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I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by James Hilton Turner *entitled* Studies in the History of Roman Public Baths

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STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ROMAN PUBLIC BATHS

**A dissertation submitted to the
graduate School of Arts and Sciences
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**in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of**

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by

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PREFACE

My interest in Roman public baths was first roused by an undergraduate essay on the subject which I wrote for Professor Homer Thompson of the University of Toronto who at that time suggested it as a possible subject for a doctoral dissertation, giving it as his opinion that there was a definite lack of an up-to-date study. This view has been born out by my own investigation.

Despite the great mass of archaeological material which has come to light of recent years, to prove, if proof were needed, the universality of the public bath in the Roman world, only one major attempt has been made to prove a comparative study and analysis of the knowledge afforded by this new evidence. This is in a supplement by D. Krencker to the description of the results of the excavations in the Kaiserthermen in Trier, published in 1928 by Krencker himself and E. Krüger.¹ The contribution of this work is architectural, a classification of plans and arrangements used in public baths, based on the study of a select group of sites.

Although this work represents an advance in the architectural study of baths, its value is limited by at least two factors,

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1. Bibliographical details of this and other books discussed in the preface will be found in the Bibliography at the back. The same applies to all works mentioned elsewhere without date and place of publication.
-

first that the primary purpose is to provide comparative material for the interpretation of the ruins at Trier; secondly that the choice of material is restricted and emphasizes the larger edifices. Thus this work only partially fills the need for a comprehensive study.

Accordingly a complete account even as regards archaeological evidence is still a desideratum. However, any definitive work on Roman baths must rest not merely on data derived from archaeological remains, but quite as much on that derived from inscriptions and literary sources. It is with this latter type of evidence that the present chapters are concerned. This limitation was made necessary, first, by the size of the subject, and second, by present world conditions and my own ignorance of practical archaeology which rendered an archaeological study imprudent. Material evidence could not, of course, be ignored due to the interdependence of archaeology and literary sources.

This same interdependence, however, renders it imperative that literary evidence be understood and placed in accessible form if the archaeological material is not to suffer misinterpretation. These studies are, therefore, an indispensable part of the larger project, and are amply justified, if, as I believe to be the case, they bring new evidence to bear and derive fresh information from reworked material.

In mentioning the work of my predecessors in the field I am concerned primarily with those who have treated of public baths as an institution rather than as a type of architecture.

Of these the most important, on the grounds both of intrinsic value and of influence, are to be found in the standard handbooks of classical antiquities and in the great classical encyclopedias. A number of German pamphlets and articles also exist purporting to give discussions of römischen Badeleben or Badewesen, written in the period when public baths were becoming popular in Germany, but these are quite obscure, unknown even to contemporary scholars and difficult or impossible of access, and those which I have been able to examine had no independent value. I will concentrate, therefore, on those standard works on which the scholar must at present rely.

The earliest of the handbooks which deserves mention is Becker's Gallus, published first in 1838, revised most recently by Gell in 1880-1882. This work, although superseded as an authority by other German manuals, is still worth consulting.

Next in chronological order is that of Marquardt which, in the edition revised by Mau, was published in 1886. This is in its method rather similar to that of Blümner published in 1911. Both have brief running account in the text with copious foot-notes containing the documentary material to support their conclusions. The point of view in both cases is essentially that of the antiquarian. However, despite their apparently full documentation, these works have definite limitations, although their sins, are, for the most part, sins of omission rather than of commission. In the first

place, the documentation itself can be definitely misleading. In a subject of this sort where the evidence is derived chiefly from incidental references, the interpretation of the passages in question can be uncertain so that even the printing of excerpts may merely impart false confidence to the reader. In the second place, although it would be unjust and impertinent to accuse scholars of such standing with uncritical use of material, the tendency in these books is, nevertheless, to compile rather than to analyse the evidence, a fault due in part, at least, to exigencies of space. Of positive errors, the majority are of the type which is perhaps inevitable in a subject which necessitates the use of material from a multitude of sources. A number of these I have corrected, for the most part silently, with the feeling that the possibility of similar slips on my part was sufficiently great to render arrogance imprudent. A noticeable factor in these and other works on this topic is the tendency to rely on previous studies for information, particularly on points not essential to the argument. Such a method can easily give rise to a tradition of error.²

One other handbook of Roman Private antiquities deserves mention, the recent work of Carcopino, which in the improved English edition is known as Daily Life in Ancient Rome. This book, which does a great service in providing a readable

2. Cf. e.g. Ch. I, note 1.

and up-to-date account of Roman society, devotes a section to the baths. In contrast with the German works it is noteworthy for the opinions expressed rather than the documentation. However, on a number of points where our work coincides I have been compelled to disagree.³

Of the articles in the encyclopedias I will discuss here only the general articles, although the reader will find references to others in various foot-notes. In Daremberg and Saglio there are two articles, the first on Balneae by Saglio himself, a study which should be used with extreme caution.⁴ The later article, on Thermae supplements this with fresh material. Pauly-Wissowa contains an article, "Bäder", by Mau, excellent but quite inadequate as to length. No article, "Thermae", has as yet appeared, although the appropriate volume has been published. Such are the works to which a person desiring information on Roman public baths as an institution must turn. The older works have much in common. They are all general treatises which endeavour to give a complete picture in a rather brief space, backed by extensive documentation.

3. See Ch. III, note 11 ; Ch. III, note 13.

4. The article seems to have been hastily put together, probably from excerpts, as when on p. 652 the author attributes to Cato a statement made by Plutarch in his life of Cato, an error which he could hardly have made had he studied the passage in context. For the quotation see Chapter I, note 3.

In preparing for my own work, I undertook, first of all, a fresh collection of evidence. This was made primarily by means of indices verborum with the Thesaurus and the copious references of Marquardt and Blümner used as controls. A survey of the archaeological material was also made by means of the standard bibliographies, but the references thus obtained still need to be traced down not merely for the sake of archaeological material but also for inscriptions. This has added a little to the material already accessible when previous studies were written and has served to bring the dissertation up-to-date. It has been my endeavour to exploit this evidence to the full and, whenever possible, to introduce sources of information not hitherto adduced. The chief innovation here has been the greater use of linguistic evidence. The principle reason for this policy was a conviction on my part that one of the great needs was a reexamination of the foundations on which rest the assumptions, both scholarly and popular, regarding Roman public baths. Careful consideration of the evidence has increased the scale of this work, so that for the portions of the subject covered specifically it has extended beyond the scope of previous discussions.

There is one other innovation in my approach, the application of historical method by the consideration of each item in its chronological setting. Previous studies have tended to be very weak in this.

The work itself, although divided into three chapters, consists of two main sections. The first comprises Chapter I

and is an attempt to write a comprehensive history of public baths as an institution during the republic. The second section, devoted to the empire, consists of two studies, complete in themselves, which deal with problems connected with public baths during the period of their greatest popularity.

In concluding, I wish to place on record my appreciation of the assistance I have received from those with whom I have been associated both as undergraduate and as graduate. I owe special gratitude to Professor and Mrs. W. T. Semple whose beneficence has made possible my graduate work. While writing this dissertation I have had great reason to be grateful to Professor Rodney P. Robinson who, by his pertinent and helpful criticisms has saved me from blunders and done much to clarify this work. I wish to thank in addition Professors R. K. Hack and M. F. McGregor and Mrs. Caskey who have read this dissertation in manuscript. And, finally, I am happy to have this opportunity to acknowledge the debt I owe to all my instructors both at the University of Cincinnati and at the University of Toronto.

ABBREVIATIONS

This list includes all abbreviations for modern works and collections used in this study. Abbreviations for Greek authors follow with some latitude those used by Liddell-Scott-Jones, the rule being to give at least as much as is supplied there. For Latin authors the Thesaurus has been followed in the same manner, but a number of departures have been made in favour of what seemed the more frequent English usage.

<u>AA</u>	Archäologische Anzeiger (appendix to Jahrbuch des Instituts). Berlin, 1889-.
<u>AJA</u>	American Journal of Archaeology. Baltimore, 1885-.
<u>Ann. ép.</u>	L'Année épigraphique, Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine (published separately and as a supplement to Revue archéologique). Paris, 1888-.
<u>Arch. Pap.</u>	Archiv für Papyrusforschung. Leipzig and Berlin, 1900-.
<u>Atti...CStR</u>	Atti del...Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani. Rome, etc., 1929-.
<u>BACTH</u>	Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques. Paris, 1883-.
<u>BC</u>	Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. Rome, 1872-.
<u>BCH</u>	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Paris, 1876-.
<u>Bruns</u>	K. G. Bruns, Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui, 7th ed. Tübingen, 1909.

- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Berlin, 1863-.
- CRAI Comptes rendus de l'Académie des
Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
Paris, 1857-.
- Cabrol-Leclercq Dom F. Cabrol and Dom H. Leclercq,
Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne
et de Liturgie. Paris, 1903-.
- Corp. Gloss. Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, ed.
G. Goetz. Leipzig, 1888-1923. 7 vols.
- D & S Ch. Daremberg and M. E. Saglio,
Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques
et Romaines. Paris, 1887-1919.
- Dessau H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.
Berlin, 1892-1916. 3 vols.
- FHG Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed.
C. Müller. Paris, 1841-70. 5 vols.
- GLK Grammatici Latini, ed. H. Keil.
Leipzig, 1857-1870.
- IG Inscriptiones Graecae. Berlin, 1873-.
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies. London, 1886-.
- KK D. Krencker and E. Krüger, Die Trierer
Kaiserthermen, Trierer Grabungen und
Forschungen, Vol. I, 1. Augsburg, 1929.
- Liddell-Scott-Jones H. P. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones,
A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford,
1925-1940.
- MA G. Lugli, I monumenti antichi di Roma e
suburbio. Rome, 1930-1938. 3 vols.
- MAAR Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
Bergamo, 1917-.
- Mon. Ant. Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura
della R. Accademia dei Lincei.
Milan, 1890-.
- Mon. Germ. A. A. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum
Antiquissimorum Tomi I-. Berlin, 1877-.

- NSA Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
comunicate alla R. Accademia dei
Lincei. Rome, 1876-.
- PAE S. B. Platner and Thos. Ashby, A Topo-
graphical Dictionary of Ancient Rome.
Oxford, 1929.
- PEnteux. Publications de la Société royale
égyptienne de Papyrologie, Textes et
Documents, 1, *Ev. Teóξeis ...*, ed. O.
Guéraud. Cairo, 1931-1932.
- PGiss. Griechische Papyri im Museum des ober-
hessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen.
Leipzig, 1910-.
- PLME Priscæ Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica,
ed. Fr. Ritschl. Berlin, 1862-.
- PMagd. Papyrus de Magdola, ed. J. Lesquier.
Paris, 1912.
- POx. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, ed. B. P. Grenfell
and A. S. Hunt. London, 1898-.
- PW A. F. von Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll,
Realencyclopädie der klassischen
Alterumswissenschaft. Stuttgart, 1894-.
- Riv. Fil. Rivista di filologia e di istruzione
classica. Turin, 1873-.
- Röm. Mitt. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen
Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Rome, 1886-.
- Stud. Pal. C. Wessely, Studien zur Paläographie und
Papyruskunde. Leipzig, 1901-.
- Thesaurus Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Leipzig, 1904-.

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC BATHS DURING THE REPUBLIC

Although the subject of Roman public bathing establishments is primarily associated with the imperial period, the huge thermae and multitudinous smaller baths which had so important a place in the life of the Romans of those times possessed predecessors whose history extends well back into the republican period. The story, insofar as our knowledge permits, of the introduction, origin, nature and significance of these baths, as well as of the early bathing habits of the Romans seems a desirable introduction to the larger topic.

A. BATHING AMONG THE ROMANS BEFORE THE PUBLIC BATHS

1. Bathing Habits

To learn that the bathing habits of the early Romans were less fastidious than those of their descendants of the first centuries of the empire should occasion no surprise. Seneca, writing in a mood of disgust with the sickly-smelling, ointment-smeared bodies of over-clean contemporaries, finds satisfaction in recalling the assurances of antiquarians that the ancient Romans washed only arms and legs daily, the whole

of their bodies on market days.¹ The philosopher's remarks, though uttered apropos of Scipio who already had a bath-house, balneum, attached to his villa, have the sound of a rule of extended application and may well have held true of the Romans over a considerable period. His statement, moreover, no less significant as a commentary on the habits of his contemporaries than as evidence for the way of life of the early Romans, shows them as a cleanly people. This point deserves emphasis because it is so easy for a person, when reading of the frequency of bathing among the later Romans, to lose perspective and forget that the above is actually a high practical standard for a predominately agrarian people, to keep clean the parts of the body most exposed to dirt and to wash completely on the days when they were most likely to encounter crowds.

As further evidence of the essential cleanliness of the earlier Romans it may be noted in passing that they

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1. Seneca, Ep., LXXXVI, 12: Immo, si scias, non cotidie lavabatur (sc. Scipio). Nam ut aiunt, qui priscos mores urbis tradiderunt, brachia et crura cotidie abluebant, quae scilicet sordes opere collegerant, ceterum toti nundinis lavabantur. Cf. Nonius, p. 108M, 24: Varro Cato vel de liberis educandis: Mihi puero modica una fuit tunica et toga, ... balneum non cotidianum ... (Fr. 19, Riese) Writers on Roman antiquities have regularly attributed this statement to Cato. It can be seen from the above quotation how such a confusion could have arisen, although, if reasonable care is observed in reading the passage, it is obvious that the reference is to the dialogue of Varro, entitled Catus of de liberis educandis. Cf. p. 55.
-

had a word for "washroom", lavatrina, a term later replaced by balneum.²

2. Bathing in Public

The first public bathing on the part of the Romans took the form of swimming, originally without doubt in the Tiber, and, as is to be expected in view of the definite dislike of exposure of the body which survived into later times,³

2. Varro, L.L., IX, 68. This word, later contracted to latrina, seems, except for a probable occurrence in Lucilius (fr. 400, Marx), to have lost the meaning of 'bath' or 'bathroom' in extant literature and to have assumed that of 'latrine', 'toilet'. Reconstructions of its nature are quite tenuous and possibly the only safe inference is that drawn from the semantic change, namely that a toilet was often associated with it, and that this association caused it to be used as a euphemism and later as the regular term for toilet.
3. Cato the Censor boasted of not bathing with his son (Plutarch, Cato Maior, 20, 7-8), although he did teach him to swim (ibid.). Plutarch, after telling this, adds that Romans of former times did not bathe with their sons-in-law either, but that, having acquired the habit of stripping from the Greeks, they in turn infected the Greeks with the practice of doing so when women were present: (ἡμεῖς καὶ τῶν) συλλοῦσασθαι δὲ μηδέποτε. καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν εἶκε Ῥωμαίων ἔθος εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ πενθεροὶ γαμβροῖς ἐνυλάττοντο συλλοῦσθαι, δυσωπούμενοι τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ γυμνωσιν. εἴτα μέντοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι μαθόντες, αὐτοὶ πάλιν τοῦ καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν τοῦτο πράσσειν ἀναπεπλήκασιν τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Cicero (De Off., I, 129) states that the taboo against father and adult son, father-in-law and son-in-law bathing together, existed in his day: Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi non lavantur. Cf. Cicero, De Orat., II, 224; Pro Cluent., 141; Val Max., II, I, 7; Ambr., De Off., I, 18, 79.

The essential modesty of the Romans made them opposed not only to the exposure of the private parts of the body, but to the frank mention or open performance of unseemly actions, including those necessary by nature. This modesty,

seems to served a practical purpose, accompanying their military training, as we are told by a late writer, Vegetius, who says that the ancient Romans followed their drill on the Campus Martius with a dip in the Tiber.⁴ Referendes to swimming in Roman legend and history show a knowledge of the art dating from early times⁵ while also in later times, as

not of course confined to the Romans, can be illustrated by Cicero, *De Off.*, I, 126-129; e.g. ... quae partes autem corporis ad naturae necessitatem datae aspectum essent deformem habiturae [atque formam], eas contexit (sc. Natura) atque abdidit (126). Hanc naturae tam diligentem fabricam imitata est hominum verecundia. Quae enim natura occultavit, eadem omnes, qui sana mente sunt, remonent ab oculis insique necessitate dant operam ut quam occultissime pareant, etc. (127). Cf. *id.*, *Ad Fam.*, IX, 22, where the use of obscene language is discussed.

A remark of Cicero (*Ad Fam.*, IX, 22, 4) seems to indicate that Roman standards of modesty were adapted to fit in with the increased popularity of the bath and that a different code of conduct prevailed in the bath: Ipsa res modo honesta, modo turpis: suppediit, flagitium est; iam auit nudus in balneo, non reprehendes.

4. Vegetius, *Rei Milit.*, I, 10: Ideoque Romani veteres, quos tot bella et continuata pericula ad omnem rei militaris erudiverant artem, campum Martium vicinum Tiberi delegerunt, in quo iuventus post exercitium armorum sudorem pulveremque delueret et lassitudinem cursus natandi labore deponeret.

5. E.g. Livy, II, 10, 11; Dionys. Hal., V, 24, 3 (Horatius Cocles swims the Tiber); Livy, II, 13, 6; Dionys. Hal., V, 33, 1 (Cloelia and the band of maiden hostages swim the Tiber); Livy, V, 38, 8-9 (Battle of Allia where many of the left wing drowned in the Tiber through weakness or inability to swim, but the majority got away); Silius Italicus, VIII, 553-554 (Scipio swims with breastplate); Caesar *De B. G.*, IV, 24 (Caesar lands in Britain).

On swimming in ancient times consult E. Mehl, *Antike Schwimmkunst*; PW, *Suppl.* V, coll. 847-864.

Cicero and Horace tell us,⁶ swimming in the Tiber by young men was common.

A public swimming pool, the Piscina Publica, ~~is mentioned~~ by ~~Livy~~ in connection with the events of the year 215 B.C.,⁷ but it may well have been of considerably greater antiquity. The name occurs in Cicero,⁸ and in Festus⁹ who speaks of it as no longer existing, although its name had survived. It is to the latter also that we owe the identification as a swimming pool. The situation of this pool, established from the fact that the name remained attached to the locality, was "in the low ground between the Via Appia, the Servian wall, the north-east slope of the Aventine, and the area afterwards occupied by the baths of Caracalla".¹⁰

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6. Cicero, Pro Cael., 36: habes hortos ad Tiberim ac diligenter eo loco parasti, quae omnis iuventus natandi causa venit;
Horace, Carm., I, 8, 5-8:

Cur neque militaris
inter aequalis equitet, Gallica nec lupatis
temperet ora frenis?
cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere?

ibid., III, 7, 25-28:

quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
aeque conspicitur gramine Martio,
nec quisquam citus aeque
Tusco denatat alveo.

Cf. ibid., III, 12, 7, Serm., II, 1, 8; Seneca, Ep., LXXXIII, 5.

7. XXIII, 32, 4.

8. Ad Q. Fr., III, 7, 1.

9. 213: Piscinae Publicae hodieque nomen manet, ipsa non exstat. Ad quam et natatum et exercitationis aliqui causa veniebat populus.

10. PA, S.v. Piscina Publica. For further references see the same article.

Even though it was situated close to the Aqua Appia the more recent view regarding the source of its water, as reported by Platner and Ashby, is that it was fed by local springs and not by the aqueduct.¹¹ Here, as in the case of swimming in the Tiber, bathing was associated with athletic exercise.¹²

B. TIME OF INTRODUCTION OF PUBLIC BATHS

At some time during the period of Roman expansion more elaborate arrangements for bathing, not merely domestic baths but also public establishments, made their appearance. Concerning this innovation we have a passage by Varro in the section where he attempts to explain the exception to the rule of analogy afforded by the form balneae for public baths with no corresponding singular, as contrasted with balneum, the word for private or domestic baths. His explanation is that the plural, in a similar manner to scalae, "ladder" and aguae caldae, "hot springs", came into use because the original bath in Rome was actually not one but two, a double bath with sections for men and for women, while, by the converse of the same rule, balneum, the singular form, came to be used for domestic baths because each house had only one:

"They also find fault with the theory of analogy on the ground that publicae balneae, the plural form, not balnea, is

11. Ibid.

12. Festus, loc. cit.

the term employed, whereas on the other hand people speak of a single balneum of a private individual, which, however, they do not call in the plural balnea. To these the reply can be made that no fault ought to be found because scalae and aquae caldae, for the most part with reason, are called by plural names and no singular for them has come into use; this works the other way also. When the first balneum (the name is Greek) was introduced into the city, it was set up as a public establishment where there would be two connected buildings intended for bathing, one for men to bathe in and the other for women; it was from the same reasoning that each person called the place in his house where baths were taken balneum, and, because there were not two, it was not their custom to say balnea; the ancients, however, were accustomed to call this lavatrina, not balneum.¹³ The Greek word of which Varro

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13. Varro, De L. L., IX, 68: Item reprehendunt analogias, quod dicantur multitudinis nomine publicae balneae, non balnea, contra quod privati dicant unum balneum, quod plura balnea (non) dicant. Quibus responderi potest non esse reprehendendum, quod plura scalae et aquae caldae, pleraque [quae] cum causa, multitudinis vocabulis sint appellata neque eorum singularia in usum venerint; idemque item contra. Primum balneum (nomen e(st) Graecum, (cum) introiit in urbem, publice ibi consedit, ubi bina essent coniuncta aedificia lavandi causa, unum ubi viri, alterum ubi mulieres lavarentur; ab eadem ratione domi suae quisque ubi lavatur balneum dixerunt et, quod non erant duo, balnea dicere non consuerunt, cum hoc antiqui non balneum, sed lavatrinam appellare consuessent. I have used the text of Goetz and Schoell (Leipzig, 1910), incorporating into their text their conjecture for "Primum balneum nomen et Graecum introiit etc." which they relegated to the apparatus.

The objection which Varro here attempts to answer is expressed more fully in De L. L., VIII, 48.

is thinking is βαλανεῖον, which usually meant a public bathing establishment in which the cleansing agent was warm water.¹⁴

It is to be observed in the above quotation that, although Varro suggests lavatrina as an older equivalent for balneum, domestic bath, he provides no such equivalent for balneae, public bath, and says that the application of the name to public baths preceded its use with reference to baths in private houses. Since the Roman baths of later days had as their essential features warm water bathing,¹⁵ and in this respect resembled the Greek βαλανεῖον, it seems reasonable to assume that there is sufficient continuity involved for us to have confidence that the Latin derivative from the beginning referred to a public warm bath. Further there seems implicit in the passage of Varro the opinion that the first public bath was of this type. For these reasons, therefore, I shall proceed in my investigation on the assumption that

14. Van Esveld (De Balneis Lavationibusque Graecorum, pp. 194-261) seems to work from the assumption that βαλανεῖον was the Greek equivalent of the Latin balneae publicae and ascribes to it the use of warm water. Liddell-Scott-Jones (s.v. βαλανεῖον) are more conservative and define the word merely as "bath, bathing-room". However, the fact that Van Esveld has been able to avoid serious blunders while using the above equation in the close discussion of the Greek sources indicates that on the whole he was justified in assuming that βαλανεῖον meant "public warm baths". For a more detailed description of the nature of Greek public baths see below pp. 16-17 and Appendix.

15. Celsus, I, 1, 2: Prodest etiam interdum balneo, interdum aquis frigidis uti; III, 24, 5: ... utendum est ... si hiemps est, balnea; si aestus, frigidis natationibus.

that the advent of balneae and the type of warm water bathing they represent marks the introduction of public baths to Rome.

With these criteria established we may proceed to the problem of the time of introduction. In order to discover this we shall first consider the earliest references to baths in Latin literature and decide what evidence of value can be derived from them; we shall then investigate references to baths in later Latin writers which might help to establish the date of introduction or prove the existence of baths at Rome at an early period; finally we shall cast about for any data which will be of assistance in establishing the period when balneae were first used in the city.

It is to Plautus whose writing career extends from the late third century B.C. to his death in 184 B.C.,¹⁶ that we owe the earliest references to baths. He employs the word balneae and apparently no other,¹⁷ even for domestic baths.¹⁸ Although it might be objected that Plautus is merely translating from the Greek, this argument, even though valid enough to make it unwise to use this author as evidence for the nature of Roman baths, nevertheless should not prevent his use of the

16. For a recent reconstruction of the chronology of the plays of Plautus see C. H. Buck, A Chronology of the Plays of Plautus (Baltimore, 1940).

17. Latrina in Gurc., 580 is most naturally to be taken as referring to a toilet. The speaker is specifying the most menial of his servants, the one who latrinam lavat. On latrina see above note 2.

18. Asin., 357; Merc., 125; Most., 756 (a domestic bath); Persa., 90; Poen., 976; Rud., 383; Trin., 406.

word from being employed to show the existence of baths at Rome in his time. In the first place it is unlikely that he would refer to an institution with which his listeners were unfamiliar. In the second place the word he uses, balineae, although derived from the Greek is clearly a Latin word not merely a transliteration of the Greek,¹⁹ as is shown by the fact that the word used is balineae, feminine plural, not neuter singular or plural as would be expected from the Greek βαλανείον. Again, the word is accented on the first syllable and has, presumably for this reason, undergone a shortening of the penult and a vowel change in the antepenult (a>i).²⁰ Finally, for bathman Plautus already employed a Latin derivative of bal(i)neae, bal(i)neator, used by him both with and without syncope.²¹ The conclusion to be drawn from this is straightforward, namely that the word balineae, and we may infer, the public baths for which the term stood, were well established at Rome when the dramas of Plautus were written and produced, that is, by the last years of the third century.

The evidence of later authors is to the same effect. The existence of balneae using warm water at Rome at the time of the second Punic War is indicated by the statement

19. As was Pyelus: Stich., 568: Post ibo lautum in pyelum; Bacch., 1211.

20. See below pp. 12-13.

21. Poen., 703; Rud., 527 (balineator); Truc., 325 (balneator). The Greek term was βαλανεύς or βαλανείτης. See Van Esveld, op. cit., pp. 231-233.

of Justin that after that war the Spaniards acquired from the Romans the habit of using warm water for bathing.²²

The suggestion that Rome had public baths at a somewhat earlier date is to be derived from a passage of the philosopher Seneca who appears to have thought of them as being under public supervision during the early part of the second half of the third century. In one of his letters to Lucilius, mentioned earlier,²³ after some remarks on the baths of Scipio, he writes: "But, ye gods, what a pleasure it gives you to enter those old baths, dingy as they are and covered with plebeian roof, knowing that your Cato as aedile or Fabius Maximus or one of the Cornelii tested the temperature with his own hand! This also was a duty performed by distinguished aediles, to enter those places which catered to the public and to require cleanliness and a useful and healthful temperature."²⁴ Cato, in such company could not well be other than

22. Justin, XLIV, 2, 6; agua calida lavari post secundum Punicum bellum a Romanis didicere. For baths in Campania at the same period see below pp 20-21.

23. See pp. 1-2. Cf. also pp. 26-27.

24. Ep. LXXXVI, 10: Sed, di boni, quam iuvat illa balinea intrare obscura et gregali tectorio inducta, quae scires Catonem tibi aedilem aut Fabium Maximum aut ex Cornelii aliquem manu sua temperasse! Nam hoc quoque nobilissimi aediles fungebantur officio intrandi ea loca quae populum receptabant, exigendique munditias et utilem ac salubrem temperaturam ...

Cato the Censor who held the office of aedile in 199 B.C.²⁵ Fabius Maximus Cunctator held his first consulship in 233 B.C. and so must have been aedile previously.²⁶ The reference to the Cornelii is less definite as the Cornelian gens with its numerous branches was prominent throughout the greater part of the republic, but since the Scipionic branch was the most important and since its greatest power fell in this general period, Seneca probably has in mind these Cornelii in particular. It is probable then that Seneca thought of public baths still in existence then he was writing as having been in operation during the early official careers of these heroes of the Punic and other foreign wars.

This is as far as literary evidence will take us, However, a linguistic study of the word balineum, balineae, despite certain unknown factors, indicates a date of introduction considerably earlier. If, as seems clearly the case, the term is a Greek loan-word, the modifications which it underwent in the process of adaptation require explanation. These modifications, which have been mentioned above, are, in addition to the variable gender, the shortening of the penult which in Greek was a diphthong (αι), the change from "a" to "i" in the antepenult

25. Drumann- Groebe, Geschichte Roms, Vol. V (Leipzig, 1912), p. 107.

26. PW, s.v. Fabius (119).

and later the syncopation of this syllable.²⁷ To explain these changes the hypothesis of the initial stress accent mentioned previously, must be called in.²⁸ By this hypothesis the penultimate rule of accentuation in Latin was preceded by the accent which fell on the first syllable of the word. This system had passed out of use before the literary period, *i.e.*, in general before 250 B.C., and survives in extant Latin only in the case of certain words of which the first three syllables were short, a group which includes, as it happens, balineae.²⁹ But since the Greek word from which it is derived, *βαλανεῖον*, had its third syllable long, this word must have been introduced into Latin before the penultimate rule, under which this syllable would be accented, since it is axiomatic that the accented syllable does not change. This contrasts with Greek words later adapted to Latin, such as *Alexandrea* or

27. While Plautus uses the unsyncopated form balineae, he on one occasion employs the form balneator (see above note 21). Both syncopated and unsyncopated forms appear with such frequency in both authors and inscriptions that it is unwise to say that either should be preferred. For statistics, see Thesaurus, s.v. balneum, balineum.

28. See C.D. Buck, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin (Chicago, 1933), p. 165; W.M. Lindsay, The Latin Language (Oxford, 1904), pp. 148-156; Stolz-Schmalz, Lateinische Grammatik (5th ed. revised by M. Leuman and J. B. Hofmann, Vol. II, 2, 2, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Munich, 1928), pp. 183-189 with bibliography.

29. W. M. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 158.

Darēus³⁰ The other change in the form of the word, the vowel change in the second syllable, is also to be explained by the initial accentuation. Thus on the basis of general linguistic arguments, it is safe to say that balineae, balineum was introduced before the great accentual shift, which linguistic authorities hesitate to date definitely, but which must have occurred before the middle of the third century.

This linguistic evidence seems, moreover, to be quite in accord with the facts concerning the early water supply of the city, as we know them. At the beginning water was obtained from the Tiber, wells and springs,³¹ but the supply was increased in 312 B.C. by the first aqueduct, the Aqua Appia,³² and once more in 269 B.C. by the second, the Anio Vetus.³³ From the fact that there were no additions to the system of aqueducts for over a century we may infer that the city had an abundant supply of water for some time after the opening of the Anio Vetus. Although, as said above, these data have a definite relevancy, their precise significance is more difficult to assess.

30. For a discussion of the fate of the diphthong "ei" when adapted to Latin in the historic period see J. Tolkiehn, "Die Wiedergabe des griechischen -ei- im Lateinischen", PhW, Vol. XLIII (1923), coll. 44-48; 68-72. The author concludes, on the basis, in particular, of the evidence afforded by the Roman grammarians, that the form, e.g., Darēus is earlier than Darius.

31. Frontinus, De Aq., 4.

32. Ibid., 5.

33. Ibid., 6.

Whether, for example, the increase in the general supply in 269 B. C. had the effect of encouraging the introduction of new types of consumer, or whether the greater consumption of water for cleansing purposes was a partial reason for the increase in the supply are questions which with our present information it is impossible to answer.

The most natural conclusion to be derived from the literary evidence which shows public baths well established in Rome in the late third century, and the linguistic evidence which seems to make it necessary to assume public baths at Rome earlier than the middle of that century is that they were introduced to Rome some time before 250 B. C.; how long before, we have no way of knowing for certain.

C. ORIGIN OF ROMAN PUBLIC BATHS

It has already been pointed out that bal(1)neae seems obviously derived from the Greek *βαλανεῖον* and that the two terms represented in the respective cultures of the two peoples approximately the same type of bath, public establishments using warm water. These facts have been used as criteria in establishing the time of introduction of public baths to Rome.³⁴ The question now before us is whether we are justified in taking the further step of assuming that this linguistic relationship indicated the direct derivation of the Roman

34. See above pp. 8-9.

from the Greek. This has, in the past, been the prevalent view,³⁵ accepted without argument, chiefly because of lack of knowledge of Greek warm baths. A number of these baths have now been excavated and by a comparison of literary and archaeological evidence, it is possible to outline their general type.³⁶

Public baths are spoken of by relatively late writers as existing in Magna Graecia as early as the sixth century B. C., while there are actual remains in Athens dating from the early fifth. Our evidence shows the Greek baths, far less pretentious than their later Roman counterparts, as usually possessing one or more round rooms (θόλοι) in which the customers were bathed in tubs, either individual (πύελοι), or with a larger capacity (μάκραι). In these tubs the bather sat in not more than 20 cm. of water and was washed by having heated water poured over him by the bathman. Of four structures which have been excavated and can be identified as public baths built before Roman influence on Greece, three have round rooms.³⁷ These include a bathing establishment recently excavated at Syracuse, which the excavators believe

35. Cf. e. g. Blümner, Die römischen Privataltertümer, p. 420: Badekabinette... die man mit dem griechischen Namen (da die Sitte von den Griechen übernommen wurde) balneum nannte. Cf. also Mau, PW, s. v. Bäder (Vol. II, col. 2747).

36. A discussion with the evidence omitted in this section will be found in the Appendix.

37. See Appendix p. 113.

to have been destroyed when the city was sacked by Marcellus in 212 B. C. There were in this building two round rooms on either side of a furnace which could be approached from both of them.³⁸ That this was a two-fold establishment of the type outlined above seems certain, since a Hellenistic πύλος was found near the site. In Syracuse, therefore, one of the main sources of Hellenistic influence on Rome, at the height of that influence, there was at least one bath which conformed to the general Greek type.

A comparison of these baths with the developed Roman type shows that, were it not for the linguistic relationship, there would be little reason for suspecting a direct connection. In the first place, the round rooms which were, apparently, a very frequent element of Greek baths, are not an essential part of those of the Romans, and are, in fact, rarely found except in the case of sudatoria,³⁹ which, as is pointed out below,⁴⁰ are probably the result of later Greek

38. G. Cultrera, "Siracusa - Rovina di un antico stabilimento idraulico in contrada Zappata", NSA, Ser. VI, Vol. XIV (1938), pp. 261-301. It was probably in a public bath like this that Archimedes discovered his famous principle while sitting in a bath tub: Vitruvius, IX, pr. 10: Tunc is ... casu venit in balneum, ibique cum in solium descenderet, animadvertit, quantum corporis sui in eo insideret, tantum aquae extra solium effluere, idque cum eius rei rationem explicationis ostendisset, non est moratus, sed exsiluit gaudio motus de solio etc.

39. Cf. e. g. Miss M. C. Fair, "Circular Bath-buildings in connexion with Cohort Forts", JRS, XVII (1927), pp. 220-4.

40. See pp. 33-36.

influence on Roman balneae.

In the second place, the arrangements for bathing were quite different: in contrast with the Greeks who sat in a short shallow tub and had water poured over them, the Romans reclined in an ample tub, alveus or solium, with their bodies surrounded by warm water. Preceded by a sojourn in the warm air of the bath and followed by the use of cold water, either in a piscina or from a wash-basin, labrum, these above formed the essential part of the Roman bathing procedure, as attested by later writers.⁴¹ Our earliest definite evidence regarding the interior arrangements of the caldaria of Roman baths, the specifications of the architect Vitruvius,⁴² and the baths at Pompeii as they existed in the first century B. C.,⁴³ indicate a similar procedure. At one end was the alveus, a basin about six feet broad and two feet deep, and long in proportion to the number of bathers it was intended to hold; at the other, the labrum, a large basin supplied with cold water.⁴⁴ The alveus is also mentioned by the author

41. Galen, Vol. X, p. 708 (Kühn): εἰσελθόντες μὲν γὰρ ὁμιλοῦσιν ὅροι, θερμῷ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς ὕδωρ εἰσίστασι θερμὸν, εἰτ' αἰσλθόντες αἰσλθόνυχρον, εἰτ' ἀπομάττονται τὸν ἰδρωτὰ p. 725K: ουδεμιᾶς ἐπαντλήσεως αὐτῷ γενομένης οἷας ἐπ' ἄλλων εἰθίσμεθα πράττειν. Cf. Celsus, I, 3, 4-5; 10; Pliny, N. H., XXVIII, 53; Colloq. Monac., 10 (Corp. Gloss., III, 652)

42. V, 10.

43. See Mau, Pompeii², pp. 191-211.

44. For proof that water in the basin (labrum) was cold, see the discussion of the water supply of the Stabian baths by Maiuri (NSA, Ser. VI, Vol. VII [1931], p. 570, Pl. XVII)*

of the rhetorical treatise Ad Herennium, who wrote in the early first century, B.C.⁴⁵

This evidence must suffice, since the early history of the arrangements of Roman baths is, unfortunately, veiled in obscurity. But the conclusion to which it points, is, as stated above, that the assumption that the early public baths were an example of direct Hellenistic influence on Rome, rests solely on the linguistic argument derived from the fact that balineae was a Greek loanword.

A modification of the theory whereby the word balineae was borrowed directly from Greek has been proposed by an Italian scholar, B. Terracini, who, as a result of a study of the neuter plural in the Italic dialects, has advanced the opinion that the whole class of Greek neuters which became first declension plurals in Latin passed through the intermediary of Oscan.⁴⁶ The group includes, in addition to balineae, ostreae (ὄστρεον or ὀστρείων); phalerae (φάλερον); gerae (γέρρον). This theory, based entirely on linguistic

45. Rhet. ad Her., IV, 10, 14: visum est ut in alveum descenderet.

46. B. Terracini, "Per la storia del neutro plurale latina. I. Il neutro plurale nei dialetti italici", Riv. Fil., Vol. XLVIII (1920), pp. 1-26. I am unfortunately not competent to judge the merits of such a suggestion, but B. Hofmann considers it worthy of inclusion in his revision of Stolz-Schmalz, Lateinische Grammatik (5th ed., p. 370), although in an earlier review of the article (Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft, Festschrift für Wilhelm Streitberg, [Heidelberg, 1924], p. 381) he warns that the evidence cannot be considered adequate for a decision.

considerations, would, if accepted and applied to the question under discussion, suggest that the immediate source of Roman public baths was in Campania.

This hypothesis is as a matter of fact not unattractive. Capua, the leading city of the Campanian league, from 343 B.C. when she became an ally of Rome, until 216 B.C. when she went over to Hannibal, exerted a refining influence on Rome. Therefore this theory fits the view that the date of introduction was at least as early as the first half of the third century, better than does the assumption that the baths came direct from the Hellenistic world, especially if we assume the greatest influence from that quarter to date from after the First Punic War, which ended 241 B.C.

Unfortunately, we possess no positive proof of the presence of baths in Campania earlier than the period I have postulated for their introduction into Rome. However, we have direct evidence that they did exist there in the latter part of the third century, a period, which, though later than the date we have assumed at Rome, antedates their appearance in any other part of Italy except Magna Græcia.⁴⁷ The evidence concerns especially the city of Capua during the Hannibalic war and the ruins of Pompeii.

⁴⁷. See Appendix.

During the winter of 216 B.C. Hannibal kept his troops in winter quarters in Capua where he permitted them to become soft and accustomed to luxury. Among the items which broke down their morale Livy mentions "somnus ... et vinum et scorta balineaque et otium".⁴⁸ To the same year belongs the tradition, variously told by different authors, of an atrocity or atrocities with which baths are connected. According to Livy, the Campanians shut up the Roman officials and businessmen resident among them in a bath where they all perished.⁴⁹ According to Cassius Dio and Valerius Maximus, the senate or inhabitants of Nuceria were the victims and Hannibal the villain.⁵⁰ This tradition, which, in spite of the variations, must have possessed a basis of fact, corroborates Livy's comments on the degeneration of Hannibal's troops, which might otherwise have been considered an anachronistic inference from conditions of his own day.

Further evidence of the popularity of baths in this region of Italy is to be found at Pompeii where the first section of the Stabian baths was, according to the results of recent investigations, erected about the end of the third century,⁵¹ and a large addition was made to the same baths about the middle of the next century.⁵² Proof of the existence of

48. XXIII, 18, 12.

49. Livy, XXIII, 7, 3. See below p. 28.

50. Cass. Dio, LVI, 32; Val. Max, 6, ext. 2.

51. See below pp. 24-27. Notice also the private bath-house of Scipio Africanus, discussed in the same section, which was on his estate at Liternum in Campania.

52. See below pp. 28-31.

public baths in other Campanian cities during the second century is furnished by Gaius Gracchus, who, in an oration quoted in part by Aulus Gellius, recounts a number of cases of mistreatment by Roman magistrates of the officials of Italian municipia, because the public baths were not in proper condition for their use. The most famous incident was at Teanum Sidicinum where the consul's wife complained because the men's bath was not handed over to her promptly in a clean enough state. This city and one other mentioned, Cales, were in Campania, while the third, Ferentinum, was in Latium.⁵³

One thing further is needed to establish the plausibility of this hypothesis, evidence regarding the nature of the Campanian baths which would serve to connect them with those of the Romans. The first stage of the Stabian baths was constructed during the early Tufa Period at Pompeii, the period of Hellenistic influence. Although the internal arrangements of the larger section of these baths were thoroughly destroyed during the renovations in ancient times, a series of individual bathrooms remain, apparently more or less in their original condition.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, however, I have been unable to find a description of the tubs which were in these rooms, apart from the statement that they lacked inlet pipes and drains.⁵⁵ This very silence argues, of

53. Gracch., Or. Fr. ap. Aul. Gell., X, 3, 3.

54. On the relation of these rooms, see below pp. 24-26.

55. R. Schoene, Quaestionum Pompeianarum Specimen, p. 26.

course, in favour of their being bath tubs designed for immersion rather than tubs in which the customer sat, as were the Greek *πύλοι*. This seems to be born out by the largest and most recent plan of this section of the baths;⁵⁶ in this tubs were sketched in, varying in length, according to my calculations based on the accompanying scale, from 1.60 to 1.90 m., and in width measuring approximately .60 m. If these figures are correct, the shortest of these tubs was over five feet long, and should have afforded the bather ample space in which to recline. In the next stage, built also during the period of Hellenistic influence, the outward form was very similar to that prescribed by Vitruvius. Inasmuch as the interior later underwent considerable alteration, this is as far as we are justified in pressing the parallel.

The affinity of this bath throughout its history seems, therefore, to have been with the Roman rather than the Greek baths. It would appear, furthermore, that, since there is little reason to suppose Roman influence at this period, it represents a Campanian tradition and is additional evidence that the Hellenistic influence was of the nature of a veneer and did not extend deeply into the lives of the people.⁵⁷

If these observations are applied to the more general question of the origin of Roman baths, they demonstrate that we have in the Campanian bath a possible alternative source

56. Maiuri, *NSA*, Ser. VI, fol. VIII (1932), p. 508.

57. See Garrington, *Pompeii*, pp. 34-35.

for those of the Romans, a possibility which, in view of the arguments presented above, approaches probability.

In a sense this merely pushes the problem of introduction back another step, since the linguistic evidence still points to the Greek world as the ultimate source. However, this hypothesis does accord better with the theory of early introduction, and there is, furthermore, the probability that the Campanians, living in a country abounding in hot springs, altered the type of public bath under the influence of natural baths.⁵⁸

D. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BATH

1. The Earliest Evidence

For the nature of the earliest Roman baths we have the statement of Varro that the first public bathing establishments had two sections, one for men and one for women.⁵⁹ This is too neat an etiological explanation to be regarded as beyond suspicion.

There are two other sources of information which have some pertinence for establishing the type of bath in vogue about the beginning of the second century B.C. These are the remains of the oldest section of the Stabian baths as revealed by recent excavations,⁶⁰ and some remarks made by Seneca under

58. For instances where natural baths may have had an effect on artificial establishments, see below note ⁷⁹ and Ch. II, pp. 76-85.

59. Varro, De L.L., IX, 68. See above pp. 6-7.

60. A. Maiuri, "Pompeii - Nuovi saggi di esplorazione nelle Terme Stabiane: A) Ambiente al di sotto della Grande Cisterna", NSA, Ser. VI, Vol. VIII (1932), pp. 507-513. Cf. R.G. Carrington, Pompeii, pp. 53-55; A. Sogliano, Pompeii nel suo Sviluppo Storico, pp. 227-229.

the inspiration of the baths in the villa of Scipio Africanus.⁶¹ These, by a coincidence, were both located in Campania, although the latter were the property of a Roman nobleman.⁶²

The Pompeian baths were situated in the northwest corner of the later Stabian baths. With the well that served them they occupied the greater part of a building, 22-24 m. long by 11.50-13 m., whose long axis ran from east to west. This building extended east from a north-south street. Opening on to this street was a shop of some sort, apparently not associated with the baths, flanked on either side by two narrow passageways which ran the length of the building and gave access to two separate and unconnected bathing establishments lying to the rear of the shop. Of these the one on the south consisted of a series of five small rooms, 2.00-2.05 m. wide,⁶³ with their backs to the central partition which divided the two baths, and opening on the corridor which extended along the south wall of the building. These rooms were intended for individual bathing and each contained a tub large enough for one person and without either drain or inlet pipe.⁶⁴

61. Seneca, Ep., LXXXVII, 4-13.

62. My reason for considering this building relevant are my belief that there is a continuous tradition connecting Campanian and Roman baths and that, in spite of Hellenistic influence in Pompeii at this time, these particular baths were Campanian in type. See above pp. 22-26.

63. R. Schoene, Quaestionum Pompeianarum Specimen, p. 26.

64. Ibid. See above p. 22

To the north of this row of rooms were the well which was immediately behind the shop already mentioned, and a large room of extremely solid construction, 11.10 m. by 3.70-3.80m., roofed by a vault and with a door in the end farthest from the street. The corridor by which this door was reached was L-shaped and stretched along the entire north side and part of the east end of the building.⁶⁵ The room apparently received no light other than that supplied by the door and two small windows in the wall above it. In the first century after Christ the eastern half of this room was converted into a latrine, the other portion sealed with a partition wall and partially filled with dirt. The door in the end was built up and a new entrance for the latrine made in the south by knocking the rear wall out of one of the small bathrooms. The reconstruction was so thorough that no evidence has been left of the interior arrangements of the room.

Turning now to the passage in Seneca previously mentioned, that dealing with Scipio's bath, we find the following: "A narrow little bath, dingy as was the custom of old; among our ancestors a bath was not considered warm if it was not dark ... In this bath of Scipio were tiny windows, or better, cracks out in the stone wall in such a way as to admit light without harm to the ~~persons~~. ... But formerly baths were few in number and decorated without ostentation. For what point was

65. This corridor later served as the western entrance to the women's section of the enlarged baths.

there in decorating a res quadrantaria invented for a useful purpose not for pleasure? Water did not always gush up nor did it rush always fresh as if from a hot spring, nor did they think it mattered how crystal clear was the water in which they left their dirt. But, ye gods, what a pleasure it is to enter those dingy old bath-houses covered with plebeian roofs.⁶⁶

The relevancy of these remarks to the original bath at Pompeii is obvious. It too was a gloomy, strongly-built⁶⁷ structure, solid except for the end wall which was pierced only by the door and two narrow windows. The internal arrangements of the large room can only be conjectured, but the fact that all traces of bathing and heating installations are gone suggests that these were portable. In the small bathrooms, as in those which inspired Seneca, there are no arrangements for constantly replenishing the water.⁶⁸

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66. Seneca, Ep., LXXXVI, 4-10: balneolum angustum, tenebricosum ex consuetudine antiqua; non videbatur maioribus nostris caldum nisi obscurum... 8. In hoc balneo Scipionis minima sunt rimae magis quam fenestrae muro lapideo exsectae ut sine iniuria munimenti lumen admitterent. ... 9. At olim et pauca erant ~~balnea~~ erant balnea nec ulle cultu exornata. Cur enim exornaretur res quadrantaria et in usum, non in oblectamentum reperta? Non suffundebatur aqua nec recens semper velut ex calido fonte currebat, nec referre credebant, in quam perlucida sordes deponerent. 10. Sed, di boni, quam iuvat illa balinea intrare obscura et gregali tectorio inducta...
67. Later a large cistern to hold at first 40 cu.m. of water and later 70 cu.m. was built on top of it (A. Maiuri, NMA, Ser. VI, Vol. VII (1931), pp. 566-569).
68. The relationship of the two sections of this bath is a problem. Maiuri (op.cit., p. 510), and after him Sogliano (op.cit., p. 229), think that the single room was for women and the individual baths for men. To my mind there are two objections to this, first, the more spacious nature of the section assigned by him to women, and, secondly, the fact that the type of service in the two sections would seem to be different. The bath could cater to two classes of customers, the more particular using individual rooms, the ordinary people going to the other part.

The character of this original building gives point to the story of Livy in which he tells that the Campanians, after coming to terms with Hannibal, suddenly seized all the Roman citizens among them and shut them up in a bath where they died miserably from the excessive heat.⁶⁹ It would seem, however, that the impression given by his account is not quite accurate, that the victims died of suffocation as did the unfortunates imprisoned in the Black Hole of Calcutta.

2. The Bath of the Second Century

If the baths just described can be taken as in any way typical, and in certain features, gloominess, unadorned solidity, absence of plumbing, it would seem that they can, the technical development was quite rapid, since the next stage of the Stabian Baths, the edifice built in the middle of the second century B.C. was, with periodic modernization and renovation, the same building which remained in operation until the latter part of the first century of our era.⁷⁰ A brief discussion of the original character of this bath is possibly the best commentary on the development of the

69. Livy, XXIII, 7, 3: Nam praefectos socium civisque Romanos alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos, partim privatis negotiis implicitos, plebs repentine omnis comprehensos velut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in modum expirarunt. Cf. Valerius Maximus, IX, 6, ext. 2 and Cassius Dio, LVII, 30. See above p. 11.

70. On this bath see Mau, Pompeii,² pp. 191-205; Anhang, pp. 33-36; cf. Sogliano, Pompeii nel suo sviluppo storico, pp. 229-234; Mau, Pompeianische Beiträge, pp. 117-151.

institution and also the best introduction to the story of later improvements and innovations. A detailed account will not be attempted since it would, to possess value, have to be based upon a fresh examination of the remains.

This new building was a relatively ambitious establishment containing, exclusive^{of} passages and vestibules, a three-roomed section for women and a five-roomed section for men, with a furnace room in between. The women's section consisted of an apodyterium, a tepidarium and a caldarium.⁷¹ The men's baths had in addition two rooms, one round internally, but with four semicircular niches which made it occupy a square space and with a cold water plunge bath in the center, normally identified as the frigidarium,⁷² and a small vaulted room in the angle formed by the frigidarium and apodyterium, communicating with both as well as with the palaestra and with a passageway leading to the Via dell' Abbondanza to the south. This room was probably, in its original form, a shallow basin for preliminary cleansing for men going from the Palaestra to the frigidarium.⁷³ If this was the case these two extra rooms are to be associated rather closely with the palaestra and there-

71. Here the names consecrated by modern usage are employed as most convenient, but it should be remembered that the ancients at various periods used other names and circumlocutions.

72. For other interpretations see below pp. 35-36.

73. In the baths in their later form this room fulfilled, as far as can be seen, no significant purpose. Originally, however, a basin, probably quite shallow, occupied the greater part of the room. It is thus to be associated with the

fore were in their original condition not necessarily essential parts of the bath proper.⁷⁴

The other three rooms in each section, apodyterium, tepidarium, and caldarium, were originally equipped with niches in the walls several feet from the floor, intended for clothes and other articles, in the apodyterium a single row, in the other rooms a double row, large holes above, small beneath. The difference between the tepidarium and the apodyterium was mainly a matter of heat since both seemingly served as dressing and waiting rooms. The furnaces served to heat the water but not the atmosphere which was warmed by braziers.⁷⁵ The interior of the two warm rooms has undergone a thorough alteration with the installation of hypocausts and hollow walls, so that it is difficult to say whether the bath tubs and wash basins have undergone any important changes. In their final form the two caldaria each contained at one end an oblong tub, supplied with hot water, with room, in the men's bath, for perhaps ten persons, in the women's for perhaps

frigidarium. It is quite possible that the building under discussion preceded the large natatio which had as wings two rooms which were occupied entirely by shallow basins for preliminary cleansing. In this case the room we are discussing would be superseded by these. See Mau, Pompeii, Anhang, pp 34-35.

74. See below pp. 36-37.

75. The water supply was derived from the well behind the original bath, and raised by a hydraulic machine to a large reservoir built on the roof of the original bath building. See Maiuri, NSA, Ser. VI, Vol. VII (1931), p. 552, pp. 566-569. The hydraulic machine is described by Segliano (op.cit., pp. 233-234) as a doppia noria, with acknowledgements to Sig. Iacono for unpublished information. Cf. note 67.

eight, and at the other end a labrum, a round basin of white marble resting on a support and supplied with cold water. However, the fact that the foundations of the labrum in the men's caldarium contain a piece of stone probably derived from the niches which were destroyed when the walls were made hollow, proves that it was put in its present condition at that time and make its original condition uncertain.⁷⁶ In the women's caldarium were found remains of an individual bronze tub,⁷⁷ but whether this is an indication that such tubs were used originally is questionable.

It is unfortunate that our picture of this second century bath is not more complete, but the substantial size of the building is evidence of its importance, while the changes which took place were probably in the nature of improvements rather than radical alterations.

3. Types of Innovation.

(a) Balneae pensiles

It was at the beginning of the next century that there came a great technical advance, the introduction of hollow floors or hypocausts through which hot air was circulated.⁷⁸

76. Sogliano, op. cit., p. 231.

77. Mau, op. cit., p. 198.

78. The method of construction of this heating arrangement is described in Vitruvius, V, 10, 2. It was extremely common throughout the empire.

Credit for this is given to Sergius Orata an ingenious Roman who obtained a reputation of almost legendary proportions for his luxury, personal charm and ability to profit from his discoveries.⁷⁹ That these balneae pensiles were responsible

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79. Val. Max., $\frac{3}{4}$ X, 1, 1: pensilia balnea primus facere instituit ...; Pliny, N.H., IX, 168: primus pensiles invenerit balneae; Macrobius, Sat., III, 15, 3. Cf. Pliny, N.H., XXVI 14; Cicero, Phil. fr., V, 76 (Mueller). On the reputation of Sergius Orata see also St. Augustin, De Beata Vita, 26. That balneae pensiles are baths with hollow floors follows from a comparison of this term with the expressions used by Vitruvius, loc. cit.: Suspensurae caldariorum, suspensio. Cicero, loc. cit., clearly referring to Orata (cf. St. Augustin., loc. cit.) says "Primus balneola suspendit." The authorities definitely give Orata credit for the invention of the balneae pensiles, but there is room for doubt as to whether he invented hypocausts or merely applied to baths. The name $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\acute{o}\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ may be taken as pointing to a Greek origin. On the other hand an ingenious theory has been proposed by an Italian archaeologist, S. Sgobbo, ("Terme Flégree ed origine delle Terme romane", Atti I CStR, Vol. I [1929], pp. 186-194), to the effect that Orata, who lived by the Lucrine lake (Val. Max., IX, 1, 1), received his inspiration from the use at Baiae of hot vapour to warm baths (Cf. Pliny, N.H., XXXI, 5: vapore ipso aliquae prosunt, tantaque est vis ut balneas calefaciant ac frigidam etiam in solis fervere degant; Seneca, Nat. Qu., III, 24, 3: not mentioned by Sgobbo: hic [sc. spiritus fervens] per tubos lapsus non aliter quam igne subdite parietes et vasa balnei calefacit). This thesis, although vitiated by the author's mistakes regarding the history of Roman baths, seems rather plausible.

for a great increase in the popularity of baths is clear and is not surprising in view of the effect that the use of braziers must have had on the atmosphere.⁸⁰ Connected with this popularity is the arrival in Rome during the same period of the sensationally successful Greek physician, Asclepiades, who included among his treatments the extensive use of bath therapeutics,⁸¹ with which Pliny associates the increasing use of baths equipped with hypocausts (tum primum pensili usu ad infinitum blandiente).⁸²

(b) Sweatbath (laconicum).

The introduction of sweatbaths was another innovation, possibly also during the first century when we have the earliest evidence of their popularity. For these the most probable source is Greece,⁸³ where round sweatbaths were a part of the Hellenistic gymnasia.⁸⁴ To designate these two terms πυρία Τήριον and ἀλειπ Τήριον⁸⁵ were used.⁸⁶ As it

80. Cf. Lucretius, VI, 802:

Carbonumque gravis vis atque odor insinuat
Quam facile in cerebrum, nisi aquam praecepimus ante!

81. Pliny, N.H., XXVI, 14-16.

82. Ibid., XXVI, 16

83. A. Ippel (Pompeii, p. 80) thinks that they came from the north and that they had as their architectural prototype the clay, thatched huts of northern peoples.

84. See p. 18.

85. Properly "anointing room".

86. On these two rooms see Van Esveld, De Balneis Lavationibusque Graecorum, pp. 183-187; Schwartzstein, Eine Gebäddegruppe in Olympia, pp. 16-18. Van Esveld thinks that the two rooms differ in temperature, the πυρία Τήριον being the hotter, Schwartzstein and Hug (PW, s.v. sudatio) that the πυρία Τήριον was a dry sweatbath, the ἀλειπ Τήριον a steam bath.

seems, in Plautus' time the ἀλειπτήριον was regarded as peculiarly Greek and the dramatist considered a reference to unotiones Graecas sudatorias in the mouth of the parasite Gelasimus good for a laugh.⁸⁷ In 55 B. C., however, Cicero referred in a letter to a laconicum, which, after the description of Vitruvius, is a sweating chamber, in one of his villas.⁸⁸ We hear, moreover, from inscriptions of a laconicum in the Stabian baths at Pompeii,⁸⁹ and one in the so-called Agora of the Italians at Delos,⁹⁰ both early in the first century B. C.

According to Celeus the Laconicum was a dry sweat-

87. Stich., 226

88. Cicero, Ad Att., IV, 10, 2.

89. GIL. I², 1635 (= X, 829): C. Uulius C. f. P. Asinius C. f. II V. I. D. / laconicum et destriotarium / faciund. et porticus et palaestr. / refidiunda locarunt ex d. d. ex / ea pecunia quod eos e lege / in ludos aut in monumento / consumere oportuit faciun. / coerarunt eidemque probaru.

90. GIL, I², 2252. No account of the Laconicum where the inscription was found has ever been published, although an unpublished description of the Agora was noticed in CRAI, 1909, pp. 548-550. Although, the Agora was stated to be poorly preserved, this description, if available, would probably be valuable. The building was a very large colomaded structure built ca. 100 B. C. and served as the social center for the Italian community at Delos. Cf. also W. A. Laidlaw, A History of Delos (Oxford, 1933), p. 208.

bath,⁹¹ while architecturally, according to Vitruvius, it is a round room with a cupola having a hole in the center which could be closed or opened to regulate the heat.⁹² The evidence of Martial and Strabo⁹³ definitely connects it with Laconia and associates with it the use of a cold water plunge afterwards. Although this evidence regarding the nature of the laconicum seems straightforward enough, the remains of the Stabian baths present so serious a difficulty that archaeologists have found it difficult to obtain a satisfactory explanation. In the Stabian baths, despite the inscription mentioned above, there is no room which can with certainty be identified as the laconicum. The only room bearing even a superficial resemblance to the description of Vitruvius is the round room usually considered the frigidarium. Mau, despairing of the possibility of identifying the laconicum with any specific room, has tried to give the term a more general significance and has suggested that

91. Celsus, II, 17, 2.

92. Vitruvius, V, 10, 5: Laconicum sudationesque sunt coniungendae tepidario; eaeque quam latae fuerint, tantam altitudinem habeant ad imam curvaturam hemisphaerii. Mediumque lumen in hemisphaerio relinquitur, ex eoque clipeum aeneum catenis pendeat, per cuius reductiones et demissiones perficietur sudationis temperatura. Ipsumque ad circinum fieri oportere videtur, ut aequaliter a medio flammae vaporisque vis per curvaturae rotundationes pervagetur. Cf. V, II, 2 (mention of laconicum in description of palaestra); VII, 10, 2 (description of structure resembling laconicum which has rounded ceiling). See Ch. II, p. 62.

93. Martial, VI, 42, 16 ff.; Strabo, III, 3, 6.

in this inscription⁹⁴ it refers to the installation of hypocausts.⁹⁵ Others recoiling from this makeshift explanation have tried to identify the laconicum with the frigidarium.⁹⁶ Without fresh information, unfortunately, a satisfactory solution seems impossible. The laconicum, which apparently enjoyed a degree of popularity during the first century B. C., is an example of the tendency which we shall have occasion to notice again, to graft elements of the Greek gymnasium to the Roman bath.⁹⁷

(c) Cold Baths

It is uncertain to what extent cold baths, another element of Greek gymnasia, were popular among the Romans in the republic.⁹⁸ No cold bath is to be found in the bath whose construction Vitruvius describes. And we have the flat statement of the Elder Pliny that the use of cold baths originated

94. See note 89.

95. Mau, Pompeii,² pp. 199-203.

96. B. Lugari ("Il laconicum e la sudatio nell' antico bagno romano", Diss. della Pont. Accad. Rom., Ser. II, Vol. X, 1 [1910], pp. 123-143), would consider the laconicum a cylindrical stove with rounded top and calls this room the sudatio. R. Hartman ("Das Laconicum der römischen Thermen", Röm. Mitt., Vol. XXXV [1920], pp. 152-167) considers the essential part of the laconicum the cold water for bathing after perspiring and would identify the sudationes of Vitruvius' description with the niches in this room. Ippel (Pompeii, p. 80) thinks the room was a laconicum and was later changed to be a frigidarium.

97. Ippel (loc. cit.) remarks on the fact that the round rooms in the Pompeian baths seem alien to the rest of structures, although his conclusions regarding origin are different from those presented in this section. (See note 83).

98. Except perhaps in the laconicum. See note 96 with reference to theory of Hartmann.

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with Antonius Musa and his brother, that is, during the principate of Augustus. This statement need not be accepted at face value, since under a number of circumstances people did wash in cold water, as for example after exercise;¹⁰⁰ but it can be taken as indicating that this was the first time that cold baths for their own sake had obtained any widespread popularity. The cold bath in the Stabian baths at Pompeii, if not part of the laconicum, was probably at first connected with the palaestra. The tub in the women's section was a later addition. Furthermore Vitruvius, while omitting a cold bath in his description of the public baths, includes one in his palaestra and calls attention to its Greek name (frigida lavatio,¹⁰¹ quam Graeci loutron vocitant). However, although for the reasons pointed out above, the importance of cold baths should be minimized, we should bear in mind the evidence presented above for the popularity of swimming in the Tiber and in the piscina publica.

These improvements and additions to the baths are

99. N. H., XV, 77: Iidem fratres instituere a balineis frigida multa corpora adstringere; antea non erat mos nisi calida tantum lavari, sicut apud Homerum etiam invenimus.

100. See above pp. 3-5.

101. V. 11, 2. Frigidarium in the same passage I interpret as short for frigidarium aenum (See V, 10, 1). The emendation to tepidarium favoured by Rose introduces an alien and unnecessary element to the palaestra.

those which are of importance in a consideration of baths in republican times. Further refinements were introduced under the empire, but their story must be postponed.

E. MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

My discussion of baths to this point has been concerned chiefly with physical characteristics. Let us now turn to more general topics and seek to find the answer to a number of questions: Who owned the baths? What was the official attitude towards them? What information do we have on details of administration? What was the popular attitude? How important was their place in the lives of the people?

1. Ownership

The ownership of bathing establishments serving the populace might be either public or private. Varro, when he refers to the original bathing establishment in the city, uses the expression, "publice consedit."¹⁰² Here, however, the contrast is clearly with the domestic bath (domi suae. . ubi lavatur). The statement of Seneca that it was the duty¹⁰³ of the aediles to inspect public baths need indicate nothing

102. De L. L., IX, 68. For context see above pp. 6-7. Cf. Frontinus, De Aq., 107, quoted note 127.

103. Seneca, Ep., LXXXVI, 10. See above p. 13.

more than state supervision. This evidence for the early condition of baths is quite inconclusive, but we are given something much more definite by Frontinus, who tells us that baths and fulleries were classed together as private enterprises in an ancient law regarding water rights.¹⁰⁴ It appears from this that private ownership was the rule. This need not mean that there were no publicly owned baths, but the assumption that there were has yet to receive definite support.

A small number of specific baths are mentioned by Cicero, whose remarks yield some information relevant to this question of ownership. He twice mentions a brilliant sally from a speech of the famous orator of the preceding generation, L. Crassus, delivered shortly before his death in 91 B. C., on an occasion when his opponent was one Brutus, surnamed Accusator, who had inherited from his father three estates and a public bath, the last of which he had recently sold. The occasion for the joke was that the father had written a dialogue in three parts, each with its dramatic location in a different estate. Crassus claimed that it was only the fact that it was immodest for a father and his grown son to bathe together that prevented him from completing the list by writing a fourth section with its

104. De Aq., 94. See below pp. 43-44.

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location in the bath. This gives us an example of a privately owned public bath, built in the latter part of the second century, B. C. location unknown, but the property of a Roman aristocrat.

Two other baths are mentioned by name in the orations of Cicero, the balneae Saeniae ¹⁰⁶ and the balneae Pallacinae, both situated in Rome. Although in neither case is there specific evidence for private ownership, neither is there anything which points conclusively to public operation. The balneae Saeniae were the scene of a ludicrously unsuccessful ambushade staged by some friends of Clodia to trap an agent of Caelius. ¹⁰⁷ Cicero's description of the affair contains no statement which might be accepted as definite regarding the ownership, but the episode itself and a suggestive remark of Cicero regarding Clodia's relations with the balneator, ¹⁰⁸ are more applicable to a private establishment.

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105. Cic., De Orat., II, 223-224: Quam multa de balneis, quas nuper ille vendiderat (223)... "Ubi sunt hi fundi, Brute, quos tibi pater publicis commentariis consignatos reliquit. Quod nisi puberem te" inquit, "iam haberet, quantum librum composuisset et se etiam in balneis lotum cum filio scriptum reliquisset" (224). Pro Cluent., 141: Quod si potuisset honeste scribere se in balneis cum id aetatis filio fuisse, non praeterisset; eas tamen ab eo balneas non ex libris patris sed ex tabulis et ex censu quaerere. I take these baths to be public because the discussion seems to be about income-producing property and because, furthermore, there is no evidence in Cicero's use of balneum, balneae, that he did not conform to the rule postulated by his contemporary Varro (De L. L., IX, 68; see note 13) which defined the former as "domestic bath," the latter as "public bath."

The second bath mentioned by Cicero, the balneae Pallacinae, was the scene of the murder of Sextius Roscius as he returned home from dinner. ¹⁰⁹ In a fragment of the same speech there is mention of the vicus Pallacinae. ¹¹⁰ Platner and Ashby regard it as "probable but not certain" that there was a district of that name and bring forward late ¹¹¹ evidence to support this hypothesis. It would seem that this bath was named from its location, unless, as could be the case, Cicero in referring to a bath whose usual name he did not know, or considered unimportant for his purpose, established its identity by mentioning its situation.

It is clear from the above evidence that in Rome in republican times most, if not all, public baths were privately operated, and that the existence of publicly owned baths cannot be proved, although it would be unwise to reject the possibility entirely.

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106. Pro Cael, 61-62. Balneas Senias, the reading of the manuscripts retained by the editors is almost certainly a corruption for balneas Saenias and in that case would be named after one Saenius, probably the builder or owner. The majority of baths of which we have record seem to have been named in a similar fashion. See the lists in PA, s. vv. balneae, lavae, thermae.
107. Cicero, Pro Cael., 61-68.
108. Ibid., 62. See below note 129.
109. Cic., Pro Rosc. Amer., 18: Occiditur ad balneas Pallacinas de cena rediens Sex. Roscius.
110. Ibid., 132: in vicus Pallacinae with schol. Gronov. ad loc.: locus ubi cenaverat Roscius.
111. PA s. v. Pallacinae.

As a matter of fact the earliest evidence for publicly operated baths comes from Italian cities. When the Quaestor of Teanum Sidicinum was scourged at the order of an unnamed Roman Consul, because the men's baths had been in an unsatisfactory condition when he turned them over for the use of the consul's wife,¹¹² it could have been that the baths were owned by the state, or it might merely mean that, under special circumstances, the quaestor could give orders regarding their disposition. From the first century B. C., however, building inscriptions have come down to us. From these we learn that about the time of Sulla two magistrates at Pompeii, Gaius Ulius and Publius Aninius carried out a number of improvements on the Stabian baths with the money they would otherwise have used for games or for a monument,¹¹³ that at Praeneste two magistrates repaired the baths and established a supply of water,¹¹⁴ while at a more recent date at Grumentum¹¹⁵ and at Croton¹¹⁶ magistrates built baths for their cities. These few inscriptions are of course no

112. Gracch., orat. frag. apud Gell., X, 10, 3, 3. see above p.22.

113. CIL, I ², 1635 (=X, 829). See above note 89.

114. CIL, I ², 1473 (=XIV, 3013).

115. CIL, I ², 1690 (=X, 221).

116. CIL, I ², 2542.

indication of the extent to which the baths of Italian towns were publicly owned, nor is their relatively late date evidence that public ownership did not exist long before. What is shown is that the trend was towards public ownership and that the baths would become the concern of the municipality when their popularity became great enough for them to be ~~they were~~ considered an essential public utility.

2. Public Supervision and Water Supply.

In a passage of Seneca already quoted we are told that aediles such as Cato, Fabius Maximus, or the Cornelii had to inspect baths which catered to the public to insure cleanliness and a useful and healthful temperature.¹¹⁷

In addition to the reason given by Seneca for supervision by the aediles, maintenance of standards of service, there is another motive, the fact that the baths derived water from the city supply. Frontinus, when speaking of a point on which the practice of the ancients differed from that of his day, says: "Among them all water was delivered for public uses and the following prohibition was made, 'Let no private person conduct water other than that which flows from the basins to the ground' (Such are the words of the law), that is, the surplus water from the basin: we call it overflow (aqua caduca). And this particular water was not given for any purpose other than for baths and fulleries, and it was subject to tax, since a sum was fixed which

117. Seneca, Ep., LXXXVI, 10. See above p. 12.

was to be paid into the public treasury....Some water was given to the houses of the leading citizens of the city, with the consent of the rest."¹¹⁸

In the following section Frontinus tells that at the time of this law, which might be as early as the period referred to in the passage of Seneca, though probably somewhat later, the disposal of the water supply was in the hands of the censors, when there were censors, and in the intervals in the charge of the aediles. It would be natural therefore for them, apart from the question of public well-being, to keep a check on the establishments making use of the valuable water supply. The above passage deserves a more detailed commentary as illustrating an early stage in the history of the relation of baths to the city water.

In the law quoted above baths and fulleries are permitted the use of water "which from a basin reaches the ground (quae ex lacu humum accidit).¹¹⁸ This, Frontinus says, is the equivalent of aqua caduca which in a later chapter he defines,

118. Frontin., De Aq., 94: Apud antiquos omnis aqua in usus publicos erogabatur et cautum ita fuit: 'Ne quis privatus aliam ducat, quam quae ex lacu humum accidit' - haec enim sunt verba eius legis - id est quae ex lacu abundavit; eam nos caducam vocamus. Et haec ipsa non in alium usum quam in balnearum aut fullonicarum dabatur, eratque vectigalis statuta mercede quae in publicum penderetur . . . Aliquid et in domos principum civitatis dabatur concedentibus reliquis.

in a passage unfortunately cut short by a lacuna, as that
 "which from reservoirs or from leaks in pipes...." ¹¹⁹ The
 interpretation of the expression is also assisted by a passage
 in Varro where that scholar is describing the method of supply-
 ing water to an aviary. He recommends that it be spread
 through narrow channels to prevent stagnant pools, and that the
 surplus water from these should be run off by a pipe as a pre-
 caution against mud. His words are, "et ex eis caduca quae
abundat per fistulam exire, ne luto aves laborant." ¹²⁰ From
 the above it would seem that the expression means surplus water
 or water lost by leaky equipment which would normally be a loss
 to the city, as well as the overflow water from the basins. ¹²¹
 The term lacus in such an association regularly means the basins
 from which the people obtain water. ¹²² According to the above
 law the baths benefited, for payment of a fee, from the surplus
 of water which the city could not use. It is hard to see that
 this would be a very abundant supply.

During the first part of the second century there were
 several official acts apparently aimed at increasing the public
 supply of water. This would make it seem probable that there

119. De aq., 110: id est quae aut ex castellis aut ex
manationibus fistularum**. C. Herschel (The Two
Books on the Water Supply of the City of Rome of
Sextus Frontinus, p. 65) translates acqua caduca by
 'lapsed water' and explains, "That is, water the
 private right to which has become void." This
 translation and interpretation which appears a
 little strange in the case of an expression whose
 legal use is always in connection with public water,
 seem to read too much into the expression.

120. De R. R., III, 5. 2.

was at that time a definite shortage of water. The city was then supplied only by the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Vetus which had been completed in 269 B. C. The first of these acts was the work of Cato who, during his censorship, 184-183 B. C., with his colleague Valerius Flaccus cut off all pipes by which water had been conveyed to private houses or property, and in addition repaved the public fountains (lacus).¹²³ Five years later, in the censorship of M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, a contract was let for a new aqueduct but nothing came of it due to a quarrel over land rights.¹²⁴ It seems clear from the above that the need for water was great long before the building of the Aqua Marcia.¹²⁵ The small number and unpretentious size of the public baths of that period, and

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121. Another example of the practice of disposing of aqua ad uoca to private citizens is to be found in instructions embodied in the Lex Ursonensis (CIL, I², 594 [= II, 5439; Dessau 6087], #100)
122. See PW s.v. lacus. For another possible meaning see below, pp. 48-49.
123. Livy, XXXIX, 44, 4-5: Aquam publicam omnem in privatum aedificium aut agrum fluentem ademerunt; ... lacus sternendos lapide ... locaverunt; Plutarch, Cato Major, XIX, I: ἀποκόπτων μὲν ὀχετοὺς οἱ τὸ παραρρέον δημοσίου ὕδωρ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπῆγον εἰς οἰκίας ἰδίας καὶ κήπους.
124. Livy, XL, 51, 7: Locarunt aquam adducendam fornicesque faciendas. Impedimento operi fuit M. Licinius Crassus, qui per fundum suum duci non est passus.
125. On the Roman aqueducts see Thos. Ashby, The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome; C. Herschel, op. cit.

the use of other sources of supply, such as wells and rain-water, would help to make the small amount available from the public water adequate, while the uncertain nature of this supply would be overcome by the use of storage cisterns.

However, with the passage of time the status of baths with reference to the public supply naturally changed for the better as their popularity increased and the water supply became more abundant. This growing importance is illustrated by later evidence, first, a passage from Vitruvius where he gives instructions for building a reservoir, to provide water for a town and provides for a triple outlet, the most important for the town supply while from two minor ones the baths and private residences received their share.¹²⁶ Another item is the statement of Frontinus that in olden times (antiquitus) public bathing establishments had water rights granted in perpetuity.¹²⁷

126. Vitr., VIII, 6, 1-2.

127. De aq., 107: Balneis quae publice lavarent privilegium antiquitus concedebatur, ut semel data aqua perpetuo maneret. Sic ex veteribus senatus consultis cognoscimus ex quibus unum subieci. Nunc omnis aquae cum possessore instauratur beneficium. 108. "Quod Q. Aelius Tubero Paulus Fabius Maximus cos. V. F. constitui oportere, quo iure intra (extra)que urbem ducerent aquas, quibus adtributae essent, Q. D. E. R. F. P. D. <E. R> I. <C>. Uti usque eo maneret adtributio aquarum, exceptis quae in usum bisinearum essent datae aut haustus nomine, quoad idem domini possiderent id solum, in quod accepissent aquam." It will be noted that they no longer possessed this right in Frontinus' day.

This he illustrates by means of one of several sentus consulta which he has available, this particular one of the year 10 B. C. Both these items date from a period later than the one in which we are interested but are cited as showing what may have been actual conditions in Rome during the republican period, and, in addition, the growing importance of baths as a public utility.

When we look once more outside Rome for pertinent illustrative material we find an inscription from Alatrium, erected prior to 90 B. C., which commemorates the gifts of L. Betilienus Varus to that city.¹²⁸ These gifts were in part connected with water supply and included an aqueduct into the city, a lacus balnearius and a lacus ad portum. The aqueduct has been excavated and the lacus ad portum identified as a particularly large reservoir at the Porta S. Pietro at Alatri.^{129.}

128. CIL, I², 1529 (= X, 5807, cf. p. 980: PLME, tab. LIIB: Dessau, 5348): L. Betilienus L. f. Vaarus / haec quae infera scripta / sont de senatu sententia / facienda coiravit: semitas / in oppido omnis, porticum qua / in arcem eitur, campum ubi / ludunt, horologium, macelum / basilicam calecandam, seedes / lacum balnearium lacum ad / portam, aquam in opidum etc.

The terminus ante quem for this inscription is the Lex Julia de Civitate of 90 B. C. since in a later part of the inscription the local senate grants immunity from military service to Betilienus' son, a right it would not possess after that date.

129. CIL, X, locc. citt. Cf. A. W. Van Buren, "L'iscrizione di Lucio Betilieno Varo ad Alatri", Atti della Pontificia Acc. Rom. di Arch., Rendiconti, IX (1933), pp. 137-144.

This use of lacus is paralleled in Justinian's Digesta.¹³⁰
 By some perversity lacus balnearius, despite the obvious
 parallel is normally regarded as a piscina, or something
 similar in the way of bath equipment.¹³¹ It seems plain how-
 ever, that lacus balnearius here means a reservoir for supply-
 ing a bath or baths, an indication that the baths were consider-
 ed an important consumer of the public water. This inscription
 would lend plausibility to the view that, during the pre-republican
 period, public baths were granted special privileges in the use
 of water from the public supply.

3. Administration

As regards details of administration there is not a
 great deal to be said. The balneator, bathman, is mentioned
 by Cicero twice,¹³² probably with reference to the proprietor
 of the establishment rather than a slave or underling employed
 in a bath. The evidence is not sufficient to warrant the con-
 clusion that the calling was looked down upon. In fact at least
 one piece of evidence points to the opposite conclusion. It has
 been mentioned above¹³³ that M. Iunius Brutus, praetor in an un-

130. Dig., XLIII, 21, 3, 3: si aquam in unum lacum conducatur
 et inde per plures ductus ducatur. . . .

131. E. g. E. H. Warmington, Remains of Old Latin, Vol. IV,
Archaic Inscriptions (Loeb Classical Library, London &
 Cambridge, 1940), pp. 146-147.

132. Pro Cael., 62: Phil. XIII, 26.

133. See above p. 39.

known year of the second century B.C.¹³⁴ and an early writer on law¹³⁵ owned a bath and left it to his son who retained it until shortly before 91 B.C. The son's opponent in a legal case, Crassus, was, according to Cicero, quite witty at his expense and had much to say on the subject of these baths, but from the allusions of Cicero to the debate seems to have been twitting him with profligacy in the use of his patrimony, rather than to have had as his motive the feeling that such a possession was not worthy of a man of such high social standing who might have aspired to senatorial rank. True, the ownership of a bath and the actual management of it are different things, but, if the former did not impair the standing of a senator, it is probable that the latter was not considered unworthy of an ordinary citizen.

The joke which Cicero makes about M. Instaeus, lieutenant of Anthony, who, he says, was a temperans balneator at Pisaurum

134. Pompon., Dig., I, 2, 2, 39.

135. Cicero, De Orat., II, 223-224.

136. Ibid., II, 223: Quam multa de balneis, quas nuper ille vendiderat, quam multa de amisso patrimonio dixit. The joke about the three estates, but not the bath being mentioned in the elder Brutus' books (Cicero, ibid., 224; Pro Cluent., 141) gives Crassus an opportunity to point out the extent of Brutus' inheritance.

137. Cicero, Brutus, 130: Is magistratus non petivit.

138. Id., Phil., XIII, 26. Temperare in connection with baths means to bring the water to the desired temperature, if too hot, to cool it, cf. Martial, III, 25, 1:

Si temperari balneum cupis fervens;
if cold, to warm it, cf. Seneca, Ep., LXXXIII, 5: hoc solium, quod ... sol temperat. Cf. also Id., Ep., LXXXVI, 10 (Above note 24). The Greek equivalent of bene temperatus is εὐκρατος. See Galen, De Mixt., Vol. II, p. 596K.

The point of the joke here seems to be that the audience would be expecting some term associated with drinking.

if not a fabrication, means that a bathman was able to rise quite high in the revolutionary period following Caesar's death.

In return for his services, the bathman undoubtedly charged a price of admission, possibly the quadrans,¹³⁹ and was himself compelled to pay for water consumed.¹⁴⁰

4. Clientele

The balneator's customers seem to have included the better class of Romans, both men and women. The anonymous Auctor ad Herennium, writing in the second decade of the first century B. E., includes in one of his illustrations a man making a display of wealth who asks his slave to borrow

139. The quadrans seems to have been the traditional price for a men's bath at Rome under the empire. It is attested definitely in Horace, Serm., I, 3, 137: quadrante lavatum, and Juvenal, VI, 447: quadrante lavari; and indirectly in Martial, VIII, 42:

Si te sportula maior ad beatos
Non corruperit, ut solet, licebit
De nostro, Matho, centies laveris.

- since the usual amount of the sportula was one hundred quadrantes (Martial, III, 7, 1; IV, 68; VI, 88, 4; Juvenal, I, 120).

The evidence for republican times consists of two passages, from Cicero and Seneca. The first is in Pro Cael., 62: nisi forte mulier potens quadrantaria illa permutatione familiaris facta erat balneatori. The passage refers to the common gossip that Clodia's favours were to be had for a quadrans (cf. Pro Cael., 69: in istam quadrare; Plut., Cicero, 29), but, in view of the evidence for imperial times, the aptness of the reference may have been because of the price of admission. Seneca, Ep., LXXXVI, 9, refers to the baths of early republican times as a res quadrantaria, but this reference may well be anachronistic.

140. Frontinus, De Aq., 94.

an Ethiopian slave to attend him at the baths, with the implication that this is especially ostentatious.¹⁴¹ This would indicate that wealthy people with slaves did attend the public baths at Rome at that time. Again, a tale, possibly apocryphal, told by Seneca about Cato Uticensis has its locale in a public bath and shows that Seneca, at least, thought of him as frequenting public baths.¹⁴²

One Asclepiades of Mendes in Egypt, quoted by Suetonius as the authority for a story connected with Augustus' birth, says that the emperor's mother, Atia, was compelled to avoid public baths because of a miraculously acquired mark in the shape of a snake.¹⁴³ Since this plainly means that she attended these baths before, this story, even with the allowance which should be made for anachronism in a tale of this sort, may be taken as evidence that high class Roman women bathed in public establishments in the first half of the first century B. C.

141. Rhet. ad Her., IV, 50, 63: Ei dicit in aurem, ... aut ab avunculo rogetur Aethiops qui ad balneas veniat ... aut aliquod fragile falsae consuetudinis gloriae comparetur. Mrs. G.H. Beardsley (The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization, Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology, IV, Baltimore, 1929, p. 117) states that this is an example of "the bath slave so frequently met in Greek art", but has only one example (ibid., p. 103).

142. Dial., IV, 32, 2.

143. Suet., Aug., 94 (= FHG, III, 306).

It is harder to say to how great an extent the lower class Romans made use of such establishments. It does seem likely that the early public baths catered to the more wealthy citizens. Since the function of public baths is to make up for a lack of or deficiency in private facilities, the problem may be resolved into the question, "Were there elaborate private bath-houses in Rome before there were public baths?" If the rich were well supplied at home, it would be the poor who needed public baths. At first, the answer to this question might seem to be, "Yes", but the fact that the private baths of which we have mention were in villas,¹⁴⁴ and the further consideration that the water was very restricted in early times¹⁴⁵ as well as the definite statement of Varro that the first balneum was a public establishment¹⁴⁶ makes this appear far less likely and suggests that public baths began as a luxury and that it was only later that those less fortunate economically shared in the privilege.

However, that the bath became a democratic institution at Rome can be inferred from a remark of Valerius Maximus

144. See above p. 37 for Scipio's bath. References by Cicero to baths in country estates in addition to the ones mentioned in note 150 are: ad Att., XIII, 29, 1, 3; XIII, 52, 1, 10; IV, 13, 5, 13; Ad. Q. F., 3, 1.

145. See above pp. 14-15. Carcopino (Daily Life in Ancient Rome, pp. 38-40) emphasized the fact that very few houses in Rome could have had individual supply even under the empire.

146. De L.L., IX, 68. See above pp. 6-7

about the Senate of Carthage. This author gives an example of insolentia the story that the Carthaginian senators bathed separately from the common people.¹⁴⁷ Such a condition, apparently, was not to be found at Rome. Further evidence for the popularity of baths among all classes at Rome is to be found in the fact that in 60 B.C. Faustus Sulla considered the donation of free baths a worthy accompaniment to games and a banquet given in honour of his father.¹⁴⁸

5. Frequency of Use

It is not possible to state for certain how frequently Romans of Cicero's time made use of the public baths. It was customary to bathe under certain circumstances. For example, a bath regularly preceded a formal dinner. It is for this reason that the gift of free baths in connection with the banquet in memory of Sulla was appropriate. In his speech against Vatinius Cicero finds particularly boorish the fact that Vatinius attended a banquet wearing the toga pulla. In the course of his declamation on this theme he asks, "To

147. Val. Max., IX, §, ext. 4: Insolentiae vero inter Carthaginiensem et Campanum senatum quasi aemulatio fuit: ille enim separato a plebe balineo lavabatur, hic diverso foro utebatur.

148. Cass. Dio, XXXVII, 51, 4: κάν τῷ αὐτῷ τουτῷ χρόνῳ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου καὶς ἀγῶνά τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐποιῶσε καὶ τὸν δῆμον λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε τὰ τε λουτρὰ καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον προῖκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.
Cf. CIL, 12, 1903, where a similar donation is recorded.

whom except you was a toga pulla ever given on leaving the bath?"¹⁴⁹ This question in its context must be the equivalent of, "To whom was a toga pulla ever given when he was dressing for dinner?"

Another occasion for taking a bath was at the end of a journey. In fact, from references in Cicero's letters it would seem that it was customary to send word ahead in order that all might be ready at the villa where it was intended to make a stop.¹⁵⁰

The remark made in the dialogue of Varro, Catus vel de liberis educandis, that the speaker did not as a boy enjoy a daily bath, deserves to be mentioned as it could be important evidence if a certain interpretation were possible. It should first be considered with the other evidence for the simplicity of his youth: single tunic and toga, shoes without shin covering,¹⁵¹ horse without a horsecloth, infrequent dice,¹⁵²

149. In Vatin., 31: Cui de balineis exeunti praeter te toga pulla umquam data est? Cf. Ad Att., XIII, 52, 1; Pro Deiot., 17.

150. Ad Att., II, 3, 4, 13; Ad Fam., IX, 5, 3, 4; IX, 16, 9, 4; XIV, 20, 4.

151. See L. M. Wilson, The Clothing of the Ancient Romans (Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology, XXIV, Baltimore, 1938) pp. 73-77.

152. Nonius, p. 108M: Varro Cato vel de liberis educandis: mihi puero modica una fuit tunica et toga, sine fasciis calciamenta, eous sine ephippio, balneum non cotidianum, alveus rarus. (Fr. 19 Riese).

This clearly refers to the frugality of a wealthy family, since presumably the possession of a horse with or without fancy equipment was the privilege of relatively few Roman boys. Whether the purpose of the speaker was to recall the vanished simplicity of his youth, or to give an illustration from his own boyhood of how boys should be treated, it is hard without the context to say. If the contrast is between eras, uncertainty as to the dramatic date makes it difficult to select the periods.¹⁵³ The passage would seem to indicate an increased use of the bath during the speaker's lifetime, but his words imply that he still regarded the use of baths as a luxury, at least for boys.

We have covered the history of Roman public baths from the time of their introduction, probably in the third century B.C. to the end of the free republic, tracing their development as buildings and also the growth of the bath as an institution. The increase in popularity of the baths was probably continuous from the time of their introduction, since the Romans were a cleanly people, but there was undoubtedly a spurt of popularity after the invention of the balneae pensiles due to the great improvement of the atmosphere within the baths. It is safe to say that by the end of the republic they were approaching the universal popularity which they enjoyed under the empire.

153. On this dialogue see PW, Suppl., VI, col. 1264.

CHAPTER II

THE THERMAE

A. INTRODUCTION

In the year 25 B.C., as Dio informs us, Agrippa built an edifice which he called a Laconic sweatbath (Τοῦτο τὸ πυρία Τήριον τὸ Λακωνικόν).¹ In 12 B.C. he left for the use of the Roman people a bath bearing his name,² which was probably either identical with the above or else an enlargement of it. This was the first of the public thermae and was designated by this name by the earliest writers to mention it, Pliny and Martial.³ As the centuries passed by, various Roman emperors and private citizens built analogous elaborate bathing establishments bearing their names, until by the early fourth century of our era there were eleven thermae in the city, in addition to some 856 smaller establishments called balnea. Of the thermae the most important bore the names of Nero, Titus, Trajan, Caracalla, Diocletian and

1. Cass. Dio, LIII, 27, 1; see below pp. 65 and 81.

2. Id., LIV, 29, 4: τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ.
See below p. 66.

3. Pliny, N. H., XXXIV, 62; XXXV, 26; XXXVI, 189; Martial, III, 20, 15; 36, 6.

Constantine.⁴

Baths so designated were not confined to the capital city, but, especially after the first century of our era, the name thermae occurs throughout the empire.⁵

In the following pages no attempt will be made to give a systematic history and description of the individual baths. The Topographical Dictionary of Platner and Ashby renders such

4. The other thermae are the Thermae Suranae, Commodianae, Severianae, and Decianae. The baths of Caracalla are more properly called the Thermae Antoninianae.

These numbers are from the Regionaries which are presumed to be based on a survey of the city made by Constantine after 312 A.D. The earlier of the two, commonly called Notitia but entitled in the manuscripts De Regionibus Urbis Romae, is usually placed between A.D. 334 and 357, the other, called the Curiosum Urbis Romae, after 357, but within the fourth century. They each have three parts, first, a survey of the city by regions with the important monuments listed by name, the others by type; second, a list of monuments by categories; finally, a summary giving the total of each type of building for the city. See PW, s.v. Regionarii. The text employed here is that of G.L. Urlichs (Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus, pp. 1-27).

Another work using the same source is a sixth century ecclesiastical history in Syriac under the name of Zachariah. For this I use F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene (London, 1899).

The number of balnea given varies. The above is the total given in the majority of manuscripts of both the Notitia and Curiosum, but manuscript B (10th cent.) of the Notitia gives the total as 956; Zachariah (Hamilton and Brooks, op. cit., p. 318) 926. The sum of the totals of baths given by regions is 971 in the Notitia and 942 in the Curiosum. Here again there are manuscript variations. The numbers in manuscript B of the Notitia add up to 925, a number which, although less than the total given in the same manuscript approximates the 926 of Zachariah. A ninth century manuscript of the Curiosum (C) gives numbers whose sum is 872.

5. Cf. e. g. Dessau, Index, S. V. thermae. See also below p. 85.

an undertaking superfluous and in its conciseness discourages emulation.⁶ And if the enterprise were made to include the thermae throughout the empire the magnitude of the task would be disheartening at the outset. Nor will there be any attempt to discuss and systematize the architectural plans of the thermae. For this the reader is referred to the monumental work of Krenker and Krüger on the Kaiserthermen at Trier.⁷

This chapter has a somewhat different object, the more accurate definition of the word thermae. This, in practice means the discovery of the essential difference between the type of bath represented by this term and the balnea, the nor-

6. Platner and Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (PA).

The following references will supplement the bibliography to be found there:

Thermae Agrippae: KK, P. 263; F.W. Shipley, Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome (Washington University Studies, Lang. and Lit., No. 4, St. Louis, 1933), pp. 47-53; MA, Vol. III, pp. 151-157.

Thermae Antoninianae: KK, pp. 269-279; MA, Vol. I, pp. 414-432;

Thermae Constantinianae: KK, pp. 282-283; MA, Vol. III, pp. 307-311;

Thermae Decianae: MA, Vol. III, pp. 563-565;

Thermae Diocletianae: KK, pp. 278-282; MA, pp. 359-371;

Thermae Neronianae: KK, pp. 263-265; BC, Vol. LXII (1934), pp. 171-172 (Discovery of two columns belonging to frigidarium); MA, Vol. III, pp. 212-218;

Thermae Severianae: MA, Vol. I, pp. 319-322;

Thermae Suranae: MA, Vol. III, pp. 561-563;

Thermae Titii: KK, pp. 265-266; MA, Vol. I, pp. 205-206;

Thermae Traianae: KK, pp. 266-268; MA, Vol. I, pp. 206-221; Ann. ep., 1933, No. 30, 11-12 (Date of dedication).

7. Krenker-Krüger, Die Trierer Kaiserthermen (KK).

This work contains, in appendices which account for the bulk of the book, a discussion by Krenker of the different combinations, arrangements and types of rooms employed in thermae, with brief descriptions and lavishly reproduced plans of a selected group of thermae and baths on which his conclusions were based.

mal warm water baths of the Romans.⁸ That there was a difference we may accept from the instances where the two words are used side by side.⁹ But what this difference was is a problem, the solution of which has never, to my knowledge, been seriously undertaken.

The problem is complicated because, in spite of the fact that the large public thermae seem to represent a type, there are a number of references to thermae which must have been quite different from these, both in ~~scale~~ and purpose. In fact, so confusing are these references that de Ruggiero has concluded in his epigraphic dictionary that there was no criterion applicable in all cases.¹⁰ The distinction which undoubtedly did exist between thermae and balneum has not

8. Balneum is used in this chapter rather than balneae since it had by the time of the empire replaced balneae even in the meaning, "public bath", which Varro posited for it (IX, 68; see Ch. I, pp. 6-7). For statistics, see Thesaurus, s. v. balneum, balneae.

Lavacrum is a late word for which there seems no evidence earlier than Gellius, (I, 2, 2), and its meaning was general, embracing all types of baths.

Another word, balnearia, seems to have been used chiefly, if not exclusively, for domestic baths: Cicero, Ad Att., XIII, 29, 2; Ad Q. F., III, 1, 1; Vitruvius, VI, 4, 1; 6, 2; Seneca, Dial., IX, 9, 7 (See below note 55); Dig., VIII, 2, 13.

9. Seneca, Dial., IX, 9, 7: inter balnearia et thermas; Martial, IX, 75: subice balneum thermas; CIL, XIV, 2101 (= Dessau 5686): ... in locum balnearum ... thermas ... a fundamentis extruxit et dedicavit; CIL, V, 5279 (= Dessau 6328) ... in thermis et balineis omnibus.

10. E. de Ruggiero, Dizionario epigraphico di Antichità Romane (Rome, 1886-), Vol. I, p. 965.

only not been elucidated but has even been obscured by modern practice, by which writers when making a distinction have tended to attach the appellation thermae to the larger and more complex baths of the Roman Empire, especially, of course, those at Rome, and to concentrate on architectural developments and accretions. This makes no distinction between the essential and the accidental and has no necessary connection with the meaning which the word had for the ancients who used it.

The looseness of terminology in modern languages has been a further factor in reducing the possibility of defining this term. In English and, to a lesser degree, German the natural and easy words to use are "baths" and Bäder respectively, but in French and more especially in Italian the modern derivatives of thermae, thermes and terme have come in their application to ancient Roman times to be used far more indiscriminately than their Latin ancestor.¹¹

This does not mean that no suggestions have been made regarding the difference between balneum and thermae. Let us examine two possibilities which have some appearance of plausibility, first, that the thermae are structures whose design and function are derived from the Greek gymnasium, second, that the thermae were publicly owned establishments as contrasted with the balnea which were privately owned.

11. E.g. the articles on Balneum and Thermae in D & S where the second article undertakes merely to discuss another aspect of the same subject.

B. SUGGESTED DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THERMAE AND BALNEUM

1. Gymnasium

It is stated quite specifically by Marquardt that the thermae were built on the model of the Greek palaestrae¹² and that they were, as contrasted with balnea, "large establishments intended for gymnastic exercises and at the same time equipped with bathing installations."¹³ This view, that the thermae were deluxe gymnasia or palaestrae, is supported not only because of actual physical resemblance, but also by references, particularly in Cassius Dio, to gymnasia by which the thermae were almost certainly meant.

The resemblance to gymnasia stems, first from the palaestrae which were to be found in the imperial thermae, with the exception of those of Titus and possibly of Agrippa concerning which we lack adequate information. In addition to the elements intended to cater to physical exercise, the thermae came to include numerous rooms for lectures, meetings or simply lounging. Even libraries had their place in the later

12. Marquardt, Das Privatleben der Römer, p. 275: Ausserdem wurden seit Agrippa die den griechischen Palaestren nachgebildeten Thermen in der Stadt wie in Italien und den Provinzen eingeführt, d.h. umfangreiche und grossartige Anlagen, welche ausser einer complicirten und zu verschiedenem Gebrauch bestimmten Badeeinrichtung auch den ganzen Apparat der griechischen Gymnasien enthielten.

13. Ibid., note 1: Balnea sind Badestuben oder Badehäuser, thermae aber grosse für gymnastische Uebungen bestimmte und zugleich mit Badeeinrichtung versehene Anstalten.

baths.¹⁴ The thermae were, therefore, equipped to fulfil a function rather similar to that of the Greek gymnasium. And when we recall that warm baths were introduced into the Hellenistic gymnasia,¹⁵ the resemblance becomes more striking.

That this resemblance was obvious to the ancients is evident from a series of passages where thermae are called gymnasia, particularly by Greek authors. Cassius Dio refers in this way to structures erected by Agrippa,¹⁶ Nero,¹⁷ Trajan,¹⁸ and Licinius Sura,¹⁹ all of whom were builders of thermae. A reference by Tacitus to a gymnasium of Nero,²⁰ is also used as evidence. This from the context seems to be the same building as that spoken of by Dio, and to be the one which, in one passage, is called gymnasium by Philostratus as well.²¹ In addition to these references to specific buildings we have entries in two Latin glossaries equating thermae with γυμνάσιον²²

14. For libraries in the Baths of Caracalla see NSA, Ser. V, Vol. IX(1912), pp. 311-312. For the late removal of the Bibliotheca Ulpia from the Forum of Trajan to the Baths of Diocletian see Korson, Probus, 21; cf. PA, s. vv. Bibliotheca Ulpia; Thermae Diocletianae. Cf. also CIL, VI, 8679 (See below note 43).

15. Cf. Vitruvius, V, 11.

16. LIIII, 27, 1.

17. LIV, 29, 4

18. LXXIX, 4, 1.

19. LXVIII, 15.

20. Ann., XIV, 47.

21. Vit. Apoll., IV, 42.

22. Corp. Gloss., III, 132, 23; 196, 47.

These references, more numerous than those offered by Marquardt, create a preliminary impression in favour of his assumption. However, the hypothesis looks much better at first glance than when the evidence is examined closely.

In the first place, if even one thermae, the Baths of Titus, did not contain palaestrae, as is the evidence of the drawings of the sixteenth century architect Palladio, reproduced by Krencker,²³ it invalidates the whole hypothesis. And, secondly, even if the usual plan of the thermae did contain palaestrae and other elements of the gymnasium, its center was the bathing section. The thermae which in point of time followed those of Agrippa were symmetrically arranged on a central axis; on the axis itself was a series of rooms, (natatio), frigidarium, tepidarium, caldarium, while on each side, in addition to the apodyteria and miscellaneous elements, was a series of heated rooms of gradually rising temperature which formed an alternate approach to the caldarium.²⁴ The central position of this section emphasizes something which should be remembered, namely, that these edifices were baths. Around the nucleus of bathing rooms, a wide variety of other attributes might gather, but the core of the complex remained the bath.

The literary evidence cited is, of course, based on the actual resemblance which the thermae had to the Greek gymnasium.

23. KK, p. 266.

24. This follows the interpretation of Krencker.

A detailed examination has been postponed to this point because these references are more convincing evidence for the theory they were intended to support when merely listed and because, to ascertain the real reason for the use of *γυμνάσιον* to refer to baths, the instances of its occurrence should be discussed in relation to the monuments referred to and to other methods of speaking of them. In the earliest of the passages mentioned Dio, in speaking of Agrippa's building projects, mentions τοῦτο δὲ πυρριατήριον τὸ Λακωνικόν, a title which he tries to explain, "For he called the gymnasium Laconic, since the Spartans had the greatest reputation at that time for stripping and exercising when anointed with oil."²⁵ For the moment we shall pass by the title,²⁶ which the author found so hard to explain.²⁷ For present purposes the important thing to observe

25. Cass. Dio, LIII, 27, 1: τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυρριατήριον τὸ Λακωνικόν κατασκεύασε. Λακωνικόν γὰρ τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦσθαι τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα ἐδόκουν, ἐπεκάλεσε.

26. See below p. 81.

27. The term Laconicum (for which see Ch. I, pp. 33-36) was probably obsolete by the third century when Dio wrote. Its last certain occurrence in extant Latin literature is in Celsus III, 17, 1; III, 21, 6). Although the reading laconicis is printed in most editions of Columella (De R. R., I, praef. 16) it is not found in the best manuscripts and is rejected in the only modern critical edition, that of Lundström (Upsala, 1897-). By a coincidence we have another instance where a third century writer found laconicum in a manuscript he was using and in this case paraphrased it. This was Faventinus, the epitomizer of Vitruvius, who in rendering a passage on methods of obtaining atramentum, "lamp-black." (Vitruvius, VII, 10; Faventinus p. 307, 14 ff.; cf. Isidor., Orig. XIX, 17, 17) changes the sentence, aedificatur locus ut laconicum, to lacusculus curva camera atruatur (Isidor., lacusculo aedificato), and in the following passage consistently replaces laconicum by lacusculus. From this evidence it would seem quite probable that the word laconicum had passed out of use long before these authors wrote.

is that it was a name found by Dio in one of his sources and that the historian himself in referring to the structure calls it γυμνάσιον.²⁸ There appears to be little doubt that the reference is to the thermae of Agrippa. A later reference, undoubtedly to the same edifice, as τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ²⁹ (sc. Agrippae), shows that Dio was not entirely consistent in his manner of referring to the baths. Our ignorance concerning these baths makes it unwise to enlarge on possible reasons for this.

To Nero, the next builder of thermae, a gymnasium was attributed as well, but in this case the evidence does not present a straightforward picture. Cassius Dio, Tacitus, and Suetonius all tell in rather similar language of how Nero, at the dedication of his gymnasium or, as Suetonius says, thermae and gymnasium, gave oil to the knights and senate.³⁰

28. Despite Ashby, PA, p. 249, note 1: "It is to be noted that Cass. Dio calls the thermae of Nero, Trajan, and Licinius Sura γυμνάσιον and those of Agrippa βαλανεῖον or λακωνικόν. Dio seems explicitly to attribute to Agrippa the responsibility for the name λακωνικόν."

29. Cass. Dio, LIV, 29, 4. See above p. 57.

30. Cass. Dio, LXI, 21, 1: καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον ὠκοδόμησεν ἐλαιὸν τε ἐν τῇ καθιερώσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι προῖκα; Tac., Ann., XIV, 47: gymnasium eo anno dedicatum a Nerone praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca facilitate; Suet., Nero, 12: dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio senatui quoque et equiti oleum praebuit.

The year, according to Dio, was A.D. 60, according to Tacitus, A.D. 62. Philostratus tells of an incident connected with the same event, the dedication of the gymnasium with Nero himself, the senate and the Knights present, but later on refers to it as the affair of Nero's bath (*βαλανεῖον*).³¹ The event discussed seems in all four cases to be the same. The variations in the manner of referring to the building could easily be explained by assuming thermae and gymnasium to be in close association but the problem is further complicated by the statement of Tacitus that the gymnasium was burned later in A.D. 62,³² the year in which, according to him, it was dedicated, and by the evidence of chronographers that the thermae were built in 64 A.D.³³ These statements are fortunately not the only pertinent evidence which can be brought to bear. In the sketch of these baths by the sixteenth century architect Palladio, as interpreted by Krencker, there were two sizeable palaestrae (ca. 32m. by 36m.) in the front corners of the building, which flanked the entrances and formed, with a large natatio lying between them, the forward half of the building.³⁴ In this way the palaestrae or gymnasium and thermae could be

31. *Vit. Apoll.*, IV, 42: (in part) ὅποτε γυμνάσιον μὲν ἐξεποιήθη τῷ Νέρωνι θαυμασιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ ... V, 19: μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ Νέρωνος βαλανεῖον.

32. *Ann.*, XV, 22.

33. Hieronymus, *A. Abr.* 2079; Cassiod., *Chron. Min.* II (*Mon. Germ. A. A.*, Vol. XI), p. 138.

34. KK, pp. 263-265.

called two parts of the same building with the former the more prominent. Thus it was easy for Dio and Philostratus as Greeks and for Tacitus wishing to emphasize the Greek flavour of the whole affair³⁵ to speak of them as a gymnasium, while Suetonius distinguishing the two elements could speak of thermae et gymnasium, but in ordinary speech they were called simply thermae.³⁶ To account for the variations of date and the mention of the burning of the "gymnasium" we must assume that there are details in the history of this bath of which we are ignorant.

The thermae of Nero are the only ones which are possibly referred to by a Latin author as gymnasium, but Dio continues his use of the term to apply to the Thermae of Trajan³⁷ and to the Balneum or Thermae of Licinius Sura.³⁸ He does not, however, employ it for the Thermae of Titus,³⁹ the next in chronological order, but uses instead *βαλανεῖον*. This does not seem to be by accident, because, in contrast with the baths of Nero and Trajan this building apparently contained no palae-stra.

35. Ann., XIV, 47; Græca facilitate. It is to be observed that Tacitus nowhere uses the word thermae.

36. Martial, II, 49; III, 25; VII, 34; XII, 83.

37. Cass. Dio, LXIX, 4, 1.

38. Id., LXVIII, 15; cf. Reg.: Thermae Sures (Not.); Thermae Syranæ (Cur.); NSA, 1920, p. 141: Imp. Caes(ar) Marcus Antonius / Gordianus Aug(ustus) / balneum Suræ ornatum curavit.
Cf. also Herodian, I, 12, 4:

39. Cass. Dio, LXVI, 25, 1.

If therefore, we review the evidence for the use of *γυμνάσιον* by Dio, we find a certain consistency, in that it is a descriptive word. But, since the aptness of the description did not, as we have seen, apply in all cases, the explanation, in my opinion, is to be found, not in a hypothetical Greek origin of the thermae, but in something quite different, the deliberate avoidance of a word not considered good literary Greek, and for which there was no exact synonym. The grounds for this assumption are that *θερμαί* in this meaning is found only once in any context which might be described as literary Greek, in a fragment of the *Κεστοί* of the third century Christian writer, Julius Africanus.⁴⁰ It is supported by the usage of Greek authors. Philostratus, as we have seen, referred to the thermae of Nero as both *γυμνάσιον* and *βαλανεῖον* as did Dio in speaking of the Thermae of Agrippa. A third term is used on occasion, *λουτρόν*.⁴¹

These references in the glossaries equating thermae with *γυμνάσιον* have, of course, no independent value since, based as they are on usage in various authors, they merely show that

40. *POx.*, 412, 64-65; *πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου θερμαῖς*. The fragment is from Book 18. The word is found in a non-literary context in *IG*, XIV, 1055b, 10-11: *πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς θερμαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παπποῦ* (sc. Traiani) *μου γεγενημέναις*. *PGloss.*, 50, 9: *ἐν ταῖς Ἀντωνινιαναῖς καὶ Τραιαναῖς θερμαῖς*. In papyri more usually *θερμα* or *θερμα βαλανεῖα*: *Arch.*, *Pap.*, IV, 117, II, 12; *POx.*, 53 6; 54, 14; 473, 5; *Stud. Pal.*, V, 66, 7; 67, 9; 68, 1.

41. *Paus.*, V, 12, 6 (Thermae Traiani), *Herodian.*, I, 12, 4 (Thermae Commodianae).

this word was sometimes used as a synonym for the Latin thermae.

In conclusion, we may discard the idea that the contrast between balneae and thermae was a contrast between bath and gymnasium with bathing equipment, on the grounds that it fastens on a trait of the thermae which was neither universal nor essential.

2. Public Ownership

That public ownership is the distinctive feature of the thermae is a view, nowhere, so far as I know, actively sponsored by any modern writer, but it is assumed in such statements as the following by Lanciani: "Next to forums I must speak of the ba⁴²the as places of public resort. At the end of the third century after Christ, Rome numbered 11 large public thermae, and 926 smaller ones conducted under private enterprise."⁴²

As a rough and ready distinction there may be some arguments in favour of this, since the eleven thermae mentioned were undoubtedly publicly operated.⁴³ In fact it is not improbable that in loose usage the words came to be employed in this fashion, as in a remark from the Colloquia Monacensia, a bilingual phrasebook giving sample dialogues in Latin and Greek. On imaginary conversation concerns a visit

42. R. Lanciani, Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries (Boston and New York, 1889), p. 89. These numbers are obtained from the Regionaries. See above p. 58.

to a bath. The Latin phrase, "Ubi iubes? Ad thermas aut in privato?" is, in Greek, Ποῦ κελεύεις; ἢ τὸ δημόσιον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδιωτικῇ. ⁴⁴ Some support may also be found in the last book of Justinian's Digesta where the late jurist, Hermogianus, is quoted as considering calefactiones thermarum among the public munera. ⁴⁵

There are two assumptions involved in this, that thermae were regularly publicly owned and ^{that} baths not so designated were normally privately operated. The second of these is definitely not true. In the inscriptions, which in the vast majority of the cases deal with public buildings, the most common word for bath is balneum. ⁴⁶ Among the balnea of Rome itself at least one seems to have been under direct imperial control. ⁴⁷

43. There are several inscriptions which indicate that the management was by imperial freedmen and slaves: CIL, VI, 8677: D. Philetus Aug. libertus exactor Thermarum Traianarum ..., VI, 8676: ... Flavio Aug. [...]/ vilico Thermar. N ...; VI, 8679: Onesimus Cae[s.] vilico. therma[r.] bybliontheos. Gra[ec.] ...; VI, 8678: ... Adiutor Thermarum Traiana. ...

44. Collog. Monac., 10 (Corp. Gloss., III, p. 651).

45. Dig., I, 4, 1, 2. Cf. Juvenal, VII, 233; dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea; and Schol. ad loc.: Aut Phoebi: privatae balneae, quae Daphnes appellantur.

46. In the indices of Dessau 63 inscriptions are listed as containing the term balneum, ⁴⁵ thermae.

47. MAAR, Vol. V (1932), p. 73 and Pl. 15: ... Onesimus Caesar. N. vilicus Balin./ Caenidiani ... This man is probably to be identified with the Onesimus who was in charge of the Greek library in one of the thermae (CIL, VI, 8679; see above note 43). This bath should be added to the list in PA, s.v. balneum.

As regards the presumed public ownership of all thermae, early evidence does not support the idea. Roman writers of the early empire use that name to refer not only to privately operated public baths, but even to domestic baths. For example, Martial speaks of the thermulae of Etruscus, a private establishment open to the public;⁴⁸ elsewhere he refers to thermae which are plainly for the personal use of the owner.⁴⁹ In other places he mentions thermae which were undoubtedly owned by private persons, but does not specify the purpose for which they were intended.⁵⁰ This evidence is supported by passages in both Seneca and Suetonius.⁵¹ And even though a tendency to call public baths thermae may have developed in later times, that this distinction was not universal is shown by a passage in Sidonius where he prefers to the balnea of Nero, Agrippa and Diocletian, thermae where privacy is assured.⁵²

48. Martial, VI, 42:

Etrusci nisi thermulis lavaris
inlotus morieris, Oppiane.

49. Martial, XI, 51, 4-5:

Hic nullo comitante nec molesto
thermis grandibus et suis lavatur.

50. Martial, II, 78 (In thermis..., Cascoiliane, tuis); IX, 75 (idem beatas lautus extruit thermas).

51. Seneca, Dial., IX, 9, 7 (See below p. 71); Suet., Caligula, 37, 3 (thermae on board a boat).

52. Sidon., Carm. XXIII, 495-499:

hinc ad balnea, non Neroniana
nec quae Agrippa dedit vel ille, cuius
bustum Dalmaticae vident Salonae,
ad thermas tamen ire sed libebit
privato bene praebitas pudori.

6. THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF THE THERMAE

Neither of the definitions suggested above for thermae can find satisfactory evidence to support it, and even if it could they do not seem to approach the fundamental point of distinction. The impression given by early references to thermae is that they represent a superior type of bath. In one of the inscriptions referred to above,⁵³ thermae are spoken of as being built to replace balneae. The suggestion certainly is that this is an improvement. The other inscription mentioned gives the two terms together in an inclusive expression intended to cover all the bathing establishments of Comum, the town in question,⁵⁴ and Seneca, when he speaks of people making a pretence to culture who place libraries among (inter) their thermae and balnearia,⁵⁵ probably does not mean there were in a given place baths of both types, but merely wishes to include the various types of domestic bath in an comprehensive statement. We may refer to one other

53. CIL, XIV, 2101 (See note 9): In locum balnearum quae per vetustatem in usu esse desiderant thermas, ... ampliatis locis et cellis a fundamentis extruxit et dedicavit.

54. CIL, V, 5279 (See note 9):

55. Dial., IX, 9, 7: iam enim inter balnearia et thermas bybliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur. The point of this passage is that these vulgar rich have no real interest in their library and consequently place it in the worst location, the dampest part of the house. Vitruvius (VI, 4, 1) recommended that a library be placed in the east to catch the morning sun and avoid the damp west wind, but advised that baths be placed to the west.

passage in which both types are mentioned in the same context. An acquaintance of Martial built a balneum using, of all things, wood. He later built thermae of the finest marble, but he had no means of heating them. Martial's advice is simple, subice balneum thermis.⁵⁶ Once more the thermae seem to be considered the more luxurious.

The two types do not seem to have been mutually exclusive. There are several instances where the same building is referred to by both designations. Martial and Statius speak of the baths of Claudius Etruscus as thermulae and balneum respectively.⁵⁷ The baths of Sura were also called by both titles.⁵⁸ And three of the imperial thermae are called balnea by Sidonius.⁵⁹ The probable relationship is this, that thermae were a special improved variety of bath which could be included under the generic term balneum.

To return to the question of how the thermae differed from the other kinds of bath we find in other epigrams of Martial clues to what might have been the essential difference. In one poem he pokes fun at the little man who emulates his powerful friend by somewhat ridiculous imitation on a reduced scale of the latter's achievements. When the wealthy man built thermae the other countered with a cucuma, literally,

56. IX, 75.

57. Martial, VI, 42; Statius, I, 5.

58. See above note 38.

59. See above p. 72.

a cooking pot.⁶⁰ It would seem from this that thermae were exceedingly hot.

This assumption receives further support from the pages of the same author. In a negative way it is confirmed by a joke at the expense of the owner of thermae who wished a place to keep his fish in the summer. Martial suggests the baths.⁶¹ The joke would have little point if heat were not a special characteristic of such baths. Again, in suggesting the proper hour for bathing, the poet says, "The eighth hour cools down the thermae; the hour before gives off too much steam, and the sixth is hot with the immoderate heat of Nero."⁶² The thermae were excessively hot, as it seems, and those of Nero notoriously so, a fact which is confirmed elsewhere.⁶³ But it is of these baths that Martial makes the famous remark, "What is there worse than Nero? What better than Nero's thermae?"⁶⁴

60. X, 79, 3-4

Torquatus nitidas vario de marmore thermas
extruxit; cucumam fecit Otacilius.

61. II, 78:

Aestivo serves ubi piscem tempore, quaeris?
In thermis serva, Caeciliane, tuis.

62. X, 48, 3-4:

Temperat haec thermas, nimios prior hora vapores
halat, et immodico sexta Nerone calet.

63. III, 25:

Si temperari balneum cupis fervens
Faustine, quod vix Iulianus intraret,
Roga, lavetur, rhetorem Sabineium,
Neronianas is refrigerat thermas.

64. VII, 34, 4-5:

Quid Nerone peius?
Quid thermis melius Neronianis?
Cf. II, 48, Statius, Silv., I, 5 (See below p.85).

Is it a coincidence that the hottest baths in Rome were also considered the best baths in Rome?

Further support for this view that the difference between balneum and thermae was in relative heat is to be found in late etymologies. Isidore and an anonymous glossarist agree in explaining thermae as named for heat, calor, "For", says Isidore, "the Greeks call heat θερμόν."⁶⁵ As a piece of etymologizing this is satisfactory up to a point but it fails to explain one important problem, that is why this particular Greek word should be chosen, and in this particular form.

Actually an explanation is not difficult to find, although it seems to have been neglected by previous writers on this subject. The word could easily have been derived from a popular name for natural hot baths which in Greek were called τὰ θερμά (λουτρά s. ὕδατα)⁶⁶ or αἱ θερμαί (πηγαί),⁶⁷ in pure

65. Isidorus, Orig., XV, 2, 39: Thermas appellatas quod caleant Graeci enim θερμόν calorem vocant. Glossae Werthenses (Corp. Gloss., I, p. 164; VII, p. 348): Thermas pro calore quod calor /// /// /// mas dicitur.

66. E.g. Strabo V, 3, 6: θερμά λουτρά (Aquae Sinuessanae). See below note 75; IX, 4, 2: τὰ θερμά τὰ Ἡρακλέους; cf. Aristoph., Nub., 1051:
 Πού ψυχρά δὴ τα πώποτ' εἶδες Ἡρακλεῖα λουτρά;
 From the scholiast we learn that Heracles was regularly associated with natural hot baths.
 For θερμά ὕδατα cf. Strabo, V, 2, 9: πολλή δὲ καὶ τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἀφθονία κατὰ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, ἃ εὐκλειέσθαι εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης οὐχ ἥττον εὐανδρεῖ τῶν ἐν βαίᾳ ἃ διωνόμασται πολὺ πάντων μάλιστα.

67. Xenophon, H.G., IV, 5, 3.

Latin aquae caldae,⁶⁸ but in Latinized Greek thermae. This meaning of thermae seems, in fact, to be the earliest of which we have actual record. Although Pliny the Elder, and Martial speak of the Thermae Agrippae, the earliest of the great thermae, no previous writer mentions them, and the first actual record of thermae meaning artificial bath is found in the works of the elder Seneca, who mentions one built by Domitius Ahenobarbus.⁶⁹ However, we have an earlier use of the word in an inscription from Spain, if we follow the editor in dating it to the period of Caesar or Augustus. This contains mention of thermae, the modern Baños de Archena which have hot sulphur springs of a temperature of 125° fahr.⁷⁰

Another reference to natural hot baths by name of thermae is to the sea baths of Licinius Crassus Frugi, Consul A.D. 64, which seem to have been at the edge of the Bay of Naples close to Pompeii. The inscription is as follows: Thermae/ M. Crassius Frugi/ aqua marina, et baln. / aqua dulci. Ianuarius 1.⁷¹

68. E.g. Varro, De L.L., IX, 69: Sic aquae calidae ab loco et aqua, quae ibi scateret, cum ut celerentur venissent in nostris, cum aliae ad alium morbum idoneae essent, eas cum plures essent, ut Puteolis et in Tuscis quibus utebantur, multitudinis potius quam singulari vocabulo appellarunt; Corp. Gloss. III, p. 306, 20: $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha$ aquae calidae.

69. Contr., IX, 4, 18.

70. CIL, II, 3542: L. Turcilius P.f./Rufus/[thermas [f] ec. The editor's reasons for dating this inscription are a trifle obscure since he does not seem to have examined it and considers the reading which he has received (thermas hec) mistaken. The information on the present condition of the baths is derived from H. Baedeker, Spain and Portugal⁴ (Leipzig, 1913), p. 315.

71. CIL, X, 1063 (= Dessau 5724).

These natural hot baths are mentioned by the elder Pliny who, in a general discussion of warm baths (aquae calidae), says, "Those which belonged to Licinius Crassus actually steam in the sea and in the midst of the waves there emerges something of benefit to health."⁷² This enterprise, under the management of the freedman Januarius apparently contained both a natural hot bath and a regular bathing establishment.

We have therefore an application of the word thermae which preceded its use in connection with artificial hot baths, since it had the meaning "natural hot baths," in Greek, and this is the earliest significance of which we have evidence in Latin. That it should be transferred to artificial baths is not surprising.

It is well known that hot springs were widely exploited by the Romans; of these the most famous were at Baiae, but other resorts were to be found throughout the empire.⁷³ Moreover the analogy between these baths and their own artificial ones was something kept constantly in mind by the Romans. Seneca, comparing the luxurious baths of his contemporaries with the healthy primitiveness of early Romans, says, "Water did not gush up nor did it flow ever fresh as if from a hot spring."⁷⁴ Again, when Martial and Statius wished to

72. N.H., XXXI, 5: Vaporant et in mari ipso quae Licinii Crassi fuere mediosque inter fluctus existit aliquid valetudini salutare.

73. See PW, s.v. Aquae, to which add Suppl. III, coll. 136-137; s.v. Aqua, Aquae, to which add Suppl. III, col. 137; VII, col. 45.

74. Ep., LXXXVI, 9: See above Ch. I, note 66.

praise the baths of Etruscus, it was to the hot springs that they turned for flattering comparison. Martial's words are, "If you do not bathe in the little thermae of Etruscus, you will die unbathed, Oppianus. No waters will please your fancy so, not the springs of Aponus untouched by maidens, not mild Sinuessa and the seething waters of Passer or haughty Anxur; not the waters of Phoebus or Baiae, leader of them all."⁷⁵ Statius is somewhat more restrained, "not even if a man were to come fresh as a guest from Baiae would he look down on such adornments."⁷⁶ The same motif recurs in later poetry.⁷⁷ The name thermae was therefore a natural one to attach to baths which were too good to merit the prosaic designation balneum.

75. Martial, VI, 42, 1-6:

Etrusci nisi thermulis lavaris,
inlotus morieris, Oppiane.
nullae sic tibi blandientur undae
non fontes Aponi rudes puellis,
non mollis Sinuessa fervidique
fluctus Passeris aut superbus Anxur,
non Phoebi vada principesque Baiae.

Aponus, near Patavium, a famous spring whose exact site is now unknown, is described by Cassiodorus (Var., II, 39); cf. PW, s.v. Aponus. Aquae Sinuessanae, now known as Terme di S. Rocco at Mondragone were also well known hot springs; cf. PW, s.v. Aqua, Aquae, 87, Aquae Sinuessanae. The Aquae Passeris or Passerianae (CIL, XI, 3003) were in Etruria, as were the Phoebi vada, if they are to be identified with the Aquae Apollinares; cf. PW, loc. cit., 66, Aquae Passeris; 13, Aquae Apollinares. The hot springs at Anxur (Tarracina) are less well known, but are mentioned by Martial again in V, 1, 6; cf. PW, s.v. Tarracina.

76. Silvae, I, 5, 60-61:

Nec si Baianis veniat novus hospes ab oris
talia despiciet,

77. Anth. Lat., 36; 120; Ausonius, Mosella, 345-348.

As regards the specific points of resemblance between the natural and artificial thermae dogmatism would be rash but a few suggestions may be in order.

Natural baths, apart from such unusual phenomena as the mineral baths of Licinius Crassus,⁷⁸ were of two varieties, natural vapour-baths (sudatio, ἀφιδρωτήριον) and mineral water baths. The vapour baths at Baiae and in its neighbourhood were partly excavated, partly built on the slope of the hill⁷⁹ above the coast, where remains are still to be found. The thermal baths at Baiae of which there are considerable remains, despite recent investigation, still have not been sufficiently elucidated for use as evidence.⁸⁰ However, a comparison of various other thermal baths whose plans have

78. See above p. 78.

79. Vitruvius, II, 6, 2: Ardores autem esse in^h locis etiam haec res potest indicare, quod in montibus Cumanorum Baianis sunt loca sudationibus excavata, in quibus vapor ferrius ab imo nascentes ignis vehementia perforat eam terram per eamque manando in his locis oritur et ita sudationum egregias eritit utilitates. Celsus, II, 17, 1; Siccus calor est ... quarundam naturalium sudationum ubi terra profusus calidus vapor aedificio includitur, sicut super Baiae in murtetis habemus. Cf. III, 21, 6.

On the remains of these baths see I, Sgobbo, "Terme flegree ed origine delle Terme romane", Atti I CStR, Vol. I (1929), pp. 186-194.

On the use of natural sweating baths or ἀφιδρωτήρια see Herodotus Medicus, ap. Oribasium, X, 40.

80. For these baths see Sgobbo, "I nuclei monumentali delle terme romane di Baia per la prima volta riconosciuti", Atti III CStR, Vol. I (1935), pp. 294-309; Maiuri, I Campi Flegrei (Rome, 1934).

have been published reveals at least one common characteristic, namely that the most prominent feature was, in each case, a number of piscinae or pools filled with mineral water.⁸¹

In connection with the first type, the natural vapour-bath we should note that Dio States that Agrippa called his thermae a Laconic sweatbath.⁸² a name which, whatever else the connotation, must indicate an extremely hot atmosphere within the bath and suggests that it resembled natural baths in this respect.

There is another remark in Dio which at first will seem quite unrelated, but whose pertinancy will become more plausible when it is considered in connection with other evidence. According to him the first Roman to have a Κολυμβήθρα of hot water constructed was Maecenas, Augustus' minister.⁸³ This Κολυμβήθρα or piscina need not have had the proportions which the usual translation, "swimming pool," brings to the mind. By Galen the word is used with σεξαμένη in his writings a

81. E.g. Aquae Flavianae (Algeria), KK, pp. 233-235; Aquae Sulis (Bath, England), KK, p. 247, Badenweiler (Germany) KK, p. 238. See also Cagnat and Chapot, Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine, Vol. I, pp. 225-226.

82. See above pp. 57 and 66.

83. LV, 7, 6: πρωτός τε (sc. Maecenas) Κολυμβήθραν θερμῆς ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε

synonym, as the regular term for bath-basin.⁸⁴ In the case we are discussing, the contrast is clearly with *alveus*, the old form of bath-basin described by Vitruvius. This, according to his prescription, should be six feet broad from the wall to the front edge, with two of the six feet taken up by a step at the front and a pulvinar or sloping back.⁸⁵ Those in the Stabian baths at Pompeii were about two feet (0.62 m.) deep.⁸⁶ The length varied with the number of people served. Maecenas' bath would be by contrast a pool in which the bather or bathers could move around.

Such *piscinae* of hot water became popular during the early principate. Pliny the younger tells of one in the baths of his Laurentian villa from which the bathers could see the sea.⁸⁷

84. *De Mixt.*, II (I, 595, Kuehn): αἱ δ' αὐταὶ τρεῖς καταστάσεις ἐν τῇ τῆς κολυμβήθρας ὕδατι φαίνονται, καὶ γὰρ θερμόν οὕτως, ὥς καλεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ψυχρόν, ὥς μὴδε θερμαίνεσθαι, καὶ εὐκρατον, ὥς συμμετρῶς θερμαίνεσθαι, πολλάκις εὐρίσκεται ... καὶ μὴν εἰ νοήσῃς τὸ τῆς δεξαμενῆς ὕδωρ εἰς ἄκρον θερμότητος ἀφικνούμενον....
Here δεξαμενὴ is clearly the same as κολυμβήθρα above.

For uses of κολυμβήθρα see Galen, *De Sanit. Tuend.*, I, 5, 41 (VI, 24K); III, 4, 11 (VI, 185K) III, 10, 9 (VI, 220K).

For δεξαμενὴ see Galen, *op. cit.*, III, 7, 13 (VI, 202K); *De Meth. Med.*, X, 10 (X, 717; 722; 724K).

85. V, 10, 4: Alvei autem latitudo inter parietem et pluteum ne minus sit pedes senos ut gradus inferior inde auferat et pulvinus duos pedes. Cf. *Rhet. Her.*, IV, 10, 4: in alveum descenderet; Cicero, *Pro Cacl.*, 67; Festus, p. 298M, Alvei quoque lavandi gratia instituti quo singuli descendunt solia dicuntur.

86. Mau, *Pompeii*², p. 198.

87. *Ep.*, II, 17, 11: Cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes mare adspiciunt.

The emperor Nero made frequent use of such baths to maintain his appetite for extended banquets.⁸⁸ The philosopher Seneca also mentions bathing pools of hot water (calentia stagna). "What have I to do with your hot pools?" he asks,⁸⁹

In none of the above passages has there been any demonstrated connection with thermae. In fact Pliny's calida piscina was in the balineum of his villa. However, a remark by Seneca in a later letter definitely connects thermae with calentia stagna. As an example of life contrary to nature he cites the case of those who "lay the foundations of their thermae in the sea and do not think that they are swimming in luxury unless their hot pools are lashed by storm and waves."⁹⁰ And to make plausible the conjecture that these pools were part of the thermae we may recall the poem of Martial mentioned above,⁹¹ where the poor man, aping his wealthy friend, countered with a cucuma when the other built thermae. If these thermae contained a pool of hot water, the imitation would possess an appropriateness which it otherwise does not seem to have.

88. Suet., Nero, 76; Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahabat, refotus saepius calidis piscinis.

89. Ep., LI, 5: Quid mihi cum istis calentibus stagnis? Cf. Tacitus, Ann., XV, 64: Postremo stagnum calidae aquae introiit.

90. Ep., CXXII, 8: Non vivunt contra naturam qui fundamenta thermarum in mari iaciunt et delicate natare ipsi sibi (non) videntur, nisi calentia stagna fluctibus tempestate feriantur?

91. See above p. 75.

The same argument applies to the advice given in another poem of the same author that the man who wished a piscina for his fish in the summer should put them in his thermae.⁹²

The suggestion I wish to make is that the thermae to which Martial, Seneca and Suetonius refer, which cannot be identified with the large public baths, were distinguished from ordinary balnea not merely by a fact that they were hotter than ordinary baths, but specifically because they contained pools of hot water, constantly replenished, in contrast with the smaller bath-basins in which the bather reclined and washed himself, I should consider this an imitation of the natural baths such as were found at Baiae and give the credit for their introduction to Rome to Maecenas.

I should further suggest that these two points, the extravagant use of heat in general and the lavish use of hot water in particular, were originally essential distinguishing features of the large public thermae at Rome which were further characterized by immense proportions, complexity of plan, arrangements for physical and social recreation, and lavish decoration. Whether this continued to be the criterion by which such buildings were designated I hesitate to say. Evidence can be cited to show that this is possible. The baths of Caracalla, which are normally used in any discussion of the thermae, contain a large circular caldarium with seven sizeable piscinae jutting

92. See above p. 75.

out from the edge of the circle. The other Roman thermae seem to have been equipped in an analogous fashion. In the baths of Nero, if Krencker's interpretation is correct, the caldarium contained two rectangular piscinae on either side as one entered and at the back a large round pool.⁹³ This bath is used by Statius for comparison with the baths of Etruscus, "Nor would one who has just now washed in the Neronian wave, refuse to sweat here once more."⁹⁴ The provincial baths which have the name thermae or seem on grounds of similarity to warrant such a designation also have hot water containers larger than the alvei as defined above.⁹⁵ and also normally a series of three intermediate rooms leading up to the caldarium, an indication that it was very hot.⁹⁶

Thus it is possible that the same distinguishing features continued to be the criteria; but it is more likely that with the passage of time the name thermae came to signify the general type of large publicly operated hot bath, rather than any specific element of such a bath.

93. KK, pp. 263-265

94. Silvae, I, 5, 62-63:
Neronea nec qui modo lotus in unda
hic iterum sudare neget.

95. See above p. 82

96. See KK, pp. 178-182. African baths, which are called thermae in inscriptions, are Thukurbo Maius (Henchir-Kasbat), Thermae Aestivales and Thermae Hiemales, BACTH, 1920, pp. 55-75; Timgad, large South Thermae, KK, 228-231; Madaurus (Mdaurouch), KK, pp. 220-223.

CHAPTER III

MIXED BATHING IN PUBLIC BATHS

A. INTRODUCTION

Among the acts of several of the "good" Emperors is recorded the prohibition of mixed bathing. To Hadrian¹, Marcus Aurelius,¹ Alexander Severus² are such interdicts attributed, while centuries later Justinian added mixed bathing libidinis causa to the grounds for divorce already existing.³

This record of repeated legislation must have some cause. Unless mixed bathing were persisted in to an extent and in a manner considered detrimental to the best interests of society, it would have been unnecessary for the emperors mentioned to attempt to abolish it. If this practice were indulged in so extensively it is natural to expect to find references to it scattered through the literature of the empire. In this we shall not be disappointed. First, however, we should look briefly at the arrangements adopted by the earlier Romans for the segregation of the sexes.

1. See below p. 98.

2. See below p. 105

3. Cod. Just., V, 17, 11, 2: Inter culpas autem uxoris constitutionibus enumeratas et has addimus, si forte uxor... ita luxuriosa est ut commune lavacrum viris libidinis causa habere audeat ...; cf. Nov., XXII, 16, 1: vel tanta libido est ut etiam cum viris voluptatis occasione lavetur etc.

B. ARRANGEMENTS FOR SEGREGATION OF SEXES

The Romans, at least in earlier times, were a modest people⁴ and it would be surprising if there were no evidence of efforts to provide separate bathing facilities for men and women. The normal arrangement directed to this end seems to have been a building with two separate sets of rooms, having the furnace room in the center, with the rooms which needed the most heat on either side of it. It is a bath of this type which is described by Vitruvius⁵ and which is mentioned by Varro.⁶ For actual examples of such baths we may turn to Stabian⁷ and Forum⁸ baths at Pompeii.

Although such a two-fold division in bathing establishments implies segregation of sexes, it is not at all necessary to assume that baths which contain a single series of rooms are evidence for mixed bathing. At least two alternatives were possible. In small communities separate hours could be

4. See Chapter I, note 3.

5. Vitruvius, V, 10.

6. Varro, De L. L., IX, 68. See Ch. I, pp. 6-7; cf. Charisius, GLK, I, 99, 3.

7. See Ch. I, pp. 28-31.

8. Mau, Pompeii², pp. 206-211.

assigned to men and women, as was done in the bath-house of the mining town of Vipasca in Lusitania, where the morning hours were reserved for women and the afternoon for men.⁹

In larger centers a similar division of operating hours might be adopted in the individual baths,¹⁰ or specific baths could be reserved for the use of women, as seems to have been the case with the Thermae Traiani during the reign of their founder.¹¹

C. MIXED BATHING

1. Introductory Remarks

Such were the methods by which the mingling of men and women was avoided by the Romans. However the practice of mixed bathing did spring up among them, first, it would seem, under the empire, and grew until it was, though probably never universal, surprisingly widespread. Plutarch makes a comment on the habit, contrasting it with the simplicity of Cato the

9. CIL., II, 5181 (=Dessau, 6891; Bruns, pp. 280-293), 19-21: Conductor balinei sociusve eius omnia sua inpena balineum, [quod ita conductum habe]bit in/
(20) pr. K. Iul. primas omnibus diebus calfacere et prae-
stare debeto a prima luce in horam septim[am] diei mulieribus
et ab hora octava/
(21) in horam secundam noctis viris...
10. Such an arrangement under Hadrian is claimed by Carcopino (Daily Life in Ancient Rome, pp. 257-259) on the basis of his legislation against mixed bathing; see p. 98.
11. Chronogr. an. 354 (Mon. Germ. A. A. Vol. IX), p. 146: hoc imper[ator] (sc. Traiano) mulieres in thermis Traianis laverunt. See below p. 94.

Elder's day, saying that the Romans first acquired from the Greeks the custom of stripping, but having done so, in their turn infected the latter with the practice of undressing in the presence of women.¹²

Our concern here is mixed bathing in public baths of a type which may be regarded as reflecting to some degree the social standards of the periods involved. For that reason passages telling of incidents which reflect merely the personal dissoluteness of the individuals involved and are located either in private baths or, possibly, in the more disreputable public establishments are excluded from the main narrative unless the evidence contained has an indirect bearing on the general question. The reason for announcing this procedure is the too prevalent habit of antiquarians to lump together all the evidence without any noticeable attempt to sift and sort it. The result as regards the subject of mixed bathing is usually a long list of references, not all of which support or are pertinent to the conclusion to which

12. Plutarch, Cato Maior, 20, 8: εἴτα μέντοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι μαθόντες, αὐτοὶ πάλιν τοῦ καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν τοῦτο πράσσειν ἀναπεπλήκασιν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. For the context see Ch. I, note 3.

they are attached.¹³

Thus, when the elder Pliny speaks of baths where women bathed with men, as places so covered with silver that they left no place to step,¹⁴ he seems to be referring to the excessive luxury of private baths. A rather striking parallel is to be found in the Paedagogus of Clement of Alexandria who wrote at the beginning of the third century. In eloquent language he describes the morals of certain women of his day whose baths in the insensate use of gold and silver are reminiscent of those more succinctly described by Pliny.¹⁵ The women themselves he accuses of using their wealth to dazzle and seduce men who have no standards of taste. He continues, "Now in the presence of their husbands they would not undress, summoning a plausible pretext of modesty, but

13. The most recent example is in Carcopino's Daily Life in Ancient Rome. In a note (Ch. IX, note 61) he gives as references to support his contention that women bathed in the thermae, Pliny, N.H., XXXIII, 153; Quintilian, V, 9, 14; Martial, III, 51 and 72; VII, 35; XI, 47; Juvenal, 6, 419. To the last of these references the American editor, Rowell, adds the caution that it may concern a private bath. But the onus of proof rests with the author to show that any of these passages has any relation whatever to the thermae. In fact the passage from Pliny probably (See p. 90), and the first two cited from Martial possibly (See p. 91) refer to private baths, not to public establishments. See also p. 94 (Quintilian, loc. cit.) p. 97 (Martial, loc. cit.).

14. Pliny, N.H., XXXIII, 153: Videret haec Fabricius et stratas argento mulierum balineas ita ut vestigio locus non sit, cum viris lavantium.

15. Clem. Alex., Paed., III, V, 31, 1-3.

of the rest, whoever wishes may gaze upon them shut up at home naked in their baths."¹⁶

The same type of behaviour is indicated by two poems of Martial published a decade later and addressed to two women of the meretrix class who were unwilling to bathe with him although at least one of them was quite willing for more intimate relationship.¹⁷

2. To the End of the First Century After Christ

If the above examples are instances of behaviour typical only of the more dissolute members of Roman society who numerically formed an insignificant minority, the practice on the part of women of bathing in public baths in the presence of large numbers of men which is attested by Martial and later writers, particularly Christians, is of much greater significance. Such behaviour was apparently unknown in Ovid's day and, if the silence of the moralists like Seneca be sound evidence,

16. Ibid., 32, 1: καὶ δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι τοῖς σφῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποδύσαιτο προσκοίτητον αἰσχύνῃς ἀξιοπιστίαν μνῶμεναι, ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς βοηλομένοις τῶν ἄλλων τὰς οἰκοὶ κατακλείστους γυμνάς ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις θεᾶσθαι.

17. Martial, III, 51:

Cum faciem laudo, cum miror crura manusque,
Dicere, Galla, soles, "Nuda placebo magis,"
Et semper vitas communia balnea nobis
Numquid, Galla, times ne tibi non placeam.

III, 72, 1:

Vis futui nec vis mecum, Saufeia, lavari.

According to the dating of Friedlaender (Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms⁹⁻¹⁰ [Leipzig, 1919-1921], Vol. IV, pp. 290-296) the third book of the epigrams was published A.D. 87-88. Cf. Quintilian, V, 9, 14, discussed p. 94.

need not have come into vogue much before the last decade of the first century when the pertinent poems of Martial were published.

There is a passage in Ovid's manual of seduction, the Ars Amatoria, which is evidence against the prevalence of any kind of mixed bathing at the time when he wrote. In listing places where a girl can evade her male chaperon and meet her lover in secret, he remarks that many baths offer concealment to lovers while the escort guards the clothes.¹⁸ The poet obviously considers bathing establishments to be, like the temple of the Bona Diva mentioned just before, in the same passage, places where persons of the opposite sex could not enter without connivance on the part of the persons in charge. Thus the passage, if we are to consider the stratagem suggested in the least plausible, is evidence that the practice of mixed bathing was not prevalent at that time.

It is clear, however, that at the time of Martial women did bathe with nude men in public places. To the woman who makes her slave cover his nakedness Martial puts the question "Why then do you bathe with the populace? Are we all eunuchs in your eyes?"¹⁹ To another woman guilty of the same inconsis-

18. Ovid, Ars Amat., III, 639-640: (quid faciat custos [633])
cum, custode foris tunicas servante puellae,
caerent furtivos balnea multa locos?

19. XI, 75, 5-6. The epigram is as follows:
Theca tectus aeneas lavatur
Tecum, Caelia, servus; ut quid, oro,
Non sit cum citharoedus aut choraules?
Non vis, ut puto, mentulam videre.
Quare cum populo lavaris ergo?
Omnes an tibi nos sumus spadones?
Ergo, ne videaris invidere,
Servo, Caelia, fibulam remitte.

teney he points out that nude men, both young and old, bathe with her.²⁰ Elsewhere he comments on the fact that a man, Lattara by name, avoids all the baths preferred by throngs of women.²¹ From this we may conclude that there were public baths used by men which women frequented in numbers.

Whether these public baths included the thermae is another question. Despite the fact that these huge edifices were planned on a central axis without allowance for segregation of the sexes, it is, as has been pointed out,²² unnecessary to assume that men and women mingled there. That the thermae in general were essentially masculine seems to follow from an epigram in the third book, where before the last third of the *book* (Epig. III, 69ff.) Martial inserts a "Men Only" notice advising the ladies to withdraw, because, he says, "On this side are gymnasium, thermae and stadium."²³ The statement referred to

20. VII, 35:

Inguina succinctus nigra tibi servos aluta
Stat, quotiens calidis tota foveris aquis.
Sed meus, ut de me taceam, Laecania, servos
Iudaeum nuda sub cute pondus habet,
Sed nudi tecum iuvenesque senesque lavantur.
An sola est servi mentula vera tui?
Ecquid femineos sequeris, matrona, recessus,
Secretusque tua, cunne, lavaris aqua?

21. XI, 47, 1-2:

Omnia femineis quare dilecta catervis
Balnea devitat Lattara? Ne futuat.

22. See above p.88.

23. Martial, III, 68, 1-4:

Huc est usque tibi scriptus, matrona, libellus.
Cui sint scripta, rogas, interiora? Mihi.
Gymnasium, thermae, stadium est hac parte: recede.
Exuimur: nudos parce videre viros.

It must be admitted, however, that this does not prove them exclusively masculine, since at the end of the poem the author admits that he will have succeeded, not in frightening away his feminine reader, but in whetting her interest. See *ibid.*, 11-12:

Sed bene te novi, longum iam lassam libellum
Ponebas, totum nunc studiosa leges.

above,²⁴ that women bathed in Trajan's thermae during his reign, though ambiguous, is to be taken as meaning that these baths were reserved for their use. At least this is the conclusion which seems most in accord with general probability, since it is more natural that mixed bathing should be concentrated in small privately-owned baths rather than the large, publicly-owned edifices.

For the extent of the practice of mixed ^{bathing} an important piece of evidence is the statement of a contemporary writer, Quintilian, which indicates that to bathe with men did not enhance a woman's reputation. In a discussion of the strength and weakness of inferences from circumstantial evidence (signa) Quintilian refers to the known fact that a woman had bathed with men in such a way as to suggest that it had been or might reasonably be considered an indication of adultery.²⁵ ~~The evidence of~~

24. See above note 11.

25. Quintilian, V, 9, 14. He is pointing out that it is possible to be carried too far in the use of subjective inferences from a given fact.

Eorum autem, quae signa sunt quidem, sed non necessaria, genus Hermagoras putat, non esse virginem Atlantem, quia cum iuvenibus per silvas vagetur. Quod si receperimus, vereor ne omnia quae ex facto ducuntur signa faciamus. Eadem tamen ratione qua signa tractantur (V, 9, 12)... Sed vereor, ne longe nimium nos ducat haec via. Nam si est signum adulterae lavari cum viris, erit et convivere cum adolescentibus, deinde etiam familiariter aliquis amicitia (14).

In this series the first seems to be inserted as a plausible inference, the others as extensions of the same type of reasoning which are far from constituting any type of proof although the behaviour mentioned might accompany adultery. It seems not improbable that mixed bathing had actually been used as evidence of adultery on some occasion within Quintilian's memory.

Quintilian carries considerable weight since it clearly shows that a prevalent view was that for a woman to bathe with men was too intimate an association not to place her under suspicion of less innocent relations. As it happens, this evidence of doubtful morality is not specifically supported in those poems of Martial which refer to mixed bathing openly practiced.²⁶ However, the obscene nature of these poems, and the sarcastic manner in which he addresses one woman who was accustomed to bathe with men as "Matron"²⁷ makes it probable that the poet is speaking of the activities of a fast set. But lest this give the impression that we are dealing with an insignificant minority, we should recall that Martial speaks of baths preferred by throngs of women.²⁸ And the fact that in A.D. 119 Hadrian thought it necessary to compel men and women to bathe separately²⁹ indicates that at that time the practice of mixed bathing had attained sizeable proportions.

That there were naked men in these baths has already been stated,³⁰ but the costume of the women is less certain. That a type of bathing garment was sometimes used is clear from a reference made in one poem of Martial to a girl bathing

26. See above pp. 92-93.

27. VII, 35, 7. See below p. 98.

28. XI, 47, 1-2. See above pp. 93.

29. See below p. 98.

30. See above p. 92. Cf. Plutarch, Cato Major, 20, 8. See above p. 89

with part of her body covered by a garment known as a subligar,³¹ a garment which may also be referred to by Tacitus when he tells of the suicide of Lucius Vetus, his daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, who, he says, were carried into a bath singulis vestibus ad verecundiam velati.³²

The nature of the subligar or subligaculum is discussed by Miss Wilson who considers it to be a very tight-fitting garment, normally an undergarment, and thinks that a representation is to be found in a wall-painting in the large fullery on Strada di Mercurio in Pompeii, which she reproduces.³³ There is an ancient definition of subligaculum by Nonius who states that it covered the lower parts of the body and quotes Cicero to the effect that actors did not appear on the stage without it.³⁴ We may assume that this garment, though possibly

31. Martial, III, 87, 2-4:

Tecta non hac, qua debes, parte lavaris:
Si pudor est, transfer subligar in faciem.

32. Tacitus, Ann., XVI, 11.

33. L. M. Wilson, The Clothing of the Ancient Romans (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 72-73; fig. 18.

34. Nonius, p. 29 M: Subligaculum est quo pudendae partes corporis teguntur: dictum quod subtus ligetur. M. Tullius de Officiis lib. I (129): scenicorum quidem mos tantam habet vetere disciplina verecundiam, ut in scenam sine subligaculo prodeat nemo. Other references to subligar are to be found in Juvenal, VI, 70 (worn by actor); Pliny, N.H., XII, 59 (worn by workmen refining incense); Corp. Gloss., V, 48, 28: subligar inguinar(i)um, bu[m] bonaria. Cf. ibid., II, 190, 41: Subligaculum δια θυσοῦρα; 42: περιθυσοῦρα.

two sarcastic questions, whether she frequented the women's recesses and whether in a place apart she washed herself completely in water reserved for herself.³⁷ The point of these questions seems to be that she did neither.

In view of the fact that there is evidence that women did bathe in the nude in mixed baths at a later time³⁸ it is not impossible that this passage shows that the wearing of bathing clothes was not universal in Martial's time either.

We know, therefore, that by the end of the first century of our era mixed bathing took place in public baths, but not, it would seem, among the better class of people or in the better type of establishment. The men, for the most part, were unclothed; the women sometimes wore a bathing costume known as a subligar, but its use may not have been universal.

3. The Second Century

Baths frequented by both men and women continued to function during the first two decades of the next century until in A.D. 119, the emperor Hadrian took measures to insure that men and women should bathe separately.³⁹ The effect of his action was not permanent, since Marcus Aurelius had again to remove the mixed baths which had sprung up.⁴⁰ The fact that

37. ibid., 7-8:

Ecquid femineos sequeris, matrona, recessus,
Secretusque tua, cunne, lavis aqua?

38. See below pp. 99-106.

39. Cassius Dio, LXIX, 8: *Kai γὰρ {Kai} λουσθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς (sc. ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναῖξι) προσέταξεν.*

Spartianus, Hadr., XVII, 10: Lavacra pro sexibus separavit.

40. Capitolinus, Marc. Ant., XXIII, 8: Lavacra mixta summovit.

of different construction served the same purpose as modern bathing trunks .³⁵

However, despite this evidence that bathing garments were worn by women it is by no means proved that they were universally used even in Martial's time. In one of the poems mentioned above in which Martial discusses the consistency of a certain woman who bathed with naked men, there are several lines which deserve comment in this connection. Martial speaks first of her slave standing by whenever she bathed "completely" in warm water, using the expression: quotiens calidis tota foveris aquis.³⁶ The probable meaning of this is complete immersion in hot water, so that her costume is not in question. After some comments on the meaning of the fact that her slave was the only man present with any type of covering, he asks her

35. The Greek equivalent was called, according to Pollux, ψαλουτρία. See Pollux, VII, 66: τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῖς αἰδοῖσι, οὐ μόνον γυναικῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅποτε σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶ λουοῖντο, ψαν λουτρίδα ἔθηκε Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Παισί (I, 743, 37 Koch) καλεῖν, εἰπὼν· τὴν δὴ περιζωσάμενος ψαν λουτρίδα κατὰδεσμον ἤβης περιπέταστον.

Cf. id., X, 181, where the same lines from Theopompus and another from Pherecydes (I, 169, 62 K:

ἤδη μὲν ψαν λουμένῳ προζώνονται

are quoted to support a similar observation, and Van Esveld, De Balneis Lavationibusque Graecis, p. 211, who discounts the value of these passages, on the ground that Pollux had only the two passages he quotes on which to base his conclusions.

A vase painting of a woman bathing, wearing a thin short tunic-like garment, is to be found in Herschel, The Water Supply of the City of Rome, p. 266 (Lenormant, Elite des Monuments ceramographiques [Paris, 1844-61], Vol. IV, Pl. XXII).

36. VII, 35, 2. See above p. 93.

these attempts at legislation were apparently only semi-successful, as the necessity of repetition indicates, is probably evidence that public opinion was quite tolerant of the idea of women bathing in public places with men. This view is supported by a piece of evidence from a Christian source which is not connected with public baths but does concern women bathing in public places. The author, Hermas, met a woman whose character he esteemed highly, as she was bathing in the Tiber, so attired that, although he was seized by no unworthy desires, he dreamed later that she was accusing him of such thoughts.⁴¹ In the account of the meeting the noble character of the lady is emphasized and the incident is treated as not out of the ordinary.

4. The Third Century

The most interesting Christian evidence comes from the end of the second century and the course of the next. This evidence, which is not from Rome itself, shows that in certain parts of the empire mixed bathing had become so prevalent and so commonplace that it was difficult and at times impossible for the Christian to avoid contact with nude women in baths.⁴²

41. Hermas, *Vis.*, I, 1. This was probably written before the middle of the century. Pictures of nude women swimming are to be found in Mehl, *Antike Schwimmkunst*, Fig. 18 (Herculaneum), Plate VIII (El Alia).

42. For the attitude of the early Christians towards baths see Cabrol-LeClercq, *s.v. Bains*. At first tolerant, they later became opposed to baths to such a degree that physical cleanliness was actually condemned as denoting spiritual filthiness. The condemnation was because of the emphasis on the material rather than on grounds of immorality.

The earliest of these is a significant injunction by Clement of Alexandria regarding the conduct of the Christians: "At home one should reverence his parents and the servants, in the streets passers-by, in baths the women, in solitude himself and everywhere the Word."⁴³

Again, in the middle of the third century, Cyprian addressed an appeal to the maidens of Carthage in which he reasoned with them to avoid baths where men and women bathed together: "But what of those who frequent mixed baths and who sully before eyes devoted to lust bodies dedicated to modesty and chastity? Do not those who in the presence of men and naked, look upon men to their shame and are looked upon, of themselves present an inducement to vice? ... You may answer, 'It is for another to look to his motive in going there; my only interest is in the refreshing and cleansing of this little body.' That defense does not clear you ... You look upon no one immodestly, but you are looked at immodestly, you do not pollute your eyes with disgraceful enjoyment, but in providing that enjoyment for others you yourself are polluted. You make a public spectacle out of the bath ... There a sense of shame is stripped off; the honour and modesty of the body is taken off at the same time as the clothing; virginity is unveiled to be marked

43. Clem. Alex., III, V, 33, 3: οἴκοι μὲν οὖν τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τοὺς οἰκῆτας αἰδεῖσθαι χρή, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λουτροῖς τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἑαυτοὺς, πανταχοῦ δὲ τὸν λόγον.

out and dishonoured. And now, think whether when she is clothed such a woman is modest among men, who by the boldness of her nakedness has made progress towards in chastity."⁴⁴

A third Christian document, published somewhere in the eastern part of the empire during the third century, adds to our knowledge of the prevalence of mixed bathing. This document, known as the Didascalia, consists of a series of rules for the guidance of Christians,⁴⁵ and, among other things,

44. Cypr., De Hab. Virg., 19: Quid vero quae promiscuas balneas adeunt quaeque oculis ad libidinem curiosis pudori ac pudicitiae corpora dicata prostituunt? Quae cum viris adque viros nudae vident turpiter ac videntur, nonne ipsae inlecebram vitiis praestant? ... Viderit, inquis, qua illuc mente quis veniat, mihi tantum reficiendi corpusculi cura est et lavandi. Non te purgat ista defensio ... Impudice tu neminem conspicias, sed ipsa conspiceris impudice: oculos tuos turpi oblectatione non polluis, sed dum oblectas alios ipsa pollueris. Spectaculum de lavacro facis ... Verecundia illic omnis exiit, simul cum amictu vestis honor corporis ac pudor ponitur, denotanda et contrectanda virginitas revelatur. Iam nunc considera an cum vestita est verecunda sit inter viros talis quae ad inverecundiam profecit audacia nuditatis.

45. The Didascalia no longer exists in the original Greek. Our knowledge of the text is derived from a Latin version preserved in fragmentary form in a palimpsest, a Syriac version, and two interpolated versions in Ethiopian and Arabic. This document forms the basis of Books I-VI of the Constitutiones Apostolicae, a set of rules in Greek compiled probably in the fourth century and transmitted among the doubtful works of Clemens Romanus. See Cabrol-LeClercq, s.v. Constitutions apostoliques.

For the text of the Didascalia and the Constitutiones Apostolicae I use the edition of F.X. Funk (Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, Paderborn, 1905) who has published them on alternate pages, using for the Didascalia a Latin version based on the palimpsest, where possible, and a comparison of translations of the Syriac into various modern European languages. For the Syriac version itself I have consulted the English translation by Mrs. D. Gibson, Horae Semiticae, II, The Didascalia Apostolorum in English (London, 1903).

For further information on the Didascalia, see Cabrol-LeClercq, s.v. Didascalie.

contains instructions for the conduct of Christians in relation to baths. The men were to use the men's baths: 'After these things rise and go out into the market-place, and wash in the baths for men, and not in those for women, lest, when thou hast stripped and shewn the bareness⁴⁶ and nakedness of thy body thou wilt either be hunted for or thou wilt constrain a woman to fall and be hunted by thee!⁴⁷

The women were to avoid mixed bathing, but, and this is significant, if there were no women's baths, and the woman insisted on bathing with men, instructions were given as to her conduct. She must bathe with the proper decorum, briefly and at the tenth hour: "Refrain moreover from the bath where men bathe, because it is beyond what is necessary for a woman. For even if there be no bath for women in the city or in the district, the believing woman will not bathe in that bath where men bathe. For if you veil your face that you may not be seen by strange men, how is it that naked and with

46. (another) Gibson.

47. Didascalia I, 6, 13 (Gibson, op. cit., p. 6). Cf. Funk, op. cit., p. 16: Et iterum, cum in foro ambulas, balneis virilibus utere, ut non, cum ostendis corpus tuum revelatum in confusione, et tu in laqueo incidas et facile facias mulierem in te laqueari.
Cf. Const. Apostol., I, 6: περιπατῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ λούεσθαι βουλομένους χρῆσθαι βαλανείῳ ἀνδρείῳ, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὸ ἐπιδεικνύναι σε σῶμα ἐν ἀσχημῶι ἀποκαλύψει γυναῖξιν ἢ θεᾶσθαι θεᾶν οὐχ ἀρμοζούσαν ἀνδράσιν ἢ σὺ παγιδευθῆς ἢ παγιδεύῃς ἐπίσαντῃ.

strange men you enter the baths? 2. If moreover there is no women's bath which you may use and you have the unnatural desire to bathe with men, bathe with self-respect and modesty and moderation. 3. In such baths do not bathe frequently nor long, nor at noon, but, if possible, not even every day. 4. Let the hour of that unnecessary bath be the tenth. For you should, as a believing woman, by every means avoid the gaze of eyes and the encounters which take place in such a bath.⁴⁸

These instructions show clearly that there were places where it was impossible to avoid mixed baths and that Christians had to yield to their environment and permit women of their religion to bathe in such establishments.

48. Didasc. I, 9 (Funk, op.cit., pp. 26-28): Declina autem et balneum, ubi viri lavantur, quod superfluum est mulieri, nam etsi non fuerit in civitate vel in regione balneum mulierum, in eo balneo, ubi viri lavantur, mulier fidelis non lavetur. Si enim vultum tuum velas, ut ab alienis viris non videaris, quomodo nuda cum alienis viris in balneum ingrederis? 2. Si autem non est balneum muliebre, quo utaris, et vis contra naturam cum viris lavari, cum disciplina et cum reverentia, cum mensura lavare. 3. In talibus enim balneis non frequenter lavetur nec diu lavetur nec in meridie, sed, etsi potest fieri, nec per singulos dies. 4. Hora autem sit tibi superflui illius balnei decima; oportet enim te constitutam fidelem ab omni parte oculorum aspectum et conventionem, quae in tali balneo fit, fugere.

The Syriac version varies slightly. The most important variation is in the second part of the first sentence which Gibson (op. cit., p. 10), translates: "When there are baths for women in the city or in the district, a believing woman shall not wash in the baths with men."

The picture given by these Christian documents is of a society where three types of baths existed side by side, Men's baths, women's baths and mixed baths. These separate categories did not exist everywhere, and at times the only public baths available for women were mixed baths. Furthermore the evidence of Cyprian and of the Didascalia makes it appear that in these baths the women were nude. The tone of the excerpts quoted above would indicate that the ordinary person of the third century of our era saw nothing wrong with mixed bathing and that it cannot therefore be dismissed as a practice indulged in merely by men and women of low moral character. This does not mean of course that all was purity and innocence. The denunciations of the Church Fathers make this abundantly clear. And if evidence from another source be desired we have an anecdote by the biographer of Alexander Severus, who in describing the occasion of a harangue by that emperor to his troops says that the soldiers stationed in Antioch had begun to pass their spare time with lavacris muliebribus et deliciis.⁴⁹ Nevertheless it seems plain that for men and women to mingle in baths had become extremely common in various parts of the empire and that the people who did so were representatives of most classes.

This evidence for the existence of mixed baths during the third century is, in contrast with earlier evidence cited,

⁴⁹. Lampridius, Sev. Alex., LIII, 2.

concerned not with Rome, but with Africa and the eastern part of the empire. There seems no good reason to assume, however, that they were limited to those sections. In fact there is evidence which applies to the city of Rome itself, which proves that mixed bathing was indulged in during the least part of the third century. The biographer of Alexander Severus tells us that the emperor Elagabalus permitted bathing establishments to carry on mixed bathing, rescinding a former prohibition.⁵⁰ The emperor himself is said to have set a worthy example by never bathing except with women.⁵¹ Alexander Severus receives credit for closing down these baths.⁵² That this prohibition was permanent is highly doubtful. It was probably forgotten in the troubled years that followed his reign. One further piece of evidence for Rome at this time is found in an interdict of a different sort contained in an inscription, probably of the third century, where the god Silvanus, an anti-feminine deity,⁵³ is given as the authority

50. Ibid., XXIV, 2: Balnea mixta Romae exhiberi prohibuit, quod quidem iam ante prohibitum Heliogabalus fieri permiserat.

51. Id., Elagab., XXXI, 7.

52. See above note 50.

53. E.g. Cato, De Agr., 83: Mulier ad eam rem divinam (sc. Martis Silvani) ne adsit neve videat quomodo fiat; Schol. ad Juv., VI, 447: quia Silvano mulieres non licet sacrificare; Augustin., De Civ. Dei, VI, 9: Mulieri fetæ post partum tres deos custodes commemorat adhiberi, ne Silvanus deus per noctem ingrediatur et vexet etc.

for a notice warning women against descending into the men's bathing pool, lest they suffer for it.⁵⁴ This probably comes from a privately-owned establishment and may indicate that it was necessary to adopt extraordinary measures to prevent women from wandering into the male section of a bath. It is impossible to say to what extent this practice permeated other parts of the western empire, but in view of the emphatic nature of the evidence presented above for its presence in Africa and the eastern provinces, it would be rash to say that mixed baths were not found elsewhere.⁵⁵

5. After the Third Century

Mixed bathing continued as is shown by instructions to Christians and by other evidence. But whether because the Christian leaders were more convinced of the evils to which it might lead or because they had more confidence in their authority, the permission to bathe with the other sex was withdrawn entirely. This is especially noticeable in the Constitutiones Apostolicae written in the fourth century, but, in the section with which we are concerned, a revision of the

54. CIL, VI, 579 (=Dessau, 3520): Imperio Silvani/ ni qua mulier velit/ in piscina virili/ descendere si minus/ ipsa de se queritur/ hoc enim signum sanctum est. It may well be that Silvanus was a patron deity of men's baths. Cf. CIL, IX, 2447 where the thermae Silvani at Saepinum in Samnium are mentioned.

55. The scene of the 5th century comedy Querolus mentioned below (p. 108) is probably Gaul although the mixed bathing there described was not in a public bath.

Didascalia of the previous century.⁵⁶ In this section, in the part where women are instructed as to their conduct in relation to baths, the suggestion found in the third century document that they might attend mixed baths if there were no women's baths available and they were so perverse is omitted, and the instructions regarding modesty originally intended to apply to bathing in the presence of men are transferred to their general conduct in women's baths.⁵⁷ At the council of Laodicea (between 341 and 381) Christian men were forbidden to bathe with women.⁵⁸ An occasional reference in secular literature, such as Ammianus' account of the fourth-century noblemen who rushed to pay court to the latest prostitute to make her appearance

56. See above note 45.

57. Const. Apost., I, 9: Περιίστασο καὶ τὴν ἐν βαλανείῳ μετὰ ἀνδρῶν ἀτάκτον γινομένην λουῖσιν· πολλὰ γὰρ δίκτυα τοῦ πονηροῦ· ἀνδρόγυνον γυνὴ πιστὴ μὴ λουέσθω· εἰ γὰρ περι-καλύπτεται τὸ πρόσωπον τὴν ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίων ἀνδρῶν ὄψιν μετὰ αἰδοῦς κρύπτουσα, πῶς γυμνὴ μετὰ ἀνδρῶν ἢ τοιαύτῃ εἰς λουτρὸν εἰσελεύσεται; 2. γυναικείου δὲ ὄντος βαλανείου, εὐτάκτως μετὰ αἰδοῦς μεμετρομένως λουέσθω. 3. μὴ περισσοτέραν δὲ λουῖσιν ποιείσθω, μὴδὲ πολλὴν μὴδὲ πολλάκις μὴδὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατόν μὴδὲ καθ' ἡμέραν. 4. Ὥρα δὲ σοὶ ἔστω τακτὴ ἢ τῆς καιρολousίας δεκάτῃ· δεῖ γὰρ σε πιστὴν οὖσαν ἐκ παντὸς καὶ πάντοτε τὴν πολυόφθαλμον περιεργίαν φεύγειν.
For the instructions to men see note 47.

58. Can. XXX (C.J. Hefele, Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux [French Trans., Paris, 1907-1938], vol. I, pp. 1015-1016): ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱεραρικοῦς, ἢ κληρικοῦς ἢ ἀσκητὰς ἐν βαλανείῳ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἀπολουέσθαι μὴδὲ παντὰ χριστιανὸν ἢ λαϊκόν. αὕτη γὰρ πρώτη κατάγνωσις παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
This canon was repeated by the council in Trullo (692 A.D.) Canon LXXVII (P.J. Hardouin, Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales ac constitutiones summorum pontificum [Paris 1714]

at the baths,⁵⁹ and the monologue of the slave Pantomalus in the early fifth century comedy Aulularia or Querolus when he tells of the fun the slaves have when they bathe with the slave girl,⁶⁰ shows that these regulations had a definite purpose and that an actual problem existed.

It is therefore abundantly clear that mixed bathing was indulged in in public baths at least as early as the last decade of the first century after Christ, that by the third century it had become quite wide-spread, and that it continued to be practiced in the succeeding centuries. At first, no doubt, to bathe with the opposite sex either with a bathing costume or without was characteristic only of the members of a relatively fast set, but as time went on this was no longer true, the practice became so prevalent that in some localities a woman might be faced with the choice of bathing with men or foregoing the pleasure of attending a public bath. Even though moral leaders such as those of the early Christian church wrote against the practice, the very manner of their protests indicates that they were trying to combat something which had become a part of the social code of their age.

1715] Vol. III, col. 1689) with the following additions:
 εἰ δὲ τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ φωραθείη, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς εἴη,
 καθαιρεῖσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἀφοριζέσθω.

59. Amm., XXVIII, 4, 9: Tales ubi ... tholos introierint balnearum ... si apparuisse subito compererint meretricem ... certatim concurrunt etc.

60. Querol., pp. 39, 20-40, 1 (Peiper): Nocte balneas adimus, quamvis sollicit dies. Lavamus autem cum pedisequis et puellis: nonne haec est vita libera? luminis autem vel

splendoris illud subornatur quod sufficiat non quod
publicet. Ego nudam teneo quam domino vestitam vix videre
licet. Ego latera lustro, ego effusa capillorum metlor
volumina, adsideo amplector, foveo foveor. Cuinam
dominorum hoc licet?

APPENDIX - THE GREEK BATH

Since Greek hot water baths are little known, and since it is impossible to refer the reader to any single publication which would give an account of them, I shall attempt to describe them briefly here, confining myself to the public establishments which are of more immediate relevancy to the subject of Roman baths.¹ This restriction will involve in particular the omission of the baths attached to the palaestra, especially the cold ones which have in the minds of most people come to typify Greek baths in general. Descriptions of cold baths are in any case easy to find.²

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1. W. H. C. Van Esveld (De Balneis Lavationibusque Graecorum has collected literary evidence and that derived from vases. Conclusions reached without discussion are in general derived from his work, where full evidence will be found. For remains of Greek baths of the pre-Roman period, see the reports of the excavations of the German School in the Cerameicus at Athens: AA, 1936, col. 211; 1937, coll. 184-195; 1938, coll. 607-609; 1940, coll. 318-319 (see also G. Karo, An Attic Cemetery [Philadelphia, 1943], pp. 24-25); J. M. Sears, Jr., "Oenidae, V, A Greek Bath", AJA, Ser. II, Vol. VIII (1904), pp. 216-226; notices of an unpublished bath at Colophon, discovered 1922, in Art and Archaeology, Vol. XIV (1922), p. 259; BCH, Vol. XLVI (1922), p. 549. A building in Syracuse, probably built shortly before the destruction of the city by Marcellus, was almost certainly a bath. See G. Cultrera, "Siracusa - Rovina di un antico stabilimento idraulico in contrada Zappata", NSA, Ser. VI, Vol. XIV (1938), pp. 261-301. See also Ch. I, pp. 16-17.
 2. See e. g. E. N. Gardiner, Athletics of the Ancient World (Oxford, 1930), pp. 72-85.
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The following account is based primarily on the work of Van Esveld, but differs with him at various points and is brought up to date by the use of archaeological evidence unknown to him.

That public baths existed in Magna Graecia during the sixth century B. C. is indicated by references in late writers,³ while their presence in Greece in the early fifth century is proved by the discovery in the Cerameicus at Athens of a bathing establishment built, probably, shortly after the Persian wars.⁴

In Athens, at least, the early baths, on the authority of Athenaeus, were situated outside the wall by order of the magistrates.⁵ This statement of Athenaeus receives support from evidence regarding the location of specific baths, for which

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3. For baths at Sybaris (destroyed 511 B. C.) see Athenaeus, XII, 518c; 519e. The instructions to avoid public baths which Iamblichus (*De Vita Pyth.*, XVIII, 83) and Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, IV, 17) report as having been given by Pythagoras to his followers can also be referred to Magna Graecia.
 4. *AA*, 1937, col. 195. The terminus post quem is established by an ostrakon bearing the name of Megacles who was ostracized in 486 B. C.
 5. *Athen.*, I, 18b. The passage begins: Προσφάτως δὲ καὶ τὰ βλανεῖα παρῆκται, τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως ἐώντων εἶναι αὐτά, ὡς τὸ βλαπτικὸν ἀντιφάνης δηλοῖ κτλ. Van Esveld, *op. cit.*, p. 195, takes this as a general statement, but an examination of the passage shows that Athens is the city referred to.
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a normal location was outside one of the city gates.⁶ If such a practice could be presumed to be widespread among Greek cities it would furnish an explanation of the relative scarcity of remains of this type of architecture. Public baths were undoubtedly less common than at Rome and under the Roman empire and their popularity would vary from city to city. It has been suggested, for example, that the scarcity of private bathing equipment at Delos as compared with Olynthus indicates the use of public baths⁷ in the former city.

Although there is not so great an abundance of evidence for the arrangement of Greek baths as for Roman, a picture, at some points quite clear, can be sketched from the materials available. In the first place, though these buildings had a number of rooms, the principal room or rooms had frequently or generally a round shape and were known as *θήλοι*. This

6. In addition to the baths in the Cerameicus there were baths outside the most easterly of the southern gates (*IG*, I², 94, 37 [418-17 B. C.]), and baths near the northerly eastern gate, *Τὸ Διοχάρους Βαλανεῖον* (*IG*, II², 2495, 6-8 [334-33 B. C.]). This gate was afterwards named after the baths. A fourth bath located in Serangium in the Piraeus (*Isaeus*, *Orat.* VI, 33) is possibly to be included in this category. Evidence for baths within Athens proper in this period is lacking. See Van Esveld, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

7. D. M. Robinson, ed., *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 203. For evidence of a public bath at Delos see *IG*, II², 1635, 143.

was the conclusion reached by Van Esveld from the literary evidence⁸ and it is now supported by the findings of archaeology. Of four baths discovered during the present century, three, the bath in the Cerameicus at Athens, that at Oenidae³, and the building excavated at Syracuse⁹ featured round rooms, while the bath discovered at Colophon seems to have had rooms rectangular in shape. The bath found in the Cerameicus had a round room 5.40 m. in diameter. This bath was remodelled three times from the date of its foundation until its removal in 404-403, when it was replaced by a short-lived bath with square rooms. A new round bath was then or later built on the north bank of the Eridanus, and is probably to be identified with one mentioned by Isaeus.¹⁰

In these baths the bathers sat either in small individual tubs (πύελοι) or in larger baths which held several persons (μάκραι).¹¹ The manner in which they bathed was as follows:

8. In particular Athenaeus, XI, 501d-f where the meaning of an expression of Cratinus, φιάλαι βαλανείομφοι, is discussed with quotations from various scholars, e.g. *Eratosthenes* (501d): τῶν γὰρ φιαλῶν οἱ ὀμφοὶ καὶ τῶν βαλανείων οἱ θόλοι παρόμοιοι; *Timarchus* (501e): πεπαῖχθαί τις αὖ οἰηθεῖη, φησί, τὴν λέξιν, διότι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἀθηνησὶ βαλανείων κυκλοειδῆ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ὄντα τοὺς ἐξαγωγοὺς ἔχει κατὰ μέσον, ἐφ' οὗ χαλκοῦς ὀμφαλὸς ἔπεστιν. There are other references in papyri which, however, belong to the imperial period.

9. See above note 1.

10. Isaeus, *Fr.* XXIV, 21. See *AA*, 1940, coll. 333-342. For the older bath see references in note 1.

11. This distinction is made clear by *Polybius*, XXX, 29, 3. The form μάκραι has usually been emended to μάκτρα, but the evidence of papyri and inscriptions (e. g. *Philodemus*, *De Vit.*, p. 29 (Jensen); *IG*, V, (1), 1390, 107) seems conclusive in favour of the other form. See further *Liddell-Scott-Jones* s. v. μάκραι.

the customer sat in several inches of warm water, frequently that left by his predecessor,¹² while the bath-attendant¹³ poured over him water¹⁴ carried from the furnace. After his bath the excess water was removed with a strigil or sponge and he was anointed.¹⁵

Although examples of the pyelos, in which the bather sat, were long unknown, a fair number have now come to light.¹⁶ These baths were all made to sit in and consequently were fairly short, ranging in length from 0.90 to 1.25 m. A regular feature was a rounded depression at the front large

12. This is to be inferred from instances where the people refused to bathe after an unpopular character until the water was emptied (Polybius, XXX, 29, 3; Plut., De Invidia, 6, p. 538A), and is in fact given as an incentive towards bathing early. (Lucian, Lexiph., 4). The reason for this was probably an inadequate supply of water.
13. βαλανεύς, βαλανείτης, λουτροχόος, παραχύτης, περιχύτης, See Van Esveld, op. cit., pp. 231-233.
14. Cf. Plato, Rep., I, p. 344. For other references and discussion see Van Esveld, op. cit., p. 222-230. The etymology of βαλανείον is of interest in this connection. Boisacq (Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue Grecque³, [Heidelberg and Paris, 1938] s. v. βαλανείον) relates it to several Sanskrit words whose basic idea is pouring or sprinkling: galanah, dripping; galanam, pouring out drop by drop; garanam, sprinkling.
15. Hippocrates, Vict., 63; Suidas, s. v. χύτρα.
16. See D. M. Robinson, ed., Excavations at Olynthus, II, Architecture and Sculpture, Houses and other Buildings (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 46-50; VIII, The Hellenic House (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 198-203 with bibliography; Van Esveld, op. cit., pp. 142-155; D & S, s. v. pyelos.

enough for a person's feet, which fulfilled one or both of two functions; it served as a place to put the feet and the water could be scooped up as it gathered in the depression and poured over the bather again. The concave shape would be very convenient for this and also for bailing out the tub which normally had no outlet. The tubs were regularly fairly high at the back and presented a stepped profile with the front quite low, so that at best the bather could not have been seated in more than about 0.20 m. of water. Usually the tub, or at least the basin at the front, was let into the floor of the room. In the unpublished public bath at Colophon¹⁷ fourteen small terracotta tubs were found in situ along one side of a rectangular room. In the two circular rooms at Oeniadae¹⁷, although no pyeli were found, there were several round cup-shaped holes in the outer rows of the concentric blocks which paved these rooms. These depressions were almost certainly intended for pyeli which would probably face inward and in their original state probably numbered twenty-five in all.¹⁸

17. See Note 1.

18. In the larger room, which was 6.80 m. in diameter, the holes were 8 in number, 0.37 m. in diameter, 0.215 m. deep, 0.80 m. distant from the wall and spaced at equal intervals around the room; in the smaller room, 5.23 m. in diameter, the holes were 0.34 m. in diameter, 0.14 m. deep, 0.87 m. from the wall and quite close together, one to each of the outer slabs, except by the entrance, so that the original number can be restored to 17. The holes in this room were later filled in.

There were, naturally enough, variations of this type of tub, as well as some of a quite different nature. In Hellenistic times tubs of the design described above developed a seat at the back.¹⁹ A very different sort of tub is a curious closed bath from Thera, which resembles a boot with the toe cut off and which must have been intended for total immersion.²⁰

An example of the *μάκρᾱ* in which several people bathed at once is probably to be found in the bath at Oeniadae. In a long narrow room²¹ was a large rectangular tub formed by constructing four tapered walls, 0.70 m. high, on the mosaic floor. The inner measurements of this tub were 1.135 m. by 1.61 m. at the bottom and somewhat larger at the top. As originally constructed it possessed two outlets, one at the level of the floor, and the other at 0.50 m. above the floor. A later hole pierced one of the walls at a height of 0.20 m.

19. See for example Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), coll. 811-814 (Caulonia); NSA, Ser. VI, Vol. XIV (1938), p. 296 (Syracuse).

20. T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, Priene (Berlin, 1904), p. 293; also D. and S., s. v. pyelos. Cf. the ornate bath of the same type from Girgenti (NSA, Ser. VI, Vol. I [1925], pp. 422-423).

21. 5.35 m. by 2.85 m.

This bathing establishment had at least three rooms for bathing, a rectangular room with μάκρᾱ and two θόλοι with a total of twenty-five πύελοι. A double room entered from the smaller θόλος has been identified as the elaeothergium, the anointing room. Unfortunately, no trace of heating arrangements has been found in this bath which is located in very swampy ground and consequently could not be fully explored.

This view, that the Greek warm water baths generally had round rooms, differs from the commoner view which regards round shape in a Greek bath as evidence that a sweat-bath is in question. The chief ground for this assumption is a comparison of Vitruvius' description of a Laconicum (Mediumque lumen in hemisphaerio relinquatur, ex eoque clipeum aeneum catenis pendeat, per cuius reductiones et demissiones perficietur sudationis temperatura)²² and a statement of Timarchus, quoted by Athenaeus ("πεπαϊχθαί τις αἰοίηθείη, φησί, τὴν λέξιν, διότι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἀθήνησι βαλανείων κυκλοειδῆ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ὄντα τοὺς κατασκευαῖς ὄντα τοὺς ἐξαγωγοὺς ἔχει κατὰ μέσον, ἐφ' οὗ χαλκοῦς ὀμφαλὸς ἔπεστιν.")²³

22. V, 10, 5.10.

23. XI, p. 501a.

which have a marked verbal similarity.²⁴ However even if the two passages are to be taken as parallel, part for part, if the ἐξαιγυγός of Timarchus is to be identified with the medium lumen in the dome of Vitruvius laconicum and the Χαλκοῦς ὀμφαλός with the olipeus aeneus which hung from the dome and regulated the temperature, we lack definite proof that this shape of bath and device for regulating temperature must be confined to a sudatorium. The fact seems to be that both sweat baths and hot water baths had round rooms, and that the reason in both cases was the same, even distribution of heat.

24. For a discussion utilizing these passages see A. Schwartzstein, Eine Gebäudegruppe in Olympia (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes, Heft 66, Strassburg, 1909).

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