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Trümper, Monika

## Late Republican Baths in Italy. Urban Context and Ownership

aus / from

**Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung = Bullettino dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico, Sezione Romana, 128 (2022).**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/cdad-z6k6>

**Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:**  
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

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## IMPRESSUM

### **Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung**

erscheint seit 1829 / *published since 1829*

RM 128, 2022 • 512 Seiten mit 295 Abbildungen / *512 pages with 295 illustrations*

Für wissenschaftliche Fragen und die Einreichung von Beiträgen / *Send editorial correspondence and submissions to:*

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom

Redaktion

Via Sicilia, 136

00187 Rom

Italien

Tel: +39 06 488 81 41

Fax: +39 488 49 73

E-Mail: [redaktion.rom@dainst.de](mailto:redaktion.rom@dainst.de)

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### **Peer Review**

Alle für die Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, eingereichten Beiträge werden einem doppelblinden Peer-Review-Verfahren durch internationale Fachgutachterinnen und -gutachter unterzogen. / *All articles submitted to the Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, are reviewed by international experts in a double-blind peer review process.*

### **Redaktion und Layout / *Editing and Typesetting***

Gesamtverantwortliche Redaktion / *Publishing Editor:*

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Redaktion der Abteilung Rom

Norbert Zimmermann • Marion Menzel • Luisa Bierstedt

Satz / *Typesetting:* le-tex publishing services (<https://www.le-tex.de/de/index.html>)

Corporate Design, Layoutgestaltung / *Layout design:* LMK Büro für Kommunikationsdesign, Berlin

Umschlagfoto / *Cover Illustration:* E. Kodzoman – L. Stampfer, Institute of History of Architecture and Building Archaeology, TU Vienna

### **Druckausgabe / *Printed Edition***

© 2022 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Verlag Schnell & Steiner GmbH

Verlag / *Publisher:* Verlag Schnell & Steiner GmbH (<https://www.schnell-und-steiner.de>)

ISBN: 978-3-7954-3794-7 – Zenon-ID: 003017858

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Druck und Bindung in Deutschland / *Printed and Bound in Germany*

### **Digitale Ausgabe / *Digital Edition***

© 2022 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Webdesign: LMK Büro für Kommunikation, Berlin

XML-Export, Konvertierung / *XML-Export, conversion:* le-tex publishing services

Programmierung Viewer-Ausgabe / *Programming Viewer edition:* LEAN BAKERY, München

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/653a-33dp>

E-ISSN: 2749-8891

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An aerial photograph of an archaeological site, likely an ancient Roman bath complex. The image shows a large, rectangular structure with a tiled roof, surrounded by stone walls and other ruins. The ground is a mix of dirt and stone, with some areas appearing to be excavated or cleared. The overall scene is a detailed view of ancient urban architecture.

## ABSTRACT

### Late Republican Baths in Italy

Urban Context and Ownership

Monika Trümper

The urban context and ownership of baths have long been recognized as closely interrelated key features behind publicly accessible baths, but have not been comprehensively investigated for the Late Republican/Hellenistic period examples in the Western Mediterranean. This paper examines these two features of urban baths in Italy that were built between ca. 200 and 31 BC. Based on epigraphic and archaeological sources 23 baths in 17 sites are identified, of which 17 sufficiently well preserved examples are discussed in more detail. The analysis uses a set of criteria to differentiate between publicly-owned and privately-owned complexes, including inscriptions, the urban location, insula context, design of façades, accessibility, and water supply. It is argued that 13 (or even 15) of the 17 baths were built at public initiative close to or at the Forum, and were accessible from main streets. When cities were remodelled and embellished in the Late Republican period, baths were apparently an integral part of the standard building set and the new cityscapes. Providing them became a public endeavour and an official task. Since baths were built in vastly different cultural and historical contexts, including various Italic settlements, Latin and Roman colonies, as well as municipia, they were not markers of a specific Roman identity and culture, but rather of a supra-regional urban identity and lifestyle.

## KEYWORDS

Late Republican Baths, Italy, Urban Context, Ownership, Public Endeavour

# Late Republican Baths in Italy

## Urban Context and Ownership

<sup>1</sup> When Seneca wrote his 56<sup>th</sup> letter to Lucilius between AD 62 and 64, he lived temporarily over a bath building in Baiae. He provided a detailed list of activities carried out in these baths, focusing not on the bodily benefits or social pleasures, but on the cacophonous sounds and nuisance they entailed for him. Seneca's solely acoustic perception of the collective bathing activities shows that he considered living above the baths an imposition rather than an advantage. With Henri Lefebvre<sup>1</sup> one could say that Seneca focused in his lament on the 'espace vécu' (lived space) and 'espace perçu' (perceived and experienced space), but not on the 'espace conçu' (conceived space), on the ratio behind the urban context of the baths in Baiae. The question arises who would have built the baths right next to Seneca's lodgings and why.

<sup>2</sup> The aim of this paper is to examine this question, focusing on the urban context and ownership of public baths in Italy from ca. 200 to 31 BC, thus the period when the public bathing culture developed and spread that caused Seneca such annoyance. While the approach is inspired by Lefebvre's spatial triad, priorities are different than in Seneca's narrative. The 'espace conçu' (the conceived space as representation of space in maps, plans, texts, discourses, visualizations etc.; the domain of urban planners, architects, leading powers etc.) and 'espace perçu' (the perceived and experienced space as the product of spatial practice; the material quality of space) of public baths must prevail in the following analysis because the 'espace vécu' (the lived space as space of representation, imagination, and appropriation by people; a matter of daily life) is rarely assessable, and no account like Seneca's survives for the Late Republican period. Lefebvre's theory of the production of space cannot easily be applied to the textual evidence and material culture of ancient societies. But it is helpful in understanding and investigating space as a social product and its role in the formation and transformation of social relationships and practices. In this sense, it is investigated here how public baths in the Late Republican period may have been conceived and perceived by their builders and users, as well as how public baths may have shaped and transformed the

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<sup>1</sup> Lefebvre 1974; Lefebvre 1991.

perception and use of urban space, urban identity, social practices, and related social concepts (e.g. of cleanliness, leisure, pleasure, conviviality)<sup>2</sup>.

## State of Research

<sup>3</sup> In a recent volume on public baths in Roman Italy from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, Maura Medri provided a concluding paper on general methodological and typological questions. She identified three crucial aspects for the study of baths: the structural analysis of plan and elevation; the analysis of the urban context and its relationship with baths; and the conceptual relationship with the ideological and socio-economic context that determined the construction, subsequent transformations, and abandonment of baths. Typological analyses should not only investigate the circulation pattern, organization of rooms, and technical equipment, but also the ownership, arguing that “la tipologia in base al regime di proprietà è la più difficile da studiare – ma anche la più interessante”<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The term “public baths” is indeed ambiguous because it is usually used for both baths that were public property (‘public-sector’) and “those open to the public but not publicly owned (which) might be called ‘private-sector’”<sup>4</sup>. While Janet DeLaine argued that the distinction between public-sector and private-sector can often not “be made from the archaeological record alone, and that even the epigraphical evidence does not always clarify the situation”<sup>5</sup>, Medri provided a set of criteria to distinguish these two categories in the city of Ostia. Public-sector baths would have occupied an entire insula or lot which facilitated accessibility from multiple streets and circulation; the plan could be established without reuse of earlier structures and other conditions, and usually included a palaestra; decoration and equipment were commonly of high quality. In contrast, private-sector baths were inserted into densely built insulae, provided limited accessibility, had disorganized plans including earlier structures, and were not endowed with palaestrae and superior decoration<sup>6</sup>. Medri acknowledged that Ostia is a special case because 18 public baths are known which allow a differentiated assessment in a clearly confined context. While no other ancient city currently provides as many well-known public baths, this paper uses these criteria for other sites thereby testing their validity.

<sup>5</sup> The significance of the urban context has long been recognized and studied for public baths of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC in the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>7</sup> and for public baths of the Roman Imperial period, albeit usually for selected sites like Ostia<sup>8</sup>. Owners and benefactors have been studied comprehensively, based on literary and above all epigraphical sources<sup>9</sup>. The close interrelationship between urban context and ownership has been addressed by Medri, esp. for Ostia, as mentioned above. But the urban context and its close connection with ownership have not yet been studied for public baths in the Western Mediterranean from ca. 200 to 31 BC, notably the Late Hellenistic or Late Republican period.

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<sup>2</sup> Lefebvre’s concept played a major role in research of the Excellence Cluster Topoi; <<https://www.topoi.org/home/about-topoi/>> (25.03.2022). This contribution stems from a project, which was funded by Topoi between 2015 and 2018; see below. Many Topoi publications deal with Lefebvre’s concept and usually go beyond it to include more recent approaches to space and a much wider plurality of space concepts. For some examples, see Hofmann 2014/2015; Hofmann – Schreiber 2015; Klinger et al. 2016, esp. 355–357; Bernbeck 2019. For a focus on Lefebvre’s concept and its applicability in current research, see also Binder 2016, 37–39, and the contributions in Bauer – Fischer 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Medri 2019, 525; cf. also DeLaine 2019, 549.

<sup>4</sup> DeLaine 1999, 68.

<sup>5</sup> DeLaine 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Medri 2019, 525.

<sup>7</sup> Trümper 2013b.

<sup>8</sup> For literature see Trümper 2013a; Trümper 2013b, 63 n. 2; most recently for Ostia Medri – Di Cola 2013.

<sup>9</sup> DeLaine 1999; Fagan 1999, 104–175.

6 This is a crucial period because the type of baths developed that is commonly identified as Roman and spread from the Early Imperial period on in the entire Roman empire. This is also a key period of urbanization in Italy, when an increasing standardization can be observed that has often been linked with or attributed to the phenomenon of Hellenization or Romanization<sup>10</sup>. The new type of bath commonly included an apodyterium, a tepidarium, and a caldarium (with heated collective immersion pool and labrum), and optionally also a laconicum and a palaestra. Frigidaria and natationes, which required lots of ideally running water, did not become common before the increasing availability of aqueducts in the Augustan period.

7 The scanty textual evidence suggests that urban public baths from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC were primarily private-sector baths, built as business investments, and that they advanced only from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC on and, above all, in the Roman Imperial period to standard building projects of cities or respectable targets of private and public beneficence<sup>11</sup>. Why and how this transformation happened, is not yet well understood, also because public baths from this period esp. in the Western Mediterranean have not been comprehensively studied. Most baths from this period have not been fully excavated and only two have been published in monographs<sup>12</sup>. Available assessments of textual and archaeological evidence are incomplete and outdated<sup>13</sup>.

## Aim and Structure

8 While this paper cannot provide the required detailed comparative examination of Late Hellenistic/Republican baths in the Western Mediterranean, it aims to highlight the importance of bathing culture in this period and the potential for future research by focusing on one little-studied aspect: the interrelation of urban context and ownership for baths in Italy, which in turn elucidates the conceptual relationship with the ideological and socio-economic context. While the focus is not on the plans and bathing programs, new reconstructions are proposed based on typological comparisons, albeit without detailed argument.

9 This paper stems from the project *Bathing Culture and the Development of Urban Space in Pompeii* that was begun within the frame of the Excellence Cluster Topoi and investigates the history as well as the urban and socio-cultural context of Pompeii's two oldest baths, the Republican and the Stabian Baths<sup>14</sup>. The following comparative assessment of 17 baths in 14 different cities is based on fieldwork in Pompeii, visits of several other baths (in Crotone, Fregellae, Paestum, and Solunto) and published literature (for baths in Alba Fucens, Aletrium, Cales, Cumae, Grumentum, Herdonia, Musarna, Norba, and Tifernum Mataurense). The discussion begins with Pompeii, because this is the only city that provides three baths from the period under investigation, and then proceeds in alphabetical order. For each case, the following aspects are examined: a brief history of the site; key features of the urban context of the baths, including the location, accessibility, visibility, insula context, presence of earlier structures, and water supply; and evidence that may elucidate the ownership of the baths. The key features are comparatively evaluated in the conclusion.

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10 The literature is too abundant to be listed here; for baths most recently Smith 2019.

11 Fagan 1999; Redon 2011; Trümper 2013b, 36; Faucher – Redon 2014.

12 Musarna: Broise – Jolivet 2004; Pompeii, Stabian Baths: Eschebach 1979.

13 Fagan 1999, 351–353; Tsiolis 2001; Tsiolis 2006; Tsiolis 2008; Tsiolis 2013; Di Michele 2019; Henderson 2010 has a focus on Campania; Smith 2019 does not take any of the literature on baths after 2013 into account.

14 <<https://www.topoi.org/person/truemper-monika/>> (25.03.2022); Trümper 2017a; Trümper 2017b; Trümper 2018; Trümper et al. 2019; Robinson et al. 2020; Trümper 2020a; Trümper 2020b; Trümper 2020c; Brünenberg et al. 2022; Trümper 2022; Trümper – Esposito 2022; Trümper et al. 2022.

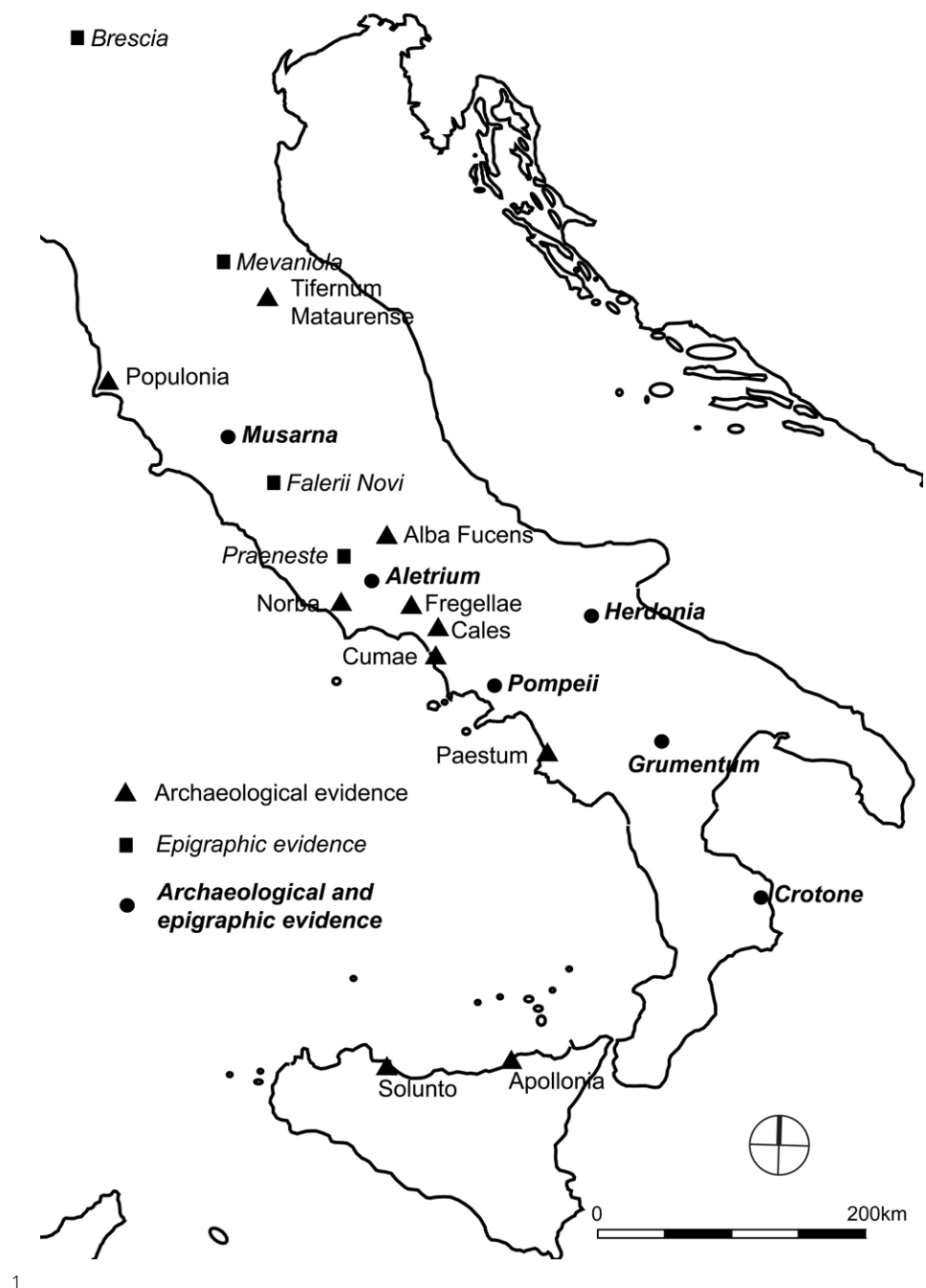


fig. 1: Archaeological and epigraphic evidence of Late Republican baths

10 While the culturally suggestive term “Roman baths” is avoided here, for convenience, the term public baths is used as an umbrella for private-sector and public-sector baths, and “Late Republican period” is used for the period under investigation.

11 Only listed in the attached tables (fig. 39–40) are baths that are primarily or solely known from constructional dedications (Brescia, Falerii Novi, Mevaniola<sup>15</sup>, Praeneste<sup>16</sup>); and baths the urban context of which is not sufficiently known (Apollonia,

15 While the inscription from Mevaniola was found somewhere in a bath building, the latter is too little known to assess its Late Republican appearance; Lippolis 2000.

16 Raiano 2018; Raiano 2021, 103–105: the inscription from Praeneste was found in an area where remains of an impressive Imperial period bath complex have been identified; while this complex had most likely a Late Republican predecessor, very little is known about this. Scholars have traditionally also located the Forum of the città bassa in this area, but Raiano 2021 has recently challenged the existence of a Forum in Praeneste's lower city.

Populonia<sup>17</sup>) (fig. 1). Excluded are baths dated to the Augustan period like those in Aquinum, Cosa<sup>18</sup>, and Herculaneum (Forum Baths)<sup>19</sup>; private domestic baths<sup>20</sup>; complexes with only pools like those at the Forum of Paestum or in the terrace-sanctuary complex of Segni<sup>21</sup>; thermal bathing facilities like those in Sasso Pisano<sup>22</sup>; and non-constructional benefactions like the *lavatio in perpetuo*, as well as baths mentioned in literary sources<sup>23</sup>.

## Case Studies

### Pompeii

<sup>12</sup> Pompeii includes three public baths that were built before the Augustan period when the city was a Samnite settlement until 80 BC and a Roman colony thereafter. The city flourished in the Early Imperial period until the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 that was preceded by earthquake activity from AD 62 on (fig. 2)<sup>24</sup>. The Republican Baths (VIII.5.36) were built around 150 BC on a terrain that included a deep well, some other water features, and structures of unknown function. They were located next to a roughly contemporaneous complex of public and sacred buildings, which included the theater, the Palaestra Sannitica, the temples of Isis and Aesculapius, and the Foro Triangolare with the Doric temple of Athena (fig. 3). The Foro Triangolare area has often been identified as the site of an athletic military complex, of which the Republican Baths would have formed an integral conceptual and functional part. This view has recently been challenged, however, based on excavations in the baths and the Foro Triangolare<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> The baths were built at a kind of small square or enlarged stretch of the street, occupied the southeastern lot of a densely built insula, and were surrounded by private houses in the north and west<sup>26</sup>. On a surface area of 672 m<sup>2</sup>, the baths included separate sections for women and men, each with the typical sequence of apodyterium, tepidarium, and caldarium (fig. 4). The men's section also provided a laconicum and possibly a small palaestra. The men's entrance was located on an important, but not a major street, the Via dei Teatri, and was the only opening in a long blank façade that offered no particular visual attractions<sup>27</sup>. The entrance to the women's section was hidden in a narrow alley. The service section had a separate access from a side street in the south. Bathing activities may have been audible from the street and the typical roofs of baths may have been visible, but there was nothing else to attract customers (fig. 5). The baths were once remodeled at an unknown time in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, but abandoned around 30–20 BC and overbuilt by a house.

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17 Bernard et al. 2019; Trümper 2019, 359–361.

18 De Giorgi 2019b.

19 Thomas Heide is currently writing his PhD dissertation at the Freie Universität Berlin about the water management of four public baths in the Vesuvian cities, among them the Forum Baths of Herculaneum; he has identified a Late Republican phase of this building. While overall convincing, full assessment of his argument must await publication; therefore, the Form Baths of Herculaneum are not included here.

20 E.g. the Via Sistina baths in Rome, attributed to a house by Fiorini 1988, 56 f.; or the earliest facilities in Baiae, attributed to villas by Nieberle – Oprée 2018.

21 Borlenghi 2011, 234–237; Cifarelli – Colaiacomo 2019.

22 Esposito et al. 2008; Esposito 2011.

23 Both are listed by Fagan 1999, 351–353.

24 The much-debated urban development of Pompeii cannot be discussed here.

25 Trümper 2018 for the baths; Osanna – Giletti 2020, who challenge the existence of a porticus and propylon in the Foro Triangolare in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. The arguments cannot be presented in detail here.

26 Trümper 2017a; Trümper 2018; Trümper 2020b; Trümper 2020c, 143–146.

27 While there is, in theory, space for tabernae to the south of the men's entrance, there is no evidence of such tabernae and they would have been much smaller than those in the adjacent Casa della Calce (VIII.5.28).



14 The nearby Stabian Baths were built after 125 BC on largely unbuilt terrain<sup>28</sup>. They were located at the crossing of Pompeii's two main streets; the southern Via dell'Abbondanza was significantly enlarged in front of the baths, and – at least in AD 79 – blocked for carriage traffic (fig. 3). This crossing and the square-like street were continuously enriched until AD 79, with stepping stones, a water tower, a fountain, and the honorary monument and statues of the Holconii. The baths also occupied the south-eastern part of an insula and were surrounded by houses in the west and north<sup>29</sup>. On a surface area of 2400 m<sup>2</sup>, the Stabian Baths included separate sections for women and men, with typical sequences of apodyterium, tepidarium, and caldarium, and a large palaestra with a large separate laconicum in the men's section (fig. 6). The latter had three entrances at three different streets (9a, 14a, 50), including both main streets, while the women accessed their section from a main and a secondary street (17, 48). There was a separate entrance for the service section. All entrances to the bathing sections were decorated and emphasized in the same way, with richly molded tuff portals (opening: 1.15 × 2.90 m), which were topped by windows and correlated with stepping stones in the Via Stabiana (fig. 7. 8). The men's southern entrance, most likely their main entrance, was surrounded by nine tabernae whose large openings were framed with tuff pilasters and were clearly designed to attract crowds. Visually, the tabernae dominated the southern façade of the Stabian Baths, and their continuous importance is obvious from electoral inscriptions painted on the tuff pilasters until AD 79 (fig. 9)<sup>30</sup>.

15 No inscription was found that would allow identifying the patrons of the original baths. But a quaestor of the Samnite community dedicated a sundial here, paid from fines by decision of the assembly<sup>31</sup>. The use of Oscan points to a date before 80 BC, and an official magistrate would hardly have set up this prestigious object in a privately-owned bath complex. While the sundial was found in the palaestra, in front of the eastern porticus, it could not have worked in this location; it must have been set up freely and pointing south, and if the inscription was meant to be readable, it must have been displayed on a support at eye level.

16 The baths saw three large remodeling processes before AD 79, with an almost exclusive focus on modernizing the men's section. After 80 BC, two duoviri of the new Roman colony initiated the first remodeling, a significant modernization of the men's section, and advertised this with a detailed Latin inscription<sup>32</sup>. This was found stored in a dark corridor and apparently no longer important in AD 79. While it was most likely prominently displayed after 80 BC, an appropriately conspicuous place is not easy to identify: an installation above the entrance doors was hindered by the windows and on the most prominent southern façade by the tuff pilasters. Slightly less visible and prestigious options would have been, for example, the eastern façade, next to the men's entrance, or a location inside the baths, at the back wall of the eastern porticus. The second and third remodeling, in the Augustan period and after the earthquake of AD 62, respectively, were much more extensive than the first and entailed supply by the city's aqueduct. The vastly improving changes were probably also documented in con-

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28 So far, only a few water features (well, cistern) were found that presumably predate the baths.

29 The 2021 excavation campaign in the Stabian Baths was partly dedicated to investigating the history of the western house. While many razed walls and pavements were discovered, these can currently only be dated based on typological comparisons to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. During the 2022 season it is planned to continue excavation below the level of the pavements in order to elucidate a possible earlier development of the terrain and its use during the construction period of the baths.

30 The 3D model shows the last state of the Stabian Baths (phase 4); while a model of phase 1 has been made in 2017/2018, this must be significantly revised after the excavation campaign of 2021 and cannot yet be shown here. The southern tabernae remained a visually dominant feature in all phases of the Stabian Baths, however.

31 Crawford 2011, 650 f. Pompei 21; Eschebach 1979, 19 fig. 5 pl. 23d; here fig. 40.

32 CIL X 829; EDR150879; Eschebach 1979, 24 fig. 9; here fig. 40. The inscription was carved in a reused table top with moldings on three sides and lion heads on the original front.

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structional dedications, which, however, do not survive. Singled out from the beginning, the men's southern entrance was the only one that was enlarged after AD 62 and would have provided space for a broad inscribed lintel.

17 Two painted inscriptions above the western and eastern entrances to the men's sections are difficult to interpret. Above the western entrance (VII.1.50) the now lost inscription MVLIER (woman) was read in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, painted in black on the white plaster of the cornice<sup>33</sup>. While this entrance was used from phase 1 to 4 of the baths, the inscription cannot be dated. Since this is commonly identified as a men's entrance to the palaestra (from phase 1 on) and a large latrine (phase 4), the reference to women seems strangely misplaced. One wonders whether women were, at some point, also given access to certain features via this entrance, like the latrine. Alternatively, scholars in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. may have confused the adjacent entrances 50 to the men's and 48 to the women's section; the white plaster is today lost on the cornice of both doors (fig. 6. 7). That this inscription did not point to the "Bestimmung dieses Theiles des Gebäudes", but would only be "ein von müssiger Hand hingemaltes Wort ohne tiefere Beziehung", as argued by Adolf Michaelis<sup>34</sup>, is little likely in the context of a public building, however.

18 The original eastern entrance to the men's section (VII.1.14a) was abandoned and blocked in phase 4 at the latest (fig. 8). A badly preserved inscription painted with large red letters (ca. 20 cm high) is visible today on the white plaster of the door's cornice. This must have been painted some time before the earthquake of AD 62 (phase 1–3), but it is nowhere mentioned in literature and has not yet been read and reconstructed. It is too long for a simple *vir/viri*, in analogy to *mulier(es)*, but further assessment must be done by specialists.

19 The Forum Baths were built after 80 BC, right to the north of the Forum and at a crossing of two major streets (fig. 2). They occupied one entire *insula*, but it is unknown whether and how the terrain was used before. While the original urban setting cannot be securely reconstructed, the *Via del Foro* was later visually enriched with honorary arches and the temple of *Fortuna Augusta*. On a surface area of about 1300 m<sup>2</sup>, the baths included only one section, which was most likely reserved for men because of the presence of a palaestra and a *laconicum* (fig. 10)<sup>35</sup>. The bathing facilities were accessible via three entrances from the two main streets and a secondary street. The original appearance of the entrances is not securely known, but they were apparently wider than those of the *Stabian Baths* (opening: 1.90 × 2.50 m).

20 Furthermore, two identical dedicatory inscriptions were found in the eastern entrance corridor and in the northeastern corner *taberna*, suggesting that they were originally displayed nearby<sup>36</sup>. If the setting was similar as in the *Odeum in Pompeii*, also built after 80 BC, the inscriptions may have been inserted over the lintels of the main entrances of the *Forum Baths*. When the *lunettes* were restored, e.g. after the earthquake of AD 62, the outdated inscriptions may have been removed. The text documents that three *duoviri* of the newly founded Roman colony built something (obviously the building where they were found in close proximity to one another) from public money and approved of the work. Both entrances were integrated into rows of *tabernae*. Originally, there were probably 26 *tabernae* which must have significantly advanced the frequentation of this *insula*, and thereby of the baths.

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33 Minervini 1857, 7 f.; Michaelis 1859, 29; Eschebach 1979, 38. 71.

34 Michaelis 1879, 29.

35 This is a result of Thomas Heide's dissertation research, see above n. 19. In his dissertation, he will fully outline the reasoning for his reconstruction. I am most grateful that he allowed me to briefly refer to his research here and to use his reconstruction of the original phase (fig. 10).

36 CIL X 819; EDR147480–147481; here fig. 40.

21 The Forum Baths were also remodeled several times before AD 79, including the connection to the aqueduct and the installation of a separate section for women in the Augustan period. If these changes were recorded in inscriptions, there would, at least after AD 62, have been little space on the façades to appropriately display large slabs: the opus testaceum pillars between the tabernae were covered with plaster and the lunettes over the two main entrances of the men were filled with opus reticulatum. Part of the Augustan remodeling was documented on the new large marble labrum of the men's section, which two duoviri ordered by decree of the decurions and for which they paid 5250 Sesterces from public money<sup>37</sup>.

22 The three Late Republican baths in Pompeii are all located close to the city center and at important crossings (fig. 2. 3). All provided separate accesses to service and bathing sections. But there are significant differences in the size of the baths, the number and location of entrances to bathing sections, and the presence of tabernae. While the Republican Baths integrated a preexisting deep well, new deep wells were built for the Stabian and Forum Baths and both buildings were connected to the aqueduct in the Augustan period. The availability of little built or unbuilt space cannot be securely determined for the Forum Baths, but no major structures were found under the Stabian Baths and only scattered features under the Republican Baths. The Republican Baths were abandoned in the Early Imperial period, whereas the other two were used until AD 79. These differences suggest a different status of the owners.

23 The Forum Baths and Stabian Baths were built at public initiative, as suggested by inscriptions relating to the original construction or remodeling. While several Oscan dedications are known from Samnite Pompeii, on objects, pavements, statue bases, and slabs (buildings), only a few were found in situ and none of these on the façade of a large public building<sup>38</sup>. Therefore, typical formats and locations of constructional dedications in Samnite Pompeii and possible changes in related habits after 80 BC cannot be assessed.

24 There was conceptual continuity regarding the combination with tabernae between the Samnite Stabian Baths and the Roman Forum Baths. Tabernae could not only be let profitably, increasing the income from the property, but also attracted crowds. In fact, the highest number of tabernae per building complex is provided by publicly owned baths in Pompeii, starting with the Stabian Baths after 125 BC and ending with the Central Baths, built after AD 62. Whether the close connection between baths and private houses goes merely back to the availability of space, must remain open. This situation was at least partially changed for the Stabian Baths after the earthquake of AD 62, when the western house was integrated into the baths. Remarkably, the two securely publicly owned baths built after 80 BC, the Forum Baths and the Central Baths, both occupied entire insulae, which must have facilitated accessibility from different streets for both bathers and service personnel.

25 Since the Republican Baths differ so significantly in key features – location, size, continuous use until AD 79, as well as presence of tabernae, large palaestra, and inscriptions – from the other two baths, they were most likely built at private initiative as a business investment, and abandoned when profits dwindled.

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37 CIL X 817, dated to AD 3/4.

38 Crawford 2011, 634 Pompei 11 (architrave of the Doric tholos of the Foro Triangolare); 637 f. Pompei 13 (block inside Porta Stabia, referring to road works); 640 f. Pompei 14 (pebble mosaic of the ramp to the temple of Dionysos at San Abbondio); 642 f. Pompei 16 (altar of Dionysos' temple at San Abbondio); 653–655 Pompei 23 (pavement at the entrance to the cella of Apollo's temple); 656–658 Pompei 24 (Palaestra Sannitica, date of the inscription and original location debated); 659 f. Pompei 25 (statue base in the sanctuary of Apollo).

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## Aletrium

26 The city of Aletrium was founded by the Hernici probably in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, was under Roman control and enjoyed some privileges after 306/304 BC, and was a municipium in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC at the latest. Recent research identified a major urban renewal in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. The terrain of 25 ha was surrounded by walls, and a regular grid plan was installed to the east of the Forum in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. While only scanty remains of houses, temples, reservoirs, a cryptoporticus, a porticus, a bath complex, and an aqueduct were found, additional buildings are known from an honorary inscription for L. Betilienus Vaarus, which is dated on paleogeographical grounds to the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC: Betilienus supervised the construction of roads into the city, a porticus, a campus, a sundial, a macellum, seats, a reservoir for the baths, a reservoir at the gate, and an aqueduct, as well as plasterwork at the basilica<sup>39</sup>.

27 The urban renewal included the construction of baths of which a tepidarium and laconicum have been excavated. Based on fieldwork in today's Piazza S. Maria Maggiore and typological comparisons, Sandra Gatti provided a hypothetical reconstruction of the baths and their context (fig. 11)<sup>40</sup>. The baths would have been located on a street crossing close to the Forum, and offered, on a surface area of 470 m<sup>2</sup>, the typical sequence of apodyterium, tepidarium, and caldarium, plus a laconicum, and a small palaestra. The main entrance would have been in the south, surrounded by a series of tabernae. While the reconstruction does not include a service section, there must have been one, most likely to the east of the caldarium and tepidarium, and possibly with a separate entrance. It is not known whether the baths were built over earlier structures and bordered by houses or other buildings.

28 The inscription for Betilienus was found in the area of the Forum and maybe set up there, next to his statue. Saskia Kerschbaum argued convincingly that Betilienus acted as an official magistrate, using public funds, and not as a private euergetes<sup>41</sup>. The baths must then have been built at public initiative, sometime before their water supply was improved with the new highly sophisticated aqueduct and reservoir. This is also suggested by an inscribed stone block (20 × 180 × 28 cm) found reused in the Cathedral of Aletrium<sup>42</sup>, which documents that someone dedicated something (a balneum?) with a laconicum. The unusually monumental dedicatory inscription may have been displayed prominently on the façade of the baths.

## Alba Fucens

29 Alba Fucens was founded as a Latin colony in 303 BC, in correlation with the Via Valeria and a principle long-distance transhumance route. The city had a size of 32 ha and an orthogonal grid plan. While the city walls, the Forum, and the sanctuary of Hercules were already developed in the early days of the colony<sup>43</sup>, major monumentalization occurred in the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, after the Social War, when a complex of structures was built in stone to the south of the Forum. These included a basilica, a macellum, a shrine, the colonnaded courtyard of the sanctuary of Hercules, tabernae, and possibly a bath building (fig. 12)<sup>44</sup>. The latter can be securely identified because of several rooms with hypocausts which were found between the macellum and the sanctuary of Hercules, covering the entire insula in east-west direction. Most of these structures belong to remodeling processes in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, however.

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39 CIL X 5807; Fagan 1999, 285 no. 157; Kerschbaum 2017; here fig. 40.

40 Gatti 2016, 49–52.

41 Kerschbaum 2017.

42 AE 1998, 307; EDR071530; here fig. 40.

43 Lackner 2008, 20–26; Stek 2018; Lienhard 2020, II 6–62.

44 De Visscher et al. 1954, 86–94; Mertens 1969, 69–71.

30 Remains of the Late Republican period were only found immediately to the south and southwest of the macellum: a round room with a diameter of 5.30 m, which served most likely as a laconicum, and remains of a caldarium with pilae and tubuli as well as a praefurnium with evidence of two cauldrons (fig. 13). No coherent plan can be reconstructed from the published data. The reconstructed plan of this area in the Late Republican period shows only the isolated round room, which is nowhere described, flanked by series of long tabernae (fig. 14)<sup>45</sup>. Even a pool revealed immediately to the east of the temple of Hercules and accessible from the sanctuary (8.85 × 5.90 m) is not shown on this plan, although it was dated to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC<sup>46</sup>. Whether this pool ever belonged to the baths, is not clear. Currently, the relatively large laconicum is the best evidence of a public bath building in this area, and it would well fit to a bath complex built in the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. This complex may have included the typical sequence of apodyterium, tepidarium, and caldarium, in a row type sequence organized along and accessible from the eastern Via dei Pilastrri. There may even have been a palaestra between the laconicum and the sanctuary of Hercules.

31 During the urban monumentalization in the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, the city officials may well have decided to add fashionable public baths in a prominent location close to the Forum. Alba Fucens was supplied by an innovative aqueduct with a siphon in the Late Republican period, which may also have provided for the baths<sup>47</sup>. Three inscriptions of the Imperial period that were found in and close to the baths provide a somewhat ambiguous picture of its ownership. Two inscriptions were found in the mosaic of an entrance room that belonged to the western Imperial period enlargement of the baths. They document that Vibia Galla, daughter of Gaius, and an unknown person rebuilt and restored the balneum at their own expense<sup>48</sup>. A stone slab discovered in the façade of taberna 3 along the eastern Via dei pilastrri commemorates that a *quattuorvir iure dicundo quinquennalis* did something, possibly for thermae<sup>49</sup>.

## Cales

32 Cales was founded in 334 BC as a Latin colony with a surface area of ca. 60 ha<sup>50</sup>. While the city has been reconstructed with an orthogonal grid plan and a centrally located Forum, little has been excavated and fully explored except for the remains of a theater with porticus post scaenam, a temple, an arch, an amphitheater, and two baths (Terme di San Leo, Terme Centrali). When the city became a municipium in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, an ambitious building program was carried out: the theater of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC was enlarged; the Central Baths and amphitheater were built; and the streets were re-systemized. In the Early Imperial period, a temple was built at the northwestern corner of the Forum, the amphitheater was enlarged, and the Terme di San Leo were built (fig. 15).

33 The Central Baths were built on the eastern side of the Forum, covering a lot of 49.60 × 29.60 m (1468 m<sup>2</sup>) (fig. 16)<sup>51</sup>. They were surrounded by streets in the north,

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45 Mertens 1991, 23 fig. 4; cf. also De Visscher et al. 1954, 88 fig. 10; 87 fig. 9, the round room is attributed to phase 1, together with the macellum, while a clear signature is missing for the walls of the caldarium. De Visscher et al. 1954, 93 fig. 12 yet another system of signatures is used for the area to the south and east of the macellum, which are not explained in a legend, however. For the tabernae most recently Di Cesare – Liberatore 2017. While the sanctuary of Hercules and tabernae in several locations around the Forum have been re-investigated in recent years, Di Cesare – Liberatore 2017, 2 fig. 1, the area of the baths was not included in the various programs.

46 Mertens 1969, 71.

47 Rose et al. 2016.

48 EDR073859; De Visscher 1955, 70 f. nos. 20–20b: a) 319 × 70 cm, letters 22 cm; b) letters 22 cm.

49 De Visscher 1955, 68 no. 16 pl. XXX: 41 × 21 cm, letters 3.8 cm.

50 Lackner 2008, 59–62; Quilici Gigli 2020a, 29–36; esp. Quilici – Quilici Gigli 2021 who provide the most detailed discussion of Cales.

51 The following assessment is based on Quilici Gigli 2020a, 36–54 who provides an exhaustive discussion of earlier literature and currently visible remains. Cf. also Johannowsky 1961, 260–263; Ødegard 1997, 212–227.

west, and south, thus occupying an entire insula in north-south extension, which is shorter than the standard insula of 65 m length. Unexplored structures of unknown function about the baths in the east. It is unknown whether the lot had been built before the construction of the baths.

34 The west façade facing the Forum was decorated with a double-storied order, including semi-columns below pilasters. Together with the façades of other public buildings (porticus post scaenam to the west, temple to the northwest, and possibly basilica to the south of the Forum), which were presumably also monumental and lavishly decorated, the façade of the baths served to provide the Forum with a grand appearance. While the main entrance of the baths has not been excavated, it was certainly located in the north. A long corridor (A) led to a typical sequence of apodyterium B, tepidarium C, anteroom E with laconicum F, and caldarium D. The baths were supplied by a deep well, specifically built for this purpose (L)<sup>52</sup>. The large unexplored space east of corridor A may have included a palaestra or tabernae, and room G in the southwest may originally have housed tabernae or service rooms. There was certainly a separate entrance to the eastern service section (I–L) from the north or east. The baths were later modernized when room B was transformed into a frigidarium by inserting a pool, and room G was possibly transformed into an additional bathing room.

35 The date of the baths is commonly based on the construction techniques and decoration, proposed dates ranging from 90–60 BC to 50–30 BC. While the later date is more likely because of the advanced technological standards and decoration<sup>53</sup>, the baths were built by the young municipium before the Augustan period, most likely at public initiative because of the prominent location, decorated façade, and impressive size<sup>54</sup>.

## Crotone

36 In 194 BC, the Romans founded a small colony with 300 cives at the site of the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna and inhabited it until the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD when the settlement moved back to its former location at the ancient Crotone<sup>55</sup>. The settlement with a size of 7.5 ha had an orthogonal grid plan that has been reconstructed with four decumani and three cardines (fig. 17). A fortification, a public space with porticus (Forum?), several houses, and a bath complex have been explored. While the earliest houses seem to have been small and modest, larger houses developed from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC on.

37 Between 80 and 70 BC a probably free-standing building located at a major crossing and immediately to the west of the public space was transformed into a public bath (fig. 18)<sup>56</sup>. On a surface area of 396 m<sup>2</sup> the baths included the sequence of apodyterium 4, tepidarium 5, and caldarium 12, as well as a laconicum 3. The reservoir 8 in the service section is the only recognizable water supply. The entrance of the bathing section faced the decumanus and was provided with a porticus (1), while the service entrance was from the western cardo (7). An inscription in the opus tessellatum panel that decorated the caldarium documents that two duoviri quinquennales saw to the construction of the balneum by decree of the senate and thus at public expense<sup>57</sup>. While the constructional inscription was only visible to bathers and not advertised more vis-

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52 Remains of an aqueduct system built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC have been identified, and inscriptions of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC confirm the existence of a public distribution system; but the baths were apparently not supplied by this; Quilici – Quilici Gigli 2021, 140–142 no. 38; 178 f.

53 Advanced elements are the apse of the caldarium and the opus latericium in the laconicum; Quilici Gigli 2020a, 47–51. One can add the heating system with pilae and tubuli in some rooms, the date of which (original or later) remains debated; Johannowsky 1961, 262; Ødegard 1997, 221–224; Quilici Gigli 2020a, 44.

54 Quilici Gigli 2020a, 53.

55 Aversa 2006; Spadea 2006b; Ruga 2011–2013; Spadea – Ruga 2020.

56 Ruga 2006; Trümper 2020c, 148–150.

57 CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2542; EDR072542; Spadea 2006b, 61 f.; here fig. 40.

ibly, for example on the architrave of the entrance porticus, it is noteworthy that the small settlement was endowed with a centrally located, modern, publicly financed bath building. The complex was at least once remodeled and continuously used until the abandonment of the site.

## Cumae

38 Cumae was founded as a Greek colony in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and conquered by Samnites in 421 BC. The city supported Rome in the Samnite wars and remained loyal to Rome in the Second Punic War and later to Sulla. The city thrived particularly in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, when it was also allowed to use Latin as an official language (after 180 BC), and in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC<sup>58</sup>. In these centuries, existing buildings like the Forum with temple and porticoes, the sanctuary on the Acropolis, the fortification, and private houses were all remodeled, and new buildings were constructed, among them a stadium, an amphitheater, and the Terme Centrali (fig. 19). Economically, the city benefitted from the foundation of new colonies nearby, and the increasing exchange between local elites and Rome. The fortified city had a size of 110 ha, but little is known of the street grid except for some roughly regular networks to the east and north of the central Forum.

39 The baths are located ca. 100 m to the southeast of the Forum, and right to the south of an east-west street. They may also have been bordered by a street in the west, which is hidden under the modern street. Their construction has been dated to around 200 BC, based on the building technique, and the Oscan inscription on a labrum of which fragments were found in two different rooms<sup>59</sup>. Since the baths have never been fully excavated, however, the plan, chronology, and urban context cannot be securely determined. Based on the remains and typological comparisons, a reconstruction of the original bathing program is proposed here (fig. 20)<sup>60</sup>. The baths certainly included at least three rooms with niches framed by tuff blocks (A, D, E), which resemble those in the Stabian Baths at Pompeii<sup>61</sup>. Since room A was originally not connected with room D or room E, the baths included most likely separate sections for men and women. Because of its size, room A belonged presumably to the men's section, but its accessibility (from the west, or via room B) and its equipment and function (as apodyterium without hypocaust system or tepidarium with hypocaust system) can currently not be securely determined. It gave access to at least one room or several rooms of unknown function that were located further south (I, I?, H?: tepidarium?, caldarium?, laconicum?). The women's section was accessible from the street via the narrow corridor C and included at least two rooms (D, E). The service section was most likely situated in the southeast (F?, corridor G on two stories) and may have had its own entrance; it is currently impossible, however, to identify the location of a praefurnium that served both the men's and the women's caldarium as was common in most baths with two sections (cf. fig. 4. 6). The baths may have covered a surface area of at least 26 m NS × 23.50 m EW (611 m<sup>2</sup>), and more if room H and further spaces belonged to the original building.

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58 For the historical and urban development between 421 BC and the Early Imperial period, Giglio 2015, 23–42. For the Forum Lienhard 2020, II 329–332. For a schematic plan of the city, Mogetta 2021, 171 fig. 5.12.

59 Volpicella 2006/2007; Crawford 2011, 493 f. Cumae 3; Camodeca 2012; Mogetta 2021, 170–173.

60 Volpicella 2006/2007 does not provide phase plans; her assessment must probably be revised in several aspects, which cannot be discussed in due detail here. For the urban context of the baths, see the important contribution by D'Onofrio 2002, not cited by Volpicella 2006/2007.

61 Rooms D and E were later (Early Imperial period?) transformed into reservoirs, but originally served as bathing rooms like room A. They were provided with the same niches as room A and continued further north: the blocked niches are clearly visible in the east and west walls of both rooms whose northern parts were later destroyed. This situation is shown in Volpicella 2006/2007, 206 fig. 11, but wrongly interpreted as evidence for an original use of the rooms as reservoirs without niches. The current north walls of both rooms were built when the rooms were transformed into reservoirs, but the original walls were found razed about 0.20–0.50 m further north during excavations of the Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale in 1995/1996; D'Onofrio 2002, 134 f. fig. 1; 138; Volpicella 2006/2007, 207 n. 22.

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40 While the labrum of Pentelic marble was found in 1975 in a room 12.5 m away from the southwest corner of room A, thus probably along the west wall of room H, a matching fragment had been found in room A in the early 1960s. It has recently been criticized that Oscan inscriptions are usually all dated before 180 BC when Latin became available, but not necessarily obligatory as an official language in Cumae<sup>62</sup>. The labrum was found in a setting that had been remodeled after the Late Republican period, and it is therefore not even certain that the labrum had been used in the original bath building. It is a highly unusual example (fig. 21) that has no comparisons in Late Republican baths the preserved labra of which have solidly built socles and large stone basins with diameters of 1.50–2.20 m: a narrow groove and central large hole at the top of the example from Cuma, which has a diameter of less than 1 m, suggests that the marble socle supported a large metal (bronze) basin<sup>63</sup>. The inscription records that “Ma(?) Heius, son of De., meddix of the vereia (?), and the m. X., bought this flitea”<sup>64</sup>. While interpretations vary, an official magistrate, or two or even more magistrates dedicated this labrum, and most likely in a public space. Since one of the donors was meddix of the vereia, the Central Baths have usually been linked with the vereia – the Oscan equivalent of the Greek ephebeia and Latin iuventus – and a possible athletic training facility (gymnasium, palaestra, campus). The vereia was apparently still active and relevant under Roman rule, possibly until the Augustan period<sup>65</sup>. Thus, the unusually luxurious labrum with its carefully carved inscription can certainly not date the construction of the baths to before 180 BC and cannot confirm that the baths were conceived for use by the vereia<sup>66</sup>. Even if set up in the baths some time after their construction, the public donation of the labrum suggests, however, that the baths were built and remodeled at public initiative<sup>67</sup>.

41 The building technique confirms that a construction date of the baths after 180 BC seems more likely. While the central parts of the walls of the first building were made of tuff blocks, the foundations and parts of the upper walls were made of opus incertum, the development of which has recently been dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC<sup>68</sup>.

42 In sum, when the city initiated an extended program of urban renewal in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, this also included a modern bath complex that was prominently located close to the Forum and at a major artery, if not crossing.

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62 Camodeca 2012; Giglio 2015, 68–70 esp. 69 n. 11; see also Mogetta 2021, 171 f.

63 This is not described by Volpicella 2006/2007, 213 f., but briefly by Crawford 2011, 493: “the top shows a groove (diameter 0.62) running around the circumferences of the surface and a rectangular hole (ca. 0.22 × 0.26) in the centre”. The labrum is not included in the catalogues of Pimpl 1997 and Ambrogi 2005, and has no parallels among the examples cited by both authors. Ambrogi 2005, 113–115. 374 f. S. 103; 392 S. 181 mentions four labra with marble socles and bronze basins which are relatively small, were found in domestic settings, and are dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. I am grateful to Thomas Heide for discussion of this labrum.

64 Translation by Crawford 2011, 494; here fig. 40. Cf. other translations: Volpicella 2006/2007, 213: “Ma(mercus) Eio, figlio di Decio, meddix della vereia ed il meddix X (o i meddices X) comprarono questa fliteam/questo labrum”. Camodeca 2012; Avagliano – Montalbano 2018, 79 n. 40: “Ma(mercus) Heius, son of Decius, meddix of the vereia and decemvir, bought this labrum”.

65 Camodeca 2012; Poccetti 2016; Avagliano – Montalbano 2018, 79.

66 For a critical discussion of a link between the Republican Baths in Pompeii and the Palaestra Sannitica, which was presumably built for use by the Pompeian vereia, see Trümper 2018; Osanna – Giletti 2020. The date of the Oscan dedicatory building inscription found in the Palaestra Sannitica remains debated; because of the careful carving style it has been identified as an Imperial period copy of a lost Samnite original; like for CIL X 829, see above n. 32, a marble table top with two lion heads was reused for this inscription which speaks for the later date; Trümper 2018, 91 f. The Republican Baths had separate sections for men and women, like possibly the baths at Cumae.

67 Poccetti 2016, 575 argued that a member of the locally well-known gens Heia could have set up the labrum “in un quadro di evergetismo o munificenza privata nel finanziare opere di ornamento di luoghi pubblici”.

68 Mogetta 2015; Mogetta 2016; Mogetta 2021, 172 f. fig. 5.13 (the book became available to me after initial submission of the article in August 2021) compares the building technique of the baths with that of several other public buildings of Cumae and argues for a date in the “middle/second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE” (173).



## Fregellae

43 Fregellae was founded as a Latin colony in 328/313 BC with an orthogonal grid plan and a surface area of ca. 80 ha. The city saw a major urban renewal after the Second Punic War. New settlers arrived in 177 BC. When the colony revolted against Rome in 125 BC, it was destroyed. Excavated remains include the city wall; the Forum with comitium, curia, macellum, and temple; an aqueduct; over 20 houses, usually atrium houses; several extraurban sanctuaries; and a bath complex (fig. 22)<sup>69</sup>. While three decumani were identified, subdividing insulae of 60 m north-south extension, no cardo except for the cardo maximus was found, which bisects the Forum (Via Latina). To the east of the Forum, a continuous row of 10 atrium houses was explored to the south of the decumanus maximus, and a row of three atrium houses and the bath complex to the north of this street. The currently visible buildings go back to the urban renewal in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, when the level was raised for about a meter; some of them may have been built over earlier cardines<sup>70</sup>.

44 The baths were constructed in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, completely rebuilt on a higher level in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, and used until 125 BC (fig. 23)<sup>71</sup>. Focusing on the better-known phase 2, the baths were 22 m wide and 48 m long (1056 m<sup>2</sup>), thus 12 m shorter than the standard insulae (fig. 20). To the east of the baths, remains of a (supply?) channel leading to the southeast corner of room 13 were found, suggesting the existence of a street or ambitus<sup>72</sup>. The most recent plan of the city shows remains of an atrium house to the east, however, which may have covered the southern part of the insula<sup>73</sup>. To the west, there is a space of 10 m between the baths and house 6, which would have been enough for a narrow house<sup>74</sup>, but too wide for a secondary cardo.

45 While the baths were thus presumably integrated into a row of houses and many houses were located closer to the Forum than the baths, the façade of the baths was emphasized with a porticus (2.80 m deep) and possibly tabernae (fig. 23: 3. 4. 6)<sup>75</sup>. The baths included two separate sections for women and men, each with its own entrance (2/5) and two bathing rooms (apodyterium/tepidarium 10/14, caldarium 11/16). The men's section was also provided with a colonnaded courtyard (7) and a small square laconicum, heated with pilae and tubuli (15). There may have been a separate entrance from the north or northeast to the service section (12. 13. 17–22). Since no cistern or well was found in the large service section, the baths may have been supplied by the aqueduct.

46 Baths apparently played an important role in the colony, and were located relatively close to (115 m away), but not at the Forum. The location, porticus, and size may speak for public initiative, but the integration into a densely built residential insula does not. An inscribed bone tessera was found in the fill of a robbed-out wall of a private house, referring on one side to a bal(i)n(eum/ae/ea/eator), and on the other to a L(ucius) Atin(ius) Mem(mianus?). Timo Sironen has dated this to the period of 150–125 BC and argued: "(...) la tessera è probabilmente un dono di L. Atinius, un altro funzionario

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69 Lackner 2008, 351 f.; Lienhard 2020, II 356–374.

70 Lackner 2008, 351 f. reconstructs four cardines to the east of the Forum, at irregular distances; these are occupied by houses on both sides of the decumanus.

71 Tsiolis 2001; Tsiolis 2006; Tsiolis 2008; Tsiolis 2013; Vincenti 2008; Vincenti 2012; Diosono 2017. Recent research in the baths by Francesca Diosono regards both the chronology and urban context and will soon be published.

72 Tsiolis 2001, 87 fig. 3; 93 n. 7; the stone plan Tsiolis 2006, 245 fig. 2 shows some stones to the east of the baths, but no channel.

73 Battaglini et al. 2019, 13 fig. 1: the atrium house could have been 33 m long before hitting the channel.

74 Battaglini – Diosono 2010, 219: large atrium houses had widths of 15–16 m, small ones of 9–13.50 m. The phase 1 baths were possibly only 17 m wide and extended to the decumanus maximus, without a porticus.

75 Tsiolis 2006, 250.

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fregellano, ai cittadini che valeva come un abbonamento a terme<sup>76</sup>. Unfortunately, this does not help to determine the question of ownership because Atinius could have paid for free bathing in an establishment owned by the city or by himself.

## Grumentum

47 While Grumentum developed as a Lucanian settlement in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, the city was significantly reshaped and flourished after the Romans had founded a colony here in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. The Late Republican city had a surface area of 25 ha, an orthogonal grid plan, a presumably centrally located Forum, an amphitheater, an aqueduct, and a bath building. Another major monumentalization occurred in the Early Imperial period when the Forum was relocated and provided with porticoes and temples, and the theater, another set of baths, and large lavishly decorated houses were built (fig. 24)<sup>77</sup>.

48 The construction of the Terme Republicanae has been dated to the Late Republican period because of the building technique (*opus reticulatum*) and a dedicatory inscription. The complex was erected on unbuilt terrain 100 m to the south of the Late Republican Forum. The immediate surroundings of the baths were never explored, but they presumably opened east onto the main *cardo* that led from the southern city gate to the amphitheater. The complex was never fully excavated, was remodeled in the Severan period, used until 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> c. AD, and again reused in the modern period until today. On a surface area of at least 300 m<sup>2</sup>, the baths included probably an *apodyterium*, *laconicum*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium* (fig. 25)<sup>78</sup>. Water may have been supplied by the aqueduct.

49 The dedicatory inscription was found in 1807 in a vineyard together with *fistulae*, but is now lost<sup>79</sup>. Written on a stone slab (45.5 × 88.9 cm) and dated to ca. 50 BC on historical and paleographical grounds, it records that two *praetores duoviri* saw to the construction of a *balneum*, by decree of the *decurions* with public money, one of them controlled the work. The size and shape suggest that the dedication could have been displayed in a wall, for example over the entrance to the baths.

## Herdonia

50 Herdonia was a Daunian settlement that developed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, providing a city wall and Forum. After the Social War, the settlement became a *municipium* and was endowed with various public monuments, among them a Forum with *basilica*, temple, as well as a possible *campus* and bath complex. The city had a surface area of ca. 20 ha and a roughly orthogonal grid plan. After continuous remodeling of the Forum and the construction of an amphitheater in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, the city saw a major monumentalization in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, when the Forum was completely remodeled, the amphitheater renovated, and a new bath complex built (fig. 26)<sup>80</sup>.

51 An inscribed stone slab (85 cm × 150 cm × 25 cm) documents that two *quattuorviri quinquennales* saw to the construction of a *balneum* from foundation by decree of the *decurions* and approved of the work. The inscription is variously dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, the Caesarian period, or the period between 50 and 20 BC<sup>81</sup>. The stone

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76 Sironen 1990; I am very grateful to Francesca Diosono for this reference.

77 Mastrocinque 2009; Mastrocinque 2013; Mastrocinque 2016; Mastrocinque – Saggioro 2016; Mastrocinque – Marchetti 2019; Lienhard 2020, II 377–425.

78 Capano 2009, 80 identified the round room as a *frigidarium* although it only includes two niches with seats and no pool or basin. The published plan of the baths is highly unusual and has no parallels in Late Republican baths; it suggests major changes and later additions, notably *caldarium* 6 and room 5 of unknown function.

79 CIL X 221; Laes – Buonopane 2020, 92 f. no. 20; here fig. 40.

80 Lienhard 2020, II 428–508.

81 CIL I2 3188. Fagan 1999, 251 no. 65: Caesarian. Mertens – Volpe 1999, 36: 50–0 BC. Silvestrini 1999, 65 f. B1; EDR074695: 50–20 BC. Here fig. 40.

slab was reused in the remodeling of the amphitheater when the balneum was either already destroyed or possibly remodeled by other people. If the current appearance of the stone slab is original, it must have been inserted into a wall because the inscribed field is framed by barely worked borders. The inscription could have been prominently displayed, e.g. in the façade of the balneum which was reveted with stucco.

52 Two different locations have been proposed for this balneum. First, remains on the northeastern side of the Forum have been identified as a Late Republican bathing facility that was built on top of an earlier complex of underground storerooms (fig. 27). These remains include a pool 1 (12.05 × 5.80 m, 2.50 m deep), a corridor 2 (16 × 4.80 m), a large atrium 3 (18 × 13 m) with impluvium (8 × 4 m, 15 cm deep), and another large room 4 (10 × 10 m). A large channel (54 cm wide) drained water from the impluvium via room 4 to the adjacent street. There may have been a porticus to the south of rooms 2–4. A narrow staircase has been reconstructed in the southwest corner of the pool, on tenuous grounds. Thus, the pool would have been immediately accessible from the Forum square, which is highly unusual. Since the whole complex does not at all resemble the well-known Late Republican public baths, its identification as a balneum is questionable<sup>82</sup>. This may have been some public building with an atrium and reservoir or cistern, which was apparently not central to the city and already overbuilt before the Trajanic monumentalization.

53 Second, a wall in opus reticulatum that is located ca. 100 m to the north of the Forum basilica has been attributed to the Late Republican balneum<sup>83</sup>. This wall was found under the colonnaded courtyard of the Imperial period baths that were located on the main street, leading from the Forum to the north gate. Fragments of an inscription from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD that mentions a balin(eum) were found in the Imperial period baths and may have recorded the renovation of the Late Republican baths<sup>84</sup>. The Imperial period baths were supplied by an aqueduct<sup>85</sup>, but it is unknown whether this also applied to the Republican baths.

54 In sum, while Herdonia certainly provided a publicly owned bath complex in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, this can currently not be securely located and assessed. Both a location at the Forum (less likely) and at the city's main street (more likely) would have been appropriate and emphasized the importance of bathing in the urban fabric.

## Musarna

55 The small Etruscan settlement of Musarna was founded by Tarquinius in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC with an extension of 4–5 ha and an orthogonal grid plan. Within the fortified settlement, two temples, several residential and commercial buildings, as well as a bath building have been investigated that are grouped around the central square (fig. 28).

56 The bath complex was built around 100 BC on a street between the western city gate and the Forum<sup>86</sup>. It was constructed over and partially included a small temple that had been built in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC and apparently destroyed at an unknown time before the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. The immediate surroundings have not been excavated. The baths covered a surface area of 216 m<sup>2</sup> and included a sequence of apodyterium C1, tepidarium C2, and caldarium C3 (fig. 29). Both the bathing section and the large service

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82 Mertens 1988, 38–40; Mertens 1995, 176–179 fig. 163a; Mertens 1997, 24–30 figs. 10–13 plans I–II; Lienhard 2020, II 435. 440 f. 470–472: pottery and coins minted between 41 and 23 BC would suggest construction between 20 and 0 BC. De Felice – Fratta 2021, 58 fig. 12; 144 fig. 37 also assign this complex to the Augustan period, but on 155 fig. 52 to the Republican period. The debated chronology does not matter here, however, because the complex is not identified as a bath building.

83 Mertens – Volpe 1999, 36. 97; Silvestrini 1999, 66; Volpe 2000, 129 f. fig. 144; 509 f.

84 Silvestrini 1999, 65 f.; Leone 2019, 204 does not mention the opus reticulatum wall and theory of a Late Republican balneum.

85 Mertens – Volpe 1999, 85 f.; Leone 2019.

86 Broise – Jolivet 2004; Trümper 2020c, 146–148.

section (C4–C9), which included a newly built cistern, were accessible from the northern street (Rue CE). While little survived, Henri Broise and Vincent Jolivet reconstructed a lavishly decorated, albeit very narrow main entrance, which led immediately into the apodyterium (fig. 30). The reconstruction also suggests that the baths were identifiable from the street because of their vaulted roofs<sup>87</sup>.

57 The patrons of the baths are known from an inscription in the mosaic pavement of the caldarium, Luvce from the gens Hulchnie and (Vel) Alethna, son of Avle. Broise and Jolivet claimed that it could not be securely determined whether the two men acted as private euergetes or magistrates. Enrico Benelli, however, argued convincingly that these men were official magistrates of Tarquinia who built the baths from public money for the small dependency Musarna<sup>88</sup>. This is also suggested by the remarkable fact that a temple was replaced by a bath complex<sup>89</sup>. The inscription was only visible to bathers, and not to passersby. The baths were abandoned in the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, and possibly replaced by a more modern complex outside the city walls, which is, however, little known.

## Norba

58 Norba was founded as a Latin colony in 492 BC with a surface area of 37.27 ha. A roughly orthogonal grid plan was adapted to the hilly terrain and may have developed over several centuries. A major urban transformation occurred in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, before the city was abandoned after its destruction by Sulla in 82 BC.

59 One of the two main east-west streets went straight from the Acropolis Minore to the Porta Serrone Bove, while the other led from the Porta Maggiore via the Forum to the Porta Signina in a curved course, adapted to the terrain (fig. 31). The straight decumanus is flanked by insulae of ca. 45 m width. So far, the well-preserved city walls, several sanctuaries, the Forum, many houses, public reservoirs, and a bath complex have been investigated, while administrative buildings or a theater have not yet been securely identified<sup>90</sup>.

60 The baths are located in the center of the city, below the Forum and a large public reservoir, and facing the straight decumanus<sup>91</sup>. They were bordered by streets in the east, south, and possibly also west and may thus have covered one insula in east-west extension, albeit of less than 45 m width (fig. 32). While the baths were never fully excavated, three rooms have been identified: an apodyterium (1), a laconicum (2), and a frigidarium or caldarium (3)<sup>92</sup>. Typological comparisons suggest, however, that room 3 was a tepidarium, which led into a caldarium with immersion pool and labrum (4). Water was supplied by the large public reservoir (21.8 × 30–32.5 m, 4.2 m deep) that was located on a significantly higher level, was half cut into the rock and half built, and was originally covered. Three corridors were found between the bathing rooms and the reservoir which apparently served to link the two buildings and show that at least some of the bathing rooms were either double-storied or had terrace roofs. Corridor A led from the upper story of room 1 up to the reservoir; corridor B led from the ground floor of room 1 around room 2 and north of room 3 to the east side of the reservoir, ascending very steeply (16–25 %) and lit by two light wells; and corridor C was located to the north of rooms 3 and 4 and led from an elevated position in the east to the west

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87 Broise – Jolivet 2004, 43 figs. 46–49. Broise – Jolivet 2020 identified a second public bath building in Insula F; this provided only a single terracotta bathtub in a complex with tabernae and workshops, however, and is not considered a public bath here.

88 Broise – Jolivet 2004, 87–89; Benelli 2007, 237–239; here fig. 40.

89 Broise – Jolivet 2004, 329 proposed cautiously that this may have been a temple dedicated to Bacchus, built “peut-être à l’initiative d’un membre de la famille des Alethna”.

90 Lackner 2008, 131–134; Quilici Gigli 2015; Quilici Gigli 2018; Quilici Gigli 2019; Quilici Gigli 2019/2020; Quilici Gigli 2020a; Quilici Gigli 2020b; Piro et al. 2021.

91 Quilici – Quilici Gigli 1997.

92 Quilici – Quilici Gigli 1997, 78 (frigidarium); Broise – Jolivet 2004, 98 (caldarium).

on top of corridor B. A series of fixtures and concretions found in corridor B suggest that lead pipes were fixed here, bringing water to room 1 and probably room 3. The function of corridors A and C remains unknown. There must have been a praefurnium to the north, east, or south of the caldarium; given the slope of the terrain, a position in the south or southeast would have been most convenient, even if farther away from the reservoir. In any case, none of the corridors can have housed a praefurnium, because they were all located high above the floors of the bathing rooms<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> While the southern part of the rooms is not preserved, room 3 has been reconstructed with a north-south extension of 9.40 m. This would leave some space (ca. 5–6 m) between the bathing rooms and the street which may have been covered with a porticus or tabernae. The main entrance was most likely from the decumanus in the south, for example via a corridor among tabernae. The service section may have been accessible from the eastern street<sup>94</sup>. Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli argued that the baths certainly included a palaestra because of the laconicum and that this may have been located to the west of rooms 1 and 2<sup>95</sup>. Since baths with laconica did not always provide palaestrae<sup>96</sup>, the baths in Norba may also have been built without this feature. Without the possible palaestra, the baths would have covered a terrain of at least 17 × 28 m (476 m<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>62</sup> The prominent location and the intricate conceptual, spatial, and architectural connection with the reservoir suggest that the baths were built at public initiative; and the building technique and typological comparisons suggest that this occurred most likely at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC<sup>97</sup>.

## Paestum

<sup>63</sup> When Paestum became a Latin colony in 273 BC the Greek-Lucanian city with a surface area of 120 ha and an orthogonal grid plan was gradually transformed and endowed with numerous new buildings, which is particularly well studied for the Forum area<sup>98</sup>. The new urban development included a bath building that was probably constructed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC to the west of the Forum, opposite a natatio-complex (fig. 33 no. 54). Since the baths have barely been explored, and only the laconicum and remains of the heated immersion pool of a caldarium with adjacent praefurnium are visible today, discussion is necessarily hypothetical. The baths occupied a lot of about 650 m<sup>2</sup> in a densely built residential insula In (n-2)<sup>99</sup>. The lot was located between two cardines and framed by two narrow alleys in the north and south. The complex included most likely a single bathing section with apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, and laconicum (fig. 34). The main entrance was from the main cardo in the east, the service section must have been accessible from the cardo in the west or one of the alleys. Nothing is known about the water supply.

<sup>64</sup> The baths were abandoned at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC in favor of houses, the eastern of which was in turn replaced by an Imperial cult building, the Caesarum, around AD 100. The prominent location and close spatial connection to the natatio-

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<sup>93</sup> Contra Broise – Jolivet 2004, 100. Only corridor B ended presumably on the level of room 1, which certainly did not have an immersion pool at this point.

<sup>94</sup> A geophysical survey has recently been carried out in Norba that also included the terrain immediately to the south and the east of the baths; Quilici Gigli 2020b, 321 fig. 23; Piro et al. 2021, 262 f. figs. 1, 2: areas E and F. Detailed results of areas E and F have not yet been published, however.

<sup>95</sup> Quilici – Quilici Gigli 1997, 80.

<sup>96</sup> For example, the fully known baths in Crotona and Paestum, and possibly also the Republican Baths in Pompeii.

<sup>97</sup> Quilici – Quilici Gigli 1997; Broise – Jolivet 2004, 98; Mogetta 2021, 189 f.

<sup>98</sup> The changes are too numerous to be all listed here; cf. Lackner 2008, 139–144: comitium, curia, temple, basilica, macellum, tabernae, amphitheater, natatio-complex, etc. Cipriani – Santoriello 2012, 34: a third of the 120 ha was only added after 273 BC. Gualtieri 2013, 382–385; Lienhard 2020, III 360–447.

<sup>99</sup> Lemaire et al. 2000, 162 f.; Bragantini et al. 2008, 155–158; Borlenghi 2011, 234–237. For the problems of dating building techniques in Paestum, Mogetta 2021, 194 f.

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complex (fig. 33 no. 22) might speak in favor of public construction and ownership, and the complex may even have included tabernae in the service section, opening onto the western cardo. But the size of the baths that is not particularly impressive for a well-endowed large city like Paestum and the replacement by private houses seems more compatible with private ownership. Only much later, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, another bath building was built by the *duovir quinquennalis* M. Tullius Cicero Venneianus to the south of the Forum, at his own expense (fig. 33 no. 47)<sup>100</sup>. While this highlights the importance of bathing in Imperial period Paestum, it does not help to assess the ownership of the Late Republican baths.

## Solunto

65 The Punic city of Solunto was (re)founded in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC on the north coast of Sicily, but the currently visible remains go mainly back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC when Sicily was a Roman province. With a size of ca. 18 ha, Solunto was endowed with an orthogonal grid plan and a standard set of public buildings, among them a theater, bouleuterion, stoa, public cistern, palaestra, and two public baths (fig. 35)<sup>101</sup>.

66 The North Baths were probably built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC right to the east of the Agora. Since the terrain to the east of the Agora, which is sloping quite steeply, has barely been explored, the immediate context of the baths and the question of earlier structures in this area can currently not be determined. On a surface area of at least 360 m<sup>2</sup>, a simple row type complex with a sequence of apodyterium 2, tepidarium 3, and caldarium 4 was built (fig. 36)<sup>102</sup>. Access was via a vestibule 1 in the southwest with steps from the Agora square; the barely known service section had most likely a separate entrance in the north or further down the slope in the northeast. It must remain open whether there was a lockable door right on the Agora or only to the apodyterium and whether the entrance was emphasized any further. The baths were supplied by the adjacent large public cistern<sup>103</sup>. This would not only provide a *terminus ad or post quem* for the construction of the baths, but also clearly suggest public initiative. Construction of the cistern is usually dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC<sup>104</sup>. The fact that the baths and cistern have similar north-south extensions further supports the notion of a coherent urban concept. The baths were at least once remodeled, and probably abandoned in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD<sup>105</sup>. While a conceptual and functional link between the nearby palaestra and the baths has been identified<sup>106</sup>, this is questionable; the position of the baths was most likely motivated by that of the adjacent public cistern and by the slope of the hill which allowed to conveniently place the service section and praefurnium on a lower level in the east.

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100 EDR073273; Vitti 2019. Another bath complex of the Imperial period was identified in Insula Is (2–4) (Bragantini et al. 2008, fig. 1), to the south of a complex with a large natatio (fig. 31 no. 50); Nielsen 1991, II 8 f. cat. 50.

101 Cutroni Tusa et al. 1994; Sposito 2014.

102 The barely known baths are currently being investigated by Giovanni Polizzi who found possible traces of an earlier phase below the currently visible remains in a first excavation campaign of 2021, see Portale et al. 2021, 143–150; until full investigation and publication of the baths, see Trümper 2019, 362–368; Trümper 2020d, 50–53.

103 Polizzi – Torre 2018a; Portale et al. 2021, 145 f.: the connection pipe made of amphorae was explored in 2021. This was apparently abandoned during the use of the baths, but may have been replaced with a more modern lead pipe of which no traces survive. Otherwise, it is hard to explain how the small reservoirs a and b would have been supplied; they could only have served for temporary storage and must have been connected to a continuous reliable supply system.

104 Differently now Portale et al. 2021, 148 based on excavations in the North Baths: first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. This has implications for many other public buildings as well, but needs further substantiation.

105 Portale et al. 2021, 148.

106 Polizzi – Torre 2018a, 70; challenged by Trümper 2019, 366.

67 The second bath complex was most likely also built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, possibly a bit later than the baths at the Agora<sup>107</sup>. It is located in the southern part of the excavated city, where the main street ascends steeply from northeast to southwest and then curves to a straight north-south stretch. The baths occupy the resulting triangular lot, surrounded by streets in the west and southeast, while the northern area has not been excavated. They also cover two of the steep east-west oriented stenopoi that are typical of the orthogonal city plan. The unfavorable rest terrain was used in a clever way which suggests careful planning and rather public than private initiative. On a surface area of at least 400 m<sup>2</sup>, a simple row-type bath complex with the sequence of apodyterium 6, tepidarium 5, and caldarium 4 was built (fig. 37). There were probably two entrances: one from a small square at the crossing of the Via dell'Agora and the Via delle Terme, leading to a long vestibule decorated with opus signinum (7). It is not known whether this vestibule was closed at the south or north or at both ends, and whether its door(s) was (were) further decorated. A second entrance at the crossing of the Via Perez and the Via delle Terme led down via a staircase or ramp to additional bathing rooms of unknown function. The service section had most likely a separate entrance further down the eastern slope, possibly between tabernae along the Via dell'Agora. It is not securely known how the baths were supplied with water<sup>108</sup>. The drainage channel from the western ambitus was diverted in order to surround the bathing rooms in the south and to most likely collect water from all bathing rooms.

68 While the owners of the baths cannot be securely determined, public initiative is suggested by the occupation of public terrain (two stenopoi), the prominent location with streets on at least two of the three sides of the lot, and the divergence of the public drainage channel.

69 The bath buildings in Solunto were less differentiated than those in Pompeii, possibly because both were built at public initiative as argued here. That a settlement of 18 ha boasted two public bath buildings, is remarkable, however.

### Tifernum Mataurense

70 Tifernum Mataurense was an Umbrian settlement that became a municipium after the Social Wars and saw a major urbanization in the Late Republican and Imperial periods, when an orthogonal grid plan was established. While the size of the city is unknown and only a few remains have been excavated so far, five cardines, a paved Forum square, several domus, and a bath complex have been identified<sup>109</sup>. The baths are located south of and close to the Forum and right to the east of the cardo maximus. They have been reconstructed with an east-west extension of 35 m, like the insulae, and were certainly bordered by a paved cardo in the west, and possibly another in the east. The north-south extension of 36.5 m is hypothetical, and it is not known whether the complex was bordered by streets in the north or south.

71 The baths were constructed in the Late Republican municipium and remodeled three times in the Imperial period, in correlation with major historical phases of the city (II: Augustan period; III: ca. AD 100; IV: second half of 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD) (fig. 38). The original building has been reconstructed with a surface area of 1277.50 m<sup>2</sup> including a palaestra (C) with one colonnade and a natatio along the north wall, two cold rooms

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107 The barely known baths are currently being investigated by Antonello Fino and Paola Santospagnuolo; Trümper 2019, 368–376.

108 Recent research by Fino and Santospagnuolo challenges the reconstruction of a spring and large L-shaped water reservoir at the area a that was reconstructed by Polizzi – Torre 2018b; Fino and Santospagnuolo reconstruct a ramp at this point. I am most grateful that I am allowed to mention their unpublished research here. Full assessment of area a must await further investigation and detailed publication; both options are shown here in fig. 37.

109 Stortoni 2014; Stortoni 2016; Stortoni 2019.

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(“frigidarium con vano vasca (?) E–F”<sup>110</sup>), two heated rooms (G. H), service rooms in the northwest (I–N), and two entrances from the western cardo to the palaestra and the service section. The water supply is not known for any of the building’s phases.

72 The bathing program including a frigidarium with pool and a separate natatio would be unusual for Late Republican baths. There is no evidence of a pool in rooms E and F, and one of these rooms could originally have been an apodyterium. The evidence and chronology of the supposed natatio (12 × 6 m) are not clear, also because another pool (U, 7 × 6 m) was presumably built into this pool in phase III<sup>111</sup>. One wonders whether the natatio D ever existed, and whether pool U was not the only one, built in the Augustan period (phase II) to transform room F into a frigidarium, when also an apse was added to the caldarium H. Room E could then have been an apodyterium (installed maybe in a former taberna). There was most likely an additional entrance to the baths in the east or north (to room E or the room east of F), from the eastern cardo or a possible northern street. The palaestra could originally have been provided with additional colonnades, in the north (obliterated by the later transformations), east, and possibly even south (as suggested in fig. 38)<sup>112</sup>.

73 The size and location, as well as two inscriptions suggest that the baths were built at public initiative. Remains of three letters were found in the mosaic of the caldarium (QVO), dated on paleographical grounds to the mid-Imperial period<sup>113</sup>. These might commemorate the remodeling measures of phase III. A large fragment of an inscribed stone slab was found in the western colonnade of the palaestra (32.5 × 30 × 4.8 cm), close to the western entrance, and was dated to phase IV, based on the paleography. It documents that a Montan(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) (quattuor)vir quin(quennalis) did something, probably in accordance with a decree of the decurions; he may have been responsible for the remodeling of phase IV and may have advertised this on the façade, above or close to the entrance<sup>114</sup>.

## Conclusion

74 The comparison of the 17 Late Republican public baths discussed here should show whether there were standards in baths as ‘espace conçu’ (conceived space) and ‘espace perçu’ (perceived and experienced space), and whether the criteria introduced by Medri allow differentiating between public and private ownership and agency. Where possible, the two baths from Apollonia and Populonia as well as the four baths known from constructional dedications in Brixia, Falerii Novi, Mevaniola, and Praeneste will be included. To facilitate reference, all 23 baths are numbered in tables 1–2 in alphabetical order, and these numbers are referred to in the following. Table 1 (fig. 39) lists the archaeological evidence of Late Republican baths and table 2 (fig. 40) Late Republican

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110 Stortoni 2019, 419.

111 Stortoni 2019, 419 dedicates three lines to the natatio. In earlier reports, features of pool U – a limestone slab at the south border – were assigned to the earliest phase, and the east wall is described as made of opus vittatum mixtum; e.g. Stortoni 2014, 876–878 (trench D); Stortoni 2016. The western border of the supposed natatio is nowhere clearly described and visible. No traces of steps were found in the south, while some blocks along the north border may have served as access to the pool; while these steps may go back to a remodeling, they do not exclude an earlier (smaller?) staircase in the north.

112 The colonnade B is made of presumably reused stylobate slabs and columns and semi columns of bricks; Stortoni 2019, 418. It is not clear whether this colonnade and room N in its current shape really go back to the first phase. The south wall of room N is aligned with the later added apse of the caldarium H which suggests that they may have been conceived together. The colonnade B could then also go back to one of the remodeling phases, when large parts of the palaestra were occupied by rooms. The original palaestra may have been fully rectangular, including 3–4 colonnades.

113 Stortoni 2019, 430 fig. 19.

114 Stortoni 2019, 425. 431 fig. 21.



inscriptions related to construction, repairs, or remodeling of baths. Cities that do not provide archaeological or epigraphical evidence are still listed in the tables, albeit in italics, in order to facilitate reading the tables. While each bath has its own number (e.g., three baths in Pompeii, nos. 16–18), inscriptions that presumably referred to the same bath building have the same number; this regards only Aletrium (no. 2) and the Forum Baths (no. 16) and Stabian Baths (no. 18) in Pompeii, and the respective inscriptions are differentiated with a and b in table 2 (fig. 40).

75 Eight of the 23 baths were certainly and three more possibly built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, but only one of these 11 securely before 150 BC<sup>115</sup>. Of the 12 examples built in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, five can be dated to the first half<sup>116</sup>, five to the second half<sup>117</sup>, and two only generally to this century<sup>118</sup>.

76 The 23 baths were constructed in cities which were originally Daunian, Etruscan, Faliscan, Greek, Hernician, Lucanian, Samnite, and Punic settlements, as well as Latin or Roman colonies. While the change of a city's political status and the construction of baths can often not be precisely dated, both may have been intricately linked. Thus, baths were built in cities founded as or transformed into a Latin colony<sup>119</sup>, a Roman colony<sup>120</sup>, or a municipium<sup>121</sup>. Some baths were built in cities that were under Roman control, but the political status of which is unknown<sup>122</sup>. This largely also applies to cities with Late Republican baths that maintained strong Samnite<sup>123</sup> and Etruscan identities<sup>124</sup>. While Rome's expansion in Italy undeniably had a major impact on urban developments and cityscapes, baths were not necessarily a specific marker of Roman identity and culture that was brought by colonists, but rather a marker of urban culture and pretensions<sup>125</sup>. Standardization in public baths may have been promoted by traveling specialists who built baths, including technological equipment and decoration, in cities all over Italy that could afford them, cultural identity and political status notwithstanding<sup>126</sup>. But the existence and provenance of specialized workforces cannot be comprehensively assessed at the current state of research.

77 Despite a certain standardization, not two of the 17 baths are alike or even similar, and features such as separate sections for men and women were by no means common. Only four baths provided two sections in their original design, and a small section for women was integrated in Pompeii's Forum Baths only in the Augustan period<sup>127</sup>. Size certainly played a crucial role, and varies from 216 m<sup>2</sup> to 2400 m<sup>2</sup> for the fully excavated baths, but local preferences and requirements were at least equally important. Thus, while the Republican Baths in Pompeii provided two sections on 672 m<sup>2</sup>, the larger baths in Cales, Pompeii (original Forum Baths), and Tifernum Mataurense included only one section. In all single section baths, women and men must have bathed together or at separate hours, or women had no access at all. That women were not conceived as regular customers in single section baths is suggested by the inclusion of *laconica* in

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115 Nos. 2. 3. 7. 8. 9 (before 150 BC); 14. 15?. 17. 18. 21?. 22?.

116 Nos. 6. 13. 16. 19. 20.

117 Nos. 1. 4. 5. 11. 12.

118 Nos. 10. 23.

119 Nos. 1. 8?. 9. 14. 15.

120 Nos. 6. 10?. 16. 20.

121 Nos. 4. 5. 11. 12?. 23.

122 Nos. 2. 3. 21. 22.

123 Nos. 7. 17. 18.

124 Nos. 13. 19.

125 The significance of baths as cultural identifiers remains debated; Broise – Jolivet 2004, 32. 329–337; Papi 2007; Smith 2019.

126 Broise – Jolivet 2004, 60. 90. 335 who identify these “équipes itinérantes” as Roman; Bernard et al. 2019, 90.

127 Nos. 7. 9. 16–18.

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seven of these baths<sup>128</sup>. Since only the men's section of double-section baths provided this bathing form, laconica may have had a distinct male connotation and their use may have been a prerogative of men<sup>129</sup>. While this also applies to the palaestra, this space-consuming feature was apparently less common in Late Republican baths: large palaestrae were found in three baths<sup>130</sup>, and small courtyards in two<sup>131</sup>. Palaestrae have been hypothetically reconstructed for further examples<sup>132</sup>, but can be excluded for at least five baths<sup>133</sup>.

78 The urban context is particularly revealing because 10 of 17 baths were built close to the Forum (or central square)<sup>134</sup>, and two even right on the Forum<sup>135</sup>. Others were situated at a major crossing (no. 18), or at least at an important street or square<sup>136</sup>. A main entrance from one of the city's main streets (main *cardo* or *decumanus*) or the Forum is typical of all baths, except for the Republican Baths in Pompeii (no. 17), which were still situated at a connecting street between the main *decumanus* and an important public-sacred complex. The few sufficiently known baths show that entrances could be emphasized by several features: lavishly decorated doors<sup>137</sup>; decorated facades<sup>138</sup>; porticoes<sup>139</sup>; possibly inscriptions above doors<sup>140</sup>; and *tabernae*<sup>141</sup>. In addition, public space in front of the baths was shaped to further draw attention to the baths by means such as enlarged streets, arches, fountains, and stepping stones. This can be observed for Pompeii, but may have been similar in less well-known cities. If streets were wide enough, passersby may have seen the typical vaulted roofs of baths (fig. 5. 9. 30).

79 During bathing hours, noises and possibly also specific smells may have signaled the presence of baths to people in the adjacent streets. As vividly described by Seneca, baths may have been audible, but investigating noise as a marker requires a differentiated approach. For example, *tabernae* with their noisy activities, but also the manifold sounds from Fora and busy streets may have muffled sounds from the bathing rooms. The conditions under which Seneca could hear an astonishing variety of activities that must have taken place in different rooms are not clear. Seneca, “*supra ipsum balneum habito*”<sup>142</sup>, heard noises from weight-lifting, ball playing, massages, plunging and swimming, hair-plucking, and vending of various wares. While some of the *tabernae* included in baths may have provided simple lodgings on mezzanines or upper stories, it is not likely that Seneca would have lived in such modest conditions. Only the Forum Baths in Pompeii may have included a large upper story apartment, which was accessible from an independent, well-made staircase (VII.5.1) next to the

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128 Nos. 2. 5. 6. 10. 14. 15. 19.

129 Trümper 2012a; Trümper 2012b. This is confirmed by the recent (2021) discovery of a laconicum in the southwest corner of the palaestra of the Stabian Baths which belonged to phase 1 (fig. 6) and was replaced in phase 2 by another, more fashionable laconicum in the men's section.

130 Nos. 16. 18. 23.

131 Nos. 9. 17.

132 Nos. 2. 5. 10?. 14.

133 Nos. 6. 13. 15. 21. 22.

134 Nos. 1. 2. 6. 7. 9. 13. 14. 15. 16. 23.

135 Nos. 5. 21. Lienhard 2020, I 122–125; Lienhard 2020, II 442 n. 2310 emphasizes that this is a highly unusual position and lists only five examples from Italy of the Mid-Republican to Late Antique period: Cales (with ?), Herdonia (questioned here, see above), *Lucus Feroniae*, Ostia, and *Saepinum*.

136 Nos. 10. 17. 22. The location of no. 11 cannot be evaluated. Even if the baths of Praeneste (no. 20) can no longer be located at or close to the Forum of the città bassa, as argued by Raiano 2021, they were built in an area that saw a major urban development and monumentalization in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.

137 Nos. 16. 18.

138 No. 5.

139 Nos. 6. 9.

140 No. 16?; the painted inscriptions above two doors of the Stabian Baths (no. 18) may also have singled out this building in the urban context.

141 Nos. 16. 18, possibly also nos. 1. 2. 5. 7. 9. 14. 15. 23.

142 Sen. Luc. 56: “I have lodgings right over a bathing establishment”. Transl. R. Gummere (1917).

northern main entrance and could have extended over the northern and eastern tabernae (fig. 10). Two further baths show evidence of structures above bathing rooms, the function of which cannot be determined, however<sup>143</sup>.

80 Transport and unloading of fuel must have had a significant impact on urban traffic and public life, even if this may have taken place outside rush hours. Service entrances are known for seven baths<sup>144</sup>, can be reconstructed for five more cases<sup>145</sup>, and were probably standard. In three of the seven assessable examples, the service entrance opened off the main street<sup>146</sup>, while the four other service entrances were located at secondary streets.

81 The recognizability of baths may have helped strangers to find these establishments when first visiting a city, but most customers of urban public baths were most likely local inhabitants for whom the heightened visibility of baths had a different significance: the design of the façades allowed to distinguish different local bathing facilities, signaled the convenient availability of nearby shops and workshops, served to proudly display and represent the city's urban identity and standing, and provided aesthetic pleasure. This was certainly conceived by the builders and owners of the baths and perceived and experienced by users of the baths or people passing by.

82 This leads to the question of agents who integrated baths into the urban fabric and advertised them. Public ownership is most obvious from inscriptions that are related to construction, remodeling, and furniture. Inscriptions from the Late Republican period were found in 12 of the 19 archaeologically known baths and in four cases without secure archaeological evidence (fig. 40). Inscriptions of later periods were revealed in two further cases<sup>147</sup>. While one fragmentary inscription<sup>148</sup> does not include the office of the donor, the office is certainly lacking in two fully preserved inscriptions<sup>149</sup>. It has recently been argued, however, that in both cases, the donors were magistrates and acted in their official capacity, using even public money<sup>150</sup>. Remarkably, no inscription refers to private ownership, with a name in the genitive. Garrett Fagan listed only seven advertisements of such baths none of which can be securely dated before the Imperial period<sup>151</sup>. Two of these were found in Pompeii: The balneum "in praedis Iuliae Sp. f. Felicis" could be rented for five years, underlining the profitable aspect of privately-owned baths. This was advertised in a painted inscription on the building itself<sup>152</sup>. Thermae with sea water and the baln(eae?) with fresh water were advertised on a carefully carved stone slab (115.5 × 59.6 cm, letters 5.5–12 cm) and included a reference to both the owner, M. Crassus Frugi, and the conductor of the establishment, the freedman Ianuarius. This advertisement must have been displayed visibly on the façade of the baths which have not been found so far<sup>153</sup>.

83 The Late Republican inscriptions referring to publicly owned baths should also have offered the chance to publicly advertise public ownership, but this opportunity was apparently not always taken. Four dedications were inserted into opus tessellatum

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143 Nos. 7. 14.

144 Nos. 6. 13. 14. 16–18. 23.

145 Nos. 5. 7. 15. 21. 22.

146 Nos. 13. 18. 23.

147 Nos. 1. 23; see above.

148 No. 2a (EDR071530).

149 Nos. 2b (EDR071508). 13.

150 Benelli 2007, 237–239; Kerschbaum 2017; cf. also Pobjoy 2000; Reinfjord 2011.

151 Fagan 1999, 317–319 nos. 253–259. In the eastern Mediterranean from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, baths were commonly called after their owners, which is known from literary sources, inscriptions, and papyri; see Trümper 2013b.

152 CIL IV 1136.

153 CIL X 1063; EDR150470. The inscription was found outside the Herculaneum gate, where no separate bath complex has been identified so far.

pavements of bathing rooms and were only visible to bathers. The three oldest were written in Faliscan, Etruscan, and Latin and the two preserved examples integrated into the borders of central panels that decorated the most important bathing room, the caldarium<sup>154</sup>. The inscription from Mevaniola (no. 12) was organized in a tabula and presented in an entrance room. With its presentation and location, it represents a conceptual change in advertising dedications in pavements that would continue in the Early Imperial period<sup>155</sup>. The letters of the mosaic inscriptions were 7–13 cm large and well visible, when standing shortly before or above the inscriptions.

84 In contrast, the letters on the labrum and sundial with Oscan dedications were significantly smaller (1–1.5 cm and 5.5–6 cm) and only legible when approaching closely (sundial) or even bending down (labrum); if the marble socle of the labrum supported a large bronze basin, as suggested above, it must have been even harder to read the inscription (fig. 21)<sup>156</sup>. Here, too, more appropriate and conspicuous positions were developed in the Early Imperial period, to advertise the donation of such objects. The dedication of a labrum in the Forum Baths of Pompeii by two duoviri around AD 3/4 was inlaid in bronze letters on the border of the large marble basin, constantly visible when using the labrum<sup>157</sup>. Two other duoviri advertised their dedication of a sundial in Pompeii's Sanctuary of Apollo on a tabula attached to the column that supported the sundial; the tabula was displayed above eye-sight, but still well legible<sup>158</sup>.

85 The dedications on stone slabs were certainly the most appropriate medium to broadcast public initiative to all passersby, but none was found in situ<sup>159</sup>. The two identical inscriptions from the Forum Baths in Pompeii may originally have been displayed above the two main entrances, similar to a preserved situation in the city's Odeum, also built shortly after 80 BC. The other dedications may have been shown in similar settings, although the best-known example, the Stabian Baths in Pompeii, probably did not offer any appropriate space for a stone slab in its prime location, the southern façade.

86 The size of the rectangular slabs ranges from 84 to 150 cm in width, and 45 to 63 cm in height, and letters vary between 3.9 and 11 cm, but are in average 7–8 cm<sup>160</sup>. This is not the place to study the design and wording of these inscriptions in due detail, and some remarks must suffice. The inscriptions are carefully organized, left-aligned<sup>161</sup> or symmetrically centered<sup>162</sup>. Certain elements such as the names of the donors, always written first, and their office could be emphasized by size or particular placement. This is most obvious in the inscriptions of the Forum Baths (nos. 16a and b), where the office “*IV*” is written separately and in the largest letters, but also in the inscriptions from Herdonia (no. 11) and Praeneste (no. 20), where the office, “*IIII VIR QVINQ*” and “*DVO VIR*”, respectively, is centered, occupying one single and the shortest (no. 20) or almost shortest (no. 11) line of the inscription. In contrast, the dedicated work(s) is (are) never singled out, if it is explicitly mentioned at all. What mattered apparently most, were the

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154 Nos. 6. 13; no. 8 is not preserved.

155 This inscription is not securely dated to the Late Republican period and may well belong to the Augustan period. Cf. other mosaics from the Early Imperial period related to baths: e.g., *Ancona* (frigidarium?, EDR015528); *Aquae Statiellae* (location unknown, EDR071752); *Aquinum* (men's frigidarium, EDR168082; women's frigidarium, EDR168085); *Bantia* (original function of room unknown, EDR106053); cf. Piccardi 2013. Konogan Beaufay is preparing a detailed study of mosaic inscriptions related to baths.

156 Nos. 7. 18a.

157 CIL X 817.

158 CIL X 802; EDR147211; dated to 40–10 BC.

159 Nos. 17. 10. 11. 16 (a and b). 18b. 20.

160 The fragmentary inscription from Aletrium, no. 2, EDR071530, is an outlier; it must have been at least 180 cm long, and probably much higher than 20 cm, with one line or several lines above the preserved part.

161 Nos. 16. 18b.

162 Nos. 10. 11. 20.

donors and their public function, which is confirmed by the fact that all donors acted by decree of the decurions, and in three cases used public money or the *summa honoraria*<sup>163</sup>.

87 The painted inscriptions over two doors of the Stabian Baths and the above-mentioned painted rental advertisement at the façade of the Praedia of Iulia Felix in Pompeii confirm that this less durable form of writing was used in relation to baths. This suggests that the names of owners – both public and especially private – could also have been painted on facades, which would have been easier and cheaper than stone slabs<sup>164</sup>. Pompeii is the only ancient city where a significant amount of *dipinti* on façades has been preserved and investigated. These include all kinds of advertisements and above all electoral programmata, while no owner inscription has yet been securely identified on a private or public building. Scholars have long tried to identify house owners, mostly based on the electoral inscriptions on façades, but also based on seals, inscribed amphorae, and graffiti found within houses. The methodological approaches and specific identifications remain debated, however<sup>165</sup>. Thus, while painted owner inscriptions are an intriguing possibility, particularly for advertising privately owned baths, they must remain hypothetical for now and cannot help to determine the ownership of the Late Republican baths discussed here.

88 Other indicators for public ownership may be the location close to or at the Forum as well as the water supply. Two baths were supplied by adjacent public reservoirs and possibly even built in close connection with these<sup>166</sup>. Three others were certainly and four possibly connected with aqueducts, which is no proof of public ownership, however, because privately owned buildings (houses, workshops, baths etc.) could also draw upon aqueduct water for a fee<sup>167</sup>.

89 The insula context can be securely evaluated in six cases, and cautiously be reconstructed in three more<sup>168</sup>. Only two or three baths occupied an entire insula<sup>169</sup>, but three or five baths were surrounded by streets on three sides<sup>170</sup>. Accessibility of the bathing sections from two different streets was exploited in two to four cases<sup>171</sup>, and from three streets in two baths<sup>172</sup>. A possible development from integrated baths before 80 BC to freestanding baths after 80 BC was cautiously suggested for Pompeii, but this cannot be confirmed for any other city.

90 The terrain of Late Republican baths has rarely been explored to reconstruct the history of building lots. Scanty earlier structures have been identified in the Republican Baths of Pompeii, where they were partially integrated into the baths, and the Stabian Baths, where they were destroyed and overbuilt. Furthermore, architectural analysis and excavations revealed that the baths of Crotona (no. 6) were installed in a public building, the baths of Fregellae (no. 9) built on top of a probably smaller earlier bath complex, and the baths of Musarna (no. 13) included a razed temple.

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163 Nos. 10. 16a. 16b. 18b.

164 This was suggested by one of the anonymous reviewers of this article. I am very grateful for this suggestion, even if I can only briefly explore it here.

165 Only some examples of the numerous publications on this topic can be mentioned here: Mouritsen 1988, esp. 11–27 with critical discussion of the most prominent attempt to identify house owners, Della Corte – Soprano 1965; Varone – Stefani 2009 with images of the inscriptions published in CIL IV; Viitanen – Nissin 2017 with a new approach to analyze the inscriptions in their broader archaeological context. I am very grateful to Domenico Esposito and Jens-Arne Dickmann for discussion of the Pompeian evidence.

166 Nos. 14. 21.

167 Nos. 1?. 2. 9?. 10?. 11?. 16 (phase 2). 18 (phase 3).

168 Nos. 1. 6. 9?. 14?. 15. 16–18. 22?.

169 Nos. 6. 16. 22?. The baths in Paestum, no. 15, were surrounded by two streets and two alleys or *ambitus*, but still integrated into a residential insula.

170 Nos. 5. 14?. 18. 22. 23?. The Republican Baths in Pompeii, no. 17, were surrounded by two streets and an alley.

171 Nos. 5?. 18 (women's section). 22. 23?.

172 Nos. 16. 18 (men's section).

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91 Medri's criteria for assessing the ownership of baths have proven to be very useful and their application to Late Republican Baths has left only four baths, the ownership of which cannot be securely determined: the baths in Fregellae (no. 9) and Paestum (no. 15), the Republican Baths in Pompeii (no. 17), and the South Baths in Solunto (no. 22). Reasons that speak for or against public ownership have been discussed above, but which ones weigh more in each case, must remain hypothetical. Comparison of three baths in Late Republican Pompeii suggests most strongly private initiative for the Republican Baths, and the destruction of the baths in Paestum in favor of houses points in a similar direction. In contrast, the size and entrance porticus of the baths in Fregellae favor public ownership, despite the integration into a densely built insula, and the occupation of public space and a (almost?) freestanding lot of the baths in Solunto also suggests public initiative, remote location notwithstanding.

92 Baths mattered, much more and much earlier than is commonly assumed in research, and they mattered in vastly different cultural and historical contexts. Baths mattered as *espace conçu* and as *espace perçu* for cities, and most likely also as *espace vécu* for bathers. When cities were remodeled, enlarged, and embellished in the Late Republican period, baths were apparently an integral part of the standard sets and cityscapes, and providing them became a public endeavor and official task. The public-sector baths thus reflect a remarkable change of the ideological and socio-economic context of Late Republican cities, and they may also reflect changed concepts of the body and the 'souci de soi', which are usually only associated with Imperial period baths<sup>173</sup>.

93 When exactly baths were built in comparison to other public buildings can currently not be determined, because precise chronologies are lacking. But in small settlements like Crotona and Musarna, baths even prevailed over other buildings like theaters, amphitheaters, porticoes, basilicas, or macella. In Aletrium, baths were the target of public efforts next to streets, a porticus, a campus, a macellum, a basilica, and an aqueduct.

94 There may have been more privately-owned baths than identified here. These may not have been discovered yet because excavations often focused on the physical or functional centers of settlements and thus prime locations which cities may have reserved for publicly-owned baths. If the owners of Pompeian baths have been correctly identified, private-sector baths may have been built slightly earlier (no. 17) than public-sector baths (no. 18, then no. 16), but in a more marginal urban location. This practice was probably continued until AD 79, because baths at the city's periphery have been securely or hypothetically identified as private-sector establishments<sup>174</sup>, while top locations and conditions remained reserved for public-sector complexes, namely the Central Baths (fig. 2).

95 Given the obvious social and cultural significance of baths from at least 150 BC onwards, public and private owners of baths as well as bathers may not have been sympathetic with Seneca's noise sensitivity and complaints. Instead, they may have told him to deal with it or move. And this is, what Seneca eventually did, as the last sentences of his 56<sup>th</sup> letter to Lucilius relate: "“What then?” you say, “Is it not sometimes a simpler matter just to avoid the uproar?” I admit this. Accordingly, I shall change from my present quarters”<sup>175</sup>.

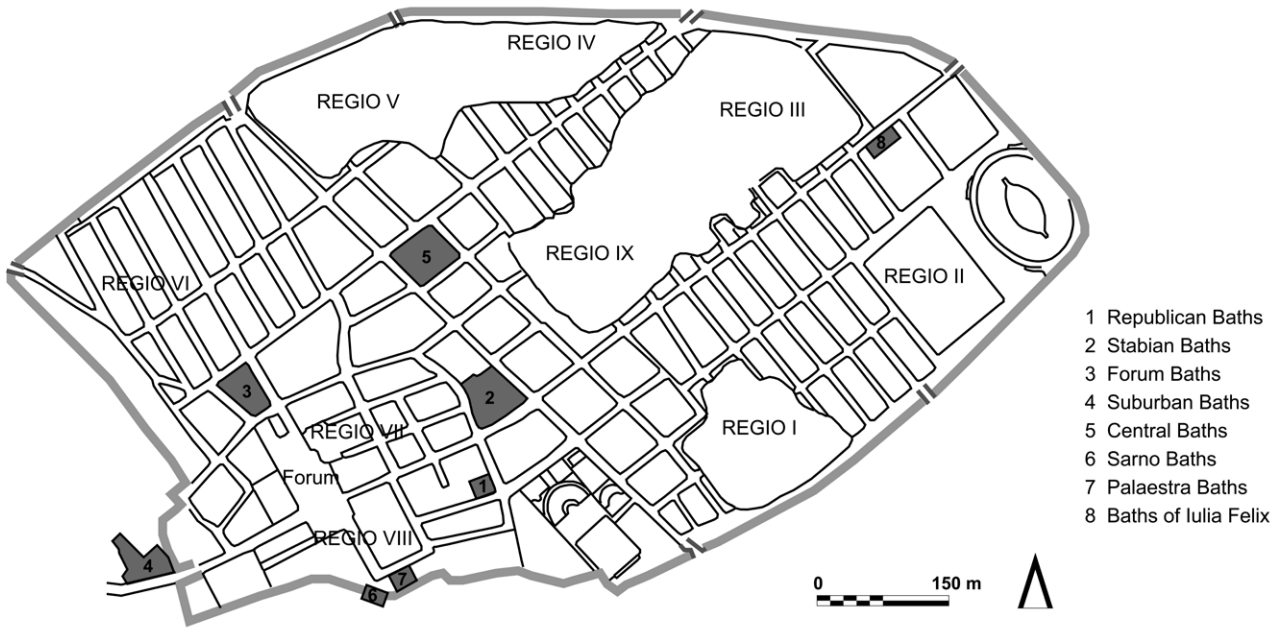
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173 Frank 2016; cf. also Blonski 2014; both authors focus on literary sources.

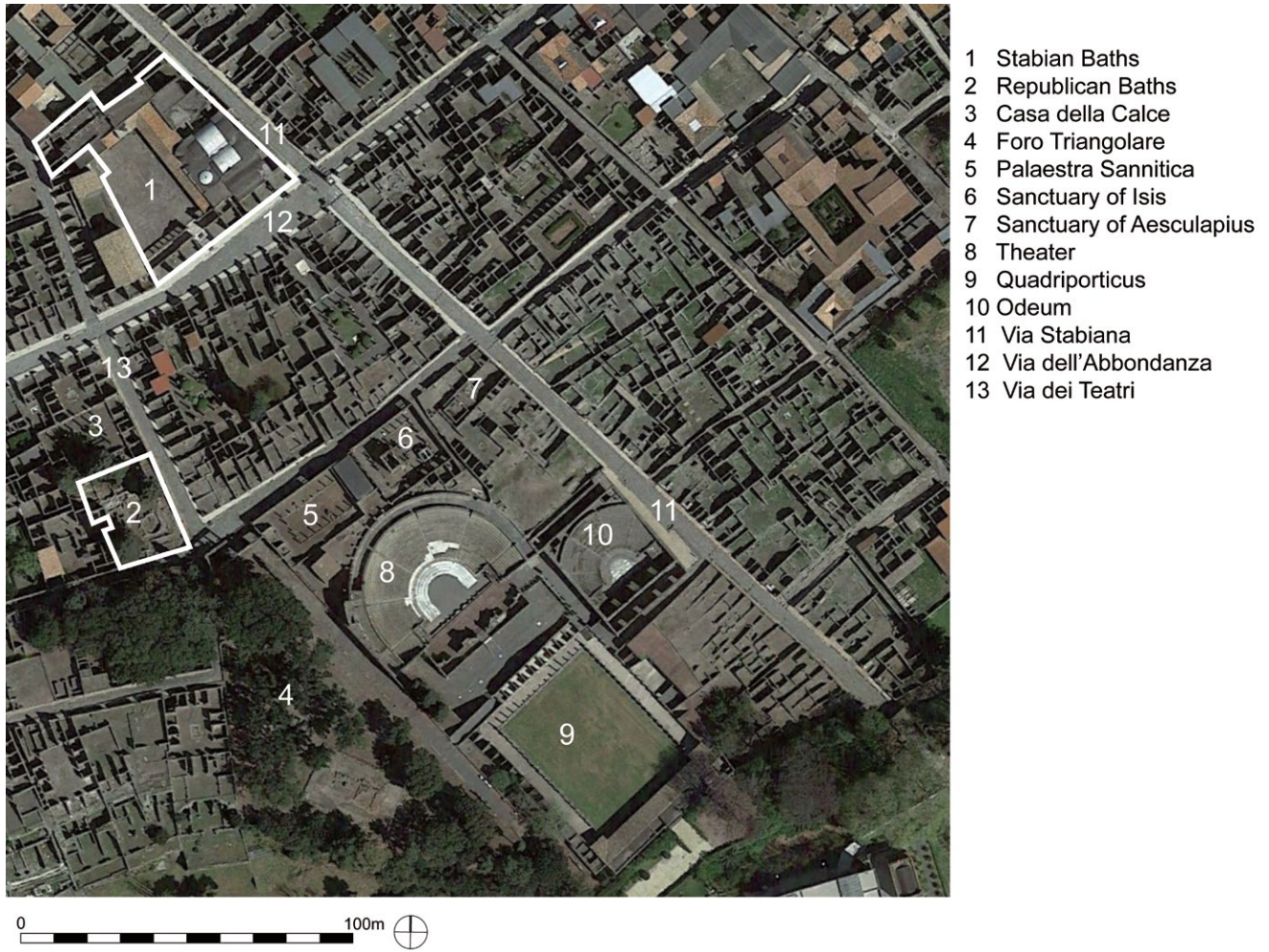
174 Securely private: Baths of Iulia Felix and *thermae* of M. Crassus Frugi, see above n. 152, 153; most likely private: Sarno Baths, Palaestra Baths, and also Suburban Baths.

175 "Quid ergo? Non aliquando commodius est et carere convicio? Fateor. Itaque ego ex hoc loco migrabo." Transl. R. Gummere (1917).

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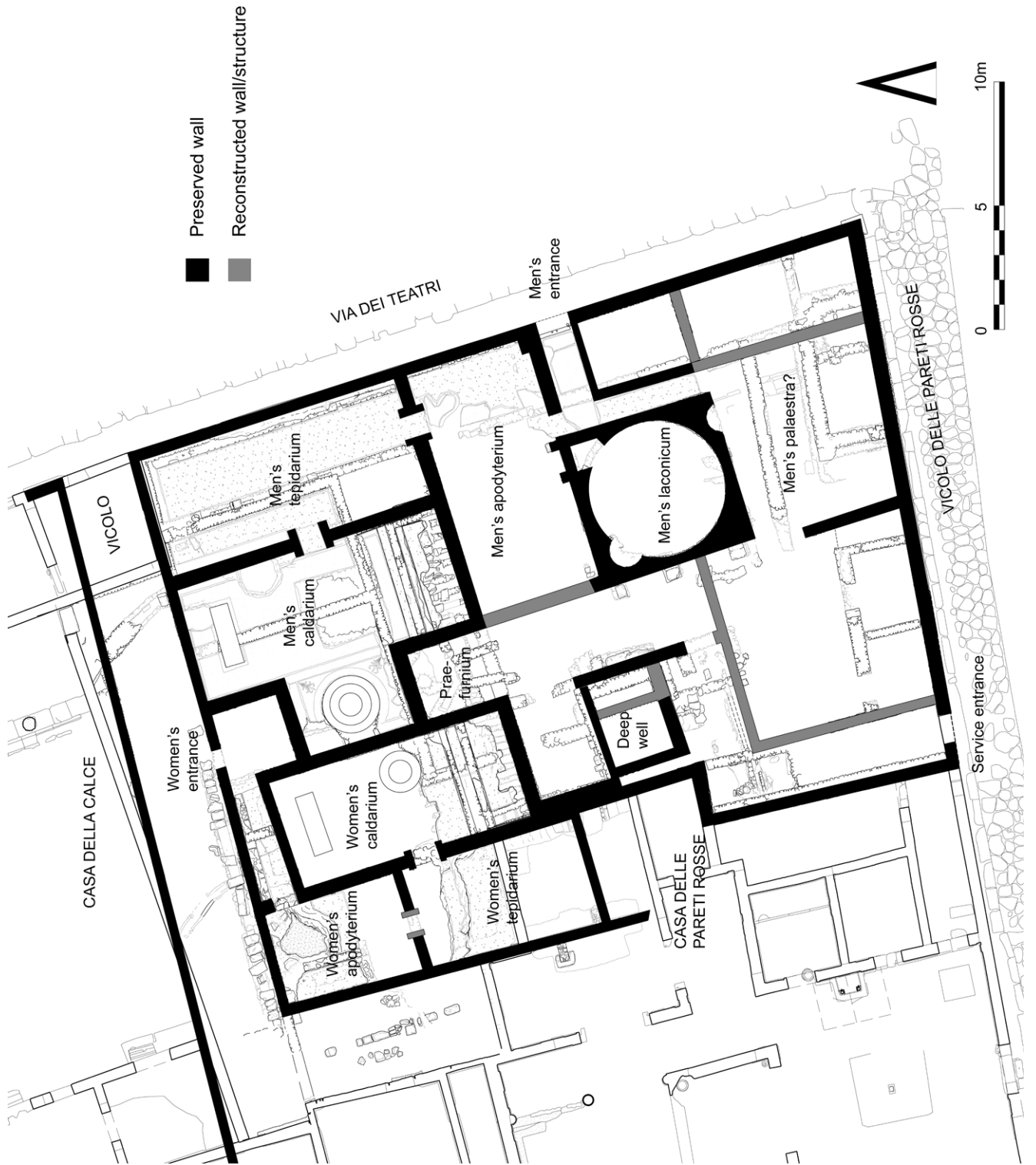
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fig. 2: Pompeii, distribution of baths in AD 79

fig. 3: Pompeii, urban context of the Republican Baths and the Stabian Baths (outlined in their original extension)



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fig. 4: Pompeii, Republican Baths, reconstructed plan



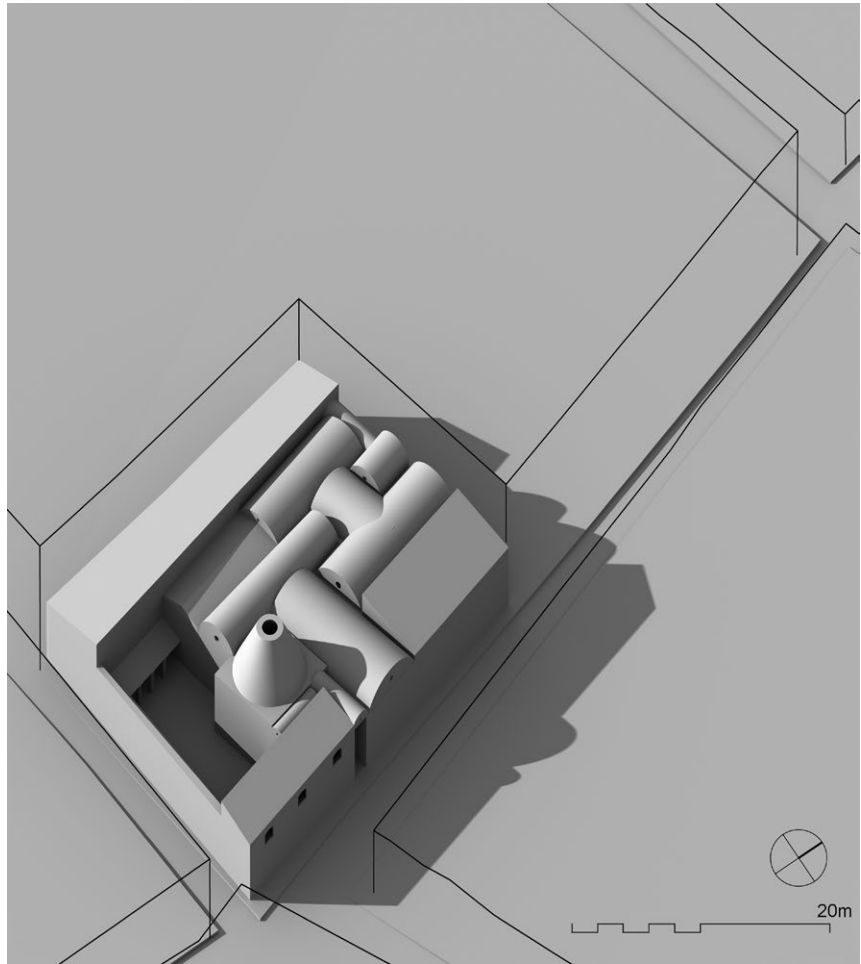
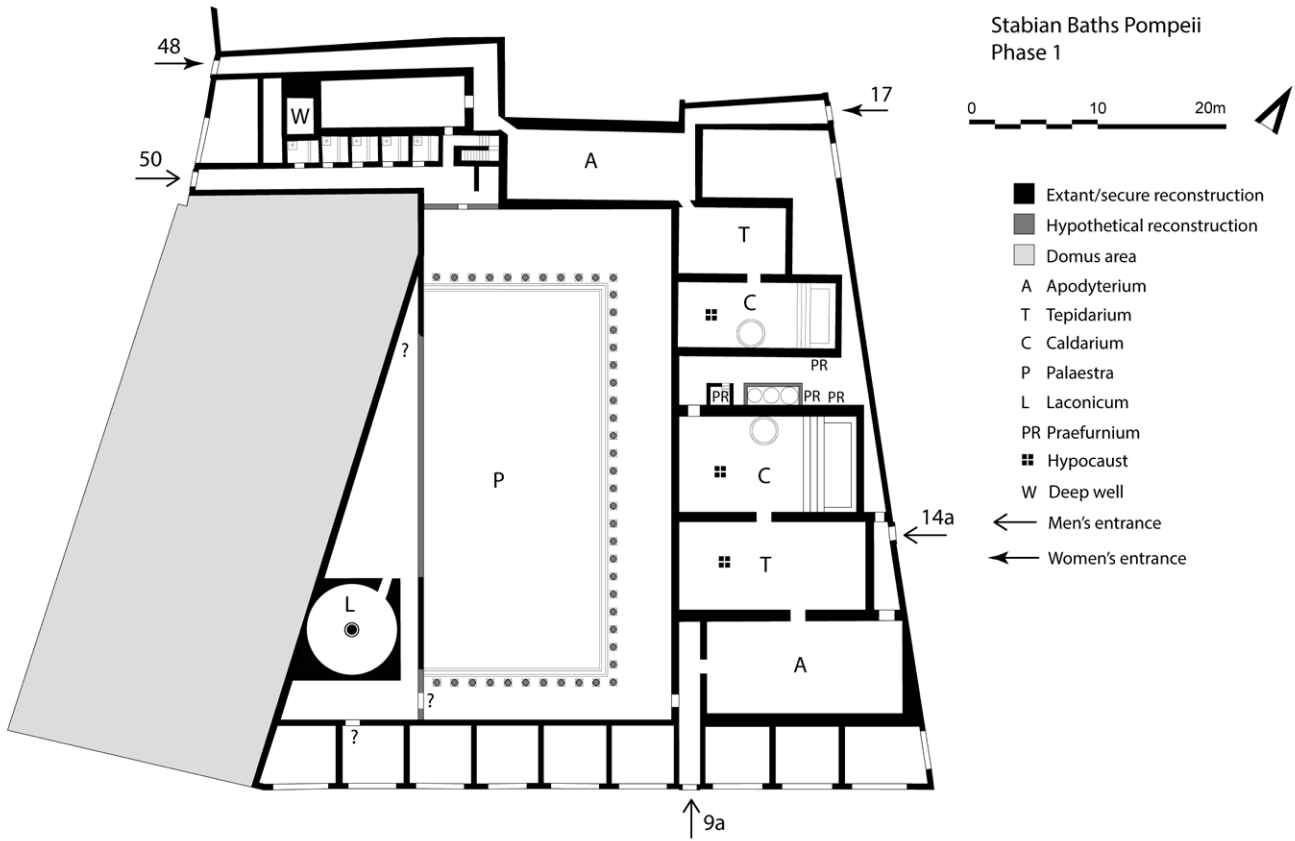


fig. 5: Pompeii, Republican Baths, 3D model

fig. 6: Pompeii, Stabian Baths, reconstruction of the first phase

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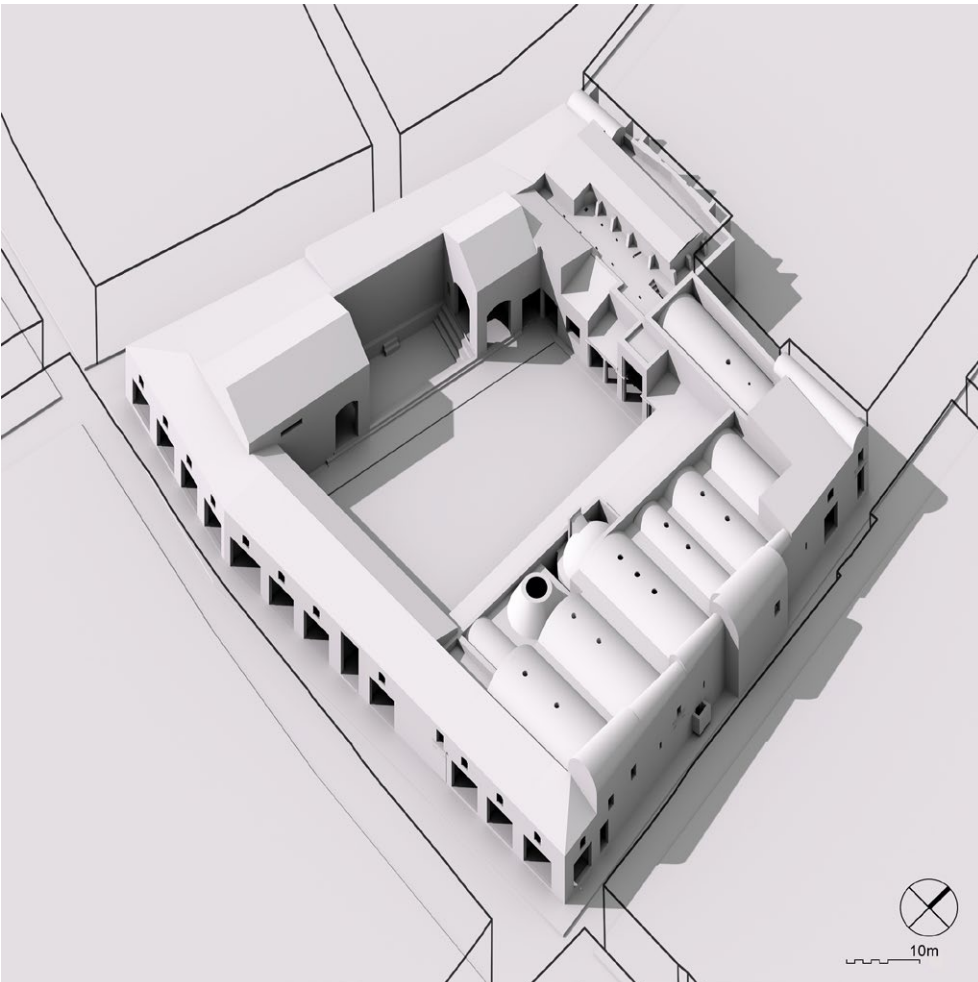
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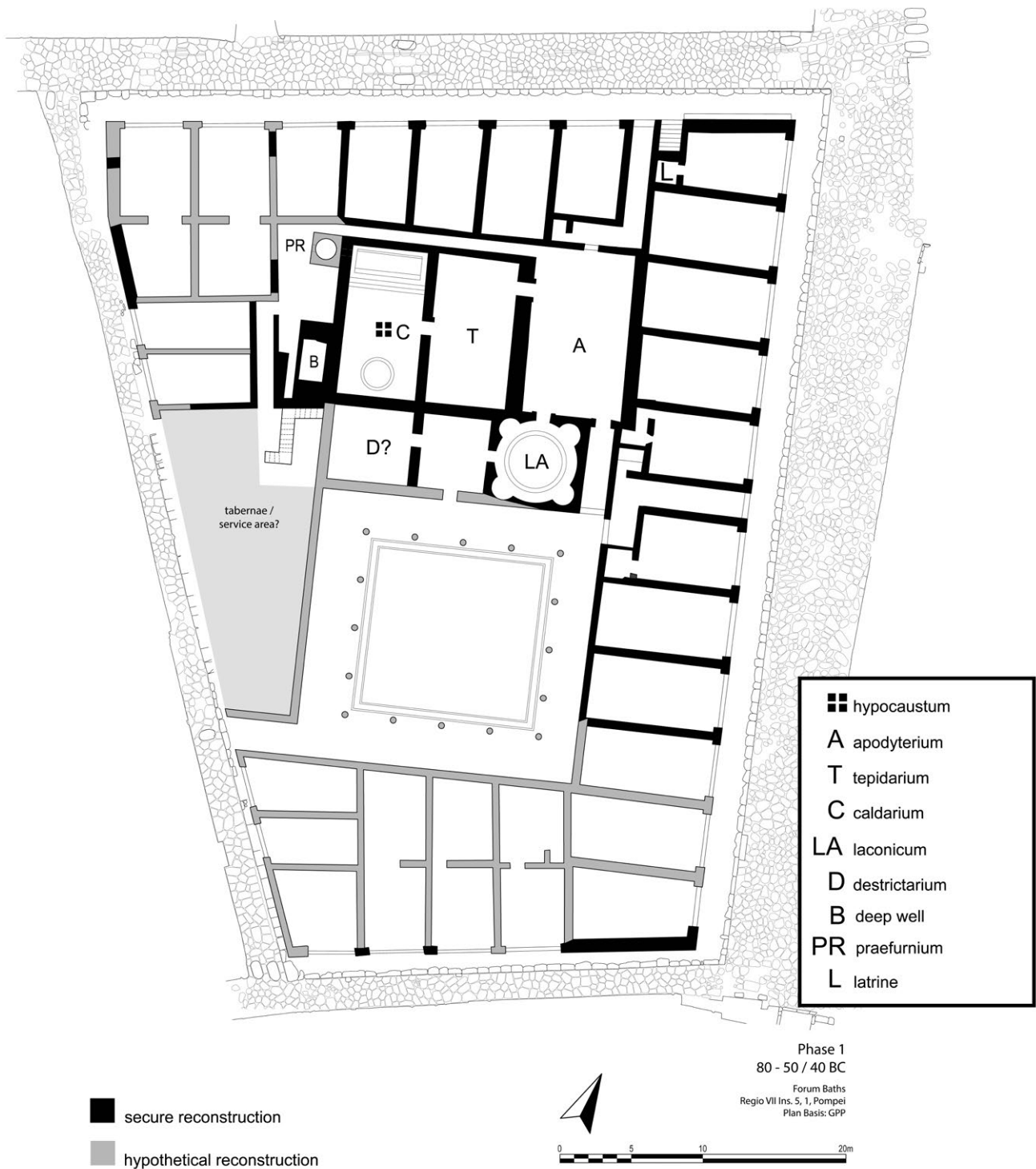


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fig. 7: Pompeii, Stabian Baths, entrance 48 to the women's section from the Vicolo del lupanare, from W

fig. 8: Pompeii, Stabian Baths, entrance 14a to the men's section from the Via Stabiana, with painted inscription on cornice; from E

fig. 9: Pompeii, Stabian Baths, 3D model of the last phase



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fig. 10: Pompeii, Forum Baths, reconstruction of the first phase

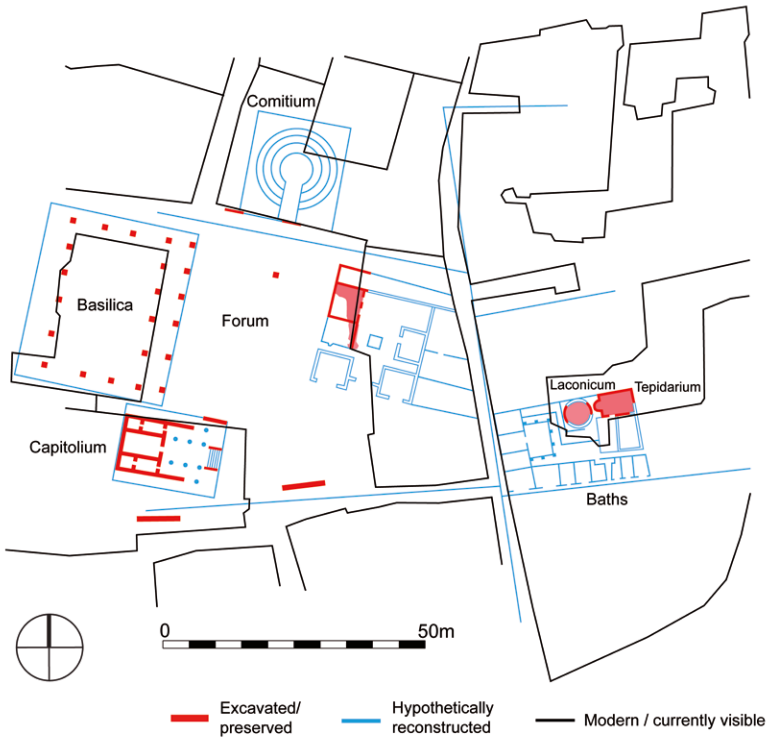


fig. 11: Aletrium, reconstruction of the Forum area with baths

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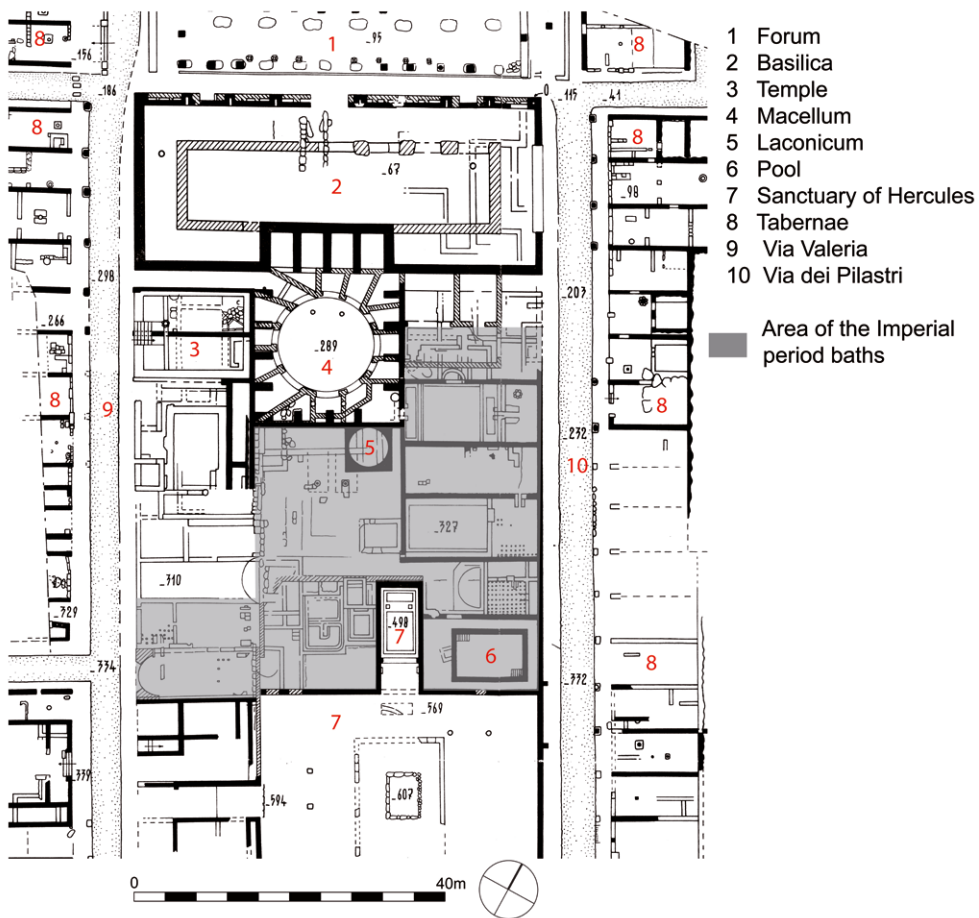


fig. 12: Alba Fucens, area to the south of Forum, state plan

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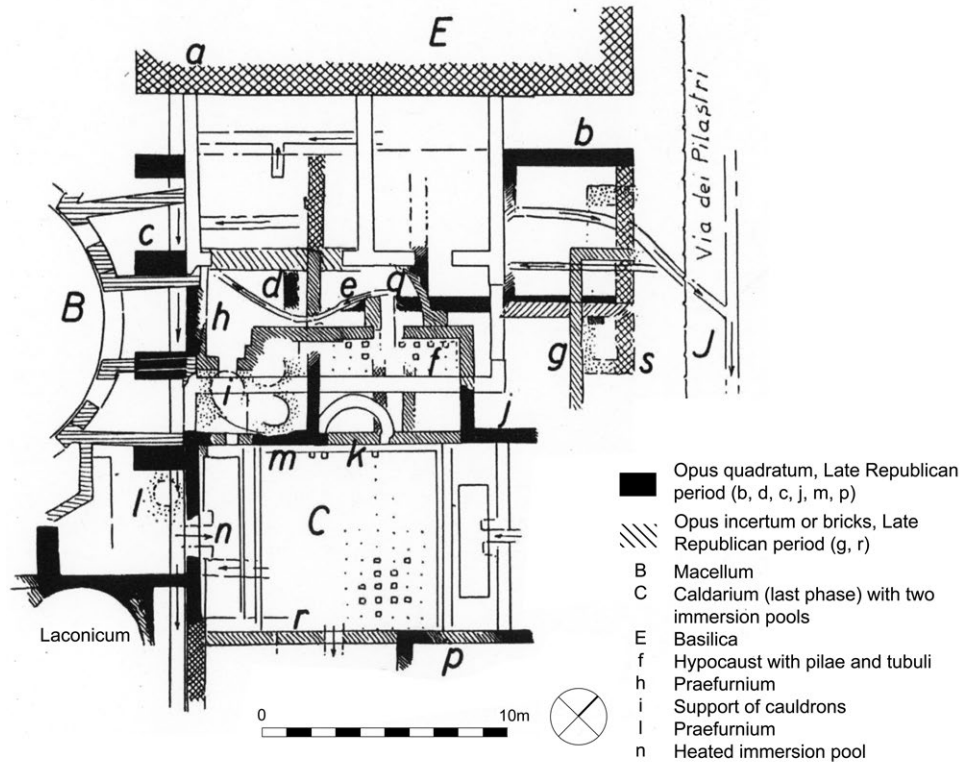


fig. 13: Alba Fucens, phase plan of the baths (originally published without legend for the various signatures)

13

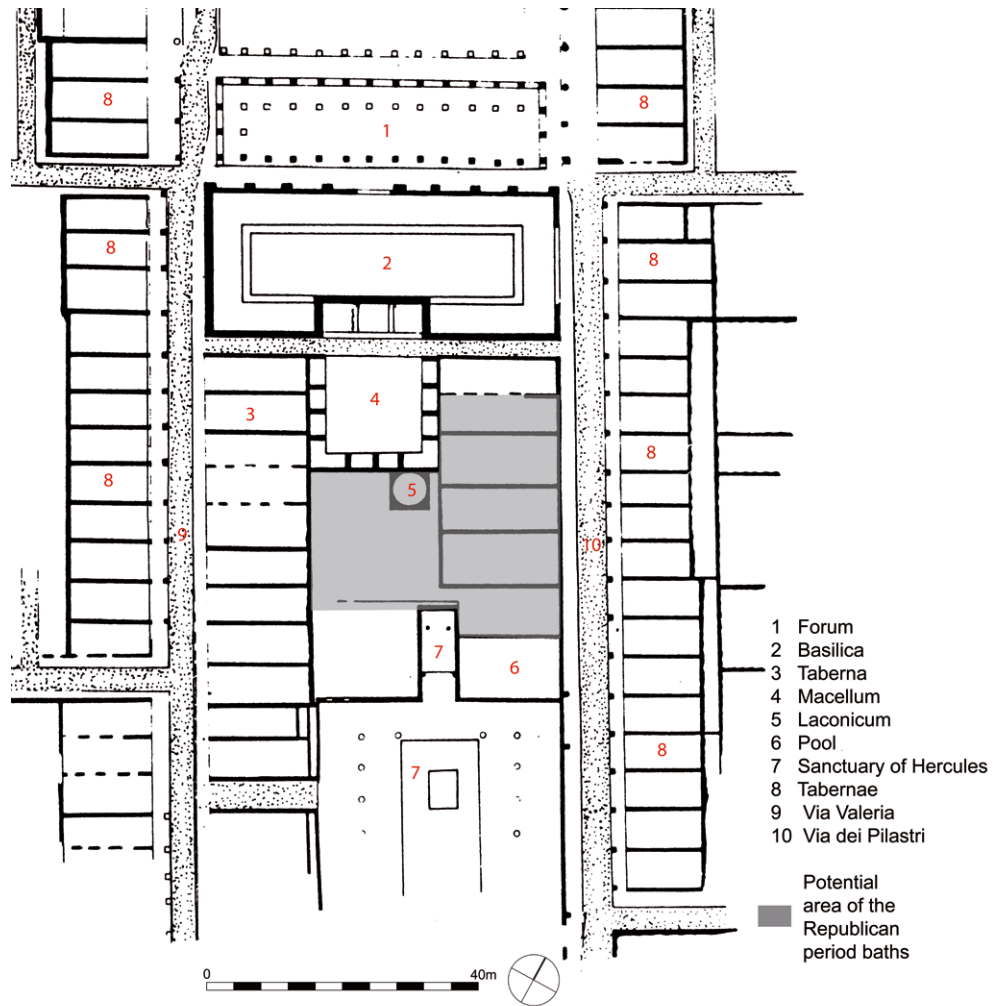
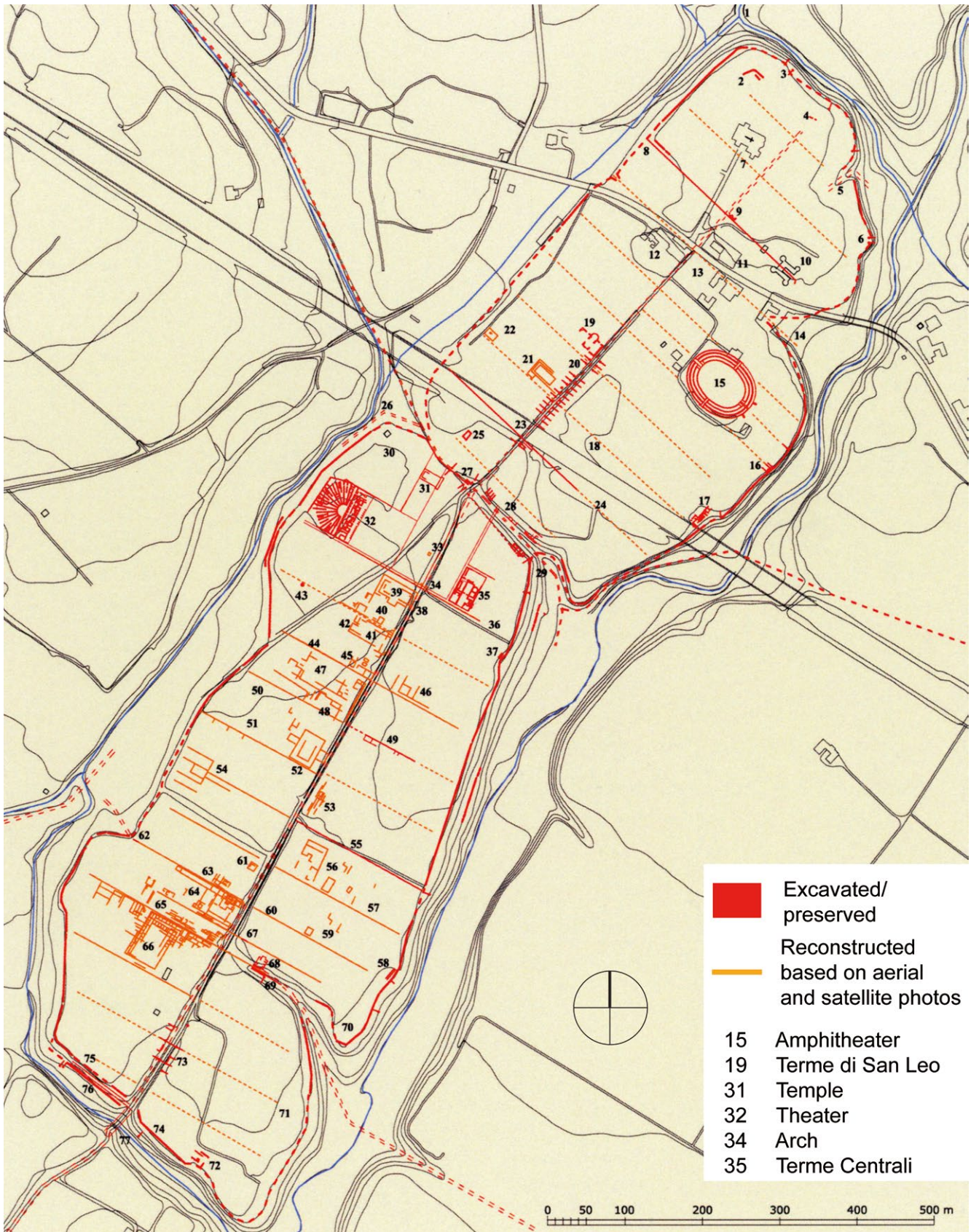


fig. 14: Alba Fucens, hypothetical reconstruction of the area to south of Forum in the Late Republican period

14



15

fig. 15: Caes, plan of the city

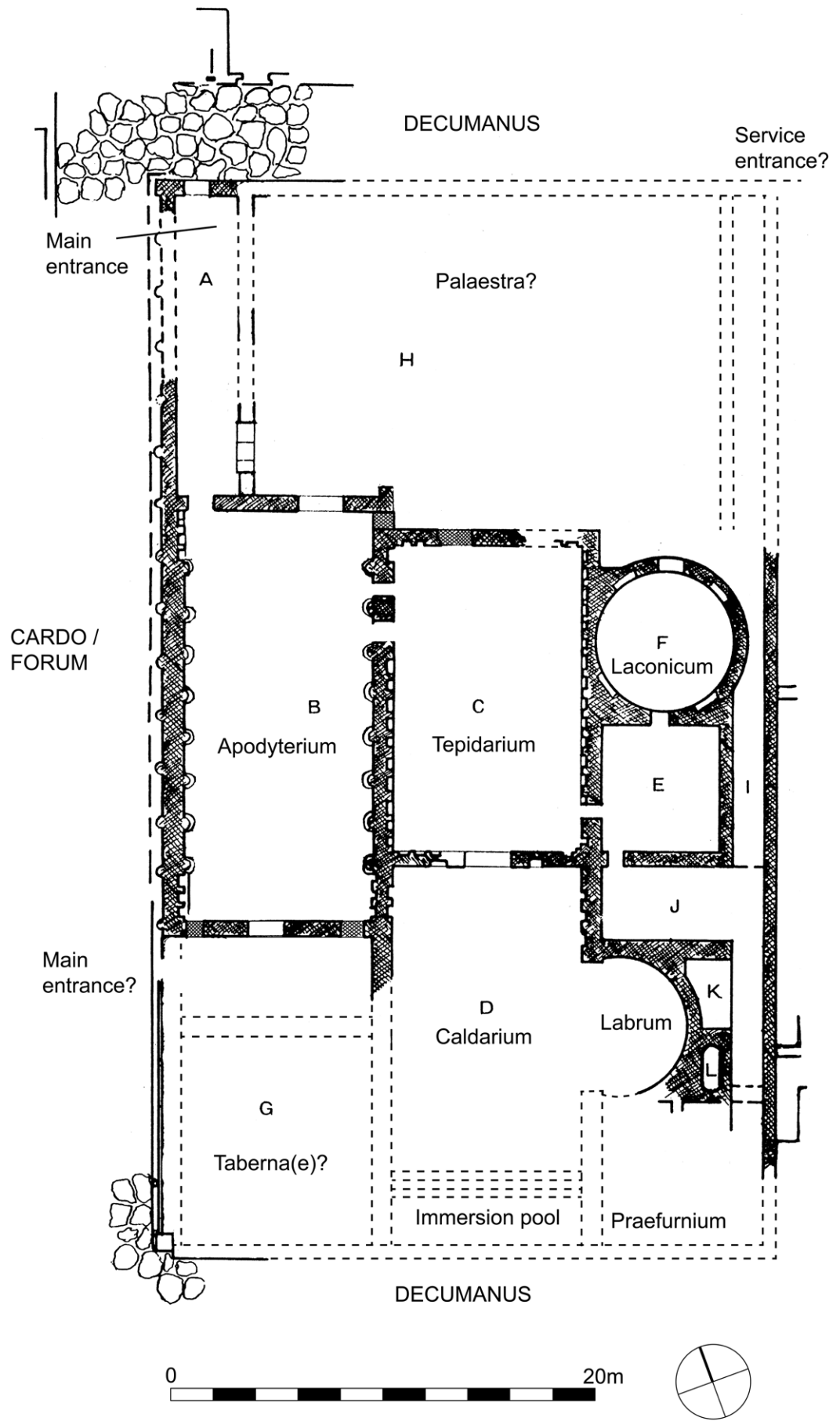


fig. 16: Cales, hypothetical reconstruction of the original baths

16

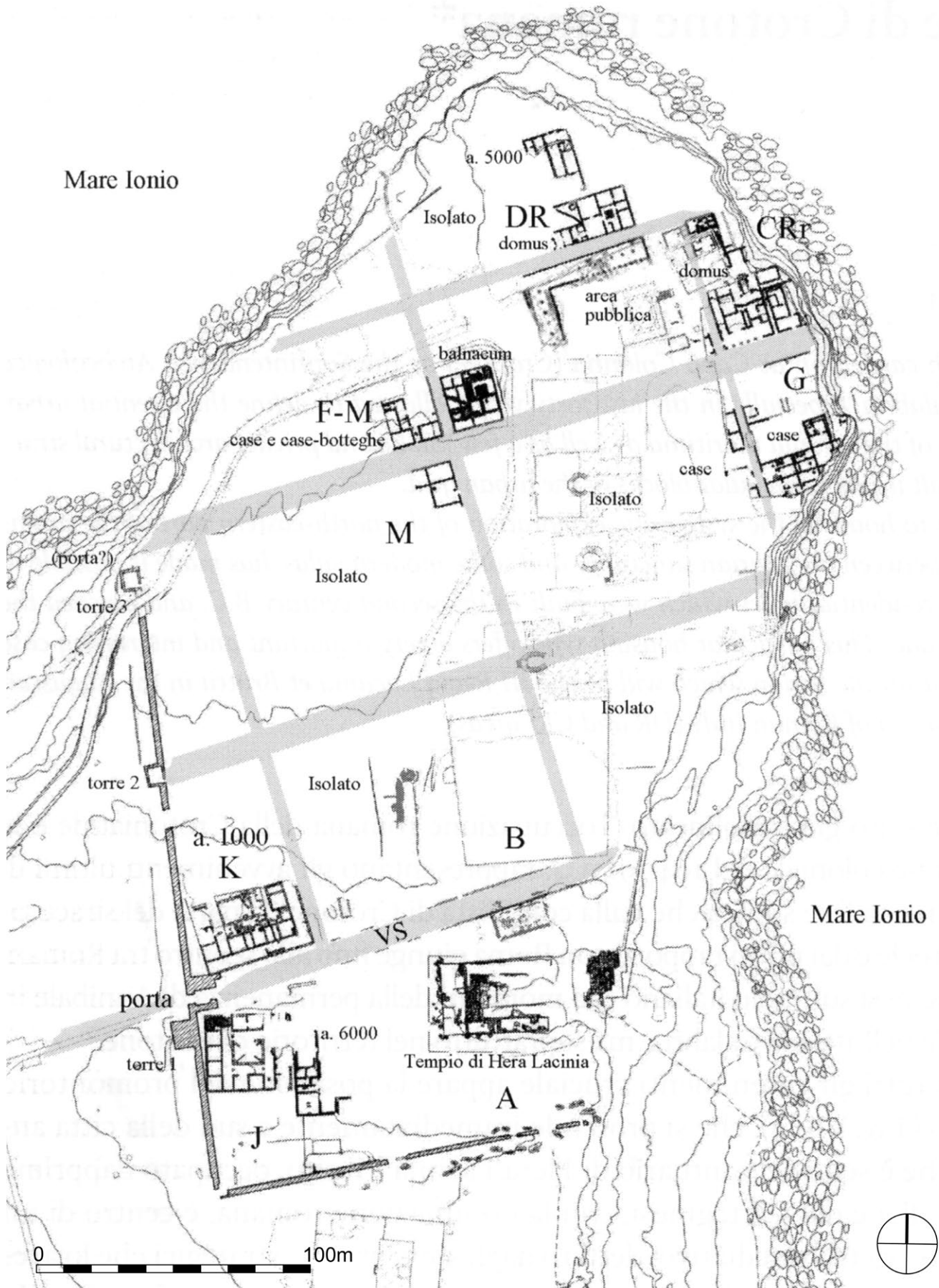


fig. 17: Crotone, plan of the city



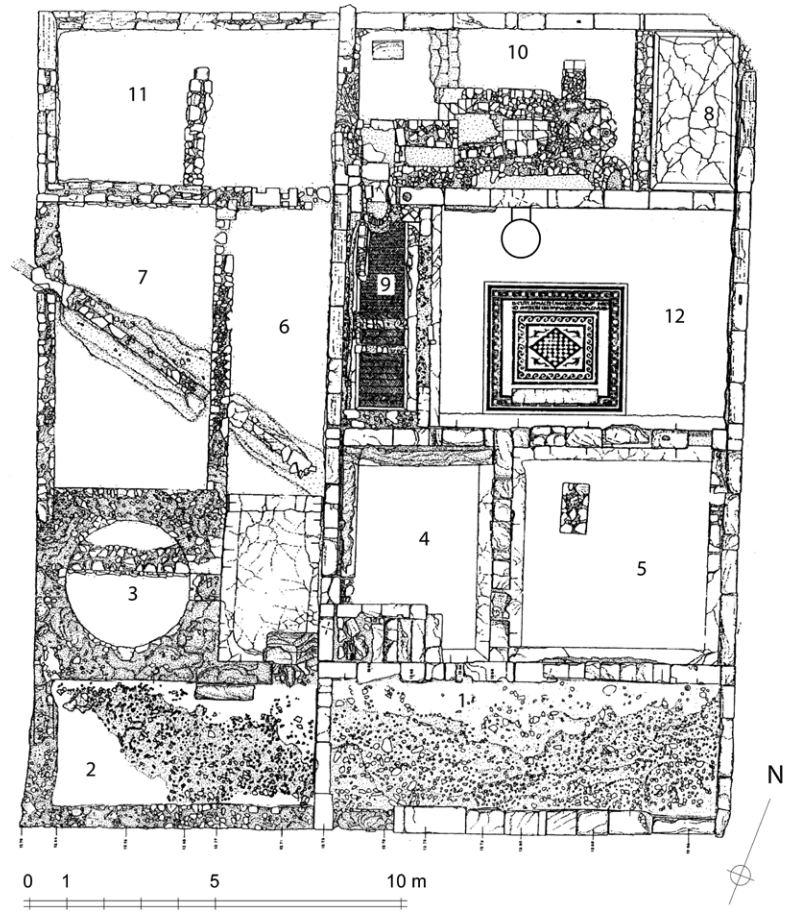


fig. 18: Crotona, stone plan of the baths

18

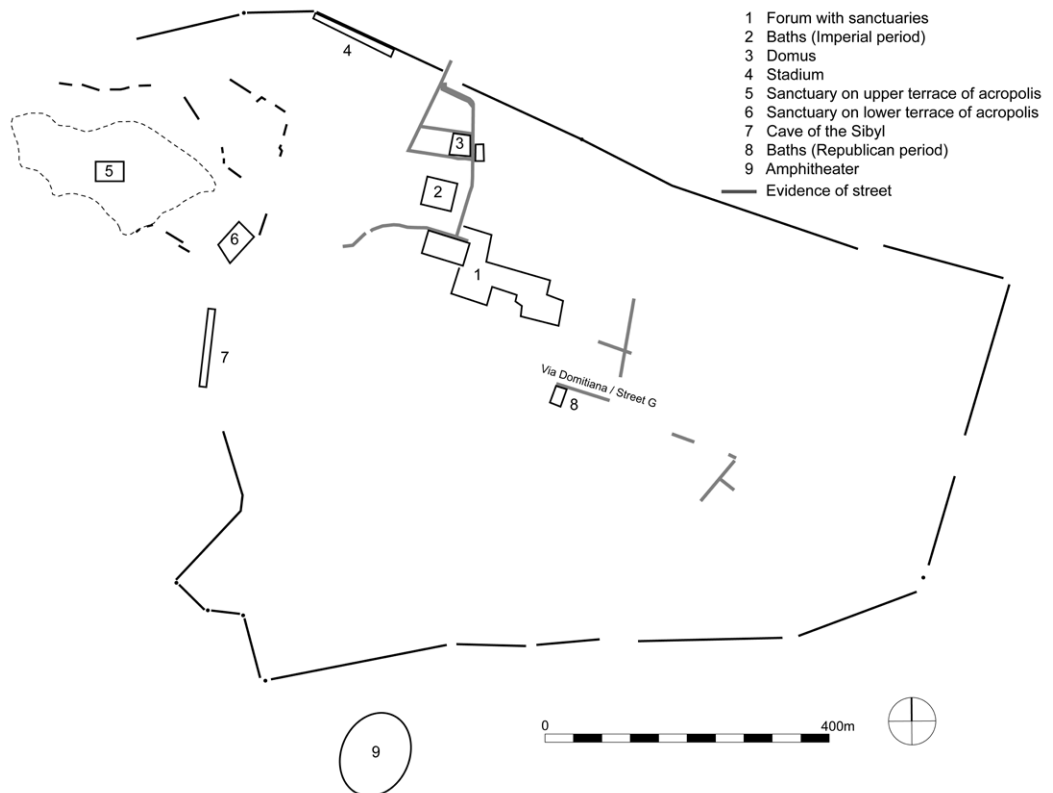


fig. 19: Cumae, schematic plan of the city

19

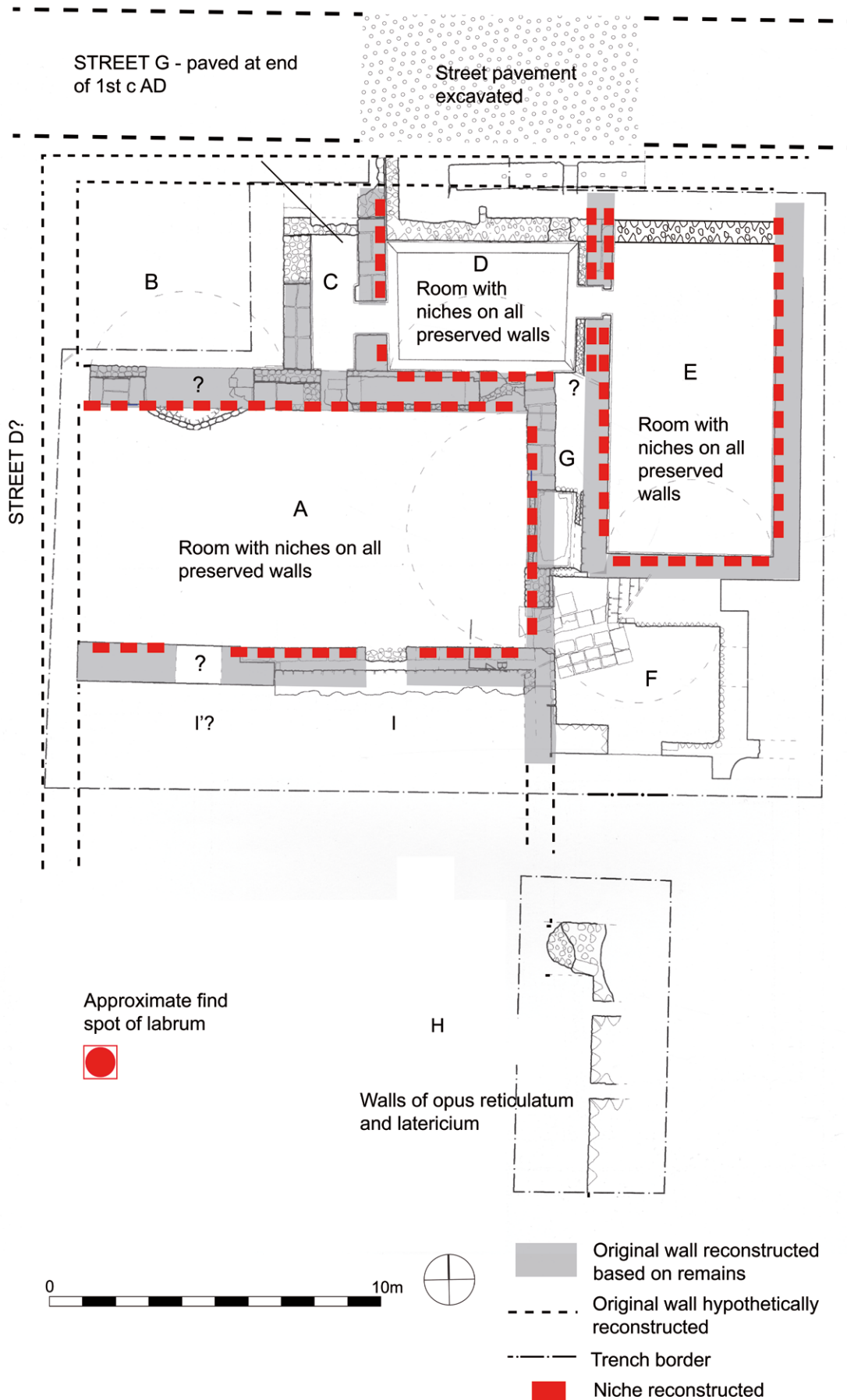


fig. 20: Cumae, hypothetical reconstruction of the original baths



fig. 21: Cumae, labrum found in the baths (fluted support 82 cm high)

21

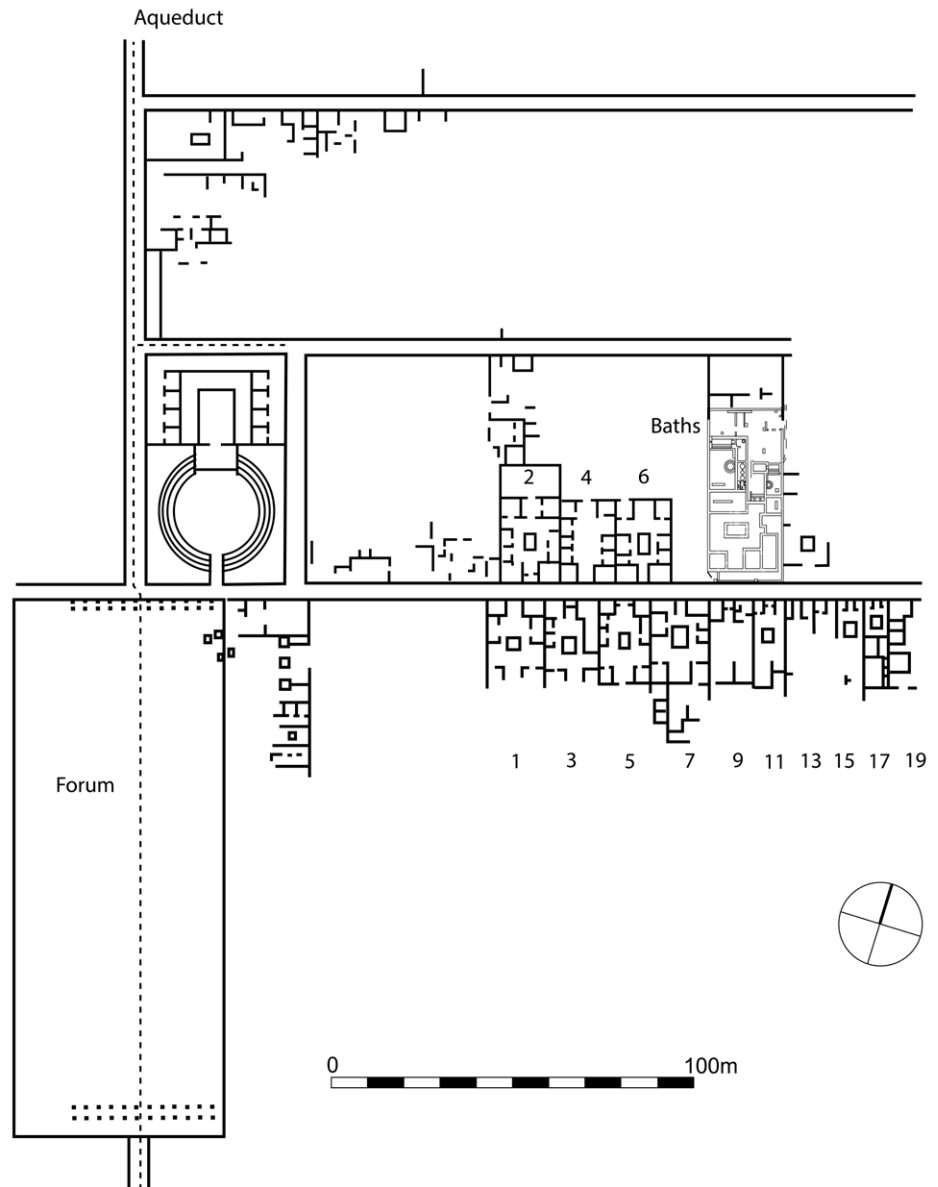


fig. 22: Fregellae, plan of the city

22

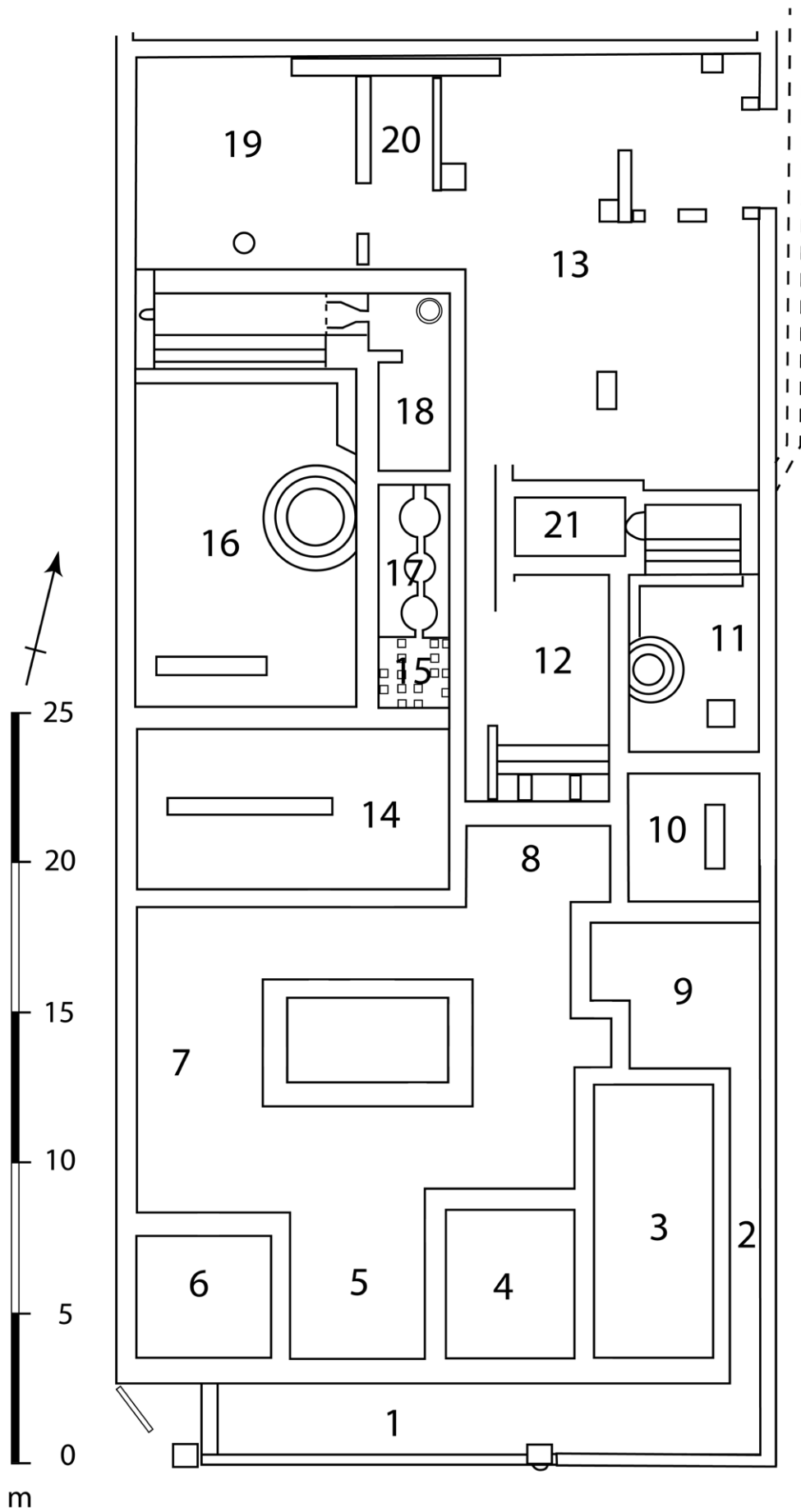


fig. 23: Fregellae, reconstructed plan of the baths (phase 2)

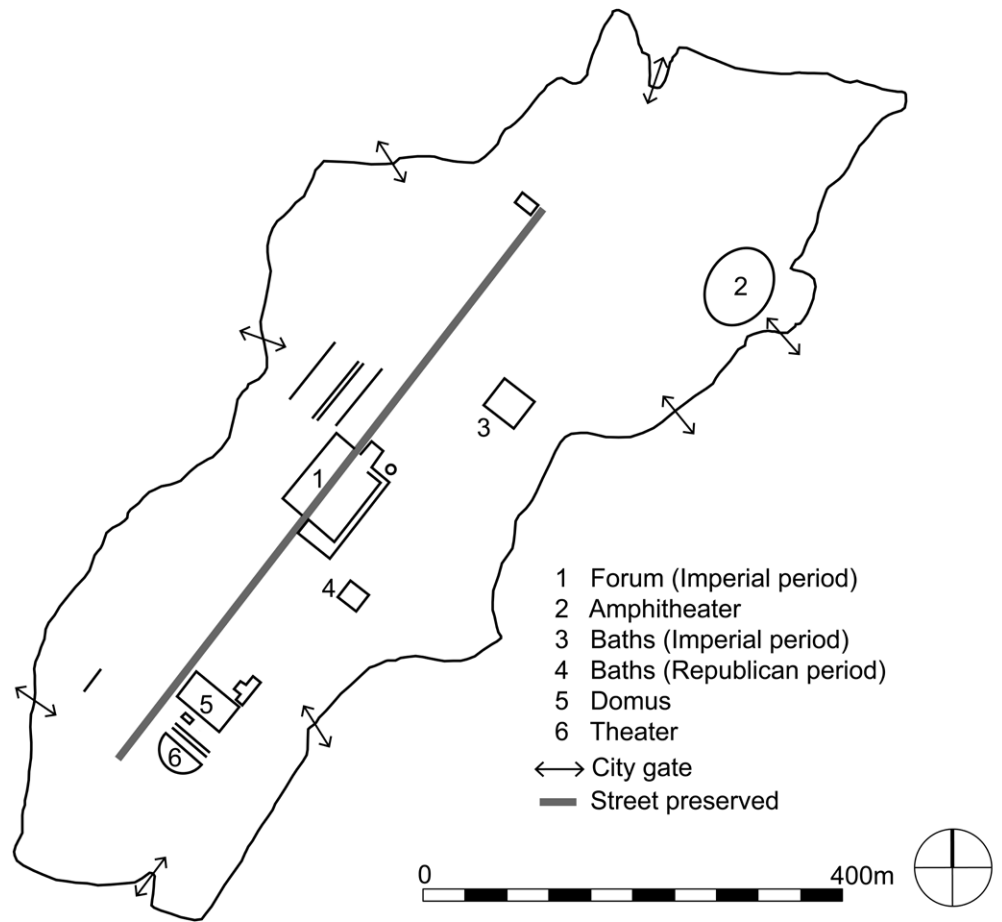


fig. 24: Grumentum, schematic plan of the city

24

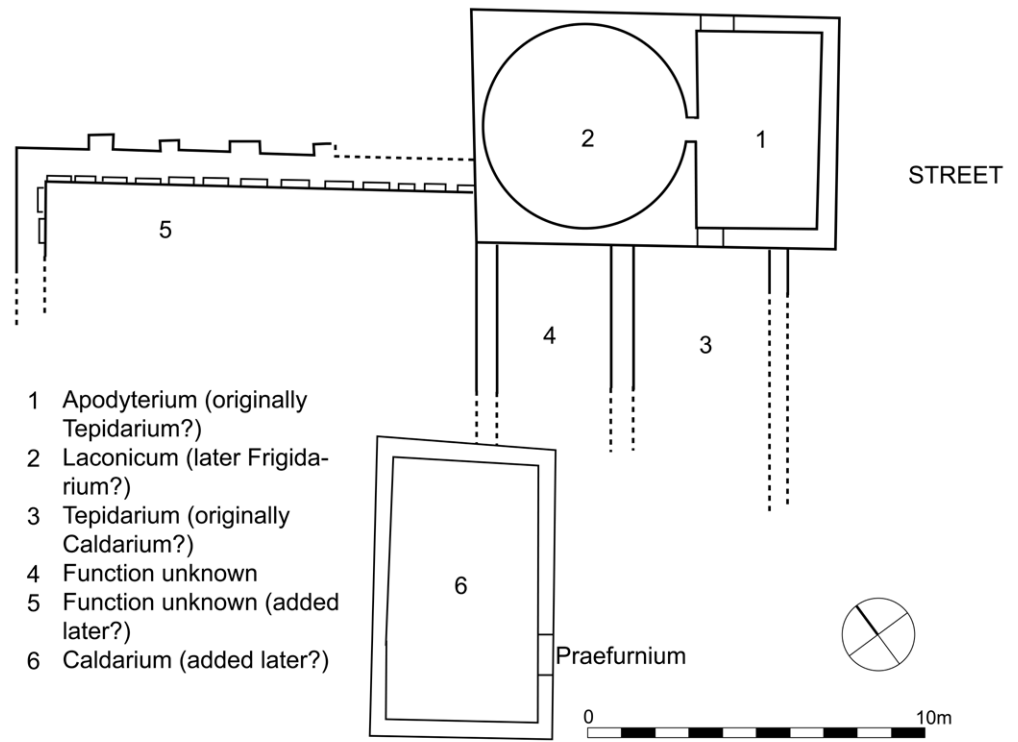
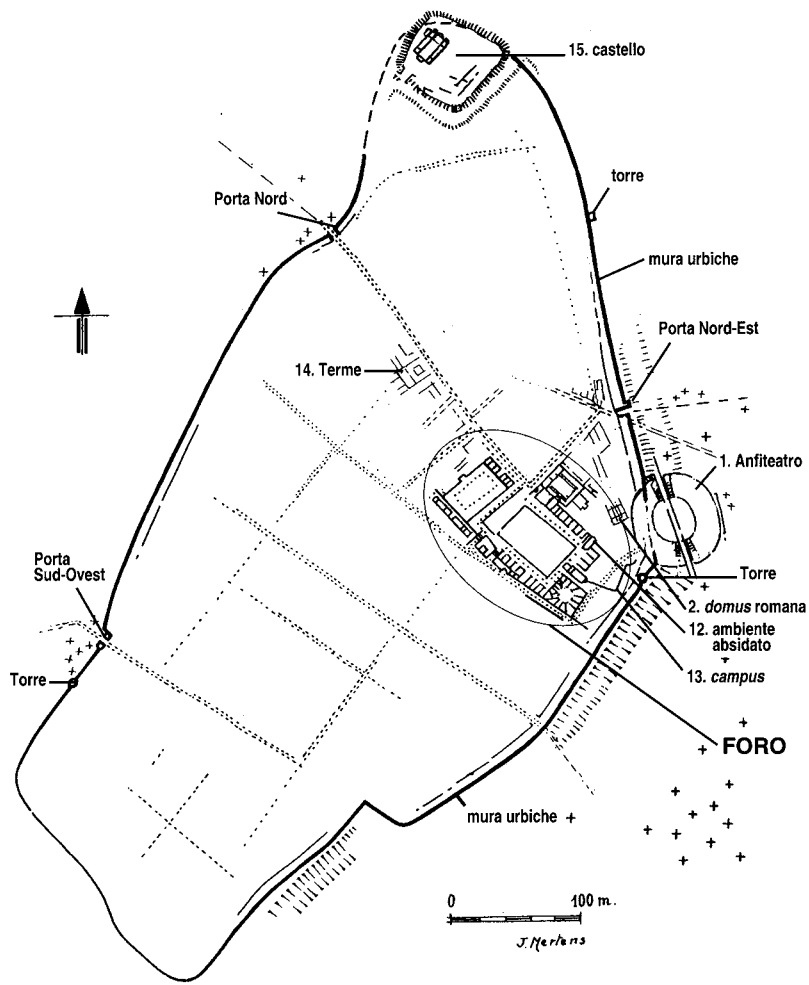


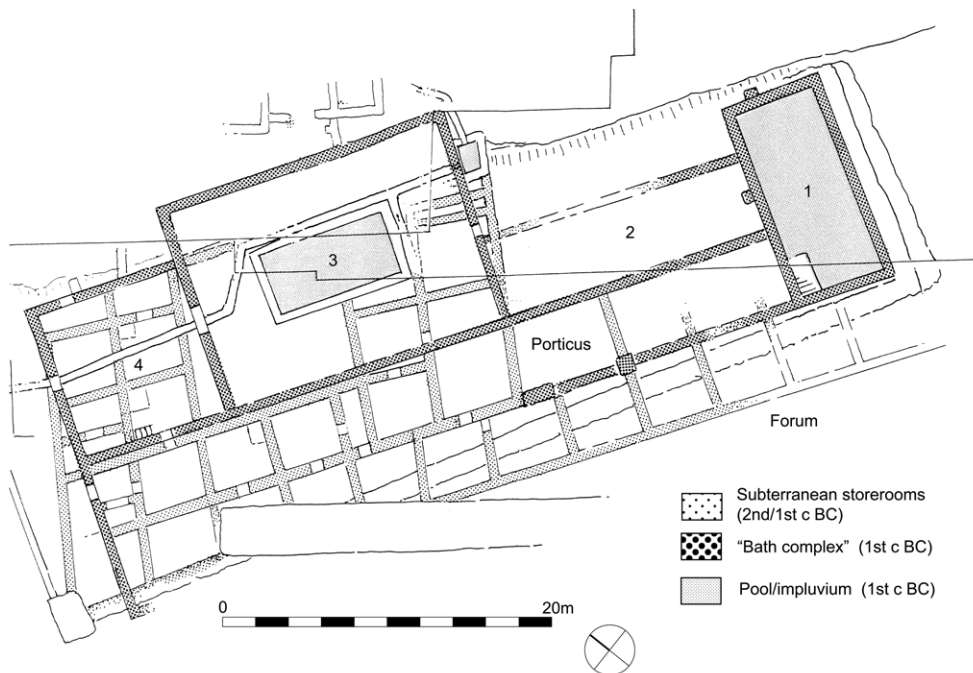
fig. 25: Grumentum, schematic plan of structures attributed to the baths

25



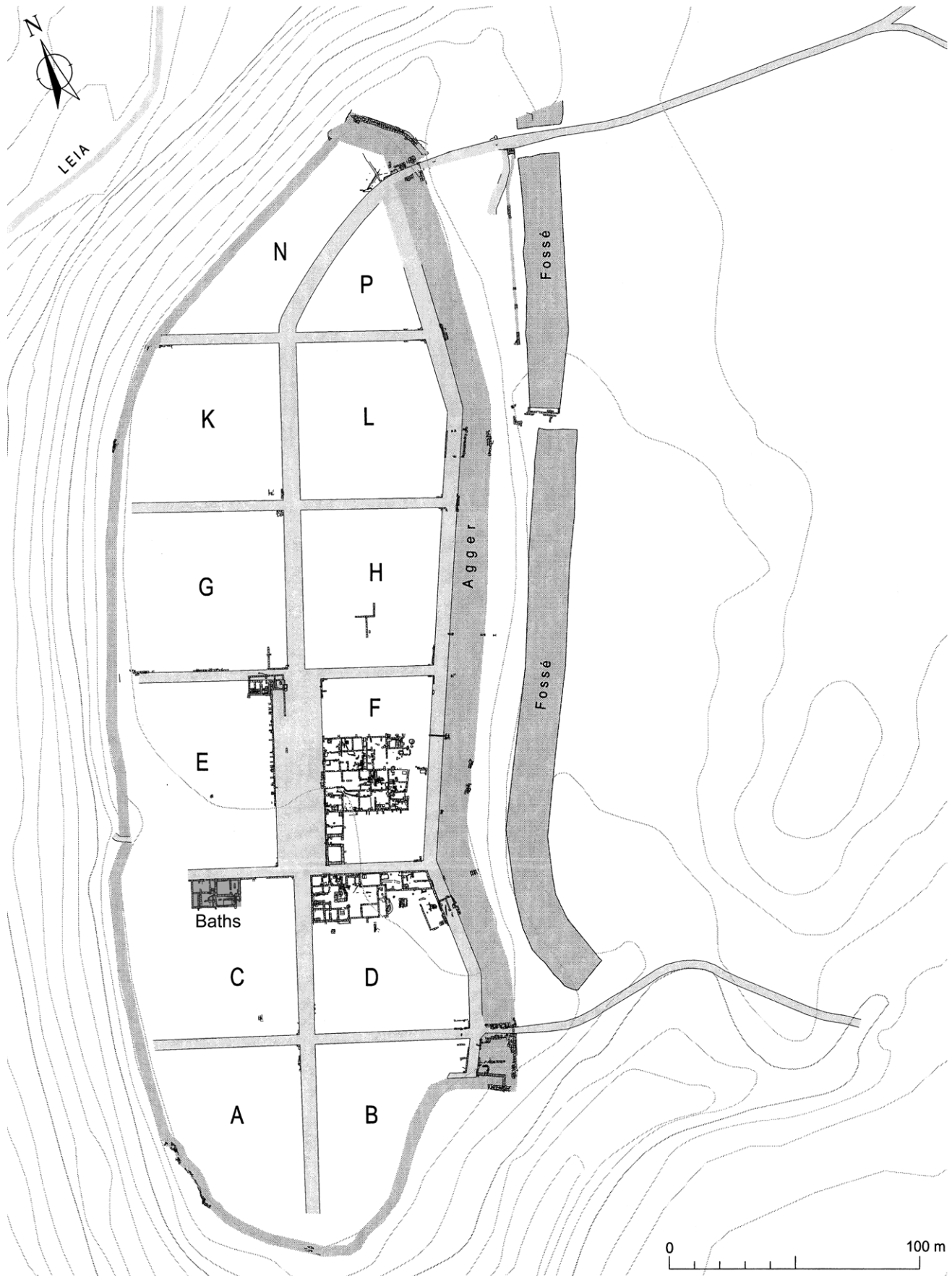
26

fig. 26: Herdonia, plan of the city



27

fig. 27: Herdonia, complex at the Forum



28

fig. 28: Musarna, plan of the city

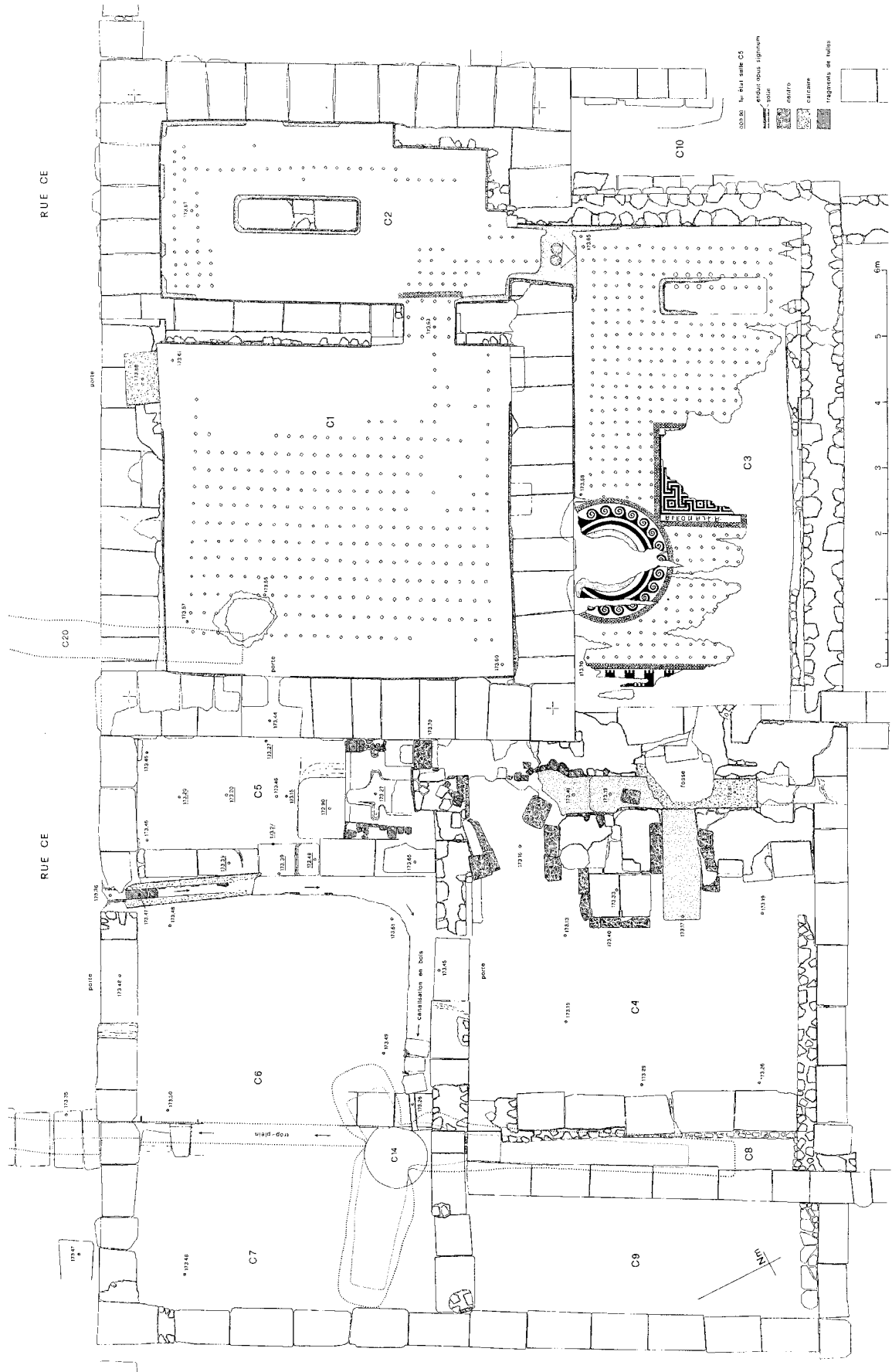


fig. 29: Musarna, stone plan of the baths



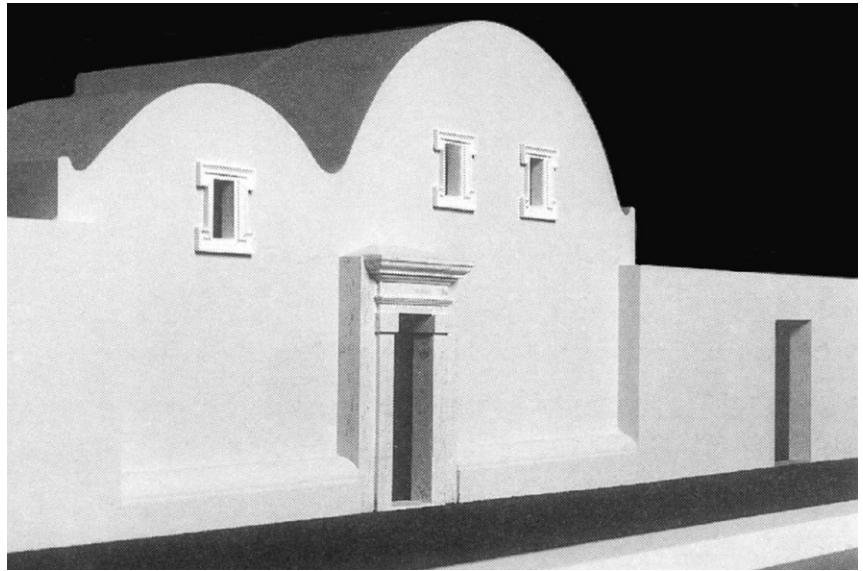
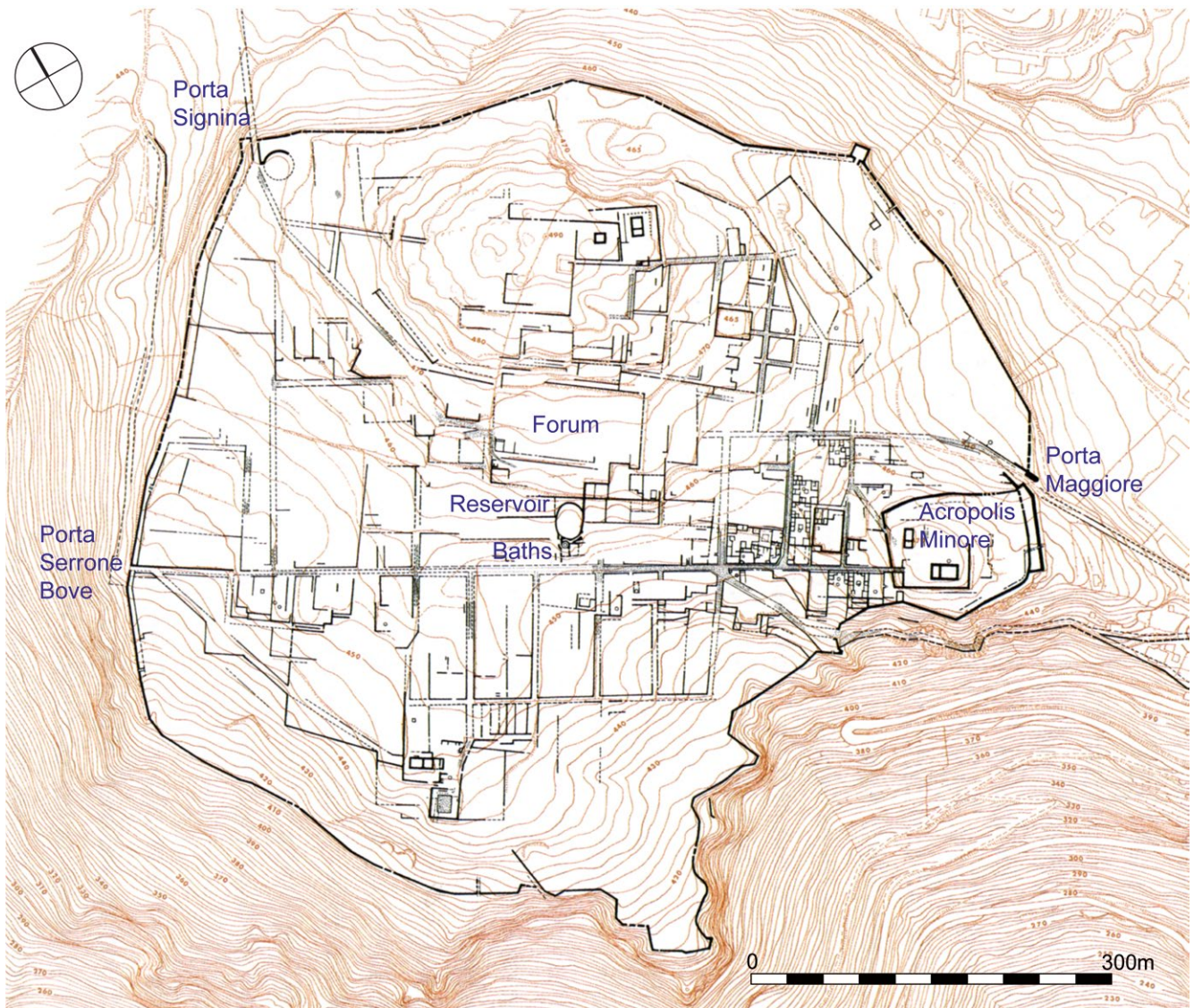


fig. 30: Musarna, baths,  
hypothetical reconstruction of the  
northern façade

30



31

fig. 31: Norba, plan of the city

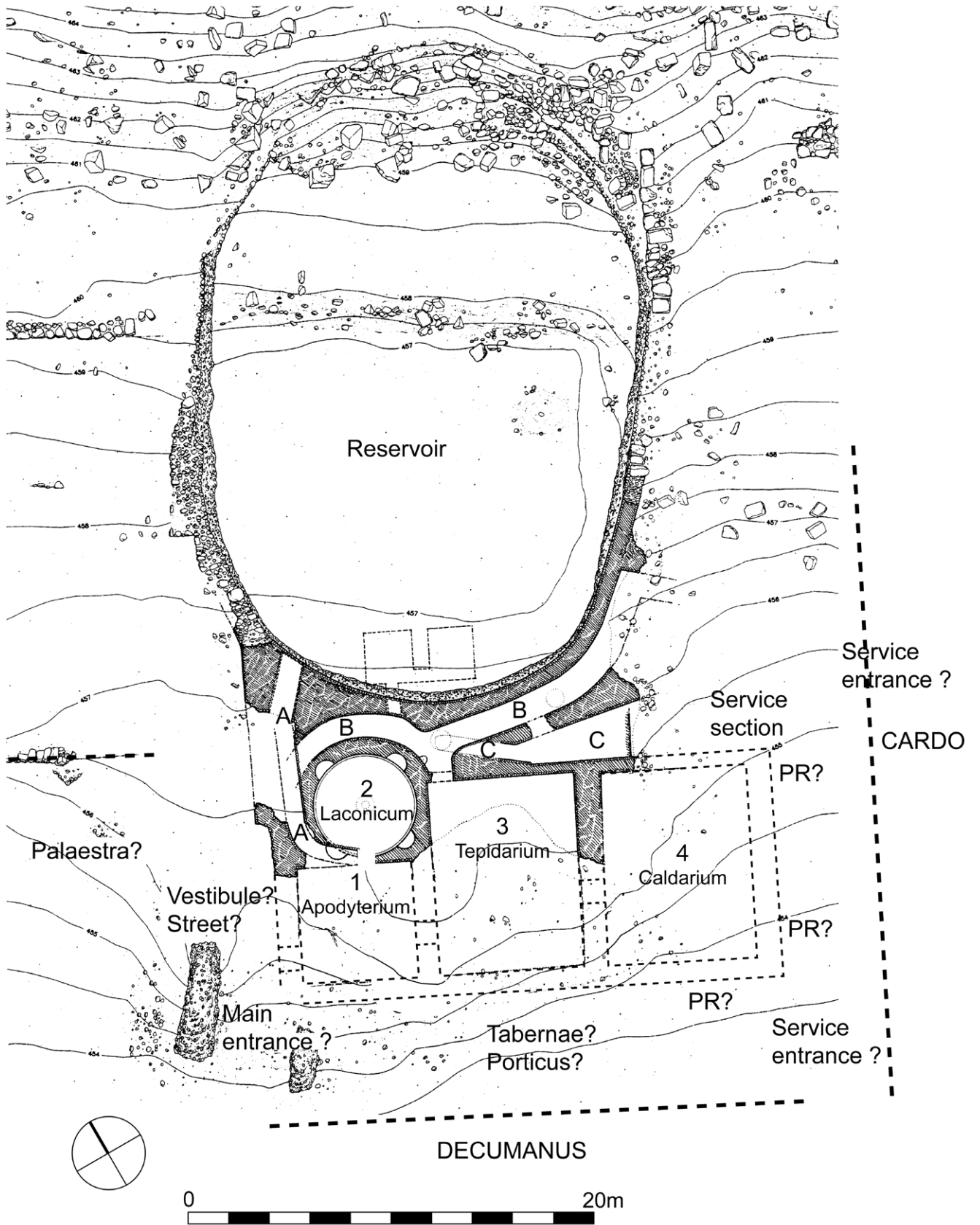


fig. 32: Norba, hypothetical reconstruction of the baths

- 1 ATHENAION (cd. Tempio di Cerere)
- 2 Altare dell' Athenaion
- 3 Sacello Arcaico
- 4 Strada Nord - Sud
- 5 Casa con pozzo
- 6 Sacello ipogeico (*Heroön*)
- 7 Casa con peristilo
- 8 TEMPIETTO
- 9 EKKLESIASTERION
- 10 Santuario romano
- 11 Stoa (portico) romano
- 12 ANFITEATRO
- 13 Strada
- 14 AERARIUM
- 15 PIAZZALE DEL FORO
- 16 *Tabernae* a Nord - Est
- 17 COMITIUM
- 18 TEMPIO REPUBBLICANO
- 19 *Tabernae* a Nord - Ovest
- 20 Sacello (culto imperiale)
- 21 *Taberna* con *torcularium*

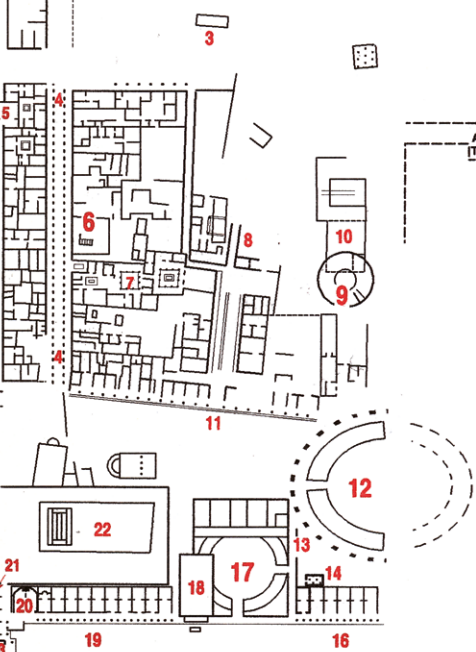
- 33 Tempio Anfiprostilo
- 34 Tempietto tetrastilo
- 35 Templi
- 36 Edificio di età classica con *eschara*
- 37 Tempietto
- 38 Tempietto e vasca
- 39 TEMPIO "di NETTUNO" ed il suo altare
- 40 Altare classico
- 41 Altare romano
- 42 Sala da banchetto
- 43 La "BASILICA" ed il suo altare
- 44 Tempietto
- 45 *Platela* Nord - Sud
- 46 *Tabernae*
- 47 Terme del foro
- 48 *Platela* Est - Ovest
- 49 Casa con impluvio di marmo
- 50 Casa con piscina
- 51 Casa con peristilo
- 52 Cinta muraria meridionale
- 53 Santuario extra-urbano (Santa Venera)
- 54 Late Republican Baths

PORTA OVEST  
cd. "MARINA" ←



- 22 SANTUARIO con *natatio* (PISCINA)
- 23 LARARIO
- 24 *Comitium* (Incrocio)
- 25 Edificio Sud - Ovest
- 26 "CURIA"
- 27 MACELLUM
- 28 *Tabernae* a Sud - Est
- 29 INCROCIO
- 30 "Giardino Romano"
- 31 ASKLEPIEION
- 32 ALTARI

1  
2 PORTA NORD  
cd. "AUREA"



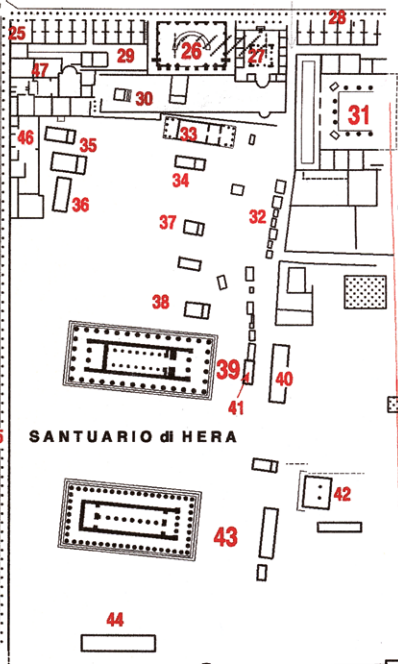
SANTUARIO di ATHENA

PIAZZALE del FORO



--- Limiti di strade moderne  
- - - Limiti dell' AREA DEMANIALE  
[Pattern] EDIFICI MODERNI

PORTA EST  
cd. "della SIRENA" →



SANTUARIO di HERA

PORTA SUD  
cd. "delle GIUSTIZIA"

EX SS 18



0 100m

53

fig. 33: Paestum, plan of the city

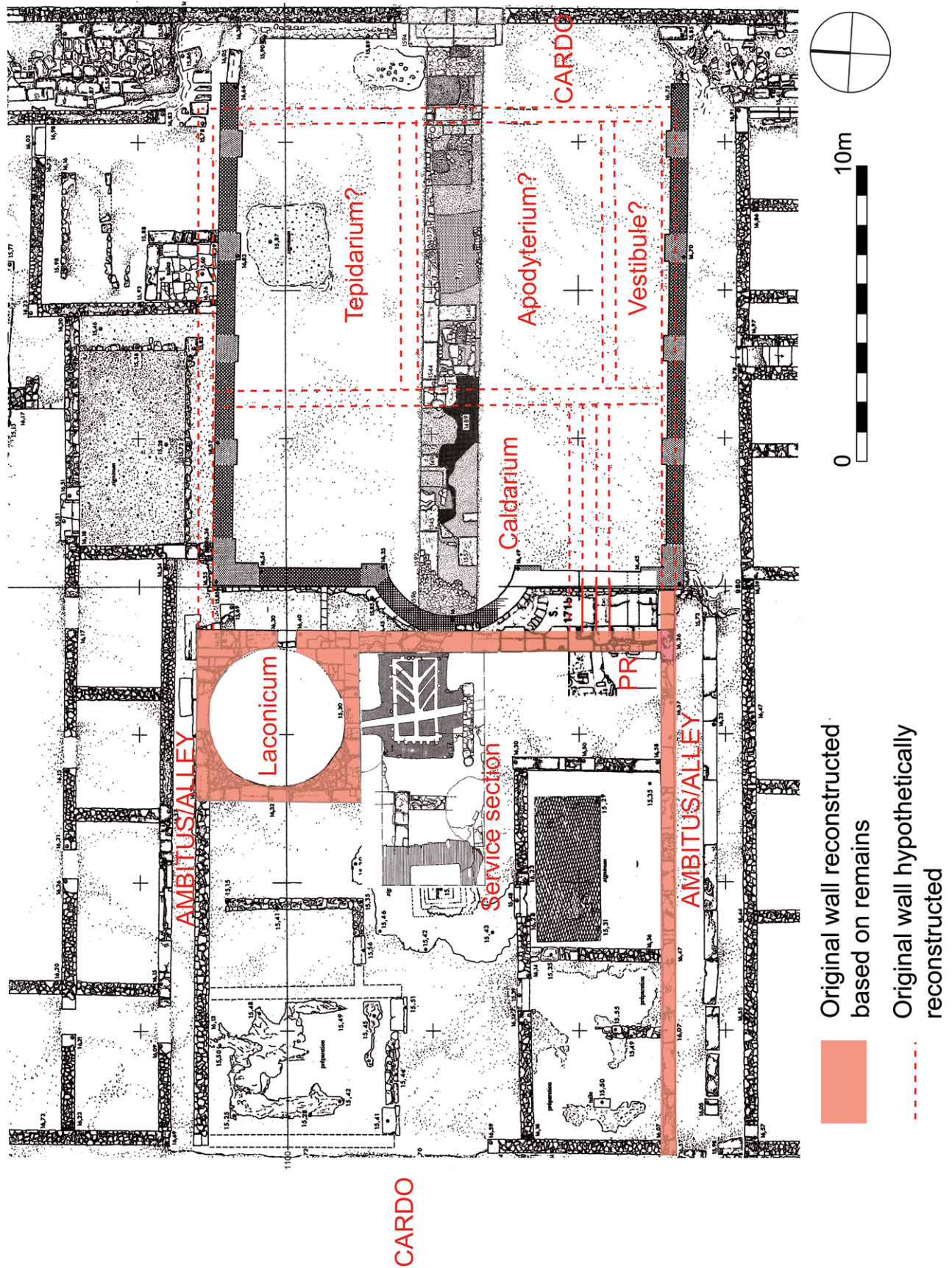
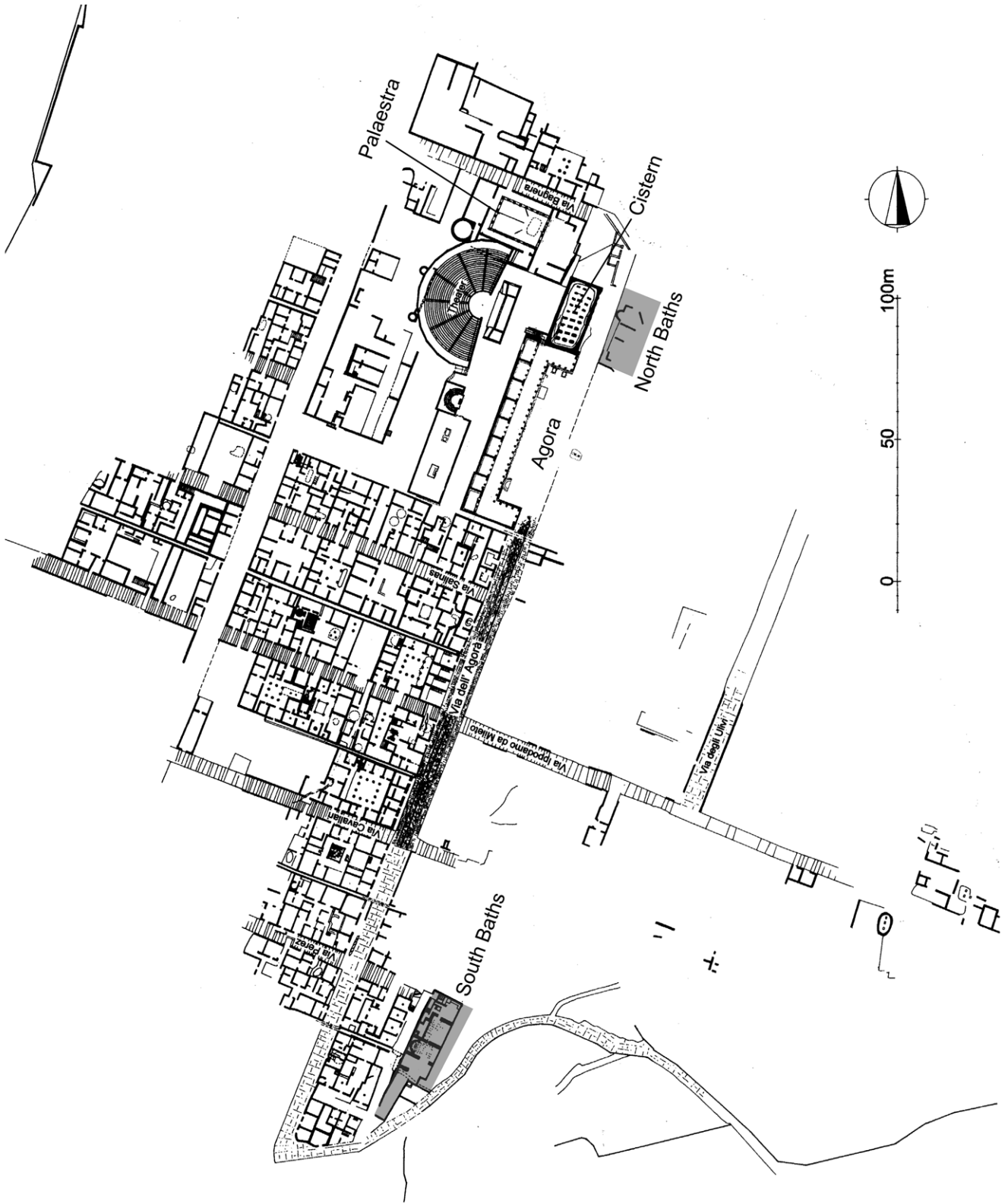


fig. 34: Paestum, hypothetical reconstruction of the baths



35

fig. 35: Solunto, plan of the city

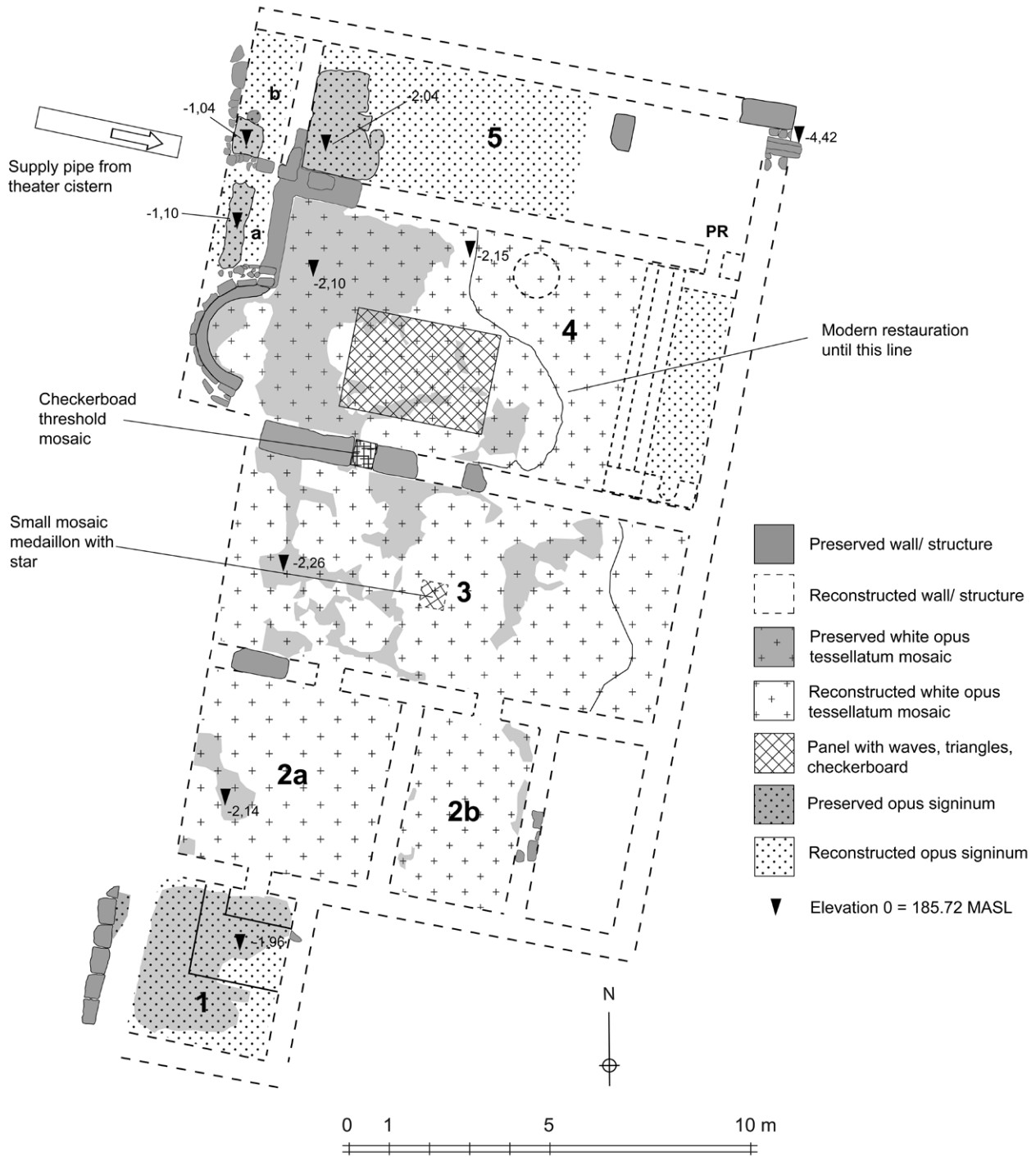
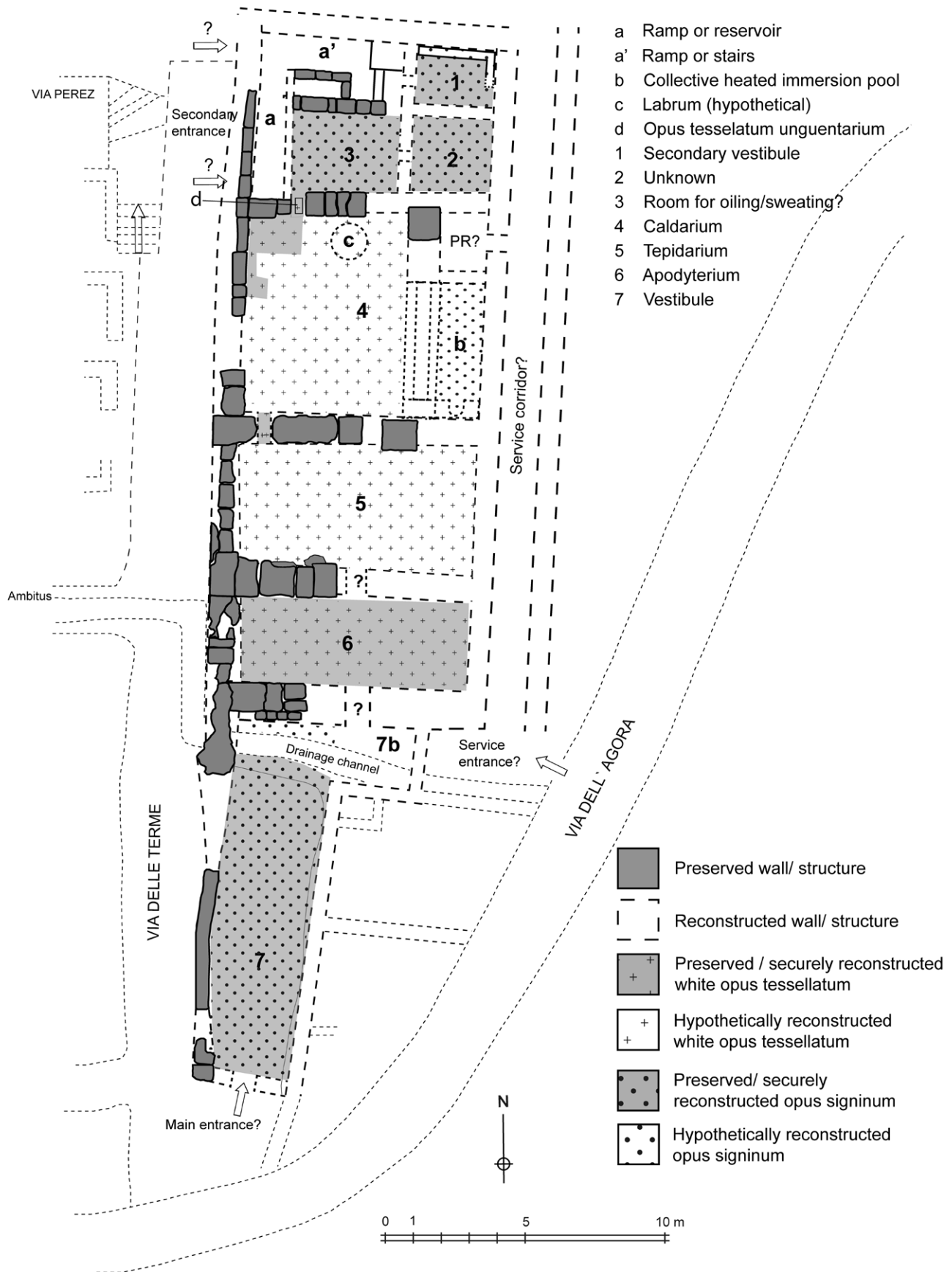


fig. 36: Solunto, hypothetical reconstruction of the North Baths



37

fig. 37: Solunto, hypothetical reconstruction of the South Baths



38

fig. 38: Tifernum Mataurense, hypothetical reconstruction of the original baths



No.	City	Type of city	Building preserved (first phase); size in m <sup>2</sup>	Location of baths in city	Main entrance(s) from type of street(s)	Tabernae linked to baths	Water supply	Construction date, history	Bibliography
1	Alba Fucens	Latin colony 303 BC	Laconicum, further rooms?; size unknown	Close to Forum; surrounded by macellum, tabernae, sanctuary	Main cardo	Possible	Aqueduct?	Mid-1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC, used until mid-Imperial period	Mertens 1969, 69–71
2	Aletrium	Settlement of Hernici, Roman control after 306/304 BC, municipium 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Tepidarium, laconicum; 470m <sup>2</sup> ?	Close to Forum; insula context unknown	Main decumanus (?)	Possible	Aqueduct and reservoir (phase 2)	Late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC, length of use unknown	Gatti 2016, 49–52; Kerschbaum 2017
3	Apollonia	Greek foundation 5 <sup>th</sup> /4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, under Roman control after 241 BC, civitas decumana 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Caldarium, service rooms; at least 60m <sup>2</sup>					2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC, destroyed by city wall late 2 <sup>nd</sup> /early 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Trümper 2019, 359–361
4	<i>Brescia (fig. 40)</i>								
5	Cales	Latin colony 334 BC, municipium 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, laconicum, service rooms; 1468m <sup>2</sup>	At Forum; entire insula or building to E	Main cardo, secondary decumanus	Possible	Deep well	ca. 50 BC, used until mid-Imperial period	Quilici Gigli 2020
6	Crotone	Roman colony 194 BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, laconicum, service rooms; 396m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Forum; entire insula	Main decumanus		Reservoir?	ca. 80–70 BC, abandoned with city in early 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Ruga 2006; Trümper 2020c, 148–150
7	Cumae	Greek colony ca. 750 BC, Samnite city after 421 BC, loyal to Rome	Apodyterium, tepidarium?, caldarium?, service rooms?; at least 864m <sup>2</sup> ?	Close to Forum; insula context unknown	Main decumanus (?)	Possible		2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC, used until mid-Imperial period	Volpicella 2006/2007
8	<i>Falerii Novi (fig. 40)</i>								
9	Fregellae	Latin colony 328 BC, destroyed 125 BC	2 apodyteria/ tepidaria, 2 caldaria, laconicum and small "palaestra" for men, service rooms; 1056m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Forum; houses in W and E, possible tabernae or the like in N	Main decumanus (2 entrances)	3?	Aqueduct?	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC (phase 1) 1 <sup>st</sup> half of 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC (phase 2), abandoned with city 125 BC	Tsiolis 2004; 2006; 2008; 2013; Vincente 2008; 2012; Diosono 2017
10	Grumentum	Lucanian settlement 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC, Roman colony ca. 50 BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, laconicum, service rooms; at least 300m <sup>2</sup>	Insula context unknown	Main cardo		Aqueduct?	1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC, used until mid-Imperial period	Capano 2009

No.	City	Type of city	Building preserved (first phase); size in m <sup>2</sup>	Location of baths in city	Main entrance(s) from type of street(s)	Tabernae linked to baths	Water supply	Construction date, history	Bibliography
11	Herdonia	Daunian settlement 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC, municipium 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Identification debated				Aqueduct?	1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Mertens 1988, 38–40; Mertens 1995, 176–179; Mertens 1997, 24–30; Volpe 2000, 129–130
12	<i>Mevaniola (fig. 40)</i>								
13	Musarna	Etruscan colony of Tarquinia 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, service rooms; 216m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Forum; insula context unknown, but probably buildings in E, S, and W	Main decumanus		Cistern	ca. 100 BC, abandoned early 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD	Broise – Jolivet 2004; Trümper 2020c, 146–148
14	Norba	Latin colony 492 BC	Apodyterium, laconicum, tepidarium, caldarium, service rooms; at least 476m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Forum and public reservoir; probably S part of insula	Main decumanus	Possible	Public reservoir	Late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC, abandoned with city 82 BC	Quilici – Quilici-Gigli 1997
15	Paestum	Greek colony ca. 600 BC, Lucanian city ca. 400 BC, Latin colony 273 BC	Caldarium, laconicum, service rooms; 650m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Forum; in residential insula, but possibly alleys in N and S, cardines in W and E	Main cardo	Possible		2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, overbuilt by house in late 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Lemaire et al. 2000, 162 f.; Bragantini et al. 2008, 155–158
16	Pompeii, Forum Baths	Foundation 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Samnite city 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman colony 80 BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, laconicum, palaestra, service rooms; 1300m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Forum; entire insula	Main cardo and decumanus (2 entrances), secondary street (1 entrance)	26?	a) deep well; b) aqueduct	After 80 BC, used until AD 79	
17	Pompeii, Republican Baths	Foundation 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Samnite city 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman colony 80 BC	2 apodyteria, 2 tepidaria, 2 caldaria, laconicum and small palaestra? for men, service rooms; 672m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Foro Triangolare; houses to N and W	Secondary (?) street (1 entrance), alley (1 entrance)		Deep well	After ca. 150 BC, overbuilt by house ca. 30–20 BC	Trümper 2017a; 2018; 2020b
18	Pompeii, Stabian Baths	Foundation 6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Samnite city 5 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman colony 80 BC	2 apodyteria, 2 tepidaria, 2 caldaria, laconicum and large palaestra for men, service rooms; 2400m <sup>2</sup>	At crossing of main streets; houses to N and W	Main decumanus and cardo (3 entrances), secondary street (2 entrances)	9	a) deep well; b) aqueduct	After ca. 125 BC, used until AD 79	Eschebach 1979; Trümper et al. 2019; Robinson et al. 2020
19	Populonia	Etruscan city 7 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman influence from 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. BC on	Apodyterium with individual tub, caldarium, laconicum, service room; at least 120m <sup>2</sup>					ca. 100 BC	Bernard et al. 2019

No.	City	Type of city	Building preserved (first phase); size in m <sup>2</sup>	Location of baths in city	Main entrance(s) from type of street(s)	Tabernae linked to baths	Water supply	Construction date, history	Bibliography
20	<i>Praeneste</i> (fig. 40)								
21	Solunto, North Baths	Punic foundation 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman control after 241 BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, service rooms; at least 360m <sup>2</sup>	At Forum	Entrance from Forum		Public reservoir	2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC?, length of use unknown	Trümper 2019, 362–368; Portale et al. 2021, 143–150
22	Solunto, South Baths	Punic foundation 4 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman control after 241 BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, service rooms; at least 400m <sup>2</sup>	At bend of main street	Main street (1 entrance), secondary street (1 entrance)			2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC?, length of use unknown	Trümper 2019, 368–376
23	Tifernum Mataurense	Umbrian settlement, municipium 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	Apodyterium, tepidarium, caldarium, palaestra, service rooms; 1277.50m <sup>2</sup>	Close to Forum	Main cardo (1 entrance), secondary cardo (1 entrance)?	Possible		1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC, used until mid-Imperial period	Stortoni 2014; 2016; 2019

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fig. 39: Table 1: Archaeological evidence of Late Republican public baths

No.	City (including type, if not listed in fig. 39)	Material, form	Size (Width × Height × Depth) in cm	Findspot	Text	Type of Inscription	Date	Bibliography
1	<i>Alba Fucens</i> (fig. 39)							
2a	Aletrium	Stone block	180×20×28, letters 11	Reused as door lintel in Cathedral complex	[--- cum ]aconico dedit	Constructional dedication?	130–50 BC	AE 1998, 307; EDR071530
2b	Aletrium	Local limestone slab	58.8×68×14.8, letters 2.5–2.7	Piazza S. Maria Maggiore (Forum)	L(ucius) Betilienus L(uci) f(ilius) Vaarus,   haec quae infera scripta   sont de senatu sententia   facienda coiravit: semitas   in oppido omnis, porticum qua   in arcem eitur, campum ubi   ludunt, horologium, macelum,   basilicam calecandam, seedes,   [l]acum balinearum, lacum AD   [p]ortam, aquam in opidum ADqu(e)   arduom pedes CCCXL fornicesq(ue)   fecit, fistulas soledas fecit.   Ob hasce res censorem fecere bis,   senatus filio stipendia mereta   ese iousit populusque statuum   donavit Censorino.	Honorary decree, listing achievements (construction works)	Early 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC, before 90 BC	EDR071508; Fagan 1999, 154 f. no. 157; Kerschbaum 2017

No.	City (including type, if not listed in fig. 39)	Material, form	Size (Width × Height × Depth) in cm	Findspot	Text	Type of Inscription	Date	Bibliography
3	<i>Apollonia</i> (fig. 39)							
4	Brescia/Brixia (settlement of Cenomani Gauls 7 <sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman control 225 BC, 89 BC <i>civitas ius Latii</i> , 49 BC <i>municipium</i> , between 27 and 8 BC Roman colony)	Stone slab? (lost)	Unknown	Nearby monastery S. Mariae Pacis	Q. Cornel[ius],   IIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) q(uinquennalis?), IIV(ir),   in balneum fac   [-]	Constructional dedication	Pre-Augustan? (DeLaine); 49–27 BC (Fagan)	CIL V 4412; DeLaine 1999, 69 n. 9; Fagan 1999, 252 no. 66
5	<i>Cales</i> (fig. 39)							
6	Crotone	Opus tessellatum pavement	331×360 (decorated field, in opus signinum pavement), letters 13	Caldarium 12	[-] Lucilius A(uli) f(ilius) Macer T(itus) Annaeus Sex(ti) f(ilius) Trhaso [ ]Ivirei   [quin]q[ue]nnales exs s(enatus) c(onsulto) balneum aedeificandum couravru(nt).	Constructional dedication	80–51 BC	CIL I <sup>2</sup> 2542; EDR072542; DeLaine 1999, 69 n. 9; Fagan 1999, 252 no. 67
7	Cumae	Pentelic marble labrum	Base 155×155×19, with fluted column 82 H, 95.5–52 diam.; inscription on smooth band above fluting, 9.5 H, letters 5.5–6	Caldarium H?	maí(s) kalúvis úf(falleís) m(eddís) v(ereias) ínim m(eddís) x ekík segnúm pid[---]d[---] + ú[-dunúm] deded.	Oscan dedication of labrum	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC?	Crawford 2011, 493 f. Cumae 3; Camodeca 2012
8	Falerii Novi (founded 241 BC by Rome, with resettled Faliscans (status debated: Latin colony or allied community), <i>municipium</i> 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC)	Opus tessellatum pavement (lost)	Letters 7–8	“Across the entrance of a small building” (Bakkum 2009, 493)	Hirmio M(arci) [f(ilius)] Ce(pio) Tertineo C. f(ilius) pret[ores]	Faliscan constructional dedication	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC? (after 230–220 to ca. 150 BC)	CIL XI 3156a; Zvetaieff 1884, 57 no. 67; Bakkum 2009, 493 f. no. 213
9	<i>Fregellae</i> (fig. 39)							
10	Grumentum	Stone slab (lost)	88.9×45.5; letters 7.5–8	Vineyard	Q(uintus) Pettius, Q(uinti) f(ilius), Tro(mentina), Curva   C(aius) Maecius, C(ai) filius), Ouf(entina), pr(aetores)   duovir(i), balneum ex   d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) de peq(unia) pob(lica) fac(iundum) cur(averunt).   Q(uintus) Pettius, Q(uinti) f(ilius), probavit.	Constructional dedication	1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC	CIL X 221; DeLaine 1999, 69 n. 9; Fagan 1999, 251 no. 64; Laes – Buonopane 2020, 92 f. no. 20

No.	City (including type, if not listed in fig. 39)	Material, form	Size (Width × Height × Depth) in cm	Findspot	Text	Type of Inscription	Date	Bibliography
11	Herdonia	Stone slab, roughly worked borders, originally inserted into a wall	150×85×20–25; letters 6.5–7	Reused in pavement of amphitheater entrance	D(ecimus) Fúnius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Gall[us?],   C(aius) Rubrius C(ai) f(ilius) Tinti[ri---],   IIIIvir(i) quinq(uennales),   balneum ab solo fa[ciund(um)]   coiraver(e) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) eidē[mq(ue)]   probavere.	Constructional dedication	50–20/0 BC	EDR074695; Mertens 1995, 179. 240; DeLaine 1999, 69 n. 9; Fagan 1999, 251 no. 65; Silvestrini 1999, 65 f.
12	Mevaniola (Umbrian settlement, municipium 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC?)	Opus tessellatum pavement	82×77 (decorated field in opus spicatum floor), letters 11.1–11.5	Unknown room (apodyterium?) of baths	[–] Caesiu[s---]   IIIIvir(i) qui[nq(uennales) balneas]   reficiund[as, aquam]   ducendam, [lacum? ex]   d(ecreto) c(onscriptorum) f(aciundum) c(oeravere) eidem[q(ue) probav(ere)].	Constructional (repairs) dedication	50–0 BC	AE 1993, 630; EDR145051; Lippolis 2000, 137
13	Musarna	Opus tessellatum pavement	122×146 (decorated field in opus figlinum), letters 8–9	Caldarium	lucve hulx̄nies a   aleθnas v a	Etruscan constructional dedication	ca. 100 BC	Broise – Jolivet 2004, 80–89; Benelli 2007, 237–239
14	<i>Norba (fig. 39)</i>							
15	<i>Paestum (fig. 39)</i>							
16a	Pompeii, Forum Baths	Stone slab	90.5×62.5×18, letters 7.5–11	Northeast taberna (16 August 1823, stored)	L(ucius) Caesius C(ai) f(ilius),   d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo),   C(aius) Occius M(arci) f(ilius),   L(ucius) Niraemius A(uli) f(ilius), IIv(iri),   d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) ex peq(unia) publ(ica)   fac(iundum) curar(unt) prob(arunt)q(ue).	Constructional dedication	After 80 BC	CIL X 819; EDR147480
16b	Pompeii, Forum Baths	Stone slab	94×63×13, letters 7–11	Eastern entrance corridor (22 November 1823, stored)	L(ucius) Caesius C(ai) f(ilius),   d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo),   C(aius) Occius M(arci) f(ilius),   L(ucius) Niraemius A(uli) f(ilius), IIv(iri),   d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) ex peq(unia) publ(ica)   fac(iundum) curar(unt) prob(arunt)q(ue).	Constructional dedication	After 80 BC	CIL X 819; EDR147481
17	<i>Pompeii, Republican Baths (fig. 39)</i>							
18a	Pompeii, Stabian Baths	Sundial	53×43×23.5, letters 1–1.5	Between 5 <sup>th</sup> and 6 <sup>th</sup> column of east porticus of the palaestra	n(a)r(as) atiniús m(a)r(a)heís [.] kváissstur eítuvad   múltasíkad [.] kúmbennieís tangi(nud)   affamanaffed Mr. Atinius, son of Mr., quastor, from money from fines, by decision of the assembly, had (this) made	Oscan dedication of sundial	After ca. 125 BC	Crawford 2011, 650 f Pompei 21; Eschebach 1979, 19 fig. 5 pl. 23d

No.	City (including type, if not listed in fig. 39)	Material, form	Size (Width × Height × Depth) in cm	Findspot	Text	Type of Inscription	Date	Bibliography
18b	Pompeii, Stabian Baths	Limestone slab (reused table)	84.3×44.5×8, letters 3.9–4.9	Corridor P (stored)	C(aius) Uulius C(ai) f(ilius), P(ublius) Aninius C(ai) f(ilius), II(viri) i(ure) d(icundo),   <b>laconicum</b> et d(e)str(ict)arium faciund(a) et porticus et palaestr(am)   reficiunda locarunt, ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum), ex   ea pequnia quod eos e lege   in ludos aut in monument   consumere oportuit, faciun(da)   coerarunt eidemque probaru(nt).	Constructional (new and repairs) dedication	After 80 BC	CIL X 829; EDR150879; Eschebach 1979, 24 fig. 9
19	<i>Populonia</i> (fig. 39)							
20	Praeneste (foundation 7 <sup>th</sup> /6 <sup>th</sup> c. BC; after 338 BC civitas foederata; 82 BC Roman colony; 1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD municipium)	Travertine slab	Not indicated in any of the publications cited here	In remains of ancient baths at the church of the Madonna dell'Aquila	Q(uintus) Vibuleius L(uci) f(ilius)   L(ucius) Staius Sal(vi) f(ilius)   duovi(i)   balneas reficiund(as),   aquam per publicum   ducendum d(e) d(ecurionum) s(sententia)   coeravere.	Constructional (repairs) dedication	ca. 80 BC	CIL XIV 3013; Fagan 1999, 251 no. 63; Klug 2017, 303 SP50 fig. 7.14; Raiano 2021, 103–105
21	<i>Solunto, North Baths</i> (fig. 39)							
22	<i>Solunto, South Baths</i> (fig. 39)							
23	<i>Tifernum Mataurense</i> (fig. 39)							

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fig. 40: Table 2: Late Republican inscriptions related to the construction, repairs, or remodeling of public baths

## Acknowledgments

96 I am much indebted to all persons and institutions that supported research and fieldwork in Pompeii: the Parco Archeologico di Pompei with the directors Massimo Osanna and Gabriel Zuchtriegel and their colleagues; the Freie Universität Berlin; the Excellence Cluster Topoi Berlin (2015–2018); the German Research Foundation (2020–2022); and the other members of our research team and all student volunteers whom I cannot list by name here. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and all colleagues who generously allowed me to use and reproduce their plans. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Workshop “Römische Thermen und Thermalbäder aus urbaner und (natur-)räumlicher Perspektive”, organized on 15/16 January 2021 by the University of Kiel. I am grateful to the organizers, Anna-Lena Krüger and Julika Steglich, for the invitation and to all participants for inspiring discussions.

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## METADATA

Titel/*Title*: Late Republican Baths in Italy. Urban Context and Ownership

Band/*Issue*: RM 128, 2022

Bitte zitieren Sie diesen Beitrag folgenderweise/  
*Please cite the article as follows*: M. Trümper, Late Republican Baths in Italy. Urban Context and Ownership, RM 128, 2022, 268–335, <https://doi.org/10.34780/cdad-z6k6>.

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Online veröffentlicht am/*Online published on*:  
31.12.2022

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/cdad-z6k6>

Schlagworte/*Keywords*: Late Republican Baths, Italy, Urban Context, Ownership, Public Endeavour

Bibliographischer Datensatz/*Bibliographic reference*: <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/003017869>