

*Cum dignitate otium*  
**Senatorial *domus* in Imperial Rome\***

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Imperial Rome, city of the Emperors. Instantly there rises before the mind's eye a vivid picture of what this concept conveys: the Palatine with its Imperial palaces, the Forum Augusti with the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor, the Forum Traiani showing the Emperor's *res gestae* in relief on his funerary column; the triple monument of the surviving triumphal arches, that of Septimius Severus on the Forum Romanum, that of Titus on the *summa Velia*, and that of Constantine near the Colosseum; the Colosseum itself, commemorating the Flavian victory over the rebellious Jews; the Baths of Caracalla near the Porta Capena; the Baths of Diocletian on the Quirinal; the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Pantheon in Campus Martius. One could go on and on. All these buildings are associated with individual rulers: they were built either by an Emperor or for one. The only exception is the Pantheon: to this very day the architrave bears the plain inscription: *M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium fecit*.<sup>1</sup> But Hadrian would have hurt no one's feelings had he replaced Agrippa's name on the architrave with his own, since the Pantheon we see today is a Hadrianic structure. The emperors' dominance over the city is experienced directly, to this very day, by means of the physical remains of their buildings. The same impression is conveyed by looking at the Severan marble plan, the *Forma urbis Romae*.

The emperors' dominance in the urban context is a reflection of their political position. Nevertheless, the Roman emperor was not omnipotent, nor was he entirely independent. Above all, the senate and the senators maintained a significant position — even when we take into account their greatly diminished power

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The following abbreviations have been used:

*EOS* = *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, ed. S. Panciera, Rome 1982.

*LTUR* II = *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* II, ed. E. M. Steinby, Rome 1995.

Eck, *Tra epigrafia* = W. Eck, *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati*, Rome 1996.

<sup>1</sup> *CIL* VI 896 = D. 129.

— that no ruler could ignore. Before Augustus took over, the great senatorial families provided the initiative for the urban development of Rome. Many temples were erected by senatorial generals in fulfilment of a vow taken with a view to victory in the field and thus became emblems of their victories for these families. Basilicas too perpetuated the name of their builders, just as the Aqua Appia or the Aqua Marcia reminded one of the men who built them. The erection of public buildings was no less a part of the competition between the aristocratic families than their private *domus*, built to exhibit and enhance their owners' station and preeminence. Thus, according to Cicero, a *domus praeclara et plena dignitatis* on the Palatine helped the *homo novus* Cn. Octavius obtain the consulate in the year 165 BC.<sup>2</sup> It was not without reason that Cicero himself bought the house of a Licinius Crassus on the Palatine for three and a half million sesterces; he hoped thereby to further his own position.<sup>3</sup> Not far from Cicero's *domus*, M. Aemilius Scaurus, *aedilis* in 58 BC, had his atrium decorated with 11m high columns of Lucullan marble.<sup>4</sup> By the display of such luxury it meant to help to promote his career.<sup>5</sup>

Upon Augustus' final victory this situation changed, not abruptly, but relatively fast. As time went on, the erection of public buildings, *opera publica*, as well as of temples, *aedes sacrae*, became more and more the prerogative of the Princeps.<sup>6</sup> It is true that Cornelius Balbus still built a theatre in Rome, preserved on a fragment of the *Forma urbis Romae* — the *theatrum Balbi* — between 19 and 13 BC, to celebrate his victory over the Garamantes in Africa. However, not only was he the last Triumphator who did not belong to the *domus Augusta*, he was also the last one able to erect such a monument in Rome<sup>7</sup>. After him we have no knowledge of any senator who privately financed and dedicated a public building in Rome. This reflects the actual exclusion of the senators from many spheres of the public domain in Rome itself, although we know of no official decision in this regard.

All the same, senators were very much present in Rome. It is true that Augustus reduced the number of members in the Senate from a figure of well

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *de off.* 1,138; cf. E. Papi, *LTUR* II, 147.

<sup>3</sup> Papi, *LTUR* II, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Ascon. *Scaur.* p. 27 (Clark); Plin. *HN* 36.5f.; Papi, *LTUR* II, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. now: K.-J. Hölkeskamp, 'Exempla und mos maiorum. Überlegungen zum kollektiven Gedächtnis der Nobilität', in *Vergangenheit und Lebenswelt. Soziale Kommunikation, Traditionsbildung und historisches Bewußtsein*, edd. H.-J. Gehrke and A. Müller, Tübingen 1996, 301ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, Munich 1987; J.R. Patterson, 'The City of Rome: From Republic to Empire', *JRS* 82, 1992, 186ff., esp. 200ff.

<sup>7</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1331; W. Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period', in *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, edd. F. Millar and E. Segal, Oxford 1984, 129ff. = 'Autorappresentazione senatoria ed epigrafia imperiale', in *Tra epigrafia* 271ff.

above a thousand to the traditional membership of six hundred. But these six hundred senators lived in Rome. Rome was their legal and official *patria*, whatever their origin, regardless of whether they came from the remotest parts of Italy or (as was the case) in ever increasing numbers from the provinces. Ever since Claudius, any senator who wished to leave Italy in order to visit his ancestral home had to ask the Princeps for his permission. All senators, with the exception of those detained by their official duties, had to take part in the Senate's meetings; only those who had passed the age of sixty-five could decide on their own whether to take part in a session or not. The meetings of the Senate took place very frequently and might last for days on end. Thus legal and practical reasons conspired to make it necessary for senators, and consequently also for their families, to spend the larger part of the year in Rome.<sup>8</sup> Therefore all, or at least a majority, of them were compelled to find residences in Rome itself or in the near *suburbium*.

This had a significant influence on the urban structure of imperial Rome for two reasons: the sheer number of the senatorial families, and their socio-political impact. The mere number of senatorial families turned the senatorial residences into an urban phenomenon of great importance. We do not know how many senatorial families actually lived in Rome at one and the same time. There were around six hundred senators of different age groups in the senate at any given time. Occasionally one family was represented by more than one member. Towards the end of Tiberius' reign both T. Flavius Vespasianus and his brother Sabinus had a seat in the Senate. Vespasian's son Titus became a member of the Senate already under Nero.<sup>9</sup> During the first years of Tiberius' reign, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, *cos.* in 7 BC, was a senator, as was his elder son and namesake who entered the Senate when he became *quaestor* in 18 AD.<sup>10</sup> L. Neratius Priscus, *cos. suff.* in 97, and his brother L. Neratius Marcellus, *cos. suff.* in 95, were together in the Senate for many decades,<sup>11</sup> as were Marcus Aurelius' teacher, Cornelius Fronto, *cos. suff.* in 142, and his brother M. Cornelius Quadratus, *suff.* in 147.<sup>12</sup> In some of these cases two brothers, or a father and

<sup>8</sup> W. Eck, 'Rome and the Outside World. Senatorial Families and the World they lived in', in *The Roman Family: Status, Sentiment, Space*, edd. B. Rawson and P. Weaver, Oxford 1997.

<sup>9</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 352. 398. 399.

<sup>10</sup> W. Eck, A. Caballos, Fdo. Fernández, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, Munich 1996, 71ff.; I. Hofmann-Löbl, *Die Calpurnii. Politisches Wirken und familiäre Kontinuität*, Frankfurt 1996, 234ff.

<sup>11</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> N 55. 60.

<sup>12</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1364. 1462; E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome*, Cambridge 1980, 9f.; W. Eck, M. Roxan, 'Two New Military Diplomas', in *Römische Inschriften - Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen*, edd. R. Frei-Stolba and M.A. Speidel, Basel 1995, 55ff. esp. 92ff.

son, may have shared one household; more often, though, each one had his own residence. Both Flavius Sabinus and Fl. Vespasianus had settled on the Quirinal, but not in the same house; Titus, too, had probably left his father's house by this time.<sup>13</sup> Even when sons of senators had not yet been emancipated from their father's *potestas*, a high *peculium* relative to their father's property was at their free disposal.<sup>14</sup> This made it possible for them to maintain an independent household. Thus even if in some cases two brothers or a father and an adult son shared a household, we may estimate the number of senatorial *domus* in Rome at some five hundred.<sup>15</sup>

This number, for a metropolis like Rome, where in late antiquity, according to the city's regional registers, the number of *domus*, i.e. independent buildings, amounted to 1790,<sup>16</sup> is considerable, in fact almost one third of the total.<sup>17</sup> This number becomes even more significant when we consider that the houses that belonged to this group were generally the bigger and more impressive ones. Surely not everyone who reached this high socio-political position expressed the fact in the size and luxury of his house; but a certain minimal standard must nevertheless have been maintained.<sup>18</sup> Every senator, because of the timocratic rules, belonged to the most prosperous social group. The senatorial *census* of one million sesterces was a bare minimum. Many senators possessed a great deal

<sup>13</sup> M. Torelli, *LTUR* II, 102f., 104. The same is true for Ti. Julius Candidus and Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus under Trajan.

<sup>14</sup> Eck-Caballos-Fernández (n. 10), 221.

<sup>15</sup> To this one has to add *domus* that were occupied by women of senatorial rank, regardless of whether other members of the family were represented in the Senate. Ummidia Quadratilla during Trajan's reign is one example. The fact that every year 90 senators were absent from their houses in Rome because they had to take up residence in the provinces on official missions, half of that number even for several years, must have had its impact on social life in Rome. Some of the well-known heads of households, such as Q. Aiacius Modestus Crescentianus, L. Fabius Cilo, L. Funisulanus Vettonianus, Sex. Iulius Frontinus, A. Platorius Nepos, C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus, had to remain in the provinces for ten or more years at a stretch. We usually do not know whether they let their houses or whether part of the family remained in Rome, as we know about Q. Tullius Cicero (Papi, *LTUR* II, 204)

<sup>16</sup> See A. Nordh, *Libellus de regionibus urbis Romae*, Lund 1949, 73ff. We arrive at this number by adding to the 1783 numbered *domus* registered in the various regions seven more which are listed by name in the regional lists (*infra* n. 138).

<sup>17</sup> Assuming that the number of *domus* had not changed significantly.

<sup>18</sup> It cannot be ruled out that certain senators preferred more modest houses; the author of the *HA* asserts that Septimius Severus occupied only *aedes brevissimae* (v. Sev. 4.5); but just before he left for the provinces he acquired *horti spatiosi*. If this report is true, this might have been a personal preference and does not necessarily reflect the attitude of the senatorial class as a whole; just as Frontinus' opinion that monuments for the deceased were superfluous was not necessarily representative of members of his class (Plin. *Ep.* 9.19).

more, even if not as much as 300 million sesterces, as is reported for Seneca.<sup>19</sup> Even Pliny the Younger, who did not belong to the richest group — his assets were estimated at ca.18-20 million sesterces<sup>20</sup> — owned in addition to his Roman house on the Esquiline two further villas in the vicinity of Rome alone, his Tusculanum and his Laurentinum.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately he does not describe his *domus* in Rome for us at all, as he does for his villas near Laurentum and at Tifernum Tiberinum; consequently we have no knowledge of its size and furnishings.<sup>22</sup> Therefore we cannot tell whether Pliny's *domus* in Rome was of average size or not. He at any rate describes his lifestyle as senator as *sumptuosa dignitas*;<sup>23</sup> this would apply to his *domus* in Rome as well.

There were no legal norms for the houses of Roman senators. Nevertheless it is worth mentioning that the *lex Tarentina* included a regulation that the houses owned by decurions at Tarentum had to be covered by roofs containing at least 1500 tiles.<sup>24</sup> If we take the average size of a tile, this would amount to 440 m<sup>2</sup> of covered building area.<sup>25</sup> However, since a Roman house had many open spaces, it must in fact have been larger by far than the area covered by roof-tiles. Excavations in Rome reveal *domus* that measured 1300 m<sup>2</sup>; others were equal to two *insulae*, i.e. more than 6000 m<sup>2</sup>; a house of this size is attested in the late fourth century for the senator Gaudentius.<sup>26</sup> The residence of Valerius Vegetus on the Quirinal in Trajan's times was probably of similar size,<sup>27</sup> as was the house excavated on the Aventine some decades ago and said to have belonged to Trajan before he became emperor.<sup>28</sup> We can find comparable areas for *domus* on the Severan marble plan.<sup>29</sup> Valerius Maximus probably exaggerates grossly when he

<sup>19</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 13.42.2; Cassius Dio 61.10.1; cf. S. Mratschek-Halfmann, *Divites et praepotentes. Reichtum und soziale Stellung in der Literatur der Prinzipatszeit*, Stuttgart 1993, 307f.

<sup>20</sup> See R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge 1982, 17ff.

<sup>21</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 2.17; 5.6.

<sup>22</sup> For Pliny's villas see now R. Förtsch, *Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Villenbriefen des jüngeren Plinius*, Mainz 1993; esp. for the *atrium* and its function, 38ff.

<sup>23</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 2.4.3.

<sup>24</sup> *Lex Tarentina*. ll. 26-31 = M.H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (London 1996), I 304. I am grateful to H. Hellenkemper for the reference.

<sup>25</sup> Crawford (n.24), 310 in his commentary to l. 26ff.

<sup>26</sup> G. Spinola, 'La topografia antica della sommità del Celio. La *domus* di Gaudentius', *MDAI (R)*, 1993, 473ff.

<sup>27</sup> See F. Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 210.

<sup>28</sup> For the attempt to identify Trajan's *domus* on the Aventine, cf. F. Coarelli, *Roma sepolta*, Rome 1984, 157ff.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. F. Kolb, *Rom. Die Geschichte der Stadt in der Antike*, München 1995, 427. On pages 425-47 he gives a very informative and impressive description of living conditions in imperial Rome.

tells us that in his days people were of the opinion that a house covering an area of seven *iugera* (= 17626 m<sup>2</sup>) provided only cramped living conditions;<sup>30</sup> the point he wanted to make was to show up the contrast between the luxury of the early principate and the *paupertas* of early Rome, symbolized by the name of Cincinnatus. Nevertheless, his remark shows us the idea the general public probably had of the *domus* of a senatorial family.

These houses had to have extensive reception-rooms, vast *atria* and *vestibula*, to receive guests and clients. Many guests stayed in the house of their senatorial patron for long periods of time.<sup>31</sup> Vitruvius, who published his *De Architectura* in the twenties of the first century BC, that is at the beginning of the Principate, says that senators who held *honores* and *magistratus* and fulfilled *officia* vis-à-vis their fellow-citizens needed high-ceilinged *vestibula*, fit for kings, vast *atria* and *peristylia*, parks and spacious promenades, in addition to libraries, picture-galleries (*pinacotheca*) and basilica-like halls, resembling public buildings in their splendour, since *publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque* would often be held in their houses.<sup>32</sup> These needs remained virtually unchanged in the following centuries, notwithstanding the change in the political position of the senatorial aristocracy.<sup>33</sup> This is true even if Tacitus believed that he could discern a decline in luxury compared with the Julio-Claudian dynasty in the wake of the Civil Wars of 69 and especially through the example given by Vespasian.<sup>34</sup> This alleged modesty certainly had no influence on the size of houses. Martial for example talks about *domus potentes* with their *imagines superbae* as well as their *atria alta*;<sup>35</sup> Sex. Iulius Sparsus' *domus*, according to him, was as large as a kingdom, an estate in the midst of the city (*rus in urbe est*), where chariot races could be held.<sup>36</sup>

All this means that apart from the new *fora*, the restored or newly erected temples, the baths and the porticoes, i.e. all the new building activity associated with the emperors, the *domus* of the senatorial elite due to their number, size and

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Val. Max. 4.4.7; cf. Kolb (n. 29) 430.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. e.g. Josephus, who lived in Titus' house.

<sup>32</sup> Vitruvius, *de arch.* 6.5.2; cf. F. Coarelli, 'La casa dell'aristocrazia romana secondo Vitruvio', in *Munus non ingratum: Proceedings of the Int. Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture*, edd. H. Geertman and J.J. de Jong, 1989, 178ff. Cf. also A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Social Structure of the Roman House', *PBSR* 43, 1988, 43ff.; idem, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton 1994, 17ff. (The Language of Public and Private). E. La Rocca, 'Il lusso come espressione di potere', in *Le tranquille dimore degli dei*, edd. M. Cima and E. La Rocca, Rome 1985, 3ff.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 6.2,7 f: active as *iudex*. Cf. also R.P. Saller, 'The Roman Conception of the Family', *Phoenix* 38, 1984, 349ff.

<sup>34</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 3.55.

<sup>35</sup> Mart. 5.20; 12.2.9f.

<sup>36</sup> Mart. 12.57.18ff.

magnificence contributed greatly towards shaping the general appearance of the city of Rome. Did the senators compete deliberately with the emperor in their building activity? Or was there no basis for competition at all, as the dominant imperial edifices occupied quite different places in the topography of Rome from the senatorial *domus*? The basic question we have to ask, therefore, is: in which regions of Rome were the senatorial *domus* situated?

### The problems inherent in the sources

Some comments about the specific sources available for the topic under discussion and the problems relating to them are called for. There are quite a few references to senatorial *domus* in the literary sources. It suffices to recall the estate of Sex. Iulius Sparsus, *cos. suff.* in 88, mentioned above, with its grand buildings, parks and promenades ('*rus in urbe*'). But apart from the fact that this *domus* was situated in Rome, no details can be learned from Martial.<sup>37</sup> Statius is a bit more precise, when he sends the fourth book of his *Silvae*, dedicated to M. Vitorius Marcellus, *cos. suff.* in 105, to the *regio transtiberina* near the *naumachia*,<sup>38</sup> but even so we cannot localize the spot exactly. We have a description of the road leading to the house of Proculus on the south-western corner of the Palatine that is very precise; but we do not know whether Proculus really was a senator.<sup>39</sup> However, the majority of the literary sources are rather vague in their topographical references. For example, Tacitus mentions on three different occasions the house of a senator of the Julio-Claudian dynasty as a *domus foro imminens*. One of these references describes the house of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, *cos. ord.* in 7 BC, another concerns the house of L. Vitellius, *cos. suff.* in 65; here Tacitus mentions in addition to the *imminentes foro aedes* also the *arx*,<sup>40</sup> probably not without reason; for Vestinus Atticus stood in sharp contrast to Nero. The *imminentes foro aedes* as *arx* are the concrete symbol for this opposition. Until now the words *domus foro imminens* were generally understood to mean that these ostentatious houses were located on the slopes of the Palatine not far from the imperial residence or on the *summa Velia*, that is domi-

<sup>37</sup> Mart. 12.57.18ff.; Eck, *LTUR* II, 123.

<sup>38</sup> Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.5ff.; Eck, *LTUR* II, 215.

<sup>39</sup> Mart. 1.70; E. Rodríguez-Almeida, *LTUR* II, 122f. Martial calls the addressee merely Proculus. It has now become known that the senator C. Iulius Proculus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 497) became *cos. II* (G. de Benedittis, A. di Niro, *L'anfiteatro di Larinum*, 1995, 21ff. (I thank G. Camodeca for this reference); A. Birley is of the opinion that he may actually have died before entering upon his second consulship.

<sup>40</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 3.70.1; *Ann.* 3.9.3; 15.69.1. Similarly Cic. *Dom.* 100 had said of his house on the Palatine that it was *in conspectu prope totius urbis*.

nating the Forum.<sup>41</sup> But as we now know from the *s.c.* of 20 AD following the trial against Cn. Calpurnius Piso, the latter's private house was located near the Porta Fontinalis. The Porta Fontinalis was situated on the saddle connecting the Arx of the Capitol Hill with the Quirinal before the Forum Traiani was constructed, so that from here too a *domus* could look proudly down at the Forum. But at the same time this puts Piso's *domus* exactly opposite the Palatine, and not on its slopes.<sup>42</sup> As these cases show, the information contained in the literary references often proves problematic when one tries to locate the senatorial *domus*.

Far more important for the topography of senatorial *domus* are the epigraphic sources — though these too are not without their problems of interpretation. First of all it must be pointed out that inscriptions documenting the construction of senatorial *domus* or *horti* never existed; nor were there any 'name plates', so to speak, fixed to the entrance to the senatorial *domus*, apart from very rare mosaic-inscriptions in late antiquity.<sup>43</sup> Thus we have to fall back on the indirect information contained in other epigraphic material.

First, patronage tablets: *tabulae patronatus*. The text on these bronze tablets constituted a kind of contract between a leading political figure and an Italian or provincial community. They were displayed in the *atrium* of the *patronus*.<sup>44</sup> Some of these tablets have been discovered in Rome, as for example that of T. Pomponius Bassus. Bassus was *cos. suff.* in 95 AD and in 101 AD he took part in organizing Trajan's alimentary programme in Latium; because of this mission the city of Ferentinum elected him patron and drew up a document recording it.<sup>45</sup> This tablet was found in Rome in 1558 still attached to the column of a house situated on the intersection of the Alta Semita with the Clivus Salutis on

<sup>41</sup> Cf. e.g. L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1992, 140.

<sup>42</sup> Eck-Caballos-Fernández (n.10), 207ff.; Eck, *LTUR* II, 76. From G. Pisani Sartorio, 'Una *domus* sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia', in *Città e Architettura nella Roma Imperiale, Analecta Rom. Inst. Danici*, Suppl. 10, 1983, 147ff., one can see how difficult it is to give a correct topographical description of a *domus*. The house on the Velia, assigned to the family of the Insteii, could also be characterized as a *domus foro imminens*. The ascription to the Insteii, by the way, cannot be regarded as certain.

<sup>43</sup> See e.g. the *domus Aripiorum et Ulpiorum Vibiorum*, probably from the third or fourth century, situated in *regio V* (F. Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 37); we cannot make out whether these persons were of senatorial rank. A mosaic with an inscription naming the owner of the house Gaudentius (fourth c.) was found in the *triclinium*, i.e. inside the house (G. Spinola, *LTUR* II, 109 f.).

<sup>44</sup> For these tablets see generally J. Nichols, 'Tabulae patronatus: A Study of the Agreement between Patron and Client-Community', in *ANRW* II, 13, Berlin 1980, 535ff.

<sup>45</sup> *CIL* VI 1492; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 705.



the Quirinal.<sup>46</sup> The circumstances of this find leave no doubt that the *domus* of this Trajanic consular was situated precisely there. Another consideration lends force, as well as a wider historical perspective, to this conclusion. T. Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's wealthy friend, had his *domus* on the Quirinal, near the Temples of Quirinus and of Salus,<sup>47</sup> in other words exactly where the patronage tablet was found. Did the house continue in the same family as implied by the identity of *praenomen* and *nomen gentile*? Not really: the identity of names — even if it is not merely a coincidence — does not prove that the house was passed on in the same family, nor does it provide us with proof of continuity of more than a century. Atticus had no son; his daughter, Caecilia, who married Marcus Agrippa (Augustus' future son-in-law and partner), inherited from her father.<sup>48</sup> How then are we to account for the identity of the names? One solution could be that a freedman of Atticus came to possess the house on the Quirinal. After three or four generations one of his descendants might have entered the senatorial class.<sup>49</sup> This would vindicate Tacitus' assertion that many senatorial families were of servile origin.<sup>50</sup>

Patronage tablets can thus give us good information about the location of senatorial *domus*, as in the case of the Aradii, whose fourth-century *domus* was identified in this way on the Caelius.<sup>51</sup> At the same time such a find can also be misleading. Veterans of the *legio VIII Augusta* who had been settled in a colony in Deultum in Thrace had elected T. Avidius Quietus, a friend of Plutarch, as their patron and brought to Rome a bronze tablet on which the contract was inscribed.<sup>52</sup> This tablet was found in 1876 south of the Stazione Termini. On the other hand, a *domus* of T. Avidius Quietus is known through a *fistula aquaria* to have been situated on the slopes of the Quirinal near the Palazzo Rospigliosi.<sup>53</sup> The two spots are separated from each other by at least 1500 meters as the crow flies. Hence two different *domus* were postulated as being in the possession of T. Avidius Quietus, either simultaneously or successively;<sup>54</sup> either of these assumptions is possible. This conclusion, however, does not take into account the fact that the patronage tablet was found together with very many other bronze fragments; the place where they were found, south of the Stazione Termini, has nothing to do with a *domus* of Avidius Quietus; it is likely to have been the back

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<sup>46</sup> Eck, *LTUR* II, 161.

<sup>47</sup> Cornel. Nepos *Att.* 13.1; Cic. *Att.* 4.1.4; 12.45.2; *de leg.* 1.1.3.

<sup>48</sup> J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, Rome 1984, 81ff.

<sup>49</sup> Eck, *LTUR* II, 162.

<sup>50</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 13.27.1.

<sup>51</sup> Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 207.

<sup>52</sup> *CIL* VI 31692.

<sup>53</sup> *CIL* XV 7400.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. e.g. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1410.

yard of a dealer in scrap metal in medieval or modern times.<sup>55</sup> Avidius Quietus was probably content with one *domus* on the Quirinal.

Another source of information is closely connected with the transformed political scene. In republican times the public places of the city of Rome, namely the *fora*, the Capitol Hill and the porticoes, were the places par excellence where powerful senators were honoured with statues and magnificent monuments by clients, client kings or provincial cities. Often permission was obtained from the senate or the aediles; sometimes, however, these monuments were put up even without permission. When Augustus took over supreme power, the public places of Rome became available for senatorial self-representation only with the acquiescence of the Princeps and the Senate. Thus in most cases it was not possible any longer to honor patrons or benefactors of senatorial rank in the public places of the city. It was then that the private living quarters, the *domus* and the *horti* of those who were to be honoured, took over the function of the public places.<sup>56</sup> Pliny the Elder was right to call the private *domus* an extension of the public place.<sup>57</sup> Juvenal tells us that a triumphal chariot and an equestrian statue of the owner greeted the guests in the vestibulum of a senatorial house.<sup>58</sup> Similar evidence is supplied by the inscriptions. Slaves and freedmen of senatorial families, clients, centurions, friends, provincial cities and family members set up busts, statues and other gifts in the *domus*; more often than not only the inscriptions attached to these have survived. When these are found *in situ*, then we have a clear indication of a senatorial *domus*.<sup>59</sup> The case of Marius Maximus, the writer of scandalous biographies and a contemporary of Cassius Dio, is revealing. Four bases of honorary statues set up for him in Rome are known to us; they were dedicated by people who in different phases of his life served under him in the provinces.<sup>60</sup> These statues could only have been set up in the senator's private domain; otherwise they would have to bear a notice of assignment by the *curatores operum locorumque publicorum*. Three were discovered on the Caelius, near the modern Villa Fonseca. This is, then, where we should locate the house of the *consul iterum*, Marius Maximus. Excavations — unfortunately not well documented — have uncovered a spacious peristyle, halls with apsid

<sup>55</sup> See the bronze fragments published in *CIL* VI 31693 that belong to completely different inscriptions, but still were found on the same spot together with the patronage tablet.

<sup>56</sup> Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation' (n.7), 133ff. = *Tra epigrafia* 273ff. Cf. *ibid.* 299ff.

<sup>57</sup> Plin. *HN* 34.17

<sup>58</sup> Juv. 7.125; 8.3.

<sup>59</sup> See W. Eck, 'Ehrungen für Personen hohen soziopolitischen Ranges im öffentlichen und privaten Bereich', in *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, edd. H.-J. Schalles et al., Cologne 1992, 359ff. = *Tra epigrafia* 299ff.

<sup>60</sup> *CIL* VI 1450-1453.

and precious columns of porphyry and pink granite.<sup>61</sup> Comparable finds, i.e. inscriptions and well preserved remains of buildings with part of their furnishings, are admittedly rather rare for the early and high principate but they become increasingly frequent for late antiquity. This state of affairs reflects the constant changes of ownership of the great senatorial *domus* caused by the rapid turnover of senatorial families and the alterations which this necessitated.<sup>62</sup> The houses of the first two centuries of the principate were probably for the most part rebuilt if they were not destroyed or simply abandoned altogether.

Here too one has constantly to pay heed to the precise context of the find and the type of inscription. Not every sort of epigraphic find is evidence for a senatorial house. Lanciani suggested a house for Ti. Iulius Frugi on the Quirinal on the basis of a fragmentary marble inscription with the latter's *cursus honorum*.<sup>63</sup> However, the fragment was found near a lime-oven where marble was burnt and made into lime, and where many other epigraphic fragments were assembled together with the inscription of Ti. Iulius Frugi.<sup>64</sup> Not only the context in which the inscription was found, but also the type of inscription rules out a house on the Quirinal: this is a grave inscription of Iulius Frugi, and graves, as is well known, lie outside the Pomerium.

There is however a very special group of documents with particular significance for the location of senatorial *domus*; these are the inscriptions on the so-called *fistulae aquariae*.<sup>65</sup> These are lead pipes used to carry water to individual houses. It was unique to the water-supply in the city of Rome that the aqueducts and the structures used for storing and distributing water (*castella aquae*) were built and paid for by the state, that is, from the time of Augustus by the emperor. However, the connection from the *castella* to the 'customer's' house had to be arranged and paid for by the customer himself. Hence the pipe was the customers' own property, and this was concretely indicated by the presence of their names in the genitive case ('*genetivus possessivus*') on the pipes. We can not as-

<sup>61</sup> Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 137f.

<sup>62</sup> See many entries in *LTUR* s.v. *domus*, e.g. Aradii, Iunius Bassus, Symmachus, Neratius Cerialis et al.

<sup>63</sup> *CIL* VI 31717; W. Eck, 'Zu zwei stadtrömischen Inschriften', *Hisp.Ant.* 3, 1973, 299ff.; R. Lanciani, *Forma urbis Romae*, reprint, Rome 1990, tab. 22.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. D. Palombi, *LTUR* II, 121.

<sup>65</sup> See W. Eck, 'Die *fistulae aquariae* der Stadt Rom. Zum Einfluß des sozialen Status auf administratives Handeln', *EOS* I 197ff. = *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, II, Basle 1997 (in print); idem, 'Organisation und Administration der Wasserversorgung Roms', in *Wasserversorgung im antiken Rom*<sup>3</sup>, ed. Frontinusgesellschaft, Munich 1989, 63ff. = *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, I, Basel 1995, 161ff.; Chr. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991; cf. W. Eck, in *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte*, ed. W. Eck, Köln 1993, 387ff.

certain clearly whether the customers were obliged by the *cura aquarum* to inscribe their names on the *fistulae*; such an obligation seems possible, perhaps even plausible, for the officials of the *cura* had to make sure that every customer received no more than the exact amount of water he was entitled to by the concession he had received in the form of an *epistula* from the emperor. From the time of Augustus onwards, the allocation of such a private supply of water in Rome was the prerogative of the emperors; for that reason it was called *beneficium Caesaris*.<sup>66</sup> Since the amount of water supplied by a *castellum aquae* to the customer depended first and foremost on the size of the cross-section of the pipe, and especially of those sections of the pipes that were connected directly to the *castellum*, it was the task of the officials of the *cura aquarum* to control the cross-section of the pipes for the first 50 ft. (~ 15 m).<sup>67</sup> It is on this section of the pipes that we are most likely to find the name of the customer inscribed; but we have evidence of such inscriptions on other sections of the pipes as well. A large number of *fistulae* with the names of their owners inscribed on them survive from Rome. We know of more than 300 'water customers' from the Augustan period to the end of the fifth century, that is until the time when Rome's water-supply broke down because of the imminent German threat.<sup>68</sup> About 60% of these names belong to persons known to have been members of the senatorial order. Around 140 of these *fistulae* bearing names of members of the senatorial order — including names of women and children — have been found within the circuit of the Aurelian walls, i.e. within the area we are dealing with here. It is true that as regards about forty of these *fistulae*, we have no indication of the spot where they were found, so that we cannot utilize them for the topographical aspect of our investigation. But we possess evidence for roughly a hundred names that enables us to locate houses of senators in well-defined regions of the city. Even so, in order to interpret these findings correctly, we have to take into account various additional considerations.

A single *fistula* preserved to this day can be shown to have been part of a private water conduit carrying water from a *castellum aquae* to a private house.<sup>69</sup> But the (maximum) total length of a conduit is not known: presumably

<sup>66</sup> Frontin. *Aquaed.* 3.2; 69.6; 74.4; 94.1; 99.3; 105.1.

<sup>67</sup> Frontin. *Aquaed.* 105.5.

<sup>68</sup> See the collection in *CIL* XV 7367ff.; additions by Eck, 'Die fistulae' (n. 65) 210ff. = *Die Verwaltung* II (n. 65, in print) with further supplements; see evaluation of the *fistulae* also in *LTUR* II s.v. *domus* (with unpublished documentation).

<sup>69</sup> In general, a conduit leads to one house only, as is proven by the fact that only one name, the name of the owner, appears on the *fistula*. But on a small number of *fistulae* several names are inscribed; these sometimes reveal family connections, but at other times it is clear that the persons mentioned are not related. It is quite impossible that these persons lived together in one house. Therefore we may assume that such *fistulae* refer to a conduit that led from the public *castellum aquae* to a

it could be either short or long. There is one piece of information which suggests a limit to the distance covered by a single water conduit. According to Frontinus there were altogether 247 *castella aquae* under Trajan<sup>70</sup> — that is, before he built the *aqua Traiana*, which increased the amount of water available considerably. Were one to assume that all these *castella* were distributed inside that part of the city of Rome which later was surrounded by the Aurelian Wall, then these *castella* must have served an area of about 12.5 km.<sup>2</sup> This would mean that on average each *castellum* catered for an area of about 50,000 m<sup>2</sup>; in reality the size of such an area will have varied considerably. By way of illustration one may suggest that an area of 50,000 m<sup>2</sup> could have dimensions of 300 m x 166 m, or of 500 m x 100 m. What is crucial for us is that even if the number of *castella aquae* was as large as asserted by Frontinus, statistically we have to reckon with a distance of several hundred metres between a *castellum* and a *domus*. In other words the place where a *fistula* is found could be at a considerable distance from the house to which it led.

The problem of the precise location of a senatorial house is made concrete in the following example. *Fistulae* with the name of L. Naevius Clemens have been found in two spots within the city limits of Rome, one near the Villa Aldobrandini on the southern tip of the Quirinal, and the other one near the Porta Viminalis in the north-eastern corner of the Baths of Diocletian, in the immediate vicinity of a *castellum*; this might be important for the interpretation of the finds.<sup>71</sup> The text and shape of both *fistulae* are the same, and they should therefore be dated to the same period. The distance between the spots where the two *fistulae* were found is ca. 1,300 m as the crow flies. How are we to interpret the evidence? The simplest and perhaps the most plausible solution is to postulate two different conduits for two separate *domus*, or one *domus* and *horti*. That one and the same person might receive the concession for drawing water twice is attested elsewhere; e.g. for Narcissus, Claudius' *ab epistulis*,<sup>72</sup> as well as for Publia Valeria Comasia, *clarissima femina*, from the middle of the third century, who had houses both on the Esquiline and on the Aventine.<sup>73</sup> Another explanation for the case of Naevius Clemens is possible though, when one considers that

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private *castellum* and that the private conduit took its start from there. This consideration has important consequences for the localisation of the individual *domus*.

70 Frontin. *Aquaed.* 78ff.

71 *CIL* XV 7499; Eck, *LTUR* II, 142.

72 *CIL* XV 7500; Eck, *LTUR* II, 143.

73 *CIL* XV 7559; Eck, *LTUR* II, 207. It is not impossible that in their case, as well as in that of C. Licinius Mucianus (n. 79) the concession for the drawing of water was given successively; therefore we may not draw the conclusion that one of the persons mentioned earlier possessed two *domus* at one and the same time. The same explanation may apply to Naevius Clemens. There is only one difference: in Naevius' case both *fistulae* might refer to one conduit; for topographical reasons this is quite impossible for Publia Comasia and Licinius Mucianus.

one of the two *fistulae* was found in the vicinity of a *castellum aquae* : once more the technicalities of the Roman water-supply may have played a role.

The concession to draw water from a *castellum aquae* was given by the emperor.<sup>74</sup> However, a *castellum aquae* had limited capacity; once this limit was reached, no more *fistulae* could be attached — at least not legally. Frontinus complains about not infrequent illegal practices that he himself discovered.<sup>75</sup> Normally, therefore, in such a case two possibilities remained open to someone who had already obtained a concession: he had either to wait until a place in the *castellum aquae* nearest to his house became vacant — in other words, he had to wait till someone else's concession expired (since concessions were not given for ever, but for the licensee's lifetime);<sup>76</sup> or the applicant had to be content with a connection to a *castellum aquae* located at a greater distance from his *domus* — which meant larger expenses for the longer connection. Presumably one would take this way out despite the extra expense in order to have a supply of fresh water and thus also raise the value of one's house. This may have happened in Naevius Clemens' case. But that would mean that there was a distance of at least 1,300 m between the place where the *fistula* was found and the presumed house on the southern end of the Quirinal. If this is correct, and in a situation where only one *fistula* with Naevius Clemens' name had been found, namely the one at the Stazione Termini, that is to say at a distance of 1,300 m from his house, then such a *fistula* cannot give us valid topographical information — it cannot really tell us the location of the house to which the pipe was connected. If we apply this lesson to other water licensees, it becomes quite clear that under such conditions the discovery of a single *fistula* cannot determine even approximately the location of a senatorial *domus*.

On the other hand, the case of Naevius Clemens can not have been the rule; the technical problems of a conduit over such a long distance as well as the high expenses involved speak against it. One may therefore use the evidence of *fistulae* in order to locate the general region where an aristocratic *domus* was situated, even if not the precise spot.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Frontin. *Aquaed.* 105.

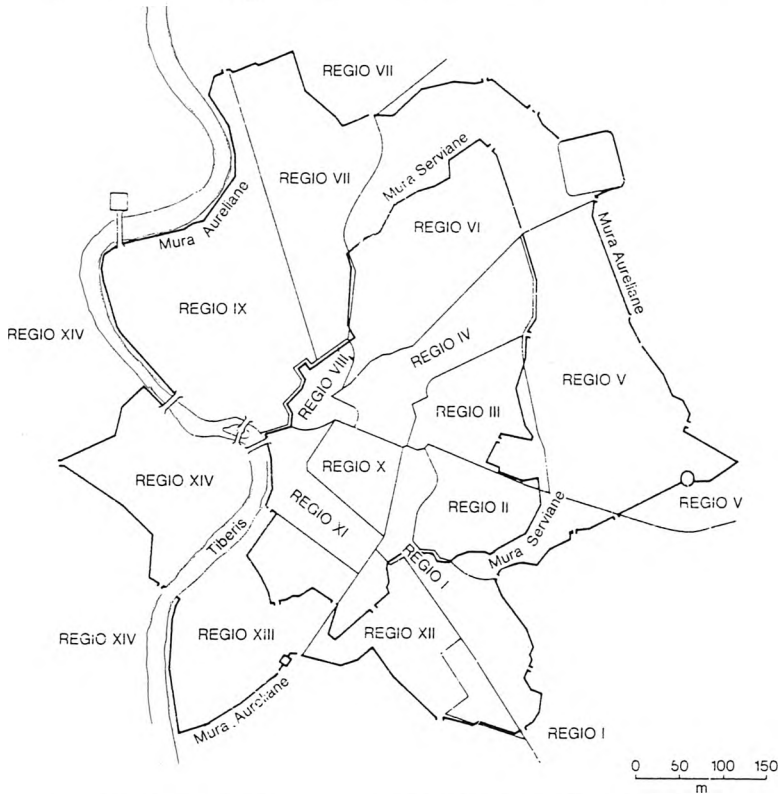
<sup>75</sup> Frontin. *Aquaed.* 109, 115.

<sup>76</sup> Frontin. *Aquaed.* 107.

<sup>77</sup> But this is exactly what happened very frequently, esp. in Lanciani's *Forma urbis Roma* where very precise locations of houses are given and connected with walls found on the various spots.

### The distribution of senatorial *domus* in the city of Rome

The following picture is based on all available sources for senatorial residences in Rome.<sup>78</sup> The table is arranged according to the Augustan regions:



*Le quattordici regioni augustee:*

*I* Porta Capena; *II* Caelemontium; *III* Isis et Serapis *IV* Templum Pacis; *V* Esquiliae; *VI* Alta Semita; *VII* Via Lata; *VIII* Forum

Romanum et Magnum; *IX* Circus Flaminius; *X* Palatium; *XI* Circus Maximus; *XII* Piscina Publica; *XIII* Aventinus; *XIV* Transtiberim.

from F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Roma* (1974), p. 14

<sup>78</sup>

At least fifty entries in *LTUR* II s.v. *domus* do not have any topographical reference (e.g. the *domus* of Attia Campanilla, P. Martius Verus, L. Novius Priscus or Sulpicia Praetexta). These are not included in the table; nor are the houses mentioned in the Acts of the Martyrs.

Table I<sup>79</sup>

Regio	Total of senatorial <i>domus</i>	<i>domus</i> determined by <i>fistulae</i>
I Porta Capena	1	
II Caelimontium	24	11
III Isis et Serapis	9	3
IV Templum Pacis	16	7
IV Esquiliae	39	24
VI Alta Semita (Quirinal/Viminal)	57	33
VII Via Lata	10	6
VIII Forum Romanum + Capitolium)	8 <sup>80</sup>	2
IX Circus Flaminius	4	3
X Palatium (republican) since Augustus	(20) 7	
XI Circus maximus	1	1
XII Piscina publica (smaller Aventine)	6	5
XIII Aventinus	22	9
XIV Transtiberim	4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>104</b>

<sup>79</sup> Information from *LTUR* II, 22-217 (with corrections). Not included in the table are references: (a) to republican *domus* (Palatine excepted), unreliable in their localizations; (b) in the Acts of the Martyrs, which are for the most part legendary. Moreover, in republican times the residential area was far smaller, but under Augustus the 14 regions expanded in all directions. An additional *fistula aquaria* has come to light on the Palatine bearing the name of C. Licinius Mucianus, triple consul under the Flavians (F. Villedieu, *MEFRA* 107, 1995, 469-71; G. Rizzo, *ibid.* 471-74; cf. Villedieu, *ibid.* 108, 1996, 431-36); his *domus* can undoubtedly be located on the Palatine, though possibly not on the exact spot where the *fistula* was found. It is highly improbable that Mucianus built his *domus* there under the Flavians; therefore general considerations lead one to the conclusion that this house on the Palatine, in the vicinity of the Vigna Barberini, did not exist by 65, when he probably moved to the Quirinal; cf. Eck, *LTUR* II, 142; *idem*, 'Die *fistulae*', in *Die Verwaltung* II, Basle 1997 (n. 65, in print), n.116.

<sup>80</sup> The allocation of three houses to regio VIII is questionable: Sex. Pompeius' house (near the forum Augusti), the house of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (on the *summa Velia*), and the house of L. Vitellius, which Tacitus describes as *foro imminens*. The same is valid for two houses at regio X.



Around 208 senatorial *domus* are thus attested in Rome from Augustus to the late fifth century. The total includes also *domus* of women who belonged to the *ordo senatorius*; in 32 cases the concession for drawing water is attested through *fistulae* as belonging to a woman of senatorial rank.

The figure of 208 is small when compared with the total number of senators, who from Augustus until the mid-third century numbered at least 6500,<sup>81</sup> not including women and children. For the later period we cannot arrive at even approximately precise figures for persons of senatorial rank.<sup>82</sup>

Nevertheless these figures are apparently representative and seem to be sound, as is indicated by the even distribution of evidence for senatorial houses over the centuries. The picture is conveyed in the following table.<sup>83</sup>

**Table II**

1st century:	52
2nd century:	56
3rd century:	36
4th century:	38
5th century:	14

Moreover, the relative figures for the various regions remain fairly constant, whether one relies on all available evidence or merely on that of the *fistulae* (see Table I). One might have expected that the evidence would be biased, giving, say, a better representation for one or some of the *regiones* as a result of more intensive excavations. However, since we are dealing with dissimilar and disparate sources, which can hardly all be biased in the same way, we can be pretty sure that the general picture is correct.

Evidently senators scarcely lived in some of the *regiones*: they did not live in Regio XI, around the Circus Maximus, nor in Regio I, Porta Capena, which was

<sup>81</sup> There were 20 new quaestors every year; 600 senators remained in the senate after the purges of Augustus; add to this an increasing number of *adlecti* who became members of the senate in addition to the quaestors. The number of these *adlecti* cannot be estimated at all. Cf. P.M.M. Leunissen, 'Homines novi und Ergänzungen des Senats in der Hohen Kaiserzeit: Zur Frage nach der Repräsentativität unserer Dokumentation', in *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte*, ed. W. Eck, Cologne 1993, 81ff. 6500 is therefore a very cautious estimate for the total number of senators.

<sup>82</sup> Starting with Constantine, new criteria governed the elevation of persons to senatorial rank. It is impossible to estimate how many of these *viri clarissimi* lived in Rome.

<sup>83</sup> Cases without chronological references are not included.

taken up mainly by burial areas even in imperial times. Regio IX, the western part of the Campus Martius, was occupied mainly by public buildings; the few senatorial *domus* attested there date mostly to the late fourth century when a return to the core of the city had begun.<sup>84</sup> The findings are in accordance with what one would have expected. Regio VIII, which included the Forum Romanum and the Capitolium, is hardly represented in the table: again this is due to the dominance of *opera publica* and *aedes sacrae*, which left little room for the erection of houses conforming to the life-style required of senators, although these regions were used as residential areas. The few senatorial *domus* to be seen on the edge of the Forum belong to the period before Nero.<sup>85</sup> After Nero's reign senators disappear from the vicinity of the *fora*; the fire of 64 was decisive in this respect.

The same process is evident in Regio X, the Palatine. In republican times many senators resided there; the evidence is especially abundant for Cicero's time. Among those attested are Clodius and his adversary Milo, P. Cornelius Sulla, *cos.* 66, and Q. Hortensius, Lutatius Catulus and M. Antonius, Cicero himself and M. Aemilius Scaurus, the prodigal aedile of 58 BC.<sup>86</sup>

By building the Temple of Apollo with its porticoes and annexes, Augustus transformed the Palatine into the political centre of his rule. From this time onwards, we have almost no information about senators residing on the *mons Palatinus*. This might lead us to conclude that the political change brought about a sudden and drastic change in the topography of the residential areas. This explanation fails to convince. First, it is only through Cicero and the affairs around his house in 58 BC that we hear of a whole group of other senators who owned houses on the Palatine; thus we are well supplied with sources for the Palatine at this time. That we know hardly anything about senatorial houses in that region later on means little. Secondly, we should take into consideration a passage from the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as interpreted by Peter Wiseman. The poet describes the road to Jupiter's *domus regalis* along which are situated the *deorum atria nobilium: hac parte potentes caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates*. Ovid would call this 'The Palatine of high heaven'.<sup>87</sup> If one accepts Wiseman's interpretation, then Ovid is describing here the road leading from the Forum to Augustus' house on the Palatine, a road bordered by houses of power-

<sup>84</sup> Eck, *LTUR* II, 139: s.v. Nonia Maxima (and her husband Avianius Vindicianus); Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 204f. s.v. Turcii; all three belong to the late fourth century. The rank and date of Caecilius Capito are uncertain (Eck, *LTUR* II, 72).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. n. 80.

<sup>86</sup> See the articles under these names in *LTUR* II.

<sup>87</sup> Ovid *Met.* 1, 168-176; P. Wiseman, 'Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo: The public image of Aristocratic and Imperial Houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire', in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire: Ier siècle avant J.-C. — IIIe siècle après J.-C.*, Rome 1987, 393-413, esp. 404f.

ful senatorial families — not at all unlike the situation in late republican times; only then the dominant centre on the Palatine which Augustus created did not yet exist. Furthermore, a casual reference in the literary sources discloses that Marcius Censorinus, either the consul of 39 BC or that of 8 BC, had taken over Cicero's house, to be followed by Sisenna Statilius Taurus, *cos. ord.* in 16 AD.<sup>88</sup> Aemilius Scaurus' *domus* passed into the hands of a family from Volaterrae who had a seat in the senate from the time of Augustus; C. Caecina Largus, *cos.* in 42, is attested as its owner.<sup>89</sup> This house has been (almost certainly) identified during excavations; thus we know that it underwent alterations and additions during the first half of the first century AD.<sup>90</sup>

There was, therefore, no sudden break on the Palatine either; families were not simply ousted from there. What happened is likely to have been a slow process, brought about by the demise of some *gentes* and the buying up of senatorial property by the *principes*, such as we know for Nero's time.<sup>91</sup> Only the disastrous fire of 64 and Nero's maniacal construction of the *domus aurea* caused the last senatorial families owning *domus* on the Palatine to 'emigrate' into other *regiones*.<sup>92</sup> They were probably encouraged to do so by liberal financial compensation for their property.<sup>93</sup>

Whereas the old center, around the Forum, the Capitol and the Palatine, was no longer inhabited by senators, four other hills became more and more populated by the leading families: the Quirinal (including Viminalis = Regio VI), the Caelius (= Regio II),<sup>94</sup> the Regio Esquiliae (= Regio V), which half encircles the Quirinal and the Caelius, and finally the Aventine (= Regio XIII) in the south. All other *regiones* played a much smaller role compared with these four, as the figures in Table I show. Almost three quarters of all senatorial *domus* known to us from Augustus' time and up to the 5th/6th centuries (ca. 142 *domus*) are concentrated on these hills, which — with the exclusion of the southern end of the Quirinal — held little attraction for senators as places of residence in republican times.<sup>95</sup> Regio V, Esquiliae, lay outside the Severan wall and became attractive

<sup>88</sup> Vell. 2.14.3; Eck, *LTUR* II, 182.

<sup>89</sup> Plin. *HN* 17.1.5; Ascon. p. 27. 32 (Clark).

<sup>90</sup> A. Carandini, 'Domus et insulae sulla pendice settentrionale del Palatino', *Bull. Com.* 91, 1986, 263-78, Papi, *LTUR* II, 26; cf. Coarelli, 'La casa dell' aristocrazia romana' (n.32), 180ff.

<sup>91</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 15.39.1; Suet. *Nero* 31.1; cf. Wiseman (n.87), 409.

<sup>92</sup> Suet. *Nero* 38.2; Plin. *HN* 17.1.5.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. n.91. Also C. Licinius Mucianus' *domus*, identified recently on the Palatine through a *fistula aquaria*, dates probably to the period before 64 AD; cf. n.79.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. C. Pavolini et al., 'La topografia antica della somità del Celio', *MDAI (R)* 100, 1993, 443ff.

<sup>95</sup> For the Quirinal in general cf. M. Santangelo, 'Il Quirinale nell'antichità classica', *AttiPontAccRomArch* 5, 1941, 77ff.

only with Maecenas' improvement schemes. In the late republic and early Principate this hill contained the big parks: the *horti Sallustiani*, *Lamiani*, *Epagathiani* and *Maecenatiani*. These were places of staggering luxury, of leisure and retreat, *rus in urbe*, as Martial at the end of the first century AD describes the urban estate of Iulius Sparsus.<sup>96</sup> This model was continued steadily, albeit mostly on a more modest scale than in the examples just named: otherwise there would not have been room for the many *domus*, especially those on the slopes of the Quirinal.

The Neronian senator L. Cornelius Pusio who hailed from Andalusia lived about 160 m north of the place where later Trajan's column was erected; 100 m away lived the *XVvir sacris faciundis* Iulius Pompeius Rusonianus at the time of the Severan Secular games. Somewhat to the east was the house of the Flavian and Trajanic consular Avidius Quietus as well as that of Virius Lupus, a patrician senator in the middle of the third century. Along the Alta Semita were situated the houses of Betitius Perpetuus Arzygius in the middle of the fourth century, of Pomponius Bassus under Domitian and Trajan, of Flavius Sabinus and of Flavius Vespasianus under Nero. Beyond the Malum Punicum, where Domitian was born, the consular from Baetica, Q. Valerius Vegetus, built his house in the late first century, following probably the building fashion of his homeland. Immediately next to him, and 250 years later, Vulcacius Rufinus, the consul of 347 and *praefectus praetorio* several times between 344-347 and 365-368, had his house.<sup>97</sup> One could continue the enumeration of houses up to the Aurelian city walls and beyond.

Even this partial survey has made it clear that the entire Quirinal, ever since the early Principate and well into the fourth century, was the domicile of powerful families. Evidently no one area on this hill was preferred to others at any given time. This is true of the other hills as well. It is also manifest that the Quirinal together with the Caelius became the center of the senatorial elite earlier than the Esquiline. This can easily be accounted for by the fact that the Quirinal was closer to the political center than either the Esquiline or the Aventine, and because it had played a more prominent role already in republican times. Maecenas' 'development project' on the Esquiline has already been mentioned.<sup>98</sup>

The assertion often found in the earlier literature that the Aventine was in the 4th/5th century the aristocratic hill par excellence<sup>99</sup> cannot be sustained when all the available sources are taken into account. On the one hand, there were far more senatorial houses on the Quirinal in this late period; the Caelius too was

<sup>96</sup> Mart. 12.57.8ff.; Eck, *LTUR* II, 123.

<sup>97</sup> *PLRE* I 782f. Rufinus 25; Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 172f.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. e.g. G. Pinza, 'Le vicende della zona Esquilina fino ai tempi di Augusto', *Bull. Com.* 42, 1915, 119ff.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. e.g. A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1906, 333ff.

densely inhabited. On the other hand, the Aventine from the early Principate onwards attracted senators<sup>100</sup> despite its plebeian associations. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that one of the few senators whose servile origins are indisputable seems to have had his abode there.<sup>101</sup> He was the praetor, A. Larcus Macedo, who according to Pliny was murdered in his bath by his own slaves; he had treated them extremely badly although, or perhaps precisely because, he himself was the descendant of slaves.<sup>102</sup> His father was Larcus Lydus, who offered Nero, after the latter's return from his singing tour in Greece, the sum of a million sesterces if he would consent to perform in Rome too.<sup>103</sup> Many of his senatorial peers must have turned up their nose at the parvenu Macedo. Pliny makes no secret of his deep aversion; he also recounts that shortly before his death Macedo visited the public baths and there a Roman knight punched him in the face because one of Macedo's slaves had jostled him.<sup>104</sup> One should not conclude from this that Larcus Macedo did not possess a private bath in his house in Rome and that therefore this house was rather modest and unassuming; it was precisely in his private bath on his rural estate near Formiae that he was so maltreated by his slaves that he died shortly thereafter.<sup>105</sup> Even Pliny, during his stays at his Laurentinum, used to visit one of the three public baths at the nearby *vicus* when he wanted to avoid the expense of heating his own private bath there.<sup>106</sup> Most probably Larcus Macedo's house inside his *praedia* on the Aventine did meet the standards imposed on him by his senatorial *dignitas*.

This was certainly true of an older contemporary of Macedo, Trajan's Spanish compatriot and friend, Licinius Sura, *cos.* III in 107 AD.<sup>107</sup> Trajan paid him a personal visit in his *domus* on the Aventine.<sup>108</sup> Once a figure like Sura established his residence on this hill, all offensive associations this vicinity might have had for senatorial sensitivity must have been lost — unless this had been the case already long before. Seneca may have lived there too, since he complains that he is disturbed in his philosophical reflections by the noise made by

<sup>100</sup> E.g. D. Cavallo, 'Precisazioni sulla *Domus Pactumeiorum* sull'Aventino attraverso una pianta ritrovata all'Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma', *Bull. Com.* 88, 1984, 213ff.

<sup>101</sup> W. Eck, *ZPE* 42, 1981, 245f.; idem, *LTUR* II, 126. Cf. above for the *domus* of Pomponius Bassus on the Quirinal.

<sup>102</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.

<sup>103</sup> Cassius Dio 63.21.2.

<sup>104</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.6f.

<sup>105</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.2

<sup>106</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.26.

<sup>107</sup> L. Vendittelli, *LTUR* II, 129f. E. Rodríguez Almeida's article, *LTUR* II, 130, on a supposedly second *domus* of Sura is insufficient.

<sup>108</sup> Cass. Dio 68.15.4f.

the spectators in the Circus Maximus. From this it appears that his house may have been situated on the slope of the Aventine towards the Circus.<sup>109</sup>

Quirinal, Esquiline, Caelius and Aventine: these hills were the centre of senatorial life in the city of Rome; all other *regiones* played no role in comparison with them, or at most a very insignificant one. They provided the room for expansion suitable and necessary for a senator. It cannot still have happened that the whole senate assembled in the house of one of its members, as they did in the year of Caesar's consulate, 59 BC, in the house of Caesar's colleague, Bibulus.<sup>110</sup> But again and again we witness emperors visiting senators in their houses, as Augustus visited Tarius Rufus during a trial conducted within the family circle, and as Trajan visited Sura's house on the Aventine.<sup>111</sup> Social invitations when sent 'ex officio' could be extended to a great number of senators. At least once a year all the *fratres Arvales* assembled in the magister's house; this is recorded in the Arvals' *acta*.<sup>112</sup> It must have been necessary also in the case of the other collegial priesthoods and *sodalitates*, in which membership was for life.<sup>113</sup> The surroundings had to harmonize with such meetings, as also for the receptions given for friends and colleagues of equal rank and for the customary clients' *salutationes* in the early hours of the morning.<sup>114</sup> It is hard to believe that many senators might have dared not maintain the standard befitting the *ordo*, at least as far as their financial circumstances permitted.<sup>115</sup> Concrete examples of senatorial *domus* exhibit therefore the set-up and the space which could be expected: spacious *vestibula* with sitting benches for clients, high *atria* with columns of expensive marble or *cipollino* or even *columnae porphyreticae*; *peristylia* with long porticoes or cryptoporticoes, *nymphaea* and parks.<sup>116</sup> In late antiquity *opus sectile*-floors replaced the mosaics, as in the house of Iunius

<sup>109</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 83.5; Eck, *LTUR* II, 31.

<sup>110</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.* 2.11; cf. Palombi, *LTUR* II, 75.

<sup>111</sup> Sen. *Clem.* 1.15.3; see n.108. Cf. Plin. *HN* 14.56 for Pomponius Secundus.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. e.g. *CIL* VI 2059, 2060, 2065, 2067, 2068, 2071, 2075, 2076, 2080, 2086, 2099, 2101, 2114; *AE* 1947 59; 1964 69, 71.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 4.11.6: Domitian convened the *pontifices* on his Albanum.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 3.12; he obviously toys with the modesty of the banquet. For *salutationes* see Mart. 7.23; Sen. *Ben.* 6,34,1ff.; *Ep.* 11,84,12; Tac. *Ann.* 14,56,3.

<sup>115</sup> There was the occasional *senator pauper* even in imperial times; cf. e.g. Fronto's remarks about L. Gavius Clarus, Fronto *Ep.* 2.7 (p. 110 f., v. d. Hout, Teubner edition 1988).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. *LTUR* s.v. *domus* Arruntius Stella; Avidius Quietus; Fabius Cilo; Fabius Gallus; Iunius Homullus; Iulius Avitus; Iulius Sparsus; Licinius Sura; Marius Maximus; Valerius Vegetus. For a *cryptoporticus* on the Quirinal where once there were many senatorial houses cf. S. Vilucchi, *Bull. Com.* 91, 1986, 353.

Bassus, *praef. urbi* in 358 AD; apsidal rooms came to dominate the house more and more in the 4th and 5th centuries.<sup>117</sup>

One may ask whether one recognized a senatorial *domus* by these features or whether any parvenu who possessed enough money could build or buy a house of similar size and value. No doubt there was no legal or social obstacle to doing so (the same is true of graves).<sup>118</sup> In some cases a *nouveau riche*, a freedman or a rich provincial merchant, could, if he wanted, compete with a senatorial house;<sup>119</sup> the exterior and the size of the grounds betrayed, as far as we know, no identifiable distinctions. Whereas we know of many inscriptions bearing the name of the builder on public buildings, practically no such inscriptions are known for private houses. Trophies erected at the entrance of houses in republican times marking them as the home of a *gens* able to boast many victories to their name disappeared in the course of time. Such old-fashioned houses would not have been in keeping with the standards of imperial times.

Nonetheless as soon as one entered a senatorial house, one could recognize its special character, independently of the presence of the master. The socio-political status, the *dignitas*, was made concrete in various details. Even after the establishment of monarchy the family's ancestors were extremely significant for its importance. The continuing influence of the past found its expression in the *imagines*, placed in the *atrium*.<sup>120</sup> They were still cherished and more were added. This is why the penalty for *crimen maiestatis* could be the prohibition to include the *imago* of the condemned among those of the other ancestors. In the case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, Germanicus' alleged murderer, this ban is part of the senate's verdict against him, just as with Libo Drusus in 17 AD.<sup>121</sup> Next to the *imagines* new marks of distinction emerged. True, no senator could hold a triumph any more; but the *ornamenta triumphalia* were granted until the time of Hadrian, as well as the *dona militaria* in the shape of *coronae*, *hastae purae* or *vexilla*.<sup>122</sup> Since senators mention both in their *cursus honorum*, presented in official inscriptions, we may be sure that *ornamenta* and *dona* were displayed in the atrium, to document the military merits of the master as well as of his ancestors. Some senators assembled many such signs of distinction in the course of

<sup>117</sup> See *LTUR* s.v. *domus* Iunius Bassus; Alfenius Caeonius Iulianus Camenius; Aradii.  
<sup>118</sup> Cf. W. Eck, 'Grabmonumente und sozialer Status in Rom und Umgebung', in *Römische Gräber des 1. Jh.s n. Chr. in Italien und den Nordwestprovinzen*. Kolloquium Xanten 1994, edd. H. v. Hesberg and H.J. Schalles (in print).

<sup>119</sup> See the description given by Ovid *Fasti* 6. 637ff. of the *immensae tecta ... domus* of Vedius Pollio; it was *urbis opus domus una ... spatiumque tenebat, quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent*.

<sup>120</sup> See e. g. Plin. *Ep.* 5.17.6; also H.I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, Oxford 1997.

<sup>121</sup> Eck-Caballos-Fernández (n.10), 195ff.

<sup>122</sup> V.A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, London 1981, 101ff.

their life. For example M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus in Domitian's time collected 8 *coronae*, 8 *vexilla* and 8 *hastae purae*.<sup>123</sup> These must have impressed many visitors.

The patronage tablets mentioned above were also hung in the atrium. They demonstrated the wide-ranging social ties across the entire Roman empire,<sup>124</sup> as did the honorary gifts and statues sent by former employees, by cities and provinces — all of which were set up in the *atrium*, the peristyle or the gardens.<sup>125</sup> I have already mentioned Marius Maximus in this context; we know the same about Fabius Cilo, city prefect under Septimius Severus, and about the Aradii or Turcii Aproniani of late antiquity.<sup>126</sup> A centurion of the *Legio XVI*, who served during Nero's reign under Cornelius Pusio in northern Germany, dedicated a bronze statue together with a bronze tablet bearing an inscription to Pusio; both have been found in the latter's house in the southern part of the Quirinal.<sup>127</sup> Already in the Augustan period the province of Asia honoured a young senator who had served there as quaestor in his gardens on the Viminal. An honorary table resting on two *trapezophora* was set up in the garden;<sup>128</sup> upon the table there were probably additional presents as well. The province entrusted 8 legati with bringing these gifts to Rome. Many senators were honoured with far more monumental structures. The city of Bizica in Africa apparently erected for the later ephemeral emperor of March/April 193, Didius Iulianus, after his proconsulate in this province, a bronze quadriga, probably in his gardens in Rome.<sup>129</sup>

These and other signs publicized the status of a family and especially that of its head; no one could doubt the role he played in the official life of Rome and the empire. The same effect was aimed at through the exhibition of the architectural and artistic luxury of the house.

For the immediate neighbours of a senatorial family other proceedings were associated with the houses of *virī clarissimi*. Every senator who managed to rise to the rank of consul — and that meant in the second century about half the

<sup>123</sup> See e.g. the *dona militaria* for an ignotus, D.1022; for M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus, AE 1973, 283 = *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 14,124.

<sup>124</sup> *LTUR* II s.v. *domus* Avidius Quietus; Pomponius Bassus.

<sup>125</sup> For a list of dedications from communities see W. Eck, 'CIL VI 1508 (Moretti, *IGUR* 71) und die Gestaltung senatorischer Ehrenmonumente', *Chiron* 14, 1984, 201ff.

<sup>126</sup> See n. 60; *LTUR* II s.v. *domus* Fabius Cilo; Turcii Aproniani.

<sup>127</sup> Eck, *LTUR* II, 88.

<sup>128</sup> *CIL* VI 31742 f.; Eck, *LTUR* II, 146.

<sup>129</sup> *CIL* VI 1401 = D. 412 = H.-G. Pflaum, *Les sodales Antoniniani*, Paris 1966, 60ff. 94ff. = *CIL* VI 41122.



number of quaestors in any given year who reached the age of 40-45<sup>130</sup> — celebrated during his active political life his festive entry into office in the city itself three or four times: first as quaestor, then as aedile or plebeian tribune, later on as praetor and finally as consul. The actual inauguration ceremony took place of course in other places, in the senate or in the ceremonial procession ending in a sacrifice on the Capitol. However, the day began in the house of the new officeholder. Here there assembled friends and dependents, clients and city embassies with whom the senator had close ties of friendship. They came even from the provinces to congratulate their patron and accompany him in the procession that went down from his house to the Forum.<sup>131</sup> We do not have a description of such a public procession in our sources, but that that was the course they took<sup>132</sup> is implied for example in Tacitus' description of Cn. Piso pater's return from Syria in October/November of 20 AD. He arrived on a ship going down the Tiber and disembarked on Mars' Field, near Augustus' Mausoleum; a huge crowd of clients was waiting there to accompany him and his wife Plancina — herself surrounded by many women — along the Via Lata and through the Porta Fontinalis to his house, the *domus foro imminens*. The house was decorated for this festive occasion and awaited its returning master with *convivium* and *epulae*. Tacitus comments: *celebritate loci nihil occultum*.<sup>133</sup> The house and the goings-on inside it attracted the eyes of the curious; emotions among the populace and the political classes ran high. Piso's tactlessness, his lack of sensitivity to the social and political repercussions of his behaviour and the ostentatious use he made of his house — all these worked against him in the subsequent trial. Quite different was the comportment of Agricola, Tacitus' father-in-law, on returning from Britain in 85 AD. He was well aware that his fame would cause a great number of people to welcome him. In order that his entrance into the city would not attract attention, he avoided being received by his friends altogether, entering Rome by night, and proceeding directly to the palace of the emperor, rather than to his own house. From then on *tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit*.<sup>134</sup> He reduced the number of people around him, just as Seneca, when his relations

<sup>130</sup> See the lists of consuls in A. Degrassi, *Fasti consolari dell' impero Romano*, Rome 1952, 27ff.; G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, Bonn 1977, 11ff., 137ff.

<sup>131</sup> *CIL* III 1562 = D. 3896 = *IDR* III 1, 56.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Cic. *Dom.* 100: *in conspectu prope totius urbis*.

<sup>133</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 3.9.2f. We deduce Piso's entrance into the city through the Porta Fontinalis through a combination of Tacitus' account and the details in the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre*; cf. W. Eck, in *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World. Studies in Honor of Zvi Yavetz*, edd. I. Malkin and Z.W. Rubinsohn, Leiden 1995, 1ff.

<sup>134</sup> Tac. *Agr.* 40.3f.

with Nero deteriorated, reduced the numbers of those who came to pay him *salutatio*.<sup>135</sup>

Agricola seems to have spent his *otium* and *secessus* in Rome; but the whereabouts of his house are unknown to us. By then his younger contemporary, Pliny, had probably already bought his *domus* on the Cispius. Martial sent there his *doctum satis et parum severum, sed non rusticulum tamen libellum*. He cautions his little book not to knock on the door of the *facundus* Plinius at the wrong time, since the latter devotes all his days to *tetrica Minerva*.<sup>136</sup> Thus Martial is describing Pliny's house as a place of *otium*, where Pliny can pursue his literary interests in order to compete in the eyes of posterity with the fame of the man from Arpinum. Pliny himself had a somewhat different concept of retirement and *otium*. Whenever he could, he would leave the city, even late in the day, in order to reach his Laurentinum, 17 miles outside Rome, south of Ostia, on the sea shore. There he wrote his speeches and poems; there he held conversations.<sup>137</sup> In essence the background is the same as that which is used in Cicero's dialogues: they take place outside the city in one of his or his friends' villas. If one is to take Pliny's statements in his letters about his *domus* in Rome and his country houses, above all the Laurentinum, as true expressions of the emotional value he attached to each of them, then his *domus* meant much less to him than the Laurentinum.

In European history of the middle ages and modern times we know castles and palaces as the ancestral seat of an aristocratic family, and as bearing the name of the family, for example the Palais Esterhazy in Vienna, the Palazzo Medici in Florence and the Palazzo Colonna in Rome. This is the consequence of one family having resided in the same place for many generations, or at least of the palace remaining for hundreds of years in the possession of one family. It is, therefore, surprising to find hardly any information in Rome about a *domus* acquiring the name of a single family; such a development would be a sign of continuous possession. In the register of city *regiones* from late antiquity which lists many public buildings by name and records the number of *domus* per regio, there are only five *domus* to which personal names are attached, namely *domus Philippi* in Regio II, *domus Brutti Praesentis* in Regio III, *domus Dionis* in Regio X and *domus Cilonis* as well as *domus Cornificiae* in Regio XII.<sup>138</sup> It is

<sup>135</sup> Tac. *Ann* 14.56.3.

<sup>136</sup> Mart. 10.20; Rodríguez-Almeida, *L'Urbs* (n.87), 421ff.

<sup>137</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.2; cf. *Ep.* 1.9.4; 1.22.11; 2.2.3; 4.6.1; 4.23.4; 5.2.1; 7.4.3; 9.40.1.

<sup>138</sup> See Nordh (n. 16), 75, 76, 90, 93. Add to these the *domus Traiani* and *Hadriani* (p. 93, 94, Nordh). But the way these houses were remembered followed a completely different tradition once Trajan and Hadrian became emperors. According to R. Quinto, *Bull. Com.* 89, 1984, 68, one might identify the *domus Hadriani* mentioned in the registers of the city *regiones* with the *domus* where later on Fabius Cilo lived. This is rather implausible.

important to note that in each case the *domus* is named after an individual; a family name, which would be a sign of continuity, appears but once: not accidentally it is the name of the *familia Bruttia*, one of the very few senatorial families which from Flavian times onwards, until the fourth century, sat in the Senate without interruption.<sup>139</sup> It is likely that this *domus* was continuously in the hands of a member of this family, who were all called Bruttius Praesens, and that therefore, because this was so exceptional, the name stuck.<sup>140</sup>

In fact we know that the great senatorial *domus* changed hands very swiftly especially in the late republic; we know this because Cicero was deeply involved in this. The house which Cicero bought in 62 BC on the Palatine was built by M. Livius Drusus, who was murdered in 91 BC, and later passed into the hands of a Licinius Crassus, who sold it to Cicero. After the latter's death in 43 the *domus* became the property of a Marcius Censorinus; however at the latest during the reign of Tiberius it is found in the possession of Sisenna Statilius Taurus.<sup>141</sup> Thus within a span of ca.120 years the house changed hands at least five times; it is impossible for a tradition, for a tie with a particular family, to develop in this way. The quick turnover, especially in the case of the big houses in the late republic, pointed out by Elizabeth Rawson in an article from 1971,<sup>142</sup> is not unique to this period of crisis, but continues in the following centuries. Of course there were senatorial *gentes* in imperial times that sat in the senate for many generations and also kept their palaces in Rome. Not only the Bruttii Praesentes belong here, but so too do, e.g., the Acilii Glabrones, the Scipiones Orfiti and the Neratii.<sup>143</sup> Such families, because of their generations-long tradition and the weight of their prestige left their stamp on the senate. And yet there was a huge change in the composition of the senate. Whereas at the beginning of the Principate almost 100% of all senators came from Italy, by the time of the Severi

<sup>139</sup> See *PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 116ff.; *PLRE* I 721.724.

<sup>140</sup> There are a few more *domus* in the literary tradition that are associated with an aristocratic individual, e.g. the *domus Frontiniana*, probably identical with the *domus* of Cornelius Fronto (W. Eck, *LTUR* II, 87), or the *aedes Lateranorum* at Iuv.10, 15ff., which Hieronymus *Ep.* 77, 4 refers to as *basilica quondam Laterani* (n.b. singular!); cf. P. Liverani, *LTUR* II, 127. In these cases too a concrete person is remembered, known as a man of letters like Fronto; the name of Lateranus calls to mind the fact that he was the last owner of that *domus* which after his violent death passed into the hands of the emperor. Cf. for similar occurrences E. Champlin, 'Aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen: Property, Place-Names and Prosopography', in *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte* (n.65), 51ff.

<sup>141</sup> Papi, *LTUR* II, 242ff.

<sup>142</sup> E. Rawson, 'The Ciceronian Aristocracy and its Properties', in *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M. I. Finley, Cambridge 1976, 85ff. = eadem, *Roman Culture and Society*, ed. F. Millar, Oxford 1991, 204ff.

<sup>143</sup> M. Dondin-Payre, *Exercice du pouvoir et continuité gentilice. Les Acilii Glabrones*, Rome 1993; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1437ff.; N 53ff.

more than half had their origin in the provinces: Spain, southern France, Africa, Asia Minor and Syria are most prominent in the process of provincialization of the senate<sup>144</sup> (in this respect Judaea / Syria Palaestina is exceptional: so far not one senator from this province is known<sup>145</sup>). All these new senators must have settled in Rome and in general bought a *domus* there. We know this for example of Seneca who came from Corduba in Baetica, of Pliny who came from the Italian Comum, of Quintilius Condianus from Alexandria Troas and of Arruntius Stella from Patavium, of P. Attius Pudens from Ephesus, of M. Cornelius Fronto from Numidian Cirta and of C. Iulius Avitus from Syria.<sup>146</sup> This list could easily be lengthened.

The rapid turnover of families in the senate resulted in swift changes of ownership. Many *domus* remained in the hands of the same family only for one generation, as happened, for example, in Pliny's case. Some senators even changed their places of residence several times while they were active members of the Senate, like, for example, Licinius Mucianus.<sup>147</sup> After a childless death or when the descendants no longer were — or no longer could be — members of the Senate, the *domus* was either bequeathed outside the direct line or sold; often families who no longer had a seat in the Senate must have returned to their old home town. Not infrequently a new senatorial family would take over an already existing *domus* of adequate renown, but the old name would not remain. Thus in Trajan's times the eighty-year-old senatorial lady Ummidia Quadratilla, from Casinum in southern Latium, lived in a house that had formerly belonged to C. Cassius Longinus, the founder of the law school named after him.<sup>148</sup> Cornelius Fronto, himself a *homo novus*, lived in a part of what had been Maecenas' gardens; after his death, his son-in-law, Aufidius Victorinus, took over the *domus*;

<sup>144</sup> See e.g. G. Barbieri, *L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino*, Rome 1952, 432ff.; W. Eck, in *Storia di Roma* II 2, Turin 1991, 104ff. = *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* I, Basle 1995, 141ff.

<sup>145</sup> In Valerius Calpurnianus and Valerius Valerianus we may have the first officials of the equestrian order coming from this province; see W. Eck, *ZPE* 113, 1996, 229ff. *LTUR* II s.v. *domus* of the persons just mentioned.

<sup>147</sup> See n. 17. The reasons for this could have been manifold: e.g. an important step in the course of a career, such as the assumption of the consulate, which brought with it entrance into the important circle of *consulares*. The death of a father or a large unexpected inheritance might result in greater financial independence. All this might induce a senator to acquire a new *domus*, especially when the old one could not be altered and enlarged on a suitable scale.

<sup>148</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.8. Pliny knew whom the house had belonged to; but even so he names only an individual and not the family. One often encounters the fact that the name of an individual whose death had occurred a long time ago was still connected with the house.

possibly it continued to be known as Fronto's *domus*.<sup>149</sup> The *homines novi* had an extremely stimulating effect on the Roman real-estate market; but an essential element necessary for the creation of a long-lasting tradition was thereby removed. As a collective, the senate and the senatorial order were an enduring element of the Roman state as long as it lasted, because they constantly regenerated themselves. But this meant that the senatorial *domus* could not become points of orientation and reference in the city of Rome. The constant changes of ownership, whatever their reasons, must often have given rise to rebuilding and alterations; this left no room for a tradition to develop.<sup>150</sup> Senatorial *domus* of imperial Rome have thus become a sort of symbol of the continuous regeneration of the *ordo senatorius*, but at the same time they illustrate how slight a mark the single senator and the single senatorial family might leave on imperial Rome. Senatorial *domus* were certainly an important element in Rome's urban structure, but there could never be any question of their competing with the imperial edifices. The senatorial *domus* were differently embedded in Rome's topography, and they knew no real continuity. These two facts determined the dominance of the imperial power in the city's architecture and planning. No building associated with an individual senatorial family has survived in the Rome of today, whereas imperial buildings, often named after individual emperors, shape the center of the eternal city to this very day.

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<sup>149</sup> E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome*, Cambridge 1980, 21ff.; Eck, *LTUR* II, 87.

<sup>150</sup> In spite of all this there were *domus* that remained within a single family for several generations, or even over centuries. It seems that the Nummii - if the relevant inscription did in fact remain *in situ* - inhabited the same house from the second to the fourth century (Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II, 146 f.). But this is not a typical case for Rome.