The experience of spectators at the festivals in early imperial Ancient Rome. A case study of multisensory approach to spectatorship at the festival of the Saecular Games in 17 BC

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I, Anna Trostnikova, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____ Date: 13 November 2018

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This thesis is dedicated to the spectators' experience at Ancient Roman festivals — in particular the Saecular Games of 17 BC. Spectatorship at the Roman festivals was an integral part of the cultural and social identity of Romans. However, the research concerning it is disparate and split between the academic fields of Classics and Drama. from histories of an undifferentiated Roman crowd towards the identities and experiences of individual spectators. Festivals have hitherto mainly been studied from the organisers' point of view, and I shall shift the focus to the spectator.

Through the lens of Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, the Games are considered as a theatrical event, uniting religious rituals and performances, centred on structured movement through the monumental city space of Rome. While monumental space is defined in Lefebvre's terms as *conceived* space, the spectators' experience is theorised as Lefebvre's *lived* space and is accessed through the imaginative reconstruction of multisensory experiences of the Games — what the Games felt like — based on historical sources.

The political implications of the Games, the spectators' journey through monumental space of Rome, the timeline, the spectators' collective and individual identities, their agency, and finally the aftermath of the Games, seen through the memories, are the major factors shaping the experience of the Games. The multisensory perspective makes it possible to reveal previously neglected details of the Games' performance history, such as the changing olfactory experience of the Games, the access and crowding conditions, and the visibility of rituals. This perspective demonstrates how the organisers' plans and politics clashed with the spectators' identities and justifies a holistic approach to the study of Ancient Rome's festivals.

Contents

Note on abbreviations

- Abbreviations from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary (3rd revised edition)* are used for the references to the ancient authors' works in this thesis.
- The *Acta ludorum saecularium* are cited according to the edition of Schnegg-Köhler (2002).
- The RIC is *Roman Imperial Coinage*; revised edition of vol. 1, C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson (1984).
- The *AE* is *L'Année Epigraphique*, journal on epigraphy published by Presses Universitaires de France.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: why research the spectators' experience

In contemporary popular culture the Ancient Roman empire is represented as a civilisation of spectacles and festivals. The luxurious excesses of the staging and view of spectacular shows, the vicarious enjoyment of violence and killing in the gladiatorial games and wild–beast hunts, and private participation in frivolous but vastly expensive and orgiastic banquets are characteristic of the depiction of Rome in popular culture. Such excesses are shorthand for the moral degradation that supposedly befell Rome in the first centuries of imperial rule. The church fathers and early Christian writers condemned traditional Roman entertainments.[1] The literary men of the first cen-

[1] The books specifically written to prove the sinfulness of watching games and participating in spectacles are Tert. De Spect. and Novat. De Spect. . One of the most graphical descriptions of one Christian's experience of games and moral corruption they incur is in August. Conf. 6.8

tury AD worried that games were too frivolous as pursuits for the *severi homines* of the later first century. For example, Seneca criticises games for their unnecessary cruelty and negative impact on a philosopher's ability to contemplate;[2] Horace satirises poor taste and the laziness of people attending theatrical performances;[3] and later Juvenal famously remarks that people are more interested in games than in politics and policies.[4] Arguably, this moral disdain for Roman entertainments has persisted and dominated their reception in the modern era. Hollywood films and television series, comic books, and even popular history and children's books often follow this line of didactical representation of Roman life.[5] From the popular *Quo vadis* (1954) and *Ben-Hur* (1959) to fairly recent *Pompei* (2014) and *Ben-Hur* remakes in 2016, through *Gladiator* (2000), *Spartacus* (2010), *I, Claudius* (1976) and *Caligula* (1979), major themes of Hollywood films and television series based in Rome have been, apart from a limited number of new Roman Britain–themed outputs and a variety of biopics of Julius Caesar, stories of the professionals involved in public spectacles, such as gladiators and/or emperors like Caligula and Nero, embedded in the world of shows and excesses.[6] This attitude helps us to under-

[2] Seneca. Ep. 7. 3-5

[3] Hor. Epist. 2.1, 178; 195-210

[4] Juv. 10.77-81

[5] The range of Usborne books on Ancient Rome features very few specific titles on aspects of life in Ancient Rome, but among these, along with books on Pompeii and Julius Caesar are those on gladiators, amphitheatres, and Spartacus. The popular history book *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* by Carcopino et al. (1941), which has been reprinted many times, contains an unsympathetic description of Roman spectacles.

[6] For an overview of common themes in films on Ancient Rome see Wyke (2013), whereas Theodorakopoulos (2010) specifically analyses a number of successful Hollywood films set in Ancient Rome where a depiction of a spectacle played a major role in the development of the narrative in the film.

stand why the subject of Roman popular entertainment has been a late–comer to serious scholarly endeavour, when Greek theatre studies have played such a major part in the European intellectual tradition. It was not until the middle of the twentieth century that Roman imperial theatre and Roman entertainments came to be subject to serious scholarly scrutiny.[7]

The gradual move in the scholarly community to take seriously Roman popular entertainments as opposed to Greek theatrical art reflected a broader change in academic interests. There was a growing interest in cultural studies and the nature of the mass media. Scholars wondered how people consumed 'mass culture', what value judgements were made, but, above all, about the politics and sociology of the mass consumption of media. Attention shifted from the artistic intentions of the writer/director/performers to the audience. As a consequence, it became clear very quickly that audiences were far from passive recipients of the fare served up to them on stage. Audiences experienced theatre as individuals and in a group: being in an audience was a collective experience. Moreover, it was not an experience completely confined to the theatre: traditions of spectacular entertainments from across the world were very different. Enlightened by wider perspectives on theatre practices, scholars began to put Greek and Roman performance and entertainment consumption culture in a broader context. They start to think about the way in which Greek the-

[7]The first books on Roman spectacles were those which consider Roman dramaturgy in performance, such as Bieber (1939) and Beare (1955), but they were mostly concerned with republican theatre (3rd-2nd century BC).

atre was imbued with religious meaning; how theatre was a collective experience in which very large numbers of the citizen body would be in attendance; how being at or going to the theatre was in itself a performance of a citizen's role. The importance of those who paid for the theatrical production came to be more obvious, and their generosity was seen less an act of charitable donation and more as a political strategy. For Rome, this revisionist approach was complicated by the perceived separation of the theatrical traditions (derived from Greece) and the violent traditions of some games, e.g. gladiatorial fights and staged executions.

Nevertheless, and maybe even because of this controversial mixture of performance origins, Roman culture had resonances with and in modern popular culture: Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* is one of the most recent and obvious manifestations and explorations of that parallel. As the modern media and spectacular entertainment have become increasingly powerful and important transmitters of identity and ideology during the twentieth century and consequently of greater academic interest, it seems inevitable that Roman mass culture would be subjected to similar scrutiny. There can be no doubt that entertainments and spectacles were of great importance to contemporary Romans: they were the focus of considerable political attention; they were often enormously expensive; and they were, in the imperial period, the occasion for the largest gatherings of the Roman people. They were thus a point of communication between elite and mass population and a moment at which the Roman people were on display to themselves.

If Romans had the need to experience what being a Roman meant, being at the major games and spectacular events was the opportunity both to see one's fellow citizens and to participate in the mass experience of popular culture.

Such considerations point to the possible importance that attendance at spectacles had in the everyday life of Romans. The potential parallels between Roman and modern experiences of major theatrical/spectacular events also inform my approach and methodologies. It seems appropriate for us to attempt to use some of the approaches developed within modern studies of audience experience to illuminate our understanding of the Roman experience. It is, perhaps more importantly, also worth asking of the Roman theatrical experience some of the same questions that animate modern debates. There are, of course, considerable differences between a Roman and a modern audience and a considerable distance between us and the Classical past. The immediacy of contemporary spectatorship for researchers does not eliminate the need for interpretation and contextualisation. We cannot hope to employ the same battery of critical techniques that we can employ for a modern audience.[8] To a very great extent, the ancient audience's experience has to be approached indirectly, through imaginative reconstruction, rather than through the accumulation and

[8]The audience research methods for contemporary audiences are far from being fixed and tested, and still are subject to heated debate among scholars. An obvious crucial difference in the research methodology of scholarship on past and present audiences is in the accessibility of the audience. A contemporary spectator could be directly interviewed, and statistical data on spectatorship behaviour is much richer for contemporary audiences than it was for a majority of past audiences. Therefore quantitative data analysis is a far more suitable and consequently a more commonly used method for research on contemporary audiences.

subsequent analysis of an evidence base. Nevertheless, working with imperfect evidence is what historians of ancient culture must do. In the instance I have chosen, the Saecular Games held by Augustus in 17 BC, there is an imperative to understand the likely audience experience and reaction to the Games.

The Games came at a crucial moment in the history of the regime. Augustus had returned from his triumphant campaigns in the East. He had embarked on a programme of moral reforms, passing controversial legislation on adultery and marriage among other measures. The Saecular Games were a celebration on a magnificent scale, at which, as we shall see, Augustus and those closest to him were at the centre. Octavian–Augustus had made use of spectacular public displays before in his celebration of a triple triumph on his victorious return from Egypt more than a decade earlier. He was to do so again on the opening of the Forum of Augustus in 2 BC. These were key moments for the regime, and in holding these events, Augustus was communicating with his people. We could simply see the people as passive recipients of the various 'messages' embedded within the events (as Paul Zanker does in his readings of Augustan art and architecture),[9] but the experience of the Games, as with the other events, was likely more complex and varied, more bodily and communal than that of the spectator as art critic. It is this political context that makes it more important to apply the critical techniques of theatre studies so that we may understand more of the likely response and reaction to this cru-

[9] See Zanker (1990), but Leach (1988) and Galinsky (1998) follow similar framework.

cial event in the history of the regime. Theatre studies have paved the way in the recognition of importance of spectatorship.

Two main trends in theatre scholarship of the early twentieth century have guided the studies of history of spectatorship in theatre studies, and, afterwards, were implemented in the studies of theatre spectatorship of the Roman world. The first one is what was retrospectively called an *empirical materialist approach* by theatre spectatorship historian Helen Freshwater.[10] Started by Max Hermann in the 1920s[11] and then developed by the Leningrad Theatre history school led by Gvozdev, this method consisted of a thorough analysis of all the possible evidence of particular theatre performances. It included reconstructing the stage sets, actors' movement, ticketing and admissions, spectators' behaviour and other factors, which influenced a particular performance. By collating and comparing the information obtained on different performances of one play, the researcher could generalise their findings to reconstruct a performance of a given play in a particular theatre culture. This methodology underpinned research in many branches of theatre studies, such as study of theatre spaces, costumes, and reconstruction of particular plays. A similar *empirical materialist approach* is still a method of choice for historical theatre reconstruction, and features among others in many books on European classical and 19th-century theatre.[12]

[10] Freshwater (2009, p. 22)

[11] For an introduction into the beginnings of this methodology see Fischer-Lichte (1999).

[12] E.g. see Davis and Emeljanow (2005); Gurr (2004); Johnson (1995)

The empirical materialist approach was successfully imported into the field of classical studies first for the studies of Greek theatre and then for Roman theatre.[13] However, the approach gives rise to certain problems of application. These derive from its origins in conventional European theatre. It relies significantly on an understanding of theatre as an interpretation of a text, and consequently on instances where the text is known to the researchers. The approach focuses on questions of how a particular known text has been received, variations in that reception, and what might account for such variations. Such factors of difference include the audience and its expectations. For the bulk of the Roman spectacles, there is no known text.

For some, such as the Saecular Games, although there was a plan and certain performances within the event were closely scripted, it is questionable whether we should think of anything as closely controlled as a text. Indeed, the question of whether there was a text or an equivalent is of considerable interest. It is also a 'one-off', a single performance (even if elements were repeatedly performed over the festival and other elements were repeated or drawn from other iterations of the Games). There is thus no range of performances to consider, nor experimental approach to offer: the whole event was a giant theatrical experiment.

Naturally this empirical materialist approach has tended to focus on the periods of origin of known Roman theatre texts — the plays of Plautus and Terence — and devotes less attention to the late re-

[13] For Roman theatre see Beacham (1991); Trubotchkin (2005); Moore (1998)

publican and imperial periods. This early period, though, is the least well attested in terms of archaeological evidence for theatre and city spaces, and written attestations from audience members.

Another approach which can be distinguished in the history of spectatorship was rooted in the theory of the crowds. It begins not from the text, but with the audience. The theatrical audience is regarded as a specifically organised crowd. Analysis seeks to characterise this crowd's behaviour and reactions. To do so, there is a focus on its composition and structure. An interest in crowd behaviour began in the late 19th century with the works of Le Bon (1895). He sought to discover a certain code of conduct of people in crowds, which was different from the way the same people behaved individually, and concluded that the crowd's behaviour tended to be more aggressive, more immediate, and more emotional than that of individuals. But since not all crowds behaved in the same way, Le Bon also offered a typology of the crowd.

Although Le Bon's idea of crowd's collective mind found many followers in the realm of theatre audiences scholars [14], the psychologists and other researchers interested in the group behaviour often found Le Bon's ideas reducing the crowds behaviour to the aggressive, anonymous and uncontrolled.

The, social psychology has progressively nuanced these ideas, firstly through social identity theory as developed by Tajfel (2010). This

[14] E.g. Descotes (1964)

theory seeks to define society as a relationship of groups of people, which share certain social identities, e.g. race, income, education. The possibility of one person being a member of different groups further complicates understanding of intergroup relationships.

The crowd theory was further developed by Brown, who studying intergroup relations found that crowd can be regarded as the elementary form of a group, thus intergroup dynamics and relations apply to it. However, and more importantly crowd is rarely homogeneous and consists of several different groups. Therefore, a person does not lose their identity to the benefit of a collective mind, as Le Bon suggested, but rather changes it, often so a person social identity becomes more important than their personal one.[15]

Such theories were extensively used in scholarship on historical and contemporary audiences.[16] For contemporary audiences, necessary sociological information can be gathered through a variety of sources, including questionnaires or interviews or other forms of spectator survey. For historical instances, a variety of tools can be deployed including memoirs or newspaper reports of theatre going, and consideration of issues such as ticket pricing, which would inevitably have affected access to the theatrical experience. Very little of that information and few of those methods are available to historians of antiquity.

Nevertheless, starting with the audience gives us scholarly ac-

[15] Brown (1988)
[16] See e.g. Descotes (1964); Gurr (2004); Freshwater (2009)

cess to performances in Roman antiquity for which there was no meaningful text or the text was not fixed, or simply has not survived until our times. It allows us to consider alongside Greek and Roman drama, the productions of Roman spectacles such as mock naval battles (*naumachia*), gladiatorial combats, dance, and pantomimes. The study of the psychology of ancient Roman audiences has been taken up by Kindermann (1979) and more recently Fagan (2011). These studies employ advances in social psychology, especially the development of crowd behaviour and social identity theories to reconstruct audience composition, group relationships between audience members, and possible patterns of audience behaviour, as well as the cultural preferences of Roman theatre audiences and the audiences for gladiatorial combats. In addition, work on the social structure of Roman audiences has been undertaken by Rawson (1987) and Edmondson (2002) in a similar theoretical framework. They attempted a reconstruction of the different social groups present in Roman theatre audiences, and the results achieved are similar to those normally obtained by researchers in contemporary theatre through surveys.

However, both approaches pay little attention to a fundamental difference between the practices of contemporary theatre and those of ancient Rome. Shows were nearly always linked to a religious festival — the *ludi* or the Games. There was thus a complexity to the experience foreign to that of the modern era.[17]

[17] See also Sauter (2013, p. 181)

Bakhtin's work[18] on festivals added significantly to the understanding of the religious nature of the festivals and his analysis was further complemented by new advances in festival theory.[19] In Classics, scholars were particularly prominent in theorising the Roman religious festivals in terms of their significance for social, political and power relationships in Roman society.[20] A similar, but more detailed, approach was advanced by scholars of Roman religion. Their approach centred on the religious significance of the festivals — *ludi*, and on the ways structure of and changes in the religious rituals of the festivals reflected political and social processes in Roman society.[21] In the last decade several scholars, e.g. Rüpke, shifted their research focus from the collective religious practice, to the methods of approaching an individuated experience of religion and the ways religious practice and especially its individuated variations constructed a relationship to the divine and between humans.[22] Despite shifting the focus from the properties of the ritual to the experience of an individual, these scholars are more interested in those individuals, who designed and performed the rituals, than in those who witnessed them. Therefore, the role of the audience of sacrifices and individuals and collective of spectators to Roman religious performances (processions or similar) has not been closely studied.[23] Nevertheless, not only is there an

[18] See Bakhtin (1984)

[19] See e.g. Ozouf and Sheridan (1991), for approach to typology of Roman festivals see Veyne (1976), for limitations of Bakhtin's approach see Wiles (1998)

[20] See e.g. Clavel-Lévêque (1984); Benoist (2005); Bollinger (1969); Slater (1996)

[21] See e.g. Beard et al. (1998); Scheid (2011)

[22] See e.g, Rüpke (2016, 2015).

[23] There are certain recent developments in this area, which will be treated more in depth in Chapter 2. Earlier, research on Roman triumph was the only exception, which demonstrated interest in audiences, see e.g. Beard (2009); Ostenberg (2009).

issue about the relationship between what we would perceive as religious elements (sacrifices, prayers) and theatrical elements, and how we would distinguish between them, but more importantly many of the same questions arise when considering religious spectatorship.

One may wonder whether the spectators were passive or active in their reception of the event and whether their participation or observation was a necessary part of the ritual. We may also wonder at the effect of the audience as a whole on individual spectators, whether they felt part of the event and on what terms. Finally, a particular trend in Classics and theatre studies, established in the last 20 years tried to formalise and research the elusive nature of the theatrical or playful part of the *ludi*, and a generic term *spectacula* or spectacles emerged. Beacham was one of the first researchers to try not to isolate a particular type of show, but rather "provide a basic narrative that might be termed a theatrical history",[24] which included different types of shows and entertainments. From the overviews, studies and companions which seek to define the nature of those phenomena and the particular circumstances of different types of spectacles[25] to the in-depth research on certain types of shows[26] these works are the most focused on particular audiences and the overall structure of Roman spectatorship.

Another trend in Classical studies over the last two decades has

[24]Beacham (1999, p. X)

[25]E.g. see Kyle (2006); Christesen and Kyle (2013)

[26]E.g. research on specific Roman genres defunct today, such as Cariou (2009); Hall and Wyles (2008)

been to study the shows within specific social contexts. Much research has been conducted on the epigraphic record for shows and theatrical events from the Roman world. This epigraphy is strongly biased towards Greek sources, though the changes in theatrical culture in the East and West suggest a slow coming–together of the different traditions.[27] Such studies have tried to tease out the differences, if any, between different types of events. Certainly, different theatrical events would have had different cultural resonances and it is possible that they might have attracted different audiences. Furthermore, the epigraphic evidence tends to give us considerable information about the foundation of events, recording the euergistism that provided the initial impetus. From such information, we can attempt to reconstruct the role of events in manifesting and reinforcing the social and political structures of the mostly Greek cities that provide our evidence. For example, the recent collection of essays entitled *L'organisation des spectacles dans le monde romain* by Coleman et al. (2012) provides several instances of this piecing together of the epigraphic material. For this volume it can be seen that anything from studies of the relationship between audience and organisers over time, to particular case studies of the reception of a genre, to the organiser–benefactor–spectator relationship can constitute part of *spectacula* studies. The variety of approaches in the volume illustrate both the differing trends within the academic community and the necessity of multiple methodologies for understanding the *spectacula*.

[27] E.g. the classical work of Roueché and de Chaisemartin (1993).

My own approach is very similar. I accept the importance of studying different genres of shows and the necessity of focused case studies, which will illuminate the workings of a particular event and the operation of a particular context on the audience. I also see the necessity of paying attention to the audience as active observers or even participants in the performance, bringing perspectives that were broadly common to Roman audiences over a long period (as in religious attitudes, for example) or specific to the time and political context or even to groups within the audience (as in class, status, gender, *vel sim*).

Isolating the *spectacula* from their religious context is just the conceptual reverse of the artificial separation that occurred when scholars of Roman religion isolated the religious aspects of the Games as separate aspects of study. In itself, isolating religious and dramatic elements might have benefits in allowing focus on specific elements. It might be justifiable assuming that elements of the Roman audience mirrored modern desires to distinguish entertainment from the religious and high culture from low culture. This separation is *a priori* likely to disassemble an experience in which the various elements were not only clearly designed to function together, but were likely to flow into one another in the experience of the spectacular and in the memories and evaluations of such events. Although such approaches are valid and might be beneficial for exploring other issues, such as Roman religious identity, the history of a particular performative genre, entertainment policies as part of Roman political history, commentary

on Roman epigraphy or law making practices, in my case they limit the possibilities in the study of audiences.

Separating out factors may be necessary for the process of analysis, but should not be allowed to prejudge questions. Games were religious experiences. But they were also theatrical experiences and communal political experiences. These factors are not experientially divided. In the Roman world, religion and politics were closely intermixed and the very people who performed sacrifices on behalf of the people would be those who led the people in war, in politics, and in the theatrical and spectacular experiences. The audience at a sacrifice was not necessarily different from the audience at *ludi* and the experience of watching the sacrifice and watching gladiatorial combat were likely closely connected. To separate these elements is not only to impose our modern categories of experience on antiquity, but is to potentially loosen the unified nature of the experience of the *ludi*.

Another important methodological issue which often impedes audience research is the difficulty of finding, locating and interpreting spectators' voices. Historical audience research is by nature handicapped by the limited amount of evidence available, and therefore sometimes tends to overgeneralise spectators' voices and experiences. However, the spectators' experience is directly connected with the particular situation or circumstances of watching the show. It starts before the actual show begins. Audiences arrive with preconceptions. They also have an experience of a context of the Games which may include political or religious matters. It also seems likely that any ancient

audience would be aware of the prior history of performances of this kind and that they also had a particular organisational context. Major performances were major events for a community which required considerable organisation. Putting on such games would have involved large numbers of people and considerable expense. All these factors were probably at play, shaping audiences' reactions and informing their participation. Furthermore, it is unlikely that any audience reaction would be uniform or straightforward. It is certainly unlikely that these influences could have been clearly articulated by the audience members.

An opposite, over-individualised approach to audiences is also dangerous. Freshwater[28] in her summary of approaches to theatre audiences underlines that the significant gap in the approaches to contemporary and historical spectatorship lies between the over-individuated analysis of particular performances by the voice and authority of the critic and the broad and shared experience of the crowd. Usually the dominant modern modes of theatrical appreciation have been those of the critic, even when the critic was not physically in the audience. The audience's understanding and reaction had already been modelled by the critical approach and the critical review. But there is no reason to give those critical voices a hegemonic status in theatre studies and Freshwater suggests that the collective voices of spectators should be more prominent as a counterbalance and also to capture more of the shared experience of the theatre-goer. If this is so

[28]Freshwater (2009, pp. 29ff.)

for modern theatre-going, how much more must it have been the case for the premodern experience? For premodern theatre did not have critics or the authoritative interpreter. In antiquity, it seems likely that it was the crowd rather than the critic which was the most important receiver of the spectacle.

Finally, another bias in the audience research approach is connected to the nature of evidence and how we possess it: much of the evidence for entertainments in the Roman world comes from the organisers. They not only had responsibility for the staging of the events, and for the paying for them, but they also provide us with our records of the events themselves. The Saecular Games are no exception. We know about the Games through the literary record and from an extended and official inscription that records procedural matters. That is only one side of the story, perhaps the producers' story. There is another story that needs to be reconstructed, that of the audiences for the events. My aim in this work is to bridge the same gap between production and audiences by reconstructing the experience of Roman spectatorship at the Saecular Games.

But what is a spectator's experience? To start shaping the notion of the experience, we can consider a contemporary spectator's example — a football supporter watching his favourite team. It helps us to emphasise the theoretical problems, having put aside temporarily all the methodological difficulties associated with the study of a distant past, such as Ancient Rome.

A Manchester United supporter saw his/her team lose 1-0 in a championship game. What contributed to his experience? There are what one might call primary elements, such as the result of the game and the performance of the team. Indeed, if the team had been victorious or at least scored as many goals, the mood and memories of the supporter and therefore the experience would have been different. These are the narrative factors that would tend to get reported in a newspaper. To reduce all experience to those elements would be to take the position of the critic.

However, there are additional experiential elements that equally shape a spectator's experience. Was the experience a direct eyewitness experience of being at the stadium or mediated by a broadcasting medium? In a broadcast medium, the experience is mediated through a commentary. In the stadium, the reactions and remarks of of those around influence the decision making and the reception. Was someone three rows ahead proclaiming his extreme views of the game, lambasting or cheering on a favoured player? How did the opponents react to the perhaps unexpected situation? How many opposing fans were present? Were there different interpretations of the events of the game? Was it watched in a public house or at home? Was it watched among friends or strangers? Was it an event with a long build up, a culmination of a special day? Had time and money been spent acquiring the ticket, planning the day, getting to the venue, buying food and the programme? What was the weather and was the spectator comfortable? And afterwards, how was the experience shaped, turned

into narrative, and processed into memory? More personally, was the experience differentiated for different spectators? The spectator from an executive box, served champagne and sandwiches, might see the game differently from the person sitting at the back of the stand in the cold, queuing for drinks and food at half–time. What about the gender? If our putative spectator is a woman, does that change the experience? If the spectator is a child, how does the experience of being in a large, mostly male, boisterous crowd transmit? Is this a first visit, a bonding exercise within a family or friendship group, or a regular event? Is the spectator able to deploy experience to know what is going on and how everything works? And what about the larger narratives of the seasonal success of the team and the likely implications of a poor result? Will the manager be sacked? Will the league be secured? Once one starts to unpick the factors at play in the very simple experience of a football match, one gets some idea of the potential complexity of reaction and engagement at an event such as the Saecular Games.

Of course, some of these elements would not be factors in the spectator's experience of the Games in Ancient Rome, but there is every reason to suspect that the audience's reaction to the Saecular Games would also have been multifarious and often ambivalent, varying by a whole host of sociological factors (age, gender, social status, political stance, experience of the *ludi*, perhaps normal residence). The difficulties in reconstructing the past experience are multiple. These range from the very obvious lack of evidence on which

to base any judgements of the experience to prior embedded cultural experiences and expectations. For us, we have experiences modelled by our culturally specific engagement with theatre, cinema, and other entertainments. We have experience of major sporting events, through television, radio, internet or the print media. Such somewhat vicarious experiences may be far more common than the immediate experience of being in a crowd at a live event. But the Roman education in communal events must have been different. The experience of being in a crowd was probably both more common and more special, since Romans had no media through which the experience could be vicariously shared. The experience of religious events probably also formed part of a Roman citizen's general education, and these experiences were clearly part of the context by which Romans would have viewed elements of the Saecular Games. The physical and sensory experiences of the event were also probably culturally specific: whether smells and sounds must have been interpreted on the basis of prior experience.

Finally, Modern Western society very rarely, if ever has access to intertwined theatrico–religious experiences, such as the games were. Contemporary religious practice is significantly different in its nature from the ancient Roman one, as is its place in the social life of modern Western society. Such concerns should make us aware of the difficulties and warn us off from easy generalisations or reconstructions.

The main characteristics of Roman religion were its communality and focus on orthopraxia. Communality translates into wide spectatorship of the rituals, but, at the same time *orthopraxia* requires a focus

on ensuring that a ritual was conducted correctly. Therefore, Roman religious experience is primarily collective, especially an experience of the festival, such as the games were. However, as the example with the football fan shows, collective experience can be individuated. With the Saecular Games, because of their hybrid nature as theatrical and religious event, I am interested in the ways individuals practice the collective religions, adapt the rituals to their perception and needs, modify them and sometimes resist. This approach is shared by the scholars of lived religion, I see their methods as useful tools to approach the religious experience of the Saecular Games.[29]

Finally, we should not expect the varied experiences of the Saecular Games to form a more complete picture than the varied experiences at any modern event do. Yet, the possibility of bridging that gap between production and audience is enticing.

Having established the methodologies, difficulties, caveats and gaps in classics and theatre studies research on ancient audiences' experiences, it is important, before embarking on the search for the spectators' experiences of the Saecular Games, to give an overview of what Saecular Games were. In the summer of 17 BC Augustus revived the Saecular Games. The Games were a religious festival celebrated once in a *saeculum* and traditionally dedicated to the gods of the underworld. The earliest known occurrence of the Saecular Games was in 249 BC, according to Livy.[30] The pre-Augustan editions were

[29] For lived religion theory overview see Rüpke (2016).

[30] Livy. Per. 49

focused on the commemoration of the dead in the previous *saeculum* — a period of 100 or 110 years. The last pre-Augustan edition of the Games happened in 146 BC. For the Augustan regime, the Games had a particular resonance. The late Republic had been a time of considerable turmoil. It is even possible, that one edition of the Games was in fact postponed or skipped because of the civil wars at the end of the Republic.[31] The poetry of the time points to millenarian feelings, most famously Catullus[32] and Virgil.[33] The cycle of ages progressed civilisation in a downward spiral from a golden age of paradisiac ease to the age of iron and its perpetual war. It suited the new regime to draw a line between the violence that had marked the last decades of the Republic and the Augustan period. This fundamentally Greek idea of the cycle of ages was mapped on to a Roman funerary cult. This focused on the appeasement of the dead of a generation in order to ensure that the current generation continued to benefit from the *pax deorum*. The gap between iterations of the Games was due to a calculation of the maximum life span of an individual. The rule was that no one should be alive who had seen the previous iteration, though there was some technical disagreement as to exactly how long that period should be. As a consequence, the Games were a once in a lifetime opportunity for the Romans.

The Augustan edition was unique in many aspects: new rituals originated from revised Sibylline books, newly built temples and the-

[31] The earliest researcher to suggest this was probably Baziner (1901).

[32] Catull. 64

[33] Verg. Ecl. 4

atres were used for rituals and performances, new laws regulated the distribution of seats at the shows, new values were praised in hymns and prayers. It has also left us an evidence of exceptional quality.[34] This evidence is contained predominantly in historical narratives of the Games, a long and somewhat fragmentary inscription providing us with a detailed account of the events — the *Acta* — detailing rituals, schedule and locations. Another important source of evidence are commemorative coins struck approximately a year after the Games. Finally, the Augustan edition of the Saecular Games is a rare occasion when we have a literary text used at the Games, complementing the existing historical evidence. It is the *Carmen Saeculare*, a ritual hymn, performed at the Games, composed by Horace. The documentation of the Augustan Games appears to have been exceptional and, since the tradition of the Saecular Games continued well into late imperial period, the rules and particularities of the Games' organisation continued to be cited as exemplary even as late as the 5th century.[35]

The scholarship on the Games mostly comes from the realms of Classical studies and ancient history. In the last 150 years it has had two foci. The first is what the Games can tell us about the religious history of Rome and in particular of the religious reforms and renewals of the Augustan period.[36] Another approach is focused on the two main surviving sources, the Saecular Hymn of Horace, which has been

[34] For a detailed overview and analysis of sources see Chapter 3.

[35] For example, the Games figured in the *History* of Zosimus.

[36] E.g. both Beard et al. (1998, pp. 202-206) and Scheid (2011) choose the Saecular Games as an example for their reconstruction of evolution of Roman sacrifice rituals.

the subject of detailed commentary from Fraenkel and later Putnam[37] and, after the famous *in situ* discovery in 1880s, the inscribed *Acta*.

The most recent edition and commentary on the inscription is by Schnegg–Köhler which follows on the efforts of other editors and commentators, notably Mommsen and Pighi.[38] Schnegg–Köhler analyses previous editions of the Games, the religious and mythological context of the origin of the Games, the topography of the Games, and the role of the principal religious officials — *XV viri sacris faciundis* — responsible for the Games' administration. She also describes and comments on the other evidence of the Saecular Games: coins, the sibylline oracle text, and the Saecular Hymn. Schnegg–Köhler argues that the Games were deeply rooted in Augustan family politics, especially what can be perceived as the new political role of the *matrona*. The main focus of work, though, is the inscription.

Other works on the Games are either linked with the Games' origin,[39] or with their place in the politics of Augustus.[40] Most approaches have in common a focus on the organisational aspects of the Games. The audience is not normally taken in account. The scholarship follows a traditional path in which exegesis focuses on the intended message of the Games, its cultural resonances and religious background, and the organisational aspects of the Games. These are, of course, clearly of great importance, and will occupy much of Chapter 3, but there is

[37]See Fraenkel (1980); Putnam (2008)

[38]Schnegg-Köhler (2002); Mommsen (1899); Pighi (1965)

[39]See e.g. Mommsen (1899); Baziner (1901); Wagenvoort (1951)

[40]This is only an illustrative selection of works: Barker (1996); Poe (1984); Boyce (1941); Fowler (1910). For in depth analysis of current scholarship see Chapter 3.

a broader question as to the intent of these efforts. One might argue that the Saecular Games were a performance of a religious duty on behalf of the Roman people and their participation was a matter of indifference. But the evidence points in a different direction, to a determination on the part of the organisers of the Games to maximise participation. Their need to ensure that everyone possible attended even led to them waiving the recently imposed legal provisions that prevented the *caelibes* — unmarried citizens of both sexes, who were at the age suitable for marriage, from attending the *ludi* (see discussion in Chapters 3 and 5). The audience were an important part of the Games and much of the ritual organisation and preparation for the Games appears to have centred on making provision for mass participation in the religious rites and attendance at shows and sporting entertainment. It would seem logical therefore to focus analysis not just on the message or on those who sent the message, but on the experience of those who were supposed to receive the message.

The importance of my analysis is twofold.

Firstly, it is a methodological–theoretical discussion as to how we might be able to reconstruct the experience of a particular spectacular public event in ancient Rome. The quality of evidence for the Augustan edition of the Saecular Games is far superior to that for other similar events. Furthermore, we have a wealth of contextual material, ranging from the detailed narrative accounts of the Augustan edition of the games in the work of the historian Cassius Dio[41], himself a wit-

[41] Cassius Dio lived in the second half of the second to the first half of the third cen-

ness of a well documented Severan edition of the Saecular Games, the information we can glean about the intellectual context from the poets, and the wealth of iconographic and architectural material through which we can reconstruct the materiality of the City of Rome. There is also, of course, a wealth of secondary literature and scholarly endeavour that has been devoted to the Augustan period.

The second reason is the importance of the Games themselves. They were clearly a major event in the Augustan era, and as such we need to give them their proper place in the historical narrative of the Augustan period. We may see the Games as one of the ways in which an Augustan ideology was constructed and promulgated to the Roman people. There has been much study of the way in which the regime influenced the cultural environment and cultural outputs of the period (I avoid using the word '*propaganda*' since that seems far too crude for the processes involved). The Games thus have a historiographical significance that goes far beyond the reconstruction of the audience experience itself.

In reconstructing the experience of the Games, we shall maintain a focus on the varied constituency of the audience of the Games. As a unique religious, public and entertainment event, the Games likely attracted a vast number of people, male and female, and from various social, political and ethnic origins. The Games also featured many constituent events where the participation depended on the specta-

tury AD, i.e. more than 150 years after the Augustan edition of the games. Severan edition of the games is also well evidenced by inscriptions, see Chapter 3 Section 3.1 for an overview of sources, including those on the later editions of the games.

tor's identity. For example, the distribution of materials for ritual purification performed just before the start of the Games was intended only for Roman citizens, their wives and children. Only a limited number of married women were invited to the ritual banquets — the *sellisternia* of 110 matrons. In the theatres, seating was segregated. Different social classes and groups had their prescribed places. Thus, a slave, a foreigner, a senator, and a poor Roman citizen would experience the same events slightly differently individually, but also as a member of their status group. Moreover, people from the same social class may have had different views regarding the values promoted at the Games. The Games were closely associated with the Augustan reforms of marriage laws, both in their symbolism and legal aspects. Marriage and procreation were celebrated in the hymn recital. A decree was passed, granting the permission to attend the Games for the *caelibes*. The marriage laws had provoked debates, especially among the upper classes of the society.[42] It seems likely that those opposed to the laws would have a different experience from those of their co-spectators who shared the Games' values.

Participating in the Games would signify the performance of one's identity, in front of other spectators. The Games were — as watching a football match in a stadium — a collective experience. Each individual was part of a large group of people. Moreover, a crowd in its behaviour, perception and manifestations is not reducible to the

[42] On the impact of and resistance to the marriage law see Galinsky (1981); Wallace-Hadrill (1981); Vigorita (2002); York (2007), further discussion is in Chapters 3 and 5.

individuals composing it. Thus, along with the individual identity of a spectator at the Games, they had a collective identity. Finally, all these factors together influenced the multi–sensory perception of the action, and add the *what* to the equation. The touch of one's neighbour, the smell of the burning sacrifice, the long waits and consequent fatigue and the visual difference of the night and day performances all informed what it felt like to be at the Saecular Games. Understanding the experience requires an engagement with the interaction of person, place, and time.

I will structure my work as follows. Chapter 2 will establish a theoretical framework with which to approach the spectators' experience of the event. The analysis will look primarily at the ways in which the experience could be approached through the study of space, identity and sensory factors which form and influence the spectator's experience. Chapter 3 will focus on the primary evidence, presenting and examining the available sources on the Games. The available information will be considered in order to establish a timeline of the Games, the organisational structure, the audience groups, and the basic information on the location of each event. This will constitute the primary material to work with in the following chapters. Chapter 4 will further develop the spatial elements, mapping the course of processions and exploring the significance of the various places in which the events are set, extracting the possible ways in which the spatial organisation of the Games influenced the spectators' experience. Chapter 5 will concentrate on the various groups and individualities of spectators, fo-

cusing on the crowd–individuality problem of spectators' experience. It also establishes crucial individual and collective characteristics and views, which may impact the sensory and emotional experience of the Games. Chapter 6 will summarise the findings of the three previous chapters in order to give a multisensory perspective on the Games in its relationship to time, place and audience groupings. Chapter 7 will put the experience of the spectator in the context of their previous and future experience and will deal with memory, commemoration and the uniqueness of the experience of the Games. Chapter 8 will contextualise the findings of the dissertation in the wider context of the Roman culture of attending the Games and draw conclusions from the work.

Chapter 2

Methodology of research on spectators' experiences

Finding a suitable methodology to analyse and separate the factors which influence spectators' experiences and perspectives is a familiar problem in theatre history. Sauter, tackling the problem of theatre audience research in his contribution to *The Cambridge Companion to Theatre History*, stated in 2013:

> Historical audience research is impeded less by a lack of source materials, than by theoretical and empirical procedures through which to integrate the spectator in the theatrical event.[1]

Indeed, many researchers have noticed that mainstream theatre history, focusing on modern Europe and the director's theatre model of

[1] Sauter (2013, p. 182)

the 20th century, has often regarded the spectator as a passive consumer of a particular type of theatre aesthetics and ideas.[2] And although this approach has been challenged over the last twenty years, primarily because of the significant broadening of the range of performances we term 'theatre', the study of historical audiences is still largely conservative and centred on the socio-materialistic and crowd theory approaches, which I described in Chapter 1. In fact, researchers of historical audiences have far less common ground with each other than contemporary audience scholars do. Historical theatre practices are very diverse, and the desire to demonstrate the difference of a particular theatre audience from contemporary ones and to explicate the nature, publication and preservation of historical evidence often prevail over other methodological considerations. In an attempt to define the objectives of any historical audience researcher, Sauter proposed a set of questions:

> Who saw the performances? This question has for a long time been of primary interest to audience historians, followed by *what* exactly audiences had access to in terms of the repertoire, and then most problematically *how* spectators perceived performances.[3]

Indeed, *how* the spectators perceived the performances is the most important yet the most difficult question to answer. It is this question that turns a passive theatre consumer into an active spectator; it is

[2] On the influence of director's theatre concepts on the research on historical audiences, see Sauter (2013, pp. 172-174); on the problematisation of passive/active spectator and audiences, see e.g. Bennett (1997, p. 9), Freshwater (2009, p.17)

[3] Sauter (2013, p. 182)

where the different points of view appear in the analysis. The perception of the performance is the first step towards an active engagement of the audience with the performers, leading to the communication between audience and performer which changes the experience of the theatrical event. *How* the spectators perceived the performance can be extended to the idea of how the spectators engaged with and influenced the theatrical event. *Who* the audience was and *what* they saw are necessary preliminaries to the broadly defined question of how the audience received and consequently contributed to the event.

This chapter will develop a methodological framework to approach the question of *how* spectators perceived the performances. My goal is to establish a set of tools that we can employ to explore audience engagement in the Games. I will start with approaches to the *who?* question, and after mapping the sources available to identify spectators and the methodology needed to analyse this information, I will continue with the *what?* question and define the performative actions that I include in the experience of the Saecular Games and the ways we can approach them. Finally, I will deal with the *how?* question, to determine which factors influenced spectators' experience of the Games and how they can be accessed through the use of the available historical evidence.

2.1 Who were the spectators of the Games: individuals and the collective

Taking as an example the experience of the football match from Chapter 1, we can see[4] that both the questions of *who* were the spectators and *what* they saw need to be answered first in order to be able to approach the question of *how* those spectators experienced the Games. Whose experience were the the Saecular Games in 17 BC and how we can define the spectators of the Games? The Saecular Games were both a collective audience's and individual spectator's experience, and in this way they were no different to many other forms of theatre.[5] Moreover, the mutual influence of these identities, collective and individual, directly impacted the way in which the experience of the Games was formed and perceived. It is important to be aware that the spectators are involved in two distinctive processes whilst watching the show: one is the process of perception and the other is the process of making meaning of the perceived. Although there is this interrelationship of collective and individual identities, which influence both processes, the actual physical perception is by its nature individual: there is no such thing as collective sense of vision or other collective bodily sensations. Therefore, the perceptive process itself is very individualised. Additionally, certain ways of making meaning of the spectacular experiences, for example through emo-

[4] See p. 37

[5] See Descotes (1964); Gurr (2004); Fagan (2011); Beacham (1999); Bennett (1997); Freshwater (2009); Sauter (2013)

tional response — e.g. crying, shouting, or being silent — or through the triggering of memories of similar lived experiences are also personal. Note, however, that emotion and memory at the same time might contain certain elements which are often regarded or studied as pertaining to the collective, and not the individual. The examples of such collective states are the realms of memory termed as collective, social and cultural memories, which are based not on the lived individual experience, but on taught or transmitted knowledge.[6] Individual emotional response altered by the presence of the crowd is also often viewed as collective by the crowd behaviour analysts.[7] Because of these complicated reciprocal influences, a question of separation of collective and individual spectator prove to be difficult to tackle. Although perception and certain ways of making meaning of the spectacle generally reside in and originate in an individual spectator, the collective side is certainly far more visible and tangible for the purposes of research. However, I see two reasons to put extra effort into a search for the more individuated perspective on spectatorship. Firstly, individuation enables us to uncover new perspectives on the making of meaning of the spectacle and to perceive the shared, collective experience as added to the individual, but not substituting it. For example in the case of building memories, the collective cultural memory is often linked to and transformed by the dominant historical narrative provided by those in power, whereas certain individual expe-

[6]The question of memory is treated below in Chapter 7, for a discussion on collective and individual memories as concepts, see Assmann (2006).

[7]See e.g. Fagan (2011, pp. 81-93)

riences and memories might contradict this narrative.[8] Secondly, the individuation of spectators allow us to access the process of physical perception of the Games, because it is by nature individual. Nevertheless, it is important to underline the constant reciprocal influence of collective and individual. The expression of emotion is personal, but if we transmit the personal to the collective, we might expect feedback from the collective response to the individual. Individual perceptions, behaviours and emotions are directly influenced and modified by the presence of others.

There is every reason to believe that the spectators at such an enormous and collective events as the Saecular Games were also engaged in this looped experience, being both individuals and members of the crowd, part of the collective and separate. Thus, there were likely individual and collective layers to the experience. Though this is an imaginative reconstruction, it seems possible that the intensity of the experience was enhanced beyond that of a contemporary theatre precisely because of the importance placed on the collective during the event: it was a group religious activity, a state and community activity (and thus a political activity) and a sequence of multiple theatrical performances. The individual reaction would to a great extent be modelled in the communal experience, especially in circumstances in which the experience was physically taxing and new. Although many elements of the event process were familiar, the event of the Games

[8] On flexibility of collective memory and plurality of individual experiences, see below, esp. Chapter 4. For discussion on statement of problem, see e.g. Harvey (1979); Atkinson and Cosgrove (1998)

in itself was by its very nature new and unfamiliar, having never been experienced by any member of the audience previously.

Not surprisingly, the idea of collectivity, both as a collective experience of the Games and as way to treat and approach audiences, equally prevails in the ancient sources and in the current (contemporary) research on the audiences and spectatorship. The main source on the Games, the inscription — *Acta*, focuses on the description of a number of collective rituals, from watching chariot racing and theatre performances[9] to attending choir recitals,[10] ritual banquets, and collective prayers.[11] The collective dimension of spectacle audiences has been studied more thoroughly by classicists and theatre scholars than any aspect of the individual dimension of the Ancient Roman spectatorship.[12] Thus, there are two problems related to our understanding of those who experienced the Games: the first is the individuation of the perceivers and of their experiences; and the second is, consequently, finding ways to account for the collective nature of the Games' experiences.

In terms of individuation of spectators, the case of the Saecular Games is further complicated by the nature of the evidence — the

[9] Lines 100, 108, 153-163

[10] Lines 147-149

[11] Lines 123-132 and 138

[12] A concise history and synthesis of contemporary approaches to Roman spectatorship is in Christesen and Kyle (2013, pp. 451-461). The political dimension of the relationship between audience and the rulers, especially during the imperial period, is studied in Veyne (1976); Benoist (2005); Köhne and Jackson (2000); Kyle (2006). The more nuanced technical perspective, dealing with the structure of audiences, is revealed in Slater (1996); Fagan (2011); Beacham (1999); Edmondson (2002); Rawson (1987); Kolendo (1981).

Acta — a document, written from the organisers' perspective on the Games with the explicit purpose of commemorating the events. The nature of the evidence creates a dichotomy between the narrators' sometimes highly individuated organising perspective and the more vague general statements of wider spectatorship and spectators' participation. For example the inscription's narration includes the whereabouts of the 15 men — the *quindecim viri sacris faciundis* — 15 men of priest duties, the members of the collegium responsible for organising the Games. So we can precisely pinpoint, who was in charge of performing each of the sacrifices of the days and nights of the Games, who was present at the meetings during the preparation of the Games, and who opened the circus or theatre performances. The organisers' perspective, although very individualised, is at the same time a far more participatory one than the one experienced by most of other individuals involved in spectating. The representation of collective experience by organisers is often overgeneralised, and hardly includes any account or direct evidence of the perspective of, e.g. dissenting spectators. We have only brief, later literary representations and no diary-type material that could be used to access individual responses.[13] Individuation also represent an additional challenge when searching for religious experiences of the games. Although we can pinpoint the actions and sometimes can deduce the ideas of the people behind the organisation of the games, it is really difficult to approach a specta-

[13]For detailed analysis of the available historical evidence for the Games see Chapter 3. The later literary representations include Suetonius account on the Saecular Games of AD 47, performed under Claudius Suet. Claud. 21 , and thorough account by 5th century historian Zosimus Zos. 2 .

tor/participant in a theatrico-religious activity. Therefore, a methodology of lived religion might help to overcome some of the barriers in search for individuated religious experiences. Lived religion approach, as Rupke describes it: *Instead of inquiring into how individuals reproduce a set of religious practices and the intellectual tenets of a faith, religion is to be reconstructed as everyday experiences, practices, expressions, and interactions these in turn constantly redefine religion as practice, idea, and community.*[14] The individuation of the Saecular Games religious experiences happens through the recognition of frictions and interactions, which influence the participation in the rituals, and through resistance to changes. The individuation problem cannot be entirely solved for the Saecular Games or any other ancient festival, because it is impossible to contact those who experienced the Games and because we rarely have a first hand diary record of a performance, let alone the whole Games. However, establishing methods to individuate spectators, and to be able to access the individuated experience is one of the main challenges of this work. Methodologically, I think that because of the prevalence of collective and the ways the collective and the individual influence each other, the way forward would be to separate the collective nature of the Games as a specific factor in individual's experiences and then try to individuate those who experienced the Games differently as much as the historical evidence allows.

Although we are unable to use such contemporary audience re-

[14] Rüpke (2016)

search methods, as for example, questionnaires, some techniques are still useful to the ancient spectatorship researcher. I start with the collective dimension of spectatorship and in what follows, I seek to build on the success of crowd behaviour approaches to audience studies. Such approaches allow us to develop parameters for the analysis of audiences by researching the *numbers* and various possible or probable political and personal *identities* of those present at the different elements of the event.[15] There are no attendance statistics data for the Saecular Games, but fortunately, the *Acta* meticulously specifies the locations of all the main events of the Games. Provided that the archaeology and architecture of Augustan Rome is relatively well preserved for its age and thoroughly studied, most of the locations of the Games events can be established relatively safely. Moreover, some of the locations of the Games are still accessible to the visitors of Rome, allowing for first hand experience of the Games' spaces.[16] Therefore, we can use spatial analysis of the locations of the various events which, in turn, would establish possible maxima for attendance. The inscription offers precision in the location of various different events at the Games in the city of Rome. Many of these locations, such as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the surrounding area or the *Tarentum* — the open spaces where the night rituals on the banks of Tiber took place — are sufficiently well known as to allow for a reconstruction of their maximum capacity to accommodate spectators. We can

[15] For an overview of the applicability of this approach to the study of spectatorship in antiquity see Fagan (2011, pp. 8-49)

[16] Though, necessary allowances for the change in relief and architecture should be applied to those before analysis.

also analyse the contextual material in an attempt to determine expectations of participation. We can set that information in the context of what is known about expected participation in theatrical and religious events at Rome. Using this data against the context of the data we have for the city's population, though our understanding of the population of Rome is in itself quite limited, we can suggest potential attendance rates. We must also assume that significant numbers of people from outside the city would have come in for the purposes of the Games. We might expect that members of the aristocracy, for instance, would make attendance at the Games a priority and ensure that they were in the city rather than at their villas. One might imagine that others, less wealthy, saw the Games as an opportunity and made their way to the city. The likely total population of the city is a possible figure against which we can assess upper limits on attendance and the likely attendance rates. Such estimates[17] might also allow us to reconstruct the approximate maximum number of representatives by demographic category in Augustan Rome.

Judging by the advertising of the Games as a once in a lifetime opportunity, a show that people around "had never witnessed and never would again";[18] and the organisers' preoccupation with crowd management,[19] the attendance rates at the Saecular Games were likely

[17]See for example the summary of approaches to counting the population of the city of Rome and of the whole state in Hin (2008)

[18]Similar advertising is described in Suet. Claud. 21 and Zos.2.5.1. Similarly, part of the Line 56 of Augustan *Acta* reads as *neque ultra quam semel ulli mo[rtalium eos spectare licet]* — no-one from the mortals is allowed to watch them (the games) more than once.

[19]See Chapter 4, Section 4 for a detailed analysis of organiser's crowd management practices and difficulties.

high. This was not just as a percentage of the population of the city, but as a total number. If we think of a major British sporting event, we might see a crowd of $75\,000,$ in city of $5\,000\,000.$ If we think of political demonstrations, the very largest might attract $750\,000$ people, as in the *Stop the War* demonstrations in 2003, but those vast crowds depended very much on modern transport systems to get the population to the major political centres. It raises the question of what the largest feasible crowd for an event in Rome might be. Even if we assume a near universal desire to attend, many might not be free so to do. Obligations of labour, non-free status, and difficulties of access might all influence a decision to attend.

With due cautiousness, bearing in mind the aforementioned caveat and limitations, below, I will be making some estimates of the likely attendance numbers. Firstly, we already can start to break down the total collective of the Games into smaller spectator groups. The attendance rates varied between different events of the Games. These rates range from several tens of people for specific rituals, such as women–only ritual banquet, the *sellisternia*, to several tens of thousands for big circus or theatre entertainments, and even to hundreds of thousands ($180\,000$ to $200\,000$) for open–air night time performances and principal day–time sacrifices. These are large numbers, even for contemporary cultural or sporting events, such as concerts and museum exhibitions, let alone traditional and festival theatre performances.[20]

[20] A very popular exhibition on classical antiquity in the British museum, which lasts several months has around the same number of visitors, as I estimate for the week long Saecular Games, see Pes (2016).

I suggest that even when compared to modern standards, the influence of the crowd was thus likely to be very high. The behaviour of the crowd and the experience of being in the crowd almost certainly influenced the spectators' actions, physical perceptions and established certain modes by which meaning was made of the Games. I will analyse these numbers and crowd behaviour in Chapters 3 and 5. Crowding not only alters people's behaviour, but also directly influences audibility and visibility and safety conditions of the events, thus directly influencing *how* spectators experienced the Games.

But numbers are not the only factor that contributed to any self–association of the spectators as part of a collective or collectives. Roman society was highly hierarchised and structured, and special attention was paid to the display of these hierarchies during the Games. Studying the carnival, Bakhtin argued that any true festival was associated with a special time of rupture, crisis or break in the time cycle.[21] This rupture was marked by a reversal of the current social order and relationships. Such a break has the potential to lead to an outbreak of political opposition or resistant movements in part because the break in the normal disciplines of social order allows a reassessment and for things to be said and done that in normal times cannot be said and done. One of the key examples is a carnival revolt discussed at length by Ladurie.[22] By contrast, the Saecular Games were developed by Augustus from their original form into a specific and obvious celebration of the relatively newly formed Augustan political regime and the so-

[21] Bakhtin (1984, p. 9)
[22] Ladurie (1980)

cial order that he was attempting to generate.[23] The regime itself can probably be dated back to the constitutional and political reforms of 28-27 BC, though it was relatively recently renewed after Augustus's return from the East. The moral and social system is a more complex issue, being reinforced by the new legislation passed in 19 BC and the following year, but also embedded in the long traditions of Roman moral thought. Those traditions represented a view of what it was to be Roman, a morality of identity, which was being reinforced in the Augustan period. What was being celebrated, then, was not a break in order, but a reinforcement of order. One of the main ways of policing the demonstration of social order were the laws, regulating the admittance to the theatrical performances during the Games. Several laws had been passed since the mid-Republican period to enhance and articulate the class and social differences among the spectators attending public performances, especially in the theatre. First senators in 194 BC and then knights in 67 BC were given the privilege of occupying reserved seats in the theatre, placed in front of all other seats.[24] Augustus was particularly preoccupied with the display of social status and its promotion during public festivals, and further developed this system, by passing the so-called Julian theatre law (*Lex Iulia theatralis*).[25] This law established a complicated arrangement of special

[23]Design of the Saecular Games will be treated in Chapters 3 and 4. For an overview of hierarchies and performance of social identities at the Saecular Games see e.g. Fowler (1910); Galinsky (1998); Putnam (2008).

[24]The so-called *Lex Roscia* of 67 BC is well documented, see e.g. Cic. Mur. 19.17, and analysed by Pociña Pérez (1976) and Rawson (1987). Our source on the law of 194 BC is mainly Livy. 34.54, for analysis see von Ungern-Sternberg (1975).

[25]The main known description of the law is in Suetonius. Aug. 44.

reserved seating for different classes of Roman society.[26]

Moreover, in addition to admittance to the performances, the *Acta* suggest that participation and spectatorship in the rituals was equally subject to government regulations. The inscription identifies individuals and certain groups of attendants as having specific roles, which are thus performed through the event. Some members of the Augustan aristocracy are mentioned by name, e.g. Messala Messalinus or Marcus Agrippa.[27] This identification represents a political and social hierarchy in which the leading individuals in the state have specific and named roles. There is also identification by social status, e.g. *liberi* — free citizens; by gender, e.g. *mulieres* — women;[28] by age, e.g. *pueri* — boys.[29] Such identifications designate some of the major structural distinctions of Roman society. The free are represented as against the servile, women as against men. This emphasis and its contextualisation in fact dramatise the particularly important distinctions at this event and ignore other possible distinctions. There is no distinction by social order (equestrians, senators or the like). There is no mention of foreigners in the city. There is no distinction by social region. *Matronae* are seen as an important social group, but are they defined against women who have less obvious respect or enjoy less status? One could also have divided the city as in an assembly. One could feasibly (though this does not happen in Rome) have organised

[26] On hierarchisation of spectatorship and spectators' performance of social identities see e.g. Rawson (1987); Edmondson (2002); Kolendo (1981); Bollinger (1969)

[27] Line 150

[28] Line 71

[29] Line 147

the workers of the city into their collegia as was done at Ephesus in the processions established in the second century AD. There is some organisation by profession with the trumpeters — *aenatores*, but that is likely due to their function in the events.

The *Acta* employed broad identifications to differentiate the crowd. These established a useful pool of smaller groups and collective identities, which will be used to differentiate and subsequently individuate the spectators. These distinctions are based on gender, social status and roles, professions, and age. However, we have to admit, that because of the specific commemorational purpose for which the *Acta* were created, and the dominant organisers' perspective, this differentiation is necessarily incomplete and reductive. But with the exception of the named participants and particular functionaries, these groups were relatively big and broadly defined. In practice, there must have been an identification of particular elite groups: the *matronae* and the boys and girls were very likely to have been drawn from elite families, but they were seen as representative of the wider status group (the chosen *matronae* representing all Roman *matronae* and possibly all Roman women; the children representing all Roman children). The impression given in the *Acta* is that there was limited effort to divide the population into sub-groups for the purposes of the event. Of course, a person's identity is not exclusively defined by group membership and the social experience of members of some social categories (gender groups, for instance) may have been less uniform than experiences of other overlapping groups (the poor, for instance). The political or-

ganisation of populations tends to be reductive, focusing on particular aspects of a person's social role.

So how do we approach these differences? Are there any ways to pinpoint these multiple individual identities and reach more individuated portraits of spectators? This is a far more complex process than just accounting for the reductive distinctions mentioned in the inscription. One of the means of individuation would be to try and identify sub-groups and trace their interrelationship so as to build a speculative model of the variety of possible experiences, and therefore perspectives on the Games.

As an example of such individuation, we could analyse the *caelibes*, who are a particularly interesting case. Identified and punished by the recent marriage legislation, their exclusion from attending theatre could be read as a practical exclusion from some of the benefits of membership of the Roman political community. The lift of the attendance ban and their last-minute inclusion in the Games celebration may be seen as a restoration of their civic status, but one has to wonder whether their incorporation into the larger category was imperfect, and whether they remained socially identified as *caelibes* when in the larger group; this is an issue that will discussed in Chapters 3 and 5. As a consequence both of their initial exclusion and their later inclusion, their responses to the event were likely changed. What the example provides us with is a sense that the responses of the audience were likely varied, not just by the categories represented in the inscription, but through pre-existing social markers and identities of various forms.

Many of these sub-categories are not attested within our documentation. This absence of evidence limits what can be said about them and their experiences. We thus cannot precisely map many of the experiences of individuals of different social groups. Our aim, though, is in part to fragment the near unity of experience that is reflected in our sources and open the possibility of varied experiences. This aim can only be achieved through imaginative reconstruction and being conscious of the varying factors that would likely have affected audience responses.

Another possible way to differentiate a group of spectators lies in the analysis of their involvement with the Games' action. A certain instability in performative roles is characteristic of festivals and generally of many forms of pre-modern theatre. In the Saecular Games, the roles of spectator and performer were flexible.[30] Some of the spectators changed so as to become performers during the course of the Games: e.g. boys and girls being involved as performers in choir recitals of the Saecular Hymn and as part of the festive procession may also have experienced theatre performances and sacrifices as spectators. They could shift from being part of one crowd (the choir) and differentiated from the larger group(s), to being part of those larger group(s).

The relationship between spectator and performer at the Saecular Games was complicated. In many instances, the majority of the

[30] For an illustrative example of spectators becoming performers in other forms of pre-modern theatre, specifically medieval liturgical drama, see Wiles (2003, pp. 174-175), Sauter (2013, p. 178)

population took the role of observers, though not necessarily passively so. But at other events the level of engagement and individual activity was higher. This is particularly obvious in the purificatory rites. Free citizens received ingredients from officials in a solemn festival context, and probably in an extended collective experience of gathering and queuing. They played a part whilst they received the ingredients for purification from the officials, but this part became greater when the rituals came to be performed in a domestic setting. As a consequence, a measure of the separation between performer and audience was broken down since, at least in this ritual, all were performers together.

Both theatre scholars and classicists have recently become interested in this shifting of roles, to which they have applied the term *agency*.[31] The degree of involvement in the ritual or performance, the *agency*, influences both what a particular group or individual spectators saw, including which points of view they had, but more importantly, the way they could make meaning of the events. For example, the boys and girls in the choir knew the words of the Saecular Hymn in advance, but those witnessing the performance had to rely on their hearing abilities to understand the hymn. The 15 men were the officials performing the sacrifices, thus being able if not to experience the ritual themselves, holding the knife and reciting the prayer, then

[31] Scholars of Roman religion discuss agency in sacrifices and the relationship between divine and human agency in religion inRüpke (2015); Scheid and Ando (2015); Pearson seeks to understand contemporary performance practices in terms of agency in Pearson and Shanks (2005); Sauter discusses the differentiated relationship between spectators and performers of medieval liturgical drama in Sauter (2013).

always to see everything happening close-up, whilst for the majority of the spectators the view of the actual sacrifice would be impeded by surrounding crowds. The 110 selected matrons may have experienced the sacrifice to Juno differently from the rest of the Games, as they had to kneel and carefully listen to Agrippa, leading prayer in order to start their own choir part in time. Thus, establishing the degree and means of involvement of the audiences is also a way to further individuate spectators' experiences.

This shifting relationship between spectator and audience member also depends on context. In some cases, the boundary between performer and audience is fuzzy, especially if the audience is also expected to perform within an event. The potential for the audience to affect the event is somewhat enhanced, even if the role of the audience has been scripted carefully. In instances where the audience is expected to receive the performance passively, small levels of participation can become important because they are transgressive. In mass participation events, transgression may be much more difficult, since the collective influences experiences and behaviours more directly. In some cases, the shift of performer/spectator identity does not happen easily, and, because the distinction is sharper, the transgression of spectator/performer boundary is not always possible. One such case is theatre performances. Spectators and performers were clearly differentiated and separated during the daytime theatre performances which formed part of the Games.[32] In Rome, the status of the

[32]A more detailed account on the status of spectators and performers during the Games is given in Chapter 5. Night–time performances and other entertainment,

performer, the actor or the gladiator, was problematic even outside the theatrical environment. Gladiators were of servile status and could be seen as transgressive. Their relationship to death may have affected their social roles and behaviours. Actors are a more complex case, but they appear, for whatever reason, to have been socially marginal and regarded with considerable suspicion. As a result, it was difficult for actors to assimilate fully with other social groups. This separation was reflected in law. Actors could not contract marriages with members of the upper classes (senators and often knights), could not join the army and had restrictions regarding their inheritance and property transactions rights.[33] However, it is debatable how permanent the status of actor was and and whether these reductions in rights originated from the sacred and prestigious nature of actors' job, as it was the case with certain reduction of rights applicable to members of priests' collegia, or were a sign of marginalised social strata, as for example was the case for prostitutes.[34] Nevertheless, the social division between actor and audience did not mean that the relationship between actor and audience was necessarily 'modern'. The audience in Roman theatre did participate in performances and use the theatre performance as a means of expressing views which may not have been directly related

including circus racing events, constitute a more difficult case than day–time theatre performances.

[33]For a controversial status of actors and other performance professionals in Rome see e.g. Dupont (1985); Trubotchkin (2005); Easterling and Hall (2002); Csapo (2010); Ricci (2006)

[34]The main examples used in these debates, are membership in the top classes of Roman society, knights and senators, as well as marriage and property rights. On the legal status of actors in Roman society see e.g. Hugoniot et al. (2004); Gardner (1993); Nicolet (1984); Levick (1983).

to the performance itself.[35] Actors received acclaim, and in the imperial period especially transgressed social boundaries so as to join with the retinues of emperors. Emperors and members of the elite could, in certain circumstances, also appear on the stage.[36] Boundaries existed, but could be crossed.

In religious performances, such as sacrifices, prayers, choral recitals, preparatory purification rituals and ritual banquets, the relationships between actors and audiences were more close and complex. The performers, the priests and their attendants were distinct from each other and all formed part of the hierarchy of Roman society. But the rituals were often performed on behalf of the Roman people, and as a consequence the Roman people's presence in the ritual was at least partially assumed. In the case of the major public rituals and large–scale sacrifices, as were envisaged as part of the Saecular Games, then one would assume the presence of a large audience, representing the Roman people. The ritual both divided performers from audience and united them as being part of the same social body performing before the gods. One might assume that the same fluidity of separation and unity was carried over into the theatrical elements of the Games, which were also a form of offering to the gods.

Thus, the spectators and performers are more clearly defined

[35]On theatre and festivals as place for political action see e.g. Cic. Sest. 49-55; Suet.Iul. 79-80; Aug. 40, Suet. Ner. 39 . On political meaning and allusions, as well as behaviour representing dissent in the theatre audiences in later, imperial theatre, see classical work of Bartsch (1994, esp. pp. 63-98).

[36]Nero being the most famous example however, the topic of elite participation in the performances was frequently encountered and highly debated, see e.g. Suet. Iul. 39; Suet. Aug. 43 .

in the case of theatre performances than they are in the case of religious and para-religious rituals. However, the articulated difference between spectators and participants as well as the hierarchised nature of spectators' admission and distribution of places in the theatre makes these events of the Games more accessible to the standard arsenal of theatre studies methods of audience research, such as work on the social stratification of Roman audiences and application of social identity theory methods to it. It also helps to establish clearly which groups had access to different theatrical events. For example, women were excluded from watching some theatre performances, because of the supposed indecency of the latter.[37] Restricted access and the necessity to contest the possibility of accessing the theatre performances for *caelibes* greatly differentiated the experience of theatre spectators.

Lastly, the Games were designed for the Roman citizens to spectate. Thus, their involvement is far more visible than that of slaves, foreigners, freedmen/women, whose participation is not clear for many aspects of the festival. Nevertheless, they could most likely witness or even actively spectate events such as processions, some theatre and circus shows, or even the different rituals being performed. They would certainly be exposed to sensory elements of the Games, such as the smoke of sacrificial fires or light from night time performance spaces. Moreover, slaves, freedmen/women, foreigners and women did not represented homogeneous entities. Roman hierarchy and so-

[37] According to our knowledge of *Lex Iulia theatralis*, which also forbade women from attending some theatrical performances Suet. Aug. 44 .

cial stratification was also part of construction of these communities.

The *matronae* and Vestal virgins had privileged access to shows and often separate seating; they also conducted their own rituals. Moreover, foreign ambassadors sometimes were allowed to sit beside the senators; and state slaves were sometimes seated near magistrates in the theatre, i.e. were treated more as civil servants than as slaves.

The Games offered collective and individual experience of spectatorship, and therefore it is important to follow carefully any possibility of accounting for both of those statuses. Evidence on the Games allows us glimpses into the social composition of the collective audience, as well as possible innuendos and traces useful for identification of marginal sub-groups or sub-groups of unrest and dissent. The locations of the Games, coupled with our knowledge of archaeology and insights into Roman demography allows us to reconstruct the numbers of the spectators, and therefore some of the crowding conditions. The fluidity of the spectators' and performers' status, as well as the notion of agency in the religious rituals and other activities allows us to differentiate the audiences in terms of access to different parts of the Games as well as trace the ways in which participation influenced their experiences. Finally, in very rare cases, we can trace the individual participation and spectatorship patterns of the Games' organisers, and therefore approach an atypical, but highly individuated account of the experience of the Games.

2.2 What spectators saw: the events of the Games

The question of *what* spectators saw at the Games is perhaps the most difficult one. It is in naming and finding terminology to describe ancient Roman spectacle culture that both Classicists and theatre historians struggle. Therefore it is very important, both methodologically and practically, to clearly define *what* I term "the Saecular Games."

As I have shown in the Chapter 1, the research on the content of the Games followed different routes in classics, archaeology and theatre studies. In a way some classicists and most archaeologists generally followed the patterns established by the early Christian authors writing about Roman spectacle culture, such as Tertullianus and Novatianus.[38] These early Christian authors termed Roman spectacles according to the specific type of performance space at which they used to be performed at. Classicists and archaeologists followed, and a growing amount of specific literature on performance spaces, and consequently on the most frequent performance type in this space emerged.

Generally speaking, these shows could be divided into theatre performances, which happened in theatres;[39] chariot racing, which were conducted in circus;[40] and gladiatorial combats, which usually

[38]Both wrote the treaties called De Spectaculis , i.e. On the Shows or On Spectacles.
[39]Bieber (1939); Beare (1955); Beacham (1999)
[40]Humphrey (1986); Nelis-Clément and Roddaz (2008)

happened in the amphitheatres.[41] However, this distinction is not very suitable for this work. Firstly, it is not particularly useful for the Augustan period, when so many spectacles did not have a permanent performance space. Secondly, the focus on the performance space tells little about the variety of shows that were performed in these spaces. For example, the gladiatorial combats were performed all over the city, including the *Saepta* and the forum; the circus hosted not only chariot racing, but the Trojan Games and horse riding acrobats; and theatres were performance spaces for staged executions.[42] Thirdly, this approach does not normally account for a variety of shows put on in temporary structures: wooden stages and enclosures, wooden amphitheatres, artificial ponds and simply open air performances in a variety of open spaces in the city. Thus, the type of the performance, access to it and other qualities are not always determined by the performance space. This architecture–based methodology offers a somewhat reductive view of the range of Roman spectacles on offer, and at the same time artificially separates similar shows, based on their performance space.

A logical way to overcome the reductiveness of the previous approach would be to focus on the different genres of shows that were on offer in Ancient Rome. Some classicists and theatre studies scholars indeed chose this way to account for Roman *spectacula* repertoire. Generally, these genre definitions broadly follow the Romans' own designation of spectacles and divide the shows into *ludi circenses* —

[41] Welch (2007); Ville (1981)

[42] For a range of spectacles and displays, see e.g. Suet. Aug. 40-44

chariot and horse riding competitions; *ludi scaenici* — theatre performances, which also included dance and musical performances; and *munera* — anything related to individual and group gladiatorial combat shows. Although this distinction is more deeply based into Rome's own spectacle culture, it is still very problematic to use. It is true that primarily this terminology is used in the epigraphic evidence. However, *ludi* is polysemic term, and was used differently during the republican and the imperial times, when some of the distinctions between different types of entertainment were erased. Moreover, the term *ludi* specifies only the range of the performances, but also includes some other parts, rituals and often banquets not often named or specified in our sources coherently. Thus, it is not a genre definition per se, but technical umbrella term for certain types of festivals, which included several different elements. It is however, much more closely connected to Rome's own use of terms and thus a more genuine way to specify the Roman *spectacula*. As I have shown in Chapter 1, the term *ludi* is indeed the principal way to characterise the festival, where Romans encounter the spectacles.

Finally, another approach is needed to quantify fully the nature of Roman *spectacula*. Another way to determine what the Roman spectacle culture was is to assume that agonistic and show elements coexisted in Roman culture, and therefore it was possible to view the events like gladiatorial combats and chariot racing not only as sport (a competition in human force), but also as shows and spectacles.[43]

[43] See e.g Kyle (2006); Christesen and Kyle (2013)

This approach generally excludes theatre from its scope, but instead transfers the combat sports and the chariot racing from the realm of sport to the realm of theatre. Thus, it removes the opposition, rooted in modern practice, between art and competition. A notable exception to all these approaches is the work of Beacham,[44] who coined the term *spectacle entertainment*, which included all sport, theatre and even less defined spectacles, such as mock triumphs and banquets. It is, in a way, similar to the ancient historians', particularly Suetonius', approach to *spectacula*, which sought to include the most unusual and innovative performance practices in his account of a particular emperor's attitudes towards shows.

The problem with all of these approaches is that they are either unnecessarily restrictive, or, on the contrary, too broadly scoped for my work. As I am seeking to approach the spectator's perspective, it is important for me to be as close as possible to the Romans' own ideas on the ways the *spectacula* were organised. Seeing the genres of *spectacula* as separate elements from the religious rituals and other customs surrounding the games is alien to the nature of festivals in Roman culture. The religious festivals, the various *ludi* organised yearly, or much more rarely the Saecular Games were nearly the only occasion to see all the variety of different performances and sports.[45] Therefore the principal focus of my research is the composition of the whole *ludi*.

[44] Beacham (1999)

[45] The gladiatorial combats were sometimes an exception at the time of the republic, since they were performed on separate occasions. The one-off games to celebrate a significant military victory or a release from a difficult situation, such as famine or fire were also customary as repeated events.

There is significant evidence that most of the shows and religious rituals did not overlap. Thus, the spectators saw a coherent programme, which included different shows and rituals in a particular order. Essentially, although unified, the Games' programme could be divided into the preparatory phase, where mostly only rituals and rehearsals of performances happened; the official Games, which were focused on the rituals, prayers and banquets, but also included several performances and sport events; and finally an additional week of a more condensed and varied programme of spectacles, which included theatre shows as well as combat and horse riding sports.

Of course, many rituals and performances from the schedule, such as sacrifices, preparatory rituals, theatre performances, and *sellisternii* were quite traditional and a common part of many other, more regular, festivals. However, it is in the combination of the events of the Games, that the uniqueness of what spectators saw appears. This schedule created an organised progression from one place in the city to another, and this progression in turn structured *what* spectators actually saw. Thus, although despite certain difficulties we can artificially separate different performances, shows, rituals and sports, this separation is not particularly useful for our purposes. It is in the coherence of these entertainments and spectacles that the principal answer to *what* spectators saw lies. It is not a repertoire, but a programme, a progression, a journey.

2.3 How spectators saw the programme of the Games: time and space in the Saecular Games

Organisers prepared this journey for the spectators, and it is important to see the mechanisms which enabled the spectators to perceive this progression. This section will engage with the methodologies, that allow us to connect the organisers' scheduling of the Games with its perception by spectators, through the theorisation of the Games' space and time. The Games were a dramatisation of the times and spaces of Rome. The passing of time was a key theme within the Games and gave the Games a historical resonance. The Games also took place within a controlled and heavily symbolic space within the city of Rome. The experience of the Games is likely to have been affected by the resonances of time and space which were highlighted in the elaborate scheduling and staging of the Games across the city.

As Ozouf was perhaps the first to demonstrate in her study of French revolutionary festivals,[46] a scheduling of festive events can lead to the construction of a new and special time that inflects and is affected by the understanding of city space. This space–time construct is contextualised by the organisers in relationship to both the time and space of everyday life and the space and time of traditional festivals.

The Saecular Games similarly broke from the everyday and of-

[46] See Ozouf and Sheridan (1991, Chapters 6 and 7)

fered a time out of the disciplines of normality. The temporality of the festival operated to make a contrast with the everyday. It was also a festival about the passing of time and was thus obviously a representation of historical time into which the Augustan regime inserted itself and its interpretations of history. The history of Rome was present in the contemporary moment, both in a reflection of an engagement with the difficult and bloody history of the *saeculum* that was coming to an end and of the longer history of ages of Rome, which we see represented in a work such as Livy's history. Furthermore, we may say that ages to come were represented in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* which may be thought to be optimistic about Rome's future. The historical narratives may be seen as a powerful and normative influence on the reception of the Games, establishing a claim to a historical destiny and experience common to all Romans. It is a representation of time that can be explored through a close analysis of Horace's *Carmen* especially and the ideological associations of the Games.[47]

The Games were also spatial. They took place in a Rome which had changed over the period since the last iteration of the event, developing a greater urban complexity. The Augustan regime was also responsible for a change in the fabric of the city of Rome, which would play out in the mechanisms and spatial processing of the Games.

The places, then, could also represent shifts in time and power in Roman society. This consciousness of shifts in time and place was enhanced since the Games operated within traditional locations, such as

[47] See Chapter 4.

location of worship of the underworld gods on the banks of the Tiber, where one might expect there to be a closer association in the minds of the spectators with the ritual of times past. But it also took place in new spaces, notably on the Palatine. Thus, not only were times mixed, but places were mixed too, and the processional nature of the events conjoined those different spaces.[48] The spectators' reaction to the Games requires an engagement with festive time and the production and understanding of space within the city, especially in the context of the spatial progression of the festival through the monumental and other spaces of Rome.

To explore this spatial–temporal conjunction, I intend to employ methodologies drawn from spatial theory. In particular, there is extensive literature with a focus on walking though the city. The twentieth century saw a development in theories of space, all of which originated in the study of modern cities and contemporary societies. Nevertheless, many of these theories, concepts and ideas have universal value and might be suitable for our purposes.

The idea of studying the urban practice — experience of the city in the everyday — emerged in 19th-century France with the literary and philosophical concept of the *flâneur*. A *flâneur* was a solitary urban walker who experienced city space through free and unpredictable wandering. Developed in the poetry of Baudelaire and later studied by Walter Benjamin,[49] this literary–social experience introduced a new

[48] This question will be treated in details in the Chapter 4.
[49] Benjamin and Jennings (2006)

relationship between city space and its inhabitants. Later appropriated by the situationists, this relationship of the walking individual to the city was the basis for the theories of psycho–geography and associated literary and performance practices.[50] At the same time the idea caught the attention of philosophers, who developed and studied the notion of the everyday. One of them, Michel de Certeau, in his book *Practice of everyday life*, developed a theory for understanding urban walking practice. The famous essay is entitled *Walking through the city*. The text begins rather paradoxically with the stating of a spectator's experience of the city, produced through a bird's eye view of Manhattan from a skyscraper building nearby. De Certeau juxtaposes this experience with a spatial practice of walking. The aerial view "transforms the bewitching world by which one was 'possessed' into a text that lies before one's eyes",[51] creating the illusion of knowledge. The walking practice is a completely different experience: the individuals are "walkers <...>, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' without being able to read it".[52] De Certeau argues that by tracing the paths of walkers the action itself disappears and is substituted by a visible trace of it. This trace is legible, but "causes a way of being in the world to be forgotten". The individual thus has two ways to experience the city: the creative, but unplanned walking, and the illusive totalising spectator's contemplation.

De Certeau further elaborates on the desire to "be a solar eye,

[50] See e.g. Debord (1970); Whybrow (2014); Soja (1996).
[51] de Certeau (2011, p. 93)
[52] de Certeau (2011, p. 93)

looking down like a god".[53] It is a way to theorise, read and map the city, which results in the development of a *concept* of a city that began to establish itself from the Renaissance. For de Certeau the concept–city produces its own dominant spaces, which "repress all the physical, mental and political pollutions that would compromise it".[54] The concept–city is also active in the dimension of time, since it substitutes "the synchronic system" by knowledge, traditions and future projecting strategies. Finally, the concept–city is itself a "universal and anonymous subject" in a relationship with an individual.

Walking practices are opposed to the domination of the concept–city in which architecture is experienced in fixity as a scene set before the viewer or as a topographical representation of the order of society. For de Certeau, the act of walking is a re-appropriation of the space for the individual. Walking is a highly irregular, but meaningful, experience, creating in its kinetics a different experience and memory of the city than would be created through a visual–only experience. The experience remains, nevertheless, textual in de Certeau's view. Any place becomes part of an urban text, and the action of naming or using names in conjunction with walking practices creates walking rhetorics. The use of walking practice as resistance to the concept–city is difficult in part because walking still turns the city into text. But the physicality of the experience renders it individual and subjective. Further, the experience of walking generates contact: a contact with the environment, but also a contact with other people inhabiting that

[53] de Certeau (2011, p. 92)
[54] de Certeau (2011, p. 94)

environment. Such contacts are not architectural, but lie within a maelstrom of varied encounters and experiences.

De Certeau's views on spatial practices rely on the tension between subjective space created by individual walking practices and the conceptualised, regulated and repressive space of a concept–city. The space is viewed as text, created by accumulation of the individual movements. The idea of a subjective, individual experience of space, centred on *who* rather than *where* is an attractive concept by which to analyse the experience of the Saecular Games. We can imagine the experiences of the city within their physicality, but also within the conjunction with the crowd and all that might happen in the disordered environment of the crowd. However, the theories developed in this experience of walking are those of the free (and wealthy) individual able to explore the city at leisure. Such freedoms might be part of the culture of carnival in which it is precisely the uncontrolled and unidentified (supposed) encounter which gives a frisson to the event, but do not obviously seem to have been part of the Augustan festival. That festival is heavily prescribed with a list of events, timings and places, but also in the experience of the crowd, which is so central an element in the experience of the Augustan festival, but from which the flâneur in his or her splendid isolation is remote.[55]

De Certeau traced the birth of a concept–city back to Renaissance painters and Enlightenment philosophers preoccupied with the

[55] On the incongruities of ancient Roman walking practices and flâneur experience, see O'Sullivan (2011)

growth of the city and the need to manage a diverse population. However, the idea of the dominant conception of reading urban space can be traced to some extent back to Augustan Rome.[56] Rome was an unusually big city and those in power in Rome faced the same problems as those in charge of modern cities, making sense of the potentially chaotic environment and generating an urban community in a mass city. Augustan redevelopment of the city loaded it with a readable symbolism associated with his power.[57] The rebuilding of the key religious areas, such as e.g. construction of the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer (Juppiter Tonans) on the ancient sacred place of the Capitoline hill, the introduction of the new sacred places, such as the complex of buildings of Temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, the commemoration of his deeds in the form of inscriptions displayed in the prominent places in the city, such as his rendering of his life's achievements, the *Res Gestae* displayed near the Mausoleum of Augustus, but also the *Acta*, commemorative inscription of the Saecular Games — all these contributed to the creation of the concept–city of Rome.

An itinerary through this festive city was offered by organisers of the Games, and thus it was the organisers' work to create a new, special festive space.

De Certeau's theory offers a perspective on the dramatisation of

[56] However it is a topic of continuous academic debate, on reading Roman space see Zanker (1990); Edwards (1996); Favro (2014); Larmour and Spencer (2007); Leach (1988); Sears et al. (2013)

[57] On coherence of Augustan symbolism and strategies employed to make this coherence perceptible, see e.g. Wallace-Hadrill (2008); Favro (1998); Galinsky (1998); Jenkyns (2014).

the space — walker relationship. It creates a framework for discussion of this relationship, as well as the key notions for it: the additional meaning which the difference of walking experience and bird's-eye view creates in the walks and journeys, the characteristics of space, which contributes to the new realities of walking, and the elusive qualities of walking, which nevertheless create memories and engage with the memory of walkers. However, even though the principles of walking experience are useful to understand the importance of the spatial in the festival experience, the solitude of the walker is an impediment to fully engaging with this theory whilst discussing the Saecular Games' experience. Moreover, the almost textual and clearly metaphorical dichotomy of the relationship between the walker and the concept–city does not allow a construction of nuanced spectator's experience around these concepts.

Though, Henri Lefebvre's discussion of the production of space is built on the bolder considerations of space and society and sought to explore the relationship between social forms and spatial arrangements. His work problematises the relationship between the concept–city (the city of design), the city of the everyday, and the city of art and experience. These different elements of the spatial experience and the way in which space itself is productive of society mean that we cannot focus our analysis of space on one single element in the spatial (the concept–city) without regard to the city of the everyday. For Lefebvre, space is always more than the artistic and architectural codes monumentalised in the buildings: space is more than text.

What we can see in the organisation of the Saecular Games is a dramatic experience of Rome that is in many ways textual: it takes place against a schedule and locations prepared by organisers and endowed with coded meanings.[58]

Lefebvre developed a philosophy of understanding the space — "a science of space".[59] Let us examine more closely the process of the *production of space*. Space is produced in each society, and therefore must be different in every society.[60] For Lefebvre,

> If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The 'object' of interest must be expected to shift from things in space to the actual production of space.

The Augustan building and renovation programme is often regarded as unifying Rome and providing a coherent narrative, centred on Augustus himself, and therefore providing a conceived space narrative.[61]

[58] Lefebvre's theory inspired both theatre historians and classical archaeologists to approach ancient spaces. For example see Wiles (2003) on the history of performance spaces of Western theatre cultures, and Laurence (2002, 2010) on the spaces of Roman Pompeii and the production of space in geography of Roman roads.

[59] Lefebvre (1991, p. 7)

[60] Lefebvre himself discusses ancient Rome and its production of space in his work Lefebvre (2013, 1991). However, he is not interested in the developed analysis of production of space in a particular period of Roman history, but instead, he uses Rome as illustrative example for his theoretical concepts. Thus, this analysis is reductionist, and only seconds the theory, without being rooted in the material base of the particular period evidence. Therefore, I will stick to the rendering of Lefebvre's general theory of production of space and would not necessarily use or agree with his own observations on the space of Ancient Rome.

[61] Ideas of unified urban architectural image appear in e.g. Favro (1998), Leach

But even if we accept that there were other elements in the ancient understanding of space and the way in which Romans lived in their city which were as influential as the Augustan remodelling of the city and the imposition of these coded meanings, it is not obvious how we get beyond the code to the everyday experience of the city. One important characteristic of the production of space in Lefebvre's analysis is that much of it is predominantly expressed non-verbally, though this space could be theorised and explained through words. Here, the theories of de Certeau's walkers following the city–space and Lefebvre's production of space converge: the experience of space is accessed through the interactions of the space with the senses of the human body, experiencing the space. Although one might expect that this emphasis on the bodily would produce diversity in the experience of the spatial and thus allow the possibility of accessing different ways of understanding space and consequently the Saecular Games, there are significant issues in the understanding of the relationship between society and the senses. In particular, it seems likely that the sensory is also culturally specific and thus can be manipulated and managed by political powers. The sensory experience may reinforce collective experience rather than establish a diversity of experience of a particular event. If this is true, the sensory elements of the Games could be understood as generating collective identity rather than individuated experience. An emphasis on the body may be a means of getting at

(1988); improved and coherent city administration and construction of movement patterns in Severy-Hoven (2007); Wallace-Hadrill (2008); Ostenberg and Malmberg (2015); literary and imaginative artistic representations of Augustan Rome in Jaeger (1997); Edwards (1996); Larmour and Spencer (2007).

the everyday and beyond the coded meanings of space, but the body can also be understood as a social product and less of a source of social differentiation than social collectivity.

Lefebvre cites Marx in emphasising the role of the senses in the process of making meaning: “Marx, <...> , called in the Manuscripts of 1844 for the senses to become theoreticians in their own right”.[62] Thus, the bodily experience of space through the senses becomes one of the suitable ways to access non-verbal, hidden lived space.

Lefebvre also used the language of the human body to explain the ways a social space is produced, claiming that the body is the first produced space. This note of Lefebvre is particularly important, because it offers insights into ways to access the meaning generated by the sensory perception. Lefebvre emphasises that the body is also socially produced, and thus sensory perceptions and making meanings of bodily experiences are culturally dependant: “As the relationship to the space of a ‘subject’ who is a member of a group or society implies his relationship to his own body and vice versa”.[63] Consequently, as the notion of space and the way in which space is produced in different societies differs, so the understanding of the body is also different in each society, but within a society there is likely to be a high degree of commonality. The Lefebvre idea of space is realised, produced and therefore experienced on three levels, with the various degrees of communality on each level. Lefebvre defined the most common

[62] Lefebvre (1991, pp. 399-400)
[63] Lefebvre (1991, p. 40)

space as perceived space, i.e. the "particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation".[64] The perceived space can be also defined as spatial practice, the basic notions of space in a relationship with the characteristics of their users. This space is specific to Augustan society, but at the same time is shared by almost all of the members of the society. As we have seen, the city created before and for the Games, similar to the concept–city of de Certeau, the city bearing all the weight of the organisers concepts, meanings and symbols, would be according to Lefebvre a conceived space. Lefebvre defined *espace conçu* or conceived space as "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent".[65] He underlines that all of these creators of space "identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived".[66] It is important to bear this in mind, when analysing the evidence on the Games, since it always will be a representation of the conceived space, and therefore will always reflect the organisers' point of view. Finally, de Certeau's walking practice and Lefebvre's space theory meet each other in the notion of the lived space,[67] experienced through the body and bearing additional and often different and hidden meanings. Experience of space is where the Sauter's, what spectators saw, is linked with how the spectators perceived the Games. The scheduled activities and journey between them in the conceived space and concept–city, experienced through

[64] Lefebvre (1991, p. 33)
[65] Lefebvre (1991, p. 38)
[66] Lefebvre (1991, p. 38)
[67] Lefebvre (1991, p. 38)

the bodies of the spectators forms the spectators' experience. But how we can approach this experience?

2.4 How spectators experienced the Games: individual and collective facets of the sensory experience of the Games

How can we access these first spaces, the bodies of the spectators, which experienced the Games? When we discussed the ways in which we can individuate the spectators, we approached the idea of agency, which makes the spectators' experiences differ. Indeed, sensory experience likely varied among those present at the Games. Not all the spectators were in similar positions and people would experience the elements of the event from subtly different locations. These differences could lead to different sensory experiences. For example, a person performing a sacrifice, singing a hymn, or standing in the crowd would likely to have differing sensory experiences of the ritual, because of the different sensory perspectives available for their bodies. Those performing the sacrifice would touch the sacrificial animal; those singing, would hear different sounds and make adjustments to their voices; those standing in the crowds would feel other bodies around them. But, although differentiating sensory perspective is in itself important to determine *how* spectators perceived the Games, it is the ways the spectators made meaning of these perceptions that

is important. Sensory experiences are culturally specific and it is difficult to reconstruct the cultural modes of a past civilisation (though Roman literature offers insights into the Roman sensory experience). Hamilakis in his book *Archaeology and the Senses*[68] discusses these problems. He argues that not only the senses as perceptions are important, but the ways different cultures theorise sensory experiences, and produce different hierarchies of the senses and paradigms of a sensory experience is crucial. For example, contemporary Western European society could be characterised in terms of sensory experiences' paradigms as policing and strictly controlling the use of the senses and at the same time by "desire for sensorial stimulation and strong experiential effects".[69] Contemporary society also employs a hierarchy of the senses that gives a predominant role to vision and hearing, and makes them overshadow all other senses. However, sensory archaeology offers the ways to rediscover the past sensory experiences paradigm through research of material objects. The starting point for this method is linking the physical characteristics of a material object with the physical sensorial responses they generated. For example, the shape and colour of a vessel generate a visual response, the smoothness or roughness are tactile characteristics, the material and the contents of a vessel produced an impact on the sense of smell, varying in strength and composition. However, the physical response itself does not provide sufficient information to understand the experience, because a contemporary archaeologist cannot deter-

[68] Hamilakis (2014, pp. 1-24)
[69] Hamilakis (2014, p. 56)

mine "whether the soft or rough surface of a pot felt, when touched, the same to a human being in Neolithic times as it feels to a researcher or a museum visitor today",[70] he therefore cannot transpose his own sensory experience onto a different culture. Hamilakis argued that not only the characteristics of the object, but the attitude of the society towards the senses and sensory experience generate the experience. Thus, the use of the object should be placed in a social context and the knowledge, ideology and symbolism associated with the use of senses — "sensorial regime"[71] as Hamilakis called it — in a particular society should be investigated. Ultimately, because it is not possible to access a particular experience directly, the archaeologist must determine a range of a sensory experiences with possible social and symbolic meanings, feelings and associated memories.

The ways to reconstruct those sensoriums[72] and respective sensorial regimes vary, but most of them are applicable to Ancient Rome in general, and the Saecular Games in particular. The method of multisensory archaeology,[73] which Hamilakis uses, relies on the possibility of accessing material objects of a particular culture and building

[70] Hamilakis (2014, p. 6)

[71] Hamilakis (2014, p. 5)

[72] Ensembles of all the senses and their understandings in a particular cultural paradigm. E.g a modern Western sensorium entails five independent hierarchised senses, with vision and hearing being more important than smell, taste and touch. Hamilakis describes the sensorium "as an ontology not of things but of sensorial flows and movements; not of bodies but of corporeal landscape, of trans–corporeality; not of single actions but of continuous inter-animation" Hamilakis (2014, p.116)

[73] Studies on multisensory experiences have multiplied in the past ten years in classical archaeology, as well as in classics, see e.g. Betts (2011, 2017); Day (2013); Toner (2016). I engage more closely with the multisensory discoveries on Augustan Rome in Chapter 5.

our understanding around their physical properties, which can stimulate different senses, and then contextualise this in our knowledge of a culture's sensorial regime and social conventions. Although primarily developed for archaeology, this method can be also based on evidence of different types, for example literary sources or architecture. Thus, our knowledge of other substances (e.g. sulphur), that were probably used during the Games, comes from a literary source, but could be similarly analysed to widen our perspectives on sensory experiences. An individuation of sensory experiences of the Saecular Games is possible through a coupling of the analysis of the varied possible sensory experiences and the spectators' identities. Nevertheless, the commonalities of the sensory experience were likely powerful and varied. A focus on the sensory enables us to consider the power of an experience over the individual but also the likely power of collective experience. For example, a night time sacrifice performed in a concave open space would differ in its sensory impact from the daytime sacrifice performed at the top of the hill. The full visual experience of the night–time sacrifice would be accessible for very few, most likely those performing the sacrifice, whereas the smell of the sacrificial fire would probably reach even those who were not allowed to be present and spectate at the Games. The question that arises is whether the experience of the Games was significantly restricted so that its impact could only be felt by the few, or whether there was a general and shared sensory experience that could be used, especially as remembered and narrated within social groups, as a bonding influence in Roman society. The reconstruction of the sensory experience

can only come from a close engagement with the inscribed record for the Games and the other predominantly literary sources. However, coins struck to commemorate the Games offer a good possibility for a sensory archaeology exercise. It is important to stipulate that I am interested in the multisensory perspective because it is the only one which gives access to the bodily experience and the ways of making meaning of it. Although I will obviously need to approach this multisensoriality analytically, i.e. to determine which senses were stimulated and what was the range of possible responses, I am not interested in the definition of each individual sense or in the understanding of nature of the senses.[74] Consequently, nor do I use the traditional Aristotelian view, which stipulates the existence of five senses and their hierarchy; no I intend to challenge it and provide another possible classification of the senses. Note, that in the last ten years many of the five senses in traditional Aristotelian paradigm have also received scholarly attention from classicists.[75] Starting predominantly from literary evidence of ancient authors, these works offer a useful glimpse of the ways sensory hierarchies are reflected in the use of language.

Overall, a multisensory approach to the spectators' experiences will offer information on the ways the Games were experienced, which could not have been previously accessed. The space, the time of the Games, the individual and collective identities of the spectators combined with the possible range of sensory experiences and memo-

[74] For the state of art review on the philosophy of senses, including possible senses classifications and principles of definition of the term sense, see Macpherson (2011)

[75] See e.g. the Routledge series on senses in Antiquity: Bradley (2014); Squire (2015); Butler and Purves (2014).

ries they generated will answer the question of how spectators might have perceived the Games. However, it is important to underline that there is no question of establishing a positivistic reconstruction of the Games. We only can build a plausible and imaginative rich description of a range of spectators' experiences, not establish the one and only possible chain of events and experiences. Nevertheless, it is an important perspective on the Games which otherwise would remain completely obscured.

This chapter has answered to Sauter's challenge and provided a set of methodological approaches to deal with questions relating to the reconstruction of the experience of the Saecular Games. In the following chapters I aim to provide answers to Sauter's questions, using the methodologies, chosen and described in this chapter for each of Sauter's questions. To determine *who* the spectators were, I reconstruct the *numbers* of spectators and the *crowding* conditions in Chapter 3. Chapter 5 deals focuses on establishing *spectators' identities*, and the ways these identities relate to each other to form collectives. The question of *what* spectators saw is addressed in Chapter 3, when the schedule of the events, their timing and locations are reconstructed. The answer continues in Chapter 4, when I approach the ways with which the organisers stage the experience of spectators. Using Lefebvre's methodology I reconstruct the *conceived space* of the Games, through revealing the structure of the spectators' *walking journey* through the city of Rome. Finally, in Chapters 6 and 7 I answer the question of *how* the spectators perceived the Games. This Chap-

ter builds an imaginative reconstruction of *multisensory experience* of the spectators experience of the Saecular Games. It relies on the factual material and reconstructions of the previous chapters: time, place and spectators' numbers in Chapter 3, *conceived* space and spectators' journeys in Chapter 4, spectators' identities in Chapter 5, which seeks to highlight the spectators' perspective, the *lived* space, especially focusing on the the ways in which the possibilities of spectators' perception are different and distinguishable from the organisers' views on the Games experience. Chapter 7 follows up on Chapter 6 and follows the possible ways of transformation of spectators' experience into memories, and the ways these memories echoed in the everyday life of the spectators, and also how they influenced the future editions and perceptions of the Games.

Chapter 3

The Saecular Games: sources on events, schedule, locations and spectators of the Games

To reconstruct the spectators' experience it is necessary to establish *what* happened *where*, and *who* were the spectators. This chapter aims to provide the structural, bare bones reconstruction of the Games, in order to provide the answers to these questions. Firstly, I observe the available literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources on the Games. Then I continue with the reconstruction of the events' schedule and establish the locations of the main events of the Games. Finally, I estimate the numbers of spectators and the main groups of spectators at the Games.

3.1 How do we know about the Saecular Games: survey of sources.

The historical evidence on the Saecular Games offers a wide range of possibilities for reconstruction. The main source on the Games is an inscription, found between the end of 1870s and beginning of the 1890s[1] in Rome *in situ*, at the place where the night rituals of the Games were conducted near the present day *Via Paola*, on the Tiber bank between the *Ponte Sant' Angelo* and *Ponte Vittorio Emanuele II* bridges.[2] It was originally a marble column erected to commemorate the Games. It was probably produced fairly recently after the Games, within a year. The inscription was named by its first editors *Acta ludorum saecularium*.[3] In its present state the inscription is fragmentary (see Figure 1 on page 100), with some significant gaps in the middle and in the beginning of the inscription The fragments can be divided in three groups:

- Two small fragments (named **A and B**) in Schnegg-Köhler (2002), which were found and published in 1870–1880, but were only put

[1] The fragments were found gradually and published more or less in total for the first time by Mommsen in Mommsen (1889), and subsequently republished and commented several times, most notably by again Mommsen (1899), and Pighi (1965), and most recently Schnegg-Köhler (2002), notice and description of the latest edition in the *AE,2002,192*. Some new fragments of the inscription were found in a private collection and collated by Moretti (1984), and they were only accounted for together in the latest edition of the inscription by Schnegg-Köhler (2002).

[2] For a detailed account on the excavations, see Barnabei (1889).

[3] The *Acta* were edited as part of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum shortly after discovery: CIL,VI, 32323

together in 1980s by Moretti (1984). These total to around ten lines and have continuous numeration.

- A fragment (**C**) discovered in a private collection and published by Moretti (1984), totalling 17 lines, which has separate numeration.
- And fragments from **D to M** that constitute the main body of the text. This part totals of approximately 168 lines and ends towards the bottom of the inscription.

In this thesis I have adopted the inscription's lines numeration from the book of Schnegg-Köhler (2002, pp. 49-73). The main body of the text, which comprises fragments D to M, will be referred to without the prefix, only stating the line number, because it will be the one most frequently used. Citations from fragments AB and C will be referred by both fragment designation letters and line number, e.g. Line AB7 .

In its nature the inscription is a collection of various documents of the collegium of *quindecem viri sacris faciundis* — the so called 15 men of priestly duties. This was an elected committee, which administrated use and storage of Sibylline books and the festivities associated with cults based on these books. The festivals and rituals under the administration of the 15 men included annual festivals, such as *Megalesia* as well as rarer or unique events, such as the Saecular Games. Because of the nature of the documents, represented in the inscription, the voices of the organisers are the most prominent throughout the whole of the text. The text of the inscription is instrumental in es-

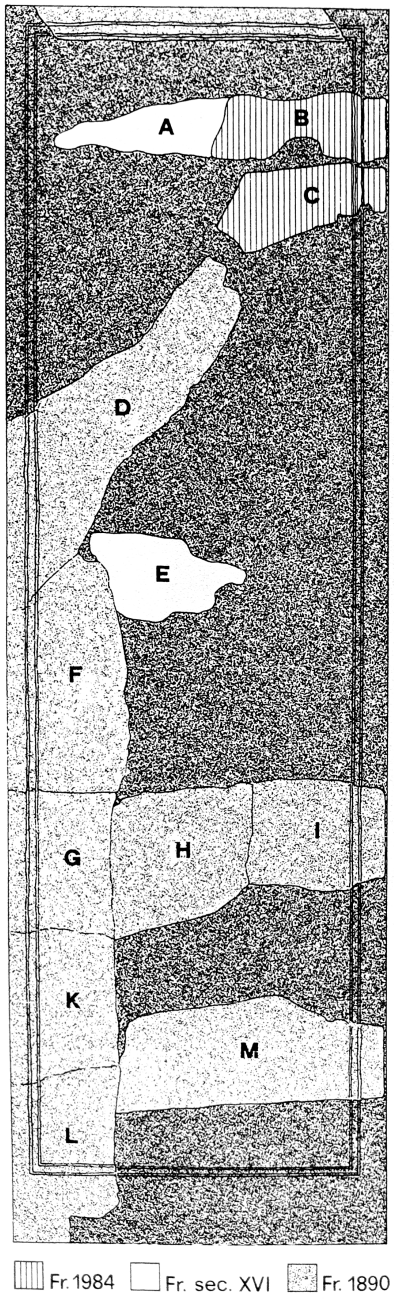


Figure 1: Inscription fragments known to date from Moretti (1984, p. 374)

tablishing the chain of events which constituted the Saecular Games, because the *Acta* name and describe the Games' events along with the mention of time and place, thus providing information on when and where the events happened.

Another major source of evidence on the Augustan edition of the Games is the so-called *Carmen Saeculare*, Saecular Hymn, a poem written by Horace. It was a specially commissioned piece, created for performance by a youth choir. The inscription states that the hymn was written by Horace and performed at the games.[4] However, Horace himself was dead at time of the Games and did not witness or direct the performance. The possibility of placing the hymn in the context of it creator's oeuvre as well as in the context of the hymn performance is a very rare opportunity for the contemporary ancient historian. The hymn had been well known to classicists before the inscription was unearthed; however, compared to other works of Horace the hymn received less scholarly attention and had been relatively rarely translated.[5] The hymn conveys key ideas of the Games, but also provides evidence on performative practices, the religious meaning of the Games and even the festival topography of Rome.

Numismatic evidence from the Augustan Saecular Games consists of a small number of different types of coins, distinguishable by mention of Ludi Saeculares on them. They were minted in Rome as

[4] Line 149

[5] For an early detailed analysis of the Saecular Hymn with translation see Baziner (1901), meaning and performance is treated in Fowler (1910), for a summary of scholarship and an analysis of both poetic and performative qualities of the hymn see Putnam (2008, bibliogr. pp. 175-177)

well as in the provinces, not later than a year after the Games.[6] The images on the coins differ. Some coins depict rituals of the Games, others feature the altars, inscriptions or specially dressed figure related to the Games. The ways in which we can practically use imagery of ancient Roman coins as historical evidence are subject to a heated scholarly debate.[7] It is important to approach coins not as mere illustrations of the events, but as a creative representation of them, which sometimes required the reality to be modified and altered in order to serve other purposes, e.g. popularisation, information, or meeting the voiced demands in alteration of coin design. But the coins are definitely a valuable piece of evidence of the ways that the Games were remembered, and how the memory of the Games was performed and felt. Because the coins were used and handled, they are also useful for reconstruction of the sensory side of the Games' remembrance process. Finally, with great care and caution, the coins could also be used as additional material for reconstruction of the rituals depicted on them.

The Augustan edition of the Games left fewer traces in the works of ancient historians than, for example, the subsequent Domitianic edition.[8] However, the Saecular Games are mentioned by Suetonius,[9]

[6]For detailed analysis of coins' types see Schnegg-Köhler (2002, pp. 216-220), Sobocinski (2006); Scheid (1998); Dressel (1891). The principal types are listed in RIC under: RIC I^2, 66,337f; I^2,66, 339f; I^2,68,354f;I^2,50,138f.

[7]See e.g. discussion in Wallace-Hadrill (1986) of the coins design and propaganda purposes of it. On accuracy and credibility of portrayal of religious rituals on coins see Sobocinski (2006). On problems with standard historical periodisation of coin imagery see Gyori (2013).

[8]For extensive lists of works and analysis of available literary sources of evidence on all editions of the Games see Schnegg-Köhler (2002, pp. 156-160).

[9] Suet. Aug. 31.4

Cassius Dio,[10] and Tacitus.[11] All of these sources were of course not contemporary to the Games and did not offer any extensive description of them. But their value is in the specific interest, that Suetonius and Tacitus had in the Games' management and organisation. Tacitus himself was member of the 15 men and an organiser of Domitianic edition of the Saecular Games in AD 88, and Suetonius wrote a book specifically concerned with the *ludi*.[12] Augustus himself also mentioned the Saecular Games among his major achievements in the *Res Gestae*.[13] These are nearly all the known sources of information on the Augustan edition of the Games.

Apart from these documents and objects, directly related to the Augustan edition of the Games, there are a number of literary sources, that engage with the Saecular Games more generally. Several authors of different epochs were interested in the mythology, aetiology, history and contemporary (for their times) rituals of the Saecular Games. The most notable of the latter are the chapter of *New history* by Zosimus, a historian of 5th century AD, who described the history and rituals of the Games, and fragmented works of Valerius Maximus and Censorinus, which comment on the contemporary[14] ideas of the religious meaning, foundation myths and history of the early editions of the Games.

[10] Cass. Dio. 54.18.2

[11] Tac. Ann. 11.11

[12] Tacitus proudly reveals himself as a member of the 15 men in Tac. Ann. 11.11; 14.19 , Tertullian cites Suetonius as his source in his book on shows Tert. Spect. 5 .

[13] RG. 22.2

[14] Zos. 2.3-2.5; Val.Max. 2.4.6; Cens. 17.10-11

Further sources of evidence are available for later editions of the Games or general accounts of the Saecular Games' history. These are: a significant number of coins from the Domitianic edition of the Games of AD 88;[15] an inscription pertaining to the Severan edition of the Games of AD 204;[16] as well as a number of descriptions and mentions of the Games in the work of historians and other ancient writers. Notable examples include Suetonius' account of an irregular edition of the Saecular Games on an alternative chronology put on by the emperor Claudius in AD 47;[17] and a rendering of the Domitianic Saecular Games experience in the poetry of Martial and Statius.[18]

3.2 Structure of the *Acta*

Thus, the *Acta* are our main source on the structural aspects of the Games: the organisational structure and timetable, as well as the city locations of the events. The *Acta* also reveal the organisers' view on the main participating groups of the events, thus making possible the identification and mapping of participants' and spectators' identities. In this chapter I closely examine the *Acta*, complementing the analysis with other sources whenever needed, in order to answer a set of ques-

[15] See the list of all known Domitianic coins related to the Games as well as an extensive comparative analysis of Augustan and Domitianic coinage in Sobocinski (2006).

[16] First published by Mommsen together with the Augustan inscription Mommsen (1899).

[17] Suet. Claud. 21.2

[18] See e.g. Mart. 4.1.7-8; Stat. Silv. 1.4.17-18 . The list of these references is of course longer, however, I will cite the ones pertaining to other editions of the Games when they are needed in the analysis.

tions: how the Games were structured, what were the main events of the Games, when and where they happened, and finally who and how many were the participants and the spectators of the Games.

The inscription is the product of the Games' organisers. It served not only the purpose of commemorating the Augustan edition of the Saecular Games for forthcoming generations of Romans, but also as a reminder of the chain of events and text of prayers for the organisers of the next Saecular Games. The commemorative and didactic purposes of the inscription are reflected in the location it was positioned. This was near the location, where the night rituals took place, and similar inscriptions from other editions of the Games have been found nearby.[19] The *Acta*, regarded through the lens of the performance history of the Games, represent a set of documents, that can be compared to a contemporary performance archive. The inscription archives the production history, and contains not only plans, staging and performance texts, but also traces of many alterations, adaptations and changes, which occurred during the preparation and in the process of the Games. However, because of the dual nature of the inscription — a commemoration and a production programme reminder — it is structured coherently, and the story of the staging and process of the Games could be relatively safely reconstructed from its close analysis.

The inscription totals approximately 185 lines in the latest edition of Schnegg-Köhler. The text of the inscription can be divided into

[19] See above on Severan inscription, which commemorated the AD 204 Games.

several distinct parts:

- early preparation and setting up of the Games Lines AB1-10, C1-17, 1-64 ;
- preparatory rituals Lines 50-83 ;
- official Games: rituals, performances, prayers Lines 83-149 ;
- honorary Games: performances and entertainments Lines 150-168 .

As it can be seen from the line numbers, the structure of the inscription generally follows the timeline of the events. The quality and clarity of the *Acta* prompted nearly all commentators to produce a reconstruction of the Games' events schedule. These reconstructions do not differ from each other significantly in the schedule of the events, but have some differences regarding the places where events happened and the exact nature of documents, that constituted the inscription.[20] The structure of the *Acta* is a starting point for such a reconstruction and establishing the timeline and the chain of events of the Saecular Games.

Another way to use the structure of the *Acta* is to analyse more closely the nature of the documents they are composed of. As the organisers needed to communicate with the spectators and participants of the games in order to organise them, a large part of the inscription is composed of previously published documents — decrees edicts, which were customary to be put in written form on public display in Rome and the *senatus consulta*. The inscription generally follows the

[20]For a most comprehensive table, with detailed reconstruction of places and timeline of the Games see Schnegg-Köhler (2002, pp. 46-48). Scheid (2011) has an appendix with detailed description and timeline of the Games' sacrifices.

natural progress of organising an event, when early documents are related to principal decision of conducting the games Lines AB 6-20 and financing Lines AB 1-5 , these are *senatus consulta*. Then a religious and ritual ground for conducting the games is detailed, and the first announcement of the game is specified Lines C5-17, 1-24 . At the same time, which is several months before the games, the control over the process of the games moves to the 15 men, and this intensive preparatory time is marked by the abundance of decrees and edicts of 15 men Lines 24-28, 29-36, 41-45, 46-49 . These decrees stipulates how the preparatory rituals and games themselves have to be conducted.

However, after the preparation seem to be completed and the day of the beginning of preparatory rituals and the start of the games approaches, some unexpected adjustments break the nearly seamless structure of the inscription and are likely signify a change in organisers' plans. One is an alteration in the process of the preparatory rituals, when the decree of 24th of May Lines 64-89 differ from earlier decree Lines 46-49 already passed on this subject. Another break in a series of decrees and edicts of 15 men is a *senatus consultum* concerning the participation of *caelibes* in the games Lines 52-57 , which also happened just before the games. The rest of the document is very different in nature, and decrees and edicts give way to a retelling of rituals and theatrical events happening in Lines 90-155 . The only sudden stop of this type of narrative is the decree forbidding mourning for matrons, passed by 15 men on the second day of the Games Lines 110-114 . Finally, decrees and edicts scheduling the additional en-

tertainment week of *ludi honorarii* and the list of the 15 men, who made the games end the inscription Lines 155-168 .

Because the inscription also had a purpose to commemorate the Games, it has been structured well and coherently, with each period of the games' preparation and process marked by specific types of documents or narratives. Therefore any break in the coherent structure of the inscription, any unusual document, or changed decision may be a signal of problems or obstacles that the organisers encountered in the process of setting up and conducting the Games. These potential signals of organisers' difficulties might arguably signify that the spectators' behaviour prompted the change of organisers' plans, and therefore an analysis of these potential signals be instrumental in revealing the hidden voices of spectators experiencing the Games. These points of friction and conflict will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 in more detail, for now it is sufficient to mention that although seemingly coherent and simple, the structure of the inscription provides us with significant possibilities to dig deeper in the spectators' experience.

3.3 Timeline

Table 1 on page 110 shows how the timeline of the set-up, production, archiving and commemoration could be reconstructed from the inscription and other sources. It relates the contents of inscription,

whilst highlighting the timing of the Games. The references to the particular lines have been removed to provide clarity of presentation. The square brackets indicate the hypothetically reconstructed events, which seem to follow the pattern of the Games; they will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. We also have to be aware that a certain portion of the inscription is lost, and thus there are gaps in reconstruction, coinciding most probably with the first and the last month of the Games' preparations. The italicised lines represent the "hotspots" of spectators' activity, i.e. the lines in the inscription where the actions of the organisers seem to be prompted by the behaviour of the participants/spectators, the situations when the organisers had to make adjustments to their plans. Surprisingly, the number of these reactions is fewer than it would be for any contemporary large scale production. Each of these cases will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Regarding the Games' timeline, it varies between the three main stages of the organisers' activity: the preparation, the preparatory purification rituals, and the Games action, which includes official Games and honorary Games. The preparation part of the Games occupies the longest period, and lasts for around a year, from the first senate decree on the assignment of the Games' funding sources in 18 BC to the start of the Games on the 31st of May 17 BC. The active phase of the preparation appears to be much shorter and comprise the end of winter and whole spring of 17 BC. It is also worth noting that almost all the decisions in the active phase of the preparation are contained in the edicts of the 15 men collegium, whilst more general organising

Table 1: Timeline of the Games

Preparing the Games	18 BC			Senate determines sources of the Games' financing.	AB1-5
	17 BC	17 Feb		Senate determines the duration and main locations of the traditional (night) rituals of the Games.	AB6-10
		Feb/Mar		Members of the organisers collegium of 15 men are confirmed.	AB6-10, C5-8
				15 men determine the Games' duration.	14-23
				15 men publish preliminary schedule of choir rehearsals, preparatory rituals and games.	24-28,29-36
		25 Mar		15 men officially announce the Games and explain the course of preparatory rituals to the public.	37-45,46-49
		23 May		*Senate decides to suspend the restrictions of marriage law, i.e. permit the non–married to participate in the Games.*	50-57
				Senate decides to commemorate the Games by setting up of two inscriptions: one in bronze and one in stone.	58-63
		24 May		*15 men add more days to preparatory rituals*	64-76
Prep. rites		26-28 May		15 men distribute purificatory substances among Roman citizens.	As prescribed by 64-76
				Citizens perform the purificatory rituals in their households.	As prescribed by 64-76
		27-28 May		Matronae receive additional purifications.	As prescribed by 64-76
		29-31 May		Citizens bring first fruits, grain and pulses to 15 men.	As prescribed by 76-81
Official Games		31 May	eve	Collection of fruits continues.	
			7-8pm	Trumpeters announce the beginning of the Games.	88
			lat.n.	Augustus performs sacrifice to *Moirai*.	90-91
			night	15 men organise performances on a wooden stage near the place of sacrifice.	100
				110 matronae have ritual banquets for Juno and Diana.	101
		01 Jun	mor.	Augustus and Agrippa make sacrifices to Jupiter.	103-107
			af/ev	Performances in a temporary wooden theatre.	108
				110 matronae have ritual banquets.	109
				15 men legally restrict women from practising mourning during the festival.	110-114
			night	Augustus performs sacrifice to Illythia.	115
				[Performances in a temporary wooden theatre.]	118
				[110 matronae have ritual banquets.]	118
		02 Jun		Agrippa performs sacrifice to Juno.	119-123
				110 matronae perform kneeled sacrifice and prayer to Juno.	123-132
				[Performances in a temporary wooden theatre.]	133
				[110 matronae have ritual banquets]	?
			night	Augustus performs sacrifice to Mother Earth (Terra Mater).	134-148
				110 matronae have ritual banquets.	138
		03 Jun		Augustus performs sacrifice to Apollo and Diana.	139-147
				Choir of 27 boys and 27 girls performs the Saecular Hymn (twice).	147-148
				Performances in a temporary wooden theatre.	153
				Horse carriage races in a circus near the wooden theatre.	154
				Horse riding theatre performances.	154
				15 men publish and announce the schedule for the next seven days of additional performative entertainment.	155-158
		04 Jun (?)	day	Intermission day	159
Hon. Games		05-11 Jun	8am	Start of Latin plays performances in the temporary wooden theatre.	156-157
			9am	Start of Greek style musical plays in the theatre of Pompey.	156-157
			10am	Start of Greek style plays in theatre of Marcellus.	158
		11 Jun		15 men establish and announce new entertainments for the next day.	162
		12 Jun		Performances of staged beast hunts (venatio), horse carriages races, and processions.	163-164
After	16 BC			[Production of commemorative coins.]	
				Construction of the inscription.	

matters are dealt with by Senate decrees, including the amendment of laws to repeal the ban on theatre attendance for the non-married, the funding and the commemoration of the Games. Although these particular Games are a once in a lifetime opportunity, the main organising force of the Games, the collegium of 15 men, would have had been occupied with organising games and other festive activities every year. Thus, it appears that a tight organising timeline of the Games' preparation might be not uncommon for those responsible for preparing Roman festivals. It looks similar to a contemporary large theatre festival production schedule, and therefore does not look totally impossible to achieve.

The scheduling of preparatory rituals occupies a prominent place in the inscription, and also receives close attention from the organisers. The rituals were originally planned for 3 days, from 29th to 31st of May. The first day would be reserved for the distribution of purificatory substances to the Romans and the last two days for the receipt of crops from them. However, not only did the organisers have to amend the original plan of the Games, when the one day for distribution of the purificatory substances had to be extended by an additional two days, but they also had to publish a great number of explanatory notes regarding the process of receiving the purificatory substances. Because the organisers encountered difficulties setting up these rituals, I would suggest that at least some parts of these rituals were new both for the organisers and the spectators of the Games. All these characteristics make the preparatory rituals an especially interesting case to study.

The purificatory rituals prepared the city for the Games and lasted six days, finishing just before the Games began. Because the Games used a number of temporary buildings, also mentioned in the inscription, in order to start the Games, the temporary buildings should have had been set up before the beginning of the Games, thus, most probably, within the period just before or even during the preparatory rituals.

After the preparatory rituals, the official or sacred Games started at, as the inscription suggests, the first hour of night from 31st of May to the 1st of June. As we can see in the Table 1, they lasted approximately three days. The central activity of the official Games was a sacrifice. The preparation, prayer and animal slaughtering required several hours. Additionally the burning of a sacrifice also lasted several hours or even longer, if, as Schnegg–Köhler suggested,[21] the slaughtering of each animal was performed individually. The Games began at the second hour of night, which, if we are counting from the sunset, would be approximately 7-8pm at this time of year.[22] It was at this time, that the Games were officially announced as open. The rituals and the performances that followed the sacrifice continued throughout the whole night. The second hour of night started at 7-8pm, and with sunrise at approximately 6am, the first night's rituals lasted approximately eleven hours. The timing suggests, at least grammatically in the inscription, that the events are presented as sequential, i.e. there is no overlapping in activities. Therefore, the spectators do not have a choice of activities and entertainments, but a coherent schedule of

[21] Schnegg-Köhler (2002, p. 128)

[22] Line 84

activities, and only one activity was conducted at any one time. This fact not only prescribes the timing of the events, but also the movement of the spectators and the organisers between locations of the Games. In order to be in time for the next activity the movement between the locations of the Games must have been organised, or at least performed simultaneously, and was somehow structured, rather than chaotic and depending on people's preferences. There is one statement in the inscription that is an exception from the consecutive nature of the Games' events. When the inscription comments on the second day of the rituals, it states that the Matrons performed *sellisternia* banquets as they did the night before, and also the performances (*ludi*) which started previous night did not pause at the time.[23] I would suggest that it was a rare occasion when two rituals had been performed simultaneously, and the ritual banquet of matrons coincided with the shows in the theatre. However, on most of the other occasions, the rituals were performed consecutively, which is why the simultaneity of this ritual banquet and the continuous entertainment in the theatre are specifically mentioned.

The schedule of all three nights of the Games seems quite stable, and includes a sacrifice, (to Moirai on the first night, to Illythia on the second, and to the Terra Mater on the third night), performances on the temporary stage and in a temporary wooden theatre, and ritual banquets of *matronae*. In contrast the day–time schedule seems to become busier towards the end of the official Games, and is al-

[23] Line 109

ways more varied than the night schedule. Day–time events of the official Games are also centred on the sacrifices: to Jupiter on the first day, to Juno on the second, and to Apollo and Diana on the third. However, an additional performative element is gradually added to the sacrifices. On the second day a kneeling prayer of 110 matrons complements the sacrifice, and on the third day a youth choir of boys and girls performs the Saecular Hymn twice. Moreover, the third day has a more varied entertainment programme, because in addition to daily performances in the temporary theatres, the third day features chariot racing and horse riding acrobatics. As was mentioned, the sacrifices would probably have taken several hours to be completed, and with all the additional day–time ritual embellishment and entertainment, the Games would probably have gone on non-stop for the whole duration of the official Games. The collegium of 15 not only had to participate or administer all the sacrifices, but also ensure adherence to the schedule and order. Despite this tight and doubtless tiring schedule, the organisers of the Games do not seem to encounter any particular organisational problems during the official part of the Games. This is either because they had considerable previous experience of similar productions, or because any problems were not reported in the inscription.

The inscription relates the details of the official Games almost without interruption. Only once does such an interruption occur. The 15 men issue an edict, which is situated in a political rather than an organisational context: on the first day of the Games, they request

women to refrain from mourning. It might of course be that the mourning women were an impediment in the Games' process, but more likely they did not conform to the Games' *ethos* as envisaged by Augustus and the 15 men. This case will be treated in detail in Chapter 5; however it is worth noting here that this edict might be evidence of conflict between popular attitudes towards the Saecular Games and ideas which Augustus and the 15 men had planned for current celebration. The three days of the official Games end with performances and circus entertainment, and they paved the way to an additional week of honorary Games, announced on the 3rd of June, on the day of the closure of the official Games, by the edict of the 15 men.

After a brief one day break followed a week of honorary Games, more centred on entertainment and performances than on sacrifices. However, it is worth noting that the official Games also contained performances. The honorary Games present one of the rarest opportunities to see how performative entertainments were scheduled during the day in Rome. The edict of the 15 men specified that different entertainment would begin in different parts of the city at the intervals of one hour, with the first performances starting in the wooden theatre at 8am, then a different kind of show at 9am in the permanent theatre of Pompey, and finally, yet another kind of performances at 10am in the newly built theatre, subsequently known as theatre of Marcellus. The schedule seems to be the same for the whole week of the honorary Games, except the very last, 8th day, the 12th of June, when staged

beast hunts and circus–based entertainments were added.[24] Although a week's worth of daily performances seems to be a fair amount of entertainment, if we assume that there were no simultaneous performances, we must conclude that each performance lasted less than an hour. This arrangement may cause logistical problems and seems not particularly fitting for large scale games, such as the Saecular Games were. It required huge crowds to exit large theatre buildings swiftly and proceed to the next event in a very limited time. However, such short performances may be a possible solution.

Another possible solution would be to consider the time indications as the starting point of a show programme and accept that they ran for indefinite amount of time simultaneously, however that meant that different types shows, ran concurrently, and had to compete for the spectators.

It is not entirely clear what type these performances were: *ludi Graeci thymelici* and *ludi Graeci astici* were, however,there are several plausible interpretations. Manuwald thinks that the name of the games might be related to the style of performances.[25] Thymelici might be musical performances as opposed to ludi astici, which are supposedly dramatic performances. The difference stems from the original meaning of the words *thymelicos* and *asticos* in Greek theatre. Mommsen however, interpreted the astici and thymelici as difference in genre: thymelici are perfromances of pantomime, whereas the dra-

[24] Lines 156-165
[25] Manuwald (2011, p.21)

matic repertoire has been performed at the astici.[26] Available evidence is inconclusive; however it certainly shows that organisers of the programme were interested in showcasing a variety of different genres or styles.

Overall, including preparatory rituals, the Games went on for more than two weeks. The events of the early planning stage of the Games took place nearly a year before the Games. Thus, the Games were planned ahead and occupied a lot of organisers' and spectators' time. Because of the timescale, intensity and duration of the events, as well as the possibly uninterrupted flow of the sequence of the Games' events, participation in and spectating at the Games required a certain amount of stamina and dedication. To imagine the scale of the Games, a contemporary analogy might help. In today's world a major theatre festival or the Olympic Games would be a good analogy to the timeframe of the Saecular Games; however the intensity of the sacred Games, which went round the clock for three days, suggests an analogy with a music festival.

The organisers' engagement with the Games continued for approximately another year, when the coins commemorating the Games were struck and organisers installed two inscriptions, as it was stipulated in the decree of Senate, at the place where the Games were conducted. Another possible task in the organisers' schedule after the Games could be the demolition of temporary structures. However, some temporary buildings, such as a wooden theatre or stage

[26] Mommsen (1889, 270-271)

built for the Games, could have become semi–permanent and stand many years after the Games, as it was usual for Roman temporary entertainment.[27] Moreover, the area of the Games was not completely built up at the time, so probably did not have many other uses. Nevertheless, some demolition works of temporary shopping stalls or enclosures could have had taken place, and therefore could be added into the organisers' schedule for the period after the Games.

3.4 Locations of the Games' events

Having established what the events at the Saecular Games were and when they happened, we should determine where the Games happened and how the space of the Games was organised and mapped onto the city of Rome. The estimates of area available at different locations of the Games will allow us to estimate the maximum number of spectators, that could attend the Games. Most of the events listed in the Games' timeline also have their location specified in the *Acta*. Again, the degree of detail for this greatly varies between different events.

Some rituals and performances have a precise location mentioned in the inscription, e.g. *ante aedem Iovis Tonantis* — in front of the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer; or *ante aedem Apollinis et in porticu*

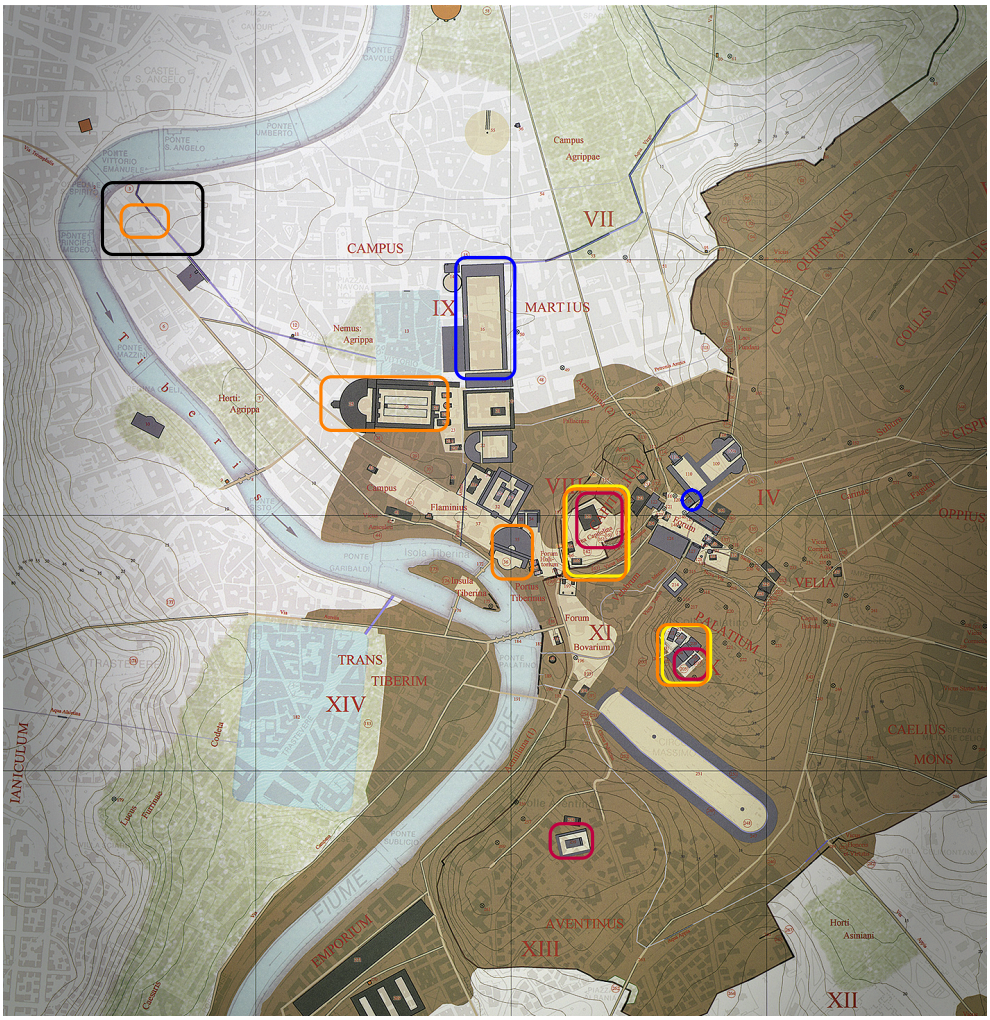
[27] On Roman temporary theatres use see Sear (2006, Chapter 6). He argues that the Saecular Games' wooden theatre continued to stand for several decades, the early temporary amphitheatres had a similar fate, see Welch (2007).

eius — in front of the temple of Apollo and its portico.[28] In other cases the location is named in more vague terms, including *in Capitolio*[29] or *ad Tiberim*.[30] Although in the former case the location is described unequivocally, and is relatively easy to pinpoint, it is still a large area with several temples and other structures on it.

Regarding the interrelationship of different places mentioned in the inscription, reference to other buildings is used rarely, and always to describe the location of temporary structures. Despite describing a series of events most of which were happening in sequence, relative positioning of the places of activities is very rarely mentioned in the inscription, the only two occasions being Lines 148, 153. The first is a performance of the Saecular Hymn on the Palatine hill and later on the Capitoline. The second is the circus entertainment on the third day, which is referred to as "opposite the place, where the sacrifices were performed the previous night." Thus, the progression of the rituals and performances is marked by progression of time, rather than through the relationship of different places or the progression of the organisers and spectators across the city.

Figure 2 shows a map of Rome with the different areas mentioned in the *Acta* as locations for events of the Games. They are colour coded: organisational and housekeeping meetings of the 15 men and the senate are shown in blue, preparatory rites in purple, night sacrifices in black, daytime sacrifices in yellow, shows and per-

[28] Lines 31, 32
[29] Line 81
[30] Line 90



— Administrative gatherings
— Preparatory rites
— Night sacrifices
— Daytime sacrifices
— Shows and performances

Figure 2: Areas used for the Saecular Games.
The underlying map is from the Digital Augustan Rome project of Romano et al. (2008): digitalaugustanrome.org

formances in orange. Three distinctive areas emerge as main locations of the Games: the Capitoline and the Palatine hills, and the Campus Martius. Only one preparatory rite is performed on the Aventine. All three main areas are used multifunctionally, for meetings, sacrifices, performances, and banquets, with the temples and porticoes on the hills also doubling as places for preparatory rites. This arrangement reflects an often attested multifunctionality of public space in Rome. The city of Rome possessed specific buildings designated for entertainment and performances, such as the Theatre of Pompey, the Theatre of Marcellus (presumably used for the first time during the Games),[31] and the Circus Maximus. However, performances still tended to escape these restrictions of place and were held in many different structures, such as the purpose–built stage at the place of the night–time sacrifices, and the top of the Capitoline hill for the choir's recital of the hymn.

The preparatory stage offers few surprises in terms of the choice of the locations for organisational meetings, although not all locations are known for sure from the inscription. In the early period (18 BC) the place of the senate meetings is fairly conventional — the senate house, or *Curia Iulia*. Although senate could and indeed met in other places, Talbert suggests, that meetings in *Curia Iulia* were as frequent and usual, that senators normally called it simply *Curia*.[32]

[31]The theatre is named as the Theatre in the circus of Flaminius Line 157 and it will be dedicated as the Theatre of Marcellus only much later in 12 BC, according to Cassius Dio Cass. Dio. 54.26 .

[32]Talbert (1987, p.114)

The *Curia* was situated on the forum, and was a traditional meeting place for the senate, although the specified building was completed in 29 BC, only 12 years before the Games, and therefore was firmly associated both with Julius Caesar, who devised the new building, and with Augustus, who completed it along with other significant changes in the design of the Roman forum. The meeting place of the collegium of the 15 men is more difficult to locate, but Schnegg–Köhler has suggested,[33] that at least one of the meetings of the collegium might have happened in the vicinity of temple of Apollo on the Palatine. The argument is based on the expression *pro aede* — in front of the temple — found in Line 37, describing the place of meeting. The Sibylline books might have been located at the temple of Apollo at the time, and it was the duty of the collegium of fifteen to look after these books. Thus *aedes* might refer to the main place of the convocation of the collegium. However, as Schnegg–Köhler rightly notices in the notes to this passage, the exact date of the relocation of books from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to the temple of Apollo Palatinus is not known: the books might still have been in their original place, i.e. on the Capitoline hill, and therefore, the meeting could have happened near the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. If Schnegg–Köhler is right in identifying (aedes Apollinis), then the Palatine location of the meeting might further reinforce the link between the personality of Augustus and the Games, since it placed the meeting of the collegium in the direct vicinity not only of the newly built temple of Apollo, but

[33] See Schnegg-Köhler (2002, p. 99)

of Augustus' own residence.[34] So far the meeting places of the senate and the meeting of a collegium of organisers in their usual temple have been demonstrated to be fairly traditional. As with the timeline of the Games, the more unusual locations for meetings start to occur towards the end of the Games' preparation period. The last meeting of the senate, which oversaw the suspension of law, prohibiting the non-married from spectating the performances, happened in the *Saepta Iulia* in the Campus Martius.[35] The *Saepta Iulia* was the first permanent stone structure designed to accommodate a Roman assembly. However, the *Saepta* also had a lot of different uses. In the time of Augustus it hosted entertainment activities, such as displays of unusual animals and gladiatorial combats.[36] It was located on the Field of Mars and consecrated in 26 BC. The choice of the *Saepta* is unusual, because the meetings of senate were not regularly conducted outside the sacred border of Rome — *pomerium*. Typically the only occasions for this were meetings with foreign ambassadors or somebody possessing military forces, such as generals coming back from wars and waiting for triumphs, since enemy ambassadors and military forces were not allowed inside the *pomerium*. And although Talbert specifies that meetings outside the *pomerium* did happen, examples are few and far between. In fact, the only example of meeting in the *Saepta* is this very meeting,[37] whereas other places, such as temple of Apollo on the Palatine get used more frequently. Another strange thing about

[34] See Schnegg-Köhler (2002, p. 99)
[35] On senate meetings in Saepta Iulia, see Talbert (1987, p.120)
[36] For use of *Saepta* for entertainments see e.g. Suet. Aug. 43 .
[37] Talbert (1987, pp.119-120)

this choice is that the *Saepta* represented an enclosure, surrounded by a roofed arcade (*porticus*), rather than a completely roofed building, and therefore was more suitable for performances or large scale people's assemblies, such as the *comitia*, than for a session of the Roman senate. I think this strange arrangement might be explained by the topic of the last senate meeting before the Games. The senate passed two decrees at that meeting, one of which admitted unmarried citizens to the Games. The meeting in the *Saepta* might indicate that the senate was convened to deal with an *ad hoc* problem: it had to deal with precisely those unmarried citizens, who perhaps gathered there and wanted to be admitted to the Games. I will analyse the case of *caelibes* in more detail in Chapter 5. Although this explanation is only a hypothesis, it shows that even the organising process of the Saecular Games had some new and often unexpected turns. Regarding the choice of building, it seems that there is a clear difference between the beginning of the Games, when the organisational business ran in the usual locations, and the time just before the Games, when some changes in the usual functioning and locations of the events occur.

This trend of *ad hoc* measures and last minute changes in the locations of the Games' activities continues on the next few days of preparations. The preparatory purification rituals, conducted on 26th-31st of May were the most problematic for the organisers. As we know, the additional dates for the distribution of purification substances were added just before the Games. The locations of those rituals were also subject to change during the preparation of the Games. The last edict,

which amended the earlier decrees and added more days, mentions the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill[38] as a place of distribution. The earlier preparatory decree[39] adds a mention of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer (*Tonans*) on the Capitol; the temple of Diana was mentioned only in relation to the next ritual — the receipt of crops. The temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the temple of Jupiter *Tonans* on the Capitoline were relatively new to the city landscape, consecrated by Augustus only 11 and 5 years, respectively, before the Games, and these consecrations were strongly associated both with Augustus' personality and with his military victories. Cassius Dio retells an anecdote which illustrates how the temple of the Jupiter *Tonans* was perceived as associated with Augustus in the very traditional landscape of the Capitoline hill. Augustus supposedly had a dream, in which Jupiter Capitolinus complains about the construction of the new temple of Jupiter Tonans:

> Augustus had a dream as follows. The people, he thought, approached Jupiter who is called Tonans and did reverence to him, partly because of the novelty of his name and of the form of his statue, and partly because the statue had been set up by Augustus, but chiefly because it was the first they encountered as they ascended the Capitol; and thereupon the Jupiter in the great temple was angry because he was now reduced to second place as

[38] Lines 70-71

[39] Lines 8-11; 30-33

compared with the other.[40]

Thus, the strong connection of this new temple with Augustus was so apparent that it had even been retold as jokes and rumours. The areas and porticoes near temples were the places where the free citizens received the *suffimenta* — ingredients to burn at home in the purificatory rituals, but also where they donated crops and fruits at the *acceptio frugum* ritual. Spatially, it is very important that the purificatory ritual took place in homes, since this literally brought the Games home for the Romans and suffused the city with the ritual.

The preparatory rituals establish both Palatine and Capitoline hills' temple complexes as the locations for the Games, even before the actual Games begin; however, these hills appear not to have been employed in earlier editions of the Games. Traditionally, the Games' only locations were those, where the night sacrifices took place: the so-called *ad Tiberim* or *Tarentum*, and adjacent territory. Censorinus cites Varro on the establishment of *Ludi Tarentini*, the precursor of the Saecular Games, which were dedicated to Dis and Proserpina and conducted during three nights in the field of Mars. The account of Valerius Maximus and Livy differ slightly, but they all agree on duration of the games and night–time rituals, connections with the underworld gods and place of the games.[41] These locations were also used in the Augustan edition of the Games and they constituted the hub of the

[40] Cass. Dio. 54.4.2

[41] Censorinus 17.8 , similarly in Liv. Per.49 , on the mythical origins of these and traditions see Val.Max.2.4.5

festival. They were used for all the night sacrifices and performances.

The location of these night rituals is very well documented archaeologically.[42] Both the Augustan *Acta* and the Severan inscription about the Games of AD 204, were discovered *in situ*, near the site where the actual Games took place, on the northern edge of Field of Mars. On Figure 3 the areas of the sacrifices, *Tarentum*, and the performances, *Trigarium*, are indicated. The borders of the area can be identified relatively easily, with the Tiber forming a natural border with both *Tarentum* and *Trigarium* on one side, the Euripus channel on the other, and no fixed border of the *Trigarium* on the remaining side. These are the further possible borders of the Games' night sacrifices and circus and theatre performance spaces. However, they can be described more precisely using archaeological and literary data. It is generally agreed that the triumph road flanked the *Trigarium*, and because it was formerly a circus ground, i.e. a hippodrome, it was reconstructed as rectangular with one rounded edge.

The Tiber river banks were not covered in stone at the time, thus the sacrifice area, and the *Trigarium* must have had large patches of marshy land, not suitable for building, because of frequent flooding.[43] Claridge suggest, that the *Tarentum* also contained a fissure in the ground at some point in its long history, which emitted sulphuric smoke.[44] Such a fissure would provide an aetiology for the develop-

[42]For thorough summary of archaeological research see Schnegg-Köhler (2002, pp. 186-200)

[43]On the situation with Tiber banks and flooding in Augustan time, see Aldrete (2007).

[44]Claridge (2010)

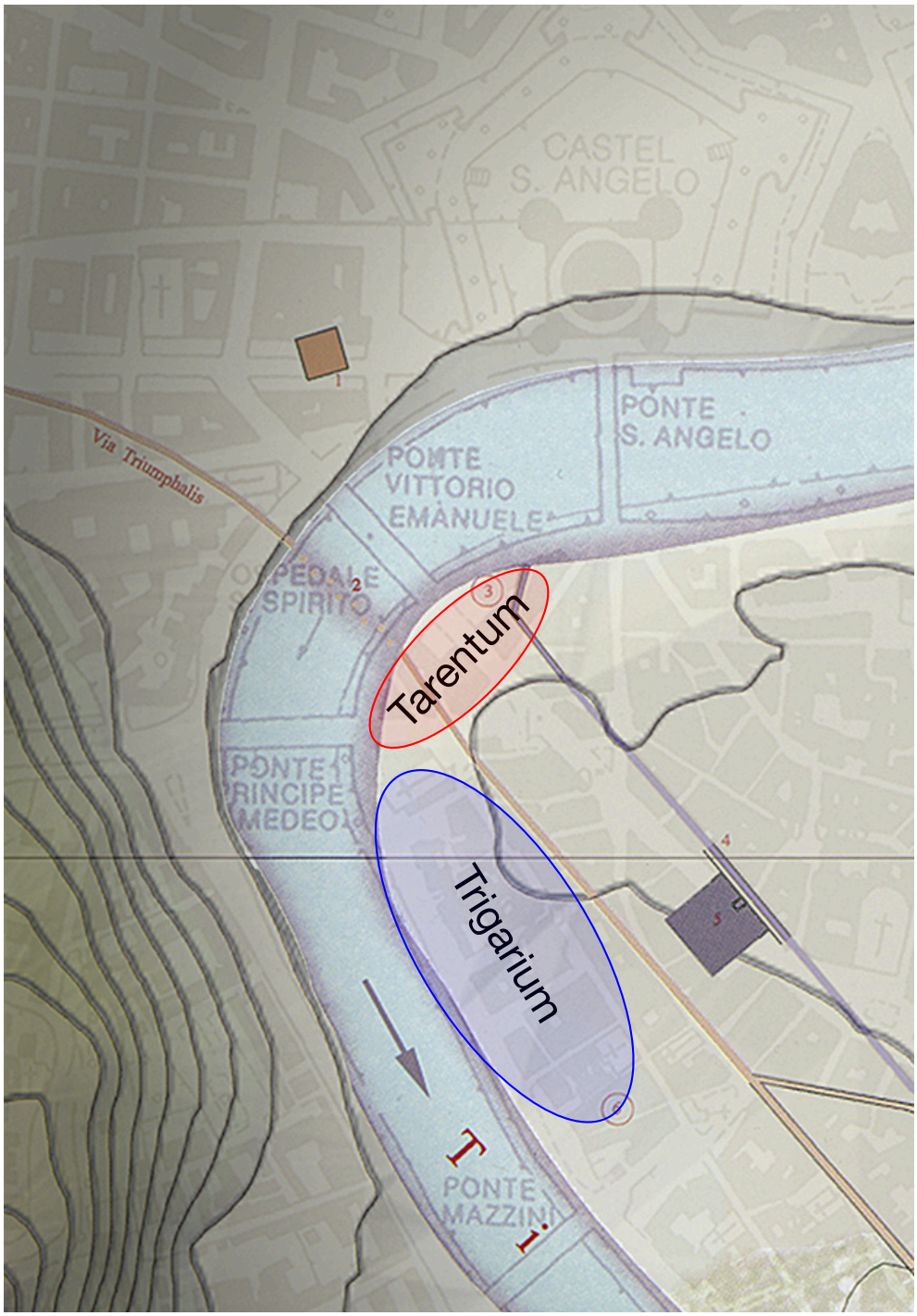


Figure 3: Areas of night rituals
The underlying map is from the Digital Augustan Rome project of Romano et al. (2008): digitalaugustanrome.org

ment of an underworld cult on the site and the creation of the first Saecular Games, called Tarentian Games.

If the location of the night rituals is nearly certain, there is no conclusive evidence of the architectural features of the sacred area. Scholarship provides us with two distinct versions: Coarelli reconstructs,[45] two temples for the underworld gods Dis and Proserpina with two stone altars in front of them and an arch in between. He identifies the temples on the previously unattributed fragment of a marble plan of Rome of the third century AD and on a depiction of Saecular Games' rituals made on coins for Domitian edition in AD 88 (see Figure 4, page 136). However, La Rocca argues that even if there were altars for underworld gods, which the legend of cult place establishment seems to imply,[46] they stayed buried underground, and only were unearthed for actual sacrifices. There is no evidence nor any necessity for built temples if the space was already sacred.[47]

The two conflicting reconstructions provide very different possibilities for sensory experiences: an open, river-facing space or a built environment, consisting of two temples. I tend to support the open space version, firstly, because of the river bank structure and presence of another water source, the artificial Euripus channel, nearby, which would impede any temple building. Secondly, Roman religious practice included dedicated sacred spaces, which had few or no over-

[45] See Steinby (1994) under *Tarentum*, Schnegg–Köhler, and also the newest Atlas of Ancient Rome Carandini and Carafa (2012) follow him in their reconstructions

[46] Val. Max. 2.4.5

[47] Rocca (1984, pp. 44-45, 55)

ground structures, such as *Lacus Curtius* on the Forum. Finally, there is no mention of a temple of Dis Pater or Proserpina in Rome for the Augustan period or later. All of these, however, do not exclude the possibility of a permanent enclosure or pavement of the area and, certainly, temporary structures built for the Games. Because the *Tarentum* is bounded on three sides by the river, or, as Coarelli suggests, and additionally by the artificial water channel, Euripus, the sacred area itself must have been relatively small. Using Coarelli's estimates as a guide, the area of both temples combined (i.e. *Tarentum* itself) would be around 800 square metres. If we add the remaining bank area, it would only come to around $1\,000$ square metres. This area would only fit around $2\,400$ people, assuming the ratio of 3 persons per square metre, which would be dense, but not extremely crowded. However, it makes more sense to assume that the area was suited to fit far fewer spectators, because built up with temples or not, it needed to accommodate the altars, the animals for slaughter, the musicians, sacrificial assistants and members of the priestly college of 15 men. The fact that the area of the sacrifice is so compact influences the spectators' experiences. Therefore we can assume that only those involved in the process of a sacrifice and not that many spectators would be able to have a direct view of the process as well as hearing the prayers clearly. The rest of the spectators would have only a very limited ability to view the sacrifice. However, the natural ten degree incline of the river bank formed a small rise, which could possibly create a limited perspective on the place of the sacrifices for those standing close to it. Unfortunately, we cannot test any hypothesis now, because the building of

the Tiber embankment in the 1870s created much steeper slopes from the debris of the embankment works.[48]

The *Trigarium*, a much larger area nearby, was probably used as the main location and hub of the Games (see Figure 4). It also had to host nearly half of the performances, associated with the first three or sacred days of the Games. Coarelli suggested (and many generally agree) that the *trigarium* measured approximately 340m $\times$ 150m.[49] Its area is much larger than *Tarentum* and consists of approximately $51\,000$ square metres or 5.1 hectares.

The area of such size could accommodate around $170\,000$ people, if they were to stand close to each other, at a ratio of about 3 people per square metre. But it also had to accommodate the facilities for the performances. On the first night the performances happened on a mysterious temporary stage, which *did not have any seats placed near it*,[50] as the inscription stipulates. On the subsequent days, some performances were held in *theatrum ligneum* — a wooden theatre Lines 108, 156-157, 161 , which is near the Tiber — *quod est ad Tiberim* Line 157 . Finally, after the end of the official games, for the *ludi scaenici* were started *near the place where there were sacrifices previous nights*. And for them theatre (seating) and stage were placed/built — *theatrum positum et sc[ae]na ...*, Lines 153-154 . The main question is whether it was one theatre for all or some occasions, or there were actually two

[48] Primrose hill in London has similar origins, therefore it is possible to imagine how these works could change the landscape.

[49] Coarelli (2004)

[50] Line 101

or three temporary theatres/performance spaces in the *Trigarium*. The arrangement of these theatres has proved very difficult to establish. Schnegg–Köhler suggests that because there were several types of performances, and the re-purposing of a theatre during the uninterruptible Games would be difficult, there were actually two different theatres, one for improvisational first–night performances, the other for the more elaborate and rehearsed day–time shows.[51] La Rocca goes even further and suggests that the night–time theatre's *scaenae frons* is depicted on the coins of Domitian which portray the rituals in *Tarentum*, and which Coarelli has identified with temples of Dis and Proserpina.[52] However, Domitianic coins related to the Saecular Games are not usually reliable evidence to reconstruct building and architectural features, because they do not tend to coherently or faithfully reproduce them. As Grunow–Sobocinski points out, analysing coins depicting the Saecular Games rituals: "... events that ought to have taken place at the same location have different architectural backgrounds, and similar architectural backgrounds are used for events at widely separated locations."[53] In fact the dramatic difference in the La Rocca's and Coarelli's interpretation of the coin also seems to suggest it.

I would suggest that there were actually two or more accurately $2\frac{1}{2}$ performance spaces in the *Trigarium*: a stage for night performances, which was rebuilt with added seats for the *ludi scaenici*, and a wooden

[51] Schnegg-Köhler (2002, 186-200)
[52] Rocca (1984)
[53] Sobocinski (2006, p.592)

theatre for the day–time Games (see Figure 4). There are several facts which point towards this decision. The inscription language is sensitive to the distinction between stage and seating. Thus, the stage (*scaena*), for night–time performances has a specific mention of *no seating adjacent to it*, i.e. no auditorium constructed — *theatrum adiectum non fuit nullis positis sellibus*.[54] Whereas the theatre built for *ludi scaenici* has both stage and seating — *scaena* and *theatrum*. Finally, the wooden theatre is *theatrum ligneum*,[55] which might simply mean theatre, as it is in English, but also might underline the existence of the auditorium. Sear suggests, that both uses of the word *theatrum* are common, and whenever there is a need for distinction between the stage and the auditorium building, the words *proscaenium* for the stage, and *theatrum* for the auditorium are used.[56] Therefore, the terms used to describe the performance spaces are contrasting. The style of shows performed is also different, with only the wooden theatre scheduled to welcome honorary games, and specifically *Ludi Latini* alongside the big stone theatres of Pompey and Marcellus. Whereas the stage without seating was used for night performances, and stage with seating for the *ludi scaenici*. Therefore I think that the wooden theatre was a semi-permanent structure nearby, whereas the stage and the stage with seating were temporary buildings created specifically for the games.

There is no archaeological data to support the locations of the

[54] Line 100
[55] Line 108
[56] See the analysis of the Latin theatre construction's terms in Sear (2006, p.1).

theatres, but there are points in landscape structure and performance structure which could provide clues for this. Games were already very demanding of strength and stamina from their spectators, who had to witness sacrifice lasting several hours, whilst standing near the river, at night. Moreover, they did not have any particularly clear view of what happened during the sacrifice. Therefore, the subsequent performance at the temporary stage could prove to be an experience inducing immense tiredness and boredom, if some arrangement had not been provided to ensure that there was at least some possibility of seeing the performance. As a result I find the placing of the stage — at the Northern end of Trigarium problematic.[57] Even if the spectators were bound to stand for religious or moral reasons, it makes more sense to locate the the stage in order that it could face the slope (see Figure 4 on page 136). This would create a natural amphitheatre, more comfortable for watching. Tacitus describes a similar arrangement on a much larger scale later used by Claudius, when he staged a naval battle performance on lake Fucino, where the spectators were arranged on the hills surrounding the lake "as in the theatre" Tac. Ann. 12.46 . It is only a hypothesis, since the place of the stage is not known. It is worth noting however, that one should not assume, that the fact that the stage was a temporary building and there were no seats near it, means that it was plain and not decorated. Romans had a long-standing tradition of ornate temporary buildings for performances, which did not die with the building of the first permanent theatre in 55 BC. However, the limited lighting possibilities for the stage might render invisible all

[57] Carandini and Carafa (2012)

the effort spent on the decoration of stage, so we might expect that the performance space was lit by artificial lighting, which was rare, but not uncommon at large celebrations. Nothing is known of the dimensions of the stage, but assuming that a huge attendance numbers for the Games, it should probably have sufficient space to be observable from a distance. The day–time temporary stage with seating might be constructed from the materials of the night–time stage, or might have been re-used with only the seating being added.

Regarding the wooden theatre even less is known. It seems reasonable that having enormous expertise in building luxurious temporary theatre buildings, the second theatre was also built as a good quality and ornate building, especially considering that it might have outlived the Saecular Games.[58] I suggest that it should be located at the furthest place from the *Tarentum*. All those structures leave a smaller space to accommodate spectators and participants of the Games, and therefore, a collective crowd experience becomes possible.

Finally, we should account for the place for *sellisternia* — the ritual banquet for Juno and Diana, which Matrons performed after the night–time sacrifices. I agree with Schnegg–Köhler who suggests that the *Acta* stipulates that the place for *sellisternia* was the Capitoline hill, where the temple of Juno was located.[59]

The day–time sacrifices and associated performances, such as a

[58] See Sear (2006, See theatrum ligneum).

[59] Lines 15-19

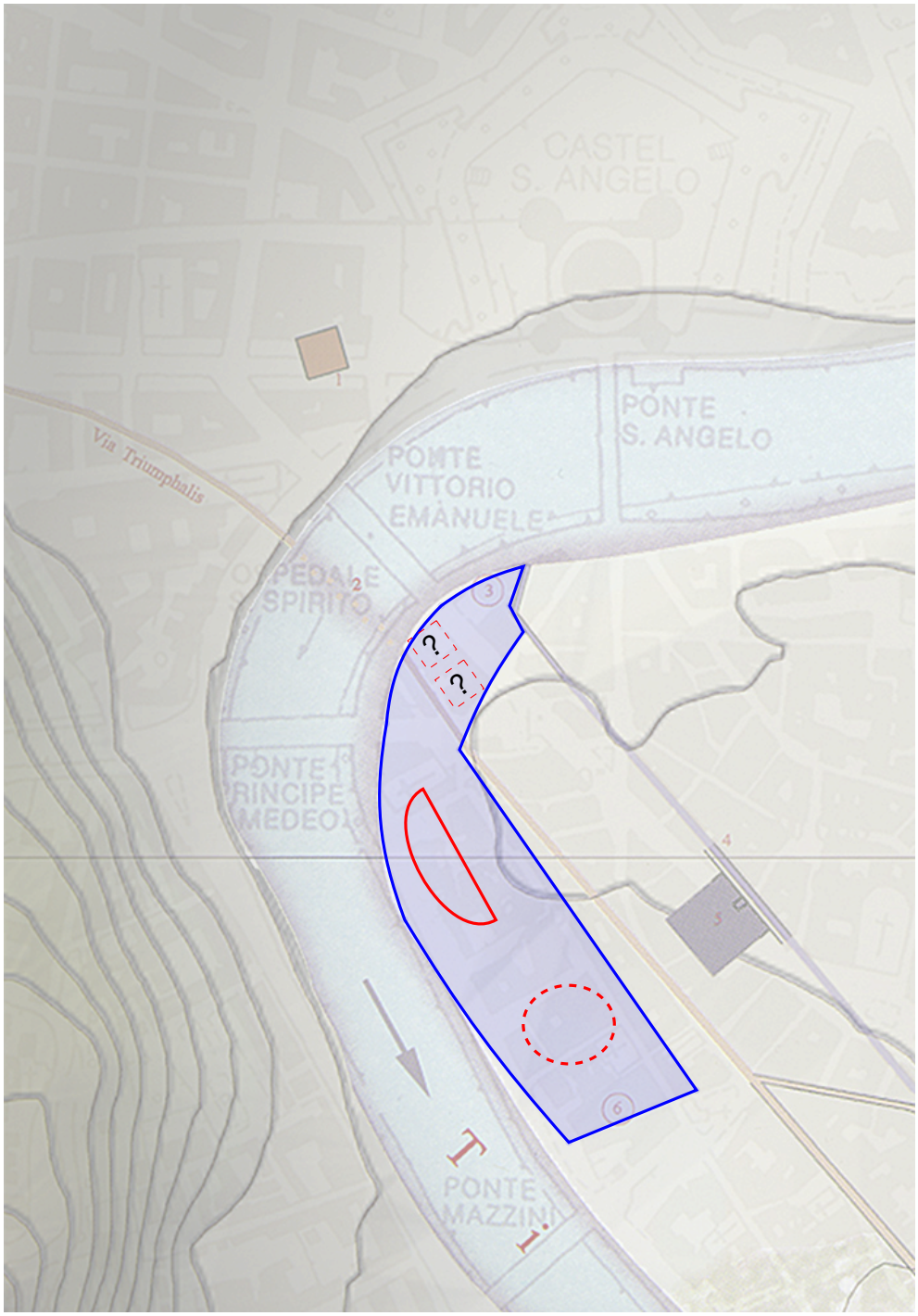


Figure 4: Games hub area ( ). Temples of Dis and Proserpina ( ). Theatre for night performances ( ). Theatre for day–time performances ( ).
The underlying map is from the Digital Augustan Rome project of Romano et al. (2008): digitalaugustanrome.org

kneeling prayer of 110 *matronae*, and youth choir performances, were conducted in the area of the Capitoline hill for the first two days, and the Palatine and Capitoline hills for the last day. The sacrifices on the Capitoline hill were performed near the most ancient and venerable temples: the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and temple of Juno Moneta. The sacrifices on the third day were performed in the newly built complex of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill. Although the sacrifices on the third day were dedicated to Apollo and Diana it is safe to assume from the inscription, that they were both conducted in one place. As was the usual practice, most probably the sacrifices were performed not inside the temples, but in front of them, and so the audience for the sacrifice could be estimated based on the measurements of the outdoor area near the temples. The choir performed after the sacrifices to Apollo and Diana first on the Palatine hill, and then on the Capitoline hill. The only way to efficiently cover the distance between the two hills for a choir of 54 persons and a number of officials would be to proceed through the Roman forum, and thus it is likely that these two performances were connected by an intermediate solemn procession through the forum. Overall, the day and night rituals significantly differ in terms of ease of access to the ritual location: the relatively large and flat area of *Tarentum* could fit many more spectators, than the Capitoline and Palatine hill temple complexes.

During the official Games, the theatrical performances were only conducted in the area of *Tarentum*, either in the wooden theatre or on the stage with no seating attached to it. The third day saw chariot

races, horsemen and horse acrobatics also conducted most probably in *Trigarium*.

It is only at the time of the honorary Games, that the permanent theatres available in Rome were used for performances. One place for performances was the largest Roman theatre — the theatre of Pompey — built in 55 BC but rebuilt and embellished by Augustus in the recent years before the Games.[60] Another theatre used in the honorary Games was the theatre called "in the circus Flaminius", which is identified with the Theatre of Marcellus. Although this theatre had not been dedicated at the time of the Games, and might not have been completely finished or decorated, it was definitively used. The temporary wooden theatre also hosted performances for the honorary Games.

Although the permanent theatre buildings are well studied, it is difficult to estimate their capacity accurately. This is because theatres were constantly rebuilt, so there is not enough archaeological information from the Augustan period. Moreover, very few theatres have upper levels of seats intact. Finally, there is no definite methodology to estimate the dimensions of seat for one spectator. Rose argues that depending on the possible allowance for the size of each individual seat and the calculations of the percentage of the space used for passages, the estimated capacities could differ by three times.[61] For example, the theatre of Marcellus could have had capacity to accommodate $42\,000$ spectators or, if using other measurements standards,

[60] RG. 20.9

[61] Rose (2005, esp. table 6).

$16\,000$. Because of these huge discrepancies in the results, which depend on counting methodologies, it is difficult to rely on any particular method.[62] However, we can get a rough idea of theatres capacity, especially if we compare different buildings. Firstly, it is safe to assume that no permanent theatre can accommodate all the possible (estimated) Saecular Games' spectators at once. Secondly, the relative capacity of the theatres could be established: the Theatre of Pompey was the biggest theatre, and the wooden theatre as well as Theatre of Marcellus were definitely smaller. Secondly, because of the seating arrangements and the size of the buildings, theatres were much smaller than circuses. Basing our calculation on these assumptions and on theatres' reconstructed seating area measurements, provided by Rose,[63] we could estimate the capacity of the Theatre of Pompey at several tens of thousands spectators, and both the theatre in circus Flaminius and the wooden theatre at $15\,000$–$25\,000$ spectators each. Therefore, the maximum number of people who could have possibly been spectating the honorary Games is less than the one of those who could possibly attend the night–time sacrifices.

To summarise the overview of the Games' locations, I have gathered all the information extracted from the *Acta* on structures and buildings of the Saecular Games in Table 2 on page 141. The first column represents the naming of a building in the inscription, and the last indicates the lines of the inscription where this place is mentioned.

[62] For the discussions of data on and methods of counting the spectators numbers see Sear (2006, Chapter 6).

[63] Rose (2005).

Unfortunately, actual archaeological traces of many buildings used for the Games are lost. To account for that, and to focus on the Augustan space, I included in the table the time of construction of a particular building, and, depending on a the available information, subsequent restorations, marking the Augustan work in bold. Another possible source of information of the way the buildings looked, or where they were located, are fragments of a AD 3 century marble plan of Rome; references to the part of the plan are listed in the third column.[64] The plan gives an idea of scale, mutual locations and internal structures of some monuments. The fourth column represents the identified archaeological evidence on the buildings and their state of preservation.

[64]The references to the Marble plan fragments are given according to Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project.Trimble and Najbjerg (2016)

Table 2: Buildings and places from the *Acta*

Building/place	(Re)construction date	Archaeological data	Marble plan	*Acta*
Curia Iulia	40s BC → **29 BC**, after AD 283	building of AD 283, same plan	none	AB6-10
Saepta Iulia	50s BC → **26 BC**, after AD 80, after AD 200	a wall of Hadrian building (AD 200s)	from 35gg to 36a, fragments only	50-63
Aedes Dianae	early republic, **29 BC** rebuilt	none	22a-b, fragments only	29-36
Iuppiter Optimus Maximus	509 BC, after 83 BC, 9 BC	foundations partly preserved	none	29-36,64-89, generally 103-108, 119-133,147-152
Iuppiter Tonans	**26-22 BC**	none	possibly 31a-c	29-36
Ad Tiberim (Tarentum)	no buildings	*Acta* found there	none	90-102, 115-118, 134-137,153-154
Aedes Apollinis	**36 BC → 28 BC**, burnt AD 363	Column and capital	20c-h, fragments only	29-36,generally 138-152
Theatrum Pompeianum	50 BC, **app.30-20 BC**, after AD 21, after AD 66, after AD 80, after AD 247	fragments of foundations, proportions clear from landscape	37a-d porticus only	155-158
Theatrum in circo Flaminio	**40s → 11 BC**	extensive fragments of cavea, sparse stage remains	extensive: 31eno, 31il, 31mt, 31p, 31qrs	155-158
Theatrum ligneum ad Tiberim	**17 BC** temporary wooden structure	none	n/a	108-110,153-158
Scaena quoi theatrum adiectum non fuit	**17 BC** temporary wooden stage structure	none	n/a	100

3.5 How many spectators were at the Saecular Games?

Having discussed the organisers' arrangement of time and place of the future Games, we can now use the methods proposed in Chapter 2 to estimate overall attendance and number of spectators at the Games. We will use two main methods to do this: estimating the number of attendances through the relative area of the places where the Games happened (e.g. *Tarentum* or Capitoline hill); having established from the *Acta* the main groups that attended the Games, we can add the information about particular named groups of spectators too. Table 2 shows all the buildings which hosted the Games. Since we assume that there were few if any simultaneously run events, we can suggest that each building or space near the buildings hosted all the actual participants of the event. As we established earlier, the biggest area of the Games was the hub of the Games and the location of night rituals *Tarentum* and *Trigarium*. With an area of 5.1 hectares or $51\,000$m^2, it could host $204\,000$ spectators and participants if we assume the ratio of 4 people per m^2, which is 1 person above the rate currently used to establish the maximum capacity of public buildings in the UK.[65] This is a conservative estimate, since the ratio is likely to be even higher for ancient Rome, where fire safety regulations and other safety requirements were not enforced. However, it is also important to con-

[65] I adjusted the conditions in order to reduce the amount of personal space allowed by them.

sider that the maximum capacity of the given area probably was not reached. This number ($200\,000$) is comparable to demographic data of the estimated free population of Rome.[66] Judging by the area of the night rituals and the demographic information, we could assume that the night rituals were the events with maximum attendance out of all of the events of the Games. Other areas where the Games' took place offered smaller possibilities to accommodate such a number of spectators simultaneously. We cannot rule out the possibility of watching the Games from the area outside the main location of the event (e.g. the performance of the Saecular Hymn, which happened on the Palatine hill, can be watched from the Capitoline hill and Forum). The above is true for the official Games and the preparatory rituals. The situation was different for entertainment events in the temporary wooden theatre and for the whole duration of the honorary Games, since as we have seen earlier, theatres could only accommodate from ten to thirty or forty thousand spectators each.

3.6 Spectators groups and identities in the *Acta*

The *Acta* allow us to nuance the picture obtained from counting the maximum number of possible spectators in different locations of the Games' events. The *Acta* mention several distinct groups of people attending the Games. Firstly, these are organisers of the Games, the members of collegium of the 15 men. The complete collegium is men-

[66] Hin (2008)

tioned at the end of the inscription,[67] and it provides the list of names of all its members. Despite the name, the collegium counts 21 members, and some of those members are also mentioned in the inscription participating in particular activities, such as in the sacrifices.[68] Other officials mentioned in the *Acta* are praetors and consuls. Only two professional groups are mentioned: the members of musical collegium of *aenatores* — the brass wind instruments players,[69] and the *desultores* — horseback acrobats.[70] Augustus is referred to by a variety of titles, including the *magister* of the 15 men; the imperator and Caesar;[71] and the holder of tribune powers, *tribunicia potestas*.[72]

The other participants and spectators named in the inscription can be identified as Roman citizens, since no slaves are mentioned. The Romans are referred to as *populus and plebs Romana* — Roman people and plebs,[73] *Quirites* — Quirites, *omnes liberi* — all the free,[74] and *homines* — men.[75] Some of these definitions technically could include both men and women (e.g. the free): however gender and age of those attending the Games was a particular preoccupation for the organisers of the Games. The women are mentioned several times, and are referred to as *mulieres* — women,[76] *femina* — female,[77] and

[67] Lines 166-168
[68] Line 107
[69] Line 88
[70] Line 154
[71] Lines 150, 166
[72] Line 53
[73] Line A13
[74] Line 8, 66
[75] Line 65
[76] Line 71
[77] Line 73

matres familiae — mothers.[78] The *matres familiae* seem to be synonymous with a group of women — *matronae* — the matrons.[79] The young Romans are named as *pueri, virgines*, — young men and young maidens,[80] and *pueri, puellae* — boys and girls.[81] Finally, the *caelibes* or singles, i.e. those breaking the newly passed marriage law are referred to in the inscription as *qui nondum sunt maritati* — those who are not yet married.[82] They are admitted to watch the Games by a special amendment of law, passed just before the Games.

As can be seen, the inscription is centred on the free population of Rome as participants, beneficiaries and spectators of the Games. Therefore, we might assume that in the organisers' rhetoric, the Games are designated for the whole body of Roman citizens. Technically, the organisers address the whole free population of the Roman empire in their text and invite them to be the spectators of the Games. Neither slaves nor foreigners are mentioned in the inscription, unless we assume that some of the members of participating *desultores* or *aenatores* could have had been slaves. This group of free Roman citizens is not uniform: participation and attendance of some rituals is based on gender or age, such as participation in women–only ritual banquets and or in performances of youth choirs. Therefore the groups of women and children which are directly involved in the rituals of the Games receive another identity as performers, and their

[78] Line 123
[79] Lines 78, 101
[80] Line 20
[81] Line 147
[82] *Line 55*

spectators' experience is modified as well by this additional role.

Therefore, the authors of the inscription created a model audience of the Games, describing the families of the free Romans as participants, beneficiaries and welcomed spectators of the Games. Consequently, other potential spectators have their identities defined in contrast with this image of welcomed spectators. Such spectator groups include, among others, the unmarried, the childless, orphans and the widows. Therefore, their spectators' experience will differ.

Chapter 4

Movement and journeys of the Saecular Games

4.1 Introduction

In the previous Chapter, we established the structure of the Games, based on the *Acta*: the events, their timing and locations. But one key ingredient is missing from the spectators' experience and the organisers' preoccupations with the Games — movement. We concluded in the previous Chapter that according to the organisers' views the main areas of the Games were: the *Tarentum* in the Field of Mars, and Capitoline and Palatine hills. Since all the preparatory, night– and day–rituals, and various performances were nearly always[1] conducted

[1] The only exception being a day long pause between the end of official Games and start of the honorary Games performances.

without any significant intermission, it was necessary for large crowds of people to move between the locations of the Games. For the spectators this movement was as much the experience of the Games as the events, such as performances, sacrifices and rituals themselves.

It is important to highlight the methodological necessity of studying people's movement during the Games, in order to understand their experience. The idea of movement is crucial for understanding the production of space or, in other words, how the specific space of the Games is made material through the interaction of a moving crowd with the architecture and topography of Rome. The importance of movement in the study of ancient spaces is discussed in the pivotal volume by Laurence and Newsome.[2] There, Laurence traced the change in the approaches to ancient Roman space studies. Starting from research in topography and architecture in the mid–20th century, in the 1980s and 1990s the discipline underwent a so-called *"spatial turn"*, when the study of social structures was correlated with the study of space, and thus the history was placed in its spatial context. This transformation was mostly due to developments in archaeological understanding of space, namely the ways in which archaeology started to reconstruct the workings of experience of a particular place (a house, a temple etc), how it dealt with a conglomeration of buildings, and finally, how the movement of objects and even persons was reflected in archaeological data. A good illustration to this approach is the seminal collection of conference papers entitled "Urbs",[3] which

[2] Laurence and Newsome (2011)
[3] Pietri et al. (1987)

sketched some of the research directions, such as the meaning of building programmes (Bonnefond, Sauron), delineation of private and public space (Wiseman), particular places in the city linked with social activity, such as electoral and financial topography (Demougin, Denial), and ways to reflect propaganda using landscape and different types of public buildings (La Rocca, Dondin–Payre, Hinard, Gros, Sauron). This resulted in deeper analysis of the interaction of the built environment of the city and historical events, such as the Saecular Games and the Augustan restitution of the Republic. It also gave insights into the institutional operation of the city: elections, senate meetings, leisure time activities, trade and administration of justice. The focus of the research moved from architecture to the realm of urban studies.

Nevertheless, this approach did not account for the movement of people. To be active in political life, to assemble in their leisure time, to worship, Romans needed to access the respective places, and therefore Romans had to move through their city. This shapes the way in which we view the city's experience. Instead of focusing almost exclusively on points, individual buildings, places as "tableaux" against which Romans acted, we come to understand the city through its connections, roads, pathways, which create the city in its ensemble, through which the Romans move. In becoming interested in movement in the city, archaeologists were able to access an established tradition of contemporary urban studies in which movement has been extensively explored since 1950s.

This exploration ranged from the physical possibilities of movement through the city and early attempts of urban planners to come up with a dictionary of connections that an individual could use to describe their experience of this journey,[4] to the political and social implications of walking and journeys,[5] their relationship with economy, class and power,[6] all the way through to movement used as a way of reclaiming the citizen's right to the city, rebellion and political activism.[7] One of the advantages in engaging with this literature is that the idea of movement linked the traditionally separate fields of study: the architecture and social history. Without the concept of movement, we are bound to construct a history of places (an amphitheatre, a square, a temple), whereas the concept of journey enables us to reconstruct the specific space produced at a specific time or event, such as the Saecular Games.

The movement of spectators during the Saecular Games was probably structured by the organisers of the Games. It would be difficult to imagine the people's movement to be chaotic: the Games schedule was tight, and the events followed one another, thus in order to get to the place of the next event themselves and to have spectators and participants in place, the organisers most probably had to structure the people's movement. Moreover, despite the fact that the Games areas (the Field of Mars and the Palatine and Capitoline hills) are located near each other, the presence of the natural (river) and

[4] Lynch (1960)
[5] de Certeau (2011)
[6] Harvey (1973); Lefebvre (1991)
[7] Debord (1970); Lefebvre (1968)

man-made city boundaries (the walls of the *pomerium*) made movement in both directions quite difficult. There were very few possible routes which could be followed in order to get from the Field of Mars to the hills and back. The care for people's movement could therefore pose a problem and a challenge for organisers. But a necessity to organise their own and spectators' movement also provided the organisers with the ability to express their views and highlight the political programme and meaning of the Games through the ways of organising this movement. As we discussed in Chapter 2, according to Lefebvre's classification, the organisers' space can be described as *conceived space*. Rome was considerably rebuilt in the ten years preceding the Games; this renovation programme led to the creation of a new urban space.[8]

The Games schedule created specific points between which the spectators' walking journey happened. The characteristics of this newly formed space and the spectators' journey through it are objects of analysis in this chapter. My aim is to reconstruct the ways in which organisers structured spectators' movement into a journey and assess what this potential journey tells about the *conceived space* of the organisers, and what possibilities it offers for discovering the spectators experience of the Games. I will first establish the principal locations and pathways of the spectators' movement at the Games, and then analyse them through the lens of contemporary theories that approach movement and space, as discussed in Chapter 2.

[8] On the rebuilding of Rome see e.g. Favro (1998); Wallace-Hadrill (2008), for the works on the buildings used in the Games see summary in Table 2.

4.2 Movement at the Games in practice and theory

For the purpose of movement study, the flow of the Games could be further subdivided into four categories of events:

(a) the early preparatory activity of the organisers, which happens without significant involvement of the general public;
(b) the public preparatory phase, which comprises the announcement of the Games and preparatory purification rituals;
(c) the three nights and days of the official rituals and performances; and
(d) a separate week of honorary Games, mainly consisting of various theatre and circus performances.

All these phases have distinctive features which could suggest specific journey patterns, which are likely to differ from one phase to another. The spectators, participants in the Games, (e.g. choirs) and organisers' journeys do not always match each other as well. Most of the spectators and participants are excluded from negotiations in the senate and the meetings of 15 men, thus making the preparatory phase of the Games (18 BC – March 17 BC) less interesting and informative for the purpose of journey research. The official Games, on the contrary, have the tightest schedule in comparison with the other phases, and are most likely to require all the spectators, participants and organis-

ers to move in an orderly manner between the events locations. I will proceed with the description of these four stages of the Games: the organisers' preparation, the preparatory rituals, the official and finally the honorary Games. I will focus on the moments when the organisers' ideas of journey structure and spectators' movement patterns could be revealed. After each of these practical descriptions, I will place my findings in a wider theoretical context, the spatial and movement theories framework, which I established in Chapters 1 and 2, whilst sometimes reaching out to other helpful movement theories.

4.3 Early days: preparing the Games and encountering spectators

The preparatory phase mainly involved only the participation of the organisers; nevertheless, a few aspects of this phase could be interesting in connection with this chapter's aims and objectives. We may examine firstly, how organisers structured their own journeys and how they used the city space in the early stages of planning the Games; secondly, how the interaction with spectators happened in the city space during this phase of the Games; and, finally, looking towards further phases of the Games, what were the organisers main preoccupations and arrangements put in place for the later phases of the Games at this, very early, stage.

As we discussed in Chapter 3, the places the organisers chose for their meetings were very few and mostly fairly traditional: the senate had met in *Curia Iulia*, the senate meeting space on the Forum; the collegium of 15 had met in the temple where the Sibylline books were kept, which was either the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill, or the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill.[9]

The recent reconstruction of the Forum and *Curia* and the construction of the Palatine hill complex (the temple of Apollo and complementary buildings near Augustus' house) suggests that these buildings had a strong link with Augustus' personality, both in the spectators' and in the organisers' perception of space. However, the *Curia* was most likely used on a regular basis for senate meetings, and the temple was also in continuous use for other business of the collegium of 15, thus when these places were used for preparation for the Games, they were not specifically linked to the Games themselves, and probably did not bear any special significance in the organisers' spatial planning. There, however, were some more unusual choices of locations at the preparatory stage, as we have seen in the previous Chapter.

We have already mentioned the unusual choice of the senate to meet in the *Saepta Iulia* to make a decision to admit *caelibes* to the Games just before the Games, on 23rd of May. This choice of location and the decision itself might have been prompted by the pres-

[9]For discussion of the collegium of 15 meetings place see Chapter 3; the place of the senate meeting of 17th of February 17 BC in *Curia Iulia* is safely reconstructed from Fr. A, Line 8 .

ence of these very *caelibes* in the *Saepta*. And therefore, the choice of the location might have been a response of organisers to the actual movement and gathering of the people in the *Saepta*. The place of the meeting is firmly attested in the inscription,[10] however the presence of the *caelibes* is only a hypothesis. Even as a hypothesis, this course of action — a gathering in order to push for the amendment of the laws — was not that unusual for Roman history and even for *caelibes* who struggled with the Augustan laws.

In fact Werner Eck[11] found that very likely the *Lex Papia Poppaea* passed nearly twenty years after the Saecular Games,and planned to replace *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* was delayed by several years, and only passed in AD 9, whilst original proposals and *commentarii* dating back to AD 5. However, comparing the number of chapters in the *commentarii* to the attested number of chapters in the final law, Eck also discovered that the passed law had fewer chapters than the *commentarii*, which suggest the removal of some chapters. This delay and amendment to the law, might have been partially due to the protest gatherings *caelibes* organised. Some of them happened during the Games celebrating the triumphal arrival of Tiberius, i.e. during another public festival. Cassius Dio[12] and Suetonius[13] describe very vividly the actual confrontation of Augustus with the representatives of *caelibes* from the senators and the knights — the two top social orders in Rome. Dio's account is by no means equal to eyewitness evidence,

[10] Line 50
[11] Eck (2016, 2013, 2014)
[12] Cass. Dio. 56.1.1-10
[13] Suet.Aug.34.2

but it is probably truthful in the rendering of the chain of events and political position of the participants. This account allows us to imagine how the protests of *caelibes* were performed and how the space was used for it. Augustus greeted Tiberius in the Field of Mars, as was usual for a triumphant general, and addressed the people in the *Saepta* and when, afterwards, during the Games (presumably also held in the *Saepta*)[14] the knights voiced their concerns about the new laws, Augustus assembled them in the Forum and addressed them with a speech. At first, however, Augustus divided the present knights and senators — presumably not only dissident, but also loyal to Augustus — into two groups: one consisting of married knights and senators with children, and the other one of the non-married and childless. He briefly praised the married and even distributed gifts to them, before turning onto the other, problematic unmarried and childless group of senators and knights. In a speech, rendered by Cassius Dio in a strong reprimanding tone, Augustus equated the disobedience to the marriage laws to such grave crimes as homicide and impiety. This colourful picture, involving almost theatrical, even choral movement of senators and knights, with their separation into two groups and the law court style of Augustus' speech, allows us to imagine how a dialogue and discussion of a law could have been provoked and executed in early imperial Rome. Suetonius also renders the protests of the *caelibes* during public games, but in his interpretation Augustus eases the law requirements because of it. This contradiction was long puzzling.

[14] It was not unusual for the Games, especially related to military occasions, to be held in the *Saepta* and the nearby roofed building of *Diribitorium*.

However, since we now know that there were two different versions of this law, with the earlier being much harsher than the final one, we realise that Cassius Dio relates the story of the first version proposed, whereas Suetonius talks about the law as eventually passed.

It is possible that a similar course of action could have had taken place at the preparation for the Saecular Games, but produced a slightly different result — the ban of attendance at the Games for *caelibes* was lifted. However, the reasons for lifting the ban might have been not entirely different from the reasons for passing the amended laws in AD 9, since it might have been in the organisers' and Augustus' family politics' best interest to admit *caelibes* to the Games. The organisers' and *caelibes'* relationships will be discussed in more details in Chapter 5: for the aims of this chapter suffice it to say, that it was possible for knights and senators to voice their discontent with laws during the official Games, and probably to use the gathering at the *Saepta* for this purpose. Therefore, I find the hypothesis of the assembly of dissident knights and senators a plausible explanation for the unusual place of senate meeting on the 23rd of May 17 BC. Thus, a confrontation between the *caelibes* and the organisers may have provoked a movement of people and interaction between the organisers of the Games and the representatives of Rome's top two classes, which presumably happened in a newly built Saepta.

Another example of an interaction, that required the organisers to encounter with the spectators at the early stages of the Games planning would be the first announcement of the future Games, which

probably also happened in the *Saepta*. During this interval between two dated meetings of organisers (17th of February and 25th of March 17 BC) the collegium of 15 men met and produced an edict officially establishing the Games. The collegium also mentioned the need to inform the population about the Games both in *contio*, i.e. a gathering of Roman people; and otherwise for those who were absent at *contio*.[15] The reason for the preoccupation of the organisers is clarified by the text which immediately follows this in the inscription: they want the population to be aware of the necessity to prepare themselves for the Games by performing the purification rituals.[16] The term *contio* usually means a public gathering of Roman citizens, where an announcement by a magistrate is made or a speech is pronounced. This meeting can include a discussion of a law, but no formal voting, which happens in another type of gathering — the *comitia*. Although the usage of terms vary, the main characteristic of this type of public gathering was its informality: it did not require the presence of the whole of the Roman *populus*, and normally included a speech and a discussion of this speech.[17] Sometimes a *contio* might have been summoned by a herald — *praeco* — who may advertise the information from magistrates, senate or priestly collegia. Schnegg–Köhler[18] interprets part of the inscription[19] as a fragment of rendering of an announcement of the Games made by such a herald. The grounds of this proposi-

[15] Lines 25-28

[16] Lines 30-36

[17] For a discussion of the term and establishment of minimal requirements for a *contio*, see Frolov (2013).

[18] Schnegg-Köhler (2002, pp. 81-82)

[19] Fr. C, Lines 15-17

tion are strange nature of the text, and the word *audientiam*, which is interpreted as part of a herald's cry to order silence — *facite audientiam*. The presence of heralds announcing the Games is attested in Suetonius' description of the Saecular Games held by the emperor Claudius[20] in the account of Zosimus,[21] and also perhaps on the coins, commemorating the Saecular Games of Augustus and Domitian.[22]

The announcement of the herald was definitely part of the Games, but it seems logical to combine the advertisement of the Games with a *contio*, conveyed by herald, rather than having a separate announcement earlier on in the year, and then proceeding to *contio*. I interpret the mention of the herald's announcement in a senate decree as a programme for a later date of *contio*, rather than an announcement on its own. But who could actually learn about the Games from a *contio*, and who were those who needed additional information? *Contio* in its terminological sense was an assembly of people, thus consisting of a wide variety of people of different demographics.[23] Moreover, the probable location for *contio* could be the place of the voting assembly — the *Saepta*. And although the *Saepta* was big, and by optimistic estimates could fit up to 50 000 people, this amount would still constitute only a quarter of the free Roman population. However, even the attendance rate of voting assemblies, the *comitia*, was considerably

[20] Suet. Claud. 21

[21] Zos. 2.5.1

[22] Augustan "herald" coinage: RIC I^2.339-342 The coins are sometimes interpret differently, and the person depicted is associated with *ludio* — a specific ritual theatre and processions' performer. On the discussion of this coin iconography see Sobocinski (2006, pp. 586-589), Latham (2016, pp.32-34).

[23] On the process of *contio* and attendants diversity see Mouritsen (2013)

lower, than this capacity of *Saepta*.[24] It is therefore possible to suggest that less than a tenth of the people of Rome (around $25\,000$) were notified by this *contio*. This was the first time, that the wider population of the city got to know about the future Games, and most probably about their tentative schedule. Therefore it is interesting to estimate the number of people present to know this information. Those attending *contio* would probably notify their families, relatives and friends, because that was the *contio* was organised for — to share information, so many more would eventually learn about the Games, thus spreading the information. Additionally, since the announcement of the Games was proposed as an edict, another possible way of knowing about the Games emerged after the announcement. It would have been possible to read the published edict, i.e. the painted inscriptions on whitewashed wooden boards displayed in prominent places. This act of attending *contio* still constituted a usual, ordinary movement pattern for citizens to come to a reasonably regular gathering in a building which was specifically and recently rebuilt for this purpose. It is important that this movement falls into the routine movement pattern, but at the same time constitutes a first encounter of the organisers with the spectators of the Games; it also has a practical aim to notify the spectators of the necessity to participate in the preparatory rituals.

The date of this *contio* is uncertain. We know that the edicts were published, thus it would be reasonable to hold the *contio* at around

[24] For the estimates of possible *comitia* and *contiones* attendance rates see Hin (2008, p. 18)

the same time or even before the edict was published. It is reasonable to suggest, then, that these events happened shortly after the dated meeting of 25th of March 17 BC, thus the general public was notified about the Games nearly two months before the Games.

Overall, the city's movement was not particularly altered by the approaching Games in the early stages. However, the first encounter of organisers' and the future spectators already took place.

4.4 Preparatory rituals' practicalities: organisers managing crowd flow

As we have seen, the organisers' preoccupation with spectators' movement during the Games manifested as early as the first announcement of the Games: they advertised the obligation to participate in the purification rituals and announced the places where the necessary ingredients would be dispensed, both at the *contio* and by publishing edicts.[25] The places initially named in the edicts for the distribution of the purification substances were the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the temple of Jupiter Tonans and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill. The last eight days of May 17 BC saw the intensification of the organisers' activities, as well as the adjustment of some of the previous arrangements regarding the flow of the preparatory rituals of the Games.

[25] Lines 25-37

In the early decrees passed at the end of March,[26] only one day (28th of May) was assigned to the distribution of *suffimenta*.[27] However, the edict published by the 15 men on the 24th of May added two extra days for this rite.[28] Thus, 26th, 27th and 28th of May were reserved for the distribution of purification substances. This edict has a note, which suggests that everyone should receive the purification only once. I think this measure was practically rather than religiously-motivated: the organisers wished to avoid the overcrowding caused by people claiming the purification substances repeatedly.[29]

The late date of this edict suggests that either the organisers had not been planning accurately and simply broadly defined the prospective dates of the events at the time of publishing the first, March edicts, or, which I think is more likely, that they saw the influx of visitors to Rome in the days shortly before the Games, and thus anticipated the overcrowding.

Another reason for the organisers' change of plans might be in the slightly unusual nature of the purification rituals. Traditionally, the original day of distribution of the *suffimenta*[30] — the 28th of May — was a purification day of the *Ambarvalia* festival.[31] It was celebrated every

[26] Lines 46-49
[27] Lines 47-48
[28] Lines 65-68
[29] Line 65
[30] *Suffimentum* or *suffimen* is quite a rare word. The only Latin authors that use it are Ovid in his account on Parilia Ovid.Fast.4.731;733 , Cicero in a philosophical context Cic.De leg.1.40 and Pliny the Elder in his Natural History Plin., Hist.Nat.15. 720; 735 . Out of all these authors, only Ovid describes similar rituals. In Pliny suffimenta are the fragrant herbs; Cicero uses the word as a generic term for any purification ritual.
[31] More on relationship of *Ambarvalia* and *suffitio*, and on the performance of *suffitio*

year, three days before the *Kalendae* of June. It consisted of a *lustratio* type ritual — a procession going round the city and its houses with sacrifices.[32] A new ritual — *suffitio* — probably replaced the familiar *lustratio* ritual, whilst preserving its purificatory function. The flow of the ritual was completely changed. *Suffitio* was a fumigation ritual, whereas the main action of the *lustratio* was a promenade around the purified territory. *Suffitio* was also performed in each individual household, whereas *lustratio* was performed by priests on behalf of the whole population of Rome. Thus, one day might have been enough for performance of the usual —*lustratio* — ritual, but the new ritual probably required much more time to be put in place. This is why organisers needed the two additional days and the restriction on repeat attendance in order to improve the crowd management.

The additional places for distribution of ingredients for the ritual, if only used simultaneously with those previously designated, could also have helped to ease the flow of traffic. However, it is unclear whether all of the temples were used at the same time and/or during all of the days allocated for distribution. The fact that the preparatory decree mentions three temples and the main body of the inscription only one — that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus — may indicate that on the two additional dates the distributions were conducted in this temple only. The simultaneous use of the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer and that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus might seem impractical, since

in Chapter 6, Section 2.

[32]Little is known about the *lustratio* performed in the cities, our main sources are about *lustratio* in the country, as agricultural rite of purification of the fields. See e.g. Virg.Ecl.5.83; Virg. Georg.1.338

they were located very close to each other and it is unlikely that queuing would be effective in these circumstances. It is worth noting, however, that the organisers fixed the number of days reserved for the next ritual of the receipt of crops — *acceptio frugum* — at their earlier meetings[33] and probably did not adjust it afterwards. However, there were already three days reserved for this ritual. Moreover, the performance of the *suffitio* — also required additional time after the receipt of purificatory substances, whereas the donated crops would only need to be put to use during the official stage of the Games by the organisers of the Games.

4.5 Spectators' movement at time of preparatory rituals

The position of the temples, used for the preparatory rituals (the Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Jupiter Tonans, and the temple of Apollo at the Palatine hill) were also crucial for understanding the journeys of the Games' spectators and ritual participants. Situated on the hill tops, the temples structured the journey towards them in terms of both visual identification and the pace and effort used to climb up. Lefebvre points out the dichotomy and juxtaposition of the movement up and down hills in Mediterranean cities, as well as the importance of stairs. Because of the rocky soil, which is difficult to work with, and

[33] Line 49

the abundance of hills, stairs become the most useful way to connect different places in the city. Lefebvre argues that stairs also introduce a change of rhythm, in a way that they connect the downhill dwellings with the official places of open spaces and monuments at the tops of the hills.[34] Moreover, the necessity to climb stairs in turn creates a particular rhythm for walking itself, with the easy but careful approach to descent and the more arduous, time– and effort–consuming ascent. The pace of walking also depends on the walker's clothing. For the Saecular Games, as depictions on coins[35] and usual Roman festival practice suggest, men would be wearing togas and women might wear *stolae* — both heavy and bulky garments, which might further slow the pace of walking. In addition, in terms of pace and walking conditions, the two rituals might have provided mirrored experiences. The distribution of *suffimenta* involved the necessity to bring the acquired ritual product from the uphill–situated temple court. Although not necessarily very heavy, because of the limitations on the number of times one person could receive it, care should have been taken not to lose or damage the *suffimenta* in transit. The ritual of *acceptio frugum* involved the opposite direction of movement, and for the final interval of their route families were carrying grain uphill, and returning without any load. The necessity of carrying something interferes with the levels of alertness and possibilities of viewing and noticing things, thus creating a different experience on the way to and from the ritual place.

[34] Lefebvre (2013, p.97)

[35] RIC I^2.350

4.6 Preparatory rituals through the lenses of spatial and movement theories

We have briefly summarised the ideology behind the organiser's choice of venues for the preparatory rituals in Chapter 2. However, there is more to it. In a way, some of the preparatory rituals' locations could show exactly how the *conceived space* of the Games is constructed by organisers and which meanings it could generate. The Temple of Jupiter Tonans is a good example of such a construction of *conceived space*. It only features in the edicts specifying preparatory rituals for the festival,[36] along with the temple of Diana on the Aventine, the temple of Apollo and the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill. Consecrated just eight years before the Games, the temple was supposedly devoted by Augustus as a recognition of his escape from being struck by lighting. The temple was built on the Capitoline hill, but its exact position is uncertain, because no archaeological remains have been found. Nevertheless it is certain that, the temple was inserted in the traditional sacred setting of one of the oldest temples of the city — the one of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The appropriation of sacred space occurred, as the newly built temple was both recognised as built by Augustus, but at the same time as being part of a traditional sacred landscape dedicated to Jupiter. An anecdote from Suetonius' biography of Augustus demonstrates the exact way in which the notions of private/public/sacred space were blurred:

[36] Lines 8-10 and 30-33

> Being in the habit of making constant visits to the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer, which he [Augustus] had founded on the Capitol, he dreamed that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worshippers were being taken from him, and that he answered that he had placed the Thunderer hard by to be his doorkeeper, and accordingly he presently festooned the gable of the temple with bells, because these commonly hung at house-doors.[37]

In this example the idea of a shared sacred and private landscape is firstly contested (with Jupiter complaining) but then reiterated in the alleged reconciliation of Augustus with Jupiter, and also used as a pretext to redecorate the new temple.

Although it is an anecdote, the role of the temple of Jupiter Tonans during the Saecular Games was very similar. The distribution of purificatory substances for a huge Roman population in two temples, which stand very close to each other: does not seem to be a practical crowd management solution. However, from the point of view of integration of semi-private sacred space of the newly built temple into the traditional sacred landscape this measure seems to be adequate. The religious interaction, that happened beside this temple is also significant as a marker of appropriation of sacred space. The distribution of purificatory substances implied the interaction of the families of Roman citizens with the organisers of the Games. Upon the receipt of the purifications from the 15 men of sacred matters, who included Augus-

[37] Suet. Aug. 91

tus, the families went back to their homes to burn these substances. Thus, an interaction with Augustus in the surroundings of the sacred space built by him, but also representing an old and venerated space of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at the same time, became part of a domestic ritual, conducted in a family setting. This provided a narrative of a sacred, but at the same time private Augustan space expanding to include families of the citizens, or vice versa a domestic family ritual opened to the presence of sacred/private space of the temple of Jupiter Tonans.

This blurring of the boundaries would have been impossible if the Roman notions of public space were more strict. In fact, the public or sacred spaces were never completely separated from private space. Firstly, there was no pronounced distinction between residential areas and public spaces. The existence of *insulae*, multi-storey rented accommodations just near the Capitol, is one example of this. Individual aristocratic houses, as Wiseman suggests,[38] were often a direct representation of the inhabitants' social role and citizens achievements. The war trophies and insignia of distinctions, such as civic crowns, were displayed on the houses clearly identifying the political role of the occupier. Public buildings, even temporary ones, were nearly always named after the benefactor commissioning them, and often included statues and pictures of that person. Moreover, upon the demolition of temporary festival structures the material could have been used to adorn the personal dwelling of the benefactor, as was the case with

[38] Pietri et al. (1987)

the columns from the marvellous theatre of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus.[39] However, the latter action was often criticised. All these examples highlight a history of complex relationships between private-public and sacred space in Rome, and in this context the significance of use of the temple of Jupiter Tonans makes more sense. The building of the temple of Apollo in the 30s and 20s BC as part of Augustan house at the Palatine, which was also used in the preparatory rituals, is also an example of the use of confused relationships in order to combine sacred and private narratives together.[40]

Thus, the organisers' choice of venues and preoccupation with crowd management both contributed to the spatial and movement reality of the Games. The pedestrian journeys of spectators to acquire or dispense ritual objects are more difficult to contextualise and conceptualise theoretically. They do not follow the officially watched and prescribed movement patterns, such as for example processions, which are structured and ordered, nor they form part of collectively performed and watched sacrifice or prayer, as for example the prayer to Juno or recitation of Saecular Hymn do. Therefore, they are not defined by a particular prescribed ritualistic movement context. At the same time, they do not belong to everyday mundane movement patterns, such as working, shopping, bathing or socialising routines. On the contrary, they are articulated in the special patterns of festive routes. To theorise these journeys is to define their spatial and topo-

[39] Plin. NH. 36.5-6

[40] The temple of Apollo was also used for meetings of the 15 men, the place of 3rd day daytime rituals, and the performance of the Saecular Hymn.

graphical properties, as well as the ways in which they have potential to generate special or unique experiences related to this particular festival. Lefebvre's works[41] in the field of the philosophy of urban studies can serve as a useful framework for this, particularly the concepts of *conceived space* and *rhythmanalysis*. In *Rhythmanalysis* Lefebvre introduces the notions of rhythms, which structure both peoples' lives and the urban environment. Rhythms are specified by the temporal and spatial properties of cities and defined by their topography, cultural situation and social practices, and in turn they influence the ways in which people experience these cities.[42] Each city possesses a unique set of spatial and time-based characteristics which, combined with people's activities in them, produce the rhythms of the city. Lefebvre creates a set of oppositions related to the rhythms, which are able to co-exist in spite of their dissimilarity. He introduces the notions of cyclical and linear rhythm, as well as a "rhythm of one's own" and the "rhythm of another".[43] The multi–sensorial experience of the Saecular rituals can also be understood through the notion of rhythm. As Betts points out, "each sensual element of the multisensory map has its own temporal rhythm".[44] Thus particular ingredients used for the suffimenta could be familiar from daily use, and have their own daily rhythm, but some, such as sulphur, were unusual and only appeared occasionally in festive or mourning rituals throughout the year. Using the Lefebvrian framework, the journeys of the preparatory rituals

[41] Lefebvre (2013)
[42] Lefebvre (2013, pp. 93-95)
[43] Lefebvre (2013, p. 90)
[44] Betts (2011, p.122)

could be represented as the blending and co-existence of two rhythm characteristics simultaneously: linear and circular, "rhythm of one's own" and "rhythm of another". The rituals are part of linear rhythm, generated by human activity, the particular "rhythm of one's own"[45] in the sense that they are not led or completely prescribed, as are for example processions or sacrifices. At the same time, they are part of circular rhythms, which are characterised by a strong sense of temporal recurrence, e.g. the sunrise. The actual purpose of the journey — to acquire purification substances or to give crops — belongs to the group of circular "rites that punctuate everydayness".[46]

4.7 Official Games: journeys through monumental space — practice

Official Games were at the centre of the Saecular Games celebration. They lasted three consecutive nights and days, starting on the night of 31st of May/1st of June and terminating in the evening of 3rd of June. Many factors contributed to the ideology and practice of the movement strictures of the official Games. The most important of the practical reasons for organisers to pay attention to and structure the spectators' movement is the Games schedule, which implies the necessity for masses of people to walk between the main locations of the Games: the temporary "festival village" on the Field of Mars, where

[45] Lefebvre (2013, p. 90)
[46] Lefebvre (2013, p. 94)

the night rituals took place, and the temples, located on the hills at the city centre, where the daytime rituals and sacrifices were performed. Overall, the main preoccupation of the organisers should first have been the admission to the Games, and secondly the ways to get themselves, and then get all the masses of people, from one place of the sacrifices to another. The problem was first the sacrifices' duration, as was suggested before: the ritual preparation of the animals, the actual slaughter and the burning of the victims of the sacrifices, especially if performed gradually one by one, along with the prayers could have occupied the most of the night. Afterwards, the spectators probably stayed at the place of the night rituals until the announcement of the daytime sacrifices, because they watched the performances in the nearby wooden theatre. The situation was different for the women, who participated in the *sellisternia*, the ritual banquets for Juno and Diana, which happened every night after the sacrifices at the temples on the Capitoline hill. The 15 men who performed sacrifices probably stayed with the spectators, rather than accompanying the *matronae* for the *sellisternia*. Thus in the morning the 15 men, the helpers for the sacrifices and the people had to proceed to the city in order to perform and spectate the next day's sacrifices.

Campus Martius lays outside of the symbolic home territory of Rome, the *pomerium*, which was essentially defined by the low Servian walls. The participants and spectators of the games might have followed the triumphal route in order to proceed from the Campus Mar-

tius to the Capitoline or Palatine hills.[47] Coarelli and the others argued that this was the route that most of the Roman triumphs followed, and the Porta Carmentalis was essentially the same as the Porta Triumphalis, the gate by which a triumphant general entered Rome.[48] I suggest that in order to get all the spectators in place for the sacrifices, the day–time (more likely the morning) sacrifices should have been announced and the officials proceed to the place of the sacrifice, whilst the spectators followed. As Augustus could be credited with adding many nuanced rites and measures to enhance hierarchisation of Roman society, including the spatial division of Rome in regions, and the introduction of a complex hierarchy–dependant seating system in theatres, it is highly likely, that the train of organisers and spectators was formed according to the hierarchical principles, as the triumphal processions were.

It is worth noting, that the festival hub of the Games was constructed on the most spacious free place in the Field of Mars. Thus, those wanting to proceed to the locations of the day–time rituals (see Figure 5) would have had to first pass through the field of Mars, then pass by the theatre of Pompey and porticus Octavia,[49] then go through the aditus maximus of the theatre of Marcellus[50] (although it might not have been completely built yet), before entering the city space of

[47] Beard (2009)

[48] Carandini and Carafa (2012)

[49] There is no immediate need to go through them, however it might be a more pleasant and ordered experience than passing them by, so this variation might also be more convenient.

[50] Theatre of Marcellus had a wide aditus maximus, which was good enough for the triumphal processions to pass through Popkin (2016, p.42-43)

pomerium through Porta Carmentalis. The participants then followed one of the routes through the forum Romanum to the Capitoline or Palatine hill: the rituals of the first two days were at the Capitoline hill, the third one was at the Palatine hill. Although the procession might have followed the triumphal route through closely inside the pomerium, by passing through the Circus Maximus and around the Palatine hill, which is a more memorable journey, the route might have been altered depending on the days and numbers of people. This reconstruction is arbitrary, but at the same time the big question of how people actually got from one place of sacrifice and festivities to another has to be answered, and following the triumphal route seems organised, easy and educational choice which could have had been made by organisers.

4.8 Official Games: journeys through monumental space — theory

The collective nature of this city exploration following the night–time to day–time Saecular Games itinerary of public monumental space makes its journey methodologically similar to processions. Processions in imperial Rome have been extensively studied by classicists.[51] Rogers, studying the place of processions in the religious develop-

[51] On Roman processions as movement practice see Ostenberg and Malmberg (2015). On meaning and structure of processions see Ostenberg (2009). On particular case studies see e.g. Rogers (2014); Beard (2009). On processions at later editions of the Saecular Games see Boyce (1941).

ment of ancient Ephesos, identified the function of the procession and its methods as dramatising "a historical identity of the city, which was explicitly intended to be performed in front of the *koinon*, understandable both to Ephesians and outsiders, based upon a synthesis of the type-statues and images, the timing, the logistics, and the route of this public spectacle".[52] Thus, Rogers underlined performative qualities of processions, as well as their identity-making nature, which are both based on notions of time, visual images and the city–space. Wiles in his history of Western performance space explores processions in similar terms, but sees them as being a distinct performance space — a *processional* space.[53] He develops a framework to approach processional spaces. According to Wiles, "processional theatre has four different aspects or functions: pilgrimage, parade, map and narrative".[54] Each of these qualities might be present to varying degrees in a procession. Thus, pilgrimage implies a journey to a sacred destination, where the agent and the spectator are usually combined in the same person, whereas in parade the destination of the procession is less important, but the spectator, who in this case is separated from the procession performer, is taking the leading role. The mapping function of the procession is to "articulate the space";[55] to claim the sacred way by walking on it; "to lay out on the ground a symbolic map". Finally, the procession forms a narrative, by combining the space and time properties of the journey: if it passes a static spectator, as in

[52]Rogers (2014, p. 111)
[53]Wiles (2003)
[54]Wiles (2003, p. 64)
[55]Wiles (2003, p. 64)

case of a parade, “an arrangement in space becomes an arrangement in time”. Alternatively, the narrative is developed when a procession stops at important locations, creating a reflective moment, summarising the narrative originated in “the sequence of places passed by”. In these terms the Saecular Games’ journey would be a series of pilgrimages, rather than a parade, because it is designed for the participation of the citizens of the whole city, and is structured around clear monumental and sacred destinations: temples (Jupiter on the Capitoline hill and Apollo on the Palatine), places of worship (*Tarentum*) or theatres.

The pilgrimage route structures the journey and forms its narrative. The route of the Saecular Games is of a more complex nature than simply a route “bequeathed by tradition”,[56] although it certainly pretends to possess this property. Its complexity is twofold. Firstly, it comes from the redevelopment of the Games rituals and their significance by the organisers of the Games, especially compared to previous editions. They added new sacrifices, day–time rituals, and a week of entertainments after the official Games, thus extending the duration of the festival. The newly introduced rituals required new locations to be added to the Games journey, which considerably modified it. Secondly, an extensive redevelopment of the city of Rome itself, which happened in the decade preceding the Games, meant that the processional space evolved significantly from the last edition celebrated more than 100 years earlier. Moreover, the route of the Games is not designed by the participants or spectators, but by the organ-

[56] Wiles (2003, p. 64)

First and second day route

Alternative route

Third day route

Figure 5: Procession routes.
The underlying map is from the Digital Augustan Rome project of Romano et al. (2008): digitalaugustanrome.org

isers of the Games. And because the previous edition of the Games happened more than 100 years before the Augustan one, the spectators/participants of the Games are likely to experience a new route, rather than mapping the familiar one. Consequently, the journey of the Games is firstly an act of designing and structuring of processional space performed by the organisers and secondly an exercise of mapping and appropriation of newly designed space by the spectators of the Games. Finally, the rebuilding of Rome creates an additional layer of monumental narrative, creating new sacred spaces and modifying the existing ones. Also, it becomes apparent in interaction with the rhythm of the Games, the duration and reciprocal influence of pauses and walking.

The formed narrative revolved around the monuments, that the procession passed. Theorising the Roman space through literary studies, both Jaeger and Edwards explored links between functioning of Rome's city space and ancient and modern writings about Rome and its history.[57] Thus, Jaeger came up with the notion of monument as a key concept linking historical memory reflected in ancient Roman historians' writings the and space of Rome. She argued:

> When a person moving through natural space encounters a *monumentum*, his or her thoughts move back through this monumental space to the person, place or event that the *monumentum* commemorates, and the *monumentum* projects them forward into the

[57] Jaeger (1997); Edwards (1996)

future.[58]

Edwards similarly suggested that as Rome influenced writing about it, material written about Rome influenced the perception of Roman space. She re-introduced the notion of city–space as palimpsest, where spatial projections of buildings and perceptions of the city in different eras co-exist and actualise at the same time. Mike Pearson also came to a similar idea of landscape as palimpsest independently.[59] Thus, a possible approach of reading Roman space was introduced. Although not entirely coherent, and certainly not accessible in all its development to the less educated classes of Roman citizen, the idea of processional journey through monumental space, coupled with the special situation of the Games makes this interpretation possible. Although framed as bequeathed by tradition, the journey from the newly built temporary structures of the festival hub in Campus Martius through the newly restored theatre of Pompey, the newly constructed *porticus* of Octavia, exhibiting statues connected to Augustus, just before the exit from circus Flaminius, probably contemplating the scene of the newly built whilst passing through aditus maximus of even not yet consecrated future theatre of Marcellus built a palimpsestic reality of the newly built, but already monumental Rome. The pace of walking, because of the crowd size, must have been very slow. Most probably, because the Games were staged without interruptions, the passage from the Field of Mars to the city coincided with the sunrise, thus making the monuments more visible and prominent. The end of

[58] Jaeger (1997, p. 17)
[59] Pearson and Shanks (2005, p. 139)

the procession near the old, venerated temples of the city on the Capitoline hills in the first two days linked tradition with the innovation of Augustus.

The continuation of the official Games also provides a possibility to connect the narrative and the journey. The performance of the Saecular Hymn represents an opportunity for an imaginary journey. The Saecular Hymn was performed by two choirs, one consisting of 27 girls and another one of 27 boys. It happened twice on the third day of the Games, once after the sacrifice to Apollo and Diana at the Palatine hill, and again at the Capitoline hill.[60] The spectators were probably standing whilst listening to the hymn, as it followed the sacrifice. Although the spectators were not moving, I suggest that the hymn was the statement of the organisers' *conceived space*. It acted as an *ekphrasis* in a literary work. When the actual movement stopped — as the narrative stops before an *ekphrasis* in a literary work — at that point of time the performance of the hymn created an imaginary movement in space and time — as an *ekphrasis* does. *Ekphrasis* is technically a pause in the main narrative and therefore is often considered and studied as a static image. However, it usually allows an intrinsic development, and proleptic and analeptic journeys through time and space. A classic example of this type of description is the shield of Aeneas[61] in the *Aeneid*, which features a string of flashbacks from the archaic Italy of Aeneas to Rome's public places and monuments in Augustan

[60] Lines 147-148

[61] Verg. Aen. 8.617-731

time.[62] Putnam analysed the structure of Horace's hymn[63] and it revealed similar features, especially the representation of Rome as both the city of the past and the city in the future, as a city–palimpsest, as an imaginary monumental journey, which represents time and space simultaneously. The cyclic nature of the hymn reinforces this impression of monumentality, the simultaneity of the future and of the past on the listeners. This cyclic nature is reflected in the composition of Horace's hymn, which begins and ends with the addresses to both Apollo and Diana, and includes the persistent alliterations and assonances, which make the lines sound similar. Finally, the representation of Diana as moon and Apollo as sun make this cyclic nature even more apparent, reminding listeners of the change of night and day. The portrayal of the new Rome of the future, living according to the values of the new morality is placed in the centre of the poem, thus being the focal point of the imaginary journey. The poem was repeated twice, thus increasing the chances of the listeners' understanding of the words and their message. Thus, a very complex structure of meanings of spaces and their interplay derived from Roman literature do not allow us to discard the idea that some Romans could perceive the manipulations of the structure and meaning of the Saecular Games' journey through listening to the Saecular Hymn. However, the sound play and constant repetition already conveys part of the meaning.

[62] On the proleptic ekphrasis see Harrison (2001)
[63] Putnam (2008, pp.51-53)

4.9 Journeys of the honorary Games

The journeys of the honorary Games' spectators were connected to gaining access to the theatres and circus. Access was regulated by the *Lex Iulia theatralis*, which Augustus introduced in order to control the population in theatres. The access to the theatre depended on the social standing of the spectator:[64] thus a previously seemingly united population had been divided by difference in their status. Moreover, because by the new laws women were prohibited from watching certain athletic entertainments[65] and had different seats for gladiatorial fights, the usual journeys to the spectacles might have changed. The schedule of the Games is ambiguous,[66] however, I would suggest that the spectators needed to move between the theatres, where they watched the Games frequently, in order to see different shows.

Performances at the games provided new and exciting opportunities for the senses, and therefore some Romans, like philosopher and poet Titus Lucretius noticed and described, how memories of the games, which in turn was transformed in a multisensory journey, which people experienced in their sleep and even when they are awake.[67] It is important to notice, that Lucretius tells about a journey through

[64] I will analyse the law and its implications in the Chapter 5, because it is related to the spectators' social identity.

[65] At the Saecular Games there seems to be fewer of these types of entertainment, however, some athletic or gladiatorial shows in the circus in Trigarium might have been forbidden to attend for women. The list of entertainments women were banned from is in Suet. Aug. 44 .

[66] I discussed this in Chapter 3.

[67] Lucr.De Re.Nat. 4.973ff

the memorable experience, which is not only visual. He feels the movement of dancers' limbs; hears the sound of lyre and sees the brightness of stage. Thus, performances were a memorable experience, which created memory–journeys through the senses, and Lucretius described them in similar terms, as contemporary scholars talk about the ways processional journeys through the cities produce performances.

Overall, the journeys through the space of Rome are instrumental in the construction of festival programme. They represent the *conceived space* of the organisers. The ways to convey organisers' ideas spatially vary. One of the possibilities used was the slow processional movement through monumental space; another was the direct retelling of the space narrative in the form of the hymn; finally, family and state became linked through the festive rhythms of the journeys to achieve purification substances.

Chapter 5

Individuals and collective audiences at the Games

5.1 Introduction

Having set up the timing and locations of the Games in the previous chapters, we also have theorised the Games in the context of city space. This chapter aims at locating the audiences of the Games. It aims to move away from organisers' perspectives and the realities of collective audience experiences to the more nuanced, and if possible, individuated experience of the Games. The search for audience experience is not an easy one. The main instrument of this search is a quest for fissures and frictions between what the organisers' plans were, what translated into experiences, and how these individual ex-

periences differ. In order to achieve this, I confront the organisers' work and aspirations of spectators behaviour, present in the *Acta* and other sources, and confront them with any evidence that we have of the opposed, individual experiences, feelings and behaviour of the Games participants and spectators. As often happens because of the mostly elitist evidence we have, sometimes gaps, silences and omissions, rather than openly expressed difference can also lead to a discovery of the experiences of the underrepresented classes, individuals and communities.

Therefore, firstly I work towards the establishment of the "ideal" experience of the Games, reflecting on the aims and aspirations of the organisers, as they become apparent from ritual and performative components of the Games, and more importantly, from the analysis of the overarching political climate and Augustan legislation ideology. Secondly, I work on the idea of the spectators' collective. This focuses on the ways in which communities are performed through spectators' activities in the Games, the role that organisers assign for spectators' presence, as well as the interrelationship of the spectator communities. In order to move from the ideal and collective presences to the individual level of spectators' activities, I will locate the individuals and collectives present in the inscription and other evidence of the Games, and see how their status may influence their perception of the Games, and also search for any difference in suggested opinions and behaviours. Establishing all of the above will help me to locate where the Games organisers and the individuals' interests and ideologies en-

ter to conflicts and collide. These liminal and frictional cases will then be analysed to reveal a picture of individuated audience experiences.

5.2 Augustus' road to supreme power: the political context of Saecular Games

As I briefly noted in the Chapter 2, the Games were staged in a particular political climate, which first was marked by the improvement of Augustus' position in power and subsequent reforms of law, made largely in order to further reinforce his position. I will provide a brief summary of the story of Augustus' ascension to supreme power in order to situate the Saecular Games in the contemporary political climate, and therefore have a ground to establish their weight and meaning in the Augustan relationship with people and senate.[1]

Despite eliminating his principal rival, Marcus Antonius, after the battle for the Greek East at the cape of Actium in 31 BC, almost 18 years before the Games, Augustus still had a long and difficult way to go to establish his sole power regime firmly. To achieve this, he had continuously to act to maintain a power balance with the senate both through reforms of laws and regulations and through changes in

[1] The end of the Roman republic, the creation of the specific Augustan regime as well as its ideology received immense scholarly attention. For discussion of political processes, see e.g. Syme (2002); Wallace-Hadrill (2008); Alston (2015); for the ideology of the Augustan regime see Galinsky (2005); Zanker (1990); Levick (2010). This brief summary is only here to remind readers of the chain of events which preceded the Saecular Games.

patterns of ideology and their subsequent dissemination. After Actium Augustus spent some time in the East, and upon his return to Rome, after triumphs and games dedicated to him by the senate, Augustus stayed three more years as a consul still continuing the emergency powers of the triumvirate, until he moved in 28 BC to restore the power balance and hand the official supreme power back to the senate and people. So, in the beginning of 27 BC Augustus reached a settlement with the senate, where a division of the provinces was performed between him and the senate. After this happened, most of the major military provinces, such as Egypt, Germany, Spain and Gaul passed under Augustan jurisdiction and the rest was left under the senatorial government. Therefore, Augustus retained significant military power at the same time keeping a working relationship with the senate and even reviving its prestige after several years of triumvirate. Importantly from an ideological point of view, Octavian also started to be called Augustus in the same year. This created his own identity as a ruler.

Thus, ten years before the Games, Augustus established his aspirations of power as different to Caesar's dictatorship rule and perpetuated the republican institutions, although retaining and regaining a considerable amount of power. In the subsequent years, Augustus spent most of his time outside Rome, especially in 26-24 BC conducting war in Spain. The Augustan campaign in Spain was highly publicised; however his absence in Rome was felt and negatively impacted his control of power. Meanwhile, the Augustan renovation pro-

gramme started in Rome, mostly conducted by Augustus' protégé Agrippa: the Temple of Apollo Palatinus was dedicated in 28 BC, in 26 BC Agrippa restored the *Saepta*, a year later the Pantheon was finished and a statue of Augustus was put into the premises' entrance hall. Thus a continuous rebuilding and development of Rome and perpetuation of republican institutions, as well as a simultaneous creation of an Augustan court, consisting of his future or current relatives and protégés — such as Agrippa and Marcellus, acting, among others, on Augustus own behalf, — demonstrated a slow movement towards an Augustan specific and unique regime. Also, in 23 BC Augustus received the perpetual power of tribune (*tribunicia potestas*), which gave him authority to pass laws through public voting, and suppress any laws of other magistrates and the decrees of senate.

However, this gradual progression was perturbed in the same 23 BC, with a definitive crisis of Augustus in power. Many factors combined put the position of Augustus both as a ruler and as a man in danger. Augustus had been seriously ill; his protégé Marcellus, considered the most likely heir, died this very year of the same illness. An alleged conspiracy against the princeps was discovered, which involved the proposed consul for this year, Murena, who was punished despite having state service immunity. Finally, Augustus himself was nearly accused of declaring a war in a senatorial province with a Roman ally without consulting the senate. All these factors shattered Augustus' political position, and made him renounce the consulship in the middle of the year, perhaps partly to avoid the possibility of be-

ing compared to a dictator or overthrown.

Augustus chose to leave Rome and travel in a major diplomatic and cultural trip to the East and Greece, for most of the next three years, 22-19 BC. Despite passing the crisis, his absence combined with several disruptive natural and economic disasters caused a major political upheaval, which was felt by most of the population. Consular elections through these years ended up in public disorder several times; the situation was aggravated by grain supply shortages, famines, and damage caused by repeated severe flooding of Tiber. Although it is difficult to trust our historical sources completely, the years of Augustus' absence from Rome were presented by Cassius Dio as grim and desperate, with quarrelling between senators and general instability.[2]

The return of Augustus to Rome in 19 BC was celebrated with organised popular holidays in the form of the establishment of the Games named after Augustus, as well as with voting him consular honours for the first time in several years. It is important to mention the simultaneous rise and promotion of Agrippa. He also (as Augustus earlier) received the tribunician power in 18 BC, and became almost equal to Augustus in his legislative power. The next three years after Augustus return, just before the Games, were full of legislative activity leading to social reforms, that was aiming to maintain the power balance, but also to legitimise and reinforce Augustus' position after years

[2]For natural disasters and their perception see Cas.Dio. 54.1.1-5 , for senate difficulties see Cas.Dio.54.6.1-6

of disasters and difficulties. These laws, which shaped the social life of the whole society and which I discuss in detail later, received their promotion and triumphant celebration in the idea and performance of the Saecular Games. In many ways, the Saecular Games represented the grand total of the establishment of the new regime, highlighting in performance the ideology behind Augustan reforms as well as purely technically enacting in practice the newly passed laws. I suggest that from the organisers' point of view the Saecular Games were an important milestone in the Augustan route to power, a celebration of the values and laws of the regime, as well as the people, e.g. Augustus and Agrippa, who established those laws. If the regime of Augustus was a political revolution, i.e. the new world order, combining the republican and the monarchy, the Saecular Games were the test of Augustan cultural revolution, which was prepared by the laws passed in 19 and 18 BC. However, as Alston rightly noted, the cultural revolution often comes after the actual revolution,[3] and thus although both senate and people were subject to the newly established and evolving regime for more than ten years at the time of the Games, its legitimising strategies and ideologies were still quite new and sometimes even unexpected. The Saecular Games were both a moment to shape the ideology in performance from the organisers' point of view, and also a stressful point of friction and misunderstanding, and sometimes rebellion from those who were exposed to the performance of these ideologies.

[3]Alston (2015, p. 7)

5.3 *Leges Iuliae*: reforms at the heart of the Saecular Games' organisation and ideology

The two years before the Games, 19-17 BC, saw an intense legislative activity.

The main focus of Augustan political and legislative initiatives after 23 BC was in reshaping the interrelationships in society by constructing new hierarchies, which reinforced the emperor's role, and were ineffective without the dependence on the emperor. Thus, a number of laws and regulations, which significantly affected power balance between Augustus and the senatorial order, had been passed in those years. This power balance shift happened on many levels, from attempts to control the senate's composition and senatorial order numbers through senate resizing in 18 BC; to limiting the powers of nobility to compete with Augustus in lavishness of the Games organised for people;[4] and finally, through the establishing of superior moral authority through moral legislation. Therefore, the Games were aimed at establishing the moral as well as financial and legislative superiority of Augustus.

The main reforms, which directly influenced the Games, were part of the so-called *Leges Iuliae*, passed around 18 BC. The Games' audiences were deeply influenced by these laws both directly and in-

[4] Sumptuary laws of 22 BC.

directly. Directly, because one law was entirely dedicated to the audience composition and structure in theatres, and many other laws had a clause pertaining specifically to the regulation of audience access and privileges in seating accommodation during public games and festivals. Indirectly, for two reasons, the first one being the reshaping and restructuring of social hierarchies, which in turn were perceived and reflected in the structuring of audience experience, because attending games was an integral part of the performance of social structure. Secondly, the laws also formed the Augustan regime's ideology, and the Saecular Games were scheduled and constructed around the celebration of this ideology, and favoured its performance and dissemination.

The complex of *leges Iuliae* comprised, among others,[5] Augustus' so-called moral laws: *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*[6] — Julian law on the marriage in orders; and *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*[7] — the Julian law on the prevention of adultery, which shaped Augustan family politics and the regime's ideology for the years to come; as well as the *Lex Iulia theatralis*,[8] which regulated the seating arrangement and admission of audiences in the theatre.[9] These laws were intertwined in their action, since e.g. *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*

[5]Other Leges Iuliae passed in these years were e.g. the *Lex Iulia de ambitu*, which banned the senators convicted in bribery from the senate.

[6]For sources and analysis see: Crawford (1996, pp.801-809,n.64)

[7] Sources and analysis:Crawford (1996, pp.781-786, n.60)

[8]Main ancient source is Suet. Aug. 44 , for reconstruction and analysis see Rawson (1987).

[9]The exact years of passing of the moral laws are not known. The Saecular Games usually form the *terminus ante quem* for the laws, since the provisions are discussed in the text of the inscriptions and in the *Carmen Saeculare*, the Augustan return from the East is the *terminus post quem*.

contained a clause which regulated the theatre admission of particular groups, and the *Lex Iulia theatralis* contained the clauses on women's modesty and behaviour regulations, as well as reflecting the statements of the marriage laws in the arrangements of seating in theatres. Augustan moral legislation needs careful analysis in this work, because it reveals the organisers' idea of the composition of the Saecular Games audiences, and sheds light on more hidden groups and audience members, which are not explicitly named in the inscription.

5.3.1 Moral laws and the *caelibes*. The marriage, family or moral laws, passed by Augustus exercising his power of tribune, i.e. through the popular assembly, rather than as senate decrees, in 19 and 18 BC regulated marriages and child bearing in all classes of Roman society, but were especially focused on the higher orders: senators and knights. The *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* encouraged procreation through a system of penalties for childless and unmarried people and rewards for those married and having many children. To control this, the law introduced the suggested latest age for marriage, apparently the age of 25 for men and 20 for women, after which those still not married faced fines and penalties. The benefits and penalties were especially diverse for the upper classes of the Roman society — the senators and, in some cases, the knights. They included the priority of those married and with many children in career promotions, in the choice of the provinces to govern and even in voting in the senate. To encourage procreation, the marriages between freedwomen

and noble men (e.g. knights) were considered legitimate and the children from such marriages were subject to the same status as their fathers. At the same time, the law discouraged the senators from marrying freedwomen, and also actresses, by excluding these marriages from the entitlement for benefits. The penalties for those not married after the specified age or those childless were mostly centred on inheritance, prohibiting them from receiving part of the inheritance and partly from bequeathing. However, again this measure was mostly directed towards upper classes of the society, since a minimum income threshold was applied and thus those having low income were not subject to the penalties on their inheritance. Among other penalties, as was already discussed, was the ban on the *caelibes* from admission to the Games and especially theatre performances. This clause most probably was applied universally, irrespective of the unmarried person's social status. However, it is difficult to prove that non-elites could have had been controlled and policed effectively in the same terms as elites, such as senators and knights were. Moreover, non-elite *caelibes* might have had other commitments, such as work during the games and were simply unable to attend anyway. Thus, the impact and enforcement of this law for non-elite spectators is difficult to assess. However, the seating allocation of the *Lex Iulia theatralis*,[10] which stipulated different seats for married and non-married in theatre might be one of the ways of enforcing this law.

Another law — the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* — transferred

[10] More on it below.

the punishment of matrimonial infidelity from the private jurisdiction of the family to the purposefully established law courts. It also encouraged, and even probably remunerated the denunciation of adultery and introduced banishment from Rome for those proven to be guilty of fornication. These measures constituted a significant shift from the established practice of the private family jurisdiction which usually governed these matters, i.e. the ruling of the head of the family — the *pater familias*. A unique situation, that arises from these laws effectively introduced state control over the private family life of the whole population, and most intrusively in the highest orders of Roman society — the senators and the knights. When childbirth, marriage and adultery become a state affair, it often causes an upheaval of resistance: the stability and "ancestral laws" norms of Augustan reforms were no exception. We already analysed a situation of *caelibes*' discontent in the previous chapter, as well as the necessity for the organisers of the Saecular Games to amend the laws in order to give the *caelibes* access to the Games. The contemporary elite attitude towards the laws was very divided. Some, as for example Horace, praised the laws as useful and contributing to the prosperity of the Roman society.[11] Others, were opposed and rebelled against it, as did Ovid later in *Ars Amatoria*, talking about lovers as antithesis to married couples:

> Non legis iussu lectum venistis in unum:
>
> Fungitur in vobis munere legis amor.[12]

[11] Not only in *Carmen Saeculare*, but also in Hor. Car. 4.5

[12] Ov. Ars. Am. 2.156-158

Today's scholars have very different views on the purposes and effects of the Augustan moral laws. However, most scholars agree that the princeps' control over the Roman elites — primarily senators and knights— was the main scope of the laws. For many researchers, the laws form part of a coherent ideology, which, however, is interpreted in many different ways. According to Wallace-Hadrill, Augustus aimed "to stabilise the transmission of property, and consequently of status [of the family] from generation to generation".[13] Thus the inheritance aspect is seen as a primary purpose of the laws. Field sees the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* as "purely eugenic and demographic in its conception, framed with the object of preserving and perpetuating the back-bone of the Augustan state, the senatorial and the equestrian orders".[14] Frank stands on a similar position, but with a more military purpose in mind, stating the ideology of the laws was "designed to affirm the traditions of the gentry and soldiers reared in the hinterland of Italy".[15] Galinsky disagrees with the demographic interpretation and introduces the moral and ideological purpose of the laws, based on an ethical concept — the right of the better, and morally superior, to govern those who are worse.[16] For Galinsky, the moral laws were instrumental in giving the new ideological ground for Roman imperial conquests. And although the effectiveness of changes in ideology is far more difficult to prove, than the demographic and taxation effect of the laws, they certainly have divided and shaken the Roman elites,

[13]Wallace-Hadrill (1981, p. 59)
[14]Field (1945, p. 399)
[15]Frank (1975, p. 50)
[16]Galinsky (1981)

especially knights. And whilst newly defined elites profited from obeying the laws, they caused strong and persistent resistance among the Roman knights and senators for years to come.

The effects of the laws are tested by today's scholars against their suggested purposes. Although purposes are interpreted differently, it is generally agreed that the laws did not succeed in their demographic goals, but however provided the state with the instruments to control inheritance policy. The success of moral aspects of the laws is difficult to assess; however they caused a strong resentment attested in particular in Roman lyrical poetry and works of the historians. The non-elite members of society were also influenced by the laws in an indirect way. The *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* opened aristocratic family life to a greater public exposure.[17] The adultery trials and subsequent banishment to islands of many notorious persons were discussed and well known to the Roman population.[18] Thus, the non-elite members were spectators of aristocratic private lives. I think that the opposition was mostly prompted by the increased control of the state (the emperor) over the senators and knights, both in terms of their careers and private lives and by a greater exposure to popular gossip and rumours of aristocratic love affairs. These ideas are reflected in the works of Roman historians, some of them[19] were senators as well, whilst Suetonius was a knight. They tended to be critical towards the moral laws, especially the one on the punishment of adulterers. Tacitus saw the

[17] This aspect was discussed at length in a master degree thesis Deminion (2010)
[18] See e.g. a later case of Augustus' daughter Iulia Suet. Aug. 65.3
[19] Cassius Dio and Tacitus

laws as oppressive and encouraging the denouncers to falsely accuse their political opponents as adulterers, in order to ruin their political careers.[20] Suetonius and Cassius Dio considered the laws hypocritical, blaming Augustus of being an adulterer himself. They saw the laws as a way to distract public attention from the princeps' misbehaviour.

5.3.2 The *Lex Iulia theatralis* and performance of identities. The reassessment of senate composition in 18 BC saw many senators excluded from the Senate. The process itself was controversial, as it required the senators themselves to participate in the process of their own elimination and nomination of their colleagues. The enactment of the law created an interesting social phenomenon — the senators, who met the senatorial valuation of assets requirement, i.e. were senators by the requirement of the composition of their order, were excluded from the senate, thus ceasing to be senators. A special regulation was passed to include these senators in those entitled for the senatorial rows of seats at the festivals. Thus, the Games' seating order reflected the characteristic idea of the principate — the separation of function and office.

The sumptuary laws passed earlier in 22 BC, forbade the organisers of the Games (who were praetors, i.e. the people of senatorial rank) to add a significant amount of their own money to organise the Games and to hold the large gladiatorial combats more than twice a year. Thus the law prohibited the elites from competing with Augustus

[20] Tac. Ann. 3.25-28

in the lavishness of the Games.

However, the most important addition to regulating and forming the spectatorship at the Games was the special segregated seating arrangement, known as the *Lex Iulia theatralis*. Here is how Suetonius describes it:

> He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people, and assigned to married plebeians their particular rows of seats. To the boys he assigned their own benches, and to their tutors the seats which were nearest it; ordering that none clothed in black should sit in the centre of the circle. Nor would he allow any women to witness the combats of the gladiators, except from the upper part of the theatre, although they formerly used to take their places promiscuously with the rest of the spectators. To the vestal virgins he granted seats in the theatre, reserved for them only, opposite the praetor's bench. He excluded however, the whole female sex from seeing the wrestlers: so that in the Games which he exhibited upon his accession to the office of high–priest, he deferred producing a pair of combatants which the people called for, until the next morning; and intimated by proclamation, "his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five o'clock".[21]

This law regulated the admissions and the place distribution in theatres and amphitheatres. Although not directly referred to in the inscrip-

[21] A detailed account on the provisions of this law is in Suet. Aug. 44 . The Saecular Games decree as a testimony to it discussed in the seminal paper of Rawson Rawson (1987).

tion, the *Lex Iulia theatralis* seems to be a natural way to proceed with both the Augustan reforms and control over the social stratifications in moral laws and the preparation of a huge event — the Saecular Games, since it explained how to introduce the attendance of the Games as a way to practise the new family policies. The *Lex Iulia theatralis* cemented the boundaries of different social orders, by assigning special places for them in theatres.[22] These boundaries became permeable during the civil wars. The theatre offered a representation of society and of the social order. The laws regulating assignments of seats in theatres were not new to the Romans;[23] however, the Augustan law was unprecedented in its scale and thoroughness. The experience of the going to the theatre became a difficult procedure, since everything was regulated: the place, where one should sit; the clothes he or she must wear; even the time when some of the spectators could come to the theatre. The theatre adhering to the *Lex Iulia theatralis* represented a model society. Paradoxically, although portraying the social relationship, the law actually provided total segregation of each member of the society, by dividing people by age, gender and social standing. It also significantly reduced the possibilities for women to watch shows. Not surprisingly the enforcement of the law proved to be difficult, and the law was reinstated on several occasions. Those attempting to break the law normally aimed at the senators' or knights' seats, faking the senators' dress by wearing a reddish stripe of cloth on their toga.[24]

[22] Edmondson (2002)

[23] See above in Chapter 2, page 62.

[24] Many different cases are described by poets, this practice continued well beyond Augustan time, see e.g. Hor. Ep. 4.10-15; Suet. Aug. 14.5-10; Mart. 5.14.5 .

There is no evidence of attempts to occupy a less advantageous seat. The *Lex Iulia theatralis* made the audience even more Roman, by prohibiting the foreign elite to sit near the Roman elite. It also complicated access to the theatres, because now one had to dress according to their social status and very often in the bulky and uncomfortable toga. However, because most of the spectacles were free, dress was the only indicator of the right to sit in a particular place in the theatre. Sitting in the theatre on special seats was considered a privilege, and could be earned; for example there were special places for Vestal virgins, which were near the front rows, as well as for those holding the *corona civica*. The *Lex Iulia theatralis* formalised the theatre spectacles' attendance just in time before the Saecular Games, and the idea of this law fits well with a general celebration of the Saecular Games as the future model of Roman society. It is, however worth noting, that the law did not apply to some of the other entertainments, for example the chariot racing in circuses still had mixed non-structured audiences.

5.4 Agency

The *Lex Iulia theatralis* showed a tendency towards creating model communities in the Saecular Games' organisation. This tendency also structured some of the spectators' and performers' agencies in the Games. The prominent role is given to the 110 matrons. They seem to represent the Roman women and act on their behalf in ritual banquets, prayers and even in some additional purificatory rituals. The

choirs of 27 boys and 27 girls, each of which had both of their parents alive, also represent and act as the model children. They perform the Saecular Hymn, which portrays the future of Rome, and at the same time they themselves represent the future of Rome. In a way Augustus and the 15 men distributing the *suffimenta*, pronouncing the prayers on behalf of Roman citizens and making sacrifices, act as model fathers and husbands. Thus, a model family is always in the centre of the action of the Games. Note that because Augustus and Agrippa act as fathers in this model situation, the boundaries between the private and the public become blurred.

However, members of Roman society who do not conform to those model behaviours become marginalised in the Saecular Games' celebration. The case of *caelibes* is interesting, because it is almost counter-intuitive that they were admitted to the Games. They definitely represent a threat for the model family celebration. In fact, they are recognised by the organisers as such, since, according to Suetonius, young men and women were not allowed to walk alone during the night–time celebrations.[25] However, I disagree with Schnegg–Köhler who sees the didactic value in the admittance of the *caelibes*, i.e. they were admitted in order to be taught the right behaviour. I presume that the *caelibes* were always willing to fight for their rights, as the demonstration against the laws of *Papia Poppaea* show, and that they probably fought their way to being admitted to the Games. Nevertheless, the inclusion of *caelibes* may have been related to the desire to actually

[25] Suet. Aug. 31.4

make them participate in the celebration, but not in order to re-educate the *caelibes*, but to perpetuate the new order. *Orthopraxia* — necessity to ensure the due course progression of a ritual — was one of the main characteristics of Roman religious practice,[26] therefore making everybody participate in a ritual was a powerful method to ensure the ritual's or prayer success. Thus, *caelibes* were involuntarily co-opted to the religious practices of the Saecular Games.

However, *caelibes* were not the only ones not to conform to the current status. The widows, the childless and orphans were also part of the silent spectators of the Games. It is an important message that those women practising the mourning, which was traditionally appropriate for the Saecular Games, were discouraged to do so by a special edict of the organisers.[27] Thus, the agency is removed from those who do not conform to the festival's family values and their activity is advised to be replaced with a more suitable activity, such as the new way of celebrating the Saecular Games. Overall, the expression of one's social identity at the Saecular Games is very limited and restricted. The people perform their identities during the preparatory rituals, and whilst sitting in theatre. In other times of the Games, the agency is removed from ordinary spectators and often passed to specially selected agents, such as 110 matrons or 27 children. They in turn perform an action on behalf of the others. The expression of a different identity, such as that of a mourning woman is suppressed. The individuation of spectators is often possible in the terms of their

[26] See e.g. Scheid (2003, p.19)

[27] Lines 110-114

conformity or nonconformity to the new family ideology, as well as through their social status. The communities are formed around the idea of the model family, which often blurs the boundaries of public and private life.

Chapter 6

Multisensory experience of the Games

6.1 Introduction

After establishing the components which shaped the experience and the designed progress of the Games, it is time to collate the evidence and broaden the view of the Games in order to make a case for multisensory experiences of the Games. The sensorialities of the Games are plural and interconnected, but also dependant on all the factors studied in previous chapters: the timeline of the Games, the places of the Games, the organisation of the process, its political and ideological implications and individualities and collective identities of the spectators. To build upon the previous chapters' discoveries, I will

look how the timeline of the Games, the space of the Games, the social identities and agencies of the spectators influenced their experience. This will allow for a multisensory perspective on the Games, i.e. to reveal what sensations spectators possibly experienced, and why. However, there is no point in simply stating that there was a reasonable possibility for a certain group of spectators to hear the words of the prayer, and for other groups to hear the sound of loud brass wind instruments. These sensory experiences require interpretation and contextualisation. Since as the archaeology of the senses rightly assumes, even a basic sensory experience in everyday context, such as smelling cooked food, depends not only on the physical properties of food and the immediate material context of an act of smelling, but also on the sensorial regime and attitudes towards the use of the senses in a particular society. Thus, the materiality of a sensory experience only becomes meaningful whilst contextualised in the society's sensorial regime. The festive sensory experience is even more complicated. Because it belongs to the realm of festivals, it sets apart from the everyday life and acquires special cultural meaning. It is compared and contrasted with everyday experiences. For example, the festive procession often breaks the everyday routes and movement patterns, the timeline of the Games prevails over the routine schedule, and at the same time the festive experience can offer re-contextualision to familiar sensory experiences, such as tasting food or washing. A way to connect multi-sensory experiences with spectators' identities and establish the possibilities of spectators' experiences is to ask a question how the sensory experience was relevant to spectators. In other

words, how and why it was similar or different to their previous and everyday life experiences?

Thus, the most important background on which the sensory experiences become visible is their relevance to the previous experiences of the spectators. In this chapter, I will proceed as follows: I will tackle these differing characteristics of the sensory experiences, which revealed themselves from analysis in the previous chapters, specifically on timeline and space, organisers' politics and spectators' identities of the Games. By characteristics I mean answers to questions such as what features of the Games timeline or organisers' intentions make these Games distinctive from both everyday life and other Roman festivals, and how and why these sensory experiences differ. Those characteristics lead to the answer to the main question of the Chapter: what made the Saecular Games a distinctive experience and what experience was it?

6.2 Timeline: ambiguity and endurance

As I show in Chapter 3, the Games schedule was innovative.The innovation began with the schedule of the preparatory rituals. The Saecular Games preparatory rituals interfered with the usual Roman festive calendar and probably consumed and replaced a more usual *Ambarvalia* festival's purificatory rituals. Because *Ambarvalia* and *suffitio* had the same ingredients used for purification, and the traditional date of *Am-*

barvalia — the 29th of May — was the first day after the distribution of *suffimenta* during the Saecular Games, it is plausible that *Ambarvalia* was replaced by *suffitio*.[1] It is difficult to imagine two rituals with similar purificatory properties and similar universal participatory involvement taking place simultaneously. The *Ambarvalia* was a ritual of *lustratio* type. *Lustratio* consisted of a procession with sacrifices moving around an area subject to the purificatory ritual and its inhabitants. The area of *lustratio* might be as small as a single house or as large as the city of Rome, which was the case of *Ambarvalia*, since it probably consisted of a purification procession around the Rome's boundaries. *Lustratio* style rituals were not restricted to *Ambarvalia* festival, but were performed on different occasions, including the end of the *lustrum* (hence the name), the five–year census term, the beginning of ploughing in a new field, and several other Roman public festivals.

What were the principal differences in spectators' (participants') experience of a *lustratio* ritual of *Ambarvalia* and a *suffitio*, employed at the Saecular Games? The distinction or differentiation of purificatory rituals is not an easy task. Fantham and Lennon in their respective contributions both pick up on the difficulties that arise in attempting to define Roman purification rituals.[2] As they note, Roman religion counts a very limited number of situations where purification rituals are required. They are generally used in liminal life situations, such as birth, death, marriage, or in expiations of an incorrectly performed

[1] The idea of performance of *suffitio* instead of *lustratio* at the Saecular Games is first suggested by Park Poe in Poe (1984, p. 66)

[2] Fantham (2012); Lennon (2012)

worship, or preventatively to ensure good beginnings, such as a new agricultural year or census period. The relative straightforwardness of these situations, compared to a number of dietary pollution and purification cases in other religions, made Roman authors discussing religious rituals less interested in defining the particularities of different purification rituals, and therefore the evidence of Roman purification rituals is not abundant. Secondly, the Latin language, unlike Greek, lacks a general term for pollution, and its terminology around the concept of purification is also unclear. From the uses of the purification rituals, the state purification rituals could have mainly served two different purposes: the expiation of crimes already committed (ritual omissions or pollution) or the prevention of any future harm or pollution. The expiatory ritual for the latter purpose, traditionally connected in Roman religion with the beginning of a new time period, was the *lustratio* in the variety of its forms. Because of its expiatory role and the purpose of ensuring good new beginning, this ritual seems the most appropriate to be performed at the Saecular Games, which marked the beginning of a new century.

However, the distribution of *suffimenta* and the name of the ritual in the *Acta* suggest, that the fumigation ritual of *suffitio* was performed instead. Ancient authors, discussing the ritual of *suffitio*, primarily associate it with purification from death–related events, especially burial. Festus describes this ritual as stepping through the burning fire, whilst being sprinkled with water, although he specifies that this ritual also

occurred in matrimonial and other purification contexts.[3] In the funerary context, this ritual was perhaps performed on the threshold of the house. The purpose and composition of the substances burned in the death-related purification by *suffitio* is debatable. It is not clear whether burning small parts of the dead bodies alongside other ingredients were customary for home conducted purification rituals. Graham has argued that the *os resectum* — a small part of the body of the deceased — was included in the burned *suffimenta*,[4] whereas Lennon disagrees, since he thinks that *os resectum* is a part of dead body, so burning it over the threshold could prompt the return of the spirit of the deceased to the house, which was exactly what purification rituals sought to prevent.[5]

With or without the ingredient of *os resectum*, the ritual of burning and fumigating would be a familiar experience for Roman citizens. In the case of the Games, however, the necessity for all citizens to participate was a very unusual addition to otherwise familiar domestic experiences of purification from death-related matters through *suffitio*. Rantala argues that precisely because the Saecular Games were intended to be an auspicious new beginning, a series of traditional yearly purification ritual celebrations, which normally happened throughout the month of May, preceded it, in order to ensure this special, death–free experience of the Games in a city completely purified from the spirits of the dead.[6] Rantala suggests that the purification happened

[3] See Paul. Fest. 3L. under *aqua et igni*.
[4] Graham (2011, pp. 100-103)
[5] Lennon (2013, p. 145)
[6] Rantala (2011)

in stages, with people's homes purified during *lemuria*, followed by the purification of the city during *argei* and, finally, the purification of the boundaries during *ambarvalia*.[7] Thus, it would seem logical that the whole purification series had to be by necessity completed by *suffitio* before the beginning of the Saecular Games. However, Rantala sees the *sellisternii* — the ritual banquet of *matronae*, which happened on the first night of the Games — as a definitive purification ritual.[8] For Rantala, this combination of rituals opposes the traditional republican view of the turning of the century as a scary change of rhythm, and, combined with the innovative daytime rituals, establishes the idea of transition between two centuries as a beneficial change, which leads to the Golden Age. Although I agree with Rantala in terms of the role of other purificatory rituals preceding the *suffitio*, I am not convinced that *suffitio* should be excluded from this series and regarded as having "some kind of connection" with Bacchus, whilst the ritual of *Ambarvalia* was celebrated simultaneously with *suffitio*.[9] It would be very inconvenient for both spectators and organisers to combine two rituals of the same scale together. Thus, I presume the *suffitio* replaced *lustratio* as a purificatory ritual for the Saecular Games.

From the spectators' perspective, *suffitio* and *lustratio* are very different: the former was performed in each household, thus having the properties of a family ritual, whereas the latter was performed by the priests on behalf of the population, thus being a less immediate

[7] Rantala (2011, pp. 243-248)
[8] Rantala (2011, p. 241)
[9] Rantala (2011, p. 248)

experience of ritual, something which many Romans could not even be witnesses of. At the same time, the preceding distribution of purification substances created a context of a large state celebration, because of the interaction of large numbers of people who went to receive *suffimenta*.

The process of the ritual involved interaction with smelly substances and unusual materials. Unfortunately for today's scholars, very little is known about the actual ingredients of the suffimenta. A Greek historian of the 5th century AD, Zosimus, is our only source on the composition of the suffimenta for the Saecular Games. He stated that the suffimenta consisted of torch, sulphur and bitumen.[10] The sulphur and bitumen are frequently combined together for various uses, including purification, in agriculture.[11] The torch might have been used on its own. However, all the ingredients combined could produce an effective torch, both in terms of fumigating and lighting properties. The natural bitumen, sulphur and kindling, or torch, which was most probably made from pine wood combined together, become smelly, sticky and difficult to separate. Sulphur and bitumen could produce an unusual blue-coloured flame and a distinctive suffocating smelly smoke, which was believed to have both medical and religious cleansing properties.[12] The properties of burning sulphur are equally unusual, since it needs to liquefy before it burns and produces a blue-coloured flame and suffocating fumes, with a characteristic strong smell.[13] Note the

[10] Zos.Hist.2.5.1-2

[11] Cat. De Agr. 95 , Col.De Re Rus. 6, 32; 8,5

[12] See the references above on the use of sulphur in agricultural context

[13] For sulphur melting and burning properties see e.g. Meyer (2013, p.38-117)

absence of fragrant herbs and plants typical for certain modern incense burning rituals. In Rome fragrant herbs were sometimes mentioned in other contexts, as an addition to the combustible substances for purification or being burned separately in a bonfire, but not as part of these games' preparatory rituals. However, tar extracted from the wood during burning process could also alter the olfactory properties of the torch, making the presence of sulphur less noticeable.

Thus, the purification ritual offered an encounter with festive ingredients, substances with unusual textures, smells, and colours in a familiar domestic context. Consequently, the *suffitio* felt both innovative and true to Roman traditions. It is important to note that the replacement of a ritual performed by priests with a ritual performed at home created an ambiguity. The end of May was a usual time for purificatory rituals, but instead of meeting public officials performing the ritual, Roman citizens encountered the officials whilst receiving the ingredients for purification, and perform the rituals themselves in their houses afterwards.

This arrangement created a different type of community relationships: it included the officials in the realm of family, and allowed the citizens of Rome to become participants of the Games before being spectators. It also created the possibility of interaction between crowds of people and a sense of anticipation for the future festival. This ambiguity and even blurriness of boundaries between public and private, family matters and official rituals, new and familiar, everyday and festive becomes apparent in the process of purification rituals and

their fusion with the traditional late May rituals of *Ambarvalia*.

Another instance of innovation in the schedule of the Games was the addition of the day–time rituals. This innovation had several consequences for spectators' experiences. Firstly, it created a continuity of action and therefore of spectators' experiences. The Games were conducted almost without interruption, and the rituals immediately followed each other, with the only exception of a possible day long break between the end of the official (sacred) and beginning of honorary Games. The night rituals started around 7 or 8pm, and lasted nearly the whole night. They included the preparation of a sacrifice, the animal sacrifice or non-animal sacrifice and prayer, the burning of the sacrifice and the night time performances in the theatre in Campus Martius for most of the population; some members of the 15 men and noble *matronae* had ritual banquets after the sacrifices. The daytime rituals started early on the next day. Thus, a certain endurance was required first and foremost from the performers of these rituals, i.e. the 15 men, the helpers, the musicians and the matrons, but also from the spectators. The continuous nature of this three days marathon of events certainly influenced the perception of the spectators. Alertness and attention is impossible to retain during such a long period of time, thus it is probable that the memories of the Games, as well as some of the non-participatory events of the sacred part of the Games had to be experienced through tiredness, or even in half–sleep. Although no evidence suggests that it was not possible to leave the location of the Games, at least during the night time rituals, whilst it was dark, the

crowding conditions would probably prevent large numbers of spectators from exiting from Field of Mars.

Such long lasting games were perceived as unusual and completely breaking the patterns of one's everyday life even by later imperial writers, such as Suetonius and Tacitus, even though at the time they were writing their works such games were a more common fixture. The absence of daylight was also regarded by the society, at least as transmitted by historians, as morally corrupting, and thus all the night–time performances were particularly criticised for giving license to sexual promiscuity, violence and debauchery.[14] Moral judgements of Roman historians are often linked with their narrative strategies and desire to represent a particular concept of history. For example, Suetonius frequently uses the participation of emperors in night–time fights, rituals and sexual excesses as a trope highlighting their bad character. Nevertheless, despite the possible historical inaccuracies, the link between night–time and increased sexual and violent freedom is certain.

In a way, this suggests that the night–time Games programme could also have been regarded by the spectators as an opportunity for unusual sensory experiences, the reduced vision thus contributing to additional strengthening of a more basic sense in Aristotelian hierarchy — the sense of touch. According to Suetonius, Augustus tried to limit some of these possibilities and protect the young generation

[14] On the discussions of perilous nature of all the night–time games and rituals see e.g. Tac. Ann. 14.15, esp. 14.21; 15.44; Suet. Aug. 41

from the possible dangers of night–time performances by prohibiting youngsters of both sexes from attending the Games on their own, and requesting their parents to accompany them.[15] This complicated and differentiated the experience of spectators, since it required the parents to be vigilant and also imposed a moral duty on them. At the same time, the *iuvenes* could probably have a sense of dissent regarding these regulations. There are two particular problems with this regulation: first is how it could had been enforced, particularly in the relatively dark conditions and second what happened to those found disobeying it. On the relatively packed territory of the Field of Mars the enforcement of this condition would prove difficult, because the usual way to distinguish young people from their older peers would have been their clothing style. The *toga praetexta* had a broad red stripe on it, which signalled the underage character of its owner. Despite the moon was full or nearly full on the nights of the sacred Games,[16] thus providing a good amount of light, and despite artificial lighting (such as fixed and movable torches) might also had been employed, it would still have been probably very difficult to adhere effectively to these age controlling policies. The only other way to catch the unlawful youth would had been to recognise their faces, which was probably possible for the members of the families of the two highest Roman orders.

Thus, although night–time rituals were not uncommon in the Ro-

[15] Suet. Aug. 31.4

[16] An astronomical simulation allows the calculation of the phases of moon for any particular date in the past. The second night of the games was the full–moon night. For calculations see e.g. Espenak (206)

man festival calendar, the long, uninterrupted day and night–time games were still a relatively new experience for the spectators.[17] The participation in the whole of the Games required endurance, whereas the night time offered opportunities for different sensations, especially related to the sense of touch. Roman morals condemned the dangers of the night–time performances, such as sexual excess and violence, and organisers tried to police the younger generations' experiences of the Games in order to prevent moral corruption, thus reinforcing the hierarchy. At the same time, the novelty of the Games' schedule, calendar and ritual character was combined with many basic and traditional family experiences, thus creating a novel, blended experience. The experiences related to the Games' schedule were utterly new and at the same time very familiar for spectators.

6.3 Space: order, confusion, familiarity, monumentality

The main driving force, that the spatial organisation of the Games brought to the sensory experiences of the Games, was the journey through monumental space, which happened during the preparatory rituals, between the rituals and performances of the official Games and the performances of the honorary Games.

[17] E.g. Lemuria ghost-expelling festival in May, see e.g. Ovid. Fas. 5. 419-444 , also festival of Bona Dea, although women only and happened largely indoors. Ovid.Fast.5.147-148

The preparatory rituals involved active participation of citizens and happened in two distinct places: the first phase — the distribution of the *suffimenta* — happened in the hilltop temples around the city, and the subsequent ritual of *suffitio* in the people's houses. For the receipt of crops, the order was reversed: the citizens first amassed crops in their homes, which they brought to the officials in the same temples afterwards. In terms of space, this journey from Roman citizens' dwellings to the tops of the hills and the return journey formed a large part of the spectators' experiences. The temples used for these rituals were located on the Capitoline, Palatine and Aventine hills. This position at the hilltops structured the Roman citizens' experiences in two ways: firstly, the most obvious sensory impact was the visual identification of the temples' positions, and the views of the city, which were available along the way: secondly, the road to the hilltops dictated the pace of the journey and the levels of fatigues resulting from to climbing up or down.

The walk also created as special rhythm, which I discussed in Chapter 4. This rhythm was also influenced by the city's built environment, in our case especially by the position of the temples and people's housing, that create the trajectory of the journey. As we have seen in Chapter 4, in terms of pace and walking conditions, the two rituals might have provided a mirrored experience, which created additional possibilities of making meaning of the sensory experiences. After the distribution of *suffimenta*, the citizens had to bring back, downhill, the acquired ritual product. Although the torch, bitumen and sul-

phur used for purification were not necessarily very heavy, each person was supposed to received them only once, thus, possibly, the Romans tried not to loose or damage the *suffimenta* in transit. The duty of carrying a precious religious object impacted on the alertness of those involved in its transport, which in turn affected the pace of walking, but also the ability to pay attention to the surrounding sights. The ritual of *acceptio frugum* involved the movement in the opposite direction: citizens of both sexes were carrying freshly collected grain as well as other pulses from their houses towards the temples uphill, and afterwards were returning back without a load. Therefore, the experience on the way to and from the ritual place was mirrored in the two rituals, with participants being more careful and less interested in their surrounding views on their way back from the distribution of *suffimenta* and on their way to the *acceptio frugum*. Clothing also greatly impacted the rhythm of walking. Augustus passed the law that required men to wear togas and women to dress in *stolae* on festive occasions. Both were bulky, heavy and long garments, which certainly considerably slowed down the pace of walking. All the factors combined: the numbers of citizens, the likelihood of queuing at the top of the hill to receive *suffimenta* or to donate crops, the care and attention involved when carrying the *suffimenta* or crops, the uphill and downhill road, and finally the festive dresses contributed to a considerable change in the everyday rhythms of walking, dictating a much slower pace on most of the people's journeys related to the preparatory rituals. Moreover, the journeys of the two preparatory rituals mirrored each other because of different phases related to the uphill and downhill movement.

At the official Games, the journey, a structured walking exploration of the monumental city space, was the essential binding element of the Games, which connected the rituals and performances, executed in the different parts of the city. As I show in Chapter 4, the journeys of the official part of the Games were most probably anticipated and even planned by the organisers of the Games. These sensory experiences of walking journeys were therefore layered with and added to the prolonged periods of crowded gatherings, which happened during the process of sacrifices. The movement patterns of these journeys shaped the experience of the spectators. For the official Games this movement pattern was similar to or sometimes specifically organised as a processional movement.

Let us consider the possible routes and patterns of people's movement throughout the duration of the official Games. The journeys of spectators are structured around the node points, both spatially and temporally, these node points represent the pauses in journeys, and the situation when and where the action of the Games happened. The main node points are the sacrifices, one at night–time and one during the day on each of the three days of the Games, with the night–time sacrifice starting the Games. The other separate events, which complemented the sacrifices were ritual banquets and performances, which mainly happened between the night–time and day–time sacrifices, with the exception of the last day, which had additional choir performances after the day–time sacrifices as well as performances and racing events straight afterwards, which marked the end of the

official part of the Games and transition to honorary Games. Thus, with the exception of matrons who had their special banquets at the Capitoline hill after the sacrifices, the majority of spectators of and participants in the Games would have had to complete the journeys between the location of a night time sacrifice and the location of a day–time sacrifice simultaneously, in order to get there in time.

The walk through monumental space and on the triumphal road is a rare experience, and this walk was presumably performed by the majority of spectators during the transition between the night–time and day–time rituals. This stands out from the everyday and possibly creates memories. The early morning hours when it was performed might be chilly and the absence of sleep also might play a part in the sensory experience of the spectators.

Matronae and children certainly have more intense experiences of preparation for the day–time rituals. The *Acta* mention several rehearsals or ritual gatherings, which happened before the Games, which required *matronae* and children to be at the Capitolium.[18]

As I wrote in Chapter 4, the choir recitals provide an unusual experience of the *ekphrasis* through the song. It is possible that because of the less than ideal acoustics not all the words of the hymn would be heard by those standing further away from the porticus of the temple of Apollo, where the concert presumably took place.[19] However, the

[18] Lines 73 and 78

[19] On the acoustic conditions of the performances of sacrifices, see e.g.Vincent (2013).

overuse of alliteration and assonances by Horace points me towards thinking that it was expected for some the lyrics of the hymn not to be heard clearly.[20] The need to sing twice put special pressure on the voices of the choristers. However, it might be possible that they were accustomed to such performances.[21] The night–time rituals offered a possibility to escape the everyday, but still were subject to control of the officials.

The newly built and permanent theatres were subject to the *Lex Iulia theatralis*. Therefore, women and foreigners might be excluded from some of the experiences because of the newly passed law. The Greek Games shown at the honorary Games were quite rare and probably a desirable form of entertainment. The spectators might have had difficulties entering theatres, because of the new law, and the need to block some of the entrances in order to get spectators in the right *cunei*.

Overall, except for the day–time rituals and honorary Games performances the Games offered a strange engagement with the spectators. It is almost certain that it was not possible to see or hear the night–time sacrifices for most of the audiences. Watching the night–time theatre could also prove difficult, since the performances started after the end of the sacrifices which lasted several hours. Therefore the most usual night–time experience for a general audience would be one of being in the crowd, listening to faintly audible music and

[20] For extensive use of alliteration and similar trops in Carmen Saeculare, see e.g. Putnam (2008, p.56).

[21] Van der Leeuw (1939)

smelling the smoke from the sacrifice. After this, and a post–sacrificial banquet, a slow solemn stroll through the early morning triumph road would bring them to the Capitoline or Palatine hill. It is also possible that many of the spectators of the night–time rituals simply would not fit on the top of Capitoline hill and would probably see nothing of the day–time sacrifice too, unless it was on the day when *matronae* performed a kneeling prayer. The 110 matrons wearing white clothes and singing would probably be visible and audible even from a quite distant location.

6.4 Individuation and agency

The Games prove to be a particularly restrictive area of experiences. The performance of one's social identity is possible at the theatre shows (however not all the Roman citizens can fit in the theatres) and during the purificatory rituals. On all other occasions a representative is acting of behalf of the population, be it one of 110 *matronae* representing fertile women, one of 54 children representing the future Romans, or one of the 15 men, representing a Roman *pater familias*.

Any non-conforming identity or activity is oppressed or prohibited, as it was with the mourning women and as was nearly the case with the *caelibes*. Therefore a constant performance of hierarchies is modelled through the work of specific representatives. The dissent is felt even in the inscription; however, no serious incidents are known.

The rituals reinforce the bond between the officials and Roman families. However, it is possible that many widows, orphans, children with one parent, and *caelibes* feel left out or probably choose to be left out from the celebrations.

To conclude, the Saecular Games created an interesting mix of familiar and unfamiliar experiences. However, whilst the rituals promote familiality and procreation, the spectators encounter policing (of youth at the night–time), enhanced segregation (of women), and blurred boundaries of private and public space. The dissenting voices are often silenced. The Games leave an impression and memory of confusion, when unusual Greek style performances, rituals and journeys through the new monumental spaces coexist with concealed dissent and enhanced policing.

Chapter 7

The Saecular Games: memory and reception

The Saecular Games were designed to be memorable. Their advertising slogan was a *once in a lifetime* opportunity to see it, and the Games organisers wanted the memory of the Games to be perpetuated in many ways. Firstly, the *Acta* explicitly suggest that two different columns had to be erected in the location, where the Games took place, one in bronze and one in stone. Moreover, later Augustus mentioned the Saecular Games among his major achievements in the famous inscription detailing his *Res gestae*. The columns consisted of *Acta* and were an inscription and a monument at the same time. One of their most obvious functions related to the commemoration of the Games was to transmit the ritual process and the prayers, collected in *Acta* to the future generations of the priests, and thus perpetuate the

tradition of the Games. This was probably a successful enterprise, although not an innovative one. Claridge identifies the place where inscriptions were found as a usual place for inscriptions related to the Saecular Games;[1] thus Augustus probably had adhered to a previous tradition and placed the inscription among inscriptions of the previous Games. This also could be confirmed by discovery of Severan *Acta*, which took place nearby. The comparison of Severan and Augustan *Acta* show many similarities in rituals and prayers, and although the ritual language and description of rituals themselves are often considered a conservative territory, where little change through the ages, we still might assume that there was at least some similarity and continuity between the actual process of the Augustan and Severan Saecular Games.

7.1 The *Acta* as monument

At the same time the column with the *Acta* inscription also catered for a much wider audience than Roman priesthood. Situated on a confluence of busy roads, near the bridge over the Tiber, the *Acta* column also served as a monument, which might remind even the illiterate or poorly educated Romans about the festival they had experienced in that same space. A more nuanced perception of the monument could have been available for the more educated viewers.

[1] Claridge (2010)

As we have seen in Chapter 4, by pin–pointing places with times of the rituals and by offering a time frame of the Games, the narration of *Acta* represented node points of a journey through the city. The idea of the journey is an important one, because it reflects the Roman own conceptions of representation of space. Historians studying movement of objects and people in Ancient Rome, mobility patterns as well as roads and mapping perspectives were the first to notice the difference between ancient and modern representations of spatial concepts. Whereas moderns operate with a cartographic mentality, in which the world is represented as territory, Romans operated from a linear perspective, in which roads, pathways, routes and distances were fundamental.[2] Moreover, the production and use of maps was by no means uniform and coherent throughout the empire and even in Rome;[3] there were no equivalents either to abstract "cartography" or to the collective "atlas";[4] and even the word "map" in its contemporary sense did not exist. Nevertheless, the very few maps of the Roman and early medieval maps, which have survived, such as the Marble plan of Rome (AD 3rd century) and so-called Peutinger map of the Roman empire (AD 4th century), can illustrate shared spatial concepts in Roman culture. On the larger scale maps, the most important concept is that of the road or pathway. These maps often look more like a metro plan, rather than resembling contemporary topographical maps. Instead of bird's eye view, they offer a linear perspective and focus on distances and pathways, and do not accurately render fea-

[2]Firstly introduced by Janni (1984)
[3]Talbert (2012)
[4]Talbert (2012, p. 5)

tures of the landscape. This attitude proves a movement — or even a walking–based approach and understanding of space — where a map is first of all an itinerary for a journey to be undertaken. Thus, the importance of pathways and movement by pathways was a cornerstone of Roman spatial understanding.

However, the absence of contemporary–style topographical maps does not mean that there were no ways for Romans to engage with the representations of space, and movement and power within it. On the contrary, the absence of conventions on how a usual "map" should look like provided a wide variety of acceptable possibilities to represent the space. Talbert has shown that along with sketched or text itineraries and purposeful cadastral city drawings,[5] which are familiar types of maps to contemporary readers, inscriptions with details of provincial constituencies, allegorical statues of conquered lands, pictures of foreign flora and fauna, and populations used in triumphs were all used similarly to maps and considered as representations of space in Roman culture. In fact it is sometimes very difficult to tell whether a Roman author is describing a drafted map, a narrated itinerary or a picture allegorically representing a location. Thus, the *Acta* represented a kind of narrated map of the city, specific for the Saecular Games, and might help those able and willing to read it not only to awake the memory of the place and rituals associated with the placement of the monument, but also other places in Rome, such as temples connected through the prescribed journey of the Games.

[5]Talbert (2012, pp. 163-191)

Finally, with a height of nearly 4 metres[6] the proportions of the monument impacted and dominated anyone who approached it, thus for those unable to read, but who witnessed the Games, it was a powerful addition to the Roman landscape and in its sheer scale a reminder of the recent Games and those who organised them.

7.2 Architecture and memory

The impact and commemorative power of the *Acta* is nearly certain for those who experienced the Games first–hand. However, whether this impact perpetuated through the generations and whether the *Acta* were still a symbol and a monument to the Augustan Saecular Games for future generations remains debatable. The key problem is in complete difference between the attitudes of Romans toward the Roman space and the contemporary perception of Rome.

From the Renaissance onwards a concept of Rome as an encapsulated memory of a great civilisation and a reference point for today's culture has been established. Today's gaze on ancient Rome's space is always looking backward. Despite the possibility of comparing the ancient with the contemporary, and the esteem towards Ancient Roman culture, Rome is a site of another civilisation.

[6]The approximate height is discussed in Moretti (1984, pp. 373-374). Moretti states that the museum reconstruction of the Augustan column in its current state is 3 metres 75 centimetres, whereas the reconstruction of the Severan acta is 4 metres 70 centimetres. Since Augustan *Acta* have some parts from the top of the inscription missing, it is probable that 4 metres is a good estimate of its original height.

However, the Ancient Roman attitude towards the city space, especially its memorial public spaces, was very different from ours. In the Roman times, Rome as city was a reference point for the future. While recognising its history, the gaze on Rome's monuments remained forward–looking. As Edwards rightly points out, even the glory of Rome and its perpetual prosperity as a civilisation might be metaphorically expressed as the existence and religious use of city–space, especially the Capitoline hill.[7] The contemporaneity and resilience of Roman city space and its monuments as useful and usable is one of the important concepts in the construction of the memory of the city. Latin poets repeatedly used this analogy. In the famous ode[8] Horace states that his glory will augment as long as a monthly ritual is performed on the Capitol.[9] The *Carmen Saeculare* includes a prayer to the Apollo–Sun which "should not [during his day cycle] see anything greater, than the city of Rome".[10] The history of Rome as well as rightful order were signs for the perpetuation of Rome as a state through the ages. The presence and constant use of the monuments linked the past to the Roman future, and assured the presence of the Roman rule for future generations.

At the same time this forward–looking attitude shaped the perception of the historical buildings and monuments in the city. An unusual attitude of Romans towards Rome's old monuments is analysed

[7] Edwards (1996, pp. 70-71)
[8] Hor. Carm. 3.30.9-11
[9] Cf. Verg. Aen. 9.445-50
[10] Hor. Carm.saec. 9-12

in great detail by Jenkyns.[11] He argued that despite a cultural attachment to traditional values and old customs (*mos maiorum*), widely expressed in philosophy, literature and politics, Greek cities, such as Athens, and not Rome were seen as places of marvellous old architecture.[12] Rome, in turn, was perceived as a contemporary city. Jenkyns compares Rome to today's London, "a very old city whose oldness is only occasionally perceptible".[13] The venerated public buildings of considerable age existed in the space of the city, but their place, meaning and use were considered primordial, not their appearance, age or long standing immutability. Fires, floods and other natural disasters as well as the construction ambitions of the Roman rulers changed the face of the monuments without changing their importance.

Consequently, the nature and substance of monuments and their preservation were perceived differently from today's practice. Contemporary European attitudes and museum history declare that the features, materials and above all the appearance have value. Ancient ruins are significant only if they are genuinely old and historically valuable, or at least they look so. The contemporary conservation attitude is reflected in the International Charter for Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, so called the Venice Charter:[14]

[11] Jenkyns (2014)
[12] Jenkyns (2014, pp. 16-19)
[13] Jenkyns (2014, p. 24)
[14] The Venice Charter, article 9, last consulted at `http://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf` on 22.10.2017. The charter was signed in 1964.

> The process of restoration is a highly specialised operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp.

The cult of architectural features and materials make possible the existence of phantom buildings, where a preserved historical façade covers a redesigned and completely rebuilt house. Thus, all the efforts are put to first distinguish contemporary work from historical, and secondly to preserve the workmanship of the past intact, or at least not to change its appearance.

The Roman methods of historical building management were significantly different. Architectural features of Roman monuments and public buildings were not subject to preservation. Roman attitudes towards restoration proves this statement. Thus, Augustus in *Res Gestae*, while stating his urban building achievements,[15] does not clearly differentiate between restoration, rebuilding after a major disaster and new construction. Among the buildings united under a short statement "I built" (*feci*) completely new structures, such as Temple of Jupiter Tonans, coexist with additions to existing buildings such as *pulvinar* in the Great Circus, restoration work on old temples, such

[15] RG. 4.19

as Juno's and Minerva's shrines on the Aventine and even rebuilding projects, such as the restoration of the burnt temple of the Great Mother. As Sear rightly noticed in his analysis of hundreds of remaining Roman theatre buildings around the world,[16] normally there was no concern in complete rebuilding of a theatre and a change of decor. In this context an appropriation of a public building or monument could happen instantly, with any restoration. For instance, the renaming of a structure according to a new benefactor and the inscription which reflected his status[17] were more important than the appearance of the building itself. Moreover, the inscriptions themselves were subject to reproduction or falsification.[18] A plethora of possibilities was open to those wishing to change the spatial narrative: it could be done by manipulating the older buildings and their reconstruction, by ascribing the resulting project to the benefactor's relatives and powerful allies, by constructing a new building in a traditional context. Because the appearance of the building was not considered decisive in its traditional and monumental status, all these manipulations almost never encounter any objections from the members of public.

However, a redevelopment of current sacred space into a new structure could have provoked such discontent, as it happened with the demolition of ancient temple of Piety by Julius Caesar,[19] which one could compare to today's preservation societies' campaigns. How-

[16] Sear (2006)

[17] On the change of inscription style from Republic to Principate, see Boatwright (2014)

[18] Thomas and Witschel (1992)

[19] Suet. Iul. 22

ever, the cause of discontent was not the architectural value or age of the building, but a disruption of religious order by the re-purposing of the sacred space and plans to replace a temple with a theatre. Therefore Romans lived in a constantly changing cityscape, which, however, had a relatively stable system of naming and functioning of spaces.

But if the appearance of monuments and significant buildings changed, but their function stayed the same, were Romans actually aware of the change of narrative associated with restored or new buildings and monuments? Could an association with a particular ruler or an event remain through the ages, or would it gradually fade, eventually to disappear? From one perspective, an analysis of architecture, building programmes and imagery associated with city–spaces has been around for a long time in Classical scholarship. As early as in the 1980s, Leach brought together literature, architecture and decorative painting to search for a common ground which allowed the conveying of space related language and rhetorics.[20] She analysed the workflow and correspondences of genres and rhetorical devices in the descriptions and depictions of landscapes. Leach insisted on nuancing the classification of painting styles and literary descriptions of Augustan Rome, which at the time of writing was too centred on formal style descriptions and dichotomy between republican and imperial images. She linked the performative Roman rhetorical vocabulary and procedures such as *ars memoriae* and *ekphrasis* with the study of landscapes depicted on frescoes. Through this analysis she revealed

[20] Leach (1988)

that visual representations in paintings, writing and rhetorical tradition were united by the same vocabulary. Moreover, this vocabulary has gradually evolved and sometimes was deliberately changed from the Republic to the Augustan period. Zanker and later Galinsky[21] conducted their research in searching for patterns in Augustan imagery on statues, coins, and reliefs, buildings and places. They looked for distinctive images, which manifested the change of social order. The examples included among others the Altar of Peace, Augustus' home on the Palatine hill and the Forum of Augustus. Overall, a plethora of approaches for interpreting Roman space and monuments intrinsically assume that the mentioned interpretations of Roman space and architecture were at least possible or even plausible in Ancient Rome. A consensus would be a view that a Roman could read images and interpret architecture as a variety of text, which influenced his perception of the city and the power relationships in it.

On the other hand, these approaches to the understanding of Roman space and people's interactions with it are sometimes problematic and put in question. It is especially true for the interaction of a non-educated audience with monuments . Wiseman in his paper on the construction of popular memory in Rome[22] rightly identified a number of movements in the arguments of researchers which credited Romans with the ability to read architecture and spaces and derive complex meaning from them. He argues that the importance of the architecture, decor and public buildings and places in the trans-

[21] Galinsky (1998); Zanker (1990)
[22] Wiseman (2014)

mission of ideologies, values and cultural memory is overstated by today's researchers, especially when considering the more common, non-elite part of population. Wiseman also identifies the factors hindering the chance of conveying a distinct message via architecture and built environment:

- *difficulty* to translate architectural language into verbal communication;
- *insufficient literacy* of Roman population;
- *similarity* in building styles of various eras;
- common practices of *recycling and reusing* architectural elements from old buildings into the newly built;
- *improbability of interpretation* of a building in light of the current political climate, especially by lower class viewers;
- *inability to retain in memory* characteristic traits of a particular celebration, even commemorated by a monument.

As a radical alternative to the construction of public space, Wiseman suggested the process of watching performances at the *ludi scaenici* (public theatre entertainment) as a real trigger and device for transmission of cultural, non-elitist memory and experiences. Contrary to monumentality, the plays and pantomimes performed at the big festivals were accessible nearly to everyone. They did not require spectators to be literate, and whilst echoing current political values they also provided a background in the "traditional education": Roman foundation myths, religious practices, literature, and poetry. More-

over, the oral nature of these performances made the acquired knowledge easily transmittable and transferable into a long lasting memory. However, Wiseman underestimates the possibilities to interpret space which worked for the elites as much as his opponents overestimate the sophistication of space interpretations in popular culture. Therefore the memories of the Saecular Games perform through the interaction of both of these paradigms. The Games combined journeys through monumental space with spectacles and poetry, that conveyed the ideas of the organisers. And the *Acta* could serve as both map, and monument to the Games.

7.3 Other ways to remember the Games

The strong and stressed family and procreation theme of the festival could also imprint in collective memory. However a number of spectators and participants, who opposed (like *caelibes* or simply did not confirm to the celebration (like widows and orphans) could share very different memories of the Games.

Finally, the memories of the Games also perpetuated through the interaction with the coins, struck to commemorate the Games. They were produced in provinces as well as in Rome, so the Games were known throughout the empire. However, many of the known pieces are of the *aureus* type. Because it was a gold coin, it was only accessible to the very rich.

The memories of the Saecular Games were formed in journeys through the monumental city–space, and these memories were subsequently reinforced by various possible engagements with a monument of the inscription on the Saecular Games. The identities of spectators performed at the games formed another layer of memories, which were subsequently re-played and re-performed because of the *Lex Iulia theatralis*. Finally, those who lived a very long life could have had witnessed another Saecular Games in their lifetime, because of the Claudius' desire and decision to re-instate the Games in AD 47.[23]

[23] Suet.Claud.21

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to develop a methodology to study the spectatorship at the ancient Roman festivals and to apply this methodology to the case of the Saecular Games of 17 BC, an early imperial festival particularly well evidenced by the sources.

In the introductory Chapter I identified the necessity of studying Roman spectatorship. It arises from the importance of spectating for the ancient Romans — being able to attend festivals was synonymous with being Roman — and at the same time from the inadequate coverage of this phenomenon in classics, ancient history and theatre studies scholarship. I argue for the study of Roman spectatorship in the natural context of its existence — the culture of festivals — *ludi*, without artificially separating the spectators of sport and religious rituals from the spectators of dramatic performances. Audiences of the *ludi* are plural and need to be studied both as individuals and as collec-

tives, as active agents of their perception and not as passive recipients of festival organisers' ideologies and plans. Because of the nature of the Roman festivals, which exclude the possibility of working from a definitive text of the performances, I aim at an imaginative reconstruction of spectators' experiences of the whole festival. Spectatorship in antiquity is very sparsely documented, and therefore a very well documented festival of the Saecular Games of 17 BC was chosen as a case study.

In Chapter 2 I define the methods to approach the spectators' experiences of the Saecular Games, which could be used for other festivals too. The festivals are spectacular events, and because of this I use Sauter's set of methodological questions to research spectators: who the spectators were, what they saw and how they perceived it. A festival is a collective experience, but spectators are individuals as well, so I found ways to account for audiences as collectives and spectators as individuals. The methodology of research for audiences as collectives has been well established in theatre studies and has begun to infiltrate classics. The large audiences of the Roman festivals are capable of behaving and reacting as crowds, and so crowd theory is useful for reconstructing the audiences' responses and behaviour. However, the individuation of spectators' experiences is a difficult and new field for research on ancient Roman spectatorship. The individuation can be achieved through breaking down the larger audiences into smaller groups of spectators, forming new collectives. This method is based on the idea of the performance of society's hierarchies and

people's social identities during the festival. Another way to achieve individuation is based on the fluid nature of the spectator/participant and performer role in premodern spectacles. The notion of agency is introduced to mark the degree of involvement in a particular event, and therefore a changed experience of a spectator becoming a performer in a show or a participant in a ritual. Finally, another way to individuate a spectator's voice is to oppose it to the voice of the organisers. Instead of reconstructing the experience of a spectator as it has been planned by the organisers, I look for traces of spectators with alternative positions and ideologies, which lead to different perceptions of the festival and therefore to a different experience. The methodology for finding spectators is complemented by the methodology for discovering what a spectator saw and how he or she made sense of it. It is relatively easy to establish the chain of events of the Saecular Games from the sources: the preparation, the purificatory rituals, the official Games and the honorary Games or spectacles' week. However, these events do not constitute a repertoire from which a spectator can choose and enjoy an entertainment; they form a particular schedule which is experienced in a predetermined sequence. This sequence is defined by the movement of the spectators and organisers through the city, from one location of the Games to another. This movement is key to understanding the festival's programme, so I use the Lefebvre's and de Certeau's works on spatial theories as a framework for reconstructing the spectator's experience of the journey through the city. Lefebvre's production of space allows us to account for the ideologies of the Games' organisers in setting up this journey

as a *conceived* space, but also to approach the points of unrest and dissent which reveal the spectators' *lived* space of this journey. This understanding of the lived space of the Games is possible through the use of a multisensory approach, coming from archaeology. An imaginative reconstruction of possibilities of the different senses of the spectator affected through different stimuli encountered on the festival's journey is undertaken. However, in order to understand the ways in which these sensations form the spectators' experience, they have to be put in the context of the attitudes towards senses in Roman culture, or, in other words, to its sensorial regime. The effect of the Games on spectators and the communities and collectives that were formed or strengthened during the Games can be seen from the analysis of memories of the Games, which were produced through writing histories and through the erection of the inscription on the Games as a monument.

In Chapter 3 the examination of the inscription reveals the timeline of the Games, the space of the Games, the spectators' numbers and identities. The space of the Games is drawn to two distinct centres of activity: the old and the new, the night–time sacrificial open space contrasted with the built-up hilly areas of the Capitoline and Palatine hills. The additional journeys between the two main locations of the Games form the schedule. The night–time hub of the Games in the northern Field of Mars is fit to accommodate around $200\,000$ spectators; however, spaces on the hills used during the days and the theatres used for the week of spectacles are only suitable for smaller

audiences of around several tens of thousands of people. The Games were organised in the name of the Roman people, and for Roman people as spectators and as participants. The inscription representing the organisers' points of view has some of the spectators' identities emphasised: the mother, the child, and the father/Roman citizen are the organisers' intended spectators and participants in the Games. Other identities, excluding officials, are marginalised: the widows, the orphans, the childless citizens are left out of the picture. However, contrary to other marginalised identities, the rebellious identity of *caelibes* or unmarried according to the recently passed marriage laws is emphasised and discussed, and this fact offers a rare opportunity to pursue an interesting case of spectators' dissent.

In Chapter 4 the flow of the Games is analysed as an organised journey through the monumental space of the city, creating the organisers' conceived space. It starts when spectators bring the purificatory substances home and perform the rituals, establishing a link between their (spectators') home spaces and the official monumental temples on the top of the hills. However, serious overcrowding and enthusiastic participation in this ritual required the organisers to change the plans and add additional days to the ritual. This creates a festive rhythm of ascents and descents, as well as crowding. This journey of the official Games links the nodes of rituals and performances, and connects the old space of the night–time rituals in *Tarentum* to the newly reconstructed space of the Capitoline and Palatine hills, firmly associated with Augustus. This journey is probably performed as a

procession passing on the triumphal way through the theatre of Marcellus to the Capitoline hill, thus reaffirming the link between the very old sacred place and the new monuments. The choir recitals of the Saecular Hymn were a powerful device to catch the spectators' attention and to induce a memorable experience, since the hymn works as an *ekphrasis* in literature. A pause in the journey of spectators is filled with yet another circular journey through space and time in the text of the hymn. The spectators' experience of the following week of spectacles is structured by the recently passed *Lex Iulia theatralis*, which creates a model of social hierarchy through the arrangements of seats in theatres.

In Chapter 5 I show that the organisers use the identities of spectators in the Games to create a demonstration of idealised identities, in keeping with Augustus' recent moral laws policy. This is attempted through the constant performance of the exemplary family (father–mother–child) relationship by chosen members of the community and by the officials throughout the Games. Thus, Augustus acts as father distributing the purificatory substances for domestic rituals, the chosen 110 *matronae* perform the role of exemplary mothers in the prayer with Agrippa, and finally the ideal children perform the hymn. However, the performance of these identities is constantly undermined by resistance and dissent. I argue that it is the gathering of *caelibes* that prompted the senate to have a meeting in the unusual location of the *Saepta* and admit the unmarried to the Games. The constant presence and activity of mourning women, thus acting as widows or orphans

and not conforming to the new *ethos* of the Games was stopped by special edict after two days of the Games. Finally, the perceived harmony of theatre seating arranged according to *Lex Iulia theatralis* is constantly put into question by those trying to cheat and take senators' or knights places.

Although the Saecular Games were a *once in a lifetime* experience, because of the described conflicts of identities and an unusual combination of the familiar with intense innovation the Games created a confused experience. Moreover, the moral policing and emphasis on the model family and procreation provoked a fair amount of dissent. These experiences of the Games are reconstructed in Chapter 6. Thus, the purificatory rituals performed at people's houses were a very familiar thing, but a simultaneous burning of several thousands of suffocating ingredients for the rituals were an unfamiliar replacement for a different ritual of *lustratio*, usually performed at this time. The night–time games were unusual and brought possibilities of sexual encounters and excitement; however, the adults accompanying young men and women were a new, and probably, unwelcome thing. The absence of women from many performances where they usually were present also must have impacted the perception of the Games for both sexes. Overall, the memory of the Games was perpetuated by the organisers both in form of the monuments — the *Acta* — and commemorative coins. The coins offered a tactile experience of remembering the Games. The *Acta* became a monument, projecting both into the past and the future, but also a map of the Games, which

could be followed by future generations. Many traditions of the Saecular Games had been perpetuated and expanded, e.g. the *Lex Iulia theatralis*, the blending of family and the state, as well as unrest of *caelibes* associated with it. The memory of the Games was studied in Chapter 7.

The study of multisensory experiences is a new approach, and the Saecular Games were chosen as a case study for this approach primarily because it was an exceptional event. The Saecular Games were designed, prepared engineered and rehearsed to be memorable and to be accessible by all the senses. The Saecular Games were important for many. For those who organised they provided a platform for political statements and for building relationship, for reforming and re-inventing tradition, for building and managing the conceived space of the city. For those opposed to the new regime or the new laws, the games provided platform for dissent and for making themselves visible. In a way, it is because they were exceptional we still can study them. Thus, this new approach was used on something which stood the test of time.

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