ANALECTA ROMANA
INSTITUTI DANICI

XXXIX

ANALECTA ROMANA

INSTITUTI DANICI

XXXIX

2014

ROMAE MMXIV

ANALECTA ROMANA INSTITUTI DANICI XXXIX

ISSN 2035-2506

Published with the support of a grant from:
Det Frie Forskningsråd / Kultur og Kommunikation

Analecta Romana Instituti Danici. — Vol. I (1960) — . Copenhagen: Munksgaard. From 1985: Rome, «L'ERMA» di Bretschneider. From 2007 (online): Accademia di Danimarca

ANALECTA ROMANA INSTITUTI DANICI encourages scholarly contributions within the Academy's research fields. All contributions will be peer reviewed. Manuscripts to be considered for publication should be sent to: accademia@acdan.it Authors are requested to consult the journal's guidelines at www.acdan.it

Contents

Openness and 'closedness' in Roman tomb architecture: Tomb E1 of the Via Laurentina necropolis at Ostia as a case study[1]

by Jane Hjarl Petersen

Abstract. This paper examines the early columbaria of the Laurentina necropolis in Ostia, in particular Tomb E1, in light of modern architectural theories concerning human responses to and use of architectural patterns, specifically the idea that patterns act as strong catalysts in generating a sense of group membership within communities. The paper questions the longstanding classifications of these tombs as closed and isolated, and offers an alternative reading of their public as well as private existence.

Introduction

This study aims to investigate the dualistic way in which, on the one hand, human reactions and emotions influenced Roman tomb architecture and its construction, and how, on the other hand, architecture could evoke specific (emotional) responses in its viewers. Tomb structures are obvious candidates for this exercise since their very creation is closely connected with one of the major emotional aspects of the human life circle, namely death. However, tomb complexes and structures did not only convey meaning and emotional significance for those who had intimate relationships with the deceased, and thus the grave plot, but were also designed to communicate explicitly with the outside world and a wider public audience. In the spatial setting of tomb complexes, the degree of success regarding visual impact and attention depended greatly on the level of communicative skills employed by the tomb owners, as well as their economic background and, ultimately, the capacity of the craftsmen employed to carry out the construction of the actual monument. The nature of these skills certainly encompassed both the visual and epigraphic media, which were exploited to their fullest during the late Republican and early Augustan periods when the competition for attention with its resulting potential for commemoration resulted in complexes of very extrovert and imaginative tomb architecture. Examples of this phenomenon are numerous, but some of the most well-known are probably the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius near Porta San Sebastiano, the Tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia, the Tomb of Eurysaces near the Porta Praenaestina and the Mausoleum of Augustus in the Campus Martius. At Ostia, the Tomb of Caius Cartilius Poplicola, near the Porta Marina, the so-called Monumento Funerario, also near the Porta Marina, the column tombs PR A3a at the Porta Romana necropolis and VL B1 at the Via Laurentina necropolis are further examples, albeit on a smaller scale than their equivalents in the capital. The developments in tomb architecture which followed this period of extravagance have been characterised as

resulting in a 'closed off' architecture which turned its back on the viewer and passersby, and instead focused completely on the internal space and structure of the tomb. This paper examines this characterisation against an understanding of the communicative and emotional aspects of tomb architecture as intermediaries of identity statements and relationships with the external living community. Tomb E1 of the Via Laurentina necropolis at Ostia will serve as a case study.

Architecture and human responses

How humans respond to, engage with and perceive architecture are not modern concepts, but were already central themes in the work of Vitruvius on architecture in the late 1st century BCE. Taking as his point of departure the unity of *firmitas*, *utilitas* and *venustas* (Vitr. 1.3.2), Vitruvius established a fundamental architectural concept which is still today a foundation for the work of contemporary architects.[2] The three key elements of durability, functionality and aesthetic perfection reflect the all-defining notion that architecture has not only a practical function to fulfil in the built environment of human society, but also a central social role as a vital instrument in how humans organise their interactions. Thus, "architecture can help regulate and organize social mechanisms and forms".[3] Architecture is only functional if humans interact with it; some even define architecture as existing solely on the basis of human use and engagement.[4] For Vitruvius, architecture is a fundamental catalyst in the development of human civilisation; while he understands fire to be the first element which brought people together in communities, it is architecture that enabled humans to organise themselves practically and socially, and to accomplish those developments which ultimately led to them holding the superior hand in the world order (Vitr. 2.1.6). This point is taken further in book VI in which Vitruvius reflects on the development of the human dwelling through time by considering the close interaction between the architectural layout of the structure and the social skills and obligations of its occupant (Vitr. 6.5.1-6.5.3).[5] These considerations imply an interdependent relationship between people and buildings; not only do people create buildings with a practical purpose in mind they also utilise these buildings to emphasise and further specific social goals and statements. This implies that architecture must function within a common set of rules to which all or most members of a community subscribe; otherwise, the relationship will be dysfunctional. Thus, architecture must be socially meaningful in its setting within a given society.[6] Along the same lines, it has been suggested that human interactions are further enhanced by architecture as a powerful means to establish and signal group identity and adherence.[7] But what types of architectural designs and elements prompt such a sense of inclusion or exclusion? Which elements signal or evoke specific responses in the viewer or user? The modern architectural theoretician J. Pallasmaa defines doors and windows as key elements in what he calls "primal architectural images and archetypes".[8] Doors and windows stage the contact between the exterior and interior spaces, thus facilitating the transfer between these locations. They invite the participant to enter or exit, to look in or out. In this respect, doors and windows are essential elements in architectural designs which aim to open the layout of the structure in an interplay between spaces. Such designs let the outside in and open outwards. However, the closed door can also signal a halt and prompt the approaching person to hesitate. In any case, a door ritualises the movement from one space to another. While a door may evoke contrary reactions of inclusion and exclusion, of privacy and invitation, designs with large uninterrupted surfaces will most often signal a dismissive or isolated attitude and create a distance between the structure and the viewer. This may evoke not only a cautious approach on the part of the viewer but also a sense of not belonging, of being excluded and detached.[9] Returning

to the primary focus of this paper, aspects of such contemporary architectural theories can perhaps help us shed light on some of the dynamics behind ancient architectural designs, their impact and their interactions with the people who created, used and viewed them. Thus, we shall turn to the empirical evidence.

The necropoleis *of Ostia*

As the main port of Rome, Ostia seems to have had both a strong connection with the capital and a clear identity of its own, with specific local traits.[10] While ancient literary sources attribute the foundation of Ostia to the Roman king Ancus Marcius – 620 BCE is mentioned – the city's earliest identified archaeological remains date back only to the 4th century BCE.[11] The earliest burials date to the middle of the 2nd century BCE, which means that none of the graves of the settlement's early period have yet been identified.[12] In general, the topography of the city's *necropoleis* followed standard Roman principles and centred on the roadsides of the major routes to and from the city. Thus, burials and tombs clustered along the Via Ostiensis towards Rome from the Porta Romana, along the Via Laurentina from the Porta Laurentina towards Laurentum and near the Porta Marina towards the sea to the west (Fig. 1).[13] Later, from the 2nd century CE onwards, burials and tomb structures also occupied the roadsides of the Via Severiana which connected Ostia with its artificial port of Portus, the so-called Isola Sacra *necropolis*. The earliest burial features which have come to light date to the 2nd century BCE and are the remains of cremation burials in urns from the Porta Romana *necropolis*. Due to poor excavation and documentation, these early burials, some 35 in total and the earliest known funerary data of the city, constitute a rather frail piece of evidence for the burial practices of this period.[14] During the later Republican period, architectural funerary complexes enter the scene. These are mainly concentrated in the Porta Romana *necropolis*,[15] but the elaborate monuments from the Porta Marina area also belong to the latter part of this period.[16] The first architectural tomb structures are either enclosures, which served as *ustrina* and accommodated multiple urns placed in the ground against the walls, or single monuments of more individual character.[17] In the early Imperial period one of the most prominent new forms of funerary architecture is the *columbarium*.[18] The *columbaria* of Ostia, which are of a slightly later date than the earliest-known *columbaria* of the capital, differ markedly from the latter in that they are all above-ground constructions. This may be explained by the geological conditions of the area and the high ground-water table at Ostia which do not allow for hypogeum-structures such as the *columbaria* of Rome.[19] These practical obstacles may also have been a springboard to the furthering of local variation and the development of characteristics emphasising a local identity; we shall return to this later.

The Via Laurentina necropolis

The exposed part of the Via Laurentina *necropolis* is located some 200-250m in a southeasterly direction from the city wall of Ostia and the Laurentina Gate.[20] The main cluster of excavated tombs is centred on the area where Road XV and Road X meet the Via Laurentina (Fig. 2). More than 100 tombs and single burials are known from this area, but there are strong indications that the *necropolis* was not limited to these particular intersections but spread further north and south along the Via Laurentina and further east and west along Road XV. Thus, the area of the Laurentina *necropolis* as exposed today was actually part of a larger cemetery known as the Pianabella *necropolis* area (named after the Pianabella plain which stretches southwards from the urban areas of Ostia).[21] The earliest-known tomb complexes from the Laurentina *necropolis* date from the middle of the 1st century BCE or just a little later. The chronological horizon of the part

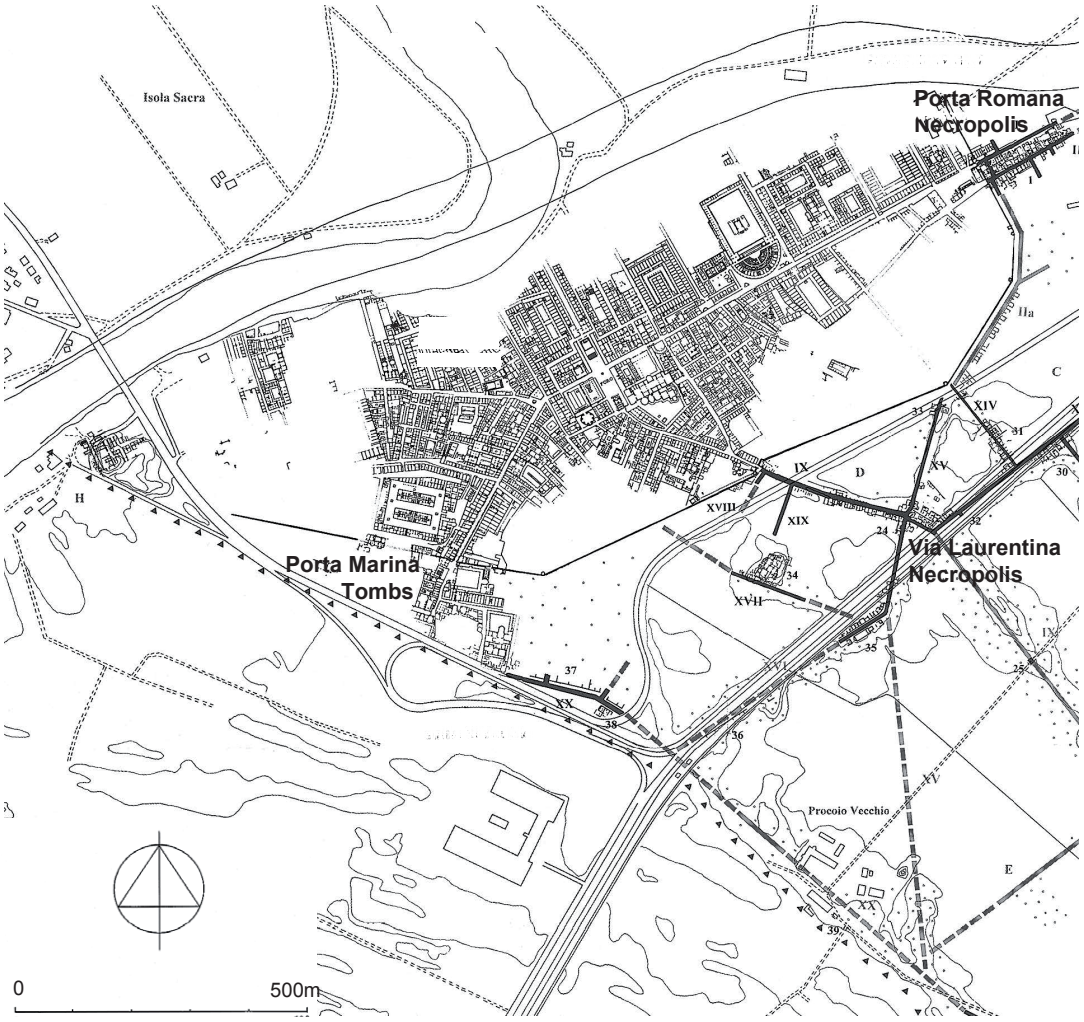

Fig. 1. Map of the necropolis areas of Ostia (reproduced with permission from Heinzelmann 2000, Abb1).

of the Laurentina *necropolis* which is exposed today is somewhat later than that of the Porta Romana necropolis. Whilst the earliest activity dates to around the middle of the 1st century BCE, it is only towards the end of the century and afterwards that the area starts to become crowded. The tomb complex E1, which is the main focus of this analysis, stems from exactly this period of the use-life of the *necropolis*, the late 1st century BCE.

Tomb E1[22] *of the Laurentina necropolis*

In its original setting the complex encompassed a large *columbarium* with an external *ustrinum,* an entrance room and a barrel-vaulted main chamber featuring a *triclinium*; on top of the main chamber a roof terrace was constructed (Fig. 3). In a later construction phase the level of the floor was raised considerably (1-1.2m) in order to accommodate additional space for 2-3 layers of inhumation burials.[23] The tomb is situated at the back of the third row of tombs running parallel to the Via Laurentina, with its façade and entrance facing away from the street (Fig. 2). The tomb is very well preserved and the general layout is intact. It was first discovered and excavated by C.L. Visconti in 1865; it was cleaned up in 1911 by D. Vaglieri and again in 1934/1935 by G. Calza who also conducted a comprehensive restoration programme. According to M. Heinzelmann the restorations undertaken by Calza are now very difficult to distinguish from the original building structure, which, of course, poses a problem.[24] The complex has been subject to

Fig. 2. Map of the Laurentina necropolis (reproduced with permission from Heinzelmann 2000, Abb. 24).

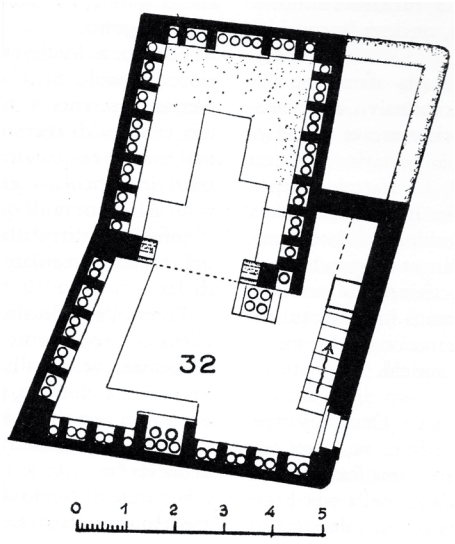

Fig. 3. Plan of Tomb 1 (reproduced with permission from Ostia III, 118).

various plundering attempts and has been subsequently restored in 1956 and 1994. The *ustrinum* (2.8 x 1.5m), adjacent to the actual tomb structure, is built from a two-sided low half-wall with rounded corners. The wall is finished off by half-rounded tiles. Inside the walls are made from irregular brickwork, as a precaution against fire according to Heinzelmann.[25] The eastern corner of the *ustrinum* joins the façade of the tomb, which faces north. The façade is dressed by a central section of regular *opus reticulatum* framed at the corner towards the *ustrinum* by tile bricks and at the easternmost corner by tufa tiles and blocks forming a nicely rounded corner construction. In the centre of the façade a framed casing for the *titulus* inscription[26] (H 0.41 x W 1.17m) of Luna marble is bordered by a polychrome pattern of terracotta and tufa ornamentation (Fig. 4). The *titulus* inscription, in the shape of a *tabula ansata* reads:

C(aius) Iulius Pothi l(ibertus)
Amethystus |
Trebellia M(arci) l(iberta) Secunda |

And on the wings*:*

In Fr(onte) p(edes) XXX, In Ac(ro) p(edes) XX

Flanking the inscription on either side are smaller casings for terracotta plaques, each depicting a winged phallus with bird claws (Fig. 5).[27] Above the *titulus* inscription on the uppermost part of the façade, at the same height as the roof terrace, there is another polychrome feature in the shape of an entablature consisting of a decorative band of terracotta and tufa with a tripartite cornice made of tiles. Above the entablature the wall rises another 0.55m and is completed by another tripartite cornice. Some remains of red wall plaster have been preserved in this area of the façade. At the very far left of the façade is a very modestly-sized entrance (H 1.18 x W 0.68m), with its travertine doorframe still in place. The door, of which nothing is preserved, would have opened inwards with a two-winged arrangement, despite its limited dimensions.[28]

Fig. 4. The façade of Tomb E1 (photo: Niels Bargfeldt).

Fig. 5. The façade of Tomb E1 with phallus plaques still *in situ* (Photo: Fototeca Nazionale).

It was the only access point in and out of the tomb complex. The other outer walls are all constructed in a coarse *opus reticulatum* without any further decorative elements.

The inside of the tomb features an open-air entrance room of trapezoidal shape,[29] a barrel-vaulted main chamber[30] and a staircase leading up to the roof terrace. The entrance room has two rows of four niches for urns[31] on each of the southern and eastern *opus reticulatum* walls, interrupted by a central *aedicula* made from yellow brick and tufa blocks (Fig. 6). The niches each held two urns, and in some instances traces of white plaster decorated with red flowers are preserved. The descriptions of the excavators and early researchers mention vivid decorations within the niches, some with stars and floral elements as well as Dionysian motifs.[32] The niches of the central *aedicula* held four urns each. On the upper part of the wall is a large tile frame for an inscription.[33] There are three u-shaped travertine blocks inserted in the upper registers of the eastern and western walls; in the opinion of Heinzelmann, these were used to insert supportive beams for a baldachin which would have provided shade for the entrance room on hot summer days.[34] To the left of the door into the entrance room, running along the interior of the façade wall, a brick staircase leads to the roof terrace (Fig. 7). The staircase is constructed over arches, the larger of which was fitted with a fireplace. The thick red plaster found on other walls of the complex is also encountered on the staircase and the northwestern wall.

Fig. 6. The entrance room of Tomb E1 (photo: Niels Bargfeldt).

Fig. 7. The staircase of Tomb E1 (photo: Niels Bargfeldt).

The roof terrace is closed in by a parapet wall and Heinzelmann observed parts of the original paving of *opus spicatum* still in place in the western area of the terrace.[35] Heinzelmann makes no mention of constructions for supportive beams for a baldachin or the like which would have shaded the otherwise completely exposed roof terrace during summer.[36] Furthermore, there is no mention of any preserved arrangement for draining rainwater, which must have been an issue during the winter.

The barrel-vaulted burial chamber is situated in the southwestern corner. The chamber is entered via a 2.4m-wide arch which has four niches, each with one urn embedded in its northern wall facing the entrance room. The vault itself is constructed from *opus caementicium* and is well preserved. However, the lower parts of the walls have undergone several restorations. Heinzelmann observes that only the lower register of niches belong to the early use-period of the tomb, while the second row of niches was added at a later time, presumably in the Claudian period, when other minor changes in the main chamber included the construction of brick bases for marble urns such as numbers 9 and 10 found *in situ*.[37] The side walls of the chamber each had a symmetrical design with a

central niche with a concrete arch which held three urns. These central niches were flanked by two round niches on each side which held two urns and single small one-urn niches on the outermost flanks. On the rear wall there was a central niche with an arch which held four urns. This was flanked on each side by niches of different sizes (Fig. 8). The central niche was later remodelled in red and blue stucco in the shape of a shell. Also from the remodelling period stems the upper register of *loculi*; one was adorned with painted plaster decoration depicting a garland with a theatrical mask and dolphins, and another with floral motifs, *tympana*, *rhyta* and rattles. Other *loculi* featured decoration in the form of ovolo moldings in stucco. Furthermore, the upper parts of the walls as well as the vault itself were given a new coat of plaster, this time white with red linear decoration and festive garlands.[38] As can be seen in Fig. 8, this part of the tomb is not particularly well preserved, but the plaster covering can still be traced on the *loculi* and the vault. An important feature of the main chamber is the built-in *triclinium* which is fitted along the southern, western and northern walls, leaving only a narrow strip of floor in the middle (Fig. 9). The dining coaches are asymmetrically designed with a *lectus medius* at the back, a short *lectus summus* on the left and a longer *lectus imus* on the right. They are constructed from *opus reticulatum* and brick at the front and *opus caementicium* at the back; they are all covered in red plaster.

Fig. 8. The main chamber of Tomb E1 (photo: author).

In general, the finds reported from the tomb are poor. There is mention of a brick stamp of the type CIL XV 322 of the early Hadrianic period,[39] but Heinzelmann reports no other smaller finds relating to the use of the tomb or the presumed rituals which took place there.[40] However, in addition to the *titulus* inscription, a fair number of inscriptions have come to light; more precisely, seven inscription slabs and two urns with inscriptions. Inscription slabs 3, 5 and 6 and urns 9 and 10[41] are closely connected to the imperial house of Claudius as *vernae Caesaris* (numbers 3, 5, 9, and 10) and an imperial slave (no. 6).[42] The *titulus* inscription itself belongs to the freedman C. Iulius Amethystus and his wife Trebellia Secunda, a freedwoman. H. Bloch has demonstrated that C. Iulius Amethystus was the freedman of C. Iulius C.l. Pothus, who, again, was a freedman of C. Iulius C.l. Nymphodotus; the latter was a freedman of the emperor Augustus, and both men were significant figures in the public administration of Augustan Ostia.[43] While we may not be able to clarify the exact relationship of C. Iulius Amethystus to the imperial household, it seems that those interred in Tomb E1, in general and particularly during the Claudian period, had direct connections with the imperial house.[44] Another *columbarium* complex, B1/C1, was erected in the Laurentina *necropolis* around the same time by freedmen whose names, C. Iulius/Iulia, might be an indirect indication of imperial household affiliation. They are certainly all freedmen[45] and most likely part of the same circle as the owners and users of Tomb E1. Heinzelmann points out that the two structures - E1 and B1/C1 - constitute the earliest large *columbaria* built in Ostia.[46]

Returning to the tomb complex, it is evident that the visibility of the structure (and, through this, its intended communication) is particularly accentuated in the design of the façade. The immediate impression is one of relative plainness, stressed by the few and rather low-key decorations of simple polychrome tile patterns, the *tabula ansata* and the small symmetrically-placed terracotta plaques. The façade is almost completely symmetrical in its overall design, and the large areas of plain wall contribute to the notion of a very vertical and almost two-dimensional optical experience (Fig. 4). This is further accentuated by the locations of the *titulus* inscription and its flanking terracotta plaques with phallus birds, which draw the eye of the viewer upwards and thus away from the ground level and the physical position of the spectator. The only element disturbing this strict symmetry and the two-dimensional experience is the entrance. Placed in the lower-left corner of the façade, the entrance is most inconspicuous in terms of both location and design. Since only the doorframe is preserved, we may, of course, merely speculate as to the design and decoration of the wooden double doors, but, nevertheless, we can conclude that the frame itself does not convey any monumental or excessively decorative statement with its rough, plain travertine blocks and very modest dimensions. From a visual point of view the door seems like an afterthought in the design, a later addition which somehow disturbs the strict overall concept of the frontage.

The lack of a central, monumental doorway or entrance, inviting the viewer to enter, truly underlines the power of architecture to enforce immediately the notion of *not* being invited in, of being neither a part of nor belonging to something; such a notion might evoke various emotional responses, such as, for example, curiosity, hesitation or feelings of rejection. The design of the façade clearly presents a message of exclusivity and restricted access; perhaps it tells the viewer that they need to possess special status, knowledge and adherence to a specific group in order to be allowed in? The simple façade leaves a strong visual imprint of privacy, but, while it may signal something

Fig. 9. The *triclinium* of Tomb E1 (photo: Fototeca Nazionale).

very different than openness and an invitation to enter, there are certainly elements of a strongly engaging and communicative nature incorporated in the design.

The *titulus* inscription is of course the centerpiece in this context, and it gives the viewer an immediate focal point for engaging with the monument. Various studies have shown that, apart from some standard formulas, there was no single way of composing a Roman funerary inscription, and thus quite a lot of personal initiative was left in the hands of the patron.[47] What is particularly interesting about the *titulus* inscription of E1 is that there is very little, if anything at all, to indicate that this is a *columbarium* complex with multiple burials. The main components offered here – very matter of factly – are the names of the owner and the owner's wife, their status as freedmen and the size of the plot, but there is no mention of who else might be permitted burial here, no mention of family or extended family relations, nor any indications of status and occupation, or references to heirs and their standing regarding the monument and the burials within.

That the *titulus* inscription is by no means valueless despite its modest wording, is underlined by the investment in the decoration which surrounds it and serves to attract further attention to the inscription. The broad rectangular frame which surrounds the inscription has an inner border of red tile which marks the transition to a pattern of double semicircular ornaments set back to back and carefully executed in yellow tile on a background of dark-brown pumice (Fig. 10). This scheme of yellow tile on a dark-brown pumice background is repeated in the decorative band which runs above the

Fig. 10. The decorative frame surrounding the *titulus* inscription of Tomb E1 (photo: Niels Bargfeldt).

titulus inscription and the flanking terracotta plaques. In this way, the inscription is linked visually through the architectural decoration to the flanking plaques of winged *phalloi* placed heraldically as protectors of the patron of the inscription and the tomb as a whole. The plaques would have constituted a further engaging element in the visual statement of the façade and added an interesting dimension to its outward communication.

On the façade of the neighbouring tomb, E4, three terracotta plaques were placed in a similar fashion to those on E1, and at least one of them depicted a winged phallus like the E1 plaques. The other two were too damaged to identify a motif. While the winged phallus or phallus bird is a well-known fertility symbol in Greece from the Archaic period onwards,[48] the phallus, winged or plain, takes on a distinct apotropaic function in Roman culture. The enormous popularity of the Priapus figure testifies to this development, as do the multiple representations in the minor public and private arts, primarily functioning as apotropaic amulets.[49] The significant social aspects of the importance of *phalloi* within Roman society are highlighted in accounts of both the importance of the protection of the phallus during triumphal procession, with one suspended under the chariot and another in the bulla around the neck of the *triumphator*, and the central role of the phallus amulet in the bulla ritual of small boys.[50] *Phalloi* thus appear in many domestic and everyday contexts where their apotropaic connotations were required. The most compelling evidence is probably found in Pompeii where *phalloi* mark dangerous road crossings, shop façades, entrances to private houses, buildings of minor trades, such as bakeries, and tomb façades.[51] At Ostia the phallus is also encountered in both the public and private spheres, albeit in contexts dated slightly later than those of the Pompeian material; so the *fauces* of the Domus di Giove Fulmitore sports a phallus mosaic[52] as a guardian protector of the entrance and a chirpy welcome to visitors and occupants alike.[53] At the public baths of Buticosus guests are guided inside by a mosaic representing Buticosus with a giant phallus and at the Terme dell'Invidioso a phallic plaque adorns the exterior wall of a hypocaust-heated room, presumably in the capacity of guiding visitors safely from one space into another.[54] The phallus is also present in the *necropoleis* of Ostia; in addition to the winged *phalloi* plaques on E1 and E4, Tomb 16[55] at the Isola Sacra *necropolis* is adorned with a mosaic featuring pygmies in the act of copulation.[56] Here, the apotropaic qualities of the phallus are combined with another apotropaic element, namely laughter provoked by the grotesque and obscene.[57]

The apotropaic function seems to provide a very palpable explanation for the appearance of the phallus birds on the tomb façade of E1. The uncertainties of death and what may or may not follow would certainly warrant the need for protection from malevolent forces; in this most vulnerable situation of the human life cycle, any consolation or help was probably most welcome. C. Moser explains the role of Priapus in grave contexts: "as a god of graves, funerals and death, [Priapus] can ensure a safe passage to the underworld much as he provided a safe voyage for sailors, can deter the disturbance of the grave, can protect the dead body from evil spirits of the dead, can promise prosperity and good luck in the afterlife"[58] To this it may be added that the protective forces of the phallus may have been thought to counteract envy and avert the evil eye of jealous passersby[59] and anyone who might be tempted to loot the tomb. The appearance of the phallus birds on the façade would thus create a forceful statement of the protective attitude of the tomb owner towards the burial complex and those interred within; and that this concern was not only directed inwardly to the deceased but also outwardly to the public in a twofold effort to protect the owner's family or social group and ward off malevolence.[60] Another aspect of the phallus as an *apotropaion* which seems to have an interesting relevance for Ostia is the function of Priapus as the deity protector of seafaring. Priapic sea markers served the same function

as Greek herms, as *loci* for dedication and as navigational devices, indicators of dangerous waters or as signals of landing places. Priapic sea markers also had an apotropaic function in pointing out safe routes.[61] Like the sea, a tomb was also perceived as a liminal space, an intermediate sphere between the world of the living and that of the dead, and, therefore, a potentially dangerous place.

While the apotropaic *phalloi* of the façade of E1 have an outwardly communicative function, they also serve as a thematic connection between the exterior and the interior of the tomb complex. The Dionysian themes with rattles, *tympana*, garlands and drinking devices depicted in the paintings of the niches not only allude to the happy times of the afterlife but also have strong connections to the laughter and noise which are central protective elements in apotropaic rituals.[62] In this way the potential malevolence of the outside world of the living is confronted directly and publicly by the phallus birds, while the potential dangers of death and the afterlife are addressed more privately in the niches of the interior.

This is not the only aspect in which the tomb design of E1 combines elements of both a private and a public character. The façade, in its general design of a large uninterrupted surface and small door, accentuates the potential of architecture to convey specific identity-related messages - in this case one of privacy, exclusivity and perhaps group membership. Although the *titulus* inscription does not explicitly mention any group members other than Amethystus and his wife or make use of the standard formula *sibi et suis fecit*, the basic design of the complex, with its many *loculi* as well as the fairly numerous amounts of inscriptions found inside, testifies to the use of the complex by a wider circle of people – a reality that was envisaged from the initial stages of the design and construction of the tomb. The interplay between the exterior and interior adds further to the juxtaposition of the tomb's privacy and exclusivity, on the one hand, and its public appearance, on the other.

The roof terrace is interesting in this respect in that it is somehow both an interior and an exterior space. Since the remains of the parapet wall are poorly preserved up to

Fig. 11. Tomb 97 from Isola Sacra (photo: Tom Birch Hansen).

a height of only ca. 0.25m[63] and have been heavily restored in relatively recent times, it is difficult to estimate its original height. However, a later tomb at the Isola Sacra necropolis (Tomb 97) features a parapet which was low enough to allow people and objects to be seen, and people to see in. In fact, Tomb 97 features a raised, fenced open-air precinct in which an altar rises above the wall and is thus visible from outside the tomb complex (Fig. 11).[64] The tomb design thus emphasises both the interiority and exteriority of the enclosed feature and allows the onlooker a tantalising glimpse from the outside of what can be found inside. Interestingly, I. Baldassarre and colleagues stress the close resemblance between the design of Isola Sacra Tomb 97 and Tomb E1 (32) of the Via Laurentina *necropolis*, although Tomb 97 is dated to the Trajanic period and thus much later than E1.[65]

But what took place on those roof terraces? Heinzelmann suggests festive activities, presumably banquets in honour of the dead;[66] although we have no actual *in situ* finds indicating such activities, this is a most plausible suggestion, and it is highly likely that portable furniture, rugs, pillows and banquet equipment would have been brought to the tomb for such occasions[67] along with temporary shadings for the roof terrace, which must have been unbearably hot during summer months. In imaging this scenario it becomes evident that the roof terrace would become a stage where - half hidden, half visible - the participants in the festivities could demonstrate their exclusive group membership by utilising the semi-private/semi-public space of the roof terrace to its full potential. Alternatively, the *triclinium* of E1, placed inside the main chamber away

Fig. 12. Plan of Tomb E1 and neighbouring tombs (reproduced with permission from Heinzelmann 2000, Beilage 2a).

from prying eyes, offered full privacy, in stark contrast to the open-air *triclinia* or *biclinia* of contemporary Pompeii or the later tombs of Isola Sacra.[68] Perhaps, bearing Tomb 97 in mind, it may also be suggested that the roof terrace could have displayed some of the numerous examples of sculpture, portraiture and altars which have been found in tombs throughout the Roman Empire.[69] Although the find contexts of most of the recovered funerary sculpture are rarely specific, sculpture could adorn the tomb façades, be placed in *aediculae* or niches, or be freestanding and displayed inside the tomb or in the open air.[70] For the Laurentina tomb, the hypothesis of funerary sculpture having been displayed in various locations within the tomb - perhaps also on the roof terrace - finds support in the findings from neighbouring Tomb E3, where the bust of a double herm, a male portrait head of marble and a smaller terracotta head were reportedly found but without detailed information on their find-spots.[71] In short, whilst there are numerous pieces of sculpture deriving from the tombs of Ostia and Portus, the corpus is in dire need of a contemporary contextual study.[72]

In general, there are many similarities between E1 and tombs nearby. Tombs E3, E4 and D7 are of almost identical layout as E1 and were presumably modelled on this, chronologically earlier, complex (Fig. 12). As mentioned above, the façade of E4 sports three terracotta plaques placed in a similar fashion to those on E1, and at least one of them depicts a winged phallus similar to those on the E1 plaques.[73] There are only minor differences; E3 is without an *ustrinum*, and, unlike E1, both E3 and E4 have an internal well. Perhaps the latter was a later improvement on the original design? They are in many ways self-sufficient units, with their own *ustrinum*, interior *triclinium*, roof terrace, hearth and well; they are all-in-one complexes, independent of outside services and capable of catering for every need in the burial process and subsequent commemorative activities.[74] In this respect, they differ markedly from the *columbaria* of Rome itself where *ustrina* and *triclinia* are rarely incorporated in the design of the *columbaria* and the evidence for such structures, when suggested, is often tentative.[75] The almost identical façades of the tombs to the back of the third row from the Via Laurentina, as well as other contemporary and later tombs of similar exterior design, have provided the grounds for the characterisation of the Laurentina *necropolis* as a homogeneous and closed *necropolis*.

A closed necropolis and a closed tomb?

In his highly influential book *Römische Grabbauten* from 1992 H. von Hesberg proposes the thesis that there was a marked shift in Roman funerary culture from the late 1st century BCE to the 1st century CE.[76] von Hesberg deduced this shift from observations of the funerary architecture and decoration of the tombs of the period. He notes that the focus on the exterior is downplayed compared to earlier examples, but balanced with a more elaborate approach to the interior adornment. The explanation for this marked shift is, according to von Hesberg, to be found in the political changes of the period and the diminished political status of the nobility under the Augustan principate. Any attempt at self-promotion through the erection of elaborate tomb complexes might have been interpreted as an attempt to challenge the man in power.[77] This, according to von Hesberg, led to a marked shift in interests concerning burial monuments, which were now turned inwards to focus on the family rather than on status displays directed at a public audience.[78] In this discourse von Hesberg includes the necropolis of Via Laurentina and emphasises it as "eine geschlossene und deswegen in ihrem Erscheinungsbild auch typische Nekropole".[79] This had already been touched upon in 1987 by D. Boschung, who characterised the Laurentina *necropolis* as "homogen: Die Gräber bilden zur Strasse hin eine geschlossene Front".[80] Heinzelmann uses a similar vocabulary to describe the *columbaria*

tombs of the early 1st century CE: "völlig abgeschlossenen" and "doch kann in keinen Fall von dem Versuch einer dezidierten Fassadengestaltung gesprochen werden".[81] Further, he states that the *columbaria* marked "eine radikale Abkehr von der Öffenlichkeit".[82] D. Borbonus recently added his contribution: "The high surrounding wall and miniscule access door facing away from the nearest street suggest a separation from the public space"; he goes on to use the term "isolation".[83]

While these characterisations may have resonance in some respects, there should be room for nuances here. The high walls and minimal focus on the entrance surely communicate a strong message of reserved exclusivity, but in combination with the roof terrace, the *titulus* inscription and the décor of the façade – so discreet and understated – the tomb stands its ground in communicating a forceful message of self-representation as well as group identity to the public. As mentioned earlier, architecture can be described as existing solely through its engagement with living people; even though tomb architecture can be argued as having been designed for the dead, it nevertheless facilitates a wide range of needs for the living: a practical need for disposal, an emotional need for commemoration and the handing of grief, as well as an ideal opportunity for status displays and identity statements directed towards the world of the living. Both private and public aspects are implicit in these properties and can be utilised simultaneously. While the elaborate architectural statements of the late Republican and early Imperial periods called for the immediate attention of viewers and passersby, the more restricted and architecturally reserved exteriors of the Laurentina tombs do not automatically make them isolated or less communicative or engaging with their viewer – they actually convey the same message of social achievement and status, but in a different idiom.

The Laurentina *columbaria* no doubt presented a new and different external expression, but this remained a communicative outward effort – an intertwined mission to target the public and nurse an internal group identity. Within this strategy, elements such as exclusivity, privacy or even secrecy would have been powerful tools.[84] While privacy maintains and protects the internal dynamics of the group, secrecy enhances social status and power, exercises restrictions upon others and excludes and thereby reinforces superiority via the concealment of knowledge from outsiders. And, in this respect, secrecy is dependent upon an audience from which knowledge and information can be kept! Therefore, the dynamic interrelations between group membership and architecture employ both introvert and extrovert, private and public components; the occupants of the Laurentina *columbaria* mastered the balance between these components impeccably. But who were these people and what was the nature of their group identity?

It has been long-established that the main patrons and occupants of the early *columbaria* of Rome were freedmen and slaves from the imperial households or senatorial families.[85] Whereas the burial structures of the previous periods had been focused on the close family, the new *columbaria* catered for a different type of collective – groups which were not necessarily connected by family bonds but sprung from other social constellations such as common professions, common social background and so on.[86] The need for these broader, collective groupings to come together in close communities – in life as well as in death – has been linked with the changes enforced by Augustan regulations and reformulations of laws concerning the rights and obligations of patrons and their freedmen and slaves.[87] The laws can be seen to have enforced both negative and positive effects on the lives of freedmen; in some aspects they widened the social gap and limited the possibilities for social mobility for freedmen, whilst, on the other hand, they enforced an extensive restructuring of the imperial administration and thus created a platform for ambitious slaves who could gain considerable knowledge and status

as a springboard to manumission. As stated by Borg, in the socially incoherent group which made up the stratum of freedmen, the collective of imperial freedmen was the subgroup most likely to gain considerable wealth and status after manumission.[88] While it has been recognised for some time now that the experiences of slavery and subsequent manumission would have generated a strong need for freedmen to establish an identity within society,[89] the wealth of some freedmen would probably have compensated for their inferior status.[90] It is in this light that the *columbaria* of the Laurentina *necropolis* should be viewed.

The epigraphic evidence makes a good case for linking the early *columbaria* to a circle of freedmen with close connections to the imperial household, some even being imperial freedmen themselves. This specific social group would not need to 'fear' a competitively-motivated rage from the emperor on the grounds of burial architecture, as von Hesberg's thesis implies. They were nowhere near to being a threat to imperial power.[91] The social classes that were the target of the emperor's (possible) dictate concerning excessive funerary luxury and self-promotion were those that held a real possibility of attaining power – not those that had gained wealth and status via the imperial house/institution.

Comparing the *columbaria* of Rome with those of Ostia, a number of interesting points arise. As stated above, the *columbaria* of Ostia are of slightly later date than the earliest *columbaria* known from Rome and differ markedly from the latter in that they are all above-ground constructions, fully equipped with their own *ustrinum*, *triclinium*, well, hearth and roof terrace. Borbonus explains the preference for above-ground structures as being due to the geological conditions of the area and the high ground-water table, both of which prevented the construction of hypogeum structures.[92] These conditions may also have been a crucial factor in furthering local variation in the *columbaria* of Ostia and developing characteristics that emphasised a local identity. It has been suggested that the social conditions and culturally-diverse populations found particularly in the port cities such as Ostia could have been driving factors in the introduction and popularity of the *columbaria*.[93] This situation, in combination with the lack of parallels from other locations for fully-equipped complexes such as Tomb E1, could point to the fact that the imperial freedmen of Ostia and their associates promoted their group identity and local political status through their own variant of the *columbarium* in the Laurentina *necropolis*.[94] Heinzelmann even suggests that imperial freedmen played a significant role in the spread and development of the tomb type.[95]

These contemplations lead to a consideration of the motivations for the buildings and their audiences – both in terms of the patrons and occupants, and also in terms of viewers. Simply to commence a building project on the scale of a *columbarium* such as E1 is in itself a statement which demonstrates considerable wealth and status, and which calls for public attention. The basic need for disposal could be met in a far more subdued and less expensive manner. The *columbarium* met needs of a twofold character: it fulfilled a specific agenda, targeted at the outside world, to display wealth and social status connected to local political power legitimised through links to the imperial household; and it fulfilled a private and exclusive agenda targeted at maintaining a group identity and thereby consolidating the group's integrity internally and externally. The *columbaria*, with their inventive design and entrepreneurial fingerprints, articulated a distinct space for these imperial freedmen and, through that, a distinct place for them in a social context.

Roman *necropoleis* were areas of intense social activity,[96] and the Laurentina *necropolis* was no exception to this – patrons, family members, visitors, builders, thieves and passersby would all have been confronted by the tombs and interacted with them on various levels depending on the relations they formed

with the monuments and the *necropolis*. These tombs did not stand in reserved isolation, they were not closed and uncommunicative; they were forcefully formulated statements of acquired wealth and social advancement, and of exclusive group adherence and social security for a community of people bound together by a servile past and a successful present.

Jane Hjarl Petersen
University of Southern Denmark
jhpetersen@sdu.dk

ABBREVIATIONS

LTUR: Steinby, E.M. (ed.) 1999 *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae 4*, Roma.

LTURS: Fiocchi Nicolai, V. & Z. Mari (eds.) 2001 *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae: Suburbium*, Roma.

Ostia III: Floriani Squarciapino, M. (ed.) 1958 *Scavi di Ostia III: Le Necropoli. Parte I: Le Tombe di età repubblicana e augustea,* Roma.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldassarre, I. *et al.*
1996 *Necropoli di Porto. Isola Sacra*, Roma.

Bellotti, P. *et al.*
2011 "The Tiber river delta plain (central Italy): Coastal evolution and implications for the ancient Ostia Roman settlement", *The Holocene* 21/7, 1105-1116.

Bloch, H.
1953 "Iscrizioni rinvenute tra il 1930 e il 1939", *Notizie degli Scavi* 8/7, 239-306.

Boardman, J.
1992 "The Phallos-Bird in archaic and classical Greek Art", *Revue Archéologique* 2, 227-242.

Bodel, J. (ed.)
2001 *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, London & New York.

Bodel, J.
2008 "From *Columbaria* to Catacombs: Communities of the Dead in Pagan and Christian Rome". In: Brink, L. & Greene, D. (eds.), *Roman Burial and Commemorative Practices and Earliest Christianity,* Berlin & New York, 177–242.

Borbonus, D.
2014 *Columbarium Tombs and Collective Identity in Augustan Rome*, Cambridge.

Borg, B.E.
2011 "What's in a tomb: roman death public and private". In: Andreu, J. *et al.* (eds.), *Mors omnibus instat: aspectos arqueológicos, epigráficos y rituales de la muerte en el Occidente Romano*, Madrid, 51-78.

Borg, B.E.
2012 "The Face of the Social Climber: Roman Freedmen and Elite Ideology". In: Bell, S. & T. Ramsby (eds.), *Free at Last! The Impact of Freed Slaves on the Roman Empire*, London, 25-49.

Boschung, D.
1987 "Die republikanischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen Nekropolen vor den Toren Ostias". In: H. von Hesberg & P. Zanker (hrgb.) *Römische Gräberstraßen. Selbstdarstellung-Status-Standard. Kolloquium München 28.-30. Oktober 1985*, (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Erforschung des Antiken Städtewesens. Abhandlungen. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 96), 111-124.

Bragantini, I.
1996 "Aspetti del Rituale". In: Baldassarre, I. *et al.* (a cura di), *Necropoli di Porto. Isola Sacra,* Roma, 35-41.

Buccellato, A.
2005 "S.v. Laurentina via". In: *LTURS*, III, Roma, 213-227.

Buccellato, A.
2007 "L'antica via Laurentina: l'arteria e le infrastrutture", *FASTI online.* <http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2007-88.pdf.> Accessed 01-09-2014.

Burkert, W.
1983 *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, California.

Calza, G.
1940 *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra*, Roma.

Clark, J.R.
1998 *Looking at Lovemaking: Constitutions of Sexuality in Roman Art 100 BC – AD 250,* Berkeley.

Clark, J.R.
2003 *Roman Sex: 100 BC – AD 250*, New York.

Clark, J.R.
2014 "Sexuality and Visual Representation". In: Hubbard, T.K. (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities,* Malden (MA).

Coarelli, F.
1988 *Il sepolcro degli Scipioni a Roma,* Roma.

Fejfer, J.
2008 *Roman Portraits in Context,* Berlin.

Feraudi-Gruénais, F.
2003 *Inschriften und 'Selbstdarstellung' in stadtrömischen Grabbauten*, Rome.

Festinger, L.
2009 "Architecture and Group Membership". In: Gutman, R. (ed.), *People and Buildings,* New Jersey, 120-134.

Fitch, J.M.
2009 "The Aesthetics of Function". In: Gutman, R. (ed.) *People and Buildings*, New Jersey, 3-16.

Galvao-Sobrinho, C.R.
2012 "Feasting the Dead Together: Household Burials and the Social Strategies of Slaves and Freed Persons in the Early Principate". In: Bell, S. & Ramsby, T. (eds.) *Free at Last! The Impact of Freed Slaves on the Roman Empire*, London, 130-176.

Graham, E.-J.
2005 "Dining al fresco with the living and the dead in Roman Italy". In: Carroll, M. *et al.* (eds.), *Consuming Passions: Dining from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, Tempus, 49-65.

Gutman, R. (ed.)
2009 *People and Buildings. With a New Introduction by Nathan Gazer,* New Jersey.

Hasegawa, K.
2005 *The familia urbana during the Early Empire: A Study of Columbaria Inscriptions*, Oxford.

Heinzelmann, M.
1998a "Die Nekropolen von Ostia: Zur Entwicklung der Beigabensitten vom 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit". In: Fasold, P. *et al.* (hrgb.), *Bestattungssitte und kulturelle Identität. Grabanlagen und Grabbeigaben der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit in Italien und den Nordwest-Provinzen. Kolloquium in Xanten vom 16. bis 18. Februar 1995* (*Xantener Berichte* 7), 41-47.

Heinzelmann, M.
1998b "Überlegungen zur Entwicklung der Nekropolen Ostias von der späten Republik bis in severische Zeit". In: Marchegay, S. *et al.* (éds.), *Nécropoles et pouvoir. Idéologies, pratiques et interprétations. Actes du colloque Théories de la nécropole antique, Lyon 21-25 janvier 1995* (*Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen* 27), Paris, 141-153.

Heinzelmann, M.
2000 *Die Nekropolen von Ostia. Untersuchungen zu den Gräberstraßen vor der Porta Romana und an der Via Laurentina* (*Studien zur antiken Stadt* 6), München.

Heinzelmann, M.
2001 "Grabarchitektur, Bestattungsbrauch und Sozialstruktur – Zur Rolle der familia". In: M. Heinzelmann *et al.* (a cura di), *Culto dei morti e costumi funerari romani* (*Palilia* 8), Wiesbaden, 179-191.

von Hesberg, H.
1992 *Römische Grabbauten*, Darmstadt.

Jones, P.
2011 *The Sociology of Architecture: Constructing Identities*, Liverpool.

Kagis Mcewen, I.
2003 *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*, Massachusetts.

Kellum, B.
1996 "The Phallus as Signifier: The Forum of Augustus and Rituals of Masculinity". In: Boymel Kampen, N. (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, Cambridge, 170-183.

Kragelund, P. *et al.*
2003 *The Licinian Tomb: Fact or Fiction?,* Copenhagen.

Liverani, P. & Spinola, G.
2010 *The Vatican Necropoles: Rome's City of the Dead*, Rome.

Long, P.
2001 *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Baltimore/London.

Mallgrave, H. F.
2006 *Architectural Theory: Anthology from Vitruvius to 1870*. Vol. 1, Malden (MA).

Meiggs, R.
1973 *Roman Ostia*, Oxford.

Moser, C.
2006 *Naked Power: The Phallus as an Apotropaic Symbol in the Images and Texts of Roman Italy*. <http://repository.upenn.edu/uhf_2006/11>. Accessed 14-08-2014.

Mouritsen, H.
2004 "Freedmen and freeborn in the necropolis of imperial Ostia", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 150, 281-304.

Mouritsen, H.
2010 "The families of Roman slaves and freedmen". In: Rawson, B. (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Malden (MA), 129-144.

Oliver, G. (ed.)
2000 *Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, Liverpool.

Pallasmaa, J.
2011 *The Embodied Image: Imagination and Imagery in Architecture,* Chichester.

Pallasmaa, J.
2012 *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*, Chichester.

Petersen, L.H.
2006 *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*, Cambridge.

Ricciardi, M.A. & Scrinari, V.S.M.
1996 *La civiltà dell'acqua in Ostia antica*, Roma.

Toynbee, J.M.C.
1971 *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Baltimore/London.

Wallace-Hadrill, A.
2008 *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge.

NOTES

[1] I am very grateful to Barbara Borg and Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen as well as the anonymous peer reviewer for insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper. I also thank Niels Bargfeldt and Tom Birch Hansen for kindly letting me use their photographs and Maria Adelaide Zocchi for expert assistance with the illustrations. They are, however, not responsible for any mistakes it may containe.
[2] Kagis Mcewen 2003, 1-5; Mallgrave 2006, 3-5.
[3] Gutman 2009, 3; also Pallasmaa 2012, 76-77.
[4] Fitch 2009, 4-5.
[5] For an excellent analysis of this, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 190-208.
[6] Jones 2011, 27-28.
[7] Festinger 2009, 121-125.
[8] Pallasmaa 2011, 128-131.
[9] Pallasmaa 2011, 131.
[10] See also Meiggs 1973, 1-3.
[11] Meiggs 1973, 16-18. There is still a possibility that the early settlement of Ancus Marcius is situated at another location and is yet to be discovered.
[12] Heinzelmann 1998a; 2000, 34, 36, Abb. 15, 49-50.
[13] The tombs in the area of the Porta Marina hardly constitute a roadside *necropolis* as such, since there are just two identified burial monuments here, but, nevertheless, the spatial choice of the funerary structures in this area follows the general rule.
[14] Boschung 1987, 111; Heinzelmann 2000, 49-50. However, see Heinzelmann 1998a and 1998b for thorough analyses and interpretations of the scarce material.
[15] Heinzelmann 1998b; 2000, 51-55.
[16] The so-called Monumento Funerario dates from ca. 30-20 BCE and the Sepolcro di Cartilio Poplicola from 25-20 BCE. (*Ostia III*, 169-228).
[17] Heinzelmann 2000, 51-55; 2001, 183-184.
[18] Heinzelmann 2000, 63-72; on the emergence of the type, see Bodel 2008; Borbonus 2014. Tombs A5a and B1/C1 from the Laurentina *necropolis* constitute the earliest *columbaria* built in Ostia, while Tomb E1 is the earliest example of the second generation of *columbaria*. This new type of tomb architecture thus first emerged in the Laurentina *necropolis* and thereafter spread to other *necropolis* areas of the city, such as the Porta Romana *necropolis* (Heinzelmann 2000, 64).
[19] Borbonus 2014, 151.
[20] Buccellato 2005; 2007; Heinzelmann 2000, 38.
[21] Heinzelmann 2000, 38-40.
[22] The numbering refers to the system employed by Heinzelmann (2000). The tomb is labelled 'Columbarium 32' in *Ostia III*, 118-121.
[23] Heinzelmann 2000, 260, 263.
[24] Heinzelmann 2000, 259, n. 471.
[25] Heinzelmann 2000, 259-260.
[26] Now in the Villa Aldobrandini in Ostia (Heinzelmann 2000, 259).
[27] Now lost, but described and illustrated with a photograph in *Ostia III* (119, Tav. XVII, 2).
[28] Heinzelmann 2000, 260.
[29] Ca. 5.4 x 3.2m (Heinzelmann 2000, 261).
[30] 3.1 x 4.63m (Heinzelmann 2000, 261).
[31] W 0.45-0.5m x H 0.35m x D 0.43m (Heinzelmann 2000, 261).
[32] Heinzelmann 2000, 261, n. 478; *Ostia III*, 119-120.
[33] W 0.58 x H 0.32m (Heinzelmann 2000, 261).
[34] Heinzelmann 2000, 261.
[35] Heinzelmann 2000, 262.
[36] However, this is no confirmation that such an arrangement did not exist as the restorations undertaken by Calza could have covered the holes for the beams or they could have been located higher up in unpreserved parts of the walls. Albeit this is an *argumentum ex silentio*, it is still difficult to imagine that the roof terrace would not have had a baldachin when the entrance room did; after all, without one the roof terrace would have been impossibly hot for any sort of activity to be undertaken there during the summer months. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to obtain permission to investigate these phenomena on site at the Laurentina *necropolis*.
[37] The numbering system is that of Heinzelmann (2000, 259-260). The inscriptions of the urns contain *littera claudis* and therefore provide us with a *terminus ante quem* of Claudius' death in AD 54, after which the letters were no longer in use (Heinzelmann 2000, 262-263).
[38] Heinzelmann 2000, 264.
[39] The brick stamp must belong to the later use-period of the tomb.
[40] Heinzelmann 2000, 260.
[41] The numbering system is that of Heinzelmann (2000, 260).

[42] Meiggs 1973, 47-48; Heinzelmann 2000, 260.
[43] Bloch 1953, 300-301.
[44] For imperial freedmen in Ostia during the reign of Augustus, see Meiggs 1973, 47-48.
[45] Mouritsen 2004, 301.
[46] Heinzelmann 2000, 233. Heinzelmann also points out that the first generation *columbaria* (A5a and B1) are of significantly smaller dimensions than the second generation *columbaria* which include E1 and the extension of B1 with C1 (2000, 64).
[47] Oliver 2000; Bodel 2001; Feraudi-Gruénais 2003.
[48] For the phallus bird in Greek art, see Boardman 1992; also Moser 2006; Clark 2014.
[49] Kellum 1996, 172-173.
[50] Kellum 1996, 173-174.
[51] Clark 2014, 524.
[52] Dated to the 2nd century CE (Clark 2003, 108).
[53] Clark 2003, 108.
[54] Clark 1998, 134-135.
[55] Dated to the 2nd century CE (Baldassarre *et al.* 1996, 180).
[56] Moser 2006, 66.
[57] For the pygmy as *apotropaion*, see Clark 2014, 525-526.
[58] Moser 2006, 38-39.
[59] Clark 2014, 525.
[60] Burkert (1983, 70-72) argues for a close interrelation between sexual reproduction and death in ancient Greek culture. The two phenomena are basic facts of life representing renunciation/fulfillment and destruction/reparation. Therefore, they are invariably interlinked, a line of thought which also inspired Sigmund Freud in his theories on Eros and Thanatos, *libido* and *mortido* (life instinct and death instinct).
[61] Moser 2006, 37-38.
[62] Clark 2003, 97; 2014, 524-526.
[63] *Ostia III*, 121.
[64] Baldassarre *et al.* 1996, 45-46.
[65] Baldassarre *et al.* 1996, 46-47.
[66] Heinzelmann 2001, 185.
[67] Graham 2005.
[68] Bragantini 1996, 40; Graham 2005.
[69] Fejfer 2008, 105; also Toynbee 1971, 253-281 for a general overview.
[70] Fejfer 2008, 105-106. From Rome, the most well-known examples of tombs with sculptural decoration are probably the Licinian Tomb, which is more or less contemporary with E1 (see Kragelund *et al.* 2003), the Tomb of the Sulpicii Platorini (*LTUR* 4, 275-76 by F. Silvestrini), the Tomb of the Scipios (Coarelli 1988; *LTUR* 4, 281-285 by F. Zevi) and the so-called mausoleum tombs under St Peters Basilica (Liverani & Spinola 2010). Finds of sculpture in the *columbaria* of Rome are reported from the Vigna Codini Columbaria 1 and 2 in the form of portraits and altars (Borbonus 2014, 168-170), from the *columbarium* of Livia in the form of fragments of freestanding sculpture, portraits and altars (Borbonus 2014, 175), from the Columbarium of Statilii in the form of a portrait relief (Borbonus 2014, 196) and from Columbarium Bartoli no. 27 in the form of two marble statuettes (Borbonus 2014, 203).
[71] Heinzelmann 2000, 266. The male head was found in the well of the entrance room, which must have been a secondary deposition. Unfortunately, the whereabouts today of the sculptures are unknown.
[72] Calza 1940, 221-247; Meiggs 1973, 468-469.
[73] The other two were too damaged to identify a motif (Heinzelmann 2000, 270).
[74] Heinzelmann 2000, 64-65; 2001a, 185-186; Borbonus 2014, 148-149.
[75] Heinzelmann 2000, 68-69. Borbonus (2014, 175) finds no evidence for the presumed *ustrinum* of the Columbarium of Livia. The Columbarium of Abucci featured a *porticus* with benches and a table for dining and banqueting during festive occasions (Borbonus 2014, 184).
[76] von Hesberg 1992, 34-35, 37-38.
[77] von Hesberg 1992, 37-38. For a critical assessment of this approach, see Borg 2011.
[78] Borg (2011, 52) lists references to the literature which follows von Hesberg's thesis.
[79] von Hesberg 1992, 38.
[80] Boschung 1987, 115.
[81] Heinzelmann 2000, 64-65.
[82] Heinzelmann 2001, 186.
[83] Borbonus 2014, 149.
[84] Long (2001, 5-7) proposes the following definitions of secrecy and privacy: secrecy is intentional concealment; privacy is the condition of being protected from unwanted access by others.
[85] Hasegawa 2005, 2; Bodel 2008, 180; Galvao-Sobrinho 2012, 131; Borbonus 2014, 1-2.
[86] Bodel 2008, 179-180.
[87] Borbonus 2014, 137-138.
[88] Borg 2012, 42.
[89] Petersen 2006, 1-13.
[90] Mouritsen 2010, 143.
[91] However, some imperial freedmen gained considerable wealth and behaved arrogantly which provoked offended responses from the senatorial class (Borg 2012, 42). Such responses were probably prompted by social indignation

regarding inappropriate behaviour of parvenus, rather than a genuine fear of arrogation of political power.

92 Borbonus 2014, 151; see also Ricciardi & Scrinari 1996. The geographical conditions gave rise (and still do) to a rich supply of good drinking water at a shallow depth, but, evidently, limit the possibility to build underground constructions (see also Bellotti *et al.* 2011, in particular fig. 6, II phase). I am deeply grateful to Antonia Huijzendveld for guiding me expertly on this matter.

93 Borbonus 2014, 151-152.

94 There are no finds indicating that funerary *collegia* like those we know from Rome were involved in the building of *columbaria* in Ostia (Heinzelmann 2000, 66-67).

95 Heinzelmann 2000, 66. The so-called *Umfassungsgräber* are considered a forerunner for what Heinzelmann calls the first-generation *columbaria*, which were simple single-chambered barrel-vaulted structures of much smaller dimensions than the larger second-generation *columbaria* of which E1 is the earliest example (Heinzelmann 2000, 64).

96 Galvao-Sobrinho 2012, 137-138; Graham 2005.