64).
Description of Rooms	Between the via S. Martino and the church <i>atrium</i> , a large portion of the Roman <i>insula</i> has been recovered in <i>cella</i> rs, including traces of the vicus Suburanus alongside. Traces of the walls of the <i>insula</i> in the shop at the far end of the Via San Prassede confirm that the ancient Vicus suburanus varied slightly from the modern Via S. Martono ai Monti. The interior walls of the <i>insula</i> run parallel the external walls, and traces are visible within the shops mixed with later walls (Ghetti 1961, 13; Krautheimer 1941, 239-240). Ghetti found in excavations in 1953 traces of a staircase 1.80 meters above the ancient street level under the church <i>atrium</i> , indicating a second floor. Further Roman wall remnants 8 meters above the ancient paving provide more evidence of upper floors. Near this staircase were found entrances to the <i>insula</i> from the ground and first floor levels (Krautheimer 1941, 239-240). The ancient <i>insula</i> stairway had two ramps, the first level paved in irregular blocks of leucitite, marble, and travertine. A wall was constructed across the stairway,

Field	Data
	built slanted, to support the stairway after the supporting vaults were destroyed. A structure made of large tufa blocks sits over this wall. The long tufa block wall continues to the west and connects to the back rooms of the botteghe (Ghetti 1961, 13-14). A second stairway was found parallel to the church façade at the main entrance of the church, which then turns along a wall on axis with the nave (Krautheimer 1941, 239-240). Apollonj Ghetti also found the remains of a collapsed vault of unknown date under the <i>atrium</i> , which would have belonged to a half dome (Landart 2014, 270; Krautheimer 1941, 240). Ghetti found the remains of three columns, which he identifies of as those of the ancient basilica, with two resting on overturned Doric capitals. All of the columns had sub-bases in solid travertine on a tufa block foundation (Ghetti 1961, 14-15).
Structural building techniques	The vault found by Ghetti was concrete faced with a double archivolt with an inner ring of bipedal voussoirs and an outer ring of sesquipedals. Further walls in imperial brick were found (Krautheimer 1941, 240). The ancient walls of the <i>insula</i> had a module of between 25 and 28 cm. The wall constructed across the stairway of the <i>insula</i> was constructed in alternating bricks and opus incertum on a rubble masonry foundation. It was built slanted to support the stairway. The Doric capitals found from the ancient basilica had an abacus of about 90 cm on a side and were about 35 cm high (Ghetti 1961, 13-15).
Finds from the site	
Plan location	For a plan of the excavation see Ghetti 1961, fig.s 6 and 8.
	Affanni, A. 2006. La chiesa di Santa Prassede : La storia, il rilievo, il restauro (Testimonianze di restauri; 5). Viterbo: BetaGamma.
	Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno M. 1961. Santa Prassede. Roma: Marietti.
Bibliography	Bianchi, L., M.R. Coppola, V. Mutarelli, and M. Piacentini. 1998. <i>Case E Torri Medioevali a Roma: Documentazione, Storia E Sopravvivenza Di Edifici Medioevali Nel Tessuto Urbano Di Roma</i> . L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Krautheimer, Richard. 1941. Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.), iii. 232-259.
	Landart, Paula. 2014. <i>Finding Ancient Rome: Walks in the City</i> . Paula Landart. 261-264.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.12
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insulae A, B, and C-D under Piazza dei Cinquecento
Time Period 01 Start Year	117
Time Period 01 End Year	138
Time Period 01 Description	The house, along with the bath complex in the same block, were built at the same time, and brick stamps date to the Hadrianic period (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 12).
Time Period 02 Years	161
Time Period 02 Description	A lead fistula with the inscription [IMP C]AES ANTONIN AUG N provides evidence for the first major restoration in c. 161 CE (Paris 1996, 61-62). The family may have been an imperial property in this period. A statue of Faustina Maggiore as a divinity was found relating this family as well (Paris 1996, 62).
Time Period 03 Years	200-230
Time Period 03 Description	Some remodeling and maintenance can be seen in the early third century. The wall-painting style of which traces were found in the <i>tabernae</i> indicate a phase of repainting of the walls in the first decades of the third century (Pettinau 1996, 182). Also the refacing of the mosaic in room 3 of building B, probably took place in the Severan period (Pettinau 1996, 189).
Time Period 04 Years	601-700
Time Period 04 Description	Through a looser late antique period continued minor alterations take place to doors and walls. The abandonment of the <i>domus</i> and bath <i>insula</i> complex is fixed in the seventh century (Pettinau 1996, 189).
Excavation history	The <i>insulae</i> in this piazza were excavated for the construction of the new metro station in front of Stazione Termini in the 1940s. The extensive remains were not preserved, aside from the elements taken out into the museum, and were

Field	Data
	recorded only through the notebook and photographs of an archaeologist on site. The associated bath and the northernmost <i>insula</i> had already been discovered in the 1860s-1870s excavations for the new Stazione Termini. The excavation records and remains were exhibited in 1997 in the Museo delle Terme, at which time they were analyzed and published in the book Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 10-13). The archaeologist Pietrogrande excavated the urban structure (Paris 1996, 61-62). Pietrogrande admitted the lack of methodological rigor, as well as the lack of ability to preserve the remains in the situation, stating the excavation could not "avere il rigore metodico richiesto da scavi iniziati e perseguiti con scopi scientifici. E disgraziatamente non fu possibile conservare i ruderi messi in luce: difatti i ritrovamenti si verificarono quando gli sterri preparatori e l'erezione delle nuove costruzioni erano gia portati molto innanzi con dispendio di miliardi, nè, comunque, sarebbe stato possibile spostare altrove le opere progettate per mancanza di spazio edificabile e perche strettamente collegate sia con gli impianti ferroviari in attivita, sia con le gallerie gia da tempo approntate per le linee metropolitan (Paris 1996, 60).
Description of Rooms	These <i>insulae</i> are associated with the triangular <i>domus</i> (see Cat. Entry V.02). They include a large bath suite, which may be related to the <i>domus</i> . The entire <i>insula</i> that includes the <i>domus</i> and bath were constructed at the same time. More <i>insulae</i> were found in this immediate area, including two with rows of shops. These two <i>insulae</i> are split by a small road and contain fourteen <i>tabernae</i> . The remains of these <i>insulae</i> included stairways to upper floors, both inside the <i>tabernae</i> and from the street, which suggest apartments on the floors above. The southern of the two has five <i>tabernae</i> and an external stairway, and the northern of the two <i>insulae</i> has nine possible <i>tabernae</i> , one with evidence of a latrine, and an external stairway. The <i>domus</i> and <i>insulae</i> share a drainage system. Wallace-Hadrill notes that the shared construction and footprint of the <i>domus</i> and <i>insulae</i> narrow the distinction between <i>domus</i> and <i>insula</i> sits further north of the northern block of shops. Its plan is less clear with a large two-story room on the ground floor, recorded by Parker in a photograph (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 12-13).
Structural building techniques	Brick stamps indicate an original construction date in the Hadrianic period for this large set of <i>insulae</i> , as well as modifications in the Antonine and Severan periods (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 10-12).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>The finds include Hadrianic brick stamps: found, dating to the primary construction phase of the bath and <i>domus</i> (Paris 1996, 60-61).</li> <li>A fistula was found in the <i>atrium</i> of the <i>domus</i>, inscribed [IMP C]AES ANTONIN AUG N (h. letters cm 2.5). This would be during the first</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>restoration of the building, c. 161 CE (Paris 1996, 61).</li> <li>A second fistula was found a few cm in front of the stairway to the second floor of the <i>domus</i>, inscribedRELIAE SABINAE DIVI MARCI FILIAE. It is dated to slightly after 180 CE (Paris 1996, 61).</li> <li>A statue di Faustina Maggiore, wife of the emperor Antoninus Pius, was found on axis in the frigidarium (E 17) dating to around 160 CE (Paris 1996, 62).</li> <li>Wall painting traces were found in the <i>tabernae</i> in a linear style from the early third century CE. A frame of thin rectangular and curved bands of red, green, or yellow on a white background surrounded light festoons, vegetable motifs, human figures and animals. Another panel in a service room showed a rectangular band around a swan with spread wings in green with white highlights (Pettinau 1996, 182).</li> <li>Mosaic floors, including one with a scale pattern, were found (Pettinau 1996, 188-189).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Wallace-Hadrill notes that the <i>insulae</i> may have been intended as rental income for the owners and residents of the <i>domus</i> , and this building may have originally been constructed by the imperial family, but that it also could have been sold as individual units at any point (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 10-12).
Plan location	For a simple plan see Wallace-Hadrill 2003, fig. 1, and for the full detailed plan see Barbera and Paris 1996.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Balch, D.L., and C. Osiek. 2003. Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.</li> <li>Barbera, M., and R. Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997. Milano: G. Mondadori.</li> <li>Gautier de Cofiengo, Edoardo. 2007. "Il Quartiere Di Porta Viminalis. Un Contributo Alla Carta Archeologica Dell'esquilino," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma CVIII: 221-247.</li> <li>Paris, Rita. 1996. "Il Complesso di Piazza dei Cinquecento." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris: 60-63. Milano: G. Mondadori.</li> <li>Pettinau, Barbara. 1996. "Le Insulae: Aspetti di un Quartiere di Roma Antica." In Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, edited by M. Barbera and R. Paris: 179-190. Milano, G. Mondadori.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2000. "Case e abitanti a Roma." In <i>Roma imperiale: una metropoli antica</i> , edited by Elio Lo Cascio, 173-220. Roma.
	Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2003. " <i>Domus</i> and <i>Insulae</i> in Rome: Families and Housefuls." In <i>Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue</i> , edited by D.L. Balch and C. Osiek, 3-18. W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.13
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Sotterranei of San Martino ai Monti
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Il Complesso di S. Martino ai Monti; Il complesso di SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti
Time Period 01 Start Year	201
Time Period 01 End Year	220
Time Period 01 Description	The Roman structure was constructed in the early third century, as attested by the brickworks, and then was built into a Christian space in the in the fifth or sixth century CE. The third century paving was in black and white mosaic (Accorsi 2002, 533; Astolfi 1999, 23).
Time Period 02 Years	220-300
Time Period 02 Description	Later in the third century, shortly after construction, the building was enlarged with an additional room to the west. Fresco walls with painted panels were added to the interior in this period, and two courtyards inclosed to expand the space (Astolfi 1999, 23).

Field	Data
Time Period 03 Years	301-400
Time Period 03 Description	At some point then in the fourth century further modifications were made to the supporting pillars, vaults and doors (Astolfi 1999, 23).
Time Period 04 Years	498-514
Time Period 04 Description	There is no evidence of a Christian community before the sixth century CE in the interior of the ancient spaces underneath and off to the side from the current church (Astolfi 1999, 22). A Christian painting dates to this period, under Pope Symmachus (Accorsi 2002, 533).
Excavation history	The rooms of the Roman building were used in various ways as a part of the lower level of the church through the years. Siginificant excavation took place in this area in 1890. Also just before in 1883, the opening of via dello Statuto, now via Giovanni Lanza, to connect the via Merulana with the via Cavour greatly altered access to this urban area. In the 1880's work was undertaken to remove soil near the apse causing dampness and damage to the wallpaintings. Two rooms were found, one with a row of marble columns, at this time, two meters below street level (Accorsi 2002, 551-556). The medieval convent was built over this complex, and remains of the complex and upper floors were visible when the convent was demolished (Astolfi 1999, 23). These remains were demolished in the 1950's, and father Claudio Catena made notes. Catena noted a column and the remains of ancient walls (Accorsi 2002, 540).
Description of Rooms	The remains found in the nineteenth century excavations included two rooms with brick walls from the third century CE, with a layer of debris of tufa and tiles from the fourth century CE. The wall fragments contained traces of fifth and sixth century wall plaster (Accorsi 2002, 555). The ancient space consists of a great <i>aula</i> , 18 x 15 meters in size, that is divided in two naves by pilasters and engaged pilasters. The room had high large windows for illumination, under a high vaulted ceiling. The first level paving was in black and white mosaic. The main entrance is in the north-west wall, alongside stairs leading to the upper floors. These floors were visible during the demolition of the medieval convent. A room was added to the west, and then the courtyard to the north of this was covered, further enlarging the space. A stairway from this room leads to an underground space. Anther interior courtyard on the eastern side of the building was also enclosed at this time (Astolfi 1999, 23).
	The building has been theorized to have originally been a commercial or

Field	Data
	market structure, that later became associated as a decorative building for a large <i>domus</i> nearby, which were common in this area (Astolfi 1999, 23).
Structural building techniques	The brickwork walls of the space date to the first years of the third century CE. The ceiling was constructed in six cross-vaults (Astolfi 1999, 23).
	Art:
Finds from the	- Black and white mosaic was found as the first period paving (Astolfi 1999, 23).
site	- Fresco wall painting was found from the mid-third century (Astolfi 1999, 23).
	- The earliest painting with a Christian subject dates to the sixth century (Accorsi 2002, 533).
Additional notable points	The neighborhood around this building developed with large <i>domūs</i> , including the <i>domus</i> at via Giovanni Lanza (see cat entry III.02), alternating with commercial buildings. The <i>domus ecclesia</i> or <i>Titulus Aequitii</i> , was possibly located in another room of a large <i>domus</i> nearby, but evidence remains hidden (Astolfi 1999, 24-26). Apollonj Ghetti and Krautheimer suggest this building became the <i>titulus</i> of sanctum Sylvestrum in the sixth century with the <i>titulus</i> Aequitii nearby, combined in the nineth century by Sergius II (Accorsi 2002, 540).
Plan location	For a plan of the ancient remains, see Astolfi 1999, page 22 or Accorsi 2002, fig. 1.
	Accorsi, Maria Letizia. 2002. "Il Complesso Dei Ss. Silvestro E Martino Ai Monti Dal III Al IX Secolo: Appunti Di Studio." <i>Ecclesiae urbis</i> LIX: 533-63.
	Astolfi, Franco. 1999. "Il complesso di S. Martino ai Monti," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 4 (10): 21-26.
Bibliography	Boaga, E. 1983. "Il complesso titolare di S. Martino ai Monti." <i>Miscellanea historiae pontificiae</i> 50:1s.
	Buonocore, Marco, and Rodolfo Amadeo Lanciani. 1997. Appunti di topografia romana nei Codici Lanciani della Biblioteca apostolica vaticana. 5 vols, Roma: Quasar.
	Coccia, E. 1963. "Il titolo di Equizio e la basilica dei SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti." <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> 39:235s.

Field	Data
	Ghetti, B. M. Apollonj. 1961. "Le chiese titolari di S. Silvestro e S. Martino ai Monti." <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> 37:271s.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.14
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Basilica of Junius Bassus
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	BASILICA IUNII BASSI
Time Period 01 Start Year	31 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	Beneath the basilica of Junius Bassus were found the remains of a large house of Augustan era construction. At the end of the first century a horse-shoe shaped room was placed in one of the eastern chambers (Blake 1940, 88).
Time Period 02 Years	300-314
Time Period 02 Description	The horse-shoe shaped room was reduced in size in the era of Maxentius with brick walls. A black and white floor mosaic was added in this period. An inscription in a tabella ansata states that it was then the house of the Arippi and the Ulpii Vibii (Blake 1940, 88).
Time Period 03 Years	314-331
Time Period 03 Description	A lower undecorated paving level indicates a phase of the basilica from before 331 (Guidobaldi 1995, 70).

Field	Data
Time Period 04 Years	331-400
Time Period 04 Description	The inscription from the apse of the <i>aula</i> was reconstructed by De Rossi, establishing that the building was created in its decorated form by Iunius Bassus during his consulate in 331, and this was the date of the application of the decoration to the basilica. This date would then be consistent with the second paving level in <i>opus sectile</i> . The property likely passed to his son Iunius Bassus called Theotecnius, who died Christian in 359, during his urban prefecture (Guidobaldi 1995, 69-70). Lugli also notes that the Christian Bassus cannot be the consul of 331, as he would have been too young considering his sarcophagus notes not only that he was Christian but also that he lived 42 years and 2 months (Lugli 1932, 223).
Time Period 05 Years	450-471
Time Period 05 Description	Shortly after the mid-fifth century the patron of the building was a patricius named Valila, also known as Flavius Theodovius. He may have purchased the <i>domus</i> from the Bassi family, or married into the family (Guidobaldi 1995, 69-70; Lugli 1932, 225).
Time Period 06 Years	471-483
Time Period 06 Description	Valila, who died in 471, bequeathed the building to Pope Simplicius, Pope until 483, who then made it into the church of S. Andreas (Kalas 2013; Guidobaldi 1995, 69).
Excavation history	The ancient apsed hall was turned in ancient times into the church of Sant'Andrea Catabarbara and preserved through the seventeenth century visible <i>opus sectile</i> wall decoration that indicated the building's pagan and private origin. In the nineteenth century its location was lost, as is evidenced by its incorrect placement on the FVR of Lanciani in 1901. In 1930 construction work was undertaken on the Seminario Pontificio di Studi Orientali, in via Napoleone III, 3, which revealed the ancient remains. Many of the remains were destroyed at that time and only summarily documented. Today some of the wall panels are in the collections of the Museo Nazionale Romano and the Musei Capitolini (Guidobaldi 1995, 69).
Description of Rooms	The basilica hall contains an apse, a bi-apsed <i>atrium</i> , and a window with three arches at the entrance, but was also considered to be a basilica (Guidobaldi 1995, 70). It has been described as a large late antique <i>aula</i> of a Roman <i>domus</i> ,

Field	Data
	probably for primarily public functions of holding audiences with the public. The <i>domus</i> would have extended far beyond this building (Kalas 2013, 283).
Structural building techniques	The house beneath the Basilica of Junius Bassus was constructed in Augustan reticulate. The horse-shoe shaped room was reduced in size by means of Maxentian period brick walls and a black-and-white floor mosaic was added then (Blake 1940, 88). The basilica itself contains two phases indicated by a simple paving level from before 331 CE, and an <i>opus sectile</i> paving level that coincides with the wall decoration of 331 CE and after (Guidobaldi 1995, 70).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Mosaics:</li> <li>A Dionysian mosaic was found. The room next to the horse-shoe shaped room also included a black and white early third century mosaic. This room was only partially excavated. The floor mosaic contained in the lower portion Dionysus in a chlamys, crowned with vines. He stands, one foot on a stool, and holds a cantharus and thyrsus. In the upper portion, facing the other direction to the other side of the room, a putto is on a ladder under a trellis, gathering grapes, while another holds a basket for them. A third putto is not fully visible (Blake 1940, 95-96, plate 15).</li> <li>A mosaic with the early fourth century owners' names was found in a black-and-white mosaic with geometric circles and clover patterns. Both craftmanship and style date it to the early fourth century with the inner wall of the horse-shoe shaped room. Both The inscription is in a white rectangle on a black border around the patterned mosaic. Inscription to/by the owners Arippii and Ulpii Vibii states "DOMVS/ARRIPORVM/ET/VLPIORVM/VIBIORVM (leaf) FELIX (leaf)". It was found in a Horse-shoe shaped room under the basilica. "Felix" between leaves may refer either to the happiness of the household or the name of the mosaicist (Blake 1940, 88-89, plate 15).</li> <li>CIL VI 1737: The fourth century inscription in mosaic states "IVNIVS BASSVS V. C. CONSVL ORDINARIVS PROPRIA IMPENSA A SOLO FECIT ET DEDICAVIT FELICITER" (Lugli 1932, 222; CIL VI 1737).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan by G. Lugli of the excavated remains, see Guidobaldi 1995, fig. 28.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Blake, Marion Elizabeth. 1940. "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity." In <i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i> (Vol. 17). 81-130.</li> <li>De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1871. "Della Basilica di Giunio Basso Console Sull'Esquilino: Parte secondo ed ultima." <i>Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana</i> s.2 1871 (2):41-64.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1871. "La Basilica Profana di Giunio Basso Sull'Esquilino: Dedicata Poi a S. Andrea ed Appellata Catabarbara Patricia." <i>Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana</i> s.2 1871 (1):5-29.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "DOMUS: IUNIUS BASSUS In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 69-70, fig. 28. Roma: Quasar.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1927. "Die Basilika des Junius Bassus und die Kirche S. Andrea Cata Barabara auf dem Esquilin" In <i>Festschrift fur Julius Schlosser</i> , 53- 67. Vienna.
	Kalas, Gregor. 2013. "ARCHITECTURE AND ÉLITE IDENTITY IN LATE ANTIQUE ROME: APPROPRIATING THE PAST AT SANT'ANDREA CATABARBARA" in <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> , 81: 279-302.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Lugli, Giuseppe. 1932. "La Basilica Di Giunio Basso Sull'esquilino." <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> Anno IX(Numeri 3 e 4): 221-56.
	Marucchi, Del. 1893. "I lavori ad intarsio della Basilica di Giunio Basso Sull'Esquilino." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 21:89-104, tav. II, III, IV, V.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.15
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of the ACEA
Other	Domus in via Eleniana

Data
175
225
The luxurious decoration dates to the period at the cusp of the end of the second and beginning of the third century CE and are part of a Severan era restoration and restructuring of the <i>domus</i> . Earlier phases of the <i>domus</i> are known from earlier paving levels in the corridor (Borgia 2008b, 25-26). The wall painting in the via Eleniana compares to those under S. Giovanni in Laterano (Convengo 1985).
210-220
It is likely that this <i>domus</i> was incorporated from a private property into the imperial property, the villa ad Spem Veterem, constructed here in the Severan period and extended under Elegabalus. Bricks were found dating to 202 CE in this structure and the wall painting dates from this period. It could, however, have entered the imperial property later with the expansions of the <i>Domus</i> Sessoriana under Constantine (Borgia 2008b, 28, 32).
301-325
Restorations in the decoration date to the early fourth century CE. Rough fourth century masonry closed off the access stairway (Borgia 2008b, 25-27).
This <i>domus</i> has been excavated at different times in pieces, and thus has been called the <i>domus</i> in via Eleniana, the <i>domus</i> dei mosaici, and the <i>domus</i> of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla in different sources. The differences between the areas of the <i>domus</i> dei mosaici, excavated between 1953 and 1957 and again in 1999, and those of the <i>domus</i> in via Eleniana excavated between 1982 and 1985 seem too great to be interpreted as a single <i>domus</i> . Thus, the <i>domus</i> of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla is associated with the <i>domus</i> dei mosaici (see Cat. Entry V.08), and the <i>domus</i> in via Eleniana is considered a separate property (Borgia 2008b, 23).

Field	Data
	next to the seat of the ACEA, during work to lay cables for the ACEA, in which a room with wallpaintings and three additional portions of rooms were uncovered. The excavations of these rooms continued through November 1984 to May 1985 and then were published (Convengo 1985; Borgia 2008b, 25). Further rooms likely related to this <i>domus</i> on the same orientation were found around the ACEA between 1954 and 1955 (Borgia 2008b, 27).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> at the ACEA stood next to the <i>domus</i> of the mosaics (Cat. Entry 42 - The <i>domus</i> of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla). The visible remains include a central corridor and rooms to either side. The area to the southwest is more excavated. These rooms have been interpreted to be partially underground rooms, with the exterior soil 1.5 meters higher than the quota of the rooms themselves. A large stair once provided access to these lower rooms by means of the corridor. The stair was 2.20 meters wide and constructed in greco scritto marble but was closed in the fourth century (Borgia 2008b, 25-27). The corridor contains a mosaic paved with large marble tesserae in patterns of alternating yellow and blue gray. The walls of the corridor have frescoes with large panels with male and female figures over a tall red plaster frieze (Borgia 2008b, 25).
	The larger room to the south of the corridor is identified as a possible <i>triclinium</i> , and it has similarly paneled walls to those of the corridor with figures in the panels and a red frieze below. On the northeast wall the wall paintings include a central female figure with outstretched hand framed by columns, a peacock and animal possibly representing a sheep, followed by an ibex and winged creature. To the right on this wall another pair of columns frame another female and a male figure. On the northwest wall a single panel contains another female figure. The floor consists of a black and white mosaic with white bands and white decoration on black diamonds in geometric patterns of lozenges, crosses, swastikes, stars and stylized flowers (Borgia 2008b, 25-26).
	From this large room, a smaller room can be entered, which also has decorative slightly simpler wall paintings on a white ground with panels outlined in yellow and green lines, separated by other red lines. Across the corridor from this and the large room, another room has been only partially excavated. This room has a wall painting panel containing a male figure and a female figure. All of the aforementioned visible decoration appears to relate to a Severan era restructuring of the <i>domus</i> with small renovations in the fourth century (Borgia 2008b, 26).
	The additional rooms found in the 1950's are not as well recorded, and appear to include a corridor, decorated in red and white plaster and paved in marble,

Field	Data
	possibly around a peristyle or courtyard, as well as a related poly-lobed room. Three water pipes found suggest a water function, such as <i>nymphaeum</i> , for the poly-lobed room (Borgia 2008b, 27-28).
Structural building techniques	The walls of this <i>domus</i> were constructed in concrete with wall facing in <i>opus reticulatum</i> made of tufa, which had sometimes irregular cubilia and toothed brickwork. The pavement in the corridor and also the " <i>triclinium</i> " exhibit multiple levels, and thus multiple time periods. Rough fourth century masonry in brick, tufa blocks, and reused cubilia blocked off the previous access stairway. The corridor found in the fifties was constructed in <i>opus mixtum</i> , while the polylobed room was constructed with a curtain wall of brick (Borgia 2008b, 25-27).
Finds from the site	
Plan location	For the excavation plan, see Borgia 2008b, fig. 24.
	<ul> <li>Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008.</li> <li>"Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte I." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 2008 (124):1-17.</li> <li>Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008b. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 2008 (125):18-41.</li> </ul>
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.</li> <li>Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza.</li> <li>1985. <i>Roma: archeologia nel centro 6, II: La "città murata", Lavori e studi di archeologia</i>. Roma: de Luca.</li> </ul>
	De' Spagnolis, Marisa. 1985. "Domus in Via Eleniana." In <i>Roma: Archeologia</i> <i>Nel Centro 6, II: La "Città Murata" Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia</i> , edited by Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza. <i>Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia</i> , 337-44. Roma: de Luca.
	Di Bene, Anna. 1997. "Ipotesi Di Recupero Dell'area Archeologica Da S. Giovanni a Via Eleniana." In <i>La Basilica Di S. Croce in Gerusalemme a</i> <i>Roma: Quando L'antico E' Futuro</i> , edited by Anna Maria Affanni, 115-22. Roma: BetaGamma editrice.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla." In Lexicon

Data
<i>topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 40. Roma: Quasar.
Fiorelli. 1887. "Roma: Regione V." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita. 70: 108.
Gatti, E. 1925. "Notizie di recenti trovamenti di antichita in Roma e nel Suburbio (con 6 cliches)." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica</i> <i>Comunale di Roma</i> : 271-304.
Gatti, G. 1888. "Roma: Regione V." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita. 225.
Gatti, Giuseppe. 1887. "Trovamenti risguardanti la topografia e la epigrafia urbana." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> : 96-106.
Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.
Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
van den Hout, Michael Petrus Josephus. 1999. A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.16
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus L. Numicii Picae
Time Period 01 Start Year	31 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	14
Time Period 01 Description	P. Numicius Pica Caesianus was a senator and quastor in the province of Asia. Eck places his career almost certainly in the Augustan period (Eck 1995, 146).

Field	Data
Excavation history	Sig. Pio Piacentini excavated this area for the foundation of his palazzo in 1873 at the corner of via Principe Amadeo and Viminale (then Strozzi). It revealed $dom\bar{u}s$ , believed to be the residences of Publius Numicius Pica Cesianus and Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus (Lanciani 1874, 222).
Description of Rooms	The finds of this <i>domus</i> are specifically inscriptions indicating its position in the city, an area with many residences, but do not include much architecture. Few references are made to the walls uncovered (Lanciani 1901).
Structural building techniques	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>CIL VI 31742, 31743 (also listed as CIL VI 3835): Two inscriptions were found during the excavations works in 1873, which would have been located in the house or gardens of Numicius Picae. These are referred to in CIL as inscriptions on "marble trapezophora", marble table legs, with elegant hermis with winged feet. One was dedicated from the province of Asia, and the other dedicated by eight people to P. Numicius Pica Caesianus (Eck 1995, 146; CIL VI, 3835, 31742, 32743).</li> <li>CIL 31742 states: P.NVMICIO/PICAE.CAESIANO/PRAEF.EQVITVM/VI.VIR.Q.PRO .PR/PROVINCIAE.ASIAE.TR.PL/PROVINCIAE.ASIA</li> <li>CIL 31743 states: P.NVMICIO.PICAE/CAESIANO.PRAEF.EQ/VI.VIR.Q.PRO.PR.PR OVINC.ASIAE/TR.PL/P.CORNELIVS.RVFINUS.C.AVTRONIVS.C ARVS/L.POMPONIVS.AESCHIN.SEX.AVFIDIVS.EVHODVS/Q.C ASSIDIENVS.NEDYM.T.MANLIVS.INVENTVS/C.VALERIVS.AL BANVS.SEX.AVFIDIVS.PRIMIGEN/PATRONO</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	A source for more information may exist in the Archivio di Stato "Quartiere Esquilino (Casa Piacentini)" ID: 20, Faldone 1 – Anno 1873 – found in this "Indice per toponimi dei giornali di scavo." The precise function of these trapezophora, traditionally thought of as decorative table legs, is unknown. The position on a long table would seem to have obscured the view of the inscriptions themselves, which would be expected to be prominent. Eck suggests an under-life-sized equestrian statue may have stood on top of them (Eck 2010, 96-98).
Plan location	For a plan of the basic walls uncovered see Lanciani's Forma Vrbis Romae, plate XVII. For a photograph of one of the inscriptions, see Eck 2010, fig. 3.1.

Field	Data
	Eck, W. 1995. " <i>Domus</i> P. Numicius Pica Caesianus" In <i>Lexicon</i> <i>topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 146. Roma: Quasar.
	Eck, W. 2010. "Emperor and senatorial aristocracy in competition." In <i>The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual</i> , edited by Björn C. Ewald, Carlos F. Noreña. 89-110. Cambridge University Press.
	Henzen, G. 1873. "Intorno ad una Lapide Onoraria Latina." in Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica: 130-141.
Bibliography	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. pars IV, fasc. II Additamenta.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1874. "Archeologica Municipale." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> II (oct-dic):222-223.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Stevenson, Enrico. 1877. "Scoperte di antichi edifizi al Laterano," Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica 49: 332-384.
	Visconti, C. L. 1873. "Archeologica Municipale." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> I (mag-ago):165-166.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.17
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Orfiti
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Crescentiani; Domus Piacentini

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Start Year	270
Time Period 01 End Year	356
Time Period 01 Description	The inscriptions refer to Miemmius Vitrasius Orfitus, who could either have been consul in 270, suggested by Visconti and Lanciani, or been the father-in- law of Symmachus, who lived in the mid-fourth century, circa 353-356 CE (Visconti 1873, 168; Chastagnol 1962, 139; Lanciani 1874, 222).
Excavation history	Sig. Pio Piacentini excavated this area for the foundation of his palazzo in 1873 at the corner of via Principe Amadeo and Viminale (then Strozzi). It revealed <i>domūs</i> , believed to be the residences of Publius Numicius Pica Cesianus and Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus (Lanciani 1874, 222). There was the discovery at this time of an inscription dedicated by a Crescentianus actor Orfiti to the pagan deity Silvanus (Visconti 1873, 165; Stevenson 1877, 370). Four honorific statue bases (CIL VI 1739-42) were also found near the Lateran, next to the sancta Sanctorum, and are believed to refer to the house, on the Celius, of Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus Honorius, whose prefecture was from 353 to 356 CE (Chastagnol 1962, 139). These would be part of a separate property belonging to the fourth century Orfitus, where the 1873 discovery could be the third century Orfitus (Stevenson 1877, 370).
Description of Rooms	The remains are not well published, but the basic walls discovered can be seen in Lanciani's Forma Vrbis Romae (Lanciani 1901, pl. XVII).
Structural building techniques	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>An inscription found in 1873 states <ul> <li>"S.D.D.EX.VOTO/CAMARAM.ET/PARETES.SVIS/IMPENDIS.A. NOVO/VESTIBIT.CRESCENTIAN/ACTOR.ORFITI/C.P." The S.D.D. could stand for Silvano Dono Datum, Silvano Datum Dicatum, or Silvano Deo Domestico, indicating a votive to Silvanus in the <i>atrium</i> or near the entrance of the house, according to Visconti (Visconti 1873, 165).</li> <li>CIL VI 1739 – was recorded by Mafei Vegio in the fifteenth century from next to the sancta Sanctorum states <ul> <li>"HONORI/MEMMIO.VITRASIO.ORFITO.V.C/NOBILITATE.ET.A</li> </ul> </li> </ul></li></ul>

Field	Data
	CTIBVS.PRAECIPVO/PRAEFECTO.VRBI.ET.ITERVM.PRAE/FEC
	TO.VRBI.PROCONSVLI.AFRICAE/ET.TERTIO.SACRARVM.CO
	GNITIONVM/IVDICI.COMITI.ORDINIS.PRIMI.ITERVM/INTRA.
	CONSISTORIVM.LEGATO.SECVN/DO.DIFFICILLIMIS.TEMPOR
	IBVS.PETI/TV.SENATVS.ET.P.R.COMITI.ORDINIS/SECVNDI.EX
	PEDITIONES.BELLICAS/GVBERNANTI.CONSVLARI.PROVINC
	IAE/SICILIAE.PONTIF.DEAE.VESTAE.XV/VIRO.S.F.PONTIF.DE
	I.SOLIS.CONSVLI/PRAETORI.Q.k/CORPVS.PISTORVM.MAGNA
	RIORVM/ET.CASTRENSARIORVM.STATVAM/SVB.AERE.CON
	STITVIT." (CIL VI 1739).
	- CIL VI 1740 – was recorded by Mafei Vegio in the fifteenth century
	from next to the sancta Sanctorum states
	"HONORI/MEMmIO•VITRASIO•ORFITO•V•C/NOBILITATE•ET•
	ACTIBVS•PRAE/CIPVO•PRAEFECTO•VRBI•ET•/ITERVM•PRAE
	F•VRB•proCOS•AFRICAE/AC•TERTIO•SACRAR•COGNITIONV
	M/IVDICI•COMITI•ORDINIS•PRIMI/ITERVM•INTRA•CONSISTO
	RIVM•LEG/ATO•SECVNDO•DIFFICILLIMIS•TEMP/ORIBVS•PE
	TITV•SENATVS•ET.P•R/COM•ORO•II•EXPEDITIONES•BEL/LIC
	AS•GVBERNANTI•COS•PROVIN/SIcILIAE•PONTIF•DEAE•VEST
	AE/XV•VIRO•S•F•PONTIF•DEI•SOLIS•/COS•PRAeTORI•Q•k/CO
	RPVS•NAVICVLARIORVM/STATVAM.SVB.AERE./CONSTITVI
	T." (CIL VI 1740).
	- CIL VI $1741 = D$ . $1243 - was$ recorded by Mafei Vegio in the fifteenth
	century from next to the sancta Sanctorum states
	"HONORI/MEMMIO.VITRASIO.ORFITO.V.C/GENERE•NOBILI•
	DOMI•FORISQVE•AD/EXEMPLVM•VETERVM•CONTINENTIA•
	IVS/TITIA•CONSTANTIA•PROVIDENTIA•OMNI/BVSQYE•VIRT VTIBVS•SEMPER•INLVSTRI/PRAEF•VRBI•NON•MVLTO•INTE
	RPOSITO/TEMPORE•ITERVM•PRAEF•VRBI•PROCONSVLI/AFR
	ICAE•CO.MITI•ORDINIS•PRIMI•ITEM/CO.MITI•INTRA•CONSIS
	TORIVM•ORDINIS/PRIMI•LEGATO•PETITV•SENATVS•POPVLI
	Q.ROMANI•CO.MITI•ORDINIS•SECVNDI/CONSVLARI•PROVI
	NCIAE•SICILIAE•PONTI/FICI•MAIORI•VESTAE•Q VINDECIM•
	VIRO•S•F/PONTIFICI•SOLIS•CONSVLI•PRAETORI•QVAE/STOR
	I•k•ATQVE•HIS•OMNIBVS•AB
	IPSA/IVVENTVTE•PERFVNCTO•OB•EIVS•TEM/PORIBVS•DIFFI
	CILLIMIS•EGREGIAS•AC/SALVTARES•PROVISIONES/SVSCEP
	TORVM•OSTIENSIVM•SIVE•PORTV/ENSIVM•ANTIQYISSIMV
	M•CORPVS•OB/VTILITATEM.VRBIS.ROMAE.RECREATVM/ST
	ATVAM.CONSTITUIT." (CIL VI 1741).
	- CIL VI 1742 – was recorded by Mafei Vegio in the fifteenth century
	from next to the sancta Sanctorum states
	"HONORI/MEMMIO.VITRASIO.ORFITO.V.C/NOBILITATE.ET.A
	CTIBVSQVE•AD•EXEM/PLVM•PRAECIPVO•PRAEFECTO•VRBI

Field	Data
	/ET•ITERVM•PRAEFECTO•VRBI•PROCON/SVLI•AFRICAE•AC• TERTIO•SACRARVM/.COGNITIONVM•IVDICI•CO.MITI•IN/CO NSISTORIO•ORDINIS•PRIMI•LE/GATO•SECVNDO•DIFFICILLI MIS•TEM/PORIBVS•PETITV•SENATVS•ET•P•R/CO.MITI•ORDIN IS•SECVNDI•EXPEDITION/BELLICAS•GVBERNANTI•CONSVL ARI•SICIL/PONTIFICI•SOL1s••PONTIFICI•VESTAE/XV•VIRO•S• F•CONSVLI•PRAETORI•Q.K•OM/NIBVSQ•PERFVNCTO•HONO RIS•INTRA/AETATIS•PRIMORDIA•0B•PROVIDENTIAM/ET•ST ATVM•OPTIMVM•VRBI•ROMAE•AB•EO/REDDITVM•CORPVS• OMNIVM•.MANCI/PVM•STATVA.M•SVB•AERE•CONSTITVIT." (CIL VI 1742).
Additional notable points	<ul> <li>The Orfitus family is mentioned in Tacitus. Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus Messala adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat: sponte ex ⟨sc⟩ accusationem subisse iuvenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae videbatur; et Sulpicia Praetextata Crassi uxor quattuorque liberi, si cognosceret senatus, ultores aderant (Hist. 4.42, source Perseus).</li> <li>Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, whose inscriptions were found near the Lateran, was the father-in-law of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, an important historical figure in the fourth century (Cameron 1996, 18; Chastagnol 1962, 146).</li> <li>A source for more information may exist in the Archivio di Stato "Quartiere Esquilino (Casa Piacentini)" ID: 20, Faldone 1 – Anno 1873 – found in this "Indice per toponimi dei giornali di Scavo."</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the basic walls uncovered see Lanciani 1901, plate XVII.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Cameron, Alan. 1996. "Orfitus and Constantius: a note on Roman gold-glasses." Journal of Roman Archaeology. vol. 9: 295-301.</li> <li>Chastagnol, André. 1962. Les Fastes De La Préfecture De Rome Au Bas- Empire. Etudes Prosopographiques. Paris: Nouvelles editions latines.</li> <li>Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus S. Honorius." In Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 149. Roma: Quasar.</li> <li>Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1874. "Archeologica Municipale." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> II (oct-dic):222-223.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Stevenson, Enrico. 1877. "Scoperte di antichi edifizi al Laterano," Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica 49: 332-384.
	Tacitus, Cornelius. Historiae. 4.42
	Visconti, C. L. 1873. "Archeologica Municipale." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> I (mag-ago):165-166.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.18
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus dei Ritratti
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus in the area of Santa Croce
Time Period 01 Start Year	1
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	An <i>opus reticulatum</i> wall dated to the first century CE was reused as a foundation in the rear of the <i>domus</i> (Borgia 2008b, 29).
Time Period 02 Years	193-235
Time Period 02 Description	The style of the figurative mosaics resembles the style of the Late Severan period, and they may have been created before the construction of this house and reused (Borgia 2008b, 31).

Field	Data
Time Period 03 Years	301-330
Time Period 03 Description	G. Iacopi suggested a dating of the construction of this <i>domus</i> and the adjacent <i>domus</i> della Fontana to the first decades of the fourth century. This date is supported by the large-tiled mosaic and <i>opus vittatum</i> construction, which correlate to the Constantinian construction techniques in the Constantinian phase of the reuse of the circus Varianus. Also, the construction of the <i>domus</i> has a terminus post quem of 275 CE due to the relationship to the Aurelian walls (Borgia 2008b, 30-31).
Time Period 04 Years	393-423
Time Period 04 Description	At an unknown date in the late fourth century, the <i>domus</i> and the adjacent <i>domus</i> della Fontana were intentionally destroyed, as was indicated by the collapsed debris on the mosaic floor levels, and levelling materials found in the soil above. This was possibly done in association with restoration works on the Aurelian walls undertaken by Honorius (Borgia 2008b, 31).
Excavation history	Two <i>domus</i> were excavated within the compound of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme near the Aurelian walls. This <i>domus</i> , the <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti, and another adjacent <i>domus</i> , the <i>domus</i> della Fontana (see cat entry V.19). In March 1959 the area of the former barracks called, "Principe di Piemonte" was excavated, a project led by Dr. V. Scrinari. Soprintendente G. Iacopi reported to newspapers about the discovery of more than a half a dozen rooms relating to fourth century houses adorned with black and white mosaics. These excavations continued until 1962, and the remains of the <i>domus</i> were restored at that time. These <i>domus</i> were the focus of archaeological investigation in 1999-2000, and restoration work as a part of the 2000 Jubilee (Borgia 2008b, 28-29).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti makes up the west side of a set of rooms that form two <i>domus</i> . The <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti includes six rooms and two further courtyards. It occupies an area of about 278 square meters and is connected on the northeast side to the Aurelian walls. The <i>domus</i> included an upper floor, as is indicated by the evidence of ceiling beams in the Aurelian walls at a height of 2.80 meters. For both <i>domūs</i> , <i>cubicula</i> are suggested for upper floors, as they were not found on the ground floor.
	On the ground floor four service rooms, paved in bipedal paving tiles, are found, the three east/southeastern-most rooms and the southwestern-most room. Four central rooms are decorated as presentation rooms with decorative black and white mosaics, paired with bright plastered walls in burgundy, red,

Field	Data
	and gold colors. Among the service rooms, a room paved in bipedal bricks likely functioned as a cucina, as it includes a small tub for water with a drain, paved in opus signinum. On the far northwest, an open courtyard, paved in mosaics with large tiles, provided light for the <i>domus</i> . This courtyard is connected by a large entrance to a large decorative room, functioning as an <i>aula</i> -courtyard. In the center of the mosaic of this room is found a marble insert, which is also seen in a similar room in the adjacent <i>domus</i> della Fontana. The three other presentation rooms are more closed off. Colli suggests the easternmost room in this <i>domus</i> , as a study, rather than a dining focused room (Borgia 2008b, 28-30).
Structural building techniques	The service rooms are paved in bipedal bricks, where the presentation rooms were paved in black and white mosaics. One service room includes a tub, lined to hold water, which included drains, and was paved in opus signinum. The courtyard mosaics were paved in large tiles. The building is constructed in <i>opus vittatum</i> (Borgia 2008b, 28-31).
	Mosaics:
Finds from the site	- Two black and white mosaics with black stylized vine patterns and a central black bust length portrait on a white background were found. One of the portraits is a male and the other is a female. The female wears the NestFrisur hairstyle made popular by Julia Domna (Borgia 2008b, 30-31). A third mosaic with a black vine pattern on a white background, with a central marble slab was found. A fourth mosaic with a simpler stylized pattern of overlapping circles or clovers was found.
Additional notable points	This <i>domus</i> is compared in plan and arrangement to the Ostian <i>domus</i> del Ninfeo and <i>domus</i> di Amore e Psiche, dated to the Constantinian period by Pavolini (Borgia 2008b, 31).
Plan location	For a plan of the excavated area of this <i>domus</i> and the adjacent <i>domus</i> see Borgia 2008b, fig. 45.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008.</li> <li>"Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte I." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 2008 (124):1-17.</li> <li>Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008b.</li> <li>"Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 2008 (125):18-41.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
	Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza. 1985. <i>Roma: archeologia nel centro 6, II: La "città murata", Lavori e studi di archeologia</i> . Roma: de Luca.
	De' Spagnolis, Marisa. 1985. "Domus in Via Eleniana." In <i>Roma: Archeologia</i> <i>Nel Centro 6, II: La "Città Murata" Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia</i> , edited by Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza. <i>Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia</i> , 337-44. Roma: de Luca.
	Di Bene, Anna. 1997. "Ipotesi Di Recupero Dell'area Archeologica Da S. Giovanni a Via Eleniana." In <i>La Basilica Di S. Croce in Gerusalemme a</i> <i>Roma: Quando L'antico E' Futuro</i> , edited by Anna Maria Affanni, 115-22. Roma: BetaGamma editrice.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 40. Roma: Quasar.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.19
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus della Fontana
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus in the area of Santa Croce
Time Period 01 Start Year	1

Field	Data
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	An <i>opus reticulatum</i> wall dated to the first century CE was reused as a foundation in the rear of the <i>domus</i> (Borgia 2008b, 29).
Time Period 02 Years	193-235
Time Period 02 Description	The style of the figurative mosaics resembles the style of the Late Severan period, and they may have been created before the construction of this house and reused (Borgia 2008b, 31).
Time Period 03 Years	301-330
Time Period 03 Description	G. Iacopi suggested a dating of the construction of this <i>domus</i> and the adjacent <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti to the first decades of the fourth century. This date is supported by the large-tiled mosaic and <i>opus vittatum</i> construction, which correlate to the Constantinian construction techniques in the Constantinian phase of the reuse of the circus Varianus. Also, the construction of the <i>domus</i> has a terminus post quem of 275 CE due to the relationship to the Aurelian walls (Borgia 2008b, 30-31).
Time Period 04 Years	393-423
Time Period 04 Description	At an unknown date in the late fourth century, the <i>domus</i> and the adjacent <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti were intentionally destroyed, as was indicated by the collapsed debris on the mosaic floor levels, and levelling materials found in the soil above. This was possibly done in association with restoration works on the Aurelian walls undertaken by Honorius (Borgia 2008b, 31).
Excavation history	Two <i>domūs</i> were excavated within the compound of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme near the Aurelian walls. This <i>domus</i> , the <i>domus</i> della Fontana, and another adjacent <i>domus</i> , the <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti. In March 1959 the area of the former barracks called, "Principe di Piemonte" was excavated, a project led by Dr. V. Scrinari. Soprintendente G. Iacopi reported to newspapers about the discovery of more than a half a dozen rooms relating to fourth century houses adorned with black and white mosaics. These excavations continued until 1962, and the remains of the <i>domus</i> were restored at that time. These <i>domūs</i> were the focus of archaeological investigation in 1999-2000, and restoration

Field	Data
	work as a part of the 2000 Jubilee (Borgia 2008b, 28-29).
	The <i>domus</i> della Fontana makes up the east side of a set of rooms from two <i>domūs</i> . It includes around five rooms and two courtyard spaces. It occupies an area of about179 square meters and is connected on the north-east side to the Aurelian walls. The <i>domus</i> included an upper floor, as is indicated by the evidence of ceiling beams in the Aurelian walls at a height of 2.80 meters. For both <i>domūs</i> , <i>cubicula</i> are suggested for upper floors, as they were not found on the ground floor.
Description of Rooms	On the ground floor the three easternmost rooms were service rooms paved in bipedal paving tiles, nest to the Aurelian walls. The four westernmost rooms are decorated as presentation rooms with decorative black and white mosaics, paired with bright plastered walls in burgundy, red, and gold colors. As in the adjacent <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti, a room paved in bipedal bricks likely functioned as a cucina, as it includes a small tub for water with a drain, paved in opus signinum. Also similar to the adjacent <i>domus</i> , an open courtyard paved in a mosaic with large tiles, here on the far east, provided light. This <i>domus</i> , however, contains a semi-circular fountain, covered in white marble slabs. This courtyard is connected by a large entrance to a large decorative room, functioning as an <i>aula</i> -courtyard. In the center of the mosaic of this room is found a marble insert, as already seen in a similar room in the adjacent <i>domus</i> dei Ritratti. This room is attached to the other presentation rooms, which are more closed off. Another room, just southwest of the courtyard has unknown function, suggested as a study by Colli, and unknown paving (Borgia 2008b, 28-30).
Structural building techniques	The service rooms are paved in bipedal bricks, where the presentation rooms were paved in black and white mosaics. One service room includes a tub, lined to hold water, which included drains, and was paved in opus signinum. The courtyard mosaics were paved in large tiles. The building is constructed in <i>opus vittatum</i> (Borgia 2008b, 28-31).
	Mosaics:
Finds from the site	- Three black and white mosaics with simple geometric patterns of overlapping circles, clovers, and shapes were found. A fourth mosaic with a black stylized vine pattern on a white background, around a central marble insert, was found.
Additional notable points	This <i>domus</i> is compared in plan and arrangement to the Ostian <i>domus</i> del Ninfeo and <i>domus</i> di Amore e Psiche, dated to the Constantinian period by Pavolini (Borgia 2008b, 31).

and the adjacent domus see	
no, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. ove acquisizioni da interventi	

Plan location	For a plan of the excavated area of this <i>domus</i> and the adjacent <i>domus</i> see Borgia 2008b, fig. 45.
	Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte I." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 2008 (124):1-17.
	Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008b. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> 2008 (125):18-41.
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
Bibliography	Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza. 1985. <i>Roma: archeologia nel centro 6, II: La "città murata", Lavori e studi di archeologia</i> . Roma: de Luca.
	De' Spagnolis, Marisa. 1985. "Domus in Via Eleniana." In <i>Roma: Archeologia</i> <i>Nel Centro 6, II: La "Città Murata" Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia</i> , edited by Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza. <i>Lavori E Studi Di Archeologia</i> , 337-344. Roma: de Luca.
	Di Bene, Anna. 1997. "Ipotesi Di Recupero Dell'area Archeologica Da S. Giovanni a Via Eleniana." In <i>La Basilica Di S. Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma:</i> <i>Quando L'antico E' Futuro</i> , edited by Anna Maria Affanni, 115-22. Roma: BetaGamma editrice.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 40. Roma: Quasar.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	van den Hout, Michael Petrus Josephus. 1999. A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Field

Data

Field Data
------------

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.20
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula Sant'Anastasia
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Insula Titulus Anastasia
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	1
Time Period 01 Description	The first period of construction consists of 60 cm thick walls, aligned roughly with the Circus Maximus, made of tufa and resembling a <i>horrea</i> . Whitehead dates it to the same period of construction as the <i>horrea</i> Agrippiana based on construction techniques. A secondary façade was constructed in travertine, when the fronts of the rooms remaining were cut to clear the area for the later <i>insula</i> . The back wall toward the Palatine slope is 1.2 meters thick (Whitehead 1927, 406).
Time Period 02 Years	1-64
Time Period 02 Description	The first phase of the <i>insula</i> , constructed in peperino with fine stone arches, is dated based on construction technique to the first half of the first century by Whiteheads, restorations of the arches in brick appear to have followed the fire of Nero in roughly 64 CE. The large brick wall with doorways into the rooms of the former <i>horrea</i> is probably also a restoration at this time (Whitehead 1927, 407).
Time Period 03 Years	101-250
Time Period 03 Description	In the second century the entire <i>insula</i> was rebuilt in brick-faced concrete. While the brick stamps date to the time of Hadrian, there is a wide variety and the construction technique suggests a later date. This suggests a date of construction in the latter half of the second century, using earlier materials (Whitehead 1927, 407). The shop-residential complex of the <i>insula</i> was altered

Field	Data
	multiple times through the middle of the third century (Snyder 2003, 150).
Time Period 04 Years	250-300
Time Period 04 Description	The southeast side of the building had thick walls, 2.35 meters wide, in brick- faced concrete added in the late third century. Whitehead suggests these may have been for a new area of seating for the Circus Maximus. However, they appear to have been at least partially unfinished, and were instead shored up and the remaining shops left open (Whitehead 1927, 408-410).
Time Period 05 Years	275-325
Time Period 05 Description	Between the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries, the <i>insula</i> was restored and the peperino pilasters encased in brick faced concrete piers. The building may have connected at a higher level with the imperial palace in this period (Whitehead 1927, 410).
Time Period 06 Years	366-384
Time Period 06 Description	The church was built into the <i>insula</i> in the mid-fourth century, Synder suggests under Pope Damasus (Snyder 2003, 150). An inscription states that the church was once decorated with paintings by Pope Damasus (Whithead 1927, 411-412). The vaults of the <i>insula</i> were perforated, likely at the time of the construction of the church, and the lower rooms filled with debris (Bergau 1863, 115).
Time Period 07 Years	492-600
Time Period 07 Description	The name <i>titulus</i> Anastasia was only transferred with the cult from Constantinople in the sixth century (Snyder 2003, 150). The synod of 492 CE mentions the priest of S. Anastasia "sub Palatio" (Bergau 1863, 113).
Excavation history	Between 1857 and 1863 the church was excavated (Whitehead, 405). Detlefsen also mentions further rooms of the ancient buildings at S. Anastasia having been excavated a few years before in the orto Nussiner (Detlefsen 1859, 139). The church was excavated by order of S. Eminenza the Cardinal of Reisach under the supervision of the architect Fontana (Bergau 1863, 113). Whitehead examined and measured the remains visible in 1927 and published the first fully

Field	Data
	accurate plan (Whitehead 1927, 406).
Description of Rooms	The church of Santa Anastasia was constructed, somewhat like Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (see cat. entry II.01), into an ancient Roman <i>insula</i> (Snyder 2003, 150). The side closest to the Palatine includes two small rooms from the first <i>horrea</i> phase of the structure. In the second phase, an <i>insula</i> was added on the side facing the Circus Maximus. Only the peperino pilasters at the façade remain from this period. The cornice on these peperino pilasters is an unusual example of decorative architectural ornament in peperino. The interior rooms are long, constructed in brick faced concrete, and open on both the northeast and southwest side. On the southeast side the rooms are somewhat obscured by later thick support walls (Whitehead 1927, 406-409).
	Large ancient rooms, filled with debris, were found under the church structure. 54 palmi (12.06 meters) under the modern pavement an ancient street 30 palmi (6.7 meters) wide was found, parallel to the via dei Cerchi, with rows of brick arches on either side. The arches on the western side are a part of the substructures of the Circus Maximus, as a portico with shops. The eastern arcade is the older of the two, and supports a construction in tufa. Inside the arches were doors formed by flat arches, and there were windows above. The doors' thresholds in large pieces of travertine are still visible. Large rooms, deeper than the width of the church, stood behind this row of arches. The rooms, running north to south, communicated among themselves through doors. Some of the southern rooms were ten steps taller than the others. Roughly painted fresco traces were found on the walls. Bergau suggests these rooms functioned as substructures and storage for the large building above (Bergau 1863, 113-116).
Structural building techniques	The brickwork discovered in the 1860's was dated based on construction technique to the late antique period. The bricks were well made, but had large spaces between them, and the form of the arches was looser than the first century constructions nearby on the Palatine. The rooms behind the arches were large and formed with barrel vaults (volte a tondo). One room was paved in brick tiles (Bergau 1863, 114). The first structures were constructed in thick tufa, and then the <i>insula</i> was inserted on the side away from the Palatine, originally constructed entirely in Peperino. In the second century this building was rebuilt, and only the façade of peperino remained, with the interior walls constructed in brick-faced concrete (Whitehead 1927, 406-407).
Finds from the site	Stamps: - A brick stamp of 141 CE was discovered that states "EX FASIN QVADODCNVNFORT/SEVERO ESTLOGA/COS" (Bergau 1863, 114).

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>Two brick stamps were found near the brick wall at the rooms of the former <i>horrea</i> believed to be a restoration after the Neronian fire. CIL XV I 986a (Dressel dates this to 50-79 CE), CIL XV I 1186 (Dressel dates this to the end of the first or beginning of the second century) (Whitehead 1927, 407).</li> <li>More brick stamps were found in situ on bipedals in the second century rebuilt <i>insula</i>. Whitehead notes Dressel's dates for these stamps: CIL XV I 118, 60-93 CE; CIL XV I 119, 60-93 CE; CIL XV I 1097, end of first century.; CIL XV I 962a, reign of Hadrian before 123 CE; CIL XV I 61, reign of Trajan; CIL XV I 962a, reign of Hadrian before 123 CE; CIL XV I 962b, reign of Hadrian before123 CE (Whitehead 1927, 407).</li> <li>Brick stamps found in the third century support walls suggest reuse of earlier material, likely from the vaults of the previous period of the same structure. Whitehead cites Dressel's dates for the following brick stamps found: CIL XV I 117a, 60-93 CE, CIL XV I 1097, end of first century, CIL XV I 1075, between 100 and 125 CE, CIL XV I 223, about 140 CE (Whitehead 1927, 409).</li> <li>Art:         <ul> <li>Two marble sculpture heads were found in 1859 (Bergau 1863, 116). One is in the form of a herm with round male head with curly hair, suggested to be Greek, and the other with a cracked neck, two bands on the head and curly hair (Detlefsen 1859, 142).</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the different periods of Roman remains, see Whitehead 1927, plate XI.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Basso, Patrizia, and Francesca Ghedini. 2003. Subterraneae domus: ambienti residenziali e di servizio nell'edilizia privata romana. Caselle di Sommacampagna (Verona): Cierre.</li> <li>Bergau, A. 1863. "I. Scavi: Scavi sotto la chiesa di S. Anastasia." Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (7):113-116.</li> <li>Detlefsen, D. 1859. "Scavi sotto la chiesa di S. Anastasia." Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (7):139-142.</li> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.</li> <li>Junyent, E. 1930. "La maison romaine du titre de S. Anastasie." Rivista di archeologia cristiana 7:91-106.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Krautheimer, Richard, Spencer Corbett, Volfango Frankl, and Institute of Fine Arts New York University. 1937. <i>Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae:</i> <i>Le basiliche cristiane antiche di Roma (sec. IV-IX) = The early Christian</i> <i>basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.). 5 vols, Monumenti di antichite cristiana</i> , New York: Institute of Fine Arts.
	Pietri, Charles. Roma christiana. I:461-464.
	Snyder, G.F. 2003. Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine: Mercer University Press.
	Whitehead, Philip Barrows. 1927. "The Church of Anastasia in Rome." <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 31:405-420.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.21a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Republican <i>domus</i> under San Pietro in Vincoli
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Casa in <i>opus quadratum</i> , Casa con pavimenti a mosaico, Casa con pavimenti di <i>opus signinum</i> e mosaico
Time Period 01 Start Year	300 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	201 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The earliest Republican house is called the Casa in opus quadratum, and has five rooms, including two with simple flooring, one unpaved, and a possible cistern. The house is dated to the third century BCE based on the structure, materials uses, primitive flooring, and the discovery of Etruscan-Campanian ceramics under them from the earliest phases of habitation in this area (Colini 1966, 11-13).

Field	Data
Time Period 02 Years	133/100 BCE – 78 BCE
Time Period 02 Description	The second phase of this house, considered a separate structure, is called the Casa con pavimenti a mosaico. It also contains five rooms, including some with black and white mosaic pavings, and a possible cistern. This house lies around 50 cm above the floor level of the previous house. The similarity of style of the mosaics to those in the Casa dei Grifi suggests the possibility of similar wall painting and similar dating to the Casa dei Grifi, dated to the beginning of the first century BCE (Colini 1966, 13-15, 20). From the second phase of Republican occupation in this area, remains of another <i>domus</i> are called the Casa con pavimenti di opus signinum e mosaico. It has five to six rooms to the southwest of the previous houses. Its rooms include mosaic pavings of great quality and opus signinum paving. These pavings are dated roughly to the beginning of the first BCE as in the Casa con pavimenti a mosaico. The house could have been constructed however as early as the late second century BCE based on comparison with the House of Attalus in Pergamum. This house was destroyed to make way for a monument, dedicated in 78 BCE (Colini 1966, 15-20).
Time Period 03 Years	78 BCE - 50
Time Period 03 Description	Both remaining republican houses were destroyed and leveled to the floor level at a point for a new construction with a different orientation. This phase sitting on top of the republican floor traces only has traces of walls remaining, no floors (Colini 1966, 20).
Excavation history	In 1876 an excavation under Vespignani took place for the construction of the Confession of S. Pietro in Vincoli. In 1901 Lanciani records the presence of a large apsed room facing the opposite direction of the current basilica on the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> found under Vespignani. A few other excavations found fragments of architectural remains under the portico and stairway in 1890 and 1895 (Colini 1966, 5; Lanciani 1901, XXII-XXIII). Excavations took place under the cloister in 1949 (Colini 1966, 52). The remains were reviewed, and the majority of the archaeological study took place when renovating the floor of the church between 1956 and 1958. At this point the remains of a <i>domus</i> were found with multiple construction periods between the fourth century BCE and 410 CE (Coarelli 2014, 191).
Description of Rooms	The earliest republican house consists of two areas, which cannot be definitely bound as one structure, as remains of the second period interrupt them. The first of the two areas consists of rooms paved in <i>opus signinum</i> , parallel to an

Field	Data
	unpaved area with parallel central row of blocks similar to the foundation blocks of the house. The second area consists of a space with an aligned pavement in tufa blocks (Colini 1966, 11-13). The second phase of republican housing includes portions of two <i>domūs</i> , one with black and white mosaic pavings, and another with both mosaic and high-quality <i>opus signinum</i> pavings. The first house with mosaic pavings contains remains of two rooms with mosaics, indications of two further rooms, and a possible cistern. The walls of this <i>domus</i> were razed to the level of the pavings. The paved rooms include a larger room with the south corner remaining. This room forms an L, with the empty center portion possibly indicating it as having had the form of an <i>atrium</i> or peristyle. The mosaic has small black crosses on a white ground, and internal and external bands surrounding the central corridor. The room rests directly next to the smaller room, 3.9 x 5 meters, which is rectangular, and has crossed black lines on a white ground with a black border band. The other two rooms are only traces (Colini 1966, 13-15).
	The second house is separated from the first by the later <i>cryptoporticus</i> . The remains begin on the side nearer the first <i>domus</i> with the corner of a room with a white mosaic with two black bands. The room had two doors, one with a threshold made of marble, and the other made of white mosaic constructed larger tesserae. The construction style of the latter suggests it was added, rather than original to the house. The next room, which also has only a corner visible, had a mosaic with large irregular pieces of marble mixed across a black ground. Adjacent and southeast of these rooms is a large room with a fine white mosaic with two black bands as a border. The room contained a circular well 56 cm in diameter. This room connects on the southwest with the other remaining rooms. The room opened to the west/southwest through a door 0.8 meters wide with a threshold in a mosaic with a double greek key pattern with shading. Only this border of the mosaic remains. Colini suggests the room to be a <i>cubiculum</i> . A section of find black mosaic on the north side may indicate a change to the room after construction. Further to the west/southwest, the next room is 4.10 meters wide and paved in very fine red opus signinum with a spread of white, black, and green large tesserae, and white small tesserae across it. In the center was an emblema, which like the previous room is missing its center. The border, also similar in a greek key, remains. The southern end of the room was extended and shows a band of red opus signinum with only white tesserae, as further evidence of a rebuilding phase within this <i>domus</i> . The western/southwestern-most room appears to have been a service area or external space. This service area had a simple opus signinum floor inserted at a later period (Colini 1966, 15-18).

Field	Data
Structural building techniques	The oldest republican house remains were constructed in <i>opus quadratum</i> of tufo di Grotta Oscura. Only the lowest row, at an average height of 0.33 meters, remains. The walls in the room with opus signinum pavement contain traces of plaster over a layer of clay on the walls. A fragment of a decorative red pavement in opus signinum with a meander pattern in light quadrilateral tesserae was found nearby, and may have been from a different room in the same house (Colini 1966, 11-13). The walls of the second republican phase houses were constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> . The houses had black and white mosaics and the second house also had opus signinum of high-quality. The marble fragments found in the black ground mosaic in the second house of the second republican phase included portasanta, pavonazzetto, and alabastro fasciato (Colini 1966, 15-17). The well was made in part from a <i>dolium</i> and led down to a triangular drain made of blocks of cappellaccio, 0.4 meters wide and tall (Colini 1966, 16).
Finds from the site	
Plan location	See Colini 1966, Tav. IV for the Republican period <i>domus</i> , Tav. VI for the <i>aula</i> room, and Tav. VII for the fourth and fifth century basilica. See Fig. 64 for the large imperial <i>domus</i> reconstruction plan with multiple phases of construction.
	<ul> <li>Basso, Patrizia, and Francesca Ghedini. 2003. Subterraneae domus: ambienti residenziali e di servizio nell'edilizia privata romana. Caselle di Sommacampagna (Verona): Cierre.</li> <li>Cifani, Gabriele. 2008. Architettura Romana Arcaica: Edilizia E Società Tra Monarchia E Repubblica. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.</li> </ul>
Bibliography	Coarelli, Filippo, James Joseph Clauss, Daniel P. Harmon, J. Anthony Clauss, Pierre A. MacKay. 2014. <i>Rome and environs: an archaeological guide.</i> <i>Updated edition</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Carlo Buzzetti. 1963-1964. "Il Fagutale e le sue adiacenze nell'epoca antica," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti. Roma</i> XXXVI: 75-91.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Guglielmo Matthiae. 1966. <i>Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli: I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III</i> , Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 2001. "Distribuzione topografica, architettura e arredo

Field	Data
	delle domus tardoantiche." Aurea Roma: 134-136.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Lansford, Tyler. 2009. <i>The Latin inscriptions of Rome: a walking guide</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to Underground Rome: From Cloaca Massima to Domus Aurea: The Most Fascinating Underground Sites of the Capital = Guida Di Roma Sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	V.21b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Imperial <i>domus</i> under San Pietro in Vincoli
Other Domus/Insula Names	Casa in <i>opus quadratum</i> , Casa con pavimenti a mosaico, Casa con pavimenti di <i>opus signinum</i> e mosaico
Time Period 01 Start Year	41
Time Period 01 End Year	68
Time Period 01 Description	The first phase of the imperial era <i>domus</i> , particularly, the Cryptoporticus in a U shape of this <i>domus</i> appeared in the second half of the first century CE (Basso 2003, 334-335, 337). Particularly, the <i>opus mixtum</i> and use of tiles in this phase of construction is characteristic of the Claudian-Neronian period, possibly dated to the time of the <i>Domus</i> Transitoria, or just after the Neronian fire. There is a blue tub in the courtyard in this phase. The western <i>cryptoporticus</i> preserves traces of walls and vaults with glass paste mosaics with a border of shells and pumice, a style typical of the Claudian-Neronian period. Both the reuse of material from earlier buildings and the style of the mosaics suggest a date later in the Neronian period (Colini 1966, 55).

Field	Data
Time Period 02 Years	123-126
Time Period 02 Description	Hadrianic brick stamps dating to 123-126 CE were found on bipedals that cover a drain in the NW corner of the courtyard, dating the second phase of construction of the imperial <i>domus</i> (Colini 1966, 55).
Time Period 03 Years	138-161
Time Period 03 Description	The blue tub was replaced with a marble tub in the third phase, datable by brick stamps found in the bottom of the drain below to the age of Antoninus Pius, and only one portion of the channel is possibly remaining (Colini 1966, 55-56).
Time Period 04 Years	198-217/225
Time Period 04 Description	The fourth phase of construction on the imperial <i>domus</i> dates to the age of Caracalla or just after. The large hall on the courtyard is enriched and increased in size, moving it into the courtyard, to gain more light from the courtyard into the room. It used the remains of the blue bath as a foundation. The rest of the channel and half the blue tub were removed for this (Colini 1966, 56).
Time Period 05 Years	300-325
Time Period 05 Description	The final phase of the house shows the addition of the apse to the grand room in the courtyard in the early fourth century CE, and the paving of the courtyard in small marble slabs and fields of mosaic (Colini 1966, 56). The apsed hall is often thought to be a <i>domus ecclesia</i> , but there was no set evidence of worship found in the excavation to confirm or deny the hypothesis (Matthiae 1966, 64).
Time Period 06 Years	410
Time Period 06 Description	The <i>domus</i> was perhaps destroyed in the Sack of Alaric (Lansford 2009, 84).
Time Period 07 Years	439-440

Field	Data
Time Period 07 Description	The basilica was consecrated in the time of Sixtus the III (Matthiae 1966, 65).
Excavation history	In 1876 an excavation under Vespignani took place for the construction of the Confession of S. Pietro in Vincoli. In 1901 Lanciani records the presence of a large apsed room facing the opposite direction of the current basilica on the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> found under Vespignani. A few other excavations found fragments of architectural remains under the portico and stairway in 1890 and 1895 (Colini 1966, 5; Lanciani 1901, XXII-XXIII). Excavations took place under the cloister in 1949 (Colini 1966, 52). The remains were reviewed, and the majority of the archaeological study took place when renovating the floor of the church between 1956 and 1958. At this point the remains of a <i>domus</i> were found with multiple construction periods between the fourth century BCE and 410 CE (Coarelli 2014, 191).
Description of Rooms	In the imperial period the house had an underground <i>cryptoporticus</i> associated with the underground living spaces, below a porticoed courtyard or possibly peristyle. The overall plan of the imperial <i>domus</i> is incomplete but is reconstructed centered around the courtyard with columns and a large <i>aula</i> on one side. The porticoes above were constructed along the north and south sides, and probably also the west side, around a garden, which in the first period of construction contained a tub or pool, and on the east side a large <i>aula</i> stood, 10.55 m wide by 16.30 m long, flanked by smaller rooms (Colini 1966, 23). This overall plan can be compared to the <i>domus</i> Azara (see cat entry V.01). The rooms to the east may have been entered by means of wooden steps in the first periods, as a water channel ran along the sides of the courtyard blocking the <i>aula</i> entrance. The <i>aula</i> room is large in proportion to the overall space, and was paved in a fine, but simple, cipollino floor, likely from the second century renovation based on comparison to the style of the portico. The walls of the room would have had marble decoration at least on the lower part (Colini 1966, 52-54). The remains include a modest apsidal hall, although there is no evidence of Christian use (Lansford 2009, 84). There is also a three lobed room next to the hall in late antique style (Guidobaldi 2001, 134). To the east side the <i>cryptoporticus</i> included a walkway with black and white mosaic pavement, to the west it was a series of four excavated intercommunicating rooms, and at least a fifth visible to the north, and the southern passage has not been explored. Of the explored rooms 1-4, only the
	central rooms 2 and 3 were decorated, room 2 with a mosaic vault with squares indicated by shells, and room 3 with a black and white mosaic floor and frescoed vault with flower pattern. Room 2's shells associate it with a 'grotto' theme, but it lacks the hydraulics necessary to be a full <i>nymphaeum</i> . They were lit with 'gola di lupo' windows open to the peristyle above, which are similar to those in <i>domus</i> at the Villa Rivaldi (see Cat. entry IV.01). The

Data
<i>cryptoporticus</i> was accessed from the peristyle by a small stairway in the southern side, later obliterated for a larger stairway directly into room 1 (Basso 2003, 127-130, 141-142, 146-147, 274-275, 335 n. 15).
The <i>cryptoporticus</i> is a barrel-vaulted space with windows opening to the portico above (Basso 2003, 127-130, 335 n. 15 n. 22). It was constructed in the

Structural building techniques	The <i>cryptoporticus</i> is a barrel-vaulted space with windows opening to the portico above (Basso 2003, 127-130, 335 n. 15 n. 22). It was constructed in the Neronian period, which identifiable due to the construction type, along with the <i>domus</i> in <i>opus mixtum</i> , with some portions including the east wall constructed in brick, made of thick tiles with thick layers of mortar (Colini 1966, 55).
	Inscriptions:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>CIL XV, 227, 374, 1029: Hadrianic brick stamps were found in a drain (Colini 1966, 38).</li> <li>CIL XV 277: This lunate stamp states "DOMITI CARPI EX PR.DOMIT.LVCIL/DOL DE LIC.VERO.III/SO(reversed C)", and dates to 126 CE (CIL XV).</li> <li>CIL XV 374: This lunate stamp states "L.BRVTTIDI.AVGVSTALIS OPVS/DOL.EX.FIG.OCEA.MIN/CAE.N" and is dated to 123 CE (CIL XV).</li> <li>CIL XV 1029: This lunate stamp states "OP.D.DIONYS DOMIT.P.F.LVCIL/PAET.ET APR.COS" and dates to 123 CE (CIL XV).</li> <li>Antoninus Pius stamps in the drain under the blue tub with the marble tub indicate its construction date (Colini 1966, 33, 55-56).</li> <li>CIL XV 209: This lunate stamp states "BARBAR ET REGVL COS EX OFIC FAVI/FL APRI OP D FAD EVHELP" and dates to 157 CE (CIL XV).</li> </ul>
	Art:
	<ul> <li>A black and white mosaic with overlapping circular patterns, including white centers and black overlapping boarders, and a black and white striped rectangular boarder was found in room three of the west side of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> (Basso 2003, 132).</li> <li>Traces of a glass paste mosaic with a shell and pumice border were found on the walls and vault of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> (Colini 1966, 55).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Basso says the remains found under S. Pietro in Vincoli can be hypothetically attributed to the imperial residences of Nero (Basso 2003, 161).

Field

Field	Data
Plan location	See Guidobaldi 2001, fig.1 no. 2, for a simplified full plan; See Basso 2003 fig. 22, for the <i>cryptoporticus</i> plan; See Colini 1966, Tav. VI, Tav. VII, and see Fig. 64 for the large imperial <i>domus</i> reconstruction plan with multiple phases of construction.
	Basso, Patrizia, and Francesca Ghedini. 2003. Subterraneae domus: ambienti residenziali e di servizio nell'edilizia privata romana. Caselle di Sommacampagna (Verona): Cierre.
	Coarelli, Filippo, James Joseph Clauss, Daniel P. Harmon, J. Anthony Clauss, Pierre A. MacKay. 2014. <i>Rome and environs: an archaeological guide</i> . <i>Updated edition</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Carlo Buzzetti. 1963-1964. "Il Fagutale e le sue adiacenze nell'epoca antica," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti. Roma</i> XXXVI: 75-91.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, and Guglielmo Matthiae. 1966. <i>Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli: I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III</i> , Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
Bibliography	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 2001. "Distribuzione topografica, architettura e arredo delle domus tardoantiche." <i>Aurea Roma</i> : 134-136.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Lansford, Tyler. 2009. <i>The Latin inscriptions of Rome: a walking guide</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Matthiae, Guglielmo. 1966. "Le origini della chiesa." In <i>Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli: I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III</i> , edited by Colini, Antonio Maria, 57-99. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to Underground Rome: From Cloaca Massima to Domus Aurea: The Most Fascinating Underground Sites of the Capital = Guida Di Roma Sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi.
	Pisani Sartorio, Giuseppina. 1983. Un domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supp. 10, Odense:

Field	Data
	Odense University Press.

Field	Data	
Catalog Entry Number	V.22	
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	domus in via Baccina	
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	domus under the Saint Louis College of Music	
Time Period 01 Start Year	50	
Time Period 01 End Year	100	
Time Period 01 Description	The constructions date back to the first century CE (Saint Louis College of Music 2017).	
Time Period 02 Years	123	
Time Period 02 Description	A brick stamp in the sewer drain under the <i>domus</i> dates to 123 CE (see below) (Saint Louis College of Music 2017).	
Time Period 03 Years	138-161	
Time Period 03 Description	The rooms of the <i>domus</i> date to the Antonine period (Saint Louis College of Music 2017).	
Excavation history	During a renovation of the building of the Saint Louis College of Music the ancient remains below it were uncovered, and the school began to support a project to recover and make available the remains for scholars (Saint Louis College of Music 2017). The ministero dei Beni culturali, Dario Franceschini visited the site in 2015. The site had at some point in the past been previously	

Field Data		
	excavated, but the Soprintendenza has no records of the excavations (De Simone 2015).	
Description of Rooms	In addition to some commercial structures and warehouses from the ground floor of an <i>insula</i> , with barrel vaulted ceilings, the remains of a <i>domus</i> were found. The <i>domus</i> includes mosaics, a frescoed room, and multiple other rooms. A large rectangular room with a barrel vault includes an original black and white mosaic with white hexagons and black rhomboids. The long sides of the room have wide openings that are paved in <i>opus sectile</i> , in the same pattern, with giallo antico, palombino, ardesia, and bigio antico. Another room is paved in a black and white mosaic with a checkerboard pattern and wall frescoes with red and yellow on a white ground. A sewer drain was found under the <i>domus</i> with a brick stamp (see below) (Saint Louis College of Music 2017).	
Structural building techniques	The <i>insula</i> next to the <i>domus</i> was constructed on multiple floors with barrel vaults. The <i>domus</i> also has large barrel vaults, mosaic and <i>opus sectile</i> paving (Saint Louis College of Music 2017).	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art (Saint Louis College of Music 2017): <ul> <li>A black and white mosaic with a pattern of alternating white hexagons and black rhomboids.</li> <li>A black and white mosaic with a black and white checkerboard pattern.</li> <li>An <i>opus sectile</i> paving with hexagons and rhomboids in giallo antico, palombino, ardesia, and bigio antico.</li> <li>A wall painting with panels in red and black on a larger white ground that has decorative vines and thin florals and a small bird.</li> </ul> </li> <li>Inscriptions (Saint Louis College of Music 2017): <ul> <li>A brick stamp was found in the original sewer drain dating the construction to 123 CE with the Consuls Paetinus and Apronianus.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
Plan location	Current project with as yet no plan. See the Saint Louis College of Music website for photographs.	
Bibliography	De Simone, Renzo, and the Ministero dei beni e delle attivita culturali e del turismo. 2015. <i>Musica e Storia al Saint Louis, Trovata Domus Romana.</i> <i>Freceschini Visita Nuova Sede Sculoa a Rione Monti.</i> http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito- MiBAC/Contenuti/MibacUnif/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_1319343419.ht ml (accessed January 31, 2018). Saint Louis College of Music. 2017. <i>Ambienti sotterranei in via Baccina</i> .	

Field	Data
	https://www.slmc.it/la-domus-romana/ (accessed January 31, 2018).

Field	Data	
Catalog Entry Number	VI.01	
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Spurius Maximus	
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus under the Palazzo Barberini	
Time Period 01 Start Year	150	
Time Period 01 End Year	250	
Time Period 01 Description	Platner notes "This Spurius was perhaps L. Spurius Maximus, trib. vigilum under Severus". That would date the house to the late second century and early third century CE (Platner and Ashby 1929, 190). More recent excavations cannot be used to date the bath, however, as they are not necessarily related (Guidobaldi 1995, 181).	
Excavation history	This <i>domus</i> was located under Palazzo Barberini (Lanciani 1901). Excavated in 1628 as a part of a renovation of the Palazzo Barberini, a lead pipe with the name Spurii Maximi was found here (Guidobaldi 1995, 181; Lanciani 1873, 227). Rooms associated with the find of the pipe were identified as Bath structures ( <i>balnea</i> ) (Guidobaldi 1995, 181). Further structures around this <i>domus</i> were brought to light through an excavation in 1936 near the Mithraeum of the Palazzo Barberini, although the <i>mithraeum</i> was likely in the nearby <i>domus Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius</i> (cat. entry VI.07) (Gatti and Anibaldi 1943-1945, 97).	
Description of Rooms	There was a <i>nymphaeum</i> or <i>balnea</i> with well-preserved wall paintings found in this house (Platner and Ashby 1929, 190).	
Structural building		

Field	Data	
techniques		
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>Wall paintings were found, of the type painted in baths, in this <i>domus</i>. Copies are preserved at Windsor (Guidobaldi 1995, 181). An engraving of one of the wall paintings from these remains, described as 'from a <i>nymphaeum</i>', is cited in Ashby (Ashby 1916, 49, pl. 40). It is reprinted in <i>Graevius Thesaurus antiquitatum ORomanarum</i>, and includes a landscape with altars and animals (Graevius 1697, 1767).</li> <li>An inscribed lead pipe with the name Spurius Maximus was found (Lanciani 1873, 227).</li> </ul>	
Plan location	See Gatti 1943, fig. 1, 99	
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Ashby, Thomas. 1916. "Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections. II.2014; IV." <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 8 (2):35-54.</li> <li>Gatti, G., and G. Annibaldi. 1943-1945. "II mitreo Barberini I: Topografia e monumenti del luogo; II: II sanctuario mitriaco," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 71: 97-108.</li> <li>Graevius, Johannes Georgius. 1697. <i>Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum</i>. vol. 4.</li> <li>Guarducci, Margherita. 1979. "Quattro Graffiti Nel Mitreo Del Palazzo Barberini." In <i>Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio-Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 187-93. Leiden: E. J. Brill.</i></li> <li>Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Spurius Maximus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i>, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 181. Roma: Quasar.</li> <li>Hülsen, Christian. 1897. "Ausgrabungen unter Palazzo Barberini." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> 12:85.</li> <li>Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1873. "Delle Scoperte Principali Avvenute nei Colli</li> </ul>	
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1873. "Delle Scoperte Principali Avvenute nei Colli Quirnale e Viminale." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di</i> <i>Roma</i> : 223-254.	

Field	Data
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. <i>Forma vrbis Romae</i> , Roma. Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Solin, Heikki. 1979. "Graffiti Dei Mitrei Di Roma." In Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio-Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 137-52. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of the Nummii Albini
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Domus Nummiorum</i> ; Ch. di S. Cajo unita al d.o Monast.; S. Cajo unita al detto Monastero [le Barberine]
Time Period 01 Start Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domus Nummii</i> rose over earlier late Republican structures in tufa, a building of public scale (Capannari 1886, 3).
Time Period 02 Years	134-138 CE

Field	Data	
Time Period 02 Description	Brick stamps in the stairway that leads to the <i>cryptoporticus</i> date to c. 138 CE, suggesting a second century construction phase in the area toward S. Bernardo (Lanciani 1869, 230-237).	
Time Period 03 Years	134-300	
Time Period 03 Description	Inscriptions relative to earlier Nummii have been found around the area, including one to M. Nummius Attidius Tuscus, who seems to have lived in the second century CE. This may indicate continuity with the earlier portions of the <i>domus</i> complex. Additionally, multiple inscriptions relating to Nummius Tuscus have been found, which should date to sometime between 295-345 (Guidobaldi 1995, 147).	
Time Period 04 Years	301-400	
Time Period 04 Description	Brick stamps from the beginning of the fourth century CE indicate a construction phase in the portion of the <i>domus</i> northeast of the via Firenze (Guidobaldi 1995, 147). Nummio Albino was consul around 345 CE, and the inscription to him was found in this area also (Capannari 1886, 2; Guidobaldi 1995, 147).	
Time Period 05 Years	<sup>5</sup> 401-500	
Time Period 05 Description	The <i>Titulus Gai</i> was located somewhere in this area.	
Time Period 06 Years	5 17th century - 1885	
Time Period 06 Description	<sup>6</sup> The church of S. Caio was built into the ruins of this house, and torn down in 1885. The plan of S. Caio follows the alignment of the ancient house, as is visible in Nolli's 1749 map.	
Excavation history	The remains of this <i>domus</i> are best known from fragments of a <i>mithraeum</i> and house published in 1886 from an excavation that occurred with the destruction of the church S. Caio and the construction of the Ministerio della Guerra in 1885 (Cappannari 1886, 2). Archaeologists then discovered more elements of the same building during work for the construction of the Methodist-Episcopal church in 1893-1894 in the Via Firenze, over the previous site of S. Caio (Accademia nazionale dei Lincei 1893, 430; Guidobaldi 1995, 146).	

Field	Data		
	<ul> <li>Additionally, some excavation was done for construction on the casa Mariani in 1877, and relevant inscriptions were found underneath (Lanciani 1883, 32).</li> <li>An extension of underground <i>domus</i>, which likely belongs to the <i>domus Numm</i> identified further west had actually been previously found on the via Torino opposite the rotunda of S. Bernardo in 1869 and in 1872, while building a hous for sig. ing. Vismara (Lanciani 1901, tav. X). Some of these rooms were integrated into the properties of Mgr. de Merode and sig. Luswergh (Lanciani 1869, 230-237).</li> </ul>		
Description of Rooms	The house contains an underground <i>mithraeum</i> surrounded by a <i>cryptoporticus</i> , and another extension of underground rooms and <i>cryptoporticus</i> was found on the northeastern end of the block. The building seems to portray the shape of a large private home, with a peristyle and central courtyard, from which the underground light them dragged through slits. The building axis is parallel to that of the adjacent thermal baths of Diocletian (Lanciani 1901, tav. X 3). A large polygonal stone street ran between the house and the baths of Diocletian. The ancient pavement is 1.40 m below the modern via Torino (Lanciani 1872, 67). The area to the northeast of the block consisted of a series of rectangular underground rooms, some completely without light and others with slit windows much like the <i>cryptoporticus</i> surrounding the <i>mithraeum</i> . The rooms are arranged symmetrically around a large central square, where the slit windows lead, and that indicates a peristyle above, and Guidobaldi notes a viridarium in the area. Brick stamps from the stairway, which led down into the <i>cryptoporticus</i> , date to 138 CE, where brick stamps to the southwestern portion date to the fourth century (Lanciani 1869, 230-237; Guidobaldi 1995, 146). A courtyard on which an <i>aula</i> opened with a front containing two columns was seen in the northeastern area, the former casa Mariani (Guidobaldi 1995, 146).		
Structural building techniques	The <i>domus</i> includes <i>cryptoporticus</i> in brickwork with slit windows to a likely peristyle above (Lanciani 1872, 1901).		
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:         <ul> <li>Pedestal inscription: CIL VI 1748 – an inscription found on a pedestal in the foundations of S. Caio already by 1629 was dedicated to Nummius Albinus s. Triturrius by his son Nummius Secundus (Guidobaldi 1995, 146). http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detailbase.php?record=LSA-1457</li> <li>Other inscriptions have been found even more securely attributing the house to the Nummii dedicated to Nummius Tuscus CIL VI 31378b, 32024-32026 (Guidobaldi 1995, 146).</li> <li>An inscription dedicated to M. Nummio Attidi(ano?) by one or more</li> </ul> </li> </ul>		

Field	Data	
<ul> <li>African municipalities was found in 1877 during work on the ca Mariani (Lanciani 1883, 32).</li> <li>Brick stamps in the staircase leading down into the <i>cryptoportice</i> northeastern side: (Lanciani 1869, 230-237).</li> <li>ODaris . tha . ex . pR L . CEIO COM CF/NIGro . et. CAMERINO – this stamp dates to circa 138 CE.</li> <li>III cos/VVITIAN(reversed)/A POL – this stamp of Domiziane children records the 3rd consulate of Serviano CE.</li> <li>G . AVR . ANTO/T PAVLINI DE FIG – this state dates from M. Aurelius in the same period.</li> <li>CIL XV 439 (Accademia nazionale dei Lincei 1893, 430).</li> <li>Found two tiles with a circular stamp: TCANIDÈNIATIMET(tree)(tree)(tree) (Lanciani 1872, 67).</li> </ul>		
	Art:	
	<ul> <li>'Figuline teste' – Terracotta heads were found during the destruction of a small sewer in 1872. Their dates agree with the 134, 138 CE of the brick stamps, seven of them specifically (Lanciani 1872, 66-90).</li> <li>Among the items collected at these excavations are: three tall amphoras 1.05 m tall, one of which had a lid, a pillar of fluted pavonazzetto, also 1.30 m tall, a headless statuette of feminine seated deities, and a beautiful terracotta frieze with carved ovolo above and below, and a leonine head in high relief in the center. (Lanciani 1872, 68).</li> <li>Mosaic and marble pavements and marble and painted wall decorations were found by means of numerous fragments (Guidobaldi 1995, 146).</li> <li>Other finds included a statue of women from the household, a statue of Venus, a set of marble pots or vases, and other "rustic ornaments of the viridarium" (Frothingham 1889, 501).</li> </ul>	
Additional notable points	Ammianus Marcellinus says he was accused of practicing 'magic' in 368, and killed in 385 (Negro 1980, 33-36).	
Plan location	See Capannari 1886, Tav. 4, Fig. 3; Capannari 1885, Tav. I-II; Lanciani 1901, Tav. X.	
Bibliography	Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte, and Reale Accademia d'Italia. 1893. Notizie degli scavi di antichita.Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte, and Reale Accademia d'Italia. 1894. Notizie degli scavi di antichita.Capannari, A. 1885. "Delle scoperte archeologiche avvenute per la costruzione	

537

Field	Data
	del palazzo del Ministero della Guerra," <i>Bullettino della Commissione</i> Archeologica Comunale di Roma XIII: 3-26, tavv. I-II.
	Capannari, A. 1886. "Di un mitreo pertinente alla casa dei Nummi scoperto nella Via Firenze," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> : 17-26.
	Frothingham, A. L. 1889. "Archaeological News." <i>The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts</i> 5 (4):478-523.
	Griffith, Alison Bond. 2000. "Mithraism in the private and public lives of 4th-c. senators in Rome," <i>Electronic Journal of Mithraic Studies</i> I.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Nummii." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 146-147, fig. 43-44. Roma: Quasar.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. pars IV, fasc. II Additamenta.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1869. "Recenti scoperte in Roma e nelle provincie pontificie," <i>Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> : 225-237.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1872. "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nei colli Viminale ed Esquilino," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale</i> <i>di Roma</i> 1:66-90.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1877. "Miscellanea epigrafica, [2]." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma: 161-183.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1883. "XIII. Roma: Regione VI." Notizie degli scavi di antichità: 32.
	Lombardi, Ferruccio. 1996. <i>Roma, le chiese scomparse: la memoria storica della città</i> . Roma: Palombi Editori.
	Negro, Angela. 1980. <i>Guide Rionali di Roma: Rione II Trevi</i> . Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori.
	Santangelo, M. 1941. "Il Quirinale nell'antichita classica," Memorie della

Field	Data
	<i>Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i> vol. V. Roma: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus M. Laeli Fulvi Maximi
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus M. Laelius Fulvius Maximus
Time Period 01 Start Year	195
Time Period 01 End Year	227
Time Period 01 Description	M. Laelius Fulvius Maximus belonged to a senatorial family, the Laelii Maximi, and an M. Laelius Firminus Fluvius Maximus from Brixia was praetor at the end of the second century CE, an M. Laelius Maximus was Legion's legate in 195 CE, and an M. Laelius Maximus Aemilianus was cos. ord. in 227 CE (Eck 1995, 126).
Excavation history	This was excavated in 1872 as a part of the construction of the Ministero delle Finanze (Lanciani 1901, pl. X). The excavations are unfortunately not well published.
Description of Rooms	The plan of the 1872 excavation shows the remains of a peristyle with surrounding small rooms and a corridor (Lanciani 1901, pl. X).
Structural building techniques	Unknown.

Field	Data
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>And inscription relating to the "Piscinae Marc(ia) Tep(ula) Iul(ia)" was found next to these remains (Lanciani 1901, pl. X).</li> <li>CIL. XV, 7483 – An inscribed pipe to M. Laelius Fulvius Maximus was round near the Ministero delle Finanze with the title c(larissimus) v(ir) (Eck 1995, 126). The stamp states "M LAELI FVLBI MAXIMI C V", described as M. Laelius Fulbius Maximus c(larissimus) v(ir), possibly the consul from 227 CE (CIL XV 7483).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Lanciani 1901, pl. X.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.</li> <li>Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: M. Laelius Fulvius Maximus." In Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 126.</li> <li>Roma: Quasar.</li> <li>Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.</li> <li>Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.</li> <li>Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.</li> <li>Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.04a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Ad Duas Domos
Other Domus/Insula	Domus under Santa Susanna; Domus under Santa Susanna; Domus Gabinii et Gaii; Titulus sanctae Susannae, Duas Domos; Titulus Gaii

Field	Data
Names	
Time Period 01 Start Year	25 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	150
Time Period 01 Description	The first Roman phase of construction included <i>opus reticulatum</i> walls with brick work where the walls met the corner. These remains contained a column, which Krautheimer provides as evidence of the existence of a peristyle. The remains ran on an axial system oblique to the direction of the later church (Krautheimer 1939, 398). The <i>domus</i> of this phase was decorated with frescoed walls and mosaic pavements in black tesserae (Bonanni 2003, 363). This phase included a second period of construction with black tiled mosaic framed in white marble on the same axis as the earlist structure (Bonanni 2003, 364).
Excavation history	Assisting with the works of opening largo S. Susanna in 1939, Krautheimer examined the architectural history of the structures of the church and previous constructions. Apollonj Ghetti reexamined the complex in 1965 (Bonanni 1995, 587). Bonanni then excavated in the 1980's and 1990's under the church and found a <i>domus</i> that leads up to the time of the <i>titulus</i> (De Spirito 1995, 106). His excavations confirm the unity of the construction of the later basilica, questioned by Ghetti (Bonanni 1995, 587). The tradition states that Pope Gaius (283-296 CE) founded a <i>domus ecclesia</i> in the <i>domus</i> of the father of Susanna, Gabinius (De Spirito 1995, 106). For that reason, this is often called the <i>Titulus Gaii</i> (Kirsch 1918, 70). This region of the northeastern Qurinal hill had been mainly patrician houses and remained so even after the construction of the baths of Diocletian (Bonanni 1995, 586).
Description of Rooms	The remains of the first Roman period do not align with the axial system of the later Roman houses and the later church. Only vague walls in <i>opus reticulatum</i> have been found from this period (Krauhtheimer 1939, 399). The <i>opus reticulatum</i> walls run northwest-southeast and are 1.80m below the current street level. They include from the last phase of this building a large room with a mosaic floor with black background and contrasting dots. Then another space identified as a corridor includes a mosaic with crosses and a socle painted in black and red stripes. The walls of this building were cut by the next phase of construction (Taccalite 2012).
Structural building	The first building phase showed <i>opus reticulatum</i> with brickwork found only at the corners (Krautheimer 1939, 398-399).

Field	Data
techniques	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>Black mosaic paving and frescoed walls decorated the first period <i>domus</i> phase (Bonanni 2003, 363).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Bonanni 2003, CLXV fig. 1
	Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno Maria. 1965. Santa Susanna, Le chiese di Roma illustrate. Roma: Marietti.
	Bonanni, Alessandro. 1995. "Duae Domus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 217. Roma: Quasar.
	Bonanni, Alessandro. 1995. "La Basilica De Susanna a Roma. Indagini Topografiche E Nuove Scoperte Archeologiche." In <i>Akten Des XII.</i> <i>Internationalen Kongresses Für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 2228.</i> <i>September 1991</i> , edited by Ernst Dassmann and Josef Engemann, 586-89. Munster: Aschendorff.
	Bonanni, Alessandro. 2003."Scavi E Ricerche in S. Susanna a Roma." In Atti Del VII Congresso Nazionale Di Archeologia Cristiana, 359-76. Monte Cassino.
Bibliography	De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1870. "Un' insigne epigrafe di donazione di fondi fatta alla chiesa di S. Susanna dai papa Sergio I." <i>Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana</i> : 89-112.
	De Spirito, G. 1995. "Domus: Gabinii." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> . 2, <i>D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 106. Roma: Quasar.
	Engemann, J., and E. Dassmann. 1997. Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses fur christliche Archaeologie, Bonn, 2228. September 1991: Register: Munster: Aschendorff.
	Kirsch, Johann Peter. 1918. <i>Die romischen Titelkirchen im Altertum</i> : Paderborn, F. Schoningh.
	Krautheimer, Richard, and Wolfgang Frankl. 1939. "Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 43 (3): 388-400.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1869. "Scavi, Recenti scoperte, Roma." Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica 1869 (11):225-237.

Field	Data
	Laurenti, M.C. 2001. "Un mosaico con due emblemata rinvenuto sotto la basilica di S. Susanna. Alcune anticipazioni," in <i>Atti dell'VIII Colloquio</i> <i>dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico, Firenze</i> 21-23 Febbraio 2001, 429-443. Ravenna: Girasole.
	Laurenti, M.C. 2005, "Un pavimento a mosaico con due emblemata sotto la Basilica di S. Susanna a Roma," In <i>La Mosaïque Grèco-Romaine IX, Actes du IXe Colloque International pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque Antique (Rome, 5-10 novembre 2001)</i> , 318. Roma.
	Milella, A. 1999. "S. Susanna, titulus," in <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> . <i>4, M-Q</i> , edited by Steinby, Eva Margareta. 387-388. Roma: Quasar.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.
	Taccalite, Francesca. 2012. "Regio VI, Via XX Settembre, domus, cementizio con inserti (punteggiato di tessere)," In <i>TESS – scheda 12850</i> (http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it/web/scheda/?recid=12850). (accessed January 18, 2018).

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.04b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Ad Duas Domos
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus under Santa Susanna; Domus under Santa Susanna; Domus Gabinii et Gaii; Titulus sanctae Susannae, Duas Domos; Titulus Gaii
Time Period 01 Start Year	151
Time Period	300

Field	Data
01 End Year	
Time Period 01 Description	The second phase of Roman construction contained <i>opus reticulatum</i> foundations only, supporting brick walls, on an axial system that Krautheimer notes carried over to the later church. This period includes two separate structures, referred to as two <i>domūs</i> . Krautheimer suggests these two structures lead to the term "Ad Duas Domos" for the later <i>titulus</i> (Krautheimer 1939, 398). Platner and Ashby note the Roman remains under S. Susanna as from the third century CE (Platner and Ashby 1929), but must have been constructed earlier, as the <i>domus</i> toward the rear of S. Susanna included a brick stamp in a brick arch that dates to the mid-second century CE (Krautheimer 1939, 399).
Time Period 02 Years	301-410
Time Period 02 Description	A house whose final phase aligns with the period of the founding of the Titulus has been excavated by Bonanni. The <i>titulus</i> is referred to as the Titulus sanctae Susannae, Titulus Gaii, or Ad duas domos (De Spirito 1995, 106). The part of S. Susanna used for burials, is constructed into second century walls, and the floor shows many shattered fragments of <i>opus sectile</i> and burning from the fourth century. This many indicate a destruction layer at the 410 Gothic sack of Rome (Bonanni 1995, 489).
Time Period 03 Years	410-595
Time Period 03 Description	A <i>titulus</i> that may or may not be continuous with the previous Titulus Gaii was here by 595 CE (Bonanni 1995, 489).
Excavation history	Assisting with the works of opening largo S. Susanna in 1939, Krautheimer examined the architectural history of the structures of the church and previous constructions. Apollonj Ghetti reexamined the complex in 1965 (Bonanni 1995, 587). Bonanni then excavated in the 1980's and 1990's under the church and found a <i>domus</i> that leads up to the time of the <i>titulus</i> (De Spirito 1995, 106). His excavations confirm the unity of the construction of the later basilica, questioned by Ghetti (Bonanni 1995, 587). The tradition states that Pope Gaius (283-296 CE) founded a <i>domus ecclesia</i> in the <i>domus</i> of the father of Susanna, Gabinius (De Spirito 1995, 106). For that reason, this is often called the <i>Titulus Gaii</i> (Kirsch 1918, 70). This region of the northeastern Qurinal hill had been mainly patrician houses and remained so even after the construction of the baths of Diocletian (Bonanni 1995, 586).
Description of	Two large edifices were constructed over the early walls of the first domestic

Data
building, which did not align with the Alta Semita road, in the second Roman phase of construction. The buildings covered about 60m and do align with the later church. The section of walls along the front of the church and below the nave, part of some <i>domus</i> , includes remnants of numerous mosaic and <i>opus spinatum</i> pavements. Portions of a second <i>domus</i> have been located behind in the rear of the church and the left foundation of the nun's choir. These remains include large openings possibly from <i>tabernae</i> . A brick stamp in this portion of wall dates to the middle of the second century (Krauhtheimer 1939, 399). To this period is ascribed the remains of a mosaic floor with an emblemata and two cement pavements with inserts. These remains were were incorporated with the later church (Taccalite 2012).
The first building phase showed <i>opus reticulatum</i> with brickwork found only at the corners. The second phase used only <i>opus reticulatum</i> foundations, and had brick walls above. This second phase was on the same axial system as the later church, and includes a masonry style and brick stamp both datable to the second century CE (Krautheimer 1939, 398-399).
Art:
<ul> <li>Fragments of mosaic and opus spinatum flooring have been found in the second phase front <i>domus</i> (Krautheimer 1939, 399).</li> <li><i>Opus sectile</i> covered the walls in the second construction phase of the second century (Bonanni 2003, 364).</li> </ul>
See Bonanni 2003, CLXV fig. 1, and CLXVI fig. 3
<ul> <li>Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno Maria. 1965. Santa Susanna, Le chiese di Roma illustrate. Roma: Marietti.</li> <li>Bonanni, Alessandro. 1995. "Duae Domus." In Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 217. Roma: Quasar.</li> <li>Bonanni, Alessandro. 1995. "La Basilica De Susanna a Roma. Indagini Topografiche E Nuove Scoperte Archeologiche." In Akten Des XII. Internationalen Kongresses Für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 2228. September 1991, edited by Ernst Dassmann and Josef Engemann, 586-89. Munster: Register.</li> <li>Bonanni, Alessandro. 2003."Scavi E Ricerche in S. Susanna a Roma." In Atti Del VII Congresso Nazionale Di Archeologia Cristiana, 359-76. Monte Cassino.</li> <li>De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1870. "Un' insigne epigrafe di donazione di fondi fatta alla chiesa di S. Susanna dai papa Sergio I." Bullettino di Archeologia</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Cristiana: 89-112.
	De Spirito, G. 1995. "Domus: Gabinii." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> . 2, <i>D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 106. Roma: Quasar.
	Engemann, J., and E. Dassmann. 1997. Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses fur christliche Archaeologie, Bonn, 2228. September 1991. Munster: Register.
	Kirsch, Johann Peter. 1918. <i>Die romischen Titelkirchen im Altertum</i> : Paderborn, F. Schoningh.
	Krautheimer, Richard, and Wolfgang Frankl. 1939. "Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 43 (3): 388-400.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1869. "Scavi, Recenti scoperte, Roma." <i>Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> 1869 (11):225-237.
	Laurenti, M.C. 2001. "Un mosaico con due emblemata rinvenuto sotto la basilica di S. Susanna. Alcune anticipazioni," in <i>Atti dell'VIII Colloquio</i> <i>dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico, Firenze</i> 21-23 Febbraio 2001, 429-443. Ravenna: Girasole.
	Laurenti, M.C. 2005, "Un pavimento a mosaico con due emblemata sotto la Basilica di S. Susanna a Roma," In <i>La Mosaïque Grèco-Romaine IX, Actes du</i> <i>IXe Colloque International pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque Antique (Rome, 5-10</i> <i>novembre 2001)</i> , 318. Roma.
	Milella, A. 1999. "S. Susanna, titulus," in <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 4, M-Q,</i> edited by Steinby, Eva Margareta. 387-388. Roma: Quasar.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , Roma: Quasar.
	Taccalite, Francesca. 2012. "Regio VI, Via XX Settembre, domus, cementizio con inserti (punteggiato di tessere)," In <i>TESS – scheda 12850</i> (http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it/web/scheda/?recid=12850). (accessed January 18, 2018).

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus at Via Venezia
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus Corneliae Tauri F. Taxi; Domus: (Statilia) Cornelia Tauri F.
Time Period 01 Start Year	1
Time Period 01 End Year	50
Time Period 01 Description	A <i>fistula aquaria</i> was found at this intersection, the via Nazionale and via Venezia (Lanciani 1901, pl. XVI; Eck 1995, 86-87). The fistula contains an inscription with the name of Cornelia Tauri, indicating the owner of the water source. The proximity allows for a possible association with this <i>domus</i> , although unproven. Cornelia Tauri was probably the daughter of T. Statilius Sisenna Taurus, cos. ord. in 16 CE, and the wife of T. Axius, who is likely to be the man who was cos. suff. after 39 CE (Eck 1995, 86-87). Lanciani suggests the <i>domus</i> of Cornelia Tauri at this location, which would have existed in the early first century CE.
Time Period 02 Years	123
Time Period 02 Description	The house had to be constructed in or at least restored in 123 CE, due to stamps found on ceramics during the excavations (Lanciani 1872, 69-71). Apronianus and Paetinus were consuls in 123 CE (CIL XV 454). See finds below for a list of these stamps.
Time Period 03 Years	350-400
Time Period 03 Description	The <i>mithraeum</i> was uncovered and viewed in sixteenth century by Flaminio Vacca and in 1869 when Monsignor de Merode, was tracing the present via Nazionale. The door to the <i>mithraeum</i> had been walled up at a late date. Lanciani suggests the door was walled up by devotees at the time of Gracchus, who is noted for destroying a <i>mithraeum</i> in 376-377 CE when Gracchus was prefect of Rome (Lanciani 1909, 178-179). The association between the walling

Field	Data
	up of this <i>mithraeum</i> and Gracchus is hypothetical however, as many mithraea were becoming abandoned at this time (Cameron 2011, 144).
Excavation history	The <i>domus</i> was found in 1872 at the Via Venezia and Via Nazionale, including four rooms with mosaic paving and fresco walls and a stairway leading to floor above (Lanciani 1872). Lanciani's map cites this <i>domus</i> as that of the <i>domus Corneliae Tauri F. Taxi</i> (plate XVI). A <i>mithraeum</i> at the corner of the Via Venezia and the Via Nazionale was found in 1869 (Vermasseren 1956, 384).
Description of Rooms	The remains included four rooms. In rooms 1-3 mosaic paving and fresco walls were found. In room 4 there was a stairway leading to floors above (Lanciani 1872, 69-71). In room 1 there was a fine white mosaic with black strip around the edge. In room two there was a black mosaic with white band and white checks at regular intervals. In room 3 there was a mosaic that was divided in geometric panels alternately white, red, and black. Wall paintings were also found in room 3. Room 3, the front of these rooms to the west, preserved fresco wall painting on a red background with elegant architectural elements on a black background. Between the columns of the lower order were portraits of female veiled figures, while the upper intercolumniations showed candlesticks supporting birds painted in vague and vivid colors (Lanciani 1872, 69-72). There is also supposed to be a <i>mithraeum</i> at this location, which Lanciani described as carved into the tuff with a vestibulum and <i>cella</i> , and a niche and altar, which included a statue surrounded by lamps (Vermasseren 1956, 384; Lanciani 1901, 178-179).
Structural building techniques	The walls of the <i>domus</i> were built at right angles against a large brick wall of a nearby structure (Lanciani 1872). The <i>mithraeum</i> was carved into tuffa (Vermasseren 1956, 384).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>Inscription: APRON Et. paetin. cos\POMPVit. ex. pr.\ANNIVEri. quint. <ul> <li>Signifying: Aproniono et Paetino consulibus, Pompeii Vitalis, ex praedis Anni Veri Quintanensibus (Lanciani 1872, 70). This stamp matches CIL XV 454.</li> <li>Inscription 2: APRO ET PAe. cos\HErculis - Signifying: Aproniano et Paetino consulibus, Herculis</li> <li>Inscription 3: apr. ET PAECOS\seCVNDI.</li> <li>Graffiti on a wall:CIITONIS VIREN SATVRIVS - Signifying: Getonis, Virentis, Saturius Amphora stamp (see Lanciani 1872, 71) - Signifying: Phoetri</li> <li>Inscription on Aretino (Arezzo) jar: PCLOPRO</li> <li>CIL XV 7440: A fistula aquaria was found here on the Quirinal with the inscription "CORNELIAE.TAVRI.F.T.AXI", meaning Cornelia Tauri</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

<ul> <li>f(ilia) T. Axi (uxor) (Eck 1995, 86-87; Lanciani 1901, pl. XVI; CIL XV 7440).</li> <li>Sculpture in a place of worship: A statue described as a human figure with the head of a lion with a serpent would around its body was found in the <i>mithraeum</i>. Lanciani suggests that the description by Flaminio Vacca in the time of Sextus X was a <i>mithraeum</i> with Mithras worshipped as Leontokephalos (Lanciani 1909, 178-9).</li> <li>works:</li> <li>Mosaic in Room 1: Fine white mosaic with black strip around the edge (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Mosaic in Room 2: Black mosaic with white band and white checks at regular intervals (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Mosaic in Room 3: It was divided in geometric panels alternately white, red, and black (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Wall paintings: The front of these rooms to the west preserved fresco</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>Mosaic in Room 1: Fine white mosaic with black strip around the edge (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Mosaic in Room 2: Black mosaic with white band and white checks at regular intervals (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Mosaic in Room 3: It was divided in geometric panels alternately white, red, and black (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Wall paintings: The front of these rooms to the west preserved fresco</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>(Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Mosaic in Room 2: Black mosaic with white band and white checks at regular intervals (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Mosaic in Room 3: It was divided in geometric panels alternately white, red, and black (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).</li> <li>Wall paintings: The front of these rooms to the west preserved fresco</li> </ul>
wall painting on a red background with elegant architectural elements on a black background. Between the columns of the lower order were portraits of female veiled figures, while the upper intercolumniations showed candlesticks supporting birds painted in vague and vivid colors (Lanciani 1872, 69-71).
Lanciani 1901 plate XVI
neron, Alan. 2011. <i>The Last Pagans of Rome</i> . Oxford University Press. essel, Henricus. 1891. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV</i> criptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I. essel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV criptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II. ex, W. 1995. "Domus: (Statilia) Cornelia Tauri F." In Lexicon topographicum is Romae. 2, D-G, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 86-87. Roma: Quasar. eciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1872. "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nei colli ninale ed Esquilino," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale
<i>is</i>

Field	Data
	Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef. 1956. Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae. 2 vols, Hagae Comitis.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.06
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of the Via De' Ciancaleoni nn. 45-46
Time Period 01 Start Year	200 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	101 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	A fragment of opus signinum mosaic floor remains on an upper level in a room that is remaining from a preexisting structure on a different orientation. It is dated to the second century BCE based on other examples with the same decorative scheme (Ramieri 1980, 34-35).
Time Period 02 Years	50 BCE to 35 BCE
Time Period 02 Description	Ramieri places the time of the construction of the first house, rooms A and B of uncertain function, in the first century BCE around 50 BCE, based on the structure, materials, and the haphazard technique of the <i>opus reticulatum</i> that places the style between that of the casa dei Grifi and the casa di Livia (Ramieri 1980, 35-37). Ramieri places the construction of the second house, late Hellenistic style with <i>cryptoporticus</i> and peristyle, to the beginning of the second half of the first century BCE, just slightly after the first (Ramieri 1980, 14, 48).
Time Period 03 Years	35 BCE to 211
Time Period 03 Description	If we consider the proximity and form of this house in relation to the Forma Urbis Fragment Stanford # 11e (see Martini 2008, fig. 2), it is highly possible this <i>domus</i> continued to be occupied in this general architectural form until at

Field	Data
	least the third century CE like the <i>atrium</i> houses represented therein. Unfortunately, the section of the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> that would carry this location is missing, and thus its presence cannot be definitively confirmed in this form. I have estimated an end date in the early third century from the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> for mapping purposes here. At some point during the latter period of use of this building there were modifications. The 2007 excavations show that the spaces N-P and the stretches of cryptoporticoes were later subdivided into two floors with the upper floor in part reused as a wash- room. Additionally, successive packed floor layers indicate changes in use to the structure and continued use of the structure far beyond the late Republican period. However, these layers have not been yet precisely dated (Martini 2008, 11-12).
Excavation history	In 1969-1970 Santa Maria Scrinari excavated multiple rooms from two distinct units, accessible from the via Cimarra 37. These units belonged to a late Republican building that Ramieri concludes formed a late Hellenistic style <i>domus</i> with peristyle and 'gola di lupo' windows opening down to the <i>cryptoporticus</i> below, and an indeterminate functioning building, possibly a second <i>domus</i> of the same period, with three vaulted spaces opening onto an open area. The excavations were published by Ramieri in 1980 (Ramieri 1980, 4-6, 11-13, 48-49). In 2007 the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma undertook further excavations on these structures because of architectural restructuring taking place on the No. 45-46 via de' Ciancaleoni buildings above (Martini 2008, 1-2). The work uncovered further spaces relating to the Hellenistic style <i>domus</i> with <i>atrium</i> , but not much more of the adjacent building.
Description of Rooms	The Via De' Ciancaleoni building consists of a two-level structure on the Viminal hill, which is part of a neighborhood that terraced the edge of the hill. The excavated remains make up two separate but attached complexes. The earlier unit consists primarily of two rooms, which likely included a third matching room, still unexcavated. The two rooms opened to an exterior space to the east through arched entries (Martini 2008, 4). The second unit was originally a <i>domus</i> with a Hellenistic style plan with peristyle (Ramieri 1980, 4, 48-49). Room L in the second complex has a mosaic pavement and second style wall-painting, which help date that building to the second half of the first century CE (Martini 2008, 4). The remains found of this building consist of the lower floor, including a <i>cryptoporticus</i> with gola di lupo windows that provided light from the peristyle above. Additionally, rooms F, G, I, and N-P, were central symmetrical spaces. I and N are two larger central rooms. Room I opens only to the south and N only to the north. The smaller rooms to the west and east (F, G, O, and P) open both to the north and south <i>cryptoporticus</i> . To the west F is larger to the north and G smaller to the south, and to the east O is smaller to the north and P larger to the south. Ramieri provides a possible

Field	Data
	reconstruction, which can be partially updated in light of the further 2007 excavations.
Structural building techniques	The construction period of the buildings is dated by means of the haphazard technique of the <i>opus reticulatum</i> used in the construction. The buildings also show vaulting of the crytoporticus and gola del lupo windows to the area above (Ramieri 1980, 11-13, 35-37).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>A torso of a feminine statue was found on the Via Ciancaleone at the end of the 19th century in an area that aligns with the top of the vaults of the rooms later discovered of these <i>domūs</i>. The statue was later transported to the Capitoline Museums (Martini 2008, 11).</li> <li>A wall-painting was uncovered in Room L with a maximum height of 1.41 m by a length of 2.36 m. The painting had a black background with two bright red smooth columns on ionic bases, resting on a bright red podium. A panel with two more red lines was painted within the columns. Below this portion, faux marble panels were delineated by white and red lines (Ramieri 1980, 47).</li> <li>White mosaic floors with black borders were found in Rooms L and F (Ramieri 1980, 40, 47). The opus signinum mosaic flooring from an earlier structure was found in the courtyard above the <i>domus</i> (Ramieri 1980, 30).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Martini 2008, fig. 3; for partial reconstruction see Ramieri 1980, fig. 15
	Haselberger, Lothar, David Gilman Romano, and Elisha Ann Dumser. 2002. <i>Mapping Augustan Rome, Journal of Roman archaeology. Supplementary</i> <i>series</i> , Portsmouth, R.I.
Bibliography	Luschin, Edgar Markus. 2002. Cryptoporticus: zur Entwicklungsgeschichte eines multifunktionalen Baukorpers, Erganzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Osterreichischen archaeologischen Institutes in Wien, Wien.
Diolography	Martini, Annarita. 2008. "I complessi di via Cimarra-Ciancaleoni: resti di domus tardo repubblicane sulle pendici sud-orientali del Viminale," <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> (121): 1-16.
	Ramieri, Anna Maria. 1980. "Roma. Regio VI. Via Cimarra. Resti di edifici monumentali de I sec. a.C. sulle pendici del Viminale," <i>Notizie sugli Scavi di antichita, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i> : 25-49.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.07
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius
Time Period 01 Start Year	330
Time Period 01 End Year	395
Time Period 01 Description	Likely the grandfather of this Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius was praefectus urbi in 333 CE. This Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius was born in 343 CE (Platner and Ashby 1929). Fourth century inscriptions including a marble altar with the name of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius, relating to mithraic activity, were found near the Vatican (Vermaseren 1956, 205). Alfenius was accused of using magic in 368 (Platner and Ashby 1929). Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius died in Antium in 395 CE (Vermaseren 1956, 205).
Excavation history	Two inscriptions, referring to Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius, were found in the area of the Villa Barberini. One of these was given to the Comune by the Eosolini family after its discovery in the 1880's, and the other had been found earlier at the construction of the villa Barberini. The location of the inscriptions allowed for the association of the domestic ruins previously discovered between the Sferisterio Barberini, demolished in 1881, and the vicolo sterrato di s. Nicolò da Tolentino with the household of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius (Lanciani 1884, 43-44). In 1920 during the construction of a small building annex on the west side of the seat of the Comando dello Stato Maggiore along the northern side of the via XX Settembre, part of an ancient private habitation was found (Gatti 1920, 277). In 1936 a <i>mithraeum</i> and two associated rooms were located just to the northwest of the other remains. This <i>mithraeum</i> had building phases from the third century forward, and had been placed in an originally first century CE room (Gatti 1945, 97-99). A marble altar referring to Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius was also found in Saint Peter's square in 1949 (Vermaseren 1956, 205).
Description of Rooms	A large portion of this <i>domus</i> is located beneath the palazzo Caprara and the Chiesa Scozzese, including a peristyle with gray marble columns placed on travertine bases. Small rooms, described as aule, and corridors surround the peristyle in brickwork from the third and fourth centuries (Lanciani 1884, 43-44).

Field	Data
	Additional rooms found in 1920 include a room with a travertine threshold at the main entrance on the south wall. This room included three rectangular niches along the side wall, two rectangular niches on either side of a semicircular niche on the back wall, and an opening in the NE corner of the room. This room is 4.88m wide by 8.35m long. The niches are 1.32m long by 0.60 m deep, and are 1.22m above the floor. The other two lateral niches on the opposite wall from entrance are of rectangular section, and are 0.95m wide by 0.65m deep. The adjacent niche with a central semi-circular section has a diameter of 1.94m (Gatti 1920, 277-8, fig. 1).
Structural building techniques	The rooms surrounding the peristyle were constructed of third century masonry, supplemented by a lower quality fourth century masonry (Lanciani 1884, 44). The rooms discovered in 1920 have alternating rows of brick and tuffa (Gatti 1920, 277).
	Inscriptions:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>CIL VI 1675 = 31902; 31940 (Platner and Ashby 1929). This marble cippus reads "Kamenii   Alfenio Ceionio Iuliano   Kamenio v. c. q(uaestori) k(andidato), praetori tri umf(ali), VII viro epulonuin, mag(istro),   p(atri) s(a)c(rorum) summi invicti Mitrai, iero fante Aecate , arc(hi)b(ucolo) dei Lib(eri), XV   viro s(acris) [f(aciundis)], tauroboliato d(eum) m(atris),   pontifici maiori, consula ri provinciae Numidiae,   iustitiae eius provisioniibusq(ue) confotis ominibus   dioceseos   gentilis p. m. (?), Restutits cornicu larius cum cartularis officii statuam   in domo sub aere posuerunt." (CIL VI 1675).</li> <li>MMM II No. 24; Vermaseren, no. 516: This was found during the construction of the villa Barberini (Lanciani 1884, 44).</li> <li>Alfenius is also refered to in an inscription from Antium, where he died (Vermaseren 1956, 111).</li> <li>Vermaseren, no. 515: This was found near St. Peters in 1949, and is from the Phrygianum in the Vatican City (Vermaseren 1956, no. 515).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Platner states that "Alfenius was a prominent member of the anti-Christian party in the fourth century, and was accused of practising magic in 368 (Amm. Marc. xxviii. I. 27) (Platner and Ashby 1929)."
Plan location	For part 1: see Lanciani 1884, plate IV; for part 2: see Gatti 1920, figure 1.
Bibliography	Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. 1886. Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita. Forsythe, G. 2012. Time in Roman Religion: One Thousand Years of Religious History, 4. New York: Routledge.

Field	Data
	Gatti, E. 1920. "Nuove scoperte di antichita in Roma e nel suburbio," <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> Anno 1920(Fascicolo 10, 11 e 12): 276-292.
	Gatti, G., and G. Annibaldi. 1943-1945. "Il mitreo Barberini I: Topografia e monumenti del luogo; II: Il sanctuario mitriaco," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 71: 97-108.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus s. Camenius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 119-120. Roma: Quasar.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hülsen, Christian. "Zur Topographie Des Quirinals (Hierzu Eine Karte)." Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge. 49 (1894): 379-423. esp. 387.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. pars IV, fasc. II Additamenta.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI: del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: II. Di magistrati.," <i>Bullettino della Commissione</i> <i>Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> XII: 40-45, tav. IV.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.
	Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef. 1956. Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae. 2 vols, Hagae Comitis.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.08
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Baths of Constantine

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Start Year	150
Time Period 01 End Year	310
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domus</i> was located in this area from the second century through the early fourth centuries CE (Platner and Ashby 1929, <i>Thermae Constantinianae</i> ). The form of the <i>nymphaeum</i> is suggested to date to the latter period of the Antonines. Two brick stamps were found supporting this dating in older part of the constructions below the <i>nymphaeum</i> , one dating to 150 CE and the other to 164 CE (Vespignani 1877, 61).
Time Period 02 Years	310-315
Time Period 02 Description	The <i>domus</i> was destroyed for the construction of the Baths of Constantine, built probably before 315 CE (Platner and Ashby 1929, <i>Thermae Constantinianae</i> ).
Excavation history	The <i>domus</i> and sections of the baths were excavated as a part of the creation of the via Nazionale from 1876-1878 (Vespignani 1876, 102). Remains of <i>domūs</i> of the second, third and fourth centuries have been excavated under the Baths of Constantine (Platner and Ashby 1929, <i>Thermae Constantinianae</i> ).
Description of Rooms	Among the domestic remains found was a <i>nymphaeum</i> of a fine private <i>domus</i> (Vespignani 1876, 102). Platner and Ashby connect this <i>nymphaeum</i> possibly with the <i>domus T. Avidii Quieti</i> based on an inscription, described below. The wall decoration included a lower level of white marble slabs and a white marble plinth, 1.20 meters high. The wall above reached 4.45 meters. The higher wall decoration was separated in sections of unequal width, decorated with small pilasters. The pilasters were all mosaic. Some pilasters were blue with floral runners, other had blue and white flowers and composite capitals with festoons of ribbons and fruit. The flat panels between the pilasters were covered in small pieces of pumice connected with stucco and painted yellow, the curved panels were similarly covered and painted red. Three mosaic lilies or tulips stand out from each panel. A small picture in mosaic also was placed at the center of each panel, showing a quadriga conducted by the figure of a winning charioteer with a palm in hand. One of these was labelled "ALTHONI" and moved to the office of the Commissione archeologica comunale. Panels made of strips of marble were placed in a panel with the appearance of a staircase, next to the red panels, and water would have run down them (Vespignani 1877, 60-61).
Structural	Part of the house uncovered had support walls sustaining the higher levels of the

Field	Data
building techniques	house and hill. Some of the support walls of the house reached over forty meters. The walls had an alternating flat and concave form (Vespignani 1877, 60).
-	
	Art: the finds found in the area of the <i>nymphaeum</i> include (Vespignani 1877, 62-64):
	- A statue of Jupiter, half life-size

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>A statue of Mars, half life-size</li> <li>A herm of young Hercules with Bacchic attributes, life-size</li> <li>Male portrait head, bald and bearded</li> <li>Statuette of a sleeping fisherman</li> <li>Statuette of a nymph, sitting, low quality</li> <li>A cup with an octupus decoration, and a row of pearls at the lip</li> <li>Fragment of a rhyton with a cupid decoration, in the storage of the Commissione</li> <li>Male torso in marble</li> <li>The wall decoration of the <i>nymphaeum</i> included multicolored wall mosaic and white marble. One decorated mosaic panel was moved to the office of the Commissione archeologica comunale (Vespignani 1877, 60-61).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Buildings with botteghe and <i>tabernae</i> were found adjacent to the <i>nymphaeum</i> (Vespignani 1876, 102, tav. XVI, XVII).
Plan location	For a plan of the <i>nymphaeum</i> , see Vespigiani 1877, tav. I.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1899. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV</i> <i>Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.</i> Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome.</i> Oxbow. Vespigiani, V. 1877. "Degli avanzi di un nifeo di casa privata," <i>Bullettino della</i>
Bibliography	<ul> <li><i>Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>: 59-65.</li> <li>Vespignani, Virginio. 1876. "Di Alcuni Antichi Edifizi Scoperti Nella Villa Aldobrandini E Nelle Sue Vicinanze." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 4(no. 1): 102-20, tav. XVI and XVII.</li> <li>Vilucchi, Silvia. 1986. "Le Terme Di Costantino Sul Quirinale E Gli Edifici Privati Di Eta' Precedente." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> XCI(no. 2): 350-54.</li> <li>Visconti, C. L. 1877. "Di Una Tavola Di Patronato Concernente II Legato Imperiale Avidio Quieto." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 5(no. 1): 66-75, Tav.IV, V and VIII.</li> </ul>

Field	Data

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.09a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domūs 1 and 2 under Santa Pudenziana
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Insula under Santa Pudenziana, Domus Pudenti, House of Pudens
Time Period 01 Start Year	150 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The foundations of a habitation were found from the second half of the second century BCE. These include a large containment wall and decorative floor from a possible residence (Angelleli 2010, 279).
Time Period 02 Years	50 BCE-1
Time Period 02 Description	The second phase of construction includes the construction of <i>domus</i> I against the original containment wall (Angellei 2010, 280).
Time Period 03 Years	20 BCE-20
Time Period 03 Description	Some time at the end of the first century BCE to the first decades of the first century CE, a second peristyle <i>domus</i> , represented by traces of architecture and mosaic flooring, was constructed, called here <i>domus</i> II (Angelleli 2010, 281).
Time Period 04 Years	50-96
Time Period 04 Description	The late Neronian to Flavia period saw the restoration of <i>domus</i> I and at least partial demolition of <i>domus</i> II. This restoration work is datable based on the construction technique. The peristyle of <i>domus</i> II was heavily altered or destroyed and replaced with a large mosaic with a white background (Angelleli 2010, 282).

Field	Data
Time Period 05 Years	128-150
Time Period 05 Description	In the late Hadrianic period the construction of an <i>insula</i> with residential and production spaces changed this are facing the vicus Patricius. The construction is datable to the Hadrianic period, no earlier than 128-134 CE, by means of brick stamps from the officinae Pudentianae. This <i>insula</i> destroyed the eastern portion of <i>domus</i> I, but the peristyle remained (Angelleli 2010, 282).
Time Period 06 Years	150-200
Time Period 06 Description	In the Antonine period the construction of a support platform consisting of vaulted galleries destroyed the remains of <i>domus</i> I and <i>domus</i> II and required the western windows of the <i>insula</i> be closed. The 'central court' thermal building was then constructed on top of this (Angelelli 2010, 283-284).
Excavation history	Already in the sixteenth century the church surveyed the ruins that stood inside. Remains of heating structures were seen, and Gamucci reported on them as the remains of the baths of Novato. During restorations of the church promoted by cardinal Enrico Caetani at the end of the sixteenth century, digging took place under Francesco da Volterra. The chapel of S. Prassede was dismantled in 1803 and led to the discovery of pieces of ancient paving, which were then haphazardly placed into the current church paving (Angelleli 2010, 99, 101).
	John Henry Parker is also recorded as having excavated in the basement of the church in the 1860s, discovering the remains of an ancient church. In 1870 further, careful archaeological survey was undertaken during explorations for the foundation for the construction of a new façade. Work undertaken to lengthen the via Balbo in 1888 resulted in a restructuring of Santa Prisca and in 1894 work to reduce humidity caused by the 1888 works was undertaken by the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. The 1894-1895 excavations covered a broad area and were published by Petrignani in 1934 (Angelleli 2010, 102, 105, 112).
	Then in 1905 the area was again excavated, this time by Costantino Maes, a librarian at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana di Roma. Maes was granted permission to excavate by the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione on the 28th of October, 1904. This excavation in documented in the Archivio della Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Angelleli 2010, 115).
	Petrignani again excavated the building from 1928-1930 in relation to some restorations of the church, focusing on the area of the central nave. He

Field	Data
	uncovered particularly, a polychrome mosaic, a curvilinear brick wall, and a space with symmetrically tubs and pools interpreted as a <i>nymphaeum</i> (Angelleli 2010, 116).
	Further excavation and restoration took place from 1962-1963 funded by cardinal Alberto di Jorio and supervised by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio. The records of this excavation are in the archive of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti di Roma. These works began with a focus to restore the brick walls of the basilica. The excavations revealed two large galleries in addition to previous spaces and excavated generally down to late republican and proto-imperial phases under the large brick structures. These excavations uncovered a great amount of remains, but also damaged the stratigraphic sequence in the process (Angelleli 2010, 126-130).
Description of Rooms	The foundations of the earliest structure from the second century BCE include a room with cement floor with central panel, suggested to be a <i>cubiculum</i> or <i>triclinium</i> (Angelleli 2010, 279). This building was followed by the construction of <i>domus</i> I. The remains of <i>domus</i> I include four rooms around a peristyle, with all the spaces paved in mosaic or <i>opus sectile</i> . A few decades later a second <i>domus</i> was constructed in the area with mosaic flooring and another peristyle. Evidence of three rooms facing a peristyle with colonnade have been found. The peristyle of the second <i>domus</i> was replaced in the mid to late first century by a large white ground mosaic (Angelleli 2010, 280-282).
Structural building techniques	The reconstruction work on the <i>domus</i> in the first century was done in unstamped bricks 4 cm tall, suggesting a Neronian date (Angelleli 2010, 282-284).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>Fragments of a statue of Laocoon were found in sixteenth century excavations for the cupola (Angelleli 2010, 100).</li> <li>A beautiful ancient Roman mosaic pavement was also found in the sixteenth century and detatched and given to Cardinal Alessandro Peretti, nephew of Sixtus V (Angelleli 2010, 100).</li> <li>In the late nineteenth century excavation, a red porphyry base, a fluted white marble column fragment, and other marble fragments were found (Angelleli 2010, 112).</li> <li>The <i>domus</i> II mosaic includes an orthogonal pattern of hexagons and rhombuses (Angelleli 2010, 281).</li> <li>ICR I, 347; ILCV I, 1270</li> </ul>
	- Inscriptions:

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>A base dedicated to C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (CIL VI, 1707) was found in the sixteenth century along with an inscription (CIL VI, 1775) about a restoration by Rufius Valerius Messala from the end of the fifth century (Angelleli 2010, 100-101).</li> <li>In the late nineteenth century three types of brick stamps were found in the remains, two Hadrianic stamps showing Q. Servilius Pudens (CIL XV, 1439), a Severian stamp with the stamp of figlinae Terentianae (CIL XV, 626), and a mid-first century stamp, according to Gatti, of figlinae Viccianae, which was unpublished. Another Antonine stamps CIL XV, 1145 was found further toward the Viminal hill in a brick floor under the remains of a mosaic, at a higher depth than mosaic located under the church (Angelleli 2010, 112).</li> <li>Brick stamps found from the officinae Pudentianae date the <i>insula</i> to the Hadrianic period, including CIL XV, 1430, 1434-1435, and 1439 (Angelleli 2010, 282).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the remains excavated under the basilica delineating the different phases of the remains see Angelleli 2010, tavolo XIV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXIII. In particular tavolo XVIII has remains of the suggested <i>domūs</i> .
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Aken, A. R. A. van. 1949. "Late Roman Domus Architecture," <i>Mnemosyne</i> 2 (3): 242-251.</li> <li>Angelelli, Claudia. 2007. <i>Santa Pudenziana. Il tessuto urbano preesistente, il titulus e l'evoluzione della struttura e della topografia</i>, Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana. Dissertation.</li> <li>Angelelli, Claudia. 2010. <i>La basilica titolare di S. Pudenziana: nuove ricerche, Monumenti di antichita cristiana</i>, Citta del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.</li> <li>Angelelli, Claudia. 2012. "Titulus Pudentis: Nuove Acquisizioni." In <i>Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma: atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana (Roma, 13 marzo 2008): Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane</i>, edited by Federico Guidobaldi and Hugo Brandenburg, 63-76. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.</li> <li>Calci, Carmelo. 2000. <i>Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica</i>. Roma: Adnkronos libri.</li> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1891. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.</i></li> <li>Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL).</i></li> </ul>
	Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.

Field	Data
	Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Lansford, Tyler. 2009. <i>The Latin inscriptions of Rome: a walking guide</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Parker, John Henry. "Parker Collection of Photographs of Ancient Roman Architecture and Sculpture." 931 photographic prints: albumen; 26 x 34 cm.; 5 leaves; 2 v. (219 photographic prints): albumen, ca. 1865-ca. 1883. "75. Chamber of the House of the Pudens family, c. AD 20." #1734
	Petrignani, Antonio. 1934. La Basilica di S. Pudenziana in Roma secondo gli scavi recentemente eseguiti, Citta del Vaticano.
	Schlatter, Fredric W. 1989. "The Text in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana." <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> 43 (2): 155-65.
	Schlatter, Fredric W. 1992. "Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana." <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> 46 (3): 276-95.
	Spieser, J. M. 1998. "The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches." <i>Gesta</i> 37(no. 1): 63-73.
	Tiberia, Vitaliano. 2003. Il Mosaico Di Santa Pudenziana a Roma: Il Restauro. Todi (PG), Italy: Ediart.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.09b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula under Santa Pudenziana
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Pudenti, House of Pudens
Time Period 01 Start Year	128

Field	Data
Time Period 01 End Year	150
Time Period 01 Description	In the late Hadrianic period the construction of an <i>insula</i> with residential and production spaces changed this are facing the vicus Patricius. The construction is datable to the Hadrianic period, no earlier than 128-134 CE, by means of brick stamps from the officinae Pudentianae. This <i>insula</i> destroyed the eastern portion of <i>domus</i> I, but the peristyle remained (Angelleli 2010, 282).
Time Period 02 Years	150-200
Time Period 02 Description	In the Antonine period the construction of a support platform consisting of vaulted galleries destroyed the remains of <i>domus</i> I and <i>domus</i> II and required the western windows of the <i>insula</i> be closed. The 'central court' thermal building was then constructed on top of this (Angelelli 2010, 283-284).
Time Period 03 Years	200-250
Time Period 03 Description	In the first half of the third century the <i>insula</i> and Antonine building were restored. In the restoration the doors of the ground floor of the <i>insula</i> were raised and wall painting with red lines on a white ground was added (Angelleli 2010, 286).
Time Period 04 Years	313-315
Time Period 04 Description	A base dedicated to C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (CIL VI, 1707) was found dating to 313-315 CE (Angelleli 2010, 100-101).
Time Period 05 Years	384-425
Time Period 05 Description	Lansford cites epigraphical evidence that the site hosted a congregation and clergy by the 380's and was thereby a Titulus at this point (Lansford 2009, 84). Angelleli states that at this point the courtyard building was converted into a three-aisled <i>aula</i> with the former courtyard making the central space. The higher floors and tops of the surrounding walls, including of the <i>insula</i> , were cut down at this point. Angelleli suggests these renovations were to meet the demands of the <i>titulus</i> Pudentis begun before the end of Pope Siricius, who was Pope from 384-399 (Angelleli 2010, 291). An inscription in 384 CE suggests that despite the absence of specific references there was already here a religious community

Field	Data
	(Angelleli 2007, 3-4).
Time Period 06 Years	475-500
Time Period 06 Description	A dedication about a restoration by Rufius Valerius Messala was found in this area from the end of the fifth century (Angelleli 2010, 100-101).
06 Description	Already in the sixteenth century the church surveyed the ruins that stood inside. Remains of heating structures were seen, and Gamucci reported on them as the remains of the baths of Novato. During restorations of the church promoted by cardinal Enrico Caetani at the end of the sixteenth century, digging took place under Francesco da Volterra. The chapel of S. Prassede was dismantled in 1803, and led to the discovery of pieces of ancient paving, which were then haphazardly placed into the current church paving (Angelleli 2010, 99, 101). John Henry Parker is also recorded as having excavated in the basement of the church in the 1860s, discovering the remains of an ancient church. In 1870 further, careful archaeological survey was undertaken during explorations for the foundation for the construction of a new façade. Work undertaken to lengthen the via Balbo in 1888 resulted in a restructuring of Santa Prisca and in 1894 work to reduce humidity caused by the 1888 works was undertaken by the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. The 1894-1895 excavations covered a broad area, and were published by Petrignani in 1934 (Angelleli 2010, 102, 105, 112). Then in 1905 the area was again excavated, this time by Costantino Maes, a librarian at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana di Roma. Maes was granted permission to excavate by the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione on the 28th of October, 1904. This excavation in documented in the Archivio della Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Angelleli 2010, 115).
	Petrignani again excavated the building from 1928-1930 in relation to some restorations of the church, focusing on the area of the central nave. He uncovered particularly, a polychrome mosaic, a curvilinear brick wall, and a space with symmetrically tubs and pools interpreted as a <i>nymphaeum</i> (Angelleli 2010, 116).
	Further excavation and restoration took place from 1962-1963 funded by cardinal Alberto di Jorio and supervised by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio. The records of this excavation are in the archive of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti di Roma. These works began with a focus to restore the brick walls of the basilica. The excavations revealed two large

Field	Data
	galleries in addition to previous spaces, and excavated generally down to late republican and proto-imperial phases under the large brick structures. These excavations uncovered a great amount of remains, but also damaged the stratigraphic sequence in the process (Angelleli 2010, 126-130).
Description of Rooms	The fourth century Titulus of Santa Pudenziana preserves the structure of the second century <i>insula</i> into which it was constructed. The church occupied the central court supported by the vaulted lower structures that were the street front shops (Lansford 2009, 84). The remains of the <i>insula</i> include three rooms from the ground floor and three rooms from an upper floor, though more rooms were likely to the north and south. The windows facing west indicate an open area in that direction at the time. Evidence from two rooms on the north side suggests that the building had three or four floors. The remaining rooms on both floors connect, and suggest a business function, though residential apartments may have been above (Angelleli 2010, 282-283).
	The Antonine building next to the <i>insula</i> has been reconstructed as a three naved <i>aula</i> with cross-vaults. Petrignani identifies it as thermal on the basis of some tubs. Guidobaldi, however, suggests it as an open courtyard with the tubs acting as fountains. In Angelleli's more recent research, she has determined that the building was a two-story building centered on a courtyard with complex fountains and straight and curving walls. The eastern side was missing due to the preexisting <i>insula</i> . The courtyard was surrounded by arches and supporting pilasters and walk-ways on two levels, with the lower level covered in cross vaults (Angellei 2010, 283-284). A series of tubs and pools, arranged symmetrically was found underneath the nave. The tubs were not coated, but a large pool was coated in marble slabs. All of these were covered by a later ancient mosaic. These were part of the courtyard building covered by the later covered <i>aula</i> basilica, and the mosaic's colored pattern of sinosoids and dolphins and its quality indicate that it was part of the covered room not the courtyard. The pattern also fits with the late antique period (Angelleli 2010, 115-117, 286, 296).
Structural building techniques	The tubs uncovered in the 1928-1930 excavations were constructed with drainage in 30 cm thick walls of <i>opus spicatum</i> of tufelli and brick without plaster coating. Another deeper pool was constructed of brick walls 30 cm thick and lined with marble slabs. A mosaic covered and destroyed these tubs and pools in ancient times (Angelleli 2010, 116-117). The containment wall from the second century BCE was built in opus incertum and from the same period there is a cement floor on a tile base with stone chips in a central panel (Angelleli 2010, 279). The Antonine building was constructed in an unusual technique of <i>opus mixtum</i> with toothed brickwork and framed rectangles in <i>opus spicatum</i> of horizontal rows of tufelli and brick (Angelleli 2010, 282-284).

Field	Data
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>Fragments of a statue of Laocoon were found in sixteenth century excavations for the cupola (Angelleli 2010, 100).</li> <li>A beautiful ancient Roman mosaic pavement was also found in the sixteenth century and detatched and given to Cardinal Alessandro Peretti, nephew of Sixtus V (Angelleli 2010, 100).</li> <li>In the late nineteenth century excavation, a red porphyry base, a fluted white marble column fragment, and other marble fragments were found (Angelleli 2010, 112).</li> <li>The <i>domus</i> II mosaic includes an orthogonal pattern of hexagons and rhombuses (Angelleli 2010, 281).</li> <li>ICR I, 347; ILCV I, 1270</li> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>A base dedicated to C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (CIL VI, 1707) was found in the sixteenth century along with an inscription (CL VI, 1775) about a restoration by Rufius Valerius Messala from the end of the fifth century (Angelleli 2010, 100-101).</li> <li>In the late nineteenth century three types of brick stamps were found in the remains, two Hadrianic stamps showing Q. Servilius Pudens (CIL XV, 1439), a Severian stamp with the stamp of figlinae Terentianae (CIL XV, 626), and a mid-first century stamp, according to Gatti, of figlinae Viccianae, which was unpublished. Another Antonine stamps CIL XV, 1145 was found further toward the Viminal hill in a brick floor under the church (Angelleli 2010, 112).</li> <li>Brick stamps found from the officinae Pudentianae date the <i>insula</i> to the Hadrianic period, including CIL XV, 1430, 1434-1435, and 1439 (Angelleli 2010, 282).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the remains excavated under the basilica delineating the different phases of the remains see Angelleli 2010, tavolo XIV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXIII. In particular tavolo XVIII has remains of the suggested <i>domūs</i> .
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Aken, A. R. A. van. 1949. "Late Roman Domus Architecture," <i>Mnemosyne</i> 2 (3), 242-251.</li> <li>Angelelli, Claudia. 2007. <i>Santa Pudenziana. Il tessuto urbano preesistente, il titulus e l'evoluzione della struttura e della topografia</i>, Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana. Dissertation.</li> <li>Angelelli, Claudia. 2010. <i>La basilica titolare di S. Pudenziana: nuove ricerche</i>,</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Monumenti di antichita cristiana, Citta del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
	Angelelli, Claudia. 2012. "Titulus Pudentis: Nuove Acquisizioni." In Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma: atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana (Roma, 13 marzo 2008): Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane, edited by Federico Guidobaldi and Hugo Brandenburg, 63-76. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Lansford, Tyler. 2009. <i>The Latin inscriptions of Rome: a walking guide</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Parker, John Henry. "Parker Collection of Photographs of Ancient Roman Architecture and Sculpture." 931 photographic prints: albumen; 26 x 34 cm.; 5 leaves; 2 v. (219 photographic prints): albumen, ca. 1865-ca. 1883. "75. Chamber of the House of the Pudens family, c. AD 20." #1734
	Petrignani, Antonio. 1934. La Basilica di S. Pudenziana in Roma secondo gli scavi recentemente eseguiti, Citta del Vaticano.
	Schlatter, Fredric W. 1989. "The Text in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana." <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> 43 (2): 155-65.
	Schlatter, Fredric W. 1992. "Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana." <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> 46 (3): 276-95.
	Spieser, J. M. 1998. "The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches." <i>Gesta</i> 37 (no. 1): 63-73.
	Tiberia, Vitaliano. 2003. Il Mosaico Di Santa Pudenziana a Roma: Il Restauro. Todi (PG), Italy: Ediart.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VI.10
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	<i>domus</i> dei Flavi
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>domus</i> found near via XX settembre and via Barberini and via Salita Nicola Tolentino; <i>domus T. Flavius Sabinus</i>
Time Period 01 Start Year	200 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	A building of multiple periods from the late Republic to the early empire was found under the casmera dei Corazzieri (Coarelli 2008, 310-311).
Time Period 02 Years	60-79
Time Period 02 Description	Walls in <i>opus reticulatum</i> mixtum from the first century were found in an area associated with inscriptions referencing T. Flavius Sabinus, suggesting the first century <i>domus</i> dei Flavi (Pietrangeli 1984; Torelli 1995, 102-103). The style of the mosaic decoration dates it to the end of the Neronian or beginning of the Flavian period (Coarelli 2008, 311).
Excavation history	A fistula identifying T. Flavius Sabinus was found in 1893, and other inscriptions referencing Sabinus were located in the foundations of the new Banca Nazionale and otherwise on the Quirinal in the 1880's (CIL XV 7451, VI 29788, 32021). More remains of the <i>domus</i> were found in 1963 during a renovation of the caserma dei Corazzieri. Near the <i>domus</i> a temple podium and a piece of the Servian walls were found (Pietrangeli 1984, 34). Additionally, more building was found, during an excavation by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma in 1965 and 1971, in the area of the caserma del Reggimento Corazzieri, in via XX Settembre no. 12 in a space related to the 'sala mensa' (Cifani 2008, 66).
Description of Rooms	A length of wall in opus quadratum was found in the area of the caserma, preserved to five rows height, following the slope of the hill. This wall leans on the structures of the <i>domus</i> dei Flavi, constructed in <i>opus mixtum</i> , including a <i>nymphaeum</i> decorated with mosaic (Cifani 2008, 66). Walls with glass paste

Field	Data
	mosaics were found in 1963 in the area of the caserma from the first century CE (Torelli 1995, 102-103). The glass mosaic was covered in scenes of architecture and myth including Hylas and the nymphs, in the fourth style. Another semi- circular niche wall was also covered in glass mosaic. The discovery of lead pipes indicates the use of this room as a <i>nymphaeum</i> . The large cement podium uphill from the <i>nymphaeum</i> is suggested by Coarelli as the foundation of the aedes gentis Flaviae (Coarelli 2008, 311).
Structural building techniques	The opus quadratum wall was constructed with blocks placed in alternating rows of granular gray tufa (length 7.2m width 2.2-2.3 m, height 1.1 m). The <i>opus mixtum</i> walls are from the early imperial period (Cifani 2008, 66).
	Inscriptions:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>CIL XV 7451 - A fistula inscribed "T.FLAVI.SABINI" was found at the corner of the via XX settembre at the Methodist-episcopal church (CIL XV 7451).</li> <li>CIL VI 4.2 31031 - Found in the foundation in 1887, during construction on the Banca Nazionale, a cippus contains the following: "DD/T.FLAVIVS/urceus SABINVS patera/SILVANO/SANCTO" (CIL VI 31021). Two other fragments mentioning Silvano were also found in the foundation s(CIL VI 31020, 31022).</li> <li>CIL VI 4.1 29788 - Another inscription was found in the 1880s on the Quirnal hill stating "INTER.DVOS/PARIETES/AMBITVS.PRIVAT/FLAVI.SABINI" (CIL VI 29788).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	The first century walls have been presented by Coarelli as part of the <i>domus</i> of T. Flavius Sabinus, later incorporated into the templum Gentis Flaviae (Torelli 1995, 102-103).
Plan location	For the plan of the remains excavated in the caserma die Corazzieri, see Coarelli 2008, 310.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Cifani, Gabriele. 2008. Architettura Romana Arcaica: Edilizia E Società Tra Monarchia E Repubblica. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.</li> <li>Coarelli, Filippo. 2008. Roma. 2a. ed, Guide archeologiche Laterza. Roma: Laterza.</li> <li>De Vos, Mariette, and Arnold De Vos. 1997. Dionysus, Hylas e Isis sui monti di Roma: tre monumenti con decorazione parietale in Roma antica (Palatino, Quirinale, Oppio). Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Stato.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.
	Gatti, G. 1887. "VII. Roma: Regione VI." <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> 1887:108-109.
	Gatti, G. 1893. "IV. Roma: Regione VI." <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> 1893:418-419.
	Gatti, Giuseppe. 1887. "Trovamenti risguardanti la topografia e la epigrafia urbana." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> : 96-106.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. pars IV, fasc. II Additamenta.
	Kramer, N., and C. Reitz. 2011. <i>Tradition und Erneuerung: Mediale Strategien in der Zeit der Fla-vier</i> : De Gruyter.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo, and Cecilia Pericoli Ridolfini. 1984. <i>Rione II: Trevi: Fasc. I, Parte II, Guide Rionali di Roma</i> . Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori.
	Torelli, Mario. 1995. "Domus: T. Flavius Sabinus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> . 2, <i>D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 102-103. Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.01a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insulae at the Fontana di Trevi
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Domus</i> under the Trevi Cinema, la Citta' dell'Acqua, <i>Insula</i> del <i>Vicus</i> <i>Caprarius</i> , Area Archeologica del <i>Vicus Caprarius</i> , <i>Insula</i> di S. Vincenzo, archeologia sotterranea a Fontana di Trevi

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Start Year	64
Time Period 01 End Year	101
Time Period 01 Description	Originally, two <i>insulae</i> were constructed in the Neronian period along the vicus Caprarius, likely after the fire in 64 CE (Grig and Kelly 2015, 143). This construction phase is identifiable by an in situ brickstamp (Insalaco 2005, 20).
Time Period 02 Years	101-138
Time Period 02 Description	The first major renovation of the <i>insulae</i> took place in the first half of the second century (Insalaco 2005, 20). A dated brick stamp in the south <i>insula</i> supports a Hadrianic (123 CE) date for this renovation. This is the point when a stairway was added to connect the ground and first floor, and also the point at which two rooms were converted into a cistern (Insalaco 2005, 24-25, 30).
Time Period 03 Years	161-181
	The <i>insulae</i> were again renovated with a brick stamp found in situ dating it to the principate of Marcus Aurelius. In this renovation the main stairs from the first to second floors were added and certain rooms were converted to a cistern (Grig and Kelly 2015, 148; Insalaco 2005, 20).
Excavation history	The site under the Trevi Cinema was excavated from 1999-2001 during a renovation of the building with the support of Gruppo Cremonini. During the excavation, the site extended to around 350 square meters and was discovered at a depth of 9 meters below the pavement (Grig and Kelly 2015, 143; <i>La Citta dell'Acqua</i> 2005). It was then made into a museum, preserving the remains and finds.
Description of Rooms	The two <i>insulae</i> were adjacent including at least three stories. The corridor in the northern <i>insula</i> was a cavaedium in the Neronian period, open to the air, with windows to the upper floors that were later converted to doors. The corridor then led to the stairway up to the first floor through a doorway. In the early second century the corridor was covered with a wooden ceiling. A further stairway to the second floor was added under Marcus Aurelius (Insalaco 2005, 30). Two large rooms on the ground floor of the south <i>insula</i> were converted to a cistern under the principate of Marcus Aurelius.

Field	Data
	The remaining rooms of the <i>domus</i> consist of two interior spaces from the second floor, a latrine with fountain on the ground floor, and the central courtyard. The <i>insulae</i> had been renovated into a late antique <i>domus</i> in the fourth century. Lead pipes, found in situ, provided water for this and for a basin on the ground floor (Grig and Kelly 2015, 147-148). The remaining rooms on the south end of the <i>domus</i> consist of two rooms from the <i>insula</i> that were turned into a cistern on the ground floor (Grig and Kelly 2015, 147-148).
Structural building techniques	The brickwork of the Neronian phase is identifiable as first century both by a brick stamp and by the masonry form. The brickwork masonry of the first renovation of the <i>insulae</i> is also datable, to the first half of the second century CE, and a brick stamp dates the second renovation stage to the period of Marcus Aurelius. During the first renovation, two rooms in the south <i>insula</i> were converted to a cistern by constructing a second layer of interior walls in the interior to thicken the construction, and then covering them in a thick layer of water impermeable cocciopesto. The addition of the wooden covering to the corridor in the second century was accomplished by placing beams into the brick walls, and the floor was raised with a new layer of <i>opus spicatum</i> (Insalaco 2005, 20, 25, 30).
	Inscriptions:
	<ul> <li>Brick stamps were found that date the Neronian construction, the Antonine renovation (Insalaco 2005, 20), and the bipedale bricks of the corridor to the fourth century (Grig and Kelly 2015, 143).</li> <li>Art:</li> </ul>
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Marble floor from the late antique period, which was made in part of reused marble, including pieces from a funerary context not earlier than the second century CE, dedicated to a Cirrius Euthycus by his wife. The marble was laid in an uneven mosaic in white marble, giallo antico, and Greco scritto, showing a perimeter with an acanthus volute outlined in black and a white background (Grig and Kelly 2015, 147; Insalaco 2005, 30, 37-39).</li> <li>A second-century statue of a female figure in a heavy himation with a carved fringed hem, likely from a funerary context, was found among the decorative objects of the fourth century <i>domus</i>. This was among reused art objects, which also included the above-mentioned marble and a Corinthian capital in luna marble from the first or second centuries CE (Grig and Kelly 2015, 147; Insalaco 2005, 35-37).</li> <li>Additionally, contemporary fourth century decorative works were found for the <i>domus</i>, including small pillars and a composite capital in luna marble, likely anchored to a wall near a <i>nymphaeum</i> or such decoration</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>in an aedicule (Insalaco 2005, 37).</li> <li>Found close to the surface soil, out of context, were a few objects of art, including: a white marble male head of the Antonine period similar to images of Alexander Helios or Mithras, a female head, possibly of a female divinity, and a Horus statuette in the shape of a falcon in Luna marble (Insalaco 2005, 39-41).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Insalaco 2005, 13.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Balch, D.L., and C. Osiek. 2003. Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.</li> <li>Grig, L., and G. Kelly. 2015. Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity: Oxford University Press.</li> <li>Insalaco, Antonio. 2000. "Il criptoportico di San Gregorio," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 5 (1): 18-22.</li> <li>Insalaco, Antonio. 2000. "Il quartiere romano di S. Vincenzo a Trevi," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 5 (3): 4-12.</li> <li>Insalaco, Antonio. 2005. La citta dell'acqua: archeologia sotterranea a Fontana di Trevi. Rist. ed, Milano: [S.I.]: Electa.</li> <li>La Citta dell'Acqua: underground archaeology at Trevi Fountain, Pocket Guide. 2005. Roma: Gruppo Cremoni.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.01b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus at the Fontana di Trevi
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Domus</i> under the Trevi Cinema, la Citta' dell'Acqua, <i>Insula</i> del <i>Vicus</i> <i>Caprarius</i> , Area Archeologica del <i>Vicus Caprarius</i> , <i>Insula</i> di S. Vincenzo, archeologia sotterranea a Fontana di Trevi
Time Period 01	350

Field	Data
Start Year	
Time Period 01 End Year	450
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>insulae</i> were remodeled into a late-antique high-quality <i>domus</i> ( <i>La Citta dell'Acqua</i> 2005). The new <i>domus</i> owners repaved the previously communal main corridor leading to the stairway using bipedal bricks, blocked off the area, and added a latrine. A courtyard and a reception room were also decorated and added (Grig and Kelly 2015, 143-144). A stairway was added at this time to connect the courtyard with the first floor of the building (Insalaco 2005, 25).
Time Period 02 Years	450-475
Time Period 02 Description	In the mid-fifth century the building was destroyed (Balch 2003, 5).
Excavation history	The site under the Trevi Cinema was excavated from 1999-2001 during a renovation of the building with the support of Gruppo Cremonini. During the excavation, the site extended to around 350 square meters and was discovered at a depth of 9 meters below the pavement (Grig and Kelly 2015, 143; <i>La Citta dell'Acqua</i> 2005). It was then made into a museum, preserving the remains and finds.
Description of Rooms	The remaining rooms of the <i>domus</i> consist of two interior spaces from the second floor, a latrine with fountain on the ground floor, and the central courtyard. The <i>insulae</i> had been renovated into a late antique <i>domus</i> in the fourth century, and the main entry corridor leading to the stairs was closed off, repaved, and the latrine added. Lead pipes, found in situ, provided water for this and for a basin on the ground floor (Grig and Kelly 2015, 147-148). The remaining rooms on the south end of the <i>domus</i> consist of two rooms from the <i>insula</i> that were turned into a cistern on the ground floor, and the remains of medieval rooms on the level of the second floor. This cistern further supplied the area with water associated with the Aqua Virgo (Grig and Kelly 2015, 148).
Structural building techniques	The <i>insulae</i> were modified in the fourth century to become a <i>domus</i> . An addition to the stairway to connect the courtyard to the first floor in the fourth century was added in opus listatum. At the same time the stairway originally constructed under Marcus Aurelius in brickwork was dressed with white marble and 'grecco scritto'. The decorative mosaic floor was made in white marble, 'grecco scritto', and 'giallo antico' (Insalaco 2005, 20, 25, 37).

Field	Data
	Inscriptions:
	- Brick stamps were found that date the Neronian construction, the Antonine renovation (Insalaco 2005, 20), and the bipedale bricks of the corridor to the fourth century (Grig and Kelly 2015, 143).
	Art:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Marble floor from the late antique period, which was made in part of reused marble, including pieces from a funerary context not earlier than the second century CE, dedicated to a Cirrius Euthycus by his wife. The marble was laid in an uneven mosaic in white marble, giallo antico, and Greco scritto, showing a perimeter with an acanthus volute outlined in black and a white background (Grig and Kelly 2015, 147; Insalaco 2005, 30, 37-39).</li> <li>A second-century statue of a female figure in a heavy himation with a carved fringed hem, likely from a funerary context, was found among the decorative objects of the fourth century <i>domus</i>. This was among reused art objects, which also included the above-mentioned marble and a Corinthian capital in luna marble from the first or second centuries CE (Grig and Kelly 2015, 147; Insalaco 2005, 35-37).</li> <li>Additionally, contemporary fourth century decorative works were found for the <i>domus</i>, including small pillars and a composite capital in luna marble (Insalaco 2005, 37).</li> <li>Found close to the surface soil, out of context, were a few objects of art, including: a white marble male head of the Antonine period similar to images of Alexander Helios or Mithras, a female head, possibly of a female divinity, and a Horus statuette in the shape of a falcon in Luna marble (Insalaco 2005, 39-41).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Insalaco 2005, 13.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Balch, D.L., and C. Osiek. 2003. <i>Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue</i>: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.</li> <li>Grig, L., and G. Kelly. 2015. <i>Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity</i>: Oxford University Press.</li> <li>Insalaco, Antonio. 2000. "Il criptoportico di San Gregorio," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 5 (1): 18-22.</li> <li>Insalaco, Antonio. 2000. "Il quartiere romano di S. Vincenzo a Trevi," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 5 (3): 4-12.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Insalaco, Antonio. 2005. La citta dell'acqua: archeologia sotterranea a Fontana di Trevi. Rist. ed, Milano: [S.1.]: Electa. La Citta dell'Acqua: underground archaeology at Trevi Fountain, Pocket Guide. 2005. Roma: Gruppo Cremoni.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus at Galleria Alberto Sordi
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Insulae</i> at Galleria Alberto Sordi; "sterri per la costruzione dell'edificio", <i>Domus</i> degli Artemii
Time Period 01 Start Year	117
Time Period 01 End Year	138
Time Period 01 Description	The best recorded construction phase for these buildings is the Hadrianic Period (La Rocca 2013, 5; Gobbi 2013, 9). Brick stamps were found in the construction dating to the second century CE (CIL XV, 90 b, 226) (Gatti 1917, 10).
Time Period 02 Years	301-400 CE
Time Period 02 Description	Fourth century renovations are indicated, particularly visible in the fourth century mosaic found in the southeastern building. At an unknown later date the buildings stopped functioning as residences (Cavallero 2011, 183-186).
Excavation history	The entire complex was excavated in phases between the end of the nineteenth century and 1955 (Gobbi 2013, 9). The buildings of the main <i>insulae</i> , however, were excavated for the construction of the Galleria at the Piazza Colonna, primarily between 1914 and 1917 (Carta Arch. 1964, 193, 197). The Galleria

Field	Data
	was purchased by the Sorgente Group in 2009 (La Rocca 2013, 4).
Description of Rooms	The <i>insulae</i> were regularly shaped with three placed alongside each other on the via Lata. They had multiple stories and a large evenly spaced portico on the face fronting the via Lata. Shops opened under the portico on the via Lata, and directly onto the streets on the other sides. The <i>insulae</i> had an average size of 45 x 65 meters. The central of the three <i>insulae</i> had ten spaces opening onto the via Lata. Each was a different size, but all were constructed in brick masonry with barrel vaults. Seven of these spaces have been identified as <i>tabernae</i> , some with space for back rooms. Some of the <i>tabernae</i> contained passageways to join them to the adjacent space. Two of the other spaces have been identified as entrances to the interior of the <i>insula</i> . Two spaces with cross vaults and entrances marked with pillars were found in the interior of the <i>insula</i> , which have been suggested as shop warehouses or service spaces for slaves in the residences above. One room with an apsidal back room on the eastern side of the building had an opus spicattum floor. A large decorative stairway stood on the eastern side, leading to the upper floors, and contained a black and white mosaic and two brick entrance columns. This room was later converted to a latrine, and a travertine slab with a drain groove remained in place (Cavallero 2011, 178-180). The conversion may coincide with the addition of the second stairway at the northeast corner of the <i>insula</i> that has travertine steps and brick landings. We have no remains of the upper floors. The regularity of the <i>insulae</i> of the north and south of this central <i>insula</i> under the Galleria Colonna. In the northermost <i>insulae</i> in Rome and Ostia (Gobbi 2013, 9-10).

Field	Data
	possible taberna, another into a series of five connected rooms, which are each about the size of a taberna, and the third to a more private interior space. This entrance had columns in marble and a travertine threshold. It led to a hall from which one accessed further rooms by means of a step with a marble tread. The first of these rooms had a black and white mosaic with a hexagon and square pattern, followed by a series of three further rooms with barrel vaults. The first of the barrel vaulted rooms connected with the next through a brick arch, supported by two marble pilasters with marble Corinthian capitals. This room led to the next through three openings with small arches supported by Ionic columns. This room led to a small apsed room with a window. Two other rooms may have been stairwells, though little is known of other floors. A final additional long narrow room has been identified as a <i>nymphaeum</i> . It contained nine niches alternating in a semicircular or square shape (Cavallero 2011, 182- 185).
	The NE <i>insula</i> behind those on the via Lata had evidence of a small heated room with hypocaust, suggesting a bath, possibly for private use. It also contained a small open space off a four columned peristyle, the bases of which were found in situ. Additionally on the northwestern exterior corner there were two structures, one semicircular and the other rectangular, lined in opus signinum, suggesting these were public fountains servicing the neighborhood. Cavallero suggests this floor was a single domestic unit of an <i>insula</i> format, with other multiple residences on now absent floors above (Cavallero 2011, 182).
Structural building techniques	All three <i>insulae</i> have a long portico constructed with cross-vaults on the side that borders the via Lata (Gobbi 2013, 9). The portico was constructed on pilasters with travertine bases and brick verticles. These pilasters matched brick pilasters on either sides of the doors to the interior shops, also resting on travertine, which was continuous and also functioned as the threshold for the entrances (Cavallero 2011, 178-180). The three were also similar in construction techniques and ground plans. The three sides along the north, east, and south do not have the porticoes, however, and shops open directly to the street. The shops opening to the via Lata were constructed in brick masonry with 60 cm thick walls and barrel vaults (Gobbi 2013, 9).
	The stairway in the central <i>insula</i> on the via Lata is made with travertine steps and brick landings, and contained two brick entrance columns that were 39 cm in diameter (Cavallero 2011, 180; Gobbi 2013, 10).
	The column bases in the four column peristyle in the southeastern building were twenty cm in height and 47 cm in diameter (Cavallero 2011, 182).
	In the northeastern building stood an entrance with columns in marble and a

Field	Data
	travertine threshold. It led to a hall from which one accessed further rooms by means of a step with a marble tread that measured 1.95 x 0.51 m. The next room contained a black and white mosaic, and the interior three rooms had barrel vaults. The <i>nymphaeum</i> to the east of these was 1.76 x 18.44 m and paved in opus signinum (Cavallero 2011, 183-185).
	Art and Inscriptions:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>A Statue of Igea that was headless, in Parian marble was found (See Mestilli, M. M. 68 s. no. 10).</li> <li>Statue of Asclepio included a remaining torso in Parian marble was fund (See Mestilli, M. M. 118 s. no. 7).</li> <li>A portrait head in Greek marble was found.</li> <li>A small cippo was found in white marble with a dedication to Silvano, ai Lari, ai Penati (CIL VI, 582).</li> <li>A head of a bambino in Greek marble was found.</li> <li>A fragment of a Pan sculpture in white marble was found with the upper part including a figure of young Pan who plays the siringa/panpipe before a pilaster.</li> <li>Other finds included fragments of sculpture, marble sheet with inscription in large letters of two Augusti, architectural marbles including columns, capitals, bases, etc., and numerous brick stamps (Carta Arch. 1964, no. 204, 195).</li> <li>An engraving of a card table and ancient names, Sebera and Barbera, and two monograms, Cartilius and Leontius, were found on the marble step in the interior of the southeastern building (Cavallero 2011, 184).</li> <li>A copper pipe in the <i>nymphaeum</i> led to lead pipes in the walls. The pipes were inscribed Artemii (Cavallo 2011, 185).</li> <li>Brick stamps were found in the stairwell area of the central via Lata <i>insula</i> dating to the second century CE (CIL XV, 90 b, 226) (Gatti 1917, 10).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	These <i>insulae</i> provide one of the best clear examples of a real urban district in the city (Carta Arch. 1964, no. 204, 193). The via Lata marked the distinction between the ancient Regio IX Circus Flaminius to its west, full of the monumental public features of the Campus Martius and the ancient Regio VII Via Lata to its east, a more residential area, including the <i>insulae</i> described herein (Gobbi 2013, 9).
Plan location	See the plan by G. Gatti in Carta archeologica di Roma 1964, Tav. II, Fig. 5 or Gobbi 2013, page 9, fig. 2.
Bibliography	Cavallero, Fabio. 2011. "La via Lata e i suoi quartieri abitativi di età adrianea." in <i>La Galleria di Piazza Colonna</i> . 177-186. New York: Sorgente Group;

Field	Data
	Umberto Allemandi & Co.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.
	Gatti, E. "Scoperte di antichita a Piazza Colonna," Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita, 1917, 9-20.
	Gatti, G. 1989. "Caratteristiche edilizie di un quartiere abitativo del II secolo d. Cr." In <i>Topografia ed edilizia di Roma antica: ristampa anastatica di tutti gli articoli di Guglielmo Gatti, pubblicati dal 1934 al 1979</i> , 283-300. Rome.
	Gatti, Guglielmo. Archivio della Soprintendenza Speciale, Palazzo Altemps.
	Gatti, Guglielmo. Archivio di Stato. Sch. 6, Regione VII.
	Gobbi, Cecilia. 2013. "Ancora sull'area archeologica sotto la Galleria Colonna." <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 17 (1): 9-12.
	Italy. Direzione generale per le antichità e belle arti. 1964. <i>Carta archeologica di Roma</i> , Tav. II. Firenze: Istituto Geografico Militare.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2013. "L'area archeologica della Galleria in Piazza Colonna e la colonna di Marco Aurelio.," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di</i> <i>Roma antica</i> 17 (1): 4-8.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1999. "La Domus Degli Artemii." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> C: 229-35.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula at the Piazza Venezia
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Insula under the Palazzo Generali; Insula on the via Lata

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Start Year	80
Time Period 01 End Year	96
Time Period 01 Description	An <i>insula</i> with taberna directly facing the via Lata was uncovered, the constructino of which can be dated to the Flavian period from the foundation fill (Egidi and Serlorenzi 2008; Serlorenzi and Sagui 2008, 178).
Time Period 02 Years	193-217
Time Period 02 Description	A major remodeling of the <i>insula</i> took place between the end of the second century CE and the early third century, around the Severan period (Egidi and Serlorenzi 2008). This phase of remodeling saw reconstructed walls and new architectural decoration. The constructions are datable based on stratigraphy, the pilasters rest on soil of this period, and anepigraphic brick stamps, which date from at earliest the Hadrianic period, but were spread widely in the Severian period (Serlorenzi and Sagui 2008, 180-181).
Time Period 03 Years	117-138
Time Period 03 Description	An <i>insula</i> with public functions was constructed nearby in the Hadrianic period with the so-called Library of Hadrian (Soprintendenza).
Time Period 04 Years	200-500
Time Period 04 Description	The <i>insula</i> stood throughout this period with only minor remodeling (Egidi and Serlorenzi 2008). Maintence work took place on the <i>insula</i> between the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, but exhibited continuity with the Severan plan. The fourth century also saw the obliteration of the corridor paving and introduction of a pit, likely used with metalwork. In the fifth century the entryways to the <i>tabernae</i> were remodeled, packed earth floors were added, and further remodeling to individual spaces took place (Serlorenzi and Sagui 2008, 180-181). A stairway and pathway were found with associated pipes from the area of the <i>insula</i> , dated to the fifth century by the construction (Gatti 1904, 341).
Time Period 05	501-700

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 05 Description	In the sixth century the function of the area changed, and more production and metalworking became common. Metalworking and such workshops were set into the <i>insulae</i> of this area. By the seventh century the metalworking was abandoned and the <i>insula</i> was used for construction and funerary purposes (Egidi and Serlorenzi 2008).
Excavation history	In 1889 the demolition for the monument of the Vittoriano took place in the area between the Palazzetto di Venezia and the Convento dell'Aracoeli, uncovering many ruins. Subsequently, construction for the Assicurazioni Generali began initial stages on the fourteenth of October 1902, covering 3450 square meters in this area. The Palazzo Torlonia was demolished on the Piazza Venezia for its regularization along with the Palazzo alla Catena dei Bonelli at the corner of the via Cesare Battisti (Scrinari 1993, 17-19). The associated archaeological investigation uncovered portions of <i>insulae</i> and the later identified Hadrian's Auditoria between 1902 and 1904 (Gatti 1904, 341-343). Further archaeological investigation was undertaken here in the early 2000's in preparation for the Metro line C station, which will be located in the Piazza Venezia. These investigations confirmed the earlier discovered results of a complex archaeological stratigraphy with many <i>insulae</i> in this area (Egidi and Serlorenzi 2008). Just to the west of this <i>insula</i> , excavations took place between 2007 and 2011 by the Direzione Scientifica della Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (Soprintendenza) uncovered the remains of a public building considered to be Hadrian's Auditoria. Two of the meeting halls of the first floor were excavated in this period, and the third was previously excavated during the early 1900's excavation for the Assicurazioni Generali (Soprintendenza).
Description of Rooms	At a very low level (m 7,25), a pavement of a Roman road appears in all its preparation, limited by a walkway in travertine that carried erect is a terminal boundary stone, this also in travertine (height 2.00 m, width 0.75m). The excavation recovered some columns of cipollino, palombino, and white marble (Scrinari 1993, 23). This road and an associated stairway, covered in marble slabs, at the side of the <i>insula</i> can be dated to the fifth century CE. The names Laurentius and Flavius Astertius were found on associated pipes (Gatti 1904, 341-342). The first century CE <i>insula</i> included three rectangular rooms, likely <i>tabernae</i> , which have been fully excavated, and a staircase to floors above, facing the via Lata. The second century renovations saw the walls of the <i>tabernae</i> rebuilt and doors added to their rears leading to a corridor. The <i>insula</i> stood in this form through the fifth century, with only some maintenance restorations (Egidi and Serlorenzi 2008). The so-called library of Hadrian consisted of a two story

Field	Data	
	building across a curved street from the Forum of Trajan. The ground floor contained three meeting halls with stands along a central corridor. The halls were decorated in polychrome marble (Soprintendenza).	
Structural building techniques	The first century <i>insula</i> was constructed in a cement, formed at the foundations of pozzolanica mortar, travertine chips, and tuff blocks, and at upper levels faced with brick. Above the foundations, the partition walls and ceilings were reconstructed in <i>opus latericium</i> in the second century. Also in the second century, the corridor behind the <i>tabernae</i> was paved in cocciopesto. In the fifth century a brick pilaster in <i>opus latericium</i> from the Severan period is replaced with a similar pilaster in opus listatum with an amphora core. Fifth century drains were also found, shored up in brick, and covered in marble slabs and mortar (Serlorenzi and Sagui 2008, 178-181). The marble decoration and construction of the steps found in 1902-1904 was dated to the fifth century, possibly a renovation of an earlier structure (Gatti 1904, 341-345).	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>In 1902-1903 two medium lead pipes were found near the remains of a public building of roughly the fifth century. The pipes bore the name, twice, "LAURENTI V C REGIONE VII; VC REGIONE VII." (Scrinari 1993, 23; Gatti 1904, 341-342).</li> <li>Pipes were also found carrying the inscription "EL ASTERI VC." Eck provides the suggestion of FL (avi) Asteri v (iri) c (larissimi) for the original inscription. The owner of the water supply is suggested to have been from a well known late antique family. The consular ordinaries from 449 CE include FI. Turcius Rufius Apronius Asterius (Eck 1995, 38-39; Gatti 1904, 341-342).</li> <li>Graffiti and inscribed game-boards were found in the marble slabs of the public steps uncovered in 1902-1904. In addition to game boards, graffiti naming and drawing boxers and gladiators were found. One graffito includes the boxers Leopradus and Marupius (Gatti 1904, 342-344).</li> <li>Architectural Ornament:</li> <li>Fragmentary smooth half-columns were found near the pilasters in the corridor of the <i>insula</i>, behind the <i>tabernae</i> (Serlorenzi and Sagui 2008, 180-181).</li> </ul>	
Plan location	For a plan of Gatti's excavations see Serlorenzi and Sagui 2008, fig. 1, for a plan of the recent metro line C excavations, see Serlorenzi and Sagui 2008, fig.s 5, 7, 9, and 14.	

Field	Data
Bibliography	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Fl(avius) Asterius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 38-39. Roma: Quasar.
	Egidi, Roberto and Mirella Serlorenzi. 2008. "Piazza Venezia." on <i>FastiOnline</i> . http://www.fastionline.org/micro_view.php?item_key=fst_cd&fst_cd=AIAC_2 257 (accessed August 17, 2017).
	Gatti, G. 1904. "Notizie di Recenti Trovamenti di Antichita in Roma e Nel Suburbio.," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 32: 341-359.
	Gatti, Guglielmo, Edoardo Gatti, and Giuseppe Gatti. 1888-1950. "Palazzo General documents" In " <i>Archivio Gatti Edoardo E Guglielmo</i> ." edited by Archivio Centrale dello Stato. Roma.
	Scrinari, Valnea Santa Maria. 1993. <i>Il Palazzo delle Generali: a Piazza Venezia</i> , Roma.
	Serlorenzi, Mirella, and Lucia Sagui. 2008. "Roma, piazza Venezia. L'indagine archeologica per la realizzazione della metropolitana. Le fasi medievali e moderne," <i>Archeologia medievale</i> . XXXV: 175-198.
	Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il MNR e l'Area Archeologica di Roma. "Gli auditoria di Adriano." In <i>Ministero dei beni e delle attivita</i> <i>culturali e del turismo</i> . http://archeoroma.beniculturali.it/siti-archeologici/gli- auditoria-adriano (accessed August 18, 2017).

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.04
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula north of the street that lies under via delle Tre Cannelle.
Time Period 01 Start Year	25
Time Period 01 End Year	75

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Description	The two tiles found with brick stamps are datable to the mid first century, according to the CIL (Dressel 1891, CIL XV 657c). This would date a construction phase to this period of growth in central Rome.
Excavation history	In 1909 a portion of an <i>insula</i> was excavated at the corner of the via delle Tre Cannelle and the via Nazionale. The excavation ran from the walls of the girls' school Erminia Foà Fusinato to the limits of those roads (Pasqui 1909, 109). The building is in the same urban sector as the <i>domus</i> under Palazzo Valentini (Lanciani 1901).
Description of Rooms	The portion of <i>insula</i> discovered in 1909 included six spaces. One room directly on the via Nazionale was paved in spina di pesce ending in the brick walls of the room. In this room thresholds of doors with markings for the door post were found, but they were not in situ. Another room off the via delle Tre Cannelle was enclosed on the west side by a brick wall and the other sides by <i>opus reticulatum</i> . This room had two layers of paving, both in spina di pesce. The higher paving passed over the reticulatum wall and under the foundations of the girls' school Erminia Foà Fusinato located opposite the via. A section of ancient road paving was found between these two rooms (Pasqui 1909, 109-110).
Structural building techniques	Some of the walls recorded were in <i>opus reticulatum</i> . Nearby these were two parallel walls in brick, roughly 0.45 m thick, and one of these was leaning on a brick pillar 1 m by 0.90 m in size (Pasqui 1909, 109). See the description of the rooms above for more building techniques used in this <i>insula</i> .
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>CIL XV 657c – Two tiles with the stamp CIL XV 657c were found (Pasqui 1909, 110). An example of this stamp is in the Vatican Museum. It is a half-moon with "TONNEIANA.DE.FIGLIN" opposite "VICCIANIS" with a palm branch in between, thus the name Tonneiana de Figlinis Viccianis – mid firstcentury (Dressel 1891, CIL XV 657c).</li> <li>Two marble parallelepipedi were uncovered, one 0.33 X 0.20 X 0.9 meters, the other 0.18 X 0.15 X 0.07 meters. A grove was worked into one of the main faces, 0.015 meters deep, 0.115 meters long, and 0.09 meters wide. One of the groves was curved on three sides. Pasqui suggests these as supports for the feet of furniture (Pasqui 1909, 110).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Pasqui 1909, figure 1 for a plan of the area found in 1909.
Bibliography	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Inscritiones Urbis Roame Latinae Instrumentum Domesticum. Apud G. Reimerum.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.

Field	Data
	Pasqui, A. 1909. "Nuove scoperte nella citta e nel suburbio," <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> VI (Fasc. 4): 109-115.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula ai Marioniti
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Insula at via Arcione; Il complesso dei Maroniti; Domus Gaius Fulvius Plautianus; Domus Caius Fulvius Plautianus, Domus di Caio Fulvio Plauziano
Time Period 01 Start Year	101
Time Period 01 End Year	200
Time Period 01 Description	The most eastern <i>insula</i> consists of several residential structures dating from the second to the fourth century CE. Originally the apsed room communicated directly with the southern part of the building. The high quality sculptures, see below, date from the second century (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 10-12, 14-17). Caius Fulvius Plautianus was Praetorian Prefect in 197 CE (Pietrangeli and Ridolfini 1984, 230).
Time Period 02 Years	201-300
Time Period 02 Description	The construction of the westernmost <i>insula</i> is dated to the third century CE by its construction type. The <i>aula</i> of the central <i>insula</i> dates to the third century (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 9). The <i>opus sectile</i> in the easternmost <i>insula</i> , in the <i>domus</i> on the northeastern side, dates from the third to fourth century CE (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 12). While the <i>domus</i> in the northeastern section of the excavation has been suggested as that of Fulvius Plautianus, consul in 203 CE and Praetorian prefect, the excavation does not confirm this conclusion as Plautianus died in 205 CE and the grandest phase of the <i>domus</i>

Field	Data
	was from the end of the third century (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 12).
Time Period 03 Years	301-400
Time Period 03 Description	The <i>aula</i> of the central <i>insula</i> was remodeled in the fourth century. The <i>aula</i> was also redecorated with marble on the walls. The original black and white mosaic remained in the apse but was otherwise covered in marble paving. A long narrow basin was constructed on the western wall, decorated with marble slabs and statuettes, some of which were found in place. The four terracotta pots found inside, inserted into the wall, indicate a function for the space of spawning and raising fish (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 9). In the fourth century CE the easternmost <i>insula</i> was renovated and the portal between the apsed room and the rooms to the south was closed. The apsed room was originally part of a residence to the south, but, once closed off in the fourth century, it likely became a taberna of some kind. Another <i>domus</i> or residence was located in the northern and eastern portions of the <i>insula</i> (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 10-12).
Time Period 04 Years	400+
Time Period 04 Description	At a late phase a lime kiln was added in the westernmost <i>insula</i> , and marbles taken from nearby buildings were found there (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 12).
Excavation history	This area was excavated between 1969 and 1973 in the block between the via in Arcione and via dei Maroniti because of works for the construction of a parking deck for the Societa Immobiliare Rione Trevi (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 6; Caronna 1985, 360). This resulted in the excavation of an area of 1540 square meters. The excavation focused on the center of a large modern residential block at the base of the Quirnal hill. The excavations required the control of the water in this area from the Acqua Sallustiana by pumps. There were excavations in the nearby area in the eighteenth century, at Piazza Colonna from 1914-1915 (see Cat. Entry VII.02), and again for the sottopassaggio of Largo Chigi in 1955, revealing a series of similar buildings, residential <i>insulae</i> , to those found at Maroniti, separated by two stone ancient streets (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 6-7).
Description of Rooms	The area excavated includes three buildings, separated by two ancient streets (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 7). The western of the three buildings uncovered included the ground floor of a large <i>insula</i> with five <i>tabernae</i> , opening onto the street to the east. The five <i>tabernae</i> had a long portico with

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>pilasters on the opposite western side, which was probably an internal courtyard for the <i>insula</i>. The spaces between the pilasters were closed in a later period and the courtyard became a large room. This <i>insula</i> has traces of stairs, indicating upper floors.</li> <li>The street to the east was 8.25 meters wide. The central <i>insula</i> was long and</li> </ul>
	narrow with a large rectangular <i>aula</i> . An apse was added in the fourth century to the north wall, a long basin to the west wall, and a corridor to the east wall. The <i>aula</i> was redecorated in marble at that time. The corridor connected the <i>aula</i> to the other rooms of the <i>insula</i> , to the north and south. The marble decorated corridor has been suggested to have many different functions, such as a <i>nymphaeum</i> or as a part of religious rituals, based on the association with the nearby fish tub.
	To the east of this the second paved road is 6 meters wide, and further several residential structures dating from the second to the fourth century CE stand as the easternmost <i>insula</i> . The <i>insula</i> contains a northern and southern part, arranged on either side of a large room with an apse pushing into the street to its west. The southern portion was originally paved in black and white mosaic, and originally directly communicated with the apsed room. An entrance to the building with a travertine threshold was found in the apse toward the street. This apsed room, and that to the south were originally a grand entrance to a residence. A separate residence was located in the northern and eastern portions of the <i>insula</i> around another apsed room. This residence was decorated with geometric <i>opus sectile</i> paving and marble wall decorations with vegetal motifs. A corridor connecting rooms in the residence was paved in alternating white marble slabs and colored stone strips. The decorations of this residence suggest a rich third century <i>domus</i> (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 7-12). A lead pipe was found in the area of this northeastern section on which the name Caius Fulvius Plautianus was inscribed, along with a case of statues that are now in the Musei Capitolini (Pietrangeli and Ridolfini 1984, 230).
	The westernmost <i>insula</i> was constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> of a third century style.
Structural building techniques	The apse of the <i>aula</i> from the fourth century was constructed in opus listatum. The third <i>insula</i> to the east was constructed in the second century with black and white mosaic floors, and the door communicating with the apsed room was closed in the fourth century with a wall of opus listatum. The entrance door into the apse from the street was also partially closed in the fourth century with opus listatum (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 9-12).
Finds from the	Artworks:

589

Field	Data
site	<ul> <li>A number of stately statues were found at the lime kiln supporting the earlier wealth of these nearby residences (Romano and Lucignani 2010, 14-17):</li> <li>A second century statue of Diana as a hunter was found.</li> <li>A second century CE group of Mars and Venus was found, worked in a block of white veined marble.</li> <li>An Antonine, 138-192 CE, headless female statue, possibly of Fortune, dressed in chiton and mantel, was found at a larger than life scale of 1.62 meters.</li> </ul>
	Other sculpture in the area:
	<ul> <li>Portraits of Lucilla and Macrinus were uncovered (Varner 2004, 161).</li> <li>Statues of Hermes, Priapus, a Satyr 'giacente', a Greek 'stratega' portrait of man from the fifth century BCE, and reliefs with masks were also found (Pietrangeli and Ridolfini 1984, 230).</li> </ul>
	Inscriptions:
	- A lead pipe with the name of Caius Fulvius Plautianus was uncovered (Astolfi 1998, 34).
Plan location	For a plan of the excavated area, see Romano and Lucignani, page 7, or Astolfi 1998, page 35.
	Astolfi, Franco. 1998. "Il quartiere romano di via in Arcione," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 3</i> (4): 32-39.
	Bonfiglietti, R. 1927. "Gli Orti di C. Fulvio Plauziano sul Quirinale," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 54: 145-175.
	Caronna, E. Lissi. 1985. "Un complesso edilizio tra via in Arcione, via dei Maroniti e vicolo dei Maroniti," Roma: archeologia nel centro 2.
Bibliography	Mariani, L. 1902. "Di alcune altre sculture provenienti dalla galleria sotto il Quirinale," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 30: 3-24.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo, and Cecilia Pericoli Ridolfini. 1984. <i>Rione II: Trevi: Fasc. I, Parte II, Guide Rionali di Roma</i> . Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori.
	Romano, Gabriele, and Roberto Lucignani. 2010. "Il Complesso Dei Maroniti." <i>Roma una Citta', un Impero</i> 1(no. 3 Aprile): 4-17.

Field	Data
	Santangelo, M. 1941. "Il Quirinale nell'antichita classica," <i>Memorie della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i> 1941.
	Varner, Eric R. 2004. Mutilation and transformation: damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial portraiture, Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Boston: Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.06
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus via del Babuino
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus T. Sexti Africani; Domus T. Sextius Africanus
Time Period 01 Start Year	1
Time Period 01 End Year	100
Time Period 01 Description	The inscription is dated to the first century based on Letter forms, and mentions the senatorial family Africanus (Eck 1995, 27). None of the portraits date past the Neronian period (Varner 2004, 70).
Excavation history	This <i>domus</i> was excavated in 1880, during the construction for the foundations of the Anglican Church (Eck 1995, 27; Lanciani 1901, pl. I). An inscription referring to the name Africanus was discovered during the excavations in the foundation of the Anglican church at the corner of the via Babuino and the via Gesu-Maria (Lanciani 1881, 29). A small cache of large bronze portraits representing members of the imperial family, including Augustus and Nero, was also found. Additionally, a piece of iron railing, broken pieces of bronze sculpture, and pieces of reticulatum wall were found (Fiorelli 1880, 466). Giuseppe Scalambrini acquired the fragmentary inscription and small cache of bronze portrait heads from the excavation (Von Bothmer 1976, 155; Lanciani 1881, 29).
Description of	The inscription honoring family members that was found might have hung in a

Field	Data
Rooms	<i>lararium</i> , peristyle or <i>atrium</i> (Fiorelli 1880, 466). The portraits were discovered in an underground passage of the house along with a piece of iron grating, possibly indicating a storage area (Varner 2004, 70; Lanciani 1889, 297; Hill 1939, 409). Additionally, some refined sculptural decorations, were uncovered inside ancient buildings, as well (Centrale Montemartini Label, " <i>Domus</i> scoperta a via del Babuino"). The peristyle, indicated in Lanciani's plan, is described as simple with stone columns covered in painted stucco (Lanciani 1901, pl. I; Lanciani 1883, 286).
Structural building techniques	Pieces of <i>opus reticulatum</i> wall, which intersected at right angles, were found in the excavation (Fiorelli 1880, 466).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>CIL VI 31684 – An inscription was found on a sheet of Numidic marble, yellow breccia, broken in small pieces (Lanciani 1881, 29; CIL VI 31684). The designation of the house as the <i>domus L. Sexti Africani</i> is based entirely on this inscription, and its connection to the excavation was lost already in 1907 (Jordan 1907, 451).</li> <li>A small cache of bronze portraits was found, including a portrait of Nero that was a conflation of his second and third styles. The portrait of Nero's face is in the Centrale Montemartini museum, and the rest is in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore. The cache of portraits also included two portraits of Augustus, a portrait of Gaius Caesar, and an unidentified Julio-Claudian prince (Varner 2004, 70). A bronze portrait of Gaius Caesar and a delicate portrait of a girl are displayed in the Centrale Montemartini Museum (Bertoletti 1997, 57).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	<ul> <li>There are two theories on how the heads got there. Lanciani suggests that they were stolen from the Mausoleum of Augustus and stored here for later sale. However, Hill suggests that they were stashed below ground by the original owners during the Neronian conflict, a theory which the portrait dates support (Hill 1939, 8; Varner 2004, 70).</li> <li>The location of this house in the first century may be more in keeping with a villa than an urban <i>domus</i> (Hill 1939, 8). The ancient house faces the ancient via del Babuino, which has been shown through excavations to have been present through antiquity (Jordan 1907, 451). References be found periodically (Visconti and Vespignani 1877, 207).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the excavated remains see Lanciani 1901, pl. I, bottom right corner.
Bibliography	Bertoletti, Marina, Maddalena Cima, Emilia Talamo, and Centrale

592

Field	Data
	Montemartini (Roma). 1997. Sculture di Roma antica: collezioni dei Musei Capitolini alla Centrale Montemartini. Milano: Electa.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Africanus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> . 2, <i>D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 27. Roma: Quasar.
	Fiorelli. 1880. "VII. Roma: Regione VII." <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i> Anno 1880 (Maggio):466.
	Hill, Dorothy Kent. 1939. "A Cache of Bronze Portraits of the Julio-Claudians." <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 43 (3):401-409.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. pars IV, fasc. II Additamenta.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. Inscriptiones urbis Romae latinae. collegit et edidit Christianus Huelsen. Additamenta. Vol. VI. Partis quartae fasciculus posterior. Berolini: apud G. Reimerum.
	Jordan, Henri, and Christian Hülsen. 1907. <i>Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum</i> : vol. I.3 Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
	Jordan, Henri, and Christian Hülsen. 1906. <i>Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum</i> . vol. IV Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
	Klebs, Elimar, Paul von Rohden, Hermann Dessau, and Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1897. <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III.</i> 3 vols. Berolini: Apud G. Reimerum.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1881. "Supplementi al volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (continuazione) (Tav. I)." <i>Bullettino Della</i> <i>Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma</i> 9:3-47.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1883. "Notes from Rome." <i>The Athenaeum</i> No 2888 (March 3): 285-286.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1889. Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries. London.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae. Roma.
	Varner, Eric R. 2004. Mutilation and transformation: damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial portraiture, Monumenta Graeca et Romana. Boston: Brill.

Field	Data
	Visconti, Carlo Lodovico and Virginio Vespignani. 1877. "Delle scoperte avvenute per la demolizione delle torri della porta Flaminia (Tav. XX e XXI)." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Comunale di Roma</i> : 184-252.
	von Bothmer, Dietrich. 1976. "The Babuino Bronzes." In <i>In memoriam Otto J. Brendel : essays in archaeology and the humanities</i> , edited by Otto Brendel, Larissa Bonfante, Helga von Heintze and Carla Lord, 155-158. Mainz: P. von Zabern.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VII.07
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus at La Rinascente
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus at the Acqua Virgo; domus via del Tritone
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	50
Time Period 01 Description	The Salaria Vetus was paved and lined with funerary monuments between the first century BCE and early first century CE. Baumgartner reports that the Acqua Virgo, built by Agrippa, was constructed over a previously unknown aqueduct (Custodero 2017; Baumgartner 2017, 44).
Time Period 02 Years	175-275
Time Period 02 Description	The <i>domus</i> was constructed between the end of the second century and third century (Baumgartner 2017, 44).
Time Period 03 Years	275-375

Data
The <i>domus</i> was remodeled and the <i>balneum</i> was constructed between the end of the third century and the fifth century CE, and they were decorated with polychrome mosaics (Custodero 2017; Baumgartner 2017, 44). Two large presentation spaces with apses were added over older rectilinear rooms during this period.
375-500
One of the presentation spaces was converted to a dining space with stibadium between end of the fourth and the fifth century within the <i>domus</i> (Saviano 2017, 111).
During the construction of a new palazzo for the department store La Rinascente, between the via Due Macelli and via del Tritone, a small region of ancient Rome including a section of the Acqua Virgo and a <i>domus</i> were uncovered and recorded. In a collaboration between the Beni Culturali della Soprintendenza Speciale di Roma and the private company of La Rinascente the arches of the Acqua Virgo were consolidated and preserved on the bottom level of the store along with a multimedia presentation of the area (Custodero 2017). First soundings took place from 2010 to 2012, followed by excavations from 2013-2015, and finally in-depth studies and work took place from 2016- 2017 (Baumgartner 2017, 41).
The <i>domus</i> fits into a section of the city with <i>tabernae</i> and acqueducts, and includes a stibadium, a dining room with a semicircular dining couch, only the second found in Rome after one on the Palatine. The <i>domus</i> is also associated with a <i>balneum</i> that stands directly on the opposite side of the ancient street (Custodero 2017). An open-air garden or courtyard (room 12 in the plan) stands to the south of two rows of rooms, a first row that runs along the street (1, 4, 7-8, and 24 on the plan) and a second row that runs along the garden (4-6, 10-11, and 13-15 on the plan). In the first phase rooms 4, 5/6, 10/11, and 13 opened onto the garden framed with pilasters or columns. Room 13 had a simple beaten earth floor. Room 13 led to room 24 along the street through a portal with two cipollino columns on white marble attic bases. Room 8 stood next to 24, and beyond this along the street was the small room 7 with a black and white marble mosaic with a geometric pattern consisting of spirals of peltshields and pseudo-emblema made of kantharos in vegetal cornices. The walls of this room preserved a dressing of white marble at the floor level. Room 4, to the right of this had a paving in green and white rectangles of marble and a set of two pilasters separating the lower portion that would have opened onto area 12. In the first phase this was a large highly decorative room.

Field	Data
	western side of room 24 and another on the western side of room 13. Room 24 was also combined with room 8 to make it a longer apsidal <i>aula</i> . The <i>aula</i> had half-pilasters delimiting four areas and was paved in multiple patterns of <i>opus sectile</i> , including a section of bands surrounded by strips, and different sections of diamonds overlapping squares. The apse of room 13 is hypothesized to have had a tub in it. The <i>stibadium</i> was added to room 4 after this (Saviano 2017, 107-111).
	The <i>balneum</i> included two <i>apodyteria</i> with entrances to the street, and to the west, a <i>frigidarium</i> with a rear apsed pool leading from a cistern. The <i>frigidarium</i> had a second apsed pool added to the opposite side of the room in its second phase. To the west of this was a <i>tepidarium</i> , leading to a <i>destrictarium</i> , and then to a <i>caldarium</i> with a rear apse and two side apses that contained pools. Through a portal in the rear apse was a circular <i>laconicum</i> (Saviano 2017, 114-115, 118).
Structural building techniques	The <i>domus</i> was constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> between the end of the second and early third centuries. The remodeling in the fourth century was also constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> . Many of the rooms were decorated in <i>opus sectile</i> pavement, and the small room 7 was paved in black and white mosaic (Saviano 2017, 107, 109).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Pavements:</li> <li>Opus sectile pavements were found in the apisdal hall and stibadium of the domus.</li> <li>Room 7 of the domus had a geometric black and white mosaic.</li> <li>The easternmost apodyterium included a black and white mosaic with a theme of sea creatures and gods over a white ground (Buonaguro and Rinaldi 2017, 138-139).</li> </ul>
Plan location	See the image overall plan of the area in Baumgartner 2017, page 45, figure 8, and phases of the <i>domus</i> and <i>balneum</i> in Saviano 2017, pages 108, 111, 114, 115, and 120, figs. 1, 2, 7, 12, 14, 15, and 25.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Baumgartner, Marta, et al. 2017. <i>Roma rinascente: la citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio</i>. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte.</li> <li>Baumgartner, Marta. 2017. "La citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio: evoluzione di un contesto urbano." In <i>Roma rinascente: la citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio</i>, edited by Marta Baumgartner, 41-52. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte.</li> <li>Buonaguro, Stefano, and Federica Rinaldi. 2017. "Domus e Balneum: apparativi decorativi." In <i>Roma rinascente: la citta antica tra Quirinale e</i></li> </ul>

Field	Data
	<i>Pincio, edited by Marta Baumgartner</i> , 124-145. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte.
	Custodero, Roberto. 2017. "Sotto la Rinascente scorreva l'Aqua Virgo. Eccezionale ritrovamento in via del Tritone." <i>Roma Reppublica</i> , September 16, 2017, https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/09/16/news/sotto_la_rinascente_scorre va_1_aqua_virgo_eccezionale_ritrovamento_sotto_via_del_tritone.
	Saviano, Nicoletta. 2017. "Domus e Balneum." In <i>Roma rinascente: la citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio</i> , edited by Marta Baumgartner, 107-123. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.01a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	domus A under the Palazzo Valentini
Time Period 01 Start Year	110
Time Period 01 End Year	300
Time Period 01 Description	The systemization of this area was completed under Trajan, during which the saddle shaped hill that joined the Quirinal and Capitoline was lowered and covered with a concrete platform that was paved with travertine slabs (La Rocca 2006). The perimeter walls of <i>domus</i> A were added to this area at the turn of the first to second century or slightly after in the early second century (Baldassarri 2009, 347-349). The first phase of construction of the mosaic room was in the second century CE, which is visible in the perimeter wall of the building, constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> on a stylobate of travertine (Gobbi 2008, 19).
Time Period 02 Years	150-200
Time Period 02 Description	The mosaic room was renovated at some not too long after its construction and pilasters, which had been open, were closed and blocked up by very similarly constructed walls. This suggests a change of function to the room. <i>Cubiculum</i>

Field	Data
	and <i>Triclinium</i> are the later tentative suggestions (Baldassarri 2009, 349). The first-round paving stones were placed in the middle of the second century CE, and are typical of Roman roads (Baldassarri 2008, 46-47). At some point between the end of the second and beginning of the third century the basolato was removed, as attested by pipes at the same depth which would have required the removal of the basolato. The pipes may relate to a small fountain in the open area in this period (Baldassarri 2008, 53-55).
Time Period 03 Years	201-300
Time Period 03 Description	The paving outside the <i>domus</i> was demolished around the end of the third century CE and was replaced with a paving of travertine slabs that were a part of raising the ground level (La Rocca 2006).
Excavation history	Over the course of the 16th to 18th centuries there were sporadic finds related to occasions of construction on the Palazzo (Del Signore 2008, xxi). At another excavation in 1878 on the site of the destruction of the casa Provenzani (Lanciani 1901, tav. XXII), excavators discovered within the city block what appears to be the remains of an <i>atrium</i> with four columns to the west along with five parallel walls farther east that likely relate to the Forum or Markets of Trajan (Fiorelli 1878, 164) to the south of an ancient road, which roughly parallels the modern via dell Tre Cannelle, just to the east of the Palazzo Valentini. This <i>atrium</i> with impluvium indicates the entrance to a <i>domus</i> to the south of the road, and is thought to be the entrance to <i>domus</i> A. The area that would connect them underneath the modern Via di Sant'Eufemia has not been excavated, but the remains of <i>domus</i> A under the Palazzo Valentini clearly extend east in the direction of this <i>atrium</i> . Subsequent excavations between this time and 1954 discovered the remains of a likely <i>insula</i> to the north of the same ancient road (Baldassarri 2008, 44-46). Recent excavations sponsored by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma began in three underground rooms on the northwest corner of the Palazzo Valentini in 1980-1981. This excavation period brought to light a series of heated rooms termed the "Piccole Terme" or small baths, which were dated to between the middle and end of the third century CE. This thermal structure, however, is related to <i>domus</i> B (see cat entry VIII.02), not <i>domus</i> A (De Spagnolis 1981, 138-140). The large-scale excavation related to the Palazzo Valentini resumed in 2005 in five underground rooms on the eastern side of the Palazzo along the Via di Sant'Eufemia. This period of excavation discovered the rooms termed "Le <i>Domus</i> Romane" related to both Roman <i>domūs</i> (A and B) with decoration pertaining to the late antique dressing of the building (Baldassarri 2008, 31). The excavation is directed by Eugenia La Rocca (Fast

Field	Data
	room on the history of the province, among other things. The plan was quickly altered to accommodate the public multi-media presentation of the excavated remains instead (Del Signore 2008, xx). Additional related excavation work beginning in 2011 has continued on the southwestern most rooms underneath the Palazzo Valentini as part of the quest for the elusive templum Divi Traiani et Divae Plotinae. This excavation period has been termed "delle ex-Carceri" (Baldassarri 2012a, 47-49). The excavations of the <i>domūs</i> under the Palazzo Valentini and the spaces relating to the Forum of Trajan are continuing in a number of spaces. The rooms of <i>domus</i> A to the south of the peristyle room are part of this excavation, and include a room with a circular plan, which is suggested as a possible thermal structure (Baldassari 2008, 56).
Description of Rooms	This <i>domus</i> has two large interior rooms, the mosaic room and the peristyle, that have nearly been fully excavated. There is a further section of rooms, including a circular room, partially explored but little published. Additionally, there is a paved, exterior courtyard or piazza area to the west, and an excavated space that was probably associated to the east under the casa Provenzani. An 1878 excavation revealed an <i>atrium</i> with impluvium, which had four columns at the corners, of an ancient <i>domus</i> , under the casa Provenzani, and it suggested to be attached to <i>domus</i> A (Baldassarri 2008, 44-46; Lanciani 1901, tav. XXII). The mosaic room first had pilasters that were later blocked up, and after that it was paved with a geometric stone mosaic. The walls of this room were decorated with painted plaster, faint traces of which are visible at the base of the walls. The plaster shows vivid colors in green and red on a white background (Baldassarri 2008, 58). The peristyle room had a portico surrounding a central area open to the air. While at times sketchy, it preserves a black and white mosaic pavement, and the northern and eastern corridors of the portico, which are lined by pilaster bases interspersed with slabs of white marble marking the portico (Gobbi 2008, 19). It is unknown if the central area was originally entirely paved in mosaic, or if so, how rain water drained from the area, as currently no pipes or water tank have been found associated with this (Baldassari 2008, 56-57). There was an entrance to an eastern room from the eastern wall at the north side of the peristyle. While the door is visible, the room has not been excavated, as it is under the street. This would lead in the general direction of the <i>atrium</i> from the 1878 excavation. An entrance to the mosaic room to the north is present on the northern wall of the room. The passage from the peristyle room is marked by a threshold of Proconnesian marble, which preserves the holes for the ancient door hinges (Baldassarri 2008, 57).

Field	Data
Structural building techniques	The walls in the mosaic room are preserved up to 2 meters in height (Gobbi 2008, 17, 20). These were constructed in opera laterizia on high stylobates of two rows of travertine blocks (Baldassarri 2008, 41-42). The walls on the western and southern side of the northern room include pilasters with greater thickness and less thick dividing walls that connect these pilasters. The pilasters and dividing walls are set against each other but not bound to each other. The masonry was thus not one set process (Baldassarri 2008, 42). Baldassarri originally thought these dividing walls were added almost immediately or during construction due to a similarity in the masonry but has later discovered on further examination that the dividing walls were added later to block up the spaces between the pilasters. This suggests a slight change in the function of this room, at a point not too long after its original construction. Cubiculum and Triclinium are the tentative suggestions (Baldassarri 2009, 349). The <i>domus</i> had walls in opera laterizia up to 50 cm below the third-fourth century mosaic paving of the room, which shows that the original phase of the house had a lower floor level that was raised later (Baldassarri 2008, 59). Outside of the exterior western wall of the <i>domus</i> were found hydraulic tubs with hydraulic structure built in opera laterizia and covered in 2cm of cocciopesto, which was spread on the wall of the house at the same time. Masonry ramps descend from this area with terracotta pipes which would have disposed of water from latrines and the tubs (Baldassarri 2008, 42-44).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Artworks:</li> <li>Obelisk: In an open area (modern room 20) related to the <i>domus</i>, a fragment of a Ptolemaic or Proto-imperial obelisk in red granite was found (Baldassarri 2012, 1635).</li> <li>Fragment of an oscillum with the feet of a satyr: Maximum diameter largest fragment 16.5 cm, maximum diameter smallest fragment 6 cm. There are two fragments without a join that both have a well preserved surface and chipping, minor scratches, stains and encrustations on the framing (Baldassarri et al 2008, 128).</li> <li>Statue of Ascelpius: The statue is standing. White marble and 23.5 cm high, the statue is primarily the torso with the head, lower legs, and lower right arm missing (Baldassarri et al 2008, 130).</li> <li>Description of other finds: <ul> <li>Many various items were found in the excavations of this area. I will include the primary ones here, but for the rest see Baldassarri et. al 2008.</li> <li>Among the sculptural finds were an oscillum fragment and a statue of Asclepius. There were a number of fragments of architectural sculpture. In an open area (modern room 20) related to the <i>domus</i>, a fragment of a</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

600
-----

Ptolemaic or Proto-imperial obelisk in red granite was found (Baldassarri 2012, 1635). A fragment of a small column in cipollino marble, and a
<ul> <li>large rectangular block from a Corinthian pilaster capital were found in this room. The column fragment is smaller (diam. 40 cm), and thus could be from somewhere in the house. The pilaster capital is large and thus likely from a public building in the vicinity and was brought here in a period of post-antique reuse. The capital dates to the Augustan period based on stylistic analysis, due to the acanthus leaf design and rendering. It dates to the mid or late first half of the first century CE (Baldassarri 2008, 59-60, and note 54). There were a number of fragments of inscised glass, as well as many late antique ceramic lamps, bowls, and amphorae. Additionally, renaissance ceramics wre found. In bone there were two broken hair pins and a pendent of unknown date found in rooms 4 and 2. Brick stamps dating from the early second to early third century CE, and from the age of Maxentius were found in the areas of both <i>domūs</i> A and B (see Baldassarri et al 2008, 132-144, 149-150, 156-165). First to second century CE painted wall stucco fragments were found in room 4 and fragments of stucco cornice moldings from the second century CE were found in rooms 2 and 5 (Baldassarri et al 2008, 166-169).</li> </ul>
The excavations have regularly sought to discover the nearby elusive templum Divi Traiani et Divae Plotinae, and visitors can now see two broken, immense 50-foot granite column shafts, which are somehow related to the Forum of Trajan (Coates-Stephens 2012, 331). A possible fountain in opera laterizia was found related to three pipes, two larger and one smaller perpendicular to the other two, in the area west of <i>domus</i> A. The pipes are associated with a paving level of terracotta tiles, which preserve badly eroded stamps, datable only to between the end of second and early third c. CE. On the greater fistula it also preserves part of an inscription: M. Aur. Ant. et L. Aur. (Baldassarri 2008, 53- 54).
See Del Signore 2008, fig. 19; and Baldassarri 2009, fig. 2
<ul> <li>Baldassarri, Paola, and Luisa Napoli. 2015. "Palazzo Valentini: Archaeological discoveries and redevelopment projects." <i>Frontiers of Architectural Research</i> 4:91-99.</li> <li>Baldassarri, Paola, Ilaria de Luca, Antonella Lumacone, Claudio Noviello, Marzia Quattrocchi, Lucia Saguì, and Sabrina Zampini. 2008. "Schedatura dei materiali rinvenuti." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i>, edited by Roberto Del Signore, 127-180. Rome: Provincia di Roma.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro Traiano," <i>Rendiconti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia</i> : 343-384.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2008. "Indagine archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. La campagna 2005-2007." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> , edited by Roberto Del Signore, 29-80. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini: domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro di Traiano," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. (Serie 3), Rendiconti</i> LXXXI: 343-384.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2010. "Materiali, motivi e ispirazione africana nell'arredo decorativo delle domus di Palazzo Valentini in Roma," <i>L'Africa Romana</i> 19: 1631-1650.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. "Nuove Indagini Archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 17 (Mag.): 45-52.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. Palazzo Valentini (Rome, Italy) - Archaeological Investigations and Preservation. Paper read at CMA4CH 2012, Mediterraneum Meeting Use of Multivariate Analysis and Chemometrics in Cultural Heritage and Environment, May 27-30, 2012. Rome.
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2008. "Notes from Rome," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 76: 299-307.
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2012. "NOTES FROM ROME 2011-12," Papers of the British School at Rome 80: 325-334.
	De Spagnolis, Marisa. 1981. "Un intervento nel centro storico di Roma; impianto termale all'estremita della Regio VI," <i>Archeologia laziale</i> IV: 132-141.
	Del Signore, Roberto. 2008. <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichita ed eta moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> . 1 vols, Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Farina, Gennaro, and Enrico Guidoni. 1985. Palazzo Valentini, Roma: Editalia.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 1998. "Il Foro di Traiano ed i fori tripartiti," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> : 105, 149-174, Tav. 32-33.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2001. "La nuova immagine dei fori Imperiali. Appunti in

602

Field	Data
	margine agli scavi," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts,</i> <i>Roemische Abteilung</i> : 108, 171-214.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2006. Sotterranei di Palazzo Valentini. In FastiOnline: Associazione Internazionale Di Archeologia Classica. http://www.fastionline.org/conservation/site/AIAC_967
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2009. "Le domus nelle vicinanze del Foro di Traiano e le scuole per le arti liberali," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie III, Rendiconti</i> LXXXI: 385-398.
	Meneghini, Roberto, Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, and Elisabetta Bianchi. 2007. I Fori imperiali: gli scavi del comune di Roma (1991-2007). Roma: Viviani.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1993. "Il foro ed i mercati di Traiano nel medievo attraverso le fonti storiche e d'archivio," <i>Archeologia medievale</i> . XX: 79-120.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1998. "L'Architettura del Foro di Traiano Attraverso i Ritrovamenti Archeologici Piu Recenti.," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> : 105, 127-148, Taf. 27-31.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 2001. "Il foro di Traiano. Ricostruzione architettonica e analisi strutturale con appendici di Alessia Ballarin e Giampietro Berti nonche Elisabetta Bianchi.," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts,</i> <i>Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 245-268.
	Quattrocchi, Marzia. 2008. "I mosaici della domus A." In <i>Palazzo Valentini:</i> l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione, edited by Roberto Del Signore, 81-94. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Rizzo, Silvana. 2001. "Indagini nei fori Imperiali. Orodrografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, templum Pacis," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 108: 215-244.
	Santangeli Valenzani, Riccardo. 2001. "I fori Imperiali nel Medioevo," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 108: 269-286.

Field	Data

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.01b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	domus A under the Palazzo Valentini
Time Period 01 Start Year	301
Time Period 01 End Year	550
Time Period 01 Description	Both <i>domūs</i> (A and B) were restructured between the end of the third and first half of the fourth century with new mosaic pavements and painted walls in <i>domus</i> A (Baldassarri 2009, 351-356). See below for details on the mosaic.
Time Period 02 Years	551-625
Time Period 02 Description	In the sixth century the <i>domus</i> entered a period of increasing abandonment. <i>Domus</i> A and the whole area was abandoned at the beginning of the seventh century, and then subsequently spoiled (Baldassarri 2009, 356).
Excavation history	Over the course of the 16th to 18th centuries there were sporadic finds related to occasions of construction on the Palazzo (Del Signore 2008, xxi). At another excavation in 1878 on the site of the destruction of the casa Provenzani (Lanciani 1901, tav. XXII), excavators discovered within the city block what appears to be the remains of an <i>atrium</i> with four columns to the west along with five parallel walls farther east that likely relate to the Forum or Markets of Trajan (Fiorelli 1878, 164) to the south of an ancient road, which roughly parallels the modern via dell Tre Cannelle, just to the east of the Palazzo Valentini. This <i>atrium</i> with <i>impluvium</i> indicates the entrance to a <i>domus</i> to the south of the road, and is thought to be the entrance to <i>domus</i> A. The area that would connect them underneath the modern Via di Sant'Eufemia has not been excavated, but the remains of <i>domus</i> A under the Palazzo Valentini clearly extend east in the direction of this <i>atrium</i> . Subsequent excavations between this time and 1954 discovered the remains of a likely <i>insula</i> to the north of the same ancient road (Baldassarri 2008, 44-46). Recent excavations sponsored by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma began in three underground rooms on the northwest corner of the Palazzo Valentini in 1980-1981. This excavation period brought to light a series of heated rooms termed the "Piccole Terme" or small baths, which were dated to between the middle and end of the third century CE. This thermal structure, however, is related to <i>domus</i> B (see cat entry VIII.02),

Field	Data
	not <i>domus</i> A (De Spagnolis 1981, 138-140). The large-scale excavation related to the Palazzo Valentini resumed in 2005 in five underground rooms on the eastern side of the Palazzo along the Via di Sant'Eufemia. This period of excavation discovered the rooms termed "Le <i>Domus</i> Romane" related to both Roman <i>domūs</i> (A and B) with decoration pertaining to the late antique dressing of the building (Del Signore 2008, 31). The excavation is directed by Eugenia La Rocca (La Rocca 2006), and the area is under the charge of the Provincia di Roma (Coates-Stephens 2012, 331 note 26). The 2005 campaign began as part of a restructuring of the Palazzo for more public use, which was to include a cinema room on the history of the province, among other things. The plan was quickly altered to accommodate the public multi-media presentation of the excavation work beginning in 2011 has continued on the southwestern most rooms underneath the Palazzo Valentini as part of the quest for the elusive templum Divi Traiani et Divae Plotinae. This excavation period has been termed "delle ex-Carceri" (Baldassarri 2012a, 47-49). The excavations of the <i>domūs</i> under the Palazzo Valentini and the spaces relating to the Forum of Trajan are continuing in a number of spaces. The rooms of <i>domus</i> A to the south of the peristyle room are part of this excavation, and include a room with a circular plan, which is suggested as a possible thermal structure (Baldassari 2008, 56).
Description of Rooms	This <i>domus</i> has two large interior rooms, the mosaic room and the peristyle, that have nearly been fully excavated. There is a further section of rooms, including a circular room, partially explored but little published. Additionally, there is a paved, exterior courtyard or piazza area to the west, and an excavated space that was probably associated to the east under the casa Provenzani. An 1878 excavation revealed an <i>atrium</i> with impluvium, which had four columns at the corners, of an ancient <i>domus</i> , under the casa Provenzani, and it suggested to be attached to <i>domus</i> A (Del Signore 2008, 44-46; Lanciani 1901, tav. XXII). The mosaic room first had pilasters that were later blocked up, and after that it was paved with a geometric stone mosaic (see below for details). The walls of this room were decorated with painted plaster, faint traces of which are visible at the base of the walls. The plaster shows vivid colors in green and red on a white background (Baldassarri 2008, 58).
	The peristyle room had a portico surrounding a central area open to the air. While at times sketchy, it preserves a black and white mosaic pavement, and the northern and eastern corridors of the portico, which are lined by pilaster bases interspersed with slabs of white marble marking the portico (Gobbi 2008, 19). It is unknown if the central area was originally entirely paved in mosaic, or if so, how rain water drained from the area, as currently no pipes or water tank have been found associated with this (Baldassarri 2008, 56-57). There was an entrance to an eastern room from the eastern wall at the north side of the

Field	Data
	peristyle. While the door is visible, the room has not been excavated, as it is under the street. This would lead in the general direction of the <i>atrium</i> from the 1878 excavation. An entrance to the mosaic room to the north is present on the northern wall of the room. The passage from the peristyle room is marked by a threshold of Proconnesian marble, which preserves the holes for the ancient door hinges (Baldassarri 2008, 57). In the open area west of the <i>domus</i> , hydraulic tanks were found, coated with hydraulic cocciopesto, which bears in some cases incrustations of limestone (Baldassarri 2008, 43).
Structural building techniques	The walls in the mosaic room are preserved up to 2 meters in height (Gobbi 2008, 17, 20). These were constructed in opera laterizia on high stylobates of two rows of travertine blocks (Baldassarri 2008, 41-42). The walls on the western and southern side of the northern room include pilasters with greater thickness and less thick dividing walls that connect these pilasters. The pilasters and dividing walls are set against each other but not bound to each other. The masonry was thus not one set process (Baldassarri 2008, 42). Baldassarri originally thought these dividing walls were added almost immediately or during construction due to a similarity in the masonry, but has later discovered on further examination that the dividing walls were added later to block up the spaces between the pilasters. This suggests a slight change in the function of this room, at a point not too long after its original construction. Cubiculum and Triclinium are the tentative suggestions (Baldassarri 2009, 349). The <i>domus</i> had walls in <i>opera laterizia</i> up to 50 cm below the third-fourth mosaic paving of the room, which shows that the original phase of the house had a lower floor level that was raised later (Baldassarri 2008, 59). Outside of the exterior western wall of the <i>domus</i> were found hydraulic tubs with hydraulic structure built in opera laterizia and covered in 2cm of cocciopesto, which was spread on the wall of the house at the same time. Masonry ramps descend from this area with terracotta pipes which would have disposed of water from latrines and the tubs (Baldassarri 2008, 42-44). The mosaic floors of the peristyle room are in black and white, while the north room are high quality polychrome mosaics made of small tesserae in white, pinkish white, yellow, reddish, ocher, grey, blue and black (Quattrocchi 2008, 83-84).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Artworks:</li> <li>Geometric mosaic: High quality polychrome mosaics made of small tesserae in white, pinkish white, yellow, reddish, ocher, grey, blue and black. The mosaics are in a geometric carpet style pattern with a border (Quattrocchi 2008, 83-84). The motif of a braided outline and the decorative patterns suggest a dating for the mosaics between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century CE. This is the date of the redecoration and renovation of the <i>domus</i> (Baldassarri 2008, 59).</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	- Black and white mosaic: There was a black and white stone mosaic in the peristyle of <i>domus</i> A. The floors were paved with a black and white mosaic. The black and white tesserae were placed on a preparation layer of mortar mixed with marble dust (Baldassarri 2008, 56). A line of white marble paved the strip under the portico (Gobbi 2008, 19). In the central area of the peristyle, only a small fragment of black tesserae mosaic is preserved. A layer of very compact cocciopesto is preserved across this central area at the level of the preparation of the mosaic. At one point the cocciopesto preserves a slab of white marble, which is suggested to have been from a later date than the mosaic, and was used to replace the then damaged and unrepairable mosaic with a less regular marble scheme (Baldassarri 2008, 56-57).
	Description of other finds:
	<ul> <li>Many various items were found in the excavations of this area. I will include the primary ones here, but for the rest see Baldassarri et. al 2008.</li> <li>Among the sculptural finds were an oscillum fragment and a statue of Asclepius. There were a number of fragments of architectural sculpture. In an open area (modern room 20) related to the <i>domus</i>, a fragment of a Ptolemaic or Proto-imperial obelisk in red granite was found (Baldassarri 2012, 1635). A fragment of a small column in cipollino marble, and a large rectangular block from a Corinthian pilaster capital were found in this room. The column fragment is smaller (diam. 40 cm), and thus could be from somewhere in the house. The pilaster capital is large and thus likely from a public building in the vicinity, and was brought here in a period of post-antique reuse. The capital dates to the Augustan period based on stylistic analysis, due to the acanthus leaf design and rendering. It dates to the mid or late first half of the first century CE (Baldassarri 2008, 59-60, and note 54). There were a number of fragments of inscised glass, as well as many late antique ceramic lamps, bowls, and amphorae. Additionally, renaissance ceramics were found. In bone there were two broken hair pins and a pendent of unknown date found in rooms 4 and 2. Brick stamps dating from the early second to early third century CE, and from the age of Maxentius were found in the areas of both <i>domūs</i> A and B (see Baldassarri et al 2008, 132-144, 149-150, 156-165).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	The excavations have regularly sought to discover the nearby elusive templum Divi Traiani et Divae Plotinae, and visitors can now see two broken, immense 50-foot granite column shafts, which are somehow related to the Forum of Trajan (Coates-Stephens 2012, 331). A possible fountain in opera laterizia was found related to three pipes, two larger and one smaller perpendicular to the other two, in the area west of <i>domus</i> A. The pipes are associated with a paving level of terracotta tiles, which preserve badly eroded stamps, datable only to

Field	Data
	between the end of second and early third century CE. On the greater fistula it also preserves part of an inscription: M. Aur. Ant. et L. Aur. (Baldassarri 2008, 53-54).
Plan location	See Del Signore 2008, fig. 19; and Baldassarri 2009, fig. 2
Bibliography	Baldassarri, Paola, and Luisa Napoli. 2015. "Palazzo Valentini: Archaeological discoveries and redevelopment projects." <i>Frontiers of Architectural Research</i> 4:91-99.
	Baldassarri, Paola, Ilaria de Luca, Antonella Lumacone, Claudio Noviello, Marzia Quattrocchi, Lucia Saguì, and Sabrina Zampini. 2008. "Schedatura dei materiali rinvenuti." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna:</i> <i>scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> , edited by Roberto Del Signore, 127-180. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2008-2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. Domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro Traiano.," <i>Rendiconti della</i> <i>Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia</i> , 343-384.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2008. "Indagine archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. La campagna 2005-2007." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione, edited by Roberto Del Signore</i> , 29-80. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini: domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro di Traiano," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. (Serie 3), Rendiconti</i> LXXXI: 343-384.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2010. "Materiali, motivi e ispirazione africana nell'arredo decorativo delle domus di Palazzo Valentini in Roma," <i>L'Africa Romana</i> 19: 1631-1650.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. "Nuove Indagini Archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 17 (Mag.): 45-52.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. Palazzo Valentini (Rome, Italy) - Archaeological Investigations and Preservation. Paper read at CMA4CH 2012, Mediterraneum Meeting Use of Multivariate Analysis and Chemometrics in Cultural Heritage and Environment, May 27-30, 2012, Rome.
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2008. "Notes from Rome," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 76: 299-307.

Field	Data
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2012. "NOTES FROM ROME 2011-12," Papers of the British School at Rome 80: 325-334.
	De Spagnolis, Marisa. 1981. "Un intervento nel centro storico di Roma; impianto termale all'estremita della Regio VI," <i>Archeologia laziale</i> IV: 132-141.
	Del Signore, Roberto. 2008. <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichita ed eta moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> . 1 vols, Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Farina, Gennaro, and Enrico Guidoni. 1985. Palazzo Valentini, Roma: Editalia.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 1998. "Il Foro di Traiano ed i fori tripartiti," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 105: 149-174, Tav. 32-33.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2001. "La nuova immagine dei fori Imperiali. Appunti in margine agli scavi," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 171-214.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2006. "Sotterranei di Palazzo Valentini." In <i>FastiOnline:</i> <i>Associazione Internazionale Di Archeologia Classica</i> . http://www.fastionline.org/conservation/site/AIAC_967 (accessed 2015).
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2009. "Le domus nelle vicinanze del Foro di Traiano e le scuole per le arti liberali," Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie III, Rendiconti LXXXI, 385-398.
	Meneghini, Roberto, Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, and Elisabetta Bianchi. 2007. I Fori imperiali: gli scavi del comune di Roma (1991-2007), Roma.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1993. "Il foro ed i mercati di Traiano nel medievo attraverso le fonti storiche e d'archivio," <i>Archeologia medievale</i> . XX: 79-120.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1998. "L'Architettura del Foro di Traiano Attraverso i Ritrovamenti Archeologici Piu Recenti," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 105: 127-148, Taf. 27-31.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 2001. "Il foro di Traiano. Ricostruzione architettonica e analisi strutturale con appendici di Alessia Ballarin e Giampietro Berti nonche Elisabetta Bianchi.," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts,</i> <i>Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 245-268.
	Quattrocchi, Marzia. 2008. "I mosaici della domus A." In Palazzo Valentini:

Field	Data
	l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione, edited by Roberto Del Signore, 81-94. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Rizzo, Silvana. 2001. "Indagini nei fori Imperiali. Orodrografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, templum Pacis," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 108: 215-244.
	Santangeli Valenzani, Riccardo. 2001. "I fori Imperiali nel Medioevo," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 108: 269-286.

Field	Data	
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.02a	
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	domus B under the Palazzo Valentini	
Time Period 01 Start Year	200	
Time Period 01 End Year	215	
Time Period 01 Description	<i>Domus</i> B was built slightly later than <i>domus</i> A in its first stage at the cusp of the late Antonine period and the principate of Septimius Severus (Baldassarri 2008, 49-50).	
Time Period 02 Years	217-290	
Time Period 02 Description	The bath complex, a private <i>balnea</i> , seems to have been constructed around the end of the third century CE, and had modifications, which were later, but not much later, such as the closing of doors in rooms B and C. This date is in part given from the combination of brick stamps found on bipedal bricks, dating to the end of the period of Caracalla, as well as from the form of the walls relating to the end of the third century (De Spagnolis 1981, 137).	
Excavation	Over the course of the 16th to 18th centuries there were sporadic finds related to occasions of construction on the Palazzo (Del Signore 2008, xxi). At another	

Field	Data	
history	excavation in 1878 on the site of the destruction of the casa Provenzani (Lanciani 1901, tav. XXII), excavators discovered within the city block what appears to be the remains of an <i>atrium</i> with four columns (Fiorelli 1878, 164) to the south of an ancient road, which roughly parallels the modern via dell Tre Cannelle, just to the east of the Palazzo Valentini. This <i>atrium</i> with impluvium indicates the entrance to a <i>domus</i> to the south of the road and is thought to be the entrance to <i>domus</i> A (see cat VIII.01). Recent excavations sponsored by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma began in three underground rooms on the northwest corner of the Palazzo Valentini in 1980-1981. This excavation period brought to light a series of heated rooms termed the "Piccole Terme" or small baths, which were dated to between the middle and end of the third century CE. This thermal structure is related to <i>domus</i> B not <i>domus</i> A (see cat entry VIII.01). De Spagnolis suggested at the time of this excavation that this thermal structure was potentially related to a domestic building and possibly associated with the late antique residential quarter discovered under the Palazzo delle Assicurazioni Generali in the early 1900's (see cat VII.03). This connection between <i>domus</i> B and the <i>insula</i> is still possible, yet still not confirmed. She also noticed that the walls align directly with those of the residential complex along the via Lata found under the Palazzo delle Assicurazioni Generali and not the Forum of Trajan, but states that this may abut the edges of a curved street around the Forum (De Spagnolis 1981, 138-140). The large-scale excavation related to the Palazzo Valentini resumed in 2005 in five underground rooms on the astern side of the Palazzo along the Via di Sant'Eufenia. This period of excavation (Baldassarri 2008, 31). The excavation is directed by Eugenia La Rocca (La Rocca 2006), and the area is under the charge of the Provincia di Roma ( <i>Coates-</i> Stephens 2012, 331 note 26). The 2005 campaign began as part of	
Description of	This <i>domus</i> includes a large <i>aula</i> and adjacent large stairway, which was added	

Field	Data
Rooms	or expanded in the latter major phase of the <i>domus</i> . It also includes a large bath area, which includes the praefurnium, calidarium, entry area, and tubs. These all labeled spaces A-H by De Spagnolis in the 1980's. The bath area now also includes a large frigidarium with a large tub, and a room on the floor above that overlooked the frigidarium with a balcony effect. Other small rooms have been excavated in the northern portion of the bath, and the connecting rooms of the <i>domus</i> between the bath area and the <i>aula</i> are under current study.
	In the Bath area the walls of the different spaces remain to the height at which they were cut for the modern basement floors. In 'room A' of the baths, which contains a room of the calidarium and a tub, the walls of the room were cut at 0.60 m for the modern concrete floor. The tub in this room reaches another 50 cm deeper (De Spagnolis 1981, 134). In room B the floor is 0.58 m lower in respect to that of room A, but the walls reach the same height at room A, causing the room to be 0.58 m deeper (with that much more wall preserved). The south east corner of room B shows damage, which occurred at the installation of a lightning rod in recent years, the southwest corner was damaged also recently for the installation of a drain pipe. This damage shows the suspensurae under the floor (De Spagnolis 1981, 134-135). Room C is crossed by one of the walls of the Palazzo, which divides it into two parts, the first to the west, is in the same <i>cellar</i> room in which also falls 'room A' and 'room B', the other part is included in <i>cellar</i> room '9', the large room with the frigidarium (De Spagnolis 1981, 136.). A load-bearing wall of the palazzo rests in part on room G, and thus it was not excavated (De Spagnolis 1981, 137). A large portion of room H is covered with modern structures, including steps, which also prevented excavation (Farina and Guidoni 1985, 149). Moving east more of the walls in the frigidarium area, modern room 9, were destroyed due to the lower modern floor level (De Spagnolis 1981, 135). This room (modern room 9) was the trash pit for the renaissance palazzo, and the rubbish from it was removed in the 1980-81 excavation (Baldassarri 2009, 363-365).
	Holes were punched in some of the ancient walls to test for strong foundation points for the palazzo, and among these holes is the landing of the stairway in this <i>domus</i> (B). The second ramp of the stairway only preserves the first three steps, and only the top of the first ramp is visible due to the 16th century foundation wall breaking the lower portion (Baldassari 2008, 36-37, 60-61).
Structural building techniques	The stairway shows two phases of construction. The southern wall is in <i>opus latericium</i> from the first phase of house construction, while the northern wall is in opera listata from the rennovation (Baldassari 2008, 61). The <i>domus</i> had a wooden roof with painted soffits (Baldassari 2009, 378-380).
Finds from th	e - Many various items were found in the excavations of this area. I will

Field	Data		
site	<ul> <li>include the primary ones here, but for the rest see Baldassarri et. al 2008.</li> <li>Among the sculptural finds were an oscillum fragment and a statue of Asclepius. There were a number of fragments of architectural sculpture. In an open area (modern room 20) related to the <i>domus</i>, a fragment of a Ptolemaic or Proto-imperial obelisk in red granite was found (Baldassarri 2012, 1635). A fragment of a small column in cipollino marble, and a large rectangular block from a Corinthian pilaster capital were found in this room. The column fragment is smaller (diam. 40 cm), and thus could be from somewhere in the house. The pilaster capital is large and thus likely from a public building in the vicinity, and was brought here in a period of post-antique reuse. The capital dates to the Augustan period based on stylistic analysis, due to the acanthus leaf design and rendering. It dates to the mid or late first half of the first century CE (Baldassarri 2008, 59-60, and note 54). There were a number of fragments of inscised glass, as well as many late antique ceramic lamps, bowls, and amphorae. Additionally, renaissance ceramics wre found (see Baldassarri et al 2008, 132-144). Brick stamps dating from the early second to early third century CE, and from the age of Maxentius were found in the areas of both <i>domūs</i> A and B (see Baldassarri et al 2008, 156-165).</li> </ul>		
Additional notable points	The excavations have regularly sought to discover the nearby elusive templum Divi Traiani et Divae Plotinae, and visitors can now see two broken, immense 50-foot granite column shafts, which are somehow related to the Forum of Trajan (Coates-Stephens 2012, 331).		
Plan location	See Del Signore 2008, fig. 19; Baldassarri 2009, fig. 2; and Farina and Guidoni 1985, 149.		
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Baldassarri, Paola, and Luisa Napoli. 2015. "Palazzo Valentini: Archaeological discoveries and redevelopment projects." <i>Frontiers of Architectural Research</i> 4:91-99.</li> <li>Baldassarri, Paola, Ilaria de Luca, Antonella Lumacone, Claudio Noviello, Marzia Quattrocchi, Lucia Saguì, and Sabrina Zampini. 2008. "Schedatura dei materiali rinvenuti." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione, edited by Roberto Del Signore</i>, 127-180. Rome: Provincia di Roma.</li> <li>Baldassarri, Paola. 2008-2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. Domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro Traiano.," <i>Rendiconti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia</i>: 343-384.</li> <li>Baldassarri, Paola. 2008. "Indagine archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. La</li> </ul>		
	campagna 2005-2007." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età</i>		

Data
<i>moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> , edited by Roberto Del Signore, 29-80. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
Baldassarri, Paola. 2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini: domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro di Traiano," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. (Serie 3), Rendiconti</i> LXXXI: 343-384.
Baldassarri, Paola. 2010. "Materiali, motivi e ispirazione africana nell'arredo decorativo delle domus di Palazzo Valentini in Roma," <i>L'Africa Romana</i> 19: 1631-1650.
Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. "Nuove Indagini Archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 17 (Mag.): 45-52.
Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. Palazzo Valentini (Rome, Italy) - Archaeological Investigations and Preservation. Paper read at CMA4CH 2012, Mediterraneum Meeting Use of Multivariate Analysis and Chemometrics in Cultural Heritage and Environment, May 27-30, 2012, Rome.
Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2008. "Notes from Rome," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 76: 299-307.
Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2012. "NOTES FROM ROME 2011-12," Papers of the British School at Rome 80: 325-334.
De Spagnolis, Marisa. 1981. "Un intervento nel centro storico di Roma; impianto termale all'estremita della Regio VI," <i>Archeologia laziale</i> IV: 132-141.
Del Signore, Roberto. 2008. <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichita ed eta moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> . 1 vols, Rome: Provincia di Roma.
Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Fl(avius) Asterius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 38-39. Roma: Quasar.

Field

Farina, Gennaro, and Enrico Guidoni. 1985. Palazzo Valentini, Roma: Editalia.

La Rocca, Eugenio. 1998. "Il Foro di Traiano ed i fori tripartiti," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.* 105: 149-174, Tav. 32-33.

La Rocca, Eugenio. 2001. "La nuova immagine dei fori Imperiali. Appunti in margine agli scavi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.* 108: 171-214.

Field	Data	
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2006. "Sotterranei di Palazzo Valentini." In <i>FastiOnline:</i> Associazione Internazionale Di Archeologia Classica. http://www.fastionline.org/conservation/site/AIAC_967	
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2009. "Le domus nelle vicinanze del Foro di Traiano e le scuole per le arti liberali," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie III, Rendiconti</i> LXXXI: 385-398.	
	Meneghini, Roberto, Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, and Elisabetta Bianchi. 2007. I Fori imperiali: gli scavi del comune di Roma (1991-2007), Roma Viviani.	
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1993. "Il foro ed i mercati di Traiano nel medievo attraverso le fonti storiche e d'archivio," <i>Archeologia medievale</i> . XX: 79-120.	
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1998. "L'Architettura del Foro di Traiano Attraverso i Ritrovamenti Archeologici Piu Recenti," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 105: 127-148, Taf. 27-31.	
	Meneghini, Roberto. 2001. "Il foro di Traiano. Ricostruzione architettonica e analisi strutturale con appendici di Alessia Ballarin e Giampietro Berti nonche Elisabetta Bianchi.," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 245-268.	
	Rizzo, Silvana. 2001. "Indagini nei fori Imperiali. Orodrografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, templum Pacis," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 215-244.	
	Santangeli Valenzani, Riccardo. 2001. "I fori Imperiali nel Medioevo," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 108: 269-286.	

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.02b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	domus B under the Palazzo Valentini

Field	Data	
Time Period 01 Start Year	301	
Time Period 01 End Year	350	
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domūs</i> were restructured and redecorated in the first half of the fourth century. The stairway was either added or enlarged greatly. There are two periods of decoration to the stairway, the first a layer of fresco decoration and the second a layer of <i>opus sectile</i> on mortar. The apses were also added in this period, and the <i>opus sectile</i> decoration in order to create an <i>aula</i> of presentation. The <i>opus sectile</i> pattern follows the orientation of the apses, not the orientation of the walls of the room (Baldassari 2008, 55, 60, 64, 67). The baths were also restructured in this period, which includes the extension of the frigidarium and its decoration, typical of large scale late antique <i>domūs</i> (Baldassari 2009, 377).	
Time Period 02 Years	375-450	
Time Period 02 Description	A destruction layer with evidence of burning was found in contact with the floor. Small pieces of bronze, datable to the end of the fourth to the first half of the fifth centuries were in the debris. The fall of roofing in this period supports the abandonment of the <i>aula</i> room in this period. The stairway appears to have lasted instead through vaguely the end of the fifth-seventh centuries (Baldassari 2008, 67). The fire caused the roof to collapse, the wooden soffits are still found in place suggesting that there was no reoccupation of this part of the <i>domus</i> . The storage of amphorae in one room, found below the collapsed roof, suggests this area was already primarily out of use and only for storage by this late date (Baldassarri 2009, 378-380). There is another phase of building in the baths portion of the <i>domus</i> , however, between the second half of the fourth and the end of the fifth century, which included the maintenance and restructuring of the baths. This phase saw many areas repaved and the large tub added with the use of reused marble (Baldassarri 2009, 377-378).	
Time Period 03 Years	500-600	
Time Period 03 Description	<ul> <li>The external area was formed into a garden, which was abandoned in the course of the sixth century. The stairway was spoliated before its destruction somewhere between the end of the fifth and seventh century (Baldassari 2008, 67). The parts of the <i>domus</i> still in use would have been abandoned in this period.</li> </ul>	

Field	Data	
Excavation history	Over the course of the 16th to 18th centuries there were sporadic finds related to occasions of construction on the Palazzo (Del Signore 2008, xxi). At another excavation in 1878 on the site of the destruction of the casa Provenzani (Lanciani 1901, tav. XXII), excavators discovered within the city block what appears to be the remains of an <i>atrium</i> with four columns (Fiorelli 1878, 164) to the south of an ancient road, which roughly parallels the modern via dell Tre Cannelle, just to the east of the Palazzo Valentini. This <i>atrium</i> with impluvium indicates the entrance to <i>a domus</i> to the south of the road and is thought to be the entrance to <i>domus</i> A (see cat VIII.01). Recent excavations sponsored by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma began in three underground rooms on the northwest corner of the Palazzo Valentini in 1980-1981. This excavation period brought to light a series of heated rooms termed the "Piccole Terme" or small baths, which were dated to between the middle and end of the third century CE. This thermal structure is related to <i>domus</i> B not <i>domus</i> A (see cat entry VIII.01). De Spagnolis suggested at the time of this excavation that this thermal structure was potentially related to a domestic building and possibly associated with the late antique residential quarter discovered under the Palazzo delle Assicurazioni Generali in the early 1900's (see cat VIII.03). This connection between <i>domus</i> B and the <i>insula</i> is still possible, yet still not confirmed (De Spagnolis 1981, 138-140). The large-scale excavation related to the Palazzo Valentini resumed in 2005 in five underground rooms on the eastern side of the Palazzo along the Via di Sant'Eufemia. This period of excavation discovered the rooms termed 'Le <i>Domus</i> Romane'' related to both Roman <i>domūs</i> (A and B) with decoration pertaining to the late antique dressing of the building (Baldassarri 2008, 31). The excavation is directed by Eugenia La Rocca (La Rocca 2006), and the area is under the charge of the Provincia di Roma (Coates-Stephen	
Description of Rooms	This <i>domus</i> includes a large <i>aula</i> and adjacent large stairway, which was added or expanded in the latter major phase of the <i>domus</i> . It also includes a large bath area, which includes the praefurnium, calidarium, entry area, and tubs. These all labeled spaces A-H by De Spagnolis in the 1980's. The bath area now also	

6	1	7
---	---	---

Field	dDataincludes a large frigidarium with a large tub, and a room on the floor above that overlooked the frigidarium with a balcony effect. Other small rooms have been excavated in the northern portion of the bath, and the connecting rooms of the domus between the bath area and the aula are under current study.	
	In the Bath area the walls of the different spaces remain to the height at which they were cut for the modern basement floors. In 'room A' of the baths, which contains a room of the calidarium and a tub, the walls of the room were cut at 0.60 m for the modern concrete floor. The tub in this room reaches another 50 cm deeper (De Spagnolis 1981, 134). In room B the floor is 0.58 m lower in respect to that of room A, but the walls reach the same height at room A, causing the room to be 0.58 m deeper (with that much more wall preserved). The south east corner of room B shows damage, which occurred at the installation of a lightning rod in recent years, the southwest corner was damaged also recently for the installation of a drain pipe. This damage shows the suspensurae under the floor (De Spagnolis 1981, 134-135). Room C is crossed by one of the walls of the Palazzo, which divides it into two parts, the first to the west, is in the same <i>cellar</i> room in which also falls 'room A' and 'room B', the other part is included in <i>cellar</i> room '9', the large room with the frigidarium (De Spagnolis 1981, 135). Room D is broken up by modern foundations in most of the southern half of the room (De Spagnolis 1981, 136.). A load-bearing wall of the palazzo rests in part on room G, and thus it was not excavated (De Spagnolis 1981, 137). A large portion of room H is covered with modern structures, including steps, which also prevented excavation (Farina and Guidoni 1985, 149). Moving east more of the walls in the frigidarium area, modern room 9, were destroyed due to the lower modern floor level (De Spagnolis 1981, 135). This room (modern room 9) was the trash pit for the renaissance palazzo, and the rubbish from it was removed in the 1980-81 excavation (Baldassarri 2009, 363-365).	
	Holes were punched in some of the ancient walls to test for strong foundation points for the palazzo, and among these holes is the landing of the stairway in this <i>domus</i> (B). The second ramp of the stairway only preserves the first three steps, and only the top of the first ramp is visible due to the 16th century foundation wall breaking the lower portion (Baldassari 2008, 36-37, 60-61).	
Structural building techniques	The stairway shows two phases of construction. The southern wall is in <i>opus latericium</i> from the first phase of house construction, while the northern wall is in opera listata from the rennovation (Baldassari 2008, 61). The <i>opus sectile</i> is found on a mortar preparation with marbles of cipollino, greco scritto, pavonazzetto, portasanta, serpentino, porfido rosso (red porphyry), and white marbles (Baldassarri 2008, 64). The <i>domus</i> had a wooden roof with painted soffits (Baldassarri 2009, 378-380).	

Field	Data
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Artworks: <ul> <li>Opus sectile: Significant amounts of <i>opus sectile</i> wall and floor decoration, as well as fragments of carved shaped marble. The <i>opus sectile</i> is found on a mortar preparation with marbles of cipollino, greco scritto, pavonazzetto, portasanta, serpentino, porfido rosso (red porphyry), and white marbles (Baldassarri 2008, 64).</li> <li>Togate Male: Adult togate male figure without head</li> <li>Decorative column capital: Figures of winged goats decorate the capital</li> </ul> </li> <li>Description of other finds: <ul> <li>Many various items were found in the excavations of this area. I will include the primary ones here, but for the rest see Baldassarri et. al 2008.</li> <li>Among the sculptural finds were an oscillum fragment and a statue of Asclepius. There were a number of fragments of architectural sculpture. In an open area (modern room 20) related to the <i>donus</i>, a fragment of a Ptolemaic or Proto-imperial obelisk in red granite was found (Baldassarri 2012, 1635). A fragment of a small column in cipollino marble, and a large rectangular block from a Corinthian pilaster capital is large and thus likely from a public building in the vicinity, and was brought here in a period of post-antique reuse. The capital dates to the Augustan period based on stylistic analysis, due to the acanthus leaf design and rendering. It dates to the mid or late first half of the first century CE (Baldassarri 2008, 59-60, and note 54). There were a number of fragments of inscised glass, as well as many late antique ceramic lamps, bowls, and amphorae. Additionally, renaissance ceramics were found (see Baldassarri et al 2008, 132-144). Multiple pieces of carved decorative bone coating were found in the fifth century fill in the western portion of room 5, which includes <i>domus</i> B's apsed room (Baldassarri et al 2008, 156-165), and many marble <i>opus sectile</i> fragments were found throughout the excavations (Baldassarri et al 2008, 172-177).</li> </ul></li></ul>
Additional notable points	The excavations have regularly sought to discover the nearby elusive templum Divi Traiani et Divae Plotinae, and visitors can now see two broken, immense 50-foot granite column shafts, which are somehow related to the Forum of Trajan (Coates-Stephens 2012, 331).

Field	Data
	The name Flavius Asterius comes from the discovery of two pipes with inscriptions "EL ASTERI VC". These were found in the excavations of the Piazza Venezia, via dei Fornari and the destruction of the Palazzo Torlonia, in 1902 at the corner of the Piazza Venezia and the via Nazionale, along with a pipe inscribed "LAVRENTI VC . REGIONE VII" for the name Laurentius. (Gatti 1902a, 462) In the same excavations of the Palazzo Torlonia and the via dei Fornari at the via Nazionale, a building of public use was found with a marble threshold of the same general fifth century date as these nearby pipes. (Gatti 1904, 341-342; Gatti 1903a, 276-277; Gatti 1903b, 365-366; Gatti 1902b, 286) Eck suggests that Flavius Asterius, the private owner of the water supply of these pipes, likely relates to the same senatorial family as Turcius Rufius Apronius Asterius, who was consul in 449 CE (Eck 1995, 38-39).
Plan location	See Del Signore 2008, fig. 19; Baldassarri 2009, fig. 2; and Farina and Guidoni 1985, 149.
Bibliography	Baldassarri, Paola, and Luisa Napoli. 2015. "Palazzo Valentini: Archaeological discoveries and redevelopment projects." <i>Frontiers of Architectural Research</i> 4:91-99.
	Baldassarri, Paola, Ilaria de Luca, Antonella Lumacone, Claudio Noviello, Marzia Quattrocchi, Lucia Saguì, and Sabrina Zampini. 2008. "Schedatura dei materiali rinvenuti." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna:</i> <i>scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> , edited by Roberto Del Signore, 127-180. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2008-2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. Domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro Traiano.," <i>Rendiconti della</i> <i>Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia</i> : 343-384.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2008. "Indagine archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. La campagna 2005-2007." In <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> , edited by Roberto Del Signore, 29-80. Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini: domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro di Traiano," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. (Serie 3), Rendiconti</i> LXXXI: 343-384.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. "Nuove Indagini Archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 17 (Mag.): 45-52.
	Baldassarri, Paola. 2012. Palazzo Valentini (Rome, Italy) - Archaeological Investigations and Preservation. Paper read at CMA4CH 2012, Mediterraneum

Field	Data
	Meeting Use of Multivariate Analysis and Chemometrics in Cultural Heritage and Environment, May 27-30, 2012, Rome.
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2008. "Notes from Rome," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 76: 299-307.
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 2012. "NOTES FROM ROME 2011-12," Papers of the British School at Rome 80: 325-334.
	De Spagnolis, Marisa. 1981. "Un intervento nel centro storico di Roma; impianto termale all'estremita della Regio VI," <i>Archeologia laziale</i> IV: 132-141.
	Del Signore, Roberto. 2008. <i>Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichita ed eta moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione</i> . 1 vols, Rome: Provincia di Roma.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Fl(avius) Asterius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 38-39. Roma: Quasar.
	Farina, Gennaro, and Enrico Guidoni. 1985. Palazzo Valentini, Roma: Editalia.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 1998. "Il Foro di Traiano ed i fori tripartiti," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 105: 149-174, Tav. 32-33.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2001. "La nuova immagine dei fori Imperiali. Appunti in margine agli scavi," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 171-214.
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2006. "Sotterranei di Palazzo Valentini." In <i>FastiOnline:</i> <i>Associazione Internazionale Di Archeologia Classica</i> . http://www.fastionline.org/conservation/site/AIAC_967 (accessed 2015).
	La Rocca, Eugenio. 2009. "Le domus nelle vicinanze del Foro di Traiano e le scuole per le arti liberali," <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie III, Rendiconti</i> LXXXI: 385-398.
	Meneghini, Roberto, Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, and Elisabetta Bianchi. 2007. I Fori imperiali: gli scavi del comune di Roma (1991-2007), Roma: Viviani.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1993. "Il foro ed i mercati di Traiano nel medievo attraverso le fonti storiche e d'archivio," <i>Archeologia medievale</i> . XX: 79-120.

Field	Data
	Meneghini, Roberto. 1998. "L'Architettura del Foro di Traiano Attraverso i Ritrovamenti Archeologici Piu Recenti.," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen</i> <i>Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 105: 127-148, Taf. 27-31.
	Meneghini, Roberto. 2001. "Il foro di Traiano. Ricostruzione architettonica e analisi strutturale con appendici di Alessia Ballarin e Giampietro Berti nonche Elisabetta Bianchi.," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 245-268.
	Rizzo, Silvana. 2001. "Indagini nei fori Imperiali. Orodrografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, templum Pacis," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 108: 215-244.
	Santangeli Valenzani, Riccardo. 2001. "I fori Imperiali nel Medioevo," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 108: 269-286.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Palazzo of the Knights of Rhodes
Other Domus/Insula Names	Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi; Domus Sex. Pompeius; Domus Sextus Pompeius
Time Period 01 Start Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	14
Time Period 01 Description	In the first phase, or epoch of construction, the drawings of Gismondi indicate the exterior walls of the late Republican <i>domus</i> were constructed. In the second phase, the drawings of Gismondi indicate the primary structures of the late Republican <i>domus</i> , including the quadriporticus arcade in the <i>atrium</i> were constructed, still before the Augustan Forum was constructed. Later within this phase the Augustan Forum was constructed, and the plan of the <i>atrium</i> adjusted

Field	Data
	to accommodate the new trapezoidal shape.
Time Period 02 Years	3rd to 4th epoch
Time Period 02 Description	In the later phases additional building was constructed around this space.
Time Period 03 Years	12th century
Time Period 03 Description	The founding of the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi and then the church of the Sovereign Military order of Malta took place in the 12th century, and preserved this structure (Eck 1995, 160).
Excavation	The remains of this <i>domus</i> are visible encapsulated in the bottom floor of the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi, attached to the remains of the Forum of Augustus. Since the Renaissance architects and antiquarians took note of these remains, drawing architectural sketches of various parts (Pietrangeli and Pecchioli 1981, 45). The <i>atrium</i> space of the <i>domus</i> , attached to the exterior of the Forum, now functions as the church of the Sovereign Military order of Malta, preserving the arched courtyard as its center. The stairway up to the attached <i>insula</i> is also preserved as the stairway leading the upper floors of the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi and their balcony. Excavations took place in 1926-1929 in the area of the Forum of Augustus to which this <i>domus</i> is attached, and Italo Gismondi drew plans of the structures in 1930-1931 for the x Rispartizione del Governatorato di Roma, including elevations and plans of the structure (Colini et al. 1985, 341-345). An accurate restoration of the supervision of Guido Fiorini. This restoration included the refacing of the frescoes, pavements, windows, and decoration in addition to the reopening of the Roman stairway to the Salone d'Onore, the transformation of the Roman <i>atrium</i> of the <i>domus</i> into a church, and finally in 1949 the creation of the Antiquarium del Foro di Augusto with the Epigraphic room annexed to the church. Recent work has continued to restore the frescoes (Pietrangeli and Pecchioli 1981, 48).
Description of Rooms	The visible remains primarily consist of an <i>atrium</i> and the surrounding spaces, encompassed today in a large rectangular room with the visible courtyard at the center circled by travertine arches (Eck 1995, 160). The quadriporticus, generally identified as an <i>atrium</i> , contains a stone arcade, which forms a trapezoid due to the construction of the walls of the Forum of Augustus

Field	Data
	(Lambolgia and Musolino 1995, 53).
	The <i>insula</i> consists mostly of a large stairway, attached and ascending to the north of the <i>domus</i> . In the current building it leads up to the upper floor and then landing overlooking the via dei Fori Imperiali, and in ancient times it led to two or three upper floors of the <i>insula</i> . Alongside the staircase is a channel cut into travertine which collected rainwater and let it flow down into the sewer system (Lambolgia and Musolino 1995, 55).
Structural building techniques	The large rectangular room with courtyard was constructed in opus quadratum (Eck 1995, 160). The arcade is in opus quadratum constructed dry with blocks of stone of pietra gabina and red tufo of the Aniene (Lambolgia and Musolino 1995, 53). The different phases of masonry can be distinguished in the drawings of Italo Gismondi (Colini et al. 1985, 341-345).
Finds from the site	
Additional notable points	<ul> <li>This is said to be the house of Sextus Pompeius, the governor of Macedonia in 8-9 CE and consul in 14 CE, not that of Pompey the Great, though they were distantly related through Sextus Pompeius, proconsul of Macedonia in 119 BCE (PIR2 P 584). Thought to be one of the houses that Suetonius says Augustus "non ausus extorquere possessoribus" and therefore predated the Forum of Augustus to which it is attached (Eck 1995, 160).</li> <li>Sex. Pompeius died at some point before 29 CE, and his possessions are thought to have been left to a son, Pompeius, and then joined the imperial property after the murder of this son under Caligula (Eck 1995, 160).</li> <li>Ovid Pont. 4.5.9-10: Protinus inde domus vobis Pompeia petatur:/ non est Augusto iunctior ulla foro; 4.15.15-20: quam domus Augusto continuata foro.</li> </ul>
Plan location	For the <i>domus</i> see Steinby 1995, fig. 48; For the <i>insula</i> remains see Colini et al. 1985, figs. 72-74.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Cecere, Maria Grazia Granino. 2014. "I salii: traepigrafia e topografia." In <i>SACERDOS: Figure del sacro nella società romana</i>, edited by Gianpaolo Urso, 105-128.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria, Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, Carlo Buzzetti, Maresita Nota Santi, and Paola Virgili. 1985. "Notiziario di scavi e scoperte in Roma e Suburbio, 1946-1960. Seconda parte," <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 90 (2): 307-440.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Sex. Pompeius." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 160. Roma: Quasar.
	Fiorini, G. 1946. "Il ripristino della casa di Rodi," In <i>Rivista del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta</i> 4.
	Fiorini, G. 1951. <i>La Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi al Foro di Augusto</i> : La libreria dello stato.
	Lambolgia, S., and F. Musolino. 1995. "L'edificio romano della Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi." In <i>I luoghi del consenso Imperiale - Il Foro di Augusto - Il</i> <i>Foro di Traiano</i> . Roma.
	Petersen, Leiva, and Klaus Wachtel. 1998. Prosopographia imperii romani, saec. I, II, III: Pars VI. P-Pythodorus Pars VI (P). Boston: De Gruyter.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo, and A. Pecchioli. 1981. <i>La Casa di Rodi e i Cavalieri di Malta a Roma</i> : Editalia.
	Ricci, Corrado. 1930. <i>Il foro di Augusto e la casa dei cavalieri di rodi</i> , Roma: Bestetti e Tumminelli.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.
	Tacchi, Gaia Lisa. 2013. "Documentazione e conoscenza di complessi architettonici stratificati: rilievo integrato e rappresentazione della Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi al Foro di Augusto," Dottorato di Ricerca in Scienze della Rappresentazione e del Rilievo, Dipartimento di Storia, Disegno e Restauro dell'Architettura, Università degli Studi di Roma "Sapienza".
	Tortorici, E. 1991. Argiletum: Commercio Speculazione Edilizia E Lotta Politica Dall'analisi Topografica Di Un Quartiere Di Roma Di Età Repubblicana. L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Valadier, Giuseppe Visconti Filippo Aurelio Feoli Vincenzo. 1810. Raccolta delle piu insigni fabbriche di Roma antica e sue adjacenze, misurate nuovamente e dichiarate dall' architetto Giuseppe Valadier, Roma.
	von Gerkan, A. 1925. "Grabungen auf dem Augustusforum." <i>Gnomon</i> 1 (4):244-245.
	von Gerkan, A. 1927."Die Grabungen im Augustusforum."Gnomon 3(1):58-60.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.04
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula at the Aracoeli
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	la casa romana alle pendici del Campidoglio; la casa di via Giulio Romano
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	1
Time Period 01 Description	The slopes of the Campidoglio were already regularized, possibly at the beginning of the first century BCE (Chini 1999, 6).
Time Period 02 Years	101-200
Time Period 02 Description	This <i>insula</i> was constructed in the first decades of the second century CE (Chini 1999, 6). Taberna number three has had recorded traces of red line decoration typical of the second to third century CE (Chini 1999, 8). Brick stamps dated to 133 CE were found (Munoz 1930, 52).
Time Period 03 Years	275-300
Time Period 03 Description	At the end of the third century a portico with pilasters was added to the façade of the <i>tabernae</i> protecting their entrances and the windows to the mezzanine. This eliminated the former balcony of the apartments (Chini 1999, 8, Munoz 1930, 47-48).
Time Period 04 Years	300-1930
Time Period 04 Description	The buildings had continuous occupation post-fourth century CE and buildings were built into and over it, including the church of Santa Rita (Coates-Stephens

Field	Data
	1996, 247-248).
Time Period 05 Years	1937
Time Period 05 Description	The <i>insula</i> was uncovered in the 1930's as the buildings at the foot of the Campidoglio were cleared and the church of Santa Rita was moved (Chini 1999, 8-9).
Excavation history	This structure was continually in part inhabited as later buildings were built into its architecture. In the 1930's the church of Santa Rita was demolished, and then moved, as the slopes of the Campidoglio were cleared. This demolition uncovered the <i>insula</i> in detail, which was then preserved (Chini 1999, 8).
Description of Rooms	This <i>insula</i> has remains of four stories standing and small remains of two more. Munoz says that there would have been remains of two additional sides of the <i>domus</i> , the north and west sides, and this would have been the east side facing a courtyard that was likely open to the south (Munoz 1930, 46). The bottom floor is somewhat buried, three botteghe have been excavated. Each floor of the <i>insula</i> had a somewhat unique plan. The botteghe shops of the ground floor, held a mezzanine floor above them. The botteghe plans are irregular, as the walls were fit to the slope of the hill behind. The walls of the botteghe would have been covered in white plaster and decorated with geometric patterns. A portico was added to cover the <i>tabernae</i> entrances in the third century, obliterating the previous wooden balcony of the upper floor (Chini 1999, 7-9). A larger brick stairway led the third floor, which included apartments. The old entrance is now blocked up, and one enters through a former window. All the rooms are irregular and lit by mullioned windows. The number of divided apartments on this level, from one to many, is not known for certain. In one corner traces of the original wall plaster and decoration show a star pattern in red lines. Further up to the fourth floor, the small one-room single apartments are clearly visible. The apartments are arranged in three rows of three small apartments all opening onto a common corridor. Most have either small windows opening to the corridor, or larger windows opening to the courtyard. There are no traces of kitchens, which is expected for <i>insulae</i> , and the rooms would have been heated and food cooked using braziers. Latrines were often absent in <i>insulae</i> , and chamber pots, called lasana, were used, but the ground floor is currently buried, and the space under the stairs was the common location for a latrine (see the <i>insula</i> at the Trevi fountain, Cat. entry VII.01), so the presence or absence of a latrine cannot be confirmed for this <i>insula</i> (Chini 1999, 9-13). The apar

Field	Data
Structural building techniques	The height of three stories is 18.60m, and to this height the back wall is the dressed rock of the hill, and the fourth floor rises above the rock of the hill entirely (Munoz 1930, 30). The entire structure was constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> , built against the regularized side of the Campidoglio hill. The hill was regularized with a thick wall in <i>opus reticulatum</i> . The mezzanine floor was constructed in wood resting on brick cornices 4.25 m high. The balcony of the upper floor was constructed in wood resting on travertine corbels (Chini 1999, 6-8). All of the rooms of the <i>insula</i> have barrel vaults. On the fourth floor, original remains of walls in <i>opus latericium</i> and floor paving in <i>opus spicatum</i> are visible (Chini 1999, 10-11).
	Art:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Fragments of wall plaster with simple decoration in red lines have been found (Chini 1999, 7-13).</li> <li>An ancient mosaic belonging to the building was found in 1879 (Munoz 1930, 52).</li> </ul>
	Inscriptions:
	- Brick stamps dated to 133 CE were found (Munoz 1930, 52).
Plan location	For a section see Munoz 1930, fig. 24 or Chini 1999, page 6; for a plan of one floor see Munoz 1930, fig. 34, or for all floors see Chini 1999, pages 6, 9, and 12.
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
	Chini, Paola. 1999. "L'insula dell'Aracoeli," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 4 (6): 4-13.
	Coates-Stephens, Robert. 1996. "Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500-1000 ad," <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> 64: 239-259.
Bibliography	Munoz, Antonio. 1930. <i>Campidoglio</i> , Roma: a cura del Governatorato di Roma.
	Packer, James E. 1968-9. "La casa di via Giulio Romano." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 81: 127-48.
	Priester, Sascha. 2002. "Ad summas tegulas: Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebaudeblocken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom," <i>Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale</i>

Field	Data
	di Roma. Supplementi, Roma.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula della Salita del Grillo
Time Period 01 Start Year	600 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	150 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	Meneghini has interpreted this area as a residential quarter in the republican period from the sixth to second century BCE. This area is was in part interpreted as residential based on the comparison of the cappellaccio walls to those of the <i>domus</i> on the Palatine of the same period (Tabo 2013, 25).
Time Period 02 Years	150 BCE – 50 BCE
Time Period 02 Description	The foundations of a <i>domus</i> from the end of the second to the beginning of the first century BCE were found in the excavations (Tabo 2013, 26, fig. 1). Fragments of frescoed plaster and paving in opus tessellatum were found in the remains, dating from this period, and suggesting the structure to be a <i>domus</i> (Meneghini 2003, 232).
Time Period 03 Years	98-117
Time Period 03 Description	The <i>insula</i> salita del Grillo was constructed within the markets of Trajan, destroying the earlier layers of buildings (Meneghini 2003, 232).
Time Period 04 Years	117-500
Time Period 04	This 'insula' associated with the markets of Trajan shows continued use and

Field	Data
Description	remodeling over different periods. In the structures that face the via della Torre Severan era reworking is seen, while this <i>insula</i> on the Salita del Grillo has traces of interventions from the fourth center CE and later (Sovrintendenza).
Excavation history	The excavations took place between 1995-1996 in the area of the so-called <i>insula</i> della Salita del Grillo, the large tufa blocks in <i>opus quadratum</i> traditionally interpreted as part of the Servian walls. They were undertaken for the Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma. The excavations found that the buildings along the Salita del Grillo in opus quadratum appeared to be from a residential sector along the route of the Servian walls (Meneghini in Tabo 2013, 25). There was a <i>domus</i> in this area over the tufa walls and beneath the <i>insula</i> from between the second and the first century BCE (Tabo 2013, 26).
Description of Rooms	The remains of the <i>domus</i> are foundation walls providing little of a plan, though the construction of the earliest tufa opus quadratum walls can be compared to residences on the Palatine from the same period (Tabo 2013, 26).
Structural building techniques	The large tufa blocks in <i>opus quadratum</i> are made of cappellaccio (Meneghini in Tabo 2013, 25). The remains include one to two rows of opus quadratum blocks and a capuchin drain, and the remains indicate an upper wall in wood or opus craticium (Menegini 2003, 230).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>A wide range of ceramics from the fifth to the third century BCE, primarily of domestic forms for daily use, and some ceramics through the early Trajanic period, were found in excavations inside the <i>insula</i> (Tabo 2013, 25-38).</li> <li>Two ex voto in terracotta were found, one a male head, and the other two figures (Meneghini 2003, 231).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the excavated area of the <i>insula</i> see Tabo 2013, fig. 1.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Ceci, Monica. 2013. Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali. BAR international series. Oxford: Archaeopress.</li> <li>Meneghini, Roberto. 2003. "Indagini archeologiche lungo l'area perimetrale dei Mercati di Traiano: settori settentrionale e orientale (Scavi 1989-1997)," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma CIV: 219-234.</li> <li>Sovrintendenza capitolina ai Beni Culturali. "Mercati di Traiano Museo dei Fori Imperiali: Eta Imperiale." in Musei in Comune. http://www.mercatiditraiano.it/sede/mercati_di_traiano_storia/eta_imperiale (accessed August 30, 2017).</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Tabo, Daniela. 2013. "I Materiali Rinvenuti Nell'insula Della Salita Del Grillo Nell'area Dei Mercati Di Traiano (Con Premessa Di Roberto Meneghini)." In <i>Contesti Ceramici Dai Fori Imperiali</i> , edited by Monica Ceci, v. 173 <i>BAR</i> <i>international series</i> .

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.06
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	'Casa Cristiana'
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	edifici di via del Mare sotto la Chiesa di Sant'Andrea in Vincis; Casa cristiana sotto Sant'Andrea in Vincis
Time Period 01 Start Year	101
Time Period 01 End Year	150
Time Period 01 Description	The mixed work construction and various wall painting styles indicate a life- span of continuous use from the second to the fourth century CE, with construction originally in the first half of the second century, datable by the walls' construction technique and a brickstamp, see below (Calci 2000, 18; Munoz 1930, 68).
Time Period 02 Years	201-230
Time Period 02 Description	The geometric rectangular panels on either side of the orant painting show a style from the first decades of the third century, showing an earlier phase of the building (Calci 2000, 18).
Time Period 03 Years	301-400
Time Period	Only the final phase of a multi-period imperial structure was recorded (Consoli 2006, 264). The use of color creating a flatter style, as seen in the wall painting

Field	Data
03 Description	of the orant, supports a fourth century date for this painting (Calci 2000, 18).
Excavation history	In 1929 as a part of the work to isolate the western side of the Capitoline hill, the church of Sant'Andrea in Vincis, which is also called 'in Mentuccia', 'Mentuza' or 'Matuta', was demolished (Consoli 2006, 264; Terrenato et al. 2011, section 2). A block of multi-phase imperial buildings was found underneath the church. While the block was not fully explored, Collini noted two principal complexes in the structures from its final occupation phase in the fourth century CE. There was a sequence of rooms around an <i>atrium</i> including one decorated with a wall painting that included a figure, termed an 'orante'. The Christian orant appearance of this figure, gave the space the name 'christian' house, or casa cristiana. The other identified building was a thermal building with a heated room. The building has been suggested to have been a large late antique <i>domus</i> or residence with a <i>balneum</i> , but the association between the <i>balneum</i> and the other rooms of the casa is not confirmed (Consoli 2006, 264). The rooms of the <i>domus</i> were excavated incompletely, but the plan was created in fairly complete form (Munoz 1930, 65, tav. I).
Description of Rooms	One portion of the building is made up of multiple rooms around a paved courtyard, one of which has an orant painted in it. The orant was considered in 1929 to be a sign of a Christian community in the house, but it has since been recognized that the generic nature of the figure could refer to a number of other Roman religions or symbolize ideas like pietas (Calci 2000, 17-18). The other walls in the room of the orant were preserved less well and without plaster, but a floor in black and white mosaic was found (Munoz 1930, 64). The orant room is accessible through a manhole behind via Teatro Marcello. From this room through a narrow passage you can reach a corridor paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> with plastered brick walls. Only one of the multiple rooms opening off of this space is accessible, and it was originally paved with marble slabs (Calci 2000, 18). Wallpainting fragments were visible in the room leading off the orant room, with a male figure with a raised hand from the first layer, and two heads in another portion that appeared earlier from the same time as the orant. The other door that led originally off the room of the orant consists of an ancient street, leading to the two rooms with wallpainting fragments with a corridor paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> alongside. Four additional briefly explored rooms consist past these, and then at the far side from the room of the orant is another corridor paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> , with a brief stairway leading down from the aforementioned courtyard. One of these rooms originally extended the courtyard, but was in the late antique period blocked off to be a separate room. Another one of these rooms also led off the courtyard toward the area with the orant room, functioning as the <i>atrium</i> or entry room for this part of the far corridor leading off the courtyard and the nearest room to the <i>atrium</i> and portion

632

Field	Data
	of the casa with the wallpaintings is unknown. This portion of the casa forms a general triangle, and remains of the supports for upper floors affirm their ancient presence (Munoz 1930, 64-66, tav. I). The second part of the <i>domus</i> is a <i>balneum</i> exhibiting a heated thermal complex (Consoli 2006, 264). While this <i>balneum</i> is directly next to the rest of the casa, much as in the <i>domus</i> at the Piazza dei Cinquecento (see cat entry V.02), a relationship between the two of ownership is not confirmed. The upper floors, which might provide more information on the relationship between the two are lost, and anumber of spaces were not fully explored (Munoz 1930, 64-68, tav. I).
Structural building techniques	The wall paintings of the orant are on a wall of mixed construction <i>opus</i> <i>reticulatum</i> and brick (Calci 2000, 17-18). The walls throughout the house show opera mista and brickwork. The long southern wall was constructed in brickwork, attached to a Hadrianic building on the one side, and also attached to the <i>opus mixtum</i> walls in reticulatum and brick. This dates it to the early second century CE. The walls in the area of the stairway and corridor farthest from the room of the orant are also datable to this period, by means of construction technique and a brickstamp (see below). There are <i>opus spicatum</i> floors in the corridors, and there was a marble paved floor in one room (Calci 2000, 18; Munoz 1930, 68). The courtyard, which the rooms surround, may have been a small stretch of paved road, like that seen between the <i>domus</i> under the Palazzo Valentini (see cat entries VIII.01 and VIII.02). It is paved in polygonal blocks. Vaulting to support the upper floors cannot be confirmed in the large back room (Munoz 1930, 66).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art: <ul> <li>The wall painting of the orant was found on a fragment of plaster coated in lime on a wall constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> mixed with brick, in an excavation trench beneath the altar of S. Andrea in Vincis, in a room that stood off the ancient courtyard (Munoz 1930, 64).</li> <li>Further wallpaintings were found in the room off that of the orant, a male figure with raised hand and a separate layer with two male heads (Munoz 1930, 64).</li> </ul> Inscriptions: <ul> <li>A brickstamp, identified as CIL XV, I, 1347, datable to 120-129 CE, was found in the wall of the area leading off the courtyard (Munoz 1930, 68). The stamp is a crescent showing "Q.OPPI.PRISCI" and a protome of Mercury (CIL XV, I, 1347).</li> </ul></li></ul>

Data
For a plan, see the right portion of Munoz 1930, tavolo I.
Archivio Fotografico Comunale. <i>Album Demolizioni Per La Via Del Mare</i> . Roma, 1929. photographs.

Archivio Gatti, Archivio di Stato: Photos of plan.

Field

Plan location

Baldassarre, Ida. 2002. Pittura romana: dall'ellenismo al tardo antico. 1. ed. Milano: F. Motta.

Barosso, Maria. 1929. "Ricostruzione Dell'ambiente Del Balneum Con Vasca E Parete Di Fondo Occupata Dalla Nicchia Dipinta Con La Liberazione Di Andromeda." Watercolor.

Bisconti, Fabrizio. 1980. "Contributo all'interpreatzione dell'atteggiamento di orante." Vetera Cristianorum 17:17-27.

Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.

Cerrito, Alessandra. 2002. "Oratori ed edifici di culto minori di Roma tra il IV secolo ed i primi decenni del V." *Ecclesiae urbis* I: 397-418.

Chini, Paola. 1999. "La cosiddetta "casa cristiana"," Forma urbis: itinerari Bibliography nascosti di Roma antica 4 (10): 27-35.

> Colini, Antonio Maria, Carlo Buzzetti, Giovanni Ioppolo, and Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio. 1998. Appunti degli scavi di Roma. I. Quaderni I bis-II bis-III-IV, Roma.

> Colini, Antonio Maria, Carlo Buzzetti, Giovanni Ioppolo, and Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio. 2000. Appunti degli scavi di Roma. II, Quaderni V-VI-VII-IX-IX b, Roma.

> Consoli, Francesca. 2006. "La Decorazione Degli Edifici Di Via Del Mare Sotto La Chiesa Di Sant'andrea in Vincis." In *L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove* Immagini 312-468, edited by Maria Andaloro, 264-67. Turnhout: Brepols.

Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.

Guidobaldi, Federico. 1998. Domvm tvam dilexi: miscellanea in onore di Aldo Nestori, Citta del Vaticano: Pontificio Ist. di Archeologia Cristiana.

Ling, Roger. 1991. Roman painting. New York: Cambridge University Press.

054
-----

Field	Data
	196-197, fig. 214
	Martorelli, R. 1998 'S. Andrea in Vincis (Roma): domus ecclesiae o oratorio privato?' in <i>Domum tuam dilexi Miscellanea in onore di Aldo Nestori</i> , 571-86. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Ist. di Archeologia Cristiana.
	Mielsch, Harald. 1976. "Affreschi Perseo E Andromeda." In Affreschi Romani Dalle Raccolte Dell'antiquarium Comunale. Catalogo Della Mostra (Roma, Marzo 1976). Roma.
	Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, Roma: a cura del Governatorato di Roma.
	Ottaviani, Lucia. 1994. "La 'Casa Cristiana'." In <i>Storie Di Roma Tra Campidoglio E Tevere</i> , edited by Umberto Broccoli, 49-51. Roma: Telecom Italia.
	Salvetti, Carla. 1998. "Perseo E Andromeda." In <i>Romana Pictura: La Pittura Romana Dalle Origini All'età Bizantina</i> , edited by Angela Donati, 292-93. Milano: Electa.
	Terrenato, N., P. Brocato, G. Caruso, Anna Maria Ramieri, H. W. Becker, I. Cangemi, G. Mantiloni, and C. Regoli. 2011. "The S. Omobono Sanctuary in Rome: Assessing Eighty Years of Fieldwork and Exploring Perspectives for the Future." <i>Internet Archaeology</i> 31.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	VIII.07
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Casa dei Mulini
Time Period 01 Start Year	101
Time Period 01 End Year	200
Time Period 01	The walls construction methods indicate a date of construction no later than

Field	Data
Description	the second century CE (Munoz 1930, 53).
Time Period 02 Years	301-400
Time Period 02 Description	In the fourth century there is evidence of some renovations and in a third later period, further restorations. In the fourth century renovations the building was extended past the formerly external north wall and the openings on that side closed (Munoz 1930, 53-54).
Excavation history	The Casa dei Mulini was excavated and explored in 1930 as a part of the isolation of the Capitoline hill, after the removal of modern houses above. This building abuts the grand <i>insula</i> (See cat. Entry IX.08) to its north (Munoz 1930, 53-54).
Description of Rooms	In one main room four grain mills were inserted into the worn basalt polygonal paving. Only the west wall of this room, which was not an exterior wall, was completely uncovered, and contained two central openings and two smaller openings on the right corner. The opposite wall had two large arches with a brick cornice above. Between the east wall and the Capitoline hill, two other vaulted rooms stood. One of these rooms was related, as it had a mill, a dolium, and basalt paving. The other room stood below a room with mosaic paving and well plastered and painted walls. Further rooms were found to the south of these (Munoz 1930, 53-54).
Structural building techniques	The walls were constructed in the second century CE, and repaired in the fourth century. Fragments of <i>opus reticulatum</i> dressing the rock behind the walls and fragments of opus quadratum in the foundations are the oldest remains (Munoz 1930, 54).
Finds from the site	
Plan location	For a plan of the remains, see Munoz 1930, Tav. I.
Bibliography	Chini, Paola. 2003. "La Casa dei Mulini." <i>Forma Urbis</i> , VIII, 4: 30-35. Chini, Paola. 2009. "Campidoglio Pendici: Taberna della salita delle Tre Pile - Casa dei Mulini - Grande <i>Insula</i> ." <i>Comune di Roma, Sovraintendenza ai</i> <i>Beni Culturali</i> . http://www.sovraintendenzaroma.it/content/download/8040/116672/file/Cam pidoglio+Pendici+1+Taberna+della+salita+delle+Tre+Pile+- +Casa+dei+Mulini+-+Grande+ <i>Insula</i> .pdf

Field	Data
	Munoz, Antonio. 1930. <i>Campidoglio</i> , Roma: a cura del Governatorato di Roma.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.01a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Diribitorium
Time Period 01 Start Year	7 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	230
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>Diribitorium</i> burned in 80 CE, but it was still here in at least 230 CE as it was mentioned by Cassius Dio. The house and late antique <i>aula</i> were constructed at some point after 230 CE (Guidobaldi 1986, 175-177).
Excavation history	See IX.01b.
Description of Rooms	The votes from the nearby Saepta were counted in the <i>Diribitorium</i> , which was begun by Agrippa. It was rectangular and the largest roofed space in Rome at the time (Jacobs and Conlin 2015, 91). Cassius Dio notes that after the roof was destroyed in a fire, it was too large to be rebuilt (Dio LV, 8, 3-4).
Structural building techniques	See IX.01b.
Finds from the site	See IX.01b.
Plan location	See IX.01b.
Bibliography	Cassius Dio. LV. 3-4.

Guidobaldi, Federico. 1986. "L'edilizia Abitativa Unifamiliare Nella Roma Tardo-Antica." In <i>Societa Romana E Impero Tardo-Antico</i> , edited by Andrea Giardina, 165-237. Roma-Bari: Laterza. Jacobs, Paul W., and Diane Atnally Conlin. 2015. <i>Campus Martius</i> . Cambridge University Press.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.01b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus at the Diribitorium
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Palis; Domus di Largo Argentina
Time Period 01 Start Year	7 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	230
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>Diribitorium</i> burned in 80 CE, but it was still here in at least 230 CE as it was mentioned by Cassius Dio. The house and late antique <i>aula</i> were constructed at some point after 230 CE (Guidobaldi 1986, 175-7).
Time Period 02 Years	325-500
Time Period 02 Description	The early to mid-fourth century is suggested by Guidobaldi and Lanciani as a beginning date for the Late antique <i>domus</i> . A brick stamp in the personal notes of Lanciani from the Vatican (Vat. Lat. 13040, f. 37), identified with CIL XV 1569 by Guidobaldi, that was found in the rubble from a wall from this structure backs the date, but could be reused in a later wall. The presence of this late antique <i>domus</i> in a formerly very public area suggests a trend in the late antique period of more private residences here. The fistula has been dated to the fourth-fifth century CE, but the date is tentative, and not based on firm

Field	Data
	comparisons (Guidobaldi 1986, 177-181).
Excavation history	This <i>domus</i> was excavated for the demolition of a large portion of the Palazzo Amadei and casa Ferretti for the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele II. It was uncovered in 1883 at the corner of Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, the via dei Cestari, and the vie Cesarini, where the church of Stimmate di S. Francesco is located, and further excavated with the demolition of the casa Ferretti in 1884 (Lanciani 1883, 340; Lanciani 1884, 41; Guidobaldi 1986, 175). The combined plans from the excavations were gathered and published by Lanciani in his <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> (Lanciani 1901).
Description of Rooms	The main space is a large apsed room, and just to the south are two three-apsed rooms with a small single asped room between them. The southern portion of these rooms is not drawn and was likely not excavated deep enough below the current street (Guidobaldi 1986, 177). The multiple apsed rooms are typical of late antique architecture. Two large niches were found in 1883, and Lanciani suggested they appeared constructed for a public building of the third century (Lanciani 1883, 340). A further large building with thick walls of good and mediocre quality was found in the same area (Lanciani 1884, 41).
Structural building techniques	The two large niches discovered in 1883 were constructed in brickwork walls (Lanciani 1883, 340). In 1884 a large structure with walls over a meter thick, of good and of mediocre quality was found and contained brick stamps, listed below (Lanciani 1884, 41).
	Inscriptions:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>CIL XV 7583: A lead pipe from the fourth century was found in this area with four names, Theodosius, Theodorus, Palis, and another. The inscription read " PETITHEODOS VD PALIS CL F THEo DoR VC" (Lanciani 1884, 104; Eck 1995, 151). Guidobaldi suggests the data is tentative to the fourth-fifth century CE, and unconfirmed. For a photograph see Guidobaldi 1986, fig. 10. Guidobaldi suggests these may refer to the proprietors, a vir devotus Theodosius, a clarissima femina Palis, and a vir clarissimus Theodorus (Guidobaldi 1986, 177). "[ v(iri) s]p(ectabilis) et i(nlustris), Theodos(i) v(iri) d(evotissimi), Palis cl(arissimae) f(eminae), Theodor(i) v(iri) c(larissimi)" is Lanciani's interpretation of the inscription (CIL XV 7583). Guidobaldi suggests based on personal inspection that the letter following Palis is P not C, and thus cannot definitely confirm the full meaning of the inscription (Guidobaldi 1986, 450, n. 35).</li> <li>Brick stamps are listed in the excavation records (Lanciani 1884, 41):</li> <li>CN DOMITIVS/ARIGNOTVS F (Lanciani 1884, 41) this seems to closely match CIL XV 1094h.</li> </ul>

	Data	
	<ul> <li>TFLAVI Evo (Lanciani 1884, 41).</li> <li>CIL XV 1569: Lanciani's personal notes include this brick stamp, which can act only as a terminus post quem, as the brick could be in a state of reuse (Guidobaldi, 449, n. 30). This stamp includes variants that say "OFF S R F DOM", interpreted as Off(icina) s(ummae) r(ei) f(isci) Dom(itiana) (CIL XV 1569). The stamp is dated to circa 300 CE. An example was also found in the <i>mithraeum</i> excavations at Santa Prisca (see cat. entry XIII.03) (Vermaseren and van Essen 1965, 245).</li> </ul>	
	See Guidobaldi 1986, fig. 8 and 9, reprinted from Lanciani 1901.	
=	<ul> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.</li> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.</li> </ul>	
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Palis." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 151. Roma: Quasar.	
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1986. "L'edilizia Abitativa Unifamiliare Nella Roma Tardo-Antica." In <i>Societa Romana E Impero Tardo-Antico</i> , edited by Andrea Giardina, 165-237. Roma-Bari: Laterza.	
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1883. "Regione IX." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita: 340.	
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Regione IX." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita. 41: 103-104.	
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.	
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G,	

Field

Plan location

Bibliography

Roma: Quasar.

Van den Abeele, Barbara. 1989-1990. "Comparison of the Roman domus with
the domus of Ostia," Acta archaeologica Lovaniensia 28-29: 49-62.

Van den Abeele, Barbara. 1989. *De domus of herenwoning in het antieke Rome*, Departement archeologie en kunstwetenschap, KUL. Faculteit letteren en wijsbegeerte.

Vermaseren, M. J., and Carel Claudius van Essen. 1965. The excavations in the

Field	Data
	Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome, Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Casa romana ai Baullari
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus under Museo Barracco
Time Period 01 Start Year	300
Time Period 01 End Year	399
Time Period 01 Description	The architecture shows two phases, the first with a fragment of wall and the travertine interior paving, and the second with the <i>opus sectile</i> decorative paving, the columns, and the <i>opus vittatum</i> intercolumniations (Cimino and La Pera 1997b, Tav. III, 84-100). This earlier paved phase before the fresco and <i>opus sectile</i> is not dated precisely. The architectural structure of the final period supports a late fourth century date (Nota Santi 1993, 30).
Time Period 02 Years	400-450
Time Period 02 Description	At some point it is thought this building may have become commercial due to the added mensa ponderaria block (Benocci 1995, 101, 118).
Excavation history	The Comune of Rome purchased the palazzetto della Farnesina ai Baullari in order to destroy half of the building that stood in the way of construction, and construct the Corso Vittorio Emanuele through the demolished half. The architect Enrico Guuj discovered Roman structures four meters under the ground surface while working to restore the remaining palace in 1899. The Roman structures included walls opening onto a peristyle with porticos that were decorated with fresco wallpaintings (Leardi 2006, 268). The wall paintings were restored in November to December 1958 (Colini et al. 1985,

Field	Data
	375).
Description of Rooms	This consists only of a well preserved peristyle. It is worth considering that it might be associated with the remains under San Lorenzo in Damaso, possibly of the first Titulus Damasi, which is extremely nearby [See cat. entry IX.60] (Cimino and La Pera 1997a, 17), and it has been suggested that the remains may be connected to those of the Stabula Quattuor Factionum that were between via di Monserrato, Piazza Farnese and Piazza della Cancelleria (Cimino and La Pera 1997b, 30). Leardi points out that the paintings of "Venatorie" and marine scenes make an argument for this being a domestic peristyle as opposed to public peristyle with their original placement along the low fence around the peristyle (Leardi 2006, 268-71). The patterns in the <i>opus sectile</i> paving suggest that the peristyle opened onto two separate rooms (Cimino and La Pera 1997b, 94-95).
Structural building techniques	The six remaining columns were formed with reused bases and capitals as bases, and the small walls in the intercolumniations were constructed in <i>opus vittatum</i> with alternating rows of bricks (Nota Santi 1993, 27-29). The capitals are from a building of the Augustan period, and the bases from a separate structure from the end of the first, beginning of the second century CE (Cimino and La Pera 1997b, 91). A few places with remnants of <i>opus latericium</i> of an earlier period are visible. Flooring in <i>opus sectile</i> goes around the peristyle and travertine slabs level the center area, which shows repairs and patching over time (Nota Santi 1993, 27-29, Benocci 1995, 91).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>Multiple wall paintings were found, all now visible in the Museo Barracco, including:</li> <li>a marine scene with Putti on boats</li> <li>a duck</li> <li>a tiger hunt</li> <li>a deer hunt</li> </ul>
Plan location	See Cimino and La Pera 1997b, Tav. III
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Baldassarre, Ida. 2002. <i>Pittura romana: dall'ellenismo al tardo antico. 1. ed.</i></li> <li>Milano: F. Motta.</li> <li>Benocci, Carla. 1995. <i>Museo Barracco: storia dell'edificio, Quaderno 1.</i></li> <li>Roma: Comune di Roma, Assessorato alle politiche culturali.</li> <li>Cimino, M. Gabriella, and Susanna La Pera. 1997a. "La domus tardoantica</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	sotto il Museo Barracco," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 2 (1): 12-17.
	Cimino, M. Gabriella, and Susanna Le Pera. 1997b. <i>La Casa Romana Sotto Il Museo Barracco</i> . Roma.
	Colini, Antonio Maria, Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio, Carlo Buzzetti, Maresita Nota Santi, and Paola Virgili. 1985. "Notiziario di scavi e scoperte in Roma e Suburbio, 1946-1960. Seconda parte," <i>Bullettino della Commissione</i> <i>Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 90 (2): 307-440.
	Gatti, Giuseppe. 1899. "Notizie Di Recenti Trovamenti Di Antichita." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 27: 257-58.
	Leardi, Geraldine. 2006. "Scene Venatorie E Marine Nella Domus Sotto La Farnesina Ai Baullari." In <i>La Pittura Medievale a Roma 312-1431: Corpus:</i> <i>L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove Immagini 312-468</i> , edited by Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano, 268-71. Turnhout: Brepols.
	Marucchi, Orazio. 1900. "Resoconto Delle Sedute Della Para, Sessione Iii-25 Gennaio 1900." <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia.</i> <i>Rendiconti</i> 7: 417-18.
	Mielsch, Harald. 1976."Gli Affreschi Della Farnesina Ai Baullari." In Affreschi Romani Dalle Raccolte Dell'antiquarium Comunale, Catalogo Della Mostra (Roma, Marzo 1976), 49-52. Roma.
	Mielsch, Harald. 1978. "Zur Stadtromischen Malerei Des 4. Jahrhunderts Nach Chr.". Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 85: 151-207.
	Museo Barracco, and Carlo Pietrangeli. 1960. <i>Museo Barracco Di Scultura Antica: Guida</i> . Roma: SPQR.
	Nota Santi, Maresita and Maria Gabriella Cimino. 1993. <i>Barracco Museum Rome, Guides to Italian museum, galleries, excavations and monuments. nuova serie</i> , Roma.
	Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to Underground Rome: From Cloaca Massima to Domus Aurea: The Most Fascinating Underground Sites of the Capital = Guida Di Roma Sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi.
	Royo, Manuel. 1984. "Elements Antiques Sous Le Palais De La Chancellerie: Presentation Critique Du Dossier D'a. Prandi." <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française</i>

Field	Data
	de Rome. Antiquité 96: 847-906.
	Tomassetti, Giuseppe. 1900. "Scoperte Recenti Nel Palazzetto Della Farnesina in Via Dei Baulari." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 28: 321-41.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.03a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under San Lorenzo in Lucina
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Insula under San Lorenzo in Lucina
Time Period 01 Start Year	117
Time Period 01 End Year	138
Time Period 01 Description	A small portion of a Hadrianic building, suggested to be residential were the earliest found. They include a wall with fresco and a paving in black and white mosaic of the same period. It is a habitation in close proximity to the wall of the Ara Pacis (Signani 1997, 7-8).
Time Period 02 Years	211-217
Time Period 02 Description	The early structures were replaced by a later <i>insula</i> . Brick stamps date the large brick building to the time of Caracalla. This extends under the adjacent Palazzo Fiano-Almagia to the edge of the Via Flaminia (Brandt 2012b, 21; Signani 1997, 8).
Time Period 03 Years	200-350
Time Period 03	Among the ceramics found in the <i>insula</i> those which are common in the first

Field	Data
Description	half of the third century are most common, the amount declines for the latter third and early fourth century, and completely disappears in the mid-fourth century, possibly indicating the abandonment of the structure (Brandt 2004, 2- 3). The ceramics found in the <i>insula</i> structure below the church in the highest sealed deposit date to the second quarter of the fourth century (Brandt 2012b, 26).
Time Period 04 Years	350-423
Time Period 04 Description	A rectangular tub, destroyed for the creation of the circular tub of the baptistery belonged to the last phase of occupation before the basilica. It originally contained a fountain in a rectangular structure with a semicircular niche and basin, similar to other fourth-fifth centuries courtyard fountains. Some suggest the basilica Lucinae mentioned in relation to Pope Damasus in 366 is San Lorenzo instead of the later basilica sancto Laurentio (Brandt 2012b, 19).
Time Period 05 Years	423-440
Time Period 05 Description	The basilica of San Lorenzo in Lucina however also may be identified as constructed under Sixtus III in the Liber Pontificalis (Brandt 2012a, 11). The <i>insula</i> was cut at 1.13m and reused to make the first plan of the basilica (Signani 1997, 4-9). A circular tub attributed to the paleochristian baptistery has been found under the Sala dei Canonici, though the walls of the baptistery were destroyed during subsequent Renaissance construction (Brandt 2012b, 11).
Excavation history	Significant excavations took place from 1982-1987 under the nave and west aisle of the basilica supported by the German Archaeological Institute and the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma. The foundations of the early Christian church, a third century <i>insula</i> , and a second century building were uncovered. Further research examining San Lorenzo in Lucina has been undertaken by the Swedish Insitute in Rome. The Swedish Institute collaborated with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma on new excavations of the crypt from 1993 to 1998, led by Olof Brandt and Elena Bertoldi. The Swedish Institute continued to research the site and publish through 2000 (Brandt 2012a, 12).
Description of Rooms	The remains of the Hadrianic <i>domus</i> include a single brick room, paved in white and black mosaic, and decorated with fresco (Signani 1997, 7-8). The remains of the <i>insula</i> , currently visible, include a series of rooms, open to the east, that surround a courtyard or a covered gallery. The wall of the <i>insula</i> was

Field	Data
	reused as a foundation for the colonnade between the central nave and the west side of the early church (Brandt 2012b, 21-24).
Structural	The room from the Hadrianic structure is paved in white and black mosaic, and datable to this period by fresco style and construction technique (Signani 1997, 7-8).
building techniques	The early Christian basilica included columns in between the central and side aisles; one colonnade was supported by the previous <i>insula</i> perimeter wall as a foundation, while a new foundation was constructed for the other colonnade with alternating rows of bricks and tufa (Brandt 2012b, 23).
	Inscription:
Finds from the site	- A rectangular sheet of cipollino marble, found reused in the baptismal font, with the funerary inscription of Flavia Hilarina, with an epigraphic element in the A indicating it was originally made after 338, and already reused in the fourth century to line the bottom of the baptismal font (Brandt 2012b, 27).
Additional notable points	It is a common misconception that the Horologium Augusti was located under San Lorenzo in Lucina. This is based on an erroneous 16th century transcription of Pomponius Lactus. The precise form of the Horologium is unknown, but this area built up quickly with large <i>insulae</i> beginning in the third century CE (Brandt 2012a, 11).
Plan location	See Brandt 2012b, Fig. 1.
Bibliography	Bertoldi, M. E. 1997. "Un documento d'archivio sul battistero di S. Lorenzo in Lucina." In <i>Ultra terminum vagari: scritti in onore di Carl Lylander</i> , edited by Carl Nylander and B. Magnusson, 43-44. Roma: Ed. Quasar.
	Bertoldi, Maria Elena. 1994. S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Le chiese di Roma illustrate. Nuova serie, Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani: Palombi.
	Boman, Henrik. 2012. "A third century <i>insula</i> under the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina," in <i>Brandt, Olof, ed. San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 40, 61).</i> 88-122, edited by Olof Brandt, 81-122. Stokholm.
	Brandt, Olof. 1994. "Un'iscrizione riutilizzata da S. Lorenzo in Lucina." <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> Jan 1.
	Brandt, Olof. 1995a. "La seconda campagna di scavo nel battistero di S.

Field	Data
	Lorenzo in Lucina a Roma," Opuscula Romana 20: 271-274.
	Brandt, Olof. 1995b. "Sul battistero paleocristiano di S. Lorenzo in Lucina." In <i>Archeologia laziale XII</i> , edited by Stefania Quilici Gigli, 145-150. Roma: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche.
	Brandt, Olof. 1997. "Il battistero lateranense: qui fu battezzata Roma," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (4): 28-33.
	Brandt, Olof. 2004. "Scavi e ricerche dell'Istituto Svedese a San Lorenzo in Lucina (Roma)," <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> (25).
	Brandt, Olof. 2012a. San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 40, 61). Stockholm.
	Brandt, Olof. 2012b. "La Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Lucina e Il Quartiere Preesistente: Nuove Osservazioni." In <i>Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di</i> <i>Roma: atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana</i> <i>(Roma, 13 marzo 2008): Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane</i> , edited by Federico Guidobaldi and Hugo Brandenburg, 11-31. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.
	Krautheimer, Richard, and Wolfgang Frankl. 1939. "Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 43 (3): 388-400.
	Signani, Laura. 1997. "L'area archeologica di S.Lorenzo in Lucina," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (4): 4-9.
	Signani, Laura. 1998. <i>S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Collana archeologica</i> , Roma: Sydaco.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.03b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	San Lorenzo in Lucina
Time Period 01 Start Year	350

Field	Data
Time Period 01 End Year	423
Time Period 01 Description	A rectangular tub destroyed for the creation of the circular tub of the baptistery belonged to the last phase of occupation before the basilica. It originally contained a fountain in a rectangular structure with a semicircular niche and basin, similar to other fourth-fifth centuries courtyard fountains. Some suggest the basilica Lucinae mentioned in relation to Pope Damasus in 366 is San Lorenzo instead of the later basilica sancto Laurentio (Brandt 2012b, 19).
Time Period 02 Years	423-440
Time Period 02 Description	The basilica of San Lorenzo in Lucina however also may be identified as constructed under Sixtus III in the Liber Pontificalis (Brandt 2012a, 11). The <i>insula</i> was cut at 1.13m and reused to make the first plan of the basilica (Signani 1997, 4-9). A circular tub attributed to the paleochristian baptistery has been found under the Sala dei Canonici, though the walls of the baptistery were destroyed during subsequent Renaissance construction (Brandt 2012b, 11).
Excavation history	See catalog entry IX.34a.
Description of Rooms	See catalog entry IX.34a.
Structural building techniques	See catalog entry IX.34a.
Finds from the site	See catalog entry IX.34a.
Additional notable points	See catalog entry IX.34a.
Plan location	See catalog entry IX.34a.
Bibliography	Bertoldi, M. E. 1997. "Un documento d'archivio sul battistero di S. Lorenzo in Lucina." In <i>Ultra terminum vagari: scritti in onore di Carl Lylander</i> , edited by Carl Nylander and B. Magnusson, 43-44. Roma: Ed. Quasar.

Field	Data
	Bertoldi, Maria Elena. 1994. S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Le chiese di Roma illustrate. Nuova serie, Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani: Palombi.
	Brandt, Olof. 1994. "Un'iscrizione riutilizzata da S. Lorenzo in Lucina." <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> Jan 1.
	Brandt, Olof. 1995a. "La seconda campagna di scavo nel battistero di S. Lorenzo in Lucina a Roma," <i>Opuscula Romana</i> 20: 271-274.
	Brandt, Olof. 1995b. "Sul battistero paleocristiano di S. Lorenzo in Lucina." In <i>Archeologia laziale XII</i> , edited by Stefania Quilici Gigli, 145-150. Roma: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche.
	Brandt, Olof. 1997. "Il battistero lateranense: qui fu battezzata Roma," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (4): 28-33.
	Brandt, Olof. 2004. "Scavi e ricerche dell'Istituto Svedese a San Lorenzo in Lucina (Roma)," <i>FOLD&amp;R</i> (25).
	Brandt, Olof. 2012a. San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 40, 61). Stockholm.
	Brandt, Olof. 2012b. "La Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Lucina e Il Quartiere Preesistente: Nuove Osservazioni." In <i>Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di</i> <i>Roma: atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di archeologia cristiana</i> <i>(Roma, 13 marzo 2008): Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane</i> , edited by Federico Guidobaldi and Hugo Brandenburg, 11-31. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.
	Krautheimer, Richard, and Wolfgang Frankl. 1939. "Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 43 (3): 388-400.
	Signani, Laura. 1997. "L'area archeologica di S. Lorenzo in Lucina," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (4): 4-9.
	Signani, Laura. 1998. S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Collana archeologica, Roma: Sydaco.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry	IX.04

Field	Data
Number	
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Sotterranea of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria
Time Period 01 Start Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	1 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The tomb of Aulus Irzius was constructed. He was consul and killed in the battle of Modena in 43 BC (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 113).
Time Period 02 Years	69-79
Time Period 02 Description	Construction of the stabulum factionis Prasinae took place in the early Flavian period. Brick stamps datable to the Vespasianic period were found, along with ceramic fragments (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 113). The stabulum when through four major restorations over its use through the mid-fourth century.
Time Period 03 Years	98-117/193-200
Time Period 03 Description	Brick stamps dating to the Trajanic period indicate the first restructuring of the stabulum at this point (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 114). At the end of the second century there was another restoration of the stabulum. Brick stamps were found in the remains dating from between 193-199 CE. Sigillata africana was found in the remains from this period (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 114).
Time Period 04 Years	218-253
Time Period 04 Description	A sestertius of Julia Maesa from 218-223 was found in the stratum of preparation of the pavement for the area of the third intervention of restoration of the stabulum (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 115). An inscription from 253 CE with a dedication was found in the Mithraeum (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 115). The <i>mithraeum</i> was created in the third century and used until the early fourth century, possibly until right around 383 CE with the construction of the Titulus Damasi. Bjornebye cites this as not a senatorial or high status <i>mithraeum</i> , as the remains appear modest and it lacks later dedications (Bjornebye 2007, 42-

Field	Data
	43).
Time Period 05 Years	306-337
Time Period 05 Description	The fourth restoration and restructuring of the stabulum took place in the Constantinian period. A coin of Constantine from 319-320 was found in a layer of debris. The area consists of four buildings, the stable, two warehouses, and the residential building of the stabulum (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 115, 174).
Time Period 06 Years	348-375
Time Period 06 Description	In the mid-fourth century there was a construction of a number of rooms in and near the residential building of the stabulum. A coin of Constantius II and Constants from around 347-348 CE was found in the remains (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 116). The <i>domus</i> under the museo baracco dates to the mid-fourth century CE (Cimino and La Pera 1997a, 13).
Time Period 07 Years	383-384
Time Period 07 Description	The Titulus Damasi, the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso, was supposedly constructed here under Pope Damaso (366-384), in the area of the "stabula factionis prasinae" (Cimino and La Pera 1997a, 17). It should date from sometime roughly around 383-384 CE. The stabula factionis prasinae was the stable of one of the four colors of charioteers, which were referred to as a group as the Stabula IIII Factionum. This was the most popular faction with the imperial house in the first century CE. S. Lorenzo in Damaso has an inscription saying that the church also went by the name S. Laurentii in Prasino and an inscribed lead pipe (CIL XV 7254) was found nearby (Richardson 1992, 366).
Excavation history	This was recently excavated from 1988-1997. In the fifteenth century Cardinal Raphael Riario built the Palazzo della Cancelleria over the former S. Lorenzo, and rebuilt S. Lorenzo nearby. At this time excavations found the earliest church buildings (Pavia 2000, 121). The <i>mithraeum</i> was originally found in 1938, 3.45 m below the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso, which is a part of the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Vermasseren 1956, 178). The paleo-christian basilica of the original S. Lorenzo in Damaso was excavated during 1988-1993. The excavations uncovered reused structures from the first to fourth centuries CE, including a section of a colonnade (Pavia 2000, 42-43). While this was originally suggested as a domestic structure of the family of Pope Damasus, excavations have primarily revealed buildings relating to the

Field	Data
	stabulum and then the later basilica.
	From the <i>mithraeum</i> decoration, only a fragment of a wall, fragments of white floor mosaic, and some traces of red paint "with small crescents and stars" have been found remaining. The white floor mosaic was likely part of the central aisle (Vermasseren 1956, 179). The peristyle under the Museo Barracco was constructed in the same period (see entry IX.02) as the Titulus Damasi, and could be related (Cimino and La Pera 1997a, 17).
Description of Rooms	The residential building of the stabulum from the early fourth century contained a porticoed space, as did the previous phase of this building. The additions to this building in the early fourth century blocked the original entrance which was replaced by a new smaller entrance in the wall of the portico (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 174, 211). A portion of a portico, bricked into a later wall, was reused in the early paleochristian church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. This wall was expanded for the early basilica, and a broken fluted white marble column from the period of the church has been found, in a different style than the earlier columns (Pavia 2000, 122).
Structural building techniques	Brickwork indicating multiple periods of renovation to the <i>stabulum</i> have been excavated and studied.
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Smetius cites a marble base seen in the 16th century (MMM II No. 554) from the house of "Iordani Ruchabellae ad S. Laurentium in Damaso" with a representation of Minerva and a lying water-god (Vermasseren 1956, 152).</li> <li>CIL XV 7254 - Found not in situ near the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, the inscription on the pipe says "(fa)CTIONIS PRASINAE" (CIL XV 7254).</li> <li>Ceramics in the stabulum: Among the ceramics were found 54 fragments of sigillata italica identifiable to between the period of Tiberius and the second half of the first century CE, found among 115 total fragments. Amphora fragments datable to this period were also found (Paolucci, et al. 2009, 113).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Bjornebye says that it was "not a senatorial" <i>mithraeum</i> , and more likely used more in the third than fourth century – it's expected time of construction. It was 'replaced' by the <i>titulus</i> . Vermasseren discusses. It was 'shabby', but that doesn't definitely call for a short use. This has been suggested as originally a property of the pope, a <i>domus</i> converted to a later sacred structure, but proof has not been found (Pavia 2000, 123).

Field	Data
Plan location	For a plan of the late fourth century possible domestic structures excavated, see Paolucci, et al. 2009, Figure 135, page 196.
Bibliography	Bjornebye, Jonas. 2007. "Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus": the cult of Mithras in fourth century Rome. Bergen: Faculty of Arts, University of Bergen.
	Cimino, M. Gabriella, and Susanna La Pera. 1997a. "La domus tardoantica sotto il Museo Barracco," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 2 (1): 12-17.
	Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.
	Frommel, Christoph, Massimo Luitpold, Johannes Pentiricci, Georg Deckers, and Giuseppe Bonaccorso. 2009. <i>L'antica Basilica Di San Lorenzo in Damaso</i> . <i>1, Gli Scavi</i> . 2 vols., Roma: De Luca editori d'arte.
	Paolucci, Antonio, Francesco Buranelli, Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Massimo Pentiricci, Sergio Fontana, and Pacetti Francesco. 2009. <i>L'antica</i> <i>basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso. indagini archeologiche nel Palazzo della</i> <i>Cancelleria (1988-1993): Gli Scavi</i> 1 1. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte.
	Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to Underground Rome: From Cloaca Massima to Domus Aurea: The Most Fascinating Underground Sites of the Capital = Guida Di Roma Sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi.
	Richardson, L. 1992. <i>A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome</i> : Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef. 1956. Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae. 2 vols, Hagae Comitis.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula ai Monticelli

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Start Year	69
Time Period 01 End Year	96
Time Period 01 Description	The Gruppo Speleo Archeologico Vespertilio's study found the construction of the original <i>horrea</i> portions of the <i>insula</i> in the Flavian period (Gruppo Speleo Archeologico Vespertilio).
Time Period 02 Years	98-117
Time Period 02 Description	The module of the brickwork of the ancient walls of the <i>insula</i> indicates a construction of additional portions of the <i>insula</i> in the early second century CE, the Trajanic period (Pavia 2000, 73, 75-76).
Time Period 03 Years	1000-1900
Time Period 03 Description	The ancient buildings were reused in the Medieval and Renaissance periods as construction was added on top of the building. A large stairway made of spolia leads down to the ancient floor, below ground, from the Medieval and Renaissance floors above (Pavia 2000, 73, 75).
Excavation history	The remains of this <i>insula</i> are in poor condition and flooded. In 2003 the Gruppo Speleo Archeologico Vespertilio carried out investigations of the structure, making rubbings, photographs, and videos of the underground spaces for the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. While the remains have been known, this was the first scientific study (Gruppo Speleo Archeologico Vespertilio). Carlo Pavia had also visited the remains briefly and describes them (Pavia 2000, 73-76).
Description of Rooms	The remains include a series of warehouse rooms, submerged in muddy water. The original warehouse rooms were constructed in the Flavian period, and other Trajanic era walls indicate additions to the <i>insula</i> at that time. These ancient walls form the lower portions and later walls were built into and over them, reusing the bases of the walls (Gruppo Speleo Archeologico Vespertilio).
Structural building techniques	The ancient walls were constructed in Trajanic early second century CE brickwork with cross-vaults above. Medieval and Renaissance walls were constructed onto and above the ancient walls after a period of destruction,

Field	Data
	reusing the building (Pavia 2000, 73, 75-76).
Finds from the site	- A classical era millstone was found in a medieval room in the structure (Pavia 2000, 76).
Additional notable points	This <i>insula</i> is close to the <i>insula</i> at San Paolo alla Regola and presents a similar situation of preservation based on reuse and burial, though is less well preserved.
Plan location	For a rough plan, see Pavia 2000, page 363.
Bibliography	Gruppo Speleo Archeologico Vespertilio. "Insula romana ai Monticelli – Roma" in <i>Speleogia Urbana</i> . http://www.speleovespertilio.it/speleologiaurbana.htm (accessed July 28, 2017).
	Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to Underground Rome: From Cloaca Massima to Domus Aurea: The Most Fascinating Underground Sites of the Capital = Guida Di Roma Sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi.
	Priester, Sascha. 2002. Ad summas tegulas: Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebaudeblocken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.06
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula near San Paolo alla Regola
1 10mus/1nsuud	<i>Domus</i> near San Paolo alla Regola, Horrea near San Paolo alla Regola, Casa romana a San Paolo alla Regola
Time Period 01 Start Year	81
Time Period 01 End Year	96

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Description	In the period of Domitian, the area was occupied by the <i>Horrea Vespasiani</i> a vast complex of storage buildings (Sovrintendenza). Horreae from the late first century CE are found on the lowest level of the <i>insula</i> (Wallace-Hadril 2003, 5).
Time Period 02 Years	193-235
Time Period 02 Description	A phase of construction, expanding the <i>horrea</i> e, was dated by brick stamps to the Severan period, and showed fragments of mosaics that were also characteristic of the period (Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 5). This expansion saw the construction of <i>insulae</i> four stories tall around and above the <i>horrea</i> e (Sovrintendenza).
Time Period 03 Years	235-305
Time Period 03 Description	Later in the third century there is evidence of a change of use of the <i>insula</i> , with the addition of vats of a fullonica against the Severan period plaster (Wallace-Hadril 2003, 5). A violent fire destroyed these levels and the building was reconstructed with large modifications in the next Constantinian period (Quilici 1986, 406-407).
Time Period 04 Years	306-337
Time Period 04 Description	The fourth century saw a major restoration at which point the lowest level was filled and abandoned (Wallace-Hadril 2003, 5). This restructuring acted to preserve the buildings from the flooding Tiber (Sovrintendenza). The restructuring in the Constantinian period preserves rubble under the Constantinian floor level of the Severan building materials that were destroyed by fire and collapse. The new building phase built into and over the remaining elements and filled in the ground floor (Quilici 1986, 275, 406-407). During rebuilding after the fire, the entire area of the courtyard was raised about 3 meters along with filling the ground floor, so the windows of rooms 39-40 on the second floor were turned into doors on the ground floor. A column was constructed to support the damaged supporting arch between the two building facades and a staircase was added in the northeastern part of the courtyard. Some former rooms remained accessible as <i>cella</i> r spaces (Priester 2002, 175-177).
Time Period 05 Years	1001-1200

Field	Data
Time Period 05 Description	In the 11th and 12th centuries the building's foundations were consolidated and a house with a brick tower was built. It has an elevation "a tuffelli" straddling an old alleyway that used to go between two of the Domitianic buildings. Int he 12th -13th centuries the area saw intensive construction leading to habitations of 4-5 stories, and the building was raised further in the 15th c (Sovrintendenza).
Excavation history	During a restoration project by the Comune di Roma between 1978 and 1982 the structure was brought to light with two stories below ground, and two stories above ground. The <i>insula</i> is situated under the Palazzo degli Specchi, and now houses the Bibliotecca Comunale per i Ragazzi on the first floor (Sovrintendenza). Lorenzo Quilici surveyed the building in detail and published the results in Notizie degli Scavi in 1986-1987 (Wallace-Hadril 2003, 5; Quilici 1986-1987).
Description of Rooms	The <i>insula</i> retains four visible stories, with the bottom two now uninhabited and below ground, and the top two preserving mainly walls that are built into the existing building. The building contains a central courtyard off which led originally warehouses, now the lowest level below ground, the <i>horrea</i> . Above this level housing and other rooms of the <i>insula</i> were constructed, some remaining on the first below ground level. Later the lowest level was filled and the courtyard was raised to remain a central open area for this higher floor. This floor includes a loggia with a large lowered arch held up by a column (Sovrintendenza). The courtyard created an opening and point of access to the storerooms, and in the masonry from the third century in rooms 20-24 and 39-40 there are traces of fire and evidence of the destroyed ceilings (Priester 2002, 175-177). Two rooms, paved with black and white mosaics of the Severan period, remain from what was the second floor, now the first below ground, directly above the ground floor of Domitianic warehouses (Sovrintendenza).
Structural building techniques	The Domitianic warehouses are made in brick structure and covered in large barrel vaults. There were two arched entrances that were closed in the Medieval period by a wall in opera listata of brick alternating with tufi (Sovrintendenza). The first century <i>horrea</i> e were constructed in brick faced concrete, and the brickwork of Severan period included datable brick stamps (Wallace-Hadril 2003, 5). The most preserved warehouse is 3.6 to 4.0 meters on a side and has a cross vault over 5 meters above the ancient floor. In order to strengthen the walls of the <i>insula</i> in the Constantinian period, after the fire, the walls were thickened to 90-130 cm (Quilici 1986, 405-406).
Finds from the	

Field	Data
site	
Plan location	For a full archaeological plan of the different floor levels see Quilici 1986-1987, figs. 171-174, or Priester 2002, pages 171-175, abb. 98, 100, 102.
	Priester, Sascha. 2002. Ad summas tegulas: Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebaudeblocken mit Wohneinheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi, Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
	Quilici, Lorenzo. 1986. "Le Case Di Via S. Paolo Alla Regola in Eta' Romana." Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita XL: 212-416.
Bibliography	Quilici, Lorenzo. 1983. "Il Campo Marzio occidentale." <i>Citta e Architettura nella Roma Imperiale, ARID</i> 10: 59-85.
	Quilici, Lorenzo. 1986-1987. "Roma. Via di S. Paolo alla Regola. Scavo e recupero di edifici antichi e medioevali." <i>Notizie degli Scavi ser. VIII</i> 40-41: 175ff.
	Rodriguez-Almeida, E. (1970-1971). "Forma Urbis marmorea, nuove integrazioni." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 82: 105ff.
	Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali di Roma. "Insula di San Paolo alla
	Regola." http://www.sovraintendenzaroma.it/i_luoghi/roma_antica/monumenti/insula_di _san_paolo_alla_regola (accessed August 5, 2017).
	Valeriani, Enrico, Francesco Giovanetti, and Vittoria Calzolari. 1987. San Paolino Alla Regola: Piano Di Recupero E Restauro. Roma: Kappa.
	Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 2003. "Domus and Insulae in Rome: Families and Housefuls." In <i>Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue</i> , edited by D.L. Balch and C. Osiek, 3-18. W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.07

Field	Data
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula at the Crypta Balbi
Other Domus/Insula Names	also <i>horrea</i>
Time Period 01 Start Year	17 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	13 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The Crypta Balbi is a portico built onto a theater, and today the remains of ancient city blocks extending to the east of the portico are included in the area of its remains (Sovrintendenza). It was constructed between 17 and 13 BCE by L. Cornelius Balbus after a triumph (Sagui 1997, 12; Manacorda 2001, 12).
Time Period 02 Years	80-110
Time Period 02 Description	A fire in 80 CE caused complex urban transformation (Manacorda 2001, 30). The first phase of architectural changes to the area of the portico was a consequence of the 80 CE fire in the area, and the second a few decades later saw the exedra of the structure converted to a monumental latrine with room for forty people (Sagui 1997, 12). After the fire the portico was reconstructed 10 meters wide on two floors, following the plan of the previous portico. A series of <i>insulae</i> also were constructed in the Trajanic period, dated based on construction technique and brick stamps, attached to the exedra of the Crypta Balbi (Sagui 2004, 157-158).
Time Period 03 Years	125-225
Time Period 03 Description	In the mid-second century the <i>insula</i> was remodeled. The stairway to the was rebuilt, its floor was raised 60 cm and paved in cocciopesto. At this time the large niche in the <i>aula</i> was closed and replaced with four small niches (Ricci 2004, 160). The first definitive evidence of the <i>mithraeum</i> , built into the <i>aula</i> , is from the end of the second to the beginning of the third century. The <i>aula</i> got a new western entrance and benches along the sides (Ricci 2004, 161).
Time Period 04	310-337

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 04 Description	In the Constantinian period the <i>Mithraeum</i> and surrounding rooms were restored. The northern bench was broaded and four pilasters were added (Ricci 2004, 162).
Time Period 05 Years	334-357
Time Period 05 Description	The Cataloghi Regionari of the fourth century list the Crypta Balbi by name in this region, as an independent architectural structure (Manacorda 2001, 22). After the edict of Theodosius the <i>mithraeum</i> was likely closed, there is evidence of the embedding of wooden poles that may have blocked the door at this point, but no definitive evidence (Ricci 2004, 164).
Time Period 06 Years	350-399
Time Period 06 Description	In the late fourth century the area around the Crypta Balbi begins to become private, as is seen in the diribitorium (see cat. Entry IX.01b). A settlement, likely private moves into the northwestern corner of the building, and uses as a latrine the old drainage ditch (Manacorda 2001, 42).
Time Period 07 Years	408-455
Time Period 07 Description	Widespread abandonment is found in this part of the city in the early fifth century with debris building up on floor levels and the public function of this building lost (Sagui 1997, 12). The major devastation in the immediate area is suggested to have been due to the 408 earthquake rather than the sack of Alaric in 410 (Manacorda 2001, 44). Ricci suggests from recent studies, that around the middle of the fifth century, possibly with the earthquake of 443 CE, the <i>mithraeum</i> was dismanteled and turned into a stall (Ricci 2004, 164).
Excavation history	Guglielmo Gatti undertook studies in this part of the Campus Martius in the 1960's, interpreting the remains and location of the Crypta Balbi. Giuseppe Marchetti Longhi had described the structures earlier in the century, without knowing them to be the Crypta Balbi (Manacorda 2001, 11, 22). Excavations on the site took place under the collaboration of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, the Universita di Siena, and the Universita di Roma "La Sapienza" in the 1980's with the first excavation in fall of 1981. The conservation of the archaeological site continued for its presentation to the public for the 2000 Jubilee year (Sagui 1997, 11; Manacorda 2001, 11). The <i>mithraeum</i> associated

Field	Data
	with the Crypta Balbi was discovered during the excavation season in 2000 by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma led by Lucia Sagui, Marco Ricci, and Laura Vendittelli (Ricci 2004, 157).
Description of Rooms	The Crypta Balbi was a portico structure attached to the third largest theater in Rome. The portico surrounded a large public open space, and had a semicircular exedra on one side (Sagui 1997, 12). The width of the complex was 93.60 meters north to south, and the inner area was 67 meters. A building of unknown function stood in the center, visible on the Severian Marble Plan (fr. 634=30c). Four niches were found in the walls of the north and south long sides of the Crypta Balbi (Manacorda 2001, 24-25). Attached on the east side of the portico stood three <i>insulae</i> with two small internal streets. These <i>insulae</i> are likely functional spaces for the services necessary for the Balbi complex, such as access stairs, latrines, <i>tabernae</i> , firefighters, and other functional rooms. Ricci suggests the <i>insulae</i> would have been four stories, reaching roughly the portico of the Crypta Balbi's roof (Ricci 2004, 157-160).
	The southern <i>aula</i> was occupied by the <i>mithraeum</i> in later periods and likely for some form of cultic activity in the earlier phases. In the early phase of the second century it was articulated in three large spaces. A large niche was in the western wall of the <i>aula</i> , a brick base stood in the central axis, and the entrance was on the north wall, leading to a stairway to a lower floor. The <i>aula</i> connected via the entrance to the portico, northern rooms, stairway, and latrine. In the latter second century the walls were covered in painted plaster, and the niche replaced with four smaller niches. The specific cultic activity in this period is unknown, but may have already been mithraic in the early second century (Ricci 2004, 157-161).
Structural building techniques	The theater was constructed with a frame of opera quadrata of travertino and tufo and walls of cement dressed in high quality opus recticulatum. The perimeter wall of the Crypta Balbi was composed of blocks of tufa and travertine supporting a wall made of thin tiles with a module of 18-20 cm (Manacorda 2001, 22-24). The <i>aula</i> with <i>mithraeum</i> had cross vaults across its three spaces. The niche in the <i>aula</i> was constructed in Augustan masonry with sesquipedal bricks raising its floor above the rest of the room. The service spaces were paved in <i>opus spicatum</i> . The <i>aula</i> was plastered in cocciopisto grezzo in the later second century. The Constantinian pilasters were constructed in <i>opus mixtum</i> (Ricci 2004, 160-162).
Finds from the site	
Plan location	For a basic plan of the excavated remains see Manacorda 2001, figure 2, for a reconstruction of the relationship of the portico to the surrounding <i>insulae</i> , see

Field	Data
	Sagui 1997, page 12.
	Gabucci, A. and L. Tesei. 1989. Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi, 4, Firenze.
	Manacorda, D. 1982. Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi, Firenze.
	Manacorda, D. 1984. Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi, 2, Firenze.
	Manacorda, D. 1985. Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi, 3, Firenze.
	Manacorda, D. 2001. Crypta Balbi: Archeologia E Storia Di Un Paesaggio Urbano. Electa.
Bibliography	Ricci, Marco. 2004. "Il mitreo della Crypta Balbi Roma Note preliminari," Roman Mithraism: the Evidence of the Small Finds. Brussels: Institute for the archaeological Heritage. 157-165.
	Sagui, Lucia and Lidia Paroli. 1990. Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi, 5, Firenze.
	Sagui, Lucia. 2004. "Il mitreo della Crypta Balbi e i suoi reperti," <i>Roman Mithraism: the Evidence of the Small Finds. Brussels: Institute for the Archaeological heritage</i> , 167-178.
	Sagui, Lucia. 1997. "Importanti scoperte alla Crypta Balbi," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (7-8): 10-15.
	Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il MNR e l'Area Archeologica di Roma. "Museo Nazionale Romano - Crypta Balbi." http://archeoroma.beniculturali.it/musei/museo-nazionale-romano-crypta-balbi (accessed August 5, 2017).
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1993-2000. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> . 6 vols, Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	IX.08
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Grand <i>insula</i> near Capitoline
Time Period 01 Start Year	93
Time Period 01 End Year	108
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>insula</i> was constructed at the beginning of the second century CE (Munoz 1930, 54-56). The brick stamps date to as early as 93 CE and as late as 108 indicating construction at the very beginning of the second century (Munoz 1930, 58-60). Shortly after the original construction, four pilasters and a groin vault were added to the façade (Munoz 1930, 56-57).
Time Period 02 Years	270-330
Time Period 02 Description	Significant restorations took place on the building in the late third to early fourth century CE, as indicated by construction methods found in the walls. A supporting wall was added to line an earlier wall (Munoz 1930, 60).
Excavation history	Three sides of the <i>insula</i> were uncovered during the works to isolate the sides of the Capitoline hill, requiring significant destruction of Medieval structures in the 1930s (Munoz 1930, 54-56; Chini 2009, 2).
Description of Rooms	Between the rock of the Palatine and the ancient road, a single large <i>insula</i> filled the space between the Tarpeian Rock and the former S. Andrea in Vincis. Next to the staircase that went from via del Teatro di Marcello up onto the Campidoglio to via di Villa Caffarelli a door allowed entry to a lower floor of the large <i>insula</i> (Chini 2009, 2; Munoz 1930, 54). The <i>insula</i> was oriented around a long courtyard or small closed alley, paved in polygonal basalt. The northern side consisted of two rooms, one of which was a large <i>aula</i> covered in a barrel vault that opened onto the courtyard through a large door and to the rooms on the west through two smaller doors. The other northern room was a small triangular room that also opened onto the courtyard by a large door, over which was a window that probably gave light onto a mezzanine. Past these were the last two rooms, with barrel vaults, of the western side (Munoz 1930, 54-56).

Field	Data
	On the eastern side of the <i>insula</i> three rooms were uncovered. One of these is a staircase, in the corner of the building, with travertine steps in situ. A doorway led into the stairway from the courtyard, and to the left was a small dark triangular room. The first flight of steps led up to an access to the mezzanine of the triangular room to the north and then to the gallery in the next room, and the next flight led to the upper floors. The room underneath the staircase had black and white figurative mosaic floors and white ground walls with traces of wallpainting. This room had an unknown function, but included basins in the corners, a travertine channel for water in the floor, and a marble sewer grate in the mosaic. Across a small portico was another room under the staircase which contained a large basin. This small room was connected to a room with a very tall room with a mosaic floor with a chessboard pattern, and finest plaster on the vault and walls. In this room a wooden mezzanine or upper floor separated the tall space, and in a second period, not too long after the original construction, a cross vault over four pilasters was added making the separation more distinct. Above the mezzanine a room was found with waterproof red plaster decoration, which suggests water collection and movement (Munoz 1930, 56; Chini 2009, 12).
Structural building techniques	The rooms had barrel vaults, supporting the floors above. A barrel vault and parallel wall also supported the upper ramps of the staircase at the entrance (Munoz 1930, 54-56). Opus quadratum was found in the foundations, and <i>opus reticulatum</i> was found in contact with the rock in the great room to the north (58). At the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century the north wall had a section a foot thick added and the façade to the courtyard was rebuilt (60).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Brick stamps:</li> <li>CIL XV 1,917 – This was found in the arch of the first door in the west wall of the north room and dates to the early second century CE (Munoz, 60).</li> <li>CIL XV, 1, 1410 – This was found in the wall near the first ramp of the staircase, and while dated to the first century CE, Munoz suggests a later date for the wall, as it also has <i>opus reticulatum</i> (60).</li> <li>CIL XV, 1, 115 (five examples) – Found on the long west wall, dating to 93/94 CE – 108 CE (60).</li> <li>CIL XV, 1, 1007 (two examples) – Found on the long west wall, dating to 93/94 CE – 108 CE (60).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the remains, see Munoz 1930, Tav. I.
Bibliography	Chini, Paola. 2009. "Campidoglio Pendici: Taberna della salita delle Tre Pile - Casa dei Mulini - Grande Insula." Comune di Roma, Sovraintendenza ai Beni

Field	Data
	<i>Culturali.</i> http://www.sovraintendenzaroma.it/content/download/8040/116672/file/Camp idoglio+Pendici+1+Taberna+della+salita+delle+Tre+Pile+- +Casa+dei+Mulini+-+Grande+ <i>Insula</i> .pdf
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.
	Munoz, Antonio. 1930. <i>Campidoglio</i> , Roma: a cura del Governatorato di Roma.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	X.01
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of M. Aemilius Scaurus
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus Caecina Largus; Domus Crassus
Time Period 01 Start Year	90 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	88 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	Scaurus likely inherited the house around 90-88 BCE (Papi 1995, 26). The upper floor of the excavated remains identified as the house was from an earlier construction phase at the beginning of the first century BCE, and had rooms arranged around a courtyard or <i>atrium</i> with marble flooring, perhaps from an impluvium, and remnants of mosaics (Tomei 1995, 554).
Time Period 02 Years	74 BCE - 58 BCE
Time Period 02 Description	Some time between 74 BCE and 58 BCE Scaurus acquired the neighboring property, and then in 58BCE he began to remodel and reconstruct the property. Four columns in luculleo marble, 38 feet high, were reused from a theater

Field	Data
	construction in Scaurus's <i>atrium</i> (Papi 1995, 26). The underground floor of the excavated remains was constructed in a second phase around the mid-first century BCE (Tomei 1995, 554).
Time Period 03 Years	56 BCE
Time Period 03 Description	Marcus Aemilius Scaurus was praetor (Tomei 1995, 557).
Time Period 04 Years	53 BCE
Time Period 04 Description	Scaurus sold the house to P. Clodius in 53 BCE, and it was absorbed into the <i>domus</i> of Clodius (Papi 1995, 26; George 1997, 17).
Time Period 05 Years	17 BCE
Time Period 05 Description	The columns from the <i>atrium</i> of Scaurus's <i>domus</i> were used to decorate the Theater of Marcellus (Papi 1995, 26)
Time Period 06 Years	14-64
Time Period 06 Description	The house was owned by C. Caecinus Longus in the Julio-Claudian period, here estimated limitedly as 14 CE to 64 CE (Papi 1995, 26).
Time Period 07 Years	c. 64
Time Period 07 Description	The house was possibly abandoned after the fire and destruction of 64 CE (Carandini 2010, 110).
Excavation history	Rodolfo Lanciani excavated the area in the Forum of the via Sacra, via Nova, Arch of Titus, and house of the Vestals around 1880. The area was then further excavated by Giacomo Boni under the auspices of Ministro Boselli beginning in 1898. The excavations around this <i>domus</i> were concentrated around 1900- 1902, but continued somewhat through 1912 (Tomei 1995, 549). This <i>domus</i> consists of underground rooms and a <i>lararium</i> , excavated by Boni (Papi 1995, 26). Lugli reexamined the rooms, and recent excavations since 1985 have reexamined the structures uncovered by Boni (Tomei 1995, 549-556).

Field	Data
Description of Rooms	Only the basement rooms with small cells, suggested as slave cells, a <i>lararium</i> , and a thermal area of the <i>domus</i> identified as that of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus remain (George 1997, 17; Papi 1995, 26). These unusual rooms have been theorized as a lupanar or brothel, and also discussed as a hotel (Lugli 1947, 139-163; Tomei 1995, 549-619). Tomei suggests the finds of ceramics suggest these functions over slaves' quarters (Tomei 1995, 549). They are argued by Carandini, however, to be <i>cellae</i> of slaves in the house of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus. The rooms, arranged on either side of corridors, consist of 30 small rooms, around 1.80m x 1.50m, just over 2m in height. The rooms contain masonry structures identified as beds (George 1997, 17). Some of the rooms show modest quality plaster from the walls (Tomei 1995, 548). While the function of the rooms has been interpreted as slave cells, they could be for storage. There is access to the street from this underground area. The house of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus had a grand <i>atrium</i> , discussed by Cicero as a symbol of luxuria, but evidence conclusively tying these architectural structures to the <i>cellae</i> in the archaeological remains are not present, only suggested in theory (George 1997, 17-18). The arrangement of many small rooms each with a bed and a drain was suggested as a lupanare by Lugli, rather than slave quarters, and Tomei suggests it would also have been used more primarily as a caupona and associated with the adjacent bath, based on the lack of erotic art. The <i>balneum</i> developed in the southwest side of the <i>insula</i> with evidence of a tub surrounded by mosaic, <i>caldarium</i> with <i>prefumium</i> , and a marble <i>labrum</i> . Recent excavations, however, continue to support the interpretation of these small rooms apart of a <i>domus</i> with tetrastyle <i>atrium</i> above (Tomei 1995, 556). Recent excavations have also found evidence the preceding <i>domus</i> (Papi 1995, 26).
Structural building techniques	The walls attributed to the Republican period were in <i>opus reticulatum</i> . Remains of moderate quality plaster were found on some walls, and mosaics and some marble flooring were found for the floor above. Lugli's plan indicates additional wall form information (Tomei 1995, 552-558). The preceding <i>domus</i> were constructed in <i>opus cementizia</i> and refaced in <i>opus laterizia</i> in the first century (Papi 1995, 26).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>In the original excavations, a large number of lamps, items in <i>terra sigillata italica</i>, and cups made the primary group of finds (Tomei 1995, 549). The remains recounted by Boni in his notes in the Soprintendenza include terra sigillata, including 15 decorated vases, and 97 fondi bollati, and 150 lamps and lamp fragments (Tomei 1995, 558). For a full list of the finds, see Tomei 1995.</li> <li>A mosaic floor was also found in the remains by Boni (Tomei 1995, 500).</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	552).
Additional notable points	<ul> <li>For classical references, see Cic. Off. 1. 39, 138-140; Pliny, NH 36.6-7. Boni notes in personal notes in reference to the Republican <i>domus</i> the passage from Quintiliano VIII, 4, 25 on Cicerone, Phil, II, 27 referring to "servorum in cellis stratos lectos" (Tomei 1995, 552).</li> <li>For a discussion of the position of slaves in the household and the posibilities of slave <i>cellae</i>, see George 1997.</li> </ul>
Plan location	For the plan of the archaeological remains, often identified as a <i>domus</i> , see Steinby, fig. 8 or Carandini 1988, 370, fig. 2; for Lugli's plan of these remains see Tomei 1995, fig. 4.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed., Grandi opere, Roma.</li> <li>Carandini, Andrea. 1988. Schiavi in Italia: gli strumenti pensanti dei Romani fra tarda Repubblica e medio Impero, Studi NIS archeologia, Roma: La Nuova Italia Scientifica.</li> <li>George, Michele. 1997. "Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house." In Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond, edited by Ray Laurence, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, British Academy, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies and University of Reading Centre for Roman Studies, 15-24. Portsmouth, RI: JRA.</li> <li>Lugli, Giuseppe. 1947. Monumenti minori del Foro romano, Roma: G. Bardi.</li> <li>Papi, E. 1995. "Domus: M. Aemelius Scaurus" In Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 26. Roma: Quasar.</li> <li>Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.</li> <li>Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.</li> <li>Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1995. "Domus oppure lupanar? I materiali dello scavo Boni della 'Casa repubblicana' a ovest dell'arco di Tito." Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite 107: 549-619.</li> <li>Van den Abeele, Barbara. 1989. De domus of herenwoning in het antieke</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	en wijsbegeerte.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	X.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus at the Vigna Barberini
Time Period 01 Start Year	800 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	1 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	Earlier structures stood here from the Archaic period, and were destroyed at the end of the first century BCE (Bottini and Gras 2007, 57).
Time Period 02 Years	25 BCE - 64
Time Period 02 Description	The construction of this aristocratic <i>domus</i> is dated to the first century BCE (Villedeau 1997, 63). The <i>domus</i> includes wallpainting fragments attributed to the style A, and dated to this period (Bottini and Gras 2007, 82).
Time Period 03 Years	68-70
Time Period 03 Description	The destruction level of the <i>domus</i> is dated to between 68 and 70 CE based on coins (Villedeau 1997, 97-98). Villedeau states that makes this destruction likely due to an earthquake and not the fire of Nero, based on these coins found from after 64 CE. Embankments cover the collapsed walls of the <i>domus</i> , supporting the earthquake destruction theory (Bottini and Gras 2007, 57-59).
Excavation history	The information on this <i>domus</i> was uncovered in the works undertaken by the Ecole de Francaise de Rome in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma from 1985 to 1998. The excavation covered the southwestern third of the terrace of the Vigna Barberini (Villedeu 2006, 199). Additional remains have been found in another section of the Vigna Barberini, and it is unclear if they are from the same <i>domus</i> or another (Dumser 2008-

Field	Data
	2017, 223).
Description of Rooms	The remains of the <i>domus</i> in the southwestern portion of the Vigna Barberini are limited to the foundations, and a clear plan of this area has not been concluded. An archaic cistern uncovered appears to have been reused in the <i>domus</i> structure (Bottini and Gras 2007, 69-70). The rooms discovered include a <i>cryptoporticus</i> with a blue painted basin and the peristyle of this <i>domus</i> . Remains of the peristyle include one corner of a gallery with a colonnade, marble decoration, and <i>opus sectile</i> flooring. The <i>cryptoporticus</i> is found below this and is oriented the same (Dumser 2008-2017, 223; Morel 1992, 484-485). The remains found include the lower level of the hypocaust of the pool of a <i>balneum</i> (Bottini and Gras 2007, 70).
Structural building techniques	The foundations of the <i>domus</i> from the Vigna Barberini were constructed in opus caementicium with cappellaccio rubble and mortar. There is also evidence of <i>opus reticulatum</i> . Suspensurae were found in the area of the <i>balneum</i> (Bottini and Gras 2007, 69-71).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Finds include coins from after 64 CE, dating the destruction level to 68-70 CE (Villedeau 1997, 97-98).</li> <li>Decorations on a remaining wall were shown with faux marble and columns decorated with garlands, attributed to the wallpainting style A (Bottini and Gras 2007, 82).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the excavated remains see Bottini and Gras 2007, Plates III and IV or Villedieu, et al. 1992, Fig. 1.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Bottini, Angelo and Michel Gras. 2007. La Vigna Barberini: II Domus, Palais Imperial et Temples Stratigraphie du Secteur Nord-Est du Palatin. Ecole Francaise de Rome: Roma.</li> <li>Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma: Laterza.</li> <li>Carre Marie-Brigitte, Villedieu Françoise, Morrel J. P., Broise Henri, Thébert Yvon, Pergola Philippe. 1990. "Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini)." Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité, tome 102(n°1): 443-471.</li> <li>Dumser, Elisha Ann. 2008-2017. "Domus: Palatium (1)." Digital Augustan Rome. http://digitalaugustanrome.org/map/ (accessed 6/14/2017).</li> </ul>
	Jashemski, W. F., K. L. Gleason, K. J. Hartswick, and A. A. Malek. 2017. <i>Gardens of the Roman Empire</i> . Cambridge University Press.

Field	Data
	Morvillez, E. 2017. "The Garden in the Domus." In <i>Gardens of the Roman Empire</i> , edited by W. F. Jashemski, K. L. Gleason, K. J. Hartswick and A. A. Malek, 17-71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
	Villedieu Françoise, Cecamore Claudia, Morel Jean-Paul, Broise Henri, Thébert Yvon. 1992. "Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini)." <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole</i> <i>française de Rome. Antiquité</i> , tome 104(n°1): 465-493.
	Villedieu Françoise, Gros, Pierre, Lenoir, Maurice, Morrel J. P., Marie-Brigitte, Carre, Pergola Philippe. 1986. "Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini)." <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité</i> , tome 98(n°1): 387-397.
	Villedieu Françoise, Morel Jean-Paul, Broise Henri, Royo Manuel, Pergola Philippe, and Yvon Thébert. 1991. "Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini)." <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité</i> , tome 103(n°1): 313-338.
	Villedieu, Francoise, and Ecole francaise de Rome. 1997. <i>La Vigna Barberini, Roma antica</i> , Rome.
	Villedieu, Francoise. 2006. "Edifici Di Eta Imperiale Sul Sito Della Vigna Barberini." <i>Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia Archeologia Antropologia</i> 13: 199- 218.
	Villedieu, Francoise. 1997. "La vigna Barberini sul Palatino," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (6): 10-15.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	X.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus on the SE slopes of the Palatine
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Casa ai Pendici del Foro
Time Period	150 BCE

Field	Data
01 Start Year	
Time Period 01 End Year	101 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	This area of the Forum shows indications of domestic buildings in the Republican period, with a period of great renovation in this area in the second century BCE (Zeggio 2013, 45).
Time Period 02 Years	101 BCE - 63
Time Period 02 Description	The late Republican <i>domus</i> shows a series of bichrome and trichrome floor mosaics, including a chessboard patterned trichrome mosaic from the first century BCE, cut by later building projects (Zeggio 2013, 46-47).
Time Period 03 Years	64
Time Period 03 Description	The great fire of Rome burned these buildings and they were replaced by others that were not private residential structures (Zeggio 2013, 47).
Excavation history	The northeastern slopes of the Palatine have been the part of an excavation run by La Sapienza beginning in 2004 and running through the present day, 2016 at the time of this writing (Panella and Zeggio 2016b).
Description of Rooms	This <i>domus</i> has been excavated primarily in the sections near the entrance to the <i>domus</i> of the "strade valle-foro" behind three <i>tabernae</i> (Panella 2006, 30-33). The building shows remains of a tufo wall and mosaic floor layers (Zeggio 2013, 46-47).
Structural building techniques	The late Republican <i>domus</i> is delimited by a wall in tawny lithod tufo and shows multiple levels of mosaic floor in bichrome and trichrome patterns (Zeggio 2013, 45-47).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art:</li> <li>A polychrome mosaic with a three-color chessboard pattern was found from the first century BCE (Zeggio 2013, 45).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	Other late Republican <i>domus</i> have been found in this area but are generally from a period earlier than this dissertation's study (Filippi 2004).

Field	Data
Plan location	For a reconstruction see Panella 2006, 33; for various plans of the excavation see Panella 2016a (website).
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Filippi, Dunia. 2004. "Ricerche e scavi in corso sulle pendici settentrionali del Palatino." <i>The Journal of Fasti Online</i>, 1-4.</li> <li>Panella, Clementina, and Raffaella De Felice. 2016a. "ROMA – VALLE DEL COLOSSEO – PALATINO NORD-ORIENTALE." <i>ArcheoPalatino</i> http://archeopalatino.uniroma1.it/it/content/planimetrie. (accessed September 2016).</li> <li>Panella, Clementina, and Sabina Zeggio. 2016b. "Pendici nord-orientali del Palatino." <i>Fasti-Online</i> http://www.fastionline.org/record_view.php?fst_cd=AIAC_363. (accessed September 2016).</li> </ul>
	Panella, Clementina, et al. 2006. "Domus E Insulae in Palatio. Ricerche E Scoperte Sul Palatino Nord-Orientale (Atti Della Giornata Di Studio, Roma 23/05/2005)." <i>Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia Archeologia Antropologia</i> 13: 9- 299.
	Panella, Clementina. "Nerone E Il Grande Incendio Del 64 D.C.". In <i>Nerone</i> , edited by Rossella Rea, Maria Antonietta Tomei, 76-91. Milano: Electa.
	Panella, Clementina. 2011."La Domus Aurea Nella Valle Del Colosseo E Sulle Pendici Della Velia E Del Palatino." In <i>Nerone</i> , edited by Rossella Rea, Maria Antonietta Tomei, 160-69. Milano: Electa.
	Panella, Clementina. 2013. Scavare Nel Centro Di Roma: Storie Uomini Paesaggi. Roma: Quasar.
	Zeggio, Sabina. 2013. "Il Sistema urbano tra valle e collina: viabilita, santuari, e domus." in Panella, Clementina. S <i>cavare Nel Centro Di Roma: Storie Uomini Paesaggi</i> , 27-48. Roma: Quasar.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	X.04
Domus/Insula	Domus with Carcere

Field	Data
Name	
Other Domus/Insula Names	<i>Domus</i> with slave cells in the Forum; <i>Domus</i> di Cn. Domitius Calvinus
Time Period 01 Start Year	70 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	40 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The construction of this building is dated to between 70 and 40 BCE based on building techniques. There are three construction phases represented by overlapping floor levels (Carandini 2010, 33). Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus was consul twice in 53 and 40 BCE (Carandini 2010, 34).
Time Period 02 Years	31 BCE - 14
Time Period 02 Description	It is recorded that Domitius Calvinus destroyed the cultic site of Mutinus Titinus for the construction of a private bath in his home in the Augustan period (Carandini 2010, 35).
Time Period 03 Years	64
Time Period 03 Description	The house was raised and buried after the fire of 64 CE for the construction of the Neronian portico along the Sacra Via. (Carandini 2010, 35).
Excavation history	These rooms were excavated, interpreted by Giacomo Boni as prison cells, in the nineteenth century (Boni 1904, 570). Historical sources indicate that the <i>domus</i> of Cn. Domitius Calvinus was built under Augustus on the Velia, at the shrine of Mutunus Tutunus (Platner and Ashby 1929, 179). Carandini suggests this as the <i>domus</i> of Domitius Calvinus based on the known location of his properties on the via Sacra (Carandini 2010, 35).
Description of Rooms	Along with the <i>domus</i> of M. A. Scaurus (see cat. entry X.06), these remains have been identified by some as slave cells or prison cells (George 1997, 17). Carandini suggests them to be the cells of domestic slaves, possibly placed consciously next to storage rooms and other functional service rooms (Carandini 2010, 34). It includes an underground floor with six small rooms, three on either side of a corridor visible from above, and additional space at the end of the

Field	Data
	corridor (George 1997, 17). The best preserved rooms show masonry benches, one large enough to support a bed. The rooms vary in size from three to five square meters. Carandini suggests the cells to have been placed under the <i>atrium</i> of a medium <i>domus</i> . Carandini also suggests that the size and form of the remains indicate that twice as many rooms would have originally been present, suggesting two corridors and sixteen rooms (See Carandini 2010, fig. 1 for a reconstruction of this hypothetical plan) (Carandini 2010, 33-34).
Structural building techniques	The walls are constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> made of tiles, and wall ends in <i>opus quadratum</i> of tufa from the Aniene and travertine thresholds. There are three floor levels representated, the first in travertine slabs, and two further in <i>opus spicatum</i> (Carandini 2010, 33).
Finds from the site	
Additional notable points	These rooms have also been identified as prison cells, storage rooms, and spaces for a brothel. Carandini finds them more likely cells for family or domestic slaves and not an ergastulum (Carandini 2010, 34).
Plan location	For a plan of these remains see George 1997, page 17, fig. 2.
Bibliography	Boni, Giacomo. 1904. "Carcer." In <i>Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze</i> <i>storiche (Roma, 1-9 aprile 1903)</i> , 570-574. Roma: Accademia dei Lincei. Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. <i>Le case del potere</i>
	nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma. Carandini, Andrea. 1988. Schiavi in Italia: gli strumenti pensanti dei Romani fra tarda Repubblica e medio Impero, Studi NIS archeologia, Roma: La Nuova Italia Scientifica.
Dionography	Claridge, Amanda. 1998. Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide.
	Dumser, Elisha Ann. 2008-2017. "Domus: Sacra Via." In <i>Digital Augustan</i> <i>Rome</i> . http://digitalaugustanrome.org/map/#/rome/filter:0/records/read/2dcad127-927e- 7bc4-0633-5003668cfa65/ (accessed August 3, 2017).
	George, Michele. 1997. "Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house." In Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond, edited by Ray Laurence, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, British Academy, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies and University of Reading Centre for Roman

Field	Data
	Studies, 15-24. Portsmouth, RI: JRA.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1905. Il foro Romano: storia e monumenti. Roma: E. Loescher.
	Lugli, Giuseppe. 1947. Monumenti minori del Foro romano, Roma: G. Bardi.
	Nash, E. 1968. Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome I. London.
	Papi, E. 1998. "'Domus est quae nulli villarum mearum cedat' (Cic., Fam. 6,18,5). Osservazioni sulle residenze del Palatino alla metà del I secolo a.C.," In <i>Horti romani atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 4-6 maggio 1995</i> , edited by Cima, Maddalena and La Rocca, Eugenio. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	X.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of M. Tullius Cicero
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus of Crassus, Domus M. Livius Drusus, Domus L. Marcius Censorinus, Domus Sisenna Statilius Taurus
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	62 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domus</i> was owned by Crassus through 62 BCE, which had been owned and constructed on the Palatine originally by M. Livius Drusus (Papi 1995, 202).
Time Period 02 Years	64 BCE - 43 BCE
Time Period 02 Description	Cicero bought the <i>domus</i> from Crassus for 3.5 million sestertti, 2 million of which were given secretly by P. Cornelius Sulla (RE IV Cornelius 386). In 58 BCE the house was taken from Cicero by L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, and

Field	Data
	plundered and burned. The land was then restored to him by the senate in 57 BCE, and costs of an estimated 2 million sestertii incurred by the treasury for rebuilding. Cicero then owned the house and property until his death (Papi 1995, 202-203).
Time Period 03 Years	43 BCE
Time Period 03 Description	With Cicero's death L. Marcius Censorinus acquired the <i>domus</i> , possibly after the triumviral proscriptions. He was consul in 39 BCE (RE XIV Marcius 48) (Papi 1995, 203).
Time Period 04 Years	30
Time Period 04 Description	In the Julio-Claudian period through at least 30 CE, the <i>domus</i> belonged to Sisenna Statilius Taurus (PIR S 613), consul in 16 CE (Papi 1995, 204).
Excavation history	The exact location is suggested by Carandini, but not known for certain. Thus, many details come from ancient texts. Papi cites the suggestion that the remains of this <i>domus</i> are identifiable in the remains that are in the course of excavation along the Sacra via between the <i>domus Publica</i> and the household of Scaurus. The remains for which he argues are what I include here. The <i>domus</i> of Q. Seius Postumus can be identified with the remains to the west of the <i>domus</i> of Scaurus, constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> . These were accessed from the Sacra via through a long fauces and into a room off which led multiple service spaces and a corridor, and the main household spaces were beyond this on axis with the entrance. Immediately to the west, over the remains of an archaic house, are the remains of the <i>domus</i> of Clodius. Many service rooms are identified for this <i>domus</i> , and a room over a cistern with a pavement in beaten travertine with large tesserae in limestone in a circle. Further to the east by the <i>domus Publica</i> the remains of the porticus Catuli have been excavated, confined on the south by the <i>domus</i> as hypothetically further southwest on the Palatine without archaeological context (Carandini 2010, fig. 1, page 128).
Description of Rooms	A wall of a palaestra marking the border of both this <i>domus</i> and that of Quintus is mentioned in 59 BCE, which Cicero had refaced (Papi 1995, 202). In 55 BCE an ambulatio and a laconicum, likely a garden, were completed by the architects Cyrea and Philotimus (Papi 1995, 203).
Structural building	Remains for a building suggested as the <i>domus</i> of Q. Seius Postumus have been

Field	Data
techniques	located in opus reticulatum (Papi 1995, 203-204).
Finds from the site	
Plan location	See Carandini 2010, fig. 1 for one suggested position of this <i>domus</i> in relation to other elements on the Palatine.
	Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma.
	Cerutti, Steven M. 1997. "The Location of the Houses of Cicero and Clodius and the Porticus Catuli on the Palatine Hill in Rome," <i>The American Journal of Philology</i> 118 (3): 417-426.
	Cicero. Epistulae ad Atticum.
	Cicero. Epistulae ad Brutum.
	Cicero. Epistulae ad Familiares.
Bibliography	Cicero. Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem.
	Hales, Shelley. 2000. "At Home with Cicero," Greece & Rome 47 (1): 44-55.
	Papi, E. 1995. "Domus: M. Tullius Cicero (1)." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 202-204. Roma: Quasar.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , Roma: Quasar.
	Treggiari, Susan. 1998. "Home and Forum: Cicero between "Public" and "Private"." <i>Paper read at Transactions of the American Philological Association.</i>

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	X.07

Field	Data
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Nova Via
Other Domus/Insula Names	Republican <i>Domus</i> in the Forum
Time Period 01 Start Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	64
Time Period 01 Description	Remains from the late Republican period of a <i>domus</i> have been found at the intersection of the Clivus Palatinus and the via Nova (Carandini 2010, 110; Dumser 2008-2017, 228). The <i>opus reticulatum</i> construction and mosaic date the original structure the late first century BCE (Dumser 2008-2017, 228; Tomei 1986, 412). A one-meter tub was constructed in the portico in the Julio-Claudian period (Carandini 2010, 111). Fire damage indicates a possible destruction of this house in the Neronian fire of 64 CE (Dumser 2008-2017, 228). This <i>domus</i> is oriented perpendicular to a pre-Neronian road, where the imperial constructions follow a different orientation (Carandini, et al. 1986, 434).
Time Period 02 Years	64-191
Time Period 02 Description	Tabernae were constructed over the <i>domus</i> and stood here in the imperial period (Carandini 2010, 110). The first imperial systemization of the area probably took place in the Vespasianic period and included a porticus structure along the clivus Sacrus and clivus Palatinus along with the large quadrangular pilons. This structure may have been intended to become a horreum with <i>tabernae</i> symmetrical to the <i>horreum</i> Piperataria, but was not finished. In its later form, the building had at least three floors and a staircase, the first steps of which remain. A later construction phase with brick pilasters and altered drains from the roughly Severan period may be a remodeling after the fire of 191 (Carandini, et al. 1986, 432, 434).
Excavation history	Archaeologist G. Boni excavated this area from 1900 to 1905, but never published the excavation records (Tomei 1986, 414, n. 1). In 1947 Lugli partially published the earlier excavations (Lugli 1947). Restoration and consolidation of the area of this <i>domus</i> at the Via Nova began in 1982 (Tomei 1986, 411). Excavations took place between 1983 and 1985 uncovering underground rooms and fragments of the ground plan of a Republican <i>domus</i>

Field	Data
	(Dumser 2008-2017, 228). Excavations in this area were under the auspices of the Istituto di Archeologia of the Università di Pisa, led by Andrea Carandini (Tomei 1986, 415, n. 27). The major phases of this area were identified by the 1980's excavators as the Renaissance, Medieval age, Late antiquity and early Middle Ages, the imperial period (from 64 CE), the first century BCE to the first century CE (Up to 64 CE), and then the late third to second century BCE, and the archaic age of the mid-third century BCE (Carandini, et al. 1986, 431). The first century BCE to CE and the later imperial period most influence our study here.
Description of Rooms	The rooms discovered open lower than the street and have barrel vaulted ceilings. The undecorated and unplastered walls indicate these rooms were primarily to support upper floors. Only fragments of mosaic floors and walls remain, but Carandini suggests a plan for the <i>domus</i> based on these. Carandini suggests an <i>atrium</i> with ala, and a rectangular peristyle on the northern corner of the <i>domus</i> . From the Julio-Claudian period a tub in white mosaic with three steps leading into it was found in the peristyle garden (Carandini 2010, 111). Primarily the plan is reconstructed for this <i>domus</i> based on the foundations, which indicate two rooms to the north and two to the south of a large area, possibly a garden (Carandini, et al. 1986, 434).
Structural building techniques	The house was constructed on an artificially terraced surface of the hillside. The rooms discovered of the <i>domus</i> had barrel vaulted ceilings (Carandini 2010, 110-111). The ground plan uncovered measures 33 x 25 m. The walls were constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> , which indicate multiple moments of construction based on size. The earliest reticulatum is in red and yellow tufa 7 cm on a side, where later reticulatum is more regular, in yellow tufa, and 4-5 cm on a side. The last phase of building before the Neronian fire was in brick (Carandini, et al. 1986, 434). The mosaic is in black and white with a simple geometric pattern of braided rope and line borders (Tomei 1986, 412-413).
Finds from the site	
Additional notable points	Historical tradition places in this area the houses of important late-republican figures, such as Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius and Tarquinius Priscus (Tomei 1986, 411). This <i>domus</i> rests next to that of Scaurus (See cat entry X.06), and has not been completely excavated (Carandini, et al. 1986, 434).
Plan location	For the excavated plan, see Tomei 1986, fig. 107; for various details of the excavation see Carandini, et al. 1986, figs. 129-132.

680
-----

Field	Data
	Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. <i>Le case del potere nell'antica Roma</i> . 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma.
	Carandini, Andrea, M. Medri, M. L. Gualandi, and E. Papi. 1986. "Pendici settentrionali del Palatino." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 91:429-438.
	Dumser, Elisha Ann. 2008-2017. "Domus: Nova Via." <i>Mapping Augustan Rome</i> http://digitalaugustanrome.org/:map entry 228. (accessed June 12, 2017).
Bibliography	Hülsen, Christian. 1902. "Die Sacra via." Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung. XVII: 92-97.
	Hülsen, Christian. 1905. "Die Sacra Via." <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> . XX: 115-119.
	Lugli, Giuseppe. 1947. "Caupona live Lunar." <i>Monumenti minori del Foro romano</i> . Roma. 139-ss.
	Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1986. "Ambienti tra Via Nova e Clivo Palatino." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 91:411-416.
	Valenzani, R. Santangeli, and Rita Volpe. 1989-1990. "Nova Via." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 93:23-30.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insula Volusiana
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Insula Sertoriana
Time Period 01 Start Year	27 BCE

Field	Data
Time Period 01 End Year	48
Time Period 01 Description	A cippus found here, and reexamined in 1982, regrants land in the area to the Volusii in the time of Claudius in 48AD with the support of the censorship of Lucius Vitellius. The land was originally granted by Augustus to the family in 27 BCE (Mazzei 2014, 179-180).
Time Period 02 Years	117-138
Time Period 02 Description	Colini cites a Hadrianic substructure built on the west side of the <i>insula</i> , which was part of a restructuring of the complex coordinated with a restructuring of the port along the Tiber (Mazzei 2014, 183-184).
Time Period 03 Years	225-275
Time Period 03 Description	The black and white mosaic from a taberna in the <i>insula</i> exhibits a spine design generally dated to the mid-third century based on style. Portions of the pattern are similar to some found in the Severan Baths and other portions to a Severan era mosaic in the case di San Paolo alla Regola (see cat entry IX.06) (Mazzei 2014, 192-193).
Time Period 04 Years	401-600
Time Period 04 Description	Continuous activity has been documented in recent excavations in the <i>insula</i> from the fifth and sixth century, including late antique metalworking. The road outside of this space showed continue repaying and robbing through time (Genovese and Gianolio 2013-2015).
Excavation history	The remains were originally found between 1936 and 1938 when the medieval and early modern buildings were destroyed for the construction of the modern building, and some portions remain visible in the courtyard of the current building (Mazzei 2014, 177). Another excavation was undertaken by the X Ripartizione della Sovraintendenza Comunale in 1973 and published in 1980 (Mazzei 2014, 181). In an earlier essay into the area for sewage works in 1819 a statement in painted plaster was found referring to the <i>Insula</i> Sertoriana (Mazzei 2014, 184). The Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali di Roma Capitale and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma carried out a conservation project (Mazzei 2014, 187). An excavation team under Università di Roma Sapienza undertook excavations in 2013-2015 (Genovese and Gianolio

Field	Data	
	2013-2015).	
Description of Rooms	On the western side of the road revealed in the courtyard of the present building, an arched portico runs, which appears to connect to the structures found on the other side of the building in the archaeological area of San Omobono. On the eastern side of the street four rooms remain, one of which with a mosaic floor (Mazzei 2014, 179). Two further <i>tabernae</i> have also been found from the middle imperial period, during a period of restructuring of the area between the age of Domitian and that of Trajan, from another building near the <i>Insula</i> Volusiana (Mazzei 2014, 181). The walls of the so-called <i>Insula</i> Sertoriana were nearby in the middle of the modern road (Mazzei 2014, 185). The structures found in the courtyard show multiple building phases based on two major orientations of the walls and differing structural techniques. The first orientation contains a northsouth road with pilons to the west, and walls to the east, connected by arches that would have spanned the road. The most northerly structure is probably distinct, constituted by two adjacent walls. In at least one building phase there was an additional east-west road running through this area. A row of <i>tabernae</i> are seen in the eastern part of this orientation, one with a mosaic in situ (see description below). The second orientation is seen in the southwestern corner of the courtyard and runs northwest-southeast (Mazzei 2014, 190-191).	
	(Genovese and Gianolio 2013-2015).	
Structural building techniques	The walls in the southwestern part of the courtyard are in <i>opus latericium</i> , 1.10 m thick, while the walls in the rest of the courtyard on the north-south orientation are in brick 0.60 m thick. A travertine threshold and paving stones indicate the presence of the roadways (Mazzei 2014, 191).	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions:</li> <li>Cippus (CIL VI, 40887; AE 1982, 65). The cippus reads "Imp(erator) [Caesar divi f(ilius)] / Aug(ustus) [co(n)]s(ul) VI[I a]d[tribuit] / Ti(berius) Claud(ius) Caesar Au[g(ustus)] / Germ(anicus) pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) / po[t]est(ate) VIII imp(erator) XV p(ater) p(<i>atriae</i>) / L(ucius) Vitellius censores / cognita causa ad/tribu-tionem divi / Aug(usti) pertinentem ad / <i>insula</i>m Volusianam / con[fi]rmaverunt." (Mazzei, et al. 2014, 179).</li> <li>A servus <i>insula</i>rius (CIL VI, 7291) related to the Volusii was found (Mazzei 2014, 180).</li> <li>The name <i>Insula</i> Sertoriana was found in painted plaster in 1819, and is</li> </ul>	

Field	Data
	now kept in the Vatican (Mazzei 2014, 184).
	Art:
	- A black and white mosaic, three square meters in size, was found in one room in the <i>tabernae</i> in the eastern part of the courtyard in situ. The pattern is surrounded by three borders, a black, then a white, and another black band. Inside the bands are sections of alternating black and white scales or spines and crescents (Mazzei 2014, 191-192).
	Finds:
	<ul> <li>Small bronze coins were found in the sixth century workshop area to be melted down (Genovese and Gianolio 2013-2015).</li> <li>African and Eastern amphorae were among the amphorae making up the primary ceramic wares found in the sixth century workshop area (Genovese and Gianolio 2013-2015).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan including previous excavations and elaborations based on their combination, see Mazzei 2014, fig. 3, and for a detail of the central area see Mazzei 2014, fig. 9.
	Brocato, Paolo, and Nicola Terrenato. 2012. <i>Nuove ricerche nell'area</i> archeologica di S. Omobono a Roma, Ricerche: collana del Dipartimento di archeologia e storia delle arti. Supplementi, Cosenza: Universita della Calabria: ConSenso.
	Ceci, Monica. 2017. "S. Salvatore in Portico e il quartiere produttivo. Spunti di ricerca sul paesaggio post anticonel Foro Boario." In <i>Ricerchenell'area dei templi di Fortunae Mater Matuta (Roma)</i> , edited by Brocato, Paolo, Ceci, Monica, and Nicola Terrenato. 185-213.
Bibliography	Consoli, Francesca. 2006. "La Dea Roma E Le Province Offerenti Nell'edificio Del Vicus Iugarius." in <i>L'orizzonte Tardoantico E Le Nuove Immagini 312-468</i> , edited by Maria Andaloro, 272-75. Turnhout: Brepols.
	Genovese, Guglielmo and Simone Gianolio. 2010-2014. "Area Sacra di San Omobono." <i>Fasti-Online</i> . http://www.fastionline.org/excavation/micro_view.php?item_key=fst_cd&fst_cd =AIAC_2586 (accessed 2016).
	Genovese, Guglielmo and Simone Gianolio. 2013-2015. " <i>Insula Volusiana</i> – San Omobono," <i>Fasti-Online</i> . http://www.fastionline.org/record_view.php?item_key=fst_cd&fst_cd=AIAC_33

Field	Data
	61 (accessed 2016).
	Mazzei, P. 2016. "Roma: un pavimento in tessellato bicromo a schema geometrico composito dall' <i>Insula</i> Sertoriana nel Foro Boario", <i>Atti del XXII Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), Matera, 16-19 marzo 2016</i> , 589-602.
	Mazzei, P., L. Cucinotta, F. Fiano, and D. Kosmopoulos. 2014. "La Prima Fase Di Ricerche Nell'insula Volusiana. Prima Campagna Di Rilievo Archeologico." <i>Scienze dell'Antichità</i> 19.1 (no. 2013): 173-199.
	Terrenato, N., P. Brocato, G. Caruso, Anna Maria Ramieri, H. W. Becker, I. Cangemi, G. Mantiloni, and C. Regoli. 2011. "The S. Omobono Sanctuary in Rome: Assessing Eighty Years of Fieldwork and Exploring Perspectives for the Future." <i>Internet Archaeology</i> 31.
	Terrenato, Nicola, Paolo Brocato, Anna Maria Ramieri, Ivan Cangemi, Mattia D'Acri, Luca De Luca, Maurizio Giovagnoli, Geraldine Pizzitutti, and Carlo Regoli. 2012. "LA RIPRESA DELLE RICERCHE NELL'AREA ARCHEOLOGICA DI S. OMOBONO A ROMA," <i>Mediterranea (Quaderni</i> <i>annuali dell'Istituto di studi sulle Civilta italiche e del Mediterraneo antico)</i> IX: 9-56.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XII.01
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Baths of Caracalla
Other Domus/Insula Names	Casa Romana in Vigna Guidi; Casa Romana di 'Vigna Guidi'; House of Asinius Pollio; Private House of the Emperor Hadrian
Time Period 01 Start Year	120
Time Period 01 End Year	134

Field	Data
Time Period 01 Description	A construction phase can be dated to the Hadrianic period by brick stamps, which were found in room H as well as in the burial from the destruction of the second floor into room H. The brick stamps included the stamp 'ex figlinis Caecil Quintae Sulpiciani' (CIL XV 575) from the Hadrianic period, and 'ex fig. Domitiae Domitiani Sulpiciani' (CIL XV 550a) from the year 123 CE. Room N has cross vaults made of whole bessali with the stamp 'Serviano III cos sal ex pr l c iuven' (CIL XV 515a) from 134 CE, and walls similar to those of room H (Carpano 1972, 115).
Time Period 02 Years	135-205
Time Period 02 Description	A second construction phase cannot precisely be dated, but included the closing and opening of doors, changes to the use of some rooms, changes to the floors, and updates to marble and plaster wall decorations. Rooms were added over time. The brick construction type found in Room I, which was excavated in 1970, dates to the Severan period, and was likely the last room added before the destruction of the house (Carpano 1972, 113-114).
Time Period 03 Years	206-540
Time Period 03 Description	The house was destroyed in 206 CE to begin the paving of the area for the construction of the Baths of Caracalla ( <i>Terme Antoniniane</i> ) (Carpano 1972, 114-115). The baths of Caracalla were used from this date roughly through the mid-sixth century, when they were abandoned.
Excavation history	Most recently, in 1970 the Soprintendenza alle Antichita di Roma excavated two rooms of this <i>domus</i> , which had still been buried, H, a room of the peristyle, and I, a small room with windows. The other parts of the house had been excavated by G. B. Guidi beginning in 1858 for about ten years (specifically 1862, 1865, 1866, 1868, 1869) (Carpano 1972, 111). The new excavations provided a good opportunity to examine the artistic decoration, including wall-paintings, mosaics, and marbles, which had not been published thoroughly from the first excavation (Jacopi 1972, 89). Carpanno states that the early plans of Cicconetti and Castagnoli are schematic and do not indicate the rooms after cleaning, nor of course those from the 1970 excavations (Carpanno 1972, 111).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> is in the traditional form of a house opening onto a peristyle (Q) with rooms leading from it. The <i>domus</i> entrance led to Room A, a possible <i>atrium</i> , followed by Room F, which opened through to the peristyle (M and Q) (Carpano 1972, 113). Room D near the main entrance (A), was later closed, and Carpanno suggests that it functioned as a corridor that may have originally led to the

Field	Data	
	stairway to the upper floor or floors, recorded with mosaics in a photograph by Parker (Carpano 1972, 113). Castagnoli, however, cites earlier records including Parker in suggesting this room (D) was a <i>lararium</i> (Castagnoli 1949-1950, 168- 170). The excavation found evidence of a number of rooms of the upper floor particularly including decorative mosaics from the floors of these rooms, which can be seen in Parker photograph 631 (Victoria and Albert Museum number 62023). This photograph shows mosaic pieces of upper rooms over rooms A, B, and C. Room E, E1, and E2 communicate amongst themselves off of the entry (A). E likely led to E1 of unknown function, and E2, perhaps originally a <i>cubiculum</i> but later converted into a latrine (Carpano 1972, 116). The rooms throughout the <i>domus</i> were highly decorated with mosaics and wall-paintings, which were updated at a period after the construction of the <i>domus</i> in the Hadrianic period.	
Structural building techniques	The building was built originally in brickwork, and brick stamps indicate it was in the Hadrianic period. The walls were in different periods covered in plaster and painted and covered with marble sheets. The later partition walls separating the preexisting rooms are made of an unusual form of construction similar to <i>opus</i> <i>vittatum</i> , and are difficult to date, but suggested as Antonine by the associated mosaics. Only Room I has a brickwork style datable to the later Severan period. Room A had a cross vault, among others, and Room D had a barrel vault, both of which would support an upper floor (Carpano 1972, 114-116).	
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Art: <ul> <li>Decorations of mosaics, wall-paintings including a complex plaster design of the vault of room H, and marble wall decorations were found abundantly (Jacopi 1972, 89).</li> <li>Marble sculptures including two heads and two headless figures are visible in Parker photograph 726 (Victoria and Albert collection, museum number 62123).</li> </ul> </li> <li>Inscriptions: <ul> <li>CIL XV 515a: This stamp reads "SERVIANO III COS/SAL EX PR L C IVVEN" and dates to 134 CE (CIL XV 515a; CIL X 8043.31). Servianus was consul for the third time under Hadrian in 134 CE. This inscription is described to mean "Salaria ex praediis L. C. Iuvenis" by Visconti, who also references Marini (Visconti 1857, 66). (See cat. ent. V.01, which also includes this stamp).</li> <li>CIL XV 550a: This stamp reads "EX FIG DOMITIAE/DOMITIANI SVLPICIANV and dates to around 123 CE.</li> <li>CIL XV 575: This stamp reads "EX FIGLINIS/CAECIL</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	

687

Field	Data	
	QVINTAE/SVLPICIANI" and dates to the Hadrianic period.	
Additional notable points	Archival Records: Archivio di Stato (b. 407) anni 1858, 62, 65,66 (b. 410); 1868, 69; Parker, Photographs Nr. 545, Nr. 630, Nr. 631, Nr. 725, Nr. 726, and Nr. 1110, scavi 1867.	
Plan location	See Carpano 1972 Fig. 1	
	Carpano, Claudio Mocchegiani. 1972. "Osservazioni complementari sulle strutture della casa romana sotto le terme di Caracalla," <i>Mitteilungen des</i> <i>Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung</i> . 79: 111-121.	
	Castagnoli, Ferdinando. 1949-1950. "Documenti di scavi in Roma negli anni 1860-1870." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 73:123-187.	
Bibliography	Convegno Roma: Archeologia e, Progetto, and Archeologica Soprintendenza. 1985. Roma: archeologia nel centro 6, II: La "città murata", Lavori e studi di archeologia. Roma: de Luca.	
	Dressel, Henricus. 1891. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars I.	
	Jacopi, Irene. 1972. "Soffitto dipinto nella casa romana di 'Vigna Guidi' sotto le Terme di Caracalla con Nota tecnica sul recupero di Elio e Gianna Paparatti," <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung.</i> 79: 89-110, Taf. 53-62, Farbtaf. A-B.	
	Mommsen, Th. 1883. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. X Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae.	
	Parker, John Henry. 1876. The archaeology of Rome. London: J. Murray.	
	Pellegrini, A. 1867. "Orto di Asinio Pollione." <i>Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> 1867:109-119.	
	Pellegrini, A. 1870. Scavi nelle terme di Novato ed in altri luoghi di Roma: memoria: Coi tipi del Salviucci.	
	Van den Abeele, Barbara. 1989-1990. "Comparison of the Roman domus with the domus of Ostia," <i>Acta archaeologica Lovaniensia</i> 28-29: 49-62.	
	Van den Abeele, Barbara. 1989. <i>De domus of herenwoning in het antieke Rome</i> , Departement archeologie en kunstwetenschap, KUL. Faculteit letteren en	

Field	Data
	wijsbegeerte. Visconti. 1857. "X." <i>Giornale Arcadico di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. N.s., v.</i> 146(n. 1): 66.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XII.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Cilonis
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus L. Fabius Cilo
Time Period 01 Start Year	117
Time Period 01 End Year	138
Time Period 01 Description	Fragmentary Hadrianic walls remain from a preexisting <i>domus</i> that may have become the <i>domus</i> that L. F. Cilo received later (Guidobaldi 1995, 95-96; Unknown 1957).
Time Period 02 Years	161-181
Time Period 02 Description	Bloch suggests a second period of construction for this earlier <i>domus</i> was noted in the period of Marcus Aurelius (Guidobaldi 1995, 95-96).
Time Period 03 Years	193-204
Time Period 03 Description	Bloch also suggested a Severan restructuring followed the earlier construction (Guidobaldi 1995, 95-96), and Lanciani states that the <i>domus</i> was reconstructed by Septimius Severus and given to L. Fabius Cilo by Septimius Severus (Lanciani 1900, 540). The structural remains of this phase are not visible

Field	Data
	(Guidobaldi 1995, 95-96).
Time Period 04 Years	350-499
Time Period 04 Description	The <i>titulus</i> was built into an <i>aula</i> hall, constructed in the fourth century CE, which therefore could not have been constructed by L. F. Cilo. The <i>titulus</i> is thought to have been put in before 499 CE, with references to the <i>titulus</i> Tigridae in 499 and the <i>titulus</i> sanctae Balbinae in the sixth century (Guidobaldi 1995, 95-96).
Excavation history	Lanciani states that Santa Balbina occupies the location of this <i>domus</i> (Lanciani 1900, 540). Excavations took place in this area discovering material related to Cilo both in the 16th century and under Pius IX in 1858-1859 (Lanciani 1900, 541). Muñoz restored the basilica of S. Balbina from 1928-1929 (Guidobaldi 1986, 182). Hadrianic walls related to this structure have been found and photographed, including a photograph in the American Academy collection from 1957 (Unknown 1957). A fragment of the <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> shows the inscription "ILONIS", now only recorded in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 - Fo 18r, and it was interpreted by G. Gatti as the location of the <i>domus Cilonis</i> (Najbjerg 2016). Other fragments of the FUR indicate the horti Ciloniae Fabiae, the horti ascribed to the wife of Cilo, which may have been adjacent to the <i>domus</i> . A pipe (CIL XV 7447) found near Santa Balbina in the 19th century was inscribed with the name of Cilo (Platner and Ashby 1929, 266; Lanciani 1900, 541). Recent excavations at Santa Balbina have been unable to confirm a timeline for the structure (Guidobaldi 1995, 96).
Description of Rooms	The fragmentary Hadrianic walls have been found in the courtyard of Ospizio di Santa Margherita sull'Aventino (Unknown 1957). Lanciani identified some <i>opus</i> <i>reticulatum</i> walls now the foundations of part of Santa Balbina as portions of this <i>domus</i> , though this attribution is not confirmed, and a photograph from the 19th century records portions of these walls tentatively referencing Cilo (Lanciani 1900, 540; Photograph 1868-1869). A large semi-circular wall has been uncovered, which is also recorded on Lanciani's FVR. Additionally, other structures of thermal function have been found and abundant fragments of marble indicating rich decoration (Guidobaldi 1995, 96; Lanciani 1901, Tav. 41).
Structural building techniques	The hall, into which the church is constructed, dates to the fourth century, and the apse is contemporary, not a later Christian addition (Guidobaldi 1995, 95). The walls that are now the foundations of part of Santa Balbina, which Lanciani identified as portions of this <i>domus</i> , are <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Lanciani 1900, 540). Walls in <i>opus mixtum</i> , possibly Hadrianic, have been found at Santa Balbina,

Field	Data
	along with a semi-circular structure, thermal remains, and marble elements for decoration (Guidobaldi 1995, 96).
	Inscriptions:
Finds from the site	- CIL XV 7447: a fistula aquaria was found in 1858 inscribed "(Lucii f)ABI CHILONIS PRAEF(ecti) VRB(i) (Lanciani 1900, 541).
	Art:
	<ul> <li>CIL VI 1408-1410: Two pedestals dedicated to Cilo by the cities of Ancyra and Mediolanum were discovered during 16th century excavation and removed to the Museo Cesi (Lanciani 1900, 540-541).</li> <li>Nine marble heads and busts, including Caius and Lucius, the nephews of Augustus, were found during the excavation in which the fistula was uncovered, and then removed to the Museo Chiaramonti (Lanciani 1900, 541).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	This <i>domus</i> is mentioned in the regionary catalogs as a prominent fourth century building in the XII regio. L. F. Cilo was praefectus urbi in 204 CE (Lanciani 1900, 420; <i>Curiosum/Notitia</i> , Regio XII). The owner of the <i>domus</i> by the midfourth century is unknown, but the knew owner's name did not replace the reputation of Cilo in naming the <i>domus</i> (Guidobaldi 1995, 96).
	See the sources: Notitia regionum urbis (Romae) XIV and Curiosum urbis Romae.
Plan location	See Lanciani 1901, Tav. 41.
Bibliography	Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1986. "L'edilizia Abitativa Unifamiliare Nella Roma Tardo-Antica." In <i>Societa Romana E Impero Tardo-Antico</i> , edited by Andrea Giardina, 165-237. Roma-Bari: Laterza.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: L. Fabius Cilo" In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 95-96, fig. 30, 31, I. 82. Roma: Quasar.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.

Field	Data
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1900. <i>The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome:</i> A Companion Book for Students and Travelers: Houghton, Mifflin.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Najbjerg, Tina. 2016. "Renaissance drawing: House of L. Fabius Cilo (domus Cilonis)." Stanford Digital <i>Forma Urbis Romae</i> Project: http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=4.
	Parker, John Henry. 1868-1869. "Houses of the Empire, part of a House (?) of the first century, of Cilo (?), against the cliff of the Aventine, under S. Balbina (Reg. XII)". In <i>British School at Rome, Parker collection</i> . Photograph. JHP[PHP]-1190
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Unknown photographer. 1957. [Domus L. Fabii Cilonis (Roma), muro di epoca adrianea, nel cortile dell'Ospizio di Santa Margherita sull'Aventino]. In <i>American Academy in Rome Photo Archive</i> . Rome: American Academy in Rome. FU.Roma.DOMCI.1, FU.Roma.DOMCI.2.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XII.03a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Parthorum - associated bath structures
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Bartolomeo; Domus septem Parthorum; the House of the seven Parthians
Time Period	210

Field	Data
01 Start Year	
Time Period 01 End Year	300
Time Period 01 Description	<ul> <li>Phase 1 - The first phase included the construction of a semicircular nimphaeum, nearly 30 m. long, with three orders of niches on either side of a central niche. There was also constructed a large room with a curved short side. This is a 'likely' public bath or other public building of such form (Taffetani 2010, 44).</li> <li>Taffetani's study of the still visible walls has identified six chronological phases, ranging from the early third century AD to the end of the eighth. She identifies the chronology of the individual phases based mainly on comparisons of building techniques and the stratigraphic relationships between the different structures (Taffetani 2010, 39).</li> </ul>
Time Period 02 Years	300-375
Time Period 02 Description	Phase 2 - The second phase added a circular room, a room with a barrel vault, and a spiral staircase connecting the complex to the Aventine hill. This is a 'likely' public bath or other public building of such form (Taffetani 2010, 44).
Time Period 03 Years	375-400
Time Period 03 Description	Phase 3 - The third phase added an apsed hall with a half-cupola, which is a part of the separate structure suggested to be a <i>domus</i> (see cat. entry XII.03b). The <i>opus vittatum</i> walls suggest the fourth century date. This structure was the subject of a GPR study, which revealed a large rectangular room attached to the apse (Barone 2015b, 1).
Time Period 04 Years	400-450
Time Period 04 Description	Phase 4 - The roof of the apsed hall is raised (Taffetani 2010, 44). The other structures of the bath unattached to the apsed hall show evidence of a fire in the first decades of the fifth century, and are unused after (Barone 2015b, 2).
Excavation history	The visible structures are now located in the Stadio delle Terme di Caracalla and former Gardens called Orto dei Trinitarii di S. Carlino and were explored in the 1986-1999 excavations by the Sovraintendenza del Comune di Roma. Further work has been done in 2014-2015 with Ground Penetrating Radar, to reveal the

Field	Data
	shallow top of the buried standing walls (Barone 2015b). The structures are first recorded on the map of Giovanni Battista Nolli in 1748, and Giovanni Battista de Rossi identified them in the late 1800's as the <i>domus Parthorum</i> mentioned by Aurelius Victor and the Regionary Catalogues (Taffetani 2010, 39). Lanciani notes a number of older excavations in this field, which took place over the years, but are little published (Lanciani 1901, pl. 19). For example, Andrea Achilli in 1734 was granted permission to remove old material from the Orto Calcagnini and the Orto dei Trinitarii di S. Carlino (Taffetani 2010, 39). Taffetani has recently made a reexamination of the standing walls (Taffetani 2010, 40).
Description of Rooms	The associated bath structure includes a number of spaces, and may comprise a portion of a larger <i>domus</i> , or an independent bath complex. The semicircular <i>nymphaeum</i> is nearly 30 m. long and has three orders of niches on either side of a central niche. This building also has a large room with a curved short side, which in the second period is connected to the semicircular <i>nymphaeum</i> by a connecting circular room with a central oculus and 9m diameter. The circular room is decorated with bands of shells and pumice stones, and tubuli tiles were found, suggesting the thermal function of the room. At the same time another lower level room covered in a barrel vault was constructed, and the rooms are also connected by a spiral staircase that leads to the Aventine hill at a higher level and may have been for roof maintenance (Taffetani 2010, 40-44).
Structural building techniques	The walls in the first phase have reused bricks on both side surfaces. The circular room has a domed roof with oculus and the lower room next to the staircase was covered in a barrel vault (Taffetani 2010, 40-41).
Finds from the site	
Plan location	See Lanciani 1901, pl. XLI; See Taffetani 2010, fig. 11
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Barone, P.M., G. Carlucci, F. Smriglio, F. Basile, and G. Della Monica. 2015a.</li> <li>"Can integrated geophysical investigations solve an archaeological problem? The case of the so-called Domus septem Parthorum in Rome (Italy)." <i>International Journal of Archaeology no. 3, Special Issue: Archaeological Sciences</i> (1-1):21-25.</li> <li>Barone, P.M., G. Carlucci, F. Smriglio, F. Basile, and G. Della Monica. 2015b.</li> <li>"Urban archaeological prospections: The GPR investigations close to the Caracalla Baths in Rome (Italy)." In Advanced Ground Penetrating Radar (IWAGPR), 2015 8th International Workshop on Florence: IEEE.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Mancioli, D., A. Ceccarelli, and R. Santangeli-Valenzani. 1993. "Domus Parthorum." <i>Archeologia laziale</i> 11:55-58.
	Taffetani, C. 2010. "Il complesso della c.d. Domus Parthorum. Nuova interpretazione delle fasi costruttive." In <i>Il primo miglio della via Appia a Roma:</i> <i>atti della giornata di studio, Roma, Museo nazionale romano, 16 giugno 2009</i> , edited by Daniele Manacorda and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, 39-46. Roma: Croma Ed.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XII.03b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus Parthorum
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Domus Bartolomeo; Domus septem Parthorum</i> ; the House of the seven Parthians
Time Period 01 Start Year	375
Time Period 01 End Year	400
Time Period 01 Description	The first phase of the building suggested to be a late antique <i>domus</i> added an apsed hall with a half-cupola to an area that already had pre-existing thermal structures. The <i>opus vittatum</i> walls suggest the fourth century date for this hall. This structure was the subject of a GPR study, which revealed a large rectangular room attached to the apse (Barone 2015b, 1).
Time Period 02 Years	400-450
Time Period 02 Description	The second phase of the ' <i>domus</i> ' saw the raising of the roof of the apsed hall (Taffetani 2010, 44). It has been suggested that this phase is associated with the reuse of the <i>domus</i> as a paleochristian basilica. Barone feels the presence of

Field	Data
	an earlier floor level, 6 m below the ground, supports the later building as a christian building, however, Taffetani states that there is not yet enough evidence to assure whether or not the building was reused by Christians (Taffetani 2010, 43; Barone 2015b, 4). The other structures of the bath unattached to the apsed hall show evidence of a fire in the first decades of the fifth century, and are unused after (Barone 2015b, 2).
Time Period 03 Years	450-600
Time Period 03 Description	In the latter period the apsed-hall continues in use while the previous structures are now disused. The calpestio floors undergo a general elevation (Taffetani 2010, 44).
Time Period 04 Years	600-750
Time Period 04 Description	The final phase for both the <i>domus</i> and nearby thermal building see the construction of a building, perhaps a house, which reuses the structures in opera vittata of the previous phase (Taffetani 2010, 44).
Excavation history	The visible structures are now located in the Stadio delle Terme di Caracalla and former Gardens called Orto dei Trinitarii di S. Carlino and were explored in the 1986-1999 excavations by the Sovraintendenza del Comune di Roma. A major campaign of this excavation and restoration of the ruins began in May and June of 1991 (Mancioli and Santangeli-Valenzani 1993, 53). Further work has been done in 2014-2015 with Ground Penetrating Radar, to reveal the shallow top of the buried standing walls (Barone 2015b). The structures are first recorded on the map of Giovanni Battista Nolli in 1748, and Giovanni Battista de Rossi identified them in the late 1800's as the <i>domus</i> Parthorum mentioned by Aurelius Victor and the Regionary Catalogues (Taffetani 2010, 39). Lanciani notes a number of older excavations in this field, which took place over the years, but are little published (Lanciani 1901, pl. 19). For example, Andrea Achilli in 1734 was granted permission to remove old material from the Orto Calcagnini and the Orto dei Trinitarii di S. Carlino (Taffetani 2010, 39). Taffetani has recently made a reexamination of the standing walls (Taffetani 2010, 40).
Description of Rooms	The building, which has been primarily suggested to be a <i>domus</i> , was constructed adjoining the associated bath structures in the late fourth century. This potential <i>domus</i> consists of an apsed hall with a half-cupola, which was made of <i>opus vittatum</i> . The apse was connected to a large rectangular room 35m long by 30m wide, and the roof of the apsed hall was raised in the fifth

Field	Data
	century. The northwest corner of the room is still in part preserved and retains evidence of a large window. Additionally, a second apse shape inside the rectangular room faces the main apse, which had been suggested as the other end of the room before the GPR studies (Taffetani 2010, 42-44; Mancioli and Santangeli-Valenzani 1993, 56; Barone 2015b, 1, 3).
Structural building techniques	The upper portion of the wall of the semicupola of the apsed room was constructed in low quality opera latericium and the northwest part of the room was constructed in <i>opus vittatum</i> with a line of tufa between one or two lines of brick. Additionally, the rectangular portion of the room had a wooden structure supporting a tile roof (Taffetani 2010, 43). Evidence indicates that the space between the second, eastern, half-cupola and the roof was filled with amphora, using a technique otherwise attested in northern Italy beginning in the fifth century, though the walls of the rooms date to the fourth century (Mancioli and Santangeli-Valenzani 1993, 56).
Finds from the site	
Additional notable points	The loose identification, developed in the late nineteenth century, of this <i>domus</i> as the <i>domus</i> Parthorum comes from the Regionary Catalogs regione XII and Aurelius Victor (Vict. <i>Ep.</i> 20; Mancioli and Santangeli-Valenzani 1993, 53). The <i>Notitia</i> and <i>Curiosum</i> reference a "septem domos Parthorum" or "VII domos Partorum" respectively in regione XII ( <i>Notitia Romae</i> ).
Plan location	See Lanciani 1901 pl. XLI; See Taffetani 2010 fig. 11
	Barone, P.M., G. Carlucci, F. Smriglio, F. Basile, and G. Della Monica. 2015a. "Can integrated geophysical investigations solve an archaeological problem? The case of the so-called Domus septem Parthorum in Rome (Italy)." <i>International Journal of Archaeology no. 3, Special Issue: Archaeological Sciences</i> (1-1):21-25.
Bibliography	Barone, P.M., G. Carlucci, F. Smriglio, F. Basile, and G. Della Monica. 2015b. "Urban archaeological prospections: The GPR investigations close to the Caracalla Baths in Rome (Italy)." In Advanced Ground Penetrating Radar (IWAGPR), 2015 8th International Workshop on Florence: IEEE.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Mancioli, D., A. Ceccarelli, and R. Santangeli-Valenzani. 1993. "Domus Parthorum." <i>Archeologia laziale</i> 11:55-58.

Field	Data
	Taffetani, C. 2010. "Il complesso della c.d. Domus Parthorum. Nuova interpretazione delle fasi costruttive." In <i>Il primo miglio della via Appia a</i> <i>Roma: atti della giornata di studio, Roma, Museo nazionale romano, 16</i> <i>giugno 2009</i> , edited by Daniele Manacorda and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, 39-46. Roma: Croma Ed.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.01
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Casa Bellezza
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus of Largo Arrigo VII; Domus Picta
Time Period 01 Start Year	75 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	25 BCE
Description	The early construction of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> and surrounding rooms is suggested by the pavings and construction style. The pavings, in rooms A, B, and the <i>cryptoporticus</i> suggest a dating after the first quarter of the first century BCE based on comparisons to other examples. This date of the mid-first century BCE is supported by a fragment of wall painting in the second style on the vault of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> (Boldrighini 2003, 69, 139).
Time Period 02 Years	64-70
Time Period 02 Description	The wall paintings suggest a repainting in the 4th Pompeian style of the rooms in the first century CE, likely the Neronian period. This could be due to a restructuring after the 64 CE fire and could have been using styles intended to copy the <i>domus</i> Aurea (Boldrighini 2003, 140).
Time Period 03	98-138

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 03 Description	This period saw the construction of a thicker wall or new structures above the south wall of the yellow room, requiring the addition of the Trajanic pilaster to the south wall. The lower floors were likely not used for public function any longer, and instead used for utilitarian purposes or storage, after this (Boldrighini 2003, 141-142).
Time Period 04 Years	117-200
Time Period 04 Description	In this period the side aisles of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> were reconstructed and paved again with newer marbles than the other areas (Boldrighini 2003, 69). No significant quantity of ceramic or small finds were recovered from after around the mid-second century CE, suggesting that is the end of use of this structure (Boldrighini 2003, 134-135).
Excavation history	The first evidence of Roman remains on this site was recorded in July 1958, when work on a 'villino' at the corner of Largo Arrigo VII and via Eufemiano brought this structure to light. The 'villino' had been constructed by 1934, as seen in maps in the Archivio di Stato, but the actual construction is not recorded. The excavation in 1958 was conducted by Soprintendente Valnea Scrinari, and the excavation and restoration work on the ancient rooms was completed between 1960 and 1963. The remains of an ancient road, which is likely clivus Publicius have been found nearby, and appear to have the same orientation as the <i>domus</i> , suggesting the <i>domus</i> faced this road. Between 1969 and 1972 more work was undertaken including the destruction of a foundation wall that cut through room A. Water damage was noted on the previously restored wall paintings in the early 1980's, and a conservation project took place along with new excavations between September 1982 and July 1984 (Boldrighini 2003, 22-24). For the XI settimana della cultura from the 18th to the 26th of April in 2009 to Soprintendenza Speciale per in Beni Archeologici undertook a further conservation project and reinstallation of some of the wall paintings in the Palazzo Altemps (Fondazione Ugo Bordoni 2014).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> appears to face the same ancient road as the <i>domus</i> under Santa Prisca (Cat. Entry XIII.03), which faced the road from the opposite side. This road was likely the vicus Publicus. (Boldrighini 2003, 22). The remains of this <i>domus</i> consist of three underground highly decorated rooms that open onto a <i>cryptoporticus</i> , the squared shape of which indicates that it was likely under a courtyard of some kind. The three rooms open along one side of the rectangular <i>cryptoporticus</i> , and at the far left corner, on the same side, a

Field	Data
	narrow stairway leads up to a now missing upper floor.
	These three rooms, rooms A, B, and E (unexcavated), are similarly sized rooms facing onto a <i>cryptoporticus</i> , room/area C (Boldrighini 2003, 27-50). The two excavated rooms are highly decorated. The first, to the south, room B, is called the yellow room for its predominantly yellow wall paintings. The travertine threshold to the room from the <i>cryptoporticus</i> still shows cuttings for the door jambs, and a concrete pilaster from the Trajanic period supports the floor above, which must have been expanded at the time of its insertion (Fondazione Ugo Bordoni 2014). Over the door of the yellow room, a 'bocca a lupo' window let in light from above (Boldrighini 2003, 41-43). The center room, room A, is called the room of the columns, and its segmented barrel vault originally had four columns around three sides next to the walls, now only remaining on the north side. The columns had a core of peperino and were covered by stucco and finished in the ionic style. The walls are intricately decorated in the 4th Pompeian style with figures, sacred objects, garlands, candelabra, and other details (Fondazione Ugo Bordoni 2014). The <i>cryptoporticus</i> leads in a U around an area of dirt, likely under a garden on the upper floor. Following the <i>cryptoporticus</i> to the northeast, far left, it leads to stairway and ramp, ramp D, which has sub areas, D1 and D2, leading off of it. These would have been areas serving the floor above (Boldrighini 2003, 27-50).
Structural building techniques	The central room of the columns has a segmented barrel vault, and the other rooms, B and E, were vaulted and opened onto a vaulted <i>cryptoporticus</i> . The <i>cryptoporticus</i> had "bocche di lupo" small shaft windows that would have let in light from the garden above it. The walls were covered in plaster. An analysis of the walls suggests that the <i>domus</i> would have been constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> . The measurements of the reticulatum at 5.50 cm on a side, suggest a dating of the walls to late Republican period. The vaults were constructed by casting cement into frames, using pozzolanic mortar and pieces of tuffo in the mortar, commonly used to lighten vaulted structures (Boldrighini 2003, 27-51).
	Artistic Decorations:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>The wall paintings in rooms A and B represent the 4th Pompeian style on a white and yellow ground respectively (Fondazione Ugo Bordoni 2014).</li> <li>The decorative floors are an unusual artistic element for Rome. In room A pieces of stone were fit tightly without pattern into a bedding of cocciopesto. The materials were mainly palombino and lavagna, but various valuable marble pieces were also inserted, including four larger slabs and an additional circular slab of Beccia di Aleppo, as a way of creating an emblem. This floor style is also found in Pompeii. In room B, the floor is similar, but with the black and white palombino and lavagna and without the colored marble across the majority of the floor, and</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>colored marble just in the threshold (Boldrighini 2003, 59-65).</li> <li>The columns in room A, suggest a colonnaded oecus, a type of reception room popular in the late Republican and early Imperial period (Fondazione Ugo Bordoni 2014).</li> </ul>
	Graffiti:
	<ul> <li>In corridor C, 1 meter above the ground is a rough but clear knight on horseback scratched into the wall (Boldrighini 2003, 125).</li> <li>Also in corridor C, a graffito is written what appears to say QVICVMQ, possibly from 'quicumque' a word found commonly in graffiti in Pompeii (Boldrighini 2003, 126).</li> <li>Various other simple graffiti on the walls, suggesting the <i>cryptoporticus</i> was a service corridor in its final stage (Boldrighini 2003, 126).</li> </ul>
	Material Finds:
	<ul> <li>Fragments of stone columns, originally stuccoed, had fallen through the collapsed vault, likely from rooms above, possibly from the garden above the <i>cryptoporticus</i>. (Boldrighini 2003, 128-129).</li> <li>Fragments of marble slabs, cornice, and other architectural elements had also fallen from decorations of the rooms above. Some of the decorative marble elements come from a later imperial period, where the more simple elements indicate an earlier phase in the <i>domus</i> history (Boldrighini 2003, 129-131).</li> <li>Domestic use fragments were found in ceramic, glass, and bone, and stored in the magazzini of the Museo Nazionale Romano. Multiple fragments of sigillata italic, sigillata Chiara, thin walled ceramic, 'kitchen' ceramic, ceramica comune, ash-gray ceramic, glazed ceramics, imperial age gray ceramics, vernice-nera ceramics from the late Republican period, south-gallic sigillata, vernice-rossa ceramics, and 'blackened rim' ceramics. The largest represented type of ceramics is sigillata italic or late-italica. The ceramics date from different periods including, roughly the early second century CE, the mid-first century CE, and between 30 BCE and the Augustan period (Boldrighini 2003, 131-</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>and between 30 BCE and the Augustan period (Boldrighini 2003, 131-133).</li> <li>Thirteen fragments of decorative terracotta plaques with vegetal motifs were found (Boldrighini 2003, 135).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	The remains of this <i>domus</i> are less than 100 meters from Santa Prisca (Cat. Entry XIII.03) and her remains, giving an indication of a domestic focused region of the city (Boldrighini 2003, 22).

Field	Data
Plan location	See Boldrighini 2003, fig. 16.
Bibliography	Basso, Patrizia, and Francesca Ghedini. 2003. Subterraneae domus: ambienti residenziali e di servizio nell'edilizia privata romana. Caselle di Sommacampagna (Verona): Cierre.
	Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.
	Fondazione Ugo Bordoni, and Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 2014. <i>Aventino Tra Visibile e Invisibile</i> . http://aventino.romearcheomedia.it/intro.php?loc=en. (accessed 2016).
	Guidobaldi, Federico, A. Paribeni, and Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico. Colloquio. 2000. <i>Atti del VI Colloquio</i> <i>dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico:</i> (Venezia, 20-23 gennaio 1999): Edizioni del Girasole.
	Mignone, Lisa. 2016. <i>The Republican Aventine and Rome's Social Order</i> : University of Michigan Press.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus of Pactumeia Lucilia
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	<i>Domus</i> of Pactumeia Lucilla; <i>Domus Pactumeiorum</i> ; <i>Domus</i> under Sant'Anselmo
Time Period 01 Start Year	75 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	99
Time Period 01	The <i>domus</i> plan and position indicate an original construction between the first century BCE and first century CE. The construction phases then follow each

Field	Data
Description	other in sequence (Guidobaldi 1995, 150; Cavallo 1983, 214-222).
Time Period 02 Years	100-149
Time Period 02 Description	The majority of brick stamps found in the ancient structure date to the first half of the second century CE (Cavallo 1983, 214).
Time Period 03 Years	150-399
Time Period 03 Description	Further construction phases are visible in the various walls following each other in sequence from the second century possibly through the fourth century CE (Guidobaldi 1995, 150).
Time Period 04 Years	410
Time Period 04 Description	This part of the Aventine was destroyed by Alaric in 410 CE and abandoned until roughly the 19th century (Cavallo 1983, 213).
Excavation history	The <i>domus</i> was excavated due to construction under the convent related to Sant'Anselmo in 1891 under Camillo Ciavarri. Many finds were reported from 1892-1894 in this area, related to the excavations, but only some attributable to the <i>domus</i> (Boldrighini 2003, 18; Guidobaldi 1995, 150; Cavallo 1983, 214). A fistula was found with the name Pactumeia Lucilla, to whom the house is typically attributed, during work by Gatti, while excavating for the foundations of the campanile. Gatti indicates the fistula was inscribed Pactumeia Lucilia, but others have interpreted it as Pactuameia Lucilla, who lived in the second century (Guidobaldi 1995, 150). Multiple decorative pavings were also discovered, particularly known is an Orpheus mosaic, which can be seen in the convent (Boldrighini 2003, 18). In one room four successive pavements were found (Guidobaldi 1995, 150).
Description of Rooms	One room included the well-known Orpheus mosaic, and another room found had four successive pavings, three of which were <i>opus sectile</i> (Guidobaldi 1995, 150). Among the finds were sections of a rectangular <i>cryptoporticus</i> . In the center of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> is a structure with two parallel sections interpreted as a cistern. Cavallo interprets three other sections of walls to the east as elements that were creating artificial terraces for the <i>domus</i> as the hill

sloped down to the Porta Lavernalis. Wall portions interpreted as relating to the
inhabited rooms of the <i>domus</i> were found above the artificial terrace walls in the eastern part of the remains. Structures relating to drains were found to the west of the <i>domus</i> and circling it. Cavallo suggests that one side of the <i>cryptoporticus</i> may have had an open portico towards the va Marmorata, as found in other first century BCE $dom\bar{u}s$ (Cavallo 1983, 213-220). The various walls do not make a clear picture of a <i>domus</i> plan, but the pavings found indicate high status decorations and the <i>cryptoporticus</i> suggests possibly a peristyle garden above during one phase with rooms circling it.
The pavings found included mosaic and <i>opus sectile</i> (Guidobaldi 1995, 150). Construction techniques used, including arches and pavements, were recorded by Ciavarri. These included a section of <i>cryptoporticus</i> in <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Cavallo 1983, 215-218, figs. 3-4).
- CIL XV 7507 – Fistula acquaria (Guidobaldi 1995, 150). It states "PACTVMEIAE LVCILIAE /" (CIL XV 7507).
Merlin identifies the patrons as possibly P. Pactumeius Clemens, consul suffectus in 138 CE, or his son, T. Pactumeius Magnus, consul suffectus in 183 CE. Richardson instead based on its position identifies the house as possibly the Privata Traiani with Pactumeia Lucilla as possibly an earlier or later occupant (Boldrighini 2003, 150, n. 118; Richardson 1992, 321-322).
See Lanciani 1901, Tav. 40; Cavallo 1983, fig. 1.
<ul> <li>Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.</li> <li>Cavallo, Daniela. 1983. "Precisazioni Sulla Domus Pactumeiorum Sull'aventino Attraverso Una Pianta Ritrovata All'archivio Centrale Dello Stato Di Roma." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma LXXXVIII (1982-1983): 213-23.</li> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.</li> <li>Gatti, G. 1892. "Roma. Regione XIII." Notizie degli scavi di antichità: 314-315, 408-409, 477-479.</li> <li>Gatti, G. 1893. "Roma. Regione XIII." Notizie degli scavi di antichità: 32-34.</li> <li>Grandi, M. M., and F. Olevano. 1995."I Pavimenti Del Complesso Della</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	Domus Pactumeiorum Sull'aventino." In <i>Atti del II Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaic</i> , 361-374. Roma: Bordighera.
	Guidobaldi, Federico. 1995. "Domus: Pactumeia Lucilla." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 150, fig. 46. Roma: Quasar.
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.03
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus 'of Aquila and Prisca'
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus under Santa Prisca; Mithraeum of Santa Prisca; Domus Ulpiorum; Privati Traiani; Casa di Sura
Time Period 01 Start Year	1
Time Period 01 End Year	64
Time Period 01 Description	The first possible phase for this structure is suggested from the Julio-Claudian era before the fire of Nero in 64CE. Vermasseren did not attribute specific remains to this period. He noted that tradition holds that the home of "Aquila and Prisca" was at this location, but that, if that is the case, the house would have been destroyed in the 64 CE fire (Vermasseren 1965, 107). The current

Field	Data
	project, however, dates the original <i>domus</i> and its decorated floors to the Julio-Claudian period and suggests that the later remains are a heavy remodeling of that original (FUB and Soprintendenza 2010).
Time Period 02 Years	95-98
Time Period 02 Description	The second construction phase of the <i>domus</i> dates through brick stamps to 95 CE, after a 30 year gap of abandonment, according to Vermasseren. This house has at times been suggested to have been built by Trajan before he was emperor. The house had an eastern garden surrounded by travertine pillars, perhaps holding vaults, and likely a southern garden also. Little remains of the <i>domus</i> that would have stood to the west of the garden (Vermasseren 1965, 107-108).
Time Period 03 Years	98-115
Time Period 03 Description	The third phase of construction occurred perhaps just after 98 CE, when a terrace was added to the west of the garden. The four north-south running small rooms replaced as substructures an area that had previously been the western porticus of the eastern garden. A <i>nymphaeum</i> was added to the south garden (Vermasseren 1965, 108-110).
Time Period 04 Years	116-201
Time Period 04 Description	The fourth construction phase was in quick succession still under Trajan, again supported by brick stamps. The date of the stamps, however, may extend into the Hadrianic period. An enlargement of the previous house took over the east garden. The east terrace was likely replaced with a larger south terrace at this time. The building remained in this form through the second century (Vermasseren 1965, 108-113).
Time Period 05 Years	202-220
Time Period 05 Description	A large wall was added through the underground rooms, creating the long narrow room to become the <i>mithraeum</i> from the previous <i>cryptoporticus</i> . The wall is not precisely dated, but 195 CE has been suggested (Vermasseren 1965, 105). Based on the graffito inscription at the end of Mithraeum, its date of foundation is known to 202 CE (Vermasseren 1965, 117). The <i>mithraeum</i> was

Field	Data
	expanded again around 220.
Time Period 06 Years	306
Time Period 06 Description	Vermasseren suggests that Christians raided the <i>mithraeum</i> by the early fourth century (Vermasseren 1965, 114).
Time Period 07 Years	400
Time Period 07 Description	Vermasseren dates the destruction of the <i>mithraeum</i> by Christians for the future church to around 400 CE (Vermasseren 1965, 117).
Excavation history	The <i>domus</i> was discovered in 1934-1938 by Augustinian Fathers, supervised by the Prior of the monastery Padre R. Galeotti. It was published quickly by Professor Ferrau S.J. in 1940-1. This led to the Dutch excavations, beginning in September 1952/March 1953, supported by Mr. Hondius and Mrs. Hondius- Crone of Amsterdam (Vermasseren 1965, IX). The Antiquarium Museum of the church was inaugurated on the 21st of May 1958 (Vermasseran 1965, X). The first phase of excavations was published in 1965, and the second phase of excavations continued under the support of the Sopraintendenti and Dutch organization for Pure Scientific Research (Z.W.O.) through 1968 (Vermasseren 1965, IX; Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome 2016). The Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome is currently collaborating with the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma on The Santa Prisca Project. This project will contribute a reanalysis of the extensive excavations by Vermasseren and van Essen to the Aventino tra Visibile e Invisibile research project, which aims to map the archaeology of the Aventine Hill (Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome 2016).
Description of Rooms	The rooms that have been uncovered to date include four roughly square barrel-vaulted rooms side by side, one further less preserved room to the south of these, and three further longer barrel-vaulted rooms at a right angle to the east. These three originally included a central room with a three-sided <i>cryptoporticus</i> . During the fourth construction phase the <i>cryptoporticus</i> surrounding the central room on the eastern portion of the <i>domus</i> indicates a cortile stood over the central room, also supported by two air holes originally in the central room (Vermasseren 1965, 110-111). The <i>cryptoporticus</i> has later walls cutting through the spaces and creating the odd side spaces, particularly a large Severan period or just pre-Severan wall cuts the space creating the other two long rooms from the sides of the <i>mithraeum</i> . Additionally, the remains of a

Field	Data
	decorated ground floor room are accessible up a stairway from the crypt, and they include decorative floors and a few centimeters of decorated walls immediately below the current floor of the church.
Structural building techniques	Multiple periods of brickwork masonry can be found throughout the sturdy walls, which formed a substructure for the <i>domus</i> and gardens above. Brick stamps date the Trajanic and early Hadrianic period, and Severan style masonry is found after the later remodeling (Vermasseren 1965, 107-114).
	Inscriptions:
Finds from the site	- Multiple phases of construction can be dated by brick stamps found in the excavations. See Vermasseren 1965, 107-109 for a list.
Additional notable points	Two early inscriptions refer to the tradition of Prisca and Peter, but Vermasseren asserts that this is purely a literary tradition, not based on fact. The tradition of the church as the Privati Traiani rather than the <i>domus</i> of Aquila and Prisca also goes back at least until 1516/1517, where Fra Mariano da Firenze describes it as such (Vermasseren 1965, 1-3). Another suggestion for the patrons of the house is the Casa di Sura, which is suggested by the discovery of a nearby inscription. The Balnea di Surae is found nearby, which supports the suggestion that the Sura house could be located in the vicinity (Boldrighini 2003, 18).
Plan location	For 1940 excavation plan see Ferrau 1940, Fig. 1; for full study see Vermaseren 1965, Fig. 5.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Bianchi, Ugo. 1979a. "I Dipinti Del Mitreo Di S. Prisca: Stato Attuale." In Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico- Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio-Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 885-910. Leiden: E. J. Brill.</li> <li>Bianchi, Ugo. 1979b. "Le Iscrizioni Metriche Del Mitreo Di S. Prisca: Stato</li> </ul>
	Attuale." In Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio- Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by

Field	Data
	Ugo Bianchi, 915-30. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.
	Cecchelli, Margherita. 1945. "Dati Da Scavi Recenti Di Monumenti Cristiani. Sintesi Relativa a Diverse Indagini in Corso." <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age</i> (1999): 227-51.
	Cumont, Franz. "Rapport Sur Une Mission À Rome." <i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> 89e année (no. 3): 386-420.
	Ferrua, Antonio. 1940. "Il Mitreo Sotto La Chiesa Di S. Prisca." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> 68: 153-70.
	Fondazione Ugo Bordoni, and Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 2010 Aventino Tra Visibile e Invisibile. http://aventino.romearcheomedia.it/intro.php?loc=en. (accessed 2016).
	Guarducci, Margherita. 1979. "Il Graffito >Natus Prima Luce< Nel Mitreo Di Santa Prisca." In Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio- Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 153-70. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Guarducci, Margherita. 1979. "Sull'iscrizione Di Un Vaso Rituale Del Mitreo Di S. Prisca." In Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio- Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 193-96. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome. 2016. <i>The Santa Prisca Project</i> . http://www.knir.it/en/the-santa-prisca-project.html. (accessed December 9, 2016).
	Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. Codex Vatican Latinus, 13031-13046.

Field	Data
	Lugli, Giuseppe. 1938. I Monumenti Antichi Di Roma E Suburbio 3, A traverso le regioni. Roma: Bardi.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Paparatti, Elio. 1979. "Relazione Tecnica Sul Restauro Delle Pitture Del Mitreo Di S. Prisca." In Mysteria Mithrae Atti Del Seminario Internazionale Su "La Specificità Storico-Religiosa Dei Misteri Di Mithra, Con Particolare Riferimento Alle Fonti Documentarie Di Roma E Ostia, Roma E Ostia 28-31 Marzo 1978 = Proceedings of the International Seminar on the "Religio- Historical Character of Roman Mithraism, with Particular Reference to Roman and Ostian Sources", Rome and Ostia 28-31 March 1978, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 911-13. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Sangiorgi, Geremia. 1968. S. Prisca E Il Suo Mitreo. Roma: Marietti.
	Vermaseren, M. J., and Carel Claudius van Essen. 1965. <i>The excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome</i> , Leiden: E. J. Brill.
	Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef, and Carel Claudius van Essen. 1955. The Aventine Mithraeum Adjoining the Church of Santa Prisca; a Brief Survey of the Dutch Excavations on the Aventine. The Hague.
	Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef. 1956. Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae. 2 vols, Hagae Comitis.
	Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef. 1975. "Nuove Indagini Nell'area Della Basilica Di Sa Prisca a Roma." <i>Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome</i> . 37(no. 2): 87-96.
	van Munster, Anton. 1960-61."Photo Collection Santa Prisca and Mithraeum." In <i>Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome</i> . Rome: Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome, http://issuu.com/knirlibrary/docs/santa_prisca_catalogue_final_2. (accessed December 4, 2018).

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.04a

Field	Data
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under Santa Sabina
Other Domus/Insula Names	Domus intra muros; Domus Cosmus
Time Period 01 Start Year	150 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	25 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The <i>domus</i> intra muros began in the Republican period attached to the inside of the Servian walls with original décor in opus incertum with floors in lithostroton (Darsy 1968, 28).
Time Period 02 Years	25 BCE - 15
Time Period 02 Description	This house extended to the exterior of the Servian walls in the Augustan period by four passages through the walls and various in floor level. The Augustan period house was constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> and had geometric mosaics (Boldrighini 2003, 16-17).
Time Period 03 Years	101-180
Time Period 03 Description	Boldrighini states that around the end of the first century CE, an Iseum was added to a room of the house that was used through the period of Marcus Aurelius (Boldrighini 2003, 17). The first rooms excavated in the 19th century indicated a first construction phase from around the Hadrianic period. In this period de Rossi suggests the remains belonged to two or more private homes, though the plan was not yet identifiable (de Rossi 1856, 6). A <i>Fistula bronzea</i> , " <i>Cosmus, Augusti libertus a rationibus</i> " was found that names a potential owner for the property. A few second century rooms are visible, one later turned into a cistern in the third or fourth century and another forms the foundation for a later medieval tower.
Time Period 04 Years	250-350
Time Period 04	Darsy states that the upper floors of the house were destroyed in the mid-third

Field	Data
Description	century CE for the construction of a complex of thermal rooms in brick (Boldrighini 2003, 16; Darsy 1968, 28). De Rossi suggests the late antique additions made to these rooms in <i>opus reticulatum</i> date, however, to not before the fourth century. He suggests the multiple private homes of the previous period were combined into one grander house in the fourth century CE. Some of the earlier rooms were turned into cisterns to support a higher level and high construction at this time (de Rossi 1856, 6). One cistern is visible under the property of S. Sabina. This late antique construction may have been a large <i>domus</i> with private bath suite.
Time Period 05 Years	Medieval
Time Period 05 Description	The medieval Pontifical Palace was built into the rooms of the Roman <i>domus</i> , using them as a foundation.
Excavation history	The domestic structures found in the vicinity of the church of Santa Sabina on the Aventine, have been excavated over the last 160 years. The excavations began with the discovery of remains in 1855 through 1857, north of Santa Sabina inside the Servian walls (Darsy 1968, 13). At the time a length of ancient walls were visible supporting the church, and against the wall were visible remains of early structures, which were believed to be 13th century walls of the Pontifical palace. De Rossi published on the excavations of this area, which took place by means of priests living there at the time and signor Carlo Descemet, working to uncover structures attached to the wall. Their excavations uncovered three vaulted rooms in a row, which included the remains of floor mosaics decorated with white and black dice forming square compartments and other geometric figures (de Rossi 1856, 3-4). The excavations also found remains of the Servian walls running parallel to those of the later Pontifical palace (4). Excavators penetrated the wall in places to see what was on the other side, and found other rooms resting on the other side of the Servian wall. Three of these were explored (de Rossi 1856, 6). This area was again examined in 1936-1937. In 1936 a brick tub, cemented inside but missing it revetment was found supporting a bath in the later third-fourth century structure (Darsy 1968, 26-28). The house is hypothesized to have been that of Cosmus, Augusti libertus a rationibus, based on a fistula bronzea (Boldrighini 2003, 16).
Description of Rooms	In 1855 three rooms in a row were found leaning against the remains of the Servian walls under the area of the medieval Pontifical palace. The three rooms had vaulted ceilings, and remains of black and white geometric floor mosaics (de Rossi 1856, 3-4). The original rooms are in opus incertum with floors in lithostroton inside attached to the Servian walls. These rooms are then

Field	Data
	connected by four passages through the Servian walls to rooms outside the walls in <i>opus reticulatum</i> with geometric mosaics in the Augustan period (Boldrighini 2003, 16). These other rooms, three of which were explored, were found resting on the other side of the Servian wall, after excavators penetrated the wall in places. One room applied plaster directly to the tufa stones of the Servian wall (de Rossi 1856, 6). The wall paintings preserved are lower quality and from the changes of the fourth century (de Rossi 1856, 9). At the end of the first century CE an Iseum is inserted into one room (Boldrighini 2003, 16). A fragment of mosaic is visible between two rooms on the exterior of the Servian walls, one of which was turned into a cistern in the fourth century. Another room, connected by means of a passage through the Servian walls, is still visible on the inside of the Servian walls within the grounds of S. Sabina.
Structural building techniques	The republican phase was constructed in opus incertum, and the Augustan phase in <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Boldrighini 2003, 16). Some remains in <i>opus reticulatum</i> date to the fourth century when multiple earlier <i>domus</i> were combined into one (de Rossi 1856, 6). One second century room on the outside of the Servian walls shows a wall cladding in brick with signinum applied in a later period to make the room a cistern for floors above, and intake pipes and flow channels were also added (Darsy 1968, 28).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Inscriptions: <ul> <li>CIL XV, 7443. fistula bronzea – see (Merlin 1906, 319). It says "COSMI AVG LIB A RAT" (CIL XV 7443).</li> </ul> </li> <li>Art <ul> <li>In 1855 a small statue of Jupiter with an eagle was found in the third room excavated, of mediocre quality (de Rossi 1856, 4).</li> <li>In 1855 in the fill of the rooms excavated were found many marble fragments then stored in the convent of Santa Sabina (de Rossi 1856, 9-12): <ul> <li>pilasters in giallo antico</li> <li>capitals in rosso marble</li> <li>small columns in pavonazzetto and in cipollino</li> <li>cornices of exquisite work in various marbles</li> <li>heads of Baccanti of elegant sculpture in giallo and other marbles.</li> <li>One marble slab sculpted on two sides with a maenad and baccant, which preserved some fragments of paint, particularly red lead (minium).</li> </ul> </li> </ul></li></ul>

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>floors that were destroyed. One dolium had 'M XLV' written in ink.</li> <li>Graffito scratches into the plaster wall painting (see de Rossi 1856, 13 for transcription). It appears to include servant's names. De Rossi suggests this list of names perhaps belongs to a functional room in which servants worked.</li> <li>An inscription, de Rossi states is likely not from the houses originally, related to the Arval college (de Rossi 1856, 14-27).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	In the fourth century a lower floor room in the <i>domus</i> at the Trevi Fountain (cat. entry 30) was also converted to a cistern. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (IV, 13) notes that the Servian walls became almost invisible in places because of the housing structures that had been attached around it (de Rossi 1856, 6). The substructures of more ruins of buildings of the same phases as those found along the Servian walls support the garden of San Alessio. De Rossi places the Decii Cecina, a prominent family of the fourth and fifth century in this area, citing Cassiod. IX, 23 (de Rossi 1856, 6-7).
Plan location	See Darsy 1968, fig. 4
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.</li> <li>Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.</li> <li>Chini, Paola. 1997. "Lacerti di mosaico rinvenuti negli anni '30 sull'Aventino" in Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), 759-772. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.</li> <li>Darsy, F. 1968. Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine. Vol. IX, Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie.</li> <li>De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1856. "Scavi nell' orto di S. Sabina sull' Aventino." Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica 1857 (4):48-54.</li> <li>Dressel, Henricus. 1899. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. XV Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum. pars II.</li> <li>Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Cosmus." In Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 89-90. Roma: Quasar.</li> </ul>
	Ermini Pani, L. 1984. "Recenti scoperte nel complesso di S. Sabina

Field	Data
	sull'Aventino." Archeologia laziale 6. Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale: 294-9.
	Krautheimer, Richard. 1962. <i>Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae 2. 2.</i> Citta del Vaticano: Pontif. Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
	Lollio Barberi, O., G. Parola, and M.P. Toti. 1995. <i>Le antichità egiziane di Roma imperiale</i> . Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1990. "Interventi edilizi sull'Aventino." Bollettino di Archeologia no. 5-6:237-251.
	Richardson, L. 1992. <i>A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome</i> : Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Solin, H. 1982. "Sui graffiti del santuario isiaco sotto S. Sabina" in Atti del Colloquio Internazionale su la soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano, Leiden.
	Squarciapino, M.F. 1985. "Aventino pagano e cristiano. La zona di Santa Sabina e del Palazzo Savelli." In <i>Scavi e ricerche archeologiche degli anni 1976 - 1979</i> , 2: 257-260.
	Volpe, Rita. 1982. "I graffiti isiaci nell'area di S. Sabina a Roma." In La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano, 145-155. Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.04b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Insulae under Santa Sabina
Other	titulus Sabinae

Field	Data
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	
Time Period 01 Start Year	150
Time Period 01 End Year	200
Time Period 01 Description	The earlier paving phase of the remains of the Roman <i>domus</i> were found date to the second century CE (Boldrighini 2003, 17). Munoz in his review of the remains for the basilica determined the pavings to be a second to third century <i>domus</i> (Marrou 1978, 218).
Time Period 02 Years	201-400
Time Period 02 Description	The later <i>opus sectile</i> paving, suggested by many scholars, as from a <i>domus</i> , dates to the third to fourth century CE (Boldrighini 2003, 17; Quinto 1990, 240). Marrou suggests this as the period of an earlier Christian worship space (Marrou 1978, 318-324).
Time Period 03 Years	432
Time Period 03 Description	The church was constructed here in the early fifth century, c. 432 CE (Marrou 1978, 324).
Excavation history	Structures have been excavated under the central nave that relate to two separate <i>insulae</i> from the second-fourth centuries CE (Boldrighini 2003, 17). The ancient constructions in this area were reviewed during preparation for the restoration of the basilica in 1914 by Antonio Munoz (Marrou 1978, 318). Excavations also took place in 'zone 3', as reported by Darsy, under the southwest portion of the basilica itself in 1936-1937 (Darsy 1968, 79). They found habitations with marble pavements from the early imperial period (Coarelli 2015, 456).
Description of Rooms	A room was found that appears to be a corridor in the direction from the entrance toward the church apse with a room on either side. It was paved with a black and white mosaic with an ornamental band. It had a width of 2.90m. Two rooms were on either side, paved with large tiles 58x58 cm. These rooms had doors 2.90m wide with marble thresholds still in place. Over the mosaic floor in the central room a later floor showing the base layer for <i>opus sectile</i>

Field	Data
	flooring was placed 20 cm higher (Munoz 1914, 332). These remains are currently visible under the central nave. The space is separated into three compartments by walls 57 cm thick, the central of which is the 2.90m wide corridor parallel with the axis of the church. One white marble tile is still in place from the higher floor level. The later marble floor, however, never completely covered the mosaic. A pilaster is also embedded in the wall on the right, 87 cm wide, and 53 cm out of the wall. Its face is covered with a fresco, and pain in black is visible with yellow and white horizontal bands below (Marrou 1978, 319-320). Marrou interprets, however, the two walls on either side of the central room as foundations, not of walls, but containing square holes and a groove for some other purpose, which he suggests as a balustrade or chancel screen, similar to that in the lower church at San Clemente. This would make this a single room with a reserved central space in an early church (Marrou 1978, 321-322).
Structural building techniques	The different floors showed mosaic paving, later <i>opus sectile</i> , and marble thresholds (Munoz 1914, 332). The walls 57 cm thick are not attached by foundation through the floor, but rather sit on top of the tile flooring, and have cuttings for some upper structure (Marrou 1978, 318-320).
Finds from the site	<b>Art:</b> Pavings in mosaic, black and white with wavy strips and small rosettes, and later <i>opus sectile</i> were found in situ (Munoz 1914, 332; Marrou 1978, 319). Wall painting is visible on the pilaster in black, white, and yellow (Marrou 1978, 320).
Additional notable points	While these remains were originally suggested to indicate that Santa Sabina was a <i>domus ecclesiae</i> and associated with the <i>titulus Sabinae</i> . They are no longer thought to be such proof, but still could be (Marrou 1978, 318, 324).
Plan location	For a plan detail of the area excavated here see Marrou 1978, fig. 2.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.</li> <li>Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.</li> <li>Chini, Paola. 1997. "Lacerti di mosaico rinvenuti negli anni '30 sull'Aventino" in Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), 759-772. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.</li> </ul>
	Coarelli, F. 2015. Guide archeologiche Laterza. Roma: Laterza.

Field	Data
	Darsy, F. 1968. <i>Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine</i> . Vol. IX, Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie.
	De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1856. "Scavi nell' orto di S. Sabina sull' Aventino." <i>Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> 1857 (4):48-54.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Cosmus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 89-90. Roma: Quasar.
	Ermini Pani, L. 1984. "Recenti scoperte nel complesso di S. Sabina sull'Aventino." Archeologia laziale 6. Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale: 294-9.
	Lollio Barberi, O., G. Parola, and M.P. Toti. 1995. <i>Le antichità egiziane di Roma imperiale</i> . Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato.
	Lombardi, Leonardo, Carlo Germani, and Valentina Livi. 2007. "Sistemi idraulici ipogei nell'area di Santa Sabina a Roma." <i>Opera Ipogea</i> 2:43-54.
	Marrou, Henri-Irénée. 1978. Sur les origines du titre romain de sainte Sabine.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Muñoz, Antonio. 1914. "Indagini sulla chiesa di Santa Sabina sull'Aventino." Studi Romani:329-342.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1990. "Interventi edilizi sull'Aventino." <i>Bollettino di Archeologia</i> 5-6:237-251.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Solin, H. 1982. "Sui graffiti del santuario isiaco sotto S. Sabina" in Atti del Colloquio Internazionale su la soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano, Leiden.
	Volpe, Rita. 1982. "I graffiti isiaci nell'area di S. Sabina a Roma." In La

Field	Data
	soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano, 145-155. Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.04c
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus ex Lazzaretto
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus near Santa Sabina
Time Period 01 Start Year	150 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	101 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	Scholars cite domestic structures in this area from the second century BCE through the Imperial period, and walls and the presence of water wells and pipes supports habitation in this period here (Boldrighini 2003, 17; Darsy 1968, 76-77).
Time Period 02 Years	150-200
Time Period 02 Description	Darsy identifies the quadriporticus as containing a private bath building in the second half of the second century CE, though the remains could be from a large <i>domus</i> (Boldrighini 2003, 17; Darsy 1968, 76-77; Ermini Pani 1984, 297-298).
Time Period 03 Years	301-400
Time Period 03 Description	A major reconstruction of the bath or an insertion of a bath into the <i>domus</i> takes place in the fourth century (Boldrighini 2003, 17; Darsy 1968, 76-78).
Time Period 04	c. 432

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 04 Description	The church was founded in this area by the early fifth century.
	The excavation begun around the <i>domus</i> at the Servian walls (cat entry 50.1) continued in 'zone 2' the most extensive area of Roman remains from under the garden degli Aranci and porticus of the church, in 1936-1937 (Darsy 1968, 56). 'Zone 3' and 'zone 4' are located under the southwest and northeast portions of the basilica itself, respectively. They were also excavated in 1936-1937 (Darsy 1968, 79). Remains of second century BCE houses, which remained there through the imperial period, were excavated under the "ex Lazzaretto" associated with the
Excavation history	vicus Armilustri (Boldrighini 2003, 17). The thirteenth century cloister was regained by Santa Sabina from the former Lazzaretto in this area (Quinto 1990, 243). In the same area was found a private bath building, during an excavation in 1936-1939, dating from the second century CE and reconstructed in the fourth century CE (Boldrighini 2003, 17). The excavations uncovered an ancient street running parallel to the vicus Armilustri, and a building between in brick with small rooms around a central court. The type suggests a building later than the Augustan period (Coarelli 2015, 456).
	An inspection for the consolidation and restoration of Santa Sabina took place under the auspices of the Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici del Lazio and by the professor engineer Gianni Zuccolo, commissioned by the Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici. As a part of this inspection, an archaeological reexamination of the complex was requested, which began in 1975 under Adriano Prandi. Pasquale Testini and Roberto Giordani, collaborating with Umberto Broccoli and Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, began to update the plans of Prandi, already partially published by Darsy. They performed an examination of plasterwork on the buildings and surveyed 21 numbered areas (Ermini Pani 1984, 294).
Description of Rooms	The excavations of Santa Sabina have been disparate and thus at times inconclusive. In recent excavations underneath and behind early modern structures, a complex wall structure of multiple phases was uncovered, for details see building techniques. These walls relate to a Roman structure that follows the outline of the refectory and runs along the vicus Altus, which was uncovered in 1936. This Roman structure had a colonnade, and its intercolumniations were closed at some point with tufa masonry (Ermini Pani 1984, 294-296). The excavations of the 1930's found a series of walls in this area, but their construction techniques and quotas were not well reported, making their identification difficult. This quadriporticus area may be an <i>atrium</i>

Field	Data
	to the fifth century or paleochristian church, rather than more ancient domestic constructions (Ermini Pani 1984, 297). Darsy identified this quadriporticus as a bath structure, built in the second century, rennovated in the fourth century, and rebuilt into the later fifth century church quadriporticus (Darsy 1968, 76- 78).
	In this area of the Aventine, Darsy identified three distinct buildings, interdependent in their sequence. The earliest stage before these three was constructed in opus quadratum and opus quasi reticulatum, and the traces of water sources beneath indicate they were constructed already beginning in the second century BCE. The remains of the earliest brick building on the edge of the Vicus Armilustrii indicate the aforementioned form of a large rectangular building with a portico with modestly sized surrounding rooms opening on an inner courtyard. Pavements in fine mosaic were found in the area limited by the two vici on the north-west and south-east. Darsy suggests that the structure is a thermal edifice, dated roughly to the second half of the second century CE. He bases this, in addition to the mosaics, on the lead pipes stamped with Crispinus, on a statue of Venus, and on a dedicatory inscription of the rural preceptor Primus. Darsy does not believe this to be the the bath of Lucius Licinius Sura rebuilt under Gordian III in 238 (Darsy 1968, 76-77).
	Additionally, during a renovation of the ex lazaretto, a room was found, decorated with the scene of Venus emerging from the waves. Darsy cites this as further evidence for this structure being a bath, though the subject of the birth of Venus is also found in the domestic wallpaintings in the <i>domus</i> Azara (see Cat. entry V.01) (Darsy 1968, 77).
	While the wall remains may belong to different periods, studies confirm definitive Roman era remains were found in the northeastern portion of the monastery, and the interior of this area, where a tub liked in cocciopesto with a border and bottom in marble was uncovered. Ermini suggests this is a domestic structure from before the church period, where Darsy would place this in the earlier period of a bath complex (Ermini Pani 1984, 297-298).
	While the second century period of the building could be domestic or thermal, a fourth century renovation added more definitive thermal structures. Basins were added to the central courtyard, mostly round, and eight of them were found. At the same time a paved passage from the courtyard to the vicus Armilustrii was added. The quadriporticus of the fifth century church of Santa Sabina was then built into and over this bath structure (Darsy 1968, 77-78).

A series of underground cisterns were found to the southwest of the convent, lined with cocciopesto, and accessible by a staircase and two wells. The stairway's construction and quota indicate it was original a Roman structure,

Field	Data
	used until the early modern period (Ermini Pani 1984, 297-298).
Structural building techniques	The complex wall included many structural phases. The bottom wall level was constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> with a module of 26-27 cm. The next level contained a marble plinth with <i>opus latericium</i> in red and yellow bricks. Above that is similar brick, and then a tufa pattern in opus saracenum. The colonnade of the ancient building was at some point closed with tufa masonry (Ermini Pani 1984, 296).
Finds from the site	- Lead pipes stamped with Crispinus, a statue of Venus, and a dedicatory inscription of the rural preceptor Primus were found in this area (Darsy 1968, 76-77).
Plan location	For a full plan of all excavated areas see Darsy 1968, plate 4.
	<ul> <li>Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.</li> <li>Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.</li> </ul>
	Chini, Paola. 1997. "Lacerti di mosaico rinvenuti negli anni '30 sull'Aventino" in Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), 759-772. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.
	Coarelli, F. 2015. Guide archeologiche Laterza. Roma: Laterza.
Bibliography	Darsy, F. 1968. <i>Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine</i> . Vol. IX, Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie.
	De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1856. "Scavi nell' orto di S. Sabina sull' Aventino." <i>Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> 1857 (4):48-54.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Cosmus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 89-90. Roma: Quasar.
	Ermini Pani, L. 1984. "Recenti scoperte nel complesso di S. Sabina sull'Aventino." Archeologia laziale 6. Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale: 294-9.
	Lollio Barberi, O., G. Parola, and M.P. Toti. 1995. <i>Le antichità egiziane di Roma imperiale</i> . Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello

Field	Data
	Stato.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome. Oxbow.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1990. "Interventi edilizi sull'Aventino." <i>Bollettino di Archeologia</i> 5-6:237-251.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Volpe, Rita. 1982. "I graffiti isiaci nell'area di S. Sabina a Roma." In <i>La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano</i> , 145-155. Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.04d
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus degli Aranci
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus near Santa Sabina, Domus under giardino degli Aranci
Time Period 01 Start Year	150 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	101 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	<i>Domūs</i> existed in the areas excavated here in different stages from the second century BCE through the imperial period (Boldrighini 2003, 17). <i>Hypogea</i> of a large <i>domus</i> in <i>opus quasi-reticulatum</i> , dating to the second half of the second century BCE, were found in the garden of the Aranci. This second century BCE <i>domus</i> was built over an earlier building from the end of the third century BCE in opus quadratum that occupied a similar area and orientation with only

Field	Data
	traces of it visible in the foundations (Vendettelli 2005, 238).
Time Period 02 Years	14-50
Time Period 02 Description	The domestic building in the garden of the Aranci was then razed and replaced by powerful foundations of an edifice whose plan dates to the beginning of the first century (Vendettelli 2005, 238). The construction style of the brick building on the vicus Armilustri suggests a date later than the Augustan period (Coarelli 2015, 456).
Excavation history	In 1996-1997 there was an excavation in the "giardino degli Aranci", which uncovered two rooms from a rich second century BCE <i>domus</i> , one of which is identifiable as a <i>triclinium</i> . The excavation was sponsored by the Soprintendenza, under Soprintendente Laura Vendittelli (Boldrighini 2003, 17). The excavations took place around the garden, one at the via S. Alberto Magno, and recovered multiple structures from the late third century BCE to the second century CE (Vendettelli 2005, 238-239).
Description of Rooms	Two rooms were uncovered of the second century BCE <i>domus</i> , one is identifiable as a <i>triclinium</i> (Boldrighini 2003, 17). This <i>domus</i> also had <i>hypogea</i> . Both it and the first century replacement building both extend to the limits of the parco Savello and are oriented northeast-southwest. The northwestern limit of the building appears to coincide with the evidence of a fistula aquaria likely along the suggested vicus Altus found in 1936 parallel to the vicus Armilustri (See the <i>domus</i> under ex Lazzaretto, cat. entry XIII.04c) (Vendettelli 2005, 238).
	A room was found along the west-facing front of a brick building from the first to second century with two entrances interpreted as a taberna (Vendettelli 2005, 238-239).
Structural building techniques	The earliest building, preceding the second century <i>domus</i> , was in opus quadratum in tufa. The excavated portions on the via S. Alberto Magno were in opus quadratum in tufa with rebuilding in the first to second century in brick. The second century BCE <i>domus</i> had underground rooms and was constructed in opus quasi reticulatum (Vendettelli 2005, 238).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Ceramics:</li> <li>Rare fragments of ceramics from the earliest opus quadratum building date to not earlier than the end of the third century BCE (Vendettelli 2005, 238).</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Plan location	For a plan of the excavations in the giardino degli Aranci, see Vendettelli 2005, fig. 1.
	Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. <i>Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino</i> , Milano: Electa.
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
	Chini, Paola. 1997. "Lacerti di mosaico rinvenuti negli anni '30 sull'Aventino" in <i>Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la</i> <i>Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM)</i> , 759-772. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.
	Coarelli, F. 2015. Guide archeologiche Laterza. Roma: Laterza.
	Darsy, F. 1968. <i>Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine</i> . Vol. IX, Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie.
	De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1856. "Scavi nell' orto di S. Sabina sull' Aventino." <i>Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> 1857 (4):48-54.
Bibliography	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Cosmus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 89-90. Roma: Quasar.
	Ermini Pani, L. 1984. "Recenti scoperte nel complesso di S. Sabina sull'Aventino." Archeologia laziale 6. Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale: 294-9.
	Lollio Barberi, O., G. Parola, and M.P. Toti. 1995. <i>Le antichità egiziane di Roma imperiale</i> . Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato.
	Lombardi, Leonardo, Carlo Germani, and Valentina Livi. 2007. "Sistemi idraulici ipogei nell'area di Santa Sabina a Roma." <i>Opera Ipogea</i> 2:43-54.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1984. "Alcune notizie sull'Aventino." Romana Gens 1:18.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1984. "Ambienti antichi sottostanti S. Sabina." In Roma

Field	Data
	sotterranea: [mostra] Porta San Sebastiano, 15 ottobre 1984-14 gennaio 1985, edited by Roberto Luciani, 77-81. Roma: Fratelli Palombi.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1990. "Interventi edilizi sull'Aventino." <i>Bollettino di Archeologia</i> 5-6:237-251.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Solin, H. 1982. "Sui graffiti del santuario isiaco sotto S. Sabina." In Atti del Colloquio Internazionale su la soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano, Leiden.
	Squarciapino, M.F. 1985. "Aventino pagano e cristiano. La zona di Santa Sabina e del Palazzo Savelli." In <i>Scavi e ricerche archeologiche degli anni</i> 1976 - 1979, 2: 257-260.
	Vendittelli, Laura. 2005. "Il tempio di Diana sull'Aventino. Ipotesi di posizionamento e ricerca archeologica." <i>Italica ars: studi in onore di Giovanni Colonna per il premio I Sanniti</i> : 235-249.
	Volpe, Rita. 1982. "I graffiti isiaci nell'area di S. Sabina a Roma." In La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano, 145-155. Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.04e
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus over a Sanctuary
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus near Santa Sabina, Domus and temple under Santa Sabina
Time Period 01 Start Year	400 BCE
Time Period 01	201 BCE

Field	Data
End Year	
Time Period 01 Description	A small sanctuary was constructed in this area in the fourth century BCE (Boldrighini 2003, 17). The sanctuary has been hypothesized as the Temple of Iuno Regina, which was known in the area and dedicated in 392 BCE (Boldrighini 2003, 150, n. 115; Platner and Ashby 1929), but that would have likely been a larger structure, so this temple is also suggested as the Temple of Iuppiter Liber or the Temple of Libertas (Coarelli 2015, 456-457).
Time Period 02 Years	175-200
Time Period 02 Description	A rich <i>domus</i> was constructed over the previous sanctuary (Boldrighini 2003, 17). The finds of the excavation in the 1930's confirm the domestic nature of the buildings in this area (Darsy 1968, 88).
Time Period 03 Years	410
Time Period 03 Description	The siege of Alaric damaged the buildings in this area.
Time Period 04 Years	c. 432
Time Period 04 Description	The church of Santa Sabina was constructed in its first stage, into and over the buildings damaged in the siege of Alaric (Marrou 1978; Darsy 1968, 88).
Excavation history	A rich <i>domus</i> from the second century CE replaced a fourth century BCE small sanctuary, which was excavated outside of the right side of the nave (Boldrighini 2003, 17). These excavations in 'zone 4' under the northeast portion of the basilica itself were excavated in 1936-1937 (Darsy 1968, 79).
Description of Rooms	The temple in antis was small with the two columns in peperino marble. At the end of the republican period or beginning of the empire the intercolumniations were closed with walls in <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Coarelli 2015, 456).
Structural building techniques	In the small republican temple, the columns were in peperino and later closed with walls in <i>opus reticulatum</i> (Coarelli 2015, 456).
Finds from the	Inscriptions:

Field	Data
site	<ul> <li>CIL VI 364-365: Two dedicatory inscriptions were found relating to the temple of Iuno Regina in this area (Platner and Ashby 1929).</li> <li>Votive inscriptions, including one saying MNHCQOI O GRAYAC, were found in this area on one of the brick pillars (Darsy 1968, 86-87).</li> </ul>
Plan location	For a plan of the excavated areas see Darsy 1968, fig. 4.
	<ul> <li>Andreussi, M. 1996. "Iuno Regina." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i>.</li> <li><i>3, H-K</i>, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 125-126. Roma: Quasar.</li> <li>Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. <i>Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza</i></li> </ul>
	sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
	Chini, Paola. 1997. "Lacerti di mosaico rinvenuti negli anni '30 sull'Aventino" in Atti del IV Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), 759-772. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.
	Coarelli, F. 2015. Guide archeologiche Laterza. Roma: Laterza.
	Darsy, F. 1968. <i>Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine</i> . Vol. IX, Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie.
Bibliography	De Rossi, Giovanni Battista. 1856. "Scavi nell' orto di S. Sabina sull' Aventino." <i>Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> 1857 (4):48-54.
	Eck, W. 1995. "Domus: Cosmus." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 89-90. Roma: Quasar.
	Ermini Pani, L. 1984. "Recenti scoperte nel complesso di S. Sabina sull'Aventino." Archeologia laziale 6. Sesto incontro di studio del Comitato per l'archeologia laziale: 294-9.
	Henzen, G., and E. Bormann. 1876. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL). vol. VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, pars I Inscriptiones sacrae. Augustorum, magistratuum, sacerdotum. Latercula et tituli militum.
	Lollio Barberi, O., G. Parola, and M.P. Toti. 1995. <i>Le antichità egiziane di Roma imperiale</i> . Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato.

Field	Data
	Lombardi, Leonardo, Carlo Germani, and Valentina Livi. 2007. "Sistemi idraulici ipogei nell'area di Santa Sabina a Roma." <i>Opera Ipogea</i> 2:43-54.
	Marrou, Henri-Irénée. 1978. Sur les origines du titre romain de sainte Sabine.
	Merlin, A. 1906. L'aventin Dans L'antiquité. A. Fontemoing.
	Muñoz, Antonio. 1914. "Indagini sulla chiesa di Santa Sabina sull'Aventino." <i>Studi Romani</i> : 329-342.
	Platner, S.B., and T. Ashby. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Oxbow.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1990. "Interventi edilizi sull'Aventino." <i>Bollettino di Archeologia</i> 5-6:237-251.
	Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.
	Solin, H. 1982. "Sui graffiti del santuario isiaco sotto S. Sabina" in Atti del Colloquio Internazionale su la soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano, Leiden.

Volpe, Rita. 1982. "I graffiti isiaci nell'area di S. Sabina a Roma." In La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano, 145-155. Brill.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.05
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus di Via di San Domenico
Other Domus/Insula Names	<i>Domus</i> at the <i>Dolocenum</i> ; <i>Iuppiter Dolichenus Templum</i> ; Temple to Iuppiter Dolichenus
Time Period 01 Start Year	35 BCE

Field	Data
Time Period 01 End Year	1 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	The likely date of construction of the <i>domus</i> is in the late first century BCE. The more highly decorative wallpaintings date to the end of the so-called second Pompeian style, which coordinates with the late first century BCE (Chini 1998, 7-8).
Time Period 02 Years	70-110
Time Period 02 Description	In the last decades of the first century CE or at the latest the beginning of the second, there was a redecoration of the house visible in second type of wall painting in the central room, a version of the fourth Pompeian style. This date also accords with the date of the geometric mosaic found for this <i>domus</i> (Chini 1998, 10-11).
Time Period 03 Years	138-140
Time Period 03 Description	Dolochenum was set up at the end of the principate of Antoninus Pius, and the <i>domus</i> rooms likely fell into disuse at that time (Chini 1998, 6-7). The foundation of the shrine appears Antonine, and the cult flourished for a century and then gradually declined (Richardson 1992, 218).
Time Period 04 Years	140-240
Time Period 04 Description	The Temple flourished (Richardson 1992, 218).
Time Period 05 Years	240-410
Time Period 05 Description	In the late third and fourth century the temple continued to be used, but less used than before (Richardson 1992, 218).
Time Period 06 Years	410
Time Period 06 Description	The sack of Alaric caused fire and devastation on the Aventine (Chini 1998, 5). Coins of the Ostrogothic period were found among the ruins (Richardson 1992,

Field	Data
	218).
Excavation history	The area was excavated by Antonio Maria Colini in coordination with work to construct a drain in 1935 under the via di S. Domenico, south of S. Sabina and S. Alessio. At around 4 meters deep was discovered the Dolocenum, the sanctuary dedicated to Giove Dolicheno, which was set up at the beginning of the principate of Antoninus Pius. Remains were found below of the previous domestic structures, which were used from the late-republican period through the first years of the second century CE (Chini 1998, 6-7). After excavation under the Via di S. Domenico in front of houses 18-22, between the Via di S. Alessio and Via Raimondo da Capua, the temple remains were refilled again (Richardson 1992, 218). The temple <i>cella</i> was full of a group of dedications, including statuary, reliefs, and altars, which indicated the worship of Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Regina, Isis and Serapis, and Sol and Luna here (Richardson 1992, 218).
Description of Rooms	The temple of the Dolocenum was reburied and is not accessible. The rooms that can be accessed of the domestic area include five communicating rooms, one of which was mostly reburied. One room provides access to the others. The rooms had bocca di lupo windows on the southern side, indicating this was likely a lower floor of a multistory complex (Chini 1998, 6). The rooms had plaster walls with a thick layer of white plaster. The entrance and another room had only plain white walls. The small room to the north had only simple red geometric bands for decoration. The other two rooms were decorated with complex wall painting. The room that is almost completely buried is likely the earliest painting, and appears to be the second Pompeian style. The house was replastered and redecorated at a later date than this earliest wall painting with a linear pattern of squares and images. This is visible in the central room, and resembles cases of the fourth Pompeian style in secondary rooms (Chini 1998, 7-10).
	Three rooms remained of the sanctuary constructed after the domestic use of the area. First these included a vestibule, which ended in an apse with round-headed niches above masonry counters that had been decorated in marble veneer. Second these included a long narrow <i>cella</i> , which had an axial altar decorated with colonnettes and a platform along one wall. Finally, these included an almost square room, which did not directly communicate with the others but contained a cipollino column at the center. Other rooms to the southeast were not explored. The <i>cella</i> and vestibule were decorated with black and white mosaic floors (Richardson 1992, 218).
Structural building	The rooms were constructed in <i>opus reticulatum</i> with barrel vaults, and were illuminated with "bocca di lupo" windows on the south side. The later Dolicenum constructed a wall in <i>opus mixtum</i> that blocked these windows

Field	Data
techniques	(Chini 1998, 6).
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Sculpture, reliefs, and altars from the Dolocenum were uncovered. The sculpture and inscriptions are now in the Museo Capitolino, Room three of the Culti Orientali (Richardson 1992, 218).</li> <li>A geometric mosaic dating to the end of the first to the beginning of the second century CE was found in the area attributed to this <i>domus</i> (Chini 1998, 11).</li> <li>Wallpaintings of the second Pompeian style, and then of the fourth Pompeian style were found in this <i>domus</i> (Chini 1998, 7-10).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	The temple is listed as "Dolocenum" in the Regionary Catalogues in Regio XIII (Richardson 1992, 218).
Plan location	See Chini 1996, figures for rough excavations plans.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Bellelli, Gloria M. 1996. "Quelques Observations Sur Les Sanctuaires De Iuppiter Dolichenus." In <i>La terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata del Museo</i> <i>nazionale romano</i>, edited by C.R. Tella, 349-356. L'Erma di Bretschneider.</li> <li>Chini, Paola. 1996. "Le Dolocenum De L'Aventine: Interpretation Des Structures." In <i>La terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata del Museo nazionale</i> <i>romano</i>, edited by C.R. Tella, 329-348. L'Erma di Bretschneider.</li> <li>Chini, Paola. 1998. "Una domus sotto via di S. Domenico sull'Aventino," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 3 (5): 4-11.</li> <li>Chini, Paola. 2007. "Graffiti nella Domus di Via San Domenico e nel Balneum di Via del Teatro di Marcello." In <i>Acta I</i>, edited by G. Baratta and A.G. Almagro, 281-286. Institut d'Estudis Catalans.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria. 1935. "La scoperta del santuario delle divinità dolichene sull'Aventino." <i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica</i> <i>Comunale di Roma</i> LXIII: 145-159.</li> <li>Colini, Antonio Maria. 1938. "La scoperta del santuario delle divinita dolichene sull'Aventino." <i>Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani</i> I, Roma, 19 ottobre 1935:126-135.</li> <li>Richardson, L. 1992. A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome: Johns Hopkins University Press.</li> <li>Tella, C.R. 1996. <i>La terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata del Museo nazionale</i></li> </ul>

Field	Data	
	romano: L'Erma di Bretschneider.	

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.06
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus in Via Marcella
Time Period 01 Start Year	79
Time Period 01 End Year	199
Time Period 01 Description	The wall painting style of the rooms found is datable to the mid-empire, from the fourth Pompeian style (Boldrighini 2003, 19; Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010).
Time Period 02 Years	200-500
Time Period 02 Description	Some remodeling at an unknown later date is suggested by the addition of reused marble slabs in two rooms (Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010).
Excavation history	The soprintendenza first examined the remains in via Marcella in 1983, which were possibly discovered in 1924 when the house above was constructed (Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010). In addition to those three rooms, additional rooms had been found in the 1960's on the nearby via di Sant'Alessio, which likely would be part of the same house (Boldrighini 2003, 19-20). A final additional mosaic, also likely from the same house, was found in the via Icilio a few years later (Boldrighini 2003, 20).
Description of Rooms	The <i>domus</i> remains consist of five underground rooms, one of which is highly altered by a modern staircase. One of the rooms has a window in a lightwell form, suggesting that all of the rooms are from the underground level of the home. The rooms have heavy brick walls and barrel-vaulted ceilings. Four rooms have Pompeian 4th style wallpainting with simple patterns and scenes on white ground, see below for details (Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010). The house has mosaic pavement and mid-imperial period frescoes (Boldrighini 2003, 19). Additional rooms from the via di Sant'Alessio are a part of the same original

Field	Data
	house. These rooms are paved with chips of colored stone and mosaics from the late republican period (Boldrighini 2003, 19-20). A final additional mosaic, also likely from the same house, was found in the via Icilio a few years later (Boldrighini 2003, 20). The southernmost room, called room "of the Theatrical Masks", has an opening leading to as yet unexplored areas of the <i>domus</i> , as does the third room "of the ritual Implements". This third room also leads to the northernmost room with the modern stairway and to a white plastered cooridor (Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010).
Structural building techniques	The rooms are constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> with barrel vaulted ceilings and fresco walls (Quinto 1990, 241). The black and white mosaic of the room "of the Theatrical Masks" had a channel cut in and filled with re-used marble slabs at a later period. The barrel vault of the room "of the ritual Implements" was reinforced with a brick arch in the Roman period. Two rooms in via Marcella were paved in black and white mosaic, and the room "of the ritual Implements" was paved in slabs of giallo antico, alabastro, and africano marbles (Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010).
	Art:
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Mosaic pavements were in the rooms in via Marcella (Boldrigini 2003, 19). The mosaic in the room "of the Theatrical Masks" has a geometric black and white pattern with a frame around a diamond and semi-diamond pattern. The black and white mosaic in the room "of the Gorgons" has a frame band around a meander and crosses pattern. The paving in the room "of the ritual Implements" is irregular slabs of marble (Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010).</li> <li>Fresco wall paintings in the fourth Pompeian style with thin colored lines and small detailed images over large white backgrounds have been found in via Marcella (Boldrigini 2003, 19). The room "of the Theatrical Masks" includes an image of a dancing Pan with tyrsus and pine cone, masks with tympana, scenes that suggest rituals of Dionysus, and the face of a Gorgon. The decoration of the room "of the Gorgons" is similar, but less geometric with wider bands. It has flying swans and Gorgon heads. The room "of the ritual Implements" also appears Dionysiac, but without figures, instead showing ritual objects. The paintings include a tympanum and a thyrsus, and a marine animal is also depicted (Ciccarello and De Carlo 2010).</li> <li>From the via di Sant'Alessio, pavings with colored stone chips, and late Republican mosaics were found (Boldrigini 2003, 20).</li> </ul>

Field	Data
Plan location	For the plan of the excavated rooms, see Ciccarello et al. 2010, photo gallery (http://aventino.romearcheomedia.it/luoghi/viaMarcella/gallery.php).
Bibliography	Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino, Milano: Electa.
	Ciccarello, Giulia, Emiliano De Carlo, and la Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 2010. "Aventino Tra Visibile E Invisibile." Fondazione Ugo Bordoni. http://romearcheomedia.fub.it/aventino/. (accessed 2017).
	Ciccarello, Giulia. 2016. "La Domus Ipogea di Via Marcella all'Aventino." Archaeologia Sotterranea 13 (October):14-23.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1984. "Alcune notizie sull'Aventino." Romana Gens 1:18.
	Quinto, Rosalba. 1990. "Interventi edilizi sull'Aventino." <i>Bollettino di Archeologia</i> 5-6:237-251.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIII.07
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus under the Casale Torlonia; Privati Traiani
Time Period 01 Start Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	1
Time Period 01 Description	The three rooms under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana show a late Republican plan.
Time Period 02	75-98

Field	Data
Years	
Time Period 02 Description	The first construction phase of the one room and two corridors under the Casale Torlonia takes place towards the end of the first century CE (Boldrighini 2003, 19).
Time Period 03 Years	98-120
Time Period 03 Description	The second construction phase of the Casale Torlonia rooms is the best represented phase of the three rooms under Piazza del Tempio di Diana (Boldrighini 2003, 19). The fine wall paintings from the first room, described briefly below, indicate the revival of the third and fourth style wall paintings, from the end of the first to early second century, at the end of Trajan's and beginning of Hadrian's principates.
Time Period 04 Years	120-150
Time Period 04 Description	Renovations at an unknown later date included the addition of an arched opening in the southwestern corner of room one. The wallpainting from the second and third rooms dates to the late Hadrianic or Antonine period (Chini 1998, 10).
Time Period 05 Years	130-250
Time Period 05 Description	Additional wall paintings in room five indicate a later phase of renovation and decoration before the baths (Chini 1998, 11-12).
Time Period 06 Years	250
Time Period 06 Description	The buildings in this area were all taken into the substructures of the Terme Deciane (Boldrighini 2003, 19; Chini 1998, 7-8).
Excavation history	The rooms of the <i>domus</i> were discovered in the 1920s during public works to dig a sewer in the square. The results were not scientifically studied. A plan was created and preserved in the Archivio Disegni della Sovraintendenza Comunale, and it was recently revised (Chini 1998, 8).
Description of	There are remains from five rooms visible from a <i>domus</i> , which include trace remains from a previous Republican <i>domus</i> , including a wall in tufa blocks in

Field	Data
Rooms	<ul> <li>the east wall and a column in travertine in the first room, and a pavement "a scaglie" in colored marble in the fourth room. These five rooms were constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> of high quality and with white mosaic pavements (Chini 1998, 8).</li> <li>The soffit and walls of the first room have geometric divisions with large boxes on a white background. In the boxes were four scenes, two with sacral-idyllic landscapes and two with masks, one of which is female and helmeted, likely</li> </ul>
	Minerva, and the other a male mask with shield, scepter and eagle, representing Jupiter. The room had a marble socle over which was a zone of rectangular and rhomboid shapes in yellow and blue, followed by a white plaster zone with a red stripe, and fake plinths that supported long elegant candlesticks above. The candlesticks in red were covered in vegetal motifs. In the southwestern corner, an arched opening is decorated on one side with the head of a satyr and on the other with the head of Medusa (Chini 1998, 8-11).
	The two following rooms have cross-vaults and frescoes with panels that include images of floral branches, birds, flowers, hazelnuts, and vegetal candlesticks. This decoration dates likely to a next phase, possibly late Hadrianic or Antonine (Chini 1998, 11). Between the fourth and fifth rooms are two birds, each with something in its beak, one a cricket and the other a butterfly. In the fifth room, which was mostly unexcavated, another fragment of fresco represents a later phase of the <i>domus</i> . It is decorated with red-violet and red bands, a red-brown square with a seahorse, a rhombus with other animal figures, and a cup with flowers on a pedestal (Chini 1998, 11-12).
	One room and two corridors are preserved under the Casale Torlonia. The decoration is very similar (Boldrighini 2003, 19).
Structural building techniques	The imperial walls were constructed in high quality <i>opus latericium</i> with white mosaic pavement, and republican traces in tufa block and marble 'a scaglie' are preserved in places. The three remaining, visible, imperial rooms have Trajanic frescos and cross-vaults. A cement foundation and wall in <i>opus latericium</i> from the bath of Decian were built over the eastern wall of the <i>domus</i> (Chini 1998, 7-8, 11).
Finds from the site	
Additional notable points	La Repubblica newspaper referred to this <i>domus</i> complex as the <i>Privati Traini</i> in 12/2017 La Republica, http://video.repubblica.it/edizione/roma/roma-il- tesoro-sotto-un-tombino-alla-scoperta-della-casa-di- traiano/290969/291579?videorepmobile=1, (accessed December 1, 2017).

Field	Data
Plan location	For the remains, see Chini 1998, page 6.
Bibliography	Boldrighini, Francesca. 2003. <i>Domus picta: le decorazioni di Casa Bellezza sull'Aventino</i> , Milano: Electa.
	Chini, Paola. 1998. "L'Aventino: la domus sotto piazza del tempio di Diana," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 3 (6): 4-11.
	Coarelli, Filippo. 1984. "La Casa Privata Di Traiano." In <i>Roma Sepolta</i> , 157-65. Roma.
	La Follette, Laetitia Amelia. 1985. "Le Terme Deciane Sull'aventino." Archeologia laziale VII (no. QuadAEI 11): 139-144.
	La Follette, Laetitia Amelia. "The Baths of Trajan Decius on the Aventine." Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 11 (1994): 6-86.
	La Follette, Laetitia Amelia. 1994. <i>Rome Papers: The Baths of Trajan, Iside E Serapide Nel Palazzo, a Late Domus on the Palatine and Nero's Golden House.</i> Ann Arbor, MI.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIV.01a
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Domus Caecilii
Time Period 01 Start Year	150 BCE
Time Period 01 End Year	100 BCE
Time Period 01	The first identifiable archaeological phase is a high status <i>domus</i> , including an <i>atrium</i> and a fine pavement in cocciopesto (Parmegiani 1995, 71). Goodson

Field	Data
Description	describes this phase as built around a peristyle court (Goodson 2010, 98). There are few archaeological remains of the peristyle and surrounding corridors, including two remaining columns, but the orientation suggests a <i>domus</i> with <i>atrium</i> and peristyle. The <i>atrium</i> remains include a tufa column, a portion of another with traces of stucco, and two other tufa columns enclosed in brick from a later period, beside a tufa wall in Grotta Oscura. Parmegiani and Pronti reconstruct this as a tetrastyle <i>atrium</i> with an entrance probably to the west (Parmegiani and Pronti 2007a, 11-13).
Time Period 02 Years	98-117
Time Period 02 Description	The <i>domus</i> was remodeled into the <i>insula</i> with many floors in the Trajanic period (Parmegiani 1995, 71; Goodson 2010, 98).
Time Period 03 Years	225-275
Time Period 03 Description	Modifications were undertaken in three parts of the <i>insula</i> , including changes to walls and passages in the southwest three rooms, walls and spaces in the courtyard of the <i>insula</i> , and the underground passage that probably also functioned as a drain (Parmegiani and Pronti 2007a, 26-27).
Time Period 04 Years	301-350
Time Period 04 Description	In the first half of the fourth century, additional remodeling is found in various parts of the <i>insula</i> . The apsed hall was altered and the <i>balneum</i> was added, in addition to other minor changes. The private bath had various heated and cooled spaces, including caldarium and frigidarium with a pool (Parmegnani and Pronti 2007a, 27; Goodson 2010, 98). The remodeling of this period includes multiple mosaics, some in color and some in black and white with geometric patterns (Parmegiani and Pronti 2007a, 26-29). Brick stamps from the walls and floors date from the second to the late third century, but their reuse suggests a fourth century date (Goodson 2010, 98).
Time Period 05 Years	425-475
Time Period 05 Description	Parmegiani concludes that the spaces in the <i>insula</i> were identified with the saint by the fifth century due to the Titulus and the annexed baptistery there (Parmegiani 1995, 71).

Field	Data
Excavation history	During works to restore the paving and the crypt of Santa Cecilia and reduce humidity around 1900, under the supervision of the titular head of the church, remains of an ancient Roman house were discovered. Fragmentary remains of various rooms and periods from the Republican through the late antique period were found (Gatti 1900, 12-13). Excavations and studies of the archaeological complex under, and beyond the borders of, the basilica of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere have continued over the last four decades and particularly the last two (Pronti and Parmegiani 2007a, 11). Recent excavations sponsored by the Soprintendenza ai Beni Architettonici del Lazio, beginning in 1980, led by archaeologists Pronti and Parmegnani, have reinterpreted the sequence of archaeological structures, which were found in excavations at the turn of the 19th to 20th centuries (Goodson 2010, 98).
Description of Rooms	The so-called <i>atrium</i> area of the republican <i>domus</i> around a peristyle courtyard is found later incorporated into the many-roomed <i>insula</i> . In its first period it has a <i>fullonica</i> (??) and then later a bath is added to the building. One room of the bath is adapted into the font of the baptistery. One room has sunken jars for the fullonica. There are third – fourth century mosaics. (Richardson 1992). The remains of the <i>insula</i> from the Trajanic period include the beginning of its entry staircase, and the interior courtyard of the <i>insula</i> to the southeast of the staircase in the area of the preceding <i>atrium</i> with a niche containing the relief of Minerva, discussed by Gatti (Parmegiani 1995, 71; Gatti 1900, 12-13). The room to the left of the staircase has a mosaic with monochromatic 'selce' stones (Parmegiani and Pronti 2007a, 14). A large hall was located to the north of the courtyard there were two entrances in the north wall and two in the south. In the north wall of the hall was a small exedra with an entrance on either side, opening to a rectangular room that has been suggested to have been open. The <i>balneum</i> was added after the Trajanic period and is located east of the hall (Parmegiani 1995, 71).
Structural building techniques	The republican period <i>domus</i> wall was constructed in Grotta Oscura tufa. Tufa columns were found nearby with traces of a coating of plaster, and a capital in the Tuscan style with three rings under the echinus. Traces of walls in opus incertum and <i>opus reticulatum</i> were also found, in addition to high quality decorative cocciopesto flooring. The <i>opus reticulatum</i> wall represents a second phase of remodeling the <i>atrium</i> after the tufo walls (Parmegiani and Pronti 2007a, 12-13). The <i>insula</i> staircase was 1.78 m wide, and the walls were constructed in <i>opus latericium</i> (Parmegiani 1995, 71).
Finds from the site	Water features:         - A fourth century marble-lined baptismal font was added to the <i>insula</i> structure for the Christian community (Goodson 2010, 99).

Field	Data
	<ul> <li>A fistula was uncovered with secure date feeding the baptismal font with an inscription, saying it fed both Santa Cecilia and San Crisogono. The inscription reads – PET[ia] S[an] C[t]OR[um] CHRY[sogoni] S[anctae] CECE[liae] – "One piece of [water] of S. Crisogono and S. Cecilia." Goodson and the excavators believe it to be more likely fourth or early fifth century and original, but it could be nineth century (Goodson 2010, 98-100).</li> </ul>
	Artworks:
	<ul> <li>A Minerva relief carved shallowly in tufa stone was found in a niche with two other reliefs of Bacchic scenes in terracotta on either side of the niche (Gatti 1900, 12-13).</li> <li>In the fourth century the <i>aula</i> was paved in a fairly high-quality color mosaic (Parmegiani and Pronti 2007a, 27).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	According to the 'passio' santa Cecilia was matryed in the <i>balneum</i> of her house. The passio is roughly dated to the fifth century, while her death was estimated in the third century with a few scholars suggesting as early as the period of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and a few suggesting a date as late as that of Julian the Apostate (Parmegiani 1995, 71). A stretch of Roman road was found next to the <i>insula</i> , running parallel to the via Portuensis under the current via Anicia (Parmegiani 1995, 71).
Plan location	See Parmegiani and Pronti 2004, Tav. 1-8.
	Gatti, G. 1900. "Roma. Regione XIV," Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita, 12-27.
	Giovenale, G. B. 1897. "Scavi innanzi alla basilica di Santa Cecilia in Trastevere," <i>Nuovo Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana</i> Anno terzo: 249-254.
	Goodson, C. 2010. The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation. 817-824.
Bibliography	La Bella, Carlo, et al. 2007. Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. Palombi, Roma.
	Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2004. <i>S. Cecilia in Trastevere: nuovi scavi e ricerche</i> , Monumenti di antichita cristiana: Ser. 2: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia cristiana.
	Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2007a. "L'area archeologica del periodo Classico." In <i>Santa Cecilia in Trastevere</i> , edited by Carlo La Bella, 11-40. Roma.

Field	Data
	Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2007b. "Il titulus Sanctae Caeciliae e il suo battistero." In <i>Santa Cecilia in Trastevere</i> , edited by Carlo La Bella, 41-56. Roma.
	Parmegiani, Neda. 1995. "Domus Caecilii." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 71-72. Roma: Quasar.
	Petersen, Joan M. 1969. "House-Churches in Rome," Vigiliae Christianae 23 (4): 264-272.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo, and Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero. 1967. <i>Guide Rionali Di Roma</i> . 22 vols Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G, Roma: Quasar.
	Webb, Matilda. 2001. <i>The churches and catacombs of early Christian Rome: a comprehensive guide</i> . Brighton.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIV.01b
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	<i>Titulus</i> of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere
Other <i>Domus/Insula</i> Names	Titulus of Santa Cecilia
Time Period 01 Start Year	451
Time Period 01 End Year	500
Time Period 01 Description	Parmegiani concludes that the spaces in the <i>insula</i> were identified with the saint by the fifth century due to the Titulus and the annexed baptistery there (Parmegiani 1995, 71). The original <i>'titulus'</i> structure has not been found, though associated buildings have been. Goodson suggests that general

Field	Data
	residential spaces of the <i>insula</i> were used for the early <i>titulus</i> and seeking a 'basilica' for that period is wrong, where Parmegiani and Pronti suggest that the remains of the earlier basilica was located 2.73 meters above the <i>aula</i> with the baptismal font at the level of the nineth century basilica and have been mainly destroyed and it (Goodson 2010, 98; Parmegiani and Pronti 2004, 100-101). The marble-lined baptismal font was found in an apsed hall dated to the fourth century and the font itself was dated to the early fifth century based on its hexagonal shape, which was typical of the fourth and fifth century (Goodson 2010, 99).
Excavation history	See XIV.01a.
Description of Rooms	See XIV.01a.
Structural building techniques	See XIV.01a.
Finds from the site	<ul> <li>Finds:</li> <li>A fourth century marble-lined baptismal font was added to the <i>insula</i> structure for the Christian community (Goodson 2010, 99).</li> <li>A fistula was uncovered with secure date feeding the baptismal font with an inscription, saying it fed both Santa Cecilia and San Crisogono. The inscription reads – PET[ia] S[an] C[t]OR[um] CHRY[sogoni] S[anctae] CECE[liae] – "One piece of [water] of S. Crisogono and S. Cecilia." Goodson and the excavators believe it to be more likely fourth or early fifth century and original, but it could be nineth century (Goodson 2010, 98-100).</li> </ul>
Additional notable points	See XIV.01a.
Plan location	See Parmegiani and Pronti 2004, Tav. 1-8.
Bibliography	<ul> <li>Gatti, G. 1900. "Roma. Regione XIV," <i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita</i>: 12-27.</li> <li>Giovenale, G. B. 1897. "Scavi innanzi alla basilica di Santa Cecilia in Trastevere," <i>Nuovo Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana</i> Anno terzo: 249-254.</li> <li>Goodson, C. 2010. <i>The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation</i>. 817-824.</li> </ul>

Field	Data
	La Bella, Carlo, et al. 2007. Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. Roma: Palombi.
	Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2004. S. Cecilia in Trastevere: nuovi scavi e ricerche, Monumenti di antichita cristiana: Ser. 2: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia cristiana.
	Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2007a. "L'area archeologica del periodo Classico." In <i>Santa Cecilia in Trastevere</i> , edited by Carlo La Bella, 11-40. Roma.
	Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2007b. "Il <i>titulus</i> Sanctae Caeciliae e il suo battistero." In <i>Santa Cecilia in Trastevere</i> , edited by Carlo La Bella, 41-56. Roma.
	Parmegiani, Neda. 1995. "Domus Caecilii." In <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, 71-72. Roma: Quasar.
	Petersen, Joan M. 1969. "House-Churches in Rome," <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> 23 (4): 264-272.
	Pietrangeli, Carlo, and Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero. 1967. <i>Guide Rionali Di Roma</i> . 22 vols Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori.
	Steinby, Eva Margareta. 1995. <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae. 2, D-G</i> , Roma: Quasar.
	Webb, Matilda. 2001. <i>The churches and catacombs of early Christian Rome: a comprehensive guide</i> . Brighton.

Field	Data
Catalog Entry Number	XIV.02
<i>Domus/Insula</i> Name	Domus under Apse at San Crisogono
Time Period 01 Start Year	100 BCE

Field	Data
Time Period 01 End Year	50 BCE
Time Period 01 Description	Walls from the Republican era have been found in the area to the right of the apse, in cut stone with iron elements holding them in place but no cement (Mesnard 1935, 25).
Time Period 02 Years	101-400
Time Period 02 Description	A second century <i>domus</i> is often cited under the sanctuary, and Cecchelli suggests that it likely remained in use through the period of the fourth century structures (Cecchelli 1999, 234). The wall construction techniques date the rectangular room under the apse to the first half of the second century CE, which Mesnard suggests as possibly a <i>domus</i> . The rooms are brick with tufa pillars (Mesnard 1935, 24, 30).
Time Period 03 Years	250-300
Time Period 03 Description	A large third century <i>aula</i> was construction, which was later reused for the foundations of the eastern side of the church. The <i>aula</i> was about 500 square meters, 29 x 17.50 m (Astolfi 1999, 23). It is dated to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century based on construction technique (Mesnard 1935, 28-29).
Time Period 04 Years	375-400
Time Period 04 Description	Astolfi suggests this <i>aula</i> was the first space used by Christians for San Crisogono in the fourth century (Astolfi 1999, 23).
Time Period 05 Years	450-500
Time Period 05 Description	The <i>titulus</i> of San Crisogono is recorded in the Roman Synod of 499. The first mention, however, comes in the narrative of Emperor Antemius in 472, who took refuge in the church of San Crisogono. Cecchelli thus places the construction of the church in the mid-fifth century (Cecchelli 1999, 236). The early Christian church of S. Crisogono was similarly oriented to the upper medieval church, but the upper medieval church was constructed outside of the foundations of the lower church, not directly above (Astolfi 1999, 18).

Field	Data
Excavation history	The Excubitorio della VII Coorte dei Vigili found the pavement of a building from the third century across viale Trastevere in 1865. Excavations found the adjoining via Aurelia in 1889. During the construction of the sacristy in the mid-nineteenth century, a curved ancient wall was found and left visible, suggesting an early apse, but was not thoroughly studied until 1907. In 1907 the area under the sacristy was excavated, uncovering the early medieval crypt, and in 1908-1909 adjacent early church spaces were found. After WWI, excavation work continued to uncover the spaces of the early San Crisogono in 1923 and after. An ancient building dating to the third century BCE was excavated in the piazza of San Crisogono in 1938-1939. Gatti led the 1930's excavations, which went to a depth of seven meters below street level (Astolfi 1999, 16-18). F. Astolfi performed an excavation in the archaeological remains at San Crisogono to clarify its architectural history, under the auspices of the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma and in collaboration with S. Settecasi (Cecchelli 1999, 232).
	The apse rests on a more ancient wall that includes a block of tufa encased in neatly constructed <i>opus latericium</i> . Another wall runs at a perpendicular angle under a different portion of the apse, which is likely a second side of the same structure. Another wall of this room, at right angles with the first wall, and meeting the first wall at a second tufa block, can be found left of the apse and ends in a third tufa block forming the basis of a rectangular room earlier than the basilica. Traces of an old bipedal pavement were found near an <i>opus latericium</i> pillar in the area of this rectangular space. A broken ancient pipe was found in terracotta under the pavement level of this structure (Mesnard 1935, 19-24).
Description of Rooms	A large <i>aula</i> , 29 x 17.50 m, possibly from a later phase of the <i>domus</i> remains under the VIII century remains of the paleochristian church (Astolfi 1999, 23). The fourth century building in <i>opus latericium</i> had a plastered wall blocking the area considered to be the entrance. Cecchelli takes this to be evidence that the building was still a <i>domus</i> extending through this area, not a <i>titulus</i> (Cecchelli 1999, 234-236). Mesnard cites this as a large rectangular construction, of which two walls still exist, a third wall was raised to the ground, and a fourth wall is under the facade of the basilica, has been found and dated to the end of the third, early fourth centuries based on construction techniques. Mesnard suggested it to be a large hall. The two remaining walls are decorated in imitation white veined marble with red and black details. On the left side a rectangular window with a travertine border, and 2.5-meter-high niche remain (Mesnard 1935, 28-30).
Structural building	The ancient remains were in <i>opus latericium</i> and the sixth century early basilica structures were in <i>opus listatum</i> . Krautheimer theorized of a paleochristian hall built at the beginning of the fourth century with a grand

746

Field	Data
techniques	entrance, which would have stood until the sixth century, when it was greatly increased with a new apse and other spaces. These newer construction walls were in <i>opus listatum</i> . The grand entrance attributed by Krautheimer to an early fourth century worship hall, has been discovered by Astolfi to actually have been in the listatum of the sixth century construction, suggesting a different timeline (Cecchelli 1999, 234).
	The remains of the rectangular room under the apse are in <i>opus latericium</i> that appears similar to early second century CE structures, some of which show similar use of tufa blocks at wall junctures. The walls of the ancient basilica are made in two construction techniques, tufa mixed with brick, and brick construction. The tufa and brick walls of the façade rest on older brick walls that were partially destroyed (Mesnard 1935, 24, 27-28).
Finds from the site	- Architectural fragments were found in the 1897 excavations under the convent, including a large marble capital with acanthus leaves, a white marble capital, three other smaller white marble capitals, a fragment of a marble column, a fragment of a smaller marble column, a larger, a medium, and a smaller marble base, and marble console, and an ionic capital (Mesnard 1935, 26-27).
Plan location	For an excavation plan from the 1930's excavations see Astolfi 1999, page 16, for other plans see Pietri 1978, Fig. 1 or Krautheimer 1937, pl. XXI.
	Astolfi, Franco. 1999. "La Chiesa Paleocristiana di S. Crisogono," <i>Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica</i> 4 (3): 14-23.
	Calci, Carmelo. 2000. Il Libro Di Roma Archeologica. Roma: Adnkronos libri.
	Cecchelli, Margherita. 1999. "Dati da scavi recenti di monumenti cristiani. Sintesi relativa a diverse indagini in corso." <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de</i> <i>Rome. Moyen-Age.</i> Volume 111(No. 1): 227-251.
Bibliography	Krautheimer, Richard, Spencer Corbett, Volfango Frankl, and Institute of Fine Arts New York University. 1937. <i>Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae:</i> <i>Le basiliche cristiane antiche di Roma (sec. IV-IX) = The early Christian</i> <i>basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.)</i> . 5 vols, Monumenti di antichite cristiana, New York: Institute of Fine Arts.
	Luciani, Roberto, and Silvia Settecasi. 1996. <i>San Crisogono</i> , Itinerari d'arte e di cultura. Basiliche, Roma: F.lli Palombi.
	Melograni, A. 1990. "Le pitture del VI e VIII secolo nella basilica inferiore di S. Crisogono in Trastevere," <i>Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e</i>

747	
-----	--

Field	Data
	storia dell'arte. serie III: 139-178.
	Mesnard, M. 1935. La basilique de Saint Chrysogone a Rome. Rome.
	Pietri, Charles. 1978. "Recherches sur les domus ecclesiae. I." <i>Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques</i> no. XXIV (1-2):3-21.

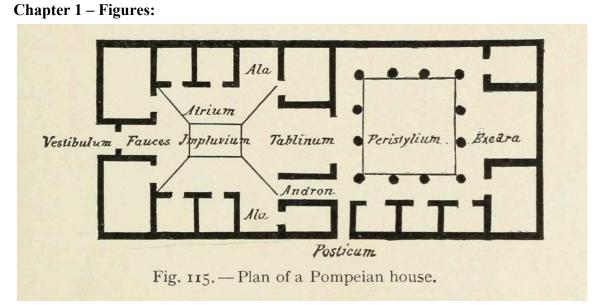


Figure 1.1 – Reconstruction of a Roman Pompeian domus by August Mau.

Source: Mau, A., and F.W. Kelsey. 1899. *Pompeii, its life and art*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 247. https://archive.org/details/pompeiiitslifear01maua (Accessed 11/01/18) Pub. Dom.

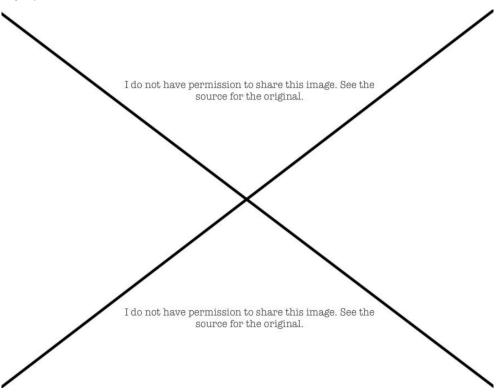


Figure 1.2 – Grottesche from the Alexander vault of the Domus Aurea.

Source: Rea, R., M.A. Tomei. 2011. Nerone. Milano: Electa.



Figure 1.3 – The Chapel of San Girolamo in Santa Maria del Popolo. Source: Photographed by author. CC-BY-NC

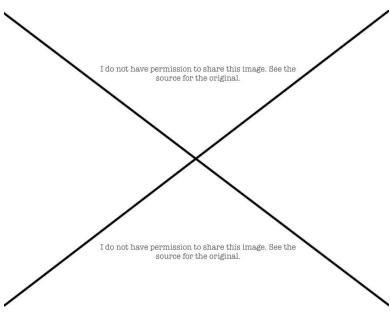


Figure 1.4 – Stadio Palatino by Pirro Ligorio

Source: Iacopi, I. 1997. Gli scavi sul colle Palatino: testimonianze e documenti. 11.

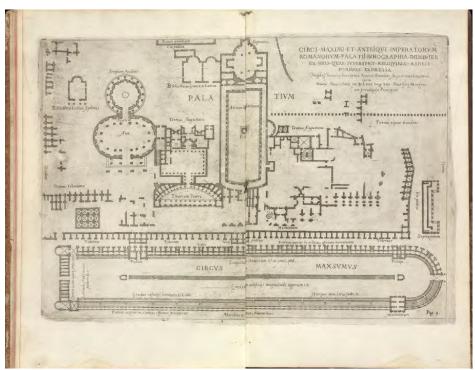


Figure 1.5 – Drawing by Pirro Ligorio, made into an etching by Onofrio Panvinio called "Circi Maximi et antiqui imperatorum romanorum palatii ichnographia."

Source: Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis, De Ludis Circensibus, Libri II. De Triumphis Liber Unus. <u>https://archive.org/details/gri\_33125008736320/page/n37</u> (Accessed 9/28/2018) Public Domain.

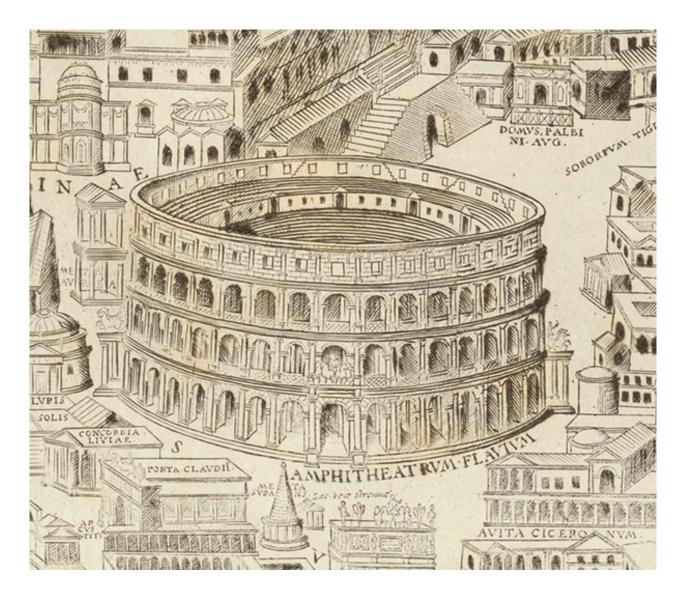


Figure 1.6 – Pirro Ligorio's 1561 Anteiquae Urbis Imago.

Source: Pirro Ligorio, ca. 1513-1583, Draftsman. Antiquae Urbis imago accuratissime ex vetusteis monumenteis formata excuderunt Romae Michael et Franciscus Tramezini. MDLXI. (DETAIL). http://www.bsrdigitalcollections.it/details.aspx?ID=3&ST=SS (Accessed 11/1/2018). Public Domain.

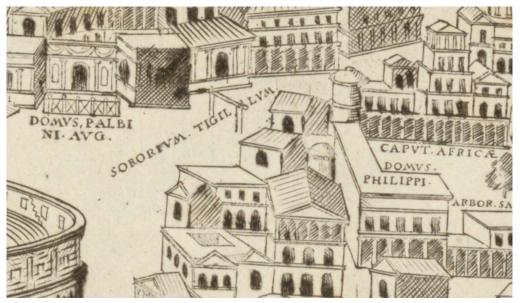


Figure 1.7 – Detail of Pirro Ligorio's 1561 Anteiquae Urbis Imago with the Domus Philippi and Domus Palbini Aug.

Source: BSR. Public Domain http://www.bsrdigitalcollections.it/details.aspx?ID=3&ST=SS



Figure 1.8 – Detail of Pirro Ligorio's 1561 Anteiquae Urbis Imago with the mausoleum Augus.

Source: Emory University Library, Views of Rome. Public Domain https://viewsofrome.digitalscholarship.emory.edu/

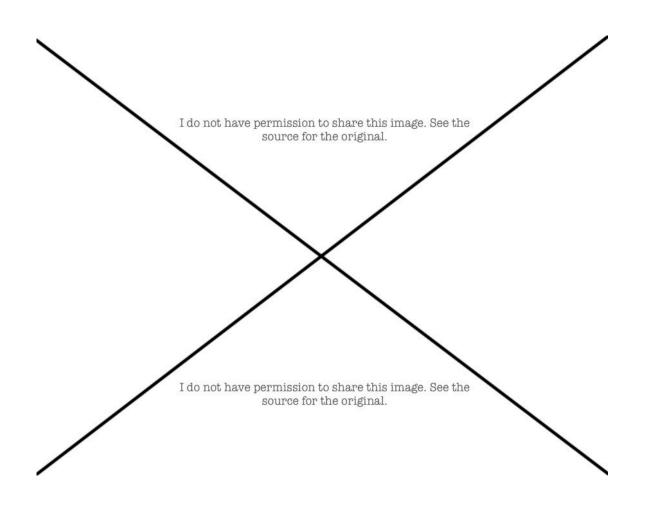


Figure 1.9 – Ichnographia from Il Campo Marzio di antica Roma in 1762 by Piranesi

Source: Five Colleges and Historic Deerfield Museum Consortium Collections Database: <u>http://museums.fivecolleges.edu/browser.php?m=objects&kv=2004839&i=3289557</u>

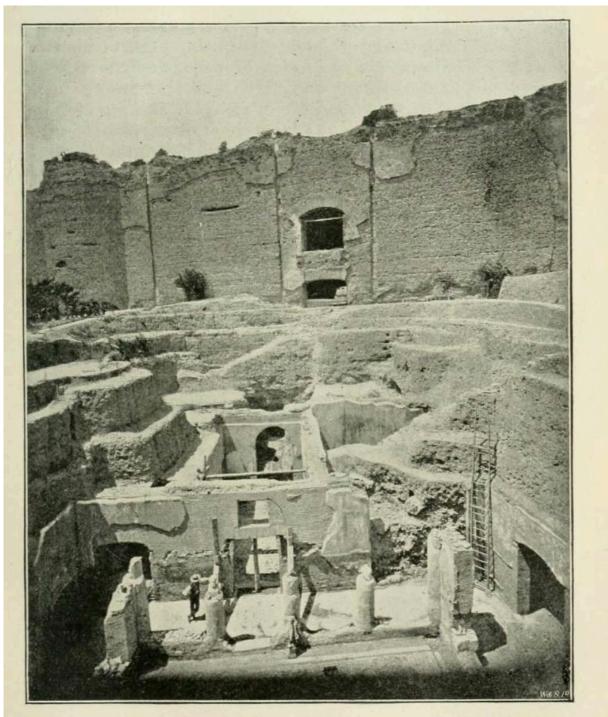


Fig. 39. — The Remains of a Private House discovered under the Baths of Caracalla by G. B. Guidi, 1867.

Figure 1.10 – Photography of ruins of a private house discovered under the baths of Caracalla by G. B. Guidi.

Source: Lanciani, R.A. 1897. *The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome; a companion book for students and travelers*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company. 101, fig. 39.

https://archive.org/details/ruinsexcavations00lanc/page/100 (Accessed 11/1/2018) Public Domain

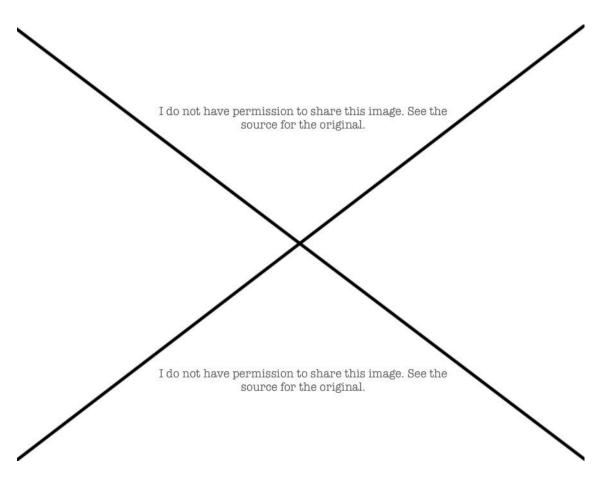


Figure 1.11 – Drawing by Le Corbusier of the House of Sallust, Pompeii.

Source: Berritto, A.M. 2011. Pompei 1911 Le Corbusier e l'origine della casa. (Texte imprimé), Quadri. Napoli: Clean ed., 50-51.

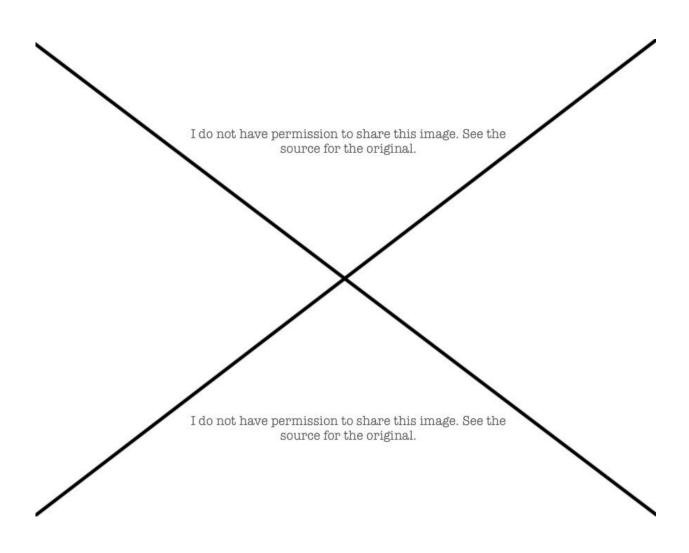


Figure 1.12 – Gjerstad reconstruction from Early Rome IV.

Source: Gjerstad, Einar, and Svenska institutet i Rom. 1966. *Early Rome*. Vol. IV, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom.* 4°, Lund. 415, fig. 114.

Chapter 2 – Figures:

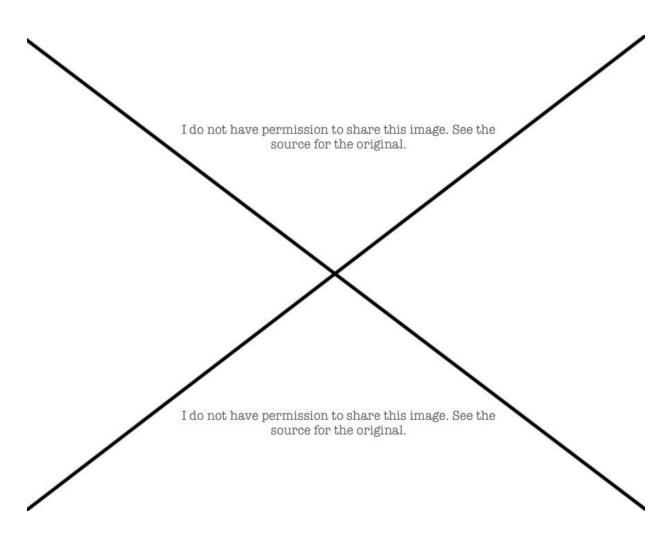


Figure 2.1: Domus at Ss. Sergio e Baccho: in this figure Andrews overlays the plan of the basement of Ss. Sergio e Baccho over the westernmost atrium-house plan from Forma Urbis Romae fragment 11e. Source: Andrews 2014, figure 11.

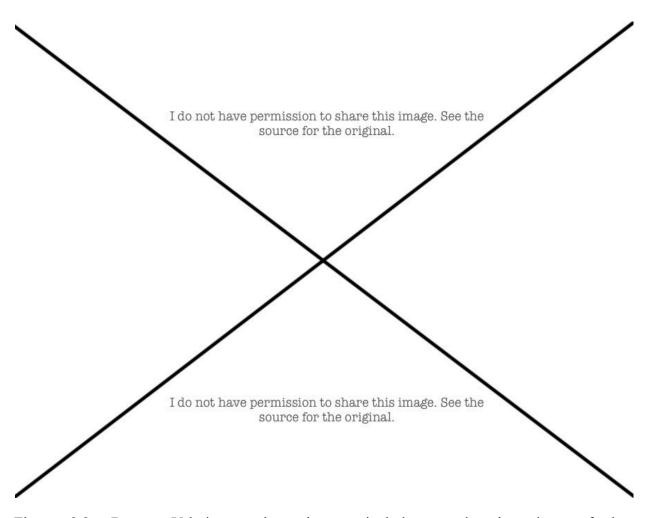
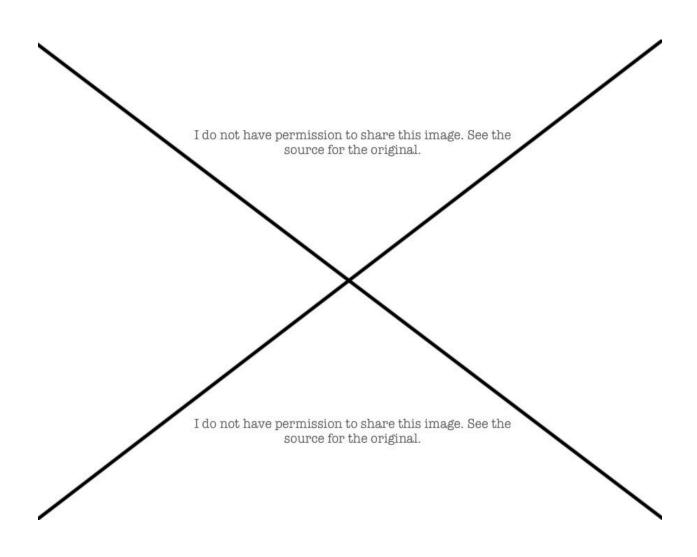
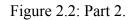


Figure 2.2: *Domus Valeriorum*: these images include two in situ views of the corridor walls and decorations, and a reconstruction of the windows. Source: Palladino and Bottiglieri 2015, figs. 7, 8, and 14.





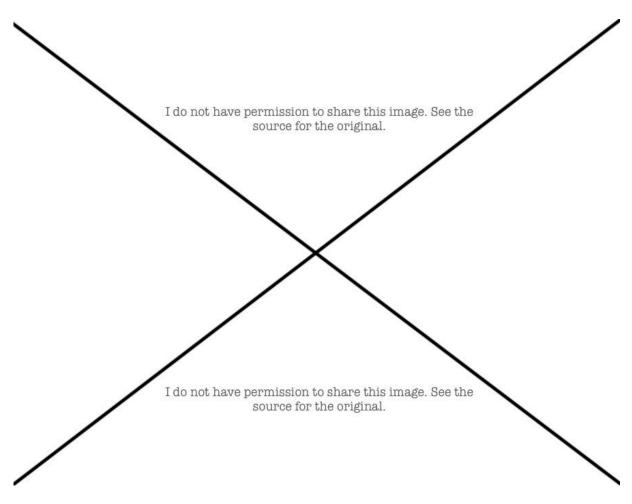


Figure 2.3: *Domus* INPS: This shows an axonometric reconstruction of the corridor. Source: McFadden 2013, Fig. 1



Figure 2.4: *Domus VettiusAgorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina*: This plan shows the area in detail. Source: Henzen and Lanciani 1874, tav. V-VI.



Figure 2.5: In this reconstruction you can see the placement of the rear granite columns. Reconstruction by author in Adobe 3DS Max. Wall painting image source: The British School at Rome Archive, BUTI V.

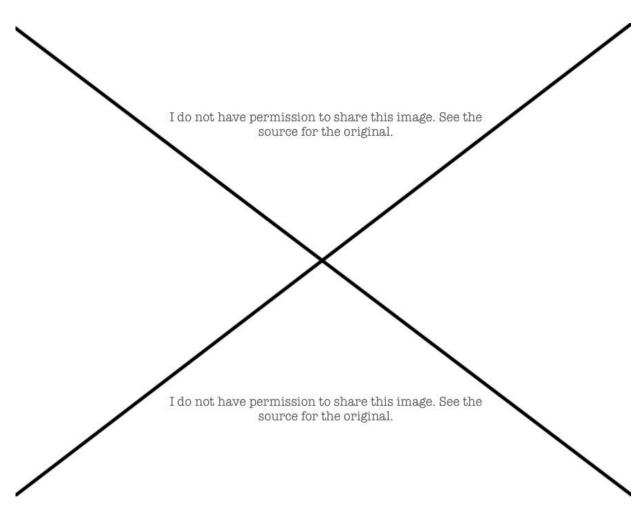


Figure 2.6: Imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli: This shows the four stage evolution of the grand *aula* and courtyard of the *domus*. Source: Colini 1966, fig. 62.

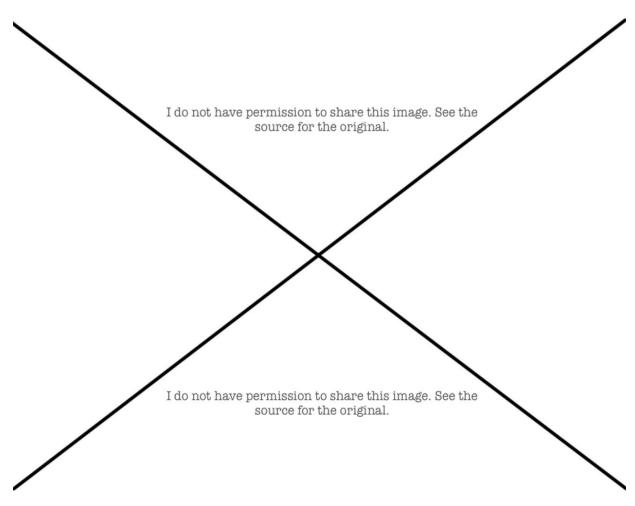


Figure 2.7: Parker 1864-1866, "Excavations, 1867, private house of the Emperor Hadrian, c. A.D. 120, near the Thermae of Antoninus Caracalla, in the Vigna Guidi, (Catalogue of the Regionaries, Regio XII)." Source: British School at Rome Digital Collection. Photograph 0725. http://www.bsrdigitalcollections.it/details.aspx?ID=16610&ST=SS

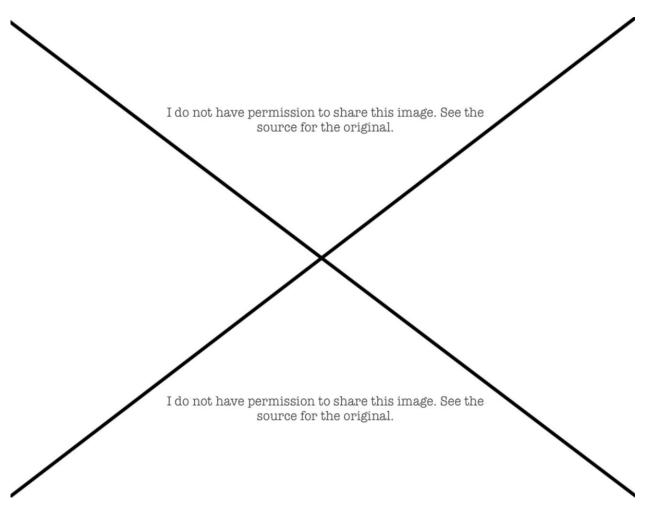


Figure 2.8: *Domus Symmachorum*: Triton mosaic photograph and plan. Source: Carignani 1993, 723-724, figs. 5 and 6.

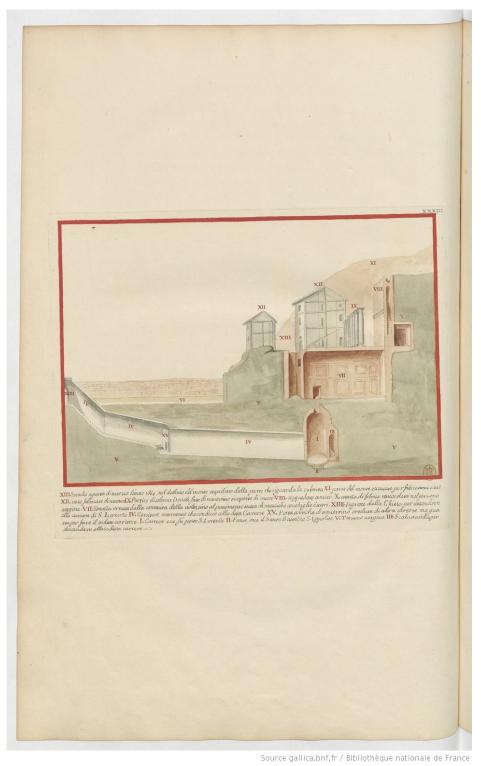


Figure 2.9: This drawing of terracing in the area was originally by Sante Bartoli and was redrawn by Lanciani and published in 1987. See source for Lanciani drawing: Coarelli 1998, fig. 7.

Original drawing (pictured below) by Pietro Sante Bartoli. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, Rés.J.750. Public domain. No Commercial Reuse.

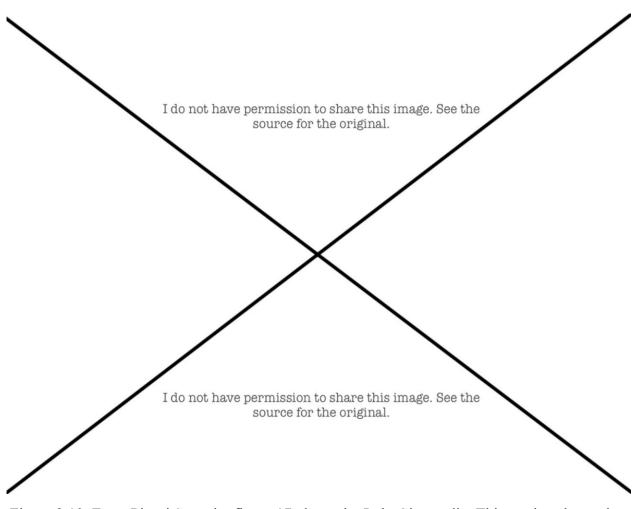


Figure 2.10: From Pisani Sartorio, figure 17, drawn by Italo Gismondi – This section shows the profile of the *cryptoporticus* windows and the placement of the wall painting. Source: Pisani Sartorio 1983, 155, fig. 17.

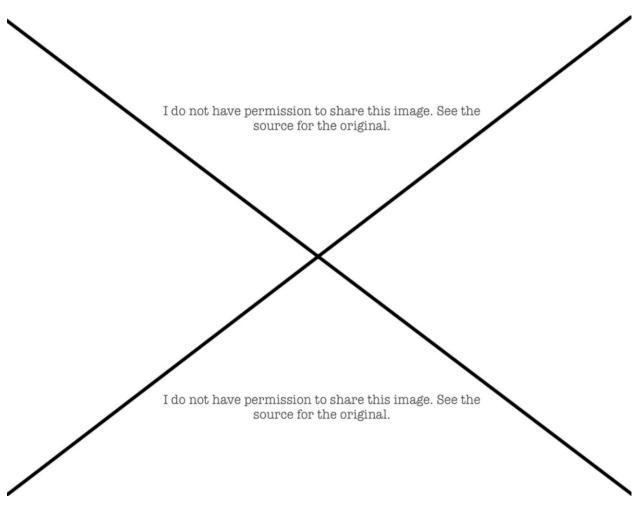


Figure 2.11: *Domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli with a plan of the *cryptoporticus*. Source: Colini and Matthiae 1966, figure 42.

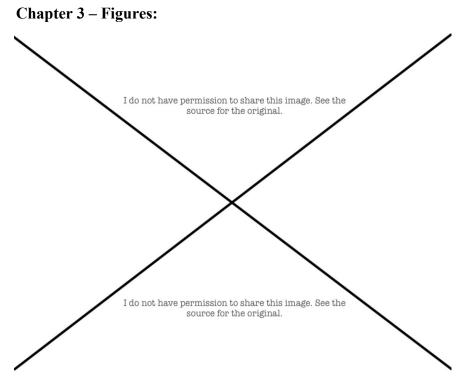


Figure 3.1 – Paris, Rita. "Il Vestibolo E5 e l'atrio E4." The entrance to the domus from the street with the interior stairway to above to the left, the entrance to the atrium at center, the "guardiola" or porter's lodge to the right and the external stairway to the upper floor to the far right. Source: Barbera and Paris 1996, 73, fig. 1.

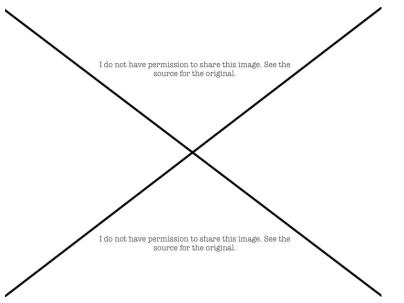


Figure 3.2 – "La Residenza del Settore Centrale". This shows the central apsed oecus, with its original external apse on the left and its closed apse and corridor in the later period on the right. Source: Carignani 1993. Figs. 18-19.

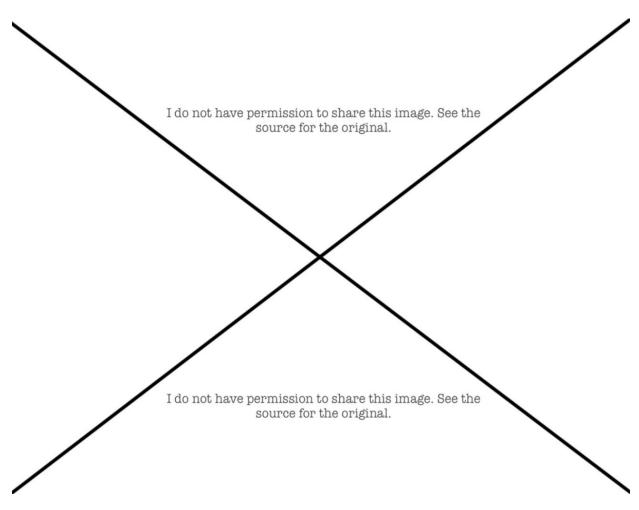


Figure 3.3 – Plan of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento and surrounding *insulae*. See catalog entry V.12. Source: Barbera and Paris 1996.

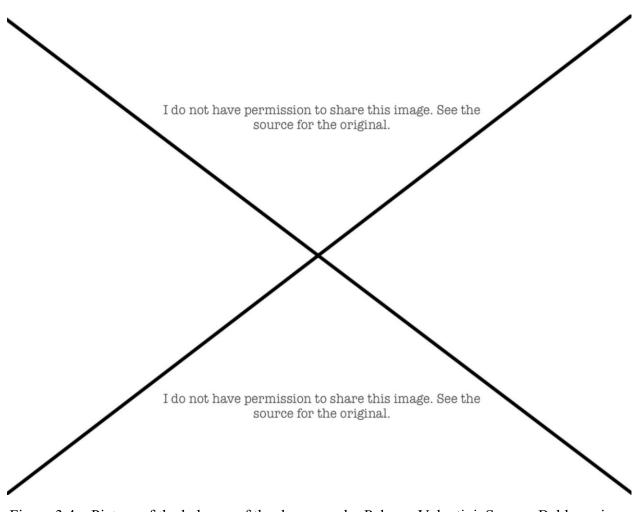


Figure 3.4 – Picture of the balcony of the domus under Palazzo Valentini. Source: Baldassari 2012, fig. 1.

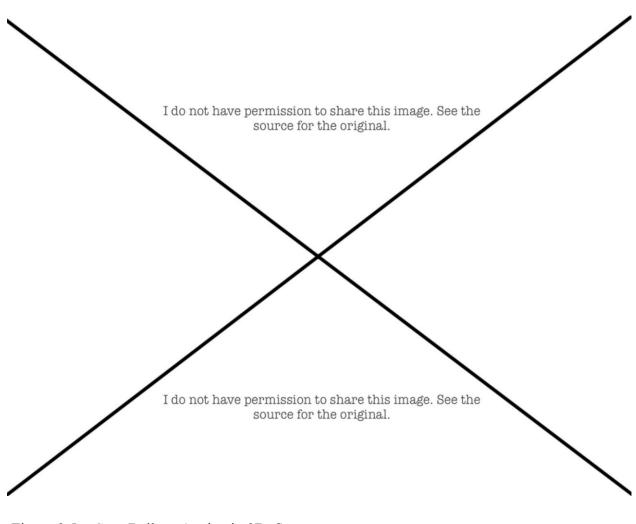


Figure 3.5 – Casa Bellezza's plan in 3D. Source: <u>http://aventino.romearcheomedia.it/luoghi/casabellezza/index.php?loc=en</u> (Accessed September 14, 2018).

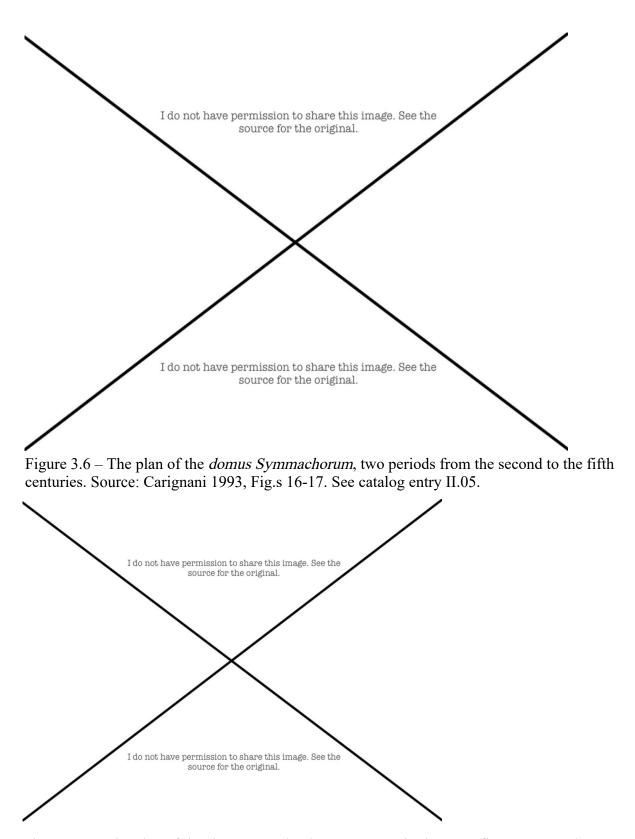


Figure 3.7 – The plan of the *domus Gaudentius*. Source: Spinola 1992, fig. 2. See catalog entry II.02.

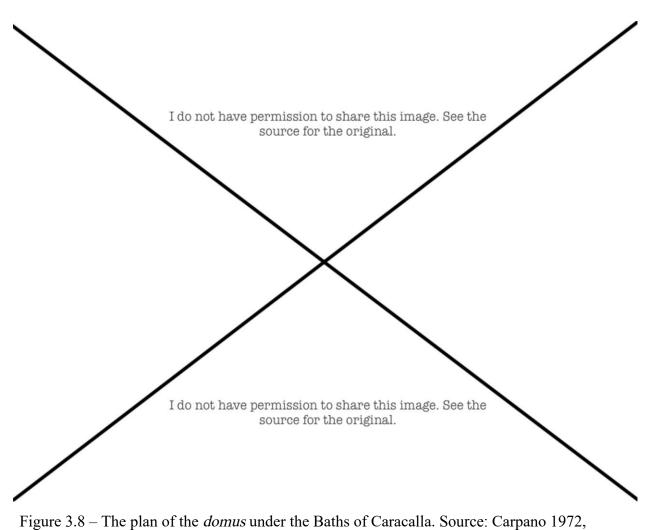


fig. 1. See catalog entry XII.01.

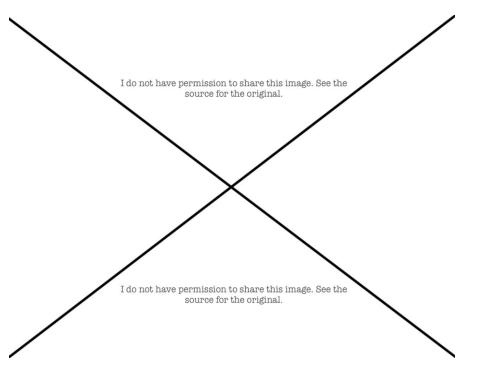


Figure 3.9 – The ceiling of room H in the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla. Source: Jacopi 1972, fig. 2.



Figure 3.10 – The line of site from the courtyard to the exterior window, *domus* Azara. Reconstruction by author in Adobe 3DS Max. Wall painting image source: The British School at Rome Archive, BUTI II, BUTI IV, and BUTI X.

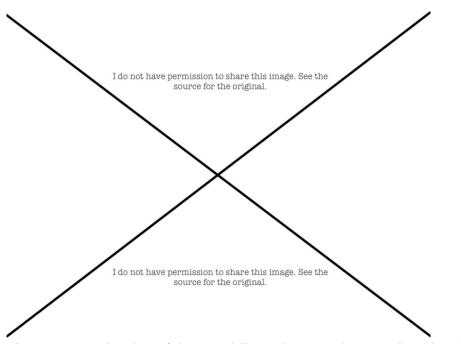
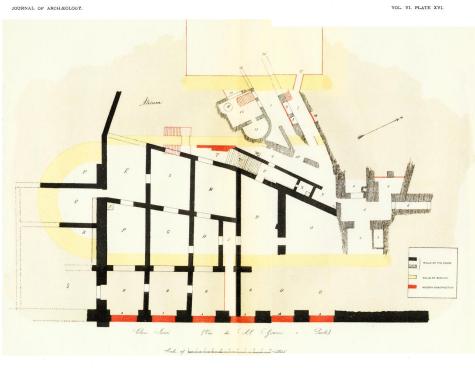


Figure 3.11 – The plan of the Republican *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli. Source: Colini 1966, tav. IV. See catalog entry V.21a.



HOUSE OF THE MARTYRS JOHN AND PAUL ON THE COELIAN.

Figure 3.12 – Plan of the *domus* under SS. Giovanni e Paolo. For source I referenced in the text see: Brenk 1995, fig. 3, based on Colini 1944. See catalog entry II.01. Image Source Below: JSTOR Early Journal Content. di S. Stanislao, Passionista Padre Germano. 1890. "The House of the Martyrs John and Paul Recently Discovered on the Coelian Hill at Rome." AJA. 261-285.

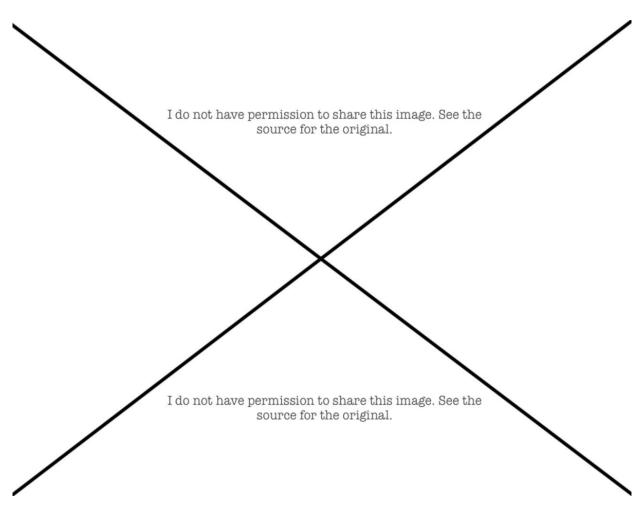


Figure 3.13 – Plan of the *domus* at the Fontana di Trevi. Source: Insalaco 2005, 13. See catalog entry VII.01.

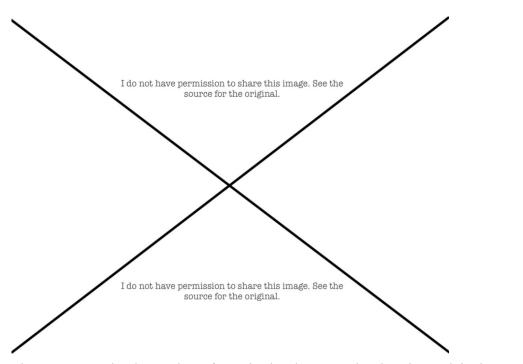


Figure 3.14 – The decoration of E19 in the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento. Source: Barbera and Paris 1996, fig. 8.

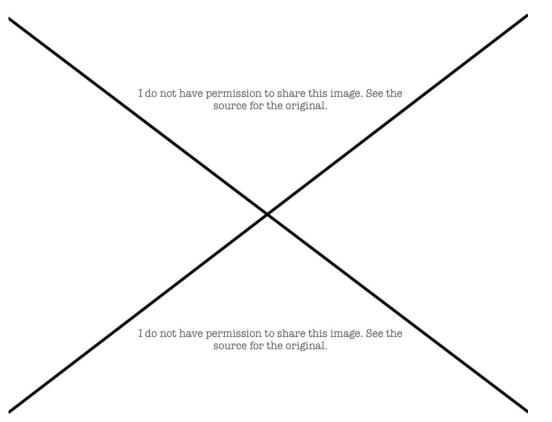


Figure 3.15 – The plans of the *domus* dei Ritratti and *domus* della Fontana. Source: Borgia et al. 2008, fig. 45. See catalog entries V.18 and V.19.

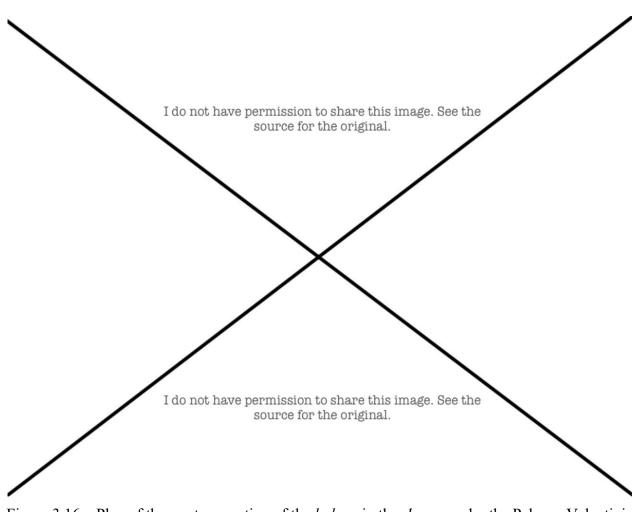


Figure 3.16 – Plan of the western portion of the *balnea* in the *domus* under the Palazzo Valentini. Source: Baldassarri 2009, fig.s 22-23.

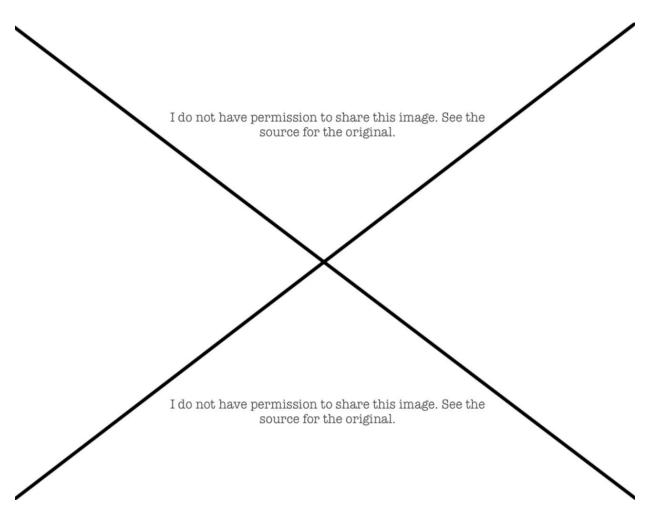


Figure 3.17 – The later period plan of the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho. Source: Andrews 2014, figure 14. See catalog entry V.06.



Figure 3.18 – Print from Graevius, *Thesavrvs antiqvitatvm Romanarvm, in quo continentur, lectissimi quique scriptores, qui superiori aut nostro seculo Romanae reipublicae rationem, disciplinam, leges, instituta, sacra, artesque togatas ac sagatas explicarunt & illustrarunt, Volume 3.* Associated with page 1799-1800. Image Source: https://books.google.com/books?id=3xxjAAAAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed 2018/11/09) Public Domain.

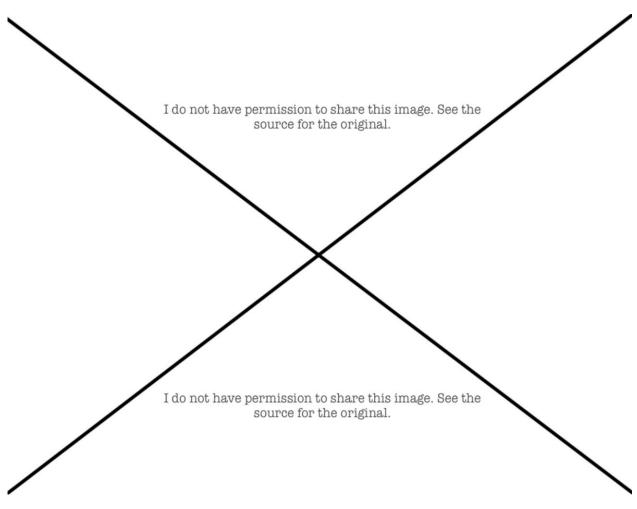


Figure 3.19 – The *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla. Source: Parker Photograph 611, British School at Rome.

Chapter 4 – Figures:

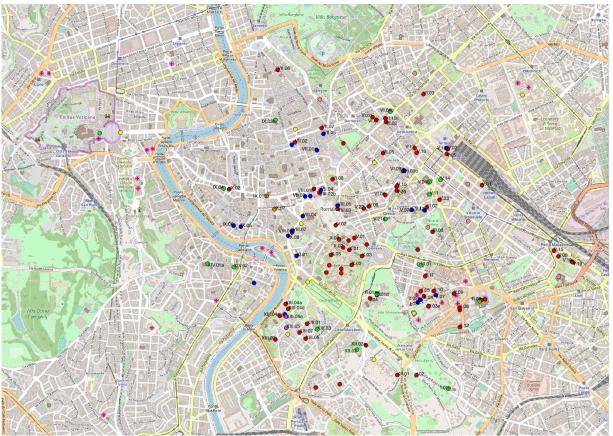


Figure 4.1 – Map of all 119 domūs and insulae, showing only one phase for each building, which I created in QGIS mapping software with a background layer from OpenStreetMap. Key: red – domus, blue – insula, orange – public building, green – Christian building, yellow – mithraeum, pink – temple, turquoise – bath building, light red – horti, light blue – horrea.

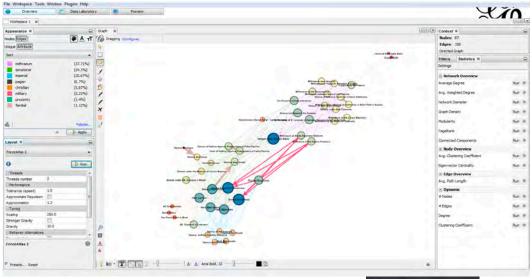


Figure 4.2 – Figure of Gephi. Source: https://gephi.org/

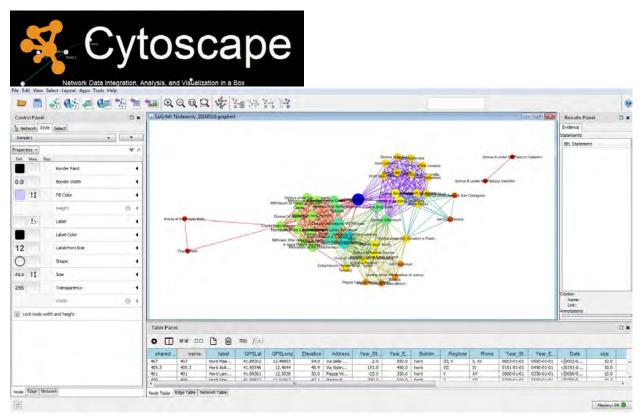


Figure 4.3 – Figure of Cytoscape: Source: http://www.cytoscape.org/

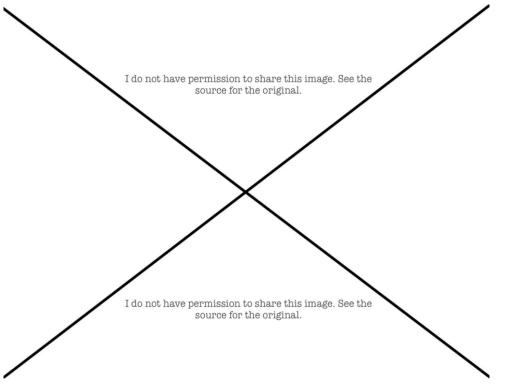


Figure 4.4 – Sociogram. Source: Moreno and Jennings 1934, Map III.

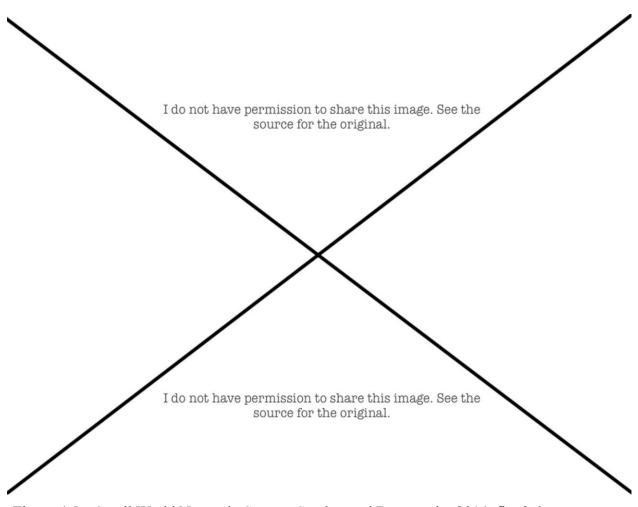
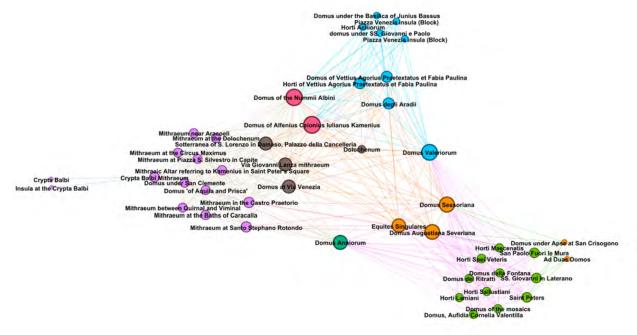
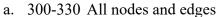
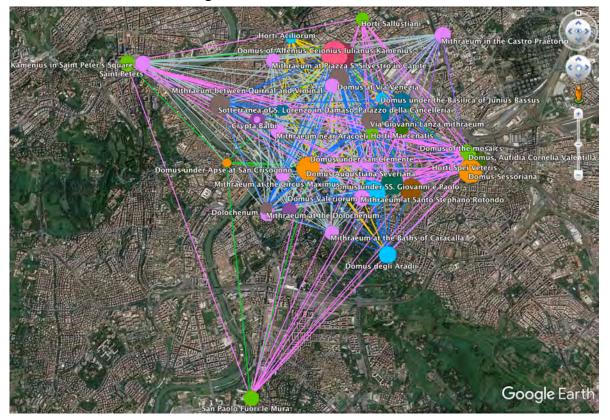


Figure 4.5 – Small World Network. Source: Stocker and Bossomaier 2014, fig. 2.6

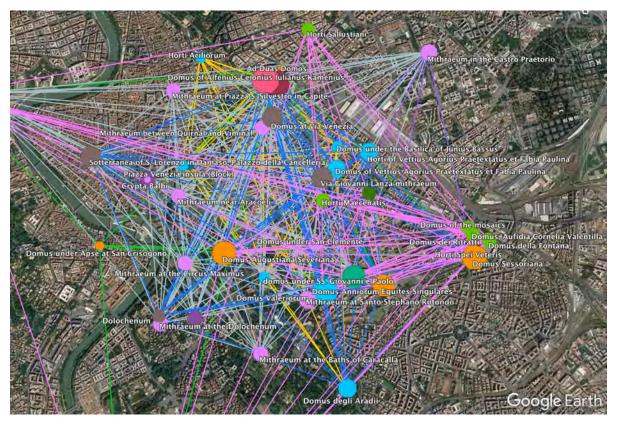
Figure 4.6 – Modularity – Gephi – The colors in the following graphs indicate clusters of interaction as determined by Gephi, but are not labelled as particular groups. No key is needed. Colored by cluster (module) and sized by degree.



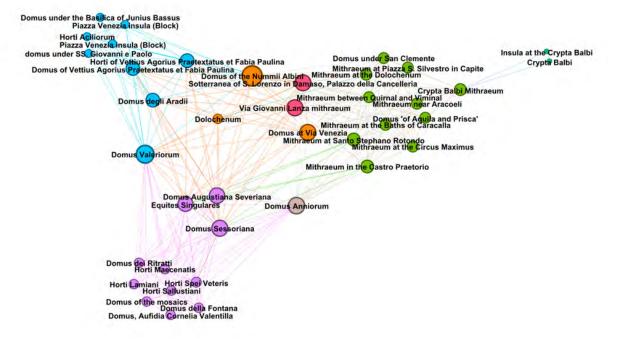




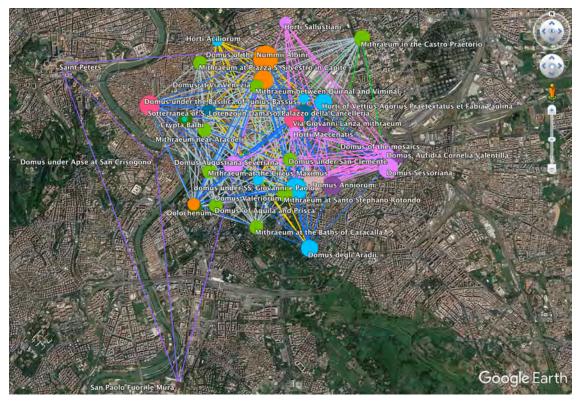
b. 300-330 GoogleEarth Map. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus.



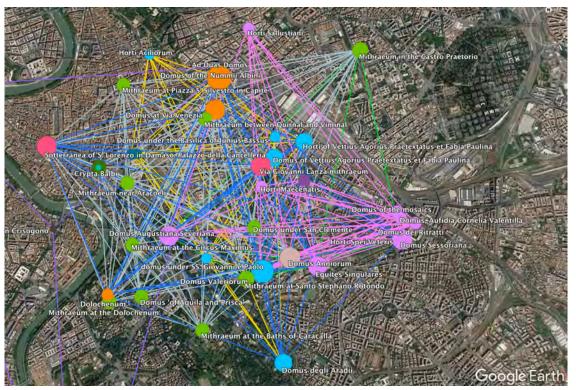
c. 300-330 Map detail. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus.



d. 300-312 Force Atlas 2



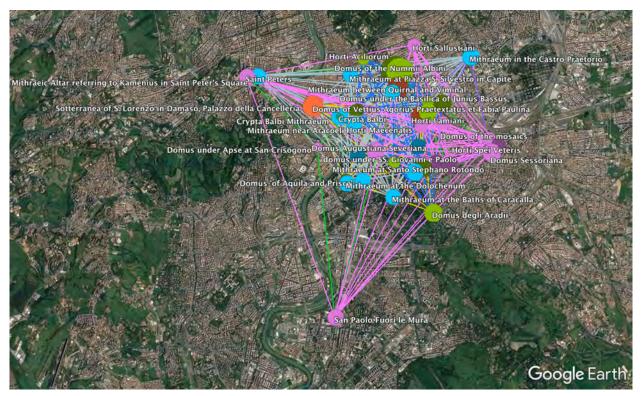
e. 300-312 GoogleEarth Map. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/ Copernicus.



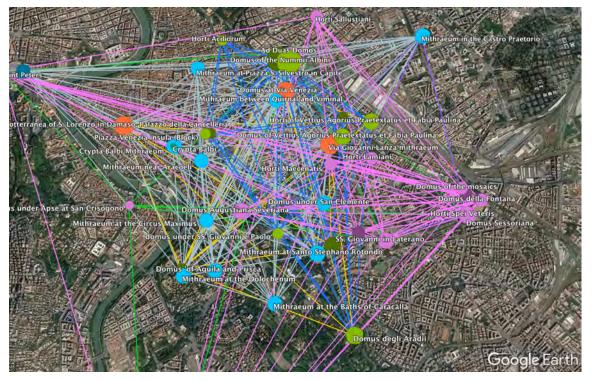
f. 300-312 Map, detail. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus.



g. 324-330 Force Atlas 2

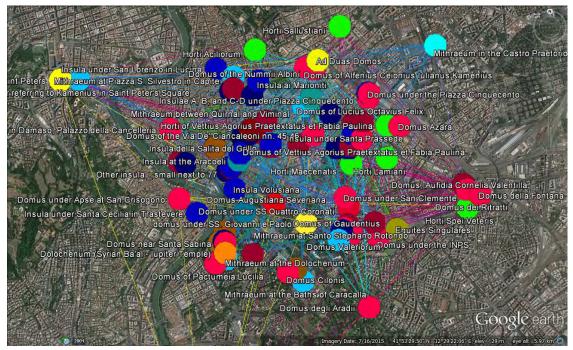


h. 324-330 GoogleEarth Map. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/ Copernicus

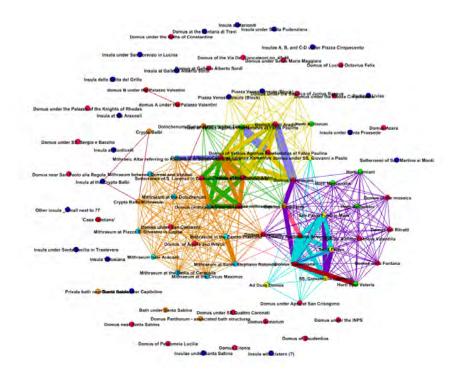


i. 324-330 CE Map, detail. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus.

Figure 4.7 – Buildings colored by building type. Key: red – *domus*, blue – *insula*, orange – public building, green – *horti*, yellow – Christian building, turquoise – *mithraeum*.



a. Map 300-330 CE, buildings colored by building type. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus



b. Fruchterman Reingold graph with buildings colored by type.

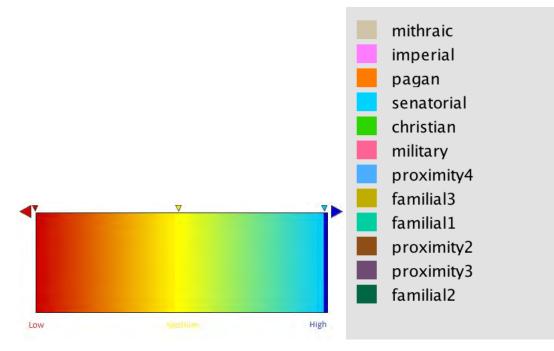
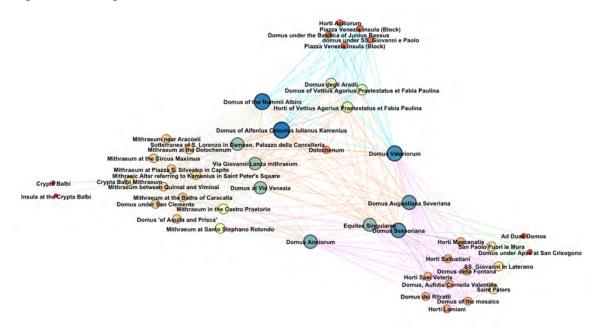
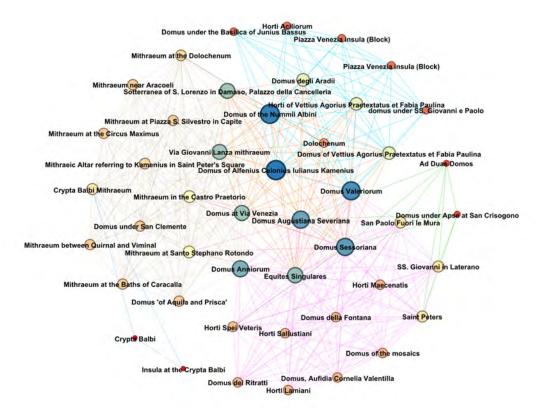


Figure 4.8 – Color Scale and Edge Type Key for following graphs.

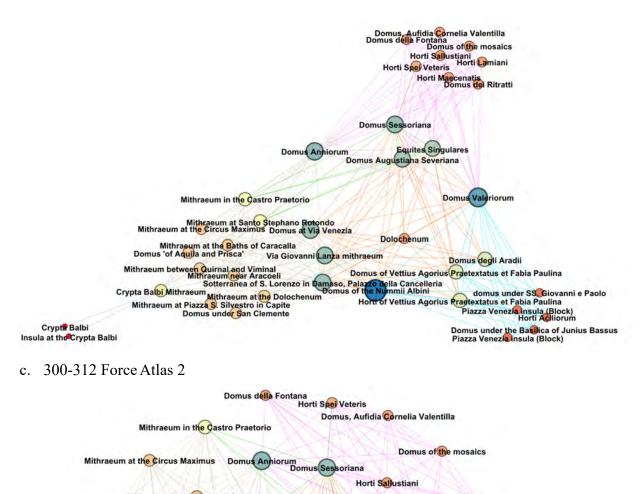
## Figure 4.9 – Degree



a. 300-330 Force Altas 2



b. 300-330 Fruchterman Reingold



Mithraeum at the Baths of Caracalla Horti Lamiani

Domus 'of Aquila and Prisca' Mithraeum at Santo Stephano Rotondo Domus Augustiana Severiana Horti Maecenatis

Mithraeum between Quirnal and Viminal

Via Giovanni Lanza mithraeum Mithraeum near Aracoeli Domus at Via Venezia Domus valeriorum

Mithraeum at the Dolochenum Sotterranea of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria Dolochenum Mithraeum at Piazza S. Silvestro in Capite Domus of the Nummii Albini Domus of the Nummii Albini

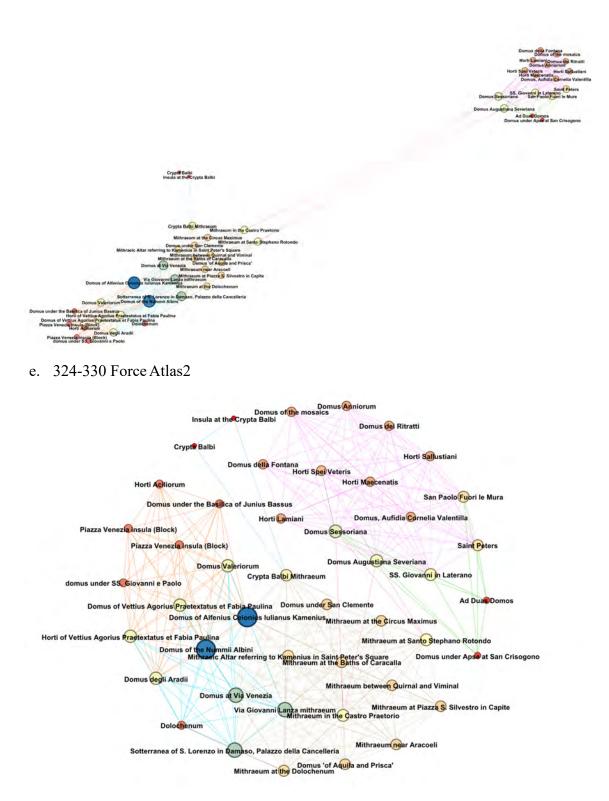
Crypta Balbi Mithraeum Domus under San Clemente Horti of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina Domus of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina Crypta Balbi

Insula at the Crypta Balbi San Paolo Rtori le Mura Piazza Venezia Insula (Block) Domus under Apse at San Crisogono

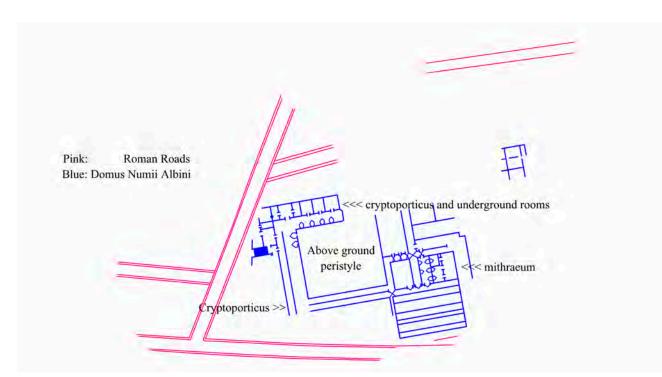
Domus under the Basilica of Junius Bassus

Saint@eters Ad Dua®Domos

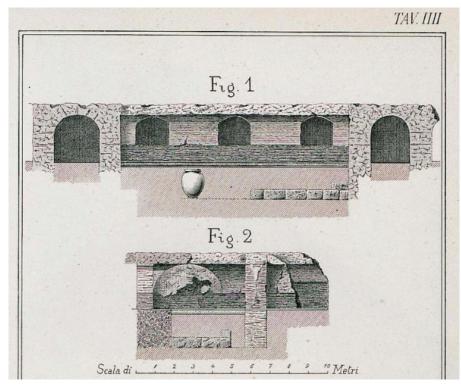
d. 300-312 Fruchterman Reingold



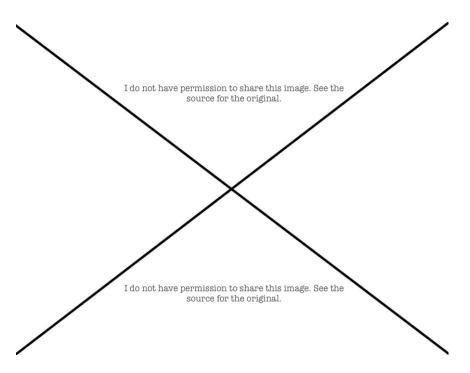
f. 324-330 Fruchterman Reingold



 g. Domus Nummii Albini Combined plan. Source: J. Mundy, combined from 3 excavation plans: Capannari 1885, 1886, Lanciani 1901.

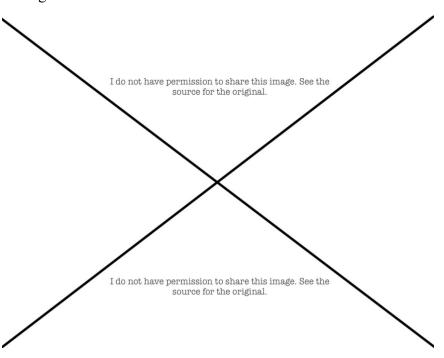


h. *Domus Nummii Albini – mithraeum*. Source: Capannari 1886, Tav. IV. Image Source: Universitats-Bibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bcom1886 (accessed 11/09/2018). CC-BY-SA 3.0

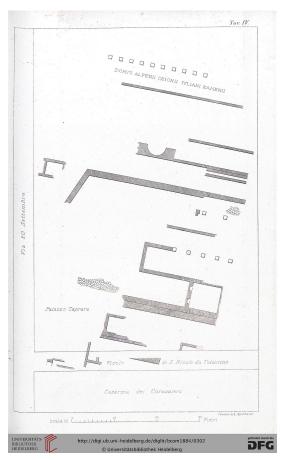


i. Domus Valeriorum excavation plan. Source: Barbera, Palladino, and Paterna 2008,

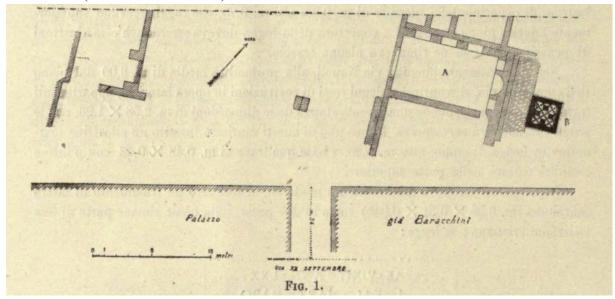




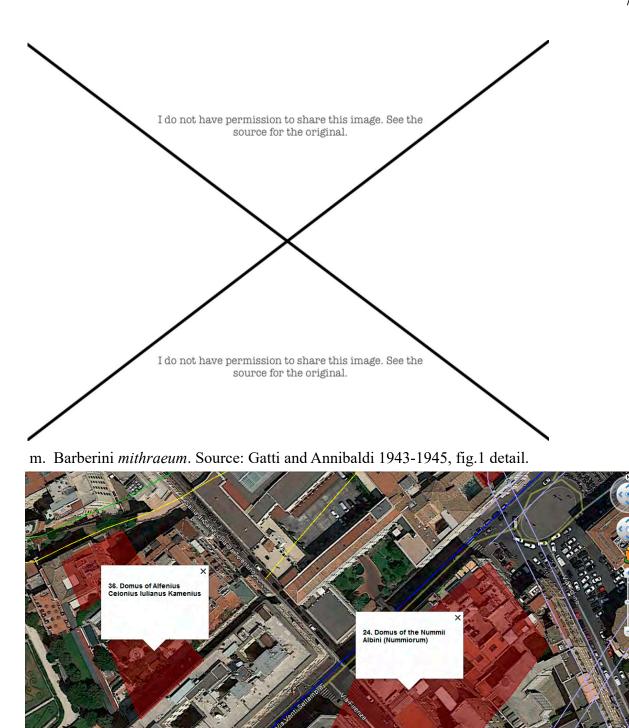
j. Domus Valeriorum Family Line. Source: Hillner 2003, 142.



k. The *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius*. Source: Lanciani 1884, pl. IV. Image Source: Universitats-Bibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bcom1886 (accessed 11/09/2018). CC-BY-SA 3.0



1. The *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* plan part 2. Source: Gatti 1920, fig. 1. Image Source: Image from https://archive.org/details/ notiziedegliscav17realrich/page/278 (accessed 11/09/2018). Public Domain.

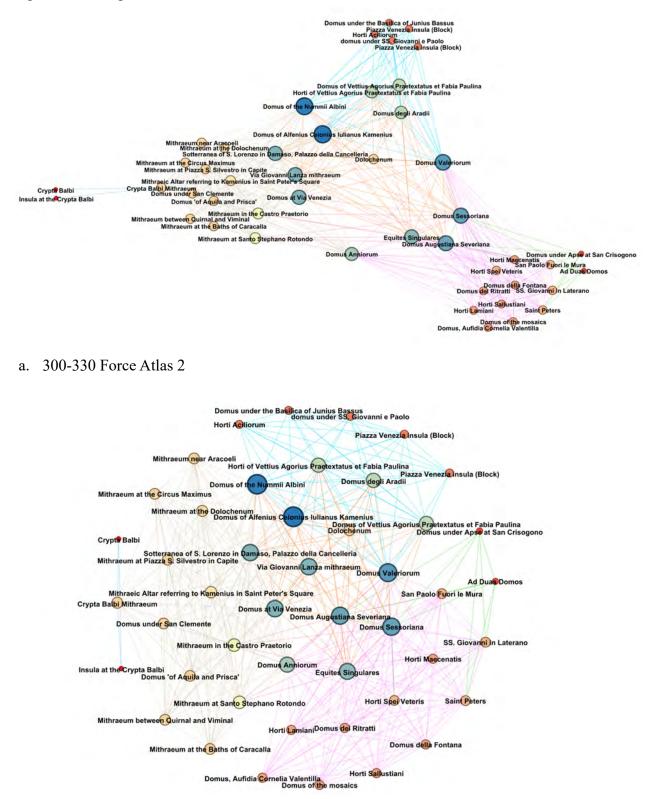


n. Positions of the *domus* of *Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius* and the *Domus Nummii Albini*. Source: Google Earth Map Image, Outlines by J. Mundy.

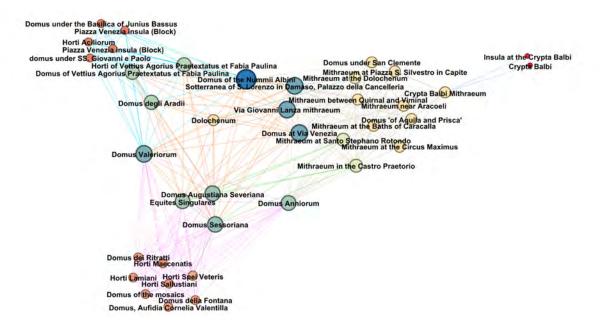
no

le ear

### Figure 4.10 – Eigenvector



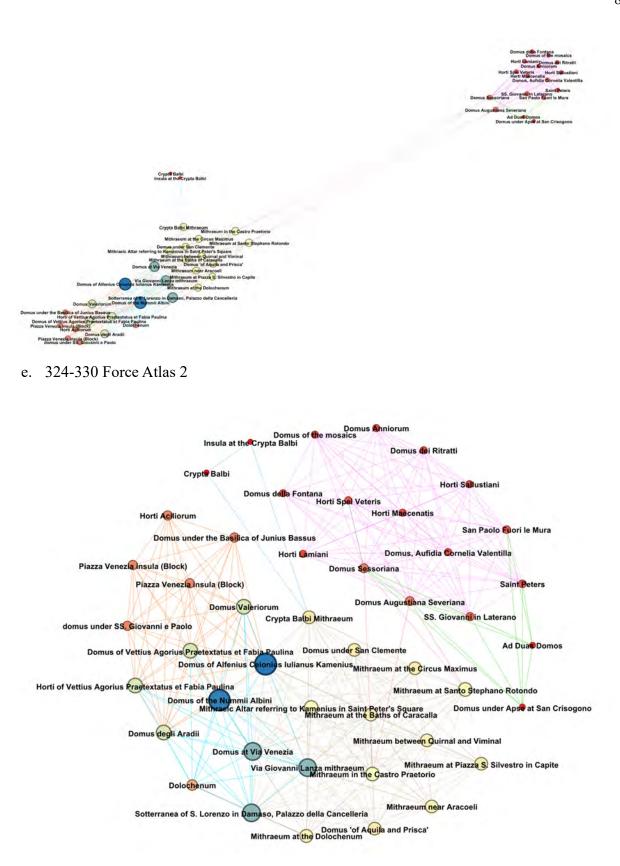
b. 300-330 Fruchterman Reingold



c. 300-312 Force Atlas 2

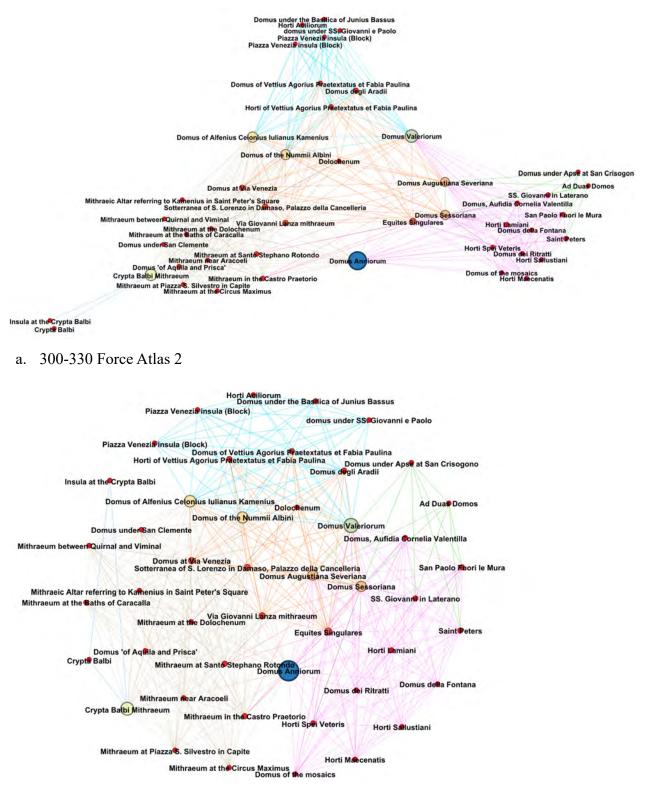
Pia	azza Venezia nsula (Block) Domus under San Clemente
Domus under the Basili	ca of Junius Bassus Mithraeum at Piazza S Silvestro in Capite
Piazza Venez <mark>ia I</mark> nsula (Block)	Insula at the Crypta Balbi
Sotterranea of A Horti of Vettius Agorius Pr Horti Aciliorum	Miltiraeum between Quirnal and Viminal 5. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria aetextatus et Pabla Paulina
	Mithraeum at the Dolochenum Crypta Balbi Mithraeum
Domus degli Aradii Dom	mus of the Nummii Albini
domus under SS. Giovanni e Paolo	
Deloct	Mithraeum at Sano Stephano Rotondo Crypta Balbi
Domus of Vettius Agorius Protestatus et Fa	bia Paulina Domus at Via Venezia
Saint Peters	Mithraeum in the Oastro Praetorio Domus 'of Aquila and Prisca'
San Paolo Ruori le Mura	
	Domus Sessoriana Domus Anhiorum Equites Singulares
Domus 🍻 R	itratti
	Horti See Veteris Domus della Fontana Horti Maecenatis
Domus under Apse at San Crisogon	0
Horti 🕻	miani Domus, Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla
	Horti Salustiani Domus of the mosaics

d. 300-312 Fruchterman Reingold

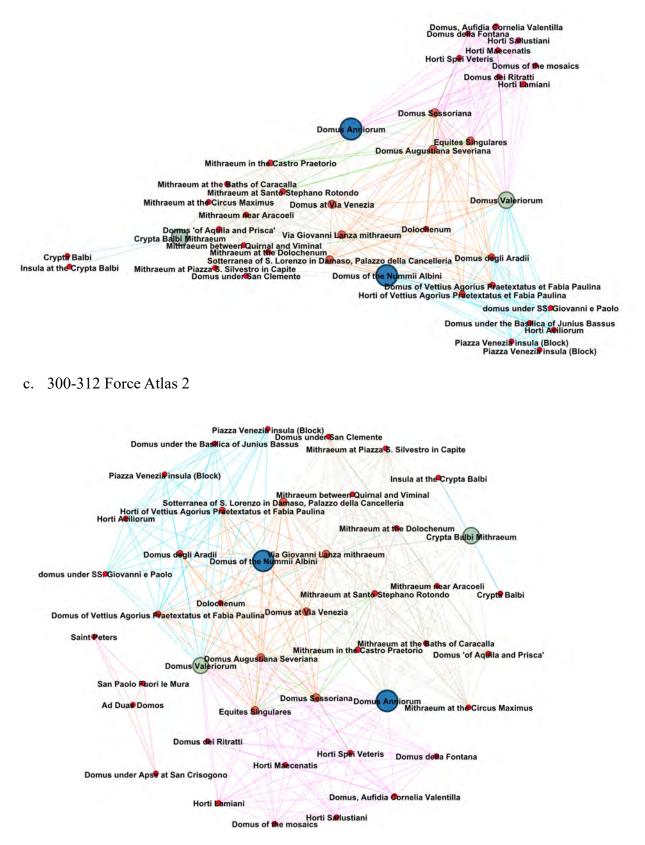


f. 324-330 Fruchterman Reingold

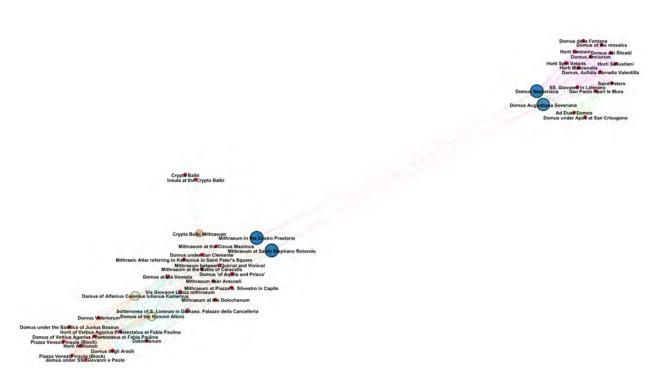
### Figure 4.11 – Betweenness



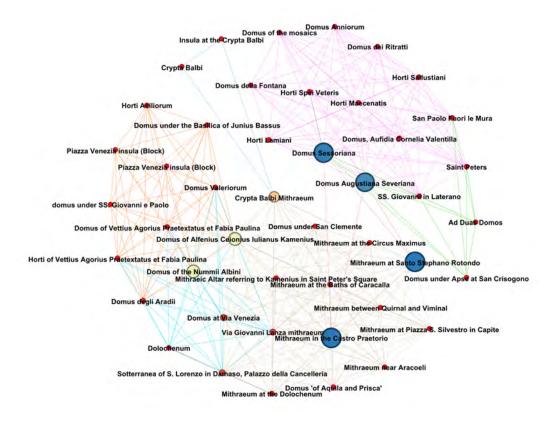
b. 300-330 Fruchterman Reingold



d. 300-312 Fruchterman Reingold

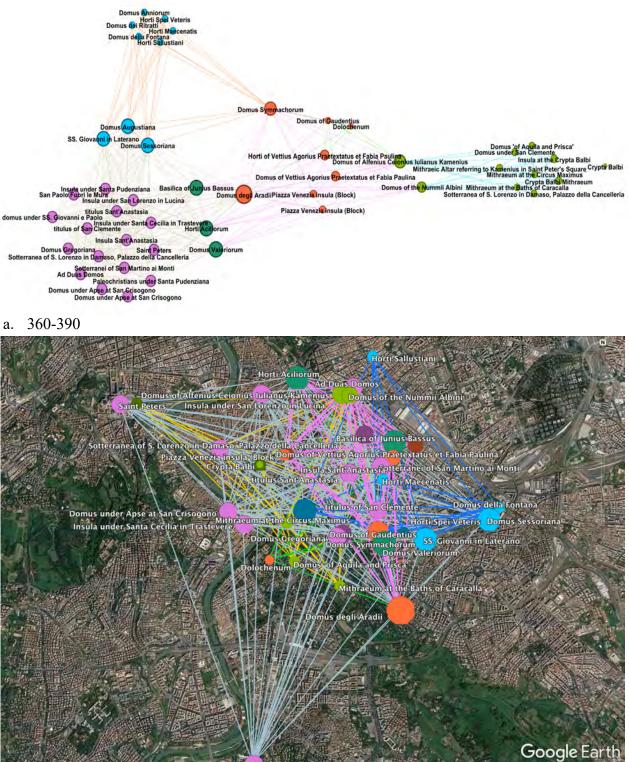


e. 324-330 Force Atlas 2



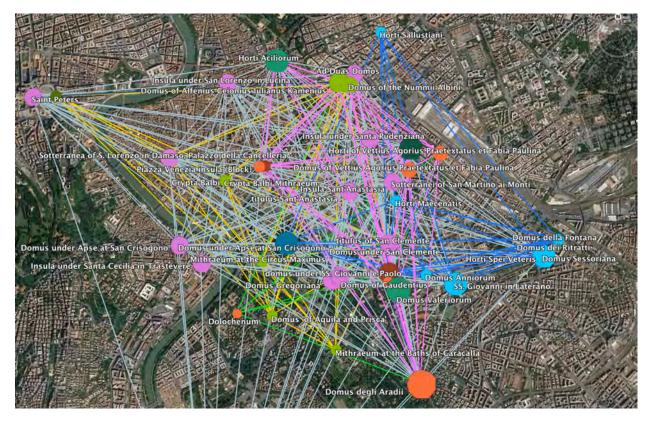
f. 324-330 Fruchterman Reingold

Figure 4.12 - Modularity - Gephi - The colors in the following graphs indicate clusters of interaction as determined by Gephi, but are not labelled as particular groups. Thus there is no color key. Colored by cluster (module) and sized by degree.

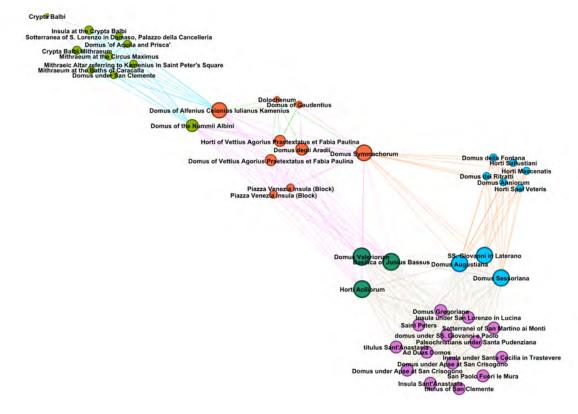


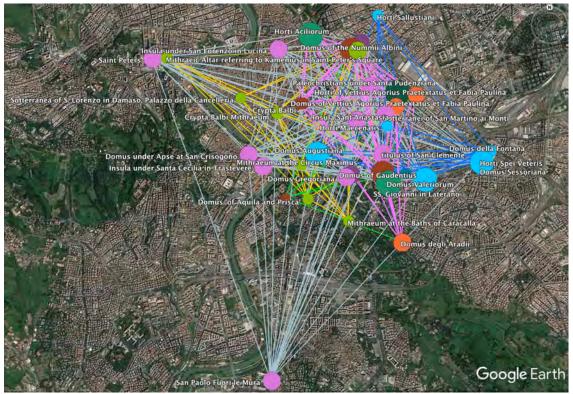
b. 360-390 GoogleEarth map Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus

olo Fuori le Mura

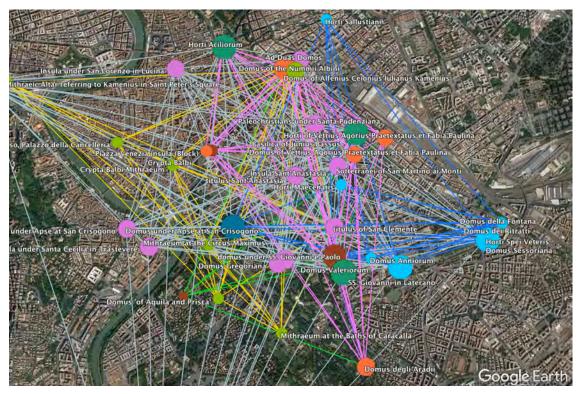


c. 360-390 map, Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus, detail view.

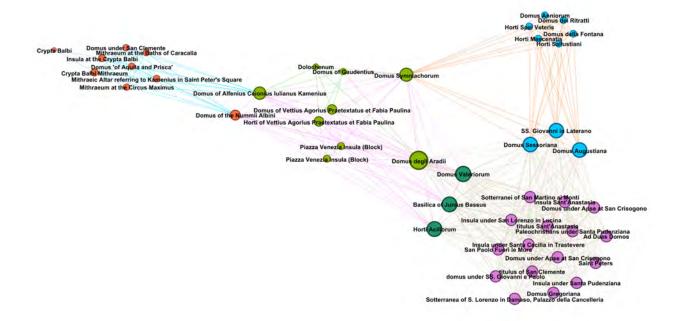




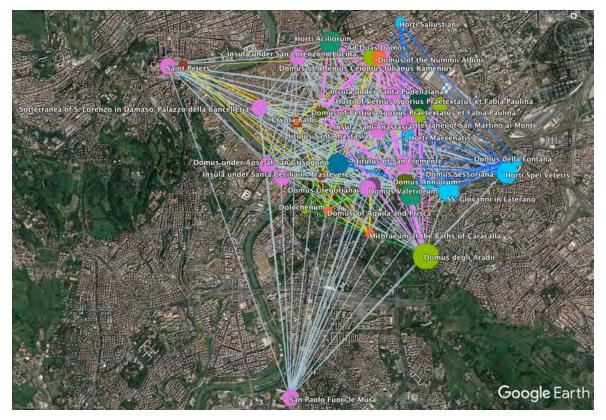
e. 360-376 GoogleEarth map. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/ Copernicus



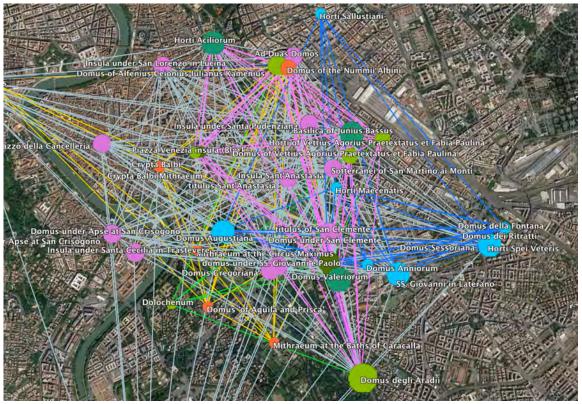
f. 360-376 GoogleEarth map detail. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus



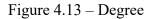
g. 383-390

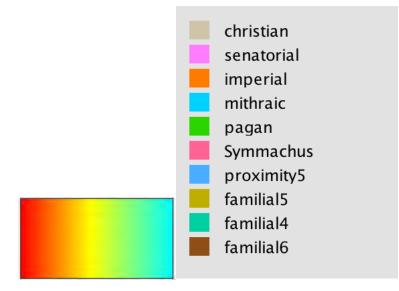


h. 383-390 GoogeEarth map. Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/ Copernicus

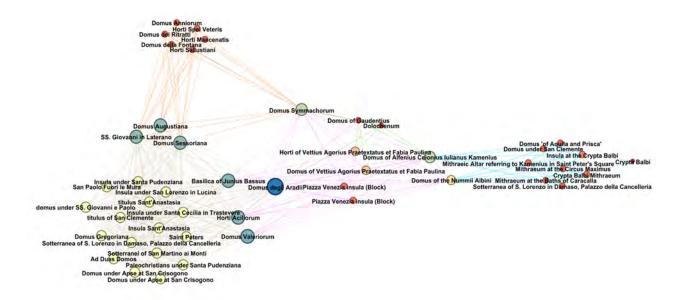


i. 383-390 map, Source: Network by author, Image Google, Landsat/Copernicus, detail view.

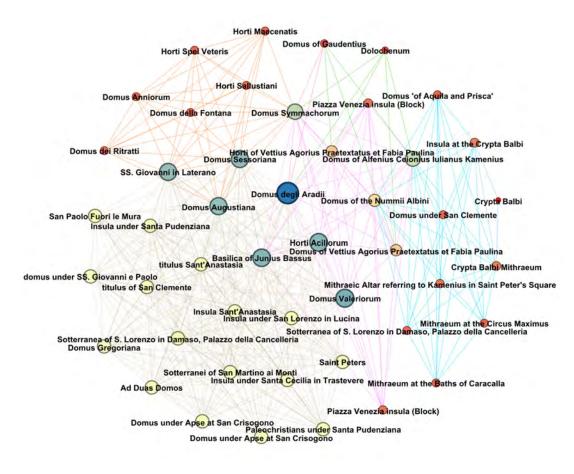




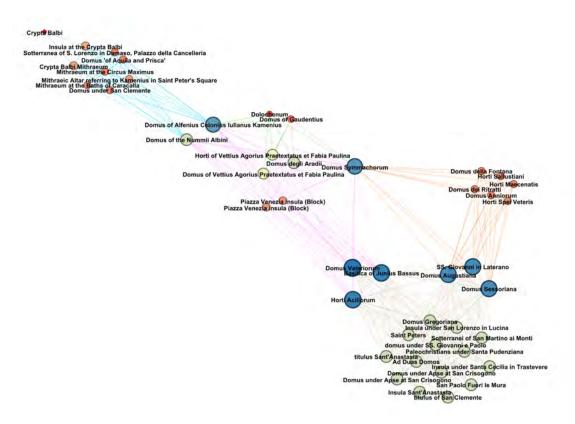
a. Color Scale and Edge Type Key for following graphs:



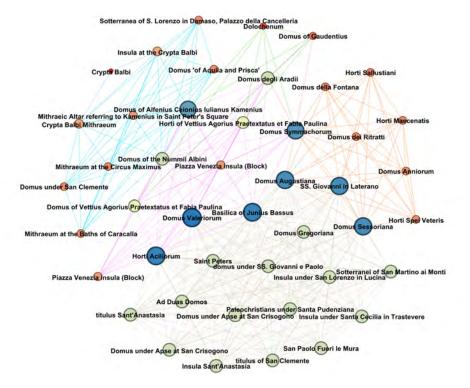
b. 360-390 Force Atlas 2



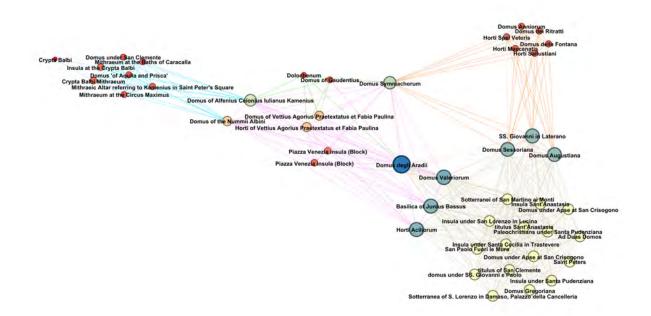
c. 360-390 Fruchterman Reingold



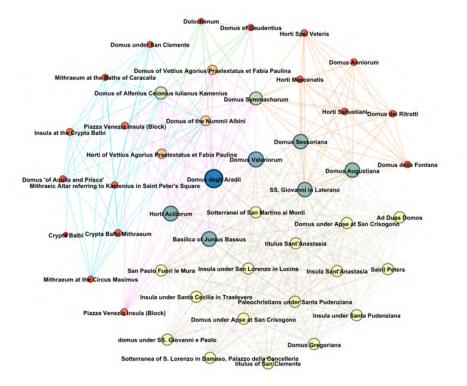
d. 360-376 Force Atlas 2



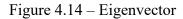
e. 360-376 Fruchterman Reingold

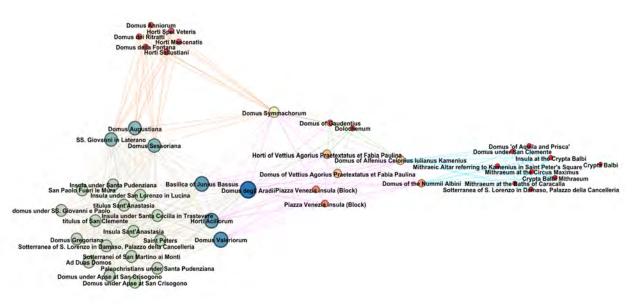


f. 383-390 Force Atlas 2

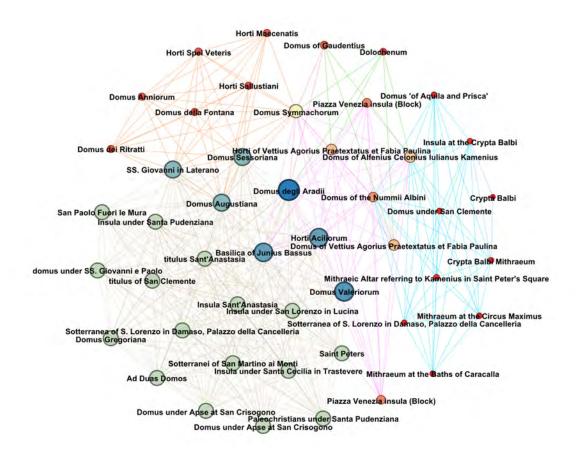


g. 383-390 Fruchterman Reingold

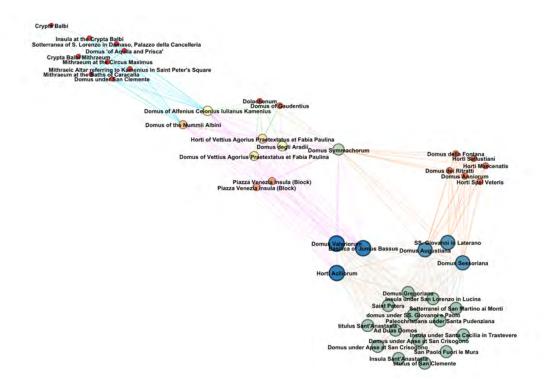




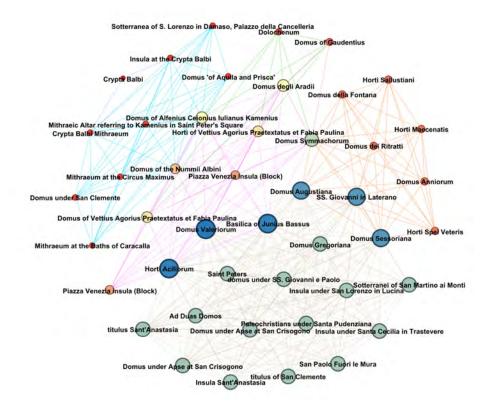
a. 360-390 Force Atlas 2



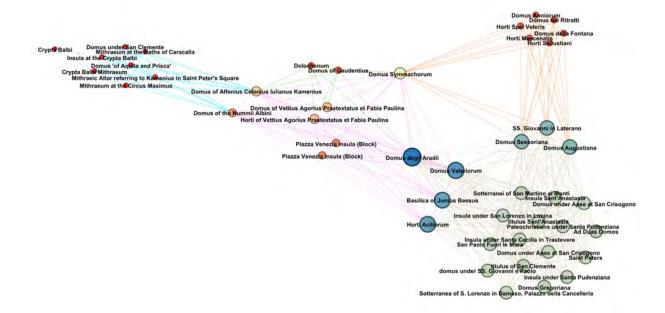
b. 360-390 Fruchterman Reingold



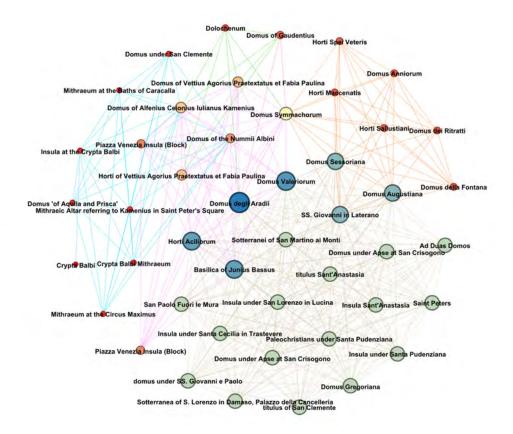
c. 360-376 Force Atlas 2



d. 360-376 Fruchterman Reingold

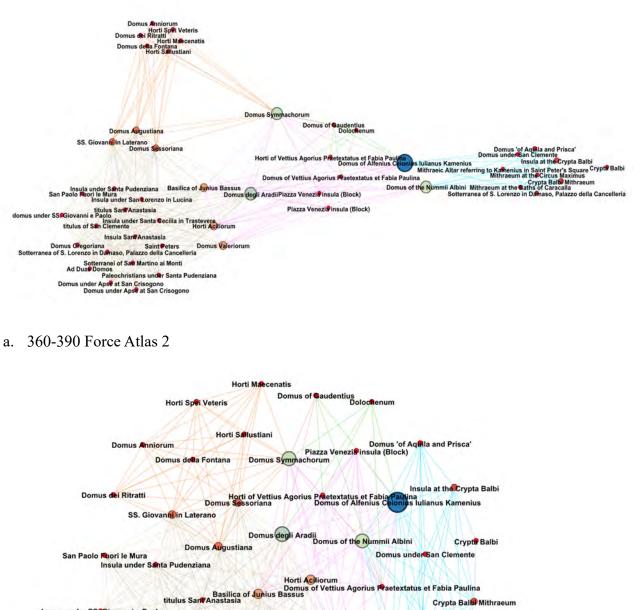


e. 383-390 Force Atlas 2



f. 383-390 Fruchterman Reingold

### Figure 4.15 – Betweenness



Crypta Bal Mithraeum domus under SS Giovanni e Paolo Mithraeic Altar referring to Kamenius in Saint Peter's Square titulus of San Clemente

Domus Valeriorum Insula San#Anastasia Insula under San&orenzo in Lucina

Sotterranea of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria Domus Gregoriana Mithraeum at the Circus Maximus

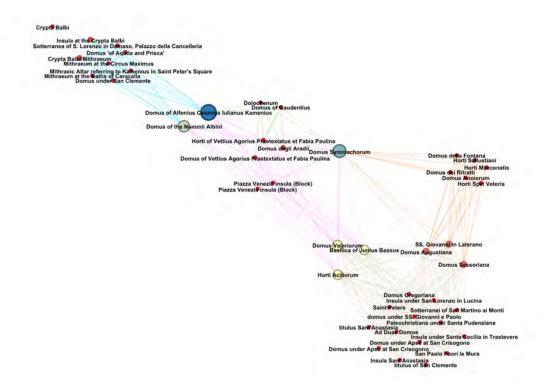
Saint Peters

Sotterranei of San Martino al Monti Insula under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere Mithraeum at the Caths of Caracalla Ad Duas Domos

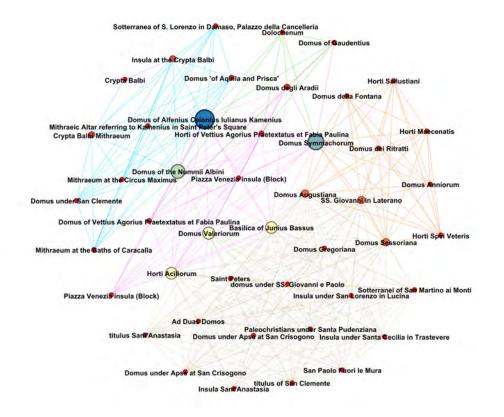
Piazza Venezia insula (Block)

Domus under Apse at San Crisogono Paleochristians under Santa Pudenziana Domus under Apse at San Crisogono

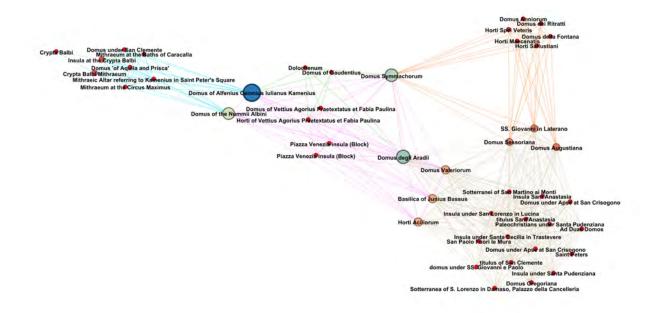
b. 360-390 Fruchterman Reingold



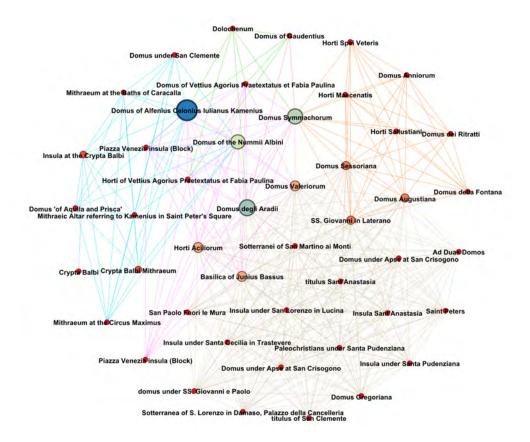
c. 360-376 Force Atlas 2



d. 360-376 Fruchterman Reingold



e. 383-390 Force Atlas 2



f. 383-390 Fruchterman Reingold

### Chapter 5 – Figures:

Key: dark blue: 350-31 BCE; blue 31-1 BCE; turquoise 1-63 CE; green 64-99 CE; yellow-green 100-149 CE; yellow 150-199 CE; orange 200-311 CE; red 312-351 CE; pink 366- CE.

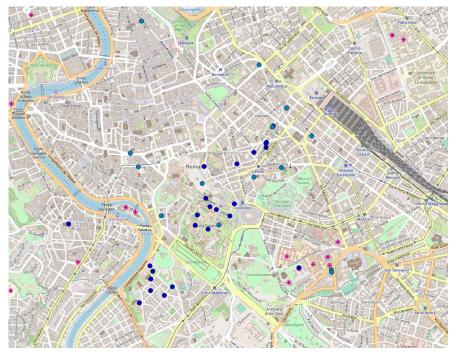


Figure 5.1 - Map of residences in 1CE. Tile source: OpenStreetMap, map by author, CC-BY-SA.

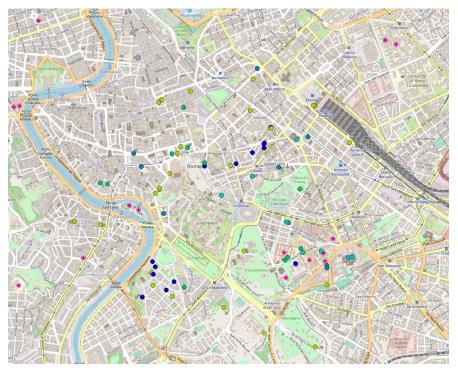


Figure 5.2 - Map of residences in 138 CE. Tile source: OpenStreetMap, map by author, CC-BY-SA.

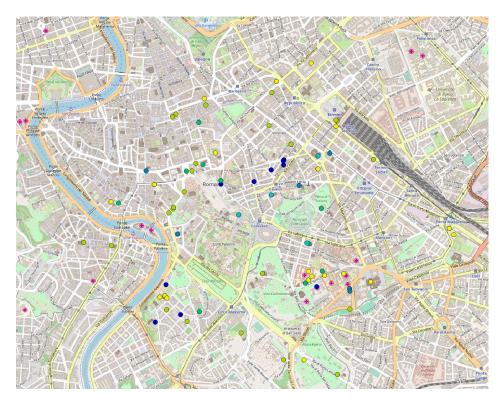


Figure 5.3 - Map of the residences in 199 CE. Tile source: OpenStreetMap, map by author, CC-BY-SA.

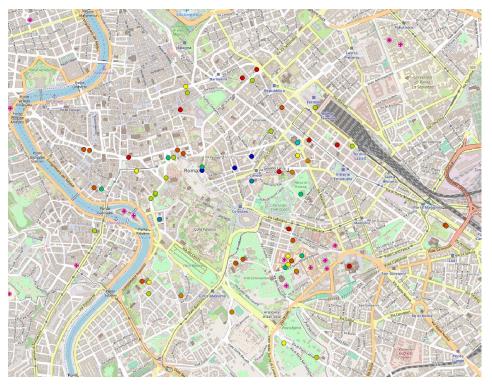
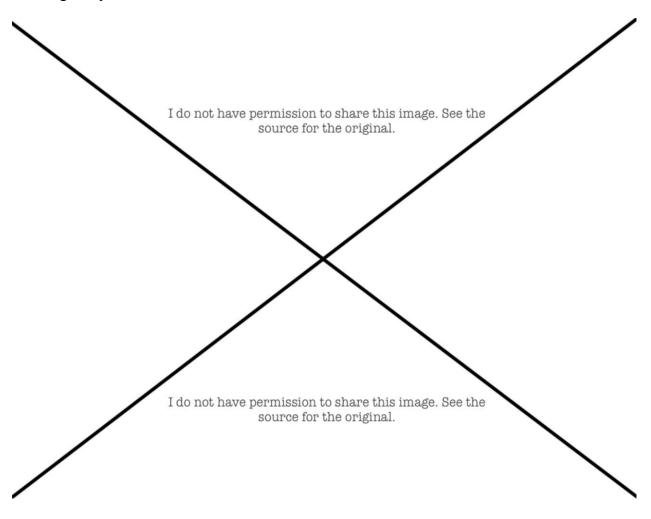


Figure 5.4 - Map of the residences in 351 CE. Tile source: OpenStreetMap, map by author, CC-BY-SA.

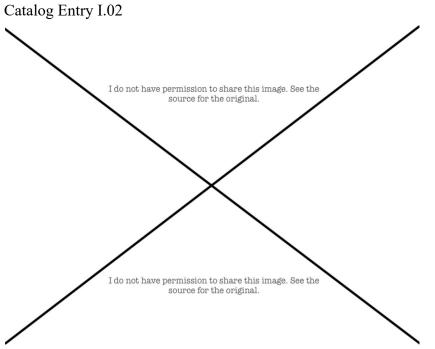
## **Catalog Figures:**

Catalog Entry I.01



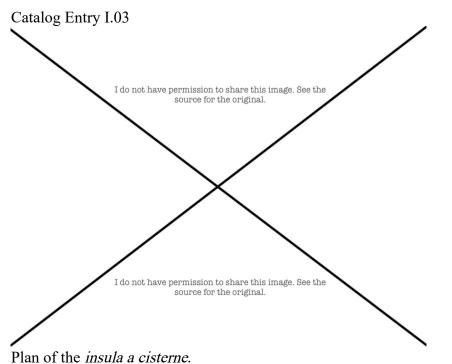
The plan of the *domus* degli Aradii.

Source: Candilio, Daniela, and Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. 2005. L'arredo scultoreo e decorativo della Domus degli Aradii, Monumenti antichi. Serie Miscellanea, Roma. Tav. XIX.

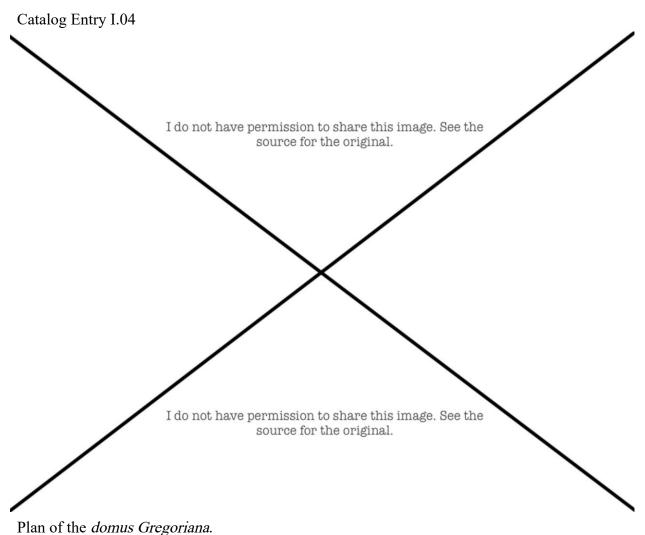


Plan of the *domus* under San Cesareo de Appia

Source: Insalaco, Antonio. 1984. "S. Cesareo de Appia e le terme Commodiane." *Bollettino della Unione Storia ed Arte,* no. 27.1984:82-90. fig. 2.

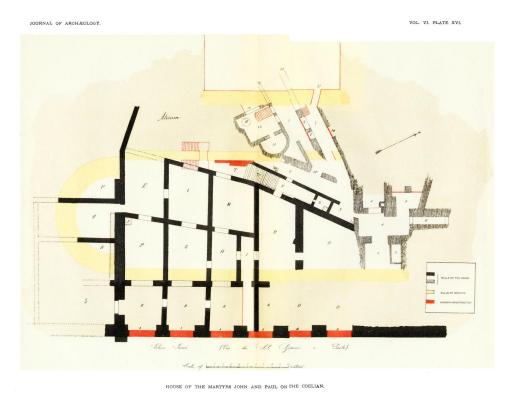


Source: Ferruci, F. 2013. "L'Insula del Saggio I, Settore Sud-Est Inquadramento Generale," in Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. *Gli Dèi Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000.* Roma: Quasar. 299-310. from page 300, fig. 2.



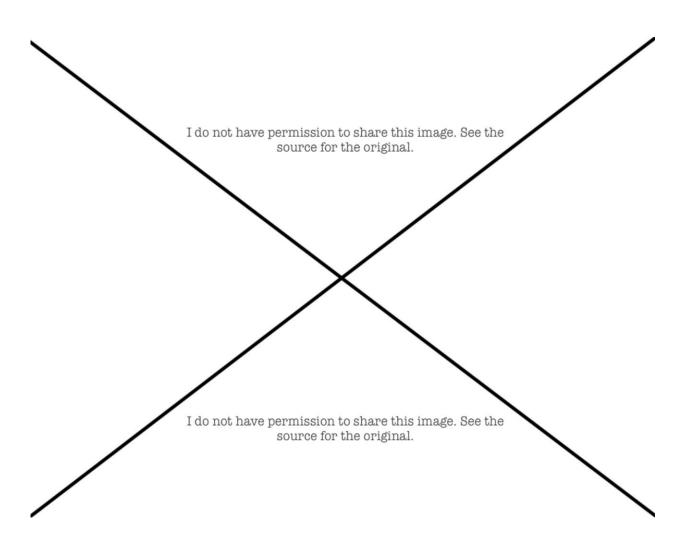
Source: Palazzo, Paola. 2003. "Le metamorfosi di un'insula. Il complesso della "Biblioteca di Agapito" sul Clivo di Scauro." In Caelius I, Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri, edited by Alia Englen and Franco Astolfi, 68-75. Roma: "Erma" di Bretschneider. fig. 1.

# Catalog Entry II.01



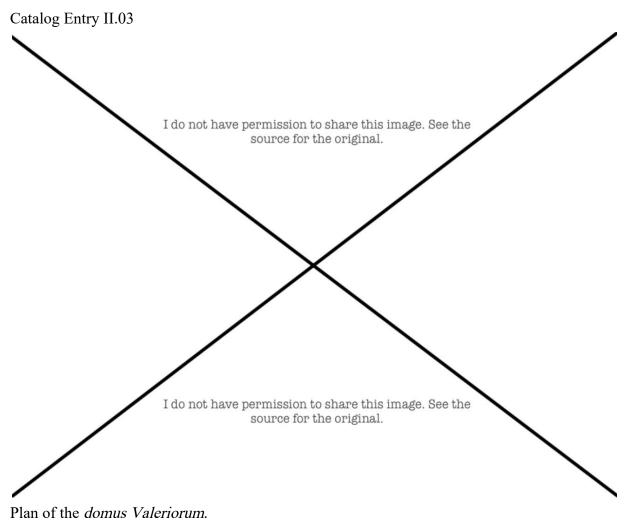
Plan of the different phases of houses under SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Source referenced in the text: Brenk, Beat. 1995. "Microstoria sotto la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: la cristianizzazione di una casa privata," Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte 18, 169-205. fig. 3.

Image Source Above: JSTOR Early Journal Content. di S. Stanislao, Passionista Padre Germano. 1890. "The House of the Martyrs John and Paul Recently Discovered on the Coelian Hill at Rome." AJA. 261-285. Public Domain.



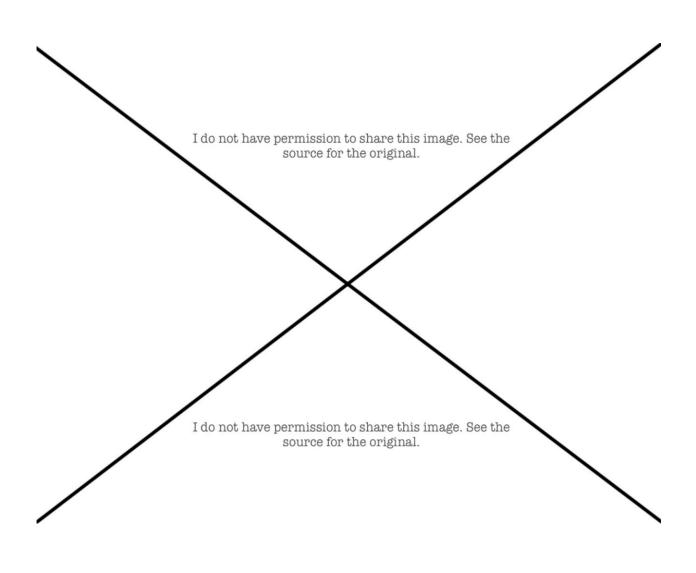
Plan of the domus Gaudentius.

Source: Spinola, Giandomenico. 1992. "Il Dominus Gaudentius e l'Antinoo Casali : alcuni aspetti della fine del paganesimo da una piccola domus sul Celio ?," Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite, 953-979. fig. 2.

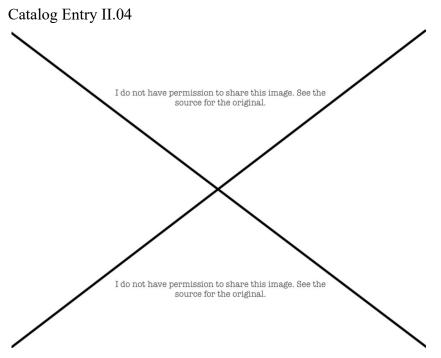


Source: Palladino, Sergio, and L. Bottiglieri. 2015. "Ricostruzione e restituzione tridimensionale del corridoio e del viridarium della domus dei Valerii sul Celio, dagli scavi nell'Ospedale dell'Addolorata." FOLD&R Archaeological Conservation 1: 1-21. fig. 2.

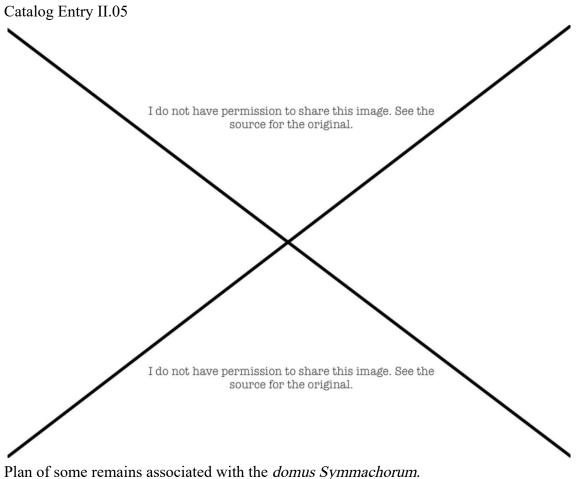
Catalog Entry II.04



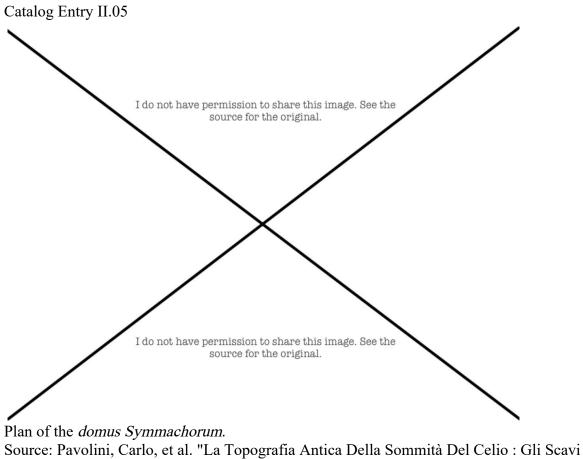
Plan of the area including the remains of the *domus Annorum* in the area of G. Source: Carignani, Andrea. 1993. "Cent'anni dopo. Antiche scoperte e nuove interpretazioni dagli scavi all'Ospedale militare del Celio," Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite, 709-746. from page 712.



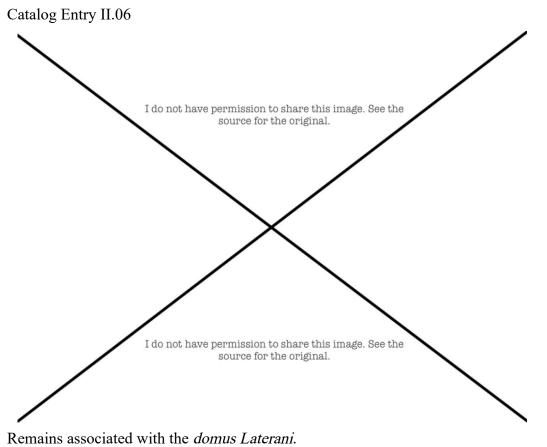
Detail of the thermal remains associated with the *domus Annorum*. Source: Colini, Antonio Maria, and Italo Gismondi. 1944. Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichita, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Serie 3, Memorie. Tav. XVI.



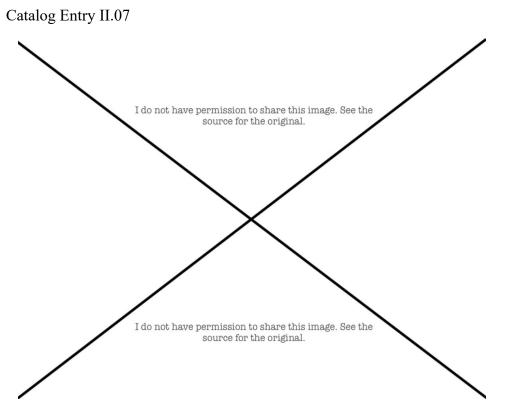
Source: Palazzo, Paola, and Carlo Pavolini. 2013. "Le trincee sui lati del Padiglione 18 (scavo 1998)." in Gli Dei Propizi: La Basilica Hilariana nel contesto dello scavo dell'Ospedale Militare Celio (1987-2000). Edizione Quasar: 325-369. figs. 1-2.



Nell'ospedale Militare (1987 - 1992)." Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung. (1993): 443-505. figs. 16-17.

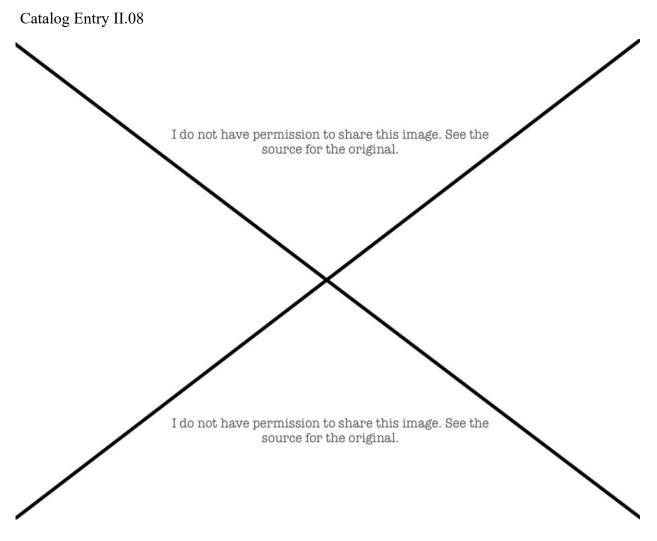


Source: Liverani, Paolo. 1988. "Le proprieta private nell'area lateranense fino all'eta di Costantino," Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite, 891-915. fig. 1



The plan of the domus M. Maximii.

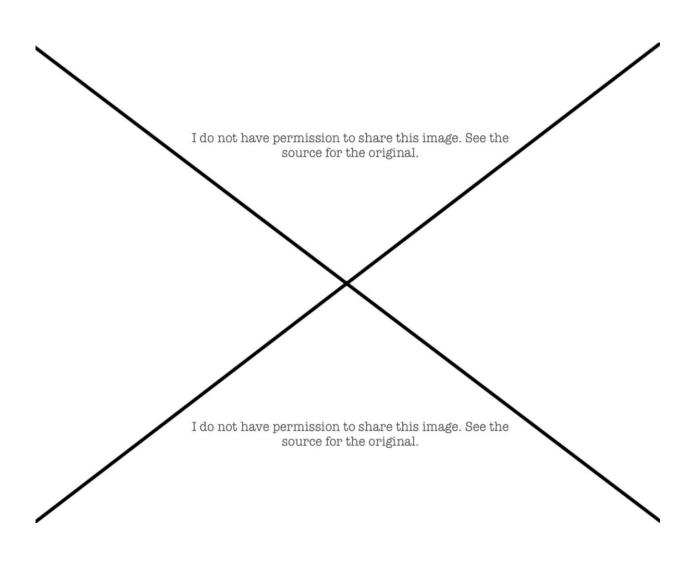
Source: Pavolini, Carlo. 1994. "Nuovi contributi alla topografia del Celio da rinvenimenti casuali di scavo," Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma, 71-94. fig. 8.



Plan of the *domus* under the INPS.

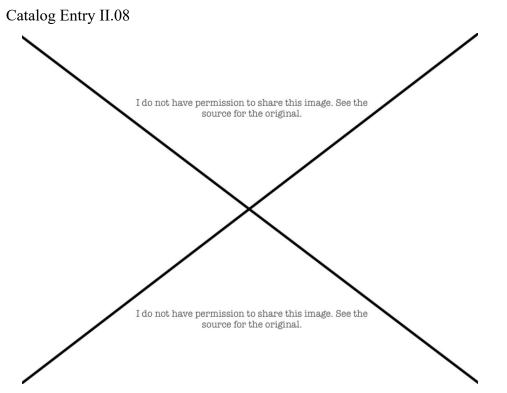
Source: Sapelli, M. 2005. "Domus romane sotto la sede I.N.P.S. sul Laterano (Roma)." In Domus romane: dallo scavo alla valorizzazione, edited by Francesca Morandini and Filli Rossi, 257-267. Milano. fig. 1, from Liverani 1999.

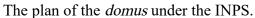
Catalog Entry II.08



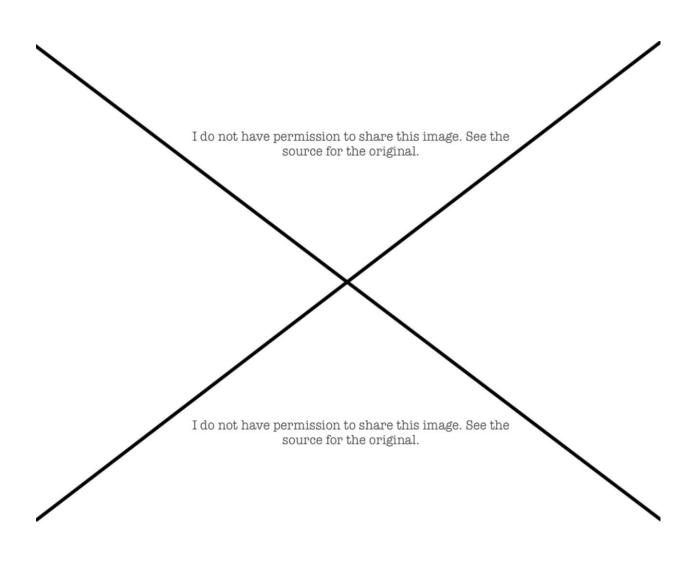
Plan of the *domus* under the INPS.

Source: Scrinari, Vallea Santa Maria. 1997b. "Dalla residenza dei Laterani alla domus di Fausta," Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (6), 4-9. from page 6.

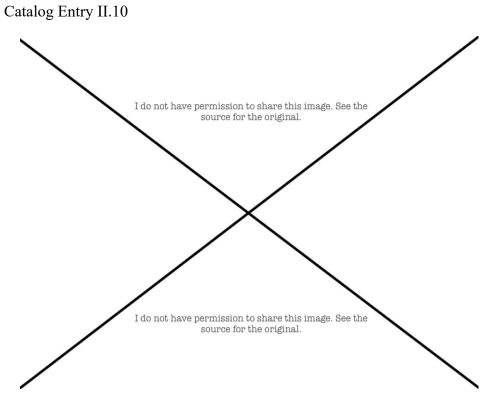




Source: McFadden, Susanna. 2013. "A Constantinian Image Program in Rome Rediscovered: The Late Antique Megalographia from the So-Called Domus Faustae". MAAR 58. 83-114. from page 84, fig. 1.

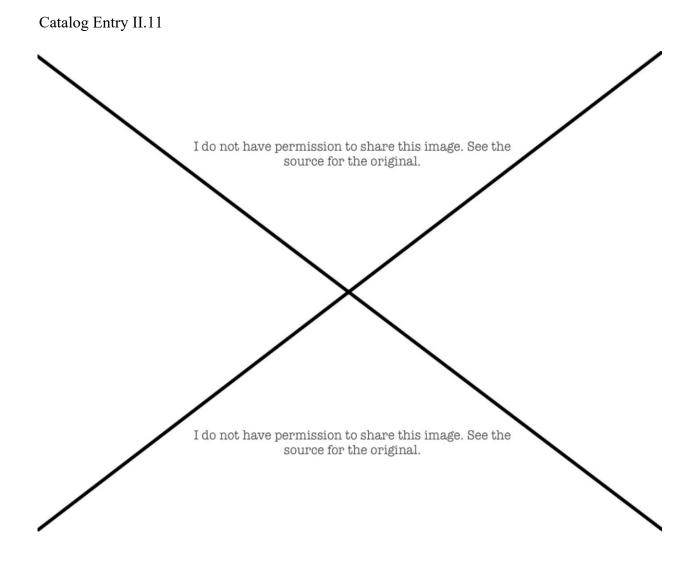


The plan includes the archaeological remains in the area of the Ospedale di S. Giovanni, and at number 6 are the remains identified as the *domus Anniorum*. Source: Martini, Cinzia. 2014. *Progetto Area Museale: Complesso Ospedaliero San Giovanni Addolorata di Roma* Roma: Viterbo Università degli studi della Tuscia. fig. 44, number 6.



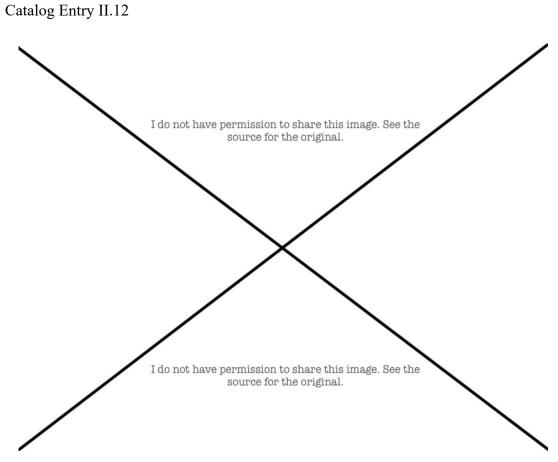
The plan of the remains of the domus L. Vagelli.

Source: Pavolini, Carlo. 2013. "Il Quartiere: I Nuovi Dati Archeologici." In Gli Dèi Propizi : La Basilica Hilariana Nel Contesto Dello Scavo Dell'ospedale Militare Celio, 1987-2000, edited by Paola Palazzo and Carlo Pavolini, 493-504. Roma: Quasar. from page 459, fig. 4.



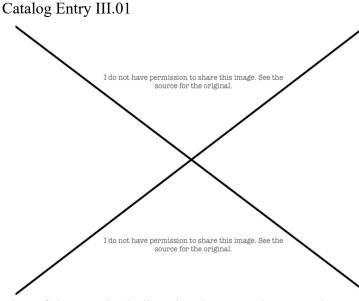
The plan of the *domus* under SS. Quattro Coronati.

Source: Barelli, Lia. 2006. La fontana del chiostro dei Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma: storia e restauri. 1. edizione. ed, I libri di Viella. Arte. from page 151, figs. 1-2.

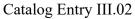


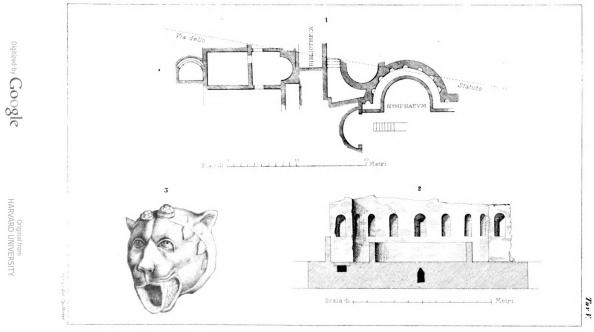
Aerial image of the *domus* of Amba Aradam station.

Source: Boccacci, Paolo. 2018. "Roma, scavi metro Amba Aradam: scoperta la domus del centurione. Forse era caserma servizi segreti imperatore." Repubblica. Roma. http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/03/02/news/roma\_nuovi\_mosaici\_tornano\_alla\_luce\_d urante\_gli\_scavi\_della\_stazione\_metro\_di\_amba\_aradam-190173749/#gallery-slider=190176029 (Accessed March 8, 2018). fig. 23.



Plan of the area including the *domus* under San Clemente. Source: Guidobaldi, Federico, C. Lalli, M. Paganelli, and Claudia Angelelli. 2004. "S. Clemente. Gli scavi piu recenti (1992-2000)." In Roma dall'antichita al medioevo. II, Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by Lidia Paroli, L. Vendittelli and Italy. Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma., 390-415. Milano. fig. 2.





Plan of the Via Giovanni Lanza domus.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum." Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Comunale Di Roma no. Anno XII - Serie Seconda:48-49, n. 781, tav. V.

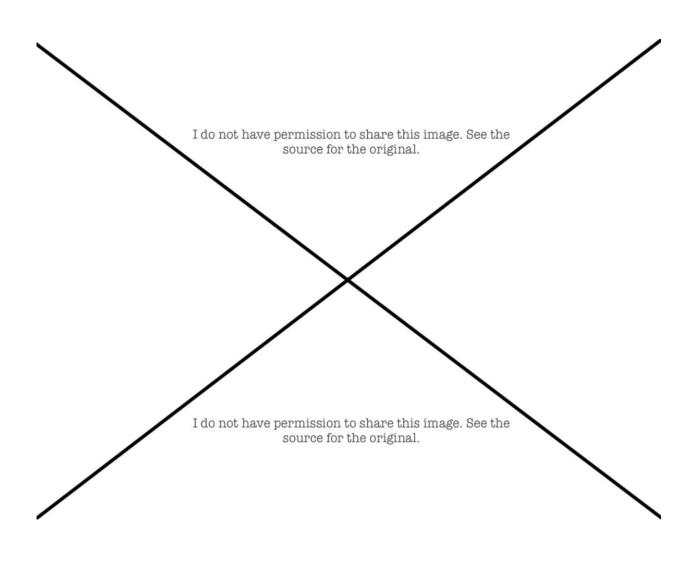
Image Source: Google Books, Public Domain in the United States, Google-digitized.

Catalog Entry III.02

Scart 11 10:00 BLIOTHECA 21 SEPVL STATVTO Scaul 0 ART MITHRAEVM Carmelitani Vigna det Martino 5 di

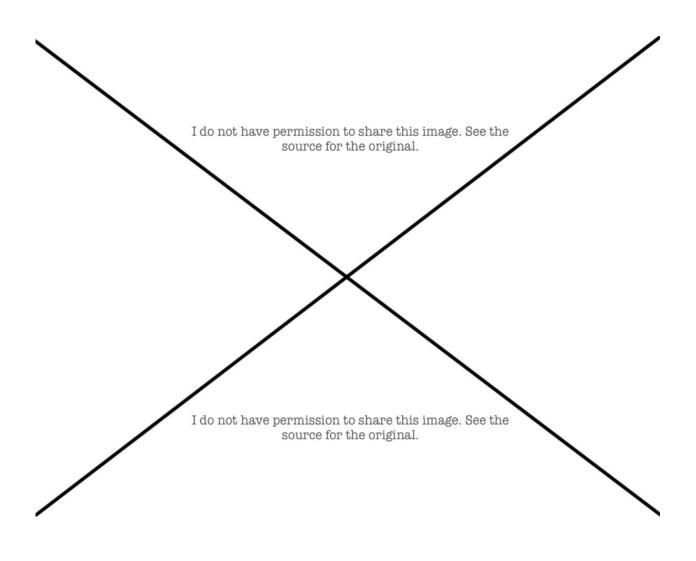
Plan of the domus at via Giovanni Lanza.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/4 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0



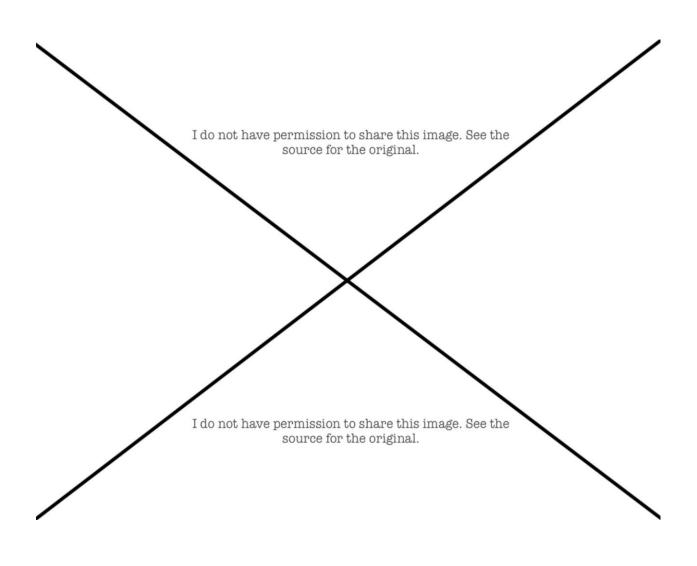
Plan of the *domus* sopra le Sette Sale.

Source: Cozza, L. 1974-1975. I recenti scavi delle Sette Sale. Rendiconti. Atti Pontificia Accad. Romana Arch. 47, 79–101. fig. 15.



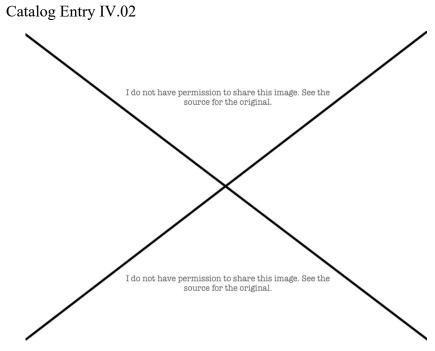
Plan of the upper floor of the *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi.

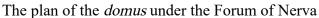
Source: Pisani Sartorio, Giuseppina. 1983. Un domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia. Odense: Odense University Press. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supp. 10. fig. 12.



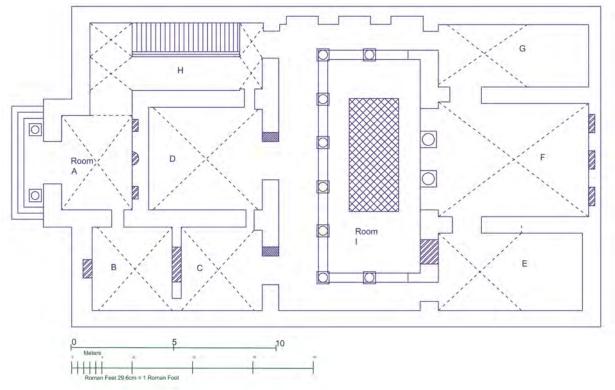
Plan of the lower floor of the *domus* at the Villa Rivaldi.

Source: Pisani Sartorio, Giuseppina. 1983. Un domus sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia. Odense : Odense University Press. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supp. 10. fig. 13.



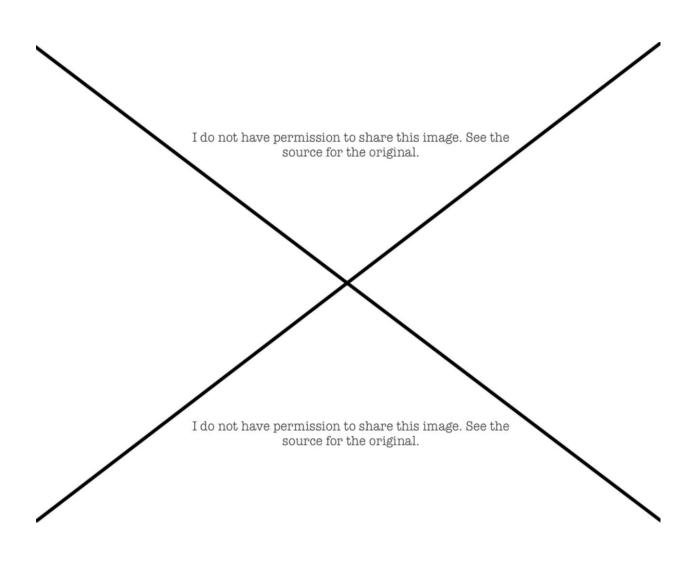


Source: Nocera, Daira, and Adele Rinaldi. 2013. "Gli Interri delle Strutture Repubblicane del Foro di Nerva. Considerazioni sugli Ambienti 1, 2, e 3." In Contesti ceramici dai Fori Imperiali, BAR international series, edited by Monica Ceci, 87-91. figs. 1, 2.



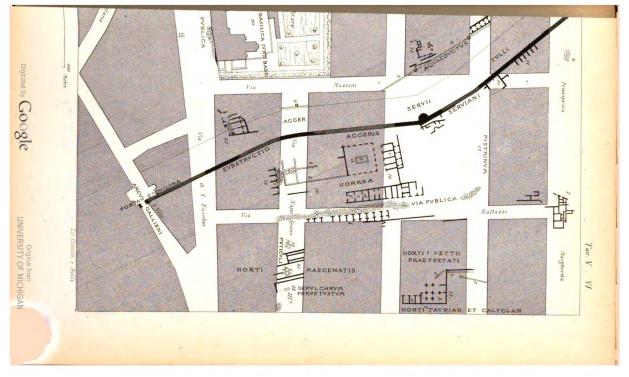
The plan of the *domus* Azara.

Source: Mundy, Joanna adapted from Buti, C., and et al. 1777. "Manifesto," and Unknown artist, 1777. Working Drawing of the Excavations. Roma. British Museum.



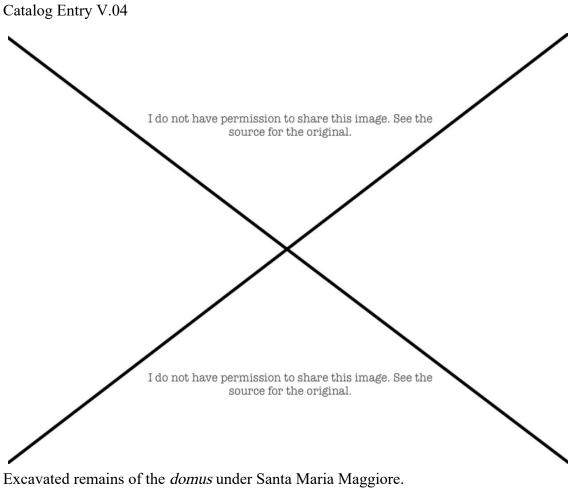
Plan of the *domus* under the Piazza dei Cinquecento and surrounding blocks. Source: Barbera, Mariarosaria, and Rita Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997, Milano. "Pianta Generale."

## Catalog Entry V.03

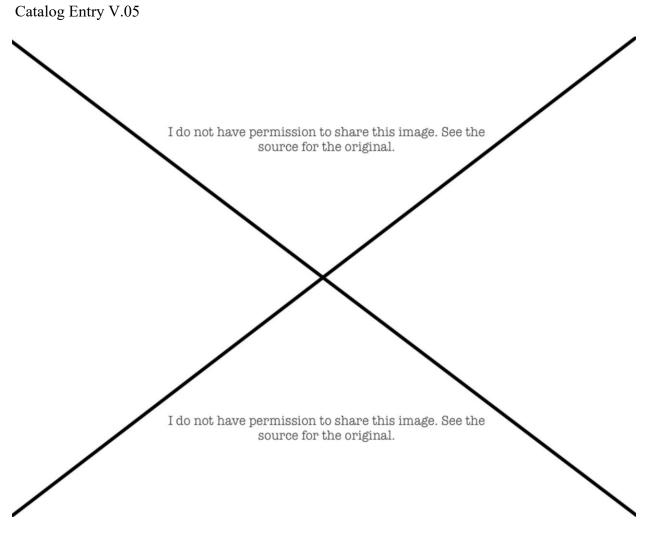


Remains of the *domus* of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus et Fabia Paulina, marked HORTI?. Source: Henzen, G., and Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani. 1874. "Delle scoperte principali avvenute nella prima zona del nuovo quartiere Esquino." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma no. II (2):33-88, tav. V, VII.

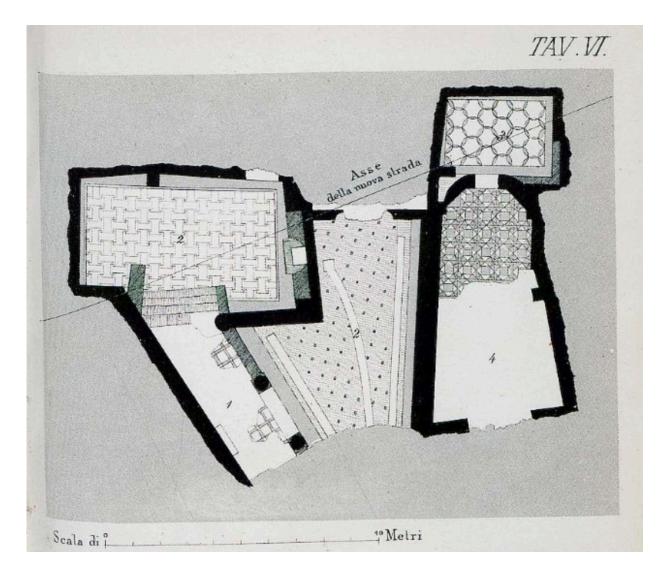
Image Source: Google Books, Public Domain, Google-digitized.



Source: Liverani, Paolo. 2010. "Osservazioni sulla domus sotto S. Maria Maggiore a Roma e sulla sua relazione con la basilica," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 116, 459-468. fig. 1.



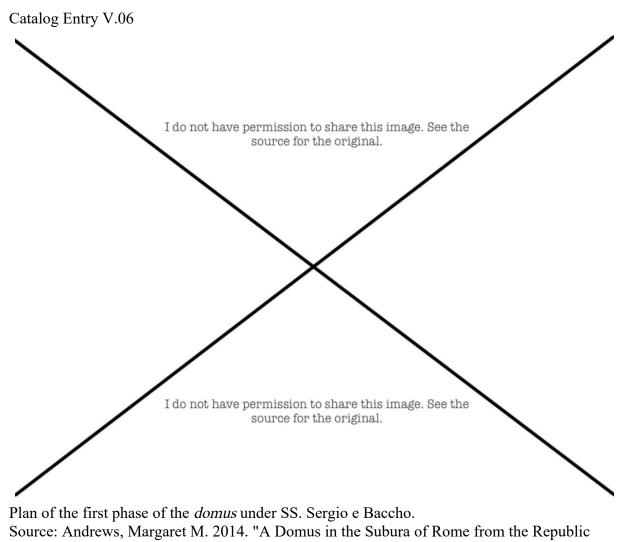
Plan of the *domus* of Lucius Octavius Felix including recent excavations. Source for plan including recent excavations, see: Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2008. "La domus di Lucius Octavius Felix e il contesto topografico." In Archeologia a Roma Termini : le mura serviane e l'area della stazione : scoperte, distruzioni e restauri., edited by Marina Magnani Cianetti and Mariarosaria Barbera, 48-61. Milano: Electa. fig. 1. Catalog Entry V.05



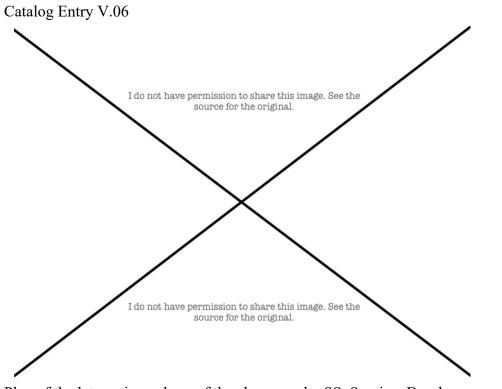
Detail of the domus of Lucius Octavius Felix

Source for recent image with key: Menghi, Oberdan, and Manola Pales. 2008. "La domus di Lucius Octavius Felix e il contesto topografico." In Archeologia a Roma Termini: le mura serviane e l'area della stazione : scoperte, distruzioni e restauri., edited by Marina Magnani Cianetti and Mariarosaria Barbera, 48-61. Milano: Electa. fig. 2.

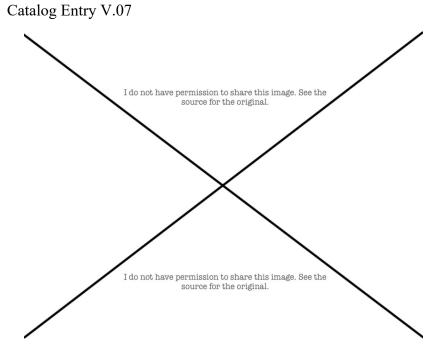
Source for plan above: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1873. "Delle Scoperte Principali Avvenute Nei Colli Viminale, Ed Esquilino." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 1, no. 2: fig. IV. Universitats-Bibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/ diglit/bcom1872 (accessed 11/10/2018) CC-BY-SA.



Through Late Antiquity," American Journal of Archaeology 118 (1), 61-90. fig. 12.

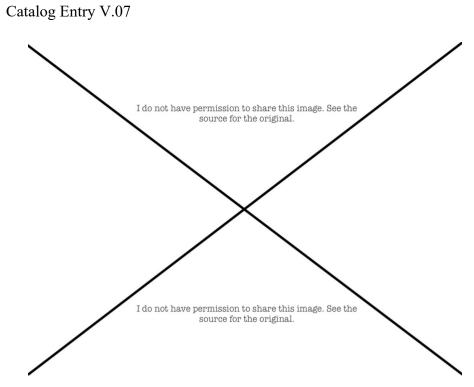


Plan of the late antique phase of the *domus* under SS. Sergio e Baccho. Source: Andrews, Margaret M. 2014. "A Domus in the Subura of Rome from the Republic Through Late Antiquity," American Journal of Archaeology 118 (1), 61-90. fig. 14.



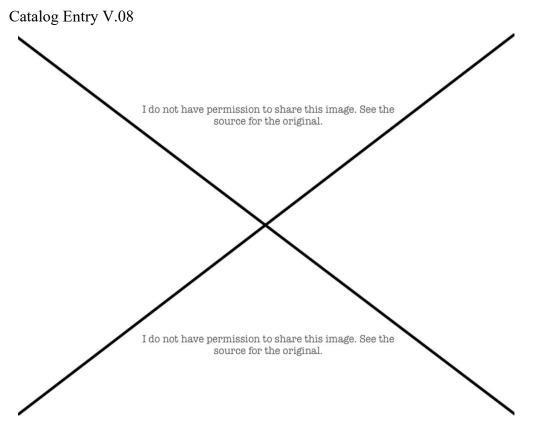
Position of the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci on the *Forma Urbis Romae* (left) and a reconstruction of the plan by Serlorenzi (right).

Source: Barry, Fabio. 2003. "The Late Antique 'Domus' on the Clivus Suburanus, the Early History of Santa Lucia in Selci, and the Cerroni Altarpiece in Grenoble," Papers of the British School at Rome 71, 111-139. fig. 1 (left), and Serlorenzi, Mirella. 2004. "Santa Lucia in Selcis. Lettura del palinsesto murario di un edificio a continuità di vita." In Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II. Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by L. Paroli and L. Vendittelli, 350-379. Rome. fig. 22 (right).



Plan of the remains of the *domus* under S. Lucia in Selci.

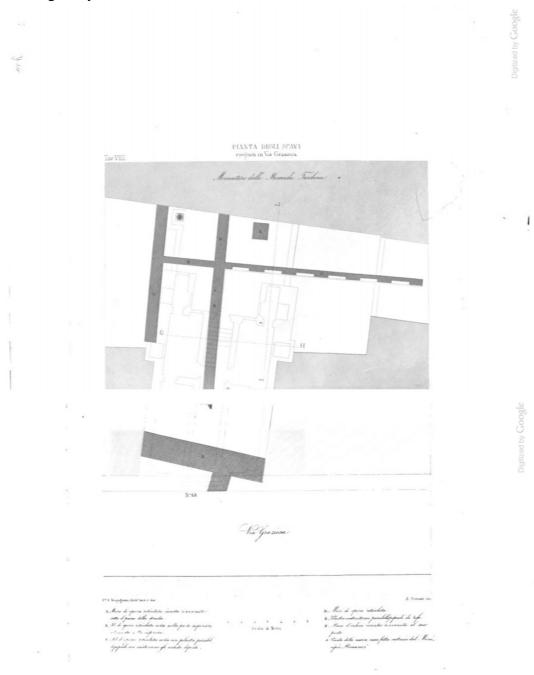
Source: Serlorenzi, Mirella. 2004. "Santa Lucia in Selcis. Lettura del palinsesto murario di un edificio a continuità di vita." In Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II. Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali, edited by L. Paroli and L. Vendittelli, 350-379. Rome. fig. 2.



Plan of the *domus* of Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla.

Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18 -41. fig. 24.

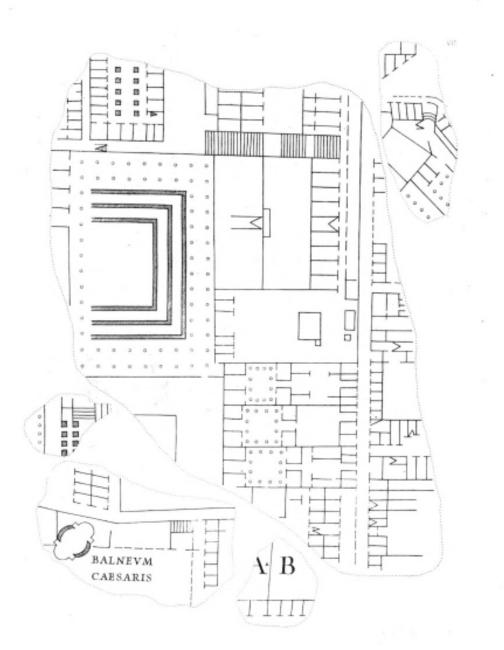
Catalog Entry V.09



Plan of the Casa via Graziosa

Source: Matranga, P. 1852. La città di Lamo stabilita in Terracina secondo la descrizione di Omero e due degli antichi dipinti già ritrovati sull'Esquilino Roma. Tav. VIII. Image Source: Google Books, Public Domain, Digitized by Google.

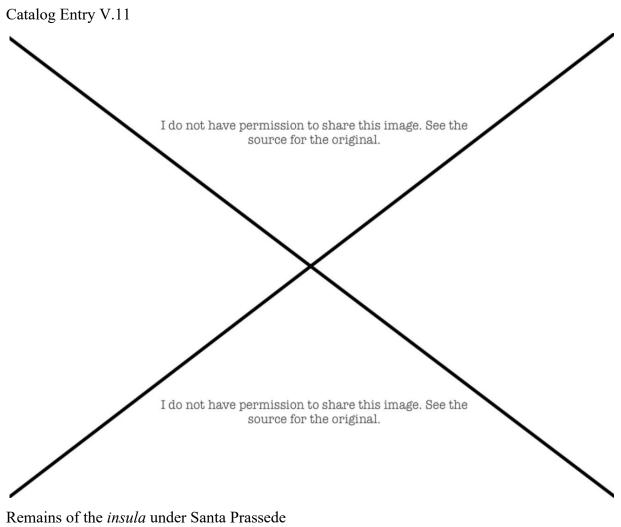
## Catalog Entry V.10



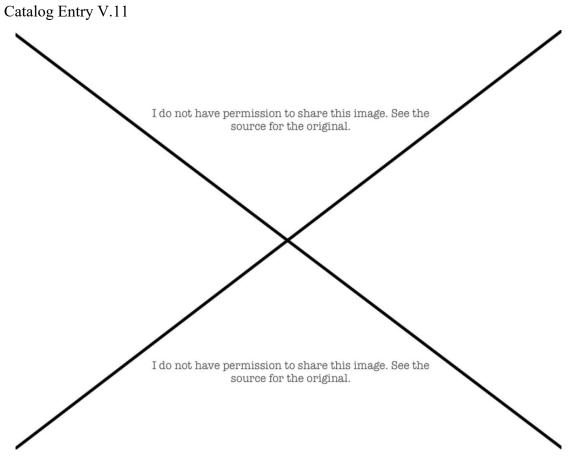
For a photograph of fragment 11e of the *Forma Urbis Romae* with three *atrium* houses. Source: Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project:

http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?slab=45&record=5.

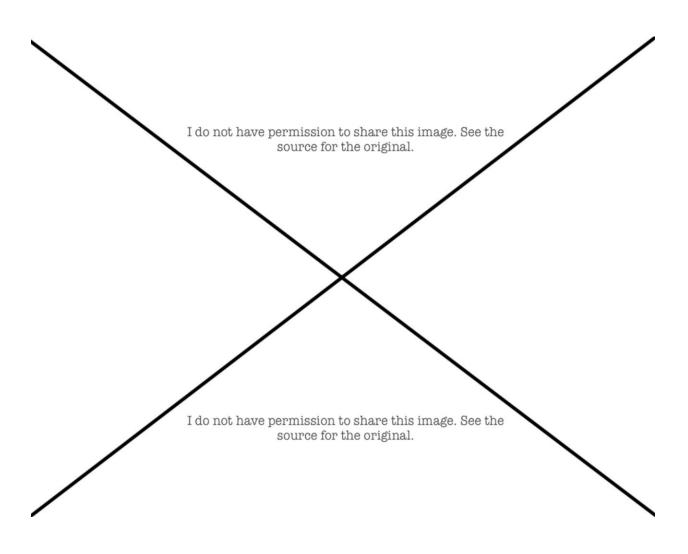
Drawing of the fragment. Source: Bellori, Giovanni Pietro. 1673. Fragmenta Vestigii Veteris Romae. Image source: Bayerische StaatsBibliothek digital. Public Domain.



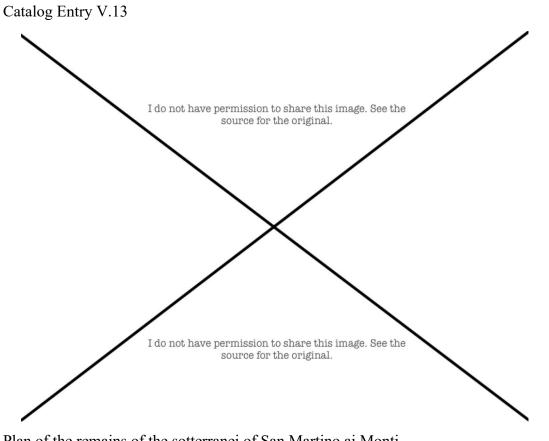
Source: Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno M. 1961. Santa Prassede. Roma: Marietti. fig. 6.



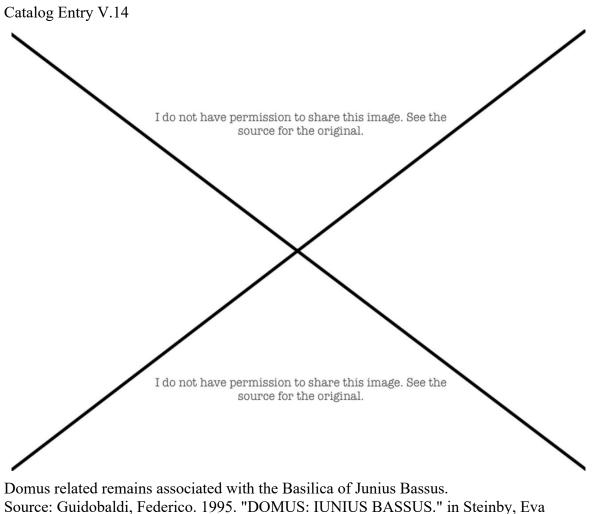
Remains of the *insula* under Santa Prassede Source: Apollonj Ghetti, Bruno M. 1961. Santa Prassede. Roma: Marietti. fig. 8.



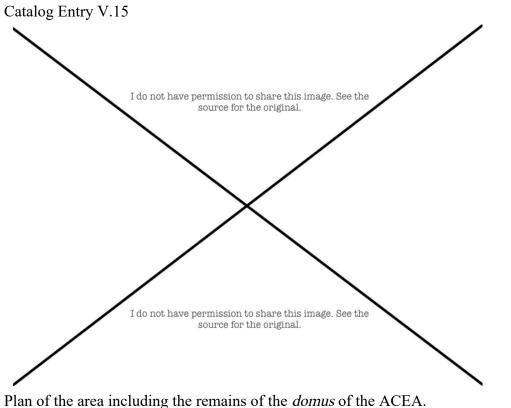
Remains of the *insulae* A, B, and C-D under Piazza dei Cinquecento, and surrounding area. Source: Barbera, M., and R. Paris. 1996. Antiche stanze: un quartiere di Roma imperiale nella zona di Termini: Museo nazionale romano Terme Diocleziano, Roma, dicembre 1996-giugno 1997. "Pianta Generale."



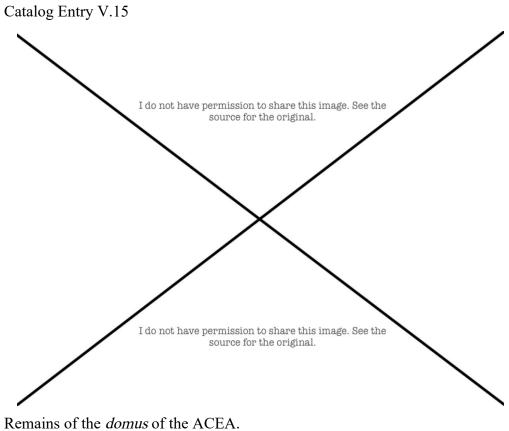
Plan of the remains of the sotterranei of San Martino ai Monti. Source: Accorsi, Maria Letizia. 2002. "Il Complesso Dei Ss. Silvestro E Martino Ai Monti Dal III Al IX Secolo: Appunti Di Studio." Ecclesiae urbis LIX: 533-63. fig.1.



Margareta. Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. 6 vols Roma: Quasar, 1993-2000. 69-70. fig. 28 from Lugli.

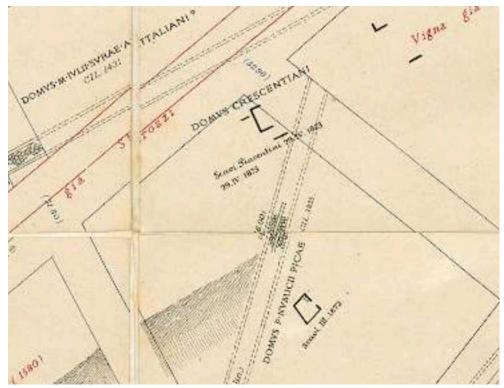


Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18-41. fig. 24.



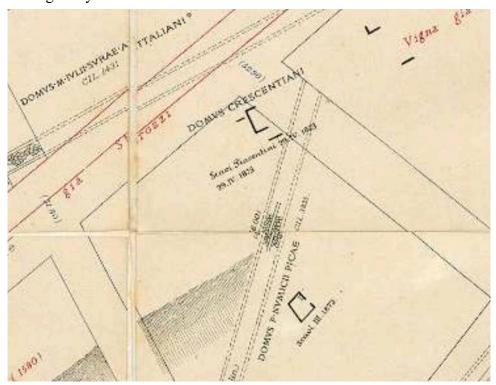
Source: Photograph by J. Mundy of Poster exhibited on site at the excavation.

Catalog Entry V.16

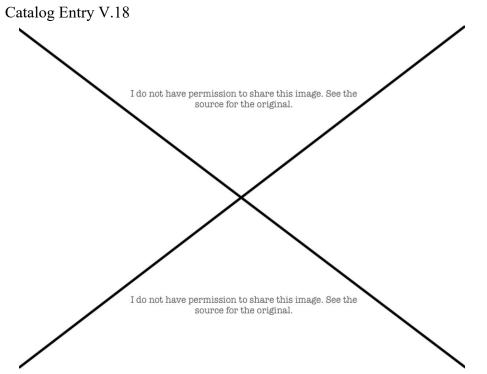


Plan of the remains of the *domus P. Numicii Picae*. Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. XVII Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/3 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.

Catalog Entry V.17

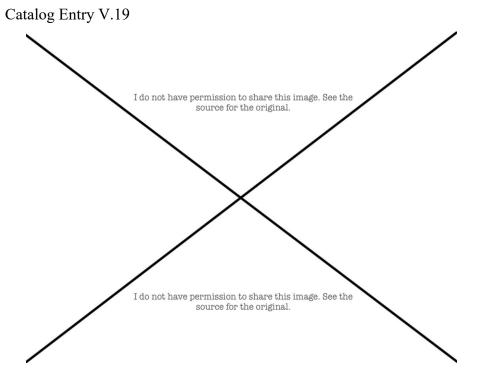


Plan of the remains of the *domus Orfiti*, also called the *domus Crescentiani*. Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. XVII Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/3 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.



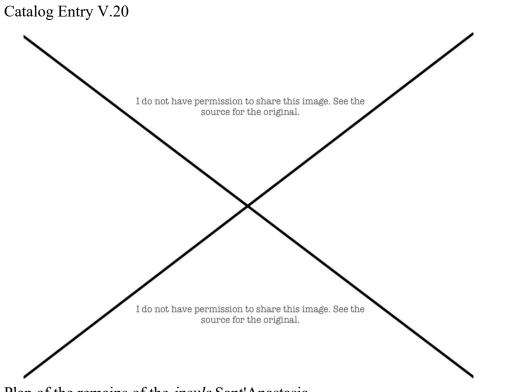
The plan of the *domus* dei Ritratti, outline in red by Mundy.

Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18 -41. fig. 45.

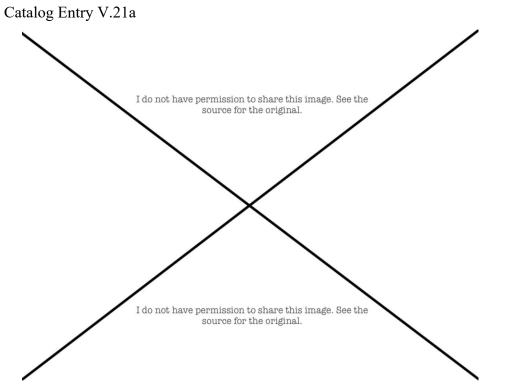


The plan of the *domus* della Fontana, outline in red by Mundy.

Source: Borgia, Elisabetta, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino, and Claudia Paterna. 2008. "Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum: nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996-2008. Parte II." FOLD&R no. 2008 (125):18-41. fig. 45.

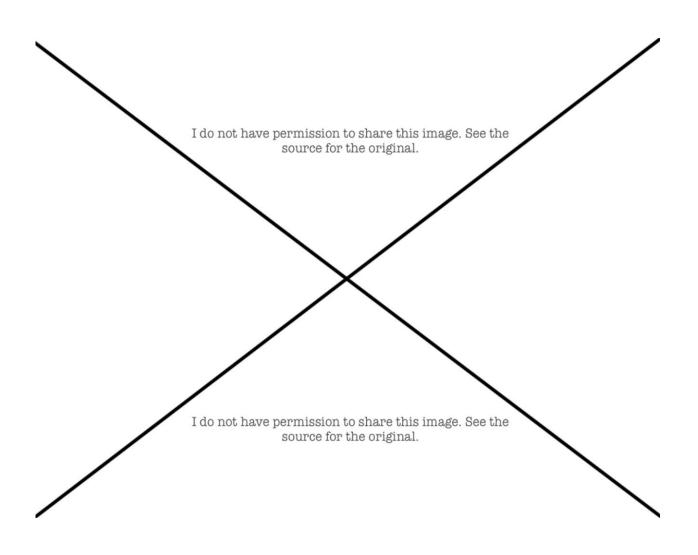


Plan of the remains of the *insula* Sant'Anastasia Source: Whitehead, Philip Barrows. 1927. "The Church of Anastasia in Rome." American Journal of Archaeology no. 31:405-420. Plate XI.



Plan of the Republican *domūs* under San Pietro in Vincoli.

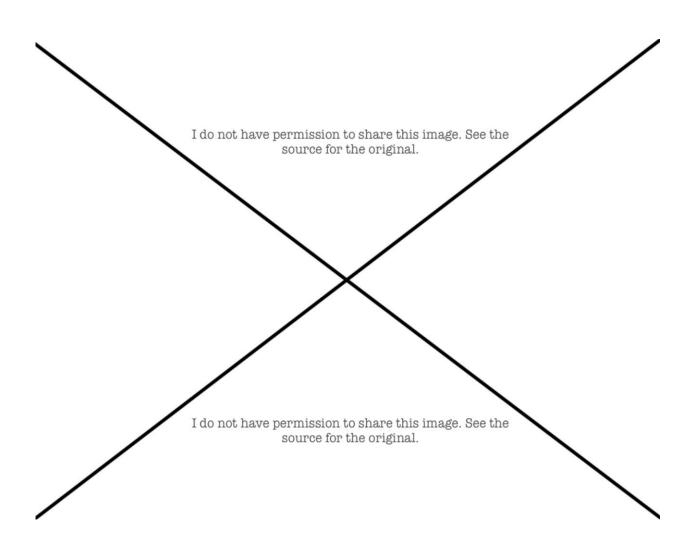
Source: Colini, Antonio Maria, and Guglielmo Matthiae. 1966. Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli : I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III, Roma. Tav. IV.



Plan of the remains of the imperial *domus* under San Pietro in Vincoli. Detail (left) and overview (right).

Source: Colini, Antonio Maria, and Guglielmo Matthiae. 1966. Ricerche intorno a S. Pietro in Vincoli : I. L'esplorazione archeologica dell'area, Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, Memorie, Serie III, Roma. fig. 62 (left) and Guidobaldi, Federico. 2001. "Distribuzione topografica, architettura e arredo delle domus tardoantiche." Aurea Roma: 134-136. fig. 1.2 (right).

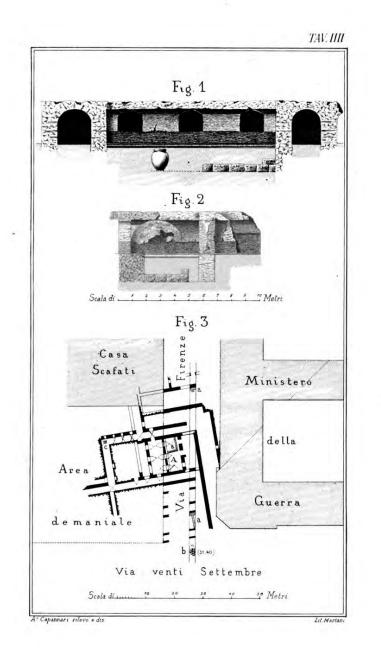
Catalog Entry V.22 NONE No plan of the *domus* in via Baccina is currently available.



Plan of the *domus* of Spurius Maximus

Source: Gatti, G., and G. Annibaldi. 1943-1945. "Il mitreo Barberini I: Topografia e monumenti del luogo; II: Il sanctuario mitriaco," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 71, 97-108. from page 99, fig. 1.

#### Catalog Entry VI.02



Digitized by Google

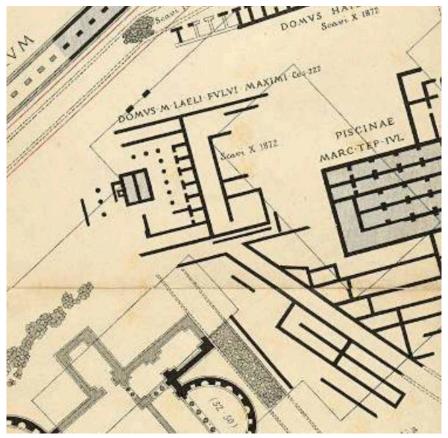
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Plan of major remains from the *domus* of the Nummii Albini.

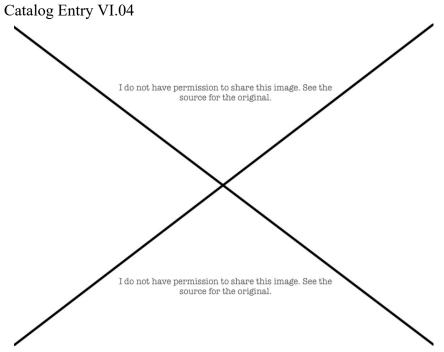
Source: Capannari, A. 1886. "Di un mitreo pertinente alla casa dei Nummi scoperto nella Via Firenze," BULLETTINO DELLA COMMISSIONE ARCHEOLOGICA COMUNALE DI ROMA, 17-26. Tav. 4.

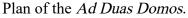
Image Source: Google Books, Public Domain in the United States, Google-digitized.

Catalog Entry VI.03



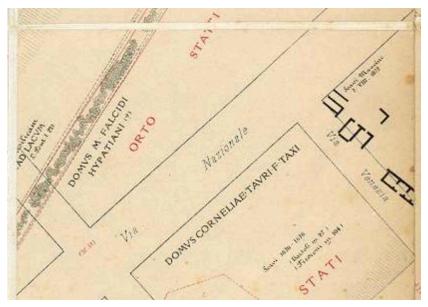
Plan of the *domus M. Laeli Fulvi Maximi*. Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Plate X. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/2 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.





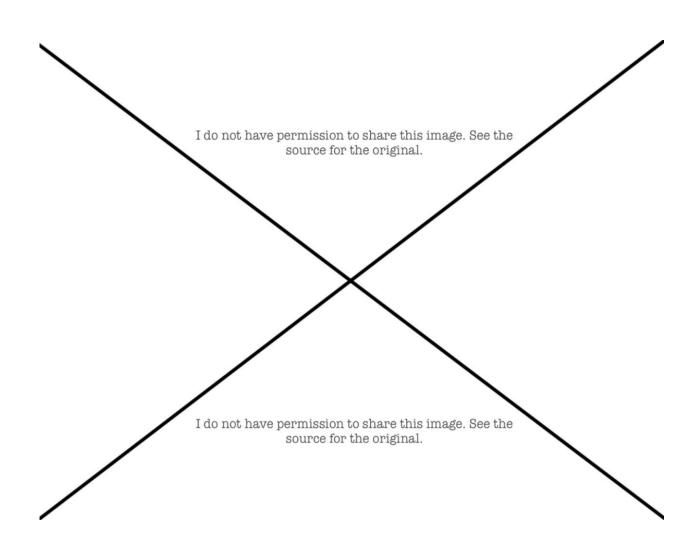
Source: Bonanni, Alessandro. 2003."Scavi E Ricerche in S. Susanna a Roma." In Atti Del Vii Congresso Nazionale Di Archeologia Cristiana, 359-76. Monte Cassino. fig. 1.

Catalog Entry VI.05



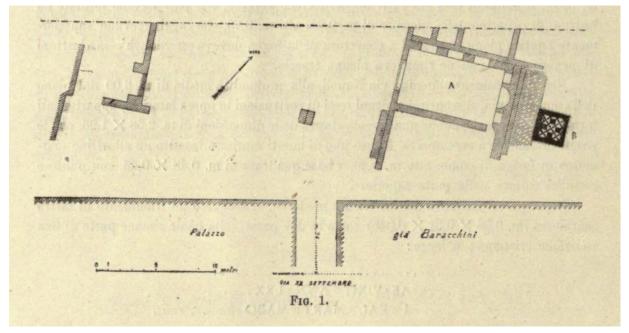
Plan of the *domus* at Via Venezia.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Plate XVI. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/3 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.



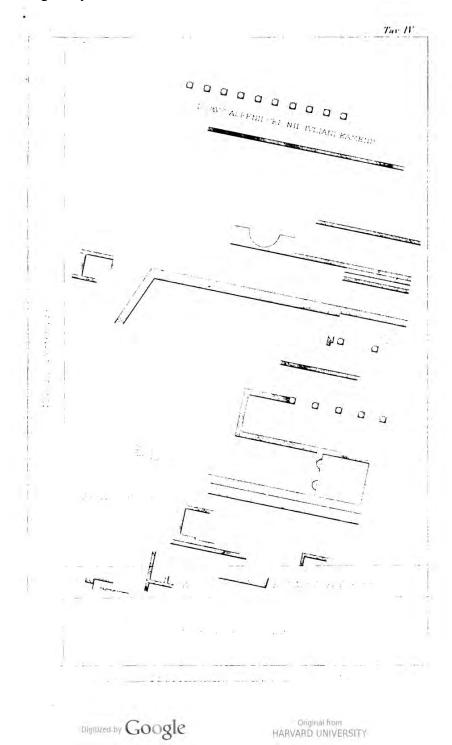
Plan and reconstruction drawing of the *domus* of the Via De' Ciancaleoni nn. 45-46. Source: Martini, Annarita. 2008. "I complessi di via Cimarra-Ciancaleoni: resti di domus tardo repubblicane sulle pendici sud-orientali del Viminale.," FOLD&R (121), 1-16. figs. 3-4.

# Catalog Entry VI.07



Plan of the excavation of the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius. Source: Gatti, E. 1920. "Nuove scoperte di antichita in Roma e nel suburbio," Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita Anno 1920 (Fascicolo 10, 11 e 12), 276-292. fi g. 1, part 2. Image Source: Image from https://archive.org/details/notiziedegliscav17realrich/page/278 (accessed 11/09/2018). Public Domain.

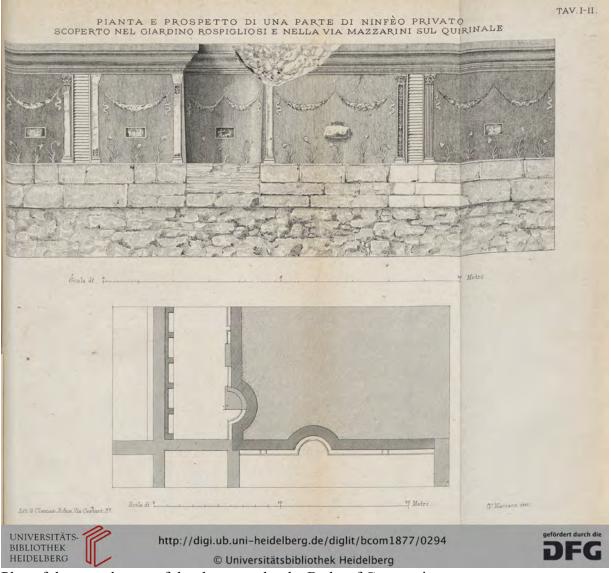
Catalog Entry VI.07



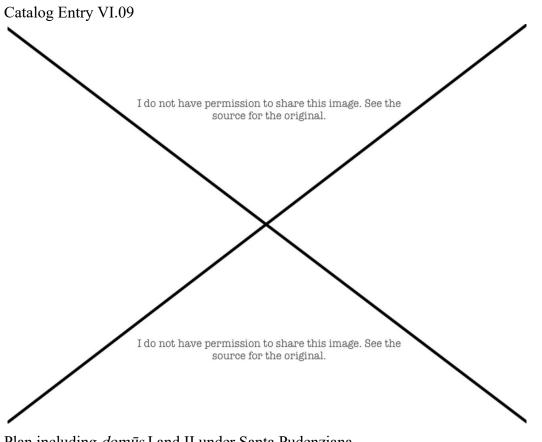
Plan of excavations of the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1884. "Supplementi al Volume VI: del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: II. Di magistrati.," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma XII, 40-45, Tav. IV.

Image Source: Google Books, Public Domain in the United States, Google-digitized.

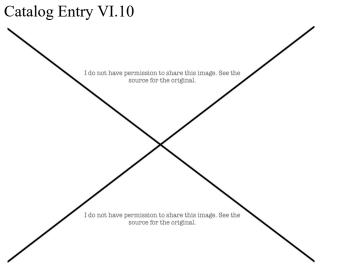
# Catalog Entry VI.08



Plan of the *nymphaeum* of the *domus* under the Baths of Constantine. Source: Vespigiani, V. 1877. "Degli avanzi di un nifeo di casa privata," BULLETTINO DELLA COMMISSIONE ARCHEOLOGICA COMUNALE DI ROMA, 59-65. Tav. I. Image Source: Image from Universitats-Bibliothek Heidelberg – CC-BY-SA 3.0 https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/

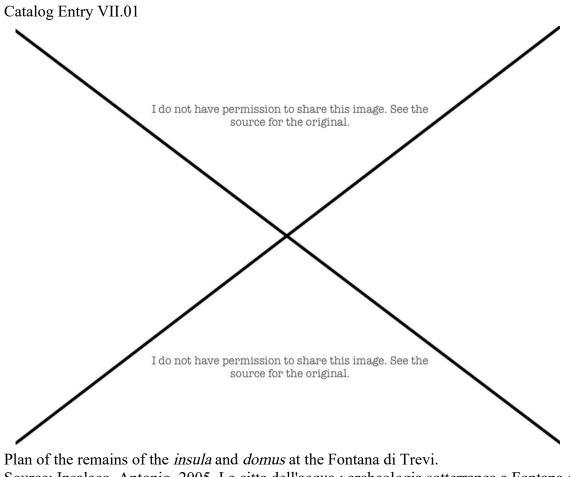


Plan including *domūs* I and II under Santa Pudenziana. Source: Angelelli, Claudia. 2010. La basilica titolare di S. Pudenziana: nuove ricerche, Monumenti di antichita cristiana, Citta del Vaticano. Tav. XVIII.



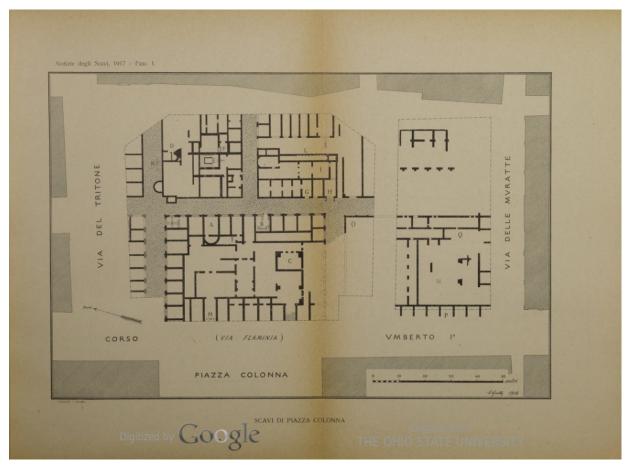
Plan of the remains from the *domus* dei Flavi.

Source: Coarelli, Filippo. 2008. Roma. 2a. ed, Guide archeologiche Laterza. Roma: Laterza. from page 310.



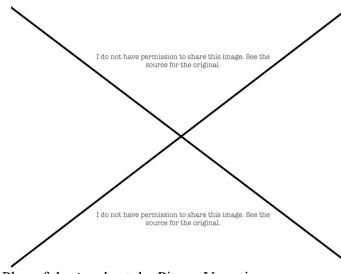
Source: Insalaco, Antonio. 2005. La citta dell'acqua : archeologia sotterranea a Fontana di Trevi. Rist. ed, Milano: Electa. from page 13.

### Catalog Entry VII.02



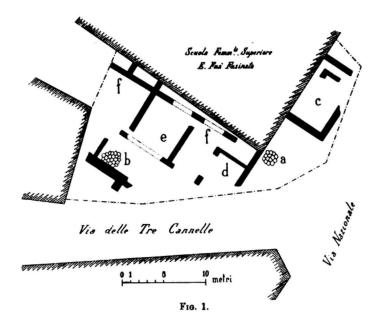
Plan of the insulae at the Galleria Alberto Sordi.

Source: Gatti, G. "Caratteristiche edilizie di un quartiere abitativo del II secolo d. Cr." in Topografia ed edilizia di Roma antica: ristampa anastatica di tutti gli articoli di Guglielmo Gatti, pubblicati dal 1934 al 1979, Rome 1989. 283-300. Tav. II, fig. 5. Image Source: Image from Hathitrust https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt? id=osu.32435072638802;view=1up;seq=23 (accessed 11/11/2018). Public Domain, Digitized by Google. Catalog Entry VII.03



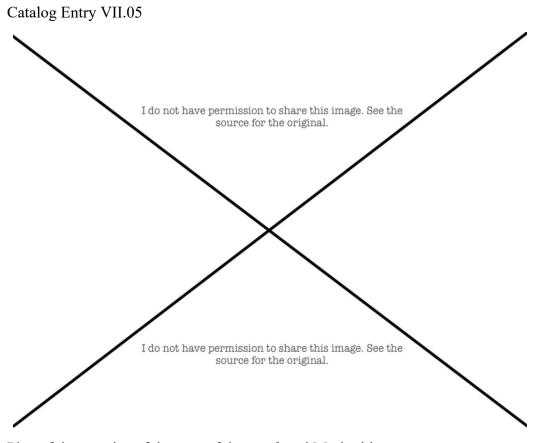
Plan of the *insula* at the Piazza Venezia. Source: Serlorenzi, Mirella, and Lucia Sagui. 2008. "Roma, piazza Venezia. L'indagine archeologica per la realizzazione della metropolitana. Le fasi medievali e moderne," Archeologia medievale. XXXV, 175-198. fig. 5.

Catalog Entry VII.04



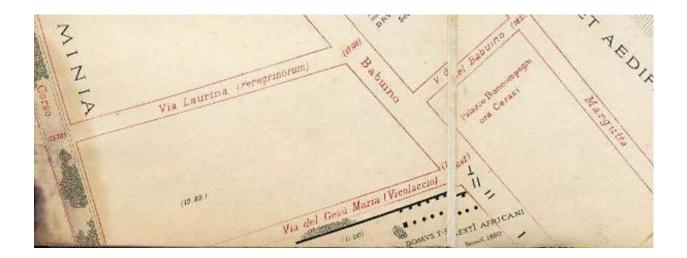
Plan of remains from the *insula* north of the street that lies under via delle Tre Cannelle. Source: Pasqui, A. 1909. "Nuove scoperte nella citta e nel suburbio," Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita VI (Fasc. 4), 109-115. fig. 1.

Image Source: Image from Hathitrust https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt? id=inu.30000105272532;view=1up;seq=116;size=175 (accessed 11/11/2018). Public Domain, Digitized by Google.

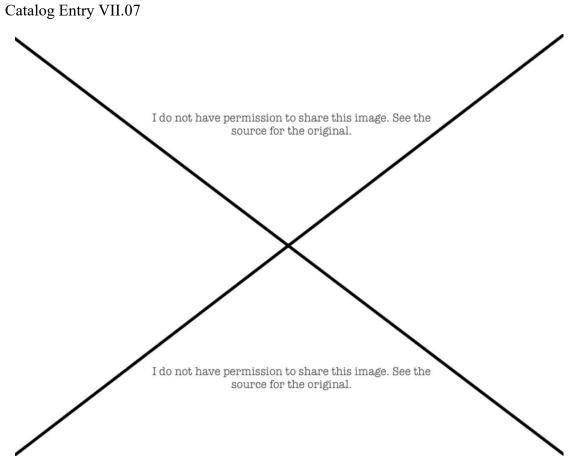


Plan of the remains of the area of the *insulae* ai Marioniti. Source: Romano, Gabriele, and Roberto Lucignani. "Il Complesso Dei Maroniti." Roma una Citta', un Impero 1, no. 3 Aprile (2010): 4-17. from page 7.

# Catalog Entry VII.06



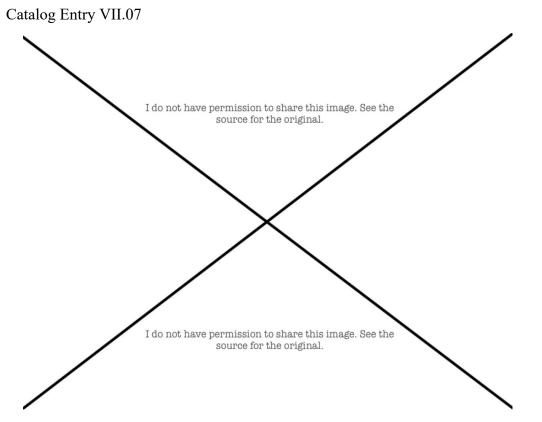
Plan of the *domus* via del Babuino, also called the *domus T. Sextius Africanus*. Source: Lanciani, R. A. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae. (mappingrome.org). Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/1 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.



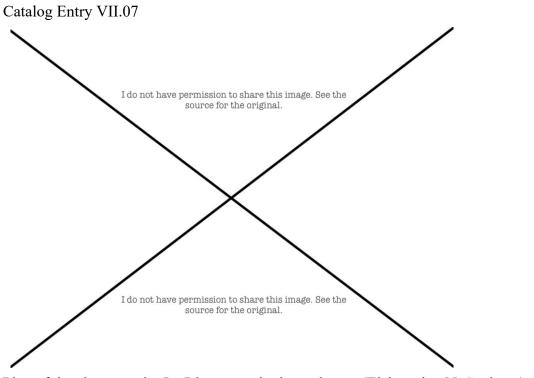
Aerial view of the *domus* and region under La Rinascente.

Source: Custodero, Roberto. September 16, 2017. "Sotto la Rinascente scorreva l'Aqua Virgo. Eccezionale ritrovamento in via del Tritone," Roma Repubblica.

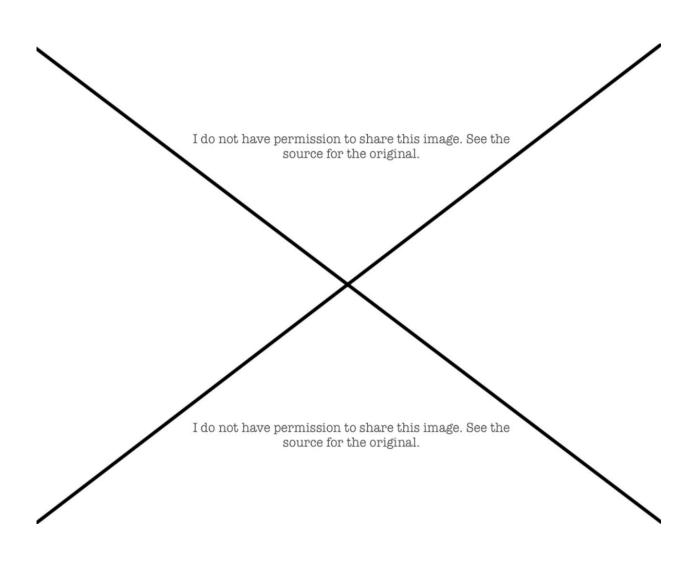
https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/09/16/news/sotto\_la\_rinascente\_scorreva\_l\_aqua\_virg o\_eccezionale\_ritrovamento\_sotto\_via\_del\_tritone-175628773/#gallery-slider=175597023 (Accessed 9/23/18).



Plan of the *domus* under La Rinascente and the urban region. (Elaboration N. Saviane.) Source: Baumgartner, Marta. 2017. *Roma rinascente : la citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte*. Page 45, fig. 8.

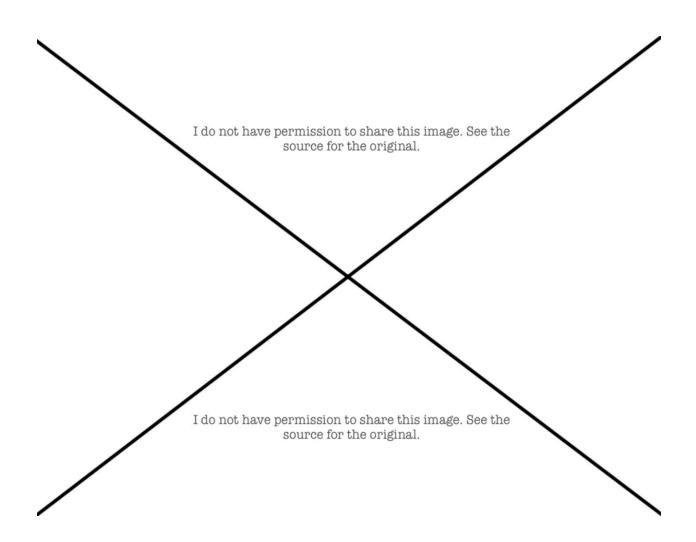


Plan of the *domus* under La Rinascente in three phases. (Elaboration N. Saviane.) Source: Baumgartner, Marta. 2017. *Roma rinascente : la citta antica tra Quirinale e Pincio. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte*. Page 108, figs. 1-2, and Page 111, fig. 7.

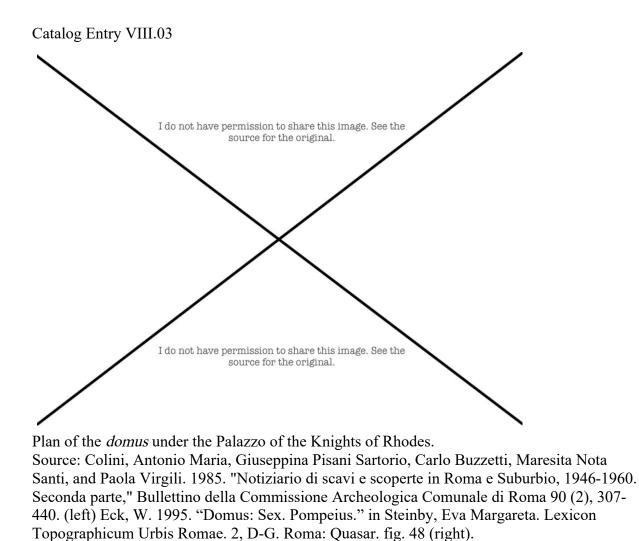


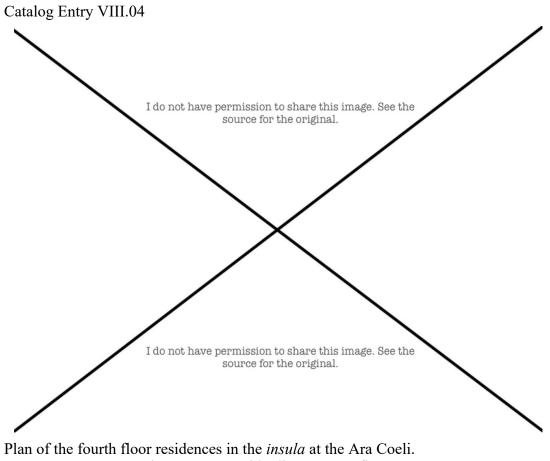
Plan of the balnea of domus a under the Palazzo Valentini.

Source: Baldassarri, Paola. 2009. "Indagini archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini: domus di eta imperiale ai margini del Foro di Traiano," Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. (Serie 3), Rendiconti LXXXI, 343-384. fi gs. 22, 23.

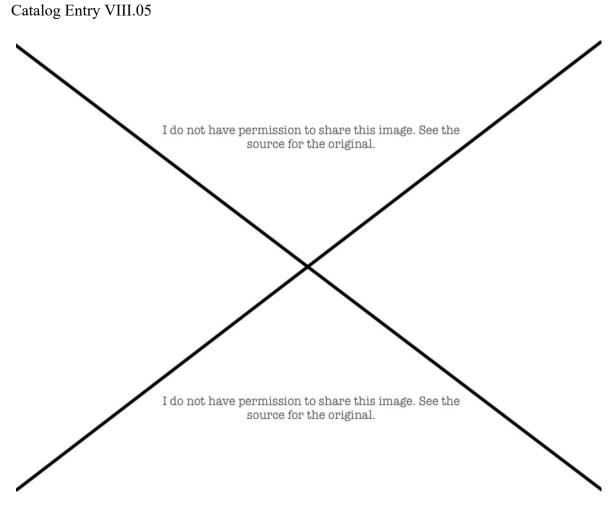


Plan of portions of *domus* a (top left) and *domus* b (bottom right) under Palazzo Valentini. Source: Baldassarri, Paola. 2008. "Indagine archeologiche a Palazzo Valentini. La campagna 2005-2007." In Palazzo Valentini: l'area tra antichità ed età moderna: scoperte archeologiche e progetti di valorizzazione, edited by Roberto Del Signore, 29-80. Rome. fig. 2.



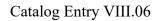


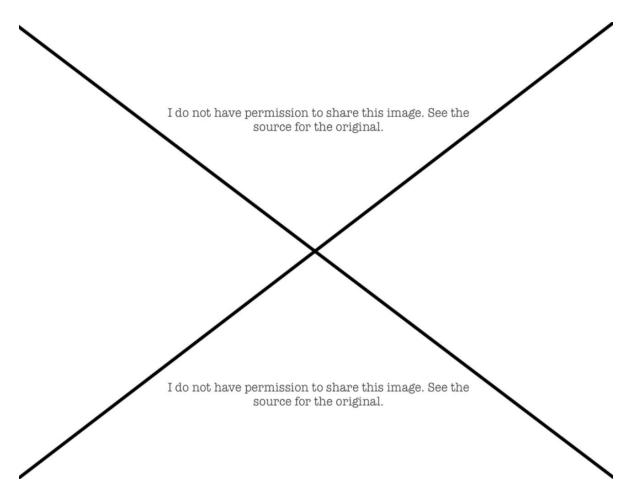
Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. fig. 34.



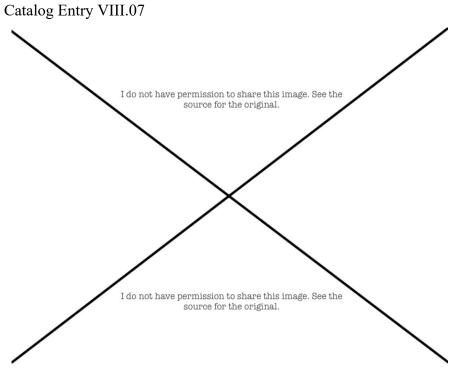
Plan of the insula della Salita del Grillo.

Source: Tabo, Daniela. 2013. "I Materiali Rinvenuti Nell'insula Della Salita Del Grillo Nell'area Dei Mercati Di Traiano (Con Premessa Di Roberto Meneghini)." In Contesti Ceramici Dai Fori Imperiali, edited by Monica Ceci, v, 173 pages: BAR international series. fig. 1.



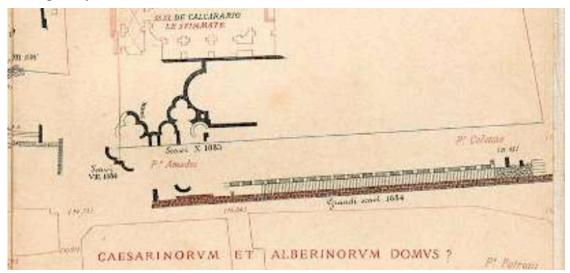


Plan of the so-called Casa Cristiana. Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. Tav. I.



Plan of the Casa dei Mulini. Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. Tav. I.

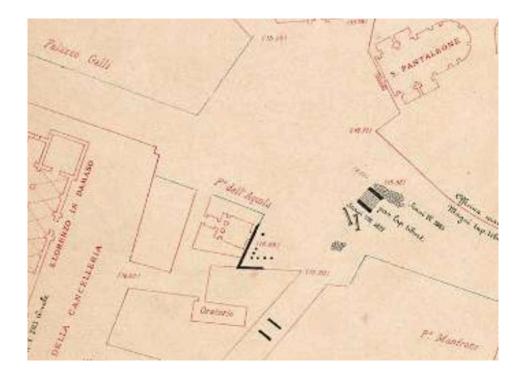
Catalog Entry IX.01



Plan of the *domus* at the *Diribitorium*.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. plate XXI. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/4 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.

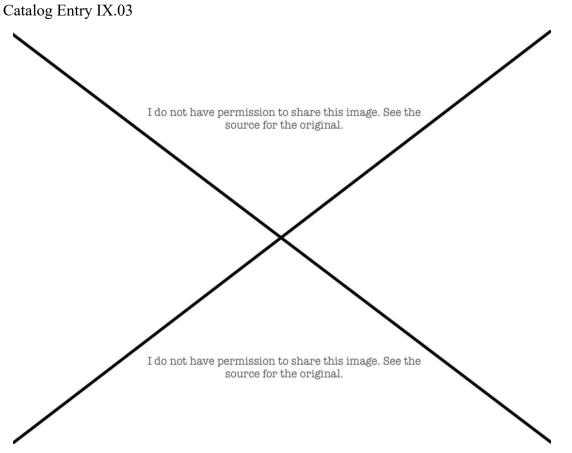
# Catalog Entry IX.02



Plan of the Casa romana ai Baullari.

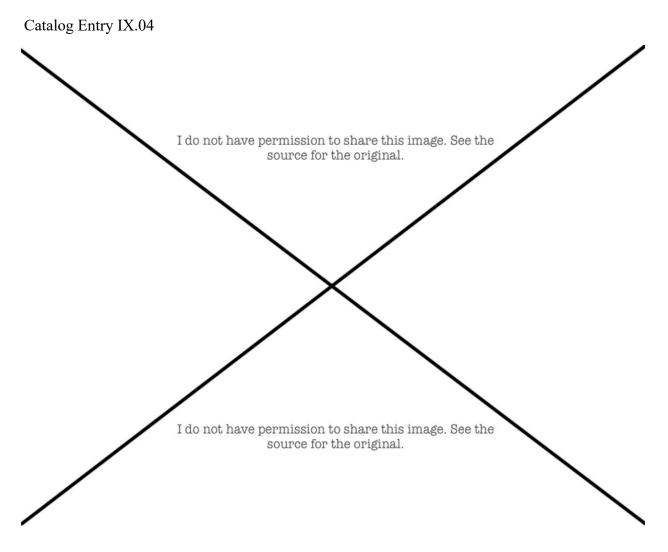
Source referenced in text: Cimino, M. Gabriella, and Susanna La Pera. 1997a. "La domus tardoantica sotto il Museo Barracco," *Forma urbis: itinerari nascosti di Roma antica* 2 (1), 12-17. from page 14.

Source of image above: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/4 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.

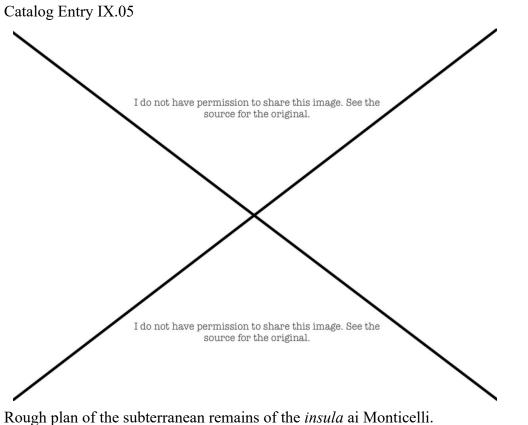


Plan of the *domus* under San Lorenzo in Lucina (left), and a reconstructed plan of the *insula* (right).

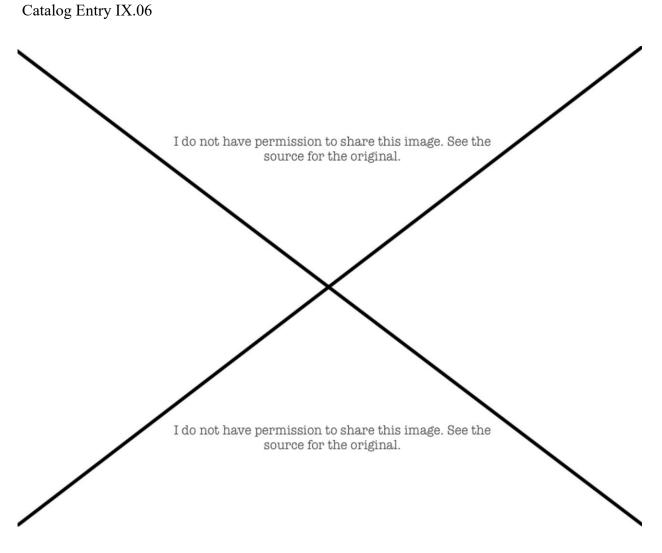
Source: Brandt, Olof. 2012a. San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 40, 61). Stockholm. fig. 1 (left), Boman, Henrik. 2012. "A third century insula under the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina," in Brandt, Olof, ed. San Lorenzo in Lucina - The Transformations of a Roman Quarter (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 40, 61). Stokholm. 88-122. fi g. 5 (right).



Plan of the sotterranea of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Palazzo della Cancelleria. Source: Paolucci, Antonio, Francesco Buranelli, Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Massimo Pentiricci, Sergio Fontana, and Pacetti Francesco. 2009. L'antica basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso. indagini archeologiche nel Palazzo della Cancelleria (1988-1993) : Gli Scavi 1 1. Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte. fig. 135.



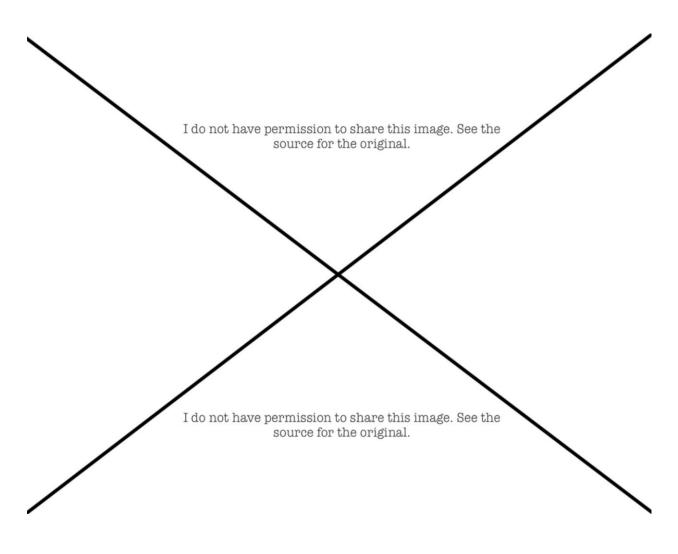
Source: Pavia, Carlo. 2000. Guide to Underground Rome: From Cloaca Massima to Domus Aurea: The Most Fascinating Underground Sites of the Capital = Guida Di Roma Sotterranea. Roma: Gangemi. from page 363.



Plan of the bottom (top left), first (top right), second (bottom left), and third (bottom right) floors of the *insula* at San Paolo alla Regola.

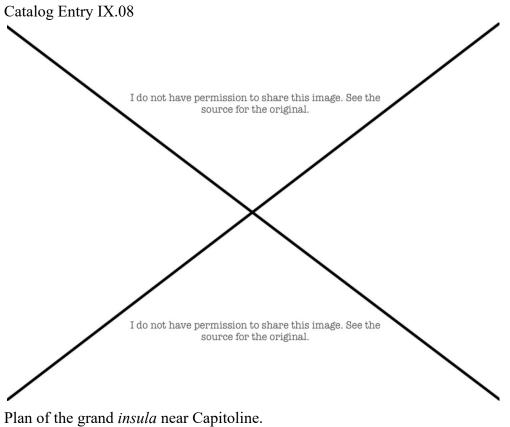
Source: Quilici, Lorenzo. 1986-1987. "Roma. Via di S. Paolo alla Regola. Scavo e recupero di edifici antichi e medioevali." Notizie degli Scavi ser. VIII 40-41: 175ff. figs. 171-174.

Catalog Entry IX.07

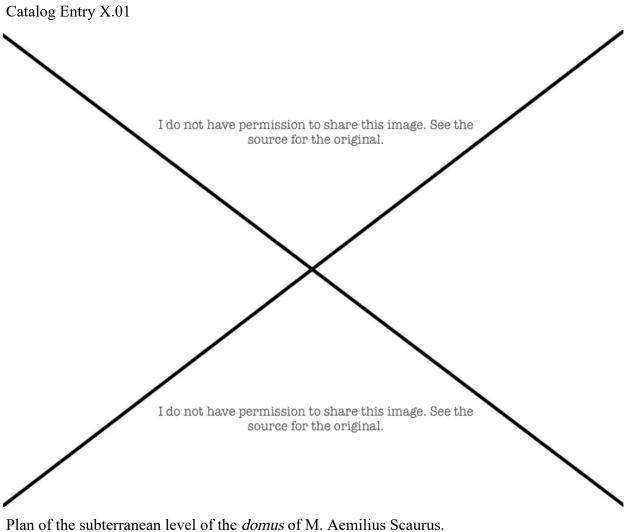


Plan of the *insula* at the Crypta Balbi.

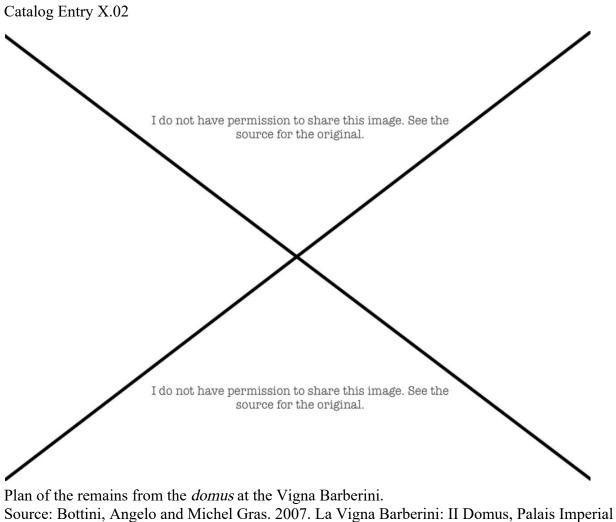
Source: Sagui, Lucia. 1997. "Importanti scoperte alla Crypta Balbi," Forma urbis : itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 2 (7-8), 10-15. from page 12.



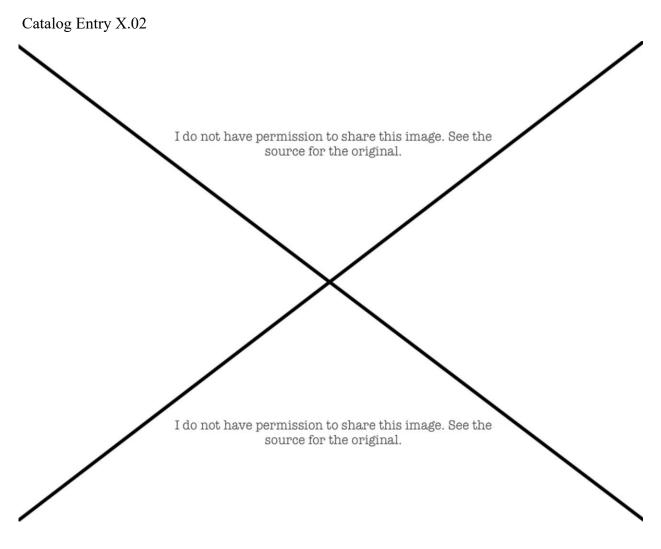
Source: Munoz, Antonio. 1930. Campidoglio, [Roma]. Tav. 1.



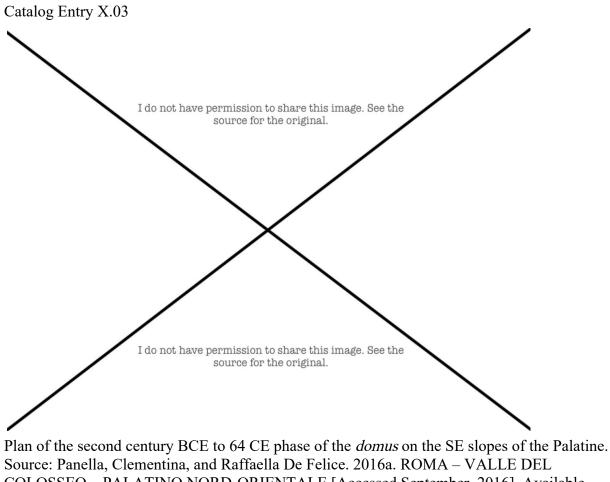
Source: Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1995. Domus oppure lupanar? I materiali dello scavo Boni della 'Casa repubblicana' a ovest dell'arco di Tito. MEFRA 107, 549-619. fig. 4.



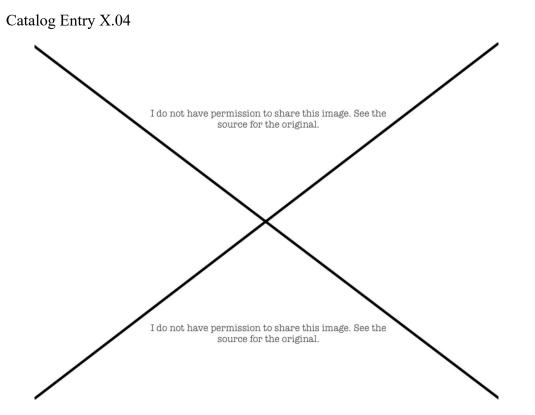
et Temples Stratigraphie du Secteur Nord-Est du Palatin. Ecole Francaise de Rome: Roma. Tav. III, IV.



Reconstruction drawing of the courtyard of the *domus* at the Vigna Barberini. Source: Jashemski, W. F., K. L. Gleason, K. J. Hartswick, and A. A. Malek. 2017. Gardens of the Roman Empire. Cambridge University Press. fig. 1.4.

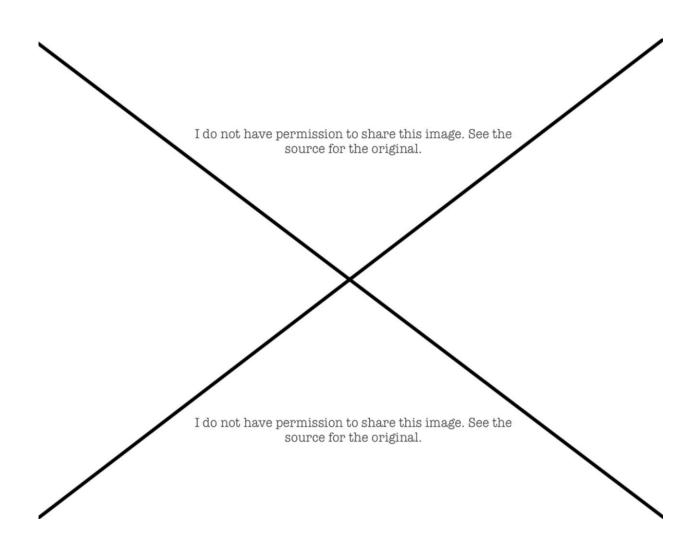


COLOSSEO – PALATINO NORD-ORIENTALE [Accessed September, 2016]. Available from http://archeopalatino.uniroma1.it/it/content/planimetrie.

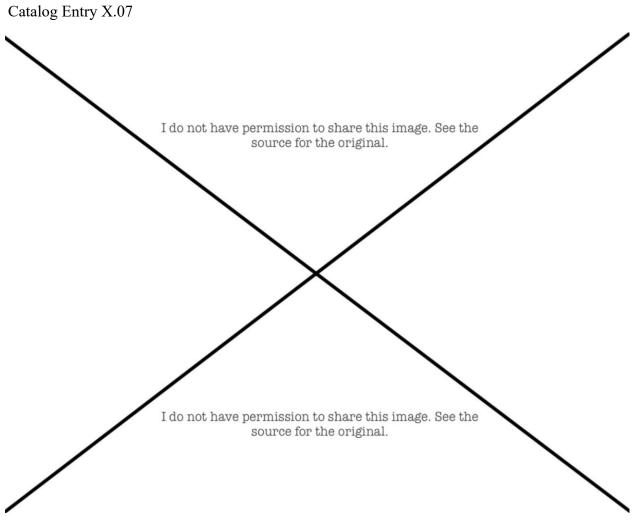


Plan of the domus with Carcere.

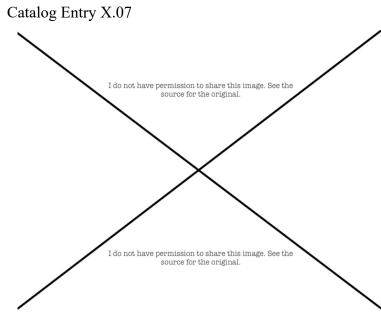
Source: George, Michele. 1997. "Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house." In Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond, edited by Ray Laurence, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, British Academy, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies and University of Reading Centre for Roman Studies, 15-24. Portsmouth, RI. from page 17, fig. 2.



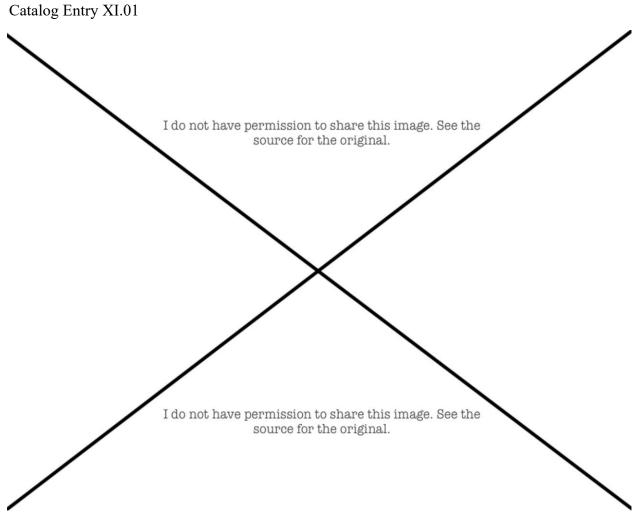
Plan of the *domus* of M. Tullius Cicero, also called the *domus Ciceronis*. Source: Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma. fig. 56.



Plan of the *domus Nova Via*. Source: Carandini, Andrea, Daniela Bruno, and Fabiola Fraioli. 2010. Le case del potere nell'antica Roma. 1. ed, Grandi opere, Roma. fig. 46.

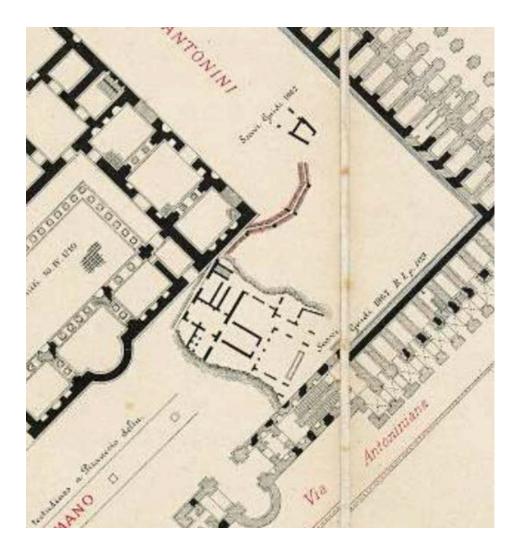


Plan of the excavations of the *domus Nova Via*. Source: Tomei, Maria Antonietta. 1986. "Ambienti tra Via Nova e Clivo Palatino." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma no. 91:411-416. fig. 107.



Plan of the insula Volusiana.

Source: Mazzei, P. 2016. "Roma: un pavimento in tessellato bicromo a schema geometrico composito dall'Insula Sertoriana nel Foro Boario", Atti del XXII Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (AISCOM), Matera, 16-19 marzo 2016, pp. 589-602. fig. 3.

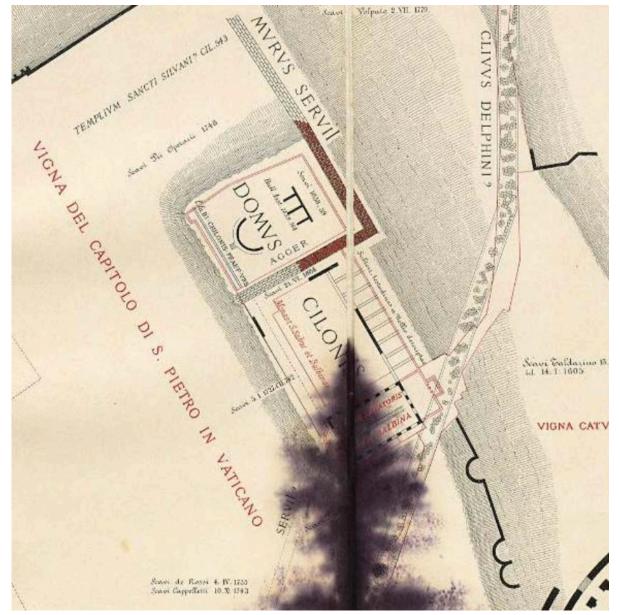


Plan of the *domus* under the Baths of Caracalla.

Source of detailed plan referenced in text: Carpano, Claudio Mocchegiani. 1972.

"Osservazioni complementari sulle strutture della casa romana sotto le terme di Caracalla," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung. 79, 111-121. fig. 1.

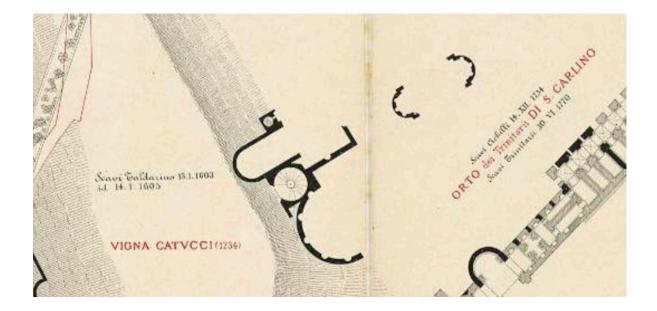
Source of plan above: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/7 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0. Catalog Entry XII.02



Plan of the domus Cilonis.

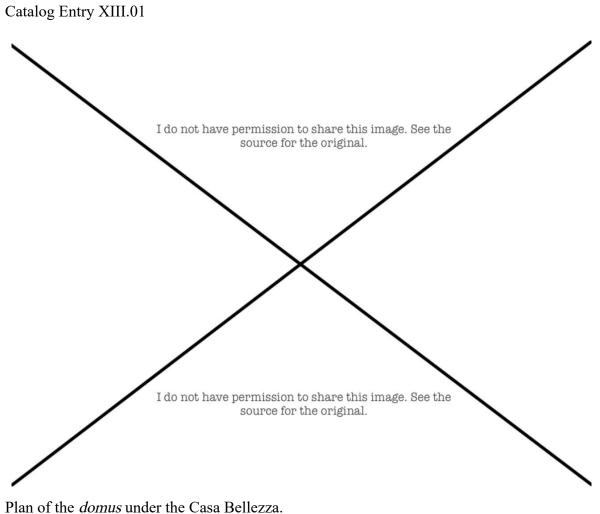
Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Tav. 41. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/7 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.

## Catalog Entry XII.03



Plan of the *domus Parthorum*.

Source: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Tav. XLI. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/7 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.



Source: Fondazione Ugo Bordoni, and Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 2010 Aventino Tra Visibile e Invisibile [cited 2016]. Available from http://aventino.romearcheomedia.it/intro.php?loc=en

## Catalog Entry XIII.02



Plan of the domus of Pactumeia Lucilia.

Source of plan referenced in the text: Cavallo, Daniela. 1983. "Precisazioni Sulla Domus Pactumeiorum Sull'aventino Attraverso Una Pianta Ritrovata All'archivio Centrale Dello Stato Di Roma." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma LXXXVIII (1982-1983): 213-23. fig. 1.

Source of the plan above: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Tav. XLI.

Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/7 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.

Catalog Entry XIII.03

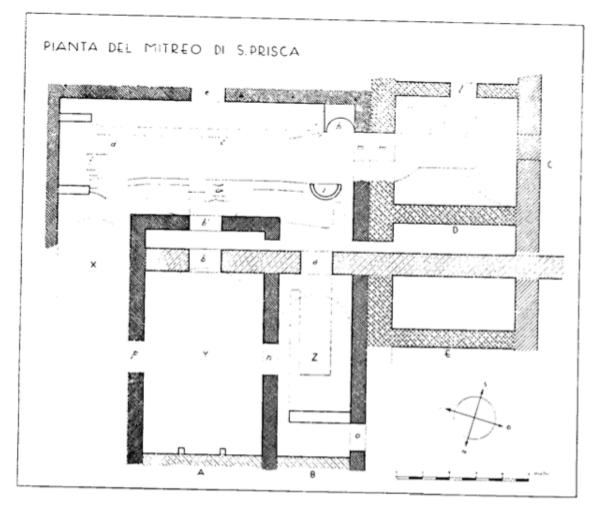


Fig. 1. – Pianta del mitreo di Santa Prisca.

Plan of the so-called *domus* 'of Aquila and Prisca'.

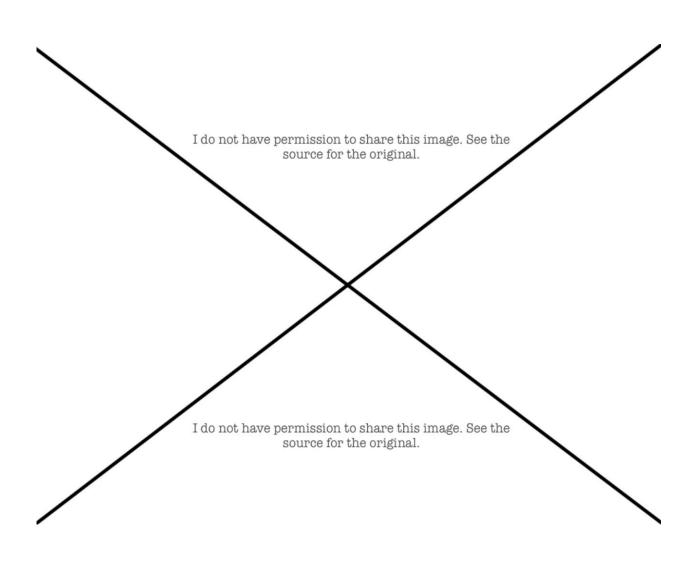
Source: Ferrua, Antonio. 1940. "Il Mitreo Sotto La Chiesa Di S. Prisca." Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 68: 153-70. fig. 1.

## Catalog Entry XIII.04a

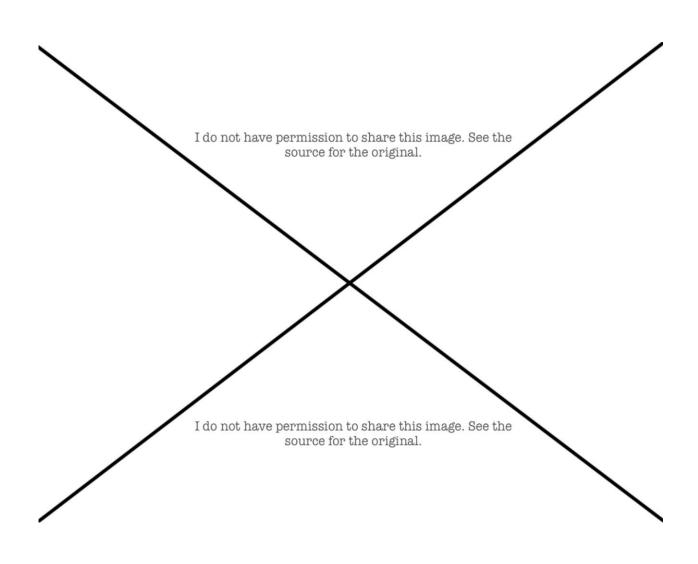


Plan of the *domus* under Santa Sabina.

Source of the plan referenced in text: Darsy, F. 1968. "Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine" in Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie, IX. fig. 4. Source of the plan above: Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. 1901. Forma vrbis Romae, Roma. Tav. XLI. Image Source: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte. (Dg155-4930/6 gr raro) BY-NC-SA-3.0.

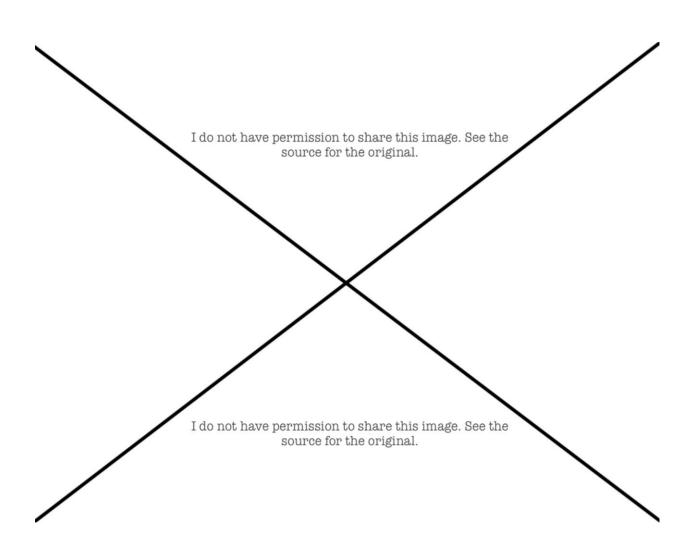


Plan of the *insulae* under Santa Sabina. Source: Marrou, Henri-Irénée. 1978. Sur les origines du titre romain de sainte Sabine. fig. 2.



Plan of the *domus* ex Lazzaretto.

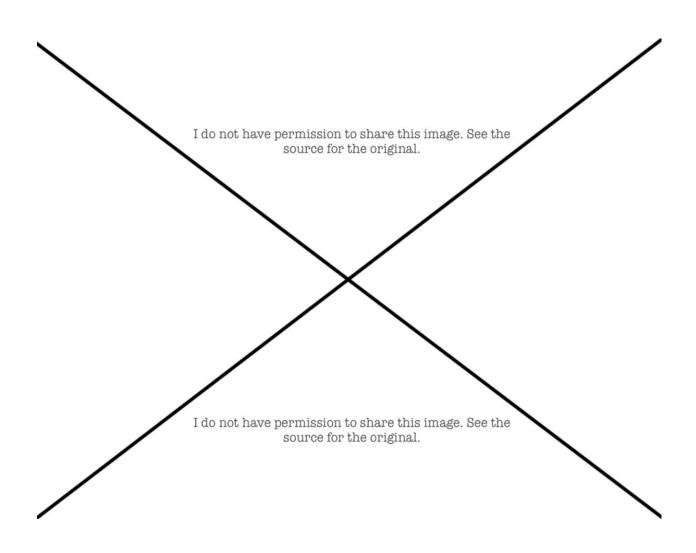
Source: Darsy, F. 1968. "Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine" in Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie, IX. Plate IV.



Plan of the domus degli Aranci.

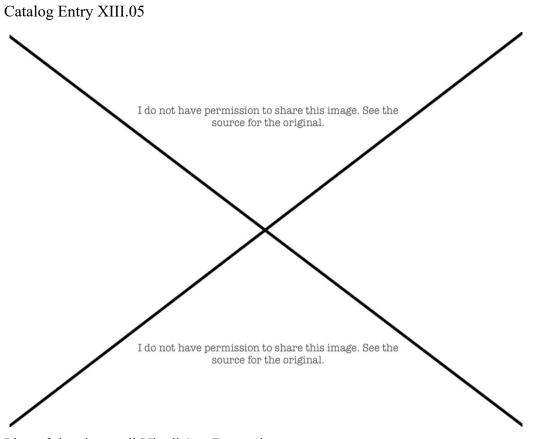
Source: Vendittelli, LAURA. 2005. "Il tempio di Diana sull'Aventino. Ipotesi di posizionamento e ricerca archeologica." Italica ars. Studi in onore di Giovanni Colonna per il premio "I Sanniti:235-249. fig. 1.

Catalog Entry XIII.04e



Plan of the *domus* over a Sanctuary.

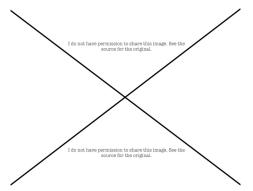
Source: Darsy, F. 1968. "Recherches archeologiques a Sainte-Sabine" in Monumenti dell'antichita cristiana, II serie, IX. fig. 5.



Plan of the *domus* di Via di San Domenico.

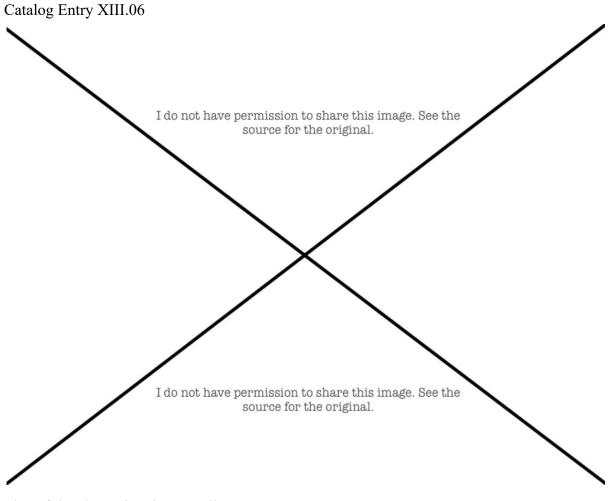
Source: Vendittelli, LAURA. 2005. "Il tempio di Diana sull'Aventino. Ipotesi di posizionamento e ricerca archeologica." Italica ars. Studi in onore di Giovanni Colonna per il premio "I Sanniti:235-249. fig. 1.

Catalog Entry XIII.06



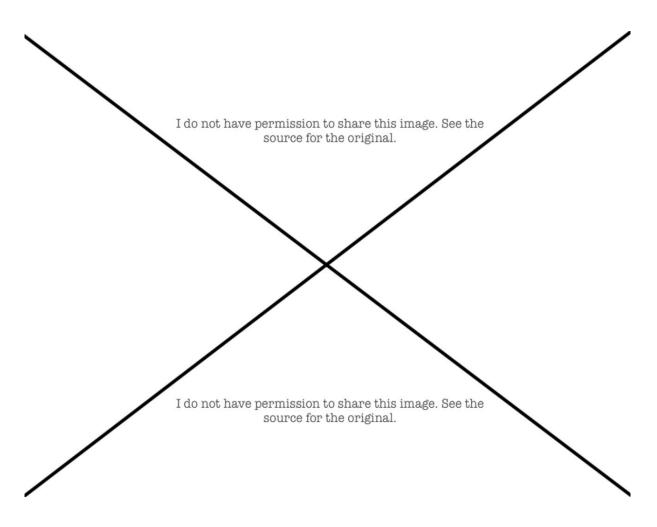
Plan of the *domus* in Via Marcella.

Source: Ciccarello, Giulia, Emiliano De Carlo, and la Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. 2010 "Aventino Tra Visibile E Invisibile." Fondazione Ugo Bordoni (accessed 2017). http://romearcheomedia.fub.it/aventino/.



Plan of the *domus* in Via Marcella.

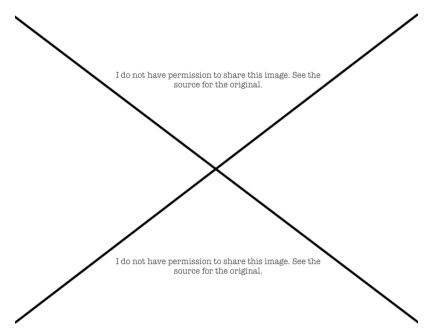
Source: Ciccarello, Giulia. 2016. "La Domus Ipogea di Via Marcella all'Aventino." Archaeologia Sotterranea no. 13 (October):14-23. fig. 2.



Plan of the *domus* under the Piazza del Tempio di Diana.

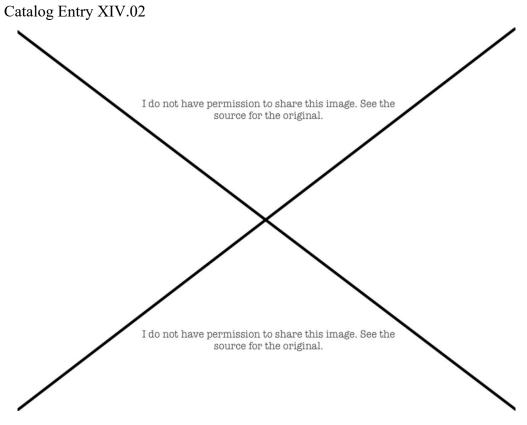
Source: Chini, Paola. 1998. "L'Aventino: la domus sotto piazza del tempio di Diana," Forma urbis : itinerari nascosti di Roma antica 3 (6), 4-11. from page 6.

Catalog Entry XIV.01



Plan (left) of the remains and reconstruction (right) of the first century BCE to first century CE *domus* under Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.

Source: Parmegiani, Neda, and Alberto Pronti. 2007a. "L'area archeologica del periodo Classico." In Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, edited by Carlo La Bella, 11-40. Roma.



Plan of the remains of the *domus* under Apse at San Crisogono. Source: Pietri, Charles. 1978. "Recherches sur les domus ecclesiae. I." Revue d'tudes augustiniennes et patristiques no. XXIV (1-2):3 -21. fig. 1.