SPACES OF COMMUNICATION IN THE EARLY PRINCIPATE

Within the Topoi Excellence Cluster of Humboldt Universität and Freie Universität Berlin an interdisciplinary research group has been dealing for over a year now with representations and functions of ancient cities in art, architecture and literature. The aim of the Topoi Conference *Spaces of communication in Imperial Rome* was to investigate the importance of urban spaces for various forms of communication. Not only did the ancient city of Rome represent a platform for communication between representatives of individual social groups and institutions, the architecture of the city itself was defined and determined by the often ritualised means and forms of communication, as determined either by tradition or legal norms. This research area thus offers various options to link archaeological, ancient historical and philological approaches.

A specific feature of the conference, and in itself the determining factor in choosing Rome as the venue, were the complementary guided tours with staff members of the German Archaeological Institute Rome (DAI). In addition to his talk **Stefan Freyberger** thus explained and enhanced on site the status of current research on the Basilica Aemilia. **Richard Neudecker** gave a guided tour of the Imperial Fora. **Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt** provided interesting insights into excavations on the Palatine which are not open to the public. Due to his vivid and demonstrative tour **Henner von Hesberg** was able to create an impression of the architecture of the Campus Martius in Hadrianic times amidst the architecture of modern Rome. Finally **Alexandra Busch** led us around the Praetorian Camp. The Istituto Svizzero kindly offered their marvellous premises, for which thanks is due to the director and staff.

A talk by **Henner v. Hesberg**, director of the DAI Rome, opened the conference (*Orte des Kaiserkultes auf dem Marsfeld*). His investigation focused on the structural and edificial developments on the Campus Martius as a result of the cult and divinisation of rulers established since Augustan times. It was not until the 2nd century that a new course was set with the Hadrianeum, the Templum Mathidiae, the ustrinae as well as the columnar monuments. The sublime character of these monuments stands out. They notably emphasise the emperor's apotheosis: No longer personal achievements but rather dynastic aspects were emphasised, which was interpreted by von. Hesberg as a result of the progressing decline of aristocratic competitiveness.

As the centre of all public-political communication the Forum Romanum played an important role during the conference. Thus **Stefan Freyberger** (Rome, DAI) in his talk *Die Entstehung und Persistenz ritueller Handlungen im urbanen Raum am Beispiel des Forum Romanum* dealt with the function of a central building of the Forum, the Basilica Aemilia. The structure was dramatically renewed under Augustus' reign no longer with local building materials such as tuff and lime stone being used, but with white and coloured marble instead. It was recently discovered that the eleven sacella in front of the south side of the Basilica had been revised under Augustus. These sacella according to Freyberger harken back to the dawn of Rome (fights between Romans and Sabines in the forum valley), which points at a conservation of traditions. This impressive association with Rome's beginnings was activated particularly during triumphal processions along the Via Sacra and remained of importance until late antiquity, which is suggested by the continuous restoration of sanctums.

Susanne Muth (Berlin, HU) in her contribution *Im Dialog mit der Vergangenheit – das augusteische Forum Romanum als Raum kontrollierter Kommunikation* particularly addressed the growing interest on the part of the authorities in power to direct, influence or even control the communication taking place on the Forum. The starting point of her discussion was the obvious effort to conserve the past as a point of reference for the present in the form of both honorific and memorial statues, as well as victory monuments in the Forum area. This monument-based staging of a dialogue with the past underwent a radically new orientation during the emergence of the monarchical system: The exempla of political and military actions visualised through the honour statues were replaced in the early principate by a rather diffuse memory of the mythical past. This kind of memory thus was no longer intended to be reminiscent of aristocratic rivals, but of places and events instead. The dialogue with the past was controlled and with that defined in a radically new and up to then unknown way.

Ulrich Schmitzer (Berlin, HU) illustrated how Augustus linked his building activity on the Forum Augustum

with the intention of demonstrating the victorious conclusion of domestic and external conflicts (*Der Kaiser auf dem Forum*). Despite this basic intention, however, the function of the Forum appears more sophisticated, and the range of uses covers purposes from high politics to everyday life and culinary pleasures. The literary representations, those by Ovid in particular, which were the focus of the talk, showed that furthermore the privilege and sovereignty of interpretation is called into the game; that Ovid even confronts the founding myth of the gens Iulia with architectural reality.

Hauke Ziemssen's (Berlin, FU) talk *Prinzipat und städtischer Raum. Zur Entwicklung des römischen Stadtzentrums zwischen dem 1. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.* was concerned with Imperial Rome's urbanistic development in the area between the Palatine, the Forum Romanum and the Flavian Amphitheatre. Under Nero's reign after the great fire of the Domus Aurea in 64 AD, new road links and building patterns came into existence, which in the long term coined the visual and performative perception of the imperial rule. Applying a diachronic approach he emphasised the entanglement between urbanistic and social structures and was thus able to show that the Neronian building policy's break from the past so often emphasised by scholarly research did not mean a fundamental cut: The complex of the Domus Aurea, for example, followed the Iulo-Claudian tendency to extend the imperial dwelling to the Palatine and is thus to be assessed as a sign of continuity. The staging of the entrance to the Palatine and its dominance over the surrounding spaces of communication of emperor and plebs urbana was interpreted as an expression of the principate's political order as an "Akzeptanzsystem" (E. Flaig).

In his talk *Die Gegenwart des abwesenden Kaisers – Öffentliche und private Kommunikationsräume von Prinzipat zu Spätantike* **John Weisweiler** (Rome, Istituto Svizzero) examined, with the help of an analysis of the installation sites of statues, how the rulers' absence in late antiquity changed the importance of the city as a space of communication. While Rome's public spaces during the early principate were almost exclusively reserved for the monumental self-representation of the imperial family, in late antiquity leading senatorial families began to be again represented more in the most important spaces of communication in the city. This development can be interpreted as a sign of a more relaxed relationship between emperor and senate. Since Rome's most distinguished aristocrats were no longer potential rivals of the (now absent) emperors, the rulers could allow larger spaces for self-representation to the oldest families of the city and thus bind them more strongly to the imperial rule.

Simone Voegtle (Rome, Istituto Svizzero) dealt with graffiti (*Admiror, paries, te non cecidisse ruinis. Karikaturen und Graffiti als Medien der Kommunikation im städtischen Raum*), as in pictures or words on walls open to the public, as means of communication. Graffiti and caricatures are a way of direct communication. This is supported by an examination of contemporary sources. Due to their immediateness in combination with the durability resulting from the technique itself, graffiti formed a kind of collected memory which was public, but not official; a testimony of what moved people of various classes and of what they wanted to share with others. Above all, however, it can be archaeologically proven, to what extent graffiti and caricatures represented an inspiration for interaction and thus to what extent they were of a "cumulative nature": on the one hand because of later additions and on the other hand because of the cumulated present formed by actuality and spontaneity.

Referring to the construction of the Arcus Novus and the Arch of Constantine, **Franz Alto Bauer** (Munich, LMU) developed the thesis of a disturbed communication between Roman senatorial aristocracy and the emperors of the 3rd and early 4th century (*Gestörte Kommunikation – Kaiser und römischer Senat in tetrarchischer und konstantinischer Zeit*). Both arches consist of spolia partly reworked according to contemporary aesthetics, as well as reliefs created especially for the arches. According to Bauer the purposeful insertion of older imperial reliefs with their picture language, which had been partly updated by reworking the image of the emperor, worked as a means to present the emperor as successor of those from the good old days. The contemporary reliefs on the Arch of Constantine picture the emperor as new ruler of Rome. Bauer argued that the picture programme of both arches was purposefully constructed to bring the rulers of late antiquity to dwell more often in Rome. This enterprise, however, was doomed to failure, since it fundamentally contradicted the concept of late antique emperors, which was founded on continuous renewal rather than dynastic references.

Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser's (Göttingen) contribution *Neue Festlieder für Anna Perenna. Suburbane Haine als literarische Kommunikationsräume in Ovid's 'Fasti'* concentrated on a literary concept of space: She took as her basis the thesis that the narrative unit concerned with Anna Perenna in Ovid's calendarial poem was programmatically designed as a spaciotemporal focal point of the third book. The talk thus tried to trace techniques of how the topographical festival space of the suburban groves is transformed into the text's literary space of communication and how the sixfold explanation of the calendarial poem thus successfully engages in a contest with the festival chants staged in the grove. Thanks to their chronological order the aitia mentioned in the text can be read as an abbreviated abstract of the history of Rome's urban

sacred landscape. This abstract guides the reader from the grove near the banks of the Tiber north of the Campus Martius to Caesar's temple on the Forum.

Mario Labate (Florence) presented quite similar results with the help of book two and five of Ovid's Fasti (*Prospettive ovidiane per la città imperiale*). The plurality of the aitia offered by the Fasti is an expression of a plurality of values in Augustan Rome. Evander from Arcadia and the Romulus of the traditionally bawdy Lupercalia Festival are designed as founding figures alternative to Aeneas. Archaic rites and provenances are anchored not only in the Roman concept of mythology, but also in Roman urban space.

Jan Stenger's (Berlin, FU) talk *Sitzen bleiben oder aufstehen? Symbolische Kommunikation im römischen Stadtraum* dealt with an incident thematised by Suetonius and other historians: namely that Caesar antagonised approaching senators by staying seated instead of rising. He analysed the situation drawing on categories developed by researchers in the field of social and theatrical sciences. He also included a communication model, with the help of which the act of staying seated can be interpreted as a purposeful act of communication. Thus it could also be shown that the participation of an audience and the cognitive competence of the acting protagonists are of great importance.

Spaces of communication are also central to philosophers of the imperial period, as **Therese Fuhrer** (Berlin, FU) made clear in her contribution *Philosophische Schulen und ihre Kommunikationsräume im kaiserzeitlichen Rom*. Starting from the fact that the places in which disciples or representatives of philosophical schools in Rome circled and communicated were not – in contrast to Athens – specific school buildings, but generally private homes or virtual spaces of communication, she illustrated these spaces with the help of selected examples. Ideal and virtual spaces of communication are designed in Cicero's dialogues and Seneca's epistles to Lucilius. By sketching the senators involved with the philosophy of the Stoa, Tacitus also constructs ideological spaces, one of which he locates at the end of Annals 16 in Thrasea Paetus' house, a 'counter space' to the assembly space of the senate.

Maria Bettetini (Milan, IULM, *Communicazione e scambio di idee negli spazi della vita di Agostino di Ippona*) concentrated on specific places within the city – be it Carthage or Milan – central to Augustine's works. Places within the city are mentioned and described in the Confessiones with a specific intention: The theatre (i.e. the place of unveiled evil); streets and squares (places of dubious encounters); the villa, not only as a private home, but also as a place of important events; the garden, where important things happen – such as evil in the form of the nightly theft of pears; or good, namely the conversion experience of Milan or the vision at Ostia; the city, where everything is explained; the church, material place or refuge of consolation for Monica in Carthage as well as for the people of Milan, who Ambrosious has encouraged to sing to pluck up courage not to leave the churches in the hands of the Arians, a symbol of an inner civitas, which Augustine is to define as the only true space of decision in his future works.

Felix Mundt (Berlin, HU, *Rom als Bühne bei Cassius Dio, Herodian und in der Historia Augusta*) analysed the viewpoint on urban space adopted by the authors mentioned and how they position themselves within this space. Cassius Dio links his own fate with the *caesura* caused by the transition of rulership from Commodus on Septimius Severus. From what can be understood from the epitomes of Xiphilinos, Cassius Dio continues his narration with the dream appointing him historian, and the fire of Rome, which began near the temple of Pax: two events consecutively narrated as internal and external signs of upheaval. With Herodian, a larger distance to Rome, which he detachedly inspirits and constructs like a stage, can be found. In the Historia Augusta urban space is employed playfully depending on the requirements of the biography. At the beginning of Aurelian's vita the author has a puppet of himself travel through Rome with a fictitious city prefect, thus effectively putting himself on the stage, the buildings of which were created by the emperors, who in turn form the subject matter of his book.

Joachim Knape's (Tübingen) contribution Performanzbedingungen römischer Rhetorik initially offered a systematic overview of the theoretical conditions of rhetorical communication before addressing the concrete possibilities available and boundaries present in ancient Rome. In the case of situative rhetoric the human body alone worked as a medium, while the kind of performance to be chosen was highly dependent on intention and calculation – thus a different performance would have to be applied during a charismatic pleading than that chosen in order to quickly spread an edict into far away regions. Knape thus differentiated between a "biblioscriptical" and a "scaenocorporal" performance of texts. Although the elusive nature of an oral talk can be strengthened by transferring it to a written form later, the absence of the scaenocorporal performance will necessarily lead to an extremely weakened perception of the recipient. This "primacy of situatedness" is significant of classic antiquity.

Aloys Winterling's (Berlin, HU) talk (*Öffentliches und Privates im Rom der Kaiserzeit*) dealt with the problems involved in differentiating between "public" and "private" space, especially focussing on the imperial period. Based on the source material situation, he argued that the divi-

sion which has been made in the past between "private" (German "privat") and "public" (German "öffentlich"), i.e. relating to the state (German "staatlich"), structures of dominance does not work. Within his deconstructive approach he emphasised the relatively young life of this categorisation since enlightenment. With regards to Roman antiquity Winterling posed the question of how far these categories were applied or even perceived during the imperial period. In the context of the conference he sharpened his point by illustrating that parallel to the republican categories of "private" and "public" power relationships and client relationships, a differentiation into privatus versus princeps came into existence during the imperial period. Thus there are no explicitly domestic or explicitly urban spaces of communication. Rather more interesting with regard to the social discourses and the interaction between rulers and ruled are hybrid intermediate forms such as the Palatin and its location above the Circus Maximus, which in this context go beyond all structures and dimensions applied until now. The doctoral students of the research group presented their PhD-thesis projects: *Konstellationen von Orten, Personen und Texten im spätantiken Rom und Mailand* (**Judith Esders**), *Repräsentationen des Raumes in der spätantiken Kaiserpanegyrik* (**Sven Greinke**), *Präsentation und Konstruktion von Vergangenheit in Städten der römischen Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (**Christoph Klose**) and *Rekonstruktion der Stadt Rom in der literarischen Tradition der Spätantike* (**Lydia Tummuseit**). The conference proceedings, containing most of the contributions, is in the planning stage.

Judith Esders, Christoph Klose, Felix Mundt