INTRODUCTION

Roman urban fountains, with their seemingly endless supply of freshwater, stood as testaments to the Roman prowess for harnessing and controlling nature. Discharging mountain springs into the hearts of cities, the most common types of fountains were simple street basins conveniently located where residents could retrieve water for everyday use. These functional edifices coexisted with larger and more elaborate fountains, a small number of which were comparable in magnitude and theatrical display to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century fountains that still enchant visitors to Rome today. The ancient edifices created metropolitan oases, with vast expanses of sparkling marble, intriguing sculptural displays, and kinetic integration of the natural world into the urban environment. Such monuments engaged passersby through the sound of rushing water and the reflection of sculptural tableaux playing across the surface, issuing an invitation to stop, rest, and savor the moment. On sweltering summer days they offered places of physical and psychological refreshment, as the perpetually moving water cooled the surrounding air and created a slight breeze. Designed as civic landmarks meant to impress residents and visitors alike, these artistic water displays embodied the symbolic and social ideals of the community in general and the benefactor in particular. This type of edifice spoke to the prestige of all involved in its construction: the patron, the city in which it was built, and the gods and emperors to whom it was dedicated.

My aim in this book is to examine monumental civic fountains, or nymphaea, as physical expressions of their patrons' sense of identity, both at the local and imperial levels.[1] Roman monumental civic fountains were both utilitarian edifices that augmented a community's access to freshwater and grand architectural forms well suited to competitive display and civic and state glorification, which

makes them ideal examples for the study of the complex negotiation of patronage, identity, and status in the Roman Empire. Expensive monuments to supply and maintain, monumental civic fountains spoke to the wealth, status, power, and connections of the patrons who provided communities with the striking new amenities. The careful siting of the monuments with their dramatic water displays made them automatic focal points in the cityscape, and thus fountains became arenas for elevating the status of a patron and his community above that of any competitor. They also spoke to a heightened awareness of empire, as the monument type was indelibly associated with the emperor. Freestanding monumental civic fountains with known patrons belong to a corpus of monuments that is almost exclusively limited to emperors and to elites dedicating the monuments to emperors.[2] Among the extant archaeological remains of monumental fountains in civic centers of the Roman Empire, more than thirty can be associated with specific patrons, and most of these can be associated with emperors, either as patrons or dedicatees, in the original phase or in a subsequent one.[3] Thus, the monument type offers a unique view of imperial ideology and elite interactions with this ideology in its architectural, sculptural, and hydraulic displays. Moreover, the utilitarian purpose of these monuments – to provide potable water for a civic population – allows for an exploration of euergetism – the spending of private funds on public works projects and amenities in return for status and honor – and local responses to such civic gifts.

This book situates each monumental freestanding urban fountain that can be associated with an emperor within its local environment and investigates the edifice as a product of an individual patron and a particular historical and geographical context. By tracing the development of the genre across the Mediterranean and by relating each monument to its local surroundings, this study illuminates the motivations and ideologies of imperial and local benefactors in Rome and the provinces. It also considers the role of civic patronage in fostering a dialogue between imperial and provincial elites that has repercussions beyond the immediate situation.

The remains of monumental fountains have been recovered from civic centers as geographically diverse as Avaricum (modern Bourges) in France and Soada Dionysiade (modern Suweida) in Syria, but the majority of the monumental civic fountains with known patrons are located in Rome, Greece, and Asia Minor; therefore this is the area of the empire on which the book focuses. As further excavation results are published, more of these edifices with and without known patrons will become known, adding to an already rich corpus of monuments and allowing for further discussions of monumental civic fountains and their patrons.

The historical development of the monumental fountain form is crucial for understanding the monument as a vehicle for patronage, and so the book follows a roughly chronological format. The survey begins with the earliest of these

freestanding edifices, which were built in Rome under Augustus and the Flavians and were inspired by the artistic water displays in the late Republican and early Imperial residences of elites and emperors. Soon after its appearance in Rome, the Roman monumental fountain form was introduced to the eastern provinces, first by Roman administrators and local elites inspired at least in part by the imperial edifices in Rome and then, perhaps as an imperial response to these fountains, by the emperors themselves, beginning with Hadrian (AD 117–138), who introduced the Roman monumental fountain type to Greece. Hadrian's fountains in the province of Achaia were unique among Graeco-Roman urban fountains, as they merged Roman technology with the traditional Greek grotto form to create a new architectural form that emphasized an ideological message of central importance to his reign. In other regions, like Asia Minor, Hadrian confronted an environment in which local benefactors had recently sponsored large monumental civic fountains and continued to do so throughout his reign. Rather than repeating the monument type developed in Achaia, Hadrian's fountains in Asia Minor experimented with a wide range of architectural forms, hydraulic displays, and decorative programs. The lack of coherency in this region seems to indicate that Hadrian provided an imperial response to the preexisting and contemporary urban fountains. Thus, not only do the Hadrianic monuments in Asia Minor lack the unified vision of their contemporary counterparts in Greece but they also establish the monumental fountain form as a potential arena of competition between emperor and local benefactor. Hadrian's foray into the provinces came at the expense of Rome, where no monumental civic fountains were constructed during his reign. Under the Severans (AD 193–235), the nymphaeum returned to Rome in a new form that incorporated provincial innovations, those introduced by both Hadrian and local elites. The Severan monuments, which were larger and grander than previous imperial fountains, were connected intimately with the imperial family, and the unique features of these monuments again were echoed in monuments set up by elites and emperors in the provinces during and after the Severan age.

Each monumental fountain is a substantial civic donation that demonstrates the distinctive choices made by individual patrons in topographic setting, architecture, sculpture, and hydrology. A study of these choices forms the basis of this exploration into imperial and elite patronage. When examined over time and across various geographical regions, the complex interplay of these features reveals how patrons – both Roman emperors and those wishing to be associated with the imperial family – constructed their civic personae through monumental gifts that rendered visible the prosperity of the community.

By considering a group of edifices from disparate parts of the empire and relating the form, appearance, and placement of the monuments to their commissioners' political motivations, this study moves away from traditional approaches to

the monument type. Until recently, scholarship on Roman fountains has either focused on individual edifices[4] or on creating chronological and architectural typologies.[5] Studies in the latter category typically have taken the form of geographically delineated presentations of the extant monuments. When fountain monographs and catalogs cross regional boundaries, it is usually to compare certain architectural and decorative elements of the fountains under discussion with similar features in fountains and other types of monuments.[6] These cross-regional forays primarily serve as a means of acquiring comparanda for the principal monument under consideration. R. R. R. Smith, who studied portrait statues in several fountains and other monuments in Greece and Asia Minor, adopted a different approach that gave equal consideration to the portraits from each monument.[7] By not privileging a single monument's sculptural display, he was able to consider the significance of choices in portrait types on a local, regional, and imperial level. His study has influenced the present cross-regional study, which gives equal weight to each fountain associated with an emperor.

Among the regional studies of fountains, one of the most influential for this project is Susan Walker's dissertation on Roman nymphaea in Greece, which drew attention to monuments spanning the Graeco-Roman period that had been previously unexamined or incompletely published.[8] Walker related the architecture, sculptural display, and siting of each monument to its intended function, and she recognized the potential of identifying wider social issues in the architectural form of the fountains. Several subsequent studies of hydraulic structures in the region adopted this comprehensive approach; for example, Bol's monograph on the Antonine nymphaeum built and adorned by Herodes Atticus, Regilla, and the Eleians at Olympia considers the cumulative effect of the monument's architectural and decorative elements and their similarities to those employed in other building types to argue that the monument demonstrates a symbiotic relationship between the Roman emperor and the provincial millionaire.[9]

Of particular interest to this study are Betsey Robinson's dissertation on the fountains at Corinth and forthcoming monograph on the Peirene Fountain, which consider the architectural and decorative remains of the Corinthian monuments alongside numismatic and historical evidence to come to an understanding of the importance of water to the identity of Corinth and the Corinthians throughout the Graeco-Roman period.[10] Robinson's interest in the network of civic fountains at Corinth is shared by Claudia Dorl-Klingenschmid in her monograph on the fountains in Asia Minor.[11] This study, which creates a typology of fountains based on architectural form, considers both Greek and Roman period examples while focusing on the practical and visual functions of fountains in various cities. In so doing, Dorl-Klingenschmid integrates the study of the fountain

form into the historical investigation of the city. These studies by Robinson and Dorl-Klingenschmid recognize networks of fountains as integral components of individual civic identities, identities strongly influenced by a shared heritage and communal memories. By contrast, the role of monumental fountains in creating and shaping civic spaces and identities across the empire has been underestimated and little explored. By situating imperial fountains within their urban environments and investigating each fountain as a product of its historical and social context, this study contextualizes the pan-Mediterranean taste for monumental civic fountains within the local understandings and images of the emperor.

My study endeavors to reconstruct the social, political, and cultural expectations embodied in monuments associated with emperors. It considers where, when, and why emperors stepped in to sponsor monumental civic fountains and how some local elites claimed near-imperial status by dedicating fountains to emperors. Patrons situated their civic fountains selectively; these edifices marked nodal spaces central to the benefactor's conception of the city and himself. Through these fountains and their positions in the landscape, emperors and elites constructed and redefined themselves and their roles within certain social settings. By considering the interplay between individual agency and larger historical forces, this book contributes a new dimension to the ongoing assessment of the social functions of patronage within the Roman Empire.

Civic Patronage in the Roman World

To understand the relationship between monumental civic fountains and the emperors, a brief survey of civic patronage in Rome and the provinces is in order. When Octavian accepted the title of Augustus in 27 BC, the urban landscape of Rome was in serious disrepair, having suffered decades of neglect due to the civil wars and to the preference of late Republican patrons for building impressive new structures, like the Porticus of Pompey and the Forum of Caesar, rather than restoring decaying edifices and infrastructures. That same year, Augustus ordered the surviving descendants of the original patrons of temples in Rome to restore them; he himself repaired a further eighty-two temples.[12] As part of his massive push to revitalize Rome, Augustus quickly assumed responsibility for almost all other public building projects in the city, including new constructions and restorations, and he established a bureaucracy to maintain the infrastructure. In so doing, the emperor created a monumentalized capital, the perpetuation of which became primarily the responsibility of the imperial family, and he offered a model for civic-minded patronage, which he urged the leading citizens of Rome to emulate. For instance, Augustus repaired the Via

Flaminia at his own expense and tried to induce senators and triumphators to do the same for other roads leading to Rome.[13]

Outside of Rome, most extant dedicatory inscriptions from the Imperial period name cities, local administrators, or private individuals as benefactors, although a small number name imperial officials with or without known ties to the region and an even smaller number name the emperor himself. Within this general hierarchy of civic patronage, patterns vary from region to region and city to city. In the western provinces, extant inscriptions suggest that cities and local elites were roughly equal in their patronage of civic monuments.[14] In the eastern provinces, Roman-period inscriptions indicate that it was more unusual for a city to sponsor monuments. Rather, most building projects are attributed to local elites, either acting alone or in concert with family members or other elites.[15] This regional tendency to use private wealth to fund civic projects has its roots in the Hellenistic period, when Hellenistic kings monumentalized their chosen capitals.

The practice of *summa honoria*, or payments for office by town magistrates, makes it difficult to determine whether a building sponsored by an individual holding a public office was built with money above and beyond this requisite expenditure, unless an inscription explicitly states that a magistrate paid for the edifice with his own money: *sua pecunia* or *ek ton idion*.[16] In funding public projects, local benefactors not only improved the general quality of life in their native or adopted cities but also elevated their own social status in the community. Piety, political ambitions, and familial commemoration are a few of the reasons why individual patrons built monuments for a city. The outpouring of private wealth for public welfare began on a large scale in the late Republican period, when personal fortunes reached unprecedented levels and benefactors without military commands or royal backgrounds began to sponsor civic structures.[17] The involvement of individuals in civic building projects increased even further in the early Imperial period, and this influx of private wealth into the civic sphere may in part be a result of active encouragement by Augustus and his successors.

On occasion, Roman officials lacking familial ties to a region gave monumental gifts to the communities where they were stationed for administrative posts.[18] For instance, Gaius Laecanius Bassus, a westerner, sponsored a monumental π-shaped façade fountain in Ephesos during his tenure as proconsul of Asia in AD 78/9.[19] Known as the Hydrekdocheion of Laecanius Bassus, this fountain is the first of the monumental façade fountains and begins the long-lasting trend in the region of framing massive hypaethral basins with multistoried aedicular façades. The next proconsul of Asia was another westerner, Marcus Ulpius Traianus, father of the future emperor Trajan. In AD 79/80, Ulpius Traianus placed honorific statues in front of the Hydrekdocheion and, perhaps in a competitive response to his predecessor's innovative monument, sponsored a

two-story π-shaped façade fountain in nearby Miletos that was 9 meters longer than the façade fountain in Ephesos.[20] When Publius Calvisius Ruso, a third westerner, was proconsul of Asia in AD 92/3, he built several urban hydraulic works in Ephesos, including the Fountain of Domitian, located just down the street from the Hydrekdocheion of Laecanius Bassus. Much smaller than the Hydrekdocheion, the fountain built by Calvisius Ruso was distinguished by its pioneering dedication to the reigning emperor, Domitian, as well as its unusual architecture and sculptural display, which were heavily influenced by Italian models. Projects such as these three fountains, which introduced Roman technologies and elements of display to the region, became marks of Roman imperialism on the local landscape.

Even more rarely than administrators did emperors take on building projects for cities other than Rome.[21] In the Roman world, the emperor was the supreme patron, and the well-being of a city depended on his caprices. Imperial awards to cities ranged from tax relief and civic honors to the establishment of games and monumental building projects, the last of which provided tangible and enduring statements of the emperor's power and benevolence that simultaneously emphasized the city's Roman cultural identity. When an emperor patronized a community, he expected allegiance in return. The imperial gift of a civic monument symbolized the emperor's power, benevolence, and continued presence in the city.

However, the role of the emperor in municipal benefaction is ambiguous at best. It is rare for an extant inscription to record the motivating circumstance for a public project, and so the emperor's primary motivation can seldom be reconstructed with certainty.[22] Occasionally, personal attachment to a particular city can help account for a benefaction. An emperor might honor his place of birth or a town with familial associations, as Septimius Severus did when he undertook the extensive rebuilding of the civic center at Leptis Magna, a project that included the Great Nymphaeum. Or, an emperor might forge a connection with a city because of a personal experience, the way Trajan did with Antioch-on-the-Orontes after he experienced the earthquake that destroyed the city in AD 115. This shared experience led him to repair the devastated city's water supply system.[23] Similarly, imperial visits can be connected to a number of building projects, including Hadrian's nymphaea in Argos, Athens, and Nikopolis. Indeed, the more an emperor traveled, the more opportunities he had for such acts of generosity.[24] Political concerns over standards of living and resultant instability might motivate an emperor toward euergetism. This seems to have been especially true of hydraulic projects in central Italy; Claudius' proposal to drain the Fucine Lake may have been motivated in part by a concern to increase the arable land in the vicinity of the capital.[25] The letters of Pliny the Younger to Trajan are full of pleas for building assistance in the province of Pontus-Bithynia, suggesting that Roman administrators often assessed the needs

of communities and made recommendations to the emperors.[26] In other cases, the motivating factors are less clear, though it is reasonable to imagine that this model of petition and response may also have encouraged acts of munificence and building projects. These varied means and motivations make it fruitful to consider both the ways in which an imperial benefaction was related to the needs of a particular community and the extent to which it was tied to the emperor's own priorities.[27]

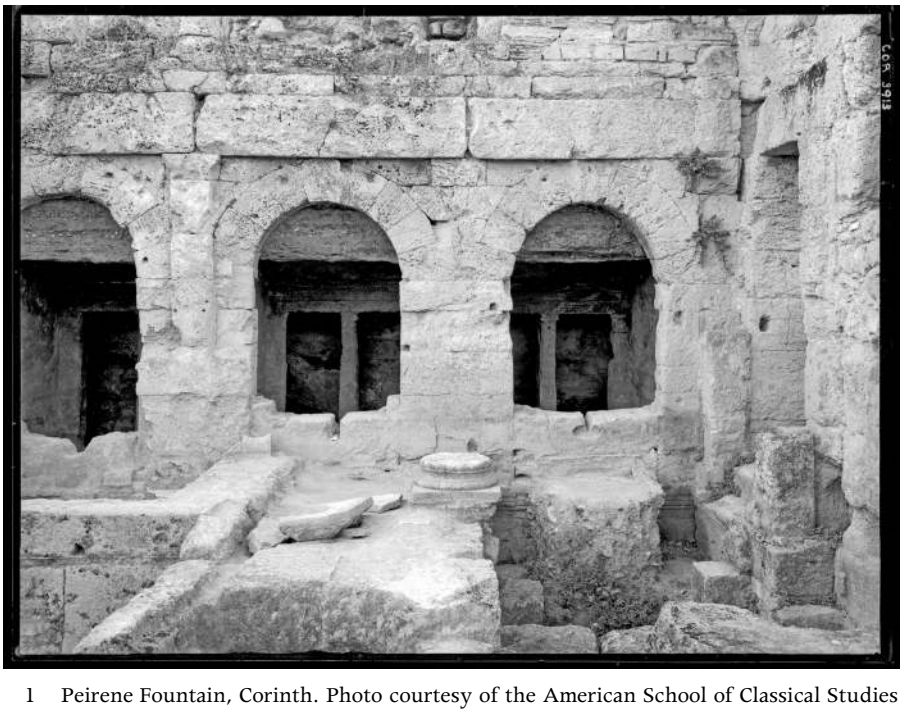
ONE

PRECEDENTS FOR ROMAN MONUMENTAL CIVIC FOUNTAINS

Greek Fountains

The extraordinary impact of the imperial fountains is best understood when they are considered within the context of Graeco-Roman tradition. Civic fountains had long been built by individuals for public benefit; as early as the seventh and sixth centuries BC, Greek tyrants constructed fountains to solidify public support for their rule and to express their concern for the well-being of the populace. In Corinth, the Bacchiad rulers and Kypselid tyrants are traditionally associated with major improvements to the civic water supply: during the Proto Corinthian period, a collection tunnel and access chamber were built for the Sacred Spring and, sometime before the end of the Archaic period, the earliest preserved stone fountain was built over the Peirene Spring, which bubbled to the surface in the heart of the city (Figure 1).[1] Peisistratos, the Athenian tyrant who seized power around 566 BC and then successfully ruled Athens from about 545 to 527 BC, constructed the Enneakrounos, a nine-spouted fountain house near the Olympieion in Athens. No remains of the fountain have survived, but Thucydides reports that it was fed by the Kallirhoe Spring and was built near the bed of the Ilissos River, outside the walls of Athens.[2] Utilitarian structures built at their respective water sources, these early fountains kept the water unpolluted, shaded, and protected.

In addition to their shared functional aspects, both the Peirene Fountain and the Enneakrounos served as evocative links to the sacred and mythical heritage of their respective communities. Before and after Peisistratos tapped the Kallirhoe Spring for the Enneakrounos, its waters were used for sacred rites, including a maiden's ceremonial bath before her wedding. The Peirene Fountain, a semi-interred grotto that was partially man-made and partially natural, was rebuilt and reconceptualized numerous times in antiquity. It marked the place



1 Peirene Fountain, Corinth. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations.

where Pegasus was captured by Bellerophon. Grotto springs like the Peirene were standard elements of the sacred landscape throughout the Greek world and were often associated with nymphs, from the Korykian Spring on Mount Parnassos that flowed into a cave high above the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi to the spring feeding the Caruso Cave at Lokroi Epizephryroi in Sicily.

Like the Kallirhoe Spring in Athens, the spring in the Caruso Cave was used for ritual purposes and as a communal water source; the twelve terracotta models dedicated at the site during the fourth through second centuries BC may acknowledge this dual function of the grotto spring.[3] The one feature shared by all twelve models is a lion's head water spout, and several models were created to be functional: liquid moved from a reservoir at the back and through the lion's head spout to fill a basin in the front. In addition to retrieving water, each model emphasizes a different aspect of the sacred grotto. Some models accentuate the cave itself, with its rocky walls and stalactites, whereas others emphasize the cave's built features, such as niches carved into the apsidal wall of the cave and a columnar balustrade in front of the retrieval basin. When fountains monumentalized springs that surfaced in cities, like the Peirene in Corinth, they also blurred boundaries between human and divine, nature and artifice. This fusion of realms recurred in Roman monumental civic fountains, even though they were fed by long-range aqueducts rather than set above sacred springs.